

The Great *Yakṣa* of bSam yas: Ngag gi dbang po and the Tsi'u dmar po Oracle

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As the institutional and incarnational identities associated with the Northern Treasures (*byang gter*) lineage solidified around the turn of the seventeenth century, Tibet was locked in a prolonged civil war between the central Tibetan territories of dBus and gTsang, on top of dealing with the mercurial encroachment of invading Mongolian troops along the borders. It was the Third rDo rje brag rig 'dzin Ngag gi dbang po (1580–1639) who was the historical linchpin for the Northern Treasures tradition at this time. He was the first throne-holder of rDo rje brag Monastery, the lineage's regional stronghold, as well as the reincarnation of the Second rDo rje brag rig 'dzin, Legs ldan rdo rje (1512–1580/1625), and the maternal uncle and teacher of the Fifth Dalai Lama (1617-1682). It is no surprise then that the Great Fifth wrote the first biography of this figure, entitled the *Wonderfully Arrayed Ocean: A Biography for the Great Rig 'dzin of the North, Ngag gi dbang po*.¹ This work is more than a paean for Ngag gi dbang po, however, as it is a rich resource for understanding the political, religious, and ritual history of the age preceding the rise of the Dalai Lama's Dga' ldan pho brag administration.

One underexplored relationship revealed in this biography is between Ngag gi dbang po and the Dharma protector (*chos skyong*) Tsi'u dmar po, a central guardian of bSam yas, Tibet's first Buddhist monastery. This deity's mythic pedigree traces him back to the eighth century founding of the monastery, as well as his subjugation and appointment as a guardian by Padmasambhava. However, Tsi'u dmar po's treasure literature was first rediscovered and promoted in the sixteenth century by the famous Northern Treasures master and treasure revealer mNga' ris paṅ chen Padma dbang rgyal (1487-1542), as well as his brother Legs ldan rdo rje, Ngag gi dbang po's former incarnation. The deity's relationship with this incarnation line not only continued but was clearly strengthened into the next century. An oracle for the deity had been established at bSam yas by then, under

¹ *Byang pa rig 'dzin chen po ngag gi dbang po'i rnam par thar pa ngo mtshar bkod pa rgya mtsho*; see Tā la'i bla ma 05 2015.

the auspices of the monastery's Sa skya hierarchs,² and Ngag gi dbang po consulted a medium of the deity on numerous occasions on matters of regional stability. What follows are five vignettes illustrating the relationship between this god and this man, drawn from his biography by the Fifth Dalai Lama. These anecdotes reveal not only the multivalent utility Tsi'u dmar po offered to this Northern Treasures master, but it may suggest something about the Fifth Dalai Lama's own compositional motivations as well as encourage further observations on the engagement of oracles in Tibetan history and culture.

The Fifth Dalai Lama composed the *Wonderfully Arrayed Ocean* at 'Bras spungs Monastery in 1654. Nearly the first half of the work actually concerns the heritage and origins of the Northern Treasures tradition overall. The text spends considerable time on brief biographies of the first rDo rje brag rig 'dzin rGod ldem 'phru can (1337–1409), as well as Legs ldan rdo rje and Ngag gi dbang po's father Byang bdag bKra shis stobs rgyal (d. 1603), who was considered a reincarnation of mNga' ris pañ chen. With Ngag gi dbang po being a reincarnation of the latter's brother, Legs ldan rdo rje, it seems fitting that my first vignette involves him and his engagement with the Tsi'u dmar po oracle. This encounter took place in 1568:

One time, [Legs ldan rdo rje] wanted to dispatch the great *yakṣa* (*gnod sbyin*) of bSam yas, Tsi dmar ba, in his gentle aspect, so he resided in meditative retreat at Mount Has po [outside bSam yas]. The Dharma protector was clairvoyantly aware of this and directly took possession of a person. The [Dharma protector] said, 'If soldiers gather at bSam yas's center and obstacles arise, [use] the power of your *samādhi* meditation.' Then [the oracle of] the Dharma protector fell back in a faint. Later, because [the oracle] was strained to the breaking point, [the Dharma protector] did not possess a person for a long time. At that time, the great master revealed himself directly and said in a displeased manner, 'I appointed [Tsi dmar ba] the guardian of [bSam yas] monastery, yet he is not acting like it!' Because of this, the great Dharma protector was freed from restraint and able to possess a person [once more].³

² See Macdonald 1978.

³ Tā la'i bla ma 05 2015, pp. 335-336: *skabs shig bsam yas kyi gnod sbyin chen po tsi dmar ba rgyud 'jam du gtong bar bzhed nas/ has po rir sku mtshams la bzhugs pas chos skyong gis mngon shes kyis rig nas mi'i khog la dngos su zhugs/ bsam yas mthil pa rnam dmag la bskul te bar chad byed par 'ongs pa na/ ting nge 'dzin gyi nus pas chos skyong gan rgyal du 'gyel/ slar ar la gtad pas yun ring po'i bar mi'i khog la 'jug rgyu ma byung / de'i tshes slob dpon chen pos dngos su zhal bstan nas/ ngas gtsug lag khang gi srung mar bskos pa*

It is clear who the boss is here, as Legs ldan rdo rje was not about to countenance Tsi'u dmar po's laxity, and the scene also gives us our first glimpse into the relationship between the deity and this incarnation line. The second vignette brings us to Legs ldan rdo rje's incarnation, Ngag gi dbang po himself, though the date in which this interaction took place is unclear. Five folios earlier we are told that the Tsi'u dmar po medium's name is Bla ma dpa' bo, which is mentioned here as well, but it seems this oracle of the deity is traveling with the master as he makes his way around eastern Tibet:

[Ngag gi dbang po] resided at a foothill pass where there was great concern over the Mongols. When he was performing the evening mending and restoring rites for his *samaya* oath, the *yakṣa* Tsi dmar ba's oracle, named Bla ma dpa' bo, that very night was surrounded by all the Dharma protectors and they completely [possessed] his body. Because of this, [the master] said, 'It must be that the attacks by the Mongolian troops will not happen.' [The Dharma protectors] replied, 'If you saw our omens and the manner in which most of us arrived, it is indeed so.'⁴

As with his warning to Legs ldan rdo rje, Tsi'u dmar po, and other protectors besides, are here through the vessel of his oracle to forecast the encroachment of Mongol troops in the area. The next, much longer vignette continues this trend and includes other miraculous omens as well. Since this episode is two folios long, I am summarizing events, while highlighting the interactions with the deity:⁵ Ngag gi dbang po and a group of his disciples were traveling to the area of Tre bo in the East to meet with the Tenth Kar ma pa Chos dbyings rdo rje (1604–1674), but they went the wrong way and ended up among an encampment of Mongolians who attacked them. As the skirmish was about to pick up, a black raven alighted on a nearby tent and sang melodious songs, causing the Mongolians to change their minds, put their faith in Ngag gi dbang po, and request blessings. With the help of these converted Mongolians, the master and his troupe made safe passage to a nearby monastery, and he recited the *Seven-Chapter*

la de 'dra ma byed ces mi dgyes pa'i rnam 'gyur mdzad pas/ bcings pa las bkrol te chos skyong chen po mi'i khog tu 'jug thub par gyur (sa 'brug 1568, 7th month, 10th evening).

⁴ Ibid, p. 387: *de nas sog dogs chen po yod pa'i la rtsa zhig tu bzhuḡs pa'i nub thugs dam bskang gso mdzad pa'i tshe gnod sbyin tsi dmar ba'i sku khog bla ma dpa' bo zer ba des/ do nub chos skyong thams cad sku la bskor nas khrig ge 'dug pas sog po'i dmag gi gnod pa mi 'ong ba 'dra zhus pa la/ nged rang gi mig ltas dang byings phebs lugs la bltas na de ka 'dug gsung.* Ibid, p. 377: *sku khog bla ma dpa' bo.*

⁵ Ibid, pp. 389-392.

*Prayer*⁶ for the monks there. One of the monks told him, "About a hundred Mongolians came down, crowded [like] a quiver, on this mountain face, [and] an ominous dark man hindered them, then vanished."⁷ Shortly after, at a nearby encampment, Ngag gi dbang po performed an extensive incense offering for Tsi'u dmar po and questioned his oracle about these auspicious omens. The oracle replied, "There was great danger at the mountain [shaped] like a three-legged hearth, so I came at that time – I was the raven, while the great dark man was Rāhula."⁸ Ngag gi dbang po then performed a thanksgiving feast for each of the Dharma protectors. He eventually arrived at Tre bo and sent a messenger to the Karma pa, but they were intercepted by Yang ri drung pa Kun dga' lhun grub, who was apparently a hypocritical and deceitful fellow. The Tsi'u dmar po oracle told Ngag gi dbang po, "Because this Yang ri drung pa is an emanation of the hindering spirit (*bdud*) Yag sher nag po, meeting with him will bring about obstructions and is dangerous to your life. You must perform the methods for subduing this opponent."⁹

With this lengthy episode, we see not only Tsi'u dmar po but the planetary deity (*gza'*) Rāhula make an appearance in different forms to quell or repel Mongolian threats. Even Machiavellian Tibetans prove equally dangerous here, and thus Tsi'u dmar po offers his mantic warnings to Ngag gi dbang po.

A fourth, likewise lengthy, vignette is also better served as a summary.¹⁰ Not long after his time in Tre bo, Ngag gi dbang po traveled to Mi nyag and met with people at a border-taming temple near bZhang ra lha rtse Mountain. The Tsi'u dmar po oracle asked those there three times, "Dar rtse mdo brethren, are you not about to break the golden yoke of China and Tibet?"¹¹ Then, after some discussion about quarreling in the area, he urgently requested of those assembled, "Then if about one day and night were to pass, [we] will not emerge from Dar rtse mdo. We must reach Ha ka and Ling tse, and the people of [Dar rtse] mdo must also go to relieve the troops of Ling tse. We

⁶ Tib. *gSol 'debs le'u bdun ma*.

⁷ Ibid, p. 390: *ri gdong 'di la sog po brgya tsam zhig sag thag rong nge babs byung ba mi smug yor re ba zhig gis bsgrigs nas gar song ma byung gsung*.

⁸ Ibid, p. 391: *ri skyed po spun gsum 'dra ba ru nyen chen po yod/ de dus nga 'ong byas pa de pho rog de yin/ mi smug po chen po de ra hu la yin zhes gsungs pas*.

⁹ Ibid, p. 392: *nub cig gnod sbyin chen po khog tu zhugs nas/ yang ri drung pa 'di bdud yag sher nag po'i sprul pa yin pas de dang phrad pas tshe la bar chad byung nyen yod/ mi mthun phyogs zil gyis gnong pa'i thabs mdzad dgos tshul gsungs*.

¹⁰ Ibid, pp. 394-396.

¹¹ Ibid, p. 394: *gnod sbyin chen po khog tu zhugs nas/ dar rtse mdo ba'i a po tsho/ rgya bod gnyis kyi gser gyi gnya' shing chag la khad pa de e tshor zhes lan gsum gsungs pas*.

must go immediately."¹² It is the people of these regional locales, Ha ka and Ling tse, that seem to be at odds with one another, with those of Ha ka especially being the aggressors. At one point the oracle again speaks, quipping, "Dar rtse mdo brethren, troops or shoulders without a head are weak."¹³ In any case, it took Ngag gi dbang po showcasing his own magical ability before the Ha ka forces were cowed. The text states that he flew to the top of the Ha ka fortress and caused flames to blaze all around it. The two sides then fearfully agreed to resolve the matter and the dispute between Ha ka and Ling tse was ended. Here it is not Mongolians that are cause for unrest but a local dispute among Tibetans in Dar rtse mdo. And while Ngag gi dbang po forcefully ended the dispute with his own powers, it was Tsi'u dmar po through his oracle that galvanized this decision.

My long-time friend and colleague, Jay Valentine, brought the following and final vignette to my attention. We actually troubled over how best to read this passage three years ago, so I hope I have a better handle on it now than I did then. Here we find that Ngag gi dbang po has returned to bSam yas Monastery in Central Tibet at the invitation of sDe pa Brag kha ba, the regional leader.¹⁴ The sDe pa is not the most steadfast individual, as he had initially allowed Ngag gi dbang po and his followers to stay at the Kham gsum zangs mkhar gling Temple near the monastic complex, but he reneged on the advice of some underhanded bSam yas monks. Nevertheless, Ngag gi dbang po had a productive and memorable time; he spent a week in retreat with some disciples in the bSam yas mChims phu valley revealing treasures, he made offerings at each of the many temples of the monastery, and he performed a thanksgiving offering for Tsi'u dmar po. However, in an echo of the tense engagement Legs ldan rdo rje had with the deity in the sixteenth century, Ngag gi dbang po needed to press Tsi'u dmar po into service once more after his capricious nature got the better of him. This event took place in 1618, one of the few times we're given a solid date.¹⁵ It seems the wife of bSam yas's sDe pa was seriously injured by Tsi'u dmar po, so they requested Ngag gi dbang po to intervene. The master at first frightened the sDe pa with his clairvoyant diagnosis, stating, "When you affixed to your threshold a *cakra* for severing the king [spirit's] path, the Great Dharma protector [Tsi'u dmar po] became enraged. In addition to god and man meeting

¹² Ibid, p. 395: *de nas zhag gcig tsam song ba na dar rtse mdo nas mi byung ste/ha ka dang ling tse gnyis thug mdo pa rnams kyang ling tse'i dmag rogs la 'gro dgos pa byung.*

¹³ Ibid, p. 395: *gnod sbyin pa khog tu zhugs tel dar rtse mdo pa'i a po tsho/ mgo med kyi dpung pa rong rong de e mthong zer bas.* I think reading the word *dpung ba* as either troops or shoulders works quite well here as a double entendre.

¹⁴ Ibid, p. 408.

¹⁵ Ibid, p. 409: *sa pho rta* (1618).

at the Pe har Chapel (*sPe dkar lcog*),¹⁶ whatever empowerment [I might perform] – [like] me eating my own flesh or drinking my own blood – would not suffice. If you're afraid, I will guide you to the divine abode of the thirty-three gods once you are free of your physical form."¹⁷ He then explained his plan, "I am one who acts for the benefit of sentient beings, and I must [now] bind the guardian deity. You are harming not only the ordinary kinds of mischievous spirits (*rgyal 'gong*), great and small, but also the guardians of the teachings – don't do this."¹⁸ What follows is a fascinating battle of wills between god and man, with Ngag gi dbang po subjugating Tsi'u dmar po while brandishing a *vajra*. This scattered the Dharma protector to the sky, but he remained tempestuous and unpacified, and there was a roaring clap of thunder. Ngag gi dbang po then threatened the deity, exclaiming, "If you were frightening, you would be able to knock down an elm tree trunk to obstruct my house. [But] if I'm frightening, I would be able to knock down a great prayer flagstaff to obstruct your chapel."¹⁹ He then performed a weapon *gtor ma* [dough offering] rite for Rāhula (*Khyab 'jug*),²⁰ creating a great whirlwind and breaking that flagstaff at the Pe har Chapel, like he said he would. In hopes of settling the matter, though, the sDe pa invited Ngag gi dbang po to the Pe har Chapel to reintegrate his *samaya* oath with the deity. The ceremony was a success, but not without a final insult from Ngag gi dbang po. He performed a supplication rite for the deity gNyan chen thang lha, and stated severely to Tsi'u dmar po, "Since the [position of] local protector for this place was entrusted to [gNyan chen] thang lha, you do not need to do this. Padmasambhava said that in the future [gNyan chen] thang lha would act [as such]."²¹ He then added, "Your life essence belongs

¹⁶ This refers to the Pe har dkor mdzod gling chapel in bSam yas monastery, which houses the protector deity Pe har as well as Tsi'u dmar po. Images of the two deities are still visible on the chapel's main shrine room today.

¹⁷ Ibid, p. 416: *rā dza rgyu lam gcod pa'i 'khor lo sgo la sbyar ba nal chos skyong chen po thugs khros te sbe dkar lcog tu lha mi 'dzom thog tu/ nga rang sha rang gis za/ rang khrag rang gis 'thung dbang mi 'ong ba ci yin/ khyod 'jigs na nga lus rten 'di las phrol nas lha gnas sum cu rtsa gsum du skyol dang sogs 'jigs 'jigs mang du gsung ba.*

¹⁸ Ibid: *nga sems can gyi don byed mkhan yin pa la srung ba ni 'dogs dgos byung / rgyal 'gong phra rags dkyus ma'i rigs ma gtogs khyed bstan srung rnam la gnod pa ni ma byas sogs 'jam pa'i sgo nas gsungs.*

¹⁹ Ibid, pp. 416-417: *khyod 'jigs na nga'i gnas tshang 'gag gi khu 'brog sdong po 'di bskyel thub pa gyis/ nga 'jigs na khyod kyi btsan khang 'gag gi dar po che 'di bskyel thub pa byed gsungs.*

²⁰ See Bailey 2015, p. 43. I am grateful to Stéphane Arguillère for bringing this rite's connection to Rāhula to my attention.

²¹ This is in contrast to Legs ldan rdo rje reasserting Tsi'u dmar po's appointment earlier. For more on gNyan chen thang lha, see Wang 2023 (in this volume).

to me, mine does not belong to you!"²² In the end, he implemented a subjugating *mudrā*, reintegrated his *samaya* oath with the wayward protector, and restrained him by placing a *vajra* on Tsi'u dmar po's head.

This last vignette nicely bookends the relationship between this incarnate treasure master and Tsi'u dmar po, with both the first and last interactions taking place at bSam yas. Fifty years prior, in his preincarnation as Legs ldan rdo rje, he had to keep the deity in check so that he continued to hold his office properly. As Ngag gi dbang po this relationship continued, with the master stressing his control over the protector even in his most capricious moments. Regardless, over the course of the master's travels and his own magical exploits, he consulted Tsi'u dmar po several times through his oracle, who clearly traveled across Tibet with him. The various anecdotal examples I have shared or summarized show how Tsi'u dmar po was consistently entreated for prophetic and clairvoyant advice in response to enemies both foreign and domestic, whether in converting or repelling Mongol forces, resolving disputes between competing factions, or contending with manipulative statesmen and ignorant local leaders.

Having become famous in his final years as an army-averting ritual specialist, Ngag gi dbang po relied on Tsi'u dmar po not only to guard the Northern Treasures lineage, as indicated by his ritual corpus, but the whole of Tibet during such a fraught and uncertain time. This reliance on both treasure prophecy and the influential pronouncements of the Tsi'u dmar po oracle at the turn of the seventeenth century in many ways acts as a harbinger for similar mechanisms the Fifth Dalai Lama would use later during the consolidation of Tibet when he promoted the protector Pe har, who possesses the gNas chung Oracle and who is likewise steeped in Northern Treasures lore. However, in this narrative Tsi'u dmar po precedes this development in significant ways; he is a demon king conquering a fractured land rather than one ruling through a centralized government.

In his masterful study of the life, writings, and legacy of the rNying ma master and more famous Mongol-repeller, Sog bzlog pa Blo gros rgyal mtshan (1552–1624), James Gentry focuses on objects of power in this figure's works and activities. He happens to give the Fifth Dalai Lama's *Wonderfully Arrayed Ocean* due attention through this lens,²³

²² Ibid, p. 417: *de'i tshang lha'i gsol ka mdzad nas 'di'i gnas srung thang lha la bcol bas khyod rang byed mi dgos/ o rgyan rin po ches ma 'ongs pa na thang lhas byed par gsungs yod ces pa dang / khyod kyi srog snying nga la yod/ nga'i srog snying khyod la med ces babs lci ba'i gsung.*

²³ See Gentry 2013, pp. 449-476; see also Gentry 2016 for the official publication of this work.

since the text is partly an apologia on the superiority of Ngag gi dbang po's treasure and ritual activities in contradistinction to Sog bzlog pa, who the Great Fifth considered a harmful charlatan. Sog bzlog pa is even mentioned a few times near the end of Ngag gi dbang po's biography in this contrasting manner.²⁴ The text reads as a triumph of the Northern Treasures tradition over the alternative heterodox tradition of Sog bzlog pa and his lineage, which had been supported by the dGe lugs pa's enemies in gTsang. In fact, it is telling that in 1654, the year that the Fifth Dalai Lama composed this biography, his government also forcefully converted Nges gsang rdo rje gling, the lineage monastery in gTsang tied to Sog bzlog pa's master, Zhig po gling pa, into a more Northern Treasures-oriented center.²⁵ The Great Fifth likewise composed the core liturgical manual for gNas chung Monastery around this time,²⁶ and it is easy to see in the incarnational relationship between Ngag gi dbang po the ritual master and Tsi'u dmar po the oracular god a reflective precursor to the bond between the Dalai Lama and the gNas chung Oracle as it would become institutionalized from the mid-seventeenth century onward. By this time the Great Fifth had been in power for more than a decade, and he clearly spent that time consolidating ritual hegemony in Tibet as well as building and promoting his administration's narrative architecture.²⁷

For my concluding observation, I want to draw on Gentry's larger project of exploring and emphasizing the materiality of ritual practice. He does an excellent job of examining the various sensory and material objects of visions, mantras, amulets, pills, initiation substances, as well as instruments for repelling enemies, quelling natural disasters, and controlling the material world, but I submit that oracles should be added to this list and explored more historically as well as within the framework of the material turn. The attire, hand implements, and blessed objects of oracles come readily to mind in this regard, and there is robust anthropological literature that discusses these, but the oracular vessel, the body and voice of the medium, can also be discussed as objects. Their clairvoyance and prophecy are as much a sensory object as the visionary experiences of masters, along with the physical omens that sometimes precede or accompany them, such as miraculous birds, disappearing dark men, and claps of thunder. In this regard, I am particularly inspired by Gentry's use of Alfred Gell's notion of 'distributed personhood,' where "the identities and agencies of deities, persons, and power objects can extend beyond corporate

²⁴ See Gentry 2013, pp. 411-413, 430-431.

²⁵ See *ibid.*, pp. 466-468.

²⁶ See Bell 2021, pp. 75-76.

²⁷ See Bell 2021.

boundaries into the locales, objects, texts, and social others – past, present, and future – with which they are thought to share structural similarities, direct resemblances, adjacent boundaries, or physical incorporation.”²⁸

The anthropologist Wei-Ping Lin, in her book *Materializing Magic Power*, likewise draws on material studies and object-agency networks by examining the localization of deities through statues and spirit mediums in Taiwan. She is much more explicit about examining oracles through the lens of materiality, especially in how they embody, interact with, and adapt to the expectations of deities and the demands placed upon them.²⁹ Both studies provide excellent models and approaches to apply to the context of Tibetan oracles. Tsi'u dmar po, through the vignettes discussed above, provides a brief but vivid case study that evinces the interplay between powerful masters, wrathful protectors, and the histories and localities impacted by the ritual engagement and prophetic activities of an oracle's personhood being distributed across Tibetan communities and in the face of encroaching enemies and social unrest. And it is Ngag gi dbang po's active, if stern, support of this Great *Yakṣa* that helps to advance the power and reputation of the Northern Treasures at the start of the seventeenth century.

In my previous article on Tsi'u dmar po for the first Northern Treasures special edition of *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines*, I appended to the discussion of the deity a complete translation of his root tantra, the *Warlord's Tantra* (*dMag dpon gyi rgyud*).³⁰ It seems only fitting, as a “spiritual” sequel to that discussion, to append to this article a translation of the accompanying *sādhanas* for that tantra, all included in the same manuscript.³¹ Like the *Warlord's Tantra*, these *sādhanas* are treasure texts rediscovered by the foundational treasure master mNga' ris paṅ chen, Legs Idan rdo rje's brother.³² They are particularly pertinent to this concluding discussion of materiality because they predominantly concern the construction of various consecrated objects for housing or summoning Tsi'u dmar po and the team of seven spirit horsemen he leads, called the Seven Unruly Riders (*Ya ba rkya bdun*). One of the below texts even has suggestive references to a Tsi'u dmar po oracle at bSam yas.

The first of the five accompanying *sādhanas* consists of two short preliminary rites, the first of which names and describes the

²⁸ See Gentry 2013, pp. 436-437.

²⁹ See Lin 2015, pp. 71-72.

³⁰ See Bell 2022, specifically pp. 174-186.

³¹ For an earlier rough translation of these accompanying *sādhanas*, see Bell 2006, pp. 164-179.

³² See Padma dbang rgyal 1976.

seven she-wolves that accompany the Seven Unruly Riders. The second preliminary text provides instructions for drawing Tsi'u dmar po's life *cakra*. The second *sādhana* is the most interesting for being the most detailed in terms of the material objects constructed and consecrated. Described as four scrolls, the first gives liquid libations, the second consecrates a sacred stone and whip, the third elaborates on the nature of the life stone and a model of the martial spirit fortress, and the fourth scroll instructs one on how to create powerful spear and lasso objects that bring success in battle. The text ends on the severity of its secrecy and the importance of its transmission being tied to the lineage of Khri srong lde'u btsan. These scrolls also seem to have been proffered by a Tsi'u dmar po oracle at bSam yas Monastery. Even if anachronistic, it suggests the importance of oracular transmission by the sixteenth century. The third *sādhana* is mostly in seven-syllable verses and focuses on the Seven Unruly Riders. The fourth *sādhana* provides an extensive invocation in verse before describing a mythic conversation between Padmasambhava and Tsi'u dmar po on the deity's heritage. The fifth and final *sādhana* concerns passing the transmission of these works onto one's disciples and making sure the material offerings are properly entrusted. It reinforces the creation of a *gtor ma* fortress offering as well. After a brief outline, a full translation of the *Warlord's Tantra's* accompanying *sādhanas* is provided below:

The Warlord's Tantra's Accompanying Sādhanas (312.3-332)

A. Preliminaries

1. *Sending Forth the Dogs of the Martial Spirits [known as] the Seven Unruly Riders (312.3-314.3)*
2. *Drawing the Cakra (314.3-315.2)*

B. The Great Capricious Spirit Sādhana Cycle Based on the Outer Offerings (315.2-320.1)

1. *a. Introduction: The Four Scrolls (315.2-315.4)*
b. First Scroll: The Outer Offerings (315.4-315.6)
2. *Second Scroll: The Inner Cane Whip (315.6-316.4)*
3. *Third Scroll: The Secret Life Stone and Life Cakra (316.4-317.3)*
4. *a. Fourth Scroll: The Ultimate Red Spear and Lasso (317.3-318.3)*
b. The Extremely Secret Text (318.3-319.6)
Colophon (319.6-320.1)

C. Sādhana of the Capricious Spirit Offerings (320.1-322.6)

D. Invocation and History of the Capricious Spirit (322.6-328.5)

E. The Treasure of Mighty Lotus [Hayagrīva] Entrusting the Warlord's Life Force (328.5-332)

The Warlord's Tantra's Accompanying Sādhanas (312.3-332)**A. Preliminaries***1. Sending Forth the Dogs of the Martial Spirits [known as] the Seven Unruly Riders (312.3-314.3)³³*

BHYO!³⁴ The bitch Dung mdog mtshal mig ma³⁵ emits from her mouth the poisonous vapors of the planetary spirits (*gza'*). She hastens when she smells the odor of human flesh and blood. She who snatches the enemy's breath at daybreak drinks the enemy's life breath in gulps. She who follows after Lha btsan dkar po,³⁶ run, run, run now! Sic,³⁷ sic! Send forth fits of madness upon the enemy! The time has come for the blazing lightning wolf!³⁸

BHYO! The bitch dMar mo mtshal mig ma³⁹ opens her mouth and bares copper fangs. A fog of disease foams at her mouth. She who fetches the previously received breath of the enemy drinks the warm brain blood of the [oath-]breakers. She who follows after Brag btsan dmar po,⁴⁰ run, run, run now! Sic, sic! Drink the brains of the enemy! The time has come for the red copper wolf!

BHYO! The bitch dMar nag khrag mig ma⁴¹ gathers her poisonous breath like clouds. She bares her iron fangs and claws like weapons. [She who] steals the enemy's life-force at midnight drinks the oath-breaker's life-force in gulps. She who follows after Klu btsan dmar po,⁴² run, run, run now! Run now, bloody she-wolf! Sic, sic! Cut down the enemy's lifeline! The time has come for the red blood wolf!

BHYO! The bitch dMar mo mthing mig ma⁴³ opens her mouth, bares her fangs, and vomits warm blood. She senses the smell of blood

³³ This title is preceded by small images, possibly of bones in a specific configuration as well as entrails, and is followed by a small image of a blazing heart.

³⁴ This is an untranslatable and powerful seed syllable, and such syllables will be left untranslated below.

³⁵ Lit. "Conch Shell-colored Bloody-eyed Female."

³⁶ Lit. "White God-Martial Spirit." In my article, "Tsi'u dmar po: How a Northern Treasure God Became Ecumenical," I provided this and the next five martial spirits' names as direct translations (Bell 2022, p. 179); I choose here to keep them as names proper in the text to be consistent with the later encounter we will have with these deities below.

³⁷ Tib. *phyo*. I translate this word here with the expression often emphatically said to set a dog on someone.

³⁸ Tib. *lcam*; read as a misspelling of *spyang*, as per the repeated instances below.

³⁹ Lit. "Red Bloody-eyed Female."

⁴⁰ Lit. "Cliff-Martial Spirit."

⁴¹ Lit. "Dark Red Bloody-eyed Female."

⁴² Lit. "Red Serpent-Martial Spirit."

⁴³ Lit. "Red Azure-eyed Female."

a league away. She who tracks down the enemy and snatches their breath drinks their warm heart blood in gulps. She who follows after Grib btsan dmar po,⁴⁴ run, run(, run now)!⁴⁵ Run now, red she[-wolf] dripping with blood!⁴⁶ Sic, sic! Drink the enemy's warm blood! The time has come for the red blood-dripping she[-wolf]!

BHYO! The bitch dMar mo gzi mig ma⁴⁷ opens her mouth and howls "Ooo!" to the ten directions. A leather pouch of diseases is bound to her neck. She who snatches the enemy's breath in the evening sends out plagues to the oath-breaking enemies. She who follows after bDud btsan nag po,⁴⁸ run(, run, run now)! Run now, great iron she-wolf! Sic, sic! Send plagues to the enemy! The time has come for the radiant iron wolf!

BHYO! The bitch dMar mo gzi mig ma⁴⁹ opens her mouth, bares her fangs, and smells the odor of blood. A bloody mane gathers [about her head] like a cloud. She who slashes the enemy's neck and snatches their breath drinks the [oath-]breaker's heart blood in gulps. She who follows after Gri btsan dmar po,⁵⁰ run(, run, run now)! Run now, great radiant she[-wolf]! Sic, sic! Seize the enemy's heart! The time has come for the red radiant she[-wolf]!

Say "Sic, sic, sic, sic, sic, sic!" twenty-one times. ŚUBHAM!⁵¹

⁴⁴ Lit. "Red Polluting-Martial Spirit." Padma dbang rgyal 1985 (p. 7.4) has Grib btsan dpal thogs, while Padma dbang rgyal 1976 (p. 313.4) has Gri btsan dmar po. Although the order is unclear, the former spelling, with *grib*, is likely the equivalent of this figure, since the sixth martial spirit below is also spelled Gri btsan dmar po, and correlates to Padma dbang rgyal 1985. Thus, I read this name as Grib btsan dmar po.

⁴⁵ Three small lines following *rgyugs shig rgyugs shig* ("run, run") act as ellipses, indicating that the reader is to complete this command with how it has previously been done, with *da rgyugs shig* ("run now!"); this saves space and is a common feature in ritual texts where commands and actions are often duplicated and formulaic, as this section illustrates.

⁴⁶ Tib. *khrag 'dzag dmar mod rgyugs shig*. The Tibetan is somewhat obscure at this point. While the text reads it as *dmar mod*, based on the commands that end the previous section on dMar nag khrag mig ma (*khrag gi spyang mo da rgyugs shig*) and in the following sections – as well as the consistent pattern of seven-syllable verses – there is good reason to believe that the verse is missing a *tsheg* and should in fact say *khrag 'dzag dmar mo da rgyugs shig*. I have translated the line according to this reading. However, if the line were translated as is, it would still make a degree of sense: "Run the instant the red blood drips!"

⁴⁷ Lit. "Red gzi-eyed Female." *gZi*, while often translated as agate or onyx, is a distinctly cylindrical black-and-white striped stone unique to Central Asia and considered to possess auspicious and protective attributes.

⁴⁸ Lit. "Black Hindering-Martial Spirit."

⁴⁹ Lit. "Red gzi-eyed Female." This is the same name as the previous she-wolf, and while an alternative spelling is likely, it is unknown.

⁵⁰ Lit. "Red Knife-Martial Spirit." See note 44 above.

⁵¹ Sanskrit for "splendid, auspicious, fortunate, righteous."

2. *Drawing the Cakra* (314.3-315.2)

Regarding the way to draw and encircle [Tsi'u dmar po's] *cakra* according to this [manuscript's] illustrations: ⁵² Below the CARATHAM⁵³ at the center, write, "SAMAYA RAKṢA RAKṢA⁵⁴ HŪM⁵⁵ HŪM PHAṬ.⁵⁶ You, great capricious spirit (*gnod sbyin*; skt. *yakṣa*) Tsi'u dmar po, reside firmly in this vessel without transgressing the commands of master Padma[sambhava]! Then obtain for me, the yogin, excellent provisions in this and all future lives! May all outer, inner, and secret connections continuously and effortlessly be arranged! Dispel adverse conditions! Establish amicable conditions! May your magic against hostile enemies not be meager! May your might against harmful obstructing spirits (*bgegs*) not be feeble! May you accomplish the [enlightened] activities of the four actions unimpeded!"⁵⁷

For the remarks on the [wheel] spoke, write, "Great capricious spirit, do not transgress the commands of master Padma[sambhava]!" On the circumference, below the JA JAḤ⁵⁸ AM, write the mantras written at the center, such as KĀYAVAJRACARATHAM,⁵⁹ along with additional verses. On whatever colored areas are not covered with words, you may put down [words of] praise. ŚUBHAM!

⁵² No such illustrations are included in this edition of the text, though, presumably they were in other non-extant editions.

⁵³ Tib. *tsa ra thang*; the suffix of *thang* (*nga*), I read here as an *anusvāra* in Sanskrit; thus, *caratham* is Sanskrit for "moving, wandering, going."

⁵⁴ Sanskrit for "protect, protect the commitment oath."

⁵⁵ Sanskrit for "absorb;" see Beyer 1973, p. 101.

⁵⁶ This syllable encapsulates knowledge and means.

⁵⁷ Tib. *las bzhi*; 1. pacification (*zhi ba*), 2. augmentation (*rgyas pa*), 3. subjugation (*dbang*), and 4. destruction (*drag po*).

⁵⁸ Sanskrit for "summon;" see Beyer 1973, p. 101.

⁵⁹ The complete mantra is: OM KĀYAVAJRACARATHAM. VĀGAVAJRACARATHAM. CITTAVAJRACARATHAM. This is Sanskrit for "The moving adamant assembly. The moving adamant hero. The moving adamant heart." This is provided in chapter four of Tsi'u dmar po's root tantra; see Bell 2022, p. 182.

***B. The Great Capricious Spirit Sādhana Cycle
Based on the Outer Offerings (315.2-320.1)***

1a. Introduction: The Four Scrolls (315.2-315.4)

*The Great Capricious Spirit Sādhana Cycle Based on the Outer Offerings
SAMAYA.⁶⁰*

Homage to Glorious Hayagrīva!

The capricious spirits known as the Seven Emanating Riders⁶¹ give in offering their own life forces and blazing hearts. By means of the outer offerings, the oath-bound [protectors] gather like clouds; by means of the inner cane whip, the oath-bound [protectors] follow like dogs; by means of the secret life stone and life *cakra*, the oath-bound [protectors] are lured like children; and by means of the ultimate red spear and lasso, the enemies and obstructing spirits are utterly struck down. These are the four scrolls – these are the profound pieces of the heart.

1b. First Scroll: The Outer Offerings (315.4-315.6)

First, regarding the basis of the [outer] offerings, bless pure golden and turquoise libations and pure foods with the six mantras and six *mudrās* for the [spirit's] image. When the arrogant ones are invited and venerated, how will all the necessary actions be achieved? If they mourn their strife with the gods, it is authentic, and they will become faithful. Practice together and it will be profound. SAMAYA. Seal! Seal! Seal!⁶²

2. Second Scroll: The Inner Cane Whip (315.6-316.4)

Second, [regarding the basis of the inner] cane whip, anoint a red scarf or red birch bark with red sandalwood paste in the middle of the third or seventh verse. Properly draw a life *cakra* with the blood of a grown man who had an untimely death. Along with a cubic stone of magnetite that has TRI⁶³ written on it in blood, place [these items] into

⁶⁰ This title is contained within the image of a blazing heart acting as a visual offering. The text itself is then prefaced by unintelligible *dākinī* script that looks in Tibetan something like *shakhajanya*.

⁶¹ Tib. *rol pa rkya bdun*; this is an alternative name for the Seven Unruly Riders (*yan pa rkya bdun*).

⁶² Tib. *rgya rgya rgya*.

⁶³ Sanskrit for “three.”

a pit and tightly bind the opening with sealing wax. Fasten a whip cord of five-colored silk to a copper ring and set it on a cushion.

Once the capricious spirits are invited and absorbed [into the items] again and again, and the choicest portions and offering *gtor ma* are produced, the oath-bound [protectors] are bound to you wherever you go, and they will follow like dogs. Whatever actions are entrusted to them, they will accomplish without obstruction.

Thus, the second step that explains their life and heart is completed. SAMAYA. Seal! Seal! Seal!

3. *Third Scroll: The Secret Life Stone and Life Cakra* (316.4-317.3)

Homage to Glorious Hayagrīva!

[Third,] regarding the basis of the secret life stone – the essence of which the oath-bound [protectors] are lured to like children – on the west side of one's meditation house, knead together red earth taken from the land where the martial spirits (*btsan*) dwell and bloody water [mixed with] the clay visible on the southern face of a spring. Then coat it with the powder of the five precious things⁶⁴ and fragrant incense.

[Build] an arrow-length martial spirit fortress⁶⁵ supported by a life tree of juniper or barberry, with red pennons on its peak. On its life tree, in accordance with the secret tantra, combine into a paste the blood from someone who died violently, vermilion, and red sandalwood, and draw the life stone mantra *cakra* on a red scarf or red birch bark. On a cubic stone, a drop of gold ore, and an eyeless [unblemished?] turquoise, draw seven T[R]I with vermilion, then wrap them in strips of silk and conceal them [in the fortress].

The oath-bound [protectors] having been summoned, placed, and venerated in the [fortress], recite the life and heart [mantra] many times and perform the consecration with the *Essence of Dependent Origination* [*Dhāraṇī*]. Once completed, like a puppy attached to its mother, the [martial spirits] will act to constantly protect the palace temple and the land.

Thus, the third step – the essence of the oral instructions for offering their oath and the core of their life – is completed. SAMAYA. Seal! Seal! Seal!

⁶⁴ Tib. *rin chen sna lnga*; 1. gold (*gser*), 2. silver (*dngul*), 3. turquoise (*g.yu*), 4. coral (*byu ru*), and 5. pearl (*mu tig*).

⁶⁵ Tib. *btsan mkhar*; while this can often refer to a thread-cross structure or a spear-filled mountain altar (*lab rtse*), here it likely refers to a model constructed from the mixed clay.

4a. Fourth Scroll: The Ultimate Red Spear and Lasso (317.3-318.3)

Homage to Glorious Hayagrīva!

[Fourth,] regarding the basis of the [ultimate] red spear and lasso – the method for utterly striking down the oath-breakers, enemies, and obstructing spirit – on a red boulder, draw a man's bamboo, pine, or cane whip an arm span in length, the tip of an iron blade, and a tailless [being]. Fasten it with copper spikes and redden it with blood from someone who died violently as well as vermillion, then apply good quality tinder grass. Within that, write the life *cakra* and [verses] derived from the tantras with blood from someone who died violently as well as vermillion.

Recite the following: "I pray that you accompany me, like a shadow its body, and utterly strike down hostile enemies for me! SAMAYA. Seal! Seal! Seal!" Then write the glorious Hayagrīva mantra on the upper part of a spear. On the lower part of the spear, write the three words, "Beckon, Dispatch, Slay!" Write "TRI" and summarize the life stone *cakra* on the surface of a cubic stone, wrap it in human skin, and [place it] inside the iron spear.

On a banner of red silk, draw the life *cakra*. Then [draw] the form of Hayagrīva above it and the form of the oath-bound [protector (Tsi'u dmar po)] encircled by the eight classes [of gods and spirits] below it. Complete once ten million [recitations of] the accomplishing the enthronement or approaching Glorious Hayagrīva [mantras]. Along with that, simultaneously anoint with blood and vermillion a lasso made from the hair of a hero who died in battle, then consecrate it.

If you diligently [produce these] fulfillment offerings and carry them to wherever [you need them], you will be victorious after every battle and the opposing army will be defeated.

4b. The Extremely Secret Text (318.3-319.6)

This is extremely secret. Properly guard the teachings of U rgyan Padma[sambhava] and do not entrust them in the hands of anyone not in the royal lineage of Khri srong lde'u btsan or it will turn back on them later. Even if [the teachings] were followed by others, though their children and wealth would increase in the short term, in the end they will suddenly come to ruin, such as quarrels and untimely deaths. Therefore, this must be kept secret.

In order to protect the royal lineage, I, O rgyan [Padmasambhava], placed these scrolls in a leather manual. Then, as the guardian of the teachings of Glorious Hayagrīva, I hid them within the eye of the

Vairocana [statue] at the temple of bSam yas Monastery, Mount mChims phu.

In the final age, a day will come when the Dharma king will be brought down to the common folk. At that time, the capricious spirit's eight classes of arrogant [gods and spirits] will manifest and speak the language of the red-colored *vidyādhara*s of the lotus family and the language of horses. They will fiercely roar and make beautiful appearances. They will be accepted by one accomplished in my – Padma[sambhava's] – compassionate wisdom. Thus, if properly established, [the capricious spirits] will protect the Dharma king and his retinue, and they will restore ruined monasteries.

This was taught at the time to both King Khri srong lde'u btsan and Ngan lam rGyal ba mchog dbyangs.⁶⁶ SAMAYA. Seal! Seal! Seal! I cast as the seal a plague spirit (*gnyan*) of the eight classes of arrogant [gods and spirits].

The capricious spirit [Tsi'u dmar po] directly bestowed this [text] while [I (Padmasambhava) was performing] the Hayagrīva accomplishment inside the Hayagrīva Cave at Mount mChims phu. I secretly hid it until the ox [year]. From dusk until midnight on the twenty-ninth day of the fifth month of the ox year, [Tsi'u dmar po] directly⁶⁷ manifested in the room above the eastern entrance to bSam yas Monastery's central temple⁶⁸ and spoke like a person. On the first day of the sixth month, I reflected on [if what was said] was similar to what was bestowed in writing. On the second day, I confidently and intrinsically recognized that [the text] was written like his oral instructions. This must be kept secret.

Colophon (319.6-320.1)

This was revealed from a treasure [text] by mNga' ris Paṅ chen Padma [dbang] rgyal po ye shes rol pa rtsal.

⁶⁶ 8th century. This was a major disciple of Padmasambhava and one of the first seven monks ordained at bSam yas Monastery; see Sørensen et al., p. 605, n.64. It is also believed, in the bKa' bryad context especially, that he was the one who received the transmission for the Hayagrīva-related corpus; I am grateful to Stéphane Arguillère for bringing this to my attention.

⁶⁷ Tib. *sku dngos su*; this could also be translated as "in person" or "in a physical embodiment," which may have oracular implications.

⁶⁸ Tib. *dbu tshal*; read as a misspelling of *dbu rtse*.

C. Sādhana of the Capricious Spirit Offerings (320.1-322.6)

*The Sādhana of the Capricious Spirit Offerings*⁶⁹

HRĪḤ PADMACAṄḌAMAHAĀKROTAHAYAGRĪVA⁷⁰ HULU
HULU⁷¹ HŪṂ PHAṬ.

Properly display and consecrate the offering *gtor ma*. Regarding the practice manual for the Seven Emanating Riders, the arrogant ones are conventional and do not need to be visualized. Having mentally constructed red rays of light [emanating] like iron hooks from the syllable on the luminous heart of the Great Lord Hayagrīva, one invites [the martial spirits] from each of their abodes. Burn incense and butter flour, and fan it with a red scarf. Cry out with an anguished roar:

KYAI!

In those many places over there,
in the direction of the setting sun over there,
on the red plains, the copper land of the martial spirits,
obey the words of the Mighty Lotus [Hayagrīva].
The great and powerful Seven Emanating Riders
have bodies mostly red in color and
brandish banners and lassos in their hands.
Together with the horde of the eight classes of arrogant [gods
and spirits]
They come hither and go thither and arrive at this place.
ŚULATRIVAJRASAMAYA⁷² JAḤ JAḤ.

BHYOḤ!

Within the martial spirit fortress,
the enjoyment of flesh and blood is inconceivable,
the pleasing offerings are utterly beautiful,
And [the martial spirits] sit on the throne of pure *samaya*
together with ŚULATRISAMAYATIṢṬHA.⁷³

⁶⁹ This title surrounds a smaller image of a blazing heart with other visually represented offerings nearby, possibly of entrails and bones. The text is again prefaced by unintelligible ḍākinī script that looks in Tibetan something like *zhardam thambya ratya nyla*.

⁷⁰ Sanskrit for "The Fierce Lotus, Great Wrathful Hayagrīva." Note that here, as elsewhere, the Tibetan transliteration is not exactly accurate to proper Sanskrit spelling. I let it sit because language is fluid, and because the Tibetan understanding of Sanskrit is its own language.

⁷¹ This repetitive expression represents an exclamation of joy in Sanskrit.

⁷² Sanskrit for "the oath of the trident, the three-pronged vajra."

⁷³ Sanskrit for "stand [with] the oath of the trident."

KYAI!

The noble Seven Emanating Riders
carry out [all] conceivable enlightened activities
and obey the words of the Mighty Lotus [Hayagrīva].
Praise to you, oath[-bound] treasure lords,
I offer these pure [image] ablutions.
Toward myself and your patrons
act completely with compassion!
ARGHAM⁷⁴ VIŚUDDHE⁷⁵ SVĀHĀ.⁷⁶

Pure incense gathers like clouds.
I offer flowers, [butter] lamps, perfumed water,
offering foods, and pleasant music.
Act completely with compassion!
DHŪPE⁷⁷ PUṢPE⁷⁸ ĀLOKE⁷⁹ GHANDHE⁸⁰ NIVIDYE⁸¹
ŚAPDAPŪJA⁸² HOḤ.⁸³

KYAI!

The noble lords of life,
the terrifying Emanating Seven [Riders] gather.
The sacred substances that please you
are piled into little dough balls of red flesh and blood.
The immaculate nectar [of immortality] pools like an ocean.
An oblation of RAKTA⁸⁴ fills a pond.
The enjoyment offerings are arranged like the stars.
The drums, flutes, and cymbals boom like thunder,
accompanied by a multitude of melodious songs.
May the *samaya* oaths of the seven oath-bound brothers be
fulfilled.
May the *samaya* oaths of the wild, blazing martial spirits be
fulfilled.

⁷⁴ Sanskrit for "water offering."

⁷⁵ Sanskrit for "completely purified."

⁷⁶ Sanskrit for "hail!" This is an exclamation used for oblations to deities.

⁷⁷ Sanskrit for "incense."

⁷⁸ Sanskrit for "flowers."

⁷⁹ Sanskrit for "light."

⁸⁰ Sanskrit for "perfumed substance."

⁸¹ Sanskrit for "food offering." I am grateful to Cécile Ducher for clarification on argham as well as n(a)ividyē.

⁸² Sanskrit for "sound offering [music]."

⁸³ Sanskrit for "dissolve;" see Beyer 1973, p. 101.

⁸⁴ Sanskrit for "blood, red."

[May the *samaya* oaths] of the eight classes [of gods and spirits] and their thousandfold companions [be fulfilled].⁸⁵
 [May the *samaya* oaths] of the temple-guarding oath-bound [protectors be fulfilled].
 May the *samaya* oaths of the emissaries of the four actions [be fulfilled].

BHYO!

The red fortress leather shifts and sways.⁸⁶
 The red silk pennons flutter and wave.⁸⁷
 The red banners billow out.⁸⁸
 The arrogant ones' flying arrows rise up high.⁸⁹
 The butcher minions chop and cut.⁹⁰
 Their whistling calls buzz and ring.⁹¹

BHYO!

May the *samaya* oaths of the majestic lords be fulfilled.
 In the presence of master Padma[sambhava]
 they undertook and understood the *samaya* oath.
 The royal lineage of Khri srong lde'u btsan,
 together with the transmission of the *samaya*-keeping yogins,
 they protect as one *samaya* oath.
 Cut off the lineages that harm their bodies.
 Annihilate the horde of hindering spirits (*bdud*) with wrong views.
 Do not transgress the adamant vow of the tantric adepts.
 You are entrusted [with the vow]! Take care of [the vow]! You
 who are endowed with power and strength,
 do not carelessly wax and wane [in your commitment]!
 Do not chase after flattery or food!
 [If] you are unsatisfied, we will remedy it, so

⁸⁵ Three small lines here following *sde brgyad stong zla* ("the eight classes [of gods and spirits] and their thousandfold companions") act as indicators that the reader is meant to complete this verse the same as the previous verses, with *thugs dam bskang* ("May the *samaya* oaths...be fulfilled").

⁸⁶ These six verses illustrate a Tibetan onomatopoeic device where each line ends with a word duplication that dynamically illustrates the sound while simultaneously conveying its meaning; in this case *ldems se ldem*, "swaying side to side." These readings are aided by, but vary at points, from John Bellezza's translation of a variant edition of this text; see Bellezza 2005, p. 290.

⁸⁷ Tib. *pu ru ru*.

⁸⁸ Tib. *yangs se yang*.

⁸⁹ Tib. *sgrengs se sgreng*.

⁹⁰ Tib. *rol lo lo*.

⁹¹ Tib. *di ri ri*.

protect us like a dear son or grandson.

The choicest pure offerings should be scattered in the direction [of the spirits] and you should invoke them [as such].

This *sādhana* for the offerings of the seven fierce martial spirit brothers was composed by Padma thod phreng rtsal⁹² [Padmasambhava]. SAMAYĀ. Protect the words of the Mighty Lotus [Hayagrīva]. SEALED.

This text was revealed by [mNga' ris Paṅ chen] Padma [dbang] rgyal po [ye shes] rol pa rtsal from Vaitsaling Temple⁹³ [at bSam yas Monastery], Mount mChims phu.⁹⁴

D. Invocation and History of the Capricious Spirit (322.6-328.5)

*The Invocation and History of the Capricious Spirit*⁹⁵

In the direction of the setting sun over there,
 on the red plains, the copper land of the martial spirits,
 into the skies, the copper cliffs point and point.⁹⁶
 On the peaks, the maroon vultures chase and hunt.⁹⁷
 On the opposite face [of the mountains], the martial spirit
 riders race and race.⁹⁸
 Along the middle area, wolves scour the fields for food.
 At the base, poisonous [waters] splash and surge.⁹⁹
 Inside the red bronze cliffs,
 boiling lakes of blood churn and swirl,¹⁰⁰
 the maroon fortress leather shifts and sways,¹⁰¹
 the copper locks are arranged and arrayed.¹⁰²

⁹² Lit. "Powerful Lotus Skull Garland." This is the secret name for Padmasambhava.

⁹³ Tib. *Bhe tsha'i gling*; this refers to one of the western subcontinent temples in the bSam yas monastic complex; its name comes from the famous 8th-century translator Vairocana (Tib. *Bai ro tsa na*), to whom it was dedicated.

⁹⁴ Spelled here 'Chim bu.

⁹⁵ Like the previous instances, this title similarly surrounds a small image of a blazing heart.

⁹⁶ Tib. *zangs se zangs*. The following verses return to the repetitive onomatopoeic device seen in the previous text. My translations are again aided by Bellezza 2005 (pp. 189, 291, 320).

⁹⁷ Tib. *lings se lings*; Bellezza (2005, pp. 291) interprets this as the flapping of a bird's wings, which is also feasible here.

⁹⁸ Tib. *sha ra ra*.

⁹⁹ Tib. *zu lu lu*.

¹⁰⁰ Tib. *me re re*.

¹⁰¹ Tib. *ldems se ldem*.

¹⁰² Tib. *khriḡs se khriḡs*.

Inside the terrifying martial spirit fortress,
 the horde of serpent-martial spirits revel.
 Their bodies are a resplendent greenish-red color and
 their red matted hair is gathered [like] fire light.
 Fiery meteors shoot from their eyes.
 Bloody hailstones fall from their mouths.
 They wear big robes of red silk¹⁰³ on their bodies.
 [The robes] have a trim of blue-checked brocade.
 They wear majestic turbans of red silk on their heads.
 They wear belts of precious gold.
 They ride blue horses with black bottoms as mounts.
 Their red silk [saddle] mats hang and flap.¹⁰⁴
 Their multicolored saddles creak and groan.¹⁰⁵
 The silver martingale straps dazzle and flash.¹⁰⁶
 The copper stirrups chime and jingle.¹⁰⁷
 The gold harnesses and turquoise bridles shimmer and shine.¹⁰⁸
 The red silk reins flutter and wave.¹⁰⁹
 The cruppers of black serpents dazzle and flash.¹¹⁰
 The tiger-skin quivers on their right side are vivid and clear.¹¹¹
 The leopard-skin quivers on their left side dazzle and flash.¹¹²
 They cast the painful illness of the martial spirits on their
 enemies.
 Their red leather shields spin and swirl.¹¹³
 They throw the lasso of the martial spirits at their enemies with
 their right hands
 [and] capture like a sheep the oath-breakers they spot.
 On the red leather spears in their left hand
 red silk pennons flutter and wave.¹¹⁴
 They throw the spear¹¹⁵ of the martial spirits at their enemies.
 They bring behind them a copper whirlwind.

¹⁰³ Tib. *dan* [sic: *dar*].

¹⁰⁴ Tib. *lhubs se lhub*.

¹⁰⁵ Tib. *wam se wam*.

¹⁰⁶ Tib. *khyugs se khyug*.

¹⁰⁷ Tib. *khro lo lo*.

¹⁰⁸ Tib. *sha ra ra*.

¹⁰⁹ Tib. *pu ru ru*.

¹¹⁰ Tib. *khyugs se khyug*.

¹¹¹ Tib. *wal le wal*.

¹¹² Tib. *khyugs se khyug*.

¹¹³ Tib. *kyi li li*.

¹¹⁴ Tib. *pu ru ru*.

¹¹⁵ The Tibetan word here is actually *zhags pa*, "lasso." However, since that has already been discussed and described in this way, and since the current context concerns the spear, I am reading this as a scribal error and assuming the intended word here is *mdung*, "spear."

In great whistling songs
they receive names in Sanskrit.
The great capricious spirit is Tsi'u dmar [po].
He is called the Dharma king in Tibet.
He is the king of the god-martial spirits and warrior gods.
Since he protects the steadfast wheel of Dharma,
Kun khyab rdo rje drag po rtsal [Tsi'u dmar po],¹¹⁶
[like] the thousand untamed and wrathful sword-wielding
ones,
has many names for one person.
This figure on an orange-reddish horse
draws back [his arrow] to shoot at maroon sheep and red birds.
I make offerings of flesh and blood *gtor ma* [and]
to the hateful enemy oath-breakers
he quickly sends blood-vomiting diseases and knife fights.
Accomplish the entrusted actions!

BHYOḤ!

Furthermore, regarding one of the martial spirit brigands:
The god-martial spirit with a face on his body¹¹⁷
has a radiant yellowish white body color.
He wears red-mottled brocade on his body.
He has a tiger-skin quiver on his right and a leopard-skin
quiver on his left.
He rides a horse with a maroon body and face as his mount.
He brandishes a golden arrow and a golden bow in his hands.
He notches the arrow and strikes¹¹⁸ the enemy's heart.
He sends knife-fighting apparitions to the enemy.

BHYOḤ!

Furthermore, regarding one of the martial spirit brigands:
The red lord of Gro shod Ridge in Tibet¹¹⁹
is the overlord of the red copper cliff.
His red body color blazes [like] fire light.
He wears a long violet cloak on his body.

¹¹⁶ Lit. "The Mighty All-Pervading Wrathful Vajra." This is Tsi'u dmar po's secret name, bestowed on him by Padmasambhava when he was subjugated.

¹¹⁷ Tib. sKu la zhal gyi lha btsan. This is an epithet for the rider Lha btsan dkar po. Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1998 (pp. 172-173) provides a similar description of the seven riders drawn from a different text.

¹¹⁸ Tib. *brdog* [sic: *brdeg*].

¹¹⁹ Tib. Gro shod bod kyi sgang dmar rje; A common variant is Gro shod bod kyi sgang dmag rje; "the Warlord of Droshö Ridge in Tibet;" see Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1998, p. 172. Gro shod is a district in Tsang. This is an epithet for the rider Brag btsan dmar po.

He rides a horse with white hooves as his mount.
 He wields a sword for slaughtering in his right hand.
 He throws at the enemy the copper lasso in his left hand.
 He sends knife-fighting apparitions to the enemy.

BHYOḤ!

Furthermore, regarding one of the martial spirit brigands:
 The serpent-martial spirit who fills a courtyard¹²⁰
 has a terrifying dark red body color and
 [wears] distinct boots and cotton garments on his body.
 He wears a belt of poisonous snakes.
 He has a tiger-skin quiver on his right and a leopard-skin
 quiver on his left.
 He rides a yellow tiger as his mount.
 He brandishes a red iron spear with his right hand.
 He wields a lasso of poisonous snakes with his left hand.
 He sends knife-fighting apparitions to the enemy.

BHYOḤ!

Furthermore, regarding one of the martial spirit brigands:
 The polluting-martial spirit of Red rDo rong¹²¹
 has a terrifying red body and
 wears a red fur-lined robe on his body.
 He has a tiger-skin quiver on his right and a leopard-skin
 quiver on his left.
 He brandishes a red leather spear in his right hand.
 He brandishes the intestine lasso of the martial spirits in his left
 hand.
 He rides a red donkey with a white belly as his mount.
 He sends knife-fighting apparitions to the enemy.

BHYOḤ!

Furthermore, regarding one of the martial spirit brigands:
 The hindering-martial spirit, the black-headed heron,¹²²
 has an utterly terrifying blue-green body color.
 He wears a big robe of black silk on his body.
 He wears on his head the black silk of the hindering spirits.
 He rides a tan horse with a black midsection as his mount.
 He brandishes a black silk banner in his right hand.

¹²⁰ Tib. Ra ba gang gi klu btsan. This is an epithet for the rider Klu btsan dmar po.

¹²¹ Tib. rDo rong dmar po'i gri[b] btsan. This is an epithet for the rider Grib btsan dmar po; see note 44 above.

¹²² Tib. Kang ka thod nag bdud btsan. This is an epithet for the rider bDud btsan nag po.

He then throws a rosary lasso from his left hand.
He sends knife-fighting apparitions to the enemy.

BHYOḤ!

Furthermore, regarding one of the martial spirit brigands:
The knife-martial spirit who rushes lightning fast¹²³
has the red color of blood on his body and
wears red copper armor on his body.
He has bound to his head a majestic turban of red silk.
He has a tiger-skin quiver on his right and a leopard-skin
quiver on his left.
He possesses a red leather shield radiating firelight.
His copper sword gleams as it repels.
His red silk banner swirls about like the wind.
His red martial spirit horse darts about like a sudden flash of
lightning.
He leads a pack of wolves and jackals.
He soars above mountain birds and ravens.
He holds a gleaming knife over [the enemy's] lifespan.
He sends knife-fighting apparitions to the enemy.
He sends many apparitions and many wolves to the enemy.

These are the seven brigand riders of the martial spirits.
This group of arrogant, wrathful martial spirits
leads martial spirit troops toward the hateful enemy.
They send swords¹²⁴ and jackals to the enemy.
They send gathering [clouds] and floods to the enemy.
They send avalanches and wolves to the enemy.
They send violent suicide to the enemy.
Accomplish the entrusted actions!

Finish speaking thus and invoke the [martial spirits] at the time for slaughtering. This is the invocation for the horse race of the martial spirit brigands, the *sādhana* for the Seven Emanating Riders. In its essential meaning, this is the full assault of master Padma[sambhava].

Regarding the history of these [spirits]: Long ago, in the land of the blazing volcano charnel grounds in India, in front of the dark red copper mountain, there were eleven red fierce martial spirits resembling standing demonesses who designed the demoness'

¹²³ Tib. rTsal thog rgyug gi gri btsan. This is an epithet for the rider Gri btsan dmar po.

¹²⁴ Tib. *mtshon phri* [sic: *mtshon gri*].

flaming chimney.¹²⁵ Padmasambhava dwelled there, and at midnight, when seven wolves with bloody manes came and created obstacles for the guru, the master abided in the meditative absorption of Glorious Hayagrīva and raised his *vajra*. Because of this, they departed to the seven horsemen, who came to pay homage.

[Padmasambhava] asked, "Who are you?"

[The leader] said, "I am called Tsi'u dmar [po], leader of the capricious spirits. Previously, Glorious Hayagrīva conferred empowerments [on me] and, having bestowed on me the *samaya* oath, I promised to be a guardian of the [Buddhist] teachings."

The guru said, "Where is your abode? Who are your parents? Where is your [life] essence? Tell me!"

Tsi'u dmar [po] acceded, saying, "My abode is here, India; in Tsang, it is called the split cavern. My father is rMu rje legs pa.¹²⁶ My mother is the capricious spirit called Zangs mgrin ma.¹²⁷ My life essence resides in a tantra recited by Glorious Hayagrīva. It is an enjoyment [object] that is in a small leather amulet box full of fingernails and toenails [covered] in dung on the cliff. I will protect the teachings of the Buddha."

The guru also conferred empowerments and said, "Your secret name is Kun khyab rdo rje drag po rtsal."

The master retrieved the tantra from the cliff and protected it. Then Padma[sambhava] came¹²⁸ to Tibet. The seven horsemen welcomed him and he asked, "Is this the land of the capricious spirit Tsi'u dmar [po]?"

Having also not given this *sādhana* to anyone, [Padmasambhava] concealed it in the throat of [the statue of] Virūpakṣa,¹²⁹ king of the seven peaks. One time, it was concealed in the Vairocana statue at Vaitsaling Temple¹³⁰ in bSam yas [Monastery], Mount mChims phu. This was revealed as a treasure [text] by the *vidyādhara* mNga' ris Paṅ chen.

Concerning the four lotuses,¹³¹ you should affix them to the soles of your feet and concentrate on the face [of them] as much as possible. Press on top of your knees [with] your fists. Put your fists over the lotuses with your hands [in the] single-pointed *vajra* [*mudrā*], then

¹²⁵ Padma dbang rgyal 1976, p. 327.2: *srin mo'i khol ma me lce ris kyi drag bstan dmar po srin mo langs pa 'dra ba bcu gcig yod*.

¹²⁶ Lit. "Excellent Lord of the Savage Spirits."

¹²⁷ Lit. "The Copper-necked Woman."

¹²⁸ Tib. byon slabs [sic: byon slebs].

¹²⁹ Tib. sPyan mi bzang; this is the king of the west among the four great guardian kings (*rGyal chen bzhi*).

¹³⁰ Tib. *Be tsa gling*; variant spelling.

¹³¹ This is an unexpected but detailed body yoga instruction.

make the Vajradhara *mudrā*. If [the *mudrā*] falters, strike the face [of the lotuses] for a moment and relax to improve [the *mudrā*]. HAṬ PHAṬ SUBHAM.

*E. The Treasure of Mighty Lotus [Hayagrīva]
Entrusting the Warlord's Life Force (328.5-332)*

*The Treasure of Mighty Lotus [Hayagrīva]
Entrusting the Warlord's Life Force.*¹³²

Homage to the lord of the glorious arrogant ones!

When the time for approaching (*bsnyen*) Hayagrīva has passed, the seven capricious spirit brothers are certain to physically appear. In this regard, you should strive to fearlessly make offerings and praise them. When you entrust the Dharma teachings, create a great red *gtor ma* fortress object. On its top, arrange the seven pure food offerings for the martial spirits adorned with red banners. Disperse the choicest of the pure offerings and the golden libations and entrust the [requested] actions. Since the disciple wants to accomplish subjugating actions for the lama, in order to [produce] red and extensive [offerings, he should] offer gifts of turquoise and conch shell for the lineage, grains for riches, and weapons for power.

KYAI!

The venerable lama, the wrathful king, requests –
because you are near to the actions of the arrogant ones –
being bound to the *samaya* command,
take care of the *samaya* oath of the arrogant ones.

Request as such and visualize the *gtor ma* offerings for Hayagrīva. In addition to that, the wrathful lord of O rgyan [Padmasambhava], possessing an iron hook and lasso, meditated on the awe-inspiring neighing [of Hayagrīva] and the gathering of the ten limbs¹³³ was clarified. [Having] gone for refuge and produced *bodhicitta*, the

¹³² Like the previous instances, this title similarly surrounds a small image of a blazing heart.

¹³³ Tib. [*bsnyen sbyor*] *yan lag bcu*; the ten limbs of *kriyā* tantra approaching and accomplishing liturgies: (1) The abode which is established wherever (*gang du sgrub pa'i gnas*), (2-4) the three essential natures (*de nyid gsum*), (5-7) the three meditative concentrations (*bsam gtan gsum*), (8) the ritual which engages in mantra practice (*sngags sgrub pa la 'jug pa'i cho ga*), (9) the ritual of burnt offerings (*sbyin sreg gi cho ga*), and (10) the ritual of empowerment (*dbang bskur gyi cho ga*).

disciple visualizes [himself] as the Great Glorious One [Hayagrīva] and the wisdom being is absorbed into them. They should burn incense, conduct a great symphony, and place the *gtor ma* offering above their head.

HRĪḤ!

The emanation body from within the innate Dharma body is the lord of the arrogant ones with magnificent wrathful faces. Calling out in the awe-inspiring neighing [of Hayagrīva], he subdues the hindering spirits and oath-breaking spirits. May you attain the supreme empowerment of Hayagrīva! [Recite] the root mantra: KĀYA ABHIṢIÑCA¹³⁴ OM. Then consecrate and scatter red flowers.

HRĪḤ!

The secret mantra king, endowed with the cry of HULU, earnestly engages in [the practice] and quickly bestows accomplishments. May the glorious mind that embodies the supreme speech of the Buddha attain the supreme empowerment of the authentic mantra!

Recite the root mantra: ABHIṢIÑCA¹³⁵ ĀḤ.

[Then] take a dagger staff in hand and touch the heart [with it].

HRĪḤ!

The power of the *bodhicitta* of wisdom and awareness [and] the strength of the supreme horse's pace that destroys afflictive emotions uphold the treasures with a hundred thousand intrinsic good qualities.

May you attain the wisdom and the power of the non-abiding mind!

Recite: CITTAJÑĀNA ABHIṢIÑCA¹³⁶ HŪḤ.

This is the extended empowerment of the divine tamer¹³⁷ [Hayagrīva]. SAMAYA. Seal! Seal! Seal!

Next, regarding the support gifts for the arrogant ones:

¹³⁴ Sanskrit for "body empowerment."

¹³⁵ Sanskrit for "empowerment, consecration."

¹³⁶ Sanskrit for "mind knowledge empowerment."

¹³⁷ Tib. *gnyen po lha*.

KYAI!

The red fortress structure [walls] shift and sway.¹³⁸

The owls on the peak screech and whistle.¹³⁹

Entrust to the disciple¹⁴⁰ the support where [the spirits] reside.

May the arrogant ones constantly remain!

RAKṢAMAHĀYA¹⁴¹ HŪṢ SVĀHĀ!

The life stone and the life *cakra*, the secret supports, [have] the strength of dominion and are quick as lightning.

Entrust to the disciple the support that calls out and incites.

May the life force and the tantra constantly be connected!

Entrust the life stone mantra and *cakra*. Then absorb them into the red spear and lasso and entrust them into the hands [of the disciple].

Regarding the *samaya* oath of the inseparable life force, the red spear and the lasso, the implements of the martial spirit, are endowed with the *samaya* of the Great Bliss Lotus [Hayagrīva].¹⁴²

Constantly entrust to the disciple the enlightened activities.

RAKṢAKARMA¹⁴³ JAḤ BHYO *rbaḍ*¹⁴⁴

Then play the drums, flutes, and cymbals.

Hang red banners, the spear, and the lasso from the veranda and give the choicest golden libations, [then] invoke and dispatch [the spirits].

Endeavor toward actions [that] constantly give offerings.

Confer the tantra and accomplishment substances.

This is the protector of Śākya[muni]'s teachings.

[He possesses] the famed livestock of the powerful martial spirits and

great power, and he liberates the enemy and obstructing spirits.

¹³⁸ Tib. *ldems se ldem*.

¹³⁹ Tib. *lhangs se lhang*; see Bellezza 2005, p. 320.

¹⁴⁰ Tib. *bu*; read in this context as short for *slob bu*.

¹⁴¹ Sanskrit for "of great protection."

¹⁴² Tib. *Pad ma bde chen*. This is not a common epithet for Hayagrīva, but given the context he is clearly meant; I speculate that the scribe meant to write Pad ma dbang chen.

¹⁴³ Sanskrit for "protective activities."

¹⁴⁴ Lit. "to dispatch."

Because he is the power of the arrogant one's life force,
 he is the personal god of [King] Khri srong lde'u btsan.
 Entrust to the disciple this transmission of the royal lineage;
 the *samaya* oath will deteriorate for others.

The two tantras, the life stone, the apparitions, and
 the full assault – along with the offering activities –
 on the peak of Ma bu tshang ba sbra dun¹⁴⁵
 were concealed within the chest of the Virūpakṣa [statue].

One time, the secret heart of Hayagrīva at bSam yas [Tsi'u dmar po] was concealed in an iron amulet box as a protector for the teachings of Hayagrīva, the Dharma lord who subjugates the arrogant ones. Regarding the three stages from the scroll that is the central axis of the secondary text of this [work]: it was hidden in the Vairocana statue at [bSam yas Monastery, Mount] mChims phu. When the dark age rises, at a time when the royal lineage will be brought down to the common folk, a man will appear like fierce lightning who will receive this very [text]. Since he will accomplish the knowledge mantra of Padma[sambhava], the arrogant ones will gather involuntarily [and] come forth from the direction of the copper plains, the land of the martial spirits. Then, when this is accomplished, they will protect the royal lineage. This will bestow the fruit of the desired aim. Without the *samaya* oath, won't [the martial spirits] slip from one's hand?

When master Padma[sambhava] came to subdue the flesh-eating demons of the southwest for both King Khri srong lde'u btsan and the monk rGyal ba mchog dbyangs, he instructed them and hid [these] three treasure texts.

SAMAYA. Seal! Seal! Seal!

May it be virtuous!

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¹⁴⁵ Lit. "the complete mother and son amber yak-hair tent." By context, this appears to be a location, and likely near bSam yas, but otherwise unknown.

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