

Dagmar Schwerk

A Timely Message from the Cave

The Mahāmudrā and Intellectual Agenda of dGe-bshes
Brag-phug-pa dGe-'dun-rin-chen (1926–1997),
the Sixty-Ninth rJe-mkhan-po of Bhutan



INDIAN AND TIBETAN STUDIES 11

Hamburg • 2020

Department of Indian and Tibetan Studies, Universität Hamburg

A Timely Message from the Cave

The Mahāmudrā and Intellectual Agenda of dGe-bshes
Brag-phug-pa dGe-'dun-rin-chen (1926–1997),
the Sixty-Ninth rJe-mkhan-po of Bhutan



INDIAN AND TIBETAN STUDIES

Edited by Harunaga Isaacson, Dorji Wangchuk, and Eva Wilden

Volume 11

Hamburg • 2020

Department of Indian and Tibetan Studies, Universität Hamburg

A Timely Message from the Cave

The Mahāmudrā and Intellectual Agenda of dGe-bshes
Brag-phug-pa dGe-'dun-rin-chen (1926–1997),
the Sixty-Ninth rJe-mkhan-po of Bhutan

Dagmar Schwerk



INDIAN AND TIBETAN STUDIES 11

Hamburg • 2020

Department of Indian and Tibetan Studies, Universität Hamburg

Published by the Department of Indian and Tibetan Studies,
Asien-Afrika- Institut, Universität Hamburg, Alsterterrasse 1,
D-20354 Hamburg, Germany
Email: indologie@uni-hamburg.de

© Department of Indian and Tibetan Studies, Universität Hamburg, 2020
ISBN: 978-3-945151-10-5

Schwerk, Dagmar: A Timely Message from the Cave: The Mahāmudrā and
Intellectual Agenda of dGe-bshes Brag-phug-pa dGe-'dun-rin-chen
(1926–1997), the Sixty-Ninth rJe-mkhan-po of Bhutan

First published 2020

All rights reserved.

*Apart from any fair dealing for the purpose of private study, research, criticism or review,
no part of the book may be reproduced or translated in any form, by print, photoprint,
microform or any other means without written permission. Enquiry should be made to the
publishers.*

Printing and distribution:

Aditya Prakashan, 2/18 Ansari Road, New Delhi, 110 002, India.

Email: contact@bibliaimpex.com

Website: www.bibliaimpex.com

Printed and bound in India by Replika Press Pvt. Ltd.

This publication has been supported by the Khyentse Center for Tibetan
Buddhist Textual Scholarship (KC-TBTS), Universität Hamburg.

For Sangay

Contents

List of Figures	iv
Acknowledgements	v
Technical Note	vii
Introduction	1
Part I: Analysis	23
Chapter 1	
Buddhism and Politics: Bhutan and Beyond	25
1.1 Introduction: The 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud Schools	25
1.2 The 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud Schools in Bhutan	28
1.3 The Office of the Chief Abbot of Bhutan	38
1.4 Genesis of rJe Shākya-rin-chen's <i>Grub pa'i mdung rnon</i> and Its Eighteenth-Century Commentaries	41
Chapter 2	
rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's Life	51
2.1 Sources: Introduction	52
2.2 Reflection	56
2.3 rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs' <i>Dwangs shel me long</i>	60
2.3.1 Genre, Structure, and Style	60
2.3.2 Scope of Analysis	65
2.3.3 Chronological Overview	67
2.3.3.1 Education and Travel to Tibet (1932–1956)	67
2.3.3.2 Return to Bhutan: Meditation and Enhanced Reputation (1956–1970)	72
2.3.3.3 Scholar, Author, Teacher, and Practitioner (1970– 1990)	76

2.3.3.4 Chief Abbot of Bhutan (1990–1996)	81
2.3.3.5 Final Year and Beyond (1996–1999)	82

Chapter 3

rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's Mahāmudrā Doctrine and Intellectual Agenda 87

3.1 The Seven Essential Topics	88
3.2 Analysis	93
3.2.1 Introductory Remarks	93
3.2.2 Authenticity of Scriptural Sources and Transmission	96
3.2.3 The Triad of the Mahāmudrā Path	103
3.2.3.1 Mahāmudrā View	103
3.2.3.2 Mahāmudrā Meditation	109
3.2.3.3 Mahāmudrā Conduct	116
3.2.4 The Mahāmudrā Result	119
3.2.5 Soteriology of Devotion: The Principal Guru	123
3.3 Overview <i>bKa' 'bum</i>	127
3.4 Intellectual Agenda and Heritage	135

Part II: Annotated Translation and Critical Edition of rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's *Dus kyi pho nya* Comprising rJe Shākya-rin-chen's *Grub pa'i mdung rnon* 141

Chapter 4

Introduction to the Annotated Translation and Critical Edition 143

4.1 Sources	143
4.2 Caption of Text Versions	144
4.3 Sketch of the Text Versions	145
4.3.1 Root Verses (B)	145
4.3.2 Group of Commentaries (C), Eighteenth Century	148
4.3.3 Commentary (C), Twentieth Century	151
4.4 Conclusion	152
4.5 Technical Annotations	153
4.6 Abbreviations in the Critical Apparatus	154
4.7 Genre and Titles	154

Contents

Chapter 5	
Annotated Translation	159
5.1 First Chapter: A Response to Questions about the Authoritative Sources of Mahāmudrā	161
5.2 Second Chapter: A Response to Questions about the Quintessential Instructions of Mahāmudrā	175
5.3 Third Chapter: A Response to Questions about the Mahāmudrā View	199
5.4 Fourth Chapter: A Response to Questions about the Mahāmudrā Meditation	223
5.5 Fifth Chapter: A Response to Questions about the Mahāmudrā Conduct	244
5.6 Sixth Chapter: A Response to Questions about the Result of Mahāmudrā	254
5.7 Seventh Chapter: A Response to Questions about Devotion to the Guru in the Mahāmudrā Tradition	262
Chapter 6	
Critical Edition	275
6.1 <i>Khungs la dris pa'i lan zhus pa'i skabs</i>	275
6.2 <i>Man ngag gi gzhung la dris pa'i lan zhus pa'i skabs</i>	282
6.3 <i>lTa ba la dris pa'i lan zhus pa'i skabs</i>	291
6.4 <i>sGom pa la dris pa'i lan zhus pa'i skabs</i>	300
6.5 <i>sPyod pa la dris pa'i lan zhus pa'i skabs</i>	309
6.6 <i>'Bras bu la dris pa'i lan zhus pa'i skabs</i>	313
6.7 <i>Bla ma'i mos gus la dris pa'i lan zhus pa'i skabs</i>	316
Part III: Appendices	323
Appendix A: Facsimile Editions of the <i>Grub pa'i mdung rnon</i> (B_a & B_b)	325
Appendix B: Works in rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's <i>bKa'bum</i>	353
Abbreviations and Bibliography	361
Index	411

List of Figures

1	View rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's Zim-khang	58
2	<i>Grub pa'i mdung rnon</i> (B _a), fol. 1r	327
3	<i>Grub pa'i mdung rnon</i> (B _a), fols. 1v–2r	328
4	<i>Grub pa'i mdung rnon</i> (B _a), fols. 2v–3r	329
5	<i>Grub pa'i mdung rnon</i> (B _a), fols. 3v–4r	330
6	<i>Grub pa'i mdung rnon</i> (B _a), fols. 4v–5r	331
7	<i>Grub pa'i mdung rnon</i> (B _a), fols. 5v–6r	332
8	<i>Grub pa'i mdung rnon</i> (B _a), fols. 6v–7r	333
9	<i>Grub pa'i mdung rnon</i> (B _a), fols. 7v–8r	334
10	<i>Grub pa'i mdung rnon</i> (B _a), fols. 8v–9r	335
11	<i>Grub pa'i mdung rnon</i> (B _a), fols. 9v–10r	336
12	<i>Grub pa'i mdung rnon</i> (B _a), fol. 10v	337
13	<i>Grub pa'i mdung rnon</i> (B _b), fol. 1r	339
14	<i>Grub pa'i mdung rnon</i> (B _b), fols. 1v–2r	340
15	<i>Grub pa'i mdung rnon</i> (B _b), fols. 2v–3r	341
16	<i>Grub pa'i mdung rnon</i> (B _b), fols. 3v–4r	342
17	<i>Grub pa'i mdung rnon</i> (B _b), fols. 4v–5r	343
18	<i>Grub pa'i mdung rnon</i> (B _b), fols. 5v–6r	344
19	<i>Grub pa'i mdung rnon</i> (B _b), fols. 6v–7r	345
20	<i>Grub pa'i mdung rnon</i> (B _b), fols. 7v–8r	346
21	<i>Grub pa'i mdung rnon</i> (B _b), fols. 8v–9r	347
22	<i>Grub pa'i mdung rnon</i> (B _b), fols. 9v–10r	348
23	<i>Grub pa'i mdung rnon</i> (B _b), fols. 10v–11r	349
24	<i>Grub pa'i mdung rnon</i> (B _b), fols. 11v–12r	350
25	<i>Grub pa'i mdung rnon</i> (B _b), fol. 12v	351

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I would like to thank Dorji Wangchuk, who drew my attention to the extraordinary life and works of the Sixty-ninth rJe-mkhan-po dGe-'dun-rin-chen (1926–1997, hereafter rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen) during my graduate studies and supervised my research from its inception, resulting finally, after a long journey, in this monograph. In particular, I am greatly indebted to Dorji Wangchuk for initially reading rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's *Dus kyi pho nya* with me and guiding me through the vast space of Tibetan and Bhutanese Buddhist doctrine and exegesis—in other words, getting me acquainted with the intellectual history of Tibet and Bhutan.

I am greatly indebted to the Studienstiftung des deutschen Volkes (German National Foundation), the Robert H. N. Family Foundation Program in Buddhist Studies, the Khyentse Foundation, and the Khyentse Center for Tibetan Buddhist Textual Scholarship (KC-TBTS) in Hamburg, who enabled me through their generous support to complete my graduate studies, this research, and the publication of this monograph.

I also would like to express my gratitude towards my Western, Bhutanese, and Tibetan teachers and colleagues, both traditional and Western academically trained, and also my Bhutanese friends—all willing to share their knowledge and their cherished memories about this Buddhist master without ever getting tired of my questions: Orna Almogi, Volker Caumanns, Tenzin Dorji, Martina Draszczyk, Torsten Gerloff, Gaia Pintucci, Kengo Harimoto, Jörg Heimbels, Agnieszka Helman-Ważny, Harunaga Isaacson, Seiji Kumagai, Khenpo Tshering, Khenpo Chulthim Gurung, Mengyan Li, Lopen Pelden Kado, Lopen Phurba Dorji, Klaus-Dieter Mathes, Matteo Miele, Hodo Nakamura, Dorje Penjore, Françoise Pommaret, Jim Rheingans, Dhondup Sangpo, Marta Sernesi, Per K. Sørensen, Péter-Dániel Szántó, Shahar Tene, Sam van Schaik, Gabriele Vogt, Eric Werner, and Michael Zimmermann.

In particular, I thank September Cowley for editing my monograph and all my dear colleagues who took time out of their busy schedules to provide important feedback and advice for improving earlier drafts.

A Timely Message from the Cave

Particularly important to this research were Dorji Wangchuk's and Khenpo Sonam Bumdhen's efforts in enabling me to conduct fruitful archival and field research in Bhutan in October and November 2014. Moreover, I am especially thankful for the help and support of Yeshe Lhendup, Harka B. Gurung, and Yonten Dargye of the National Library and Archives of Bhutan during and after my archival and field research, as well as Sangay Letho, Kinlay Lemo Dorji, Kuenzang Choden, Tashi Wangdi, and Pema Zangmo.

Furthermore, I am deeply grateful to His Holiness the Seventeenth Karmapa Thaye Dorje, Dorji Lopon Kinley, Tulku Tenzin Norbu as well as Dzongsar Jamyang Khyentse Rinpoche. I am hoping that this book will help to preserve and make accessible Bhutanese Buddhist intellectual history to a broader audience.

Last but not least, my friends and family have been supporting and inspiring me over the years in incredible ways on this challenging journey, in particular, Gudrun Açı, Sanaz Bahari Javan, Colette Henrichmann, Yvonne Jäger, Sabine König, Harsha Menon, Nandakumar Menon, Sonja Oestmann, Lana Victoria O'Flaherty, Joyce Sato-Reinhold, Sangay Sherpa, Kornelia Stange, and Ramiro Torres. In addition, I am grateful to everyone who has supported me in finding my home away from home on the different stops of this research journey and during the COVID-19 pandemic: Jeff Balin, Tshewang Choden, Dean Dillabough, Rajesh Kumar, Peter Morrissey, and Jennifer Lisa Shecter.

Finally, all shortcomings or mistakes which occur in this monograph are my sole responsibility.

Technical Note

The transliteration of Tibetan characters follows the system of Turrel W. Wylie as found in his article “A Standard System of Tibetan Transcription.”¹ Titles of Tibetan works are italicized without hyphens and with the base letter (*ming gzhi*) in the first syllable capitalized, for example *Dus kyi pho nya*. Tibetan and Bhutanese names, institutions and places are connected with hyphens and the base letter in the first syllable is capitalized. If they consist of different parts, such as a title, personal name, and so forth, they are separated and the base letter of the first syllable of its parts is capitalized, for example, dGe-bshes Brag-phug-pa rJe-mkhan-po dGe-'dun-rin-chen. Unless otherwise noted, upon their first mention I provide the full name of a Tibetan or Bhutanese person with its different parts and the birth and death dates according to the Buddhist Digital Resource Center. Upon their second mention I use the name common in the Tibetan or Bhutanese tradition; nevertheless, in some cases I repeat the full information later where it seems relevant.

The Tibetan punctuation is simplified as follows: the *gnyis shad* is displayed as || after each line of verse. If the line of verse ends on postscript *ga* or on the final particle 'o for aesthetic reasons this is also displayed as ||. The single *shad* is displayed as |, and a *bzhi shad* is documented as || ||. Further Tibetan punctuation is not recorded.

Bhutanese names, terms, and place names are also transliterated according to Turrel W. Wylie and if their spelling deviates from the classical Tibetan spelling this is noted. Names of persons, institutions, and places in Bhutan are transliterated in this way in Chapter 1: Buddhism and Politics: Bhutan and Beyond, whereas in Chapter 2: rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's Life, I mostly follow the current common transliteration of names in Bhutan for convenience; see, for example, Druk Gyalpo for 'Brug-rgyal-po. Pre-modern religious and historiographical works composed by Bhutanese authors, such as rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen, were traditionally written in classical Tibetan, called

¹Turrel W. Wylie, “A Standard System of Tibetan Transcription,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 22, no. 2 (1959): 261–67.

Chos-skad (“language of religion”) in Bhutan. However, nowadays the official national language of Bhutan is rDzong-kha (“language of the fortress”), which derived from dialects (sNga-long-kha) originally mostly spoken in the Western valleys of Bhutan. After the foundation of the State of Bhutan in 1625/26, rDzong-kha became the spoken vernacular of the administration. Only since the 1960s, however, has rDzong-kha been promoted nationwide and thus steadily developed as a literary and spoken language.² In addition, three frequently used Tibetan names—namely the Dalai Lama, Karmapa and Guru Rinpoche—were not transliterated. All foreign terms in Tibetan, Bhutanese, Sanskrit, Latin, Ancient Greek, and German in the running text are italicized, except in instances when they are used as a concept such as “Mahāmudrā doctrine and meditative system.”

Sanskrit characters are transliterated according to the International Alphabet of Sanskrit Transliteration (IAST). Tibetan transliterations of Sanskrit words, such as for Mantras, in names, and so forth, are also transliterated according to IAST. The titles of Sanskrit works are italicized with the first character capitalized, but names and places are not italicized.

If Sanskrit or Tibetan translations of English terms are added, these are italicized without hyphens, are enclosed by round brackets, and are always written in the same order as Tibetan-Sanskrit, for example (*ye shes: jñāna*). Tibetan and Sanskrit names, works or places that are not attested are marked by an asterisk, such as **Nayatrāyapradīpa*.

In the bibliography, abbreviated titles for primary Tibetan sources were chosen, if known, according to the common abbreviation of their title in the Tibetan or Bhutanese tradition. The primary Tibetan sources are sorted following the order in the *Tshig mdzod chen mo*. Within the main body of the thesis, the short reference in the footnotes includes the author, short title, page number, and line: see, for example, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen, *Dus kyi pho nya*

²For a concise overview of the various languages and vernaculars used in Bhutan, see PHUNTSHO 2013: 51–62; see also ARIS 1979: xiv–xviii and VAN DRIEM 1994: 88. For an overview of Georg van Driem’s linguistic studies in Bhutan, see http://www.himalayanlanguages.org/team/george_van_driem/publications/. Accessed: June 11, 2020.

Technical Note

(pp. 445.3–446.5). Primary Indian sources are sorted according to the Sanskrit alphabet. The convention of the short reference in the footnotes is the same as in the primary Tibetan sources. For the secondary sources the author-year notation is used and they are sorted according to the Latin alphabet. Each entry has a short reference for use in the footnotes in the following form: WANGCHUK 2015.

Some publications that are mentioned in my overview of earlier research in my introduction are not further employed in this monograph and therefore not listed in my bibliography. In these cases, I provide the full bibliographic reference in the running text. Equally, web sources and social media sources, which are only employed a single time are listed with their full bibliographical reference in the respective footnote but not further listed in my bibliography. If they are employed more than once they are treated as secondary sources according to the author-year notation and sorted according to the Latin alphabet, see for example CONSTITUTION DRAFTING COMMITTEE 2008.

Moreover, the index is sorted according to the Latin alphabet. Tibetan words are sorted either according to their base letter (*ming gzhi*) or prescript/superscript, if applicable. The diacritics of Sanskrit words are not considered.

Introduction

May [I], right now, be bestowed with the *siddhis* of body, speech, and mind

To obtain Mahāmudrā [characterized by] union in this [very] lifetime,
The immortal stage, the perfection of longevity and realization

On the two-fold path [of] genuine vows!

rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen, *Prayer to Guru Rinpoche**

The Mahāmudrā Controversy in Context

Mahāmudrā is most commonly known as the paramount doctrine and meditative system in all bKa'-brgyud schools and is today globally practiced. In general, it is characterized by a strong focus on the realization of the fundamental nature of the mind. However, it has also been discussed and partially practiced in the three other Tibetan Buddhist schools of rNying-ma, Sa-skya, and dGe-lugs, though it is integrated and interpreted in a quite different way in the latter tradition.³ In the Indian Tantric literature and context, the term *mahāmudrā* denotes a variety of meanings such as one of the seals within the four seals of the Yogatantras, adapted in some Yoginītantras,⁴

³For the transmission, lineages, and doctrinal interpretation of the “dGe-ldan bKa'-brgyud” tradition of Mahāmudrā, see JACKSON, R. 2001; JACKSON, R. 2015. For a recent and extensive study about the “dGe-ldan bKa'-brgyud” tradition of Mahāmudrā, see Roger R. Jackson, *Mind Seeing Mind: Mahāmudrā and the Geluk Tradition* (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2019).

⁴The four seals are enumerated in various ways, for instance as: (1) *dharmamudrā*, (2) *mahāmudrā*, (3) *samayamudrā*, and (4) *karmamudrā*. On the four seals, see also n. 393 on p. 165.

*See rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs, *Dwangs shel me long* (p. 48.15–18): *dam tshig sdom pa 'khrul med rim gnyis kyi lam la || tshe dang sgrub pa mthar phyin 'chi med kyi go 'phang || zung 'jug phyag rgya chen po tshe 'di ru thob pa'i || sku gsung thugs kyi dngos grub da lta rang stsol cig ||*.

the female consort of either a male deity or a male practitioner in the context of *karmamudrā* practices, or as a synonym for the result in the Yoginītantras.⁵ In a broader sense, the term is used synonymously with terminologies such as *dharmadhātu*, *dharmakāya*, and *tathāgatagarbha*. In sum, the designation of *mahāmudrā* is found on all levels of doctrinal and doxographical distinction, such as in the triads of view (*lta ba*), meditation (*bsgom pa*), and conduct (*spyod pa*), as well as basis (*gzhi*), path (*lam*), and result (*'bras bu*).

Therefore, an attempt to systematically describe or even define the term in its manifold meanings is a challenging task. Furthermore, since the later dissemination of the Buddhist doctrine to Tibet from the eleventh century onward, a whole set of new Tibetan indigenous terminologies has evolved in the exegesis of the Mahāmudrā teachings due to the intense development of Tibetan scholasticism. As a result, the meaning and context of the term *mahāmudrā* also significantly changed over time with an increasingly elaborate systematization of philosophical-doctrinal positions in the four Tibetan Buddhist schools.⁶ Any systematic analysis would first have to consider and reconstruct the meanings of the term in its various historical and doctrinal contexts. As Roger R. Jackson aptly stated in his survey about the history of Mahāmudrā studies:

When the term [Mahāmudrā] is applied this broadly, however, the question no longer is Where is Mahāmudrā to be found? but rather, Where is it not? And when that is the question, the prospect of defining the scope of the term suddenly seems terribly elusive.⁷

The crucial debates about Mahāmudrā initiated by Sa-skya Paṇḍita Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan (1182–1252, hereafter Sa-skya Paṇḍita) in the twelfth century elicited long-term philosophical and doctrinal responses from scholars of the bKa'-brgyud schools wishing to defend their paramount doctrine—often of a very polemic nature. His sys-

⁵See JACKSON, R. 2011: 4–6; see also JACKSON, R. 2004: 140. For a detailed analysis of the semantic range of the term *mudrā* and *mahāmudrā* in the Indian Tantric literature between the eighth and tenth centuries, see GRAY 2011.

⁶For Rong-zom Chos-kyi-bzang-po's (b. 11th century) definition of the term *mahāmudrā*, see n. 396 on p. 167.

⁷JACKSON, R. 2011: 5.

Introduction

tematized criticism⁸ concerning specific features of the Mahāmudrā doctrine is found mainly in the third chapter of his *sDom pa gsum gyi rab tu dbye ba'i bstan bcos* (hereafter *sDom gsum rab dbye*), the *Thub pa'i dgongs pa rab tu gsal ba'i bstan bcos* (hereafter *Thub pa'i dgongs gsal*), and to a lesser extent in his *sKyes bu dam pa rnams la spring ba'i yi ge* (hereafter *sPring yig*) and *Phyogs bcu'i sangs rgyas dang byang chub sems dpa' rnams la zhu ba'i 'phrin yig* (hereafter *Zhu 'phrin*).⁹ It was indeed through that defense that the systematic attempt to establish Mahāmudrā as an authentic teaching of the Buddha was explicitly made, thereby contributing to an increasingly elaborated systematization of what we now can rightly call a complex “Mahāmudrā doctrine and meditative system.” It is precisely in the context of this later conception of Mahāmudrā, that I choose to speak of a “Mahāmudrā doctrine and meditative system” in this publication.

Additionally, Sa-skya Paṇḍita's points of criticism forced these scholars to take an exegetical stance on much broader, controversial issues that had been already inherited from India and were dominating Tibetan debates with a variety of interpretations since Buddhism had entered Tibet. For example, these broader issues pertain to the Buddha Nature theory along with the relation between basis and result; the question of the “remainder” (*lhag ma: avasiṣṭa*); different approaches to Madhyamaka philosophy, such as Rang-stong and gZhan-stong, in particular, to the concept of non-foundation (*rab tu mi gnas pa: apratiṣṭhāna*); the integration of Yogācāra concepts into Tibetan Buddhism; the relation between the teachings of the “Second and Third Turnings of the Wheel of Dharma” (*chos 'khor gnyis pa/gsum pa*); and the nature of meditation characterized by non-mentation (*yid la mi byed pa: amanasikāra*). In a broader context, the discussion of “The Three Great Ones”—*rdzogs pa chen po*, *phyag rgya chen po* and *dbu ma chen po*—and their relation to each

⁸Singular criticism on different aspects of the Mahāmudrā doctrine and practices, such as Maitreya-nātha's *amanasikāra* teaching cycle, is said to have already been present before the time of Sa-skya Paṇḍita, for example from several bKa'-gdams-pa masters, such as 'Brom-ston rGyal-ba'i-'byung-gnas (1005–1064) and Po-to-ba Rin-chen-gsal (1027–1105); see JACKSON, D. 1994: 55–58.

⁹See also JACKSON, D. 1994: 159–160. For an English translation of Sa-skya Paṇḍita's *sDom gsum rab dbye*, *sPring yig*, and *Zhu 'phrin*, see RHOTON 2002.

other within the Tibetan philosophical hierarchy has been another essential theme in debates throughout Tibetan history.

In the end, the controversy initiated by Sa-skyia Paṇḍita, regardless of his personal motifs that have been discussed and partially disparaged as politically or personally motivated, positively contributed over the following centuries to a systematic and detailed reflection, and concrete elaboration of the “Mahāmudrā doctrine and meditative system” by a multitude of Buddhist masters in the different Tibetan schools. They aimed to eliminate all possible contradictions with the authoritative Buddhist systems of Pāramitāyāna and Mantrayāna and establish Mahāmudrā in its rightful place within the Buddhist doctrinal system.¹⁰

If we take a closer look at the temporal dimension, the debates, the defense and, as a result, the establishment of Mahāmudrā as an authentic Buddhist doctrine had mostly taken place during these polemic exchanges between the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries, with the zenith of these occurring in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. From the perspective of the 'Brug-pa bKa'-bgyud school in Tibet the controversial issues of Mahāmudrā had been sufficiently resolved by their eminent masters the Fourth 'Brug-chen Kun-mkhyen Padma-dkar-po (1527–1592, hereafter Padma-dkar-po) and his spiritual son mKhas-dbang Sangs-rgyas-rdo-rje in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries¹¹ at a time where doctrinal positions seem to have been generally more “consolidated” within the boundaries of the different Tibetan schools in Tibet.¹²

¹⁰KAPSTEIN 1989: 229–230, has also pointed out that “standard polemical defenses for the position taken by one’s own school and assaults on the positions of others went hand in hand with the formulation of the great scholastic commentarial traditions,[...]” thereby emphasizing the constituting function polemics played (and still play) in the exegesis of Tibetan scholars, and therefore, in the self-conception of their traditions’ identity; see also HIGGINS & DRASZCZYK 2016: vol. 1, 246.

¹¹See also n. 480 on p. 211.

¹²RUEGG 2000: 6, for example, has identified this period in his systematization of the history of Madhyamaka philosophy in Tibet as “the post-classical scholastic period (mainly sixteenth century onwards): a period of philosophical consolidation and elaboration (sometimes but by no means always epigonal) comprising continued textual-exegetical and systematic-hermeneutical activity, largely within the bounds of the various established chos lugs.”

Introduction

However, in Bhutan, the Ninth rJe-mkhan-po Shākya-rin-chen (1710–1759, hereafter rJe Shākya-rin-chen)¹³ explicit motivation, stated in his *Phyag rgya chen po las brtsams pa'i dri tshig grub pa'i mdung rnon* (hereafter *Grub pa'i mdung rnon*)¹⁴ was to revisit the discussion on Mahāmudrā with scholars from the Tibetan and Bhutanese branches of the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud school only a little later, namely in the eighteenth century, after the split with the Tibetan 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud school and subsequent establishment of a separate Southern Bhutanese branch (*lho 'brug*) that followed Zhabs-drung Ngag-dbang-rnam-rgyal (1594–ca.1651, hereafter Zhabs-drung)'s establishment of a unified State of Bhutan (*'brug gzhung*) in the seventeenth century.

This is not as surprising as it first seems because rJe Shākya-rin-chen's *Grub pa'i mdung rnon* and its commentaries were produced in the intellectual, political, and social climate of eighteenth-century Bhutan—a remarkable period in Bhutanese history and pertinent to various religious-doctrinal and socio-cultural identity-building processes. My analysis has shown that the correct interpretation of Mahāmudrā as addressed in these texts is an important example of complex doctrinal developments and confessional identity-building in the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud school in Bhutan. A mere reliance on the mostly common heritage of the Tibetan branch in the form of the earlier eminent masters of this branch, such as Padma-dkar-po and Sangs-rgyas-rdo-rje, was no longer considered sufficient anymore.¹⁵ Furthermore, the historical circumstances of the mutual easing of religious and political tensions between Tibet and Bhutan during the eighteenth century fueled intensified exchanges of doctrinal and ex-

¹³As is customary in Bhutan, I refer throughout the book to the different Chief Abbots (*'brug rje mkhan po*) of the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud school in Bhutan (upon their second mention) to their abbreviated honorific title as “rJe.”

¹⁴rJe Shākya-rin-chen, *Phyag rgya chen po las brtsams pa'i dri tshig grub pa'i mdung rnon* (*The Pointed Spear of a Siddha: Questions Concerning [the Doctrine of] Mahāmudrā*).

¹⁵The Second 'Brug-chen Kun-dga'-dpal-'byor (1428–1476, hereafter Kun-dga'-dpal-'byor) and Padma-dkar-po are considered the main figures in the doctrinal systematization of the teachings in the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud school. For a short overview of the relevant scholars and works regarding the doctrinal systematization of the teachings in the Karma bKa'-brgyud school, see RHEINGANS 2012: 179–180.

egetical positions. This is exemplified by rJe Shākya-rin-chen's travels to Tibet, and the admiration and incorporation of doctrinal positions of Shākya-mchog-ldan Dri-med-legs-pa'i-blo-gros' (1428–1507, hereafter: Shākya-mchog-ldan) writings in his own exegetical apparatus and works—as in the seven questions-cum-answers addressing controversial topics concerning Mahāmudrā raised in his *Grub pa'i mdung rnon* and their subsequent discussion among Tibetan and Bhutanese scholars.

Therefore, further attention should be drawn to the general aspect of new inter- and intra-sectarian exchanges and additional cross-linked Bhutanese-Tibetan literal productions as well as their scope and significance. They are a testimony to the systematic developments of the doctrine and exegesis of the *new* 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud school in Bhutan from the eighteenth century onward.¹⁶ Consequently, this, once again, demonstrates the importance of moving away from a focus on *Tibet* in order to begin to better understand *Bhutanese* doctrinal and exegetical positions and their developments.

Then, the Sixty-ninth rJe-mkhan-po dGe-'dun-rin-chen (1926–1997, hereafter rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen)'s extensive commentary from the second half of the twentieth century, the *Phyag rgya chen po las brtsams pa'i dri tshig grub pa'i mdung rnon zhes bya ba'i gsung lan dus kyi pho nya* (hereafter *Dus kyi pho nya*),¹⁷ not only shows his doctrinal positions but also documents the influences of his teachers from the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud school as well as those of second-generation disciples of the nineteenth-century rNying-ma polymath and *ris-med* scholar 'Ju Mi-pham rNam-rgyal-rgya-mtsho (1846–1912, hereafter: 'Ju Mi-pham).

The contributions and innovations of the *ris-med* scholars, such as the First 'Jam-mgon Kong-sprul Blo-gros-mtha'-yas (1813–1900),

¹⁶Despite the “official” distinctions between the diverse branches of the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud school in the doxographical literature, fluidity concerning certain doctrines, practices, and transmissions between at least some of the branches of this school in Tibet and Bhutan has been the reality from much earlier on; see also Chapter 1: Buddhism and Politics: Bhutan and Beyond.

¹⁷rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen, *Phyag rgya chen po las brtsams pa'i dri tshig grub pa'i mdung rnon zhes bya ba'i gsung lan dus kyi pho nya* (*The Timely Messenger: A Response to Questions About [the Doctrine of] Mahāmudrā Titled “The Pointed Spear of a Siddha”*).

Introduction

dPal-sprul O-rgyan-'jigs-med-chos-kyi-dbang-po (1808–1887), the First rDzong-gsar-mkhyen-brtse 'Jam-dbyangs mKhyen-brtse'i-dbang-po (1820–1892, hereafter 'Jam-dbyangs mKhyen-brtse'i-dbang-po), gTer-ston mChog-gyur-gling-pa (1829–1870), and 'Ju Mi-pham had a wide-ranging impact on the following generations of Tibetan and Bhutanese Buddhist masters in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries—as also demonstrated in rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's case.¹⁸ Their initial motivation to harmonize the sectarian struggles—violent and non-violent—between the different Tibetan Buddhist schools and to collect and preserve rare texts and nearly extinct traditions and practices led to intense exegetical activities and the revival of many doctrines and practices. These entailed an intense discussion of all Buddhist doctrines and systems but, in particular, “The Three Great Ones” (*chen po gsum*), and thereby, naturally included the paramount teachings of the bKa'-brgyud traditions, the Mahāmudrā doctrine and meditative system. Mahāmudrā was by then way more often set in the wider context of “The Three Great Ones.”¹⁹

Lastly, following the globalization of Tibetan Buddhism after the 1950s, teachings such as Mahāmudrā and rDzogs-chen in partic-

¹⁸The different *ris-med* scholars should not be perceived as a monolithic block or movement with a unified agenda, for, their positions differed a great deal, especially concerning the question of how far the “harmonizing” ecumenical approach should reach; see also PHUNTSHO 2005: 49–51; 249, n. 113.

¹⁹For one crucial example of exegetical and doctrinal innovation already addressing the union of Mahāmudrā and rDzogs-chen in the seventeenth century, see Karma-chags-med's extensive work on the union of Mahāmudrā and rDzogs-chen, his *Thugs rje chen po'i dmar khrid phyag rdzogs zung 'jug sogs kyi skor*. For other contributions to this field of study, see also Samten G. Karmay, *The Great Perfection (rDzogs chen): A Philosophical and Meditative Teaching in Tibetan Buddhism* (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 1988). On the relation between rDzogs-chen and Mahāmudrā systems; see also JACKSON, R. 2011: 25; 33; SEYFORD RUEGG 1988 and SEYFORD RUEGG 1989. Dorji Wangchuk has repeatedly expressed that a systematic study on the “Three Great Ones” (*chen po gsum*) is highly relevant for research in the field of Tibetan intellectual history. For an overview of Tibetan sources employing the term *dbu ma chen po* and in particular the sources and transmission of *dbu ma chen po* from the gZhan-stong perspective in Tibet, see MAKIDONO 2016: 13–24. On the “Three Great Ones”, see also p. 103.

ular became increasingly popular among Westerners. They seemed to promise the Buddhist practitioner a fast-track towards enlightenment by engaging in powerful meditative practices and the blessings of the personal principal Guru. Accordingly, since then, the circle of participants that is nowadays studying, practicing, and discussing Mahāmudrā has significantly increased. It can be divided into roughly three groups: (1) traditional Tibetan and Bhutanese Buddhist scholars and practitioners, (2) Western academically trained scholars on a global scale (partially also Buddhist practitioners), and (3) other Buddhist practitioners on a global scale, often lay followers of Buddhism in the West.²⁰

While, in general, the process of globalization of Tibetan Buddhism brought to attention numerous seemingly new challenges, for example, with respect to the correct transmission and authenticity of Tantric teachings, a number of these topics were already well-established in pre-modern disputes between Buddhist masters with a continuation until today—indeed, they were often at the core of earlier Mahāmudrā controversies. In his commentary, the *Dus kyi pho nya*, which establishes the correct understanding of Mahāmudrā, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen demonstrates far from the global popularity of Mahāmudrā that the three traditional scholarly activities of a Tibetan or Bhutanese Buddhist master are nowadays as essential as ever for the preservation, continuation, and viability of a lineage: explication, debate, and composition (*'chad rtsod rtsom gsum*). Throughout his life, these activities were an integral part of his contributions as an author, scholar, and teacher in the religious, educational institutions in Bhutan.

A curious anecdote from my field research in Bhutan exemplifies the wide-ranging and lasting influence rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen has on the Bhutanese. When I was allowed at that time to visit rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's reliquary Stūpa (*sku gdung mchod rten*) at the bKra-shis-chos-rdzong in Thim-phu, the attendant in charge of the shrine room heard that I worked on rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's Mahāmudrā commentary, the *Dus kyi pho nya*. He abruptly left the room leaving me puzzled, however, returned a few moments later with a worn copy of rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's *Dus kyi pho nya*. He himself had received the oral transmission (*lung*) of this work much earlier in his life, and I

²⁰For an overview of earlier research by Western academic scholars see Introduction on p. 16.

had the honor to receive the transmission from him then—witnessing firsthand the broad familiarity with this work among the Bhutanese.

Scope and Aim

rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen was one of the most renowned and influential Buddhist masters in twentieth-century Bhutan. Among the Bhutanese, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen is highly revered under his monikers “dGe-bshes” and “Brag-phug-pa” (rDzong-kha: Bya-phugp) that denote first, his erudition and spiritual realization, and second, his auspicious birth at a cave at sTag-tshang near sPa-gro, one of the holiest places in Bhutan, which was reported in the biographical accounts and is held dear in the memory of many Bhutanese. Likewise, he is well known for his predilection for retreat and meditation away from the daily hassles of the ordinary world. He performed important functions in the religious educational institutions of Bhutan during their modernization process after the 1950s, such as being the principal (*dbu 'dzin*) at the rTa-mgo and Pha-jo-sdings bShad-grwas. Furthermore, he was appointed to the highest religious post of Chief Abbot (*'brug rje mkhan po*) of the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud school in Bhutan (*lho 'brug*), which represents as well the religious branch of the Joint Twofold System of Governance.²¹ With his diverse activities as scholar, author, and teacher, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen significantly contributed to crucial innovations within the modernization process of the religious institutions and practices of the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud school in the second half of the twentieth century in Bhutan.

Indeed, Bhutan in the second half of the twentieth century is a unique case in point for research about the religio-political history of Tibetan Buddhism and alternative Buddhist modernities, as today it is the only Buddhist country in the Tibetan cultural area that

²¹Different emic, classical Tibetan terms for the Joint Twofold System of Governance were used in pre-modern textual sources. Often found to be used synonymously, they nevertheless transmit slightly different connotations. I present here a non-exhaustive list of these terms, as found in various pre-modern Tibetan textual sources, mainly legal codes: “religion and politics combined” (*chos srid gnyis ldan*), “religion and politics united” (*chos srid zung 'brel*), “religion and politics joint together” (*chos srid gnyis 'brel*), “religion and politics united” (*chos srid zung 'jug*), and “theocratic rule” (*chos kyi rgyal srid*).

still has the Joint Twofold System of Governance institutionalized, which is firmly anchored in Bhutan's *Constitution of the Kingdom of Bhutan* from 2008. As background, in the first half of the seventeenth century, in total, three major Buddhist governments that combined a twofold religious and political structure under the authority of a Buddhist ruler, in the form of the Joint Twofold System of Governance, were established in the Tibetan cultural area, although there were significant differences in their respective institutionalization: (1) Bhutan (*'brug gzhung*) with Zhabs-drung in 1625/26; (2) the dGa'-ldan-pho-brang government with the Fifth Dalai Lama Ngag-dbang Blo-bzang-rgya-mtsho (1617–1682, hereafter Fifth Dalai Lama) in 1642, lasting until 1959; and (3) Sikkim (*'bras ljongs*) with the First Chos-rgyal Phun-tshogs-rnam-rgyal (1604–1670) in 1642, lasting until 1975.

Despite his impact in Bhutan, beyond Bhutan, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen is usually not very well known although, in general, Western academic circles have been aware of the importance of some of his writings, mainly of historiographical or biographical nature. One of the reasons for that might be that, unlike contemporary Tibetan Buddhist masters after the 1950s, he neither traveled to the West nor had Western disciples. For many of these Tibetan Buddhist masters, Bhutan became their safe refuge after fleeing Tibet. rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen continued his intellectual exchange with these Tibetan Buddhist masters back in Bhutan in the spirit of his non-sectarian education that had shortly before taken him first to Eastern Bhutan and then to Tibet from 1952 to 1956, where he had studied with important masters of the rNying-ma school—mainly second-generation students of 'Ju Mi-pham. As a result, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's doctrinal and philosophical views were decisively formed through these experiences and extraordinary circumstances. More specifically, the main contribution of this study is to make accessible rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's extensive Mahāmudrā interpretation as the paramount teaching of his own school, and the broader framework of his thinking—his intellectual agenda—against his biographical background.

Moreover, I trace the thus far unstudied reception history of the Mahāmudrā controversy in the Bhutanese branch of the 'Brugpa bKa'-brgyud school in the eighteenth century. As a result, I contribute to knowledge about complex doctrinal developments and trans-regional knowledge exchange with cross-linked literary production between Bhutan and Tibet in a highly remarkable period of

Introduction

Bhutanese history which is pertinent to various religious-doctrinal and socio-cultural identity-building processes.

In order to assess rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's interpretation of the Mahāmudrā doctrine and meditative system, I set out in 2013 to critically edit and translate his *Dus kyi pho nya*, a lengthy work of one hundred and ninety verses in elliptic verse form that was initially meant for readers with a high aptitude, scholarship, and realization in meditative practices. To my surprise, when reading the colophon of this work for the first time, I realized—equally fascinated and challenged—that his work was not an autonomous work at all, but the latest commentary in a series of other commentaries stretching back to the eighteenth century on an essential yet, at that point, unknown and unidentified root text written by another important Bhutanese master, rJe Shākya-rin-chen—one of the most illustrious figures of eighteenth-century Tibetan Buddhist intellectual history with a truly extraordinary biography. His text, the *Grub pa'i mdung rnon*, is divided into seven controversial topics in the form of questions and answers and thematically covers the entire Mahāmudrā controversy—despite its conciseness.

Subsequently, I discovered the fascinating genesis of these works in which I identified three stages of text production: (1) initial oral discourses between Bhutanese and Tibetan masters about Mahāmudrā resulting later in rJe Shākya-rin-chen's root verses, the *Grub pa'i mdung rnon*; (2) composition of three commentaries in the eighteenth century that partially or wholly comprise rJe Shākya-rin-chen's root verses by the Thirteenth rJe-mkhan-po Yon-tan-mtha'-yas (1724–1784, hereafter rJe Yon-tan-mtha'-yas), sPa-gro-chos-rje Pad-dkar-chos-kyi-rgya-mtsho (b. eighteenth century, hereafter Chos-kyi-rgya-mtsho) and the Second Dre'u-lhas-sprul-sku Grub-dbang Kun-dga'-mi-'gyur-rdo-rje (1721–1769) from the Tibetan branch of the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud school; and (3) composition of the latest commentary by rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen from the second half of the twentieth century fully comprising rJe Shākya-rin-chen's root verses. Chapter 1.4 addresses the genesis of the first two stages of textual production, namely rJe Shākya-rin-chen's root text and its three commentaries from the eighteenth century.

As a background for the reader, in Chapter 1.1, Chapter 1.2, and Chapter 1.3, I provide an introduction into the history of the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud schools in Tibet and Bhutan, the foundation of a separate Bhutanese branch (*lho 'brug*) of this school that followed

Zhabs-drung’s establishment of a unified State of Bhutan (*’brug gzhung*) in the seventeenth century as well as the office of the highest religious post in Bhutan, that of the Chief Abbot (*’brug rje mkhan po*).

Then, in Chapter 2, I explore rJe dGe-’dun-rin-chen’s life mainly based on a rich biographical and autobiographical source as an interesting example of Bhutanese “life-writing,” rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs Ngag-dbang bSod-nams-rgya-mtsho (b. 1957, hereafter rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs)’s *rTogs brjod mdor bsdus dwangs shel me long*, which has not yet been translated.²² It was located in the rTa-mgo Monastery near Thim-phu during my field research in Bhutan. The *Dwangs shel me long* was composed by his direct and close disciple, rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs, very near the time when rJe dGe-’dun-rin-chen passed. rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs is the principal of the five *slob dpon*s of the Central Monastic Body (*gzhung lhan tshogs*) in Bhutan, and I had the privilege to meet him at rJe dGe-’dun-rin-chen’s last residence, dByangs-can-phu, in Thim-phu on the occasion of religious ceremonies and initiations on the important Buddhist festival of commemorating “Buddha’s Descent from Heaven” (*lha babs dus chen*). This spiritual biography also includes rJe dGe-’dun-rin-chen’s brief autobiography in verse, the *dBen pa’i yon tan la bsngags pa bse ru’i gtam* (hereafter *bSe ru’i gtam*).²³

In addition, I partially consider another later biography, the *rJe dran zla ba’i ’dzum zer*, also composed in Tibetan by sPa-gro rTa-mchog-chos-rje mKhan-po Tshe-ring and published in 2017, followed by an English translation in 2020. It is richly illustrated with photographs of him and many eminent twentieth-century and partially nineteenth-century Tibetan and Bhutanese Buddhist masters, his autographs, and other religious paintings. Additionally, it pro-

²²rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs, *rTogs brjod mdor bsdus dwangs shel me long* (*The Crystal Mirror [of] Abbreviated Expressions [of] Realization*). Ulrike Roesler has drawn attention to the English translation of the Tibetan genre designation of *rnam thar* as “hagiography” and has proposed to render it with “life-writing,” since not all *rnam thars* can be considered “hagiographical” in the sense of the employment of this term in the European medieval context. As a result, I use here the more neutral terminology of “life-writing” as proposed by her; cf. ROESLER 2014: 116–118.

²³rJe dGe-’dun-rin-chen, *dBen pa’i yon tan la bsngags pa bse ru’i gtam* (*Report of a Pratyekabuddha: Praises about the Virtues of a Hermit*).

Introduction

vides many as of yet undocumented examples of the lively oral biographical tradition in Bhutan.²⁴ In sum, I present a systematic and chronological overview of rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's life and introduce the different sources based on applicable theoretical and methodological approaches from the field of "life-writing" in the Tibetan cultural area. I hope that further ethnographic and media and communication studies will explore on the basis of my textual research the gradual and still evolving process of the documentation, preservation, and continuation of rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's biographical accounts and tradition—under consideration of the lively oral traditions in Bhutan.²⁵

Then, while in Chapter 3.2, I focus in detail on the textual analysis of rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's interpretation of the Mahāmudrā doctrine and meditative system based on my annotated translation and critical edition, the detailed annotated translation and critical edition as an *editio princeps* of rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's *Dus kyi pho nya* comprising rJe Shākya-rin-chen's *Grub pa'i mdung rmon* are found in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6.

David P. Jackson has drawn attention to the great complexity in studying just *one* Tibetan scholar and understanding them properly in their terminology, context, and time. Although nowadays, mere descriptive studies without any timely buzzwords may be considered unattractive, one should first understand both sides of a debate by studying the writings of both participants equally seriously before drawing any definite conclusions. As a result, he advises a prudent approach by means of comparative studies.²⁶ In my analysis a careful approach such as this that considers the complexity of the Mahāmudrā controversy and its long history has proven to be appropriate, also given the fact that several important lineage masters of the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud school or other Buddhist scholars

²⁴sPa-gro rTa-mchog-chos-rje mKhan-po Tshe-ring, *rJes dran zla ba'i 'dzum zer* (published additionally under the English title: *Smiling Moon: A Biography of 69th Je khenpo His Holiness Gendun Rinchen*). I am indebted to Françoise Pommaret to bring the Tibetan version of the *Zla ba'i 'dzum* all the way to Paris. In addition, I thank Dorji Penjore for providing me with a scan of the English translation of the *Zla ba'i 'dzum*.

²⁵For an overview about different terminologies in Tibetan and English translation, see n. 127 on p. 61.

²⁶See JACKSON 1990: 23–24.

that have been formative for rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's thinking have not yet been systematically studied.

However, particularly in my annotated translation and analysis, I trace important influences of scholars from his own school who are considered authoritative by rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen, such as Kun-dga'-dpal-'byor, Padma-dkar-po, rJe Shākya-rin-chen, and rJe Yon-tan-mtha'-yas. In addition, I document influences outside his sectarian boundaries such as from the eminent Sa-skyia master Shākya-mchog-lan. Therefore, my detailed annotated translation of both works, the *Dus kyi pho nya* comprising the *Grub pa'i mdung rnon*, with close consideration of rJe Yon-tan-mtha'-yas' prose commentary, the *Nges don phyag rgya chen po la dris pa'i gsung lan 'og min ston pa'i zhal lung* (hereafter '*Og min zhal lung*'),²⁷ documents the positions of two important 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud masters from eighteenth-century Bhutan: rJe Shākya-rin-chen and rJe Yon-tan-mtha'-yas. To my current knowledge, rJe Shākya-rin-chen's *Grub pa'i mdung rnon* and rJe Yon-tan-mtha'-yas' '*Og min zhal lung* represent the only systematic exegetical and doctrinal treatment of the controversy apart from practice manuals of Mahāmudrā in their respective Collected Works.

Moreover, since the Mahāmudrā doctrine is the paramount teaching in all bKa'-brgyud schools, its establishment through defense is crucial for determining the self-perception and identity of scholars in these schools. The works studied here fully consider all controversial topics of the Mahāmudrā controversy since its first systematized criticism by Sa-skyia Paṇḍita in contrast to many other works that deal in depth with one or two topics of the controversy, such as the relation between Mahāmudrā and Madhyamaka views. In addition, they consider a long period in the history of this controversy. Setting the composition date of Sa-skyia Paṇḍita's *sDom gsum rab dbye*²⁸ as a starting point, they roughly consider eight centuries of continued debates on Mahāmudrā. Consequently, they include a great variety of increasingly specialized interpretations by many important masters from all four Tibetan Buddhist schools. In sum, I contribute, in general, to *mapping* the reception history of the Mahā-

²⁷ *Nges don phyag rgya chen po la dris pa'i gsung lan 'og min ston pa'i zhal lung* (*The Oral Instructions of the Teacher of the Akaniṣṭha [Realm]: A Reply to the Questions About Mahāmudrā of Definite Meaning*).

²⁸ The composition date is estimated according to RHOTON 2002: 15 to be around the year 1232.

Introduction

mudrā controversy in Tibet and Bhutan as a whole and, in particular, the reception history of the Mahāmudrā controversy and intellectual history of Bhutan from the eighteenth to twentieth centuries.

In Chapter 3.4, I introduce the reader to rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's broader intellectual agenda that aimed to develop an innovative and well-reasoned interpretation for his school, especially concerning his non-sectarian education and role models.

Furthermore, in order to document rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's intellectual heritage and pave the way for future research on him, Chapter 3.3 presents, based on the table of contents (*dkar chag*) and the topical outline (*sa bcad*), a summary of the structure and works in his *bKa' 'bum*, which consists of ten volumes with one hundred and twenty-eight works and covers all relevant topics of Tibetan scholasticism, debate, and meditative and ritual practices. In particular, I outline three of rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's works that have already received wide academic appreciation outside of Bhutan: first and foremost, his history of the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud school, the *dPal ldan 'brug pa'i gdul zhing lho phyogs nags mo'i ljongs kyi chos 'byung bla gsar ma ba'i rgyan*; his spiritual biography of the "Madman of the 'Brug-pa" (*smyon pa 'brug pa*) 'Brug-pa Kun-legs (1455–1529), the *Chos rje kun dga' legs pa'i rnam thar grub pa'i rtogs brjod*;²⁹ and his biographical account of Zhabs-drung, the *dPal 'brug pa rin po che mthu chen chos kyi rgyal po ngag dbang rnam rgyal gyi rnam thar rgya mtsho'i snying po*.

For further studies, a list of the complete works contained in rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's *bKa' 'bum* is conveniently provided in Appendix B: Works in rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's *bKa' 'bum*. Composition dates and the context of the production of various of rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's works are additionally documented based on the biographical accounts in Chapter 2. As a result, I demonstrate how deeply rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen impacted the religious landscape of twentieth-century Bhutan.

Finally, rJe Shākya-rin-chen's *Grub pa'i mdung rnon* is not included in his *gSung 'bum* or otherwise available outside of Bhutan, and likewise, several versions of its commentaries are only found in Bhutan. Therefore, I am deeply indebted to the National Library

²⁹This work became widely known in the West due to the translation by Keith Dowman and Sonam Paljor in 1982. It was first published in 1971 in Kalimpong in India; see for example DOWMAN & PALJOR 2000.

and Archives of Bhutan, Thimphu, which enabled me to locate and use two versions of the *Grub pa'i mdung rnon* (one manuscript and one block print) and several versions of its commentaries during my field research in Bhutan in October and November 2014. Both versions of the *Grub pa'i mdung rnon* were made available with the kind permission of the National Library and Archives of Bhutan presented as a colored facsimile edition in Appendix A: Facsimile Editions of the *Grub pa'i mdung rnon* (B_a & B_b). In Chapter 4, I describe these different manuscripts and block prints in more detail and share several codicological and paleographical observations relevant for the genesis of these texts. Consequently, my research provides access to the study of these commentarial traditions of Mahāmudrā in the Tibetan and Bhutanese branches of the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud school in the eighteenth century for the first time.

To conclude, for this study I utilized Tibetan-language primary sources that have thus far not been studied and were partially extant only in Bhutan. In recent years an increasing interest in Bhutan has been observed in many different academic disciplines. My contribution here is to preserve and make accessible the religious and cultural heritage of Bhutan through systematic historical-philological research of important textual sources under consideration of my archival and field research in Bhutan in 2014.

Earlier Research

In this last section, I provide a brief overview of relevant earlier research for the interested reader and several suggestions for future research. In recent decades, a remarkable amount of academic literature on various research areas relating to the Mahāmudrā doctrine and meditative system has become available and has enabled the modern researcher to undertake increasingly specialized studies. In his article, "The Study Of Mahāmudrā In The West: A Brief Historical Overview," Roger R. Jackson has provided a concise overview of the study of Mahāmudrā from the eighteenth to the twenty-first centuries (2011). He has also pointed out that, in general, publications relating to Mahāmudrā have from the very beginning been of both popular and scholastic nature because the Mahāmudrā doctrine had, as mentioned above, become widely known and practiced by West-

ern Buddhists.³⁰ Moreover, as many of the early Tibetan Buddhist masters teaching in the West had been from the Karma bKa'-brgyud tradition, the focus of publications since then has naturally been on this tradition.

JACKSON, R. 2011: 35–36, has also drawn attention to three fields of Mahāmudrā study in which he strongly recommends further research: (1) on Indian Sources of Mahāmudrā,³¹ (2) on the Mahāmudrā doctrine in a broader context, for example, from the perspective of the Sa-skya or dGe-lugs schools,³² and (3) relying upon earlier

³⁰See JACKSON, R. 2011: 18–19. The following section is mainly based on Roger R. Jackson's overview of the research on the Mahāmudrā doctrine. Selectively, I would like to mention the last three "Proceedings of the Seminar of the International Association of Tibetan Studies" reflecting general current research trends in the field of Mahāmudrā studies: *Mahāmudrā and the Bka'-brgyud Tradition: Proceedings of the 11th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Königswinter 2006*; see KAPSTEIN & JACKSON 2011; *Toward a History of Tibetan Mahāmudrā Traditions. IATS 2013: Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the Thirteenth Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia 2013*; see MATHES 2015b; and JACKSON R. & MATHES 2020 resulting from the panel "Tibetan Mahāmudrā traditions" at the Fourteenth Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies 2016 in Bergen, Norway.

³¹For research about the Indian origins and Tibetan interpretation of Mahāmudrā, see JACKSON R. & MATHES 2020. Other important contributions in this field include Klaus-Dieter Mathes' *A Fine Blend of Mahāmudrā and Madhyamaka: Maitrīpa's Collection of Texts on Non-conceptual Realization (Amanasikāra)*; see MATHES 2015a; and Harunaga Isaacson's and Francesco Sferra's *The Sekanirdeśa of Maitreyanātha (Advayavajra) with the Sekanirdeśapañjikā of Rāmapāla: Critical Edition of the Sanskrit and Tibetan Texts with English Translation and Reproductions of the MSS*; see ISAACSON & SFERRA 2014. For various studies on the *dohā* literature, see for example, Roger R. Jackson, Lara Braitstein, and Matthew T. Kapstein.

³²For a brief overview of additional contributions in this field of study, see also JACKSON, R. 2011: 25. See also Roger R. Jackson's recent "Assimilating the Great Seal: the Dge lugs pa'ization of the *dge ldan bka' brgyud* Traditions of Mahāmudrā;" in JACKSON R. & MATHES 2020: 302–328. Furthermore, possible research could analyze the Bo-dong master bTsun-pa Chos-legs' (1437–1521) Mahāmudrā exegesis. For a presentation and examination of these works, which were located and microfiched by the "Nepalese-German Manuscript Cataloguing Project (NGMCP),"

sources and authors apart from the classical prominent bKa'-brgyud lineage holder, such as Mi-la-ras-pa (1052–1135), Mar-pa Lo-tsa-ba Chos-kyi-blo-gros (1012–1097, hereafter Mar-pa Lo-tsa-ba) or sGam-po-pa bSod-nams-rin-chen (1079–1153, hereafter sGam-po-pa).³³

Here, I will briefly sketch several studies related to the Mahāmudrā doctrine and meditative practices of the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud school that are relevant for my research. Religio-doctrinal studies on the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud school have mainly concentrated on its eminent scholar Padma-dkar-po, who is considered the central figure in the systematization of the teachings in this school. In general, such studies have focused on his Mahāmudrā doctrine, the Six Doctrines of Nāropa/*bsre 'pho* teachings, and his religious history, the *Chos 'byung bstan pa'i padma rgyas pa'i nyin byed*.

Early publications on Padma-dkar-po's selected works and thought include Herbert V. Günther's *The Life and Teachings of Nāropa*³⁴ as well as a first translation of Padma-dkar-po's *rNal 'byor bzhi'i nges pa rab tu dbye ba phyag rgya chen po'i bshad pa thams cad kyi bla ma* in his *Meditation Differently: Phenomenological-psychological Aspects of Tibetan Buddhist (Mahāmudrā and sNying-thig) Practices from Original Tibetan Sources*.³⁵ Padma-dkar-po's

see EHRHARD, F.-K. 2016: 119–120; 229–230.

³³In general, research has been strongly focused on the Karma bKa'-brgyud school, and research on minor bKa'-brgyud branches, for example, important sTag-lung bKa'-brgyud lineage holders, is still a *desideratum*. One example of a crucial piece of research of this kind is Cécile Ducher's "A neglected Bka' brgyud Lineage: the Rngog from Gzhung and the Rngog pa Bka' brgyud Transmission;" in JACKSON R. & MATHES 2020: 142–169. For the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud school, earlier influences before Padma-dkar-po and Kun-dga'-dpal-'byor still need to be systematically evaluated; for example, those of Yang-dgon-pa in terms of Padma-dkar-po's enhancement of crucial concepts, such as the distinction of foundational Mahāmudrā into Mahāmudrā of the abiding mode (*gnas lugs phyag chen*) and Mahāmudrā in the mode of deception (*'khrul lugs phyag chen*), and their incorporation into Padma-dkar-po's philosophical-exegetical construct of ideas and technical terms.

³⁴Herbert V. Günther, *The Life and Teachings of Nāropa* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963), 222–235; see JACKSON, R. 2011: 19–20.

³⁵Herbert V. Günther, *Meditation Differently: Phenomenological-psychological Aspects of Tibetan Buddhist (Mahāmudrā and sNying-thig) Practices from Original Tibetan Sources* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass,

Introduction

Phyag chen zin bris was translated by W. Y. Evans-Wentz in his *Tibetan Yoga and Secret Doctrines* including introduction and annotations.³⁶ A synopsis of the *Phyag chen zin bris* was already given in Alexandra David-Néel's *Initiations and Initiates in Tibet*.³⁷ Padma-dkar-po's *Phyag chen lhan cig skyes sbyor khrid yig* was translated by Stephan Beyer in *The Buddhist Experience: Sources and Interpretations*.³⁸

Michael Broido was the first scholar to address Padma-dkar-po's intellectual agenda more systematically, as well as addressing important key terms in his thinking and providing translations of important passages from the *Phyag rgya chen po'i man ngag gi bshad sbyar rgyal ba'i gan mdzod*. He produced a series of five articles,³⁹ the last of which elicited a lengthy critical response in David P. Jackson's "Sa-skyā Pandita the 'Polemicist': Ancient Debates and Modern Interpretations."⁴⁰

Moreover, David Higgins and Martina Draszczyk published a

1992), 15–32.

³⁶W. Y. Evans-Wentz, *Tibetan Yoga and Secret Doctrines* (New York: Oxford University Press, [1935] 1958), 101–154; see JACKSON, R. 2011: 11–12.

³⁷Alexandra David-Néel, *Initiations and Initiates in Tibet* (London: Rider & Co., [1931] 1970), 198–206; see JACKSON, R. 2011: 10.

³⁸Stephan Beyer, *The Buddhist Experience: Sources and Interpretations* (Encino/Belmont, CA: Dickenson, 1974), 154–161; see JACKSON, R. 2011: 22. For further contributions to Padma-dkar-po's Mahāmudrā interpretation, see the extensive study on different Tibetan scholars by Daniel Brown, *Pointing Out the Great Way: The Stages of Meditation in the Mahamudra Tradition* (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2006); see JACKSON, R. 2011: 30–31. See also Sensei A. Hoshin, *The Practices of Co-Emergent Mahāmudrā* (Ottawa: White Wind Zen Community, 1991); and also John Crook and James Low, *The Yogins of Ladakh: A Pilgrimage Among the Hermits of the Buddhist Himalayas* (Delhi: Motilal Barnasidass, 1997), 342–397; see JACKSON, R. 2011: 33, n. 136. Regarding Padma-dkar-po's aural transmission and *bsre 'pho* teaching, see DUFF 2011b; KRAGH, U. 2011; SERNESI 2011; TORICELLI 1993 and TORICELLI 1995.

³⁹See BROIDO 1980, BROIDO 1984, BROIDO 1985a, BROIDO 1985b, BROIDO 1987.

⁴⁰See JACKSON, D. 1990.

detailed study that explicates important technical terms in Padma-dkar-po's Mahāmudrā interpretation, such as his three different grammatical interpretations of non-mentation (*amanasikāra*) and his distinction into Mahāmudrā of the abiding mode (*gnas lugs phyag chen*) and Mahāmudrā in the mode of deception (*'khrul lugs phyag chen*). This study also addresses important earlier influences incorporated in Padma-dkar-po's philosophical-exegetical construct, such as those from the second main figure in the systematization of the teachings in the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud school, Kun-dga'-dpal-'byor, as well as from Yang-dgon-pa rGyal-mtshan-dpal (1213–1258) and others. All in all, the study focuses on the later Tibetan doctrinal positions of Padma-dkar-po and three other important scholars, Shākya-mchogldan, Karma-phrin-las Phyogs-las-rnam-rgyal (1456—1539, hereafter Karma Phrin-las-pa), and the Eighth Karmapa Mi-bskyod-rdo-rje (1507–1554, hereafter Mi-bskyod-rdo-rje), about Madhyamaka and Mahāmudrā in the polemic debates from the fifteenth to the sixteenth centuries.⁴¹

Additionally, seven of Padma-dkar-po's Mahāmudrā works have been translated in Tony Duff's *Drukchen Padma Karpo's Collected Works on Mahamudra*: (1) *rJe btsun ti lli pas nā ro pa la gdams pa'i phyag chen gangga ma*, (2) *rNal 'byor bzhi'i nges pa rab tu dbye ba phyag rgya chen po'i bshad pa thams cad kyi bla ma'o*, (3) *Phyag rgya chen po rnal 'byor bzhi'i bshad pa nges don lta ba'i mig*, (4) *rNal 'byor bzhi'i bshad pa don dam mdzud tshugs su bstan pa*, (5) *Phyag chen gyi zin bris*, (6) *sNying po don gyi man ngag sems kyi me long*, and (7) *Phyag rgya chen po lnga ldan gyi khrid dmigs yid kyi snye ma*.⁴²

In this manner, several of Padma-dkar-po's works and doctrines, seldom easy to read, have been partially or completely translated and referred to,⁴³ but a systematic study of his intellectual agenda based on historical-philological methodology is still a *desideratum*; also JACKSON, R. 2011: 36, has pointed out that, for instance,

⁴¹See HIGGINS & DRASZCZYK 2016. See also HIGGINS 2016.

⁴²See DUFF 2011a. The Padma Karpo Translation Committee and Drukpa Kagyu Heritage Project under Tony Duff have focused their main efforts in the preservation and translation of 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud works from scholars such as Padma-dkar-po and Kun-dga'-dpal-'byor; see also DUFF 2011c.

⁴³See for example KRUG 2020; KEMP 2015.

Introduction

complete translations of Padma-dkar-po's *Chos 'byung bstan pa'i padma rgyas pa'i nyin byed* and *Phyag rgya chen po'i man ngag gi bshad sbyar rgyal ba'i gan mdzod* are needed. An important resource that lays the religio-political foundation also for subsequent religio-doctrinal studies about Padma-dkar-po is Haoran Hao's current dissertation research since it documents the early history of the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud school by translating and interpreting Padma-dkar-po's autobiography.⁴⁴

In conclusion, three aspects seem important to me to address when further studying the intellectual history of the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud school: (1) exploring influences relevant to the formation of the philosophical and doctrinal positions of the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud school prior to Kun-dga'-dpal-'byor and Padma-dkar-po and their connection to Indian masters; (2) documenting the diversity of doctrinal positions within the different branches of the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud school;⁴⁵ and (3) understanding philosophical-doctrinal positions in the Bhutanese 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud school after the seventeenth century until today.⁴⁶

In my research, I address the formative effect of the Mahāmudrā interpretation in the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud in Bhutan from the eighteenth century onward. However, further research is urgently needed

⁴⁴Written communication with Haoran Hou (University of Leipzig) on July 9, 2020. The dissertation thesis is titled "Play of the Great Compassionate One: Life and Works of the Fourth rGyal dbang 'Brug chen Padma dkar po" and will be published soon.

⁴⁵For one example that demonstrates the diversity within the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud school, see Rinpoche Khamtrul, Gerardo Abboud (transl.), *The Royal Seal of Mahamudra: A Guidebook for the Realization of Co-emergence* (Ithaca, NY: Snow Lion Publications, 2 vols., 2015/2020).

⁴⁶Fortunately, from the perspective of religio-political studies on the history of Bhutan, these days, a solid foundation and abundant research is available through the studies of, for example, Michael Aris, John A. Ardussi, Françoise Pommaret, Per K. Sørensen, Tony Huber, and many Bhutanese scholars, such as Karma Phuntsho and Yonten Dargye. See for example ARDUSSI 1977; ARDUSSI 2004; ARDUSSI & POMMARET 2007; ARIS 1979; ARIS 1994; PHUNTSHO 2013; a great number of articles, mostly of Bhutanese scholars, are found, for example, in the *Journal of Bhutan Studies* and, most recently, the *International Journal of Bhutan & Himalayan Research*. Furthermore, anthropological and sociological research is intensively carried out these days.

A Timely Message from the Cave

on philosophical-doctrinal positions of the Bhutanese branch of the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud school in contrast to the Tibetan branch since its institutionalization following Zhabs-drung's establishment of a unified State of Bhutan in the seventeenth century. Consequently, increased attention should be paid to the fact that there has never been one *doctrinally monolithic* 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud school supposedly cemented once and for all by their eminent scholar Padma-dkar-po. On the contrary, scholars of the Bhutanese branch and other branches seem to have been constantly putting efforts into refining their doctrinal positions over the centuries with great regional differences in the diverse branches as a lived reality up to the present—often in intense exchange with other scholars as the trans-regional text production of rJe Shākya-rin-chen's *Grub pa'i mdung rnon* and its commentaries exemplifies.

Part I: Analysis

Chapter 1

Buddhism and Politics: Bhutan and Beyond

Half the people are 'Brug-pas,
Half the 'Brug-pas are paupers,
Half the paupers are saints!

*Tibetan Proverb**

The following chapter sketches out the history of the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud school and its different branches up until the foundation of a separate Bhutanese branch (*lho 'brug*) in the seventeenth century that followed Zhabs-drung's establishment of a unified State of Bhutan (*'brug gzhung*) and the role and function of the newly created office of the Chief Abbot (*'brug rje mkhan po*) of this branch in its present day context. Then, I analyze the genesis of the first two stages of textual production of rJe Shākya-rin-chen's root text, the *Grub pa'i mdung rnon*, and its three commentaries from the eighteenth century. Consequently, based on these works, I am able to trace the as of yet unstudied reception history of the Mahāmudrā controversy in the Bhutanese and Tibetan branches of the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud school in the eighteenth century.

1.1 Introduction: The 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud Schools

For this overview, I follow the common categorization into four main Tibetan Buddhist schools (*chos lugs chen po bzhi*): (1) rNying-ma, (2) bKa'-brgyud, (3) Sa-skya, and (4) dGe-lugs. Equally important, there have been a multitude of alternative categorizations among Tibetan scholars, such as the concept of the "eight great pioneers of the meditation lineages" (*sgrub brgyud shing rta chen po bgyad*)—one that, in particular, has been influential in the conceptualization

*See also in ARIS 1979: 172.

and writings of the *ris-med* scholars in the nineteenth century.⁴⁷

In general, the bKa'-brgyud school is subdivided into two main branches, the Shangs-pa bKa'-brgyud school going back to Bla-ma Shangs-pa/Khyung-po-rnal-'byor (978/990–1127) and the Dwags-po bKa'-brgyud school founded by sGam-po-pa. The latter is further divided into four main great lineages (*bka' brgyud che bzhi*): (1) the Phag-gru bKa'-brgyud school with eight minor branches, founded by students of the famous Phag-mo-gru-pa rDo-rje-rgyal-po (1110–1170, hereafter Phag-mo-gru-pa), who was one of the main students of sGam-po-pa; (2) the Karma bKa'-brgyud school; (3) the 'Ba'-rom bKa'-brgyud school; and (4) the Tshal-pa bKa'-brgyud school. The 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud school is usually counted as one of the eight minor lineages (*bka' brgyud chung brgyad*) of the Phag-gru bKa'-brgyud school.

The eight minor schools are: (1) 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud, (2) 'Bri-gung bKa'-brgyud, (3) sTag-lung bKa'-brgyud, (4) g.Yam-bzang bKa'-brgyud, (5) Khro-phu bKa'-brgyud, (6) Shug-gseb bKa'-brgyud, (7) Yel-pa bKa'-brgyud, and (8) sMar-tshang bKa'-brgyud. Many of these schools are now extinct and therefore under-researched on.⁴⁸

Turning now to the subsequent developments within the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud school in detail, this school goes back to gTsang-pa-rgya-ras Ye-shes-rdo-rje (1161–1211, hereafter gTsang-pa-rgya-ras), a student of Gling-ras-pa Padma-rdo-rje (1128–1188, hereafter Gling-ras-pa) who himself had been a student of Phag-mo-gru-pa and also belonged to the influential rGya family line.⁴⁹ In general, in its

⁴⁷The eight lineages are: (1) rNying-ma-pa, (2) bKa'-gdams-pa, (3) Lam-'bras-pa, (4) bKa'-brgyud-pa, (5) Zhi-byed-pa, (6) Shangs-pa, (7) sByor-drug-pa, and (8) bsNyen-sgrub-pa; see *bDud 'joms chos 'byung*, pp. 529.12–530.9). For 'Phreng-po gTer-ston Shes-rab-'od zer (1518–1584)'s exposition on the *sgrub brgyud shing rta chen po brgyad* as a very early example of this categorization, see DEROCHE 2009.

⁴⁸See THONDUP 1987: 49–53. For a detailed exposition based on the relevant Tibetan primary sources, see SMITH 2001: 39–58.

⁴⁹For an overview of the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud school according to the Second dPa'-bo gTsug-lag-'phreng-ba's categorization, see ROERICH 1949: 664–705. For an overview of Gling-ras-pa's and gTsang-pa-rgya-ras' life, see MILLER 2005. For a presentation and comparison of three different editions of gTsang-pa-rgya-ras' Collected Works, see KUMAGAI & GAWA & AKINORI 2012. John A. Ardussi has provided an overview

beginnings, this school was associated with a strong emphasis on meditation and the simple lifestyle of mendicants. Religious histories usually state that in 1189, when gTsang-pa-rgya-ras was going to build his first monastery in gTsang, near the gNam-gyi-phu village, he saw nine dragons flying up in the air producing a thundering sound and therefore named the new monastery gNam-'brug and that the school's name derived from that. He also founded Klong-rdol in sKyid-shod and Rwa-lung in the Eastern gTsang province; the latter became the major seat of the middle 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud school (*bar 'brug*) with its subsequent throne holders also stemming from the rGya family line.⁵⁰

The 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud school split into three branches, each established by another disciple of gTsang-pa-rgya-ras: (1) the middle 'Brug-pa (*bar 'brug*) founded by Sangs-rgyas-dbon-ras Dharma-seng-ge (1177/78–1237), (2) the upper 'Brug-pa (*stod 'brug*) founded by rGod-tshang-pa mGon-po-rdo-rje (1189–1258, hereafter rGod-tshang-pa), and (3) the lower 'Brug-pa (*smad 'brug*) founded by Lo-ras-pa dBang-phyug-brtson-'grus (1187–1250, hereafter Lo-ras-pa).⁵¹

Enpassing, in his presentation of the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud schools in the *lHo 'brug chos 'byung*, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen chooses the alternative terminologies of *bka' brgyud spyi'i ring lugs* and *dpal ldan 'brug pa'i ring lugs* for the usually ascribed designations for his school as a minor lineage of the (*bka' brgyud chung brgyad*) and the threefold distinction into upper, middle, and lower (*bar 'brug/stod 'brug/smad 'brug*), respectively. In addition, he points out that the latter are external ascriptions from non-'Brug-pa-bKa'-brgyud scholars.⁵²

of the rGya family and their incarnation lineages in Tibet and Bhutan in the form of a table in BARTHOLOMEV & JOHNSTON 2008: 373–375.

⁵⁰See ARIS 1979: 172; see also PHUNTSHO 2013: 9 and SMITH 2001: 44–45. On the teachings of the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud school, see also n. 418 on p. 176 and n. 551 on p. 253.

⁵¹See ARIS 1979: 173.

⁵²See rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen, *lHo 'brug chos 'byung* (pp. 43.1–3; 96.2–14; 97.1–3). For the related distinction regarding the transmission of teachings through two types of lineages, *ring brgyud* and *don brgyud*, see also n. 423 on p. 178. This minor example demonstrates the importance of being aware that a specific doxographical terminology may be only externally ascribed, though not necessarily accepted or part of

1.2 The 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud Schools in Bhutan

In Bhutan, Pha-jo 'Brug-sgom-zhig-po (1184–1251) was the first and most important master from the middle branch of the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud school who was able to establish a permanent stronghold for his school in the Western parts of Bhutan.⁵³ He also belonged to a branch of the rGya family line and had been sent by his teacher Sangs-rgyas-dbon-ras to Bhutan in 1222, where he was successful in overthrowing the religious dominion of the lHa-pa school in the Western part of Bhutan.

The lHa-pa school was a sub-branch of the 'Bri-gung bKa'-brgyud school founded by gNyos-rgyal-ba lHa-nang-pa (1164–1224), who had been a direct disciple of the founder of the 'Bri-gung bKa'-brgyud school, sKyob-pa 'Jig-rten-gsum-mgon (1143–1217), and had previously controlled the valleys of Thim-phu, sPa-gro, and Hā in Western Bhutan. After its defeat, this school resettled in the U-ra valley in Eastern Bhutan. The religious family lineage of 'Brug-sgom-zhig-po's descendants hosted a series of throne holders from Rwa-lung who were subsequently able to extend the power of the Pha-jo family lineage into Eastern Bhutan, and were also able to engage in bonds of matrimony with the mother monastery in Rwa-lung thereby enabling members of the family to be in the succession of the rGya-family throne holders.⁵⁴

the self-perception and identity of the party it was initially ascribed to (here the Second dPa'-bo gTsong-lag-'phreng-ba's ascription. Seiji Kumagai has pointed out in his presentation ("The Founder and Disciples of the Drukpa Kagyu school: Re-examination of the Three Sub-schools of Drukpa Kagyu") at the Fifteenth Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies in Paris (2019) that, in general, the categorization into the three branches of upper, middle and lower 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud-pa should be newly looked at from a Bhutanese perspective and based on doxographical sources. Evidently, this is also connected to crucial research questions, in particular, about the construction and reconstruction of the own religious history and past from the perspective of scholars of the newly founded Bhutanese branch of the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud school (*lho 'brug*) in Bhutan in the seventeenth century and religious-doctrinal and confessional identity-building, more generally.

⁵³For a translation of Pha-jo 'Brug-sgom-zhig-po's biography, the *Pha 'brug sgom zhig pa'i rnam par thar pa thugs rje'i chu rgyun*, see DARGYE & SØRENSEN 2001; for the discussion of his dates, see *ibid.*: x–xii.

⁵⁴These events are, for example, depicted in detail in PHUNTSO 2013:

Nevertheless, several charismatic religious masters of the other two branches of the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud school also made their way to Bhutan and engaged in various religious activities, such as the Mahāsiddha sPyil-dkar-ba (1228–1300) from the upper branch of the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud school, who was a disciple of rGod-tshang-pa. From the sixteenth century on (or possibly earlier), his descendants established the sPa-gro-cho-rje lineage, which generally resided at its monastic seat of bSam-gtan-chos-gling in the village of gZar-chen-kha near sPa-gro. Family members were later principal allies of Zhabs-drung, for which they received a tax dispensation. We will encounter one of the descendants of this religious lineage later as one of the authors of an eighteenth-century commentary of rJe Shākya-rin-chen's *Grub pa'i mdung rnon*, namely sPa-gro-chos-rje Pad-dkar-chos-kyi-rgya-mtsho.⁵⁵

Another master from the upper branch of the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud school, 'Ba'-ra-ba rGyal-mtshan-dpal-bzang (1310–1391), who was recognized as an incarnation of Yang-dgon-pa rGyal-mtshan-dpal (1213–1258, hereafter Yang-dgon-pa) and was the first in that lineage of incarnations, founded the monastery of Brang-rgyas-kha, near sPa-gro, and was engaged in mediating conflicts (sometimes violent) in Bhutan.⁵⁶ From the lower branch of the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud school, Lo-ras-pa was active in Bum-thang in Eastern Bhutan and is said to have established at least two religious sites.⁵⁷

Even earlier than 'Brug-sgom-zhig-po, Rin-chen-grags-pa dPal-dan Grub-thob gTer-khungs-pa (b. 13th century), a disciple of g'Tsang-pa-rgya-ras, was sent to Bhutan and founded the monastic site of 'Obs-tsho-chos-sdings in the districts of dGon-yul and La-yag in Northern Bhutan, probably between 1212 to 1214. He was a member of the 'Obs-tsho family lineage, which also had close religious and

137–145.

⁵⁵See ARDUSSI 1977: 162–163, n. 39; see also ARIS 1979: 173 and PHUNTSHO 2005: 146; see also p. 46.

⁵⁶For an biographical overview of 'Ba'-ra-ba rGyal-mtshan-dpal-bzang and the successive lineage holders; see ERSCHBAMER 2017: 19–56. I thank Volker Caumanns for this reference.

⁵⁷For a detailed exposition of the religious activities and institutions founded by these and other masters, see PHUNTSHO 2013: 145–150; 182–183.

matrimonial bounds with the Rwa-lung Monastery.⁵⁸

Of all the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud masters who came to Bhutan, the most prominent and popular was the “Madman of the 'Brug-pa” (*smyon pa 'brug pa*) 'Brug-pa Kun-legs (1455–1529), a type of Buddhist Tantric practitioner who withstands any conventional categorization and was best-known for their “crazy wisdom.” From among all these masters he seems to have had the most profound socio-cultural imprint on the Bhutanese. 'Brug-pa Kun-legs was collaterally related to the rGya family lineage, but, as a mostly free-roaming mendicant, did not seem to have sought any gain, social prestige, or political and economic power. However, his writings, for example in the form of social criticism, bear witness to the great extent of his scholarship and self-awareness about many highly sensitive religious and political worldly matters. His more scandalous behavior, however, found ample entrance into oral and written traditions preserved and retrospectively reinvented and constructed new aspects of his person and activities.⁵⁹ In Bhutan, he is, in particular, associated with rituals of fertility and warding off of malicious spirits often symbolized by a phallus. The phallus is very visible in Bhutanese material culture, such as beautifully painted on the walls of many houses in Bhutan. The religious site usually associated with these rituals of fertility is the 'Chi-med-lha-khang near sPu-na-kha. The Second Dre'u-lhas-sprul-sku Grub-dbang Kun-dga'-mi-'gyur-rdo-rje (hereafter Kun-dga'-mi-'gyur-rdo-rje), one of the commentators of rJe Shākya-rin-chen's *Grub pa'i mdung rnon*, was considered the Tibetan incarnation of 'Brug-pa Kun-legs.⁶⁰

In sum, at the time of the arrival of Zhabs-drung in Bhutan in 1616 at least five influential religious family lineages (*chos rje*) of

⁵⁸See DARGYE & SØRENSEN & TSHERING 2008: 16–30; for the history of this family lineage from the thirteenth to the twentieth centuries, see ARDUSSI 2000.

⁵⁹For an extended study about the “madman” tradition in Tibet and partially Bhutan, see DiVALERIO 2015 (please note that the study employs a more Tibetan-centered perspective). For a detailed discussion of 'Brug-pa Kun-legs' personality based on the extant textual sources, see DiVALERIO 2015: 202–219. For rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's spiritual biography of 'Brug-pa Kun-legs, the *Chos rje kun dga' legs pa'i rnam thar grub pa'i rtogs brjod*, see also p. 130.

⁶⁰Cf. PHUNTSO 2013: 147–150.

the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud school were firmly established in Western Bhutan: (1) the lineage of 'Brug-sgom-zhig-po in Thim-phu, sPa-gro, sPu-na-kha, and dBang-'dus-pho-brang, (2) the mTshams-brag lineage in Chu-kha, (3) the 'Obs-tsho lineage in mGar-sa, (4) the gZar-chen lineage in sPa-gro, and (5) the lineage of 'Brug-pa Kun-legs in Thim-phu. The authority of these lineages within Bhutan laid the foundation for Zhabs-drung to be able to unify Bhutan in such a short time during the first half of the seventeenth century.⁶¹ Likewise, all branches of the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud were represented in Bhutan in varying degrees but were later incorporated into the dominating "new" Southern branch (*lho 'brug*).⁶²

Zhabs-drung's flight to Bhutan in 1616 was initially caused by a dispute over the rightful incarnation of the eminent 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud master Padma-dkar-po. After gTsang-pa-rgya-ras had passed away, the abbational succession in the main monastic seat of Rwa-lung followed the common uncle-nephew (*khu dbon*) succession within the rGya family lineage, changing some generations later to a father-son succession. Only at the time of the twelfth throne holder Kun-dga'-dpal-'byor (1428–1476) did this custom change into succession by incarnation (*sprul sku*). Therefore, Kun-dga'-dpal-'byor was also retrospectively recognized as the incarnation of gTsang-pa-rgya-ras, namely the Second 'Brug-chen. The Third 'Brug-chen 'Jam-dbyangs Chos-kyi-grags-pa (1478–1523) and the Fourth 'Brug-chen Padma-dkar-po were not part of the rGya family lineage and established their monastic seats, bKra-shis-mthong-smon-dgon and Byar-po gSang-sngags-chos-gling, respectively. This began to weaken the position of Rwa-lung as the main seat of the middle 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud school. Similarly, Rwa-lung's position was weakened by the simple fact that Padma-dkar-po had gained enormous fame as the

⁶¹See DARGYE & SØRENSEN & TSHERING 2008: 13.

⁶²See ARIS 1979: 173. Besides the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud schools, religious institutions of all major Tibetan branches had been established in Bhutan to differing degrees before the arrival of Zhabs-drung in Bhutan. However, the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud schools (as presented above) were most dominant in Western or Central Bhutan, while the rNying-ma schools dominated the Eastern parts of Bhutan; see also ARDUSSI 2004: 13–14. On the other schools, see also PHUNTSHO 2013: 150–188. For a study of the history of the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud school in Bhutan between the twelfth and seventeenth centuries, see DARGYE 2001.

most eminent master in the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud school.⁶³ The acknowledgment of Zhabs-drung as an incarnation of Padma-dkar-po would not only have meant the return of this important incarnation lineage into the rGya family and to Rwa-lung but would also have had wide ranging political and economical ramifications.

Zhabs-drung evidently fulfilled all criteria of being recognized as the rightful incarnation by his grandfather, the fifteenth throne holder, Mi-pham-chos-rgyal (1543–1604), and his father, the sixteenth throne holder, Mi-pham bsTan-pa'i-nyi-ma (1567–1619). The latter had also received clear signs of his son as the truthful incarnation. However, a student of Padma-dkar-po, lHa-rtse Ngag-dbang-bzang-po (1546–1615) favored another candidate, the son of the 'Phyong-rgyas governor, dPag-bsam-dbang-po (1593–1641). Mi-pham bsTan-pa'i-nyi-ma was invited to test this boy, but the boy failed the tests conducted and was therefore not accepted by the throne holders of the main monastic seat in Rwa-lung. Nevertheless, dPag-bsam-dbang-po's father and lHa-rtse Ngag-dbang-bzang-po managed to get the decisive support for their candidate from the Fourth gTsang-pa-sde-srid Phun-tshogs-rnam-rgyal (1597–1632, hereafter Phun-tshogs-rnam-rgyal) and, as such, dPag-bsam-dbang-po was installed as Padma-dkar-po's incarnation at the monastery of gSangs-sngags-chos-gling, while Zhabs-drung was installed as the seventeenth throne holder at Rwa-lung.⁶⁴

All efforts to resolve the conflict over the recognition of the rightful incarnation of Padma-dkar-po peacefully were unsuccessful and several unfortunate and violent incidents, which Zhabs-drung was accused of, worsened the relations between him and Phun-tshogs-rnam-rgyal to such an extent that the latter demanded to have the holiest relic of the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud school immediately returned. However, Zhabs-drung refused this order and, in turn,

⁶³See also Haoran Hao's research for the analysis of Padma-dkar-po's autobiography that bears witness of these important shifts of institutional power in Tibet in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. See also n. 44 on 21.

⁶⁴See PHUNTSHO 2013: 207–215; see also ARIS 1979: 205–207. Whether Zhabs-drung's installation on the throne of Rwa-lung was also implicitly considered to be the parallel installation of him as Padma-dkar-po's incarnation remains unclear; see ARIS 1979: 207; see also PHUNTSHO 2013: 213.

threatened Phun-tshogs-rnam-rgyal with invoking the wrath of his school's protector deity, a raven-faced form of Mahākāla (*las mgon bya rog gdong can: kākamukha*). Moreover, shortly after that, dPag-bsam-dbang-po's main supporters, his father, and lHa-rtse Ngag-dbang-bzang-po, mysteriously died and Phun-tshogs-rnam-rgyal himself received bad auguries. Accordingly, fearing Zhabs-drung's abilities to perform wrathful Tantric rituals such as of killing, he just wanted to get rid of Zhabs-drung as soon as possible.⁶⁵

In the wake of this immediate threat to his life, Zhabs-drung had to choose quickly between either turning North to the Mongol Khans or to the Southern regions to what is now known as Bhutan (*'brug yul*). The common designation for Bhutan at that time, was the "Southern Land of Four Approaches" (*kha bzhi'i ljongs/lho kha bzhi*) or the "Southern Mon of Four Approaches" (*lho mon kha bzhi*). Other standard designations were the "Land of Medicinal Herbs" (*sman ljongs*), referring to the country's richness of medicinal plants that were also known in Tibet, or the "Country Dotted with *Tsan dan*" (*tsan dan bkod pa'i ljongs*), referring to a type of big cypress (*Cupressus corneyana*) which is used for the production of incense.⁶⁶

Actually, members of the aforementioned 'Obs-tsho family lineage, such as the treasurer (*phyag mdzod*) and ceremonial master (*dbu mdzad*) of Rwa-lung, bsTan-'dzin-'brug-rgyas (1591–1656) and Sithar, a patron from mGar-sa, played a decisive role in persuading Zhabs-drung to escape to Bhutan, accompanying him on his travels and welcoming him to their country—as seem to have played Zhabs-drung's visionary dreams of escaping to the Southern regions

⁶⁵These events are depicted, for example, in ARIS 1979: 208–209 and PHUNTSHO 2013: 215–217. The main relic of the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud school is an image of Khasarpaṇi, a form of Avalokiteśvara. Twenty-one images are said to have miraculously transformed from the vertebra of gTsang-pa-rgya-ras; see PHUNTSHO 2013: 214; see also ROERICHT 1949: 670. For a picture of its Stūpa reliquary, which is kept today in the sPu-na-kha rDzong, see ARIS 1979: 210.

⁶⁶The four approaches refer to the four cardinal directions: (1) in the East (*shar gdung bsam kha*), (2) Cooch Bihar/Buxa Duar to the south (*lho dpag bsam kha*), (3) in the West toward the direction of Kalimpong (*nub dha ling kha*), and (4) in the North (*byang stag tsher kha*); see ARIS 1979: xxv; see also the discussion of the different names and their meaning in PHUNTSHO 2013: 4–7. On *tsan dan* as sandal wood, see p. 270 and n. 581 on p. 270.

of Bhutan. bsTan-'dzin-'brug-rgyas became Zhabs-drung's steward and later, after 1651, the First 'Brug sDe-srid.⁶⁷

At the time of Zhabs-drung's arrival in 1616, Bhutan was under no central political authority. Many influential principalities with their chieftains, often from either secular (*gdung*) or religious family lineages (*chos rje*), exercised political and economic autonomy. As elsewhere in the Tibetan cultural area, boundaries between the secular and religious lineages were in many cases blurred since, for instance, secular lineages produced prominent religious incarnations and religious family lineages exercised significant political and economic power.

Zhabs-drung had hoped to find reconciliation with the gTsang-pa ruler in order to return to his mother monastery in Rwa-lung and re-establish his family lineage, but this hope was shattered with the first Tibetan invasion in 1617. Subsequently, he established the first monastic site of the later southern branch of the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud school (*lho 'brug*) at lCags-ri-rdo-rje near Thim-phu in 1620 and thereby began to build the institutional framework for his growing monastic communities in Bhutan. After his strict three-year meditation retreat, likewise at lCags-ri-rdo-rje, from 1623 to 1625/26,⁶⁸ Zhabs-drung declared the establishment of the State of Bhutan under his authority. This declaration was thereupon communicated throughout Bhutan using his seal, the "Sixteen I's" (*nga bcu drug ma*).⁶⁹

At the time of Zhabs-drung's arrival in Bhutan, he had already enjoyed substantial support from the different religious family lineages as his allies, and, in the following decades, he consolidated his rule through several successful strategies due to his charismatic and extraordinary character and abilities. Zhabs-drung founded influential religious-educational institutions and significantly expanded the monastic bodies, and also introduced standard monastic and civil codes and a Bhutanese dress code and etiquette (*sgrig lam rnam*

⁶⁷See PHUNTSO 2013: 211–217; see also DARGYE & SØRENSEN & TSHERING 2008: 13–16 and ARIS 1979: 209.

⁶⁸The corresponding Western year is not entirely clear, since the sources refer to the eleventh month of the Tibetan Wood Ox Year, lying between the middle of December and January, cf. ARDUSSI 1977: 212.

⁶⁹See PHUNTSO 2013: 217–24; see also ARIS 1979: 212–217.

gzha). In particular, the civil and monastic legal framework not only created the necessary administrative control but also supported the legitimization of his new centralized rule, establishing and promoting a Buddhist Bhutanese identity. Furthermore, a network of fortresses (*rdzong*) was created, covering Bhutan like a spider's web. This network had the dual purpose of both consolidating Zhabs-drung's internal control over Bhutan, and combating the external threat of Tibetan and Mongolian invasions. In addition, Zhabs-drung executed religious and political campaigns on a vast scale.⁷⁰

Between Zhabs-drung's arrival in Bhutan in 1616 and his assumed death in 1651, called then the "secret retreat," five Tibetan invasions of Bhutan took place. The first three were under Phuntsogs-rnam-rgyal and the two last under the dGa'-ldan-pho-brang government of the Fifth Dalai Lama by the Mongolian and Tibetan troops together, all of which were successfully warded off. Zhabs-drung's success is usually attributed not only to conventional warfare and tactics, which did play an important role, but also to his control over magical powers with the help of the chief protector deity of his school, as well as of local deities in Bhutan. This earned him the reputation of a great magician (*mthu chen*). The conquest and unification of the territory of Bhutan through conventional and "magical" warfare is expressed in terms such as the "subjugation of a spiritual field/field of conversion" (*gdul zhing/'dul zhing/gdul bya'i zhing*) or the "heavenly field/Buddhafield" (*zhing khams/dkar rgyud zhing khams*) of his protector deity.⁷¹

The divide of the middle 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud school into a Northern lineage with their 'Brug-chen incarnation lineage and the Southern lineage in Bhutan (*lho 'brug*) starting with the First rJe-

⁷⁰John A. Ardussi has addressed the topic of public media/mass media in Bhutan through stone inscriptions (*rdo nag*) and stone inscriptions carved on prayer walls (*ma ni dang ring*) and has acknowledged the entrepreneurial activities of Zhabs-drung with regard to addressing the public in order to enforce ethical Buddhist behavior, and law and order; see ARDUSSI 2006. For a first-hand witnesses' report describing their experiences during Zhabs-drung's political and religious mass-campaigning directly after he announced the foundation of the State of Bhutan under his rule, see the travel account (*Relação*) of the two Jesuit missionaries Estevão Cacalla and João Cabral; ARIS 1986: 8–9; 170–186 (engl.).

⁷¹The events are depicted in detail in PHUNTSHO 2013: 227–249 and ARIS 1979: 215–232; see also SCHWERK 2019a: 20.

mkhan-po Pad-dkar-'byung-gnas (1604–1672) became irreversible, when, in 1647, Rwa-lung Monastery was taken over by the dGa'-ldan-pho-brang government and Mi-pham-dbang-po (1642–1717) was officially recognized as the reincarnation of Padma-dkar-po in lHa-sa.⁷²

By the end of the 1650s the total state territory of the Western and Central valleys had expanded eastward roughly to what is nowadays known as Bhutan. The political and administrative rule introduced by Zhabs-drung was secured and the building of all important fortresses (*rdzong*) was completed.⁷³ Zhabs-drung had successfully institutionalized a system of governance that united religious and political authority based on principles that have a longstanding history in Tibetan conceptions and forms of governance (*srid chos gnyis ldan/chos srid zung 'brel/chos srid zung 'jug*, hereafter Joint Twofold System). Under him, two branches of government were institutionalized. The “Bhutanese Regent” (*'brug sde srid*) exercised political power while the “Chief Abbot of Bhutan” (*'brug rje mkhan po*) oversaw the religious institutions.⁷⁴

As background, in the first half of the seventeenth century, in total, three major Buddhist governments that combined a twofold

⁷²See PHUNTSO 2013: 243–244. The current Twelfth rGyal-dbang 'Brug-chen 'Jigs-med Pad-ma-dbang-chen (b. 1963)'s monastic seat in exile is Thub-bstan gSang-sngags-chos-gling in Darjeeling with a historical strong presence in Ladakh until today. For the early history of the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud school in Ladakh and its political and religious relations with Bhutan, see SCHUH 1983a and SCHUH 1983b.

⁷³See PHUNTSO 2013: 249–254.

⁷⁴See PHUNTSO: 256–259. In SCHWERK 2019a, I provide a detailed analysis and evaluation of emic Tibetan terminologies used as functional equivalents for the “religious” and “political” sphere in pre-modern Bhutan in Bhutanese textual sources that deal with the Joint Twofold System of Governance. As a result, I traced institutionalized but also merely conceptualized boundaries between these societal spheres in pre-modern Bhutan (and partially in nowadays Bhutan) in a completely non-evaluative sense. Moreover, since the societal order of the Joint Twofold System of Governance in Bhutan today is still profoundly grounded in a non-Western cosmological order—that of Tantric Buddhism—I tentatively provide an alternative framework to talk about distinction and differentiation processes that address not only factual institutional arrangements but also includes the religious-doctrinal background of Buddhism systematically.

religious and political structure under the authority of a Buddhist ruler were established in the Tibetan cultural area, although there were significant differences in their respective institutionalization: (1) Bhutan (*'brug gzhung*) with Zhabs-drung in 1625/26, (2) the dGa'-ldan-pho-brang government with the Fifth Dalai Lama (1617–1682) in 1642, and (3) Sikkim (*'bras ljongs*) with the First Chos-rgyal Phuntshogs-rnam-rgyal (1604–1670) in 1642.⁷⁵

When Zhabs-drung entered into his “secret retreat” in 1651 he was already obviously seriously ill and his death is supposed to have taken place soon after. The facts regarding the date and circumstances of his death, as well as his last will which appoints future officials, are shrouded in mystery since his death was concealed, most likely in order to avoid destabilization of the newly established State of Bhutan. This secret was kept for an amazing timespan of over fifty years by just two people, the First 'Brug sDe-srid bsTan-'dzin-'brug-rgyas and Zhabs-drung's chamberlain, Drung Dam-chos-rgyal-mtshan. His death was only disclosed sometime between 1704 and 1707 by the Second 'Brug-rgyal-sras sPrul-sku Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan (1689–1713), the first incarnation of Zhabs-drung's son, the First 'Brug-rgyal-sras sPrul-sku 'Jam-dpal-rdo-rje (1631–1681).⁷⁶

⁷⁵On the theoretical and historical background of the Joint Twofold System of Governance, see ARDUSSI 2004. For a systematic and chronological overview of the Joint Twofold System of Governance, predecessors of this form of governance, and formative conceptualizations of governance in the Tibetan Cultural area, see SCHWERK 2019b. Institutionalization denotes, in this context, the process of explicitly formalizing Buddhist conceptions of governance into rules, standardized processes, and political and religious institutions and actors. This dynamic process involves the establishment, adaptation, and replacement or substitution of rules and processes. In Weber's sense, these processes can be differentiated by their intention and purpose as “goal-oriented” (*Zweckrationalität*) and “idea-consolidating” (*Wertrationalität*), but not in an exclusivistic sense, since both aspects often characterize processes of institutionalization. See Hans Keman, “Institutionalization.” <https://www.britannica.com/topic/institutionalization>. Accessed June 14, 2019.

⁷⁶For a detailed exposition and discussion of the different Tibetan sources as well as possible motifs and consequences of Zhabs-drung's secret retreat, see ARIS 1979: 231–246. It is also noteworthy that, similarly, sDe-srid Sangs-rgyas-rgya-mtsho (1653–1705) concealed the death of the Fifth Dalai Lama from 1682 to 1697.

Having been such a charismatic Buddhist ruler and Tantric master, Zhabs-drung naturally left behind a substantial power vacuum. After Zhabs-drung's death, the male heir in the direct family lineage proved incapable of ruling, and the model of hereditary succession was eventually shifted to a model of multiple incarnations of body (*sku sprul*), speech (*gsung sprul*), and mind (*thugs sprul*), as well as a prince regent (*rgyal tshab*). In brief, religious and political developments in Bhutan in the following two centuries were characterized by great internal turmoil and external threat.⁷⁷

1.3 The Office of the Chief Abbot of Bhutan

Following the foundation of the State of Bhutan in 1625/26, two significant changes took place in the form of governance in Bhutan. First, there was the introduction of the hereditary absolute monarchy in 1907 under the First Druk Gyalpo Ugyen Wangchuck (1862–1926; reign: 1907–1926). Subsequently, the post of the Chief Abbot (*'brug rje mkhan po*) remained, but the role of the Regent (*'brug sde srid*) was naturally absorbed into the functions of the King of Bhutan shortly after that.⁷⁸ The next significant change occurred in 2008 when a constitutional monarchy was introduced under the reign of the Fifth Druk Gyalpo Jigme Khesar Namgyel Wangchuck (b. 1980, reign: 2006–present). The Fourth Druk Gyalpo Jigme Singye Wangchuck (b. 1955, reign: 1972–2006) abdicated early in favor of his son in 2006.⁷⁹

⁷⁷For a depiction of the enigmatic circumstances of Zhabs-drung's "secret retreat," the succession of the three kinds of incarnations and the problem of Zhabs-drung's succession, see ARIS 1979: 231–262.

⁷⁸For an overview of the enthronement and the relation between the First Druk Gyalpo Ugyen Wangchuck and the institution of the Zhabs-drung, see PHUNTSO 2013: 520–525. The King of Bhutan traditionally wears the "Raven Crown" named after the protector deity of the 'Brugpa bKa'-brgyud school, a raven-faced form of Mahākāla (*las mgon bya rog gdong can: kākamukha*). The First Druk Gyalpo Ugyen Wangchuck's father, the Fifty-first 'Brug sDe-srid 'Jigs-med-rnam-rgyal (1825–1881), who was also known as "The Black Regent" (*sde pa nag po*), had first worn a prototype of the crown as a helmet in battle; see PHUNTSO 2013: 435; 471.

⁷⁹The *Constitution of the Kingdom of Bhutan* stipulates an abdication of the King of Bhutan usually at the age of fifty-six; see *Constitution of*

In the *Constitution of the Kingdom of Bhutan* from 2008, Zhabsdrung's Joint Twofold System of Governance was renewed and is now represented by the King of Bhutan as head of state—and as a Buddhist.⁸⁰ These changes in the political system of Bhutan hardly touched on the status and function of the office of the Chief Abbot. Currently, the successor of rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen, the Seventieth rJe-mkhan-po sPrul-sku 'Jigs-med-chos-grags (b. 1955, tenure: 1996–present, hereafter rJe sPrul-sku 'Jigs-med-chos-grags), who was one of rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's close disciples, is in office. Actually, long after rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's death in 1997, the Sixty-eighth rJe-mkhan-po Khri-zur bsTan-'dzin-don-grub (1925–2020, hereafter rJe bsTan-'dzin-don-grub), another very influential religious figure of twentieth-century Bhutan, has only recently passed away at the age of ninety-five in Thim-phu, Bhutan.⁸¹

The *Constitution of the Kingdom of Bhutan* regulates the procedures of appointment and duties of the Chief Abbot of Bhutan as well as the religious institutions. In brief, a suitable candidate for the post of the Chief Abbot of Bhutan is appointed by the King of Bhutan based on his erudition and level of realization and notably not due to a recognition as an incarnation of a previous Chief Abbot. A suitable candidate should possess: (1) the nine attributes of a learned person (*mkhas pa'i tshul dgu*), (2) realization in the meditative practice of the generation and completion stage of the Mantrayāna (*bskyed rdzogs rim gnyis*), and (3) ordination in the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud tradition (*'brug lugs*).⁸²

the Kingdom of Bhutan, art. 2, sec. 6; in CONSTITUTION DRAFTING COMMITTEE 2008: 4.

⁸⁰See *Constitution of the Kingdom of Bhutan*, art. 2, sec. 2; in CONSTITUTION DRAFTING COMMITTEE 2008: 3; see also SCHWERK 2019a: 25–28. For a detailed study on the Bhutanese monarchy, see ARIS 1994.

⁸¹See Rinzin Wangchuk, “His Holiness Je Thrizur Tenzin Doendrup passes away.” <https://kuenselonline.com/his-holiness-je-thrizur-tenzin-doendrup-passes-away/>. Accessed: August 3, 2020; see also BDRC: P5878.

⁸²See *Constitution of Bhutan*, art. 3, sec. 4; in CONSTITUTION DRAFTING COMMITTEE 2008: 10; see also SCHWERK 2019a: 28–29. The nine attributes are to be learned, well-disciplined and kind (*mkhas btsun bzang gsum*), to be skilled in explication, debate and composition (*'chad rtsod rtsom gsum*) and possessing the qualities of study, contemplation and

The *Constitution of the Kingdom of Bhutan* also regulates the duties of the Chief Abbot. He oversees the activities of all religious institutions from the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud school in the country, which includes the monastic bodies (*rab sde*) of the monks and nuns from all districts (*rdzong khag*) except sPu-na-kha and Thim-phu. He is also the chairman of the Commission of the Monastic Affairs (*grwa tshang lhan tshogs*). Besides the Chief Abbot, this council consists of five *slob dpons* of the Central Monastic Body (*gzhung grwa tshang*), and one secretary, who is a civil servant. The five *slob dpons* are expected to advise, first, the King of Bhutan with respect to the choice of a Buddhist master qualified for the post of the Chief Abbot, and second, to the Chief Abbot himself with regard to qualified monks for the post of *slob dpons*. Like the Chief Abbot, the five *slob dpons* have to fulfill the aforementioned three criteria.⁸³

The Chief Abbot is highly revered among the Bhutanese and is responsible for performing and presiding over all Buddhist state rituals of the country. His religious duties include regular travels throughout the country, and he is the spiritual leader of the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud school in Bhutan. His high symbolic status is, for instance, visible in the official dress code, which only allows the King of Bhutan and the Chief Abbot to wear the saffron scarf.⁸⁴ However,

meditative practices (*thos bsam sgom*).

⁸³See *Constitution of the Kingdom of Bhutan*, art. 3, sec. 4–6; in CONSTITUTION DRAFTING COMMITTEE 2008: 10. See also PHUNTSHO 2013: 258 and CONSTITUTION DRAFTING COMMITTEE 2008: 64–66.

⁸⁴According to the traditional official dress code and etiquette (*sgrig lam rnam gzhag*), different colored scarves (*bkab ne*) must be worn by men at official occasions or at the visit of a *rdzong*, temple, or office. The colors clearly denote the wearer's rank in the social hierarchy: (1) saffron for the King of Bhutan and the Chief Abbot, (2) orange for ministers or members of the government (*blon po*), (3) red for male members of the Royal Family of Bhutan and other high officials (*drag shos*), (4) green for judges, (5) blue for members of the National Council and National Assembly, (6) white with a central red stripe for district governors (*rdzong khag*), (7) white with red stripes at the outside for the headmen, the Gup, (*rgad po*) of a group of villages (*rged 'og*), and (8) white for ordinary citizens; see also DORJI 1995: 107–108. Nowadays, women in Bhutan hold higher official functions more often, for example, as a member of parliament or minister. In this case, they also wear the appropriate former "male" scarf.

the Chief Abbot of Bhutan does not exercise any official political power. In Chapter 2.3.3.4: Chief Abbot of Bhutan (1990–1996), I provide further insights into the role and duties of this important function performed by rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen.⁸⁵

1.4 Genesis of rJe Shākya-rin-chen's *Grub pa'i mdung rnon* and Its Eighteenth-Century Commentaries

Certainly, with his enthralling biography—for instance, his severe health impediments, the first unsuccessful attempt to receive teachings in Tibet in 1737 resulting in imprisonment, his later successful extended travels in Tibet from 1740 to 1748 at a critical time in politics between Bhutan and Tibet, and his great admiration for Shākya-mchog-ldan as a role model—rJe Shākya-rin-chen can be counted among the most illustrious and fascinating figures in the intellectual scene of eighteenth-century Bhutan and Tibet. These factors may also have contributed to his new doctrinal positioning of the Bhutanese branch of the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud school in the wider Tibetan intellectual scene as demonstrated in his *Grub pa'i mdung rnon*. In the context of this publication, I can only scratch the surface of rJe Shākya-rin-chen's rich life and intellectual agenda, which due to his directness and lack of false modesty resulted in lengthy and numerous autobiographical writings.⁸⁶

So far, rJe Shākya-rin-chen's life and works, with respect to his overall contribution to the intellectual history of the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud school in Bhutan, have thus far largely been eclipsed by the fact that he compiled a twenty-four-volume *gSung 'bum* of Shākya-mchog-ldan, which had been considered lost until its rediscovery in the Pha-jo-sdings Monastery and reproduction in Thim-

⁸⁵For a list of all Chief Abbots of Bhutan along with their relevant dates, see BARTHOLOMEV & JOHNSTON 2008: 372.

⁸⁶For example, two works elucidate at length rJe Shākya-rin-chen's travels in Tibet: *Shākya'i dge sbyong shākya'i ming gis mtshon pa bdag nyid lha ldan 'phrul gyi gtsug lag khang chen por phyin pa'i gtam lha mi kun tu dga' ba'i zlos gar sdeb* (hereafter *Kun dga' zlos gar*) and the eighth chapter of his autobiography *Lhag pa'i bsam pa bskul zhing byang chub kyi spyod pa la 'jug pa'i gtam dam pa'i chos kyi gaṇḍi sgra dbyangs snyan pa'i yan lag rgya mtsho* (hereafter *Gaṇḍi sgra dbyangs*)

phu in 1975.⁸⁷ A systematic study of rJe Shākya-rin-chen has not been undertaken until now and is therefore part of my new research project, in which I consider the richness of his writings.⁸⁸

Turning now, more specifically, to rJe Shākya-rin-chen's root verses on Mahāmudrā, the *Grub pa'i mdung rnon*, my observations about the genesis of the first two stages of textual production of the text itself and its three commentaries from the eighteenth century are

⁸⁷For an extended study on the production and content of Shākya-mchog-ldan's Collected Works; see CAUMANN 2015 (in German); on the formation and early transmission history of Shākya-mchog-ldan's Collected Works, see also *ibid.* In addition, rJe Shākya-rin-chen composed a detailed biography of Shākya-mchog-ldan, the *Gangs can gyi shing rta chen po dpal shākya mchog ldan dri med legs pa'i blo gros kyi rnam thar thub bstan gsal ba'i nyin byed*; see CAUMANN 2015: 31–33; 31, n. 37. Most of his autobiographical writings are found in the third volume of his *gSung 'bum* and were only partially studied, mainly in connection with his contribution in compiling Shākya-mchog-ldan's *gSung 'bum*; see for example BURCHARDI 2008. SMITH 2003: 192, reported that rJe Shākya-rin-chen had requested to obtain a copy of Shākya-mchog-ldan's works from the Tibetan government by claiming himself an incarnation of Shākya-mchog-ldan; see also HIGGINS & DRASZCZYK 2016: vol. 1, 57, n. 117.

⁸⁸As one exception, see for example the translation and analysis of rJe Shākya-rin-chen's biography of the First Se-la Byams-mgon Ngag-dbang-rgyal-mtshan (1647–1732), the *sKu bzhi'i dbang phyug rje btsun ngag dbang rgyal mtshan gyi rnam par thar pa thams cad mkhyen pa 'i rol mo*; in DARGYE & SØRENSEN & TSHERING 2008. See also rJe Shākya-rin-chen, *Chariot of Liberation to the Vajra Abode (The Mahamudra Preliminary Practice Manual)* with commentary by rJe bsTan-'dzin-don-grub and translation by Karma Lhuendup (Crestone: Druk. & Drukpa Publications, 2006). I have presented an outline of my current research project in my talk (“Identity-Building in the Tibetan Borderlands: Buddhist Masters at the Intersection Between Religion and Politics in Eighteenth-century Bhutan”) at the Fifteenth Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies in Paris (2019). This research will extract substantial empirical data from these yet untranslated Tibetan and Bhutanese primary sources, along with a theoretical framework based mainly on the academic publications of scholars from the fields of religious studies and social sciences, such as Fredrik Barth, Pierre Félix Bourdieu, Rogers Brubaker, Niklas Luhmann, Thomas Luckmann, George Herbert Mead, and Max Weber. “Identity” will be one of the central etic analytical categories, under which I will operationalize my text-critical analysis. As a result, this enables us to discuss my findings from an etic perspective and thereby additionally engage in interdisciplinary academic discourses.

based on: (1) two autobiographical accounts of rJe Shākya-rin-chen's journey to Tibet in 1740,⁸⁹ (2) the colophons and statements of intent of the root text together with its commentaries,⁹⁰ and (3) various paleographical and codicological observations about the material features of the different manuscripts and block prints as presented in Chapter 4: Introduction to the Annotated Translation and Critical Edition. These clearly add not only to a better understanding of the critical edition but also to the highly fascinating genesis of rJe Shākya-rin-chen's *Grub pa'i mdung rnon* and its eighteenth-century commentaries.

rJe Shākya-rin-chen makes his intention clear in the beginning of his *Grub pa'i mdung rnon*:⁹¹ He composed “this *ketaka* gem of inquiries” since Mahāmudrā, which is characterized as “the ambrosial liquid, which is not contaminated by the venomous water of dogmatic conceptualizations, is nowadays polluted by the dust of ignorance.”⁹² In addition, rJe Shākya-rin-chen refers to contemporary scholars from the Dwags-po bKa'-brgyud tradition in the colophon of his *Grub pa'i mdung rnon*, implying that not only scholars from his own 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud tradition but also from other traditions should respond to the questions he raised.⁹³

Three commentaries to the *Grub pa'i mdung rnon* were composed in the eighteenth century and located by me. Beginning with

⁸⁹See rJe Shākya-rin-chen, *Kun dga' zlos gar* and rJe Shākya-rin-chen, *Garḍi sgra dbyangs*.

⁹⁰The importance of utilizing colophons for reconstructing the stages of text production of Tibetan works is exemplified through five colophons from the fifteenth to sixteenth centuries in CABEZÓN 2001. José I. Cabezón likewise points out that the reading of colophons should be accompanied by considering the historical context, often, of course, found in biographical sources; see also *ibid.*: 237. Moreover, he provides a helpful “Tentative Stylistic Structural Analysis” that helps in analyzing different parts of a colophon; see *ibid.*: 252–254.

⁹¹*Phyag rgya chen po las brtsams pa'i dri tshig grub pa'i mdung rnon* (*The Pointed Spear of a Siddha: Questions Concerning [the Doctrine of] Mahāmudrā*).

⁹²See rGe-'dun-rin-chen, *Dus kyi pho nya* (verse || 0.III ||): translation on p. 160, critical edition on p. 275.

⁹³See rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen, *Dus kyi pho nya* (verse || 8.II ||): translation on p. 271, critical edition on p. 321.

the “Tibetan” commentary, the *Rang blo tshim byed*⁹⁴ was written by the Second Dre’u-lhas-sprul-sku Grub-dbang Kun-dga’-mi-’gyur-rdo-rje (1721–1769, hereafter Kun-dga’-mi-’gyur-rdo-rje). He reports that rJe Shākya-rin-chen posed seven questions among a circle of several masters and disciples, regarding the debate on the Mahāmudrā doctrine and meditative system, together with brief answers regarding his standpoint. Following that, rJe Shākya-rin-chen requested that the masters present should later on articulate their standpoint regarding these controversial questions. However, Kun-dga’-mi-’gyur-rdo-rje admits that he had not been able to fulfill rJe Shākya-rin-chen’s request during the latter’s lifetime. In the end, at the time of the enthronement of the Second Khri-sprul ’Jigs-med-seng-ge (1742–1789) in 1764, Kun-dga’-mi-’gyur-rdo-rje was again requested by contemporary scholars to fulfill his promise. Finally, he composed the commentary at his monastic seat of Dre’u-lhas in Tibet in 1765.⁹⁵

Regarding the background of this author, Kun-dga’-mi-’gyur-rdo-rje as mentioned above was considered the second Tibetan incarnation of ’Brug-pa Kun-legs and, as John A. Ardussi has pointed out, was one of the most important figures on the Tibetan side in the political and religious “rapprochement between Bhutan and Tibet” as he had significant influence in the Tibetan political arena in this crucial time.⁹⁶ Beginning with Zhabs-drung’s flight to Bhutan in 1616, the subsequent wars and, finally, Tibet’s intervention in the Bhutanese civil war from 1732 to 1735, relations between Tibet and Bhutan generally remained highly tense and severely damaged. Despite the official end of the civil war in Bhutan, the regent, the Tenth ’Brug sDe-srid Mi-pham-dbang-po, was forced to flee to Tibet in 1736,

⁹⁴*Nges don phyag rgya chen po’i skor las brtsams pa’i dri tshig grub pa’i mdung rnon gyi lan du gsol ba kun rmongs rang blo tshim byed ces bya ba grub dbang rin po ches mdzad pa* (“*Gratifier of the Confused One’s Own Mind: A Reply to the Questions Concerning the [Doctrine of] Mahāmudrā of Definite Meaning, Titled “The Pointed Spear of a Siddha,” given by Grub dbang Rin po che*).

⁹⁵See Kun-dga’-mi-’gyur-rdo-rje, *Rang blo tshim byed* (fols. 2r1–2v3; 24r6). For a brief account of the biography of the Second Khri-sprul ’Jigs-med-seng-ge, see rJe dGe-’dun-rin-chen, *lHo ’brug chos ’byung* (pp. 296.1–297.8).

⁹⁶ARDUSSI 1999b: 64.

where his subsequent meetings with important political and religious leaders, such as the Seventh Dalai Lama bsKal-bzang-rgya-mtsho (1708–1757), Pho-lha-nas bSod-nams-stobs-rgyas (1689–1757), the Seventh 'Brug-chen rGyal-dbang dKar-brgyud 'Phrin-las-shing-rta (1718–1766), and eventually Kun-dga'-mi-'gyur-rdo-rje, became stepping stones for improving relations between Tibet and Bhutan.

In the light of the mutual easing of religious and political tensions between Tibet and Bhutan, Kun-dga'-mi-'gyur-rdo-rje was cordially invited to Bhutan in 1739, where he became acquainted with both rJe Shākya-rin-chen and rJe Yon-tan-mtha'-yas; the latter became a close disciple of both rJe Shākya-rin-chen and Kun-dga'-mi-'gyur-rdo-rje. In 1740, Kun-dga'-mi-'gyur-rdo-rje returned to Tibet with the first exchange group of Bhutanese students, among them rJe Shākya-rin-chen and rJe Yon-tan-mtha'-yas.⁹⁷ They visited many sacred places, such as bSam-yas, Rwa-lung, Rwa-sgreng, and gDan-sa-thel, and not only received teaching from masters of different traditions but also studied intensively at places such as 'Bras-spungs. Interestingly, rJe Shākya-rin-chen also reports in his *Gaṇḍi sgra dbyangs* on the extraordinary attention Kun-dga'-mi-'gyur-rdo-rje attracted from women (even nuns) during their travels. Similar to traditions in Bhutan, the different Grub-dbang-rin-po-ches, as the Tibetan incarnations of 'Brug-pa Kun-legs, seem to have been especially flattered and adored by women.⁹⁸

rJe Shākya-rin-chen reports at least twice about receiving Mahāmudrā related instructions in Tibet in his autobiographical writings.⁹⁹ However, so far, in the extant sources, the place and date of

⁹⁷See ARDUSSI 1999b: 68–78. John A. Ardussi mentions that rJe Yon-tan-mtha'-yas' extensive studies with Kun-dga'-mi-'gyur-rdo-rje are described in detail in *Khyab bdag rdo rje 'chang ngag dbang yon tan mtha' yas kyi gsang gsum mi zad rgyan gyi 'khor lor rnam par rol pa'i rtogs pa brjod pa skal bzang mos pa'i padmo rgyas byed ye shes 'od stong 'phro ba'i nyi ma*. It has been mentioned by John A. Ardussi that the original xylograph is owned by Hugh Richardson, however, it can also be found in rJe Yon-tan-mtha'-yas' *gSung 'bum* [BDRC: W2CZ7858]; see *ibid.*: 79, n. 33; 82.

⁹⁸See ARDUSSI 1977: 175–176, n. 121.

⁹⁹See for example rJe Shākya-rin-chen, *Gaṇḍi sgra dbyangs* (p. 271; pp. 273–274). The instructions dealt with *Sahajayoga (*phyag chen lhan cig skyes sbyor*) practices in the sTag-lung bKa'-brgyud tradition and the

the initially oral discourses in the meeting of Kun-dga'-mi-'gyur-rdo-rje, rJe Shākya-rin-chen, rJe Yon-tan-mtha'-yas, and other masters to discuss Mahāmudrā, which led to the production of the *Grub pa'i mdung rnon* root verses and its commentaries, could not be found. Presumably, this encounter took place either during the joint travels of these masters in Tibet or during Kun-dga'-mi-'gyur-rdo-rje's sojourn in Bhutan.

The second commentary, the *'Og min zhal lung*,¹⁰⁰ was composed by rJe Yon-tan-mtha'-yas, rJe Shākya-rin-chen's travel companion to Tibet. rJe Yon-tan-mtha'-yas states that he follows the request of his revered teacher rJe Shākya-rin-chen to provide answers to the questions raised, together with other students. He supports rJe Shākya-rin-chen's position with an extensive prose commentary and a great number of detailed authoritative quotations.¹⁰¹ Additionally, rJe Yon-tan-mtha'-yas' conjunctions between each chapter of his commentary bear witness of rJe Shākya-rin-chen's personal addresses to the masters and disciples present at the discussion.¹⁰²

The third commentary, the *gSung rab kun btus*,¹⁰³ was written by sPa-gro-chos-rje Pad-dkar-chos-kyi-rgya-mtsho, who was of the gZar-chen religious family lineage (*chos rje*)¹⁰⁴ and who was the grandnephew of rJe Dam-chos-pad-dkar. Like Kun-dga'-mi-'gyur-

Four Yogas of Mahāmudrā (*phyag chen rnal 'byor bzhi*).

¹⁰⁰ *Nges don phyag rgya chen po la dris pa'i gsung lan 'og min ston pa'i zhal lung* (*The Oral Instructions of the Teacher of the Akanīṣṭha [Realm]: A Reply to the Questions About Mahāmudrā of Definite Meaning*).

¹⁰¹ See for example Yon-tan-mtha'-yas, *'Og min zhal lung* (fol. 2v1–3).

¹⁰² See rJe Yon-tan-mtha'-yas, *'Og min zhal lung* (fols. 8v2–3; 17v4–6; 27r2–3; 35v2–3; 38r1–3; 41r2–4).

¹⁰³ *Phyag rgya chen po las brtsams pa'i dri tshig grub pa'i mdung bsnun la lan du gsol ba gsung rab kun las btus* (*An Anthology of Scriptural Sources: Replies to the Questions Concerning the [Doctrine of] Mahāmudrā Titled "The Pointed Spear of a Siddha"*).

¹⁰⁴ See also the introduction in Pad-dkar-chos-kyi-rgya-mtsho, *Ri khrod mdzes rgyan* (vol. 1; see also vol. 2, pp. 160.1–174.4). At least two documentations of the genealogy of the gZar-chen family lineage are available, see *ibid.* Regarding the early transmission of the family lineage, see the Fourth rJe-mkhan-po Dam-chos-pad-dkar (1639–1708, hereafter rJe Dam-chos-pad-dkar), *rNam thar dri bsung* (fols. 3r3–4r6). The introduction in Pad-dkar-chos-kyi-rgya-mtsho's *Pa spro pad dkar ri khrod*

rdo-rje, Pad-dkar-chos-kyi-rgya-mtsho wished to compose a summary of his Mahāmudrā interpretation to honor rJe Shākya-rin-chen, who by then had already passed away.¹⁰⁵ But he composed the *gSung rab kun btus* only after the Tenth rJe-mkhan-po bsTan-'dzin-chos-rgyal (1701–1767, hereafter rJe bsTan-'dzin-chos-rgyal) had given the order to collect the answers that had been given by the different masters to rJe Shākya-rin-chen's questions. Since rJe bsTan-'dzin-chos-rgyal had been in office from 1755 until 1762, Pad-dkar-chos-kyi-rgya-mtsho must have at least begun composing his commentary by somewhere from 1759 (rJe Shākya-rin-chen's death) to 1762.¹⁰⁶

In conclusion, rJe Shākya-rin-chen's seven chapters consisting of questions and answers about the Mahāmudrā doctrine and meditative system and the subsequent discussion about it that resulted in the text production of the *Grub pa'i mdung rnon* and its commentaries represent doctrinal and confessional identity-building processes in a highly remarkable period of Bhutanese history. Due to the political easing of tensions between Bhutan and Tibet at this time, this discussion was able to gain wider dissemination and relevance between Buddhist masters of the Tibetan and Bhutanese branches of the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud schools and demonstrates the reciprocal influence between the spheres of politics and religion on these masters.

All three eighteenth-century commentaries of the *Grub pa'i mdung rnon* that have been identified thus far were authored by masters from the Bhutanese and Tibetan branches of the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud schools, but not from other Dwags-po bKa'-brgyud branches. The *Grub pa'i mdung rnon* had traveled as far as to rDzong-gsar Monastery in Eastern Tibet and Dre'u-lhas monastery in Central

mdzes rgyan names Chos-rje Ngag-dbang/Ngag-dbang-pad-dkar as Pad-dkar-chos-kyi-rgya-mtsho's father. Ngag-dbang-pad-dkar has been identified by John A. Ardussi as the younger brother of the Se'u-la-chos-rje Ngag-dbang-rgyal-mtshan (1647–1732), also frequently called gCung-rin-po-che; see KRAGH, K. 2003: 100; see also DARGYE & SØRENSEN & TSHERING 2008: 7. Note that rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen seems to understand them as two separate persons; see his *lHo 'brug chos 'byung*: *Cung-ngag-dbang-pad-dkar* (pp. 452.8–453.10) and *Chos-rje Ngag-dbang-pad-dkar* (p. 444.1–8).

¹⁰⁵ See Pad-dkar-chos-kyi-rgya-mtsho, *gSung rab kun btus* (fols. 1r2–2r1).

¹⁰⁶ See Pad-dkar-chos-kyi-rgya-mtsho, *gSung rab kun btus* (fol. 64r1–2).

Tibet. As rJe Shākya-rin-chen traveled vastly during his life, it is possible that further commentaries exist. Remarkably, the different text versions of rJe Shākya-rin-chen's *Grub pa'i mdung rnon* that were transmitted, first more or less orally, and then textually, over three centuries, demonstrate that although they indeed had traveled widely geographically they were generally very faithfully reproduced giving testimony to the importance of this text in a trans-regional context.

rJe Shākya-rin-chen's *Grub pa'i mdung rnon* and its commentaries represent a *newly* articulated defense and, consequently, establishment of the correct understanding of Mahāmudrā within the Tibetan and Bhutanese branches of the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud school from the eighteenth century onward. Apparently, this trans-regional knowledge exchange between Bhutanese and Tibetan masters from the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud schools led to a new self-awareness about a *Bhutanese* or *Tibetan* Mahāmudrā interpretation—be it in contrast or agreement with each other. My focus lies on the Mahāmudrā doctrine and meditative system within the Bhutanese branch of the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud school culminating in rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's *Dus kyi pho nya* in the twentieth century.

As a result, further research is needed on additional philosophical positions such as on Rang-stong and gZhan-stong in the Bhutanese branch of the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud school since its institutionalization following Zhabs-drung's establishment of a unified State of Bhutan in the seventeenth century. These philosophical-doctrinal positions should be compared with possibly similar developments in the Tibetan branch. Such research will help us to understand more detailed doctrinal differences between the branches of the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud schools and shows how Buddhist masters positioned themselves and their schools in a broader trans-cultural Buddhist intellectual setting by explicitly constructing distinct Tibetan or Bhutanese confessional identities.

To conclude, the example of rJe Shākya-rin-chen's *Grub pa'i mdung rnon* and its commentaries demonstrates the significance of meticulously tracing the genesis and text production of works along with locating the respective text versions for proper textual editing and translation. Moreover, such work significantly adds to our understanding of important trans-regional oral and textual knowledge exchanges with cross-linked literary production that often happens in stages—in our case the reception history of the Mahāmudrā con-

Chapter 1: Buddhism and Politics: Bhutan and Beyond

trovcrsy in the Bhutanese and Tibetan branches of the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud school in the eighteenth century.

Chapter 2

rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's Life

Here, in times of beauteous youthfulness [characterizing] worldly life,
Do not run like a dog amidst a crowd of people;
In a hermitage of tranquil mountain solitude
Acquire the essence of the sacred Buddhist lore, cave hermit!

rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen, *Advice for a Cave Hermit**

The following chapter provides an introduction to and reflection on the different textual sources about rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's life. In addition, I consider observations from my field and archival research in Bhutan in 2014 and several methodological and theoretical approaches from the area of “life-writing” in the Tibetan cultural area—resulting in personal recommendations for possible future research about rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's life. To document rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's activities as scholar, author, and teacher in twentieth-century Bhutan, I provide a concise and systematic overview about rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's life based on my translation of the earliest spiritual biography, the *Dwangs shel me long* comprising his brief autobiography, the *bSe ru'i gtam*. This serves to complement my analysis of rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's Mahāmudrā doctrine and meditative system as the focus of this monograph, and also deepens our understanding of his broader intellectual agenda.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁷I mainly consulted for the relevant methodological and theoretical approaches regarding Tibetan and Bhutanese “life-writing”: ALMOGI 2005, CONERMANN & RHEINGANS 2014, RHEINGANS 2014, RHEINGANS 2015, ROESLER 2014, ROESLER 2015, ROESLER 2020, SCHWIEGER 2015, SER-

*See rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs, *Dwangs shel me long* (p. 58.1–4): *mi chos lang tsho mdzes pa'i dus tshod 'dir || mi mang khrod du khyi bzhin ma rgyug par || mi med ri khrod zhi ba'i dben khang na || lha chos snying po lon cig brag phug pa ||*.

2.1 Sources: Introduction

At the very outset of my research on rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen, Dorji Wangchuk kindly drew my attention to the existence of an extended biographical account that awoke my interest and curiosity. Later, during my archival and field research in Bhutan in 2014, which mainly aimed at identifying and locating further textual witnesses of rJe Shākya-rin-chen's *Grub pa'i mdung rnon* and its commentaries, I was able, with the help of several monks of the rTa-mgo Monastery near Thim-phu, to locate the earliest and as of yet untranslated autobiographical and biographical account of rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's life in the monastery's library.

The *rTogs brjod mdor bsdus dwangs shel me long* (hereafter *Dwangs shel me long*)¹⁰⁸ was published shortly after rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's passing by his direct close disciple, rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs Ngag-dbang bSod-nams-rgya-mtsho (b. 1957, hereafter rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs) in 1999.¹⁰⁹ Important to note is that the *Dwangs shel me long* also includes rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's own brief autobiography in verse, the *dBen pa'i yon tan la bsngags pa bse ru'i gtam* (hereafter *bSe ru'i gtam*).¹¹⁰ At the behest of rJe dGe-

NESI 2013/2014, and GALLI & EHRHARD, X. 2020. For the history of the genre of hagiographies and the analysis of their functions by involving naratological and literary-critical methods in a broader trans-cultural context regarding Christianity, Buddhism, Islam, and Judaism; see the contributions in CONERMANN & RHEINGANS 2014.

¹⁰⁸ rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs Ngag-dbang bSod-nams-rgya-mtsho, *rTogs brjod mdor bsdus dwangs shel me long* (*The Crystal Mirror [of] Abbreviated Expressions [of] Realization*). An electronic input version with different pagination has also been available online since 2015 (version B in the bibliography). I refer to version A throughout this monograph.

¹⁰⁹ rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs Ngag-dbang bSod-nams-rgya-mtsho is often merely called "Dorji Lupon Kinley" in Bhutan.

¹¹⁰ rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen, *dBen pa'i yon tan la bsngags pa bse ru'i gtam* (*Report of a Pratyekabuddha: Praises about the Virtues of a Hermit*). For the analogy of the rhinoceros (*khadgaviṣāṇakalpa: bse ru lta bu*), which is used to describe the ideal of the Pratyekabuddha realized through a life in solitude, see for example the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, the *Abhidharmasamuccaya*, and the *Khaggavisāṇasūtra* of the Uruga Vagga. I thank Dominic Sur for this reference. For the use of *gtam* in autobiographical writing as "discourse" or "report," see GYATSO 1998: 245. For the use

'dun-rin-chen's principal students and his nephew (*rigs dbon*) bKra-shis-rdo-rje,¹¹¹ and, in particular, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's main patron, Dasho Ugyen Chog, rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs composed the *Dwangs shel me long*.¹¹²

To provide some background on the author, rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs is nowadays himself a prominent Buddhist master in Bhutan and was a direct and close disciple of rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen. In particular, he was rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's student during his higher monastic education in the rTa-mgo bShad-grwa and later was a teacher at the Pha-jo-sdings Buddhist Institute at the same time rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen served there as a principal. Later, rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs also held the position of a retreat master at rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's Monastery and Hermitage Gro-lung gSang-sngags-chos-gling and also played an important part in the compilation of rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's *bKa' 'bum*. Currently, rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs is the principal of the five *slob dpons* of the Central Monastic Body (*gzhung lhan tshogs*) in Bhutan. In addition, he was one of the tutors (*yongs 'dzin*) of the current eighth incarnation of the fourth ruler of Bhutan, 'Brug sDe-srid bsTan-'dzin-rab-rgyas (1638–1698), 'Jigs-med bsTan-'dzin dBang-po (b. 1993) during the latter's religious education.¹¹³

of *bden gtam* (“truthful account”) in the titles of autobiographical accounts and the importance of “impartiality and truthfulness” as a theme in Tibetan autobiographical literature, see ROESLER 2020: 3; 16–18.

¹¹¹bKra-shis-rdo-rje is also commonly just called Lobay Dorji on social media platforms.

¹¹²See rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs, *Dwangs shel me long* (pp. 127.13–128.10). Dasho Ugyen Chog (1925–2019) was a devoted Buddhist, recipient of the red scarf, and father of the Queen Mother Dorji Wangmo Wangchuck (b. 1955) of Bhutan. Dasho Ugyen Chog is also commonly known under the name Dasho Ugyen Dorji (written correspondence with Françoise Pommaret on April 25, 2017).

¹¹³See Tshe-ring, *rNam thar do shal* (p. 32.5–8); also oral communication with Dorji Wangchuk on July 9, 2012. For a brief summary of rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs' life, see TOBGYEL 2020: pp. 68–69. For a brief account of 'Jigs-med bsTan-'dzin dBang-po's education, see Phub Dorji Wang, “His Holiness Gyelse Tenzin Wangpo,” *Phub Dori Wang: May you all be blessed* (blog), May 24, 2019, <http://www.phubdorjiwang.com/2019/05/his-holiness-gyelse-tenzin-wangpo.html>. Accessed: September 2, 2020.

A second, very brief eulogistic biographical account was composed by a certain Tshe-ring in Taiwan one year later in 2000. This work is written in verse and highly honorific and flowery language and is a brief outline of rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's life. It reproduces the same facts as the earlier longer biography and also mentions the *Dwangs shel me long*. In general, it provides few concrete dates, and seems not to be referred to in the other biographical accounts.¹¹⁴

Then, in 2017, to commemorate the twentieth anniversary of rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's passing, a third spiritual biography in classical Tibetan was commissioned under the patronage of Dasho Ugyen Chog and Ashi Beda, supported by the wishes of Sangay Dorji and Chimi, former *slob dpons* of the Central Monastic Body, the Gendun Foundation, and numerous other of rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's students. The *rJe dran zla ba'i 'dzum zer* (hereafter *Zla ba'i 'dzum*) was composed by sPa-gro rTa-mchog-chos-rje mKhan-po Tshe-ring and published in 2017, followed by the English translation by Khencho Tobgyel in 2020.¹¹⁵ The *Zla ba'i 'dzum* includes a foreword and closing dedication verses by rJe sPrul-sku 'Jigs-med-chos-grags and was translated into English to reach a broader audience among the Bhutanese, who would otherwise not be able to access this biographical account written in classical Tibetan.¹¹⁶ It is richly illustrated with photographs of rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen and many eminent twentieth-century Tibetan and Bhutanese Buddhist masters along with other religious paintings that were provided by Talop Nado Rinchen. Interestingly, it also includes three examples of rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's autographs.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁴Unfortunately, I have not yet identified Tshe-ring, who, most likely, is a close student of rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen, and might be well known in Bhutan.

¹¹⁵sPa-gro rTa-mchog-chos-rje mKhan-po Tshe-ring, *rJes dran zla ba'i 'dzum zer* (published additionally under the English title: *Smiling Moon: A Biography of 69th Je khenpo His Holiness Gendun Rinchen*).

¹¹⁶See TOBGYEL 2020: 17; 19.

¹¹⁷During my field research in Bhutan, I was told that autographical notes are existent but they seemed to be scattered around at rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's last residence, dByangs-can-phu, and I was also informed that autographical notes are collected at his Hermitage and Monastery Grolung gSang-sngags-chos-gling. However, I was informed that a new house will be built above dByangs-can-phu to collect his writings and also his

As this biographical account is not further analyzed in my monograph, I provide relevant introductory notes about this work in the following section. The *Zla ba'i 'dzum* is structured into eighteen chapters and contains parts of rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs' *Dwangshel me long* and rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's *bSe ru'i gtam*. The translator adds that it should be read as a "supplementary text" to rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs' *Dwangshel me long* and rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's *bSe ru'i gtam*. The eighteen chapters are titled: (1) "The Former Incarnations," (2) "The Birth," (3) "Beginning of Monastic Life and Early Education," (4) "Mastering the Auxiliary Sciences," (5) "Study and Reflection," (6) "Journey to Tibet," (7) "Back to Bhutan and Mastering Meditation," (8) "Becoming a Teacher," (9) "Three-year Retreat and Teaching at Kuenga Choling," (10) "Becoming a Principal at Tango Meditation Center," (11) "Establishing a Monastery at Drolung," (12) "Becoming a Principal of Phajoding Buddhist Institute," (13) "Back to Drolung," (14) "Becoming the Je Khenpo," (15) "Descending from the Throne," (16) "Entering Ultimate Nirvana," (17) "Reliquary and its Benefit for Beings," and (18) "Establishment of Reliquary Stupa."¹¹⁸

In addition, numerous orally transmitted episodes and memories from rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's first-generation disciples and other contemporary Bhutanese as first-hand witnesses are documented. However, in general, they do not follow a systematic format of identification, location, and dating that would simplify further ethnographic studies. In sum, the *Zla ba'i 'dzum* bears witness to rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's lively oral biographical tradition in Bhutan and, furthermore, provides us with many as of yet undocumented examples of it—partially already found in rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs'

bKa' 'bum (oral communication at dByangs-can-phu with a monk on the occasion of the *lha babs dus chen* festivities on November 13, 2014). In the *Zla ba'i 'dzum*, another example of rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's autographs is mentioned. His notes for the study of the thirteen great treatises of the rNying-ma bShad-grwa curriculum under the Second Nyi-ma-lungmkhan-rabs Kaḥ-thog-bla-ma Ngag-dbang-phrin-las during his stay in Tibet are still kept in the Gro-lung gSang-sngags-chos-gling Hermitage today; see TOBGYEL 2020: 90. Additionally, several of his works are published as monographs within Bhutan, but remain uncatalogued by the National Library and Archives of Bhutan, Thim-phu. Therefore, research and cataloging of his works are by no means complete.

¹¹⁸See TOBGYEL 2020: 19; 23.

Dwangshel me long. Interestingly, the author of the *Zla ba'i 'dzum* frequently employs a Sankrit rendering of rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's name: Sanga Ratna (*saṃgha ratna*).

To conclude this section, although, as aforementioned, the priority of my stay in Bhutan was the identification of textual witnesses of rJe Shākya-rin-chen's *Grub pa'i mdung rnon* and its commentaries, I additionally was able to collect complementary data through participant observation and "ero-epic talks," mostly in the rTa-mgo and Shri Nā-landā Monasteries, in rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's last residence dByangs-can-phu, and at his birth place of sTag-tshang.¹¹⁹ As a result, I am able to share some preliminary though systematic observations which were gained through: (1) the study of these textual sources, (2) my archival and field research in Bhutan, (3) and loosely monitoring social media entries on different platforms, such as Facebook and YouTube within Bhutan, dealing with rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's life.

2.2 Reflection

Since I first started researching rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen a decade ago, I have personally witnessed an increased interest within Bhutan in remembering, documenting, and preserving rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's life in the more traditional format of "life-writing" as well as in more recent media formats.

To begin with, for about the last two decades, beginning with the composition of rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's *bSe ru'i gnam*, over rDor-je-slob-dpon Kun-legs' *Dwangshel me long* and Tshe-ring's *rNam thar do shal* to sPa-gro rTa-mchog-chos-rje mKhan-po Tshe-ring's *Zla ba'i 'dzum*, the biographical accounts of rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen have developed in content and form.

First, they have shifted in favor of a predominantly third-person perspective of the author and first-hand-witnesses due to inclusion of

¹¹⁹Roland Girtler developed the qualitative research method of "ero-epic" talks. The word creation "ero-epic" is derived from the Greek words *erotema* for "question" or *eresthai* "to ask" and *epos* for "narration, message" or *eipein* for "to narrate" in allusion to Homer's narrative technique; for an introduction into the concept of "ero-epic" talks; see GIRTLE 2001: 147–168. For an introduction into the methods of ethnographic research, see also *ibid.* For a concise introduction into participant observation as qualitative research method, see KAWULICH 2005.

a greater number of loosely, mostly orally transmitted episodes not necessarily witnessed by the author in person. These episodes also include important twentieth-century Tibetan and Bhutanese Buddhist masters, and they thereby additionally provide information about rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's relation with them and, in many cases, establish a greater authority and legitimacy. Compared to the newer *Zla ba'i 'dzum*, fewer orally transmitted and indirectly witnessed episodes are included in the earlier *Dwangs shel me long* that, in general, demonstrates great efforts to stay very close to the structure of rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's autobiographical account, the *bSe ru'i gtam*.

Second, nowadays, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's biographical depiction more coherently integrates the different earlier narratives to emphasize rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's personality as representing the ideal example of a realized Buddhist practitioner, scholar, author, and teacher—for example through inclusion of a greater number of episodes with hagiographical character. This depiction serves, in a broader sense, as an efficient didactic means that consequently instills stronger personal identification of the individual religious practitioner. It should be noted that numerous stories which seem to deviate from a more stereotypical and ideal presentation of a “conventional” Buddhist master are not prominently included in the textual biographical accounts. These, in general, reveal more unconventional behavior typically identified with the behavior of a Tantric “madman” (*smyon pa*) and may, as a result, have been perceived as not being appropriate to retell in an eulogical format.¹²⁰

Third, now that rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's latest biography, the *Zla ba'i 'dzum*, is translated into English, it can be much more broadly circulated within Bhutan with a much greater reach with respect to the general Bhutanese Buddhist lay public. This contributes to creating greater awareness about rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's importance and contribution to but also his place as the former Chief Abbot in the lineage of the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud school in Bhutan.

¹²⁰In fact, the conception of the Tantric “madman” (*smyon pa*) is in itself a form of stereotype; cf. also ROESLER 2020: 25. Curiously, I have observed during my stay in Bhutan that these non-conventional and slightly scandalous stories are usually told with the greatest respect and admiration and seem to more strongly confirm rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's high realization and skill in pedagogical means. This unconventional behaviour is mentioned, for example, in TOBGYEL 2020: 69; 239.

This significantly contributes to religious and socio-cultural identity-building processes in Bhutan.

In sum, even with a minimal temporal gap of only around twenty years between rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's passing and the latest biographical account, there is already a certain type of variation in the form and content of the different biographical accounts about rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's life.

Then, nowadays an increased presence on social media platforms has been observed, such as posts including photographs, shorter or longer eulogies of rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's life, and, more recently, videos. For example, in 2019, extensive video footage from the 1990s was uploaded on YouTube. This highly informative footage cover rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's travels in his function of the Chief Abbot of Bhutan throughout Bhutan during Spring 1992. The footage covers rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's granting of Tantric initiations



Figure 1:
View on rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's Zim-khang at dByangs-can-phu, Thim-phu. Photograph by Dagmar Schwerk, November 13, 2014.[†]

and blessings, recordings of public teachings to a great variety of disciples, meetings with patrons and important figures of public life in Bhutan, consecrations of newly established religious institutions, and visits to sacred places in Bhutan. However, one also discovers more private footage of rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen that shows him, for

[†]Together with Bhutanese disciples and followers of rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen, I took part in the religious ceremonies and Tantric initiations that were performed by rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs for the important Buddhist festival of commemorating “Buddha’s Descent from Heaven” (*lha babs dus chen*) at rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's last residence dByangs-can-phu, Thim-phu, on November 13, 2014. The photograph depicts the shrine erected at the back side of rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's Zim-khang, a crucial place of worship, as he is said to have remained there in death and *postmortem* meditative absorption (*thugs dam*) for eleven days after his passing on April 17, 1997—a state said to only be actualized by realized Buddhist practitioners. See also p. 84.

example, enjoying traditional performances of Bhutanese dance and songs which were carried out in his honor.¹²¹ In the case of the more personal social media entries, they focus on important traditional religious *topoi* also common in all forms of earlier traditional Tibetan and Bhutanese life-writing. These include the recognition as incarnation or emanation of previous important Buddhist masters, the meditative achievements of a Buddhist practitioner during their life and at the time of their passing, scholarly and authorial activities, and teaching and performing religious duties, thereby emphasizing, more generally, the Buddhist master's contribution to the benefiting of sentient beings and the flourishing of Buddhism.

Certainly, a vivid picture of rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen is kept alive by first-generation disciples and other first-hand witnesses through oral transmission with a more current shift to the use of social media platforms.¹²² As a result, beside the traditional biographical accounts that used to typically be composed by the religious elites in classical Tibetan, his life is nowadays commemorated and preserved in additional formats. In general, this bears witness to the great admiration, reverence, and the lasting authoritative status the person of rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen holds today in the collective memory of the Bhutanese people.¹²³

All in all, my reflection strongly suggests that a future study of a twentieth-century Buddhist master such as rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen should include a thorough literary-critical and philological-historical analysis of the textual autobiographical and biographical sources, a systematic ethnographic study of the oral traditions including

¹²¹This extensive video footage was shot in eleven separate movies ranging from 1:49:35 to 3:07:29 hours in length and was only recently uploaded on Khenpo Karma Namgyal's YouTube channel, March 9 and 10, 2019, STN Namgay, Tsento, Paro, Bhutan, <https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCAdnRjCL-57JT5IzAX8dldA>. Accessed: September 28, 2020.

¹²²In 1999, the internet had first been introduced in Bhutan. Nowadays, social media platforms play an increasingly important role throughout Bhutan, because they also connect geographically remote places; cf. Sangay Chezom, "Two decades of internet in Bhutan," *BBS*, Paro, June 5, 2019, <http://www.bbs.bt/news/?p=115448>. Accessed: October 2, 2020.

¹²³For comparison, my earlier short overview of rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's sparser media presence from 2012 is available in SCHWERK 2012: 21–22; the employed sources are listed in *ibid.*: 21, n. 27.

first-generations disciples of rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen and other first-hand witnesses, and a media analysis. A threefold methodological approach such as this acknowledges the importance of both forms of spiritual biographical accounts and the crucial interplay between them—oral and textual. As a result, this type of research can provide answers to numerous important questions, such as the function and impact of modern Bhutanese spiritual life-writing on socio-cultural and religious identity-building processes in Bhutan, the perceived self-image of the different religious and non-religious peer groups in Bhutan, and the role of social media as part of mass media and the public sphere in these processes of preservation and transmission of knowledge. A media analysis in Bhutan could be, in particular, fascinating, as it would consider the recent democratization process in Bhutan since 2008 and, as a result, the increased and diversified participation in the public sphere—in this case, related to the perception of an eminent Bhutanese Buddhist master.

In a broader sense, an analysis such as this also represents a unique opportunity to learn more about compilation processes of Collected Works of Buddhist masters, the function of autographs during and after the compilation of Collected Works, and the role of the different participants in the compilation process of Collected Works—all of which are equally relevant for research about the past and present.¹²⁴

2.3 rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs' *Dwanggs shel me long*

2.3.1 Genre, Structure, and Style

In recent years, the complexity of definitively determining genre designations for Tibetan and Bhutanese works has been addressed in different publications and the *rnam thar* genre represents a vivid example of that challenge, since a *rnam thar* often simultaneously belongs to different literary genres or text types in both its form and content.¹²⁵ Orna Almogi has proposed that the “genre term” *rnam thar* belongs to at least two “genre categories”: biographies and accounts

¹²⁴For an analysis of authorship, author-function and authority with respect to the textual production of Collected Works in pre-modern Tibet, see SERNESI 2013/2014.

¹²⁵See also Chapter 4.7: Genre and Titles on p. 154 ff. For a discussion about “text genres” and “text types” as well as some current research

or narrations.¹²⁶ The *Dwanggs shel me long* is an “expressions-of-realization” work (*rtogs pa brjod pa: avadāna*) and belongs therefore to the “complete-liberation” genre (*rnam par thar pa: vimokṣa*).¹²⁷ In the Tibetan and Bhutanese context of “life-writing,” the designation *rnam thar* can include writings with a great variation in both, form and style, such as narratives, dialogues, songs, letters, operatic arias (*a lce lha mo*), and content, such as miracles, legends, historical and political fact-accounts, travelogues, doctrinal treatises, and eulogies.¹²⁸ This variety in form and content can also be clearly witnessed in rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs' *Dwanggs shel me long*.

In general, the *Dwanggs shel me long* demonstrates the common features of traditional Tibetan and Bhutanese life-writing, for example, in the form of the three layers of: (1) the outer biography that reports the events of the factual life of the Buddhist master including concrete data, (2) the inner biography about the teachers, teachings and transmissions received, and meditative practices, and (3) the secret biography that typically includes, for example, experiences in meditation, visionary dreams, transmissions, and the performance of wondrous deeds.¹²⁹

regarding the categorization of Tibetan literature, see the contributions in RHEINGANS 2015; for an introduction into the then current state of research, see *ibid.*: 1–22.

¹²⁶See ALMOGI 2005: 39, n. 46; for the distinction in “genre terms” and “genre categories,” see *ibid.*: 37–39.

¹²⁷On *rtogs pa'i brjod pa* as a sub-type of autobiographical or biographical writings, see also RHEINGANS 2015: 10; see also GYATSO 1998: 6. Traditional works of the *avadāna* genre consist of narratives, which usually display the “noble deeds” of persons in their past life or lives and relate the events to a story in the present. By identifying the protagonists of both stories with each other, they explain the Karmic result in the current situation. In this process, a form of parable or analogy is often used. In a broader sense, such works are situated within the Indo-Buddhist classification of Buddhist literature into limbs (*yan lag: aṅga*) and can be considered a sub-category of the genre of former-birth stories (*jātaka*), see for example the prominent *Mahāvastu*; see ROESLER 2015: 33–34. For a presentation of the typical five-fold structure of the (*jātaka*) literature, see ROESLER 2014: 128–130.

¹²⁸See ROESLER 2014: 116–117; 117, n. 14.

¹²⁹On the basis of the *rGyal rabs gsal ba'i me long* about the birth of Chos-rgyal Srong-btsan-sgam-po, Peter Schwieger demonstrates the three

In its structure, the *Dwangs shel me long* consists of three chronologically arranged parts: (1) a detailed explanation that identifies rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen as one of the incarnations of gTer-ston bSod-rgyal Las-rab-gling-pa (1856–1926, hereafter Las-rab-gling-pa), gSer-kong Tshul-khrims-don-ldan Rin-po-che (1856-1918), and the emanation of Mar-pa Lo-tsa-ba and Mahāsiddha Ḍombi Heruka/Ḍombipa (*dge ba sngon byung gi gleng gzhi bstan pa*);¹³⁰ (2) rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's actual life beginning with his birth in 1926 until the age of seventy-one in 1997 (*dge ba mdzad rnam dngos bshad pa*);¹³¹ and (3) rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's illness and the subsequent wondrous events surrounding his death in 1997 up until the consecration of his remains in a gold and silver reliquary Stūpa (*sku gdung mchod rten*) in the bKra-shis-chos-rdzong in 1999 (*dge ba mjug yongs su rdzogs pa'i bya ba bshad pa*).¹³²

Within the second part of the *Dwangs shel me long* dealing with rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's actual life, rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs bases his narrative structure (*gzhir bzung*) on rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's concise autobiographical account in verse, the aforementioned *bSe ru'i gtam*. Verses of the *bSe ru'i gtam* are easily identified as they are meticulously reported in quotation marks and written in blue ink. In general, rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs arranged his own prose com-

levels of *rnam thars* as depending on the varying perception of disciples due to their different levels of capability; see SCHWIEGER 2015: 271–273.

¹³⁰See rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs, *Dwangs shel me long* (pp. 5.1–26.6); see also TOBGYEL 2020: 22. In the *Dwangs shel me long*, this is supported by authenticating scriptures and the recognition of rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen as an incarnation and emanation of these eminent Buddhist figures by other eminent contemporary Buddhist masters. For the mentioning of another incarnation of Las-rab-gling-pa, namely mKhan-po 'Jigs-med-phun-tshogs (1933–2004, BDRC: P7774), see also TOBGYEL 2020: 34–41. Bsod-rgyal Rin-po-che (1947–2019) was also recognized as one incarnation of Las-rab-gling-pa. For gSer-kong Tshul-khrims-don-ldan Rin-po-che, see also BDRC: P243. For an analysis of this narrative pattern and the function of: (1) positioning the individual's life in the larger context of a lineage transmission, and (2) identifying the individual with a specific incarnation of a former Buddhist master; see ROESLER 2015: 119–120; 123–132.

¹³¹See rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs *Dwangs shel me long* (pp. 26.7–111.5).

¹³²See rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs, *Dwangs shel me long* (pp. 111.6–127.6).

mentary, written in third-person, around rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's narrative, and occasionally added (*zur brgyan*) what rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen had said and taught (*gsung ngag*), including direct instructions (*gzhal gdams/bslab bya*) to disciples on a great variety of topics, songs of experience (*nyams mgur*), and short autobiographical notes and poems (*phyag bris*). In the *Dwangs shel me long*, these autobiographical writings are indicated by quotation marks and written in green ink. Occasionally, rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs provides other supporting quotations from canonical sources or important Buddhist masters. Since they are also written in green, it is not clear if they were originally added by rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs or rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen.

I located most of these autobiographical writings in rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's *bKa' 'bum* where they are arranged in a different order. So far, I identified at least one poem (*phyag bris*) reported in the *Dwangs shel me long* that was not included in rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's *bKa' 'bum*. Two four-line stanzas of this intriguing poem, which I creatively gave the title *Advice for a Cave Hermit*, have been included as epigraphs in this monograph. It was composed during rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's second three-year retreat from 1965 to 1968. rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen reflects on himself as a "cave hermit" (*brag phug pa*) in this composition, followed by offering a list of piercing advice on correct view, meditation, and conduct (*lta sgom spyod gsum*).¹³³

rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's autobiographical writings and oral teachings are found in volume seven (*mThu chen bla ma'i las thogs las/Tshogs glu sku bzhi'i dga' ston*, pp. 685–691) and volume eight (*dGe slong dang sgom chen gyi 'bel gtam*, pp. 609–622; *dBen pa'i yon tan la bsngags pa bse ru'i gtam*, pp. 623–634; *dBang chog skabs 'chams khang du gnang rgyu'i 'chams kyi tshogs gtam dus las yol ba med pa'i rnga sgra*, pp. 635–654; *Blo ldan chos la bskul ba'i bslab bya tshig gsum gnad don*, pp. 655–678; *Gros 'debs snying gi thur ma*

¹³³For the complete poem, see rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs, *Dwangs shel me long* (pp. 57.4–59.7). For the translation of two four-line stanzas of this poem, see p. 51 and 87. The epithet of *brag phug pa* is given to Yogins having meditated extraordinarily long in caves, see for example the famous Sa-skya Lam-'bras master Brag-phug-pa bSod-nams-dpal (1277–1350, BDRC: P3092). See also n. 169 on p. 75. In the following chronological overview about rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's life, I refer to the version of the *bSe ru'i gtam* as reported in the *Dwangs shel me long*.

dang dben pa'i nyams len la bskul ba'i dbyug gu sogs, pp. 679–692; *sLob bu chos la bskul ba'i bslab bya ka phreng ma*, pp. 693–700) in rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's *bKa' 'bum*. The *Dwangs shel me long* (and the other biographical accounts) provide the opportunity to date these autobiographical writings as well as other works from the *bKa' 'bum* that do not have a colophon. In general, I recommend a future systematic analysis of these autobiographical notes and teachings.

Then, from time to time, the narrator's perspective in the *Dwangs shel me long* changes to the first person, such as when rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs meets his teacher, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen, in person and, as a result, becomes himself part of the narrative.¹³⁴ In addition, it is mentioned in the colophon of the *Dwangs shel me long* that rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs had received permission from rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen himself to write a biographical account, after he had presented notes to rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen.¹³⁵

Finally, in the third part of the *Dwangs shel me long*, the events that naturally play a crucial role for the disciples of eminent Tibetan and Bhutanese Buddhist masters are depicted. This part of biographical accounts often emphasizes the realization and performance of great deeds of the master as well as forecasting and legitimizing important events after his death. Here, the narrative does not contain any first-person account of rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen. The perspective frequently changes between rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs's third-person narrative and direct dialogues between rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen and rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs or other disciples. The events are either witnessed first-hand by rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs or reported through second-hand hearsay—but are meticulously labeled and thereby easily identifiable.

¹³⁴The first occurrence of a first-person perspective is found after rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen came as a teacher to the rTa-mgo bShad-grwa in 1970; see rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs, *Dwangs shel me long* (p. 65.8–10).

¹³⁵See rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs *Dwangs shel me long* (pp. 127.6–128.4). The *bSe ru'i gtam* could additionally be considered to be a form of *rang rnam* since rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen had also designated the title for this work (*mtshan byang gnang ba*); see rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs, *Dwangs shel me long* (p. 127.11–13). For an introduction to the different features of autobiographical writing of two very different Tibetan Buddhist masters, the Fifth Dalai Lama and 'Brug-pa Kun-legs, see ROESLER 2014: 132–136 and ROESLER 2020: 20–26.

In sum, the *Dwangs shel me long* oscillates between rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs, as a third-person objective narrator, and two different first-person narrators, rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs and rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen. rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs provides a clearly visible structure to enable the reader to distinguish and evaluate the different perspectives and biographical and autobiographical parts.

Stylistically, the *Dwangs shel me long* employs a wide range of religious *topoi* commonly known in the cultural sphere of the Tibetan cultural area. As a result, the narrative presents rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen in the ideal function of a realized Yogin and embodied Bodhisattva.¹³⁶

2.3.2 Scope of Analysis

To document rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's activities as a scholar, author, and teacher, I provide a concise and systematic overview of rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's life as reported in the *Dwangs shel me long* comprising the *bSe ru'i gtam*. As a result, this serves to complement my analysis of rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's Mahāmudrā doctrine and meditative system as presented in his *Dus kyi pho nya*.¹³⁷ rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's interpretation of the Mahāmudrā doctrine and meditative system as paramount teaching of the 'Brug-pa bKa'-bgyud school in Bhutan is the focus of this monograph. In addition, this overview deepens our understanding of other minor works included in my Mahāmudrā analysis and his broader intellectual agenda.

As a result, my overview is based on rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs' presentation of rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's life and passing up until 1999 as found in the second and third part of the *Dwangs shel me long*. Of particular interest to me are his monastic and further non-sectarian education including his travels to Eastern Bhutan and to Tibet, his teachers, and the teachings and transmissions he received. This is even more important to document, as rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's *bKa' 'bum* does not contain a formal "record of teachings received"

¹³⁶ Cf. also SCHWIEGER 2015: 270–273. For a detailed analysis of the religious *topoi* with respect to Buddha's life that were used, for example, in gTsang-smyon Heruka Rus-pa'i-rgya-ncan (1452–1507, hereafter gTsang-smyon Heruka)'s depiction of Mi-la-ras-pa's life, see SERNESI 2014.

¹³⁷ See Chapter 3: rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's Mahāmudrā Doctrine and Intellectual Agenda on p. 87 ff.

(*gsan yig*). Furthermore, I prioritize, in my presentation his literal production after the 1950s including his personal writings and autobiographical notes and their partial dating as well as the role he played in the religious educational institutions in Bhutan during the second half of the twentieth century.

The *Dwangs shel me long* interweaves stylistically elegant concrete data typically belonging to the outer and inner biographical layer with highly interesting and richly illustrated aspects of a secret biography. These include his experiences in meditation, visionary dreams and transmissions, and performance of wondrous deeds. For a future systematic life study that also could address the different layers of spiritual biographies, namely outer inner and secret, I have documented several of these episodes in the footnotes of my chronological overview.

My overview is based on my translation of rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs' *Dwangs shel me long*, and I include the original Tibetan text in my footnotes. In particular, I only partially include the Tibetan text of the *Dwangs shel me long*, while I include the Tibetan text of rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's *bSe ru'i gtam* completely.¹³⁸ Furthermore, I do not include the second biographical account, Tshe-ring's *rNam thar do shal*, as it only provides a few dates but, instead, partially consider the latest and third biographical account, sPa-gro rTa-mchog-chos-rje mKhan-po Tshe-ring's *Zla ba'i 'dzum*. This provides me with additional information when needed and enables me to compare interpretations of events.¹³⁹

¹³⁸I follow here Edward Henning's presentation of the calculation of the Bhutanese calendar according to the *rTsis gzhung gdan dus thun mong gi nges pa gsar du bkod pa dang bcas pa'i lag len than thabs gsal ba'i sgron me* (BDRC: W25103) by Yongs-'dzin lHa-dbang-blo-gros Su-re-sha-ma-ti (b. 16th century). See HENNING 2011. For the calculation in Western dates based on bsTan-'dzin-lung-rtogs-nyi-ma's *rDzogs chen chos 'byung*, I follow SCHUH 2010. Note that in the Tibetan cultural area, one is already considered to be one year old at the time of being born. Therefore, the stated age often includes an extra year compared to the Western age. I return the age as provided in the *Dwangs shel me long*.

¹³⁹In my presentation, I use the pagination of the English translation of sPa-gro rTa-mchog-chos-rje mKhan-po Tshe-ring's *Zla ba'i 'dzum* (as provided in TOBGYEL 2020) to share my findings with a broader readership including persons who do not understand classical Tibetan. When referring to photographs in this publication I use the Tibetan version of

In addition, for the readers' convenience and to aid in possible further research on rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's *bKa' 'bum*, I have added the work number of rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's works mentioned in the *Dwangs shel me long* according to the catalog entry of rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's *bKa' 'bum* as listed by me in Appendix B: Works in rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's *bKa' 'bum*.¹⁴⁰

Finally, in addition to the *Dwangs shel me long* as my main textual source, I employ information gained from my field and archival research in Bhutan in 2014. In case where I include these findings, which otherwise complement missing information, I provide the relevant information in the footnotes.

2.3.3 Chronological Overview

2.3.3.1 Education and Travel to Tibet (1932–1956)

In the first half of the seventh lunar month of the Fire-Tiger Year (1926) at the sacred site of sTag-tshang near sPa-gro, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen was born. The *Dwangs shel me long* reports that his birth was accompanied by the wondrous signs common at the birth of important Buddhist masters. For example, when his mother, Kunbzang-rdo-rje, went into labor on her way back from work, a cave for shelter appeared (*rang bzhin lhun grub kyi phug pa*) in which she gave birth without any pain. Because of the manner in which he had been conceived, his family gave the new-born the name “Brag-phug-pa” (rDzong-kha: Bya-phugp) which was from then on one of his commonly used monikers.¹⁴¹

His religious education began at the age of seven, when he received his ordination name, “dGe-'dun-rin-chen,” which was conferred on him by the Fifty-ninth rJe-mkhan-po Chos-kyi-dbang-phyug (1860–1940, hereafter rJe Chos-kyi-dbang-phyug) at the Man-

the *Zla ba'i 'dzum* as the scan of the English version I received from Dorji Penjore did not include the photographs.

¹⁴⁰See on p. 353 ff.

¹⁴¹See rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs, *Dwangs shel me long* (pp. 26.16–28.8). For photographs of this cave, see sPa-gro rTa-mchog-chos-rje mKhan-po Tshe-ring's *Zla ba'i 'dzum* (pp. 46; 49).

gadha-gtsug-lag-khang¹⁴² in the bKra-shis-chos-rdzong in Thimphu.¹⁴³ From the age of eight onward he studied under rJe Chos-kyi-dbang-phyug and completed his studies with him at the age of fifteen.¹⁴⁴ Then, until the age of seventeen, he spent his time deepening his practices, and, subsequently, in the Water-Horse Year (1942), he began to study a great variety of advanced subjects under the Sixtieth rJe-mkhan-po Ngag-dbang-'phrin-las/Fourth A-mori-mu Chos-rje (1916–1950, hereafter rJe Ngag-dbang-'phrin-las) at sPungs-thang bDe-ba-chen-po'i-pho-brang.¹⁴⁵

Following his predilection for solitary retreats, at the age of twenty-one, with the permission of the Central Monastic Body, he traveled to lHa-rdzong bKra-shis-sgang,¹⁴⁶ where he completed his preliminary practices (*sngon 'gro*) during a four-month meditation re-

¹⁴²Magadha is usually transliterated as Mangadha in Tibetan works.

¹⁴³See rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs, *Dwangs shel me long* (p. 29.1–7). rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs reports that, on that occasion, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen delivered an auspicious speech as evidence for his inclination towards the Dharma: *de ltar yang rje rang gi gnas tshul bse ru'i gtam dang sbyar ba'i zhal gsung las || 'dod chags ri dwags bag yod sder mos rmas || zhe sdang gcan gzan mzod pa'i nga ros thul || gti mug glang chen ye shes mche bas bcom || bcom ldan seng ge de la phyag tshal nas || gang gi rjes su zhugs pa'i bse ru bdag || dben gnas brag gi phug tu skeyes pa las || gcig pur gnas la dga' ba'i bag chags kyis || dben pa'i yon tan cung zad 'bri bar bya || kho bo dang po gog shes tsam nyid nas || byis pa gzhan dang spyod tshul ma 'dra bar || chos kyi lad mo kho na byed pa las || pha yis khrid de 'dus sde'i khrod du btsugs ||*; see *ibid.* (p. 29.8–16). For a short summary of rJe Chos-kyi-dbang-phyug's life, see rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen, *lHo 'brug chos 'byung* (pp. 373.10–374.6).

¹⁴⁴See rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs, *Dwangs shel me long* (pp. 29.17–31.3). See also rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's own summary of the events: *rang lo brgyad nas bco lnga'i bar du ni || chos spyod nas bzung brtag gnyis sdom gsum bar || blor 'dzin byas te bskyed chog tshad du phyin || rang mnyam khrod nas rang mgo 'thon tsam byung ||*; see *ibid.* (pp. 30.18–31.3).

¹⁴⁵See rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs, *Dwangs shel me long* (pp. 31.3–32.11). The *Dwang shel me long* also reports the first occurrence of rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen receiving visions (*mnal lam*) in this period. For an overview of rJe Ngag-dbang-'phrin-las' life, see rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen, *lHo 'brug chos 'byung* (pp. 304.12–306.8).

¹⁴⁶lHa-rdzong bKra-shis-sgang was founded by the Twelfth rJe-mkhan-po Kun-dga'-rgya-mtsho (1722–1772) at the age of forty-seven, after he had meditated and received a vision at rLung-cu-ze, the residence of the gTer-

treat followed by a second four-month retreat in the following year.¹⁴⁷ In the Earth-Rat Year (1948), from the age of twenty-three onward, he continued his studies under the guidance of rNam-rgyal Lam Thub-bstan-nor-bu by focusing on one of the five fields of knowledge (*sgra'i rig pa*), in particular, grammar, poetry, and composition.¹⁴⁸ At the age of twenty-five, in the Iron-Tiger Year (1950), rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen left the Central Monastic Body and went to Bumthang in Eastern Bhutan, where he also studied Buddhist philosophy for two years, mainly Madhyamaka, under the Second Byang-sprul dGe-bshes Pad-ma-'phrin-las (1897–1970, hereafter dGe-bshes Pad-ma-'phrin-las) from the 'Brug-thar-pa-gling bShad-grwa.¹⁴⁹

Still somewhat dissatisfied with his studies, which had related to mostly Sūtric treatises, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen wished to continue his studies in Tibet. In the Water-Dragon Year (1952) at the age of twenty-seven and with the patronage of Ashi Phuntsho Choden

ston 'Brug-sgra-rdo-rje (b. 17th century); see rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen, *lHo 'brug chos 'byung* (p. 333.2–4); for an overview of rJe Kun-dga'-rgyam-tsho's life, see *ibid.* (pp. 331.12–334.2).

¹⁴⁷See rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs, *Dwangs shel me long* (pp. 32.11–35.10). See also rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's own narrative: *sngon 'gro nas bzung 'jam dkar bsnyen pa'i skabs || gser sbrang bung ba zhid las 'di skad thos ||*; see *ibid.* (p. 33.16–17); and further: *de nas byams mgon bla ma'i zhal snga nas || chos sgo dang po'i bka' drin thob tsam gyis || blo kha chos la phyogs te dben pa'i rir || sngon 'gro nas bzung 'jam dkar bsnyen pa'i skabs || gser sbrang bung ba zhid las 'di skad thos || thos pa'i rna dang mthong ba'i mig med par || gzhon nu'i dus nas gang byung ma zos shig || sman dang dug gnyis nor ba'i nyen yod zer || de thos nas ni thos pa yid la byed ||*; see *ibid.* (p. 34.10–16). The *Dwangs shel me long* reports that, in his meditation retreat, he received a crucial vision of Guru Rinpoche.

¹⁴⁸See rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs, *Dwangs shel me long* (p. 35.5–10.)

¹⁴⁹Note that in sPa-gro rTa-mchog-chos-rje mKhan-po Tshe-ring, *Zla ba'i 'dzum* (p. 72) a photograph of dGe-bshes Pad-ma-'phrin-las is depicted with the caption *rje bla mas gzhung gi dpe khrid thog mar zhu sa dge bshes padma tshe ring*. Cf. Jangling Foundation, "His Holiness the Jangtrul Geshe Pema Thinley Rinpoche (1897–1970)," <http://www.janglingbhutan.org/his-holiness-jangtrul-pethrin-rinpoche/>. Accessed: October 4, 2020. See also rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen own summary in rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs, *Dwangs shel me long* (p. 36.6–9.): *slob dpon rnam rgyal zhabs nas dag yig dang || sum rtags snyan ngag sogs la slob pa'i skabs || grogs mched 'ga' dang bcas te bum thang du || song yang yid kyi brnag pa ma rdzogs par ||*.

Wangchuck (1911–2003),¹⁵⁰ who among other members of the Royal Family of Bhutan supported his religious activities throughout his life, he was able to travel to Central Tibet a little later. After a harsh journey over the Mon-la-dkar-cu pass, he reached Lho-brag-lha-lung,¹⁵¹ where he was able to study the thirteen great treatises of the rNying-ma bShad-grwa curriculum (*gzhung chen bcu gsum rdzong gsar yig cha*)¹⁵² under the Second Nyi-ma-lung-mkhan-rabs Kaḥ-thog-bla-ma Ngag-dbang-phrin-las (b. 19th century, hereafter Kaḥ-thog-bla-ma Ngag-dbang-phrin-las).¹⁵³ At that time he also visited pilgrimage sites associated with Mar-pa and Mi-la-ras-pa, for example, gDan-sa-gro-bo-lung and the tower said to have been erected by Mi-la-ras-pa.¹⁵⁴

After two years, in the Wood-Horse Year (1954), rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen continued on another harsh journey towards the 'Bri-gung valley in Central Tibet where he received a vast amount of rNying-ma teachings and Tantric transmissions from the famous Dzogs-chen master Rwa-hor dPal-ldan Chos-kyi-grags-pa (b. 19th century–

¹⁵⁰ Ashi Phuntsho Choden Wangchuck, popularly known as Gayum Angay, was the wife of the Second Druk Gyalpo of Bhutan, Jigme Wangchuck (1905–1947, reign: 1926–1952). An extensive biography by Lopon Yonten Phuntsho with a detailed account of her numerous activities of promoting and preserving Buddhism in Bhutan has been available since 2014.

¹⁵¹ This refers to lHa-lung-ri-khrod (BDRC: G9), which is associated with the famous rNying-ma gTer-ston Padma-gling-pa (1450–1521, BDRC: P1693).

¹⁵² The curriculum of the thirteen great treatises from India includes two Vinaya texts and eleven Śāstra texts that are studied in the rNying-ma bShad-grwas along with the commentaries written by rDza-dpal-sprul O-rgyan-'jigs-med-chos-kyi-dbang-po, 'Ju Mi-pham and gZhan-phan Chos-kyi-s nang-ba (*alias* mKhan-po gZhan-dga', 1871–1927), due to the latter's reform efforts; see also THONDUP 1987: 81–82.

¹⁵³ The Second Nyi-ma-lung-mkhan-rabs Kaḥ-thog-bla-ma Ngag-dbang-phrin-las was in office between 1940 and 1943 [BDRC: P2JM238] and was a student of the 'Brug-thar-pa-gling bShad-grwa. This bShad-grwa had been established with the new curriculum by a Bhutanese student of mKhan-po gZhan-dga', dGe-bshes-bstan-pa Rin-chen-mchog; see bsTan-'dzin-lung-rtogs-nyi-ma, *rDzogs chen chos 'byung* (p. 312.5–14).

¹⁵⁴ See rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs, *Dwangs shel me long* (pp. 35.10–37.14).

1960),¹⁵⁵ a student of gZhan-phan Chos-kyi-s nang-ba. These included additional Sūtric and Tantric commentarial traditions of the rNying-ma curriculum, including the treatises of 'Ju Mi-pham and gZhan-phan Chos-kyi-s nang-ba; Klong-chen-pa Dri-med-'od-zer (1308–1364, hereafter Klong-chen-pa)'s commentary of the **Guhya-garbhatastra*, the *gSang snying 'grel pa phyogs bcu mun sel*; Paṅ-chen Vimalamitra's teachings on the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti*, and various other Tantric transmissions related to rDzogs-chen practices. Additionally, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen received Sa-skya teachings on the *Three Experiences* in the Lam-'bras tradition (*lam 'bras gyi snang ba gsum*).¹⁵⁶

In addition, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen received teaching on grammar from Thub-bstan-rin-po-che; teachings and transmissions on the **Guhya-garbhatastra* from Tshul-khrims Rin-po-che; the cycle of *Klong chen snying thig* from rDzogs-chen-mkhan-po Padma-rig-'dzin; the *sNying thig ya bzhi* and the collected teachings of *gcod* practices, the *'Dzin pa rang grol*, from the Fourth rDo-grub-chen 'Jigs-med Phrin-las-bzang-po (b. 1927).¹⁵⁷ Then, in the Mi-'gyur-lhun-gyis-grub-pa'i-gtsug-lag-khang¹⁵⁸ in bSam-yas, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen received the cycles of *Rin chen gter mdzod* and *sNying thig ya bzhi* from bDud-'joms 'Jigs-bral-ye-shes-rdo-rje (1904–1987, hereafter bDud-'joms Rin-po-che), as well as the oral transmission of Klong-chen-pa's seven great philosophical treatises (*mdzod bdun*).

Initially, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen had wished to travel further to Eastern Tibet. However, in the Fire-Monkey Year (1956), at the age

¹⁵⁵ According to bsTan-'dzin-lung-rtogs-nyi-ma, *rDzogs chen chos 'byung* (pp. 665.11; 667.3–5), Rwa-hor dPal-ldan Chos-kyi-grags-pa was born in the first half of the Fifteenth *rab byung* cycle (1867–1895) and died in the Tibetan Iron-Rat Year (1960); no dates provided in the Buddhist Digital Resource Center (BDRC: P6954).

¹⁵⁶ The “Three Experiences” consist of impure appearances (*ma dag pa'i snang ba*), appearances from the perspective of a Yogin (*rnal 'byor nyams kyi snang ba*) and pure appearances (*dag pa'i snang ba*). They are part of the preliminaries for practicing the Tantric Lam-'bras; cf. HARDING 2008: 119–120; 417, n. 244.

¹⁵⁷ For the Fourth rDo-grub-chen 'Jigs-med Phrin-las dPal-bzang-po, see BDRC: P2562.

¹⁵⁸ On the building and consecration of this famous temple, see SØRENSEN 1994: 371–399.

of thirty-one, due to the increasingly difficult political situation and fights between Tibetans and the People's Liberation Army in Eastern Tibet and on the advice of his Guru Rwa-hor dPal-ldan Chos-kyi-grags-pa, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen returned home to Bhutan after a pilgrimage to several sacred sites in Central Tibet (*gangs can chos 'khor rnam gsum*).¹⁵⁹ At the time of rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's parting, Rwa-hor dPal-ldan Chos-kyi-grags-pa had let everybody know that, due to his erudition, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen should from now on be known as "Brug Thams-cad-mkhyen-pa." This then later was transformed into his moniker "dGe-bshes." Along with his previous moniker, "Brag-phug-pa," he is commonly referred to as "dGe-bshes Brag-phug-pa" in Bhutan.¹⁶⁰

2.3.3.2 Return to Bhutan: Meditation and Enhanced Reputation (1956–1970)

Shortly after his return to Bhutan, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen devoted himself to deepening the understanding of the teachings and transmissions he had received back in Tibet. At lCags-ri-rdo-rje Monastery, while recovering from the long and harsh travels in Tibet, he practiced the thirteen-deity *maṇḍala* of *Cakrasaṃvara*. At the same

¹⁵⁹See rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs, *Dwangs shel me long* (p. 40.4–16). According to TOBGYEL 2020: 101, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen visited sacred sites in lHa-sa, Sam-yas, and Khra-'brug. The designation (*gangs can chos 'khor rnam gsum*) can also refer to the three holy mountains in the Tibet cultural area, namely the mountains of Gangs-dkar-ti-se, La-phyi-gangs, and dPal-gyi-tsa-ri. They are associated with the deities of Cakrasaṃvara and Vajravārāhī and belong to the twenty-four sacred places of the world (*gnas chen nyi shu rtsa bzhi: pitha*); see RICARD *et al.* 2001: 342–343, n. 10. See also Padma-dkar-po, who establishes Tsa-ri as being the most important of the three mountains in his *gNas chen tsa ri tra'i ngo mtshar snang ba pad dkar legs bshad* (in *Pad dkar gsung 'bum*, vol. 4, pp. 207–274). For a detailed study of the history and tradition of the pilgrimage site of Tsa-ri, see HUBER 1999.

¹⁶⁰For the complete depiction of rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's travel to Tibet, see rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs, *Dwangs shel me long* (pp. 37.15–40.3). See also rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's very brief summary of his stay in Tibet and his further intentions: *dka' ba khyad du gsod de gangs can du || lo 'gar bla ma btsal te thos pa len || mdo sngags gzhung lugs lta ba'i mig thob ste || rang yul ldog ste dben par gnas pa las ||*; see *ibid.* (p. 42.6–9).

time, he began to compose important prayers and ritual manuals.¹⁶¹

Then, in the Fire-Bird Year (1957), at the age of thirty-two, he entered a three-year retreat at sTag-tshang-dpal-phug Hermitage. During this retreat he composed his first scholarly treatises, such as the *Tha snyad brda dag gi bstan bcos ngo mtshar 'phrul gyi lde mig* (1), the *Sum rtags si tu'i dgongs rgyan gyi sa bcad* (7), and a supplication prayer toward Guru Rinpoche.¹⁶²

After rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen had concluded his retreat in the Iron-Rat Year (1960), he went on a pilgrimage to important sacred Buddhist sites in India and Nepal, such as Lumbini, Bodhgaya, Varanasi, Rajgir, and Orissa due to the patronage of Ashi Kunchog Wangmo Wangchuck.¹⁶³ In the same year, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen was invited to inaugurate the newly formalized religious educational institutions at the Central Monastic Body in sPu-na-kha and spent the next three years teaching and developing the curriculum there. During his tenure there, he composed and completed numerous commentaries and works, such as the *Ngag sgron gyi mchan 'grel* (3), the *bShes spring mchan 'grel lung gi gter mdzod* (15), the *sDom gsum rgyan gyi mchan 'grel pad dkar zhal lung* (13), and the *Dag snang ma'i rtsa phab dang las byang 'chi med mchog sbyin* (49), an important

¹⁶¹For his work on the *Dag snang ma'i rtsa phab dang las byang 'chi med mchog sbyin* (49), see rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs, *Dwangs shel me long* (pp. 42.9–44.17). The *Dwangs shel me long* describes how he had perceived this work through pure vision (*dang snang*); see also PHUNTSHO 2013: 174.

¹⁶²For the translation of one four-line stanza of this supplication prayer, see p. 159. For the complete prayer, see rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs, *Dwangs shel me long* (pp. 46.4–49.6). rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen experienced several visionary dreams during this retreat. In one of his visions, a Tantric practitioner (*sngags pa'i chas can*), a form which he would see over and over again, appeared to rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen. See rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs, *Dwangs shel me long* (pp. 42.9–44.17).

¹⁶³See rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs, *Dwangs shel me long* (pp. 49.18–50.9). I assume this to be Ashi Kunchog Wangmo Wangchuck, who was the third daughter of the First Druk Gyalpo Ugyen Wangchuck (1862–1926). She was an immensely important royal patron of the traditional arts and Buddhist religion in Bhutan, and became a devoted nun later in her life; see <https://www.royalark.net/Bhutan/bhutan3.htm>. Accessed: May 20, 2020.

ritual manual and liturgy of *guru yoga* practices of Zhabs-drung.¹⁶⁴

For two years, starting in 1963, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen spent his time meditating in remote hermitages, such as sTag-tshang-'od-gsal,¹⁶⁵ teaching the growing number of disciples, and composing new works.¹⁶⁶ Finally, at the request of several donors, he moved to Kun-dga'-chos-gling Monastery.¹⁶⁷ From the famous Tibetan Buddhist master Dil-mgo-mkhyen-brtse bKra-shis-dpal-'byor (1910–1991, hereafter Dil-mgo-mkhyen-brtse), who had found refuge in Bhutan after his escape from Tibet in 1959, he received important transmissions, such as the cycles of Klong-chen-pa's *Snying thig ya bzhi* and 'Jam-dbyangs mKhyen-brtse'i-dbang-po's *lCe btsun snying thig*.¹⁶⁸ Then, after his mother died in the Wood-Snake Year (1956), he began another three-year retreat at Kun-dga'-chos-gling

¹⁶⁴See rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs, *Dwangs shel me long* (pp. 50.15–54.14). See also rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's brief summary: 'dus sde'i bka' bzhi rang gi grwa tshang du || slob grwa thog mar btsugs te lo gsum bar || gzhan dbang sgrog gis zin te gnas pa'i skabs || dag yig 'bru 'grel sum rtags bsdus sdom dang || bshes springs 'grel pa la sogs gsar du bris ||; see *ibid.* (p. 54.14–18). According to TOBGYEL 2020: 104–105, in 1996, rJe sPrul-sku 'Jigs-med-chos-grags announced that from then on the *guru yoga* manual for Zhabs-drung should be practiced in all 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud monasteries in Bhutan. Furthermore, *Dwangs shel me long* reports that rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen had another striking vision of a Tantric practitioner at the famous meditation cave at dGon-yul Tshe-phug. The cave is named dGon-tshe-'bum or Māratika ('chi ba mthar byed) cave and is located near Thim-phu on the mountain opposite of Pha-jo-sdings Monastery, but at a much lower altitude. It is not to be confused with the “original” Māratika cave in the Khotang district of Nepal that is associated with longevity practices of Guru Rinpoche (oral communication with Tulku Tenzin Norbu Rinpoche on July 29, 2015).

¹⁶⁵This hermitage is located on top of the sTag-tshang-dpal-phug main temple; see ARDUSSI 1999a: 55, n. 7.

¹⁶⁶The *Dwangs shel me long* mentions ritual manuals on Pañ-chen Vi-malāmītra, Guru Rinpoche, and Klong-chen-pa; see rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs, *Dwangs shel me long* (pp. 55.17–56.2)

¹⁶⁷This monastery is located near sPa-gro (BDRC: G3JT12435).

¹⁶⁸For an overview of Dil-mgo-mkhyen-brtse's (BDRC: P625) life, see bsTan-'dzin-lung-rtogs-nyi-ma, *rDzogs chen chos 'byung* (pp. 722.16–727.3).

that lasted until 1968.¹⁶⁹

At the age of forty-three, in the Earth-Monkey Year (1968), he heard that the eminent Buddhist master rTogs-ldan bSod-nams-bzang-po (1888–1982, hereafter bSod-nams-bzang-po) was giving teachings and transmissions of Vajravalī at the bDe-gling Monastery near Thim-phu.¹⁷⁰ bSod-nams-bzang-po granted him special instructions on the Six Doctrines of Nāropa and the Mahāmudrā meditative system of the Four Yogas of Mahāmudrā (*rnal 'byor bzhi*), which rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen subsequently gradually and extensively practiced. rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs resumes his narrative again only in the Iron-Dog Year (1970). Since bSod-nams-bzang-po taught very profound practices, it is assumed here that rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen studied and practiced these for nearly two years.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁹ See rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs, *Dwangs shel me long* (pp. 54.1–59.16). For rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's own depiction, see *ibid.* (pp. 59.16–60.5): *skabs der gzhung du bshad grwa 'dzugs pa las || rang gi sna thag mi la ma gtad par || mgo la dkris te dgon sa bskor ba'i mthar || spa gro kun gling chos kyi dga' tshal du || rang ltos skye bo 'ga' la bslab ston re || byas kyang don du 'gyur ba med mthong nas || lo gsum spong ba'i brtul zhugs bzung ba na || rim gnyis zab mo'i lam la nges pa brnyes || mthu chen bla ma'i sgrub thabs las tshogs dang || thun min bla ma'i rnal 'byor gtan la phab ||*. The *Dwangs shel me long* reports that from this time onward, word spread about his meditative accomplishments and several miraculous phenomena were increasingly observed around his meditation places. In this retreat, he also composed the aforementioned intriguing *Advice to a Cave Hermit*; see also p. 63.

¹⁷⁰ bDe-gling Monastery is located in the Ka-wang *rged 'og* of Thim-phu district (no entry in BDRC).

¹⁷¹ See rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs, *Dwangs shel me long* (pp. 60.5–64.10). bSod-nams-bzang-po (BDRC: P622) was the Third rDzong-gsar-mkhyen-brtse mKhyen-brtse-nor-bu (b. 1961)'s maternal grandfather, and a direct disciple of the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud master rTogs-ldan Shākya Shri (1853–1919, BDRC: P620). The latter specialized in particular on the practices of the Six Doctrines of Nāropa. For two photographs of bSod-nams-bzang-po from Bhutan, see sPa-gro rTa-mchog-chos-rje mKhan-po Tshe-ring, *Zla ba'i 'dzum* (p. 129). bSod-nams-bzang-po was struck by rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's similarity to the gTer-ston bSod-rgyal Las-rab-gling-pa (1856–1826), whom he had met in Tibet, and the different biographical accounts report that he therefore recognized rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen as one of his incarnations in accordance with earlier prophecies that the reincarnation of gTer-ston bSod-rgyal Las-rab-gling-pa would

2.3.3.3 Scholar, Author, Teacher, and Practitioner (1970–1990)

At this point, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen had already produced a significant number of important Buddhist treatises and significantly contributed to the establishment of the growing monastic educational institutions in Bhutan as a Buddhist teacher. However, the most extensive period of literary production and teaching took place during his tenure as head of the rTa-mgo bShad-grwa from 1970 to 1980 and, thereafter, when a new bShad-grwa was established at Pha-josdings in 1981. Following Ashi Phuntsho Choden Wangchuck's royal decree,¹⁷² from the Iron-Dog Year (1970) onward, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen first developed the new curriculum at rTa-mgo. His compositions were often directly related to teaching at this institution. Some of the compositions from the early time of his tenure include: *sNyan ngag le'u bar pa'i dper brjod dbyangs can rgyud mangs* (10), *sDom gsum rgyan gyi mchan 'grel pad dkar zhal lung* (13), *Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i tshig don rnam par bshad pa rin chen sgron me* (14), and *bDe mchog rtsa rgyud kyi 'grel pa pad dkar zhal lung* (42).¹⁷³ At the same time, he also received full ordination vows, teachings, and transmissions from rJe bsTan-'dzin-don-grub.¹⁷⁴

be born near sTag-tshang. The detailed exposition and the authenticating sources and predictions are presented in the first part of the *Dwangshel me long*; see rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs, *Dwangshel me long* (pp. 17.3–25.13).

¹⁷²On Ashi Phuntsho Choden Wangchuck see also n. 150 on p. 70.

¹⁷³In the Wood-Hare Year (1975), when a bShad-grwa was established in lCags-ri-rdo-rje Monastery under the patronage of the Queen Grandmother Ashi Kesang Choden Wangchuck, one of his students, Legs-bshad-rgya-mtsho, was already learned enough to be appointed as head of this institution; see rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs, *Dwangshel me long* (pp. 64.10–25.13). The Queen Grandmother Ashi Kesang Choden Wangchuck (b. 1930) was married to the Third Druk Gyalpo Jigme Dorji Wangchuck (1929–1972, reign: 1952–1972), see for example <https://www.royalark.net/Bhutan/bhutan3.htm>. Accessed: November 19, 2029. A biography was launched on the occasion of her eighty-seventh birthday in 2017 (*Heart of a Sacred Kingdom*. Bangkok: Gatshel Publications, 2017).

¹⁷⁴See rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs, *Dwangshel me long* (pp. 64.13–67.13).

In the Fire-Dragon Year (1976), at the age of fifty-one, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen received further important oral transmissions, such as of the *rNying ma rgyud 'bum*, from Dil-mgo-mkhyen-brtse. Then, two years later, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen again traveled to Bum-thang in Eastern Bhutan to meet his former Tibetan teacher Kaḥ-thog-bla-ma Ngag-dbang-phrin-las, who was at that time on a pilgrimage in Thar-pa-gling.¹⁷⁵ rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen offered his teacher compositions, such as his *Hevajratantra* commentary in the rNgog tradition, the *rGyud kyi rgyal po dpal brtag pa gnyis pa'i tshig don rnam par bshad pa man ngag gi mdzod* (39). Thus, Kaḥ-thog-bla-ma Ngag-dbang-phrin-las was very pleased with his former student.¹⁷⁶ After his travels, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen fell severely ill for many months. For his fast cure, the Fourth Druk Gyalpo Jigme Singye Wangchuck took care of the medical treatment while bSod-nams-bzang-po, together with many other monks and devoted disciples, performed extensive longevity rituals and the recitation of the *bKa' 'gyur*. After rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen had recovered, he requested the Queen Grandmother Ashi Kesang Choden Wangchuck to resume his duties at rTa-mgo Monastery.¹⁷⁷

Soon after, in the Earth-Sheep Year (1979), out of his strong desire for solitude and with the help of many of his devoted students, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen began to build a two-story hermitage and monastery, that was then given the name Gro-lung gSang-sngags-chos-ling. It is located near rTa-mgo Monastery on the opposite mountain range. In this part of the narrative, rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs occasionally changes his perspective into first-person, since he had been actively participating in the building of Gro-lung gSang-

¹⁷⁵Thar-pa-gling (BDRC: G4166) is one of the eight *glings* that were founded (or taken over) by Klong-chen-pa during his exile in Bhutan: (1) Thar-pa-gling (Bab-ron, Chu-smad valley of Bum-thang), (2) bDe-chen-gling (Shing-mkhar, U-ra valley of Bum-thang), (3) O-rgyan-gling (sTang valley of Bum-thang), (4) Kun-bzang-gling (Kur-stod), (5) Padma-gling (mKho-thang), (6) Kun-bzang-gling (Men-log), (7) 'Bras-bcags-gling (sNgan-lung), and (8) bSam-gtan-gling (sPa-gro); see ARDUSSI 1979: 315, n. 19. See also PENJORE 1999.

¹⁷⁶See rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs, *Dwangs shel me long* (pp. 68.10–18).

¹⁷⁷See rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs, *Dwangs shel me long* (pp. 68.18–70.17). The *Dwangs shel me long* reports that, during his time of illness, an important vision of dPal-ldan-lha-mo occurred to rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen.

sngags-chos-gling.¹⁷⁸

At this point, rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs provides a concise list of some of the important works that had been composed by rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen during his tenure at the rTa-mgo Monastery: the *rGyud kyi rgyal po dpal brtag pa gnyis pa'i tshig don rnam par bshad pa man ngag gi mdzod* (39), the *dBu ma'i bsdus don gsal byed lung gi phreng ba* (17),¹⁷⁹ the *bDe mchog rab gnas rgyas pa rgyud lung man ngag gi bang mdzod* (43), the *Rab gnas 'bring po yan lag bzhi pa'i zin bris* (44), the *Rab gnas kyi cho ga shin tu bsdus pa khang bzang rab gnas su grags pa* (45), the *Zhi rgyas dbang drag gi sbyin sreg hom mchod dang bcas pa* (47), the *sNgags kyi spyi don rgyud sde'i rnam gzhag* (58) as well as various Tantra commentaries.¹⁸⁰

Then, in the Iron-Monkey Year (1980), at the age of fifty-five, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen requested permission from his patron, the Grand Queen Mother Ashi Kesang Choden Wangchuck, to be able to resign from rTa-mgo and to leave for the newly established Gro-lung gSang-sngags-chos-gling Hermitage. After permission was granted, he resided there and was able to spend more time in solitude. On

¹⁷⁸The *Dwangs shel me long* reports that rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen longed for solitude—a frequent *topoi* throughout his biographical accounts. On one occasion, while teaching at the rTa-mgo Monastery, the Yogin Mi-la-ras-pa suddenly appeared to him as an apparition on the opposing mountain and he heard a very sad tune (*gdung byangs*). Many additional auspicious signs appeared, so he decided to establish a hermitage exactly at the place where he had seen Mi-la-ras-pa; see rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs, *Dwangs shel me long* (pp. 72.12–73.7).

¹⁷⁹This work is also included in rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen and rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs, *bDe chen bang mdzod*.

¹⁸⁰See rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs, *Dwangs shel me long* (pp. 70.18–75.1). See rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's own depiction: *de nas rang lo zhe lngar son pa'i skabs || rgyal yum lakṣmī kā ra'i bka' bzhin du || rta mgo chos dbyings pho brang ga la bar || slob pa'i grwa la chos ston gnas pa'i skabs || dang po'i las can rnam la phan pa'i phyir || blo gsar rna ba'i rgyan du chos 'byung bris || slad ma'i bstan 'dzin gzhon nu rnam kyi ched || sdom pa gsum gyi rgyan ni mdzes par byas || gsang chen bstan pa yun du gnas pa'i phyir || zab mo'i rgyud kyi tshig don gsal bar byas || rdo rje slob dpon mchog gi las bstan phyir || rab gnas sbyin sreg la sogs las tshogs bris || lta dang sgom pa'i lugs gnyis gsal ba'i phyir || dbu ma'i bsdus don gsal byed me long bris || bstan pa 'di la byas pa mi chung bar || dngos dang brgyud nas bstan don sgrub pa'i skabs ||*; see *ibid.* (p. 75.2–13).

a regular basis, he granted teachings and transmissions to his disciples from the rTa-mgo Monastery and other devotees, who visited.¹⁸¹

In the Iron-Rat Year (1981), at the age of fifty-six, Je dGe-'dun-rin-chen was again officially requested to establish and act as the principal of the new bShad-grwa at the Pha-jo-sdings Monastery¹⁸² for the next five years. During that time, he developed and introduced a new curriculum that also included his works as supplements. He also composed various new works, such as the *bShes gnyen bsten tshul* (33), the *dBu ma la 'jug pa'i rnam bshad lta grub gsal byed* (12), the *Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i tshig don rnam par bshad pa rin chen sgron me* (14), and different outlines (*sa bcad*) of important Buddhist scriptures, such as the *bShes spring mgo rgyan dang sa bcad* (29) and the *dBu ma la 'jug pa'i sa bcad gzhung don legs par phye ba'i lde mig* (37). In addition, after he had previously offered and received recognition for his *Hevajratantra* commentary by Dil-mgo-mkhyen-brtse, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen began to compose his *Cakrasamvaratantra* commentary, the *bDe mchog rtsa rgyud kyi 'grel pa pad dkar zhal lung* (42).¹⁸³

When bSod-nams-bzang-po visited Pha-jo-sdings, he received the longevity initiations in the tradition of Zhabs-drung and the oral transmission of the newly composed *Hevajratantra* commentary from rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen. Later, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen perceived bad omens in a vision, and he subsequently composed two ritualistic works associated with the protector deity of dPal-ldan-lha-mo: the *lHa mo'i las mtha' bskul byang rgyas pa* (89) and the *lHa mo'i rten*

¹⁸¹ See rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs, *Dwangs shel me long* (pp. 75.13–76.1). rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen expresses his immense joy in following a secluded lifestyle: *lho phyogs tsandan nags las 'ong bzhin pa'i || gzhan gsos bu mo'i skad kyi 'gyur khugs la || brtags pas rnam 'gyur mi 'dra sna tshogs mthong || dus skabs shes nas rang tshugs bzung ba yin ||*; see *ibid.* (p. 76.5–8).

¹⁸² Pha-jo-sdings was one of rJe Shākya-rin-chen's two monastic seats. rJe Shākya-rin-chen also constructed most of the buildings and established a second bShad-grwa next to the only other bShad-grwa in rTa-mgo at that time; see rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen, *lHo 'brug chos 'byung* (p. 329.1–3). It is also one of the twelve sacred places of the great Yogin Pha-jo 'Brug-sgom-zhig-po (1184–1251) in Bhutan and housed an important printery. On Pha-jo 'Brug-sgom-zhig-po's role in establishing the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud school in Bhutan, see also p. 28.

¹⁸³ See rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs, *Dwangs shel me long* (pp. 78.11–83.9).

'bul sogs (90).

In the Wood-Ox Year (1985), when rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen was sixty, the first batch of monks graduated from the Pha-jo-sdings bShad-grwa and they were, thereafter, sent to other places in Bhutan according to their abilities and inclinations, such as in the monastic service or into retreat. After that, he asked to be able to retire from the duties at the Pha-jo-sdings bShad-grwa due to his matured age and left for the Gro-lung gSang-sngags-chos-gling Hermitage. There he engaged in meditative practices, such as the five stages of Tantric meditation and the *Sahajayoga tradition of Mahāmudrā.

At the request of his numerous and close disciples, he began an intensive phase of granting teachings and transmissions to many lay and ordained religious practitioners. This prominently included his own *Hevajratantra* and *Cakrasaṃvaratantra* commentaries.¹⁸⁴ Additionally, he established retreat places and composed many new works, such as the biographical account of Zhabs-drung at the request of the Fourth Druk Gyalpo Jigme Singye Wangchuck, the *dPal 'brug pa rin po che mthu chen chos kyi rgyal po ngag dbang rnam rgyal gyi rnam thar rgya mtsho'i snying po* (123),¹⁸⁵ the *'Phags pa 'jam dpal gyi mtshan yang dag par brjod pa'i man ngag gsal byed sgron me* (124), the *Bla ma drag po kī la ya'i bsnyen sgrub las sbyor chig sgril gyi man ngag bklag chog tu bkod pa dngos grub gter mdzod* (125), and the *dByangs ma'i tshogs gtam skal bzang rna ba'i bcud len* (128). He was also invited to Dar-dkar-'brug-rgyas in Eastern Bhutan¹⁸⁶ where he granted, for the first time, public teachings and Tantric initiations to a broader audience.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁴His erudition in the root verses of these Tantras contributed to the attribution of him as an emanation of Mar-pa, see TOBGYEL 2020: 30–32.

¹⁸⁵For more details on this work, see p. 133.

¹⁸⁶On this monastic site and bShad-grwa, see also n. 151 on p. 70.

¹⁸⁷See rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs, *Dwangs shel me long* (pp. 83.10–93.8). rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen writes: *las ngan bse ru kho bo'i rwa cog la || gzhan dbang zhags pas zin te dbang med du || byang thang skya mo'i logs la kha bsgyur te || mno med phyugs dang lhan cig gnas dgos byung || de lta na yang rang gi las su bsams || skyo ngal med par bslab ston byas pa las || phyugs kyis rdzi bo bsten tshul shes tsam re || byung ba de la yang thos pa'i phan yon yin ||*; see *ibid.* (p. 85.6–11). Since the author of the *Dwangs shel mel long*, rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs, was

2.3.3.4 Chief Abbot of Bhutan (1990–1996)

On the third day of the first half of the second lunar month in the Iron-Horse Year (1990), at the age of sixty-five, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen was enthroned as the Sixty-ninth rJe-mkhan-po of Bhutan through the appointment of the Fourth Druk Gyalpo Jigme Singye Wangchuck.¹⁸⁸ From then onward, he fulfilled the numerous duties of the Chief Abbot of Bhutan, for example, granting Tantric initiations, giving public religious teachings, and performing the annual memorial rites for the Zhabs-drung. As is customary, the Central Monastic Body of Bhutan (*gzhung grwa tshang*) moves on the first day of the fourth lunar month (*sa ga zla ba dus chen*)¹⁸⁹ to its summer residence at the Mangadha-gtsug-lag-khang bKra-shis-chos-rdzong in Thim-phu, where rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen granted Tantric initiations of the deities of Vajrakīlaya and dPal-ldan-lha-mo that year. On the first day of the second half of the seventh lunar month,¹⁹⁰ the Central Monastic Body of Bhutan returned to its winter residence at the sPungs-thang bDe-ba-chen-po'i-pho-brang, where rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen presided over the *'Bum gter chen mo*.

In the Iron-Sheep Year (1991), at the age of sixty-six, he was invited by his main patron Dasho Ugyen Chog to consecrate the gSang-chen-chos-'khor temple and bShad-grwa at Kun-dga'-chos-gling Monastery in a three-day ceremony. Later, he granted the longevity initiations in the tradition of the Zhabs-drung and many other teachings and transmissions, first in the Chu-kha district and then, during the rest of the year, in all the different districts (*rdzong khag*) of Bhutan.¹⁹¹

a first-hand witness at that time, he often reports this particular part of rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's biographical account—dealing with rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's time at Gro-lung gSang-sngags-chos-gling and as head of the rTa-mgo and Pha-jo-sdings bShad-grwas—in the first-person and adorns it with a great number of rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's oral and written instructions (*gzhal gdams/gdams ngag*).

¹⁸⁸This corresponds to March 29, 1990. For an overview about the institution and duties of the Chief Abbots of Bhutan, see also p. 38 ff.

¹⁸⁹This corresponds to May 25, 1990.

¹⁹⁰This corresponds to September 16, 1990.

¹⁹¹See rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs, *Dwangs shel me long* (pp. 99.1–101.16).

Then, in the Water-Monkey Year (1992), at the age of sixty-seven, Dasho Ugyen Lhengye and Dasho Sangay Dorji sponsored rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's extensive public series of important Tantric initiations and teachings for over ten thousand people in Thimphu.¹⁹² Additionally, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's now completed *bKa' 'bum* in ten volumes was distributed to the monasteries in all districts of Bhutan.¹⁹³ Furthermore, in the late phase of his life, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen put all his effort into the production of a giant *thang kha* of Zhabs-drung (*gos sku mthong grol*) for which he offered two million Ngultrum, which was the money he had received as offerings and contributions for religious services throughout his entire life.¹⁹⁴ In the Water-Bird Year (1993), this giant *thang kha* was publicly consecrated in the presence of the Fourth Druk Gyalpo Jigme Singye Wangchuck and rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen at the feet of Zhabs-drung's *sku gdung* at the sPu-na-kha rDzong.¹⁹⁵

Finally, in the Fire-Rat Year (1991), at the age of seventy-one, he requested permission from the Fourth Druk Gyalpo Jigme Singye Wangchuck to be able to resign. On the fifteenth day of the third lunar month in the Fire-Rat Year (1996),¹⁹⁶ he transferred the office of the Chief Abbot of Bhutan to his close disciple, rJe sPrul-sku 'Jigs-med-chos-grags.¹⁹⁷

2.3.3.5 Final Year and Beyond (1996–1999)

Shortly after rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen had returned to his hermitage, Gro-lung gSang-sngags-chos-gling, he followed the request of his patrons and disciples to move to a place that had access to a road and that was closer to a hospital as he already was very advanced in age and had several serious health conditions, and Gro-lung gSang-

¹⁹²For the video footage of these travels, see also p. 58 f.

¹⁹³See rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs, *Dwangshel me long* (pp. 101.16–103.3).

¹⁹⁴The Bhutanese currency Ngultrum (BTN) is today tightly coupled to the Indian Rupee (INR).

¹⁹⁵See rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs, *Dwangshel me long* (pp. 103.3–104.1).

¹⁹⁶This corresponds to May 3, 1996.

¹⁹⁷See rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs, *Dwangshel me long* (pp. 104.1–7).

sngags-chos-gling is very secluded. Therefore, on the seventeenth day of the third lunar month of 1996¹⁹⁸ he moved to his last residence, dByangs-can-phu, which is located on a hill close to the city of Thim-phu.

On the twelfth day of the seventh lunar month in 1996,¹⁹⁹ when rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen visited his former Hermitage Gro-lung gSang-sngags-chos-gling for the last time to consecrate the newly renovated site, he got very sick and had to be brought back to dByangs-can-phu. At that time, various life-prolonging rituals were performed for him by rJe sPrul-sku 'Jigs-med-chos-grags and other devotees, and rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen recovered for a short period of time.²⁰⁰

However, in the beginning of the Fire-Ox Year (1997), at the age of seventy two, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen fell ill again, and his condition deteriorated from the beginning of the third lunar month onward.²⁰¹ rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen passed away on the tenth day of the

¹⁹⁸This corresponds to May 5, 1996.

¹⁹⁹This corresponds to August 26, 1996.

²⁰⁰rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs closes the second part of the *Dwangs shel me long* with a brief overview of rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's life and provides a list of the names of his students; see rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs, *Dwangs shel me long* (pp. 104.8–110.14). The following students are listed as examples: rJe sPrul-sku 'Jigs-med-chos-grags, Pad-gling-skuphreng-dgu-pa sGang-sprul Kun-bzang Padma-phrin-las, mDa'-stongsprul-sku Rig-'dzin Padma-rnam-rgyal, Pad-tshal-gling-sprul-sku Kun-bzang bsTan-'dzin-rgya-mtsho, mTshan-slob Chos-kyi-nyi-ma, dByangs-slob Sangs-rgyas-rdo-rje, sGra-slob Legs-bshad-rgya-mtsho, bShes-gnyen mKhyen-rab-rgya-mtsho, Slob-dpon Ye-shes-rin-chen, Slob-dpon rDo-rje-rin-chen, Slob-dpon Rig-'dzin-dbang-phyug, Slob Phan-thogs, and sGrub-slob Zla-ba-rgyal-mtshan. At that time, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen also appoints the author of the *Dwangs shel me long*, rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs, as *rdo rje slob dpon* of the Central Monastic Body. In general, as the *Zla ba'i 'dzum* was written twenty years after rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's passing, it provides much more information about rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's students and their respective religious careers in the religious institutions of Bhutan. As a result, the *Zla ba'i 'dzum* provides important information about rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's impact on the following generation of Buddhist teachers in Bhutan.

²⁰¹After rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs had received a message regarding the condition of his teacher, he immediately rushed to dByangs-can-phu on the sixth day of the third lunar month. This corresponds to April 13,

third lunar month.²⁰² rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs reports that rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's passing was accompanied by the typical signs denoting the realization of a Buddhist practitioner, for example, he consciously and while seated in a straight meditation posture passed away and stayed in death and *postmortem* meditative absorption (*thugs dam*) for eleven days. On the eleventh day, the Fourth Druk Gyalpo Jigme Singye Wangchuck, the Queen Mothers of Bhutan, and the current Fifth Druk Gyalpo Jigme Khesar Namgyal Wangchuck paid their respects to rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen. They were followed by rJe sPrul-sku 'Jigs-med-chos-grags and other members of the Central Monastic Body, and then, the general Bhutanese public for another five days.²⁰³

Because remains of a realized Buddhist master such as these are considered to hold blessings, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen was not cremated, but instead, on the tenth day of the first month of the Fire-Hare Year (1999),²⁰⁴ his *sku gdung* was brought in a ceremonial procession to the bKra-shis-chos-rdzong in Thim-phu. There, his

1997.

²⁰²This corresponds to April 17, 1997. The date of rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's passing has been reported elsewhere as April 18, 1997 and therefore differs from the date given in the biographical accounts. See for example http://www.buddhistchannel.tv/index.php?id=40,1231,0,0,1,0#.V_K1zL5w_M. Accessed: May 18, 2020.

²⁰³See rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs, *Dwangs shel me long* (pp. 111.6–120.1). The *Dwangs shel me long* reports that many wondrous signs occurred such as weather phenomena and that no smell or any other signs of deterioration were discerned on his body. When word spread about these extraordinary events, more and more people came to dByangs-can-phu to pay their respects to rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen. These events were, in particular, emphasized and recounted by many Bhutanese in his last residence, dByangs-can-phu, on November 13, 2014. For several photographs of these events, see sPa-gro rTa-mchog-chos-rje mKhan-po Tshe-ring, *Zla ba'i 'dzum* (pp. 285; 287). For current research on the state of death and *postmortem* meditative absorption (*thugs dam*) from the field of visual and medical anthropology, see Donagh Coleman (dir.), *Tukdam: A Question of Life and Death..* Finland, Kaarle Aho, Producer Making Movies Oy (forthcoming: 2021). HD, 90 mins. See also COLEMAN 2017 and his current dissertation research at the University of Berkeley. See also THOMPSON 2015: 293–299.

²⁰⁴This corresponds to February 25, 1999.

Chapter 2: rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's Life

mummified remains are kept in a preciousy filled gold and silver reliquary Stūpa (*sku gdung mchod rten*) that was offered by the Fourth Druk Gyalpo Jigme Singye Wangchuck, housed inside the Zhabs-drung Rang-byung-lha-khang.²⁰⁵

²⁰⁵See rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs, *Dwangs shel me long* (pp. 120.2–125.17). The Zhabs-drung Rang-byung-lha-khang had, for that purpose, newly been renovated by rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's main patron Dasho Ugyen Chog.

Chapter 3

rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's Mahāmudrā Doctrine and Intellectual Agenda

If you [can] not tame your rigid mind [resembling] a bowl of [hot] oil
[How can you] tame the mind of others, you low-minded fool?
Bragging about being wise, without [properly] explicating the Dharma
discourse
[Better to] conceal [your] qualities inside, cave hermit!

rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen, *Advice for a Cave Hermit**

In this chapter, I explore rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's elaborated Mahāmudrā interpretation based on the critical edition in Chapter 6 and the annotated translation in Chapter 5, as well as his intellectual agenda and heritage under consideration of his biographical background.²⁰⁶ These explorations demonstrate rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's lasting influence on the religious, educational institutions in the second half of the twentieth century in Bhutan as prolific author, scholar, and teacher. My analysis is rounded off by a brief albeit systematic presentation of the structure and content of his *bKa' 'bum* focusing on, in particular, three of his most renowned works.

²⁰⁶Based on this analysis, I utilize the term “intellectual agenda” in my work to denote and trace rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's self-perception, intentions, and aims. My understanding of “agenda-setting” is to be differentiated from agenda-setting theories that, in particular, investigate the interaction between, media, the public, and policy makers; see for example the work of Max McCombs, Donald Shaw, and Walter Lippman.

*See rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs, *Dwangs shel me long* (pp. 57.17–58.1):
*rang rgyud snum ko gyong po ma 'dul na || gzhan rgyud mi thul blo ngan
blun po khyod || mkhas par rloms nas chos gtam ma bshad par || yon tan
khong du sbos shig brag phug pa ||*.

3.1 The Seven Essential Topics

In general, Sa-skya Paṇḍita's crucial points of his systematic criticism concerning certain features of the Mahāmudrā doctrine and meditative system that set in motion the longstanding controversy are mainly found in the third chapter of his *sDom gsum rab dbye*, *Thub pa dgongs gsal*, and, to a lesser extent, in his *sPring yig* and *Zhu 'phrin*.²⁰⁷ Although Sa-skya Paṇḍita's criticism deals with a great variety of topics, according to David P. Jackson, they can be subsumed into three categories:

1. That a single method or factor (even insight into Emptiness presented as the Great Seal) could suffice soteriologically
2. That the Gnosis (*ye shes: jñāna*) of the Great Seal could arise through an exclusively non-conceptual meditative method [and]
3. That the Great Seal could ever be taught outside of the Mantrayāna.²⁰⁸

For the sake of completeness, Sa-skya Paṇḍita's efforts to explicate the correct interpretation of Mahāmudrā also need to be mentioned as they are clearly illustrated in several of his works such as the *rTogs ldan rgyan po'i dris lan*, where he answers five questions on Mahāmudrā to a student named rTogs-ldan-rgyan. The topics in the *rTogs ldan rgyan po'i dris lan* overlap with the topics discussed in rJe Shākya-rin-chen's *Grub pa'i mdung rnon* and its commentaries. However, the only acceptable form of Mahāmudrā for Sa-skya Paṇḍita is one that would be practiced within a strictly Tantric context, which has been also accepted by rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen and other bKa'-brgyud scholars—albeit not as the only form of Mahāmudrā.²⁰⁹

Since rJe Shākya-rin-chen's *Grub pa'i mdung rnon* and its com-

²⁰⁷See also JACKSON, D. 1994: 159–160. For an English translation of Sa-skya Paṇḍita's *sDom gsum rab dbye*, *sPring yig*, and *Zhu 'phrin*, see RHOTON 2002.

²⁰⁸JACKSON, D. 1994: 72.

²⁰⁹For the translation of the *rTogs ldan rgyan po'i dris lan* and the analysis of Sa-skya Paṇḍita's Mahāmudrā doctrine presented in this work, see STENZEL 2014. In addition, for an alternative translation and investigation of the *rTogs ldan rgyan po'i dris lan* together with five other brief works on Mahāmudrā from the *Sa skya bka' 'bum* by Sa-skya Paṇḍita, Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (1147–1216), and 'Phags-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan (1235–1280) that display their respective understanding of a “correct” Mahāmudrā doctrine; see ARCA 2015: 127–171.

mentaries were written in the eighteenth and twentieth centuries respectively, their authors' rebuttals do not only address Sa-skya Paṇḍita's criticism but additionally numerous other topics in question within the long history of the Mahāmudrā controversy, that had been raised as a response to Sa-skya Paṇḍita's initial criticism and had subsequently been discussed by scholars of the four main Tibetan Buddhist schools, mainly during the polemic heyday between the fourteenth to seventeenth centuries.²¹⁰ Naturally, during centuries of debates these scholars had developed complex exegetical and hermeneutical frameworks along with a great number of new Tibetan indigenous terminologies for defending (or criticizing) the paramount doctrine of the bKa'-brgyud schools—with substantial differences between the four Tibetan schools.

The *Grub pa'i mdung rnon* and its commentaries summarize this great variety of specified interpretations and complex doctrinal positions from many important masters from the different Tibetan Buddhist schools. All in all, an analysis of the *Grub pa'i mdung rnon* and its commentaries thereby enables us to: (1) *map* the reception history of the Mahāmudrā doctrine and meditative system as an important part of the intellectual history of Bhutan and Tibet from the eighteenth to twentieth centuries by analyzing the approach these great thinkers within the Bhutanese and Tibetan branches of the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud school chose; and (2) *map* the Mahāmudrā controversy and its complete reception history up until the twentieth century, thereby covering eight centuries of continued debates on Mahāmudrā when setting the composition date of Sa-skya Paṇḍita's *sDom gsum rab dbye* as a starting point.²¹¹

How, then, did these scholars establish their paramount teaching, the Mahāmudrā doctrine and meditative system, as an authentic Buddhist doctrine, in the *Grub pa'i mdung rnon* and its commentaries, and thereby succeeded to explicating the cornerstone of their school's identity? Neither the *Grub pa'i mdung rnon* nor the later commentaries, including rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's *Dus kyi pho nya*, provide any detailed topical outline (*sa bcad*). Rather the *Grub pa'i*

²¹⁰For a discussion of the text genre of rJe Shākya-rin-chen's *Grub pa'i mdung rnon* and its commentaries, see Chapter: 4.7: Genre and Titles on p. 154.

²¹¹The composition date is estimated, according to RHOTON 2002: 15, to be around the year 1232.

mdung rnon and its commentaries are divided into seven chapters, each dealing with one of rJe Shākya-rin-chen's set of questions relating to the Mahāmudrā debate. They are each further divided into several sub-questions addressing the complex topics of the debate.²¹²

The seven chapters are:

1. *Khungs la dris pa'i lan zhus pa'i skabs* (pp. 441.1–449.2)²¹³
2. *Man ngag gi gzhung la dris pa'i lan zhus pa'i skabs* (pp. 449.2–460.6)
3. *lTa ba la dris pa'i lan zhus pa'i skabs* (pp. 460.6–471.5)
4. *sGom pa la dris pa'i lan zhus pa'i skabs* (pp. 471.6–483.5)
5. *sPyod pa la dris pa'i lan zhus pa'i skabs* (pp. 483.5–487.4)
6. *'Bras bu la dris pa'i lan zhus pa'i skabs* (pp. 487.4–492.3)
7. *Bla ma'i mos gus la dris pa'i lan zhus pa'i skabs* (pp. 492.3–497.6)

Here, I briefly present an outline of the seven chapters to demonstrate how the authors succeed in establishing Mahāmudrā as correct Buddhist doctrine and practice through defense and debate. In my textual analysis I will discuss these seven chapters in detail.

The first chapter addresses the scriptural authenticity (*khungs*) of the Mahāmudrā doctrine, in terms of being grounded in both the Indian Sūtric and Tantric scriptures. In the second of rJe Shākya-rin-chen's chapters, he discusses the doctrinal, transmissional, and therefore exegetical authenticity of the Mahāmudrā doctrine by examining its Indian quintessential instructions (*man ngag gtso bo*) and questions of their canonical status; this makes up the second longest section of the work. The third chapter establishes the correct Mahāmudrā view (*lta ba*) and the elimination of any criticism regarding it. Then, the fourth chapter deals with different points of criticism regarding Mahāmudrā meditation, and establishes the correct meditation system in harmony with all standard categorizations; this

²¹²However, Kun-dga'-mi-'gyur-rdo-rje's commentary, the *Rang blo tshim byed*, presents each of the seven chapters in the style of a topical outline. Therefore, it is possible that at the time of the oral debate just a topical outline or notes were circulated among the Tibetan and Bhutanese masters present at the debate prior to the root verses themselves. See for example Kun-dga'-mi-'gyur-rdo-rje, *Rang blo tshim byed* (fol. 11v4).

²¹³Pagination according to rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen, *Dus kyi pho nya* (C4_a).

forms the longest section of the *Grub pa'i mdung rnon*. The shortest section is the fifth chapter, which inquires about Mahāmudrā conduct (*spyod pa*) in the post-meditative cognition and its relation to the Mahāmudrā result. The sixth chapter discusses the result (*'bras bu*) of the very specific Mahāmudrā path that consists in proper view, meditation, and conduct, especially in relation to the concept of the “self-sufficient white remedy” (*dkar po chig thub*).²¹⁴ Finally, the seventh chapter examines the nature and characteristics of the principal Guru (*rtsa ba'i bla ma*) and the soteriological function of respect and devotion, kindness, and blessing in the context of introducing disciples with very sharp faculties (*dbang po rab tu/dbang po rnon po*) to the nature of the mind (*sems kyi ngo 'phrod*) through Mahāmudrā instructions. The topics of the seventh chapter do influence most of the argumentations in the other six chapters and thereby demonstrate how essential the role of the principal Guru is for the correct understanding, practice, and transmission of Mahāmudrā. In other words, the principal Guru is: (1) pivotal for the authenticity of the transmission of the Mahāmudrā teachings, in fact, in this context considered to be a “person of authority” (*slob dpon tshad ma*);²¹⁵ and (2) performs a soteriological function within the Guru-disciple relationship in the transmission of the Mahāmudrā teachings. In sum, together with the first chapter, which discusses valid scriptures of the Buddha (*lung tshad ma*), and the second chapter, dealing with valid expositions by Indian masters (*bstan bcos tshad ma*), the *Grub pa'i mdung rnon* and its commentaries and thereby the Mahāmudrā teachings, are validated by these three authorities.

Furthermore, while the first two chapters deal with scriptural, transmissional, and exegetical authenticity, the next three questions relate to the triad of Mahāmudrā view, meditation, and conduct (*lta*

²¹⁴I adopt here the translation of the term *dkar po chig thub* by JACKSON, D. 1994.

²¹⁵I follow here Tom Tillemans' translation of the analogous *ston pa'i tshad ma/tshad ma'i skye bu* as “person of authority,” who is the subject of his extended study on the basis of A-lag-sha Ngag-dbang-bstan-dar (1759–1831)'s *sTon pa tshad ma'i skyes bur sgrub pa'i gtam*, see TILLEMANS 1993. For the literal and metaphorical use of the term “valid means of cognition” (*tshad ma: pramāṇa*), an overview of the ways to count them in the different Tibetan traditions and their historical development, see also n. 296 on p. 123, n. 426 on p. 181, and n. 444 on p. 192.

ba, *bsgom pa*, *spyod pa*), and also mainly to the path (*lam*) among the triad of basis, path, and result (*gzhi*, *lam*, *'bras bu*).²¹⁶ Thereafter, the sixth chapter consequently addresses the result (*'bras bu*).²¹⁷

Indeed, this strategy, to question and answer seven essential topics in the seven chapters about Mahāmudrā that satisfactorily discuss Mahāmudrā on all levels and in all established exegetical categories of Tibetan Buddhism enables these masters from the 'Brugpa bKa'-brgyud school to reach their goals of: (1) establishing the Mahāmudrā doctrine and meditative system as a completely authentic Buddhist teaching through defense and debate, which eliminates all contradictions with the authoritative Buddhist systems of Pāramitāyāna and Mantrayāna; (2) establishing Mahāmudrā in its rightful place as the paramount and all-encompassing teachings within the Buddhist doctrinal system; and (3) clarifying, once and for all, their exegetical stance on much broader controversial topics that were inherited from India and had already been dominating Tibetan debates with a variety of interpretations since Buddhism had entered Tibet.

²¹⁶The word *lta ba* is often used in two different senses, namely, (1) its objective aspect of the “ontological basis,” and (2) its subjective aspect of the “philosophical view as the point of departure” of a person’s or a certain philosophical school’s view; the latter would also imply soteriological/epistemic efficacy and is thereby closely connected to the individual path and practice (*lam*). This becomes clear if one considers Tibetan expressions such as the **sugatagarbha* (i. e. *gzhi bde bar gshegs pa'i snying po: tathāgatagarbha*) and “the manner in which one establishes the view as the point of departure” (*gzhi lta ba gtan la 'bebs tshul*). For a detailed account of these aspects, see for example 'Ju Mi-pham, *bDe gshegs snying po'i stong thun chen mo seng ge'i nga ro* (in *'Khor tha dgongs don*, pp. 205–244) and the Second gTsos Khri-sprul Blo-bzang rGyal-mtshan Seng-ge (1757–1849), *gZhi'i lta ba gtan la 'bebs tshul* (in *rGyal mtshan gsung 'bum*, vol. 2, pp. 478–480). I thank Dorji Wangchuk for these references.

²¹⁷Cf. the threefold distinction into “causal Tantra” (*rgyu'i rgyud: hetu-tantra*), “resultant Tantra” (*'bras bu'i rgyud: phalatantra*), and “Tantra of means” (*thabs kyi rgyud: upāyatantra*) that appears, for example, in Ratnākaraśānti’s commentary on the *Mahāmāyātāntra*, the *Guṇavatī*, based on the **Guhyasamājatantra*; or also in the *Yogaratnamālā*; see WANGCHUK 2007: 226.

3.2 Analysis

3.2.1 Introductory Remarks

My textual analysis of rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's Mahāmudrā interpretation is based on the critical edition and annotated translation of rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's *Dus kyi pho nya*²¹⁸ comprising rJe Shākya-rin-chen's *Grub pa'i mdung rnon*.²¹⁹ Additionally, I partially consider other minor works by rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen, mainly of a doxographical or systematizing nature, from the third and sixth volume of his *bKa' 'bum* in my interpretation—namely the *lTa ba'i me long*, *gNam gyi nga ro*, *Phyag rdzogs tshigs bcad*, *rGyud sde'i rnam bzhag*, and *Grub mtha'i rnam gzhaḡ*.

Similarly to rJe Shākya-rin-chen two centuries earlier, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen shares his concern that nowadays people do not understand the crucial points of the Mahāmudrā doctrine and meditative system correctly. Moreover, he laments that even after the root text of rJe Shākya-rin-chen had been perfectly and in a detailed way elucidated by rJe Yon-tan-mtha'-yas in his *'Og min zhal lung*,²²⁰ this still seems not to suffice.²²¹ Therefore, a renewed establishment of the correct Mahāmudrā doctrine and meditative system through a timely defense is necessary. Not surprisingly, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's verse commentary also truthfully documents rJe Yon-tan-mtha'-yas' posi-

²¹⁸ *Phyag rgya chen po las brtsams pa'i dri tshig grub pa'i mdung rnon zhes bya ba'i gsung lan dus kyi pho nya* (*The Timely Messenger: A Response to the Questions About [the Doctrine of] Mahāmudrā Titled "The Pointed Spear of a Siddha"*). This work was composed in the second half of the twentieth century. No composition date is provided in the colophon, nor is the composition of the *Dus kyi pho nya* mentioned in rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's autobiographical account, the *Dwangs shel me long*. But rDorje-slob-dpon Kun-legs, *Dwangs shel me long* (p. 44.1–6) dates the first composition of rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen to 1956.

²¹⁹ See Chapter 6: Critical Edition on p. 275 ff. and Chapter 5: Annotated Translation on p. 159 ff.

²²⁰ *Nges don phyag rgya chen po la dris pa'i gsung lan 'og min ston pa'i zhal lung* (*The Oral Instructions of the Teacher of the Akaniṣṭha [Realm]: A Reply to the Questions About Mahāmudrā of Definite Meaning*).

²²¹ See rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen, *Dus kyi pho nya* (verse || 8.VI ||): translation on p. 273; critical edition on p. 322.

tions by paraphrasing and following them in numerous cases.²²²

Here, in my textual analysis, I focus on the crucial topics and arguments which are necessary for rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen himself to establish the correct understanding of the Mahāmudrā doctrine and meditative system in his school, the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud school in twentieth-century Bhutan. Each of these topics and lines of argumentation are in themselves mostly very complex and are presented by rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen in a very concise format. Consequently, more generally, this serves as a starting point to *map* the Mahāmudrā reception in Bhutan as well as in the different 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud schools further back. Therefore, I pay close attention in my detailed annotated translation not only to rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's *Dus kyi pho nya* but also to rJe Shākya-rin-chen's *Grub pa'i mdung rnon* as well as rJe Yon-tan-mtha'-yas' *'Og min zhal lung*. As a result, I provide additional insights into the Mahāmudrā interpretation of two eminent 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud masters from the eighteenth century: rJe Shākya-rin-chen and rJe Yon-tan-mtha'-yas. Furthermore, I trace important influences of scholars and their works considered authoritative by rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen, not all of whom are from his school, such as Kun-dga'-dpal-'byor, Padma-dkar-po,²²³ Shākya-mchog-ldan, and *ris-med* masters such as 'Ju Mi-pham.

However, considering the complexity and the long history of the Mahāmudrā controversy demonstrated in these texts, I chose a careful approach in terms of comparing interpretations and positions of different masters. In the aforementioned spirit of *mapping* the reception of the Mahāmudrā controversy in time and space, I share numerous observations regarding arguments, topics, canonical

²²²Since the elliptic character of verses already complicates the understanding of rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's *Dus kyi pho nya per se*, I additionally and frequently consulted rJe Yon-tan-mtha'-yas' *Og min zhal lung*. See for example rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen, *Dus kyi pho nya* (verse || 4.10 ||): translation on p. 229; critical edition on p. 302; see also n. 515 on p. 229.

²²³Pad-ma-dkar-po's nine works directly related to Mahāmudrā are found in the twenty-first volume of his *gSung 'bum*. Here, I consulted works of mainly doxographical or systematizing nature, such as the *Nges don lta ba'i mig*, *Don dam mdzub tshugs*, *Phyag chen bshad pa*, *Phyag chen gan mdzod*, *Phyag chen zin bris*, and *rNal 'byor bzhi*, as well as other works, such as the *Grub pa'i shing rta*, *'Khor sdom snying po*, and *bSre 'pho 'grel chen*.

Indian textual sources, referenced Tibetan works, and important key terms and terminologies in my extensive annotations in Chapter 5: Annotated Translation. Besides providing the necessary context to the reader, this fulfills the purpose of additionally relating the discussed topics to the more detailed discussion of related topics of the Mahāmudrā controversy in the writings of pre-modern Tibetan and Bhutanese scholars. As a result, this work will also be valuable for further research carried out in Buddhist studies about Mahāmudrā in general.

This being said, any future systematic comparative approach would also first need to consider that my textual analysis discusses topics and positions presented in rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's *Dus kyi pho nya*, that had been first addressed in rJe Shākya-rin-chen's root text, the *Grub pa'i mdung rnon*, and the consecutive commentarial tradition in the eighteenth century.²²⁴ As the textual production of these works had also happened gradually in three stages, this indeed raises interesting questions about intertextuality and the interwovenness of the personal exegetical positions of these individual authors with their respective exegetical traditions and practice lineages—stylistically visible in the form of often overlapping verses and argumentations in Je dGe-'dun-rin-chen's *Dus kyi pho nya* comprising rJe Shākya-rin-chen's *Grub pa'i mdung rnon*.²²⁵ In fact, the *Grub pa'i mdung rnon* and its commentaries seem to be an ideal example for further research on questions such as gradual text production at different times and places, progression from oral to textual traditions, author's intent, and individual authorship versus collective Buddhist exegetical tradition.²²⁶

²²⁴See also Chapter 1.4: Genesis of rJe Shākya-rin-chen's *Grub pa'i mdung rnon* and Its Eighteenth-Century Commentaries on p. 41 ff. and Chapter 3.1: The Seven Essential Topics on p. 88 ff.

²²⁵As my analysis focuses primarily on rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen, for the sake of clarity and simplicity, I do not mention in each and every case that rJe Shākya-rin-chen and rJe Yon-tan-mtha'-yas have also discussed these topics, which is implicitly to be understood.

²²⁶For a discussion of these factors crucial for understanding literal production and authorship in pre-modern Tibet, the method of retrieving information about these aspects from colophons of classical Tibetan texts, and a reflection of a possible theory of literal production and authorship in Tibet; see CABEZÓN 2001.

In the case of rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen, it is safe to argue that, in fact, his doctrinal positions and intellectual agenda can be reliably traced for at least three reasons: (1) he was active in relatively recent history, with first-hand witnesses and a still lively oral tradition; (2) a viable direct first-generation transmission of his works exists; (3) in his role as the spiritual head of the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud school representing the religious branch of the Joint Twofold System of Governance in Bhutan, his activities were well documented. His motivation to contribute to the Mahāmudrā controversy, the intellectual and doctrinal developments of his school, and the religious educational institutions of twentieth-century Bhutan are amply and reliably testified, first, directly in his writings, such as his *bKa' 'bum*, which was reproduced with his permission from his autographs, and second, indirectly in his additional autobiographical writings included in the spiritual biographies. As a result, my use of words, such as rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's "new" or "innovative Mahāmudrā interpretation," has to always be understood within this context.²²⁷

In sum, the goal of my analysis is to understand the reception history of the Mahāmudrā controversy from the perspective of rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen and the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud school in twentieth-century Bhutan. This enables in the future to look more closely at several important lineage masters of the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud schools in Bhutan and Tibet or other for rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's thinking formative Buddhist scholars that have not yet been systematically studied—thereby further contributing to *mapping* the reception history of the Mahāmudrā controversy. In addition, the more overall contribution of my analysis lies in pointing to a number of, in general, controversially discussed topics beyond the Mahāmudrā controversy—pertinent in Tibet and Bhutan and thereby crucial for research on the intellectual history of Tibet and Bhutan as a whole in a chronological perspective.

3.2.2 Authenticity of Scriptural Sources and Transmission

rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen begins with what evidently is crucial to establishing Mahāmudrā as a valid Buddhist teaching: proof of the

²²⁷See Chapter: 3.4: Intellectual Agenda and Heritage on p. 135 ff., Chapter: 3.3: Overview *bKa' 'bum* on 127 ff., and Chapter 2: rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's Life on 51 ff.

scriptural authenticity of Mahāmudrā as the Word of the Buddha. The first chapter of rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's *Dus kyi pho nya* establishes Mahāmudrā as being grounded in both the Indian Sūtric and Tantric scriptures.²²⁸ In particular, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen establishes the scriptural authenticity of a "Sūtric," a "Tantric," and a "neither-Sūtric-nor-Tantric" Mahāmudrā tradition. This approach is necessary to defend himself against the main criticism articulated by Sa-skya Paṇḍita, who rigorously rejected the idea that Mahāmudrā could ever be taught as a path outside the *niruttarayoga* Tantra section of the Mantrayāna.

The particular "Sūtric" Mahāmudrā tradition in question is said to have been first propounded by sGam-po-pa. However, it was later Tibetan scholars who interpreted sGam-po-pa's system as either "Sūtric" Mahāmudrā or as a practice that stands completely outside of the formal Sūtric or Tantric paths and, therefore, has to be considered as a third approach with different designations in the different bKa'-brgyud schools, such as "Essence Mahāmudrā" (*ngo bo'i phyag rgya chen po*) or "Mahāmudrā of the abiding mode" (*gnas lugs phyag rgya chen po*). Moreover, positions on how these different approaches towards Mahāmudrā are to be interpreted significantly differ not only in the different bKa'-brgyud branches but also in the other Tibetan Buddhist schools. In sum, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen posits that Mahāmudrā has been expounded in both Tantric and Sūtric scriptural sources, and he discusses and validates all three ways of teachings Mahāmudrā—"Sūtric," "Tantric," and "neither-Sūtric-nor-Tantric"—in chapter one of his *Dus kyi pho nya*.²²⁹

²²⁸See rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen, *Dus kyi pho nya*: translation on p. 161 ff.; critical edition on p. 275 ff.

²²⁹For a brief discussion about the difficulty in definitively reconstructing and determining sGam-po-pa's position, see SOBISCH 2011: 221–225; see also RHEINGANS 2012: 178. Later Tibetan scholars have developed differing categorizations of the Mahāmudrā doctrine and it remains a point of controversy; see also *ibid.*: 179. On 'Jam-mgon Kong-sprul Blo-gros-mtha'-yas' position, who accepted Sūtric, Tantric, and Essence Mahāmudrā, see MATHES 2007: 545–546. For a discussion of the different approaches in sGam-po-pa's writings, both gradualist and instantaneous, and their possible reconciliation, see also SCHEUERMANN 2017. The scriptural authenticity of the Mahāmudrā doctrine is also established as the first topic in Sa-skya Paṇḍita's *rTogs ldan rgyan po'i dris lan*; see STENZEL 2014: 203–205.

In detail, he refers to two Indian scriptures that have been widely used by Tibetan scholars as proof for the occurrence of either Mahāmudrā teachings or the designation of *mahāmudrā* in Sūtric scriptural sources: first, the *Samādhirājasūtra*, which had been prophesied to be expanded upon in later times by sGam-po-pa, considered as an incarnation of Candraprabhākumāra,²³⁰ and, second, Nāgārjuna’s *Caturmudrānvaya*.²³¹ Further on, rJe dGe’-dun-rin-chen explains that Tantric sources and transmission lineages of Mahāmudrā are not invalidated by employing Sūtric sources.

Then, in the context of Tantric Mahāmudrā, he further addresses the discussion about initiations (*dbang bskur*: *abhiṣeka*) as a distinguishing feature and prerequisite of the Tantric path. By distinguishing different degrees of procedural manifoldness of initiations (*dbang bskur cho ga’i spros pa*)—ranging from the “orthodox” four maturative initiations to the mere emission of light from the Guru to his disciple—he establishes different pathways to Mahāmudrā. These pathways are valid in dependence upon the faculties of the disciples. Consequently, he is able to define Mahāmudrā in itself as valid initiation for disciples with very sharp faculties (*dbang po rab/dbang po rnon po*)—thereby standing outside of the *niruttarayoga* Tantra section of the Mantrayāna.

rJe dGe’-dun-rin-chen’s *adjustive* interpretation of scriptural authoritative sources in light of the individual capacities of the students establishes the multitude of necessarily different *didactic* approaches toward Mahāmudrā and defends them against one of the main criticisms of Sa-skya Paṇḍita: that Mahāmudrā should generally not be taught outside of the *niruttarayoga* Tantra section of the Mantrayāna. On the contrary, rJe dGe’-dun-rin-chen establishes that depending on the individual capacities of the disciples it is indeed very much appropriate to teach Mahāmudrā outside of the formal Mantrayāna path while still remaining absolutely truthful to the Buddha’s teachings.

However, a warning directed towards contemporary masters is in order at the end of the first chapter and likewise leads to the second chapter: such a powerful approach has to be handled very

²³⁰See also n. 392 on p. 165.

²³¹On the authorship of the *Caturmudrānvaya*, see n. 393 on p. 165. See rJe dGe’-dun-rin-chen, *Dus kyi pho nya* (verse || 1.4 || ff.): translation on p. 163 ff.; critical edition on p. 276 ff.

carefully and the precious quintessential instructions (*man ngag*) of Mahāmudrā should never be evenly distributed to everyone without carefully considering the different capabilities of the students and the soteriological context. This would contradict the very purpose of the sequential Tantric (and Sūtric) paths and would entail undesired negative consequences for teacher and disciple. In other words, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen stresses the importance and immense responsibility of the principal Guru towards his disciples within the Mahāmudrā tradition.²³²

In the second chapter, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen addresses different Indian authoritative quintessential instructions of Mahāmudrā (*man ngag gtso bo*) as understood and subsequently systematized in his school, the 'Brug-pa bKa'-bryud school in Bhutan. The crucial topics in the Mahāmudrā controversy typically address questions about the transmission lineages of different sets of teachings, their exact status as canonical scriptures, and the correct interpretation of their content.²³³

rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's discussion of "Expressing Verbal-

²³² See rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen, *Dus kyi pho nya* (verse || 1.16 || ff.): translation on p. 169 ff.; critical edition on p. 278 ff.

²³³ See rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen, *Dus kyi pho nya*: translation on p. 175 ff.; critical edition on p. 282 ff. In this context, I use the term "canonical" in its general definition. However, the question of what constitutes Tibetan Buddhist canonical/paracanonical scriptures is complex. Phillip Stanley has suggested calling the Tibetan Buddhist canons "open" but "stabilized," because the Tibetan Buddhist canons were formalized over the course of several centuries including different content, editions, and significant editorial changes within the editions. He has also proposed that we differentiate between: (1) a "formal" canon; (2) a "practical" canon that can, for example, only use part of the canon as a "canon-within-the-canon" or consult additional treatises; and (3) an "inclusive" canon that accepts the practical canons of other schools and traditions (for example, the rNying-ma canons) but does not necessarily use these scriptures in their own exegetical apparatus. Based on the interpretation of different Tibetan Buddhist masters, the definition of "paracanonical" naturally would also differ; cf. STANLEY 2014: 383–385. For a discussion of the structure and content of the Tibetan Buddhist and Bön canons and the comparison between the content and structure of the Tibetan Buddhist canons and the Chinese and Pāli Canons, see *ibid.*. The discussion in the second chapter of the *Dus kyi pho nya* is one example of such complex text geneses and their respective hierarchical status in the canon.

Mahāmudrā” (*rjod byed tshig gi phyag chen*) is based on gTsang-pa-rgya-ras’ standard categorization of Mahāmudrā’s quintessential instructions in the ’Brug-pa bKa’-brgyud school into three cycles of quintessential instructions (*Threefold Stem of Instructions*): (1) the verbal cycle of extensive explanations (*bshad bya tshig gi skor*); (2) the cycle of practice instructions (*gdams ngag nyams len gyi skor*); and (3) the cycle dealing with blessing as means to gain realization (*rtogs pa byin rlabs kyī skor*).²³⁴

In this context, rJe dGe-’dun-rin-chen discusses the quintessential instructions of Mahāmudrā in the long and short transmission lineages of Mahāmudrā, focusing on the Indian authoritative works that are associated with the oral transmission lineage from the Akaniṣṭha realm from Vajradhara (via the Dākinīs) to Tillipa, then to Nāropa and further on—works that are considered essential in his school. In particular, rJe dGe-’dun-rin-chen associates this tradition with the *Shin tu rmad du byung ba’i rgyud*, which refers to the **Ājñāsaṃyak-pramāṇanāmāḍākīnyupadeśa* and **Pravacanopamottara*—works both attributed to Nāropa.²³⁵ Based on the *Shin tu rmad du byung ba’i rgyud* and the subsequent exegesis and systematization of these teachings by rJe dGe-’dun-rin-chen’s lineage holders, he discusses the relationship between the practices of Mahāmudrā, the Six Doctrines of Nāropa, and the teachings on “merging and transference of consciousness” (*bsre ’pho*).²³⁶ Naturally, rJe dGe-’dun-rin-chen employs

²³⁴See also n. 416 on p. 175, and n. 418 on p. 176.

²³⁵See rJe dGe-’dun-rin-chen, *Dus kyī pho nya* (verse || 2.5 || ff.): translation on p. 178 ff.; critical edition on p. 283 ff. For my detailed discussion and works identified as rJe dGe-’dun-rin-chen’s *Shin tu rmad du byung ba’i rgyud* teachings and transmission, see also n. 425 on p. 179. This transmission lineage belongs to Ras-chung-pa Do-rje-grags-pa (1085–1161, hereafter Ras-chung-pa)’s instructional tradition (*gdams ngag ras chung pa’i lugs*) within the *Threefold Stem of Instructions* in the ’Brug-pa bKa’-brgyud school, see also n. 438 on p. 188. See also on other oral lineages in the ’Brug-pa bKa’-brgyud school: n. 439 on p. 190.

²³⁶It should be noted that in the exegetical framework of the ’Brug-pa bKa’-brgyud school, in particular before Kun-dga’-dpal-’byor and Padma-dkar-po’s systematization of the school’s diverse teachings, the relationship between and transmission history of the Six Doctrines of Nāropa and the *bsre ’pho* teachings is a complex one on which further research is urgently needed; see also n. 407 on p. 172. Considering this complexity, I differentiate here between the Six Doctrines of Nāropa, and the

Padma-dkar-po’s hermeneutical framework of distinguishing into the “abiding mode of the body” (*lus kyi gnas lugs*), which is represented by the Six Doctrines of Nāropa and the *bsre ’pho* teachings and belongs to the path of means (*thabs lam*), and the “abiding mode of the mind” (*sems kyi gnas lugs*), which is represented by Mahāmudrā and belongs to the path that causes liberation (*grol lam*).²³⁷ The depth in which rJe dGe-’dun-rin-chen discusses the *Shin tu rmad du byung ba’i rgyud* exemplifies the importance in his school of determining the exact relationship between the path of means (*thabs lam*) and the path that causes liberation (*grol lam*).

Consequently, this discussion touches on questions, such as how basis, path, and result relate to each other. For example, rJe dGe-’dun-rin-chen states that from the perspective of the result, which is the luminosity of the basis, path, and result, (*gzhi lam ’bras bu yi ’od gsal*) there is indeed no distinction. However, on the level of the path, obviously, the distinction is relevant as, for example, practices of the path of means are part of the Mahāmudrā preliminary practices. Furthermore, paths have to be distinguished concerning the capability of the disciples practicing them and the soteriological efficacy.²³⁸

Furthermore, rJe dGe-’dun-rin-chen discusses the status of the *Shin tu rmad du byung ba’i rgyud* as authentic Word of the Buddha or

teachings on “merging and transference of consciousness” (*bsre ’pho*).

²³⁷ Padma-dkar-po explains this distinction between the “abiding mode of the body” and the “abiding mode of the mind,” for example, within the context of the second mode of foundational Mahāmudrā (*gzhi phyag chen*) as in the mode of deception (*’khrul lugs phyag chen*), in his *Phyag chen gan mdzod*; see for the corresponding passage, HIGGINS & DRASZCZYK: vol. 2, 167–168 (engl.); 174–175 (tib); see also BROIDO 1985: 24–29; 55, n. 95. On this distinction and its relation to Padma-dkar-po’s conceptual dyad of “Mahāmudrā of the abiding mode” (*gnas lugs phyag chen*) and “Mahāmudrā in the mode of deception” (*’khrul lugs phyag chen*), see also p. 121; and n. 430 on p. 183.

²³⁸ See also chapter six about the Mahāmudrā result in rJe dGe-’dun-rin-chen’s *Dus kyi pho nya*. Jan-Ulrich Sobisch has emphasized the importance of the distinction between *grol lam* and *thabs lam* and recently addressed their relationship and interpretation within the framework of ’Jig-rten-gsum-mgon’s *dgongs gcig* teachings and the ’Bri-gung bKa’-brgyud Mahāmudrā tradition of the Fivefold Profound Path of Mahāmudrā (*zab lam phyag chen lnga ldan*); see SOBISCH 2020b.

Śāstra (transmitted and interpreted by the Siddhas). He addresses several challenges that result from the blurred boundaries between the categories of valid scriptures of the Buddha (*lung tshad ma*) and valid expositions by Indian masters (*bstan bcos tshad ma*) in this specific Tibetan Mahāmudrā transmission.²³⁹

Then, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen discusses two other cycles of Indian quintessential instructions: (1) Maitreyañātha's *amanasikāra* teaching cycle, which is considered by rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen to be the "Tibetan textual tradition of Mahāmudrā" (*gangs can gyi ljongs su grags pa'i phyag chen gyi gzhung lugs*), prominently figuring in Tibet;²⁴⁰ and (2) the exegetical tradition of Mahāmudrā through formally Sūtric scriptures and Maitreyañātha's (ascribed) *Ratnagoṭravibhāga*, beginning with sGam-po-pa, Phag-mo-gru-pa, and sKyob-pa 'Jig-rten-gsum-mgon (1143–1217). Although, strictly speaking, contradictions would occur in using these scriptures to establish a Tantric Mahāmudrā tradition, for rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen the pedagogical benefit for disciples of explicating Tantric Mahāmudrā through this exegetical tradition of the *Ratnagoṭravibhāga* is the essential pragmatic criterion. Here, he follows Shākya-mchog-ldan's lead and harmonizing exegesis of equating the core subjects of the *Ratnagoṭravibhāga* with the definite meaning of the Mantrayāna. From rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's viewpoint, as necessary as they are in theory, categories and divisions in the Tibetan Buddhist canon that are merely formal can, in practice lead in the worst case to pointless debates and thereby neglect the necessary heuristic and didactic means through which Mahāmudrā could be taught and benefit the disciple.²⁴¹

²³⁹ See also the discussion of different Tantric scriptures of Mahāmudrā and their status as authentic Word of the Buddha (*bka' yang dag pa'i tshad ma*) represented by Vajradhara in the second question-cum-answer in rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen, *gNam gyi nga ro* (pp. 406.5–409.5).

²⁴⁰ On the emphasis of Maitreyañātha's *amanasikāra* teaching cycle and tradition in the Tibetan Karma bKa'-brgyud school, see RHEINGANS 2012: 180–181. For a comparison of the different number of works associated with Maitreyañātha's *amanasikāra* teaching cycle as listed in Buston Rin-chen-grub's *gsan yig*, the Seventh Karmapa Chos-grags-rgya-mtsho's *Phyag chen rgya gzhung*, and by Klaus-Dieter Mathes, with a short summary of the content of the works, see MATHES 2015a: 4–22; see also BROIDO 1987: 55–56.

²⁴¹ See rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen, *Dus kyi pho nya* (verse || 2.20 || ff.): trans-

In brief, in chapter two of his *Dus kyi pho nya*, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen establishes the doctrinal, transmissional, and therefore exegetical authenticity of the Mahāmudrā doctrine and meditative system. In particular, he discusses several controversial topics regarding Indian quintessential instructions and transmission lineages of Mahāmudrā and resolves discrepancies in their rank within the hierarchy of Tibetan Buddhist canonical scriptures that had been raised during the Mahāmudrā controversies. rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen strongly defends the specific Indian quintessential instructions and transmissions of the Mahāsiddhas in his Mahāmudrā tradition and thereby, in his Mahāmudrā exegesis, attaches great importance to the principal Guru as authenticating means within the hierarchy of Tibetan Buddhist canonical scriptures.

3.2.3 The Triad of the Mahāmudrā Path

3.2.3.1 Mahāmudrā View

The third chapter of rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's *Dus kyi pho nya* addresses the relationship between the Mahāmudrā and Madhyamaka views and a number of criticisms that have been raised by scholars mostly outside of the bKa'-brgyud schools during the polemic debates about the philosophical position of Mahāmudrā.²⁴²

In particular, the relationship between the Mahāmudrā and the Madhyamaka views and their hierarchical status has been one of the essential themes in the debates, as part of a broader discussion regarding “The Three Great Ones” (*chen po gsum*) of *rdzogs pa chen po*, *phyag rgya chen po*, and *dbu ma chen po*. Both the bKa'-brgyud-

lation on p. 190 ff.; critical edition on p. 286 ff. In two instances, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen refers in his *Dus kyi pho nya* to the 'Bri-gung bKa'-brgyud school and exegesis of the Mahāmudrā doctrine and meditative system of which he is supportive. See also rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen, *Dus kyi pho nya* (verse || 6.9 || ff.): translation on p. 258 ff.; critical edition on p. 314 ff. For a very recently published and, as of yet, the most comprehensive study of sKyob-pa 'Jig-rten-gsum-mgon's fundamental teachings of *dgongs gcig* and its commentarial tradition as the cornerstone of the doctrinal and exegetical system of the 'Bri-gung bKa'-brgyud school, and therefore also Mahāmudrā; see SOBISCH 2020a.

²⁴²See rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen, *Dus kyi pho nya*: translation on p. 199 ff.; critical edition on p. 291 ff.

pas with their Mahāmudrā doctrine and the rNying-ma-pas with their rDzogs-chen teachings have, in varying proportions, directed their efforts over the centuries to hermeneutically harmonizing their paramount doctrine with the Madhyamaka view, essentially in an attempt to avoid the disgrace of being insulted by opponents, mostly in the Sa-skyā or dGe-lugs schools, as followers of problematic philosophical views, such as Yogācāra, Hwa-shang Mahāyāna, or even newly coined by Sa-skyā Paṇḍita, “Chinese style rDzogs-chen.” The definition of what would constitute a problematic philosophical view and also its exact definition significantly differed between individual Tibetan and Bhutanese scholars and lineages.²⁴³

First, upon rJe Shākya-rin-chen’s inquiry with regards to whether the view of Mahāmudrā would be superior to the view that was taught in the scriptural sources of the Sūtric Madhyamaka tradition, rJe dGe-’dun-rin-chen answers that there is no difference with respect to the object that is established by the views of either Madhyamaka or Mahāmudrā. It follows that the co-equality of existence and quiescence established by the Madhyamaka system (*dbu mas srid zhi mnyam nyid*) and the indivisibility of Saṃsara and Nirvāṇa of the Mantrayāna (*sngags kyi ’khor ’das dbyer med*) are the same as, for example, the Dharmakāya represented by the co-emergent mind itself (*sems nyid lhan cig skyes pa chos kyi sku*) or the natural mind (*sems kyi gnyug ma*) in the Mahāmudrā context—regardless of which term is used expressing this view.²⁴⁴

Nevertheless, due to its methods, the superiority of the Mantrayāna is emphasized, in particular with respect to the position that the habitual tendencies of emission (*’pho ba’i bag chags/’pho ba’i*

²⁴³For Sa-skyā Paṇḍita’s designation of Mahāmudrā as a “Chinese style rDzogs-chen,” see JACKSON, D. 1994: 67–70; ARCA 2015: 113–115. In rJe dGe-’dun-rin-chen’s eighth question-cum-answer of his *gNam gyi nga ro*, he also discusses the relation between the view of *phyag rgya chen po* and *dbu ma chen po/zab mo’i dbu ma*; see rJe dGe-’dun-rin-chen, *gNam gyi nga ro* (pp. 424.4–427.2); see also *ibid.* (p. 410.5–410.6): *phyag chen nang mthun yin tsam gyis || bka’ brgyud zhes su grags na ni || phyag rdzogs dbu gsum nang mthun las || thams cad bka’ brgyud pa ru ’gyur ||*. For a concise overview of rJe dGe-’dun-rin-chen’s Madhyamaka interpretation, see his *lTa ba’i me long* (critical edition and German translation in SCHWERK 2012.)

²⁴⁴See rJe dGe-’dun-rin-chen, *Dus kyi pho na* (verse || 3.3 ||): translation on p. 200; critical edition on p. 291.

sgrib pa) can only be purified by Yogic practices of the Mantrayāna and not through the methods of the Pāramitāyāna.²⁴⁵

rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen states that an essenceless emptiness (*snying po med*), which is characterized by the mere exclusion of the mental and physical aggregates (*phung po rnam bcad kyī stong nyid*), and thereby somewhat comparable with a banana tree, is maintained to be only of provisional meaning in both Sūtric and Tantric Madhyamaka systems. Consequently, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen equates the correct views of “non-foundation in the middle” (*dbu ma rab tu mi gnas pa*) as Sūtric view and “non-foundation of unity” (*zung 'jug rab tu mi gnas pa*) as Tantric view, and establishes the term “unity” (*zung 'jug*) as “free from all assertions” in reliance on his school’s authority, Padma-dkar-po.²⁴⁶ rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen establishes a Madhyamaka view of non-foundation of unity as the philosophical basis of his Mahāmudrā doctrine. Moreover, he partially interprets differences in the philosophical views as depending on subjective factors such as the pedagogical applicability and the gnoseological viewpoint of the disciple. Consequently, different categories of Sūtric and Tantric Madhyamaka can be correctly practiced in the appropriate contexts.²⁴⁷

rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen applies Shākya-mchog-ldan’s classification of a Sūtric and Tantric Madhyamaka along with his three-fold Madhyamaka categorization. Shākya-mchog-ldan’s first two categories of Madhyamaka are considered Sūtric and the third Tantric: (1) Prāsaṅgika-Madhyamaka (*chos thams cad ngo bo nyid med pa'i*

²⁴⁵These methods are explained, for example, in the *Kālacakratāntra* or **Guhyasamāyatantra*. See also n. 466 on p. 203.

²⁴⁶See rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen, *Dus kyī pho nya* (verse || 3.6 || ff.): translation on p. 205 ff.; critical edition on p. 292 ff. On the analogy of the banana tree, see also n. 469 on p. 205. In his *Klan ka gzhom gtam*, Padma-dkar-po distinguishes two different aspects of *rab tu mi gnas pa* to balance and transcend the limits of negative and positive determinations: “non-foundation of mere discourse” (*smra tsam rab tu mi gnas pa*) and “non-foundation of unity” (*zung 'jug rab tu mi gnas pa*); see HIGGINS & DRASZCZYK 2016: vol. 1, 427–428. A detailed discussion of the term *spros bral* (Skt. *niṣprapañca*) regarding its subjective (*sems can spros pa*) and objective aspects (*yul can spros pa*) can be found in SCHMITHAUSEN 1977: 137–142, n. 101.

²⁴⁷See for example rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen, *Dus kyī pho nya* (verse || 3.12 || ff.): translation on p. 208 ff.; critical edition on p. 293 ff.

tshul can gyi dbu ma), the tradition of Nāgārjuna; (2) Svātantrika-Madhyamaka (*yongs grub ngo bo nyid du smra ba'i tshul can gyi dbu ma*), the tradition of Asaṅga; and (3) Tantric Madhyamaka (*gsang sngags bla na med pa'i dbu ma*).²⁴⁸

Then, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's continues to defend the philosophical foundation of his Mahāmudrā doctrine and meditative system by rebutting Sa-skya Paṇḍita's criticism that identified bKa'-brgyud Mahāmudrā as the system of Hwa-shang Mahāyāna.²⁴⁹ In sum, the main points of criticism that Tibetan scholars raised about the Hwa-shang Mahāyāna system address the soteriological function of virtuous conduct, the possibility of an instantaneous approach to enlightenment (*cig car du*), the nature of insight following from those assumptions, and a meditation characterized by non-mentation (*yiid la mi byed pa: amanasikāra*). However, Tibetan scholars have maintained differing positions on what this faulty Hwa-shang Mahāyāna system would exactly be—often also disregarding historical accuracy in their interpretation. Akin to several other bKa'-brgyud and rNying-ma scholars who affirm a connection, or at least a partial similarity, between the Hwa-shang and Mahāmudrā and rDzogs-chen teachings, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen explains how this similarity is to be correctly understood without denigrating Mahāmudrā.²⁵⁰

²⁴⁸For this distinction, see KOMAROVSKI 2011: 254–268. For the analysis of Shākya-mchog-ldan's Madhyamaka, see *ibid.* With respect to the Indian sources of the Madhyamaka view on non-foundation (*rab tu mi gnas pa: apratiṣṭhāna*), Klaus-Dieter Mathes has critically edited (Sanskrit and Tibetan), translated and analyzed the “fine blend of Madhyamaka and Mahāmudrā” on the basis of Maitreya-nātha's cycle of works on non-conceptual realization (with the exception of the *Kudrṣṭīnirghātana* and *Sekanirdeśa*); see MATHES 2015a. ISAACSON & SFERRA 2014, have critically edited and translated Maitreya-nātha's *Sekanirdeśa* along with Rāmapāla's *Sekanirdeśapañjikā* (Sanskrit and Tibetan). For an in-depth study of Shākya-mchog-ldan's, Karma-phrin-las-pa's, Mi-bskyod-rdo-rje's, and Padma-dkar-po's doctrinal positions about Madhyamaka and Mahāmudrā views, see HIGGINS & DRASZCZYK 2016.

²⁴⁹See rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen, *Dus kyi pho nya* (verse || 3.18 || ff.): translation on p. 210 ff.; critical edition on p. 295 ff.

²⁵⁰For several examples of this line of argumentation, see SEYFORTH RUEGG 1989: 102, n. 201. See also 'Brug-pa Kun-legs, who mentions the term *phyag rgya hwa shang gi lta ba* in his *gSung 'bum*, see *ibid.* An interesting and explicit example is found in Klong-chen-pa's *Gnas lugs*

Next, it follows a discussion about the partial similarity of Mahāmudrā with *Alīkākaravāda in the Yogācāra tenet system. However, the categorization of Mahāmudrā as Yogācāra, among the four tenet systems, is ultimately rejected by rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen.²⁵¹ The equation of *Alīkākaravāda with Madhyamaka was developed by Shākya-mchog-ldan in the later phase of his life and was rigorously rejected by scholars, such as Mi-bskyod-rdo-rje and Padma-dkar-po.²⁵² Nevertheless, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen affirms by referring to rGod-tshang-pa as an authority of the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud school that a similarity between Cittamātra and Mahāmudrā exists insofar as the Mahāmudrā tradition also accepts external entities to be mental projections of the mind, and the mind itself to be self-cognizant (*rang rig*) and self-illuminative (*rang gsal*). Evidently, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen would not go as far as accepting the mind itself to be established as a real entity (*bden par grub pa*). In addition, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen (and rJe Shākya-rin-chen) accept the doctrinal content of *Alīkākaravāda as a possible but not necessary soteriological stepping stone on the Buddhist path, with Madhyamaka as the pinnacle of all philosophical systems. But if a disciple decides to pass through the Yogācāra system out of heuristic motives they must eventually abandon and transcend it in order to reach the ultimate goal of the Buddhist path.²⁵³

Then, chapter three concludes with addressing two aspects of Mi-bskyod-rdo-rje's Mahāmudrā interpretation. First, rJe Shākya-

mdzod, in which he points out that the Hwa-shang view, especially in relation to *amanasikāra*, was correct but the Tibetans were not able to understand it correctly; for the location and translation of this passage, see HIGGINS & DRASZCZYK 2016: vol. 1, 410.

²⁵¹ See rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen, *Dus kyi pho nya* (verse || 3.21 || ff.): translation on p. 213 ff.; critical edition on p. 296 ff. For an analysis of the subdivisions of Yogācāra in some Indian and Tibetan sources, with special focus on Rong-zom-pa, and for relevant secondary sources, see ALMOGI 2009: 34; 145–159. For an overview of the different subdivisions of Yogācāra, see also n. 484 on p. 213.

²⁵² See also n. 493 on p. 217.

²⁵³ See rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen, *Dus kyi pho nya* (verse || 3.29 || ff.): translation on p. 217 ff.; critical edition on p. 297 ff. For the different approaches on how Tibetan scholars integrated the doctrinal content of the Yogācāra system into their own philosophical system, see n. 491 on p. 216.

rin-chen summarizes Mi-bskyod-rdo-rje's criticism against the Fourth Zhva-dmar-pa Chos-grags-ye-shes (1453–1524, hereafter Chos-grags-ye-shes). However this criticism is identified by the Bhutanese 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud scholars as the position of the Twelfth sTag-lung bKa'-brgyud throne-holder Ngag-dbang-grags-pa dPal-bzang-po (1418–1496) who was the teacher of Chos-grags-ye-shes. Based on the assumption that the sTag-lung bKa'-brgyud tradition emphasizes the first among two kinds of Mahāmudrā: (1) “Mahāmudrā of the abiding mode” (*gnas lugs phyag rgya chen po*), and (2) “Mahāmudrā characterized by the unity of bliss and emptiness” (*bde stong phyag rgya chen po*), Mi-bskyod-rdo-rje concludes that such a tradition would only be able to teach a sort of “Sūtric Mahāmudrā.” However, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen rejects this criticism vehemently. He points out that in his own tradition “Mahāmudrā of the abiding mode” is also emphasized and it is not at all to be understood as an inferior “Sūtric Mahāmudrā” but, on the contrary, as the superior Mahāmudrā path that does not require maturative initiations characterized by procedural elaborations. Consequently, it is indeed the specific method for instructing disciples of very sharp faculties in which the mere transference of the blessings of the principal Guru is considered to be the valid maturative initiation.²⁵⁴

Similarly, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen discusses Mi-bskyod-rdo-rje's position, which equates the view taught in the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* and the Mahāmudrā view, but differs on the level of methods for how to eliminate the extremes of manifoldness. While in the Madhyamaka system this happens through mere study and contemplation, in the Mahāmudrā system this is accomplished through meditative experience—obviously the methods in the Mantrayāna are to be considered superior.²⁵⁵

Interestingly, an influence of Shākya-mchog-ldan's doctrinal positions is evident in rJe Shākya-rin-chen's *Grub pa'i mdung rnon*, rJe Yon-tan-mtha'-yas' *'Og min zhal lung*, and rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's *Dus kyi pho nya*. Moreover, this doctrinal imprint seems to be most visible in this chapter about the Mahāmudrā view and

²⁵⁴See rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen, *Dus kyi pho nya* (verse || 3.31 || f.): translation on p. 218 f.; critical edition on p. 298 f. For further information about Ngag-dbang-grags-pa, see also n. 495 on p. 218.

²⁵⁵See rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen, *Dus kyi pho nya* (verse || 3.33 || f.): translation on p. 221; critical edition on p. 299.

the sixth chapter about the Mahāmudrā result. Two types of influences seem to exist: (1) direct adaption, adaptation, and integration of Shākya-mchog-ldan’s doctrinal positions and terminologies as, for example, Shākya-mchog-ldan’s classification of Madhyamaka;²⁵⁶ and (2) identification of Shākya-mchog-ldan as a general authority in the Bhutanese ‘Brug-pa bKa’-brgyud school. While rJe dGe’-dun-rin-chen, rJe Shākya-rin-chen, and rJe Yon-tan-mtha’-yas base their argumentation mainly on their own school’s authorities, such as Padma-dkar-po, they also frequently quote Shākya-mchog-ldan as an authority in their school’s lineage—mostly in the context of elucidating Padma-dkar-po’s positions. It is important to know that rJe Shākya-rin-chen considered the works of Shākya-mchog-ldan to be important elucidations of Padma-dkar-po’s writings. This is, of course, achronic as Padma-dkar-po lived later than Shākya-mchog-ldan. This idea is richly documented in rJe Shākya-rin-chen’s autobiographical and semi-autobiographical writings.²⁵⁷ In fact, rJe Shākya-rin-chen had considered himself to be an incarnation of Shākya-mchog-ldan²⁵⁸ and actively tried to implement Shākya-mchog-ldan’s works in the curriculum of the religious educational institutions of the ‘Brug-pa bKa’-brgyud school in Bhutan.²⁵⁹

3.2.3.2 Mahāmudrā Meditation

The fourth question in the *Dus kyi pho nya* focuses on a crucial part of Mahāmudrā, the extremely elaborated meditative system. rJe dGe’-dun-rin-chen discusses its controversial characteristics as

²⁵⁶See for example rJe dGe’-dun-rin-chen, *Dus kyi pho nya* (verse || 2.33 ||, || 3.24 ||, || 3.26 ||, || 4.27 ||, || 6.4 || ff): translation on p. 197, 214, 215, 234 ff.; critical edition on p. 290, 296, 297, 305, 313 ff.

²⁵⁷For the English translation of relevant passages from rJe Shākya-rin-chen’s autobiographical and semi-autobiographical writings that address his motivation, see BURCHARDI 1993: 26–27.

²⁵⁸See CAUMANN 2015: 5.

²⁵⁹However, BURCHARDI 1993: 30 mentions that nowadays the works of Shākya-mchog-ldan do not seem to be included in the formal education of the higher monastic colleges of the ‘Brug-pa bKa’-brgyud school in Bhutan. In addition, rJe Shākya-rin-chen’s predilection for Shākya-mchog-ldan does not seem to have been unequivocally accepted in Bhutan.

well as its relation to different standard Mahāyānic and Tantric systematizations of meditation.²⁶⁰ rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen demonstrates that the Mahāmudrā meditative system is in harmony with, and includes the content of, the commonly accepted different Mahāyānic and Tantric systems of meditation and also leads to the same result as they do. But as he points out at several occasions, the Mahāmudrā meditative system offers disciples with very sharp faculties a method of greater efficiency outside of these Mahāyānic and Tantric systems. Consequently, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen arranges categories of Buddhist meditation according to the individual pedagogical context and applies a harmonizing hermeneutical approach. Moreover, he reinterprets the context of the commonly accepted different Mahāyānic and Tantric systematizations of meditation in such a way that they confirm the Mahāmudrā meditative system as paramount.

Beginning with the question of whether the meditative state, in which one has formerly established the correct Mahāmudrā view and rests without distraction in the abiding mode of Mahāmudrā, is characterized by mentation (*yid la byed pa: manasikāra*) or non-mentation (*yid la mi byed pa: amanasikāra*), rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen addresses Sa-skyā Paṇḍita's criticism that Mahāmudrā meditation characterized by non-mention would be equal to a form of a blank state of stupor, or a meditative absorption similar to a state of fainting (*'du shes med pa'i snyom par 'jug pa: āsaṃjñīsamāpatti*). Consequently, Sa-skyā Paṇḍita assumed that Mahāmudrā could only lead to the soteriological consequence of: (1) rebirth in the animal realm; (2) rebirth in the formless realm (*gzugs med khams: arūpadhātu*); or (3) the state of a Śrāvaka's cessation.²⁶¹

rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen rejects Sa-skyā Paṇḍita's critique by maintaining that Mahāmudrā meditation has to rely on non-mentation but is also correctly supported by a non-dualistic "pure

²⁶⁰See rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen, *Dus kyi pho nya*: translation on p. 223 ff.; critical edition on p. 300 ff. The fourth question does not explicitly address the preliminary practices (*sngon 'gro*) of Mahāmudrā meditation as developed in the different bKa'-brgyud schools. Evidently, these are interpreted as a gradual approach of Mahāmudrā and would generally be endorsed also by critics of Mahāmudrā. Sa-skyā Paṇḍita also discusses Mahāmudrā meditative practices and stages in the fourth question of his *rTogs ldan rgyan po'i dris lan*; see STENZEL 2014: 212–215.

²⁶¹For Sa-skyā Paṇḍita's criticism in his *sDom gsum rab dbye*, see also n. 507 on p. 224.

and effortless mindfulness and vigilance” (*rtsol med yang dag gi dran dang shes bzhin*). He implicitly alludes to his school’s authority, Padma-dkar-po, who developed, as David Higgins and Martina Draszczyk have coined it, a “contextualist hermeneutic” approach that aims at harmonizing oppositional dyads such as non-mentation and mentation, and mindfulness and non-mindfulness—representing conceptual and non-conceptual methods to gain realization respectively.²⁶² In general, rJe dGe’-dun-rin-chen tends towards a harmonizing approach as is also visible in the influences of his other role models.

Next, a central issue in the bKa’-brgyud Mahāmudrā exegetical tradition of Maitreya-nātha’s (ascribed) *Ratnagotravibhāga* is addressed: that in essence conceptualizations (*rnam rtog*) are essentially considered to be nothing other than the Dharmakāya.²⁶³ This position was heavily opposed by the Fourth Jo-nang-gdan-rabs Dol-po-pa Shes-rab-rgyal-mtshan (1292–1361, hereafter Dol-po-pa), who maintained that *rnam rtog* and *chos kyi sku* could never be considered to be of the same essence. Consequently, this caused Padma-

²⁶²For Padma-dkar-po’s approach as “contextualist hermeneutic,” see HIGGINS & DRASZCZYK 2016: vol. 1, 401–402. Padma-dkar-po combined different earlier Indian strands of interpretation of these terminologies by providing three different grammatical interpretations of non-mentation that could be individually applied in different contexts. Padma-dkar-po’s three grammatical interpretations of non-mentation (*yid la mi byed pa: amanasikāra*) have been studied in detail in HIGGINS & DRASZCZYK 2016; see also n. 509 on p. 225. For Padma-dkar-po’s rebuttal of Sa-skyā Paṇḍita’s reproach, see his *Don dam mdzub tshugs* (pp. 468.1–469.5). Remarkably, this important topic that goes as far back as to the bSam-yas debate is only very briefly discussed. rJe dGe’-dun-rin-chen does not seem to consider it necessary to further elaborate on it because, from his perspective, Padma-dkar-po had more than sufficiently validated *amanasikāra*.

²⁶³See rJe dGe’-dun-rin-chen, *Dus kyi pho nya* (verse || 4.7 || ff.): translation on p. 226 ff.; critical edition on p. 301 ff. This discussion is also thematically related to questions about the result of Mahāmudrā as addressed in question six with interesting parallels to Shākya-mchog-ldan’s interpretative framework of “that all phenomena are the Dharmakāya” which systematically considered and integrated personal perspective and realization. See rJe dGe’-dun-rin-chen, *Dus kyi pho nya* (verse || 6.4 || ff.): translation on p. 255 ff.; critical edition on p. 313 ff. For an analysis of Shākya-mchog-ldan’s interpretative framework, see KOMAROVSKI 2019.

dakar-po to vehemently criticize the Jo-nang position that considers the two truths to be similar to two great kingdoms (*rgyal khams chen po*).²⁶⁴ rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen clarifies that the specific teaching, “conceptualizations are the Dharmakāya,” is only applicable from the beginning of the emerging of realization within the disciple onward (*rtogs pa shar ba'i skabs*). As a result, it is contextually dependent, intended as a teaching of definite meaning (*nges don*) based on the absolute (*don dam*).

rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen completely agrees with rJe Shākya-rin-chen's position that it would be ignorant to interpret the teaching “conceptualizations are the Dharmakāya” on the conventional level (*kun rdzob*) without having realized the true nature of conceptualizations (*rnam rtog de'i rang bzhin*). In general, obviously, conceptualizations are deceptive and have to be abandoned on the path. To ignore the valid conventions, such as actions and the corresponding results, the Four Noble Truths, and the Three Jewels, would be synonymous with discarding the Dharma (*chos spong las*) and therefore even be weightier than the five capital transgressions (*mtshams med lnga*). rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen adds that these discussions should be interpreted in the context that the Buddha taught the Dharma in numerous ways dependent on the faculties of the disciples (*gdul bya'i dbang las*).²⁶⁵

Then, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen moves on to clarify the relationship between Mahāmudrā meditation and the commonly accepted Mahāyānic and Tantric systematizations of meditation. First, the similarities and dissimilarities between the Mahāmudrā meditative system and Mahāyāna-Madhyamaka meditation are discussed.²⁶⁶ Out of the two kinds of Mahāyāna-Madhyamaka meditation, (1) the analytical meditation (*dpyad sgom*) and (2) the settling meditation (*'jog sgom*), Mahāmudrā meditation is posited to be similar to the latter. However, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen states that in the context of the Mahāmudrā meditation there is no need to establish internal and external phenomena through the four or five Madhyamaka syllogisms

²⁶⁴See also n. 511 on p. 226.

²⁶⁵See rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen, *Dus kyi pho nya* (verse || 4.16 ||): translation on p. 231; critical edition on p. 303.

²⁶⁶See rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen, *Dus kyi pho nya* (verse || 4.17 || ff.): translation on p. 231 ff.; critical edition on p. 303 ff.

(*gtan tshigs*), since, based on an often quoted passage from the *Ratnagotravibhāga*, one does not realize suchness (*chos nyid*) by means of study and reflection alone.²⁶⁷ Furthermore, although there exists *de facto* no difference in the manifoldlessness (*spros bral*) established through Mahāyāna-Madhyamaka and in the Mahāmudrā system, the difference lies in the practitioner’s development and thereby subjective perspective, namely whether or not the practitioner experiences gnosis of meditative equipoise in an inexpressible way (*mnyam bzhaq ye shes brjod bral du*).²⁶⁸

rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen continues to discuss the controversial question of whether or not the practitioner can enter into settling meditation from the very outset. He maintains the position that, indeed, Indian and Tibetan authoritative scriptural sources and practical instruction confirm that, in certain contexts, the practitioner can enter into the settling meditation from the very outset without it being preceded by Madhyamaka reasoning. In a broader sense, this discussion evolves around the appropriate balance between study (*thos*), contemplation (*bsam*), and meditation (*sgom*). Analytical meditation (*dpyad sgom*) and settling meditation (*'jog sgom*) are often equated with the meditation, of a scholar (*paṇḍita*) or dialectician (*rtog ge ba*), and that of a mendicant (*kusāli*) respectively. rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen evidently prioritizes the meditation of a mendicant, thereby following not only the lead of his school’s authorities, Kun-dga'-dpal-'byor and Padma-dkar-po, but also that of Shākya-mchog-ldan who had discussed in several of his works the distinction between analytical and settling meditation, and who had also maintained that settling meditation from the beginning could suffice in certain contexts. Interestingly, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen quotes Śāntideva’s, *Bodhicaryāvatāra* as an authoritative Indian source in order to support the claim that settling meditation could suffice from the very beginning.²⁶⁹

²⁶⁷For this quote, see n. 521 on p. 233.

²⁶⁸See rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen, *Dus kyi pho nya* (verse || 4.24 ||): translation on p. 234; critical edition on p. 304.

²⁶⁹In his *'Og min zhal lung*, rJe Yon-tan-mtha'-yas quotes Shākya-mchog-ldan directly after Padma-dkar-po as an authority; for the identification of the text passages, see n. 524 on p. 235. For a short overview of the main features of Kun-dga'-dpal-'byor’s and Padma-dkar-po’s thinking with regard to the relation between these two approaches toward medita-

Furthermore, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen mentions the rapidity of attaining Buddhahood (*'tshang rgyar myur*), on the Mahāyāna path within three (or more) countless eons, while in the Mantrayānā, within one life as the distinguishing characteristic between both forms of meditations. This is also caused by a greater efficacy of the methods in accumulating merit in the Mantrayānā (including the path of blessing through the principal Guru). As an authenticating source frequently employed for this purpose by Tibetan and Bhutanese authors, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen quotes the **Nayatrāyapradīpa*.²⁷⁰

Second, the Mahāmudrā meditative system of the Four Yogas of Mahāmudrā (*rnal 'byor bzhi*) and its relation to the four maturative initiations (*smin byed kyi dbang bzhi*) and the two stages of generation (*bskyed rim*) and perfection (*rdzogs rim*) that cause liberation, as explained in the *niruttarayoga* Tantra section, is addressed further on.²⁷¹ The Four Yogas of Mahāmudrā are: (1) one-pointedness (*rtse gcig: ekāgra*), (2) simplicity (*spros bral: niṣprapañca*), (3) onetasteness (*ro gcig: samarāsa/ekarāsa*), and (4) non-meditation (*sgom med: abhāvanā*).²⁷² rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen explains that apart from a mere distinction with respect to the focal object (*dmigs rnam*), both systems arrive at the same ultimate goal. Furthermore, the

tion, see n. 519 on p. 232. Nevertheless, in rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's ninth question-cum-answer of his *gNam gyi nga ro* (pp. 427.2–430.1) a context-dependent interpretation of the practice of settling meditation without prior study and contemplation is indicated: He explains, for example, the relationship between the two kinds of meditations and assumes the Mahāmudrā meditation to be similar to the settling meditation, but warns that without any prior analysis through insight from study and contemplation (*thos dang bsam pa'i shes rab*) the settling meditation could result in a meaningless state of sleep (*ngal ba don med*).

²⁷⁰See rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen, *Dus kyi pho nya* (verse || 4.31 ||): translation on p. 237; critical edition on p. 306.

²⁷¹See rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen, *Dus kyi pho nya* (verse || 4.32 || ff.): translation on p. 238 ff.; critical edition on p. 306 ff.

²⁷²For the thus far most comprehensive study about the system of the Four Yogas of Mahāmudrā in the early bKa'-brgyud school of sGam-po-pa and his disciple Phag-mo-gru-pa, the related textual sources as well as an analysis of the different compilations of Phag-mo-gru-pa's collected works, see SCHILLER 2015 (in German). A summary of the content of the Four Yogas of Mahāmudrā based on a selection of sGam-po-pa's instructions is provided in *ibid.*: 160–172. See also n. 531 on p. 240.

system of the Four Yogas of Mahāmudrā is indeed completely capable of maturing the four kinds of powers (*nus pa bzhi*) after having purified the four defilements (*dri ma bzhi*). Further on, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen explains that according to the individual capabilities of the practitioner, the generation and perfection stages are divided into the non-profound and profound generation stage, and the perfection stage with and without characteristics, respectively. Since Mahāmudrā meditation is exceedingly superior in terms of the methods for realizing manifoldlessness and the focal object, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen concludes that the actual path of Mahāmudrā has to be equated as exactly the union of the profound generation stage and the perfections stage without characteristics.²⁷³

Scholars of the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud school, similar to scholars of other bKa'-brgyud schools, equated the system of the Four Yogas of Mahāmudrā with the four initiations. However, they also equated them with various other Indian categorizations within the doctrinal system of Mantrayāna, Pāramitāyāna, Yogācāra, and Madhyamaka, such as the different Tantra classes (*rgyud sde bzhi*), the five paths (*lam lnga: pañcamārga*), ten stages (*sa bcu: daśabhūmi*), and so forth. This seems to be an intriguing characteristic of the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud school and fulfills the purpose of defending the authenticity of the Four Yogas of Mahāmudrā against any criticism in the Mahāmudrā controversies.²⁷⁴

Finally, the chapter about Mahāmudrā meditation is concluded by a discussion about whether or not the specific methods and Yogic practices of striking at the core of the channels, vital essences, and winds (*rtsa thig rlung gang la gnad du bsnun pa'i tshul*) which cause the accomplishment of gnosis characterized by innate Great Bliss within this lifetime, are to be found in the explanations of the Mahāmudrā scriptures. Here, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen touches again upon the relationship between the path of means (*thabs lam*) and the path that causes liberation (*grol lam*), in particular, the *Shin tu rmad du byung ba'i rgyud* teachings, as discussed earlier in chapter

²⁷³rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen, *Dus kyi pho nya* (verse || 4.37 ||): translation on p. 241; critical edition on p. 308.

²⁷⁴See SCHILLER: 178; 754–756. A detailed exposition and comprehensive list of these equations is found for example in Kun-dga'-dpal-'byor's *Grub pa'i klong yangs* and Padma-dkar-po's *Nges don lta ba'i mig*.

two.²⁷⁵ By quoting the *Yoginīsañcārya* as a source, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen states that even though these practices are not explicitly taught, devotion toward the Guru and the subsequent conferral of blessings are equally valid means to realize, within one lifetime, gnosis characterized by Great Bliss.²⁷⁶ This method is again equated to Mahāmudrā of the abiding mode (*gnas lugs phyag chen*), which does not depend on the lower graded path but would automatically include these practices.

3.2.3.3 Mahāmudrā Conduct

In the fifth chapter of his *Dus kyi pho nya*, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen discusses the characteristics (*mtshan nyid*) and result (*'bras bu*) of the Mahāmudrā conduct (*spyod pa*) in the post-meditative cognition.²⁷⁷ This conduct is typically described as being characterized by “absence of adoption and rejection” (*blang dor med pa*). In addition, the weight and role of Mahāmudrā meditation and view within the commonly accepted triad of view, meditation, and conduct (*lta ba, bsgom pa, spyod pa*) in the Pāramitāyāna, and the relationship between Mahāmudrā conduct and Tantric categorizations of conduct is clarified. In a wider sense, in the fifth and also the sixth chapters, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen addresses the aforementioned first of Sa-skyā Paṇḍita's main criticisms: that a single method or factor, in this case, insight, could not soteriologically suffice.²⁷⁸

²⁷⁵ See rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen, *Dus kyi pho nya* (verse || 4.38 || ff.): translation on p. 241 ff.; critical edition on p. 308 ff.

²⁷⁶ See rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen, *Dus kyi pho nya* (verse || 4.41 ||): translation on p. 243; critical edition on p. 308.

²⁷⁷ See rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen, *Dus kyi pho nya*: translation on p. 244 ff.; critical edition on p. 309 ff.

²⁷⁸ The standard criticism toward the bKa'-brgyud proponents of the Mahāmudrā doctrine is that there is too much focus on view and meditation, which depreciates the role of the six *pāramitās* and the accumulations of wholesome virtues, and as a result the gradual path. However, the bKa'-brgyud proponents would argue that the importance of the accumulations of wholesome virtues is not neglected, but that insight is the most important of the six *pāramitās* because the other five *pāramitās* need to be necessarily accompanied by insight. In support of this, they often quote sGam-po-pa's *Dwags po thar rgyan*, in which sGam-po-pa refers to a passage from the **Vajrasamādhisūtra* that states that once

First, the question is raised as to how the great accumulation of merit, which is the prerequisites for obtaining the two Rūpakāyas of the Buddha, is perfected if the Mahāmudrā practical instructions teach that one does not perform adoption or rejection in the context of the Mahāmudrā conduct in the post-meditative cognition, while, on the other hand, other authoritative scriptures state that on the basis of the view alone it is not possible to realize the two kinds of Rūpakāyas for the benefit of others but merely actualize the Dharmakāya for oneself.²⁷⁹

As an answer, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen defines the specific Mahāmudrā conduct that is characterized by the absence of adoption and rejection as a conduct in which a view that is not distracted from the abiding mode (*gnas tshul las yengs med lta ba*) is maintained. As a consequence, there is no adoption and rejection applicable at the time of having established this view which is beyond all propositions (*khas len bral ba*). Correct conduct may receive different labels, such as pure conduct (*spyod pa rnam dag*) or non-dual conduct (*gnyis su med pa'i spyod pa*). However, the decisive criteria is that conduct should be permeated by a view that has realized the conceptual constructions (*rtogs tshogs*) as being in their true nature gnosis (*ye shes*) and already innately released (*rang grol*). In this case, no grasping arises, and consequently, also rejection and adoption would not arise.²⁸⁰

Nevertheless, by quoting sGam-po-pa, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen points out that, until the practitioner has realized their own mind as Dharmakāya, all categories such as cause and effect, and adoption and rejection are absolutely necessary. Only a practitioner who has realized their own mind as Dharmakāya does not need to apply these purely conventional designations.²⁸¹ Furthermore, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-

emptiness is recognized everything else is included; see for the discussion of the passage and scripture JACKSON, D. 1994: 21–23.

²⁷⁹ For the causal relation of the two accumulations of merit and wisdom to the two kinds of Buddha Bodies, see also n. 540 on p. 244.

²⁸⁰ For the authenticating quotes used by rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen, see rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen, *Dus kyi pho nya* (verse || 5.5 || f.): translation on p. 247 f.; critical edition on p. 310 f.

²⁸¹ See rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen, *Dus kyi pho nya* (verse || 5.7 || f.): translation on p. 248 f.; critical edition on p. 311 f.

chen clarifies that only by meditating exclusively on non-self (*bdag med rkyang pa tsam*), which is the content of the Sūtric scriptures, it is not possible to perfect the great accumulation of merit and as a result not achieve the two Rūpakāyas of the Buddha. This criticism can not be applied to the Mahāmudrā meditation, which is characterized by unity (*zung 'jug*) and the innately arisen indivisibility of appearances and mind (*snang sems dbyer med lhan cig skyes pa'i zung 'jug*). For rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen, this Mahāmudrā meditation has to be considered the superior means to accomplish the two Rūpakāyas of the Buddha.²⁸²

rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen points out that however the Mahāmudrā conduct that is characterized by the absence of adoption and rejection is classified (depending on the perspective and stage of realization)—either as a coalescence of view and conduct characterized by self-awareness of the own nature or meditative equipoise resting within that view—meditative equipoise has to be prioritized. From an ultimate point of view, there are no designations such as post-meditative cognition or meditative equipoise. As a result, if the practitioner, without being infused by the correct Mahāmudrā view, accomplishes the wholesome and eliminates the unwholesome but exerts themselves in adoption and rejection, this is, in fact, not valid “post-meditative cognition” characterized by insight, but rather a mere “stupeficient post-meditative cognition” (*rjes thob rgya yan pa*).²⁸³

Lastly, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen explains that non-dual Mahāmudrā conduct, which is characterized by the absence of adoption and elimination, and the classification into four kinds of Tantric conduct, which are gradually practiced according to the *niruttarayoga* Tantras, are similar. There is only a distinction found in the designations of these modes of conduct because these have been provisionally applied in proportion to the different levels of realization of the practitioners. No real difference is to be found between the basis of the classifica-

²⁸²See rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen, *Dus kyi pho nya* (verse || 5.8 ||): translation on p. 249; critical edition on p. 311. In his *'Og min zhal lung*, rJe Yon-tan-mtha'-yas explains in more detail the line of argument and the characteristics of this Mahāmudrā meditation; see n. 547 on p. 249.

²⁸³See rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen, *Dus kyi pho nya* (verse || 5.9 || ff.): translation on p. 249 ff.; critical edition on p. 311 ff. For a brief contextualization of the term *rjes thob rgya yan pa*, see n. 549 on p. 251.

tions of conduct and the different provisional sub-types of conduct, and Tantric conduct does not supersede Mahāmudrā conduct characterized by the absence of adoption and elimination.

In sum, in chapter five of his *Dus kyi pho nya*, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen establishes Mahāmudrā conduct characterized by the absence of adoption and elimination as in harmony with the commonly explicated categorizations of view, meditation, and conduct in the mainstream Buddhist systems of Pāramitāyāna and Mantrayāna. rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen defends the evident overemphasis of meditation and view at the expense of conduct in his school's paramount teaching, Mahāmudrā, as completely justified by considering as pivotal elements of his Mahāmudrā exegesis the perspective and realization of the respective practitioners and the concept of "Mahāmudrā of the abiding mode." These pivotal elements of his Mahāmudrā exegesis are subsequently further discussed and established in chapter six of his *Dus kyi pho nya* about the Mahāmudrā result.

3.2.4 The Mahāmudrā Result

The sixth chapter of rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's *Dus kyi pho nya* addresses the relationship between the ontological ground (*gzhi*) and the result (*'bras bu*) of the Mahāmudrā path in the form of the two kinds of Buddha Bodies.²⁸⁴ More specifically, this discussion refers to the concept of the "self-sufficient white remedy" (*dkar po chig thub*), which has been used as an analogy for an instantaneous approach towards enlightenment. This analogy had been first more widely known and employed in the bKa'-brgyud tradition through the writings of sGam-po-pa and most notably Bla-ma Zhang Tshal-pa brTson-'grus-grags-pa (1121/1123–1191, hereafter Bla-ma Zhang Tshal-pa). Both were subsequently heavily criticized by Sa-skya Paṇḍita.²⁸⁵ Further aspects related to the result are discussed, such as the point of time when the full result is actualized, the relationship and seeming contradiction between gradual and instantaneous paths of Mahāmudrā, and the importance of considering the capability and

²⁸⁴See rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen, *Dus kyi pho nya*: translation on p. 254 ff.; critical edition on p. 313 ff.

²⁸⁵For an extensive study about the concept of the self-sufficient white remedy and the Tibetan controversy, see JACKSON, D. 1994.

the perspective of the practitioner.²⁸⁶

First, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen maintains that a Mahāmudrā meditation that perfects meditative equipoise on the true nature alone absolutely suffices to obtain not only the Dharmakāya but also the Rūpakāyas. Since there are no other phenomena apart from Mahāmudrā, which is equated here with the *dharmadhātu*, the two kinds of Bodies of the Buddha are already present (*tshang*) within the ontological ground of Mahāmudrā (*phyag rgya chen po'i gzhi*). Furthermore, there is no fault in taking the result as the path (*'bras bu lam du byed pa*) as is common on the Vajrayāna path.²⁸⁷ However, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen clarifies that the practitioner is not able to obtain the supreme path (*lam mchog*) if they engage in either a meditation on the view alone (*lta ba rkyang pa*) or a meditation on emptiness devoid of compassion (*snying rje dang bral stong*). As stated in numerous scriptures, the prerequisites (*rgyu tshogs*) for the Rūpakāyas are not complete through this deficient kind of meditation, in which skillful means (*thabs*) and insight (*shes rab*) are detached from each other. Naturally, such meditation can not at all be compared with the Mahāmudrā meditation on a view characterized by the full recognition on the fundamental nature of Mahāmudrā (*phyag chen rang bzhin yongs shes kyī lta ba*) and by unity (*zung 'jug*).²⁸⁸ Furthermore, this Mahāmudrā meditation even has to be conceived as the necessary prerequisite for correctly practicing the numerous skillful means such as the *bodhicitta* aspirational prayers.

Next, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen reacts to a criticism that goes back to Sa-skyā Paṇḍita regarding the question of how the Mahāmudrā spiritual path could be considered to be self-sufficient if the practitioner acquires the result of the Rūpakāyas through various specific means, such as the *bodhicitta* aspirational prayers or dedicating mer-

²⁸⁶ A number of these topics are also presented in the fifth question of Sa-skyā Paṇḍita's *rTogs ldan rgyan po'i dris lan*; see STENZEL 2014: 215–217.

²⁸⁷ This question was already raised and partially answered in the fifth chapter regarding Mahāmudrā conduct, but is here further embedded in the discussion about the self-sufficient white remedy and the relation between the ontological basis (*gzhi*) and the result (*'bras bu*). For the related discussion about “conceptualization as the Dharmakāya” in the fourth chapter regarding Mahāmudrā meditation, see p. 111.

²⁸⁸ See rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen, *Dus kyī pho nya* (verse || 6.4 || ff.): translation on p. 255 ff.; critical edition on p. 313 ff.

its.²⁸⁹ rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen relies on Padma-dkar-po to argue that one needs to acknowledge a gnoseological aspect by differentiating into two perspectives, namely, the perspective from the subjective conceptual mind and the perspective from a person that has realized the objective abiding mode (*blo ngor/rtoḡs pa'i tshē*). From the perspective of a person who has not realized the spiritual path of Mahāmudrā as self-sufficient, the classifications and various means, such as the *bodhicitta* aspirational prayers, are reasonable and necessary. But, for a person who has obtained that realization, there are no phenomena other than what is called "Mahāmudrā of the abiding mode" (*gnas lugs phyag chen*). As a result, Mahāmudrā can be validly established as the self-sufficient, inseparable path (*chig chog zung 'jug lam*).²⁹⁰

Lastly, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen explains differing and partially contradictory statements in scriptural sources about the point in time at which the result of the Mahāmudrā path is actualized. These differences originate from considering the individual disciple's faculties, for example, that "there is no result at a later point of time left over" is a statement meant for disciples with the sharpest faculties (*dbang po rab tu/dbang po rnon po*).²⁹¹

The sixth chapter most prominently displays rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's interpretation and exegesis of the concept of "Mahāmudrā of the abiding mode." rJe Yon-tan-mtha'-yas and rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen closely follow in their interpretation Padma-dkar-po's scheme of the interpretative categories of Mahāmudrā of the abiding mode (*gnas lugs phyag chen*) and Mahāmudrā in the mode of deception

²⁸⁹See rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen, *Dus kyi pho nya* (verse || 6.9 || ff.): translation on p. 258 ff.; critical edition on p. 314 ff. For Sa-skya Paṇḍita's criticism in his *sDom gsum rab dbye*, see n. 560 on p. 258. The criticism alludes especially but not exclusively to the 'Bri-gung bKa'-brgyud practices of the Fivefold Profound Path of Mahāmudrā (*zab lam phyag chen lnga ldan*); see also n. 560 on p. 258.

²⁹⁰For Padma-dkar-po's rebuttal, see also n. 561 on p. 259.

²⁹¹See rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen, *Dus kyi pho nya* (verse || 6.13 || f.): translation on p. 260 f.; critical edition on p. 315 f. For the correlation of the disciples' faculties and the point of time at which the result is realized with a threefold division of the disciples' faculties into superior, mediocre, and inferior, see also n. 564 on p. 260.

(*'khrul lugs phyag chen*).²⁹² This crucial distinction of foundational Mahāmudrā into Mahāmudrā of the abiding mode and Mahāmudrā in the mode of deception goes back to Yang-dgon-pa and his trilogy of teachings for hermits (*Ri chos skor gsum*). It had already been further elaborated by Kun-dga'-dpal-'byor before Padma-dkar-po incorporated this distinction into his exegetical construct of the unity (*zung 'jug*) or indivisibility (*dbyer med*) of the two truths, the formulation of his criticism toward the Jo-nang position, and his defense of important Mahāmudrā bKa'-brgyud positions such as “conceptualizations as Dharmakāya.”²⁹³

Mahāmudrā of the abiding mode is equated in rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's *Dus kyi pho nya* on several occasions with *dharmadhātu*, the nature of phenomena (*chos nyid*) and the mode of being (*yin tshul*), in opposition to the category of Mahāmudrā in the mode of deception (*'khrul lugs phyag chen*). Accordingly, by repeatedly emphasizing the indivisibility of basis (*gzhi*) and result (*'bras bu*), rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen is able to define the characteristics of the different Mahāmudrā paths in dependence upon the level of the disciple's realization and discernment of the actual Mahāmudrā of the abiding mode. Furthermore, this enables him to establish his Mahāmudrā doctrine and meditative system as superior means to achieve enlightenment.²⁹⁴

²⁹² Padma-dkar-po's argumentation is partially paraphrased by rJe Yontan-mtha'yas' *'Og min zhal lung*; see for example n. 561 on p. 259.

²⁹³ HIGGINS & DRASZCZYK 2016 have analyzed in depth this crucial distinction in Padma-dkar-po's thinking on the basis of five different works, such as the *Phyag chen gan mdzod*; see HIGGINS & DRASZCZYK: vol. 1, 357–398; for the English translation and Tibetan text of the relevant passages in Padma-dkar-po's *Phyag chen gan mdzod*, see also *ibid.*: vol. 2, 157–168 (engl.); 168–175 (tib.). HIGGINS & DRASZCZYK: vol. 1, 362; 367–368, have also drawn attention to the parallels between the terminologies of Mahāmudrā of the abiding mode (*gnas lugs phyag chen*) and Mahāmudrā in the mode of deception (*'khrul lugs phyag chen*) and the rDzogs-chen terminologies of *gzhi gnas lugs/ngo bo ka nas dag pa* and *glor bur gyi 'khrul pa*, which were explicated by rTse-le sNa-tshogs-rang-grol (b. 1608) in his *Nges don phyag rgya chen po'i phyogs nas dri ba la lan du bgyis pa yid bzhin nor bu'i do shal*, for example; considerably more systematic work will need to be done in order to analyze these terminologies in their respective contexts. See also n. 430 on p. 183; see also n. 573 on p. 266.

²⁹⁴ For the similarity between Shākya-mchog-ldan's and rJe dGe-'dun-rin-

3.2.5 Soteriology of Devotion: The Principal Guru

The seventh chapter of rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's *Dus kyi pho nya* is completely devoted to the nature of the principal Guru (*rtsa ba'i bla ma*), and the pedagogical and soteriological function of the principal Guru in the context of directly introducing the disciple to the nature of the mind (*sems kyi ngo 'phrod*) within the context of Mahāmudrā instructions.²⁹⁵ The topics discussed in this chapter are crucial for the successful defense and establishment of the different ways of teaching the Mahāmudrā doctrine and meditative system, mainly for two reasons: (1) the principal Guru is exceedingly important for the authenticity of the transmission of the Mahāmudrā teachings, therefore, his function as a validating means, a “person of authority” (*slob dpon tshad ma*), can not be overestimated;²⁹⁶ and (2) the crucial connection between the disciple's devotion and perception and the principal Guru's kindness and transference of blessing as essential pedagogical and soteriological means for the successful trans-

chen's approaches to the concept that all phenomena are the Dharmakāya and the emphasis on considering gnoseological aspects and the capabilities of the disciples, see also n. 555 on p. 255.

²⁹⁵See rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen, *Dus kyi pho nya*: translation on p. 262 ff.; critical edition on p. 316 ff.

²⁹⁶Ronald M. Davidson has investigated the development of *pramāṇa* terminology in Indian and early Tibetan esoteric literature and points out three different approaches of “tantric litterateurs” toward scholasticism: (1) “subordination”; (2) defining “epistemology as a function of the ‘method of the perfections’ (*pāramitānaya*)”; and, relevant in this context (3) “they [the esoteric litterateurs] appropriated epistemological language for the purpose of gaining derivative authority;” see DAVIDSON 1999: 29–30. The authenticity of the Guru (*slob dpon tshad ma*) is crucial for the validity of the Mahāmudrā “pointing out instructions” (and of Tantric teachings in general). For example, in the Lam-'bras tradition, the authenticity of the Guru represents one of the four means of valid cognition (*tshad ma bzhi*). For an analysis of the sources of this four-fold scheme in the Lam-'bras tradition, see SOBISCH 2015. Jan-Ulrich Sobisch demonstrates how the authentication of transmission is deepened through the correlation of the four *tshad mas* of Guru (*bla ma tshad ma*), experience (*nyams myong tshad ma*), scripture (*lung tshad ma*), and exposition (*bstan bcos tshad ma*); see *ibid.*: 468–478. On the development of different schemes of *tshad mas*, see also n. 444 on p. 192.

mission of Mahāmudrā.²⁹⁷ rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen also alludes to the important function of the principal Guru's kindness in the context of the transmission of ultimate Mahāmudrā and the quintessential content of Mahāmudrā at several occasions in the previous chapters.²⁹⁸

rJe Shākya-rin-chen begins this chapter emphasizing that the life essence (*srog snying*) of all the practices of the precious Mahāmudrā lineage is nothing other than respect and devotion (*mos gus*).²⁹⁹ He then inquires about the nature of the principal Guru, who grants disciples with very sharp faculties (*dbang po rab/dbang po rnon po*) the kindness of introducing them directly to the nature of the mind (*sems kyi ngo 'phrod*) through Mahāmudrā practical instructions. In particular, rJe Shākya-rin-chen asks whether this principal Guru should be perceived by the disciple as the perfect Buddha (*rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas*) or merely as an ordinary spiritual friend (*bshes gnyen phal pa*); nowadays, in this eon of strife (*rtsod ldan gyi dus*), the principal Guru may in his appearance mode (*snang tshul*) display a mixture of virtues and vices.³⁰⁰

²⁹⁷ RHEINGANS 2012 and SOBISCH 2011, have repeatedly drawn attention to the importance of the pedagogical and soteriological function of the Guru in the context of the Mahāmudrā doctrine. Jim Rheingans investigated the importance of the role of the Guru in both instructions and practices of Mahāmudrā, on the basis of his observations of Mi-bskyod-rdo-rje's instructions (*khrid*), and brought up the topic of the "pedagogical nature of the Great Seal systems"; see RHEINGANS 2012: 185. Jan-Ulrich Sobisch addressed the idea of devotion toward the Guru as the "single decisive means" of realization associated with the founder of the 'Bri-gung bKa'-brgyud tradition sKyob-pa 'Jig-rten-gsum-mgon within the practices of the Fivefold Profound Path of Mahāmudrā (*zab lam phyag chen lnga ldan*); see SOBISCH 2011: 211.

²⁹⁸ See for example rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen, *Dus kyi pho nya* (verse || 1.12 ||): translation on p. 167; critical edition on p. 278. See also rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen, *Dus kyi pho nya* (verse || 2.22 ||): translation on p. 191; critical edition on p. 287; see also RHEINGANS 2012: 185–187.

²⁹⁹ See rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen, *Dus kyi pho nya* (verse || 7.1 ||): translation on p. 262; critical edition on p. 316.

³⁰⁰ Je Shākya-rin-chen and rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen quote *Paramārthasevā*; for the identification of this quote, see n. 567 on p. 263. The common *topoi* of the degeneration of the Buddhist doctrine and the lack of qualities of the Guru are frequently employed in the writings of rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen. They are also found in the writings of numerous scholars during

rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen answers that the principal Guru is to be perceived as the perfect Buddha and as inseparable from the Dharmakāya—appearing though in whatever ordinary form may best benefit sentient beings.³⁰¹ Furthermore, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen explains that how the Guru appears to the disciple is naturally correlated to the progressing realization and thereby perception of the disciple. To put it in other words, as the disciple progresses further along the spiritual path, their realization equally brings them gradually closer to perceiving the true nature of the principal Guru—in the abiding mode as a perfect Buddha.³⁰² For example, when the disciple finally passes beyond the state of inconceivable, all pervasive respect and devotion, they will perceive all phenomena appearing as the Guru. Consequently, although the principal Guru may in his appearance mode (*snang tshul*) and from the conventional perspective of the disciple display a mixture of virtues and vices, this does not apply to the abiding mode (*gnas tshul*).³⁰³ As a simile, rJe dGe-'dun-

the polemic heyday of the Mahāmudrā controversy from the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries as well as during the *ris med* movement in the nineteenth century; see for example in the writings of rDza-dpal-sprul O-rgyan-'jigs-med-chos-kyi-dbang-po, (1808–1887); cf. also RHEINGANS 2012: 186, n. 50.

³⁰¹ rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen supports his statement by referring to the *Dāk-inīvajrapañjaratantra* and *Ratnagotravibhāga*; see n. 568 on p. 264 and n. 569 on p. 264.

³⁰² See rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen, *Dus kyi pho nya* (verse || 7.6 || ff.): translation on p. 263 f.; critical edition on p. 317 f.

³⁰³ In rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's *lTa ba'i me long*, a short synopsis of his Madhyamaka interpretation, he explicitly adopts 'Ju Mi-pham's twofold systematization of conventional valid cognition (*kun tu tha snyad pa'i tshad ma: sāmvyavahārikapramāṇa*) into ordinary perception (*tshu rol mthong ba: arvāgdarśana/aparadarśana*) and pure perception (*dag pa'i gzigs pa: *śuddhadarśana*). As a result, through 'Ju Mi-pham's concept of pure perception, phenomena like the existence of innumerable Buddha-fields in one atom or the visualizations in the generation stage of Tantric meditations can be explained more precisely. In this context, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's seems to again utilize 'Ju Mi-pham's gradual systematization to explain the seeming discrepancy between appearance mode and abiding mode of the principal Guru that is dissolved by considering the correlation between subjective realization and corresponding perception of the disciple. For the critical edition, annotated tradition and textual analysis of the *lTa ba'i me long*, see SCHWERK 2012 (in German). For

rin-chen employs the commonly used example of a white conch shell being perceived as yellow by a person with jaundice.³⁰⁴ Another possible factor to be considered is that due to the veil or obstruction of the body as the Karmic product of cause and result, certain qualities of the Buddha which the principal Guru indeed possesses are only latent and cannot yet actually be manifested.³⁰⁵

Then, because the principal Guru is in their abiding mode identical with the Buddha, in the mode of appearance (*snang tshul*), they even surpass the Buddha in terms of their kindness (*bka' drin*); they appear in their *Nirmāṇakāya* form in this world in accordance with the needs of the disciples according to the latter's accumulation of merits and perception. Considering the fact that even the Buddhas themselves have arisen in reliance on their teachers, the soteriological result of making an offering to even just a single body hair of the principal Guru would trump immeasurable offerings to all Buddhas of the ten directions and three times.³⁰⁶

Furthermore, regarding the soteriological efficacy of making offerings, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen then clarifies that canonical scriptures maintaining that the merit of just seeing a visual representation of the Buddha body far exceeds even an offering feast to hundred Pratyekabuddhas do only confirm the importance of making offerings to the Guru, because the Guru is identical with the actual perfect Buddha.³⁰⁷

Furthermore, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen emphasizes the role and efficacy of faith (*dad pa*) *per se*. He points out that, even in the worst case, where the principal Guru was not the actual Buddha but an

the analysis of 'Ju Mi-pham's twofold systematization of conventional and valid cognition and his far-reaching contributions to Buddhist logic and epistemology, see WANGCHUK 2009.

³⁰⁴See rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen, *Dus kyi pho nya* (verse || 7.10 ||): translation on p. 266; critical edition on p. 318.

³⁰⁵See rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen, *Dus kyi pho nya* (verse || 7.11 ||): translation on p. 267; critical edition on p. 318. For the common analogy of the *garuḍa* birdling used by rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen, see n. 573 on p. 266.

³⁰⁶For this concept found in the *Māyājālatantra* and **Guhyasamājantra*, see n. 576 on p. 268.

³⁰⁷For this idea as found, for example, in the *Tathāgataguṇajñānācintyaviśayāvātāranirdeśasūtra*, see n. 579 on p. 270.

ordinary spiritual friend, everything could be obtained from such a Guru as well. This is possible if the disciple establishes certainty through authoritative scriptures and logical reasoning, and consequently, gains faith in the idea that the principal Guru is indeed in essence the Buddha in person.³⁰⁸

Finally, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen speaks out a warning about contemporary masters who claim to be Vajradhara despite not even possessing the merest qualities of an ordinary spiritual friend: such pretense will result in the destruction of the precious Mahāmudrā teachings—just like burning precious sandalwood to charcoal.³⁰⁹

As aforementioned, read together with the six other chapters of rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's *Dus kyi pho nya*, the seventh chapter, albeit brief, is essential for systematically defending and authenticating the different Mahāmudrā paths. As a result, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen is able to successfully rebut Sa-skyā Paṇḍita's criticism that Mahāmudrā could not be taught outside of the formal *niruttarayoga* Tantra section of the Mantrayāna.³¹⁰

3.3 Overview *bKa' 'bum*

In this section, I highlight the immense breadth of rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's work as a scholar and author by providing a brief overview of the structure and works of rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's *bKa' 'bum* based on the topical outline (*sa bcad*)³¹¹ and the table of contents (*dkar*

³⁰⁸See rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen, *Dus kyi pho nya* (verse || 7.12 || f.): translation on p. 267 f.; critical edition on p. 319 f.

³⁰⁹rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen alludes to Sa-skyā Paṇḍita's *Sa skya legs bshad*; see also n. 581 on p. 270.

³¹⁰In sum, Sa-skyā Paṇḍita's criticism can be found, for example, in his *sKye bu 'phrin yig*, see in Rhoton 2002: 230–236; his *rTogs ldan rgyan po'i dris lan*, see in ARCA 2015: 137–138; and his *bKa' gdams zhus lan*, see in Rhoton 2002: 269–270.

³¹¹For a detailed analysis of different types of *sa bcad*, see HUGON 2009. STEINKELLNER 1989: 233–235, has proposed that the origin of the *sa bcad* genre is to be found in China, for example as in the Chinese commentary of Wen-tshig's/Wen-tsheg's' (Chinese: Yüan-ts'ê), *Āryagambhīrasaṃdhinīrmocanasūtrāṅka* representing a possible predecessor of the Tibetan *sa bcad*. For a discussion and presentation of the different Chinese *sa bcads*, see also HUGON 2008: 53–54, n. 10.

chag).³¹² Moreover, I share some observations about three of his works that have already received wider academic appreciation outside of Bhutan: (1) his history of the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud school, the *dPal ldan 'brug pa'i gdul zhing lho phyogs nags mo'i ljongs kyi chos 'byung blo gsar ma ba'i rgyan*; (2) his spiritual biography of the "Madman of the 'Brug-pa" (*smyon pa 'brug pa*), 'Brug-pa Kun-legs, the *Chos rje kun dga' legs pa'i rnam thar grub pa'i rtogs brjod*; and (3) his biographical account of Zhabs-drung, the *dPal 'brug pa rin po che mthu chen chos kyi rgyal po ngag dbang rnam rgyal gyi rnam thar rgya mtsho'i snying po*.

rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's *bKa' 'bum* consists of ten volumes with one hundred and twenty-eight works and covers all relevant topics of Tibetan scholasticism, debate, and meditative and ritual practices. His *bKa' 'bum* was published in the form of a lithographic print of manuscripts and was compiled and edited at Pha-jo-sdings Monastery between 1986 and 1991 with the permission of rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen.³¹³ It is noteworthy that rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's autographs are preserved in Bhutan, although, as aforementioned, they

³¹²For an investigation into the use and etymology of the term *dkar chag*, see MARTIN: 1996.

³¹³*bShes gnyen chen po rje dge 'dun rin chen mchog gi bka' 'bum: The Collected Works (gsung 'bum) of dGe-bśes-brag-phug*. Reproduced with the permission of the author from his manuscripts. 10 vols. In Indo-Tibetan Literature Series. Rewalsar: Achārya Shedup Tenzin and Sherab Gyaltzen Lama, Zigar Drukpa Kargyud Institute, 1985–1991. Volume 2, 4, 5, 6 and 7 were published as volumes 125, 126, 127, 128 in 1985, and vols. 1, 3, 8, and 9, 10 as volumes 171, 172, 173 in 1991 in the *Indo Tibetan Buddhist literature series*. Although, it has elsewhere been reported that rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's *bKa' 'bum* consists of merely nine volumes, I saw the seemingly "missing" ninth volume on my visit at rTa-mgo Monastery near Thim-phu on November 2, 2014. The volume contains the biographical account of Zhabs-drung, the *dPal 'brug pa rin po che mthu chen chos kyi rgyal po ngag dbang rnam rgyal gyi rnam thar rgya mtsho'i snying po*, and seems not to be available outside of Bhutan, since it was not printed by the same publisher but later inside of Bhutan (written communication with the editor and publisher Khenpo Shedup Tenzin on May 20, 2017). An incomplete electronic input version of his *bKa' 'bum* without pagination is found online under: http://dharmaownload.net/pages/english/Sungbum/010_69th-Je-Khenpo-of-Bhutan/69th-Je-Khenpo_pages/69th-Je-Khenpo-index.htm. Accessed: August 16, 2020.

are scattered throughout different places in Bhutan.³¹⁴ rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's *bKa' 'bum* was distributed to the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud monasteries in all districts in Bhutan in 1992. Numerous works are nowadays studied as ancillary texts in the curriculum at the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud educational institutions and used for everyday liturgical and ceremonial purposes within Bhutan.³¹⁵

A complete list of all the works in rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's *bKa' 'bum* is found in Appendix B: Works in rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's *bKa' 'bum*, and the composition dates and context of various works are also presented in Chapter 3: rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's Life on the basis of rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs' *Dwangs shel me long*.³¹⁶ What follows is a brief overview of the structure of his *bKa' 'bum* according to the topical outline:

1. *thun mong rig gnas* (vol. 1, *ka*)
2. *thun min nang don* (vol. 2, *kha*)
 - 2.1. *mdo yi dgongs 'grel* (vol. 2, *kha*)
 - 2.1.1. *dgongs 'grel bstan bcos* (vol. 2, *kha*)
 - 2.1.2. *cha lag zur bsdeb* (vol. 3, *ga*)
 - 2.2. *gsang sngags rgyud 'grel* (vol. 4, *nga*)
 - 2.2.1. *bshad pa tshig gi skor* (vol. 4, *nga*)
 - 2.2.1.1. *snying po kyai rdo rje/rgyud bshad* (vol. 4, *nga*)
 - 2.2.1.2. *yang snying bde mchog* (vol. 5, *ca*)
 - 2.2.2. *gdams ngag nyams len* (vol. 6, *cha*)
 - 2.2.2.1. *sgrub gzhi bla ma'i las tshogs man ngag* (vol. 6, *cha*)
 - 2.2.2.2. *bsgrub bya yi dam chos skyong gi cha lag zur bsdeb* (vol. 7, *ja*)

³¹⁴See also n. 117 on p. 54. When I visited dByangs-can-phu on November 13, 2014, the monks present also told me that there are plans to build a separate library close by up the slope. Three photographs of his autographs are for example displayed in sPa-gro rTa-mchog-chos-rje mKhan-po Tshe-ring, *Zla ba'i 'dzum* (p. 69; 74).

³¹⁵See also p. 82. Written communication with Tenzin Dorji on August 7, 2020.

³¹⁶See p. 353 ff. and p. 51 ff.

2.2.2.3. *bshad bya khungs ldan chos bshad gtam tshogs*
(vol. 8, *nya*)
plus addendum (*kha skong*: vol. 9, *ta*; vol. 10,
tha).³¹⁷

The topical outline in the beginning of rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's *bKa' 'bum* shows that the arrangement of his works proceeds from the outer sciences in volume one, such as treatises on grammar and poetics, to the inner sciences of Buddhist doctrine in the following volumes, hierarchically ascending from Sūtric to Tantric topics.³¹⁸ Furthermore, the arrangement of the works follows a standard categorization of the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud school into *bshad bya tshig gi skor*, *gdams ngag nyams len gyi skor*, and *rtogs pa byin rlabs kyi skor*, which was first established by gTsang-pa-rgya-ras.³¹⁹

Commentaries on crucial Indian Buddhist works along with independent compositions by rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen are found in volumes two and three; volumes four and five contain commentaries on the *Hevajratantra* and the *Cakrasaṃvaratantra*.

Volume six starts with the biographical account of 'Brug-pa Kun-legs (1455–1529),³²⁰ the *Chos rje kun dga' legs pa'i rnam thar grub pa'i rtogs brjod*. This work became widely known in the West due to the first translation into English by Keith Dowman and Sonam Paljor in 1982.³²¹ rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen composed his work in 1966 based on two earlier textual sources of 'Brug-pa Kun-legs' life and

³¹⁷See rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen, *dGe 'dun bka' 'bum* (vol. 1, pp. 4.3–14.4; 17.4–18.3).

³¹⁸See *dGe 'dun bka' 'bum*, (vol. 1, pp. 4.3–5.1). The arrangement is very similar to the structure of Padma-dkar-po's *gSung 'bum*, see CABEZÓN & JACKSON 1996b: 24–25. The five major fields of knowledge or sciences (*rigs gnas lnga*) are: (1) language and grammar (*sgra rig pa*), (2) logic (*gtan tshig rig pa*), (3) medicine (*gso ba rig pa*), (4) craftsmanship (*bzo rig pa*), and (5) inner science/Buddhist philosophy (*nang don rig pa*); see also CABEZÓN & JACKSON 1996a: 18.

³¹⁹For a detailed list of the teachings within the three categories, see Padma-dkar-po, *Phyag chen gan mdzod* (p. 43.1–4). A concise overview of special teachings and instruction in the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud schools is found in HARDING 2008: 229–231.

³²⁰rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen dates 'Brug-pa Kun-legs' death to 1570; see DiVALERIO 2015: 197.

³²¹For the English translation, see DOWMAN & PALJOR 2000. The En-

writings produced in Tibet and Bhutan along with his own research about 'Brug-pa Kun-legs, thereby preserving numerous thus far undocumented episodes handed down through the oral traditions in Bhutan. The first and most extensive account on 'Brug-pa Kun-legs' life and works that rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen drew from consists of a four-volume collection from Tibet,³²² while the second account is a Bhutanese work that consists in 'Brug-pa Kun-legs' "secret autobiography" (*gsang ba'i rnam thar*)—popularly called the "dirty stories" (*gtsog gtam*). The latter was compiled by dPal rDo-rje-gdan-pa Mi-pham Tshe-dbang-bstan-'dzin (1574–1643, hereafter Mi-pham Tshe-dbang-bstan-'dzin), who was 'Brug-pa Kun-legs' grandson and the father of the eminent Fourth 'Brug-sde-srid bsTan-'dzin-rab-rgyas (1638–1698).³²³ It consists of a great number of loosely connected

glish translation by Keith Dowman and Sonam Paljor was translated into German, and expanded and corrected under consideration of the original Tibetan text by Franz-Karl Ehrhard; see EHRHARD, F.-K. 1982. Another German translation was produced by KRETSCHMAR 1981. Translations into other languages, such as French, Spanish, and Romanian followed; see DiVALERIO 2015: 196. The Tibetan work was first published in Kalimpong by the publisher Mani Printing Works in 82 folios (BDRC: W4CZ1097); see ARDUSSI 1977: 37, n. 26.

³²²For the problem of dating the printing blocks, see ARDUSSI 1977: 36–37, n. 24. The printing blocks were stored in Dre'u-lhas Monastery in Tibet and the complete four volumes were reprinted in *'Brug pa kun dga' legs pa'i rnam thar dang nyams mgur dang zhal gdams sogs*. 1 vol. Reprint. Darjeeling: Kargyud Sungrab Nyamso Khang, 1978 (BDRC: W1KG10253).

³²³According to John A. Ardussi, the title dPal rDo-rje-ldan-pa was assigned to him as the heir of the rTa-mgo rDo-rje-ldan Monastery near Thim-phu; see KRAGH, K.: 88–89. David M. DiValerio has raised some doubts about the historicity of the Bhutanese family lineage of 'Brug-pa Kun-legs, mainly based on the fact that 'Brug-pa Kun-legs' Bhutanese son, Ngag-dbang-bstan-'dzin, and his mother are not mentioned in the Tibetan collection; cf. DiVALERIO 2015: 204. This argument is based on the assumption that there indeed was knowledge exchange between the Bhutanese and Tibetan 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud masters and that the latter should have known about the Bhutanese lineage. However, only additional research about the compilation and production process of the two textual collections about 'Brug-pa Kun-legs' life and writings from Bhutan and Tibet can shed more light on questions as these. Indeed, they could have been produced completely separately given the dire political tensions between Bhutan and Tibet in the seventeenth century after

episodes, teachings, and songs of realization from 'Brug-pa Kun-legs' travels mostly in Western Bhutan.³²⁴ For the first five chapters about 'Brug-pa Kun-legs' life in Tibet, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen utilized the Tibetan work as a source, but he based the sixth and seventh chapters mainly on Mi-pham Tshe-dbang-bstan-'dzin's "secret autobiography" or "dirty stories."³²⁵ rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's compilation and composition of the *Chos rje kun dga' legs pa'i rnam thar grub pa'i rtogs brjod* again demonstrates the often layered character of Tibetan works with a gradual and trans-regional textual production and the relevance of oral traditions.

The sixth and seventh volumes mainly contain rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's writings of a systematizing and doxographical nature, for example, on Mahāmudrā, rDzogs-chen, and miscellaneous Tantric topics, along with a great variety of manuals for different kinds of rituals and prayers of the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud and rNying-ma schools. In addition, volume seven includes rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's teachings of the ordained communities in Bhutan and songs of realization (*nyams mgur*).

Volume eight includes *dkar chags* and historiographical works, such as the widely renowned "second" main history of the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud school, the *dPal ldan 'brug pa'i gdul zhing lho phyogs*

Zhabs-drung's flight to Bhutan in 1616 and the consecutive wars between Bhutan and Tibet. As a result, these circumstances had severely impeded contact between Tibetan and Bhutanese 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud masters; see also Chapter 1.2: The 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud Schools in Bhutan on p. 28 ff. Consequently, this, once again, demonstrates the importance of considering trans-regional knowledge exchange between Tibet and Bhutan, gradual (and sometimes cross-linked) textual production, and oral traditions.

³²⁴Mi-pham Tshe-dbang-bstan-'dzin, *'Brug pa kun legs kyi rnam thar mon spa gro sogs kyi mdzad spyod*. Reprint. Delhi: n.n., 1973 (BDRC: W1CZ4690).

³²⁵See ARDUSSI 1977: 19; 174, n. 116. A presentation of the content and structure of rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's biographical account of 'Brug-pa Kun-legs and the written and oral sources he drew from are also presented in DiVALERIO 2015: 194–202. Furthermore, for an analysis of 'Brug-pa Kun-legs' person and life and the related oral and written sources as well as his writings, see *ibid.* 2015: 193–219. For Ulrike Roesler's recent brief analysis of characteristics, self-perception, and intent in 'Brug-pa Kun-legs autobiographical writings, see ROESLER 2020: 22–26.

nags mo'i ljongs kyi chos 'byung bla gsar ma ba'i rgyan. Michael V. Aris has pointed out that in the “first” main history of Bhutan, the *lHo'i chos 'byung bston pa rin po che'i 'phro mthud 'jam mgon smon mtha'i 'phreng ba*, which was composed between 1731 and 1759 by the Tenth rJe-mkhan-po bsTan-'dzin-chos-rgyal (1701–1767, hereafter rJe bsTan-'dzin-chos-rgyal),³²⁶ only six folios out of a total of one hundred and fifty folios deal with the time prior to the unification of Bhutan by Zhabs-drung, and furthermore, only five of those address the history of the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud school. In contrast, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's history covers all periods of the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud school in Bhutan, as well as the earlier history of the Tibetan 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud school and the rNying-ma lineage. rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen drew from a wide range of sources for his history, which are still only partially identified. Besides being a very valuable source of religious-historical data, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's work provides important insights into his self-perception and how he envisioned and (re)constructed the history and identity of his school.³²⁷ This volume also contains personal writings and poems, such as his own prayers, songs of realization (*nyams mgur*), instructions to students (*gzhal gdams*), short autobiographical notes (*phyag bris*) and his synoptic autobiography, the *bSe ru'i gtam*, on which rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs' *Dwangs shel me long* is based.³²⁸ Volume eight also includes rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's prayer for the flourishing and spread of the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud school, the *dPal ldan 'brug pa'i bstan pa rgyas pa'i smon lam sa bcad dang bcas pa*.³²⁹

Volumes nine and ten are a supplement, which was added to the *dkar chag* after several of rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's students from Pha-jo-sdings bShad-grwa insisted on including some scattered works that had not been considered in the compilation of the *bKa' 'bum*.³³⁰

Volume nine consists of the biographical account of Zhabs-drung,

³²⁶rJe bsTan-'dzin-chos-rgyal, *lHo'i chos 'byung bston pa rin po che'i 'phro mthud 'jam mgon smon mtha'i 'phreng ba*. N.p.: n.n., n.d. (BDRC: W1KG9413). For a concise overview of rJe bsTan-'dzin-chos-rgyal's life, see rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen, *lHo' 'brug chos 'byung* (pp. 329.11–331.8).

³²⁷See ARIS 1979: xxviii; 276; see also ARDUSSI 1977: 526.

³²⁸See also n. 133 on p. 63.

³²⁹On this prayer, see also p. 135.

³³⁰See rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen, *dGe 'dun bka' 'bum* (vol. 1, pp. 16.6–17.3).

the *dPal 'brug pa rin po che mthu chen chos kyi rgyal po ngag dbang rnam rgyal gyi rnam thar rgya mtsho'i snying po*, which rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen wrote in 1987. rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen composed two versions: an extended version of two hundred and twenty-two folios and a condensed version of one hundred and twenty-three folios; the *bKa' 'bum* contains the latter. rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen used two earlier biographical accounts as his textual sources, the *Chos kyi sprin chen po'i dbyangs* by gTsang mKhan-chen 'Jam-dbyangs dPal-ldan-rgya-mtsho (1610–1684)³³¹ and the *Ngag dbang rnam rgyal skabs* by rJe Shākya-rin-chen.³³² Besides the biography of Zhabs-drung, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's composition includes several other important data, such as a chapter on the succession of the three kinds of incarnations of Zhabs-drung, the *'brug rje mkhan pos*, the *'brug sde srids*, and the four *'brug rgyal pos*, as well as a list of modern Bhutanese historical works.³³³

Finally, volume ten contains a compilation of miscellaneous and thematically unrelated compositions, such as a commentary on the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti*, manuals for different rituals, and oral instructions given by rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen to the public at Mangadha-gtsug-lag-khang in Thim-phu.

³³¹ gTsang mKhan-chen 'Jam-dbyangs dPal-ldan-rgya-mtsho, *Ngag dbang rnam rgyal gyi rnam thar rgyas pa chos kyi sprin chen po'i dbyangs*. Reprint. 1 vol. Delhi: Tobden Tshering, 1974 (BDRC: W30164).

³³² rJe Shākya-rin-chen, *dKar rgyud kyi rnam thar gser gyi 'phreng ba lta ba las dpal ldan bla ma mthu chen chos kyi rgyal po ngag dbang rnam rgyal skabs* (in *Shāk rin gsung 'bum*, vol. 1, pp. 403–492). For a discussion and overview of these two works, see KRAGH, K. 2003: 85–93. By counting the parts of the work that deal with Zhabs-drung's life in rJe bsTan-'dzin-chos-rgyal's *lHo'i chos 'byung bston pa rin po che'i 'phro mthud 'jam mgon smon mtha'i 'phreng ba*, and the summary by Zhabs-drung himself that is included in gTsang mKhan-chen 'Jam-dbyangs dPal-ldan-rgya-mtsho's *Ngag dbang rnam rgyal gyi rnam thar rgyas pa chos kyi sprin chen po'i dbyangs*, as two separate works, eight biographical versions related to Zhabs-drung have been identified so far; see KRAGH, K. 2003: 84–85; 85, n. 12. Six of these works have been reviewed and described in *ibid.*

³³³ See KRAGH, K. 2003: 92–94. A systematic study of rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's work and the two earlier biographical accounts used as textual sources could provide further insights into the additional sources he might have consulted.

3.4 Intellectual Agenda and Heritage

rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen was one of the most outstanding Buddhist masters of twentieth-century Bhutan. He systematically further developed and reinterpreted the doctrinal and exegetical framework and the practices and rituals of the Bhutanese 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud school. In addition, he played a decisive role in the formation and standardization of both the basic and higher monastic education during the modernization of religious institutions in the second half of the twentieth century in Bhutan. rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's personal and partially non-conformative choices in his religious training and practice, and his subsequent activities as a scholar, author, teacher, and practitioner were apparently influenced by the important political developments in Tibet and Bhutan after the 1950s.³³⁴

In general, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen clearly perceived himself as being personally responsible for the purification of the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud teachings with respect to any possible misinterpretations and their lasting flourishing. In addition, his thinking was strongly influenced by his predilection for the scholastic traditions and the contributions of the earlier *ris-med* scholars. One explicit example that expresses this attitude is found in his prayer for the flourishing of the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud school, the *Pal ldan 'brug pa'i bstan pa rgyas pa'i smon lam sa bcad dang bcas pa*.³³⁵ It reveals rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's understanding and vision of the ideal identity of his school. In fact, 'Ju Mi-pham had composed a very similar prayer for the rNying-ma school, the *sNga 'gyur bstan pa rgyas pa'i smon lam chos rgyal dgyes pa'i zhal lung*.³³⁶

Besides his monastic education in the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud school, which he had received from Buddhist masters, such as rJe Chos-kyi-dbang-phyug and rJe Ngag-dbang-'phrin-las, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen had already studied in Eastern Bhutan under an eminent

³³⁴See Chapter 2: rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's Life on p. 51 ff. For a short historical overview of Tibet after 1949 and the political and social developments in the exile communities, see KAPSTEIN 2006: 269–300. For an extended study of Tibet in the modern period after 1947, see SHAKYA 1999.

³³⁵See rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen, *dGe 'dun bka' 'bum* (vol. 8, pp. 743–752).

³³⁶See 'Ju Mi-pham, *Mi pham gsung 'bum* (vol. 19, pp. 701–711). I thank Dorji Wangchuk for this reference.

rNying-gma scholar, dGe-bshes Pad-ma-'phrin-las. However, from 1952 to 1956, he further studied in Tibet under second-generation disciples of the great rNying-ma polymath 'Ju Mi-pham, such as a student of mKhan-po gZhan-dga', Rwa-hor dPal-ldan-chos-kyi-grags-pa. Rwa-hor dPal-ldan-chos-kyi-grags-pa also became rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's principal Guru. Other teachers included Kaḥ-thog-bla-ma Ngag-dbang-phrin-las and bDud-'joms Rin-po-che. Moreover, after rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen returned to Bhutan in 1956—now as an erudite scholar himself—his exchange with important Tibetan Buddhist masters continued as they were tragically forced to flee Tibet, and for many of these scholars Bhutan became their new refuge in exile. This enabled him to continue the mutual exchange of teachings, practices, and transmissions, for example with Dil-mgo-mkhyen-brtse. Another important Bhutanese Buddhist master for rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's further development was bSod-nams-bzang-po.

In Bhutan, there is obviously a natural closeness between the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud and rNying-ma schools in terms of the monastic education of many important Bhutanese masters and traditionally, in Tibet, temporary training of Bhutanese masters also frequently took place. This, then, often naturally resulted in broader scholarly activity affiliated with different schools and practices lineages. However, throughout rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's life his personal motifs clearly exceeded these more general tendencies. This also had led occasionally to criticism of his person in Bhutan. Remarkably, many of rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's works clearly emulate the works of 'Ju Mi-pham and his spiritual successors in form and style. In general, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's works cover all relevant topics of Tibetan scholasticism, debate, and meditative and ritual practices. The size and scope of his *bKa' 'bum* is equal to that of earlier influential Bhutanese 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud masters.³³⁷ Moreover, his *bKa' 'bums* not only includes works for the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud school but also a few for the rNying-ma tradition. In this regard, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's endeavors most distinctly reflect the three typical activities of a traditional Tibetan or Bhutanese Buddhist scholar: explication, debate, and composition (*'chad rtsod rtsom gsum*), in a

³³⁷ Among the Bhutanese Chief Abbots who also produced important doctrinal or historical works are, first and foremost, the ninth, rJe Shākya-rin-chen; and then the sixty-ninth, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen; as well as the tenth, rJe bsTan-'dzin-chos-rgyal (1701–1767); the thirteenth, Yon-tan-mtha'-yas; and the sixty-eighth, bsTan-'dzin-don-grub.

continuously evolving and fluid scholastic tradition in Bhutan that provided space for rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's personal signature.

As a concrete example, in rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's interpretation of the Mahāmudrā doctrine presented in his *Dus kyi pho nya*,³³⁸ he shows, not surprisingly, a strong preference for meditative practices and non-conceptual methods of insight. Moreover, although he remains broadly in the exegetical framework of his own tradition, he follows Shākya-mchog-ldan in his argumentations—similar to rJe Shākya-rin-chen in his *Grub pa'i mdung rmon*.³³⁹ In addition, he attempts to harmonize the Buddhist teachings of the “Second and Third Turnings of the Wheel of Dharma” (*chos 'khor gnyis pa/gsum pa*) by emphasizing them as equally definite in their respective contexts. This is mainly achieved by considering the soteriological and hermeneutical contexts, for example, the different capabilities of the students.³⁴⁰

Both of rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's tendencies, the production of extensive commentarial and exegetical works heavily drawing on the Indian tradition and the harmonization of the Buddhist teachings

³³⁸For the extended analysis of rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's interpretation of the Mahāmudrā doctrine, see Chapter 3: rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's Mahāmudrā Doctrine and Intellectual Agenda on p. 87 ff.; for the translation of rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's *Dus kyi pho nya*, see Chapter 5: Annotated Translation on p. 159 ff. For the critical edition, see Chapter 6: Critical Edition on p. 275 ff.

³³⁹As aforementioned, a systematic analysis of the doctrinal imprint Shākya-mchog-ldan left through rJe Shākya-rin-chen on the Bhutanese 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud school compared with its Tibetan branch is carried out by me in my research project; see p. 42.

³⁴⁰In general, there is a great variety of patterns in defending the Mahāmudrā doctrine using strategies of inclusivism, exclusivism and harmonism visible in the writings of the numerous scholars of the different traditions of rNying-ma, bKa'-brgyud, Sa-skya, and dGe-lugs. For Lambert Schmithausen's interpretation of Paul Hacker's inclusivism as a “method of intellectual debate” that either tries to include the opponent's position by ranking it below one's own or by reinterpreting it in such a way that it fits with one's own interpretation, see SCHMITHAUSEN 1981: 223; 230; see also RUEGG 1989: 9, n. 9. According to WANGCHUK 2004: 191, n. 77, an “inclusive” approach that subjugates the position of the opponent is to be differentiated from a “harmonistic” or “reconciliating” approach that accepts both positions as “equal” or “complementary.”

of the “Second and Third Turnings of the Wheel of Dharma” (*chos 'khor gnyis pa/gsum pa*), are considered typical for *ris med* scholars and their spiritual successors.³⁴¹ They are observed not only in rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's *Dus kyi pho nya*, but also, for example, in his Madhyamaka interpretation presented in his *lTa ba'i me long*. There, he additionally adopts technical terms that had been newly introduced in Tibetan philosophical debates by 'Ju Mi-pham.³⁴²

Furthermore, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen composed many of his works for the direct use in either religious-ceremonial or religious-educational contexts. As a result of this efforts, his commentaries and explanatory summaries of important Indian canonical works found their permanent place in the religious educational institutions in Bhutan and are nowadays used as ancillary texts in the curriculum for further clarification, elucidation, and memorization. Furthermore, his ritual manuals and liturgical arrangements are part of the regular religious practices performed in Bhutan.

Throughout his life, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen showed a strong pedagogical motivation to transfer his knowledge to his disciples in Bhutan. rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's endeavors were concentrated on the various religious communities of his own school, mainly in the traditional monastic setting at the bShad-grwas of rTa-mgo and Phajo-sdings, and the Gro-lung gSang-sngags-chos-ling Hermitage with a smaller group of close disciples, and other lay disciples and patrons. His works are often explicitly devoted to a specific group of religious practitioners as recipients.³⁴³ According to my knowledge, he did not teach Western disciples in the way several contemporary Tibetan masters, such as Dil-mgo-mkhyen-brtse, started to do after their exile into India or Bhutan after 1959.

Eventually, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's outstanding contributions, which he had accomplished over several decades of intensive writ-

³⁴¹For a translation and references to passages dealing with the “harmonization” of the teachings of the “Second and Third Turnings of the Wheel of Dharma” (*chos 'khor gnyis pa/gsum pa*) in the thinking of *ris med* scholars, such as bDud-'joms Rin-po-che and Dil-mgo mkhyen-brtse, see WANGCHUK 2004: 176–177, n. 16.

³⁴²For a critical edition, annotated tradition and textual analysis of the *lTa ba'i me long*, see SCHWERK 2012. See also n. 303 on p. 125.

³⁴³See for example rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen, *dGe slong sgom chen gnyis kyi 'bel gtam* (in *dGe 'dun bka' 'bum*, vol. 8, pp. 609–622).

ing, scholarship, and teaching, culminated in his appointment to the Chief Abbot in Bhutan.³⁴⁴ The authority and legitimacy rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen gained within the religious ranks in Bhutan through the appointment as Chief Abbot in Bhutan, and as such, as a hierarch of the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud school in Bhutan, enabled him to fully actualize his intellectual agenda and his impact on future generations after his passing. The importance of his person and contributions is also indicated by the fact that, after his passing, an incarnation lineage was created for him. The current incarnation, Ngag-dbang Yon-tan-rgya-mtsho (b. July 22, 1999), was officially recognized among three different claimants.³⁴⁵

Finally, besides rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's accomplishments as a teacher, scholar, and author, a strong longing for meditative practices and secluded retreats as well as his unconventional behavior were important character traits. After he had reached a certain point of prominence within Bhutan, they were sometimes difficult to balance with his official responsibilities toward the modern religious institutions in Bhutan, first, as head of the bShad-grwas of rTa-mgo and Pha-jo-sdings, and later, as Chief Abbot of Bhutan.

³⁴⁴On the role and function of the Chief Abbot of Bhutan (*'brug rje mkhan po*), see also p. 38 ff.

³⁴⁵Ngag-dbang Yon-tan-rgya-mtsho's father, Rinchen Khandu, provided me with a copy of the official recognition certificate from the dPal-ldan-'brug-gzhung sPrul-sku-ngos-'dzin-tshogs-chung, issued on July 22, 2015. However, I met another claimant of rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's incarnation, Thub-bstan Shes-rab-'od-zer, who resides at Shri Nā-landā Monastery, on November 9, 2014. In order to regulate the growing number of reincarnations of important past masters, the National Assembly established a permanent committee for the recognition of reincarnations during its eighty-third session in June, 2005. See "National Assembly of Bhutan finalises rules on recognition of trulkus and lamas," *Kuensel Online*, November 23, 2005 (retrieved from *The Buddhist Channel*), http://www.buddhistchannel.tv/index.php?id=40,1977,0,0,1,0#.V_I0yTL5w_M. Accessed: October 23, 2020. See also the documentary film "Born again Buddhists" (Singapore: Lian Pek, 2006). As it happens, rJe Shākya-rin-chen was the first Chief Abbot of Bhutan to have a *sprul sku* lineage, due to being such an outstanding person in the religious landscape of eighteenth-century Bhutan. His present incarnation is called Ngag-dbang bsTan-pa'i-nyin-byed (b. 1997).

Part II: Annotated Translation
and Critical Edition of rJe
dGe-'dun-rin-chen's *Dus kyi
pho nya* Comprising rJe
Shākya-rin-chen's *Grub pa'i
mdung rnon*

Chapter 4

Introduction to the Annotated Translation and Critical Edition

In this chapter, I introduce the different text versions, criteria, and conventions used for the production of the critical edition and the annotated translation of rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's *Dus kyi pho nya* comprising rJe Shākya-rin-chen's *Grub pa'i mdung rnon*.³⁴⁶ I also include a number of observations about the codicological and paleographical features of the manuscripts and block prints at hand.³⁴⁷ Finally, I briefly discuss the genre and titles of rJe Shākya-rin-chen's *Grub pa'i mdung rnon* and rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's *Dus kyi pho nya*.

4.1 Sources

I have identified three stages in the genesis of rJe Shākya-rin-chen's root verses, the *Grub pa'i mdung rnon*, and its commentaries: (1) initial oral discourses between Bhutanese and Tibetan masters about Mahāmudrā resulted in the text production of rJe Shākya-rin-chen's root verses, the *Grub pa'i mdung rnon*; (2) composition of three commentaries in the eighteenth century that partially or fully comprise rJe Shākya-rin-chen's root verses; and (3) composition of the latest commentary by rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen from the twentieth century fully comprising rJe Shākya-rin-chen's root verses.³⁴⁸

³⁴⁶See Chapter 6: Critical Edition on p. 275.

³⁴⁷I am indebted to Orna Almogi and Agnieszka Helman-Ważny for generously sharing their knowledge and long-standing practical expertise in working with Tibetan manuscripts and block prints. My observations are naturally more detailed for the manuscripts and block prints I was able to analyze in person at the National Library of Bhutan. For further detailed studies on Tibetan material book culture, see for example HELMAN-WAŻNY 2014; see also ALMOGI 2016, DIEMBERGER & EHRHARD & KORNICI 2016.

³⁴⁸For the genesis of these texts, see also Chapter 1.4: Genesis of rJe Shākya-rin-chen's *Grub pa'i mdung rnon* and Its Eighteenth-Century

As a result, the *sigla* for the text versions are divided into two main groups: (1) the group of the root verses of rJe Shākya-rin-chen's *Grub pa'i mdung rnon* (labeled B), and (2) the commentaries (labeled C).

As laid out earlier, rJe dGe'-dun-rin-chen refers in the colophon of his commentary, the *Dus kyi pho nya*,³⁴⁹ to rJe Shākya-rin-chen's root verses, the *Grub pa'i mdung rnon*, and the eighteenth-century commentary by rJe Yon-tan-mtha'-yas, the *'Og min zhal lung*. However, this important text by rJe Shākya-rin-chen is neither included in his *gSung 'bum* nor otherwise accessible outside of Bhutan. Therefore, I am especially indebted to Yeshe Lhendup from the National Library of Bhutan, Thim-phu, for helping me to locate and access two versions of the root verses by rJe Shākya-rin-chen and one additional version of rJe Yon-tan-mtha'-yas' commentary as well as two further commentaries from the eighteenth century by Kun-dga'-mi-gyur-rdo-rje and sPa-gro-chos-rje Pad-dkar-chos-kyi-rgya-mtsho. As a result, for the first time, it is possible to provide an *editio principis* of both texts: rJe dGe'-dun-rin-chen's *Dus kyi pho nya* comprising rJe Shākya-rin-chen's *Grub pa'i mdung rnon*.

In total, I consulted seven out of the eleven text versions that are described in detail below for the critical edition: three manuscripts, two block prints, and two lithographic prints.

4.2 Caption of Text Versions

- B_a *Phyag rgya chen po las brtsams pa'i dri tshig grub pa'i mdung rnon*, rJe-mkhan-po (9th) Shākya-rin-chen (1710–1759)
- B_b *Phyag rgya chen po las brtsams pa'i dri tshig grub pa'i mdung rnon*, rJe-mkhan-po (9th) Shākya-rin-chen
- C1_a *Nges don phyag rgya chen po la dris pa'i gsung lan 'og min ston pa'i zhal lung*, rJe-mkhan-po (13th) Yon-tan-mtha'-yas (1724–1784)
- C1_b *Nges don phyag rgya chen po la dris pa'i gsung lan 'og min ston pa'i zhal lung*, rJe-mkhan-po (13th) Yon-tan-mtha'-yas

Commentaries on p. 41.

³⁴⁹See rJe dGe'-dun-rin-chen, *Dus kyi pho nya* (pp. 497.6–500.3).

- C2_a *Phyag rgya chen po las brtsams pa'i dri tshig grub pa'i mdung bsnun la lan du gsol ba gsung rab kun las btus*, sPa-gro-chos-rje Pad-dkar-chos-kyi-rgya-mtsho (b. eighteenth century)
- (C3_a) *Nges don phyag rgya chen po'i skor las brtsams pa'i dri tshig grub pa'i mdung rnon gyi lan du gsol ba kun rmongs rang blo tshim byed ces bya ba grub dbang rin po ches mdzad pa*, Dre'u-lhas-sprul-sku (2nd) Grub-dbang Kun-dga'-mi-'gyur-rdo-rje (1721–1769)
- (C3_b) *Nges don phyag rgya chen po'i skor las brtsams pa'i dri tshig grub pa'i mdung rnon gyi lan du gsol ba kun rmongs rang blo tshim byed ces bya ba grub dbang rin po ches mdzad pa*, Dre'u-lhas-sprul-sku (2nd) Grub-dbang Kun-dga'-mi-'gyur-rdo-rje
- (C3_c) *Nges don phyag rgya chen po'i skor las brtsams pa'i dri tshig grub pa'i mdung rnon gyi lan du gsol ba kun rmongs rang blo tshim byed ces bya ba grub dbang rin po ches mdzad pa*, Dre'u-lhas-sprul-sku (2nd) Grub-dbang Kun-dga'-mi-'gyur-rdo-rje
- (C3_d) *Nges don phyag rgya chen po'i skor las brtsams pa'i dri tshig grub pa'i mdung rnon gyi lan du gsol ba kun rmongs rang blo tshim byed*, Dre'u-lhas-sprul-sku (2nd) Grub-dbang Kun-dga'-mi-'gyur-rdo-rje
- C4_a *Phyag rgya chen po las brtsams pa'i dri tshig grub pa'i mdung rnon zhes bya ba'i gsung lan dus kyi pho nya*, rJe-mkhan-po (69th) dGe-'dun-rin-chen (1926–1997)
- C4_b *Phyag rgya chen po las brtsams pa'i dri tshig grub pa'i mdung rnon zhes bya ba'i gsung lan dus kyi pho nya*, rJe-mkhan-po (69th) dGe-'dun-rin-chen

4.3 Sketch of the Text Versions

4.3.1 Root Verses (B)

This group contains the original composition of the root verses by rJe Shākya-rin-chen, bearing the complete title *Phyag rgya chen po las brtsams pa'i dri tshig grub pa'i mdung rnon*. The main work is composed in heptameter lines whereas the author's colophon is metric in enneameter lines. Two versions were located in the National Library of Bhutan:

B1_a: Manuscript on yellowish-brown Bhutanese handmade laid-lined paper, rather thick with few impurities consisting of evenly

glued layers evenly polished with a slightly glossy appearance, foliation at the left middle margins³⁵⁰ (height: 8.2 cm, width: 49.5–50 cm),³⁵¹ 10 fols., *dbu can*, n.p., n.d. [after 1754?].³⁵² Folios have six lines except for the first two folios (four lines each) and the last folio (one line). Rectangular frames around the text consist of two thin red lines likely written with cinnabar. Location: National Library and Archives of Bhutan, Thim-phu.

B1_b: Block print on grayish Bhutanese handmade laid-lined paper, rather thin paper with only few layers glued, foliation at the left middle margins with recent pagination (National Library and Archives of Bhutan) at the right middle margins (height: 9.2 cm,

³⁵⁰Laid-lines and to a lesser extent visible chain-lines are typically observed on Bhutanese paper and are caused by paper production with the “dipping technique” that uses a movable mould-cover or sieve with thin bamboo strips which are laced together by chain-stitching. Reed (and other materials) were also used for the mould-cover in earlier times. This paper is usually called *tshar sho* (“bamboo paper”) and this method seems to be unique to Bhutan; see IMAEDA 1989: 411–414. For a detailed introduction to the history and techniques of paper production, see the foundational work of HUNTER 1978. Especially, for the description of the two methods of “pouring” and “dipping,” which are prevalent in the Tibetan cultural area, see *ibid.*: 111–114; for Bhutanese paper production see IMAEDA 1989.

³⁵¹Yeshe Lhendup was kind enough to photograph the different manuscripts and block prints and provide their measurements. The photographs of text version B_a were taken by me and the photographs of text version B_b were provided by Yeshe Lhendup. Measurements of the folios vary due to slight differences in size from abrasion or cutting of the pages in slightly different sizes. Measurements were therefore taken of different pages at different points and the variations are documented here.

³⁵²The colophon does not provide any composition date for the *Grub pa'i mdung rnon*, but states that the work was written at Shrī Nā-landā Monastery near sPu-na-kha. Therefore, it can probably be assumed that the *Grub pa'i mdung rnon* was set down formally in writing not before 1754, because Shrī Nā-landā Monastery was consecrated only in 1754; see rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen, *lHo 'brug chos 'byung* (p. 329.3–4), see also *gNas bshad me long* (p. 22.10–12). However, topical outlines or notes of the root verses may have existed independently. Numerous additions by a proof editor are found in this manuscript that suggest he compared it against another version, possibly B1_b.

width: 48.5–49 cm), 12 fols., sPungs-thang-dpar-ma,³⁵³ n.d. [1776–1788].³⁵⁴ Folios have six lines except for the first two and last folios (five lines). In the center of the first folio we find a fine illustration of the author rJe Shākya-rin-chen with an inscription.³⁵⁵ Location: National Library and Archives of Bhutan, Thim-phu.³⁵⁶ Three copies of the same blocks are available in the National Library and Archives of Bhutan.

The British Library Endangered Archives “Manuscript Collection of Phajoding Khangzang Lhakhang Temple” (EAP570/7/2) and “The Manuscript Collection of Phajoding Ogmin Lhakhang

³⁵³The block print depicts the typical style of the sPungs-thang printery, which has a black block stripe at the left and right side of the printing area often with a small rectangle at the top of it, either on the left or right side.

³⁵⁴No date for the block print production is given in the print colophon but it has been commissioned by the Eighteenth 'Brug-sde-srid 'Jigs-med-seng-ge (1742–1789), who held his office from 1776 to 1788. The colophon also includes two verses with his intention for the block print production; see B1_b (fols. 12r6–12v5). 'Jigs-med-seng-ge was recognized as the Second Khri-sprul of the Fourth 'Brug-sde-srid bsTan-'dzin-rab-rgyas (1638–1698). For a brief overview of the Eighteenth 'Brug-sde-srid 'Jigs-med-seng-ge's life, see rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen, *lHo 'brug chos 'byung* (pp. 296.1–297.8). Note that the Western pagination by the National Library and Archives of Bhutan, Thim-phu, runs from page 455 to 472 and from page 449 to 453.

³⁵⁵Note that the inscription (*shākya'i ring lugs rin chen la || dri med legs pa'i blo gros 'bar ||*) is located outside the rectangular-shaped printing frame, which is more likely to be found in manuscripts. Nevertheless, it is also found in rare cases in block prints (as has been observed by Agnieszka Helman-Ważny, oral communication on February 1, 2017). One example is found in a copy of Āryaśūra's *Jātakamālā* from a Gong-dkar block print of 1542; see SERNESI 2016: 354. SERNESI 2016 has also drawn attention to the fact that illustrations as a material aspect and intellectual product of printed books have so far not been studied in depth and provides a case study about the illustrations of the Tibetan master artist mKhas-pa Dri-med, one of the first artists of the sMan-thang/sMan-ris tradition in the Western Tibetan kingdom of Mang-yul Gung-thang during the first half of the sixteenth century.

³⁵⁶My critical edition contains the compiler's colophon but not the print colophon of B1_b as the latter is not included in rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's commentary, the *Dus kyi pho nya*.

Monastery” (EAP570/6/3) have also been consulted with no further text versions of the *Grub pa'i mdung rnon* found.³⁵⁷

4.3.2 Group of Commentaries (C), Eighteenth Century

This group contains three different commentaries on the root verses of rJe Shākya-rin-chen's *Grub pa'i mdung rnon* by: (1) rJe Yon-tan-mtha'-yas, (2) sPa-gro-chos-rje Chos-kyi-rgya-mtsho, and (3) Kundga'-mi-'gyur-rdo-rje.

rJe Yon-tan-mtha'-yas' extensive prose commentary, the *Nges don phyag rgya chen po la dris pa'i gsung lan 'og min ston pa'i zhal lung*, records the original root verses of the *Grub pa'i mdung rnon*. According to the colophon, it was written in sPungs-thang bDe-ba-chen-po-pho-brang, but no date is provided.³⁵⁸ Two versions are available:

C1_a: Manuscript on yellowish-brown Bhutanese handmade laid-lined paper, rather thick with few impurities consisting of evenly glued layers with a glossy finish, foliation at the left middle margins with recent pagination (National Library and Archives of Bhutan) at the right upper margins (height: 9.6–9.7 cm, width: 52.8–53.1 cm), 51 fols., *dbu can*, n.p., n.d. [eighteenth century?]. Folios have six lines except for the first two folios (five lines each). Rectangular frames around the text consist of two thin red lines likely written with cinnabar. Location: National Library and Archives of Bhutan, Thim-phu.³⁵⁹

³⁵⁷For further information about the now completed digitization project EAP570 under Karma Phuntsho and access to texts held at Pha-jo-sdings and other monastery archives in Bhutan, see: <https://eap.bl.uk/project/EAP570>. Accessed June 17, 2020.

³⁵⁸rJe Yon-tan-mtha'-yas, *'Og min zhal lung* (fol. 41r5).

³⁵⁹The author's colophon is found as a margin note in *dbu med* script at the end of the work (fol. 51r): *'di rang nyid mtshan nyid skor la bltos bsam gyi skabs su bris pa'i da lta rtags tshes dgongs pa ji lta bar rang ma byung 'dug kyang blos gsar dag gyi dpyad gzhir bzhag na dgag sgrub kyi lung rigs blo gro spros pa'i spel ba'i rkyen du 'gyur | srid snyam ma stsol pa lags so ||*. This margin note is included in the block print C1_b. Two explanations are equally possible: (1) the manuscript was written prior to the block print and a scribe added the intentional statement later, and consequently, the carver included the margin note in the block print from

C1_b: Block print on yellowish-brown Bhutanese handmade laid-lined paper, numerous impurities in the paper, foliation at the left middle margins (height: 9.7 cm, width: 51–51.1 cm), 44 fols. sPungsthang-dpar-ma, n.d. [eighteenth century?]. Folios have six lines except for the last folio (four lines). Red colored edges of the block-print. In *gSung 'bum yon mtha'*, vol. 2, fols. 1r–44v, (separate pagination, *sa*). Location: National Library and Archives of Bhutan, Thim-phu; British Library, EAP570/6/3/1; BDRC: W2CZ7858. At least two copies of the same blocks are available in the National Library and Archives of Bhutan, Thim-phu.

The next prose commentary, Pad-dkar-chos-kyi-rgya-mtsho's *Phyag rgya chen po las brtsams pa'i dri tshig grub pa'i mdung bsnun la lan du gsol ba gsung rab kun las btus*, sporadically includes single lines of the root verses and summarized root verses in prose. Therefore, only a few verse lines are considered in the critical edition. In the manuscript, the single lines of the root verses and the summarized root verses in prose are written in red ink. Additionally, the commentarial part of the manuscript contains a considerable number of *dbu med* annotations in red ink. This commentary lists the seven chapters in the form of a topical outline (*sa bcad*) which possibly indicates that the seven-fold structure of rJe Shākya-rin-chen's root verses was widely known among these Buddhist scholars at that time. One version of the work is available in the National Library and Archives of Bhutan, Thim-phu:

C2_a: Manuscript on unidentified handmade paper, rather thin paper, foliation at the left middle margins (height: 8.9 cm, width:

the beginning; or (2) the manuscript was written after the block print and the author's statement of intent had been initially forgotten by the scribe and was later added. The co-production of Tibetan block prints and manuscripts even in the high times of xylograph printing during the eighteenth century has been addressed by HELMAN-WAŻNY 2014: 76–77, who has also pointed out the necessity for further research on the relation between them throughout Tibetan history. Due to the co-production of these two book formats and the complexity of estimating their value and relation, it is not possible to determine which was produced first.

50–50.2 cm),³⁶⁰ 65 fols., *dbu can*, n.p., n.d. [1759–1762?].³⁶¹ Folios have six lines except for the first two folios (five lines each) and the last folio (two lines). The manuscript clearly shows visible scribal text-base lines and the rectangular frames around the text consist of two thin red lines likely written with cinnabar. Location: National Library and Archives of Bhutan, Thim-phu.

The last prose commentary, Kun-dga'-mi-'gyur-rdo-rje's *Nges don phyag rgya chen po'i skor las brtsams pa'i dri tshig grub pa'i mdung rnon gyi lan du gsol ba kun rmongs rang blo tshim byed ces bya ba grub dbang rin po ches mdzad pa*, contains the root verses by rJe Shākya-rin-chen, though only summarized in prose. Therefore, it is not included in the critical edition. Four versions are available:

C3_a: Manuscript on grayish Bhutanese handmade laid-lined paper, numerous impurities in the paper, foliation at the left middle margins (height: 9.0 cm, width 49.3–49.6 cm), 24 fols., *dbu can*, [Dre'u-lhas], [1765]. Folios have seven lines except for the first two folios (five lines each). Rectangular frames around the text consist of two thin red lines likely written with cinnabar. Strikingly many contractions in the manuscript. Location: National Library and Archives of Bhutan, Thim-phu.

C3_b: Manuscript on unidentified yellowish paper, rather few impurities visible on the photographs, foliation at the left margins (no measurements available), 28 fols., *dbu med*, n.p., n.d. Folios have six lines except for the first folio (five lines) and the last folio (four lines). Rectangular frames around the text consist of two mostly thin red lines. In *rDzong sar dpe rnying*, vol. 168, pp. 283–348.

³⁶⁰The analysis of the folios does not show the laid-lines that are typically observed on Bhutanese paper. As also the “pouring technique,” is sometimes practiced in Bhutan, it is not possible to draw any conclusions as to the origin of this paper; see IMAEDA 1989: 411–414. However, the historical and doctrinal context would suggest that the manuscript was produced in Bhutan.

³⁶¹Pad-dkar-chos-kyi-rgya-mtsho composed the *gSung rab kun btus* only after the Tenth rJe-mkhan-po bsTan-'dzin-chos-rgyal (1701–1766) had given the order to collect the answers that had been given by the different masters to rJe Shākya-rin-chen's questions. Since rJe bsTan-'dzin-chos-rgyal had been in office from 1755 until 1762, the commentary most likely was put down in writing between the years 1759 (rJe Shākya-rin-chen's death) and 1762; see Pad-dkar-chos-kyi-rgya-mtsho, *gSung rab kun btus* (fol. 64r1–2).

Location: BDRC: W3PD988.

C3_c: Lithographic print of a manuscript of unmentioned origin (probably C3_a or C3_b) and undocumented editorial changes, foliation at the left middle margins with additional pagination at the right middle margins (no measurements available), 33 fols. Folios have six lines except for the first two folios (four lines each). In *'Brug lugs mdzod*, vol. 43, pp. 283–348. Location: BDRC: W23779.³⁶²

C3_d: Lithographic print of a manuscript of unmentioned origin (probably C3_a or C3_b) and undocumented editorial changes, foliation at the left middle margins with additional pagination at the right middle margins (no measurements available), 38 fols. Folios have six lines except for the first two folios (four lines) and the last folio (three lines).

4.3.3 Commentary (C), Twentieth Century

The latest commentary of the *Grub pa'i mdung rnon* by rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen, the *Phyag rgya chen po las brtsams pa'i dri tshig grub pa'i mdung rnon zhes bya ba'i gsung lan dus kyi pho nya* was composed in the second half of the twentieth century.³⁶³ It is entirely metric in heptameter lines and contains the original root verses of rJe Shākya-rin-chen. The latter's embedded colophon and rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's colophon are metric in enneameter lines. At first glance, C4_a and C4_b seemed to be two copies of the same lithographic edition with merely different print quality and pagination but indeed minor editorial variations occur and both versions have been accordingly recorded in the critical edition:

C4_a: Lithographic print of a manuscript, foliation at the left middle margins with recent pagination (National Library and Archives of Bhutan) at the right middle margins (height: 7.3 cm, width: 36.9 cm), 31 fols. Folios have six lines except for the first two folios

³⁶²This text includes editorial changes, which are neither explained nor marked.

³⁶³No composition date is provided in the colophon. Also, neither of rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's spiritual biographies, the *Dwangs shel me long*, *rNam thar do shal*, nor the *Zla ba'i 'dzum zer*, mention the composition date of the *Dus kyi pho nya* whereas other important works are dated. However, rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs, *Dwangs shel me long* (p. 44.1–6), dates the first composition of rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen to 1956.

(four lines each) and the last folio (three lines). In *dGe 'dun bka' 'bum*, vol. 6, pp. 439–500. Location: National Library and Archives of Bhutan, Thim-phu; Universität Hamburg, Asien-Afrika-Institut; BDRC: W10206.

C4_b: Lithographic print of a manuscript, foliation at the left middle margins with recent pagination (National Library and Archives of Bhutan) at the right middle margins (height: 7.3 cm, width: 36.7 cm), 31 fols. Folios have six lines except for the first two folios (four lines each) and the last folio (three lines). In *Zhabs drung dag snang ma'i skor dang chos sbyin thor bu'i skor*, pp. 373–434. Location: National Library and Archives of Bhutan, Thim-phu.

4.4 Conclusion

Without further data about the workshops, scribes, and a systematic study of the paper of these Bhutanese and Tibetan manuscripts and prints, it is not possible to draw definite conclusions about the connection between these texts as material objects and the text versions themselves. However, several codicological and paleographical features stand out:

The manuscripts of B1_a and C1_a appear similar. Common codicological features include a very similar type of laid-lined Bhutanese paper, thickness, quality and finish of paper, as well as a similar *mise en page*, including the frames around the text area and pagination. Paleographical similarities include the typeface as well as the shape and position of *shads* within the prose parts, which are positioned exactly in the middle between two sentences/units.³⁶⁴

Furthermore, rJe Shākya-rin-chen's *Grub pa'i mdung rmon* was composed at Shrī Nā-landā Monastery near sPu-na-kha but today all manuscripts and block prints have been transferred to Pha-josdings Monastery or the National Library and Archives of Bhutan, Thim-phu.³⁶⁵ This raises the question of how the production and

³⁶⁴In these versions from the eighteenth century, B1_a, B1_b, C1_a, C1_b, C2_a, C3_a, the *shads* within the prose parts are positioned in the middle between sentences, but in C3_a this convention is only partially used. C3_a bears additional similarities to B1_a and C1_a regarding the *mise en page* including the frames around the text area and pagination.

³⁶⁵Oral communication with the abbot of Shrī Nā-landā Monastery on November 8, 2014.

circulation of manuscripts and prints at the two monastic seats of rJe Shākya-rin-chen had been organized in general, and why this important work was not included into his *gSung 'bum*.

In sum, rJe Shākya-rin-chen's *Grub pa'i mdung rnon* and its commentaries provide important insights into trans-regional text production featured by prominent Tibetan and Buddhist masters, important characteristics of manuscript and block print production, and linguistic diversity in exegetical textual traditions in Bhutan and Tibet in the eighteenth century.

4.5 Technical Annotations

The critical edition and annotated translation report the pagination of C4_a. To enable the reader to refer back to the original text if desired, the pagination is documented by subscription and indication in square brackets throughout the critical edition and the annotated translation. The pagination of version B_a, C1_b, and C4_a is used throughout the thesis. C1_b is accessible as BDRC: W2CZ7858 and C4_a as BDRC: W10206 while B_a is documented in Appendix A: Facsimile Editions of the *Grub pa'i mdung rnon* (B_a & B_b).

Since C4_a and C4_b are nearly identical text witnesses for rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's *Dus kyi pho nya* and are written in dense and abbreviated verse, I frequently consulted rJe Yon-tan-mtha'-yas' prose commentary, the *'Og min zhal lung*, in both of its versions. In several cases this commentary served as the basis for conjectures and emendations that were accordingly documented.

Due to lack of a topical outline (*sa bcad*) in both the *Grub pa'i mdung rnon* and the *Dus kyi pho nya* I chose a syntactical unit measuring at least three lines as criteria for separating and numbering verses. Syntactical units that only measure two lines were added to the previous or subsequent verse for aesthetic or topical reasons, if possible. I have tried to keep the common traditional Tibetan structure of four-line stanzas and provided my translation in didactic verses in prose. Priority was given to an understandable and close rendering of the immensely condensed argumentations from numerous scholars throughout the longstanding and very complex Mahāmudrā debate—all documented in rJe Shākya-rin-chen's root verses and rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's commentary.

Furthermore, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's elliptic commentary is

unconventional for most of the Tibetan commentarial literature is written in verse. On the contrary, the practical purpose of this work in verse form is that it can be easily memorized by a disciple wanting to learn the key points of the correct Mahāmudrā interpretation. As a result, my English translation unfortunately does not pay due respect to the erudition, clarity, and wit of rJe Shākya-rin-chen's and rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's original compositions in Tibetan.

Considering the trans-regional genesis of rJe Shākya-rin-chen's root verses, the *Grub pa'i mdung rnon*, and the different commentaries that most likely originated from some notes taken during or after the discourses, which were initially oral, the root verses have been transmitted remarkably faithfully which suggests that the text was widely circulated and valued. Contractions, deviations, or errors in grammar and spelling by scribes and carvers, as well as different grammatical and spelling conventions due to local dialects account for the majority of variations in rJe Shākya-rin-chen's root verses.

For the sake of clarity, annotations related to technical terms and their respective Tibetan and Sanskrit terminologies have been exclusively provided in footnotes and not within the body of the translation.

The identified canonical quotations are documented as follows: (1) Tibetan text passages from the *bKa' 'gyur* are provided in two versions, from the Peking edition of the *bKa' 'gyur* (P) and the *sTog bka' 'gyur* (T); and (2) Tibetan text passages from the *bsTan' gyur* are provided in two versions, from the Peking edition of the *bsTan' gyur* (P) and the *sDe dge bstan' gyur* (D). The original block prints have been consulted in all cases.

4.6 Abbreviations in the Critical Apparatus

conj.: *coniecit*, conjectured

emend.: *emendavit*, emended

marg.: *margen*, written in the margin

m.c.: *metri causa*, for the sake of metre

om.: *omisit*, has left out

4.7 Genre and Titles

As aforementioned, in general, determining genre designations for Tibetan works is complex since works often belong to at least two

categories—as is the case with the *Grub pa'i mdung rnon* and its commentaries. With this in mind, the *Grub pa'i mdung rnon* and its commentaries are considered to be works somewhat polemic in nature due to their being responses to the disputed questions about the Mahāmudrā doctrine (*dgag lan*, honorific: *gsung lan*). In addition, they belong to the question-and-answer genre (*dris lan*, honorific: *zhus lan*).³⁶⁶ Additionally, a number of works with polemic, or in our case at least confutative, character have been authored in the form of questions and answers; in most cases as one master's response to another master's (real or fictional) questions.³⁶⁷

Compared to the heyday of Mahāmudrā controversies between the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries, with the zenith of these occurring in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the polemic style of these works is rather mild and characterized by a general respect for the opponents' positions—nevertheless directly outspoken. Moreover, in our case, the particularly fascinating genesis of these works in the eighteenth century demonstrates how initial oral discourses between Bhutanese and Tibetan masters resulted in vivid commentarial activity which traveled through time and space.

Regarding the ornamental and alternative titles of the *Grub pa'i mdung rnon* and the *Dus kyi pho nya*, here I will merely men-

³⁶⁶For an overview of the polemic literary genre in Tibet, see CABEZÓN & DARGAY 2007: 11–33; see also LOPEZ 1996 and VIEHBECK 2014: 40–50. For an impressive example of polemic exchanges, see 'Ju Mi-pham's commentary on the ninth chapter of Śāntideva's, *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, the *Shes rab kyi le'u'i tshig don go sla bar rnam par bshad pa nor bu ke ta ka*, which initiated an almost thirty-year-long polemic exchange with different dGe-lugs scholars, mainly dPa'-ris Blo-bzang-rab-gsal (1840–1912, BDRC: P254). These polemic exchanges have been studied in detail in VIEHBECK 2014. On the *dris lan* genre and the specific case of a two-way communication between master and disciples as found in the *Grub pa'i mdung rnon* and its commentaries, see also RHEINGANS 2014: 75–76, n. 23–24.

³⁶⁷Jim Rheingans has also observed that numerous works with explanatory character about the Mahāmudrā doctrine were written in the form of questions from disciples together with answers from masters. For a brief overview of different important Mahāmudrā works that were written in the form of questions and answers, see for example RHEINGANS 2017: 54–56. An extensive and prominent example of a polemic work in the form of one hundred and eight questions and answers is Shākya-mchog-ldan's *Legs bshad thur ma*.

tion a few observations.³⁶⁸ rJe Shākya-rin-chen chose the ornamental title *Grub pa'i mdung rnon* for his root verses. Tibetan polemic works of the *dgag lan* genre often include the names of weapons in their ornamental title.³⁶⁹ So far, I have only observed the use of “spear” (*mdung*) in the ornamental title in one non-polemic work that has been widely received in the bKa'-brgyud tradition, rGod-tshang-pa's *mDung skor brgyad* (*Eight Flashing Spears*). It is a song of spiritual experience (*nyams mgur*) dealing with Mahāmudrā instructions of pointing out the nature of the mind (*sems kyi ngo 'phrod*).³⁷⁰

Considering the content and context of the *Grub pa'i mdung rnon*, rJe Shākya-rin-chen most likely chose “pointed spear of a Siddha” in the ornamental title to urge the contemporary masters and disciples to eliminate their wrong understanding and interpretation of the Mahāmudrā doctrine, which he had perceived within his own school and on his wide travels through Bhutan and Tibet. As the Eighteenth 'Brug-sde-srid 'Jigs-med-seng-ge (1742–1789), who commissioned a block print of the *Grub pa'i mdung rnon*, stated in his intention for the print in the colophon, rJe Shākya-rin-chen “had cast the pointed spear of a Siddha in order to refute the bad traditions

³⁶⁸In general, the criteria employed by Tibetan authors to designate titles to their works have been studied in detail in ALMOGI 2005. Orna Almogi has pointed out the multitude of potential criteria for designating titles, found in Indian, traditional Tibetan, and modern Tibetan sources. For a detailed analysis of titles of Tibetan works and her differentiation of “ornamental” and “descriptive” parts of titles, see ALMOGI 2005. In general, Orna Almogi proposes to analyze a title by its descriptive and ornamental parts as well as by its possible alternative titles.

³⁶⁹See for example *mtshon cha'i 'khor lo*. Note that the *Phyag rgya chen po las brtsams pa'i dri tshig grub pa'i mdung bsnun la lan du gsol ba gsung rab kun las btus* by sPa-gro-chos-rje Pad-dkar-chos-kyi-rgya-mtsho reads *mdung bsnun* in the title. The perfect of *snun pa* is usually used as a verb in the sense of *mdung gis snun*, “pierced by a spear”—literally or symbolically.

³⁷⁰See rGod-tshang-pa, *mDung skor brgyad* (pp. 423.5–428.2). An English translation of the work along with mKhan-po Tshul-khrims-rgya-mtsho's (b. 1934) aural commentary by Jim Scott is available under <http://www.rinpoche.com/teachings/lances.pdf>. Accessed: November 15, 2020.

of fools.”³⁷¹

In addition, rJe Shākya-rin-chen refers to his own work as a “*ketaka* gem of inquiries” (*drungs byed dri tshig ke ta ka*), as does rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen. It is therefore possible that the *Grub pa'i mdung rnon* was also known and referred to under this (and other) alternative titles as common in the Tibetan and Bhutanese traditions.³⁷²

rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's commentary then bears the ornamental title *Dus kyi pho nya*. Although Mahāmudrā had been formerly explained in rJe Shākya-rin-chen's and rJe Yon-tan-mtha'-yas' works, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen states that the “teachings have been contaminated by the dust of wrong practices,”³⁷³ and that his “timely messenger” is intended to recall the correct understanding of Mahāmudrā.³⁷⁴ The ornamental title does not specifically refer either to Yamāntaka, the “messenger of death,” his female retinue (*kāladutī/kāladuta*), or the poetic designation of the fifty-second year of the *rab byung* cycle, the male earth-horse year (*sa rta'i lo*), also referred to as *dus kyi pho nya*.³⁷⁵

Additionally, in the colophon of the *Dus kyi pho nya*, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen refers to his work as the *dPyid kyi pho nya*, a “cuckoo” or a “messenger of spring,” which again emphasizes the aspect of a

³⁷¹rJe Shākya-rin-chen, *Grub pa'i mdung rnon* (B1_b, fols. 12r6–12v5). Note that there are two possible ways to translate *grub pa'i mdung rnon*: (1) “pointed spear of a Siddha,” or (2) “pointed spear of *siddhi*.” I chose to translate the compound as “pointed spear of a Siddha.”

³⁷²rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen, *Dus kyi pho nya* (verse || 0.III ||): translation on p. 160, critical edition on p. 275; see also *ibid.* (pp. 499.2–500.3), verse || 8.VI ||): translation on p. 273, critical edition on p. 322.

³⁷³*Ibid.*

³⁷⁴The compound *dus kyi pho nya* can be interpreted either as an attributive genitive, “timely messenger,” or a descriptive genitive, “messenger of time,” without significant difference in meaning. I chose to translate it as “timely messenger.”

³⁷⁵Cf. *Tshig mdzod chen mo* (vol. 2, p. 1268); see also SCHUH 2010. Therefore, numerous works with *dus kyi pho nya* as an ornamental or descriptive title tend to be either calendar works on the earth-horse year or treatises on offering rituals. For a broader notion of *dus kyi pho nya* as “something that is due in time,” we find, for example, a literary magazine that is titled *Dus kyi pho nya* and published in Lanzhou (PRC). Its founding editor is a certain Sangs-rgyas-rgya-mtsho.

A Timely Message from the Cave

timely and urgently needed message about the correct understanding of Mahāmudrā.³⁷⁶ The cuckoo also is a motif that repeatedly appears in rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's biographical account, the *Dwangs shel me long*.³⁷⁷

³⁷⁶rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen, *Dus kyi pho nya* (verse || 8.VI ||): translation on p. 273; critical edition on p. 322.

³⁷⁷See for example rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs, *Dwangs shel me long* (pp. 76.5–8).

Chapter 5

Annotated Translation

[Here lies:] [439] The Timely Messenger: A Response to Questions Concerning the [Doctrine of] Mahāmudrā Titled the “Pointed Spear of a Siddha.”³⁷⁸

|| 0.I || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen’s Introductory Verses:]
Homage to the assembly of bKa’-brgyud masters,³⁷⁹
Who cause the realm [of] impure beings to realize the
sublime reality
Having instantaneously taught the path of [that which
brings about] maturation [and that which causes] libera-
tion³⁸⁰
Through the power of transferring [440] [their] blessings.³⁸¹

³⁷⁸For the ornamental titles of the root verses and commentary, the *Grub pa’i mdung rnon* and the *Dus kyi pho nya* respectively, see p. 155 ff.

³⁷⁹Padma-dkar-po consequently used the spelling *dkar brgyud* for the different bKa’-brgyud schools, see for example his *Pad dkar chos ’byung*, which alludes to the white-cotton-clad lineage holders of the bKa’-brgyud school, who exercised a strong Yogic tradition, such as Mi-la-ras-pa (1052–1135), Ras-chung-pa, and so forth. The designation *bka’ brgyud* commonly designates the “oral lineage of transmission.” This is the only verse where the common spelling of *bka’ brgyud* is used by rJe dGe’dun-rin-chen in his *Dus kyi pho nya* (C4_aC4_b), but in all other cases he prefers *dkar brgyud*. rJe Yon-tan-mtha’-yas also prefers the spelling *dkar brgyud* in both versions of his *’Og min zhal lung* (C1_aC1_b), whereas rJe Shākya-rin-chen consistently prefers *dkar rgyud* in both versions of his *Grub pa’i mdung rnon* (B_aB_b). This topic is discussed, for example, in ’Jam-dbyangs mKhyen-brtse’i-dbang-po, *Zin bris sna tshogs* (pp. 549.5–550.4); see also PHUNTSHO 2013: 138; for the Third Thu’u-bkwan Blo-bzang Chos-kyi-nyi-ma’s (1737–1802) position, see SMITH 2001: 40.

³⁸⁰Two characteristics of the Mantrayāna path are the maturative four initiations (*smin byed kyi dbang bzhi*) and the practical instructions, which cause liberation (*grol byed kyi khrid*). See also n. 530 on p. 238.

³⁸¹“Blessing” has become a standard translation for *byin rlabs* (*ad-*

A Timely Message from the Cave

- || 0.II || [rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's Introductory Verses:]
Homage to him, [rJe Shākya-rin-chen,] who possesses an
immaculate and excellent mind [and]
Who has reached the stage of accomplishment, by having
[gained] insight into the reality of all knowable objects
Through the singular [method] of the secret [and] defini-
tive Mahāmudrā [teachings],
[Which is characterized by] the [complete] cognition of
the fundamental nature [of all phenomena].
- || 0.III || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen's Statement of Intent:]
I offer this *ketaka* gem of inquiries,³⁸²
Having seen that Mahāmudrā, the secret path traversed
by all those [Noble Ones]—
The ambrosial liquid, which is not contaminated by the
venomous water of dogmatic conceptualization—

hiṣṭhāna) and is therefore used here. The alternative translation “ben-
eficial power” somewhat draws attention to the fact that *byin* basically
also has a neutral connotation of a kind of “force,” “power” or “influence”
that changes its recipient. It is not by nature positive, as the render-
ing of “blessing” (with a strong connotation to Abrahamic religions) at
first hand implies; for example, a person can be possessed by a demon
(*bdud kyi byin gyi rlabs*). However, in the Buddhist context *byin rlabs*
obviously has a positive connotation.

³⁸²In the Tibetan context, the *nor bu ke ta ka* usually symbolizes a pre-
cious gem or mineral associated with water-purifying qualities. It has
frequently been employed by Tibetan authors as part of ornamental tit-
les, such as the well-known *Shes rab kyi le'u'i tshig don go sla bar rnam*
par bshad pa nor bu ke ta ka by 'Ju Mi-pham or the *Sum rtags kyi*
rnam bshad nor bu ke ta ka'i do shal du 'bod pa'i dgag lan tshangs pa'i
thig gi spun zla by dNgul-chu Dharmabhadra Chos-kyi-bzang-po (1772–
1851). In this context, the *drungs byed dri tshig ke ta ka* shall purify the
Mahāmudrā doctrine from the “dust of ignorance” (*rmongs pa'i rdul*). In
particular, the *ketaka/kekeru* (*Pandanus odoratissimusa*) often occurs in
Sanskrit *kāvya* literature. The *ketaka/kekeru* plant naturally lives in arid
desert areas, possesses blossoms with golden spikes, and is called “dust
flower.” Additionally, there is mention of a nut with the name *kataka*
or *ambuprasāda* (*Strychnos potatorum*), which is attested in various writ-
ings in the Sanskrit literature, such as the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The seeds of this
nut, also called “clearing nut-plant,” are commonly used in water jars to
clean water from earth particles; see PANDANUS 1998–2009.

Is [441] nowadays polluted by the dust of ignorance.³⁸³

5.1 First Chapter: A Response to Questions about the Authoritative Sources of Mahāmudrā

- || 1.1 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
 First of all, ask: Which of the two, Sūtric or Tantric [scrip-
 tures],
 Are the [textual] sources of Mahāmudrā?³⁸⁴
- || 1.2 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
 The [textual] sources of Mahāmudrā are both
 Sūtric and Tantric scriptures.
 All Paṇḍitas agree in [their] interpretation
 With regard to this way [of thinking]:
 Both, the final subject matter of the Sūtric [tradition],
 The Prajñāpāramitā[yāna], and
 The ultimate content of the Tantric [tradition],
 Mahāmudrā, [which is characterized as]
 The [doctrine of] luminosity,³⁸⁵

³⁸³In general, rJe Shākya-rin-chen belongs to the group of Buddhist masters who tend to promote more practice-orientated approaches that emphasize meditation, such as of rDzogs-chen and Mahāmudrā. These masters were sometimes skeptical about a possible overweight of any kind of sophistry, which could lead in the worst case to pure speculations without any basis. Klong-chen-pa Dri-med-'od-zer (1308–1364, hereafter Klong-chen-pa) provides, for example, a differentiation between two kinds of dialecticians (*rtog ge ba*) in his *Shing rta chen po* (p. 507.12–15): (1) dogmatists who lack direct insight into the true reality (*sa mtshams kyi rtog ge ba*), and (2) dogmatists who do not follow the correct tenet, which would be Madhyamaka (*grub mtha'i rtog ge ba*).

³⁸⁴The word *khungs* means the three kinds of Buddhist canonical scriptures: Tantra, Sūtra and Śāstra.

³⁸⁵For the study of *'od gsal* in Nāropa's Mahāmudrā tradition and teachings and the respective implementation of the "doctrine of luminosity" into Mahāmudrā exegesis and hermeneutics by later Tibetan scholars of the bKa'-brgyud traditions, see Casey Kemp's research; for example KEMP 2015. See also verse || 1.21 || on p. 170. See also 'Ju Mi-pham, who employs in the seventh question of his *Nges shes gron me* the terminology of *'od gsal rdzogs pa chen po* for the paramount doctrine of his school, see 'Ju Mi-pham, *Nges shes gron me* (pp. 119.6–120.1): *spros*

Are consummated in one [single] meaning.

- || 1.3 || As [442] 'Jam-mgon Sa-[skya] Paṇ[ḍita] has taught,
 “If there exists a view that surpasses
 The view of [manifoldlessness in] the Pāramitāyāna [system],
 That view would [turn out to] be endowed with manifoldness.”³⁸⁶
 Both Sūtric and Tantric [systems]
 Are postulated as having no difference in their content
 Although [there] exists an immense difference in the methods,
 Such as the logical reasoning of the Pāramitāyāna [system] and
 The self-consecration³⁸⁷ of the practitioner [in] the Mantra-

bral dbu ma chen po dang || 'od gsal rdzogs pa chen po gnyis || don gcig ming gi rnam grangs te || de las lhag pa'i lta ba med || gang phyir snang stong res 'jog tu || 'dzin med mtha' bzhi'i spros pa dang || bral phyir de las gzhan 'gyur na || spros dang bcas pa nyid phyir ro ||; in PETTIT 1999: 237 (engl.).

³⁸⁶rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen quotes Sa-skya Paṇḍita, *sDom gsum rab dbye* 3.255a–c: *pha rol phyin pa'i spros bral las || lhag pa'i lta ba yod na ni || lta de spros pa can du 'gyur ||*, omitting 3.255d: *spros bral yin na khyad par med ||*; in RHOTON 2002: 129 (engl.); 308 (tib.), throughout the translation the verse numbers follow RHOTON 2002. See also 'Ju Mi-pham, *Nges shes sgron me* (p. 93.4–5): *phyag chen lam 'bras zhi byed dang || zung 'jug dbu ma chen po sogs || mtshan gyi rnam grangs so sor grags || don la sems las 'das pa yi || ye shes yin phyir kun kyang mnyam ||*; see PETTIT 1999: 213 (engl.). A detailed discussion of the term *spros bral* (Skt. *niṣprapañca*) regarding its subjective (*sems can spros pa*) and objective aspects (*yul can spros pa*) can be found in SCHMITHAUSEN 1977: 137–142, n. 101.

³⁸⁷Nāgārjuna defines in his *Pañcakrama* the five stages within the perfection stage of the Mantrayāna: (1) the vajra-recitation stage (*vajrajāpakrama*), (2) the universally pure stage (*sarvaśuddhivīśuddhikrama*), (3) the stage of self-empowerment (*svādhiṣṭhānakrama*), (4) the stage of enlightenment known as supreme secret bliss (*paramarahasyasukhābhisambodhikrama*), and (5) the stage of indivisible unity (*yuganaddhakrama*). Some authors omit the second stage, because they assume that the corresponding chapter was not composed by Nāgārjuna, and add another first introductory stage, the (*piṇḍikrama*); see WEDEMEYER 2007: 50. For self-consecration as the distinguishing feature of the Mantrayāna in

yāna, [that is:]
 Due to [their] distinction in establishing through
 The type of negative determination or [the type of] positive
 affirmation [respectively].³⁸⁸

|| 1.4 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
 In the first case, [that the Sūtric scriptures are the source
 of Mahāmudrā]:
 Does there exist any designation of *mahāmudrā*
 Which has been taught in the Sūtras?³⁸⁹

Shākya-mchog-ldan’s thinking, see also HIGGINS & DRASZCZYK 2016:
 vol. 1, 118–119.

³⁸⁸Padma-dkar-po attributes the two oppositional poles of negative deter-
 mination (*rnam bcaḍ dgag pa*) and positive affirmation (*yongs gcod sgrub
 pa*) or in a broader sense, negative orientation (*dgag phyogs*) and positive
 orientation (*sgrub phyogs*), with Sūtric and Tantric Mahāyāna respec-
 tively, by quoting Kun-dga’-dpal’-byor and alluding to rGod-tshang-pa
 for this line of thought; see Padma-dkar-po, *Phyag chen gan mdzod* (p.
 70.2–4): *ji ltar sgro ’dogs khyer yang | mtshan nyid kyi theg pa thams
 cad du dgag phyogs gtso bor bton pa dang || rdo rje theg par sgrub phyogs
 gtso bor bton pas | rgyal dbang rjes | mdo sngags kyi khyad par la rnam
 bcaḍ dgag pa’i rnam pa dang || yongs gcod sgrub pa’i rnam pas khyad
 par byas tshul gsungs ||*; for the identification of the quote, see HIGGINS
 & DRASZCZYK 2016: vol. 1, 426. See also n. 519 on p. 232. For a
 detailed overview of rGod-tshang-pa’s life, see ROERICH 1949: 680–688.
 For the attribution of this philosophical position to rGod-tshang-pa in
 Mi-bskyod-rdo-rje’s *dBu ma la ’jug pa’i kār tī ka*, see MATHES 2020: 274–
 276. I was not able to identify the textual source in which rGod-tshang-
 pa puts forth this position, except for ROERICH 1949. Cf. also MATHES
 2020: 274–275, n. 17. In general, the balance or reconciliation of two
 opposite poles, which have been described by Louis de La Vallée Poussin
 as “rationalist” versus “mystic,” by Lambert Schmithausen as “positive-
 mystical” versus “negative-intellectualist,” and by David Seyfort Ruegg
 as “cataphatic” versus “apophetic,” had widely become a common pat-
 tern within the exegesis and hermeneutics of Tibetan scholars. For the
 sources of this western-philosophical evaluation of Buddhist thought and
 the analysis of the *tathāgatagarbha* theory in respect to the two opposed
 poles, see WANGCHUK 2004: 191–203. rJe dGe’-dun-rin-chen’s identifi-
 cation of the two types of negation with Sūtric and Tantric Mahāyāna
 respectively, similarly permeates ’Ju Mi-pham’s *Nges shes gron me*.

³⁸⁹Both, rJe Shākya-rin-chen and rJe dGe’-dun-rin-chen, frequently use
 the ablative particle *las* functioning as the locative particle *la*.

- If [a designation] exists, in which Sūtric [scriptures] has it been taught?
- || 1.5 || If [the designation of *mahāmudrā*] does not exist, since [it] has not been explained in the Sūtric [scriptures],
As a result, reliance on those [scriptures as] authoritative sources [for it]
[Would] be similar to a thief providing additional [testimony to] a lie.
- || 1.6 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
Since [the designation of *mahāmudrā*] has not been explained in the Sūtras,
It is denied, “[the designation of *mahāmudrā*] exists,”
By whom [then] could [such a statement, that the designation of *mahāmudrā* exists] be trusted?
This being the case, the *Samādhirājasūtra* is maintained [to be] the authoritative source of this.³⁹⁰
- || 1.7 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
In previous times, the *Samādhirājasūtra* itself
Was bestowed to the Bodhisattva Candraprabhakumāra
At Vulture’s Peak
After [it] had been requested from the Buddha.
Later, this [443] Sūtra collection was also prophesied
To have been expanded [further].³⁹¹
- || 1.8 || If [one dares] to maintain
That the authoritative source of this quintessential instruction
Can be [found] in the *Samādhirājasūtra*,
Since the prophesy is infallible [and]

³⁹⁰For an introduction to the *Samādhirājasūtra* and its relation to Mahāmudrā exegetical traditions, such as “Sūtric Mahāmudrā” as well as for a partial critical edition (Skt./Tib.) and English translation, see THOMAS 2020.

³⁹¹The Bodhisattva Candraprabhakumāra is rendered in Tibetan as Zla-'od-gzhon-nu; this Bodhisattva is not only addressed in the *Samādhirājasūtra*, but also in the *Raśmisamantamuktanirdeśasūtra*. The male name Candraprabha gets easily confused with the common Indian female name Candrapabhā; see also CÜPPERS 1990: 23.

The incarnation of Candraprabhakumāra,
 Chos-rgyal Dwags-po-lha-rje [sGam-po-pa bSod-nams-rin-
 chen],³⁹²
 Emphasized and expanded Mahāmudrā,
 [Which is] the path [causing] liberation,
 [Then,] apart from the term “seal,”
 Which is the intrinsic emptiness of all phenomena,
 The “king of *samādhis*,” that adorns
 The nature of all phenomena, [and is]
 The supreme [doctrinal] content of the *Samādhirājasūtra*
 [scripture],
 The designation of “great” is not taught.

|| 1.9 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
 If the designation of “seal” has been taught,
 Then also [the designation] of “great”
 [Would be] understood by implication;
 This is because [the Tantric] Nāgārjuna has taught
 In [his] *Caturmudrā[nvaya]* in the following way,
 “It is a seal and [it is] also great; therefore, it is the great
 seal,”
 Thus, “seal” and “great” have a shared basis.³⁹³

³⁹²For the well-known idea that sGam-po-pa is the incarnation of the Bodhisattva Candraprabhakumāra, see ROERICH 1949: 451–453. For a summary of sGam-po-pa’s life, see *ibid.*: 451–462; for an extensive presentation, see also STEWART 2004. Note that except for rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen (C4_aC4_b) the other authors (B_aB_bC1_aC1_bC2_a) use the spelling *dags po* instead of *dwags po*.

³⁹³rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen uses the common grammatical argument of a *samānādhikaraṇaḥ karma-dhārayaḥ* compound where the same substratum of the two parts of the compound in apposition is deducted. rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen quotes Nāgārjuna, *Caturmudrānvaya* (P, fol. 83v7; D, fol. 78v5): *om phyag rgya chen po zhes bya ba ni phyag rgya yang yin la | chen po yang yin pas phyag rgya chen po ste |*. The authorship of this work was widely discussed, Dwags-po Paṅ-chen bKra-shis-rnam-rgyal considers Maitreyaṅātha the author of the *Caturmudrānvaya*, whereas, for example, the colophon of the Tibetan translation and Busto Rin-chen-grub (1290–1364) attribute it to Nāgārjuna; see MATHES 2015a: 12–13. For further references, see also JACKSON, D. 1994: 163, n. 337. The quote was used by several Tibetan authors as evidence of an occurrence of the designation *mahāmudrā* in Sūtric scriptural sources;

- || 1.10 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
Were [one] to assume [its] existence, [444] taking as quint-
essential the practices of the sequential path [of Mahāmu-
drā]
[That] have been taught in the Sūtric [system],
It would absurdly follow that all those leaders [namely]—
Vajradhara,
The two who see the supreme, [Nāgārjuna and Asaṅga],
and
Mar-[pa] and Mi-[la-ras-pa]— who are the sources that sup-
port the
Lineage [of Tantric Mahāmudrā], would be redundant.³⁹⁴
- || 1.11 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
Although it is indeed the case that the unequaled sGam-
po-pa,
In conformity with the cognitive aptitude of trainees, has
illustrated
The sequential path [of Mahāmudrā as two] modes of guid-
ing
Through both Sūtric and Tantric [methods],
There is no contradiction in upholding [the sources] of the
Tantric lineage

see for example Padma-dkar-po, *Phyag chen gan mdzod* (p. 77.3). The *Caturmudrānvaya* has been critically edited, translated, and analyzed by Klaus-Dieter Mathes; see MATHES 2015a: 119–131 (engl.); 398–402 (skt./tib.). Maitreyaṅgātha was known under several epithets, such as Maitreyaṅgātha, Maitrīpāda, Maitrīpa/-ā, Maitripa, and Avadhūtipa/-ā, Advayaṅgātha, Avadhūtapāda, Dāmodara, Martabodha, and Maitrīgupta. ISAACSON & SFERRA 2014: 60, n. 2, have pointed out that the name Maitreyaṅgātha is attested as having been used by his direct disciple Rāmapāla for his master. The Tibetan tradition commonly names him Maitrīpa/-ā, Maitripa or Avadhūtipa/-ā. ISAACSON & SFERRA 2014, have also suggested to date him around the first half or middle of the eleventh century, but a concrete date might be difficult because of the much later Tibetan sources. For an overview of the different biographical and hagiographical Indian and Tibetan sources, important biographical/hagiographical data, and a discussion of his works; see *ibid.*: 60–82.

³⁹⁴ rJe Shākya-rin-chen points out the possible redundancy of the Tantric lineage holders, if one relies on the Tantric path of Mahāmudrā but takes the sources of the Sūtric sequential path of Mahāmudrā as quintessential.

Of the two who see [the supreme, Nāgārjuna and Asaṅga],
and so on,
Without upholding the sources of the Sūtric lineage.³⁹⁵

|| 1.12 || Ultimate Mahāmudrā³⁹⁶ is obtained through the power
Of the Guru, it is obvious that, [in general], the transmis-
sion
Of the [quintessential] doctrinal content has been empha-
sized.³⁹⁷

³⁹⁵ rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's argument, that there exists no contradiction, becomes clearer if we look at an example, which is provided in rJe Yon-tan-mtha'-yas' commentary; see rJe Yon-tan-mtha'-yas, *'Og min zhal lung* (fol. 5v5–6): *pha rgyud dang ma rgyud gnyis ka nas gsungs pa'i nges don zhiḡ ma rgyud kyi man ngag la brten nas nyams su len pa de'i tshe | pha rgyud kyi brgyud khungs ded mi dgos par ma rgyud kyi brgyud khungs ded pas chog pa bzhin no |*.

³⁹⁶ “Ultimate Mahāmudrā” refers in this context not to the path of Mahāmudrā, but the basis (*gzhi*) and result (*'bras bu*) of the Mahāmudrā practice in an either ontological or gnoseological sense, labeled with terms such as *chos kyi dbyings mtshan ma med pa* or *ye shes*. See also Rong-zom Chos-kyi-bzang-po (b. 11th century, hereafter Rong-zom-pa), who differentiates between three meanings for the term *mahāmudrā* in his *dKon cog 'grel*; for the English translation, see ALMOGI 2009: 100, n. 198: “In general, there are three ways of employing the term *mahāmudrā*, namely, (1) the word ‘great’ [can] be employed for all *mūdras* when the qualities of the various *mūdras* are being expressed, (2) the term *mahāmudrā* [can] be employed for the sign pertaining to a complete Body when the terms [relating to] the signs of Body, Speech, and Mind co-occur, and (3) in some cases the term *mahāmudrā* is employed for the sign-less *dharma-kāya*. One should thus apply [this term] appropriately in accordance with the context.”

³⁹⁷ According to rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen, the emphasis in his tradition obviously lies in the successful transference of the quintessential content of Mahāmudrā (*snying po'i don brgyud*) to the student through a qualified principal Guru and would not require practice of the Sūtric sequential path. Interestingly, the rNying-ma scholar Kaḡ-thog-Rig-'dzin Tshedbang-nor-bu (1698–1755) associates the concept of *snying po'i don brgyud* with the third tradition of meditative practice (*nyams len bsgom pa*) in his threefold classification of Chinese Buddhist traditions, see his *rGya nag hwa shang gi byung tshul grub mtha'i phyogs snga bcas sa bon tsam smos pa yid kyi dri ma dag byed dge ba'i chu rgyun*, in ZHANG 2013: 38–39; for the edition and annotated translation, see *ibid.* Lingui Zhang also mentions several Tibetan authors, who associate the third tradition

- || 1.13 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
 In particular, [this position of claiming redundancy] would
 contradict
 [What] the great, omniscient Padma-dkar-po has explained
 in [his]
*Phyag rgya chen po'i man ngag gi bshad sbyar rgyal ba'i
 gan mdzod*,³⁹⁸
 [The *Treasure Vault of the Victors*]:
 [That the teachings on] the sequential path of Mahāmudrā
 As Tantric scripture [are based] on
 The [textual] sources of the *Seven Sections of Accomplish-
 ment*.³⁹⁹
- || 1.14 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
 Why [is] it that pointing
 To some sources in the Sūtras
 Does not contradict the Puṇḍa-ri-ka's interpretation
 Of Mahāmudrā as [part of the] Mantrayāna?
- || 1.15 || Also [445] the content of the Sūtras allows [such an inter-
 pretation],
 Namely, that the Prajñāpāramitā [scriptures], which are
 the doctrinal content of the Sūtras,
 Are called *mahāmudrā* in the Mantrayāna,
 As it has clearly been stated in the [*Phyag chen*] *gan md-*

with Mahāmudrā, for example Thu'u-bkwan Blo-bzang Chos-kyi-nyi-ma in his *Grub mtha' thams cad kyi khungs dang 'dod tshul ston pa legs bshad shel gyi me long*; see ZHANG 2013: 38–39, n. 106. For further textual references and a detailed account of the concept of *snying po'i don brgyud* in regard to Chinese Buddhism and its connection to Mahāmudrā, see *ibid.*; see also ZHANG 2017, and n. 423 on p. 178.

³⁹⁸For a presentation of the detailed structure of the *Phyag chen gan mdzod*, see BROIDO 1987: 60.

³⁹⁹The *Advayavivaraṇa-Prajñopāya-Viniścayasiddhi* was not translated into Tibetan from the original eight works by Padmavajra on the subject of the *siddhis*; therefore, the text collection was named *Seven Sections of Accomplishment* (*Grub pa sde bdun*). For a presentation and list of the different editions of the eight works in Sanskrit, see the introduction in SAMDHONG RINPOCHE & DWIVEDI 1978: 5–8. For a discussion of this and other Indian Mahāmudrā texts, see also question two in rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's *Dus kyi pho nya*.

zod,

Which the [Puṇḍa-ri-ka] has composed.⁴⁰⁰

- || 1.16 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
 In the second case, [that the Tantric scriptures are the source of Mahāmudrā,]
 It has been taught in the [scriptural] *corpus* of the Vidhyā-dharas
 That the prerequisite for any [method of the Tantric path] is initiation.
 In particular, the stages of the path of the *niruttarayoga* Tantra [system]
 Were explained as twofold: [the path which brings about] maturation [and the path which causes] liberation.⁴⁰¹
- || 1.17 || “Just as butter can not [be produced] from squeezing sand, Likewise accomplishment [can] not exist if there is no initiation.
 A [person] who, out of pride [due to knowing] the Tantras and oral instructions,
 Teaches the Mantra[yāna] without initiation,
 Although [they] have obtained accomplishments,
 When [this] master and [their] student die, [they] will immediately fall down to the hells.”⁴⁰²
 [In regard to such statements], the authoritative sources

⁴⁰⁰ rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen refers to Padma-dkar-po, *Phyag chen gan mdzod* (pp. 73.1–75.6); see also, similarly, verse || 1.2 || on p. 161.

⁴⁰¹ For the Tibetan indigenous differentiation into *grol lam* and *thabs lam*, see also as the seventh out of eleven question-cum-answers in rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen, *gNam gyi nga ro* (pp. 422.1–424.4). This differentiation into and the relationship between both of these paths are further discussed in the second question of rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's *Dus kyi pho nya*.

⁴⁰² rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen quotes *Mahāmudrātilaka* (P, fol. 302v1–2; T, fol. 202r7–202v1): *gang zhig rgyud lung nga rgyal gyis || dbang bskur med la gsal byed pa || slob dpon slob ma shi ma thag || dngos grub thob kyang dmyal bar 'gro ||*. This quote is also found in Sa-skya Paṇḍita, *sDom gsum rab dbye* 39b–40b; in RHOTON 2002: 100 (engl.); 297 (tib.). A general definition of *abhiṣeka* and the discussion of the necessity to grant *abhiṣeka* is found in the fifth question-cum-answer in rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen, *gNam gyi nga ro* (pp. 412.5–419.2), where part of the same quotation is used.

are numerous, [testifying] that
The procedures of initiation are crucial at the time of basis,
path and result.

|| 1.18 || Therefore, the question [is] whether or not an explanation
of a practice exists
[According to which] the four maturative initiations should
be bestowed
As the prerequisite for practicing the sequential path of
Mahāmudrā?
If [an explanation of such a practice] exists
[Then] where and how has [it] been explained?

|| 1.19 || If there is no [explanation of such a practice],
What [446] [is] so profoundly different about a practice that
does not conform to the scriptures?
[It] may be capable of pleasing the ignorant,
However, the wise [would] consider [this practice] a farce.⁴⁰³

|| 1.20 || [rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
All wise ones have stated unanimously
That the Mantra[yāna] must depend on initiation;
There exists no denial of that by anyone.
Nevertheless, apart from that, the bestowal of
The maturative initiation,
Which is the prerequisite for Mahāmudrā,
Is performed depending on the level of the trainees' facul-
ties;⁴⁰⁴
There is no explanation
Endowed with an authenticating scriptural tradition
[According to which] the extensive four maturative initia-
tions
Should consistently be bestowed or not.

|| 1.21 || In some cases, the emission and absorption of light also

⁴⁰³Following the variant *kyi* in C1_aC1_b, “[It] may be capable of pleasing the ignorant, but the wise [would] consider [this practice] a farce.”

⁴⁰⁴For an explanation of the twenty-two sense faculties (*dbang po: in-driya*), see for example 'Ju Mi-pham, *mKhas pa'i tshul la 'jug pa'i sgo*; for the English translation, see KUNSANG 1997: 71–80.

should be considered [to be an] initiation:
 Namely, in the *Hevajratantra* [it is stated],
 “If the Yogin has become powerful,
 The body of the student will be completely filled
 By rays of light [of] the heart *maṇḍala*;
 Imagine that [the Yogin] grants an initiation,” and so forth.
 Other [sources] have explained [this] numerous [times].⁴⁰⁵

|| 1.22 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
 Because maturative initiations have been taught
 In three varieties: extensive, medium and brief,
 Depending on the different faculties [of the disciples],
 [Would it not follow, that one] is able [447] to mature and
 be liberated simultaneously,
 Not necessitating the ascertainment based on ritual mani-
 foldness?⁴⁰⁶

|| 1.23 || [Reply:] Although the omniscient Padma-dkar-po
 Has indeed stated in his writings—
 Such as [the ones about] “merging and transference [of con-

⁴⁰⁵This quote could not be identified in the *Hevajratantra*. rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen might have initially intended to quote from the *Hevajratantra*, but recalled another quote, as he also adds, “and so forth; furthermore, it is taught in many cases” (*zhes sogs gzhan yang mang du gsungs*), for example by Nāropa. Cf. also rJe Yon-tan-mtha'-yas, *'Og min zhal lung* (fol. 7v3–4), and Padma-dkar-po, *bSre 'pho 'grel chen* (pp. 212.5–213.5): *cho ga'i spros pa la ma ltos pa ni || jo bo nā ro pas || gzhan du bzhad gad sbyin par bya || rnal 'byor stobs dan ldan gyur na || snying ga'i dkyil 'khor 'od zer gyis || slob ma'i lus ni yang dag dgang || dbang bskur sbyin par bsam par bya || zhes 'od zer spro bsdu la sogs pa'i byin rlabs kyis smin par bshad la || de bas kyang chos mchog tu gyur pa la || de nyid kyis || he ru ka dpal sbyor bdag las || dpa' bo yang dag mnyes nas bzhengs || dbang bskur ba ni rin po che || gnyis med chu yis sbyin par bya || zhes cho ga'i bya ba ci 'ang med par rtogs pa don gyis dbang sems la bskur ba zhes bya ba zhig brgyud pa 'di la grags te || thams cad kyi blor shong bar dka' ba ni zab mos 'jigs nas ma smin pa zhes bya ba zhig bzo dgos pa de'i gnad kyis yin no ||. Sa-skya Paṇḍita does not accept any position that maintains that maturation could solely be obtained from the body *maṇḍala* (*bla ma'i lus kyī dkyil 'khor*) of the Guru, in his *sDom gsum rab dbye* 3.61–73; in RHOTON 2002: 103–105 (engl.); 298 (tib.).*

⁴⁰⁶Following the variant *ngal ba* in C1_aC1_b, “[...]Not necessitating the efforts based on ritual manifoldness.”

sciousness],”⁴⁰⁷
Which take the *Guhyasamājatantra* and the oral instructions
Of the Mahāsiddhas, such as Mahāpaṇḍita Nāropa,⁴⁰⁸ as
[authentic] sources—
That, by the mere [ideal constellation] of the auspicious
coincidence of teacher and disciple
The emission and absorption of light and so forth
Would suffice, without requiring the efforts
Based upon ritual manifoldness of maturative initiations.
[Nevertheless, this statement has been made with]
The focus on an outstanding sharp-minded person,
[Who is] the object of granting the maturative initiation,
[That is characterized as] being free from manifoldness,
[And who is also characterized] as being like a jewel.⁴⁰⁹

|| 1.24 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]

⁴⁰⁷ rJe Shākya-rin-chen refers to Padma-dkar-po, *bsre 'pho 'grel chen* (pp. 212.5–213.5), see also above n. 405 on p. 171. Padma-dkar-po developed a prominent system and exegesis of the practices of “merging and transference” (*bsre 'pho*) connected to what is sometimes more commonly and simplified known as the “Six Doctrines of Nāropa”. For a detailed overview and context of alternative groupings of these practices, see HARDING 2008: 149–152; see also n. 427 on p. 181. Casey Kemp has also mentioned the importance of and necessity for further detailed studies on this important complex of practices, cf. KEMP 2015: 37–38. In addition, KEMP 2015 introduces into the interpretation of the relation between *bsre 'pho* and the Six Doctrines of Yoga in the early bKa'-brgyud exegesis by sKyob-pa 'Jig-rten-gsum-mgon and Padma-dkar-po.

⁴⁰⁸ For a discussion of the different versions of Nāropa's name, i. e. Nāro, Nāropa, Nāropā, Naḍapāda, Nāḍapāda, and the relevant Indian and Tibetan sources, see SFERRA & MERZAGORA 2006: 13, n. 1. The form Nāropa is commonly used in Tibetan sources, therefore, I follow the Tibetan tradition.

⁴⁰⁹ rJe Yon-tan-mtha'-yas lists the aforementioned authoritative sources and quotations in his *'Og min zhal lung* (fols. 7v3–9r3). Apart from Padma-dkar-po's treatment of this question in his *bsre 'pho* teachings, related discussions about the necessity of ritual manifoldness in maturative initiations are also found in his *Phyag chen gan mdzod*, for example, based on his interpretation of the *Grub pa sde bdun*; for a presentation of some of these arguments, see KRUG 2020: 106–113.

The Victorious One, who is
 Skilled in methods [and] endowed with compassion,
 Has also taught various stages [of the means that cause
 sentient beings'] maturation
 Depending on the variety [of levels] of the disciple's facul-
 ties.

As stated in the *Dākinīvajrapañjaratantra*,
 “For those with inferior [faculties], *krīya* Tantra [and]
 Above [that] *yoga* [Tantra] without [ritualistic] activity;
 For excellent beings, supreme *yoga* [Tantra, and]
 Above [that] *niruttara*[*yoga* Tantra].”⁴¹⁰
 In that way, the practice of the various [means that cause
 sentient beings'] maturation
 Have been explained in one's own scriptural [system].

|| 1.25 || For those with exceedingly superior faculties,
 Who [448] do not rely on initiations that [cause] maturation,
 Mahāmudrā in itself has been taught as an initiation;
 [Therefore,] those ones do not rely
 On initiations with characteristics.⁴¹¹
 It has been taught in the *Kālacakra*[*tantra*],
 “Neither the drawing of the *vajra* lines

⁴¹⁰ rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen quotes with variation from *Dākinīvajrapañjaratantra*, (P, fol. 289v5–6; T, fol. 184r7): *dman pa rnam la bya ba'i rgyud || bya ba rnal 'byor de lhag [la; T] pa || sems can mchog la rnal 'byor mchog || rnal 'byor gong med de lhag la ||*. Here the classes of *yoga* are distinguished into one class of external ritual *yoga* and three classes of internal *yoga*. For the different conventions of classifying the *yogas*, see ENGLISH 2002: 1–6; see also the exposition in RHOTON 2002: 183. Goram-pa also cites this verse in his commentary to Sa-skya Paṇḍita's *sDom gsum rab dbye*. On the differentiation of the eight sections of the *Hevajra* teachings, presented in *rJe btsun sa skya pa'i gsung rab la 'jug tshul legs par bshad pa'i yi ge bod yul 'gro kun bsgrod pa'i chos sgo phyogs brgyar ring du phye ba* by A-mes-zhabs (1597–1659), see SOBISCH 2008: 2–5. Within the eight sections, the *Dākinīvajrapañjaratantra* is identified as one of the two sections with quintessential instructions (*man ngag lugs*), that consist of the *Hevajratantra* itself and the Explanation Tantra, the *Dākinīvajrapañjaratantra*, which was transmitted from Nāropa to Mar-pa Lo-tsā-ba. The other six sections are the six great chariot systems (*shing rta'i srol chen po drug*).

⁴¹¹ See also n. 533 on p. 241.

Nor the printing of the [sand *maṇḍala*] lines should be done;
 If the Mantr[in] himself does [it],
 Buddhahood is difficult to obtain,” and so forth.⁴¹²

- || 1.26 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
 What is [the point of expounding]
 What [such profound] meditative instructions of Mahāmu-
 drā
 That do not depend on initiations [that cause] maturation
 are, [and]
 Evenly distributing [them to] all [disciples] even in the mid-
 dle of a gathering of fools,
 Without distinguishing the modes of instructing
 According to the worthiness of each [of those with]
 Excellent, mediocre [or] minor faculties?
- || 1.27 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
 Nowadays, [people fuss over these “quintessentialf] instruc-
 tions”:⁴¹³
 [They] do not properly listen to the merest sound [about]
 the sequential path,
 Not to mention [gaining] certainty about the modes of in-

⁴¹²rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen quotes Puṇḍarīka, *Vimalaprabhā* (P, fols. 2v8–3r1; D, fol. 89r4): *rdo rje'i thig rnams gdab pa dang || rdul tshon dag kyang gdab pa ni || [mi bya; P] sngags kyi de nyid kyis [mi bya; D] || byed na byang chub thob par dka'* ||. The Sanskrit version of this verse is found in the *Vimalaprabhā* at the beginning of the third chapter, see DWIWEDI & BAHULKAR 1994: vol. 3, 2; and the *Guhyasamājatantra* 16.16. The *Vimalaprabhā*, the extensive commentary on the *Laghukālacakratantra*, cites the whole verse as being from the lost *Mūlakālacakratantra*. According to a personal communication with Harunaga Isaacson, February 3, 2017, line 3 and 4 are also quoted in the *Jñānavajrasamuccayatantra* (D, fol. 33r1–2): *sngags kyi sems dpa' mi bya ste || byas na byang chub rnyed par dka' zhes pa la zhen pa dang ma bral na 'ching bar 'gyur zhes pa gang zag gzhan la dgongs pa'o* ||. rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's to a certain extent adjustable relation toward a concrete definition of the term *abhiṣeka* as a prerequisite (*'jug sgo*) for the Tantric path is additionally attested also with the same quote in rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen, *gNam gyi nga ro* (pp. 418.3–419.2).

⁴¹³More literally, “Nowadays, [people] call [this practical] instructions[...].” The term *khrid pa* denotes direct instructions, which are to be immediately practiced by the disciple, contrary to *bshad pa*.

struction,
 [But] refer to [this] tumult as “[practical] instructions”!
 If [one] analyzes that [situation],
 Apart from just planting karmic imprints⁴¹⁴
 Of the profound Dharma in some faithful [people],
 This even distribution [of] the profound teaching in front
 of a gathering [of] fools
 Is nothing but the [cause] of transgressions
 [Connected] to selling the Tantric [teachings].
 Not [once] has an authoritative scripture [or] logical rea-
 soning
 Appeared to me⁴¹⁵ [449] that suggests [this] is appropriate.

[rJe Shākya-rin-chen and Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
 This was the first chapter offering a response to questions about the
 sources [of Mahāmudrā] from the *Questions Concerning the [Doctrine
 of] Mahāmudrā Titled the “Pointed Spear of a Siddha.”*

5.2 Second Chapter: A Response to Questions about the Quintessential Instructions of Mahāmudrā

|| 2.1 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
 Then, ask: What are the
 Main quintessential instructions of Mahāmudrā?

|| 2.2 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
 The quintessential instructions of Mahāmudrā are sub-
 sumed into two:
 “To-be-expressed Referent-Mahāmudrā” and
 “Expressing Verbal-Mahāmudrā.”⁴¹⁶

⁴¹⁴The experiences and perceptions of the mind arise either from karmic imprints (*bag chags: vāsanā*) or latent residues (*bag la nya: anuśaya*). For a buddhological exposition of these factors, see ALMOGI 2009: 220–221.

⁴¹⁵The verb *mngon pa* is used here in the sense of *mthong ba*, usually, *mngon pa* as a heteronomous verb can not be construed with the ergative particle.

⁴¹⁶The distinction into “To-be-expressed Referent-Mahāmudrā” and “Expressing Verbal-Mahāmudrā” originates in Tibet and is not found in Sanskrit sources. The term *brjod bya don gyi phyag chen* defines the actual

With regard to the latter, [i. e. “Expressing Verbal-Mahāmudrā],”

There are [three categories]: the verbal cycle of extensive explanations,

Such as *The Seven Sections of Accomplishments*;⁴¹⁷

The cycle of practice instructions, such as

The Seven Cycles [Connected with the] Symbols of [Mahāmudrā]; [and]

The cycle dealing with blessings [for gaining] realization,

Such as the *Cycle of the Three Kinds of *Sahajayoga*.⁴¹⁸

|| 2.3 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]

If [one] maintains that all those [quintessential instructions]

content of Mahāmudrā, whereas *rjod byed tshig gi phyag chen* refers to the verbal conceptual explanation of the actual content. The analogy often employed by Tibetan authors is that of a finger pointing to the moon and the moon itself. The first chapter of Padma-dkar po’s *Phyag chen gan mdzod* deals with “Expressing Verbal-Mahāmudrā” and the second chapter with “To-be-expressed Referent-Mahāmudrā.” A parallel distinction is found in Madhyamaka teachings as *bka’ dbu ma* und *bstan bcos dbu ma*, for example in ’Ju Mi-pham, *dBu ma rgyan ’grel*; see ALMOGI 2010: 173–174.

⁴¹⁷See also n. 399 on p. 168. For a concise overview of these texts belonging to the “Indian Mahāmudrā works” that are found in the Tibetan *bsTan ’gyur* and had later been compiled into separate collections, for example, by the Seventh Karmapa Chos-grags-rgya-mtsho (1454–1506) into his *Phyag rgya chen po’i rgya gzhung*, see MATHES 2015a: 2–4; see also MATHES 2011. In particular, the *Seven Sections of Accomplishments* (*Grub pa sde bdun*) usually are grouped together with the *Six Works on the Essence* (*sNying po skor drug*), and the *Cycle of Twenty-five Teachings on Non-mentation* (*Yid la mi byed pa’i chos skor nyi shu rtsa lnga*); cf. KRUG 2020: 90.

⁴¹⁸rJe dGe-’dun-rin-chen follows here the standard categorization of the ’Brug-pa bKa’-brgyud schools into *bshad bya tshig gi skor*, *gdams ngag nyams len gyi skor* and *rtogs pa byin rlabs kyi skor*, which was first established by gTsang-pa-rgya-ras. For a detailed list of the teachings within the three categories, see Padma-dkar-po, *Phyag chen gan mdzod* (p. 43.1–4). For a summary of teachings and instructions special to the ’Brug-pa bKa’-brgyud schools, see HARDING 2008: 229–231. For a brief account of gTsang-pa-rgya-ras’ life, see ROERICH 1949: 664–667. In the subsequent section, rJe Shākya-rin-chen and rJe dGe-’dun-rin-chen discuss in detail “Expressing Verbal-Mahāmudrā.”

Composed by a multitude of Siddhas from the Land of the
 Noble Ones,
 Like the *dohās* of the great Braḥmīn [Saraha],⁴¹⁹
 The *Seven Sections of Accomplishments* and so forth,
 Have been interpreted as scriptural sources of Mahāmudrā
 [Then,] although there is no fault in expounding them
 As scriptural sources of Mahāmudrā,
 How does it come that, in the context
 Of the invocation prayer of the lineage [masters],
 [One] considers the tradition of the lineage transmission
 From Vajradhara to Tillipa⁴²⁰
 Without counting the previous masters,
 Such as the great [Indian] ^[450] Braḥmīn [Saraha]?

|| 2.4 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
 Even though [one] claims the *dohās* [of] the great Saraha
 And all scriptural sources of the great Indian Siddhas
 Such as the *Seven Sections of Accomplishments*
 As Mahāmudrā [in the sense of their doctrinal content],
 The reason [why] those Siddhas are not counted
 In the lineage [of the short transmission from Vajradhara]
 is
 That there are two ways of dissemination
 Of the [scriptural] sources of Mahāmudrā:
 [Namely, its] dissemination from Uḍḍiyāna
 After having been transmitted by Vajrapāṇi,
 And again, [its] dissemination from the supreme domain of
 Akaniṣṭha,⁴²¹

⁴¹⁹For an extensive study on Saraha and the *dohā* literature attributed to him, especially in the Tibetan tradition, see SCHAEFFER 2005. David Higgins has provided a brief overview of the difficulty to date Saraha, also due to the different names used to refer to him, such as Rahūlabhadra, Śabari, Sarojavajra, Saroruha, and Saroruhavajra; see HIGGINS 2006: 256, n. 3. For an interesting discussion of the oral aspects of *dohās* and understanding their textual form as a mere “snapshot” of a “relatively free oral transmission,” designated as “gray texts,” see KAPSTEIN 2012.

⁴²⁰For the different names of Tillipa, such as Tillopa, Tailopa, Telopa, and Taillikapada, see for example HIGGINS 2006: 256, n. 6.

⁴²¹The different types of Akaniṣṭha abodes (*'og min chen po*) are, for

By means of the venerable Tillipa.
As a result, what concerns us, the glorious 'Brug-pas,
Is that [g'Tsang-pa-rgya-ras] 'Gro-ba'i-mgon-po [Ye-shes-rdo-
rje] said,
“Because of meeting Vajradhara, the Dharmakāya,
Which is [considered the true] nature of the Guru,
[We] do not need to consider the short or long transmission
lineages.”⁴²²
Insofar as [we] accept the latter,
By prioritizing the transmission of the quintessential con-
tent,⁴²³
[The masters] from Vajradhara to Tillipa have been listed
In the invocation [prayers] of our lineage;
[Therefore,] there is no fault in that.

|| 2.5 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
rJe-btsun ^[451] Tillipa himself obtained the stages of accom-

example, presented in DORJE 1987. Rong-zom-pa, in his *Sangs rgyas kyi sa chen mo*, describes Akaniṣṭha as the abode of the Buddha, especially in the Tantric context in the form of Vajradhara; see ALMOGI 2009: 244 (engl.); 393–394 (tib.). Rong-zom-pa and Klong-chen-pa associate Akaniṣṭha with the *dharmadhātu* on several occasions; for the references, see *ibid.*: 244, n. 22.

⁴²² rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen quotes g'Tsang-pa-rgya-ras, *gTsang pa gsung mgur* (p. 21.5–6), where g'Tsang-pa-rgya-ras teaches a group of theater players (*snye mo ba*) about the correct practice of prayers. rJe Yon-tan-mtha'-yas quotes the same verse, using the form *pha bla ma*, which typically occurs in works of the *mgur* literature, even though, in the *dbu can* version of the *gTsang pa gsung mgur no pha* is found; see rJe Yon-tan-mtha'-yas, *'Og min zhal lung* (fol. 10r5).

⁴²³ rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen wants to point out that any kind of authentic and direct vision of, for example, Vajradhara would always trump a formal lineage, whether long or short, because this would *de facto* transport the quintessential content (*don brgyud*) of the teachings. The long transmission lineage (*ring brgyud*) means a *de jure lineage*, which should always follow an uninterrupted lineage transmission from each single human master to the next student while the short lineages (*nye brgyud*) here refers to the transmission of Mahāmudrā teachings from the Akaniṣṭha realm with Vajradhara (via the Dākinīs) to Tillipa, and then to Nāropa and the subsequent human lineage holders into the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud school.

plishment

After having relied on the Gurus of the

Four [distant] transmissions [of special instructions].⁴²⁴

Having visited the domain of the great Akaniṣṭha [realm],

[He] received from the actual Buddha

The *Shin tu rmad du byung ba'i rgyud*.

Therefore, [if we] maintain that the [short] lineage

From Vajradhara to Tillipa, [which] does not rely

On the former [sequential] series of Gurus, would suffice,

[Then,] ask: What are [those] Mahāmudrā teachings

That Tillipa received from Vajradhara?⁴²⁵

⁴²⁴For a summary of the masters and teachings in the four distant transmissions obtained by Tillipa, see Khro-ru-tshe-rnam, *bKa' rgyud grub mtha'* (pp. 7–9). For an analysis of the differing presentations of the content and actual lineages of the four distinct transmissions (*bka' babs bzhi*) as reported in Tibetan sources, see TORICELLI 1993.

⁴²⁵The following extensive discussion deals with the Indian authoritative works that are associated with the non-human (oral) transmission lineage from the Akaniṣṭha realm from Vajradhara (via the Ḍākinīs) to Tillipa and then to Nāropa, and addresses their status as canonical works, and their content, in particular, the relationship between Mahāmudrā and the Six Doctrines of Nāropa/*bsre 'pho* teachings. The two works, specifically referred to here, are only available (as anonymous works) in the *sDe dge bstan 'gyur* and *Co ne bstan 'gyur* editions: (1) **Ājñāsaṃyakpramāṇanāmaḍākinyupadeśa* (*bKa' yang dag pa'i tshad ma zhes bya ba mkha' 'gro ma'i man ngag*, D2331), and (2) **Pravacanopamotara* (*bKa' dpe phyi ma*, D2332); see TORICELLI 1995: 371. From this passage, Marta Sernesi suggests that rJe Shākya-rin-chen and rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen indeed seem to refer to the **Ājñāsaṃyakpramāṇanāmaḍākinyupadeśa* when they speak about the *Shin tu rmad du byung ba'i rgyud*—probably used as an epithet (written communication on June 14, 2017). Both of these works directly follow Tillipa's **Ṣaḍdharmopadeśa* in the *sDe dge bstan 'gyur*. For a critical edition and English translation of the **Ājñāsaṃyakpramāṇanāmaḍākinyupadeśa*, see TORICELLI 1997: 252–263. These two works were considered by Padma-dkar-po very important authenticating sources for the *bsre 'pho* practices, see for example also in the presentation of the lineages by Marpa Lo-tśā-ba, in *Mar pa gsung 'bum* (pp. 523–538). The canonical status of these works, their later attribution to Nāropa, and the complexity of the text transmission and relation between the different works have been addressed and investigated in KRAGH, U. 2011, TORICELLI 1995, and TORICELLI 1997. The First 'Jam-mgon Kong-sprul Blo-gros-mtha'-yas lists in his *gDams ngag mdzod* (vol. 7) six works as authoritative instructions on the Six Doctrines

|| 2.6 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
 The continuous stream of *ambrosia*,
 Which [arose] from the steaming breath of Vajradhara,
 [This] *Shin tu rmad du byung ba'i rgyud*
 Is considered [to be scriptural] authority [of the Buddha's]
 pure word, [namely, the **Ājñāsaṃyakpramāṇanāmadākin-*

of Nāropa: (1) *bKa' yang dag pa'i tshad ma zhes bya ba mkha' 'gro' ma'i man ngag* (**Ājñāsaṃyakpramāṇanāmadākinīyupadeśa*), (2) *sNyan brgyud rdo rje'i tshig rkang zhes bya ba* (**Karṇatantravajrapāda*), (3) *Grub chen nā ro pa'i gdams ngag chos drug skor gyi bka' dpe tshigs su bcad pa/Bka' dpe che chung*, (4) *Chos drug gi man ngag ces bya ba* (**Ṣaḍdharmopadeśa*), (5) *mKhas grub chen po nā ro tā pas rnal 'byor gyi dbang phyug mar pa lo tsā la gdams pa'i chos drug dril ba rdo rje'i mgur*, and (6) *rJe btsun chen po mi la ras pas mdzad pa'i snyan brgyud gsal bar skor gsum sogs*. It should be noted that the canonical version of the **Ājñāsaṃyakpramāṇanāmadākinīyupadeśa* has only a few lines in common with the later version(s) of it, for example, listed in the *gDams ngag mdzod*. But the canonical **Ājñāsaṃyakpramāṇanāmadākinīyupadeśa* corresponds to the third work in the *gDams ngag mdzod* list, the *Grub chen nā ro pa'i gdams ngag chos drug skor gyi bka' dpe tshigs su bcad pa*. The colophons of the later versions of the *bKa' yang dag pa'i tshad ma zhes bya ba mkha' 'gro ma'i man ngag* state that the teachings were transmitted as non-human transmission in the Akaniṣṭha realm from Vajradhara (via the Ḍākinīs) to Tillipa, and were later written down by Nāropa and Marpa Lo-tṣā-ba; see TORICELLI 1995: 372–373; see also KRAGH, U. 2011: 164. rJe Shākya-rin-chen's *Grub pa'i mdung rnon* and rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's *Dus kyī pho nya* include passages from the earlier and later version(s) of the **Ājñāsaṃyakpramāṇanāmadākinīyupadeśa*. On the content of these works, see also n. 430 on p. 183. I asked Bhutanese scholars to identify a specific Tantra with these teachings, but they seem to associate the *Shin tu rmad du byung ba'i rgyud* more with the entire *corpus* of practical instructions and teachings on the Six Doctrines of Nāropa, *bsre 'pho*, and Mahāmudrā. In addition, I traced two Tantras back to the *sDe dge bstan 'gyur*, which bear some similarity in the name: (1) the *Jñānatilakayoginītantrarājāparamamahādbhuta*, in which several of the topics mentioned here are addressed, such as the final content of Mahāmudrā, the role of the Guru, the status of Śāstras, and practices associated with the Six Doctrines of Nāropa; and (2) the *Cakrasaṃvaratantrarājādbhutaśmaśānālamkāra*, which only briefly deals toward its end with the fourth seal (*phyag rgya chen po*) within a Tantric context. In sum, further research on several aspects of these as quasi-canonical perceived works is of utmost need: The Six Doctrines of Nāropa and their relation to Mahā-

yupadeśā].⁴²⁶

- || 2.7 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
 If [one] gives the response [that] this
 [*Shin tu*] *rmad* [*du*] *byung* [*ba'i*] *rgyud*
 [Is the teaching that Tillipa received from Vajradhara],
 [Then] in which context do the practical instructions of the
 sequential path of Mahāmudrā
 Become relevant in the eight [practices of] the sequential
 path, such as *gtum mo* and so forth,
 Taught in the [*Shin tu*] *rmad* [*du*] *byung* [*ba'i*] *rgyud*?⁴²⁷

mudrā, the designation as *Shin tu rmad du byung ba'i rgyud* by these 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud scholars, and the early reception history resulting in the later systematization and categorization of the diverse text *corpus*. For the sake of completeness: an unrelated *Shin tu rmad du byung ba'i rgyud* is also found in the *sems sde* section of the rDzogs-chen tradition; for an analysis of the different versions of this *Shin tu rmad du byung ba'i rgyud*, see NEUMAIER 2007. In addition, our *bKa' yang dag pa'i tshad ma zhes bya ba mkha' 'gro ma'i man ngag* should not be confused with another work with bearing an identical short title, *bKa' yang dag pa'i tshad ma*, which is ascribed to Chos-rgyal Khri-srong-lde-btsan. Note that Slob-dpon dPal-bzang-dar-rgyas from the Ngagyur Nyingma Research Centre (NNRC) of rNam-grol-gling monastery (Mysore) is currently pursuing a study of this work and preparing a critical edition of the text. For an introduction to, and an English translation of, part of this work, see SCHAEFFER & KAPSTEIN & TUTTLE 2013: 118–123.

⁴²⁶In a strictly “literal,” i. e. “Dharmakīrtian,” sense, only direct perception (*mngon sum: pratyakṣa*) and logical reasoning (*rjes dpag: anumāna*) are accepted as valid means of cognition (*tshad ma: pramāṇa*). However, in a wider sense, authoritative scriptures (*lung: āgama*) are justified in the later Tibetan tradition as valid means of cognition if the doctrinal content of the scripture has been previously verified by direct perception and logical reasoning. For a further discussion on the development of the term *tshad ma*, especially in the context of Tantric scriptures and Śāstras, and the categorization and discussion of the *Shin tu rmad du byung ba'i rgyud*, which is considered *bka' yang dag pa tshad ma* (via the Ḍākinī's instructions) and also *lung gi tshad ma*, see n. 444 on p. 192.

⁴²⁷Following the variant *ni* in B₁B₂, “As for the Mahāmudrā sequential path [of meditation], in which context do the practical instructions become relevant in the eight [practices of] the sequential path, such as *gtum mo* and so forth, taught in the [*Shin tu*] *rmad* [*du*] *byung* [*ba'i*] *rgyud*”? rJe Shākya-rin-chen refers to the eight sections found in two of the *bsre*

- || 2.8 || If the sequential-path practical instructions on Mahāmudrā
Are not taught in the [*Shin tu rmad [du] byung [ba'i] rgyud*],
It would [logically] follow that [it] is pointless to put trust
In this [Tantra as] the root of [Mahāmudrā].
- || 2.9 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
The ^[452] sequential path of Mahāmudrā is not the path
that has been taught
In the context of any of the eight practices such as *gtum
mo*;
Just because [Mahāmudrā] is taught in the
[*Shin tu rmad [du] byung [ba'i] rgyud*],
[It does not necessarily] need to be one [among the eight
practices], such as *gtum mo*.⁴²⁸
- || 2.10 || When the abiding mode of the [“psycho-physical”] entities
is taught
In the sequential path of the persons [with the potential
to] simultaneously [reach enlightenment],
There are two modes of abiding: of the body and [of the
mind].
Mahāmudrā, [which is characterized] as the path [that
causes] liberation,
Is taught in the context of the latter.⁴²⁹

'*pho* works, the *bKa' dpe phyi ma* and also in a different order in the *Grub chen nā ro pa'i gdams ngag chos drug skor gyi bka' dpe tshigs su bcad pa*: (1) inner heat (*gtum mo: caṇḍālī*), (2) illusory body (*sgyu lus: māyākāya*), (3) dream *yoga* (*rmi lam: svapna*), (4) *yoga* of clear light (*'od gsal: prabhāsvara*), (5) transference of consciousness (*'pho ba: saṃkrāntī*), (6) intermediate state (*bar do: antarābhava*), (7) transference of consciousness into another body (*grong 'jug: parakāyapraveśa*), and (8) path of means (*thabs lam: upāyamārga*); see TORRICELLI 1997: 251–252; TORRICELLI 1995: 372. For the relation of the *Grub chen nā ro pa'i gdams ngag chos drug skor gyi bka' dpe tshigs su bcad pa* that includes passages of the **Ājñāsamṃyakpramāṇanāmadākinyupadeśa* and the *bKa' dpe phyi ma*, see n. 425 on p. 179.

⁴²⁸ rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen points out that the sequential path of Mahāmudrā is taught as an additional element in the *bsre 'pho* works; it does not necessarily have to be included in one of the eight practices.

⁴²⁹ rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen summarizes rJe Yon-tan-mtha-yas' '*Og min zhal lung*, but unfortunately omits *sems dngos po'i gnas lugs*, which I added

Therefore, entrusting the root of Mahāmudrā
 In the [*Shin tu*] *rmad* [*du*] *byung* [*ba'i*] *rgyud*,
 Has also proven [to be] reasonable.⁴³⁰

|| 2.11 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
 If [someone] states that the teaching
 On the abiding mode of the mind

in my translation. For the whole passage, see rJe Yon-tan-mtha-yas, *'Og min zhal lung* (fols. 11v3–12r2): *de bas na rgyud de las gsungs pa'i gtum mo sogs brgyad ni | spyir rgyud der | cig car ba'i lam rim dang | rim gnyis pa'i lam gnyis gsungs pa'i dang po'i nang tshan | de la'ang dngos po'i gnas lugs | lam 'bras bu skye ba'i rim pa gsum gsungs pa'i bar pa'i nang tshan | de la'ang smin grol gyi lam gnyis gsungs pa'i phyi ma'i nang tshan | de la'ang bskyed rdzogs gnyis gsungs pa'i phyi ma'i nang tshan | de la'ang rgyud sde spyi'i lam gyi chings dang | 'di nyid du gtso bor bstan pa'i lam gyi rnam par bzhag pa gnyis gsungs pa'i phyi ma yin la | phyag rgya chen po'i lam rim 'di ni | cig car ba'i lam gyi dngogs po'i gnas lugs kyi skabs | de la'ang lus dngos po'i gnas lugs dang sems dngos po'i gnas lugs gnyis yod pa'i phyi ma'i skabs yin pa de'i phyir | rmad byung rgyud las phyag chen gyi lam rim ma gsungs pa ma yin la | des na phyag chen gyi lam rim gyi rtsa ba rmad byung rgyud la bcod ba'ang don chen po dang ldan pa nyid du grub bo ||.*

⁴³⁰The abiding mode of entities (*dngos po'i gnas lugs*) of the “psycho-physical complex” is distinguished into the “abiding mode of the body” (*lus kyi gnas lugs*) and the “abiding mode of the mind” (*sems kyi gnas lugs*). Padma-dkar-po explains the distinction into the abiding mode of the body and the abiding mode of the mind, for example, within the context of the second mode of foundational Mahāmudrā (*gzhi phyag chen*) as in the mode of error (*'khrul lugs phyag chen*), in his *Phyag chen gan mdzod*; see for the corresponding passage, HIGGINS & DRASZCZYK 2016: vol. 2, 167–168 (engl.); 174–175 (tib); see also BROIDO 1985b: 24–29; 55, n. 95. The crucial distinction of foundational Mahāmudrā into Mahāmudrā of the abiding mode (*gnas lugs phyag chen*) and Mahāmudrā in the mode of error (*'khrul lugs phyag chen*) goes back to Yang-dgon-pa and his trilogy of teachings for hermits (*Ri chos skor gsum*). Moreover, path Mahāmudrā (*lam phyag chen*) is characterized as the process, where Mahāmudrā of the abiding mode (*gnas lugs phyag chen*) is realized in and through the mode of error (*'khrul lugs*). For a detailed introduction and discussion of Padma-dkar-po’s enhancement of these crucial concepts inherited from Yang-dgon-pa and other scholars, such as Kun-dga'-dpal-'byor, their incorporation into Padma-dkar-po’s philosophical-exegetical construct which strongly emphasizes the idea of unity (*zung 'jug*), and especially his interpretation of how deception can possibly exist in a non-

A Timely Message from the Cave

In the [*Shin tu*] *rmad* [*du*] *byung* [*ba'i*] *rgyud*
Is appropriate as [an authoritative] source of Mahāmudrā,
Well then, because it has been taught that
[One] is unable to realize the nature of the mind
Without knowing the abiding mode of the body,⁴³¹
Ask: Whether or not an explicit exposition
Of the abiding mode of channels, winds, and [vital] essences,

deceptive ground, as laid out in his *Phyag chen gan mdzod*, see HIGGINS & DRASZCZYK 2016: vol. 1, 357–398; *ibid.*: vol. 2, 157–168 (engl.); 168–175 (tib.). The abiding mode of the psycho-physical complex (*dnegos po'i gnas lugs*) as foundation (*gzhi*) with its two distinctions is considered the soteriological basis for enlightenment in Tantric practices, especially elaborated in *bsre 'pho* works dealing with the Six Doctrines of Nāropa. Padma-dkar-po provides an extensive scriptural treatment of these distinctions within the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud school, for example, in his commentary on the *bKa' yang dag pa'i tshad ma zhes bya ba mkha' 'gro ma'i man ngag*, the *Jo bo nā ro pa'i khyad chos bsre 'pho'i gzhung 'grel rdo rje 'chang gi dngos pa gsal bar byed pa* (in *Pad dkar gsung 'bum*, vol. 23, pp. 1–634), the *rJe btsun nā ro chen po'i bsre skor gyi tho yig nyin byed 'od kyi snang byed* (in *Pad dkar gsung 'bum*, vol. 22, pp. 1–5), and the *Jo bo nā ro pa'i khyad chos bsre 'pho'i khrīd rdo rje'i theg par bgrod pa'i shing rta chen po* (in *Pad dkar gsung 'bum*, vol. 22, pp. 7–263). The earliest sources, which later bKa'-brgyud authors extensively draw from in this context are the aforementioned **Ājñāsaṃyakpramāṇanamaḍākīnyu-padeśa* and the **Pravacanopamottara*. But it should be noted that the differentiation into *lus kyi gnas lugs* and *sems kyi gnas lugs* is included only in the later version(s) of the **Ājñāsaṃyakpramāṇanamaḍākīnyu-padeśa*. MILLER 2013: 95–103, additionally provides a concise overview of later adoptions of these crucial terms in the bKa'-brgyud schools. The term *dnegos po'i gnas lugs* and the soteriological role of the human body and mind in Tantric practices as the basis of enlightenment in the eyes of Yang-dgon-pa, with focus on the different works of the *rDo rje lus kyi sbas bshad corpus*, have been explored in depth in *ibid.* In the context of the *Shin tu rmad du byung ba'i rgyud*, the sequential path of Mahāmudrā as practice of the *grol lam* (and therefore, perfection stage without characteristics) is equated within the category of *cig car ba'i lam rim* as *sems kyi gnas lugs* (not *lus kyi gnas lugs*); see also rJe Yon-tan-mtha'-yas, *'Og min zhal lung* (fols. 11r6–12r2).

⁴³¹ A discussion of *lus kyi dngos po* as a prerequisite for realization is also found in the seventh question-cum-answer about the distinction in *grol lam* and *thabs lam* in rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen, *gNam gyi nga ro* (pp. 423.3–424.4): *te lo'i bka' bzhi'i thabs lam dang || nā ro'i rgyud bzhi man ngag dang || mar mi'i be bum thams cad nas || rten 'brel lus la bsgrigs*

[and]
 How [one] practices them and so forth,
 Exists in those manuals of Mahāmudrā’s practical instructions?
 If [explicit explanations] exist, [453] where and how have [they] been explained?
 If [explicit explanations] do not exist, [this] would contradict the fundamental sources.

|| 2.12 || [Commentary rJe dGe-’dun-rin-chen:]
 It is evident from the Mahāmudrā manuals
 That such practices as the [practices] of channels, winds,
 [and vital] essences
 Exist in both [categories], the preliminary practices [and]
 the main practices.⁴³²

|| 2.13 || Likewise in the context of the special preliminary practices
 Phag-mo-gru-pa taught, for example,
 “[One] should arrange [the legs in] the cross-legged [meditative] posture on the seat without [any] attachment,
 Hands should be placed one over the other without hope
 [or] fear,
 The spine should be straightened without twisting [and]
 moving.”⁴³³

*pa yis || rtogs pa sems la ’char ro zhes || thabs lam rtsa rhung kho nar
 gsungs || rgyu tshogs tshang la ma nor ba’i || thabs lam dag la ma bsten
 na || rtogs pa bzang po mi skye ste || skyes kyang kha tshom tsam du zad
 || rgyu ’bras nges pa yin phyir ro || phyag chen rgyu yis ma skyes phyir
 || thabs lam dgos pa med ce na || gnas lugs rgyu yis ma skyes kyang || ye
 shes rgyu las ci mi ’byung || phyag chen sems kyi gnas lugs de || lus kyi
 gnas tshul ma shes na || ’bras bu med ces sam bu tar || chos kyi phung
 po brgyad khri dang || bzhi stong dag gi tshogs kyang || lus kyi de nyid mi
 shes na || de dag thams cad ’bras bu med || ces sogs dgos pa rgyu mtshan
 dang || bcas pa gsal bar gsungs yod na || thabs lam mi gtso gang zhig yin
 ||.*

⁴³² rJe dGe-’dun-rin-chen cautiously phrases this statement by using the verb *mgnon*, which usually should be construed with the locative particle *la*, rather than the ablative particle *las*; yet the ablative is generally preferred by rJe dGe-’dun-rin-chen.

⁴³³ rJe dGe-’dun-rin-chen quotes with variation from Phag-mo-gru-pa, *Go cha gnyis ma* (p. 69.1–2): *zhen med kyi stan la skyil dkrung bca’ || re*

|| 2.14 || Also, in the context of the main practices,
 The authoritative scriptures state that *e* [and] *waṃ*⁴³⁴
 reside at the navel [in the center] of the body, embody-
 ing

dog med pa'i lag pa bsnol || g.yo rgyu med pa'i sgal tshigs bsrang || brdzun smra ba med pa'i tong mgo mnan ||. The *Go cha gnyis ma* is a short work with meditation instructions of the “two armor” (*go cha gnyis ma*), used in *Sahajayoga instructions, beginning with Atiśa Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna (972/982–1054, hereafter Atiśa) and sGam-po-pa; see SCHILLER 2014: 146–148; 213. The two kinds of amors are “the armor of the view with regard to the outside” (*phyi lta ba'i go cha*) and “the armor of insight in relation to the inner” (*nang shes rab kyi go cha*); see for example SCHILLER 2014: 501–505. The same quote is found in Padma-dkar-po's *Phyag chen gan mdzod* (p. 222.3–5): *thun mong ma yin pa'i sngon 'gro ni rje phag grus || g.yeng ba thams cad rab spangs nas || 'du 'dzi med pa'i dgon gnas su || zas gos kyi zhen pa bcad gyur nas || zhen med kyi stan la skyil krung bca' || re dogs med pa'i lag pa bsnol || g.yo sgyu med pa'i sgal tshigs bsrang || rdzun smra med pa'i stong sko mnon* ||. On this work in Phag-mo-gru-pa's work collection in the 'Bri-gung edition by 'Bri-gung-pa Kun-dga'-rin-chen Chos-kyi-rgyal-mtshan dPal-bzang-po (1475–1527), see SCHILLER 2014: 597. For an extensive analysis of the transmission history of Phag-mo-gru-pa's works, the different *gSung 'bum* collections, and a catalog of his works, see *ibid.* For the aforementioned use of these prevalent instructions in Mahāmudrā manuals, see for example rGod-tshang-pa in his *Phyag chen po lhan cig skyes sbyor khrid* (pp. 234.1–235.3) and Kun-dga'-dpal-'byor in his *Phyag rgya chen po lhan cig skyes sbyor gyi khrid yig* (p. 161.2–5).

⁴³⁴In general, the term *evaṃ* refers to the commonly expressed first phrase *evaṃ mayā śrutam ekāsmīn samaye* in Sūtric or Tantric scriptures. Additionally, *evaṃ* bears a variety of different connotations in the Sūtric and Tantric contexts, for example, the integrality (*dbyer med*) of different kinds of opposite dyads, such as emptiness and compassion (*stong pa nyid/snying rje*) or discriminating insight and efficient strategies (*shes rabs/thabs mkhas*). The First Ngor-mkhan-chen Kun-dga'-bzang-po (1382–1456), who named his monastery E-waṃ-chos-ldan after an insinuating dream, provides together with his biography a concise and very clear categorization of *evaṃ* in the Sūtric and Tantric context; see Sangs-rgyas-phun-tshogs, *Ngor chen rnam thar* (pp. 566.1–569.1), reference provided by Jörg Heimbel on January 15, 2016. Further examples in a Tantric context are Kāṇha's *dohā* 6, 21 (verse numbers throughout

[Efficient] strategies and [discriminating] insight.⁴³⁵

- || 2.15 || Would not these ancillary practices,
Such as [the practices of] channels, winds, and [vital]
essences, alone suffice
Because an abiding mode [of] the body,
Which is not subsumed under the two [methods] of [effi-
cient] strategies and [discriminating] insight,
Does not exist, and [because] the path of [efficient] strate-
gies
[Associated] with basis, path, and result is completely
present in this [abiding mode of the body]?
- || 2.16 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
If [Mahāmudrā] was taught in the context of
Luminosity of the basis, path and result [as indivisible],
Well then, how could [it] be reasonable to divide into
“Mahāmudrā” and the “Six Doctrines [of Nāropa]”?⁴³⁶

the translation according to BAGCHI 1938); *Hevajratantra* 2.3; 2.4; and *Samvarodayatantra* 3.17; see JACKSON, R. 2004: 119; 124.

⁴³⁵rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen quotes from Padma-dkar-po's extended commentary of the *bKa' yang dag pa'i tshad ma zhes bya ba mkha' 'gro ma'i man ngag*, the *bSre 'pho'i snying po* (fol. 2r3–2v5): *lus kyi gnas lugs bstan pa ni || rags dang phra dang shin tu phra || thun mong dbyer med rim shes bya || 'od gsal ba las stong pa che || de las thabs shes sna tshogs 'byung || mngon par byang chub rnam lnga dang || rtsa dang rlung dang byang chub sems || sems kyi gnas lugs bstan pa ni || thabs dang shes rab bdag nyid can || e waṃ lus kyi lte bar gnas || de nyid lus gnas ye shes che || rnam rtog kun spangs de nyid 'grub || dkyil 'khor 'khor lo las dang ni || ye shes phyag rgya'i rnam rtog bral || mi mno mi bsam mi dpyad cing || mi bsgom mi sems rang babs gzhag || ji ltar sa bon de bzhin shing || shing ji lta ba de bzhin 'bras || 'jig rten kun la 'di mthong bas || 'di nyid rten cing 'brel 'byung ngo ||. This passage has been identified as stemming from Nāropa's (attributed) *bKa' yang dag pa'i tshad ma zhes bya ba mkha' 'gro ma'i man ngag*; see for example in MILLER 2013: 92–93. I use here the Tibetan title to indicate that this quote is taken from a later non-canonical version, in this case Mar-pa's *gSung 'bum*, and can not be found in the canonical versions of the **Ājñāsaṃyākpramāṇānā-madākinīyupadeśa* itself.*

⁴³⁶For the explanation of luminosity ('*od gsal*: *prabhāsvara*) in the context of the meditative stages of the *niruttarayoga* Tantra system, see WAYMAN

- || 2.17 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
 It was heard that [one] resorts to differentiating
 The two, [namely,] Mahāmudrā and the Six Doctrines [of
 Nāropa],
 With regard to that gradual, [esoteric] path,
 Which is taught ^[454] in this Tantra, [the *Shin tu rmad du
 byung ba'i rgyud*];
 When showing that the [spiritual] path of a single person
 Is completely present through the object of the [spiritual]
 path in this Tantra alone,
 [One] regards [this] as Mahāmudrā,
 [And] when showing that the [spiritual] path of a single
 person is completely present
 Through several instruction methods [in] the path of means,
 [One] regards [this] as the Six Doctrines [of Nāropa].⁴³⁷
- || 2.18 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
 In particular, when [one] resorts to
 The convention of the *Threefold Stem of Instructions*⁴³⁸

1977: 151–156.

⁴³⁷ rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen explains that a single part of this Tantra about Mahāmudrā would be self-sufficient as a spiritual path, but when different parts of this Tantra have to come together to constitute a sufficient spiritual path, this would be considered the Six Doctrines of Nāropa. See also rJe Yon-tan-mtha'-yas, *'Og min zhal lung* (fol. 14r2–5): *rgyud 'di nyid nas gsungs pa'i lam rim la phyag cen dang chos drug ces gnyis su 'byed pa'i tshé || phyag chen ni rgyud 'di'i lam gyi cha shas gcig kho nas kyang gdul bya tshan gcig gi lam tshang bar ston la || dper na phar phyin pa'i sems bskyed gcig pus kyang gdul bya gcig gi lam tshang bar ston pa lta bu'i skabs dang || chos drug ni rgyud 'di'i khrid tshul spyir rgyas 'bring bsdus gsum du phye ba'i phyi ma de la yang smin grol gnyis las phyi ma || de la'ang steng sgo rnam par grol ba'i lam dang || 'og sgo bde ba chen po'i lam gnyis las snga ma ste chos drug gis gang zag gcig gi lam tshang bar ston pa || dper na phar phyin pa'i sems bskyed sogs chos bcus gang zag gcig gi lam tshang bar ston pa lta bu yin no || rgyas par kun mkhyen chen po'i bsre 'pho'i yig cha rnam su gsal bas kho bos ha cang rnyog mi dgos so ||*.

⁴³⁸ The classification into the *Threefold Stem of Instructions* (*gdams ngag sdong po gsum dril*) in the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud school consists of: (1) Realization Mahāmudrā of sGam-po-pa's tradition (*sgam po pa'i lugs*), (2) quintessential instructions by Ras-chung-pa (*gdam ngag ras chung*)

Of the glorious 'Brug-pas,
 How does it come that a differentiation is made
 [With] the argument that
 Including the *Shin tu rmad du byung ba'i rgyud*
 Together with its supplements
 As [an authoritative] source [is] Ras-chung-[pa]'s tradition
 of instructions [while]
 [Emphasizing] Realization [with regard to] Mahāmudrā it-
 self
 [Is considered] the tradition of sGam-po-pa?

|| 2.19 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
 With respect to the *Threefold Stem of Instructions*,
 Realization is posited to be ^[455] the tradition of sGam-po-
 pa
 Because the incomparable Candraprabhakumāra
 Emphasized this path [causing] liberation,
 Which is taught in the context
 Of the abiding mode of the mind
 In this *Shin tu rmad du byung ba'i rgyud*, [and]
 Because all other ancillaries of this Tantra
 And most of the quintessential instructions of the Siddhas

pa'i lugs) with teachings such as the *Shin tu rmad du byung ba'i rgyud* cycle and the Six Cycles of Equal Taste teachings (*ro snyoms dkor drug*) discussed here, and (3) special instructions on interdependent origination (*rten 'brel kho bo'i lugs*), which were taught by gTsang-pa-rgya-ras and are said to had been revealed to him by the seven Buddhas (*sangs rgyas rab bdun*). For the Six Cycles of Equal Taste, see also n. 551 on p. 253. For a detailed list and explanation of the different practices and transmissions in the three traditions according to Kun-dga'-dpal-'byor, see his *dKar chag me tog* (pp. 343.4–352.7). In the beginning a short summary is provided: *phyag rgya chen po skor gsum || thabs lam gnad kyi skor drug || sgrub thabs kyi skor lnga || 'phral dgos kyi chos bzhi || rje mi la'i chos drug || rje gling ras pa'i bstan bcos rnams nyams len dang shes bya rgyas pa'i chos || mgur 'bum gdams ngag gi chos || 'phral gtam brda' dang nges shes bskyed pa'i chos || las rgyu 'bras gtan la 'bebs pa rten 'brel gyi chos skor || dus gsum sangs rgyas thams cad ngo bo gcig tu sgrub pa bla ma'i sgrub thabs || tshe 'di blos btang nas bsgrub pa nyams su blang ba thub pa lnga || thun bzhi'i dge sbyor gnad du gtong ba dge sbyor bdun pa || khyad par gyi chos bzhi || bka' rgya ma lnga || de rnams dril bas sdong po gsum sgril du 'dus pa lags so ||*. In the discussion of Mahāmudrā here the instructions of the first and second stem are relevant.

Have been transmitted through the [oral] tradition of Ras-
chung-[pa],
Those instructions are called his, [Ras-chung-pa's] tradi-
tion.⁴³⁹

|| 2.20 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
Moreover, because [for you it would mean that] most of the
quintessential instructions on Mahāmudrā
That are known in the [Land] of Snow, [Tibet,]
Are solely those instructions that were received
By mNga'-bdag-rgyal-sras Maitripa from Śāvaripa,
In such a case, [these practical instructions of Mahāmudrā]
Would not be tenable as [representing both] traditions of
the two
Who have discerned the supreme [reality, Aśaṅga
and Nāgārjuna].

⁴³⁹See also rJe Yon-tan-mtha'-yas, 'Og min zhal lung (fol. 14v1-3). Two other specific and important “aural” cycles of teachings (*snyan brgyud*) in the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud tradition are collected in the *bDe mchog snyan brgyud* or *mKha' 'gro bde mchog snyan brgyud* with its two main lineages of transmission, the *Ras chung snyan brgyud* and *Ngan rdzong snyan brgyud*, named after the transmission via Ras-chung-pa and Ngan-rdzong pa respectively; see SERNESI 2011: 180; on Ngan-rdzong Byang-chub-rgyal-po, see *ibid.*: 180, n. 2. After Kun-dga'-dpal-'byor had first formally incorporated these teachings into the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud school, Padma-dkar-po played an important role in the collection of the textual sources of the oral transmissions and the systematization of their content, which also resulted in a greater importance of oral transmissions in the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud school; cf. SERNESI 2011: 188–190. However, rJe Shākya-rin-chen and rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's discussion evolving around the *Shin tu rmad du byung ba rgyud* exemplifies that further studies on the early textual transmission and reception of all cycles and related teachings on the Six Doctrines of Nāropa, the *bsre 'pho* teachings, and Mahāmudrā, thereby the path of means (*thabs lam*) and the path of liberation (*grol lam*), and the related hermeneutical framework in the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud schools is needed. In particular, Sa-skya Paṇḍita attacked the “aural” Vajrayoginī teaching cycle (*lus med mkha' 'gro chos skor dgu*), which elicited a strong rebuttal by Padma-dkar-po. Sa-skya Paṇḍita's criticism is found, for example, in his *sDom gsum rab dbye* 3.504–509; 3.610; 3.638; in RHOTON 2002: 162–163 (engl.), 321 (tib.); 175 (engl.), 326 (tib.); 179 (engl.), 328 (tib.); see also *ibid.*: 184, n. 5; 195, n. 100. For a quite direct rebuttal by Padma-dkar-po, see his *mKha' 'gro nying khu* (pp. 3.3–8.1).

- || 2.21 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
 Although it is indeed so, that the instructions
 Received by mNga'-bdag-rgyal-sras Maitripa from Śāvaripa,
 Mainly the *Cycle of Twenty-five Teachings on Non-
 mentation* and so forth,⁴⁴⁰
 Are the authoritative sources of Mahāmudrā
 That are nowadays known in the Land of Snow, [Tibet,]
 [Nevertheless], there is [absolutely] nothing untenable
 [About this Mahāmudrā] lineage of these two,
 [Asaṅga and Nāgārjuna],
 Who have discerned the supreme [reality];
 [This is] completely reasonable.
- || 2.22 || Whereas the instructions from both Nāro[pa from Vajrad-
 hara via Tillipa and]
 Maitri[pa from Śāvaripa] were transmitted to the [great]
 translator Marpa Lo-tsā-[ba],
 Realization of [456] Mahāmudrā has been obtained
 [Primarily] through the benevolence⁴⁴¹ of Nāro[pa];
 It therefore seems [to me] that the transmission
 Of the [quintessential] content has been emphasized [in my
 tradition].⁴⁴²

⁴⁴⁰For a comparison of the different number of works associated with Maitreyaṅgā's *amanasikāra* teaching cycle as listed in Bu-ston Rin-chen-grub's *gsan yig*, the Seventh Karmapa Chos-grags-rgya-mtsho's *Phyag chen rgya gzhung*, and by Klaus-Dieter Mathes, with a short summary of the content of the works, see MATHES 2015a: 4–22; see also BROIDO 1987: 55–56. For the complete translation and analysis of twenty-seven texts of the collection, especially with respect to the Madhyamaka philosophy of non-foundation (*apratiṣṭhāna*), see MATHES 2015a.

⁴⁴¹The term *bka' drin* (Skt. *parigraha/prasāda*) can also be translated as “kindness,” but I chose to render it here as “benevolence.”

⁴⁴²rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen, rebuts the objection that by focusing solely on Maitreyaṅgā's lineage as the lineage more emphasized in Tibet and part of Nāgārjuna's profound-view lineage, Asaṅga's profound practice-lineage would be disregarded. He points out that both lineages were transmitted to Mar-pa Lo-tsā-ba and therefore both implicitly included. However, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen, for himself and his tradition perceives Nāro[pa]'s lineage as more important. See also rJe Yon-tan-mtha'-yas, *'Og min zhal lung* (fols. 14v4–15r1): *gangs can gyi ljongs 'dir dar ba'i phyag*

- || 2.23 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
 Incidentally, ask: Is the *Shin tu rmad* [du] *byung* [ba'i]
rgyud
 The Word [of the Buddha] or a Śāstra?⁴⁴³
- || 2.24 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
 Because this [*Shin tu*] *rmad* [du] *byung* [ba'i] *rgyud*
 Fulfills [all] criteria of the Word [of the Buddha],
 All the great pioneers of this
 [bKa'-brgyud tradition] have unanimously
 Accepted [it] to be the Word of Vajradhara,
 Namely, as correct scriptural authority.⁴⁴⁴

*chen gyi gzhung yid la mi byed pa'i chos skor nyi shu rtsa lnga | brda
 rtsa bsam gtan thun 'jog sogs dpal sha wa ri pa las mai tri pas gsan pa'i
 gdams ngag gi gzhung yin mod kyang | mchog gzigs gnyis phyag chen gyi
 brgyud par mi 'thad pa'i skyon med de | rdo rje 'chang mar pa'i zhabs la |
 sha wa ri pa las mai tri pa la brgyud pa'i gdams pa dang | rdo rje 'chang
 nas tilli pa | de nas nā ro bcas la brgyud pa'i gdams pa gnyis ka yod pa
 las | phyag rgya chen po'i rtogs pa thog mar dpal nā ro pa'i byin rlabs las
 thob pas rtogs pa don gyi brgyud pa'i dbang du byas nas mchog gzigs gnyis
 brgyud par bzhag pa yin pa'i phyir |.* rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen discusses
 the different Mahāmudrā transmission lineages within the bKa'-brgyud
 schools (*chos brgyud*) in the third question-cum-answer in his *gNam gyi
 nga ro* (pp. 409.2–412.5). For the term *don brgyud*, see also n. 397 on p.
 167.

⁴⁴³A similar discussion of Tantric scriptures of Mahāmudrā and their status as the Word of the Buddha as represented by Vajradhara is found in the second question-cum-answer in rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen, *gNam gyi nga ro* (pp. 406.5–409.5).

⁴⁴⁴Dorji Wangchuk has observed, that a three-fold scheme of the valid means of cognition or attestation with *lung tshad ma*, *man ngag tshad ma*, and *rigs pa tshad ma* is found, for example, in Rong-zom-pa's *Dam tshig mdo rgyas* (in *Rong zom 'gsung bum*, vol. 2, pp. 241–389), where he refers to the *Vajrapāṇyabhīṣekatantra* and gNubs Sangs-rgyas-ye-shes' (b. ninth century) *bSam gtan mig sgron*. A four-fold scheme, which Tibetan authors relate back to Candrakīrti's *Prasannapadā*, consists of *pratyakṣa*, *anumāna*, *āgama*, and *upamāṇa*. For the examination of the sources for the four-fold scheme in the Lam-'bras traditions (*bla ma tshad ma*, *nyams myong tshad ma*, *bstan bcos tshad ma*, *lung tshad ma*), see SOBISCH 2008: 7; 99; see also SOBISCH 2015. As pointed out in my analysis, the authenticity of the Guru (*slob dpon tshad ma*) is considered crucial for the validity of the Mahāmudrā “pointing out instructions”

- || 2.25 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
 [Objection:] If [the *Shin tu rmad du byung ba'i rgyud*] is
 maintained to be
 The Word of Vajradhara, established by [means of] valid
 cognition,
 [Then], tell [me], what is the justification for this [state-
 ment]?
- || 2.26 || In particular, [one] has no other [choice] but to maintain
 That the great Vajradhara has referred
 To [other] instructions composed by the [great] Siddhas
 By stating, “The instructions of Mahāmudrā
 In that [special] Tantric scripture,
 [the *Shin tu rmad du byung ba'i rgyud*],
 Must be known from the *Man ngag tshig bsdus*.”⁴⁴⁵

(and of Tantric teachings in general). Jan-Ulrich Sobisch has shown how the authentication of transmission is deepened by the correlation of the four *tshad mas*, namely of the spiritual teacher, experience, scripture and exposition; see *ibid.*: 468–478. In sum, chapter two discusses *bstan bcos tshad ma*. However, the discussion also includes works that received quasi-canonical status, such as the *Shin tu rmad du byung ba'i rgyud corpus* that are interpreted as *bka' yang dag tshad ma* (here transmitted via Vajradhara (the Ḍākinīs) to Tillipa, and so forth).

⁴⁴⁵rJe Shākya-rin-chen quotes from **Ājñāsaṃyakpramāṇanāmadākīnyu-padeśa* (D, fol. 271r6): *phyag rgya chen po'i man ngag ni || man ngag tshig bsdus dag la shes ||*. Note that the same quote is found in the *Grub chen nā ro pa'i gdams ngag chos drug skor gyi bka' dpe tshigs su bcad pa* (p. 95.4–5) but not in the later version of the *bKa' yang dag pa'i tshad ma zhes bya ba mkha' 'gro ma'i man ngag* in 'Jam-mgon Kong-sprul Blo-gros-mtha'-yas' *gDams ngag mdzod*. See also for a similar discussion within the sixteenth chapter in the *Jñānatīlakayoginītantrarājāparamamahādhuta* (P, fol. 36r7–36v2; T, fol. 282r2–5): *thabs la sogs pa'i rim pa yis || bla ma'i zhal nas rnyed par 'gyur || bla ma mtho ris thar pa'i bla || bla ma ye shes bla ma bde || bla ma ston pa bla ma mgon || bla ma rdo rje 'dzin pa nyid || bla ma'i zhal lta'i [sda'i; T] bka' drin las || mchog gi gnas ni rnyed par 'gyur || tshe 'di yis [yi; T] ni phyag rgya che || dngos grub rnyed par the tshom med || sa bcu yi ni dbang phyug bdag || de yi bka' drin gyis ni sla [bla; T] || de bas bla ma las lhag gzhan || ston pa chen po ga la yod || gang zhig bla mas bstan bcos ni || mdzad dam bshad pa gang yin gang || de ni bstan bcos de tshad ma || de ni de nyid 'khrul pa med || slob dpon gsung dang bdag gis smras || de la bye brag mi dbye'o ||*. rJe Shākya-rin-chen addresses the problematic consequences, which

If this was the case, [then,] the differentiation between the Word [of the Buddha] and The Śāstras [composed by the great Siddhas] would become inseparable.⁴⁴⁶

- || 2.27 || If there is a way to make reference
To other Tantric scriptures that can serve as [authenticating] sources,
It would not [457] contradict [the idea that the *Shin tu rmad du byung ba'i rgyud*] was Buddha's Word,
But such Tantric scriptures are difficult to find.
- || 2.28 || [Objection:] If [one] thinks that making reference in the Exposition Tantra
[To those elements] that are not clear in the Root Tantra
Is similar to [this] teaching,
Well then, [it would follow that] the *Man ngag tshig bsdus*
Is to be accepted as an Exposition Tantra.
If this were the case, it would be utterly absurd.
- || 2.29 || Should [one] maintain that the *Shin tu rmad [du] byung [ba'i] rgyud* is a Śāstra,
[The position] that [is maintained]
By these successive spiritual teachers in the lineage,
That [the *Shin tu rmad du byung ba'i rgyud*
Is the Word of Vajradhara], would become unreasonable.
There is no fallacy of a contradiction in this way [of thinking],
However, it is advisable that [one] gives an answer.
- || 2.30 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]

follow this assumption. He refers to the collected instructions (*man ngag tshig bsdus*) of Nāropa, Tillipa and so forth, which are subsumed under the *rTogs pa byin rlabs kyi skor*, the third cycle within the Expressing Verbal-Mahāmudrā quintessential instructions (*rjod byed tshig gi phyag chen*) in Padma-dkar-po's *Phyag chen gan mdzod*.

⁴⁴⁶The alternative reading (*'thad*) in C1_aC1_b provides a different meaning, "If this was the case, [then,] the differentiation between the Word [of the Buddha] and the Śāstras [composed by the great Siddhas] would become unfeasible."

There is no harm in maintaining
 This Tantra itself [to be] the Word [of the Buddha]
 By means of the oral transmission in
 What is known as the *Man ngag tshig bsdus*,
 [Which consists of] the instructions on Mahāmudrā from
 this very [same] Tantric scripture.
 The great omniscient [Padma-dkar-po] taught that,
 Because [different] sections of word [instructions] were col-
 lected
 In the *rNal 'byor gsum bcu gnyis*,⁴⁴⁷
 [Which are] the final content of Mahāmudrā,
 Such as “that *e* [and] *wam* reside in the navel,
 [Representing] the essence of [efficient] strategies and [dis-
 criminating] insight,”
 Mahāsiddha Kambalapāda taught [the designation]
Man ngag tshig bsdus [for these instructions];
 Since the designation of *tshig bsdus* had been made in that
 very same [458] Tantra,
 [One, therefore,] does not need to cover [the teachings]
 With a net of contradictions by referring to other instruc-
 tions.⁴⁴⁸

⁴⁴⁷ rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen alludes to practical instructions that explicitly deal with Gam-po-pa's Four Yogas of Mahāmudrā (*rnal 'byor bzhi*) by several Tibetan authors, such as Yang-dgon-pa, Bla-ma Zhang Tshal-pa, or rGod-tshang-pa; see for example rGod-tshang-pa, *rGyal ba rgod tshang pa'i gsung sgros rnal 'byor bzhi gsum bcu gnyis kyi zin bris rgyal ba u rgyan pas mdzad pa* (BDRC: W14254). This work was composed by his student U-rgyan-pa Rin-chen-dpal (1229/1230–1309).

⁴⁴⁸ Mahāsiddha Kambalapāda (eleventh to twelfth century) is commonly attributed in the Tibetan tradition as being the Indian predecessor in the transmission of the *Sahajayoga teachings and also the Four Yogas of Mahāmudrā of sGam-po-pa (*rnal 'byor bzhi*) within the Mahāmudrā meditative systems, via both Atiśa and Mar-pa Lo-tśā-ba to sGam-pop-pa and Phag-mo-gru-pa. For the origin and transmission, as documented in the Tibetan tradition, especially in Padma-dkar-po's *gsan yig*, see SCHILLER 2015: 224–236. rJe Yon-tan-mtha'-yas assigns this statement to Mar-pa Lo-tśā-ba and additionally employs two other quotations by Padma-dkar-po to confirm his interpretation (*bSre 'pho 'grel chen*, p. 607.3–5 and *Phyag chen gan mdzod*, p. 46.4–5), whereas rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen assigns this statement to Padma-dkar-po, probably because it has often been quoted in Padma-dkar-po's works. See also rJe Yon-tan-

|| 2.31 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
 Furthermore, having followed the teachings
 By the Dharma King of the Three Realms,
 The unequaled Dwags-po-lha-rje, [sGam-po-pa,] such as,
 “This, my Mahāmudrā, is the content of the *rGyud bla*
[ma],”⁴⁴⁹
 Skyob-pa ’Jig-rten-mgon-po took the Sūtras
 [Consisting] of basis explanations, and
 The Śāstra of the *rGyud bla ma*
 As [authentic] textual sources [of Mahāmudrā];
 Then, ask: Are these extensively made explanations,
 Which are in harmony with the Sūtric Mahāmudrā tradi-
 tion,
 Accepted as commentaries
 That explain the content of Mahāmudrā
 As a sequential [path of] meditation in the Sūtras,
 Or [as] the Tantric scripture of the *rGyud bla [ma]*?⁴⁵⁰

mtha’-yas, ’Og min zhal lung (fols. 15v4–16r1): ’di’i man ngag tshig
 bsdus zhes pa || thabs dang shes rab bdag nyid can || e waṃ lus kyi lte bar
 gnas || zhes sogs phyag chen gyi don mtha’ dag tshig sde bzhi gsum bcu
 gnyis su bsdus pas tshig bsdus zhes bzhag pa ’di nyid rang la byed par la
 wa pas bzhed ces lo tsā ba chen pos gsungs so | de ltar yang kun mkhyen
 chen po’i bsre ’pho ’grel chen las | chos can sems kyi mtshan nyid rig pa’i
 lam du byed pa ni | slob dpon la wa pa’i bzhed pa tshig sde bzhi gsum bcu
 gnyis su bsdus pas tshig bsdus te phyag rgya chen po’i don bshad pa der
 shes par bya’o | zhes dang | gan mdzod las | de ni la wa pa’i bzhed par
 tshig sde bzhi gsum bcu gnyis su sdud pa zhes pa ’di yin par rje mar pa’i
 rim gyis pa’i rnam bshad rang du gsungs pas ming mthun tsam mo |.

⁴⁴⁹ sGam-po-pa is commonly ascribed as having accepted Maitreya-nātha’s
 (ascribed) *Ratnagotravibhāga* as the textual source for his *pāramitā*-based
 Mahāmudrā interpretation and for having instructed Phag-mo-gru-pa in
 that way. Also rGod-tshang-pa is said to have interpreted Sahajava-
 jra’s *Tattvadaśakatīkā* as a source for a *pāramitā*-based interpretation of
 Mahāmudrā; see Gos Lo-tsā-ba gZhon-nu-dpal, *Deb ther sngon po*, in
 ROERICH 1949: 724–725 (engl.), see also MATHES 2008: 34–35. HIGGINS
 & DRASZCZYK 2016: vol. 2, 17, n. 11, report that they have been unable
 to locate the quotation in sGam-po-pa’s *gSung ’bum*.

⁴⁵⁰ For an overview of the different strands of the Mahāmudrā interpreta-
 tion of the *Ratnagotravibhāga* from the early period of its reception in Ti-
 bet, which are differentiated by Klaus-Dieter Mathes into an “analytical”
 interpretation of rNgog Blo-ldan-shes-rab (1059–1109), a “meditative” in-

- || 2.32 || If [one] accepts Mahāmudrā as a Sūtric tradition,
 All the scriptures and [logical] reasoning [uttered] by other
 traditions
 That criticize the dKar-brgyud-pa
 Would become feasible.
 [However,] it is difficult to find a scriptural source ^[459] that
 teaches
 The treatise of the *rGyud bla [ma]* as a Tantric scripture.
- || 2.33 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
 Although it is indeed the case that the
 Unequaled Dwags-po-[lha-rje sGam-po-pa] and Skyob-pa
 'Jig-rten-gsum-mgon
 Established an exegetical tradition of Mahāmudrā
 In accordance with the *rGyud bla [ma]*,
 The intention of this is the following:
 Paṅ-chen Shākya-mchog-ldan taught extensively
 In [his] *Nges don rgya mtsho*
 The method of intending both the *vajra* mind,
 [Which is] the definite meaning of the Tantric Mahāmudrā,
 And the core object of teachings in the *rGyud bla [ma]*
 Śāstra,
 The actual reality, [represented by] the seven *vajra* points,
 To be *de facto* identical.⁴⁵¹
- || 2.34 || How [is it, then,] that [one] engages in the faults of [unde-
 sired] contradictory consequences
 In what is suitable [as] a Tantric scripture of the *rGyud bla*
 [ma]

terpretation of Lo-tsā-ba gZu dGa'-ba-rdo-rje (b. eleventh century) and
 bTsan Kha-bo-che (b. 1021), and a “gZhan-stong” interpretation by Dol-
 po-pa; see MATHES 2008: 34–48.

⁴⁵¹ rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen refers to Shākya-mchog-ldan's detailed exposi-
 tion, which establishes the *Ratnagoṭravibhāga* as the definite meaning
 of the Mantrayāna; see Shākya-mchog-ldan's *Nges don rgya mtsho* (pp.
 541.4–557.6). For a further explicit explanation of the *vajra* mind, see
ibid. (pp. 582.6–586.2). The seven *vajra* points are explained in the five
 chapters of the *Ratnagoṭravibhāga*: Buddha (*sangs rgyas*), the teachings
 (*chos*), the monastic community (*dge 'dun*), Buddha Nature (*khams/rigs*),
 enlightenment (*byang chub*), the qualities of a Buddha (*yon tan*), and the
 activities of a Buddha (*'phrin las*).

- Or a Sūtric tradition of a Mahāmudrā sequential meditation [path]
By only partially agreeing with the Sūtras or Tantras?
- || 2.35 || Even though [there is] no difference in regard to the content of what is to be realized,
Since there is a great difference in the methods to cause realization,
Not to mention that there [would] be a contradiction
With other [persons] in the dKar-brgyud [lineage]
Who are upholding the lineage of Nāro[pa]
While [also] cultivating different practical instructions.⁴⁵²
- || 2.36 || It is also sufficient to understand
[Such] disputes ^[460] in which [it] is said,
“[This] is also contradictory to our own tradition,”
As in fact artificial.
- || 2.37 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
If [one] maintains the excellent instructions of Mahāmudrā to be
The pinnacle of the profound stage of perfection
In the *niruttara*[yoga] Tantra [class],
What special need [would] there be
To cite the *rGyud bla* [ma] as an [authentic] source?
- || 2.38 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
Although it was indeed the case that this path [of Mahāmudrā]
Was the profound pinnacle of the Sūtras and Tantra
When the unequaled Candraprabhakumāra taught
This secret distinguishing feature,
Nowadays, because this teaching of the Buddha
Is difficult to approach in [its actual] content,
If [one] relates [it] to the scriptural tradition
That has been accepted by everybody together with other

⁴⁵²The line of arguments here exemplifies what rJe Shākya-rin-chen (and rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen) refer to when they allude to the danger of “dogmatic conceptualization” or sophistry in debates that at a certain point become pointless unless they consider heuristic and didactic contexts of teaching Mahāmudrā; see verse || 0.III || on p. 160.

traditions as [means of] valid cognition,
 In order to eradicate the blame of
 “Obscuring [teachings] by the clouds [of] bKa’-[gdams and
 Mahā]mudrā [traditions united in sGam-po-pa],”⁴⁵³
 It is extremely necessary to cite the Sūtras [as scriptural
 support.

[rJe Shākya-rin-chen and Commentary rJe dGe-’dun-rin-chen:]
 This was the second chapter offering a response to questions about
 the scriptural sources of the quintessential instructions [of Mahāmu-
 drā] from the *Questions Concerning the [Doctrine of] Mahāmudrā*
Titled the “Pointed Spear of a Siddha.”

5.3 Third Chapter: A Response to Questions about the Mahāmudrā View

|| 3.1 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
 Then, ask: Whether or not a position
 [Related] to the Mahāmudrā view ^[461] exists,
 Which is superior to [the view]
 That was taught in the scriptural sources of the Sūtric
 Madhyamaka tradition?⁴⁵⁴

⁴⁵³The designation *bka’ phyag* is frequently employed to refer to sGam-po-pa’s tradition that united bKa’-gdams and Mahāmudrā teachings and is also used by Padma-dkar-po in his *Chos ’byung pad rgyas*. However, an alternative reading is possible, “obscuring [this teaching] by clouds [of] rag-wearing bKa’-[brgyud pas]”. This would then refer to the later use of *bka’ phyag pa* as insult in Mahāmudrā polemical writings. See for example Sixth Ngor-mkhan-chen Go-rams-pa bSod-nams-seng-ge (1429–1489, hereafter Go-rams-pa) in his *sDom pa gsum gyi rab tu dbye pa’i rnam bshad rgyal ba’i gsung rab kyi dgongs pa gsal ba*; for the Tibetan text with English translation, see KRUG 2020: 99–100.

⁴⁵⁴ rJe Shākya-rin-chen refers to a specific distinction in three kinds of Madhyamaka, which was first developed and introduced by Shākya-mchog-ldan. The first two were Sūtric and the third Tantric: (1) Prāsaṅgika-Madhyamaka (described as *chos thams cad ngo bo nyid med pa’i tshul can gyi dbu ma*), the tradition of Nāgārjuna, (2) Svātantrika-Madhyamaka (*yongs grub ngo bo nyid du smra ba’i tshul can gyi dbu ma*), the tradition of Asaṅga, and (3) Tantric Madhyamaka (*gsang sngags bla na med pa’i dbu ma*); for this distinction in detail, see KOMAROVSKI 2011: 254–268. For the most extended study of Shākya-mchog-ldan’s

- || 3.2 || In the first case, [that one would maintain a position that considers the Mahāmudrā view as superior to the view of the Sūtric Madhyamaka tradition],
It has been argued that rJe Mi-la-[ras-pa] did not maintain [any position that states]
That there is a superior view in the Mantrayāna
Apart from the Madhyamaka tradition of the Mahāyāna.⁴⁵⁵
- || 3.3 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
From the perspective of the view
There is no difference between Madhya[maka] and [Mahā]-mudrā.
Although the co-equality of existence and quiescence [established] by the Madhyamika system
And the indivisibility of Saṃsara and Nirvāṇa of the Mantrayāna differ in name,⁴⁵⁶

intellectual agenda, see also *ibid.*; in regard to the relationship between Madhyamaka and Mahāmudrā in Shākya-mchog-ldan's thinking, see especially HIGGINS & DRASZCZYK 2016. Note that the variant *mdo sogs* provided in B_bC₄_aC₄_b implies not only Sūtric Madhyamaka systems, such as Yogācāra-Madhyamaka, but that in this chapter all relevant doxographical distinctions of Madhyamaka in relation to Mahāmudrā are discussed.

⁴⁵⁵This quote could not yet be identified, but rJe Shākya-rin-chen is probably referring to Mi-la-ras-pa's *dBu ma yang dag* and associated works. The *dBu ma yang dag* is not an independent work, but a song of realization in the *Mi la mgur 'bum* (fols. 155r6–156r4), chapter *Tshe ring mched lngas drod zhul ba dang zhus lan gyi rim pa*. Padma-dkar-po included it as a “separate” work in his *gSung 'bum* with a reconstructed Sanskrit title, thereby trying to emphasize the essence of philosophical views of Mi-la-ras-pa. In his *Grub pa'i shing rta*, Padma-dkar-po alludes mainly to Mi-la-ras-pa's *dBu ma yang dag* and two other sources, Candrakīrti's *Prasannapadā* and *Madhyamakāvatāra*; see BROIDO 1985b: 18–19, see also n. 514 on p. 228. For two further quotes with similar argumentation, see verse || 3.4 || on p. 203 and verse || 3.34 || on p. 222.

⁴⁵⁶In the first line, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen uses the instrumental *mas*, whereas in the second line, he uses the genitive *gi*, perhaps wanting to express the active process of establishing the ultimate through logical reasoning in the Madhyamaka tradition. rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen provides a list of synonyms for a view that establishes the absolute as identical with the basis (*gzhi*), characterized by the indivisibility of Saṃsara and Nirvāṇa; see also WANGCHUK 2014: 34. rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen partially

They are *de facto* the same;
 With whichever term [one] explains [them], such as: luminosity as the mind's nature;⁴⁵⁷ or
 [As the core teaching of the Third Turning of the Wheel of Dharma,] the great, perfect [nature, which undergoes] no change;⁴⁵⁸ or
 [The final definite meaning in the tradition of the Madhyamīkas]

summarizes rJe Yon-tan-mtha'-yas, 'Og min zhal lung (fol. 18r6–18v4):
 'khor lo tha ma'i bstan bya'i gtso bor gyur pa'i 'gyur ba med pa'i yongs grub ces bya ba de dang || ngo bo nyid med par smra ba'i nges don mthar thug stong pa nyid snying rje'i snying po can nam || lta ba kun ldog pa'i 'khor lo 'am || don dam byang chub kyi sems zhes bya ba de dang || rnal 'byor spyod pa pa mthar thug de'i lugs kyi gnyis med kyi ye shes sam || so so rang rig pa'i ye shes sam || kun gzhi'i ye shes zhes bya ba de dang || pha rgyud las bshad pa'i rnam med 'od gsal zhes bya ba de dang || ma rgyud las bshad pa'i bde ba chen po zhes bya ba de dang || dpal dus kyi 'khor lo las gsungs pa'i mchog tu mi 'gyur ba'i bde chen zhes bya ba de la sogs pa rnam dang || phyag rgya chen po las gsungs pa'i sems dngos po'i gnas lugs sam || sems nyid lhan cig skyes pa chos kyi sku 'am || gnas lugs phyag rgya chen po 'am || tha mal gyi shes pa 'am || dang po'i shes pa zhes bya ba rnam don gcig cing || de ni lugs de dang de'i yin lugs mthar thug yin pas || ring lugs de dag dang phyag chen lta ba gcig tu grub bo ||.

⁴⁵⁷ rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen employs the term luminosity here for its more subjective meaning as mind's nature in the Pāramitāyāna, as unobstructed by the emotional and intellectual defilements (*nyon mongs pa: kleśa*) and inherently luminous. See also rJe Yon-tan-mtha'-yas, 'Og min zhal lung (fol. 18r5–6): *de'i tshe mdo'i mthar thug shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa las || sems ni sems ma mchis pa ste sems kyi rang bzhin ni 'od gsal ba'o ||*. rJe Yon-tan-mtha'-yas quotes a *locus classicus* of the Tibetan exegetical tradition to summarize the Three Turnings of the Wheel of the Dharma (*chos 'khor gsum*); see *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* (P, fol. 3r7; T fol. 4v2–3). For the explanation and discussion of the interpretation of Buddha Nature (*tathāgatagarbha*) in the *Ratnagotravibhāga* as inherently luminous (*prakṛtiprabhāsvaratā*) and adorned with positive characteristics (*guṇāḥ*), see SCHMITHAUSEN 1973: 136–141. For a detailed explanation of the buddhological development of the Buddha conception in relation to the characteristics of mind's nature as luminous and the use of the concept of luminosity in different textual sources from the Śrāvakayāna, Pāramitāyāna, und Mantrayāna, see WANGCHUK 2007: 208–210. For an extensive study of the *Tathāgatagarbhasūtra*, see ZIMMERMANN 2002.

⁴⁵⁸The term *yongs su grub pa* is employed in the Yogācāra school as one of the three natures within the three-nature theory (*ngo bo nyid gsum*:

Endowed with the essence of [both] emptiness and compassion,
 [The so called] supreme ultimate *bodhicitta*;⁴⁵⁹ or
 Personally realized gnosis⁴⁶⁰ [in the tradition of Yogācāra-Madhyamaka]; or
 [In the explanations of the father Tantras,] emptiness as luminosity free from aspects;⁴⁶¹ [or]
 [In the explanations of the *yoginī* Tantras,] gnosis [as]

trīsvabhāva): The imaginary nature, which is based on incorrect perception through fabrications (*kun btags/brtags: parikalpita*), the dependent nature (*gzhan dbang: paratantra*) which is the understanding of the interdependent nature of phenomena, and the perfected nature (*yongs grub: pariniṣpanna*). Nevertheless, as exemplified here, the term is employed in broader contexts. Among the two facets of the term, the ontological/objective (*'gyur med yongs grub*) and the subjective/cognitive (*phin ci ma log pa'i yongs grub*), the former is, in this context, alluded to.

⁴⁵⁹For an overview and discussion of the different Indian sources for the traditional classification into conventional *bodhicitta* (*kun rdzob kyi byang chub kyi sems: saṃvṛtibodhicitta*) and ultimate *bodhicitta* (*don dam pa'i byang chub kyi sems: pāramāthikabodhicitta*), see WANGCHUK 2007: 251–261. Additionally, Dorji Wangchuk has developed a typology of *bodhicitta* in his extensive study, see WANGCHUK 2007: 195–232. Ultimate *bodhicitta* would be historically and thematically linked to “ontological” or “gnoseological” *bodhicitta*; on this type, see *ibid.*: 205–217. In general, *bodhicitta* is identified with the unity of the dyads of emptiness (*stong pa nyid: śūnyatā*) and compassion (*snying rje: karuṇā*), as well as wisdom (*shes rab: praññā*) and efficient strategies (*thabs mkhas: upāyakauśalya*). In some cases emptiness is associated with wisdom and compassion with efficient strategies, with the collective designation as *śūnyatākaruṇāgarbha* or *śūnyatākaruṇābhīna*. For an analysis of these terms and the relevant Indian and Tibetan non-Tantric and Tantric Mahāyāna sources, see *ibid.*: 235–239.

⁴⁶⁰On the term “personally realized gnosis” (*so sor rang rig pa'i ye shes*), see also HIGGINS & DRASZCZYK 2016: vol. 1, 101, n. 255, where the authors suggest a Sanskrit rendering of **pratyātmavidjñāna*. For the precedence of personally realized gnosis over a mere rational understanding through studying and its importance in Shākya-mchog-ldans's thinking, see *ibid.*: 101–109.

⁴⁶¹rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen uses the term *rnam med 'od gsal stong pa nyid*. In the Tibetan context *rnam med* and *snang med* are often synonymously used.

Great Bliss;⁴⁶² or

[In the context of the *Kālacakratāntra*,] immutable Great Bliss;⁴⁶³ or

[In Mahāmudrā, the Dharmakāya as] co-emergent [mind itself];⁴⁶⁴

From the perspective of the view, their meaning is one.

|| 3.4 || Therefore, rJe-btsun Mi-la[-ras-pa] has also taught,
 “Although there is no difference in terms of the view,
 With regard to the methods, [the Mantrayāna] is superior
 [to the Sūtrayāna and Pāramitāyāna].”⁴⁶⁵

|| 3.5 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
 In the second case, [that one would not maintain that the
 Mahāmudrā view is
 Superior to the view of the Sūtric Madhyamaka tradition],
 Can [one] accept, [then], that the object of abandonment,
 The so called habitual tendencies of emissions⁴⁶⁶

⁴⁶² For the term gnosis as Great Bliss (*bde ba chen po'i ye shes: mahāsukha-jñāna*), see for example Kāṇha, *Yogaratnamālā* 25–26; in SNELLGROVE 1959: vol. 2, 110 (Skt.). For an extensive study of the Yoginītantras, especially the *Vajrayoginītantra*, see ENGLISH 2002.

⁴⁶³ Immutable Great Bliss (*mi 'gyur ba'i bde ba chen po: paramākṣaramahāsukha*) is, for example, found in the *Vimalaprabhā*; see for the Sanskrit edition DWIWEDI & BAHULKAR 1994: vol. 3, 102; or in Vajrapāni, *Laghutantraṭīkā*, for the Sanskrit edition see CICUZZA 2001: 150 (reference was kindly provided by Harunaga Isaacson).

⁴⁶⁴ rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen alludes here to aspects of two very common Mahāmudrā terminologies, namely Dharmakāya represented by the co-emergent mind itself (*sems nyid lhan cig skyes pa chos kyi sku*) and “natural mind” (*sems kyi gnyug ma*); for the different terms in rJe Yontan-mtha'-yas, 'Og min zhal lung (fol. 18r3–18v4), see also n. 456 on p. 200.

⁴⁶⁵ This quote could not be identified as Mi-la-ras-pa's, but is also quoted with variation in Padma-dkar-po, 'Khor sdom snying po (p. 15.3): *rje btsun gyis | lta ba'i sgo nas khyad med kyang || thabs la gsang sngags khyad par 'phags ||*. For a very similar often quoted verse from Sa-skya Paṇḍita's *sDom gsum rab dbye*, see verse || 3.34 || on p. 222. For a delineation of the context of this idea, see also n. 500 on p. 222.

⁴⁶⁶ rJe Shākya-rin-chen refers to the position that the habitual tendencies of emission (*'pho ba'i bag chags/'pho ba'i sgrib pa*) can only be purified

A Timely Message from the Cave

And [462] the antidote for this,
Namely the “supremely endowed emptiness”⁴⁶⁷
And “immutable Great Bliss,”
Are explained in the Madhyamaka tenet of the Sūtric

by Yogic practices of the Mantrayāna and not through the methods of the Pāramitāyāna. These practices are explained, for example, in the *Kālacakratantra* or *Guhyasamāyatantra* tradition. The coarse aspects of these defilements or residues are represented in the physical body as the white vital essence, semen (*khu ba: sukra*), the red vital essence, ovum or blood (*rdul/khrag: rajas*), and winds (*rlung: vāyu*). For a detailed explanation of these terminologies and their context in the Vajrayoginī-tantras, see GUARISCO & MC LEOD 2010: 161–167; 428, n. 26; 431, n. 41; see also for further explanations on the function of these constituents in Abhayākara Gupta, *Samputatantrarājaṭīkāmnāyamañjarī* (P; fols. 210v4–211r7; D, fols. 191a5–192r1). See also for example sMingling-lo-chen Dharma-shrī (1654–1717/1718) in his *sDom gsum snye ba* (pp. 11.4–13.6), who provides this as one of the reasons for the inevitability of the Mantrayāna. He quotes Nāgabodhi, *Karmāntavibhāṅga* (P, fol. 166r7; D, fol. 146v3–4) and the **Guhyagarbatantra* (P, fol. 122r1–2; D, fol. 124r6–7): *sngags lam nyid ma brten par mthar thug gi 'bras bu de mi thob par bstan | theg pa gzhan thams cad de'i lam stegs su 'gro tshul bshad | des sngags lam bgrod pa gcig pa'i lam yin par grub pa'o || dang po ni | zab rgyas chos kyi sgo 'phar bgrang yas kyang || gsang chen smin grol lam mchog ma brten par || thob pa min zhes rdzogs sangs rgyas des gsungs || zhes pa ste | zab pa ji lta ba dang | rgyas pa ji snyed pa'i don ston pa'i chos sgo bgrang ba las 'das pa dag snang yang | mthar thug gi 'bras bu rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas de gsang chen rdo rje theg pa'i smin grol gyi lam mchog ma brten par thob pa min te | ci'i phyir na 'khor bar 'ching byed kyi kun rtog phra ba spangs pa tsam du ma zad | klu byang gi las mtha' rnam 'byed las | mgo dang rkang lags sogs byin kyang || snang ba rnam par ma dag phyir || byang chub 'bras bu thob mi 'gyur || zhes gsungs pa ltar snang gsum mam 'pho ba'i sgrib pa yang ma lus par spang dgos na | de spong byed kyi lam pha rol tu phyin pa'i theg par ma bshad pa'i phyir | des na gsang snying las | 'jig rten drug gi phiyogs bcu na || 'das dang da ltar byung ba yi || rgyal ba'i dkyil 'khor ma lus pa || bsnyen nas sku lnga lhun gyis rdzogs || zhes gsungs so ||*. On the role of Nāgabodhi in the formation of Nāgārjuna's/Āryadeva's tradition and his impact on the exegetical and commentarial literature of it, see WEDEMEYER 2007: 16–34; 59–60.

⁴⁶⁷The term supremely endowed emptiness (*rnam kun mchog ldan gyi*

tradition?⁴⁶⁸

- || 3.6 || In particular, what [is one then supposed to do] with what was taught, [namely] That emptiness, [which is merely defined] as the exclusion of the [mental and physical] aggregates, Is essenceless like a banana tree?⁴⁶⁹
- || 3.7 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:] Except for a mere dissimilarity in the way of designating Those [terminologies] that have been taught according to the Sūtric systems—

stong pa nyid: sarvākāravāropetaśūnyatā) has been used by 'Ju Mi-pham as a synonym for integrality (*zung 'jug: yuganaddha*); see WANGCHUK 2014: 56, n. 185. Moreover, it plays an important role in Shākya-mchog-ldan's and Padma-dkar-po's emphasis and establishment of a doctrine of “unity.”

⁴⁶⁸ rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen understands this passage differently (C4_aC4_b, *mdo sngags dbu ma'i grub mtha' las*): [...]“are explained in the Sūtric and Tantric Madhyamaka tenet.”

⁴⁶⁹ rJe Shākya-rin-chen quotes Mañjuśrīyaśas, **Svadarśanamatoḍḍeśa* (P, fol. 23r8–23v1): *phung po rnam dpyad stong pa ni || chu shing bzhin du snying po med || rnam pa kun gyi mchog ldan pa'i || stong nyid ltar 'gyur ma yin ||*; see WANGCHUK 2014: 56, n. 185, who identified this quote. Francesco Sferra has identified Mañjuśrīyaśas as the Eighth King of Śambhala and incarnation of Mañjughoṣa Narendrakīrti (Oslo Buddhist Studies Forum, May 22, 2012). It has been observed by Dorji Wangchuk that the verse is often used by 'Ju Mi-pham, who seems to have a predilection for this analogy. Dorji Wangchuk has observed that not only the title but also the author's name is mistranslated. A similar analogy of the banana tree occurs in Nāgārjuna (ascribed), *Dharmadhātustotra* (P, fols. 73b8–74a2; D, fol. 64a5–6): *chu shing snying po med do zhes || 'jig rten na ni dper byed kyang || de yi 'bras bu snying po nyid || mngar po za bar byed pa ltar || snying po med pa'i 'khor ba las || nyon mongs gzab [gzib; P] dang bral gyur na || de yis 'bras bu sangs rgyas nyid || lus can kun gyi bdud rtsir 'gyur [gyur; P] || de bzhin sa bon thams cad las || rgyu dang 'dra ba'i 'bras bu 'byung ||*. This analogy has been employed by several Tibetan authors, for example, Shākya-mchog-ldan in his *gZhan dregs nyams byed*; see HIGGINS & DRASZCZYK 2016: vol. 2, 21 (engl.); 30 (tib.); or in his *Nges don rgya mtsho* (pp. 474.7–475.1; p. 496.6–7). For the discussion of this passage, see HIGGINS & DRASZCZYK 2016: vol. 1, 78; 123.

A Timely Message from the Cave

The subtle [impressions] of intellectual defilements,⁴⁷⁰
The seeds of appearances of subject-object [dichotomy],
and
[Fractions of the] karmic [seeds] in the *ālaya*[*viññāna*]⁴⁷¹—
As well as those [terminologies] that have been taught [in
the Tantric scriptures]—
Such as the habitual tendencies,
Perceiving [oneself through] the three gates [of body, speech
and mind as] separate, and
[The defilements that hinder] the generation of gnosis—
A distinguishing feature [between them] actually does not
exist,
Because a distinguishing feature [between] freedom from
elaboration and
The luminous nature [of the mind],
Which has been taught in the context of the final Sūtras,
[and]
Those [designations given] in the Tantras, such as immutable
Great Bliss and
Supremely endowed [emptiness], does not exist.

|| 3.8 || Also in the Madhyamaka [463] scriptural tradition
[This type of] emptiness, [which is merely defined] as the
exclusion of the [mental and physical] aggregates,
Is not maintained [to be] the emptiness [associated] with
the final view;
Therefore, [it is of] provisional meaning.

|| 3.9 || [Objection:] Well, in this case then, it would [absurdly fol-
low]
That there would be no difference between the two, the
Sūtric and Tantric [systems].
[Reply:] The great omniscient [Padma-dkar-po] has taught
That a distinction between the view of the two, the Sūtric

⁴⁷⁰The adventitious stains (*glo bur gyi dri ma: āgantukamala*) are of two types: The emotional defilements (*nyon mongs pa'i sgrib pa: kleśāvaraṇa*) and the more subtle intellectual defilements (*shes bya'i sgrib pa: jñeyāvaraṇa*); see also WANGCHUK 2000: 217.

⁴⁷¹See also rJe Yon-tan-mtha'-yas, 'Og min zhal lung (fol. 20r2), who uses the term *kun gzhi'i sa bon gyi cha*.

and Tantric [systems], is made
 Through [a differentiation between] “non-foundation [in
 the] middle” and
 “Non-foundation [of] unity.”⁴⁷²

|| 3.10 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
 If [one] maintains that a difference is made [in the context
 of
 The Sūtric and Tantric] mode of view of Madhyamaka
 Between “non-foundation [in] the middle” and
 “non-foundation [in] unity,” [then]

⁴⁷² rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen equates “non-foundation in the middle” (*dbu ma rab tu mi gnas pa*) as Sūtric and “non-foundation of unity” (*zung 'jug rab tu mi gnas pa*) as Tantric Madhyamaka. Padma-dkar-po, in his *Klan ka gzhom gtam*, distinguishes two different aspects of *rab tu mi gnas pa* to balance and transcend the limits of negative and positive determinations: “non-foundation of mere discourse” (*smra tsam rab tu mi gnas pa*) and “non-foundation of unity” (*zung 'jug rab tu mi gnas pa*); see HIGGINS & DRASZCZYK 2016: vol. 1, 427–428. sGam-po-pa divides in his *Tshogs chos legs mdzes ma* into *zung 'jug rab tu mi gnas pa* and *rgyun chad rab tu mi gnas pa*; see *ibid.*: 37, n. 63. ALMOGI 2010, has identified the Madhyamaka subclassifications of Māyopamādvayavādin (*sgyu ma lta bur gnyis su med par smra ba*) and Sarvadharmāpratiṣṭhānavādin (*chos thams cad rab tu mi gnas par smra ba*) in Indian sources dating back to the eleventh century, such as in Advayavajra's *Tattvaratnāvalī*, Aśvaghōṣa's (ascribed) **Paramārthabodhicittabhāvanākrama*, Candraraharipāda's **Ratnamālā*, Jñānavajra's **Tattvamārgadarśana*, Vajrapāni's **Guruparamparākramopadeśa*, and Atiśa's *'Brom ston pa rgyal ba'i 'byung gnas kyi skyes rabs bka' gdams bu*; for the translation and critical edition, see ALMOGI 2010: 139–163 (engl.); 184–203 (tib.). Furthermore, ALMOGI 2010 delineates an overview of the reception of this division by some Tibetan scholars. Furthermore, she points out that the controversy evolved around two major points: first, whether the distinction refers to the ultimate and the methods of establishing the ultimate, and second, whether Apratiṣṭhānavāda is classified as Prāsaṅgika-Madhyamaka and Māyopamavāda as Svātantrika-Madhyamaka, or both are classified as Svātantrika-Madhyamaka; see ALMOGI 2010: 163–184; see also HIGGINS & DRASZCZYK 2016: vol.1, 37–40. HIGGINS & DRASZCZYK 2016 have pointed out Padma-dkar-po's unique interpretation of Prāsaṅgika- and Svātantrika-Madhyamaka as subclassifications of Apratiṣṭhānavāda, found in his *Grub pa'i shing rta* (pp. 348.4–363.4). For the translation of the passage, see *ibid.*: 354, n. 1024. For a useful overview of the structure of the *Grub pa'i shing rta*, see BROIDO 1985b: 46.

Insofar as “non-foundation” has the meaning
Of being free from [all] assertions,
Ask: Is it tenable or not [to interpret]
This [expression], “non-foundation [in] unity,” in the sense
That even though [this expression] is in conformity
With Mahāyāna-Madhyamaka,⁴⁷³
In terms of “non-foundation,” [it is also]
Free from assertions in terms of the assertion of “unity”?

|| 3.11 || In the first case, [that it is tenable to interpret “non-
foundation in unity” as free from all assertions in terms
of the proposition of “unity,”]
If [one] maintains [“non-foundation in unity” as being] free
from assertions,
[Even] while [at the same time] making an assertion of
“unity” itself,
[This would be] a matter of ridiculousness.⁴⁷⁴

|| 3.12 || [Commentary rJe dGe’-dun-rin-chen:]
Although [one] asserts [the terminology of] “unity,”
It is reasonable [to interpret it] in the sense of [being] free
from [all] assertions.
This is because “unity” cannot withstand
Analysis [464] through the reasonings of the Madhyamīkas
[And], therefore, [it] is free from the extreme of manifold-
ness,⁴⁷⁵
The ultimate meaning of the Madhyamaka and Mahāmu-
drā views
Is identical in the sense [that they are both] free from as-
sertions.

⁴⁷³In this context, rJe Shākya-rin-chen equates Mahāyāna-Madhyamaka (*theg chen dbu ma*) with Sūtric Madhyamaka.

⁴⁷⁴The noun *bshad gad* literally means “laughter” or “ridiculousness,” but here it also bears a connotation of an “absurd consequence.” The objection raised here by critics about the validity of the Apratiṣṭhānavāda/Māyopamavāda sub-classification aims at a kind of reification or resultant ontological status of the “unity” (of the two truths) in the manner of the criticism that was usually raised against Dol-po-pa and other proponents of the Jo-nang school.

⁴⁷⁵For the term *spros bral*, see also n. 386 on p. 162.

- || 3.13 || [The designation of “unity”] will not become the object of
ridiculousness
Because that itself is [a matter] of the mere difference
Between deception and non-deception
From [the perspective] of negation and affirmation.
In the *Pañcakrama* [it has been taught],
“After having abandoned the two conceptual [constructions]
of Saṃsara and Nirvāṇa,
Where [is] that which became [of] one nature, [and]
That is explained as ‘unity’?”⁴⁷⁶
- || 3.14 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
In the second case, [that it is not tenable to interpret “non-
foundation in unity” as free from all assertions in terms of
the assertion of “unity,”]
What is the purpose of applying the term “non-foundation,”
Which has [already] been explained
In such-and-such treatises of this Sūtric tradition,
[In the context] of the Tantric [tradition]?
- || 3.15 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
The purpose of applying the term of “non-foundation”
In the Tantric [tradition], in compliance
With the Sūtric scriptural tradition, is
[That] the elaborations⁴⁷⁷ consisting of the conceptual con-
structions
[Of grasping to subject-object] dichotomy [are reversed].

⁴⁷⁶ rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen quotes Nāgārjuna, *Pañcakrama* (P, fol. 62r7–8; D, fol. 55v3–4): *'khor ba dang ni mya ngan 'das || rtog pa gnyis po spangs pas na || gang du dngos po gcig gyur pa || zung du 'jug ces de la bshad*. For the Sanskrit edition, see DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN 1896: 46. rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen seems to understand *bshad* not as part of the quotation. Regarding the exegesis and interpretation of the concept of unity, the fifth stage of the *Pañcakrama* is generally employed by Tibetan authors as one of the most important Indian sources. The quote is also frequently used by Padma-dkar-po, for example in his *Phyag chen gan mdzod* (p. 106.3–4) and *bSre 'pho 'grel chen* (p. 589.3), as also pointed out by BROIDO 1985b: 26; 30; 55, n. 118.

⁴⁷⁷ This refers to the subjective aspect of *spros 'bral*, see also n. 386 on p. 162.

- || 3.16 || In particular, what would be identified
As “unity” according to this [Tantric] context?
Also, how many objects of identical functional application
[Of that term “unity”] are existent?
- || 3.17 || With regard to ^[465] the identification of “[occurrence in]
unity” in this context,
[There are the dyads such as] co-emergent appearances [as
the luminosity of the Dharmakāya] and
Co-emergent mind as-such [as the Dharmakāya].
Although the object of operational application
Is divided into [these] two from the perspective of the [con-
ventional] mind,
In reality [the identification is done] in the sphere of the
indivisibility
Of appearance and mind, which is indistinguishable.⁴⁷⁸
- || 3.18 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
Incidentally, there is indeed no need for additional elabora-
tions
Apart from the way the rebuttal⁴⁷⁹ was done [previously]

⁴⁷⁸ rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen refers to a key idea of sGam-po-pa regarding *tha mal gyi shes pa*, which associates the co-emergent appearances with the luminosity of the Dharmakāya (*snang ba lhan cig skyes pa chos sku'i 'od*) and co-emergent mind as-such with the Dharmakāya (*sems nyid lhan cig skyes pa chos kyi sku*) itself; see for example sGam-po-pa, *Tshogs chos yon tan phun tshogs* (pp. 521.6–522.5): *sgom pa ni phyag rgya chen po'i don la sems ma yengs par ma bcos par 'jog pa yin te | de yang ngo sprad pa'i skabs su sems nyid lhan cig skyes pa chos kyi sku | snang ba lhan cig skyes pa chos kyi sku'i 'od | de yang sems nyid lhan cig skyes pa ni sems nyid kyi ngo bo 'am yin tshul de yin | snang ba lhan cig skyes pa ni de la dran rtog sna tshogs su 'char ba de yin | de yang nyi ma dang nyi ma'i 'od gzer lta bu | btsan dan dang btsan dan gyi dri lta bu yin | de yang sems nyid kyi ngo bo la bcas bcos ma slad par bzhags pas | dang po skad cig tsam re dngos zin pa'o ||*; on this distinction see also SHERPA 2004: 110–111. rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen also implies other common dyads, which are employed in different contexts, such as *sgyu lus* and *'od gsal*; for a list, see rJe Yon-tan-mtha'-yas, *'Og min zhal lung* (fol. 22r4–22v1).

⁴⁷⁹ Three types are common in the exegetical Tibetan tradition, (1) establishment of one's own position (*rang lugs bzhag pa*), (2) refutation of the opponent's philosophical position (*zhan lugs 'gag pa*), and (3) rebuttal of potential criticism (*rtsod pa spong ba*).

By the [spiritual] son of the omniscient one Padma-dkar-po,
 [Namely mKhas-dbang Sangs-rgyas-rdo-rje],
 [As] a response to those statements⁴⁸⁰
 Made by [other] scholars, [saying,]
 “That view maintained by the Chinese monk
 And the [view of] Mahāmudrā of the glorious Dwags-po
 dKar-brgyud-[pas]
 [Are] equivalent.”⁴⁸¹

|| 3.19 || If some [persons], who are authoritative, taught
 [That] the [philosophical] view of the H[w]a-shang tradition
 Does not differ from other profound practical instructions
 Of the Mahāyāna tradition
 Apart from the difference in the ineptitude of the Chinese
 abbot
 In [his] teaching methods [of that way],
 What would be the purpose of expressing proof
 That [is supposed to support] the dissimilarity
 Of the H[w]a-shang tradition and
 Mahāmudrā of the dKar-brgyud-[pas]?

|| 3.20 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
 With regard to that, some have maintained that apart from

⁴⁸⁰ mKhas-dbang Sangs-rgyas-rdo-rje was one of the main students of Padma-dkar-po. He composed his *Phyag rgya chen po'i man ngag gi bshad sbyar rgyal ba'i gan mdzod ces bya ba'i bstan bcos la rtsod pa spong ba'i gtam srid gsum rnam par rgyal ba'i dge mtshan* in direct response to the rebuttal of Padma-dkar-po's *Phyag chen gan mdzod* by the Sa-skya master Mang-thos Klu-sgrub-rgya-mtsho (1523–1596), the *sDom gsum rab dbye'i dka' 'grel sbas don gnad kyi snying po gsal byed phyag chen rtsod spong skabs kyi legs bshad nyi ma'i 'od zer* (in *Mang thos klu sgrub rgya mtsho'i gsung skor: The Collected Works of Mang thos Klu sgrub rgya mtsho*. 6 vols. [Kathmandu]: Sa-skya-rgyal-yongs gSung-rab-slob-gnyer-khang, 1999, vol. 4, pp. 111–206, BDRC: W23636); see HIGGINS & DRASZCZYK 2016: vol. 1, 349; 357–358.

⁴⁸¹ Here, rJe Shākya-rin-chen quotes Sa-skya Paṇḍita, *sDom gsum rab dbye* 3.175c–d: *da lta'i phyag rgya chen po ni || phal cher rgya nag chos lugs yin* ||; in RHOTON 2002: 119 (engl.); 304 (tib.). Sa-skya Paṇḍita's criticism is found in *sDom gsum rab dbye* 3.167–175; in RHOTON 2002: 118–119 (engl.); 303–304 (tib.).

[its] unskilled mode of teaching,
 Inasmuch ^[466] as the tradition [of Hwa-shang] denigrates
 the [soteriological] path [consisting of] efficient strategies,
 There is *ad sensum* no difference [between it and the Mahā-
 mudrā tradition].
 [Such a position] was [put forward, however,] in the view
 Of the mere similarity [between the two] from the perspec-
 tive of freedom from manifoldness.
 The reasons, however, for putting forward arguments why
 [the Hwa-shang tradition]
 Is categorically different from the Mahāmudrā [tradition]
 are as follows:
 The H[w]a-shang [Mahāyanā followers] do not maintain
 That self-cognition and mentation⁴⁸² should exist
 At the time of seeking the view according to one's own sys-
 tem, [Mahāmudrā;]
 Then, once [one] has obtained the view,
 [One should] maintain the essence of the view;
 Then, when meditating in the middle phase,
 [One] should rely on effortless mindfulness;
 And then, also, when [one] engages in [one's own] conduct,
 [One] should properly act according to what is to be aban-
 doned and adopted
 For as long as grasping has not dissolved in the sphere [of
 reality].
 The H[w]a-shang [Mahāyāna] followers do not maintain
 these [things];
 Then, what thought should there be that [these] two,
 The [Hwa-shang view which] is a [sociologically] neutral
 view—like being in a state of fainting—
 And the Mahāmudrā [view], which is characterized by com-
 plete knowledge, are similar?⁴⁸³

⁴⁸²Self-cognition (*rang rig: svasaṃvedana/svasamvitti*) and mentation (*yid la byed pa: manasikāra*).

⁴⁸³rJe dGe'dun-rin-chen refers to the main points of criticism that Tibetan scholars have associated with Hwa-shang Mahāyāna, leaving out the question of whether the content of these later identifications and thrust of criticism is historically true or not. These are: the soteriological function of virtuous conduct, the possibility of an instantaneous approach to enlightenment (*cig car du*), the nature of insight following from

- || 3.21 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
 Furthermore, what do [you] say to what
 rJe-btsun Sa-[skya] Paṇ[ḍita] has stated:
 That the Mahāmudrā [tradition] of the dKar-brgyud-[pas]
 Is the tradition of *Alīkākāravāda?⁴⁸⁴
- || 3.22 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
 Regarding the philosophical tenet of [*Alīkākāravāda],
 Although maintaining external entities [to be] mind and
 [maintaining] mind, too, [to be]
 Ultimately [467] self-cognizant and self-illuminative⁴⁸⁵
 Is the tradition of Cittamātra[vāda] in general,
 Mahāmudrā appears to be partially similar with
 *Alīkākāra[vāda]
 In as much as even the [cognitive] representations of the
 mind
 Are established [as having] no hypostatic existence;
 Only on [this] position [is] there a pseudo-similarity,
 Still there is a big distinction.⁴⁸⁶

those assumptions, and a meditation characterized by non-mentation (*amanasikāra*). For the discussion of a Mahāmudrā meditation characterized by non-mentation (*amanasikāra*), see verses || 4.1 || to || 4.6 ||; on p. 223 and p. 225.

⁴⁸⁴ Cittamātravāda can be divided into Sākāravāda (those who accept the existence of mental representations) and Nirākāravāda (rejecting the existence of mental representations). *Alīkākāravāda (those who maintain that mental representations are false or deceptive) are commonly (but not exclusively) subsumed by Tibetan authors under Sākāravāda. For an analysis of the subdivisions of Cittamātravāda in some Indian and Tibetan sources, with special focus on Rong-zom-pa, and for relevant secondary sources, see ALMOGI 2009: 34; 145–159; see also ALMOGI 2013. rJe Shākya-rin-chen refers to Sa-skya Paṇḍita, *Thub pa dgongs gsal* (pp. 99.18–101.4), where the criticism of the authenticity of sGam-po-pa's Four Yogas of Mahāmudrā presented by Śāntipa is raised in regard to not being part of the Madhyamaka tenet and not having a foundation in the Indian Tantric context; see HIGGINS & DRASZCZYK 2016: vol. 2, 25.

⁴⁸⁵ For the term self-illuminative (*rang nyid gsal ba: svayaṃprakaśa*), as attested to Sanskrit, see also VAN SCHAIK 2004: 348, n. 313.

⁴⁸⁶ A partial similarity between them exists insofar as the Mahāmudrā tradition also accepts external entities to be mental projections of the mind, as well as mind itself to be self-cognizant and self-illuminative.

- || 3.23 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
 If the philosophical position
 That was expounded by the *Alīkākarāvāda [proponents]
 And Mahāmudrā are not entirely identical,
 [Then,] what are the differences between them?
- || 3.24 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
 [Some] claim that the reasons why the Mahāmudrā [posi-
 tion]
 Differs from the *Alīkākarāvāda [position] are as follows:
 The [adherents] of *Alīkākarāvāda do not maintain all [these
 essential] positions of Mahāmudrā:
 Granting initiation [and] devotion [toward the Guru as
 means to realize suchness],
 [That at the time of] the post-meditative cognition [gnosis
 is characterized to be] free from manifoldness and [not to
 be established as] truly existing,
 The utilization of the [intellectual-emotional] defilements
 as the path,⁴⁸⁷ and
 The attainment of enlightenment within one lifetime.⁴⁸⁸

However, mind itself is not accepted as being established as a real entity (*bden par grub pa*).

⁴⁸⁷The idea that the intellectual-emotional defilements are utilized on the path and are sociologically efficacious is very common in the Tantric context and constitutes an important difference to the Cittamātravāda. The frequently employed analogy is a lotus that grows in the mud. Tibetan authors often refer to this pragmatic use of intellectual-emotional defilements as sociologically efficacious means in various Sūtric sources, such as *Mahāyānasamgraha*, *Mahāyānasūtrālamkāra*, *Vimalakīrtinirdeśasūtra*; see for example SEYFORTH RUEGG 1989: 121, n. 233; see also WANGCHUK 2007: 222.

⁴⁸⁸See as well rJe Yon-tan-mtha'-yas, *'Og min zhal lung* (fol. 25r1-3): *phyag chen dang rnam brdzun par grags pa'i lugs 'di mthun pa'i cha gong du bshad pa dag dang | gzhan yang phyag chen pa gtso bor mos gus dbang byin rlabs sogs kyis de kho na nyid rtogs par bzhed | cig shos gzhan stong gi rigs pas gtan la phab dgos par bzhed | phyag chen pa rjes shes kyi tshes yang ye shes spros bral du bzhed | cig shos rjes shes kyi ngor ye shes bden grub tu bzhed | phyag chen pa nyon mongs lam du byed | cig shos spang byar bzhed | phyag chen pa gtso bor tshes gcig la 'tshang rgya bar bzhed | cig shos grangs med gsum la bltos dgos | sogs kyis mtshon mtha' yas so ||*. On Shākya-mchog-ldan's position, see also rJe Yon-tan-mtha'-yas, *ibid.*

- || 3.25 || Nevertheless, considering [the fact]
That there are some aspects that are similar [to Mahāmudrā],
rGod-tshang-pa has stated, “This, our tradition,
Appears to be partially similar to the Cittamātra[vāda].”⁴⁸⁹
- || 3.26 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
If [one] maintains that [Mahāmudrā is similar] to
*Alīkākaravāda,
Would it not [absurdly] follow that among the four philo-
sophical tenets [Mahāmudrā
Would have to be considered] Cittamātravāda?⁴⁹⁰
- || 3.27 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
Although ^[468] [it would absurdly] follow that [Mahāmudrā
would be considered] Cittamātra[vāda],
[One] sees, that the [ultimate] position which [the two,
Mahāmudrā and Cittamātravāda,] reach is merely partially
similar.
Specifically, the [proponents] of *Alīkākaravāda maintain
that
Initially, all phenomena are established in the mind,
Mind as well is established as not truly existing,
[And in] the meditative state [one] experiences freedom
from elaborations,
Although [in the post-meditative state through] the subse-
quent insight
[One] posits [phenomena to be] real on the conventional
level,
[What one experiences in] the meditative state is to be pri-
oritized;
In accordance with [such a] position, the [exponents of]
Mahāmudrā establish Saṃsaric and Nirvāṇic phenomena
as mind

(fol. 25r6–25v4).

⁴⁸⁹The quote could not be identified.

⁴⁹⁰The four Buddhist philosophical tenets are Sautrāntika, Vaibhāṣika, Yo-
gācāra and Madhyamaka. The general perception that everything out-
side the four philosophical tenets would be non-Buddhist is based on
Vajragarbha's *Hevajrapañḍārthatikā*, see WANGCHUK 2013: 1318, n. 9.

And mind, too, is introduced as [in its] abiding mode.⁴⁹¹

|| 3.28 || In this regard, much feverish prattle of polemic ravings
 Has been pursued against those who maintain
 That although [one] gives different terminologies,
 Such as “ultimate truth” [in the Sūtric]
 And “*vajra* mind” [in the Tantric contexts],
 In reality [these terminologies] are free from [any] *substra-*
tum for [nominal] designation
 [And they thereby] claim, “Except for mere dissimilarities
 in the *dharma* terminology
 In the respective [systems] of Sūtra and Tantra,
 In fact, the positions [of Sūtra and Tantra] are partially
 similar.”⁴⁹²

⁴⁹¹The criticism refers to the general issue in Tibetan controversies about how to integrate the doctrinal content of the Cittamātravāda/Yogācāra school into its own doxographical scheme and how to avoid being labeled as a proponent of Yogācāra and not Madhyamaka. WANGCHUK 2013: 1323–1324, has proposed a threefold pattern of how Tibetan authors approached toward this topic: (1) negativistic, (2) positivistic, or (3) inclusivistic (not denying the fact that certain authors may have been in between these positions). In brief, proponents of a negativistic (or exclusivistic) approach try to distance themselves as much as possible from Cittamātravāda/Yogācāra and do not consider it as part of the soteriological path; this would include the Sa-skya scholar Red-mda'-ba gZhon-nu-blo-gros (1349–1412) and most of the dGe-lugs scholars. The proponents of a positivistic approach re-interpret the content of Yogācāra doctrines as an integral part of their own, for example, *tathāgatagarbha* theory or the *dbu ma chen po* of the gZhan-stong-pas, but strip Yogācāra completely of its denomination and status as an independent school of “Yogācāra.” The third inclusivistic position perceives the doctrinal content of the Yogācāra school as a possible but not necessary stepping stone for the Buddhist soteriological path, with Madhyamaka as the pinnacle of the philosophical systems. This position would be more typical for all non-*dge-lugs* traditions (including the doctrine of Mahāmudrā). As a result, if one decides to pass through the Yogācāra system, one has to finally abandon and transcend it in order to reach the ultimate goal, which is what is alluded to in this verse, a position which is expressed in Indian sources, such as the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* and Śāntarakṣita's *Madhyamakālaṃkāra*; for the quotation of several Indian sources and Shākya-mchog-ldan's explication on the topic, see also rJe Yon-tan-mtha'-yas, *'Og min zhal lung* (fols. 25v4–26r2).

⁴⁹²It is grammatically possible to translate *la* as a copulative conjunction

- || 3.29 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
 If [somebody raises the objection] that
 There is no difference in the content
 Between the definite [teachings]
 That are explained in the scriptures of the *Alīkākāravāda
 and
 What was taught in the [scriptures] of the *niruttarayoga*
 Tantra section
 Except for a mere difference of extensive and brief exposition,
 Then ^[469] they come to the same result; [in such a case,],
 how would [you] respond to
 The non-acceptance of *Alīkākāra[vāda] as Madhyamaka
 by Kun-mkhyen Padma-dkar-po
 And to [his] statement that the view
 Taught in the [*Alīkākāravāda would not be able to lead
 one]
 To traverse [the spiritual path] beyond [the mundane attainments, called] “supreme Dharma”?⁴⁹³
- || 3.30 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
 Except [for the fact] that [the two] are partially similar in

between two verbs, *brjod* and *ca co mdzad*, but it does not make sense here.

⁴⁹³Supreme Dharma (*chos mchog*) refers to the fourth and highest stage of the second of the Five Paths (*lam lnga: pañcamārga*), the path of preparation (*sbyor lam: prayogamārga*), which is still considered to be on a mundane level. The five paths are: The path of accumulation (*tshogs lam: saṃbhāramārga*), the path of preparation (*sbyor lam: prayogamārga*), the path of seeing (*mthong lam: darśanamārga*), the path of meditation (*sgom lam: bhāvanāmārga*), and the path of no more learning/consummation (*mi slob pa'i lam/thar phyin pa'i lam: aśaikṣāmārga/vimuktimārga*). The equation of *Alīkākāravāda with Madhyamaka had been developed by Shākya-mchog-ldan in the later phase of his life and had been rigorously rejected by scholars, such as Mi-bskyod-rdo-rje and Padma-dkar-po; see for example HIGGINS & DRASZCZYK 2016: vol. 1, 58–59; 146–147; 291–292; 289–295. For Shākya-mchog-ldan's position toward *Alīkākāravāda, see *ibid.*, vol. 1: 59–65; 73–74; 126 and *ibid.*: vol. 2, 39 (engl.); 45 (tib.). For a detailed presentation of Shākya-mchog-ldan's rearrangement of doxographical distinctions, see KOMAROVSKI 2000: 109–156.

A Timely Message from the Cave

the position they arrive at,
Their philosophical tenets do not concord in all [respects]:
If *Alīkākāra[vāda] is not even accepted as a Madhyamaka
[system],
Insofar as [they] maintain that there is nothing apart from
the mind and [that]
Also the mind, which does not cognize anything but mere
experiences,
That is self-cognitive and self-illuminative,
To be existing absolutely,
Who [would] expound [*Alīkākāravāda]
In the sense of the *niruttarayoga* [Tantra system]?⁴⁹⁴

|| 3.31 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
A person with illuminating fame as a great pioneer of this
dKar-brgyud [tradition]
Has authoritatively taught that sTag-lung Ngag-dbang-
grags-pa⁴⁹⁵ and so forth

⁴⁹⁴Interestingly, rJe Yon-tan-mtha'-yas does not consider it necessary to provide a reason and merely refers to Padma-dkar-po as an authoritative source, which could express that from his point of view the idea was so widespread that it did not need any further clarification or proof through scriptural sources; see rJe Yon-tan-mtha'-yas, *'Og min zhal lung* (fol. 26r4): *gong du bshad pa ltar | kun mkhyen chen pos rnam brdzun pa'i nges don bla med kyi rgyud kyi nges don mthar thug tu mi bzhed do || zhes smra'o ||*. In contrast, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen seems to consider it necessary to summarize the content of the discussion about Shākya-mchog-ldan's categorization of *Alīkākāravāda as Madhyamaka, which resulted in the criticism of several authors, such as Mi-bskyod-rdo-rje who rejected this classification, pointing out the flaw of taking the mere apprehending aspect of mind as absolutely, thereby blurring the lines between consciousness (*rmam shes*) and gnosis (*ye shes*); see for example Mi-bskyod-rdo-rje's criticism summarized in HIGGINS & DRASZCZYK 2016: vol. 1, 277–299.

⁴⁹⁵The Twelfth sTag-lung-khri Ngag-dbang-grags-pa dPal-bzang-po (1418–1496, tenure: 1461–1476/77, hereafter Ngag-dbang-grags-pa) was a very influential and powerful master in the fifteenth century and within the sTag-lung bKa'-brgyud tradition was probably only superseded by the Seventeenth rJe-btsun-dbon Rin-po-che (or Zhabs-drung) Ngag-dbang-rnam-rgyal Kun-dga'-rin-chen dPal-bzang-po (1571–1626). He was also considered an incarnation of the Seventh sTag-lung throne holder, Phag-mo-gru-pa and Acala. As a holder of the different Dwags-

Having distinguished two [kinds of Mahāmudrā]:
 “Mahāmudrā [of the abiding mode]” and
 “Mahāmudrā [characterized by the unity of] bliss [and] emptiness,” and
 Having maintained that, the first from among the two instruction methods,
 Which does not require ritual procedures of maturative [initiations],
 Is “Mahāmudrā of the abiding mode”],
 And the latter guiding instructions,
 Which require initiations
 [Representing the necessary] maturative cause,
 [Are “Mahāmudrā characterized by the unity of bliss and emptiness”].⁴⁹⁶

po bKa'-brgyud Mahāmudrā lineages and a student of many important masters, such as the Bo-dong master Phyogs-las-rnam-rgyal (1376–1451), Ngag-dbang-grags-pa himself became the teacher of many important Tibetan masters, such as Shākya-mchog-ldan, Sangs-rgyas-mnyampa, Mang-thos dKon-mchog-rin-phyug, 'Jam-dpal-rgya-mtsho, sPyansnga Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan, bKra-shis-dbang-phyug, Rin-spungs-pa Don-yod-rdo-rje, and Sha-ra Rab-'byams-pa Sangs-rgyas-seng-ge (1427–1470) who himself had been a teacher of g'Tsang-smyon Heruka (1452–1507); and Ngag-dbang-grags-pa dPal-bzang-po was strongly connected to the Fourth Zhva-dmar-pa Chos-grags-ye-shes (1453–1524, hereafter Chos-grags-ye-shes); see in detail in SØRENSEN & HAZOD 2007: 745–746; see also CAUMANN 2015: 267–268, n. 76 and LARSSON 2011: 432–434. For an overview of Ngag-dbang-grags-pa's life, see *sTag lung chos 'byung* (pp. 421–446). Further research on Ngag-dbang-grags-pa's influence on the doctrinal position of the sTag-lung bKa'-brgyud tradition, not only with regard to the then emerging Mahāmudrā controversy, is of utmost need. For an analysis of the historical sources with regard to the sTag-lung bKa'-brgyud tradition and a detailed presentation of the abbatial succession of the sTag-lung-dgon-pa, see SØRENSEN & HAZOD 2007: 740–758. It should be noted that rJe Shākya-rin-chen had received instructions of *Sahajayoga (*phyag chen lhan cig skyes sbyor*) in the sTag-lung bKa'-brgyud tradition during his travels in Tibet from 1740 onward; see n. 99 on p. 45.

⁴⁹⁶ For the term “Mahāmudrā of the abiding mode” (*gnas lugs phyag chen*) as a denotation of foundational Mahāmudrā (*gzhi phyag chen*), that represents the basis of enlightenment in Yang-dgon-pa's and Padma-dkar-po's thinking, see also n. 430 on p. 183. For the explanation of Mahāmudrā of the abiding mode (*gnas lugs phyag chen*) as a technical term

[Subsequently], it [has been stated]
 That the practice tradition [470] of this precious transmission [of the sTag-lung bKa'-brgyud tradition]
 Is to a greater extent in conformity with the first, [the "Mahāmudrā of the abiding mode"].
 [Following such an authoritative statement], many noble and great masters of our own tradition have endorsed [this preference],
 [In which case it would follow that one] would not be able to explain anything other than
 Just a Sūtric tradition [of] Mahāmudrā instructions.⁴⁹⁷

|| 3.32 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
 By practicing the mode of instruction of "Mahāmudrā of

and, in this context, applicable as a doxographical distinction; see HIGGINS & DRASZCZYK 2016: vol. 1, 359–362, where it is also pointed out that *gnas lugs phyag chen* is commonly equated by Tibetan authors with Maitreyanātha's "Awareness-Emptiness Mahāmudrā" (*rig stong phyag rgya chen po*) in distinction to a "Bliss-Emptiness Mahāmudrā" (*bde stong phyag rgya chen po*) associated with the Mahāmudrā lineage stemming from Vajradhara via Tillipa and so forth.

⁴⁹⁷In this context, rJe Shākya-rin-chen seems to somewhat ironically call Mi-bskyod-rdo-rje a "person with illuminating fame as a great pioneer of the dKar-brgyud tradition" and summarizes the latter's criticism directed against the sTag-lung bKa'-brgyud scholar Ngag-dbang-grags-pa's position. Ngag-dbang-grags-pa emphasizes Mahāmudrā of the abiding mode (*gnas lugs phyag chen*) which is associated by Mi-bskyod-rdo-rje with the instruction methods introduced by sGam-po-pa and derogatorily labeled as "Sūtric" Mahāmudrā. Klaus-Dieter Mathes drew my attention to one example of the disparagement of Mahāmudrā of the abiding mode in Mi-bskyod-rdo-rje's *dGongs gcig lta sgom spyod pa'i tshogs kyi kar tik smad cha*. Note that, in this context, Mi-bskyod-rdo-rje directs his criticism against Chos-grags-ye-shes who was a disciple of Ngag-dbang-grags-pa, and to whom the authors of the Bhutanese 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud tradition, namely rJe Shākya-rin-chen, rJe Yon-tan-mtha'-yas, and rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen, attribute this position to: *dus phyis yid bzang rtse pa'i gsung gis | rje nā ro pa bzhed pa'i phyag chen de bde stong phyag chen yin la | jo bo mai tri pas bzhed pa'i phyag chen de gnas lugs phyag chen yin zhing | bde stong phyag chen ni phyag chen bzang po yin | gnas lugs phyag chen ni de la ltos te cung zad dman pa'o zhes 'chad la | nged kyi zhwa dmar ba chos kyi grags pas kyang rang tsho ma zin nas de'i rjes zlos byed |*; in MATHES 2020: 275. For an analysis of Mi-bskyod-rdo-rje's position regarding "Sūtric" Mahāmudrā, see *ibid.*: 279–292.

the abiding mode”
 Without relying on initiations characterized [by procedural
 elaborations
 Taught by the sublime beings, such as sTag-lung Ngag-
 [dbang]-grags-[pa],
 [It would not absurdly follow] that [it] becomes a Sūtric
 tradition of Mahāmudrā instructions
 Because in my own [’Brug-pa-dkar-brgyud] tradition
 That very mode of instruction of Mahāmudrā
 [Without initiations characterized by procedural elaborations]
 [Is the mode of instructing disciples of] very sharp faculties.
 Therefore, the transference of blessings [to those sharp-
 minded persons] and
 The *vajra*-gnosis initiation
 Would suffice as a maturative initiation;
 That very Mahāmudrā [of the abiding mode] itself is main-
 tained
 To be the content of [this] initiation, [namely] gnosis.⁴⁹⁸

|| 3.33 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
 ’Jig-rten-dbang-phyug Karmapa Mi-bskyod-rdo-rje⁴⁹⁹
 Has said that the view taught in the *Mūlamadhyamakā-*
kārikā and
 [The view of] Mahāmudrā are identical.
 However, [he has taught that] a distinction is made [be-
 tween the two]
 On the basis that [the former] eliminates [extremes] of man-
 ifoldness
 Through mere study and [471] contemplation,
 Whereas [the same is done in the Mahāmudrā system]

⁴⁹⁸For this position, see also rJe Yon-tan-mtha’-yas, *’Og min zhal lung* (fol. 26v1–3), where this kind of initiation that does not depend on procedural elaborations is identified as a Tantric instruction method (*snags kyi khrid tshul*).

⁴⁹⁹For an extensive biographical study of Mi-bskyod-rdo-rje and his Mahāmudrā instructions with focus on selected spiritual biographies (*rnam thar*), question-and-answer texts (*dris lan*), meditation instructions (*khrid*), practical instructions (*man ngag*), and advice (*bslab bya*), see RHEINGANS 2017.

A Timely Message from the Cave

By meditative experience;
In this case then, would it not absurdly follow
That Mahāmudrā is a Sūtric tradition [after all]?⁵⁰⁰

|| 3.34 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
It has been taught that,
In its aspect of freedom from manifoldness,
Mahāmudrā is similar to the view of Madhyamaka,
As maintained by rGyal-ba Karmapa Mi-bskyod-rdo-rje
That alone does not make [Mahāmudrā]
A Sūtric tradition insofar as
It happens to be in conformity [with what]
The great rJe-btsun [Sa-skya Paṇḍita] has taught:
“Nevertheless, in regard to the means
Of realizing freedom from manifoldness,
The Mantrayāna supersedes.”⁵⁰¹

⁵⁰⁰ See also rJe Yon-tan-mtha'-yas, *'Og min zhal lung* (fols. 26v5–27r1):
*gong du kun mkhyen chen po'i bzhed pa bkod pa ltar | gnas lugs gcig
nyid | rtsa sher spyod 'jug sogs su spros bral gyi cha nas dang | phyag
chen du sems kyi rdo rje sogs kyi sgo nas bshad pas | dgag tshig dang
bsgrub tshig gi tha snyad tsam ma gtogs | mthar thug gi yul gcig yin la
| de bzhin rje mi bskyod rdo rjes kyang phyag chen spros bral gyi cha
nas rtsa sher las gsungs pa'i lta ba dang gcig par bzhed kyang | de tsam
gyis phyag chen mdo lugs 'ba' zhig tu mi 'gyur te | thabs kyi khyad par
shin tu che pa'i phyir || de ltar yang | 'on kyang spros bral rtogs pa yi
|| thabs la gsang sngags khyad par 'phags || zhes gsungs so ||*. This verse
is to be read together with rJe Shākya-rin-chen's previous question in
verse || 3.31 || on p. 218. rJe Shākya-rin-chen poses a merely rhetorical
question displaying the absurdity of such an objection against the sTag-
lung bKa'-brgyud position. In this verse he demonstrates how one of
Mi-bskyod-rdo-rje's own similar lines of argumentation can be used to
rebut him. However, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen does offer a more detailed
rebuttal in his *Dus kyi pho nya* in which he demonstrates how the view,
the teaching context and, consequently, the appropriate methods have to
be correctly distinguished and understood.

⁵⁰¹ rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen quotes Sa-skya Paṇḍita, *sDom gsum rab dbye*
3.256c–d (here providing the full verse): *de nas bshad pas go ba yi || thos
pa'i lta ba gcig nyid yin || 'on kyang spros bral rtogs pa yi || thabs la gsang
sngags khyad par 'phags ||*; in RHOTON 2002: 129 (engl.); 308 (tib.). See
for the contextualizing preceding verse 3.255, verse || 1.3 || on p. 162.
See also a very similar quote, which could not be identified, in verse ||
3.4 || on p. 203.

[rJe Shākya-rin-chen and Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
 This was the third chapter offering a response to questions about the
 view [of Mahāmudrā] from the *Questions Concerning the [Doctrine
 of] Mahāmudrā Titled the “Pointed Spear of a Siddha.”*

5.4 Fourth Chapter: A Response to Questions about the Mahāmudrā Meditation

- || 4.1 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]⁵⁰²
 Then, ask: When [one] has maintained the continuity of
 the [Mahāmudrā] view [during meditation],
 Is [this meditative state characterized by] mentation or non-
 mentation?⁵⁰³
- || 4.2 || In the first case, [of Mahāmudrā meditation being charac-
 terized by mentation]
 [It] would contradict [sources] ^[472] that say
 That [there is] no mentation of any phenomena while med-
 itating on Mahāmudrā.⁵⁰⁴

⁵⁰² A very detailed and elaborated manual regarding Mahāmudrā medita-
 tion with the topics discussed in this chapter is the *Nges don phyag rgya
 chen po'i sgom rim gsal bar byed pa legs bshad zla ba'i 'od zer*, which was
 written by Dwags-po Paṅ-chen bKra-shis-rnam-rgyal (1512/1513–1587);
 for the English translation, see CALLAHAN 2017.

⁵⁰³ rJe Shākya-rin-chen and rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen defend their 'Brug-
 pa bKa'-brgyud Mahāmudrā meditation system, characterized by
amanasikāra, based, more specifically, on Maitreya-nātha's cycle of
amanasikāra teachings and additional works of the Indian Siddha cir-
 cles against the criticism of Sa-skya Paṅḍita. For Maitreya-nātha's
 Tantric interpretation of *amanasikāra* as “luminous self-empowerment”
 see MATHES 2015: 20. For an overview of the different connotations of
 the term *amanasikāra* in a historical perspective, see also HIGGINS 2006.
 In a broader context, non-mentation (*yid la mi byed pa: amanasikāra*) in
 the meditative state had already played an important role in the philo-
 sophical debates about the juxtaposed positions of instantaneous (*cig car
 du*) and gradual (*rim gyis*) approaches to enlightenment in the systemati-
 zation of Buddhist doctrine as far back as the bSam-yas debate, where
 the positions were represented and ascribed to the Hwa-shang Mahāyāna
 abbot and Kamalaśīla (c. 750–795), respectively. For an extensive study
 of these two approaches, the bSam-yas debate and its far-reaching influ-
 ence on Tibetan Buddhist thought, see SEYFORTH RUEGG 1989.

⁵⁰⁴ This alludes to Sa-skya Paṅḍita's criticism of the practice of

A Timely Message from the Cave

- || 4.3 || In the second case, [of Mahāmudrā meditation being characterized by non-mentation,]—
While resting without distraction in the state of the abiding mode,
Is it not [the case] that the functions of mindfulness
And vigilance are applied?⁵⁰⁵
- || 4.4 || In case [one] does not rely on mindfulness and vigilance,
As [one] gets [more and more] acquainted to that kind of meditation,
Which does not differ from
Thick sleep or [the state of] fainting,⁵⁰⁶
Stupidity will [also] increase [more and more];
Would this not cast [oneself in] the next life
Into the animal [realm?]⁵⁰⁷

amanasikāra meditation in the Mahāmudrā tradition. On the contrary, bKa'-brgyud scholars consider the *amanasikāra* teachings to be completely in accordance with the authenticating Indian Sūtric and Tantric scriptures; see also rJe Yon-tan-mtha'-yas, 'Og min zhal lung (fol. 27r6–27v6).

⁵⁰⁵ On the function of mindfulness (*dran pa: smṛti*) and vigilance (*shes bzhin: samprajanya*), see also n. 509 on p. 225.

⁵⁰⁶ Sleep is considered one of the four ordinary states: wakefulness (*sad pa*), dream (*rmi lam*), sleep (*gnyid stug*), and sexual union (*snyoms 'jug*), which are gradually transformed by the Tantric practice of the four seals into the four bodies of a Buddha (*sku bzhi*); see for example GUARISCO & MCLEOD 2005: 32–33; 184–185.

⁵⁰⁷ rJe Shākya-rin-chen quotes with variation from Sa-skyia Paṇḍita, *sDom gsum rab dbye* 3.161a–b (the full verse given here): *blun po phyag rgya che bsgoms pa || phal cher dud 'gro'i rgyu ru gsungs || min na gzugs med khams su skye || yang na nyan thos 'gog par ltung ||*; in RHOTON 2002: 117 (engl.); 303 (tib.). In this criticism, Sa-skyia Paṇḍita equates the Mahāmudrā meditation with a kind of blank state of stupor or a meditative absorption similar to a state of fainting (*'du shes med pa'i snyom par 'jug pa: āsamjñīsamāpatti*), which could lead either to (1) rebirth in the animal realm, (2) rebirth in the formless realm (*arūpadhātu*), or (3) state of a Śrāvaka's cessation. Padma-dkar-po's rebuttal of Sa-skyia Paṇḍita's reproach is found in his *Don dam mdzud tshugs* (pp. 468.1–469.5). About the controversy surrounding this state of fainting without notion (*āsamjñīsamāpatti*), which is not only associated with non-mindfulness and non-mentation but also with the suppression of think-

- || 4.5 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
 When [one] meditates on Mahāmudrā,
 It is mandatory that [one] relies on both
 Non-mentation as well as mindfulness and vigilance.⁵⁰⁸
- || 4.6 || Although [a kind of] mentation, such as
 [One that is characterized by dualistic] conceptions of a
 referential object
 Or [by] a tight [mental] grasping of the mind, is negated,
 With regard to that [meditation object],
 Pure [and] effortless mindfulness and vigilance are not re-
 futed.
 [It] is necessary that [one] is not distracted:
 If this is not the case, although there is no grasping,
 [One] has been deceived by the word “non-mentation,” and
 If [one] has also abandoned mindfulness and vigilance,
 [It] has become the meditation [of] fools!
 It is taught that mostly [such] meditation [473] on Mahāmu-
 drā [exercised] by [these] fools
 Will [turn out] to be the cause [for a rebirth] as an ani-
 mal.⁵⁰⁹

ing (*cittanirodha*) and its soteriological implications, see also SEYFORTH RUEGG 1989: 183–184; 193–205.

⁵⁰⁸ See also rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's indicative rebuttal in his *'Bel gdam* (p. 614.3–5): *yang dge slong na re || sa paṅ gyis || blun pos phyag rgya che bsgom pa || phal cher dud 'gro'i rgyu ru 'gyur || yang na gzugs med skye ba 'am || yang na nyan thos 'gog par ltung || zhes zer ro || yang sgom chen pa na re || mi la'i zhal nas || shak thub bstan pa'i snyigs ma la || tshe thung bar chad mang ba'i dus || gzhung lugs mkhyen rgya mi 'tshal gyi || phyag rgya chen po bsgom par bya ||*.

⁵⁰⁹ The “Four Signs” (*brda' bzhî*) are: (1) mindfulness (*dran pa*), (2) non-mindfulness (*dran med*), (3) non-origination (*skye med*), and (4) transcendence of dualistic mind (*blo 'das*). They denote the gradual development of the practitioner of meditation from mentation to non-mentation. These terms were used in the exegetical tradition of Sahara's *dohās* by Vajrapāni; see HIGGINS & DRASZCZYK 2016: vol. 1, 334. For a detailed discussion of the Four Signs in Karma Phrin-las-pa's *dohā* commentary, the *Do ha skor gsum gyi tshig don kyi rnam bshad sems kyi rnam thar ston pa'i me long zhes bya ba bzhugs so*, see MATHES 2019. On Padma-dkar-po's “contextualist hermeneutic” approach, which was able to interpret and harmonize such oppositional dyads as non-

- || 4.7 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
 In particular, [in regard to] this pleasant talk [that] is
 known like the wind,⁵¹⁰
 “Conceptualizations are the Dharmakāya,” ask
 From which perspective has [this] teaching been intended,
 The absolute or the conventional?⁵¹¹
- || 4.8 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]

mentation/mentation (*amanasikāra/manasikāra*) and mindfulness/non-mindfulness (*smṛti/asmṛti*) as well as the earlier different Indian strands of interpretation of these terms by providing three different grammatical interpretations of *amanasikāra*, and the extent to which this strand of teaching subsequently influenced his Mahāmudrā interpretation, see HIGGINS & DRASZCZYK 2016: vol. 1, 399–425. In particular, his three grammatical interpretations of *amanasikāra* in his *Phyag chen gan mdzod* evoked attention, as well as critique, for example, from the dGe-lugs scholar Shar-chen Nam-mkha'-rgyal-mtshan (1532–1592). For the English translation, analysis and critically edited Tibetan text of the corresponding passage with the three grammatical definitions of *amanasikāra* in the *Phyag chen gan mdzod*, see *ibid.*: vol. 1, 414–425 (engl.); vol. 2: 175–179 (tib.). For Padma-dkar-po's rebuttal of Sa-skya Paṇḍita's reproach, see his *Don dam mdzub tshugs* (pp. 468.1–469.5).

⁵¹⁰“To be known like the wind” (*rlung ltar grags pa*) is a common saying with the meaning of “very popular” or “universally known.”

⁵¹¹The bKa'-brgyud-pa propose as a central issue in their Mahāmudrā interpretation of the *Ratnagotravibhāga* that the nature of discursive thinking or conceptualizations (*nam rtog*) is, in essence, nothing other than the Dharmakāya, and is, thereby, correctly understood as *nam rtog gi rang bzhin*. The bKa'-brgyud position was heavily opposed by Dol-po-pa who argued that *nam rtog* and *chos kyi sku* could never be of the same essence because, in regard to *ālayavijñāna* (according to Asaṅga's *Mahāyāsamgraha*), sentient beings (or the conceptual constructions) are not part of the Dharmakāya, contrary to the interpretation found in the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* that, *ālayavijñāna* and Buddha Nature can be equated, and therefore are not separated; see MATHES 2008: 47–48; see also RHEINGANS 2014: 81–82; 82, n. 52. A summary of Dol-po-pa's criticism is found in STEARNS 2010: 160–162; for the different strands of interpretation toward the Buddha Nature concept, see MATHES 2008: 17–21. Padma-dkar-po elaborates on *nam rtog chos kyi sku* and the criticism by Dol-po-pa in his *Don dam mdzub tshugs* (pp. 491.6–495.5). In addition, Padma-dkar-po discusses the teaching that “conceptualizations are the Dharmakāya” in his criticism on the Jo-nang position, which states that the two truths have to be considered as “two great kingdoms”

Of the [three] kinds of distinctions made, [namely] non-realization,
 Realization, and perfection [of realization] of the nature of
 conceptualizations,
 Beginning from the moment of the emerging [of] realization,
 [That conceptualizations are the Dharmakāya] has been
 taught.⁵¹²
 As the [Second 'Brug-chen] rGyal-dbang-rje [Kun-dga'-dpal-
 'byor] said,
 “When [one] discerns the nature of conceptual construc-
 tions,
 Whatever appears, [appears] vividly as the Dharmakāya;”
 [So, the teaching that] conceptualizations [are] the Dhar-
 makāya
 Is intended as a teaching of definite meaning.⁵¹³

(*rgyal khams chen po*); see his *Phyag chen gan mdzod*. For the English translation and critical edition, see HIGGINS & DRASZCZYK 2016: vol. 2, 163–167 (engl.); 173–174 (tib.). Interestingly, 'Brug-pa Kun-legs also discusses *rnam rtog chos kyi sku* in relation to the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra*; see DIVALERIO 2015: 212.

⁵¹²rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen considerably shortens rJe Yon-tan-mtha'-yas, 'Og min zhal lung (fol. 28r4–6), where their lineage masters, such as Mi-la-ras-pa and Phag-mo-gru-pa, are quoted: *bdag cag gi rje btsun dam pa rnams kyi gsung sgros rnams su | rnam rtog chos sku zhes mang du 'byung ba 'di ni | rje mi las | phyi snang ba ji ltar snang lags kyang || ma rtogs pa la 'khrul pa ste || rtogs pa rnams la chos skur snang || mthar thug don la snang ma myong || spros bral mkha' ltar dag go gsungs || zhes ma rtogs pa'i skabs | rtogs pa shar ba'i skabs | mthar thug pa'i skabs zhes gsungs pa'i rtogs pa shar ba'i skabs sam nges don gyi skabs kyi chos skad yin zhing | de yang rnam rtog gi rang bzhin las brtsams te gsungs pa yin te | rje phag grus | 'dzin pa 'dug na rnam rtog yin || nges bzung med na zung 'jug yin ||.*

⁵¹³The epithet *rgyal dbang rje* is commonly used for Kun-dga'-dpal-'byor. In his *mChog gi dang po'i sangs rgyas rnam par phye ba gsang ba thams cad bshad pa'i mdzod* (p. 490.3–4, in *Pad dkar gsung 'bum*, vol. 13, pp. 1–534), Padma-dkar-po also attributes this quotation to Kun-dga'-dpal-'byor; see also HIGGINS & DRASZCZYK 2016: vol. 1, 197. Furthermore, this attribution is supported by rJe Yon-tan-mtha'-yas, 'Og min zhal lung (fol. 28r4–28v2), who chronologically lists the authoritative 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud masters from Mi-la-ras-pa, Phag-mo-gru-pa, Kun-dga'-

|| 4.9 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
 If it is said [that the teaching, “conceptualizations are the Dharmakāya”]
 Is based on the absolute [and is of definite meaning],
 According to the statement by rJe-btsun-chen-po Mi-la-
 [ras-pa],
 “In terms of the absolute [reality],
 Not even the Buddha exists, let alone obstructions,”
 Not only conceptualizations
 But also the wholesome and unwholesome,
 The connection between actions and [their] result,
 The convention of stages and the path,
 The final bodies [of a Buddha], and gnosis,
 All [of these] being beyond [any] proposition and
 All phenomena [474] of Saṃsara and Nirvāṇa being [equally]
 Primordially non-arisen [and] pure like space,
 What, [in particular, would] be the necessary reason for
 focusing exclusively on
 Conceptualizations and arguing [that they] are the Dhar-
 makāya?⁵¹⁴

dpal-'byor toward Padma-dkar-po with several quotes. Nevertheless, it should be noted that the epithet *rgyal dbang* is also commonly used for the Karmapas. For the Third and Eighth Karmapas' understanding of the relation between conceptualizations and the Dharmakāya, see MATHES 2008: 56–65. For a discussion of this topic between Mi-bskyod-rdo-rje and A-khu A-khra, also known as Byang-chub-bzang-po, in the form of a question-answer text (*dris lan*), see also RHEINGANS 2014: 81–85.

⁵¹⁴ Here *pas* is interpreted as secondary usage of the comparative *las*. rJe Shākya-rin-chen quotes with minimal variation from Mi-la-ras-pa, *Mi la mgur 'bum* (fol. 155r6), or respectively in Mi-la-ras-pa, *dBu ma yang dag* (pp. 302.6–303.1): *don dam bden pa'i dbang du ni || bgegs pas sangs rgyas nyid kyang med ||*. rJe Shākya-rin-chen refers to a passage where Mi-lar-pa explains the respective perspectives of the relative and absolute view. On Mi-la-ras-pa's *dBu ma yang dag*, see also n. 455 on p. 200. A similar passage is found in sGam-po-pa's *rNam rtog don dam gyi ngo sprod* in the context of explanations of the generation and perfection stages of Tantric meditation: *don dam pa 'di 'dra ba cig yin bya ba ni || sangs rgyas kyi kyang smra bar ma nus na || rgyun chad med pa de sangs rgyas byon yang mi khegs gsung ||*; for the Tibetan edition of the text, see SHERPA 2004: 236. SHERPA 2004: 237, translates, “If even the Buddha can not say: ‘The absolute is like this,’ then although a

- || 4.10 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
 The necessity for this [claim] is that
 All the cognizable objects of Saṃsara and Nirvāṇa
 While not established at all in reality
 [They] appear as twofold, [yet when] analyzing [them] here,
 The basis [to be understood] is the nature of conceptual-
 izations,
 [It] depends on whether [one] understands [this nature] or
 not.
 Focusing merely on this, it is explained that⁵¹⁵
 Conceptualizations [are] the Dharmakāya.
- || 4.11 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
 If [one] maintains [that the teaching, “conceptualizations
 are the Dharmakāya,”]
 Is taught purely from the perspective of the conventional
 [level], in that case,
 [These] conceptualizations [are just] great ignorance:
 [There is] an inconceivable number of authoritative scrip-
 tures and reasoning
 In which conceptualizations are explained to be deceptive
 [and]
 [To be] contaminations that have to be abandoned,
 such as,
 “[It is them] which cause [oneself] to fall in the ocean of

Buddha were to come, he could not block what is not interrupted; it is said.” The first part of the *rNam rtog don dam gyi ngo sprod* in the *Dwags po bka' 'bum* elaborates in depth on Mi-la-ras-pa's definition of the term “conceptualizations as Dharmakāya” and the necessity and benefit of conceptualizations on the path; for the English translation, see SHERPA 2004: 194–217. The following discussion is also related to question six about the result of the Mahāmudrā path in rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's *Dus kyi pho nya*.

⁵¹⁵See also rJe Yon-tan-mtha'-yas 'Og min zhal lung (fol. 28v5–6.): *rnam rtog kho na dmigs phug nas chos sku zhes bzhag pa'i rgyu dang dgos pa ni | don la ma grub bzhin du 'khor 'das gnyis su snang ba 'di ci'i rtsa ba yin dpyad pas | rnam rtog gi rang bzhin shes ma shes la thug cing | de'i rang bzhin shes pas chos rnams kyi rang bzhin rtogs sla ba la dgongs so ||*.

A Timely Message from the Cave

Saṃsara.”⁵¹⁶

- || 4.12 || In that case, if [one], having come under the influence of ignorance,
Whole-heartedly insists, “conceptualizations are the Dharma-kāya,”
Although [one] has no justification of
Authoritative scriptures [and] reasoning,
[Then] it would [absurdly] follow that all these would not exist:
The wholesome [and] unwholesome,
Actions [and their] result,
The ^[475] Four [Noble] Truths and the Three Jewels.
- || 4.13 || [It would also absurdly follow that] all these conventions,
Which have been explained in the scriptures [of the Buddha],
Such as the objects to be abandoned and [their] antidotes,
as well as
Saṃsara and Nirvāṇa, would become untenable.
- || 4.14 || Since the result of maturation of having put effort
In the deed of discarding the Dharma is inexhaustible,⁵¹⁷
Being even weightier than the capital transgressions,⁵¹⁸
What sane [person] would find pleasure in this [kind of deed]?
- || 4.15 || Those wearying themselves abundantly with partisan clinging
To this speech, out of a mind of foolish attachment,

⁵¹⁶This quote was not directly located.

⁵¹⁷The alternative reading of *mi bzad* in $B_b C1_a C1_b C4_a C4_b$ as “horrible” or “frightening” would also be possible.

⁵¹⁸The five capital transgressions (*mtshams med lnga: pañcānantarya*) are (1) to kill one’s own father (*pha gsod pa*) or (2) one’s own mother (*ma gsod pa*), (3) to kill an Arhat (*dgra bcom gsod pa*), (4) to create dispute or dissension in the Saṃgha (*dge ’dun gyi dbyen byed pa*), and (5) to intentionally cause a Buddha to bleed (*de bzhin gshegs pa’i sku la ngan sems kyis khrag ’byin pa*). These capital transgressions lead to a maturative result of rebirth in the hell realms immediately upon death.

Without seeking the crux of the implication of [the statement], “Conceptualizations [are] the Dharmakāya,”
They are nothing but the insane among the insane!

- || 4.16 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
Although [all] the faults that are pointed out above do apply
To those who maintain, even at the time of not realizing
The nature of those conceptualizations, that [conceptual constructions] are the Dharmakāya,
[One] should accept such assertions [to be made] provisionally
In accordance with the intellect of those
With inferior intelligence, [since] otherwise this would lead to
A conflict between the provisional [and] definitive [meaning].
It is also maintained that the Buddha [476] taught the Dharma
In manifold ways according to the faculties of the disciples.
- || 4.17 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
Ask: Whether the practice of Mahāmudrā and meditation
[In the] sense of the Mahāyāna-Madhyamaka [tradition] are similar or not?
- || 4.18 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
There is also the case where the practice of Mahāmudrā and
and
The meditation stages of the Mahāyāna-Madhyamaka [tradition]
Are taught to be similar.
- || 4.19 || Among the two methods of approach—
Analytical meditation, which needs the prerequisite [of] analysis
Through study [and] reflection, and settling meditation—
[The meditation of Mahāmudrā] is similar to the latter;
However, there is a great difference within [this] category

[itself].⁵¹⁹

|| 4.20 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]

In the first case, [that Mahāmudrā meditation and Mahāyāna-Madhyamaka meditation are similar,]

In what manner do the four or five syllogisms of the Madhyamaka,⁵²⁰

⁵¹⁹rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen refers to the triad of study (*thos: śruta*), contemplation (*bsam: cintā*), and meditation (*sgom: bhāvanā*). Analytical meditation (*dpyad sgom*) and settling meditation (*'jog sgom*) are often equated with the mediation of a scholar (*paṇḍita*) or a dialectician (*rtog ge ba*) and that of a mendicant (*kusāli*, often misspelled in the Tibetan tradition as *ku sa li pa* or *ku su lu pa*), respectively. Padma-dkar-po follows, in his *Phyag chen zin bris*, an even broader division based on Kun-dga'-dpal-'byor, who differentiates in his *Zab don dgongs pa'i gter mdzod grub pa'i shing rta* between overcoming imputations (*sgro 'dogs*) externally (*phyi nas*) or internally (*nang nas*), which are associated with the Sūtric (*mdo'i lugs*) and Tantric systems (*sngags kyī lugs*), respectively. Kun-dga'-dpal-'byor explains that in regard to study (*thos pa*), one either relies on reasoning and scriptures or the Guru's personal instructions, in regard to contemplating (*bsam pa*) one either analyzes through discriminating insight (*so sor rtog pa'i shes rab*) or personally realized gnosis (*so sor rang rig pa'i ye shes*), and in regard to meditation (*sgom pa*) one either engages in the analytical meditation of a scholar or the settling meditation of a mendicant. See also Padma-dkar-po, who even goes as far as defining the “analytical” meditation of a mendicant in his *Phyag chen zin bris* (p. 384.1–2): *de lta bu'i dpyad pa ni kha nang du bltas pa'i rang rig gis dpyod pa'i phir || ku sa li'i dpyad sgom zhes bya la || paṇḍi ta'i dpyad sgom ni ma yin te || de dag kha phyir lta'i shes pas dpyod pas so ||*. For the Tibetan text and English translation of the passages, see HIGGINS & DRASZCZYK 2016: vol. 1, 426; vol. 2, 68, n. 68. For Padma-dkar-po's position on the relation between analytical meditation (*dpyad sgom*) and settling meditation (*'jog sgom*) discussed in the context of the first stage of one-pointedness of the Four Yogas of Mahāmudrā, see for example his *Don dam mdzud tshugs* (pp. 478.1–480.4). For the English translation of the passage, see DUFF 2011a: 71–73. The relation between analytical and settling meditation is discussed also as the fourth topic in 'Ju Mi-pham's *Nges shes sgron me*; see in PETTIT 1999: 208–214 (engl.).

⁵²⁰The five syllogisms (*dbu ma'i gtan tshigs chen po lnga*) are (1) *rten 'brel gyi gtan tshigs/rigs pa'i rgyal po rten 'brel gyi gtan tshigs*, (2) *gcig tu bral gyi gtan tshigs*, (3) *yod med skye 'gog gi gtan tshigs* (not listed in the *gtan tshigs chen po bzhi*), (4) *mu bzhi skye 'gog gtan tshigs*, and (5) *rdo rje gzegs ma'i gtan tshigs*. The four syllogisms are listed in *Blo gsal*

That establish all external and internal phenomena
 As having no real existence, occur
 In the treatises [dealing with] the instructions on Mahāmudrā?

|| 4.21 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
 Although [the Mahāmudrā meditation tradition] and
 The meditation tradition of Madhyamaka are similar,
 In this context, there is no need to establish all outer and
 inner phenomena
 By means of the syllogisms of Madhyamaka reasoning in
 settling meditation
 Because it has been taught that [one] will not realize such-
 ness [correctly]
 By [means] of [477] study [and] reflection alone:
 “[There] are no objects to be studied, because [they] are
 subtle, [and]
 [There] are no objects to contemplate on, because [they]
 are [in the sphere of the] absolute.”⁵²¹

|| 4.22 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
 In the second case, [that Mahāmudrā meditation and
 Mahāyāna-Madhyamaka meditation are not similar,]
 What distinguishes the manifoldlessness
 That is established by Madhyamaka reasoning and
 The manifoldlessness [associated with] Mahāmudrā?

|| 4.23 || How would [one] comment on [the statement]
 That was taught by all learned ones, [that,]
 “If there exists a view that surpasses
 The view of [manifoldlessness in] the Pāramitāyāna [sys-
 tem],

grub mtha'; in MIMAKI 1982: 212, n. 547. Shākya-mchog-ldan explains the five syllogisms in the section of the differences between Svāntarika and Prāsaṅgika interpretation of the set of syllogisms in his *Nges don gru chen* (pp. 402.5–404.4); see in KOMAROVSKI 2000: 46–47 (engl.).

⁵²¹ rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen and rJe Yon-tan-mtha'-yas quote *Ratnagotrav-ibhāga* (P, fol. 64r6–7; D, fol. 63v4–5): *phra phyir thos pa'i yul min te || don dam yin phyir bsam bya'i min || chos nyid zab phyir 'jig rten pa'i || sgom pa [bsgom pa; D] la sogs yul ma yin.*

That view would [turn out to] be endowed with manifoldness”?⁵²²

- || 4.24 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
Although there is no distinction
In the aspect of manifoldlessness of the two, the distinction
Between the manifoldlessness established by Madhyamaka
reasoning and
The manifoldlessness [associated with] Mahāmudrā
[Lies in] whether or not [one] experiences
Gnosis of meditative equipoise in an inexpressible way.⁵²³
- || 4.25 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
If [one] maintains that [Mahāmudrā meditation]
Is similar to the latter of [the two] that were taught in the
Madhyamaka meditation system, [namely] as analytical
and settling meditation,
Then, [478] ask: Do authoritative scriptural sources exist
That [support] whether or not it is sufficient
To enter into settling meditation from the very outset
Without [this] having been preceded by carrying out rea-
soning
Through the Madhyamaka syllogisms?
- || 4.26 || If [authoritative scriptural sources] exist, which great scrip-
tures explicate [this]?
If [authoritative scriptural sources] do not exist, then,
Although [it] is made to appear very profound,
What wise person would trust such a method of meditation
That is not supported by [any authoritative scriptural]
source?
- || 4.27 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
There are authoritative scriptural sources testifying that

⁵²² rJe Shākya-rin-chen quotes the same verse by Sa-skya Paṇḍita, *sDom gsum rab dbye* as rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen in verse || 1.3 || on p. 162. See also n. 386 on p. 162.

⁵²³ rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen emphasizes the extraordinary importance of Mahāmudrā meditation, and meditation in general, to transgress and dissolve any remainders of conceptual thinking.

It is sufficient to enter into settling meditation
 From the very outset.
 Namely, even in the authoritative [practical] instructions
 of the Indian and Tibetan Paṇḍitas and Siddhas
 It has been taught that
 Superimpositions are cut from within;
 [For example,] in the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* it says,
 “By all means, [those] who are diligent in meditative con-
 centration,
 Not losing [meditative concentration] even for a single mo-
 ment,
 Examine the mind in detail like that, ‘Where does my mind
 move?’”⁵²⁴

|| 4.28 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
 Although [one] may very well assume

⁵²⁴rJe dGe’-dun-rin-chen quotes with variation from Śāntideva, *Bodhi-
 caryāvatāra* 5.41 (P, fol. 12v5–6; D, fol. 11v6–7): *ci nas ting ’dzin brtson
 par [pa; D] ni || skad cig gcig kyang mi ’chor bar || bdag gi yid ’di gar
 spyod ces || de ltar yid la so sor brtag ||*. For the Sanskrit edition,
 see BHATTARCHARYA 1960: 62. To argue that settling meditation (*’jog
 sgom*) could suffice from the very beginning, rJe dGe’-dun-rin-chen and
 rJe Yon-tan-mtha’-yas, *’Og min zhal lung* (fol. 31r1–2), employ the *Bodhi-
 caryāvatāra* as the Indian authoritative scriptural source. In addition, rJe
 Yon-tan-mtha’-yas, *’Og min zhal lung* (fol. 31r4–31v1), refers to the cor-
 responding Tibetan authoritative scriptural sources: firstly, as would be
 expected, to Padma-dkar-po’s *Phyag chen gan mdzod* and *Klan ka gzhom
 gdam* (in the question-cum-answer-section to the mTshan-sgrog mKhan-
 po) and followed, interestingly, by two quotes from Shākya-mchog-ldan
 and no other authoritative ’Brug-pa bKa’-brgyud masters. The passages
 are from Shākya-mchog-ldan’s *Srol gnyis rnam dbye* (pp. 557.6–558.6;
 568.2–3) and are considerably shortened, only providing some lines from
 the corresponding sections, therefore, as such they seem to have been well
 known to rJe Yon-tan-mtha’-yas as one of rJe Shākya-rin-chen’s closest
 students. In several of his works, Shākya-mchog-ldan discussed the dis-
 tinction between analytical and settling meditation and also maintained
 that settling meditation from the beginning could, in certain cases, suf-
 fice; see for example in his *gZhan dregs nyams byed*. This work is critically
 edited and translated into English in HIGGINS & DRASZCZYK 2016; for
 the corresponding passage, see *ibid.*: vol. 2, 21–23 (engl.); 31–32 (tib.).
 On Shākya-mchog-ldan’s position, see also *ibid.*, vol. 1: 108–109. rJe
 Yon-tan-mtha’-yas concludes that most of the Yogācāra-Madhyamīkas
 (*rnal ’byor spyod pa’i dbu ma pa*) would support this position.

That there is an authoritative scriptural source
 That [supports the fact that] it is sufficient
 To enter into settling meditation from the very outset,
 Scriptural sources of the Mahāyāna-Madhyamaka, [such as]
 “As long as the roots of virtue are not accomplished,
 There is no profound realization of [479] emptiness,” and so
 forth,
 [Hold] that [one] accomplishes perfect Buddhahood
 After having acquired great immeasurable accumulations
 Of merit over a period of more than
 Three countless eons;
 [Such] explanations are [indeed] uncountable.⁵²⁵

|| 4.29 || Who [would] contradict that commitment,
 [Guaranteed] by the great Vajradhara, that
 After [one] has become accustomed to this great path,
 Through the blessing of Mahāmudrā,⁵²⁶ [one]
 Accomplishes supreme enlightenment in this life [time]?
 Therefore, where are the actual criteria of the distinction
 [On the basis of which one] makes a great distinction be-

⁵²⁵ rJe Shākya-rin-chen quotes *Prajñāpāramitāsañcayagāthā* (P, fol. 13r8–13v1; T, fol. 220v5): *de dag dge ba'i rtsa ba ji srid ma rdzogs pa* [par; T] || *de srid stong nyid dam pa de ni thob mi byed* ||; see also HIGGINS & DRASZCZYK 2016: vol. 2, 187 (engl.); 193 (tib.), where Padma-dkar-po uses the same quote with variation in his *Klan ka gzhom gtam*. This refers to Sa-skye Paṇḍita's critique, that even if the Mahāmudrā meditation could be considered a valid Mahāyāna-Madhyamaka meditation, it would require the accomplishment of the great accumulation of merit over a period of more than three countless eons as opposed to the much faster results within one life-time on the Mantrayāna path and of course also the Mahāmudrā path. See Sa-skye Paṇḍita, *sDom gsum rab dbye* 3.163: *ji srid tshogs gnyis ma rdzogs pa* || *de srid bsgom de mthar mi phyin* || *'di ji tshogs gnyis rdzogs pa la* || *bskal pa grangs med dgos par gsungs*; in RHOTON 2002: 117 (engl.); 303 (tib.).

⁵²⁶ Although all versions (B_aB_bC1_aC1_bC4_aC4_b) provide the genitive (*kyi*), I propose a conjecture to the instrumental (*kyis*) because the blessing of Mahāmudrā, which is conferred by the principal Guru, should be understood as a means for becoming accustomed to this great path and therefore being able to accomplish the supreme enlightenment in one life-time. The verb *'gong ba* is here translated in the sense of *'gal ba*; see also *Tshig mdzod chen mo*, vol. 1 (p. 501).

tween⁵²⁷

The Madhyamaka authoritative scriptural tradition and
The practical instructions of Mahāmudrā?⁵²⁸

- || 4.30 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
[Despite] the similarity between [the settling meditation of]
Mahāmudrā and the settling meditation of Madhyamaka
and
[Their dissimilarity in regard to their] rapidity of attaining
Buddhahood,
[These] two are not contradictory;
The [difference] in the rapidity of the path has come about
[on the basis]
Of a difference [in the degree] of the accumulations of merit
[through the different methods].
- || 4.31 || The manner in which the methods of the Mantra[yāna]
excel [those of the Pāramitāyāna is]
Through [their] great accumulation of merit;
[This] was taught in the **Nayatrāyapradīpa* and so forth.⁵²⁹

⁵²⁷This line of verse only occurs in B_aB_bC_{4a}C_{4b}, not in C_{1a}C_{1b}C_{2a}. However, besides giving more emphasis, there is no essential change of the meaning.

⁵²⁸rJe Shākya-rin-chen alludes to the difference in the methods as explained before and also as proposed by Kun-dga'-dpal-'byor and Padma-dkar-po; but this does not imply any difference in the result that is achieved, see also n. 519 on p. 232.

⁵²⁹In order to clarify the difference in means but the identity of the purpose and goal of both Mahāyānic vehicles, the Pāramitāyāna and Mantrayāna, Tibetan authors frequently quote a passage from *Tripiṭakamāla (ascribed), **Nayatrāyapradīpa*, (P, fol. 17v5–6; D, fol. 16v3–4): *don gcig nyid na [na'ang; D] ma rmongs dang || thabs mang dkar [dka'; D] ba med phyir dang || dbang po rnon po'i dbang byas bas || sngags kyi bstan bcos khyad par 'phags ||*. Cf. also MATHES 2020: 281. The difference of the Mantrayāna is due to four factors: (1) its non-deluded (*ma rmongs*) skillful means through visualization and so forth, (2) its great variety of methods (*thabs mang*), (3) its freedom from difficulties (*dka' ba med pa*), and (4) its suitability for persons of sharp faculties (*dbang po'i rnon po*). For a discussion of this passage, see also SANDERSON 2009: 233, n. 536 (reference kindly provided by Harunaga Isaacson); see also PETTIT 2008: 65, n. 193 (engl.). rJe Yon-tan-mtha'-yas quotes this passage

- || 4.32 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
 Furthermore, the gradual path of the *niruttara*[*yoga*]
 Tantra,
 Which has become the zenith of the Mantrayāna,
 Is explained to [consist of] the two: [the four] maturative
 [initiations] and [the two stages of generation and perfec-
 tion that cause] liberation.⁵³⁰
- || 4.33 || Ask: Whether or not there is a meditation method that
 reconciles Mahāmudrā [meditation] with all those
 Who have expounded the two stages [480] in the latter,
 [namely the two stages of generation and perfection that
 cause liberation]:

in his *'Og min zhal lung* (fol. 32r4–5). 'Ju Mi-pham, *'Od gsal snying po* (pp. 69.6–76.6) also discusses this quote in the context of the first topic (*lta ba*) about the superiority of the Mantrayāna to the Pāramitāyāna. The ten Tantric topics (*rgyud don gyi dngos po bye brag tu phye nas bcu*) in 'Ju Mi-pham's *'Od gsal snying po* are: (1) view (*de kho na nyid lta ba*), (2) *samādhi* (*mi g.yo ba tin nge 'dzin*), (3) conduct (*la dor ba spyod pa*), (4) *maṇḍala* (*bkod pa dkyil 'khor*), (5) initiation (*rim par bgrod pa dbang*), (6) *samaya* (*mi 'da ba dam tshig*), (7) accomplishment (*don du gnyer ba sgrub pa*), (8) offering (*gnas su stobs pa mchod pa*), (9) enlightened activity (*rol pa phrin las*), and (10) *mantra* together with *mudrā*. 'Ju Mi-pham also points out that they differ only in the period before reaching the path of seeing. From there on, it would even be possible for one to become a Buddha in seven days. For the English translation, see also LAMA CHÖNAM & SANGYE KHANDRO 2010: 107–115.

⁵³⁰In this context, rJe Shākya-rin-chen refers to the distinction between the two paths of *smin lam* and *grol lam*: The four maturative initiations serve as the prerequisite for the actual practice of the two stages of generation (*bksyed rim: sampannakrama*) and perfection (*rdzogs rim: nispannakrama*) of the *niruttarayoga* Tantras; see also sGam-po-pa in SCHILLER 2015: 108, n. 14 (tib.). The four maturative initiations are: vase initiation (*bum dbang*), secret initiation (*gsang dbang*), insight-gnosis initiation (*shes rab ye shes dbang*) and word initiation (*tshig dbang*). A concise overview of the four maturative initiations and their respective functions and results, as presented in Phag-mo-gru-pa's writings, is found in *ibid.* 2015: 110–111. A detailed study of the generation and perfection stage in Tantric practices in the *Pañcakrama* is provided in WAYMAN 1977. The study addresses the practices according to one of the two commentarial traditions, the *Guhyasamājatantra* tradition in Tsong-kha-pa Blo-bzang-grags-pa's (1357–1419, hereafter Tsong-kha-pa) commentaries, mainly in his *Sgron ma gsal bar byed pa*.

First, the so called [generation stage] of fabricated meditation

As well as the profound generation [stage,] and

Second, the perfection stage, which has been explained in two [stages]:

[The perfection stage] with [involvement of] characteristics as well as

[The perfection stage] without [involvement of] characteristics?

- || 4.34 || If there is [such a meditation method that reconciles these two,] where and how has it been stated?
If there does not exist [any such meditation method,]
[Then,] having abandoned the graded path that was explained in the authoritative scriptures of the *niruttarayoga* Tantra [section]
[And] practicing something of a different meaning,
How can it be reasonable to conceitedly assume [this then to be]
The content of the Mantrayāna [teachings]?
- || 4.35 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
The graded path of the *niruttara*[yoga Tantra system] is of two kinds:
The [four] maturative [initiations] and the [two stages of generation and perfection that cause] liberation.
Regarding the latter, the generation [and] perfection [stage]
[They consist of] the profound and non-profound generation stage as well as
The perfection stage with [and] without characteristics, [respectively].
These, [namely the two stages of generation and perfection that cause liberation,]
And the meditation method of Mahāmudrā,
Apart from a mere distinction with regard to the focal object,
Converge to the same point as the four initiations and the Four Yogas [of Mahāmudrā]
In terms of the ultimate goal they arrive at.
- || 4.36 || Also, the scriptures and reasonings make evident

That the Four Yogas [of Mahāmudrā] have been posited
In order to mature the four kinds of powers [481] after
having purified the four defilements of the four initiations
In the following manner:
One-pointedness as purifier of physical appearances,
Simplicity as purifier of the winds [of the body],
One-tasteness as purifier of the mind, and
Non-meditation as purifier of gnosis.
However, since those generation and perfection [stages]
Do not transcend the four purifiers,
[They] are similar to the Four Yogas of Mahāmudrā.⁵³¹

⁵³¹The Four Yogas of Mahāmudrā are: (1) one-pointedness (*rtse gcig: ekāgra*), (2) simplicity (*spros bral: niṣprapañca*), (3) one-tasteness (*ro gcig: samarāsa/ekarāsa*), and (4) non-meditation (*sgom med: abhāvanā*). For the most extensive study on the Four Yogas of Mahāmudrā in the early bKa'-bryud schools related to sGam-po-pa and his disciple Phag-mo-gru-pa, along with their textual heritage and a presentation of Phag-mo-gru-pa's different work collections, see SCHILLER 2015 (in German). A summary of the content of the Four Yogas of Mahāmudrā based on a selection of sGam-po-pa's instructions is provided in *ibid.*: 160–172. On the origin and transmission of the Four Yogas of Mahāmudrā, see also n. 448 on p. 195. SCHILLER 2015: 177–182, has observed that the later subdivision of the Four Yogas of Mahāmudrā into twelve stages has not been attested in sGam-po-pa's writings, but is later reported to have been taught by him orally to, for example, Phag-mo-gru-pa. They are also explained in the writings of gTsang-pa-rgya-ras, for example in his *rNal 'byor bzhi'i zhal gdams chos rje 'gro mgon gyis mdzad pa*. The equation of the Four Yogas of Mahāmudrā with the four initiations is already found in Lo-ras-pa's *rNal 'byor bzhi' zhal gdams dbu ri pas bkod pa*; see also Kun-dga'-dpal-'byor, *Grub pa'i klong yangs* (p. 481.1–5). Among the later additional alternative subdivisions, ranging from twelve to thirty-six in the different bKa'-bryud schools, a sixteen-fold subdivision has been developed and expounded in the 'Brug-pa bKa'-bryud school, beginning with Lo-ras-pa, and then transmitted via Kun-dga'-dpal-'byor further to Padma-dkar-po; this is presented, for example in Padma-dkar-po, *rNal 'byor bzhi* (p. 429.1–6). Additionally, a variety of subdivisions is expounded in detail in Padma-dkar-po's short synopsis of the Four Yogas of Mahāmudrā, the *Phyag chen bshad pa*, and its extensive auto-commentary, the *Nges don lta ba'i mig*. For an English translation of both works, see DUFF 2011a: 23–58. Padma-dkar-po's *Nges don lta ba'i mig* extensively quotes from Kun-dga'-dpal-'byor's *Grub pa'i klong yangs*. Another characteristic of the Four Yogas of Mahāmudrā system is a threefold differentiation regarding the approaches to realization, which

- || 4.37 || Due to the capabilities of the disciples, [one] makes a distinction between the two:
 The non-profound [generation stage] and the [perfection stage] with characteristics,
 However, Mahāmudrā is exceedingly superior
 [In regard to] the manifoldlessness and the focal object [in visualization]:
 Both the exceedingly profound generation stage and
 The perfection stage without characteristics
 [Occur in] union and [this then] is the actual⁵³² path of Mahāmudrā;
 [Thus,] what else [can] be maintained [to be]
 Actual Mahāmudrā [other than their] union?⁵³³
- || 4.38 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
 In particular, other than [what] is explained in the unsur-

depends on the individual practitioner’s faculties: (1) sudden (*cig car du*), (2) leap-over to the top (*thod rgal*), and (3) gradually (*rim kyis*). Padma-dkar-po explains this distinction in his *Nges don lta ba’i mig* (p. 443.4–6 ff.): *gang zag dbang po’i bye brag ni || cig car thod rgyal rim skyes pa || rnam pa gsum du nges gnas pas || rtogs tshul rnam pa gsum bshad do ||*; for further explanations of this threefold category in sGam-po-pa’s and Phag-mo-gru-pa’s writings, see also SCHILLER 2015: 118–120; 130; 141–144; 546; 385 (tib.). The term “leap to the top” is also found in the rDzogs-chen system; for example discussed in detail in Klong-chen-pa, *rGyud gsang ba snying po’i ’grel pa*; for the references, see GYATSO 1998: 301, n. 68. For a detailed overview of the content of the Four Yogas of Mahāmudrā in twelve stages, see also CALLAHAN 2017.

⁵³²For *ngo ti* translated as “in fact,” “actually,” or “really” (*dnagos gnas*), see also *Tshig mdzod chen mo*, vol. 1 (p. 661).

⁵³³The stage of perfection (*rdzogs rim: niṣpannakrama*) is divided into “with characteristics” (*mtshan bcas: nimitta*) and “without characteristics” (*mtshan med: animitta*). In the bKa’-brgyud and rNying-ma tradition, the practices of rDzogs-chen and Mahāmudrā are often equated with the *mtshan med kyi rdzogs rim* of the *niruttarayoga* Tantra section. sGam-po-pa and several other authors frequently use *spros med* as a synonym for *mtshan med*. For this distinction in sGam-po-pa’s works, see for example SCHILLER 2015: 109–111. For an exposition of the two stages of meditation in the *niruttarayoga* Tantra section, see also the seventh question-cum-answer in rJe dGe-’dun-rin-chen, *gNam gyi nga ro* (pp. 419.2–421.6). For the early Indian sources of this distinction, see SCHILLER 2015: 109, n. 15.

passed Mantrayāna, that,
 “Through the proper arrangement of the [conductive] conditions
 In the body, realization arises in the mind,”⁵³⁴
 [And] that by the means of [the Guru’s] practical instructions
 Gnosis arises through striking at the core
 Of the energy channels, which subsist,
 The winds, which move, and
 The [“psycho-physiological”] *bodhicitta*, which is affixed,
 That exist [482] in the Vajrakāya possessing the six elements,⁵³⁵
 No other skillful means have been taught in the Tantric
 [scriptures]
 That cause the accomplishment of gnosis
 [Characterized by] innate Great Bliss in this [very] lifetime.

|| 4.39 || [In this case,] what explicit mode of explanation exists
 In the Mahāmudrā [authoritative] scriptures that shows
 The method of striking at the core of the channels, vital
 essences, [and] winds?

|| 4.40 || Although there are no explicit teachings [pertinent to
 physiology-based soteriology taught in the Mahāmudrā tradition],
 What are the crucial points [of such teachings found therein]
 Nevertheless of the actual method to attain [innate Great

⁵³⁴This is a general reference in religious histories by bKa’-brgyud scholars to the Tantric instructions, which are associated with the Six Doctrines of Nāropa and had originally been transmitted from India by Mar-pa Lo-tsa-ba; see for example in Padma-dkar-po, *Pad dkar chos ’byung* (p. 479.4–5): *dka’ ba mang du bcad pa mar pa lo tsa zhes bya ba zhig yod | de la gsang sngags byin rlabs kyi lam rten ’brel lus la bsgrigs pas rtogs pa sems la ’char ba zhig yod ’dug |*.

⁵³⁵The six elements (*kham drug*) are earth (*sa*), water (*chu*), fire (*me*), wind (*rlung*), space (*nam mkha’*) and consciousness (*rnam par shes pa*). On the Yogic practices that are called “striking at the core” (*gnad du bsnun pa: marmaprahāra*) of the physical bases (*rten: ādhāra*), represented by the energy channels (*rtsa ba: nādī*), winds (*rlung: vāyu*) and “psycho-physiological” *bodhicitta*, referring to the seminal drops (*thig le: bindu*), see WANGCHUK 2007: 217–225. See also n. 459 on p. 202.

Bliss]?⁵³⁶

Moreover, if there are no [explicit teachings]
Then, despite proving [Mahāmudrā] as the perfection stage
of the *niruttara*[*yoga* Tantra system] by their hundreds,
How could this be anything other than counterfeit?

|| 4.41 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
It is also not the case that there are no other means of
accomplishing
In this lifetime the gnosis [characterized by] Great Bliss
Apart from the method of striking the core
Of the channels [and] winds that has been explicitly taught
in the section of the *niruttara*[*yoga*] Tantra;
[One can] also accomplish [the desired objectives] through
respect and devotion to the Guru
[As ^[483] it] has been taught in the *Yoginīsañcārya*,
“[The Guru], through whose kindness Great Bliss arises in
a moment.”⁵³⁷
Furthermore, although in the Mahāmudrā [system] the man-
ner
In which [one] strikes the core of the channels [and] winds
Is not taught as [it was explained] in the context of the Six
Doctrines [of Nāropa],
[Nevertheless,] there are implicit teachings that show
[The practice to attain the gnosis characterized by Great
Bliss]
As has been taught previously.⁵³⁸

⁵³⁶ Here, rJe Yon-tan-mtha'-yas quotes Kun-dga'-dpal-'byor, see rJe Yon-tan-mtha'-yas, '*Og min zhal lung* (fol. 35r1–2): *rgyal ba'i dbang pos || sgom sran gyi grol ba the tshom za || mos gus kyi grol ba the tshom med || de gnad ka yod med khyad par yin ||*.

⁵³⁷ rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen quotes with variation from the praise to Vajradhara in the beginning of the *Yoginīsañcārya* (P, fol. 223v7–8; T, fol. 267r3–4): *gang gi drin gyis bde chen gnas || skad cig gis ni thob gyur pa || bla ma rin chen lta bu yi || rdo rje can zhabs pad la 'dud ||*. The complete verse is also quoted with variation in rJe Yon-tan-mtha'-yas, '*Og min zhal lung* (fol. 35r1).

⁵³⁸ “As has been taught previously,” refers to the discussion of the content of the *Shin tu rmad du byung ba'i rgyud* teachings and the relationship between the path of means (*thabs lam*) and the path of liberation (*grol*

Although this Mahāmudrā [of] the abiding mode⁵³⁹
Does depend on the lower graded path,
When some [of those people with] sharp faculties,
Who follow the Dharma [of reasoning], and
[Some of those people with] blunt faculties,
Who follow faith, come to accomplish the desired goal,
Despite not having depended on the lower graded path,
[At that time,] the objectives of relying [on the lower graded
path] are automatically fulfilled.

[rJe Shākya-rin-chen and Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
This was the fourth chapter offering a response to questions about
the meditation [of Mahāmudrā] from the *Questions Concerning the*
[*Doctrine of*] *Mahāmudrā Titled the "Pointed Spear of a Siddha."*

5.5 Fifth Chapter: A Response to Questions about the Mahāmudrā Conduct

- || 5.1 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
Then, conduct [in the post-meditative cognition] is explain-
ed [to be characterized] by
The very absence of adoption or rejection
In the authoritative scriptures of the practical instructions
of Mahāmudrā.
- || 5.2 || If adoption and rejection is not carried out through [such]
conduct,
By what [means would] the great accumulation of merit be
perfected?
If the great accumulation of merit is not perfected,
The two [kinds of] Rūpakāyas ^[484] [that benefit] other [sen-
tient beings] will not arise.⁵⁴⁰

lam) in question two of rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's *Dus kyi pho nya*; see for
example verse || 2.7 || to || 2.19 || on pp. 181 ff.; see also rJe Yon-tan-
mtha'-yas, *'Og min zhal lung* (fol. 35r3).

⁵³⁹On the crucial concept of "Mahāmudrā of the abiding mode" (*gnas lugs
phyag chen*), see also n. 430 on p. 183. For the discussion of Mahāmudrā
of the abiding mode in question three of rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's *Dus kyi
pho nya*; see verse || 3.31 || ff. on p. 218.

⁵⁴⁰The two kinds of Buddha Bodies are: (1) the Dharmakāya (*chos skyi*

- || 5.3 || The need to perform adoption and rejection
 In an appropriate manner, [associated with] avoiding un-
 wholesome [deeds and]
 Accomplishing wholesome [deeds, as] the conduct
 In the post-[meditative] cognition of the Mahāmudrā med-
 itation
 Has been taught by the Yogic master Tillipa [in the follow-
 ing manner],
 “As long as [you] do not realize the interdependently arisen
 appearances as unborn,
 Ensure, [Nāropa], that [you] are not detached from the

sku), which is the embodiment of the true nature of all phenomena and is merely discernible for Buddhas, and (2) the Rūpakāya, which is the Form Body for the benefit of others. The Rūpakāya can be further divided into two Form Bodies: (1) the Saṃbhogakāya/Saṃbhogikakāya (*longs spyod rdzogs pa'i sku*) as the Body of Enjoyment, which is discernible for beings with a higher realization such as Bodhisattvas in Buddha realms such as Akaniṣṭha; and (2) the Nirmāṇakāya/Nairmāṇikakāya (*sprul pa'i sku*), the Apparitional Body (translation according to Orna Almogi) through which sentient beings can also perceive the Buddha through the Buddha's supernatural powers; see also ALMOGI 2009: 61–62. The later Tibetan controversy on the Svābhāvikakāya (*ngo bo nyid kyi sku*) as either a separate fourth Buddha Body or as the aspect of emptiness of the Dharmakāya goes back to the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*; see ALMOGI 2009: 67, n. 76; see also MAKRANSKY 1998: 4–6; for a detailed exposition on the Svābhāvikakāya, see *ibid.*: 39–87. I prefer to leave the designations for the Buddha Bodies untranslated and use the Sanskrit equivalents, since the translation of these terms is complex; for example, on three different meanings as possible translations for the Dharmakāya alone according to Lambert Schmithausen, see ALMOGI 2009: 62, n. 59. The causal relation of the two accumulations of merit and wisdom to the two kinds of Buddha Bodies, which is mentioned in this context by rJe Shākya-rin-chen, is found in the Buddhist canonical literature on numerous occasions; see for example Nāgārjuna, *Ratnāvalī* 3.12–13: *sangs rgyas rnam kyi gzugs sku ni || bsod nams tshogs las byung ba ste || chos kyi sku ni mdor bsdu na || rgyal po ye shes tshogs las 'khrungs || de lta bas na tshogs 'di gnyis || sangs rgyas nyid ni thob pa'i rgyu || de lta mdor na bsod nams dang || ye shes 'di ni rtag brten mdzod ||*; see HAHN 1982: 74 (tib.). See also Nāgārjuna, *Yuktiṣaṣṭikā* 60: *dge ba 'di yis skye bo kun || bsod nams ye shes tshogs bsags te || bsod nams ye shes las byung ba 'i || dam pa gnyis ni thob par shog ||*; see also ALMOGI 2009: 67, n. 75. For a detailed study regarding the buddhological development of Buddha Body theories, see MAKRANSKY 1998; see also verse || 6.2 || on p. 254.

A Timely Message from the Cave

chariot’s wheel of the two [kinds of] accumulations;⁵⁴¹
The great accumulation of merit
[That Tillipa] taught [here] refers to the conduct of
Adoption and rejection in the post-[meditative] cognition.

- || 5.4 || All wise ones claim that, from the aspect of the view alone,
Apart from [realizing] the Dharmakāya [for one’s] own benefit,
[One] is not able to manifest the two Rūpakāyas
In the perception of other [sentient beings for their benefit].
Therefore, ask: Is this absence of adoption and rejection
A mode of meditation that is established by a [philosophical] view
Or a [kind of] conduct that [is one part of]
The classification of “view [and] conduct”?⁵⁴²

⁵⁴¹ rJe Shākya-rin-chen quotes an instruction of Tillipa to Nāropa, which is reported in numerous works of bKa’-brgyud scholars, for example in sGam-po-pa, *gSung zhal bdud rtsi* (pp. 351.4–352.2): *sems byin gyis brlabs pa la lnga | sems la mtho dma’ med pa || yangs dog med pa | thog mtha’ med pa | thams cad la khyab pa | phyogs su ma ltung pa’o || dang po la dbu ma’i lta ba sems dang po gang nas byung | tha ma gar ’gags brtsad bcad pa ste | ’dir de gnyis dang bral ba’o || yangs pa skye mched mu bzhi nas dog pa rtsa rlung bsgom pa ste | ’dir di gnyis dang bral ba’o || de tsam gyis kyang mi ’ong | ji srid du gnyis ’dzin dang ma bral bar du tshogs sog pa la brten dgos | de yang tai lo pas gsungs pa de yin | snang ba rten cing ’grel ’byung ’di || skye ba med par ma rtogs pas | tshogs gnyis shing rta’i ’khor lo dang || ’bral bar ma byed nā ro pa || ces zab thag ma gsungs pa de yin | rjen pa de las byung thabs med gsung ngo ||.*

⁵⁴² The question about the relation between view and conduct in the case of an instantaneous approach to enlightenment had been discussed by scholars who had subsequently reacted to Sa-skyia Paṇḍita’s criticism of Mahāmudrā as a “self-sufficient white remedy” (*dkar po gcig thub*). The topic is addressed in Sa-skyia Paṇḍita’s equation of a Hwa-shang Mahāyāna’s “descent-from-above” view as opposed to an “ascent-from-below” view with the Mahāmudrā terminology of an instantaneous (*cig car bar*) and a gradual approach (*rim gyis par*); see Sa-skyia Paṇḍita, *sDom gsum rab dbye* 3.167: *da lta’i phyag rgya chen po dang || rgya nag lugs kyi rdzogs chen la || yas ’bab dang ni mas ’dzegs gnyis || rim gyis pa dang cig char bar || ming ’dogs bsgyur ba ma gtogs pa || don la khyad par dbye ba med ||*; in RHOTON 2002: 118 (engl.); (tib.) 303. Given the fact that the training in the six *pāramitās* is necessary, the question occurred

- || 5.5 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
 [One] needs to comprehend this [absence of adoption and rejection]
 As a conduct in the context of maintaining a view
 Without being distracted from the abiding mode.
 At the time of [having established] a view that is beyond
 all propositions,
 Whatever arises, [there] is no adoption [or] rejection,
 Thus, [this] conduct is taught as being free from adoption
 [or] rejection.⁵⁴³
- || 5.6 || Moreover, [it] does not matter how [this conduct, which is
 Characterized by the absence of adoption and rejection] is
 labeled in name,
 “Pure conduct” or ^[485] “non-dual conduct,” because *de facto*,
 There is no [conduct] other than the conduct
 Which is permeated by the view; as the glorious Nāropa
 taught,

regarding whether these were gradually or simultaneously practiced and, in the case of a instantaneous approach, what would be the undesired consequences of the inclusion of conduct in the view. For a discussion of this topic, see also Shākya-mchog-ldan in his *Zung 'jug gru chen*; in HIGGINS & DRASZCZYK 2016: vol. 1, 135–139 (engl.); vol. 2, 48–49 (engl.); 72 (tib.). For the discussion of the self-sufficient white remedy (*dkar po chig thub*) and the relation between basis (*gzhi*) and result (*'bras bu*), see also the questions-cum-answers starting with verse || 6.7 || on p. 257. For Sa-skyā Paṇḍita's designation of Mahāmudrā as a “Chinese style rDzogs-chen,” which in turn is equated by him with Hwa-shang Mahāyāna; see JACKSON, D. 1994: 67–70; see also ARCA 2015: 113–115.

⁵⁴³ rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen roughly summarizes Padma-dkar-po's position, presented in his *Phyag chen gan mdzod*; see also rJe Yon-tan-mtha'-yas, *'Og min zhal lung* (fol. 36r1–4): *phyag rgya chen po'i man ngag rnam su | spyod pa blang dor dang bral ba zhes gsungs pa 'di ni gnas tshul las ma yengs pa'am | rang ngo rig pa la tshul bzhin yid la byed pa zhes bzhag pa'i lta ba de skyong ba'i skabs kyi spyod pa la byed dgos pa yin te | de'i tshe a ma na sī ka ra'i sgra bshad snga ma gnyis kyi dbang du byas nas sgom pa yid la mi byed pa dang | de dus kyi lta ba 'di lta bu zhes khas len mi nus pas lta ba khas len dang bral ba dang | de'i tshe gang shar la spang blang bya rgyu mi 'dug pas spyod pa blang dor dang bral ba dang | de'i tshe shar grol dus mnyam pas bras bu re dogs dang bral ba zhes gan mdzod du gsungs pas so ||.*

“The arising of [the realization of] the equality
 Of all phenomena is the unsurpassed conduct.”⁵⁴⁴
 With regard to how the conduct [should be] permeated by
 the view [it is as follows]:
 Whatever multitude of good [or] bad conceptual [construc-
 tions] emerge,
 If, having recognized what emerges on its own,
 Without becoming engaged in grasping it,
 [Then one realizes] the multitude of conceptual [construc-
 tions] to be
 Gnosis [in its innate nature and that they are already] in-
 nately released;
 How [could] there be cause [and] effect, rejection [and]
 adoption [in such a state]?⁵⁴⁵

|| 5.7 || In this regard, Chos-rje sGam-po-pa taught:
 “Until [one] has not realized [one’s] own mind as Dhar-
 makāya,
 Everything exists, cause [and] effect, rejection [and] adop-
 tion, [and so forth];
 [But for one who] has realized that, there is not even the
 name ‘cause [and] effect.’”

⁵⁴⁴ rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen attributes this quotation to Nāropa, thereby col-
 lectively referring to the Six Doctrines of Nāropa/*bsre 'pho* practice tradi-
 tion, more specifically to the practice of inner heat (*gtum mo*). He does
 not mention the corresponding authoritative Tantric scriptural source
 that is quotes from with minimal variation; see *Samputatantra* (P, fol.
 277r5–7; T, fol. 443v4–6): *de nas spyod pas rtogs pa rnams || 'jig par
 byed pa bshad par bya || chos rnams kun la mnyam byung ba || de nyid
 spyod pa gong na med || sangs rgyas sras la phan pa'i phyir || rdzogs pa'i
 byang chub rnam gnas pa || gang zhig yang ni de nyid las || rdo rje yan
 lag med pa yi || shes rab pha rol phyin pa mchog || skye ba'i rgya mtsho'i
 'jigs chen por || rga ba'i rlabs kyis 'khrugs pa las || sems can thams cad
 sgrol bar byed ||*.

⁵⁴⁵ rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen shortens his paraphrase of rJe Yon-tan-mtha'-
 yas' commentary; see rJe Yon-tan-mtha'-yas, '*Og min zhal lung* (fol.
 36v2–3): *lta bas zin pa'ang dad pa dang chags sdang gyis mtshon rtog pa
 bzang ngan ci shar yang shar thog der rang ngo shes shing 'dzin pa ma
 bzhugs pa la bya dgos la | de tsa na rtog pa de ka ye shes yin pas dge sdig
 gi bag chags 'jog mi thub cing | des na spangs blang bya rgyu med do ||*.

[This] is in fact undeniable.⁵⁴⁶

- || 5.8 || Regarding the statement that due to meditating exclusively upon the view,
The great accumulation of merit is not perfected
And [that, subsequently,] also the Form Bodies [of the Buddha] for the benefit [of] other [sentient beings] do not emerge
This refers only to the meditation on non-self,
Which is the content of the Sūtric [scriptures].
However, that fallacy does not apply to the meditation of Mahāmudrā,
[Which is characterized by] unity in this context,
[Insofar as] there is no other method superior to the Mahāmudrā meditation [of] unity, [characterized] [486] by the innately [arisen] indivisibility
Of appearances [and] mind, [for acquiring]
The Form Bodies [of the Buddha].⁵⁴⁷

- || 5.9 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
In the first case, [that this absence of adoption and rejection is a mode of meditation that is established by the philosophical view],
What [would] be the explanation [for] the differentiation between view [and] mediation [on the one hand] and con-

⁵⁴⁶ rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen quotes with variation from sGam-po-pa, *Tshogs chos mdzes ma* (pp. 475.6–476.1): *hril gyis dril bas chos sku ma rtogs kyi bar du rgyu 'bras yod la | chos sku rtogs nas rgyu 'bras bya ba'i ming med | bzhi pa 'bras bu lhun grub kyis don la re dogs kyi blo dang bral ba'o ||*.

⁵⁴⁷ rJe Yon-tan-mtha'-yas provides a more detailed explanation for the argument in his commentary; see *'Og min zhal lung* (fol. 37r1–4): *lta ba rkyang pa bsgoms pas gzhan don gzugs sku gnyis mi 'byung ba dang | bsod nams kyi tshogs mi rdzogs par bshad pa ni | bdag med brkyang pa tsam dang | slob pa'i dus kyi 'od gsal brkyang pa lta bu sgom pa la dgongs pa yin gyi | zung 'jug phyag rgya chen po'i lta ba mtshan nyid dang ldan pa brkyang pa sgom pa la ni skyon de dag yod pa ma yin te | thabs dang shes rab bdag nyid can || e waṃ zhes dang | sems nyid lhan cig skyes pa chos kyi sku || snang ba lhan cig skyes pa chos sku'i 'od || de phyr sang sems dbyer med lhan cig skyes || zhes gsungs pa ltar gyi zung 'jug phyag rgya chen po bsgom pa las lhag pa'i gzugs sku gnyis dang | bsod nams kyi tshogs bsgrubs pa'i thabs gzhan med pa'i phyr ro ||*.

duct [on the other]?

- || 5.10 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
[With regard to] the distinction into the three—view, mediation [and] conduct—
[According to] whatever [established] philosophical position [one follows],
The true nature [that one experiences directly in] meditative equipoise [is] the [Mahāmudrā] view,
Abiding one's [concentration] upon that [view is] the [Mahāmudrā] meditation, and
That [activity] which is connected with the great accumulation of merit
[In] the post-[meditative] cognition is the [Mahāmudrā] conduct.⁵⁴⁸
- || 5.11 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
In the second case, [that this absence of adoption and rejection is a kind of conduct that is one part of the classification of “view and conduct”],
It [would absurdly] follow that there is no distinction between meditative equipoise and the post-[meditative] cognition.
- || 5.12 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
With respect to whatever [this absence of adoption and rejection] is,
A coalescence of view and conduct, [characterized by] self-awareness of the own nature, [or]
Meditative equipoise resting within [that] view,
[It] lacks the designation of “post-[meditative] cognition”;
Meditative equipoise alone is considered to be the priority.
- || 5.13 || A conduct not permeated by the [Mahāmudrā] view [in] the post-[meditative] cognition,
[Which is characterized by] the elimination [of] the un-

⁵⁴⁸ rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen confirms that within the context of the Mahāmudrā doctrine the standard conventions of proper view, meditation, and conduct with the three trainings (*bslab pa gsum: triśikṣa*), which are wisdom (*shes rab: prajñā*), meditative equipoise (*tīng nge 'dzin: samādhi*), and discipline (*tshul khrims: śīla*) are indeed also followed.

wholesome [and] accomplishment [of] the wholesome
 Connected with exertion [in] adoption [and] rejection
 Is called a “stupefacient post-[meditative] cognition.”⁵⁴⁹

|| 5.14 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
 What are the similarities between the classifications into
 Four kinds of ^[487] practices [that] augment [realization]—
 The so called “ever-excellent [conduct],” “secret conduct,”

⁵⁴⁹ rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen distinguishes into two kinds of post-meditative cognition: (1) post-meditative cognition that possesses gnosis, obtained subsequent to the meditative state in which meditative equipoise was accomplished (*de'i rjes las thob pa'i ye shes*), and thereby the only one justified to be called “post-meditative cognition” at all; and (2) “stupefacient post-meditative cognition” (*rjes thob rgya yan pa*), which does not possess any such insight. Mahāmudrā conduct, which is characterized by the absence of adoption and rejection, is associated with the “valid” first one. Bu-ston Rin-chen-grub explicates the distinction in his extensive commentary of the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*, where he interestingly (and quite similarly to rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen) characterizes them as *mnyam bzhag gis zin pa'i rjes thob* and *mnyam bzhag gis dmigs rnam brjed pa'i dus kyi rjes thob* respectively; see his *Lung gi snye ma* (pp. 95.6–97.7): *mtshan nyid pa la yang ji lta ba mkhyen pa mnyam gzhag dang || ji snyed pa mkhyen pa rjes thob gnyis so || mnyam gzhag la || spyir lo ka pa'i mnyam gzhag bsam gtan sogs dang || lo ka las 'das pa'i mnyam gzhag rnam par mi rtog pa gnyis so || rjes thob la bsam gtan las langs pa'i 'dod sems sogs lo ka pa'i rjes thob || lo ka las 'das pa'i mnyam gzhag gi dmigs rnam ma brjed par dran pas zin pa mnyam gzhag gis zin pa'i rjes thob || mnyam gzhag gi dmigs rnam brjed pa'i dus kyi rjes thob rgya yan pa || sangs rgyas sa'i ji snyed pa mkhyen pa sogs mnyam gzhag dang ngo bo gcig pa'i rjes thob || tha mal gyi dbang shes sogs mnyam gzhag dang rjes thob gnyis ka min pa'o || lo ka pa'i mnyam gzhag kha cig dang || 'gog pa'i snyoms 'jug kyang lo ka las 'das pa'i rjes thob ste || mngon 'grel las || 'gog pa'i snyoms par 'jug pa ni || lo ka las 'das pa ste || 'phags pa'i lam gyi rjes la thob pa'i phyir ro || zhes so || mnyam gzhag ye shes kyis zin pa'i rjes thob dag pa lo ka pa'i yes shes ni || lam shes mtshan nyid yin no || tha dad ni || mtshan btags gnyis ngo bo mi gcig la mnyam rjes kyang phal cher thad de || theg bsdus su || rnam rtog med pa'i shes de ni || nam mkha' bzhin du shes par bya || de la gzugs ni snang ba ltar || de rjes thob pa'i shes de 'dra || zhes so || grangs nges ni || lam shes su brjod tsam la mtshan nyid dang ldan mi ldan gnyis yod pas || mtshan btags gnyis su nges la || mtshan nyid pa la yang || sangs rgyas sa'i spangs pa dang rtogs pa sgrub byed mnyam rjes gnyis su nges so || rgyud blar || chu mtsho sogs bzhin 'dod chags sogs || glo bur nyon monggs dag pa ni || mdor na mi rtog ye shes kyi || 'bras bu yin par rab tu brjod || rnam pa kun gyi mchog ldan*

“[Conduct in] a crowd” and “[conduct that is] victorious in all directions,”⁵⁵⁰

That were explained in the *niruttarayoga* [Tantra section]—

And the [Mahāmudrā] conduct [characterized by] the absence of adoption [and] elimination?

|| 5.15 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
 Whatever names [or] modes of conduct, and so on, [one may] apply,
 [That are chosen] provisionally in proportion
 To the level [of] realization of the disciples,

pa || sangs rgyas sku ni nges thob pa || de ni rjes la thob pa yi || ye shes 'bras bu yin par bstan ||. See also Third rDo-grub chen 'Jigs-med bsTan-pa'i-nyi-ma (1865–1926), *rDo rje'i mtshon cha* (pp. 243.10–244.13). I thank Dorji Wangchuk for these two references. For an introduction into the broader context of this distinction, which deals with the question of whether the Buddha possesses gnosis or not, see ALMOGI 2009: 139–187.

⁵⁵⁰ rJe Shākya-rin-chen refers to four kinds of Tantric conduct, which are gradually practiced according to *niruttarayoga* Tantra scriptures such as the *Cakrasaṃvaratantra*. In general, a great variety of systematizations of “Tantric conduct” are found in the Tantric scriptures; for example, conduct that is gradually practiced according to the *Samāyogatantra* and *Guhyasamājatantra*, as elaborate, unelaborate, and extremely unelaborate conduct, depending on the practitioner’s ability to develop inner heat and the stage of enhancement of this practice; see for example Āryadeva’s *Caryāmelāpakapradīpa* (chapter nine to eleven) in WEDEMEYER 2007: 277–332 (engl.); 459–496 (skr.); 613–658 (tib.). A detailed explanation on the different kinds of Tantric conduct is also found in Dwags-po Pañchen bKra-shis-rnam-rgyal, *gSang sngags rdo rje theg pa'i spyi don mdor bsdus pa legs bshad nor bu'i 'od zer*; in ROBERTS 2011: 586–598 (engl.). On the different sub-classifications of Tantric conduct, see also 'Ju Mi-pham within the third topic about conduct (*la dor ba spyod pa*) in his *'Od gsal snying po* (pp. 172.2–136.1). Interestingly, 'Ju Mi-pham equates the conduct, which is characterized by an absence of adoption and elimination (in this context labeled as Mahāmudrā conduct), with the conduct on the path of causing liberation (*grol lam*) for practitioners with the potential for instantaneous awakening; see *ibid.* (pp. 127.5–128.1): *ngo bos dbye na thabs lam brtul zhugs kyis spyod pa dang | grol lam bag yod kyis spyod pa gnyis | dang po la thun mong spyi yi spyod pa dang | khyad par can sbyor sgrol gyi spyod pa gnyis so | gnyis pa grol lam la dad brtson kyis spyod pa sogs bdun ni rim gyis pa'i spyod pa dang | blang dor med par spyod pa gcig car ba'i spyod pa gcig dang brgyad du yang bshad do ||*.

The classification into the four [kinds of] conduct,
 Such as ever-excellent [conduct], *de facto*, [they] do not
 transcend
 The non-dual conduct or the [Mahāmudrā] conduct [char-
 acterized by]
 The absence of adoption [and] rejection;
 Therefore, how could there be dissimilarity between the ba-
 sis
 Of the classification [of conduct itself] and the subtypes [of
 conduct]?⁵⁵¹

[rJe Shākya-rin-chen and Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]

⁵⁵¹ See also rJe Yon-tan-mtha'-yas, *'Og min zhal lung* (fol. 37v3–5): *rgyud sde rnam las gdul bya'i blo ngo la bltos te kun bzang sogs spyod pa bzhir phye ba gang dag | gnas skabs gdul bya'i nyams tshod dang bstun pa'i ming 'dogs dang spyod tshul ji ltar byas kyang | don la gnyis med dam blang dor med pa'i spyod pa las ma 'das te | dpal nā ro pas | spyod pa chos kyi glur | gnyis med kyi spyod pa dbye gzhi | dbye ngo kun bzang sogs bzhi dang | de ro snyoms skor drug tu bsil tshul gsungs pas so ||*. Additionally, rJe Yon-tan-mtha'-yas, *'Og min zhal lung* (fols. 37v6–38r1) refers to different categorizations of conduct by quoting Padma-dkar-po; see also Padma-dkar-po, *Ro snyoms rnam bshad* (pp. 68.4–69.1): *gnyis pa don la | spyod pa gcig tu bshad pa | bzhir bshad pa | skor mdzod gsum du phye ste bshad pa | skor drug gi bshad pa'o || dang po ni | don dam par sgrub bo dang | sgrub pa dang | bsgrub par bya ba'i spyod pa'i khyad par thams cad gnyis su med pa'i ye shes gcig pur bstan pa a ba dhū tī'i spyod pa zhes bya ba'o || gnyis pa ni | a ba dhū tī'i spyod pa de yang kun rdzob gdul bya'i blo nus la bltos te | kun tu bzang po'i spyod pa | gsang ba'i spyod pa | rgyal tshab chen po'i brtul zhugs kyi spyod pa | phyogs las rnam par rgyal ba'i spyod pa dang bzhir phye ba nyid do |*. rJe Yon-tan-mtha'-yas refers to the *Six Cycles of Equal Taste*, which is a *gter ma* teaching that consists of three sections (*gTer mdzod bka' rgya can*, *Yang mdzod thugs kyi me long*, *gSang mdzod sbas pa mig 'byed*). It was sealed by Ras-chung-pa and later rediscovered by g'Tsang-pa-rgya-ras. These specific 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud teachings differentiate between six different kinds of practices: (1) taking conceptual constructions as a path (*rnam rtog lam 'khyer*), (2) taking the emotional afflictions as a path (*nyon mongs lam 'khyer*), (3) taking illnesses as a path (*na tsha lam 'khyer*), (4) taking gods and demons as a path (*lha 'dre lam 'khyer*), (5) taking sufferings as a path (*sdug bsngal lam 'khyer*), and (6) taking death as a path (*'chi ba lam 'khyer*); see also HARDING 2008: 229; 419, n. 258. For Padma-dkar-po's concise description of these practices, see his *Ro snyoms nyams len* (pp. 30.6–37.1).

This was the fifth chapter offering a response to questions about the [Mahāmudrā] conduct from the *Questions Concerning the [Doctrine of] Mahāmudrā Titled the “Pointed Spear of a Siddha.”*

5.6 Sixth Chapter: A Response to Questions about the Result of Mahāmudrā

- || 6.1 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
Then, ask: From having meditated on that abiding mode alone, What is the manner in which
The three Bodies [of the Buddha] are obtained?⁵⁵²
- || 6.2 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
The manner in which the result is obtained [is as follows]:
Due to the indivisibility [of] ground [and] result,
By establishing that [ontological] ground, [which is
The abiding mode of the mind identified with] the indivisibility [of] profoundness [and] luminosity,
Through the [spiritual] path [that consists of] the inseparability [of] skillful means [and] wisdom,
The result as well is [that one] ^[488] has accomplished the union of the two Bodies of the Buddha,

⁵⁵²The following discussion evolves around Sa-skya Paṇḍita's criticism of the specific Mahāmudrā path symbolized in the metaphor of the “self-sufficient white remedy” (*dkar po gcig thub*) that he considered insufficient to bring forth realization of all three Bodies of the Buddha; see *sDom gsum rab dbye* 3.47: *kha cig dkar po chig thub las || 'bras bu sku gsum 'byung zhes zer || gcig las 'bras bu 'byung mi nus || gal te gcig las 'bras bu zhig || byung yang nyan thos 'gog pa bzhin || 'bras bu de yang gcig tu 'gyur ||*; in RHOTON 2002: 141 (engl.); 313 (tib.). For an extensive study on the self-sufficient white remedy and the Tibetan controversy on it, see JACKSON, D. 1994. David P. Jackson has identified, analyzed and discussed the development of this metaphor from an originally medicinal background and its interpretation in the writings of sGam-po-pa, Phag-mo-gru-pa and Bla-ma Zhang by whom the term had mainly been propagated and subsequently more widely known and used in the bKa'-brgyud tradition; as well as its criticism in the writings of Sa-skya Paṇḍita in the *sDom gsum rab dbye*, the *Thub pa dgongs gsal*, the *sPring yig*, and the *Zhu 'phrin*; see JACKSON, D. 1994; see also SEYFORTH RUEGG 1989: 102–104; 108–109. For a presentation of Sa-skya Paṇḍita's criticisms and their rebuttal by Padma-dkar-po with regard to the topics discussed in this chapter, see especially JACKSON, D. 1990: 26–39; 48–53.

[Namely], the absolute Dharmakāya [for one’s] own benefit
and
The conventional Form Bodies [of the Buddha for] the benefit [of] others.⁵⁵³

|| 6.3 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
Apart from actualizing the Dharmakāya [for] one’s own benefit,
[Which is] the result of perfection of
Utmost familiarization [with] meditative equipoise
Within the sphere of the abiding mode [of Mahāmudrā,]
Is one able to accomplish the two [kinds of] Rūpakāya [of the Buddha]
That arise from the great accumulation of merit, or not?

|| 6.4 || [Commentary rJe dGe-’dun-rin-chen:]
As a result of a meditation that has been perfected to the utmost,
[One] is not only able to accomplish⁵⁵⁴ the Dharmakāya
[For one’s] own benefit but also
The two Rūpakāyas [of a Buddha for the benefit of others].
Since there are no other phenomena apart from Mahāmudrā,
It has been taught, “There are no other phenomena,
Apart from the *dharmadhātu*,”⁵⁵⁵

⁵⁵³Note that rJe Shākya-rin-chen uses the heteronomous verb *’grub pa* instead of the grammatically necessary autonomous verb *sgrub pa* as he does on several occasions in his *Grub pa’i mdung rnon*. See also n. 554 on p. 255. In general, the three-body theory is assigned to the non-Tantric Mahāyāna, first developed in Yogācāra circles. For the buddhological development of different conceptions, see ALMOGI 2009: 61–67; additionally in relation to the different conceptions of Nirvāṇa, see *ibid.*: 46–60. See also verse || 5.2 || on p. 244 and n. 540 on p. 244.

⁵⁵⁴The modal verb *nus pa* is usually construed with an autonomous verb; in this case, *sgrub pa* would be grammatical and not the heteronomous verb *’grub pa* used here. rJe Yon-tan-mtha’-yas, *’Og min zhal lung* (fol. 39r1) also uses *’grub*.

⁵⁵⁵rJe dGe-’dun-rin-chen refers to an influential concept, which is found in Maitreya-nātha (ascribed), *Madhyāntavibhāga* (P, fols. 47v6–48r1; D, fol. 44v1–3): *don gyis [gyi; D] med dang yod pa ste [de; D] || sgyu ma la sogs bzhin du ’dod || de ni mi ’phro [’phog; D] ma log ste || yod dang med*

A Timely Message from the Cave

In as much as the Vajrayāna is known as
Taking the result as the path,
Why [would] the three resultant Bodies not be completely
[Present] in the sphere of the [ontological] ground of Mahā-
mudrā?⁵⁵⁶

|| 6.5 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
It has been explicated in the Sūtric and Tantric scriptures
of the Mahāyāna
That there are no prerequisites for the arising of
The Rūpakāyas [of the Buddha for] the benefit [of] others
Other than the Dharmakāya [for one's] own benefit
From the perspective of solely the view;
[And also] the learned [and] accomplished [489] ones have
properly explained
[That] no fault does [apply] here.

|| 6.6 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
It is taught that [one is not able] to obtain
The supreme path [by engaging in meditation on the] view
alone or

*pa [par; D] mi 'phro ['phro'i; D] phyir || rtog pa thams cad mi 'jug phyir
|| thams cad ming tsam kho na ste || rang gi mtshan [rang bzhin; D] nyid
ma log pa'o || don dam rang gi mtshan nyid la'o || chos kyi dbyings ni ma
gtogs par || 'di ltar chos yod ma yin te || de phyir spyi yi mtshan nyid der
[de; D] || de ni phyin ci ma log pa'o || phyin ci log gi yid la byed || ma
spangs pa dang spangs pa las [la; D] || de ni ma dag rnam dag ste || de
yang de la ma log pa'o ||. rJe Yon-tan-mtha'-yas, 'Og min zhal lung (fol.
39r2), refers in this context as well to *dkar po chig thub*. For a detailed
analysis of Shākya-mchog-ldan's interpretative framework based on the
position that there are no other phenomena apart from the *dharmadhātu*,
the connected ramifications for the relationship between the result in the
form of the two kinds of Buddha Bodies, and the path along with the role
of the accumulation of merit, see in particular KOMAROWSKI 2019: 5–
17. Similar to Shākya-mchog-ldan's, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen emphasizes
the perspective of the practitioner as an important tool for explaining
seeming contradictions between more or less gradual paths. Please refer
also to the following line of rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's argumentation.*

⁵⁵⁶On the relation between ground, path, and result, especially in Padma-
dkar-po's thinking, see also n. 430 on p. 183.

[Meditation on] emptiness devoid of compassion.⁵⁵⁷

- || 6.7 || There are statements [that express] in numerous ways that
 The prerequisites for the Rūpakāyas are incomplete
 By meditating on [skillful] means [and] wisdom detached
 from each other,
 However, [this] fault does not [apply here].⁵⁵⁸
 Still, this way of accomplishing the two Rūpakāyas
 [Namely] by meditating on a view [characterized]
 By the full recognition of the [fundamental] nature [of]
 Mahāmudrā
 Would not only not contradict those scriptures [and] rea-
 sonings,
 [But would] even serve as proof.
- || 6.8 || If [one] understands this view [regarding] the Mahāmudrā
 meditation method,
 [Which is characterized by] unity [and which practically
 presupposes that],
 “By meditating on unimpeded emptiness alone,
 [This obviously] would not become the cause of the Rū-
 pakāyas,”⁵⁵⁹
 [This very Mahāmudrā meditation method, indeed,] is the
 actual cause of the Rūpakāyas, and
 [One] will not be bound in Saṃsara,
 By means of the [skillful] methods, such as the *bodhicitta*
 aspirational prayers,
 Otherwise, all means that are characterized by effort

⁵⁵⁷I added the missing demonstrative pronoun *de* to my translation, based on rJe Yon-tan-mtha'-yas, 'Og min zhal lung (fol. 39v3–6), which was paraphrased by rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen.

⁵⁵⁸Regarding this idea rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen refers, for example to lines 59–66, (numbering according to SCHAEFFER 2005) in Saraha, *Dohākoṣagīti* (P, fol. 75b2–3; D fol. 71b1): *snying rje dang bral stong pa nyid zhugs gang || des ni lam mchog rnyed pa ma yin no || 'on te snying rje 'ba' zhig bsgom [bsgoms; D] na yang || 'khor ba 'dir gnas thar pa thob mi 'gyur || gang yang gnyis po sbyor bar nus pa des || 'khor bar mi gnas mya ngan 'das mi gnas ||*; in SCHAEFFER 2005: 137 (engl.). Additionally, comparative editions of the *Dohākoṣagīti* are found in *ibid.*: 402–502.

⁵⁵⁹See also n. 540 on p. 244.

Would [automatically] become the cause for self-bondage.

- || 6.9 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
[Objection:] If [one] commits to acquire [the result
of the Rūpakāyas] through various specific means,
Such as generating *bodhicitta*,
Making [490] infinite aspirational prayers, and
Dedicating [one's] merits
[For the sake of] complete enlightenment,
Well then, how would the path of Mahāmudrā be estab-
lished as self-sufficient?⁵⁶⁰
- || 6.10 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
Although from the perspective [of those who] have not re-
alized
The crucial point that proves [the spiritual path of] Mahā-
mudrā as self-sufficient,
Due to the generation [of] *bodhicitta*, and so forth,
Being the causes to accomplish the Rūpakāyas,
The classifications such as the [infinite] aspirational prayers
[for] the generation [of] *bodhicitta*
Are reasonable and necessary,
From the perspective [of those who] have realized [the cru-
cial point
That proves the spiritual path of Mahāmudrā as
self-sufficient],
There are no such elaborations, and thus,
The generation [of] *bodhicitta* and so forth

⁵⁶⁰The objection raised here refers to Sa-skyā Paṇḍita, *sDom gsum rab dbye* 3.48–3.49: 'ga' zhig chig thub bsgoms pa yi || rjes la bsngo ba bya dgos zer || 'o na chig thub gnyis su 'gyur || de la'ang skyabs 'gro sems bskyed dang || yi dam lha bsgom la sogs pa || dgos na chig thub du mar 'gyur || des na chig thub 'di 'dra'i lugs || rdzogs sangs rgyas kyis gsungs pa med ||; in RHOTON 2002: 141 (engl.); 313 (tib.). This criticism alludes to the 'Bri-gung practice of the Fivefold Profound Path of Mahāmudrā (*zab lam phyag chen lnga ldan*) that consists of: (1) Mahāmudrā of *bodhicitta* (*byang sems phyag chen*), (2) Mahāmudrā of the deity's form (*lha sku'i phyag chen*), (3) Mahāmudrā of respect and devotion (*mos gus phyag chen*), (4) Mahāmudrā of the abiding mode (*gnas lugs phyag chen*), and (5) Mahāmudrā of dedication (*bsngo ba'i phyag chen*). For an extensive study of the Fivefold Profound Path of Mahāmudrā, see SOBISCH 2020a.

Is not separate from Mahāmudrā itself.
 Therefore, [the fact that] there are no phenomena other
 than Mahāmudrā [of] the abiding mode
 Has been taught also by Saraha, “If [one] has realized
 [that],
 Nothing else will be found apart from this;”
 Therefore, Mahāmudrā has been established as the self-
 sufficient white [remedy].⁵⁶¹

- || 6.11 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
 If [one] deliberately strives with great effort
 For what is to be abandoned and what is to be accom-
 plished,
 How would such [striving] not contradict the [fundamental]
 explanations [of Mahāmudrā, namely,]
 A view [that is] free from clinging to true existence,
 A meditation [characterized by] non-mentation, and [491]
 A conduct free from adoption [and] rejection?⁵⁶²
- || 6.12 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
 Regarding [that] striving [with great effort] for what is to

⁵⁶¹ rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen quotes with variation lines 68–69, which deal with explanations on co-emergence, from Saraha, *Dohākoṣagīti* (P, fol. 75b3–5; D, fol. 71b1–3): *kye lags gang smras brdzun zhing log pa de bor la || gang la zhen pa yod pa de yang thong || rtogs par gyur na thams cad de yin te || de las [la; D] gzhan pa sus kyang shes mi 'gyur || klog pa de yin 'dzin dang bsgom [sgom; D] pa de yin te || bstan bcos snying la 'chad pa'ang de yin no || de mi mtshon pa'i lta ba yod min te || 'on kyang gcig bu bla ma'i zhal la ltos pa yin || bla mas [ma'i; D] smras pa gang gi snying zhugs pa || lag pa'i mthil du gnas pa'i gter mthong 'dra ||*; in SCHAEFFER 2005: 138 (engl.). This and the following verse by rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen refer to Padma-dkar-po's argument in his *Phyag chen gan mdzod* (pp. 85.2–92.5) as partially paraphrased in rJe Yon-tan-mtha'-yas, *'Og min zhal lung* (fol. 40r5–40v4): *rtogs pa'i tshe phyag rgya chen po las ma gtogs pa'i chos gzhan med pa dang | blo ngor sbyang gzhi sbyong byed sbyang 'bras sogs kyang 'thad cing gnas tshul la de 'dra'i spros pa thams cad las 'das pa las thug la | de'i phyir blo ngor sems bskyed sogs kyi rnam gzhas 'thad cing dgos kyang | gnas tshul la de 'dra'i spros pas ma reg pa | de phyir sems bskyed sogs phyag chen las ma 'das pas | de dag la slob pa gzugs sku'i rgyu yin kyang | gnas lugs nyag gcig bsgoms pa las cung zad kyang ma g.yos so ||*.

⁵⁶² See also rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen in verse || 5.10 || on p. 250.

be abandoned,
Such as the four defilements,⁵⁶³ and
What is to be accomplished, such as the Four Bodies,
[This convention] is to be accepted on the basis of the [sub-
jective, conceptual] mind, and
[With respect to the] view, [which is] free from clinging to
true existence,
[This convention] is to be accepted on the basis of the [ob-
jective] abiding mode [of everything];
Thus, there is no contradiction between them.

- || 6.13 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
Particularly, if [one] hopes to attain the pure result
At a later [point] in time on the basis of those prerequisites,
The statement that,
“A result [at a] later [point of] time is not left over,”
[Would] be a pseudo-statement.
- || 6.14 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
According to the [different] stages of the [disciples'] facul-
ties,
[It] has been taught that, “the result [is obtained] either
[in] the intermediate state or [elsewhere] and so forth,”
But saying “[a result, at a] later [point of] time is not left
over,”
Is intended for [disciples with] the sharpest faculties.⁵⁶⁴

⁵⁶³On the four defilements, see also verse || 4.36 || on p. 239.

⁵⁶⁴In this idiomatic phrase, I interpret *las pa* as a misspelling of *lus pa*; see JAESCHKE 1881: 546. The point of time at which the result (*'bras bu*) is obtained depends on the different capabilities of the disciples: (1) in this lifetime for disciples with superior faculties (*dbang rab*), which refers here to Mahāmudrā (2) in the intermediate state of *bar do* for disciples with mediocre faculties (*dbang 'bring*), and (3) within a great number of lifetimes for disciples with inferior faculties (*dbang tha ma*). See also Sa-skya Paṇḍita, who discusses a form of an already accomplished but later-to-be-manifested realization associated with the analogy of the *garuḍa* birdling, which is able to fly immediately after it has hatched in the context of the characteristics of the path of seeing in his *sDom gsum rab dbye* 3.190–197; in RHOTON 2002: 121–122 (engl.); 305 (tib.). For Sa-skya Paṇḍita's position and its interpretation by later Tibetan scholars, such as Go-rams-pa, Shākya-mchog-ldan and Dwags-po Paṅ-chen bKra-

- || 6.15 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
 In case there is a way of accomplishing
 The two Rūpakāyas [for] the sake [of] others
 On the basis of meditating on the mere self-sufficient Mahā-
 mudrā,
 [Then,] it is appropriate that [one] expresses [that].
- || 6.16 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
 For the time being, as has already been stated above,
 The answer is [as follows]: That the result,
 The inseparability [of] the Bodies [of a Buddha], is accom-
 plished
 By [practicing] the self-sufficient, ^[492] inseparable path;
 [I] do not consider that there are [any] contradictions
 Through a result that is consistent with the cause, [and]
 [Common] procedures that are consistent with the path.

[rJe Shākya-rin-chen and Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
 This was the sixth chapter offering a response to questions about the
 result [of Mahāmudrā] from the *Questions Concerning the [Doctrine
 of] Mahāmudrā Titled the “Pointed Spear of a Siddha.”*

shis-rnam-rgyal, see also JACKSON, D. 1992: 104–110. Especially on
 the analogies of the *garuḍa* birdling and of the lion cub, see Phag-mo-
 gru-pa, *rNal 'byor bzhi'i grel pa rnam dag rong ldan*; in SCHILLER 2014:
 511–512; 371 (tib.). For the complete critical edition of the Tibetan text,
 see *ibid.*: 295; 344–379; See also verse || 4.29 || to || 4.31 || on p. 236 f.
 See also verse || 7.11 || on p. 267 and n. 574 on p. 267 on the *garuḍa*
 birdling and lion cub analogy, which are in fact different: The *garuḍa*
 birdling is already fully matured when it hatches from the egg, while the
 lion cub is not. The cub's qualities are present and perceivable, but it
 still has to gradually develop them; see JACKSON, D. 1992: 96. The
 context of this discussion evolves around different interpretations about
 the question, whether the practitioner is able to completely actualize
 their own realization only when no longer bound to the human body
 (*rnam smin gyi lus rgya*). Following sGam-po-pa's and Phag-mo-gru-pa's
 Mahāmudrā exposition, if a practitioner has reached the fourth stage of
 the Four Yogas of Mahāmudrā, non-meditation (*sgom med: abhāvanā*)
 in this lifetime, the clear light of meditation (*bsgom pa'i 'od gsal*) and
 the clear light that appears at the time of death (*shi ba'i 'od gsal/ma'i
 'od gsal*) will merge. This leads to what is called the “final Yoga of non-
 meditation” that will bring about the full result. For an explanation
 regarding this topic, see SCHILLER 2014: 148–149.

5.7 Seventh Chapter: A Response to Questions about Devotion to the Guru in the Mahāmudrā Tradition

- || 7.1 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
Then, the life essence of all the practices
Of this precious [Mahāmudrā] lineage is maintained to be
Nothing other than respect [and] devotion.⁵⁶⁵
- || 7.2 || It has extensively [and] in numerous ways been advised
that [one] needs
Respect [and] devotion [that is characterized by]
Perceiving the supreme Guru as the Buddha.
- || 7.3 || Although the way to receive the kindness [of the different
kinds] of teachers,
Such as the [teacher who is] associated [with granting] the
first, [i. e. initiations], the second, [i. e. explanations],
And the third, [i. e. instructions], has been taught in many
[ways],⁵⁶⁶
Here, [we] consider [the] principal Guru;
Where from [then should one] say is the kindness of getting

⁵⁶⁵For the discussion of the appreciated characteristics of the Guru and the dyad of respect (*mos pa: adhimukti/adhimokṣa*) and devotion (*gus pa: gaurava/ādara/bhakti*), which have to be cultivated by the disciple, see also the fourth question-cum-answer in rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen, *gNam gyi nga ro* (pp. 412.5–415.6), where several of the following topics are quite similarly discussed. A detailed account of how to examine, follow and adopt the Guru's qualities is provided in rDza-dpal-sprul O-rgyan-'jigs-med-chos-kyi-dbang-po's fundamental work, the *Kun bzang bla ma'i zhal lung* (fols. 201r1–254r2). In addition, it provides numerous interesting narratives from canonical and non-canonical scriptures, and from oral traditions. For the English translation of this passage, see PADMAKARA 2007: 137–166. For a concise synopsis of the *Kun bzang bla ma'i zhal lung* from rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's perspective, see also rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen, *Kun bzang bla ma'i zhal lung gi mtshan don* (in *dGe 'dun bka' 'bum*, vol. 6, pp. 735–754). The role of confidence (*dad pa: śraddhā*) as a support for devotion, and subsequently, devotion itself as a method and goal is, for example, addressed in the context of different Mahāmudrā instructions of Mi-bskyod-rdo-rje; see RHEINGANS 2012: 187–191; on confidence, see also *ibid.*: 190, n. 81.

⁵⁶⁶This categorization of three different kinds of teachings is, for example, found in the Tibetan graded path literature (*lam rim*).

introduced

To the nature [of the mind in the context of] Mahāmudrā
[instructions] obtained?

- || 7.4 || In these times, the principal Guru
[Can] be an ordinary person and, in particular,
It [493] was taught in the *Paramārthasevā* that,
“Due to the [age of] strife,
Gurus [may have] a mixture of virtues [and] vices.”⁵⁶⁷
- || 7.5 || Ask: Whether that [principal] Guru,
Who possesses a mixture of virtues [and] vices, is
A perfect Buddha in person or an ordinary spiritual friend?
- || 7.6 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
In order to argue [that such] a Guru
Who offers kindness [in the form] of Mahāmudrā [teach-
ings]
Is the actual Buddha, even though [their mode of] appear-
ance
And abiding [mode] do seem disparate, then
From the perspective of the abiding mode, [they] are the
actual Buddha,
As proof of scriptural authority of that
[It] has been taught in the Tantric [scriptures],
“For that reason, that one called ‘Vajrasattva’—

⁵⁶⁷ rJe Shākya-rin-chen quotes *Paramārthasevā* (P, fol. 5r6–7; D, fol. 4v2–3): *rtsod ldan dbang gis bla ma skyon dang yon tan 'dres || rnam pa kun tu [du; D] sdig pa med pa yod ma yin || gang zhig yon tan lhag pa yang ni legs dpyad nas || bu rnam kyis ni de la brten par 'gyur ba'o ||*. Karma-chags-med, *Phyag rdzogs zung 'jug* (pp. 4.3–5.2), also employs the quote in the context of discussing the necessary qualities of the teacher; in WALLACE 1998: 18 (engl.). One of the well-known Indian works that deal with the qualifications of the Tantric Guru (*vajrācārya*) is Vāpilla-datta's *Gurupañcāśikā* [P4554; D3721]. For the English translation along with Tsong-kha-pa's commentary, the *Bla ma lnga bcu pa'i rnam bshad slob ma'i re ba kun skong*; see SPARHAM 1999. Until recently, only one incomplete Sanskrit manuscript of the *Gurupañcāśikā* was known, but Péter-Dániel Szántó discovered a further manuscript, which only misses one folio. Furthermore, it reports Vāpilla-datta and not Aśvaghōṣa as the author. The manuscript is analyzed and printed with a diplomatic transcript in SZÁNTÓ 2013.

A Timely Message from the Cave

Assuming the form [of] a [spiritual] master [and]
Focusing on benefiting sentient beings—
Abides in an ordinary form.”⁵⁶⁸
[They] appear in whatever form [would best] train [the dis-
ciples]
Without deviating from the Dharmakāya.⁵⁶⁹

|| 7.7 || Just like a clean mirror [in which,]
For [different] reasons, various reflections emerge
Does not perceive any reflections from [its own] perspec-
tive,
And yet, even as [the reflections] emerge [from the mirror],
[They] are not separate from the mirror, similarly,
Also the Guru is not perceived as separate from the Bud-
dha.

|| 7.8 || Well then, admitted, if it is asked whether all phenomena
That appear would [turn out] ^[494] to be the Guru?
[Answer:] “One [who] passes beyond [the state] of
Inconceivable, all-pervasive respect,

⁵⁶⁸ rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen quotes with variation from *Dākinīvajrapañ-
jaratantra* (P, fol. 301r5–6; T, fol. 200v2–4): *gang phyir ye shes rdo
rje [dang; T] ni || mnyes pas myur du thob par 'gyur || de phyir slob dpon
drung gshogs te || de bzhin gshogs rnam phyag mdzad do || rdo rje sems
dpa' ji lta ba || de ltar slob dpon gzugs 'dzin te || sems can rjes su gzung
dmigs nas || phal pa'i gzugs su gnas pa'o ||*.

⁵⁶⁹ rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen alludes to a passage in Maitreyañātha (as-
cribed), *Ratnagotravibhāga* (P, fol. 65r5–8; D, fol. 64v2–5), within the
section of the fifth *vajra* point on enlightenment; in particular, in regard
to the function of the *Nirmāṇakāya* identified with the twelve deeds of
the Buddha (*mdzad pa bcu gnyis*): *thugs rje chen pos 'jig rten mkhyen ||
'jig rten kun la gzigs nas ni || chos kyi sku las ma g.yos par || sprul pa'i
rang bzhin sna tshogs kyis || skye ba mdon par skye ba dang || dga' ldan
nas ni [gnas nas; D] 'pho ba dang || lhums su 'jug dang bltams pa dang ||
bzo yig nas la mkhas pa dang || btsun mo'i 'khor dgyes rol la [pa; D] dang
|| nges 'byung dka' ba spyod pa dang || byang chub snying por gshogs pa
dang || bdud ste 'joms dang rdzogs par ni || byang chub chos kyi 'khor lo
dang || mya ngan 'das par gshogs mdzad rnams || yongs su ma dag zhing
rnams su || srid pa ji srid gnas par ston ||*. See also n. 451 on p. 197.
SEYFORTH RUEGG 1992: 263, calls the idea that the Buddha was already
fully enlightened and merely showed the twelve deeds as a pedagogical
means the “docetic mode of Nirvāṇa”; see also SERNESI 2014.

Designates the reflections, [which consist of] various
 Magical manifestations, as the ‘adamantine body’⁵⁷⁰
 Also, having accomplished the inconceivable body, [one
 says,]
 “[All that] appears [and is] possible emerges as the three
 Bodies,”⁵⁷¹
 [All these statements refer to] precisely that.

|| 7.9 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]

⁵⁷⁰ rJe dGe'-dun-rin-chen quotes from Padma-dkar-po, *bSang dpe re skong* (p. 277.2–5): *skyai || sgyu 'phrul sna tshogs gzugs brnyan la || sku yi rdo rje zhes su btags || gzhom med skad ni thams cad pa || gsung gi rdo rje nyid du gzhas || lhan skyes rnam pa ma lus pa || thugs kyi rdo rjer 'tshal ba'i phyir || de ni 'gro ba'i kham rjes 'brang || nam mkha'i pha mthas mtshon pa tsam || gzhan pas gsang ba bsnyad mi bzod || de phyir bsam mi khyab pa nyid || mi zad rgyan gyi 'khor lo'i mdzod || chos rnam kun gyi rang bzhin te || rang gi sems dang gnyis min par || zhugs kyang dman pas ma rnyed par || bla ma dkon mchog yi dam dang || mkha' 'gro ma dang chos skyong che || 'jig rten pa zhes rigs su 'byed ||*. The idea of the adamantine body (*sku'i rdo rje*: *vajrakāya*) can also be found in the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*; see WANGCHUK 2007: 210, n. 61. The triad of the adamantine body (*sku'i rdo rje*), the adamantine speech (*ngag gi rdo rje*), and the adamantine mind (*sems kyi rdo rje*) of the Buddha is frequently employed as common Mantrayānic buddhological conception. For a concise chronological overview of several buddhological conceptions of the Buddha's body, speech, and mind, for example, also the three inconceivable secrets of the Buddha (*gsang ba bsam gyis mi khyab pa gsum*), see also *ibid.*: 209–210.

⁵⁷¹ See for example in Kaḥ-tog Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang-nor-bu (1698–1755), *Shar ma 'grel pa* (pp. 212.3–213.2): *mdor bsdu na | da lta sems nyid kyi gshis gdangs rtsal gsum la de tshe sku gsum du brjod pa nyid do | de bas na de ltar lta bsgom spyod pa mthar son pa'i rnal 'byor chen po rnam la ni snang srid 'khor 'das kyi bsdu pa'i chos thams cad sku gsum gyi rol par mi shar ba 'ga' yang med de | 'di ltar dngogs med stong pa'i chos thams cad ni skye med chos sku'i rol par dang | gsal dangs snang ba'i chos thams cad ni 'gag med longs sku'i rol par dang | rang rig pa'i rtsal snang du 'char ba'i chos thams cad ni gnas med sprul sku'i rol par 'char zhing | snang srid bcud du snang ba thams cad kyang sku dang zhing khams ye nas 'du 'bral med pa'i rol pa dag pa rab 'byams chen por 'char bas na snang srid sku gsum du 'char ba zhes gsungs te | de la byin gyis rlobs ces pa ni | de ltar mngon du gyur bar 'dod don smreng du gsol ba ste | rtsa brgyud bla ma yi dam mkha' 'gro chos bsrung dang bcad pa'i skabs yul rab 'byams thams cad la'o |*.

A Timely Message from the Cave

In the first case, [that the principal Guru is a perfect Buddha in person,
That Guru [who has] an ordinary being[’s] continuum
Does not even have the smallest fraction
[Of] the qualities of the Buddha.

|| 7.10 || [Commentary rJe dGe-’dun-rin-chen:]
Although the *Paramārthasevā* states that, “due to the [age of] strife
Gurus [may have] a mixture of virtues [and] vices,”⁵⁷²
Apart from having [this] merely taught depending on the view
Of the disciple [with respect to] the mode of appearance,
[It] does not apply to the abiding mode.
For example, although a person who has jaundice
Perceives a [white] conch shell as yellow,
From the very outset [of this] perception, the yellowness
Has never existed on the conch shell;
Similarly, although the mind of the disciple perceives
[The Guru] as possessing faults,
The faults are nothing but adventitious
[And have] in reality never existed.⁵⁷³

⁵⁷²For the same quote, see above n. 567 on p. 263.

⁵⁷³Padma-dkar-po refers to this analogy in the context of his interpretation of the abiding mode of the body (*lus kyi gnas lugs*) and mind (*sems kyi gnas lugs*) and the relation between the mode of error (*’khrul lugs*) and Mahāmudrā of the abiding mode (*gnas lugs phyag chen*), for example in his *Phyag chen gan mdzod*, where he points out that the yellowness of the conch shell has never been established in its nature (*gshis*) or manifestation (*gdangs*), but appears in both due to a mistaken identification of the *defiendium*; see HIGGINS & DRASZCZYK 2016: vol. 1, 395–398 (engl.); vol. 2, 174–175 (tib.). Furthermore, Padma-dkar-po states in his *Dwags po chos bzhi’i rtsa ba skye bu gsum gyi lam gyi mchog rin po che’i ’phreng ba zhes bya ba chos rje sgam po pa pas mdzad pa* (in *Pad dkar gsung ’bum*, vol. 10, pp. 525–527) that the abiding mode is always present, the same as the whiteness of the conch shell in the conch shell itself; see for the English translation of this passage, HIGGINS & DRASZCZYK 2016: vol. 1, 382–385. It has been pointed out, also by HIGGINS & DRASZCZYK 2016: vol. 1, 352, n. 1014, that, in fact, a person who possesses jaundice does not actually perceive the outer world as yellowish because the perception processes of the eye are not affected even though the sclera of

|| 7.11 || Thus, [it] has also not been established that
 The Guru has no qualities of the Buddha;
 [It] has been taught that once [one] has arrived
 At the sphere [of] ^[495] *dharmadātu*,
 There are no phenomena other than the *dharmadhātu*.
 If [someone] says that the Guru has not even manifested
 A fraction of the Buddha’s qualities, such as the magical
 display of clairvoyance,
 Even though [the Guru] does possess those qualities,
 Being obscured by the veil of the body,
 [Which is the product of] karmic maturation,
 Although [they can] not experience direct perception now,
 As soon as [they] are free from the veil
 [Of the bodily] karmic maturation,
 Everything becomes [evident] as direct perception;
 Just like, for example, a *garuḍa* birdling instantly flies
 After [it] has hatched from the egg.⁵⁷⁴

|| 7.12 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]

this person’s eyes appear yellow due to excessed bilirubin in the blood. Nevertheless, this analogy is commonly employed in the Tibetan context and seems to have sufficiently fulfilled its purpose.

⁵⁷⁴David P. Jackson has analyzed the animal analogies of a *garuḍa* birdling, a *kalaviṅka* birdling, and a lion cub by considering their development and occurrence in Indian, Tibetan and Chinese works going as far back as to the bSam-yas debate. He has noted that the analogies served two obviously contradictory purposes: (1) to exemplify the instantaneous manifestation of realization and the corresponding qualities but also (2) a “postponed” actual manifestation of these qualities. The analogy of a sort of bird that instantly flies after it has hatched from the egg is found in Indian sources, such as the *Kāśyapaparivarta*, and is attributed to the fantastical *kalaviṅka* bird, which, additionally, possesses an extraordinarily beautiful voice while still in the egg. Nevertheless, the Tibetan tradition associates the fully-fledged ability to instantly fly with the *khyung* bird and then equates the bird sometimes with the Indian *garuḍa* bird. Note that the analogies of the *garuḍa* birdling and lion cub also play a significant role in rDzogs-chen terminology, for example, found in the *Seng ge rtsal rdzogs chen po’i rgyud*, the *lTa ba ye shes gting rdzogs kyi rgyud*, gNubs Sangs-rgyas-ye-shes’ *bSam gtan mig sgron*, or Klong-chen-pa’s *Chos dbyings rin po che’i mdzod* and its auto-commentary, the *Chos dbyings rin po che’i mdzod kyi ’grel pa lung gi gter mdzod*; see JACKSON, D. 1992: 95–104; 110–111.

A Timely Message from the Cave

In the second case, [that the principal Guru is an ordinary spiritual friend],
Although [the Guru] is not the Buddha in person,
Those meditating [on them] with effort as the actual Buddha
Are similar to [those] meditating [on] an iron ball as [being] golden.

|| 7.13 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
With regard to that, [it] is not a meditation
[On the Guru] as the Buddha in person with effort
While [the Guru] is not [the actual Buddha],
[This meditation] is not at all the same as
Meditating [on] an iron ball as [being] golden;
If one who has obtained certainty,
Established ^[496] through authoritative scriptures and logical reasoning,
That the Guru is [indeed] the Buddha in person,
Relies with faith on that [Guru], it is maintained that
Whatever *siddhi* [one] desires will arise from this Guru.⁵⁷⁵

|| 7.14 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
In particular, ask: What is
The intention of the teaching that [states:]
[Between] offering limitless clouds of offerings
To all Buddhas of the three times and
Paying respect to a single body hair of the Guru,
The merit of the latter
Does not even come close to the former
By many trillions of times?⁵⁷⁶

⁵⁷⁵This generally refers to the idea of turning iron (or other metals) into gold through the use of alchemy (*gser 'gyur gyi rtsi*); see for the use of this analogy, for example in the *Mahākāraṇikaśrīcakraḥ* (P, fols. 138v8–139r1; D, fol. 139r4–5): *'jig rten mgon gyi man ngag gis || sngags 'chang rgyal po rang gi lus || padma 'khor los rgyan [brgyan; D] gzhal med || sems kyis lha bcu gcig bcas bsgom || rtsi yis lcags gong gser bzhin du || phung po ye shes spyod yul bsgyur ||*. I thank Péter-Dániel Szántó for this reference.

⁵⁷⁶ rJe Shākya-rin-chen alludes to this idea and the argument behind it, as explained, for example in the *Māyājālatantra* (P, fol. 133r5–6; T, fol.

- || 7.15 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
 Even though the principal Guru,
 [Who is] the source of limitless beneficial virtues,
 Is equal to all Buddhas of the three times
 From the perspective of the abiding mode,
 From the mode of appearance, in [one's] own [personal]
 perspective,
 [The Guru] surpasses all Buddhas in terms [of the degree
 of] kindness.
 Not only [that], moreover,
 Because all Buddhas have arisen [by]
 Relying on [their respective] Gurus [and]
 Also because [the Buddha and the Guru are] identical,
 If [one] makes offerings to one single Guru,
 Although [one] does not offer to all Buddhas,
 In reality, [this] is considered to be an offering [to all Bud-
 dhas].⁵⁷⁷
- || 7.16 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
 Leaving aside [for the time being even offering to] the or-
 dinary spiritual friend,
 [It] has been taught that compared [to the merit from] of-
 fering
 A religious feast⁵⁷⁸ [497] to a hundred Pratyekabuddhas,
 The merit of merely seeing a painted image [of] the Buddha

70r3–5): *rigs kyi bu dper na sangs rgyas bcom ldan 'das phyogs bcu na bzhugs pa'i bar de dag gis sangs rgyas bcom ldan 'das rmams kyi rdo rje'i sku dang gsung dang thugs kyi bsod nams kyi phung po bas ni rdo rje slob dpon de'i spu'i khung bu gcig [gi; P] bsod nams kyi phung po ches khyad par du 'phags so || de ci'i phyir zhe na | rigs kyi bu byang chub kyi sems ni sangs rgyas thams cad kyi ye shes kyi snying por gyur pa'i bar nas thams cad mkhyen pa'i ye shes kyi 'byung gnas yin no ||*. For the English translation and the Sanskrit version, see also WANGCHUK 2007: 322. rJe Yon-tan-mtha'-yas quotes this passage in his *'Og min zhal lung* (fol. 43v4–6).

⁵⁷⁷ See also Rong-zom-pa in his *dKon cog 'grel* (pp. 224.12–225.5), who reflects various perceptions and notions of revering the master (*bla ma bkur ba*) within the context of explaining the principal Tantric precepts according to the **Guhyagarbhatantra* tradition.

⁵⁷⁸ According to *Tshig mdzod chen mo* (p. 837) the term *chos ston* can encompass two meanings: (1) a religious feast or holiday (*chos kyi dus*

A Timely Message from the Cave

body
Far exceeds [the former].⁵⁷⁹

|| 7.17 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
Nowadays, some [Gurus] claim [to be] Vajradhara
While not possessing the least characteristics
Of an ordinary spiritual friend,
For the time being ignore [them]!⁵⁸⁰

|| 7.18 || Although sandalwood is more precious than gold, who
[Would] take the charcoal [which is generated from] burning
it?
Similarly, what is left to say about those [Gurus]?⁵⁸¹

ston nam dga' ston) or, (2) alms (*bsod snyoms*).

⁵⁷⁹rJe Shākya-rin-chen alludes to an idea which is found, for example in the *Tathāgatagaṇajāñānācintya viśaya vātāranirdeśasūtra* (P, fol. 152r5–8; T, fols. 134v5–135r3): [...] *phyogs bcu'i 'jig rten gyi khams thams cad kyi rdul snyed dag byas te | rang sangs rgyas kyi gnas stong phrag grangs med pa dag dang | rang sangs rgyas de dag la nyin gcig bzhin | lha'i zas ro brgya dang ldan pa dang lha'i gos dag kyang byin zhing de ltar byin pa bskal pa gan gā'i [gangā'i; T] klung gi bye ma snyed dag du byin pa bas 'jam dpal rigs kyi bu 'am | rigs kyi bu mo gzhan gang zhig gis sangs rgyas shes [zhe; T] 'am | 'jig rten gyi mgon po zhe 'am | de bzhin shegs pa zhe 'am | thams cad mkhyen pa zhes bya ba'i sgra thos na 'di ni de bas ches bsod nams grangs med par skyed na gang gis de bzhin gshegs pa'i sku ri mor bris pa 'am | gzugs su byas pa mthong ba lta ci smos te | 'di nyid de bas ches bsod nams grangs med par skyed do ||.*

⁵⁸⁰The first line in verse || 7.16 || on p. 269 seems a little detached from the rest of the verse (verse lines two to five). If not a textual corruption, most likely, rJe Shākya-rin-chen appealed to the assembled masters in the oral debate to end the preceding discussion about the question as to whether the principal Guru has to be perceived as an ordinary spiritual friend or not, because it had been sufficiently discussed. rJe Yon-tan-mtha'-yas seems to understand this line merely as an ending to the preceding discussion, as he does not refer to it at all in his *'Og min zhal lung* (fols. 43v1–44r3). However, rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen takes up the opportunity to refer in this comment to Gurus of his days, who pretend to be accomplished but do not even have the merest qualities of an ordinary spiritual friend.

⁵⁸¹rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen refers to Sa-skyā Paṇḍita, *Sa skyā legs bshad* (pp. 207.8–207.9): *mkhas pa mkhas pa'i nang na mdzes || blun pos mkhas pa ji ltar go || tsan dan gser bas rin chen ba || blun pos sol bar byas la*

|| 7.19 || The teachings that the merit of merely seeing
 The image [of] the Buddha body far exceed
 [The merit of] making offerings to a hundred Pratyekabud-
 dhas
 Does not undermine making offerings to the Guru,
 Insofar as, here, the Guru is maintained to be
 Identical with the actual perfect Buddha.⁵⁸²

[rJe Shākya-rin-chen and Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
 This was the seventh chapter offering a response to questions about
 devotion to the Guru [in the Mahāmudrā tradition] from the *Ques-
 tions Concerning the [Doctrine of] Mahāmudrā Titled the "Pointed
 Spear of a Siddha."*⁵⁸³

|| 8.I || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen's colophon:]
 This dissemination of ambrosia droplets [consisting of my]
 statements,
 [Which] dripped from the full moon [of my] altruistic in-
 clination in a hundred directions,
 Are for the sake of completely eradicating the enormous
 confusion [which resembles] the anguish [of a] fever and
 [So] that the hundred petals [of] the *kumud* of intelligence
 [of] [498] the wise [may] open.⁵⁸⁴

|| 8.II || May [we] be granted the kindness of immaculate answers
 to the questions [about Mahāmudrā]

ltos ||. rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen uses this analogy to point out that those
 ignorant Gurus do not understand the Mahāmudrā doctrine properly and
 thereby destroy the precious and exquisite teachings. This is similar to
 burning sandalwood, which is considered to be even more precious than
 gold, to charcoal, which is considered to be worthless.

⁵⁸²rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen wants to point out that the accumulation of im-
 mense merit through seeing the image of the Buddha has to be considered
 equal to the accumulation of merit through making offerings to the prin-
 cipal Guru because the latter is indeed perceived as being inseparable
 from the actual perfect Buddha.

⁵⁸³Note that, in sum, the seventh question is not commented on in great
 detail in rJe Yon-tan-mtha-'yas' *'Og min zhal lung*.

⁵⁸⁴The *kumud* is a water lily (*nymphaea aesculanta*) whose petals only
 open at night.

A Timely Message from the Cave

By those noble spiritual friends in [this] world who follow
The Dwags-po dKar-brgyud tradition holding the essen-
tial teachings, [and]
Who are caring and upholding [this tradition]!

- || 8.III || Myself, not knowing the appropriate means [and being]
among ignorant people,
[Those people] who uphold to the brim of [their] eyebrows
the eight worldly concerns,⁵⁸⁵
Skilled in the methods⁵⁸⁶ of trading the instructions for
the sake of [acquiring] wealth;
Whoever they are, from now on [they] should be careful!
- || 8.IV || Whatever objects [of] utterly pure merits that [may] exist,
Generated [through] the slight hardships [undertaken] in
this place,
Having fully visualized [myself to embody] Samantab-
hadra [presenting] an offering cloud,⁵⁸⁷
[I] offer [them] in the presence of the assembly of dKar-
brgyud masters.

⁵⁸⁵The eight worldly concerns or eight *dharma*s (*'jig rten gyi chos brgyad*) are: gain and loss (*rnyed pa dang ma rnyed pa*), fame and disgrace (*snyan grags dang ma grags*), praise and blame (*bstod pa dang smad pa*), and happiness and suffering (*bde ba dang sdug bsngal*). rJe Shākya-rin-chen emphasizes the ignorance of people who are selfishly preoccupied with the eight worldly concerns. For the eight worldly concerns, see also Nāgārjuna (ascribed), *Dharmasaṃgraha* 61; in ZANGMO & CHIME 1993: 35.

⁵⁸⁶The variant *rgyu thabs mkhan* in B_aB_b alludes to a person who is knowledgeable in the methods of acquiring wealth. rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's interpretation of a "deceitful person" (*sgyu thabs mkhan*) as reported in C_{4a}C_{4b} is equally possible.

⁵⁸⁷The visualization of the infinite offerings of the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra has been expounded in the *Avataṃsakasūtra*; for an English translation from the Chinese version of the *Avataṃsakasūtra* see CLEARY 1993. An English translation of the Tibetan version of chapter 14–17, 31, 43, 44, and 45 of the *Avataṃsakasūtra* is currently in progress in the translation project "84000: Translating the Words of the Buddha." See: <https://read.84000.co/section/O1JC114941JC14666.html>. Accessed: August 18, 2020.

|| 8.V || Having obtained the eye [of discriminating insight that]
thoroughly discerns [all] phenomena
By the power of this [offering],
Without ever falling into the abyss [of] wrong views in all
chains of rebirth
May we realize the play of the *vajra* mind!

[Compiler's colophon in rJe Shākya-rin-chen's root verses:]
This was composed by the glorious monk of the Shākya [clan], [499]
Shākya-rin-chen Dri-med-legs-pa'i-blo-gros, holder of the immacu-
late long tradition of the glorious 'Brug-pa [bKa'-brgyud school], in
the presence of the learned six ornaments,⁵⁸⁸ at the monastery of
Shrī Na-landa, in the auspicious place of [sPu-na-kha called] Thed-
gzhung.⁵⁸⁹

Sarba maṅga laṃ

|| 8.VI || [rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's colophon:]
Then, at the time when the omniscient Guru Shākya-
rin-chen
Proclaimed the lion's strong roar [of] definitive mean-
ing,
All pride elephants pulled out [their] tongues
And hid [themselves] in the dark forest;
Even though [rJe] Yon-tan-mtha'-yas mNga'-ba-zla-
ba,⁵⁹⁰ the bringer of relief,
[Offered] the *Ambrosia [of the Moon] Rays of Light* con-
sisting of his] replies at the same time⁵⁹¹
Expanding [its rays of light] over the [entire] ocean of

⁵⁸⁸The six ornaments are Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva, Asaṅga, Vasubandhu, Dignāga, and Dharmakīrti. In this context, rJe Shākya-rin-chen is described as visualizing himself in front of them.

⁵⁸⁹sPu-na-kha was the original capital of Bhutan and is therefore also called Thed-gzhung (BDR: G821). Note the incorrect but (in Bhutan) common Sanskrit spelling of Shrī Nā-landā.

⁵⁹⁰This is an allusion to rJe Yon-tan-mtha'-yas, who was also revered as the "Moon, Possessor of limitless qualities," and the alternative ornamental title of his commentary on the *Grub pa'i mdung rnon*, the '*Og min zhal lung*, with *bdud rtsi'i 'od* or *zla ba'i bdud rtsi*, here rendered as *Ambrosia of the Moon Rays of Light*.

⁵⁹¹Obviously, the moon not only lightens up the darkness at night but

A Timely Message from the Cave

the Siddha tradition [of] Dharma.
Still, nowadays, having perceived the contamination [of
the teachings] by the dust [of] wrong practices,
[I] have lifted up [this] *ketaka* gem garland of inquiries
With the cuckoo's beak [of] scripture and reasoning,
[and]
By putting [it] around the neck of [those] persons with
wise minds
[May] the minds of all who wander in the desert [of]
provisional meaning
Be also fully quenched by this nourishing rain [of] defini-
tive meaning, and
May [they] obtain the unsurpassed *vajra* [mind] from
[this] inner [esoteric] path.

|| 8.VII || Thus, although [rJe Yon-tan-mtha'-yas] bestowed the
Ambrosia of the Moon [*Rays of Light* in response to] the
verses composed about ^[500] Mahāmudrā [by rJe Shākya-
rin-chen] at the feet of the Guru, [the embodiment of]
the Buddha, in order to open up the eyes of all [those]
intelligent persons who uphold our own tradition,
Still, today having perceived that it is difficult [for the
teachings] to enter the throats of those [who] desire the
rain [of definite meaning],
[And, although it had not become spring [yet], I com-
posed a reply [along] with every cry of the cuckoo, [the
messenger of spring,⁵⁹² consisting in] mere seeds of con-
ceptualizations, with the altruistic intention of aspiring
for the well-being [of sentient beings], [and] for the rea-
son that the profound [and] difficult points [would] not
be in vain; may [this] bring happiness and well-being!

determines the tides of ebb and flow. As a result the simile also bears two connotations: (1) to lighten up the darkness of the forest where the pride elephants representing ignorance hide; and (2) to cause the water of the Dharma ocean of the precious Siddha tradition to ascend, i. e. the Siddha tradition to flourish.

⁵⁹²The *dPyid kyi pho nya* is a variant title of rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's *Dus kyi pho nya*. On the ornamental title of rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's *Dus kyi pho nya*, see also p. 155 ff.

Chapter 6

Critical Edition

phyag rgya chen po las brtsams pa'i dri tshig grub pa'i mdung rnon
zhes bya ba'i gsung lan dus kyi pho nya bzhugs so [439] ||

|| 0.I || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen's introductory verses:]
byin [440] rlabs 'pho ba'i dbang gis smin grol lam ||
cig car¹ ston nas ma dag sems can khams ||
mchog gi de nyid rtogs la sbyor mdzad pa'i ||
bka' brgyud² bla ma'i tshogs la phyag 'tshal lo ||

|| 0.II || [rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's introductory verses:]
gang gis rang bzhin yongs shes phyag rgya che'i ||
nges gsang gcig pus shes bya ma lus pa'i ||
de nyid gzigs te grub pa'i sar gshegs pa'i ||
dri med legs pa'i blo mnga' de la 'dud ||

|| 0.III || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen's statement of intent:]
gang dag gshegs pa'i lam gsang phyag rgya che ||
rtog ge'i dug chus ma bslad bdud rtsi'i chab ||
deng³ [441] sang rmongs pa'i rdul⁴ gyis rnyog⁵ mthong
nas ||
drungs⁶ byed dri tshig ke ta ka 'di sbyin⁷ ||

6.1 *Khungs la dris pa'i lan zhus pa'i skabs*

|| 1.1 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
thog mar phyag rgya chen po'i khungs ||
mdo dang sngags gnyis gang yin 'dri ||

|| 1.2 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
zhes gsungs phyag rgya⁸ chen po'i khungs ||

¹ cig car] B_aB_b, chig car C_{4_a}C_{4_b} ² bka' brgyud] C_{4_a}C_{4_b}, dkar rgyud
B_aB_b ³ deng] C_{4_a}C_{4_b}, ding B_aB_b ⁴ rdul] B_aB_b, rtul C_{4_a}C_{4_b} ⁵ rnyog]
B_aB_b, rnyogs C_{4_a}C_{4_b} ⁶ drungs] B_a, drung B_b, grung C_{4_a}C_{4_b} ⁷ sbyin]
B_aC_{4_a}C_{4_b}, byin B_b ⁸ phyag rgya] *conj. (m.c.)*, phyag C_{4_a}C_{4_b}

A Timely Message from the Cave

mdo sngags gzhung lugs gnyis ka yin ||
mdo yi brjod bya mthar thug pa ||
shes rab pha rol phyin pa dang ||
sngags kyi bstan bya mthar thug pa ||
'od gsal phyag rgya chen po gnyis ||
don gcig nyid la 'du ba'i tshul ||
'di la mkhas rnams bzhed srol mthun ||

|| 1.3 || [442] 'jam mgon sa paṇ nyid kyis kyang ||
pha rol phyin pa'i lta ba las ||
lhag pa'i lta ba yod na ni ||
lta de spros pa can du 'gyur⁹ ||
zhes gsungs de bzhin mdo sngags gnyis ||
rnam bcad dgag pa'i rnam pa dang ||
yongs gcod sgrub pa'i khyad par gyis ||
phar phyin theg pa'i rigs pa dang ||
gsang sngags pa yi rang byin sogs ||
thabs la khyad par¹⁰ mang yod kyang ||
don la khyad par med ces 'dod ||

|| 1.4 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
dang po ltar na mdo dag las ||
phyag rgya chen po zhes bya ba'i ||
tha snyad gsungs pa yod dam med ||
yod na mdo gzhung gang las bshad ||

|| 1.5 || med na mdo las ma bshad bzhin ||
de la 'di yi¹¹ khungs 'chol ba ||
rdzun rgyab rkun mas bsnan dang mtshungs ||

|| 1.6 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
zhes gsungs mdo las ma bshad bzhin ||
yod ces bsnyon pas sus yid rton ||
des na 'di yi khungs tshad ma ||
mdo sde ting 'dzin rgyal por 'dod ||

|| 1.7 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
sngon tshe bya rgod phung po ru ||
mdo sde ting 'dzin rgyal po nyid ||
rgyal sras zla 'od gzhon nu yis ||

⁹ 'gyur] *emend.*, gyur C_{4a}C_{4b} ¹⁰ par] *emend.*, pa C_{4a}C_{4b} ¹¹ yi]
B_aC_{1a}C_{1b}C_{4a}C_{4b}, yis B_b

bcom ldan 'das la zhus shing gnang ||
 phyi ma'i dus na mdo ^[443] sde 'di ||
 rgyas¹² byed nyid du lung yang bstan ||

|| 1.8 || lung bstan bslu ba med pa'i phyir ||
 zla 'od gzhon nu'i sprul pa'i sku ||
 chos rgyal dwags¹³ po lha rje yis ||
 grol lam phyag rgya chen po nyid ||
 rtsal du bton¹⁴ nas rgyas mdzad phyir ||
 man ngag 'di yi khungs tshad¹⁵ ma ||
 mdo sde ting 'dzin rgyal po la ||
 byed par nus zhes khas len na ||
 ting 'dzin rgyal po'i brjod bya mchog ||
 chos kun rang bzhin rnam spros pa'i ||
 ting 'dzin rgyal po zhes bya ba ||
 chos rnams rang bzhin stong nyid kyi ||
 phyag rgya zhes pa'i tha snyad las ||
 chen po'i tha snyad gsungs pa med ||

|| 1.9 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
 ces gsungs phyag rgya zhes bya ba'i ||
 tha snyad gsungs na chen po yang ||
 shugs las go ste klu sgrub kyis ||
 phyag rgya bzhi par 'di skad gsungs ||
 phyag rgya yin la chen po'ang yin ||
 des na phyag rgya chen po' o¹⁶ ||
 zhes gsungs 'di la phyag rgya dang ||
 chen po gzhi mthun yin pas so ||

|| 1.10 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
 gal te yod du chug na yang ||
 mdo las bshad pa'i lam rim la ||
 nyams len ^[444] snying por¹⁷ byed bzhin du ||
 brgyud pa'i 'degs¹⁸ khungs rdo rje 'chang ||
 mchog gzigs gnyis dang mar mi rnams ||
 'dren pa don med nyid du thal ||

|| 1.11 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]

¹² rgyas] B_aB_bC_{1a}C_{4a}C_{4b}, rgyal C_{1b} ¹³ dwags] C_{4a}C_{4b}, dags B_aB_bC_{1a}C_{1b}
¹⁴ bton] B_aB_bC_{1a}, ston C_{1b}C_{4a}C_{4b} ¹⁵ tshad] B_aC_{1a}C_{1b}C_{4a}C_{4b}, tshang
 B_b ¹⁶ po' o] *conj. (m.c.)*, po'o C_{4a}C_{4b} ¹⁷ por] B_aB_bC_{1a}C_{1b}, po C_{4a}C_{4b}
¹⁸ 'degs] B_bC_{4a}C_{4b}, 'ded B_aC_{1a}C_{1b}C_{2a}

A Timely Message from the Cave

zhes gsungs mnyam med sgam po pas ||
gdul bya'i blo tshod dang bstun te ||
bkri tshul lam gyi rim pa ni ||
mdo sngags gnyis kas khrid mod kyang ||
mdo yi brgyud khungs mi 'degs par ||
mchog gzigs rnam gnyis la sogs pa'i ||
sngags brgyud 'degs pas 'gal ba med ||

|| 1.12 || don dam phyag rgya chen po ni ||
bla ma'i mthu las brnyes pas na ||
don brgyud gtso bor byas par mngon ||

|| 1.13 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
khyad par thams cad mkhyen pa che ||
padma dkar po'i zhal snga nas ||
phyag rgya chen po'i man ngag gi ||
bshad sbyar rgyal ba'i gan mdzod du¹⁹ ||
grub pa sde bdun khungs su ni ||
mdzad nas phyag chen lam rim nyid ||
sngags gzhung nyid du bkral dang 'gal ||

|| 1.14 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
zhes gsungs khungs 'ga' mdor smos pas ||
kun mkhyen punḍa ri ka yis ||
phyag chen sngags su bkral ba dang ||
'gal ba med de ci phyir na ||

|| 1.15 || [445] mdo don 'dis kyang bzhed pa ste ||
rang gis mdzad pa'i gan mdzod du ||
mdo don sher phyin de nyid kar ||
sngags su phyag rgya chen po zhes ||
gsal bar gsungs pa nyid kyis so ||

|| 1.16 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
gnyis pa ltar na rig 'dzin gyi ||
sde snod dag las rang rang gi ||
'jug sgo dbang bskur nyid du gsungs ||
khyad par rnal 'byor bla med kyi ||
lam rim smin grol gnyis su bshad ||

|| 1.17 || bye ma btsir bas mar med ltar ||

¹⁹ du] B_bC1_aC1_bC4_aC4_b, las B_a

- dbang med na ni dngos grub med ||
 gang zhig rgyud lung nga rgyal gyis ||
 dbang bskur med par gsang sngags ston ||
 slob dpon slob ma shi ma thag ||
 dngos grub thob kyang dmyal bar ltung ||
 zhes sogs dbang gi cho ga nyid ||
 gzhi lam 'bras bu'i skabs gar yang ||
 gces pa'i lung khungs shin tu mang ||
- || 1.18 || de phyir phyag rgya chen po yi ||
 lam rim sgom²⁰ pa'i 'jug sgo la ||
 smin byed dbang bzhi bskur dgos pa'i ||
 phyag bzhes²¹ bshad pa yod med 'dri ||
 yod na gang las ji ltar bshad ||
- || 1.19 || med na gzhung dang mi mthun pa'i ||
 lag len zab khyad [446] ci che yang²² ||
 rmongs pa mgu bar²³ nus srid kyang²⁴ ||
 mkhas pas bzhad gad gnas su byed ||
- || 1.20 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
 ces gsungs mkhas rnams mgrin gcig tu ||
 gsang sngags dbang la brten dgos gsungs ||
 de la sus kyang bsnyon med kyi ||
 'on kyang phyag rgya chen po yi ||
 'jug sgo smin byed dbang bskur ni ||
 gdul bya'i dbang po'i rim pa la ||
 ltos te mdzad pa ma gtogs pa ||
 smin byed dbang bzhi rgyas pa ni ||
 mtha' gcig tu ni bskur ba 'am²⁵ ||
 mtha' gcig nyid du mi bskur ba'i ||
 gzhung lugs tshad ldan bshad pa med |||
- || 1.21 || 'ga' la 'od zer spro bsdu kyang ||
 dbang du gsungs te dgyes rdor las ||
 rnal 'byor stobs dang ldan gyur na ||
 snying kha'i dkyil 'khor 'od zer gyis ||
 slob ma'i lus ni yang dag dgang ||

²⁰ sgom] $B_a B_b C_4 C_4$, bsgom $C_1 C_1$ ²¹ bzhes] $B_a B_b C_1 C_1$, bzhed $C_4 C_4$ ²² yang] $B_a B_b C_1 C_1$, la $C_4 C_4$ ²³ bar] C_1 , ba $B_a B_b C_1 C_4 C_4$ ²⁴ kyang] $B_a B_b C_4 C_4$, kyi $C_1 C_1$ ²⁵ ba 'am] *conj.* (*m.c.*), ba'am $C_4 C_4$

A Timely Message from the Cave

dbang²⁶ bskur sbyin par bsam par bya ||
zhes sogs gzhan yang mang du gsungs ||

|| 1.22 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
gal te dbang po'i bye brag las ||
smin byed rgyas 'bring bsdu gsum du ||
gsungs phyir cho ga'i spros pa la ||
brten pa'i nges pa²⁷ mi dgos par ||
smin [447] grol cig car nus she na ||

|| 1.23 || kun mkhyen padma dkar po yis ||
gsang ba 'dus pa'i rgyud chen dang ||
paṅ chen nā ro ta pa sogs ||
grub chen dag gi zhal lung la ||
khungs su mdzad nas²⁸ smin byed kyi ||
dbang bskur cho ga'i spros pa la ||
brten pa'i ngal ba mi dgos par²⁹ ||
'od zer spro bsdu³⁰ la sogs dang ||
dpon slob rten 'brel 'grig³¹ tsam gyis ||
chog tshul bsre 'pho la sogs kyi ||
yig cha³² dag tu gsungs mod kyang ||
smin byed spros pa med pa de'i ||
bskur yul rin chen lta bu yi ||
gang zag dbang rnon mchog la dgongs ||

|| 1.24 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
zhes gsungs rgyal ba thabs mkhas la
thugs rje ldan pa de nyid kyi ||
gdul bya'i dbang po'i bye brag la ||
lto te smin byed go rim yang ||
sna tshogs gsungs te gur las kyang ||
dman pa rnams la bya ba'i rgyud ||
bya min rnal 'byor de ltag la ||
sems can mchog la rnal 'byor mchog |
rnal 'byor bla med de ltag la'o ||
zhes sogs smin byed sna tshogs pa'i ||
phyag bzhes³³ rang rang gzhung las bshad ||

²⁶ dbang] *emend.*, dbar C_{4a}C_{4b} ²⁷ nges pa] B_aB_bC_{4a}C_{4b}, ngal ba C_{1a}C_{1b}

²⁸ nas] B_aB_bC_{1a}C_{4a}C_{4b}, pa'i C_{1b} ²⁹ par] B_aB_bC_{1a}C_{1b}, pa C_{4a}C_{4b}

³⁰ bsdu] B_aB_bC_{1a}C_{4a}C_{4b}, sdu C_{1b} ³¹ 'grig] B_aB_bC_{1a}C_{1b}, sgrig C_{4a}C_{4b}

³² yig cha] B_aB_bC_{1a}C_{1b}, yid cha C_{4a}C_{4b} ³³ bzhes] *emend.*, bzhed C_{4a}C_{4b}

- || 1.25 || smin byed dbang la mi ltos ^[448] pa ||
 de ni dbang po yang rab la ||
 phyag rgya chen po de ka rang
 dbang du gsungs pa de dag ni³⁴ ||
 mtshan bcas dbang la mi ltos te ||
 rdo rje thig rnam gdabs pa dang ||
 rdul tshon dag kyang gdab pa ni ||
 mi bya sngags kyi de nyid kyi ||
 byed na byang chub rnyed par dka' ||
 zhes sogs dus kyi 'khor lor gsungs ||
- || 1.26 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
 smin byed dbang la mi bltos³⁵ pa'i ||
 phyag rgya chen po'i sgom khrid gang³⁶ ||
 dbang po rab 'bring tha³⁷ kun la ||
 rang rang skal ba dang 'tshams³⁸ pa'i ||
 bkri tshul so sor mi 'byed³⁹ par ||
 blun po tshogs pa'i dbus su yang⁴⁰ ||
 thang mar brdal nas bshad 'di ci ||
- || 1.27 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
 zhes gsungs deng sang khrid zer nas ||
 khrid tshul nges pa lta ci smos ||
 lam gi rim pa sgra tsam yang ||
 legs par ma thos 'ur zing la ||
 khrid ces bya ba der brtag na ||
 mos ldan 'ga' la chos zab mo'i ||
 bag chags tsam re 'jog pa las ||
 blun po tshogs pa'i dbus su ni ||
 zab chos thang mar brdal ba 'di ||
 gsang sngags tshong zong byed pa yi ||
 nyes pa ma gtogs rung snyam ^[449] pa'i ||
 lung rigs 'thad ldan ngas ma mngon ||

[rJe Shākya-rin-chen and Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]

³⁴ ni] C_{4b}, na C_{4a} ³⁵ bltos] B_aB_bC_{1a}, ltos C_{1b}C_{4a}C_{4b} ³⁶ gang]
 B_aB_bC_{1a}C_{1b}, dang C_{4a}C_{4b} ³⁷ tha] B_aB_bC_{1a}C_{4a}C_{4b}, mtha' C_{1b}
³⁸ 'tshams] B_bC_{1a}C_{1b}, 'tsham B_a, mtshams C_{4a}C_{4b} ³⁹ 'byed] B_aB_b, byed
 C_{1a}C_{1b}C_{4a}C_{4b} ⁴⁰ tshogs pa'i dbus su yang] B_aB_bC_{1a}C_{1b}, mang du tshogs
 pa'i dbus C_{4a}C_{4b}

zhes phyag rgya chen po las brtsams pa'i dri tshig grub pa'i mdung⁴¹
rnon zhes bya ba las ||
khungs la dris pa'i lan zhus pa'i skabs⁴² te dang po'o ||

6.2 *Man ngag gi gzhung la dris pa'i lan zhus pa'i skabs*

- || 2.1 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
de nas phyag rgya chen po yi ||
man ngag gtso bo gang yin 'dri ||
- || 2.2 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
zhes gsungs phyag chen man ngag ni ||
brjod bya don gyi phyag chen dang ||
rjod byed tshig gi phyag chen ches⁴³ ||
gnyis su phye ba'i phyi ma la ||
grub pa sde bdun la sogs pa ||
rgya che'i bshad pa tshig gi skor ||
brda skor bdun la sogs pa yi ||
gdams pa nyams su len pa'i skor ||
lhan cig skyes sbyor rnam gsum sogs ||
rtogs pa byin rlabs skor rnams so ||
- || 2.3 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
bram ze chen po'i do ha dang ||
grub pa sde bdun la sogs pa ||
'phags yul grub chen mang po yis ||
mdzad pa'i man ngag phyag chen gyi ||
gzhung du bkral ba ji snyed pa ||
de dag yin par 'dod ce na ||
de dag phyag chen gzhung nyid du ||
bshad la skyon yod ma yin kyang ||
brgyud pa'i gsol 'debs dag gi skabs ||
bram ^[450] ze chen po la sogs pa'i ||
bla ma gong ma mi 'dren par ||
rdo rje 'chang nas tilli par ||
brgyud pa'i lugs su byas 'di ci ||

- || 2.4 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]

⁴¹ mdung] B_aB_b, mrdung C_{4a}C_{4b} ⁴² dris pa'i lan zhus pa'i skabs] C_{4a}C_{4b},
dris pa'i skabs B_aB_b ⁴³ ches] *emend.*, ces C_{4a}C_{4b}

zhes gsungs 'phags yul grub pa yi ||
 mda' bsnun chen po do ha dang ||
 grub pa sde bdun la sogs pa'i ||
 gzhung rnams phyag chen du 'dod kyang ||
 grub chen de dag brgyud pa ru ||
 ma 'dren pa yi rgyu mtshan ni ||
 phyag rgya chen po 'di yi khungs ||
 gsang ba'i bdag po nas brgyud de ||
 o rgyan yul nas dar tshul dang ||
 slar yang rje btsun tilli pas ||
 'og min gnas mchog dam pa nas ||
 dar tshul gnyis su yod pa las ||
 bdag cag rnams ni dpal 'brug pa ||
 'gro ba'i mgon po'i zhal snga nas ||
 bla ma'i ngo bo chos kyi sku ||
 rdo rje 'chang dang zhal mjal bas ||
 brgyud pa nye ring bgrang mi dgos ||
 zhes gsungs ji bzhin phyi ma ltar ||
 'dod pa lags tshe brgyud 'debs su ||
 don brgyud gtso bo nyid bzung nas ||
 rdo rje 'chang nas tilli par ||
 'dren gyi de la klan ka med ||

|| 2.5 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
 rje btsun ^[451] tilli pa nyid kyiis ||
 bka' babs bzhi yi⁴⁴ bla ma rnams ||
 brten nas⁴⁵ grub pa'i sa brnyes te ||
 'og min chen po'i zhing nyid du ||
 byon nas sangs rgyas dngos nyid las ||
 shin tu rmad du byung ba'i rgyud ||
 gsan pa de phyr bla ma'i rim ||
 gong ma dag la mi bltos par⁴⁶ ||
 rdo rje 'chang nas tilli par ||
 brgyud pas chog par 'dod ce na ||
 rdo rje 'chang nas⁴⁷ tilli pas ||
 gsan pa'i phyag chen gang yin 'dri ||

|| 2.6 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]

⁴⁴ babs bzhi yi] B_aB_bC_{1_a}C_{1_b}, bab bzhi pa'i C_{4_a}C_{4_b} ⁴⁵ brten nas] B_aB_bC_{1_a}C_{1_b}, bsten nas C_{4_a}C_{4_b} ⁴⁶ bltos par] B_aB_bC_{1_a}C_{1_b}, ltos par C_{4_a}C_{4_b} ⁴⁷ nas] B_aB_bC_{4_a}C_{4_b}, la C_{1_a}C_{1_b}C_{2_a}

A Timely Message from the Cave

- rdo rje 'chang gi zhal rlangs nas ||
byung ba'i bdud rtsi'i chu rgyun ni ||
shin tu rmad du byung ba'i rgyud ||
bka' ni yang dag tshad mar 'dod ||
- || 2.7 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
shin tu rmad byung rgyud 'di nyid ||
yin par khas len byed ce na ||
rmad byung rgyud las gtum mo sogs ||
lam rim brgyad du gsungs pa der ||
phyag chen lam gyi rim pa yi⁴⁸ ||
khrid tshul gang gi skabs nas bshad ||
- || 2.8 || rmad byung rgyud las phyag chen gyi ||
khrid tshul lam rim ma gsungs na ||
'di yi rtsa ba de nyid la ||
bcol ba don med nyid du thal ||
- || 2.9 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
[452] zhes gsungs phyag chen lam rim ni ||
gtum sogs brgyad po gang rung gi ||
skabs nas bstan pa'i lam min te ||
rmad byung rgyud las gsungs tsam gyis ||
gtum sogs gang rung yin mi dgos ||
- || 2.10 || cig car ba yi lam rim las ||
dngos po'i gnas lugs bstan pa'i skabs ||
lus dang dngos po'i gnas lugs gnyis ||
yod pa de las phyi ma'i skabs ||
grol lam phyag rgya chen po nyid ||
gsungs phyir des na phyag chen gyi ||
rtsa ba rmad byung rgyud nyid la ||
bcol ba'ang don ldan nyid du grub ||
- || 2.11 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
gal te rmad byung rgyud nyid las ||
sems kyi gnas lugs bstan pa de ||
phyag chen khungs su rigs she⁴⁹ na ||
'o na sems kyi gnas lugs de ||
lus kyi gnas tshul ma shes par ||

⁴⁸ yi] B_aB_bC_{4a}C_{4b}, ni C_{1a}C_{1b} ⁴⁹ she] C_{1a}C_{1b}C_{4a}C_{4b}, zhe B_aB_b

rtogs par mi nus zhes gsungs phyir ||
 phyag rgya chen po'i man ngag gi ||
 khrid gzhung dag tu rtsa dang⁵⁰ ni ||
 rlung dang thig le'i⁵¹ gnas lugs dang ||
 de dag nyams su blang⁵² tshul sogs ||
 dngos bstan bshad pa yod med 'dri ||
 yod na gang [453] nas⁵³ ji ltar bshad ||
 med na rtsa ba'i khungs dang⁵⁴ 'gal ||

|| 2.12 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
 zhes gsungs phyag chen khrid gzhung las ||
 sngon 'gro dngos gzhi gnyis ka la ||
 rtsa thig rlung sogs yod par mngon ||

|| 2.13 || thun min sngon 'gro'i skabs su yang ||
 zhen med stan la skyil krung bca' ||
 re dogs⁵⁵ med pa'i lag pa bsnol ||
 g.yo sgul med pa'i sgal tshigs bsrangs ||
 zhes sogs phag mo gru pas gsungs ||

|| 2.14 || dngos gzhi'i skabs su'ang gzhung 'di las ||
 thabs dang shes rab bdag nyid can ||
 e wam lus kyi lte bar gnas ||

|| 2.15 || zhes gsungs thabs shes de gnyis su ||
 ma 'dus lus gnas med pa dang ||
 'di gar gzhi lam 'bras bu yi ||
 thabs lam ma lus tshang bas na ||
 rtsa thig rlung sogs nyams len gyi ||
 cha lag de tsam cis mi tshang ||

|| 2.16 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
 gal te gzhi lam 'bras bu yi ||
 'od gsal skabs nas⁵⁶ bstan ce na ||
 'o na phyag chen chos drug ces ||
 so sor 'byed pa ji ltar rigs⁵⁷ ||

|| 2.17 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]

⁵⁰ dang] B_aB_bC_{1a}C_{1b}, dag C_{4a}C_{4b} ⁵¹ le'i] B_aB_bC_{1a}C_{1b}, le C_{4a}C_{4b}
⁵² blang] B_aB_bC_{1a}C_{4a}C_{4b}, blangs C_{1b} ⁵³ nas] B_aB_bC_{1a}C_{1b}, las C_{4a}C_{4b}
⁵⁴ dang] B_aB_bC_{1a}C_{1b}, las C_{4a}C_{4b} ⁵⁵ dogs] *emend.*, dog C_{4a}C_{4b} ⁵⁶ nas]
 B_aB_bC_{1a}C_{1b}C_{4a}C_{4b}, las C_{2a} ⁵⁷ rigs] B_aB_bC_{2a}C_{4a}C_{4b}, 'thad C_{1a}C_{1b}

A Timely Message from the Cave

zhes ^[454] gsungs rgyud 'di las gsungs pa'i ||
lam rim de la phyag chen dang ||
chos drug gnyis su 'byed pa'i tshe ||
rgyud 'di'i lam gyi gnas gcig pus ||
gang zag gcig gi lam tshang bar ||
ston par byed la phyag chen dang ||
khrid tshul thabs lam mang po yis ||
gang zag gcig gi lam tshang bar ||
ston par byed la chos drug ces ||
rnam gzhag so sor 'byed ces thos ||

|| 2.18 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
khyad par dpal ldan 'brug pa yi ||
gdams⁵⁸ ngag sdong po gsum dril gyi ||
rnam bzhag⁵⁹ byed pa de yi tshe ||
shin tu rmad du byung ba'i rgyud ||
cha lag bcas pa thams cad ni ||
gdams⁶⁰ ngag ras chung lugs zhes pa'i ||
khungs su bsdus nas phyag chen nyid ||
rtogs pa sgam po pa yi lugs ||
zhes gsungs tha dad 'byed⁶¹ 'di ci ||

|| 2.19 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
zhes gsungs sdong po gsum dril ni ||
mnyam med zla 'od gzhon nu des ||
rmad du byung ba'i rgyud 'di yi ||
sems kyi dngos po'i gnas lugs kyi ||
skabs nas bstan pa'i grol lam 'di ||
rtsal du bton⁶² pas rtogs pa ni ||
sgam po pa yi ^[455] lugs su bzhag ||
rgyud 'di'i cha lag gzhag rnam dang ||
grub pa'i man ngag phal che ba ||
ras chung lugs las brgyud pas na ||
gdams pa de yi lugs su brjod ||

|| 2.20 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
gzhag yang gangs can 'dir grags pa'i ||
phyag rgya chen po'i man ngag ni ||

⁵⁸ gdams] B_aB_bC_{4a}C_{4b}, gdam C_{1a}C_{1b} ⁵⁹ bzhag] B_aC_{1b}, gzhag B_bC_{1a}C_{4a}C_{4b} ⁶⁰ gdams] B_bC_{1a}C_{1b}C_{4a}C_{4b}, gdam B_a ⁶¹ gsungs tha dad 'byed] B_aB_bC_{1a}C_{1b}, gsung tha snyad byed C_{4a}C_{4b} ⁶² bton] *emend.* (also supported by C_{1a}, fol. 16v1; C_{1b}, fol. 14v2), ston C_{4a}C_{4b}

phal cher ri khrod dbang phyug la ||
 mnga' bdag rgyal sras mai tri pas ||
 gsan pa'i gdams pa kho nar bas ||
 de lta na ni mchog gzigs gnyis ||
 'di yi brgyud par⁶³ mi 'thad 'gyur ||

|| 2.21 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
 zhes gsungs deng sang gangs can gyi ||
 ljongs su grags pa'i phyag chen gyi ||
 gzhung lugs yid la mi byed pa'i ||
 chos skor nyi shu rtsa lnga sogs ||
 phal cher ri khrod dbang phyug pa ||
 sha ba ri pa'i zhal snga nas ||
 mnga' bdag rgyal sras mai tri pas ||
 gsan pa'i gdams ngag yin mod kyang ||
 mchog gzigs rnam gnyis 'di'i brgyud par ||
 mi 'thad med de shin tu rigs ||

|| 2.22 || sgra bsgyur mar pa lo tsā la ||
 nā ro mai tris gnyis ka nas ||
 brgyud pa'i gdams ngag yod na yang ||
 phyag^[456] rgya chen po'i rtogs pa ni ||
 nā ro'i drin las brnyes pas na ||
 don brgyud gtso bor byas par mngon ||

|| 2.23 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
 zhar la shin tu rmad byung rgyud ||
 bka' dang bstan bcos gang yin 'dri ||

|| 2.24 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
 zhes gsungs rmad byung rgyud 'di nyid ||
 bka' yi mtshan nyid tshang bas na ||
 'di yi shing rta che rnams kyis ||
 bka' yang dag pa'i tshad ma zhes ||
 rdo rje 'chang gi bka' nyid du ||
 mgrin gcig tu ni zhal 'ches so ||

|| 2.25 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
 rdo rje 'chang gi bka' nyid du ||
 tshad mas grub par 'dod ce na ||

⁶³ par] B_aB_bC_{1a}C_{1b}, pa C_{4a}C_{4b}

A Timely Message from the Cave

- de yi 'thad pa ci yin smros⁶⁴ ||
- || 2.26 || khyad par rgyud gzhung de nyid du ||
 phyag rgya chen po'i man ngag ni ||
 man ngag tshig bsdus⁶⁵ dag las shes ||
 zhes 'di rdo rje 'chang chen gyis ||
 grub chen dag gis mdzad pa yi ||
 man ngag dag la zhal⁶⁶ 'phangs pa ||
 khas len byed las gzhan du med ||
 de lta na ni bka' dang ni ||
 bstan bcos dbye ba mi phyed⁶⁷ 'gyur ||
- || 2.27 || khungs thub rgyud gzhung gzhan dag las ||
 'di 'dra'i zhal 'phangs⁶⁸ mdzad pa'i tshul ||
 yod na bka' ru mi ^[457] 'gal yang ||
 de 'dra'i rgyud gzhung rnyed par dka' ||
- || 2.28 || rtsa ba'i rgyud du mi gsal ba ||
 bshad rgyud dag tu zhal 'phangs nas ||
 gsungs pa dag dang mtshungs snyam na ||
 'o na man ngag tshig bsdus⁶⁹ kyang ||
 bshad rgyud nyid du khas len dgos ||
 de lta na ni ha cang thal⁷⁰ ||
- || 2.29 || gal te shin tu rmad byung rgyud ||
 bstan bcos nyid du 'dod ce na ||
 bla ma brgyud pa'i rim pa yis ||
 rdo rje 'chang gi bka' nyid du ||
 bzhed pa de gang mi 'thad 'gyur ||
 tshul 'dir 'gal 'du skyon med kyi ||
 lan zhig yod na smra ba'i⁷¹ rigs ||
- || 2.30 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
 zhes gsungs rgyud gzhung de nyid las ||
 phyag rgya chen po'i man ngag ni ||
 man ngag tshig bsdus⁷² dag las shes ||

⁶⁴ smros] B_aC_{1a}C_{1b}, smos B_bC_{4a}C_{4b} ⁶⁵ bsdus] B_bC_{1a}C_{1b}, sdud B_aC_{4a}C_{4b}
⁶⁶ dag la zhal] B_aB_b, gzhan la zhal C_{4a}C_{4b}, dag la kha C_{1a}C_{1b} ⁶⁷ phyed]
 B_aB_bC_{4a}C_{4b}, 'thad C_{1a}C_{1b}, ⁶⁸ 'phangs] B_aB_bC_{1b}C_{4a}C_{4b}, 'phang C_{1a}
⁶⁹ bsdus] C_{1b}, sdud B_aB_bC_{1a}C_{4a}C_{4b} ⁷⁰ de lta na ni ha cang thal]
 B_aB_bC_{4a}C_{4b}, om. C_{1a}C_{1b} ⁷¹ yod na smra ba'i] B_aB_bC_{2a}, mchis na smra
 ba'i C_{1a}C_{1b}, yod na smra bas C_{4a}C_{4b} ⁷² bsdus] *emend.*, sdud C_{4a}C_{4b}

zhes pa'i lung gis rgyud 'di nyid ||
 bka' ru 'dod la mi gnod de ||
 man ngag tshig bsdu⁷³ ces bya ba ||
 thabs dang shes rab dag nyid kyi ||
 e waṃ lus kyi lte bar gnas ||
 zhes sogs phyag chen don mtha' dag ||
 tshig sde bzhi gsum bcu gnyis su ||
 bsdu pas tshig bsdu⁷⁴ ces bzhag pa ||
 'di ni [458] rgyud nyid de rang la ||
 byed par grub chen la wa pas ||
 bzhed ces kun mkhyen chen pos gsungs ||
 man ngag gzhan la zhal 'phangs pa'i ||
 'gal 'du'i drwa bar 'thum ma dgos ||

|| 2.31 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
 gzhan yang khams gsum chos kyi rgyal ||
 mnyam med dwags⁷⁵ po lha rje yis ||
 nged kyi phyag rgya chen po 'di ||
 theg chen rgyud bla'i don yin ces ||
 ji ltar gsungs pa'i rjes 'brangs⁷⁶ nas ||
 skyob⁷⁷ pa 'jig rten mgon po yis ||
 theg chen rgyud bla'i bstan bcos dang ||
 bshad gzhi'i⁷⁸ mdo dag khungs su ni ||
 mdzad nas phyag chen mdo lugs dang ||
 mthun pa'i bshad pa rgya cher mdzad ||
 gang 'di phyag rgya chen po'i don ||
 mdo las bshad⁷⁹ pa'i sgom rim du ||
 bkral ba dang ni rgyud bla'i gzhung ||
 sngags su khas len gang yin 'dri ||

|| 2.32 || phyag chen mdo yi lugs nyid du ||
 khas len byed na gzhan lugs pas ||
 dkar brgyud⁸⁰ pa la skyon brjod kyi ||
 lung rigs thams cad 'thad par 'gyur ||
 rgyud bla'i bstan bcos sngags gzhung du ||
 bshad pa'i [459] shes byed btsal bar⁸¹ dka'⁸² ||

⁷³ bsdu] *emend.*, sdud C_{4a}C_{4b} ⁷⁴ bsdu] *emend.*, sdud C_{4a}C_{4b}
⁷⁵ dwags] C_{4a}C_{4b}, dags B_aB_bC_{1a}C_{1b} ⁷⁶ 'brangs] B_aB_bC_{1b}C_{4a}C_{4b}, 'brang
 C_{1a} ⁷⁷ skyob] B_aB_bC_{1a}C_{1b}, skyobs C_{4a}C_{4b} ⁷⁸ gzhi'i] B_aB_bC_{1a}C_{1b},
 gzhi C_{4a}C_{4b} ⁷⁹ bshad] B_aB_bC_{1a}C_{1b} gsungs C_{4a}C_{4b} ⁸⁰ brgyud]
 C_{1a}C_{1b}C_{4a}C_{4b}, rgyud B_aB_b ⁸¹ bar] C_{4a}C_{4b}, ba B_aB_bC_{1a}C_{1b} ⁸² dka']
 B_aC_{1a}C_{1b}C_{4a}C_{4b}, bka' B_b

- || 2.33 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
zhes gsungs mnyam med dwags po dang ||
skyob⁸³ pa 'jig rten gsum mgon gyis ||
phyag rgya chen po rgyud bla dang ||
mthun par bshad srol mdzad mod kyang ||
de yi dgongs pa 'di lta ste ||
rgyud bla'i bstan bya'i gtso bo ni ||
gnas tshul rdo rje chos bdun dang ||
gsang sngags phyag rgya chen po yi ||
don dam sems kyi rdo rje gnyis ||
don gcig nyid la dgongs pa'i tshul ||
pan chen shākya mchog ldan gyis ||
nges don rgya mtshor rgya cher gsungs ||
- || 2.34 || mdo sngags phyogs re mthun tsam gyis ||
phyag chen sgom rim mdo lugs dang ||
rgyud bla sngags gzhung gang rung du ||
thal ba'i skyon rnams ga la 'jug ||
- || 2.35 || rtogs bya'i don la khyad med kyang ||
rtogs byed thabs kyi khyad par che ||
des na gzhan gyis dkar brgyud par ||
gzhan gyi gdams ngag sgom bzhin du ||
nā ro'i brgyud par 'degs⁸⁴ byed pa ||
gzhan dang 'gal ba lta ci smos ||
- || 2.36 || rang lugs dang yang 'gal ba yin ||
zhes sogs_[460] gsungs pa'i rtsod pa yang ||
ltar snang nyid du go bas chog ||
- || 2.37 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
phyag rgya chen po'i man ngag mchog⁸⁵ ||
rnal 'byor bla na med pa yi ||
rdzogs rim zab pa'i mthar thug tu ||
'dod na rgyud bla khungs su ni ||
drangs la dgos pa ci zhig yod ||
- || 2.38 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
ces gsungs lam 'di mdo sngags kyi ||
zab pa'i mthar thug yin mod kyang ||

⁸³ skyob] *emend.*, skyobs C_{4a}C_{4b} ⁸⁴ 'degs] C_{4a}, 'dod C_{4b} ⁸⁵ mchog]
B_aB_bC_{1a}C_{1b}, ni C_{4a}C_{4b}

mnyam med zla 'od gzhon nu des ||
 gsang ba'i khyad chos 'di bstan tshe ||
 deng sang sangs rgyas bstan pa 'di ||
 bka' phyag sprin gyis bsgribs zhes pa'i ||
 'phya ba bsal phyir gzhan lugs dang ||
 kun gyis tshad mar khas len pa'i ||
 gzhung lugs dag dang ma sbyar na ||
 don du 'gyur bar dka' bas na ||
 mdo drangs dgos gal chen po yod ||

[rJe Shākya-rin-chen and Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
 ces phyag rgya chen po las brtsams pa'i dri tshig grub pa'i mdung
 rnon zhes bya ba las ||
 man ngag gi gzhung la dris pa'i lan zhus pa'i skabs⁸⁶ te gnyis pa'o ||

6.3 *lTa ba la dris pa'i lan zhus pa'i skabs*

- || 3.1 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
 de nas phyag rgya chen po yi ||
 lta ba'i bzhed tshul mdo lugs⁸⁷ kyi ||
 dbu ma'i gzhung las gang bshad pa ||
 de las lhag pa [461] yod med 'dri ||
- || 3.2 || dang po ltar na rje mi las ||
 theg chen dbu ma'i lugs⁸⁸ nyid las ||
 lhag pa'i lta ba gsang sngags la ||
 yod par zhal gyis mi bzhes gsungs⁸⁹ ||
- || 3.3 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
 zhes gsungs lta ba'i ngos la ni ||
 dbu phyag gnyis la khyad par med ||
 dbu mas srid zhi mnyam nyid dang ||
 sngags kyi 'khor 'das dbyer med du ||
 bstan pa don mthun ming gzhan yang ||
 sems kyi rang bzhin 'od gsal dang ||
 'gyur med yongs grub chen po dang ||
 stong nyid snying rje snying po can ||
 don dam byang chub sems mchog dang ||

⁸⁶ dris pa'i lan zhus pa'i skabs] C4_aC4_b, dris pa'i skabs B_aB_b ⁸⁷ lugs]
 B_aC1_aC1_b, sogs B_bC4_aC4_b ⁸⁸ lugs] B_aB_bC1_aC1_b, gzhung C4_aC4_b
⁸⁹ gsungs] C1_aC1_bC4_aC4_b, gsung B_aB_b

A Timely Message from the Cave

so sor rang rig ye shes dang ||
rnam med 'od gsal stong pa nyid ||
bde ba chen po'i ye shes dang ||
mchog tu mi 'gyur bde chen dang ||
gnyug ma lhan cig skyes pa sogs ||
ming du ji ltar bsnyad na yang ||
don la lta ba'i ngang du gcig ||

|| 3.4 || des na rje btsun mi las kyang ||
lta ba'i cha las khyad med kyang ||
thabs kyi cha las khyad 'phags gsungs ||

|| 3.5 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
gnyis pa ltar na 'pho ba yi ||
bag chags zhes pa'i spang⁹⁰ bya [462] dang ||
rnam pa kun gyi mchog ldan pa'i ||
stong pa nyid dang mi 'gyur ba'i ||
bde ba chen po zhes bya ba ||
spang⁹¹ bya de yi gnyen po gang ||
mdo lugs⁹² dbu ma'i grub mtha' las ||
bshad pa⁹³ khas len byed nus sam ||

|| 3.6 || khyad par phung po rnam bcad⁹⁴ kyi ||
stong nyid chu shing bzhin du ni ||
snying po med ces gsungs 'di ci ||

|| 3.7 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
zhes gsungs 'pho ba'i bag chags dang ||
sgo gsum tha dad 'dzin pa dang ||
ye shes bskyed pa'i dri ma sogs ||
gsungs pa rnams kyang mdo lugs kyi ||
shes bya'i bag chags phra mo dang ||
gzung 'dzin gnyis snang sa bon dang ||
kun gzhi'i las sogs gsungs pa rnams ||
'dogs tshul mi 'dra tsam ma gtogs ||
don la 'byed chos med pa dang ||
sngags su rnam kun mchog ldan dang ||
mchog tu mi 'gyur bde chen sogs ||
de dag mdo yi mthar thug gi ||

⁹⁰ spang] $B_a C_{1_a} B_b C_{1_b}$, spangs $C_{4_a} C_{4_b}$ ⁹¹ spang] $B_a B_b C_{1_a} C_{4_a} C_{4_b}$,
spangs C_{1_b} ⁹² lugs] $B_a B_b C_{1_a} C_{1_b}$, sngags $C_{4_a} C_{4_b}$ ⁹³ pa] $C_{4_a} C_{4_b}$, par
 $B_a B_b C_{1_a} C_{1_b}$ ⁹⁴ bcad] $B_a B_b C_{1_a} C_{1_b}$, bcas $C_{4_a} C_{4_b}$

- skabs nas bstan pa'i spros bral dang ||
rang bzhin 'od gsal ba rnams kyang ||
don la 'byed chos med pas so ||
- || 3.8 || phung po rnam bca⁹⁵ stong nyid 'di ||
dbu ma'i [463] gzhung lugs rnams nas kyang ||
mthar thug lta ba'i stong nyid du ||
mi bzhed pas na drang⁹⁶ don no ||
- || 3.9 || 'o na de la mdo sngags gnyis ||
khyad pa med par 'gyur zhe na ||
mdo sngags gnyis kyi lta ba'i khyad ||
dbu ma rab tu mi gnas dang ||
zung 'jug rab tu mi gnas pas ||
phye bar kun mkhyen chen pos gsungs ||
- || 3.10 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
mdo sngags dbu ma'i lta tshul gyi ||
khyad par rab tu mi gnas dang ||
zung 'jug rab tu mi gnas pas ||
'byed pa nyid du 'dod ce na ||
rab tu mi gnas pa zhes pa ||
khas len bral ba'i don yin phyir ||
zung 'jug rab tu mi gnas pa⁹⁷ ||
zhes 'di rab tu mi gnas pa'i ||
cha nas⁹⁸ theg chen dbu ma dang ||
mthun yang zung 'jug khas len pa'i ||
cha nas⁹⁹ khas len bral ba yi ||
don du 'thad dang mi 'thad 'dri ||
- || 3.11 || dang po ltar na zung 'jug nyid ||
khas len byed bzhin khas len dang ||
bral bar 'dod na bzhad gad gnas ||
- || 3.12 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
zhes gsungs zung 'jug khas len kyang ||
khas len bral ba'i don du 'thad ||
zung 'jug de la dbu ma pa'i ||
rigs [464] pas dpyad mi bzod pa'i phyir ||

⁹⁵ bca] *emend.*, bcas C_{4a}C_{4b} ⁹⁶ drang] *emend.*, drangs C_{4a}C_{4b} ⁹⁷ pa]
B_bC_{1a}C_{1b}C_{4a}C_{4b}, par B_a ⁹⁸ nas] C_{1a}C_{1b}, las B_aB_bC_{4a}C_{4b} ⁹⁹ nas]
B_aB_bC_{1a}C_{1b}, las C_{4a}C_{4b}

- spros pa'i mu dang bral bas na ||
 dbu phyag lta ba'i zhe phug ni ||
 khas len bral ba'i don du gcig ||
- || 3.13 || bzhad gad gnas su mi 'gyur te ||
 dgag phyogs dang ni sgrub phyogs nas ||
 'khrul pa dag dang 'khrul med kyi ||
 khyad tsam de nyid¹⁰⁰ rim lnga las ||
 'khor ba dang ni mya ngan 'das ||
 rtog pa gnyis po spangs nas ni ||
 gang du dngos po gcig gyur pa ||
 zung du 'jug ces de la bshad ||
- || 3.14 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
 gnyis pa ltar na sngags kyi ni ||
 dbu ma'i tshul 'dir mdo lugs¹⁰¹ kyi ||
 gzhung chen dag las¹⁰² gang bshad pa'i ||
 rab tu mi gnas pa zhes pa'i ||
 tha snyad sbyar la dgos pa ci ||
- || 3.15 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
 sngags su mdo yi gzhung lugs dang ||
 mthun par rab tu mi gnas pa'i ||
 tha snyad sbyar ba'i dgos pa ni ||
 gnyis su bzung ba'i rnam rtog gi ||
 spros pa ldog pa'i ched du' o¹⁰³ ||
- || 3.16 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
 khyad par skabs 'di'i zung 'jug gi ||
 zung gi ngos 'dzin gang la byed ||
 'jug pa gcig pa'i byed las kyi ||
 'jug pa'i yul yang ji zhig mchis ||
- || 3.17 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
 skabs 'dir zung gi ^[465] ngos 'dzin ni ||
 snang ba lhan cig skyes pa dang ||
 sems nyid lhan cig skyes pa gnyis ||
 'jug pa gcig pa'i byed las kyi ||
 'jug yul blo ngor gnyis phye yang ||

¹⁰⁰ de nyid C4_b], nyid de C4_a ¹⁰¹ lugs] B_aB_bC1_aC1_b, sngags C4_aC4_b
¹⁰² dag las] B_aB_b, gang las C1_aC1_b, gang dang C4_aC4_b ¹⁰³ du' o] conj.
 (m.c.), du'o C4_aC4_b

- don la rnam dbye ma mchis pa'i ||
 snang sems dbyer med ngang du' o¹⁰⁴ ||
- || 3.18 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
 zhar la rgya nag dge slong gis¹⁰⁵ ||
 'dod pa'i lta ba de nyid dang ||
 dpal ldan dwags¹⁰⁶ po dkar brgyud¹⁰⁷ kyi ||
 phyag rgya chen po don gcig ces ||
 mkhas pa dag gis gang gsungs pa ||
 de lan thams cad mkhyen pa che ||
 padma dkar po yab sras kyis¹⁰⁸ ||
 rtsod spong ji ltar mdzad pa las ||
 lhag pa'i spros pa mi dgos mod ||
- || 3.19 || ha shang lugs kyi lta ba de ||
 rgya nag mkhan po de nyid kyi¹⁰⁹ ||
 ston tshul thabs la mi mkhas pa'i ||
 khyad par ma gtogs gdams pa dngos ||
 theg chen lugs kyi man ngag gang ||
 zab mo gzhan dang khyad med ces ||
 tshad mar gyur pa 'ga' gsungs na ||
 ha shang lugs dang dkar brgyud¹¹⁰ kyi ||
 phyag rgya chen po mi mtshungs pa'i ||
 shes byed¹¹¹ smra la dgos pa ci ||
- || 3.20 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
 zhes gsungs de la 'ga' zhig gis ||
 lugs [466] de thabs lam khyad gsod pas ||
 ston tshul mi mkhas pa ma gtogs ||
 don la khyad med bzhed pa ni ||
 spros med phyogs nas mthun tsam la ||
 dgongs pa yin gyi phyag chen dang ||
 rnam pa kun tu mi mtshungs pa'i ||
 shes byed smra ba'i dgos pa ni ||
 rang lugs lta ba tshol ba'i skabs ||
 rang rig yid byed yod dgos la ||
 de nas lta ba rnyed pa'i skabs ||

¹⁰⁴ du' o] *conj. (m.c.)*, du'o C_{4a}C_{4b} ¹⁰⁵ gis] B_aB_bC_{1a}C_{1b}, gi C_{4a}C_{4b}
¹⁰⁶ dwags] C_{4a}C_{4b}, dags B_aB_bC_{1a}C_{1b} ¹⁰⁷ brgyud] B_bC_{1a}C_{1b}C_{4a}C_{4b},
 rgyud B_a ¹⁰⁸ kyis] B_aC_{1a}C_{1b}, kyi B_bC_{4a}C_{4b} ¹⁰⁹ kyi] C_{1a}, kyis
 B_aB_bC_{1b}C_{4a}C_{4b} ¹¹⁰ brgyud] C_{1a}C_{1b}C_{4a}C_{4b}, rgyud B_aB_b ¹¹¹ byed]
 B_bC_{1a}C_{1b}C_{4a}C_{4b}, phyed B_a

lta ba'i ngo bo skyong dgos la ||
 de nas bar du sgom pa'i skabs ||
 rtsol med dran pa brten dgos la ||
 de nas spyod pa'i skabs su yang ||
 'dzin pa dbyings su ma zhi'i bar ||
 spang blang tshul bzhin spyod dgos la ||
 ha shang de rnams mi 'dod cing ||
 ci yang mi sems brgyal ba ltar ||
 lung ma bstan gyi lta ba dang ||
 phyag chen rang bzhin yongs shes gnyis ||
 mtshungs snyam bsam pa ga la yod ||

|| 3.21 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
 gzhan yang rje btsun sa paṇ gyis ||
 dkar brgyud¹¹² pa yi phyag chen de ||
 rnam brdzun¹¹³ smra ba'i lugs yin ces ||
 gsungs pa de¹¹⁴ la ji skad smra ||

|| 3.22 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
 zhes gsungs 'di yi grub mtha' ni ||
 phyi don sems dang sems de yang ||
 rang [467] rig rang gsal don dam du ||
 'dod pa sems tsam spyi yi lugs ||
 yin kyang sems kyi rnam pa yang ||
 bden med gtan la phab pa yi ||
 sgo nas phyag chen rnam brdzun dang ||
 phyogs tsam mtshungs pa ltar snang yang ||
 kun tu mi mtshungs khyad dbye che ||

|| 3.23 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
 rnam brdzun¹¹⁵ smra bas gang bshad pa'i ||
 grub pa'i mtha' dang phyag chen nyid ||
 rnam pa kun tu mi mtshungs na ||
 de yi dbye ba ji ltar yod ||

|| 3.24 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
 phyag chen rnam brdzun smra ba dang ||
 mtshungs pa min pa'i shes byed ni ||
 phyag chen dbang byin mos gus dang ||

¹¹² brgyud] C_{1a}C_{1b}C_{2a}C_{4a}C_{4b}, rgyud B_aB_b ¹¹³ brdzun] C_{1a}C_{1b}C_{4a}C_{4b},
 rdzun B_aB_bC_{2a} ¹¹⁴ de] B_aB_bC_{2a}C_{4a}C_{4b}, 'di C_{1a}C_{1b} ¹¹⁵ brdzun]
 C_{1a}C_{1b}C_{4a}C_{4b}, rdzun B_aB_b

- rjes shes bden med spros bral dang ||
nyon mongs lam du byed pa dang ||
tshe gcig 'tshang rgyar bzhed pa rnams ||
rnam brdzun pa yis mi 'dod lo ||
- || 3.25 || 'on kyang cha shas 'ga' tsam la ||
mthun par dgongs te rgod tshangs pas ||
rang re'i lugs 'di sems tsam dang ||
cha tsam mtshungs par snang zhes gsungs ||
- || 3.26 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
rnam brdzun¹¹⁶ smra bar khas len na ||
grub mtha' smra ba bzhi'i nang tshan ||
sems tsam nyid du thal min nam ||
- || 3.27 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
zhes gsungs sems tsam thal na _[468] yang ||
bab lugs phyogs tsam mthun par mthong ||
de yang rnam brdzun smra ba yis ||
thog mar chos rnams sems su phab ||
sems kyang bden med gtan la phab ||
mnyam bzhag spros bral nyams su myong ||
rjes shes tha snyad bden grub tu ||
'jog kyang mnyam bzhag dbang btsan zhes ||
'dod pa ji bzhin phyag chen pas ||
'khor 'das chos rnams sems su phab ||
sems kyang gnas lugs ngo sprod mdzad ||
- || 3.28 || de la don dam bden pa dang ||
sems kyi rdo rje zhes sogs su ||
tha snyad 'dogs kyang yin lugs la ||
gdags gzhi bral bar bzhed pa rnams ||
de dag mdo sngags so so yi ||
chos skad mi mthun tsam ma gtogs ||
don la bzhed tshul phyogs re bar ||
mtshungs zhes brjod la klan ka yi ||
ca co mang du brel bar mdzad ||
- || 3.29 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
gal te rnam brdzun¹¹⁷ smra ba yi ||

¹¹⁶ brdzun] $C1_a C1_b C4_a C4_b$, rdzun $B_a B_b$ ¹¹⁷ brdzun] $C1_a C1_b C4_a C4_b$,
rdzun $B_a B_b$

gzhung las bshad pa'i nges don dang ||
 rnal 'byor bla na med pa yi ||
 rgyud sde dag las gang gsungs pa ||
 mdor bstan rgyas bshad tsam ma gtogs ||
 don la khyad par ma ^[469] mchis pas ||
 'dod thog nyid¹¹⁸ du 'bab¹¹⁹ ce na ||
 'o na kun mkhyen pad dkar gyis ||
 rnam brdzun¹²⁰ dbu mar mi bzhed cing ||
 de las bshad pa'i lta ba yis ||
 chos mchog tshun las mi bgrod ces ||
 gsungs pa 'di¹²¹ la ji skad smra ||

|| 3.30 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
 bab lugs phyogs tsam mtshungs ma gtogs ||
 grub mtha' kun nas mi mtshungs te ||
 sems las gzhan gang med pa dang ||
 sems kyang ci yang mi rtogs pa'i ||
 myong ba rang rig rang gsal tsam ||
 don du yod par khas len phyir ||
 rnam brdzun dbu ma'ang mi bzhed na ||
 rnal 'byor bla na med pa yi ||
 don du su yis 'chad par byed ||

|| 3.31 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
 dkar brgyud¹²² 'di yi shing rta cher¹²³ ||
 grags pa gsal ldan kha cig gis ||
 stag lung ngag dbang grags pa sogs¹²⁴
 gnas lugs phyag rgya chen po dang ||
 bde stong phyag rgya chen po zhes¹²⁵ ||
 gnyis su 'byed nas smin byed kyi ||
 cho ga dag la mi bltos¹²⁶ pa'i ||
 khrid tshul gnyis las¹²⁷ dang po dang ||
 smin byed rgyu dbang bskur dgos pa'i ||
 khrid tshul phyi mar zhal bzhes nas ||
 brgyud pa rin chen 'di ^[470] nyid kyi ||
 phyag bzhes phal cher dang po dang ||

¹¹⁸ nyid] $B_b C_{1_a} C_{1_b} C_{4_a} C_{4_b}$, nyi B_a ¹¹⁹ 'bab] $B_a B_b C_{1_a} C_{1_b}$, bab $C_{4_a} C_{4_b}$
¹²⁰ brdzun] $C_{1_a} C_{1_b} C_{4_a} C_{4_b}$, rdzun $B_a B_b$ ¹²¹ 'di] $B_a C_{1_a} C_{1_b} C_{4_a} C_{4_b}$, de
 B_b ¹²² brgyud] $C_{1_a} C_{1_b} C_{4_a} C_{4_b}$, rgyud $B_a B_b$ ¹²³ cher] $C_{4_a} C_{4_b}$, che
 $B_a B_b C_{1_a} C_{1_b}$ ¹²⁴ stag lung ngag dbang grags pa sogs] B_a , *marg.* B_b ,
om. $C_{1_a} C_{1_b} C_{4_a} C_{4_b}$ ¹²⁵ zhes] $B_b C_{1_a} C_{1_b} C_{4_a} C_{4_b}$, dang B_a ¹²⁶ bltos]
 $B_a B_b C_{1_a} C_{1_b}$, ltos $C_{4_a} C_{4_b}$ ¹²⁷ gnyis las] C_{1_b} , gnyis la $B_a C_{4_a} C_{4_b}$, nyid la
 $B_b C_{1_a}$

mthun zhes bka' bstsal¹²⁸ byon pa la ||
 rang lugs 'dzin pa'i skyes chen ni ||
 dam pa mang pos yi rangs mdzad ||
 de lta na ni phyag chen gyi ||
 man ngag mdo lugs kho na¹²⁹ las ||
 gzhan du bshad par¹³⁰ nus ma yin ||

|| 3.32 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
 zhes gsungs stag lung ngag grags sogs ||
 dam pa dag gi bzhed pa ltar ||
 spros bcas dbang la mi ltos pa'i ||
 gnas lugs phyag rgya chen po yi ||
 khrid tshul mdzad pas phyag chen gyi ||
 man ngag mdo lugs mi 'gyur te ||
 rang lugs dbang rnon phyag chen du ||
 khrid tshul de kar lags pa'i phyir ||
 de la byin rlabs 'pho ba dang ||
 rdo rje ye shes dbang gis ni ||
 smin byed dbang gi go chod¹³¹ de ||
 phyag rgya chen po de rang nyid ||
 dbang don ye shes yin par 'dod ||

|| 3.33 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
 'jig rten dbang phyug karma pa ||
 mi bskyod rdo rje'i zhal snga nas ||
 dbu ma rtsa ba'i¹³² shes rab las ||
 gsungs pa'i lta ba de nyid dang ||
 phyag rgya chen po don gcig cing ||
 'on kyang thos [471] bsam rkyang¹³³ pa yis ||
 spros pa bcad dang sgom pas ni ||
 nyams su myong bas¹³⁴ khyad 'byed gsungs¹³⁵ ||
 de lta na ni phyag rgya che ||
 mdo lugs nyid du thal min nam ||

|| 3.34 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
 zhes gsungs rgyal ba karma pa ||
 mi bskyod rdo rje'i bzhed pa ltar ||

¹²⁸ bstsal] B_aC_{4a}C_{4b}, stsal B_bC_{1a}C_{1b} ¹²⁹ na] B_aB_bC_{1a}C_{1b}, nar C_{4a}C_{4b}
¹³⁰ par] B_aB_bC_{1a}C_{1b}, pa C_{4a}C_{4b} ¹³¹ chod] conj., bcad C_{4a}C_{4b} ¹³² ba'i]
 B_aB_bC_{1a}C_{1b}, ba C_{4a}C_{4b} ¹³³ rkyang] B_aB_bC_{1a}C_{4a}C_{4b}, brkyang C_{1b}
¹³⁴ bas] B_aB_bC_{1a}C_{1b}, ba'i C_{4a}C_{4b} ¹³⁵ gsungs] C_{1a}C_{1b}C_{4a}C_{4b}, gsung B_aB_b

phyag rgya chen po spros med kyi ||
 cha las dbu ma'i lta ba dang ||
 mtshungs zhes gsungs pa de tsam gyis ||
 phyag chen mdo lugs mi 'gyur te ||
 thabs kyi cha las khyad zhugs zhes ||
 rje btsun chen po'i zhal nga nas ||
 'on kyang spros bral rtogs pa yi ||
 thabs la gsang sngags khyad par 'phags ||
 zhes gsungs don du bab pas so ||

[rJe Shākya-rin-chen and Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
 zhes phyag rgya chen po las brtsam pa'i dri tshig grub pa'i mdung
 rnon zhes bya ba las ||
 lta ba la dris pa'i lan zhus pa'i skabs¹³⁶ te gsum pa'o ||

6.4 *sGom pa la dris pa'i lan zhus pa'i skabs*

- || 4.1 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
 de nas lta ba'i rgyun bskyangs¹³⁷ tshe ||
 yid la byed dang mi byed 'dri ||
- || 4.2 || dang po ltar na phyag rgya che ||
 sgom pa'i dus su chos gang yang ||
 yid la mi byed [472] gsungs dang 'gal ||
- || 4.3 || gnyis pa ltar na gnas lugs kyi ||
 ngang du ma yengs 'jog pa'i tshe ||
 dran dang shes bzhin dag gi¹³⁸ ni ||
 byed las 'jug pa ma yin nam ||
- || 4.4 || dran dang shes bzhin mi brten¹³⁹ na ||
 gnyid 'thug dang ni brgyal ba dang ||
 khyad par med pa'i sgom pa gang ||
 ji ltar goms pa¹⁴⁰ byed bzhin du ||
 gti mug je¹⁴¹ cher 'phel bar byed ||
 de yis phyi ma'i skye ba ni ||
 dud 'gro nyid du 'phen min nam ||

¹³⁶ dris pa'i lan zhus pa'i skabs] C_{4a}C_{4b}, dris pa'i skabs B_aB_b ¹³⁷ bskyangs]
 C_{1a}C_{1b}C_{4a}C_{4b}, brkyangs B_aB_b ¹³⁸ gi] B_aB_bC_{1a}C_{1b}, gis C_{4a}C_{4b}
¹³⁹ brten] C_{1b}C_{4a}C_{4b}, bsten B_bC_{1a}, bstan B_a ¹⁴⁰ pa] B_aB_bC_{1a}, par
 C_{1b}C_{4a}C_{4b} ¹⁴¹ je] B_aB_bC_{1a}C_{1b}, rje C_{4a}C_{4b}

- || 4.5 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
zhes gsungs phyag chen sgom pa'i tshe ||
yid la mi byed pa nyid dang ||
dran shes brten pa gnyis ka dgos ||
- || 4.6 || dmigs bcas yul gyi gtad so dang ||
sems 'dzin dam po la sogs pa'i ||
yid la byed pa rnams bkag kyang ||
de la rtsol med yang dag gi ||
dran dang shes bzhin ma bkag ste ||
'dzin pa med kyang ma yengs pa ||
dgos kyi de ltar ma yin na ||
yid la mi byed ces bya ba'i ||
tshig gis bslus te dran shes kyang ||
spangs na blun sgom nyid gyur te ||
blun pos phyag rgya ^[473] che sgom pa ||
phal cher dud 'gro'i rgyur 'gyur gsungs ||
- || 4.7 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
khyad par rnam rtog chos sku zhes ||
gtam snyan rlung ltar grags pa 'di ||
don dam kun rdzob gang nyid las ||
brtsams te gsungs pa'i dgongs pa 'dri ||
- || 4.8 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
zhes gsungs rnam rtog de'i rang bzhin ||
ma rtogs pa dang rtogs pa dang ||
mthar thug skabs zhes phye ba las ||
rtogs pa shar ba'i skabs nas brtsams ||
gsungs pa yin te rgyal dbang rjes ||
rnam rtog rang bzhin shes tsa na ||
gang shar chos skur khro lo lo ||
zhes gsungs rnam rtog chos sku ru ||
gsungs pa nges don nyid la dgongs ||
- || 4.9 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
don dam nyid las brtsams she¹⁴² na ||
rje btsun chen po mi la yis ||
don dam bden pa'i dbang du ni¹⁴³ ||

¹⁴² she] C1_aC1_bC4_aC4_b, zhes B_aB_b ¹⁴³ ni] B_aB_b, na C1_aC1_bC4_aC4_b

A Timely Message from the Cave

bgegs pas¹⁴⁴ sangs rgyas kyang ni med ||
ces gsungs ltar na rnam rtog gang ||
kho nar ma zad dge sdig dang ||
las dang 'bras bu'i 'brel pa dang ||
sa dang lam gyi rnam bzhag¹⁴⁵ dang ||
mthar thug sku dang ye shes sogs¹⁴⁶ ||
thams cad khas len dang bral zhing ||
'khor [474] 'das chos kun gdod ma nas ||
skye med mkha' ltar dag pa la ||
rnam rtog kho nar¹⁴⁷ dmigs phug¹⁴⁸ nas ||
chos sku yin zhes gsungs pa yi ||
rgyu mtshan dgos pa ci¹⁴⁹ zhig yod ||

|| 4.10 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
ces gsungs de yi dgos pa ni ||
'khor 'das shes bya 'di dag kun ||
don la ci yang ma grub bzhin ||
gnyis su snang ba 'dir dpyad pas ||
rtsa ba rnam rtog de'i rang bzhin ||
shes ma shes la thug pas na ||
de nyid kho nar dmigs phug ste ||
rnam rtog chos sku yin ces gsungs ||

|| 4.11 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
kun rdzob kho na'i dbang byas nas ||
gsungs par¹⁵⁰ 'dod na skabs der ni ||
rnam rtog ma rig chen po ste ||
'khor ba'i rgya mtshor ltung byed yin ||
zhes sogs rnam rtog 'khrul pa nyid ||
spang bya'i dri mar bshad pa yi ||
lung dang gtan tshigs bsam mi khyab ||

|| 4.12 || de lta na yang ma rig pa'i ||
dbang du gyur pas lung rigs kyi ||
'thad pa gang yang med bzhin du ||
rnam rtog chos kyi sku yin zhes ||
u tshugs rang dgar¹⁵¹ byas 'dod na ||

¹⁴⁴ pas] B_aB_b(*marg.*)C_{1b}, bas C_{1a}, las C_{4a}C_{4b} ¹⁴⁵ bzhag] C_{1a}C_{1b}, gzhag B_aB_bC_{4a}C_{4b} ¹⁴⁶ sogs] B_aB_bC_{1a}C_{1b}C_{4b}, so C_{4a} ¹⁴⁷ nar] C_{4a}C_{4b}, na B_aB_bC_{1a}C_{1b} ¹⁴⁸ phug] C_{1a}C_{1b}C_{4a}C_{4b}, phugs B_aB_b ¹⁴⁹ ci] B_aB_bC_{1a}C_{1b}, ji C_{4a}C_{4b} ¹⁵⁰ par] B_aB_bC_{1a}C_{1b}, pa C_{4a}C_{4b} ¹⁵¹ dgar] B_aB_bC_{1b}C_{4a}C_{4b}, gar C_{1a}

- dge sdig dang ni las 'bras ^[475] dang ||
 bden pa bzhi dang dkon mchog gsum ||
 thams cad med par thal bar 'gyur ||
- || 4.13 || spang bya dang ni gnyen po dang ||
 'khor dang mya ngan 'das pa sogs ||
 gsung rab dag las gang bshad pa'i ||
 rnam gzhag thams cad mi 'thad 'gyur ||
- || 4.14 || mtshams med las kyang ches lei ba'i ||
 chos spong las la 'bad byas pa'i ||
 rnam smin 'bras bu mi zad¹⁵² pas ||
 sems yod su zhig 'di la dga' ||
- || 4.15 || rnam rtog chos kyi sku zhes pa'i ||
 dgongs pa'i gtad so mi 'tshol¹⁵³ bar ||
 rmongs zhen blo yis¹⁵⁴ gtam 'di yi ||
 phyogs 'dzin ngal ba mang byas rnams ||
 smyon pa'i nang nas smyon pa rang ||
- || 4.16 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
 zhes gsungs rnam rtog de'i rang bzhin ||
 ma rtogs dus na'ang chos kyi sku ||
 yin ces khas len byed rnams la ||
 ji skad gsungs pa'i skyon 'jug kyang ||
 blo dman rnams la de'i blo dang ||
 mthun par drang don khas len dgos ||
 de min drang nges 'khrugs par 'gyur ||
 rgyal bas chos sgo sna tshogs ^[476] su ||
 gsungs pa'ang gdul bya'i dbang las 'dod ||
- || 4.17 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
 phyag rgya chen po'i nyams len dang ||
 theg chen dbu ma'i don sgom¹⁵⁵ pa ||
 mtshungs dang mi mtshungs gang yin 'dri ||
- || 4.18 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
 zhes gsungs phyag chen nyams len 'di ||
 theg chen dbu ma'i sgom rim dang ||

¹⁵² zad] B_a, bzad B_bC_{1a}C_{1b}C_{4a}C_{4b} ¹⁵³ 'tshol] C_{1a}C_{4a}C_{4b}, btsal B_aB_b,
 tshol C_{1b} ¹⁵⁴ yis] B_aB_bC_{1a}C_{1b}, yi C_{4a}C_{4b} ¹⁵⁵ sgom] B_bC_{4a}C_{4b}, bsgom
 B_aC_{1b}, bsgoms C_{1a}

A Timely Message from the Cave

- mtshungs par bshad pa'i skabs kyang yod ||
- || 4.19 || dbu ma'i sgom rim thos bsam gyis ||
dpyad pa sngon du 'gro dgos pa'i ||
dpyad sgom dang ni 'jog sgom du ||
'jug tshul gnyis las phyi ma dang ||
mtshungs kyang nang gses khyad par che ||
- || 4.20 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
dang po ltar na phyag chen gyi ||
man ngag gzhung las dbu ma yi ||
gtan tshigs¹⁵⁶ bzhi 'am¹⁵⁷ lnga dag gis¹⁵⁸ ||
phyi nang chos kun bden med du ||
gtan la phab tshul ji ltar yod ||
- || 4.21 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
ces gsungs dbu ma'i sgom tshul dang ||
mtshungs kyang skabs 'dir 'jog sgom la ||
phyi nang chos kun gtan tshigs kyis ||
gtan la phab tshul mi dgos te ||
phra phyir thos pa'i yul ma yin ||
don dam yin phyir bsam bya min ||
[477] zhes sogs thos bsam rkyang pa yis ||
chos nyid ji bzhin mi rtogs gsungs ||
- || 4.22 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
gnyis pa ltar na dbu ma yi ||
rigs pas gtan la gang phab¹⁵⁹ pa'i ||
spros bral de dang¹⁶⁰ phyag chen gyi ||
spros bral khyad par gang gis¹⁶¹ 'byed ||
- || 4.23 || pha rol phyin pa'i spros bral las ||
lhag pa'i lta ba yod na ni ||
lta de spros pa can 'gyur zhes ||
mkhas pa dag gis gang gsungs pa ||
de la ji skad smra bar bya ||
- || 4.24 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
- ¹⁵⁶ tshigs] B_aB_bC_{1a}C_{4a}C_{4b}, tshig C_{1b} ¹⁵⁷ bzhi 'am] B_aC_{1b}, bzhi'am
B_bC_{1a}C_{4a}C_{4b} ¹⁵⁸ gis] B_aB_bC_{1b}C_{4a}, gi C_{1a} ¹⁵⁹ phab] B_aB_b, pheb C_{1a},
phebs C_{1b}C_{4a}C_{4b} ¹⁶⁰ de dang] B_aB_bC_{1a}C_{1b}, dang ni C_{4a}C_{4b} ¹⁶¹ gis]
B_aB_bC_{1a}C_{4a}C_{4b}, gi C_{1b}

zhes gsungs dbu ma'i rigs pa yis ||
 gtan la phab pa'i spros bral dang ||
 phyag rgya chen po'i spros bral gnyis ||
 spros bral ngos nas khyad med kyang ||
 mnyam bzhag¹⁶² ye shes brjod bral du ||
 nyams su myong mi myong gi khyad ||

|| 4.25 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
 gal te dbu ma'i sgom tshul la¹⁶³ ||
 dpyad sgom dang ni 'jog sgom du ||
 gsungs pa'i phyi ma dang mtshungs par ||
 'dod na dbu ma'i gtan tshigs¹⁶⁴ kyis¹⁶⁵ ||
 dpyad pa sngon du ma btang bar ||
 dang po nyid nas 'jog sgom¹⁶⁶ du ||
 gzhol bas chog pa'i lung¹⁶⁷ khungs ni ||
 rnam dag yod dang med pa [478] 'dri ||

|| 4.26 || yod na gzhung chen gang las¹⁶⁸ bshad ||
 med na khungs dang mi 'brel ba'i ||
 sgom tshul zab zab ltar bcos kyang ||
 mkhas pa su zhig yid ches byed ||

|| 4.27 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
 ces gsungs 'di la dang po nas ||
 'jog sgom nyid du gzhol chog pa'i ||
 lung khungs yod de spyod 'jug las ||
 ci nas ting 'dzin brtson pa ni ||
 skad cig gcig kyang mi 'chor bar ||
 bdag gi yid ni gar spyod ces ||
 de ltar yid la so sor brtag ||
 zhes sogs rgya bod mkhas grub kyi ||
 man ngag tshad¹⁶⁹ ldan gang las kyang ||
 sgro 'dogs nang nas chod ces gsungs ||

|| 4.28 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
 dang po nyid nas 'jog sgom du ||
 gzhol bas chog pa'i lung khungs shig ||
 yod du chug par bzhag na yang ||

¹⁶² bzhag] *conj.*, gzhag C_{4a}C_{4b} ¹⁶³ la] B_aB_b, las C_{1a}C_{1b}C_{4a}C_{4b} ¹⁶⁴ tshigs]
 B_bC_{1a}C_{1b}C_{4a}C_{4b}, gtigs B_a ¹⁶⁵ kyis] B_bC_{4a}C_{4b}, kyi B_aC_{1a}C_{1b} ¹⁶⁶ sgom]
 B_aB_bC_{1a}C_{4a}C_{4b}, bsgom C_{1b} ¹⁶⁷ lung] B_aB_bC_{1b}C_{4a}C_{4b}, lungs C_{1a}
¹⁶⁸ las] B_aB_bC_{4a}C_{4b}, nas C_{1a}C_{1b} ¹⁶⁹ tshad C_{4b}], tshang C_{4a}

A Timely Message from the Cave

- theg chen dbu ma'i gzhung dag las ||
 grangs med gsum dang de las ni ||
 lhag pa'i bskal par bsod nams kyi ||
 tshogs chen dpag med bsags pa las ||
 rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas 'grub pa'i khungs ||
 ji srid dge ba'i rtsa ba gang ||
 ma rdzogs de srid stong pa ^[479] nyid ||
 zab mo rtogs par mi 'gyur sogs ||
 bshad tshul rnam grangs bgrang mi lang ||
- || 4.29 || phyag rgya chen po'i byin rlabs¹⁷⁰ kyis¹⁷¹ ||
 lam chen 'di la goms byas pas ||
 skye 'dir sangs rgyas mchog nyid du ||
 'grub ces rdo rje 'chang chen pos ||
 dam bca' 'di las su zhis 'gongs¹⁷² ||
 de phyir gzhung lugs dbu ma yi ||
 tshul dang phyag chen man ngag gi ||
 nang tshan khyad par ches che ba'i¹⁷³ ||
 'byed chos dngos de gang la byed ||
- || 4.30 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
 ces gsungs phyag rgya chen po dang ||
 dbu ma'i 'jog sgom mthun pa dang ||
 'tshang rgyar myur yod pa dang gnyis ||
 mi 'gal lam gyi myur bul ni ||
 bsod nams tshogs kyi khyad las byung ||
- || 4.31 || bsod nams tshogs chen bsags pa yis ||
 thabs la gsang sngags 'phags pa'i tshul ||
 tshul gsum sgron me sogs las gsungs ||
- || 4.32 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
 gzhan yang rdo rje theg pa yi ||
 rtse mor gyur pa bla med kyi ||
 lam rim smin grol gnyis su bshad ||
- || 4.33 || phyi ^[480] mar rim pa gnyis bshad pa'i ||
 dang por bcos ma'i sgom¹⁷⁴ pa dang ||

¹⁷⁰ rlabs] C_{1a}C_{1b}C_{4a}C_{4b}, brlabs B_aB_b ¹⁷¹ kyis] conj., kyi B_aB_bC_{1a}C_{1b}C_{4a}C_{4b} ¹⁷² 'gongs] B_aB_bC_{4a}C_{4b}, 'gong C_{1a}C_{1b} ¹⁷³ nang tshan khyad par ches che ba'i] B_bC_{4a}C_{4b}, nang mtshan khyad par ches che ba'i B_a, om. C_{1a}C_{1b} ¹⁷⁴ sgom] B_aB_bC_{4a}C_{4b}, bsgom C_{1a}C_{1b}

- zab mo bskyed pa zhes bya dang ||
 gnyis par¹⁷⁵ mtshan bcas mtshan med kyi ||
 rdzogs rim gnyis su gang bshad pa¹⁷⁶ ||
 de dag kun dang phyag chen nyid ||
 mthun¹⁷⁷ pa'i sgom tshul yod med 'dri ||
- || 4.34 || yod na gang las¹⁷⁸ ji ltar bshad ||
 med na bla med¹⁷⁹ sngags gzhung las ||
 lam gyi rim pa¹⁸⁰ gang bshad pa ||
 rgyab tu bor nas¹⁸¹ don gzhan zhig ||
 nyams su len bzhin gsang sngags kyi ||
 don du rlom¹⁸² pa ji ltar 'thad ||
- || 4.35 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
 ces gsungs rnal 'byor bla med kyi ||
 lam rim smin grol rnam pa gnyis ||
 phyi ma de la bskyed rdzogs gnyis ||
 bskyed rim zab dang mi zab dang ||
 rdzogs rim mtshan bcas mtshan med rnams ||
 phyag rgya chen po'i sgom tshul dang ||
 dmigs rnam khyad tsam ma gtogs pa ||
 mthar thug bab sa'i dbang du na ||
 dbang bzhi dang ni rnal 'byor bzhi'i ||
 nyams len rnams dang thug sa gcig ||
- || 4.36 || dbang bzhi'i dri ma bzhi sbyangs ^[481] nas ||
 nus pa bzhi smin byed pa la ||
 rnal 'byor bzhi yang de bzhin te ||
 rtse gcig dbyibs kyi sbyong byed dang ||
 spros bral rlung gi sbyong byed dang ||
 ro gcig sems kyi sbyong byed dang ||
 sgom med ye shes sbyong byed du ||
 bzhag pa'i lung rigs dag kyang snang ||
 bskyed dang rdzogs pa de dag kyang ||
 sbyong byed bzhi las ma 'das pas¹⁸³ ||
 phyag chen rnal 'byor bzhi dang mthun ||

¹⁷⁵ par] B_aB_bC_{1a}C_{1b}, pa C_{4a}C_{4b} ¹⁷⁶ gang bshad pa] B_aB_bC_{1a}C_{1b}, bshad
 pa gang C_{4a}C_{4b} ¹⁷⁷ mthun] B_aB_bC_{1a}C_{1b}, mtshungs C_{4a}C_{4b} ¹⁷⁸ las]
 B_aB_bC_{1b}C_{4a}C_{4b}, nas C_{1a} ¹⁷⁹ med] B_bC_{1a}C_{1b}C_{4a}C_{4b}, ma'i B_a ¹⁸⁰ pa]
 B_aC_{1b}C_{4a}C_{4b}, par C_{1a}B_b ¹⁸¹ nas] B_aB_b, bzhin C_{1a}C_{1b}C_{4a}C_{4b} ¹⁸² rlom]
 B_aB_bC_{1a}C_{1b}, rloms C_{4a}C_{4b} ¹⁸³ pas] *emend.* (also supported by C_{1a}, fols
 38r4; C_{1b}, fols. 33r5), pa'i C_{4a}C_{4b}

|| 4.37 || mi zab pa dang mtshan bcas gnyis ||
 gdul bya'i dbang las dbye bas na ||
 phyag chen shin tu spros med dang ||
 dmigs rnam khyad par che lags kyang ||
 lhag par zab pa'i bskyed rim dang ||
 mtshan med rdzogs rim gnyis po ni ||
 zung 'jug phyag rgya chen po'i lam ||
 ngo tig yin pas phyag chen dngos ||
 zung 'jug nyid las khas len ci ||

|| 4.38 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
 khyad par gsang chen bla med las¹⁸⁴ ||
 rten 'brel lus la bsgrigs pa yis¹⁸⁵ ||
 rtogs pa sems la 'char ba zhes ||
 rdo rje'i¹⁸⁶ lus ni khams drug ldan ||
 de [482] la yod pa'i gnas pa rtsa ||
 g.yo ba rlung dang bkod¹⁸⁷ pa ni ||
 byang chub sems la man ngag gis ||
 gnad du bsnun las¹⁸⁸ ye shes nyid ||
 skye bar bshad las gzhan du ni ||
 bde chen lhan cig skyes pa yi ||
 ye shes tshe 'dir 'grub¹⁸⁹ byed pa'i ||
 thabs mkhas sngags las gsungs pa med ||

|| 4.39 || phyag chen gzhung las rtsa thig rlung ||
 gang la gnad du bsnun pa'i tshul ||
 bshad tshul dngos bstan ji ltar yod ||

|| 4.40 || dngos bstan med kyang don thob kyi ||
 gnad 'doms dag kyang¹⁹⁰ ji ltar mchis ||
 de yang med na bla med kyi ||
 rdzogs rim¹⁹¹ nyid du 'bad pa ni ||
 brgya phrag du mas bsgrubs gyur kyang ||
 ltar snang nyid las gzhan du ci ||

|| 4.41 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
 zhes gsungs bla med rgyud sde las ||

¹⁸⁴ las] B_aB_bC_{1a}C_{1b}, nas C_{4a}C_{4b} ¹⁸⁵ bsgrigs pa yis] B_aB_b, bsgrigs pa yi
 C_{1a}C_{1b}, sgrigs pa yis C_{4a}C_{4b} ¹⁸⁶ rje'i] B_aB_bC_{1a}C_{1b}, rje C_{4a}C_{4b} ¹⁸⁷ bkod]
 B_aB_bC_{1a}C_{1b}, bskyod C_{4a}C_{4b} ¹⁸⁸ las] B_aC_{1a}C_{1b}C_{4a}C_{4b}, la B_b ¹⁸⁹ 'grub]
 B_aB_bC_{1a}, sgrub C_{1b}C_{4a}C_{4b} ¹⁹⁰ dag kyang] C_{1a}C_{1b}C_{4a}C_{4b}, yod na B_aB_b
¹⁹¹ rim] B_bC_{1a}C_{1b}C_{4a}C_{4b}, rims B_a

dngos su bstan pa'i bde chen gyi ||
 ye shes tshe 'dir 'grub pa'i thabs ||
 rtsa rlung gnad du bsnun tshul las ||
 gzhan thabs med pa'ang ma yin te ||
 bla ma'i mos gus kho nas kyang ||
 grub par gsungs ^[483] te kun spyod las ||
 gang gi drin gyis bde chen nyid ||
 skad cig nyid la 'char ba gang ||
 zhes gsungs gzhan yang phyag chen las ||
 rtsa rlung gnad du bsnun tshul rnams ||
 chos drug skabs bzhin ma gsungs kyang ||
 shugs bstan don gyis yod pa'i tshul ||
 sngar zhus bzhin dang der ma zad ||
 gnas lugs phyag rgya chen po 'di ||
 'og ma'i lam rim la ltos kyang ||
 dbang rnon chos kyi rjes 'brangs dang ||
 dbang rtul dad pa'i rjes 'brangs 'gas ||
 mngon par 'dod pa'i don grub tshe ||
 lam rim 'og mar ma brten kyang ||
 brten pa'i dgos pa ngang gis tshang ||

[rJe Shākya-rin-chen and Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
 zhes phyag rgya chen po las brtsams pa'i dri tshig grub pa'i mdung
 rnon zhes bya ba las ||
 sgom pa la dris pa'i lan zhus pa'i skabs¹⁹² te bzhi pa'o ||

6.5 *sPyod pa la dris pa'i lan zhus pa'i skabs*

- || 5.1 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
 de nas phyag rgya chen po yi ||
 man ngag gzhung las spyod pa ni ||
 blang dor med pa nyid du bshad¹⁹³ ||
- || 5.2 || spyod pas blang dor mi byed na ||
 bsod nams tshogs chen gang gis rdzogs ||
 bsod nams tshogs chen ma rdzogs na ||
 gzhan ^[484] don gzugs sku gnyis mi 'byung ||

¹⁹² dris pa'i lan zhus pa'i skabs] C_{4a}C_{4b}, dris pa'i skabs B_aB_b ¹⁹³ bshad]
 B_aB_bC_{1a}C_{1b}, gsungs C_{4a}C_{4b}

- || 5.3 || phyag chen sgom¹⁹⁴ pa'i rjes shes la ||
 spyod pa sdig spong dge sgrub¹⁹⁵ kyi ||
 blang dor tshul bzhin bya dgos pa¹⁹⁶ ||
 rnal 'byor dbang phyug tilli pas ||
 snang ba rten cing 'brel 'byung 'di ||
 skye ba med par ma rtogs par¹⁹⁷ ||
 tshogs gnyis shing rta'i 'khor¹⁹⁸ lo dang ||
 'bral bar ma byed ces gsungs pa'i ||
 bsod nams tshogs chen rjes shes kyi ||
 blang dor spyod pa nyid la dgongs ||
- || 5.4 || lta ba rkyang¹⁹⁹ pa'i cha las ni ||
 rang don chos kyi sku las gzhan ||
 gzugs kyi sku gnyis gzhan snang du ||
 ston mi nus zhes mkhas rnams bzhed ||
 de phyir blang dor med pa 'di ||
 lta bas gtan la gang phab pa'i ||
 sgom tshul dang ni lta spyod kyi ||
 zlas dbye'i spyod pa gang yin 'dri||
- || 5.5 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
 zhes gsungs 'di ni gnas tshul las ||
 yengs med lta ba skyong skabs kyi ||
 spyod pa nyid la go dgos te ||
 lta ba khas len bral ba'i tshe ||
 gang shar spang blang med pas na ||
 spyod pa blang dor bral bar gsungs ||
- || 5.6 || gzhan yang spyod pa rnam dag dang ||
 gnyis [485] su med pa'i spyod pa zhes ||
 ming du ji ltar 'dogs na yang ||
 don du lta bas zin pa yi ||
 spyod pa las gzhan med pa'i phyir ||
 de la dpal ldan nā ro pas ||
 chos rnams kun la mnyam 'byung ba ||
 de ni spyod pa gong na med ||
 ces gsungs lta bas zin tshul ni ||
 rtog²⁰⁰ tshogs bzang ngan ci shar yang ||

¹⁹⁴ sgom] $B_a B_b C1_a C4_a C4_b$, bsgom $C1_b$ ¹⁹⁵ sgrub] $B_a B_b C4_a C4_b$, bs-
 grub $C1_a C1_b$ ¹⁹⁶ pa] $B_a B_b C1_a C1_b$, par $C4_a C4_b$ ¹⁹⁷ par] $B_a B_b C1_a C1_b$,
 pa $C4_a C4_b$ ¹⁹⁸ 'khor] $B_a B_b C1_a C1_b C2_a$, 'phang $C4_a C4_b$ ¹⁹⁹ rkyang]
 $B_a B_b C1_b C4_a C4_b$, bskyangs $C1_a$ ²⁰⁰ rtog] *emend.*, rtogs $C4_a C4_b$

- gang shar rang thog ngo shes nas ||
de la 'dzin pa ma zhugs na ||
rtog tshogs ye shes rang grol yin ||
spang blang rgyu 'bras ga la yod ||
- || 5.7 || de la chos rje sgam po pas ||
rang sems chos skur ma rtogs tshun ||
spang blang rgyu 'bras thams cad yod ||
de rtogs rgyu 'bras ming yang med ||
ces gsungs don la bsnyon du med ||
- || 5.8 || lta ba rkyang pa bsgoms pas ni ||
bsod nams tshogs chen mi rdzogs shing ||
gzhan don gzugs sku'ang mi 'byung bar ||
gsungs pa de ni mdo don gyi ||
bdag med rkyang pa bsgom pa la ||
dgongs pa yin gyi 'di skabs kyi ||
zung 'jug phyag rgya che bsgom par ||
skyon de yod par ma yin te ||
snang sems dbyer med ^[486] lhan skyes kyi ||
zung 'jug phyag chen bsgom pa las ||
lhag pa'i gzugs sku'i thabs gzhan med ||
- || 5.9 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
dang po ltar na lta sgom dang ||
spyod pa'i dbye ba ji ltar 'chad ||
- || 5.10 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
ces gsungs lta sgom spyod gsum gyi ||
dbye ba grub mtha' gang yin kyang ||
mnyam bzhag²⁰¹ yin lugs de²⁰² lta ba ||
de thog 'jog pa sgom pa dang ||
rjes shes bsod nams tshogs chen dang ||
'brel ba de ni spyod pa yin ||
- || 5.11 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
gnyis pa ltar na mnyam bzhag²⁰³ dang ||
rjes shes rnam dbye²⁰⁴ med par thal||
- || 5.12 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
-
- ²⁰¹ bzhag] *conj.*, gzhag C₄_aC₄_b ²⁰² de] *conj.*, der C₄_aC₄_b ²⁰³ bzhag] *conj.*,
gzhag B_aB_b ²⁰⁴ dbye] B_aB_bC₁_bC₄_aC₄_b, g.yeng C₁_a

A Timely Message from the Cave

zhes gsungs lta ba'i ngang bskyang ba'i ||
mnyam bzhag²⁰⁵ rang ngo rang shes kyi ||
lta spyod zung 'brel gang yin kyang ||
de la rjes shes tha snyad med ||
mnyam bzhag²⁰⁶ rang dbang btsan par bzhag ||

|| 5.13 || rjes shes lta bas ma zin pa'i ||
spyod pa blang dor bya rtsol dang ||
bcas pa'i sdig spong dge sgrub la ||
rjes thob rgya yan pa zhes brjod ||

|| 5.14 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
rnal 'byor bla med las bshad pa'i ||
kun bzang gsang spyod tshogs dang ni ||
phyogs las rnam rgyal zhes bya ba'i ||
bogs²⁰⁷ 'don spyod [487] pa rnam pa bzhir ||
phye dang blang dor med pa'i spyod ||
mthun tshul²⁰⁸ dag kyang ji ltar yod ||

|| 5.15 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
ces gsungs kun bzang la sogs pa'i ||
spyod pa bzhi ru phye ba gang ||
gnas skabs gdul bya'i nyams tshod dang ||
bstun pa'i spyod tshul ming 'dogs sogs ||
ji ltar byas kyang don la ni ||
gnyis su med pa'i spyod pa 'am²⁰⁹ ||
blang dor med pa'i spyod pa las ||
ma 'das phyir na dbye gzhi dang ||
dbye ngo mi mthun ga la yod ||

[rJe Shākya-rin-chen and Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
ces phyag rgya chen po las brtsams pa'i dri tshig grub pa'i mdung
rnon zhes bya ba las ||
spyod pa la dris pa'i lan zhus pa'i skabs²¹⁰ te lnga pa'o ||

²⁰⁵ bzhag] *conj.*, gzhag C_{4a}C_{4b} ²⁰⁶ bzhag] *conj.*, gzhag C_{4a}C_{4b} ²⁰⁷ bogs]
B_aB_bC_{1a}C_{1b}, 'bogs C_{4a}C_{4b} ²⁰⁸ tshul] B_aB_bC_{1a}C_{1b}, pa C_{4a}C_{4b} ²⁰⁹ pa
'am] *conj.* (*m.c.*), pa'am C_{4a}C_{4b} ²¹⁰ dris pa'i lan zhus pa'i skabs] C_{4a}C_{4b},
dris pa'i skabs B_aB_b

6.6 'Bras bu la dris pa'i lan zhus pa'i skabs

- || 6.1 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
de nas gnas lugs nyag gcig po²¹¹ ||
bsgoms²¹² las 'bras bu sku gsum gyi ||
thob tshul ji ltar yin pa²¹³ 'dri ||
- || 6.2 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
zhes gsungs 'bras bu thob tshul ni ||
gzhi 'bras dbyer med yin gshis kyis ||
zab gsal dbyer med gzhi de nyid ||
thabs shes dbyer med lam gyis ni ||
gtan la phab las 'bras bu yang ||
sku gnyis zung 'jug thob pa [488] ste ||
rang don don dam chos sku dang ||
gzhan don kun rdzob gzugs skur grub ||
- || 6.3 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
gnas lugs ngang du mnyam bzhag²¹⁴ pa ||
goms pa rab kyi²¹⁵ mthar phyin pa'i ||
'bras bu rang don chos kyi sku ||
mngon du bya ba nyid las gzhan ||
bsod nams tshogs chen las 'khrungs pa'i ||
gzugs sku gnyis po sgrub²¹⁶ nus sam ||
- || 6.4 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
zhes gsungs goms pa mthar phyin las ||
rang don chos kyi sku ma zad ||
gzugs sku gnyis kyang sgrub²¹⁷ nus te ||
chos kyi dbyings las ma gtogs pa'i ||
chos 'ga' yod pa ma yin no ||
zhes gsungs ji bzhin phyag chen las ||
gzhan pa'i chos kyang med pas na ||
phyag rgya chen po'i gzhi klong du ||
'bras bu sku gsum ci mi tshang ||
'bras bu lam du byed pa zhes ||
rdo rje theg par grags pas so ||

²¹¹ po] B_aB_bC_{1a}C_{1b}C_{2a}, pu C_{4a}C_{4b} ²¹² bsgoms] B_aB_bC_{1a}C_{4a}C_{4b}, bs-
gom C_{1b} ²¹³ pa] B_aB_bC_{1b}, par C_{1a}C_{4a}C_{4b} ²¹⁴ bzhag] C_{1b}, gzhag
B_aB_bC_{1a}C_{4a}C_{4b} ²¹⁵ kyi] B_aB_b, kyis C_{1a}C_{4a}C_{4b}, gyi C_{1b} ²¹⁶ sgrub]
C_{1a}C_{1b}C_{4a}C_{4b}, bsgrub B_aB_b ²¹⁷ sgrub] conj., 'grub C_{4a}C_{4b}

- || 6.5 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
lta ba rkyang pa'i cha las ni ||
rang don chos kyi sku nyid las ||
gzhan don gzugs kyi sku 'grub²¹⁸ pa'i ||
rgyu tshogs med ces theg chen gyi ||
mdo dang rgyud sde rnams las bshad ||
mkhas grub^[489] rnams kyi tshul bzhin bkral ||
'di la²¹⁹ 'khrul pa'i dri ma med ||
- || 6.6 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
ces gsungs lta ba rkyang pa 'am²²⁰ ||
snying rje dang bral stong nyid gang ||
lam mchog rnyed pa ma yin gsungs ||
- || 6.7 || thabs shes ya bral bsgom pas ni ||
gzugs sku'i rgyu tshogs mi tshang zhes ||
rnam grangs du mas gsungs pa rnams ||
'khrul pa'i dri ma ma mchis mod ||
'on kyang lung rigs de dag gis ||
phyag chen rang bzhin yongs shes kyi ||
lta ba bsgoms pas gzugs sku gnyis ||
'grub tshul 'di la mi gnod pa ||
ma zad sgrub byed nyid du'ang 'thad ||
- || 6.8 || thal byung stong rkyang bsgoms pas ni ||
gzugs sku'i rgyu ru mi 'gyur zhes ||
zung 'jug phyag rgya chen po yi ||
sgom tshul lta ba 'di shes na ||
gzugs sku'i dngos rgyu yin pa dang ||
sems bskyed smon lam la sogs pa'i ||
thabs chas 'khor bar 'ching mi 'gyur ||
gzhan du na ni byed rtsol gyi ||
thabs kun rang 'ching rgyu ru 'gyur ||
- || 6.9 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
gal te byang chub sems bskyed dang ||
smon lam dpag med 'debs^[490] pa dang ||
dge ba rdzogs byang bsngo ba sogs ||
thabs kyi khyad par du ma yis ||

²¹⁸ 'grub] B_aB_bC_{1a}C_{1b}, grub C_{4a}C_{4b} ²¹⁹ la] B_bC_{1a}C_{1b}C_{4a}C_{4b}, las B_a
²²⁰ pa 'am] *conj.* (*m.c.*), pa'am C_{4a}C_{4b}

sgrub par khas len byed ce na ||
'o na phyag rgya chen po'i lam ||
chig chog nyid du ji ltar 'grub ||

|| 6.10 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
ces gsungs phyag chen chig chog tu ||
grub pa'i gnad ni ma rtogs pa'i ||
blo ngor sems bskyed la sogs pa ||
gzugs sku 'grub pa'i rgyu yin phyir ||
sems bskyed smon lam la sogs pa'i ||
rnam gzhas 'thad cing yod dgos kyang ||
rtogs pa'i blo ngor de 'dra ba'i ||
spros pa med phyir sems bskyed sogs ||
phyag chen nyid las ma 'das pas ||
gnas lugs phyag rgya chen po las ||
ma gtogs chos gzhan med pa'i tshul ||
grub pa'i mda' rñun chen pos kyang ||
rtogs par gyur na thams cad de ||
de las gzhan zhig rnyed min gsungs ||
de phyir phyag rgya chen po nyid ||
dkar po chig thub nyid du grub ||

|| 6.11 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
spang²²¹ bya dang ni bsgrub²²² bya sogs ||
ched du 'bad pas don gnyer na ||
lta ba bden 'dzin bral ba dang ||
sgom pa yid la mi byed^[491] dang ||
spyod pa blang dor bral ba ru ||
bshad pa rnams dang cis mi 'gal ||

|| 6.12 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
zhes gsungs dri ma bzhi sogs kyi ||
spang bya dang ni sku bzhi sogs ||
bsgrub byar don du gnyer ba ni ||
blo yi dbang du byas pa dang ||
lta ba bden 'dzin bral ba sogs ||
gnas tshul nyid kyi dbang byas pa ||
yin phyir de la 'gal ba med ||

|| 6.13 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]

²²¹ spang] B_aB_bC_{1a}C_{1b}C_{4a}C_{4b}, spangs C_{2a} ²²² bsgrub] B_bC_{1a}C_{1b}C_{4a}C_{4b},
sgrub B_aC_{2a}

khyad par²²³ rgyu tshogs 'di dag la ||
 brten nas rnam dag 'bras bu zhig ||
 phyi ma'i dus su thob re na²²⁴ ||
 'bras bu phyi dus mi las zhes ||
 brjod pa ltar snang nyid du thal ||

|| 6.14 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
 zhes gsungs dbang po'i rim pa las ||
 'bras bu 'di 'am²²⁵ bar do sogs ||
 gsungs kyi phyi dus mi las zhes ||
 brjod pa dbang rab nyid la dgongs ||

|| 6.15 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
 gal te phyag rgya chen po ni ||
 chig chog kho na²²⁶ bsgoms²²⁷ pa las ||
 gzhan don gzugs sku gnyis 'grub pa'i ||
 tshul zhig mchis na smra bar²²⁸ rigs ||

|| 6.16 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
 zhes gsungs 'di yi gsung lan ni ||
 re zhig gong du zhus bzhin dang ||
 chig chog zung [492] 'jug lam gyis ni ||
 'bras bu'ang zung 'jug skur grub pa ||
 de ni rgyu dang mthun pa'i 'bras ||
 lam dang mthun pa'i 'gro lugs las ||
 'gal zla yod snyam ma mchis so ||

[rJe Shākya-rin-chen and Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
 zhes phyag rgya chen po las brtsams pa'i dri tshig grub pa'i mdung
 rnon zhes bya ba las ||
 'bras bu la dris pa'i lan zhus pa'i skabs²²⁹ te drug pa'o ||

6.7 *Bla ma'i mos gus la dris pa'i lan zhus pa'i skabs*

|| 7.1 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
 de nas brgyud pa rin chen 'di'i²³⁰ ||
 nyams bzhes kun gyi srog snying ni ||

²²³ par] B_aB_bC_{1a}C_{1b}, pa C_{4a}C_{4b} ²²⁴ na] B_aC_{1a}C_{1b}C_{4a}C_{4b}, ran B_b
²²⁵ di 'am] conj. (m.c.), di'am C_{4a}C_{4b} ²²⁶ na] B_aB_bC_{1a}C_{1b}, nar
 C_{4a}C_{4b} ²²⁷ bsgoms] B_aB_bC_{1a}C_{4a}C_{4b}, bsgom C_{1b} ²²⁸ bar] conj., ba'i
 B_aB_bC_{1a}C_{1b}C_{4a}C_{4b} ²²⁹ dris pa'i lan zhus pa'i skabs] C_{4a}C_{4b}, dris pa'i
 skabs B_aB_b ²³⁰ 'di'i] B_aB_bC_{1a}C_{1b}C_{2a}, 'di C_{4a}C_{4b}

- mos gus kho na²³¹ yin par bzhed ||
- || 7.2 || bla ma mchog la sangs rgyas su ||
 mthong ba'i mos gus dgos so zhes ||
 rnam grangs mang pos²³² rgya cher gdams ||
- || 7.3 || gcig ldan dang ni gnyis ldan dang ||
 gsum ldan la sogs bla ma yi ||
 bka' drin thob tshul mang bshad kyang ||
 skabs 'dir rtsa ba'i bla ma ni ||
 phyag rgya chen po'i²³³ ngo sprod kyi ||
 bka' drin gang las thob la byed ||
- || 7.4 || de'i²³⁴ tshe rtsa ba'i bla ma de²³⁵ ||
 so skye'i gang zag yin pa dang ||
 khyad par don dam bsnyen pa las ||
 rtsod ldan dbang gis²³⁶ bla ma ni ||
 skyon dang yon tan 'dres zhes [493] gsungs ||
- || 7.5 || skyon yon 'dres pa'i bla ma de ||
 rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas dngos dang ni ||
 bshes gnyen phal pa gang yin 'dri ||
- || 7.6 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
 zhes gsungs phyag rgya chen po yi ||
 bka' drin sbyin pa'i bla ma ni ||
 sangs rgyas dngos su bsgrub pa la ||
 gnas snang mi mthun ltar snang yang ||
 gnas tshul ngos nas sangs rgyas dngos ||
 yin te de yi sgrub byed lung ||
 gang phyir rdo rje sems dpa' zhes ||
 de nyid slob dpon gzugs bzung nas ||
 sems can phan gdags dmigs nas ni ||
 tha mal pa yi gzugs su gnas ||
 zhes sogs rgyud las gsungs pa ltar ||
 chos kyi sku las ma g.yos bzhin ||
 gang 'dul gzugs su snang ba yin ||
- || 7.7 || ji ltar me long dwangs pa ni ||

²³¹ na] B_aB_bC_{1a}C_{1b}, nar C_{4a}C_{4b} ²³² pos] B_aB_bC_{1a}C_{4a}C_{4b}, por C_{1b}
²³³ po'i] B_aB_bC_{1a}C_{1b}, po C_{4a}C_{4b} ²³⁴ de'i] B_aB_bC_{1a}, de C_{1b}C_{4a}C_{4b}
²³⁵ de] B_aB_bC_{1a}C_{1b}, ni C_{4a}C_{4b} ²³⁶ gis] B_bC_{1a}C_{1b}C_{4a}C_{4b}, gi B_a

A Timely Message from the Cave

rang ngor gzugs brnyan ma dmigs kyang ||
rkyen gyis gzugs brnyan sna tshogs 'char ||
'char bzhin pa yang me long las ||
gzhan du med bzhin bla ma yang ||
sangs rgyas las gzhan mi dmigs so ||

|| 7.8 || 'o na snang ba'i chos so cog ||
bla ma yin par ^[494] 'gyur zhe na ||
'dod de bsam gyis mi khyab pa'i ||
khyab brdal mos par la bzla bas ||
sgyu 'phrul sna tshogs gzugs brnyan la ||
sku yi rdo rje zhes su btags ||
zhes gsungs bsam mi khyab pa'i skur ||
grub ste snang srid sku gsum du ||
'char ba zhes kyang de kar lags ||

|| 7.9 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
dang po ltar na sangs rgyas kyi ||
yon tan phra ba'i cha shas kyang ||
so skye rang rgyud pa yi ni ||
bla ma de la yod pa min ||

|| 7.10 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
zhes gsungs don dam bsnyen pa las ||
rtsod ldan dbang gis bla ma ni ||
skyon yon 'dres par gsungs pa yang ||
snang tshul gdul bya'i mthong snang la ||
ltos te gsungs pa tsam ma gtogs ||
gnas tshul la ni ma dgongs te ||
dper na mkhris nad can gyi mis ||
dung ni ser por mthong na yang ||
mthong dus nyid nas dung thog du ||
ser po yod ma myong ba bzhin ||
gdul bya'i blo yis skyon can du ||
mthong yang skyon ni glo bur las ||
don la yod ma myong bas so ||

|| 7.11 || des na bla mar sangs rgyas kyi ||
yon tan med pa'ang mi grub ste ||
^[495] chos dbyings klong du gyur pa na ||
chos kyi dbyings las ma gtogs pa'i ||

chos 'ga' yod pa ma yin no ||
zhes gsungs 'o na sangs rgyas kyi ||
mngon shes rdzu 'phrul la sogs pa'i ||
yon tan cha tsam bla ma der ||
mngon gyur med pas so zhe na ||
yon tan de dag mnga' na yang ||
rnam smin gzugs kyi rgyas bsgrigs te ||
da lta mngon sum²³⁷ mi mngon yang ||
rnam smin rgya dang bral ba'i mod ||
thams cad mngon sum bzhin du ste ||
dper na khyung phrug sgo nga las ||
grol ba'i mod la 'phur bzhin no ||

|| 7.12 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
gnyis pa ltar na sangs rgyas dngos ||
min yang sangs rgyas dngos nyid du ||
'bad pas²³⁸ bsgom²³⁹ pa de dag ni ||
lcags gong gser du bsgom²⁴⁰ dang mtshungs ||

|| 7.13 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
zhes gsungs de la sangs rgyas dngos ||
ma yin pa la yin pa ru ||
'bad pas bsgom pa ma lags te ||
lcags gong gser du bsgoms pa dang ||
rnam pa kun tu mi mtshungs te ||
'di la bla ma sangs rgyas dngos ||
yin par lung rigs kyis [496] grub pa'i ||
nges shes rnyed de dad pa yis ||
bsten na ci 'dod dngos grub kun ||
bla ma nyid las 'byung bar 'dod ||

|| 7.14 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
khyad par dus gsum gshegs bzhugs pa'i ||
sangs rgyas rnams la mchod pa'i sprin ||
dpag tu med pa²⁴¹ phul ba dang ||
bla ma'i ba spu gcig mchod pa ||
bsod nams snga mas phyi ma yi ||
brgya stong bye ba phrag mang po'i ||

²³⁷ sum] *emend.*, gsum C_{4a}C_{4b} ²³⁸ pas] B_aC_{1a}C_{1b}C_{4a}C_{4b}, bas B_b
²³⁹ bsgom] B_aB_bC_{1a}C_{1b}, sgom C_{4a}C_{4b} ²⁴⁰ bsgom] B_bC_{1b}C_{4a}C_{4b}, sgom
B_aC_{1a} ²⁴¹ pa] B_aB_bC_{1a}C_{1b}, par C_{4a}C_{4b}

- char yang nye ba²⁴² ma yin zhes ||
 gsungs pa'i dgongs pa gang yin 'dri ||
- || 7.15 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
 zhes gsungs bsod nams dpag med kyi ||
 'byung khungs rtsa ba'i bla ma ni ||
 gnas tshul ngos nas dus gsum gyi ||
 sangs rgyas kun dang mnyam na yang ||
 snang tshul ngos nas rang ngo la ||
 sangs rgyas kun las lhag pa yi ||
 bka' drin bdag nyid yin pa dang ||
 ma zad gzhan yang sangs rgyas kun ||
 bla ma dag las brten byung phyir ||
 ngo bo gcig pa'i gnad kyis kyang ||
 bla ma gcig la mchod pas na ||
 sangs rgyas thams cad ma mchod kyang ||
 don gyis mchod par 'gyur bar dgongs ||
- || 7.16 || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen:]
 so skye'i bshes gnyen lta zhog gi ||
 rang [497] rgyal brgya la chos²⁴³ ston ni ||
 phul ba de las bde gshegs sku ||
 ri mor bris pa mthong tsam gyi ||
 bsod nams mchog tu gyur par²⁴⁴ gsungs ||
- || 7.17 || [Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
 deng sang so skye'i bshes gnyen gyi ||
 mtshan nyid tsam yang mi ldan bzhin ||
 rdo rje 'chang du khas 'che ba ||
 kha cig re zhig btang snyoms zhog ||
- || 7.18 || tsan dan gser bas rin che yang ||
 de bsregs sol ba su yis len ||
 de 'dra de dag smos ci dgos ||
- || 7.19 || rang rgyal brgya la yon phul bas ||
 bde gshegs sku ris mthong tsam gyi ||
 bsod nams mchog gyur gsungs pa des ||
 bla mar mchod la mi gnod de ||
 skabs 'di'i bla ma rdzogs sangs rgyas ||

²⁴² ba] B_aB_bC_{1_a}C_{1_b}, bar C_{4_a}C_{4_b} ²⁴³ chos] B_aB_bC_{1_a}C_{1_b}, mchod C_{4_a}C_{4_b}

²⁴⁴ par] B_aC_{1_a}C_{1_b}C_{4_a}C_{4_b}, pa B_b

dngos dang khyad med 'dod pas so ||

[rJe Shākya-rin-chen and Commentary rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen:]
zhes phyag rgya chen po las brtsams pa'i dri tshig grub pa'i mdung
rnon zhes bya ba las ||
bla ma'i mos gus la dris pa'i lan zhus pa'i skabs²⁴⁵ te bdun pa'o ||

- || 8.I || [rJe Shākya-rin-chen's colophon:]
lhag bsam zla nya las 'dzag dri tshig gi ||
bdud rtsi'i zer ma phyogs brgyar spro ba 'di ||
rmongs chen tshad gdungs²⁴⁶ kun nas bcil²⁴⁷ ba dang ||
mkhas [498] blo'i ku mud 'dab brgya grol phyir yin ||
- || 8.II || snying po'i bstan 'dzin dwags²⁴⁸ po dkar brgyud²⁴⁹
kyi ||
lugs 'dzin bshes gnyen dam pa 'jig rten na ||
'tsho zhing bzhes²⁵⁰ pa gang dag mchis rnams kyis ||
dris lan²⁵¹ dri ma med pa'i bka' drin stsol ||
- || 8.III || rang gis²⁵² tshul bzhin mi shes rmongs pa'i khrod ||
nor phyir gdams pa 'tshong ba'i rgyu²⁵³ thabs
mkhan ||
chos brgyad smin ma'i²⁵⁴ khyud du²⁵⁵ gyen bteg pa ||
gang dag deng²⁵⁶ nas bag yod bya ba'i rigs ||
- || 8.IV || phyogs 'dir ngal ba cung zad bgyis pa yi ||
rab dkar bsod nams dngos po ci mchis pa ||
kun bzang mchod pa'i sprin du yongs dmigs nas ||
dkar brgyud²⁵⁷ bla ma'i tshogs kyis spyang sngar 'bul ||
- || 8.V || 'di mthus bdag kyang skye ba'i 'phreng²⁵⁸ kun tu ||
lta ngan g.yang du nam yang mi lung bar ||
chos rab rnam par 'byed pa'i mig thob ste ||
sems kyis rdo rje'i ltad mo mngon byed shog ||

²⁴⁵ dris pa'i lan zhus pa'i skabs] C_{4a}C_{4b}, dris pa'i skabs B_aB_b ²⁴⁶ tshad
gdungs] B_aB_b, tsha gdung C_{4a}C_{4b} ²⁴⁷ bcil] B_aB_b, bsal C_{4a} ²⁴⁸ dwags]
C_{4a}C_{4b}, dags B_aB_b ²⁴⁹ brgyud] C_{4a}C_{4b}, rgyud B_aB_b ²⁵⁰ bzhes] B_b, gzhes
B_aC_{4a}C_{4b} ²⁵¹ lan] B_bC_{4a}C_{4b}, len B_a ²⁵² gis] B_aC_{4a}C_{4b}, gi B_b ²⁵³ rgyu]
B_aB_b, sgyu C_{4a}C_{4b} ²⁵⁴ ma'i] B_aB_b, pa'i C_{4a}C_{4b} ²⁵⁵ khyud du] conj.,
khyung ru B_aB_bC_{4a}C_{4b} ²⁵⁶ deng] B_bC_{4a}C_{4b}, de B_a ²⁵⁷ brgyud] C_{4a}C_{4b},
rgyud B_aB_b ²⁵⁸ 'phreng] B_aB_b, phreng C_{4a}C_{4b}

[Compiler's colophon in rJe Shākya-rin-chen's root verses:]
ces dpal ldan 'brug pa'i ring lugs dri ma med pa 'dzin pa shākya'i
dge slong dpal shākya rin chen dri med legs ^[499] pa'i²⁵⁹ blo gros zhes
bya bas || thed gzhung sa'i thig ler²⁶⁰ shrī na landa'i gtsug lag khang
rgyan drug mkhas pa'i mdun sar sbyar ba dge'o²⁶¹ ||
sarba maṅga lam²⁶²

|| 8.VI || [rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's colophon:]
kun mkhyen bla ma shākya rin chen gyis ||
nges don seng ge'i gad brgyangs bsgrags pa'i tshe ||
dregs ldan gnyis 'thung can rnam lce phyung nas ||
mun pa'i nags su gab tshe dbugs 'byin mkhan ||
yon tan mtha' yas mnga' ba zla ba des ||
gsung lan bdud rtsi'i 'od dang chab cig par ||
grub lugs chos kyi rgya mtsho spel na yang ||
deng sang log spyod rdul gyis rnyog mthong nas ||
grung byed tshigs bcad ke ta ka yi phreng ||
lung rigs dpyid kyi pho nya'i mchus bteg ste ||
dpyod ldan blo yi mgul par slar sbyin gyis ||
drang don mya ngam thang du 'khyams rnam kyang ||
nges don gru char 'di yis yid gsos te ||
nang gi lam nas rdo rje mchog thob shog ||

|| 8.VII || ces thub dbang bla²⁶³ ma'i zhabs nas rang lugs 'dzin
pa'i dpyod ldan rnam kyi blo mig 'byed pa'i ched du
phyag ^[500] chen po las brtsams pa'i dris tshig zla ba'i
bdud rtsi bstsal bar mdzad kyang ||
deng sang char 'dod bya yi mgrin par chud dka' bar
mthong nas dka' gnad zab mo chud zos su mi 'gyur ba'i
phyir ||
kho bo dpyid kyi pho nya'i ku cog gis zhu lan dpyid
phyin par ma gyur kyang dge la 'dun pa'i lhag bsam
gyis rnam rtog gi sa bon tsam bkod pa dge legs su gyur
cig ||

²⁵⁹ legs pa'i] C4_a, *marg.* C4_b ²⁶⁰ ler] C4_aC4_b, le B_aB_b ²⁶¹ dge'o] C4_aC4_b,
dge B_aB_b ²⁶² sarba maṅga lam] B_aB_b, *om.*, C4_aC4_b ²⁶³ bla] C4_a, *marg.*
C4_b

Part III: Appendices

Appendix A: Facsimile Editions of the *Grub*
pa'i mdung rnon (B_a & B_b)

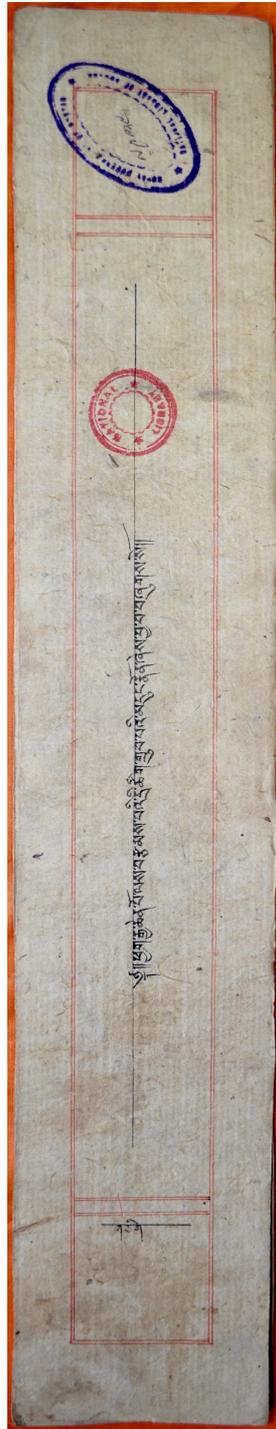


Figure 2: B_a, fol. 1r

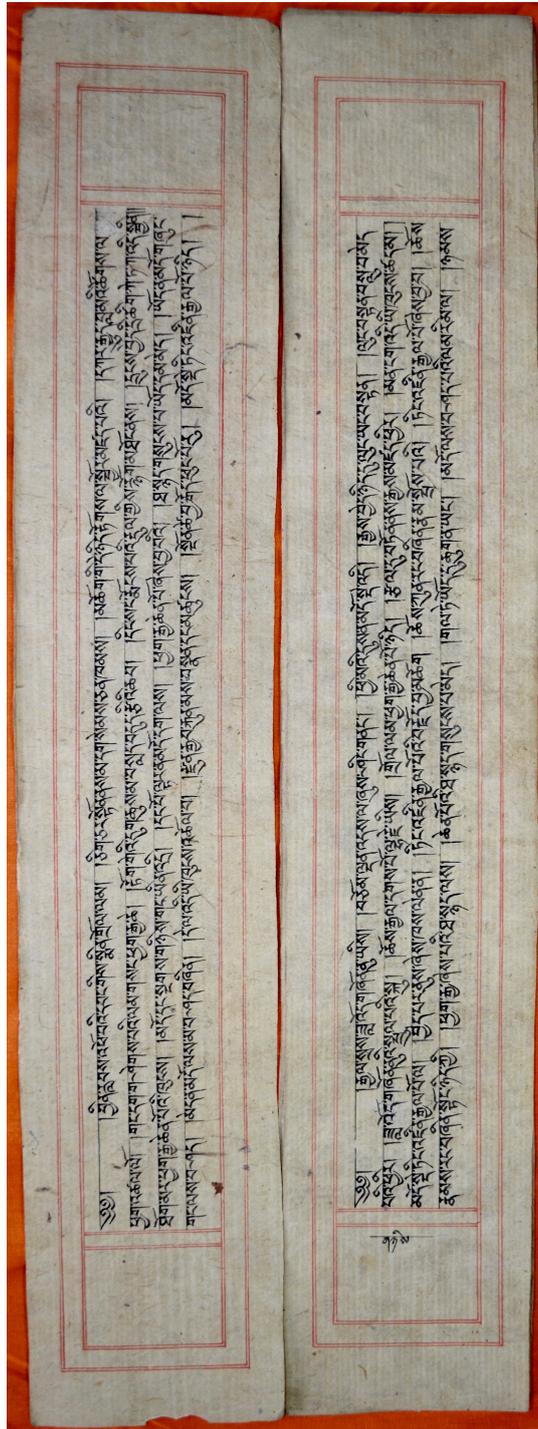


Figure 3: B_a, fols. 1v–2r

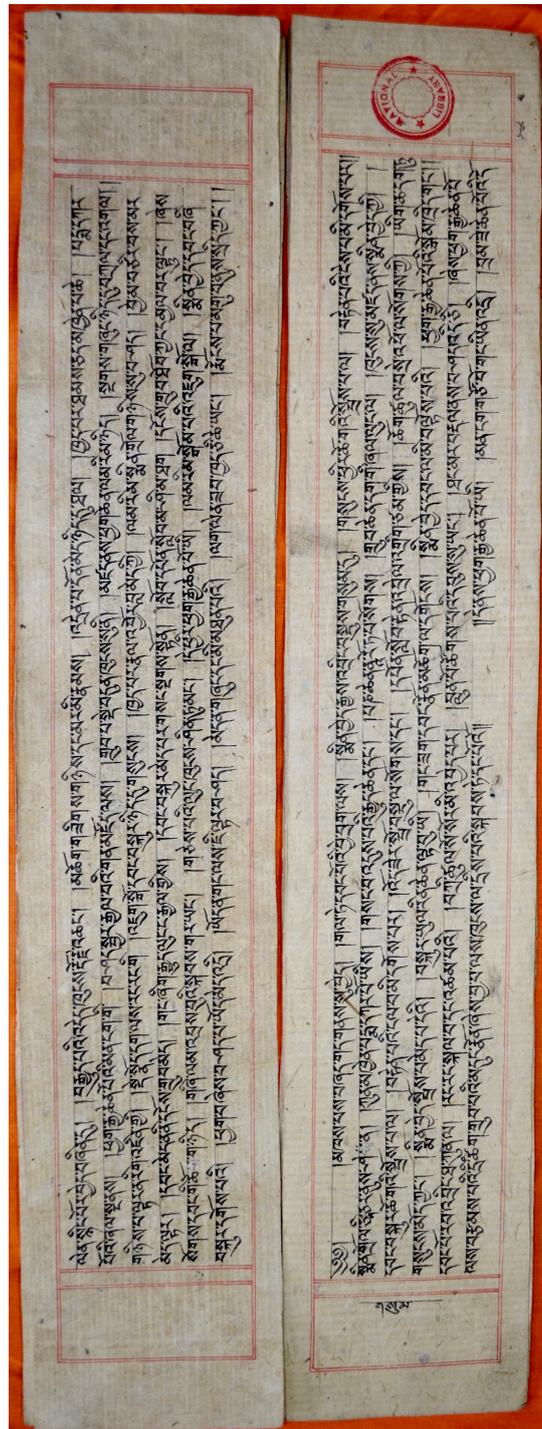


Figure 4: B_a, fols. 2v-3r

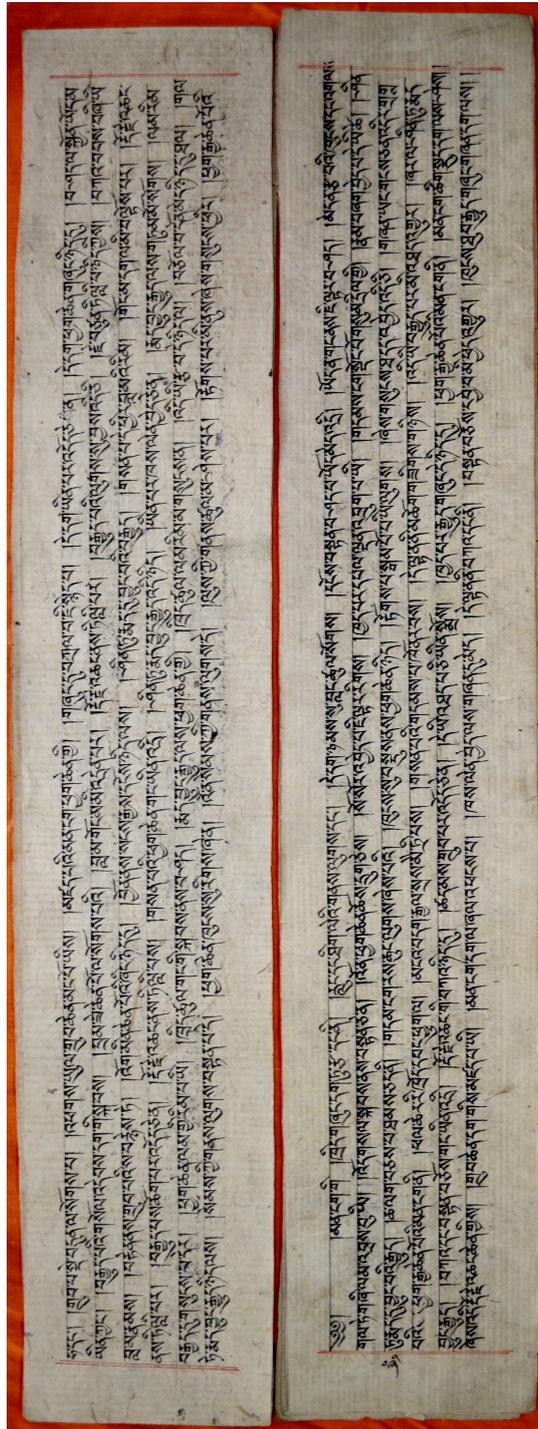


Figure 5: B₀, fols. 3v-4r

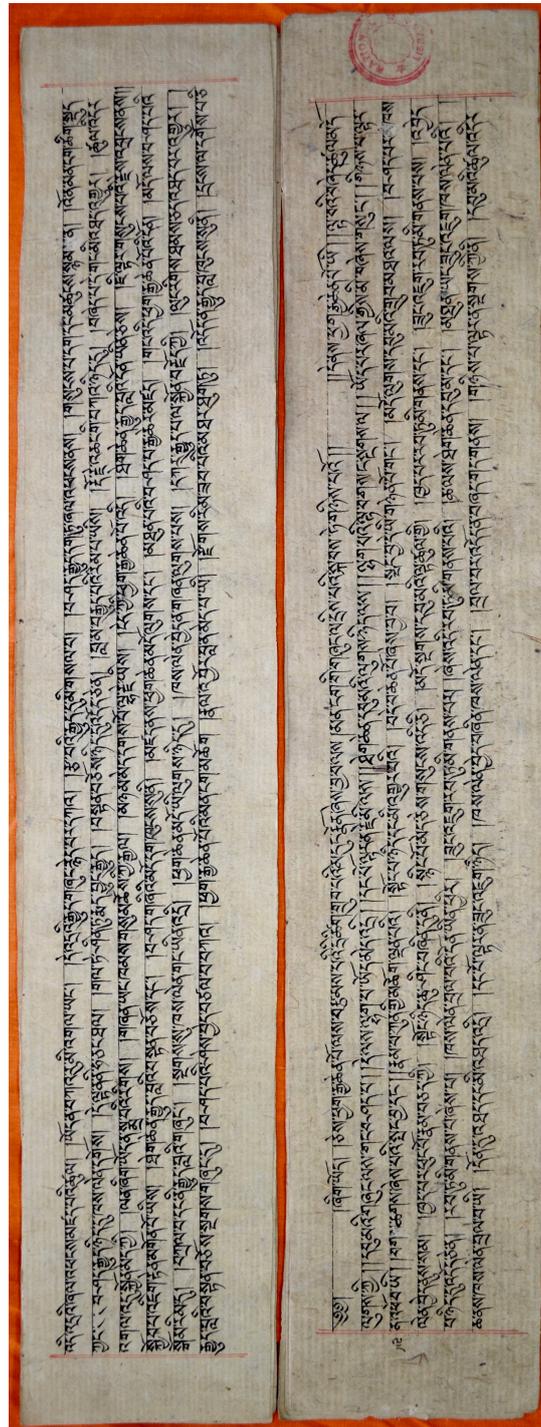


Figure 6: B_a, fols. 4v-5r

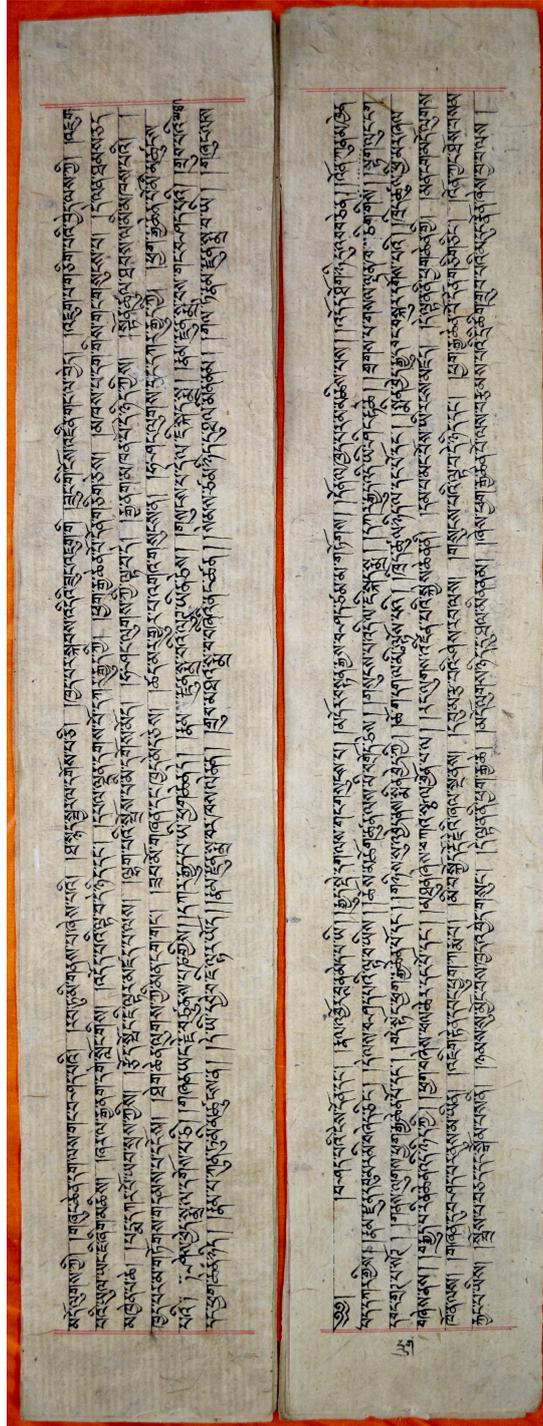


Figure 7: B_a, fols. 5v-6r

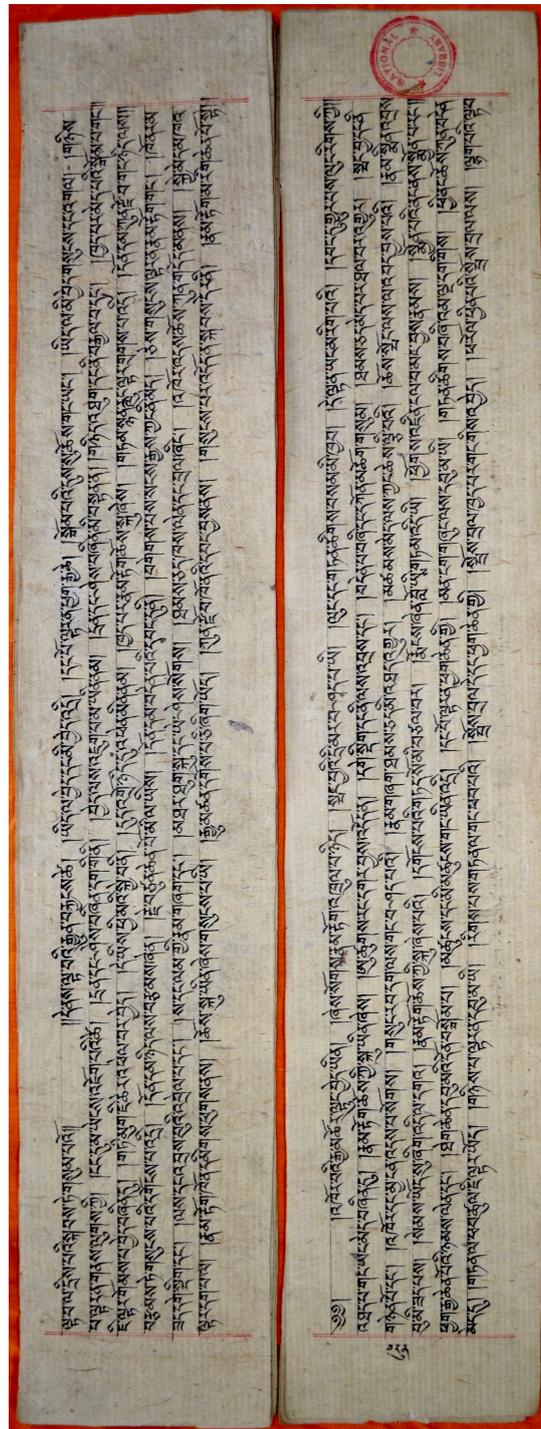


Figure 8: B_a, fols. 6v-7r

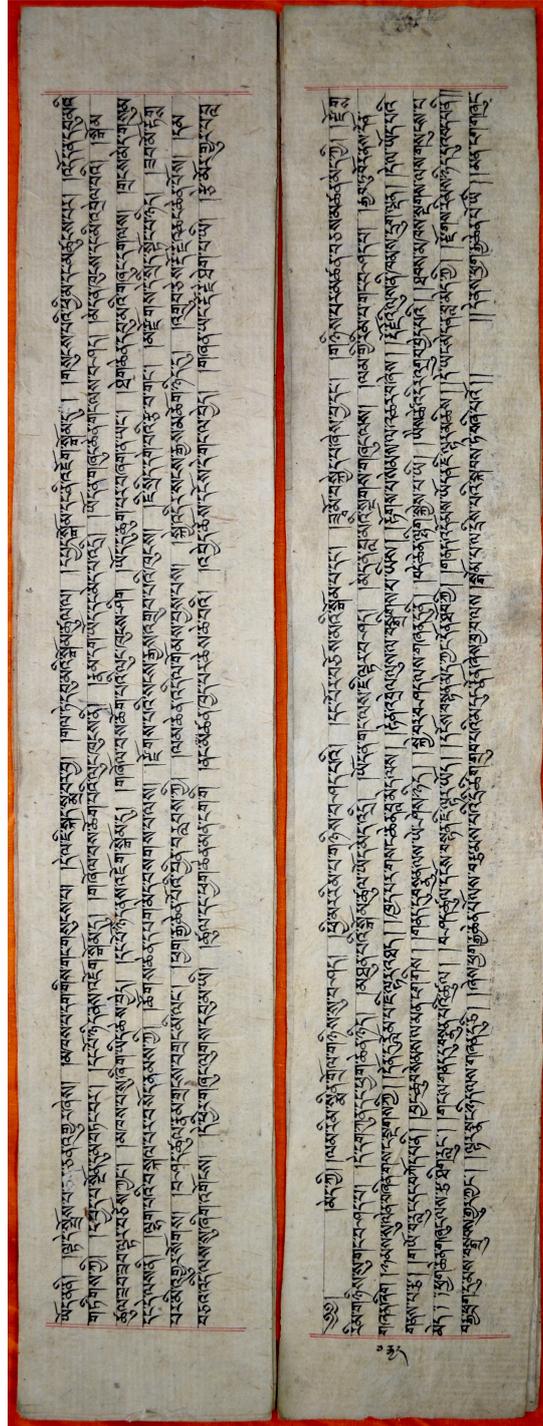


Figure 9: B_a, fols. 7v-8r

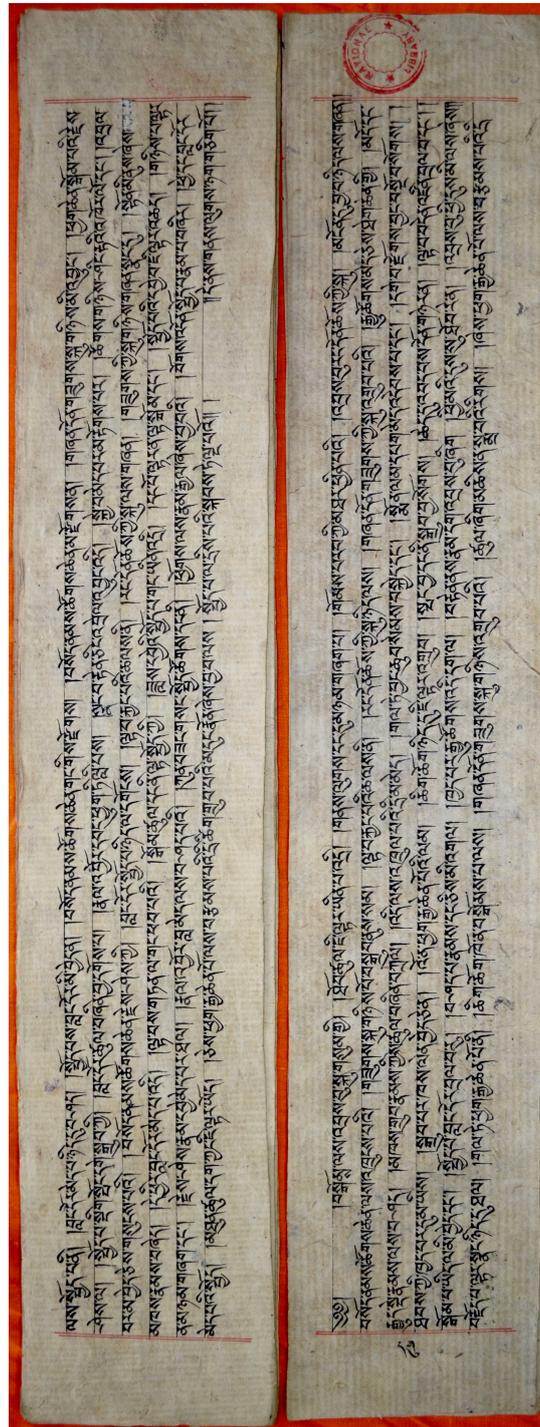


Figure 10: B_a, fols. 8v–9r

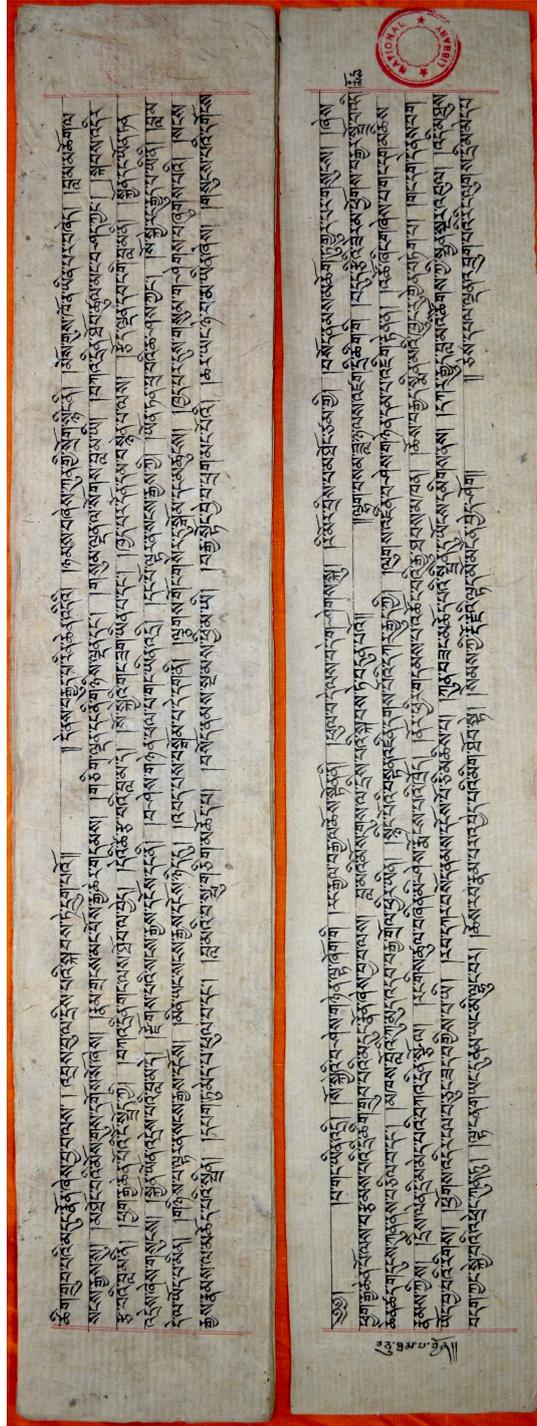


Figure 11: B₉, fols. 9v-10r

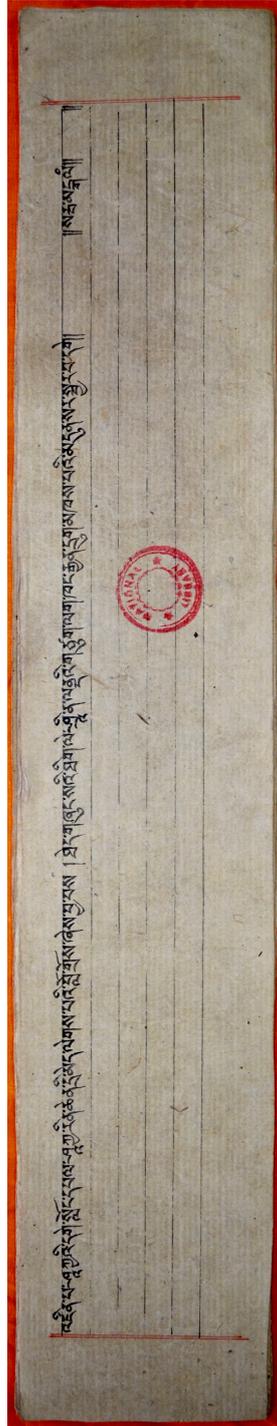


Figure 12: B_a, fol. 10v

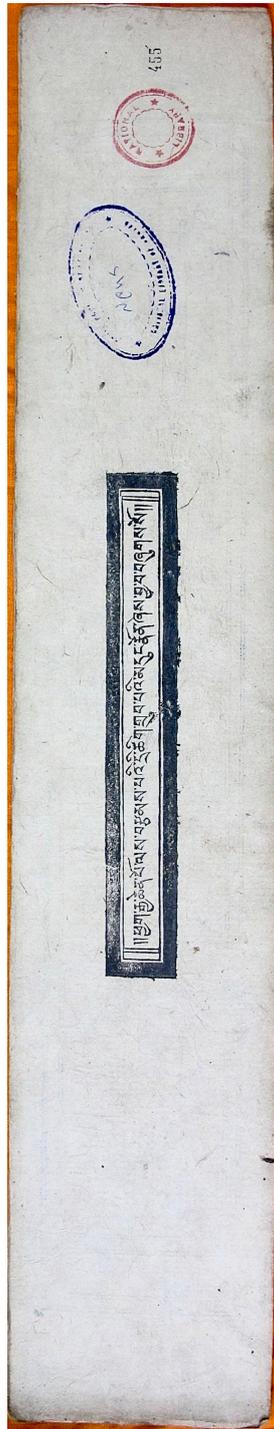


Figure 13: B_b, fol. 1r



Figure 14: B₆, fols. 1v-2r

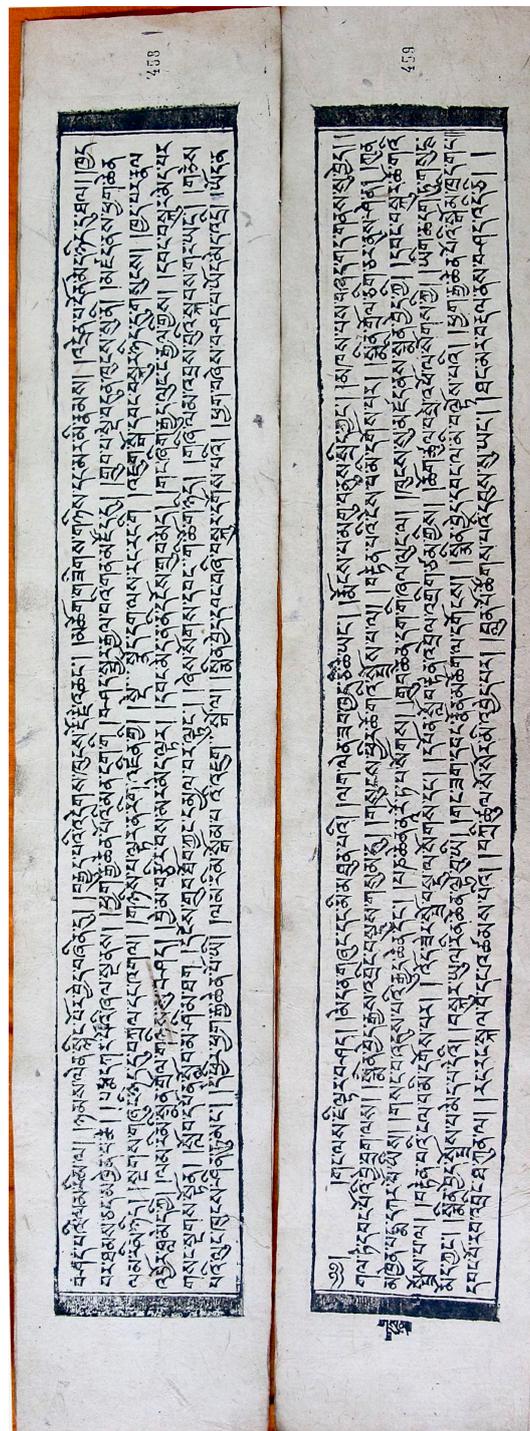


Figure 15: B_b, fols. 2v–3r

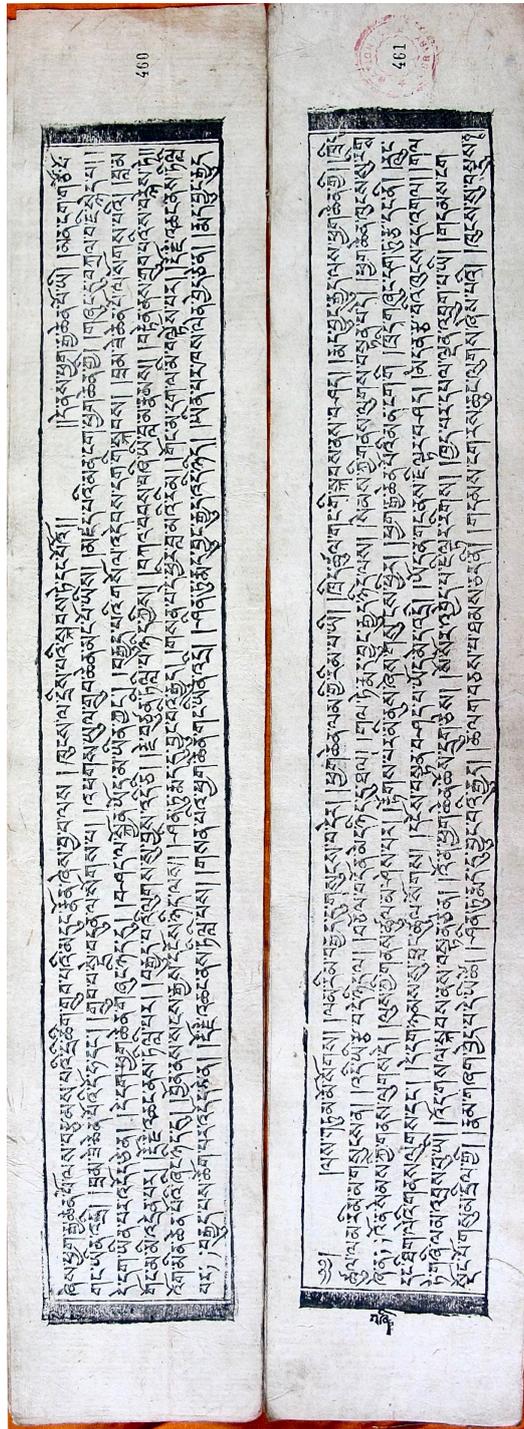


Figure 16: B₆, fols. 3v-4r

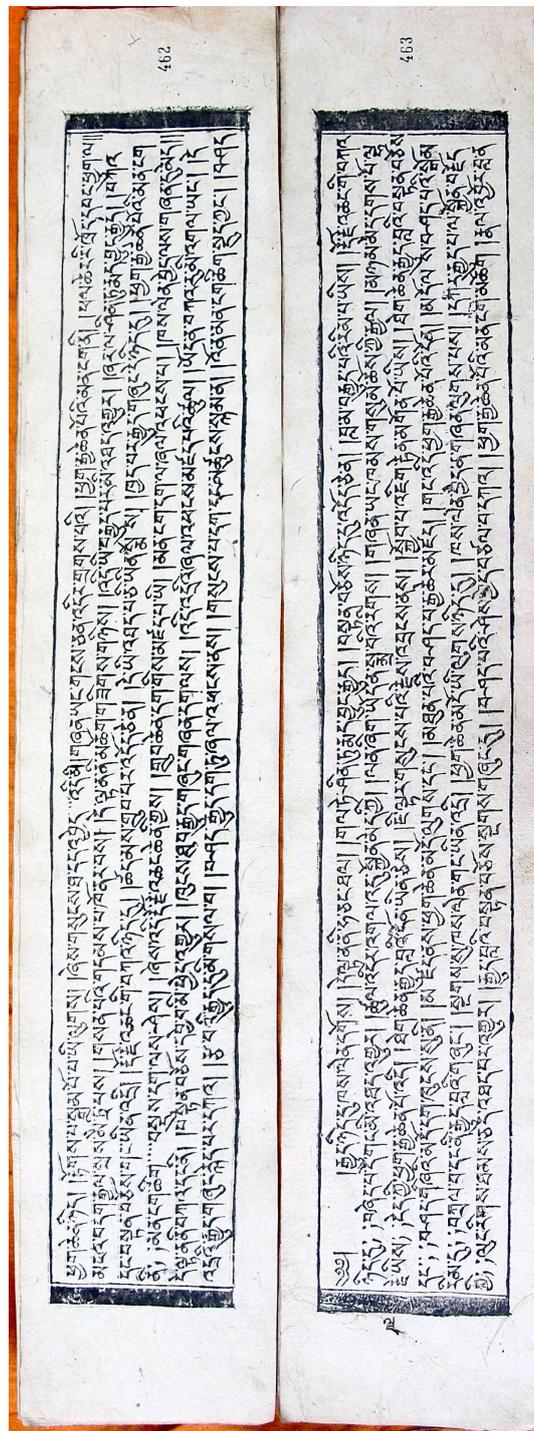


Figure 17: B_b, fols. 4v–5r

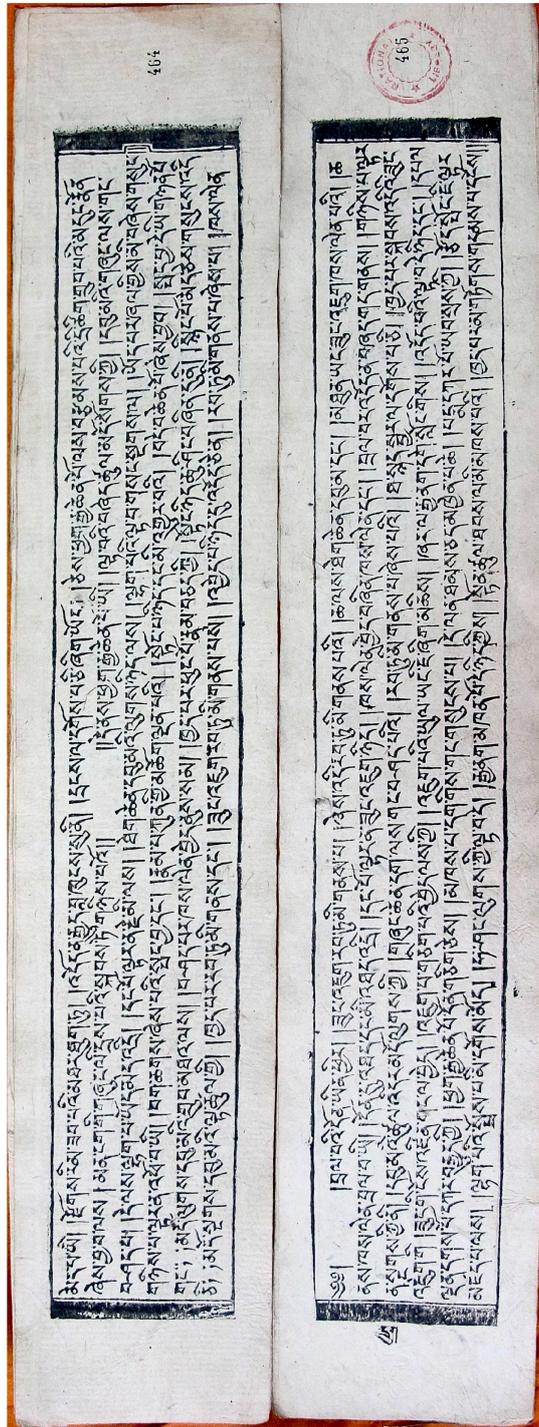


Figure 18: B₆, fols. 5v-6r

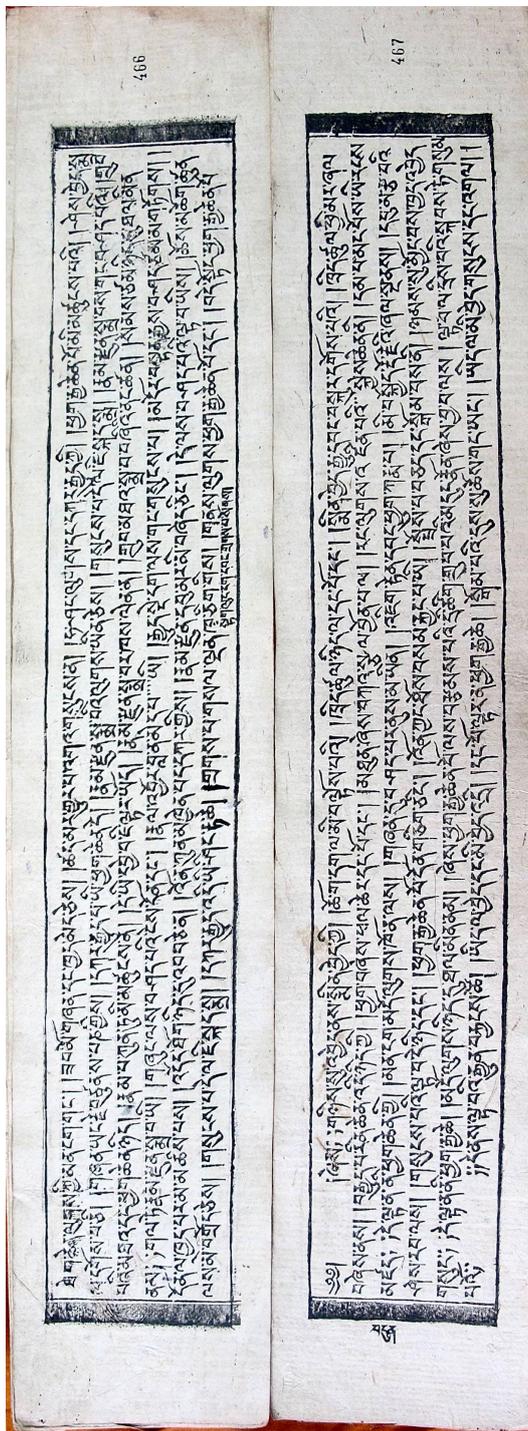


Figure 19: B_b, fols. 6v–7r

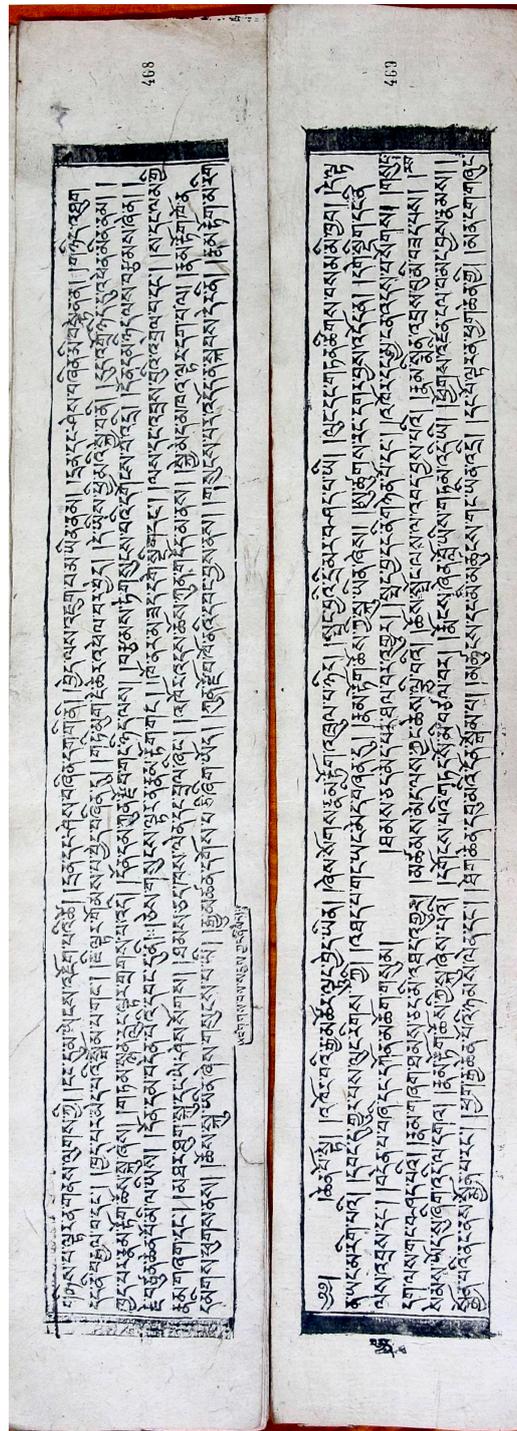


Figure 20: B₆, fols. 7v-8r



Figure 21: B_b, fols. 8v–9r

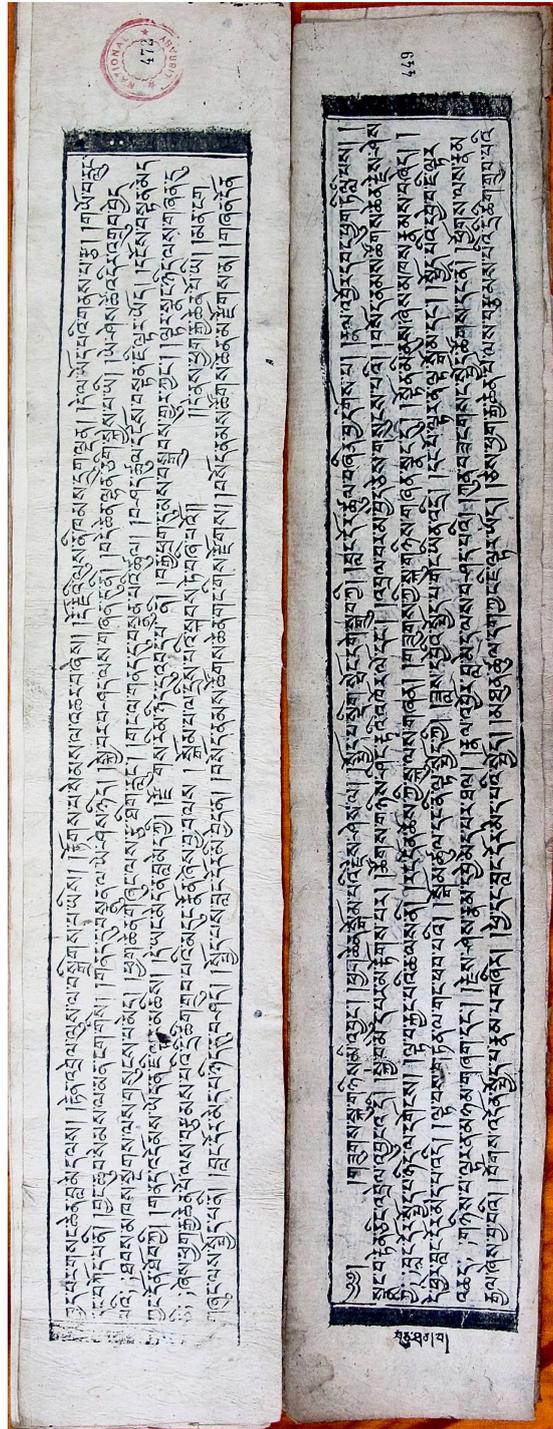


Figure 22: B₁, fols. 9v-10r

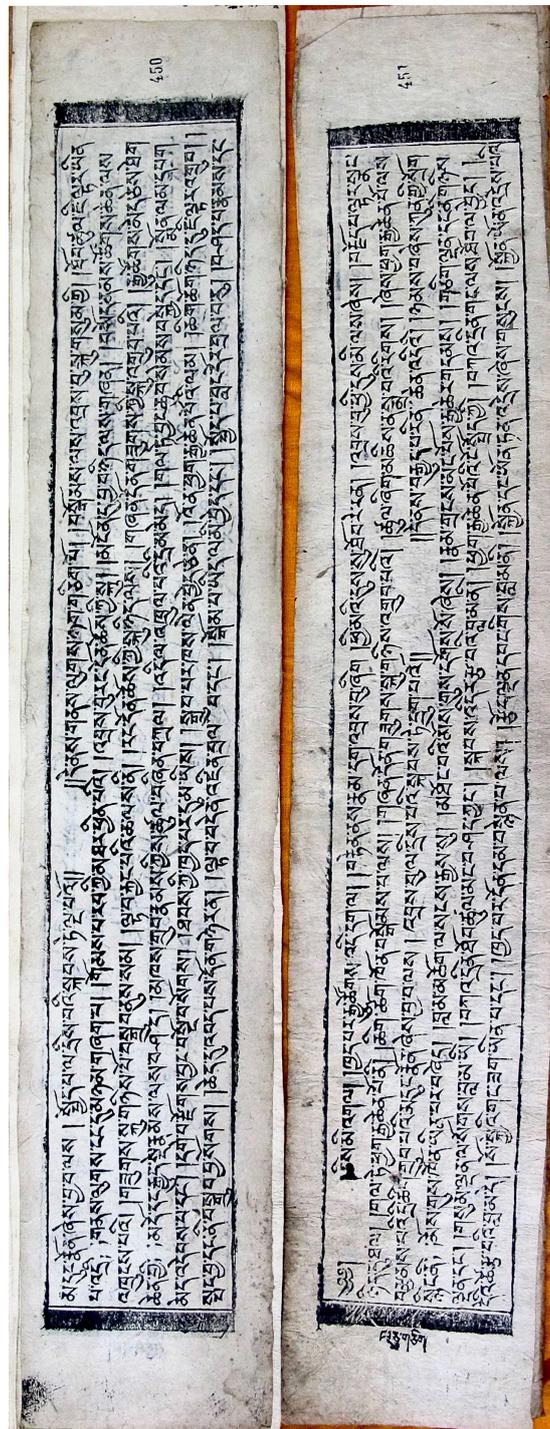


Figure 23: B_b, fols. 10v–11r

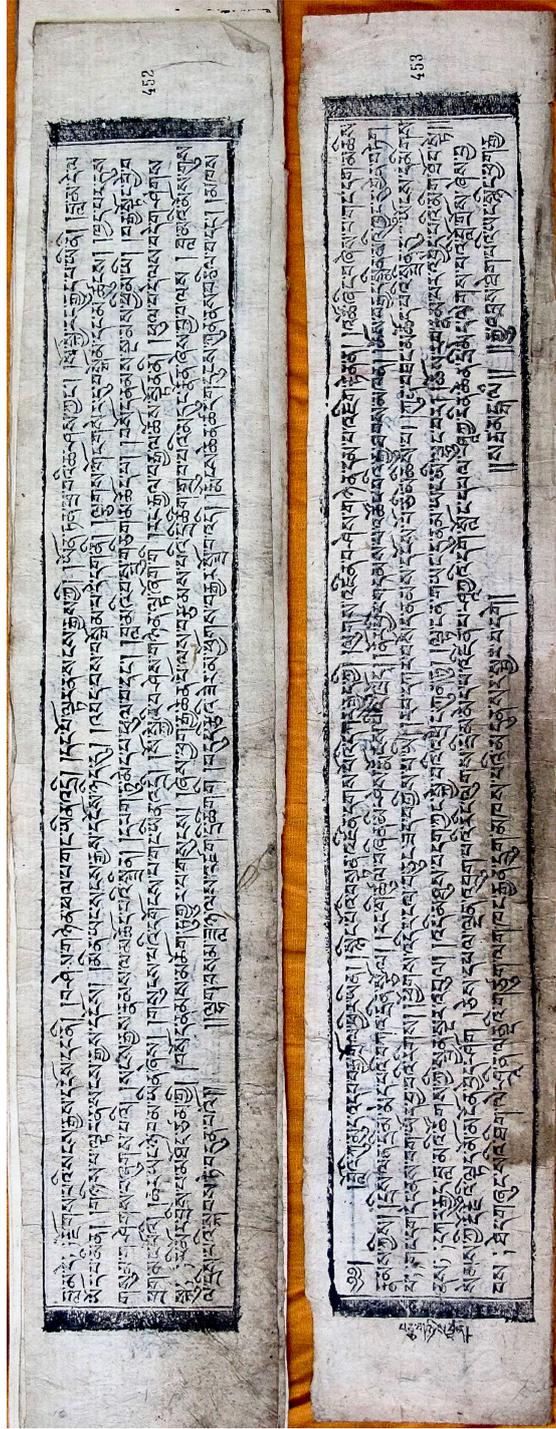


Figure 24: B₆, fols. 11v-12r

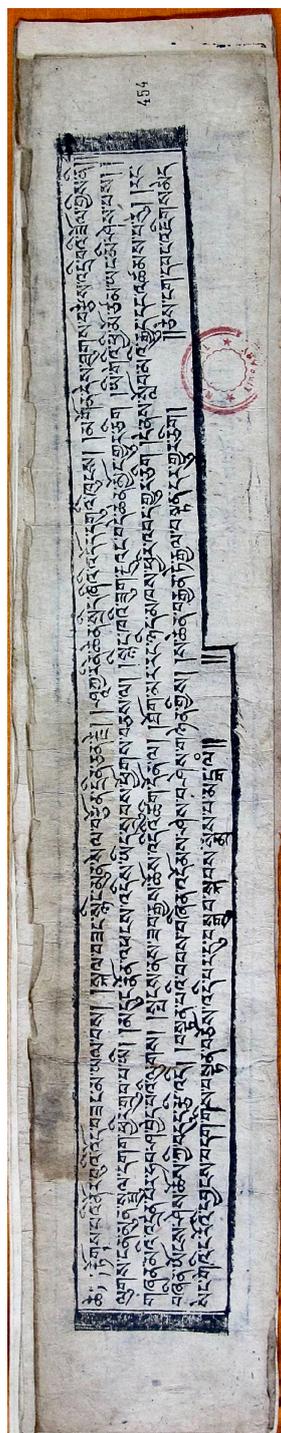


Figure 25: B_b, fol. 12v

Appendix B: Works in rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's *bKa' 'bum*

The following list of rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's works is based on the table of contents (*dkar chag*) in rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen, *dGe 'dun bka' 'bum* (vol. 1, pp. 5.1–14.4; 17.4–18.3).

Volume [*ka*] 1

No.	Entry Title	pp.
	<i>gSung 'bum phyogs bsdebs kyi dkar chag zla ba' khang bzang</i>	1–18
1	<i>ka Tha snyad brda dag gi bstan bcos ngo mtshar 'phrul gyi lde mig</i>	19–110
2	<i>kha De'i 'grel pa blo gsar byis pa'i 'jug ngogs</i>	111–238
3	<i>ga Ngag sgron gyi mchan 'grel</i>	239–360
4	<i>nga Sum cu pa dang rtags kyi 'jug pa'i don bsdus si tu'i dgongs rgyan</i>	361–390
5	<i>ca De'i 'grel pa byis pa'i rol mtsho</i>	391–526
6	<i>cha Dag yig ngag sgron gyi mgo rgyan dang sa bcad</i>	527–534
7	<i>ja Sum rtags si tu'i dgongs rgyan gyi sa bcad</i>	535–556
8	<i>nya Sum cu pa dang rtags kyi 'jug pa'i dris tshig dpyid kyi pho nya</i>	557–568
9	<i>ta Sum rtags spyi don mdor bsdus</i>	569–578
10	<i>tha sNyan ngag le'u bar pa'i dper brjod dbyangs can rgyud mangs</i>	579–620
11	<i>da Yig bskur rnam gzhaq blo gsar dga' skyed</i>	621–640

A Timely Message from the Cave

Volume [*kha*] 2

No.	Entry	Title	pp.
12	<i>ka</i>	<i>dBu ma la 'jug pa'i rnam bshad lta grub gsal byed</i>	1–281
13	<i>kha</i>	<i>sDom gsum rgyan gyi mchan 'grel pad dkar zhal lung</i>	283–513
14	<i>ga</i>	<i>Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i tshig don rnam par bshad pa rin chen sgron me</i>	515–779

Volume [*ga*] 3

No.	Entry	Title	pp.
15	<i>ka</i>	<i>bShes spring mchan 'grel lung gi gter md-zod</i>	1–87
16	<i>kha</i>	<i>dBu ma'i bsdus don gyi rtsa ba lta ba'i me long</i>	89–98
17	<i>ga</i>	<i>De'i 'grel pa gsal byed lung gi phreng ba</i>	99–225
18	<i>nga</i>	<i>Shes rab snying po'i rnam bshad yang dag lta ba'i mig</i>	227–256
19	<i>ca</i>	<i>sTon pa'i mdzad bcu'i don gsal</i>	257–299
20	<i>cha</i>	<i>dPal ye shes yon tan bzang pos bstod pa gang blo ma'i rnam bshad</i>	301–312
21	<i>ja</i>	<i>sKyabs 'gro sems bskyed kyi spyi don</i>	313–359
22	<i>nya</i>	<i>Phyi nang grub mtha'i rnam gzhas</i>	361–413
23	<i>ta</i>	<i>Phyi nang lta grub kyi khyad par</i>	415–436
24	<i>tha</i>	<i>sPyod 'jug gi mtshan don</i>	437–449
25	<i>da</i>	<i>sPyod 'jug mchod brjod kyi tshig 'grel</i>	451–465
26	<i>na</i>	<i>sPyod 'jug sher le'i rtsod spong</i>	467–516
27	<i>pa</i>	<i>dBu ma 'jug pa'i mgo rgyan</i>	517–539
28	<i>pha</i>	<i>rGyal sras lag len gyi mgo rgyan dang sa bcad</i>	541–547
29	<i>ba</i>	<i>bShes spring mgo rgyan dang sa bcad</i>	549–570
30	<i>ma</i>	<i>dGe 'dun gso sbyong gi phyag len</i>	571–603
31	<i>tsa</i>	<i>Byang sdom len chog</i>	605–619

Appendix B: Works in rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's *bKa' 'bum*

32	<i>tsha</i>	<i>sMyung gnas kyi gso sbyong len chog</i>	621–635
33	<i>dza</i>	<i>bShes gnyen bsten tshul</i>	637–659
34	<i>wa</i>	<i>Theg pa rim dgu'i sdom tshig</i>	661–673
35	<i>zha</i>	<i>bDen bzhi'i rnam gzhaq</i>	675–682
36	<i>za</i>	<i>mTha' drug tshul bzhi'i zin bris mdo rgyud gnad kyi lde mig dang swa bha wa'i zin bris</i>	683–701
37	<i>'a</i>	<i>dBu ma la 'jug pa'i sa bcad gzhung don legs par phye ba'i lde mig</i>	703–770
38	<i>ya</i>	<i>Byams chos sde lnga'i spyi don nyung ngu'i ngag gi brjod pa skal bzang yid kyi mun sel sgron me</i>	771–778

Volume [*nga*] 4

No.	Entry	Title	pp.
39	<i>ka</i>	<i>rGyud kyi rgyal po dpal brtag pa gnyis pa'i tshig don rnam par bshad pa man ngag gi mdzod</i>	1–663
40	<i>kha</i>	<i>dGyes rdor lha dgu'i dkyil chog nag 'gros su bkod pa</i>	665–767
41	<i>ga</i>	<i>dGyes rdor tshogs mchod</i>	769–770

Volume [*ca*] 5

No.	Entry	Title	pp.
42	<i>ka</i>	<i>bDe mchog rtsa rgyud kyi 'grel pa pad dkar zhal lung</i>	1–452
43	<i>kha</i>	<i>bDe mchog rab gnas rgyas pa rgyud lung man ngag gi bang mdzod</i>	453–627
44	<i>ga</i>	<i>Rab gnas 'bring po yan lag bzhi pa'i zin bris</i>	629–691
45	<i>nga</i>	<i>Rab gnas shin tu bsdus pa</i>	693–708
46	<i>ca</i>	<i>bDe mchog rab gnas yan lag bzhi pa sta gon dang bcas pa bklag chog tu bkod pa</i>	709–837

A Timely Message from the Cave

- 47 *cha* *Zhi rgyas dbang drag gi sbyin sreg hom mchod dang bcas pa* 839–925

Volume [*cha*] 6

No.	Entry Title	pp.
48	<i>ka</i> <i>Chos rje kun dga' legs pa'i rnam thar grub pa'i rtogs brjod</i>	1–219
49	<i>kha</i> <i>Dag snang ma'i rtsa phab dang las byang 'chi med mchog sbyin</i>	221–271
50	<i>ga</i> <i>dBang bshad 'chi med rnga sgra</i>	273–324
51	<i>nga</i> <i>Tshe dbang brgya rtsa'i zur 'don</i>	325–338
52	<i>ca</i> <i>bKa' bsgo rdo rje'i go khrab</i>	339–343
53	<i>cha</i> <i>Las bzhi phrin las sgrub pa'i rim pa</i>	345–354
54	<i>ja</i> <i>Bla ma'i rnal 'byor thun mong ma yin pa'i nyams len</i>	355–386
55	<i>nya</i> <i>Phyag rdzogs gnyis kyi dmigs khrid tshigs bcad ma sogs</i>	387–399
56	<i>ta</i> <i>gSang sngags dris tshig gnam gyi nga ro</i>	401–438
57	<i>tha</i> <i>Phyag chen dris tshig grub pa'i mdung rnon gyi zhu len</i>	439–500
58	<i>da</i> <i>sNgags kyi spyi don rgyud sde'i rnam gzhaq</i>	501–524
59	<i>na</i> <i>Bla ma'i rnal 'byor rgyun khyer sogs</i>	525–536
60	<i>pa</i> <i>Tshe'i ril sgrub bya tshul</i>	537–546
61	<i>pha</i> <i>Khri 'don mnga' gsol gyi cho ga</i>	547–566
62	<i>ba</i> <i>Char 'bebs bdud rtsi bum bzang</i>	567–593
63	<i>ma</i> <i>Bla blu 'chi med tshe bcud</i>	595–621
64	<i>tsa</i> <i>'Gro ba'i mgon po gtsang pa rgya ras la brten pa'i bla sgrub thun mong ma yin pa</i>	623–644
65	<i>tsha</i> <i>'Gro ba'i mgon po'i bla sgrub kyi dbang bskur bya tshul</i>	645–665
66	<i>dza</i> <i>Bla sgrub rgyun khyer phyogs bsdus</i>	667–683
67	<i>wa</i> <i>Bla ma'i gsol 'debs phyogs bsdus</i>	685–693
68	<i>zha</i> <i>So thar sdom rgyun gyi gsol 'debs dri za'i phang 'gro</i>	695–704

Appendix B: Works in rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's *bKa' 'bum*

69	<i>za</i>	<i>gSol 'debs 'jig dbang ma'i 'bru 'grel</i>	705–724
70	<i>'a</i>	<i>Bla ma rgyang 'bod kyi rim pa</i>	725–734
71	<i>ya</i>	<i>Kun bzang bla ma'i zhal lung gi mtshan don</i>	735–754
72	<i>ra</i>	<i>Bla ma drag po'i las byang gi yan lag bdun pa dang mchod pa'i zin bris</i>	755–768
73	<i>la</i>	<i>Bla ma chod rab gnas yan lag bzhi pa sta gon dang bcas pa bklag chog tu bkod pa</i>	769–853
74	<i>sha</i>	<i>Tshe dpag med rab gnas yan lag bzhi pa sta gon dang bcas pa bklag chog tu bkod pa</i>	855–917

Volume [*ja*] 7

No.	Entry	Title	pp.
75	<i>ka</i>	<i>Phur pa'i sgrub khog bklag chog ma</i>	1–204
76	<i>kha</i>	<i>Phur pa'i rab gnas zin bris bklag chog ma</i>	205–250
77	<i>ga</i>	<i>Phur pa drag po'i sbyin sreg gi chog sgrigs</i>	251–291
78	<i>nga</i>	<i>Phur pa las bzhi'i sbyin sreg</i>	293–359
79	<i>ca</i>	<i>lHag pa'i lha 'ga' shas kyi rgyun khyer phyogs bsdus</i>	361–382
80	<i>cha</i>	<i>'Brug lugs drag po gsum dril gyi sgrub thabs</i>	383–391
81	<i>ja</i>	<i>'Jam dbyangs smra ba'i seng ge'i sgrub thabs</i>	393–411
82	<i>nya</i>	<i>rNam 'joms ma'i byab khrus</i>	413–427
83	<i>ta</i>	<i>Mi 'khrugs pa'i rus chog dang bum gter sgrub chog</i>	429–432
84	<i>tha</i>	<i>bSangs gsur thun mong gi mchod pa</i>	433–439
85	<i>da</i>	<i>sGrol ljang gi rgyun khyer</i>	441–446
86	<i>na</i>	<i>mGon po'i bsnyen yig bka' rgya ma</i>	447–477
87	<i>pa</i>	<i>Kun mkhyen punḍa ri ka'i zil mngar mgon po lha mang las byang gi 'grel pa kha thor phyogs bsdus</i>	479–537
88	<i>pha</i>	<i>mGon po'i rkang brgyad kyi 'grel pa</i>	539–551
89	<i>ba</i>	<i>lHa mo'i las mtha' bskul byang rgyas pa</i>	553–570

A Timely Message from the Cave

90	<i>ma</i>	<i>lHa mo'i rten 'bul sogs</i>	571–578
91	<i>tsa</i>	<i>Dam can rgya mtsho'i mchod sprin bsdus pa</i>	579–611
92	<i>tsha</i>	<i>rTsa gsum chos skyong rgya mtsho'i gser skyems</i>	613–626
93	<i>dza</i>	<i>sNgags srung ma'i gsol bsdus ma brgya ma sogs</i>	627–631
94	<i>wa</i>	<i>bsTan srung dam can rgya mtsho'i gtor 'bul</i>	633–650
95	<i>zha</i>	<i>gZhi bdag gi cho ga dang mnga' gsol sogs</i>	651–664
96	<i>za</i>	<i>mGon po'i gtor bsngo shin tu bsdus pa dang bskang bsdus sogs</i>	665–672
97	<i>'a</i>	<i>Tshe ring ma'i pra sgrub</i>	673–674
98	<i>ya</i>	<i>mGon po'i tshogs bsdus kyi 'grel pa</i>	675–684
99	<i>ra</i>	<i>Tshogs glu dang mgur ma sogs</i>	685–691
100	<i>la</i>	<i>dPal 'khor lo sdom pa'i rgyun khyer</i>	693–695

Volume [*nya*] 8

No.	Entry	Title	pp.
101	<i>ka</i>	<i>lHo'i chos 'byung blo gsar rna ba'i rgyan</i>	1–432
102	<i>kha</i>	<i>'Brug lugs kyi bstan rtsis kun gsal me long</i>	433–474
103	<i>ga</i>	<i>Chos bshad spyi la 'jug pa'i blo sbyong lung gi phreng ba</i>	475–514
104	<i>nga</i>	<i>rTen gsum rab tu gnas pa'i chos bshad</i>	515–532
105	<i>ca</i>	<i>Maṇḍala phun tshogs lnga ldan gyi bshad pa</i>	533–548
106	<i>cha</i>	<i>Thim rdzong bdag cag gi ston pa gsar du bzhengs pa'i dkar chag zla ba'i khang bzang</i>	549–562
107	<i>ja</i>	<i>dBang rdzong mthong grol gyi dkar chag mthong ba don ldan</i>	563–578
108	<i>nya</i>	<i>Ma ṅi dang badzra gur ru'i bzlas lung gi chos bshad</i>	579–586
109	<i>ta</i>	<i>gShin po lam bstan gyi chos bshad</i>	587–598

Appendix B: Works in rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen's *bKa' 'bum*

110	<i>tha</i>	<i>Badzra gu ru'i dung 'khor gyi phan yon</i>	599–608
111	<i>da</i>	<i>dGe slong sgom chen gnyis kyi 'bel gtam</i>	609–622
112	<i>na</i>	<i>dBen pa'i yon tan la bsngags pa bse ru'i gtam</i>	623–634
113	<i>pa</i>	<i>'Chams khang gi tshogs gtam dus las yol ba med pa'i rnga sgra</i>	635–654
114	<i>pha</i>	<i>Blo ldan chos la bskul ba'i bslab bya</i>	655–678
115	<i>ba</i>	<i>Gros 'debs snying gi thur ma dang dben pa'i nyams len la bskul ba'i dbyug gu sogs</i>	679–692
116	<i>ma</i>	<i>Slob bu chos la bskul ba'i bslab bya ka phreng ma sogs</i>	693–700
117	<i>tsa</i>	<i>bsNgo ba'i yon bshad legs byas dge ba'i shing rta</i>	701–714
118	<i>tsha</i>	<i>bsNgo ba'i rim pa kha shas</i>	715–722
119	<i>dza</i>	<i>Ma gcig bstan pa rgyas pa'i smon lam</i>	723–728
120	<i>wa</i>	<i>bDe mchog smon lam</i>	729–730
121	<i>zha</i>	<i>sDom gsum smon lam rnam grol lam bzang sa bcad dang bcas pa</i>	731–742
122	<i>za</i>	<i>dPal ldan 'brug pa'i bstan pa rgyas pa'i smon lam sa bcad dang bcas pa</i>	743–752

Volume [*ta*] 9

No.	Entry	Title	pp.
123	<i>ka</i>	<i>dPal 'brug pa rin po che mthu chen chos kyi rgyal po ngag dbang rnam rgyal gyi rnam thar rgya mtsho'i snying po</i>	pp. unknown

Volume [*tha*] 10

No.	Entry	Title	pp.
124	<i>ka</i>	<i>'Phags pa 'jam dpal gyi mtshan yang dag par brjod pa'i man ngag gsal byed sgron me</i>	1–200

A Timely Message from the Cave

125	<i>kha</i>	<i>Bla ma drag po kī la ya'i bsnyen sgrub las sbyor chig sgril gyi man ngag bklag chog tu bkod pa dngos grub gter mdzod</i>	201–276
126	<i>ga</i>	<i>dPal mo'i lugs kyi smyung gnas kyi cho ga gzhan phan thugs rje'i lcags kyu la</i>	277–336
127	<i>nga</i>	<i>dPal ye shes kyi mgon po'i las mtha' drag po'i sbyin sreg bklag mchog tu bkod pa bstan dgra tshar gcod</i>	337–372
128	<i>ca</i>	<i>dByangs ma'i tshogs gtam skal bzang rna ba'i bcud len</i>	373–386
		<i>dPar byang smon tshig</i>	387–388

Abbreviations and Bibliography

(a) Journals, Collections, Series, and Other

- AKTBS Arbeitskreis für tibetische und buddhistische Studien, Universität Wien.
- BBS Bhutan Broadcasting Service, Thimphu.
- BDRC Buddhist Digital Resource Center.
- BST Buddhist Sanskrit Texts.
- CIHTS Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, Sarnath, Varanasi.
- D *sDe dge bka'-'gyur* and *bsTan 'gyur*. Numeration according to Hakuju Ui *et al.* (eds.). *A complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons (Bkaḥ-ḥgyur and Bstan-ḥgyur)*. Sendai: Tōhoku Imperial University, 1934.
- EAP British Library Endangered Archives Project.
- EAW *East and West*, IsIAO.
- IIBS International Institute for Buddhist Studies.
- IITBS International Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies.
- IJBS *The Indian International Journal of Buddhist Studies*.
- IsIAO The Istituto Italiano per l’Africa e l’Oriente, Rome.
- JBS *Journal of Bhutan Studies*.
- JIABS *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*.
- JICPBS *Journal of the International College for Postgraduate Buddhist Studies*.
- JTS *Journal of the Tibet Society*.
- LTWS Library of Tibetan Works & Archives, Dharamshala.
- MSLITK Monographien zu den Sprachen und Literaturen des indotibetischen Kulturraumes, Michael Hahn (ed.). Bonn: Indica et Tibetica Verlag.

A Timely Message from the Cave

- P Peking edition of the *bKa' 'gyur* and *bsTan' gyur*. Numeration according to Daisetz T. Suzuki (ed.), *The Tibetan Tripitaka. Peking Edition: Catalogue & Index*. Reduced-size edition. Kyoto: Rinsen Book Co., 1985.
- RET* Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines.
- SOAS University of London, School of Oriental and African Studies.
- SUNY State University of New York Press, New York.
- T *sTog bka' 'gyur*. Numeration according to Tadeusz Skorupski, *A Catalogue of the sTog Palace Kanjur*. Bibliographia Philologica Buddhica Series Maior 4. Tokyo: IBS, 1985.
- WSTB Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde. Vienna: Arbeitskreis für tibetische und buddhistische Studien, University of Vienna.
- WZKS *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens und Archiv für indische Philosophie*.
- ZAS Zentralasiatische Studien.

(b) Primary Tibetan Sources

- Kaḥ thog
gsung 'bum* Kaḥ-thog-rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang-nor-bu, *Kaḥ
thog rdo rje gdan gyi rig 'dzin chen po tshe
dbang nor bu'i zhabs kyi gsung 'bum*. 6 vols. Dal-
housie: Damchoe Sangpo, 1976–1977 [BDRC:
W29688].
- Kun dga'
bka' 'bum* 'Brug-chen (2nd) rGyal-dbang Kun-dga'-dpal-
'byor, *rGyal dbang rje kun dga' dpal 'byor gyi
bka' 'bum*. 2 vols. Darjeeling: Kargyud Sungrab
Nyamso Khang, 1982 [BDRC: W10954].
- Kun dga'
zlos gar* rJe-mkhan-po (9th) Shākya-rin-chen, *Shākya'i
dge sbyong shākya'i ming gis mtshon pa bdag
nyid lha ldan 'phrul gyi gtsug lag khang chen
por phyin pa'i gtam lha mi kun tu dga' ba'i zlos
gar sdeb*. In *Shāk rin gsung 'bum*, vol. 6, pp.
201–254.
- Kun bla
zhal lung* rDza-dpal-sprul O-rgyan-'jigs-med-chos-kyi-
dbang-po, *sNyīng thig sngon 'gro'i khrid yig
kun bzang bla ma'i zhal lung*. 1 vol. sMin-
grol-ling: dGa'-dpon-blo-bzang-don-grub, [19th
century] [BDRC: W22270].
- Kun rmongs
blo tshim* Dre'u-lhas-sprul-sku (2nd) Grub-dbang Kun-
dga'-mi-'gyur-rdo-rje, *Nges don phyag rgya chen
po'i skor las brtsams pa'i dri tshig grub pa'i
mdung rnon gyi lan du gsol ba kun rmongs rang
blo tshim byed ces bya ba grub dbang rin po ches
mdzad pa*.
- C3_a: [Dre'u-lhas], [1765]. Location: Na-
tional Library and Archives of Bhutan,
Thimphu, fols. 1–24.
 - C3_b: In *rDzong gsar dpe rnying*, vol. 168,
pp. 219–274.
 - C3_c: In *'Brug lugs mdzod*, vol. 43, pp.
283–348.
 - C3_d: In *'Brug phyogs bsdebs*, vol. 2, pp.
195–270.

A Timely Message from the Cave

- Klan ka gzhom gtam* 'Brug-chen (4th) Kun-mkhyen Padma-dkar-po, *Klan ka gzhom pa'i gtam*. In *Pad dkar gsung 'bum*, vol. 21, pp. 553–604.
- dKar chag me tog* 'Brug-chen (2nd) rGyal-dbang Kun-dga'-dpal-'byor, *dKar chag tshig gi me tog*. In *rGyal dbang gsung 'bum*, vol. 2, pp. 339–354.
- dKon cog 'grel* Rong-zom Chos-kyi-bzang-po, *rGyud rgyal gsang ba snying po dkon cog 'grel*. In *Rong zom gsung 'bum*, vol. 1, pp. 31–250.
- bKa' rgyud grub mtha'* Khro-ru Tshe-rnam, *bKa' rgyud pa'i grub mtha'*. In *Gangs can rig brgya'i sgo 'byed lde mig (deb bcu gsum pa)*. Beijing: Mi-rigs-dpe-skrun-khang, 1989.
- bKa' brgyud rnam thar* Khams-sprul (8th) Don-brgyud-nyi-ma (ed.), *bKa' brgyud pa'i skyes chen dam pa rnam kyī rnam thar*. 4 vols. Palampur: Sungrab Nyamso Gyunphel Parkhang, 1972-1976 [BDRC: W20499].
- bKa' babs rnam thar* sTag-lung-khri (17th) Zhabs-drung Ngag-dbang-rnam-rgyal, *bKa' babs bzhi dang mchog gzigs rnam gnyis sogs kyī rnam thar*. In *Ngo mtshar rgya mtsho*, vol. 1, pp. 79–136.
- bKa' yang dag pa'i tshad ma* Nāropa (ascribed), *bKa' yang dag pa'i tshad ma*. See also **Ājñāsaṃyakpramāṇanāmaḍākīnyupadeśa*.
- *bKa' yang dag pa'i tshad ma*. Nāropa (ascribed), *bKa' yang dag pa'i tshad ma zhes bya ba mkha' 'gro ma'i man ngag*. In *gDams ngag mdzod*, vol. 7, pp. 69–89.
 - *bSre 'pho'i snying po*. 'Brug-chen (4th) Kun-mkhyen Padma-dkar-po, *bSre 'pho'i lam gyi snying po bka' yang dag pa'i tshad ma zhes bya ba mkha' 'gro ma'i man ngag*. In *Pad dkar gsung 'bum*, vol. 6, pp. 1–43.

Abbreviations & Bibliography

- *Chos drug rtsa ba*. Mar-pa Lo-tsā-ba Chos-kyi-blo-gros, *Chos drug gi rtsa ba rdo rje mkha' 'gro'i gsung bka' yang dag pa'i tshad ma*. In *Mar pa gsung 'bum*, vol. 1, pp. 523–538.
- mKhyen brtse gsung 'bum* rDzong-gsar-mkhyen-brtse (1st) 'Jam-dbyangs mKhyen-brtse'i-dbang-po, *The Collected Works (gsuñ 'bum) of the great 'Jam-dbyaṅs Mkhyen-brts'i-dbañ-po*. 24 vols. Gangtok: Gonpo Tseten, 1977–1980 [BDRC: W21807].
- 'Khor tha dgongs don* 'Jam-mgon Kong-sprul (1st) Blo-gros-mtha'-yas and 'Ju Mi-pham rNam-rgyal-rgya-mtsho, *'Khor lo tha ma'i dgongs don gces btus*. 1 vol. Kathmandu: Rigpe Dorje Publications, 2008 [BDRC: W1KG4227].
- Gan mdzod rtsod spong* mKhas-dbang Sangs-rgyas-rdo-rje, *Phyag rgya chen po'i man ngag gi bshad sbyar rgyal ba'i gan mdzod ces bya ba'i bstan bcos la rtsod pa spong ba'i gtam srid gsum rnam par rgyal ba'i dge mtshan*. In *Sangs rdor gsung 'bum*, vol. 4, pp. 293–636.
- Gaṇḍi sgra dbyangs* rJe-mkhan-po (9th) Shākya-rin-chen, *lHag pa'i bsam pa bskul zhing byang chub kyi spyod pa la 'jug pa'i gtam dam pa'i chos kyi gaṇḍi sgra dbyangs snyan pa'i yan lag rgya mtsho*. In *Shāk rin gsung thor bu*, pp. 238–280.
- Go cha gnyis ma* Phag-mo-gru-pa rDo-rje-rgyal-po, *lHan gcig skyes sbyor go cha gnyis ma*. In *Phag gru gsung 'bum*, vol. 2, pp. 168–176.
- Grub mtha'i rnam bzhag* rJe-mkhan-po (69th) dGe-'dun-rin-chen, *Phyi nang grub mtha'i rnam gzhag*. In *dGe 'dun bka' 'bum*, vol. 3, pp. 361–413.
- Grub pa'i klong yangs* 'Brug-chen (2nd) rGyal-dbang Kun-dga'-dpal-'byor, *rNal 'byor bzhi'i zhal gdams gsang chen grub pa'i klong yangs*. In *Kun dga' bka' 'bum*, vol. 1, pp. 463–504.

A Timely Message from the Cave

- Grub pa'i mdung rnon* rJe-mkhan-po (9th) Shākya-rin-chen, *Phyag rgya chen po las brtsams pa'i dri tshig grub pa'i mdung rnon*.
- B_a: n.p., n.d. Location: National Library of Bhutan, Thimphu, 10 fols.
 - B_b: sPungs-thang, [1776–1788]. Location: National Library and Archives of Bhutan, Thimphu, 12 fols.
- Grub pa'i shing rta* 'Brug-chen (4th) Kun-mkhyen Padma-dkar-po, *dBu ma'i gzhung lugs gsum gsal bar byed pa nges don grub pa'i shing rta*. In *Pad dkar gsung 'bum*, vol. 9, pp. 305–518.
- dGe 'dun bka' 'bum* rJe-mkhan-po (69th) dGe-'dun-rin-chen, *bShes gnyen chen po rje dge 'dun rin chen mchog gi bka' 'bum: The Collected Works (gsung 'bum) of dGe-bśes-brag-phug*. Reproduced with the permission of the author from his manuscripts. 10 vols. Indo-Tibetan Literature Series. Rewalsar: Āchārya Shedup Tenzin and Sherab Gyaltzen Lama, Zigar Drukpa Kargyud Institute, 1985–1991 [BDRC: W10206].
- rGod tshang gsung 'bum* rGod-tshang-pa mGon-po-rdo-rje, *The Collected Works of rGod-tshan-pa mGon-po-rdo-rje, the founder of the upper tradition (stod) of the 'Brug-pa dkar-brgyud-pa*. 5 vols. Thimphu: Tango Monastic Community, 1981 [BDRC: W23661].
- rGyal dbang gsung 'bum* 'Brug-chen (2nd) rGyal-dbang Kun-dga'-dpal-'byor, *rGyal dbang rje kun dga' dpal 'byor gyi bka' 'bum*. Darjeeling: Kargyud Sungrab Nyamso Khang, 1982 [BDRC: W10954].
- rGyal mtshan gsung 'bum* gTsos Khri-sprul (2nd) Blo-bzang rGyal-mtshan Seng-ge, *Blo bzang rgyal mtshan seng ge gsung 'bum*. 8 vols. n.p.: n.n., n.d. [BDRC: W1KG1656].
- rGyud sde'i snying po* 'Brug-chen (4th) Kun-mkhyen Padma-dkar-po, *dPal 'khor lo sdom pa'i rgyud kyi rnam par bshad pa mkha' 'gro dga' ba rgyud sde'i snying po*. In *Pad dkar gsung 'bum*, vol. 14, pp. 5–301.

Abbreviations & Bibliography

- rGyud sde'i rnam bzhag* rJe mKhan-po (69th) dGe-'dun rin-chen, *sNgags kyi spyi don rgyud sde'i rnam bzhag*. In *dGe 'dun bka' 'bum*, vol. 6, pp. 501–523.
- Ngal gso skor gsum* Klong-chen-pa Dri-med-'od-zer, *rDzogs pa chen po ngal gso skor gsum*. [Hong Kong]: Zhangkang-then-mā-dpe-skrun-khang, 2005 [BDRC: W1GS60877].
- Nges don gru chen* Shākya-mchog-ldan Dri-med-legs-pa'i-blo-gros, *dBu ma thal rang gi grub pa'i mtha' rnam par dbye ba'i bstan bcos nges don gyi rgya mtshor 'jug pa'i rnam dpyod kyi gru chen*. In *Shāk mchog gsung 'bum*, vol. 4, pp. 399–407.
- Nges don rgya mtsho* Shākya-mchog-ldan Dri-med-legs-pa'i-blo-gros, *Shing rta chen po'i srol gnyis kyi rnam par dbye ba bshad nas nges don gcig tu bsgrub pa'i bstan bcos kyi rgyas 'grel*. In *Shāk mchog gsung 'bum*, vol. 2, pp. 471–619.
- Nges don lta ba'i mig* 'Brug-chen (4th) Kun-mkhyen Padma-dkar-po, *Phyag rgya chen po rnal 'byor bzhi'i bshad pa nges don lta ba'i mig*. In *Pad dkar gsung 'bum*, vol. 21, pp. 431–464.
- Nges don sa bcad* rJe-mkhan-po (9th) Shākya-rin-chen, *Nges don rgya mtsho'i sprin gyi 'brug sgra zab mo zhes bya ba'i bstan bcos kyi sa bcad don sgo brgya 'byed pa'i lde mig*. In *Yon mtha' gsung 'bum*, vol. 2, fols. 1–7 (separate pagination, *zha*).
- Nges shes sgron me* 'Ju Mi-pham rNam-rgyal-rgya-mtsho, *Nges shes rin po che'i sgron me*. In *Mi pham gsung 'bum*, vol. 9, pp. 71–123.

A Timely Message from the Cave

- Ngo mtshar rgya mtsho* sTag-lung-khri (17th) Zhabs-drung Ngag-dbang-rnam-rgyal, *Chos 'byung ngo mtshar rgya mtsho/brGyud pa yid bzhin nor bu'i rtogs pa brjod pa ngo mtshar rgya mtsho* (supplement: Ngag-dbang bsTan-pa'i-nyi-ma, *rGyud pa yid bzhin nor bu'i rtogs pa brjod pa ngo mtshar rgya mtsho'i sa dpyad brgyud pa stag lung bka' brgyud kyi rnam thar rgyas par bshad pa las rdo rje gdan gyi gdan rabs phyis byon bdag gi rnam thar kha bskong ngo mtshar snyan grags lha yi rnga chen*). 2 vols. Palampur: Sungrab Nyamso Parkhang, 1972, pp. 1–1551 [BDRC: W23745]. See also *sTag lung chos 'byung*.
- Ngor chen rnam thar* Ngor-mkhan-chen (25th) Sangs-rgyas-phuntshogs, *De bzhin gshegs pa thams cad kyi bgrod pa gcig pa'i lam chen gsung ngag rin po che'i bla ma brgyud pa'i rnam thar glegs bam dang po las bla ma 'phags bod kyi lo rgyus*. In *Lam 'bras slob bshad*, vol. 1, pp. 475–580.
- Chags med gsung 'bum* Karma-chags-med, *The Collected Works of Karma-chags-med (Rā-ga-a-sya)*. 9 vols. Bir: Kandro, 1974–1984 [BDRC: W00EGS1017082].
- Chos kyi nying khu* 'Brug-chen (4th) Kun-mkhyen Padma-dkar-po, *Lus med mkha' 'gro'i chos sde'i rnam par bshad pa chos kyi nying khu*. In *Pad dkar gsung 'bum*, vol. 20, pp. 1–80.
- lTa ba'i me long* rJe-mkhan-po (69th) dGe-'dun-rin-chen, *dBu ma'i bsdus don lta ba'i me long*. In *dGe 'dun bka' 'bum*, vol. 3, pp. 89–98.
- sTag lung chos 'byung* sTag-lung-khri (17th) Zhabs-drung Ngag-dbang-rnam-rgyal, *Chos 'byung ngo mtshar rgya mtsho/brGyud pa yid bzhin nor bu'i rtogs pa brjod pa ngo mtshar rgya mtsho*. 1 vol. Lhasa: Bod-ljongs-bod-yig-dpe-rnying-dpe-skrun-khang, 1992, pp. 1–934. For an expanded version of the *sTag lung chos 'byung*, see *Ngo mtshar rgya mtsho*.

Abbreviations & Bibliography

- Thub pa dgongs gsal* Sa-skya Paṇḍita Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan, *Thub pa'i dgongs pa rab tu gsal ba'i bstan bcos*. In *Sa paṇ gsung 'bum*, vol. 1, pp. 1–195.
- Theg chen tshul 'jug* Rong-zom Chos-kyi-bzang-po, *Theg pa chen po'i tshul la 'jug pa zhes bya ba'i bstan bcos*. In *Rong zom gsung 'bum*, vol. 2, pp. 415–555.
- Dam chos sogs rnam thar* 'Brug-rgyal-sras (2nd) Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan, *Dam chos pad dkar dang bstan 'dzin don 'grub sogs kyi rnam thar*. 5 vols. Reprint. Delhi: n.n., 1970 [BDRC: W29905].
- Dus kyi pho nya* rJe-mkhan-po (69th) dGe-'dun rin-chen, *Phyag rgya chen po las brtsams pa'i dri tshig grub pa'i mdung rnon zhes bya ba'i gsung lan dus kyi pho nya*.
- C4_a: In *dGe 'dun bka' 'bum*, vol. 6, pp. 439–500 [BDRC: W10206].
 - C4_b: In *Zhabs drung dag snang ma'i skor dang chos sbyin thor bu'i skor*, edited by rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen. 1 vol. Thimphu: National Library and Archives of Bhutan, [1981], pp. 373–434.
- Don dam mdzub tshugs* 'Brug-chen (4th) Kun-mkhyen Padma-dkar-po, *rNal 'byor bzhi'i bshad pa don dam mdzub tshugs su bstan pa*. In *Pad dkar gsung 'bum*, vol. 21, pp. 465–498.
- Dwags po gsung 'bum* sGam-po-pa bSod-nams-rin-chen, *Collected Works (gsun 'bum) of sGam-po-pa bSod-nams-rin-chen*. 3 vols. Darjeeling: Kargyu Sungrab Nyamso Khang, 1982 [BDRC: W23566].

- Dwanggs shel me long* rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs Ngag-dbang bSod-nams-rgya-mtsho, *rTogs brjod mdor bsdus dwanggs shel me long*.
- Version A: In *bDe chen bang mdzod*, pp. 1–128.
 - Version B: Digital input with different pagination. Kathmandu: Karma Leksheyling Institute, 2015. http://dharmadownload.net/pages/english/Sungbum/010_69th-Je-Khenpo-of-Bhutan/69th-Je-Khenpo_pages/11_namthar69jekhenpo.htm. Accessed: May 08, 2020.
- gDams ngag mdzod* 'Jam-mgon Kong-sprul (1st) Blo-gros-mtha'-yas, *Gdams ngag mdzod: A Treasury of Precious Methods and Instructions of the Major and Minor Buddhist Traditions of Tibet, brought together and structured into a coherent system by 'Jam-mgon Kon-sprul*. 18 vols. Paro: Lama Ngodrup and Sherab Drimey, 1979–1981 [BDRC: W20877].
- bDud 'joms chos 'byung* bDud-'joms 'Jigs-bral-ye-shes-rdo-rje, *Bod sngarabs pa gsang chen rnying ma'i chos 'byung legs bshad gsar pa'i dga' ston gyi dbu 'dren gzhung don le'u'i ngos 'dzin*. Chengdu: Si-khron-mirigs-dpe-skrun-khang, 1996 [BDRC: W20827].
- bDe chen bang mdzod* rJe-mkhan-po (69th) dGe-'dun rin-chen and rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs Ngag-dbang bSod-nams-rgya-mtsho, *bDe chen bang mdzod*. Thimphu: Tango Buddhist Institute Library, n.d.
- mDung skor brgyad* rGod-tshang-pa mGon-po-rdo-rje, *mDung skor brgyad*. In *bKa' brgyud rnam thar*, vol. 4, pp. 423–428.
- rDo grub gsung 'bum* rDo-grub chen (3rd)'Jigs-med bsTan-pa'i-nyima, *mKhas shing grub pa'i dbang phyug chen po rdo grub chen 'jigs med bstan pa'i nyi ma dpal bzang po'i gsung 'bum legs bshad nor bu'i bang mdzod*. 7 vols. Beijing: Mi-rigs-dpe-skrunkhang, 2003 [BDRC: W25007].

Abbreviations & Bibliography

- rDo rje'i mtshon cha* rDo-grub chen (3rd) Jigs-med bsTan-pa'i-nyi-ma, *Man ngag zab mo rdo rje'i mtshon cha*. In *rDo grub gsung 'bum*, vol. 2, pp. 209–245.
- sDom gsum snye ma* sMin-gling-mkhan-chen (2nd) Dharma-shrī, *sDom gsum rnam nges kyi 'grel pa dpag bsam snye ma*. In *Dharma shrī gsung 'bum*, vol. 6, pp. 1–342.
- sDom gsum rab dbye* Sa-skya Paṇḍita Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan, *sDom pa gsum gyi rab tu dbye ba'i bstan bcos*. In *Sa paṇ gsung 'bum*, vol. 2, pp. 1–91.
- Dharma shrī gsung 'bum* sMin-gling-mkhan-chen (2nd) Dharma-shrī, *Lo chen dharma shrī gsung 'bum*. 20 vols. Dehradun: D.G. Kochen Tulku, 1999 [BDRC: W9140].
- gNam gyi nga ro* rJe-mkhan-po (69th) dGe-'dun-rin-chen, *gSang sngags dri tshig gnam gyi nga ro*. In *dGe 'dun bka' 'bum*, vol. 6, pp. 401–437.
- gNas bshad me long* n.n., *Shrī na landā'i gnas bshad gsal ba'i me long*. Punakha: Shrī Nā-landā Monastery, n.d.
- rNam thar do shal* Tshe-ring, *dGe 'dun rin chen gyi rnam thar mā li ka'i do shal*. Taiwan [n.p.]: n.n., 2000 [BDRC: W4CZ1098].
- rNam thar dri bsung* 'Brug-rgyal-sras (2nd) Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan, *mTshungs med chos kyi rgyal po rje btsun dam chos pad dkar gyi rnam par thar pa thugs rje chen po'i dri bsung*. In *Dam chos sogs rnam thar*, vol. 1, pp. 11–112.
- rNal 'byor bzhi* 'Brug-chen (4th) Kun-mkhyen Padma-dkar-po, *rNal 'byor bzhi'i dbye ba'i re'u mig*. In *Pad dkar gsung 'bum*, vol. 21, p. 429.
- Pad dkar chos 'byung* 'Brug-chen (4th) Kun-mkhyen Padma-dkar-po, *Chos 'byung bstan pa'i padma rgyas pa'i nyin byed*. In *Pad dkar gsung 'bum*, vol. 2, pp. 1–619.
- Pad dkar gsung 'bum* 'Brug-chen (4th) Kun-mkhyen Padma-dkar-po, *Collected Works (gsun-'bum) of Kun-mkhyen Padma-dkar-po*. 24 vols. Darjeeling: Kargyud Sungrab Nyamso Khang, 1973–1974 [BDRC: W10736].

A Timely Message from the Cave

- sSpring yig* Sa-skya Paṇḍita Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan, *sKyes bu dam pa rnams la spring ba'i yi ge*. In *Sa paṅ gsung 'bum*, vol. 1, pp. 391–402.
- Phag gru gsung 'bum* Phag-mo-gru-pa rDo-rje-rgyal-po, *Phag mo gru pa rdo rje rgyal po'i gsung 'bum*. 4 vols. Lhun-grub-steng: sDe-dge-par-khang, [2010] [BDRC: W1KG10493].
- Phyag chen khrid* rGod-tshang-pa mGon-po-rdo-rje, *Phyag rgya chen po lhan cig skyes sbyor gyi khrid/gNad kyi yi ge dang bcas pa rje rgod tshang pas mdzad pa*. In *rGod tshang gsung 'bum*, vol. 4, pp. 233–255.
- Phyag chen gan mdzod* 'Brug-chen (4th) Kun-mkhyen Padma-dkar-po, *Phyag rgya chen po'i man ngag gi bshad sbyar rgyal ba'i gan mdzod*. In *Pad dkar gsung 'bum*, vol. 21, pp. 7–370.
- Phyag chen zin bris* 'Brug-chen (4th) Kun-mkhyen Padma-dkar-po, *Phyag chen gyi zin bris*. In *Pad dkar gsung 'bum*, vol. 21, pp. 371–391.
- Phyag chen bshad pa* 'Brug-chen (4th) Kun-mkhyen Padma-dkar-po, *rNal 'byor bzhi'i nges pa rab tu dbye ba phyag rgya chen po'i bshad pa thams cad kyi bla ma'o*. In *Pad dkar gsung 'bum*, vol. 21, pp. 423–428.
- Phyag rdzogs gter mdzod* Ngag-dbang Padma-chos-rgyal (ed.), *dKar rnying gi skyes chen du ma'i phyag rdzogs kyi gdams ngag gnad bsdus nyer mkho rin po che'i gter mdzod*. 31 vols. Darjeeling: Kargyu Sungrab Nyamso Khang, 1978–1985 [BDRC: W20749].
- Phyag rdzogs tshigs bcad* rJe-mkhan-po (69th) dGe-'dun rin-chen, *Phyag rdzogs gnyis kyi dmigs khrid tshigs bcad ma*. In *dGe 'dun bka' 'bum*, vol. 6, pp. 387–399.
- Phyag rdzogs zung 'jug* Karma-chags-med, *Thugs rje chen po'i dmar khrid phyag rdzogs zung 'jug sogs kyi skor*. In *Chags med gsung 'bum*, vol. 2, pp. 1–454.
- Bu ston gsung 'bum* Bu-ston Rin-chen-grub, *Bu ston rin chen grub dang sgra tshad pa rin chen rnam rgyal gyi gsung 'bum*. 28 vols. Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1965–1971 [BDRC: W22106].

Abbreviations & Bibliography

- dBu ma yang dag* rJe-btsun Mi-la-ras-pa, *dBu ma yang dag par brjod pa*. In *Pad dkar gsung 'bum*, vol. 9, pp. 299–304. See also *Tshe ring zhus lan*.
- 'Bel gtam* rJe-mkhan-po (69th) dGe-'dun-rin-chen, *dGe slong dang sgom chen gyi 'bel gtam*. In *dGe 'dun bka' 'bum*, vol. 8, pp. 609–622.
- 'Brug phyog bsdebs* bsTan-'dzin Don-kun-sgrub-pa'i-sde (ed.), *dPal 'brug pa'i zab khrid phyogs bsdebs*. 5 vols. Kathmandu: Khenpo Shedup Tenzin and Lama Thinley Namgyal, 2007 [BDRC: W1KG4277].
- 'Brug lugs mdzod* Tshogs-gnyis-sprul-sku (3rd) Ngag-dbang-tshogs-gnyis-rgya-mtsho (ed.), *'Brug lugs chos mdzod chen mo*. 101 vols. Kathmandu: Drukpa Kagyu Heritage Project, n.d. [BDRC: W23779].
- Mar pa gsung 'bum* Mar-pa Lo-tsā-ba Chos-kyi-blo-gros, *dPal mnga' bdag sgra sgyur mar pa lo tsā ba chos kyi blo gros kyi gsung 'bum*. 3 vols. Digital input. Lhasa: gSer-gtsug-nang-bstan-dpe-rnying-'tshol-bsdu-phyogs-sgrig-khang, 2009 [BDRC: W1KG12222].
- Mi pham gsung 'bum* 'Ju Mi-pham rNam-rgyal-rgya-mtsho, *'Jam mgon 'ju mi pham rgya mtsho'i gsung 'bum rgyas pa sde dge dgon chen par ma*. 27 vols. Paro: Lama Ngodrub & Sherab Drimey, 1984–1993 [BDRC: W23468].
- Mi la mgur 'bum* gTsang-smyon He-ru-ka Rus-pa'i-rgyan-can, *rJe btsun mi la ras pa'i rnam thar rgyas par phye ba mgur 'bum*. 1 vol. Beijing: [n.n.], [n.d.] [BDRC: W1KG1252].
- gTsang pa gsung mgur* gTsang-pa-rgya-ras Ye-shes-rdo-rje, *'Gro mgon rin po che'i gsung mgur gyi rim pa*. In *gTsang pa gsung 'bum*, vol. 1, pp. 5–186.
- gTsang pa gsung 'bum* gTsang-pa-rgya-ras Ye-shes-rdo-rje, *Gro-ba'i mgon-po Chos-rjer Tsañ-pa Rgya-ras Ye-Shes Rdo-rje mchog-gi gsun-'bum rin-po-che*. 1 vol. Kathmandu: Ārchārya Shedup Tenzin and Lama Thinley Namgyal, Shri Gautama Buddha Vihara, 1998 [BDRC: W23782].

A Timely Message from the Cave

- Tshig mdzod chen mo* Zhang yi sun *et al.* (eds.), *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo*. 3 vols. Beijing: Nationalities Publishing House, 1985.
- Tshe ring zhus lan* rJe-btsun Mi-la-ras-pa, *Tshe ring mched lngas drod zhul ba dang zhus lan gyi rim pa*. In *Mi la mgur 'bum*, pp. 278–354.
- Tshogs chos phun tshogs* sGam-po-pa bSod-nams-rin-chen, *Chos rje dwags po lha rje'i gsung tshogs chos yon tan phun tshogs*. In *Dwags po gsung 'bum*, vol. 1, pp. 505–576.
- Tshogs chos mdzes ma* sGam-po-pa bSod-nams-rin-chen, *mGon po zla 'od gzhon nus mdzad pa'i tshogs chos legs mdzes ma*. In *Dwags po gsung 'bum*, vol. 1, pp. 343–487.
- rDzogs chen chos 'byung* bsTan-'dzin-lung-rtogs-nyi-ma, *sNga 'gyur grub dbang rgyal ba rdzogs chen pa'i gdan rabs chos brgyud dang bcas pa'i byung ba brjod pa'i gdam yid bzhin dbang gi rgyal po'i phreng ba*. 1 vol. Beijing: Krung-go'i-bod-rig-pa-dpe-skrunkhang, 2004 [BDRC: W27401].
- rDzong sar dpe rnying* *Khams sde dge rdzong sar bla ma lha khang du bzhugs pa'i dpe rnying: Collection of Texts from Dzongsar Lama Lakhang, in Derge*. 221 vols. n.p.: n.n., n.d. [BDRC: W3PD988].
- Zhu 'phrin* Sa-skya Paṇḍita Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan, *Phyogs bcu'i sangs rgyas dang byang chub sems dpa' rnam la zhu ba'i 'phrin yig*. In *Sa paṇ gsung 'bum*, vol. 1, pp. 363–390.
- gZhan dregs nyams byed* Shākya-mchog-ldan Dri-med-legs-pa'i-blo-gros, *Phyag rgya chen po gsal bar byed pa'i bstan bcos tshangs pa'i khor los gzhan blo'i dregs pa nyams byed*. In *Shāk mchog gsung 'bum*, vol. 17, pp. 331–346.
- Zis bris sna tshogs* rDzong-gsar-mkhyen-brtse (1st) 'Jam-dbyangs mKhyen-brtse'i-dbang-po, *'Jam dpal sgyu 'phrul drwa ba'i rgyud la brten nas sgrub brgyud shing rta brgyad kyi lam srol 'chad tshul dang zin bris*. In *mKhyen brtse gsung 'bum*, vol 3., pp. 3–737.

Abbreviations & Bibliography

- Zung 'jug gru chen* Shākya-mchog-ldan Dri-med-legs-pa'i-blo-gros, *Lung rigs gnyis kyi phyag rgya chen po'i bzhed tshul la 'khrul pa sel ba'i bstan bcos zung 'jug gi gru chen/Phyag rgya chen po'i shan byed*. In *Shāk mchog gsung 'bum*, vol. 17, pp. 355–379.
- Zla ba'i 'dzum* sPa-gro rTa-mchog-chos-rje mKhan-po Tshering, *rJes dran zla ba'i 'dzum zer*. Thimphu: n.n., 2017. For the English translation, see TOBGYEL 2020.
- 'Og min zhal lung* rJe-mkhan-po (13th) Yon-tan-mtha'-yas, *Nges don phyag rgya chen po la dris pa'i gsung lan 'og min ston pa'i zhal lung*.
- C1_a: n.p., n.d. [eighteenth century]. Location: National Library and Archives of Bhutan, Thimphu, 51 fols.
 - C1_b: In *Yon mtha' gsung 'bum*, vol. 2, fols. 1–44 (separate pagination, *sa*).
- 'Od gsal snying po* 'Ju Mi-pham rNam-rgyal-rgya-mtsho, *gSang 'grel phyogs bcu mun sel gyi spyi don 'od gsal snying po*. In *Mi pham gsung 'bum*, vol. 19, pp. 1–271.
- Yon mtha' gsung 'bum* rJe-mkhan-po (13th) Yon-tan-mtha'-yas, *sKu bzhi'i dbang phyug ngag dbang yon tan mtha' yas kyi gsung 'bum*. 2 vols. Thimphu: mDo-sde-brag, n.d. [BDRC: W2CZ7858].
- Ri khrod mdzes rgyan* sPa-gro-chos-rje Pad-dkar-chos-kyi-rgya-mtsho, *sPa spro'i chos rje pad dkar chos kyi rgya mtsho'i nyams 'gyur gyi rtogs pa brjod pa'i gtam bcad lhug spel ma'i do shal ri khrod pa'i mdzed rgyan du 'os pa*. 2 vols. Thimphu: National Library and Archives of Bhutan, 1984 [BDRC: W24002].
- Ro snyoms nyams len* 'Brug-chen (4th) Kun-mkhyen Padma-dkar-po, *Ro snyoms sgang du bsgril ba'i nyams len*. In *Pad dkar gsung 'bum*, vol. 24, pp. 29–37.
- Ro snyoms rnam bshad* 'Brug-chen (4th) Kun-mkhyen Padma-dkar-po, *'Byung ba ro snyoms kyi rnam bshad ku mu ta*. In *Pad dkar gsung 'bum*, vol. 24, pp. 53–288.

A Timely Message from the Cave

- Rong zom gsung 'bum* Rong-zom Chos-kyi-bzang-po, *Rong zom chos bzang gi gsung 'bum*. 2 vols. Chengdu: Si-khron-mi-rigs-dpe-skrun-khang, 1999 [BDRC: W21617].
- Lam 'bras slob bshad* 'Jam-dbyangs Blo-gter-dbang-po, Ngag-dbang-legs-pa, and Ngag-dbang-blo-gros-snying-po (eds.), *Lam 'bras slob bshad: The Sa-skya-pa teachings of the path and the fruit, according to the Tshar-pa transmission*. 21 vols. Dehradun: Sakya Centre, 1983–1985 [BDRC: W23649].
- Lung gi snye ma* Bu-ston Rin-chen-grub, *Shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i man ngag gi bstan bcos mngon par rtogs pa'i rgyan ces bya ba'i 'grel pa'i rgya cher bshad pa lung gi snye ma*. In *Bu ston gsung 'bum*, vol. 18, pp. 1–726 (separate pagination).
- Lung gi phreng ba* rJe-mkhan-po (69th) dGe-'dun-rin-chen, *dBu ma'i bsdus don gsal byed lung gi phreng ba*. In *dGe 'dun bka' 'bum*, vol. 3, pp. 99–225.
- Legs bshad thur ma* Shākya-mchog-ldan Dri-med-legs-pa'i-blo-gros, *sDom pa gsum gyi rab tu dbye pa'i bstan bcos 'bel gtam rnam par nges pa legs bshad thur ma*. In *Shāk mchog gsung 'bum*, vol. 6, pp. 443–652.
- Shar ma 'grel pa* Kaḥ-thog-rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang-nor-bu, *rJe gt-sang pa rgya ras kyis mdzad pa'i lam gang shar ma'i 'grel pa*. In *Kaḥ thog gsung 'bum*, vol. 5, pp. 183–215.
- Shāk mchog gsung 'bum* Shākya-mchog-ldan Dri-med-legs-pa'i-blo-gros, *The Complete Works (gSun 'bum) of gSer-mdog Paṅ-chen Śākya-mchog-ldan*. 24 vols. Thimphu: Kunzang Tobgey, 1975. Reprint. Delhi: Nag-wang Tobgyel, 1995 [BDRC: W23200].
- Shāk rin gsung thor bu* rJe-mkhan-po (9th) Shākya-rin-chen, rJe-mkhan-po (12th) Kun-dga'-rgya-mtsho, and rJe-mkhan-po (13th) Yon-tan-mtha'-yas, *rJe shākya rin chen gyi rnam thar dang gsung thor bu: The Autobiography and Selected Writings of Śākya-rin-chen, the Ninth rJe mKhan-po of Bhutan*. 1 vol. Reprint. Delhi: Thamchoe Monlam, 1974 [BDRC: W1KG9605].

Abbreviations & Bibliography

- Shāk rin gsung 'bum* rJe-mkhan-po (9th) Shākya-rin-chen, *Thub dbang gnyis pa rgyal ba shākya rin chen gyi gsung 'bum*. Thimphu: Kunzang Tobgey, 1976 [BDRC: W8684].
- Shing rta chen po* Klong-chen-pa Dri-med-'od-zer, *rDzogs pa chen po sems nyid ngal gso'i 'grel pa shing rta chen po*. In *Ngal gso skor gsum*, pp. 207–609.
- Sa skya legs bshad* Sa-skya Paṇḍita Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan, *Legs par bshad pa rin po che'i gter zhes bya ba'i bstan bcos*. In *Sa paṇ gsung 'bum*, vol. 1, 196–239.
- Sa paṇ gsung 'bum* Sa-skya Paṇḍita Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan, *Sa skya gong ma rnam lnga'i gsung 'bum dpe bs-dur ma las sa paṇ kun dga' rgyal mtshan gyi gsung*. 4 vols. Beijing: Krung-go'i-bod-rig-pa-dpe-skrun-khang, 2007 [BDRC: W2DB4570].
- Sangs rdor gsung 'bum* mKhas-dbang Sangs-rgyas-rdo-rje, *The Collected Works of Sanggye Dorje*. 8 vols. Kathmandu: Ārchārya Shedup Tenzin, 1995 [BDRC: W23556].
- Srol gnyis rnam dbye* Shākya-mchog-ldan Dri-med-legs-pa'i-blo-gros, *Shing rta chen po'i srol gnyis kyi rnam par dbye ba bshad nas nges don gcig bsgrub pa'i bstan bcos kyi rgyas 'grel*. In *Shāk chog gsung 'bum*, vol. 2, pp. 471–620.
- gSung zhal bdud rtsi* sGam-po-pa bSod-nams-rin-chen, *rJe dwags po lha rje'i gsung zhal gyi bdud rtsi thun mong ma yin pa*. In *Dwags po gsung 'bum*, vol. 2, pp. 317–386.
- gSung rab kun btus* sPa-gro-chos-rje Pad-dkar-chos-kyi-rgya-mtsho, *Phyag rgya chen po las brtsams pa'i dri tshig grub pa'i mdung bsnun la lan du gsol ba gsung rab kun las btus*.
- C2_a: n.p., [eighteenth century]. Location: National Library and Archives of Bhutan, Thimphu, 65 fols.
- bSang dpe re skong* 'Brug-chen (4th) Kun-mkhyen Padma-dkar-po, *bSang dpe bkra shis re skong*. In *Pad dkar gsung 'bum*, vol. 19, pp. 267–292.

A Timely Message from the Cave

- bSe ru'i gtam* rJe-mkhan-po (69th) dGe-'dun-rin-chen, *dBen pa'i yon tan la bsngags pa bse ru'i gtam*. In *dGe 'dun bka' 'bum*, vol. 8, pp. 623–634.
- bSre 'pho 'grel chen* 'Brug-chen (4th) Kun-mkhyen Padma-dkar-po, *Jo bo nā ro pa'i khyad chos bsre 'pho'i gzhung 'grel rdo rje 'chang gi dgongs pa gsal bar byed pa*. In *Pad dkar gsung 'bum*, vol. 23, pp. 1–634.
- lHo 'brug chos 'byung* rJe-mkhan-po (69th) dGe-'dun-rin-chen, *lHo 'brug chos 'byung* (1972). Reprint. Thimphu: KMT Publishers, 2005.

(c) Primary Sanskrit Sources

- Aṣṭasāhasrikā* *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*. P0734; T15, vol. 50, fols. 1v1–407v4. For a Sanskrit edition, see VAIDYA 1960a.
- Aṣṭasiddhisamgraha* *Guhyādi-Aṣṭasiddhisamgraha*. For a Sanskrit edition, see SAMDHONG RINPOCHE & DWIVEDI 1978.
- **Ājñāsaṃyakpramāṇa-nāmadākīnyupadeśa* Nāropa (ascribed), **Ājñāsaṃyakpramāṇanāmadākīnyupadeśa*. P (not included); D2331.
- Karmāntavibhaṅga* Nāgābodhi, *Karmāntavibhaṅga*. P2676; D1811.
- Gurupañcāśikā* Aśvaghoṣa, *Gurupañcāśikā*. P4554; D3721.
- **Guhyagarbhatantra* **Guhyagarbhatattvaviniścaya*. P0445; D0832.
- Cakrasaṃvaratantrarājādbhutaśmaśānālaṃkāra* *Cakrasaṃvaratantrarājādbhutaśmaśānālaṃkāra*. P0057; T375, vol. 94, fols. 51v7–59r6.
- Caturmudrānvaya* Nāgārjuna, *Caturmudrānvaya*. P3069; D2225.
- Caryāmelāpakapradīpa* Āryadeva, *Caryāmelāpakapradīpa*. P2668; D1803. For a Sanskrit and Tibetan edition, see WEDEMEYER 2007.
- Jñānatilakayoginītantra-rājāparamamahādbhuta* *Jñānatilakayoginītantrarājāparamamahādbhuta*. P0014; T383, vol. 94, fols. 246v4–301r6.
- Jñānasamuccayatantra* *Jñānasamuccayatantra*. P (not included); D0450.
- Tathāgatagaṇajñānācintya-aviṣayāvatāranirdeśasūtra* *Tathāgatagaṇajñānācintya-aviṣayāvatāranirdeśasūtra*. P0852; T247, vol. 77, fols. 83v3–137r5.
- Dharmasaṃgraha* Nāgārjuna (ascribed), **Dharmasaṃgraha*. For the Sanskrit and Tibetan texts and English translation, see ZANGMO & CHIME 1993.

A Timely Message from the Cave

<i>Ḍākinīvajrapañjaratantra</i>	<i>Ḍākinīvajrapañjaratantra</i> . P0011; T380, vol. 94, fols. 149r1–201r4.
<i>Dohākoṣagīti</i>	Saraha, <i>Dohākoṣagīti</i> . P3068; D2224.
* <i>Nayatrayapradīpa</i>	*Tripiṭakamalla (ascribed), * <i>Nayatrayapradīpa</i> . P4530; D3707.
<i>Pañcakrama</i>	Nāgārjuna, <i>Pañcakrama</i> . P2667; D1802. For a Sanskrit edition, see TOMABECHI & MIMAKI 1994.
<i>Paramārthasevā</i>	<i>Paramārthasevā</i> . P2065; D1348.
<i>Prajñāpāramitāsañcayagāthā</i>	<i>Prajñāpāramitāsañcayagāthā</i> . P0735; T19, vol. 51, fols. 205v7–231v7.
* <i>Pravacanopamottara</i>	Nāropa (ascribed), * <i>Pravacanopamottara</i> . P (not included); D2332. See also <i>bKa' dpe phyi ma</i> .
<i>Bodhicaryāvatāra</i>	Śāntideva, <i>Bodhicaryāvatāra</i> . P5272; D3871. For a Sanskrit edition, see BHATTACHARYA 1960.
<i>Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā</i>	Prajñākaramati, <i>Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā</i> . For a Sanskrit edition, see VAIDYA 1960b.
<i>Madhyāntavibhāga</i>	Maitreyanātha (ascribed), <i>Madhyāntavibhāga</i> . P5522; D4021.
<i>Mahākāruṇikaśrīcakravartīsādhana</i>	n.n., <i>Mahākāruṇikaśrīcakravartīsādhana</i> . P3581; D2760.
<i>Mahāmudrātilaka</i>	<i>Mahāmudrātilakanāmamahāyoginītantrarājadhīpati</i> . P0012; T381, vol. 94, fols. 201r5–238r3.
<i>Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra</i>	Maitreyanātha (ascribed), <i>Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkārakārikā</i> . P5521; D4020.
<i>Māyājālatantra</i>	<i>Māyājālamahātantrarāja</i> . P0102; T 428, vol. 97, fols. 17r7–72r2.
<i>Ratnagoṭravibhāga</i>	Maitreyanātha (ascribed), <i>Ratnagoṭravibhāga Mahāyānottaratantraśāstra</i> . P5525; D4024. For a Tibetan edition, see NAKAMURA 1967. For a Sanskrit edition, see JOHNSTON 1950.

Abbreviations & Bibliography

- Ratnāvalī* Nāgārjuna, *Ratnāvalī*. P5658; D4158.
For a Sanskrit and Tibetan edition, see
HAHN 1982.
- Vimalaprabhā* Puṇḍarīka, *Vimalaprabhā*. P2064;
D1347. For a Sanskrit edition, see DWI-
WEDI & BAHULKAR 1994.
- Samputatantra* *Samputīnāmamahātantra*. P0026; T344,
vol. 93, fols. 301v6–446v4.
- Samputatantrarāja-
ṭikāmnāyamañjarī* Abhayākaragupta, *Samputatantrarāja-
ṭikāmnāyamañjarī*. P2328; D1198.
- **Svadarśanamatoḍdeśa* Mañjuśrīyaśas, **Svadarśanamatoḍdeśa-
parīkṣā*. P4610; D (not included).
- Yoginīsañcārya* *Yoginīsañcārya*. P0023; T340, vol. 93,
fols. 267r2–281r3.
- Yuktiṣaṣṭikā* Nāgārjuna, *Yuktiṣaṣṭikā*. P5225; D3825.
For a Sanskrit (fragment) and Tibetan
edition, see LINDNER 1997.

(d) Secondary Sources

- ALMOGI 2005 Orna Almogi, “Analysing Tibetan Titles: Towards a Genre-based Classification of Tibetan Titles.” *Cahiers d’Extrême-Asie* 15/1, 2005, 27–58.
- ALMOGI 2009 *Id.*, *Rong-zom-pa’s Discourses on Buddhology: A Study of Various Conceptions of Buddhahood in Indian Sources with Special Reference to the Controversy Surrounding the Existence of Gnosis (jñāna; ye shes) as Presented by the Eleventh-Century Tibetan Scholar Rong-zom Chos-kyi-bzang-po*. *Studia Philologica Buddhica*, Monograph Series 24. Tokyo: IIBS, 2009.
- ALMOGI 2010 *Id.*, “Māyopamādvayavāda versus Sarvadharmāpratiṣṭhānavāda: A Late Indian Subclassification of Madhyamaka and its Reception in Tibet.” *JICPBS* 14, 2010, 135–212.
- ALMOGI 2013 *Id.*, “Yogācāra in the Writings of the Eleventh-Century Rnying ma Scholar Rong zom Chos kyi bzang po.” In *The Foundation for Yoga Practitioners: The Buddhist Yogācārabhūmi Treatise and Its Adaption in India, East Asia, and Tibet*, edited by Ulrich Timme Kragh. *Harvard Oriental Series* 75. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013, 1330–1361.
- ALMOGI 2016 *Id.* (ed.), *Tibetan Manuscript and Xylograph Traditions: The Written Word and Its Media within the Tibetan Cultural Sphere*. *Indian and Tibetan Studies* 4. Hamburg: Department of Indian and Tibetan Studies, Universität Hamburg, 2016.

Abbreviations & Bibliography

- ARCA 2015 Giovanni Arca, “Reaffirming the ‘origins’ of *Mahāmudrā*.” In *Asian Horizons: Giuseppe Tucci’s Buddhist, Indian, Himalayan and Central Asian Studies*, edited by Angelo A. Di Castro and David Templeman. Serie Orientale Roma 106. Melbourne: Monash University Publishing, 2015, 113–174.
- ARDUSSI 1977 John A. Ardussi, *Bhutan Before the British - A Historical Study*. PhD dissertation, Australian National University, 1977.
- ARDUSSI 1999a *Id.*, “Gyalse Tenzin Rabgye and the Founding of Taktshang Lhakhang.” *JBS* 1/1, 1999, 36–63.
- ARDUSSI 1999b *Id.*, “The rapprochement between Bhutan and Tibet under the Enlightened Rule of sDe-srid XIII Shes-rab-dbang-phyug (r. 1744–63).” *JBS* 1/1, 1999, 64–83 (revised). First published in *Proceedings of the 7th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies Graz 1995*, vol. 1, edited by Ernst Steinkellner *et al.* Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1997, 17–27.
- ARDUSSI 2000 *Id.*, “The House of ‘Obs-mtsho - The History of a Bhutanese Gentry Family from the 13th to the 20th Century.” *JBS* 2/1, 2000, 1–29.
- ARDUSSI 2004 *Id.*, “Formation of the State of Bhutan (‘Brug gzhung) in the 17th Century and its Tibetan Antecedents.” *JBS* 11/2, 2004, 10–23. Appeared first in *Proceedings of the Seminar on The Relation between Religion and State (chos srid zung ’brel) in Traditional Tibet: Lumbini 4–7 March 2000*, edited by Christoph Cüppers. Lumbini: Lumbini International Research Center, 2004, 33–48.
- ARDUSSI 2006 *Id.*, “Stone Inscriptions: An Early Written Medium in Bhutan and Its Public Uses.” In *JBS* 14/1, 2006, 1–11.

A Timely Message from the Cave

- ARDUSSI John A. Ardussi and Françoise Pommaret
& POM- (eds.), *Bhutan: Tradition and Changes. PI-*
MARET 2007 *ATS 2003: Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the*
Tenth Seminar of the International Association
for Tibetan Studies, Oxford, 2003. Brill's Ti-
betan Studies Library 10/5. Leiden: Koninkli-
jke Brill NV, 2007.
- ARIS 1979 Michael V. Aris, *Bhutan: The Early History*
of a Himalayan Kingdom. Warminster: Aris &
Phillips, 1979.
- ARIS 1986 *Id.. Sources for the History of Bhutan.* WSTB
14. Vienna: AKTBS, Universität Wien, 1986.
- ARIS 1994 *Id., The Raven Crown: the Origins of Buddhist*
Monarchy in Bhutan. London: Serindia Publi-
cations, 1994.
- BAGCHI 1938 Prabodh Chandra Bagchi (ed.), *Dohākoṣa of*
Saraha (Apabhraṃśa Texts of the Sahajayāna
School): Part I (Texts and Commentaries). Cal-
cutta Sanskrit Series 25c. Kolkatta: Metropoli-
tan Printing and Publishing House, Ltd., 1938.
- BARRON 2010 Richard Barron (transl.), *Treasury of Knowl-*
edge: Book 9 and 10. Journey and Goal: An
Analysis of the Spiritual Paths and Levels to Be
Traversed and the Consummate Fruition State.
Jamgön Kontrul Lodrö Tayé. Ithaca, NY: Snow
Lion Publications, 2010.
- BARTHOLOMEV Terese T. Bartholomew and John Johnston
& JOHN- (eds.), *The Dragon's Gift: the Sacred Arts of*
STON 2008 *Bhutan.* Chicago: Serindia Publications, 2008.
- BHATTARCHARYA Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya (ed.), *Bodhi-*
1960 *caryāvatāra.* Bibliotheca Indica 280. Kolkata:
The Asiatic Society, 1960.
- BOSSON 1969 James E. Bosson, *A Treasury of Aphoristic Jew-*
els: the Subhāṣitaratnanidhi of Sa skya Paṇḍita
in Tibetan and Mongolian. Bloomington, IN:
Indiana University Bloomington, 1969.

Abbreviations & Bibliography

- BROIDO 1980 Michael Broido, “The term *dn̄gos-po’i gn̄as-lugs* as used in Padma dkar-po’s *gZhung ’grel*.” In *Tibetan Studies in Honor of Hugh Richardson*, edited by Michael Aris and Aung San Suu Kyi. Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1980.
- BROIDO 1984 *Id.*, “Padma dKar-po on tantra as ground path and goal.” *JTS* 4, 1984, 59–66.
- BROIDO 1985a *Id.*, “Padma dKar-po on integration as ground, path and goal.” *JTS* 5, 1985, 5–54.
- BROIDO 1985b *Id.*, “Padma dKar-po on the Two *Satyas*.” *JIABS* 8/2, 1985, 7–59.
- BROIDO 1987 *Id.*, “Sa-skyā Pandita, the White Panacea and the Hva-shang Doctrine.” *JIABS* 10/2, 1987, 27–68.
- BURCHARDI 2008 Anne Burchardi, “Shakya mchog ldan’s Heritage in Bhutan.” In *Written Treasures of Bhutan: Mirror of the Past and Bridge to the Future. Proceedings of the First International Conference on the Rich Scriptural Heritage of Bhutan*, edited by John Ardussi and Sonam Tobgay. Thimphu: The National Library of Bhutan, 2008, 25–34.
- CABEZÓN 2001 José I. Cabazón, “Authorshop and Literary Production in Classical Buddhist Tibet.” In *NEWLAND* 2001, 233–263.
- CABEZÓN & JACKSON 1996a José I. Cabazón and Roger R. Jackson (eds.), *Tibetan Literature: Studies in Genre*. Ithaca, NY: Snow Lion Publications, 1996.
- CABEZÓN & JACKSON 1996b *Id.*, “Editors’ Introduction.” In CABEZÓN & JACKSONa 1996, 11–37.
- CABEZÓN & DARGAY 2007 José I. Cabazón and Geshe Lobsang Dargay, *Freedom from Extremes: Gorampa’s “Distinguishing the Views” and the Polemics of Emptiness*. Boston, MA: Wisdom Publications, 2007.
- CALLAHAN 2017 Elizabeth M. Callahan (transl.) *Moonbeams of Mahamudra: Dakpo Tashi Namgyal. With Dispelling the Darkness of Ignorance by Wangchuk Dorje, the Ninth Karmapa*. Boulder, CO: Shambhala Publications, 2017.

A Timely Message from the Cave

- CAUMANN 2015 Volker Caumanns, *Shākya-mchog-ldan, Mahā-panḍita des Klosters gSer-mdog-can: Leben und Werk nach den tibetischen Quellen*. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 2015.
- CAUMANN 2017 *Id.*, “The Collected Works of gSer mdog Paṅ chen Shākya mchog ldan: The Formation and Early Transmission of a 15th-Century Literary Corpus.” In CAUMANN & SERNESI 2017: 115–60.
- CAUMANN & SERNESI 2017 Volker Caumanns and Marta Sernesi (eds.), *Fifteenth Century Tibet: Cultural Blossoming and Political Unrest. Proceedings of a Conference Held in Lumbini, Nepal, March 2015*. Lumbini: Lumbini International Research Institute, 2017.
- CICUZZA 2001 Claudio Cicuzza, *The Laghutantratīkā by Vajrapāṇi: A Critical Edition of the Sanskrit Text*. Rome: IsIAO, 2001.
- CLEARY 1993 Thomas Cleary, *The Flower Ornament Scripture: A Translation of the Avatamsaka Sūtra*. Boston, MA: Shambhala Publications, 1987 (First edition); Boston, MA: Shambhala Publications, 1993 (Revised edition).
- COLEMAN 2017 Donagh Coleman, “Resting Between Worlds: The Ontological Blurrings of Tukdam.” M.A. thesis, University of California Berkeley, 2017.
- CONERMANN & RHEINGANS 2014 Stephan Conermann and Jim Rheingans (eds.), *Narrative Pattern and Genre in Hagiographic Life Writing: Comparative Perspectives from Asia to Europe*. Berlin: EB Verlag, Dr. Brandt, 2014.
- CONSTITUTION DRAFTING COMMITTEE 2008 Constitution Drafting Committee, *The Constitution of The Kingdom of Bhutan*. <https://www.gov.bt/wp-content/uploads/2017/08/Constitution-of-Bhutan-Eng-2008.pdf?x50504>. Accessed: October 19, 2020.

Abbreviations & Bibliography

- CÜPPERS 1990 Cristoph Cüppers, *The IXth Chapter of the Samādhirājasūtra: A Text-critical Contribution to the Study of Mahāyāna Sūtras*. Alt- und Neu-Indische Studien 41. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1990.
- DARGYE 2001 Yonten Dargye, *History of the Drukpa Kagyud School in Bhutan (12th to 17th Century A.D.)*. Thimphu: Yonten Dargye, 2001.
- DARGYE & SØRENSEN 2001 Yonten Dargye and Per K. Sørensen, *The Biography of Pha 'Brug-sgom Zhig-po called the Current of Compassion*. Thimphu: The National Library of Bhutan, 2001.
- DARGYE & SØRENSEN & TSHERING 2008 Yonten Dargye, Per K. Sørensen, and Gyönpo Tshering, *Play of the Omniscient: Life and Works of Jamgön Ngagwang Gyaltshen. An Eminent 17th-18th Century Drukpa Master*. Thimphu: National Library & Archives of Bhutan, 2008.
- DAVIDSON 1999 Ronald M. Davidson, "Masquerading as *pramāṇa*: Esoteric Buddhism and Epistemological Nomenclature." In *Dharmakīrti's thought and its impact on Indian and Tibetan philosophy: Proceedings of the Third International Dharmakīrti Conference, Hiroshima, November 4–6, 1997*, edited by Shoryu Katsura. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1999, 25–35.
- DAVIDSON 2002 *Id.*, *Indian Esoteric Buddhism: A Social History of the Tantric Movement*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2002.
- DE LA VALLÉE
POUSSIN 1896 Louis de la Vallée Poussin (ed. & transl.), *Études et Textes Tantriques: Pañcakrama*. Gand: H. Engelcke and Louvain: J.-B. Istas, 1896.
- DEROCHE 2009 Marc-Henri Deroche, "Phreng po gter ston Shes rab 'od zer (1518-1584) on the Eight Lineages of Attainment: Research on a Ris med Paradigm. Contemporary Visions in Tibetan Studies." In DOTSON *et al.* 2009: 319–341.

- DIEMBERGER Hildegard Diemberger, Franz-Karl Ehrhard, & EHRHARD, and Peter Kornicki (eds.), *Tibetan Printing: Comparisons, Continuities and Change*. Brill's Tibetan Studies Library 39. Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2016.
- DIVALERIO David M. DiValerio, *The Holy Madmen of Tibet*. 2015 New York: Oxford University Press, 2015.
- DORJE 1987 Gyurme Dorje, *The Guhyagarbhatantra and its XIVth Century Commentary Phyogs-bcu munsel*. 3 vols. PhD dissertation, University of London, 1987.
- DORJI 1995 C. T. Dorji, *A Political & Religious History of Bhutan (1651–1906)*. Delhi: Prominent Publishers, 1995.
- DOTSON Brandon Doston, Tim Myatt, and Kalsang *et al.* 2009 Norbu Gurung (eds.), *Contemporary Visions in Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the First International Seminar of Young Tibetologists*. Chicago: Serindia Publications, 2009.
- DOWMAN & KEITH DOWMAN and Sonam Paljor (transl.), *The divine madman: The Sublime Life and Songs of Drukpa Kunley*. London: Rider & Co, 1982 (First edition); Varanasi: Pilgrims Publishing, 2000 (Reprint).
- DUFF 2011a Tony Duff, *Drukchen Padma Karpo's Collected Works on Mahamudra*. Kathmandu: Padma Karpo Translation Committee, 2011.
- DUFF 2011b *Id.*, *The Bodyless Dakini Dharma: The Dakini Hearing Lineage of the Kagyu*. Kathmandu: Padma Karpo Translation Committee, 2011.
- DUFF 2011c *Id.*, *A Juggernaut of the Non-Dual View: Ultimate Teachings of the Second Drukchen, Gyalwang Je*. Kathmandu: Padma Karpo Translation Committee, 2011.
- DUFF 2015 *Id.*, *The Illuminator: Tibetan-English Encyclopaedic dictionary*. Kathmandu: Padma Karpo Translation Committee, 2000–2015. Version 5.30, January 1, 2015. [Electronic dictionary].

Abbreviations & Bibliography

- DWIWEDI & BAHULKAR 1994 Vrajavallabh Dwivedi and Shrikant S. Bahulkar (eds.), *Vimalaprabhātikā of Kalkin Śrīpūṇḍarīka on Śrīlaghukālacakratantrarāja by Śrīmañjuśrīyaśas*. 3 vols. Rare Buddhist Text Series 12. Sarnath, Varanasi: CIHTS, 1994.
- EHRHARD, F.-K. 1982 Franz-Karl Ehrhard, *Der heilige Narr: das liederliche Leben und die lästerlichen Gesänge des tantrischen Meisters Drukpa Künleg*. Frankfurt am Main: O.W. Barth, 1982.
- EHRHARD, F.-K. 2016 *Id.*, “Two Sets from the Bo dong pa School.” In DIEMBERGER, EHRHARD, F.-K. & KORNICKI 2016, 212–236.
- EHRHARD, X. *et al.* 2017 Franz Xaver Erhard, Jeannine Bischoff, Lewis Doney, Jörg Heimbels, and Emilia Roza Sulek (eds.). *Ancient Currents, New Traditions: Papers Presented at the Fourth International Seminar of Young Tibetologists*. Edition Tethys: Wissenschaft 1. Potsdam: Edition Tethys, 2017.
- ENGLISH 2002 Elizabeth English, *Vajrayoginī: Her Visualizations, Rituals, and Forms. A Study of the Cult of Vajrayoginī in India*. Boston, MA: Wisdom Publications, 2002.
- ERSCHBAMER 2017 Marlene Erschbamer, *The 'Ba'-ra-ba bKa'-brgyud-pa: Historical and Contemporary Studies*. WSTB 92. Vienna: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien, 2017.
- GALLI & EHRHARD, X. 2020 Lucia Galli and Franz Xaver Erhard. “The Selfless Ego I: Memory and Imagination in Tibetan Hagiographical Writing.” *Life Writing*, 17/2, 2020, 153–159.
- GIRTLE 2001 Roland Girtler, *Methoden der Feldforschung*. Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2001.
- GRAY 2012 David B. Gray, “Imprints of the ‘Great Seal’ - On the expanding semantic range of the term of *mudrā* in eighth through eleventh century Indian Buddhist literature.” *JIAS* 34/2, 2011 [2012], 421–481.

- GUARISCO & MCLEOD 2010 Elio Guarisco and Ingrid McLeod (transl.), *Treasury of Knowledge: Book Six, Part Four. Systems of Buddhist Tantra: The Indestructible Way of Secret Mantra. Jamgön Kontrul Lodrö Tayé*. Ithaca, NY: Snow Lion Publications, 2005.
- GYATSO 1998 Janet Gyatso, *Apparitions of the Self: The Secret Autobiographies of a Tibetan Visionary. A Translation and Study of Jigme Lingpa's Dancing Moon in the Water and Dākki's Grand Secret-Talk*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998.
- HAHN 1982 Michael Hahn (ed.), *Nāgārjuna's Ratnāvalī: Vol. 1 The Basic Texts (Sanskrit, Tibetan, Chinese)*. MSLITK 1. Bonn: Indica et Tibetica Verlag, 1982.
- HARDING 2008 Sarah Harding (transl.), *The Treasury of Knowledge: Book Eight, Part Four. Esoteric Instructions: A Detailed Presentation of the Process of Meditation in Vajrayāna. Jamgön Kongtrul Lodrö Tayé*. Ithaca, NY: Snow Lion Publications, 2008.
- HELMAN-WAŻNY 2014 Agnieszka Helman-Ważny, *The Archaeology of Tibetan Books*. Brill's Tibetan Studies Library 36. Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2014.
- HENNING 2011 Edward Henning, "The Bhutanese calendar – Open source software and calendar archive," November 11, 2011. <http://www.kalacakra.org/calendar/bhutlist.htm>. Accessed: October 19, 2020.
- HIGGINS 2006 David Higgins, "On the Development of the Non-Mentation (*amanasikāra*) Doctrine in Indo-Tibetan Buddhism." *JIAS* 29/2, 2006 [2009], 253–303.
- HIGGINS 2015 *Id.*, "The Two Faces of Mahāmudrā: Padma dkar po on Yang dgon pa's *gnas lugs phyag chen* and '*khrol lugs phyag chen*." In MATHES 2015b: 51–78.

Abbreviations & Bibliography

- HIGGINS 2016 *Id.*, “Padma dkar po’s (1527–92) Defence of Bka’ brgyud Amanasikāra Teachings.” *JIAS* 39/1, 2016 [2017], 429–485.
- HIGGINS & DRASZCZYK 2016 David Higgins and Martina Draszczyk, *Mahāmudrā and the Middle Way: Post-Classical Kagyü Discourses on Mind, Emptiness and Buddha-nature*, edited by Birgit Kellner, Klaus-Dieter Mathes, and Michael Torsten Much. 2 vols. (separate pagination). WSTB 90. Vienna: AKTBS, Universität Wien, 2016.
- HUBER 1999 Tony Huber, *The Cult of Pure Crystal Mountain: Popular Pilgrimage and Visionary Landscape in Southeast Tibet*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- HUGON 2009 Pascale Hugon, “Phya pa Chos kyi seng ge’s synoptic table of the *Pramāṇaviniścaya*.” In *Sanskrit manuscripts in China: Proceedings of a panel at the 2008 Beijing Seminar on Tibetan Studies. October 13 to 17*, edited by Ernst Steinkellner. Beijing: China Tibetology Publishing House, 2009, 47–88.
- HUNTER 1978 Dard Hunter, *Papermaking: The History and Technique of an Ancient Craft*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1943 (First edition); New York: Dover Publications, 1978 (Reprint of the second edition).
- IMAEDA 1989 Yoshiro Imaeda, “Papermaking in Bhutan.” *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hung* 43/2–3, 1989, 409–414.
- ISAACSON & SFERRA 2014 Harunaga Isaacson and Francesco Sferra (eds.). *The Sekanirdeśa of Maitreyanātha (Advayavajra) with the Sekanirdeśapañjikā of Rāmapāla: Critical Edition of the Sanskrit and Tibetan Texts with English Translation and Reproductions of the MSS*. Manuscripta Buddhica 2. Hamburg: Asien-Afrika-Institut, Universität Hamburg and Università degli studi di Napoli L’Orientale, 2014.

A Timely Message from the Cave

- JACKSON, David P. Jackson, “Sa-skya Pandita the
D. 1990 ‘Polemicist:’ Ancient Debates and Modern Interpretations.” *JIAS* 13/2, 1990, 17–116.
- JACKSON, *Id.*, “Birds in the Egg and Newborn Lion Cubs:
D. 1992 Metaphors for the Potentialities and Limitations of ‘All at Once’ Enlightenment.” In *Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the 5th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Narita 1989*, edited by Ihara Shoren and Yamaguchi Zuiho. Narita: Naritasan Shinshoji, 1992, 95–114.
- JACKSON, *Id.*, *Enlightenment by a Single Means: Tibetan
D. 1994 Controversies on the “Self-Sufficient White Remedy” (dkar po chig thub)*. Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1994.
- JACKSON, Roger R. Jackson, “The dGe ldan-bKa’ brgyud
R. 2001 tradition of Mahāmudrā: How much dGe ldan? How much bKa’ brgyud?”. In *NEULAND* 2001, 155–192.
- JACKSON, *Id.*, *Tantric Treasures: Three Collections of
R. 2004 Mystical Verse from Buddhist India*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- JACKSON, *Id.*, “The Study Of Mahāmudrā In The West:
R. 2011 A Brief Historical Overview.” In *KAPSTEIN & JACKSON* 2011, 3–54.
- JACKSON, *Id.*, “Did Tsongkhapa Teach Mahāmudrā?” In
R. 2015 *MATHES* 2015b, 79–98.
- JACKSON R. & Roger R. Jackson and Klaus-Dieter Mathes
MATHES 2020 (eds.), *Mahāmudrā in India and Tibet*. Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2020.
- JÄSCHKE 2003 Heinrich A. Jäschke, *A Tibetan-English Dictionary*. London: [Berlin, Unger Brothers (T. Grimm)], 1881 (First edition); New York: Dover Publications, 2003 (Reprint).
- JOHNSTON 1950 E. H. Johnston (ed.), *The Ratnagotravibhāga Mahāyānottaratantrasāstra*. Patna: Bihar Research Society, 1950.

Abbreviations & Bibliography

- KAPSTEIN 1989 Matthew T. Kapstein, "A Late Tibetan Polemical Discussion of Apocryphical Texts." *History of Religions* 28/3, 1989, 217–244.
- KAPSTEIN 2006 *Id.*, *The Tibetans*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2006.
- KAPSTEIN 2015 *Id.*, "Dohās and Gray Texts: Reflections on a Song Attributed to Kāṅha." In *From Bhakti to Bon: Festschrift for Per Kvaerne*, edited by Hanna Havnevik und Charles Ramble. The Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture. Oslo: Novus forlag, 2015, 291–203.
- KAPSTEIN & JACKSON 2011 Matthew T. Kapstein and Roger R. Jackson (eds.), *Mahāmudrā and the Bka'brgyud Tradition: Proceedings of the 11th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Königswinter 2006*. Andiast: IITBS, 2011.
- KAWULICH 2005 Barbara B. Kawulich, "Participant Observation as a Data Collection Method [81 paragraphs]." *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung/Forum: Qualitative Social Research* 6/2, 2005. <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:0114-fqs05-02430>. Accessed: October 18, 2020.
- KEMP 2015 Casey Kemp, "Merging Ignorance and Luminosity in Early Bka'brgyud Bsre ba Literature." *ZAS* 44, 2015, 35–50.
- KOMAROVSKI 2000 Iaroslav Komarovski (transl.), *Three Texts on Madhyamaka by Shakya Chokden*. Dharmashala: LTWS, 2000.
- KOMAROVSKI 2011 *Id.*, *Visions of Unity: the Golden Paṅḍita Shakya Chokden's New Interpretation of Yogācāra and Madhyamaka*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2011.

- KOMAROVSKI 2019 *Id.*, “‘There Are No Dharmas Apart from the Dharma-Sphere’: Shakya Chokden’s Interpretation of the Dharma-Sphere.” In SHEEHY & MATHES 2019, 171–196. *Digital-Commons@University of Nebraska - Lincoln*. <https://digitalcommons.unl.edu/classicsfacpub/136/>, 1–32 (Reprint). Accessed: September 10, 2020.
- KRAGH, K. 2003 Kate Kragh, “Prolegomenon to the Bhutanese rnam thar texts on Zhabs Drung Ngag Dbang Rnam Rgyal (1594-1651).” In *Fund og Forskning*, 42, 2003, 81–102. http://img.kb.dk/tidsskrift.dk/pdf/ffo/ffo_2003_42-PDF/ffo_2003_42_101062.pdf. Accessed: October 19, 2020.
- KRAGH, U. 2011 Ulrich Timme Kragh, “The Prolegomenon of the Six Doctrines of Nā ro pa: Authority and Tradition.” In KAPSTEIN & JACKSON 2011, 131–178.
- KRETSCHMAR 1981 Andreas Kretschmar, *’Brug pa kun legs: das wundersame Leben eines verrückten Heiligen*. Beiträge zur Zentralasienforschung 5. Sankt Augustin: VGH Wissenschaftsverlag, 1981.
- KRUG 2020 Adam C. Krug, “*The Seven Siddhi Texts (Grub pa sde bdun)* Remarks on the Corpus and Its Employment in Sa skya-Bka’ brgyud Mahāmudrā Polemical Literature.” In JACKSON & MATHES 2020, 90–122.
- KUMAGAI & GAWA & AKI-NORI 2012 Seiji Kumagai, Thupten Gawa, and Yasuda Akinori, “Introduction to the Collected Works of the Founder of the Drukpa Kagyu (’Brug pa bKa’ brgyud) School: Tsangpa Gyare (gTsang pa rgya ras, 1161-1211).” In *Buddhism Without Borders: Proceedings of the International Conference on Globalized Buddhism, Bumthang, Bhutan May 21-23, 2012*, edited by Dasho Karma Ura and Dendup Chopel. Thimphu: Centre for Bhutan & GNH Studies, 2012, 36–52.

Abbreviations & Bibliography

- KUNSANG 1997 Erik P. Kunsang (transl.), *Gateway to Knowledge: The treatise entitled The Gate for Entering the Way of a Pandita by Jamgön Mipham Rinpoche. Vol. 1.* Hongkong: Rangjung Yeshe Publications, 1997.
- LARSSON 2011 Stefan Larsson, “What Do the Childhood and Early Life of Gtsang smyon Heruka Tell Us about His Bka’ brgyud Affiliation?” In KAPSTEIN & JACKSON 2011, 425–452.
- LAMA CHÖ-NAM & SANGYE KHANDRO 2010 Lama Chönam and Sangye Khandro (transl.), *Essence of Clear Light: An Overview of the Secret Commentary Thorough Dispelling of Darkness throughout the Ten Directions entitled Essence of Clear Light. Jamgon Mipham.* Ithaca, NY: Snow Lion Publications, 2010.
- LINDNER 1997 Christian Lindtner (ed. & transl.), *Master of Wisdom: Writings of the Buddhist Master Nagarjuna, Translation and Studies.* Berkeley: Yeshe De Project, Dharma Publishing, 1997.
- LOPEZ 1996 Donald S. Lopez Jr., “Polemical literature (*dGag lan*).” In CABEZÓN & JACKSON 1996, 217–228.
- MAKIDONO 2016 Tomoko Makidono, *dGe-rtse Mahāpaṇḍita’s Great Middle Way of Other-Emptiness.* Bibliotheca Tibetica et Buddhica 2. Minobu: Sankibo Busshorin/Minobusan University, 2016.
- MAKRANSKY 1998 John J. Makransky, *Buddhahood Embodied: Sources of Controversy in India and Tibet.* Bibliotheca Indo-Buddhica Series 193. Albany, NY: SUNY, 1998 (First edition); Delhi: Sri Satguru Publications, 1998 (Reprint).
- MARTIN 1996 Dan Martin, “Tables of Contents (*dKar chag*).” In CABEZÓN & JACKSON 1996a, 500–514.

- MATHES 2006 Klaus-Dieter Mathes, “Blending the Sūtras with the Tantras: The Influence of Maitrīpa and his Circle on the Formation of Sūtra Mahāmudrā in the Kagyu Schools.” In *Buddhist Literature and Praxis: Studies in its Formative Period 900–1400. Proceedings of the Tenth Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, 2003, vol. 4*, edited by Ronald M. Davidson and Christian K. Wedemeyer. Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2006, 201–227.
- MATHES 2008 *Id.*, *A Direct Path to the Buddha Within: Gö Lotsawa’s Mahāmudrā Interpretation of the Ratnagotravibhāga*. Boston, MA: Wisdom Publications, 2008.
- MATHES 2011 *Id.*, “The Collection of ‘Indian Mahāmudrā Works’ (*phyag chen rgya gzhung*) Compiled by the Seventh Karma pa Chos grags rgya mtsho.” In KAPSTEIN & JACKSON 2011, 89–127.
- MATHES 2015a *Id.*, *A Fine Blend of Mahāmudrā and Madhyamaka: Maitrīpa’s Collection of Texts on Non-conceptual Realization (Amanasikāra)*. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2015.
- MATHES 2015b *Id.* (ed.), *Towards a History of Tibetan Mahāmudrā Traditions*. ZAS 44. Andiast: IITBS, 2015.
- MATHES 2019 *Id.*, “The Four Signs of Mahāmudrā Meditation – The Prevailing Topic in Karma Phrin las pa’s Dohā Commentary.” In *Techniques in Vajrayāna Buddhism: Proceedings of the Third Vajrayāna Conference*. Thimphu: Centre for Bhutan & GNH Studies, 2019, 45–69.
- MATHES 2020 *Id.*, “Maitrīpa’s *Amanasikāra*-Based Mahāmudrā in the Works of the Eighth Karma pa Mi bskyod rdo rje.” In JACKSON & MATHES 2020, 269–301.

Abbreviations & Bibliography

- MILLER 2005 Willa Blythe Miller, “The Vagrant Poet and the Reluctant Scholar: A Study on the Balance of Iconoclasm and Civility in the Biographical Accounts of Two Founders of the ‘Brug pa bKa’ brgyud Lineages.” *JiABS* 28/2, 2005, 369–410.
- MILLER 2013 *Id.*, *Secrets of the Vajra Body: Dngos po’i gnas lugs and the Apotheosis of the Body in the Work of Rgyal ba Yang dgon pa*. PhD dissertation, Harvard University, 2013. <https://dash.harvard.edu/handle/1/11125112>. Accessed, March 13, 2017.
- MIMAKI 1982 Katsumi Mimaki (ed. & transl.), *Blo gsal grub mtha’*: *Chapitre IX (Vaibhāsika) et XI (Yogācāra) édités et Chapitre XII (Mādhyamika) édité et traduit*. Kyoto: Zinbun Kagaku Kenkyusyo, Kyoto University, 1982.
- NAKAMURA 1967 Zuiryu Nakamura, *Ratnagotravibhāga: Edition of the Tibetan Text with Japanese Translation and Indices (Skt.-Tib./Jap. and Tib.-Skt.)*. Tokyo: Suzuki Gakujutsu Zaidan, 1967.
- NEUMAIER 2007 Eva K. Neumaier, “The *rMad du byung ba* in Its Three Versions.” In *The Pandita and Siddha: Tibetan Studies in Honour of Gene Smith*, edited by Ramon N. Prats. Dharamshala: Amnye Machen Institute, 2007, 171–178.
- NEWLAND 2001 Guy Newland (ed.), *Changing Minds: Contributions to the Study of Buddhism and Tibet in Honor of Jeffrey Hopkins*. Ithaca, NY: Snow Lion Publications, 2001.
- OBERMILLER 1937 Jewgeni Jewgenjewitsch Obermiller, *Prajñā-Pāramitā-Ratna-Guṇa-Saṃcay-Gāthā: Sanskrit & Tibetan Text*. Bibliotheca Indo-Buddhica 29. Moscow-Leningrad: U.D.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, 1937 (First edition); Delhi: Sri Satguru Publications, 1992 (Reprint).

A Timely Message from the Cave

- PADMAKARA 2007 Padmakara Translation Group (transl.), *Words of my Perfect Teacher: A Complete Translation of a Classic Introduction to Tibetan Buddhism*. Ithaca, NY: Snow Lion Publications, 1994 (First edition); Delhi: Vistaar Publications 2007 (Reprint of second edition).
- PANDANUS 1998–2009 “Pandanus Database of Indian Plants.” <http://iu.ff.cuni.cz/pandanus/database/>. Prague: Charles University, Faculty of Arts, Seminar of Indian Studies, 1998–2009. Accessed: October 19, 2020.
- PELLEGRINI 2011 Andrés M. Pellegrini, “THL Tibetan to English Translation Tool,” version 3.3.0, March 4, 2001. <http://www.thlib.org/reference/dictionaries/tibet-an-dictionary/translate.php>. Accessed: October 20, 2020.
- PENJORE 1999 Dorji Penjore, *Oral Construction of Exile Life and Times of Künkhyen Longchen Rabjam in Bumthang*, *JBS* 13/2, 1999, 60–73.
- PETTIT 1999 John W. Pettit, *Mipham’s Beacon of Certainty: Illuminating the View of Dzogchen, the Great Perfection*. Boston, MA: Wisdom Publications, 1999.
- PHUNTSHO 2005 Karma Phuntsho, *Mipham’s Dialectics and Debates on Emptiness: To be, not to be or neither*. London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2005.
- PHUNTSHO 2013 *Id.*, *The History of Bhutan*. Noida: Random House India, 2013.
- RHEINGANS 2012 Jim Rheingans, “Communicating the Innate: Observations on Teacher-Student Interaction in the Tibetan Mahāmudrā Instructions.” In *Buddhist Philosophy and Meditation Practice. Academic Papers presented at the 2nd IABU Conference Mahachulalongkornrajavidyalaya University, Ayutthaya, Thailand*, edited by Khammai Dhammasami, Padmasiri de Silva, Sarah Shaw *et al.* Amphoe Wang Noi: International Association of Buddhist Universities (IABU), 177–202.

Abbreviations & Bibliography

- RHEINGANS 2014 *Id.*, “Narratology in Buddhist Studies: Dialogues about Meditation in a Tibetan Hagiography.” In CONERMANN & RHEINGANS 2014, 69–112.
- RHEINGANS 2015 *Id.* (ed.), *Tibetan Literary Genres, Texts, and Text Types: From Genre Classification to Transformation*. Brill’s Tibetan Studies Library 37. Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2015.
- RHEINGANS 2017 *Id.* (ed.), *The Eighth Karmapa’s Life and his Interpretation of The Great Seal: A Religious Life and Instructional Texts in Historical and Doctrinal Contexts*. Hamburg Buddhist Studies Series 9. Bochum/Freiburg: Projektverlag, 2017.
- RHOTON 2002 Jared D. Rhoton (transl.), *A Clear Differentiation of the Three Codes: Essential Distinctions among the Individual Liberation, Great Vehicle, and Tantric Systems: The sDom gsum rab dbye and Six Letters. Sakya Pandita Kunga Gyaltshen*, edited by Victoria R. M. Scott. Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2002.
- RICARD *et al.* 2001 Matthieu Ricard, Jakob Leschly, Erik Schmidt, Marilyn Silverstone, and Lodrö Palmo (transl.), *The Life of Shabkar: The Autobiography of a Tibetan Yogi. The King of Wish-granting Jewels That Fulfills the Hopes of All Fortunate Disciples Who Seek Liberation*. Ithaca, NY: Snow Lion Publications, 2001.
- ROBERTS 2011 Peter A. Roberts, *Mahāmudrā and Related Instructions: Core Teachings of the Kagyü Schools*. Boston, MA: Wisdom Publications, 2011.
- ROERICH 1949 George N. Roerich in collaboration with dGe’dun-chos-’phel, *The Blue Annals. Part 1 and 2*. Kolkata: Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1949 (First edition); Delhi: Motilal Barnassidas, 1995 (Reprint).

A Timely Message from the Cave

- ROESLER 2014 Ulrike Roesler, “Operas, Novels, and Religious Instructions: Life-stories of Tibetan Buddhist Masters between Genre Classifications.” In CONERMANN & RHEINGANS 2014, 113–139.
- ROESLER 2015 Ulrike Roesler, “Classifying Literature or Organizing Knowledge? Some Considerations on Genre Classifications in Tibetan Literature.” In RHEINGANS 2015, 31–53.
- ROESLER 2020 Ulrike Roesler “Between Self-Expression and Convention: Tibetan Reflections on Autobiographical Writing”. *Life Writing*, 17/2, 2020. Pagination from Pre-print version. https://www.academia.edu/42169770/Between_Self_Expression_and_Convention_Tibetan_Reflections_on_Autobiographical_Writing. Accessed: October 19, 2020.
- SAMDHONG RINPOCHE & DWIVEDI 1978 Samdhong Rinpoche and Vrajavallabh Dwivedi (eds.), *Guhyādi-Aṣṭasiddhi-Saṃgraha*. Rare Buddhist Text Series 1. Sarnath, Varanasi: CIHTS, 1978.
- SANDERSON 2009 Alexis Sanderson, “The Śaiva Age: The Rise and Dominance of Śaivism during the Early Medieval Period.” In *Genesis and Development of Tantrism*, edited by Shingo Einoo. Institute of Oriental Culture Special Series 23. Tokyo: Institute of Oriental Culture, University of Tokyo, 2009, 41–350.
- SCHAEFFER 2000 Kurt R. Schaeffer, *Tales of the Great Brahmin: Creative Traditions of the Buddhist Poet-Saint Saraha*. PhD dissertation, Harvard University, 2000.
- SCHAEFFER 2005 *Id.*, *Dreaming the Great Brahmin: Tibetan Traditions of the Buddhist Poet-Saint Saraha*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- SCHAEFFER & KAPSTEIN & TUTTLE 2013 Kurtis R. Schaeffer, Matthew T. Kapstein and Gray Tuttle (eds.), *Sources of Tibetan Tradition*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2013.

Abbreviations & Bibliography

- SCHEUERMANN 2015 Rolf Scheuermann, “The *Four Dharmas of Sgam po pa* - A Brief Examination of Padma dkar po’s Famous *Dwags po i chos bzhi i rnam bshad skyes bu gsum gyi lam nyin mor byed pa*.” In MATHES 2015b, 121–144.
- SCHEUERMANN 2017 *Id.*, “sGam po pa’s Doctrinal System: A Programmatic Way to Buddhahood for Beings of Varying Capacity, Both Gradual and Sudden?” In ERHARD *et al.* 2017, 335–351.
- SCHILLER 2014 Alexander Schiller, *Die “Vier Yoga”-Stufen der Mahāmudrā-Meditationstradition: Eine Anthologie aus den Gesammelten Schriften des Mönchsgelehrten und Yogin Phag mo gru pa rDo rje rgyal po (Kritischer Text und Übersetzung, eingeleitet und erläutert)*. Indian and Tibetan Studies 2. Hamburg: Department of Indian and Tibetan Studies, Universität Hamburg, 2014.
- SCHMITHAUSEN 1969 Lambert Schmithausen, *Der Nirvāṇa-Abschnitt in der Viniścayasamgrahaṇī der Yogācārabhūmiḥ*. Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 1969.
- SCHMITHAUSEN 1973 *Id.*, “Zu D. Seyfort Rueggs Buch ‘la Théorie du Tathāgatagarbha et du Gotra’ (Besprechungsaufsatz).” *WZKS* 17, 123–160.
- SCHMITHAUSEN 1981 *Id.*, “On some Aspects of Descriptions or Theories of ‘Liberating Insight’ and ‘Enlightenment’ in Early Buddhism.” In *Studien zum Jainismus und Buddhismus (Gedenkschrift für Ludwig Alsdorf)*. Wiesbaden: Klaus Bruhn & Albrecht Wezler, 1981, 199–250.
- SCHUH 1983a Dieter Schuh, “Zu den Hintergründen der Parteinahme Ladakh’s für Bhutan im Krieg gegen Lhasa.” In *Recent Research on Ladakh: History, Culture, Sociology, Ecology. Schriftenreihe Internationales Asienforum Band 1*, edited by Detlef Kantowsky and Reinhard Sander. München: Weltforum Verlag, 37–50.

A Timely Message from the Cave

- SCHUH 1983b *Id.*, “Frühe Beziehungen zwischen dem ladakhischen Herrscherhaus und der südlichen ’Brugpa-Schule.” *Archiv für Zentralasiatische Geschichtsforschung. Heft 1–6*, edited by Dieter Schuh and Michael Weiers. Sankt Augustin: VGH Wissenschaftsverlag, 1983.
- SCHUH 2010 *Id.*, “Tibetische Sechzigjahreszyklen (rabbyung und drug-cu skor).” <http://www.tibetencyclopaedia.de/sechzigjahreszyklen.html>. Accessed: June 20, 2020.
- SCHWERK 2012 Dagmar Schwerk, “‘Spiegel der Sichtweise: Die Kernpunkte [der Philosophie] des Mittleren [Weges]’ (*dBu ma’i bsdus don lta ba’i me long*): Eine kurze Abhandlung über das Madhyamakārje dGe’-dun-rin-chens (1926–1997), dem 69. rJe mKhan-po von Bhutan.” Magister thesis, Universität Hamburg, 2012.
- SCHWERK 2016 *Id.*, “The Pointed Spear of a Siddha and its Commentaries: The ’Brug pa bka’ brgyud School in Defence of the Mahāmudrā Doctrine.” [Special issue: Ancient Currents, New Traditions: Papers Presented at the Fourth International Seminar of Young Tibetologists]. *RET* 37/3, 352–373.
- SCHWERK 2019a *Id.*, “Drawing Lines in a Maṇḍala: A Sketch of Boundaries Between Religion and Politics in Bhutan.” *Working Paper Series of the HCAS “Multiple Secularities – Beyond the West, Beyond Modernities”* 12. Leipzig: Leipzig University, 2019. https://www.multiple-secularities.de/media/wps_schwerk_drawinglines.pdf. Accessed: October 19, 2020.

Abbreviations & Bibliography

- SCHWERK 2019b *Id.*, “Buddhism and Politics in the Tibetan Cultural Area.” In *Companion to the Study of Secularity*. Edited by HCAS “Multiple Secularities – Beyond the West, Beyond Modernities.” Leipzig: Leipzig University, 2019. https://www.multiple-secularities.de/media/ca_schwerk_tibetanculturalarea_final.pdf. Accessed: October 19, 2020.
- SCHWIEGER 2015 Peter Schwieger, “From Hagiography to Modern Short Story: How to Get Rid of Old Social Ideals and Literary Stereotypes.” In RHEINGANS 2015, 270–278.
- SERNESI 2011 Marta Sernesi, “The Aural Transmission of Saṃvara: An Introduction to Neglected Sources for the Study of the Early Bka’ brgyud.” In KAPSTEIN & JACKSON 2011, 179–209.
- SERNESI 2014 *Id.*, “A prayer to the complete liberation of Mi la ras pa.” In CONERMANN & RHEINGANS 2014, 141–185.
- SERNESI 2013/2014 *Id.*, “The Collected Sayings of the Masters: On Authorship, Author-function, and Authority.” *JIAS* 37, 2013/2014 [2015], 459–489.
- SERNESI 2016 *Id.*, “Works and Networks of mkhas pa Dri med. On the Illustrations of 16th Century Tibetan Printed Books.” In DIEMBERGER & EHRHARD, F.-K. & KORNICKI 2016: 332–368.
- SEYFORT RUEGG 1988 David Seyfort Ruegg, “A Kar ma bKa’ brgyud work on the lineages and traditions of the Indo-Tibetan dBu ma (Madhyamaka).” In *Orientalia Iosephi Tucci Memoriae Dicata* 56/3, edited by Gherardo Gnoli and Lionello Lanciotti. Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1988.
- SEYFORT RUEGG 1989 *Id.*, *Buddha-nature, Mind and the Problem of Gradualism in a Comparative Perspective*. Jordan Lectures in Comparative Religion 13. London: SOAS, University of London, 1989.

A Timely Message from the Cave

- SEYFORT RUEGG 1992 *Id.*, “Notes on some Indian and Tibetan reckonings of the Buddha’s Nirvāṇa and the duration of this teaching.” In *The dating of the historical Buddha/Die Datierung des historischen Buddha Part 2*, edited by Heinz Bechert. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1992, 263–290.
- SEYFORT RUEGG 2000 *Id.*, *Three Studies in the History of Indian and Tibetan Madhyamaka Philosophy: Studies in Indian and Tibetan Madhyamaka Thought Part 1*, edited by Ernst Steinkellner. WSTB 50. Vienna: AKTBS, Universität Wien, 2000.
- SFERRA & MERZAGORA 2006 Francesco Sferra and Stefania Merzagora (eds.), *The Sekoddeśatikā by Nāropā (Paramārthasamgraha)*. Rome: IsIAO, 2006.
- SHAKYA 1999 Tsering Shakya. *The Dragon in the Land of Snows: A History of Modern Tibet Since 1947*. New York: Columbia University press, 1999.
- SHEEHY & MATHES 2019 Michael R. Sheehy and Klaus-Dieter Mathes (eds.), *The Other Emptiness: Rethinking the Zhentong Buddhist Discourse in Tibet*. Albany, NY: SUNY, 2019.
- SHERPA 2004 Trungram Gyaltrul Rinpoche Sherpa, *Gampopa, the Monk and the Yogi: his Life and Teachings*. PhD dissertation, Harvard University, 2004.
- SMITH 2001 Gene E. Smith, *Among Tibetan Texts: History & Literature of the Himalayan Plateau*. Boston, MA: Wisdom Publications, 2001.
- SMITH 2003 *Id.*, “Banned Books in the Tibetan Speaking Lands.” In *Symposium on Contemporary Tibetan Studies Collected Papers: 21st Century Tibet Issue*. Taipei: Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs Commission, 2004, 186–196. <http://www.mtac.gov.tw/pages/93/Gene%20Smith.pdf>. Accessed: April 25, 2017.
- SNELLGROVE 1959 David L. Snellgrove, *The Hevajra Tantra: A Critical Study. Part Two: Sanskrit and Tibetan Texts*. London Oriental Series 6. London: Oxford University Press, 1959.

Abbreviations & Bibliography

- SOBISCH 2008 Jan-Ulrich Sobisch, *Hevajra and Lam 'bras Literature of India and Tibet as Seen Through the Eyes of A-mes-zhabs*. Contributions to Tibetan Studies 6, edited by David P. Jackson and Franz-Karl Ehrhard. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 2008.
- SOBISCH 2011 *Id.*, “Guru-Devotion in the Bka’ brgyud pa Tradition: The Single Means to Realisation.” In KAPSTEIN & JACKSON 2011, 211–255.
- SOBISCH 2015 *Id.*, “Tibetan Interpretations of Authenticity: The Four Means of Authentication (*tshad ma bzhi*) Belonging to the *mantra* Vehicle in the Sa skya and ’Bri gung Traditions.” In *The Illuminating Mirror: Tibetan Studies in Honour of Per K. Sørensen on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday*, edited by Olaf Czaja and Guntram Hazod. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 2015, 461–484.
- SOBISCH 2020a *Id.*, *The Buddha’s Single Intention: Drigung Kyobpa Jikten Sumgön’s Vajra Statements of the Early Kagyü Tradition*. Boston, MA: Wisdom Publications, 2020.
- SOBISCH 2020b “’Jig rten gsum mgon’s *Dgongs gcig* on the Relation between Mahāmudrā and the Six Yogas of Nāropa.” In JACKSON & MATHES 2020, 170–184.
- SØRENSEN 1994 Per K. Sørensen, *Tibetan Buddhist Historiography: The Mirror Illuminating the Royal Genealogies. An Annotated Translation of the XIVth Century Tibetan Chronicle: rGya-rabs gsal-ba’i me-long*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1994.

- SØRENSEN & HAZOD 2007 Per K. Sørensen and Guntram Hazod in cooperation with Tsering Gyalbo, *Rulers on the Celestial Plain: Ecclesiastic and Secular Hegemony in Medieval Tibet. A Study of Tshal Gungthang*. 2 vols. Denkschriften der philosophisch-historischen Klasse 361. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2007.
- STAGG 2016 Christopher Stagg, *The hundred thousand Songs of Milarepa: A New Translation. Tsangnyön Heruka*. Boulder, CO: Shambhala Publications, 2016.
- STANLEY 2014 Phillip Stanley, “The Tibetan Buddhist Canon.” In *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to East and Inner Asian Buddhism*, edited by Mario Poceski. Hoboken, NY: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd., 2014, 383–407.
- STEARNS 2010 Cyrus Stearns, *The Buddha from Dölpo: A Study of the Life and Thought of the Tibetan Master Dolpöpa Sherab Gyaltzen*. Albany, NY: SUNY, 1999 (First edition); Ithaca, NY: Snow Lion Publications, 2010 (Revised edition).
- STEINKELLNER 1989 Ernst Steinkellner, “Who is Byañ chub rdzu ’phrul? Tibetan and non-Tibetan Commentaries on the Saṃdhinirmocanasūtra - A Survey of the Literature.” *Berliner Indologische Studien* 4/5, 1989, 229–251.
- STENZEL 2014 Julia Stenzel, “The Mahāmudrā of Sakya Paṇḍita.” *IJBS* 15, 2014, 199–228.
- STEWART 2004 Stewart, Jampa MacKenzie, *The Life of Gampopa*. Ithaca, NY: Snow Lion Publications, 1995 (First edition 1995); Ithaca, NY: Snow Lion Publications, 2004 (Second edition).
- SZÁNTÓ 2013 Péter-Dániel Szántó, “Minor Vajrayāna Texts II: A New Manuscript of the Gurupañcāśikā.” In *Puṣpikā: Tracing Ancient India Through Texts and Traditions* 1, edited by Nina Mirnig, Péter-Dániel Szántó, and Michael Williams. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2013, 443–450.

Abbreviations & Bibliography

- THOMAS 2020 Paul Thomas, “The *Samādhirājasūtra* and ‘Sūtra Mahāmudrā’: A Critical Edition and Translation of Verses 1–118 from Chapter 32 of the *Samādhirājasūtra*.” In JACKSON R. & MATHES 2020, 10–89.
- THOMPSON 2015 Evan Thompson, *Waking, Dreaming, Being: Self and Consciousness in Neuroscience, Meditation, and Philosophy*. New York: Columbia Press, 2015.
- THONDUP 1987 Tulku Thondup Rinpoche, *Buddhist Civilization in Tibet*. New York & London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Inc., 1987.
- TILLEMANS 1993 Tom J. F. Tillemans, *Persons of authority: the sTon pa tshad ma’i skye bur grub pa’i gnam of A lag sha Ngag dbang bstan dar, a Tibetan work on the central religious questions in Buddhist epistemology*. Tibetan and Indo-Tibetan Studies 5. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1993.
- TISO 2014 Francis V. Tiso, *Liberation in One Lifetime: Biography and Teachings of Milarepa*. Berkeley, CA: North Atlantic Books, 2014.
- TOBGYEL 2020 Kencho Tobgyel (transl.), *The Smiling Moon: A Biography of 69th Je khenpo His Holiness Gendun Rinchen*. Delhi: n.n., 2020.
- TORICELLI 1993 Fabrizio Toricelli, “*Chos drug* and *bKa’-babs bzhi* Material for a Biography of the *Siddha* Tilopa.” *EAW* 43/1–4, 185–198.
- TORICELLI 1995 *Id.*, “Two Anonymous Texts in the *bsTan-’gyur*.” *EAW* 45/1–4, 31–374.
- TORICELLI 1997 *Id.*, “The Tanjur Text of the *Ājñā saṃyakpramāṇa-nāma-ḍākinyupadeśa*.” *EAW* 47/1–4, 249–269.
- VAIDYA 1960a Paraśurāma L. Vaidya (ed.), *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā With Haribhadra’s Commentary Called loka*. BST 4. Darbhanga: The Mithila Institute, 1960.

A Timely Message from the Cave

- VAIDYA 1960b *Id.* (ed.), *Bodhicaryāvatāra of Śāntideva with the Commentary Pañjikā of Prajñākaramati*. BST 12. Darbhanga: The Mithila Institute, 1960.
- VAN DRIEM 1994 George van Driem, “Language Policy in Bhutan.” In *Bhutan: Aspects of Culture and Development*, edited by Michael Aris and Michael Hutt. Kiscadale Asia Research Series 5. Gartmore: Kiscadale Publications, 1994, 87–105.
- VAN SCHAIK 2004 Sam van Schaik, *Approaching the Great Perfection: Simultaneous and Gradual Methods of Dzogchen Practice in the Longchen Nyīngtig*. Boston, MA: Wisdom Publications, 2004.
- VIEHBECK 2014 Markus Viehbeck, *Polemics in Indo-Tibetan Scholasticism: A Late 19th-century Debate Between ’Ju Mi-pham and dPa’-ris-rab-gsal*. WSTB 86. Vienna: AKTBS, Universität Wien, 2014.
- WALLACE 1998 B. Alan Wallace (transl.), *A Spacious Path to Freedom: Practical Instructions on the Union of Mahāmudrā and Atiyoga by Karma Chagmé with commentary by Gyatrul Rinpoche*. Ithaca, NY: Snow Lion Publications, 1998.
- WANGCHUK 2004 Dorji Wangchuk, “The rÑiñ-ma Interpretations of the Tathāgatagarbha Theory.” *WZKS* 48, 2004 [2005], 171–213.
- WANGCHUK 2007 *Id.*, *The Resolve to Become a Buddha: A Study of the Bodhicitta Concept in Indo-Tibetan Buddhism*. Tokyo: IIBS, 2007.
- WANGCHUK 2009 *Id.*, “A Relativity Theory of the Purity and Validity of Perception in Indo-Tibetan Buddhism.” In *Yogic Perception, Meditation and Altered States of Consciousness*, edited by Eli Franco and Dagmar Eigner. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2009, 215–239.

Abbreviations & Bibliography

- WANGCHUK 2013 *Id.*, “On the Status of the Yogācāra School in Tibetan Buddhism.” In *The Foundation for Yoga Practitioners: The Buddhist Yogācārabhūmi Treatise and Its Adaption in India, East Asia, and Tibet*, edited by Ulrich Timme Kragh. Harvard Oriental Series 75. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013, 1316–1328.
- WANGCHUK 2015 *Id.*, “The Diachronic and Synchronic Relationship between Philosophical Theory and Spiritual Praxis in Buddhism: With Special Reference to the Case of the Four Applications of Mindfulness (*smṛtyupasthāna: dran pa nye bar gzhag pa*) in Vajrayāna.” In *Buddhist Meditative Praxis: Traditional Teachings and Modern Applications*, edited by K. L. Dhammajoti. Hong Kong: Centre of Buddhist Studies, The University of Hong Kong, 2015, 177–201.
- WANGCHUK 2019 *Id.*, “Where Buddhas and Siddhas Meet: Mi-pham’s Yuganaddhavāda Philosophy.” In *Sheehy & Mathes* 2019, 273–322.
- WAYMAN 1977 Alex Wayman, *Yoga of the Guhyasamajatantra: The Arcane Lore of Forty Verses. A Buddhist Tantra Commentary*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1977 (First edition); New York: Samuel Weiser, Inc., 1980 (Reprint).
- WEDEMEYER 2007 Christian K. Wedemeyer, *Āryadeva’s Lamp that Integrates the Practices (Caryāmelāpakapradīpa): The Gradual Path of Vajrayāna Buddhism According to the Esoteric Community Noble Tradition*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2007.
- YUYAMA 1976 Akira Yuyama (ed.), *The Prajñāpāramitāratanagaṇasaṃcayagatā: Sanskrit recension A / edited with an introd., bibliographical notes, and a Tibetan version from Tunhuang*. London: Cambridge University Press, 1976.

A Timely Message from the Cave

- ZANGMO & CHIME 1993 Tashi Zangmo and Dechen Chime (eds./transl.), *Dharmasaṃgraha: (Excellent Collection of Doctrine) of Acarya Nagarjuna*. Bibliotheca Indo-Tibetica 27. Sarnath, Varanasi: CIHTS, 1993.
- ZHANG 2013 Lingui Zhang, “The Wholesome Stream (dGe ba’i chu rgyun) Kaḥ-thog-rig-’dzin Tshe dbang-nor-bu’s (1698–1755) Account of the Origination and Transmission of Hwa-shang Mahāyāna’s Doctrine in China and Tibet.” M.A. thesis, Universität Hamburg, 2013.
- ZHANG 2017 Lingui Zhang, “The *Wholesome Streams* (dGe ba’i chu rgyun): Tshe dbang nor bu’s Treatment of the Chinese Monk’s Simultaneist Approach to Awakening.” In EHRHARD *et al.* 2017, 592–610.
- ZIMMERMANN 2002 Michael Zimmermann, *A Buddha within: The Tathāgatagarbhasūtra: The Earliest Exposition of the Buddha-Nature Teaching in India*. Bibliotheca Philologica et Philosophica Buddhica 6 Tokyo: Soka University, The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology, 2002.

Index

A

- adamantine body (*sku'i rdo rje*) 242, 265n
 **Ājñāsaṃyakpramāṇanāma-dākinīyupadeśa* . . . 100–101, 179n, 181n, 187n
 Akaniṣṭha . 100, 177–179, 244n
 A-lag-sha Ngag-dbang-
 bstan-dar 91n
ālayavijñāna 206
 analytical meditation (*dpyad sgom*) . . 112–113, 231–237
 Asaṅga . . 166, 167n, 190, 191n, 199n, 273n
 Ashi Beda 54
 Ashi Kesang Choden
 Wangchuck . . . 76n, 77, 78
 Ashi Kunchog Wangmo
 Wangchuck 73n
 Ashi Phuntsho Choden
 Wangchuck 70n, 76
Aṣṭasāhasrikā 201n
Aṣṭasiddhisaṃgraha 168n
 Atiśa Dīpaṃkara Śrījñāna
 185n, 195n, 207n
 aural lineage (*snyan brgyud*)
 190n
Avatamsakasūtra 272n

B

- 'Ba'-ra-ba rGyal-mtshan-
 dpal-bzang 29
 basis (*gzhi*) 92, 101, 120n, 122, 167n, 170, 187, 200n, 246n
 bDe-gling Monastery 75n

- bDud-'joms 'Jigs-bral-
 ye-shes-rdo-rje 71, 136
 Bhutanese paper making,
 techniques 146n
 bKra-shis-chos-rdzong . . 8, 62, 68, 81, 84n
 bKra-shis-dbang-phyug . . 218n
 bKra-shis-mthong-smon-dgon
 Monastery 31
 bKra-shis-rdo-rje 53n
 Bla-ma Zhang Tshal-pa
 br'Tson-'grus-grags-pa 119, 195n, 254n
Bodhicaryāvatāra . . . 113, 233n, 235n
bodhicitta 120–121, 202n, 241–242
 Brag-phug-pa
 bSod-nams-dpal 63n
 'Bri-gung bKa'-brgyud 26
dgongs gcig 102n, 220n
 Fivefold Profound Path of
 Mahāmudrā 28, 101n, 124n, 258n
 'Bri-gung-pa Kun-dga'-
 rin-chen Chos-kyi-rgyal-
 mtshan dPal-bzang-po
 185n
 'Brug-chen (7th) dKar-brgyud
 'Phrin-las- shing-rta . . . 44
 'Brug-chen (5th) dPag-bsam-
 dbang-po 32
 'Brug-chen (3rd)
 'Jam-dbyangs Chos-kyi-
 grags-pa 31
 'Brug-chen (12th) 'Jigs-med

- Pad-ma-dbang-chen . . 36n
 'Brug-chen (2nd) Kun-dga'-
 dpal-'byor 5n, 14, 18n, 20,
 21, 94, 100n, 113, 115n,
 122n, 163n, 188n, 190n,
 227, 232n, 237n, 240n,
 243n
 'Brug-chen (4th) Kun-mkhyen
 Padma-dkar-po . . . 4–5, 14,
 18n, 18–21, 31–33, 72n,
 94n, 111, 113, 121, 130n,
 159n, 168–169, 194–195,
 217, 218n, 227n, 240n,
 253, 254n, 265n
 'Khor sdom snying po . 203n
 Chos 'byung pad rgyas . 199n
 Don dam mdzub tshugs
 224–226n, 232n
 Klan ka gzhom gtam . . 105n,
 206–207, 235, 236n
 Pad dkar chos 'byung . 242n
 Phyang chen gan mdzod 163n,
 165n, 169n, 175, 176n,
 185n, 209n, 225n, 235n,
 247n, 259n, 266n
 Phyang chen zin bris . . . 232n
 bSre 'pho 'grel chen . . . 171,
 172n, 195n
 bSre 'pho 'i snying po . . 187n
 bsre 'pho . . . 100n, 171–172,
 179n, 182, 183n, 188n,
 190n, 248n
 dBu ma yang dag 200n
 abiding mode, body (*lus kyi*
gnas lugs) 101
 abiding mode, mind (*sems*
kyi gnas lugs) 101
 Dol-po-pa, and 111
 Mahāmudrā, abiding mode
 (*gnas lugs phyang chen*)
 101n, 116, 119, 121–122
 Mahāmudrā, mode of
 deception (*'khrul lugs*
phyag chen) 101n, 121–122
 non-foundation of unity
 (*zung 'jug rab tu mi gnas*
pa) 105–106, 206–210
 Shākya-mchog-ldan, and 109
 'Brug-chen (6th)
 Mi-pham-dbang-po . . . 36
 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud,
 Bhutanese (*lho 'brug*) 5, 9,
 11, 27, 31n, 34–35, 38–41
 'Brug-pa Kun-legs . . 15, 30–31,
 44–45, 64n, 106n,
 131–132, 227n
 dPal rDo-rje-gdan-pa
 Mi-pham Tshe-dbang-
 bstan-'dzin, grandson of
 131–132
 'Brug-rgyal-sras sPrul-sku
 (1st) 'Jam-dpal- rdo-rje 37
 'Brug-rgyal-sras sPrul-sku
 (2nd) Kun-dga'-rgyal-
 mtshan 37
 'Brug sDe-srid (1st)
 bsTan-'dzin-'brug-rgyas
 33–34, 37
 Brug sDe-srid (4th)
 bsTan-'dzin-rab-rgyas
 'Jigs-med bsTan-'dzin
 dBang-po, 8th incarnation
 of 53
 'Brug sDe-srid (51st)
 'Jigs-med-rnam-rgyal . 38n
 'Brug sDe-srid (18th)
 'Jigs-med-seng-ge . 156–157
 'Brug sDe-srid (10th)
 Mi-pham-dbang-po . 44–45
 'Brug-thar-pa-gling
 bShad-grwa 69, 70n
 bSam-gtan-chos-gling

Index

- Monastery 29
 bSam-yas Monastery . . . 45, 71,
 72n
 bTsan Kha-bo-che 196n
 Buddha Bodies 117n, 119,
 244n
 Dharmakāya . 117, 120, 244n
 Dharmakāya, as
 co-emergent mind (*sems
 nyid lhan cig skyes pa
 chos kyi sku*) . . . 104, 203n
 Nirmāṇakāya/
 Nairmāṇikakāya 244n
 Rūpakāya 116–118, 120,
 244n, 244–260
 Sambhogakāya/
 Sāmbhogikakāya 244n
 Buddha Nature
 (*tathāgatagarbha*) . . . 197n,
 201n, 216n
 Bu-ston Rin-chen-grub . . 102n,
 165n, 191n, 251n
 Byang-sprul 2nd dGe-bshes
 Pad-ma-'phrin-las . 69, 136
 Byar-po gSang-sngags-
 chos-gling Monastery . . 31
- C**
*Cakrasaṃvaratantrarājā-
 dbhutaśmaśānālaṃkāra*
 180n
Caryāmelāpakapradīpa . . . 252n
Caturmudrānvaya 98, 165n
 “cave hermit” (*brag phug pa*) 9,
 63, 67, 72
 Central Monastic Body
 (*gzhung grwa tshang*) . . 40,
 53, 54, 81
chen po gsum . . . 7, 103n, 161n
 Chief Abbot of Bhutan ('brug
 rje mkhan po) 9, 36n,
 138–139
 Chos-rgyal (1st) Phun-tshogs-
 rnam-rgyal 37
 Cittamatravada 213n, 213–216
 codicological and
 paleographical features,
 manuscripts/block prints
 145–153
 coequality, existence and
 quiescence (*dbu mas srid
 zhi mnyam nyid*) 104, 200
 conduct, Tantric 117–119,
 252n
*Constitution of the Kingdom
 of Bhutan* 9–10, 38n,
 38–40
- D**
Dākinīvajrapañjaratantra 125n
 Dalai Lama (7th) bsKal-
 bzang-rgya-mtsho 44
 Dalai Lama (5th) Ngag-dbang
 Blo-bzang-rgya-mtsho . 35,
 37, 64n
 Dar-dkar-'brug-rgyas
 Monastery 80n
 Dasho Sangay Dorji 82
 Dasho Ugyen Chog . . . 53n, 54,
 81, 85
 Dasho Ugyen Lhengye 82
 dByangs-can-phu 54n, 56, 58n,
 83, 83n, 84, 128–129
 dGe-lugs 104, 137n, 216n
 'Ju Mipham, and 155n
 Mahāmudrā 1n, 17n
 Padma-dkar-po, and . . 225n
 dGon-tshe-'bum/Māratika
 Cave 74n
dharmadhātu . . 120, 122, 177n,
 255n, 267
 Dharmakīrti 181n, 273n

A Timely Message from the Cave

- Dharmasaṃgraha* 272n
Dil-mgo-mkhyen-brtse
 bKra-shis-dpal-'byor . . 74,
 76, 79, 136, 138, 138n
dNgul-chu Dharmabhadra
 Chos-kyi-bzang-po . . 160n
dohā literature . 176–177, 186n,
 225n
 Dohākoṣagīti 257n, 259n
Dol-po-pa Shes-rab-
 rgyal-mtshan . . 111, 196n,
 208n, 226n
dPa'-ris Blo-bzang-rab-gsal
 155n
dress code and etiquette,
 Bhutanese (*sgrig lam*
 rnam gzhaḡ) 34, 40n
Dre'u-lhas Monastery . . 44, 48,
 150
Dre'u-lhas-sprul-sku (2nd)
 Grub-dbang Kun-dga'-mi-
 'gyur-rdo-rje 30, 44–46
 Kun rmongs blo tshim 43–44,
 150–151
Druk Gyalpo (3rd) Jigme
 Dorji Wangchuck 76n
Druk Gyalpo (5th) Jigme
 Khesar Namgyel
 Wangchuck 38, 84
Druk Gyalpo (4th) Jigme
 Singye Wangchuck . 38, 77,
 80–82, 84, 85
Druk Gyalpo (2nd) Jigme
 Wangchuck 70n
Druk Gyalpo (1st) Ugyen
 Wangchuck 38, 73
Drung Dam-chos-rgyal-
 mtshan 37
Dwags-po Paṅ-chen
 bKra-shis-rnam-rgyal
 165n, 223n, 252n, 260n
- E**
eight wordly concerns (*'jig*
 rten gyi chos brgyad) 272n
emptiness, essenceless/banana
 tree (*phung po rnam*
 dpyad stong pa) 105, 205n,
 206
E-waṃ-chos-ldan Monastery
 186n
- F**
faculties (*dbang po*) . . . 98, 112,
 121, 170n, 240n, 243, 244
 rnon po/rab tu . . 91, 98, 108,
 110, 121n, 124, 237n
five capital transgressions
 (*mtshams med lnga*) . . 112,
 230n
Five Paths (*lam lnga*) . . . 217n
five syllogisms (*dbu ma'i gtan*
 tshigs chen po lnga) . 232n
four initiations (*smin byed kyi*
 dbang bzhi) 115, 159n,
 239–240
Four Signs (*brda' bzhi*) . . 225n
Four Yogas of Mahāmudrā
 (*rnal 'byor bzhi*) 75n,
 114–115, 239–240
- G**
gDan-sa-gro-bo-lung 70
gDan-sa-thel Monastery . . . 45
generation stage (*bskyed rim:*
 sampannakrama) 115,
 238–241
Girtler, Roland, “ero-epic
 talks” 56n
Gling-ras-pa Padma-rdo-rje 26
gnosis of meditative equipoise,
 inexpressible (*mnyam*
 bzhag ye shes brjod bral)

Index

- du* 113, 234
gnosis, personally realized (*so sor rang rig pa'i ye shes*)
202n, 232n
gNubs Sangs-rgyas-ye-shes
192n
Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan . . . 88n
great accumulation of merit
(*bsod nams tshogs chen*)
116–118, 126, 236n, 237,
244, 246, 249, 250, 255
Great Bliss, as gnosis (*bde ba chen po'i ye shes: mahāsukhajñāna*) 115,
203n, 242, 243
Great Bliss, immutable (*mi 'gyur ba'i bde ba chen po: paramākṣaramahāsukha*)
203n, 204, 206
Gro-lung gSang-sngags-
chos-gling, Monastery
and Hermitage . . . 53, 54n,
77–83, 128–129, 138
gSang-chen-chos-'khor
bShad-grwa 81
gSer-kong Tshul-khrims-
don-ldan Rin-po-che . . . 62
gTer-ston 'Brug-sgra-rdo-rje
68n
gTer-ston bSod-rgyal
Las-rab-gling-pa 61–62, 75
gTer-ston mChog-
gyur-gling-pa 7
gTer-ston Padma-gling-pa 70n
gTsang mKhan-chen
'Jam-dbyangs dPal-ldan-
rgya-mtsho 134
gTsang-pa-rgya-ras
Ye-shes-rdo-rje 26–27,
31–32, 33n, 130, 176n,
177–178, 188n, 240n, 253n
*Threefold Stem of
Instructions* . . 99–100, 130,
188n, 188–190
gTsang-pa-sde-srid (4th)
Phun-tshogs-rnam-rgyal
32–33, 35
gTsang-smyon Heruka
Rus-pa'i-rgyan-can . . . 65n,
218n
gTsos Khri-sprul (2nd)
Blo-bzang rGyal-mtshan
Seng-ge 92n
gtum mo practices . . . 181–182,
248n
**Guhyagarbhatantra* . 71, 203n,
238n, 252n, 269n
**Guhyasamājantra* 92n,
105n, 126n, 172, 238n
Gurupañcāśikā 263n
gZhan-phan Chos-kyi-s nang-
ba/mKhan-po gZhan-dga'
70n, 136
gZhan-stong 3, 196n, 216n
- H**
Hevajrapañdarthatikā 215n
Hwa-shang Mahāyāna
103–104, 106, 211–212
- I**
identity 4n, 14, 27n, 89,
132–133, 135–137
Bhutanese 34–35, 47
identity-building processes 8,
11, 42n, 48, 58, 60, 129,
138–139
illustrations, in manuscripts
147n
inclusivism, Paul Hacker 137n
Dorji Wangchuk 137n
initiations (*dbang bskur*) . . . 58,

- 79–81, 81n, 82, 98, 108,
114–115, 159n, 169–175,
214, 219–221, 237n,
238–241, 262–263
institutionalization, Max Weber
37n
- J**
'Jam-dpal-rgya-mtsho ... 218n
'Jam-mgon Kong-sprul (1st)
Blo-gros-mtha'-yas 6, 97n,
179n, 193n
Jñānasamuccayatantra... 174n
Jñānatilakayoginītantra-
rājāparamamahādbhuta
180n, 193n
Joint Twofold System of
Governance (*chos srid*
gnyis ldan)... 9n, 9–10,
36–39
'Ju Mi-pham rNam-rgyal-
rgya-mtsho ... 6–7, 10, 70,
71n, 92n, 125n, 135–136,
155n, 160–163n, 170n,
175n, 204, 205n, 232n,
237n, 252n
- K**
Kaḥ-thog-Rig-'dzin
Tshe-dbang-nor-bu ... 167n
Kālacakratāntra 105n, 173–174,
203, 203n
Vimalaprabhā ... 174n, 203n
Karmapa (7th) Chos-grags-
rgya-mtsho ... 102n, 176n,
191n
Karmapa (8th) Mi-bskyod-
rdo-rje ... 20, 105n, 108,
124n, 163n, 218n, 220n,
221–222, 227n, 262n
Karma-phrin-las Phyogs-las-
rnam-rgyal ... 20, 225n
Karmāntavibhaṅga ... 203n
ketaka/kekeru... 157, 160n, 274
Khri-sprul (2nd) 'Jigs-med-
seng-ge ... 44
Klong-chen-pa Dri-med-
'od-zer. 71, 74, 106n, 161n,
177n, 240n, 267n
Kun-dga'-chos-gling
Monastery ... 74–75, 81
- L**
Ladakh ... 36n
Lam-'bras ... 26n, 71, 192n
lCags-ri Monastery ... 34, 72
lHa-lung-ri-khrod ... 70n
lHa-rdzong bKra-shis-sgang
68n
“life-writing” of Buddhist
masters ... 13, 51n
rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen,
reflection of ... 56–60
rJe dGe-'dun-rin-chen,
textual sources about
52–56
genres and style ... 60–65
social media ... 58–60
Lo-ras-pa dBang-phyug-
brtson-'grus . 27, 29, 240n
Lo-tsā-ba gZu dGa'-ba-rdo-rje
196n
luminosity (*'od gsal*) ... 181n,
187n, 200–202n, 210n,
249n, 260n
- M**
Madhyamaka ... 103–104
subclassifications of ... 207n
Sūtric ... 104–106, 199–210
Tantric ... 105–106, 199–210
Madhyāntavibhāga ... 255n

- “madman” (*smyon pa*) . 15, 57, 128
- Mahākāraṇīkaśrīcakra-vartisādhana* 268n
- Mahāmudrā, authoritative sources (*khungs*) of 90, 96–98
- English translation *see* chapter 5.1
- Mahāmudrā, conduct (*spyod pa*) of 91, 106, 116–119, 120n
- absence of adoption and rejection (*blang dor med pa*) 116–119, 244–253
- English translation *see* chapter 5.5
- Mahāmudrā controversy, reception history of 10, 14, 48–49, 88–89, 94–96
- mahāmudrā* definition 1–2
- Mahāmudrā, meditation (*sgom pa*) of 90–91, 109–116, 116n, 117–120
- English translation *see* chapter 5.4
- Mahāmudrā, practical instructions (*man ngag*) of 90, 98–103, 113, 116–117
- English translation *see* chapter 5.2
- Mahāmudrā, principal Guru in 91, 123–127
- sems kyi ngo ’phrod* 91, 123n, 123–124, 156, 192n
- English translation *see* chapter 5.7
- offerings to 126–127, 268–271
- perfect Buddha (*rdzogs pa ’i sangs rgyas*) 124–126, 263–267
- respect and devotion (*mos gus*) . 124, 214n, 243, 243n, 258n, 262n, 262–263
- spiritual friend (*bshes gnyen phal pa*) 124, 126–127, 263, 267
- Mahāmudrā, result (*’bras bu*) of 91, 92, 119–122
- English translation *see* chapter 5.6
- mahāmudrā* terminology
- Essence Mahāmudrā (*ngo bo ’i phyag rgya chen po*) 97
- Expressing Verbal-Mahāmudrā (*rjod byed tshig gi phyag chen*) 99–100, 175–176
- To-be-expressed
- Referent-Mahāmudrā (*brjod bya don gyi phyag chen*) 175–176
- ultimate Mahāmudrā (*don dam phyag chen*) 124, 167n
- Mahāmudrātilaka* 169n
- Mahāmudrā, view (*lta ba*) of 90, 92n, 103–109
- English translation *see* chapter 5.3
- Mahāsiddha Ḍombi Heruka/Ḍombipa 62
- Mahāsiddha Kambalapāda 195
- Mahāsiddha sPyil-dkar-ba . 29
- Mahāyānasūtrālamkāra* . . 214n
- Maitreyanātha 165n
- Mangadha-gtsug-lag-khang 68n, 134
- Mang-thos dKon-mchog-rin-phyug 218n

A Timely Message from the Cave

- Mang-thos Klu-sgrub-rgya-mtsho 211n
 manifoldlessness (*spros bral*)
 113, 115, 162, 233–234
 Mar-pa Lo-tṣā-ba
 Chos-kyi-blo-gros . . 18, 61,
 70, 80n, 173n, 179n, 191n,
 195n, 242n
Māyājālatantra 268n
 meditation, of a mendicant
 (*kusāli*) 113
 meditation, of a scholar
 (*paṇḍita*) 113
 meditative equipoise (*mnyam
 bzhaḡ*) 118, 120, 250, 250n,
 250–251, 255
 Mi-la-ras-pa 65n, 70, 78n,
 159n, 200, 203, 227n, 228
 mindfulness (*dran pa*) and
 vigilance (*shes bzhin*)
 110–111, 224–225
 Min-gling-lo-chen
 Dharma-shrī 203n
 mKhan-po Tshul-khrims-
 rgya-mtsho 156n
 mKhas-dbang Sangs-rgyas-
 rdo-rje 4, 210–211
Mūlamadhyamakakārikā . . 108,
 221
- N**
 Nāgabodhi 203n
 Nāgārjuna . . . 162n, 165–167n,
 190, 191n, 199n, 203n,
 205n, 209n, 244n, 272,
 273n
 Nāropa . . 161n, 171, 172n, 178,
 179n, 183n, 187n,
 187–190, 191n, 193n,
 242n, 243–246
 natural mind (*sems kyi gnyug
 ma*) 104, 203n
 **Nayatrāyapradīpa* . . . 114, 237
 Ngan-rdzong pa 190n
 Ngog Blo-ldan-shes-rab . . 196n
 Ngor-mkhan-chen (6th)
 Go-rams-pa bSod-nams-
 seng-ge 199n, 260n
 Ngor-mkhan-chen (1st)
 Kun-dga'-bzang-po . . 186n
niruttarayoga Tantra . . 97–98,
 114n, 118–119, 127, 169,
 173, 187n, 198, 217, 218,
 238, 238n, 239, 241n, 243,
 252, 252n
 non-foundation in the middle
 (*dbu ma rab tu mi gnas
 pa*) 105–106, 191n,
 206–210
 non-mentation (*amanasikāra*)
 102, 176n, 191, 223–225,
 259–260
 Nyi-ma-lung-mkhan-rabs
 (2nd) Kaḡ-thog-bla-ma
 Ngag-dbang-phrin-las 54n,
 70n, 77, 136
- P**
 Pad-dkar-chos-kyi-rgya-mtsho
gSung rab kun btus . . 46–47,
 149–150
Pañcakrama . . 162n, 209, 238n
Paramārthasevā . . . 124n, 263,
 266
 path, instantaneous (*cig car
 du*) 106, 182n, 212n, 223n,
 240n, 246n, 252n
 path (*lam*) . . 92, 101, 119, 187
 path of means (*thabs lam*)
 100–101, 115–116, 169n,
 181n, 184n, 188n, 190n,
 243n

Index

path that causes liberation
(grol lam) 100–101,
 115–116, 169n, 181n,
 184n, 188n, 189, 190n,
 238n, 243n, 252n

perfection stage (*rdzogs rim:*
niṣpannakrama) 115,
 238–241

Phag-mo-gru-pa
 rDo-rje-rgyal-po. 26, 114n,
 185, 195, 196n, 218n,
 227n, 238n, 240n, 254n,
 260n

'Phags-pa Blo-gros-
 rgyal-mtshan 88n

Pha-jo 'Brug-sgom-zhig-po 28,
 79n

Pha-jo-sdings Monastery 9, 41,
 53, 74n, 76, 79–80,
 128–129, 133, 138,
 152–153

'*pho ba'i bag chags/ 'pho ba'i*
sgrīb pa 104–105, 203n

Pho-lha-nas bSod-nams-
 stobs-rgyas 44

'Phreng-po gTer-ston
 Shes-rab-'od zer 26n

polemic literature (*dgag lan*
 155

post-meditative cognition,
 gnosis with (*de'i rjes las*
thob pa'i ye shes) 251n

post-meditative cognition,
 stupeficient (*rjes thob*
rgya yan pa) 118, 251n

Prajñāpāramitāsañcayagāthā
 236n

Pravacanopamottara 100, 179n,
 183n

Q

question-and-answer
 literature (*dris lan*) 6,
 154–155, 221n

R

Rāmāyaṇa 160n

Ras-chung-pa Do-rje-grags-pa
 100n, 159n, 188n, 190n,
 253n

Ratnagotravibhāga 102,
 111–113, 125n, 196, 197n,
 201n, 226n, 233n, 264n

conceptualizations,
 Dharmakāya 111–112,
 120n, 122n, 226–231

Ratnāvalī 244n

rDo-grub-chen (4th) 'Jigs-med
 Phrin-las-bzang-po 71

rDo-grub chen (3rd) 'Jigs-med
 bsTan-pa'i-nyi-ma . . . 251n

rDo-rje-slob-dpon Kun-legs
 Ngag-dbang bSod-nams-
 rgya-mtsho 12

Dwang shel me long 12,
 60–65

rDza-dpal-sprul O-rgyan-'jigs-
 med-chos-kyi-dbang-po
 70n, 124n, 262n

rDzogs-chen 4, 7, 71, 122n,
 161n, 179n, 240, 241n,
 246n, 263n, 267n

“Chinese style” 103–104,
 246n

rDzogs-chen-mkhan-po
 Padma-rig-'dzin 71

rDzong-gsar-mkhyen-brtse
 (1st) 'Jam-dbyangs
 mKhyen-brtse'i dbang-po
 7, 74, 159n

rDzong-gsar-mkhyen-brtse

- (3rd) mKhyen-brtse-nor-bu 75n
 rDzong-gsar Monastery 48, 150
 Regent of Bhutan (*'brug sde srid*) 36, 38
 result (*'bras bu*) . 92, 101, 116, 119–120, 122, 167n, 260n
garuḍa birdling 260n
 lion cub 260n
 rGod-tshang-pa mGon-po-rdo-rje . . . 27, 28, 107, 156, 163n, 185n, 195, 196n, 215
 Rin-spungs-pa Don-yod-rdo-rje 218n
ris-med scholars . 6–7, 26n, 94, 135
 rJe-mkhan-po (10th)
 bsTan-'dzin-chos-rgyal . 47, 133, 134n
 rJe-mkhan-po (59th)
 Chos-kyi-dbang-phyug 67–68, 135
 rJe-mkhan-po (4th)
 Dam-chos-pad-dkar . . . 46, 46n
 rJe-mkhan-po (69th)
 dGe-'dun-rin-chen
 Advice for a Cave Hermit 51, 63, 87
 Dus kyi pho nya 6–9, 11–14, 151–152
 title of 157–158
 bKa' 'bum . . . 53, 54n, 63–67, 93, 127–134, 353–360
 bSe ru'i gtam . . . 12, 51, 52n, 55, 57, 62
 gNam gyi nga ro . . 93, 102n, 104n, 113n, 169n, 174n, 184n, 191, 192n, 241n, 262n
 lHo 'brug chos 'byung . . . 27, 46n, 68n, 79n, 132–133, 147n
 life, chronological overview of 67–85
 intellectual agenda of 10, 15, 95–96, 135–139
 Ngag-dbang Yon-tan-rgya-mtsho, incarnation of 139
 Shākya-mchog-ldan, and 14n, 102, 105–106, 108–109, 111n, 122n, 137
 students of 83n
 Thub-bstan Shes-rab-'od-zer, incarnation of 139n
 rJe-mkhan-po (68th) Khri-zur bsTan-'dzin-don-grub . 39, 42n, 76
 rJe-mkhan-po (12th)
 Kun-dga'-rgya-mtsho . 68n
 rJe-mkhan-po (60th)
 Ngag-dbang-'phrin-las . 68, 135
 rJe-mkhan-po (1st)
 Pad-dkar-'byung-gnas . 36
 rJe-mkhan-po (9th)
 Shākya-rin-chen . . . 13, 79, 136
 Grub pa'i mdung rnon 4, 11, 15, 42–44, 47–49, 143, 145–148
 seven chapters of 11, 89–92, 149
 title of 156–157
 Ngag dbang rnam rgyal skabs 134
 Kun-dga'-mi-'gyur-rdo-rje, and 45

Index

- Ngag-dbang bsTan-pa'i-nyin-byed, incarnation of 139n
 Shākya-mchog-ldan, and . . . 6, 41–42, 108–109
 rJe-mkhan-po (70th)
 sPrul-sku 'Jigs-med-chos-grags . . . 39, 54, 82–84
 rJe-mkhan-po (13th)
 Yon-tan-mtha'-yas
 'Og min zhal lung 14, 46, 93, 94, 118n, 122n, 148–149
 Shākya-mchog-ldan, and 108, 113, 235n
 rNam-rgyal Lam
 Thub-bstan-nor-bu 69
 Rong-zom Chos-kyi-bzang-po mahāmudrā 167n
 rTa-mgo Monastery 9, 12, 76–80, 82, 131n, 138
 rTogs-ldan bSod-nams-bzang-po . . . 75, 77, 79–80, 136
 rTse-le sNa-tshogs-rang-grol 122n
 Rwa-hor dPal-ldan
 Chos-kyi-grags-pa . . 70–72, 136
 Rwa-lung Monastery . . . 31–32, 34, 36, 45
 Rwa-sgreng Monastery 45
S
 *Sahajayoga 45n, 80, 176, 185n, 195n, 218n
 Sangs-rgyas-dbon-ras
 Dharma-seng-ge . . . 27, 28
 Sangs-rgyas-mnyam-pa . . 218n
 Sa-skya Paṇḍita
 Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan
 Sa skya legs bshad 127n, 270n
 rTogs ldan rgyan po'i dris lan . . . 88, 97n, 110n, 120n, 127n
 criticism of Mahāmudrā 2–4, 14, 19, 88–89, 96–97, 97n, 98, 103–104, 106, 109–111, 116, 119–121, 127, 223–225n, 236n
 Thub pa dgongs gsal . 213n, 254n, 260n
 sDom gsum rab dbye . 162n, 169n, 171n, 190n, 203n, 211n, 222n, 224n, 234n, 246n, 254n, 258n, 260n
 Samputatantra 248n
 Samputatantrarājatīkāmāyamañjarī 204n
 Second/Third Turnings of the Wheel of Dharma, harmonization of 3, 137–138, 201n
 Se-la (1st) Byams-mgon
 Ngag-dbang-rgyal-mtshan 42n
 self-cognition (*rang rig*) . . 107, 212n
 “self-sufficient white remedy” (*dkar po chig thub*) . . . 91n, 119–120, 120n, 121, 188n, 246n, 254n, 258–259, 261
 settling meditation (*'jog sgom*) . . 112–113, 231–237
 Seven Sections of Accomplishments . 175–178
 source see aso
 Aṣṭasiddhisamgraha 178
 sGam-po-pa
 bSod-nams-rin-chen . . . 26, 97–98, 102, 114n, 116n,

- 117, 119–120, 166–167,
185n, 188–190, 195n,
196–199, 207n, 210n,
213n, 220n, 228n, 238n,
240, 241n, 246n, 248–249,
254n, 260n
Samādhirājasūtra 98,
163–165
Sūtric Mahāmudrā . . . 97–99,
108, 196–199
Shākya-mchog-ldan
Dri-med-legs-pa'i-blo-gros
6, 20, 94, 102, 105–106,
107n, 111n, 113, 155n,
162n, 197, 199n, 202n,
204, 205n, 214n,
216–218n, 232n, 235n,
246n, 255n, 260n
Sha-ra Rab-'byams-pa
Sangs-rgyas-seng-ge . 218n
Shin tu rmad du byung ba'i
rgyud . . . 100–102, 178–195
works see
**Pravacanopamottara*, see
**Ājñāsamṃyakpramāṇa-*
nāmadākinyupadeśa
Shrī Nā-landā Monastery 139n,
146n, 152–153
Sikkim 10, 37
Sithar 33
Six Cycles of Equal Taste 253n
six elements (*kham*s drug)
242n
sKyob-pa 'Jig-rten-
gsum-mgon. 28, 102, 172n,
196–197
sPa-gro rTa-mchog-chos-rje
mKhan-po Tshe-ring, *Zla*
ba'i 'dzum . . . 12–13, 54–58
sPu-na-kha . . . 152–153, 273n
sPungs-thang bDe-ba-chen-
po'i-pho-brang 68,
81
sPungs-thang printery . . . 147n
sPyan-snga Blo-gros-
rgyal-mtshan 218n
sTag-lung bKa'-brgyud. 18, 26
Mahāmudrā . . 45n, 107–108,
218–221, 222n
sTag-lung-khri (12th)
Ngag-dbang-grags-pa
dPal-bzang-po . . . 218–221
sTag-lung-khri (17th)
Zhabs-drung Ngag-dbang-
rnam-rgyal 107–108, 218n
sTag-tshang. 9, 67, 73–74, 75n
supremely endowed emptiness
(*rnam kun mchog ldan gyi*
stong pa nyid) . . 204n, 206
Svadarśanamatoḍḍeśa . . . 205n
- T**
Tathāgatagūṇajñānācinty-
aviṣayāvātāranirdeśasūtra
126, 270n
text transmission
orality of 11–13, 47–49, 90n,
95, 131–132, 154–155
trans-regional 10, 47–49, 95,
131–132, 153–154
Thar-pa-gling 77n
Thim-phu 28, 31, 40
Thub-bstan gSang-sngags-
chos-gling 36n
Thub-bstan-rin-po-che 71
thugs dam state 58, 83–85
Thu'u-bkwan (3rd) Blo-bzang
Chos-kyi-nyi-ma 159n,
167n
Tillipa 100, 177n, 178–179,
179n, 181, 191–192, 193n,
219n, 245, 246

Index

topical outline (*sa bcad*) . 127n
Tshe-ring, *rNam thar do shal*
53–54
Tshul-khrims Rin-po-che . . . 71
Tsong-kha-pa Blo-bzang-
grags-pa 238n, 263n
twelve deeds of the Buddha
(*mdzad pa bcu gnyis*) 264n

U

U-rgyan-pa Rin-chen-dpal
195n

V

Vajradhara 100, 102n, 127,
166, 177–181, 191–194,
219n, 236, 243n, 270
* *Vajrasamādhisūtra* 116n
valid means of cognition
(*tshad ma: anumāna*)
181n, 192n

Y

Yang-dgon-pa rGyal-mtshan-
dpal 29, 122n, 183n
Yogācāra . . 3, 107n, 201, 202n,
215, 216n, 255n
* *Alikākāravāda* 107,
213–218
Madhyamīkas . . . 199n, 235n
Yoginīsañcārya . . 116, 243–244
Yuktiṣaṣṭikā 244n

Z

Zhabs-drung Ngag-dbang-
rnam-rgyal . . 5, 15, 29–38
Mi-pham bsTan-pa'i-
nyi-ma, father of 32
Mi-pham-chos-rgyal,
grandfather of 32

Zhva-dmar-pa (4th)
Chos-grags-ye-shes . . . 108,
218n



Indian and Tibetan Studies Series

(Department of Indian and Tibetan Studies, Universität Hamburg)

Orders can be made from Biblia Impex: contact@bibliaimpex.com.

1. Kengo Harimoto, *God, Reason, and Yoga: A Critical Edition and Translation of the Commentary Ascribed to Śaṅkara on Pātañjalayogaśāstra 1.23–28*. 2014. ISBN: 978-3-945151-00-6.
2. Alexander Schiller, *Die “Vier Yoga”-Stufen der Mahāmudrā-Meditationstradition: Eine Anthologie aus den Gesammelten Schriften des Mönchsgelehrten und Yogin Phag mo gru pa rDo rje rgyal po (Kritischer Text und Übersetzung, eingeleitet und erläutert)*. 2014. ISBN: 978-3-945151-01-3.
3. Ayako Nakamura, *Das Wesen des Buddha-Erwachens in der frühen Yōgācāra-Schule*. 2016. ISBN: 978-3-945151-02-0.
4. Orna Almogi (ed.), *Tibetan Manuscript and Xylograph Traditions: The Written Word and Its Media within the Tibetan Cultural Sphere*. 2016. ISBN: 978-3-945151-03-7.
5. Dorji Wangchuk (ed.), *Cross-Cultural Transmission of Buddhist Texts: Theories and Practices of Translation*. 2016. ISBN: 978-3-945151-04-4.
6. Nicola Bajetta, *The Clear Realisation of the Quintessential Instructions on All Dharma Practices: A Critical Edition and Annotated Translation of the *Sarvadharmacaryopadeśābhisamayatantra (Chos spyod thams cad kyī man ngag mngon par rtogs pa'i rgyud) Based on Two Unpublished Manuscripts from the 'Bras-spungs-gnas-bcu-lha-khang*. 2019. ISBN: 978-3-945151-05-1.
7. Torsten Gerloff, *Saroruhavajra's Hevajra-Lineage: A Close Study of the Surviving Sanskrit and Tibetan Works. Part I: Saroruhavajra's Works & Part II: Commentarial Works*. 2 vols. 2020. ISBN: 978-3-945151-06-8 (set).

8. Orna Almogi (ed.), *Birds as Ornithologists: Scholarship between Faith and Reason. Intra- and Inter-disciplinary Perspectives*. 2020. ISBN: 978-3-945151-07-5.
9. Orna Almogi, *Authenticity and Authentication: Glimpses behind the Scenes of the Formation of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon*. 2020. ISBN: 978-3-945151-08-2.
10. Eva Wilden & Suganya Anandakichenin (eds.), *Colophons, Prefaces, Satellite Stanzas: Paratextual Elements and Their Role in the Transmission of Indian Texts*. 2020. ISBN: 978-3-945151-09-9.
11. Dagmar Schwerk, *A Timely Message from the Cave: The Mahāmudrā and Intellectual Agenda of dGe-bshes Brag-phug-pa dGe-'dun-rin-chen (1926–1997), the Sixty-Ninth rJe-mkhan-po of Bhutan*. 2020. ISBN: 978-3-945151-10-5.