

The Records of Teachings Received of the Fifth Yol mo sPrul sku Karma 'phrin las bdud 'joms as a Source for the Content and Transmission History of the Northern Treasures (Byang gter)*

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The core teachings of a religious school—their content, origin, and transmission—are central themes in traditional Tibetan historiography and are reflected in various forms of religious literature. One such genre, attested since the beginnings of the later dissemination (*phyi dar*) of Buddhism in Tibet, are “records of teachings received” composed under the generic titles *gsan yig* (“records of what was heard”) or *thob yig* (“records of what was received”). In these accounts, religious practitioners documented the essential teachings acquired during the course of their training. These records were often supplemented by a transmission history of the teaching, specifying each link in the lineage—from its origin to the most recent recipient who received and passed it on: the author of the *records of teachings received*. For historians, these texts constitute invaluable sources for reconstructing the history of a religious school and the formation of its tradition.¹

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In 1992, staff members of the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project (NGMPP) were able to microfilm the *records of teachings received* of the 5th Yol mo sPrul sku Karma 'phrin las bdud 'joms (1726–1789)² in Samagaun (Gorkha, Nepal). Although composed in the 18th century, this text is the earliest extant source of its kind within the rNying ma school and offers the most detailed account of the content and transmission history of what is known as the “Northern Treasures” (*byang gter*). Tradition attributes the discovery of this multi-volumed textual corpus to the legendary “treasure-discoverer” (*gter ston*) Rig 'dzin rGod kyi ldem 'phru can (1337–1408/09) who is said to have brought these treasures to light from the mountain Zang zang lha brag in La stod byang (Central Tibet) in the mid-14th century.

1. *The Northern Treasures of Rig 'dzin rGod kyi ldem 'phru can*

The religious teachings of the rNying ma school are traditionally classified according to their mode of transmission. One such category is known as “treasures” (*gter ma*), comprising instructions for spiritual practice concealed during the early dissemination of the Buddhist doctrine (*bstan pa snga dar*) by Padmasambhava—the tantric master from Uḍḍiyāna—or one of his disciples, at secret locations throughout Tibet, often in rock caves. These teachings were intended to be rediscovered, retrieved, and disseminated at a prophesied time during the later dissemination by a *gter ston*, typically regarded as a

1789) can no longer be regarded as the earliest extant *records of teachings received* on the Northern Treasures within the rNying ma tradition—as asserted in the article. I noted the significance of 'Gyur med rdo rje's *gsan yig* in my presentation at the 16th Seminar of the International Association of Tibetan Studies (July 6th, 2022, Prague). The dating of the epitome (*spyi chings*) by Se Padma dbang chen remains uncertain, due to the lack of precise biographical data on this individual. In my article, I proposed that the Fire-Hare year mentioned in the concluding colophon—identified as the year of the text's completion—corresponds to 1627. However, in the aforementioned presentation—where I discussed the epitomes of the Northern Treasures composed by mNga' ris Paṅ chen Padma dbang rgyal (1487–1542) and Se Padma dbang chen (c. 16th–17th century)—I concluded that the text should more likely be dated one *rab byung* cycle earlier, and therefore suggested the year 1567.

¹ The significance of *records of teachings received* as historical sources has been noted on several occasions; see, for example, Taube 1969: 283–284. For an outline of the *records of teachings received* as a literary genre and an overview of the relevant secondary literature, see Sobisch 2002: 161–164.

² Karma 'phrin las bdud 'joms, Yol mo sPrul sku 05. *Rig 'dzin bla ma karma bdud 'joms zhab kyi gsan yig gi rim pa rnam phyogs gcig tu sgrigs pa zab rgyas chos kyi gan midzod*. Ms., dbu med, 167 fols.

reincarnation of one of Padmasambhava's close disciples.³ The recovery of such *gter ma* is attested from the 12th century onward, reaching its peak in terms of the number of treasure-discoverers during the 14th and 15th centuries.⁴

The Northern Treasures—one such treasure tradition—derive their name from the site of their discovery: the rock mountain Zang zang lha brag in La stod byang, located in the northwestern part of Central Tibet (*dbus gtsang*; with *dbus* here specifically referred to as 'Central Tibet'), approximately 50 km west of the fortress Ngam ring. This fortress was built in the mid-13th century to serve as the seat of the secular rulers of the region, the Byang pa, and of the adjacent monastery Byang Ngam ring chos sde, which served as the spiritual center there.⁵ According to tradition, these treasures were concealed by Padmasambhava at this location in the 8th century and rediscovered and brought to light in the mid-14th century by Rig 'dzin rGod kyi ldem 'phru can (henceforth: Rig 'dzin rGod ldem), who is considered a reincarnation of Zhang sNa nam bDud 'joms rdo rje, a close disciple of Padmasambhava. Padmasambhava and Rig 'dzin rGod ldem are thus the two central figures of the Northern Treasure tradition.

The narrative surrounding the origin and revelation of the Northern Treasures appears to have already been established during Rig 'dzin rGod ldem's lifetime. The written tradition begins with a group of texts, among which particular emphasis was placed on those designated as *kha byang* ("guide"), *lam byang* ("guide on the path"), *snying byang* ("guide to the essence"), and *zhal chems* ("testament"). This group comprised approximately thirty texts, the majority of which extended to only a few pages. They introduced fundamental narratives of the treasure tradition—such as the site where Padmasambhava hid the treasures, the prophesied time of their recovery, prophecies concerning the treasure-discoverer, and

³ For the classification of Nying ma literature into "pronouncements" (*bka' ma*) and "treasures" (*gter ma*), see, for example, Dargyay 1979: 68–69; Thondup 1986: 45–49; Dudjom Rinpoche Jikdrel Yeshe Dorje 1991: 39, 396. For characteristics of treasure literature, as well as discussions on the authenticity of *gter ma* and the origins of this tradition, see, among others, Doctor 2005: 17–51; Gyatso 2015; Mayer 2019.

⁴ For an overview of the treasure traditions of the rNying ma school, see Dargyay 1979; Thondup 1986; Dudjom Rinpoche Jikdrel Yeshe Dorje 1991: 741–881 (Part Six).

⁵ On the history, sources, and literature concerning the myriarchy (*khri skor*) of La stod byang, see Everding 2010. For an introduction to the political (Ch. 2 and 3) and religious history (Ch. 4) of La stod byang, see Gung thang bsTan 'dzin nor bu 2018.

descriptions of the treasure contents—thus establishing the foundation for the tradition's historical narrative.⁶

At the beginning of the 15th century, Se ston Nyi ma bzang po, a close disciple of Rig 'dzin rGod ldem, composed the first biography of the treasure-discoverer. The framework of this biography was formed by events from Rig 'dzin rGod ldem's life, supplemented by the legends already circulating about him, along with the narrative of Padmasambhava's concealment of the Northern Treasures, prophecies concerning their revelation, and related materials. Nyi ma bzang po drew extensively from the sources mentioned above, often quoting them verbatim.⁷ The climax of the narrative is marked by the recovery of the *gter ma* and a detailed description of their contents. In this biography, the narratives of the concealment and revelation of the Northern Treasures and the life story of the treasure-discoverer were merged and established as a cohesive mythic account.⁸ According to this narrative, Padmasambhava, at the request of the prince lHa sras Mu khri btsan po, concealed the Northern Treasures on the slopes of Mount bKra bzang during his travels through Tibet. Rig 'dzin rGod ldem received the "keys" (*lde mig*) to revealing these treasures from the hermit bZang po grags pa and, at the age of thirty—in the Year of the Horse (1354)—revealed the treasure for the benefit of the King of Gung thang, the "patron [along with] the recipients of [his] offerings" (*yon mchod*), and for future beings. Subsequently, he founded a monastery at the site, along with a temple dedicated to Padmasambhava on the top of the mountain. A few years later, Rig 'dzin rGod ldem was summoned to the royal court of Mang yul Gung thang, where he served as court chaplain. He was granted a monastery on Mount dPal 'bar in Mang yul as his permanent residence. However, some years later, Rig 'dzin rGod ldem left Mang yul and "opened" the hidden land (*sbas yul*) of 'Bras mo gshongs (Sikkim) in the far south of Tibet, designating it a practice site for the followers of his religious tradition. Rig 'dzin rGod ldem returned to Ri bo bKra bzang many years

⁶ Not all texts from this group, which likely circulated contemporaneously and are known to us only by title through quotations, have survived. Some of these texts were incorporated into the collections of the Northern Treasures. See *infra*, note 7.

⁷ Se ston Nyi ma bzang po quotes from approximately twenty-five of these texts. "Eight paper scrolls" (*shog dril brgyad po*), said to have been recovered for the king of Gung thang, are listed and emphasized as core texts in the early formation of the Northern Treasures tradition; see GDNT, pp. 87–88; also KDBNT, pp. 433–434. mNga' ris Pañ chen and Se Padma dbang chen likewise quote extensively from this corpus in their epitomes of the Northern Treasures; see *infra*, 2.c (Epitomes / Tables of Contents).

⁸ The revelation of the Northern Treasures and their contents are discussed, among others, in: Dargyay 1979: 129–132; Schwieger 1985: xxx–xxxviii; Boord 1993: 21–35; Herweg 1994: 85–103.

thereafter. His activities providing religious services to the royal court led him back once again to Mang yul. He spent his final years in his homeland in La stod byang, where he passed away in the Iron-Snake year (1401).⁹

The sacred sites Ri bo bkra bzang (La stod byang), Ri bo dpal 'bar (Mang yul), and the hidden land of 'Bras mo gshongs have since been closely associated with the dissemination of the Northern Treasures and gradually developed into key centers of activity for the tradition in the subsequent years. In addition to the religious center of bKra bzang—the starting point for the transmission of the Northern Treasures—the monastery of bDe grol was founded near the fortress of Ngam ring during the formative years of the tradition. Both monasteries lay within the dominion of the Byang family. Over time, numerous branch monasteries were established.¹⁰ Conflicts in the 16th century between leading clerics of the Byang family and the King of gTsang led to a decline in the significance of the Northern Treasures at their place of origin, prompting religious authorities of the tradition to relocate to Central Tibet (*dbus*) and Southern Tibet. At the beginning of the 17th century, Rig 'dzin Ngag gi dbang po (1580–1639), recognized as a reincarnation of Rig 'dzin rGod ldem, established the monastery of Thub bstan rDo rje brag in Central Tibet, approximately 40 km west of bSam yas. This monastery became the new principal

⁹ Herweg (1994: 44–152) offers a translation of selected passages from this biography relevant to the discussion of historical issues. The contents of considerably later textual sources concerning the life of Rig 'dzin rGod ldem are discussed by Schwieger 1985: xxx–xxxi and Herweg 1994: 155–158. Information about his life are summarized in Schwieger 1985: xxx–xxxviii; Herweg 1994 (*passim*); Everding 2000: vol. II, pp. 226–233, 244–247, 481–496; Solmsdorf 2014: 12–16. Schwieger particularly examines Rig 'dzin rGod ldem's position as a *gter ston*, his relationships with ruling houses, and his prophecies regarding the opening of hidden lands (*sbas yul*). Everding focuses primarily on his role at the royal court of Mang yul Gung thang. The earliest biography cited above records his birth year as a Wood-Mouse Year (*shing pho byi*), corresponding to 1324, and his death as an Iron-Snake Year (*lcags mo sprul*), i.e., 1401. The treasure's recovery event is dated to his 30th year, a Horse year (=1354). However, the colophons of individual texts date the revelation to a Fire-Horse Year (*me pho rta*), corresponding to 1366; see Schwieger 1985: 46, 47, 65, 77, 80, etc. Using his 30th year as the basis, a birth year of 1337 can be calculated. Later sources also cite an Earth-Mouse Year (1408) as his year of death. Discrepancies between the dates in the earliest biography and those in later sources have been noted by Herweg (1994: 175–176) and Everding (2000, II: 232–233). The biographical dates (1337–1408/09) given here follow Schwieger 1985, Dargyay 1979, and Everding 2000.

¹⁰ A list of Tibetan monasteries associated with the Northern Treasures is provided by Choden 1973: 4–5. See also the recent list compiled by the editors of the modern edition BTChK, vol. 62, pp. 883–898.

center for the dissemination of the Northern Treasures,¹¹ although the tradition continued at the monastery of bKra bzang as well.¹² In addition to the treasures recovered at Mount Zang zang lha brag, further teaching cycles were incorporated into this treasure tradition over time. These cycles were brought to light by treasure-discoverers (*gter ston*) other than Rig 'dzin rGod ldem, much later and in different locations.¹³ The present article is limited to the original Northern Treasures of Rig 'dzin rGod ldem.

According to the earliest accounts of the revelation of the Northern Treasures by Rig 'dzin rGod ldem, the treasure was divided among five boxes, organized according to their spatial arrangement at the discovery site. These accounts mention, among the recovered items, a few valuables, ritual objects, and relics—but most notably, collections of writings. With the exception of the *Kun tu bzang po dgongs pa zang*

¹¹ On the history of the monastery rDo rje brag, see the early 20th-century chronicle by Kun bzang 'gro 'dul rdo rje (DJBGB). The religious chronicle titled *Bod yul gangs can gyi ljongs su snga 'gyur bka' gter gyi chos brgyud 'dzin pa'i gdan sa chen po thub bstan rdo rje brag e waṃ lcog sgar ba'i chos brgyud dang gdan rabs bcas kyi lo rgyus mdor bsdu* (Simla, 1983) by sTag lung rTse sprul Rinpoche (born c. 1926) was not available to me, nor was its English translation (*A Brief History of Dorje Tak Monastery in Tibet and its Lineage Holders*, Leh, 1985). Brief overviews of the monastery's history, as a new institution in Central Tibet for disseminating the Northern Treasures and led by throne-holders recognized as reincarnations of Rig 'dzin rGod ldem, can be found in: Boord 1993: 29–31; Herweg 1994: 29–31; Dalton 2016: 78–96, among others.

¹² An outline of the history of the monastery bKra bzang is provided in Gung thang bsTan 'dzin nor bu 2018: 300–302.

¹³ This later tradition includes, in particular, the *gter ma* cycles of those treasure-discoverers recognized as reincarnations of Rig 'dzin rGod ldem—namely, Rig 'dzin Legs ldan bdud 'joms rdo rje (c. 16th century) and Rig 'dzin Ngag gi dbang po (1580–1639). Also included are the treasures of the mNga' ris Paṅ chen Padma dbang rgyal (1487–1542), the elder brother of Rig 'dzin bDud 'joms rdo rje. These two brothers from Glo bo, descendants of the royal house of Mang yul Gung thang, drew on the early transmission of the Northern Treasures in La stod byang and began disseminating the treasure teachings in Central Tibet (*dbus*) and Southern Tibet from the early 16th century onwards. Also part of this tradition are the treasures of Byang bdag bKra shis stobs rgyal (1550?–1603), regarded as a reincarnation of mNga' ris Paṅ chen, who founded the lay-practitioner community of epitom, the site where his son Ngag gi dbang po later built the monastery rDo rje brag. Rig 'dzin Ngag gi dbang po expanded the community and is regarded as the actual founder of the monastery, which then received the name Thub bstan rDo rje brag E waṃ lcog sgar. All these later treasure-discoverers were active in Central Tibet or Southern Tibet. Included as well are the treasures of mNga' ris gTer ston Gar dbang zla ba rgyal mtshan (1640–1685) and sKal bzang padma dbang phyug (1719/20–1770), as part of the later 17th and 18th-century tradition. A concise overview of the treasure-discoverers associated with this tradition is provided by Choden 1973: 6–7. A compilation of the expanded textual corpus considered part of the Northern Treasures was published in 2015 under the title *sNga 'gyur byang gter chos skor phyogs bsrigris* (BTChK), comprising 63 volumes, including a table of contents.

thal collection and the *rDo rje phur pa'i chos skor* collection, the early narrative literature that has come down to us—transmitted primarily as part of the treasures—as well as the earliest biographies of Rig 'dzin rGod ldem, do not yet contain those designations for the text collections that would later become constitutive of this treasure tradition. Instead, the contents of the “Five Treasures” (*mdzod lnga*) are initially outlined only in extremely brief terms—on the one hand, according to their purpose and content (as cited in the *Zhal chems bdun pa*), and on the other, in connection with the meditation practice centered on specific deities (as in the *Rig 'dzin rtsa ba'i sgrub thabs*). These brief descriptions of the “treasures” cannot be directly identified with the later, well-known designations of the individual text collections of the Northern Treasures.¹⁴

It was not until the late 15th century that hagiographical writing within this religious school resumed. In these sources, the designations for individual text collections of the Northern Treasures are documented in writing for the first time.¹⁵ These collections are

¹⁴ The *rdzogs chen* text collection *Kun tu bzang po dgongs pa zang thal* is mentioned several times in the biography of Rig 'dzin rGod ldem by Se ston Nyi ma bzang po (GDNTh, pp. 132, 143). This collection is also listed by title in early narrative literature, for example in the quasi-autobiographical text *sPrul sku rig 'dzin chen po'i mnal lan le'u brgyad pa* (PKNL, p. 160). According to GDNTh, this collection was located in the center of the treasure repository and thus held a central place in the early textual tradition. As sources for discussing the contents of the treasure, mNga' ris Pañ chen and Se Padma dbang chen cite the *Zhal chems bdun pa* (BTSNT, fols. 2b–3a; BTRPh, fols. 27b–28a) and the *Rig 'dzin rtsa ba'i sgrub thabs* (BTSNT, fol. 3a–b; BTRPh, fol. 27a–b) in their epitomes of this treasure tradition. To the best of current knowledge, the *Zhal chems bdun pa* has not survived independently and is known only through quotations in these epitomes. The *Rig 'dzin rtsa ba'i sgrub thabs* is a text belonging to the *Bla ma rig 'dzin gdung sgrub* cycle. For the content of the Northern Treasures, see RDzGTh, p. 114. The *rGod ldem rnam thar* (GDNTh, pp. 96–97) describes the “Five Treasures” in a manner similar to that in the *Zhal chems bdun pa*, closely following the wording of *sNying byang rgyas pa gnad gyi thim bu* (NyBGP, p. 313). Descriptions of the treasure contents vary considerably across these early sources. Translations or summaries of individual texts' wording regarding treasure contents are found in Dargyay 1979: 130–131; Schwieger 1985: xxxv–xxxvi; Boord 1993: 25–26; and Herweg 1994: 32–33.

¹⁵ In his biography collection of figures from the early Northern Treasures tradition in La stod byang, Sangs rgyas dpal bzang names four text cycles by title: *rDzogs pa chen po kun tu bzang po'i dgongs pa zang thal gyi skor* (NThOPh, p. 198), (*pha chos*) *rDo rje phur pa* (*ibid.*, p. 177), *Rigs 'dzin gdung sgrub* (*ibid.*, p. 186) and *Thugs bsgrub* (=sgrub) *kyi bskor* (=skor) (*ibid.*, p. 186). The biography of Nam mkha' rgyal mtshan (NKhNTh; translated in Valentine 2018), written in 1557 by Nam mkha' bsod nams dpal, mentions nine cycles: *Byang gter skor gyi rdzogs pa chen pa zangs* (=zang) *thal*, *Rang byung rang shar, bKa' brgyad rang byung rang shar*, (*pha chos*) *rDo rje phur pa* (*ibid.*, p. 212); *Thugs rje chen po nyon mongs rang grol* (i.e. *Thugs rje chen po 'gro ba kun grol*) (*ibid.*, p. 214); *Gu ru zhi ba'i bskor* (=skor) (add.: *Rigs 'dzin gdung bsgrub* (=sgrub)), *Drag po mthing kha'i bskor* (=skor) (add.: *Thugs bsgrub* (=sgrub)), *Byang chub sems pa'i spyod dbang gi bskor* (=skor) (*ibid.*, p. 213); *rTen 'brel chos bdun* (*ibid.*, p. 214).

organized into closed teaching cycles (*chos skor*), each centered around a specific topic that lends its name to the entire cycle. In terms of content, these cycles encompass a wide-ranging corpus of doctrinal, practice, and ritual texts, among others.¹⁶ At the core of the tradition are essentially nine teaching cycles, which together comprise several thousand folios and are arranged into approximately thirteen to fifteen volumes, depending on the edition.¹⁷

Cycle I	<i>Kun tu bzang po'i dgongs pa zang thal</i> ¹⁸ (Xyl., Ms.)
Cycle II	<i>Ka dag rang byung rang shar</i> ¹⁹ (Xyl., Ms.)

¹⁶ An overview of the contents of both *rdzogs chen* cycles is provided by Schwieger 1985.

¹⁷ The relevant source texts primarily refer to nine ritual cycles that constitute the core corpus of these Northern Treasures. See, for example, the enumeration of these treasures in the biography of Nam mkha' rgyal mtshan (NKhNTh; see *supra*, note 15). These cycles are numbered here with Roman numerals from I to IX. Titles of the individual cycles may vary slightly or appear in abbreviated form in the source materials. A list of these text cycles and their allocation to the "Five Treasures" is provided by Choden 1973: 6–7; cf. Schwieger 1985: 35–36; Boord 1993: 25–26. However, some texts offer alternative allocations. Regarding these teaching [and ritual] cycles (*chos skor*), the following sources are listed: (a) surviving manuscripts and block prints (only collections with a significant number of texts are included here), (b) title lists or inventories based on the surviving *records of teachings received* (*gsan yig*), and (c) content descriptions and title lists from epitomes (with references). The above-mentioned text collections are drawn from the holdings of the Buddhist Digital Resource Center (BDRC). These holdings were reviewed to the extent possible during the preparation of this article (<http://www.tbrc.org>, accessed May 23, 2020). See also the collection of manuscripts and block prints in Herweg 1994: 34–38. Due to space constraints, most relevant secondary literature on the text collections is not cited here, except for one catalogue (Schwieger 1985), which provides a comprehensive bibliographical record, partly with content descriptions, of both *rdzogs chen* teaching cycles (Cycles I and II).

¹⁸ Source texts: A 'dzom chos sgar, n.d. (Leh, 1973), Xyl., 4 vols. (BDRC, W18557; W4CZ1100). —gNas chung, n.d. (Leh, 1979), Xyl., 4 vols. (BDRC, W4CZ1106). —n.pl., n.d. (Sumra, 1978), Ms., 3 vols. (BDRC, W4CZ1105). —n.pl., n.d., Ms., 1 vol. or 2 vols. (BDRC, W8LS19760; W3PD889, vol. 64; W3CN18479). Modern edition: BTChK, vols. 1–2 (BDRC, W2PD17457, I4PD423–I4PD424). Title lists: NDThY; DLSY; BDThY; KDJSY. Epitomes: BTSNT: fol. 7b (*rTsol med kyi theg pa ston pa zab mo chos kyi lung byang*), fols. 7b–8a (*sGron ma rnam gsum*); BTRPh: fols. 35b–38b. The text collection (in the A 'dzom chos sgar print) is described in detail in Schwieger 1985: xviii–xxvii; text nos. 1–111 (pp. 1–113), including notes on deviations between the A 'dzom chos sgar and gNas chung editions of the corpus.

¹⁹ Source texts: A 'dzom chos sgar, n.d. (Leh, 1973), Xyl., 1 vol. (BDRC, W18557; W4CZ1100). —n.pl., n.d. (Paro, 1979), Ms., 1 vol. (BDRC, W27283). Modern edition: BTChK, vol. 3 (BDRC, I4PD425). Title lists: NDThY; DLSY; KDJSY; BDThY. Epitomes: BTSNT: fols. 6b–7a (*Ka dag gi zhu lan gnad kyi yi ge*, i.e., a list of individual titles); BTRPh: fol. 35a-b. The text collection (in the A 'dzom chos sgar print) is described in detail in Schwieger 1985: xviii–xxvii; text nos. 112–127 (pp. 114–132).

Cycle III	<i>bKa' brgyad drag po rang byung rang shar</i> ²⁰ (Xyl., Ms.)
Cycle IV	<i>bCom ldan 'das rdo rje phur pa</i> ²¹ (Ms.)
Cycle V	<i>(phyi sgrub) Thugs rje chen po 'gro ba kun grol</i> ²² (Xyl., Ms.)
Cycle VI	<i>(nang sgrub) Bla ma rig 'dzin gdung sgrub</i> ²³ (Xyl., Ms.)
Cycle VII	<i>(gsang sgrub) Thugs sgrub gu ru drag po rtsal</i> ²⁴ (Xyl., Ms.)
Cycle VIII	<i>Zab mo rten 'brel chos bdun</i> ²⁵ (Ms.)
Cycle IX	<i>Byang chub sems dpa'i spyod dbang</i> ²⁶ (Ms.)

The first four text cycles can be assigned—according to their primary content—to traditions that, following the classification system of the rNying ma school, belong to the highest classes of tantra: the two

²⁰ Source texts: n.pl, n.d., Xyl., 2 vols. (BDRC, W1KG11884). —n.pl., n.d. (Darjeeling, 1984), Ms., 1 vol. (BDRC, W1KG12971). —n.pl., n.d., Ms., 1 vol. (BDRC, W1PD181177). Modern edition: BTChK, vols. 9–12 (BDRC, I4PD431–I4PD434). Title lists: NDThY; DLSY; GSThY; BDThY; TGSY. Epitomes: BTSNT: fol. 7a (*bKa' brgyad rang byung rang shar gyi them s byang*); BTRPh: fols. 39a–41a.

²¹ Source texts: n.pl., n.d. (Leh, 1973), Ms., 1 vol. (BDRC, W23775). —n.pl., n.d. (Dalhousie, 1977), Ms., 2 vols. (BDRC, W29251). —n.pl., n.d. (Darjeeling, 1984), Ms., 1 vol. (BDRC, W27295). Modern edition: BTChK, vol. 13 (BDRC, I4PD435). Title lists: NDThY; DLSY; KDJSY. Epitomes: BTSNT: fols. 5b–6b (*Phur pa rin chen mdzod*); BTRPh: fols. 44b–46a.

²² Source texts: gNas chung, n.d. (Gangtok, 1979), Xyl., 1 vol. (BDRC, W27296). —n.pl., n.d. (Delhi, 1982), Ms., 1 vol. (BDRC, W27284). Modern editions: Solukhumbu, 2017 (BDRC, W2KG209269, vol. 2); —BTChK, vol. 4 (BDRC, I4PD426). Title lists: NDThY; DLSY; GSThY; PGThY; KDJSY. Epitome: BTRPh: fols. 47b–48a.

²³ Source texts: gNas chung, n.d. (Gangtok, 1981), Xyl., 1 vol. (W23449). —n.pl., n.d. (Delhi, 1982), Ms., 1 vol. (BDRC, W27284). Modern editions: Solukhumbu, 2017 (BDRC, W2KG209269, vol. 2). —BTChK, vol. 5 (BDRC, I4PD427). Title lists: NDThY; DLSY; PGThY; KDJSY. Epitome: BTRPh: fols. 38b–39a.

²⁴ Source texts: n.pl., n.d. (Darjeeling, 1984), Ms., 1 vol. (BDRC, W27870). —n.pl., n.d. (Sumra, 1978), Ms., 1 vol. (BDRC, W4CZ1105, vol. 3). —gNas chung, n.d. (Gangtok, 1980), Xyl., 4 vols. (W23453). —n.pl., n.d., Ms., 2 vols. (BDRC, W3PD999). Modern editions: Solukhumbu, 2017 (BDRC, W2KG209269, vol. 1). —BTChK, vols. 6–8 (BDRC, I4PD428–I4PD430); Title lists: NDThY; DLSY; GSThY; BDThY; PGThY; KDJSY. Epitomes: BTSNT: fols. 3b–4a (*Thugs sgrubs (=sgrub) them s byang*); BTRPh: fols. 41a–44b.

²⁵ Source texts: n.pl., n.d., Ms. (in: BDRC, W2PD17514, vol. 11). Modern edition: BTChK, vol. 15, various texts (in: BDRC, I4PD437). Title lists: DLSY; KDJSY; YBSY. Epitomes: BTSNT: fol. 4a–b (*Zab mo rten 'brel gyi chos bdun*); BTRPh: fols. 46a–47b.

²⁶ Source texts: n.pl., n.d., Ms. (in: BDRC, W2PD17514, vol. 10). Modern edition: BTChK, vol. 14 (in: BDRC, I4PD436). Title lists: DLSY; KDJSY; TLThY; YBSY. Epitome: BTRPh: fol. 48a–b.

rdzogs chen cycles (Cycles I and II)²⁷ can be assigned to the group of the *atiyoga* class, the cycle of the *bka' brgyad* deities (Cycle III) and the *Vajrakīla* ritual tradition (Cycle IV) accordingly to the group of the *mahāyoga* class. Three textual collections place Padmasambhava at the center of the practice in the form of the deities Thugs rje chen po 'gro ba kun grol (Cycle V), Rig 'dzin gdung sgrub (Cycle VI), and rDo rje drag po rtsal (Cycle VII).²⁸ The cycle *Zab mo rten 'brel chos bdun* (Cycle VIII) comprises a collection of teachings and ritual practices centered on Padmasambhava and deities such as Amitābha, Avalokiteśvara, Hayagrīva, and Vajravārāhī. The collection *Byang chub sems dpa'i spyod dbang* (Cycle IX) brings together teachings and ritual traditions revolving around Vairocana and other deities. In addition to these nine cycles, supplementary collections of texts are also counted among the Northern Treasures of Rig 'dzin rGod ldem, primarily dedicated to additional meditation practices and, in particular, to protective deities.²⁹ Moreover, these cycles contain prophecies (*lung bstan*),

²⁷ In the textual tradition, these two *rdzogs chen* cycles are assigned to the group of the “six oral transmissions” (*snyan brgyud drug*) of Padmasambhava; see *BTRPh*, fol. 34b. Cf. Schwieger 1985: lxvi, note 164.

²⁸ These cycles were conceptually summarized as “methods for the [ritual] accomplishment of the three—i.e., the outer, inner, and secret—[forms] of the spiritual teacher [Padmasambhava]” (*gu ru phyi nang gsang gsum sgrub tshul*); see *KDJSY*, ca, fol. 4a; or as “the three [forms of] accomplishment of the mind [of the teacher]” (*thugs sgrub gsum, thugs sgrub rnam gsum*); see *PBGNT*, fol. 44b; cf. Ehrhard 2008: 49, 87.

²⁹ The earliest systematic classification of all texts attributed to the Northern Treasures is presented by Se Padma dbang chen in his epitome *Byang gter chos skor rnam kyī spyi chings rin chen 'phreng ba* (*BTRPh*), written in 1627. In addition to the nine text cycles mentioned above (see *supra*, notes 18–26, and *infra*, note 47), eleven further collections are distinguished (*BTRPh*, fols. 43a–44b, 48b–52b): (i) *Tshe dpag med longs sku ma'i chos skor*, (ii) *mNga' dbang gi chos skor* (*dBang chen yongs rdzogs and Thugs sgrub kyī dzam bha la'i skor*), (iii) *Chos skyong bka' srungs gter bdag dang bcas pa'i chos skor*, (iv) *mGon po stag zhon gyi skor*, (v) *bKa' bsrung ma'i skor*, (vi) *gTer bdag skor*, (vii) *rDo rje legs pa*, (viii) *Thang lha'i skor*, (ix) *sTong dpon pa'i skor*, (x) *Lung bstan gyi skor*, (xi) *Zhi rgyas dbang drag gi chos skor*. Based on this epitome, the 5th Dalai Bla ma developed an even more detailed classification of the texts in his *records of teachings received* (*DLSY*, vol. III). In addition to the nine text collections mentioned above (such as *supra*, notes 18–26, and *infra*, note 59), he distinguished the following text cycles: (i) *Phag mo gsang ba rmad byung gi skor* (pp. 253–256), (ii) *mGon po tshē dpag med nang longs spyod rdzogs sku'i chos skor* (pp. 262–264), (iii) *rTsa rlung zab lam gsang 'khrīd bde stong rgya mtsho zhes rdo rje drag po rtsal gyi yum bka'i skor* (pp. 290–291), (iv) *mNga' dbang rin po che'i skor* (pp. 318–320), (v) *Guru phyag na rdo rje'i skor* (pp. 320–321), (vi) *Man ngag kha 'thor shing brgyad* (p. 327), (vii) *Lung bstan dang sbas yul lam yig gi skor* (pp. 327–332), (viii) *bKa' brgyad kyī bka' srung mgon po bstan srung dregs pa* (pp. 332–334), (ix) *rDo rje phur pa'i bka' srung dpal mgon legs ldan nag po stag zhon lcags khrab can gyi skor* (pp. 334–335), (x) *Chos sde spyi dang khyad par rdzogs chen zang thal gyi srung ma dpal sngags kyī bdag mo e ka dza ti'i skor* (pp. 335–337), (xi) *gTer srung bstan ma bcu gnyis kyī skor* (pp. 337–338), (xii) *gTer srung dbang chen rdo rje legs pa'i skor* (pp. 338–339), (xiii) *gTer srung dri za'i rgyal po zu phud*

including guides for the discovery and opening of “hidden lands” (*sbas yul*).³⁰

As far as is currently known, the written transmission of the Northern Treasures existed solely in manuscript form for several centuries. The manuscripts examined thus far provide no information regarding formal publication. However, the colophons of individual texts occasionally contain later additions, which allow for dating particular stages in the transmission. One example is a manuscript copy of the text cycle *Thugs sgrub drag po rtsal* (Cycle VII) from the private library of Yolmo Lama rDo rje in Helambu (Nepal).³¹ Some texts within this manuscript include information on the transmission history in the form of lineages of tradents, concluding with the names of religious figures who can be dated to the 15th or 16th centuries. Several texts note that “[this] is the text [of a person] named Nam mkha’” (*nam mkha’i ming can gyi dpe’o*).³² Although this individual cannot be definitively identified due to the brevity of the name,³³ the attached lineage suggests that this person received transmission from teachers dating to the 15th or 16th centuries, including the 1st Yol mo sPrul sku Śākya bzang po (BTThG, pp. 20, 567, 646, 655), his disciple Drin can Che mchog rdo rje (*ibid.*, p. 269),³⁴ as well as Chos rje Kun dga’ gzi brjid pa (*ibid.*, p. 126) and gSang sngags rdo rje (*ibid.*, p. 134).

Inga pa’am gnyan chen thang lha’i skor (pp. 340-342), (xiv) *dBang gi ma mo bdun gyi gsol kha* (p. 342), (xv) *bKa’ srung srog bdag bdud kyi rgyal po’am legs ldan nag po dang ston dpon du grags pa don du pe har rgyal po la ngos ’dzin pa ’di’i skor* (pp. 342-343), (xvi) *Chos sde spyi’i srung ma bkra bzang zhing skyong gi gsol mchod yul ming bod yul ma* (p. 343), (xvii) *Srog bdag yam shud dmar po* (p. 343). See the overview in Herweg 1994: 307-318. Several of these cycles, which supplement the central text collections, have been preserved in the manuscript collections, and partially also in the modern edition BTChK (vol. 15).

³⁰ Instructions for discovering and opening these sites as places of refuge for the adherents of this tradition are preserved in separate text collections; see e.g., BTNTh. In the epitome by Se Padma dbang chen from the 17th century (see above, note 29), a multitude of these texts are listed under the text group of prophecies (*lung bstan gyi skor*).

³¹ The handwritten copy BTThG represents an early stage in the transmission of this text cycle and contains fewer texts than later copies. See *infra*, note 77.

³² See BTThG, pp. 12, 32, 49, 72 etc.

³³ The short name Nam mkha’ is known from lineages found in the relevant *records of teachings received*. In various lines, this name is attested in the context of individuals dated to the turn of the 15th to the 16th century, including, for example, Thugs sras Nam mkha’ rgyal mtshan (1454-1541); see, for example, KDJSY, *ca*, fol. 13a; DLSY, *ga*, fols. 126a, 126b, 131a, etc. Even in this manuscript copy of the cycle *Thugs sgrub drag po rtsal* (BTThG), religious figures are mentioned by name who could be identified with a person named Nam mkha’: these are sNgags ’chang Nam mkha’ rgyal mtshan (*ibid.*, p. 528) and gSang bsgrub (=sgrub) Nam mkha’ rdo rje (*ibid.*, p. 258).

³⁴ The lineage starting from Rig ’dzin rGod ldem (BTThG, p. 269): 1. sPrul sku Rig ’dzin chen po, 2. Drin mchog rDo rje dpal, 3. mTshan ldan Byams pa gshes (=bshes)

In addition to manuscript versions of the text collections that have been preserved, several collections were also disseminated through block printing:

1. The A 'dzom chos sgar xylograph (4 vols., BDRC, W18557 / W4CZ1100) encompasses the two *rdzogs chen* text cycles *Kun tu bzang po'i dgongs pa zang thal* (Cycle I) and *Ka dag rang byung rang shar* (Cycle II) and was printed either at the end of the 19th century or the beginning of the 20th century.³⁵
2. The gNas chung sGra dbyangs gling block print (4 vols., BDRC, W4CZ1106) includes not only the *Kun tu bzang po'i dgongs pa zang thal* (Cycle I) collection but also the three cycles centered on Padmasambhava in his specific manifestations mentioned above (Cycles V, VI, VII). This print likely dates to the second half of the 19th century.³⁶
3. The xylograph of the collection *bKa' brgyad drag po rang byung rang shar* (2 vols., BDRC, W1KG11884) is of unknown provenance in terms of both place and date.³⁷

To date, no manuscript or block print has been located that unifies all the text cycles of the Northern Treasures into a single compilation from what is considered "Old Tibet."³⁸

nyen, 4. Drin can Sangs rgyas dpal bzang, 5. sNgags 'chang Chos rgyal bsod nams, 6. Rig 'dzin Sangs rgyas bstan pa, 7. sNgags 'chang Shākya bzang po, 8. Drin can Che mchog rdo rje, 9. (*des bdag*) Nam mkha'i ming can (*la bsnang [=gnang] ba'o /*).

³⁵ In the preface to the reproduction of the two *rdzogs chen* text collections from the Northern Treasures in the A 'dzom chos sgar print, the editor states that this print project was directed by A 'dzom 'Brug pa 'Gro 'dul dpa' bo rdo rje. See Choden 1973, Preface. While the title dates the print to the beginning of the 20th century, the preface dates it to the end of the 19th century. The biographical dates of 'Gro 'dul dpa' bo rdo rje, founder of the rNying ma monastery A 'dzom chos sgar, are 1842 to 1924; see BDRC, W6002. Cf. Schwieger 1985: xxiii-xxiv.

³⁶ The gNas chung block print of the collection *Kun tu bzang po'i dgongs pa zang thal* was produced under the direction of Chos rje Shākya yar 'phel. See the editor's preface; BDRC, W4CZ1106, vol. 1. Cf. Schwieger 1985: xxiii-xxiv. IHa lung Shākya yar 'phel held the office of oracle (*sku rten*) of gNas chung from 1856 to 1900. See Bell 2021: 185.

³⁷ This print edition (BDRC, W1KG11884) includes the text *bKa' brgyad drag po rang byung rang shar gyi dbang gi cho ga rig 'dzin dgongs rgyan*, composed by rDo rje brag Rig 'dzin Padma 'phrin las (1641–1717) in the Iron-Bird year (=1681), which allows dating the print to the late 17th century at the earliest. Its layout closely resembles that of other prints produced at the printing house of Thub bstan rdo rje brag. See, for example, *rDo rje brag gi bca' yig* (Delhi: Khasdub Gyatsho Shashin, 1979. BDRC, W8LS66621).

³⁸ The modern edition *sNga 'gyur byang gter chos skor phyogs bsgrigs* (BTChK), published in 2015 and comprising 15 volumes of the Northern Treasures from the

2. Sources on the content and the history of transmission of the Northern Treasures

Information regarding the contents and transmission of the Northern Treasures text collections is primarily found within specific texts contained in the teaching cycles (*chos skor*). In addition, further insight into the history of their dissemination and contents is provided by other sources—chief among them narrative accounts such as biographies and autobiographies (*rnam thar*), as well as epitomes (*spyi chings*) and records of teachings received (*gsan yig*).

2.a Information from texts within the teaching cycles

The text collections themselves contain descriptive accounts of the teaching cycles' contents, ranging from brief summaries of the main themes to detailed listings of individual text titles within each cycle. Determining when these texts were incorporated into the collections requires case-by-case investigation.³⁹ Information on the history of transmission is often found in the colophons of individual texts. These frequently contain repetitive material describing key events related to the concealment of the *gter ma* by Padmasambhava and the recovery of the treasure by Rig 'dzin rGod ldem. A Fire-Horse Year (1366) and the mountain *Zang zang lha brag* are identified as the time and place of the treasure's revelation.⁴⁰ In some cases, colophons also include supplementary historical information, such as a lists of the names of the tradents of a given text (see above, note 34). The collections were further supplemented with independent narratives (*lo rgyus*, *khog*

tradition of Rig 'dzin rGod ldem, represents an editorial effort to compile the majority of accessible texts into a single collection.

³⁹ Tables of contents (*them/thems byang*, *tho byang*) are known as bibliographic sources from the Northern Treasures text collections. mNga' ris Pañ chen already quoted some of these texts in his 16th-century epitome of the Northern Treasures. See *supra*, notes 18–21, 24, 25. The early 17th-century epitome by Padma dbang chen lists several of such table of contents: *sNyan rgyud (=brgyud) drug gi tho byang* (BTRPh, fol. 35b) for the collection *Kun tu bzang po'i dgongs pa zang thal*; *Rig 'dzin rtsa ba bsgrub (=sgrub) pa dgos (=dgongs) pa'i them byang* (*ibid.*, fol. 38b) for the collectio *Bla ma rig 'dzin gdung sgrub*; *Thems byang zhal gdams* (*ibid.*, fol. 39a) for the collection *bKa' brgyad drag po rang byung rang shar*; and *Thems byang gsal ba'i sgron ma* (*ibid.*, fol. 41a–b) for the collection *Gu ru thugs sgrub kyi chos skor*. These indicate that early compilations of the text cycles were not always as extensive as those known by the time of the 5th Yol mo sPrul sku. See *infra*, note 77.

⁴⁰ Schwiieger 1985: xxiii. For a detailed account of the events, see, for example, the colophon of a text from the collection *Kun tu bzang po'i dgongs pa zang thal*; Schwiieger 1985: 76–78 (Text 78). In this catalogue, Schwiieger provides detailed information from the colophons of the two *rdzogs chen* cycles.

dbub) that recount the origin and transmission of the treasures.⁴¹ Occasionally, colophons refer to additional texts from the later tradition.⁴²

2.b *Biographies and autobiographies*

Following the composition of the first life account (GDNTh) of Rig 'dzin rGod ldem in the early 15th century, the writing of biographies within this tradition resumed only from the late 15th century onward. This revival began with the compilation of a collection of six biographies (NThOPh) assembled by Sangs rgyas dpal bzang. This collection opens with the biography of rNam rgyal mgon po, son of Rig 'dzin rGod ldem, and continues with accounts of the early religious authorities of this tradition—namely, rDo rje dpal, Byams pa bshes gnyen, rDo rje mgon po, and Ngag dbang grags pa—concluding with a brief autobiography of the compiler himself, Sangs rgyas dpal bzang.⁴³ From the early 16th century onward, additional biographies have been preserved, offering life narratives of clerics who remained active in La stod byang, the geographic and spiritual birthplace of the tradition. These include the autobiography of Chos rgyal bsod nam (ChGNTh) and the biography of Thugs sras Nam mkha' rgyal mtshan (NKhNTh).⁴⁴ These religious figures were associated with the monasteries Ri bo bra bzang, bDe grol and Shri ri (La stod lho). Beyond the ritual cycles themselves, these biographical texts are significant for containing, for the first time, written designations of the text cycles, thereby providing valuable insight into the history of transmission of individual teaching cycles.

⁴¹ Such as the narrative texts *Lo rgyus* (BTRPh, fol. 47b) from the *Thugs rje chen po 'gro ba kun grol* collection and *Khog dbubs* (*ibid.*, fol. 35b) from the *Kun tu bzang po'i dgongs pa zang thal* collection.

⁴² See Schwieger 1985: xxiii. The 5th Yol mo sPrul sku also refers to such writings from the later tradition in his *gsan yig*; see *infra*, notes 75–78, 81.

⁴³ The lineage following Rig 'dzin rGod ldem represents a principal transmission lineage of central *byang gter* ritual cycles in La stod byang, with minor variations attested. See, for example, the transmission of the cycle *Thugs sgrub drag po rtsal* (in KDJSY, ca, fol. 9a3–b2; cf. *infra*, note 100, transmission lineage A; and *infra*, Appendix 1, plate 1 [=Transmission lineage A] and plate 6 [=Transmission lineage F]). A translation of this biography collection was provided by Valentine 2017. This text later served historians as a basis for biographical sketches on the Northern Treasures' transmission: Bya btang Phyag rdor nor bu (c. 17th century) continued the lineage in BTBGNTh up to the 3rd Yol mo sPrul sku bsTan 'dzin nor bu (1598–1644) and sPrul sku Tshul khribs bzang po (19th/20th century) in BTBGR up to the 7th rDo rje brag Rig 'dzin Chos dbang mnyam nyid rdo rje (1886–1932/35).

⁴⁴ Translations of these two biographies are available in Valentine 2018 and Valentine 2020.

Beginning in the 16th century, sources emerge documenting the expanding dissemination of the Northern Treasures throughout western, central and southern Tibet. Among the earliest of these are the autobiographies of the two brothers (*sku mched gnyis*) from Glo bo—namely, mNga' ris Paṅ chen Padma dbang rgyal and his younger brother Legs ldan bdud 'joms rdo rje—who stand out as the most influential disciples of the 1st Yol mo sPrul sku in promoting the Northern Treasures in Central Tibet (*dbus*) and Southern Tibet. From the latter half of the 16th century onward, a multitude of further life accounts emerge, chronicling the history of transmission. These particularly include narratives concerning teachers active at the monastery rDo rje brag—the new principal center of the tradition in Central Tibet (*dbus*)—as well as accounts related to the tradition holders within the reincarnation lineage of the 1st Yol mo sPrul sku. Additionally, these sources document religious figures active in Mang yul (Western Tibet) and in 'Bras mo gshongs (Southern Tibet). In these texts, the transmission of entire text cycles, or even individual texts from these collections, is now recorded as a distinct and discrete event. Among the earliest significant biographical and autobiographical sources from the 15th and 16th centuries are the following:

1. Se ston Nyi ma bzang po (14th-15th century), GDNTh (composed c. early 15th century)
2. Sangs rgyas dpal bzang (c. 15th century), NThOPh (composed c. late 15th century)
3. sNgags 'chang Chos rgyal bsod nams (1442–1509), ChGNTh
4. Nam mkha' bsod nams dpal (15th-16th century), NKhNTh (composed 1557)
5. mNga' ris Paṅ chen Padma dbang rgyal rdo rje (1487–1542), PBGNTh (composed 16th century)
6. mNga' ris Rig 'dzin Legs ldan bdud 'joms rdo rje (16th century), LDNTh (composed 16th century)

2.c Epitomes / Table of contents

The earliest comprehensive presentation of the contents of the Northern Treasures that has been preserved was produced by mNga' ris Paṅ chen in the early 16th century. His epitome (*spyi chings*) opens with an outline of the revelation and contents of the “Five Treasures” (BTSNT, fols. 2a–3b), drawing upon the earliest extant narrative sources relating to the Northern Treasures. Following this introduction, mNga' ris Paṅ chen compiled excerpts from sources providing a descriptive overview of the individual text cycles (*ibid.*,

fols. 3b-8a).⁴⁵ The final section concludes with a presentation of the *rdzogs chen* teachings, organized according to the classification of teachings within this textual tradition into “36 oral transmissions” (*snyan brgyud sum cu rtsa drug*) from the teaching cycle *Kun tu bzang po'i dgongs pa zang thal*, including the listing of titles from this cycle (*ibid.*, fols. 8a-15a).

Building upon this foundational epitome, Se bKra shis pa Padma dbang chen⁴⁶ composed a more detailed epitome of the doctrinal teachings and ritual tradition of the “Five Treasures” in 1627. He extensively incorporated verbatim passages from mNga' ris Paṅ chen's *spyi chings* without explicit citation. The eighth chapter of this work (BTRPh, fols. 27a-52b) is devoted specifically to the contents of the individual ritual cycles. A significant innovation in this epitome is the inclusion of detailed listings of the individual text titles within the cycles.⁴⁷ Padma dbang chen's text thus represents the earliest substantive source beyond the ritual cycles themselves, offering detailed information about the corpus of individual texts comprising these collections.

1. mNga' ris Paṅ chen Padma dbang rgyal rdo rje (1487-1542), BTSNT
2. Se'i sGrub pa po Padma dbang chen (c. 16th-17th century), BTRPh (composed 1627)

2.d Records of teachings received

In compiling *records of teachings received* (*gsan yig, thob yig*), authors documented both the contents and the transmission histories of the

⁴⁵ For the sources in the BTSNT cited here by mNga' ris Paṅ chen, see *supra*, notes 18–21, 24, 25.

⁴⁶ The name bKra bzang pa (or Se) Padma dbang chen appears in various lineages related to the transmission of the *byang gter* teachings; see, for example, DLSY, ga, fols. 143b, 159a. This individual can therefore be dated to the 16th or 17th century. According to the colophon, the text was composed in the Fire-Hare year (*me mo yos*), corresponding to 1627. The 5th Dalai Bla ma (1617–1682) also used this epitome of Se ston as a source for his *records of teachings received*; see *infra*, 2.d (Records of teachings received).

⁴⁷ The titles of the nine *byang gter* cycles listed in the epitome BTRPh (mentioned above), which stand at the center of the textual tradition, are as follows: *rDzogs chen rang byung rang shar* (fol. 35a–b), *dGongs pa zang thal* [incl. *Tshe dpag med longs sku ma'i chos skor*] (fols. 35b–38b), *Gu ru zhi ba* (i.e., *Rig 'dzin gdung sgrub*) (fols. 38b–39a), *sGrub chen bka' brgyad* (fols. 39a-41a), *Gu ru thugs sgrub* (fols. 41a–44b), *rDo rje phur pa* (fols. 44b–46a), *Zab mo rten 'brel* (fols. 46a–47b), *Thugs chen 'gro ba kun grol* (fols. 47b–48a), *Byang sems spyod dbang* (fol. 48a–b). Following this, titles of other text cycles belonging to the Northern Treasures appear (fols. 48b–51b), whose designations were mentioned earlier; see *supra*, notes 29.

respective textual collections. The author enumerated the titles of the textual cycle he received through reading transmission (*lung*) and frequently provide a detailed account of the lineage of transmission. This lineage traditionally begins with Padmasambhava receiving the teachings from personifications of the *dharmakāya* and *saṃbhogakāya* in a supramundane realm, followed by the complete transmission lineage initiated by the revelation of the treasures by Rig 'dzin rGod ldem, extending down to the author of the *gsan yig* itself.

Records of teachings received from the rNying ma School:

A significant number of *records of teachings received* are known from the rNying ma school, in which the transmission of the Northern Treasures is well documented. However, only a few relatively late examples have survived. The earliest *gsan yig* known to us derive from the early transmission tradition in La stod and are preserved primarily through the 5th Dalai Bla ma, who utilized them as sources for his own compositions. Two such early records are known: the *gsan yig* of Chos rgyal bsod nam (1442–1509) and that of his son Chos skyong bsod nam bkra shis; unfortunately, neither text has survived. Although Rig 'dzin rGod ldem was active in Western and Southern Tibet during the 14th century, substantial dissemination of the Northern Treasures to Western Tibet and Central Tibet likely did not occur until the early 16th century. This dissemination was principally driven by the first Yol mo sPrul sku Shākya bzang po (died c. 1541) and his prominent disciples, mNga' ris Paṅ chen (1487–1542) and Legs ldan bdud 'joms rdo rje (c. 16th century). In the course of composing a history of the transmission of the 'Dus pa mdo, Padma 'phrin las (1641–1717) authored biographies of mNga' ris Paṅ chen and Legs ldan rdo rje, directing readers to their *records of teachings received*, which must have been extant at the time, in 1681.⁴⁸ These *records of teachings received* are also no longer extant. In his own *gsan yig*, the 5th Dalai Bla ma references lost *records of teachings received* composed by Chos rgyal bKra shis stobs rgyal (1550? –1603), Byang pa Padma chos rgyal (b. 16th century), and bKra bzang pa Nam mkha' rig 'dzin (b. 17th century), all originating in the 16th and 17th centuries.⁴⁹ From the later

⁴⁸ For the *gsan yig* of mNga' ris Paṅ chen, see KDBNTh, pp. 324, 332. For the *records of teachings received* of Legs ldan rdo rje see *ibid.*, pp. 370, 374.

⁴⁹ In his *gsan yig*, the 5th Dalai Bla ma compared his own transmission of teachings with those found in numerous earlier *records of teachings received*. All of these sources are no longer accessible today, including the earliest records from the rNying ma school by lDong ston sNgags 'chang Chos rgyal bsod nam (DLSY, ga, fols. 114b, 155a, 157b) and his son bKra bzang pa Chos skyong bsod nam bkra shis (*ibid.*, fol. 133b); the *records of teachings received* of Rig 'dzin chen po (*ibid.*, fols. 114a–b, 115a, 133b, 142a, 150a, 155b, 157b)—this honorary title most likely refers to

transmission tradition of the 17th and early 18th centuries—especially at the monastery of rDo rje brag in Central Tibet, which became the principal seat for the transmission of the Northern Treasures and is closely associated with its first two throne holders, Rig 'dzin Ngag gi dbang po (1580–1639) and Rig 'dzin Padma 'phrin las (1641–1717)—no *gsan yig* are presently known. The earliest surviving *gsan yig* from the rNying ma school date to the 18th century and are attributed to the 5th Yol mo sPrul sku and sNgo ra dBang phyug rdo rje (contrary to this statement, see my revised view given in the first note, marked *) Two additional 20th-century *gsan yig* have also been preserved. The *records of teachings received* formerly composed in the rNying ma school, many of which are no longer preserved, are as follows:

1. lDong ston sNgags 'chang Chos rgyal bsod noms (1442–1509) (not preserved)
2. bKra bzang pa Chos skyong bsod noms bkra shis (15th–16th century) (not preserved)
3. mNga' ris Pañ chen Padma dbang rgyal rdo rje (1487–1542) (not preserved)
4. mNga' ris Legs ldan bdud joms rdo rje (b. 1500/12?) (not preserved)
5. Chos rgyal bKra shis stobs rgyal (1550?–1603) (not preserved)
6. Byang pa rGyal sras Padma chos rgyal (b. 16th century) (not preserved)
7. bKra bzang pa Nam mkha' rig 'dzin (b. 17th century) (not preserved)
8. KDJSY: 5th Yol mo sprul sku Karma 'phrin las bdud 'joms (1726–1789)
9. BDThY: sNgo ra dBang phyug rdo rje (c. 18th century)⁵⁰

mNga' ris Rig 'dzin chen po Legs ldan rdo rje; cf. vol. IV of the 5th Dalai Bla ma's *gsan yig*, where this title is frequently used and often refers to the *records of teachings received* of the brothers from mNga' ris); those by Chos rgyal bKra shis stobs rgyal (*ibid.*, fols. 114b, 115a, 133b, 135b, 142a) and Byang pa rGyal sras Padma chos rgyal (*ibid.*, fol. 113b); and by bKra bzang pa Nam mkha' rig 'dzin (*ibid.*, fols. 155a, 157b; and very likely also fols. 113b, 114b, 115a, 133b, 134a, and 160a—these are passages where the 5th Dalai Bla ma refers only to the title bKra bzang pa). Furthermore, he also drew on the *records of teachings received* of Zhwa lu 'Jam dbyangs mkhyen brtse (*ibid.*, fols. 113b, 114a, 114b, 115a, 133b, 151a, 155a, 157b) and mTsho smad mKhan chen Shākya dbang phyug (*ibid.*, fols. 133b, 134a, 135b). In addition, the 5th Dalai Bla ma makes a somewhat casual mention of the epitome (*spyi chings*) by Se'i sNgags 'chang bKra bzang pa Padma dbang chen (*ibid.*, fols. 118a, 155b, 157b), which he used as a key source for classifying the teachings of the Northern Treasures in his *gsan yig*. For the *byang gter* studies of Chos rgyal bsod noms, see Valentine 2020: 120–121, and notes 30, 32, 33.

⁵⁰ BDThY, pp. 6–9: *Ka dag rang byung rang shar* (Cycle II); *ibid.*, pp. 9–18: *Kun tu bzang po dgongs pa zang thal* (Cycle I); *ibid.*, pp. 34–40: *gSang mtshan thugs kyi sgrub pa* (i.e.,

10. TLThY: sTag lung rTse sprul Rin po che (born c. 1926)⁵¹
 11. YBSY: gNas nang Ye shes bdud 'dul (20th century)⁵²

Records of teachings received of
Zhwa lu 'Jam dbyangs mkhyen brtse dbang phyug (1524–1568)

sNgags 'chang Chos rgyal bsod noms and bKra bzang pa Chos skyong bsod noms bkra shis transmitted teachings to the 13th Zhwa lu mKhan chen Tshar chen Blo gsal rgya mtsho (1502–1566/67) and to his successor the 14th Zhwa lu mKhan chen mKhyen brtse dbang phyug (DLSY, *ga*, fols. 113b, 114a–b, 115a, 133b, 151a, 155a, 157b).⁵³ The *records of teachings received* authored by the latter is no longer extant.

Records of teachings received
from the mDo chen bKa' brgyud School

The earliest known *gsan yig* on the Northern Treasures from the mDo chen bKa' brgyud school dates to the first half of the 17th century and was composed by Gur phu ba Nor bu bde chen. Two additional 18th-century examples also survived. Practitioners of the mDo chen school maintained close contact with the rNying ma school in Mang yul, transmitting teachings across sectarian boundaries. The preserved *records of teachings received* from this school are.⁵⁴

Thugs sgrub drag po rtsal (Cycle VII); *ibid.*, pp. 40–42: *sPyod yul thams cad kyi mthar thug gsang bar rmad byung*; *ibid.*, pp. 42–47: *bKa' brgyad rang byung rang shar* (Cycle III). The editor of this *records of teachings received* assigns dBang phyug rdo rje to the rDo dmar family and the rNying ma school.

⁵¹ TLThY, pp. 141–152: *Kun tu bzang po'i dgongs pa zang thal* (Cycle I) and *Ka dag rang byung rang shar* (Cycle II); *ibid.*, pp. 152–156: *Thugs rje chen po 'gro ba kun grol* (Cycle V); *ibid.*, pp. 156–161: *Rig 'dzin gdung sgrub* (Cycle VI); *ibid.*, pp. 161–168: *gSang sgrub drag po rtsal* (Cycle VII); *ibid.*, pp. 168–175: *bKa' brgyad drag po rang byung rang shar* (Cycle III); *ibid.*, pp. 175–180: *Phur pa* (Cycle IV); *ibid.*, pp. 180–184: *Byang chub spyod dbang* (Cycle IX).

⁵² YBSY, pp. 225–235: *Kun tu bzang po'i dgongs pa zang thal* (Cycle I); *ibid.*, pp. 235–238: *Thugs chen 'gro ba kun grol* (Cycle V); *ibid.*, pp. 238–241: *Nang sgrub rig 'dzin gdung sgrub* (Cycle VI); *ibid.*, pp. 241–250: *gSang sgrub* (i.e., *rDo rje drag po rtsal*) (Cycle VII); *ibid.*, pp. 250–252: *Byang chub spyod dbang* (Cycle IX); *ibid.*, pp. 252–257: *Ka dag* (= *Ka dag rang byung rang shar*) (Cycle II); *ibid.*, pp. 263–267: *rTa mgrin dregs pa dbang bsodud* (part of *rTen 'brel chos bdun*) (Cycle VIII); *ibid.*, pp. 274–276: *gSang ba rmad byung*; *ibid.*, pp. 289–295: *sGrub chen bKa' brgyad drag po rang byung rang shar* (Cycle III); *ibid.*, pp. 295–302: *Phur pa lugs gsum* (Cycle IV); *ibid.*, pp. 316–320: *bsTan bsrungs yongs rdzogs*; *ibid.*, p. 322: *Tshe sgrub lcags sdong ma*; *ibid.*, pp. 324–326: *Thang lha*.

⁵³ On the significance of the *records of teachings received* of 'Jam dbyangs mkhyen brtse dbang phyug for the composition of the *gsan yig* of the 5th Dalai Bla ma, see Valentine 2020: 127–128.

⁵⁴ Smith (n.d.) provides a transcript of the individual titles of text collections and transmission lineages, based on the *records of teachings received* from the mDo chen

1. NDThY: Gur phu ba Nor bu bde chen (b. 1617)⁵⁵
2. GSThY: Gur phu ba rGyal sras seng ge (d. 1752)⁵⁶
3. PGThY: Gur phu ba Padma rgya mtsho (c. 18th century)⁵⁷

Records of teachings received of
the 5th Dalai Bla ma Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho

Beyond the rNying ma school, the 5th Dalai bla ma was a notable tradent of the Northern Treasures. He composed a biography of Rig 'dzin rGod ldem as well as a life account of his teacher, rDo rje brag Rig 'dzin Ngag gi dbang po.⁵⁸ The *gsan yig* of the 5th Dalai Bla ma devotes a substantial section—over fifty folios—to his study of the Northern Treasures:

DLSY: 5th Dalai Bla ma Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho
(1617–1687)⁵⁹

school. Detailed tables of contents for the *records of teachings received* of Nor bu bde chen, rGyal sras seng ge, and Padma rgya mtsho can be found in Ehrhard 2008: 105–119.

- ⁵⁵ NDThY, pp. 76–82: *bKa' brgyad drag po rang byung rang shar* (Cycle III); *ibid.*, pp. 82–85: *rDzogs pa chen po ka dag rang byung rang shar* (Cycle II); *ibid.*, pp. 91–92: *Dug dbang rdo rje pha lam*; *ibid.*, pp. 94–95: *gSol 'debs le'u bdun ma*; *ibid.*, pp. 131–133: *Thugs rje chen po nyon mongs rang grol* (i.e., *Thugs rje chen po 'gro ba kun grol*) (Cycle V); *ibid.*, p. 133: *Rig 'dzin gdong (=gdung) sgrub* (Cycle VI); *ibid.*, pp. 133–138: *Thugs sgrub gu ru rdo rje drag po rtsal* (Cycle VII); *ibid.*, pp. 138–141: *bCom ldan das rdo rje phur pa* (Cycle IV); *ibid.*, pp. 464–470: *rDzogs pa chen po dgongs pa zang thal lhun grub* (Cycle I) and *rDzogs pa chen po ka dag rang byung rang shar* (Cycle II); *ibid.*, pp. 475–476: *Chos skyong bstan srung yongs rdzogs*. Cf. Ehrhard 2008: 105–111, 113–115. Gur phu ba bDe chen rdo rje received the earliest transmissions of teachings in the year 1633; see the colophon of NDThY for details, pp. 82, 91. See Smith (n.d.); Ehrhard 2008: 106, 107.
- ⁵⁶ GSThY, pp. 352–356: *Thugs sgrub gu ru rdo rje drag po rtsal* (Cycle VII); *ibid.*, pp. 359–365: *bKa' brgyad rang byung rang shar* (Cycle III); *ibid.*, pp. 365–368: *Thugs rje chen po 'gro ba kun grol* (Cycle V). See Smith (n.d.); Ehrhard 2008: 110, 111.
- ⁵⁷ PGThY, pp. 419–424: *Nang sgrub rig 'dzin gdung sgrub (=sgrub)* (Cycle VI); *ibid.*, pp. 424–432: *gSang sgrub 'gu (=gu) ru thing (=nthing) ka drag po rtsal* (Cycle VII); *ibid.*, pp. 432–435: *Phyi sgrub thugs rje chen po 'gro ba kun grol* (Cycle V). See Smith (n.d.); Ehrhard 2008: 112, 113.
- ⁵⁸ These two biographies are preserved in the collection KDBNTh, pp. 428–445 (Rig 'dzin rGod ldem) and pp. 478–533 (Rig 'dzin Ngag gi dbang po).
- ⁵⁹ DLSY, *ga*, fols. 112b–115a: *Ka dag rang byung rang shar* (Cycle II); *ibid.*, fols. 115a–116a: *Byang chub spyod dbang* (Cycle IX); *ibid.*, fols. 116a–127a: *Kun tu bzang po dgongs pa zang thal* (Cycle I); *ibid.*, fols. 128b–131a: *Rig 'dzin gdung sgrub* (Cycle VI); *ibid.*, fols. 132b–145b: *Thugs sgrub drag po rtsal* (Cycle VII); *ibid.*, fols. 146a–151b: *bKa' brgyad drag po rang byung rang shar* (Cycle III); *ibid.*, fols. 151b–153b: *Thugs rje chen po 'gro ba kun grol* (Cycle V); *ibid.*, fols. 153b–159b: *rDo rje phur pa* (Cycle IV); *ibid.*, fols. 161a–164a: *Zab mo rten 'brel gyi chos bdun* (Cycle VIII). For additional text cycles in this *gsan yig*, see *supra*, note 29. See Herweg 1994: 307–318. On the significance

Records of teachings received of
Brag dkar rta so Chos kyi dbang phyug

Brag dkar rta so sPrul sku Chos kyi dbang phyug was also part of the transmission lineage of the Northern Treasures. Residing at Brag dkar rta so Monastery (Mang yul), he disseminated teachings from both the 'Brug pa bKa' brgyud and rNying ma schools. As a youth, Chos kyi dbang phyug received the transmission of the central textual cycles of the Northern Treasures directly from 'Phrin las bdud 'joms, which he recorded in detail in his extensive *gsan yig*:

ChBThY: Brag dkar rta so sPrul sku Chos kyi dbang phyug
(1775–1837)⁶⁰

4. *The 5th Yol mo sPrul sku*
Karma 'phrin las bdud 'joms (1726–1789)

As a teacher and ritual specialist of the rNying ma school, 'Phrin las bdud 'joms was active during the 18th century, primarily in Mang yul (Western Tibet) and Helambu (Northern Nepal). His activities were closely tied to the origins of his ancestors and their social status as ritual priests in these regions. From the age of thirty, he began his teaching career in Tarke Ghyang (Helambu). A few years later, he relocated to Mang yul, where he spent nearly the remainder of his life. There, he carried out his religious activities primarily at the sacred sites of Byams sprin lha khang, mGon [g]nang ri khrod, Ri rgyal dpal 'bar,

of the 5th Dalai Bla ma's *records of teachings received* for the transmission history of the Northern Treasures, see Ehrhard 2012: 86.

⁶⁰ ChBThY, fols. 71a–92a, 94b–95a. *Ibid.*, fols. 71a–72b: *Ka dag rang byung rang shar* (Cycle II); *ibid.*, fols. 72b–75b: *Kun bzang dgongs pa zang thal* (Cycle I); *ibid.*, fols. 75b–77a: *Phyi grub thugs rje chen po 'gro ba kun grol* (Cycle V); *ibid.*, fols. 77a–78b: *Nang sgrub rig 'dzin gdung sgrub* (Cycle VI); *ibid.*, fols. 78b–86a: *gSang sgrub drag po mthing ka* (Cycle VII); *ibid.*, fols. 86a–88b: *bKa' brgyad drag po rang byung rang shar* (Cycle III), a list of titles is missing (see *infra*, note 92); *ibid.*, fols. 88a–92a: *bCom ldan 'das rdo rje phur pa* (Cycle IV); *ibid.*, fols. 94b–95a: *Byang chub spyod dbang* (Cycle IX), a list of titles is missing here. A copy of this manuscript was kindly made available to me by Prof. Dr. Franz-Karl Ehrhard. A title list of the complete works of Chos kyi dbang phyug is provided in Ehrhard 2004: 535–564 (Appendix V); with the bibliographical details concerning the *records of teachings received* on p. 538. The sections pertaining to his studies of the Northern Treasures are, for the most part, a verbatim reproduction of the *records of teachings received* of 'Phrin las bdud 'joms; see *infra*, notes 75–78, 80, 81.

and dNgos grub phug. From 1772 to 1780, he served as abbot of the bKa' brgyud monastery Brag dkar rta so.⁶¹

On his father's side, 'Phrin las bdud 'joms belonged to a family lineage that traced its ancestry to the treasure revealer bsTan gnyis gling pa (1480–1535). In the early 16th century, bsTan gnyis gling pa was patronized by King Kun bzang nyi zla grags pa (1514–1560) for his role as a ritual priest at the royal court of Mang yul Gung thang.⁶² From that time onward, his descendants assumed custodianship of the Byams sprin lha khang, an office they maintained over many generations until the end of the 18th century.⁶³ 'Phrin las bdud 'joms was the seventh-generation descendant of bsTan gnyis gling pa.

Rig 'dzin Nyi ma seng ge, the father of 'Phrin las bdud 'joms, was the principal disciple of the 4th Yol mo sPrul sku (SSNTh, fols. 9a–10a). In the 1720s, he received a land grant in Upper Helambu (Northern Nepal) in recognition of his services at the Malla court in Kathmandu. There, Nyi ma seng ge settled and founded the monastery of Padma chos gling at the foot of Mount g.Yang ri (var. lect. dByangs ri), along with an adjacent practice center (SSNTh, fols. 26a–28a). A settlement gradually formed around the monastery, eventually becoming the present-day village of Tarke Ghyang. It was here that 'Phrin las bdud 'joms was born.

Chos nyid rang grol, the mother of 'Phrin las bdud 'joms, belonged to the rDo dmar family, which had migrated from Western Tibet and settled in Glang 'phrang (Northern Nepal). Her father, Mi 'gyur rdo rje, received a religious education within the rNying ma school and was part of the transmission lineage of rGyal thang pa Zil gnon rdo rje and his disciple Padma ngag dbang. Two of Mi 'gyur rdo rje's sons would later become influential teachers of 'Phrin las bdud 'joms (KDJNTh, *passim*).

Later in his life, 'Phrin las bdud 'joms was recognized by his father as the reincarnation of the 4th Yol mo sPrul sku. Since the 1st Yol mo sPrul sku, Shākya bzang po (died c. 1541), successive incarnations in this lineage had carried out their religious activities in Helambu. Shākya bzang po identified Helambu as the hidden land of Yol mo, a designation known to him through the prophecies of Rig 'dzin rGod ldem. As the primary sphere of activity for these incarnations,

⁶¹ The following information concerning the life of the 5th Yol mo sPrul sku is drawn from his autobiography (KDJNTh). His tenure as abbot of Brag dkar rta Monastery is also recorded in the *Brag dkar rta so gdan rabs*, the chronicle of the monastery's abbatial succession. See Sernesi 2019: 395, Table 2, and p. 407.

⁶² On the patronage of bsTan gnyis gling pa at the court of Mang yul Gung thang, see Everding 2000 (II): 563–575.

⁶³ In the biography of his father (SSNTh), the 5th Yol mo sPrul sku also reports on the activities of the family of bsTan gnyis gling pa at Byams sprin lha khang. See Everding 2000 (II): 234, 563–565.

Helambu became closely associated with the lineage, which came to be known collectively as the Yol mo sPrul skus. Karma bdud 'joms was the fifth and final recognized incarnation in this line.⁶⁴ Shākya bzang po, the 1st Yol mo sPrul sku, was a contemporary of bsTan gnyis gling pa (1480–1535). He was also patronized by the royal court of Mang yul Gung thang, which granted him land and official positions on Mount Ri bo dPal 'bar to ensure his continued presence in the region. As a teacher and ritual specialist, Shākya bzang po was primarily active in La stod byang, Gung thang, Mang yul, Glo bo (Mustang), and Helambu.⁶⁵

The 5th Yol mo sPrul sku received his primary training from teachers of the rNying ma school. In Mang yul, however, he also established connections with teachers of the bKa' brgyud school.⁶⁶ Among the central religious practices maintained within the reincarnation lineage of the Yol mo sPrul skus since the time of Shākya bzang po were the doctrinal teachings and ritual cycles of the Northern Treasures. The 1st Yol mo sPrul sku had received this transmission in La stod byang from Nam mkha' rgyal mtshan (1454–1541) and Chos rgyal bsod nams (1442–1509). 'Phrin las bdud 'joms studied these teachings from early childhood under the guidance of his principal teachers in Helambu, Mang yul, and Glang 'phrang. He received his final comprehensive instructions on the complete ritual corpus around the age of thirty-five, during his stay at Ri bo bkra bzang (La stod byang).

⁶⁴ The life of the 5th Yol mo sPrul sku—particularly with regard to his recognition as a reincarnation within the Yol mo sPrul sku lineage—is discussed in detail in Ehrhard 2007: 40–45.

⁶⁵ The activities of Shākya bzang po and his role in the transmission of the Northern Treasures are documented in autobiographical accounts composed close in time to the historical events, as well as in later hagiographies of his two principal disciples: mNga' ris Paṅ chen Padma dbang rgyal (PBGNT, fols. 19a, 24b; KDBNT, pp. 316–319) and his brother Legs ldan bdud 'joms rdo rje (LDNT, pp. 265, 279, 285–286; KDBNT, pp. 348, 352, 355, 358). On the life of the 1st Yol mo sPrul sku Shākya bzang po, see Ehrhard 2007: 25–29; for the dating of his death, see KDBNT, p. 370. For information on the studies of the aforementioned two brothers under Shākya bzang po, see Ehrhard 2007: 28–29.

⁶⁶ The 5th Yol mo sPrul sku provides an account of his principal teachers and the subjects of his religious training in his *records of teachings received*; see *infra* (4.a Content outline of the *gsan yig*). A more comprehensive list of his teachers appears in the addendum to his autobiography KDJNT, fol. 107a–b.

4. *The 5th Yol mo sPrul sku's* Records of teachings received

The *records of teachings received* of the 5th Yol mo sPrul sku were microfilmed in 1992 by the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project (NGMPP) from the private library of Slob dpon 'Gyur med in Samagaun (Gorkha, Nepal), as part of his collected works.⁶⁷ For the time being, this manuscript must be regarded as a *codex unicus*. The text comprises 167 folios and is written in *dbu med* script. In several places—particularly along the margins—, the ink has partially blurred due to moisture, rendering the script difficult to read or, in some sections, entirely illegible.

4.a *Content outline of the gsan yig*

The *records of teachings received* of 'Phrin las bdud 'joms (*Rig 'dzin bla ma karma bdud 'joms zhabs kyi gsan yig*) are structured into ten sections. In the first nine sections, the subjects of his religious education are organized according to his principal teachers. The tenth section serves as a brief addendum. The overall arrangement of these ten sections follows a largely chronological order. In the marginal notations, the sections are numbered consecutively from *ga* to *na*,⁶⁸ and each section is paginated independently. The first folio of each section features miniatures depicting the tradents of the teachings contained therein. The text does not include a concluding colophon.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ 'Phrin las bdud 'joms kyi gsung 'bum. Ms., 24 texts, 552 fols. (NGMPP, 381/9–382/1, 382/2–382/24).

⁶⁸ The numbering of the text sections of the *records of teachings received* begins with the third letter of the Tibetan alphabet. In section *da* of his *gsan yig* (KDJSY, *da*, fol. 3b4), the 5th Yol mo sPrul sku refers—by citing a title list in an earlier part of the text—to the “third chapter of the *records of teachings received*” (*thob yig le'u gsum pa*), specifically referencing content from section *ca*. Accordingly, section *ga* would implicitly correspond to the first chapter. It is improbable that the section numbering begins arbitrarily with the third letter, suggesting instead that the extant *gsan yig* is incomplete and originally comprised at least two additional preceding sections. Given that the 5th Yol mo sPrul sku left home in 1734, at the age of nine, to begin his studies with rDo dmar Rig 'dzin Padma rdo rje—the focus of section *ga*—only his father, Nyi ma seng ge, and his mother, Chos nyid rang grol, are likely candidates for his earliest teachers. On his early studies with his father, see *infra*, note 71. Could these initial studies have been the subject of the missing first two sections? Or might the *gsan yig* have begun with introductory material of a different nature, such as (auto)biographical sketches or similar content?

⁶⁹ The place and dates of *transmission* are based on the extant *records of teachings received* (KDJSY). Supplementary information provided in square brackets is drawn from the 5th Yol mo sPrul sku's autobiography (KDJNTh).

- *ga* (7 fols.): Studies with rDo dmar Rig 'dzin Padma rdo rje (d. 1738) in 1736, gNas chen Ri rgyal dpal 'bar (Mang yul)
- *nga* (5 fols.): Studies with [rDo dmar] Kun bzang 'gyur med lhun grub (d. 1767) in 1751, gNam sgo zla gam (Glang 'phrang)
- *ca* (15 fols.): Studies with gNyags ston Rig 'dzin Padma gsang sngags bstan 'dzin [in 1742, 1747], [? dNgos grub phug (Mang yul)]
- *cha* (28 fols.): Studies with Bla ma Ratna bhadra (d. 1760) in 1752, dNgos grub phug (Mang yul)
- *ja* (8 fols.): Studies with mDo chen pa 'Gyur med o rgyan gsang snags bstan 'dzin [in 1744], gNas chen dPal sdings (Gung thang)
- *nya* (8 fols.): Studies with mDo khams Kun bzang 'phrin las [in 1748], Byams sprin gtsug lag khang (Mang yul)
- *ta* (50 fols.): Studies with Lo ri ba Srid zhi yongs grol (d. 1763) [in 1758, 1759, 1762], [mGon [g]nang, (Mang yul)]
- *tha* (13 fols.): Studies with Brag dkar rDo rje 'dzin pa Ye shes chos grags (1705–1772) [in 1759, 1763, 1768/69], [Brag dkar rta so, (Mang yul)]
- *da* (32 fols.): Studies with bKra bzang pa Rig 'dzin Kun bzang ye shes in 1760/61, gNas chen Ri rgyal bkra bzang (La stod byang)
- *na* (2 fols.): Studies with rJe btsun Tshe dbang nor bu (1698–1755), 'Brug pa Rin po che ['Phrin las shing rta] (1718–1766), dPa' bo Rin po che [gTsug lag dga' ba] (1718/19–1781) and [Lo ri ba] Srid zhi yongs grol (d. 1763).

In terms of content, the *records of teachings received* encompasses key aspects of 'Phrin las bdud 'joms's religious education. The individuals selected by the 5th Yol mo sPrul sku represent his most influential teachers from the rNying ma and bKa' brgyud schools. However, the *records of teachings received* does not provide a comprehensive account of his entire religious training. In his autobiography, 'Phrin las bdud 'joms names additional teachers and outlines a wide range of further subjects of study that extend beyond those documented in the *gsan yig*.

4.b Content of the ritual cycles according to the *gsan yig*

The 5th Yol mo sPrul sku devoted a significant portion of his *Records of teachings received* to the transmission of the Northern Treasures. The teaching cycles of this treasure tradition were central to his early education in Mang yul (Western Tibet) and Glang 'phrang (Northern Nepal). Karma 'phrin las bdud 'joms received extensive instructions

on this religious tradition, which had been adopted by both his father and the previous incarnations of his reincarnation lineage as the primary focus of their religious practice. Later in his life, 'Phrin las bdud 'joms traveled to bKra bzang (La stod byang), the site of the original treasure revelation and an early center for the dissemination of the Northern Treasures. There, he received substantial portions of this transmission, as they had—according to his *gsan yig*—been preserved through what he describes as an unbroken lineage maintained at the site of its discovery.

In his *Records of teachings received*, the 5th Yol mo sPrul sku begins his account of the Northern Treasures with a concise historical overview outlining the context of transmission: He provides the name of the teacher from whom he received each cycle and, where applicable, the location and year of the transmission. This is followed by detailed information concerning the origin, scope, and contents of the *byang gter* cycles. These include: the title of the ritual cycle, the name of the treasure-discoverer, and the site of the treasure revelation. Subsequently, he records information on the specific components of each cycle, including the empowerments (*dbang*), reading transmission (*lung*), and practical instructions (*khrid*) associated with the respective teachings. 'Phrin las bdud 'joms also lists all individual texts belonging to each cycle—sometimes supplemented by later materials that relate to the Northern Treasures as revealed by Rig 'dzin rGod ldem. In addition, the lineage (*brgyud*) of each reading transmission is documented, and, where applicable, that of specific empowerments as well. The 5th Yol mo sPrul sku begins with the traditional account of the supramundane transmission, whereby Padmasambhava is said to have received the teachings from manifestations of the *dharmakāya* and *sambhogakāya* in the transcendent realm. This is followed by the principal lineage of human transmission, beginning with the treasure revealer Rig 'dzin rGod ldem and continuing through successive masters down to 'Phrin las bdud 'joms himself. In some cases, additional transmission lineages (*brgyud pa phran*) are also noted.

The 5th Yol mo sPrul sku received transmissions of the Northern Treasures through multiple lines of transmission. These stages of studies are outlined here in their approximate chronological order:⁷⁰

⁷⁰ Below are the individual titles of eight of the nine ritual cycles central to the tradition, as found in the *records of teaching received* (KDJSY). Contracted words in the original text have been silently expanded, and syllables that are difficult to read or illegible—primarily due to moisture damage—are marked. Where possible, these readings have been reconstructed based on a parallel version preserved in the *records of teachings received* of Brag dkar Chos kyi dbang phyug (ChBThY), which provides an identical or nearly identical text for six of the key teaching cycles (Cycles I, II, IV, V, VI, VII). These reconstructed syllables are marked with an asterisk (*). Syllables that remain indeterminate are marked with a question

Karma bdud 'joms participated in the first instruction in Northern Treasures rituals during his early childhood. Around the year 1734, at the age of nine, his father Nyi ma seng ge conferred practical instructions on the *Bla ma rig 'dzin gdung sgrub* in the meditation cave Ca thang sgrub phug in Glang 'phrang.⁷¹

According to his autobiography, at the age of eleven (c. 1736), he received teachings on the *rdzog chen* cycle *Ka dag rang byung rang shar* from his uncle, rDo dmar Padma rdo rje, at Ri bo dpal 'bar (Mang yul).⁷²

Following the death of his father in 1738, Karma bdud 'joms's came under the care of the rDo dmar family. During his residence at their estate in Glang 'phrang, he received extensive religious training, particularly in the years 1739 and 1740. These studies included instructions on the ritual cycle *bKa' brgyad drag po rang byung rang shar*, as well as the reading transmission for the associated textual corpus.⁷³

mark. In addition to the source text, the individual titles are numbered in accordance with their order in KDJSY.

⁷¹ In his autobiography, the 5th Yol mo sPrul sku recounts having participated in his father's teachings in Glang 'phrang (KDJNTh, fol. 10b). Cf. Ehrhard 2007: 43. Additionally, in his *records of teachings received*, he lists his father Nyi ma seng ge as a direct teacher in the transmission of the *Thugs chen 'gro ba kun grol* cycle (KDJSY, ca, fol. 5a3). His autobiography notes that—apart from receiving empowerments and the reading transmission (*dbang lung*) of the *Byang gter thugs rje chen po* cycle—he did not receive the complete transmissions (*bka' lung*) from his father (KDJNTh, fol. 16b), likely due to his father's early death in 1738 when Karma bdud 'joms was only thirteen (KDJNTh, fol. 13b).

⁷² For his first study visits, Rig 'dzin Nyi ma seng ge sent his son 'Phrin las bdud 'joms to Mang yul several times between the ages of nine and eleven. According to his autobiography, his initial residence in Mang yul was at the sacred site dKar ye dngos grub mtsho gling, located near Mount Ri bo dpal 'bar. For the location of dKar ye, see Ehrhard 1997: 258–259, note 16. The significance of this site in the dissemination of the Northern Treasures is discussed in Ehrhard 2007: 44, note 51. At age eleven (c. 1736), 'Phrin las bdud 'joms took lay vows at Ri bo dpal 'bar Monastery, before rDo dmar Padma rdo rje. It was during this time that he began his formal studies in the rNying ma tradition under Padma rdo rje—who was the son of rDo dmar Mi 'gyur rdo rje and brother to his mother Chos nyid rang grol—and received his first instructions in the *rdzog chen* cycle *Ka dag rang byung rang shar* from the Northern Treasures. For these studies, see KDJNTh, fols. 11a–12a. These studies were not included in the *gsan yig* of the 5th Yol mo sPrul sku. Padma rdo rje had previously received this transmission from his father, Mi 'gyur rdo rje; see *infra*, notes 95 and 96. Mi 'gyur rdo rje had migrated with his rDo dmar family from southwestern Tibet to Glang 'phrang. See Ehrhard 1997: 258, note 14; Ehrhard 2007: 43–44. For biographical information on Mi 'gyur rdo rje and two of his sons, see the recently composed family history by Brag sne Kun bzang chos 'phel 1996: 89–137. Cf. Ehrhard 2007: 43, note 50. On Padma rdo rje, see Brag sne Kun bzang chos 'phel 1996: 137–139.

⁷³ For these studies, see KDJNTh, fol. 14b. These, too, were not recorded in the *gsan yig* of the 5th Yol mo sPrul sku.

Further studies related to the *byang gter* tradition are documented in his autobiography for the year 1742. At the age of seventeen, Karma bdud 'joms learned of the rNying ma teacher Khams lung pa Padma gsang sngags bstan 'dzin and traveled to meet him in Mang yul. From this teacher—who belonged to the transmission lineage of rDo rje brag Rig 'dzin Padma 'phrin las—he received his first comprehensive instructions on the *byang gter* corpus. Several years later, in 1747, he once again received teachings from Padma gsang sngags bstan 'dzin, this time specifically on the *Rig 'dzin gdung sgrub* ritual cycle. In his *gsan yig*, these areas of study are detailed and include the cycles of the “three [forms of ritual] accomplishment of the mind [of the teacher]” (*thugs sgrub gsum*)—listed as cycles V, VI, VII—as well as the Vajrakīla cycle (Cycle IV):⁷⁴

- [1742, 1747:] gNyags ston Rig 'dzin Padma gsang sngags bstan 'dzin
 — *Gu ru phyi nang gsang gsum sgrub tshul* (KDJSY, ca, fols. 4a1–11b1)
 — (*phyi sgrub*) *Thugs chen 'gro ba kun grol* (KDJSY, ca, fols. 4a2–5a3)⁷⁵ (Cycle V)

⁷⁴ In his autobiography, Karma bdud 'joms reports that in 1742 he received from Padma gsang sngags bstan 'dzin the empowerments and reading transmission for the ritual cycle *Byang gter rdo rje phur pa*, as well as the empowerments, reading transmission and practical instructions for the cycle *Byang gter thugs rje chen po* (KDJNTh, fol. 17a–b). Five years later, in 1747, he received from the same teacher the empowerments, reading transmission, and extensive instructions for the *Bla ma rig 'dzin gdung sgrub* cycle (KDJNTh, fol. 23a–b). Corresponding sections in the *gsan yig* are found in KDJSY, ca, fols. 4a1–11b1, 11b1–13b6. The first page of this section of his *gsan yig* is reproduced in the appendix (*infra*, App. 2, Fig. 1). Karma bdud 'joms explains that Padma gsang sngags bstan 'dzin was regarded as a descendant of gNyags Jñānakumāra—a disciple of Padmasambhava—and recognized as the reincarnation of Khams lung Nam mkha' 'jigs med. In his youth, he studied at the monastery E waṃ lcog sgar and received the *byang gter* transmission from his teacher Khams lung Rig 'dzin Padma dbang rgyal (1657–1731), himself a disciple of rDo rje brag Padma 'phrin las (KDJNTh, fol. 17b). Cf. Ehrhard 2008: 82, note 34. For information on the gNyags family, see Gung thang bsTan 'dzin nor bu 2018: 246–257. The Khams lung family is associated with the monastery Nub dgon (La stod byang); see Ehrhard 1997: 257, note 10. For biographical sources on Khams lung Rig 'dzin Padma dbang rgyal see *ibid.*: 257, note 10; cf. Ehrhard 2008: 81–82, note 34; 83–84, note 37. The family residence in sKyid rong was at dNgos grub phug; see Ehrhard 1997: 257, note 10. For source texts describing this sacred site, see *ibid.*: 259, note 16; Ehrhard 2004: 411–412, note 176. It is assumed that dNgos grub phug was also that site in Mang yul where Karma 'phrin las bdud 'joms met his Khams lung teacher and received the first comprehensive transmissions of the Northern Treasures.

⁷⁵ Title list (KDJSY, ca, fol. 4a3–b1) *lung*: (1) *Phyi rgyud 'gro ba kun grol gyi rgyud le'u bcu gcig pa*, (2) (*de'i*) *sGrub thabs dbang dang bcas pa*, (3) (*yang de'i*) *sGrub thabs*, (4) *Yon tan brgyas (=rgyas) pa snying po don gyi rgyud le'u bzhi pa*, (5) *Nang rgyud nyon mong (=mongs) rang grol gyi rgyud le'u drug pa*, (6) (*de'i*) *sGrub thabs*, (7) *gSang rgyud chos nyid rang gsal gyi *rgyud le'u bzhi pa*, (8) (*de'i*) *sGrub thabs*, (9) *mNgon rtogs yid bzhin nor bu*, (10) *'Phrin las smon lam*, (11) *dBang chog ma nor lam ston*, (12) *gNas lung*,

- (nang sgrub) Rig 'dzin dong (=gdung) sgrub (KDJSY, ca, fols. 5a4–6a4)⁷⁶ (Cycle VI)
- (gsang sgrub) Drag po mthing ka (KDJSY, ca, fols. 6a4–11b1) (Cycle VII)⁷⁷

(13) *Zas gtad*, (14) *'Pho ba*, (15) *Ro sreg*, (16) *Tsha tsha*, (17) *sByin sreg*, (18) *Rab gnas*, (19) *Las sbyor thugs rje rtse gcig ma*, (20) *'Gro don las sbyor lnga pa*, (21) *Tshe sgrub*, (22) *'Dzams (=Dzam) dkar thugs sgrub*, (23) *sGrub chen gyi spyi 'khog chen mo*, (24) *bKa' bsrung mchod thabs*, (25) *Las *rgyu 'bras *kyi *dbye *ba mun sel sgron me*, (26) *Khrid yig gsal ba'i sgron me*, (27) *(de'i ngo 'phrod) sNyan rgyud yi ge med pa*, (28) *sGron ma drug gi dang po*, (29) *gTer byon rgyud (=brgyud) 'debs kha skongs dang bcas pa*. Cf. the title lists in ChBThY, fols. 75b–76a, and PGThY, pp. 432–433. Appended to the titles of this textual collection are additional texts by IHa btsun Legs ldan rdo rje and Rig 'dzin Padma 'phrin las related to this tradition (KDJSY, ca, fol. 4b1–3).

⁷⁶ Title list (KDJSY, ca, fol. 5a6–b4) *lung*: (1) Rig 'dzin dong grub (=gdung sgrub) *gyi them *byang, (2) *Rig *'dzin *'dus pa rtsa ba'i rgyud rin chen 'bar ba le'u bzhi pa, (3) *Phyi sku 'bag la rten (=brten) nas sgrub pa*, (4) *Nang gtor ma*, (5) *gSang ba dza gad la rten (=brten) nas sgrub pa*, (6) *Bye brag tu mtshan brgyad *so *so'i *dgos *sgrub*, (7) *Nang *sgrub kyi cha lag rig 'dzin mchod thabs, (8) *Bla ma'i las byang dgos 'dod kun 'byung*, (9) *Phyi nang gsang gsum gyi 'dzab dgongs*, (10) *mNga' bdag la gdam (=gdams) pa mnyam nyid ma gu ru zhi ba'i sgrub *thabs *kyang *zer*, (11) *dBang chog rgyas 'bring sdus (=bsdus) gsum*, (12) *rTags bstod*, (13) *Rig 'dzin rnams kyi thugs dam bskul ba*, (14) *bShags pa smon lam bkra shis*, (15) *gShin don gnas lung*, (16) *gTor ma'i bstod pa*, (17) *Byin 'bebs*, (18) *Rab *gnas *kyi *lo *rgyus*, (19) *Rab gnas se (=bse) sgrom ma*, (20) *Nyams rtags gsal sgron*, (21) *Las tshogs nor bu'i phreng ba cha lag bcas*. Cf. the title lists in ChBThY, fol. 77b, and PGThY, pp. 421–422. 'Phrin las bdud 'joms adds further texts here by Yol mo ba (i.e., bsTan 'dzin nor bu) and Rig 'dzin Padma 'phrin las related to this ritual tradition (KDJSY, ca, fol. 5b4–5).

⁷⁷ Title list (KDJSY, ca, fols. 6b3–8b6) *lung*: [I.] (1) *sGrub thabs gsum gyi lo rgyus*, (2) *gSang ba rin chen 'dus pa'i lo rgyus*, (3) *Thugs sgrub rtsa ba'i gleng bzhi (=gzhi)*, [II.] (4) *sKu gsung thugs kyi gnad 'dus*, (5) *rDo rje he ru ka thugs kyi sgrub pa*, [III.] (6) *gSang ba rin chen 'dus pa'i sgrub thabs*, (7) *(de'i) Las sbyor gnad kyi man ngag*, (8) *dKyiil 'khor bcud dril*, [IV.] (9) *Zab mo gnad kyi them bcu*, (10) *Hūm 'dren thabs nyer gcig*, (11) *bSrung *khor*, (12) **Khor bcu'i bsrung bzlog*, (13) *Ngag grol*, (14) *Ngag ni bskyed pa*, [V.] (15) *rTags mthong dngos grub blangs pa*, [VI.] (16) *sGrub pa sde drug gi dbang gi cho ga*, (17) *Byin rlabs thugs rje'i dbang lnga*, (18) *Sa *chog *rgyal *tho*, (19) **Thig *rtsa brgyan (=rgyan) bkod*, (20) *dBang gi sngon 'gro*, (21) *Bum dbang gi spyi chings dang bcas pa*, (22) *sKyabs sems sdom bzung*, (23) *sGrub pa sde brgyad kyi dbang chog chen mo*, (24) *gTor dbang*, (25) *rGyal thabs spyi lugs kyi dbang chog*, (26) *mNgon rtogs *sgom byang gsal sgron*, (27) *dKyiil 'khor rgyas pa'i sgrub thabs*, (28) *Bum sgrub*, (29) *gTer sbed*, (30) *dNgos sgrub bskul ba*, [VII.] (31) *Las byang 'bring po*, (32) **Las *gzhung rtsa *tho*, (33) **Bar *them*, (34) *Byin dbab*, (35) *Las byang chen mo*, (36) *'Dzab bstod*, (37) *Rig pa hūm skyon ma*, (38) *'Dzab gong (=dgongs) chung ba*, (39) *sPyod lam rgyun gyi rnal 'byor*, (40) *dKon mchog spyi bskul*, (41) *bDe gshegs spyi *bskul che ba chung ba*, (42) *rGyas pa'i *sbyin *bsreg*, (43) *dBang gi *sbyin bsreg*, (44) *Las bzhi dang ro bsreg*, (45) *Me spra*, (46) *Hom chog*, (47) *Zor bsreg mnan gsum*, [VIII.] (48) **sNgags kyi las byang don bstod bcas*, [IX.] (49) *Las tshogs rin chen sdong po*, [X.] (50) *gNas chen byin 'bebs*, (51) *rNam 'joms rtsa ba'i sgrub thabs*, (52) *sGrub pa'i 'phrin las*, (53) *Bag chags stobs 'joms kyi khru chog*, [XI.] (54) *sKu gsung thugs kyi gdul bya*, [XII.] (55) **Gong *po *ar *gtad *kha *sgyur (=bsgyur)*, (56) *mNan pa'i bskul*, (57) *dGra sri mnan pa*, [XIII.] (58) *Nad bdag stobs 'joms rtsa ba don bdun pa*, (59) *Lo rgyus*, (60) *mDos chog*, (61) **dGyer *glud rabs*, (62) *sTobs 'joms don lnga pa*, (63) **Khyung *nag *gi *sgrub *thabs bstod bskul dang bcas pa*, (64) *Bya khyung gi lo rgyus*, (65) *sGom rim*, (66) *sNgags rim*, (67) *rDzas sbyor nad rims bsrung*

bsad *bso (=gso), (68) sNgags byang, (69) *'Khor *lo bri yig, (70) rDo rje khrab ring *bdud *rtsi *bum *chung *bskor (=skor) *la *rgyud, (71) *'Khor *lo, (72) *bsGom *bzlas, (73) mTha' bsgyur, (74) *Zug *stag, (75) lHog pa, (76) Gag pa, (77) Phag 'khor, (78) Srin 'joms, (79) Cha *lag bu bdun, (80) gSo byed sman kyi rtsa ba, (81) Chings, (82) Shog ril dkar ser *sngo gsum, (83) 'Od *'bar *sgron *ma'i *shog *ril, (84) mNga' bdag dang *mtsho rgyal la gdam (=gdams) pa nad kyi rgyu bshad pa, (85) brTag cing sman gyi bcos thabs, (86) Kun 'joms bsrung ba sngags byang, (87) bsTan mas *phul ba'i *gor *bsrung, (88) *'Byung po'i *nad *bsrung *khrag *'thung nag po'i gdam (=gdams) pa, (89) Rigs gsum mgon po'i sgo nas *'go nad bsrung ba, (90) Thos *pa sgra la rten (=brten) te bsrung ba, (91) Rims seb (=Rim gseb) du 'gro ba'i bsrung ba, (the list of titles continues at the bottom of the page:.) (92) Mig nad srung ba, (93) sMan gyi lha mo *lcam *dral gyi sgrub *thabs, (94) (de'i) zhal *gdams, [XIV.] (95) *Thugs *rje *byams *pa'i *man *ngag, (96) *Dug *lga *bstan *bcos, (and in the main text:.) (97) Man ngag *zab *mo ngan pa bzang *bsgyur, [XV.] (98) *lag *chings lcags sgrog khril (=khril) ba, (99) Yul dang rang bsrung sgrub shing, (100) sNgags rdzas sgrub shing, (101) Gor bsrung jag chings sgrub shing, (102) Bal mo'i jag *ching *lcags mdzod ma, (103) rKang *gyogs man ngag, [XVI.] (104) *Phywa *phrin nor bu mchog rgyal byang gling ma, (105) *Sad bsrung sprin gyi sgo (=go) cha dang na ga 'brug sgrog, (106) Char gcod me'i spu gri, (107) Ser bsrung gnam lcags gur khang phyi bsrung nang bsrung yang gsang *bsrung *ba gnad yig dang bcas pa, (108) *Zhing gi lud sbyor rigs gnyis, (109) Lo zan sems can kha 'chings, (110) Byi bsrung rigs gnyis, [XVII.] (111) Go cha bryad kyi man ngag, (112) mTshon bsrung *'khor *lo'i bri *yig, (113) sNgags dmigs la rten (=brten) pa'i mtshon bsrung, [XVIII.] (114) Las tshogs rin chen 'char 'bebs, (115) Dzam bha lcang gu'i lo rgyus sgrub thabs chu *sbyin gtor 'bul *bstod dang bcas pa, [XIX.] (116) *Them *byang, (117) *Phyi *sgrub *rin *chen bum pa, (118) Nang *sgrub *lcags *kyi *sdong po, (119) *gSang sgrub hri (=hrhri) gcig ma, (120) Yang gsang nam *mkha' i rdo rje, (121) Tshe *khor bri *yig, (122) brDa yig lde mig, [XX.] (123) Phag *mo'i them yig, (124) Lo *rgyus, (125) *mKha' *'gro gsang ba'i *thugs *sgrub, (126) dMar mo dbang bsdud pa'i *sgrub thabs zangs mdzod ma, (127) dBang bsdud las kyi mkha' 'gro'i sgrub thabs, (128) sNying *tig gsang sgrub gtsug rgyan ma, (129) gSang sgrub gtor *'bul bstod pa dang bcas pa, (130) *sByin bsreg, (131) Srog *'khor bri yig, (132) *Nag mo thod rgal gyi sgrub pa'i gsal byed, (133) *Gri snying ril bu zla dkyil la rten (=brten) pa'i mngon shes le tshan, (134) Rigs *bzhi'i srog *'khor, (135) Phag mo rigs *bzhi'i *sgrub thabs, (136) dBang *bsdud, (137) Mig 'thong, (138) mNgon shes, (139) Zas nor 'du ba, (140) *Dug 'don, (141) rGyags skyel, (142) Las tshogs bcu gsum par grags pa bsrung ba gsum dang *'du *ba gnyis so sor *phye (Dittography: *phye) bas *nang *ses (=gses) bcu drug pa, (143) rTsa rlung dbang gi sbyin bsreg, (144) Zhi rgyas dbang drag gi las tshogs, (145) Tshangs pa'i bu mo khol por bkol ba, (146) Thig le'i gzung ba, (147) bDud kyi bgegs bsel, [XXI.] (148) *Slob *bu'i *'dod pa rtag (=brtag) thabs, (149) Slob bu'i snod rtag (=brtag) pa, [XXII.] (150) Yang tig gces pa'i sgron ma, (151) Drag po rtsal gyi 'pho ba, (152) sKu gsum gtan la dbab pa'i rgyud le'u gsum pa, [XXIII.] (153) *Phyi nang gsang gsum gyi rtags rim, (154) Nyams rtags gsal sgron, (155) bsNyen sgrub rtags rim, [XXIV.] (156) Rang byung rang shar gyi rgyud le'u bcu pa, [XXV.] (157) Nor sgrub rin chen spungs *pa 'las *Nor *lha'i *phyi sgrub, (158) Dzam lha dkar po phyi nang gsang gsum gyi sgrub pa chu sbyin gtor ma gsang rdzas la rten (=brten) pa, (159) Thod pa la rten (=brten) nas long spyod sgrub pa, (160) A pa ra tsitta *khol por *bkol *ba *gnod sbyin snying 'gul, (161) gNod sbyin ma rdo rje khol mor bkol ba, (162) gNod sbyin brgyags skyel. (gzhan yang de dag gi khongs su rtogs (=gtogs) pa): (163) mKha' 'gro *gtan *bzhuvs don bryad pa, (164) rNga la lpags pa *skyon *thabs, (165) *gTer ma bka' sgrub. The titles of this textual collection are grouped in KDJSY into 25 sections, each marked with an ordinal number (here given in square brackets). Two ordinal numbers (VI and XIV) are missing from the text and have been added here based on ChBThY. The 5th Yol mo sPrul sku justifies this ordering by referring to an early table of contents for the textual corpus of this collection, here briefly designated as *Them byang* (i.e., the text

— *Zab gter bcom ldan 'das dpal rdo rje gzhon nu* (fols. 11b1–13b6)⁷⁸ (Cycle IV)

The next major transmission of doctrinal teachings and ritual cycles from the Northern Treasures took place in 1751. During his stay in Glang 'phrang, within the circles of his extended family, 'Phrin las bdud 'joms received from rDo dmar Kun bzang 'gyur med lhun grub—the younger brother of the late Padma rdo rje—the necessary empowerments, reading transmission, and direct instructions for the

Thems byang gsal ba'i sgron ma (KDJSY, ca, fol. 6b1–2). This table of contents lists only 25 texts. Reference to this table of contents has already been made in the aforementioned epitomes: BTSNT: fols. 3b–4a (*Thugs sgrubs them byang*); BTRPh: fols. 41a–44b (*Thems byang gsal ba'i sgron ma*). Cf. the list of titles in ChBThY, fols. 79a–81b. Supplementary texts concerning this ritual cycle by Chos rgyal dBang po'i sde and Rig 'dzin Padma 'phrin las are appended to the list of all titles in the *Thugs sgrub drag po rtsal* cycle (KDJSY, ca, fols. 8b6–9a3).

⁷⁸ Title list (KDJSY, ca, fols. 11b3–12b6) *dbang 'phrin las*: The titles are grouped into three sections (I, II, III): [I.] *Phur pa rgyas pa che mchog lha khra'i bskor* (=skor) (fols. 11b4–12b2): (1) *rDo rje phur pa thugs gsang ba sku'i brgyud* (=rgyud) *le'u bcu pa*, (2) *Phur pa'i 'phrin las chen mo*, (3) *Phur pa'i 'dzab*, (4) *Phur pa'i bstod bskul*, (5) *Phur bsrung gi bskul dang bcas pa*, (6) *Rin chen dbang gi mdzod*, (7) *rNam gsum srog gi 'khor 'lo zhes dkar po lam gyi sgron ma*, (8) *bKa' nyan lcags kyi ber ka*, (9) *Nag po dug gi 'khor*, (10) *Zor bsreg mnan gsum*, (11) *rDo rje phur pa'i tsh'e'i las byang*, (12) *Tshe dbang*, (13) *Tshe bsrub*, (14) *Phur pa'i bka' sgo*, (15) *gSum tshogs rgyas pa*, (16) **Satstsha 'debs pa*, (17) *brGyud rims* (=rim) *gsang ba rin po che*, (18) *dNgos grub blang ba*, (19) *Khro bo rol pa'i gtor bzlog*, (20) *Zur la nang gses kyi *bskyed pa*, (21) *sPyan 'dren*, (22) **bZhugs *gsol*, (23) *Phyag*, (24) *sTim* (=bsTim) *pa*, (25) *sMan rag sbyor sgröl gyi 'mchod pa*, (26) *bDen brjod bstod pa*, (27) *Rig 'dzin bskul*, (28) *lHa tshogs bskul ba*, (29) **Dam can bsrung ma'i bskul dang bcas pa*. [II.] *Phur pa 'bring po drag sngags spu gri lha nag gi skor* (fol. 12a3–12b3): (30) **sPu *gri *nag po gsang ba'i rgyud le'u bcu gcig pa*, (31) *Phur pa drag sngags kyi 'phrin las chen mo tshogs mchod lhag ma dang bcas pa*, (32) *Yang gsang spu gri 'bar ba'i 'phrin las 'bring po*, (33) *Phur pa khra phyag dang bcas pa'i *bstod pa*, (34) **Dam can bcu gnyis rtsa ba gsum du sgril te bskul ba*, (35) *bsKul bsdu pa*, (36) *Dam can mo'i rkyang bskul*, (37) *Pho nya 'gugs 'dren gru gsum mthing nag ma*, (38) *Bi to ta ma la nas *byung ba'i rgyun *gtor gyi rim pa*, (39) *Drag po'i bzlas pa 'phro 'du las kyi bsnyen pa*, (40) *Ki la ya chos nyid du bzla ba*, (41) *sPyod lam rgyun gyi rnal 'byor*, (42) *Phur pa'i las thams cad kyi don bsdu pa drag po *sngags *kyi *rtsa *ba*, (43) *Phur pa drag sngags kyi ti ka* (=ṭi kā) *bse sgron ma*, (44) *Phur pa srog gi spu gri*, (45) *Drag sngags rdo rje phur pa'i lugs 'di khyad par 'phags pa'i lo rgyus*, (46) *Phur pa'i rgyud* (=rgyu) *dang tshad* (ChBThY reads: *tshan*) *bstan pa*, (47) **sGrub *thabs *rgyun *khyer*, (48) **Phur pa khro bo rol pa'i bzlog gzhung dbus phyogs 'khor lo ma*, (49) *Phur pa'i las kyi sri chung bcu gsum mnan pa*, (50) *sDe brgyad bsrung bzlog*, (51) *Ser ba gdong *bzlog*, (52) *rDzas kyi *mthun* (=mthu) **chen 'bco *brgyad*, (53) **mTshon *dra *thog 'dra'i man ngag gi nang nas gsung* (=gsungs) *pa'i las sbyor bzhi pa*. [III.] *Phur pa bsdu pa dril sgrub lha *dus kyi skor* (fol. 12b4–5): (54) *rDo rje phur pa rtsa ba thams cad dril nas nyams su len pa*, (55) *Las la sbyar ba'i man ngag*, (56) **Thugs *kyi *snag* (ChBThY reads: *brngag*) **pa *gsang ba phur cig* (=gcig) *ma'i bsrub* (=sgrub) *ihabs*, (57) *Dril *sgrub kyi 'phrin las chen mo*, (58) *(de'i) 'Phrin las 'bring po*, (59) *'Phrin las bsdu pa*, (60) *mTshan brgyad kyi bstod pa la rten* (=brten) *nas bskul ba*. Cf. the list of titles in ChBThY, fols. 88b–90a. 'Phrin las bdud 'joms subsequently adds later writings composed by Padma 'phrin las on the subject (KDJSY, ca, fols. 12b6–13a1).

two *rdzogs chen* cycles (Cycles I and II).⁷⁹ The 5th Yol mo sPrul sku recorded the details of these transmissions in his *records of teachings received*:

1751: *gcung* [rDo dmar] Kun bzang 'gyur med lhun grub:

- *Ka dag rang byung rang shar* (KDJSY, *nga*, fol. 2a1–b2)⁸⁰
(Cycle II)
- *Kun bzang dgongs pa zang thal* (KDJSY, *nga*, fols. 2b2–4a4)⁸¹
(Cycle I)

⁷⁹ For these *rdzog chen* studies, see the autobiography (KDJNTh, fol. 34a–b). Among the five sons of rJe Mi 'gyur rdo rje, Kun bzang 'gyur med lhun grub was the second youngest (KDJNTh, fol. 34b). The 5th Yol mo sPrul sku composed a short biography of his teacher, including a prayer (*ibid.*, fol. 34b), which is preserved in his *Collected Works* (i.e. KZNT). For further information on Kun bzang 'gyur med lhun grub, see Brag sne Kun bzang chos 'phel 1996: 139–141. The transmission of the *rdzogs chen* cycles from the Northern Treasures was received by Kun bzang 'gyur med lhun grub within the family tradition from his elder brother Padma rdo rje. See below, notes 95 and 96.

⁸⁰ Title list (KDJSY, *nga*, fol. 2a2–5) *rgyab rten lung*: (1) sNgon 'gro gzer lnga, (2) *Zhus lan *gnad kyi yi ge, (3) *Zhal chem rin chen gzer bu, (4) O rgyan padma'i zhal gdams, (5) mKhar chen gza'i zhus lan, (6) dMar khrid nyams *len brgyad pa, (7) sNying po bsdu pa rig pa'i dbang, (8) Zab mo gnad kyi *them bcu, (9) sNying po bcud bsdu lam gyi gnad dang gnad tig zhal gdams zab mo'i them, (10) Ngo sprod rang rig rang gsal, (11) mTsho rgyal gyi gegs sel nor bu'i bang mdzod, (12) rGyud las byung ba'i man ngag gsal ba'i *sgron me, (13) Kun grol *rdo *rje *sems dpa'i rgyud, (14) rDzogs pa chen po rang 'byung (=byung) rang shar gyi rgyud, (15) Bar do lnga'i ngo sprod, (16) rDzogs pa chen po'i 'phrin las, (17) bKa' bsrung dur khrod ma gsum dang bstan ma bcu gnyis kyi gsol kha bcas. Cf. the title lists in ChBThY, fols. 71b–72a, and BDThY, pp. 9–15.

⁸¹ Title list (KDJSY, *nga*, fols. 2b5–4a2) *lung*: (1) Kun *tu bzang po dgongs pa zang thal gyi rgyud le'u nyi shu pa, (2) dGongs pa zangs (=zang) thal gyi rtsa ba le'u lnga pa, (3) dGongs pa zang thal gyi rgyud chung le'u brgyad pa, (4) sKye med ma bcos rang 'byung (=byung) gi rgyud le'u drug pa, (5) Rig sems (=Sems) dang rig pa dbye ba'i rgyud le'u drug, (6) 'Khrul pa sems kyi rgyud le'u bdun, (7) 'Khrul pa sems dang rig pa dbye ba'i rgyud le'u drug, (8) Rig pa rang gsal gyi rgyud le'u gsum, (9) *Ye *shes rang la gnas pa'i rgyud le'u drug, (10) Rin po che phreng pa'i rgyud le'u drug, (11) Man ngag snying gi dgongs pa'i rgyud le'u brgyad pa, (12) sNying gi dgongs pa'i rgyud le'u drug, (13) Padma'i bka' yig dang po, (14) Ye shes chen po stan (=bstan) pa'i rgyud *le'u *drug, (15) Sangs rgyas rdo rje sems dpa' dgongs pa rang shar gyi rgyud le'u drug, (16) rDo rje sems dpa' kun grol yangs pa'i rgyud le'u dgu (ChBThY reads: drug), (17) Bar do rang snang gi rgyud le'u bdun, (18) Kun tu bzang po ye shes zang thal gyi sgron ma le'u lnga pa, (19) sNyan rgyud (=brgyud) *sde drug gi sngon 'gro, (20) Dang po chu'i bcud blangs pa, (21) bDud rtsi bcud kyi tshes sgrub, (22) rLung rig gi *bcud *du blangs pa, (23) rDo rje can gyi grib bsrung ba, (24) gNas kyi grib bsrung ba, (25) Rang rgyud dag pa, (26) Lus *phyi nang gi *skyon *bcos pa, (27) Ngag sgra'i skyon bcos pa, (28) Yid rtog pa'i 'khrul snang bzlog pa, (29) Las kyi 'phrin las kyi le'u ste bcu gcig, (30) sNgon 'gro rin chen gzer lnga, (31) rGyud 'debs ka dag *lhun *grub gnyis, (32) sNyan rgyud (=brgyud) drug gi tho byang, (33) Yang dag don gyi snyan rgyud (=brgyud) rin po che, (34) Thugs kyi dgongs pa yi ge med pa'i snyan rgyud (=brgyud), (35) sNyan rgyud (=brgyud) yi ge med pa'i mthar thug pa, (36) sNyan rgyud (=brgyud) rin po che'i lung byang ye shes thugs kyi lde mig, (37) Man ngag khyad par *du *phags pa snyan rgyud (=brgyud) gang zag dbang po rab 'bring tha gsum gyi grol tshul, (38) dGongs pa zang thal gyi khrid gzhung chen mo, (39) Ye shes

During his stay in Helambu from 1749 to 1751, when he was engaged in the reconstruction of the Avalokiteśvara temple on Mount g.Yang ri—originally built by his father but later destroyed by lightning—Rig 'dzin Tshe dbang nor bu, whom he had first met in Nepal in 1747, appeared at the site in 1750 (KDJNTh, fols. 23b–24a). At that time, Tshe dbang nor bu conferred upon the 5th Yol mo sPrul sku the empowerments for the *Thugs sgrub drag po rtsal* cycle (KDJNTh, fol. 32b). In 1751, 'Phrin las bdud 'joms again received teachings from Tshe dbang nor bu on this same *Thugs sgrub drag po rtsal* cycle (Cycle VII), along with transmissions of additional texts composed by Tshe dbang nor bu himself in connection with this ritual system. Furthermore, Tshe dbang nor bu bestowed instructions on the *rdzogs chen* cycle *Ka dag rang byung shar* (Cycle II), as well as empowerments for the Vajrakīla cycle (Cycle IV). These areas of study were recorded by the 5th Yol mo sPrul sku in the addendum to his *records of teachings received*.⁸²

[1750, 1751:] rJe btsun Tshe dbang nor bu (1698–1755):

— *Byang gter rDo rje phur pa* (KDJSY, na, fol. 1a2) (Cycle IV)

chen po mngon du gyur ba'i man ngag, (40) *Ngo sprod nyi shu rtsa gcig*, (41) *rTags *kyi yi *ge*, (42) **Tshad *gyi yi ge*, (43) *gNad kyi yi ge*, (44) *Bī (=Bi) ma la'i khrid yid*, (45) *Bī (=Bi) ma la'i snyan rgyud (=brgyud) 'brel (= 'grel) tig chen mo*, (46) *Bai ro tsa na'i snyan rgyud (=brgyud) dang po*, (47) *sNyan rgyud (=brgyud) bar pa*, (48) *sNyan rgyud (=brgyud) phyi ma*, (49) *Bai ro tsa na'i thugs rgyud*, (50) **dBang *Inga'i *dbye ba*, (51) *Rig pa'i rtsal dbang gi 'brel pa*, (52) *mKha 'gro'i gsang sgrub 'phrin las*, (53) *rTsa gnas lus kyi 'khor lo*, (54) *rTsa rlung gnad kyi sgron ma*, (55) *sGron ma rnam gsum thugs kyi bang mdzod*, (56) *bTags grol yid *bzhin *nor *mchog*, (57) *Sangs rgyas thams cad sras gcig pa'i rgyud*, (58) *brTags grogs (=bTags grol) bcang thabs*, (59) *'Das rjes dang po*, (60) *gNyis pa*, (61) *gSum pa*, (62) *mThong grol rin po che*, (63) *'Chi kha ma'i sangs rgyas khug pa lnga'i man ngag*, (64) *Bar do 'od *gsal *gyi *sgron ma*, (65) **gSol 'debs *skye *med gu ru ma*, (66) *Zhi khro lhun grub kyi 'phrin las bskul ba*, (67) *rDzogs chen 'phrin las*, (68) *rNal lam le'u brgyad pa*, (69) *Zang zang lha brag nas gter *ston pa'i lo rgyus*, (70) *gNas spar ba'i *man ngag*, (71) *gSang sngags bstan pa rnam gsum gyi zhus len (=lan)*, (72) *rDo rje phag mo zab rgya drug gi rtsa rlung gi gdams pa*, (73) *rDo rje phag mo'i man ngag thor bu rnam gsum*, (74) *rDo rje phag mo'i zab rgya drug gi dang po lus ngag yid gsum gyi dam bca' mthun (=thun) bzhi'i rnal 'byor gyi khrim (=khrigs)*, (75) *Zab rgya'i dmigs rim*, (76) *rTsa gsum rin chen sgron ma*, (77) **rTsod *bzlog *ye *shes *sngon *du bstan pa'i snyan rgyud (=brgyud)*, (78) *Ye shes rang shar gyi rgyud le'u gnyis*, (79) *Gying (=Ging) mchod thabs*, (80) *Sangs rgyas rang chas kyi rgyud le'u gnyis pa*. Cf. the title lists in ChBThY, fols. 72b–74b, and BDThY, pp. 35–38. In the *records of teachings received*, the transmission continues with texts authored by Yongs 'dzin Ngag dbang bzang po, Mi 'gyur rdo rje, and Padma rdo rje on this ritual tradition (KDJSY, nga, fols. 4b4–5a2).

⁸² For these studies, see KDJNTh, fol. 35b. In the *records of teachings received*, the 5th Yol mo sPrul sku limits himself at this point solely to listing these text cycles or individual texts for which he had received empowerments (*dbang*) and instructions (*khrid*) (KDJSY, na, fol. 1a).

- *Thugs sgrubs yang tig gces sgron* (KDJSY, na, fol. 1a4) (from Cycle VII)
- *Ka dag rang byung rang shar* (KDJSY, na, fol. 1a4) (Cycle I)

According to his autobiography, 'Phrin las bdud 'joms returned to Mang yul the following year, in 1752, where he received empowerments and the reading transmission for the *bKa' brgyad rang byung rang shar* cycle from Bla ma Ratna bhadra.⁸³

From the late 1750s onward, 'Phrin las bdud 'joms also studied under Lo ri ba Srid zhi yongs grol. Around 1762, he received from Lo ri ba further transmissions from the Northern Treasures, including those for the *Thugs sgrub drag po rtsal* cycles (Cycle VII) and the *Thugs rje chen po 'gro ba kun grol* cycle (Cycle V). These transmissions are likewise recorded in his *records of teachings received*.⁸⁴

[1762:] Lo ri ba Srid zhi yongs grol (d. 1763):

- *Byang gter Thugs rje chen po* (KDJSY, na, fol. 2a2) (Cycle V)
- *Thugs sgrub* (KDJSY, na, fol. 2a2–3) (Cycle VII)

Karma bdud 'joms frequently visited rDo rje 'dzin pa Ye shes chos grags, the throne-holder of the Brag dkar rta so Monastery, beginning in 1759 and continuing until Ye shes chos grags's death in 1772. According to his *records of teachings received*, the 5th Yol mo sPrul sku, received from Ye shes chos grags specific instructions on the ritual approach to the deity *Thugs grub drag po rtsal* as transmitted within the rDo dmar family tradition.⁸⁵

The final major *byang gter* transmissions were conferred during the 5th Yol mo sPrul sku's extended stay—lasting approximately nine months—at Ri rgyal bKra bzang in 1760 and 1761. During this period, he received empowerments, reading transmissions, and practical instructions on the doctrinal teachings and ritual cycles of the

⁸³ For these studies, see KDJNTh, fols. 35b–36a. In his *gsan yig*, the 5th Yol mo sPrul sku did not record the individual texts of the reading transmission of the *bKa' brgyad* cycle. However, four texts from the ritual cycle *gSang ba rmad du byung ba* are included in his *records of teachings received*: (1) *gSang ba smad (=rmad) 'byung gi legs non*, (2) *Chos 'byung*, (3) *lDe mig*, (4) *rjes gnang* (KDJSY, cha, fols. 13a6–14a1), along with the lineage of transmission (*ibid.*, fols. 13b2–14a1). In the textual tradition, this group of texts is sometimes also assigned to the cycle *Kun bzang dgongs pa zangs thal* (Cycle I).

⁸⁴ Regarding his studies with Srid zhi yongs grol, see KDJNTh, fol. 61a. In his *gsan yig*, 'Phrin las bdud 'joms merely mentions the titles of the two text cycles and specifies that he received from Lo ri ba the spiritual blessing, the heart empowerment, and direct instructions to the ritual cycle *Thugs sgrub* (KDJSY, na, fol. 2a2).

⁸⁵ This is the ritual text *Thugs sgrub drag po rtsal gyi bsnyen yig rdo dmar lugs* composed by rDo dmar Padma rdo rje (KDJSY, tha, fols. 8b6–9a1).

Northern Treasures from bKra bzang pa Kun bzang ye shes, in accordance with the tradition maintained at bKra bzang Monastery. His sons, Padma dga' ba and Tshe dbang 'jigs med dpal bzang po, also served as tradent of these ritual lineages. These transmissions are likewise documented in the 5th Yol mo sPrul sku's *records of teachings received* (Cycles I, II, VI, VII, VIII, IX):⁸⁶

1760, 1761: bKra bzang pa Rig 'dzin Kun bzang ye shes:

- *Byang gter rdzogs chen ka dag rang byung rang shar* (KDJSY, *da*, fol. 2b1–3) (Cycle II)
- *rDzogs chen dgongs pa zang thal* (KDJSY, *da*, fols. 2b3–3a3)⁸⁷ (from Cycle I)

⁸⁶ In his autobiography, these transmissions are detailed and include practical instructions as well as the *dbang chen* empowerment for the cycle *Kun bzang dgongs pa zang thal*; the empowerments and reading transmission for the *Ka dag lhun grub* cycle; the *dbang 'bring po* empowerment and remaining reading transmission for the *Thugs sgrub* cycle; the *rab 'byams bka'* empowerment for the *Rig 'dzin gdung sgrub* cycle; the empowerment, practical instructions, and reading transmission for *Zab lam bde stong rgya mtsho*; the empowerments for the cycle *Byang chub sems pa'i spyod dbang*; and from the cycle *rTen 'brel chos bdun*, the empowerments and reading transmission for the *mNga' dbang rin chen 'bar ba* and *rTa mgrin dregs pa dbang bsodud*; furthermore the *gtor dbang* empowerment for the *bKa' brgyad rang shar*, the empowerments and reading transmissions for the complete *mGon po bstan bsrung*, among others; as well as the empowerments for the *Byang gter rdo rje phur pa* (KDJNTh, fols. 55b–56a). Regarding this transmission in bKra bzang, Karma bdud 'joms provides titles lists of the ritual cycles only sporadically in his *gsan yig* (KDJSY, *da*, fols. 2b1–6b3), likely because he had already recorded them earlier in his *records of teachings received*. He also partially refers back to the lists of titles given previously (KDJSY, *da*, fol. 3b4). Unless otherwise noted, the *gsan yig* does not include further title lists. The first page of this section of his *records of teachings received* is reproduced in the appendix (*infra*, Appendix 2, Fig. 2). There is notable lack of primary sources on Kun bzang ye shes; currently, no biographical information is available. In Karma bdud 'joms's *records of teachings received* related to the transmission of the Northern Treasures, the following individuals are listed as teachers of Kun bzang ye shes: Kun 'dus tshe dbang (KDJSY, *da*, fols. 2b, 4a), Rig 'dzin Tshe dbang nor bu (*ibid.*, fols. 2a, 3b, 6b), Chos rgyal gTer bdag gling pa (*ibid.*, fol. 4a), O rgyan bstan 'dzin nor bu (*ibid.*, fols. 4b, 5b), and sPrul sku Ngag dbang kun dga' bsod nams (*ibid.*, fol. 6a).

⁸⁷ Title list (KDJSY, *da*, fols. 2b4–3a1) *lung*: (1) *Bai ro'i snyan rgyud* (=brgyud) *dang po*, (2) *Bar pa*, (3) *Phyi ma*, (4) *Yang dag don gyi snyan rgyud* (=brgyud), (5) *Rigs lnga'i sgrub thabs*, (6) *Rigs lnga'i mchod 'bul*, (7) *Zhi khro'i 'phrin las tshogs bcas*, (8) *sKang* (=bsKang) *bshags*, (9) (*zab rgya las*) *Phag mo dges pa 'phrin las kyi rgyud*, (10) *Thig le'i gegs bsel*, (11) *rTsa gnas lus kyi 'khor lo*, (12) *rTsa rlung rig pa'i gnad zab mo*, (13) *Man ngag thor bu rnam gsum*, (14) *mThun* (=Thun) *bzhi'i rnal 'byor gyi khriin* (=khrigs), (15) *rDo rje mkha' 'gro'i dus* (=bdud) *rtsi*, (16) *rTsa rlung gnad kyi sgron ma*, (17) *mKha' 'gro'i las rim*, (18) *Zab rgya'i dmiigs rim*, (19) *bKa' bsrungs bsodud mchod sangs rgyas rdo rje 'chang*.

- *Zab lam bde stong rgya mtsho zhes thugs sgrub kyi gsang khrid zab mo* (KDJSY, *da*, fol. 3a3–b4)⁸⁸ (from Cycle VII)
- *Thugs sgrub sgrub pa* (KDJSY, *da*, fols. 3b4–4a2) (Cycle VII)
- *Bla ma rig 'dzin gdung sgrub* (KDJSY, *da*, fol. 4a2–4) (Cycle VI)
- *Byang gter byang chub spyod dbang* (KDJSY, *da*, fols. 4a4–5a1)⁸⁹ (Cycle IX)
- *Zab mo rten 'brel chos bdun* (KDJSY, *da*, fol. 5a1–b3)⁹⁰ (Cycle VIII)
- *gSang ba'i ma ning drag por khros pa mgon po yid bzhin gyi nor bu bstan bsrung yong rdzogs* (KDJSY, *da*, fols. 5b3–6b3)⁹¹

In the *gsan yig* of the 5th Yol mo sPrul sku, the reading transmissions for eight (Cycles I, II, IV, V, VI, VII, VIII, IX) of the nine principal text cycles that form the core of the ritual tradition of the Northern Treasures are explicitly listed. The *records of teachings received* contains

⁸⁸ Title list (KDJSY, *da*, fol. 3a4–5) *lung*: (1) *Zab lam bde stong rgya mtsho mthong ba yid dga'*, (2) *Gu ru thugs sgrub kyi gsang khrid*. 'Phrin las bdud 'joms lists here additional texts that he attributes to an individual entitled *rje nyid* (i.e., presumably bKra bzang pa Kun bzang ye shes) (KDJSY, *da*, fol. 3a5), including the lineage of transmission for these texts (*ibid.*, fol. 3a6–b2).

⁸⁹ Title list (KDJSY, *da*, fol. 4a4–b3) *lung*: (1) *rNam par snang mdzad rgyud kyi sgrub thabs zangs mdzod ma*, (2) *rNam par snang mdzad sku'i rang chas dgongs pa bstan pa'i le'u bkod pa rnam gsum zhes pa mthong grol*, (3) *lHa mo phyag rgya rnam gziags ma'i rgyud kyi sgrub thabs zangs mdzod ma*, (4) *bDe gshegs mchod pa'i cho ga*, (5) *dBang chog zangs mdzod ma*, (6) *sMon lam yid bzhin nor bu*, (7) *Byang chub spyod dbang rin po che gser mdzod ma*, (8) *mGon bdun bcu'i gtor chog*, (9) *brTan khrim (=gTan khrims) kyi slab (=bslab) bya zhes zangs mdzod ma*, (10) *Yon tan rin po che'i gzung gser mdzod ma*, (11) *Dus dgu'i gso sbyong zhes dus khrim (=khrims) 'bogs tshul*, (12) (*de'i gsal byed*) *Dus dgu mchod pa'i cho ga sgrib gnyis kun 'joms*. See the title lists in DLSY, *ga*, fols. 115a–116a; TLThY, pp. 181–182; YBSY, pp. 250–251.

⁹⁰ Title list (KDJSY, *da*, fol. 5a2–b1) *lung*: (1) *rTen 'brel chos bdun gyi them byang*, (2) *O rgyan padma'i sgrub thabs 'di gnyen po stobs kyi sgrub pa*, (3) *sPyan ras gziags mthong grol gyi sgrub thabs*, (4) *dBang chen yong (=yongs) rdzogs kyi them byang*, (5) *Mu stegs dbang phyug chen po'i sgrub thabs kyi phreng ba*, (6) *Ma hā dhe wa'i sgrub thabs*, (7) *dBang phyug chen po mchod pa'i 'phrin las*, (8) *rTa mgrin dregs pa dbang bsdud*, (9) *Dregs pa dbang bsdud kyi 'phrin las*, (10) *Dregs pa dbang bsdud kyi 'phrin las sgrub thabs las tshogs dang bcas pa*, (11) *Gu ru'i zhal khrigs chim rdo rje phreng chung la gdams pa*, (12) *Bum dbang bsdud*, (13) *dBang phyug chen po gtso? khar gyi bskul*, (14) *dBang chen gyi sngon 'gro*, (15) *lHa chen dpal 'bar gyi srog khor (=khor) rgyas pa*, (16) *dBang phyug chen po'i lo rgyus*, (17) *sPogs chog gnad kyi ti ka (=ṭī kā)*, (18) *Ma hā dhe wa'i dbang chog*, (19) *Man ngag dam? pa bsam rgyud ar la gtad pa*, (20) *U ma dhe ba'i sgrub thabs khyad par can*, (21) *dBang bsdud las kyi 'khor lo'i rgyud*, (22) *sNgags kyi them yig spogs chog yang kho (=khol) dang bcas pa*, (23) *Gegs bsel (=sel)*. See the title lists in DLSY, *ga*, fols. 161a–163b; YBSY, pp. 263–265.

⁹¹ Title list (KDJSY, *da*, fol. 5b5–6) *lung*: (1) *mGon po bstan bsrung yongs rdzogs kyi dbang gi byang bu*, (2) *gSang bskul bsdud pa*, (3) *'Phrin las bskang bshags dang bcas pa*, (4) *bsKul gyi rim pa bstan bsrung yongs rdzogs kyi rgyud*, (5) *Las tshogs a mu ka cham dbab [nag] po tshon (=mtshon) 'dra thog? 'dra bcas*.

no reference to the *bKa' brgyad rang byung rang shar* cycle (Cycle III).⁹² In addition, 'Phrin las bdud 'joms provides title lists of several smaller ritual cycles stemming from the tradition of Rig 'dzin rGod ldem,⁹³ as well as texts from the later tradition that engage with and elaborate upon the contents of this treasure corpus.⁹⁴

The *records of teachings received* of the 5th Yol mo sPrul sku constitutes the earliest extant textual source of its kind from the rNying ma school that offers detailed insight into the doctrinal teachings and ritual cycles of the Northern Treasures, as they were transmitted in the 18th century across diverse lineages in La stod byang, Mang yul (Western Tibet), and Nepal (Glang 'phrang). Alongside the epitome compiled by Se Padma dbang chen, the *records of teachings received* of the mDo chen bKa' brgyud school, and the *gsan yig* of both the 5th Dalai Bla ma and sNgo ra dBang phyug rdo rje, this text ranks among the most significant literary sources documenting the contents and transmission of this treasure tradition from the early 17th to the late 18th century. Moreover, beyond the contents found in other *records of teachings received*, the *gsan yig* of 'Phrin las bdud 'joms also points to

⁹² From the available material, it is not clear why the 5th Yol mo sPrul sku did not include the transmission of the *bKa' brgyad rang byung rang shar* cycle in his *records of teachings received*. In his autobiography, the 5th Yol mo sPrul sku reports that he received religious instructions on this cycle around 1739/40. For these studies, see KDJNTh, fol. 14b. Cf. *supra*, note 73. In the *thob yig* of Brag dkar Chos kyi dbang phyug, it is noted that, as a fifteen-year-old, he had received empowerments and some reading transmissions (*lung thor bu*) from his teacher 'Phrin las bdud 'joms, though he was uncertain about details (ChBThY, p. 204). In the *records of teachings received* from other clerics in Mang yul, the reading transmission is indeed attested: Gur phu ba Nor bu bde chen received the transmission of the main teachings of this cycle from his teacher O rgyan bstan 'dzin nor bu in 1633, in the lineage via Chos rgyal dBang po'i sde and rDo rje brag Ngag gi dbang po (NDThY, p. 82). Gur phu ba rGyal sras seng ge received this cycle via rDo rje brag Padma 'phrin las from his teacher Khams lung Padma dbang gi rgyal po (GSThY, p. 365), and sNgo ra dBang phyug received the transmission from his teacher Kun bzang bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan in the transmission via rDo rje brag Padma 'phrin las and Khams lung Padma dbang rgyal (BDThY, p. 47). Cf. the transmission lineages in Smith (n.d.). Accordingly, this *bKa' brgyad* ritual tradition circulated precisely within those circles from which the 5th Yol mo sPrul sku had received the central teachings of the Northern Treasures.

⁹³ Among the less extensive ritual cycles are, among others, *gSang ba rmad du byung ba* (see *supra*, note 83), *rTa mgrin dregs pa dbang bsdu* (see *supra*, note 90) and *Zab lam bde stong rgya mtsho zhes thugs sgrub kyi gsang khrid zab mo* (see *supra*, note 88).

⁹⁴ Regarding texts from the later tradition, see *supra*, notes 75–78, 81, 88. 'Phrin las bdud 'joms mentions writings by tradents of the treasure tradition who were active in Central Tibet, Western Tibet, and Nepal from the 16th to the 18th century, including Legs ldan rdo rje (16th century), Chos rgyal bKra shis stobs rgyal *alias* dBang po'i sde (1550?–1603), Yol mo ba 03 bsTan 'dzin nor bu (1598–1644), Rig 'dzin Padma 'phrin las (1641–1717), rDo dmar Mi 'gyur rdo rje (b. 1675), and rDo dmar Padma rdo rje.

important supplementary writings from the later tradition that further illuminate the *byang gter* cycles.

Other extant *records of teachings received* from the rNying ma school are by no means as extensive as that of the 5th Yol mo sPrul sku. The *gsan yig* of sNgo ra dBang phyug rdo rje (c. 18th century), for instance, was composed around the same time as that of 'Phrin las bdud 'joms. dBang phyug rdo rje received the transmission of the Northern Treasures from several of the same teachers who had also instructed the 5th Yol mo sPrul sku—most notably his principal teacher, rDo dmar Kun bzang 'gyur med lhun grub (Cycles I and VII), as well as Khams lung Kun bzang bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan (Cycles II and III). The contents of the transmission dBang phyug rdo rje received from the rDo dmar family thus closely mirror those recorded in the *gsan yig* of 'Phrin las bdud 'joms. However, dBang phyug rdo rje additionally preserved the reading transmission of individual texts of the *bKa' brgyad rang byung rang shar* cycle (Cycle III), thereby supplementing our knowledge of a text cycle otherwise unrecorded in the *records of teachings received* of the 5th Yol mo sPrul sku (KDJSY). Two later *records of teachings received* from the rNying ma school—those of sTag lung rTse sprul Rin po che (TLThY) and gNas nang Ye shes bdud 'dul (YBSY), both dating to the 20th century—offer more recent testimonies of the transmission history of this treasure tradition.

The title lists of the individual cycles of the Northern Treasures preserved in the *records of teachings received* of the mDo chen bKa' brgyud school provide valuable insights into the scope and content of these collections as they were transmitted during the 17th and 18th centuries, particularly in Mang yul (Western Tibet). In the *gsan yig* of three prominent representatives of this school, title lists for seven of the core cycles (Cycles I, II, III, IV, V, VI, VII) are preserved. Among these, the *records* compiled by Nor bu bde chen—parts of which are explicitly dated to 1633—constitute the earliest known *records of teachings received* relating to the transmission of this treasure tradition. The transmission maintained by teachers of the mDo chen school active in Mang yul were passed down through a network of individuals and lineages that significantly overlap with those recorded in the *gsan yig* of the 5th Yol mo sPrul sku. A substantial portion of the transmitted *byang gter* teachings was disseminated through tradents active in Central Tibet (dBus), including Chos rgyal dBang po'i sde, rDo rje brag Rig 'dzin Ngag gi dbang po, and rDo rje brag Rig 'dzin Padma 'phrin las.

In the *gsan yig* of the 5th Dalai Bla ma Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho, individual titles for all nine core cycles of the treasure tradition are listed. As both a disciple of Zur chen Chos dbyings rang grol (1604–1669) and teacher of rDo rje brag Rig 'dzin Padma 'phrin las (1641–

1717), Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho was not only a tradent of the Northern Treasures but also deeply engaged with their transmission history. In composing his *gsan yig*, he collected prior available *records of teachings received* and compared their contents systematically. It is primarily through his efforts that we know of now-lost earlier *records of teachings received*—particularly those from the early rNying ma school—some of which date back to the late 15th century (see *supra*, 2.d, *Records of teachings received*). Drawing on the earliest systematic classification of the contents of the Northern Treasures—originally provided by mNga' ris Paṅ chen in the early 16th century—the 5th Dalai Lama organized the entire textual corpus of the Northern Treasures into 26 sections in his *records of teachings received* (see *supra*, note 29).

The *records of teachings received* of Brag dkar Chos kyi dbang phyug include title lists and transmission lineages that are identical or nearly identical in large part to those found in the *records of teachings received* of 'Phrin las bdud 'joms. This strongly suggests that he based his compilation on the text of his teacher.

A comprehensive evaluation of all *records of teachings received*—comparing their content and cross-referencing them with surviving manuscripts and printed editions to trace interrelationships and transmission lineages—would require a substantial, standalone study beyond the scope of this article.

Even provisional comparisons reveal considerable variation in number and arrangement of individual texts within the same text cycles. It should also be noted here that identifying identical text titles across different sources is often challenging. A single text may appear under different titles, be referenced only by abbreviated titles, or be described by its content rather than a formal title—making cross-source verification difficult or, in some cases, uncertain.

4.c On the transmission of the Northern Treasures

To engage in the practice of any specific teaching, a disciple requires not only the necessary empowerments (*dbang*) received from a teacher—along with the corresponding authorization to carry out the practice—but also the reading transmission (*lung*) of the text itself. The authenticity of this transmission is safeguarded through the lineage (*brgyud*), a chain of names representing the tradents, which is communicated to the disciple during the course of the transmission process. In his *gsan yig*, the 5th Yol mo sPrul sku recorded the lineage of the reading transmission for each ritual cycle. Moreover, his *records of teachings received* include alternative or secondary transmission lineages, which are marked here with the word “furthermore” (*yang*).

In certain instances, transmission lineages to particular empowerments are also provided.

Cycle I	<i>Kun tu bzang po'i dgongs pa zang thal</i> ⁹⁵
Cycle II	<i>Ka dag rang byung rang shar</i> ⁹⁶

⁹⁵ Transmission lineages: the *records of teachings received* distinguishes between three transmission strands (a, b, c): (a) (KDJSY, *nga*, fol. 4a2–b4) *lung*: i. Chos sku Kun bzang yab yum, ii. Long (=Longs) *sku *Zhi *khro rigs lnga, iii. rGyal ba rdo rje, iv. rDo rje sems dpa', v. dGa' rab rdo rje, vi. 'Jam dpal gshes (=bshes) ngyen, vii. Rig 'dzin Shri (=Shri) singha, viii. rGyal sras Padma 'byung gnas, ix. Pañ chen Bi (=Bi) ma [la] mi tra, x. sGra bsgyur Bai ro tsa na, xi. mNga' bdag *Khri srong lde btsan, xii. mkha' 'gro Ye shes mtsho rgyal. 1. Rig 'dzin dNgos grub rgyal mtshan, 2. (*sras mchog*) rNam rgyal mgon po, 3. 'Dren mchog rDo rje rgyal mtshan, 4. Rig 'dzin Sangs rgyas bstan pa, 5. Sprul sku Shākya bzang po, 6. Rig 'dzin mKhyen rtogs dbang po, 7. Rig 'dzin Sangs rgyas blo gros, 8. Nam mkha' rin chen, 9. Grub thob 'Chi med tshe ring, 10. Ngag dbang zil gnon rdo rje, 11. Padma ngag dbang chos 'phel, 12. rDo dmar Rig 'dzin Mi *gyur rdo rje, 13. (*de sras*) Rig 'dzin Padma rdo rje, 14. (*cung*) (=g*cung*) Kun bzang 'gyur med lhun grub 'od gsal bstan pa'i nyi ma, 15. (*bdag*) 'Phrin las bdud 'joms. —(b) 1. gTer ston, 2. Nam rgyal mgon po, 3. rDo rje *chang *bSod *nams bzang po, 4. mkhas grub Chos kyi rgyal mtshan, 5. mkhas btsun Chos kyi rin chen, 6. rje btsun Kun dga' rgyal mtshan, 7. Bya btang Shākya dpal bzang, 8. 'Jam dbyangs chos kyi rgyal mtshan, 9. Thugs sras Blo gros rgyal mtshan, 10. *mkhas *grub Byams pa bzang po, 11. sPrul sku Shākya rgyal mtshan, 12. rGyal thang pa Zil gnon rdo rje, 13. *Grub mchog Padma ngag dbang (*man gong bzhin*). —(c) 2. (*sras mchog*) *rNam rgyal mgon po, 3. Se ston *Nyi *bzang (*yab sras*), 4. Se ston *mGon po bzang po, 5. Se ston Rin chen rgyal mtshan, 6. Se ston Kun dga' bzang po, 7. Se ston Byang chub rdo rje, 8. Se ston Ngag dbang rdo rje, 9. Chos rje dPal ldan bkra shis, 10. rGyal thang pa Zil *gnon *rdo *rje, 11. *Grub mchog Padma ngag dbang, 12. Rig 'dzin Mi 'gyur rdo rje, 13. Padma rdo rje, 14. Kun bzang 'gyur med lhun grub, 15. (*bdag*) sNgags ban 'Phrin las bdud 'joms. Cf. ChBThY, fols. 74b–75a. —Transmission lineage (KDJSY, *da*, fol. 3a1–2): *lung*: 1. gTer ston (*yan phyi ltar*), ... [1.] Rig 'dzin Kun 'dus tshe dbang 'bar (*gong ltar dang*), [2.] Nam mkha'i dge 'dun, [3.] rje Kun bzang ye shes, [4.] (*bdag*). Cf. ChBThY, fol. 75a. Additional transmission lineages for the empowerments received by 'Phrin las bdud 'joms are documented (KDJSY, *da*, fol. 3a2–3). For an overview of the transmission of the cycle *Kun tu bzang po'i dgongs pa zang thal*, see Arguillère's compilation based on introductory texts (*khrid yig*); Arguillère 2018: 247 (Appendix).

⁹⁶ Transmission lineage: (KDJSY, *nga*, fol. 2a6–b3) *rgyab rten lung*: i. Chos sku Kun tu bzang po, ii. Long (=Longs) sku rDo rje sems dpa', iii. sPrul sku dGa' rab rdo rje, iv. Rig 'dzin Shri (=Shri) singha, (the lineage continues at the bottom of the page:) v. *O *rgyan *Padma *byung *gnas, vi. *Ye *shes *mtsho *rgyal. 1. Rig 'dzin *dNgos *grub *rgyal *mtshan, 2. Rig 'dzin *Nam *mkha' *grags *pa, 3. *sPang *ston *bDe legs rgyal *mtshan, (and the main text continues with the individuals:) 4. Se ston Rin chen rgyal mtshan, 5. mGon po zla ba, 6. 'Jam dbyangs chos kyi rgyal mtshan, 7. Thugs sras *Blo *gros rgyal mtshan, 8. Byams pa phun tshogs, 9. rNam grol ba Karma dar rgyas, 10. (*de sras*) rje btsun dBang gi rgyal po, 11. (*de dbon*) Rig 'dzin Mi 'gyur rdo rje, 12. (*sras mchog*) Rig *dzin Padma rdo rje, 13. (**gcung*) *Kun *bzang *gyur med lhun grub, 14. (*gnyis kas bdag*) 'Phrin las bdud 'joms. Cf. ChBThY, fol. 72r. —Transmission lineage (KDJSY, *da*, fol. 2b1–3) *dbang*: 1. gTer ston (*yan phyi ltar*), 2. (*sras mchog*) rNam rgyal mgon po, 3. rDo rje mgon po, 4. Ngag dbang grags pa, 5. Sangs rgyas dpal bzang, 6. Nam mkha' rgyal mtshan, 7. Ngag

Cycle IV	<i>rDo rje phur pa</i> ⁹⁷
Cycle V	<i>Thugs rje chen po 'gro ba kun grol</i> ⁹⁸
Cycle VI	<i>Rig 'dzin gdung sgrub</i> ⁹⁹

dbang rgya mtsho, 8. Tshe ring dbang po, 9. Klu sgrub dbang po, 10. Rol pa'i rdo rje, 11. Thugs mchog 'od 'bar, 12. Kun 'dus tshe dbang, 13. rje Kun bzang ye shes, 14. (*bdag*). Cf. ChBThY, fol. 72a–b.

⁹⁷ Transmission lineages: (a) (KDJSY, *ca*, fol. 13a3–b1) *dbang lung*: i. Chos sku Kun tu bzang po, ii. Long (=Longs) sku rDo rje sems dpa', iii. sPrul sku gSang bdag Phyag [na] rdo rje, iv. *sMug *nag dbang gi mkha' 'gro, v. Tshangs pa'i rgyal po *gdong *gsum, vi. lHa dbang rGya byin, vii. Klu rgyal 'Jog po, viii. rGyal po Dza, ix. mKhas pa Shakya (=Shākya) pra bha, x. Rig 'dzin Padma 'byung gnas, xi. mKhas pa Bi ma la mi tra, xii. Bal po Shri la *manydzu, xiii. mkha 'gro *Ye *shes mtsho rgyal, xiv. sNa nam rDo rje bdud 'joms. 1. Rig 'dzin dNgos grub rgyal mtshan, 2. (*sras mchog*) rNam rgyal mgon po, 3. rDo rje mgon po, 4. Ngag dbang grags pa, 5. Sangs rgyas dpal bzang, 6. Thugs sras Nam mkha' rgyal mtshan, 7. sNgags *chang *Shakya (=Shākya) *bzang po, 8. Rig 'dzin bDud 'joms rdo rje, 9. Chos rgyal Mang ga'i mtshan can, 10. Rig 'dzin Ngag gi dbang po, 11. Yol mo sPrul sku sTobs ldan dpa' bo, 12. Zur chen Chos dbyings rang grol, 13. Gang (=Gangs) can mgon? po? Thams? cad? mkhyen pa Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho, 14. Rig 'dzin chen po Padma 'phrin las, 15. Rig 'dzin Padma dbang gi rgyal po, 16. (*gnyis kas*) rDo rje bla ma Rig 'dzin Padma gsang sngags bstan 'dzin, 17. (*bdag*). Cf. ChBThY, fol. 90a–b. —(b) (fol. 13b2–3) (ChBThY adds: *spu gri'i dbang lung*): 1. *gTer *bton, 2. Sangs rgyas byams bzang, 3. Se ston Nyi ma bzang po, 4. Se ston mGon po bzang po, 5. Se ston Rin chen rgyal mtshan, 6. sPyan tshab mGon po zla ba, 7. Nub dgon mNyam med chen po (ChBThY adds: Byams pa chos kyi rgyal mtshan), 8. *Chos rgyal dBang po'i sde (*man 'dra*). Cf. ChBThY, fols. 90b–91a.

⁹⁸ Transmission lineages: (a) (KDJSY, *ca*, fols. 4b3–5a1) *rgyab rten lung*: i. *Chos *sku 'Od dpag med, ii. Long (=Longs) sku sPyan ras gzigs, iii. sPrul sku Padma 'byung gnas, iv. Las can dag pa'i 'khor lnga. 1. gTer bston (=ston) Rig 'dzin chen po dNgos grub rgyal mtshan, 2. (*sras mchog*) rNam rgyal *mgon *po, 3. Rig 'dzin Sangs rgyas bstan pa, 4. Sangs rgyas byams bzang, 5. Sangs rgyas dpal bzang, 6. Chos rgyal bsod nams, 7. Shākya bzang po, 8. Paṅ chen Padma dbang [rgyal], 9. Rig 'dzin Legs ldan rdo rje, 10. Chos rgyal dBang po'i sde, 11. Rig 'dzin Ngag gi dbang po, 12. sPrul sku bsTan 'dzin nor bu, 13. Zur chen Chos dbyings rang grol, (ChBThY added: 14. rGyal mchog lnga pa chen po), 15. sPrul sku Rig 'dzin chen po Kun bzang Padma 'phrin las, 16. *Khams lung Rig 'dzin Padma dbang gi rgyal po, 17. sNyags (=gNyags) ston Rig 'dzin Padma gsang sngags bstan 'dzin, 18. (*bdag*) 'Phrin las bdud 'joms. —(b) (KDJSY, *ca*, fol. 5a1–2) *gter gzhung rtsa ba'i dbang lung*: 12. sPrul sku bsTan 'dzin nor bu, 13. Rig 'dzin 'Chi med rgya mtsho, 14. Zil gnon dbang rgyal rdo rje, 15. (*pha jo*) rDo rje rig 'dzin Surya (=Sūrya) singha, 16. (*bdag rigs kyi bu*) 'Phrin las bdud 'joms. —(c) (KDJSY, *ca*, fol. 5a3) 13. *Zur *chen (*nas*), 14. Thams cad mkhyen pa rGyal dbang lnga pa chen po, 15. sTob (=sTobs) sras Zil gnon pa, 16. Thugs sras Sūrya'i mtshan can, 17. ['Phrin las bdud 'joms]. Cf. ChBThY, fols. 76b–77a.

⁹⁹ Transmission lineage: (KDJSY, *ca*, fols. 5b5–6a3) *lung*: i. Kun tu bzang po, ii. Rigs lnga'i sangs rgyas, iii. Phyag na rdo rje, iv. sMug nag dbang gi mkha' 'gro, v. Tshangs pa'i rgyal po, vi. lHa dbang rGya byin, vii. *Klu rgyal 'Jog *po, viii. *Chos rgyal lung stan (=bstan) *rDo *rje rgyal po Dza, ix. mKhas pa Shakya (=Shākya) pra bha, x. Rig 'dzin Padma 'byung gnas, xi. Slob dpon Bi (=Bi) ma la mi tra, xii. Bal po Shri (=Shrī) la *manydzu, xiii. mkha 'gro Ye shes mtsho rgyal, xiv. sNa nam rDo rje *bdud *joms. 1. gTer ston Rig 'dzin dNgos grub rgyal mtshan, 2. (*sras mchog*) rNam rgyal mgon po, 3. dPal ldan rgyal mtshan, 4. Grub chen rGyal mtshan

Cycle VII	<i>Thugs sgrub gu ru drag po rtsal</i> ¹⁰⁰
Cycle VIII	<i>rTen 'brel chos bdun</i> ¹⁰¹
Cycle IX	<i>Byang chub spyod dbang</i> ¹⁰²

'bum, 5. Bya btang bSam 'grub rgyal mtshan, 6. Chos rje dPal ldan seng ge, 7. Grub chen *dKon *mchog *skyabs, 8. *Paṅ *chen *Padma dbang rgyal, 9. Rig 'dzin Legs ldan rdo rje, 10. Chos rgyal dBang po'i sde, 11. Rig 'dzin Ngag gi dbang po, 12. Yol mo sPrul sku, 13. Zur *Chos dbyings rang grol, 14. *Rig 'dzin *Padma 'phrin las, 15. Padma *dbang rgyal, 16. (two illegible syllables) *Padma *gsang *sngags bstan 'dzin, 17. (*bdag*). Cf. ChBThY, fol. 78a.

¹⁰⁰ Transmission lineages: (a) (KDJSY, ca, fol. 9a3–b2) *lung*: i. Kun bzang Che mchog He ru ka, ii. rGyal ba rigs lnga, iii. gSang bdag Phyag [na] rdo rje, iv. sMug nag dbang gi mkha' 'gro, v. Tshangs pa'i rgyal po gdong gsum, vi. lHa dbang rgya byin, vii. Klu rgyal *jog po, viii. rGyal po Dza, ix. mKhas pa Shakya (=Shākya) pra bha, x. Rig 'dzin Padma 'byung gnas, xi. Paṅ chen Bi ma [la] mi tra, xii. Bal po *Shri la *manydzu, xiii. mkha' gro Ye shes mtsho rgyal, xiv. sNa nam rDo rje bdud 'joms. 1. gTer ston Rig 'dzin rGod ldem, 2. (*sras mchog*) rNam rgyal mgon po, 3. rDo rje dpal ba, 4. *rDo *rje *mgon po, 5. *Byams pa *bshes gnyen, 6. Ngag dbang grags pa, 7. Sangs rgyas dpal bzang, 8. Thugs sras Nam *mkha' rgyal mtshan, 9. sNgags 'chang Shakya (=Shākya) bzang po, 10. Rig 'dzin bDud 'joms rdo rje, 11. Chos rgyal dBang po'i sde, 12. (*sku'i sras*) Rig 'dzin Ngag gi dbang *po, 13. Rig 'dzin *Yol mo ba sTobs ldan dpa' bo, 14. (*gnyis kas*) *Zur chen Chos dbyings rang grol, 15. Rig 'dzin Gang shar rang *grol, 16. (*gnyis kas*) Rig 'dzin Padma 'phrin las, 17. Rig 'dzin Padma dbang rgyal, 18. (*gnyis kas*) Drin can bla ma gNyags ston Rig 'dzin Padma gsang sngags bstan 'dzin, 19. (*bdag*) Rig 'dzin 'Phrin las bdud 'joms. —(b) (fol. 9b2–4) 1. and 2. gTer ston (*yab sras*), 3. rDo rje 'chang *bSod *nams bzang po, 4. Gu ru dBang phyug mgon po, 5. Bla ma dPal ldan bzang po, 6. Grub chen bDe gshegs rgyal mtshan, 7. sNgags 'chang Chos rgyal bsod noms, 8. Rig 'dzin Sangs rgyas bstan pa, 9. *Shakya (=Shākya) *bzang *po (*man gong ltar*). —(c) (fol. 9b4) [1.] Sangs rgyas byams bzang, [2.] Chos rgyal bsod noms (*man 'dra*). —(d) (fol. 9b4–5) 2. (*sras mchog*), 3. gSang sngags sdong po, 4. dPal ldan rgyal mtshan, 5. rGyal mtshan 'bum, 6. bSam grub rgyal mtshan, 7. dPal ldan seng ge, 8. *dKon *mchog *skyabs, 9. Legs ldan rdo rje (*man 'dra*). —(e) (fol. 9b5–6) 1. gTer ston, 2. Sangs rgyas byams bzang, 3. bSe (=Se) ston mGon po bzang po, 4. bSe (=Se) ston Rin chen rgyal mtshan, 5. sPyan tshab mGon po zla ba, 6. Nub dgon Byams pa chos [kyi] rgyal mtshan, 7. *dBang *po'i *sde (*man 'dra*). —(f) (fol. 9b6) 1. gTer ston, 2. Nam mkha' grags pa, 3. sPangs (=sPang) ston bDe legs rgyal mtshan, 4. bSe (=Se) ston Rin chen rgyal mtshan (*man 'dra*). —(g) (fols. 9b6–10a1) [1.] Ngag gi dbang po, [2.] sTobs ldan dpa' bo, [3.] *sGam *smyon Phyag rdo rje *nor bu, [4.] Rig 'dzin Padma 'phrin las (*man 'dra*). Cf. ChBThY, fols. 82a–b. Additional transmission lineages associated with various empowerments are presented (KDJSY, ca, fols. 10a1–11a3).

¹⁰¹ Transmission lineage: (KDJSY, da, fol. 5b1–3) *lung*: i. Chos sku sNang ba mtha' yas, ii. sPyan ras gzigs, iii. O rgyan chen po, iv. mTsho rgyal, v. rDo rje phreng chung. 1. Rig 'dzin rGod ldem can, 2. rDo rje dpal ba, 3. Byams pa shes (=bshes) gnyen, 4. Sangs rgyas dpal bzang, 5. Nam mkha' rgyal mtshan, 6. Rig 'dzin Ngag dbang rgya mtsho, 7. Drin can Tshe ring dbang po, 8. Rang grol Klu sgrub dbang po, 9. Rig 'dzin Rol pa'i rdo rje, 10. Thugs mchog 'od bar, 11. Kun 'dus tshe dbang, 12. O rgyan bsTan 'dzin nor bu, 13. rje bKra bzang pa chen po, 14. (*bdag*). — (fol. 5b1–3) 13. (*yab rje*), 14. (*sras*) Padma dga' ba, 15. (*bdag*).

¹⁰² Transmission lineage: (KDJSY, da, fol. 4b3–6) *lung*: i. rNam par snang mdzad, ii. Thub dbang, iii. lHa dbang rgya byin, iv. Kun dga', v. Klu sgrub, vi. O rgyan chen Gu ru Shakya (=Shākya) seng ge, vii. rDo rje bdud 'joms. 1. *rGod *ldem can, 2. *rNam rgyal mgon po, 3. rDo rje dpal ba, 4. rDo rje mgon po, 5. and 6. *mTshan

For eight of the aforementioned core cycles of the Northern Treasures (Cycles I, II, IV, V, VI, VII, VIII, IX), the *gsan yig* of the 5th Yol mo sPrul sku provides the transmission history in the form of teacher–disciple chains. These records distinguish between the transmission of empowerments (*dbang*), reading transmission (*lung*), and practical instructions (*khrid*) on the teaching contents. Often, multiple transmission lineages are recorded for the reading transmission, as well as various types of empowerments. A selection of six of these transmission lineages (A through F)—which include the transmission of the two *rdzogs chen* cycles (Cycles I and II) and the three cycles associated with ritual practices centered on Padmasambhava (Cycles V, VI, VII)—is presented in Appendix 1 and will be outlined below.

Northern Treasure Transmission Lineages
A (App. 1, Table 1) and B (App. 1, Table 2)

The transmission of the Northern Treasures began in the second half of the 14th century. By the early 16th century, the transmission extended across approximately five to seven generations of disciples, who were mainly active in La stod byang (bKra bzang, bDe grol) and La stod lho (Shri ri). Aside from the extant *records of teachings received*, there are few narrative sources detailing the transmission history of this period, with occasional transmission lineages scattered across the colophons of individual texts.¹⁰³ The most influential figure during this time, aside from Rig 'dzin rGod ldem, was his son rNam rgyal mgon po (c. 1399–1424), who died at a young age and, according to the *records of teachings received* available to us, through whom virtually the entire transmission was passed down. Many of the tradents from this time, comprising a circle of approximately 35 individuals in the *records of teachings received* of the 5th Yol mo sPrul sku, are otherwise largely

*Idan bla ma *rnam gnyis*, 7. Sangs rgyas dpal bzang, 8. Kun dga' don grub, 9. Kun dga' lhun grub, 10. Shakya (=Shākya) bzang po, 11. Pan (=Pan) chen Padma dbang rgyal, 12. *cung* (=gcung) Legs *Idan *rje, 13. dBang po'i sde, 14. (*sras*) Ngag gi dbang po, 15. Chos dbang lhun grub, 16. Ngag dbang Shakya (=Shākya) rgyal mtshan, 17. Rig 'dzin 'Phrin las lhun grub, 18. (*sras*) gTer chen 'Gyur med rdo rje, 19. Rig 'dzin Padma 'phrin las, 20. O rgyan bsTan 'dzin nor bu, 21. rJe *bKra bzang pa chen po, 22. (*bdag*). Cf. ChBThY, fols. 94b–95a. —Another transmission lineage (KDJSY, *da*, fols. 4b6–5a1) *lung*: 14. Ngag gi dbang po (*yan gong ltar*), (*de nas*) 15. Yol mo ba chen po, 16. Zur Chos dbyings rang grol, 17. Padma 'phrin las (*man gong ltar*).

¹⁰³ For the transmission lineage provided by Karma bdud 'joms for a single text, see, e.g. *Yang tig gces sgron gyi khrid* (KDJSY, *ca*, fol. 11a3–6).

unknown, except for a few mentioned in biographical sources.¹⁰⁴ For this period, six fixed transmission lineages are listed in the *records of teachings received* of 'Phrin las bdud 'joms, with minor variations or side branches noted in some cases. These lineages document the reading transmission of the *byang gter* ritual cycles.

After the early 16th century, the Northern Treasures began to spread beyond the La stod region. A particularly influential figure in this expansion was the 1st Yol mo sPrul sku Shākya bzang po (died c. 1541), who served as a teacher and ritual specialist of the Northern Treasures not only in La stod byang but also in regions along the Tibetan–Nepalese border (Gung thang, Mang yul, Glo bo) and later in Helambu (Nepal). His two most important disciples, who later propagated this religious tradition in Central Tibet (*dbus*) and Southern Tibet, were the aforementioned brothers from mNga' ris, who studied with him for several years in sKyid rong (Gung thang), dKar ye (Mang yul), and Glo bo.¹⁰⁵ mNga' ris Paṅ chen later brought the teaching transmission to 'On (Central Tibet), while his younger brother Rig 'dzin bDud 'joms rdo rje introduced it to 'Bras mo gshongs (Southern Tibet).

The further transmission in Central Tibet continued through Chos rgyal bKra shis stobs rgyal (1550?–1603) and his son Rig 'dzin Ngag gi dbang po (1580–1639), both of whom were recognized as reincarnations of the two mNga' ris brothers. With the founding of the monastery rDo rje brag by Ngag gi dbang po, this site emerged in the 17th century as the new center for the dissemination of the Northern Treasures. The associated religious traditions thus became institutionalized in Central Tibet. The 3rd Yol mo sPrul sku bsTan 'dzin nor bu (1598–1644), a member of this transmission lineage, continued the transmission to Zur chen Chos dbyings rang grol (1604–1669), until it reached, through the 5th Dalai Bla ma Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho, the rDo rje brag Rig 'dzin Padma 'phrin las (1641–1717), who is considered a rebirth of Ngag gi dbang po. From this branch of transmission, which was primarily centered at the rDo rje brag Monastery in the 17th and 18th centuries and later continued through representatives of the Khams lung family to Mang yul, the 5th Yol mo sPrul sku received teachings of the *thugs sgrub rnam gsum* ritual cycles (Cycles V, VI, VII) and the Vajrakīla cycle (Cycle IV) in the years 1742

¹⁰⁴ The tradents of transmission lineage A, from Rig 'dzin rGod ldem to Sangs rgyal dpal bzang, are documented in the biographical collection NThOPh compiled by Sangs rgyas dpal bzang. See *supra*, note 43.

¹⁰⁵ For the transmission of the Northern Treasures from the 1st Yol mo sPrul sku Shākya bzang po to his two disciples from mNga' ris, see *supra*, note 65.

and 1747 from his teacher Khams lung Rig 'dzin Padma gsang sngags bstan 'dzin, presumably in dNgos grub phug (Mang yul).¹⁰⁶

The transmission of the Northern Treasures in this branch, which occurred via Central Tibet, is extensively documented in biographical sources.¹⁰⁷ The rDo rje brag Monastery emerged as the new center for the dissemination of the Northern Treasures. The *byang gter* text collections attributed to Rig 'dzin rGod ldem were further expanded by the tradents of this branch, starting from the two brothers from mNga' ris up to rDo rje brag sPrul sku Padma 'phrin las, with a multitude of supplementary writings added over time.¹⁰⁸

Transmission Lineage C (App. 1, Table 3)

In this transmission via the rDo rje brag Monastery, Karma bdud 'joms had already received the empowerments for the cycle *Thugs rje chen po 'gro ba kun grol* from his father Rig 'dzin Nyi ma seng ge (1687–1738) during childhood. His father, in turn, had received the transmission through his main teacher, the 4th Yol mo sPrul sku Zil gnon dbang rgyal rdo rje (1647–1716) and from the latter's father Rig 'dzin 'Chi med rgya mtsho.¹⁰⁹

Alongside this transmission—which extended from La stod byang to Central Tibet (dBus) in the early 16th century—the transmission of the teachings continued to exist in western Central Tibet. The *records of teachings received* of the 5th Yol mo sPrul sku contain several teacher-disciple lineages that show the Northern Treasures were transmitted to *Mang yul*, either directly from *La stod byang* (Transmission Lineages D and E), or that the transmission had been continuously maintained

¹⁰⁶ The transmission of the text cycles *Thugs sgrub gu ru drag po rtsal* (Cycle VII) and *Rig 'dzin gdung sgrub* (Cycle VI) within these branches of transmission is presented in the appendix, *infra*, Appendix 1 (Table 1, and Table 2).

¹⁰⁷ The sources documenting the transmission of the Northern Treasures within this branch include biographical and autobiographical accounts of the lives of mNga' ris Paṅ chen Padma dbang rgyal (1487–1542) and his brother Legs ldan rdo rje (born 1500/12?), as well as the biographies of the Yol mo sPrul skus—namely the 3rd Yol mo sPrul sku bsTan 'dzin nor bu (1598–1644), the 4th Yol mo sPrul sku Zil gnon dbang rgyal rdo rje (1647–1716), and the 5th Yol mo sPrul sku Karma 'phrin las bdud 'joms (1726–1789). Biographies are also available for Chos rgyal bKra shis stobs rgyal (1550?–1603) and two abbots of the rDo rje brag Monastery, Ngag gi dbang po (1580–1639) and Padma 'phrin las (1641–1717), in addition to the accounts of Rig 'dzin Nyi ma seng ge (1687–1738) and Brag dkar rta so Chos kyi dbang phyug (1775–1837).

¹⁰⁸ The 5th Yol mo sPrul sku refers to these works in his *gsan yig*. See *supra*, note 94.

¹⁰⁹ See the lineage in KDJSY, *ca*, fol. 5a. See *supra*, note 98. The transmission of the text cycle *Thugs rje chen po 'gro ba kun grol* (Cycle V) within this branch of lineage is presented in the appendix, *infra*, Appendix 1 (Table 3).

in La stod byang from its inception in the 14th century through to the 18th century (Transmission lineage F).

Transmission Lineage D (App. 1, Table 4)

The transmission of the *byang gter* text cycles also continued circulating within religious circles in La stod byang. A branch transmission of the *rdzogs chen* cycle *Kun tu bzang po'i dgongs pa zang thal* was preserved primarily through members of the Se ston family. Starting with Se ston Nyi ma bzang po, who as a direct disciple of Rig 'dzin rGod ldem and authored the first and most influential hagiography of his teacher, the other tradents in this family remain largely unknown. However, according to the historical chronicle by Gu ru bKra shis, the Se family later came to occupy the bKra bzang monastery.¹¹⁰ From there, the transmission reached rGyal thang pa Zil gnon rdo rje, who resided in Ling ba (*var. lect.* Ling nga) Brag dmar rdzong (Mang yul), a former retreat site of the yogin Mi la ras pa located near the monastery Brag dkar rta so.¹¹¹ The 5th Yol mo sPrul sku received the *rdzogs chen* teachings in this transmission lineage from clerics of the rDo dmar family (his maternal relatives), who had settled in the Tibetan-Nepalese border region Glang 'phrang (Northern Nepal) in the early 18th century. These clerics were also active in Mang yul as teachers and ritual specialists. In 1751, rDo dmar 'Gyur med lhun grub transmitted the reading transmission of this *rdzogs chen* cycle to the 5th Yol mo sPrul sku in gNas chen Zla gam gnam sgo (Glang 'phrang).¹¹²

Transmission Lineage E (App. 1, Table 5)

Another transmission lineage for the *Kun tu bzang po'i dgongs pa zang thal* cycle is recorded. Originating with Rig 'dzin rGod ldem and his son, the ritual cycle was passed down to tradents in the La stod byang

¹¹⁰ The historian Gu ru bKra shis reports that the Se family was split into the branches Se mKhar ba and Se bKra bzang pa. According to this source, the bKra bzang Monastery was founded by Rig 'dzin rGod ldem and later served as the residence of his son, rNam rgyal mgon po. It subsequently became the seat of the Se ston family branch, which included figures such as bKra bzang pa Se ston Padma dbang chen, Tshe dbang rig 'dzin, Nam mkha' rig 'dzin, Thugs mchog 'od 'bar, Se ston Kun bzang 'dzam gling rdo rje, and others; see GKChB, p. 664. Cf. Martin 1991: 334; Gung thang bsTan 'dzin nor bu 2018: 380–382.

¹¹¹ On rGyal thang pa Zil gnon rdo rje and his significance in the dissemination of the Northern Treasures, see Ehrhard 2008: 76, note 28; 103–104, note 4. Gur phu ba Nor bu bde chen also received the transmission of individual ritual cycles from this treasure tradition from Zil gnon rdo rje, see *ibid.*: 113, note 14.

¹¹² The transmission of the text cycle *Kun tu bzang po'i dgongs pa zang thal* (Cycle I) within this branch of the lineage is presented in the appendix, *infra*, Appendix 1 (Table 4).

region, most of whom are known only by name. The transmission of the Northern Treasures was continued through Nub dgon 'Jam dbyangs [=Byams pa] chos kyi rgyal mtshan (1511–1571) and Thugs sras Blo gros rgyal mtshan (16th century), who were based in the Nub dgon Monastery in La stod byang, north of Gung thang.¹¹³ From there, the transmission reached rGyal thang pa Zil gnon rdo rje, who resided further south in Ling ba Brag dmar rdzong (Mang yul). The 5th Yol mo sPrul sku received the reading transmission of this *rdzogs chen* cycle from his relatives of the rDo dmar family in Glang 'phrang.¹¹⁴

Transmission Lineage F (App. 1, Table 6)

The *records of teachings received* of the 5th Yol mo sPrul sku also provide a transmission tradition that, according to this account, seems to have been continuously maintained in La stod byang from its inception, most likely centered in Ri bo bkra bzang, the origin of this treasure tradition. Initially, the transmission was passed from Rig 'dzin rGod ldem all the way to Sangs rgyas dpal bzang, and then continued through Thugs sras Nam mkha' rgyal mtshan (1454–1541). It was further transmitted by other lesser-known teachers from La stod byang, some of whom were members of the bKra bzang family. Within this transmission tradition, the 5th Yol mo sPrul sku received empowerments, reading transmissions, and direct instructions for a large part of the principal cycles of the Northern Treasures (Cycles I, II, VI, VII, VIII, IX), including the *Ka dag rang byung rang shar* cycle. He received these transmissions in 1760 and 1761, during his visit to *gNas chen Ri rgyal bkra bzang Monastery*, where he was initiated into the Northern Treasures ritual cycles from *bKra bzang pa Kun bzang ye shes*. This transmission upheld a long-standing tradition that had been preserved at the place of origin for nearly four centuries.¹¹⁵

A preliminary comparison of the transmission lineages preserved in the *records of teachings received* of the 5th Yol mo sPrul sku with those available in the *gsan yig* literature from the mDo chen bKa' brgyud school and from the 5th Dalai Bla ma reveals a consistent pattern

¹¹³ For the location of Nub dgon Monastery, see Ehrhard 1997: 257, note 10; Ehrhard 2008: 26. A brief outline of the history of the Nub dgon Monastery is provided by Gung thang bsTan 'dzin nor bu 2018: 396–397. For Nub dgon Byams pa chos kyi rgyal mtshan, see Ehrhard 1997: 69, note 19. Chos rgyal bKra shis thob rgyal also received the transmission of the Northern Treasures from Byams pa chos kyi rgyal mtshan in 1556 at Nub dgon. See *ibid.*: 69, note 19.

¹¹⁴ The transmission of the text cycle *Kun tu bzang po'i dgongs pa zang thal* (Cycle I) within this branch of the lineage is presented in the appendix, *infra*, Appendix 1 (Table 5).

¹¹⁵ The transmission of the text cycle *Ka dag rang byung rang shar* (Cycle II) within this branch of the lineage is presented in the appendix, *infra*, Appendix 1 (Table 6).

among the tradents of the Northern Treasures in La stod byang. A fixed group of individuals is regularly named across various records, with considerable overlap. Beyond the tradition's region of origin, the transmission of these individual ritual cycles continued through several locally adapted lineages, shaped by the specific area of dissemination and the particular school into which they were integrated.

Concluding remarks

Source texts of the doctrinal teachings and ritual cycles of the Northern Treasures have come down to us in considerable quantity—primarily as closed corpora of texts belonging to individual teaching cycles (*chos skor*) and preserved in manuscript form, but later also compiled into larger collections and published as block prints. An assessment of the transmission history of these source texts requires a thorough investigation of both the manuscript and print sources. The individual editions differ considerably in scope and content. Also included in the cycles were tables of contents (*them/thems byang*, *tho byang*), which document the scope of the text collections at an early stage. For research into the history of transmission of these text collections, a number of additional sources are available to us—including particularly biographical sources, epitomes (*spyi chings*), and *records of teachings received* (*gsan yig*). Given that the transmission of the Northern Treasures began in the 14th century, the *records of teachings received* preserved from the 17th and 18th centuries must be considered relatively late witnesses to the history of transmission. The *records of teachings received* authored by the 5th Yol mo sPrul sku, which has been examined here, is—among all known examples from the rNying ma school—the earliest extant source of its kind, and the most detailed account regarding the content and transmission history of the Northern Treasures of Rig 'dzin rGod ldem. In the course of receiving the reading transmission for the individual ritual cycles, Karma 'phrin las bdud 'joms carefully recorded the individual titles in his records of received teachings, thereby providing us with an accurate account of the scope and contents of these textual collections as they circulated in the 18th century in Mang yul (Western Tibet) and Glang 'phrang (Northern Nepal). 'Phrin las bdud 'joms received the doctrinal teachings and ritual cycles at various training sites in Mang yul, Glang 'phrang, and Helambu, and—following his journey to the place of origin of this treasure tradition—in bKra bzang (La stod byang), drawing on multiple lineages of transmission. The transmission lineages documented in his *records of teachings received* testify to a complex transmission history of the ritual cycles, which—beginning in

the 14th century in La stod byang—extended extended to Central Tibet (dBus) as well as to the Tibetan-Nepalese border regions of Mang yul, Gung thang, Glang 'phrang, and Helambu. A comparative evaluation of other *records of teachings received*, examined from the same perspective, may help to refine and expand the insights gained from this particular source. This remains a task for future research, and is particularly linked to the hope that some of the early specimens of *records of teachings received*—listed in the present article as “not preserved”—may eventually become accessible for investigation in the near future. Such materials could offer valuable insight into earlier stages of the transmission history, particularly from the late 15th or early 16th century, as they have already been brought to our knowledge fragmentarily through the *gsan yig* of the 5th Dalai Bla ma, especially in the course of his discussion of the contents of the *records of teachings received* relating to the Northern Treasures.

Bibliography

Abbreviations (Databases of digital and microfilmed source texts)

BDRC Buddhist Digital Resource Center, <https://www.bdrc.io>
 NGMPP Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project
<https://catalogue.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de>

Tibetan sources

- BDThY sNgo ra dBang phyug rdo rje (c. 18th century). *Thob yig zin bris su bkod pa yid bzhin nor bu'i gter mdzod*. Delhi: Chopel Legdan, 1979. (BDRC, W21025).
- BTBGNTTh Bya btang Phyag rdor nor bu (c. 16th–17th century). *Byang gter bla ma brgyud pa'i rnam thar bsam 'phel ma ni ka'i 'phreng ba*. In BTChK, vol. 59, pp. 457–546.
- BTBGR sPrul sku Tshul khriims bzang po (19th–20th century). *Byang gter bla ma'i brgyud pa'i rim pa*. In *gSung 'bum*, vol. 8, fols. 52b–63b. (BDRC, W1PD26799).
- BTChK sNga 'gyur byang gter chos skor phyogs bsgrigs. 63 vols. n.pl.: *Byang gter dpe sgrig tshogs chung*, 2015. (BDRC, W2PD17457).
- BTNTTh *Byang gter lugs kyi rnam thar dang ma 'ongs lung bstan (Collected Biographies and Prophecies of the Byang gter Tradition)*. Gangtok: Sherab Gyaltzen and Lama Dawa, 1983. (BDRC, W27866).

- BTRPh Se'i Grub chen Padma dbang chen (16th–17th century). *Byang gter chos skor rnam kyī spyi chings rin chen 'phreng ba*. Ladakh, 1972. (BDRC, W23375).
- BTSNT mNga' ris Pañ chen Padma dbang rgyal (1487–1542). *Byang gter chos skor rnam kyī spyi chings gsal byed nor bu'i gter*. In *gSung thor bu*, n.pl., n.d. (BDRC, W3CN18537).
- BTThG *Byañ gter thugs sgrub gyi skor: A collection of texts from the revelations of Rig-'dzin Rgod-kyi-ldem-'phru-can concerned with the gsañ sgrub practice*. Darjeeling: Lama Dawa and Chopal Lama, 1984. (BDRC, W27870).
- ChBThY Brag dkar rta so Chos kyī dbang phyug (1775–1837). *Zab rgyas chos tshul rgya mtsho las / rang skal du ji ltar thob pa'i yi ge rnam grol bdud rtsi'i bum bzang*. In *Brag dkar chos kyī dbang phyug gi gsung 'bum*, vol. ga. (NGMPP, L377/3).
- ChGNTh sNgags 'chang Chos rgyal bsod nams (c. 15th–16th century). *Rig 'dzin chos rgyal bsod nams kyī rnam thar*. In BTNTh, pp. 235–250.
- DChThY *mDo chen bka' brgyud kyī thob yig skor*. Dalhousie: Dam-choe Sangpo, 1980. (BDRC, W23754).
- DJBGB Yon do mChog sprul Kun bzang 'gro 'dul rdo rje (c. 19th–20th century). *gSang chen snga 'gyur rnying ma pa'i gdan sa chen po dpal thub bstan rdo rje brag e wañ lcog sgar chos 'khor rnam rgyal gling dgon gyi byung ba mdo tsam brjod pa ngo mtshar baidūrya'i phreng ba*. [Reprint edition, n.pl., 2004], (BDRC, W00KH03797).
- DLSY Dalai Bla ma 05 Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho (1617–1682). *Record of teachings received: The gSan-yig of the Fifth Dalai Lama Nag-dbañ-blo-bzañ-rgya-mtsho*. 4 vols. Delhi: Nechung & Lhakhar, 1970–71. (BDRC, W30183).
- GDNTh Se ston Nyi ma bzang po (c. 14th–15th century). *sPrul sku chen po'i rnam thar gsal byed nyi ma'i 'od zer*. In BTNTh, pp. 49–147.
- GKChB sTag sgang mKhas mchog Ngag dbang blo gros alias Gu ru bKra shis (b. 18th century). *bsTan pa'i snying po gsang chen snga 'gyur nges don zab mo'i chos kyī byung ba gsal bar byed pa'i legs bshad mkhas pa dga' byed ngo mtshar gtam gyi rol mtsho (Gu bkra'i chos 'byung)*. Pe cin: Krung go'i bod kyī shes rig dpe skrun khang, 1990. (BDRC, W20916).
- GSThY Gur phu ba rGyal sras seng ge (d. 1752). *bKa' drin mnyam med chos kyī rje / gter bdag gling pa'i rgyal ba'i sras / 'gyur med yid bzhin las (=legs) grub zhabs / zab mo'i chos kyī thob yig*. In DchThY, pp. 265–307. *bKa' drin mtshungs med bla ma rje / bstan pa'i nor bu'i zhabs drung du / gsang sngags bka' gter dbyer med kyis / rgyal sras seng ge'i thob yig*. *Ibid.*, pp. 333–356. rDor

brag rigs (=rig) 'dzin chen po'i thugs sras / nub dgon pa sngags 'chang rigs (=rig) 'dzin padma dbang gi rgyal po nas / bdag rgyal sras seng ges dbang lung thob pa'i yig chung zur bkod. Ibid., pp. 357–377.

- KDBNTh rDo rje brag Rig 'dzin Padma 'phrin las (1641–1717). *bKa' ma mdo dbang gi bla ma brgyud pa'i rnam thar*. Leh: S. W. Tashigangpa, 1972. (BDRC, W21523).
- KDJNTh Yol mo sPrul sku 05 Karma 'phrin las bdud 'joms (1726–1789) and Tshe dbang 'chi med mgon po (1755–1807). *Rig 'dzin chen po karma bdud 'joms zhabs kyi rnam pa thar pa gsal bar byed pa'i nyin byed ngo mtshar snang ba'i gter mdzod*. Delhi: Dawa Lama, 1982. (BDRC, W22982).
- KDJSY Yol mo sPrul sku 05 Karma 'phrin las bdud 'joms (1726–1789). *Rig 'dzin bla ma karma bdud 'joms zhabs kyi gsan yig gi rim pa rnam phyogs gcig tu sgrigs pa zab rgyas chos kyi gan mdzod*. (NGMPP, L382/2).
- KZNTTh Yol mo sPrul sku 05 Karma 'phrin las bdud 'joms (1726–1789). *Kun bzang 'gyur med lhun grub 'od gsal bstan pa'i nyi ma'i rnam thar gsol 'debs*. (NGMPP, L382/21).
- LDNTh mNga' ris Rig 'dzin Legs ldan bdud 'joms rdo rje (b. 1500/12?). *Rig 'dzin mnga' ris pa chen po legs ldan bdud 'joms rdo rje'i rnam thar chen mo*. In BTChK, vol. 59, pp. 217–304.
- NDThY Gur phu ba Nor bu bde chen (b. 1617). *rGyal dbang padma k̄ara yi / rnam 'phrul mchog gi sprul pa'i sku / bstan 'dzin nor bu'i zhabs drung du / bka' gter zab chos thob yig*. In DchThY, pp. 75–95. No title. *Ibid.*, pp. 97–190. *Byin rlabs thugs rje'i sprin spung can / ngag dbang zil gnon rdo rje las / zab rgyas smin grol dam chos kyi / thob yig utpala 'phreng tshogs*. *Ibid.*, pp. 461–487.
- NKhNTh Nam mkha' bsod nams dpal (15th–16th century). *Thugs sras nam mkha' rgyal mtshan gyi rnam thar*. In BTNTh, pp. 207–234.
- NThOPh Sangs rgyas dpal bzang (c. 15th century). *Bla ma rnam kyi rnam thar 'od kyi 'phreng ba*. In BTNTh, pp. 173–206.
- NyBGP Rig 'dzin rGod kyi ldem 'phru can (1337–1408/09). *sNying byang rgyas pa gnad gyi thim bu*. In BTNTh, pp. 299–319.
- PBGNTTh mNga' ris Pañ chen Padma dbang rgyal (1487–1542). *Yongs rdzogs bstan pa'i mnga' bdag nges pa don gyi pañ chen mnga' ris pa padma dbang rgyal rdo rje grags pa rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po'i rtogs pa brjod pa rin chen phreng ba*. In gSung thor bu, n.pl., n.d. (BDRC, W3CN18537).
- PGThY Gur phu ba Padma rgya mtsho (c. 18th century). *Rig 'dzin chen po padma dbang rgyal gyi zhabs drung du byang gter sgrub*

- bskor* (=skor) *rnams* (=rnam) *gsum gyi thob yig*. In DchThY, pp. 419–448 (incomplete).
- PKNL Rig 'dzin rGod kyi ldem 'phru can (1337–1408/09). *sPrul sku rig 'dzin chen po'i mnal lam le'u brgyad pa*. In BTNTh, pp. 159–172.
- RDzGTh Rig 'dzin rGod kyi ldem 'phru can (1337–1408/09). *Rig 'dzin rtsa ba'i sgrub thabs*. In *Rig 'dzin gduñ sgrub kyi chos skor*. Gangtok: Bari Longsal Lama, 1981, pp. 111–128. (BDRC, W23449).
- SSNTh Yol mo sPrul sku 05 Karma 'phrin las bdud 'joms (1726–1789). *Gu ru sūrya seng ge'i rnam thar mdor bsdus nges shes 'dren pa'i shing rta*. (NGMPP, E2691/6).
- TGSY gTer bdag gling pa 'Gyur med rdo rje (1646–1714). *gTer bdag gling pa'i gsan yig*. In *bKa' brgyad drag po rang byung rang shar*. vol. 1, pp. 189–193. (BDRC, W1KG11884).
- TLThY sTag lung rTse sprul Rin po che [Tshe bshad sgrub nyin byed phrin las bzang po] (born c. 1926). *Byang gter chos skor khag gi thob yig*. In BTChK, vol. 63, pp. 137–217.
- YBSY gNas nang Ye shes bdud 'dul (20th. century). *Byang gter ma bu'i chos skor gyi gsan yig*. In BTChK, vol. 63, pp. 219–326.

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**Appendix 1: The transmission of the Northern Treasures
according to the records of teachings received
of Karma ’phrin las bdud ’joms**

Transmission lineage A
Thugs sgrub gu ru drag po rtsal (Cycle VII)

La stod byang

1. gTer ston Rig ’dzin rGod ldem (1337–1408/09)
2. Sras mchog rNam rgyal mgon po (c. 1399–1424)
3. [Drin mchog] rDo rje dpal ba
4. [sNgags ’chang] rDo rje mgon po
5. [mTshan ldan] Byams pa bshes gnyen
6. [mTshan ldan] Ngag dbang grags pa
7. [Drin can] Sangs rgyas dpal bzang
8. Thugs sras Nam mkha’ rgyal mtshan (1454–1541)

Gung thang, Mang yul, Glo bo

9. [1st Yol mo sPrul sku] sNgags ’chang Shākya bzang po (died c. 1541)

IHo kha (Central Tibet), ’Bras mo gshongs (Southern Tibet)

10. Rig ’dzin [Legs ldan] bdud ’joms rdo rje (b. 1500/12?)
11. Chos rgyal [bKra shis stobs rgyal] dBang po’i sde (1550?–1603)
12. (*sku’i sras*) [1st rDo rje brag] Rig ’dzin Ngag gi dbang po (1580–1639)
13. Rig ’dzin [3rd] Yol mo ba sTobs ldan dpa’ bo (1598–1644)
14. (*gnyis kas*) Zur chen Chos dbyings rang grol (1604–1669)
15. [5th Dalai Bla ma] Rig ’dzin Gang shar rang grol (1617–1682)
16. (*gnyis kas*) [2nd rDo rje brag] Rig ’dzin Padma ’phrin las (1641–1717)

Mang yul

17. [Khams lung] Rig ’dzin Padma dbang rgyal (1657–1731)

18. (*gnyis kas*) [Khams lung] gNyags ston Rig 'dzin Padma gsang sngags bstan 'dzin
19. (*bdag*) [5th Yol mo ba] Rig 'dzin 'Phrin las bdud 'joms (1726–1789)

Table 1: The reading transmission of the ritual cycle *Thugs grubs drag po rtsal* (VII) was received by Karma 'phrin las bdud 'joms in 1742 in Mang yul (? dNgos grub phug) from his teacher Padma gsang sngags bstan 'dzin from the Khams lung family (KDJSY, *ca*, fol. 9a–b; KDJNTh, fol. 17a–b). This transmission closely corresponds to the one through which the Vajrakīla cycle was conferred in the same year via the same Khams lung teacher. In that case, the transmission passed directly from (2) rNam rgyal mgon po to (3) rDo rje mgon po and from him to (4) Ngag dbang grags pa (KDJSY, *ca*, fol. 13a–b; KDJNTh, fol. 17a–b).

Transmission lineage B
Rig 'dzin gdung sgrub (Cycle VI)

La stod byang

1. gTer ston Rig 'dzin dNgos grub rgyal mtshan (1337–1408/09)
2. Sras mchog rNam rgyal mgon po (c. 1399–1424)
3. [Grub chen] dPal ldan rgyal mtshan
4. Grub chen rGyal mtshan 'bum
5. Bya btang bSam 'grub rgyal mtshan
6. Chos rje dPal ldan seng ge
7. Grub chen dKon mchog skyabs

IHo kha (Central Tibet), 'Bras mo gshongs (Southern Tibet)

8. [mNga' ris] Paṅ chen Padma dbang rgyal (1487–1542)
9. Rig 'dzin Legs ldan [bdud 'joms] rdo rje (b. 1500/12?)
10. Chos rgyal [bKra shis stobs rgyal] dBang po'i sde (1550?–1603)
11. [1st rDo rje brag] Rig 'dzin Ngag gi dbang po (1580–1639)
12. [3rd] Yol mo sPrul sku [bsTan 'dzin nor bu] (1598–1644)
13. Zur Chos dbyings rang grol (1604–1669)
14. [2nd rDo rje brag] Rig 'dzin Padma 'phrin las (1641–1717)

Mang yul

15. [Khams lung] Padma dbang rgyal (1657–1731)
16. [Khams lung] rDo rje bla ma Padma gsang sngags bstan 'dzin
17. (*bdag*) [5th Yol mo sPrul sku] 'Phrin las bdud 'joms (1726–1789)

Table 2: Empowerments, reading transmission and extensive instructions for the cycle *Rig 'dzin gdung sgrub* (VI) were conferred upon 'Phrin las bdud 'joms in 1747 in Mang yul (? dNgos grub phug), by his teacher Khams lung Padma gsang sngags bstan 'dzin (KDJSY, ca, fol. 6a; KDJNTh, fol. 23a–b).

Transmission lineage C
Thugs rje chen po 'gro ba kun grol (Cycle V)

La stod byang

1. gTer bston (=ston) Rig 'dzin chen po dNgos grub rgyal mtshan (1337–1408/09)
2. Sras mchog rNam rgyal mgon po (c. 1399–1424)
3. Rig 'dzin Sangs rgyas bstan pa
4. [Rig 'dzin] Sangs rgyas byams bzang
5. [Drin can] Sangs rgyas dpal bzang
6. [sNgags 'chang] Chos rgyal bsod nams (1442–1509)

Gung thang, Mang yul, Glo bo

7. [1st Yol mo sPrul sku] Shākya bzang po (died c. 1541)

IHo kha (Central Tibet), 'Bras mo gshongs (Southern Tibet)

8. [mNga' ris] Pañ chen Padma dbang [rgyal] (1487–1542)
9. Rig 'dzin Legs ldan [bdud 'joms] rdo rje (b. 1500/12?)
10. Chos rgyal [bKra shis stobs rgyal] dBang po'i sde (1550?–1603)
11. [1st rDo rje brag] Rig 'dzin Ngag gi dbang po (1580–1639)
12. [3rd Yol mo] sPrul sku bsTan 'dzin nor bu (1598–1644)

Mang yul, Helambu

13. Rig 'dzin [Yol mo sTobs ldan dbang po] 'Chi med rgya mtsho
14. [4th Yol mo sPrul sku] Zil gnon dbang rgyal rdo rje (1647–1716)
15. (*pha jo*) rDo rje Rig 'dzin Surya (=Sūrya) singha (1687–1738)
16. (*bdag rigs kyi bu*) [5th Yol mo sPrul sku] 'Phrin las bdud 'joms (1726–1789)

Table 3: The transmission of the ritual cycle *Thugs rje chen po 'gro ba kun grol* (V) was received by the 5th Yol mo sPrul sku in early childhood from his father Rig 'dzin Nyi ma seng ge (KDJSY, ca, fol. 5a).

Transmission lineage D
Kun tu bzang po'i dgongs pa zang thal (Cycle I)

La stod byang

1. gTer ston Rig 'dzin rGod ldem (1337–1408/09)
2. Sras mchog rNam rgyal mgon po (c. 1399–1424)
3. Se ston Nyi [ma] bzang [po] (*yab sras*)
4. Se ston mGon po bzang po
5. Se ston Rin chen rgyal mtshan
6. Se ston Kun dga' bzang po
7. Se ston Byang chub rdo rje
8. Se ston Ngag dbang rdo rje
9. Chos rje dPal ldan bkra shis

Mang yul, Glang 'phrang

10. rGyal thang pa Zil gnon rdo rje
11. Grub mchog Padma ngag dbang
12. [rDo dmar] Rig 'dzin Mi 'gyur rdo rje (b. 1675)
13. [rDo dmar] Padma rdo rje (d. 1738)
14. [rDo dmar] Kun bzang 'gyur med lhun grub (d. 1767)
15. (*bdag*) [5th Yol mo ba] sNgags ban 'Phrin las bdud 'joms (1726–1789)

Table 4: The reading transmission of the *rdzogs chen* cycle *Kun tu bzang po'i dgongs pa zang thal* (I) was conferred upon Karma 'phrin las bdud 'joms in 1751 at gNas chen Zla gam gnam sgo (Glang 'phrang). Kun bzang 'gyur med lhun grub from the rDo dmar family served as teacher (KDJSY, *nga*, fol. 4b).

Transmission lineage E
Kun tu bzang po'i dgongs pa zang thal (Cycle I)

La stod byang

1. gTer ston [Rig 'dzin rGod ldem] (1337–1408/09)
2. [Sras mchog] Nam rgyal mgon po (c. 1399–1424)
3. rDo rje 'chang bSod nams bzang po
4. mKhas grub Chos kyi rgyal mtshan
5. mKhas btsun Chos kyi rin chen
6. rJe btsun Kun dga' rgyal mtshan
7. Bya btang Shākya dpal bzang
8. [Nub dgon] 'Jam dbyangs [=Byams pa] chos kyi rgyal mtshan (1511–1571)
9. Thugs sras Blo gros rgyal mtshan
10. [Ngam ring] mKhas grub Byams pa bzang po

11. [Nub dgon] sPrul sku Shākya rgyal mtshan

Mang yul, Glang 'phrang

12. rGyal thang pa Zil gnon rdo rje
13. Grub mchog Padma ngag dbang
14. rDo dmar Rig 'dzin Mi 'gyur rdo rje (b. 1675)
15. (*de sras*) [rDo dmar] Rig 'dzin Padma rdo rje (d. 1738)
16. (*cung*) (=gcung) [rDo dmar] Kun bzang 'gyur med lhun grub (d. 1767)
17. (*bdag*) [5th Yol mo sPrul sku] 'Phrin las bdud 'joms (1726–1789)

Table 5: The reading transmission of the cycle *Kun tu bzang po'i dgongs pa zang thal* (I) was received by Karma 'phrin las bdud 'joms in 1751 at gNas chen Zla gam gnam sgo (Glang 'phrang) from his uncle Kun bzang 'gyur med lhun grub (KDJSY, *nga*, fol. 4a–b).

*Transmission lineage F
Ka dag rang byung rang shar (Cycle II)*

La stod byang

1. gTer ston [Rig 'dzin rGod ldem] (1337–1408/09)
2. Sras mchog rNam rgyal mgon po (c. 1399–1424)
3. [sNgags 'chang] rDo rje mgon po
4. [mTshan ldan] Ngag dbang grags pa
5. [Drin can] Sangs rgyas dpal bzang
6. [Thugs sras] Nam mkha' rgyal mtshan (1454–1541)
7. [gNubs chen] Ngag dbang rgya mtsho
8. [sKyi ston sNgags 'chang] Tshe ring dbang po
9. [Rang grol] Klu sgrub dbang po
10. [Rig 'dzin] Rol pa'i rdo rje
11. [bKra bzang pa] Thugs mchog 'od 'bar
12. [Rig 'dzin] Kun 'dus tshe dbang
13. rJe [bKra bzang pa] Kun bzang ye shes
14. (*bdag*) [5th Yol mo ba Rig 'dzin 'Phrin las bdud 'joms] (1726–1789)

Table 6: The transmission of the *rdzogs chen* cycle *Ka dag rang byung rang shar* (II) was received by the 5th Yol mo sPrul sku in 1760/61 at gNas chen Ri rgyal bkra bzang (La stod byang) from bkra bzang pa Rig 'dzin Kun bzang ye shes (KDJSY, *da*, fol. 2b).

**Appendix 2: The records of teachings received
of the 5th Yol mo sPrul sku Karma 'phrin las bdud 'joms
(Rig 'dzin bla ma karma bdud 'joms zhabs kyi gsan yig)**

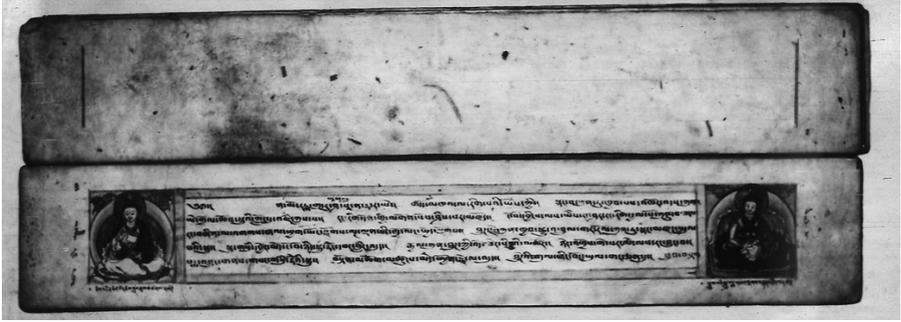


Figure 1

Text page from the *records of teachings received (gsan yig)* of Karma 'phrin las bdud 'joms, concerning his studies with Rig 'dzin Padma gsang sngags bstan 'dzin. The miniatures depict gTer ston Rig 'dzin rGod ldem (left) and Padma gsang sngags bstan 'dzin (right). KDJSY, *ca*, fol. 1a. Private library of Slob dpon 'Gyur med, Samagaun, Gorkha, Nepal. NGMPP, L382/2. Manuscript, c. 18th/19th century. Captions beneath the images, left: *rig 'dzin chen po dngos grub rgyal mtshan la na mo /*, right: *sprul pa'i sku padma gsang sngags bstan 'dzin la na mo /*.



Figure 2

Text page from the *records of teachings received* of Karma 'phrin las bdud 'joms, concerning his studies with bKra bzang pa Rig 'dzin Kun bzang ye shes and his sons, Padma dga' ba and Tshe dbang 'jigs med dpal bzang po. The miniatures depict Rig 'dzin Kun bzang ye shes (left) and Tshe dbang 'jigs med dpal (right). KDJSY, *da*, fol. 1a. NGMPP, L382/2. Captions beneath the images, left: *khyab bdag kun bzang ye shes zhabs /*, right: *(two illegible syllables) tshe dbang 'jigs med dpal /*