

Yamāntaka Among the Ancients: *Mañjuśrī Master of Life in Context*

Stéphane Arguillère

(INALCO/IFRAE)

The purpose of the present paper is merely descriptive: having noted the inclusion of a very large collection of Yamāntaka-related materials originating from an ancient and originally unconnected *gter chos*—rGya Zhang khrom (11th cent.)’s *Mañjuśrī Master of Life* (*’Jam dpal tshe bdag*)¹—in the 63-volume collection of Northern Treasure materials that is the main basis of our research,² we felt the need of a better understanding of this corpus within the context of the—insofar poorly researched—Yamāntaka traditions in the rNying ma school.

After an introduction precisizing what is at stake in this research (and discussing whether Yamāntaka in the rNying ma tradition should be treated in connection with the *bKa’ brgyad* overarching structure), this article contains: 1. An overview of the Yamāntaka literature in the *rNying ma rgyud ’bum* and 2. in the *rNying ma bka’ ma shin tu rgyas pa*; 3. A preliminary survey of the various Yamāntaka cycles included in the *Rin chen gter mdzod*; and 4. An introductory presentation of the *’Jam dpal tshe bdag* collection included in the *Byang gter phyogs bsgrigs*.

Appendices contain 1. a catalogue of the Yamāntaka *tantras* in the *mTshams brag rNying rgyud* with elements of comparison with the 5th Dalai Lama’s *gSan yig*; 2. a chart of the lineages reconstructed from the volumes of the *bKa’ ma shin tu rgyas pa*; 3. one of those that can be retraced on the basis of the 5th Dalai Lama’s *gSan yig*, and 4. one of those which can be set up from elements scattered in the ten volumes of the *’Jam dpal tshe bdag* collection. Links to the FCHNT blog *Northern Treasure Histories* provide more background material: 1. A catalogue of the volumes devoted to Yamāntaka in the *bKa’ ma shin tu rgyas pa* and 2. a complete catalogue of the *’Jam dpal tshe bdag* collection.



¹ *’Jam dpal tshe bdag* is the generic name for the whole, made of large sub-cycles, as we will see below. The main deity (Kṛṣṇayāmāri in the Heruka form—three faces, six arms and four legs) is properly called *Phyag rgya zil gnon* rather than *’Jam dpal tshe bdag*, although these two names, and many others, may occur.

² ANR-funded project “For a Critical History of the Norther Treasures” (2022–2026).

Mañjuśrī Master of Life is a cycle that should interest Tibetologists for three main groups of reasons:

- Firstly, we have no reason to doubt the attribution of the discovery of the bulk of its materials to rGya Zhang khrom, a *gter ston* born in the early 11th century,³ making it arguably the most massive and best-preserved *gter ma* from such an early period in the rNying ma school.
- Secondly, although this enormous corpus is almost entirely devoted to complex ritual prescriptions of destructive magic—and thus fairly sparse in narrative or doctrinal passages—a global vision emerges from it that doesn't fit neatly into the framework of the great “Padmasambhava-centric” narrative subsequently developed, particularly in the 12th (Nyang ral Nyi ma 'od zer) and 13th (*Gu ru* Chos dbang) centuries. This *gter ma* is reputed to have been hidden by gNubs Sangs rgyas ye shes (804–914?)⁴ and its main section, the *Iron Scorpion* (*lCags sdig*), is not presented as having any connection whatsoever with Padmasambhava (even though a secondary cycle, known as *Similar to Iron* (*lCags 'dra*), is supposed to have originated from Padmasambhava's teachings).
- Thirdly, we find in the *Byang gter phyogs bsgrigs* collection a whole corpus of works by authors spanning at least from the 14th to the 19th centuries, attesting to the subterranean but constant favor this cycle may have enjoyed—culminating in several remarkable writings by the 5th Dalai Lama.

Mañjuśrī Master of Life seems to have become the most classical system for 'war magic,'⁵ although maybe only until the complete destruction of rDo rje brag by the Dzungars in 1717–1718, an event that might not be utterly unconnected to the later decline of this cycle's fame.⁶

³ See Esler 2022a, “Yamāntaka's Wrathful Magic: An Instance of the Ritual Legacy of gNubs chen Sangs rgyas ye shes on the Byang gter tradition via the figure of rGya Zhang khrom,” pp. 190-215.

⁴ To date the most consistent attempt to date gNubs chen Sang rgyas ye shes is Esler 2022b: p. 88, which decides 844 for his birth date and suggests (op. cit., p. 92) that, “It seems quite possible, (...) that Sangs rgyas ye shes witnessed the first five, perhaps six, decades of the 10th century.” Thus (op. cit., pp. 88-89), “gNubs chen's association with the reign of Khri srong lde'u btsan cannot be considered historical but, rather, serves the purpose of making him a direct disciple of Padmasambhava and Śāntarakṣita, the illustrious masters responsible for the introduction of Buddhism to Tibet.”

⁵ See especially FitzHerbert 2018.

⁶ For more on this event, see Batsang 2023 in the present volume.

What is at Stake in this Research

Bryan J. Cuevas rightly remarks:⁷

With the noted exception of Bulcu Siklós' translations of the main *tantras* of Vajrabhairava, now over thirty years ago, and a scattering of more recent contributions on some of the manuscripts of the Yamāntaka *tantras* and their Indian exegetes, the important Tibetan texts and traditions of Vajrabhairava and Yamāri / Yamāntaka have been generally neglected as subjects of sustained scholarly focus.

However, even such a fine specialized scholar deals with the matter as if everything had begun with the 'later diffusion' of Buddhism in Tibet, ignoring the tradition that stems from gNubs Sangs rgyas ye shes.

The relevant Tibetan literature is admittedly so plethoric that it is bound to discourage scholars. The present article will only provide an introductory overview, aimed primarily at laying down some milestones for future research, in the hope that studies of the 'modern' (*gsar ma*) Yamāri / Yamāntaka traditions will no longer ignore this corpus. This would be all the more necessary as this is a field in which reciprocal borrowings between rNying ma pa and gSar ma pa must have been particularly abundant, as early as the time of Rwa lo tsā ba (who can be found in one of the lineages detailed below) and throughout Tibetan history, in which many masters of the 'Jam dpal tshé bdag system among the gSar ma schools may also have been Vajrabhairava scholars: indeed, many 'Bri gung pa, especially Rig 'dzin Chos kyi grags pa (1595–1659), as well as the 5th Dalai Lama (1617–1682) were perfectly well-versed in *Mañjuśrī Master of Life*.

Returning for a moment to the *Byang gter rDo rje brag lugs*, at first glance one gets the feeling that the adoption of this system of practice by rGod ldem's successors did not predate the 16th century, when the sons of 'Jam dbyangs rin chen rgyal mtshan (1445?–1558), mNga' ris pañ chen Padma dbang rgyal (1487–1542) and Rig 'dzin Legs ldan rje (1512?–1625?), followed by Byang bdag bKras shis stobs rgyal (1550?–1603), brought into what would become the rDo rje brag legacy the rich contribution of the traditions their father had compiled.⁸

⁷ Cuevas 2021: *The Rwa Pod and Other 'Lost' Works of Rwa Lo tsā ba's Vajrabhairava Tradition*, p. 13.

⁸ Even if the association of the *Byang gter* with Yamāntaka lineages stemming from rGya Zhang khrom did not predate the 16th century (which I think is not the case: the "official" account of the lineage seems to be the fruit of a process of normalization that may not predate the foundation of rDo rje brag), the main lineage of 'Jam dpal tshé bdag, in its earlier part, is identical with that of the *Gathering of Intentions*, as described in *Rig 'dzin Padma 'phrin las' mDo dbang* history. Part of my intention in the present research was thus also to trace, through an analysis of

But a closer examination of the available sources connects Rig 'dzin rGod ldem himself, if not to *'Jam dpal tshe bdag* proper, at least to these Yamāntaka traditions, through the Nāgarakṣa practice he is reputed to have performed during his adolescence.⁹ His name appears, for somewhat unclear reasons, in a prayer to the lineage of the masters of the *'Jam dpal tshe bdag* system, composed by 'Ju Mi pham (1846–1912).¹⁰ This lineage prayer is slightly disconcerting, as Mi pham, for some unknown reason but surely purposefully, is conflating two things that seem to us to be different. Indeed, all this lineage is apparently borrowed from the 5th Dalai Lama's *Record of Teachings Received*,¹¹ where it is presented in connection with the tradition known as *Mañjuśrī's Dzogchen* (*'Jam dpal rdzogs chen*), linked to Sar ban Phyogs med's *gter chos*,¹² about which we know little—and not at all in connection with *'Jam dpal tshe bdag*.

However, Mi pham is not an author known for haphazard, pseudo-historical inventiveness, especially regarding these traditions, of which he was evidently a committed specialist. The inclusion of rGod ldem may be significant, although it is rather puzzling given the current state of research.

rGod ldem's biographies do not say anything of his association with *'Jam dpal rdzogs chen* or about the master rGa ston dpal ba, from whom he is said to have received it. But there is in the Northern Treasures compilation a solid rDzogs chen-style commentary to the *Mañjuśrī-Nāma-Saṃgīti* attributed to him.¹³ A preliminary survey of this text has not revealed anything to corroborate or invalidate this traditional attribution, nor to prove any connection of its author with any specific system of Yamāntaka practice. But there seems to exist a cluster of converging clues suggesting that Rig 'dzin rGod ldem was perceived as a Yamāntaka specialist, albeit certainly to a less central degree than the competence tradition recognizes him for Vajrakīla, the *bKa' brgyad* systems or visionary rDzogs chen. Be that as it may, the question remains open as to the status of *Mañjuśrī Master of Life* among Byang

the *'Jam dpal tshe bdag* documents, some of the 'prehistory' of the Byang gter rDo rje brag lugs (i.e., the heritage of the pre-rGod ldem period) as a whole.

⁹ See, on this point my paper about Rin chen gling pa in this volume.

¹⁰ 'Ju Mi pham 1984–93: vol. 5, pp. 79–83, beginning: *om āḥ hūm | chos kyi dbying kyi zhing khams na |* (the same text is found in the *Byang gter phyogs bsgrigs*, vol. 22, pp. 447–453). Between *gTer ston Sar ban Phyogs med* and Rig 'dzin rGod ldem, the lineage goes: (1) Sar ban Nyi ma'i snying po; (2) sNgags 'chang dBang dar; (3) 'Gar ston Rin chen 'bum; (4) Ri pa Sangs rgyas; (4) Byams pa dpal; (5) rGyal ban bla ma; (6) rGa ston dpal ba.

¹¹ See Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho, 1970–1971, vol. 3, p. 182.

¹² An anthology of this cycle can be found in the *Rin chen gter mdzod*. See in the bibliography Sar ban Phyogs med 1976.

¹³ Rig 'dzin rGod ldem pas mdzad pa'i 'phags pa 'jam dpal gyi 'grel pa zab mo, in *Byang gter phyogs bsgrigs*, vol. 14, pp. 271–362.

gter masters in his own time and in the first generations of his disciples.

The 5th Dalai Lama's *gSan yig* states, although in a quite imprecise way, that Rig 'dzin rGod ldem was the holder of a lineage stemming from rGya Zhang khrom for the practice of the deity Yab shud dmar po, presented as a mundane spirit (*btsan rgod srog bdag*) but also connected to Raktayamāri (*'jam dpal dmar po*), as it is said to be "Red Mañjuśrī practiced in the form of a *btsan* [spirit]" (*'jam dpal dmar po drag po btsan du sgrub pa*).¹⁴

This deity, normally rather called Yam shud dmar po, with the epithet *srog gi bdag po*, was documented by Nebesky-Wojkowitz,¹⁵ but rather as a *rgyal po* spirit belonging to Pe har's circle as the guardian of the western or southern door of his palace, without obvious connection with any form of Yamāntaka. He is also understood as being a *btsan* spirit, and even "the king of the *btsan*," and, Nebesky says, "many Tibetans believe that the *dharmapāla* Yam shud dmar po (...) is one of the forms of Tsi'u dmar po, while others are inclined to regard him as an aspect of rDo rje grags ldan. (...) Yam shud dmar po is supposed to have sprung from the union of Kubera with the goddess Ekajāti"—which seems to be his only link with Yamāntaka, as Ekajāti has a central role in the *maṇḍala* of *'Jam dpal tshe bdag* (described at the end of this article).

It is very unfortunate that the precise master from whom rGod ldem received this lineage is not named,¹⁶ as it would be likely to confirm or infirm my speculations about Rin chen gling pa in the article devoted to him below in this volume. The description of this lineage¹⁷ is

¹⁴ Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho, 1970–1971, vol. 3, p. 98: | *sprul sku rgya zhang khrom gyis phung po ri bo che nas spyang drangs pa'i btsan rgod srog bdag yab shud dmar po'i skor la* | *srog bdag dmar po'i drag sngags kyi lo rgyus khas nyen stobs chung zhid dang phrad shog gi mtha' can* | [*'di lha rje gnubs chung gis skyer chu mgon po'i dbu nas bton zer ba 'dug*] | *yab shud dmar po'i gsang sgrub ma ra khrag skyug gi drag sngags 'jam dpal drag sgrub rdzogs so'i mtha' can* | *btsan yab shud srog bdag dmar po'i drag sngags spu gri dmar po'i las tshogs tshad ldan rdzogs so'i mtha' can* | *'jam dpal dmar po zer ba spu gri'i rgyud las phyung ba'i 'jam dpal dmar po drag po btsan du sgrub pa rdzogs byang gi mtha' can* | *'jam dpal dmar po btsan du sgrub pa gsang ba gri rgod kyi las* | *srog bdag dmar po'i bskang bshags bdag ni rig 'dzin ma* | *bskul srog gi mnga' bdag ma rnams...*

¹⁵ 1956: pp. 119, 122, 128, 168, 169, 253, 284, 300, 333. See also Christopher Bell 2021, p. 27 and n. 60.

¹⁶ Indeed, we read in the relevant part of the lineage account: *gnubs chen sku sprul rgya zhang khrom nas rim par bryud de rig 'dzin rgod ldem yab sras...*, a phrase leaving completely unclear the long section of the lineage between rGya Zhang khrom and rGod ldem. But this occurs in the context of a whole series of teachings and lineages connected to rGya Zhang khrom, so it is quite possible that a closer examination of the context will allow researchers to find what precisely the 5th Dalai Lama is alluding to.

¹⁷ *Thob pa'i bryud pa ni* | *gshin rje gshed* | *gtsug lag dpal dge* | *o rgyan chen po* | *bha su dha ra* | *gnubs chen sku sprul rgya zhang* <98> *khrom nas rim par bryud de rig 'dzin*

otherwise interesting as it confirms the role of Rig 'dzin rGod ldem not merely as a *gter ston*, but also as someone who transmitted tantric lineages he had received from the previous generations.

Be that as it may, the idea, expressed by the 5th Dalai Lama, of Rig 'dzin rGod ldem inclusion in a lineage stemming from rGya Zhang khrom, although through undefined links, may have been what inspired Mi pham.

Be it not about the *rDo rje brag lugs*, in which the practice of 'Jam dpal *tshe bdag* is very much a living tradition, the idea of studying Yamāntaka among the rNying ma pa may sound awkward as this deity seems to have fallen into nearly complete disuse in the other branches of that school of Tibetan Buddhism. Indeed, we see only very few mentions of its practice in the biographies of rNying ma masters from at least the 18th century onwards.¹⁸ But the point is not merely that the rDo rje brag masters have, to this day, treasured *Mañjuśrī Master of Life*, but also that the huge corpus of Yamāntaka literature the rNying ma pa have preserved—about 5500 pages of *tantras* in the *rNying ma rgyud 'bum*, three volumes of the *rNying ma bka' ma*, ten volumes in the *Byang gter phyogs bsgrigs* and a 4-vol. anthology of relevant *gter ma* cycles in the *Rin chen gter mdzod*¹⁹—shows that the

rgod ldem yab sras nas se nyi bzang | se mgon bzang | se rin chen rgyal mtshan | spyan tshab rje | nub dgon rje | dbang po'i sde | ngag gi dbang po | sngags 'chang don grub bkra shis | zur thams cad mkhyen pa | des bdag za hor bande la'o | | .

¹⁸ With the notable exception of 'Ju Mi pham rNam rgyal rgya mtsho, who seems to have started a "Mañjuśrī revival" among the rNying ma pa, which flourished with Dil mgo mkhyen brtse and other contemporary masters. See e.g. Dilgo Khyentsé 2020, p. 63: "It was also at Karmo Taktsang that he [Mi pham] composed the *sādhana* of Yamāntaka called *The Secret Moon*, which unites the traditions of Padmasambhava and Nubchen Sangye Yeshe and is like the quintessence of the three inner *tantras* of the great secret, the Vajrayāna." This alludes to the *lCags 'dra* cycle ascribed to Padmasambhava and the *lCags sdig* cycle ascribed to Sangs rgyas ye shes—both being subdivisions of the 'Jam dpal *tshe bdag*, as we will see below. Mi Pham's writings about 'Jam dpal *tshe bdag* are found in both the compilation of his complete writings (1984–1993: in vol. 5, fully devoted to Mañjuśrī) and the *Byang gter phyogs bsgrigs* (vol. 22, pp. 277–504).

¹⁹ The 'Jam dpal *sku* section of the *Rin chen gter mdzod* starts in vol. 25 of the sTod lung edition with the peaceful forms of Mañjuśrī. Yamāntaka is found in vol. 26–29. The following rough catalogue does not follow the actual order of the texts in the volumes, but the chronological order of the *gter ston*:

- rGya Zhang khrom (11th century: vol. 26, pp. 1–418 and vol. 28, pp. 299–461): 581 pages.
- *lHa rje gNubs chung* (d. u., Mi la ras pa's destructive magic teacher in the 11th century; vol. 26, pp. 417–621): 205 pages.
- Nyang ral Nyi ma 'od zer (1124–1192: vol. 29, pp. 1–3): 3 pages.
- *Gu ru Chos dbang* (1212–1270: vol. 27, pp. 319–434): 116 pages.
- Rin chen gling pa (1289–1368: vol. 29, pp. 5–123): 119 pages.

present lack of interest for this deity is rather a feature of the post-'Jigs med gling pa reconstruction of the rNying ma school than an inherent characteristic of the 'Ancient Order.'

This literature is interesting for several reasons. First, Yamāntaka is one of the very few deities shared by the pantheons of the older (rNying ma) and later (gSar ma) higher *tantras*, with quite similar features (common *mantras*, same association with destructive magic, a partly similar iconography, no elaborate *rdzogs rim* at least in the original texts...). Yamāntaka is a unique deity in that he is worshipped by both the 'Ancients' (*rNying ma pa*) and the 'Moderns' (*gSar ma pa*), albeit in different forms and with distinctive iconography. This continuity is remarkable and deserves emphasis. Legends of borrowing between the two traditions probably originated here.²⁰

-
- Sangs rgyas gling pa (1340–1396: vol. 27, pp. 435-554, and vol. 28, pp. 1-89): 209 pages.
 - Ratna gling pa (1403–1478: vol. 28, pp. 91-138): 48 pages.
 - Zur mkhar mNyam nyid rdo rje (1439–1475) and Karma chags med (1613–1678: vol. 28, pp. 149-297): 149 pages.
 - gTer bdag gling pa (1646–1714: vol. 27, pp. 1-85): 85 pages.
 - gNam chos Mi 'gyur rdo rje (1645–1667: vol. 28, pp. 149-297 and vol. 29, pp. 125-133): 157 pages.
 - Thugs mchog rdo rje (18th cent.: vol. 29, pp. 135-193): 59 pages.
 - mKhyen brtse'i dbang po (1820–1892: vol. 27, pp. 87-163): 77 pages.
 - mChog 'gyur gling pa (1829–1970: vol. 27, pp. 165-318): 154 pages.

These represent 786 pages for the 11th century (40% of the whole corpus), 3 for the 12th (close to 0%), 116 for the 13th (around 6%), 328 for the 14th (17,5%); 197 for the 15th (10%); 157 for the 16th (8%); 85 for the 17th (4%); 59 for the 18th (3%); 231 for the 19th (11,5%). Of course, these figures are given as a mere indication, as, to some extent, the selection may reflect personal preferences of the compiler rather than the objective contribution of each century in this literature. What is more, the *Zur mkhar lugs* literature (149 pages in vol. 28) has been included in the 15th century, but we cannot tell what are the parts respectively coming from the 11th or 12th century (rGya Zhang khrom and Gru gu Yang dbang gter, whoever this figure may be), the contribution of Zur mkhar mNyam nyid rdo rje in the 15th century, and of that of Karma chags med in the 17th century. Be that as it may, the enormous disproportion in favor of 11th century materials is significant, especially when compared to other sections of the *Rin chen gter mdzod*. In the new Zhe chen prints of the *Rin chen gter mdzod*, the Yamāntaka cycles of the 'Jam dpal sku category start at the end of vol. 16 and extend to the 192 first pages of vol. 19; the corpus seems to be the same. Although in the *rNying ma rgyud 'bum*, discussed below, a complete catalog of the Yamāntaka texts must also include those in the *dMod pa drag sngags* section, this is not the case in the *Rin chen gter mdzod* which does not single any Yamāntaka cycle as belonging to anything else than the 'Jam dpal sku section of the Mahāyoga.

²⁰ On the rNying ma side, see e.g. Dudjom Rinpoche 1991, p. 713: "A whole clay barrel, containing a *Yamāntaka* cycle, had been discovered as treasure by one Tumpa Gya Zhangtrom. Having copied out about half of the *Lord of Life, Evil and*

These similarities might, however, be better explained by the fact that they had a common origin: most of the rNying ma Yamāntaka traditions, which seem to have been introduced in Tibet by gNubs Sangs rgyas ye shes (so not much more than one century before Rwa lo tsā ba's time) mostly originate from Nepal also.²¹

A large majority of the *tantras* were translated, according to their colophon, by gNubs Sangs rgyas ye shes, often in collaboration with the Nepalese master *Vasudhara (Bha su dha ra or Ba su dha ra, called a “Nepalese king,” *bal po'i rgyal po*), in the same way as most of Rwa lo tsā ba's materials originated from Nepal. In the vast corpus of rGya Zhang khrom's revelations, we even find a mention of the *tantras* being translated from “the language of Nepal” (*bal po'i skad*, Newari?).²² This connection with Nepal might lead to interesting discoveries, both regarding the history of the specifically Nepalese contributions to Tibetan Buddhism and as regards some uncommon features of the Yamāntaka *mantras*: after all, when formulas do not make sense in either Sanskrit or Tibetan, we might be better inspired not to decide too quickly that they are mere magical gibberish. It cannot be ruled out

Mean-hearted (tshe bdag sdig pa snying 'dzings), he went before Ra Lotsāwa, who appended [that teaching] to his own *Yamāntaka* cycle and invented an Indian origin, with the pretense that he had translated it [from Sanskrit]. Similarly, from among the many treasure troves of Bhumthang, he discovered numerous esoteric instructions about sorcery, exorcism, and hail, Vaiśravaṇa, Jambhala, Gaṇapati, and so forth. So it was that the *Yamāntaka* cycles of the new translation schools came to have many efficacious rites.” For a symmetrically inverted story of this meeting, see Cuevas 2015, pp. 163 sq. Esler 2022a, p. 191 confirms that rGya Zhang khrom must have been born in 1016, which is also the date commonly accepted for Rwa lo tsā ba's birth. But then it is difficult to make sense of traditional ideas about Rwa lo's death in 1128 or even 1198. Davidson 2005, p. 130, with his solid and vast knowledge of the Indian and Tibetan context, seems to admit this date as probable, although he mentions in passing (*ibid.*, n. 32 to this chapter) that Decler 1992 “considered some of the problems of this document.” The biography of Rwa lo tsā ba, ascribed to Rwa Ye shes seng ge and translated in Cuevas 2015, is heavily edited and contains enormous anachronisms. To take only examples relevant to our study of Northern Treasures, this text depicts him encountering both bZang po grags pa (p. 160) and even Rig 'dzin rGod ldem (pp. 99-100). The story recounted by Dudjom Rinpoche is not better grounded. In conclusion, Rwa lo and rGya Zhang khrom may actually have been contemporaries, and may, why not, have met—but we do not have any trustworthy source attesting it.

²¹ After Dylan Esler's careful scrutiny of the hagiographical materials in the context of his study on the *bSam gtan mig sgron* (2022b), it appears that it is mainly the large commentary on the *mDo dgongs 'dus* ascribed to Sangs rgyas ye shes (KSG: vol. 50 & 51) that remains to be examined in order to search for more historically exploitable clues about gNubs Sangs rgyas ye shes.

²² *lCags sdig lta ba'i mig gnyis las : bka' byed gser gyi lde mig las byung ba ur mo las sgrub* (in *Byang gter phyogs bsgrigs*, vol. 18, pp. 335-349) p. 339 (it is gNubs Sangs rgyas ye shes speaking): *bal yul yam bu'i tshal du ni : bha su dha ra nyid dang mjal : gshin rje zla gsang chos sde bsgyur : bal po'i skad las bod skad bsgyur ., etc.*

without further inquiry that these may be Tibetan phonetizations of languages other than Sanskrit.²³

Another topic for further researches is the inclusion in the *rNying ma rgyud 'bum* of three versions of what might be the main Yamāntaka *tantra* in the rNying ma tradition, the *Zla gsang nag po*—of which *only* the oldest one is presented as the work of gNubs Sangs rgyas ye shes.²⁴ This opens a new perspective about the so-called 'dark age' inasmuch as it implies an *ongoing* work of translation among Sangs rgyas ye shes' followers during the 10th and maybe the 11th century—which in turn seems to mean that the source of this distinct form of *Mahāyoga*, the heritage of which the rNying ma school has preserved, had not fully dried up in Nepal at the time of the second diffusion of Buddhism in Tibet.

Furthermore, the fact that those who became specialists of this frightening literature regarded themselves as *bodhisattvas* and were often rDzogs chen masters forces us to consider seriously the hypothesis of a form of spirituality that, however unfamiliar it may be to us, is central to the rNying ma *ethos* in general and that of the Byang gter tradition in particular: the idea of a meditator whose altruist duty is to deal, not occasionally, but systematically, with negativities—both human (invading armies, impious kings...) and non-human—by violent and complex ritual means in order to protect society from destructive forces.²⁵

²³ Kapstein, in his review (2017, pp. 559-560) of Dalton's *The Gathering of Intentions* (2016) may be right to reproach Jacob Dalton for merely assuming "that certain non-Tibetan vocabulary occurring in a part of the text [of the *mDo dgongs 'dus*] is 'Burushaski' without ever rigorously assessing whether or not there is any plausible relationship between the words in question and this language." But this should not be taken as blame for having *envisioned this possibility* and I for one have always been persuaded that a systematic analysis of the *mantras* in the *rNying ma rgyud 'bum* could tell us a lot about the origins of this vast corpus. A lot of them may belong to the category of 'elfic languages,' but maybe not all.

²⁴ See below for comparative tables of the three *Zla gsang nag po*.

²⁵ There is nothing new here about the idea of ritual violence in tantric Buddhism, which has been fully described and analyzed as a whole (e.g. Dalton 2011). But the fact that here we are dealing with something that made even a fully trained Tibetan tantric adept feel uncomfortable is salient in Benjamin Bogin's (2013) book, *The Illuminated Life of the Great Yolmowa*. It shows the gradual conversion of Yol mo sprul sku bsTan 'dzin nor bu (1598–1644) into a magical assassin of sorcerers and demons and it displays his reluctance, at first, for that specific career. It seems to me that the question of this kind of vocation, and of who is called to embrace it, is of the utmost importance from the point of view of religious anthropology—no less so than, for example, the question of the shamanic calling or that to become a treasure revealer, and that this goes beyond the mere understanding of this aspect of ritual violence in Buddhist texts. In most of the illustrations concerned, in Bogin's book, the main visual reference to these frightening practices that he is slowly led to implement is the typical *zor* of *'Jam dpal tshe bdag* is clearly recognizable (n° 33 and 36a), although there are also allusions to Vajrakīla. And,

After an admittedly preliminary, rough, and tentative presentation of these issues related to the rNying ma pa's Yamāntaka literature as a whole ²⁶—rather intended to set questions clearly for further researchers than to solve any of them—we will shift to an overview of the contents of *Mañjuśrī Master of Life* and an attempt to retrace some of its history until it was inherited by the Northern Treasures masters.

Yamāntaka, Old and New

The pantheon of the rNying ma pa's superior *tantras*, except for Yamāntaka and a few other deities, is so significantly different from those that were spread during the second diffusion of Buddhism in Tibet that it may convey the feeling of a totally different brand of esoteric Buddhism. It is clearly not merely a question of 'earlier' and 'later' translations—even with an admittedly large part of Tibetan apocrypha among the former—but also of *completely different Indic corpora* as sources of these literatures, however 'gray'²⁷ they may be.

Of course, the impression we get from the various versions of the *rNying ma rgyud 'bum* is undoubtedly amplified by the fact that the common texts—those that were translated a first time during the early spread of Buddhism in Tibet, and later retranslated—may have been so perfectly replaced in common use by the new versions elaborated by the translators of the second spread that we are not always aware that these texts already circulated, maybe in a different form, before the 11th century. It may be because the *rNying ma rgyud 'bum* retains mostly what was rejected from the common canon that our feeling of entering into an altogether different universe is so strong, compared to what it would be if it had preserved the whole bulk of the translations made before the second spread of Buddhism in Tibet: it is indeed impossible to get a complete picture of what Buddhism was before the later propagation of the Dharma, precisely because the

incidentally, it is also not mere coincidence that the main bulk of translations and studies of Vajrakīla texts that do not ignore this aspect of its practice (Boord 1992, 1993, 2002, 2010, 2013, 2015, 2017 and 2020) are also connected to the Byang gter: if the magical war against evil is admittedly important in all forms of Buddhist tantrism and even more so in the rNying ma tradition, it is no exaggeration to say that this aspect was seen as even more central to the Byang gter branch of this school.

²⁶ For this paper, I have ignored the Dunhuang documents, which should also be researched in order to get a fuller picture. The reason for this blind spot in my analysis is not merely my lack of specialized competence in this field: I was keen to consider the corpus in relation to the Northern Treasures, and therefore from the emic point of view of the texts and traditions accessible to the protagonists in the field under consideration, particularly from the 14th to the 17th century.

²⁷ I borrow this term from Davidson 2005, meaning texts partly fabricated *ad hoc* by Indian *paṇḍitas* and partly completed by the Tibetans.

rNying ma pa may not have insisted on keeping all of their older versions of common material. They may, in many cases, have accepted the revised versions and preserved in a separate tantric canon of their own only the aspects of their traditions that had no equivalent among the Moderns.

The idiosyncratic coloration of the *rNying ma rgyud 'bum* may also be amplified by the inclusion of a lot of *gter ma* materials, preventing us from getting a clear picture of whatever may have been transmitted to Tibet prior to the 11th century.²⁸

It was, as we know, the general Tibetan practice to keep only one version of a given scripture that was regarded as the best, final one and not to archive those regarded as incomplete or provisional, though we accidentally find traces of alternative versions, especially in the forms of quotations that do not match the 'standard' or mainstream one.

The *rNying ma rgyud 'bum*, however, partly follows different standards than the *bKa' 'gyur* and *bsTan 'gyur*: we sometimes find in it, as in the Chinese Canon, several successive versions, more or less 'corrected,' of the same text, as we shall see in this article in relation to the *Zla gsang nag po*.

It would be beyond the scope of the present paper to proceed to a serious comparison of the Yamāntaka *tantras* in the *rNying ma rgyud 'bum* and those that found their way into the *bKa' 'gyur*; I can only point to this as a necessary task for future researchers. I will, here, merely provide a short description of the Yamāntaka *tantras* in the *rNying ma rgyud 'bum* with some cursive remarks.

Though the rNying ma school of Tibetan Buddhism calls itself 'Ancient,' we can roughly consider that it reached its full blossoming only around the 13th or even the 14th century, when all the materials it had developed since the first introduction of Buddhism in Tibet got organized into a doctrinal, doxographic and narrative overarching framework that did not, from then on, undergo further substantial alterations,²⁹ except for the construction of a distinctive form of

²⁸ It is preferable to phrase things this way as we will see that the close examination of the Yamāntaka literature gives the feeling of ongoing exchanges with the Indo-Nepalese world even during what is commonly depicted as a 'dark age.'

²⁹ It could be argued that the 17th century saw another important turn, not merely on the social / institutional level with the foundation of large monasteries (rDo rje brag, sMin sgrol gling, etc.), but also with the final touch put to the constitution of great, complete liturgical systems. This is an aspect that has not yet been researched in-depth, but the various schools of Tibetan Buddhism had in fact quite few of those liturgical systems (e.g., for the dGe lugs pa, mostly rGyud stod and rGyud smad—independently of other differences regarding the *yig cha* for philosophical studies, etc.). Nowadays, the sMin sgrol gling liturgical system has become quite hegemonic among the rNying ma monasteries, even when they do not identify themselves as branches of sMin sgrol gling; however, rDo rje brag

scholasticism with Mi pham in the turn of the 19th and 20th century.

**1. Should the bKa' brgyad Overarching Structure
Be Presumed as a Background Frame of Interpretation
of all Yamāntaka Practices in the rNying ma Tradition?**

In the rNying ma tradition Yamāntaka occurs in two contexts: as the object of a separate practice, or as a subsection of the *bKa' brgyad* systems. Both of these are said to have 'uninterrupted oral transmission' (*bka' ma*) and 'hidden treasures' (*gter ma*) forms. We focus here on the *bka' ma* tradition of the *bKa' brgyad*—or, at least, on what is not explicitly assumed to be later revelations, but presented as materials imported from the Indian world.

The oldest version of the *bKa' brgyad* system, which does not present itself as a *gter ma*, is the *bKa' brgyad bka' ma rdzong 'phrang*, the vestiges of which are preserved mainly in vol. 67 of the *rNying ma bka' ma shin tu rgyas pa*, with some elements in vol. 13.³⁰

It is not the purpose of the present paper to give an overview of the *bKa' brgyad* systems as a context in which Yamāntaka occurs as 'Mañjuśrī, the Body [aspect]' (*'Jam dpal sku*); let us simply summarize the overall impressions that we get from scrolling through the colophons of the 78 texts of the *bKa' brgyad bka' ma rdzong 'phrang*:

- (1) Firstly, although this corpus is considered to be of uninterrupted oral tradition (*bka' ma*), it seems that it is a *gter chos* of Grub thob dngos grub, the 12th-century revealer of the *Ma ñi bka' 'bum*, who passed it to Nyang ral Nyi ma 'od zer (1124–1192).
- (2) Secondly, it is gNubs chen Sangs rgyas ye shes and his disciple gNubs Khu lung pa Yon tan rgya mtsho (a.k.a. gTer bzhad rtsal, who appears to be the one who hid the corpus as a treasure) that have a central role, and not Padmasambhava, as in later *gter ma bKa' brgyad* cycles.³¹ The very central position of

retained its own, idiosyncratic liturgical system—and there were surely a few other ones).

³⁰ For a table of this volume of the *rNying ma bka' ma shin tu rgyas pa*, see <https://fchnt.hypotheses.org/table-of-contents-of-the-three-volumes-of-jam-dpal-gshin-rje-in-the-mying-ma-bka-ma> on the FCHNT blog *Northern Treasures Histories*. My attention was originally drawn to this cycle through discussion with Robert Mayer, alluding to a forthcoming paper by Cathy Cantwell. I hope not to deflate the subject too much before this long-awaited article is finally published; I stick here to what is strictly necessary to my subject.

³¹ In the later rNying ma tradition, gNubs Sangs rgyas ye shes is always presented as one of Padmasambhava's twenty-five disciples, and, more specifically, as the one who was the heir of the *'Jam dpal sku* traditions. It is now plain that he is a

gNubs chen, as in all the oldest Yamāntaka literature, is striking: as if in the early 12th century, it was at least as important to capture the reputation of this figure as that of Padmasambhava, etc.

- (3) Despite the centrality of Sangs rgyas ye shes, the text bears witness to a state of things in which some at least of the narrative framework about Padmasambhava's 'twenty-five disciples' is apparent. It seems that in the *rDzong 'phrang*, the general representation of the imperial time is already close to what would be found in Nyang ral Nyi ma 'od zer's revelations (in terms of including Bai to tsa na, gNubs chen, etc., in a circle with, at its center, Padmasambhava and Khri srong lde btsan).
- (4) An element less relevant for our present concern but very much so for the later history of the Northern Treasures is that the collection seems to have been compiled by mNga' ris pañ chen (1487–1542) and (again?) by gTer bdag gling pa (1646–1714) before it was finally edited by his son Padma 'gyur med rgya mtsho (1686–1718), thus passing to the sMin sgrol gling tradition.

My provisional conclusion is that the materials of unknown provenance compiled by Grub thob dngos grub in the 12th century appeared *later* than the bulk of 'Jam dpal tshe bdag and show rather less archaic features than this cycle (despite some ancient spellings that have survived what I suppose to have been quite a lot of editing by the 16th-17th centuries masters).

This implies, to start with, that we should not bother with the *bKa' brgyad* cycles as if they were *independent* sources of Yamāntaka materials. It sounds more reasonable to regard them as the fruits of efforts starting maybe in the 11th century, but reaching fruition in the 12th, to make a global sense of disparate *Mahāyoga* practice cycles that may have been first introduced separately and without any sense of a systematic, overarching unity. I did not derive, from scrolling through the *bKa' brgyad bka' ma rdzong 'phrang*, the sense of an *original* inclusion of the abundant Yamāntaka materials found in the *rNying ma rgyud 'bum* into a perfectly well-structured overarching whole, together with all the other *Mahāyoga tantras*, at a very early date.

'Jam dpal tshe bdag and other Yamāntaka cycles may thus be studied without always presuming their status as the 'Body' (*sku*) aspect of the *bKa' brgyad*.

figure belonging to the late 9th and maybe early 10th centuries. Although he may have been indirectly connected to Padmasambhava's teachings, he mostly appears as a disciple of the—undocumented—Nepalese "king" Vasudhara, in the Yamāntaka context, and of other masters for the *mDo dgongs 'dus*.

The *bKa' brgyad bka' ma rdzong 'phrang* collection contains lists of *tantras*, doxographies, etc., which convey the feeling of a unified rNying ma school in the making, of which we hardly find any traces in the *gter chos* ascribed to rGya Zhang khrom.³² Thus, I think it is methodologically reasonable, at this stage and for the reasons alleged, to provisionally leave out the *bKa' brgyad* cycles in the general interpretation of Yamāntaka in the early rNying ma traditions.

2. Yamāntaka in the rNying ma rgyud 'bum

In this vast collection,³³ vol. 25 (*Ra*, 803 pages), 26 (*La*, 1081 pages), 27 (*Sha*, 1179 pages), 28 (*Sa*, 899 pages), and 29 (*Ha*, 1023 pages) are fully devoted to Yamāntaka. Part of vol. 44 (*Phi*, 1061 pages) and 45 (*Bi*, 977 pages) are also made up of Yamāntaka *tantras*. This division of the main bulk into two groups seems to be governed by the *bKa' brgyad* scheme that presided upon the classification of the *Mahāyoga tantras* in all the editions of the *rNying ma rgyud 'bum*: the *tantras* in vol. *Ra–Ha* belong to the '*Jam dpal sku* category, while those in vol. *Phi–Bi* belong to one of the three last sections, especially the *dMod pa drag sngags* family.

In the first group, there is no hesitation about whether a *tantra* is connected to Yamāntaka or not: he is clearly the main deity in the center of a recognizable *maṇḍala*. In those *tantras*, he generally appears into roughly two forms, corresponding to the two sections found in the *rNying ma bka' ma* and not unfamiliar in the general Yamāntaka tradition (except for iconographical and ritual details):³⁴ Black Yamāntaka (Kṛṣṇayamāri) and Red Yamāntaka (Raktayamāri).³⁵ The second form is even more disconcerting than the first, in the sense that it contains *even more* (if possible) Tibetan elements, with a *more* unusual vocabulary. In the *bKa' ma*, it also contains more elements that are not so obviously purely magical, insofar as they combine considerations of inner yogas, 'channels, winds, and drops' (*rtsa rlung thig le*) with rites of destructive magic. Raktayamāri, incidentally, is also even more

³² I am aware that my argument is not above all criticism: it could admittedly be objected that '*Jam dpal tshe bdag* is mostly focused on practical issues of destructive magic and that if few or even no doctrinal explanations are found in it, it is not a question of *antiquity*, but of *literary genre*.

³³ All reference below is given in the Bhutanese edition based on the mTshams brag manuscript.

³⁴ See below for a description of the Kṛṣṇayamāri *maṇḍala* in '*Jam dpal tshe bdag*.

³⁵ See Wentz 2022c p. 188 *sq.* about "the classification of the discrete *tantras* of Vajrabhairava and Yamāri/Yamāntaka in Tibet into the tripart division as *Nag 'jigs skor gsum* or *Dgra gdong 'jigs gsum*" in the gSar ma traditions and the way it is dealt with in Cuevas 2021, p. 15. In the present state of research, nothing is known of this classification and its history in the rNying ma traditions.

than Kṛṣṇayamāri a figure that seems to combine Yamāntaka and Vajrapāṇi.

In the second group, it is more difficult to decide whether a text is or not to be regarded as a Yamāntaka *tantra*, as, quite often, Yamāntaka appears as the tutelary deity of all wrathful magic and can be invoked at the beginning of grimoires³⁶ in which he later plays little or no role. What is more, the *tantras* in the final sections of the *mTshams brag rnying rgyud* seem to be grouped mainly on the basis of their purposes, typically the type of spirits they are meant to control. However, I tried, in an admittedly tentative way, to spot those in which Yamāntaka is more central. A typical figure of these *tantras* is Nāgarakṣa³⁷ (especially at the end of the corpus), a form of Yamāntaka meant to grant control over the *nāgas*.

One more *tantra* is found in another part of the collection: the Yamāntaka *tantra* from Nyang ral Nyi ma 'od zer's *bKa' brgyad bde gshegs 'dus pa*. The other *bKa' brgyad* systems are not documented in the *mTshams brag* collection. However, for example, rGod ldem's *bKa' brgyad rang shar*³⁸ does not have a Yamāntaka *tantra*.

I have not attempted to decide whether some of the “root” or “common” *tantras* of *Mahāyoga* and *Anuyoga* should also be regarded as Yamāntaka *tantras* in some sense. This remains to be researched.

In all, we can safely say that the rNying ma Yamāntaka corpus of tantric scriptures, leaving aside commentaries, practice manuals, and ritual texts proper, consists of at least 108 *tantras*, totaling over 5500 pages. None of them ever seems to have been properly compared to what is found in the *bKa' 'gyur*, or even merely described.

The overall impression one derives from leafing through the whole collection is that Ronald Davidson's general description of the rNying ma *tantras* in *Tibetan Renaissance*, when he insists on the more *philosophical* and less *ritual* character of the rNying ma *tantras*,³⁹ may

³⁶ I use this term as Sam van Schaik does in his book *Buddhist Magic* (van Schaik 2020), when a text seems to be a collection of ritual recipes that displays so little narrative, thematic or doctrinal consistency that they may just have been originally distinct texts, or fragments gathered from various sources and bound together by a magician for his practical use. Some of the Yamāntaka *tantras*, especially those in vol. 44 and 45, may be regarded as grimoires in that sense, though in general they start and end with some narrative elements that set up a sketchy common frame—the situation in which the series of recipes is supposed to have been taught by some form of Yamāntaka.

³⁷ See below in this volume, in the paper about Rin chen gling pa.

³⁸ *Byang gter phyogs bsgrigs*, vol. 9-12.

³⁹ Davidson 2005, p. 74: “Even though their titles contained the word *tantra*, the Nyingma *tantras* seem unconventional and are much more philosophical and abstract than their Indian prototypes, which tend to emphasize rituals, *mantras*, painting, the ingestion of unattractive substances, and *materia medica*. By contrast, many Kahma [*i.e.*, *bKa' ma*] *tantras* positively revealed in new philosophical ideas

have been misled by the dominant interest of Tibetologists in rDzogs chen literature.⁴⁰ In fact, these Yamāntaka *tantras* are globally poor in concepts or contemplative insights; one will not even find there much development either on inner *yogas* involving body techniques: these are mostly thousands of pages of rituals of destructive magic.

Davidson is however globally right (though not systematically) when he says that rNying ma *tantras* tend to be long, with elaborate narrative frames somewhat reminiscent of Mahāyāna *sūtras*. And yet, many of the texts listed below feel like magical grimoires of ritual recipes barely pasted into sketchy narratives.

Further study will categorize these *tantras* in coherent families—the ones being variants of others, as the three *Zla gsang nag po tantras* studied below, or being complements and appendices of other ones (of the *rgyud phyi ma* or *bshad rgyud* type). It will also bring more clarity on issues of attribution, or at least provenance: many of the texts listed appear as *gter ma*, but without any indication about who is the *gter ston* in the colophon. I am confident that the *gter ston* will be recognized by future researchers.⁴¹

Another already spotted interesting feature of the corpus is the very central role gNubs chen Sangs rgyas ye shes plays (or was made to play) in it. He appears twenty-eight times in the colophons of these *tantras* as the Tibetan translator, most commonly with “the Nepalese king Vasudhara” (twenty-two mentions). By comparison, Padmasambhava appears only in eight colophons; Krag ’thung nag po is mentioned three times. Other recurring figures are *Dhanadala and *Shan ting garbha.⁴²

Studying this literature gives the impression of a tradition that originated with gNubs chen Sangs rgyas ye shes, with a later narrative that more or less artificially connected it to Padmasambhava. In the *gter ma* tradition, as early as the time of rGya Zhang khrom, things gradually got more balanced between Sangs rgyas ye shes and

and meditative practices, culminating in the very diffuse doctrines of Great Perfection (*rdzogs chen*).” The same idea is also found on p. 228. This is absolutely not the case with the bulky corpus we are now dealing with.

⁴⁰ Indeed, the only example he analyzes is the *Rig pa rang shar chen po'i rgyud*, a very large *tantra* of the *rDzogs chen snying thig*. What he says is absolutely correct in this case. But maybe the main special feature of the rNying ma branch of Tibetan Buddhism is to combine “very diffuse doctrines,” as he phrases it, with a strong interest in magical techniques for the struggle against all forms of evil.

⁴¹ See for example my article about Rin chen gling pa in this volume, which singles some texts of the *mTshams brag rnying rgyud* as being from his *gter chos*.— In the list found as appendix 1 below, I have added in footnotes some of the elements of identification I could find from other sources, especially the 5th Dalai Lama’s *Record of Teachings Received*.

⁴² I have not made any effort to standardize the spelling of this figure’s name, which appears as *Śāntingarbha, *Shing ting gar bha, and in many other variants.

Padmasambhava, with the ideal, in the *'Jam dpal tshe bdag* system, of combining a tradition from gNubs chen Sangs rgyas (gNubs lugs, often called *lCags sdig*) with one said to come from Padmasambhava (*Pad lugs*, often called *lCags 'dra*). Incidentally, rGya Zhang khrom is alluded to in five colophons of the collection and no other *gter ston* is explicitly mentioned, except in the *tantra* from the *bKa' brgyad bde gshegs 'dus pa* that is obviously connected to Nyang ral Nyi ma 'od zer.

One will find at the end of this article (appendix 1) a provisional⁴³ list of the 108 *tantras* connected to Yamāntaka in the *rNying ma rgyud 'bum*, divided into those three categories—*'Jam dpal sku* of the Mahāyoga (80 *tantras*; 65 for Kṛṣṇayamāri and 15 for Raktayamāri); *dMod pa drag sngags* etc. (27 *tantras*); and *bKa' brgyad* (1 *tantra*)—with a few cursive remarks on each.

The Mysterious Black Companion and its Three Translations

Vol. *Ra* contains three large *tantras* that all bear, with small variants, the title *Zla gsang nag po*, quite poetically translated by Gustave-Charles Toussaint (1933) as “le *Mystérieux compagnon noir*.”⁴⁴

The first *Zla gsang nag po* (pp. 2-283) bears a (surely reconstructed) Sanskrit title: **Guhyacandraśrī kālasprahari kalitantra* (sic). The Tibetan title is given as merely *dPal zla gsang nag po'i rgyud* or *Zla gsang nag po'i rtsa ba'i rgyud chen po*. It has 283 pages and 75 chapters. The colophon states that the text was translated three times, or rather, corrected by three different translators (*lo tsa ba gsum gyis lan grangs gsum du bcos shing gtan la phab pa'o*), but it does not name any of them. In some of the conclusions of its chapters, this *tantra* is also called *dPal zla gsang nag po me lce 'phreng ba'i rgyud*.

This first *Zla gsang nag po*, said by the 5th Dalai Lama to have 74 chapters, ranks third in the list of rNying ma *tantras* in his *gSan yig*.⁴⁵

⁴³ Indeed, I have followed only two criteria: the structure of the collection (which gathers texts on the basis of tantric stratigraphy / doxography—all the listed Yamāntaka *tantras* are set in the Mahāyoga section—and then according to the main deity) and the titles of the texts. It is likely that further explorations of this immense collection will reveal that more *tantras* feature Yamāntaka as a central figure, maybe under other names or in unexpected sections.

⁴⁴ Toussaint appears to have confused different ‘Mysterious Companions’ as there are multiple *tantras* called *Zla gsang* in the rNying ma tantric canons. However, these ghoulish verses specifically mention the *Zla gsang nag po*:

“[Ils] traduisirent les *Tantra* de Mañjuśrī, du Dieu des Morts, du *Mystérieux Compagnon Noir*,

Le sūr contrat noir, les neuf fils, la cire magique et autres,

La nécromancie de la mère morte et maintes Formules redoutables.”

⁴⁵ Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho 1970–71, vol. 4, pp. 522-523 : | *dpal zla gsang nag po me lce 'phreng ba'i rgyud la* | 'di skad bdag gis <523> | | *thos pa'i dus gcig na bcom ldan 'das de bzhin gshegs pa thams cad kyi sku gsung thugs kyi bdag nyid 'jigs byed kyi*

The second *Zla gsang nag po* (pp. 283-591) also has a Sanskrit title: **Guhyacandraśrī-kāla-aprahari-kalatantra*. The colophon does not contain any indication about its translation, but merely about its transmission. This text is also described in the 5th Dalai Lama's *gSan yig*.⁴⁶ The book contains 74 chapters and 308 pages. There is a noticeable similarity to the previous edition, as if one was an emended version of the other but upon closer examination, it becomes clear that these two first *Zla gsang nag po* are in fact different expansions of the third one. The colophons tell yet another story: they present, indeed, the first text as a corrected version of the third one, but do not give any indication about how the second text was produced. We find in the 5th Dalai Lama's *gSan yig* the idea that this text is a translation by Nam mkha'i snying po and not by gNubs Sangs rgyas ye shes.

The third *Zla gsang nag po* (pp. 591-803, 212 pages, shorter than the two previous ones) has only 58 chapters and the translation is clearly ascribed to Sangs rgyas ye shes. It also has an Indic title: **Guhyacandraśrī-kāla-aphrarikalatantra*. It is not described in the 5th Dalai Lama's *Record of Teachings Received*. The colophon bears a note *gnyis zhus*, "twice corrected," and this is most probably the oldest version. After comparison, the other two texts (*Zla gsang nag po* 1 and 2) appear to be independent revisions or expansions of the oldest text. Each of the two contains full sections that are not present in the other.

The mere fact that translation work continued in Tibet between gNubs Sangs rgyas ye shes' time⁴⁷ and the second diffusion of Buddhism in the 11th century is quite remarkable. This also seems to

rgyal po che ba kun gyi bdag nyid zab mo'i gsung brjod du med pa'i sgra skad sna tshogs su gsung ba phrin rtoḡ thams cad ye nas lhun gyis grub pa'i dḡongs pa las mi g.yeng ba zhes sogs gleng gzhi'i le'u dang po | gleng bslang ba dang gsal byed lta ba bstan pa gnyis pa | gnas gzhi'i 'khor lo dang drag po gnad kyi 'khor lo mḡor bstan pa gsum pa | 'bru shag grong khyer so brgyad pa | gsang ba thun sngags so dḡu pa | ngan sngags sngags rḡod bzhi bcu pa | gnḡd sbyin zla gsang gsang ba ltar sgrub pa don gnyis pa | mdze nad dzwa la dḡud pa klu'i zla gsang don gsum pa | 'jigs byed chen pos ḡdams pa dang 'khor rnam rjes su yi rang nas dam bcas pa'i le'u don bzhi pa'o | | lo tsā ba gsum gyis lan grangs gsum du bcos shing ḡtan la phab pa'o |.

⁴⁶ Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho 1970–71, vol. 4, pp. 521-522 : *dPal zla gsang nag po ngan sngags thams cad kyi rtsa ba'i rgyud la | <522> 'di skad bdag gis thos pa'i dus ḡcig na bcom ldan 'das 'jam dpal gshin rje'i ḡshed po lha mchog ya manta ka lho phyogs gshin rje'i gnas dur khrod chen po ḡtum drag tshal zhes bya ba na zhes sogs gleng gzhi byung khungs kyi le'u dang po | gleng bslang ba gnyis pa | thams cad zhi bar sgrub pa gsum pa | las kyi mḡo byang chen po bstan pa so brgyad pa | pho mo lto dkrugs pa sogs pa so dḡu pa | gnam lcags thḡ 'bebs me lce'i 'phreng ba bzhi bcu pa | gang ba bzang po nang ltar sgrub pa don gnyis pa | sroḡ ḡcod spu gri gnḡd sbyin zla gsang gang ba bzang po gsang bar sgrub pa don gsum pa | man ngag rtsa ba'i thabs bstan pa don bzhi pa'o | | 'jam dpal bshes gnyen gyis changs pa klu gnḡd kyi bse'i ka ba la sbas | jñā na garbhas rnyed | nam mkha'i snying po la sindhu'i nags tshal du brgyud do |.*

⁴⁷ Which Dylan Esler 2022b, p. 88, after a few other scholars, has proved to be much later than what was commonly believed in Tibet.

be a rare case of a scripture being preserved in three successive Tibetan translations, its gradual expansion being perhaps better explained by the growth of the original Sanskrit (?) than by gradual Tibetan additions to it or rewritings of it. This remains to be researched.⁴⁸

A comparative table of the three versions will be found below as **appendix 2** of this article.

3. *Yamāntaka in the rNying ma bka' ma*

The Yamāntaka corpus in the *bKa' ma shin tu rgyas pa* has a simpler and better ordered structure than the collection in the *mTshams brag rnying rgyud*. It has three parts:

1. Three-faced Kṛṣṇayamāri in the form called 'Jam dpal gshin rje'i gshed kha thun nag po (vol. 4), very similar to the main form of 'Jam dpal tshé bdag with its surrounding maṇḍala;
2. Raktayamāri (vol. 5-6); and
3. Six-faced Kṛṣṇayamāri in the form 'Jam dpal gshin rje gdong drug nag po.

Other forms like Nāgarakṣa seem not to be present in the *bKa' ma* collection.

The volumes, despite their pretty simple and logical structure,⁴⁹ are somewhat chaotic insofar as they contain mostly undescribed, anonymous, and undated literature, except what has been added in the time of gTer bdag gling pa and his immediate successors. Thus, I

⁴⁸ The fourth *Zla gsang nag po* (the one contained in vol. *La*, p. 1-259) is a *gter ma*. However, no relevant information can be found in its colophon. Its volume is comparable to the three other ones, but it has 88 chapters. It seems to be an altogether different work and not another version of the same. The 5th Dalai Lama's *gSan yig* (vol. 4, p. 522-523) also describes another, much shorter *Zla gsang nag po* in 8 chapters. | *dPal zla gsang nag po dregs pa tshar gcod kyi rgyud la* | 'di skad bdag gis thos pa'i dus gcig na 'jam dpal gshin rje'i gshed po lha inchog ya manta ka lho phyogs gshin rje'i gnas (chen po'i) dur khrod gtum drag tshal zhes bya ba na zhes sogs gleng gzhi'i skabs dang po | ('di dang gong gi zla gsang rtsa rgyud gnyis le'u gnyis pa yan phyogs mtshungs tsam yod kyang le grangs la mang nyung yod do | |) gleng bslang ba gnyis pa | thams cad zhi bar sgrub pa gsum pa | 'bru shag gi skabs nyer bdun pa | nag po gsal byed sgron ma nyer brgyad pa | gdug pa klu nang ltar sgrub pa nga drug pa | mdze nad dzwa la gdug pa klu'i zla gsang ba bdun pa | rgyud gtad par brgyad pa'o | —In fact, there are many (approximately ten) *Zla gsang nag po* in the *mTshams brag rnying rgyud*.

⁴⁹ Each volume of the original *bKa' ma* compilation (i.e., the one bDud 'joms rin po che reedited, in which gTer bdag gling pa is omnipresent—not the later additions by *mKhan po* Mun sel and others, which do not exhibit the same systematic structure) contains, roughly: first the root texts of the cycle, sometimes even the *tantras*; then a selection of texts necessary for its transmission and for its practice.

have chosen not to include my very provisional catalogue here,⁵⁰ but merely to extract the materials most useful for historians, i.e., lineages. The details can be found below as **Appendix 3** of this article.

The Yamāntaka literature in the *rNying ma bka' ma shin tu rgyas pa* is difficult to describe because of the proportion of anonymous texts which makes it difficult to classify and analyze on sound philological bases, which is true too for the corpus of *tantras* found in the various editions of the *rNying ma rgyud 'bum*. In both cases, future researchers will have to select very limited portions and start with minute descriptions before any type of global, thematic and/or historical understanding may arise.

In the *Kha thun nag po* collections, very few texts can be traced or compared to anything else. The *gDong drug* section is actually full of Kong *sprul's* writings—but this is not the case with the *gShed mar* sections.

One more interesting point is that Vol. 5 of the *bKa' ma* collection contains four Raktayamāri *tantras*⁵¹ which should be compared with n°72-76 in Appendix 1.

In the same volume (pp. 269-334), we also find a very interesting text of which I made an extensive use in the table of lineages below: the *sNyan brgyud rin chen phreng ba* by gNubs Seng ge rgyal mtshan who presents himself as a student of Rwa Lo tsā ba and must therefore have been active in the early 12th century. This also makes him an important figure at the crossroads of the *rNying ma* and early *gSar ma* Yamāntaka traditions.⁵² It would be interesting to inquire in gNubs

⁵⁰ See: <https://fchnt.hypotheses.org/table-of-contents-of-the-three-volumes-of-jam-dpal-gshin-rje-in-the-mying-ma-bka-ma>.

⁵¹ 1. *Srog bdag spu gri reg chod gsang ba'i rgyud*—pp. 24-50. In ten chapters, with *gter ma* marks and some *dākinī* scripts at the end, but no indication of a *gter ston* or a lineage.

2. *dPal gshin rje'i gshed dmar po'i bshad rgyud 'jigs rten las 'das pa'i mdo rgyud* or *'Phags pa 'jam dpal gshin rje'i gshed dmar po'i 'jigs rten las 'das pa'i mdo rgyud*—pp. 50-94. In 25 chapters, plus a small appendix in verse. Ends with a small segment of lineage: rDo rje thod phreng rtsal; rDo rje gser 'phreng rtsal; rDo rje yang dbang gter (gNubs Sangs rgyas ye shes); rDo rje gter bzhad rtsal (gNubs Yon tan rgya mtsho).

3. *gShin rje dmar mo gshan pa las kyi rgyud spu gri reg chod ru mtshon dmar po'i drag sngags*—pp. 94-105. In 9 chapters with a short epilogue in prose about Padmasambhava.

4. *dPal gshin rje dmar po mā ra ya gsang ba'i rgyud*—pp. 105-115. In seven chapters plus a small prose conclusion including a segment of lineage: 'Jam dpal bshes gnyen, Śrī Sīṅha, Padmasambhava, Khri srong lde'u btsan, *Sras* (?) *ston Dharmakīrti, rlung ston brgyud pa zam ma chad pa'o* |.

⁵² The following text in the same volume (pp. 334-350), the *bCom ldan 'das 'jam dpal gshin rje'i gshed dmar po'i rnam bshad nyer mkho bsdu pa*, is an appendix of the previous text but strangely seems to allude to it as a *lHa rje bkra shis dar gyis mdzad pa'i snyan brgyud rin po che'i phreng ba*. It unfortunately ends up abruptly without a proper colophon.

Seng ge rgyal mtshan and whether this is the same person as gNubs *kyi gdung brgyud lHa rje* Hūṃ chen, himself probably the same person as Hūṃ chen bKra shis dar, which, according to the chart above, must have been roughly contemporary and is found on the side of the Kṛṣṇayamāri lineages.

In vol. 6 (pp. 5-32), we find another interesting writing by the same gNubs Seng ge rgyal mtshan, the '*Jam dpal dmar po'i dbang gi rim pa'i dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga*'.

Although he does not show up in the Yamāntaka corpus of the *rNying ma bka' ma*, mention should be made, in passing, of Rong zom *paṇḍita* Chos kyi bzang po (1040–1159):⁵³ his presence was spotted by Aleksandra Wenta (2022c: p. 189) in the lineages of the 'Zhang system' of Vajrabhairava.

The role that Rong zom Chos kyi bzang po actually played in the rNying ma tantric traditions is not entirely clear. Although he is credited with many points in Klong chen pa's interpretation of the *gSang ba snying po*, which later became the dominant reading of this *tantra* among the rNying ma pa, his name does not appear in the lineages to which Klong chen pa refers. Nor is he frequently mentioned in other known transmission lines of rNying ma tantrism. The doctrines that later tradition attributes to him are not clearly present in the preserved parts of his writings. Therefore, his high reputation among contemporary rNying ma pa is not fully understood. Further research is necessary to clarify this matter.

4. *Yamāntaka in the Rin chen gter mdzod*

The Yamāntaka literature in the *Rin chen gter mdzod* has been superficially alluded to above in order to document the fact that Yamāntaka is essentially, in the rNying ma traditions, an 11th-century deity, or rather a deity whose canon was fixed in the earliest centuries and was not as substantially enriched later on as it would be the case for, e.g., Vajrakīla or, to a lesser degree, Hayagrīva.

The *Rin chen gter mdzod* cannot always be regarded as a fair and well-balanced testimony of the whole *gter ma* phenomenon among the rNying ma pa. Admittedly, Kong *sprul* and the other masters associated with its compilation and production of materials (mKhyen brtse'i dbang po and mChog 'gyur gling pa, whose revelations are over-represented in the corpus) had their own complex agendas which will not be discussed here.

Their erudition in the field of *gter ma* literature, however, was immense and in many cases, they seem to have included materials

⁵³ On Rong zom, see Köppl 2008 or Sur 2017.

according to their view of the intrinsic (or historical) importance of the chosen cycles, despite the fact that, in their time, nobody may have been interested in them.⁵⁴

Hence, setting up a list of the main cycles in the sTod lung collection while replacing them in the historical order (as I have done already in note 19 above) and spotting a few interesting texts may provide some background for *Mañjuśrī Master of Life*, although nearly everything is in fact posterior to rGya Zhang khrom.

This is the occasion for the introduction of an interesting issue: why, in this case, did the oldest *gter chos* remain dominant, while the normal situation in the rNying ma school is to regard more recent revelations as more loaded with blessings, and, sometimes, more “advanced” (inasmuch as later strata of revelations may include the most up to date tantric or rDzogs chen technologies)? *Mañjuśrī Master of Life* is indeed very archaic in many ways, and it is curious that in this case the rNying ma pa preserved so carefully their old heritage—in a much more efficient way indeed that what they achieved with, e.g., Nyang ral Nyi ma 'od zer's *gter chos*, a large part of which seems to be lost.

From a typological point of view, the cycles described can be classified according to the main deity: most of them feature the dark blue, three-headed, Heruka, with a white face on the right and a red one on the left, with six arms and four legs, in union with Vetālī. This is the case, with more or less significant variants, for rGya Zhang khrom, *lHa rje* gNubs chung, Zur mkhar mNyam nyid rdo rje, gTer bdag gling pa, mKhyen brtse dbang po and mChog 'gyur gling pa.

Another form that can be regarded as classical is Nāgarakṣa, instantiated by the discoveries of Nyang ral Nyi ma 'od zer, Rin chen gling pa, gNam chos Mi 'gyur rdo rje and Thugs mchog rdo rje.

The complete absence of Raktayamāri in the *Rin chen gter mdzod* must be noted. It thus seems that this deity fell into some degree of disuse sometime during the 13th century—that of the latest texts that can be spotted in the *bKa' ma* collection.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ A good example would be Rin chen gling pa's *A ti rdzogs pa chig chod*, which was “retreasured” (*yang gter*) by mKhyen brtse'i dbang po, it seems, just because he believed it was too important for the rNying ma school to be without, even though the lineage had been lost. This is discussed in my article about Rin chen gling pa in this volume.

⁵⁵ There are however in Kong *sprul*'s anthology texts from the *gter ma* of *Gu ru* Chos dbang and of Sangs rgyas gling pa that feature a form of Kṛṣṇayamāri which, to some degree, is reminiscent of Raktayamāri as found in the *bKa' ma*. It has a very different iconography with one face, two arms and two legs and very specific *mantras*. This form of Yamāntaka flourished in the 13th and 14th centuries, precisely when Raktayamāri practices seemed to become rarer and one can wonder if some of the legacy of the Raktayamāri tradition has not passed into these cycles.

Finally, the *Rin chen gter mdzod* bears witness to the appearance in the 15th century (Ratna gling pa) and survival at least until the 17th century (gNam chos Mi 'gyur rdo rje) of a more or less synthetic deity combining attributes of the rNying ma Kṛṣṇayamāri with the Vajrabhairava specific to gSar ma traditions.

A. *rGya Zhang khrom (11th century)'s 'Jam dpal tshe bdag*
(vol. 26, pp. 1-418 and vol. 28, pp. 299-461)

rGya Zhang khrom's revelations will not be described in this part of the article, as they will be addressed in its final section. An interesting point however, compared to the 10-vol. collection in the *Byang gter phyogs bsgrigs*, is the division of the corpus into two different cycles, which is not easy to spot in the larger, more encyclopedic *Byang gter* compilation.

The cycle found in vol. 26 is called *gShin rje gshed phyag rgya zil gnon tshe bdag lcags 'dra*. As described in the final section of this article, the curious phrase *lcags 'dra*, "iron-like," alludes to the traditions of that deity said to be connected with Padmasambhava, by contrast with those from gNubs Sangs rgyas ye shes, called *The Iron Scorpion (lCags sdig)* because the instructions are given with reference to parts of the body of a monstrous scorpion which serves as mnemonic tools to remember them all.

The other *gter chos* of rGya Zhang khrom found in vol. 28 is not presented as the *lCags sdig* as such, but as *The Black Poisonous Bronze Tree (gShin rje khro chu dug dgong nag po)* as transmitted in the 'Bri gung bka' bgyud tradition.⁵⁶

⁵⁶ For more on this deity and its presence in the *Byang gter* compilation, see Brown 2023 in this volume. I have chosen other translations than Amanda Brown for the two parts of that deity's name, *khro chu* and *dug sdong*.

1. *Khro chu* does not always mean "molten bronze." It can also mean melt-purified bronze, with the connotation of an extremely hard substance (oral information from *Slob dpon bsTan 'dzin nam dag* while interpreting for him on the occasion of teachings on one of the *Nyams rgyud* of the *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud* around 2005).

2. The term *dug sdong* has been translated as 'poisonous tree' based on a passage in the English-language prefaces added by Chimed Rigdzin Rinpoche to his editions of the *mKha' 'gro gsang mdzod* (W1KG9670) and the *mKha' 'gro dgongs 'dus* (W1KG10777) from the *gter chos* of 'Khor gdong *gter chen* Nus ldan rdo rje (1802–1864). These three volumes contain a biographical sketch of Khams *sprul* Shes rab me 'bar (1742–1815), who transformed 'Khor gdong into a *Byang gter* institution in the 18th century. These biographies include a prophetic letter attributed (despite the chronological inconsistency) to the 5th Dalai Lama, addressed to Khams *sprul* Shes rab me 'bar (pp. 10-11 of these three volumes), which mentions "Yamantaka Visavrksa," which is *viṣavrksa*, C. R. Lama's Sanskrit reconstruction of *gShin rje dug sdong*. This at least proves that such a scholarly *Byang gter* master understood *dug sdong* to mean "poisonous tree."

As for the first of the two cycles, *The Iron-like Master of Life*, it is interesting to note, for our Byang gter-centered research, that the lineage (vol. 26, p. 1) passes through Byang *bdag* bKras shis stobs rgyal. However, the large *sādhana* text with which it begins (pp. 3-23) is a writing of gTer *bdag* gling pa. Another interesting fact is that Kong *sprul* sampled texts from both the *Pad lugs* (the *lCags 'dra* proper) and the *gNubs lugs* (the *lCags sdi*g), as he states that the text p. 61-69, ascribed to gNubs Sangs rgyas ye shes, belongs to the *gNubs lugs*.

The contents of the selection will not be further described as they are all included also in the Byang gter compilation, with maybe the exception of a large empowerment text by 'Jam mgon Kong *sprul*,⁵⁷ which is very rich in various information.

B. *lHa rje gNubs chung's Yang bzlog me'i spu gri*
(vol. 26, pp. 417-621)

lHa rje gNubs chung is known as a disciple of rGya Zhang khrom and as Mi la ras pa's (1040–1123) teacher for “black” magic. We can thus presume that he was active in the 11th century.

The main deity for this cycle is the same Heruka as in *'Jam dpal tshe bdag*, the only iconographic difference being that he holds a golden hook in the first left hand, “in order to bring [capture] the hearts of the enemies of the doctrine to whom we send their spells back”.⁵⁸ It can surely be regarded as an appendix of *'Jam dpal tshe bdag* rather than a fully independent cycle.

The *Yang zlog nag po me'i spu gri'i las byang rdo rje thog mda'* (pp. 433-465) composed for this cycle by the 5th Dalai Lama (Zil gnon drag po rtsal) in 1665 (*shing sbrul*) describes a lineage (pp. 434-436):

gShin rje gshed; rDo rje rnon po; dGa' rab rdo rje; 'Jam dpal bshes gnyen; Sāntimgarbha; Ye shes snying po; Nam mkha' snying po; Khrag 'thung nag po; gTsug lag dpal dge; Padmasambhava; Vasudhara; gNubs *chen* Sangs rgyas ye shes; Yon tan rgya mtsho; Ye shes rgya mtsho; rDo *ston* lCags spe ba;⁵⁹ Me *ston* Dran chung; Dran *ston* mTha' bral; dKon mchog rin chen; bKra shis rgyal mtshan; Gangs pa Śākya 'bum; Gra phyi g.Yung *ston pa*; rGyal ba rDo rje; Rig 'dzin Dar ma; rNal 'byor dbang phyug; Phyang *ston* Sangs rgyas mgon; *Bla chen* Khams *ston*...

⁵⁷ The *bCom ldan 'das 'jam dpal phyag rgya zil gnon gyi dbang chog pad gnubs chu bo gcig 'dres smin byed ye shes 'khor lo*, in *Rin chen gter mdzod*, vol. 26, pp. 333-416.

⁵⁸ P. 429: *g.yon gyi dang po lCags kyu yis: sngags zlog bstan dgra'i snying nas 'gugs:*.

⁵⁹ This may be the “lCags spyil ba” of the lineage chart in appendix 3 below.

From this point on, the *gter ma* lineage begins. The idea seems to be that *lHa rje gNubs chung* obtained the lineage from the above masters and had a personal revelation of the same materials as a complement, although we do not have a clear narrative:

...*lHa rje gNubs chung*; *mTshur ston* [Rin rdor⁶⁰]; *sKu Zhang* [dpal]; *Tshul khirms rin chen*; *Byang mgon Nam mkha' mtshan*; *Tshul khirms rgya mtsho*.

The next figure is said to have combined the *bKa' ma* and *gTer ma* teachings, so maybe this is actually with him only that the two lineages merged, which might mean that he was a direct student of both *Bla chen Khams ston* and *Tshul khirms rgya mtsho*:

rGya ston nam mkha' dpal; *gNam lcags me 'bar*;⁶¹ *Chos rgyal Phun tshogs rje*;⁶² *bTsan yag sprul sku bKra shis rdo rje*; *lHa sras dBur smyon*;⁶³ *bSod [nams] rin [chen]*; *Phrin las mtshan*;⁶⁴ *Kun mkhyen Nyang ston*;⁶⁵ *rGyal sras rje*;⁶⁶ *Byang bdag yab sras*;⁶⁷ *Grang so gter ston*.⁶⁸

I do not follow this lineage any further as the later masters are less obscure and as information about them belonging to this lineage is consequently less relevant here.

This cycle contains two other compositions by the 5th Dalai Lama:

- The *Yang zlog las byang rdo rje thog mda'i stan thabs rig 'dzin zhal gyi drod rlangs* (same volume, pp. 471-489), an appendix of the previous one, which proves the Dalai-Lama's deep interest in this sub-cycle as well as in *'Jam dpal tshe bdag* as a whole.
- The *Yang zlog me'i spu gri'i las sbyor gyi sngon 'gro bsnyen yig vaidūrya'i do shal* (pp. 491-513).

⁶⁰ Precision found in the 5th Dalai Lama's *gsan yig* which mentions him and the following people in a lineage stemming directly from *rGya Zhang khrom* through *Ye shes gzungs*.

⁶¹ *'Bri gung rGyal dbang Rin chen phun tshogs* (1509–1557).

⁶² Seems to be the same person as the previous.

⁶³ *'Bri gung chung tshang 01 Chos kyi grags pa* (1595–1659, a key figure in the *rNying ma Yamāntaka* systems in the 16th century).

⁶⁴ Could be *'Bri gung che tshang 02 dKon mchog 'phrin las bzang po* (1656–1718).

⁶⁵ Probably *Nyang ston O rgyan don grub* (bdrc: P5603).

⁶⁶ *Rig 'dzin Legs ldan rje*? The name seems to allude more to *'Bri gung nobility*.

⁶⁷ *Byang bdag bKra shis stobs rgyal* and *Rig 'dzin Ngag gi dbang po* (1580–1639).

⁶⁸ In this case: *Yol mo sprul sku 03 bsTan 'dzin nor bu* (1589–1644).

C. *Nyang ral Nyi ma 'od zer* (1124–1192—vol. 29, pp. 1-3)

The complete cycle, if there ever was such a thing, seems to have been called *Srin po nāgarakṣa ti pa tsa shin tu drag po*. Only one very short text stands for the whole in the *Rin chen gter mdzod*. It appears as placed where it is merely as an introduction to Rin chen gling pa's Nāgarakṣa cycle. The text presents a lineage for Nyang ral's Nāgarakṣa cycle (not found, for whatever reason in the *Rin chen gter mdzod*), on page 3.⁶⁹ The lineage is notable because it goes through Padma las 'brel rtsal. This is noteworthy for three reasons: (1) It gives us a clue about a master who trained Padma las 'brel rtsal in the Nyang gter; (2) because of Padma las 'brel rtsal's ties with Rin chen gling pa,⁷⁰ that might be a hint about who may have trained the latter also in the *Nyang gter* and especially in the practice of Nāgarakṣa. This could then help us to further reconstruct the lineage through which rGod ldem received it;⁷¹ (3) the identification of Padma las 'brel rtsal's disciple as bSod nams seng ge is an important clue for the identification of Klong chen pa's master Khro phu pa as Khro phu pa bSod nams seng ge.⁷²

D. *Gu ru Chos dbang's* (1212–1270) gShin rje char kha nag po
(vol. 27, pp. 319-434)

The main aspect of Yamāntaka in this cycle seems to be different from anything we have met so far: it is a one-faced, two-armed dark blue deity, holding a staff and a war-axe in his right hand and making the conjuration *mudrā* with the left. The main *mantra* is apparently the *om hrīḥ ṣṭi*, etc. also found in gSar ma traditions. Unfortunately, the selection in the *Rin chen gter mdzod* does not seem to present a lineage for this practice.

E. *Rin chen gling pa's* (1289–1368) 'Jam dpal klu bdud Nāgarakṣa
(vol. 29, pp. 5-123)

Information regarding this cycle can be found in the article about this *gter ston* in the present volume.

⁶⁹ Padmasambhava; mNga' bdag Khri srong lde btsan; Jo mo mTsho rgyal; mNga' bdag Nyang ral pa can; mNga' bdag 'Gro mgon (1184–1221); Yar lung sprul sku;⁶⁹ Slob dpon gNas lugs; sPrul sku Las 'brel rtsal (1291–1319); [Khro phu pa?] bSod nams seng ge.

⁷⁰ See in the present volume the article on this *gter ston*.

⁷¹ It is a pity that we have no clue about who is Slob dpon gNas lugs; but at least we know that he was a grand-disciple of Gu ru Chos dbang through Yar lung sprul sku, active at the turn of the 13th and 14th century.

⁷² A.k.a. Khro phu ba sems dpa' chen po, b. 13th c. (bdrP3098). On this identification, see Arguillère 2007: pp. 73-75.

F. *Sangs rgyas gling pa* (1340–1396)'s
 'Jam dpal nag po thugs kyi yang zhun
 (vol. 27, pp. 435-554, and vol. 28, pp. 1-89)

This might correspond to what is called *gShin rje tshe bdag* in the *gTer ston brgya rtsa*.⁷³ The main deity, as with *Gu ru Chos dbang*, seems to be a one-faced, two-armed dark blue figure, with a club ending in a skull in his right hand and a skull-cup in the left. The *mantras* are specific and no *bKa' ma tantra* seems to be quoted in Kong *sprul's* selection. A *sādhana* composed by Kong *sprul* (the *Zab rgya gsum pa 'jam dpal nag po yang dag thugs kyi tshal pa'i phrin las rjes gnang dang bcas pa mthu stobs mchog tu rgyas pa*, vol. 28, pp. 53-89) presents a lineage prayer; but none of the named figures seem to be known in the context of either the Northern Treasures or the general Yamāntaka tradition.

G. *Ratna gling pa's* (1403–1478) dPal rdo rje 'jigs rje me'i spu gri
 (vol. 28, pp. 91-138)

The second text in Kong *sprul's* selection (the '*Jigs rje me'i spu gri dbang skur ba'i cho ga gsang bar bkod ba 'gyur med snying po*) strangely presents this cycle as a sub-section of a cycle devoted to Hayagrīva (according to its title *rTa mgrin gsang ba 'dus pa*). The main *yi dam* of this cycle is a typical rNying ma *heruka*—three-faced, six-armed, and four-legged—but with the central face being that of a buffalo, as in the *gSar ma Vajrabhairava*. As we will soon see, a buffalo-faced deity already occurs in the '*Jam dpal tshe bdag* cycle (prior to *Rwa lo tsā ba's* Vajrabhairava translations and teachings) as the "mind emanation" of Yamāntaka (and not the central deity itself). The one described here looks like a synthesis of Vajrabhairava and the more standard rNying ma Kṛṣṇayamāri. Of Vajrabhairava, he does not only have the buffalo face, but also the first right and left hands holding a *gri gug* and a skull cup on his heart. But, of the central deity of '*Jam dpal tshe bdag*, he does not merely have the typical Heruka-structure, but also the sword and the wheel (weapon) in his other right hands, for example (the left ones display a club or stick and an axe, only the first of which is common with '*Jam dpal tshe bdag*). The main *mantra* is the *om hrīḥ ṣṭi*, etc.—the main Vajrabhairava *mantra*. This cycle would deserve deeper investigation, but it looks like a synthesis of *gSar ma* and rNying ma

⁷³ See e.g. Dargyay 1977, p. 135. But Kong *sprul* also alludes to '*Jam dpal dkar dmar nag gsum* (ibid. p. 138) as to something he personally received. This may be a generic designation meaning a peaceful Mañjuśrī cycle (the "white" one) plus two Yamāntaka cycles—Kṛṣṇayamāri and Raktayamāri. However, only Kṛṣṇayamāri is sampled in the *Rin chen gter mdzod*.

traditions, which might be related to the rising popularity of Vajrabhairava in the 15th century among the dGe lugs pa and Sa skya pa.⁷⁴

H. *Zur mkhar mNyam nyid rdo rje (1439–1475) and Karma chags med (1613–1678)’s Synthesis: ‘Jam dpal gshin rje ki kang nag po (vol. 28, pp. 149-297)*

Zur mkhar mNyam nyid rdo rje (Bdr:P3016) is better known as a physician, but is clearly pointed to as the one who made up this tradition from a combination of *bka’ ma* and *gter ma* sources, according to the English introduction of the volume in the sTod lung *Rin chen gter mdzod*. An explanation—which would itself require many clarifications, as it alludes to information that we do not currently possess—is found in Kong sprul’s *‘Jam dpal gshin rje gshed pha rol rgod ‘joms kyi dbang chog bdud bzhi g.yul ‘joms* (vol. 28, pp. 249-280):

The ultimate [summits] of the nine vehicles are the three great *yogas*. [Among them,] the Dharma section of the *Mahāyoga* [of the] creation [phase] has two parts: *tantra* and *sādhana*. Here [we are dealing with] the first of the eight great sections of the *sādhana* [part], the category of the Body, [that of] Mañjuśrī. It is subdivided according to the [Buddha] families: Phyag rgya zil gnon is the *tathāgata-kūla* [aspect of Yamāntaka]; ‘Joms byed nag po is [that of] the *vajra-kūla*; Ka thun is [that of] the *ratna-kūla*; ‘Jigs byed ru mtshon dmar po is [that of] the *padma-kūla*; Shor sang nyi ma is [that of] the *karma-kūla*.⁷⁵ In this way, there is a fivefold division according to the families. Within the *tathāgata[-kūla]* itself, [this] belongs to the *karma-kūla*. Now if one divides Yamāntaka into the three [aspects]—of primordial wisdom, activity and mundane [achievements—this] is on the side of primordial wisdom.⁷⁶

Among the eight aspects of the common *Master of Life* [system from] the ancient *bka’ ma* and *gter ma* traditions, this is the branch known as *Ki kang mnan pa*. [In this branch, Yamāntaka is] also

⁷⁴ Ratna gling pa is of interest also for research on the Northern Treasures, because it seems to be him who, while compiling the *rNying ma rgyud ‘bum* and including in it a lot of *gter ma* materials, did not, for whatever reason, pick any of rGod ldem’s revelations.

⁷⁵ The quoted passage is in pp. 251-253: *De la theg dgu’i mthar thug yo ga chen po gsum gyi bskyed pa ma hā yo ga’i chos sde las rgyud sde dang sgrub sde gnyis las | ‘dir sgrub pa chen po sde bryad kyi thog ma ‘jam dpal sku’i rigs la nang gses su | phyag rgya zil gnon de bzhin gshegs pa’i rigs | ‘joms byed nag po rdo rje’i rigs | kha thun rin po che’i rigs | ‘jigs byed ru mtshon dmar po padma’i rigs | shor sang nyi ma las kyi rigs te rigs lngar dbye ba’i...*

⁷⁶ *De bzhin gshegs pa’am las kyi rigs su gtogs shing | ye shes dang | las dang | ‘jig rten pa’i gshin rje gshed po gsum du dbye ba’i tshe ye shes pa’i phyogs yin la | ...*

presented as being substantially identical with the great wrathful Acala.⁷⁷

On the basis of the *Shor sang nyi ma khros pa* and the *Tantra of the Dark Red Magic Bomb*, there is the Indian system exposed by the master Mañjuśrīmitra. [Other than that,] among the astrological *tantras* [classified?] according to the five elements, there was such [texts as] the *Iron Tantra of Pā la pa tra*, which Bee ro tsa na translated from the Chinese. [Then] the intention of various *tantras* was expounded by the second Buddha, the great master Padmasambhava. The stream of the instructions [from these three sources] was inherited by gNubs *chen* Sangs rgyas ye shes *rin po che* [who transmitted it] to his supreme son Khu lung pa Yon tan rgya mtsho and this was [then] passed from generation to generation (*rim par*). [These three are the] uninterrupted oral transmission.⁷⁸

What had been hidden as profound treasures was discovered by the great emanated treasure discoverers such as Gru gu Yang dbang [gter],⁷⁹ rGya Zhang khrom rDo rje 'od 'bar, Gu ru Chos kyi dbang phyug, Padma las 'brel rtsal, Nyi zla sangs rgyas, etc. All these empowerments and instructions without exception were inherited (*bka' babs pa*) by Zur mkhar ba A bo chos rje. Himself [253] had obtained the *siddhis* of Nāgarakṣa, Mañjuśrī of the family of the Master of Death, prophesied in the great prophecy sealed [with the seal of secrecy] as one of the 'six eyes of the Dharma,' whose actual name was *Chos rgyal* dPal bzang po, and whose secret name was mNyam nyid rdo rje.⁸⁰

He condensed the substance of many [teachings] from the uninterrupted oral transmission and the hidden treasures into what is called the Zur mkhar tradition [of] Ki kang, a tradition [well-

⁷⁷ sNgon gyi bka' gter thun mong pa'i gshin rje tshe bdag rna cha brgyad du bgrangs pa'i ya gyal ki kang mnan pa'i rna char grags pa 'di nyid khro bo chen po mi g.yo ba dang ngo bo gcig par yang bshad cing | ...

⁷⁸ Shor sang nyi ma khros pa dang zor ba dmar nag gi rgyud sogs la brten nas slob dpon 'jam dpal bshes gnyen gyis bkral ba'i lugs rgya gar nas 'gyur ba dang | rtsis rgyud 'byung ba lnga'i ya gyal pā la pa tra lcags kyi rgyud sogs la brten nas bkral ba lo chen bai ro tsa nas rgya nag nas bsgyur ba dang | rgyud du ma'i dgongs pa sangs rgyas gnyis pa slob dpon chen po padma sam bha was bkral ba sogs gdams ngag gi chu bo ma lus pa gnubs chen sangs rgyas ye shes rin po che la babs te sras mchog khu lung pa yon tan rgya mtsho sogs nas rim par brgyud pa'i bKa' ma dang | ...

⁷⁹ Gru gu Yang dbang gter is a completely obscure figure. rDo rje yang dbang gter is the secret initiatory name of gNubs *chen* Sangs rgyas ye shes, but, in the context, this does not seem to be him.

⁸⁰ Zab mo'i gter du sbas pa rnam sprul pa'i gter ston chen po gru gu yang dbang | rgya zhang khrom rdo rje 'od 'bar | gu ru chos kyi dbang phyug | padma las 'brel rtsal | nyi zla sangs rgyas sogs kyis spyang drangs pa lugs srol tha dad pa'i dbang dang gdams ngag ma lus pa zur mkhar a bo chos rje la bka' babs pa ste | de'ang | lung bstan chen po bka' rgya ma las chos kyi spyang can drug gi nang tshan du lung bstan par grags pa'i mtshan dngos chos rgyal dpal bzang po | gsang ba'i mtshan mnyam nyid rdo rje zhes bya ba 'jam dpal 'chi bdag gi rigs nā ga rakṣa la grub thob des...

grounded in] authoritative Scripture, [providing] maturation and liberation [and] endowed with the warmth of blessings [...]⁸¹

The next lines of this fascinating but obscure text⁸² are about the way in which Karma chags med inherited this tradition, combined it with others and made it his main practice, so that, we can suppose, it became part of the legacy of what later known as the dPal yul tradition.⁸³ It should therefore be considered together with the next two cycles, since their transmission channels were probably the same after Karma chags med.

The main deity of this cycle is a form of Kṛṣṇayamāri that is much less surprising in a rNying ma context: dark blue, with three faces, the central one being blue, the right one white and the left red, with six hands holding, on the right, a sword, a hammer, and an impaling stake and, on the left, an iron hook, a lasso made of a snake and a plough. He is in union with a red Vetālī holding a *kīla* and an iron net. In his heart, inside a golden *stūpa* is a four-armed peaceful Mañjuśrī (see, e.g., *bCom ldan 'das 'jam dpal zhi khro'i nyam len rgyun khyer mchog thun gyi dngos grub myur du thob par byed pa'i rdo rje go cha*, vol. 28, pp. 182-183). The main *mantra* is specific, beginning with *om mañjuśrī yamāntaka yamarāja*, etc., and another one, which seems quite unique to this cycle, begins *om ki kang*, etc. (the word *ki kang* is often found in rNying ma Yamāntaka *mantras*).

I. *gNam chos Mi 'gyur rdo rje (1645–1667)'s
rDo rje 'jigs byed Sādhana
(vol. 28, pp. 139-147)*

The main deity is Vajrabhairava, with one buffalo face and four arms, the first two holding a *gri gug* and a skull-cup on his heart, while the other right arm holds a spear and the other left one a *vajra*. The *mantras* are the usual ones for Vajrabhairava in the gSar ma traditions, *om hrīḥ ṣṭi*, etc. and *om yamarāja sadomeya* etc.

⁸¹ ...*bKa' gter mang po'i bcud gcig tu bsdus pa'i king kang zur mkhar lugs zhes khungs btsun cing byin rlabs kyi drod dang ldan pa'i smin byed tshad ma bka' gzhung dang bcas pa'i rgyun dang* | ...

⁸² *gZhan yang brgyud pa mang po las 'ongs pa'i smin grol gyi gdams pa mang po'i rgyun grub chen karma chags med la 'dus shing | de nyid kyis kyang thugs dam gyi gtso bor mdzad pa'i brgyud pa sel med las byung ba 'di lta bu'i dbang bskur bsgrub par byed pa* | ...

⁸³ There are many allusions to Yamāntaka in his biography of *gNam chos Mi 'gyur rdo rje* (see *Khenpo Sonam Tsewang & Judith Amtzis* 2022).

J. *gNam chos Mi 'gyur rdo rje (1645–1667)'s Nāgarakṣa Sādhana*
(vol. 29, pp. 125-133)

This text presents an unusual form of the deity with only one face (maybe topped by seven snake heads and a *garuḍa* head, although the text is not absolutely clear) and four arms, the two main first ones holding a *gri gug* and a skull-cup on his heart, while the other right arm holds a sword and the other left a snake-lasso. He has *garuḍa* wings and his body is “of the color of the sky.” The legs, as usual, are two snake tails. The *mantra* also is slightly original.

K. *gTer bdag gling pa (1646–1714)'s gShin rje dregs 'joms*
(vol. 27, pp. 1-85)

This cycle features a variant of the standard rNying ma Kṛṣṇayamāri, very similar to the main deity of *'Jam dpal tshe bdag*, except for his third right hand holding a curved knife instead of a *vajra*, and the two first left hand, with a skull-cup in the first and a club (or staff) in the second, instead of a club (or staff) in the first and a pestle in the second (vol. 27, pp. 11-12 for a description). The *yum* also has slightly different manual attributes—a curved knife in the right hand and a skull-cup in the left instead of a human heart in the right hand and a skull-cup in the left. These two main deities are, as in *'Jam dpal tshe bdag*, inside a triangle inscribed within a disc, with the three emanations of body, speech, and mind in the three portions of the disc not included in the triangle, as in *'Jam dpal tshe bdag*, although the details are different, including the respective positions of these three emanations in the three places. The *mantras* are classical for a rNying ma Kṛṣṇayamāri, without the “long E” *mantra* that seems to be found only in *'Jam dpal tshe bdag*.

L. *Thugs mchog rdo rje (18th cent.)'s*
Dregs 'dul drag po gnam lcags 'khor lo
(vol. 29, pp. 135-193)

This is also a Nāgarakṣa cycle. *Thugs mchog rdo rje* (bdr:P682, d.u.) was one of Rig 'dzin 'Jigs med gling pa's masters. Nāgarakṣa has nine heads and eighteen arms, and as usual the lower part of his body is made of twisted serpents. The nine right hands hold curved knives, a standard for that deity, unlike the other elements: the nine left hands “spin the planet mars” (*rtsibs ldan bskor*). The main face is that of a scorpion (*sdig pa*) and the other ones are ogre (*srin po*) faces.⁸⁴

⁸⁴ *Rin chen gter mdzod*, p. 143.

L. *mKhyen brtse'i dbang po* (1820–1892)'s
 'Jam dpal gshin rje'i thugs tig
 (vol. 27, pp. 87-163)

In a way that is not very surprising from mKhyen brtse dbang po's somewhat antiquarian tastes (or desire to revive older rNying ma traditions), the main deity is extremely similar to the central Heruka of the 'Jam dpal tshe bdag cycle—same colors and body structure, same hand attributes, etc. The difference is that it has a peaceful, orange Mañjuśrī in his heart (description in vol. 27, pp. 88-90).

M. *mChog 'gyur gling pa* (1829–1970)'s
 gShin rje gshed tshe bdag nag po
 (vol. 27, pp. 165-318)

The main deity is again a variant of the main rNying ma Kṛṣṇayamāri: in its outer aspect (description pp. 169-170), there are tiny differences with the central *yi dam* of 'Jam dpal tshe bdag, as with the inversion of the sword and the *vajra* in the right hands. He is said to have eight wings (*gshog brgyad*) instead of the four that are more commonly found in those Yamāntaka traditions. The *yum* and the three deities in the heart are exactly as described below in the context of 'Jam dpal tshe bdag. The main *mantra* is a variant of the *om a kro te ka yamāntaka*, etc. The *maṇḍala* in its more complete version (e.g., pp. 177-179) is also very similar. This cycle is the only one (p. 185), out of 'Jam dpal tshe bdag, which has the "long E" *mantra*, albeit with some differences. Despite its recent origin, this cycle is rich and deserves a detailed comparison with 'Jam dpal tshe bdag.

5. *Mañjuśrī Master of Life*

After this long overview of the general context of the Yamāntaka literature among the rNying ma pa, we can now move to the last points of this study: 'Jam dpal tshe bdag. A complete catalogue of the ten volumes of this cycle can be found on the FCHNT website,⁸⁵ with, when possible, an identification of the authors of the texts, or parallels in the *rNying ma rgyud 'bum*.

⁸⁵ On this link: <https://fchnt.hypotheses.org/manjusri-master-of-life-a-table-of-the-4-first-volumes-of-the-jam-dpal-tshe-bdag-cycle-included-in-the-byang-gter-phyogs-bsgrigs>.

A. *The Textual Content: the Structure of the Collection and the Authors*

It would be difficult to provide a comprehensive overview of the corpus of 427 texts, spanning nearly 1,000 years, and comprising around 5,800 pages of modern, dense typography. The oldest texts date back to at least rGya Zhang khrom, and some must genuinely be from gNubs chen Sangs rgyas ye shes and his Indic sources. The works of 'Ju Mi pham, possibly written in the early 20th century, mark the latest additions to the corpus.

The global architecture of the collection is as follows:

- (1) The two first volumes contain the *Iron Scorpion (lCags sdig)*,⁸⁶ i.e., the system ascribed to gNubs Sangs rgyas ye shes;
- (2) The third volume contains the *lCags 'dra*, the similar system connected to Padmasambhava;
- (3) The fourth volume contains the combined practice of both (*dril sgrub*). The fifth volume contains many commentaries, especially by the 5th Dalai Lama and Mi pham, also uniting *lCags sdig* and *lCags 'dra*;
- (4) The sixth and seventh volumes contain a sub-cycle called *The Poisonous Bronze Tree (Khro chu dug sdong)*;⁸⁷
- (5) The eighth and ninth volumes contains the *Flaming Razor of Ultimate Repelling (Yang zlog me'i spu gri, or Yang zlog nag po)*;⁸⁸
- (6) The tenth volume contain ancillary ritual literature, including practices connected to various secondary forms, including Raktayamāri, a black form called 'Char kha nag po (as in *Gu ru Chos dbang's gter ma* but said to be a *gter chos* of rGya Zhang khrom), etc.

Overall, there are thus two major twin cycles (*lCags sdig* and *lCags 'dra*); two cycles with somewhat more differences (*Khro chu dug sdong* and *Yang zlog me'i spu gri*); and a series of secondary Yamāntaka-connected practices not clearly belonging to any cycle.

A large part of the corpus is made of rGya Zhang khrom's discoveries⁸⁹ but other authors can be identified, although, in some

⁸⁶ The explanation of this name is that each group of instructions is connected to one part of the body (or mind, etc.) of a monstrous iron scorpion.

⁸⁷ About this cycle, see, in the present volume, Amanda Brown's article.

⁸⁸ This is the *Yang bzlog me'i spu gri* which we have seen above ascribed to lHa rje gNubs chung in the *Rin chen gter mdzod*.

⁸⁹ It appears that some of the texts that are obviously *gter ma* are discoveries of other *gter ston*—certainly lHa rje gNubs chung, but also especially 'Bri gung Rin chen phun tshogs, 'Bri gung rig 'dzin Chos kyi grags pa and mNga' ris pañ chen Padma dbang rgyal. Many texts lack a colophon naming their discoverer. Things would get clearer when the two 'Bri gung masters' works will have been compared to the *Byang gter phyogs bsgrigs* anthology.

cases, the two categories can overlap (writings ascribed to an author prior to rGya Zhang khrom may actually belong to the latter's' *gter chos*).⁹⁰

Here is a rough list of the authors represented in the collection, when they were well identified in the colophons, in presumed chronological order.

For the 9th-10th centuries, one composition ascribed to gNubs Sangs rgyas ye shes is preserved in vol. 2, plus his apocryphal autobiography *bKa' shog rgya bo che*⁹¹ in vol. 4. gNubs Ye shes rgya mtsho (one of the sons of Sangs rgyas ye shes' disciple Yon tan rgya mtsho) is supposed to be the author of two texts: one in vol. 1,⁹² one in vol. 3.

For the 11th century, there is the massive bulk of rGya Zhang khrom's revelations, the precise quantity of which cannot be told, at least in the present state of research, because of the imprecision of the colophons. The 11th century master *lHa rje* gNubs chung is also certainly well represented, because, although all the volumes of *'Jam dpal tshe bdag* in the *Byang gter phyogs bsgrigs* begin with a short account of rGya Zhang khrom, the cycle *Yang zlog me'i spu gri* is said in the *Rin chen gter mdzod* to be a *gter ma* of *lHa rje* gNubs chung. However, his name is not found in any colophon in the *Byang gter phyogs bsgrigs*.

One text by bSam 'grub rdo rje (sGrol ma ba, 1295–1334) is found in vol. 6. This is an important figure, the author of a commentary of the *gSang ba snying po*, the *Khog dbub sgrol ma ba*, included in vol. 28 of the *bKa' ma shin tu rgyas pa*. There exists a so-called *gSung 'bum* of that author (bdr: WA3CN17890), but it does not include that text.

From the 14th century, the collection also includes writings of two of g.Yung ston pa: one in vol. 3 by Phag ston Śākyanātha (i.e., g.Yung ston pa's disciple Śā kya mgon po) and one in vol. 8 by dGe 'dun bzang po. Phag ston Śā kya mgon po appears in many lineages of *'Jam dpal tshe bdag* synthesized in charts below (Appendix 4); dGe 'dun bzang po is more obscure. Volume 4 contains one text composed by an anonymous disciple of bSod nam rgya mtsho, himself a disciple of g.Yung ston pa.

Volume 8 contains a text by lDom bu ba Mi bskyod rdo rje, and volume 9 contains another text by the same author. It is possible that this author is the same person as *rNal 'byor pa* Mi bskyod rdo rje, the author of a text in volume 7. He may also be mentioned in the fifth

⁹⁰ In the following list, I have not mentioned the texts ascribed to gNubs Sangs rgyas ye shes' direct or indirect Indian or Nepalese masters, as it is, in the present state of research, impossible to decide how seriously to take such attributions.

⁹¹ On this text, see Jacob Dalton 2014 and Esler 2022b, p. 4-6

⁹² The *lCags sdig kham's kyi dwangs ma zil gnon dbang chog mu tig phreng ba gsal ba'i sgron me*, pp. 11-62.

Dalai Lama's *gSan yig* in a lineage for the practice of Māhakāla, as this mentions some other figures also found in 'Jam dpal tshé bdag lineages. It can be inferred from this that he lived during the same time period as Yol mo Śākya bzang po in the 15th century.⁹³

The collection also contains, in vol. 3, one text by Brag ston so rigs Legs ldan rdo rje (different from Legs ldan rje, according to the colophon, which includes a lineage through rGya Zhang khrom and g.Yung ston pa). From the context, we can conclude that he was also active in the 15th century.

For the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries, the collection also includes five texts attributed to Se ston Rin chen rgyal mtshan, recorded on BDRC as P8343 and presented as a 14th century figure, which is impossible. In lineage accounts, he appears five generations after g.Yung ston pa (d. 1365) and only three generations before Byang bdag bKra shis stobs rgyal (d. 1603). It is probable that Se ston Rin chen rgyal mtshan is in fact 'Jam dbyangs rin chen rgyal mtshan (P1700: 1445?–1558?), the father of mNga' ris pañ chen and Legs ldan rje.

Two texts by this author are found in vol. 3, one in vol. 4, one in vol. 5 and one in vol 10.

As Rin chen rgyal mtshan is often mentioned by later authors of the 'Jam dpal tshé bdag tradition as having the greatest authority, I have chosen him for the description of the *maṇḍala* below.

One text in vol. 2⁹⁴ seems to be authored by 'Brug chen Padma dkar po (1527–1592). This author is attacked, in a violent and humorous way, in one of the writings of the 5th Dalai Lama included in the collection.

Also for the 16th century, vol. 9 (pp. 41-63) contains a composition by a *rJe Ratna* that may be either Se ston Rin chen rgyal mtshan (1445?–1558?) or 'Bri gung Rin chen phun tshogs (1509–1557 or 1547–1602).

⁹³ *Yang na mthing gi bla ma grags 'od nas | rdo rje rgyal po | dharma ke tu | bral bam mkhar ba chos kyi blo gros | kong chen pa | bla ma mi bskyod rdo rje | rnal 'byor bsod nams bzang po | sngags 'chang skyabs sbyin | lha bro karma gu ru | nyang bstan 'dzin chos rgyal | sngags 'chang karma gsang sngags | dar sdings rig 'dzin 'phrin las lhun grub | zur thams cad mkhyen pa |*, etc. The first person in this chain is Myon mthing ma ba Sangs rgyas grags 'od, who was one of Klong chen pa's masters (see Arguillère 2007: pp. 79 sq.)—hence active in the early 14th century. His disciple 'Dharmaketu' (Chos kyi rgyal mtshan) is said in the 5th Dalai Lama's *gSang yig* to be a *sprul sku* of g.Yung ston pa (d. 1365), so he must have been active at the very end of the 14th century and in the early 15th century. Kong chen pa must be Kong chen Nam mkha' dpal ldan, master of Yol mo *sprul sku* 1 Śākya bzang po. If this is our Mi bskyod rdo rje, then belongs to the 15th century—There is a rNgog ston Mi bskyod rdo rje, author of a text about Raktayamāri in the *bKa' ma shin tu rgyas pa* (vol. 5, pp. 203-268). It is not impossible that these two are in fact the same person, although most of the *gShin rje'i gshed dmar* literature in the *bKa' ma* seems to be prior to the 13th century.

⁹⁴ *Pad dkar gyi tshé bdag dbang chog las byung ba*, pp. 591-601.

One text is ascribed to 'Broḡ nag Sangs rgyas rgyal po in vol. 4. This must be *dGe slong Sangs rgyas rgyal po*, a disciple of 'Bri gung Rin chen phun tshogs.⁹⁵ A text entitled *Yang bzlog me'i spu gri'i lag len dngos gzhi*, also in vol. 9, contains a small historical part p. 62-63 ending with *sPrul sku Gar gyi dbang phyug*—surely the author of the text—ten generations after rGya Zhang khrom, preceded by *rJe btsun Ratna*. This must be another disciple of Se ston Rin chen rgyal mtshan or of 'Bri gung Rin chen phun tshogs.

The collection contains 3 texts by Byang *bdag* bKra shis stobs rgyal (*sNgags 'chang* dBang po'i sde), two in vol. 3 and one in vol. 6.

A text in vol. 4 could be by his disciple Nub dgon pa Byams pa bsam gtan. These are instructions transmitted from the deity to Śrī Siṃha, then Padmasambhava, Bha su dha ra, gNubs Sangs rgyas ye shes, rGya Zhang khrom, then gradually to Rig 'dzin dBang po'i sde, and Nub dgon pa Byams pa bsam gtan. This allows us to identify him as one of bKra shis stobs rgyal's disciples.

Vol. 3 contains one text ascribed to Legs ldan rje.

Vol. 2 contain one *gter ma* and one composition of mNga' ris *pañ chen* Padma dbang rgyal.

For the 17th century, 'Bri gung rig 'dzin Chos kyi grags pa (1595–1659) is very well represented in the collection with altogether twenty-seven clearly identifiable compositions or *gter ma* (more, especially *gter chos*, could surely be identified through a comparison with his *gSung 'bum*). Of this author, we find five texts in the 1st volume,⁹⁶ one in vol. 4, one *gter ma* in vol. 6, four writings in vol. 7, nine in vol. 8, one said to be “in conformity with his practice” in vol. 9, five more in vol. 9 and one in vol. 10.

There is also one text by *sNgags 'chang* dKon mchog lhun grub (bdr:P5414), presenting himself as a direct disciple of 'Bri gung Chos kyi grags pa, in vol. 8. It seems that it was written at the behest of “gNubs Zil gnon rdo rje”—the 5th Dalai Lama.

⁹⁵ Cf. Table of bdr:IE3JT13349: Rin chen phun tshogs chos kyi rgyal po, *gSung 'bum*, vol. 1: text *ba*, entitled *Cham kha dge slong sangs rgyas rgyal po la gdams pa*.

⁹⁶ 1. 'Jam dpal gshin rje tshe *bdag sdiḡ gnam thog ma'i skor gyi 'phrin las snying po bsduḡ pa zhes bya ba zab pa'i mthar thug*, pp. 149-202; 2. *lCag sdiḡ nag po'i bcas gzhi rgyas bsduḡ gnyis ka'i mchod rten gyi las byang ngag bsgrigs*, pp. 203-220; 3. *Lag len tikka rin chen phreng ba'i gsal byed rdo rje 'bar ba'i mtshon rnon*, pp. 221-302 (this text contains all a discussion about *gNubs lugs* and *Paḡ lugs*—p. 224-225—and the difference between *lCags sdiḡ* and *lCags 'dra*, the author being strongly in favor of the first. It also mentions in a critical way other similar systems by 'Jam dpal bshes gnyen, Śrī Siṃha, Zla ba mngon dag, gTsang pa 'Dzam gling and Bon po Kun dags); 4. 'Jam dpal tshe *bdag lcags sdiḡ gnam thog me'i skor gnubs lugs kyi dbang bskur bsduḡ pa snying po don gyi smin lam*, pp. 303-320; 'Jam dpal gshin rje tshe *bdag lcag sdiḡ nag po gnam thog me'i skor gnubs lugs kyi las kyi mtha' sduḡ drag po'i sbyin gi cho gag gduḡ pa kun sgröl zhes bya ba*, pp. 335-350.

The 5th Dalai Lama (1617–1682) authors around twenty texts, making him one of the main contributors to the *'Jam dpal tshe bdag* anthology, alongside *gter ston* rGya Zhang khrom and 'Bri gung rig 'dzin Chos kyi grags pa. His *gsan yig*, quoted at the beginning of vol. 2, grants the whole collection its architecture. It includes: one text in vol. 2; one text in vol. 3; three texts in vol. 4; four texts in vol. 5; one text in vol. 6; two texts in vol. 8; and six or seven texts in vol. 9; and one text in vol. 10. Many of these texts are long and rich in content, and they are precise even on points of history. In addition to the general intellectual qualities of their author, they bear witness to a genuine personal interest in *'Jam dpal tshe bdag*.

The collection also contains (in vol. 4) one composition by gTer bdag gling pa (1646–1714), with Dharmasrī (1654–1718) as a scribe. Two more texts (in vol. 10) are said to be composed in sMin sgrol gling by sNgags ban O rgyan skal bzang, in a time that is just post gTer bdag gling pa. Another text (in vol. 3) belonging to the same milieu is a work of Padma 'gyur med rgya mtsho–sMin gling khri chen II (1686–1718). The text says it was composed in the 31st year of the author, which would be 1716.

For the 19th century, we find one text by Kong sprul Blo gros mtha' yas (1813–1899) in vol. 4: through the colophon does not contain a clear author name, it is said that the text was composed according to the “root text-treasure of *Mang du thos pa'i sngags rig 'dzin* Padma gar dbang phrin las 'gro 'dul rtsal” (Kong sprul's *gter ston* name).

There are also ten texts by Mi pham ('Ju Mi pham rnam rgyal rgya mtsho, 1846–1912) in vol. 5.

Many more texts are by authors or *gter ston* that cannot be clearly identified and dated.

B. Fabricating a Stūpa for Destructive Magic and Drawing Talismans

A large part of the *'Jam dpal tshe bdag* literature is devoted to all sorts of magical rites, among which the two most recurrent ones seem to be the drawing of a large number of pentacles (*'khor lo*) for various purposes, and a less common activity: the fabrication of a *stūpa* entirely devoted to destructive magic.

It seems to be a central achievement for a specialist of this tradition, especially of the *Iron Scorpion* (*lCags sdig*) connected to gNubs Sangs rgyas ye shes (*gnubs lugs*), to build and to own such a *stūpa*, which, opposite to standard Buddhist *stūpas*, is to be filled with all sorts of unholy and frightening items (such as a sword that has been used for a murder, a shroud, a leper's skull, etc.). The preparation is described in great detail in texts such as the *lCags sdig chos sde dril ba las mchod*

*rten sgron ma bsdus pa gnam lcags 'phrul gyi lde'u mig*⁹⁷ or the *'Jam dpal gshin rje tshe bdag nag po'i las tshogs mchod rten gyi thig rtsa gsal ba'i sgron ma*,⁹⁸ and endlessly commented upon by the masters whose writings are compiled in this corpus.

However, it is presented as both desirable to triumph over enemies and evils and dangerous if its construction is not properly conducted.

The present article is already much too long for a description of this item to be undertaken here, but this should be remembered for further research, as one can find allusions to such a *stūpa* in biographical accounts of the Byang gter masters. It would also surely be an interesting topic of research as an anti-type for the cult of relics in Tibet, for this *stūpa* is filled not with the blessed remains of saintly beings, but with cursed and macabre things, the negative power of which is channeled to achieve destructive effects.

C. Remarks About the Chart of the Lineages of Mañjuśrī Master of Life

The chart in **Appendix 4** was compiled on the basis of various texts scattered in the whole collection, in a way that does not allow me, for each information, to trace it clearly to its source(s). The chart is barely readable as it stands, and I had to limit the footnotes in order to avoid making the situation even worse. I present it with the same intention that inspired all this article: to give a general overview of the Yamāntaka traditions in the rNying ma branch of Tibetan Buddhism, confining myself to the idea of marking out the terrain as a whole, in order to provide a schematic map that can serve as a background for future research (and be corrected whenever it will be necessary).

The first salient aspect, after the compilation of this chart, is, however, that the account of the first generations is confused.

There is always a segment that is a lineage “in heaven,” be it with somewhat metaphysical figures (rDo rje 'chang or Kun tu bzang po, then Vajrapāṇi, Vajrasattva or Yamāntaka Phyag rgya zil gnon) or with celestial beings (the series *lHa'i bu* Tshangs pa, *lHa'i bu* Nyi ma, *lHa'i bu* bDe ba mchog ldan and *mKha' 'gro ma* Zla ba'i 'od zer).

Even when we reach the human realm, there is some confusion about the ancient Indian or Nepalese masters (dGa' rab rdo rje, 'Jam dpal bshes gnyen, Śīntaṃ / Śāntiṃgarbha (?), Khrag 'thung nag po, gTsong lag dpal dge, Da na dha la, sometimes Rom bu guhya or

⁹⁷ *Byang gter phyogs bsgrigs*, vol. 18, pp. 125-138; a *gter ma* of rGya Zhang khrom.

⁹⁸ *Byang gter phyogs bsgrigs*, vol. 18, pp. 221-302: *lCag sdig na po'i bcas gzhi rgyas bsdus gnyis ka'i mchod rten gyi las byang ngag bsgrigs* by 'Bri gung chos kyi grags pa.

Devacandra): in the various lines, those figures either occur or not, and in varying orders.

The consensus among the texts is more stable about “the Nepalese king” Vasudhara said to have taught gNubs Sangs rgyas ye shes. The overall impression is, again, that Sangs rgyas ye shes was the source of nearly all the early Yamāntaka literature in Tibet and that, although he studied from various master in Nepal and maybe India, the key one for these traditions was Vasudhara—who is, so far, barely more than a name.

Following gNubs Sangs rgyas ye shes, there are two main lineages: an oral, uninterrupted lineage through which rGya Zhang khrom inherited gNubs Sangs rgyas ye shes’ traditions *via* gNubs Yon tan rgya mtsho and So Ye shes dbang phyug, who both taught Yon tan rgya mtsho’s son, Padma dbang rgyal; and a direct, *gter ma*, line.

Incidentally, on the last column on the right of the chart, we also see rGya Zhang khrom discovering treasures hidden by ’Jam dpal bshes gnyen (Mañjuśrimitra) and not by the gNubs masters.

The chart is more consistent *after* rGya Zhang khrom, although it is filled with obscure figures down to g.Yung *ston pa* rDo rje dpal⁹⁹ in the 14th century. I have clarified what could easily be so in the footnotes of the chart, mainly on the basis of the 5th Dalai Lama’s *Record of Teachings Received* and BDRC.

Another interesting element is the existence of a fully ’Bri gung lineage for this practice, with two prominent figures: ’Bri gung Rin chen phun tshogs (1547?–1602?) and ’Bri gung *rig ’dzin* Chos kyi grags pa (1595–1659). For whatever reason, these figures do not appear in the later “standard” account for this lineage in the Byang gter rDo rje brag tradition, although it could easily be shown that there were close interactions during the 16th century between the ’Bri gung pa and the early rDo rje brag masters, especially around this Yamāntaka system.

D. Lineages of Mañjuśrī Master of Life in the 5th Dalai Lama’s Record of Teachings Received

The 5th Dalai Lama’s *Record of Teachings Received*¹⁰⁰ provides us with a synthetic view of these lineages down to the 17th century in the same

⁹⁹ There is no proof of any direct connection between g.Yung *ston pa* rDo rje dpal (1285–1365) and Rig ’dzin rGod ldem (1337–1408). But as shown in Arguillère 2023 (in this volume), Rig ’dzin rGod ldem was most probably a student of Rin chen gling pa (1289–1368) who, like g.Yung *ston pa* rDo rje dpal, was close to Karmapa III Rang byung rdo rje and Padma las ’brel rtsal. They may have met, though there is no record of it. Be that as it may, many tantric (*bKa’ ma*, mostly) lineages that *later* melted in the rDo rje brag mainstream passed through g.Yung *ston pa*.

¹⁰⁰ As for the chart of the lineages found in the 10-vol. collection of *’Jam dpal tsho bdag* in the *Byang gter phyogs bsgrigs*, this is a synthesis of many passages found in vol.

milieu in which rDo rje brag flourished. It appears that¹⁰¹ all of the lineages he received for these Yamāntaka practices pass through Phag ston Śākya mgon po, a direct disciple of g.Yung ston pa. In the following chart, information directly relevant to 'Jam dpal tshe bdag only¹⁰² is found in the column on the left (rGya Zhang khrom, then Bral te Sambho ṭa and what follows) and it is fully confirmed by a text¹⁰³ that can be regarded as an expression of the “official” rDo rje brag point of view about this lineage.

<i>Chos sku Kun tu bzang po.</i>	
'Jam dpal gshin rje gshed / Phyag rgya zil gnon tshe bdag nag po	
Vajrapāṇi	
<i>lHa'i bu Tshangs pa</i>	
<i>lHa'i bu Nyi ma</i>	
<i>lHa'i bu bDe ba mchog ldan</i>	
<i>mKha' 'gro ma Zla ba'i 'od zer</i>	
<i>Slob dpon 'Jam dpal bshes gnyen</i>	
Padmasambhava (<i>O rgyan Sangs rgyas gnyis pa</i>)	
<i>Slob dpon gTsug lag dpal dge</i> ¹⁰⁴	
<i>Bal po Bha su dha ra.</i>	
<i>lHa rje gNubs chen Sangs rgyas.</i>	
	<i>lHa rje gNubs khu lung pa</i> Yon tan rgya mtsho
	<i>De sras lHa rje Ye shes rgya mtsho</i>
	<i>lHa rje gNubs Padma dbang rgyal</i>
gTer ston rGya Zhang khrom	<i>lHa rje gNubs bla chen 'jam dpal</i>

3 and 4 of the 5th Dalai Lama's *gSan yig*. Tracing each information to its source would have made the footnotes extremely cumbersome. So, I present this chart for what it is: provisional notes from my reading of the 5th Dalai Lama's *gSan yig*, which has become a central document in our researches about the Byang gter / rDo rje brag lineages. Full-fledged research focusing only on the lineages stemming from rGya Zhang khrom in this *Record of Teaching Received* could be the topic of another article.

¹⁰¹ For whatever reason, all traces of the 'Bri gung specialists of that system are erased in the 5th Dalai Lama's account of the lineage, although he quotes them with respect in his writings (contrary to the treatment inflicted to 'Brug chen Padma dkar po, to whom he devoted an entire text (the *Tshe bdag 'khrul spong*, *Byang gter phyogs bsgrigs* vol. 22, pp. 229-275) ridiculing his interpretations of the history and contents of 'Jam dpal tshe bdag).

¹⁰² I have gathered it here with other elements of information about Yamāntaka lineages stemming from gNubs Sangs rgyas ye shes found in the 5th Dalai Lama's *gSan yig*, because this shows that all these lineages merged in one single transmission with Phag ston Śākya mgon po, himself a disciple of g.Yung ston pa.

¹⁰³ The 'Jam dpal tshe bdag nag po'i gter brgyud las gsol 'debs kyi rim pa dang las byang se ston rin rgyal gyi ljags 'khrigs ma, in *Byang gter 'don cha'i legs bam*, vol. ga, pp. 253-303. In this document, the lineage continues after the 5th Dalai Lama with Padma 'phrin las and then in a purely Byang gter line.

¹⁰⁴ Not in all the versions of the lineage narrative.

		<i>lHa rje gNubs rGya gar rdo rje</i>
		<i>lHa rje gNubs Chos kyi ye shes</i>
Bral te Sambho ṭa	gNubs lCags gtun nag po	<i>sNgags 'chang Khro bo 'bar ba</i>
Gangs <i>ban</i> bKra shis dar	gNubs <i>ston</i> Chos grags	
Gangs pa Ri dkar ba	gNubs <i>bya bral</i> <i>ba</i> sKal ldan rdo rje rgyal po	
		<i>mThu chen</i> Dar ma rgyal mtshan
		<i>Bla ma</i> Yang dag rdo rje
		<i>Rig 'dzin</i> Phug pa sher rgyal
		Gro <i>ston</i> bSod nams 'bum [legs]
Gangs pa Śāk 'bum		<i>Bla chen</i> Blo gros rgyal mtshan ¹⁰⁵
g.Yung <i>ston pa</i> rDo rje dpal (1284–1365)		
Phag <i>ston</i> Śākya mgon po (late 14th century) ¹⁰⁶		
sPug <i>ston chen po</i> dPal ldan mgon po (turn of the 14th and 15th century) ¹⁰⁷		
<i>mKhas grub</i> rDo rje gling pa Chos kyi rgyal mtshan (15th century) ¹⁰⁸		
sPang <i>ston</i> 'Jam dpal dbyangs dge legs rgyal mtshan (15th century) ¹⁰⁹		
Se <i>ston chen po</i> sNgags 'chang Rin chen rgyal mtshan (turn of 15th and 16th century) ¹¹⁰		
<i>sPyan tshab chos rje</i> mGon po zla ba (16th century) ¹¹¹		
<i>mNyam med</i> Nub dgon pa Byams pa chos kyi rgyal mtshan (16th century) ¹¹²		
Khri srong <i>rnam sprul chos rgyal</i> bKra shis stobs rgyal (1550?–1603)		
<i>Byang bdag rig 'dzin chen po</i> Ngag gi dbang po (1580–1639)		
<i>Zur chen rdo rje 'chang</i> Chos dbyings rang grol (1604–1669?)		
The 5th Dalai Lama		

¹⁰⁵ This might be Sa bzang ma ti paṅ chen (1294–1376).

¹⁰⁶ Bdr:P0RK1142. BDRC does not provide any information on this figure and the two next ones, but has spotted them in a lineage called *Phur pa srog gi spu gril phur pa'i bstod pa khrag 'thung ma sogs* (bdr:L1RKL2451).

¹⁰⁷ Bdr:P0RK1143. In *Byang gter 'don cha'i legs bam*, vol. *ga*, pp. 253, he is called *m khas grub sbrug zhes mkhyen rab dpal ldan mgon*.

¹⁰⁸ Bdr:P0RK1144.

¹⁰⁹ Could it be bdr:P1570, Glo bo *mkhan chen* (1456–1532)'s disciple?

¹¹⁰ Bdr:P8343—but, as we have seen above, the indication “14th century” has to be wrong as this chart shows that we are five generations after g.Yung *ston pa* who died in 1365 and three generations before *Byang dag* bKra shis stobs rgyal who, whatever his date of birth, passed away in 1603. My hypothesis is that P8343 is in fact the same person as P1700, 'Jam dbyangs rin chen rgyal mtshan.

¹¹¹ Bdr:P10128. The indication “15th century” is maybe unlikely for someone who is just two generations distant from bKra shis stobs rgyal.

¹¹² Bdr:P6105.

E. A Description of the Maṇḍala

There would of course be much more to say about the *'Jam dpal tshe bdag* cycle and its presence in the biographies of Byang gter masters and beyond.¹¹³

But, for the present article, I will confine myself to a description of the *maṇḍala*, with the idea to facilitate the task of future Tibetologists (at least by compiling the names of all the deities in a searchable format). This might also be of service to the art historians: A reproduction of a beautiful painting¹¹⁴ depicting the main deities of this cycle is available in Nathalie Bazin's catalogue (2002: p. 103) of an exhibition at the Musée Guimet.

¹¹³ Cf. Arguillère 2007, pp. 78 sq., for an earlier stage of this research. This is about the identification of one of Klong chen pa's masters, "Khang dmar pa," as actually being Zhwa dmar I Grags pa seng ge. As the knowledge of French language is becoming a rarity among younger Tibetologists, a translation of the relevant passage from an older stage of my research about Yamāntaka among the Ancients may not be useless:

"This master ["Khang dmar pa"] is even more obscure than the previous one, and the very names of the teachings he gave to Klong chen rab 'byams are totally unknown to us. They must be texts of magic: *Tshe bdag pā la pa tra* (certainly a text relating to Yamāntaka), *Tsha tsha smyon pa*, *Tsitta dmar po*, *Ma mo dug gi spu gri*, *Du ba rlung zhon*, *'Bum pa nag po*, *Mu stegs lha bdun*, *Ser ba bsrung 'bebs*, etc.

As we have seen, it is highly probable that Klong chen rab 'byams was associated with Grags pa seng ge (1283–1349?), later considered to be the first Zhwa dmar pa. For anyone familiar with the Tibetan *dbu med* script, it is clear that the difference between *kha* and *zhwa* can be barely perceptible; as for the *nga* in *khang*, it can easily be confused with the syllable separator, which in this form of writing closely resembles the letter *nga*.

This would still only be a tenuous conjecture if (1) Grags pa seng ge hadn't been versed in destructive magic rites linked to Yamāntaka (*Ka thun*); (2) if it wasn't precisely a magic rite linked to this deity that he performed with "Tshul blo' (Klong chen rab 'byams) at Tshur phu in the years 1326–1327."

Here is the footnote appended to the word *pā la pa tra*:

"This is indeed an epithet of Yamāntaka in the form *'Jam dpal tshe bdag*. Cf. texts no. 5 and no. 6 in vol. *Sa* (XXVIII) of the *rNying ma rgyud 'bum*, for example. No other deity is commonly called *Tshe bdag*, at least in the rNying ma tradition. The magical and somewhat disquieting context of the teachings received by Klong chen pa from 'Khang dmar pa' would in any case quite naturally direct us to this deity, proverbially associated with destructive magic. Yet this is indeed what the obscure term *pā la pa tra* connotes, for example in the title of *Pa la pa tra gsang ba'i rgyud*, whose other, highly eloquent title is *sNying zor nag po'i rgyud* (*rNying ma rgyud 'bum*, vol. *Bi*, p. 20–33), and is, moreover, found in a section devoted to *dMod pa drag sngags*. There is no evidence that this is the correct text; it does not appear in sDe dge *rNying ma rgyud 'bum*, and its colophon is not very informative. At least it gives some clues as to the nature of the teachings received from this Khang dmar pa."

¹¹⁴ Credit is given in the catalogue to Carlton Rochell Ltd, New York for this painting.

Here I will follow a text by Se *ston* Rin chen rgyal mtshan, who is probably 'Jam dbyangs rin chen rgyal mtshan (bdr: P1700), father of mNga' ris *paṅ chen* Padma dbang rgyal and Legs ldan rje. This text, the *Zil gnon phrin las kyi rnam nges gsal sgron*,¹¹⁵ will be considerably simplified, ignoring its discussion of sources and of all the various interpretations. This author is quoted with respect by the later figures in the lineage, especially the 5th Dalai Lama.

Since I am simply paraphrasing the *rNam nges gsal sgron*, I did not feel the need to edit the text. It is easily accessible in the *Byang gter phyogs bsgrigs* collection and does not contain any challenging vocabulary.

Many details are unusual, even in a rNying ma context—such as the main deity standing in a triangle with three deities on each side of the triangle, rather than a structure based on the cardinal and intermediary directions; or the fact that the main deity stands on a sun disk placed *above* a moon disk, and not the contrary. We are also not used to see three “layers” of deities (Yamarāja, Vajrapāṇi and Mahābhairava) embedded the one in the other, like Russian dolls, in the main deity's heart before we reach the seed-syllable and the *mantra*. It is also not so common that all the description is to be understood with the main deity facing south, and not east. Compared to later rNying ma ritual texts, it is also extremely uncommon that there is nothing above Yamāntaka's head, except a white *garuḍa*. The posture of the consort, embracing the male deity from the left and not in full union with him, is also unusual. Among other surprising things in the quite unusual pantheon of this *maṇḍala*, the “mind emanation,” at the back of the main deity—the one called “the Master of Life”—is quite reminiscent of Vajrabhairava in the gSar ma traditions with his main buffalo face and his many heads and numerous arms.

I have not discussed the very long (153 syllables) main *mantra*, all the parts of which correspond to deities or group of deities in the *maṇḍala*. This *mantra* is interesting for many reasons, but especially because it contains things that do not make sense as transliterations from the Sanskrit, and that even educated lamas cannot pronounce without further instructions.

Globally, compared to the mainstream contemporary rNying ma liturgies, this text is full of surprises and gives the impression that it is much prior to what has become standard much later, maybe under the influence of gTer bdag gling pa.

There are many more elements that would deserve further analysis in Se *ston* Rin chen rgyal mtshan's writing, from which I am merely extracting a rough description of the *maṇḍala*. It includes, for example,

¹¹⁵ *Byang gter phyogs bsgrigs*, vol. 22 (5th vol. of 'Jam dpal tshe bdag), p. 1-56.

a precise discussion of various opinions on all sorts of points, or differences between various sources, which I have completely omitted to maintain clarity. Further research is necessary to fully understand these aspects and to better identify the author.

The Outer Structure and the Throne

The *maṅḍala*-palace (p. 11) is a dark-blue triangle (with, at its periphery, lines of human skulls) embedded within a red disk. It is surrounded by four skull-fortresses, around which are the eight points of a (weapon) wheel, surrounded by twelve iron castles. The whole device is further surrounded by four encircling rims enclosed within a square wall with four doors. This palace (p. 12) is replete with the usual macabre ornaments of wrathful *maṅḍalas*, and surrounded by the eight great graveyards and sixteen brasiers, with, at its periphery, a huge mass of fire.

The text then (p. 13) proceeds to describe the throne of the main deity. It is made of one hundred thousand *nāgas* (in the form of snakes), ten thousand *gnyan* (visualized as scorpions) and one thousand local spirits (visualized as black frogs). These also represent both the three poisons and the eight categories of gods and demons. Upon the protectors of the directions (*phyogs skyong*—p. 14) and male and female *ru tra* trampled by eight furious buffalos or bulls, there is a lotus, a moon and a sun disks, supporting the main deity.¹¹⁶

This text (p. 14) insists, which is a general feature of *'Jam dpal tshé bdag*, on the fact that the visualization should not be produced gradually, from “triple *samādhi*” or the “quintuple *abhisambodhi*,” but all at once, “like a fish jumping out of water.”¹¹⁷

¹¹⁶ The text specifies that surrounding deities will be visualized upon the sun standing on fresh corpses whose head is turned to the right. But, in the version described, there are no more deities in his entourage. However, in older versions (or variants more purely connected to the *lCag sdig / gNubs lugs*), Yamāntaka has two consorts: the one described below embracing him from the left, plus Ekajāti standing on his right.

¹¹⁷ This is worth noting, as it is a commonplace statement in the rNying ma tradition that this “all at once” visualization is typical of the *Anuyoga*, while we are here very clearly in a *Mahāyoga* context. The text also insists here, in a way that is found everywhere in the *'Jam dpal tshé bdag* tradition, but without naming precise texts, on the existence of three systems, all stemming from Vasudhara, called *lCags 'dra*, *Thog 'dra*, and *gNam thog chen po*. Here, says the author, we follow the last one, the *gNam thog chen po*.

*Yamāntaka, His Consort, the Three Deities
in his Heart and the Garuḍa Above*

There are (p. 15) six main deities, eight 'ornamental deities,'¹¹⁸ then the eleven 'armor deities.' The six main deities are Yamāntaka, his consort, plus the three deities enclosed in his heart and the *garuḍa* over his head.

Yamāntaka is described as having three faces, six arms and four legs. His right face is white, the left one is red, the central one is dark blue. His right hands hold a (weapon-) wheel, a sword and a *vajra*; the two first left ones hold a club (or scepter) and a pestle, while the third displays the conjuring *mudrā*. The text further (p. 16) adds more details about Yamāntaka: his *vajra* wings pervading space, his widely opened mouth with sharp teeth and a convulsed tongue; his nine eyes blazing like fire, his flaming hair and beard. Less common is the explanation of the five skulls of the crown adorning each head as those of five types of evil beings (*bdud*, *srin po*, *btsan*, *rgyal po*, and *mu stegs*)—not the five wisdoms as usual.

His necklace is not made entirely of the ordinary severed human heads, but of a mixture of these and *nāga* heads. His upper body is clothed in a cape of human and elephant skin, the lower in a skirt of tiger skin. His heart is sprinkled with human fat, his forehead with ashes from a charnel ground, and so on.

Each of the five other deities of this first group corresponds to one of the five *jñāna*, while Yamāntaka is the synthesis of all (*drug pa rdo rje 'chang*).

The main female deity (p. 15), called the Queen of Assassins (gSod byed kyi rgyal mo), corresponds to the *dharmadhātu-jñāna*. She is blue-black. In her left hand, there is a blood-filled skull-cup, which she presents to the male deity for a drink. She is further (p. 17) described in more details: she embraces Yamāntaka from his left side, her hair is as thick as darkness, its locks adorned with gold and pearls. With her right hand, she holds a heart and embraces the neck of the male deity.

All these elements are faithfully depicted on the painting reproduced in Bazin 2002: p. 103. Under Yamāntaka's feet, on this painting, there is a confused mass of human and animal bodies, but, upon careful examination, we can distinguish two human couples in sexual union—the *ru tra*—and two groups of four black buffaloes, one of these groups under each of his feet. Other creatures—twisted snakes and maybe frogs—can be seen under his feet; no scorpions, however, at least insofar as we can discern the tiny details of the painting on a small photograph. This clarifies Se *ston's* text, in which these beings

¹¹⁸ The four pairs of animals emanating from Yamāntaka's flanks.

seem to be below the lotus, moon and sun, as, here, they appear between the sun and the main deity's feet.

The uncommon detail of the sun placed above the moon in the throne can also be seen on the *thang kha*.

The female deity is indeed not depicted in full union with the male deity as in the iconography of other similar deities (Vajrakīla, etc.), but much smaller than Yamāntaka and as if standing on his left thigh, holding his neck. The heart in her right hand is not visible (probably because it would be at the back of the male deity's head), but the skull-cup can be seen, close to Yamāntaka's mouth.

Invisible on the painting are the three deities enclosed within Yamāntaka's heart (p. 15), each one in the previous one's heart, called the three primordial wisdom emanations (*ye shes kyi sprul pa*): Yamarāja, Vajrapāṇi and Mahābhairava. According to a text quoted on p. 20, Yamarāja is standing on a sun disk, Vajrapāṇi on a moon disk, while the turtle is placed upside down on a lotus seat.

The Killer (*gsod byed*) Yamarāja, corresponding to the *ādarśajñāna*, is dark brown, holding a golden, ten-spoked (p. 17) weapon-wheel in his right hand and the torn-out heart of the enemies and obstruction-makers. He is proudly standing on a corpse and displays all the macabre ornaments.

In Yamarāja's heart is (p. 15) dark green Vajrapāṇi, the Master of the Arrogant Spirits (*dregs pa'i bdag*), corresponding to the *samatājñāna*. He has (p. 18) one face and two arms. His right hand holds a nine-pronged *vajra*, while the left holds a garland of hearts. He is proudly standing on a corpse representing the enemies and obstacle-makers.

Then (p. 15) in Vajrapāṇi's heart is Mahābhairava ('Jigs byed chen po) in the form of a turtle turned upside down (face in the direction of the ground), corresponding to the *kṛtyanuṣṭhānājñāna*, with the essential *mantra* in its heart (three *E* syllables, etc.).

Above the head of the main deity, the white *garuḍa*, of the nature of *pratyavekṣā-jñāna*, devours a corpse (that of a *nāga*?). It has (p. 17) sword-like wings; its beak is made of meteoritic iron; it is horned, with a wish-fulfilling jewel on its head.

This *garuḍa* is visible on the painting, though barely distinguishable on the reproduction in the mass of flames and fire-like hair above Yamāntaka's head. But, rather than white, it seems to be dark blue—which might mean that the painting is in fact not connected to the main cycle of 'Jam dpal *tshé bdag*, but to a secondary one or to another, slightly different system.¹¹⁹

Eight Animals Surging from Yamāntaka's Flanks

¹¹⁹ mKhyen brtse'i dbang po (1820–1892)'s 'Jam dpal *gshin rje'i thugs tig?*

And the Eleven Armor Deities

A further group of nineteen deities is also in direct contact with Yamāntaka's body.

First are (p. 18) the eight emanated deities called the 'gods of strong oppression' (? *gyad gnon gyi lha*): two brown *garuḍas* at the level of Yamāntaka's shoulders (one on each side); then, below, two corpse-devouring tigresses; then, at the level of his breast, two lions shaking their manes; and then, at the level of his hips, two venomous snakes ready to bite.

Then come (p. 19) the armor deities, which are the "ten wrathful ones" plus peaceful Uṣṇīṣacakra (Uṣṇīṣa Vijaya?): 1. at the top of the head, Huṃkāra; 2. in the throat, Hayagrīva; 3. on the nape, Vijaya; 4. at the right shoulder, Yamāntaka; 5. At the left shoulder, Amṛtakuṇḍalin.

These five, from the top of the head down to the shoulders, are dark blue with one face and two arms holding a wheel and doing the *mudrā* of subjugation, looking inwards, like guardians.

Then we find, at the thighs: 6. Nīladaṇḍa and 7. Aparājita; 8. in the belly, Acala; 9. at the waist (*dpyi mtshams*), Trailokyavijaya; and 10. in the secret place, Mahābala.

Those five, in the lower part of the torso (p. 20) are dark green with one face and two arms with the same manual attributes as those of the upper part of the body, but facing outwards, in order to destroy others' sorcery.

In the heart, there is gTseg tor 'khor lo (Uṣṇīṣacakra), dark yellow, peaceful in appearance, holding a wheel and lotus, blessing body, speech, and mind with indestructibility.

There are (p. 22) further undescribed small wrathful deities filling Yamāntaka's body.

None of these nineteen deities is visible on the painting we are comparing with this ritual text. But this is not the case with the three next ones, depicted forming a triangle at Yamāntaka's feet.

The Three Emanations of Body, Speech, and Mind

As we saw above, the center of the *maṇḍala* consists of a dark blue triangle set in a red disk. These three emanations (p. 23) of body (the 'Master of Death,' *'chi bdag*), speech (the 'Master of Life Force,' *srog bdag*) and mind (the 'Master of Life,' *tshe bdag*) stand in the three red 'crescent moons' (*zla gam*), i.e., the three parts of the central disc outside the dark-blue triangle.

The body emanation (p. 24), the Master of Death, is red and stands "in the south-east." In the common tradition, in which the deity is always understood as facing east, this would be to the right at the front

of Yamāntaka. But Yamāntaka is turned towards the south—so, this actually means: to the *left* in front. This why on the painting this is the figure down to the right (i.e., to the left of the deity) at the feet of Yamāntaka.

All the attributes on the painting seem to match with the description in the ritual text, as far as we can discern the tiny details on the reproduction: he has four arms; the two right ones hold a club (*be con*) and a lasso made of intestines (*rgyu zhags*), while the two left ones wave an iron hook and a *bse* spear. He is dressed in the skin (perhaps the shell, as an armor?) of a turtle (*rus sbal gyi g.yang gzhi*). His consort is the ogress Vetālī (Ro lang ma) holding a razor and a skull-cup filled with blood. He is riding a steed of *bse* demons (*bse'i gyi ling*).

The “speech emanation,” the Master of the Life-force, also called Bye ba dgu rings, is standing “to the southwest,” which in fact means, in this case, at the front of Yamāntaka on the right (hence, on the left side of the painting)—as seen above. Bye ba dgu rings has three faces, six arms and four legs like the main deity. The right face is yellow, the left one red, the central one and the whole body is blue-black. His three right hands hold a skull-cup, a stick ending with a human skull, and a battle axe; the three left ones, a skull-cup, a short spear and an iron axial mountain, or (variant) a mass of fire. He wears a metallic armor. His consort (p. 25) is the Assassin Ogress (*Srin mo gSod byed*), holding a trident and a skull-cup, and they are standing on a dark-blue buffalo. Here again, as far as we can see, all the details match the described painting.

The ‘mind emanation,’ (p. 25) “to the north” (i.e., at the back of the main deity) is called the “Lord of Life.” On the painting, he is the deity at the front, right under Yamāntaka. He has nine heads: first a row three bird heads (peacock, vulture and *garuḍa*), then a row of three human faces (the same colors as the main deity), and finally a row of tiger, lion, and buffalo heads. On the painting, this is understood as meaning that the first row (birds) is above, the second (human faces) in the middle, and the main (lower) faces are: tiger to the right, lion to the left, and buffalo at the center. Indeed, though the order in which they are described is uncommon (it is more usual to describe series of piled heads from the lower row upwards), these last three animal faces are called *rtsa ba'i zhal* in the text. This makes this deity somewhat similar to the *gSar ma pa's* Vajrabhairava.

He has eighteen arms holding, to the right: 1. a *vajra*; 2. a corpse-staff; 3. an arrow-lance; 4. a wheel; 5. a sword; 6. a battle-axe; (p. 26) 7. a *khaṭvāṅga*; 8. a cleaver; 9. a *vajra* hammer. To the left: 1. a skull-cup; 2. a staff; 3. a club; 4. an impaling stake; 5. the *mudrā* of conjuration; 6. an iron hook; 7. a lasso; 8. a human heart, and 9. a child's flayed skin.

He is adorned with macabre ornaments and his consort is called the Female Demon Assassin (*bDud mo gSod byed ma*). On the painting, they are standing upon something black that I cannot identify, which is not described either in the text.

The Next Circle of the Maṇḍala: the Four Great Executioners

Then comes the description of the four great executioners (*gshed chen bzhi*), located in the four “skull fortresses” (*thod mkhar*) of the cardinal directions. It seems that these are the last deities to be depicted on the described *thang kha*, as four dancing figures around the “three emanations.” Though it is difficult to see clearly their hand attributes and their mounts, everything matches: these are standing one-faced, two-handed, and two-legged figures, in union with their consorts, standing on animals. It seems to me that, on the painting, they are depicted in the following order: the first one (*gShin rje Ya ma ra dza*) is above the ‘Speech Emanation’ on the left of the painting (close to Yamāntaka’s last right hand); the second one (*Srin po Myos byed ’bar ba*) is between the Speech Emanation and the Mind Emanation, down to the left; the third one (*Klu bdud A rya dmar po*) is between the Mind and the Body Emanations, down to the right; and the fourth (*gNod sbyin Ral ba tshar dgu*) is above the Body Emanation, close to Yamāntaka’s last left hand.

In the text, from this point on, the description follows the usual order (east, south, west, north) and it is not clear whether this *conventionally* means front, right, back, and left, or if the author remembers that Yamāntaka is facing south (which is more likely, as we have just seen him reasoning in that framework), in which case it would mean: left, front, right and back of the main deity.

Be that as it may, in the skull palace to the east, there is *gShin rje Ya ma ra dza* dark brown, with sword and lasso, mounted on a “small bear with human hands” (? *dred mo lag sdebs*).

To the south, we find the dark yellow *Srin po Myos byed ’bar ba* holding a sword and battle-axe (or hook and lasso), riding a furious black bear.

To the west (p. 28) is *Klu bdud A rya dmar po*, dark red, holding an iron hook and lasso, riding a mule.

To the north is the dark green *gNod sbyin Ral ba tshar dgu* holding a staff (*dbyug to*) and a lasso, riding a yellow-faced camel.

Although our text says that the consorts are not described in all sources, they appear on the painting. These are: *Srin mo Nag po*, *E ka dza ti*, *bDud mo Nag mo* and *gNod sbyin Nag mo*, embracing the respective male deity and holding a skull-cup close to their companion’s mouth.

The Four 'Savages' and the Four Demons

We then move to the next circle, corresponding to the eight spokes of the underlying wheel, with the "savages" (*mon pa*) and the "demons" (*bdud*). These deities do not appear on the *thang kha*.

The four savages are abiding in the four cardinal directions, while the four demons are in the intermediary directions. I will confine myself to their names: to the East, the Conch-shell Lion-Faced Savage (*dung gi mon pa sengge'i gdong can*) and his consort, the Frightening Soul-Stealer Female Savage (*mon mo bla rkun rnam pa*); to the east, the Iron Tiger-Faced Savage (*lcags kyi mon pa stag gi gdong can*), with his consort the Female Savage with a Turquoise Lion Mane (*mon mo g.yu'i ral pa can*); to the west, the Leather Savage with a Small Bear Face (*bse'i mon pa dred kyi mgo can*) with his consort the Female Life-Force Robbing Savage With a Mane of Blood (*mon mo tshe srog 'phrog byed khrag gi ral pa can*); then (p. 28), to the north, the Gold Savage With the Face of a *Garuḍa* (*gser gyi mon pa khyung gi mdo can*) embracing his consort The Soul-Stealing Female Savage Planting a Nail in [One's] Heart (*mon mo bla rkun rnying la gzer 'debs*). All of the males hold a weapon-wheel (or Mount Sumeru) in their right hand and a lasso in the left, while the females hold a heart in their right hand and a skull-cup in the left. The colors are not described but can surely be inferred from the material element ascribed to each of them (conch-shell meaning white, etc.).

As for the four "demons," in the southeast is the dark-blue He le khyab pa with the Man-Eating-Heart-Stealing demoness (*bdud mo mi zan snying rkun*); in the southwest is the dark-red Nag po 'dzum med (Black-Unsmiling?) with his consort, the Blood-Vomiting-Planting-Nails-in-Hearts demoness (*bdud mo khrag skyug snying la gzer 'debs*); in the northwest, the dark-red So 'dar 'khrig pa with his consort, the Fire-Grabbing-Heart-Ripping demoness (*bdud mo me thogs snying 'byin*); and in the northeast, the dark greed demon Topknot (*ral pa spyi bcings*) with his consort, the Black One Who Drives Mad and Gathers (i. e., steals the breath (*nag mo myos byed dbugs sdud*)). All male demons hold a cross (*kham bam?*), while the female demons hold a heart in the right hand and a skull cup in the left.

The Twelve Iron Fortresses, the External Wall, and the Outer Landscape

Then come, in a further circle, the twelve "masters of death" (*'chi bdag*) in their iron castles: to the east, 1. Be wa sa twa and 2. Nor bu dge 'phel; to the southeast, 3. Ser nag 'joms byed; to the south, 4. Bye ba dgu khri and 5. Ra ksha glog phreng; to the southwest, 6. Ya ksha za byed; to the west, 7. gTum po dud kha and 8. Gang ba kun 'joms; to the

northwest, 9. Kha 'bar rab gcig; (p. 29) to the north, 10. sBrul mgo and 11. Ngad pa stobs ldan; and to the northeast, 12. Hoṃ 'phan srog 'dzin.

All of them hold a *kīla* in their right hand and a blood-filled skull-cup in the left—or, in some traditions, Se *ston* says, each of them has distinctive attributes.

In the further circles, there are more undescribed monstrous beings (*pho gshed*, *mo gshed*, *las kyi gshin rje*, *ki kang*, *ma mo...*) in crowds, and then the four gate-keepers: in the east, (p. 30) a white *rgyal po*, Heart Ripper (dKar po snying 'byin); to the south the black *mgon po* (*mgon po nag po*); to the west, the *bdud* Black Father Lord (Yab rje nag po); and to the north, the *gnod sbyin* Red Supreme Body (sKu mchog dmar po).

Finally, we come to what lies outside the *maṅḍala* enclosure: sixteen great braziers with their sixteen guardians, who are of various colors and hold various weapons.

They are not described for a reason the explanation of which is subtle and interesting: their appearance varies according to the tasks entrusted to them, but as we are at the accumulation stage at the moment (which means, not in a position to give them orders), they do not have a definite form yet.

Bibliography

Collections

All reference given to the *rNying ma rgyud 'bum* is to be understood as referring to:

Rñin ma rgyud 'bum—The Mtshams-brag manuscript of the Rñin ma rgyud 'bum. Thimphu, Bhutan : National Library, Royal Bhutan, 1982, vol. 1-46.

All reference given to the *rNying ma bka' ma* is to be understood as referring to:

mKhan po Mun sel (compiler), d.u.: *bKa' ma shin tu rgyas pa—* Chengdu.

The described Yamāntaka volumes were actually borrowed by *mKhan po Mun sel* from:

*Rñin ma Bka' ma rgyas pa: a collection of teachings and initiations of the Rñin-ma-pa tradition passed through continuous and unbroken oral lineages from the ancient masters—*completely edited and

restructured by H.H. Bdud-'joms Rin-po-che on the basis of the successive Smin-grol gliñ and Rdzogs-chen Rgyal-sras redactions. Kalimpong, 1982-1987: Dupjung Lama.

But the *bKa' brgyad bka' ma rdzong 'phrang* is found only in *mKhan po Mun sel's* larger compilation.

All reference given in the *Rin chen gter mdzod* is to be understood as referring to :

Rin chen gter mdzod chen mo, "A reproduction of the Stod-luñ Mtshur-phu redaction of 'Jam-mgon Koñ-sprul's great work on the unity of the *gter-ma* traditions of Tibet, With supplemental texts from the Dpal-spuñs redaction and other manuscripts, Reproduced at the order of the Ven. Dingo Chhentse Rimpoche under the esteemed patronage of H. M. Ashé Kesang, Queen Mother of Bhutan, and H.R.H. Ashé Phuntsho Choedron, Senior Royal Grandmother, Published by Ngodrup and Sherab Drimay Kyichu Monastery, Paro, Bhutan and Printed at Photo Offset Printers, Ballimaran, Delhi-6 1976," vol. 1-111.

All reference given to the *Byang gter phyogs bsgrigs* is to be understood as referring to:

sNga 'gyur byang gter chos skor phyogs bsgrigs, 2015, S.I.: Byang gter dpe sgrig tshogs chung.

Individual Tibetan works

Kong sprul Blo gros mtha' yas —, 1976a.

Zab rgya gsum pa 'jam dpal nag po yang dag thugs kyi tshal pa'i phrin las rjes gnang dang bcas pa mthu stobs mchog tu rgyas pa, in *Rin chen gter mdzod*, vol. 28, pp. 53-89.

____ 1976b.

'Jam dpal gshin rje gshed pha rol rgod 'joms kyi dbang chog bdud bzhi g.yul 'joms, in *Rin chen gter mdzod*, vol. 28, pp. 249-280.

bKa' brgyad bka' ma rdzong 'phrang

in *rNying ma bka' ma shin tu rgyas pa*, vol. 67; some elements in vol. 13.

Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho (5th Dalai Lama), 1970–1971.

Thob yig gañga'i chu rgyun, vol. 1-4, Delhi: Nechung & Lakhar.

____ 1976a.

Yang zlog las byang rdo rje thog mda'i stan thabs rig 'dzin zhal gyi drod rlangs, in *Rin chen gter mdzod*, vol. 26, pp. 471-489. 1976b.

Yang zlog me'i spu gri'i las sbyor gyi sngon 'gro bsnyen yig vaidūrya'i do shal, in *Rin chen gter mdzod*, vol. 26, pp. 491-513.

'Ju mi pham 'jam dbyangs rnam rgyal rgya mtsho, 1984–1993.

'Jam dpal dbyangs kyi sgrub thabs dang 'brel ba'i smon lam byin rlabs sprin chen, in *gSung 'bum mi pham rgya mtsho* vol. 1-27, Paro: Lama Ngodrup and Sherab Drimey : vol. 5, pp. 79-83. 2015.

'Jam dpal dbyangs kyi sgrub thabs dang 'brel ba'i smon lam byin rlabs sprin chen, in *Byang gter phyogs bsgrigs*, vol. 22, pp. 447-453.

Rig 'dzin rGod ldem, 2015.

bKa' brgyad rang shar cycle: in *Byang gter phyogs bsgrigs*, vol. 9-12.

Rig 'dzin rGod ldem pas mdzad pa'i 'phags pa 'jam dpal gyi 'grel pa zab mo, in *Byang gter phyogs bsgrigs*, vol. 14, pp. 271-362.

Rin chen rgyal mtshan, *Se ston* —, 2015.

Zil gnon phrin las kyi rnam nges gsal sgron, in *Byang gter phyogs bsgrigs*, vol. 22, pp. 1-56.

Rin chen phun tshogs, 'Bri gung chos kyi rgyal po —, 2008.

Cham kha dge slong sangs rgyas rgyal po la gdams pa, in *gSung 'bum rin chen phun tshogs chos kyi rgyal po* (vol. 1-5, Dehradun: Songtsen Library, 2008), vol. 1, text *ba*. The text was accessed on BDRC (as bdr:IE8CZ267) when this article was in the making, but later became unavailable on this website; hence the lack of precision about the pages in the volume.

Sar ban Phyogs med, 1976.

'Jam dpal rdzogs chen: in *Rin chen gter mdzod*, vol. 25, pp. 249-307.

Seng ge rgyal mtshan, gNubs —

sNyan brgyud rin chen phreng ba, in *bKa' ma shin tu rgyas pa*, vol. 5, pp. 269-334.

Works in Western Languages

Arguillère, Stéphane, 2007.

Profusion de la vaste sphère — Klong-chen rab-'byams (Tibet, 1308–1364), Sa vie, son œuvre, sa doctrine. Oslo : The Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture / Leuven: Peeters.

- Bazin, Nathalie, 2002 (ed.).
Rituels tibétains – Visions secrètes du Ve Dalai Lama, Paris : Réunion des Musées Nationaux.
- Bianchi, Ester, 2008.
 “Protecting Beijing: The Tibetan Image of Yamantaka-Vajrabhairava in Late Imperial and Republican China.” In *Images du Tibet au 19e et 20e siècles*, edited by Monica Esposito, 329-56. Paris: EFEO.
- Bogin, Benjamin E., 2013.
The Illuminated Life of the Great Yolmowa. Chicago: Serindia.
- Boord, Martin, 1992.
The Cult of the Wrathful Deity Vajrakīla in the Northern Treasures Tradition of Tibet. Ph.D. diss., School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.
- _____, 1993.
The Cult of the Deity Vajrakīla: According to the Texts of the Northern Treasure Tradition of Tibet (Byang-gter phur-pa). Tring: The Institute of Buddhist Studies.
- _____, 2002.
A Bolt of Lightning From The Blue. The Vast Commentary on Vajrakīla that Clearly Defines the Essential Points. Berlin: Editions Khordong. Reprint 2010: Berlin: Wandel Verlag.
- _____, 2010.
A Roll of Thunder From The Void—Establishing the maṇḍala through guhyamantra. Vajrakīla texts of the Northern Treasures Tradition series, Volume Two. Berlin: Wandel Verlag.
- _____, 2013.
Gathering the Elements—An overview of the Vajrakīla tradition. Vajrakīla texts of the Northern Treasures Tradition series, Volume One. Berlin: Wandel Verlag.
- _____, 2015.
A Blaze of Fire in the Dark—Homa rites of Vajrakīla. Vajrakīla texts of the Northern Treasures Tradition series, volume Three. Berlin: Wandel Verlag.
- _____, 2017.
A Cloudburst of Blessings—The water initiation and other rites of empowerment. Vajrakīla texts of the Northern Treasures Tradition series, Volume Four. Berlin: Wandel Verlag.

_____, 2020.
An Overwhelming Hurricane—Overturning saṃsāra and eradicating all evil. Vajrakīla texts of the Northern Treasures Tradition series, Volume Five. Berlin: Wandel Verlag.

Brown, Amanda N., 2021.
Hail-Casting and Other “Magical” Rites from a Compendium of Nyingma Rituals Invoking Yamāntaka: A Study and Catalogue of the Moon’s Mystery Handbook (Zla gsang be’u bum). MA Thesis, Florida State University.

_____, 2024.
 “Favorable Ferocity: The Byang gter Rites that Invoke the Wrathful Deity Khro chu dug sdong,” *Revue d'Études Tibétaines*, no. 68: pp. 381-404.

Cantwell, Cathy, 1997.
 “To Meditate upon Consciousness as Vajra: Ritual ‘Killing and Liberation’ in the Rnying-ma-pa Tradition”. In *Proceedings of the 7th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies*, vol. 1, edited by Helmut Krasser and Ernst Steinkellner, 107-18. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Cuevas, Bryan J., 2015a.
 “Rva lo tsā ba and His Biographies”. In *The Illuminating Mirror: Tibetan Studies in Honour of Per K. Sorensen on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday*, edited by Olaf Czaja and Guntram Hazod, 57-79. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag.

_____, 2015b.

Ra Yeshé Sengé, *The All-Pervading Melodious Drumbeat—The Life of Ra Lotsawa*. New York: Penguin Books.

—. 2019. “The Politics of Magical Warfare”. In *Faith and Empire: Art and Politics in Tibetan Buddhism*, edited by Karl Debreczeny, 171-89. New York: Rubin Museum of Art.

_____, 2021.

The Rwa pod and Other ‘Lost’ works of Rwa Lo tsā ba’s Vajrabhairava Tradition—A Catalogue of Recently Acquired Manuscripts from Mongolia and Khams and Their Significance, Wien: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien Universität Wien.

Dalton, Jacob P., 2011.

The Taming of the Demons: Violence and Liberation in Tibetan Buddhism.
New Haven: Yale University Press.

_____, 2014.

“Preliminary Remarks on a Newly Discovered Biography of Nupchen Sangyé Yeshé”. In *Himalayan Passages: Tibetan and Newar Studies in Honor of Hubert Decler*, edited by Benjamin Bogin and Andrew Quintman, pp. 145-61. Boston: Wisdom Publications.

_____, 2016.

The Gathering of Intentions—A History of a Tibetan Tantra. New York: Columbia University Press.

Davidson, Ronald M., 2005

Tibetan Renaissance—Tantric Buddhism in the Rebirth of Tibetan Culture.
New York: Columbia University Press.

Decler, Hubert, 1992.

“The Melodious Drumsound All-Pervading—Sacred Biography of Rwa Lotsāwa: about Early Lotsāwa *rnam thar* and *chos ’byung*”, in *Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the 5th Seminar of the International Association of Tibetan Studies: Narita 1989*, ed. Ihara Shonen and Zuiho Yamaguchi, vol. 1, pp. 13-26. Narita: Naritasan Shinshoji.

Dilgo Khyentsé, 2020.

Lion of Speech—The Life of Mipham Rinpoche—With Mipham’s Lion Roar on the Buddha Nature and a selection of his writings on Madhyamaka, tantra, and the Great Perfection. Translated by the Padmakara Translation Group. Boulder: Shambhala.

Dudjom Rinpoche, 1991.

The Nyingma School of Tibetan Buddhism—Its Fundamentals & History.
Sommerville: Wisdom Publications.

Esler, Dylan, 2022a.

“Yamāntaka’s Wrathful Magic: An Instance of the Ritual Legacy of gNubs chen Sangs rgyas ye shes on the Byang gter tradition via the figure of rGya Zhang khrom,” in *Revue d’Etudes Tibétaines* n. 62, *For a Critical History of the Northern Treasures (first Byang gter special issue)*, Paris: CNRS.

_____, 2022b.

The Lamp of the Eye of Contemplation—The Samten Migdron by Nubchen Sangye Yeshe, and 10th-century Tibetan Buddhist Text on Meditation, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

FitzHerbert, Solomon G., 2018.

“Rituals as War Propaganda in the Establishment of the Tibetan Ganden Phodrang State in the Mid-17th Century,” in *Cahiers d’Extrême Asie*, vol. 27, pp. 49-119, Paris: EFEO.

Gentry, James. 2010. “Representations of Efficacy: The Ritual Expulsion of Mongol Armies in the Consolidation and Expansion of the Tsang (Gtsang) Dynasty”. In *Tibetan Ritual*, edited by José Ignacio Cabezón, 131-64. New York: Oxford University Press.

Kapstein, 2017.

The Gathering of Intentions: A History of a Tibetan Tantra [Review], in *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, Oxford: Oxford University Press (OUP).

Köppl, Heidi I., 2008.

Establishing Appearances as Divine: Rongzom Chökyi Zangpo on Reasoning, Madhyamaka, and Purity, Boulder: Snow Lion.

Meinert, Carmen, 2006.

“Between the Profane and the Sacred? On the Context of the Rite of ‘Liberation’ (*sgrol ba*)”. In *Buddhism and Violence*, edited by Michael Zimmermann, 99-130. Lumbini: Lumbini International Research Institute.

Sonam Tsewang, Khenpo — & Judith Amtzis, 2022.

Sky Dharma—The Foundations of the Namchö Treasure Teachings—The Life of Tertön Migyur Dorje and the Great Commentary to the Preliminary Practices. Boulder: Snow Lion.

Sur, Dominic, 2017.

Entering the Way of the Great Vehicle: Dzogchen as the Culmination of the Mahayana. Boulder: Snow Lion.

Toussaint, Gustave-Charles, 1933.

Le Dict de Padma—Padma Thang Yig, Ms. De Lithang. Paris : E. Leroux.

Trautz, Nicholas, 2019.

The Legacy of the Eight Teachings: Revelation, Ritual, and Enlightened Violence in Classical Tibet: A Literary History of the Bka' brgyad bde gshegs 'dus pa Revelation of Mnga' bdag Nyang ral nyi ma 'od zer. Ph.D. Dissertation. University of Virginia.

Van Schaik, Sam, 2020.

Buddhist Magic—Divination, Healing and Enchantment through the Ages. Boulder: Shambhala.

Wenta, Aleksandra, 2018.

“The Making of Tantric Orthodoxy in the Eleventh-Century Indo-Tibetan World: *Jñānākara’s *Mantrāvātāra”. *Journal of Indian Philosophy*, vol. 46, no. 3: 505-51.

2020.

The Vajramahābhairavatantra. Its Origins, Intertextuality, and Transmission. DPhil Dissertation, University of Oxford.

2021.

“Tāranātha on the Emergence of the Tantric Cycle of Vajrabhairava-Yamāntaka: Writing a Tibetan Buddhist Historiography in Seventeenth Century Tibet”. *Revue d’Etudes Tibétaines*, vol. 61: 5-52.

2022a. “Demons, Wicked Ones, and Those who Violate the Samayas: Dharma Against the Enemy in Tantric Buddhism”. In *Buddhism and its Religious Others: Historical Encounters and Representations*, edited by Christopher V. Jones, 133-54. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

2022b.

“The Transmission Lineages of the Raktayamāri Tantric Cycle in the Sa skya Tradition of Tibetan Buddhism: The Gshin rje chos 'byung of A mes zhabs Ngag dbang kun dga' bsod noms (1597–1659)”. *Revue d’Etudes Tibétaines*, vol. 65: 22-65.

2022c.

“Compte-rendu de Cuevas, J. Bryan, *The Rwa Pod and Other ‘Lost’ Works of Rwa Lo tsā ba’s Vajrabhairava Tradition*”, *Revue d’Etudes Tibétaines*, no. 65, October 2022, pp. 187- 193.

____ (forthcoming). *The Vajrabhairavatantra: A Study and Annotated Translation.* Boston: Wisdom Publications.

Appendix 1: 108 Tantras of Yamāntaka

A. The Seventy-Nine 'Jam dpal sku Tantras (vol. 25-29 of the mTshams brag rNying rgyud)

Kṛṣṇayamāri

1. *dPal zla gsang nag po'i rgyud*—in 75 chapters, vol. 25, pp. 2-283;
2. *dPal zla gsang nag po'i rtsa ba'i rgyud chen po*—in 74 chapters, vol. 25, pp. 283-591;¹²⁰
3. *dPal zla gsang nag po'i rgyud*—in 58 chapters, vol. 25, pp. 591-803. See Appendix 2 below.
4. *dPal zla gsang nag po'i rgyud*—in 108 chapters, vol. 26, pp. 2-259. Despite the very similar title, this *tantra* is not another variant of the three previous ones. It does not have a proper colophon; the editors have added remarks about its rarity, etc.¹²¹
5. *'Phags pa 'jam dpal gshin rje gshed po'i gsang ba drug cu pa ces bya ba'i rgyud*—in 61 chapters, vol. 26, pp. 259-412, without a proper

¹²⁰ This is the third *tantra* in the list of 34 Yamāntaka *tantras* in the 5th Dalai Lama's *gSan yig* (interestingly, the two other versions are not mentioned), described in these terms: | *dpal zla gsang nag po me lce 'phreng ba'i rgyud la* | *'di skad bdag gis <262a>* | | *thos pa'i dus gcig na bcom ldan 'das de bzhin gshegs pa thams cad kyi sku gsung thugs kyi bdag nyid 'jigs byed kyi rgyal po che ba kun gyi bdag nyid zab mo'i gsung brjod du med pa'i sgra skad sna tshogs su gsung ba phrin rtog thams cad ye nas lhun gyis grub pa'i dgongs pa las mi g.yeng ba zhes sogs gleng gzhi'i le'u dang po* | *gleng bslang ba dang gsal byed lta ba bstan pa gnyis pa* | *gnas gzhi'i 'khor lo dang drag po gnad kyi 'khor lo mdor bstan pa gsum pa* | *'bru shag grong khyer so brgyad pa* | *gsang ba thun sngags so dgu pa* | *ngan sngags sngags rgod bzhi bcu pa* | *gnod sbyin zla gsang gsang ba ltar sgrub pa don gnyis pa* | *mdze nad dzwa la gdug pa klu'i zla gsang don gsum pa* | *'jigs byed chen pos gdams pa dang 'khor rnam rjes su yi rang nas dam bcas pa'i le'u don bzhi pa'o* | | *lo tsā ba gsum gyis lan grangs gsum du bcos shing gtan la phab pa'o* |.

¹²¹ This seems to be the 4th *tantra* in the list of 34 Yamāntaka *tantras* in the 5th Dalai Lama's *gSan yig*, despite the slight discrepancy in the number of chapters—described in these terms: | *zla gsang drag sngags nag po bshan pa spu gri'i rgyud la* | *'di skad bdag gis thos pa'i dus gcig na lho phyogs gshin yul ro myags chen po'i tshal dur khrod lcags kyi khang rom 'bar ba rmang gser gyi gdan la logs lcags snang ba thod pa'i 'bur la rakta'i chu rgyun 'bab pa zhes sogs gzhi dang 'khor bstan pa'i le'u dang po* | *dregs pa rnam srog snying phrogs te las la mngags pa gnyis pa* | *gleng bslang ba gsum pa* | *gnas btsal ba bzhi pa* | *drag sngags lnga bcu pa* | *chu 'khyags sgrub pa nga gcig pa* | *srog gcod spu gri'i le'u gya gcig pa* | (*bar 'dir le grangs gsum ma 'grig pa chad dam brtag* |) *klu <262b> gdug pa'i ngan sngags gya lnga pa* | *srog rten bca' ba go dgu pa* | *dus gar dar dang lha srin la bka' bsgo ba brgya pa* | *rgyud gtad cing rjes su yi rang ba'i le'u brgya gcig pa'o* | | (*gsung sprul gyi gsan yig na le'u go bdun las med tshul 'dug pa gong gi le mchongs ma brtsis pa 'dra zhing lung yang go bdun las ma byung* |) *bal po'i rgyal po ba su dha ra dang* | *gnubs kyi ban chung yang dbang gter gyis bal yul gyi gnas bha ra sa'i brag phug tu bsgyur te gtan la phab pa* | *rna rgyud bdun las bshan pa spu gri dregs pa sna tshogs zla gsang dmod pa dam pa yin no* |.

- colophon.¹²²
6. *'Phags pa 'jam dpal gshin rje gshed man ngag gsang ba sum cu pa zhes bya ba'i rgyud*—in 32 chapters, vol. 26, pp. 412-477. Said to be translated by the Indian *tantrika* Khrag 'thung nag po and *bod kyi lo tsha* (sic) ba gNubs Sangs rgyas.
 7. *Seng ge 'o ma'i rgyud*—in six chapters; vol. 26, pp. 477-481. No colophon. It is concluded by the mention *rgyud lnga pa rdzogs so*, which may imply that it belongs to a group—maybe found in the same *gter chos*, although it is not mentioned by the editors.
 8. *Seng ge 'o ma'i rgyud phyi ma*—in sixteen chapters; vol. 26, pp. 481-492. No proper colophon; finishes with the curious mention: *de gnas rnying rgyud 'bum na med*.
 9. *'Phags pa 'jam dpal gshin rje gshed zla gsang nag po'i rgyud phyi ma*—in 45 chapters; vol. 26, pp. 492-526. Said to be translated by Khrag 'thung nag po and gNubs Sangs rgyas ye shes.
 10. *'Phags pa 'jam dpal gshin rje gshed nag po chen po gsang ba'i rgyud*—in 32 chapters; vol. 26, pp. 526-639. Very unusual colophon, saying that this was translated by *Slob dpon chen po Ma hā ni pi śu* (sic) and *Lo tstsha* (sic) ba Dharma sin nga.
 11. *'Phags pa 'jam dpal rin po che gsang ba'i rgyud ('jam dpal gshin rje gsang ba'i rgyud)*—in 11 chapters; vol. 26, pp. 639-669. Said to be translated by *Vasudhara (Bha su dha ra) and gNubs Sangs rgyas ye shes.
 12. *'Phags pa 'jam dpal khro bo rin chen gsang ba'i rgyud ('jam dpal zla gsang nag po yan lag gi rgyud)*—in 18 chapters; vol. 26, pp. 669-723. Said to be translated by *Vasudhara (Ba su dha ra) and gNubs Sangs rgyas ye shes.
 13. *gShin rje nag po'i sngags rgyud nag po*—in 15 chapters; vol. 26, pp. 724-749. No translator's colophon, other than a strange allusion to gNubs rDo rje dbang phyug (?) 'reducing mind and body to mere atoms.'
 14. *dPal gshin rje dmar nag 'bar ba'i rme rgyud*—in 58 chapters with a short epilogue; vol. 26, pp. 749-869. The narrative conclusion features Padmasambhava as its main figure and implies that this *tantra* was somehow made use of in order to tame the unruly spirits for the consecration of bSam yas. gNubs chen Sangs rgyas ye shes is mentioned together with other figures under their initiatory names and the text appears to be a *gter ma*, though without any allusion to the *gter ston*.
 15. *gShin rje'i rgyal po las sna tshogs pa'i rgyud (ngan sngags bkol ba'i las rgyud or gShin rje nag po ya ma rā dza khros pa'i rgyud)*—in 11

¹²² This *tantra* is mentioned in the 5th Dalai Lama's *gSan yig* as the source of sets of instructions, but not in the lists of *rnying ma tantras*.

- chapters; vol. 26, pp. 869-912. No translator's colophon.
16. *rDo rje 'khor lo drag po* (*rDo rje ur mo; rTog pa bsdus pa'i rgyud thams cad kyi yang snying*)—in eighteen chapters (*rtog pa*); vol. 26, pp. 912-932. This *tantra* contains (pp. 924-925) a version of the long *mantra* (said to be 'of 157 syllables' or called *E ring gi sngags*) that is central to the practice of *'Jam dpal tshe bdag*. No proper colophon.
 17. *rDo rje nyi ma khrag 'thung gi rgyud*—in 4 chapters, vol. 26, pp. 932-942. No colophon.
 18. *Khro bo rnam par rgyal ba gshin rje gshed po'i rgyud* (*'Phags pa'i rgyal po gshin rje gshed khro bo ta ki rā dza'i rgyud tshogs*)—in 10 chapters, vol. 26, pp. 942-947. No colophon.
 19. *Khro bo rnam par rgyal ba gshin rje gshed po'i rgyud*—in 3 chapters; vol. 26, pp. 947-952. No colophon.
 20. *gShin rje nag po'i rgyud*—one chapter (divided into various rites, *las*); vol. 26, in one chapter, pp. 953-967. Translated by the Indian masters *Can tra kir ti and *Bo de ku ta and the *lo ccha ba dge slong Blo gros dbang phyug*.
 21. *Thod pa brtag pa 'jigs byed chen po'i rgyud*—in 10 chapters with a short epilogue; vol. 26, pp. 967-993. No colophon.
 22. *gShin rje zlog byed 'char ka nag po rtsa ba'i rgyud*—in 13 chapters; vol. 26, pp. 993-1009. No colophon; full of very Tibetan elements.¹²³
 23. *Srin po sgo brdungs kyi rgyud chen po*—in 10 chapters with a short epilogue; vol. 26, pp. 1009-1025. No colophon.¹²⁴
 24. *dPal gshin rje gshed po yamarāja sku khros pa'i rgyud*—in 9 chapters; vol. 26, pp. 1025-1053. The colophon says it was translated by *Vasudhara and Sangs rgyas ye shes, who then hid it (as a *gter ma*), but there is no indication about its later re-discovery.
 25. *dPal gshin rje 'jom byed 'bar ba zhes bya ba'i rgyud*—in 21 chapters; vol. 26, pp. 1053-1068. The colophon says it was translated by gNubs Sangs rgyas ye shes.¹²⁵
 26. *Mon pa nag po khros pa'i rgyud*—in 14 chapters; vol. 26, pp. 1068-1081. Said to be translated by the *A cā rya dmar po* and *Lo cchā ba mGos* ('Gos).¹²⁶
 27. *De bzhin gshegs pa thams cad kyi sku gsung thugs gsang ba'i ye shes | 'jam dpal gshin rje nag po gsang ba de kho na nyid kyi snying po 'khrul*

¹²³ This seems to be a *gter ma* of Nyang ral Nyi ma 'od zer: cf. 5th Dalai Lama, *gSan yig* 298b: *bla ma mnga' bdag chen pos brag srin mo sbar rjes nas gdan drangs pa'i 'jam dpal 'char ka nag po'i chos skor thob tshul la | ...*

¹²⁴ Text 28 in the Dalai Lama's list, presented in these terms: *Srin po sgo brdung gi rgyud le'u bcu pa |*.

¹²⁵ Text 30 in the Dalai Lama's list, presented in these terms: *'joms byed 'bar ba'i rgyud le'u nyi shu pa gnubs <267a> | | kyis bsgyur ba |*.

¹²⁶ Text 27 in the Dalai Lama's list, presented in these terms: *mon pa nag po sku khros pa'i rgyud le'u bcu bzhi pa rgyal bu sprin gyi shugs can gyis bsname byon pa pañḍi ta a tsa rya dang lo tsā ba 'gos kyis bsgyur ba |*.

- 'khor rin po che'i rgyal mtshan 'phrul gyi me long khri drug stong pa zhes bya ba'i rgyud kyi rgyal po*—in 1000 chapters; vol. 27, pp. 2-606. No colophon.¹²⁷
28. *dPal gshin rje nag po 'khrul 'khor rgyal mtshan gyi me long gi rgyud kyi rgyal po*—in 127 chapters; vol. 27, in 127 chapters, pp. 606-1179. No colophon.
29. *'Phags pa 'jam dpal dri ma med pa'i gsang ba'i rgyud*—in 26 chapters, vol. 28, pp. 2-43. No colophon. This *tantra* is less purely magical than many in the corpus and includes meditation instructions for *bskyed rim*, *rdzogs rim* and *rdzogs pa chen po*.
30. *'Phags pa 'jam dpal gshin rje gshed nag chen po'i rgyud (gShin rje nag po'i tantra)*—in 34 chapters; vol. 28, pp. 44-140. No colophon.¹²⁸
31. *gShin rje nag po gsang ba de kho na nyid rgyud kha thun ('Jam dpal kha thun gyi rgyud)*—in 8 chapters; vol. 28, pp. 140-151. Transmitted by *Vasudhara to gNubs Sangs rgyas ye shes.
32. *gShin rje nag po kha thun gsang ba de kho na nyid phyi ma'i rgyud*—in 5 chapters; vol. 28, pp. 151-156. Transmitted by *Vasudhara to gNubs chen who hid it as a *gter ma*, the *gter ston* is not named but must be rGya Zhang khrom.¹²⁹
33. *dPal tshe bdag nag po drag sngags kyi mngon du phyung ba'i rgyud kyi rgyal po* or *sNying po man ngag gi rgyud*—in 21 chapters; vol. 28, pp. 156-273. This presents Yamāntaka exactly in the form that is common in the *'Jam dpal tshe bdag* and seems to be the basis of many

¹²⁷ Text 16 in the Dalai Lama's list, presented in these terms: | *gshin rje nag po gsang ba de kho na nyid kha mthun* (sic everywhere in this edition) *gyi rgyud la | 'di skad bshad pa'i dus gcig na bcom ldan 'das 'jam dpal ya manta ka nyid chos sku'i ngang las gzugs sku zhal gsum phyag drug par bzhengs te 'phrin las rnam bzhi lhun gyis grub pa zhes gleng gzhi'i le'u dang po | khyad par las la bkol te gsad pa lnga pa | rgyud yongs su bzung ba'i le'u ste brgyad pa'o | rgyud 'di 'jam dpal gyis 'og min du gsungs nas rgyal po dza la babs | bkra shis bde ldan gyi dga' rab rdo rje | des 'jam dpal bshes gnyen | gtsug lag dpal dge ba su dha ra | yang dbang gter la rim bzhin bka' babs so |.*

¹²⁸ This must be the 9th text in the 5th Dalai Lama's list of Yamāntaka *tantras*, described in these terms: | *gshin rje nag po'i tantra la | de nas de bzhin gshegs pa thams cad kyes dgyes pa chen po phul du phyin te phyogs bcu dus gsum gyi sangs rgyas thams cad tshogs nas zhes sogs rgyud bka' stsal pa'i le'u dang po | ye shes mchog gi mchod pa brgyad pa | dgyes pa chen po 'phrin las kyi le'u dgu pa | (rgyud 'di gnyis bsdoms te le'u so gsum byas pa dang so sor dbye ba sngon mā la gsang ba man ngag gi le'u bsnan pa'i bcu zhes pa sogs brgyud pa 'di la gnyis ka bsdoms pa'i le'u so gsum pa yin no | |) ka la ru pa gsang ba'i las la | las gsang ba'i man ngag bstan pa bcu pa | kā la rā pa'i le'u gnyis <263b> byung ba las bcu gcig pa | gsang ba'i las gnyis dang ting nge 'dzin gyi le'u bcu gnyis pa | man ngag gsang ba'i las dgu pa'i le'u bcu gsum pa | 'khor gyis bstod pa so gsum pa | dbu zhabs su don bsdu pa dang dam bcas pa'i le'u so bzhi pa'o |.*

¹²⁹ Text 17 in the Dalai Lama's list, presented in these terms: | *kha mthun gsang ba de kho na nyid phyi ma'i rgyud la | 'di skad bstan pa'i dus gcig na bcom ldan 'das gshin rje gshed po nyid rang bzhin gyi gnas na bzhugs pa la thugs mchog ya ma rā dzas gsol ba sogs 'khor lo'i dbye ba skyon yon bsdu thabs bstan pa'i le'u dang po | rgyud gzung zhing bcang ba lnga pa'o | | ba su dha ra dang sangs rgyas ye shes kyi 'gyur |.*

of the magical instructions taught in the rGya Zhang khrom corpus, but does not present the typical “mantra of the long E” in 153 syllables. No colophon.

34. *dPal tshe bdag nag po'i 'phrin las kyi dgongs pa thams cad rdzogs pa'i rgyud chen po*—vol. 28, pp. 272-383. The main deity is also the Heruka of the 'Jam dpal tshe bdag cycle, and the maṇḍala also seems to be identical. No colophon.¹³⁰
35. *dPal gshin rje nag po me rlung skyin thang 'khrugs pa rgyud kyi rgyal po*—in 53 chapters; vol. 28, pp. 383-509. No colophon.¹³¹
36. *dPal drag sngags zla gsang nag po'i rgyud*—in 14 chapters; vol. 28, pp. 509-522. Translated by *Vasudhara and gNubs Sangs rgyas ye shes.¹³²
37. 'Jam dpal khro bo snying gzer gsang ba'i rgyud—in 5 chapters; vol. 28, pp. 522-536. Translated by *Vasudhara and gNubs Sangs rgyas ye shes.¹³³
38. *dPal zla gsang drag sngags nag po gshan pa spu gri'i rgyud*—in 97 chapters; vol. 28, pp. 536-612. Translated by *Vasudhara and

¹³⁰ 11th text in the 5th Dalai Lama's list, described in these terms: *dpal tshe bdag nag po 'phrin las kyi dgongs pa thams cad rdzogs pa'i rgyud chen po la* (se ston chen pos | dgongs rgyud mngon phyungs dngos grub nyer bsdus pa | | smin byed dbang gi sgron ma padma'i gzhung | | dpang du sor bzhas 'khrul med phyag len gyis | | legs par brgyan byas nges don bde 'jug bkod | | ces pa'i rgyud kyang 'di nyid do | |) 'di skad bdag gis thos pa'i dus gcig na bcom ldan 'das chos thams cad lhun gyis rdzogs pa'i rang bzhin rdo rje yongs su bkod pa'i snying po 'og min gyi gnas mkha' dbyings rnam par dag pa'i klong rang bzhin lhun gyis grub pa'i gzhal yas khang | zhes sogs gleng gzhi'i le'u dang po | chos nyid kyi don gtan la dbab pa gnyis pa | drag po hom gyi le'u bco lnga pa | lhun gyis grub pa'i le'u bcu drug pa | thog ser sbyor ba nyer dgu pa | rgyud gtad pa'i le'u sum cu pa'o |.

¹³¹ This is surely the 8th term in the 5th Dalai Lama's list, described in these terms: *dpal gshin rje nag po me rlung skyin thang 'khrug pa'i rgyud la* | thams cad gsum ldan bde ba gcig | zung thub mtshan ma kun spangs pa'i | | yon tan ma lus kun ldan pa'i | | rdo rje 'chang la phyag 'tshal lo | | zhes sogs khro bo gleng gzhi'i le'u dang po | khro bo lhun gyis grub pa gnyis pa | mtshon cha'i rgyal po dmar len gzhan gyi lus sreg 'grel ba nyer drug pa | khyad par dmar len gyi sbyor ba nyer bdun pa | btsan gyi drag ser nga gnyis pa | 'khor la gtad pa nga gsum pa | rgyud kyi yang snying zhes bya ba don rgyas pa sangs rgyas thams cad kyi dmod pas bsgral ba lha'i yul du grags pa'o |.

¹³² This seems to be the 5th text of the 5th Dalai Lama's gSan yig, described in these terms: *drag sngags zla gsang nag po'i rgyud la* | 'di skad bdag gis thos pa'i dus gcig na | | lho phyogs dur khrod chen po gtum drag tshal | | ro myags dur khrod stong gi gnas | | rgya khyon dpag tu med pa ste | | gser dang g.yu las grub pa ste | | zhes sogs glang gzhi'i le'u dang po | dkyil 'khor bstan pa drug pa | zab mo rnam grangs bsrung zlog bdun pa | rgyud gtad pa'i le'u bcu bzhi pa'o | | bal po'i rgyal po ba su dha ra dang yang dbang gter gyi 'gyur |.

¹³³ 19th text in the 5th Dalai Lama's list, described in these terms: *'jam dpal khro bo snying gzer gsang ba'i rgyud la* | de nas rdo rje snying po yis | | rdo rje khro bo 'jigs pa'i tshogs | | kun nas gus pas thal sbyar te | | bde chen yab la 'di skad gsol | | zhes sogs sa yams kyi nad brtag pa'i skabs dang po | bkru ba dang bsreg pa'i sbyor ba bstan pa lnga pa'o | | phra rgyud re gcig rnal 'byor chen po'i rgyud 'jam dpal gshin rje 'bum sde rnam par bkod pa las | gdug pa klu 'dul byed le'u bkod pa'o | | ba su dha ra dang gnubs sangs rgyas ye shes kyi 'gyur |.

- gNubs Sangs rgyas ye shes.
39. *Jig rten gsum gyi shes pa bsgral ba'i rgyud*—vol. 28, pp. 613-647. This *tantra* is quite peculiar: it includes various teachings not found in most of the others, like a section on the qualities required of the masters and the disciples or chapters on the other Herukas of the *bKa' brgyad*. No colophon, continues without interruption with the next text—but the numbering of chapters restarts.¹³⁴ The 5th Dalai Lama's *gSan yig* presents it as translated by *Vasudhara and gNubs Sangs rgyas ye shes.
40. *Ngan sngags gtsug lag gi rgyud* (appendix / commentary of the previous one?)—in 8 chapters; vol. 28, pp. 647-691. No colophon.¹³⁵
41. *dPal gshin rje 'khrul 'khor nag po sdig pa snying 'dzings gsang ba'i rgyud*—in 15 chapters; vol. 28, pp. 691-720. This *tantra* is the first in the collection in which the characteristic *mantra* (*E ring gi sngags*) appears. The whole *'Jam dpal tshe bdag* cycle seems to be an enormous development mainly based on this sole *tantra*. Translated by *Vasudhara and gNubs Sangs rgyas ye shes. This is clearly a *gter ma*, but in the *mTshams brag rnying rgyud* the name of the discoverer is not clear, although it is plain from the *'Jam dpal tshe bdag* corpus that it was revealed by rGya Zhang khrom.¹³⁶
42. *Drag po sngags rgod sdig pa snying 'dzings kyi rgyud*—in 7 chapters; vol. 28, pp. 720-730. This also exhibits the characteristic *mantra* of *'Jam dpal tshe bdag*. It is called *ma tshang kha skong ba'i rgyud* and is clearly complementary to the previous one. Translated by *Vasudhara and gNubs Sangs rgyas ye shes. The colophon has a curious note, found here and there in the *mTshams brag rnying rgyud*: *gnas snying na med | gling phub kun bzang gi dpe bzhengs | |*,

¹³⁴ 22nd text in the 5th Dalai Lama's list, described in these terms: *| 'jig rten gsum gyi shes pa bsgral ba'i rgyud la | ('di sgrub sde spyi rgyud 'dra ba zhis 'dug kyang pañ chen sku mched kyi gsan yig na mi gsal la | ratna'i gsan yig na gshin rje'i skor du snang ngo | |) 'di skad bdag gis thos pa'i dus gcig na bcom ldan 'das gsang ba gsum gyi bdag po gnyis su med pa'i thig le 'od zer kha dog sna tshogs pa 'khrigs pa sku rdo rje phyogs bcu'i de bzhin gshegs pa'i sku rnam par dag pa'i bdag nyid sogs mi rgya chen po'i gleng gzhi'i le'u dang po | padma dbang chen gyi le'u lnga pa | bse dung lcags dang gsum gyi le'u brgyad pa'i | | bal po ba su dha ra dang gnubs sangs rgyas ye shes kyi 'gyur |*

¹³⁵ 21st text in the 5th Dalai Lama's list, described in these terms: *| ngan sngags gtsug lag gi rgyud phyi ma'i yang phyi ma la | de nas 'phags pa 'jam dpal gyis bcom ldan 'das kun tu bzang po la 'di skad ces gsol to | | e ma ho bde gshegs bcom ldan 'das | | ma 'ongs rnams kyi don phyr du | | sngags kyi de nyid bshad par zhu | | zhes sogs sngags kyi de kho na <266a> | | nyid bshad pa'i le'u dang po | 'jig rten pa'i sngags kyi 'phreng ba bstan pa bzhi pa | 'phrin las nyams su blang ba'i le'u brgyad pa'o |*

¹³⁶ 12th text in the 5th Dalai Lama's list, described in these terms: *tshe bdag sdig pa snying 'dzings gsang ba'i rgyud le'u bco lnga'o | | slob dpon ba su dha ra dang gnubs sangs rgyas ye shes kyi 'gyur rgya zhang gi gter byon | drag po <264b> sngags rgod sdig pa snying 'dzings kyi rgyud dam ma tshang ba kha skong ba snying po don gyi gsang rgyud bsam gtan lha yul du grags pa 'gyur gong 'dra |*

which seems to mean that this *tantra* is absent in another compilation of the rNying ma tantric canon.

43. *'Phags pa 'jam dpal gshin rje'i rgyal po sdig pa stobs chen gsang ba'i rgyud*; alternate title in the colophon: *'Phags pa 'jam dpal gshin rje zla gsang nag po'i rgyud | mchog tu gsang ba'i sdig pa stobs chen bya ba lha yul du grags pa.*—in 21 chapters, vol. 28, pp. 730-796. This *tantra* contains a variant of the myth of the liberation of Rudra. Translated by *Vasudhara and gNubs Sangs rgyas ye shes. Some elements of a lineage in the colophon: gTsug lag dpal dge, Shan ting gar ba, Danadhala, Vasudhara, gNubs Sangs rgyas yes shes who hid it as a *gter ma*—later found by rGya Zhang khrom.¹³⁷
44. *gNod sbyin gdong gsum pa'i rgyud [Char ka nag po'i rgyud]*—in 18 chapters, vol. 28, pp. 796-825. Said in the colophon to be a composite work. It presents a segment of lineage: *Slob dpon* Padma; *rJe bla ma* sPrin gyi shugs can; mGos lha btsan (sic); *dGe bshes* Zangs dkar [ba]; *Slob dpon* sTon chung, etc.¹³⁸
45. *gShin rje nag po ngan sngags phyir bzlog pa'i rgyud [chu tig sngon mo'i phyi ma'i rgyud]*—in 7 chapters; vol. 28, pp. 825-839. Said to be translated “with difficulty” (*dka' ba spyad nas*) by gNubs ban rDo rje khri gtsug.¹³⁹
46. *Drag po phur byed kyi rgyud [Mun tsa nub tra pa la pa tra mchod rten nag po'i rgyud las | rtoq pa phyi ma drag po phung byed kyi rgyud]*—in

¹³⁷ 14th text in the 5th Dalai Lama's list, described in these terms: *'phags pa 'jam dpal gshin rje'i rgyal po sdig pa stobs chen gsang ba'i rgyud la | 'di skad bdag gis thos pa'i dus gcig na bcom ldan 'das chos thams cad lhun gyis rdzogs pa'i rang bzhin yongs su bkod pa'i snying po mkha' dbyings rnam par dag pa'i klong rgya yongs su ma chad pa rang bzhin lhun gyis grub pa'i gzhal yas khang zhes sogs gleng gzhi'i le'u dang po | dmar len yang gsang mchog gi le'u bcu pa | bsrung ba khyad par gyi le'u bcu gcig pa | gtad cing rjes su yi rang ba'i le'u nyer gcig pa'o | | rdo rje khri gtsug gis bsgyur zer |.*

¹³⁸ 24th text in the 5th Dalai Lama's list, described in these terms: *gnod sbyin gdong gsum pa chu thig sngon mo'i rgyud la | (rin po che sman lung pa sogs kyi gsan yig na chu tig sngon po le'u bco brgyad pa de 'di'i gong du 'os zhes mi gcig pa'i phyogs mdzad | gsung sprul gyi gsan yig na gcig pa'i <266b> phyogs dang le'u bco brgyad snang | pañ chen sku mched kyi gsan yig na gnod sbyin gdong gsum pa'i rgyud le'u bco brgyad pa zhes snang bas gcig pa 'dra'o | |) 'di skad bdag gis thos pa'i dus gcig na sngon gyi dus na byang chub sems dpa'i shing drung rab tu dga' ba'i gnas na bcom ldan 'das mi g.yo ba'i ting nge 'dzin la snyoms par zhugs te bdud dang lha sbyin gyis mu stegs log lta'i sbyor ba byas pa'i tshe bcom ldan 'das kyi thugs kyi 'od zer las sogs gleng gzhi'i le'u dang po | bsrung ba'i le'u brgyad pa | zlog pa'i le'u dgu pa | bskul ba pho nya'i le'u bco brgyad pa'o | | 'jam dpal nag po bzlog pa'i rgyud las 'char ka nag po bzlog pa'i rgyud dang | 'chi bdag be wa sa to'i rgyud dang | rā hu nag po rngams byed kyi rgyud dang | gshin rje 'char ka nag po gnod sbyin gdong gsum pa'i rgyud rnams rgyal po sprin gyi shugs can dang 'gos lhas bcas kyis bsgyur zhes snang ngo | | (zur gyi mthu byung nas 'gos dpon slob bshal rims kyi bsnyun par bzlog pa'i ched du slar 'di bsgyur skad do | |).*

¹³⁹ 25th text in the 5th Dalai Lama's list, described in these terms: *de'i rgyud [i.e., the 24th above] phyi ma'am 'dus rgyud du grags pa ngan sngags phyir bzlog gi rgyud le'u bdun pa |.*

- 21 chapters; vol. 28, p. 840-858. No colophon.¹⁴⁰
47. *'Phags pa 'jam dpal las bzhi'i 'khor lo'i gsang ba'i rgyud*—in 13 chapters; vol. 28, pp. 858-899. No real colophon, but a puzzling quatrain at the end (p. 899).¹⁴¹
48. *'Phags pa 'jam dpal gsang ba'i rgyud kyi rgyal po | pra khog bslang gi brtag pa | phyi ma'i rgyal po sgrub pa'i lung | khro bo rnam par rgyal ba'i rgyud phyi ma yang phyi ma* (or *Khro bo rnam par rgyal ba'i rgyud*; also said to be “from the *Zla gsang nag po*”)—in 88 chapters; vol. 29, pp. 2-259. Colophon insisting on the rarity of that *tantra*.¹⁴²
49. *Sha ba ru 'dzings kyi rgyud* [or *gShin rje char ka nag po ru 'dzings kyi rgyud*]*—*in 11 chapters; vol. 29, pp. 259-272. No colophon. The 10th chapter contains a narrative about the history of this *tantra* in India.
50. *rGyud kyi rgyal po chen po thams cad 'joms byed 'bar ba*—in 9 chapters; vol. 29, pp. 272-343. This is quite different from many *tantras* of the

¹⁴⁰ 20th text in the 5th Dalai Lama's list, described in these terms: *drag po phung byed mchod rten nag po'i rgyud la | 'di skad bdag gis thos pa'i dus gcig na ri ka ri ka bya rkang phug ron zangs phug ces bya ba na dregs pa lha'i bdag po kha the nag po zhes bya ba mu stegs rnam pa bzhi 'dul ba'i don ched du dka' thub sbyin spong mdzad pa sogs gleng gzhi'i le'u dang po | drag po hom gyi le'u bcu gcig pa | rdzas chen sgrub pa dang srid btsal ba nyi shu pa | yongs su gtad pa'i le'u nyer gcig pa | mchod rten nag po'i rgyud las rtog pa phyi ma drag po phung byed kyi rgyu ces bya ba'o |*

¹⁴¹ 15th text in the 5th Dalai Lama's list, described in these terms: *'phags pa 'jam dpal las bzhi 'khor lo gsang ba'i rgyud la | 'di skad bdag gis thos pa'i dus gcig na bcom ldan 'das dgyes pa chen por gyur te yum chen mo dang gnyis su med pa'i mkha' la bzhugs pa la 'di lta ste zhes sogs gleng gzhi rtsa ba'i rgyud sde dang po | 'jam dpal tshe sgrub brgyad pa mjug bskul dang mnan pa bcu <265a> | | gsum pa | phyi ma'i le'u bzhi ste kun dril bas bcu bdun yod do |*

¹⁴² This must be text no. 10 in the 5th Dalai Lama's list, despite the discrepancy in the number of chapters, which is to some extent explained in the *gSan yig*: *'phags pa 'jam dpal gsang ba rgyud kyi rgyal po pra khog snang [sic] ba'i rgyud phyi ma'i rgyal po sgrub pa'i lung khro bo rnam par rgyal ba'i rgyud phyi ma'i yang phyi ma la | (gsung sprul gyi gsan yig na bar le rnam ma tshang bas nor ram brtag ces pa 'dug kyang | pan chen sku mched kyi gsan yig na le grangs kyi gsal kha ma mdzad cang sngags gsar rnying gi rgyud 'ga' zhig tu 'di rigs yong 'dug pas mtha' gcig tu ma nges | pra khog bslang ba slad pa snang ba sogs zer kyang kun mkhyen dga' gdong ba'i bka' 'gyur gyi gsan yig na snang ba 'dug cing rang lugs bka' shog rgya bo chen yod |) de nas 'jam dpal dbyangs kyiis ni | | khro bo'i ming ni gshin rje'i gshed | | mntshon cha me ltar 'bar ba 'khrigs | | drag la mthu rtsal drag ldan pa | | de mthong nas ni khro bo gzhan | | thams cad kun gyi lag cha shor | | zhes sogs 'jam dpal gyi rtsa ba'i rtog pa khro bo rnam par rgyal ba'i rgyud 'byung zhes bya ba'i skabs te le'u dang po | yi dags phal ba'i dkyil 'khor du gtogs pa gnyis pa | khro bo brtol zhugs su gtogs pa bdun pa | 'di nas le'u'i nges bzung med pa la | phyi ma'i yang phyi ma las gshin rje rab tu 'joms pa'i yi ge 'bru gcig pa rgyal po'i dkyil 'khor dgod pa'i rtog par gtogs pa dang po | de nas rtog pa bzhi pa'i bar mthar chags la | de nas rtog pa bco lnga par mchongs | de rjes rtog pa bcu drug pa dang sngags dang sngags kyi phan yon las tshogs phyag rgya <264a> | | bstan pa'i mthar thug pa le grangs ma byas pa rdzogs tshig can | khro bo rnam par rgyal ba'i rtsa ba'i rtog pa las | gsang ba'i rtog pa gtogs pa dang po | de rjes khro bo rnam par rgyal ba'i rtog pa las gsang ba'i rtog par gtogs pa bcu dgu pa | 'di'i mjug tu rtog pa nyi shu pa | de rjes rtog pa bzhi pa byas pa | khro bo khams gsum rnam par rgyal ba'i rtog pa'i le'u nyi shu rtsa gnyis pa'o'i mtha' can |*

corpus as it contains a complete empowerment ritual, a chapter about *samaya* vows, one on the "View," etc. Its colophon mentions that it was translated by *Bram ze mChog sred zla ba* and *Lo tsā ba U nan dga' ba*.

51. *Drag po sngags rgod de kho na nyid rgya sdebs rgyud kyi rgyal po*—in 11 chapters; vol. 29, pp. 343-372. This *tantra* develops very detailed considerations about the letters / syllables and their powers, isolated or in combinations. Ends abruptly without colophon.
52. *dPal gshin rje drag sngags 'khor lo gsang ba sdebs kyi rgyud*—in 13 chapters; vol. 29, pp. 372-393. This *tantra* contains one of the variants of the typical *E ring mantra* (pp. 380-381) and long developments about "magic wheels" (*'khrul 'khor*). No colophon.
53. *Drag po sngags rgod dmod pa drag sngags gsang ba mchog gi spyi rgyud kyi rgyal po (dmod pa ngan sngags kyi spyi rgyud)*—in 9 chapters; vol. 29, pp. 393-406. No colophon.
54. *Drag po sngags rgod de kho na nyid phyir bzlog pa'i sngags sdebs kyi rgyal po*—in 7 chapters; vol. 29, pp. 407-416. No colophon.
55. *gSang sngags rigs lnga thams cad 'khrul 'khor rgya sdebs pa'i rgyud*—in 15 chapters; vol. 29, pp. 416-455. This *tantra* is also rich in speculation about letters / syllables and their powers and magical wheels. Said to be translated by Vairocana (Bee ro tsa na).
56. *'Phags pa 'jam dpal gyi las sna tshogs dngos grub rlung las byed 'khor lo'i rgyud*—in 12 chapters; vol. 29, pp. 455-485. Beautiful chapter about the View, complete empowerment ritual, explanation of the *samayas*. The practice seems to consist merely in identifying oneself with the deity; there are all sorts of long and complicated *mantras*; explanations about "wheels" and various activities. Said to be translated by Padmasambhava and Vairocana (Bee ro tsa na). This is a *gter ma* of *Gu ru Chos dbang*.
57. *'Byung ba rlung nag 'khrugs pa zhes bya ba'i rgyud*—in 10 chapters; vol. 29, pp. 485-500. This is clearly a *gter ma*, but no *gter ston* name can be found in the colophon.
58. *Rlung nag 'khrugs pa'i rgyud*—in 15 chapters; vol. 29, pp. 500-520. No colophon.
59. *Drag sngags thams cad 'dus pa'i 'khor lo drag sngags gcod pa'i rgyud*—no clear subdivision in chapters; vol. 29, pp. 520-536. No colophon.
60. *rNam gsum drag po gshin rje drag sngags gcod pa'i rgyud* [or *Ma rgyud don gyi man sngags bstan pa'i rgyud*]—in 7 chapters; vol. 29, pp. 536-578. This *tantra* combines the practices of Yamāntaka, Vajrapāṇi and Vajrakūmara (Vajrakīla) and contains chapters for these three deities. No colophon.
61. *'Jam dpal gshin rje gshed po yid bzhin nor bu'i rgyud*—in 10 chapters; vol. 29, pp. 578-588. Translated by *Vasudhara and gNubs Sangs rgyas ye shes, who later hid it as a treasure. No indication of a

- discoverer.
62. *'Jam dpal gshin rje gshed po yid bzhin nor bu'i las sna tshogs bsgrub pa'i rgyud*—in chapters plus a short conclusion; vol. 29, pp. 588-596. Translated by *Vasudhara and gNubs Sangs rgyas ye shes, who later hid it as a treasure. No indication of a discoverer. This is again a mostly magical text.
63. *'Phags pa 'jam dpal gshin rje gshed kyi sngags rgyud 'khrul 'khor nag po zhes bya ba rgyud kyi rgyal po*—in 19 (15+4) chapters; vol. 29, pp. 596-683. This *tantra* has as its main deity a quite unusual form of Yamāntaka, with six human faces of various colors, twelve arms and eight legs. The *tantra* is well-developed, with a narrative introduction; a long description of its *maṇḍala*; an empowerment ritual (merely alluded to); precise instructions for the *bsnyen sgrub*; various *mantras* (but not the *E ring*); chapter 8 is about the subjugation of the arch-demon called Ru tra nag po 'chi bdag; then we find more common Yamāntaka materials—magical wheels to kill, drive mad, etc. It is only in chapter 16 (pp. 673-674) that the *E ring mantra* appears, called *stong srog 'khor lo*. No colophon.
64. The text pp. 683-694 is called *gShin rje 'khrul 'khor nag po'i rgyud phyi ma yang snying*; it is not clearly distinct from the previous (the numeration of the chapters seems to be continuing from it), but the deity is a three-faced Yamāntaka. Seems to be made up of originally separate texts that have been bound together.
65. *dKa' ba gcod pa yang snying gi rgyud phyi ma'i yang phyi ma*—vol. 29, pp. 694-703. Like the previous one, this *tantra* does not start with a proper presentation of its title in pseudo-Sanskrit and in Tibetan and is not clearly distinct from the two previous ones. It appears as a 20th chapter of this whole. No colophon.

Raktayamāri

66. *dPal gnod sbyin zla gsang dmar po'i rgyud*—in 69 chapters; vol. 29, pp. 703-834. This long *tantra* is the first in the series to be devoted to Red Yamāntaka. It is extremely rich in uncommon Tibetan, material, with expressions like *bse mkhar*, reminiscent of the Bon *gsas mkhar (maṇḍala)*. It seems not to contain any of the *rdzogs rim* materials found in the *gShed dmar* section of the *rNying ma bka' ma*, however. It is presented as translated by Shang ting gar bha and gNubs Sangs rgyas ye shes.
67. *dPal gnod sbyin dmar po mar khrag skyug gi rgyud kyi rgyal po*—in 6 chapters followed by a small conclusion; vol. 29, pp. 834-840. No proper colophon but concluded by a few verses ascribed to Khrag 'thung nag po, strangely counted as a 7th chapter.

68. *gNod sbyin ging dmar po sgrol ba bsrin po'i rgyud*—in 11 chapters; vol. 29, pp. 840-850. This Red Yamāntaka *tantra*, clearly a *gter ma* (no colophon indicating the *gter ston*), is a grimoire of destructive and defensive magic. It shares with the previous one the formal awkward feature of a quasi-colophon counted as a last chapter.
69. *rDo rje srin po bse yi skyes bu gnod sbyin dmar po'i rgyud* [*rDo rje srin po'i rtsa ba'i rgyud*]*—*in 21 chapters; vol. 29, pp. 850-879. Said to have been taught by Padmasambhava and translated by *Lo tsā ba Ca ndra ku tra*. The connection with Red Yamāntaka, and even with Yamāntaka as a main figure is not obvious at first glance.
70. *'Jam dpal gshin rje dmar po shan pa srog gi 'khor lo'i rgyud*—in 7 chapters; vol. 29, pp. 879-897. This *tantra* begins with a narration about the narration of a primordial evil called *sGrol ging bdag po Ma ru tse*. Said to be translated by *Vasudhara and gNubs chen Sangs rgyas ye shes. It is clearly a *gter ma*, but no discoverer is indicated in the colophon.
71. *dPal gshin rje dmar po ma ra ya khrag skyug gsang ba'i rgyud*—in 7 chapters; vol. 29, pp. 897-904. “Given by the Indian abbot Dha na da la to the little monk Khri btsug” (gNubs Sangs rgyas ye shes).
72. *'Jam dpal dmar po'i sngags rgyud kyi rgyal po*—in 10 chapters; vol. 29, pp. 904-918. Translated by Shang ting gar bha and gNubs dBang phyug dpal.
73. *gShin rje dmar po shan pa las kyi rgyud* [*sPru gri reg chod gsang ba'i rgyud*]*—*vol. 29, pp. 918-927. “Entrusted as important” (*gtsas su gzhang*) by the Indian Dha na da la to [gNubs] Yon tan rgya mtsho.
74. *gNod sbyin gar mkhan mchog gi rgyud* [*gNod sbyin zla gsang dmar po'i rgyud* or *dMar po srog gi rgyud* or *Ma ru tse gsung gi rgyud* or *gNod sbyin zla gsang dmar po'i dgra bo'i rgyud* or *dPa' bar 'gro ba gar mkhan mchog gi rgyud phran le'u mdor bsdus pa*]*—*in 18 chapters; vol. 29, pp. 927-939. No colophon indicating either a translator or a *gter ston*.
75. *'Phags pa 'jam dpal mched bzhi'i sngags rgyud* [or *Ma ru tse mched bzhi'i rtsa ba'i rgyud*]*—*vol. 29, pp. 939-954. This *tantra*, as many in this corpus, directly alludes to Tibetan situations (protecting Buddhism when it will spread in Tibet, etc.). No colophon.¹⁴³

¹⁴³ 31st text in the 5th Dalai Lama's list, described in these terms: *'phags pa 'jam dpal ma ru tse mched bzhi rtsa ba'i sngags rgyud la* | *'di skad bdag gis thos pa dus gcig na 'og min gyi gnas rang bzhin lhun gyis grub pa'i gnas mchog na bcom ldan 'das dpal kun tu bzang po 'gro ba rnams ji ltar 'dul ba bzhin dgongs nas zhes sogs gleng gzhi'i le'u dang po | rgyal ba rnams kyis gsungs shing byin gyis brlabs pa sngags kyi le'u lnga pa | rjes su yi rang ba'i le'u dgu pa'o |.*

76. *'Jam dpal gsang ba'i rgyud phyi ma* ('*Jam dpal ma ru tse'i sngags rgyud phyi ma*)—in 7 chapters; vol. 29, pp. 954-965. No colophon.¹⁴⁴
77. *'Jam dpal ma ru tse'i sngags rgyud las | phyi ma'i phyi ma*—no divisions in chapters; vol. 29, pp. 965-968. This is an appendix of the previous one. It does not start with a pseudo-Sanskrit or Tibetan title. Contains allusions to sexual practices. No colophon.
78. *'Jam dpal dmar po zor ba dmar nag gi rgyud* ('*Jam dpal ma ru tse'i sngags rgyud*)—in 6 chapters; vol. 29, pp. 968-1005. No colophon.
79. *'Phags pa 'jam dpal gshin rje'i rgyal po ma ru tse thugs kyi rgyud*—in 6 chapters; vol. 29, pp. 1005-1014. No colophon.
gNod sbyin ma ru tse ro langs gsang ba'i rgyud—in 8 chapters, plus a short conclusion; vol. 29, pp. 1014-1023. Colophon: *gNubs kyi man ngag... Padma dbang rgyal gyi bka'*.¹⁴⁵

*The 28 Yamāntaka Tantras of the dMod pa drag sngags
 or Ma mo rbod gtong categories
 (vol. 44-45 of the mTshams brag rnying rgyud)*

80. *Srog ti nag mo srin mo khros pa'i rgyud [dpal lha mo ma mo'i srog di 'khor lo sdom pa'i rgyud]*—in 11 chapters; vol. 44, pp. 10-25. This *tantra* is about Yamāntaka subduing the *snang srid ma mo*, who then plays a role in liberating the *ru tra* (p. 16: *ru tra sgröl byed srin moi'i dmod pa*, etc.). This is clearly a *gter ma*, but the text does not have a colophon.
81. *Shi sa bstan pa dpal srog gi 'khor lo'i sdom pa'i rgyud*—in 7 chapters; vol. 44, pp. 25-35. Like the previous one, this *tantra* is rather focused on the Goddess, but Yamāntaka is the teaching Buddha and is instrumental, it seems, in controlling her.¹⁴⁶ In a long appended colophon (pp. 33-35), Sangs rgyas ye shes prophesies against the new translations. He is said to have hidden the text as a *gter ma*, but there is no indication about who revealed it.

¹⁴⁴ 32nd text in the 5th Dalai Lama's list, described in these terms: *| de'i rgyud phyi ma la | de nas de'i tshe de'i dus na lha ma yin g.yog 'khor dang bcas nas bcom ldan 'das ya manta ka'i thad du 'dus te de dag gi nang du gshin rje'i rgyal pos 'di skad ces gsungs so sogs dbang bskur ba dang 'khor lo'i le'u dang po | smon lam dang thun dang rjes su yi rang ba bdun pa | mjug tu dbang phyug chen po yi rangs te bstod pa phyi ma'i phyi ma dang bcas yod pa |*

¹⁴⁵ 33rd text in the 5th Dalai Lama's list, described in these terms: *ma ru rtse ro langs gsang ba'i rgyud dpa' bo gar mkhan mchog gi rgyud la | 'di skad bdag gis thos pa'i dus gcig na ri bdun gyi byang phyogs kyi ngos la gnod sbyin gyi rgyal po ma ru rtse zhes bya ba gnas te lha dang lha ma yin la sogs pa thams cad g.yul 'gyed pa sogs gleng gzhi'i le'u dang po | sgrub pa dang srog sngags bstan pa bzhi pa | 'khor lo dkrug pa brgyad pa'o | | mjug tu bstod pa dang dmyal ba'i las rdzogs so'i mtha' can |*

¹⁴⁶ Colophon p. 34: *'di dpal ya man ta ka gnod sbyin stobs ldan 'bur khung nag por sprul pa'i sgrub thabs yin te | 'di la brten pa'i sgrub thabs ltar bsnyen pa zhag nyi shu rtsa gcig byas nas | ma mo thams cad dbang med du bran du 'khol bar 'gyur ro |*

82. *Ku ma ra dza mngon du dbyung ba che mchog 'jigs byed ngan sngags kyi rgyud (dMar po lcam dral gyi rgyud)*—in 4 sections (*skabs*); vol. 44, pp. 35-44. Like the previous one, this *tantra* has a long colophon, in which it is presented as translated by *Gu ru 'phrul gyi Shog rgod rtsal* and *gNubs chen sangs rgyas ye shes* who later hid it as a *gter ma*. There is no indication about the *gter ston*, but this *tantra* is said to be “the weapon of *gZus ston Rin chen rgyal po*.”
83. *gShin rje gtsug lag gi 'khor lo'i rgyud*—in 4 chapters; vol. 44, pp. 240-248. No colophon; belongs to a long series of *gTsug lag 'khor lo'i rgyud*, of which the others are not connected to Yamāntaka. This short *tantra* is interesting insofar as it contains something like a typological categorization of the Yamāntaka literature.
84. *Drag po ngan sngags kyi rtsa rgyud*—in 109 chapters; vol. 44, pp. 423-525. Although Yamāntaka is the main figure in the framework narrative of this *tantra*, it contains magical practices associated with numerous deities of the type found in a complete *bKa' brgyad maṇḍala*. No colophon.
85. *Drag po ngan sngags kyi bshad rgyud*—in 174 short chapters; vol. 44, pp. 525-584. This *tantra* is quite similar to the previous one, although shorter. Said to be translated by *Shang ting ga rbha* and *rDo rje thogs med rtsal*. No indication about the *gter ston*.
86. *Ngan sngags gtsug lag gi rgyud* [or *Ngan sngags gtsug lag gi rgyud phyi ma | phyi ma'i yang phyi ma shin tu gsang ba*]—in 8 chapters; vol. 44, pp. 584-628. This *tantra*—clearly a *gter ma* with some *dākinī* scripts—is a dialogue between the primordial Buddha *Kun tu bzang po* and *Mañjuśrī-Yamāntaka*, here in the position of the disciple / the one who asks questions. It contains long explanations about letters. Like the two previous ones, it has chapters about all sorts of other deities that do not belong to the Yamāntaka *maṇḍala* in the broadest sense. The colophon indicates that it has been hidden as a *gter ma*, but without further information.
87. *Drag sngags mtshon cha nag po'i rgyud*—in 9 chapters; vol. 44, pp. 628-641. This one is really a Yamāntaka *tantra*, the main deity having exactly the aspect described in *'Jam dpal tshe bdag*, except for the permutation of the *vajra* and the sword in the right hands (p. 630) and a few other tiny details. Translated by **Vasudhara* and *gNubs Sangs rgyas ye shes*.¹⁴⁷
88. *Ngan sngags gtsug lag gi rgyud kyi rgyal po*—in six chapters; vol. 44, pp. 641-673. This *tantra* does not have a proper title statement at it

¹⁴⁷ 13th text in the 5th Dalai Lama's list, described in these terms: *drag sngags mtshon cha nag po'i rgyud dam rdo rje thog 'bebs sku'i rgyud le'u dgu pa lha yul du grags pa 'gyur gong 'dra | dpal tshe bdag nag po'i rgyud drag sngags kyi de kho na srog dmar len gyi spu gri zhes bya ba le'u bcu gnyis pa 'gyur gong 'dra |*.

begins and starts abruptly with *de nas dpal kun tu bzang po'i sprul pa...* Yamāntaka asks questions to the primordial buddha Kun tu bzang po. This seems to be mostly a grimoire of destructive magic in which Yamāntaka is not absolutely central, so it is not a Yamāntaka *tantra* in the fullest sense.

89. *Srog las kyi rgyal bu srog bdag gser gyi ga phur*—in 28 chapters; vol. 44, pp. 673-756. In this *tantra* again, Yamāntaka is more central in the framework narrative than in the bulk of the content. In the last chapter, Padmasambhava explains that it was hidden as a *gter ma*, but there is no information about who revealed it.
90. *Mon pa phung byed nor srungs kyi rgyud*—in 8 chapters; vol. 44, pp. 815-823. This *tantra* seems to be about the “savages” (*mon pa*) that belong to Yamāntaka’s retinue.
91. *'Khor lo nag po (spu gri 'bar ba) 'i rgyud*—in 29 chapters; vol. 44, pp. 824-847. This is not properly a *tantra* about Yamāntaka, but some parts are about Nāgarakṣa (and leprosy). No colophon.
92. *sNying zor nag po'i rgyud*—in 9 chapters; vol. 44, pp. 858-871. No real colophon except a quatrain about the fact that this *tantra* can be taught only to the royalty.
93. *Drag po sngags rgod chen po zhes bya ba'i rgyud* [or *'Phags pa 'Jam dpal gshin rje gshed kyi rgyud | rus sbal khra bo'i rtogs pa zhes bya ba rtog pa bcu gsum pa | gdug pa gsum 'dul gyi rgyud*—in 12 chapters; vol. 44, pp. 906-927. Though explicitly presented as a *tantra* connected to Yamāntaka, its content does not seem to be focused on that deity. It is rather a grimoire of magic.
94. *Mu stegs drag sngags nag po'i rgyud*—in 11 chapters; vol. 44, pp. 927-951. The main deity of this *tantra* is a form of black Yamāntaka in union with E ka dza ti, used to control all sorts of spirits for magical purposes. No colophon.
95. *Srog bdag gser gyi rta pa'i rgyud*—in 11 chapters; vol. 44, pp. 1007-1016. No colophon. Here again, Yamāntaka is rather utilized to control spirits than worshipped.
96. *Pa la pa tra gsang ba'i rgyud* (*sNying zor nag po'i rgyud* or *Pa la pa tra gsang ba'i snying zor gyi rgyud*)—in 9 chapters; vol. 45, pp. 20-33. This is clearly a *gter ma*, but the *gter ston* is not identified.¹⁴⁸
97. *dPal zla gsang nag po rgya mtsho dug ri kha yakṣa 'khor lo nag po gsang ba'i rgyud*—vol. 45, pp. 59-134. This is a *tantra* of Yamāntaka in the Nāgarakṣa form, though other forms of Yamāntaka may occur, but always as antidotes against the *nāgas* and the illnesses they cause. A chapter bears the title *mdzes nag las kyi 'khor lo* (chap. 6, pp. 70-74). Said to be translated by *Vasudhara and gNubs Sangs rgyas ye

¹⁴⁸ This must be the 29th text in the 5th Dalai Lama’s list: *gdong zor nag po'am gshin rje sngags bzlog gi rgyud le'u bdun pa |*.

- shes. This is clearly a *gter ma*, but without indication of the *gter ston*. However, in the 12th chapter, *gtad pa'i le'u*, there are unclear indications about where and how it was hidden.
98. *dPal yakṣa nag po gsang ba'i dug | rgya mtsho dug ri nag po*—in 9 sections (*rtogs pa*); vol. 45, pp. 134-156. Seems to be an appendix of the previous and clearly a *gter ma*. No *gter ston* name, but allusion to a black frog (*sbal nag po*) in the colophon.¹⁴⁹ The phrase *mdze nag las kyi 'khor lo* occurs in the conclusion, p. 156.
 99. *mDze nag las kyi 'khor lo'i rgyud*—in 14 chapters; vol. 45, pp. 156–198. Said to be translated by Khrag 'thung nag po and Vairocana. The colophon clearly shows that it is a *gter ma* but does not give any hint about the *gter ston*. Seems to belong to the same group as the two previous texts.
 100. *Klu dam tshig gi rgyud phyi ma'i las su phyung ba'i ti ka*—in 3 chapters; vol. 45, pp. 349-370. No colophon; this is a *gter ma*.
 101. *sBal nag 'khor lo zhes bya ba klu nag po'i rgyud*—not subdivided in chapters; vol. 45, pp. 370-376. No colophon.
 102. *Dam tshig las kyi rgyal po'i rgyud*—in 30 chapters; vol. 45, pp. 376-458. In the colophon, gNubs Sangs rgyas ye shes describes how he received this *tantra* from *rGyal po Vasudhara* and later hid it as a *gter ma* because he could not find any suitable disciple. No indication about who later revealed it.
 103. *Klu'i rgyal po mchod rten gyi rgyud thugs yang dag pa (rTog pa'i rgyal po mchod rten gyi rgyud or 'Phags pa rtog pa'i rgyud)*—in 100 chapters; vol. 45, pp. 458-724. It has a narrative conclusion pp. 722-724 in which it is presented as taught by Buddha Śākyamuni and compiled by Vajrapāṇi and later, after a series of intermediary lings, brought to Tibet by *Leng ston lo tsā ba* who hid it as a *gter ma*. It was later discovered by *Shangs kyi jo sras Dar grags*, who passed it to *dGe bshes Khyung po rdo gsher*, who taught to *Khun ston Dar snying*, who taught it to *Mar ston*, who passed it to *mDa' mi Dar ma 'bar*.
 104. *Klu'i 'khor lo nag po'i rgyud*—in 7 sections (*rtog pa*); vol. 45, pp. 724-753. The colophon says it was transmitted from *Mañjuśrī[mitra]* and *Kamala[śīla]*, then translated by *Vasudhara* and *gNubs Sangs rgyas ye shes*.
 105. *Klu'i 'khor lo nag po 'phrin las thams cad rdzogs pa zhes bya ba rgyud kyi rgyal po chen po*—in 52 chapters, plus an epilogue; vol. 45, pp. 753-878. Note the phrase *mdze nag las kyi 'khor lo* pp. 759, 790, 865, 877, 878. Strange transmission lineage (p. 876) with Chinese

¹⁴⁹ See the article on *Rin chen gling pa* in this volume: this may be a strong indication that this *tantra* is a revelation of this *gter ston*. The *mDze nag las kyi 'khor lo* mentioned in the biography of *Rig 'dzin rGod ldem* may then allude to this text.

masters passing this *tantra* to Padmasambhava. There seems to be an allusion to rGya Zhang khrom as the treasure discoverer.

106. *Klu nag po'i rgyud sdig pa phung shig*—in 7 chapters; vol. 45, pp. 958-969. A text connected to Nāgarakṣa as *klu'i rgyal po*. At the end, a short segment of lineage is presented: Kamalaśīla, Hūṃkāra, Vasudhara. This is clearly a *gter ma*, but without clear indications about the *gter ston*.
107. *Klu'i 'khor lo nag po | mā ra ya bsad pa'i 'phrin las | gshin rje nag po'i 'khrul 'khor | dug sprul nag po lto dkrug gsang ba yang snying nag po | klu'i srog tig nag po*—in 8 sections (*rtog pa*); vol. 45, pp. 969-977. This is again a Nāgarakṣa *tantra*. The colophon identifies it as “Vasudhara’s precepts extracted from Bodhgaya.”

A Yamāntaka Tantra in the bKa' brgyad Category
(vol. 24 of the mTshams brag rnying rgyud)

108. *gShin rje gshed rab tu 'dus pa rtsa ba'i rgyud*—vol. 24, pp. 664-712. This is a *gter ma* of Nyang ral Nyi ma 'od-zer, a fundamental text of the *bDe gshegs bsdus pa*.

Appendix 2:
Comparative Chart of the Three Versions of the *Zla gsang nag po*

<i>Zla gsang nag po</i> 1: the “thrice revised” version	<i>Zla gsang nag po</i> 2: another later version, revised and completed	<i>Zla gsang nag po</i> 3: gNubs chen’s translation (oldest version)
1. <i>Gleng gzhi'i le'u</i> —p. 2-18	1. <i>Gleng gzhi'i byung khungs kyi le'u</i> —p. 283-290	1. <i>Gleng gzhi'i skabs</i> —p. 591-598
2. <i>Gleng bslang ba dang gsal byed lta ba bstan pa'i le'u</i> —p. 18-22	2. <i>Gleng bslang ba'i le'u</i> —p. 290-296	2. <i>Gleng bslang ba'i skabs</i> —p. 598-603
3. <i>gNas bzhi 'khor lo dang drag po gnad kyi 'khor lo mdor bstan pa'i le'u</i> —p. 22-30	∅	∅
4. <i>Drag po sngags rgod 'jig rten rlag byed kyi le'u</i> —p. 30-41.	∅	∅
5. <i>mDor bstan pa'i le'u</i> —p. 41-49	∅	∅
6. <i>'Bras bu mngon du gyur pa'i dbang gi le'u</i> —p. 49-58	∅	∅
7. <i>Yab yum spyang drangs pa'i le'u</i> —p. 58-59	∅	∅
8. <i>mChod bstod kyi le'u</i> —p. 59-61	∅	∅
9. <i>bsTan pa bzhuḡs shing phyag 'tshal ba'i le'u</i> —p. 61-62	∅	∅

<i>Zla gsang nag po 1: the "thrice revised" version</i>	<i>Zla gsang nag po 2: another later version, revised and completed</i>	<i>Zla gsang nag po 3: gNubs chen's translation (oldest version)</i>
10. <i>gDul bya dug gsum gyi las kyi le'u</i> —p. 62-64	∅	∅
11. <i>Phyag rgya bstan pa'i le'u</i> —p. 64-66	∅	∅
12. <i>Yab yum 'phrin las bcol ba'i le'u</i> —p. 66-71	∅	∅
13. <i>Thar byed kyi le'u</i> —p. 71-73	∅	∅
14. <i>Thams cad zhi bar bsgrub pa'i le'u</i> —p. 73-75	3. <i>Thams cad zhi bar sgrub pa'i le'u</i> —p. 296-298	3. <i>Thams cad zhi bar sgrub pa'i skabs</i> —p. 603-605
15. <i>Thams cad rgyas par bsgrub pa'i le'u</i> —p. 75-77	4. <i>Thams cad rgyas par sgrub pa'i le'u</i> —p. 298-300	4. <i>Thams cad rgyas par sgrub pa'i skabs</i> —p. 605-607
16. <i>Thams cad dbang du bya ba'i le'u</i> —p. 77-79	5. <i>Thams cad dbang du bya ba'i le'u</i> —p. 300-303	5. <i>Thams cad dbang du sdud pa'i skabs</i> —p. 607-609
17. <i>Drag po'i sgrub thabs thams cad 'dul ba nas cho 'phrul bstan pa'i le'u</i> —p. 79-81	6. <i>Drag por sgrubs pa te thams cad 'dul ba nas cho 'phrul bstan pa'i le'u</i> —p. 303-305	6. <i>Drag por bsgrubs te thams cad btul nas cho 'phrul bstan pa'i skabs</i> —p. 609-611
∅	7. <i>gNas bzhi'i dkyil 'khor gnyis bstan pa'i le'u</i> —p. 305-306.	∅
∅	8. <i>Lus srog 'byed pa'i 'khor lo bstan pa'i le'u</i> —p. 306-308	∅
∅	9. <i>Mos pa'i 'khor lo bstan pa'i le'u</i> —p. 308-309	∅
∅	10. <i>'Khor lo dbye ba rgyas par bstan pa'i le'u</i> —p. 309-310	∅
∅	11. <i>bsNyen grub kyi rim par phye ba'i le'u</i> —p. 310-312	∅
18. <i>Drag po'i le'u</i> —p. 81-82	12. <i>Ga'u drag po'i las bstan pa'i le'u</i> —p. 312-313	7. <i>Drag po'i skabs</i> —p. 611-612
19. <i>Drag po bca' bzhi'i le'u</i> —p. 82-87	13. <i>Yang gsang drag po'i bcas gzhi'i le'u</i> —p. 313-319	8. <i>Drag po bca' bzhi'i skabs</i> —p. 612-618
∅	14. <i>rTsa ba'i 'khrul 'khor chen po bkod pa'i le'u</i> —p. 319-323	∅
∅	15. <i>Nyams su blang ba'i tshad ma bstan pa'i le'u</i> —p. 323-327	∅
∅	16. <i>Drag po'i 'khor lo bsgrub pa'i rim pa thugs kyi tsa kra bstan pa'i le'u</i> —p. 327-331	∅
∅	17. <i>Las tshogs bsdu pa'i le'u</i> —p. 331-334	∅
∅	18. <i>gCod byed spu gri las sna tshogs bstan pa'i le'u</i> —p. 334-337	∅
∅	19. <i>Drag sngags btu ba bstan pa'i le'u</i> —p. 337-345	∅
∅	20. <i>Drag po rdo rje rme thabs kyi le'u</i> —p. 345-349	∅
∅	21. <i>Ma grub na spogs pa thams cad kyi rim pa bstan pa'i le'u</i> —p. 349-353	∅
20. <i>dKyil 'khor bcas gzhi'i le'u</i> —p. 87-90	22. <i>dKyil 'khor bca' gzhi'i le'u</i> —p. 353-356	9. <i>Dal bca' bzhi'i skabs</i> —p. 618-623
21. <i>Drag po 'phrin las kyi le'u</i> —p. 90-96	23. <i>Drag po 'phrin las kyi le'u</i> —p. 356-362	10. <i>Drag po 'phrin las kyi skabs</i> —p. 623-627

<i>Zla gsang nag po 1: the "thrice revised" version</i>	<i>Zla gsang nag po 2: another later version, revised and completed</i>	<i>Zla gsang nag po 3: gNubs chen's translation (oldest version)</i>
22. 'Khor lo bca' thabs kyi le'u—p. 96-98	24. 'Khor lo bca ba'i le'u—p. 362-365	11. 'Khor lo bcas kyi skabs—p. 627-629
∅	25. gSang ba las kyi bsnyen pa'i le'u—p. 365-371	∅
23. sGom khog rtsa ba'i le'u—p. 98-101	26. sGom khog rtsa ba'i le'u—p. 371-373	12. sGom khog tsam po'i skabs—p. 629-632
24. bSod nams kyi tshogs kyi yan lag gi le'u—p. 101-102	maybe No. 17 above: Las tshogs bsdu pa'i le'u—p. 331-334?	13. bSod nams kyi tshogs kyi skabs—p. 632-633
25. lHa'i bsnyen pa bgyi ba'i le'u—p. 102-104	27. lHa bsgrub bdud sgrub kyi rim pa bsnyen bsgrub bstan pa'i le'u—p. 373-378	14. lHa'i bsnyed pa'i skabs—p. 633-635
26. Nye ba'i bsnye ba'i le'u—p. 104	∅	15. Nye ba'i bsnyen pa'i skabs—p. 635
27. sGrub pa chen po'i le'u—p. 104-105	∅	16. sGrub pa chen po'i skabs—p. 635-636
28. 'Chi bdag bdud dang gshin rje'i bsnyen pa ste le'u rta brgyad pa—p. 105-106	∅	17. 'Chi bdag bdud dang gshin rje'i bsnyen pa'i skabs—p. 636-637
29. bSad pa las kyi bsnyen pa ste le'u...—p. 106-111	∅	18. gSang ba las kyi bsnyen pa'i skabs—p. 637-642
30. 'Khor lo thub bsdebs kyi le'u—p. 111-119	28. 'Khor lo thub bsdebs man ngag gi le'u—p. 378-384	19. 'Khor lo thun 'debs kyi skabs—p. 642-649
31. mTshon gyi gru gu sngon dmar gyi le'u—p. 119-123	29. mTshon gyi rde'u sngon dmar 'khor lo byad stems kyi le'u—p. 384-390	20. Tshon gyi gru bu sngon dmar 'khor lo byad sdebs kyi skabs—p. 649-655
32. 'Khor lo mnan pa'i le'u—p. 123-126	∅	21. 'Khor lo mnan pa'i skabs—p. 655-658
33. 'Khor lo ho sbrel gyi le'u—p. 126-129	∅	22. 'Khor lo ho ma bsregs pa'i skabs—p. 658-662
34. sNgags kyi yang snying 'khrul 'khor gyi le'u—p. 129-135	30. sNgags kyi yang snying 'khrul 'khor gyi le'u—p. 390-394	23. sNgags kyi yang snying 'khrul 'khor gyi le'u—p. 662-667
35. Yang snying gsang ba'i le'u—p. 135-136	31. Yang snying bsad pa'i le'u—p. 394-396	24. Yang snying gsang ba'i skabs—p. 667-668
36. 'Khrul 'khor man ngag gi le'u—p. 136-141	32. 'Khrul 'khor man ngag gi le'u—p. 396-401	25. 'Khrul 'khor man ngag skabs—p. 668-673
37. Ka bzhi gdung brgyad kyi le'u—p. 141-142	33. Thugs kyi ka bzhi dang gdung brgyad bstan pa'i le'u—p. 401-402	26. Ka bzhi gdung brgyud [sic] kyi skabs—p. 673-675
38. 'Bu shag grong khyer gyi le'u—p. 142-143	34. 'Bu shag gi grong khyer bstan pa'i le'u—p. 402-403	27. 'Bu shag gi skabs—p. 675
39. gSang ba thun sngags kyi le'u—p. 143-145	∅	∅
40. Ngan sngags rgod kyi le'u—p. 145-153	∅	∅
41. Dam tshig mdor bstan pa'i le'u—p. 153-154	∅	∅
42. Nag po gsal byed sgron me'i le'u—p. 154-155	35. Nag po gsal byed sgron me'i le'u—p. 403-405	28. Nag po gsal byed sgron ma'i skabs—p. 675-677
∅	36. Thig le gdab pa dang gsang ba'i brda dgod pa'i le'u—p. 405-410	∅
∅	37. bDud mo'i snying po sbyar ba dang dgog pa'i le'u—p. 410-413	∅

<i>Zla gsang nag po 1: the "thrice revised" version</i>	<i>Zla gsang nag po 2: another later version, revised and completed</i>	<i>Zla gsang nag po 3: gNubs chen's translation (oldest version)</i>
∅	38. <i>Las kyi mdo byang chen po bstan pa'i le'u</i> —p. 413-414	29. <i>Las sbyor gyi mdo byang skabs</i> —p. 677-678
∅	39. <i>Pho mo sto dkrugs rtogs pa'i rim pa'i le'u</i> —p. 414-417	∅
∅	40. <i>gNam lcags thog 'bebs me lce 'phreng ba'i le'u</i> —p. 417-423 [seems to contain explanations about <i>rtsa rlung</i> practices, unexpected in this context.]	∅
∅	41. <i>Ra ksha 'bar ba khros pa gza' mchog ming sring sgrub pa'i le'u</i> —p. 423-439	∅
∅	42. <i>Ra ksha 'bar ba gza' mchog gi sngags kyi rim gyi le'u</i> —p. 439-443	∅
∅	43. <i>gZa' mchog bsrgub pa'i las kyi rim pa dang thun gyi thus ka ces pa bsdus pa'i le'u</i> —p. 443-449	∅
∅	44. <i>dMag dpon chen po brgyad kyi thog ser skyin thang dbab pa'i le'u</i> —p. 449-457	∅
∅	45. <i>gZa' mchog ming sring gi thun gyi bskul ba las kyi le'u</i> —p. 457-460	∅
∅	46. <i>gZa' mchog gi phur pa bsgrub pa dang las rim bsdus pa'i le'u</i> —p. 460-463	∅
43. <i>Las kyi mdo byang</i> —p. 155-156	47. <i>Las kyi mdo byang</i> —p. 463-464	∅
44. <i>Bya thabs lag len nying khu'i le'u</i> —p. 156-161	48. <i>Bya thabs nyams len nying khu'i le'u</i> —p. 464-470	30. <i>Bya thabs lag len nying khu'i skabs</i> —p. 678-683
45. <i>Phyogs skyong gshin rje bskul ba'i le'u</i> —p. 161-168	49. <i>Phyogs skyong gi gshed bsko ba'i le'u</i> —p. 470-474	31. <i>Phyogs skyong gi gshed bsko ba'i skabs</i> —p. 683-690
46. <i>Nyi ma bzhi lha bzhi ging bzhi la 'phrin las bcol ba'i le'u</i> —p. 168-170	50. <i>Nyi ma bzhi'i lha'i ging bzhi la 'phrin las bcol ba'i le'u</i> —p. 474-476	32. <i>Nyin bzhi lha'i ging bzhi la 'phrin las shin tu dbyed pa'i skabs</i> —p. 673-692
47. <i>gTum chen la bstod pa'i le'u</i> —p. 170-172	51. <i>gTum chen la bstod pa'i le'u</i> —p. 476-479	33. <i>gTum chen la bstod pa'i skabs</i> —p. 692-695
48. <i>'Gyur med tshe'i le'u</i> —p. 172-174	∅	∅
49. <i>Thun mong yon tan bstan pa'i le'u</i> —p. 174-176	∅	∅
∅	52. <i>gDug pa klu'i zla gsang mdze nad dzwa li 'khor lo'i le'u</i> —p. 479-493	∅
50. <i>sTong gsum mun par gtong ba bdud phyi ltar bsgrub pa'i le'u</i> —p. 176-186	53. <i>bdud kyi zla gsang stong gsum mun par gtong ba'i le'u dang bdud phyi ltar bsgrub pa'i le'u</i> —p. 493-504	34. <i>sTong gsum mun par gtong ba bdud phyi ltar bsgrub pa'i skabs</i> —p. 695-705
51. <i>bdud nang ltar sgrub pa'i le'u</i> —p. 186-190	54. <i>bdud nang ltar sgrub pa'i le'u</i> —p. 504-507	35. <i>bdud nang ltar sgrub pa'i skabs</i> —p. 705-709
52. <i>bdud gsang ba ltar sgrub pa'i le'u</i> —p. 190-192	55. <i>bdud kyi zla ba gsang bar bstan pa'i le'u</i> —p. 507-510	36. <i>bdud gsang ba ltar sgrub pa'i skabs</i> —p. 709-711
53. Missing?	∅	∅

Zla gsang nag po 1: the "thrice revised" version	Zla gsang nag po 2: another later version, revised and completed	Zla gsang nag po 3: gNubs chen's translation (oldest version)
54. 'Jig rten mes sreg par byed pa btsan gyi zla gsang gi le'u — p. 192-194	56. 'Jig rten mes sreg par byed pa btsan gyi zla gsang gi le'u — p. 510-513	37. 'Jig rten gyi khams mes bsreg pa btsan gyi zla gsang skabs — p. 711-715
55. 'Jig rten khams mes bsreg pa btsan nang ltar sgrub pa'i le'u — p. 194-196	57. 'Jig rten gyi khams mes bsreg pa btsan gyi zla gsang gi le'u — p. 513-515	38. 'Jig rten gyi khams mes bsreg pa btsan gyi zla gsang skabs — p. 715-717
56. 'Jig rten gyi khams mes bsreg pa btsan nang ltar sgrub pa'i le'u — p. 196-198	58. 'Jig rten gyi khams mes bsreg pa btsan gyi zla gsang gi le'u — p. 515-516	39. 'Jig rten gyi khams mes bsreg pa btsan gyi zla gsang skabs — p. 717-718
57. Chu 'khyags khrag tu dbab pa khyab 'jug gza'i zla gsang gi le'u — p. 198-206	59. Chu 'khyags khrag tu dbab pa khyab 'jug gza'i zla gsang gi le'u — p. 516-527	40. Chu 'khyags drag tu dbab pa gza'i zla gsang gi le'u — p. 718-728
58. Chu 'khyags khrag tu dbab pa l gza' nang ltar sgrub pa'i le'u — p. 206-207	60. Chu 'khyags khrag tu dbab pa khyab 'jug gza'i zla gsang — p. 527-528	41. gZa' nang ltar bsgrub pa'i le'u — p. 728-729
59. Chu 'khyags khrag tu dbab pa gza' gsang ba ltar sgrub pa'i le'u — p. 207-212	61. Chu 'khyags khrag tu dbab pa khyab 'jug gza'i zla gsang — p. 528-533	42. Chu 'khyags drag tu dbab pa gza'i zla gsang skabs — p. 729-734
60. gNam lcags thog 'bebs kyi le'u — p. 212-218	62. 'Jig rten du thog dbab lha'i zla gsang gi le'u — p. 533-539	43. 'Jig rten du thog dbab lha'i zla gsang skabs — p. 734-741
61. Drag po las rgod kyi le'u — p. 218-221	∅	∅
62. 'Jig rten du thog dbab lha'i zla gsang gi le'u — p. 221-225	63. Thog dbab lha'i zla gsang nang du sgrub pa'i le'u — p. 339-547	44. Thog dbab lha'i zla gsang skabs — p. 741-749
63. Thog dbab lha'i zla gsang gi le'u — p. 225-234	∅	∅
64. 'Jig rten gyi khams su thog dbab pa lha'i zla gsang gi le'u — p. 234-236	64. 'Jig rten khams su thog dbab zla gsang las gsang bar sgrub pa'i le'u — p. 547-550	45. 'Jig rten du thog dbab lha'i zla gsang skabs — p. 749-751
65. Nad ngan dbab pa ma mo'i zla gsang gi le'u — p. 236-242	65. Ngan sngags sna tshogs dbab pa ma mo'i zla gsang bstan pa'i le'u — p. 550-557	46. Nad ngan dbab pa ma mo'i zla gsang skabs — p. 751-758
66. Yams nad kyi bdag mo ma mo'i zla gsang gi le'u — p. 242-248	66. Yams nad kyi bdag mo ma mo'i zla gsang bstan pa'i le'u — p. 557-564	47. Yams kyi bdag mo ma mo zla gsang skabs — p. 758-766
67. Nad ngan sna tshogs gtong ba ma mo'i zla gsang gi le'u — p. 248-250	67. Nad ngan sna tshogs btang ba'i ma mo'i zla gsang gi le'u — p. 564-566	48. Nad ngan sna tshogs gtong ba ma mo'i zla gsang skabs — p. 766-768
68. rGyal po phyi ltar bsgrubs te smyo 'bog btang ba'i le'u — p. 250-254	68. rGyal po phyi ltar bsgrubs te l smyo 'bog btang ba'i le'u — p. 566-571	49. rGyal po phyi ltar sgrub pa'i skabs — p. 768-772
69. sMyo 'bog gi zla gsang rgyal po nang ltar bsgrub pa'i le'u — p. 254-258	69. rGyal po nang du bsgrub te smyo 'bog btang ba'i le'u — p. 571-576	50. sMyo 'bog zla gsang rgyal po nang du bsgrub pa'i skabs — p. 772-777
70. rGyal po gsang ba ltar bsgrubs pa l smyo 'bog tu gtang ba'i le'u — p. 258-263	70. rGyal po zla gsang nag po gsang ba ltar bsgrubs te l smyo 'bog btang ba'i le'u — p. 576-582	51. sMyo 'bogs btang ba'i skabs — p. 777-783
71. Srog gcod spu gri gnod sbyin gyi zla gsang gang ba bzang po phyi ltar bsgrub pa'i le'u — p. 263-265	71. Srog gcod spu gri gnod sbyin gyi zla gsang l gang ba bzang po phyi ltar bsgrub pa'i le'u — p. 582-584	52. Gang ba bzang po phyi ltar bsgrub pa'i skabs — p. 783-785
72. Gang ba bzang po nang ltar sgrub pa'i le'u — p. 265-267	72. Srog gcod spu gri gnod sbyin gyi zla gsang l gang ba	53. Gang ba bzang po nang du bsgrub pa'i skabs — p. 785-787

<i>Zla gsang nag po 1: the "thrice revised" version</i>	<i>Zla gsang nag po 2: another later version, revised and completed</i>	<i>Zla gsang nag po 3: gNubs chen's translation (oldest version)</i>
	<i>bzang po nang du sgrub pa'i le'u—p. 584-586</i>	
73. <i>Srog gcod spu gri gnod sbyin gyi zla gsang l gsang ba ltar sgrub pa'i le'u—p. 267-268</i>	73. <i>Srog gcod spu gri gnod sbyin gyi zla gsang l gang ba bzang po gsang bar bsgrub pa'i le'u—p. 586-588</i>	54. <i>Gang ba bzang po gsang bar bsgrub pa'i skabs—p. 787-789</i>
∅	see above: 52. <i>gDug pa klu'i zla gsang mdze nad dzwa li 'khor lo'i le'u—p. 479-493</i>	55. <i>gDug pa klu'i skabs—p. 789-795</i> 56. <i>gDug pa klu'i nang ltar bsgrub pa'i skabs—p. 795-801</i>
74. <i>mDze nad dzwa la gdug pa'i klu'i zla gsang gi le'u—p. 268-282</i>		57. <i>mDze nad dzwa la gdug pa'i klu'i zla gsang skabs—p. 801-802</i>
75. <i>'Jigs byed chen pos gdams dang l 'khor rnams rjes su yi rangs nas l dam bcas pa'i le'u—p. 282-283¹⁵⁰</i>	74. <i>'Khor phun sum tshogs pa'i don bstod pa dang l man ngag rtsa ba'i thabs bstan pa'i le'u—p. 588-591¹⁵¹</i>	58. <i>rGyud gtad pa'i skabs—p. 802-803</i>

Appendix 3 *bKa' ma Yamāntaka Lineages*

The chart below is a synthesis of the lineages found in the following eight texts, from the beginning to the time of gTer bdag gling pa. The latter may not have been more central than, e.g., *Byang bdag* bKras shis stobs rgyal, but we are better informed on the *bKa' ma* lineages that he gathered as they are the basis for bDud 'joms rin po che's later *bKa' ma* compilation.

1. gZhan phan mtha' yas¹⁵² (completed by bDud 'joms rin po che), *Jam dpal gshin rje gshed kha thun gyi dbang brgyud pa'i gsol 'debs*: KSG, vol 4, pp. 657-659. Contains a complete line of masters through gTer bdag gling pa down to *Khyab bdag 'Gyur med phan bde'i 'od zer*, and then *rtsa ba'i bla ma* (bDud 'joms rin po che).
2. rNgog gi ston pa bSod nam shes rab, *gShin rje dmar po'i bla ma brgyud pa'i lo rgyus* vol. 5, pp. 7-23.
3. dKon mchog rdo rje, disciple of Kumāravajra (gZhon nu rdo rje), *Jam dpal gzhon nur rol pa'i sgom byang*. Vol. 5, pp. 115-122.

¹⁵⁰ Colophon: triple revision of the translation. Obscure formula about the way it was hidden because it is secret and dangerous.

¹⁵¹ Colophon: a little conclusion telling how the *tantra* was hidden 'Jam dpal bshes gnyen and later found by Jñanagarbha, then passed to Nam mkha' snying po. No indication of a translator, etc. The 5th Dalai Lama's opinion that this *tantra* was translated by gNubs Nam mkha' snying po seems to be inspired by this colophon in which he is the first named Tibetan master.

¹⁵² *rGyal sras* gZhan phan mtha' yas, bdr P697 (1800–1855).

4. gNubs Seng ge rgyal mtshan,¹⁵³ *sNyan brgyud rin chen phreng ba*. Vol. 5, pp. 269-334.
5. gNubs Seng ge rgyal mtshan, *'Jam dpal dmar po'i dbang gi rim pa'i dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga*. Vol. 6, pp. 5-32.
6. gNubs ston Ratna, *bCom ldan 'das dpal gshin rje'i gshed dmar po'i rig 'dzin bskul ba*. Vol. 6, pp. 71-80.
7. gZhan phan mtha' yas (completed by bDud 'joms rin po che), *Jam dpal gshin rje gshed dmar po'i brgyud 'debs*. Vol. 6, pp. 317-319.
8. *gShin rje gdong drug gi brgyud 'debs*. Vol. 6, p. 467-468.

<i>'Jam dpal gshin rje'i gshed kha thun nag po</i>	<i>gShin rje gshed dmar</i>		<i>gShin rje gdong drug</i>
			Kun tu bzang po
			rDo rje 'chang
	Ma ru rtse (=Raktayamāri)		'Jam dpal gshin rje gshed
	<i>gSang bdag Zla 'od</i>		<i>gSang bdag</i>
	Mañjuśrimitra or Sāntimgharba		Mañjuśrimitra
	Dhanadala ¹⁵⁴	Padmasambhava, (+ Srī Siṅha, Khri srong lde'u btsan...)	Padma-sambhava
Vasudhara	Vasudhara	<i>Bal mo bZa' gSer phreng and gNubs Nam mkha'i snying po</i>	Bal po Nor 'dzin bzang [Vasudhara]
gNubs Sangs rgyas ye shes (804–914?)¹⁵⁵			
gNubs Khu lung pa Yon tan rgya mtsho¹⁵⁶			
Padma dbang rgyal (son of Khu lung pa Yon tan rgya mtsho)			
His other son Ye shes rgya mtsho, presented as the one who was instructed by Yon tan rgya mtsho about where to find the casket with Dhanadala's teachings. But Padma dbang rgyal hears the instruction, steals the casket, and goes.			
<i>Chos kyi dbon rtsa Khro 'bar chos kyi rgyal</i>	'Jam dpal, son of Padma dbang rgyal. Also called <i>Chen po 'Jam dpal</i>		
	<i>alternative lineage for gShin rje gshed dmar</i>		

¹⁵³ A student of Rwa lo tsā ba, so, active in the early 12th century.

¹⁵⁴ Sometimes presented as receiving teachings from Padmasambhava.

¹⁵⁵ Sometimes gNubs Sangs rgyas ye shes and gNubs khu lung pa Yon tan rgya mtsho are inverted in the *gShed dmar* lineages.

¹⁵⁶ In the *gShin rje'i gshed dmar* narrative, it is not only Sangs rgyas ye shes, but also Yon tan rgya mtsho that goes to India / Nepal and received teaching from Vasudhara, Khrag 'thung nag po and gTsug las dpal dge.

'Jam dpal gshin rje'i gshed kha thun nag po		gShin rje gshed dmar		gShin rje gdong drug	
Hūm chen bKra shis dar	Hūm chen ¹⁵⁷	Jo mo so gad Rag shi ston pa, or Jo mo So gad bza' rgan ne, or Jo mo So rgad bza'			
Dar ma seng	De sras Hūm grags	Ye shes gzungs, son of Chen po 'Jam dpal. ¹⁵⁸			
	sKye bu 'bar	According to a description of a lineage found in the 5th Dalai Lama's gSan yig, ¹⁵⁹ he was a direct disciple of rGya Zhang khrom.			
	rDo rje bdud 'dul				
	rDo rje dpal	His sons: Kun dga' rdo rje snying po (also called Jo rdor Kun dga' rdo rje)	Sa 'dzin Dharmarāja (or Re Dharmarāja); bSam gtan. One of these is also called lHa rje gNubs chung, ¹⁶⁰ Mi la ras pa's master for destructive magic.	Lo tsā ba rMa ban chos 'bar	Zhang btsun 'Khor 'bar
dKon mchog seng ge	Seng ge rgyal mtshan, son of Kun dga' rdo rje snying po (lHa rje—, Jo rdor gyi sras Seng ge rgyal mtshan).	lHa rje dBang gzhon		rTse'u sa pa	Rig 'dzin Zhang rgyal mtshan
		lHa rje rGyal hor	Seng ge bkra shis	Ras pa dBu yu ba	
lHa rje Hūm chen	lHa rje Chos dbang, son of Seng ge rgyal mtshan and sras lHa rje Chos seng	Bla ma Dar ma seng ge [see also column on the left]		Rwa lo tsā ba rDo rje grags pa (1016?-1128?)	lCags spyil ba ¹⁶¹
lHa rje bKra shis dar	Bla ma chen po bKra shis dar ¹⁶²				dKon mchog bzang po
	Dharmarāja, son of Ye shes gzungs				

¹⁵⁷ gNubs kyi gdung brgyud lHa rje Hūm chen, probably the same person as Hūm chen bKra shis dar.

¹⁵⁸ In some versions, Ye shes gzungs appear before Jo mo So gad bza' rgan ne (maybe his mother).

¹⁵⁹ gTer ston rgya | lha rje ye shes gzungs | mtshur ston rin rdor | sku Zhang dpal ldan | rje tshul rin | sngags 'chang byang mgon nam mkha'i mtshan can | tshul khrims zhabs | rgya rigs 'dzin gsang ba |, etc.

¹⁶⁰ lHa rje gNubs chung was himself a gter ston, source of the Yang zlog me'i spru gri cycle preserved in the Rin chen gter mdzod. He was a disciple of rGya Zhang khrom.

¹⁶¹ Maybe the figure mentioned below under the name rDo ston lCags spe ba as a direct disciple of gNubs Ye shes rgya mtsho. It is plain that in the first generations of these lineages, figures that actually belong to the same generations are presented as masters and disciples; hence, probably, the fact that in some lines, we get many more intermediary links than in others.

¹⁶² Also, a direct teacher to Bla ma Dar ma seng ge—the figure appearing in the box to his right, but also below.

'Jam dpal gshin rje'i gshed kha thun nag po		gShin rje gshed dmar		gShin rje gdong drug	
		His son lHa rje dBang gzhon			sGrol chen bSam rdo ¹⁶³
		His son lHa rje rGya hor			
		His son lHa rje Chos seng and his brother lHa rje Chos dbang			
		The son of Chos seng, <i>Bla ma chen po</i> bKra shis dar. He was invited in the country of the Mongols who made him a <i>ti shri</i> .			rNam rgyal bzang po
	<i>Bla ma Dar ma seng ge</i>				
lHa rje Seng dar		lHa rje Seng ge dar, elder son of the previous. He has two other ones, 'Jam dpal rgyal and 'Jam pa'i dpal; all receive the complete transmissions.			Nam mkha' dpal ldan
gNubs nag Ye rgyal		<i>Bla ma Ye shes rgyal mtshan</i>	<i>Bla ma Ye shes rgya mtsho</i> ¹⁶⁴		<i>Chos rgyal dPal bzang po</i>
		Ye shes seng ge, son of Seng ge dar			
Grags rgyal		lHa rje Ye shes dpal, Ye shes seng ge's brother		gNubs <i>kyi ban dhe</i> Seng ge rgyal mtshan. He clearly presents himself as a direct disciple of <i>Rwa lo tsā ba</i> .	
Thar pa rgyal mtshan		lHa rje Blo gros [disciple of lHa rje Ye shes dpal]	Glan ston chen po		Kun bzang ba
'Dzam gling nag po		Glan ston 'Jam dpal seng ge			
Chos grags rgya mtsho ¹⁶⁵	Kumāravajra (gzhon nu rdo rje)	gNubs Kun dga' bkra shis		Kun dga' bkra shis	Ngag dbang rdo rje
		<i>mKhas grub rGyal sras chos rje</i>			

¹⁶³ sGrol ma bSam 'grub rdo rje (1295–1334); bdr:P5234.

¹⁶⁴ It is not unlikely that the three figures I have set on this line, gNubs nag Ye rgyal, *Bla ma Ye she rgyal mtshan* and *Bla ma Ye she rgya mtsho*, are one and the same.

¹⁶⁵ Could be 'Bri gung chung tshang 01 Chos kyi grags pa (1595–1659).

'Jam dpal gshin rje'i gshed kha thun nag po		gShin rje gshed dmar		gShin rje gdong drug	
rDo rje dpal 'bar	dKon mchog rdo rje	rNgog gi ston pa bSod nam shes rab			rNam rgyal rdo rje
'Jam dbyangs mtshan ¹⁶⁶		?	sNgags 'chang Legs pa dpal bzang		
Nam mkha' thog thug			bSod nams dbang rgyal	gNubs ston Ratna	dPal ldan bkra shis
rDo rje stobs ldan			rDo rje rgyal po		
Khro rgyal rdo rje			mThu chen nyi ma		Se ston Legs grub
rNam rgyal rdo rje			Karma phrin las		
			Kun dga' bstan 'dzin		
Chos dbyings (Zur chen rang grol, 1604–1669)			rDo rje tshe rab		rGya ston Chos dbyings [=Zur Chos dbyings rang grol]
			rNam rgyal bzang po		
gTer bdag gling pa (1646–1714)					

Appendix 4 Lineages of 'Jam dpal tshe bdag

This is compiled on the basis of all the segments of lineage that appear here and there in the ten volumes. As the result is barely readable as such, it was not possible to give full reference for the source of each information, which would have filled the pages with footnotes. I have, however, added information, especially from the 5th Dalai Lama's *gSan yig*, whenever I felt it was required.

A Chart of the transmission lineages of 'Jam dpal tshe bdag						
['Jam dpal] rDo rje 'chang ou Kun tu bzang po					Kun tu bzang po Phyag rgya zil gnon	
'Jam dpal bshes gnyen	gSang ba'i bdag po Phyag na rdo rje		dGa' rab rdo rje	Phyag na rdo rje	rDo rje sems dpa'	Phyag na rdo rje
	dGa' rab rdo rje	'Jam dpal bshes gnyen	lHa'i bu Tshangs pa		dGa' rab rdo rje	lHa'i bu Tshangs pa
	'Jam dpal gshin rje		Nyi ma			lHa'i bu Nyi ma
			lHa'i bu Dhe wa mchog ldan			lHa'i bu bDe ba mchog ldan
	mKha' 'gro ma Zla ba'i 'od zer			mKha' 'gro ma Zla ba'i 'od zer		
Siñ tam gar bha						
Khrag 'thung nag po						

¹⁶⁶ 'Jam dbyangs chos rje in gTer bdag gling pa's *Thob yig rin chen 'byung gnas*.

gTsug lag dpal dge			gTsug lag dpal dge		'Jam dpal bshes gnyen				
	Da na dha la	Padma-sambhava	Sīntam-garbha	Padma-sambhava	Da na dha la	Padmasambhava	gTsug lag dpal dge		Padma-sambhava
			Dana-dhala				Rombuguhya		
Gu ya de va tsan ta	Khrag 'thung nag po						Devacandra		Khrag 'thung nag po
							Sāntimgarbha		
							Da na dha la		
							Khrag 'thung nag po		
Vasudhara (Bā / Bha / Ba su dha ra—Slob dpon Nor 'dzin)									
					gTsug lag dpal dge				gTsug lag dpal dge
					dPal gyi seng ge	Sīn-tam-garbha	Da na dha la		
					Khrag 'thung nag po				
					Phung byed Sīntam garbha				
					Bal po Ba su dha ra				
gNubs Sangs rgyas ye shes									
	Yon tan rgya mtsho							gNubs Yon tan rgya mtsho	
	Ye shes rgya mtsho							So Ye shes dbang phyug	
	Mi ston Dran chung ¹⁶⁷							Padma dbang rgyal	
rGya Zhang khrom	Dran ston mtha' bral	gTer ston rGya Zhang khrom							
gNubs lCags gtum nag po	Me ston Kun rin ¹⁶⁸	Bral te Sambo ta							gNubs ston Dar dbang
gNubs ston Chos grags	bKra shis rgyal mtshan	Gangs pa (or Gang ban) bKras shis [dar]			'Bro ldog tshang ba'i Ye shes bla ma			gNubs chen Gu ru mchog ldan	gNubs chu ng ¹⁶⁹
		Slob dpon lHa bsgom, or Bla ma Gang pa,			Rong jo sras Yang rtse stag			mThu can rGyal mtshan lhun grub	

¹⁶⁷ Known in the 5th Dalai Lama's *gSan yig* as Me ston Dran chung.

¹⁶⁸ Known in the 5th Dalai Lama's *gSan yig* as Me ston dKon mchog rin chen.

¹⁶⁹ Son of Padma dbang rgyal.

	or Gang(s) pa Ri dkar ¹⁷⁰							
gNubs Bya bral ¹⁷¹			mThun Gang[s pa] Śā kya 'bum ¹⁷²		Zhang Ge god dar			
					dGe bshes Songs ston			
rDo rje rgyal po ¹⁷³	rGyal ba g.Yung ston rDo rje dpal (1284–1365) ¹⁷⁴				Dam pa Rog chung ba			
	'Brom ston Tshe'i rgyal mtshan ¹⁷⁵	Sāk mgon ¹⁷⁶	Bal po sMon lam seng ge	Phag ston Śā kya mgon po	rGya bran smyon pa			
	A yu śa rā ja ¹⁷⁷	sGo m gra rtag pa	'Od zer seng ge ¹⁷⁸	sPug ston dPal mgon ¹⁷⁹	Grag stag sgom rgan	rDzas sgom nag po		

¹⁷⁰ In the 5th Dalai Lama's *gSan yig*, the link between bKra shis rgyal mtshan and Śā kya 'bum is called *Bla ma mThar phyin lha sgom*, but this is clearly the same person under so many names.

¹⁷¹ Identified in the 5th Dalai Lama's *gSan yig* as *gNubs bya bral ba skal ldan rDo rje rgyal po*. In other sources, *gNubs bya bral ba* and *rDo rje rgyal po* seem to be two different persons. This is more likely: we have very few names in this column to connect *rGya Zhang khrom* to *rDo rje rgyal po*, a contemporary of *Klong chen pa*.

¹⁷² Known in the 5th Dalai Lama's *gSan yig* as *mThu chen Gangs pa Śāk 'bum*. So, it is quite possible that "mThun," here, is a mis-development of an abbreviation meaning *mthu chen*.

¹⁷³ Known in the 5th Dalai Lama's *gSan yig* as *mChims rDo rje spre chung gi skye ba bskal ldan rDo rje rgyal po*. We have seen above that he is mentioned as a disciple of *Myon mthing ma ba Sangs rgyas grags 'od*; hence, he must be a contemporary of *Klong chen pa*, in the first half of the 14th century. *rDo rje rgyal po* is also found (*Byang gter 'don cha'i legs bam*, vol. *nga*, p. 143) in a lineage of the Rāhula system from *Padma las 'brel rtsal*, in which he appears as a disciple of *Grag pa 'od zer*, himself disciple of *Lo ston rDo rje 'bum*, who was an assistant of *Padma las 'brel rtsal* in discovering the treasure in 1313 (see in this volume in the article about *Rin chen gling pa*). *rDo rje rgyal po* should then belong to the late 14th and maybe early 15th centuries. The next figures of the same lineage, *Dharmaketu*, *Chos kyi blo gros*, etc., are also mentioned in the same order in this prayer.

¹⁷⁴ *g.Yung ston pa rDo rje dpal* obviously plays an important role in the transmission of the *Yamāntaka* lineages that ultimately befell to the *Byang gter rDo rje brag lugs*.

¹⁷⁵ Known in the 5th Dalai Lama's *gSan yig* as *'Gro mgon Tshe bdag pa*.

¹⁷⁶ Known in the 5th Dalai Lama's *gSan yig* as *Bag ston Śāk mgon*

¹⁷⁷ This is in fact *Tshe dbang rgyal po*, a.k.a. *bsTan gnyis gling pa* (1480–1535). *Tshe dbang rgyal po* was also a direct master to *Rig 'dzin Legs ldan rje* according to the 5th Dalai Lama's *gSan yig*.

¹⁷⁸ Known in the 5th Dalai Lama's *gSan yig* as a disciple of *sMon lam seng ge*.

¹⁷⁹ A grand-disciple of *g.Yung ston pa* by this name (*dPal ldan mgon po*) appears in the 5th Dalai Lama's *gSan yig*, but as disciple of another disciple of *g.Yung ston pa*: *Phag ston Śāk mgon*. Interestingly, his disciple is then *Chos kyi rgyal mtshan*—most probably the *Dharmaketu* / [*rDor gling*] *Chos kyi rgyal mtshan* below.

Dhar ma- ketu ¹⁸⁰	gDar <i>ban</i> Kun dga' bkra shis	Zil gnon rdo rje	<i>Chos rje</i> dPal ba ¹⁸¹	
		Brag <i>ston</i> gso <i>rigs</i> Legs ldan rdo rje	dNgos grub sding pa ¹⁸²	
			<i>rje btsun</i> rin po che ¹⁸³	<i>mKhas grub</i> Chos kyi rgyal mtshan ¹⁸⁴
			Rin chen chos kyi blo gros ¹⁸⁶	Gung ru <i>gdung</i> 'dzin
			Kong <i>chen</i> Nam mkha' dpal ldan rgya mtsho ¹⁸⁸	<i>sGrub pa</i> mo lHa mo
Rig 'dzin bDud 'joms rdo rje ¹⁸⁹		dBang po sde ¹⁹⁰	<i>Grub chen</i> Byang rgyal ba ¹⁹¹	
<i>rGyal</i> <i>dbang</i> Rin chen phun		Zhang <i>ston</i> Tshe bdag rnam rgyal	Phag <i>ston</i> rNal 'byor mgon po	

¹⁸⁰ Known in the 5th Dalai Lama's *gSan yig* as *rGyal ba g.Yung gi skye ba* Dharma ketu. This is coherent with his master rDo rje rgyal po being a contemporary of Klong chen pa, as g.Yung *ston pa* died one year after Klong chen pa, in 1365. Must be the same person as [rDor gling] Chos kyi rgyal mtshan in the box on the right.

¹⁸¹ Appears in the 5th Dalai Lama's *gSan yig* as *mKhas grub* Chos rje dpal and as a disciple of 'Od zer seng ge.

¹⁸² Known in the 5th Dalai Lama's *gSan yig* as *Bla ma* dNgos grub sdings pa.

¹⁸³ Most probably the same person as Dharmaketu / [rDor gling] Chos kyi rgyal mtshan.

¹⁸⁴ rDor gling Chos kyi rgyal mtshan, according to the 5th Dalai Lama's *gSan yig*. Must be the same person as Dharmaketu in the box on the left.

¹⁸⁵ In the 5th Dalai Lama's *gSan yig*: Kong long ral *gsum gyi bla ma rin po che* Chos kyi blo gros.

¹⁸⁶ *Rin po che* Chos kyi blo gros in the 5th Dalai Lama's *gSan yig*.

¹⁸⁷ Bdr:P5596, master of Yol mo *sprul sku* I Śākya bzang po (same information in *Khyab 'jug gi brgyud 'debs*, in *Byang gter 'don cha'i legs bam*, vol. nga, p. 144). In the 5th Dalai Lama's *gSan yig*: Kong *chen* Nam mkha' dpal ldan, master of both mNga' ris *pan chen* (1487–1542) and Legs ldan rje. In the parallel passage of the 5th Dalai Lama's *gSan yig*, mNga' ris *pan chen* is indeed inserted between Nam mkha' dpal ldan and Legs ldan rje.

¹⁸⁸ Bdr:P5596, master of Yol mo *sprul sku* I Śākya bzang po. In the 5th Dalai Lama's *gSan yig*, he passes this lineage not to *Byang bdag* bKra shis stobs rgyal, but to mNga' ris *pan chen*.

¹⁸⁹ Rig 'dzin Legs ldan rje (1512 or 1542–1564 or 1625?).

¹⁹⁰ *Byang bdag* bKras shis stobs rgyal.

¹⁹¹ *Byang chub* rgyal mtshan, according to the 5th Dalai Lama's *gSan yig*.

tshogs 192					
Yongs 'dzin Rin chen dpal ¹⁹³			bSe ban 'Dzam gling	sGom pa grag stag pa ¹⁹⁴	
Sangs rgyas rin chen					
'Bri gung rig 'dzin Chos kyi grags pa ¹⁹⁵					



¹⁹² 'Bri gung Rin chen phun tshogs (1509–1557 or more probably 1547–1602)

¹⁹³ This is the author of the complement to Rin chen phun tshogs' autobiography in bdr:MW23169.

¹⁹⁴ Brag ltag pa rDo rje rin chen in the 5th Dalai Lama's *gSan yig*.

¹⁹⁵ 1595–1659.