

# **Gateways to Tibetan Studies**

A Collection of Essays in Honour of  
David P. Jackson  
on the Occasion of his 70th Birthday

Edited by

Volker Caumanns, Jörg Heimbels,  
Kazuo Kano, and Alexander Schiller

**Volume Two**



INDIAN AND TIBETAN STUDIES 12.2

Hamburg • 2021

Department of Indian and Tibetan Studies, Universität Hamburg



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Edited by Harunaga Isaacson, Dorji Wangchuk, and Eva Wilden

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## Lineage, Linearity, and the Lama Lhakhang: Jacksonian Methods at Mindröling

Robert N. Linrothe  
(Northwestern University, Evanston)

David Jackson's most productive and widely proliferated contribution to the practice of the art history of Himalayan painting is surely his technique of dating. As described and modeled in many of his publications, those paintings with historically identifiable lineages or inscribed portraits offer the opportunity to derive, at the least, a *terminus post quem*, the earliest date at which a work may have been painted without resorting to judgments based solely on style. Formulated at a time when all too often such inscriptions were overlooked, it had the additional effects of professionalizing art-historical treatments of Himalayan art, insisting on the application of greater linguistic acumen, and both reinforcing and complicating simplistic notions of sectarian categories. Even when some of the later or recent members of the depicted lineage cannot be identified precisely, the very fact that they represent a certain number of generations that must be accounted for helps to expose the tendency of owners (private or museum) to give paintings insupportably early dates. The principle at work was explained in a few relatively early articles,<sup>1</sup> and demonstrated repeatedly in his influential series of books produced for the Rubin Museum.

This lineage generation-count is, as already indicated, Jackson's most widely accepted and practiced contribution to the methodology of art-historical analysis of Himalayan paintings. Another of his observations is less well known but has been extremely helpful for my own recent work; while still crediting him, I have tried to develop and apply it to a wider range of materials.<sup>2</sup> This is a fundamental distinction within Himalayan painting that has been, as it were, hidden in plain

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1 See Jackson 1990, 2003, 2005.

2 Linrothe 2016: 187–188; Linrothe 2017: 182, n. 15; Linrothe 2020.

sight, rarely remarked upon, much less theorized. As described in a few of Jackson's works, there are two contemporaneous modes of painting which are summed up by their application of color: *hang tsön* (*hang tshon*; light color) versus *dzok tsön* (*rdzogs tshon*; complete or thickly painted color).<sup>3</sup> The first radiates a lively spontaneity, whereas the second gravitates to iconometric formality and/or symmetry. The first loosely applies color washes barely contained within outlines of modulating width, while the second paints graduated color within fine, even lines and features exquisite patterning. In Tibetan painting, *hang tsön* is deployed most frequently for manuscript illuminations, and *dzok tsön* in murals and in thangkas, though some of the most interesting examples are those that defy or cross media tendencies.

I single out these two formative contributions of David Jackson to my own education because both were brought to bear when I recently re-examined a handful of photographs I made in 2005 of the murals in the Lama Lhakhang (Bla ma lha khang) at the Okmin Orgyen Mindröling ('Og min 'O rgyan sMin grol gling) Monastery.<sup>4</sup> On one hand, the murals illustrate the utility of inscriptions and lineage arrangements in determining a date subsequent to the founding initiative of the early 1670s. On the other hand, the endearing expressiveness of some of the poses, gestures, and facial expressions of the figures invoke refreshing and unpredictable freedom. To be sure, they convey the artist's knowledge of iconographic conventions, but the portraits frequently escape sober prescription. They are undoubtedly executed in the *hang tsön* mode of

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3 These are defined in Jackson and Jackson 1984: 15 and 191–192; Jackson 1996: 59; Jackson 2011: 209, n. 212. As Melissa R. Kerin brought to my attention, the paired terms themselves deserve further investigation into date and source of origin as well as pattern of usage.

4 Townsend translates the full title as the Akaniṣṭha Uḍḍiyāna Isle of Ripening and Liberation; Townsend 2012: 57. I wish to thank Dominique Townsend for the impetus to reexamine my photographs of Mindröling. She is in the final stages of completing an important book on the founding of Mindröling, and asked me to look through the photographs I had taken in 2005 and 2007 while visiting the monastery as part of the Luce-funded Princeton Tibetan Site Seminar. I wish I had been of greater help to her, though our remote communication inspired me to read her dissertation and other sources on the monastery (Townsend 2012, 2014), and to read or reread other studies that touch on the site: Dalton 2002: 204–230; 2006: 91–101; 2016: 97–113; and Dyer 2015. My thanks also to Victoria Andrews for checking some of my initial readings of the *umé* (*dbu med*) inscriptions.

a moist, nearly transparent wash of color with many unpainted areas. I hope this examination of several sections of murals in this under-studied shrine constitutes a fitting way to honor David's generous and inspirational contributions to Himalayan philosophy and religion and to its art.

The Lama Lhakhang may have been constructed as part of Mindröling Monastery's original structure (Fig. 1) as planned by Rigzin Terdak Lingpa Gyurme Dorjé (Rig 'dzin gTer bdag gling pa 'Gyur med rdo rje; 1646–1714) with the financial support of the Fifth Dalai Lama Ngawang Lozang Gyatso (Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho; 1617–1682). However, its original paintings did not survive the Dzungar Mongol invasion and anti-Nyingma depredations of 1718. Although Terdak Lingpa had died a few years earlier, the “Dzungar soldiers executed Lochen Dharmaśrī [his younger brother], as well as the new Smin-grol-gling throne-holder, Padma 'Gyur-med Rgya-mtsho [his eldest son], and Padma 'Phrin-las [one of his teachers and second throne-holder of the neighboring Nyingma institution, Dorjé Drak].”<sup>5</sup> Its present murals were most likely produced as restorations during the second quarter of the eighteenth century under another of the founder's sons, Rinchen Namgyal (Rin chen rnam rgyal; 1694–1758) and the founder's daughter Migyur Peldrön (Mi 'gyur dpal sgron; 1699–1769). They reopened the monastery with the financial support of Polhané Sönam Tobgyé (Pho lha nas bSod nams stobs rgyas; 1689–1747) who, as Townsend's study details, was educated there.<sup>6</sup> Henss's valuable treatment of Mindröling does not mention the Lama Lhakhang or illustrate any murals from it,<sup>7</sup> but at the time of my visits in 2005 and 2007, I was fortuitously alerted to it by some of the guidebooks, several of which do mention

5 Dalton 2002: 229; Dalton 2016: 113. See also Cuevas 2003: 142; and Shakabpa 2010: 421.

6 On Polhané's education at Mindröling and his attachment to it and Nyingma monasteries, see Petech 1972: 27, 83. For accounts of Polhané's failed attempts in the 1720s to reverse the destruction of Nyingma monasteries by the Dzungars and the continuing restrictions on Nyingma monks endorsed by the 7th Dalai Lama's supporters, see *ibid.*: 107–111. Petech also relates that when the Dzungars tried unsuccessfully to extort money from Polhané, he was jailed with others including “the sMing-sgrol-gling incarnate, who in the meantime had been brought to Lhasa.” *Ibid.*: 57.

7 Henss 2014: 366–73.

the “exceptional highly original murals,”<sup>8</sup> which “depict the entire Nyingmapa lineages, from ancient India until the 18th century.”<sup>9</sup> I did not take overall photographs of the shrine, though it is clear from the guidebooks and my photographs that the wall murals were behind glass, and that there were newly made sculptures, also behind glass.

Among the photographs I took in the Lama Lhakhang is a simplified vertical lineage, of the type Jackson has trained us to attend (Fig. 2). At the top is the seated Buddha Amitābha clad in monastic robes holding a begging bowl. Directly under him is a crowned Buddha Amitāyus below whom, third from the top, Padmasambhava emerges. Under him is one of his legendary twenty-five disciples, the eighth-century translator Vairocana (as pointed out to me by Dominique Townsend), then the seventeenth-century founder of Mindröling, Terdak Lingpa (Fig. 3). Like many images of his patron, student, and teacher, the Fifth Dalai Lama, Terdak Lingpa bears a *phurpa* (*phur pa*) tucked into his belt. In the Lama Lhakhang he is portrayed as much older than in an earlier portrait elsewhere in Mindröling. A *dzok tsön* mural painting in the hall adjacent to the monastery’s Dukhang (*’du khang*) known as the Sangngak Podrang (gSang sngags pho brang) shows a much younger Terdak Lingpa (Fig. 4). Instead of the raised-line gold-embellished (*pastiglia*) *vajra* and bell that the younger Terdak Lingpa carries, the white-bearded Terdak Lingpa cradles a *terma* (*gter ma*; *dharma* treasure) container in both hands. The emphasis here is not so much on the performance of tantric rituals in which he wields the *vajra* and bell, but rather on his acts of treasure revelations. This, in turn, is a reminder that Terdak Lingpa was identified as the speech emanation of the great translator Vairocana (depicted directly above him in Fig. 2), who was himself a key figure in the *terma* tradition. As Townsend suggests, the association through reincarnation of Terdak Lingpa with Vairocana made the former’s rediscovery of *terma* “credible to his contemporaries.”<sup>10</sup> The vertical lineage made the succession legible, collapsing the time elapsing between them.

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8 Batchelor et al. 1998: 167.

9 Gyurme Dorje 2004: 178.

10 Townsend 2012: 96. Townsend also points out that a letter from the Fifth Dalai Lama to Terdak Lingpa “establishes Terdak Lingpa as a direct manifestation of Padmasambhava’s conscious intention.” *Ibid.*: 138.

The identity of the bottom figure in the vertical lineage I have not been able to identify—my photograph is not clear enough to read the *umé* (*dbu med*) inscription.<sup>11</sup> Townsend suggests it may be either Lochen Dharmasrī (Lo chen Dharma *śrī*; 1654–1718) or Pema Gyurmé Gyatso (Padma ’gyur med rgya mtsho; 1686–1718).<sup>12</sup> The first was Terdak Lingpa’s learned younger brother, and the second was the son who succeeded him as throne-holder of Mindröling. A set of prayer beads (*mālā*) is loosely wrapped around the lowest monk’s left wrist, and his two hands support a vase with leaves and a flower emerging from its neck. Regardless of the monk’s identity, it illustrates Jackson’s insight that we have to account for at least one more recognized generation to the lineage after Terdak Lingpa.

If the painting in the Sangngak Podrang (see Fig. 4) is a survivor from the initial phase of the construction—as I believe it is<sup>13</sup>—then the Lama Lhakhang is likely to be dated well after 1718, when much of the monastery was ruined by the Dzungars.<sup>14</sup> Most likely it belongs to

11 In the last stages of editing this essay, Ariana Maki, who participated in the Princeton Tibet Site Seminar, generously shared with me her photographs of the shrine taken in 2007, including one photograph of this figure at the bottom of the vertical lineage. The inscription is somewhat clearer than in my photograph, and I was able to make out a Jétsün (rJe btsun) at the start and a “shri” as in Dharma *śrī* (or maybe as one word: Dharmasrī), but little else, and I have not found references to him with the title Jétsün. It is not listed as one of his titles in the Buddhist Digital Resource Center (BDRC, P667; <https://www.tbrc.org>; accessed 06.06.2020). I forwarded Ariana’s image to Alexander Schiller who was able to read it as “rje btsun a kā ra shrī dā ra la na mo” but this name remains unidentified. See also Appendix.

12 Personal communication, 04.21.2020.

13 There are remarkable resemblances between the murals there and those of Tashilhunpo’s Thongwa Dönden Lhakhang (mThong ba don ldan lha khang) attributed to the famous artist Chöying Gyatso (Chos dbyings rgya mtsho; fl. 1625–1665), who worked for both the First Panchen Lama and the Fifth Dalai Lama. The resemblances even include examples of what Jackson called “a tendency towards over-dramatization in the treatment of some minor figures” (Jackson 1996: 233). Chöying Gyatso’s death date is not known to me, but he was active at Tashilhunpo in 1662 (Jackson 1996: 222), so it is not impossible that he or a close follower participated in painting in the early 1670s at Mindröling. Henss states that the “fine” murals in the Sangngak Podrang were “said to have been painted by the great Nyingma translator Lochen Dharmashri” (Henss 2014: 372), though no source is provided for this attribution to Terdak Lingpa’s younger brother.

14 On the Dzungar attack on Nyingmapa monasteries, including Mindröling, see Petech 1972: 53; Shakabpa 2010: 414–426; Townsend 2012: 104, n. 60.

the reconstruction mentioned above.<sup>15</sup> Once the many figures in the shrine are identified (I only photographed a dozen or so in 2005), it may be possible, using Jackson's method, to be more precise. In the meantime we must settle for the ca. second quarter of the eighteenth century as the working date.

An important aim of Mindröling's founders was, as Townsend demonstrates, to establish a "cosmopolitanism" that "implies an integrated worldview that valorizes a boundarylessness in all spheres, social, cultural, religious and so forth."<sup>16</sup> This is accomplished at least in part through what Dalton calls "its reform of the Rnying ma school through a return to the ancient past."<sup>17</sup>

Figures photographed and identified on a wall of the Lama Lhakhang, arranged in six horizontal registers, certainly range "boundaryless" across time, space, and thematic type, and include notables of the "ancient past." Among those who are identifiable from India is Kukkuri-pa or, in Nyingmapa lineages and as his inscription has it, Kukkurāja (Fig. 5).<sup>18</sup> Another Mahāsiddha is identified by inscription as Rolpa Dorjé (Rol pa'i rdo rje), or Lalitavajra (alt. Līlavajra).<sup>19</sup> Vasudhārā, the wealth goddess (Fig. 6), is depicted among monks and siddhas from India and Tibet; there are a few other deities in addition to the Buddha Amitābha and Amitāyus already mentioned in the vertical lineage (see Fig. 2). Crowned and uncrowned versions of the primordial Buddha Samantabhadra (Kun tu bzang po) and his consort (Kun tu bzang mo) are painted on the walls; the uncrowned version is illustrated in Figure 7.

Along the bottom register of one wall are three ca. thirteenth and fourteenth-century teachers recognized in the Nyingma school. Tanak

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15 Gyurme Dorje, as already quoted, mentions that the Lama Lhakhang murals "depict the entire Nyingmapa lineages, from ancient Indian *until the 18th century*" (Gyurme Dorje 2004: 178, emphasis added). This suggests that he noticed portraits that dated to the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century, evidence that he understood the murals to be part of the post-Dzungar repairs.

16 Townsend 2012: 33.

17 Dalton 2006: 94.

18 Dudjom Rinpoche 2002, vol. 1: 458–462.

19 *Ibid.*: 477, 487, for Lalitavajra; a separate person is identified as Līlavajra in *ibid.*: 463–464. However, the same drawing used for the latter is identified as Lalitavajra in Tarthang Tulku 1977: 203. In the index to Herrmann-Pfandt 2018, she includes both Lalitavajra and Līlavajra, though indicating that the latter is the "wrong Sanskrit form of the name sGeg pa'i rdo rje;" see *ibid.*: 3.1416. Both are included in Dowman 1985.



Drölma Samdrup Dorjé (rTa nag sGrol ma bsam grub rdo rje; 1295–1334 or 1295–1376) is said to have meditated in the Great Perfection tradition (Fig. 8).<sup>20</sup> He holds a skull cup in his lap, his long hair in a twist on top of his head, his eyebrows raised questioningly. He is seated with his back to Len Nyatselpa Sönam Gönpö (Glan Nya tshal pa bSod nams mgon po; Fig. 9), “an accomplished treasure revealer,”<sup>21</sup> who is credited with having initiated Tanak Drölma Samdrup Dorjé in the *Māyājāla* (*sGyu 'phrul drwa ba*) teachings.<sup>22</sup> Next to him is a lively figure stretching his right arm up triumphantly, index finger extended onto the drum, a bell held delicately in his left hand (Fig. 10). This is labeled as another Lenpa (Glan pa), and according to Alexander Schiller, who kindly deciphered the cursive inscription, it reads “glan sangs rgyas dpal la na mo”. This would then refer to Len Sangyé Pel (Glan Sangs rgyas dpal) who transmitted to Len Sönam Gönpö (Glan bSod nams mgon po) the *Gathering of Intentions Sūtra* (*dGongs pa 'dus pa'i mdo*), on which the latter wrote a manual.<sup>23</sup> Both the *Māyājāla* as well as the *Gathering of Intentions Sūtra* were important subjects of study to the Mindröling founder and his younger brother.<sup>24</sup>

Another relatively early figure is the Tertön (*gter ston*; “treasure finder”) Rashak Chöbar (Ra shag Chos 'bar; Fig. 11), a contemporary of Milarepa (Mi la ras pa; ca. 1052–1135) and of Ngok Lotsawa (rNgog Lo tsā ba, 1059–1109).<sup>25</sup> More recent is a figure firmly identified by the inscription as Dorjé Lingpa (rDo rje gling pa, 1346–1405; Fig. 12), with whom Terdak Lingpa was also associated, reincarnation-wise.<sup>26</sup> Even closer in time is the ca. sixteenth-century Drigung Rinchen Püntsoḳ ('Bri

20 Dudjom Rinpoche 2002, vol. 1: 667–668.

21 Dalton 2016: 187, n. 8.

22 Dudjom Rinpoche 2002, vol. 1: 668. The inscription under this obscure figure, (*glan pa bsod nams mgon po la na mo* /) is nearly an exact match with the name given in the short biography of Tanak Drölma Samdrup Dorjé as one of his teachers though it omits the title Nyatselpa.

23 There does not seem to be an original Sanskrit name of this text; to the extent that it was, or parts of it were, translated, it seems to have been from Burushaski language, if not composed in Tibetan; Dalton 2016: 4–7. On the transmission of its teachings in the Len clan, see *ibid.*: 68–69, and 185–189, nn. 7–8; also Dalton 2002: 140, 300.

24 Dalton 2016: 102.

25 Dudjom Rinpoche 2002, vol. 2: 70, n. 991.

26 Dorjé Lingpa was also understood to be an incarnation of Vairocana, both were Terdak Lingpa's previous incarnations; Townsend 2012: 75, 138.

gung Rin chen phun tshogs; **Fig. 13**).<sup>27</sup> He was also associated with the *Māyājāla* as well as the *Gathering of Intentions Sūtra*. He sits comfortably with a narrow *phurpa* slipped diagonally into his belt. He was from the Drigung region, and a treasure-revealer, not a Drigungpa in terms of Buddhist affiliation.

Dorjé Lingpa (see **Fig. 12**) illustrates the distinctive character of these murals and their disregard of many of the norms we generally associate with mural painting in the more familiar mode of thickly painted *dzok tsön*. First, unlike typical high-quality murals such as that illustrated in Figure 4, here the yellowed-white or beige color of the prepared wall of the mural is the default color of skin, of uncolored robes—in fact, of all surfaces left unpainted. This is common to book illustrations in the mode of *hang tsön* and only occasionally to relatively contemporary thangka sets such as the well-known medical paintings of the late seventeenth century.<sup>28</sup>

The pigments here are rapidly applied, more as washes with lighter and darker areas than as evenly applied uniform tones. Dorjé Lingpa's *ghañṭā*-bell, for example, is only partly colored; a few strokes of gold appear on the *vajra* handle, while the bell's bowl is only incompletely covered in a thin lavender-gray. The outlines of the face and arms are deft and curve elegantly, but vary in thickness and saturation from a dark black to light gray. The pose is exaggerated—knees wide, ankles clutched, shoulders hunched, elbows crossed, the movement caught by the flying ribbons of both drum and hat with its *vajra*-finial and orange-outlined upturned lappets. His red-rimmed eyes stare directly at the viewer with a compelling, if slightly ludicrous expression. There is a suggestion of exuberant eccentricity, or perhaps an idiosyncratic exuberance, in the transcendent state that such Dzogchen practitioners have attained.

Naturally the artists working in this unconventional mode were simultaneously masters of the iconographic canon, just as the artists of the medicine thangkas were fluent in both visual “dialects.”<sup>29</sup> For example, the Rashak Treasure Finder (see **Fig. 11**) conjures forth an

27 Dudjom Rinpoche 2002, vol. 1: 676–677.

28 See Parfionovitch et al. 1992; Gyatso 2015; and Linrothe 2020.

29 Discussed in Linrothe 2020.

iconographically correct sixteen-armed Nāgarakṣa emerging from the sea, serpents writhing above his head, his lower body scaled, and holding a *karttrkā* in his right hand and a small snake in his left (Fig. 14).<sup>30</sup> Nevertheless, it is painted in the same *hang tsön* mode, and requires us to distinguish pictorial form from painterly execution. Even here in the Lama Lhakhang, the forms of Samantabhadra (see Fig. 7) and Terdak Lingpa (see Fig. 3)—and, as just mentioned, Nāgarakṣa—conform to orthodox prescriptions, while Len Sangyé Pel (see Fig. 10) and Dorjé Lingpa (Fig. 12) are in a looser, apparently spontaneous or free mode. Yet to judge by the brushwork and the application of relatively transparent washes of color, both types of forms are executed in the same *hang tsön* manner.

We might draw together the two Jacksonian strands of this study. That is, we might find in the mode of the murals' execution a subtle confirmation of the hint offered by the lineages that the Lama Lhakhang is part of a post-1718 restoration. Wealthy and generous as the patron Polhané may have been to Terdak Lingpa's daughter and younger son who tried to restore Mindröling, it strikes me as doubtful that in rebuilding it in the period after Polhané came to power in 1727, he and they could have mustered the same level of resources the Fifth Dalai Lama and Terdak Lingpa had at their disposal during the original building campaign.<sup>31</sup> In terms of materials (costly stone-ground mineral pigments) and labor (painstaking and time-intensive detailed painting with fine brushes), the *dzok tsön* murals were much more expensive to produce. The Lama Lhakhang in the *hang tsön* mode could be executed considerably more rapidly and with diluted pigments. What we particularly appreciate are the traces they nevertheless sustain of the imaginative creativity of the artists to conceive of exaggerated forms suitably expressive

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30 Compare Lokesh Chandra 1991: no. 745.

31 Cuevas argues on the basis of a land tenure document issued in 1683 that the "bulk of the income for the maintenance of Mindröling's mother institution in central Tibet" came from the economic surplus of some twenty-six branch monasteries in different regions of Tibet, each controlling estates. Cuevas 2003: 139. The disruptions during the time of the Dzungar invasion, their targeting of Nyingma institutions, and the reluctance after the invasion in the 1720s to repair and restore them, as documented by Petech 1972, would have significantly curtailed the ability of the leaders of Mindröling to engage the finest painters, supply them with unlimited pigments, and support unstinting labor in plying their arts.

of enlightened siddhas and Dzogchen masters. The intangible factor of artistic imagination is unconstrained by limited material resources, but neither is it guaranteed by a sponsor's financial extravagance.

To conclude, David Jackson has provided art historians with tools, resources, and models. His extensive contributions have gathered invaluable textual accounts of particular artists, patrons, and techniques. They have helped us to reconsider in the Himalayan context desiccated inheritances from Western art history of the weighted concepts of "originals" versus "copies." Jackson's erudite accumulations and assemblages of images and texts (histories, biographies, inventories, and abbatial succession lists), and his studies of the training, techniques, materials, and methods of artists from Tibet to Ladakh to Dharamsala, are in their own way revelatory *terma* for the art historian. Here I have tried to employ two of his insights on a modest shrine that has been largely overlooked. I offer it up in sincere appreciation and gratitude to honor his accomplishments.

## Appendix

After reading a draft of my essay, the editors of this volume suggested providing the entirety of the inscriptions in the vertical transmission lineage of Figure 2 (where possible), instead of the basic identification which I had made. Alexander Schiller has kindly deciphered the *umé* inscriptions, including the title at the top left under Amitābha, and offered translations for them based on photographs I provided him. He also points out that the "set of murals in the Lama Lhaxhang depicts a well-known transmission lineage of a longevity practice as part of the concealed treasures *Zab chos rig 'dzin thugs thig* which gTer bdag gling pa had revealed in 1662 in Brag dmar g.ya' ma lung" and provides two valuable citations on the longevity practice as well as a history of this practice down to Terdak Lingpa as well.<sup>32</sup>

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32 Dargyay 1979: 179; Dargyab 1991; and *Zab chos rig 'dzin thugs thig* (BDRC, W4PD294, vol. 19, pp. 257–268). Schiller also points out the following: We also find a lineage of a long-life empowerment (*tshe dbang*) based on this practice which includes the same lineage starting with Amitābha up to gTer bdag gling pa. Here gTer bdag gling pa is followed by rGyal sras 'Gyur med rgya mtsho etc. (BDRC, W4615, line 4–6).

**Caption or label for the vertical lineage:**

*ga ra ga ra la snying kun 'dus kyi bla ma brgyud pa'i rim pa ni//*  
 (“Concerning [the magic formula] ‘ga ra ga ra’ (?), the succession of the transmission lineage of the Lamas regarding the [longevity practice] ‘Gathering of all essences’”)

**Labels under or beside the transmission lineage members starting from the top:**

- (1) *chos sku snang ba mtha' yas la na mo/*  
 (“Homage to the Dharmakāya Amitābha!”)
- (2) *longs sku tshe dpag med la na mo/*  
 (“Homage to the Sambhogakāya Amitāyus!”)
- (3) *slob dpon padma 'byung gnas la na mo/*  
 (“Homage to Ācārya Padmasambhava!”)
- (4) *lo chen bai ro [tsa] na la na [mo/]*  
 (“Homage to the Lo chen Vairocana!”)
- (5) *rig 'dzin gter bdag gling pa la na m[o/]*  
 (“Homage to Rig 'dzin gTer bdag gling pa!”)
- (6) *rje btsun a kā ra shrī dā ra la na mo/*  
 (“Homage to rJe btsun A kā ra shrī dā ra!”)

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**Fig. 1** Entrance to Mindröling Monastery, Central Tibet. Photo: R. Linrothe, 2007.



**Fig. 2**  
Nyingma Lineage, mural in Lama  
Lhakang, Mindröling Monas-  
tery, ca. second quarter of the  
18th c. Photo: R. Linrothe, 2005.



**Fig. 3**  
Detail of Fig. 2, depicting  
Terdak Lingpa.



**Fig. 4**  
Terdak Lingpa, mural in  
Sanggak Podrang, Min-  
dröling Monastery, ca. late  
17th c. Photo: R. Linrothe,  
2007.



**Fig. 5**  
 Mahāsiddha Kukkurāja,  
 mural in Lama Lhakang,  
 Mindröling Monastery, ca.  
 second quarter of the 18th c.  
 Photo: R. Linrothe, 2005.



**Fig. 6**  
 Vasudhārā, mural in Lama  
 Lhakang, Mindröling  
 Monastery, ca. second quar-  
 ter of the 18th c. Photo: R.  
 Linrothe, 2005.



**Fig. 7**  
Samantabhadra and  
Samantabhadri, mural  
in Lama Lhakang, Min-  
dröling Monastery, ca. sec-  
ond quarter of the 18th c.  
Photo: R. Linrothe, 2005.



**Fig. 8**  
Tanak Drölma Samdrup  
Dorjé, mural in Lama  
Lhakang, Mindröling  
Monastery, ca. second quar-  
ter of the 18th c. Photo: R.  
Linrothe, 2005.



**Fig. 9**  
 Len Nyatselpa Sönam  
 Gönpo, mural in Lama  
 Lhakang, Mindröling  
 Monastery, ca. second quar-  
 ter of the 18th c. Photo: R.  
 Linrothe, 2005.



**Fig. 10**  
 Len Sangyé Pel, mural in  
 Lama Lhakang, Min-  
 dröling Monastery, ca. sec-  
 ond quarter of the 18th c.  
 Photo: R. Linrothe, 2005.



**Fig. 11**  
Tertön Rashak Chöbar, mural in Lama Lhakang, Min-dröling Monastery, ca. second quarter of the 18th c. Photo: R. Linrothe, 2005.



**Fig. 12**  
Dorjé Lingpa, mural in Lama Lhakang, Min-dröling Monastery, ca. second quarter of the 18th c. Photo: R. Linrothe, 2005.



**Fig. 13**  
 Drigung Rinchen Püntsoq,  
 mural in Lama Lhakang,  
 Mindröling Monastery, ca.  
 second quarter of the 18th c.  
 Photo: R. Linrothe, 2005.



**Fig. 14**  
 Nāgarakṣa, mural in Lama  
 Lhakang, Mindröling  
 Monastery, ca. second  
 quarter of the 18th c.  
 Photo: R. Linrothe, 2005.



**Letters from Tibet:  
My First Fieldwork in Tibet (July–August 1987)**

Erberto Lo Bue

The following contribution is dedicated to David Jackson, with whom I developed an important relationship as shown by our over 20,000-word correspondence of more than 140 letters and messages, containing information and mutual advice (1994–2019), and by our meetings in Fagernes (at the Sixth IATS Conference, 1992), London (first in 1994 at the conference “Towards a Definition of Style: The Arts of Tibet”), Leipzig (1995), Istanbul (1997), Oxford and Lhasa (2003), and London and Lhasa again (2004).

David Jackson has shown himself to be an unsurpassed analyst of Tibetan painting in all its aspects, and has penetrated its soul through his historically contextualized study of iconography and iconometry, through researches carried out with living artists, and eventually on important paintings and painting schools confronted with historical sources. Gene Smith had already warned that “The pontifications of eminent museologists and art historians regarding the characteristics and dates of the various styles and schools” represent “nothing but uninformed guesses.”<sup>1</sup> More recently, Jackson has argued that Tibetan art history “still finds itself in an elementary stage” and concluded that hopes for improving its discipline “will be nothing but a dream” unless “younger scholars were to begin applying a sounder historical method, rejecting inexact and unreliable methods of the past.”<sup>2</sup> A good example of the present unsatisfactory situation may be provided by the fact that, as pointed out by Jackson, in recent books on the Potala palace many murals from the 1920s were wrongly dated in the captions to the 1640s.<sup>3</sup>

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1 See Smith 1970: 52.

2 See Jackson 2012: 1, 19.

3 See *ibid.*: 33–34.

Incidentally, chapters three to five in the same publication by Jackson,<sup>4</sup> far from the antiquarian aesthetics prevailing in the Western world, include the twentieth-century production in Tibet proper, Ladakh as well as Nepal, examples of traditional twentieth-century paintings and painters being dealt with also in chapter six.<sup>5</sup> David Jackson has studied and published also twentieth-century paintings since “for some rare local styles the present may be the only point of departure for studying them,”<sup>6</sup> while collectors such as Gerd-Wolfgang Essen have collected also fine twentieth-century items.<sup>7</sup> In conclusion, David Jackson’s message to current and future researchers in Tibetan studies is to avoid idealizing their subject matter and to use reliable written as well as oral sources for their work, contextualizing the objects of their researches historically, socially and anthropologically, starting from texts based on fieldwork.<sup>8</sup>

The following contribution represents my only autobiographical publication in a life dedicated to the study, fieldwork and teaching of Tibetan and Himalayan history and art. It is based on my notes and on the letters and postcards sent to my present wife, Stella Rigo Righi,—reported here in inverted commas—during my first fieldwork in Tibet as part of a scientific expedition sponsored by CeSMEO (Centro Piemontese Studi Medio ed Estremo Oriente, Turin) and led in 1987 with its cofounder, Professor Franco Ricca, and Ernani Orcorte, photographer. The quotations from my letters and postcards are supplemented by additional comments in the text and by my notes.

### **Zangmu (Kasa), 9th July 1987**

“[...] I do not know if and when you will receive these lines of mine, written on the only sort of paper I managed to find in an emporium in the first Tibetan border town, over a hundred kilometres from Kathmandu. The envelope is the only kind on sale at the local post office, where a very rude Chinese clerk sold me a stamping that I hope to correspond

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4 See *ibid.*: 33, 34, 39, 49, 70–72, 80–81, 91–92, 105, 108, 111–112.

5 See *ibid.*: 146–147, 149–150.

6 See *ibid.*: XII.

7 See Essen and Tsering Tashi Thingo 1989.

8 See Jackson and Jackson 1984.

to air mail. Otherwise you will forgive me for the fine you may have to pay. It took us two days, partly by bus, partly by taxi, partly by lorry, but above all on foot, to cover the one hundred and eight kilometres separating Kathmandu from the Tibetan border town of Zangmu. We had to cross or bypass landslides because rivers have swallowed at least four sections of the road. I am tired but fine. Zangmu is at 2,300m above sea level, but tomorrow we shall have to cross passes of over 5,000. There is only one landslide left to cross and then a coach of the Chinese Tourist Agency CITS will take us eastwards, towards Shigatse and Lhasa.”

In order to reach Zangmu we walked, even under the rain, on tracks made in those days where the road had been swept away. The signs in the village were then exclusively in Chinese and the two post office employees did not understand Tibetan. On the 10th we reached the minicoach waiting for us upwards, after the landslides, and I noticed that along the way the Tibetan driver stopped twice to allow the soldier escorting us to shoot at two hares with a gun, whereas on the following day he tried to knock down one. I was struck by the absence of stupas, characterizing Tibetan landscapes, though I noticed, especially on passes and hills, traditional pre-Buddhist *lha tho* and a few *la(b) rdzas*, heaps of stones reminiscent of the shape of the stupa, where local deities are invoked by travellers launching slips of papers in the colours of the Five Cosmic Buddhas, depicting “wind horses” and bearing invocations.

We spent the night in a sort of hostel at Shelkar (Shel dkar) and on the 11th we left for Shigatse. West of Lhatse (lHa rtse), on the right side of the road, I noticed a stone obelisk presumably dating to the monar-chic period (7th–9th century) and after that several caves where hermits dwelled, on the same side of the road.

### **Shigatse, 11th July 1987**

“[...] After a first halt at Xegar (Shel dkar), 4,350m above sea level, I have recovered from the sensation of nausea and fatigue, and from the headache caused by the insufficiency of oxygen, and I find myself in a hotel worthy of that name at Tashilunpo-Shigatse, two centres that by now have become one city.”

On our arrival at Shigatse, we found a large crowd waiting for the Panchen Lama (see under 10th and 11th July in my diary of 1987).

### **Shigatse, 12th July 1987**

“This morning we went to visit the monastery of Tashilhunpo (bKra shis lhun po), founded in 1447 by one of Tsongkhapa’s disciples and subsequently seat of the Panchen Lamas starting from the seventeenth century. By a fortunate coincidence the present Panchen Lama, representative of the Tibetan Autonomous Region in Beijing, was on a visit to his monastery. It was the second time this occurred in the last twenty-two years. For that reason its monks (who from 4000 in 1959 have gone down to 700) had opened all the assembly halls, temples and chapels, which, mixed to a crowd of pilgrims, we have been able to visit, discovering hundreds of statues of all dimensions, some of them very old. It has been a very moving but also tiring experience, because the monastery is really large and it took us over two hours to complete its visit. We also had the luck to admire one of the huge thangkas hanging on a special construction at least 30m high at the north-eastern corner of the monastery (fig. 1), and the special procession during which monks, with vestments and accompanied by the sound of their traditional instruments, have carried the very heavy thangkas suitably folded on special litters. At the end of this extenuating morning I wonder what I have to share with this world so deeply different from mine [...]”

During that first visit to the main monastic temple, we dwelt on two bookshelves containing the Buddhist canon in volumes of traditional size with carved covers, Franco Ricca’s main interest, on the first and second floor of the same temple, on some wall paintings on the second floor, and on the chapel on the last floor, containing very ancient statues, some perhaps Indian.

### **Lhasa, 13th July 1987**

Telegram: “[...] Well arrived at Lhasa [...]”

### **Lhasa, 14th July 1987**

“[...] Here we are at last in Lhasa! Yesterday we left Shigatse at 9:30 and two hours later stopped at Gyantse (rGyal rtse). We were able to visit the main temple and the first floor of the famous Kumbum (sKu ’bum), where the paintings studied by Tucci are almost intact. The problem will be to take pictures of them when we come back. The last jump to

Lhasa with the two important passes, one 5010m and the other 4794m high. A total of 251 km only, but on a mostly dirt road, which we covered in twelve hours, arriving rather tired towards 21:30. Today we visited the great Gelugpa (dGe lugs pa) monastery of Drepung ('Bras spungs), 6 km west of Lhasa, watching also a service in the main temple at 15:00. Tibet continues to be a far and mysterious country and it is a paradox that I feel it so extraneous right now that I find myself fully immersed in it [...].”

Lhasa appeared then in the list of the twenty-four historical towns protected in the Chinese Popular Republic. In its historical centre, at the end of a large square obtained from the demolition of previous constructions, rose what in the official language is regarded as the “Cultural Relic Number One”: the Jokhang (Jo khang), the most venerated Buddhist temple in Tibet, founded in 639–640 AD. During the Cultural Revolution the Jokhang was damaged by the Red Guards’ various raids, was used as a pigsty, was the scene of a siege and a clash ending with the killing of young Tibetan rebels barricaded inside, and lost great part of its treasures: religious writings, documents, relics and statues. Restoration work started at the end of the 1970s, and in 1982 the statues inside many chapels had been remade. During my stay in Lhasa I did not fail to linger over the *Zhol rdo ring*, the pillar bearing the most ancient example of Tibetan writing: an inscription, datable to about 764, commemorating the Great Minister Takdra Lukong’s (sTag sgra Klu khong)’s exploits, including victories against China, with which Tibet contended for territories crossed by the Silk Road.

### **Lhasa, 15th July 1987**

“[...] At the Poste Restante one has to leaf through a register corresponding to the last days, weeks or months, hoping to find one’s name and surname among hundreds of addressees. Next to one’s name and surname there is a number corresponding to an envelope which is then handed over by a clerk. An ordeal. [Sending] a telegram has not been easier, for I had to convince the clerk that Torre Pellice is in the province of Turin and not of Tortona, as he had written on the address [...]. Today was fruitless, but for an afternoon visit to the monastery that was the seat of the state oracle, Nechung (gNas chung), near Drepung [...].”

The oracular monastery of Nechung, on whose lower floor were kept the State Oracle's vestments, outfit, silverware and gold items, housed then sixteen monks, about half of which had obtained the title of *dge slong* ("master of virtue," namely fully ordained monk) according to my twenty-four-year-old monk informant, who asked me not to mention him in case of publication of our notes.<sup>9</sup> We revisited Nechung two days later, I returned there in 1996, then precisely ten years later, on the 17th July 1997, and eventually on the 15th October 2003 together with my Tibetan colleague Minyak Rinpoche (Mi nyag Rin po che).

### Lhasa, 16th July 1987

"[...] Today we visited the other large dGe lugs pa monastery near Lhasa, Sera (Se ra), which though consisting in a large number of temples and chapels, is artistically less interesting than Drepung. We were able to take pictures of the first two partly gilded wood covers and hope to have other opportunities of this kind thanks to the first relations we are establishing with the monks of the various monasteries. Sera was founded in 1419 by one of Tsongkhapa's disciples [...].

"The hotel where we are is the most luxurious one where I had the occasion to reside in my life, though the prices correspond to those of a good pension on the Garda [Lake]. This opulence is in contrast with the poverty in which many Tibetans live still today. However, the atmosphere on the whole is pleasant, because Tibetans have the gift to put you at ease. Today I made friends with Gyatso (rGya mtsho), a monk from the Potala, who acted as a guide in the monastic complex of Sera [...]."

In the chapel of Maitreya, the Buddha to come, at the centre in the back of the upper floor of the meeting hall of the monastery, the expedition photographer, Ernani [...] Orcorte, documented a wooden book cover with a gilded central image. In the tantric college of Sera he photographed, besides a wood cover, the detail of a wooden head of a Turk or Mongol that accompanies the image of the Great King Guardian of the eastern direction in the chapel of the *sthaviras* ("Elder Ones," the first disciples of the historical Buddha on the basis of an ancient Indian iconographic tradition), at the back of the meeting hall to the left from the visitor's point of view, and three wooden masks in the chapel of the

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9 On this monastery, see Ricca 1999.

wrathful deities protecting the doctrine (*mgon khang*) on the opposite side.

### **Lhasa, 17th July 1987**

“[...] Today we returned to Nechung to photograph the paintings in the porch surrounding the courtyard. They are valuable works, possibly from the beginning of the century, representing cycles of mostly infernal and wrathful deities, with very bright colours and shapes (fig. 2). I have copied all the inscriptions, filling eight of the pages of the memorandum book you presented me with. Many paintings have been disfigured during the presence of Chinese troops that camped there in 1959 and later during the Cultural Revolution. Paintings were blackened or burned by the fires lit under them, some were covered with Chinese papers with articles of political subject, the eyes of some deities were taken away, and ultimately deposits where various kinds of things, such as wood or juniper to be used as incense, have been piled up. In this break-up, some paintings have been miraculously saved and might be the object of a monographic study.<sup>10</sup> It is with relief that I remember having always dissociated from pro-Maoist friends in the 1960s, when the Little Red Book was fashionable, and all that was Chinese was beautiful and good. I cannot forget the naivety and idiocy of many Italian intellectuals during that period [...].”

### **Lhasa, 19th July 1987**

“[...] Between yesterday and today we took pictures of magnificent book covers and of illuminated pages of the Tibetan canon in one of the most important libraries in the monastery of Drepung in the morning. In the afternoon we completed the photographic work on the paintings in the monastery of Nechung [...]. I had regarded them as of the beginning of the century, but in the light of the inscriptions I copied in the last three days it looks obvious that they are part of a great cycle commissioned by the most famous of all Dalai Lamas, the Great Fifth (1617–1683), towards the middle of the seventeenth century. We have therefore come across, a bit by chance, on a very interesting subject [...] which might be the object of a separate publication. I believe that we shall enjoy very much seeing the slides [...].”

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<sup>10</sup> This eventually resulted in Ricca 1999.

### Lhasa, 20th July 1987, 21:30

“[...] Today alarm clock at 7:30 (we never get up after 8:00) and visit to the Potala (fig. 3). Extenuating: like visiting the Vatican Museums. Painting in its descriptive minutias, for example where it illustrates the very construction of the Potala depicting teams of carpenters and masons at work, stuns even more than sculpture does.” [Similar depictions in the Potala illustrate the foundation of the Jokhang (fig. 4).] “We visited probably only a small part of it, but that has been more than enough: I got photographed also the chapel of the 6th Dalai Lama<sup>11</sup> found in the section opened to the public [...].<sup>12</sup> In the afternoon visit to the Jokhang, the main temple in Lhasa and all Tibet, where we took pictures of Nepalese sculptures dating back to the ninth century and paintings contemporary to those in the Potala [...]. During the past few days the Chancellor of the German Federal Republic, Helmut Kohl, was guest in this hotel with his court. It is a really great hotel with a string quartet playing always the same things, many facilities and a relatively efficient staff, but I feel that in spite of that it will be difficult to get used to the uncleanness seemingly characterizing most of the rest of Tibet!<sup>13</sup> We shall not remain in Lhasa more than two days. Tomorrow I shall return to the Post Office [...].”

### Lhasa, 21st July 1987

Postcard with the picture of a painted statue portraying Wen Cheng (fig. 5), the Chinese consort of Tri Songtsen Gampo (Khri Srong brtsan sgam po, ruled ca. 581–641 and 646–649), the first Tibetan ruler to be interested in Buddhism, under whom the first Tibetan alphabet was worked out: “[...] tomorrow we are leaving for Samye (bSam yas) (fig. 6), the first Buddhist monastery built in Tibet, in the eighth century, and for the Valley of the Kings’ Tombs, which will be the furthest eastern point we reach during this journey. Then our return will start

11 On the Sixth Dalai Lama, see Lo Bue 1983 and 1993.

12 In 1948, the chapels in the Potala were opened to devotees only one day in the year; see Tucci 1952: 80.

13 See the *foetor tibeticus* mentioned by Maraini 1984: 77. In terms of hygiene in guesthouses my experience of the overland expedition I organized from Gongkar (Gong dkar) to Chengdu in 1997 (15th July–3rd August) was even worse.



with stops in Lhasa, and stays at Gyantse and Sakya (Sa skya). I will go to the Poste Restante in Lhasa towards the 30th July and hope to find still a letter of yours [...].”

### **Tsetang, 22nd July 1987**

“[...] We are at Tsetang (rTsed thang), the most eastern and lowest point (3400 m) on our journey in Tibet. We arrived here this morning by jeep from Lhasa, going along the Kyichu (sKyid chu), and then crossing the Brahmaputra (Tsangpo [gTsang po]) on the bridge at its confluence with the Kyichu, going along the former through different landscapes, from the barley fields yellowing under the July sun to the sand dunes reaching the mountains rising above, arriving first at the ferry for Samye and then at Tsetang itself. At the ferry for Samye we only made agreements to cross the Tsangpo tomorrow morning. We then proceeded and had lunch at Tsetang. During the afternoon we went southeast to Yumbulhakhang (Yum bu bla sgang); it is the most ancient castle established by the Tibetan rulers, going back, in its original construction, to the seventh century. Then we visited Chonggye (Phyong rgyas), the valley where are placed the thirteen tombs of the Tibetan historical kings (fig. 7), really imposing, in spite of being actually made up by truncated pyramids of earth and stones, partly covered with grass. The afternoon is magnificent, and its beauty is partly due to the sharp contrast of colours between the large cultivated oases and the mountain desert surrounding them on all sides, following neat border lines. The roads, though almost completely dirt, are good enough and often flanked for long kilometres by willows and small poplars planted in subsequent rows. The jeep, a Cherokee, is really comfortable and well-sprung. You may follow my journey in Tucci’s books, which pleases me very much, but I assure you that we move in altogether different ways and times! So far I have not denied myself anything, I feel very well, I have got used to altitude and I no longer happen to wake up because I cannot breathe [...].”

### **Lhasa, 24th July 1987**

“[...] Yesterday morning we left Tsetang to return back and catch our ferry for Samye. It took an hour to our flatboat, provided with an outboard

motor, to cross the Tsangpo, going upstream with a route suitable to avoid the many sandbanks. The river is very large at this point, perhaps two kilometres, but hardly deep. On the opposite side we took a small van that took us as far as the village and monastery bearing the same name. We took immediately lodging in the local dormitory. Samye has been damaged, like all religious buildings in the monastic sites that I have been able to visit so far, more by the Cultural Revolution than by the Chinese invasion. However, the wall paintings in the main monastery are rather well preserved, actually some being presently being restored. Unique case so far come across, restoration work in the monastery is being sponsored, as far as the purchase of the material is concerned, by the Chinese Government (fig. 8), a sign that Chinese authorities regard it as a monument of national value. Monks, as it presently happens in almost all monasteries we visit, see to the reconstruction, acting as masons, carpenters, sculptors, and painters [...]. At Samye lived then about 95 monks, mostly of the Sakya (Sa skya) order. At Samye we have photographed a series of mandalas painted on cloth and applied to the ceiling of the main meeting hall, and some covers of texts, in my opinion dating back perhaps to the early ninth century. After sleeping in the village, this morning we went by lorry to the landing stage, crossing a fine partly desertic landscape, with sand dunes, partly formed by small oases where willows predominate. Indeed, the very village of Samye rises in a large oasis. Crossing the Tsangpo on our return has been characterized by a small incident: our flatboat stranded in a sandbank, but about half an hour later another flatboat came to help us, we transferred, reached at last the bank, where our faithful driver was waiting for us, and a few hours later we were back to Lhasa [...].”

**Lhasa, 25th July 1987, 23:15**

Postcard showing a Buddhist manuscript in golden characters in Tibetan, Mongolian, Manchu, and Chinese translations: “[...] Tomorrow morning, we are leaving for a two-day trip north of Lhasa to the monasteries of Reting (Rwa sgreng) and Ganden (dGa’ ldan). We shall return to Lhasa on the 27th in the evening. On the 28th and 29th we shall prepare our return trip, which will start on the 30th [...].”

**Lhasa, 25th July 1986**

“[...] Last night we took stock of the situation of our little expedition and, on the basis of the result of the work carried out so far, it is clear that we shall be back in Kathmandu towards the 15th August. I do not even exclude the possibility of a return to Kathmandu towards the 10th, allowing a departure even on the 13th, but I regard the first hypothesis as more likely. I will keep you informed. Yesterday morning, returning from Samye, we made a diversion to Mindröling (sMin grol gling), the main monastery of the Nyingmapa school (rNying ma pa) in Tibet, established in 1671. Only a couple of bare temples are left and, at the time of our arrival, monks were trying to lift a big clay statue portraying the founder of the monastery from the courtyard to the mezzanine on which the monastery is built, to be able to install it in the assembly hall of the temple. I was saddened by the ruins of the palaces and dwellings of the monks (see fig. 9), but was infused with some optimism by the religious fervour that seemed to animate those unfortunate representatives of the poorest and most persecuted of the Tibetan Buddhist religious orders. Today a visit to the monastery seat of the Karma Kagyüpa order (Karma bKa' brgyud pa), to which our friend Kardruk (dKar phrug)<sup>14</sup> belongs, caused a lump in my throat and a feeling of impotent rage. In order to reach the site one has to leave the main road connecting Lhasa to Beijing [...]. Can you believe that the idiots that set up and led the Cultural Revolution laboured also here, as in Drepung, Samye [...] and many other sites, to dynamite the dwellings of the abbots and monks, and to destroy temples and libraries, tearing to pieces and burning Buddhist texts? No? And yet that was it. And do you know with which label Italian philo-Maoists approving of the Chinese Cultural Revolution of 1967 introduced themselves? No? I tell you: 'Servire il Popolo,' the Marxian barbarians of the time. Forgive me for the outburst, which perhaps will not be the last one [...].”

**Lhasa, 27th July 1987**

“[...] We have returned from a two-day trip north of Lhasa in the Chang region (Byang), with green pastures populated by nomads and studded

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14 Kardruk, a member of the Tibetan diaspora, was my assistant during the Tibetan language courses that I organized on behalf of CeSMEO between 1982 and 1989.

with their white tents, and some forests of Himalayan cedars. We have tackled this 400 kilometres journey there and back represented mostly by a secondary dirt road and sometimes track, with small streams to ford, hoping that the monastery of Reting, founded in 1056, had escaped the disasters of the Cultural Revolution. However, even here the Red Guards have preceded us and 99% of the monastery with its books has been destroyed. On the way back we made a detour for Ganden (fig. 10), founded in the early fifteenth century by Tsongkhapa on a mountain ridge amphitheatre at an altitude of 4200 metres. Now its roofless walls are hands rising to the sky asking why, and the windows are deep blue eyes too tired to cry. The wonderful position of this site, dominating a vast valley cultivated with barley, contrasts with the vastity of ruins. Ugly visions come to my mind: Montecassino, Warsaw, the ferocious intolerance of the human beast.

Going to Reting, we went over a 5,000-metre pass, and our photographer felt unwell. But on the whole, it has been a most beautiful trip, in a Tibet where tourists do not go, with landscapes and a luxuriant nature: wild rabbits, hares, and even a very beautiful marmot crossing our road, besides the usual yaks, *mdzo* (crossbreeds of yaks and cows), very woolly (presumably pashmina) kids and horses, often mounted by nomads. The photographer then recovered: luckily, I carried with me the first-aid box with Micoren and Diamox (a medicine specific against mountain-sickness) and we were not far from the pass. Fifteen or so drops of Micoren and our return to a lower altitude, though higher than 4,000 metres, have fortified him [...].”

### **Lhasa, 28th July 1987**

“[...] This morning we returned to Drepung monastery to take pictures of covers in two chapels we had temporarily left aside. In the afternoon, we had to do some shopping and above all to get the sack [...] repaired, for in spite of a thousand precautions it had been strained badly. Shoes [...] are destroyed: I had to buy a pair, unfortunately not that good. However, the rucksack [...] is wonderful, since it has resisted the hardest trials and above all is very comfortable to carry, though usually I try to get it carried [...]. We are by now ready for the first halt in our return journey at Gyantse, where we hope to be able to take pictures of

some of the 70 chapels of the Kumbum, the great four-floor stupa that a ruler of Tsang (gTsang, southern Tibet) got built in 1427, as well as of the mandalas of the main temple already studied and partly illustrated by Tucci [...].”

### **Lhasa, 29th July 1987**

“[...] Today is the first holiday we allow ourselves since we left [...]. Tomorrow, on the way to Gyantse, we will pass by Ralung (Rwa lung), which is on our very itinerary, about 200 km west of Lhasa, immediately above the Karo pass (Kha ro la), which is 5,010m above sea level. I do not think we shall stop, because certainly the kind of religious life described by Tucci has not survived and probably not even the monastery exists any longer, and I am a bit fed up with my role of police doctor, of ascertaining the demise of Tibetan institutions [...]. Probably I am tired and wish to return to Italy. I have not run short of funny moments, especially during the trip from Kathmandu towards Lhasa, which we made with a mixed group, sometimes with odd people, like an English teacher who lives in Kathmandu working for the University of Pokhara (Nepal), and who had come to Tibet to hunt butterflies. I will never forget him jumping from rock to rock hunting non-existing butterflies on the very Karo La while I gasped in the grass not far from the van, though I was at least twenty-five years younger [...].”

### **Lhasa, 29th July 1987**

Postcard showing the detail of a carved and painted wooden column inside the Potala palatine fortress: “[...] I thank you very much for the happy birthday greetings. I received a small present from Nanni and Franco [...].”

### **Lhasa, 30th July 1987**

“This morning we should have left for Gyantse, but, because of a mechanical failure, the departure has been put off until tomorrow. The stretch of road to cover is about 150 km, which we covered in about six hours on the outward journey. This year the monsoon has caused exceptional rains, making the road slide down at four points on the Nepalese side,

and causing landslips and floods also on this side of the Himalayan barrier, in Tibet itself. Weather has worsened these last days, whereby our return appears to be difficult and tiring [...].”

That day, the eve of the beginning of our return journey, we visited the rocky hill of the Drak Lhaluphug (Brag lHa klu phug), a cave in the neighbourhood of Lhasa, which according to tradition was used as a place for meditation by the ruler Songtsen Gampo.

### **Gyantse, 31st July – 6th August 1987**

On the 31st July, we started our return trip directed to Gyantse, the specific initial objective of my research, halting at Ralung, whose monastery had been destroyed and where there were no traces of religious life. At 16:30 we reached Gyantse, which in the fifteenth century was the capital of a kingdom including a large part of South-Western and Southern Tibet, where we stayed until the early afternoon of the 8th August, to leave then for Shigatse. The following day we started our work on the main temple, devoting particular attention to the mandala temple, on the upper floor of the building, and to that dedicated to the Indian and Tibetan tantric masters of the tradition of the “Path and Fruit,” fundamental in the school of the monastery of Sakya, on which see my *Lam 'bras lha khang*.<sup>15</sup>

On the 2nd August we visited the castle built in 1365 by order of a local prince who became Prime Minister of the abbot princes of the monastery of Sakya, from which Gyantse (contraction of the compound name rGyal mkhar rtse, “Castle of the Victory Peak”) takes its name. In the left side porch and in the front porch surrounding the ancient courtyard of the palatine chapel, as well as on the two floors of the latter, survive the remains of the palatine chapel dating to 1390–1398. The ruin of the castle started with the end of the Gyantse dynasty and its fortunes.<sup>16</sup> Bombed and damaged on the 6th July 1904 during the attack launched by colonel Younghusband, who led a British expedition corps as far as Lhasa, it received the *coup de grace* sixty years later, during the Cultural Revolution, when it was devastated by the Red Guards. At the time of our visit, however, its restoration had been undertaken.

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15 I.e., Lo Bue and Ricca 1990: 411–460.

16 See Tucci 1938: 741–758, and Tucci 2005: 262.

The following day we started the systematic visit to the monastic complex and to the Great Stupa of Gyantse (fig. 11), which we left on the 6th August, and where Franco Ricca returned in 1990, and I in 1995 and 1996.<sup>17</sup> The same afternoon we reached Shigatse, main centre of South-Western Tibet, where we spent the night.

### **Shalu, 7th August 1987**

On the 7th August, we went to the monastery of Shalu (Zhwa lu), of which Giuseppe Tucci had already noticed the decay,<sup>18</sup> underlining how the cares of the monastic complex were “entrusted to an ignorant and more and more impoverished monastic community,” and whose library we found partly vandalized by Tibetans of the local village and nearby villages in 1966, according to what the abbot Kelzang Namgyel (bsKal bzang rnam rgyal) confided to me, for reasons of hostility towards the clergy owning the lands worked by them (fig. 12). The books had been deliberately pulled down from the shelves and many of them burned. Fifty-two years before Tucci had found, even though only out of carelessness, a similar situation in the Mangnang (Mang nang) caves which he explored from the 15th to the 17th August 1935: “We walk on heaps of manuscripts thrown at random one upon the other, by hundreds, thousands, often even for a few metres of thickness.”<sup>19</sup>

In his writings Tucci frequently laments the state of conservation of important cultural monuments in Tibet during his fieldwork before the Chinese invasion, criticizing monks and institutions responsible for their upkeep, including the Tibetan government.<sup>20</sup> In 1935, in relation to his stay in Western Tibet, he had written amongst other things:

[...] Tsaparang was perhaps the most inhabited place in all the empire of Guge.

On the steep cliffs the usual trogloditic dwellings and hermits' cells, on the tops the usual ruins of castles and of temples; but even here we face remains of great importance: paintings, stucco-work, manuscripts, statues of all sorts and every age jumbled in the shadow

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17 See the bibliography below.

18 See Tucci 1980: 177.

19 See Tucci 1937: 160, and Tucci 1985: 127.

20 See Tucci 1941, IV/1: 39, 96, 98, 100–102, 135, and Tucci 1952: 125–126 and plate opp. p. 136; see also Lo Bue 2016a: 66–75.

of chapels: art treasures thrown haphazardly as useless junk by the few surviving monks. They have never seen a European: they open the doors of their shrines unwillingly, but bow their heads shamefully when the horrible confusion in which they keep these places makes me lose my patience. I cannot see a beautiful thing, a work of art thrown there like scrap: I cannot see those paintings old of centuries, illuminated with so much devoted care by a school of artists for whom painting was a synonym for praying, creased, torn, riddled, those statues brought perhaps from India by the first apostles of Buddhism, piled up one upon the other in a tangle, their heads and hands cropped: those books thrown in the darkest corners of the cells in a tangle in which by now it is almost impossible to disentangle and to reassemble the volumes. And when these monks who no longer understand anything, who do not know the value of the things committed to their custody, pretend to be zealous, they become truly hateful to me.”<sup>21</sup>

### **Sakya, 8th August 1987**

Having returned to Shigatse, we left at 8:30 of the following day towards the monastic city of Sakya after stopping at the monastery of Narthang (sNar thang), famous for having produced the first edition of the Tibetan Buddhist canon. It was almost completely destroyed by Chinese and Tibetan Red Guards in 1966, but a religious had obtained there a small chapel where he performed his functions. At 14:30 of the 8th August we reached the monastic fortress of Sakya (fig. 13), which the Chinese army was ordered to protect, together with the Gyantse stupa and other Tibetan buildings regarded as of national importance, from the incursions of Chinese and Tibetan Red Guards.

At Sakya, of which we could admire the main temple with its images and its library, and in whose courtyard we watched the rehearsals of a sacred dance performed by monks, we met both the abbot Klu sgrub rgya mtsho, then sixty-years old, who informed us that the monastery counted at the time sixty-seven monks to whom others would add soon, and the secretary dGe 'dun rgya mtsho, a forty-year old layman.

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21 See Tucci 1937: 171–172, and Tucci 1985: 136.



On the morning of the 9th August we started our return trip by car, on foot and by coach, which in a couple of days would have taken us back to Kathmandu.

I thank the authors of the photographs, Ernani Orcorte, Guido Vogliotti, Barbara Bartolini and Giada Rossi for having allowed me to publish them, and my wife for having typed the original texts of my letters.

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**Fig. 1** bKra shis lhun po. Monastery with ostension of a *thangka*. 12.7.1987,  
© Ernani Orcorte.



**Fig. 2**  
gNas chung. Oracle  
temple. Detail of wall  
painting. 17.7.1995,  
© Guido Vogliotti.



Fig. 3 Potala Palace. 20.7.1987, © Ernani Orcorte.



Fig. 4 Foundation of the Jo khang. Potala Palace. 12.8.1996, © Guido Vogliotti.



Fig. 5 Queen Wen Cheng. Potala Palace.



**Fig. 6** bSam yas. Restoration work in the main porch. 8.8.1996,  
© Guido Vogliotti.



**Fig. 7** Tomb of king Ral pa can. 9.8.1995, © Guido Vogliotti.





Fig. 8 bSam yas. Restoration work for the main porch. 24.7.1987,  
© Ernani Orcorte.



**Fig. 9**  
sMin grol gling. Buddhist  
painting covered with Mao-  
ist slogans. Summer 1987,  
© Barbara Bartolini.

**Fig. 10**  
dGa' ldan monastery.  
Detail. 26.7.1987,  
© Ernani Orcorte.





**Fig. 11**  
rGyal rtse. The Great Stupa.  
05.2018, © Giada Rossi.



**Fig. 12**  
Zhwa lu. bKa'gyur lha  
khang. 7.8.1987,  
© Ernani Orcorte.



Fig. 13 Sa skya. Summer 1987, © Barbara Bartolini.

## A Case of Old Menri (*smān ris rnying pa*) in Mustang?

Christian Luczanits

(School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London)

Among the book covers documented at Namgyal Monastery (rNam rgyal), Mustang, one pair stands out for its complex paintings on the inside. Of these the top cover depicts Śākyamuni flanked by a diverse audience and surrounded by the Buddhas of the Ten Directions (Fig. 1), while the bottom cover has a bodhisattva of the tenth stage at the centre emitting light to all surrounding figures (Fig. 2). As indicated on the short sides, these covers were once made for an *Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā*, it is however unclear if the manuscript with it today is original to it, as its illuminations differ somewhat in style.<sup>1</sup>

Of course, using the interior of a book cover for painting means that the paint layer suffers from abrasion when the book is used, I thus assume that the thick varnish giving the entire surface a brownish sheen was applied to protect the paint surface. Unfortunately, it did not protect the top cover adequately, and it has suffered considerably over time. I will, thus, focus predominantly on the bottom cover, as it is better preserved and more informative about the painting's style I want to discuss.

This pair of book covers belongs to a larger group of related covers a student of mine studies in terms of their relationship to each other, their iconographic content, and their cultural and artistic context.

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1 The book under concern has been documented in 2015 as 'Book 27' with the support of Jaroslav Poncar, Nawang Tsering Gurung, and Bhirat Thapa. I am deeply grateful to Namgyal Monastery and its abbot, Khenpo Tsewang Rigzin, for supporting the documentation and the subsequent work on it. Unless noted otherwise, all photography is by Jaroslav Poncar and myself. This study is an outcome of an AHRC-funded research project on Tibetan Buddhist Monastery Collections Today (AH/N00681X/1).

But pinning down the latter on the basis of the published material has proven extremely difficult for a number of reasons. Among all the covers, this is the only one with polychrome painting, while all others are painted in gold relief on gold against a red ground. Most features of the covers hint towards a late fifteenth or early sixteenth century date, but there is no direct comparison for the main features of the paintings, such as the prominent and distinctive vegetal frames. In addition, some details in the depictions on the pair of covers focused on here, in particular the multi-coloured rim around some of the clouds, are only known from much later paintings.

Unfortunately, the two-line inscription along the bottom edge of the bottom cover (Fig. 2) is not of much help either, as it is only partially legible due to its cover with varnish and grime. It does, however, identify the likely painter of the covers, a certain Shérap Penjor (Shes rab dpal 'byor),<sup>2</sup> who unfortunately does not appear to be known from elsewhere.

While I did not succeed in finding a direct comparison for the paintings, there is a small group of works that may not only enable to resolve the contradictions observed in the style of the covers, but potentially also fill a larger gap in our knowledge of the evolvement of Tibetan painting traditions, which we largely owe to the pioneering work of David Jackson. Thereby, I have to rely purely on comparisons of motives and minor stylistic features, and have to read them within the broader historical context that can be established on the basis of these comparisons. While this methodology is almost diametrically opposed to that employed by David, I hope it is nevertheless a fitting tribute to his groundbreaking work.<sup>3</sup>

### Distinctive Features

In the bottom cover, a heavily bejewelled and garmented bodhisattva sits in meditation on a lotus, the fleshy lobed petals of which derive from the peony (Fig. 3). He is framed by plants with large lobed leaves

2 The relevant text passage reads: *pir 'dzin ri mo mkhas pa'i mchog/ sngon med she+s rab dpal 'byoro//*.

3 I am particularly pleased that the topic of this tribute not only contributes to David's work on Tibetan painting, but also links back to his first book-length study dedicated to the Mollas of Mustang (Jackson 1984).

the edges of which are highlighted in gold. Peony-like flowers with a large and heavy interior interrupt the foliage in regular intervals. The entire composition is set against a cloud the outer edges of which are lined in three colours, from inside out bright green, dark green and dark blue. In the centre above the composition hovers a large, fragile umbrella the sides of which appear to be blown up by the gold rays emitting from the bodhisattva's crown. The relative size of the vegetal foliage in relation to the figures and the thickness of the outlines of the clouds emphasise these elements.

Moving into the upper left corner (Fig. 4), five buddhas sit on a cloud bank the upper edge of which transforms into the shape of lotus petals with multi-coloured edge. Another type of white cloud without those edges frames the gods playing musical instruments underneath. The variation in the cloud formations, their colours, shapes and shading is remarkably sophisticated.

The lower left corner, in contrast, shows some of the secondary figures set against a rocky landscape interspersed with trees bearing orange fruits (Fig. 5). Here a fourth type of cloud frames the bodhisattva teaching disciples in the lower centre. The rocks are outlined in gold and their darkest areas may well have been dark blue originally. To this one may add that the rock in the bottom right corner is much more pointed and a cloud wraps around it (Fig. 2).

Overall, tones of pink and green dominate the painting, and blue may have been used throughout as well but has darkened considerably. Even though the rocks are exaggerated, there is a certain realism and depth to the landscape. The figures themselves are well drawn but rather schematic and idealised.

The other comparative book covers at Namgyal are not polychrome, but have gold relief paintings in gold against a red background.<sup>4</sup> Their relief work is closely comparable to the decoration on the outer side of the bottom cover, which has the five esoteric buddhas in a row, only the central one performing the teaching gesture (*dharma cakramudrā*) well preserved (Fig. 6). This Buddha and his surrounding are rendered with greater sophistication than those on the other Namgyal covers. The

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4 See Luczanits 2016: figs. 14 and 15, the former replicating the composition of the top cover in Fig. 1.

fragmentary inscription on the inside may also preserve the name of its artist.<sup>5</sup> Equally, the illuminations in the accompanying manuscript are painted in gold relief on gold.<sup>6</sup> The workshop that produced these covers (and the associated texts) thus more commonly specialised in such monochrome relief depictions, and the polychrome paintings are the exception. A shared feature between them is the peculiar representation of the vegetal scroll surrounding the images with its large and distinct foliage.

### Intriguing Relationships

It is this foliage and the predilection for the monochrome that links the covers to a well-known painting in The Metropolitan Museum of Art depicting *Ṣaḍakṣara Lokeśvara* (Fig. 7).<sup>7</sup> I have always been puzzled by the early date of this painting, the museum providing the late fifteenth century, so this has been a welcome occasion to review this attribution. Examining the lineage figures and their captions, it is clear that the attribution by the museum is based on Kuzhang Chöjé Khyenrap Rinchen Chokdrup (sKu zhang Chos rje mkhyen rab Rin chen mchog grub; 1436–1497)<sup>8</sup> represented immediately above the goddess *Ṣaḍakṣarī* to the right of the main image. However, there are two more figures represented in the painting, which bring its date into the early sixteenth century.<sup>9</sup> The lineage associates the painting with Zhalu Monastery (Zha lu) in Tsang (gTsang).

5 Immediately following the previous painter, the text reads (the number sign standing for a lost syllable): *gzi ri+s mchogi # #- mkha+n// blo gsal b[y]ang chub she+s rab yi// # # # dri med [...]*. In this transliteration the + indicates that the following letter is a subscript, the # stands for a lost syllable and the - for a part of the syllable.

6 See Luczanits 2016: fig. 13 for an example from another manuscript.

7 The painting has been published in Watt and Leidy 2005: pl. 36.

8 Referred to as *mkhyen rab chos rje* in the caption; BDRC P3102.

9 It is the relationship of the teachers that makes clear that the first of the two additional teachers is Rin chen rgyal po (no dates; BDRC P3426), while the second person is unclear, as he is simply referred to as *sku zhang chos rje*. The pupil of Rin chen rgyal po that come closest to this caption are sKu zhang bSod nams mchog grub (1468–1538; BDRC: P3267) and sKu zhang Rin chen bkra shis (BDRC: PoRK585), but the lineages surveyed do not link up to the former. I am sure the receiver of this tribute knows of more possibilities in this regard than I do.



In this high-quality painting, the foliage is even more outsized and varied, the drawing of the clouds is more detailed, and there is no landscape as such. Further the facial features of the teachers are individual and they sit on mats that curiously are curved at the sides as if they would lie on the back of a horse, and some of the deities have flaming pearls as their central hair ornament. Further, the offerings on the central table underneath the main deity are emphasised by a transparent sphere painted around them, an element that can also be found on the Namgyal book cover with the Buddha in the centre (Fig. 1).

Another painting bearing similar elements is the portrait of the twenty-second Sakya Trichen Sa skya Lotsawa Jampe Dorjé Künga Sönam (Sa skya Lo tsā ba 'Jam pa'i rdo rje Kun dga' bsod nams; 1485–1533) flanked by his teachers Panchen Drakpa Dorjé (Pañ chen Grags pa rdo rje; d. c. 1491) and Lowo Khenchen Sönam Lhündrub (Glo bo mKhan chen bSod nams lhun grub; 1456–1532) today in the Rubin Museum of Art.<sup>10</sup> Here, too, the foliage is large and prominent, the faces of the teachers are portrait-like, the mats stand up, and Jambhala has a flaming pear as a head ornament. But while the historical context of this painting brings us closer to Namgyal, stylistically it is more remote. The painting is rather crowded with details of the individual figures overlapping, the foliage differs considerably from that found at Namgyal, and the sphere around the offerings on the table in front of the teacher is much less successfully rendered.

The third painting I want to bring in here is a representation of the Hevajra assembly from a Sakya (Sa skya) context also in the Rubin Museum of Art.<sup>11</sup> Its background appears to be much more reflecting than that of the other paintings, and it is similarly crowded as the previous example. With the teachers in the top row we again find the curved mat, and they are set against a hilly landscape or pillowing clouds of

10 Sakya Lotsawa (Sa skya Lo tsā ba) with His Teachers and Buddha Vajradhara; sixteenth century; Distemper (gold and pigments) on cloth; 35 3/8 × 27 1/2 in. (90 × 70 cm); Rubin Museum of Art C2006.42.5. On this painting, see Kreijger 2001: 78, no. 24; Jackson 2011: 98–100, fig. 3.22; HAR, no. 89148 (accessed May 17, 2020).

11 Hevajra; sixteenth century; distemper on gold base (*gser thang*); 37 3/4 × 30 1/4 in. (126 × 105 cm); Rubin Museum of Art, C2003.23.3; Jackson 2016: fig. 3.29; HAR, no. 90919 (accessed May 17, 2020).

considerable variation. However, here the main deities, Hevajra and the eight yoginīs, clearly derive from Khyentse Chenmo (mKhyen brtse chen mo), active in the second half of the fifteenth century.<sup>12</sup>

While the three paintings differ considerably, each of them has distinct elements and is clearly the product of a different artist, all three likely date to the early sixteenth century and derive from a Sakya context somewhere in Tsang province. This likely is also the case for the last example due to the elements it shares with the others, even if its main images and the charnel grounds are clearly deriving from Khyentse Chenmo. Including this painting in the discussion of the Namgyal covers makes sense, as the covers also contain elements, such as the shape of the rocks, that remind of the murals of Gongkar Chöde (Gong dkar chos sde) but are also distinct from them in detail and colouring. We also know that any good artist prided himself of being able to paint in any style,<sup>13</sup> and that the Hevajra depiction of Khyentse Chenmo has been highly influential.<sup>14</sup>

### Established School

Obviously, the relationships identified above are tenuous, but they are the best I have come along in providing at least some temporal background for the Namgyal book covers. Stylistically, there are the similarities described above, but the covers show much more variety and sophistication in details than the comparisons. This is surprising, given that book covers are commonly workshop products, as is clear with the gold on red examples probably from the same workshop. In comparison the polychrome pair of covers has been painted by the master artist Shéráp Penjor, possibly the one leading that workshop. Given the emphasis on landscape, the blue-green rocks, the variety and shading in trees and clouds, and the thick layer of pigments used, no effort has been spared in making them. But where does his style come from?

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12 See in particular the painting discussed in Luczanits 2019, also in Jackson 2016: figs. 4.61 and 4.62, in comparison to the depiction of the same deity in the Yidam Lhakang (Yi dam lha khang) of Gongkar Chöde. On Khyentse Chenmo, see Jackson 1996: 139–168 and Jackson 2016.

13 See in particular Jackson 1996: 104, for Menla Döndrup's assertion in this regard.

14 For examples, see HAR, nos. 8088, 19844, 61137, 61312, 61401, 85900.

One of the confusing elements with the style of these covers is the occurrence of the multi-coloured edges of the clouds. These are well known for central Tibetan paintings from the second half of the seventeenth century onwards, in particular those related to the court of the Dalai Lamas in Lhasa, such as the paintings of the Lukhang (Klu khang).<sup>15</sup> But they are also quoted in a wide context that goes beyond that area in later paintings.<sup>16</sup> Given that much of the art from that period onwards is extremely rich in citations, it is impossible to actually apply a particular stylistic term to its usage, but it is clear that David Jackson predominately associates them with diverse branches of the Menri (*sman ris*) painting tradition.

In the meantime we have a considerable body of works that may be directly associated with Khyentse Chenmo, David's most recent book dedicated to this painter and his successors.<sup>17</sup> In comparison, we have almost no direct visual examples for the work of Mentangpa Menla Döndrup (*sMan thang pa sMan bla don grub*), who became equally famous for including Chinese elements in his paintings. In his case we are dependent on the mentions in the literature that David so generously summarised for us in his pioneering work on the *History of Tibetan Painting*. From it we know that Menla Döndrup, or rather one of his successors may have even worked together with Khyentse Chenmo at Yangpachen (*Yangs pa can*) in northwestern Ü (*dBus*), and that several of his descendants were engaged in works at Sakya monasteries in Tsang, in particular at Serdokchen (*gSer mdog can*).<sup>18</sup> The comparative thangkas described above equally point to a Sakya context and the same wider region, even if a monastery can only be suggested in one case.

From David's work we are also familiar with the descriptions of Menthangpa's work by the most art-historical connoisseur among the Tibetan writers on art, Deumar Géshé Tendzin Püntsock (*De'u dmar dGe bshes bsTan 'dzin phun tshogs*; b. 1665?):

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15 See Baker and Laird 2000; Luczanits 2011: figs. 1, 3, 6, 9 and 9a.

16 See the many examples with such clouds especially in Ü and Tsang, but also beyond in Jackson 2012.

17 Jackson 2016.

18 See also Caumanns 2015.

The coats of pigment and shading are thick. In most respects the layout is just like a Chinese scroll painting, with the exception that it is [here] slightly less orderly than [in] that one. [Also, the figures] are not placed in [close] groups, but are a bit more spread out. (X 39).

The bodily posture, skeletal structure and musculature/flesh contour are excellent. Necks are long, shoulders are withdrawn, and clearness predominates. There is much shading. The colors are detailed, soft and richly splendid. Malachite and azurite [pigments] predominate. Because of the blue and green [colors], (X 40) from a distance the painting is very splendid, and if one approaches [nearer], it is detailed. The forms of robes and scarves are not symmetrical. Even though the basic pigments are many, they are fewer than in China. There is greater richness in tone than in one hundred [other painted] images. The shading is evident through [the use of shading washes of] a somewhat greater strength. This is the tradition of the sprul-sku sMan-thang-pa. (X 41–42).<sup>19</sup>

While obviously not a perfect match, a lot in this description resonates with the details that can be observed on the Namgyal book covers, even more so if one imagines the painting to be fresh. Obviously, the covers are not the work of Menthangpa himself, but the comparisons above and the context for some of his successors make it plausible that Shéráp Penjor, too, needs to be considered one of his successors.

Stemming from somewhere around the early to middle of the sixteenth century, the Namgyal covers stand out for their emphasis on elements deriving from Chinese painting. To my knowledge, they are the earliest artworks known to date to feature the multi-coloured rims around some of the represented clouds, a feature that continues to be characteristic for paintings associated with the Menri tradition. Thus, the paintings on the Namgyal covers may well represent a variant of the Old Menri tradition as represented by one of the successors of Menthangpa.

With Ngor, Zhalu and Serdokchen in the vicinity of Tashilhunpo (bKra shis lhun po), the close connections of the latter monastery with Menthangpa and his successors, and the close connections of Ngor and Serdokchen with Mustang, it is quite possible that these covers where

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<sup>19</sup> Jackson 1996: 119.

produced in this wider area of Tsang and reached Mustang from there. Equally possible is that this branch of painting spread further west to Sakya Monastery itself, and the covers stem from there. One can only hope that this can be clarified in the future.

For now, the Namgyal covers offer a glance on a painting tradition and book production workshop the unique features of which can be loosely associated with the Old Menri tradition. They likely also document the work of a painter previously unknown, a certain Shéráp Penjor who, as the inscription on the cover asserts, is the best among the painters available at that time.

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**Fig.1** Inner face of the top cover with teaching Śākyamuni flanked by a diverse audience and surrounded by the Buddhas of the Ten Directions; cover of an *Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā* manuscript, Namgyal Monastery, Mustang (Book 27); photo D8107.



**Fig. 2** Inner face of the bottom cover with bodhisattva of the tenth stage flanked by the Buddhas of the Ten Directions; photo D8022.





Fig. 3 The central meditating bodhisattva of the tenth stage (called buddha in the caption); photo D8147.



Fig. 4 Five Buddhas of the Ten Directions seated on a cloud bank; photo D8152.



Fig. 5 Landscape with teaching bodhisattvas and disciples; photo D8151.



Fig. 6 The central Buddha Vairocana on the outside of the bottom cover; photo D8159.



**Fig. 7** *Ṣaḍakṣara Lokeśvara triad*; South-Central Tibet (gTsang), early sixteenth century; gold, ink, and colour on cloth; dimensions: 40 <sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> × 31 <sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in. (102.6 × 79.4 cm); The Metropolitan Museum of Art, gift of Margery and Harry Kahn, 1985, accession number: 1985.390.3.



**The Eight Indian Commentaries  
on the Heart Sūtra’s Famous Formula  
“Form Is Emptiness; Emptiness Is Form”**

Klaus-Dieter Mathes  
(University of Vienna)

*The central Madhyamaka tenet that all elements of dependent arising are, in their interconnectedness, empty of an own nature is best summarized in the famous statement from the Heart Sūtra (Prajñāpāramitā-hṛdayasūtra) that “form is emptiness; emptiness is form.” A comparison of how the eight Indian commentaries in the bsTan ’gyur read into this formula their respective positions yields an exciting cross-section of Mahāyāna Buddhist philosophy, ranging from Madhyamaka to Yogācāra and Buddha-nature. This spectrum of views prefigured the complex Tibetan intellectual history to come, a field of research that the honoree of this volume has shared with me for a considerable part of both our lives. I thus thought it appropriate to celebrate my previous colleague at Hamburg University with a paper on the variegated interpretations of the Heart Sūtra.*

In its fully developed Mahāyāna form, dependent arising suffuses the entire universe, which is thought of as consisting of innumerable continua of momentary material and mental factors of existence (*dharmā*), which mutually interact in complex dynamic systems.<sup>1</sup> From around 200 CE onwards, the proponents of Madhyamaka started insisting that these factors of existence must be empty of an ‘own nature’ (*svabhāva*) or independent existence, otherwise they could not interact at all. In other words, the dependently arising *dharmas*, so-called forms, are inseparably linked to their emptiness from an own nature, or to put it in the words of the Heart Sūtra: “form is emptiness; emptiness is form.”

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1 Frauwallner 2010: 50–51.

This formula constitutes the main part of the Heart Sūtra, which is embedded in a dialogue between the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara and Śāriputra:

1. The Bodhisattva, the noble Avalokiteśvara beheld the profound practice of the perfection of insight and looked upon [all sentient beings] seeing that [their] five psycho-physical aggregates (*skandhas*) are empty of an own nature.
2. [He said:] Śāriputra, form here is emptiness; emptiness is form. Emptiness is nothing other than form; form is nothing other than emptiness. What is form that is emptiness; what is emptiness that is form. This also applies to feeling, discrimination, conditioning factors and consciousness.
3. Śāriputra, here all phenomena are emptiness and lack defining characteristics. They are unarisen, unceasing, stainless, not stainless, undiminished, unfilled. Therefore, Śāriputra, in emptiness there is no form, ... no element of mental consciousness, no ignorance, no extinction of ignorance, no aging and death, no extinction of aging and death, no suffering, no origin, cessation and path, no wisdom, no attainment, no non-attainment.
4. Therefore, Śāriputra, because bodhisattvas have no attainment, they rely on, and abide in, the perfection of insight. They have no mental hindrances. Because their minds are without hindrance, they have no fear. They pass completely beyond error and go to the fulfillment of *nirvāṇa*. Having relied on the perfection of insight, all the Buddhas of the three times have fully awakened into unsurpassed, complete, perfect enlightenment.
5. Therefore it should be known that the great mantra of the perfection of insight, the great mantra of awareness, the unsurpassable mantra, the mantra equal to the unequalled, [the mantra] which pacifies all suffering is genuine.<sup>2</sup> The mantra of the perfection of wisdom is stated as follows:

*Oṃ gate gate pāragate pāragate pārasaṃgate bodhi svāhā.*<sup>3</sup>

2 Lit. "true, in that it is not false."

3 Conze 1968: 150–52: *Ārya-avalokiteśvaro bodhisattvo gambhīrāṃ prajñāpāramitācaryāṃ caramāṇo vyavalokayati sma: pañcaskandhāṃs* (text: *-skandhās*) *tāṃś ca*

## The Commentary of Kamalaśīla

Altogether there are eight commentaries in the bsTan 'gyur.<sup>4</sup> The one by Kamalaśīla (ca. 740–795), i.e., the *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdayanāmaṭikā*, is missing in the Derge bsTan 'gyur and taken from the Peking edition. The text was translated by Kumāraśrībhadrā and 'Phags pa Shes rab.

The Heart Sūtra lends support to a simultaneist realization of emptiness, and for that reason Jan Nattier has even argued that it was a Chinese composition and brought to India by Xuanzang.<sup>5</sup> Still, Kamalaśīla is mainly concerned with reading the gradual levels of the paths into the Heart Sūtra. He can only do so by taking recourse to the broader context of the *Prajñāpāramitā* literature and its systematic presentation in mainstream Mahāyāna, especially the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*, which is, technically speaking, a commentary on the Perfection of Insight in 25,000 Verses. For Kamalaśīla the formula “form is emptiness; emptiness is form” applies specifically to the path of seeing (*darśanamārga*), which is sandwiched between the paths of accumulation and preparation, both of them read into Śāriputra's initial question of how one

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*svabhāvaśūnyān paśyati sma. iha Śāriputra rūpaṃ śūnyatā śūnyataiva rūpaṃ rūpān na pṛthak śūnyatā śūnyatāyā na pṛthak rūpaṃ yad rūpaṃ sā śūnyatā yā śūnyatā tad rūpaṃ evam eva vedanā-samjñā-samskāra-vijñānam. iha Śāriputra sarvadharmaḥ śūnyatālakṣaṇā anutpannā aniruddhā amalā avimalā anūnā aparipūrṇāḥ. tasmāc Chāriputra śūnyatāyāṃ na rūpaṃ ... na manovijñānadhātuḥ ... na-avidyā na-avidyākṣayo yāvan na jarāmaraṇaṃ na jarāmaraṇakṣayo na duḥkha-samudayanirodha-mārgā na jñānaṃ na prāptir na-aprāptiḥ. tasmāc Chāriputra aprāptitvād bodhisattvo prajñāpāramitām āśritya viharaty acittāvaraṇaḥ. cittāvaraṇanāstitvād atrasto viparyāsa-atikrānto. niṣṭhānirvāṇaḥ. tryadhvavyavasthitāḥ sarvabuddhāḥ prajñāpāramitām āśritya- anuttarāṃ samyaksambodhim abhisambuddhāḥ. tasmāj jñātavyaṃ prajñāpāramitāmahāmantra mahāvīdyāmantra 'nuttaramantro 'samasamantraḥ sarvaduḥkhaḥpraśamaṇaḥ satyam amithyatvāt. prajñāpāramitāyāṃ ukto mantraḥ. tadyathā om gate gate pāragate pārasaṃgate bodhi svāhā. My English translation mainly follows Lopez's (1996: vii) translation of the Tibetan version. A few remaining minor differences are only for the sake of consistent terminology.*

4 For a complete English translation of these eight commentaries, see Lopez 1996.

5 See Nattier 1992: 61.

should train,<sup>6</sup> and the paths of meditation and no more learning.<sup>7</sup>

Besides reading a gradual path into the Heart Sūtra, Kamalaśīla also insists on the correct employment of valid cognition (*pramāṇa*), and the absolute necessity of inferential valid cognitions in the perceptions of emptiness (lit. the “profound”). This also includes yogins:

Yogins [see emptiness on the basis of] direct perception because they have already trained in [inferential knowledge] and because they have no need to train in it [further]. One should train in the ultimate with inferential knowledge. Here, it is inferential knowledge by means of which one should ascertain the perfection of insight,<sup>8</sup> the illusion-like emptiness.<sup>9</sup>

To sum up, what we have here is not so much a commentary as a systematic propagation of the gradual path and Śāntarakṣita’s Yogācāra-Madhyamaka synthesis—all this on the basis of a text that does not lend much support for such a hermeneutical enterprise. This strategy of Kamalaśīla is also very clearly at work in his commentary on the *Avikalpapraveśadhāraṇī*, in which four sets of characteristic signs (*ni-mittas*), i.e., wrong reifications that distort true reality, are abandoned through mental non-engagement (*amanasikāra*). In his commentary, Kamalaśīla reinterprets *amanasikāra*, however, by restricting its literal meaning to the result of deep insight (*vipaśyanā*) practice. In other words, non-conceptual states of meditative stabilization that focus on suchness must be preceded by the logical inferences of the Pramāṇa

6 Conze 1968: 149.13–16: “Then, by the power of the Buddha, the venerable Śāriputra said this to the *bodhisattva*, the *mahāsattva*, the noble Avalokiteśvara, ‘How should a son of good lineage who wishes to practice the profound perfection of wisdom train?’” (*atha-āyusmāṅc Chāriputro Buddha-anubhāvena Ārya-avalokiteśaram bodhisattvam mahāsattvam etad avocat: yaḥ kaścīt kūlaputro vā kuladuhitā vā asyām gambhīrāyām prajñāpāramitāyām caryām cartukāmas tena katham śikṣitavyam*). The translation is by Lopez 1996: vii.

7 The paths of meditation and no more learning being respectively read into the paragraphs three and four of my Heart Sūtra translation above.

8 Lopez: “wisdom.”

9 PHNT, P, fol. 332a8–b1 (missing in D): *rnal ’byor gyi mngon sum ni bsblabs zin pa’i phyir dang | bsblabs pa la dgos pa med pa’i phyir | don dam pa la rjes su dpag pa’i shes pas bsblabs par bya’o | ’dir ni rjes su dpag pa’i shes pas sgyu ma lta bu’i stong pa nyid kyi shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa nges par bya’o* |; Lopez 1996: 108.



tradition. Such an analytic meditation turns into *amanasikāra* in the same way as a fire kindled from rubbing pieces of wood burns the pieces of wood themselves:

It is the characteristic sign of precise investigation which has been thought of when [using the expression]: 'not to become mentally engaged.' Its nature is conceptual, but it is burnt away by the wisdom-fire arising from itself, in the same way as a fire kindled by rubbing two pieces of wood burns these very pieces.<sup>10</sup>

In defence of Kamalaśīla it should be added, though, that the *Avikalpapraveśadhāraṇī* has itself a passage that stresses the necessity of proper mental engagement in order to enter the non-conceptual sphere:

In this way a Bodhisattva, a great being, abandons the characteristic signs of all kinds [produced by] thoughts by becoming mentally disengaged, and is thus well connected with the non-conceptual. But first he does not touch the non-conceptual sphere.... As a result of proper mental engagement, he touches the non-conceptual sphere "without the wish to acquire it" (*anabhisamṣkārāt*) or [without any other] effort (*anābhogataḥ*), and purifies [it] gradually.<sup>11</sup>

On a related note, in his "Entrance to the Meaning of Non-conceptual Meditation" (*Cig car 'jug pa rnam par mi rtog pa'i bsgom don*), Vimalamitra describes the non-conceptual approach of *amanasikāra* in such a controversial way that passages from Kamalaśīla's *Bhāvanākramas* were later inserted by others into the text transmitted in the bTan 'gyur.<sup>12</sup> The *Cig car 'jug pa* is not listed in the imperial period catalogues

10 APDhT, D, fol. 132a2–3; P, fol. 157b5–6: *yang dag par so sor rtog pa'i mtshan nyid ni 'dir yid la mi byed par dgongs so | | de ni rnam par rtog pa'i ngo bo nyid yin mod kyi | 'on kyang de nyid las byung ba yang dag pa'i ye shes kyi mes de bsregs par 'gyur te | shing gnyis drud las byung ba'i mes shing de gnyis sreg par byed pa bzhin no |*. First quoted in Mathes 2005: 32.

11 APDh, p. 95.18–23: *evam sa bodhisattvo mahāsattva etāni sarvākāravikalpanimitāny amanasikārataḥ parivarjayan suprayukto bhavaty avikalpena | na ca tāvad avikalpaṃ dhātum sprṣati | ... sa ... samyañmanasikārānvayād anabhisamṣkārād anābhogato vāvikalpaṃ dhātum sprṣati | krameṇa ca pariśodhayati |*. First quoted in Mathes 2010: 9.

12 Gomez 1983: 397.

*lDan dkar ma* and *'Phang thang ka ma*,<sup>13</sup> however, and its attribution to Vimalamitra is thus doubtful.

### The Commentary of Vimalamitra

This leads over to Vimalamitra's commentary on the Heart Sūtra, the *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdayaṭīkāṛthapradīpanāma*. Vimalamitra was an important rDzogs chen master who received the sNying thig teachings in Tibet. He was invited to the country by Khri srong lde btsan and arrived either before or after the king's death.<sup>14</sup> Vimalamitra was repeatedly associated by Western scholarship with China and the unorthodox simultaneist approach of Chan in particular, notwithstanding the early Tibetan sources (like the *lDe'u chos 'byung*, Nyang ral nyi ma 'od zer's *Zangs gling ma*, or the *Klong chen chos 'byung*) according to which he was trained in India and not in China.<sup>15</sup> Edward Conze complains that the commentary "does not always represent the main stream of Buddhist thinking," and claims that he could not maintain himself in Tibet against the orthodoxy of Kamalaśīla.<sup>16</sup> But Vimalamitra's extensive commentary neither endorses a controversial simultaneist approach, nor does it read a gradual path into the Heart Sūtra as Kamalaśīla does. He rather employs a set of categories from the eighth chapter of the *Sandhinirmocanasūtra* which include non-conceptual reflection for the sake of calm abiding (*śamatha*) and conceptual reflection for the sake of deep insight (*vipaśyanā*). The description of these two, i.e., calm abiding and deep insight, is followed by the observation of the extreme limit of reality (*bhūtakoti*) during one's advance along the path of seeing. These three practices then lead to the path of meditation.<sup>17</sup> Vimalamitra's commentary reflects a time when systematic presentations of Yogācāra and Madhyamaka doctrine were dominating Indian and Tibetan Mahāyāna Buddhism.

The first part of our formula ('form is emptiness') is quoted in its variant reading 'form is empty,' and Vimalamitra adds "that because of

13 See Halkias 2004: 49. I thank Joel Gruber who communicated the absence of the *Cig car 'jug pa* in both catalogues at the IABS conference 2014 in Vienna.

14 Karmay 1988: 27–28; 34.

15 As reported by Joel Gruber during the IABS 2014 conference in Vienna.

16 Conze 1974: 51.

17 Lopez 1996: 56.

the context one has to add ‘in terms of own nature (*svabhāva*)’.<sup>18</sup> In discussing various positions on the ontological status of forms, such as those of Vaibhāṣika, Sautrāntika and Mīmāṃsā, Vimalamitra leaves no doubt that he shares Nāgārjuna’s view of things, which becomes most clear by the fact that he adduces verse 19 of the *Yuktiṣaṣṭikākārikā*:<sup>19</sup>

That which has arisen dependently  
Has not arisen in terms of an own nature.  
How can that, which has not arisen in terms of an own nature,  
Truly be called ‘arisen’?<sup>20</sup>

In other words, the arising of dependent arising is not a true arising. In order for something, or a process of arising for that matter, to be true, it must be or happen in terms of an own nature. Vimalamitra also endorses the Yogācāra model of reality:

An alternative way [to explain form and emptiness] is as follows: the form of [false] imagination (the characteristic of the dependent [nature]), which is constantly and permanently free from or empty of the imagined nature (the characteristic of the duality of the perceived and the perceiver), is the form of the true nature of phenomena (*dharmatā*). It is the characteristic of the perfect [nature]. The statement “Emptiness is form” in turn teaches the identity of both the dependent and perfect [natures]. Emptiness is the perfect nature and form is the characteristic of the dependent [nature]. It is in order to apprehend that they are identical that it has been said: “Emptiness is form.”<sup>21</sup>

18 PHTAP, D, fol. 272a6; P, fol. 291b7: *gzugs stong pa'o zhes bka' stsal te | skabs yin pa'i phyir rang gi ngo bo nyid kyi zhes 'byung ba dang sbyar ro |*

19 With the restriction that Vimalamitra (PHTAP, D, fol. 273a6) reads *rten cing 'brel bar gang 'byung ba* instead of *de dang de la brten byung ba*, i.e., the reading contained in the *Yuktiṣaṣṭikāvṛtti*, the *Prasannapadā*, the *Subhāṣitasamgraha*, and the *Advayavajrasamgraha* (Li and Ye 2014: 38). PHTAP (P, fol. 292b5) reads *de dang de la brten byung ba*.

20 YŚ, p. 38.1–2 (following the reading reported in footnote no. 2): *yat pratītyasamutpannam notpannam tat svabhāvataḥ | yat svabhāvena notpannam utpannam nāma tat katham ||*

21 PHTAP, D, fol. 273a7–b2; P, fol. 293a5–8: *| rnam grangs gzhan yang rnam par brtags pa'i gzugs gzhan gyi dbang gi mtshan nyid ni kun tu brtags pa'i ngo bo gzung ba dang 'dzin pa'i mtshan nyid gnyis kyi rtag brtag pa'i dus dang* <sup>(a)ther zug</sup> *gi dus*

Accepting the three nature theory as an alternative to the Madhyamaka model of reality requires equating the dependent nature with dependent arising. Emptiness is not separate from either of them. The difference that still remains is that in Yogācāra the object of negation is the duality of a perceived and perceiver, while in Madhyamaka it is the independent existence of an own nature. “Form is emptiness” thus refers to the dependent nature’s emptiness from the imagined nature. In some later Yogācāra currents the ontological distinction between the dependent and imagined is surpassed by restricting it to a description of the relative truth. This is what Vimalamitra does a bit further down in the Heart Sūtra commentary, where the perfect nature is described to exist ultimately as the *dharmakāya*, while the imagined and dependent natures are not established.<sup>22</sup> This accords with Vasubandhu’s (or Daṃṣṭrāsena’s)<sup>23</sup> *Bṛhattikā*, in which the perfect is taken to be empty of the imagined and dependent.

### The Commentary of Śrīsiṃha

Śrīsiṃha (ca. 8th cent.) was born in China and studied Tantra on Wutai Shan before travelling to India. He is known as the teacher of Vairocana, one of the first seven Tibetans ordained as monks by Śāntarakṣita. His commentary on the Heart Sūtra<sup>24</sup> is Yogācāra-based and tantric, explaining as it does, for example, the five psycho-physical aggregates (*skandhas*) as the five Buddhas. Of interest is Śrīsiṃha’s explanation of the formula’s second part:

*Emptiness is form* [means that] because emptiness does not negate object and awareness, it appears as form.<sup>25</sup>

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*su bral ba stong pa de ni chos nyid kyi gzugs te | yongs su grub pa’i mtshan nyid do | | gzhan gyi dbang dang yongs su grub pa de gnyis ka yang stong pa nyid gzugs so zhes ’byung ba’ dis<sup>b</sup> gcig pa nyid du ston to | stong pa nyid yongs su grub pa’i ngo bo dang | gzugs gzhan gyi dbang gi mtshan nyid gcig pa nyid du nges par gzung ba’i phyir | stong pa nyid gzugs so zhes bya ba nyid smos pa yin no |* First translated in Lopez 1996:58.

<sup>a</sup> P *ther zug ther zug*<sup>b</sup> D *’di*.

22 See Brunnhölzl 2011: 126.

23 For a detailed discussion of the *Bṛhattikā*’s authorship, see Brunnhölzl 2011: 9–14.

24 I.e., the *Shes snying ’grel pa sngags su ’grel pa* (D 4353; P 5840).

25 Lopez 1996: 12 and 111–112.

Just how the five psycho-physical aggregates are taken as the five Buddhas can be best understood from Vajrapāṇi's \**Guruparamparākrama-Upadeśa*, where the five *skandhas* are sealed by the seals of the five Buddhas.

The *skandha* of form is Vairocana, the *skandha* of sensation Ratnasambhava, the *skandha* of discrimination Amitābha, the *skandha* of mental formations Amoghasiddhi, and the *skandha* of consciousness Akṣobhya. In order to overcome attachment to the *skandhas*, the five *skandhas* which are the imagined nature, are sealed with the five Tathāgatas, who are the dependent nature. This (i.e., the meaning of being sealed) is explained [in the *Sekanirdeśapañjikā* on verse 19]:<sup>26</sup>

The [x] that is sealed with a [y] comes to have the nature of that [y].<sup>27</sup>

In other words, the five Buddhas are the dependent nature, while their appearance as the five *skandhas* is the imagined. It is like the rope appearing to be a snake. The rope of the dependent nature is the true nature of the snake appearance, which is the imagined nature.

### The Commentary of Jñānamitra

In his *Āryaprajñāpāramitāhṛdayavyākhyā*, Jñānamitra strictly, if concisely, follows the text of the Heart Sūtra. With regard to our formula he says:

Regarding *emptiness*, emptiness is the nature of form, therefore, because [form] is without characteristic in the past, it is unobservable, and it is without defining characteristic and unobservable in the present and the future. ... *Emptiness is also form* means that even emptiness is, in its unobservable nature, conventionally designated with

26 See Isaacson and Sferra 2014: 226.

27 GPKU, D, fol. 172b1–2; fols. P, 193b8–194a2: *de la gzugs kyi phung po ni rnam par snang mdzad do || tshor ba'i phung po ni rin chen 'byung ldan no || 'du shes kyi phung po ni 'od dpag med pa'o || 'du byed kyi phung po ni don yod grub pa'o | rnam par shes pa'i phung po ni mi bskyod pa zhes bya ste | phung po la sogs<sup>(a)</sup> par 'dzin<sup>(a)</sup> pa'i zhen pa spang ba'i phyir kun brtags phung po lnga la gzhan dbang de bzhin gshes pa lngas rgyas gdab ste | de'ang | gang la gang gis rgyas btab pa || de yang<sup>b</sup> de yi ngo bor 'gro'o<sup>c</sup> | zhes bya bas |.*

<sup>a</sup> D om. <sup>b</sup> DP dang <sup>c</sup> D grags.

the word “form.” Because it does not abide apart from that [form], emptiness is form.<sup>28</sup>

A similar concept is found in the tantric Nāgārjuna’s *Bodhicittavivaraṇa*, verse 57, where emptiness is taken as the true nature of phenomena:

I claim that the nature (*prakṛti*) of all phenomena is emptiness,  
In the same way as sweetness is the nature of sugar and hotness that  
of fire.<sup>29</sup>

Based on this, ’Gos Lo tsā ba gZhon nu dpal (1392–1481) defines in his *Ratnagotravibhāga* commentary the emptiness which is the nature of all phenomena, namely the emptiness of the third *dharmacakra*, in the following way:

The negandum, too, that of which something is empty, is [here] a little different from [how it is defined in] the middle (i.e., second) [*dharmacakra*]. From sentient beings up to the Buddha [something] exists [that is] established as the nature of mind because of being neither impaired by, nor fabricated under, other conditions. It is called “empty of fabricated adventitious phenomena.” The adventitious, again, [...] is, depending on the circumstances, fabricated from [cognitive] objects, [mental] imprints or impaired sense faculties, and thus not what the original mind is like. Therefore the latter is said to be empty of them. On the other hand, they do not arise as something entirely different from the nature of mind. It is like space, for example: even though it does not turn into phenomena like clouds and mountains, and is thus termed empty, it would not be appropriate to say that these clouds and so forth abide somewhere else than in space.<sup>30</sup>

28 APHV, D, fol. 283a5-7: *stong pa'o zhes bya ba ni gzugs kyi rang bzhin stong pa nyid yin pas snga ma 'das pa'i dus na yang mtshan nyid med pas dmigs su med | da ltar dang ma 'ongs pa'i dus na yang mtshan nyid med de | ... | stong pa nyid kyang gzugs so zhes bya ba ni stong pa nyid kyang dmigs su med pa'i rang bzhin la gzugs so zhes tshig gi tha snyad du btags la | de gud na mi gnas pa'i phyir stong pa nyid kyang gzugs so |*. First translated in Lopez 1996: 145.

29 Cf. Lindtner 1990: 202–203, who identified the Sanskrit of this stanza in Maitrīpa’s *Pañcākāra*: *guḍe madhuratā cāgner uṣṇatvaṃ prakṛtir yathā | śūnyatā sarvadharmāṇāṃ tathā prakṛtir iṣyate ||*.

30 DRSM, pp. 15.20–16.5: *gang gis stong pa'i dgag par bya ba yang 'khor lo bar pa dang cung zad mi 'dra ste | sems can nas sangs rgyas kyi bar du rkyen gzhan gyis ma bslad cing ma bcos pa'i sgo nas sems kyi rang bzhin du bzhag pa yod la | de bcos ma glo bur ba'i chos rnam kyis stong zhes bya ste | glo bur ba nyid kyang [...] ji ltar rigs par yul*

For gZhon nu dpal the nature of mind is the “sphere of awareness” (*rig pa'i khams*), which, we are warned, does not have any normal cognitive elements such as mental forms with characteristic signs.<sup>31</sup> In other words, it is not the case that such awareness entails “seeing” an ultimate reality in a way similar to the ordinary cognitive process involving a perceiving subject and a perceived object. In support of that he quotes *Bodhicittavivaraṇa*, verse 43:

In short, Buddhas did not see[, do not see] and will not see.

How could they see what has the own nature of being without an own nature?

In his commentary on this verse, Zhwa dmar Chos grags ye shes (1453–1524) explains that one may conventionally speak of seeing space, for example, but in reality one does not see it, for in empty space there is simply nothing to be seen.<sup>32</sup>

### The Commentary of Praśāstrasena

The *Āryaprajñāpāramitāhṛdayaṭīkā* is the only text known by Praśāstrasena.<sup>33</sup> It not only combines Madhyamaka and Yogācāra but also integrates into his commentary, after the formula on form and emptiness (in the third paragraph of the Heart Sūtra above), the concept of ‘buddha nature’ (*sangs rgyas kyi ngo bo nyid*; \**buddhasvabhāva*):

As for buddha nature (\**buddhasvabhāva*), that is, emptiness in terms of the ultimate *dharmadhātu*, it lacks the extreme of a beginning, whence an extreme of its end is not found. It is thus called *un arisen and unceasing*. Even when one transmigrates within the five realms of sentient beings, buddha nature will not be stained and hence is

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*dang | bag chags dang | dbang po bslad pas bcos pa'i phyir sems kyi gnyug ma'i tshul ma yin pas de dag gis stong zhes bya'i | de dag sems kyi rang bzhin las logs zhig tu skye ba ni ma yin te | dper na sprin dang ri la sogs pa'i chos su ma gyur pa nyid kyi nam mkha' la stong par brjod kyang sprin la sogs pa de dag nam mkha' las gzhan du gnas mi 'thad pa bzhin no |* First translated in Mathes 2008: 185–186.

31 DRSM, p. 16.7.

32 See BV, p. 198.3–5: *mdor na sangs rgyas rnam kyi ni | | gzigs par ma gyur gzigs mi 'gyur | | rang bzhin med pa'i rang bzhin can | | ji lta bur na gzigs par 'gyur |*

For further information see <http://www.thlib.org/collections/texts/jiats/#jiats=/05/mathes/>.

33 Lopez 1996: 14.

pure. Even when one awakens to unsurpassable perfect enlightenment, there is nothing purer than buddha nature.<sup>34</sup> Therefore it is not purified. Even in the bodies of ants and beetles, buddha nature does not become smaller. Therefore it does not decrease. Even when it turns into the *dharmakāya*, it does not grow. Therefore it does not increase.<sup>35</sup>

The way *\*buddhasvabhāva* is described here is identical with presentations of *tathāgatagarbha* in the *Anūnatvāpūrṇatvanideśa*, the *Śrīmālādevīsūtra* and the like.<sup>36</sup> Since there is no increment of it even when it becomes the *dharmakāya*, the difference between *\*buddhasvabhāva* and *dharmakāya* is only nominal. They are convenient designations for the states of respectively still being accompanied by adventitious stains and not. This raises the question to what extent Praśāstrasena lends support to the Tibetan distinction between an ‘empti[ness] of self’ (*rang stong*) and ‘empti[ness] of other’ (*gzhan stong*). In the introduction we find indeed such a distinction of two types of emptiness: the ‘empti[ness] which is [like] unconditioned space’; and, on the ultimate level, ‘empti[ness] which is self-awareness without a perceived and perceiver,<sup>37</sup> [as realized] through the wisdom of the Noble Ones.’<sup>38</sup> Further down, at the end of the same paragraph in the

34 I.e., its grade of purity does not increase.

35 PHT, D, fol. 300b3–5; P, fol. 326b3–7: *sangs rgyas kyi ngo bo nyid chos kyi dbyings don dam pa stong pa nyid 'di ni thog ma'i mtha' med pas na tha ma'i mtha' mi rnyed de | de'i phyir ma skyes pa dang | ma 'gags pa zhes bya'o || sems can lam rgyud lnga'i nang na 'khor ba'i tshe yang | sangs rgyas kyi ngo bo nyid la dri ma can du gyur ba med pas rnam par dag pa zhes bya'o || bla na med pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i byang chub tu sangs rgyas kyang sangs rgyas kyi ngo bo nyid las lhag par rnam par dag pa med pas | rnam par dag pa med pa zhes bya'o | grog ma dang sbur bu'i lus su gyur kyang sangs rgyas kyi ngo bo nyid la chung ngur gyur ba med pas bri ba med pa zhes bya'o || chos kyi skur gyur kyang 'phel ba med pas na gang ba med pa ste |* My translation mainly follows the one in Lopez 1996: 159. The same passage is also translated in Brunnhölzl 2011: 123.

36 For a detailed discussion of different interpretations of buddha nature, see Mathes 2008: 7–21.

37 In his *Prajñāpāramitopadeśa*, Ratnākaraśānti claims (Sanskrit provided by Luo Hong, Chengdu): “This verse (LAS X.568) disallows the relation of a perceived and perceiver within the self-awareness of mind” (*anayā gāthayā cetasaḥ svasamvittau grāhyagrāhakabhāvaḥ pratiśidhyate*).

38 PHT, D, fol. 297a5; P, fol. 322a5–6: *de la stong pa rnam pa gnyis te 'dus ma byas*



commentary, the Bodhisattvas and Śrāvakas are said to see the five psycho-physical aggregates as being empty of an own nature only (i.e., in a *rang stong* mode of emptiness). Followers of *gzhan stong* agree that all factors of dualistic saṃsāric existence are *rang stong* in this sense.

Praśāstrasena explains our formula on form and emptiness as follows:

*Form is empty:* form refers to earth, water, fire and wind. *Empty* means that these forms are *emptiness*, because they truly are the ultimate *dharmadhātu* emptiness. ... Form's emptiness of an own nature is the ultimate emptiness. Because the ultimate emptiness does not differ from this emptiness of an own nature on the part of form, it is said that even *emptiness is form*. To be sure, ultimate emptiness is the empty nature of forms.<sup>39</sup>

Even though Praśāstrasena distinguishes the two aspects of emptiness, he stresses their identity. This in fact explains for him the second part of the formula (*emptiness is form*). *Rang stong*, i.e., forms lacking an own nature, is not different from ultimate emptiness. This does not exclude reading *gzhan stong* into Praśāstrasena's emptiness which is self-awareness-emptiness. In a similar way, 'Gos Lo tsā ba gZhon nu dpal equates the emptiness of non-affirming negation in the second *dharmacakra* with a positively understood buddha nature or awareness-emptiness (*rig stong*) in the third *dharmacakra*. The two types of emptiness only appear differently depending on whether one approaches emptiness with the help of inferences or directly.<sup>40</sup>

Of particular interest is also, that Praśāstrasena presents the Yogācāra model of reality (i.e., the three natures) as a second way in which *form*

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*nam mkha' stong pa dang don dam pa la 'phags pa'i ye shes kyi gzung 'dzin dang bral ba so so rang gis rig pa stong pa ste* |. See also Lopez 1996: 153–154.

39 PHT, D, fol. 298a6–b2; P, fol. 323b4–324a1: *gzugs stong pa zhes bya ba la | gzugs zhes bya ba ni sa dang chu dang me dang rlung la bya'o | | stong pa zhes bya ba ni don dam pa chos kyi dbyings stong pa nyid kyi mtshan nyid pas gzugs de dag stong pa nyid de | ... | gzugs ngo bo nyid kyi stong pa nyid gang yin pa de nyid don dam pa'i stong pa de nyid yin te | gzugs ngo bo nyid kyi stong pa de las don dam pa'i stong pa gud na med pas na stong pa nyid kyang gzugs zhes bya ste | don dam pa'i stong pa de nyid gzugs kyi stong pa'i rang bzhin zhes bya ba'i tha tshig go* |. First translated in Lopez 1996: 155–156.

40 See my quotation of gZhon nu dpal in the explanation of Jñānamitra above.

is empty. This time, however, the three natures are presented as found in Vasubandhu's extensive commentary on the Prajñāpāramitāsūtras in 18,000, 25,000, and 100,000 verses (i.e., the *Bṛhaṭṭīkā*), namely with the perfect nature being empty of both the imagined and dependent natures:

Form has three aspects: the imagined form, the conceived form, and the *dharmatā*-form. ... Freedom from the imagined form and the conceived form is the defining characteristic of suchness, the *dharmatā*-form. Because the imagined form and the conceived form do not exist in the *dharmatā*-form, it is said that *form is empty*. In case one thinks that this *dharmatā*-form, that is, emptiness, exists apart from the imagined form and the conceived form, it is said that *emptiness is form*.<sup>41</sup>

In the *Bṛhaṭṭīkā* the terms 'imagined form,' 'conceived form,' and 'dharmatā-form' stand respectively for the imagined nature (*parikalpitasvabhāva*), dependent nature (*paratantrasvabhāva*) and perfect nature (*pariniṣpannasvabhāva*).<sup>42</sup> This model of *trisvabhāva* can be perfectly brought in line with the *tathāgatagarbha* theory of the *Ratnagoṭravibhāga*, buddha nature being the perfect nature, while the imagined and dependent natures are subsumed under adventitious stains. In other words, we have here again an Indian prototype of *gzhan stong*.<sup>43</sup>

In a way similar to the *Cig car 'jug pa* attributed to Vimalamitra (see above), Praśāstrasena claims in his concluding remarks on the mantra of the Heart Sūtra an instantaneous approach to the ultimate:

41 PHT, D, fol. 298b4–7; P, fol. 324a4–8: *gzugs rnam pa gsum ste | yongs su brtags pa'i gzugs dang | rnam par brtags pa'i gzugs dang | chos nyid kyi gzugs so | ... | yongs su brtags pa'i gzugs dang | rnam par brtags pa'i gzugs dang bral ba de bzhin nyid kyi mtshan nyid ni chos nyid<sup>a</sup> kyi gzugs te | chos nyid kyi gzugs de la yongs su brtags pa'i gzugs dang | rnam par brtags pa'i gzugs med pas na gzugs stong pa'o zhes bya'o | | chos nyid kyi gzugs stong pa nyid de rnam par brtags<sup>b</sup> pa'i gzugs<sup>b</sup> dang | kun brtags kyi gzugs las logs shig na yod pa yin nam snyam pa la stong pa nyid gzugs zhes smos te |*  
First translated in Lopez 1996: 156.

<sup>a</sup> P om. <sup>b</sup> P pa.

42 See Brunnhölzl 2011: 29.

43 See Mathes 2012: 188–98.

Once all characteristic signs of the mind are removed through the perfection of insight, one instantaneously realizes the ultimate. [The mantra] is genuine because it accords with the non-conceptual door [of this realization].<sup>44</sup>

### The Commentary of Mahājana

The commentary by Mahājana, son of Sajjana<sup>45</sup> and teacher of Atiśa,<sup>46</sup> follows Yogācāra, and reads, even more than Kamalaśīla, details of the bodhisattva path into the Heart Sūtra. His *Prajñāpāramitāhrdayārthaparijñāna* was translated by Seng ge rgyal mtshan, a student of rNngog Blo ldan Shes rab (1059–1109).<sup>47</sup> In his explanation of the formula “Form is empti[ness]; emptiness is nothing other than form,” Mahājana makes use of the Yogācāra terminology relating to the three natures and defines emptiness as an affirming negation (*paryudāsapratishedha*):

Some maintain that the destruction of form is emptiness. The answer to that is that *form itself is empty. Emptiness is nothing other than form.* This is because false imagining (*abhūtaparikalpa*), whose nature is the dependent (*paratantra*), is empty of the nature of imagined (*parikalpita*) duality. It is called empty of duality by way of an affirming negation, and has the nature of form itself.<sup>48</sup>

The relation between form and emptiness is explained here in terms of the traditional Yogācāra formula of the dependent being empty of the imagined. As an affirming negation, form (i.e., the dependent) is left

44 PHT, D, fol. 303a7; P, fol. 330a3–4: *shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pas sems kyi mtshan ma thams cad bsal nas don dam par cig<sup>a</sup> char<sup>b</sup> 'jug pa'i sgo rnam par mi rtog pa'i don dang mthun pas na bden te* |. First translated in Lopez 1996: 163.

<sup>a</sup> P *gcig* <sup>b</sup> P *car*.

45 Brunnhölzl 2011: 127.

46 Roerich 1949–53: 243.

47 Lopez 1996: 16.

48 PHAP, D, fol. 308b5–7; P, fol. 345a2–4: *de la re zhig gzugs zhig pa la stong pa nyid du khas len te* | *de la lan ni gzugs nyid stong pa'o* | | *gzugs las stong pa nyid gzhan ma yin no zhes bya ba ste* | *gzhan dbang gi bdag nyid yang dag pa ma yin pa'i kun tu brtags pa ni* | *btags pa'i gnyis kyi<sup>a</sup> rang bzhin gyis<sup>b</sup> stong pa'i phyir ro* | | *ma yin par 'gags pa'i tshul gyis gnyis kyi<sup>c</sup> stong pa zhes* | *gzugs nyid kyi<sup>d</sup> bdag nyid do* |. First translated in Lopez 1996: 195.

<sup>a</sup> D *kyi* <sup>b</sup> P *gyi* <sup>c</sup> P *kyi* <sup>d</sup> P *kyis*.

over in emptiness. In other words, emptiness does not destroy form, but simply is the primordial nature of form. It should be noted that emptiness is here presented fully in line with the *Madhyāntavibhāḡabhāṡya*:

Emptiness refers to the fact that this false imagining is free from the relation between a perceived and a perceiver.<sup>49</sup>

This Yogācāra presentation of emptiness sparks the objection that the dependent nature, such as things blue and so forth, would possess an own nature. As an answer to that Mahājana explains:

*Form is nothing other than emptiness. Other means that blue and so forth would be endowed with a mode of existence that is by its nature not included in the natural luminosity of mind.*<sup>50</sup>

In other words, phenomenal content does not truly exist, and is nothing but the mind's natural luminosity. This amounts to a Alīkākāra-Yogācāra position.

Finally, it should be noted that Mahājana, too, works with the concept of buddha nature, that is, *de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po* (*tathāgata-garbha*), which he takes in line with *Ratnagotravibhāḡa* verses I.40–41 as a natural protection from suffering and the impelling force behind the bodhisattva's wish to attain *nirvāṇa*.<sup>51</sup>

### The Commentary of Atiśa

In his *Prajñāhrdayavyākhyā*, Atiśa (980–1056)<sup>52</sup> reads the five paths into the opening of the Heart Sūtra, where Śāriputra asks how to practise the perfection of insight. This then sets the stage for him to explain related aspects of the Bodhisattva path.<sup>53</sup> The formula on form and emptiness is not addressed in particular, but taken in the *Madhyamaka*

49 MAVBh, p. 18.2–3: *sūnyatā tasyābhūtaparikalpasya grāhyagrāhakahāvena virahitatā*.

50 PHAP, D, fol. 309a2; P, fol. 345a7–8: *stong pa nyid las gzugs gzhan ma yin no zhes bya ba ste | gzhan zhes bya ba ni sems kyi rang bzhin 'od gsal bas rang gi ngo bo ma gtogs pa'i dngos po'i tshul can sngon po la sogs pa nyid kyis zhes bya ba'i don to |*. First translated in Lopez 1996: 195.

51 Brunnhölzl 2011: 130.

52 Chattopadhyaya 2011: 58, 365.

53 Lopez 1996: 72f.

context of correctly viewing the psycho-physical aggregates as being empty of an own nature.

### The Commentary of Vajrapāṇi

The last of the eight Indian commentaries on the Heart Sūtra contained in the bsTan 'gyur is the *Bhagavatīprajñāpāramitāhṛdayaṭīkā-rathapradīpanāma*. It was taught by Vajrapāṇi (1017–?)<sup>54</sup> in Lalitpur (Patān, Nepal) and translated by Seng ge rgyal mtshan. Vajrapāṇi was one of the four main disciples of Maitrīpa (986–1063). He reached Nepal in 1066.<sup>55</sup> From the colophon it is clear that Vajrapāṇi taught his commentary as a special instruction upon hearing Tibetan friends reciting the Heart Sūtra. In the Peking bsTan 'gyur we find that “[t]he Indian abbot himself and the translator, the monk Seng ge rgyal mtshan, revised the text.”<sup>56</sup> It is thus possible that a Sanskrit original never existed in written form, an oral teaching having been directly translated and written down in Tibetan. Another important text by Vajrapāṇi, the *\*Guruparamparākrama-Upadeśa*, which is a commentary on Maitrīpa's *Tattvaratnāvalī*, *Sekatātparya* and *Sekanirdeśa*, could have been written down directly in Tibetan under similar circumstances. This would explain why the Tibetan occasionally differs from what we expect of a typical translation from a written Sanskrit text.

In his introductory explanation of the four syllables *e vaṃ ma yā*, Vajrapāṇi distinguishes, just as in his *\*Guruparamparākrama-Upadeśa*,<sup>57</sup> an instantaneous from a gradual approach:

The four *dharma*s (i.e., yoga practices) pertaining to the identity of the nature of mind and the nature of phenomena are mindfulness, non-mindfulness, non-arising, and beyond the intellect.<sup>58</sup> They are heard at one and the same time in two ways—profound and manifest. The profound is beyond studying, reflecting, and meditation. It is an expression that denotes instantaneous abiding in an equipoise that is

54 Roerich 1949–53: 843.

55 Roberts 2014: 4 and 212 (fn. 8).

56 Lopez 1996: 214–215.

57 Mathes 2007: 548–549.

58 For a discussion of these four signs of Mahāmudrā meditation, see Mathes 2019: 45–69.

not essentially different from the *dharmadhātu* of all the Buddhas of the three times and sentient beings of the three realms.<sup>59</sup>

In his commentary to Saraha's *Peoples' Dohās* (*dMangs do hā*), Karma Phrin las pa (1456–1539) explains these four *dharmas*, which are indicated by the four letters (*e vaṃ ma yā*) as the means to accomplish the supreme *siddhi* (i.e., *mahāmudrā*) in the following way:

First, by way of special instructions, I teach mindfulness, which means cutting [ordinary conceptual] mind from its root. Then, [second,] drinking the juice of not being mindful, that is, of resting in the sphere of mental non-engagement (*a-manasikāra*), one forgets to cling to the notion “mine.” Then, [third,] through special instructions on non-arising, which make one understand the meaning of the single syllable for non-arising, [the privative] *a*, one realizes that the nature of mind has never arisen. Then, [fourth,] through the special instructions on going beyond the intellect, [which allow] to pass over to the ultimate, one no longer knows [even] words or symbols for ‘non-arising.’ This is liberation without words, thoughts, and expressions.<sup>60</sup>

Karma Phrin las pa follows here Vajrapāṇi's guru Maitrīpa who argues in his *Amanasikārādhāra* at length that the privative *a* of *amanasikāra* stands for *anutpāda*, or emptiness. In his final analysis

59 BhpHTAP, D, fols. 286b7–287a2; P, fol. 309b5–8: *sems nyid dang chos nyid kyi ngo bo gcig la dran pa dang | dran pa med pa dang | skye ba med pa dang | blo las 'das pa chos bzhi po dus gcig pa las zab pa dang | snang ba'i tshul rnam pa gnyis kyis thos so | de yang zab pa ni thos pa dang bsam pa dang bsgom pa las 'das pa ste | dus gsum du rnam par bzhugs pa'i sangs rgyas rnam dang | kham gsum gyi sems can ma lus pa'i chos kyi dbyings kyi ngo bo tha mi dad pa'i skad cig ma gcig la mnyam pa nyid la gnas pa'i tshig bla dags so* | First translated in Lopez 1996: 202–203.

60 Karma Phrin las pa, *dMangs do ha'i rnam bshad*, p. 101.4–10: *mchog gi dngos grub bsgrub par byed pa'i thabs yi ges nye bar mtshon pa ni bzhi ste | dran pa | dran med | skye med | blo 'das so | de bzhi las dang po sems rtsa ba gcod pa dran pa'i man ngag bdag gis ston te | de nas yid la mi byed pa'i ngang du 'jog pa dran med kyi khu ba 'thungs pas nga yir 'dzin pa ni brjed par 'gyur ro | de nas gang gis a skye ba med pa'i yi ge gcig don shes par byed pa skye med kyi man ngag gis sems nyid gdod nas ma skyes par rtogs | de nas mthar thug la bzla ba blo 'das kyi man ngag gis skye med ces bya ba de'i ming dang brda ni mi shes te sgra bsam brjed med du grol ba'o ||*

the letter *a* becomes luminosity and *manasikāra* self-empowerment (*svādhiṣṭhāna*).<sup>61</sup> Such a positively understood emptiness can be also discerned in Maitrīpa's *Tattvadaśaka*, where phenomena are not only circumscribed by alluding to the Heart Sūtra's formula (*form is empty; emptiness is form*), but also described as giving rise to the experience that they are luminous.<sup>62</sup>

That Vajrapāṇi elaborates in his Heart Sūtra commentary on a meditation system of Saraha and Maitrīpa finds further support from the \**Dohākoṣasārārthagītāṭīkā*, which is attributed to a certain Advaya Avadhūti.<sup>63</sup> In this Dohā commentary, we find the following passages:

As a result of mindfulness, one wanders in *saṃsāra*. As a result of not wavering from a state beyond mindfulness, one finds *nirvāṇa*.<sup>64</sup>

At the time one is [still] ignorant—neither knowing, nor realizing, nor perceiving—the genuine guru's teaching in terms of the signs and means is as follows: Abandoning mindfulness is generosity, experiencing the state beyond mindfulness is discipline, [enduring] non-arising is acceptance, and the meditative concentration of inseparable, uninterrupted diligence is insight transcending the intellect.<sup>65</sup>

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61 Mathes 2010: 19–22.

62 Mathes 2006: 210–211.

63 See Schaeffer 2005: 20. Maitrīpa also goes under these names (Advayavajra and Avadhūtipa), and in Advaya's *dohā* commentary we find the same and unique structure of three *yānas*, four schools, and nine (*pra*)*yogas* (with four subtopics each: *lta ba*, *spyod pa*, *sgom pa*, *bsam gtan gyi dri ma*) as the one found in Maitrīpa's works such as the *Tattvaratnāvalī* and *Caturmudropadeśa*. Moreover, Advaya says that he does not discuss these topics in his *dohā* commentary because he has elucidated it elsewhere. Advaya then continues briefly with the template of the nine (*pra*)*yogas*: three kinds of Śrāvakas up through the two kinds of Mādhyamikas. Based on a very significant amount of unique terminology between Bal po Asu's commentary on the "King Dohā" (D 2265) and the DKSGT, Karl Brunnhölzl suggests, however, that the Advaya Avadhūti of our text (DKSGT) is Bal po Asu (email communication on July 22, 2020).

64 DKSGT, D, 82a6; P, 113b5: *dran pa las<sup>a</sup> 'khor bar 'khor la | dran pa med pa las ma gyos mya ngan las 'das pa'o |*

<sup>a</sup> D la.

65 DKSGT, D, 92b1–2; P, 124a5–6: *ma rig pa dang | ma shes pa dang | ma rtogs pa mi dmigs pa'i dus su | bla ma dam pas brda dang thabs kyis bstan pa<sup>a</sup> de ni | dran pa*

To encounter [any] appearance is “mindfulness.” To encounter [its] emptiness is “beyond mindfulness.” To encounter “non-arising” is non-arisen reality.<sup>66</sup>

Vajrapāṇi informs us, that the formula *form is empty; emptiness is form* and the sentence *Emptiness is nothing other than form, form is nothing other than emptiness* are taught for those who have confidence in the indivisible union of appearance (lit. “variety”) and emptiness and discourages the Yogācāra approach of searching for a profound and subtle *ālayavijñāna* within the eight types of consciousness.<sup>67</sup> Rather, form and emptiness should be understood in terms of his favored four *dharma*s. While mindfulness constitutes the teaching for ordinary beings, the three remaining *dharma*s, namely, non-mindfulness, non-arising, and beyond the intellect, are based on the profound nature of phenomena beyond the reach of ordinary beings:

The *samādhi* of [realizing that everything is] like an illusion—of taking manifold appearances, through mindfulness as its object, [a practice] based on the mindfulness of phenomena’s indivisible union [with mind],<sup>68</sup> as ascertained through the direct cognition provided by one’s sense faculties, is the Dharma taught to ordinary people. Now those [practices] based on the profound nature of phenomena, which is not the experiential object of ordinary people, are [the remaining three *dharma*s] *non-mindfulness, non-arising, and beyond the intellect*. They are the three *samādhis* of emptiness, signlessness, and wishlessness, and the direct perception of the mental faculty, the direct perception of self-awareness, and yogic direct perception. Through them together with the non-foundation of empti[ness], non-foundation of equanimity, and non-foundation of interruption,

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*spangs pa sbyin pa dang | dran med myong tshul khirms | skyed med bzod pa | dbyer med brtson 'grus rgyun mi 'chad pa bsam gtan blo las 'das pa shes rab |*   <sup>a</sup> P pa'i.

66 DKSGT, D, 92b4; P, 124b1: *snang ba thug phrad dran pa'o | stong pa thug phrad ni dran med do | skyed med thug phrad ni de nyid ma skyes pa'o |*

67 Lopez 1996: 205–206.

68 See Karma Phrin las pa, who explains the first *dharma* of mindfulness in his *dMang do ha'i rnam bshad*, p. 31.17, as follows: “Through the special instructions on mindfulness manifold appearances are known to be mind [only]...” (*dran pa'i man ngag gis snang ba sna tshogs pa sems su shes pas...*).



[we present instruction relating to] the threefold insight (*prajñā*) beyond the three conditions [of cognition]. Śāriputra, in this way all phenomena are [seen to be] emptiness.<sup>69</sup>

In his Dohā commentary, Karma Phrin las pa sometimes distinguishes outer, inner, and secret explanations, and the four *dharmas* are always mentioned in terms of the last of these categories, which suggest a tantric context. It is thus surprising that Vajrapāṇi introduces this tantric element into his interpretation of the Heart Sūtra. On a related note, it is interesting that Vajrapāṇi himself raises the issue whether the Heart Sūtra belongs to the Mantra Vehicle or not:

[The Buddha] relied on many tantras for the sake of those with sharp faculties and devotion to tantric Mahāyāna. He taught the [four activities of] pacification, increment, [subjugation and hostility] with the help of outer mantras; the bliss of body and mind on the basis of channels, [subtle] winds etc. with the help of inner mantras; and extended *samādhis* with the help of secret mantras. He thus taught [the means to attain] enlightenment in one instant, one lifetime, the intermediate state, or up to seven lifetimes. One may be in doubt whether these special instructions on the meaning of the Heart Sūtra of the Perfection of Insight belong to the philosophical vehicles or the mantra vehicles. They appear differently in the mind of sentient beings, but in terms of the profound nature of phenomena [they refer to] there is no difference. Therefore this mantra of the perfection of insight (i.e., *om gate gate pāragate pārasaṃgate bodhi svāhā*) is the heart of the meaning of the mantra systems. What is called *the mantra of great awareness*, which causes the realization of that [meaning], [is]

69 BpHTAP, D, fols. 288b6–289a2; P, fol. 312a2–6: *snang ba sna tshogs dran pas yul du byas pa'i sgyu ma lta bu'i ting nge 'dzin dbang po'i mngon sum gyis gtan la phab pa'i chos thams cad zung du 'jug pa'i dran pa la brten pa so so'i skye bo'i chos bstan zin to | | da ni zab mo'i chos nyid la brten pa so so'i skye bo'i spyod yul ma yin pa dran pa med pa dang | skye ba med pa dang | blo'i spyod yul las 'das pa de ni stong pa nyid dang | mtshan ma med pa dang | smon pa med pa'i ting nge 'dzin gsum po ni yid kyi mngon sum dang | rang rig pa'i mngon sum dang | rnal 'byor gyi mngon sum gyis stong pa'i rab tu mi gnas pa dang | btang snyoms rab tu mi gnas pa dang | rgyun chad rab tu mi gnas pa dang gsum gyis rkyen gsum dang bral ba'i shes rab rnam gsum gyi gdams ngag ni | shā ri'i bu de lta bas na chos thams cad stong pa nyid de |* First translated in Lopez 1996: 205–206.

awareness in mindfulness, the [true] experience of what appears.<sup>70</sup>

Further down in the text, Vajrapāṇi specifies the nature of the Heart Sūtra's mantra:

[This] mantra is not one of pacification, increment, subjugation and hostility. What kind is it then? By merely realizing the meaning of this mantra [one's] mind is liberated.<sup>71</sup>

As we have seen, such an instantaneous approach is, technically speaking, still within the category of Mantranaya. As I have already set forth in detail elsewhere, Sahajavajra, another disciple of Maitrīpa, distinguishes a practice of realizing *mahāmudrā* on the basis of pith-instructions from both Pāramitānaya and Mantranaya.<sup>72</sup>

## Conclusion

We have seen how the quintessence of the Prajñāpāramitāsūtras, the formula “form is emptiness; emptiness is form” has been interpreted in eight Indian commentaries from nearly all possible Mahāyāna views and approaches. The common Madhyamaka interpretation of dependent arising and emptiness is thus confronted, or rather completed, with the Yogācāra model of a three-nature-based emptiness. This includes, besides the traditional interpretation of Yogācāra emptiness, which

70 BhPHTAP, D, fols. 292b7–293a3; P, fols. 316b7–317a4: 'o na dbang po rnon po sngags kyi theg pa chen po la mos pa rnam kyi don du rgyud sde du ma la brten pa | phyi'i sngags<sup>a</sup> kyis ni zhi dang rgyas pa la sogs pa bstan pa dang | nang gi sngags kyis rtsa dang rlung la sogs pa la brten nas lus dang sems bde ba bstan pa dang | gsang ba'i sngags kyis ting nge 'dzin yun ring du gnas par bya ba bstan nas skad cig gis sam skye ba cig gis sam | bar mdo na'am | skye ba bdun pa'i bar nas sangs rgyas pa yod de | shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i snying po'i don gyi gdams ngag 'di mtshan nyid kyi theg pa yin nam sngags kyi theg pa yin zhes the tshom za na | sems can rnam kyi blo'i snang ba la tha dad du snang mod kyi zab mo'i chos nyid la tha dad med de | de lta bas na shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i sngags 'di ni gsang sngags rnam kyi don kyi snying po yin no | de rtogs par byed pa rig pa chen po'i sngags zhes bya ba ni rig pa dran pa snang ba nyams su myong ba'o |. First translated in Lopez 1996: 212.

<sup>a</sup> D gsang sngags.

71 BhPHTAP, D, fol. 294a2–3; P, fol. 318a7: sngags ni zhi ba dang | rgyas pa dang | dbang dang | drag po'i sngags ma yin no | 'o na gang yin zhe na | sngags 'di'i don rtogs pa tsam gyis sems 'grol ba yin no |. First translated in Lopez 1996: 167.

72 Mathes 2006: 220–221; 2008: 39–40.

only negates the imagined nature, the *Brhattīkā*'s formula of the perfect being empty of the imagined and the dependent. The latter variation of the three nature theory is also found in combination with the theory of buddha nature (Praśāstrasena and Mahājana). Finally the Heart Sūtra was adduced to support a gradual path (Kamalaśīla and Atiśa) as well as the possibility of instantaneous enlightenment (Praśāstrasena and Vajrapāṇi).

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- APHV = *Āryaprajñāpāramitāhṛdayavyākhyā* (by Jñānamitra). D 3819, *shes phyin*, vol. *ma*, 280b7–286b4; P 5218, *mdo 'grel*, vol. *ma*, 302b2–309b1.
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## A Note on the Stages of the Peking bKa'gyur Edition

Katsumi Mimaki  
(Kyoto University)

Much research has been done describing and clarifying the history of the Tibetan Canon, and a considerable number of obscure points have been elucidated. Nevertheless, some errors and misunderstandings are still being repeated without being examined critically. For example, in the introduction of the recent *Zhonghua Dazangjing* 中華大藏經 of Kangyur, it is said: “The Khangxi or Peking Kangyur is the Kangyur xylographically established by the Second Emperor of Qing Dynasty, Kangxi or bDe skyid, in the Tibetan 11th *rab byung* (from 1683–1700).”<sup>1</sup> Strictly speaking, this statement is not correct. In Japan also, one finds the same kind of description. For example, according to Jikidō Takasaki: “The Khangxi edition was begun in 1684 and completed in 1700” (Takasaki 1966: 54). These descriptions are not entirely wrong, and if one is generous, one might accept them with reservations. This kind of imprecise description was understandable when research was not very advanced. Certainly, the years 1683, 1684, and 1700 have something to do with the history of the development of the Peking Kangyur, as is evident in the table of contents of the *dkar chag* of the 1700 edition of Peking Kangyur.

	<b>date</b>	<b>page</b>
(Imperial Preface)	1684.08.23	p. 51-1-1-3-1
(Demand for Imperial Preface)	1683.08.16	p. 51-4-1-5-24
(Second Demand for Imperial Preface)	1683.09.01	p. 52-1-1-4-22
(Catalogue of the Canon)		pp. 52-5-1-59-1-27
(List of collaborators)	1700.04	p. 59-2-1-3-10
(Miscellanea)		pp. 59-4-1-60-2-16

[Table 1: Contents of the 1700 edition of the Peking Kangyur *dkar chag*]<sup>2</sup>

- 1 Zhonghua Dazangjing 2008, vol. 108, p. 114, ll. 13–15: *Khang shis sam Pe cing bKa'gyur ni / Bod rab byung bcu gcig pa'i nang du* (spyi lo 1683–1700) *Ching rgyal rabs gnyis pa gong ma Khang shis sam bDe skyid rgyal pos shing par du bzhengs pa'i bKa'gyur te /*.
- 2 The Table of Contents of the 1700 edition of Peking Kangyur is found in the Catalogue volume (vol. 151) of the Otani Reprint of the Peking Edition (1955–61).

The descriptions above combine these years (1683, 1684, and 1700) adequately. However, research on the Peking Kangyur is now more advanced. In fact, with his detailed analysis, Yoshiro Imaeda (1977) has determined very clearly the development of the bKa' 'gyur of the Peking edition. According to him, the stages of the Peking edition are (1) 1684/92, (2) 1700, (3) 1717/20, and (4) 1737. I basically follow this division, but for each stage, slight corrections or supplementary notes are necessary. It is these corrections that I would like to propose in the present article. My conclusion in advance is that the stages should be (1) 1684, (2) 1692, (3) 1700, (4) 1718/20<sup>3</sup>, and (5) 1737.<sup>4</sup>

The other three stages need just slight corrections. The 1718/20 stage needs a qualification. Concerning the 1692 stage, the decipherment of its colophon is relatively correct in Staël-Holstein (1934), but completely wrong in Jampa Samten and Hiroaki Niisaku (2011: 10). The precise determination of the printing dates requires a detailed astronomical analysis: this is the main goal of the present article.

### Stage 1684/92

The understanding of this stage has usually been that the Peking edition was begun in 1684 and completed in 1692. But this is wrong. I am among those who made this mistake (Mimaki 1980: 289, 1987: 283). The correct understanding is that a first edition was completed and printed in 1684, and a second edition was finished and printed in 1692. The two editions are identical.

The 1692 edition is preserved in the Yenching Library of Harvard University. However, we are not sure of the location of the 1684 edition or where we can consult it. Shirō Sakai included a photo of a folio of the 1684 edition (Sakai 1944b: [3]), but we do not know where he

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The catalogues (*dkar chag*) are in Tibetan, Mongolian, Manchu, and Chinese. In the table here, paginations are given according to the Chinese version of the Catalogue in order to facilitate comparison with the table of the 1684 edition *dkar chag*, which is only in Chinese.

- 3 Imaeda (1977: 30) dated the Mongolian edition of Kangyur to 1717–1720. According to recent research on the Mongolian Kangyur, the dates should be 1718–1720. That is why we use 1718–1720 to indicate the stage. See *infra* p. 694.
- 4 Eimer suggests that there was one more stage, 1765, although he qualifies it with a question mark (Eimer 1983: 11, n. 9). We do not accept this stage since Eimer does not give an exact source for it.



photographed it. Eimer published a copy of Sakai's photo (Eimer 1980: 197) and commented that it was a photo of the 1684/92 Peking Kangur, without giving any explanation of the difference between the 1684 and 1684/92 editions.<sup>5</sup>

The *dkar chag* of the 1684 Peking edition, entitled *Nyorai Daizōkyō Sōmokuroku* 如来大藏經總目錄, is found in the *Shōwa Hōbō Sōmokuroku* 昭和法寶總目錄, vol. I, pp. 1037–53.<sup>6</sup> Only the Chinese version is extant. The table of contents is as follows:

	date	page
(Imperial Preface)	1684.08.23	p. 1037a1–b11
(Second Demand for Imperial Preface)	1683.09.01	pp. 1037b12–1038b20
(Demand for Imperial Preface)	1683.08.16	pp. 1038b21–1039a8
(Catalogue of the Canon)		pp. 1040b1–1053b17
(Miscellanea)		pp. 1039a9–1040a27

[Table 2: Contents of the 1684 edition of Peking Kangyur *dkar chag*]

Unlike the 1700 edition, the 1684 edition does not include a list of collaborators. The problem, as explained above, is that we do not know whether a print is preserved of the 1684 edition, and, if it is, where we can consult it. One folio of the 1684 edition survives in the Otani reprint of the 1718/20 edition (Vol. 151, p. 4-4: *rgyud* 1a).<sup>7</sup> Since this folio is also found in the Peking editions preserved in the National Library of Mongolia in Ulan Bator<sup>8</sup> and the sKu 'bum monastery<sup>9</sup>, both of which are, on the whole,<sup>10</sup> the same as the Otani reprint of the 1718/20 Peking

5 Sakai (1944b: [2]) also gives a photo of a folio from the 1605 Wanli edition. Eimer published the same photo, commenting that it was a photo of the 1606 Wanli edition without giving any explanation for the difference between 1605 and 1606 (Eimer 1980: 197).

6 See also Sakurabe 1930.

7 See also Imaeda 1977: 29.

8 Cf. *Bka'gyur Pe-cin par ma*, Digital Preservation Society, 2010, Tokyo.

9 Cf. TBRC W1PD96684.

10 There are nevertheless very small differences in the details. For example, in the last folio of the rubric (Miscellanea) which begins, “*bri sbyangs dang kar chag ...*”, in the Otani reprint (p. 13-3), the Tibetan numbering on the left side is “*gnyis gong*” and the Chinese numbering is “2a” (上二), but in the sKu 'bum version, the corresponding page is blank, and the folio in question is found on the next page, and the Tibetan numbering on the left side is “*gnyis gong*” and the Chinese numbering

edition, we can understand that not only the printed page but also the woodblock of this folio survived, and that this folio was printed from that woodblock each time. If we could find the woodblock of this folio among the woodblocks of the 1737 edition (the last edition of the Peking Kangyur), we could confirm that this woodblock survived as late as the 1718/20 edition. Unfortunately, the woodblocks of the Peking edition of both the Kangyur and Tengyur were destroyed by fire by the French army during the Boxer Rebellion in 1900 (Teramoto 1974: 99, Imaeda 1977: 35).

### Stage 1692

The 1692 edition preserved at Harvard University contains a rare folio that indicates the period in which it was printed. This folio is presented photomechanically in Staël-Holstein (1934 = Silk 1999: 246). The Tibetan text of lines 6–7 of this folio is as follows: *Ta'i Ching Khang hi lo sum cu so gcig chu pho sprel lo snrul gyi zla ba'i chu pho khyi rgyal gyi nyi ma la dbu gtsugs nas mon gru zla ba'i sa pho stag dga' ba nyi ma'i bar du legs par bsgrubs pa'o* // (Staël-Holstein [1934] = Silk [1999: 216 n. c, ll. 23–25],<sup>11</sup> Jampa Samten and Hiroaki Niisaku [2011: 10], Jampa Samten 2015: 203).

And here is my translation: “[The printing of this edition of the Kanjur] was begun on the *chu pho khyi rgyal* (male-water-dog victory) day of the *snrul* month (= the 13th day of the Vth month = 16th June 1692 [Julian calendar] = 26th June 1692, Thursday [Gregorian calendar]) of the *chu pho sprel* (male-water-ape) year, namely the 31st year of the Khang hi period [1692] of the Great Ch'ing/Qing dynasty, and was well finished on the *sa pho stag dga' ba* (male-earth-tiger joy) day of the *mon gru* month (= the 1st day of the VIIIth month = the 1st October 1692 [Julian calendar] = the 11th October 1692, Thursday [Gregorian calendar] of the same year).”

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is “1b” (下—). In the Ulan Bator version, this last folio is missing. Concerning the Ulan Bator version, it is said to contain some older elements than the 1718–20 Otani version (cf. booklet attached to DVD, p. 2).

11 Silk, Jonathan (1999), “Introduction to Alexander von Staël-Holstein’s Article ‘On a Peking Edition of the Tibetan Kanjur Which Seems to be Unknown in the West’ Edited for publication by Jonathan Silk,” *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, vol. 22, Nr. 1, pp. 211–214, pp. 215–249.

To summarize, the printing took place from the 13th day of the Vth month to the 1st day of the VIIIth month of 1692, 107 days in total. To print the whole Kangyur in 107 days is astonishingly fast.

For a detailed analysis, we compare Staël-Holstein's translation (1934 = Silk 1999: 217) with the translation of Jampa Samten and Hiroaki Niisaku (2011: 10).

Staël-Holstein: "[The edition of the Kanjur] was begun on the *chu pho khyi rgyal* (male water dog victory) day of the *snrul* month of the *chu pho sprel* (male water ape) year [which coincides with] the 31st year of the K'ang Hsi period [1692] of the Ta Ch'ing dynasty, and [the edition of the Kanjur] was well finished on the *sa pho stag dga' ba* (male earth tiger joy) day of the *mon gru* month [of the same year?]" (1934 = Silk 1999: 217).

Jampa Samten and Hiroaki Niisaku: "In Water-Monkey year (1692), that is, on the thirty first year of the reign of the great Ch'ing Emperor Kh'ang-hsi; on *rgyal gyi nyi ma* of the fifth month of the Water-Dog year (1682), [the production of the Kagyur] commenced and completed on *dga' ba'i nyi ma* of the tenth month of the Earth-Tiger year (1698)" (2011: 10; cf. Jampa Samten 2015: 203).

Before entering into a detailed discussion, I provide my translation of the Chinese colophon found in line 8 of the folio: "The 1st day of the Vth Month of the 31st year of the Khangxi period [1692] of the Great Ch'ing/Qing dynasty, the bhikṣu of Chong guo Monastery in Beijing, sByin pa rgya mtsho<sup>12</sup>, having an awakening, printed" (大清康熙參拾壹年仲夏朔日京都崇國寺格龍印吧監佐發心印造).

There are three sexagenary cycles indicating the year, the month, and the day. In this colophon, three sexagenary dates appear. The first date, *chu pho sprel* concerns the year, while the second and third ones, *chu pho sprel* and *sa pho stag*, indicate the day. Staël-Holstein understands this point. But Jampa and Niisaku think that all three indicate the year: this is completely mistaken. Therefore, they came to the very strange, not to mention impossible, conclusion that the production of the Kangyur was begun in the Water-Dog year (1682) and completed in the Earth-Tiger year (1698).

12 sByin pa rgya mtsho (1629–1695) is the 46th abbot of the dGa' ldan Monastery [reign: 1692–1695]. Cf. Staël-Holstein 1934 = Silk 1999: 226–7, n. af.

In this colophon, only the sexagenary dates indicating the year and the day are given. The indication of the month seems to be of Indian origin, but normally one does not indicate the month's name by a constellation (*nakṣatra*). I understand *zhong xia* 仲夏 (the Vth Month = Āṣāḍha) in the Chinese translation as referring to the month in which the printing began. My source for the sexagenary cycles is Tou (1991). A conventional system numbers the elements of each cycle from 0 (*shing pho byi*, 甲子 *kinoe ne*) to 59 (*chu mo phag*, 癸亥 *mizunoto i*) (Uchida [1975]). Below, I add the appropriate number to each date.

First, regarding the year when the printing started, the *chu pho sprel* (water-male-ape) year (壬申 *mizunoe saru*: 8) is 1692, the 31st year of the Qing Dynasty Emperor Kangxi: there is no problem with this calculation. The month when the printing started (*zhong xia* 仲夏 = the Vth Month) corresponds to the Indian month Āṣāḍha. The sexagenary date of the 1st day of the Vth Month of this year is *me pho khyi* (fire-male-dog, 庚戌 *kanoe inu*: 46), and not *chu pho khyi* (water male dog, 壬戌 *mizunoe inu*: 58). The *chu pho khyi* day of this month is the 13th. Since this is the day of victory (*rgyal / jayā*) in India, this corresponds well with the statement in the colophon.

Regarding the day when printing was completed, the month is *mon gru* (*Dhaniṣṭhā / Śatabhiṣā*) and the day is *sa pho stag* (earth male tiger, 戊寅 *tsuchinoe tora*: 14). If this were the VIth month, namely Śrāvaṇa, the 1st day of the VIth month would be *sa mo yos* (earth female hare, 己卯 *tsuchinoto u*: 15). The *sa pho stag* (earth male tiger, 戊寅 *tsuchinoe tora*: 14) day would be 59 days later: therefore, this could not be the VIth month. If this were the VIIth month, namely *Bhādrapada*, the 1st day of the VIIth month would be *sa pho sprel* (earth male monkey, 戊申 *tsuchinoe saru*: 44). The *sa pho stag* (earth male tiger, 戊寅 *tsuchinoe tora*: 14) would be 30 days later: it would therefore be the 1st day of the VIIIth month. Assuming that this is the VIIIth month, namely Āśvina, the 1st day of the VIIIth month would be the *sa pho stag* (earth male tiger, 戊寅 *tsuchinoe tora*: 14) day. Therefore, the *sa pho stag* (earth male tiger, 戊寅 *tsuchinoe tora*: 14) day must be the 1st day of the VIIIth month. Since this is the day of joy (*dga' ba / nandā*) in India, this corresponds well with the colophon.

Using the somewhat complicated calculation above, we could reach the following conclusion. The day on which the printing of the 1692 edition of Peking Kangyur began is the *chu pho khyi* (water male dog, 壬戌 *mizunoe inu*: 58) day, namely the 13th day, Vth month: this is the day of victory. If converted to the Western calendar, it is 1692.06.16 [Julian calendar] = 1692.06.26 Thursday [Gregorian calendar]. The day on which printing was completed is the *sa pho stag* (earth male tiger, 戊寅 *tsuchinoe tora*: 14) day, namely the 1st day of the VIIIth month of the same year: this is the day of joy. If converted to the Western calendar, it is 1692.10.01 [Julian calendar] = 1692.10.11 Thursday [Gregorian calendar]. We see clearly that the printing took 107 days.

For the conversion to Western calendar, there is a very useful program (<http://www.cc.kyoto-su.ac.jp/~yanom/pancanga/index.html>) created by Michio Yano, Kyoto Sangyō University, Emeritus Professor. I would like to express my sincere thanks to him for his help in making the calculations above.

Concerning *rgyal gyi nyi ma* (day of victory) and *dga' ba nyi ma* (day of joy), Dieter Schuh (1973: 147) explains that, according to the *Vaidūrya dkar po* the fifteen days of the first half (*dkar phyogs*) and the second half (*nag phyogs*) of the month are distributed into five groups with the appellations *dga' ba*, *bzang po*, *rgyal ba*, *stong pa*, and *rdzogs pa*. Each of these groups consists of three days: for example, *dga' ba* includes days 1, 6, and 11, and *rgyal ba* includes days 3, 8, and 13. On the other hand, Jampa Samten (1911: 10, n. 4 and n. 5), without giving his source, says that *rgyal gyi nyi ma* belongs to one group of six days (1, 6, 11, 16, 21, and 26), while *dga' ba nyi ma* belongs to another (3, 8, 13, 18, 23, and 28). At first, I was not sure which is correct. However, since this corresponds to the astrological system of lunar days (*tithi*), which Michio Yano (2019: 326) explains according to the early seventeenth century astrological treatise *Muhūrtacintāmaṇi*, I realize that Schuh is correct. Namely, the light half (*śuklapakṣa*) and the dark half (*kṛṣṇapakṣa*) of the month consist of 15 *tithi* each, and the *tithi* are divided into five groups, namely *nandā* (1, 6, 11), *bhadṛā* (2, 7, 12), *jayā* (3, 8, 13), *riktā* (4, 9, 14), and *pūrṇā* (5, 10, 15).

In this way, a detailed and accurate reading of the colophon makes it clear that the printing of the 1692 edition of Peking Kangyur took 107 days in 1692. It is well known that a printed copy of this edition

is preserved in the Yenching Library of Harvard University. But it seems that, in the Harvard University copy, one can find several later alterations. That is probably why the Harvard University website of [https://digitalcollections.library.harvard.edu/catalog/\\_990102096190203941](https://digitalcollections.library.harvard.edu/catalog/_990102096190203941) (Da zang jing) estimates the date of this copy as 1692–1700, indicating that the 1692 edition of Harvard has been altered in the process of preparing the 1700 edition.

The biggest difference between the 1692 edition and the 1700 edition is that, in the 1684/92 editions there is no volume *om* in the beginning of the *rgyud* section: they begin with the volume *ka*, while beginning with the 1700 edition, a volume *om* is added at the beginning of the *rgyud* section, before volume *ka*. So normally the 1692 edition should not include volume *om*, but, in the Harvard University copy, someone tried to add a volume *om* before volume *ka* by inserting the text from volume *za* (vol. 22) of the *rgyud* section before volume *ka*. We can see this very clearly in Plate IIIa (Staël-Holstein 1934 = Silk 1999: 247). We do not know who did this or when. On the left side, the person wrote *om* over *za*, thus erasing *za*, but amusingly he forgot to erase the volume number 22 on the right side, or to change 22 to 1: the numbering of volume 22 remains. In any case, it would be very useful, if the entire 1692 edition were made available in electronic form, in the way that TBRC or other institutions have very usefully produced electronic copies of certain Tibetan Canons. We hope someday to have the entire 1692 edition in hand in order to examine many other important and interesting details.

### Stage 1700

The *dkar chag* of the 1700 edition is included in the Otani reproduction of the 1718/20 Peking edition. The 1700 edition was once inspected by Shinten Sakai at Wutaishan (Sakai 1944a: 51, Imaeda 1977: 29). The contents of the *dkar chag* and that of the Kangyur itself do not correspond completely. Discrepancies between a *dkar chag* and the text on which it is based occur very often in Tibetan Canons, and we must always be on the alert for them. As far as I know, we can only consult the 1700 edition at Wutaishan. (I would appreciate any information regarding other prints of this edition.)

### Stage 1718/20

This Kangyur, on which the Otani photomechanical reproduction is based,<sup>13</sup> is widely available. The scholarly world is indebted to Enga Teramoto, Otani University, and the Suzuki Research Foundation for having made the Peking canon accessible. It is impossible to overstate its contribution to the development of Indology and Tibetology. Four volumes of modern catalogues and indices have been prepared for the Otani reproduction, but we should not forget that the *dkar chag* attached to this Kangyur is the *dkar chag* of the 1700 edition. The Otani reprint has generally been referred to with the abbreviation P. Some recent Kangyur researchers have proposed the abbreviation Q (Qianlong 乾隆),<sup>14</sup> but this is incorrect because the 1718/20 Kangyur was produced during the reign of Kangxi (康熙, reign 1661–1722), and not of Qianlong (乾隆, reign 1735–95). Their reasoning is that, when the Otani reprint was published, missing volumes were borrowed from the Qianlong edition preserved in Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris; therefore, the Otani reprint is a combination of K and Q. However, only seven volumes (*na, li, gu, cu, hu, de, phe*) were borrowed from the Qianlong edition. It is unreasonable to refer to a collection of 106 volumes as “Q” (“Qianlong”) when less than ten percent of the collection is from the Qianlong edition. In any case, the use of the abbreviation Q for the 1718/20 Peking edition is ill-founded and misleading and should be discontinued. P is widely recognized as the abbreviation for the Otani reprint, and it would better to continue to refer to it as P.

It is to Yoshiro Imaeda's credit that he distinguished this stage from the 1700 stage. But his appellation “1717/20 edition” must be qualified. Namely, it does not mean that this edition was produced between 1717 and 1720. 1717–1720 was the period in which the Mongolian edition of the Kangyur was produced, based on the same Kangyur as the Otani reprint. Therefore, this Tibetan Kangyur must have been completed

13 Suzuki, Daisetsu T. (ed.), *The Tibetan Tripitaka, Peking Edition, Reprinted under the Supervision of the Otani University*, Tokyo-Kyoto: Suzuki Research Foundation, 1955–61. Vols. 1–45: Kangyur, Vols. 46–150: Tengyur, Vol. 151: *dkar chag*, Vols. 152–161: the *gSung 'bum* of Tsong kha pa, Vols. 162–164: the *gSung 'bum* of ICang skya I Ngag dbang blo bzang chos ldan dpal bzang po, Vols. 165–168: Catalogue and Index.

14 Cf. for example Harrison and Eimer 1997: xiii.

sometime between 1700 and the period in which the Mongolian edition was produced, which, as far as Imaeda knew, was between 1717 and 1720.<sup>15</sup> This was what Imaeda meant by “1717/20.” However, recent research on the Mongolian Canon reveals that the Mongolian edition of the Kangyur was completed between 1718 and 1720.<sup>16</sup> Therefore, from now on we shall call it 1718/20 instead of 1717/20.

The most significant difference between the 1700 edition and the 1718/20 edition consists in the difference in the number of sūtras in the *dKon brtsegs* (*Ratnakūṭa*) section. In the *dkar chag* of the 1700 edition, 45 sūtras are listed, while in the Kangyur of 1718/20 edition there are 49 sūtras. Here is a list of the number of sūtras in the *dKon brtsegs* section in several editions:

<i>lDan dkar ma</i> <sup>17</sup>	48 <sup>18</sup>
<i>'Phang thang ma</i> <sup>19</sup>	9 <sup>20</sup>
<i>bCom ldan rig ral Katen dkar chag</i>	49 <sup>21</sup>
<i>gYung lo dkar chag</i> <sup>22</sup>	49
1684 Peking edition <i>dkar chag</i> <sup>23</sup>	45
1692 Peking edition <i>dkar chag</i>	not checked <sup>24</sup>
1700 Peking edition <i>dkar chag</i> <sup>25</sup>	45

15 Cf. Imaeda 1997: 30.

16 Cf. Kollmar-Paulenz 2002: 156, 159, Tshul khriims skal bzang 2002: 136.

17 Cf. Lalou 1953: 320–321. For the bibliography, see Herrmann-Pfandt 2008.

18 In VDK 2009: 85, the wrong number 47 is given. This is probably due to a simple error of arithmetic calculation. In the *lDan dkar ma*, the texts contained in the *dKon brtsegs* section are from [25] to [72].  $72 - 25 = 47$ , but one should add 1 to get the real number of the texts.

19 Cf. Kawagoe 2005: 8. For a useful bibliography, see Vostrikov 1970: 205, VDK 2009: 53–54, n. 108.

20 In VDK 2009: 85, the wrong number 49 is given.

21 Cf. VDK 2009: 85.

22 Cf. *Zhonghua Dazangjing* 中華大藏經, *bKa' 'gyur*, Krung go'i Bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, Beijing, 2008, vol. 105, pp. 444.16–449.7.

23 Cf. *Nyorai Daizōkyō Sōmoku* 如来大藏經總目錄, in the *Shōwa Hōbō Sōmoku* 昭和法寶總目錄, vol. I, p. 1049.

24 As said above, the 1692 Edition is preserved in the Yenching Library of Harvard University, but for the moment the library is closed because of COVID-19. However, I suppose that the number is certainly 45 as 1684 or 1700 edition.

25 Cf. Otani reprint vol. 151, *bKa' 'gyur dkar chag*, fol. 13a5–14b1.



1718/20 Otani reprint catalogue <sup>26</sup>	49
1737 Peking edition <i>dkar chag</i>	not checked <sup>27</sup>

The number of sūtras included in the *dKon brtsegs* (*Ratnakūṭa*) section is generally given as 49. It is therefore strange that the Peking editions from 1684 through 1700 have only 45. The four missing sūtras are the following (references according to the Otani reprint):

[1] No. 7: dKon brtsegs *dzi* 80a6–158a1: *'Phags pa Go cha'i bkod pa bstan pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo* (*Ārya-Varṇavyūha-nirdeśa-nāma-mahāyāna-sūtra*)

[2] No.11: dKon brtsegs *dzi* 218b2–281b: *'Phags pa 'Od zer kun tu bkye ba bstan pa zhes bya ba ...* (*Ārya-Raśmi-samantamukho-nirdeśa-nāma- ...*)

[3] No. 20: dKon brtsegs *ži* 333b3–350a6: *'Phags pa Glog thob kyis zhus pa zhes bya ba ...* (*Ārya-Vidyutprāpta-paripṛcchā-nāma- ...*)

[4] No. 39: dKon brtsegs *'i* 50b6–73b7: *'Phags pa Tshong dpon bzang skyong thob gis zhus pa zhes bya ba ...* (*Ārya-Bhadrapāla-śreṣṭi-paripṛcchā-nāma- ...*).

Sakai (1944a: 52) and Imaeda (1997: 30) insist that there are two missing texts ([3] and [4]), while Sakurabe (1930: 143, 1930a: 174) says that there are three missing texts ([1]–[3]). But, in fact, four texts are missing, as is shown above.

The titles of three missing texts from the *dKon brtsegs* section (numbers 1–3 on the list above) have been written in the margin of the 1718/20 Ulan Bator version, but it is unclear who wrote them or when they were written. The fourth missing text is not mentioned in the margin. Thus, the Ulan Bator version and the sKu 'bum version generally agree with the Otani reprint, but there are differences in minor details.

26 Cf. Otani reprint vols. 22–24, No. 760, (1)–(49).

27 Before it was very easy to consult Tibetan documents in Bibliothèque Nationale. Now it is a little bit complicated. For example, bKa' 'gyur of 1737 edition is no more in Paris. It is displaced in a storage in suburbs, and it is a little bit complicated to consult it. However, I suppose that the number is certainly 49 as 1718/20 edition.

### Stage 1737

A text entitled *gNyis su med pa mnyam pa nyid rnam par rgyal ba zhes bya ba'i rtog pa'i rgyal po chen po* was found in a Peking edition in Wutai-shan by Sakai, who remarked that it was extremely important because it has a colophon dated 1737 (1944a: 52). This means that the compilation of the whole edition was not completed before 1737. Later, Imaeda (1997: 30–31) recognized this text in the Peking Kangyur preserved in Bibliothèque Nationale (BN) in Paris and showed that, because of this text, the BN Kangyur is the 1737 edition. *gNyis su med pa mnyam pa nyid rnam par rgyal ba zhes bya ba'i rtog pa'i rgyal po chen po* is located at *rgyud cha* 1–42b8 in the BN 1737 edition. The same text is found in the Otani reprint of 1718/20 edition (vol. 3, No. 87, *rgyud cha* 1–42b8). The folio numbers appear to be the same. However, in the Otani reprint, the colophon ends by mentioning that Bu ston rin chen grub (1290–1364) was the translator, while in the BN edition, a colophon in smaller characters, dated 1737, was appended to the original colophon. The new colophon states that the text had been revised by mGon po skyabs. This colophon is the decisive element in distinguishing a stage 1737.

Thus, we have reconfirmed the five stages of the Peking editions of Kangyur, namely 1684, 1692, 1700, 1718/20, and 1737. There are certainly similar problems concerning other editions as well because the Tibetan Canon is never closed and is continuing to develop. However, in order to clarify and solve all these problems, it is absolutely indispensable for all editions and all versions to be at our disposal. This used to be difficult, but now, thanks to developments in producing electronic texts and disseminating facsimiles, it is not impossible. I eagerly await the day when all versions of the Tibetan Canon will be available.<sup>28</sup>

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28 I would like to thank Robert Kritzer Professor Emeritus, Kyoto Notre Dame University, for helping to improve my English.

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## De'u dmar dge bshes' Knowledge of Basic Color Materials

Shunzo Onoda  
(Bukkyo University, Kyoto)

Among Tibetan monastic curricula on epistemological theory, one of the most basic topics of training is called “shapes and colors” (*dbyibs dang kha dog*), which refers to the elements or aspects of existence. Monks study this topic at the beginner level while learning to differentiate between everyday mundane discourse and theoretical argumentation. Although Indian in origin, this topic began to include Tibetan interpretations starting from the 12th century. Within this topic of “shapes and colors,” “colors” (*kha dog*) indicate the concept of color without reproducing it in one’s mind. Colors are classified into two categories: basic colors—*rtsa ba’i kha dog bzhi* (*sngo*: blue; *ser*: yellow; *dkar*: white; *dmar*: red)<sup>1</sup>—and branch colors.<sup>2</sup> Another explanation claims that colors are reproduced in the mind. In this case, designations for colors and materials for colors are combined. The techniques for actually reproducing the colors, utilizing the color materials, and the explanation of how the colors are intimately related become later generally known as the concept of “paternal and maternal colors.” There are seven paternal colors: azurite (*mthing*, 群青), malachite (*spang*, 綠青), cinnabar (*mtshal*, 朱), minium (*li khri*, 黃丹), lac dye (*skag*, 臘脂), orpiment (*ba bla*, 雌黃), and indigo (*rams*, 藍). The maternal color is white (*ka rag*, 白亞). Together with the paternal color, the maternal color gives birth to a child, or branch colors.

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1 There were traditions that added black as one of the basic colors. For example, Bo dong paṅ chen Phyogs las rnam rgyal (1375–1451) says that basic colors (*rtsa ba’i mdog*) contain five colors: *dkar* (white), *dmar* (red), *sngo* (blue), *ser* (yellow), and *nag* (black); see Bo dong paṅ chen Phyogs las rnam rgyal, *mKhas pa ’jug pa’i bzo rig sku gsung thugs kyi rten bzhengs tshul bshad pa*, pp. 255.5–256.1.

2 See Onoda 1992: 118.

It should be noted that the later tradition was aware of the materials used to make these colors. Each of the paternal and maternal colors were referred to by the materials used, not by the actual color itself. However, eventually the names of the colors were mixed up in common usage. For instance, the term *ka rag* (or *ka rag po*) denotes the material of earth-white (or chalk). This term is used interchangeably with the term *dkar po* (white), which was probably derived from *ka rag po*.<sup>3</sup> Nagano Yasuhiko explains the concept of colors and their usage among the Tibetans, noting that his informants did not clearly distinguish between the names of colors and their materials.<sup>4</sup>

Chemical analysis of samples from color materials have been conducted and published in *Studies in Conservation* by Rāhula Sāṅkr̥tyāyana (1937), John C. Huntington (1970), and V. R. Mehra (1970). Morita Yasuyuki (1983) wrote an interesting paper documenting his attempt to analyze color materials using x-rays and microscopic tests for moisture on Tibetan thangka paintings held at the National Museum of Ethnology (Osaka).

In addition to the research those scholars have done on conservation, David Jackson has produced an original study of traditional manuals for Tibetan painters, which considers the point of view of the artist. His book *Tibetan Thangka Painting: Methods & Materials* from 1982 was a pioneering work on this topic. Dr. Jackson gave excellent explanations of traditional methods and the material of colors used by artists based on quotes from Bo dong paṅ chen Phyogs las rnam rgyal (1375–1451), Sum pa mkhan po Ye shes dpal 'byor (1704–1788), and Mi pham rgya mtsho (1846–1912). Luo Bingfeng has also contributed to our knowledge of Tibetan color materials with her valuable Chinese translation (1997) of De'u dmar dge bshes bsTan 'dzin phun tshogs' art theory, the *Kun gsal tshon gyi las rim* (This book was republished in 2005 with the original Tibetan text).

De'u dmar dge bshes bsTan 'dzin phun tshogs was born in Khams at gSer dga' (or gSer khar) in the northwest area of Go 'jo in the first half of the 1700s (1725 or 1727).<sup>5</sup> He was from the Bi ji family that was famous

3 Nagano 1980: 414 suggest *dkar* (tin, 錫) as its origin.

4 See Nagano 1980: 432.

5 For his personal history, see *gSo rig gces btus rin chen phren ba*, pp. 6.1–8.21; David



for its lineage of great doctors. His father was the noted doctor rDo rje bkra shis. De'u dmar dge bshes became a great scholar of wide learning with expertise that included medicine and pharmacognosy, which was based on his extensive knowledge of herbs, animals, and minerals.

He entered the Buddhist priesthood at the age of twelve and began his training under Bla ma Śākya lha dbang at rDzi dgar monastery. He studied drawing from that same master. One of his teachers in medicine was Nam mkha'i mtshan can (i.e., dBu ru Nam mkha' rgyal mtshan), the author of the famous medical text *bShad pa'i rgyud kyi sbyor ba sman gyi 'grel pa/ 'bru 'grel mun sel sgron me sman ngos 'dzin pa'i zab chen drang srong dgyes pa'i snying thig*.

His principal teachers were Karma bstan 'phel and Kun dga' bstan 'dzin (Khams sprul, 1680–1728). He also went to central Tibet and trained in basic Buddhist studies at Se ra monastery of the dGe lugs pa school. Afterwards, he learned astronomy at Tshul phu monastery of the Karma pa school until he returned to his homeland, where he made his celebrated career as a medical doctor. He later became famous not only in his homeland but also in the areas of Yunnan. After his teacher Kun dga' bstan 'dzin died, he went on pilgrimage to India where he prayed for the rebirth of his master and stayed there in order to study medicine. Having returned to Tibet, he traveled in the northern nomadic district of gNam mtsho as a wandering doctor, helping many patients. He also wrote a large number of medical manuals during that time.

Near his birthplace, he managed a small hermitage temple called De'u dmar Zab rgyas chos gling, which later became a small monastery

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Jackson 1996: 45. There is still no established theory regarding the dates of De'u dmar dge bshes. Krang dbyi sun et al. 2012: 1293 and Dung dkar Blo bzang 'phrin las 2002: 1107 wrote that he was born in 1725 (*rab 'byung gnyis pa'i shing mo'i lo*). Byams pa phrin las 2000: 381–385 agrees with Krang dbyi sun et al. and Dung dkar and adds that one of De'u dmar's pupils was Si tu pañ chen Chos kyi 'byung gnas (1700–1774). According to him, we might move his date to one sixty-year cycle before. Another point is that his principal teachers were Karma bstan 'phel (1569–1637) and Kun dga' bstan 'dzin. This point is commonly accepted by Dung dkar Blo bzang 'phrin las 2002: 1107, Byams pa phrin las 2000: 381, and within the *rTsom pa po ngo sprod mdor bsdu*s in De'u dmar bsTan 'dzin phun tshogs 2007, vol. 1: 1, and also by David Jackson 1996: 45. But it is also well known that Karma bstan 'phel was ordained by the tenth Karma pa (1556–1602). Karma bstan 'phel was thus not De'u dmar's teacher. De'u dmar was probably born sometime during 1680 to 1700.

called mKho khyim dgon pa. Among his most outstanding students of medicine were Si tu pañ chen Chos kyi 'byung gnas (1700–1774), Kham sprul bsTan 'dzin chos kyi nyi ma, and the famous artist rDza stod lHa chen pa Dharma manggalam (Chos bkra shis).

dGa' ba'i rdo rje introduces the following eight texts of De'u dmar dge bshes as important phytological texts.<sup>6</sup>

- 1) *Lag len gces bsdus sman kun bcud du sgrub pa'i las kyi cho ga kun gsal snang mdzod*
- 2) *gZo rig skor gyi ming tshig nyer mkho'i don gsal*
- 3) *sNa tshogs man ngag nyer lnga brgya rtsa 'chi med bdud rtsi shel dkar phreng ba mkhas mang yongs kyi mgul rgyan*
- 4) *Rig pa bzo'i gnas kyi las tshogs phran tsheg [= tshogs] 'dod dgur bsgyur ba'i pra phab 'od kyi snang brnyan bi shwa ngal bso*
- 5) *Zhu rjes gsum gyi ngo sprod gsal ston me long*
- 6) *sMan gyi ro nus zhu rjes sbyar thabs kyi rdel 'grel rgyud don rab gsal*
- 7) *Bi sha bcod pa'i man ngag tsinta ma ni*
- 8) *bDud nad gzhom pa'i gnyen po rtsi sman gyi nus pa rkyang bshad gsal ston dri med shel gong*

He also wrote art manuals at De'u dmar Zab rgyas chos gling. We have David Jackson's information of two significant manuals:<sup>7</sup>

- 9) *Kun gsal tshon gyi las rim me tog mdangs ster 'ja' 'od 'bum byin*
- 10) *Rab gnas kyi rgyas bshad 'jam mgon dgyes pa'i bzhad gad phun tshogs bkra shis cha brgyad*

What he categorized as basic color materials are described in chapter one to chapter three of his art manual, the *Kun gsal tshon gyi las rim*. His knowledge of taxonomical classification is apparent in the descriptions of chapter one. He classified color materials from the viewpoint of the substances' origins: earth origin (*sa tshon*), rock origin (*rdo tshon*), water origin (*chu tshon*), fire origin (*me tshon*), tree origin (*shing tshon*), grass origin (*ldum tshon*), flower origin (*me tog tshon*), bone origin (*rus tshon*), and jewel origin (*rin chen tshon*). In his art manual, he states:

<sup>6</sup> GBDJ, p. 397. list nos. 11–18.

<sup>7</sup> Jackson 1996: 45.

*dang po mtshon gyi rgyu bstan pa// sa rdo chu me shing ldum dang// me tog rus pa rin po che// rigs dgur 'dus tshang [...]*// (MS<sub>1</sub>, p. 2.8; MS<sub>2</sub>, p. 5.3).

First, the materials of the colors are shown: earth, rock, water, fire, tree, grass, flower, bone and jewel. They can be classified in these nine categories.

De'u dmar dge bshes listed sample materials of the nine color classifications as follows (MS<sub>1</sub>, pp. 2.10–3.6; MS<sub>2</sub>, pp. 5.4–6.4):

### Earth origin

*lho bun ka rag sra ne dang// bab la sdong rol mu ljang btsag// tshon ram lcags ram sa tshon yin//*

Trona (natural soda),<sup>8</sup> chalk<sup>9</sup> moissanite (silicon carbide)<sup>10</sup>, orpiment (yellow arsenious anhydride), considered as female,<sup>11</sup> realgar, considered as male, the alter-gender of orpiment<sup>12</sup> green lapis lazuli,<sup>13</sup> red ocher,<sup>14</sup> lazulite, schorl, and so forth are color materials of earth origin.

8 *lho bun* = *lho'i bul tog* (*bul tog* of south area); for *bul tog*, see GBDJ, p. 90; *rGyud bzhi*, p. 196 (6); a kind of earth medicine (trona).

9 *ka rag*: also called *kar*; basically Calcium carbonate (chalk); classified into male (*pho kar*, 雄白土) and female (*mo kar*, 雌白土); see Jackson and Jackson 1984: 82–83 and also GBDJ, p. 65; *rdo thal* (limestone, 石灰岩).

10 *sra ne*: Luo Bingfeng 1997: 40 translates *sra ne* as 金刚土 (moissanite), which can be identified as “silicon carbide.”

11 *ba bla*: classified as female arsenic; auripigmentum (orpiment); trisulfide of arsenic that shows intense yellow; see Jackson and Jackson 1984: 81–82; GBDJ, p. 70; *rGyud bzhi*, p. 192 (112).

12 *sdong ros* (*ldong ros* or *ldong rol*, 鸡冠石, realgar) is classified as male arsenic; see Jackson and Jackson 1984: 81–82; GBDJ, p. 67; *rGyud bzhi*, p. 192 (111).

13 *mu ljang*: Luo Bingfeng 1997: 40, 138 identifies *mu ljang* (绿色青金石) as green lapis lazuli; on *mu men* (青金石), see GBDJ, p. 33; *rGyud bzhi*, p. 190 (62).

14 *btsag* (辩柄): also called 赤石脂 or 红; laberitum (red ocher); chemically, red ocher is identical to yellow ocher except that the red lacks the hydrous content of the yellow; the name *btsag* (辩柄) is derived from the district where it is produced (i.e., Bengal); see Jackson and Jackson 1984: 82; GBDJ, p. 74; *rGyud bzhi*, p. 192 (122).

## Rock origin

*so brag lha zho ra ga dang// lhang 'tsher mthing spang mtshal mdun  
rtse// sbal rgyab smug yugs rdo tshon yin//*

“Teeth rock,”<sup>15</sup> anhydrite,<sup>16</sup> copper pyrite,<sup>17</sup> mica,<sup>18</sup> azurite,<sup>19</sup> malachite,<sup>20</sup> cinnabar,<sup>21</sup> amethyst,<sup>22</sup> hematite (septarium),<sup>23</sup> lavender jade,<sup>24</sup> and so forth are color materials of rock origin.

## Water origin

*li khri sindhu ra mthing ram// chu yi tshon yin bla mas gsungs//*

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- 15 *so phag*: Luo Bingfeng 1997: 41, 149 translates *so phag* literally as 齿状岩.
- 16 *lha zho*: also known as *gangs thigs* (anhydrite, 高山风化石膏). When dissolved in water, it appears like yogurt (*zho*), thus it is called “gods’ yogurt”; see GBDJ, p. 56 (left column, line 22–25): *chur 'dul na chu dang mi 'dres pa/ bsreg nas chur sbyangs na zho ltar 'gro bas ming lha zho dang dkar po rdo mchog zer ba [...]*.
- 17 *ra ga*: interpreted as *ra gan* (also spelled *rag* in the section on jewel-origin material); *ra gan* (aurichalcum, brass, 黄铜) is also classified into *pho rag* (male brass) and *mo rag* (female brass); see GBDJ, p. 48.
- 18 *lhang 'tsher*: muscovitum (mica); black mica (biotite) is called *lhang tsher nag po*; see GBDJ, p. 83 (right 1).
- 19 *mthing* (*rdo mthing*, 蓝铜矿, azurite) blue basic copper carbonate. The particle size correspond to its color values: the smallest granulated azurite is the lightest in color and is known as *sngo si*; the next, sky-blue as *sngo sang*; the third, medium blue as *mthing shul*; the coarsest, deep azure as *mthing 'bru*; see Jackson and Jackson 1984: 75; GBDJ, p. 62 (left 32); *rGyud bzhi*, p. 228 (18).
- 20 *spang* (*rdo spang*, 孔雀石, malachite) green basic copper carbonate; malachite, like azurite, shows four value gradations of its color: from the lightest *spang si* (white green) to lighter *spang skya* (light verdigris), *spang* (standard verdigris), and the darkest *mthing smug* (dark verdigris); see Jackson and Jackson 1984: 78; GBDJ, p. 68 (left 27); *rGyud bzhi*, p. 228 (17).
- 21 *mtshal*: natural mercury sulfide (vermilion, 银朱); see Jackson and Jackson 1984: 80–81; GBDJ, p. 75; *rGyud bzhi*, p. 191 (98).
- 22 *mdun rste*: also called *smug po chig thub* (goethite, goethitum, 针铁矿); see GBDJ, p. 73; *rGyud bzhi*, p. 190 (75).
- 23 *sbal rgyab*: classified into *smug po sbal rgyab* (purple hematite, hematitum, 紫龟甲石) and *dkar po sbal rgyab* (white hematite, 白龟甲石); see GBDJ, pp. 74 and 54, respectively. The former is divided into male hematite (*pho sbal*) and female hematite: (*mo sbal*).
- 24 *smug yugs* (lavender jade, 紫玉石) is also considered as concretionary hematite (结核状赤铁矿); see GBDJ, p. 77.

Minium,<sup>25</sup> “sindhura,”<sup>26</sup> azurite, and so forth are said also to be color materials of water origin by my master.

### Fire origin

*snag tsha bab sdong dud pa gsum// me las byung phyir me tshon zer//*  
Soot atramentum,<sup>27</sup> male and female arsenic, paste of smoke soot;<sup>28</sup> these three colored materials are of fire origin because they are created by fire.

### Tree origin

*dmar shing gser shing sra shing gsum// rgya skyegs tshon ram shing tshon yin//*  
Rosewood (red sandalwood), Indian gooseberry (āmla), “lit. hardwood”; these three<sup>29</sup> as well as lac dye<sup>30</sup> and indigo<sup>31</sup>, and so forth are color materials of tree origin.

### Grass origin

*skyes bu shing dang khrag rkang pa// rgya sne rnam ni ldum gyis tshon//*

25 *li khri* (minimum, 铅丹) is a synthetic tetraoxide of lead; see Jackson and Jackson 1984: 81; GBDJ, p. 78.

26 Tibetan *li khri* and Sanskrit *sindhura* are synonyms, but many Tibetan writers distinguish them. *Sindhura*, formed on lake shores and in rock cavities, is explained as a little darker than *li khri*; see Jackson and Jackson 1984: 81. In the medical tradition, it is called 禹余粮 (cloy-iron-ore) as an earth medicine; see *rGyud bzhi*, p. 196.2.

27 *snag tsha*: general name for black ink (soot atramentum); carbonaceous material made from burned larch or birch. For a further description of the process of making ink from soot and glue by Mi pham rgya mtsho (1846–1912), see Jackson and Jackson 1984: 89.

28 *dud pa* = *dud dreg* (烟膏); a paste made of soot and black ash, also called 五行丹; see GBDJ, p. 124.

29 Details of these three kinds of wood are unknown; *dmar shing* might be rosewood (紫檀) or red sandalwood; *gser shing* can be a synonym of *skyu ru ra* (Indian gooseberry, amla, 余甘子楂); see GBDJ, p. 116.

30 *rgya skyeg* = *rgya tshos*; lac dye is a red dyestuff produced from resin secreted by tiny lac insects (laccifer lacca); see Jackson and Jackson 1984: 114; GBDJ, p. 123.

31 *tshon ram*: or simply *ram* (sometimes *rams*, indigo); it is a dark blue dyestuff obtained from the plant *indigofera*; see Jackson and Jackson 1984: 112–113; GBDJ, p. 77.

Evening primrose, malabar nut plant (*Adhatoda vasica* Nees),<sup>32</sup> *tampala*,<sup>33</sup> and so forth are color materials of grass origin.

### Flower origin

*gur gum gro ga utpala ser// shang dril la sogs me tog mangs//*  
Tibetan red flower,<sup>34</sup> birch,<sup>35</sup> poppy,<sup>36</sup> primrose,<sup>37</sup> and so forth are color materials of flower origin.

### Bone origin

*dung dang 'brug rus rus pa'i tshon//*  
Conch shell,<sup>38</sup> "lit. dragon bone" (fossil bone), and so forth are color materials of bone origin.

### Jewel origin

*gser dngul zangs rag gser 'gyur gsha' [MS2: sha]// dngul chu dang ni sa  
rtsi rnams// rin po che'i tshon yin no//*

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32 *khrag rkang pa* is also known as *ba sha ka*, which is the malabar nut plant (*adhatoda vasica* nees, 鸭嘴花草); see GBDJ, p. 141; *rGyud bzhi*, p. 206 (60–61).

33 *rgya sne* is *tampala* (*amaranthus caudatus*, 叶鸡头); see GBDJ, p. 226.

34 *gur gum*: a kind of saffron; also called Tibetan red flower (*crocus sativus*, 藏红花); see GBDJ, p. 100; *rGyud bzhi*, p. 197 (37).

35 *gro ga*: birch; its ash is used for medicine; see *rGyud bzhi*, p. 236 (76).

36 *utpala* is poppy (芥子); GBDJ, p. 321 indicates three kinds: *utpala*, *utpala dmar po*, and *utpala ser po*; see *rGyud bzhi*, p. 194 (44) four illustrations.

37 *shang dril* is a kind of plant: himalayan cowslip (*primula sikkimensis*); see GBDJ, p. 297; there are such variations as *shang dril dmar po*, *shang dril smug chen*, and *shang dril smug chung*.

38 *dung*: one of various kinds of sea snails and often meaning *gzi dung* (conch). Depending on the hue, it may be called *dung dmar* (red conch) or *dung dkar* (white conch); see GBDJ, p. 21.

Gold,<sup>39</sup> silver,<sup>40</sup> bronze,<sup>41</sup> brass,<sup>42</sup> tin,<sup>43</sup> mercury,<sup>44</sup> verdigris,<sup>45</sup> and so forth are color materials of jewel origin.

De'u dmar dge bshes regarded some of the above materials as basic color materials with which any desired colors can be obtained by combining them (MS<sub>1</sub>, p. 3.6–11; MS<sub>2</sub>, pp. 6.4–7.1):

*gnyis pa tshon gyi grangs bshad pa// rtsa ba yan lag gnyis [MS<sub>2</sub>: gnyis gnyis] yin te// rtsa ba dkar ser dmar sngo ljang// nag po dang ni drug yin te// 'di las ma sbyar mdog med kyang// rang byung ngur smrig li khri dang// smug po dang bcas brgyad yod ces// 'dod pa mang ba shes par mdzod// yan lag bye brag mang ba rnams// 'khrul 'khor sdeb pa 'og tu gsal//*

Let me explain the color classification, which can be divided into two groups: root color and branch color. The root colors consist of six: white, yellow, red, blue, green, and black. Although there is no color that cannot be produced by compounding them, [in addition to these six] it is also said that minium and maroon that show naturally brownish hue are counted in to make up eight root colors altogether. It is known, by compounding them, more of desired colors can be produced. The methods of compounding are explained later.

In the third chapter of the *Kun gsal tshon gyi las rim*, De'u dmar dge bshes classifies basic color materials explained in the first chapter, regrouping them based on the categorization of eight root colors (MS<sub>1</sub>, pp. 3.11–4.8; MS<sub>2</sub>, pp. 7.2–8.2):

*lho bun ska rag sra ne dang// so brag dung dang lha zho dang// lhang tsher dngul zil ra ga rnams// dkar po'i mtshon rigs yin par bshad//*

Trona, chalk, moissanite (silicon carbide), “teeth rock,” conch shell,

39 *gser*: gold is used in the form of gold paint and the preparation is detailed in Jackson and Jackson 1984: 85–87, 102–103; see also GBDJ, p. 50; *rGyud bzhi*, p. 191 (91).

40 *dngul*: silver; see GBDJ, p. 40; *rGyud bzhi*, p. 191 (92).

41 *zangs*: bronze; see GBDJ, p. 47 (left 4); *rGyud bzhi*, p. 189 (33).

42 *rag*: see n. 16.

43 *gser 'gyur gsha' (gsha' dkar)*: tin; see GBDJ: p. 50; *rGyud bzhi*, p. 192 (110).

44 *dngul chu*: mercury; see GBDJ, p. 42; *rGyud bzhi*, p. 236 (67).

45 *sa rtsi*: is also spelled *sag rtsi*; otherwise, it is called *sa ram rtsi* and translated as “verdigris”; see Luo Bingfeng 1997: 41, 148; *rGyud bzhi*, p. 228 (15).

anhydrite, mica, actinolite,<sup>46</sup> copper pyrite, and so forth are white color materials.

*bab la sdong ros skyes bu shing// khrag rkang gser shing gur gum dang// utpala ser dang hu ljang dang// gro ga ghi (MS1: ghing) wangs (MS1: om.) ser po'i mtshon//*

Female and male arsenic, evening primrose, malabar nut plant (*Adhatoda vasica* Nees), Indian gooseberry / aamla, Tibetan red flower, poppy, “*hu ljang*,”<sup>47</sup> birch, bezoar,<sup>48</sup> and so forth are yellow color materials.

*mtshal rigs da chu lcog la ma (SRCT: mo)// lho mtshal shag mtshal phal mtshal dang// dmar shing rgya sne rgya skag rnams// dmar po'i rigs su bshad pa yin//*

Vermilion family—cinnabar,<sup>49</sup> and other mercury compounds: mercury vermilion, southern vermilion, sand vermilion, standard vermilion, etc (that are literal translations) — and rosewood or red sandalwood, tampala, lac dye, and so forth are red color materials.

*mthing dang ram rigs sra shing rnams// sngon po'i rigs su shes par bya//*  
Azurite, indigo, “lit. hardwood” are known as blue color materials.

*spang dang mu ljang ljang gu'i tshon//*

Malachite and green lapis lazuli are green color materials.

*me dreg sol rdo nag po'i rigs//*

Char<sup>50</sup> and coal belong to black color materials.

46 *dngul zil*: actinolite (阳起石) or selenite (玄精石) is a kind of rock, consisting of calcium, magnesium, and iron, mainly yielded in India. There is said to be an asbestiform variation (actinolite asbestius). See GBDJ, p. 57; *rGyud bzhi*, p. 191 (95).

47 *hu ljang* is unclear. Luo Bingfeng 1997: 150 interprets “hu” as the Chinese word 湖 (lake).

48 *ghi wangs*: bezoar. A calculus that is accumulated in the abdomen of animals. Calculi are used as antipyretic medicines. Depending on the species of animal, the color and formula of prescription vary; see *rGyud bzhi*, p. 197 (29–31). There is also a classification according to its colors. The *rGyud bzhi*, p. 240 (16–30) lists calculi with various colors as (detoxication) adjuvants. Luo Bingfeng 1997: 41, interpreting *gro ga ghi wangs* as one word, translates it as birch bark.

49 *da chu*: sometimes called *da chu* or *lcog la ma/mo* (cinnabar) is like mercuric sulfide, which has been synthesized ever since the earliest ages; see Jackson and Jackson 1984: 80; GBDJ, p. 58; *rGyud bzhi*, p. 237 (78).

50 *char*: by the general term *me dreg* it is divided into categories such as *phru dreg* (pan-bottom black), *slang dreg* (weed-soot black), and *dud dreg* (paste of smoke



*li khri sindhu ra ngur smrig//*  
minium, *sindhura* are orange.

*sbal rgyab mdung rtse smug zil dang// yugs rnams smug po'i rigs su*  
*bshad//*

Hematite, amethyst, purple ruddle, lavender jade, and so forth are maroon.

*rgya skyeg dang ni mar shing gnyis// dmar po'i nang nas smug por gtogs//*  
Lac dye and rosewood or red sandalwood, these two are considered to be somewhat maroonish among red colors.

Almost all color materials can be combined with each other. However, it is said that in some cases of color combination chemical reactions or imbalances in density occurs, which will lead to disappointing results.<sup>51</sup> Therefore, painters concerned with the theory of color compounds have carefully carried out the mixing of mineral materials.<sup>52</sup>

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soot); see GBDJ, p. 124.

51 For example, Mi pham rgya mtsho, *bZo gnas nyer mkho'i za ma tog*, p. 86.3–4 explains: *ljang gu dang ba bla 'dres na tshon rul ba ste mi legs/ gcig gi steng du gcig phog na yang nag por 'gro/ li khri mang po la mtshal nyung du btab kyang rul ba sogs shes par bya'o//*: "If orpiment and malachite are mixed together, the color will chemically change and become dull. Adding one to the other results in darkening and spoiling the color. [You should know that] even though a very little vermilion is mixed into a large amount of *minium*, a darkening chemical reaction occurs, and the color is spoiled."

52 See Jackson and Jackson 1984: 92. For De'u dmar dge bshes' theory of combining color materials, see Onoda 2002 and Onoda 2011.

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## **The *Gelung Molla*: A Preliminary Study**

Charles Ramble  
(EPHE – PSL, CRCAO, Paris)

### **Introduction: *The Mollas of Mustang***

In 1984, the year before he obtained his PhD, David Jackson published his first book. It was entitled *The Mollas of Mustang: Historical, Religious and Oratorical Traditions of the Nepalese-Tibetan Borderland*. The book (henceforth *Mollas*) was a reworking of his MA thesis, submitted to the University of Washington in 1979, with additional material that he had found in the intervening years. The current state of research on Mustang before the publication of this work is set out in the second chapter (pp. 13–21), which summarises the relevant work of Tucci, Snellgrove, Peissel, Fürer-Haimendorf and Gene Smith. The succinct outlines of the contribution of each of these writers to the emerging picture of this region are a stark reminder of just how little was known about it before David began his investigations. Six years earlier, in 1978, he had published an article in the Kathmandu-based journal *Kailash*, entitled “Notes of the History of Se-rib and Nearby Places in the Upper Kali Gandaki” (Jackson 1978), which concentrated particularly on the southern part of Mustang. Several decades have passed since these works were completed, and although our knowledge of Mustang’s history has grown thanks to the works of authors such as David’s former students Jowita Kramer and Jörg Heimbels, as well as of Ramesh Dhungel, Dieter Schuh (especially for the Muktinath Valley area), and Roberto Vitali,<sup>1</sup> *Mollas* and “Notes” have not been superseded, and I, for one,

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1 See the bibliography for references. To these works we may add the various publications that have appeared in the framework of two Franco-German projects, funded by France’s National Research Agency (ANR) and the German Research Council (DFG): *The Social History of Tibetan Societies, 17th–20th Centuries (SHTS)*, 2011–2016, and *Social Status in the Tibetan World (TibStat)*, 2016–2020.

find myself returning to them again and again as treasuries of information on the religious and political history of the region.

While *Mollas* was the first dedicated investigation of the ruling dynasty of Mustang, it was also a pioneering study of the eponymous Tibetan oral-literary genre. *Mollas* and their performances in other parts of the Tibetan-speaking world had been briefly mentioned by earlier authors such as Corneille Jest (1975: 369) for Dolpo and Barbara Aziz (1978: 168–169, 173–176) for Dingri, but *Mollas* was the first systematic study of not just one but several molla texts. This achievement is all the more significant in view of the fact that, in spite of the proliferation of publications in so many other fields of Tibetan Studies since then, the molla genre has received remarkably little attention.<sup>2</sup> For readers to whom the molla is an unfamiliar category, we could do little better than to cite David Jackson's characterisation of such works:

If Molla (*mol ba*) is a word whose basic sense is “to say, to speak,” in what way is this word proper as the title or designation of a historical source? The answer to this question makes much clearer the unusual position of the *Mollas* within Tibetan literature. The word *mol ba* does not signify speaking or talking in general, but refers in particular to public discourse or speech-making. The *Mollas* were the

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A list of the publications may be found on the website of these projects, [www.tibetanhistory.net](http://www.tibetanhistory.net). The research on which the present article is based was carried out within the second of these two projects. Facsimiles, edited transliterations and translations of documents from the Gelung archive that are cited in the present work may be consulted on the same website at <http://www.tibetanhistory.net/documents/mustang> under Geling part 1 and Geling part 2. The pronunciations “Geling” and “Gelung” are used interchangeably throughout Mustang (though the commonest written form seems to be dGer lung). While in other publications and in the classification of the documents of the community's archive I have favoured the rendering Geling, the present article will use the form Gelung for the sake of consistency with the spelling given in *Mollas*. Tentative as it may be, the translation of the molla proposed here owes much to a number of helpful suggestions made by Nyima Drandul and Bazhen Zeren, though all mistakes of course remain my own. I am indebted to Sras mo sKar bzang, Kun dga' bstan 'dzin and Shes rab bstan 'dzin of Gelung for patiently answering my questions about many obscure references in the text.

- 2 Two outstanding exceptions that deserve special mention are Berthe Jansen's unpublished Masters dissertation on wedding speeches from Dingri (Jansen 2010) and Christian Jahoda's study of speech-making traditions from the western Himalayas (Jahoda 2016).

written texts of speeches whose contents included historical information. This is a special, restricted sense of *mol ba*. In its wider sense, however, it signifies the giving of a discourse by a speaker, or it signifies the discourse itself. In general, the stem *mol* is used in Tibetan to form words meaning both reciprocal types of speech—such as back-and-forth discussion—and the one-way accounts given by a speaker to a listener or group of listeners. (*Mollas*: 23)

The last of the six texts from Mustang that form the focus of *Mollas* is a work that the author refers to as the “*Gelung Speech*,” about which he has the following to say:

The work differs markedly from the *Mollas* of Tsarang and Namgyal in its structure and contents. It was written to be recited at the village meeting house (*spyi khang*) of Gelung, and its recitation was actually witnessed by Peissel during his visit to Gelung in 1964... According to Peissel the original was written on a three-foot-long scroll, and it was recited by a “spokesman” as a part of a village celebration... At the time of his visit, he had a handwritten copy made, a photocopy of which I have been able to consult through the kind help of Professor R.A. Stein. The copy of the scroll made for Peissel was written rather hurriedly or carelessly in a cursive (*'khyug-yig*) script. It came to fill thirteen pages of a lined student’s notebook... [T]he *Gelung Speech* illustrates that more than one type of speechmaking were practiced in Lo. One may call it a *Molla* since it is a speech, and in fact the author refers to it as “*Molla*” within the work itself. Nevertheless, its radical difference in form and content from the other *Mollas* make it of little use for understanding the other traditions of speechmaking in Lo. And as a historical source, we need not discuss it any further for it contains no special details and the orientation of its historical accounts is different from that of the other *Mollas*. Whereas the other *Molla* histories are concerned with the genealogy of the Lo rulers, the *Gelung Speech* mainly relates, how certain customs and institutions were established in the local community. (*Mollas*: 30–31)

As our knowledge of the history and culture of Mustang slowly expands, it is only natural that we should look beyond the places, families and literary works that cluster at its core, and to turn to more peripheral

areas. If, as Jackson quite rightly remarks, the *Gelung Molla* is of little use for understanding other speech-making traditions in Mustang, and adds nothing to our knowledge of the region's history, it nevertheless deserves further investigation as a small part of the region's culture in its own right, and I would like to offer it here as a belated footnote to a landmark study by a generous and extraordinarily versatile scholar.

### The performance of the *Gelung Molla*

Gelung is a large settlement, now comprising forty-six major and eighteen minor households (respectively *grong pa* and *khaldura*)<sup>3</sup> in the modern-day district of Mustang, in Nepal. Once a part of the Kingdom of Lo (Glo bo), Gelung broke away from it in 1754, following the secession of the southern part of the realm (Glo bo smad) in the previous century (Schuh 1994: 85). The community has nevertheless always maintained close political and social connections with its northern and southern neighbours. The occasion on which Michel Peissel had witnessed the performance of the *Gelung Molla* while passing through on his northward route would have been the *mda' chang*, the spring archery festival. The author's description of the event, which is characteristically dramatic but entirely plausible, describes an alcohol-fuelled festival (an "orgy") of song and dance where the dominant figure was the Gemba (*rgan pa*), the headman, who was the main addressee of the recitation:

The Gemba was among the biggest men I had ever seen in the area. About forty years of age, his great face was wedged upon a frame over six feet high, and weighing no doubt 250 pounds. He now exhibited himself drunk, but no one smiled or laughed, because they feared him. He was cruel, rough, and intelligent... an evil man, a drunken brute; but with long hair crowning his rough features, he looked every bit as I would have expected the leader of an isolated village such as Geling to look. (Peissel 1967: 96)

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3 The origin of the term *khaldura* is uncertain. Elsewhere I have suggested that it may represent a Tibetan term such as *kha 'thor ba*, "scattered parts," since such households are generally established by younger brothers who do not wish to take part in a polyandrous marriage. However, *khaldura* traditionally have a lower economic and social status than *grong pa*, and we should not overlook the possibility of a derivation from the Nepali term *khal*, defined by Turner as "Low, base, mean, worthless" (Turner 1931).



This charming individual would have been a certain Mi 'gyur, who was the hereditary headman at the time of Peissel's visit. His name appears in only one document from the community archive, appropriately enough in a receipt from a Tibetan administrator acknowledging the return of a Japanese gun that Mi 'gyur had borrowed from him (Geling 169). Mi 'gyur's son was a rather gentler individual named 'Jigs med dbang rgyal, and it was while I was staying in his house in Gelung in 1993 that he generously gave me a copy of the molla.

The document consists of twelve sheets of Nepali *lokta* (*Daphne* sp.) paper, 25 cm high by 23 cm wide, folded in half along a horizontal axis and stitched with string along the crease. The paper is thin, and only one side of each of the resulting folios has been inscribed—in most cases, the *verso* side of the upper folio and *recto* side of the lower one. The first two folios each bear different titles, and the text begins on the third. There are altogether fifteen inscribed folios. The text is written in *dbu can*, apparently with a wooden stylus, covering six lines per page.

'Jigs med dbang rgyal briefly showed me another copy of the text, written in *dbu med*, and if we add to these the scroll that Peissel mentions, and the copy of it that he had made, it is clear that there are several versions of the molla in circulation. A proper study of the work would of course seek to obtain as many versions of it as possible. Peissel's copy is almost certainly contained in Rolf Stein's archives at the Maison de l'Asie in Paris. However, even if the limited space available to me now had permitted a comparison of this version with the one given me by 'Jigs med dbang rgyal, access to the former would be impossible owing to restrictions related to the Covid-19 pandemic in force at the time of writing. From the brief citations of this work that are given in *Mollas*, it is apparent that there are significant differences in orthography that also affect the meaning. Given the present limitations, however, this treatment must be taken for what its title advertises—emphatically, a preliminary study.

In Gelung, as throughout Mustang, there are three main seasonal festivals: the *mda' chang* archery festival in spring, the *dbyar ston* display of horsemanship in summer, and the New Year in winter. The set is popularly expressed as *pi dazhang / yar yartung / gün tshong-guk*, (*spyid mda' chang / dbyar dbyar ston / dgun tshong 'gug*); although the text

refers to the New Year ceremony by the more familiar Tibetan name *lo gsar*, the name that is usually used in Mustang for this occasion is *'tshong 'gug*, “bringing back the trade,” since it coincides with the end of the commercial expeditions in the Nepalese lowlands and India that many people of Mustang undertake after the autumn harvest. These are the three events in the year at which the *Gelung Molla* is recited. They are also the only occasions in the year when one of the community’s most sacred images, the mGon po dbu rtse that is mentioned below, is revealed to the public.<sup>4</sup>

### Structure of the *Gelung Molla*

The *Gelung Molla* is divided into a number of sections and subsections separated by the word—or a phrase containing the word—*mtshams*, “break,” perhaps inserted with the intention of advising the person reading the molla about where he should make pauses during his recitation.

1. The text opens with the setting of the scene in Gelung, and the purpose of performing the molla—to add an auspicious dimension to festivities, especially to beer-drinking—before going on to explain its origin. This is attributed to the cuckoo, whose call corresponds to the first molla recitation, after this bird has been invited to become the sovereign of all birds by three divine parakeets. This opening may well be inspired by the episode of the “conference of the birds” that appears in the second volume of the *gZi brjid* (vol. 2, 80–120); the Bon religion has been very influential in Gelung: several families in the community, including that of the headman himself, are followers of Bon.
2. The molla tradition is given a historical location in the time of the second king of Lo, A mgon bzang po, the son of A ma dpal. The main figures here are “the Three Excellent Ones” (bZang po gsum): Ngor chen Kun dga’ bzang po (1382–1486), A mgon bzang po (1420–1482) and a certain Zla ba bzang po. While this constellation of “Three bZang pos” appears in several different sources, its membership varies from one text to another. The possible identity of the third member, and the doubtful historicity of the trio itself, are discussed by

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4 On this image as one of a pair that were cast together, see Heimbel 2017: 303, n. 375.

Jörg Heimbel (2017: 330–331). Although I have found no sources to substantiate the claim, it is said that the ruler of Gelung was a natural son of one of the kings, usually identified as either A ma dpal or A mgon bzang po, who held the title of *sde pa*. Whatever its origin, the lineage continued in Gelung until the early 20th century, when the last *sde pa* was evicted by the community (Geling 153). The text does refer to “a member of A ma dpal’s line” (*gdung ’dzin*) who was commissioned to be the lord of Gelung, but it is not clear whether or not it identifies this figure with Zla ba bzang po.

3. Eulogies of different natural and sacred sites in Gelung.
4. A rather brief presentation of the different social categories that make up the community. This sort of exposition of the components of society are found in more elaborate form in the other works discussed in *Mollas*; it is also to be found in other performative genres such as the Gesar epic and some of the song-and-dance cycles that certain communities perpetuate as celebrations of their collective identity.<sup>5</sup>
5. The main achievements of each of the Three Excellent Ones: first, Ngor chen’s establishment of codes of practice for the monastic community; secondly, A mgon bzang po’s institution of the three main seasonal festivals (see above), and the organisation and training of the lay male population as a fighting force; and finally (although this is not certain), Zla ba bzang po’s creation of a calendar of monthly Buddhist rituals. Their respective legacies are followed by a collective decision concerning the civil administration of Gelung.
6. The concluding section seems to refer to the aspects of the organisation of the ceremonies at which the molla was performed, but both the general drift of this section and a number of details remain highly uncertain.

### Presentation of the text

The following presentation will be divided into three parts: transliteration, translation and notes. Not only does the text contain many heterodox spellings, but in a number of cases it has been necessary altogether to reinterpret certain syllables in order to arrive at a cogent meaning.

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5 For examples, see respectively FitzHerbert forthcoming and Ramble 2002.

In the absence of comparison with other versions, it is impossible to know just how different these existing versions are, and whether a comparison of the witnesses would make it possible to arrive at an edition resembling an archetype, assuming there ever was such an original literary text. (The version cited in *Mollas* suggests that there may have been.) Under the circumstances, the best that can be done is to standardise the orthography and to suggest alternative readings for terms that make little sense, with the emphatic caveat that many of these readings are no better than inspired guesswork. Rather than to corrupt the original text with hypothetical readings or to clutter it with footnotes, I have considered that the least unsatisfactory way of presenting it is to provide a line-by-line diplomatic transcription and to follow each line with an emended version, with “corrected” spellings and alternative readings for implausible forms. To avoid confusion, the original text is presented in italics. Contracted forms (*bskungs yig*) in the original are infrequent, but where they do occur, they are presented in a form approximating that in which they appear followed by an expanded version in parentheses, but retaining any orthographic peculiarities contained in the contraction; for example, *'khro* is expanded as (*'kha'gro*) rather than (*mkha'gro*). Text presented in braces {...} indicates an intentional deletion in the original. Text in square brackets [...] is absent in the original but added in the edited version in order to improve the reading. The symbol § represents any ornamental punctuation such as the *sbrul shad*. Z stands for the *che rtags*, the honorific symbol resembling the Tibetan figure 7.

The notes that follow the English rendering correspond to the superscript numbers in the translation, followed by the page and line number of the original text together with a brief lemma.

**Transliteration**

fol. 1r

*dger lung cham srid mo la / 'di nang dge'o /*  
*dger lung chab srid mo la / 'di nang dge'o /*

fol. 2r

*spe srol bzang po'i / mo li yi ge bzhugs so / dge'o*  
*dpe srol bzang po'i mol ba'i yi ge bzhugs so / dge'o /*

fol. 3r

1. *om swa ti / phu na lha gsnyan / bar na lo 'dabs / 'do na 'tshang chabs /*  
*om swa ti / phu na lha gnyan / bar na lo tog / mdo na gtsang chab /*
2. *gsar bskyid dger lung spyi khang nang bdu mo la gcig / 'phul / sngon*  
*bskal bzang po'i /*  
*sa skyid dger lung spyi khang nang du mo la gcig 'bul / sngon bskal*  
*bzang po'i*
3. *bdu su chang gis thog bdu ma la byod pa 'di ni / sngon sang rgyas bcom*  
*ldan 'das ma byon*  
*dus su chang gi thog tu mo la brjod pa 'di ni / sngon sangs rgyas bcom*  
*ldan 'das ma byon*
4. *dgong bdu yang yod do / bzas chang kun mkhyad par chang la mo la*  
*byed pa ni yod par*  
*gong du yang yod do / bzas chang kun khyad par chang la mo la byed*  
*pa ni yod par*
5. *sngon no / sngon mo la gang nas 'byung bzhes na / brten gis ne btso gser*  
*shog g.yu*  
*mngon no / sngon mo la gang nas byung zhe na / rten gyi ne tso gser*  
*shog g.yu*
6. *shog gdus shog gsum bkyes nas / khong gsum bya mi yis lus la mi yis gsem*  
*lha yi*  
*shog dung shog gsum skyes nas / khong gsum bya yi lus la mi yi sems*  
*lha yi*

fol. 4v

1. *blta ba thog pa'i ne btso seno / ne btso re gsum sam slo blta ba la / 'u rang*  
*ne btsus khung*

lta ba thob pa'i ne tso gsum mo / ne tso de gsum bsam blo btang ba la /  
'u rang ne tsos khungs

2. *brden grang pas / bya yi bgyal po gcig bske lug byed dgos gsam nas / bser  
brten*

ldang grung pas / bya yi rgyal po gcig sko lugs byed dgos bsam nas /  
gser rten

3. *bstang lha ru phyin nas / lha {ru} 'bran rnam la slong bzhu 'bran byas  
nas / btsan dmar lha*

steng lha ru phyin nas / lha bran rnams la slong zhu sbran byas nas /  
btsan dmar lha

4. *bzas bstong 1 snang / bdung de mi yul bskyid thang bdu / mi dbang 'dod  
pa dbu 'gyur gis*

zas stong 1 gnang / dung rten mi yul skyi thing du / mi dbang 'dod pa  
dgu 'gyur gyis

5. *btso mdzad pa'i mi phran rnam la slong bzhu'i bran byas nas / 'bras  
'khal bsrto gcig r nang /*

gtso mdzad pa'i mi phran rnams la slong zhu'i sbran byas nas / 'bras  
khal stong gcig gnang /

6. *'di nas mi yul gsum rgya drug bcu dkor nas / che zed bcung zed mang  
bzhing*

'di nas mi yul gsum brgya drug cu bskor nas / che tshad cung tshad  
mang zhing

fol. 5r

1. *dbu 'bran 'byung kyang / 'di nas yang bya rig so sor bdu bzhag nas zas  
dbu 'dren byung kyang / 'di nas yang bya rigs so sor bzhag nas zas*

2. *bskal so so bdu byin no / yang zas byin pa 'di la ngo med par 'dug te / mo  
la tshig*

skal so sor byin no / yang zas byin pa 'di la ngo med pa 'dug te / mo la  
tshig

3. *gsum 'phul pa'i spe rig mkhas pa'i bya gcig dgos par 'dug / bya {rig}  
phran rnam*

gsum 'bul ba'i dpe rigs mkhas pa'i bya gcig dgos par 'dug / bya phran  
rnams

4. *kyang spe rig kod par mdzod nas / 'o na nga la sgo po'i gyu dang sma ji  
gyas skyor 'jol*

kyang dpe rigs bkod par 'dzoms nas / 'o na nga la dgos pa'i rgyu ni /  
rma bya'i g.yas skor 'jol

5. *mi g.yon skyor dgos dge lag shing / shing mas lo thor cing shing lo lag bdu  
mkhyer*

mo'i g.yon skor dgos / dge legs shing / shing lo mas thod bcing shing lo  
lag tu 'khyer

6. *nas / bya rjes khu dbyug bdyal mus gsung bskad kur pa dang mo la byod  
pa bsten 'bral nas /*

nas / bya rje khu byug rgyal mos gsung skad 'gug pa dang mo la brjod  
pa rten 'brel

fol. 6v

1. *gcig bdu sngon no / tsham bzhu / gnyi ba mo la jod pa 'di ni / sngon bskal  
ba bzang*

gcig tu sngon no / mtshams zhu / gnyis pa / mo la brjod pa 'di ni /  
sngon bskal pa bzang

2. *po'i bdus su / § ngor chen kun kā bzang po Zrgyal po āng mgon bzang  
po /*

po'i dus su / § ngor chen kun dga' bzang po / Zrgyal po a mgon bzang  
po /

3. *ska lon zla ba bzang po / bzang po rnam gsum bdus su / dpon sngags a  
ma dpal gyis*

bka' blon zla ba bzang po / bzang po rnam gsum dus su / dpon mngags  
a ma dpal gyi

4. *bdung / 'di yis bdung 'dzin chos rgyal chen po'i chab 'og / slo po'i dbus  
su sa la*

gdung / 'di yi gdung 'dzin chos rgyal chen po'i chab 'og / glo bo'i dbus  
su sa la

5. *pad ma 'dabs bgyas kha phyed pa 'bra / rnam la 'khor lo tse bdyad / log  
la bkra shis bstag*

padma 'dab brgyad kha phye ba 'dra / gnam la 'khor lo rtsib brgyad /  
logs la bkra shis rtags

6. *bgyad / dge bcu 'dzom pa'i dger lung g.yang chag bdu / phu na lha gsnyan  
brgyad / dge bcu 'dzoms pa'i dger lung g.yang chags su / phu na lha  
gnyan*

fol. 7r

1. gang ris {dka} rab tu brjid pa / 'do na btsang chabs gsnyan po'i klu ru  
gangs ri rab tu brjid pa / mdo na gtsang chab snyan po'i glu
2. len pa / bar na ljon shing 'dzom po'i lu mas dkor pa / 'bru bcud rna tshog  
'dzoms  
len pa / bar na ljon shing 'dzoms po'i lu mas bskor ba / 'bru bcud sna  
tshogs 'dzoms
3. pa'i yul 'di ru / mo la gcig 'phul / btso ru dkon chog gsum po bzhe bya  
pa'i yul 'di ru / mo la gcig 'bul / gtso ru dkon mchog gsum po zhes bya
4. pa bzhug / mchos sku lung sku sprul sku 3 nang ltar na bla ma yi dam  
'khro ('kha' 'gro) / 3 /  
ba bzhugs / [phyi ltar na] chos sku longs sku sprul sku 3 / nang ltar bla  
ma yi dam mkha' 'gro 3 /
5. gsang pa ltar na tsa dang rlung thig le 3 / dgong pa la gnas pa'i dkon chogs  
gsums bzhes bya  
gsang ba ltar na rtsa dang rlung [dang] thig le 3 / gong pa la gnas pa'i  
dkon mchog gsum zhes bya
6. ba bzhug / de yis tsham nas dpal yies (ye shes) kyi mgon po dger lung dbu  
ltse mgon po bzhes bya ba bzhug /  
ba bzhugs / de yi mtshams nas dpal ye shes kyi mgon po dger lung dbu  
rtse mgon po zhes bya bzhugs /

fol. 8v

1. brag la 'gro na than pa chu la 'gro na bzam pa / gra sngam na gyabs res /  
nad mtshon mu dge  
brag la 'gro na them pa / chu la 'gro na zam pa / dgra rngam na rgyab  
res (or: skyabs re) / nad mtshon mu ge
2. bcod pa'i ral gri / lo phyug stag bdu lags pa / char chu bdus su 'bab pa /  
gcod pa'i ral gri / lo phyugs rtag tu legs pa / char chu dus su 'babs pa /
3. gzas nor gter pa'i nor bdag / tshes srog srid pa'i tshes lha / dger lung dbu  
zas nor ster ba'i nor bdag / tshe srog srid pa'i tshe lha / dger lung dbu
4. tse mgon po bzhe bya ba bzhug / de yis tsham nas bgyal po'i btsug lags  
khang phyi mis  
rtse mgon po zhes bya ba bzhugs / de yi mtshams nas / rgyal po'i gtsug  
lag khang 'chi mi
5. ya 'bran bson po'i bskyab nas zhu rgyu'i tsug lags khang bzhug / de yis  
tsham nas lte ba



yar'dren / gson po'i skyabs gnas zhu rgyu'i gtsug lag khang bzhugs / de  
yi mtshams nas / lte ba

6. *byang chub mchos bsten sa'i lte ba zhug / de yis tsham nas yul la gnas  
ba'i dpon*

byang chub mchod rten sa yi lte ba bzhugs / de yi mtshams nas / yul la  
gnas pa'i dpon /

fol. 9r

1. *dpon la gnas pa'i khar / mkhar la gnas pa'i tse lha / pho rgyud mdung  
dpon la gnas pa'i mkhar / mkhar la gnas pa'i rtse lha / pho rgyud mdung*

2. *mar mo rgyud lags ldan brgyal mo /mkhar gyis mgu lha 13 bzhes bya  
bzhug / de yis*

dmar / mo rgyud legs ldan rgyal mo / mkhar gyi mgur lha 13 zhes bya  
bzhugs / de yi

3. *tsham nas / yul gyis yul lha mdzod gyis nor lha / sa la gnas ba'i mkhyims  
gsam pa'i*

mtshams nas / yul gyi yul lha / mdzod kyi nor lha / sa la gnas pa'i  
khyim gsar pa'i

4. *klu mo dkar mo bzhe pa bzhug / de yis tsham nas / bla ma med pa'i  
dgong pa ru phag pa'i dge*

klu mo dkar mo zhes pa bzhugs / de yi mtshams nas / bla na med pa'i  
dgon pa ru 'phags pa'i dge

5. *'dun u mdzed gyis tso mdzad pa'i dge 'dun bzhug / de yis tsham nas mo  
dgon bkra*

'dun dbu mdzad kyis gtso mdzad pa'i dge 'dun bzhugs / de yi mtshams  
nas mo dgon bkra

6. *shis chos kling bzhug / de nas yin kyang / chos yod med ba / 3 / ba la la  
/ skyes pho med bar*

shis chos gling bzhugs / de nas yin kyang / chos yod med bar 3 la /  
skyes pho med bar

fol. 10v

1. *la la / 3 / kha rgan bzhon bar bdu / 3 / la bya pa yin pas / btso bo rgan  
pa med po skyong rgan grwa*

la 3 / kha rgan gzhon bar du 3 la bya ba yin pas / gtso bo rgan pa med po  
skyong mkhan dgra

2. 'dul rgan / mthun kyan thang gis bdag po bgya yis bgya dpon / bcu yis bcu  
'dul mkhan / mthun rkyen thang gi bdag po / brgya yi brgya dpon / bcu yi bcu
3. dpon gi tso mdzed pa'i smags rgyu lhan gyes bzhug / de nas mkhal ba gya yis lam pa  
dpon gi gtso mdzad pa'i dmag khyu lhan rgyas bzhugs / de nas khal ba brgya yi lam pa /
4. ma mo gya yis gtar mgo / a ma shon dgo ma bzhug / de nas yang gang la go ba spyi bdon ma mo brgya yi star 'go / a ma shon 'go ma bzhugs / de nas yang gang la 'go ba ci'i don /
5. dbang la sogs pa bum pas bdon / ngor chen kun kā bzang po / rgyal po dbang mgon  
dbang la sogs pa bum pa'i don / ngor chen kun dga' bzang po / rgyal po a mgon
6. bzang po bkwa blon zla ba bzang po / khong bzang po rnam gsum bzhal 'dzom thog nas  
bzang po / bka' blon zla ba bzang po / khong bzang po rnam gsum zhal 'dzoms thog nas

fol. 11r

1. ngor chen kun kā bzang po'i mdzed pa la / mgo bkra gris phog tshad nga yis  
ngor chen kun dga' bzang po'i mdzad pa la / mgo skra gris phog tshad nga yi
2. dbang dang po bkra ced / gnyis pa lus gyur / de nas ka slab jo klog tsugs bdus  
'bangs / dang po skra bcad / gnyis pa lus bsgyur / de nas bka' slob brjod klog 'tshugs dus /
3. slab nas yang mi tshed gra sa la phebs dgos / gang dkar po la sna thed sprin dkar po la  
bslabs nas yang mi tshe grwa sa la phebs dgos / gangs dkar po la sna gtad / sprin dkar po la
4. 'dzug thed / sa khyag sngas la bcug / do khyag bden la sting nas bskal ba spyed  
mdzug gtad / sa 'khyags gdan la bting / rdo 'khyags sngas la bcug

5. *nas phebs / thog ma bla ma 'jal pa'i 'jal dar / sa phral do phral / dbang lung phrig*

*nas phebs / thog ma bla ma mjal ba'i mjal dar / sa khral do khral / dbang lung khrid*

6. *bdung gya kling dbyangs rol mo bzhus nas / yang mi sgas yul bya sgas pa tshang rang yul*

*dung rgya gling dbyangs rol mo zhus nas / yang mi rgas yul bya rgas pa tshang rang yul*

fol. 12v

1. *la phebs nas / 'di nas lha ngo shes pa'i bdon du phen 'phul / dko gnyer bzin*

*la phebs nas / 'di nas lha ngo shes pa'i don du 'phan phul / dkon gnyer 'dzin*

2. *byas nas yang / gra mang la mang ja ma 'phul bar bdu btsun gral la mi chud gsung /*

*byas nas yang / grwa mang la mang ja ma phul bar du btsun gral la mi chud gsungs /*

3. *{rgyal pho dbang mgon bzang po'i mdzad pa 'di la / skyed bsag dar dkor tshed nga yin}*

4. *{pas 'di la yang} dbyar zla 4 ba sa la dbyar nas bston zla 9 ba mgon po'i bsung*

*dbyar zla 4 ba sa la dbyar gnas / ston zla 9 ba mgon po'i bsrung*

5. *kang 100 tsa re re dgun zla 10 ba sa la lha sde mi de 2 nas gags bar chod srung grug bcu ma rol bar*

*bskang 100 rtsa re re / dgun zla 10 ba sa la lha sde mi sde 2 nas bgegs bar chod srung / drug cu ma rol bar*

6. *bdu btsun bdu mi chud § rgyal po dbang mgon bzang po'i mdzad pa 'di la /*

*du btsun du mi chud § rgyal po a mgon bzang po'i mdzad pa 'di la /*

fol. 13r

1. *skyes bsag dar dkor tshed nga yis dbang yin pas 'di la yang / dbyar*

*sked sag thag bskor tshad nga yi 'bangs yin pas 'di la yang / dbyar*

2. *dbyar ltong / dgu lo sar / spyi mdwa chang dgos sung / yang 'di la lha chag pa la*

dbyar ston / dgun lo gsar / dpyi mda' chang dgos gsungs / yang 'di la  
lha chags pa la

3. *bstan / mi chag pa la bzas gcig dgos pa 'dug pas / bdus bskal ba 'di la  
rten / mi chags pa la zas gcig dgos pa 'dug pas / dus bskal pa 'di la*

4. *phyi gra gang nas yong pa mi shes gsung nas / mda' tse 'dung btse / rta  
gyug bang logs*

phyi dgra gang nas yong pa mi shes gsungs nas / mda' rtsed mdung  
rtsed / rta rgyug bang logs

5. *gis slob byong bgos gsung so / § yang kā blon zla pa bzang po'i mdzad  
jus la / khong a*

kyi slob sbyong dgos gsungs so / § yang bka' blon zla ba bzang po'i  
mdzad jus la / khong a

6. *jo gnyis 'di 'bras mdzad na nga yang tshe bgyad nyer lnga dgos gtor  
rnang ba 'dug pas*

jo gnyis 'di 'dra mdzad na nga yang tshes brgyad nyer lnga dgu gtor  
gnang ba 'dug pas

fol. 14v

1. *yang de nas yin kyang / sla dpon zhal 'dzom thog nas / sngon bu tsha 4  
la / dkor yang byas*

yang de nas yin kyang / bla dpon zhal 'dzom thog nas / sngon bu tsha 4  
la / skor yang byas /

2. *lags ring thung skyan byas nas / yang bu tsha 8 la dkor ra yang bya / yang  
de nas yin kyang*

lag ring thung rkyen byas nas / yang bu tsha 8 la skor ba yang bya / yang  
de nas yin kyang

3. *bzhal 'dzom thog nas dmang la bu tsha 6 la bskor nas / slong bzhu 'bras  
byas nas / de thog bdu*

zhal 'dzom thog nas dmangs la bu tsha 6 la bskor nas / slong zhu 'dren  
byas nas / de thog tu

4. *yin kyang / thog mar bdu yin kyang / so ja sga ba 'bras khal 8 / srum lug  
bzhi 4 / chang dza 37*

yin kyang / thog mar yin kyang /gsol ja dga' ba / 'bras khal 8 / skrum  
lug bzhi 4 / chang rdza 37

5. *de thog bdu yin kyang dgong mo sngon la phral 'dabs kyi bzhu phud / da  
do ring nas /*

de thog tu yin kyang dgong mo sngon la 'phral ttab kyi zhu phud / da  
de ring nas /

6. *phag pa'i sge 'dun injoo (a ni jo mo) / yul g.yong la long gzhu 'bras byas  
nas rwa ma rgya mo*

'phags pa'i dge 'dun a ni jo mo / yul yongs la slong zhu 'dren byas nas ra  
ma rgya mo

fol. 15r

1. *g.yo 'das gyab sa ru skye skye gis mi skur skur gi bdud gro la slong bzhus  
g.yo ldad rgyab sa ru kyer kyer gyi mi sgur sgur gyi 'dud 'gro la slong  
zhus /*

2. *de nas yin kyang / byang chog nas phag pa'i sge 'dun gyi 'gro la der skyid  
/ shar chog nas*

de nas yin kyang / byang phyogs nas 'phags pa'i dge 'dun gyi 'gro la bde  
skyid / shar phyogs nas

3. *a ma shon dgo mi glu phud / dbus chog nas dā do rim pa'i do glu sha bud  
/ lho smad nas a*

a ma shon 'go ma'i glu phud / dbus phyogs nas da do ram pas do glu sha  
'bud / lho smad nas a

4. *dbang bus bkra shis ga thon stong § chang la mo la med na bong bu chang  
thung ltar de la bgyas*

dbang bus bkra shis dga' ston gtong § chang la mo la med na bong bu  
chang 'thung ltar / de la rjes

5. *'dus med na dkar po lkug pa 'dra / bkra shis /*

mthud med na dkar po lkug pa 'dra / bkra shis /

## Translation

[fol. 1r] The following is a molla concerning the polity of Gelung. [fol. 2r] Here is the text of the molla, an excellent narrative tradition. [fol. 3r] *Om swasti*. We offer a molla in the community house of the pleasant land<sup>1</sup> of Gelung, with its awesome gods at the head of the valley, its harvest in the middle, and its river water in the valley floor. This recitation of the molla that is sometimes made to complement beer existed even before the coming of the Buddha. It is evident that a molla should be recited for food and beer, and especially for beer. So where did the molla first come from? Three parakeets were born: one with golden wings, one

with turquoise wings and one with wings of conch. All three were endowed with human minds in the bodies of birds, and [fol. 4v] and with god-like views—these were the three. The three parakeets thought: “Since we three parakeets are reliable and thoughtful, we should establish a tradition for the appointment of the king of the birds.” The Golden Support parakeet went to the gods on high and made a request to their servants, and the red *btsan* gave them a thousand items of divine food. In *Mi yul skyi thing*<sup>2</sup> the Conch Support parakeet made a request to the little people who were ruled by *Mi dbang 'Dod pa dbu 'gyur*,<sup>3</sup> and they gave him a thousand *khal* of rice. Then they circled around the 360 lands, and received [fol. 5r] an abundance of help, both large and small. They arranged the birds according to their kinds, and gave each its share of food. But because no benefit came of this food that they had given, they needed a bird that was adept in story-telling to offer a molla of a few words. The lesser birds assembled to compose a molla, and said, “Well, what we need to make this possible are the peacock’s right-hand circle and the nightingale’s<sup>4</sup> left-hand circle—these would be excellent!” They made head-dresses with the leaves of trees, and held leaves in their hands;<sup>5</sup> and this was the first auspicious occasion when the sovereign of the birds, the cuckoo, the queen, sang her song and recited a molla.

[fol. 6v] Second, as for this molla that we are reciting, in the brave days of old, during the time of the Three Excellent Ones—Ngor chen Kun dga' bzang po, King A mgon bzang po and the minister Zla ba bzang po—there was a member of A ma dpal's line who was commissioned to be our lord, and his successors were under the sway of the great king; here in the centre of the land of Glo bo, like an open eight-petalled lotus, with a sky like an eight-spoked wheel and the eight auspicious symbols on its cliffs [lit. sides]—here in Gelung, where the ten virtues are gathered and prosperity abides, at the head of the valley of the snow mountains, the awesome gods, rise in splendour, while down below the waters of the river sing a sweet melody, and between them [fol. 7r] is a coppice of trees, encircled by water-meadows; here in this land with its abundance of varied and nutritious grain, let us offer a molla! The ones known as the Three Precious Jewels take pride of place; [seen externally] they are the *dharmakāya*, the *saṃbhogakāya* and the

*nirmāṇakāya*; from an internal perspective they are the lama, the *yi dam* and the *ḍākinī*, and from a secret perspective they are the subtle channels, the psychic wind and the luminous drop. The Triple Gem that abides in the monastery is present. Next, the Glorious Wisdom Protector known as dBu rtse mgon po<sup>6</sup> of Gelung is present. [fol. 8v] If we go on the crags, be our step-ladder, and be a bridge if we go on the water; when our enemies rage at us, take our side and stand behind us [or: be our hope of refuge]; be a sword that cuts through illness, weapons and starvation; may our harvests and our cattle be ever plentiful, and may the timely rain fall. Be the lord of wealth who gives us food and prosperity, and the god of life through whom our life force comes into being: the one named dBu rtse mgon po of Gelung is present. Next, the royal chapel, which guides the dead upwards and offers a place of refuge for the living, is present. Next, the Stūpa of the Enlightenment, the navel of the earth, is present. Next, the lord who dwells in the land; [fol. 9r] the palace that belongs to the lord; the Divinity of the Peak who resides in the palace; [A bse] mdung dmar<sup>7</sup> who is in the row of male divinities, Legs ldan rgyal mo<sup>8</sup> in the row of female divinities, and the thirteen *mgur lha*<sup>9</sup> are present; next: the territorial gods of the land, the wealth-god of the treasury and Klu mo dkar mo of the new house who abides in the earth—these are present. Next, the monastic community of the unsurpassed monastery, who are led by their chant-master, are present; the convent of bKra shis chos gling<sup>10</sup> is present.

Those who are possessed of the dharma, those who are without it, and those who have it in some measure; men, women and people who are neither one nor the other; [fol. 10v] the elderly, the young and those in middle age; but above all the elderly and the have-nots: the warrior force that protects all these and subdues our enemies, and who are led by the Master of mThun rkyen thang,<sup>11</sup> the centurions who command a hundred men and the sergeants who command ten—the warrior force<sup>12</sup> is present. The bellwether of a hundred rams; the ewe at the head of a flock of a hundred in the milking row, and the lady who leads the mothers in the *shon* dance<sup>13</sup>—these are present. And then those things that are the most important for their respective purposes: initiations and suchlike are the purpose of the vase. Ngor chen Kun dga' bzang po, King A mgon bzang po, and the minister Zla ba bzang po—these three held a council and decided the following things.

[fol. 11r] Ngor chen Kung dga' bzang po's deeds were thus, [and he said]: All those to whose heads the razor has been applied shall be my subjects. First, each should shave his hair, and secondly "transform his body" [by donning monkish robes]; then he should begin receiving teaching and reading aloud, and when he has undergone [some] study, as a lifelong monk he should make his way to a monastery; he should turn his face towards the white snow mountains, and point his finger towards the white clouds; [on his journey] the frozen earth shall be his bed and the icy rocks his pillow.<sup>14</sup> [On arriving,] first, he should offer the lama a greeting-scarf, and pay the taxes of the land and on the goods he is carrying; he should receive initiations, authorisations and explanations, and instructions in the conch, the shawm, in the melodies of the chants and in the cymbals. And just as an old man returns to his village and an ageing bird to its nest, [fol. 12v] he should return home, and make an offering of a silken hanging so that the gods will recognise him. However, not until he has held office as the monastery's caretaker, and made a ceremonial offering of mass tea to all the monks, may he take his place in their seating row. He shall take part in the summer retreat in the fourth month; in the autumn, in the ninth month, he shall perform the expiation rite of the protectors a hundred times for mGon po [i.e., dBu rtse mgon po?], and in winter, in the tenth month, he should do the sixty-fold ritual for the protection of the monastic and lay communities from obstacles.<sup>15</sup> Until he has done these, he may not join the monks.

King A mgon bzang po's deeds were as follows: [fol. 13r] All those who wear [belts with] quivers around their waists are my subjects. In the summer there shall be the *dbyar ston* festival, in winter the New Year and in spring the archery festival. For gods to settle here we need sacred supports, and for people to settle here we need food. In these times, since we do not know where outside enemies might come from, [the subjects] must train in archery, spear-play and horsemanship.

Minister Zla ba bzang po's policy was as follows: If my two elder brothers do thus, I too shall do the following: since ceremonies for the eighth day of the month, the twenty-fifth and the exorcism of the [twenty-]ninth day, [fol. 14v] have been established [lit. given],<sup>16</sup> following a discussion among the lama and the lords, originally there was a roster of four men [serving annually]; the arrangements for the long- and



middle-distance messengers<sup>17</sup> were put in place; then they arranged a roster for eight men, and then following further discussion there was a roster of six men among the villagers. They made a request, and then for this [there should be?] good tea,<sup>18</sup> 8 *khal* of rice, four sheep for the meat, thirty-seven jars of beer; and in the evening, to begin with, there was an immediate serving of beer<sup>19</sup> as the first drink. Now from today, the exalted community of monks and of nuns made a request to the whole community: at the place where the white-framed-faced goats<sup>20</sup> [fol. 15r] move [their jaws] as they chew the cud, they made a request to the humans who walk upright, and to the animals that are bent over. Then from the north the exalted monastic body assures the well-being of humans; from the east, the lady who heads the line of mothers in the *shon* dance makes a first-offering of song; from the centre, the village constables blow the *glu sha*;<sup>21</sup> from the low-lying south the *a dbang* sons<sup>22</sup> play their auspicious entertainment. If there is no molla to accompany the beer, it is as if a donkey were drinking it; and if you don't follow it up, you're like wordless mutes.<sup>23</sup> Blessings.

### Notes

1. Fol. 3r, line 2, *gsar bskyid*: *gsar* (“new”) here has been read as *sa* (“place”), denoting Gelung itself, but it could be a reference to the community house, which is described on fol. 9r as being a new building. However, it should be noted that the term for “new” in the Mustang dialects is *sampa*, as we see on fol. 9r, line 3.
2. Fol. 4v, line 4, *mi yul bskyid thang*: Clearly a reference to the land of Mi yul skyi thing, a quasi-mythical land that features in numerous Bon narratives. For a discussion of its possible earthly location, see Blezer 2011.
3. Fol. 4v, line 4, *'dod pa dbu 'gyur*: almost certainly 'Dod pa dgu 'gyur, a minor ruler who appears in certain Bon po works—notably the *gZi brjid*—as a devotee of gShen rab. See for example Kvaerne 1986: 46. In a Bon po mandala offering ceremony composed by Tenzin Namdak (bsTan 'dzin nam dag), the celebrant is instructed, “visualise yourself as the *gshen* 'Dod pa dgu 'gyur, the colour of refined gold, with your

person adorned with jewelry and fruit, holding the wish-fulfilling jewel and bestowing initiations on the thousand million worlds.”<sup>6</sup>

4. Fol. 5r, lines 4–5, *'jol mi* (for *'jol mo'i*): translated here as “nightingale”, the term *'jol mo* may in fact denote any one of a wide range of small songbirds.

5. Fol. 5r, line 5, *shing mas lo thor cing...*: “They made head-dresses with the leaves of trees, and held leaves in their hands.” This appears to be a reference to an episode in the spring archery festival (*mda' chang*) when villagers fix sprigs of willow and other trees to their hair, and dance or walk in procession while holding leafy branches from a variety of trees.

6. Fol. 7r, line 6, *dbu ltse mgon po*: dBu rtse mgon po is the name of one of the most important divinities of Gelung. According to a local account, it was brought to Gelung from Lo Monthang (Glo sMon thang) when the first *sde pa*, a natural son of the King of Lo, was sent there to oversee the community on behalf of his father. The image is said to have the form of a nine-year-old child, seated cross-legged. The appearance of its face is said to change, sometimes glistening as if it had been oiled, and sometimes seemingly dusty. It was originally housed in the protectors' chapel on the topmost floor of the Byams pa lha khang in Lo Monthang, and the people of the town were reluctant to let it go to Gelung. On one of his visits to the chapel the caretaker (*dkon gnyer*) found that the image was oriented to the south—the direction in which Gelung lies—instead of facing east, as it usually did, and he duly adjusted its position. After several days of this procedure the caretaker expressed his annoyance by striking the image with a knife, upon which it spoke to him, announcing that his lineage would soon come to an end, which of course it did. It spoke a second time when it had already been relocated to Gelung. On this occasion, the image upbraided its caretaker for failing to wash his hands before making the daily offering of water (*yon chab*). “Shake your hands,” the image said to him. The caretaker did so, and his fingernails fell out. It is said that the image is destined to speak three times, and the third occasion is yet to come. The idea of a speaking image may have been inspired by the well-known story of the

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6 bsTan 'dzin nam dag 2005: 103: *rang nyid gshen 'dod pa dgu 'gyur sku mdog gser btso ma'i mdog 'dra ba/ sku la rin po che dang shing thog gis brgyan pa / phyag na bsam 'phel gyi nor bu bsnam pa stong gsum la dbang bsgyur ba /*.

Khor chag Jo bo, which is said to have voiced its wish to reside in a particular location while it was being transported to a different destination (see Orofino 2007: 87).

7. Fol. 9r, line 1–2, *mdung mar*; a reference to A bse mdung dmar, the chief of the *btsan* category of protector divinities of Bon. A bse mdung dmar is the lineage divinity (*sku bla*) of the kings of Lo (Glo), as well as of certain other noble families in the region.
8. Fol. 9r, line 2, *lags ldan brgyal mo*: probably for Legs ldan rgyal mo, although I have not been able to identify a divinity by this name.
9. Fol. 9r, line 2, *mgu lha* 13: for the thirteen *mgur lha* (or *mgul lha*), a set of divinities associated with Mt Kailash, see Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956: 223, 224, 339, n. 38.
10. Fol. 9r, lines 5–6, *mo dgon bkra shis chos kling*: “the convent of bKra shis chos gling.” bKra shis chos gling is in fact the name of the main monastery in Gelung (Kramer 2008: 55, 80), located on a promontory to the east of the settlement. The ruins of the long-abandoned convent, for which I have not been able to obtain a name, stand on a hill on the opposite side, to the west. It may well be that the name applied to both the monastery and the convent, which would then have been distinguished by being identified either as the *pho dgon* (male cloister) or *mo dgon* (nunnery).
11. Fol. 10v, line 2, *mthun kyan thang gi bdag po*: it is far from certain whether *mthun kyan thang* denotes a place name, as suggested here, or a function of the master in question that cannot easily be discerned from the text.
12. Fol. 10v, line 3 *smags rgyu: dmag khyu*, the “warrior force,” or *dmag rgyug mkhan*, “those who provide military service.” Variants of this expression are used in several settlements in Mustang to denote an assembly comprising all males between the ages of 13 and 60. The term seems to be in use in other Tibetan-speaking parts of the Himalaya. In Spiti, for example, the term *dmag ’dzom*, “assembly of soldiers,” is applied in certain circumstances to men from a designated group of households. See Tashi Tsering 2013: 534; Laurent 2019: 39, n. 45.
13. Fol. 10v, line 4, *shon*: the term *shon* refers to a type of panegyric, accompanied by a slow and stately dance, that was sung by women in

parts of West Tibet and the western Himalaya. *Shon* were widely performed on ceremonial occasions in Mustang, but are now largely obsolete. The text of some of these song cycles may be found in *Zhang zhung srid pa'i gre 'gyur*. A general description of the genre is provided on pp. 201–202. For an English summary of this overview, see Ramble 2002: 67–68.

14. Fol. 11r, line 4, *sa khyag sngas la bcug / do khyag bden la sting*: the text actually states that the aspirant monk should “place the frozen earth as his pillow and lay out the frozen rocks as his bed.” The order of earth and stone in the edited text has been reversed to reflect the usual formulation of this topos.

15. Fol. 12v, lines 4–5, *mgon po'i bsrung kang...srung grug bcu ma...*: these seem to refer to specific ceremonies, but in the absence of further *in situ* enquiries, the interpretation proposed here is highly tentative. In other contexts, for example, the name *Drug cu ma/pa* may refer to a set of root verses composed by Tsong kha pa's disciple Zhwa lu pa Legs pa rgyal mtshan (1375–1450), or else a ritual for the offering of sixty tormas to Vajrabhairava (Cuevas 2017: 13; Sullivan forthcoming).

16. Fol. 13r, line 6, *nga yang tshes brgyad...*: It is not clear whether the establishment of the three monthly ceremonies listed on the last line of this folio are to be attributed to the speaker, Zla ba bzang po, since their religious character suggests rather that they fall within the province of an abbot. However, since the administrative organisation of the community that features on the next page is presented as a collaborative exercise on the part of the Three Zangpos, we are probably to understand that this is indeed the case.

17. Fol. 14v, line 1, *sngon bu tsha 4 la...lag ring thung...*: civic duties in all communities in Mustang take the form of offices that are held for varying durations, though most commonly one year. Incumbency is usually on the basis of rosters, though aleatoric systems of recruitment are also sometimes used. The offices identified here are described as *lags ring thung*. This is a reference to one of these rotating duties, *'u lag*, the messenger service that required the holder to travel to other areas on official business. The *'u lag* duty is generally divided into two or three different offices, depending on the distance the holder is required to travel, whether to neighbouring villages or far afield—Dolpo

or Kathmandu, for example. The offices are therefore known respectively as *thung lag* and *ring lag*—“short-distance ‘u lag” and “long-distance ‘u lag.” Some communities add a third office for middle-distance messenger service, known as *bar lag*. The text seems to be saying that four such officials were originally appointed, and this number was subsequently increased to eight before finally being reduced to six. The terms *thung lag* and *ring lag* are apparently descriptive exonyms, since no offices in Gelung seem ever to have had such designations. Although the text specifies “four [or eight or six] men,” it may be that what is intended is not the numbers of men but the numbers of offices, which are for the most part held by varying numbers of men. A clue as to the identity of the six rotating positions may be found in a local document from 1880 that exempts a certain household from civic duties:

*dger lung dpal bzang mo la ‘u lag / chug rlum / do ram / bras khal / si shing / ri lag / thug lag / gang yang bskal (bkal) mi mchog (chog) pa...*  
(Geling 127: lines 4–6).

It shall be forbidden to charge [the household of] the woman Palzang of Gelung with the following duties (*‘u lag*): *chug rlum*, *do ram*, *bras khal*, *si shing*, *ri lag* and *thung lag*.

The meaning of these terms was explained to me as follows: *chug rlum* (*chu glum?*) is the office of brewer, who makes beer for public ceremonies. The *do ram* is the official that in most other villages is known as *rol po*, and that I have translated elsewhere as “constable.” As a general rule, constables are responsible for maintaining order in the lay community, for example by imposing fines on people who allow their cattle to enter fields or who break other village rules, and generally enforce the pronouncements of the headman (which in Gelung, unusually, is a hereditary position). The *bras khal* (actually pronounced *drekar*) is the official miller, whose duty it is to operate the public water mill. The etymology of the name is unknown, but a clue may perhaps lie in a side-effect of grinding tsampa—the fact that millers are covered in pale flour; the name may be a reference to the slightly sinister New Year Tibetan trickster known as *‘dre dkar*, who is distinguished by his piebald outfit of white patches on his face and clothing. The *si shing* (also of unknown etymology) corresponds to the *thung lag* of other communities, whose duty it is to act as a messenger to neighbouring destinations. *Ri lag* and

*thug lag* are not, as one might suppose, errors for *ring lag* and *thung lag*; the *ri lag* is not actually an office, but refers to the obligation that falls on all adult villagers below the age of sixty to take part in public works, such as the maintenance of trails and irrigation canals. *Thug lag* is the duty of going up to the high pastures to round up the yaks and bring them down to the village, for example for trading expeditions to Tibet.

18. Line 4, *so ja sga ba*...: although it is not actually stated, it seems likely that these provisions refer to the comestibles that were required for the three annual festive occasions on which the molla was recited. The interpretation of *so ja sga ba* as *gsol ja dga' ba* as “good tea” is conjectural, although *ga* (*dga'*) is the usual term for “good” in the Mustang dialects; *srum* stands for *skrum*, locally pronounced *hrum*, the honorific term for meat (*gsol skrum* in Central Tibetan).

19. Line 5, *'phral 'dabs*: probably for *'phral btab*, is the usual term for the first serving of beer that is given to a gathering of lamas or laypeople before the main ceremony begins.

20. Line 6, *rgya mo*: this refers to a goat or some other animal with a pattern of white markings that bracket the middle of the face. The general meaning of this sentence and the first line of the following page remain opaque: it is not at all clear who is making the request, to whom or what, or for what purpose. The “place where the...goats...chew the cud” may simply be a lyrical reference to an open area at the centre of the village where goats were gathered before being taken to pasture in the morning, and returned to their owners in the evening, and that would have been the place where villagers assembled for the festivities.

21. Fol. 15r, line 3, *dā do rim pa'i*...: the interpretation here is conjectural.

22. Fol. 15r, lines 3–4: *a dbang bus*...: King bKra shis rnam rgyal of Glo bo, who ruled in the first part of the eighteenth century, is said to have married a Ladakhi princess Nor 'dzin bde legs dbang mo (*Mollas*: 125; 156, n. 37); see also Petech (1977: 90), where it is suggested that there were two Ladakhi brides of the same name. A popular account has it that the princess was accompanied on her journey to Mustang by an ensemble of musicians who played an instrument similar to the

*rgya gling*, and was presumably therefore the *sur na*.<sup>7</sup> The descendants of these musicians, who are said to have formed a distinct group of hereditary musicians in Lo until recent times, were known as *awang*, and it is possibly to these that the term *a dbang bu* refers.

23. Fol. 15r, line 4, *chang la mo la med na... dkar po lkug pa 'dra*: As David Jackson remarks, the *Gelung Molla* “comes to an end with a few obscure words that allude to the value of speeches at celebrations” (*Mollas*: 30). The corresponding lines in the version at his disposal, and that he cites, are as follows:

*chang la smon lam med na bong bu chang mthong* [read: 'thung] *ba ltar /*  
*de la byas 'dus [= dus] med na kar [= dkar?] po skug [= lkugs?] pa 'dra /*

He adds that these lines appear in a speech from Tingri that he was shown by Tashi Tsering, “but there the spellings are even worse, and the sense of the passage is no clearer” (*Mollas*: 35, n. 46). The reading of *brgyas 'dus* as *rjes mthud* would be supported by the idea that the *molla* should be followed by other performances, albeit songs rather than orations; *dkar po* has been read here as *gawo*, a term (of uncertain etymology) that is used in certain dialects to mean “speechless,” and therefore a near-synonym for *lkug pa*. I have understood the closing line as a stock challenge of the sort that might feature at the end of a round of competitive exchanges of sung verses that are common in Tibet and the Himalayas.

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7 For detailed analyses of the form, structure and history of the *sur na* and its use in Ladakh, see Trewin 1995: *passim*. For a photograph of the royal *sur na* in Stok Palace, see *ibid.*: 233, pl. 22. For the association of the instrument with particular social groups, see *ibid.*: 164–165. I am indebted to John Bray for drawing my attention to this valuable unpublished work.

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**Experience and Instruction:  
The Songs of the First Karma 'phrin las pa  
Phyogs las rnam rgyal (1456–1539)**

Jim Rheingans  
(The University of Sydney)

**Introduction**

Among the masters of 15th century Tibet, the first Karma 'phrin las pa Phyogs las rnam rgyal (1456–1539) was an arguably non-sectarian scholar-meditator active within the Sa skya and Karma bKa' brgyud traditions of Tibetan Buddhism. Karma 'phrin las pa was the nephew of Dwags po bKra shis rnam rgyal (1399–1458) and acted as abbot of the “lower chamber” (*gzim khang 'og ma*) of the Sa skya pa monastic seat of learning Nälendra. He was connected to gTsang smyon's (1452–1507) root guru Sha ra Rab byams pa (1427–1470), and—having become “Karma 'phrin las pa” while studying with the seventh Karmapa Chos grags rgya mtsho (1454–1506)—was one of the four main teachers of the Eighth Karmapa Mi bskyod rdo rje (1507–1556).<sup>1</sup> Karma 'phrin las pa was also known for initiating the block printing of the *Blue Annals* and his prominent commentaries to Saraha's *Dohā*; yet, studies of his religious career and teachings have been comparatively scarce. While my recent monograph (2021) has contributed to closing this gap by historically examining the life and works of Karma 'phrin las pa as a whole, this paper highlights a significant part of his available writings,

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1 Readers are generally referred to Rheingans 2021 for further information about Karma 'phrin las pa's life and works; a brief review of previous research is found in *ibid.*: 3–13. The songs from the *mGur* quoted here are assigned a number, which refers to the catalogue of the *mGur* in *ibid.*: 166–185. Karma 'phrin las pa's impact on the Eighth Karmapa is also discussed in Rheingans 2017: 97–99; his function as a teacher of the Eighth Karmapa, dPa' bo gTsug lag 'phreng ba (1504–1566) and Tshar chen Blo gsal rgya mtsho (1502–1566) is outlined in Rheingans 2021: 92–103. For Tshar chen, also see Stearns 2012.

his spiritual songs (*mGur*).<sup>2</sup> David P. Jackson initially suggested to take up research about Karma 'phrin las pa in 2002, while I studied with him at the University of Hamburg. Hence, this topic seemed most suitable for a *Festschrift* dedicated to the supervisor of my master's thesis at Hamburg and (external) supervisor of my doctoral dissertation at Bath/Bristol, U.K. Jackson was also among the first who took an interest in the life of the first Karma 'phrin las pa in his *Early Abbots of Nalendra* (1989).

Although the genre of songs itself has received quite some attention,<sup>3</sup> the *mGur* of Karma 'phrin las pa have not been researched extensively: from among 55 songs that span over 43 folios, Thubten Jinpa and Jaś Elsner (2000) have translated two works in their anthology *Songs of Spiritual Experience* within the section “Visions of Mystic Consciousness.”<sup>4</sup> Lama Jampa Thaye has translated a song about Karma 'phrin las pa's inner experiences in a booklet about the life of Karma 'phrin las pa published by the Dechen Community, U.K.<sup>5</sup> In their *Mahāmudrā and the Middle Way*, Draszczyk and Higgins (2016) edited, translated and studied the *Yin lugs sgrogs pa lta ba'i mgur* (*Song of the View: Proclaiming How Things Are*), which had also been rendered earlier by Jinpa and Elsner (2000).<sup>6</sup> In my study of Karma 'phrin las pa's life and works (2021), the songs have been used as sources for a study of his life and all 55 songs have been catalogued and described.<sup>7</sup>

2 Among the different direct Tibetan commentaries on Saraha's *Dohā*, Karma 'phrin las pa's *Do hā skor gsum gyi ṭika 'bring po* (*Middle Length Commentary on the Dohā Trilogy*) is an eminent work on that topic within the Karma bKa' brgyud lineage. The introductory section is the primary source for a Tibetan history of Saraha's *The Treasury of Dohā Verses* (Schaeffer 2005, Braitstein 2014). For a study of its doctrines, see Guenther 1969 and Mathes 2020; for a detailed catalogue of the texts, see Rheingans 2021: 196–202.

3 Sørensen 1990, R. Jackson 1996, Jinpa and Elsner 2000, Sujata 2005, Stearns 2012, Sujata 2015, Gamble 2015, just to name a few.

4 *mGur* no. 5, pp. 8.5–10.4, *Song of the View: Proclaiming How Things Are* is translated in Jinpa and Elsner 2000: 147–150 as *A Song of the View of Voidness*. The second song is called *At the Feet of the Lord of Dance* by Jinpa and Elsner 2000: 168–170. I have identified it as *mGur* no. 10, pp. 15.4–16.6, and used the actual title *Vajra Song of Great Bliss*. The numberings are from my catalogue (see previous note).

5 In Karma Thinley Rinpoche 1997: 14–15; Lama Jampa Thaye translated the song itself in 1984, to be found in *mGur*, no. 4, pp. 7.1–8.5.

6 Draszczyk and Higgins 2016, vol. 2: 94–103 (*mGur* no. 5).

7 For a catalogue of Karma 'phrin las pa's songs, see Rheingans 2021: 166–185; a catalogue of all his writings is found in *ibid.*, Chapter Seven: 165–211. Some of

This paper—by way of three exemplary songs and some overall analysis—aims to examine this textual corpus as a source for the study of history, literature and Buddhist doctrine. After an introduction to Karma 'phrin las pa's *mGur* volume, I shall offer an annotated translation of three selected songs along with a brief discussion of their style and contents. I will not dwell on broader issues of text typologies or *mahāmudrā* doctrines but analyse contexts and terminologies where they seem necessary for understanding the song itself.<sup>8</sup> The methodologies applied are mainly those of religious history and philology.<sup>9</sup>

### The Songs of Karma 'phrin las pa: Texts and Contexts

Karma 'phrin las pa has reportedly composed a little more than ten volumes of writings that almost certainly constituted an early edition of his collected works (*gsung 'bum*). Only around a sixth of his writings is currently available, amounting to seven accessible works (not volumes).<sup>10</sup> Among them, two block prints were reproduced in 1975, i.e., the songs (*mGur*, margin *ga*) as well as the questions and answers (*Dri lan*, margin *ca*). They consist of often brief texts that disciples and scribes likely assembled into collections after Karma 'phrin las pa's passing. Both the *mGur* and *Dri lan* are clearly block prints. The *mGur* concludes with a praise of Karma 'phrin las pa and the colophon further contains some printing information which lacks dates but informs us about the production of the xylographs. A group of scholars such as sPrul sku rDo rje tshe dbang tshe brtan and Jo bo dar rgyas arranged

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the passages discussed here have been partially translated in different chapters of Rheingans 2021.

8 For discussions about text types and genres in Tibetan literature, see Rheingans 2015.

9 Here, historical research is understood in the sense of doing source-based history without *a priori* theories. See, for example, Marwick 2001: xv, 3–4, 17–20. For philology in Buddhist Studies, see also Tillemans 1995; for translating terms accurately, see Dreyfus 2001; for a recent example of trying to combine accuracy with a readable translation, see Stearns 2012 or Duckworth, Eckel, Garfield, Powers, Thabkhas and Thakchöe 2016. Although I admit that there is no “true” reading of a text, I will try to read the texts in the historical and religious contexts of their time, being aware of the epistemic limitations of such an approach.

10 Rheingans 2021: 111; for an overview of the origin and transmission of Karma 'phrin las pa's writings in general, see *ibid.*, Chapter Four: 109–129.

for the scribing and carved the blocks. The corrections were carried out by the famed Byams pa Kun dga' (also known under his Sanskrit alias Maitrī Ānanda), Rin chen bzang po and Rig 'dzin grags pa, teacher and students.<sup>11</sup> Byams pa Kun dga' was a skilled editor, who, in conjunction with Rig 'dzin grags pa, had also worked on the correction of Karma 'phrin las pa's *Do ha skor gsum gyi ṭi ka* and had transcribed and corrected Karma 'phrin las pa's *Zab mo nang gi don* commentary.<sup>12</sup>

The *Dri lan* further has a colophon dating the work's completion to the earth-pig year (1539) and indicated Rin chen ri bo Legs bshad gling as place.<sup>13</sup> According to the publisher's introduction of the 1975 reprint, the reproduction of both the *mGur* and the *Dri lan* goes back to 1539 blocks from Legs bshad gling, which was likely the location for the first xylographs of Karma 'phrin las pa's collected works and a central locus of his printing activities in general.<sup>14</sup> Given these indications and the time frame from the individual colophons of the *mGur* (see below), 1539 (or the late 1530s) is indeed a likely date for the completion of the *mGur* volume.

The actual title of the *mGur* volume (hereafter also: *Songs*) is *Chos rje karma phrin (sic!) las pa'i gsung 'bum las rdo rje mgur kyi 'phreng*

11 *mGur*, p. 86.1 concludes with a praise. From p. 86.5 we find information regarding its printing: *yi ger byed po bdos kyi 'du byed mkhan/ /sprul sku rdo rje tshe dbang tshe brtan dang/ /jo bo dar rgyas la sogs mkhas pa'i tshogs/ /lag sor bde 'phyug ldan pa rnam kyis brkos/ /dag byed gdas can brnga yi chos rnam la/ /mkhyen spyang rab yangs byams pa kun dga'i dang/ /rgyal ba'i thugs sras rin chen bzang po ba/ /rig 'dzin grags pa dpon slob rnam gsum gyis/ /rnam dpyod lung rigs chu yis dag par byas//.*

12 *Do hā skor gsum ṭika*, fol. 30a: *rkos la 'gran bral dpon grags dpon tshes sogs/ /dag byed me tri ānanda dang ni/ /rig 'dzin grags pa'i rnam dpyod mthu yis so/ Zab mo nang don*, p. 551.3: *blo gsal 'du ba'i bsti gnas legs bshad gling du rdzogs par sbyar ba'i yi ge pa ni byams pa rig pa'i dbang phyug gis bgyis pa ste*. Byams pa Rig pa'i dbang phyug transcribed (and corrected) the manuscript prior to the preparation of the blocks and the setting of the printing; he is quite possibly the same Byams pa Kun dga' mentioned in the *dohā* commentary. For more extensive information about these texts, see Rheingans 2021: 196–203. Ehrhard 2002: 27–28 mentions that Byams pa Kun dga' was a senior editor who also worked for the Fourth Zhwa dmar pa.

13 *Dri lan*, fol. 69a: *sa mo phag lo hor zla drug pa'i tshes bdun gyi nyi ma me bzhi'i 'grub sbyor dang ldan pa'i dus dge ba la bstan pa rin po che bshad sgrub kyi sgo nas 'dzin pa'i chos kyi 'dun sa chen po rin chen ri bo legs par bshad pa'i gling du yongs su rdzogs par grub pa*; see Rheingans 2021: 185–196 for a catalogue of the *Dri lan*.

14 Rheingans 2021: 114–115.



*ba rnams*, “From the Collected Writings of the Dharma Master Karma phrin las pa: The Garland of Vajrasongs.” Titles of individual texts mostly contain the label *mgur* (“song”) several texts are also entitled *glu* (“ballads”).<sup>15</sup> Most songs retain an individual colophon, which implies that they were pronounced at different times, although the exact year-cycle can rarely be determined. Those we can date more precisely concern instructions related to Cakrasaṃvara practice composed in an earth-pig year (potentially 1479 or 1539)<sup>16</sup> and a general advice to a student on practice finalised in the iron-hare year (1531) (*mGur* no. 54, see translated text below).

As is typical for Vajrayāna traditions, one of the important personal gurus is also venerated at the outset of each song. In line with Karma phrin las pa’s spiritual life, most songs are dedicated to his central teacher Karmapa Chos grags rgya mtsho (namely 16 songs); we find his crucial *mahāmudrā* tutor Khrol zhig Sangs rgyas bsam grub (b. 15th century) venerated in three and the Kālacakra master Kun dga’ phun tshogs in one song.<sup>17</sup> The initial text of the collection is dedicated to his root guru Karmapa, too, whose excellent qualities are explained in relation to the three buddha bodies (*kāya*).<sup>18</sup> The colophon colourfully illustrates the circumstances of the song’s composition:

This was uttered on the 28th day of the seventh month of the bird year. On a drop of earth in Yar ’brogs, on the upper [part of the] mountain “Turquoise Horn of the Little Bamboo Jar,” I tasted the experience of the nectar of this area; the sky was filled with rainbows and light. In

15 In his portrayal of the genre “Tibetan poetry,” R. Jackson 1996 divided it into *glu*, *mgur* and *snyan ngag*. I use the term “song” as a general expression that can cover instances that are entitled both *glu* and *mgur*.

16 *mGur* no. 2, p. 5.1: *shes pa tsa’ ri yul smad dā ki ni’i mdun sar sa mo phag lo hor zla bcu pa’i tshe bdun la smras pa’o*.

17 The respective *mgurs* opening with a praise to the Seventh Karmapa (or containing one at the outset) are *mGur* nos. 19, 26, 27, 29, 31, 35, 37, 39, 40, 44, 45, 48, 49, 50, 53 and 54 (see catalogue in Rheingans 2021: 166–185). For Karma phrin las pa’s study with Sangs rgyas bsam grub, see Reingans 2021: 59–61; Sangs rgyas bsam grub’s eminent role is described in *mGur* no. 4, pp. 7.1–8.5 (cf. Rheingans 2021: 61). For Kun dga’ phun tshogs as a teacher of Karma phrin las pa, see Reingans 2021: 74; a song dedicated to Kun dga’ phun tshogs is *mGur* no. 18 (pp. 25.4–27.3).

18 A further praise is contained in a song dedicated to dBus smyon Kun dga’ bzang po (1458–1507), wherein dBus smyon is praised as Śrī Heruka (*mGur* no. 13, pp. 18.7–20.2).

their centre, I became aware of whirling descending white flowers in which sat my lama, thus I thought. And as I was looking there again and again, the vision vanished and from my own awareness I supplicated the lama and made wishes. This was spoken while on a horse.<sup>19</sup>

In the *Songs*, one encounters Karma 'phrin las pa as skilful poet in the tradition of the Tibetan *mgur*. Although the specific topics found in the texts vary, a theme that is fairly visible throughout the entire collection is the view, meditation, action and fruition of the *mahāmudrā*, the choice of subject obviously reflecting his activity as a lineage master of the *mahāmudrā* transmissions and also the genre itself.<sup>20</sup> This is exemplified in verses such as: “I have practised the *mahāmudrā*, awareness and emptiness—it is firmly settled that [they are] in union.”<sup>21</sup> Or:

Clarity is what appears in mind,  
Emptiness is the essence of mind,  
Inseparability is the nature of mind—  
Mind itself is the *mahāmudrā*.<sup>22</sup>

In another advice, imparted to Slob dpon Sangs rgyas, Karma 'phrin las pa, elaborates on the view:

Some point out the view with words,  
Others point with their finger to the sky;  
Most talk about the view free of extremes.  
How things really are is beyond words, thoughts and descriptions!<sup>23</sup>

19 *mGur* no. 1, p. 3: *ces pa bya lo zla ba bdun pa'i nyer brgyad kyi nyi na yar 'brog gi sa'i thig le spa do gyu ra bya ba'i ri bo'i spo la yul gyi bdud rtsi nyams su myong bar 'chas pa'i tshé nam mkha' 'ja' 'od gyis gang ba'i dkyil na me tog dkar po lang long du 'bab pa mthong bas 'di'i dbus na bdag gi bla ma bzhuḡs sam snyam du yang yang bltas pas mthong ba dgags te rang rig pa'i mod las bla ma la gsol 'debs shing smon lam du bya ba 'di rta thog tu kha tshol du smras pa'o//.*

20 On his role as lineage master, also see Rheingans 2021: 115–118; for a painted scroll as teacher of the Fifth Zhwa dmar pa (1525–1583), see Jackson 2009: fig. 9.24b.

21 *mGur* no. 21, p. 30.6: *zung 'jug yin par thag chod pa'i/ /rig stong phyag rgya chen po bsgoms/.*

22 *mGur* no. 28, p. 44.1: *gsal ba sems kyi 'char sgo yin/ /stong pa sems kyi ngo bo yin/ / zung 'jug sems kyi rang bzhin te/ /sams nyid 'di phyag rgya chen po yin/.*

23 *mGur* no. 27, p. 43: *khong 'ga' zhig lta ba tshig gis mtshon/ /mi la la bar snang 'dzub mos ston/ /phal mo che mtha' bral lta bar smra/ /yin lugs 'di smra bsam rjod las 'das/.*

Sometimes *mahāmudrā* figures in the title of a song, such as in the *Phyag chen rdo rje'i mgur*, *Vajra Song of the Mahāmudrā* (*mGur* no. 31, pp. 48.2–50.1). Given his lineage affiliation to the bKa' brgyud tradition's forefather, the famed yogin Milarepa, and how significantly Mila's *mgur 'bum* had shaped this genre, it is natural that Karma 'phrin las pa's often onomatopoeic verses show some similarities to those of Tibet's most renowned poet. The genre of *mgur*, which some consider a blend of the *vajragīti* or *dohā* and the Tibetan folk song, had to a great degree developed from the activity of Marpa and the *Mi la mgur 'bum*.<sup>24</sup> And the Indian “forerunner” of the Tibetan vajra songs, the *dohā*,<sup>25</sup> was at the heart of Karma 'phrin las pa's commentarial writings, namely his *Middle Length Commentary on the Three Dohā* of Saraha, the transmission of which he mainly received from Sangs rgyas bsam grub.<sup>26</sup> The colophon of the *Songs* confirms their conceptualisation as a profound instruction that embodies the spiritual heritage of Saraha and Milarepa and thus the Indian and Tibetan accomplished siddhas. In order to open the door to such teaching, Karma 'phrin las pa had allegedly assumed birth, an assertion which presents him as the mystical agent of this prestigious lineage.<sup>27</sup> Among the (not available) writings of Karma 'phrin las

24 Gamble 2015: 110–111, Sujata 2015: 197–198. Schott 2019: 24–33, however, has rightly indicated that the assumptions in the secondary literature about the differences of *caryāgīti*, *vajragīti* and the *dohā* cannot be substantiated on the basis of the Indian sources. While Kvaerne 1977 is indeed the last substantial study (apart from some rather neglected works by Indian scholars), the Indian *dohā* commentarial traditions have not been further researched until Schott's study of this complex material (also addressed in a forthcoming paper by Rheingans and Schott). For Marpa's contributions, see Ducher 2017; for an overview of the literature on Milarepa, see Sernesi 2019.

25 For a recent introduction to the concept of *dohā*, also see Schott 2019: 3–23. Literature about the *dohā* was pointed out in the first footnote, above. Also see Braitstein 2014.

26 For Karma 'phrin las pa's study with Sangs rgyas bsam sgrub, see Rheingans 2021: 59–61.

27 *mGur*, p. 86.3: *zab rgyas lta ba'i gsung zer 'di 'phros tshe/ /sa ra ha dang bzhad pa rdo rje sogs/ /rgya bod grub thob sngar byon mang po yi/ /rtogs brjod glu 'phreng du mas 'gran du ci/ /ngo mthsar mgur gi phreng ba rin chen 'di/ /mi zad gter gyi sgo 'phar dbye ba'i phyir/ /bsams bzhin skye ba bzhes pa'i chos rje/ /mkhas grub chos bzang lha yi dbang po zhes/ /mtshan gyi snyan pas sa chen khyab pa des/ /long spyod rgya mtsho' i rba rlabs cher gyos nas/ /yongs rdzogs pa rang(?) sgrub pa'i sbyin pa'i phyag/ /gniyis 'thud dbang po' i sna ltar bryang ste mdzad/.*

pa, there are two further compositions which were very likely related to the *Songs* in terms of their content and style, namely a commentary on the Seventh Karmapa's songs and an elaboration on Tilopa's famed Ganges *mahāmudrā*.<sup>28</sup>

Karma 'phrin las pa was of course a scholar-meditator of times different to those of Milarepa, living in a period of scholarly sophistication and rising sectarian differentiation.<sup>29</sup> Born in 1456, he carried out early training in gNyal and Zur mkhar, before he extensively studied in the monastic complex 'Bras yul sKyed tshal in gTsang under the Sa skya scholar Byams chen Rab 'byams pa Sangs rgyas 'phel (1412–1485) and also in his home monastery Nälendra. Later in his life, Karma 'phrin las pa also received a broad range of *lam 'bras* transmissions and teachings from Mus chen Sangs rgyas rin chen (1453–1524). The teacher whom Karma 'phrin las pa attended the longest was the Fourth Zhwa dmar pa Chos grags ye shes (1453–1524). Karma 'phrin las pa's root guru, the Seventh Karmapa, had started to raise the scholarly efforts within the Karma bKa' brgyud tradition, evidenced, for example, in his Pramāṇa commentary. I have suggested that Karma 'phrin las pa, as teacher of predominantly scholarly topics for Karmapa Mi bskyod rdo rje and tutor of dPa' bo gTsug lag 'phreng ba, embodied a central influx of scholarly (Sa skya pa) learning for the Karma bKa' brgyud pa.<sup>30</sup>

With regard to his *Songs*, there is—at first sight—some semblance to the songs of his contemporary gTsang smyon He ru ka, whom he may have met in his youth, while attending his maternal uncle and physician Zur mkhar mNyam nyid rdo rje (1439–1475) in La thog Zur mkhar.

28 The three works are mentioned one after the other in a title list contained in *rNam par thar pa ngo mtshar yid kyi shing rta*, fol. 35a: (...) *do ha skor gsum gyi tī ka bsduś 'bring gnyis/ rgyas pa rtsom 'phro/ phyag rgya chen po'i gang ga ma'i tī ka/ rgyal dbang chos grags rgya mtsho'i gsung mgur gyi tī ka*. See Rheingans 2021: 109–110, for a translation of the entire title list.

29 For a recent collection of papers on this period, see the volume edited by Caumanns and Sernesi 2017 and the many papers by Franz-Karl Ehrhard; also see Jackson 1989. For some historical contexts regarding the life of the Eighth Karmapa, see Rheingans 2017.

30 For Karma 'phrin las pa's education, see Rheingans 2021: 54–73; for an evaluation of his life in context, see *ibid.*: 105–108 and 212–216. Chos grags rgya mtsho's *Tshad ma'i bstan bcos* was among the works that Karma 'phrin las pa arranged for printing (Rheingans 2021: 87–89).

Both studied with Sha ra Rab 'byams pa, gTsang smyon's well-known guru and transmitter of the "aural lineage" (*snyan bgrygud*), although Karma 'phrin las pa did not attend Sha ra Rab 'byams pa for long.<sup>31</sup> A major aspect of gTsang smyon's life was to print and promote the tradition of Milarepa and Marpa, and the printing activities of gTsang smyon and disciples were indeed remarkable.<sup>32</sup>

Almost all of Karma 'phrin las pa's songs are arranged into four-verse stanzas. About half of them, namely 28 songs,<sup>33</sup> contain advice and instructions (*gdams pa*) directed at a specific disciple or groups of disciples, which is mentioned somewhere at the outset or conclusion of the work. There are also some "songs of [one's own] experience" (*nyams mgur*), often containing the usual self-deprecating remarks and exhortation, such as:

[Whoever] does not possess the skill of accomplishment in the tranquillity of mind,  
 Practises tainted absorption—the cause for conditioned existence.  
 You miserable one—without practising obscured meditation,  
 Also allow absorption to rest in the *mahāmudrā*!<sup>34</sup>

The *bDe ba chen po'i glu*, *Song of Great Bliss*, instructs the disciples through the depiction of the author's experiences in view, meditation, action and fruition.<sup>35</sup> Thus, it is a song of one's own experience (*nyams mgur*) simultaneously being an advice (*gdams*). The verses follow a regular tune in the type of:

31 *Ibid.* For gTsang smyon's songs, see his *mGur 'bum*. I would like to thank Stefan Larsson for pointing out this text to me. For gTsang smyon's life, see Larsson 2009, Sernesi 2021. For Karma 'phrin las pa's studies with Zur mkhar mNyang nyid rdo rje and Sha ra Rab byams pa (and a possible meeting with gTsang smyon), see Rheingans 2021: 50–54.

32 Sernesi 2021, Larsson 2009.

33 *mGur* nos. 2, 14, 19, 20, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 32, 33, 35, 36, 37, 38, 40, 41, 42, 43, 45, 47, 48, 49, 52, 54, 55; see Rheingans 2021: 166–185 for the respective references and page numbers to the *mGur* volume.

34 *mGur*, no. 16, p. 23.3: *zhi gnas la rtogs pa'i rtsal med na/ /zag bcas kyi snyoms 'jug srid pa'i rgyu/ /sprang po khyod mun sgom ma byed par/ /mnyam bzhag kyang phyag rgya chen por glod/.*

35 *mGur* no. 20, p. 30.2: *mi bdag gi nyams myong rdo rje tshig/ /khyed dad ldan slob ma'i don du smras/.*

Earlier, through [trying] to accomplish the three buddha bodies, I  
was distracted:

I was then bound with the ties of hope and fear.

Now, in the space of great effortlessness, I am happy.

There is nothing to attain nor any means of attaining!<sup>36</sup>

Other texts are autobiographical (or rather “auto-hagiographical”),  
wherein the author outlines the different stages of his training:

In the vicinity of dBus and gTsang, I learned the true dharma,

Relying on many scholars and accomplished lamas,

I applied myself with care to the study of the teachings:

I mainly learned the three scriptural collections of the Buddha’s  
Word

And the four tantra classes, esoteric instructions and the fields of  
knowledge.

Now, this year, I have encountered a real Buddha [the Seventh Kar-  
mapa] (...) <sup>37</sup>

We further find the typical songs that advise to let go of clinging to ordi-  
nary life (*zhen log*), which, according to Don grub rgyal (1953–1985), en-  
courage removing harmful actions.<sup>38</sup> Such a song was taught at Karma  
’phrin las pa’s monastery Chos ’khor lhun po in gNyal, which was one of  
his strongholds supported by the powerful Bya *khrid dpon*:

[I] looked upon the words that one hears:

Few are true and many false.

Double-tongued and slanderous [is] the usage of wrong words;

I turned away from the many difficult [people].<sup>39</sup>

36 *mGur* no. 20, p. 30.1: *sngon ’bras bu sku gsum bsgrub pas gyengs/ /dus de tshe re dogs kyi sgrogs gis bcings/ /da lhun grub chen po’i klong la bde/ /thob bya dang thob byed gang yang med/.*

37 *mGur* no. 3, p. 5.3: *dbus gtsang mthil du dam chos bsblabs/ /mkhas grub kyi bla ma mang du bsten/ /thos pa’i chos la nan gtan byas/ /bka’ sde snod gsum dang rgyud sde bzhi/ /man ngag dang rig gnas phal cher thos/ dus da lo sangs rgyas dngos dang mjal/.* See also Rheingans 2021: 67.

38 R. Jackson 1996: 374.

39 *mGur* no. 17, p. 24.7: *thos pa’i gtam la phar bltas na/ /bden po nyung la brdzun pa mang/ /lce gnyis ngo lkog tshig ngan spyod/ /tsher ma can mang bas zhen pa log/.*

The song concludes with his wish to remain in seclusion (*ri khrod dang dben par 'gro snying 'dod*).<sup>40</sup> In a similar work, taught while traveling from Chos 'khor lhun po to Sho pho,<sup>41</sup> Karma 'phrin las pa points out different errors which might occur during meditative training. Most of the four-verse stanzas terminate with a rhetorical question and describe various mistakes that should be avoided:

The explanations of dharma by someone who does not meditate,  
Equal a master with a liking for skilled talking.  
I firmly decided they are mere letters;  
I stopped the talking and thought to practise meditation.<sup>42</sup>

From the stylistic point of view, one may note that the use of phrases such as “split hair/hair splitting” (*spu ris 'byed*) occurs a few times in the entire collection:

The view that splits the hair of the philosophical systems:  
If one speaks [about it], it seems good—but it is merely boasting.<sup>43</sup>

Or:

The hair of the veiled truth I shall not split,  
Still, I know about the essence of the supreme reality;  
Immovable from the sphere of reality,<sup>44</sup>  
I severed the concepts about the true nature!<sup>45</sup>

Interestingly, three songs were reportedly uttered while traveling on horseback, which gives some clues about how they might have been remembered by an attendant who later wrote them down.<sup>46</sup> Another work, an advice (*gdams*) directed to the disciple dNgos grub rgya

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40 *Ibid.*

41 Sho pho is situated on a bank of a branch of the gNyal river; see Dorje 1996: 261.

42 *mGur* no. 18, p. 26.5: *sgom mkhan med pa'i chos bshad 'di/ /smra mkhas bro pa'i pakshi bzhin/ /tshig 'bru tsam du thag chod pas/ /smra bcad bsam gtan bsgoms na snyam/.*

43 *mGur* no. 7, p. 11.5: *grub mtha' spu ris 'byed pa'i lta ba de/ /smra tshe legs legs 'dra yang pho tshod tsam/.*

44 *Tib. chos nyid, Skt. dharmatā.*

45 *mGur* no. 22, p. 32.5: *kun rdzob kyi spu ris mi 'byed kyang/ /don dam gyi gnas tshul shes pa nga/ /chos nyid kyi ngang nas ma g.yos par/ /gnas lugs la sgro 'dogs chod nas gda'/.*

46 *mGur* no. 1, pp. 2.1–4.2; *mGur* no. 18, pp. 25.4–27.3; *mGur* no. 42, pp. 64.6–66.4.

mtsho, was excerpted from a letter.<sup>47</sup> In general, how the pronouncements were processed from alleged utterance of the *Songs* to the written work raises various noteworthy questions about the production and authorship of such texts, which should be a subject of further investigation.<sup>48</sup>

In the following, three selected songs are introduced and translated. They were chosen in order to offer a glimpse at the variety of topics contained in the *mGur*, although they are by no means fully representative of the entire collection. At the outset of each song, its overall content and style is presented; key themes are addressed where necessary. The Tibetan texts are found in the appendix.

### A Song about Good Buddhist Practice in Various Situations

Although this song (*mGur* no. 9, fols. 7b5–8a4/pp. 14.5–15.4) does not have an explicit title, it describes the meditative experiences (or better: reactions) of Karma 'phrin las pa to different circumstances that a practitioner may encounter on the Buddhist path. Thus, the *mgur* under consideration can be grouped into the *nyams mgur* type, inasmuch as it relates to the personal experience of spiritual practice. However, it does not celebrate the overcoming of obstacles or is self-deprecating, as Roger Jackson suggests as typical for this type of song, but mostly depicts the successful dealing with various situations in an ideal and to some extent stereotypical way.<sup>49</sup> What is more, it follows a chronological order of an archetypical saint's life in the fashion of an auto-hagiography: study and reflection with a guru; training meditation; experiences and realisation leading to the fruition of practice; as well as passing on the Buddha's teaching or finding oneself in related situations, as in the verse "when wandering in a king's palace, I used all desirable objects as helpers for the path."<sup>50</sup> This in turn suggests similarity to the

47 *mGur* no. 21, p. 31: *zhes pa rdza ri dmar po'i mgul gyi sku skye dngos grub rgya mtsho la gdams pa chab shog nas phyung pa'o//*.

48 See Sernesi 2015 for a discussion of authorship in relation to collected works of Tibetan masters. I have attempted to address the issues of function and use of certain text types, also in relation to their way of production, in Rheingans 2015. Lama Jabb 2015 and other scholars have highlighted the oral dimension of Tibetan literary production.

49 R. Jackson 1996: 377–386, Sujata 2015.

50 *mGur* no. 9, p. 15: *rgyal po'i 'pho brang 'grim tsam na/ 'dod yon ma lus grogs su khyer/*.



*rnam mgur* where hagiographical elements are narrated in the fashion of a song.<sup>51</sup> The colophon dates the song to a hare year.<sup>52</sup>

### Style and Context

This short piece of writing uses a straightforward meter that is also typical for translations of the Indian śloka: each metrical line consists of altogether three feet with a 2+2+3 syllable structure.<sup>53</sup> Tibetan language itself suggests that the first out of two syllables should generally be stressed while the second would be unstressed; in this meter the last two syllables are mapped into one unstressed position also called *synalepha* by non-Tibetan researchers.<sup>54</sup> With strong (1) and weak (o), it can be depicted as: [10][10][100]. The first metrical line almost always ends in the two weak syllables *tsam na*, meaning here “when.” In this way, the first line sets the context, whereas the second portrays the practitioner’s reaction towards it, poetically interlocking message and form. A clear-cut division into verses of more than two lines on the basis of content or rhyme is unlikely, and the (almost) repetitive structure of *tsam na* suggests that a verse has two lines each.<sup>55</sup> Let us look at the following passage (strong positions are in bold print):

*/ri khrod dben par sdod tsam na/ gdams pa'i zab gnas nyams su blang/*  
When staying in isolated retreat, I practiced the profound key-points  
of instruction.

51 See Sernesi 2014, for a discussion of a similar blend of hagiography and prayer (*rnam thar gsol 'debs*).

52 There is no further cross-indication in the various *rnam thar*; and due to Karma 'phrin las pa's long life the following hare years would be probable: water-hare (1483), wood-hare (1495), fire-hare (1507), earth-hare (1519), or iron-hare (1531).

53 For this metrical form also employed frequently in Mi la's *mGur 'bum* (meaning the one attributed to him by gTsang smyon), see also Sujata 2005: 123–125.

54 Beyer 1992: 408 also describes on which type of syllable the stress usually falls. Sørensen calls the different syllables strong and weak, a wording that Sujata has adopted (as described by Sujata 2005: 114). For *synalepha*, see Beyer 1992: 410–413. Metrics are explained thoroughly by Sujata 2005: 112–138, who also refers to Tibetan sources such as Don grub rgyal's writings (which have again been taken up by Gamble 2015).

55 For stanzas with two lines in the song-collection of sKal ldan rgya mtsho, see Sujata 2005: 154–157. They seem not very frequent and contain mostly gentle advice or are found in those songs in which the author converses with animals (*ibid.*).

*/dus dang gnas skabs thams cad du/ ma yengs sems la bya ra byas/*

At all times and in all circumstances, I was the guard to mind not to be distracted.

The author employs figure of speech rarely; the best example of metaphor is perhaps *lta ba'i nam 'phangs*, literally “the sky height of the view,” in the fourth stanza: “When training the sky-[like] height of the view, I made it in the unobstructed expanse of space.”<sup>56</sup>

With regard to its content, I would like to reiterate the point made above, namely that it delineates an ideal meditator’s reaction to different situations in a life of a Buddhist master. Furthermore, this song uses terminology typical for the (manifold) *mahāmudrā* traditions, such as *sems nyid* as synonym for mind’s true nature that was frequently used in the writings ascribed to sGam po pa.<sup>57</sup> Although the Tibetan text at hand does not provide a pronoun, the narration from the autobiographical perspective was chosen in translation, due to context. Especially the last lines, “even if I die now—there is nothing to regret ...” and “now, I only work for the benefit of others” are unlikely to be formulated as an abstract advice.<sup>58</sup>

### Translation

Homage to the indestructible mind!

When staying at the lotus feet of the lama, I exerted myself in the dharma of learning.

At the time of outwardly examining wrongful attribution, I trained most of the Words [of the Buddha] and their Treatises.<sup>59</sup>

When producing experiences within, I made effort in practicing one-pointedly.

When staying amongst the gathering of many, I took whatever appears as help on the path.

56 mGur no. 9, p. 14: *lta ba'i nam 'phangs spyod tsam na/ thogs med nam mkha'i dbyings la 'chos/* (see appendix). Less likely, one might also understand this verse as: “When practicing casting (myself) into the space of the view.”

57 See Kragh 2015 for a more extensive study of sGam po pa’s tradition.

58 mGur no. 9, p. 15: *da ni shi yang 'gyod rgyu med/ sngar kyang dam pa'i lha chos byas/ da dung gzhan don kho na byed/ rang don bsgrub par ma gyur cig/* (see appendix).

59 Alternative: “mostly the Words (...)”

When staying in isolated retreat, I practiced the profound key-points of instruction.

At all times and in all circumstances, I was the guard to mind not to be distracted.

When training the sky-[like] height of the view, I made it in the unobstructed expanse of space.

When cutting off possibilities of error in meditation, I set the guardian of undistracted mindfulness.

When distinguishing between rough and subtle conduct, I cast away deliberate effort like husk.

When the fruition of Buddhahood is accomplished, hopes and fears vanish like a rainbow in the sky.

When experiences and realisations arose, I rested naturally without taking [them] as [something] special.

When surrounded by faithful (*dang ldan*) disciples, I turned the wheel of dharma day and night.

When staying alone by myself, I looked at mind as such (*sems nyid*)—the very countenance of the *dharmakāya*.

When adverse circumstances and hindrances appeared, I overcame them by training in equal taste.

When wandering in a king's palace, I used all desirable objects as helpers for the path.

When founding large institutions and places, I cared with my heart for both the teachings and beings.

When yogins and yoginis came together, [we] shared experiences and realisations.

Even if I die now—there is nothing to regret: I have practiced the sublime and authentic dharma also before.

Now, I only work for the benefit of others—may I not accomplish my own benefit!

Thus I spoke in the hare-year on the third day of the fifth month in Phrag tshal.

### An Advice to A gsum pa

This song (*mGur* no. 54, fol. 42a1–42b2/pp. 83.1–84.2) advises a student about *mahāmudrā* practice, who is named in the colophon as “infantry general A gsum pa” (*sa’i dmag dpon a gsum pa*). Again, the song itself has no title and my working-title was derived from the colophon. To present the transmission of instruction or advice is one of the core facets of *mgur*, as is here indicated by the opening directed to the student “Hey (*kyai*)—Listen, oh fortunate son of a noble family,”<sup>60</sup> and the wording of the colophon, using the second stem of the verb *’doms pa*, in this context meaning, “to instruct, teach.”<sup>61</sup> The student is introduced as someone who had previously received (pointing out?) instructions from Karma ’phrin las pa and the wording allows us to conclude that when meeting at the occasion of the song, Karma ’phrin las pa was much older or somehow affected by some bodily ailment.

### Style and Context

The style follows a very popular *mgur* meter, also known from Mila’s *mgur ’bum*, that is employed frequently within Karma ’phrin las pa’s *Songs*, where, according to Beyers’s interpretation, the second weak position is left empty, here indicated by a hyphen: [1–] [10] [10] [100]. Beyer calls this *catalexis*.<sup>62</sup>

<i>/pha—bla ma mdun gyi nam mkhar bsgoms/</i>	[1–] [10] [10] [100]
<i>/lus—ngag yid gdungs bas gsol ba thob/</i>	[1–] [10] [10] [100]
<i>/de—’od du zhus nas rang la bstims/</i>	[1–] [10] [10] [100]
<i>ma bcos blo bral gyi gnas lugs bltos/</i>	[10] [100] [100]

Visualising your lama in the space in front of you,  
 Supplicate fervently, with body, speech, and mind,  
 The lama dissolves into light and melts into you:  
 Look at the true nature, uncontrived, free from intellectualisation!

60 *Ibid.*, p. 83.2: *kyai gsan dang skal ldan rigs kyi bu/*.

61 *Ibid.*, p. 84.1: (...) *dmag dpon a gsum pa la gdams pa’o//*.

62 Beyer 1992: 413–415; he gives various examples. Sujata 2005: 128–132 presents example-verses from the 17th-century Amdo scholar sKaldan rgya mtsho and also discusses the possible similarities of this meter to the different types of Tibetan folk songs (*glu*).

Another example within the *Songs of Karma*' phrin las pa is found in the *Yin lugs rnam drang por sgrog pa'i glu*, *The Song Proclaiming Directly How Things Are*, which is essentially a tribute to the First Karma-pa (1110–1193):

/mi—nga rang ngan te dam chos bzang/  
 /chos—phyag rgya chen po rang gi sems/  
 /gzhi—thog na 'bras bu lhun gyis grub/  
 /zung 'jug rgyal kham ltad mor che/<sup>63</sup>

A person [such as] me is bad, [but] the supreme teaching good:  
 The *mahāmudrā*, one's own mind,  
 In the basis its result is spontaneously present—  
 Royal realm of inseparability, what immense spectacle!

The advice of the song translated here is compact and straightforward, communicating the view and practice of the bKa' brgyud pa *mahāmudrā*, ranging from pointing out the mind with typical terminology such as “uncontrived” (*ma bcos*) and “natural” (*gnyug ma*), to advice on meditation on the lama and instructions for dying. In essence, it promotes the guru-yoga as a key practice for actualising the nature of mind, a core element of the *mahāmudrā* and Vajrayāna traditions.

### Translation

Homage to the indestructible mind!  
 Emanation of all the Buddhas,  
 Though your mind does not move from the expanse of the dharmakāya,  
 You continuously accomplish the benefit of beings.  
 Father, Chos grags rgya mtsho, to your feet I bow!  
 Listen, oh fortunate son of a noble family,  
 Through the power of a karmic connection from former lives<sup>64</sup>  
 You have now become a dharma student;  
 As hope and refuge, you rely on me.<sup>65</sup>

63 *mGur* no. 11, p. 17.2.

64 Literally: “through the power of a connection by karma from previous lives.”

65 Literally: “as object of hope, as refuge, you direct your mind to me.”

Therefore, you are like a heart-son.

When formerly your awareness was radiant,  
You requested the profound instructions of the *mahāmudrā*,  
And zealously trained the key-points of that practice.

Is there now clarity in the mind?  
If through dullness, which furthers the slime–sicknesses,  
Or idleness, which weakens the four bodily elements,  
This [instruction] cannot be remembered clearly,

These are the words of the *mahāmudrā*:  
The [true] meaning is called “the own mind,”  
So let the mind rest in an uncontrived, natural state;  
And relax at ease into clarity and emptiness, free from conceptual  
states!

Visualising your lama in the space in front of you,  
Supplicate fervently, with body, speech, and mind,  
The lama dissolves into light and melts into you:  
Look at the true nature, uncontrived, free from intellectualisation!

Not once, but again and again this has to be repeated,  
Often, in short sessions, is the instruction.  
Install the guard of awareness without grasping,  
There is nothing to meditate upon, and nothing to be distracted from.

The unborn base—the *dharmakāya*,  
The unobstructed radiance—the *sambhogakāya*,  
The manifold manifestation—the *nirmānakāya*:  
These three will be swiftly accomplished.

Do this as a regular practice!  
If you do not obtain the three buddha bodies in this life,  
In the great time when meeting death  
Train in this practice at the time of death:<sup>66</sup>

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66 The phrase *'da' ka ma'i nyams len* remains slightly obscure, although *'da'* obviously means “passing, death” and we are dealing with advice on practice when dying. Volker Caumanns has suggested to read as *'da' ka* as “time of death” nominalised (with *ma*) on the basis of titles such as *'Chi ka ma'i man ngag* in the *bKa' 'bum rgyas pa* of Sangs rgyas dbon ston. The changing of a presumed *kha* to *ka* could not be resolved.

Point the head north and place it on a high cushion<sup>67</sup>  
 And sleep lying on the right side.  
 When the Buddha passed beyond suffering,  
 This was a way to teach the authentic dharma without words.

The inner winds stream in and out together with the movement of  
 speech,  
 Relax into the easiness, the undistracted mind.  
 This is self-awareness—the union of clarity and emptiness,  
 Train this without any interruption!

Though you came to me now: there is nothing beyond that [teaching]!  
 This key instruction contains all teachings of profound meaning—  
 Fortunate son, take it to your heart  
 And practice this without distraction!

This has been taught in rGyal la to the infantry general A gsum pa  
 at the twenty-fifth day of the fourth hor-month of the iron-hare year  
 (1531).

### **A Song about the Joy of Having the Four Confidences**

The title of this brief song, *gDeng bzhi ldan bde chen po'i mgur* (*mGur* no. 12, fol. 9a1–9a7/pp. 18.1–18.7), is extracted from the last verse that mentions the circumstances of uttering it. The song consists of seven four-lined stanzas. Four stanzas form the main body of the text and outline the four kinds of confidence. (I have chosen “confidence” as the translation for *gdeng* here rather than “certainty.”) The four kinds of confidence mentioned are those of view, meditation, conduct and fruition (*lta ba'i gdeng*, *sgom pa'i gdeng*, *spyod pa'i gdeng* and *'bras bu'i gdeng*). The first verse pays homage to the guru, and one each introduces the setting and concludes the song. This work, too, can be considered a song of experience, in that it contains a kind of self-instruction set against

67 The phrase *mgo byang bstan sngas ka mtho bar byas* (possibly *byang ba stan* but less likely due to metrics) is a bit tricky. BGT has *sngas – mgo sngas te/ nyal dus mgo 'jog sa'i chas* and *sngas mgo – nyal skabs mgo 'jog sa'i phyogs*. In her paper about rituals for “deceiving death” (*'chi bslu*), Mengele 2010: 123 n. 14 translates the Tibetan *byang bstan* as “(...) pointing it to the east and north,” too, in the passage: *sgrol ma'i spyan sngar bzlas nas ni/ zho dang sbrang rtsis sngar shags pa'i/ dārva'i* (sic!) *myu gu'i rtse mo ni/ shar dang byang bstan sbyin sreg bya/*

a specific situation: Karma 'phrin las pa has woken up in the morning with slightly disorderly energy winds and the resulting unclear experience; he pronounces the song as an antidote to this state, reminding himself of the key points of the path. The song's locus is a sacred site in Tsā ri, where Karma 'phrin las pa presumably engaged in prolonged meditation, possibly yogic practices.

### Style and Contexts

The meter is more complex than in the other songs. It is generally a-periodical in all verses, but the pattern of the homage, introductory and concluding stanzas again differ from those of the four core stanzas. The homage in the first stanza (1) follows a regular pattern in the first two lines; the introductory stanza (2) alternates lines with eight and nine syllables. The four main confidences-stanzas (3–6) all exhibit the same a-periodical pattern: The two first and two final lines of each verse follow a parallel pattern, where the final lines all have identical wording and conclude with the poetic and joyful exclamation *ba la/pa la*.<sup>68</sup> This creates a recurring tune and rhythm. I would interpret the metrics of the exemplary stanza three as follows:

*/rgya chad phyogs lhung bral ba'i sems nyid la/*

[10] [10] [10] [100]

*/ngos gzung mtshan ma med pa lta ba'i gdeng/*

[10] [10] [10] [100]

*/gdeng de kun dang ldan pa'i rnal 'byor nga bde ba la/*

[10] [10] [10][10][1][100]

*/de—kun dang ldan pa'i sgom chen nga skyid pa la/*

[1–] [10] [10][10][1][100]

In mind's nature, free from partiality or direction,

Lies the confidence of view, without clinging to reality, without  
characteristics.

What joy for me, the yogin, who found this complete confidence!

What happiness for me, the meditator, who is endowed with all this!

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68 Beyer 1992: 384.



What is achieved through this poetic technique? The pattern of the verses accords with their content and alludes to their place in Karma 'phrin las pa's experience. While the first two lines come across as a statement which sets and defines the topic, namely the confidence (*gdeng*), the last two lines both ending in *nga bde ba la* and *nga skyid pa la* suggest relief and joy of having achieved such confidence along with the self-labelling as yogin and great meditator. The repetition further onomatopoeically strengthens this impression. Additionally, the four confidences follow the familiar pattern of view, meditation, conduct and fruition, making the song a complete set of instructions embedded in the telling of a story.

### Translation

Homage to the indestructible mind!

Lord, Karmapa, superior to the Buddha,  
 You have blessed the mind of mine, your fortunate son,  
 You point out experience of great bliss as self-liberated.  
 To you father, supreme guide, and dharma-master, I bow.

When waking from the sleep of yesterday's clear light  
 The mind follows the energy-winds, moving and wild.  
 Experience is shaky (*ban bun*), appearances wobbly (*lang ma long*).<sup>69</sup>  
 In order to settle this, I sing this tune:

In mind's nature, free from partiality or direction,  
 Lies the confidence of view, without clinging to reality, without  
 characteristics.  
 What joy for me, the yogin, who found this complete confidence!  
 What happiness for me, the meditator, who is endowed with all this!<sup>70</sup>

In the practice free from object meditated upon and meditation,  
 Lies the confidence of meditation, to know the self-expression of the  
 moving mind.<sup>71</sup>

69 This line is full of idiomatic and onomatopoeic word play.

70 Here, *kun* might also be understood as adverb, "(...) who is completely endowed with it."

71 This version translates '*gyu ba rang ngo shes pa sgom pa'i gdeng* by constructing an omitted genitive (as is often the case in poetry) between '*gyu ba* and *rang ngo*.

What joy for me, the yogin, who found this complete confidence!  
 What happiness for me, the meditator, who is endowed with all this!

In the conduct free from pretense, manifest or hidden,  
 Lies the confidence of conduct, protecting effortlessness as meeting.<sup>72</sup>  
 What joy for me, the yogin, who found this complete confidence!  
 What happiness for me, the meditator, who is endowed with all this!

In one's mind that abides timelessly as *dharmakāya*,  
 Lies the confidence of fruition, free from the desire to attain, hope or  
 fear.

What joy for me, the yogin, who found this complete confidence!  
 What happiness for me, the meditator, who is endowed with all this!

When in the early morning, the first light dawns,  
 The song of the great endowment of the four confidences,  
 In order to settle the wild and moving mind  
 Is offered as music to please the Dākiṅīs!

This was said in the hare year, in the morning of the fifth day of the ninth  
 month, on a particular [site] of the holy place of Tsā ri tra called “Bod  
 som mgo.”

### Concluding Observations

The examples of the songs translated here, together with the texts already translated by previous researchers and the catalogue in Rheingans 2021, offer an impression of their literary style, historical value and doctrinal content. In the *Songs*, Karma 'phrin las pa clearly embodies his “bKa' bgyud pa identity,” adhering to the lineage-specific genre conventions (as far as we know them now) and the theme of *mahāmudrā*. What is more, his key Sa skya teachers, such as Mus chen or Sangs rgyas 'phel are not listed among the lamas venerated at the outset of each song. Although still relying on limited evidence, we can, in the *Songs*, observe

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The more grammatical solution is to translate the actual apposition, “to know the moving [mind], the self-expression (*rang ngo*),” which likely boils down to the same meaning (namely that the moving mind *is* the own expression) but is more vague in English.

72 The meaning of *thug phrad* (“meeting”) remains ultimately unclarified but seems to be a word play with the two previous words.

another instance of the multidimensional function of *mgur*, wherein we find both instruction to self and others, praise of gurus and auto-hagiographical elements. Unsurprisingly, many songs contain an abundance of doctrinal statements. While all this seems typical for songs, it makes—as so often—for blurred genre lines, especially with regard to instruction-like text types, other poetic works such as praises and autobiographies.

In the future, it seems advisable to not only employ the *Songs* as literary or historical sources, but to further investigate them through comparison with those of contemporary authors regarding style and content. Doing so, questions about authorship and textual production as well as the performance, spiritual function and later traditional usage of songs should be asked. Lama Jampa Thaye, for example, has mentioned that the transmission of the *Songs* is still intact.<sup>73</sup> Should more related writings of Karma 'phrin las pa become available, especially the commentaries on the Seventh Karmapa's songs and on Tilopa's Ganges *mahāmudrā*, it will allow us to better explore the *Song's* place in the context of his works.

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73 Oral communication, London, 2006.

**Appendix: The Tibetan Texts**<sup>74</sup>**A Song about Good Buddhist Practice in Various Situations***mGur* no. 9, fols. 7b5–8a4/pp. 14.5–15.3

na ma shtsitta badzrā ya//

rje bla ma'i zhabs pad bsten tsam na/ thos pa'i chos la nan tan byas/ sgro  
 'dogs phyi ru dpyod pa'i tshe/ bka' dang bstan bcos phal cher bsblabs/  
 nyams myong nang du bskyed tsam na/ rtse cig bsgrub la brtson par  
 byas/ mang po'i tshogs su sdod tsam na/ cir snang thams cad grogs  
 su khyer/ri khrod dben par sdod tsam na/ gdams pa'i zab gnad nyams  
 su blangs/dus dang gnas skabs thams cad du/ ma yengs sems la bya  
 ra byas/ lta ba'i nam 'phangs spyod tsam na/ thogs med nam mkha'i  
 dbyings la 'chos/ [fol. 8a/p.15] sgom pa'i gol sa gcod tsam na/ ma yengs  
 dran pa'i rgyangs so btsugs/ spyod pa rtsing<sup>75</sup> zhib 'byed tsam na/ bya  
 rtsol sbun lkogs bzhin du dor/ 'bras bu sangs rgyas bsgrubs tsam na/ re  
 dogs nam mkha'i 'ja' bzhin dengs/ nyams dang rtogs pa shar tsam na/  
 phyed du ma gzung lhug par gzhag/ dang ldan slob mas bskor tsam na/  
 nyin mtshan chos kyi 'khor lo bskor/ rang nyid gcig pur sdod tsam na/  
 sems nyid chos sku'i rang zhal bltas/ rkyen ngan bar chad byung tsam  
 na/ ro snyoms spyod pas thog rdzis byas/ rgyal po'i 'pho brang 'grim  
 tsam na/ 'dod yon ma lus grogs su khyer/ sde chen gnas gzhi 'dzugs  
 tsam na/ bstan dang sems can snying la bcangs/ rnal 'byor pho mo  
 tshogs tsam na/ nyams dang rtogs pa'i go bdur<sup>76</sup> byas/ da ni shi yang  
 'gyod rgyu med/ sngar kyang dam pa'i lha chos byas/da dung gzhan  
 don kho na byed/ rang don bsgrub par ma gyur cig/ ces pa yos lo zla ba  
 lnga pa'i tshes gsum la phrag tshal du smras pa'o/

**An Advice to A gsum pa***mGur* no. 54, fol. 42a1–42b2/pp. 83.1–84.2

// na ma shtsitta badzrā ya//

/rje sangs rgyas kun gyi spul pa'i sku/

/thugs chos sku'i ngang las ma g.yos kyang/

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74 The vertical sign | marks a line break in the Tibetan text.

75 Possible alternative reading *rtsid*.

76 Read: *bsdur*.

/dus rgyun chad med par 'gro don mdzad/  
 /yab chos | grags rgya mtsho'i zhabs la 'dud/  
 /kyai gsan dang skal ldan rigs kyi bu/  
 /tshe sngon nas las kyi<sup>77</sup> 'brel pa'i mthus/  
 /dus ding sang chos kyi slob bur gyur/  
 /skyabs re sa bdag la blo ltos zhus/  
 /don de phyir snying gi bu dang 'dra/  
 /sngon rig pa dangs ba'i dus nyid du/  
 /chos | phyag rgya chen po'i zab khrid zhus/  
 /de nyams len gyi gnad la nan tan byas/  
 /dus da lta sems la gsal lags sam/  
 /nad bad kan rgyas pa'i bying rmugs dang/  
 /lus 'byung bzhi gud pa'i snyoms las kyis/  
 /de ji bzhin gsal por ma dran na/  
 /chos phyag rgya | chen po skad pa de/  
 /don rang gi sems la zer ba yin/  
 /sems ma bcos gnyug ma'i ngang la zhog/  
 /de gsal stong blo bral du lhod kyis glod/  
 /pha bla ma mdun gyi nam mkhar bsgoms/  
 /lus ngag yid gdungs bas gsol ba thob/  
 /de 'od du zhus nas rang la bstims/  
 | ma bcos blo bral gyi gnas lugs bltos/  
 /de lan gcig ma yin yang yang skyor/  
 /thun chung la mang ba man ngag yin/  
 /'dzin med dran pa yi so ba tshugs/  
 /sgom rgyu dang yengs rgyu gnyis la med/  
 /gzhis skye ba med pa chos kyi sku/  
 /gdangs 'gag pa med pa longs spyod rdzogs//|  
 /rtsal cir yang 'char ba sprul pa'i sku/  
 /de gsum ka myur du rogs par 'gyur/  
 /dus rgyun pa'i nyams len de la mdzod/  
 /tshe 'di ru sku gsum ma thob na/

---

77 *mchan* adds *sa = kyis*.

/dus chen po 'chi la thub pa'i tshe/  
 /'da' ka ma'i nyam len 'di la mdzod/  
 /mgo byang bstan<sup>78</sup> sngas ka mtho | bar byas/  
 /gzhogs gyas pa 'og tu bcug nas nyol  
 /'di thib dbang mya ngan 'da' ka ru/  
 /sgra med du dam chos bstan tshul yin/  
 /ngag rgyu bar lung gi 'byung 'jug la/  
 /sems yengs lhod der glod nas kyang/  
 /gsal stong pa zung 'jug rig pa'i ngang<sup>79</sup>/  
 /de zang thal [fol. 42b/p. 84] nyid du nyams su long/  
 /da mdun du sleb kyang de las med/  
 /chos zab don bsdus pa'i nyid gu 'di/  
 /bu skal ldan nying la 'di ltar chongs/  
 /de sengs pa med par nyams len mdzod/  
 /ces pa lcags mo yos lo hor zla bzhi pa'i nyer lnga la rgyal la (sic) sa'i  
 dmag dpon a | gsum pa la gdams pa'o//

**gDeng bzhi ldan bde chen po'i mgur, A Song about the Joy of Having the Four Confidences**

*mGur* no. 12, fols. 9a1–9a7/pp. 18.1–18.7

// na ma shtsitta badzrā ya/  
 /rje sangs rgyas las lhag pa'i karma pa/  
 /bu skal ldan gyi sems rgyud byin brlabs nas/  
 /nyams bde chen rang grol du ngo sprod pa'i/  
 /pha 'dren mchog chos rje zhabs la 'dud/ |  
 /mdang<sup>80</sup> 'od gsal gnyid las sad dus su/  
 /rlung 'phro rgod kyī rjes la sems 'brangs nas/  
 /nyams ban bun snang ba lang ma long/  
 /de gtan la 'bebs pa phyir dbyangs shig len/

78 Possible alternative reading *byang ba stan* but less likely due to metrics.

79 Possible alternative reading *rang*.

80 Em. *gdangs*. Possible alternative reading *mda'*.

/rgya chad phyogs lhung bral ba'i sems nyid la/  
 /ngos gzung mtshan ma med | pa lta ba'i gdeng/  
 /gdeng de kun dang ldan pa'i rnal 'byor nga bde ba la/  
 /de kun dang ldan pa'i sgom chen nga skyid pa la/  
  
 /bsgom bya sgom byed dang bral ba'i nyams len la/  
 /'gyu ba rang ngo shes pa sgom pa'i gdeng/  
 /gdeng de kun dang ldan pa'i rnal 'byor nga bde | ba la/  
 /de kun dang ldan pa'i sgom chen nga skyid pa la/  
  
 /tshul chos ngos lkog dang bral ba'i spyod pa la/  
 /shugs 'byung thug phrad<sup>81</sup> du skyong ba spyod pa'i gdeng/  
 /gdeng de kun dang ldan pa'i rnal 'byor nga bde ba la/  
 /de kun dang ldan pa'i sgom chen nga skyid pa | la/  
  
 /rang sems gdod nas chos skur bzhugs pa la/  
 /thob 'dod re dogs dang bral ba 'bras bu'i gdeng/  
 /gdeng de kun dang ldan pa'i rnal 'byor nga bde ba la/  
 /de kun dang ldan pa'i sgom chen nga skyid pa la/  
  
 /nam tho rangs skya rens shar ba'i tshe/  
 /gdeng bzhi | ldan pa chen po'i mgur/  
 /sams 'phro rgod cham la 'bebs pa'i phyir/  
 /mkha' 'gro rnam dgyes pa'i rol mor 'bul/  
  
 /zhes pa yos lo zla ba dgu pa'i tshes lnga'i zhogs pa tsā ri tra'i gnas kyi  
 bye brag bod som mgo zhes bya bar smras pa'o//

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81 Possible alternative reading *srad*.

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## **Tigers and Leopards for the Monastery: An Inventory of Gifts from sNar thang to Rwa sgrenḡ**

Ulrike Roesler  
(University of Oxford)

Over the past few decades, Tibetan scholarship has increasingly been enriched by multi-faceted approaches that combine historical and anthropological methods, consider religious doctrines and practices in their relationship with material culture, or look at art and textual sources side by side (as the recipient of this Festschrift has done in numerous publications). In an endeavour to gain a more rounded picture of social, intellectual, cultural, and material life on the plateau, sources outside the Tibetan literary mainstream are often particularly rewarding. Letters, administrative documents,<sup>1</sup> text types rendering speech,<sup>2</sup> and personal notes reveal details of Tibetan society and culture that might otherwise have escaped us. The present contribution will focus on one such document, a letter sent from sNar thang to Rwa sgrenḡ monastery preserved among the writings of the 7th abbot of sNar thang, mChims Nam mkha' grags (1210–1285).<sup>3</sup> The letter concerns a donation of religious objects and material goods from sNar thang to Rwa sgrenḡ and contains—in addition to the description of the circumstances of this donation—a detailed list of the objects that were presented to the *saṅgha* of Rwa sgrenḡ at that time. Thus, it not only provides valuable insights into the relationship between the two monasteries, but also into the material culture of monastic life.

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1 See the publications and studies of administrative documents by scholars such as Dieter Schuh, Karl-Heinz Everding, Hanna Schneider, Charles Ramble, and Peter Schwieger.

2 See for example Jackson 1984 on the *Mollas* (*mol bas*) of Mustang.

3 “A letter sent from the noble hermitage of sNar thang to the great institution of Rwa sgrenḡ, the hermitage of the Victor”; see *'Phrin yig*, fol. 21a6–7: *dpal snar thang gi dben gnas dam pa nas : ra sgrenḡ rgyal ba'i dben gnas kyi gtsug lag khang chen por [...] phul ba'i 'phrin yig*.

As the letter records, dGe bshes rTsang pa Jo gdan<sup>4</sup> had conveyed a message from Rwa sgreng to sNar thang, and in response to this, it was decided in the following year to undertake extensive fundraising in gTsang and to collect various kinds of gifts to be sent to Rwa sgreng. As the letter explains, the religious objects at Rwa sgreng had become old and worn out and needed restoration. In particular, sNar thang provided various materials for the purpose of redecorating the dBu rtse, the central temple of Rwa sgreng that dates from the foundation period of the monastery (1057). This building was of particular importance as it housed the six-armed Mañjuvajra statue thought to have belonged to Atiśa Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna (982–1054), and brought to Rwa sgreng by its founder 'Brom ston pa (1004–1064).<sup>5</sup> All across gTsang, monks, local donors, and patrons made their contributions in a joint effort to collect various gifts and valuable items. These were dispatched to Rwa sgreng in the summer of a male iron monkey year.

Unfortunately, the dates provided in the letter do not entirely match up, and it is therefore difficult to establish its date with certainty.<sup>6</sup> The letter is not signed. Its colophon is dated to a wood monkey year,<sup>7</sup> and the letter states that it was sent in response to a message from Rwa

4 On the title Jo gdan and the *gdan gcig/stan gcig* “single mat” practice of eating only once a day, see Heimbel 2013: 221–224. The letter consistently uses the spelling rTsang for gTsang.

5 On this statue, see Iuchi 2016: 33; a good photograph can be found in Henss 2014: 285. When I visited Rwa sgreng in the early 2000s, the statue was in the inner shrine of the dBu rtse temple known as the chapel with two pillars (*ka gnyis ma*). The Ka gnyis ma has its own internal circumambulation path and is in this respect similar to other early monastic foundations of Central Tibet, such as the famous temple of Grwa thang. When I returned to Rwa sgreng in 2015, the assembly hall (*'du khang*) of the dBu rtse had just been enlarged and the image had been moved to an adjacent building. I am unable to say whether it has meanwhile returned to its original location.

6 Schuman 2016: 88 dates the letter to 1268 (which would be a *sa 'brug* year) and the donation itself to 1261 (*lcags bya*), unfortunately without providing any evidence or references for these dates.

7 The letter ends with “Here ends the letter sent from the noble hermitage of sNar thang to the great institution of Rwa sgreng, the hermitage of the Victor, in the first summer month of the male wood monkey year.” See *'Phrin yig* fol. 21a6–7: *dpal snar thang gi dben gnas dam pa nas : ra sgreng rgyal ba'i dben gnas kyi gtsug lag khang chen por : shing pho spre'u'i lo dbyar zla ra ba'i dus su phul ba'i 'phrin yig rdzogs sho //*.

sgreng in the previous year, a water sheep year.<sup>8</sup> Within the 13th century, these years would correspond to either 1223 and 1224, or 1283 and 1284. A further date is provided at the end of the document in a note appended to the colophon in small script. An insertion mark makes it likely that it was meant to be a gloss relating to the expression “*ra sgreng rgyal ba’i dben gnas kyi gtsug lag khang chen po*” in the colophon. It is not entirely legible, but seems to say that the letter was copied “182 years after [the foundation of the dBu rtse] by Grags pa [don] grub from the personal book (*phyag dpe*) of the abbot and true Kalyāṇamitra by the name of Nam mkha’,”<sup>9</sup> which cannot refer to anyone else but mChims Nam mkha’ grags. As the dBu rtse was founded in 1057, this addendum would have been written in 1239. Assuming that the calculation is correct, we have to conclude that the letter was written at the earlier of the two possible dates, in 1224.

Further details seem to support this timeframe. As the letter explains, dGe bshes rTsang pa Jo gdan served as messenger between Rwa sgreng and sNar thang. He is described as a “caretaker of the *dharma*,” and he conveyed the message “even though it was not fitting for him to serve as a messenger,”<sup>10</sup> which implies that he was of high status at the time of writing. It is likely that he is identical with Slob dpon Jo gdan gTsang pa, the head of Rwa sgreng in 1230/31–1235/36,<sup>11</sup> who must already have been a highly respected person in 1224. It should also be noted that the letter makes no mention of the attack on Rwa sgreng by Mongol troops under general Dorta in 1240. If the gifts had been sent to Rwa sgreng for the purpose of restoring the buildings and art work after a Mongol raid, one might expect some allusion to this event, and its lack may therefore indicate that the raid had not yet taken place.

8 *’Phrin yig*, fol. 9b2.

9 The handwriting is very faint, but seems to read (*’Phrin yig* fol. 21a7–8): *dge bshes ston pas lugi lo la ra sgreng du gdan phab de nas lo 2 na u rtse rin po che bzhangs : de nas lo brgya brgyad bcu rtsa 2 lon pa’i dus su : // mkhan po yongs kyi dge ba’i bshes gnyen nam mkha’i mtshan can gyi phyag dpe las (?) bris (?) pa (?) grags pa grub kyi lagso //*. BDRC (tbc.org) lists a Grags pa don grub among the students of mChims Nam mkha’ grags, but the dates given for him (1377–1467) are much too late.

10 *’Phrin yig*, fol. 9b1: *bstan pa’i spyi gnyer mdzad pa dge bshes rtsang pa jo gdan phonyar mi ’os kyang [...]*.

11 Iuchi 2016: 20 provides a list of the early abbots of Rwa sgreng and their dates as far as these are known.

While the details presented so far seem to match up, they are not in accordance with the date given for the year in which the gifts were dispatched. According to the letter, this happened in an iron monkey year, which would correspond to 1260. Should this read “wood monkey” (1224) rather than “iron monkey” and thus coincide with the date of the letter itself? Moreover, the proposed date does not fit very well if we assume that mChims Nam mkha’ grags is the author: 1224 is long before he became abbot of sNar thang in 1250/51, and he would have been only fourteen years old at the time. The editors of the *bKa’ gdams gsung ’bum phyogs bsgrigs* have presumably included the letter among his writings because of the above-mentioned note stating that it was copied from mChims Nam mkha’ grags’ own book. However, as the letter is not signed, it is entirely possible that mChims Nam mkha’ grags is not the author but only kept a copy among his personal manuscripts. He could easily have been in possession of a copy of the letter, since copies of official letters were usually kept at the place from where they were sent. mChims Nam mkha’ grags visited sNar thang in 1223 with his uncle mChims Blo gros brtan pa and returned there in 1230 to receive his full ordination and formal monastic training.<sup>12</sup> This would have given him an opportunity to access the letter and keep it among his own notes and writings.

All arguments considered, it seems plausible to assume that the letter was written in 1224 and survived because it was contained in a notebook in the possession of mChims Nam mkha’ grags, from where it was copied by the scribe of our manuscript in 1239. However, a more thorough investigation of the names mentioned in the letter would be needed to establish the dates with certainty, and due to the slightly inconclusive evidence,<sup>13</sup> I shall leave the issue of dating open for now.

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12 See Schuman 2016: 73–108 for a summary of mChims Nam mkha’ grags’ life based on his biography in the *sNar thang gser phreng*.

13 For example, the letter mentions those in the assembly “who were present at the time of the 4th throne holder” of sNar thang, Gro ston bDud rtsi grags (1153–1232) (see *’Phrin yig* fol. 4a1–2). This seems to imply that the letter was written after, but not too long after his lifetime, which would contradict the dating proposed here.



The structure of the letter follows established patterns of official letter writing,<sup>14</sup> adapted to the specific contents and purpose of the letter. It can broadly be subdivided into the following sections:

- *Invocatio*: Homage to the lamas, the Buddha, and Atiśa Dīpaṅkaraśrījñāna (p. 254/fol. 2b1–6); praise of the monastery of Rwa sgreng and invocation of protective deities (pp. 254–256/fols. 2b6–3b1)
- The setting (broadly corresponding to the *intitulatio*): Description of the monasteries of Rwa sgreng and sNar thang (pp. 256–259/fols. 3b1–4a1)
- *Inscriptio*: Salutation and request to pay attention (“listen”) to the letter (p. 259/fol. 4a1–7)
- Praise (*bstod pa*) of Atiśa and ’Brom ston pa (pp. 260–264/fols. 4b1–6b7)
- *Narratio*: Description of the monastic community at Rwa sgreng (pp. 264–267/fols. 6b7–8a5), the need to restore the dBu rtse of Rwa sgreng (p. 267/fol. 8a5–6) and the decision to do so in response to a request from Rwa sgreng sent in the previous year (pp. 267–269/fols. 8a7–9a7); fundraising efforts in gTsang (pp. 269–272/fols. 9a7–10b1)
- List of gifts in prose and in verse (pp. 272–279/fols. 10b2–14a6)
- Requests to the *saṅgha* of Rwa sgreng to (1) achieve the task of renovating the temple (pp. 279–283/fols. 14a6–16a3), (2) observe the *dharma* (pp. 283–284/fol. 16a3–b6), and (3) dedicate the merit of the renovation (pp. 284–287/fols. 16b6–18a3)

14 The letter from sNar thang to Rwa sgreng is significantly longer than the administrative documents and letters presented in publications such as Schuh 1977 and Everding 2006, but it follows a similar structure. Its structure is also broadly comparable with the *skyabs tho* (letters of request) described in Jackson 1984, which consist of “I. Opening salutation, mentioning the recipients of the offerings and the ones to whom the request was addressed. II. The supplication [...]. III. Mention of offerings [...]. IV. Concluding summary of the request [...]” (Jackson 1984: 47). Convenient overviews of Tibetan conventions of diplomatic letter writing can be found in Schneider 2005, esp. pp. 259–260 and in Schwieger 2015: 4–6. Diplomatic letters differ significantly from the genre of Buddhist epistles (Tibetan *spring yig/’phrin yig*, Sanskrit *lekha*) presented in Dietz 1984. Both types of letters, diplomatic and religious ones, are included in a useful bibliographical survey on Tibetan letter writing by Jampa Samten and Dan Martin (Samten and Martin 2015: 323–326).

- Prayer including analogies between the splendour of the renovated buildings and the flourishing of the *dharma* (pp. 287–291/fols. 18a7–20a6)
- *sMon tshig* (pp. 291–293/fols. 20a6–21a5) and eschatocol/colophon: The letter was sent from sNar thang to Rwa sgren in the first summer month of the wood monkey year (p. 293/fol. 21a6–7). *Subscript*: The letter was copied from the book of the one called Nam mkha’ by Grags pa [don] grub 182 years after the foundation of the dBu rtse (p. 293/fol. 21a7–8).

The letter contains a number of interesting elements which will be discussed elsewhere.<sup>15</sup> In this paper, I shall focus on the list of gifts (pp. 272–279/fols. 10b–14a) alone. The items donated to Rwa sgren are listed twice, first in prose and then in verse, including their respective quantities. Through this meticulous recording, the donor obviously wanted to ensure that everything was safely delivered and none of the precious items could get lost or diverted to other destinations. Researchers interested in the manuscripts and artwork housed at Rwa sgren may find it interesting to read the letter side by side with other documents related to the monastery’s sacred objects, as they provide “snapshots” of the items in its possession at specific times and may allow us to trace the history of their acquisition and preservation to some degree.<sup>16</sup>

The list presents a fascinating overview of objects that were considered valuable and suitable as gifts to a monastery. As one would expect, it opens with the three types of religious objects: statues and paintings as “objects of the body” (*sku rten*), manuscripts of religious texts as “objects of speech” (*gsung rten*), and *mchod rten* and relics as “objects of the mind” (*thugs kyi rten*). Book lovers will be pleased to find a wide range

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15 I am planning to discuss the letter in more detail in the context of a monograph on the early history of Rwa sgren with the working title *Tibetan Monasticism in the Making: The Case of Rwa sgren Monastery* (in preparation).

16 The letter can provide useful information if compared with the accounts of Atiśa’s and ’Brom ston pa’s life included in mChims Nam mkha’ grags’ *sNar thang gser phreng* (on these two biographies see Eimer 1997 and 2008), the *Rwa sgren gi bshad pa nyi ma’i ’od zer* by ’Brom Shes rab me lce (Iuchi 2016), and the modern *Rwa sgren dkar chag*, *Rwa sgren chos sde chen po’i lo rgyus*, and *Rwa sgren chos sde chen po’i gnas yig*. Kano 2015 demonstrates how a careful comparison of sources such as these can provide evidence for the fate of the Indian manuscripts brought to Tibet by Atiśa.

of terms for books and manuscripts (*glegs bam*, *deb*, *po ti*, *pod*), individual volumes (*dum* or *dum pa*), and sets of books (*cha*) in the section on the “objects of speech.” It is also interesting to see that both donations of *Prajñāpāramitā* manuscripts mentioned in the letter—one to Rwa sgreng and one to Po to dgon pa—are accompanied by donations of butter lamps to be lit in front of these sacred scriptures as offerings, which highlights their special status as objects of devotion. However, the gifts do not only include high status religious objects, but also other items to be used for the restoration of the temple and for the use of the *saṅgha*: gold and precious stones, animals, fabrics, paper, and metal implements and tools. A striking element in the list of animals donated to Rwa sgreng are the tiger (*stag*), leopard (*gzig*), and snow leopard (*gung*).<sup>17</sup> As it seems unlikely that sNar thang would have sent three large live predators to Rwa sgreng, one may presume that the list refers to animal furs. However, if that is the intended meaning, it is puzzling why they are listed together with living domestic animals that are sent to Rwa sgreng as gifts, rather than listing them among the various types of fabrics and textiles mentioned further down in the letter. It is possible that this list of animals goes back to a standard trope of gift inventories that was incorporated into our letter.<sup>18</sup>

17 Franke et al (2010: 207) explains *gung* as “Leopard” or “Luchs” (‘leopard’ or ‘lynx’). The *Bod yig brda rnying tshig mdzod*, p. 75 states: *ri mo med pa’i stag ste / gcan gzan rtswa gzig la’ang zer /* (“A tiger without stripes; it is also called ‘grass leopard.’”). The *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo*, p. 357 on the other hand, has the explanation: [...] *stag dang dbyibs cha tsam ’dra zhing / spu ris nar mo dang sgor mo gnyis ’dres pa’i gcan gzan zhig ste*, “a carnivore, in shape similar to a tiger, with a mixture of oblong and round patterns in its fur,” which suggests a snow leopard. The synonym *rtswa gzig* in the *Bod yig brda rnying tshig mdzod* could therefore be a misspelling for *gsa’*, the regular name of the snow leopard. I am grateful to Dr Lama Jabb for providing this explanation.

18 The letter lists *stag gzig gung gsum* alongside horses and pack animals. Similar lists of animals are found in ritual texts, where the animals are presented as offerings to Buddhist or indigenous Tibetan deities. The triad of *stag gzig gung gsum* is not uncommon in rituals to mountain deities, where they form part of *mdos* rituals or *gtor ma* offerings. This context of offerings may perhaps have led to the idea that *stag*, *gzig*, and *gung* should also be included in the list of gifts for Rwa sgreng. Some sources suggest the notion of animal skins; these include the 12th century Bon history *Grags pa gling grags* which mentions collars made of the furs of *stag gzig gung gsum* as part of the attire of Bon priests (*Three Sources for the History of Bon*; *g.Yung drung bon gyi rgyud ’bum*, p. 22.4 and *sGrags pa gling grags*, p. 53.3).

The following pages contain the list of gifts from sNar thang to Rwa sgreng, presented as a gift of appreciation to the recipient of this Festschrift. The Tibetan text is provided in the appendix.

### The inventory of gifts sent from sNar thang to Rwa sgreng<sup>19</sup>

#### Religious objects listed in prose

[p. 272.1/fol. 10b1] ...The quantities of these useful objects, offered to the *saṅgha* of Rwa sgreng in the first summer month of the male iron monkey year are, if listed in short: [2] objects of the three jewels who are [our] refuge; additional implements for their ritual service; and donations of valuable materials for the roof of the dBu rtse rin po che.<sup>20</sup>

[3] Regarding the list of images, the objects of the body: There are one painting (*thang sku*) and one metal statue (*lugs ma*) of the master of the teaching, the *sugata* Śākyamuni. [4] There are one painting and one metal statue of the *sugata* King of Physicians (Bhaiṣajyaguru). There is one set (*cha*) of paintings of the five Jina families, embodying all the buddhas. [5] There is one metal statue of the Holder of the Vajra Body, Speech, and Mind<sup>21</sup> of all *sugatas*, Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi (rGyal sras Phyag na rdo rje). In short, seven paintings and three statues, [6] [i.e.,] ten objects of the body are being donated.

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The same description is also given in Shar rdza bKra shis rgyal mtshan's history of Bon (Karmay 2005: 226; Engl. tr. p. 44). The attestations in Bon histories and rituals to mountain deities may perhaps indicate that *stag gzig gung gsum* were a standard group in pre-Buddhist Tibetan traditions. Be that as it may, it was apparently a common triad to be listed among offerings or gifts, which may explain why the animals appear in our list. Donations of animal skins, including those of tigers and leopards, remained common in later centuries, and I thank Dr Yannick Laurent for providing me with images of murals from the Nor bu gling ka that show tiger and leopard furs, piled up together with other gifts in front of the *dharmarājas* of the Tibetan empire as well as religious figures, including Atiśa and the Dalai Lama.

19 Schuman 2016: 89–91 provides a tabular overview of the items mentioned in the prose parts of the list.

20 As mentioned above, the dBu rtse is the central temple of Rwa sgreng that houses the most important statue of the monastery. Here and in a few other instances, the scribe spells the name *u rtse* instead of *dbu rtse*.

21 Tib. *sku gsung thugs kyi gsang ba 'dzin pa*. The holder of the “secret” (of the “vajra” body, speech, and mind) is Vajrapāṇi.

Regarding the objects of speech: The lord and subjects of dMyal, the noble people of gTsang 'Gur mo tshong 'dus,<sup>22</sup> serve the three jewels in general, and in particular hold the *saṅgha* of Rwa sgren high [7] like a crown jewel. Among these, there are those in the region of dMyal Khur po sgang, blessed by Jo bo Atiśa with an uninterrupted stream of the adornments of splendid enjoyments, [p. 273.1/fol. 11a1] and out of these there are those who abide in the worldly *dharma* with faith and wisdom [2] and who accomplish supreme activities with untiring vigour; [a region] where the leaves of the tree of merit flourish and where the sweet scent of a good reputation pervades the ten directions, [3] where subjects of the divine three jewels, who wield power in a kingdom without crown, are the norm—[these people] are donating the meditation object of the great patron 'Bum skyabs, [4] the Great *Śatasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā* (*rGyal ba'i yum chen mo*), the Larger [*Prajñāpāramitā*] in gold in fourteen fine volumes.<sup>23</sup> It is donated together with the materials for venerating it [in the form of] a good butter lamp which [is large enough to] last day and night, [5] together with the requisite (*cha rkyen*) of a *pa tre* (?)<sup>24</sup> for a continuous ritual service of reading it out every year. Moreover, there is one good volume (*glegs bam*) of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* in precious gold. [6] There are forty-one volumes (*pod*) of Sūtras [made of] precious [materials].<sup>25</sup> All in all, fifty-seven books [made of] precious [materials] (*rin chen po ti*) are being donated. Similarly, in terms of white

22 A place in gTsang, also known as Tshong 'dus gur mo/'gur mo/mgur mo.

23 Tib. *gser gyi rgyas pa bcu 4 dum bzang po*; I assume that *rgyas pa* stands for *yum rgyas pa* and *dum* is here used in the sense of *dum pa* “book, volume,” although it could of course also have the usual meaning “piece, portion.”

24 The first letter has a slightly unusual shape, but most likely represents the syllable *pa*. Tib. *pa tre* could be an alternative spelling for Tib. *pa tra*, which can according to S.C. Das represent 1. Skt. *patra* “figures, pictures of various designs,” 2. Skt. *pātra* “begging bowl,” and 3. “a gem” (Das 1902: 776). The first meaning relates to Skt. *patra* (n.) “leaf, document.” A document or chart (outlining the order of the ritual service?) is perhaps the most plausible meaning in this context, but I am not entirely certain.

25 Or: “precious Sūtras” (*rin po che'i mdo*)? The frequent mention of the materials used for the production of these books makes it likely that the letter is talking about “sūtras written in precious materials,” such as gold, silver, and copper on dark blue-black paper (*mthing shog*). An instructive description of Tibetan writing materials and paper is given in chapter 5 in Diemberger, Elliott and Clemente 2014.

[books],<sup>26</sup> [7] there are eight sets (*cha*) of the Larger *Prajñāpāramitā* (*rGyal ba'i yum rgyas pa*). There are thirty-four middle[-length] *Prajñāpāramitās*.<sup>27</sup> There is one set of the *Aṣṭadaśasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā*. There are nine sets of the *Ārya Aṣṭasāhasrikā*[*prajñāpāramitā*] *sūtra*.

[p. 274.1/fol. 11b1] And as for the scriptures based on this,<sup>28</sup> there is one set of the *Ārya Ratnakūṭa*. There is one set of the *Collected Dhāraṇīs*, the main part of the *Vidyādharaṇīka* (*rig 'dzin pa'i sde snod*). [2] In short, there are three hundred and four white volumes (*dkar po'i dum pa*). If one counts them all in all, three hundred and sixty-one books (*po ti*), the objects of speech, are being donated.

[3] Regarding the objects of the mind, there are sixteen *stūpas* with relics (*gdung rten*), headed by the reliquary (*gdung khang*) of the Kal-yānamitra sTabs ka ba the Great, and the reliquary of Shangs pa A me[s?], and the relics of sGyer gnon pa chen po.<sup>29</sup> [4] There are two vajras. Counting all together, eighteen receptacles of the mind are being donated.

[5] As for the ritual implements for their veneration, if we classify them: There is one umbrella.<sup>30</sup> There is one piece of conch-shell [in-laid] with precious copper. There is one white auspicious conch trumpet. There is one canopy. [6] There are three *maṇḍalas* of precious bronze and one *maṇḍala* of copper as seats [for the deities] (?),<sup>31</sup> making four. There is one set of seven offering bowls. There is one set of

26 Tib. *dkar po'i dbang du bgyis na yang*. “White” must here refer to the colour of the paper, as opposed to the “blue” books mentioned further down.

27 *Yum bar ma*, presumably identical with *Yum 'bring ba* (*Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā*).

28 Tib. *de la brten pa'i gsung rab*. This is an interesting remark; so far, I have not come across the idea that the *Ratnakūṭa* collection is based on or relies on the *Prajñāpāramitā*.

29 Quite likely a misspelling for \*dGyer sgom pa chen po, i.e., dGyer sgom pa gZhon nu grags pa (1090–1171?).

30 The previous part of the list used the honorific form *bzhugs* when referring to the statues, books, and *mchod rten*, whereas the verb used for the following objects of lower status is the ordinary form *mchis*.

31 Tib. *bzhugs gdan rin po che 'khar ba'i ma rdal 3 / zangs kyi ma rdal 1 dang 4 mchis pa lags*. The term *ma rdal* means “in the right proportions,” which is possible: “There are three seats in the right proportions made of precious bronze [...]” However, the versified list that follows contains the word *ma 'dal* = *maṇḍala*, which suggests that *ma rdal* is more likely to be a misspelling for *ma 'dal*.

seven copper teapots; [7] [counting their] upper and lower [parts] it is two sets. There are four brass lamps, together with the implements for butter lamps. There is one bell, given as a decoration for the dBu rtse rin po che. [p. 275.1/fol. 12a1] In short, forty-five ritual implements are being donated.

### Religious objects listed in verse

About these [gifts], we say:

“[2] Two [images of] Śākyamuni (*thub dbang*), the *vaiḍūrya* gem that illuminates our world far and wide (?),<sup>32</sup>

[one set of paintings of] the five Jinas, whose nature is the sphere of primordial wisdom (*ye shes dbyings*),

together with the Bodhisattva who holds the *vajra* (Vajrapāṇi), the holder of the secret—

[3] [these] ten exquisite receptacles of the body are being donated.

The core of the doctrine, the Extensive Sūtras,<sup>33</sup>

[including] the precious mother of the Victors,<sup>34</sup> the long, short, and very short [*Prajñāpāramitā*],

[4] together with the master of all secret tantras—

[these] fifty-seven books [copied in] precious [materials] (*rin chen po ti*) are being donated.

Similarly, the white [volumes of the *Perfection of Wisdom Sūtras*], the long and middle one,

together with the short [*Perfection of Wisdom*] which is based on them, are forty-nine;

[5] [and] the profound *Collection of Dhāraṇīs*—[these] immaculate receptacles of speech

32 Tib. *mi mjed be dur rgyar snang thub dbang 2 // mi mjed*, “fearless,” is commonly used as a synonym for “world” (corresponding to Sanskrit *sahā*). Skt. *sahāloka dhātu*, Tib. *mi mjed kyi khams*, is a designation for the world we humans live in; *mi mjed kyi dbang po* “lord of the world” is used as an epithet of Buddha Śākyamuni. Alternatively, one might consider the emendation \**mi rje* “lord of men,” although it seems slightly unlikely that such a common term would be corrupted to *mi mjed*. I assume that *be dur* stands for *bai ḍūrya*, but my translation of the whole phrase remains tentative.

33 Tib. *bstan pa'i snying po shin \*tu rgyas pa'i sde*, i.e., the Vaipulyasūtras.

34 As above, *rin chen* presumably has the double meaning of “precious” and “[written in] precious [materials].”

[consisting of] three hundred and sixty white and blue books are being donated.

Relics (*ring srel*), endowed with the essence of the two Buddha bodies [*rūpakāya* and *dharmakāya*],

[6] reliquaries of excellent beings, made of precious materials, together with the indestructible *vajra* that overcomes the accumulations of what needs to be abandoned—

[all in all] nineteen excellent receptacles of the mind [full of] blessing are being donated.

[7] For their worship, *maṅdalas* (*ma 'dal*) and a canopy, a parasol, a melodious sounding bell, vessels for offerings of scented water, and implements for a lamp to be lit in front of [the altar], together with brass lamps [p. 276.1/fol. 12b1] are being donated.”

### Other material gifts listed in prose

Furthermore, to enumerate the valuable materials for the roof of the dBu rtse rin po che: As the foremost prerequisite, [2] we present precious copper [to the amount of] eight hundred and thirty. Ten *srang* of gilt are being donated. As further material necessities, [3] seventy precious turquoises are being donated, headed by 'Od ldan, the queen of valuables, worth seven thousand [ordinary] turquoises.

Thirteen good horses; [4] three good *mdzo* (yak-cow hybrids) and one pack ox [making] four, together with the three: the tiger, the leopard, and the snow leopard are being donated.

Forty-five pouches of sugar, [5] eight pouches of shellac (*\*rgya skyegs*), two pouches of salt, two pouches of *a ru ra*, and one pouch of *ba ru ra*<sup>35</sup>—all together sixty pouches are being donated.

[6] Furthermore, one good bale (*dos*) of pure cotton and one good bale of white cotton; in short, one hundred and twenty pieces (*yug*) of cloth are being donated.<sup>36</sup>

One hundred [units] of iron are being donated. [7] Moreover, three woollen cloaks, two pieces of the [patched] upper robe, two mendicant

35 *Myrobalan* or *terminalia chebula* and *terminalia belerica*; their fruits are used in Tibetan medicine.

36 This implies that one “load” or bale (*dos*) consists of sixty pieces (*yug*) of cloth.



staffs, and one yak hair gown (*re bcam*)<sup>37</sup> are being donated. One piece of large Indian silk, together with *bse ma bu* (?)<sup>38</sup> [p. 277.1/fol. 13a1] making four, and one and a half volumes (*po ti*) of paper are being donated. Moreover, one honeycomb,<sup>39</sup> nineteen [pieces of] leather parchment, and one large hide (?)<sup>40</sup> are being donated.

Seventeen large pans and [2] iron sieves, two *rte chu* (?), an anvil (?),<sup>41</sup> one tripod, two iron pegs, one iron chain, two iron spoons, four shovel tops, [3] one “iron yak” (*lcags gyag*), and one sickle are being donated.

Moreover, two seating cushions, one [piece of] carpet frills (*brum tshe*), one animal skin (*gyang shun*),<sup>42</sup> five [pieces of] felt, three [pieces of] woollen cloth, six tarpaulins.

[4] One good ritual brass vase, one rosary of *gzi* stones, one wooden tub, two woollen shawls, five bowls, a leather bag together with an iron [hook/lock?] making two, and fourteen pieces of [5] saddle-and-cushions for *mdzos* and horses are being donated.

And finally, in order to make the precious teaching abide for a long time, a white offering banner that completely overwhelms the dark forces is being offered—this many material items are [now] in the hands of the *saṅgha* of Rwa sgreng. [7] Moreover, the great seat of the perfect Kalyāṇamitra Pu to ba, the gTsub lag khang of Pu to is presented with [p. 278.1/fol. 13b1] the three: the long, middle, and short *Prajñāpāramitā*, together with the implements for butter lamps.

37 A *re bcam* is a warm cloak made of *re ba* (cloth made of yak hair) worn by monks in the winter. It is similar in meaning to *zla gam* (honorific *sku bcam*). I thank Dr Lama Jabb for this explanation.

38 As the term appears in a list of clothing and fabrics, I assume that *bse* here means “leather” rather than “rhinoceros.” According to the *brDa dkrol gser gyi me long*, p. 1004, *bse* can also be a designation for “copper.” I am not at all sure what *ma bu* (“mother and child”) means in this context; could it perhaps refer to a large and two smaller pieces of leather (thus “making four” together with the piece of Indian silk, as the text says)? Or is *bse* a misspelling for the homophone syllable *bsre*, and thus similar in meaning to *bsre bo* “maroon” [cloth]?

39 The manuscript has *sbrang dong* “honeycomb.” As the word appears between various kinds of cloth and leather, I wonder whether it is a misspelling for some kind of fabric.

40 The manuscript has *rgya bko*; probably a misspelling for \**rgya ko* (*ko = ko ba*).

41 I take *'og rtog* of the manuscript as a misspelling for \**'og rdo*.

42 Tib. *gyang shun* = *lpags shog gi ming ste* / (*brDa dkrol gser gyi me long*, p. 859); similar to *gyang lugs*.

### Other material gifts listed in verse

About these, we say:

“[2] A condition for [sustaining] Great Beings (*skyes bu chen po*), a material for vessels,<sup>43</sup>

the foundation [to be] covered in blazing purified gold,  
the necessary [material] of gentle and pleasing reddish radiance (*'od chags*)—

[3] more than eight hundred [units of] rare and valuable copper are being donated.

A market commodity if hoarded and sold well [for a good price] by the fools,

the condition for what is beneficial if offered to the three jewels by the wise,

[4] the most noble when properly purified and applied [to the roof],  
the giver of light rays—eighty *zho* of precious gold are being donated.

A valuable resource of wealth in the mountain solitude of Tibet,

the sole protector of the poor in time of need [5],

the best of ornaments on festive occasions

called “turquoise”—seventy of these precious stones are being donated.

The noble ones who compensate for the [frail] legs of the weak, [6]

a means of going wherever they wish for the mighty,

the best of animals, obtained due to the merit of excellent people—

thirteen tame and capable excellent horses [7] are being donated.

The medicine gathered from the core of the plant that pleases all,<sup>44</sup>

the supreme food that generates strength, offered [as a gift] to people of high birth,

sweet and soothing in smell and taste like nectar—

[p. 279.1/fol.14a1] sixty pouches of raw sugar are being donated.

43 Tib. *skyes bu chen po rnam's kyi rkyen gyur snod kyi rgyu*. The expression *snod kyi rgyu* may be intended to have a double meaning in this context: as a material, it designates the metal that vessels are made of; in a metaphorical sense, it can also designate the cause for becoming a person who is a suitable vessel (Tib. *snod*, Skt. *bhājana*) for the *dharma*, and would thus be identical with the *skyes bu chen po* (the Great Beings, i.e., accomplished Buddhist masters).

44 Tib. *kun dga'i ljon shing* “the all-pleasing tree,” here obviously refers to sugarcane.

The best of garments of the excellent beings who live [lit.: “wander”] in  
pure regions

and the best of precious merchandise to carry for those who hasten  
along the road,

[2] the ground on which images of deities are painted, embellished with  
a hundred features—

one hundred and twenty [pieces] of stainless cotton, fine and soft, are  
being donated.

The protective armour that keeps you alive in this world,

[3] the ornament of heroes, conquering the hosts of hostile opponents,  
the very first among all [materials for] crafts—

one hundred [units] of precious iron, firm, supple, and powerful, are be-  
ing donated.

[4] Moreover, pack *mdzos*, protecting cloaks (*ber*),

and [skins of?] the kings of the beasts of prey: the tiger, leopard, and  
snow leopard, etc.

together with a white banner of complete victory,

[these] material goods [5]—excluding the three [kinds of religious] ob-  
jects [mentioned above]—

are seventy if counted according to their respective categories.

If counted according to their individual appearance,

one thousand three hundred fifty (*brgya phrag phyed dang bcu 4*) kinds  
of precious goods [6] are being donated.

Moreover, a mountain of precious copper is being offered.”

### Appendix: Tibetan Text<sup>45</sup>

[p. 272.1/fol. 10b<sub>1</sub>] don gyi dngos po rnams lcags pho spre'u'i dbyar zla ra pa (\*ba) la dge 'dun ra sgren pa'i phyag tu 'bul ba'i grangs smos pa mdor bsdu na 'di lta ste : skyabs dkon mchog 3 gyi rten dang : de rnams kyi bsnyen bkur gyi yan lag mchod cha dang / u (\*dbu) rtse rin po che'i rgya phibs kyi cha rkyen dkor [3] nor rnams so // de la rten gyi rnam grangs la : sku'i rten bstan pa'i bdag po bde bar gshegs pa shag kya thub pa'i thang sku 1 dang lugs ma 1 bzhugs / [4] bde bar gshegs pa sman pa'i rgyal po'i thang sku 1 dang lugs ma 1 bzhugs / sargyas (= sangs rgyas) thamd (= thams cad) kyi rang bzhin rgyal ba rigs lnga'i thang sku cha 1 bzhugs / bde bar [5] gshegs pa thed (\*thamd = thams cad) dag gi sku gsung thugs kyi gsang pa 'dzin pa rgyal sras phyag na rdo rje'i lugs sku 1 bzhugs te : mdor na thang sku bdun : lugs sku 3 ste [6] sku'i rten bcu tham pa 'bul lags // gsung gi rten la : spyir dkon mchog 3 gyi zhabs nas 'degs shing : sgos dge 'dun ra sgren pa gtsug [7] gi nor bu lta bur khur ba rtsang 'gur mo tshong 'dus rin po che'i ya rabs dmyal rje 'bangs las : jo bo a ti shas longs spyod kyi dpal 'byor rgyan mi 'chad par

[p. 273.1/fol. 11a<sub>1</sub>] / rigs rgyud byin gyis rlabs sa dmyal khur po sgang pa : de'i nang nas kyang dad pa dang shes rab kyis 'jig rten gyi chos dge ba la gnas shing / [2] mi zhun pa'i brtson 'grus kyis ya rabs kyi bya ba mthar 'byin pa : bsod nams kyi ljon shing lo 'dab rgyas shing : grags snyan gyi dri zhim pos phyogs bcur khyab [3] pa : cod pan med pa'i rgyal srid la dbang sgyur yang lha dkon mchog 3 gyi 'bangs tshad mar gyur pa ; yon bdag chen po 'bum skyabs kyi thugs dam rgyal [4] ba'i yum chen mo gser gyi rgyas pa bcu 4 dum bzang po : de'i mchod pa'i cha rkyen gdugs<sub>m</sub> tshan khor ma'i mar me bzang po / de lo re re zhing (\*bzhin) glog (\*klog) pa'i [5] chos spyod rgyun ma chad pa'i pa tre'i cha rkyen dang bcas pa 'bul ba lags // gzhan yang rin po che gser gyi glegs

45 The punctuation marks imitate the shape of the Tibetan punctuation, i.e., the slash stands for a *shad*, the colon corresponds to a double dot in the Tibetan text, and the semicolon corresponds to a *shad* with a dot on top in the Tibetan text. The letter o is used to render two small semi-circles in the manuscript marking the end of a sub-section. For a list of similar punctuation marks, see Iuchi 2016: 15. The full forms for contracted spellings (*bsdus yig* and *bskungs yig*) are added in parentheses after the respective word; emendations are added in parentheses, marked with an asterisk. Subscript letters correspond to letters added in smaller script below the line in the manuscript.

bam brgyad stong pa bzang po 1 bzhugs / [6] rin po che'i mdo pod 4 bcu zhe 1 bzhugs te : spyir rin po che'i po ti lnga bcu rtsa bdun 'bul ba lags / de bzhin du dkar po'i dbang du bgyis na [7] yang rgyal ba'i yum rgyas pa cha brgyad bzhugs : yum bar ma sum bcu rtsa 4 bzhugs / khri brgyad stong pa cha 1 bzhugs / mdo 'phags pa brgyad

[p. 274.1/fol. 11b1] stong pa cha dgu bzhugs / de la brten pa'i gsung rab : 'phags pa dkon mchog brtsegs pa cha 1 bzhugs / rig pa 'dzin pa'i sde snod phal che ba gzungs [2] 'dus cha 1 bzhugs pas : mdor na dkar po'i dum pa sum brgya dang bzhi bzhugs te : spyir bsdom na gsung gi rten po ti gsum brgya drug bcu rtsa 1 'bul ba lags / [3] thugs kyi rten la dge ba'i bshes gnyen stabs ka ba chen po'i gdung khang dang : shangs pa a me'i gdung khang dang / sgyer gnon (\*sgom?) pa chen po'i gdung [4] rnams kyis dbu mdzad pa'i gdung rten bcu drug bzhugs / rdoe (= rdo rje) 2 bzhugs te spyir sdom na thugs kyi rten bco brgyad 'bul ba lags / de rnams [5] kyi mchod pa'i cha spyad la gdugs 1 mchis / rin po che zangs kyi dung cha 1 mchis / bkra shis kyi bud (\*bud) dung dkar po 1 mchis / bla res (\*re) 1 mchis : [6] bzhugs gdan rin po che 'khar ba'i ma rdal (\*ma 'dal?) 3 / zangs kyi ma rdal (\*ma 'dal?) 1 dang 4 mchis pa lags / spyan sngar 'bul ba'i ting bdun cha 1 dang / zangs teb (\*tib) [7] bdun cha 1 ste steng 'og bcas pa cha 2 mchis pa lags / ra gan gyi rkong bu 4 mar me'i cha rkyen dang bcas pa mchis / dbu rtse rin po che'i rgyan

[p. 275.1/fol. 12a1] rgyan<sup>46</sup> du 'bul ba'i dril bu 1 mchis te mdor na mchod cha'i rnam grangs bzhi bcu zhi (\*zhe) lnga 'bul ba lags so // o de dag nyid la 'di skad [2] ces bya ste / mi mjed be dur rgyar snang thub dbang 2 // yeas (= ye shes) dbyings kyi rang 4n (= bzhin) rgyal ba lnga // gsang 'dzin rgyal sras rdoe (= rdo rje) 'dzin dang bcas // rab mdzes [3] sku'i rten mchog rnam bcu 'bul // bstan pa'i snying po shin du (\*tu) rgyas pa'i sde // rin chen rgyal yum rgyas bsdu shin du (\*tu) bsdu // gsang pa'i rgyud rnams [4] kun gyi bdag por bcas // rin chen po ti lnga bcu rtsa bdun 'bul // de bzhin rnam dkar rgyas dang bar sde 2 // de rten 'dus pa bzhi bcu rtsa dgur ldan : [5] zab mo'i gzungs 'dus dri med gsung gi rten // dkar sngo po ti sum brgya drug bcu 'bul // thub pa'i sku 2 ring srel snying po can // rin chen las [6] grub skyes mchog gdung gi rten // spang bya'i tshogs 'joms mi 'jig rdo rjer bcas // byin brlabs thugs kyi rten mchog bcu dgu 'bul // [7] de dag mchod rkyen ma 'dal bla re

46 *rgyan* is a dittography and needs to be deleted.

dang // brdugs (\*gdugs) dang dril bu snyan pa'i sgra ldan du // dri chab  
a rga'i snod dang mdun sel ba // sgron ma'i cha rkyen rgong bur

[p. 276.1/fol. 12b1] bcas pa 'bul ces bya'o // // o gzhan yang dbu  
rtse rin po che'i rgya phibs kyi cha rkyen nor gyi rnam grans la / rkyen  
gtso bor gyur pa [2] rin po che zangs brgyad brgya dang sum bcu tham  
pa 'bul ba lags / de la byug pa'i gser srang bcu tham pa 'bul ba lags / de  
2 kyi nye 'khor du nye bar [3] mkho ba'i dngos po g.yu stong tsho bdun  
ri ba'i rgyal mo 'od ldan gyis sna drangs pa'i rin po che g.yu bdun bcu  
tham pa 'bul ba lags / rta bzang po bcu [4] 3 : mdzo bzang po 3 : khal  
glang bzang po 1 dang 4 / stag gzig gung 3 dang bcas pa 'bul ba lags /  
bu ram ltang tse (\*tshe) bzhi bcu rtsa lnga : rgya [5] skyags (\*skyegs)  
ltang tse (\*tshe) brgyad / tsha la ltang tshe 2 / a ru ra ltang tshe 2 : ba ru  
ra ltang tshe 1 ste sdoms pas ltang tshe drug bcu tham pa 'bul ba lags /  
[6] gzhan yang btso ras dos bzang po 1 / ras dkar po dos bzang po 1 ste  
mdor na ras yug brgya dang nyi shu 'bul ba lags / lcags brgya tham d  
(= thams cad) 'bul ba [7] lags / gzhan yang ber 3 : snam sbyar 2 : khar  
(\*mkhar) sil 2 : re bcam 1 'bul ba lags / rgya gar gyi zab chen yug 1 : bse  
ma bu dang bcas

[p. 277.1/fol. 13a1] / pa 4 : shog bu po ti phye dang 2 'bul ba lags /  
gzhan yang sbrang dong 1 / kha sha bcu dgu / rgya bko (\*ko) 1 'bul ba  
lags // slang ba (= \*sla(ng) nga) dang [2] lcags tshags bcu bdun : rte chu  
2 / 'og rtog (\*'og rdo) / lcags sgyed 1 / lcags phur 2 / lcags thag 1 : lcags  
thom 2 : khyem tog 4 : lcags [3] g.yag 1 / rtsa gri 1 'bul ba lags / gzhan  
yang 'bol stan 2 : brum tshe 1 / g.yang shun 1 : phying pa lnga : snam bu  
3 / phyar ba drug / [4] ra gan gyi bya ma bum bzang po 1 / gzi mchong  
phreng 1 / gzhong pa 1 : bal sder (\*ther) 2 / kong tse lnga : sgro ba la lcags  
dang bcas pa 2 / mdzo rta'i sga [5] stan cha bcu bzhi 'bul ba lags / kun  
gyi mthar bstan pa rin po che yun du gnas par bya ba'i phyir nag po'i  
phyogs sde dang bcas pa zil gyis [6] gnong pa rnam par rgyal ba'i ba dan  
dkar po 1 'bul ba lags pas / dge 'dun ra sgrenge pa'i phyag tu rgyu'i dngos  
po de tsam du gda' // o // [7] gzhan yang dge bshes ston pa'i thugs kyi  
sras dam pa : yongs kyi dge ba'i bshes gnyen pu to ba'i gdan sa chen po :  
pu to'i gtsug lag khang du yang

[p. 278.1/fol. 13b1] shes rab kyi pha rol du phyin pa bka' rgyas 'bring  
bsdus pa 3 mar me'i char rkyen dang bcas pa 'bul ba lags so // : de dag  
nyid la 'di skad ces bya ste / [2] skyes bu chen po rnams kyi rkyen gyur

snod kyi rgyu // btso ma'i gser 'od 'bar ba 'dzin pa'i gzhi // 'jam gnyen (\*mnyen) dmar ba'i 'od chags nyer mkho ba // [3] rnyed dka'i nor zangs brgyad brgya lhag bcas 'bul // blun pos sba bde btsong na brin pa'i nor // mkhas pas rten 3 mchod na mkho ba'i rkyen // legs [4] sbyangs byugs na 'od bzang 'byin pa yi // khyad 'phags rin chen gser zho brgyad bcu 'bul // gangs ri'i khrod na 'byor ldan nor gyi dbyig // phongs dus [5] dbul po rnams kyi mgon 1 pu // dga' ston dus na ya rabs rgyan gyi mchog // g.yu zhes bya ba'i rin chen bdun bcu 'bul // nyams chung rnams [6] kyi rkang mthud dam pa ste // chen po rnams kyi rkyen gyur 'dod dgur phyin // mi mchog bsod nams las grub dud 'gro'i rab // zhi dul rtsal ltan rta mchog [7] bcu 3 'bul // kun dga'i ljon shing snying po 'du ba'i sman // stobs skyed ya rabs bsnyen bkur zas kyi mchog // mngar zhi dri ro bdud rtsi dang mtshungs pa //

[p. 279.1/fol. 14a1] / bu ram phal che'i ltang tse (\*tshe) drug bcu 'bul // dkar po gling na 'gro mchog gos kyi phul // lam rings bkur na yang zong nor gyi rab : [2] mtshan brgyas spras pa'i lha sku bri ba'i gzhi // srab 'jam dri med ras brgya nyi shu 'bul // 'jig rten 'tsho ba'i rkyen gyur skyob pa'i go // pha rol [3] dgra tshogs 'joms byed dpa' bo'i rgyan // gzo (\*bzo) rig gnas rnams kun gyi sngon 'gro ba // sra mnyen ngar ldan rin chen lcags brgya 'bul // gzhan [4] yang theg pa'i mdzo dang skyob pa'i ber :/ gcan zan rgyal po stag gzig gung lasogs (= la sogs) // rnam par rgyal ba'i ba dan dkar po'i bar // rten 3 ma [5] gtogs zang zing dngos po rnams // rigs mthun re rer bgrangs na bdun phrag bcu // gsal ba so sor bgrangs na nor gyi sna // brgya phrag phyed dang [6] bcu 4 'bul zhing mchis // gzhan yang rin chen zangs kyi ri bo 'bul : ces bya'o // //.

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**“The Biography of Red mda’ ba”<sup>1</sup>:  
The Life and Spiritual Practice of a Fourteenth Century  
Buddhist Yogin-Scholar**

Carola Roloff  
(Academy of World Religions, University of Hamburg)

## **1 Introduction**

Tibetan Buddhism today can be characterized for its combination of rigorous philosophical studies and authentic *bodhisattva* practice in a context of close relationships between teachers and their disciples. This remarkable combination took shape in the form it has maintained to this day during a formative period of Tibetan religious history, a period that began in the fourteenth century and is rightly called the “classical period” of Buddhism in Tibet.<sup>2</sup> The fourteenth to sixteenth century was a time of considerable openness and intellectual inquiry in Tibet, but also one where the sectarian divisions that are preserved until today became entrenched. Indeed, it was just after the fourteenth century that we see the final formation of the last major tradition of Tibetan Buddhism: the dGe lugs pa from which the line of Dalai Lama reincarnations arose.

Amidst the fertile ferment of new ideas and the upholding of pure practice traditions of this era, we find one person who was responsible not only for the Tibetan appreciation of the highest form of Madhyamaka, known as Prāsaṅgika (*dbu ma thal ’gyur pa*), and instrumental in determining the shape of the present monastic curriculum,<sup>3</sup> but

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1 The Tibetan title of the “large biography” (*rnam thar chen mo*) of Red mda’ ba gZhon nu blo gros (1348–1412) reads *dPal ldan red mda’ ba chen po’i rnam thar ngo mtshar rmad byung*. For the Tibetan edition and English translation of this text, see Roloff 2009: 67–195, 197–266.

2 Seyfort Ruegg 2000: 3–7.

3 Roloff 2009: 211–213, 228 (sect. 2.7.9.2).

who took also part in all major debates of his time.<sup>4</sup> He wrote the first Tibetan commentaries on many important Indian treatises,<sup>5</sup> shunned honour and material rewards, and still spent about one fifth of his lifetime in retreat in the remote mountains of Tibet.<sup>6</sup> Altogether, he spent about twelve years in Bul rong or Gangs bu le,<sup>7</sup> five years in retreat and seven years in retreat and teaching.<sup>8</sup> In addition, he was the main philosophy teacher of Tsong kha pa (1357–1419), one of the finest scholars the Tibetan civilization ever produced.<sup>9</sup> Despite all these merits,

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4 *Ibid.*: 207, 344 n. 246.

5 *Ibid.*: 228–229, 250 (sect. 2.11.36), 267–288. It is notable that Red mda' ba, in his writings, different from Tsong kha pa, does not refer to writings of his Tibetan contemporaries, but only to texts of Indian origin.

6 *Ibid.*: 236–238, 252–253.

7 The steep valley at Bu le gangs dkar po mountain in La stod lHo, i.e., Southern La stod. La stod lHo was one of the thirteen Tibetan myriarchies (*khri skor*) during the Sa skya-Yüan period in the 13th–14th century. It is located in the Ding ri Shel dkar area in the west of Sa skya and the La mo ta Pass up to about the region of Lake dPal khud. For details, see <http://www.tibet-encyclopaedia.de/latoe-lho.html> (accessed 01.09.2020). Most likely *bul rong* is the abbreviation of a location called *bu le rong* and related to Gangs bu le. The hermitage may be in the area, which is nowadays called Gangbu (Nyalam County, Xigazê Prefecture, present-day Tibet Autonomous Region), to the south of Lake dPal khud and the north of Kathmandu. Everding 2000: 476, n. 1187 mentions a holy mountain Bu le gangs.

8 See also Roloff 2009: 416, n. 748. For a Tabular Curriculum Vitae of Red mda' ba, see *ibid.*: 289–296. 1390–1394/95: Five-year-retreat in a solitary place at Gangs bu le in La stod lHo. He practices single-pointed concentration and studies tantra; 1395–1401/02: Seven-year retreat and teaching in Bul rong; 1402–1405: Red mda' ba in “strict three-year” retreat in Bul rong; 1407: Red mda' ba leaves for Bul rong for another strict retreat; 1408: Retreat in Me tog mdangs can, Mang yul sKyid grong, and gifts from China (reply dated 18th day of the fifth month of 1408 from the Me tog mdangs can); 1412: Death at sunrise of the 29th day of the 10th month of the dragon-year (*'brug lo zla ba bcu pa'i nyer dgu'i nyi shar*); Place of death: the hermitage mTshams Gling rtse dpal in Mang [yul] Gung thang (*mang gung gi mtshams gling rtse dpal gyi dben gnas su*); Final resting-place in Klong rtse: *stüpa* with his relics in Klong mda'. Thupten Jinpa 2019: 191 speaks about “Gangbu-le Hermitage.” Thus, towards the end of his life, Red mda' ba spent much time in retreat in places in sKyid grong and Gung thang. His main residence at that time seems to have been the meditation cave Me tog mdangs can in upper Mang yul (*ibid.*: 501). See also Everding 2000: 121, n. 219, GGR 14.7.

9 Jinpa 2019: 39, 41 interestingly even calls him “Tsongkhapa’s principal teacher,” and “Tsongkhapa’s Most Important Teacher.”

this scholar has remained poorly understood and seldom studied, and his name itself is unfamiliar to many Tibetan Buddhists today. This remarkable figure was Red mda' ba gZhon nu blo gros (pronounced in English as Rendawa Shönu Lodrö) (1348–1412). His *Large Biography* (*rNam thar chen mo*) composed by his direct disciple mNga' ris pa Sangs rgyas rtse mo (b. 14th cent.) in the first half of the 15th century was the topic of my PhD thesis, supervised by Prof. Dr. David P. Jackson,<sup>10</sup> and published in 2009 in the Contributions to Tibetan Studies Series, edited by David P. Jackson and Franz-Karl Ehrhard.

The following reflections are mainly based on a paper presented at the 4th Korean International Conference of Buddhist Studies, Dongguk University Seoul, in May 2008, and on my critical edition of Red mda' ba's *Large Biography*. The critical edition is based on two *dbu med* manuscripts. One of the two manuscripts (A) was discovered by Leonard van der Kuijp in 1993 in the China Nationalities Library of the Cultural Palace of Nationalities (CPN) in Beijing and is the only complete manuscript. The other (B) appeared about ten years later in the TBRC archive in New York and was kindly made available to me by E. Gene Smith (1936–2010).<sup>11</sup> Western scholars like Leonard van der Kuijp (1994: 15), Cyrus Stearns (1999: 292), and David Seyfort Ruegg (2000: 61, n. 131) had already before referred to manuscript A. Cyrus Stearns had received another photocopy of the same manuscript from Leonard van der Kuijp in about 1993. It had been briefly discussed by van der Kuijp in an article published in 1994. To my knowledge, the exact location where the two manuscripts are presently housed is still unknown.<sup>12</sup>

10 The thesis was submitted after David Jackson had left the University of Hamburg to become the curator for the Rubin Museum of Art in New York. The thesis was further supervised and examined by Prof. Dr. Michael Zimmermann (University of Hamburg) and Prof. Dr. Eva Neumaier (University of Calgary).

11 Scans of these *dbu med* manuscripts are now available on the BDRC website; see W1CZ1885 (A) and W18649 (B). Moreover, a modern computer-input edition of the biography is included in the first volume of Red mda' ba's ten-volume *Collected Writings* (lHa sa: Bod ljongs bog yig dpe rnying dpe skrun khang, 2015); see W3CN3417.

12 For a detailed discussion of further primary and secondary sources dealing with the life of Red mda' ba, see Roloff 2009: 37–42. This does not need to be repeated here.

gZhon nu blo gros was born in the earth-male-mouse-year (*sa po byi lo*) 1348 in Red mda'<sup>13</sup> in gTsang, a small settlement near Sa skya monastery. He was mainly active in gTsang, although he also travelled some time in dBus (1388–1389, 1401–1402). The monastery he belonged to and where he mainly studied and taught was Sa skya, which was founded in 1073, and is located west of gZhis ka rtse. It is the main seat of the Sa skya school. In the later part of his life, Red mda' ba left for remote areas in the far west of the Tibetan territory and entered solitary retreat in the mountains of La stod lHo and Mang yul Gung thang. Red mda' ba and his disciples founded there a number of hermitages in a place called Klong rtse, where he passed away in 1412, and where his relics are preserved.<sup>14</sup>

13 See Everding 2000: 450, n. 1124: “Re(d) mda', ein Ort westlich von Sa skya (*gdan sa chen po'i nub phyogs re mda' zhes*).” See also the *rNam thar chen mo* in Roloff 2009: 84, 206: *bod kyi rdo rje gdan dpal ldan sa skya dang nye ba na/ red mda' khab sor grags pa der/ chos rgyal srong btsan sgam po'i nang blon/ blon po mgar stong btsan yul srungs kyi brgyud pa/ yab red mda'i blon chen bkra shis rgyal mtshan dang/ yum lhag bsam rnam par dag pa bram ze ma gsal ba'i tshul khrims dang tshul mshungs pa ye shes kyi mkha' 'gro ma* [B: *slon lo dbang phyug skyid*] *zhes bya ba gnyis kyi sras su gyur* (“He was born near Tibet’s Bodhgāya, the glorious Sa skya, at a place that is well-known as the Fort(ress) of Red mda', in the lineage of [the clan] of the protector of the country mGar stong btsan (d. 667), a minister of the Dharma king Srong btsan sgam po, as the son of the father bKra shis rgyal mtshan, minister of Red mda', who was in union with the mother, a wisdom Dākinī called [B: *Lo dbang phyug skyid*].”). Both father and mother expired at a young age, and hence his aunt bKra shis 'bum took care of him. Jackson mentions another female religious teacher (*slob dpon ma*) named Kun dga' 'bum from the 'Khon lineage, born at Khab so bKra shis ca. 1305. She gave birth to a son named bKra shis lde (born ca. 1321); see Jackson 1997: 43: “When she was young, she became the consort of the mNga'-ris Gung-thang ruler who had the Mongol rank tu-dben-sha (‘regional commander’).” Kun dga' 'bum was a daughter of bDag nyid chen po bZang po dpal (1262–1324). Sa skya gave her as a consort to King Chos skyong lde. The sixth (officially fifth) wife of bDag nyid chen po bZang po dpal was named Re mda' ma. Her father was named Re mda' ba'i rtse po. Kun dga' 'bum's mother was named lHa gcig Nyi ma rin chen, who bore three children, the middle one of whom was named Slob dpon ma Kun dga' 'bum; see Everding 2000: 450. The other two children were a son and a younger sister. The name of the younger sister seems not to be mentioned in the *Sa skya gdung rabs chen mo*; see Roloff 2009: 341, n. 232. I wonder whether this was Red mda' ba's aunt bKra shis 'bum.

14 Klong rtse is a region in Klong mda' in the north of and close to mTshams; see Roloff 2009: 424, n. 807, 428, n. 851, and 429, n. 859. Ehrhard 2004: 427, n. 206



By the end of Red mda' ba's life, his instructions had been channelled into the foundation of the dGe lugs pa tradition, and in consequence weakened not only the remaining branch of the Sa skya tradition, but also the rNgog tradition of gSang phu. During the lifetime of Red mda' ba and Tsong kha pa, Sa skya and gSang phu had been the two major learning centers of Tibet. As Karl-Heinz Everding pointed out, a number of gSang phu masters founded scholastic colleges in foreign monasteries such as Sa skya, Zha lu, sNar thang and Tshal Gung thang. These monasteries sent their monk students to study in gSang phu, so that after some time independent colleges arose there. But with the establishment of dGa' ldan monastery in 1409/10, many scholars moved to this new study center, and in the course of time gSang phu became less and less important.<sup>15</sup> In gTsang, Red mda' ba—through his own and Tsong kha pa's new philosophical interpretation—gained entry to Gung thang. This seems to have caused rivalries and a division.<sup>16</sup>

Red mda' ba had taught Buddhist philosophy to the three main founders of the Tibetan dGe lugs tradition: Tsong kha pa Blo bzang grags pa, rGyal tshab Dar ma rin chen (1364–1432) and mKhas grub dGe legs dpal bzang (1385–1431). Through his disciples, who founded a new tradition, he clearly had a formative, if underacknowledged,

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mentions that there is a convent of Red mda' ba gZhon nu blo gros in Klong rtse with the name bSam gtan gling to be found in the list of hermitages founded by him and his disciples. bSam gtan ling had been made a sGrub sde by Khri rgyal bSod nams lde (1371–1404, r. 1390–1404), who also took special care of sKyid grong Me tog mdangs can and other residences of the venerable Red mda' ba; see Everding 2000: 123, 14.7. According to Jackson 1997: 43, n. 14, Khri rgyal bSod nams lde (b. 1371) was the son of Nam mkha' 'bum, the daughter of the Byang Ta dben.

15 See Everding 2009. See also Hugon 2016: 300: "Later (after the 15th century), even though gSang phu's status had somewhat faded, the monastery still attracted students on an occasional basis by hosting mass gatherings for 'summer sessions' (*gsang phu dbyar kha, gsang phu dbyar gnas*)."

16 See Everding 2000: 523–524, according to whom it is obvious that not only personal rivalries between key functionaries of Gung thang chos sde, but also philosophical standpoints had led to a split, for Red mda' ba had already exercised an outstanding role in the religious life of the court during the reign of Khri rgyal bSod nams lde and during the following reign of the latter's wife Chos skyong rgyal mo. Through Red mda' ba, doctrinal interpretations of the dGe lugs pa school had found their way to Gung thang. This influence was already emerging at that time and leading to a major split.

influence on the development of Tibetan Buddhism. Despite his impact on his students, Red mda' ba himself seems to have not become part of the new tradition, which is widely considered to have been started with the foundation or inauguration of dGa' ldan monastery, just three years before his death far off in Mang yul Gung thang. Subsequently dGe lugs pa adherents tended to credit their three main founders as the creators of the new system, and it may be precisely for this reason that Red mda' ba became a controversial figure and was no longer favoured or studied much by either subsequent Sa skya or dGe lugs scholars. Although this widely influential sect carried on Red mda' ba's ideas, this fact was not much acknowledged by its later followers.

## **2 Rare Glimpses from Red mda' ba's Biography**

In this paper, I would like to highlight the rare glimpses that the biography of this exceptional spiritual practitioner gives us as to how Buddhism was actually lived during that time. Of course, as a scholar-yogi, Red mda' ba's activities were largely occupied with his deep engagement in studies and then later in life, his extensive teaching and writing activities. Nevertheless, his biography also includes many anecdotes that capture aspects of the way the Dharma was embedded in the life of those times and gives us a view of the spontaneous and authentic practice of this major Tibetan Buddhist master.

### **2.1 Almsgiving to the Poor**

While it is common to hear of generosity practiced towards the field of merit, such as the sponsoring of temples, statues, and offerings to the Saṃgha, in the life of this practitioner, we see more accounts of Red mda' ba practicing charity towards the poor. Along with descriptions of alms given to lepers and other beggars, the following incident is reported in his biography:

During a visit to one area, someone invited Red mda' ba for tea and offered him a whole roll of white brocade. On his way back to his residence, a beggar requested Red mda' ba to please give him something. Whereas we might expect this monk to share some small alms, the

biography tells us instead that Red mda' ba ordered his attendant, a young monk: "Give him the whole roll of cloth!" and thus he gave it away.<sup>17</sup>

On another occasion, while travelling to Lhasa, Red mda' ba encountered two beggars and gave each of them one of his silver ritual implements. The biography also describes how, in Lhasa, after many beggars had gathered and requested him to please give them something, Red mda' ba said, "Call all your friends who are staying close by!" Then, after he had called together all the beggars of the Lhasa community, about five hundred had come, including sham beggars. In the meantime, stacks of silk scarves and square brocade mats had been heaped up. Then the beggars proceeded in narrow packed lines and whoever was first was given whatever he grasped. Acknowledging how exceptional this display of non-discriminating generosity was, the author of the biography, mNga' ris pa Sangs rgyas rtse mo, quotes an old beggar who said that in Lhasa there were many masters boasting "I am good." But there have not been better ones than these two: 'Bar ba pa and this one," i.e., Red mda' ba.<sup>18</sup>

## 2.2 Meditation Practice

Red mda' ba spent more than twelve years in solitary retreat but continued an intense meditative practice even when involved in other types of Dharma activities and even while travelling from place to place. For example, we have several accounts of his engagement in meditation while riding on horseback over the long distances that often separated settled areas in Tibet.

One time, on a break between study sessions at a monastery, Red mda' ba had a horse and therefore left later than some of the other monks. These monks had already crossed a river that lay between them and their final destination, but Red mda' ba using the time to enter into deep *samādhi* did not care and let his horse go wherever it liked. On this occasion, the horse got into a deep whirlpool in the river, and the other monks saw this and began yelling. Yet Red mda' ba allowed his horse

17 See the *rNam thar chen mo* in Roloff 2009: 135: *gos yug de sbyin gsung nas gnang/*.

18 See *ibid.*: 136: *lha sar bla ma nga bzang zer ba mang po byung ste/ 'bar ba pa dang 'di gnyis las drag pa ma byung/*.

to run straight into the whirlpool. Hence the horse sank into the water, and although the water was almost touching its mouth, it was not lost. The monks asked Red mda' ba what his technique was, and thereupon Red mda' ba humbly said: "Because a horse is one who can put its four feet on something, it will not fall over."<sup>19</sup>

Another time, when travelling during another term break (*chos bar*) across a wide open plain, Red mda' ba's mind wandered into meditation, and afterwards when Red mda' ba came out of that meditation, he simply continued riding in whichever direction his face looked when he came out of meditation. It is said that several times his disciples needed to go find him and bring him back from such wanderings. On one trip with his major disciple Tsong kha pa as a traveling companion, he became absorbed in meditation and was frequently thrown off the horse. The biography says that "many times he needed help to get up."<sup>20</sup> This happened so often that the groom who tended his horses complained about this, saying, that due to this unnecessary meditation of Master Red mda' ba he has to bear a lot of hardship.<sup>21</sup>

### 2.3 Ceaseless Weeping from Compassion

A more detailed account of one of Red mda' ba's experiences in meditation is recounted as taking place during a visit to the great monastery of Sa skya. Red mda' ba had arrived there before the conch-shell was blown to call the monks for the community tea, and so he was sitting near the fireplace where the cooking was done. He sat there "staring at the well water, with tears dropping one by one."<sup>22</sup> He continued to cry while preparing the tea and this weeping did not even stop when he was returning to his own residence.<sup>23</sup> Someone who had been observing this asked one of Red mda' ba's disciples: "Your teacher is

19 See *ibid.*: 153: *de 'dra'i mdzad lugs zhus pas/ rta kho rkang lag [B: bzhi] btsugs pa gcig mi 'gyel bar 'dug gsungs/*.

20 See *ibid.*: 153: *thugs dam la 'byams nas/ chibs pas yang yang bskyr/ zhabs tog bya dgos mang du byung [...]/*.

21 See *ibid.*: 153: *rta rdzi na re/ slob dpon gzhon blo ba'i mi dgos pa'i sgom 'dis/ nga sdug rus bzod pa 'dug [B: ces] zer/*.

22 See *ibid.*: 152: *khron chu la spyan ha re gzigs te/ spyan chab na re re 'dug/*.

23 See *ibid.*: 152: *ja gsol rgyags kyang ma chad/ nang du log byon [B: dus] kyang ma chad [B: par] phebs pa [...]/*.

crying when eating, as well as when going. What is this?" Thereupon the disciple thought: "To me it seems that he started crying after he had seen that a fish had been eaten by an otter," and thus asked his master: "Is it because of that?" Red mda' ba replied: "That is not the actual reason. While the well water was splashing, I was meditating on dependent arising by analyzing the twelve links and due to this a true view of emptiness arose in my mind. And since emptiness is endowed with the essence of compassion, I started crying."<sup>24</sup>

## 2.4 Visions

The biography provides us with a number of other descriptions of unconventional comments Red mda' ba made revealing his own inner attainments. The biography tells us of several visions he had, visions of deities, *Ḍākinīs* and dharma protectors. I would like to take just one example here:

In Bul rong, the place where Red mda' ba completed a five-year retreat, while he was making circumambulations, he commented to a disciple: "A Tārā resides on the rock over there," referring to a female buddha known by the name of Tārā. When somebody asked him: "Where is she?" Red mda' ba pointed with his finger and said: "Over there!" That person did not see her and so replied: "She is not there." Thereupon Red mda' ba said: "That is right!"<sup>25</sup>

Thus we get a glimpse at the way that this master guided his disciples in a direct experiential style.

## 3 Female Practitioners Described in Red mda' ba's Biography

It may be interesting to note that we find several important female practitioners described in Red mda' ba's biography as well. His Minor Works

24 See *ibid.*: 152: *khyed kyi slob dpon de za yin kyang ngu/ 'gro yin kyang ngu ba ci yin zer bas/ bdag gi snang ba la nya sram gyis za ba gzigs nas spyan chab byung ba yin nam snyam ste ci lags zhus pas/ de yang ma yin/ khron chu khro lo lo 'gro yin 'dug pa de la/ rten cing 'brel bar 'byung ba yan lag bcu gnyis gcig brtags nas bsgoms pas/ stong pa nyid kyi lta ba rnal ma gcig skyes byung/ stong nyid snying rje' i snying po can du 'dug pas mchi ma byung ba yin gsungs/.*

25 See *ibid.*: 145: *yang bul rong du bzhugs pa' i dus/ zhabs skor mdzad 'phro la/ kho de brag kha ya gi na sgrol ma gcig bzhugs kyin 'dug gsungs/ gang na gda' lags zhus pas/ phyag mdzub btsugs nas ya gi [B: na] gsungs / mi gda' lags zhus pas/ de ka yin gsung ngo//.*

even contain two pieces of advice to *bhikṣuṅīs* (*dge slong ma*). This gives not only evidence that *bhikṣuṅīs* did exist in Tibet, but also that they did not only appear at the time of Shākya mchog ldan (1428–1507), who gave full ordination (*upasampadā*) to, at least, one female disciple, but also were already present during Red mda' ba's time.<sup>26</sup>

26 Diemberger 2007: 133–135; Roloff 2008: 207; Schneider 2012: 115, 126, 128; Caumanns 2015: 40–42, 263; Price-Wallace 2017: 229–230. I would like to thank Volker Caumanns for pointing out that the claim that Shākya mchog ldan gave his own mother the *dge slong ma* (*bhikṣuṅī*) vow is apparently based on a translation error. According to Kun dga' grol mchog's *rnam thar* of Shākya mchog ldan, the mother received the *bhikṣuṅī* vow before her son's birth from a certain Sangs rgyas bzang po, the abbot of the monasteries of sGo mo Chos sdings and Yab Chos sdings (*sgo yab mkhan po*). A translation of the corresponding passage, which is quite clear in this regard, can be found in Caumanns 2015: 40–42 (especially on p. 42). Although there is no precise information about when Shākya mchog ldan's mother received the *bhikṣuṅī* ordination from the *upādhyāya* Sangs rgyas bzang po (who, on that occasion, gave her the ordination name Shākya bzang mo), the wording chosen by the author of the so-called *rJe dbon ma* (i.e., one of the early biographies of Shākya mchog ldan composed by his direct disciples) leaves no doubt that she was made pregnant by a certain Nam mkha' dpal 'bar after she had become a *bhikṣuṅī*. According to the Vinaya this causes a *pārājika* (Tib. *pham pa*). Engaging in non-celibate conduct, i.e., having sexual intercourse, is one of the eight infractions leading to exclusion from the *saṃgha* and, in the case of women, to a non-restorable loss of the *bhikṣuṅī* vow. But in contrast, Kun dga' grol mchog's *rnam thar* of Shākya mchog ldan portrays Shākya bzang mo as a particularly good Dharma practitioner. This might indicate that she returned her vows before the conception of her son.

A translation of Kun dga' grol mchog's account of the *dge slong ma* ordination of Chos grub dpal mo (alias the rGya ma dGe slong ma) by Shākya mchog ldan can be found in Caumanns 2015: 263. There it is reported that in rGya ma, Shākya mchog ldan gave full ordination (*upasampadā*) to numerous monks, including a woman belonging to the noble family of rGya ma. Her *karmācārya* was sPyan snga Grub rgyal ba, and rJe btsun Kun dga' rgyal mtshan acted as *raho'nuśāsaka*. There is no mention whether prior to the ordination she kept *śikṣamāṇā* precepts for two years. Interestingly, rJe Brag dmar ba acted as *ācārya* for giving the chastity (*brahmacaryopasthāna*) vow, and Chos rje bSam gtan pa as the *ācārya* proclaiming the time of ordination (*dus sgo ba*). This means that the monks followed the *bhikṣuṅī* ordination manual and not the *bhikṣu* ordination manual (as today in Taiwan, in case the *bhikṣuṅī* ordination is performed by monks alone). In other words, functions that, according to the Mūlasarvāstivāda *bhikṣuṅī* ordination manual, are expressly to be fulfilled by *bhikṣuṅīs*, were fulfilled by *bhikṣus*, because apparently *bhikṣuṅīs* were not available. In addition to the six male *ācāryas* mentioned, four *bhikṣus* completed the *saṃgha*. According to the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya, *bhikṣuṅī* ordination, unlike *bhikṣu* ordination,

There is also mention of an honourable female master (Tib. Drung Slob dpon ma). The most influential female disciple of Red mda' ba was the Queen of Mang yul Gung thang, mNga' bdag ma Chos skyong rgyal mo (r. 1404–ca. 1419). Other female disciples were the Mahāsiddhā dPal mo and her niece, a lesser *siddhā*. But similar to many smaller schools such as the Bo dong pa and Jo nang pa also the *bhikṣuṇīs*, seem to almost disappear from the accounts with the takeover of the male monastic dGe lugs pa scholars.

One time, Red mda' ba was giving instructions to that lesser *siddhā* on a practice involving visualizations in five stages. He was granting her instructions on one stage every thirteen days and during the thirteen days she left for her own retreat place in the same valley to do the meditations before receiving the instructions as to how to meditate next. After she had been meditating on one stage for two days, a young man in white clothes came to the area. He brought water, made a fire, cooked vegetables, and served her whatever was required, without talking to her. The female meditator did not speak to him either. When she went to her master Red mda' ba to report on her meditation, she told him that after two days the abovementioned young man had come. She asked Red mda' ba what this was about. Red mda' ba said: “I do not know what this is. You just work diligently on your spiritual practice! I will keep up my meditative imagination, too.”<sup>27</sup> When she went back, the man was still there, and he continued serving her whatever was required, as before. About ten days later, the young man finally spoke to her: “I would like to go, but your teacher has filled the valley with fire, and thus there is no way out. Please convey to your teacher that I say that he should loosen his meditation.”<sup>28</sup> Later when she went again to see Red mda' ba

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requires not a *samgha* of ten *bhikṣus*, but of ten *bhikṣus* and twelve *bhikṣuṇīs*. This makes it clear why this ordination subsequently stirred a discussion of whether it was legal or not. It is therefore not surprising, when Tibetan monk scholars today believe that Shākya mchog ldan may not have carried out the full ordination of the rGya ma dGe slong ma entirely voluntarily (see Caumanns 2015: 263 n. 61). Similarly, many monk scholars argue that the Buddha only granted full ordination to his mother because Ānanda urged him to do so. See my chapter “Modeling of Red mda' ba's Biography on the Biography of Buddha” in Roloff 2009: 9–11.

27 See the *rNam thar chen mo* in Roloff 2009: 149: *ci yin mi shes khyed rang dge sbyor la 'bung/ ngas kyang dmigs pa gzung gis gsungs/*.

28 See *ibid.*: 149: *nga 'gro 'dod pa yin te/ khyed kyi bla mas lung pa mes bkang nas 'gro*

to report on her meditation, he asked her: “Is your man still there now?” She reported what the man had said, whereupon Red mda’ ba said: “I have not done that much meditation. Now he will leave.” He thus mentally lifted the protection circle and when she had returned, the young man in white clothes was no longer there.<sup>29</sup>

#### 4 Production of Tengyur (bsTan ’gyur)

Women also number among the major sponsors whose enthusiastic efforts and generosity receive attention in the *Large Biography* of Red mda’ ba.<sup>30</sup> Red mda’ ba once advised mNga’ bdag, the lord of the area,<sup>31</sup> along with his wife and his sons to produce a copy of the canon of Indian treatises translated from Sanskrit. This textual canon numbers over two hundred volumes, and so would run to more than 100,000 pages. The lord’s wife, known as bDag chen ma Sangs rgyal mo,<sup>32</sup> said to Red mda’ ba, as reported in the biography: “This is an advice through which, Honourable, you are holding us with your compassion. We will make it from whatever we receive.” Red mda’ ba answered: “That is extremely good,” and was very delighted.<sup>33</sup> She took the responsibility on herself,

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*sa mi ’dug/ bla ma la thugs dam slod zer ba zhu grogs gyis [...]/.*

29 See *ibid.*: 149: *ngas thugs dam tsam cher byas pa med/ da khong rang ’gro ’ong gsungs/ drung nas srung ’khor bshig pas/ log phyin dus song nas mi ’dug/.*

30 See also Diemberger 2016.

31 From about 1402–1404/05 Red mda’ ba was in “strict three-year” retreat in Bul rong, i.e., the steep valley at Bu le gangs kdar po mountain in La stod lHo, in the Ding ri Shel dkar area. See also Wangdu and Diemberger 1996: 75 referring to the same time period: “When the great translator [Lo chen Grags pa rgyal mtshan] was in Shel dkar, rje btsun Red mda’ ba, was residing there, too, and great work was accomplished teaching, debating and writing.” When the retreat was over, bDag chen ma Sangs rgyal mo invited him to “Tibet” (*de nas sku mtshams grol ba dang/ bdag chen ma* [B: *sangs rgyal mos*] *bod du spyang drangs/*). Furthermore, Red mda’ ba’s *Large Biography* tells us that bDag chen ma invited him for a consecration to rDzong dkar, the residence of the Kings of Mang yul Gung thang.

32 Sangs rgyal mo seems to be an epithet of mNga’ bdag chen mo Chos skyong rgyal mo, and the title mNga’ bdag apparently refers to the Gung thang king Khri rgyal bSod nams lde (1371–1404, r. 1390–1404); see Everding 2000: 117–125, 454, 477–481; Roloff 2009: 419 note 771; Everding 2000: 125, chap. 14.9.

33 See the *rNam thar chen mo* in Roloff 2009: 173: *de dus mnga’ bdag yum sras pa rnams la bstan ’gyur bzhengs gsung ba’i zhal ta gnang bas/ bdag chen ma’i gsung nas/ drung nas thugs rjes bzung ba’i zhal ta yin/ bdag cag rang ci ’byor byed par zhu zhus pas/ de shin tu legs gsungs nas mnyes tshor cher mdzad do/.*



made great efforts, and completed the project within one year, without any obstacles. During that time, people were saying: “Even if nowadays one is the most powerful governor in dBus and gTsang, if one suddenly needs ink, paper, or wooden boards, it is extremely difficult to get them.”<sup>34</sup>

Master Red mda' ba told her: “bDag mo, it is said with regard to such activities performed to make the human life we have attained meaningful: In many Sūtra sections, it is said that whoever has worked for the benefit of the Dharma will become Buddhas themselves.” And thus Red mda' ba made a dedication that by those roots of virtue the Lady bDag chen ma might attain unsurpassable complete buddhahood.<sup>35</sup>

The biography tells us: “Due to this, she received the great blessing of the master and became renowned as a ‘female sponsor (*yon bdag mo*) with great merit and determination.”<sup>36</sup>

## 5 Intense Devotion to the Master

In smaller ways, we see other signs of the fervent devotion and respect that Master Red mda' ba inspired. Once during a tea break in the rows of monks, Red mda' ba was approached by a scholar called Master sNyal pa, a monk from the upper portion of gSang phu Monastery, one of the greatest seats of learning at that time. This scholarly *bhikṣu* asked Red mda' ba to please give him a “foot blessing” (*zhabs dbang*) by placing his foot on the scholar's head. Thereupon Red mda' ba replied: “How is it possible for a great scholar like you?” and refused to do so. Then, according to the biography, the great scholar insisted, saying: “I also wish

34 See *ibid.*: 174: *ding sang dbus gtsang gi sde pa su stobs che yang/ snag shog glegs shing/ glo bur dgos na 'byor ba shin tu dka' gsung [...]*.

35 See *ibid.*: 174–175: *drung gis zhal tas bdag mo/ mi lus thob pa don yod pa bya ba de lta bu la zer ba yin/ chos la bya ba byas pa rang sangs rgyas su skye bar mdo sde du ma nas gsungs/ [...] de ltar sgrub pa'i dge rtsa bla med rdzogs pa'i byang chub tu bsngo ba yang rgya chen po mdzad do//*. According to the *Gung thang rgyal rabs*, the advice to produce a bTan 'gyur was only given to mNga' bdag ma chen mo Chos skyong rgyal mo after her husband Khri mNga' bdag bSod nam nams lde had passed away in 1404, and thereafter, in memory of her husband, she had the entire bKa' 'gyur completed in gold lettering on deep blue paper; see Everding 2000: 124, 14.9.

36 See the *rNam thar chen mo* in Roloff 2009: 174: *bla ma byin rlabs che zhing/ yon bdag mo sku bsod dang blo stobs che ba'i grags pa byung ngo//*.

to be able to say at the end of my life that I have been touched by the flawless lotus feet of dPal ldan Red mda' ba. Then, even as an old monk, I do not need to be afraid of dying. Put your feet on my head!" Red mda' ba replied: "Well then, take it!" and gave him the foot blessing.<sup>37</sup>

Perhaps the emotional intensity of the reverence of his disciples can be most poignantly illustrated by this verse written at the time of Red mda' ba's passing away by the disciple mNga' ris pa Sangs rgyas rtse mo who also wrote the biography itself:

Alas, benefit and happiness have closed like lotus flowers in a pond.  
 The doctrine of expounding and practicing the Dharma were lost  
 simultaneously!  
 Alas, we pitiful people have fallen into despair,  
 Devoid of the fortune to see you any longer with our eyes!  
 We do not have the merit to hear your speech any longer with  
 our ears.  
 Wherever your mind is, please bless us.<sup>38</sup>

In the years, after Red mda' ba had passed away, the teachings he had transmitted to his disciple Tsong kha pa took on new life and quietly shaped this major sect that later was considered to be founded by Tsong kha pa<sup>39</sup> and that remains the dominant sect in Tibetan Buddhism now more than six centuries later. Red mda' ba himself, however, became a figure shrouded in obscurity, having been eclipsed by the fame of Tsong kha pa and his two main disciples.

37 See *ibid.*: 157: *khyed' dra ba'i dge bshes chen po la de' dra gar'ong gsung nas ma gnanng bas/ nga yang tshe mjug' dir dpal ldan red mda' ba'i zhabs kyi padmo dri ma med pa la gtugs zer ba gcig' dod pa yin/ btsun rgan [B: rang] 'jigs mi dgos rkang pa zhog zhus pas/ 'o na gya' gsungs nas zhabs dbang mdzad do//.*

38 See *ibid.*: 264.

39 I agree with Martin 2010: 198 who rightly points out: "As usual in historical investigations, we have to try our best to avoid and resist projecting later historical assumptions and 'givens,' themselves created during the course of history, back onto historical origins. That means, for one thing, that we have to stop thinking of most of the reputed founders of Tibetan sects as people who deliberately set about founding them. I think we have to go even further and doubt, rather than assume, the very concept of foundership. It generally takes some time for sectarian identities to become recognized in the culture at large as being meaningful or useful categories. And sometimes it is difficult to zero in on a particular time in history and identify it as the point at which a sect emerged into general consciousness."

Even if Red mda' ba was later forgotten by history, we know he was remembered with great gratitude by the disciples who preserved his relics and his memory as seen in this biography. And, however distraught his disciples may have been to be separated from their master, we know from his own writings that the master himself was ready for his own life to come to an end. Perhaps it will be appropriate to end with these verses from Red mda' ba himself, which form part of his autobiography.<sup>40</sup>

## 6 From Red mda' ba's Autobiography

In Red mda' ba's "Joyful Song of Assurance of No Regret," composed by this unusual and influential figure, he reflects:

No chain of food and wealth is left behind in my tracks.  
 Ahead of me, there is no embarrassing accumulation of bad karma.  
 My Mahāyāna precepts have degenerated neither in motivation nor  
 in deed.  
 Now, although my illusion like body and mind are separating, I feel  
 no regret.  
 At the beginning, I trained myself according to the meaning of the  
 canonical texts.  
 In the middle, I explained them to the gatherings of my intelligent  
 disciples.  
 In the end, I single-pointedly meditated on the meanings I was inti-  
 mately acquainted with.  
 Now, although my illusion like body and mind are separating, I feel  
 no regret.  
 I cherished the Victor's doctrine more than my life.  
 I analyzed in a correct way whether it is reasonable or not reasonable.  
 Through exposition, debate, and composition, I made my life with its  
 freedoms and opportunities meaningful.  
 Now, although my illusion like body and mind are separating, I feel  
 no regret.  
 This joyful song of assurance of no regret  
 I sang at the slope of Gangs bu le

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40 This part of Red mda' ba's autobiography (*rang rnam*) is included in Red mda' ba's Minor Works (gSung thor bu). For the full text of one of the three parts of his autobiography, see Appendix A in Roloff 2009: 303–306, and *ibid.*: 46–47.

For the people who were devout followers of me.  
If people want to act like me, then do it like this.

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**Das Studienbuch des 5. Yol mo sPrul sku  
Karma 'phrin las bdud 'joms als Quelle zum Inhalt und zur  
Überlieferungsgeschichte der „nördlichen Schätze“ (*byang gter*)**

Alexander Schiller  
(University of Vienna)

Die Kernlehren einer religiösen Schule, ihre Inhalte, ihr Ursprung und ihre Überlieferung bilden wesentliche Motive der traditionellen tibetischen Geschichtsschreibung und finden ihren Niederschlag in verschiedenen Formen religiöser Literatur. Eine Quellengattung, die wir bereits aus den Anfängen der „späten Verbreitung“ (*phyi dar*) des Buddhismus in Tibet kennen, sind Studienbücher, die unter dem Gattungsnamen *gsan yig* („Aufzeichnungen über das Gehörte“) oder *thob yig* („Aufzeichnungen über das Empfangene“) verfasst wurden. In diesen Büchern hielten Religiöse wesentliche Lehrgegenstände fest, die sie im Lauf ihrer Ausbildung erhalten hatten, oft ergänzt um die Überlieferungsgeschichte dieser Lehre anhand einer Aufzählung der einzelnen Glieder der Überlieferungskette ausgehend vom Ursprung der Lehre bis hin zum letzten Überlieferungsträger, dem Verfasser des Studienbuchs. Für den Historiker sind diese Studienbücher wertvolle Quellen zur Geschichte einer religiösen Schule und ihrer Traditionsbildung.<sup>1</sup>

Im Jahr 1992 konnten Mitarbeiter des Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project (NGMPP) in Samagaun (Gorkha, Nepal) das Studienbuch des 5. Yol mo sPrul sku Karma 'phrin las bdud 'joms (1726–1789) verfilmen.<sup>2</sup> Obgleich erst im Lauf des 18. Jh. verfasst, ist

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1 Auf die Bedeutung der Quellengattung der Studienbücher als historische Quellen wurde bereits verschiedentlich hingewiesen; siehe z.B. Taube 1969: 283–284. Eine Skizze der Gattung der Studienbücher und einen Überblick über Literatur zum Thema bietet Sobisch 2002: 161–164.

2 Karma 'phrin las bdud 'joms, Yol mo sPrul sku 05. *Rig 'dzin bla ma karma bdud 'joms zhabs kyi gsan yig gi rim pa rnams phyogs gcig tu sgrigs pa zab rgyas chos kyi*

dies in der rNying ma-Schule die früheste auf uns gekommene Quelle ihrer Art und detaillierteste Darstellung zum Inhalt und zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der sogenannten „nördlichen Schätze“ (*byang gter*), ein mehrbändiger Textkorpus, dessen Hebung die Tradition dem mit Legenden umspinnenen „Schatzheber“ (*gter ston*) Rig 'dzin rGod kyi ldem 'phru can (1337–1408/09) zuschreibt, der diesen Schatzfund demnach in der Mitte des 14. Jh. aus dem Felsenberg Zang zang lha brag in La stod byang (Zentraltibet) zutage gefördert haben soll.

### 1 Die „nördlichen Schätze“ des Rig 'dzin rGod kyi ldem 'phru can

Die religiösen Lehren der rNying ma-Schule werden traditionell nach der Art und Weise ihrer Überlieferung klassifiziert. Eine dieser Klassen wird als „Schätze“ (*gter ma*) bezeichnet und beinhaltet Lehren, die während der „frühen Verbreitung der religiösen Lehre“ (*bstan pa snga dar*) von Padmasambhava, dem tantrischen Lehrmeister aus Uḍḍiyāna, oder von einem seiner Schüler an geheimen Orten in Tibet, oft in Felshöhlen versteckt wurden, um zu einer prophezeiten Zeit während der „späten Verbreitung“ von einem *gter ston*, der vielfach als eine Wiederverkörperung aus dem engen Schülerkreis des Padmasambhava betrachtet wurde, wiederentdeckt, geborgen und verbreitet zu werden.<sup>3</sup> Die Bergung solcher *gter mas* ist seit dem 12. Jh. bekannt und fand in Bezug auf die Anzahl des Auftretens von Schatzhebern ihren Höhepunkt im 14. und 15. Jh.<sup>4</sup>

Die „nördlichen Schätze“, eine dieser Schatztraditionen, tragen ihre Bezeichnung nach dem Fundort der Schätze, das ist der im Norden gelegene Felsenberg Zang zang lha brag in La stod byang, im nordwestlichen Teil Zentraltibets (*dbus gtsang*), ca. 50 km westlich der Burg

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*gan mdzod*. Hs., *dbu med*, 167 Bl.

3 Zur Klassifizierung der rNying ma-Literatur in „Anweisungen“ (*bka' ma*) und „Schätze“ (*gter ma*) siehe z.B. Dargyay 1979: 68–69; Thondup 1986: 45–49; Dudjom Rinpoche Jikdrel Yeshe Dorje 1991: 39, 396. Zur Charakteristik der Literatur der „Schätze“ mit Diskussionen über die Frage der Authentizität der *gter mas* und über die Ursprünge dieser Tradition siehe u.a. Doctor 2005: 17–51; Gyatso 2015; Mayer 2019.

4 Einen Überblick über die Schatztraditionen der rNying ma-Schule gibt Dargyay 1979; Thondup 1986; Dudjom Rinpoche Jikdrel Yeshe Dorje 1991: 741–881 (Part Six).



Ngam ring, die seit der Mitte des 13. Jh. als Sitz der weltlichen Herrscher dieses Raums, den Byang pa, errichtet wurde, und dem angrenzenden Kloster Byang Ngam ring chos sde als geistliches Zentrum.<sup>5</sup> Gemäß Tradition wurden diese Schätze von Padmasambhava im 8. Jh. an diesem Ort verborgen und in der Mitte des 14. Jh. von Rig 'dzin rGod ldem 'phru can (im Weiteren: Rig 'dzin rGod ldem), der als Wiedergeburt des Zhang sNa nam bDud 'joms rdo rje gilt, einem Schüler Padmasambhavas, wiederentdeckt und gehoben. Padmasambhava und Rig 'dzin rGod ldem sind die beiden zentralen Figuren dieser Schatztradition.

Das Narrativ um den Ursprung und die Hebung der „nördlichen Schätze“ war wohl bereits zu Lebzeiten des Rig 'dzin rGod ldem etabliert. Die schriftliche Überlieferung beginnt mit einer Textgruppe, unter denen explizit Texte hervorgehoben wurden, die unter den Gattungsbezeichnungen *kha byang* („Führer“), *lam byang* („Wegführer“), *snying byang* („Führer zur Quintessenz“) und *zhal chems* („Vermächtnis“) kursierten. Diese Gruppe zählte ca. um die dreißig Texte, die in der Mehrzahl wohl nur wenige Seiten fassten, und den Leser mit grundlegenden Erzählstoffen der Schatztradition bekannt machten, wie den Ort, an dem Padmasambhava die Schätze versteckt hatte, den Zeitpunkt, an dem der Schatz geborgen werden sollte, sie enthalten Prophezeiungen über den Schatzheber und Beschreibungen des Schatzinhaltes u.a. und schufen damit das Fundament der Traditionsgeschichte.<sup>6</sup>

Se ston Nyi ma bzang po, ein direkter Schüler des Rig 'dzin rGod ldem, verfasste am Anfang des 15. Jh. die erste Biographie des Schatzhebers. Die Rahmengeschichte bildeten Ereignisse aus dem Leben des Rig 'dzin rGod ldem. Ergänzt wurde dieser Stoff um die bereits zu dieser Person kursierende Legendenbildung und die Narrative über das Verbergen der „nördlichen Schätze“ durch Padmasambhava, die

5 Zur Geschichte, Quellenlage und Literatur der „Zehntausendschaft“ (*khri skor*) La stod byang siehe Everding 2010. Gung thang bsTan 'dzin nor bu 2018 bietet eine Einführung in die politische (Kap. 2 und 3) und religiöse Geschichte (Kap. 4) von La stod byang.

6 Nicht sämtliche Texte dieser Gruppe, die seinerzeit wohl kursierten und uns durch Zitate dem Titel nach bekannt wurden, sind heute überliefert. Einzelne dieser Texte wurden in die Sammlungen der „nördlichen Schätze“ aufgenommen. Siehe *infra*, Anm. 7.

Prophezeiung ihrer Bergung etc. aus den o.g. Quellen, aus denen Nyi ma bzang po in umfangreichem Maß zitierte.<sup>7</sup> Den Höhepunkt dieser Erzählung markiert die Hebung der *gter mas* und eine Beschreibung des Schatzinhaltes. In dieser Biographie war das Narrativ vom Verbergen und Heben der „nördlichen Schätze“ und der Vita des Schatzhebers nun miteinander verschmolzen und als Mythos etabliert.<sup>8</sup> Nach dieser Erzählung verbarg Padmasambhava auf Bitten des Königssohns lHa sras Mu khri btsan po auf seinen Reisen durch Tibet die „nördlichen Schätze“ an der Flanke des Berges Ri bo bkra bzang. Rig ’dzin rGod ldem erhielt über den Einsiedler bZang po grags pa die „Schlüssel“ (*lde mig*) zum Bergen dieser Schätze und hob 30-jährig, im Jahr des Pferdes (1354), den Schatzfund zugunsten des Königs von Gung thang, dem „Gabenherr [samt seiner] Opferorte“ (*yon mchod*), und für zukünftige Lebewesen. Anschließend gründete er dort ein Kloster und auf dem Berggipfel einen Padmasambhava-Tempel. Einige Jahre später wurde Rig ’dzin rGod ldem an den Königshof von Mang yul Gung thang berufen und agierte dort als Hoflehrer. Als ständiger Sitz wurde ihm ein Kloster am Berg Ri bo dpal ’bar in Mang yul zur Verfügung gestellt. Nach einigen Jahren verließ Rig ’dzin rGod ldem Mang yul und „öffnete“ im weit entlegenen Süden Tibets das „verborgene Land“ (*sbas yul*) ’Bras mo gshongs (Sikkim) als Praxisstätte für die Anhänger seiner religiösen Tradition. Nach vielen Jahren kehrte Rig ’dzin rGod ldem nach Ri bo bkra bzang zurück. Weitere Dienste für den Königshof führten in wiederum nach Mang yul. Seine letzten Lebensjahre verbrachte Rig ’dzin rGod ldem in seiner Heimat in La stod byang, wo er im Eisen-Schlangen-Jahr (1401) starb.<sup>9</sup>

7 Se ston Nyi ma bzang po zitiert aus ca. fünfundzwanzig dieser Texte. „Acht Papierrollen“ (*shog dril brgyad po*), die für den Gung thang-König geborgen worden sein sollen, sind in einer Liste, quasi als Kerntexte der frühen Traditionsbildung der „nördlichen Schätze“, hervorgehoben; GDNTh, S. 87–88; vgl. KDBNTh, S. 433–434. Auch mNga’ ris Paṅ chen und Se Padma dbang chen zitieren in ihren Epitomen der „nördlichen Schätze“ in umfangreichem Maß aus dieser Textgruppe; siehe *infra*, 2.c (Epitomen / Inhaltsverzeichnisse).

8 Die Bergung der „nördlichen Schätze“ und deren Inhalte sind u.a. behandelt in Dargyay 1979: 129–132; Schwieger 1985: xxx–xxxviii; Boord 1993: 21–35; Herweg 1994: 85–103.

9 Herweg (1994: 44–152) bietet eine Übersetzung von Textabschnitten aus dieser Lebensbeschreibung, die relevant für die Diskussion historischer Fragen

Die Sakralstätten Ri bo bkra bzang (La stod byang) und Ri bo dpal 'bar (Mang yul) sowie das „verborgene Land“ 'Bras mo gshongs sind seit dieser Zeit mit der Verbreitung der „nördlichen Schätze“ verbunden und wurden im Lauf der Zeit wichtige Wirkungsstätten der nachfolgenden Tradition. Neben dem religiösen Zentrum bKra bzang, als Ausgangspunkt der Überlieferung der „nördlichen Schätze“, wurde in den Gründerjahren dieser Tradition in der Nähe der Burg Ngam ring das Kloster bDe grol gegründet. Beide Klöster lagen im Herrschaftsraum der Byang-Familie. Im Lauf der Zeit wurden zahlreiche Zweigklöster gegründet.<sup>10</sup> Auseinandersetzungen zwischen führenden Geistlichen aus der Byang-Familie und dem König von gTsang, die sich im 16. Jh. ereigneten, waren der Grund dafür, dass die Verbreitung der „nördlichen Schätze“ an ihrem Ursprungsort an Bedeutung verlor und religiöse Führungspersönlichkeiten nach Zentral-Tibet (*dbus*) und Süd-tibet umsiedelten. Am Beginn des 17. Jh. etablierte Rig 'dzin Ngag gi dbang po (1580–1639), der als Wiederverkörperung von Rig 'dzin rGod

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sind. Die Inhalte wesentlich später verfasster Quellentexte zum Leben des Rig 'dzin rGod ldem besprechen Schwieger 1985: xxx–xxxi und Herweg 1994: 155–158. Nachrichten zu seinem Leben sind zusammengefasst in Schwieger 1985: xxx–xxxviii; Herweg 1994 (*passim*); Everding 2000: Bd. II, S. 226–233, 244–247, 481–496; Solmsdorf 2014: 12–16. Schwieger behandelt insbesondere die Positionsrolle des Rig 'dzin rGod ldem als *gter ston*, seine Beziehung zu Herrschaftshäusern und seine Prophezeiungen zur Erschließung „verborgener Länder“ (*sbas yul*). Everding konzentriert sich vornehmlich auf Rig 'dzin rGod ldems Rolle am Königshof von Mang yul Gung thang. Diese erste Lebensbeschreibung von Rig 'dzin rGod ldem gibt für seine Geburt ein Holz-Maus-Jahr (*shing pho byi*), das dem Jahr 1324 entspricht, und als Todesjahr ein Eisen-Schlangen-Jahr (*lcags mo sprul*), das dem Jahr 1401 entspricht. Das Ereignis der Schatzbergung wird hier in sein 30. Lebensjahr datiert, ein Pferd-Jahr (=1354). In den Kolophonen der Einzeltexte des Schatzes wird das Ereignis des Schatzhebens in ein Feuerpferd-Jahr (*me pho rta*) datiert, das dem Jahr 1366 entspricht; siehe dazu Schwieger 1985: 46, 47, 65, 77, 80 usw. Legt man das 30. Lebensjahr für dieses Ereignis zugrunde, lässt sich daraus ein Geburtsjahr 1337 errechnen. Spätere Quellen geben als Todesjahr auch ein Erde-Maus-Jahr (1408). Auf die abweichenden Datierungen in der ersten Lebensbeschreibung und in späteren Quellen haben bereits Herweg (1994: 175–176) und Everding (2000, II: 232–233) hingewiesen. Rig 'dzin rGod ldems Lebensdaten (1337–1408/09) gebe ich hier nach Schwieger 1985 bzw. Dargyay 1979 und Everding 2000.

10 Eine Liste der Klöster, in denen diese religiöse Tradition in Tibet verbreitet wurde, bietet Choden 1973: 4–5. Vgl. die rezente Liste der Herausgeber der neuzeitlichen Textsammlung BTChK, Bd. 62, S. 883–898.

ldem erkannt worden war, in Zentral-Tibet, ca. 40 km westlich von bSam yas, das Kloster Thub bstan rDo rje brag. Dieses avancierte nun zur neuen Hauptverbreitungsstätte dieser Schatztradition.<sup>11</sup> Aber auch im Kloster bKra bzang wurde die Tradition weiter fortgesetzt.<sup>12</sup> Neben diesen Schätzen, deren Hebung am Berg Zang zang lha brag erfolgte, wurden im Lauf der Zeit auch weitere Lehrzyklen zu dieser Schatztradition gezählt, die von anderen Schatzhebern wesentlich später und andernorts zu Tage gefördert sein sollen.<sup>13</sup> Der vorliegende Aufsatz

11 Zur Geschichte des Klosters rDo rje brag siehe die Chronik von Kun bzang 'gro 'dul rdo rje aus dem frühen 20. Jh. (DJBGB). Die Klostersgeschichte *Bod yul gangs can gyi ljongs su snga 'gyur bka' gter gyi chos brgyud 'dzin pa'i gdan sa chen po thub bstan rdo rje brag e wam lcog sgar ba'i chos brgyud dang gdan rabs bcas kyi lo rgyus mdor bsdu*s (Simla, 1983) von sTag lung rTse sprul Rin po che (geb. ca. 1926) lag mir nicht vor, ebenso wenig die Übersetzung dieser Chronik (Staglung Tsetrul Rinpoche. *A Brief History of Dorje Tak Monastery in Tibet an its Lineage Holders*. Leh, 1985). Gedrängte Darstellungen zur Geschichte dieses Klosters als eine neu etablierte Institution in Zentral-Tibet zur Verbreitung der „nördlichen Schätze“, geleitet von Thronhaltern, die als Wiedergeburten von Rig 'dzin rGod ldem erkannt worden waren, bieten u.a. Boord 1993: 29–31; Herweg 1994: 29–31; Dalton 2016: 78–96.

12 Einen Abriss der Geschichte des Klosters bKra bzang bietet Gung thang bsTan 'dzin nor bu 2018: 300–302.

13 Zu dieser späteren Tradition zählen insbesondere die Schätze jener Schatzheber, die als Wiedergeburten von Rig 'dzin rGod ldem erkannt wurden, das sind Rig 'dzin Legs ldan bdud 'joms rdo rje (ca. 16. Jh.) und Rig 'dzin Ngag gi dbang po (1580–1639). Dazu zählen weiters die Schätze des mNga' ris Paṅ chen Padma dbang rgyal (1487–1542), dem älteren Bruder des Rig 'dzin bDud 'joms rdo rje. Diese beiden aus Glo bo stammenden Brüder knüpften als Nachkommen des Königshauses Mang yul Gung thang an die frühe Überlieferungstradition der „nördlichen Schätze“ in La stod byang an und leiteten ab dem frühen 16. Jh. ihre Verbreitung in Zentral-Tibet (*dbus*) und Südtibet ein. Weiters zählen dazu die Schätze von Byang bdag bKra shis stobs rgyal (1550?–1603), der als Wiederverkörperung von mNga' ris Paṅ chen gilt, und die Laiengemeinde Gu ru Padma E wam lcog sgar gründete, am Standort des in der Folge von seinem Sohn Ngag gi dbang po errichteten Klosters rDo rje brag. Rig 'dzin Ngag gi dbang po baute die Gemeinde aus und war der eigentliche Gründer des Klosters, das nun die Bezeichnung Thub bstan rdo rje brag e wam lcog sgar erhielt. Alle diese späteren Schatzheber waren in Zentral-Tibet oder auch in Südtibet aktiv. Weiter zählen dazu auch die Schätze von mNga' ris gTer ston Gar dbang zla ba rgyal mtshan (1640–1685) und jene von sKal bzang padma dbang phyug (1719/20–1770) aus der späteren Tradition des 17. und 18. Jh. Eine knappe Übersicht der Schatzheber, die zu dieser Schatztradition gezählt werden, bietet Choden 1973: 6–7. Eine Kompilation des zu den „nördlichen Schätzen“ zählenden erweiterten Textkorpus

beschränkt sich auf die ursprünglichen „nördlichen Schätze“ des Rig 'dzin rGod ldem.

Nach den frühesten Darstellungen über die Hebung der „nördlichen Schätze“ des Rig 'dzin rGod ldem verteilte sich der Schatz auf fünf Schachteln, organisiert nach ihrer räumlichen Anordnung am Fundort. In diesen Darstellungen werden als Fundstücke neben wenigen Wert- und Ritualgegenständen sowie Reliquien insbesondere Schriftsammlungen genannt. Mit Ausnahme der Sammlung *Kun tu bzang po dgongs pa zang thal* und der Sammlung *rDo rje phur pa'i chos skor* findet man in der auf uns gekommenen frühen Erzählliteratur, die i.W. als Teile der „Schätze“ überliefert ist, sowie in den ersten Biographien des Rig 'dzin rGod ldem noch nicht jene Bezeichnungen für die Textsammlungen, die im weiteren Verlauf konstitutiv für diese Schatztradition wurden. Anstelle dessen sind die Inhalte der „fünf Schätze“ (*mdzod lnga*) zunächst nur äußerst knapp skizziert, einmal nach ihrem Zweck und Inhalt (zitiert nach *Zhal chems bdun pa*), und zum anderen in Verbindung gestellt mit der Meditationspraxis, in deren Zentrum spezifische Gottheiten stehen (in *Rig 'dzin rtsa ba'i sgrub thabs*). Diese knappen Beschreibungen der „Schätze“ lassen sich nicht geradewegs mit den später geläufigen Bezeichnungen der einzelnen Sammlungen der „nördlichen Schätze“ identifizieren.<sup>14</sup>

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wurde im Jahr 2015 unter der Bezeichnung *sNga 'gyur byang gter chos skor phyogs bsgrigs* (BTChK) herausgegeben und fasst 63 Bände (inkl. Inhaltsverzeichnis).

- 14 Die *rdzogs chen*-Textsammlung *Kun tu bzang po dgongs pa zang thal* ist in der von Se ston Nyi ma bzang po verfassten Biographie des Rig 'dzin rGod ldem mehrere Male genannt (GDNTh, S. 132, 143). Auch in der frühen Erzählliteratur, in dem quasi autobiographischen Text *sPrul sku rig 'dzin chen po'i mnal lam le'u bryad pa*, ist diese Sammlung dem Titel nach aufgeführt (PKNL, S. 160). Gemäß der Biographie GDNTh war die Sammlung im Zentrum des Schatzes lokalisiert und stand damit in gewisser Hinsicht im Mittelpunkt der frühen Texttradition. Als Quellen für die Besprechung der Inhalte der Schätze führen mNga' ris Pañ chen und Se Padma dbang chen in ihren Epitomen zu dieser Schatztradition das *Zhal chems bdun pa* (BTSNT, fol. 2b–3a; BTRPh, fol. 27b–28a) und *Rig 'dzin rtsa ba'i sgrub thabs* (BTSNT, fol. 3a–b; BTRPh, fol. 27a–b) an. Das *Zhal chems bdun pa* ist m.W. nicht überliefert und nur durch Zitate aus den o.g. Epitomen bekannt. Das *Rig 'dzin rtsa ba'i sgrub thabs* ist ein Text aus dem Zyklus *Bla ma rig 'dzin gdung sgrub*. Zum Inhalt der Schätze siehe RDzGTh, S. 114. Das *rGod ldem rnam thar* (GDNTh, S. 96–97) liefert eine dem *Zhal chems bdun pa* ähnliche Darstellung der fünf Schätze, die im Wortlaut an den Text *sNying byang rgyas pa gnad gyi thim bu* (NyBGP, S. 313) angelehnt ist. In diesen frühen Quellen differieren

Erst ab dem späten 15. Jh. wurde die Hagiographienschreibung in dieser religiösen Schule fortgesetzt. In diesen Quellen finden wir nun erstmals Bezeichnungen für separate Textsammlungen der „nördlichen Schätze“ schriftlich fixiert.<sup>15</sup> Diese Textsammlungen sind in geschlossenen Lehrzyklen (*chos skor*) organisiert und kursieren um ein zentrales Thema, das namensgebend für die gesamte Sammlung ist. Inhaltlich fassen diese Zyklen einen weitgefächerten Korpus von Lehr-, Praxis- und Ritualtexten u.a.<sup>16</sup> Im Zentrum der Überlieferung stehen im Wesentlichen neun Lehrzyklen, die insgesamt mehrere tausend Blatt fassen und in den heute überlieferten Textausgaben, je nach Redaktion, in insgesamt ca. 13 bis 15 Bänden geordnet sind:<sup>17</sup>

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die Beschreibungen der Schatzinhalte nicht unerheblich. Übersetzungen bzw. Zusammenfassungen des Wortlauts einzelner dieser Textquellen zum Schatzinhalt bieten Dargyay 1979: 130–131; Schwieger 1985: xxxv–xxxvi; Boord 1993: 25–26; Herweg 1994: 32–33.

15 Sangs rgyas dpal bzang nennt in seiner Biographiensammlung zu Persönlichkeiten aus der frühen Tradition der „nördlichen Schätze“ in La stod byang vier Textzyklen dem Titel nach: *rDzogs pa chen po kun tu bzang po'i dgongs pa zang thal gyi skor* (NThOPh, S. 198), (*pha chos*) *rDo rje phur pa* (*ibid.*, S. 177), *Rigs 'dzin gdung sgrub* (*ibid.*, S. 186) und *Thugs bsgrub (=sgrub) kyi bskor (=skor)* (*ibid.*, S. 186). In der im Jahr 1557 von Nam mkha' bsod nams dpal verfassten Biographie des Nam mkha' rgyal mtshan (NKhNTh; übersetzt in Valentine 2018) finden sich die Bezeichnungen von neun Zyklen: *Byang gter skor gyi rdzogs pa chen pa zangs (=zang) thal*, *Rang byung rang shar, bKa' bryad rang byung rang shar*, (*pha chos*) *rDo rje phur pa* (*ibid.*, S. 212); *Thugs rje chen po nyon mongs rang grol* (d.i. *Thugs rje chen po 'gro ba kun grol*) (*ibid.*, S. 214); *Gu ru zhi ba'i bskor (=skor)* (add.: *Rigs 'dzin gdung bsgrub (=sgrub)*), *Drag po mthing kha'i bskor (=skor)* (add.: *Thugs bsgrub (=sgrub)*, *Byang chub sems pa'i spyod dbang gi bskor (=skor)* (*ibid.*, S. 213); *rTen 'brel chos bdun* (*ibid.*, S. 214).

16 Eine Übersicht über die Inhalte der beiden *rdzogs chen*-Zyklen bietet Schwieger 1985.

17 In den einschlägigen Quellentexten werden im Wesentlichen neun Ritualzyklen genannt, die den Kernbestand dieser „nördlichen Schätze“ konstituieren; vgl. z.B. die Auflistung dieser Schätze in der o.g. Biographie des Nam mkha' rgyal mtshan (NKhNTh, siehe *supra*, Anm. 15). Diese Zyklen sind hier mit römischen Zahlen von I bis IX durchgezählt. In den Quellentexten variieren die Titelbezeichnungen der einzelnen Zyklen geringfügig oder treten auch in abgekürzter Form auf. Eine Auflistung der Textzyklen und Zuordnung dieser Sammlungen zu den „fünf Schätzen“ gibt Choden 1973: 6–7; vgl. Schwieger 1985: xxxv–xxxvi; Boord 1993: 25–26. In den Einzeltexten dieser Sammlungen wird die Zuordnung auch davon abweichend dargestellt. Im Hinblick auf diese „Lehr- [und Ritual]zyklen“ (*chos skor*) sind im Folgenden aufgelistet: a) die überlieferten

- I. *Kun tu bzang po'i dgongs pa zang thal*<sup>18</sup> (Xyl., Hs.)
- II. *Ka dag rang byung rang shar*<sup>19</sup> (Xyl., Hs.)
- III. *bKa' brgyad drag po rang byung rang shar*<sup>20</sup> (Xyl., Hs.)
- IV. *bCom ldan 'das rdo rje phur pa*<sup>21</sup> (Hs.)

Textausgaben (hier wurden nur Ausgaben mit einer signifikanten Anzahl von Texten aufgenommen), b) Titellisten bzw. -aufzählungen zu den Sammlungen nach den überlieferten Studienbüchern, und c) Inhaltsbeschreibungen und Titellisten in Epitomen (nebst Quellenangabe). Als Grundlage dieser Quellensammlung diente der Textbestand im Buddhist Digital Resource Center (BDRC). Dieser Bestand konnte nur soweit gesichtet werden, wie es im Rahmen der Abfassung dieses Aufsatzes möglich war (<http://www.tbrc.org>, abgerufen am 23.05.2020). Vgl. die Quellensammlung in Herweg 1994: 34–38. Auf die einschlägige Sekundärliteratur zu den Textsammlungen wurde aus Platzgründen nicht hingewiesen mit Ausnahme eines Katalogs (Schwieger 1985), in dem die zwei *rdzogs chen*-Lehrzyklen (I, II) vollständig bibliographisch erschlossen sind, z.T. mit Inhaltsangaben.

- 18 Textausgaben: A 'dzom chos sgar, o.J. (Leh, 1973), Xyl., 4 Bde. (BDRC, W18557; W4CZ1100). —gNas chung, o.J. (Leh, 1979), Xyl., 4 Bde. (BDRC, W4CZ1106). —o.O., o.J. (Sumra, 1978), Hs., 3 Bde. (BDRC, W4CZ1105). —o.O., o.J., Hs., 1 Bd. bzw. 2 Bde. (BDRC, W8LS19760; W3PD889, Bd. 64; W3CN18479). Rezenter Druck: BTChK, Bd. 1–2 (BDRC, W2PD17457, I4PD423–I4PD424). Titellisten: NDThY; DLSY; BDThY; KDJSY. Epitomen: BTSNT: fol. 7b (*rTsol med kyi theg pa ston pa zab mo chos kyi lung byang*), fol. 7b–8a (*sGron ma rnam gsum*); BTRPh: fol. 35b–38b. Die Textsammlung (im A 'dzom chos sgar-Druck) ist inhaltlich erschlossen in Schwieger 1985: xviii–xxvii; Textnr. 1–111 (S. 1–113) unter Hinweis auf Abweichungen im Textbestand der beiden Druckausgaben aus A 'dzom chos sgar und gNas chung.
- 19 Textausgaben: A 'dzom chos sgar, o.J. (Leh, 1973), Xyl., 1 Bd. (BDRC, W18557; W4CZ1100). —o.O., o.J. (Paro, 1979), Hs., 1 Bd. (BDRC, W27283). Rezenter Druck: BTChK, Bd. 3 (BDRC, I4PD425). Titellisten: NDThY; DLSY; KDJSY; BDThY. Epitomen: BTSNT: fol. 6b–7a (*Ka dag gi zhu lan gnad kyi yi ge*, d.i. eine Aufzählung der Einzeltitel); BTRPh: fol. 35a–b. Die Textsammlung (im A 'dzom chos sgar-Druck) ist inhaltlich erschlossen in Schwieger 1985: xviii–xxvii; Textnr. 112–127 (S. 114–132).
- 20 Textausgaben: o.O., o.J., Xyl., 2 Bde. (BDRC, W1KG11884). —o.O., o.J. (Darjeeling, 1984), Hs., 1 Bd. (BDRC, W1KG12971). —o.O., o.J., Hs., 1 Bd. (BDRC, W1PD18177). Rezenter Druck: BTChK, Bd. 9–12 (BDRC, I4PD431–I4PD434). Titellisten: NDThY; DLSY; GSThY; BDThY; TGSY. Epitomen: BTSNT: fol. 7a (*bKa' brgyad rang byung rang shar gyi them sbyang*); BTRPh: fol. 39a–41a.
- 21 Textausgaben: o.O., o.J. (Leh, 1973), Hs., 1 Bd. (BDRC, W23775). —o.O., o.J. (Dalhousie, 1977), Hs., 2 Bde. (BDRC, W29251). —o.O., o.J. (Darjeeling, 1984), Hs., 1 Bd. (BDRC, W27295). Rezenter Druck: BTChK, Bd. 13 (BDRC, I4PD435). Titellisten: NDThY; DLSY; KDJSY. Epitomen: BTSNT: fol. 5b–6b (*Phur pa rin*

- V. (*phyi sgrub*) *Thugs rje chen po 'gro ba kun gro*<sup>122</sup> (Xyl., Hs.)  
 VI. (*nang sgrub*) *Bla ma rig 'dzin gdung sgrub*<sup>23</sup> (Xyl., Hs.)  
 VII. (*gsang sgrub*) *Thugs sgrub gu ru drag po rtsal*<sup>24</sup> (Xyl., Hs.)  
 VIII. *Zab mo rten 'brel chos bdun*<sup>25</sup> (Hs.)  
 IX. *Byang chub sems dpa'i spyod dbang*<sup>26</sup> (Hs.)

Die ersten vier Textzyklen lassen sich nach ihren Hauptinhalten jenen Traditionen zuordnen, die gemäß ihrer Klassifizierung in der rNying ma-Schule Gegenstand der höchsten Klassen des Tantra sind: die zwei *rdzogs chen*-Zyklen (I und II)<sup>27</sup> lassen sich der Gruppe der *atiyoga*-Klasse zuordnen, der Zyklus zu den *bka' brgyad*-Gottheiten (III) und der Vajrakīla-Kult (IV) dementsprechend der Gruppe der *mahāyoga*-Klasse. Drei Textsammlungen stellen Padmasambhava ins Zentrum der Praxis in der Erscheinungsform als Gottheit *Thugs rje chen po 'gro*

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*chen mdzod*); BTRPh: fol. 44b–46a.

- 22 Textausgaben: gNas chung, o.J. (Gangtok, 1979), Xyl., 1 Bd. (BDRC, W27296). —o.O., o.J. (Delhi, 1982), Hs., 1 Bd. (BDRC, W27284). Rezenter Druck: Solukhumbu, 2017 (BDRC; W2KG209269, Bd. 2). —BTChK, Bd. 4 (BDRC, I4PD426). Titellisten: NDThY; DLSY; GSThY; PGThY; KDJSY. Epitome: BTRPh: fol. 47b–48a.
- 23 Textausgaben: gNas chung, o.J. (Gangtok, 1981), Xyl., 1 Bd. (W23449). —o.O., o.J. (Delhi, 1982), Hs., 1 Bd. (BDRC, W27284). Rezenter Druck: Solukhumbu, 2017 (BDRC; W2KG209269, Bd. 2). —BTChK, Bd. 5 (BDRC, I4PD427). Titellisten: NDThY; DLSY; PGThY; KDJSY. Epitome: BTRPh: fol. 38b–39a.
- 24 Textausgaben: o.O., o.J. (Darjeeling, 1984), Hs., 1 Bd. (BDRC, W27870). —o.O., o.J. (Sumra, 1978), Hs., 1 Bd. (BDRC, W4CZ1105, Bd. 3). —gNas chung, o.J. (Gangtok, 1980), Xyl., 4 Bde (W23453). —o.O., o.J., Hs., 2 Bde. (BDRC, W3PD999). Rezenter Druck: Solukhumbu, 2017 (BDRC, W2KG209269, Bd. 1). —BTChK, Bd. 6–8 (BDRC, I4PD428–I4PD430); Titellisten: NDThY; DLSY; GSThY; BDThY; PGThY; KDJSY. Epitomen: BTSNT: fol. 3b–4a (*Thugs sgrubs (=sgrub) them s byang*); BTRPh: fol. 41a–44b.
- 25 Textausgaben: o.O., o.J., Hs. (in: BDRC, W2PD17514, Bd. 11). Rezenter Druck: BTChK, Bd. 15, diverse Texte (in: BDRC, I4PD437). Titellisten: DLSY; KDJSY; YBSY. Epitomen: BTSNT: fol. 4a–b (*Zab mo rten 'brel gyi chos bdun*); BTRPh: fol. 46a–47b.
- 26 Textausgaben: o.O., o.J., Hs. (in: BDRC, W2PD17514, Bd. 10). Rezenter Druck: BTChK, Bd. 14 (in: BDRC, I4PD436). Titellisten: DLSY; KDJSY; TLThY; YBSY. Epitome: BTRPh: fol. 48a–b.
- 27 In der einschlägigen Texttradition sind diese beiden *rdzogs chen*-Zyklen den „sechs mündlichen Überlieferungen“ (*snyan brgyud drug*) des Padmasambhava zugeordnet; siehe BTRPh, fol. 34b. Vgl. Schwieger 1985: lxvi, Anm. 164.



ba kun grol (V), Rig 'dzin gdung sgrub (VI) und rDo rje drag po rtsal (VII).<sup>28</sup> Der Zyklus *Zab mo rten 'brel chos bdun* enthält eine Sammlung von Lehren und Kulturen, die auf Padmasambhava und die Gottheiten Amitābha, Avalokiteśvara, Hayagriva und Vajravārāhī u.a. fokussieren (VIII). Die Sammlung *Byang chub sems dpa'i spyod dbang* fasst Lehren und Kulturtraditionen, die um Vairocana und weitere Gottheiten kreisen (IX). Neben diesen neun Zyklen werden zu den „nördlichen Schätzen“ des Rig 'dzin rGod ldem ergänzende Textsammlungen gezählt, die im Wesentlichen weiteren Meditations- und insbesondere auch Schutzgottheiten gewidmet sind.<sup>29</sup> Weiters enthalten die Zyklen auch Prophe-

28 Diese Zyklen wurden auch begrifflich zusammengefasst als „Methoden zur [rituellen] Vollendung der drei: [das sind] die innere, äußere und geheime [Erscheinungsform] des geistlichen Lehrers [Padmasambhava]“ (*gu ru phyi nang gsang gsum sgrub tshul*); siehe KDJSY, ca, fol. 4a; oder auch als die „drei [Formen der] Vollendung des Geistes [des Lehrers]“ (*thugs sgrub gsum, thugs sgrub rnam gsum*); siehe PBGNTh, fol. 44b; vgl. Ehrhard 2008: 49, 87.

29 Die früheste systematische Klassifizierung sämtlicher Texte, die den „nördlichen Schätzen“ zugerechnet werden, präsentiert Se Padma dbang chen in seiner 1627 verfassten Epitome *Byang gter chos skor rnam ky'i spyi chings rin chen 'phreng ba* (BTRPh). Neben den o.g. neun Textzyklen (siehe *supra*, Anm. 18–26, und *infra*, Anm. 47) werden elf weitere Sammlungen unterschieden (BTRPh, fol. 43a–44b, 48b–52b): (i) *Tshe dpag med longs sku ma'i chos skor*, (ii) *mNga' dbang gi chos skor* (*dBang chen yongs rdzogs* und *Thugs sgrub kyi dzam bha la'i skor*), (iii) *Chos skyong bka' srungs gter bdag dang bcas pa'i chos skor*, (iv) *mGon po stag zhon gyi skor*, (v) *bKa' bsrung ma'i skor*, (vi) *gTer bdag skor*, (vii) *rDo rje legs pa*, (viii) *Thang lha'i skor*, (ix) *sTong dpon pa'i skor*, (x) *Lung bstan gyi skor*, (xi) *Zhi rgyas dbang drag gi chos skor*. Auf der Grundlage dieser Epitome schuf der 5. Dalai Bla ma in seinem Studienbuch (DLSY, Bd. III) eine noch detailliertere Klassifizierung der Texte, neben den neun o.g. Sammlungen (wie *supra*, Anm. 18–26, und *infra*, Anm. 59) unterschied er folgende Textzyklen: (i) *Phag mo gsang ba rmad byung gi skor* (S. 253–256), (ii) *mGon po tshe dpag med nang longs spyod rdzogs sku'i chos skor* (S. 262–264), (iii) *rTsa rlung zab lam gsang 'khrid bde stong rgya mtsho zhes rdo rje drag po rtsal gyi yum bka'i skor* (S. 290–291), (iv) *mNga' dbang rin po che'i skor* (S. 318–320), (v) *Gu ru yakṣa rdo rje'i skor* (S. 320–321), (vi) *Man ngag kha 'thor shing brgyad* (S. 327), (vii) *Lung bstan dang sbas yul lam yig gi skor* (S. 327–332), (viii) *bKa' brgyad kyi bka' srung mgon po bstan srung dregs pa* (S. 332–334), (ix) *rDo rje phur pa'i bka' srung dpal mgon legs ldan nag po stag zhon lcags khrab can gyi skor* (S. 334–335), (x) *Chos sde spyi dang khyad par rdzogs chen zang thal gyi srung ma dpal sngags kyi bdag mo e ka dza ti'i skor* (S. 335–337), (xi) *gTer srung bstan ma bcu gnyis kyi skor* (S. 337–338), (xii) *gTer srung ging chen rdo rje legs pa'i skor* (S. 338–339), (xiii) *gTer srung dri za'i rgyal po zur phud lnga pa'am gnyan chen thang lha'i skor* (S. 340–342), (xiv) *dBang gi ma mo bdun gyi gsol kha* (S. 342), (xv) *bKa'*

zeiungen (*lung bstan*), worunter auch „Führer“ zur Auffindung und Erschließung „verborgener Länder“ (*sbas yul*) gruppiert sind.<sup>30</sup>

Soweit heute bekannt ist, lag die schriftliche Überlieferung der „nördlichen Schätze“ über mehrere Jahrhunderte einzig handschriftlich vor. Die untersuchten handgeschriebenen Ausgaben enthalten keine Nachrichten zur Herausgabe dieser Manuskripte. In den Kolophonen der Einzeltexte dieser Manuskriptaussagen finden sich mitunter später ergänzte Nachträge zum Text, anhand derer sich spezifische Stadien der Überlieferung datieren lassen. Dies zeigt u.a. die handschriftliche Reproduktion einer Ausgabe des Textzyklus *Thugs sgrub drag po rtsal* (VII) aus der Privatbibliothek des Yol mo Bla ma rDo rje in Helambu (Nepal).<sup>31</sup> Einzelne Texte dieser Ausgabe enthalten Angaben zur Überlieferungsgeschichte in Form von Namensketten der Überlieferungsträger. Diese Ketten enden mit Namen von Religiosen, die sich in das 15. bis 16. Jh. datieren lassen. Mehrere dieser Texte enthalten die Nachricht, dass „[dies] der Text [einer Person] namens Nam mkha' ist“ (*nam mkha'i ming can gyi dpe'o /*).<sup>32</sup> Selbst wenn sich diese Person durch den hier gegebenen Kurznamen nicht eindeutig identifizieren lässt,<sup>33</sup> geht

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*srung srog bdag bdud kyi rgyal po'am legs ldan nag po dang ston dpon du grags pa don du pe har rgyal po la ngos 'dzin pa 'di'i skor* (S. 342–343), (xvi) *Chos sde spyi'i srung ma bkra bzang zhing skyong gi gsol mchod yul ming bod yul ma* (S. 343), (xvii) *Srog bdag yam shud dmar po* (S. 343). Vgl. die Übersicht in Herweg 1994: 307–318. Diverse dieser die zentralen Textsammlungen ergänzenden Zyklen sind in den handschriftlichen Sammlungen überliefert, partiell auch in der rezenten Ausgabe BTChK (Bd. 15).

30 Anweisungen zum Auffinden und der Erschließung dieser Stätten als Zufluchtsräume für die Anhänger dieser Tradition sind in eigenständigen Textsammlungen überliefert; siehe z.B. BTNTh. In der Epitome von Se Padma dbang chen aus dem 17. Jh. (siehe *supra*, Anm. 29) finden wir eine Vielzahl dieser Texte unter der Textgruppe der Prophezeiungen (*lung bstan gyi skor*) aufgelistet.

31 Die handgeschriebene Abschrift BTThG repräsentiert ein frühes Überlieferungsstadium dieser Textsammlung und verzeichnet gegenüber späteren Fassungen einen geringeren Textumfang. Siehe *infra*, Anm. 77.

32 BTThG, S. 12, 32, 49, 72 usw.

33 Der Kurzname Nam mkha' ist aus Überlieferungslinien in den einschlägigen Studienbüchern bekannt. In diversen Linien finden wir diesen Namen bezeugt im Kontext von Personen, die sich an die Wende vom 15. zum 16. Jh. datieren lassen, darunter z.B. Thugs sras Nam mkha' rgyal mtshan (1454–1541); siehe z.B. KDJSY, ca, fol. 13a; DLSY, ga, fol. 126a, 126b, 131a etc. Aber auch in der hier vorliegenden Abschrift des Zyklus *Thugs sgrub drag po rtsal* (BTThG) selbst sind

aus den beiliegenden Überlieferungslinien hervor, dass dieser die Lehrüberlieferung von Lehrern erhalten hatte, die sich in das 15. bzw. 16. Jh. datieren lassen, dazu zählen der 1. Yol mo sPrul sku Shākya bzang po (BTThG, S. 20, 567, 646, 655), aber auch dessen Schüler Drin can Che mchog rdo rje (*ibid.*, S. 269),<sup>34</sup> sowie Chos rje Kun dga' gzi brjid pa (*ibid.*, S. 126) und gSang sngags rdo rje (*ibid.*, S. 134).

Neben den handschriftlichen Textausgaben wurden von mehreren Textsammlungen auch Blockdruckausgaben herausgegeben:

- 1) Der A 'dzom chos sgar-Xylograph (4 Bde., BDRC, W18557 / W4CZ1100) fasst die beiden *rdzogs chen*-Textzyklen *Kun tu bzang po'i dgongs pa zang thal* (I) und *Ka dag rang byung rang shar* (II) und wurde am Ende des 19. Jh. oder am Beginn des 20. Jh. gedruckt.<sup>35</sup>
- 2) Der gNas chung sGra dbyangs gling-Druck (4 Bde., BDRC, W4CZ1106) fasst neben der Sammlung *Kun tu bzang po'i dgongs pa zang thal* (I) auch die drei Zyklen, in deren Zentrum Padma-sambhava in den o.g. spezifischen Erscheinungsformen steht (V, VI, VII). Dieser Druck datiert vermutlich in die zweite Hälfte des 19. Jh.<sup>36</sup>

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Religiose namentlich genannt, die sich mit einer Person namens Nam mkha' identifizieren ließen: das sind sNgags 'chang Nam mkha' rgyal mtshan (*ibid.*, S. 528) und gSang bsgrub (=sgrub) Nam mkha' rdo rje (*ibid.*, S. 258).

34 Die Überlieferungslinie ausgehend von Rig 'dzin rGod ldem (BTThG, S. 269): 1. sPrul sku Rig 'dzin chen po, 2. Drin mchog rDo rje dpal, 3. mTshan ldan Byams pa gshes (=bshes) gnyen, 4. Drin can Sangs rgyas dpal bzang, 5. sNgags 'chang Chos rgyal bsod nams, 6. Rig 'dzin Sangs rgyas bstan pa. 7. sNgags 'chang Shākya bzang po, 8. Drin can Che mchog rdo rje, 9. (*des bdag*) Nam mkha'i ming can (*la bsrang [=gnang] ba'o* /).

35 Im Vorwort zur Reproduktion der zwei *rdzogs chen*-Textsammlungen aus den „nördlichen Schätzen“ im A 'dzom chos sgar-Druck teilt der Herausgeber mit, dass die Herstellung dieses Drucks von A 'dzom 'Brug pa 'Gro 'dul dpa' bo rdo rje geleitet wurde. Siehe Choden 1973, Preface. Im Titel datiert der Herausgeber die Herstellung des Drucks an den Beginn des 20. Jh., im Vorwort dagegen an das Ende des 19. Jh. Die Lebensdaten von 'Gro 'dul dpa' bo rdo rje, dem Gründer des rNying ma-Klosters A 'dzom chos sgar, sind 1842 bis 1924; siehe BDRC, W6002. Vgl. Schwieger 1985: xxiii-xxiv.

36 Die gNas chung-Druckausgabe der Sammlung *Kun tu bzang po'i dgongs pa zang thal* erfolgte unter der Leitung von Chos rje Shākya yar 'phel. Siehe dazu das Vorwort des Herausgebers einer Reproduktion des Drucks; BDRC, W4CZ1106,

- 3) Der Druckort und die Zeit der Sammlung *bKa' brgyad drag po rang byung rang shar* (2 Bde., BDRC, W1KG11884) ist unbekannt.<sup>37</sup>

Eine handschriftliche Textausgabe oder Druckedition, in der sämtliche Textzyklen der „nördlichen Schätze“ enthalten sind, ist aus dem „alten Tibet“ bisher nicht bekannt geworden.<sup>38</sup>

## 2 Quellen zum Inhalt und der Überlieferungsgeschichte der „nördlichen Schätze“

Nachrichten zum Inhalt der Textsammlungen aus den „nördlichen Schätzen“ und zu ihrer Überlieferung finden sich zunächst in den Sammlungen der Lehrzyklen (*chos skor*) selbst. Jenseits dessen informieren weitere Quellen über die Geschichte der Verbreitung dieser Lehren und die Inhalte der Textzyklen: dazu zählen im Wesentlichen erzählende Quellen in Form von Biographien und Autobiographien (*rnam thar*), sowie Epitomen (*spyi chings*) und Studienbücher (*gsan yig*).

### 2.a Nachrichten in den Lehrzyklen

In den Textsammlungen selbst finden wir inhaltliche Beschreibungen der Lehrzyklen. Diese reichen von Skizzen des Hauptinhaltes der jeweiligen Sammlung bis zur Auflistung der einzelnen Werktitel des Textzyklus. Zu welchem Zeitpunkt diese Texte in die Sammlungen aufgenommen wurden, bedarf einer Untersuchung im Einzelfall.<sup>39</sup>

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Bd. 1. Vgl. Schwieger 1985: xxiii-xxiv. lHa lung Shākya yar 'phel hielt von 1856 bis 1900 das Amt des Orakels (*sku rten*) von gNas chung. Siehe dazu Bell 2021: 185.

37 Dieser Druckausgabe (BDRC, W1KG11884) ist der Text *bKa' brgyad drag po rang byung rang shar gyi dbang gi cho ga rig 'dzin dgongs rgyan* angehängt, den rDo rje brag Rig 'dzin Padma 'phrin las (1641–1717) im Eisen-Vogel-Jahr (=1681) verfasst hatte, und damit eine Drucklegung frühestens am Ende des 17. Jh. möglich macht. Das Seitenlayout dieses Drucks gleicht nach meinem Verständnis dem Druckbild anderer Texte aus dem Druckhaus von Thub bstan rdo rje brag. Vgl. z.B. *rDo rje brag gi bca' yig* (Delhi: Khasdub Gyatsho Shashin, 1979. BDRC, W8LS66621).

38 In der neuzeitlichen Ausgabe *sNga 'gyur byang gter chos skor phyogs bsgrigs* (BTChK) aus dem Jahre 2015, die 15 Bde. der „nördlichen Schätze“ aus der Tradition des Rig 'dzin rGod ldem eint, hat der Herausgeber versucht, einen Großteil der zugänglichen Texte in einer Sammlung zusammenzustellen.

39 Inhaltsangaben (*them/thems byang*, *tho byang*) sind uns als bibliographische

Nachrichten zur Überlieferungsgeschichte finden sich auch in den Kolophonen der Einzeltexte. Die Inhalte sind in vielen Fällen repetitiv und teilen dem Leser i.W. die spezifischen Ereignisse mit, die im Zusammenhang mit dem Verbergen des *gter mas* durch Padmasambhava und dem Heben des Schatzes durch Rig 'dzin rGod ldem zu wissen sind. Als Datum und Ort der Schatzhebung wird ein Feuer-Pferd-Jahr (1366) und der Berg Zang zang lha brag genannt.<sup>40</sup> In Einzelfällen enthalten die Kolophone auch Zusätze zur Überlieferungsgeschichte wie eine Aufzählung der Namenskette der Überlieferungsträger eines Textes (siehe *supra*, Anm. 34). Den Sammlungen wurden auch eigenständige Erzählungen (*lo rgyus*, *khog dbub*) beiseitegestellt mit den Narrativen zum Ursprung und der Überlieferung der „Schätze“. <sup>41</sup> Im Einzelfall wird in den Kolophonen auch auf ergänzende Texte aus der späteren Tradition hingewiesen.<sup>42</sup>

## 2.b Biographien und Autobiographien

Nach der Abfassung des ersten Lebensberichtes (GDNTh) des Rig

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Quellen aus den Textsammlungen der „nördlichen Schätze“ bekannt. Aus einzelnen dieser Texte zitierte bereits mNga' ris Pañ chen in der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jh. in seiner Epitome der „nördlichen Schätze“; siehe *supra*, Anm. 18–21, 24, 25. Vgl. die Auflistung solcher Inhaltsangaben für zahlreiche Textsammlungen in der Epitome von Padma dbang chen aus dem frühen 17. Jh.: *sNyan rgyud* (=brgyud) *drug gi tho byang* (BTRPh, fol. 35b) zur Sammlung *Kun tu bzang po'i dgongs pa zang thal*, *Rig 'dzin rtsa ba bsgrub* (=sgrub) *pa dgos* (=dgongs) *pa'i them s byang* (*ibid.*, fol. 38b) zur Sammlung *Bla ma rig 'dzin gdung sgrub*, *Thems byang zhal gdams* (*ibid.*, fol. 39a) zur Sammlung *bKa' brgyad drag po rang byung rang shar* und *Thems byang gsal ba'i sgron ma* (*ibid.*, fol. 41a–b) zur Sammlung *Gu ru thugs sgrub kyi chos skor*. Diese Inhaltsangaben sind Zeugnisse dafür, dass die frühen Kompilationen der Textzyklen nicht in allen Fällen so umfangreich waren, wie sie später zur Zeit des 5. Yol mo sPrul sku vorlagen. Vgl. dazu *infra*, Anm. 77.

40 Schwieger 1985: xxiii. Für eine detaillierte Darstellung der Ereignisse siehe z.B. den Kolophon eines Textes aus der Textsammlung *Kun tu bzang po'i dgongs pa zang thal*; Schwieger 1985: 76–78 (Text 78). Schwieger teilt in diesem Katalog die wichtigsten Nachrichten aus den Kolophonen der beiden *rdzogs chen*-Zyklen mit.

41 Solche Erzählungen sind u.a. *Lo rgyus* (BTRPh, fol. 47b) zur Sammlung *Thugs rje chen po 'gro ba kun grol* und *Khog dbubs* (*ibid.*, fol. 35b) zur Sammlung *Kun tu bzang po'i dgongs pa zang thal*.

42 Siehe dazu Schwieger 1985: xxiii. Auch der 5. Yol mo sPrul sku weist in seinem *gsan yig* auf solche Schriften aus der späteren Tradition hin; siehe *infra*, Anm. 75–78, 81.

'dzin rGod ldem im frühen 15. Jh. wurde die Biographienschreibung in dieser Tradition erst ab dem späten 15. Jh. fortgesetzt. Dies beginnt mit der Kompilation einer Sammlung von sechs Lebensberichten (NThOPh), die Sangs rgyas dpal bzang besorgte. Diese Sammlung beginnt mit der Biographie von rNam rgyal mgon po, dem Sohn Rig 'dzin rGod ldems, und setzt sich fort über die frühen Führungspersönlichkeiten dieser Tradition, das sind rDo rje dpal, Byams pa bshes gnyen, rDo rje mgon po und Ngag dbang grags pa, und endet mit einer kurzen Autobiographie des Verfassers Sangs rgyas dpal bzang.<sup>43</sup> Ab dem frühen 16. Jh. sind weitere Biographien überliefert, die Lebensberichte Geistlicher geben, die selbst noch in La stod byang, dem Ursprungsland dieser religiösen Tradition gewirkt hatten, dazu zählen die Autobiographie von Chos rgyal bsod nams (ChGNTh) und die Biographie des Thugs sras Nam mkha' rgyal mtshan (NKhNTh).<sup>44</sup> Diese Religiösen waren in den Klöstern Ri bo bra bzang, bDe grol und Shri ri (La stod lho) aktiv. Jenseits der Ritualzyklen selbst finden sich in diesen biographischen Materialien nun erstmals die o.g. seither geläufigen Bezeichnungen der Textzyklen schriftlich fixiert und wir erfahren über die Überlieferungsgeschichte einzelner dieser Lehrzyklen.

Ab dem Beginn des 16. Jh. sind Quellen überliefert, die über die nun expandierende Verbreitung der „nördlichen Schätze“ nach West-, Zentral- und Südtibet Auskunft geben: dazu zählen zunächst die Autobiographien der „beiden Brüder“ (*sku mched gnyis*) aus Glo bo, das sind mNga' ris Pañ chen Padma dbang rgyal und dessen jüngeren Bruder

43 Die Linie dieser dem Rig 'dzin rGod ldem folgenden Überlieferungsträger konstituiert eine der Hauptübertragungsketten zentraler *byang gter*-Ritualzyklen in La stod byang. Es liegen auch geringfügige Variationen zu dieser Übertragungskette vor. Vgl. z.B. die Überlieferung des Zyklus *Thugs sgrub drag po rtsal* (in KDJSY, ca, fol. 9a3–b2; vgl. *infra*, Anm. 100, Überlieferungslinie A; und *infra*, Anh. 1, Taf. 1 [=Überlieferungslinie A] und Taf. 6 [=Überlieferungslinie F]). Eine Übersetzung dieser Biographiensammlung hat Valentine 2017 besorgt. Dieser Text diente späteren Historiographen als Grundlage für biographische Skizzen zur Überlieferung der „nördlichen Schätze“: Bya btang Phyag rdor nor bu (ca. 17. Jh.) setzte die Überlieferung in BTBGNTh fort bis zum 3. Yol mo sPrul sku bsTan 'dzin nor bu (1598–1644) und sPrul sku Tshul khriims bzang po (19./20. Jh.) in BTBGR bis zum 7. rDo rje brag Rig dzin Chos dbang mnyam nyid rdo rje (1886–1932/35).

44 Übersetzungen dieser zwei Biographien liegen vor in Valentine 2018 und Valentine 2020.

Legs ldan bdud 'joms rdo rje, die beiden einflussreichsten Schüler des 1. Yol mo sPrul sku im Hinblick auf die Verbreitung der „nördlichen Schätze“ nach Zentral-Tibet (*dbus*) und Südtibet. Ab der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jh. finden wir dann eine Vielzahl weiterer Lebensberichte mit Informationen zur Überlieferungsgeschichte: hierzu zählen insbesondere die Berichte über jene Lehrer, die im Kloster rDo rje brag wirkten, dem neuen Zentrum der Schultradition in Zentral-Tibet (*dbus*), und über die Traditionshalter in der Wiedergeburtskette des 1. Yol mo sPrul sku, und auch über Religiöse, die später in Mang yul (Westtibet) und in 'Bras mo gshongs (Südtibet) aktiv waren (vgl. *infra*, Anm. 107). In diesen Quellen wird jetzt die Überlieferung der Textzyklen oder auch einzelner Texte aus diesen Sammlungen als Einzelereignis dokumentiert. Zu den frühesten aussagekräftigen Quellen aus dem 15. und 16. Jh. zählen folgende Biographien bzw. Autobiographien:

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

## 2.c Epitomen / Inhaltsverzeichnisse

Die erste übergreifende Darstellung der Inhalte der „nördlichen Schätze“, die auf uns gekommen ist, besorgte mNga' ris Paṅ chen im frühen 16. Jh. Seine Epitome (*spyi chings*) beginnt mit einem Abriss über die Bergung und Inhalte der „fünf Schätze“ (BTSNT, fol. 2a–3b) basierend auf den frühesten überlieferten erzählenden Quellen zu den „nördlichen Schätzen“. Anschließend stellte mNga' ris Paṅ chen Textauszüge aus diesen Quellen zusammen, die eine inhaltliche Beschreibung der einzelnen Textzyklen liefern (*ibid.*, fol. 3b–8a).<sup>45</sup> Im letzten Teil folgt

<sup>45</sup> Zu den von mNga' ris Paṅ chen hier zitierten Quellen im BTSNT siehe *supra*, Anm. 18–21, 24, 25.

eine Darstellung der *rdzogs chen*-Lehre auf der Grundlage der in dieser Texttradition vollzogenen Klassifizierung der Lehren in „36 mündliche Überlieferungen“ (*snyan brgyud sum cu rtsa drug*) aus der Sammlung *Kun tu bzang po'i dgongs pa zang thal* unter Angabe von Werktiteln aus dieser Sammlung (*ibid.*, fol. 8a–15a).

Auf der Grundlage dieser Epitome verfasste Se bKra bzang pa Padma dbang chen<sup>46</sup> im Jahr 1627 einen ausführlicheren Abriss der Lehr- und Kultradtion der „fünf Schätze“. Er übernahm weite Textpassagen aus dem *spyi chings* von mNga' ris Paṅ chen im Wortlaut, ohne diese als Quelle zu nennen. Im achten Kapitel (BTRPh, fol. 27a–52b) widmete er sich den Inhalten der einzelnen Ritualzyklen. Als wesentliche Neuerung finden wir hier eine Auflistung der einzelnen Werktitel der Textzyklen.<sup>47</sup> Dieser Text von Padma dbang chen ist damit die früheste greifbare Quelle jenseits der Ritualzyklen selbst, in der wir detailliert über den Korpus der Einzeltexte dieser Textsammlungen informiert werden.

- 1) mNga' ris Paṅ chen Padma dbang rgyal rdo rje (1487–1542), BTSNT
- 2) Se'i sGrub pa po Padma dbang chen (ca. 16.–17. Jh.), BTRPh (verf. 1627)

46 Den Namen bKra bzang pa (bzw. Se) Padma dbang chen finden wir in diversen Namensketten zur Überlieferung der *byang gter*-Lehren; siehe z.B. DLSY, *ga*, fol. 143b, 159a. Diese Person lässt sich demzufolge in das 16. bis 17. Jh. datieren. Das Abfassungsdatum des Textes ist gem. Kolophon ein Feuer-Hasen-Jahr (*me mo yos*), das dem Jahr 1627 entspricht. Als Quelle zur Abfassung seines Studienbuches verwendete der 5. Dalai Bla ma (1617–1682) auch diese Epitome von Se ston; siehe *infra*, 2.d (Studienbücher).

47 Die Werktitel der neun o.g. im Zentrum der Texttradition stehenden *byang gter*-Zyklen in der Epitome BTRPh: *rDzogs chen rang byung rang shar* (fol. 35a–b), *dGongs pa zang thal* [inkl. *Tshe dpag med longs sku ma'i chos skor*] (fol. 35b–38b), *Gu ru zhi ba* (d.i. *Rig 'dzin gdung sgrub*) (fol. 38b–39a), *sGrub chen bka' brgyad* (fol. 39a–41a), *Gu ru thugs sgrub* (fol. 41a–44b), *rDo rje phur pa* (fol. 44b–46a), *Zab mo rten 'brel* (fol. 46a–47b), *Thugs chen 'gro ba kun grol* (fol. 47b–48a), *Byang sems spyod dbang* (fol. 48a–b). Im Anschluss daran folgen Werktitel weiterer, zu den „nördlichen Schätzen“ zählender Textzyklen (fol. 48b–51b), deren Bezeichnungen zuvor genannt wurden; siehe *supra*, Anm. 29.



## 2.d Studienbücher

Mit der Niederschrift der Studienbücher (*gsan yig*, *thob yig*) wurde neben dem Inhalt nun auch die Überlieferungsgeschichte der einzelnen Textsammlungen festgehalten. Die Verfasser dieser Studienbücher listen sämtliche Einzeltitel der Textsammlungen auf, die sie aus der Wortüberlieferung (*lung*) erhalten hatten, und geben zudem oft die Überlieferungsgeschichte des Zyklus, und zwar ausgehend vom Ursprung der Lehren nach traditioneller Auffassung, d.h. wie Padma-sambhava diese aus der überweltlichen Sphäre von Personifikationen des *dharmakāya* und *sambhogakāya* erhalten hatte, gefolgt von der vollständigen Überlieferungskette nach der Bergung der Schätze durch Rig 'dzin rGod ldem bis hin zum Verfasser des *gsan yig*.

Studienbücher aus der rNying ma-Schule:

Aus der rNying ma-Schule sind eine höhere Anzahl Studienbücher bekannt, in denen die Überlieferung der „nördlichen Schätze“ dokumentiert ist. Aber nur wenige, relativ spät verfasste Exemplare sind heute überliefert. Die ersten Studienbücher aus dieser Schule, von deren Existenz wir aus dem *gsan yig* des 5. Dalai Bla ma wissen, und die dieser als Quellen für die Abfassung seines Studienbuchs verwendet hatte, stammen noch aus der frühen Überlieferungstradition in La stod. Aus dieser Zeit sind zwei Studienbücher bekannt: das *gsan yig* von Chos rgyal bsod nam (1442–1509) und das Studienbuch von dessen Sohn Chos skyong bsod nam bkra shis. Beide Texte sind nicht überliefert. Selbst wenn rGod ldem bereits im 14. Jh. in West- und Südtibet aktiv war, erfolgte eine einflussreiche Verbreitung der „nördlichen Schätze“ nach Westtibet und Zentral-Tibet wohl erst ab dem frühen 16. Jh. eingeleitet vom 1. Yol mo sPrul sku Shākya bzang po (gest. ca. 1541) und dessen Schülern mNga' ris Paṅ chen (1487–1542) und Legs ldan bdud 'joms rdo rje (ca. 16. Jh.). Im Kontext seines Geschichtswerks über die Überlieferung des *'Dus pa mdo* verfasste Padma 'phrin las (1641–1717) auch Berichte über das Leben des mNga' ris Paṅ chen und Legs ldan rdo rje und verwies zu einer Vertiefung der Studienobjekte dieser beiden Geistlichen auf ihre Studienbücher, die ihm bei der Abfassung im Jahr 1681 noch vorgelegen haben müssen.<sup>48</sup> Auch ihre Studienbücher sind heute nicht

48 Zum *gsan yig* von mNga' ris Paṅ chen siehe KDBNTh, S. 324, 332. Zum Studienbuch von Legs ldan rdo rje siehe *ibid.*, S. 370, 374.

mehr zugänglich. Der 5. Dalai Bla ma diskutierte in seinem *gsan yig*, im Abschnitt über die *byang gter*-Tradition, die Inhalte aus den ebenfalls verlorengegangenen Studienbüchern von Chos rgyal bKra shis stobs rgyal (1550?–1603), Byang pa Padma chos rgyal (geb. 16. Jh.) und bKra bzang pa Nam mkha' rig 'dzin (geb. 17. Jh.), die im 16. und 17. Jh. entstanden.<sup>49</sup> Auch diese Studienbücher sind nicht greifbar. Aus der späteren Überlieferungstradition des 17. und frühen 18. Jh., insbesondere aus dem Kloster rDo rje brag (Zentral-Tibet), dem späteren Hauptsitz der Überlieferung der „nördlichen Schätze“, die sich vor allem verbinden lässt mit den ersten beiden Thronhaltern des Klosters, Rig 'dzin Ngag gi dbang po (1580–1639) und Rig 'dzin Padma 'phrin las (1641–1717), ist kein Studienbuch bekannt. Die frühesten uns zugänglichen Exemplare aus der rNying ma-Schule sind jene des 5. Yol mo sPrul sku und des sNgo ra dBang phyug rdo rje aus dem 18. Jh. Zwei weitere Exemplare sind aus der späteren Tradition des 20. Jh. überliefert. Die heute bekannten Studienbücher aus der rNying ma-Schule:

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49 Der 5. Dalai Bla ma verglich in seinem *gsan yig* seine eigene Lehrüberlieferung mit jener, die er in zahlreichen früheren Studienbüchern fand. Alle diese Bücher sind heute nicht mehr zugänglich, darunter zählen die frühesten Exemplare aus der rNying ma-Schule von lDong ston sNgags 'chang Chos rgyal bsod nams (DLSY, *ga*, fol. 114b, 155a, 157b) und dessen Sohn bKra bzang pa Chos skyong bsod nams bkra shis (*ibid.*, fol. 133b), das Studienbuch von Rig 'dzin chen po (*ibid.*, fol. 114a–b, 115a, 133b, 142a, 150a, 155b, 157b; dieser Namenszusatz bezieht sich hier mit hoher Wahrscheinlichkeit auf mNga' ris Rig 'dzin chen po Legs ldan rdo rje; vgl. dazu den Bd. IV des Studienbuches des 5. Dalai Bla ma, wo er diesen Namenszusatz vielfach verwendet und mehrfach auf die Studienbücher der Brüder aus mNga' ris Bezug nimmt), jenes von Chos rgyal bKra shis stobs rgyal (*ibid.*, fol. 114b, 115a, 133b, 135b, 142a) und von Byang pa rGyal sras Padma chos rgyal (*ibid.*, fol. 113b) sowie von bKra bzang pa Nam mkha' rig 'dzin (*ibid.*, fol. 155a, 157b; und mit hoher Wahrscheinlichkeit auch fol. 113b, 114b, 115a, 133b, 134a und 160a, das sind Textstellen, an denen der 5. Dalai Bla ma nur den Titel bKra bzang pa verwendet). Zudem verwendete er auch die Studienbücher von Zhwa lu 'Jam dbyangs mkhyen brtse (*ibid.*, fol. 113b, 114a, 114b, 115a, 133b, 151a, 155a, 157b) und von mTsho smad mKhan chen Shākya dbang phyug (*ibid.*, fol. 133b, 134a, 135b). Daneben erwähnt der 5. Dalai Bla ma eher beiläufig die Epitome (*spyi chings*) von Se'i sNgags 'chang bKra bzang pa Padma dbang chen (*ibid.*, fol. 118a, 155b, 157b), die er seinem Studienbuch jedoch als wesentliche Grundlage der Klassifizierung der Lehren der „nördlichen Schätze“ zugrunde gelegt hatte. Zu den *byang gter*-Studien von Chos rgyal bsod nams siehe Valentine 2020: 120–121, und Anm. 30, 32, 33.

- 1) lDong ston sNga's 'chang Chos rgyal bsod noms (1442–1509)  
(nicht überliefert)
- 2) bKra bzang pa Chos skyong bsod noms bkra shis (15.–16. Jh.)  
(nicht überliefert)
- 3) mNga' ris Paṅ chen Padma dbang rgyal rdo rje (1487–1542)  
(nicht überliefert)
- 4) mNga' ris Legs ldan bdud 'joms rdo rje (geb. 1500/12?)  
(nicht überliefert)
- 5) Chos rgyal bKra shis stobs rgyal (1550?–1603)  
(nicht überliefert)
- 6) Byang pa rGyal sras Padma chos rgyal (geb. 16. Jh.)  
(nicht überliefert)
- 7) bKra bzang pa Nam mkha' rig 'dzin (geb. 17. Jh.)  
(nicht überliefert)
- 8) 5. Yol mo sPrul sku Karma 'phrin las bdud 'joms (1726–1789)  
KDJSY
- 9) sNgo ra dBang phyug rdo rje (ca. 18. Jh.)<sup>50</sup> BDThY
- 10) sTag lung rTse sprul Rin po che (geb. ca. 1926)<sup>51</sup> TLThY
- 11) gNas nang Ye shes bdud 'dul (20. Jh.)<sup>52</sup> YBSY

50 BDThY, S. 6–9: *Ka dag rang byung rang shar* (II); *ibid.*, S. 9–18: *Kun tu bzang po dgongs pa zang thal* (I); *ibid.*, S. 34–40: *gSang mtshan thugs kyi sgrub pa* (d.i. *Thugs sgrub drag po rtsal*) (VII); *ibid.*, S. 40–42: *sPyod yul thams cad kyi mthar thug gsang ba rmad byung*; *ibid.*, S. 42–47: *bKa' brgyad rang byung rang shar* (III). Der Herausgeber dieses Studienbuches ordnet dBang phyug rdo rje der rDo dmar-Familie und rNying ma-Schule zu.

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

52 YBSY, S. 225–235: *Kun tu bzang po'i dgongs pa zang thal* (I); *ibid.*, S. 235–238: *Thugs chen 'gro ba kun grol* (V); *ibid.*, S. 238–241: *Nang sgrub rig 'dzin gdung sgrub* (VI); *ibid.*, S. 241–250: *gSang sgrub* (d.i. *rDo rje drag po rtsal*) (VII); *ibid.*, S. 250–252: *Byang chub spyod dbang* (IX); *ibid.*, S. 252–257: *Ka dag* (= *Ka dag rang byung rang shar*) (II); *ibid.*, S. 263–267: *rTa mgrin dregs pa dbang bsodud* (ein Teil von *rTen 'brel chos bdun*) (VIII); *ibid.*, S. 274–276: *gSang ba rmad byung*; *ibid.*, S. 289–295: *sGrub chen bka' brgyad drag po rang byung rang shar* (III); *ibid.*, S. 295–302: *Phur pa lugs*

Studienbuch des Zhwa lu 'Jam dbyangs mkhyen brtse dbang phyug: Über sNgags 'chang Chos rgyal bsod noms und bKra bzang pa Chos skyong bsod noms bkra shis wurden die Lehren auf den 13. Zhwa lu mKhan chen Tshar chen Blo gsal rgya mtsho (1502–1566/67) und dessen Thronfolger mKhyen brtse dbang phyug überliefert (DLSY, *ga*, fol. 113b, 114a–b, 115a, 133b, 151a, 155a, 157b).<sup>53</sup> Der 14. Zhwa lu mKhan chen verfasste ein Studienbuch, das m.W. nicht zugänglich ist:

Zhwa lu 'Jam dbyangs mkhyen brtse dbang phyug (1524–1568)  
(nicht überliefert)

Studienbücher aus der mDo chen bKa' brgyud-Schule:

Das erste auf uns gekommene Studienbuch zu den „nördlichen Schätzen“ datiert in die erste Hälfte des 17. Jh. und wurde verfasst von Gur phu ba Nor bu bde chen aus der mDo chen bKa' brgyud-Schule. Daneben liegen uns zwei weitere Exemplare aus dem 18. Jh. aus dieser Schule vor. Religiöse aus der mDo chen-Schule standen in Mang yul in engem Kontakt mit solchen aus der rNying ma-Schule und überlieferten ihre Lehren gegenseitig schulübergreifend. Auf uns gekommen sind drei Studienbücher aus dieser Schule:<sup>54</sup>

1) Gur phu ba Nor bu bde chen (geb. 1617)<sup>55</sup> NDThY

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*gsum* (IV); *ibid.*, S. 316–320: *bsTan bsrungs yongs rdzogs*; *ibid.*, S. 322: *Tshe sgrub lcags sdong ma*; *ibid.*, S. 324–326: *Thang lha*.

53 Zur Bedeutung des Studienbuches von 'Jam dbyangs mkhyen brtse dbang phyug für die Abfassung des Studienbuches des 5. Dalai Bla ma vgl. Valentine 2020: 127–128.

54 Eine Abschrift der Einzeltitel der Textsammlungen und Überlieferungsketten nach den Studienbüchern aus der mDo chen-Schule bietet Smith (o.J.). Detaillierte Inhaltsverzeichnisse der Studienbücher von Nor bu bde chen, rGyal sras seng ge und Padma rgya mtsho gibt Ehrhard 2008: 105–119.

55 NDThY, S. 76–82: *bKa' brgyad drag po rang byung rang shar* (III); *ibid.*, S. 82–85: *rDzogs pa chen po ka dag rang byung rang shar* (II); *ibid.*, S. 91–92: *Dug dbang rdo rje pha lam*; *ibid.*, S. 94–95: *gSol 'debs le'u bdun ma*; *ibid.*, S. 131–133: *Thugs rje chen po nyon mongs rang grol* (d.i. *Thugs rje chen po 'gro ba kun grol*) (V); *ibid.*, S. 133: *Rig 'dzin gdong* (= *gdung*) *sgrub* (VI); *ibid.*, S. 133–138: *Thugs sgrub gu ru rdo rje drag po rtsal* (VII); *ibid.*, S. 138–141: *bCom ldan das rdo rje phur pa* (IV); *ibid.*, S. 464–470: *rDzogs pa chen po dgongs pa zang thal lhun grub* (I) und *rDzogs pa chen po ka dag rang byung rang shar* (II); *ibid.*, S. 475–476: *Chos skyong bstan srung yongs rdzogs*. Vgl. Ehrhard 2008: 105–111, 113–115. Die frühesten Lehrüberlieferungen erhielt Gur phu ba bDe chen rdo rje im Jahr 1633; siehe dazu den Kolophon NDThY, S.

- 2) Gur phu ba rGyal sras seng ge (gest. 1752)<sup>56</sup> GSThY  
3) Gur phu ba Padma rgya mtsho (ca. 18. Jh.)<sup>57</sup> PGThY

Studienbuch des 5. Dalai Bla ma Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho:  
Jenseits der rNying ma-Schule zählte auch der 5. Dalai Bla ma zu den  
Überlieferungsträgern der „nördlichen Schätze“. Er verfasste eine Vita  
des Rig 'dzin rGod ldem und auch eine Lebensbeschreibung seines  
Lehrers rDo rje brag Rig 'dzin Ngag gi dbang po.<sup>58</sup> Im *gsan yig* des 5.  
Dalai Bla ma nehmen seine Studien der „nördlichen Schätze“ einen  
breiten Raum von über 50 Folios ein.

5. Dalai Bla ma Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho (1617–1687)<sup>59</sup>  
DLSY

Studienbuch des Brag dkar rta so Chos kyi dbang phyug:  
In der Überlieferungstradition der „nördlichen Schätze“ stand auch  
Brag dkar rta so sPrul sku Chos kyi dbang phyug. Dieser verbreitete  
von seiner Aufenthaltsstätte im Kloster Brag dkar rta so (Mang yul) die  
Lehren der 'Brug pa bKa' brgyud-Schule und rNying ma-Schule. In sei-  
ner Jugend hatte Chos kyi dbang phyug von 'Phrin las bdud 'joms selbst

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82, 91. Vgl. Smith (o.J.); Ehrhard 2008: 106, 107.

56 GSThY, S. 352–356: *Thugs sgrub gu ru rdo rje drag po rtsal* (VII); *ibid.*, S. 359–365: *bKa' brgyad rang byung rang shar* (III); *ibid.*, S. 365–368: *Thugs rje chen po 'gro ba kun grol* (V). Vgl. Smith (o.J.); Ehrhard 2008: 110, 111.

57 PGThY, S. 419–424: *Nang sgrub rig 'dzin gdung sgrub* (=sgrub) (VI); *ibid.*, S. 424–432: *gSang sgrub 'gu* (=gu) *ru thing* (=mthing) *ka drag po rtsal* (VII); *ibid.*, S. 432–435: *Phyi sgrub thugs rje chen po 'gro ba kun grol* (V). Vgl. Smith (o.J.); Ehrhard 2008: 112, 113.

58 Diese beiden Biographien sind überliefert in der Sammlung KDBNTh, S. 428–445 (Rig 'dzin rGod ldem) und S. 478–533 (Rig 'dzin Ngag gi dbang po).

59 DLSY, *ga*, fol. 112b–115a: *Ka dag rang byung rang shar* (II); *ibid.*, fol. 115a–116a: *Byang chub spyod dbang* (IX); *ibid.*, fol. 116a–127a: *Kun tu bzang po dgongs pa zang thal* (I); *ibid.*, fol. 128b–131a: *Rig 'dzin gdung sgrub* (VI); *ibid.*, fol. 132b–145b: *Thugs sgrub drag po rtsal* (VII); *ibid.*, fol. 146a–151b: *bKa' brgyad drag po rang byung rang shar* (III); *ibid.*, fol. 151b–153b: *Thugs rje chen po 'gro ba kun grol* (V); *ibid.*, fol. 153b–159b: *rDo rje phur pa* (IV); *ibid.*, fol. 161a–164a: *Zab mo rten 'brel gyi chos bdun* (VIII). Zu den weiteren Textzyklen in diesem *gsan yig* siehe *supra*, Anm. 29. Vgl. dazu Herweg 1994: 307–318. Zur Bedeutung des Studienbuches des 5. Dalai Bla ma für die Überlieferungsgeschichte der „nördlichen Schätze“ siehe Ehrhard 2012: 86.

die Überlieferung der zentralen Textzyklen aus den „nördlichen Schätze“ erhalten, die er in seinem umfangreichen *gsan yig* aufzeichnete.

Brag dkar rta so sPrul sku Chos kyī dbang phyug (1775–1837)<sup>60</sup>  
ChBThY

### 3 Der 5. Yol mo sPrul sku Karma 'phrin las bdud 'joms (1726–1789)

Als Lehrer und Ritualspezialist der rNying ma-Schule war 'Phrin las bdud 'joms im 18. Jh. vorwiegend in Mang yul (Westtibet) und Helambu (Nordnepal) tätig, begründet durch die Herkunft seiner Vorfahren und ihrer gesellschaftlichen Stellung als Ritualpriester in diesen geographischen Räumen. Ab seinem 30. Lebensjahr begann er seine Lehrtätigkeit zunächst in Tarke Ghyang (Helambu). Wenige Jahre später siedelte er nach Mang yul um, wo er nahezu seine gesamte spätere Lebenszeit verbrachte. Seine religiösen Aktivitäten entfaltete er dort vor allem in den Sakralstätten Byams sprin lha khang, mGon [g]nang ri khrod, Ri rgyal dpal 'bar und dNgos grub phug. Von 1772 bis 1780 leitete er als Abt das bKa' brgyud-Kloster Brag dkar rta so.<sup>61</sup>

'Phrin las bdud 'joms wurde väterlicherseits in eine Familie geboren, deren Linie auf den Schatzheber bsTan gnyis gling pa (1480–1535) zurückgeht. Am Beginn des 16. Jh. wurde dieser für sein Wirken als Ritualpriester am Königshof von Mang yul Gung thang vom

60 ChBThY, fol. 71a–92a, 94b–95a. *Ibid.*, fol. 71a–72b: *Ka dag rang byung rang shar* (II); *ibid.*, fol. 72b–73b: *Kun bzang dgongs pa zang thal* (I); *ibid.*, fol. 75b–77a: *Phyi grub thugs rje chen po 'gro ba kun grol* (V); *ibid.*, fol. 77a–78b: *Nang sgrub rig 'dzin gdung sgrub* (VI); *ibid.*, fol. 78b–86a: *gSang sgrub Drag po mthing ka* (VII); *ibid.*, fol. 86a–88b: *bKa' brgyad drag po rang byung rang shar* (III), es fehlt eine Auflistung der Titel (siehe *infra*, Anm. 92); *ibid.*, fol. 88a–92a: *bCom ldan 'das rdo rje phur pa* (IV); *ibid.*, fol. 94b–95a: *Byang chub spyod dbang* (IX), hier fehlt eine Auflistung der Titel. Eine Kopie dieses Manuskripts wurde mir freundlicherweise von Herrn Franz-Karl Ehrhard zur Verfügung gestellt. Eine Titelliste des Gesamtwerks von Chos kyī dbang phyug gibt Ehrhard 2004: 535–564 (Appendix V); bibliographische Angaben zum Studienbuch finden sich *ibid.*, S. 538. Die Abschnitte zu seinen Studien der „nördlichen Schätze“ sind in weiten Teilen eine wortgetreue Abschrift des Studienbuches von 'Phrin las bdud 'joms; vgl. *infra*, Anm. 75–78, 80, 81.

61 Die folgenden Nachrichten zum Leben des 5. Yol mo sPrul sku sind seiner Autobiographie (KDjNTh) entnommen. Seine Tätigkeiten als Abt von Brag dkar rta so sind auch Gegenstand des *Brag dkar rta so gdan rabs*, die Geschichte der Abtfolge dieses Klosters. Siehe dazu Sernesi 2019: 395, Tab. 2, und 407.

König Kun bzang nyi zla grags pa (1514–1560) gefördert.<sup>62</sup> Die Nachkommen des bsTan gnyis gling pa übernahmen seit dem frühen 16. Jh. die Funktion des Kustos im Byams sprin lha khang und hielten dieses Amt danach über viele Generationen hinweg bis zum Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts.<sup>63</sup> 'Phrin las bdud 'joms folgte bsTan gnyis gling pa in der 7. Generation.

Rig 'dzin Nyi ma seng ge, der Vater des 'Phrin las bdud 'joms, war der Hauptschüler des 4. Yol mo sPrul sku (SSNTh, fol. 9a–10a). In den 20er Jahren des 18. Jh. erhielt Nyi ma seng ge für seine Dienste am Mal-la-Hof in Kathmandu ein Grundstück im Oberen Helambu (Nordnepal). Dort ließ Nyi ma seng ge sich nieder und errichtete am Fuß des Berges g.Yang ri (*var. lect.* dByangs ri) das Kloster Padma chos gling und ein nahegelegenes Praxiszentrum (SSNTh, fol. 26a–28a). Um dieses Kloster wurde eine Siedlung gegründet, das heutige Tarke Ghyang. Hier wurde 'Phrin las bdud 'joms geboren.

Chos nyid rang grol, die Mutter des 'Phrin las bdud 'joms, stammte aus der rDo dmar-Familie, die sich aus Westtibet in Glang 'phrang (Nordnepal) angesiedelt hatte. Mi 'gyur rdo rje, der Vater von Chos nyid rang grol, hatte eine religiöse Ausbildung in der rNying ma-Schule erhalten und stand in der Überlieferungslinie von rGyal thang pa Zil gnon rdo rje und dessen Schüler Padma ngag dbang. Zwei Söhne von Mi 'gyur rdo rje waren einflussreiche Lehrer von 'Phrin las bdud 'joms (KDJNTh, *passim*).

Später in seinem Leben wurde 'Phrin las bdud 'joms von seinem Vater als Wiedergeburt des 4. Yol mo sPrul sku erkannt. Seit dem Ersten Yol mo sPrul sku Shākya bzang po (gest. ca. 1541) hatten die folgenden Wiedergeburten in dieser Linie ihre Aktivitäten in Helambu entfaltet. Shākya bzang po hatte Helambu mit dem „verborgene Land“ Yol mo identifiziert, das ihm aus den Prophezeiungen des Rig 'dzin rGod ldem bekannt war. Als Sphäre ihrer Aktivitäten in Yol mo (Helambu) wurde diese Reinkarnationslinie daher als Yol mo sPrul skus bekannt und Karma bdud 'joms war die fünfte und letzte Wiedergeburt

62 Zur Förderung des bsTan gnyis gling pa am Hof von Mang yul Gung thang siehe Everding 2000 (II): 563–575.

63 In der Biographie über das Leben seines Vaters (SSNTh) berichtet der 5. Yol mo sPrul sku auch über das Wirken der Familie des bsTan gnyis gling pa im Byams sprin lha khang. Vgl. dazu Everding 2000 (II): 234, 563–565.

in dieser Linie.<sup>64</sup> Der Erste Yol mo sPrul sku Shākya bzang po war ein Zeitgenosse des bsTan gnyis gling pa (1480–1535). Auch Shākya bzang po wurde vom Königshof Mang yul Gung thang gefördert, und um diesen Geistlichen an sich zu binden, wurde er auf dem Berg Ri bo dPal 'bar mit Land und Ämtern versehen. Als Lehrer und Ritualspezialist wirkte der Erste Yol mo sPrul sku vor allem in La stod byang, Gung thang, Mang yul, Glo bo (Mustang) und Helambu.<sup>65</sup>

Der 5. Yol mo sPrul sku studierte i.W. bei Lehrern aus der rNying ma-Schule. In Mang yul schloss er sich aber auch Lehrern aus der bKa' brgyud-Schule an.<sup>66</sup> Zur zentralen religiösen Praxis, die seit Shākya bzang po in der Wiedergeburtslinie der Yol mo sPrul skus gepflegt wurde, zählten die Lehr- und Ritualzyklen der „nördlichen Schätze“, deren Überlieferung der 1. Yol mo sPrul sku in La stod byang von Nam mkha' rgyal mtshan (1454–1541) und Chos rgyal bsod noms (1442–1509) erhalten hatte. 'Phrin las bdud 'joms studierte diese Lehren seit seiner frühen Kindheit bei seinen Hauptlehrern in Helambu, Mang yul und Glang 'phrang. Seine letzten umfangreichen Belehrungen zu dem gesamten Ritualkorpus erhielt er mit ca. 35 Jahren während seines Aufenthaltes in Ri bo bkra bzang (La stod byang).

#### 4 Das Studienbuch des 5. Yol mo sPrul sku

Das Studienbuch des 5. Yol mo sPrul sku konnte im Jahr 1992 vom NGMPP aus der Privatbibliothek von Slob dpon 'Gyur med in

64 Das Leben des 5. Yol mo sPrul sku, insbesondere unter dem Aspekt der Wiedergeburt in der Linie der Yol mo sPrul skus, beleuchtet Ehrhard 2007: 40–45.

65 Über die Aktivitäten des Shākya bzang po und seine Bedeutung bei der Überlieferung der „nördlichen Schätze“ wissen wir zeitnah zum historischen Geschehen vor allem aus den Autobiographien, aber auch aus den später verfassten Lebensberichten seiner beiden Hauptschüler, nämlich mNga' ris Pañ chen Padma dbang rgyal (PBGNT, fol. 19a, 24b; KDBNT, S. 316–319) und dessen Bruder Legs ldan bdud 'joms rdo rje (LDNT, S. 265, 279, 285–286; KDBNT, S. 348, 352, 355, 358). Zum Leben des 1. Yol mo sPrul sku siehe Ehrhard 2007: 25–29; zur Datierung seines Todes siehe KDBNT, S. 370. Zu den Studien der beiden o.g. Brüder bei Shākya bzang po siehe Ehrhard 2007: 28–29.

66 Seine Hauptlehrer samt der Studienobjekte gibt der 5. Yol mo sPrul sku in seinem Studienbuch; siehe *infra* (4.a Die Inhaltsgliederung des *gsan yig*). Eine umfangreichere Liste seiner Lehrer findet sich im Addendum zu seiner Autobiographie KDJNT, fol. 107a–b.



Samagaun (Gorkha, Nepal) als Teil seines Gesamtwerks verfilmt werden.<sup>67</sup> Diese Handschrift muss einstweilen als *Codex unicus* gelten. Der Text fasst 167 Blatt und ist in *dbu med*-Schrift verfasst. Insbesondere im Randbereich ist die Tinte partiell durch Feuchtigkeit verwischt, aufgrund dessen ist die Schrift an diversen Stellen nicht immer deutlich lesbar bzw. unlesbar.

#### 4.a Die Inhaltsgliederung des *gsan yig*

Das Studienbuch des 'Phrin las bdud 'joms ist in zehn Abschnitte gegliedert. In den ersten neun Abschnitten sind die jeweiligen Studienobjekte seiner religiösen Ausbildung nach seinen Hauptlehrern geordnet zusammengefasst. Der zehnte Abschnitt ist ein kurzes Addendum. Die Anordnung der zehn Abschnitte erfolgt weitgehend chronologisch. Im Randvermerk sind die Abschnitte durchgezählt von *ga* bis *na*.<sup>68</sup> Die Seiten sind für jeden Abschnitt separat paginiert. Das erste Blatt jedes Textabschnittes ist mit Miniaturen versehen, auf denen Überlieferungsträger der Lehren des jeweiligen Abschnitts dargestellt sind. Der Text enthält keinen Schlussvermerk.

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67 'Phrin las bdud 'joms kyi gsung 'bum. Hs., 24 Texte, 552 Bl. (NGMPP, 381/9–382/1, 382/2–382/24).

68 Die Nummerierung der Textabschnitte des Studienbuchs beginnt mit dem dritten Buchstaben des tibetischen Alphabets. Der 5. Yol mo sPrul sku verweist im Abschnitt *da* seines Studienbuches (KDJSY, *da*, fol. 3b4), unter Bezugnahme auf die Titelliste in einem vorangehenden Abschnitt seiner Aufzeichnungen, auf das „3. Kapitel des Studienbuches“ (*thob yig le'u gsum pa*) und nimmt dabei konkret Bezug auf die Inhalte aus dem Abschnitt *ca*. Demzufolge wäre der Abschnitt *ga* implizit das 1. Kapitel. Unwahrscheinlich ist, dass die Nummerierung der Abschnitte in diesem Studienbuch gegen die Konvention mit dem 3. Buchstaben beginnt. Hieraus wäre zu schließen, dass das *gsan yig* unvollständig ist und in seiner vollständigen Fassung zwei vorangehende Abschnitte fasste. Als Lehrer des 5. Yol mo sPrul sku vor dem Jahr 1734, als er neunjährig seine Heimat verließ, um seine Studien bei rDo dmar Rig 'dzin Padma rdo rje aufzunehmen, dem Inhalt des Studienbuchabschnitts *ga*, kommen wohl einzig sein Vater Nyi ma seng ge und seine Mutter Chos nyid rang grol in Frage. Zu seinen frühen Studien bei seinem Vater siehe *infra*, Anm. 71. Könnten diese Studien Gegenstand der ersten beiden Abschnitte gewesen sein? Oder könnten der Beschreibung seiner Studien einleitende Abschnitte mit anderen Inhalten vorangestellt gewesen sein wie (auto)biographischen Skizzen o.a.?

Inhaltsverzeichnis des Studienbuches KDJSY: <sup>69</sup>

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

Inhaltlich fasst das Studienbuch wesentliche Gegenstände der Ausbildung des 'Phrin las bdud 'joms. Die vom 5. Yol mo sPrul sku hier selektierten Personen zählen zu seinen einflussreichsten Lehrern aus der rNying ma- und bKa' brgyud-Schule. Das Studienbuch bietet

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<sup>69</sup> Ort und Jahr der Lehrüberlieferung sind nach dem vorliegenden Studienbuch (KDJSY) gegeben. Weitere Nachrichten (in eckigen Klammern) sind nach der Autobiographie des 5. Yol mo sPrul sku (KDJNTh) ergänzt.

keinen erschöpfenden Bericht über seine gesamte religiöse Ausbildung. In seiner Autobiographie zählt 'Phrin las bdud 'joms weitere Lehrer und eine Vielzahl weiterer Studienobjekte auf, die über die hier genannten hinausgehen.

#### **4.b Zu den Inhalten der Ritualzyklen nach den Aufzeichnungen im Studienbuch**

Einen beträchtlichen Teil der Aufzeichnungen zu seinen Studien widmete der 5. Yol mo sPrul sku der Überlieferung der „nördlichen Schätze“. Im Zentrum seiner frühen Ausbildung in Mang yul (Westt Tibet) und Glang 'phrang (Nordnepal) standen die Lehrzyklen dieser Schatztradition. Hier erhielt Karma 'phrin las bdud 'joms umfangreiche Belehrungen zu den Inhalten jener religiösen Tradition, die sein Vater und auch die früheren Wiedergeburten seiner Reinkarnationslinie zum Hauptgegenstand ihrer religiösen Praxis ausgewählt hatten. In seiner späteren Lebenszeit reiste 'Phrin las bdud 'joms nach bKra bzang (La stod byang), an den Ort der Schatzhebung und gleichsam dem Zentrum der frühen Verbreitung dieser Schatztradition. Dort erhielt er weite Teile der Überlieferung der „nördlichen Schätze“, wie sie – gemäß den Aufzeichnungen des 5. Yol mo sPrul sku – am Ort ihrer Bergung in einer ununterbrochenen Überlieferung fortgelebt hatten.

Zu den Nachrichten der „nördlichen Schätze“ im Studienbuch: Einleitend gibt 'Phrin las bdud 'joms einen knappen historischen Bericht zum Kontext der Überlieferung: er gibt den Namen seines Lehrers und ggfs. den Ort und das Jahr der Lehrüberlieferung. Es folgen Einzelheiten zum Ursprung, Umfang und Inhalt der *byang gter*-Zyklen gemäß Tradition: dazu zählen zunächst der Titel des Ritualzyklus, der Name des „Schatzhebers“ und der Ort, wo die Hebung des Schatzes vollzogen worden war. Anschließend folgen die relevanten Informationen zu den Weihungen (*dbang*), der Wortüberlieferung (*lung*) und der Einführung (*khrid*) in den jeweiligen Ritualzyklus dieser Schatztradition. In diesem Kontext listet 'Phrin las bdud 'joms sämtliche Einzeltexte der Zyklen auf, u.U. ergänzt um Texte aus der späteren Tradition, die auf die Lehren und Rituale der „nördlichen Schätze“ des Rig 'dzin rGod ldem Bezug nehmen. Weiters gibt er die Linie (*brgyud*) der Wortüberlieferung des Zyklus und ggfs. auch spezifischer Weihungen. Hier listet

der 5. Yol mo sPrul sku zunächst die Überlieferung gemäß traditioneller Auffassung auf, nach der Padmasambhava die Lehren aus der überweltlichen Sphäre erhalten hatte von Verkörperungen des *dharmakāya* und *sambhogakāya*. Anschließend folgt die Hauptlinie der Lehrer-Schüler-Kette ausgehend vom Schatzheber Rig 'dzin rGod ldem bis hin zu 'Phrin las bdud 'joms. Ergänzt sind mitunter auch weitere Überlieferungsstränge.

Der 5. Yol mo sPrul sku erhielt die Überlieferung der „nördlichen Schätze“ aus verschiedenen Überlieferungstraditionen. Hier sollen diese Studien in ihrer chronologischen Reihenfolge skizziert werden:<sup>70</sup>

An den ersten Belehrungen zu Ritualen aus den „nördlichen Schätzen“ nahm Karma bdud 'joms bereits in seiner frühen Kindheit als Neunjähriger (ca. 1734) teil, als sein Vater Nyi ma seng ge in der Meditationshöhle Ca thang sgrub phug in Glang 'phrang Praxislehren zum *Bla ma rig 'dzin gdung sgrub* erteilte.<sup>71</sup>

Ferner berichtet 'Phrin las bdud 'joms in seiner Autobiographie, dass er im Alter von 11 Jahren (ca. 1736) von seinem Onkel rDo dmar

70 Nachstehend sind die Einzeltitel von acht der o.g. neun im Zentrum der Tradition stehenden Ritualzyklen nach dem Studienbuch KDJSY aufgeführt. Abbrivaturen wurden stillschweigend aufgelöst. Schwer oder nicht lesbare Silben, im Wesentlichen bedingt durch Feuchtigkeitsschäden, sind kenntlich gemacht. In den überwiegenden Fällen konnten die Lesungen dieser Silben erschlossen werden nach dem Studienbuch von Brag dkar Chos kyi dbang phyug (ChBThY), der für sechs der im Studienbuch des 5. Yol mo sPrul sku aufgenommenen Lehrzyklen (I, II, IV, V, VI, VII) einen identischen oder nahezu identischen Text bietet. Diese Silben sind mit einem Stern (\*) gekennzeichnet. Silben, die nicht sicher gelesen werden konnten, sind mit einem Fragezeichen markiert. Die Einzeltitel sind über den Quellentext hinaus nach ihrer Reihenfolge in KDJSY durchnummeriert worden.

71 In seiner Autobiographie berichtet der 5. Yol mo sPrul sku über diese Teilnahme an den Belehrungen seines Vaters in Glang 'phrang (KDJNTh, fol. 10b). Vgl. Ehrhard 2007: 43. Darüber hinaus listet Karma 'phrin las bdud 'joms in seinem Studienbuch seinen Vater Nyi ma seng ge auch als direkten Lehrer im Kontext der Überlieferung des *Thugs chen 'gro ba kun grol*-Zyklus auf (KDJSY, ca, fol. 5a3). In seiner Autobiographie schreibt er dazu, dass er abgesehen von den Weißen und der Wortüberlieferung (*dbang lung*) des Zyklus *Byang gter thugs rje chen po* nicht die vollständigen Überlieferungen (*bka' lung*) von seinem Vater erhalten hatte; siehe KDJNTh, fol. 16b. Der Grund dafür liegt wohl vor allem im frühzeitigen Tod seines Vaters im Jahr 1738, als Karma bdud 'joms erst 13 Jahre alt war (KDJNTh, fol. 13b).

Padma rdo rje in Ri bo dpal 'bar (Mang yul) Einführungen in die Praxis des *rdzogs chen*-Zyklus *Ka dag rang byung rang shar* erhalten hatte.<sup>72</sup>

Als der Vater von Karma bdud 'joms im Jahr 1738 starb, kam der Junge in die Obhut der rDo dmar-Familie und erhielt an ihrem Aufenthaltsort in Glang 'phrang ca. in den Jahren 1739 und 1740 umfangreiche religiöse Unterweisungen, dazu zählen auch solche zum Ritualzyklus *bKa' brgyad drag po rang byung rang shar* einschließlich der Wortüberlieferung der Textsammlung.<sup>73</sup>

Die nächsten *byang gter*-Studien sind in seiner Autobiographie für das Jahr 1742 belegt. Im Alter von 17 Jahren war Karma bdud 'joms auf den rNying ma-Lehrer Khams lung pa Padma gsang sngags bstan 'dzin aufmerksam gemacht worden und reiste zu ihm nach Mang yul. Von diesem Lehrer, der in der Überlieferungstradition des rDo rje brag Rig 'dzin Padma 'phrin las stand, erhielt er die ersten umfassenden Unterweisungen zum *byang gter*-Lehrkorpus. Mehrere Jahre später, im Jahr 1747, erhielt er ein weiteres Mal von Padma gsang sngags bstan 'dzin

72 Rig 'dzin Nyi ma seng ge hatte seinen Sohn 'Phrin las bdud 'joms zwischen seinem neunten und elften Lebensjahr mehrfach zu ersten Studienaufenthalten nach Mang yul geschickt. Als ersten Aufenthaltsort in Mang yul nennt 'Phrin las bdud 'joms in seiner Autobiographie die Sakralstätte dKar ye dngos grub mtsho gling. Diese befand sich in der Nähe des Berges Ri bo dpal 'bar. Zur Lokalisation von dKar ye siehe Ehrhard 1997: 258–259, Anm. 16. Zur Bedeutung dieses Ortes im Kontext der Verbreitung der „nördlichen Schätze“ siehe Ehrhard 2007: 44, Anm. 51. Mit 11 Jahren (ca. 1736) legte 'Phrin las bdud 'joms am Bergmassiv Ri bo dpal 'bar im gleichnamigen Kloster vor rDo dmar Padma rdo rje die Laiengelübde ab. In dieser Zeit begann er auch seine religiösen Studien in der rNying ma-Schule bei Padma rdo rje, dem Sohn des rDo dmar Mi 'gyur rdo rje und Bruder seiner Mutter Chos nyid rang grol. Padma rdo rje erteilte dem Jungen hier die ersten Einführungen zum *rdzogs chen*-Zyklus *Ka dag rang byung rang shar* aus den „nördlichen Schätzen“. Zu diesen Studien siehe KDJNTh, fol. 11a–12a. In seinem *gsan yig* fixierte der 5. Yol mo sPrul sku diese *byang gter*-Studien nicht. Die Überlieferung der *rdzogs chen*-Zyklen aus den „nördlichen Schätzen“ hatte Padma rdo rje von seinem Vater Mi 'gyur rdo rje erhalten; siehe *infra*, Anm. 95 und 96. Mi 'gyur rdo rje aus der rDo dmar-Familie war aus Südwesttibet nach Glang 'phrang übergesiedelt. Siehe dazu Ehrhard 1997: 258, Anm. 14; Ehrhard 2007: 43–44. Zum Leben des Mi 'gyur rdo rje und zwei seiner Söhne siehe die rezent verfasste Familiengeschichte von Brag sne Kun bzang chos 'phel 1996: 89–137. Vgl. Ehrhard 2007: 43, Anm. 50. Zu Padma rdo rje siehe Brag sne Kun bzang chos 'phel 1996: 137–139.

73 Zu diesen Studien siehe KDJNTh, fol. 14b. Auch diese Studien fanden keine Aufnahme im *gsan yig* des 5. Yol mo sPrul sku.

Unterweisungen zum Ritualzyklus *Rig 'dzin gdung sgrub*. Im *gsan yig* sind diese Studienobjekte spezifiziert und umfassen hier die Zyklen der „drei [Formen der rituellen] Vollendung des Geistes [des Lehrers]“ (*thugs sgrub gsum*) (V, VI, VII) und den Vajrakīla-Zyklus (IV):<sup>74</sup>

[1742, 1747:] gNyags ston Rig 'dzin Padma gsang sngags bstan 'dzin:

*Gu ru phyi nang gsang gsum sgrub tshul* (KDJSY, ca, fol. 4a1–11b1)  
 (*phyi sgrub*) *Thugs chen 'gro ba kun grol* (KDJSY, ca, fol. 4a2–5a3)<sup>75</sup> (V)

74 In seiner Autobiographie berichtet Karma bdud 'joms, dass er im Jahr 1742 von Padma gsang sngags bstan 'dzin die Weißen und Wortüberlieferung des Ritualzyklus *Byang gter rdo rje phur pa* erhalten hatte, sowie die Weißen, Wortüberlieferung und Anleitungen zum Zyklus *Byang gter thugs rje chen po* (KDJNTh, fol. 17a–b). Die Weißen, die Wortübertragung und umfangreiche Lehrunterweisungen zum Zyklus *Bla ma rig 'dzin gdung sgrub* empfing er dann bei diesem Lehrer fünf Jahre später, im Jahr 1747 (KDJNTh, fol. 23a–b). Zu den entsprechenden Abschnitten im *gsan yig* siehe KDJSY, ca, fol. 4a1–11b1, 11b1–13b6. Die erste Seite dieses Studienbuches ist im Anhang abgebildet, *infra*, Anh. 2, Abb. 1. In seiner Autobiographie erklärt Karma bdud 'joms, dass Padma gsang sngags bstan 'dzin als Nachkomme des gNyags Jñānakumāra, einem Schüler des Padmasambhava, betrachtet wurde und als Wiedergeburt des Khams lung Nam mkha' 'jigs med erkannt worden war. Er hatte in seiner Jugend im Kloster E waṃ lcog sgar studiert und von seinem Lehrer Khams lung Rig 'dzin Padma dbang rgyal (1657–1731), einem Schüler von rDo rje brag Padma 'phrin las, die *byang gter*-Überlieferung erhalten. Siehe dazu KDJNTh, fol. 17b. Vgl. Ehrhard 2008: 82, Anm. 34. Zur gNyags ston-Familie siehe Gung thang bsTan 'dzin nor bu 2018: 246–257. Die Khams lung-Familie ist verbunden mit dem Kloster Nub dgon (La stod byang); siehe Ehrhard 1997: 257, Anm. 10. Zu biographischen Quellen zu Khams lung Rig 'dzin Padma dbang rgyal siehe *ibid.*: 257, Anm. 10; vgl. Ehrhard 2008: 81–82, Anm. 34; 83–84, Anm. 37. Die Residenz dieser Familie in sKyid rong war dNgos grub phug; siehe Ehrhard 1997: 257, Anm. 10. Zu den Quellentexten, die die Sakralstätte dNgos grub phug beschreiben, siehe *ibid.*: 259, Anm. 16; Ehrhard 2004: 411–412, Anm. 176. Wie zu vermuten ist, war dNgos grub phug auch jene Stätte in Mang yul, wo Karma 'phrin las bdud 'joms seinen Khams lung-Lehrer aufsuchte, um von ihm die ersten umfangreichen Überlieferungen der „nördlichen Schätze“ zu erhalten.

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

(*nang sgrub*) Rig 'dzin dong (=gdung) sgrub (KDJSY, ca, fol. 5a4–6a4)<sup>76</sup> (VI)

(*gsangsgrub*) Dragpomthingka (KDJSY, ca, fol. 6a4–11b1)<sup>77</sup> (VII)

ma nor lam ston, (12) gNas lung, (13) Zas gtad, (14) 'Pho ba, (15) Ro sreg, (16) Tsha tsha, (17) sByin sreg, (18) Rab gnas, (19) Las sbyor thugs rje rtse gcig ma, (20) 'Gro don las sbyor lnga pa, (21) Tshe sgrub, (22) 'Dzams (= 'Dzam) dkar thugs sgrub, (23) sGrub chen gyi spyi \*khog chen mo, (24) bKa' bsrung mchod thabs, (25) Las \*rgyu 'bras \*kyi \*dbye \*ba mun sel sgron me, (26) Khrid yig gsal ba' i sgron me, (27) (de' i ngo 'phrod) sNyan rgyud yi ge med pa, (28) sGron ma drug gi dang po, (29) gTer byon rgyud (=brgyud) 'debs kha skongs dang bcas pa. Vgl. dazu die Titellisten in ChBThY, fol. 75b–76a, und PGThY, S. 432–433. Den Titeln dieser Textsammlung nachgestellt folgt die Überlieferung der Schriften von lHa btsun Legs ldan rdo rje und Rig 'dzin Padma 'phrin las (KDJSY, ca, fol. 4b1–3).

76 Titelliste (KDJSY, ca, fol. 5a6–b4) lung: (1) Rig 'dzin dong grub (=gdung sgrub) \*gyi them \*byang, (2) \*Rig \*dzin \*dus pa rtsa ba' i rgyud rin chen 'bar ba le'u bzhi pa, (3) Phyi sku 'bag la rten (=brten) nas sgrub pa, (4) Nang gtor ma, (5) gSang ba dza gad la rten (=brten) nas sgrub pa, (6) Bye brag tu mtshan brgyad \*so \*so' i \*dgos \*sgrub, (7) \*Nang \*sgrub kyi cha lag rig 'dzin mchod thabs, (8) Bla ma' i las byang dgos 'dod kun 'byung, (9) Phyi nang gsang gsum gyi 'dzab dgongs, (10) mNga' bdag la gdam (=gdams) pa mnyam nyid ma gu ru zhi ba' i sgrub \*thabs \*kyang \*zer, (11) dBang chog rgyas 'bring sdus (=bsdus) gsum, (12) rTags bstod, (13) Rig 'dzin rnams kyi thugs dam bskul ba, (14) bShags pa smon lam bkra shis, (15) gShin don gnas lung, (16) gTor ma' i bstod pa, (17) Byin 'bebs, (18) Rab \*gnas \*kyi \*lo \*rgyus, (19) Rab gnas se (=bse) sgrom ma, (20) Nyams rtags gsal sgron, (21) Las tshogs nor bu' i phreng ba cha lag bcas. Vgl. dazu die Titellisten in ChBThY, fol. 77b, und PGThY, S. 421–422. An die Titel dieser Sammlung angereiht ergänzt 'Phrin las bdud 'joms die Überlieferung weiterer Texte von Yol mo ba (d.i. bsTan 'dzin nor bu) und Rig 'dzin Padma 'phrin las zu dieser Ritualtradition (KDJSY, ca, fol. 5b4–5).

77 Titelliste (KDJSY, ca, fol. 6b3–8b6) lung: [I.] (1) sGrub thabs gsum gyi lo rgyus, (2) gSang ba rin chen 'dus pa' i lo rgyus, (3) Thugs sgrub rtsa ba' i gleng bzhi (=gzhi), [II.] (4) sKu gsung thugs kyi gnad 'dus, (5) rDo rje he ru ka thugs kyi sgrub pa, [III.] (6) gSang ba rin chen 'dus pa' i sgrub thabs, (7) (de' i) Las sbyor gnad kyi man ngag, (8) dKyil 'khor bcud dril, [IV.] (9) Zab mo gnad kyi them bcu, (10) Hum 'dren thabs nyer gcig, (11) bSrung \*khor, (12) \*Khro bcu' i bsrung bzlog, (13) Ngag grol, (14) Ngag nus bskyed pa, [V.] (15) rTags mthong dngos grub blangs pa, [VI.] (16) sGrub pa sde drug gi dbang gi cho ga, (17) Byin rlabs thugs rje' i dbang lnga, (18) Sa \*chog \*rgyal \*tho, (19) \*Thig \*rtsa brgyan (=rgyan) bkod, (20) dBang gi sngon 'gro, (21) Bum dbang gi spyi chings dang bcas pa, (22) sKyabs sems sdom bzung, (23) sGrub pa sde brgyad kyi dbang chog chen mo, (24) gTor dbang, (25) rGyal thabs spyi lugs kyi dbang chog, (26) mNgon rtogs \*sgom byang gsal sgron, (27) dKyil 'khor rgyas pa' i sgrub thabs, (28) Bum sgrub, (29) gTer sbed, (30) dNgos sgrub bskul ba, [VII.] (31) Las byang 'bring po, (32) \*Las \*gzhung rtsa \*tho, (33) \*Bar \*them, (34) Byin dbab, (35) Las byang chen mo, (36) 'Dzab bstod, (37) Rig pa hum skyon ma, (38) 'Dzab gong (=dgongs) chung ba, (39) sPyod lam rgyun gyi rnal 'byor, (40) dKon mchog spyi bskul, (41) bDe

*gshegs spyi \*bskul che ba chung ba*, (42) *rGyas pa'i \*sbyin \*bsreg*, (43) *dBang gi \*sbyin bsreg*, (44) *Las bzhi dang ro bsreg*, (45) *Me spra*, (46) *Hom chog*, (47) *Zor bsreg mnan gsum*, [VIII.] (48) *\*sNgags kyi las byang don bstod bcas*, [IX.] (49) *Las tshogs rin chen sdong po*, [X.] (50) *gNas chen byin 'bebs*, (51) *rNam 'joms rtsa ba'i sgrub thabs*, (52) *sGrub pa'i 'phrin las*, (53) *Bag chags stobs 'joms kyi khros chog*, [XI.] (54) *sKu gsung thugs kyi gdul bya*, [XII.] (55) *\*'Gong \*po \*ar \*gtad \*kha \*sgyur (=bsgyur)*, (56) *mNan pa'i bskul*, (57) *dGra sri mnan pa*, [XIII.] (58) *Nad bdag stobs 'joms rtsa ba don bdun pa*, (59) *Lo rgyus*, (60) *mDos chog*, (61) *\*dGyer \*glud rabs*, (62) *sTobs 'joms don lnga pa*, (63) *\*Khyung \*nag \*gi \*sgrub \*thabs bstod bskul dang bcas pa*, (64) *Bya khyung gi lo rgyus*, (65) *sGom rim*, (66) *sNgags rim*, (67) *rDzas sbyor nad rims bsrung bsad \*bso (=gso)*, (68) *sNgags byang*, (69) *\*'Khor \*lo bri yig*, (70) *rDo rje khrab ring \*bdud \*rtsi \*bum \*chung \*bskor (=skor) \*la \*rgyud*, (71) *\*'Khor \*lo*, (72) *\*bsGom \*bzlas*, (73) *mTha' bsgyur*, (74) *\*Zug \*stag*, (75) *lHog pa*, (76) *Gag pa*, (77) *Phag 'khor*, (78) *Srin 'joms*, (79) *Cha \*lag bu bdun*, (80) *gSo byed sman kyi rtsa ba*, (81) *Chings*, (82) *Shog ril dkar ser \*sngo gsum*, (83) *'Od \*'bar \*sgron \*ma'i \*shog \*ril*, (84) *mNga' bdag dang \*mtsho rgyal la gdam (=gdams) pa nad kyi rgyu bshad pa*, (85) *brTag cing sman gyi bcos thabs*, (86) *Kun 'joms bsrung ba sngags byang*, (87) *bsTan mas \*phul ba'i \*gor \*bsrung*, (88) *\*'Byung po'i \*nad \*bsrung \*khrag \*'thung nag po'i gdam (=gdams) pa*, (89) *Rigs gsum mgon po'i sgo nas \*'go nad bsrung ba*, (90) *Thos \*pa sgra la rten (=brten) te bsrung ba*, (91) *Rims seb (=Rim gseb) du 'gro ba'i bsrung ba*, (die Titelliste ist unten auf der Seite fortgesetzt:) (92) *Mig nad srung ba*, (93) *sMan gyi lha mo \*lcam \*dral gyi sgrub \*thabs*, (94) *(de'i) zhal \*gdams*, [XIV.] (95) *\*Thugs \*rje \*byams \*pa'i \*man \*ngag*, (96) *\*Dug \*lnga \*bstan \*bcos*, (und weiter im Haupttext folgen die Titel:) (97) *Man ngag \*zab \*mo ngan pa bzang \*bsgyur*, [XV.] (98) *\*Jag \*chings lcags sgrog khril (= 'khril) ba*, (99) *Yul dang rang bsrung sgrib shing*, (100) *sNgags rdzas sgrib shing*, (101) *Gor bsrung jag chings sgrib shing*, (102) *Bal mo'i jag 'ching \*lcags mdzod ma*, (103) *rKang \*'gyogs man ngag*, [XVI.] (104) *\*Phywa \*phrin nor bu mchog rgyal byang gling ma*, (105) *\*Sad bsrung sprin gyi sgo (=go) cha dang na ga 'brug sgrogs*, (106) *Char gcod me'i spu gri*, (107) *Ser bsrung gnām lcags gur khang phyi bsrung nang bsrung yang gsang \*bsrung \*ba gnad yig dang bcas pa*, (108) *\*Zhing gi lud sbyor rigs gnyis*, (109) *Lo zan sems can kha 'chings*, (110) *Byi bsrung rigs gnyis*, [XVII.] (111) *Go cha brgyad kyi man ngag*, (112) *mTshon bsrung \*'khor \*lo'i bri \*yig*, (113) *sNgags dmigs la rten (=brten) pa'i mtshon bsrung*, [XVIII.] (114) *Las tshogs rin chen 'char 'bebs*, (115) *Dzam bha lcang gu'i lo rgyus sgrub thabs chu \*sbyin gtor 'bul \*bstod dang bcas pa*, [XIX.] (116) *\*Them \*byang*, (117) *\*Phyi \*sgrub \*rin \*chen bum pa*, (118) *Nang \*sgrub \*lcags \*kyi \*sdong po*, (119) *\*gSang sgrub hri (=hri) gcig ma*, (120) *Yang gsang nam \*mkha'i rdo rje*, (121) *Tshe \*'khor bri \*yig*, (122) *brDa yig lde mig*, [XX.] (123) *Phag \*mo'i them yig*, (124) *Lo \*rgyus*, (125) *\*mKha' \*'gro gsang ba'i \*thugs \*sgrub*, (126) *dMar mo dbang bsdud pa'i \*sgrub thabs zangs mdzod ma*, (127) *dBang bsdud las kyi mkha' 'gro'i sgrub thabs*, (128) *sNying \*tig gsang sgrub gtsug rgyan ma*, (129) *gSang sgrub gtor \*'bul bstod pa dang bcas pa*, (130) *\*sByin bsreg*, (131) *Srog \*'khor bri yig*, (132) *\*Nag mo thod rgal gyi sgrub pa'i gsal byed*, (133) *\*Gri snying ril bu zla dkyil la rten (=brten) pa'i mngon shes le tshan*, (134) *Rigs 'bzhi'i srog \*'khor*, (135) *Phag mo rigs \*bzhi'i \*sgrub thabs*,



*Zab gter bcom ldan 'das dpal rdo rje gzhon nu* (fol. 11b1–13b6)<sup>78</sup> (IV)

(136) *dBang \*bsdud*, (137) *Mig 'thong*, (138) *mNgon shes*, (139) *Zas nor 'du ba*, (140) *\*Dug 'don*, (141) *rGyags skyel*, (142) *Las tshogs bcu gsum par grags pa bsrung ba gsum dang \*'du \*ba gnyis so sor \*phye* (Dittographie: *\*phye*) *bas \*nang \*ses (=gses) bcu drug pa*, (143) *rTsa rlung dbang gi sbyin bsreg*, (144) *Zhi rgyas dbang drag gi las tshogs*, (145) *Tshangs pa'i bu mo khol por bkol ba*, (146) *Thig le'i gzung ba*, (147) *bDud kyi bgegs bsal*, [XXI.] (148) *\*Slob \*bu'i \*'dod pa rtag (=brtag) thabs*, (149) *Slob bu'i snod rtag (=brtag) pa*, [XXII.] (150) *Yang tig gces pa'i sgron ma*, (151) *Drag po rtsal gyi 'pho ba*, (152) *sKu gsum gtan la dbab pa'i rgyud le'u gsum pa*, [XXIII.] (153) *\*Phyi nang gsang gsum gyi rtags rim*, (154) *Nyams rtags gsal sgron*, (155) *bsNyen sgrub rtags rim*, [XXIV.] (156) *Rang byung rang shar gyi rgyud le'u bcu pa*, [XXV.] (157) *Nor sgrub rin chen spungs \*pa \*las \*Nor \*lha'i \*phyi sgrub*, (158) *Dzam lha dkar po phyi nang gsang gsum gyi sgrub pa chu sbyin gtor ma gsang rdzas la rten (=brten) pa*, (159) *Thod pa la rten (=brten) nas long spyod sgrub pa*, (160) *A pa ra tsitta \*khol por \*bkol \*ba \*gnod sbyin snying 'gul*, (161) *gNod sbyin ma rdo rje khol mor bkol ba*, (162) *gNod sbyin brgyags skyel*. (gzhan yang de dag gi khongs su rtogs (=gtogs) pa): (163) *mKha' 'gro \*gtan \*bzhus don brgyad pa*, (164) *rNga la lpags pa \*skyon \*thabs*, (165) *\*gTer ma bka' sgrub*. Die Titel dieser Textsammlung sind in KDJSY in 25 Abschnitte gruppiert, die jeweils mit einer Ordnungsnummer versehen sind (hier in eckigen Klammern). Zwei Ordnungsnummern (VI und XIV) fehlen im Text und wurden hier nach ChBThY ergänzt. Der 5. Yol mo sPrul sku begründet diese Ordnung unter Hinweis auf eine frühe Inhaltsangabe zum Textbestand dieser Sammlung, hier kurz als *Them byang* (d.i. der Text *Thems byang gsal ba'i sgron ma*) bezeichnet (KDJSY, ca, fol. 6b1–2). In dieser Inhaltsangabe sind lediglich 25 Texte aufgeführt. Auf diese Inhaltsangabe wurde bereits früher in den o.g. Epitomen hingewiesen: BTSNT: fol. 3b–4a (*Thugs sgrubs them byang*); BTRPh: fol. 41a–44b (*Thems byang gsal ba'i sgron ma*). Vgl. dazu die Titelliste in ChBThY, fol. 79a–81b. Nach der Auflistung sämtlicher Titel des *Thugs sgrub drag po rtsal*-Zyklus folgt die Überlieferung ergänzender Texte zu den Inhalten dieser Textsammlung von Chos rgyal dBang po'i sde und Rig 'dzin Padma 'phrin las (KDJSY, ca, fol. 8b6–9a3).

- 78 Titelliste (KDJSY, ca, fol. 11b3–12b6) *dbang 'phrin las*: Die Lehren sind in drei Abschnitte (I, II, III) gegliedert: [I.] *phur pa rgyas pa che mchog lha khra'i bskor (=skor)* (fol. 11b4–12b2): (1) *rDo rje phur pa thugs gsang ba sku'i brgyud (=rgyud) le'u bcu pa*, (2) *Phur pa'i 'phrin las chen mo*, (3) *Phur pa'i 'dzab*, (4) *Phur pa'i bstod bskul*, (5) *Phur bsrung gi bskul dang bcas pa*, (6) *Rin chen dbang gi mdzod*, (7) *rNam gsum srog gi \*'khor \*lo zhes dkar po lam gyi sgron ma*, (8) *bKa' nyan lcags kyi ber ka*, (9) *Nag po dug gi 'khor*, (10) *Zor bsreg mnang gsum*, (11) *rDo rje phur pa'i tsh'e'i las byang*, (12) *Tshe dbang*, (13) *Tshe bsgrub*, (14) *Phur pa'i bka' sgo*, (15) *gSum tshogs rgyas pa*, (16) *\*Satstsha 'debs pa*, (17) *brGyud rims (=rim) gsang ba rin po che*, (18) *dNgos grub blang ba*, (19) *Khro bo rol pa'i gtor bzlog*, (20) *Zur la nang gses kyi \*bskyed pa*, (21) *sPyan 'dren*, (22) *\*bZhus \*gsol*, (23) *Phyag*, (24) *sTim (=bsTim) pa*, (25) *sMan rag sbyor sgröl gyi \*mchod pa*, (26) *bDen brjod bstod pa*, (27) *Rig 'dzin bskul*, (28) *lHa tshogs bskul ba*, (29) *\*Dam can bsrung ma'i bskul dang bcas pa*. [II.] *phur pa 'bring po drag sngags spu gri lha nag gi skor* (fol. 12a3–12b3): (30) *\*sPu \*gri*

Im Jahr 1751 schloss sich die nächste umfangreiche Überlieferung von Lehr- und Ritualzyklen der „nördlichen Schätze“ an, als 'Phrin las bdud 'joms bei seinem Aufenthalt in Glang 'phrang in den Reihen seiner Familie von rDo dmar Kun bzang 'gyur med lhun grub, dem jüngeren Bruder des verstorbenen Padma rdo rje, die erforderlichen Weihen, die Wortüberlieferung und Führungen zu den beiden rdzogs chen-Zyklen (I, II) erhielt.<sup>79</sup> Die Details zu den Inhalten dieser Studien hielt der 5. Yol mo sprul sku wiederum in seinem Studienbuch fest:

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

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*\*nag po gsang ba'i rgyud le'u bcu gcig pa*, (31) *Phur pa drag sngags kyi 'phrin las chen mo tshogs mchod lhag ma dang bcas pa*, (32) *Yang gsang spu gri 'bar ba'i 'phrin las 'bring po*, (33) *Phur pa khra phyag dang bcas pa'i \*bstod pa*, (34) *\*Dam can bcu gnyis rtsa ba gsum du sgril te bskul ba*, (35) *bsKul bsdu pa*, (36) *Dam can ma mo'i rkyang bskul*, (37) *Pho nya 'gugs 'dren gru gsum mthing nag ma*, (38) *Bi to ta ma la nas 'byung ba'i rgyun \*gtor gyi rim pa*, (39) *Drag po'i bzlas pa 'phro 'du las kyi bsnyen pa*, (40) *Ki la ya chos nyid du bzla ba*, (41) *sPyod lam rgyun gyi rnal 'byor*, (42) *Phur pa'i las thams cad kyi don bsdu pa drag po \*sngags \*kyi \*rtsa \*ba*, (43) *Phur pa drag sngags kyi ti ka (=ti kā) bse sgrom ma*, (44) *Phur pa srog gi spu gri*, (45) *Drag sngags rdo rje phur pa'i lugs 'di khyad par 'phags pa'i lo rgyus*, (46) *Phur pa'i rgyud (=rgyu) dang tshad* (ChBThY liest: *tshan*) *bstan pa*, (47) *\*sGrub \*thabs \*rgyun \*khyer*, (48) *\*Phur pa khro bo rol pa'i bzlog gzhang dbus phyogs 'khor lo ma*, (49) *Phur pa'i las kyi sri chung bcu gsum mnan pa*, (50) *sDe bryad bsrung bzlog*, (51) *Ser ba gdong \*bzlog*, (52) *rDzas kyi \*mthun (=mthu) \*chen \*bco \*bryad*, (53) *\*mTshon \*'dra \*thog 'dra'i man ngag gi nang nas gsung (=gsungs) pa'i las sbyor bzhi pa*. [III.] *phur pa bsdu pa dril sgrub lha \*dus kyi skor* (fol. 12b4–5): (54) *rDo rje phur pa rtsa ba thams cad dril nas nyams su len pa*, (55) *Las la sbyar ba'i man ngag*, (56) *\*Thugs \*kyi \*snag* (ChBThY liest: *brngag*) *\*pa \*gsang ba phur cig (=gcig) ma'i bsgrub (=sgrub) thabs*, (57) *Dril \*sgrub kyi 'phrin las chen mo*, (58) *(de'i) 'Phrin las 'bring po*, (59) *'Phrin las bsdu pa*, (60) *mTshan bryad kyi bstod pa la rten (=brten) nas bskul ba*. Vgl. dazu die Titelliste in ChBThY, fol. 88b–90a. 'Phrin las bdud 'joms ergänzt hiernach die Überlieferung späterer Schriften, die Padma 'phrin las zum Thema verfasst hatte (KDJSY, ca, fol. 12b6–13a1).

79 Zu diesen rdzogs chen-Studien siehe die Autobiographie (KDJNTh, fol. 34a–b). Unter den fünf Söhnen des rJe Mi 'gyur rdo rje war Kun bzang 'gyur med lhun grub der zweitjüngste Sohn (KDJNTh, fol. 34b). Der 5. Yol mo sprul sku verfasste eine Kurzbiographie einschließlich Gebet für seinen Lehrer (*ibid.*, fol. 34b), das in seinem Gesamtwerk überliefert ist (KZNTh). Zur Person Kun bzang 'gyur med lhun grub siehe Brag sne Kun bzang chos 'phel 1996: 139–141. Die Überlieferung der rdzogs chen-Zyklen aus den „nördlichen Schätzen“ erhielt Kun bzang 'gyur med lhun grub in der Familientradition von seinem älteren Bruder Padma rdo rje. Siehe *infra*, Anm. 95 und 96.

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

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

81 Titelliste (KDJSY, nga, fol. 2b5–4a2) *lung*: (1) Kun \*tu bzang po dgongs pa zang thal gyi rgyud le'u nyi shu pa, (2) dGongs pa zangs (=zang) thal gyi rtsa ba le'u lnga pa, (3) dGongs pa zang thal gyi rgyud chung le'u brgyad pa, (4) sKye med ma bcos rang 'byung (=byung) gi rgyud le'u drug pa, (5) Rig sems (=Sems) dang rig pa dbye ba'i rgyud le'u drug, (6) 'Khrul pa sems kyi rgyud le'u bdun, (7) 'Khrul pa sems dang rig pa dbye ba'i rgyud le'u drug, (8) Rig pa rang gsal gyi rgyud le'u gsum, (9) \*Ye \*shes rang la gnas pa'i rgyud le'u drug, (10) Rin po che phreng pa'i rgyud le'u drug, (11) Man ngag snying gi dgongs pa'i rgyud le'u brgyad pa, (12) sNying gi dgongs pa'i rgyud le'u drug, (13) Padma'i bka' yig dang po, (14) Ye shes chen po stan (=bstan) pa'i rgyud \*le'u \*drug, (15) Sangs rgyas rdo rje sems dpa' dgongs pa rang shar gyi rgyud le'u drug, (16) rDo rje sems dpa' kun grol yangs pa'i rgyud le'u dgu (ChBThY liest: drug), (17) Bar do rang snang gi rgyud le'u bdun, (18) Kun tu bzang po ye shes zang thal gyi sgron ma le'u lnga pa, (19) sNyan rgyud (=brgyud) \*sde drug gi sngon 'gro, (20) Dang po chu'i bcud blangs pa, (21) bDud rtsi bcud kyi tshe sgrub, (22) Rlung rig gi \*bcud \*du blangs pa, (23) rDo rje can gyi grib bsrung ba, (24) gNas kyi grib bsrung ba, (25) Rang rgyud dag pa, (26) Lus \*phyi nang gi \*skyon \*bcos pa, (27) Ngag sgra'i skyon bcos pa, (28) Yid rtog pa'i 'khrul snang bzlog pa, (29) Las kyi 'phrin las kyi le'u ste bcu gcig, (30) sNgon 'gro rin chen gzer lnga, (31) rGyud 'debs ka dag \*lhun \*grub gnyis, (32) sNyan rgyud (=brgyud) drug gi tho byang, (33) Yang dag don gyi snyan rgyud (=brgyud) rin po che, (34) Thugs kyi dgongs pa yi ge med pa'i snyan rgyud (=brgyud), (35) sNyan rgyud (=brgyud) yi ge med pa'i mthar thug pa, (36) sNyan rgyud (=brgyud) rin po che'i lung byang ye shes thugs kyi lde mig, (37) Man ngag khyad par \*du \*phags pa snyan rgyud (=brgyud) gang zag dbang po rab 'bring tha gsum gyi grol tshul, (38) dGongs pa zang thal gyi khrid gzhung chen mo, (39) Ye shes chen po mngon du gyur ba'i man ngag, (40) Ngo sprod nyi shu rtsa gcig, (41) rTags \*kyi yi ge, (42) \*Tshad \*gyi yi ge, (43) gNad kyi yi ge, (44) Bī (=Bi) ma la'i khrid yid, (45) Bī (=Bi) ma la'i snyan rgyud (=brgyud) 'brel tig chen mo, (46) Bai ro tsa na'i snyan rgyud (=brgyud) dang po, (47) sNyan rgyud (=brgyud) bar pa, (48) sNyan rgyud (=brgyud) phyi ma, (49) Bai ro tsa na'i thugs rgyud, (50) \*dBang \*lnga'i \*dbye ba, (51) Rig pa'i rtsal dbang gi 'brel pa, (52) mKha 'gro'i gsang sgrub 'phrin las, (53) rTsa gnas lus kyi 'khor lo, (54) rTsa rlung gnad kyi sgron ma, (55) sGron ma rnam

Während seines Aufenthalts in Helambu in den Jahren von 1749 bis 1751, als er den von seinem Vater erbauten, aber nach einem Blitzeinschlag vollständig zerstörten Avalokiteśvara-Tempel auf dem Berg g.Yang ri wiedererrichtete, fand sich dort, im Jahr 1750, Rig 'dzin Tshe dbang nor bu ein, den er erstmals im Jahr 1747 in Nepal getroffen hatte (KDJNTh, fol. 23b–24a). Dieser erteilte dem 5. Yol mo sPrul sku Weihen zum *Thugs sgrub drag po rtsal*-Zyklus (KDJNTh, fol. 32b). Im Jahr 1751 erhielt er dann erneut von Tshe dbang nor bu Lehren aus dem *Thugs sgrub drag po rtsal*-Zyklus (VII) und die Überlieferung weiterer, von Tshe dbang nor bu selbst verfasster Texte zu diesem Ritualzyklus. Ferner gab er ihm Belehrungen zum *rdzogs chen*-Zyklus *Ka dag rang byung shar* (II) und Weihen zum Vajrakīla-Zyklus (IV). Diese Studienobjekte hielt der 5. Yol mo sPrul sku im Addendum seines Studienbuches fest:<sup>82</sup>

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

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

*Thugs sgrubs yang tig gces sgron* (KDJSY, na, fol. 1a4) (aus VII)

*Ka dag rang byung rang shar* (KDJSY, na, fol. 1a4) (I)

Gemäß den Aufzeichnungen in seiner Autobiographie kehrte 'Phrin las bdud 'joms im folgenden Jahr 1752 nach Mang yul zurück und erhielt

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*gsum thugs kyi bang mdzod*, (56) *bTags grol yid \*bzhin \*nor \*mchog*, (57) *Sangs rgyas thams cad sras gcig pa'i rgyud*, (58) *brTags grogs (=bTags grol) bcang thabs*, (59) *'Das rjes dang po*, (60) *gNyas pa*, (61) *gSum pa*, (62) *mThong grol rin po che*, (63) *'Chi kha ma'i sangs rgyas khug pa lnga'i man ngag*, (64) *Bar do 'od \*gsal \*gyi \*sgron ma*, (65) *\*gSol 'debs \*skye \*med gu ru ma*, (66) *Zhi khro lhun grub kyi 'phrin las bskul ba*, (67) *rDzogs chen 'phrin las*, (68) *rNal lam le'u brgyad pa*, (69) *Zang zang lha brag nas gter \*ston pa'i lo rgyus*, (70) *gNas spar ba'i \*man ngag*, (71) *gSang sngags bstan pa rnam gsum gyi zhus len (=lan)*, (72) *rDo rje phag mo zab rgya drug gi rtsa lung gi gdams pa*, (73) *rDo rje phag mo'i man ngag thor bu rnam gsum*, (74) *rDo rje phag mo'i zab rgya drug gi dang po lus ngag yid gsum gyi dam bca' mthun (=thun) bzhi'i rnal 'byor gyi khrim (=khrigs)*, (75) *Zab rgya'i dmigs rim*, (76) *rTsa gsum rin chen sgron ma*, (77) *\*rTso'd \*bzlog \*ye \*shes \*sngon \*du bstan pa'i snyan rgyud (=brgyud)*, (78) *Ye shes rang shar gyi rgyud le'u gnyis*, (79) *Gying (=Ging) mchod thabs*, (80) *Sangs rgyas rang chas kyi rgyud le'u gnyis pa*. Vgl. dazu die Titellisten in ChBThY, fol. 72b–74b, und BDThY, S. 35–38. Im Studienbuch schließt die Überlieferung von Texten an, die Yongs 'dzin Ngag dbang bzang po, Mi 'gyur rdo rje und Padma rdo rje zur Ritualtradition verfasst hatten (KDJSY, nga, fol. 4b4–5a2).

82 Zu diesen Studien siehe KDJNTh, fol. 35b. Im Studienbuch beschränkt sich der 5. Yol mo sPrul sku an dieser Stelle einzig auf die Aufzählung dieser Textzyklen bzw. Einzeltexte, für die er Weihen (*dbang*) und Erklärungen (*khrid*) erhalten hatte (KDJSY, na, fol. 1a).

dort von Bla ma Ratna bhadra Weißen und die Wortüberlieferung zum Zyklus *bKa' brgyad rang byung rang shar*.<sup>83</sup>

Seit den späten 1750er Jahren studierte 'Phrin las bdud 'joms auch bei Lo ri ba Srid zhi yongs grol. Ungefähr im Jahr 1762 erhielt er von Lo ri ba auch Überlieferungen aus den „nördlichen Schätzen“, darunter sind solche zu den Zyklen *Thugs sgrub drag po rtsal* (VII) und *Thugs rje chen po 'gro ba kun grol* (V). Diese Überlieferung ist wiederum im Studienbuch fixiert.<sup>84</sup>

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

*Byang gter Thugs rje chen po* (KDJSY, na, fol. 2a2) (V)

*Thugs sgrub* (KDJSY, na, fol. 2a2–3) (VII)

Bei zahlreichen Gelegenheiten hatte Karma bdud 'joms auch rDo rje 'dzin pa Ye shes chos grags aufgesucht, den Thronhalter des Klosters Brag dkar rta so, beginnend mit dem Jahr 1759 bis zu dessen Tod im Jahr 1772. In seinem Studienbuch hielt der 5. Yol mo sPrul sku fest, dass er von Ye shes chos grags auch Belehrungen zur Annäherung an die Gottheit *Thugs grub drag po rtsal* in der Überlieferungstradition der rDo dmar-Familie erhalten hatte.<sup>85</sup>

Die letzten umfangreichen *byang gter*-Überlieferungen erhielt der 5. Yol mo sPrul sku bei seinem ca. neunmonatigen Aufenthalt in Ri rgyal bkra bzang in den Jahren 1760 und 1761. Hier erhielt er von bKra bzang pa Kun bzang ye shes Weißen, Wortübertragungen und Einführungen in die Lehr- und Ritualzyklen aus den „nördlichen Schätzen“, so wie diese im Kloster bKra bzang überliefert worden waren. Auch dessen Söhne Padma dga' ba und Tshe dbang 'jigs med dpal bzang po agierten

83 Zu diesen Studien siehe KDJNTh, fol. 35b–36a. Die Einzeltexte der Wortüberlieferung des *bKa' brgyad*-Zyklus hielt der 5. Yol mo sPrul sku nicht in seinem *gsan yig* fest. Im Studienbuch sind aber 4 Texte aus dem Ritualzyklus *gSang ba rmad du byung ba* fixiert: (1) *gSang ba smad (=rmad) 'byung gi legs non*, (2) *Chos 'byung*, (3) *lDe mig*, (4) *rJes gnang* (KDJSY, cha, fol. 13a6–14a1), nebst der Überlieferungslinie (*ibid.*, fol. 13b2–14a1). Diese Textgruppe wird in der Texttradition mitunter auch dem Zyklus *Kun bzang dgongs pa zangs thal* (I) zugeordnet.

84 Zu den Studien bei Srid zhi yongs grol siehe KDJNTh, fol. 61a. In seinem *gsan yig* nennt 'Phrin las bdud 'joms lediglich die Eigennamen der beiden Textzyklen und spezifiziert, dass er bei Lo ri ba den spirituellen Segen, die Herz-Weihe und Einführungen zum Ritualzyklus *Thugs sgrub* erhalten hatte (KDJSY, na, fol. 2a2).

85 Das ist die Annäherung *Thugs sgrub drag po rtsal gyi bsnyen yig rdo dmar lugs*, die rDo dmar Pad ma rdo rje verfasst hatte (KDJSY, tha, fol. 8b6–9a1).

als Überlieferungsträger dieser Ritualtraditionen. In seinem Studienbuch hielt der 5. Yol mo sPrul sku auch diese Lehrüberlieferungen fest (I, II, VI, VII, VIII, IX):<sup>86</sup>

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

*Byang gter rdzogs chen ka dag rang byung rang shar* (KDJSY, da, fol. 2b1–3) (II)

*rDzogs chen dgongs pa zang thal* (KDJSY, da, fol. 2b3–3a3)<sup>87</sup> (aus I)

*Zab lam bde stong rgya mtsho zhes thugs sgrub kyi gsang khrid zab mo*

86 In der Autobiographie sind diese Überlieferungen spezifiziert, dazu zählten Einführungen und die *dbang chen*-Weihe in den Zyklus *Kun bzang dgongs pa zang thal*, die Weihen und Wortübertragung zum *Ka dag lhun grub*-Zyklus, die *dbang 'bring po*-Weihe und restliche Wortüberlieferung zum *Thugs sgrub*-Zyklus, die *rab 'byams bka'*-Weihe zum *Rig 'dzin gdung sgrub*-Zyklus, die Weihen, Einführungen und Wortüberlieferung zum *Zab lam bde stong rgya mtsho*, die Weihen zum Zyklus *Byang chub sems pa'i spyod dbang*, und aus dem Zyklus *rTen 'brel chos bdun* die Weihen und Wortüberlieferung zum *mNga' dbang rin chen 'bar ba* und *rTa mgrin dregs pa dbang bsdud*, und weiters die *gtor dbang*-Weihe zum *bKa' brgyad rang shar*, die Weihen und Wortübertragungen zum kompletten *mGon po bstan bsrung* usw., sowie die Weihen zum *Byang gter rdo rje phur pa* (KDJNTh, fol. 55b–56a). In seinem *gsan yig* (KDJSY, da, fol. 2b1–6b3) gibt Karma bdud 'joms für diese Überlieferung in bKra bzang nur in einzelnen Fällen die Titellisten der Ritualzyklen, wohl auch aus dem Grund, dass er diese bereits zuvor in seinem Studienbuch aufgelistet hatte. 'Phrin las bdud 'joms verweist z.T. auch auf die von ihm bereits zuvor gegebenen Titellisten (KDJSY, da, fol. 3b4). Wo hier im Weiteren nicht anders angegeben, ist keine Titelliste im *gsan yig* aufgeführt. Die erste Seite dieses Studienbuches ist abgebildet im Anhang, *infra*, Anh. 2, Abb. 2. Die Quellenlage zu *Kun bzang ye shes* ist ungünstig. Biographische Quellen liegen gegenwärtig nicht vor. Im Studienbuch des Karma bdud 'joms finden wir im Kontext der Überlieferung der „nördlichen Schätze“ als Lehrer von *Kun bzang ye shes* folgende Personen: *Kun 'dus tshe dbang* (KDJSY, da, fol. 2b, 4a), *Rig 'dzin Tshe dbang nor bu* (*ibid.*, fol. 2a, 3b, 6b), *Chos rgyal gTer bdag gling pa* (*ibid.*, fol. 4a), *O rgyan bstan 'dzin nor bu* (*ibid.*, fol. 4b, 5b) und *sPrul sku Ngag dbang kun dga' bsod nams* (*ibid.*, fol. 6a).

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

(KDJSY, *da*, fol. 3a3–b4)<sup>88</sup> (aus VII)

*Thugs sgrub sgrub pa* (KDJSY, *da*, fol. 3b4–4a2) (VII)

*Bla ma rig 'dzin gdung sgrub* (KDJSY, *da*, fol. 4a2–4) (VI)

*Byang gter byang chub spyod dbang* (KDJSY, *da*, fol. 4a4–5a1)<sup>89</sup> (IX)

*Zab mo rten 'brel chos bdun* (KDJSY, *da*, fol. 5a1–b3)<sup>90</sup> (VIII)

*gSang ba'i ma ning drag por khros pa mgon po yid bzhin gyi nor bu bstan bsrung yong rdzogs* (KDJSY, *da*, fol. 5b3–6b3)<sup>91</sup>

88 Titelliste (KDJSY, *da*, fol. 3a4–5) *lung*: (1) *Zab lam bde stong rgya mtsho mthong ba yid dga'*, (2) *Gu ru thugs sgrub kyi gsang khrid*. 'Phrin las bdud 'joms listet hier weitere Werke, die er einer Person mit dem Titel rje nyid (d.i. vermutlich bKra bzang pa Kun bzang ye shes) zuordnet (KDJSY, *da*, fol. 3a5), inkl. der Überlieferungslinie für diese Texte (*ibid.*, fol. 3a6–b2).

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

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

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

Im *gsan yig* des 5. Yol mo sPrul sku sind insgesamt die Wortüberlieferungen von acht (I, II, IV, V, VI, VII, VIII, IX) der o.g. neun im Zentrum der Ritualtradition stehenden Textzyklen der „nördlichen Schätze“ aufgelistet. Das Studienbuch birgt keine Nachrichten zum Zyklus *bKa' brgyad rang byung rang shar* (III).<sup>92</sup> 'Phrin las bdud 'joms gibt zudem auch Titellisten weniger umfangreicher Ritualzyklen aus der Tradition des Rig 'dzin rGod ldem.<sup>93</sup> Darüber hinaus listet er auch Texte aus der späteren Tradition auf, die Bezug auf die Inhalte dieser Schatztradition nehmen.<sup>94</sup>

92 Aus dem vorliegenden Material wird nicht deutlich, aus welchem Grund der 5. Yol mo sPrul sku nicht die Überlieferung des *bKa brgyad rang byung rang shar*-Zyklus in sein Studienbuch aufnahm. In seiner Autobiographie berichtet der 5. Yol mo sPrul sku, dass er ca. in den Jahren 1739/40 religiöse Unterweisungen zu diesem Zyklus erhalten hatte. Zu diesen Studien siehe KDJNTh, fol. 14b. Vgl. *supra*, Anm. 73. Im *thob yig* des Brag dkar Chos kyi dbang phyug hielt dieser fest, dass er als Fünfzehnjähriger die Überlieferung von Weihen und einzelne Wortüberlieferungen (*lung thor bu*) von seinem Lehrer 'Phrin las bdud 'joms erhalten hatte, aber dass er sich dieser nicht detailliert gewiss war (ChBThY, S. 204). In den Studienbüchern anderer Geistlicher aus Mang yul finden wir diese Wortüberlieferung durchaus bezeugt: Gur phu ba Nor bu bde chen hatte die Überlieferung der Hauptlehren dieses Zyklus von seinem Lehrer O rgyan bstan 'dzin nor bu im Jahr 1633 erhalten in der Übertragungslinie über Chos rgyal dbang po'i sde und rDo rje brag Ngag gi dbang po (NDThY, S. 82). Gur phu ba rGyal sras seng ge hatte diesen Zyklus via rDo rje brag Padma 'phrin las von seinem Lehrer Khams lung Padma dbang gi rgyal po erhalten (GSThY, S. 365), und sNgo ra dbang phyug erhielt die Überlieferung von seinem Lehrer Kun bzang bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan in der Überlieferung über rDo rje brag Padma 'phrin las und Khams lung Padma dbang rgyal (BDThY, S. 47). Vgl. dazu die Überlieferungslinien in Smith (o.J.). Demnach kursierte diese *bKa brgyad*-Ritualtradition in eben jenen Kreisen, aus denen der 5. Yol mo sPrul sku die zentralen Lehren der „nördlichen Schätze“ erhalten hatte.

93 Zu den weniger umfangreichen Ritualzyklen zählen u.a. *gSang ba rmad du byung ba* (siehe *supra*, Anm. 83), *rTa mgrin dregs pa dbang bsdud* (siehe *supra*, Anm. 90) und *Zab lam bde stong rgya mtsho zhes thugs sgrub kyi gsang khrid zab mo* (siehe *supra*, Anm. 88).

94 Zu den Texten aus der späteren Tradition siehe *supra*, Anm. 75–78, 81, 88. 'Phrin las bdud 'joms nennt Schriften von Überlieferungsträgern der Schatztradition, die vom 16. bis zum 18. Jh. in Zentraltibet, Westtibet und Nepal aktiv waren, dazu zählen Legs ldan rdo rje (16. Jh.), Chos rgyal bKra shis stobs rgyal *alias* dBang po'i sde (1550?–1603), 3. Yol mo ba bsTan 'dzin nor bu (1598–1644), Rig 'dzin Padma 'phrin las (1641–1717), rDo dmar Mi 'gyur rdo rje (geb. 1675) sowie rDo dmar Padma rdo rje.



Das Studienbuch des 5. Yol mo sPrul sku ist die früheste Textquelle ihrer Art aus der rNying ma-Schule, die weitreichende Einblicke in die Inhalte der Lehr- und Ritualzyklen der „nördlichen Schätze“ gewährt, so wie diese im 18. Jh. in verschiedenen Überlieferungstraditionen in La stod byang, Mang yul (Westtibet) und Nepal (Glang 'phrang) kursierten. Neben der Epitome von Se Padma dbang chen, den Studienbüchern aus der mDo chen bKa' brgyud-Schule sowie dem *gsan yig* des 5. Dalai Bla ma und des sNgo ra dBang phyug rdo rje zählt dieses Buch damit zu den Hauptquellen, die über die Inhalte dieser Schatztradition in der Literatur aus dem frühen 17. bis späten 18. Jh. informieren. Über die anderen Studienbücher hinaus weist das *gsan yig* von 'Phrin las bdud 'joms auch auf zentrale ergänzende Schriften zu den *byang gter*-Zyklen aus der späteren Tradition hin.

Die anderen auf uns gekommenen Studienbücher aus der rNying ma-Schule sind bei weitem nicht so umfangreich wie das Studienbuch des 5. Yol mo sPrul sku. Das *gsan yig* von sNgo ra dBang phyug rdo rje (ca. 18. Jh.) wurde ungefähr zur selben Zeit verfasst wie jenes aus der Feder des 5. Yol mo sPrul sku. dBang phyug rdo rje erhielt die Überlieferung der „nördlichen Schätze“ von Lehrern, die auch den 5. Yol mo sPrul sku unterrichtet hatten, dazu zählen sein Hauptlehrer rDo dmar Kun bzang 'gyur med lhun grub (I, VII), aber auch Khams lung Kun bzang bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan (II, III). Die Überlieferungsinhalte, die dBang phyug rdo rje aus der rDo dmar-Familie übertragen bekommen hatte, entsprechen daher nahezu denen, die auch 'Phrin las bdud 'joms aus dieser Familie erhielt. dBang phyug rdo rje hielt aber auch die Wortüberlieferung der Einzeltexte des Zyklus *bKa' brgyad rang byung rang shar* (III) fest und ergänzt damit unsere Kenntnisse der in KDJSY nicht fixierten Überlieferung dieser Textsammlung. Die beiden späteren Studienbücher aus der rNying ma-Schule aus dem 20. Jh. von sTag lung rTse sprul Rin po che (TLThY) und gNas nang Ye shes bdud 'dul (YBSY) sind rezentere Zeugnisse zur Übertragung der Studienobjekte dieser Schatztradition.

Die Titellisten der einzelnen Zyklen aus den „nördlichen Schätzen“ des Rig 'dzin rGod ldem in den Studienbüchern der mDo chen bKa' brgyud-Schule geben uns eine Vorstellung über den Umfang und Inhalt dieser Textsammlungen, wie sie während des 17. und 18. Jh.

insbesondere in Mang yul (Westtibet) verbreitet waren. In den Studienbüchern von drei Vertretern dieser Schule finden wir die Titellisten von sieben der zentralen Zyklen (I, II, III, IV, V, VI, VII) notiert. Nor bu bde chens Aufzeichnungen, von denen er Teile in das Jahr 1633 datiert hatte, sind die frühesten Studienbücher zu dieser Schatztradition, die heute überliefert sind. Die Tradierung der in Mang yul agierenden Lehrer aus der mDo chen-Schule erfolgte über den gleichen Personenkreis und ähnliche Überlieferungsstränge, die uns aus dem Studienbuch des 5. Yol mo sPrul sku bekannt sind. Eine Vielzahl der überlieferten *byang gter*-Lehren verlief dabei über Linienhalter, die in Zentral-Tibet (*dbus*) aktiv waren, wie Chos rgyal dbang po'i sde, rDo rje brag Rig 'dzin Ngag gi dbang po und rDo rje brag Rig 'dzin Padma 'phrin las.

Im *gsan yig* des 5. Dalai Bla ma Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho sind Einzeltitel aller neun im Zentrum der Texttradition stehenden Zyklen aufgelistet. Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho war als Schüler von Zur chen Chos dbyings rang grol (1604–1669) und als Lehrer des rDo rje brag Rig 'dzin Padma 'phrin las (1641–1717) nicht nur Linienhalter der Lehrzyklen der „nördlichen Schätze“, sondern hatte sich auch intensiv mit ihrer Überlieferungsgeschichte auseinandergesetzt. Zur Abfassung seines *gsan yig* hatte er die ihm zugänglichen früheren Studienbücher zur Tradition gesammelt und ihre Inhalte verglichen. Dem 5. Dalai Bla ma ist es im Wesentlichen zu verdanken, dass wir von der Existenz der heute nicht mehr zugänglichen Studienbücher wissen, insbesondere aus der frühen rNying ma-Schule, mit Aufzeichnungen, die bis in das späte 15. Jh. zurückreichen (vgl. *supra*, 2.d Studienbücher). Basierend auf der frühesten uns bekannten systematischen Gliederung der Inhalte der „nördlichen Schätze“, die mNga' ris Paṅ chen im frühen 16. Jh. besorgt hatte, klassifizierte der 5. Dalai Bla ma den gesamten Textkorpus der „nördlichen Schätze“ in seinem Studienbuch in 26 Abteilungen (vgl. *supra*, Anm. 29).

Das Studienbuch des Brag dkar Chos kyi dbang phyug bietet einen in weiten Teilen identischen oder nahezu identischen Text der Titellisten einschließlich Überlieferungslinien, den wir aus dem Studienbuch von 'Phrin las bdud 'joms kennen, und zeigt deutlich, dass dieser bei der Abfassung seines Studienbuches den Text von seinem Lehrer zur Grundlage genommen hatte.

Eine Beurteilung sämtlicher Studienbücher in Hinblick auf ihre Inhalte und ein Vergleich mit den heute überlieferten handschriftlichen und gedruckten Textausgaben, um mögliche Verwandtschaften festzustellen und Überlieferungsstränge aufzuzeigen, erfordert eine gründliche Untersuchung des gesamten Materials. Eine Aufgabe, die weit über den enggesteckten Rahmen dieses Aufsatzes hinausgeht. Ein behelfsmäßiger Vergleich dieser Bücher lässt nicht unerhebliche Divergenzen im Hinblick auf die Anzahl und Anordnung der Einzeltexte innerhalb einer Textsammlung erkennen. Hierbei ist anzumerken, dass die Identifizierung der Texttitel in den verschiedenen Quellen nicht immer problemlos zu bewältigen ist, da ein und derselbe Text unter verschiedenen Texttiteln erscheint, Kurztitel gewählt wurden, oder anstelle eines Titels alternativ eine inhaltliche Beschreibung vorliegt, so dass eine Verifizierung ein und desselben Textes in den verschiedenen Quellen nicht immer zweifelsfrei möglich ist.

#### 4.c Zur Überlieferung der „nördlichen Schätze“

Zur Praktizierung der Lehren benötigt der Schüler neben den erforderlichen Weihen (*dbang*), die er von seinem Lehrer empfängt und der damit verbundenen Ermächtigung zur Praxis, auch die Wortüberlieferung (*lung*) des Textes. Ihre Authentizität ist in der Überlieferungslinie (*brgyud*) konserviert, in Form einer Namenskette der Überlieferungsträger, die der Schüler im Kontext der Übertragung mitgeteilt bekommt. In seinem *gsan yig* hielt der 5. Yol mo sPrul sku die Überlieferungslinie der Worttradition des Textes zu jedem einzelnen Ritualzyklus fest. Zudem finden wir in seinem Studienbuch auch alternative oder Nebenüberlieferungslinien, die hier mit „weitere“ (*yang*) gekennzeichnet sind. Ggfs. sind auch Übertragungsketten spezifischer Weihen aufgelistet.

I. *Kun tu bzang po'i dgongs pa zang thal*<sup>95</sup> (I)

95 Überlieferungslinien: Im Studienbuch wird in drei Überlieferungsstränge (a, b, c) unterschieden: a) (KDJSY, *nga*, fol. 4a2–b4) *lung*: i. Chos sku Kun bzang yab yum, ii. Long (=Longs) \*sku \*Zhi \*'khro rigs lnga, iii. rGyal ba rdo rje, iv. rDo rje sems dpa', v. dGa' rab rdo rje, vi. 'Jam dpal gshes (=bshes) gnyen, vii. Rig 'dzin Shri (=Shri) singha, viii. rGyal sras Padma 'byung gnas, ix. Paṅ chen Bi (=Bi) ma [la] mi tra, x. sGra bsgyur Bai ro tsa na, xi. mNga' bdag \*Khri srong lde btsan, xii. mKha' gro Ye shes mtsho rgyal. 1. Rig 'dzin dNgos grub rgyal mtshan, 2. (*sras*

II. *Ka dag rang byung rang shar*<sup>96</sup>

(II)

*mchog*) rNam rgyal mgon po, 3. 'Dren mchog rDo rje rgyal mtshan, 4. Rig 'dzin Sangs rgyas bstan pa, 5. Sprul sku Shākya bzang po, 6. Rig 'dzin mKhyen rtogs dbang po, 7. Rig 'dzin Sangs rgyas blo gros, 8. Nam mkha' rin chen, 9. Grub thob 'Chi med tshe ring, 10. Ngag dbang zil gnon rdo rje, 11. Padma ngag dbang chos 'phel, 12. rDo dmar Rig 'dzin Mi \*gyur rdo rje, 13. (*de sras*) Rig 'dzin Padma rdo rje, 14. (*cung*) (=gcung) Kun bzang 'gyur med lhun grub 'od gsal bstan pa'i nyi ma, 15. (*bdag*) 'Phrin las bdud 'joms. —b) 1. gTer ston, 2. Nam rgyal mgon po, 3. rDo rje \*chang \*bSod \*nams bzang po, 4. mKhas grub Chos kyi rgyal mtshan, 5. mKhas btsun Chos kyi rin chen, 6. rJe btsun Kun dga' rgyal mtshan, 7. Bya btang Shākya dpal bzang, 8. 'Jam dbyangs chos kyi rgyal mtshan, 9. Thugs sras Blo gros rgyal mtshan, 10. \*mKhas \*grub Byams pa bzang po, 11. sPrul sku Shākya rgyal mtshan, 12. rGyal thang pa Zil gnon rdo rje, 13. \*Grub mchog Padma ngag dbang (*man gong bzhin*). —c) 2. (*sras mchog*) \*rNam rgyal mgon po, 3. Se ston \*Nyi \*bzang (*yab sras*), 4. Se ston \*mGon po bzang po, 5. Se ston Rin chen rgyal mtshan, 6. Se ston Kun dga' bzang po, 7. Se ston Byang chub rdo rje, 8. Se ston Ngag dbang rdo rje, 9. Chos rje dPal ldan bkra shis, 10. rGyal thang pa Zil \*gnon \*rdo \*rje, 11. \*Grub mchog Padma ngag dbang, 12. Rig 'dzin Mi 'gyur rdo rje, 13. Padma rdo rje, 14. Kun bzang 'gyur med lhun grub, 15. (*bdag*) sNgags ban 'Phrin las bdud 'joms. Vgl. dazu ChBThY, fol. 74b–75a. —Überlieferungslinie (KDJSY, *da*, fol. 3a1–2): *lung*: 1. gTer ston (*yan phyi ltar*), ... [1.] Rig 'dzin Kun 'dus tshe dbang 'bar (*gong ltar dang*), [2.] Nam mkha'i dge 'dun, [3.] rJe Kun bzang ye shes, [4.] (*bdag*). Vgl. dazu ChBThY, fol. 75a. Es folgen weitere Überlieferungslinien zu den von 'Phrin las bdud 'joms empfangenen Weißen (KDJSY, *da*, fol. 3a2–3). Vgl. hierzu auch die Übersicht zur Überlieferung des Zyklus *Kun tu bzang po'i dgongs pa zang thal*, die Arguillère auf der Grundlage von Einführungsschriften (*khrid yig*) zusammengefasst hat; Arguillère 2018: 247 (Appendix).

- 96 Überlieferungslinie (KDJSY, *nga*, fol. 2a6–b3) *rgyab rten lung*: i. Chos sku Kun tu bzang po, ii. Long (=Longs) sku rDo rje sems dpa', iii. sPrul sku dGa' rab rdo rje, iv. Rig 'dzin Shri (=Shri) singha, (die Linie ist unten auf der Seite fortgesetzt:) v. \*O \*rgyan \*Padma \*byung \*gnas, vi. \*Ye \*shes \*mtsho \*rgyal. 1. Rig 'dzin \*dNgos \*grub \*rgyal \*mtshan, 2. Rig 'dzin \*Nam \*mkha' \*grags \*pa, 3. \*sPang \*ston \*bDe legs rgyal \*mtshan, (weiter im Haupttext folgen die Personennamen:) 4. Se ston Rin chen rgyal mtshan, 5. mGon po zla ba, 6. 'Jam dbyangs chos kyi rgyal mtshan, 7. Thugs sras \*Blo \*gros rgyal mtshan, 8. Byams pa phun tshogs, 9. rNam grol ba Karma dar rgyas, 10. (*de sras*) rJe btsun dBang gi rgyal po, 11. (*de dbon*) Rig 'dzin Mi 'gyur rdo rje, 12. (*sras mchog*) Rig 'dzin Padma rdo rje, 13. (*gcung*) \*Kun \*bzang \*gyur med lhun grub, 14. (*gnyis kas bdag*) 'Phrin las bdud 'joms. Vgl. dazu ChBThY, fol. 72r. —Überlieferungslinie (KDJSY, *da*, fol. 2b1–3) *dbang*: 1. gTer ston (*yan phyi ltar*), 2. (*sras mchog*) rNam rgyal mgon po, 3. rDo rje mgon po, 4. Ngag dbang grags pa, 5. Sangs rgyas dpal bzang, 6. Nam mkha' rgyal mtshan, 7. Ngag dbang rgya mtsho, 8. Tshe ring dbang po, 9. Klu sgrub dbang po, 10. Rol pa'i rdo rje, 11. Thugs mchog 'od 'bar, 12. Kun 'dus tshe dbang, 13. rJe Kun bzang ye shes, 14. (*bdag*). Vgl. dazu ChBThY, fol. 72a–b.

- |     |   |      |
|-----|---|------|
| IV. | <i>rDo rje phur pa</i> <sup>97</sup>                    | (IV) |
| V.  | <i>Thugs rje chen po 'gro ba kun grol</i> <sup>98</sup> | (V)  |
| VI. | <i>Rig 'dzin gdung sgrub</i> <sup>99</sup>              | (VI) |

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

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

99 Überlieferungslinie (KDJSY, *ca*, fol. 5b5–6a3) *lung*: i. Kun tu bzang po, ii. Rigs lnga'i sangs rgyas, iii. Phyag na rdo rje, iv. sMug nag dbang gi mkha' 'gro, v.

VII. *Thugs sgrub gu ru drag po rtsal*<sup>100</sup>

(VII)

Tshangs pa'i rgyal po, vi. lHa dbang rgya byin, vii. \*Klu rgyal 'jog \*po, viii. \*Chos rgyal lung stan (=bstan) \*rDo \*rje rgyal po dza, ix. mKhas pa Shakya (=Shākya) pra bha, x. Rigs 'dzin Padma 'byung gnas, xi. Slob dpon Bi (=Bi) ma la mi tra, xii. Bal po Shri (=Shrī) la \*manydzu, xiii. mKha 'gro Ye shes mtsho rgyal, xiv. sNa nam rDo rje \*bdud 'joms. 1. gTer ston Rig 'dzin dNgos grub rgyal mtshan, 2. (*sras mchog*) rNam rgyal mgon po, 3. dPal ldan rgyal mtshan, 4. Grub chen rGyal mtshan 'bum, 5. Bya btang bSam 'grub rgyal mtshan, 6. Chos rje dPal ldan seng ge, 7. Grub chen \*dKon \*mchog \*skyabs, 8. \*Pañ \*chen \*Padma dbang rgyal, 9. Rig 'dzin Legs ldan rdo rje, 10. Chos rgyal dBang po'i sde, 11. Rig 'dzin Ngag gi dbang po, 12. Yol mo sPrul sku, 13. Zur \*Chos dbyings rang grol, 14. \*Rig 'dzin \*Padma 'phrin las, 15. Padma \*dbang rgyal, 16. (zwei nicht lesbare Silben) \*Padma \*gsang \*sngags bstan 'dzin, 17. (*bdag*). Vgl. dazu ChBThY, fol. 78a.

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

- VIII. *rTen 'brel chos bdun*<sup>101</sup> (VIII)  
 IX. *Byang chub spyod dbang*<sup>102</sup> (IX)

Für acht (I, II, IV, V, VI, VII, VIII, IX) der o.g. zentralen Zyklen der „nördlichen Schätze“ ist im *gsan yig* des 5. Yol mo sPrul sku die Überlieferungsgeschichte in Form von Lehrer-Schüler-Ketten angegeben, unterschieden in die Überlieferung der Weißen (*dbang*), der Wortübertragung (*lung*) und Einführung (*khrid*) in die Lehrinhalte. Oft sind gleich mehrere Überlieferungslinien für die Wortüberlieferung, aber auch für unterschiedliche Formen von Weißen notiert. Eine Auswahl von sechs dieser Überlieferungslinien (A bis F), in denen die Übertragung der beiden *rdzogs chen*-Zyklen (I, II) und der drei auf Padma-sambhva bezogenen Zyklen (V, VI, VII) vollzogen wurde, ist im Anhang 1 dargestellt und soll in der Folge skizziert werden.

Überlieferungslinie A (Anh. 1, Taf. 1) und Überlieferungslinie B (Anh. 1, Taf. 2): Die Überlieferung der „nördlichen Schätze“ setzte in der zweiten Hälfte des 14. Jh. ein. Bis zum frühen 16. Jh. erstreckte sich die Überlieferung auf ca. fünf bis sieben Schülergenerationen, die

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

102 Überlieferungslinie (KDJSY, *da*, fol. 4b3–6) *lung*: i. rNam par snang mdzad, ii. Thub dbang, iii. lHa dbang rgya byin, iv. Kun dga', v. Klu sgrub, vi. O rgyan chen Gu ru Shakya (=Shākya) seng ge, vii. rDo rje bdud 'joms. 1. \*rGod \*ldem can, 2. \*rNam rgyal mgon po, 3. rDo rje dpal ba, 4. rDo rje mgon po, 5. u. 6. \*mTshan \*Idan bla ma rnam gnyis, 7. Sangs rgyas dpal bzang, 8. Kun dga' don grub, 9. Kun dga' lhun grub, 10. Shakya (=Shākya) bzang po, 11. Pan (=Paṅ) chen Padma dbang rgyal, 12. Cung (=gCung) Legs \*Idan \*rje, 13. dBang po'i sde, 14. (*sras*) Ngag gi dbang po, 15. Chos dbang lhun grub, 16. Ngag dbang Shakya (=Shākya) rgyal mtshan, 17. Rig 'dzin 'Phrin las lhun grub, 18. (*sras*) gTer chen 'Gyur med rdo rje, 19. Rig 'dzin Padma 'phrin las, 20. O rgyan bsTan 'dzin nor bu, 21. rJe \*bKra bzang pa chen po, 22. (*bdag*). Vgl. dazu ChBThY, fol. 94b–95a. — Weitere Überlieferungslinie (KDJSY, *da*, fol. 4b6–5a1) *lung*: 14. Ngag gi dbang po (*yan gong ltar*), (*de nas*) 15. Yol mo ba chen po, 16. Zur Chos dbyings rang grol, 17. Padma 'phrin las (*man gong ltar*).

vor allem in La stod byang (bKra bzang, bDe grol) und La stod lho (Shrī ri) aktiv waren. Für die Überlieferungsgeschichte während dieser Zeit besitzen wir jenseits der vorliegenden Studienbücher nur die wenigen o.g. erzählenden Quellen sowie hier und da Überlieferungsketten, die verstreut in den Kolophonen von Einzeltexten festgehalten sind.<sup>103</sup> Die wirkungsmächtigste Person in dieser Zeit, neben Rig 'dzin rGod ldem, war dessen früh verstorbener Sohn rNam rgyal mgon po (ca. 1399–1424), über den nach den uns vorliegenden Studienbüchern nahezu die gesamte Überlieferung erfolgte. Viele der Überlieferungsträger dieser Zeit, die im Studienbuch des 5. Yol mo sPrul sku einen Personenkreis von insgesamt ca. 35 Individuen fassen, sind uns nahezu unbekannt, ausgenommen jener Personen, die wir aus den wenigen o.g. biographischen Quellen kennen.<sup>104</sup> Für diesen Zeitraum sind im Studienbuch des 'Phrin las bdud 'joms sieben fixe Übertragungslinien gelistet (z.T. liegen geringfügige Variationen in der Überlieferungskette bzw. Seitenüberlieferungszweige vor), über welche die Worttradition der *byang gter*-Ritualzyklen erfolgte.

Nach dem frühen 16. Jh. wurden die „nördlichen Schätze“ dann über den Raum La stod hinaus verbreitet. Besonders einflussreich war der 1. Yol mo sPrul sku Shākya bzang po (gest. ca. 1541), der nicht nur in La stod byang, sondern auch in Regionen an der tibetisch-nepalesischen Grenze (Gung thang, Mang yul, Glo bo) und später auch in Helambu (Nepal) als Lehrer und Ritualpriester der „nördlichen Schätze“ auftrat. Seine beiden wichtigsten Schüler, die diese religiöse Tradition anschließend in Zentral-Tibet (*dbus*) und Südtibet verbreiteten, waren die beiden o.g. Brüder aus mNga' ris, die mehrjährig bei ihm in sKyid rong (Gung thang), dKar ye (Mang yul) und in Glo bo studiert hatten.<sup>105</sup> mNga' ris Paṅ chen brachte die Lehrüberlieferung anschließend nach 'On (Zentral-Tibet) und sein jüngerer Bruder Rig 'dzin bDud 'joms rdo rje nach 'Bras mo gshongs (Südtibet).

103 Zur Überlieferungslinie, die Karma bdud 'joms für einen Einzeltext gibt, siehe z.B. *Yang tig gces sgron gyi khrid* (KDJSY, ca, fol. 11a3–6).

104 Die Überlieferungsträger der Überlieferungslinie A, von Rig 'dzin rGod ldem bis hin zu Sangs rgyal dpal bzang, sind uns aus der Biographiensammlung NThOPh von Sangs rgyas dpal bzang bekannt. Siehe *supra*, Anm. 43.

105 Zur Überlieferung der „nördlichen Schätze“ vom 1. Yol mo sPrul sku Shākya bzang po auf seine beiden Schüler aus mNga' ris siehe *supra*, Anm. 65.



Die weitere Überlieferung in Zentral-Tibet erfolgte über Chos rgyal bKra shis stobs rgyal (1550?–1603) und dessen Sohn Rig 'dzin Ngag gi dbang po (1580–1639), die als Wiederverkörperungen des Brüderpaars aus mNga' ris erkannt worden waren. Nach der Gründung des Klosters rDo rje brag durch Ngag gi dbang po schwang sich dieses im 17. Jh. zum neuen Zentrum der Verbreitung der „nördlichen Schätze“ empor und die religiösen Traditionen wurden damit in Zentral-Tibet institutionalisiert. In dieser Überlieferungskette stand auch der 3. Yol mo sPrul sku bsTan 'dzin nor bu (1598–1644), der die Überlieferung auf Zur chen Chos dbyings rang grol (1604–1669) fortsetzte, bis sie über den 5. Dalai Bla ma Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho den rDo rje brag Rig 'dzin Padma 'phrin las (1641–1717) erreichte, der als Wiedergeburt von Ngag gi dbang po gilt.

Aus diesem Überlieferungszweig, der im 17. und 18. Jh. im Wesentlichen im Kloster rDo rje brag zu lokalisieren ist, und sich dann über Vertreter der Khams lung-Familie nach Mang yul fortsetzte, erhielt der 5. Yol mo sPrul sku die Lehren der *thugs sgrub rnam gsum*-Ritualzyklen (V, VI, VII) und des Vajrakila-Zyklus (IV) im Jahr 1742 und 1747 von seinem Lehrer Khams lung Rig 'dzin Padma gsang sngags bstan 'dzin, vermutlich in dNgos grub phug (Mang yul).<sup>106</sup>

Die Überlieferung der „nördlichen Schätze“ in diesem Zweig, der über Zentral-Tibet erfolgte, ist umfangreich in biographischen Quellen dokumentiert.<sup>107</sup> Das neue Zentrum der Verbreitung der „nördlichen Schätze“ wurde das Kloster rDo rje brag. Die *byang gter*-Textsam-

106 Die Überlieferung der Textzyklen *Thugs sgrub gu ru drag po rtsal* (VII) und *Rig 'dzin gdung sgrub* (VI) in diesen Überlieferungszweigen sind im Anhang dargestellt, *infra*, Anh. 1 (Taf. 1 und Taf. 2).

107 Zu den Quellen, in denen die Überlieferung der „nördlichen Schätze“ in diesem Zweig dokumentiert ist, zählen u.a. biographische und autobiographische Berichte über das Leben des mNga' ris Paṅ chen Padma dbang rgyal (1487–1542) und seines Bruders Legs ldan rje (geb. 1500/12?), sowie Lebensberichte der Yol mo sPrul skus, das sind der 3. Yol mo sPrul sku bsTan 'dzin nor bu (1598–1644), der 4. Yol mo sPrul sku Zil gnon dbang rgyal rdo rje (1647–1716) und der 5. Yol mo sPrul sku Karma 'phrin las bdud 'joms (1726–1789). Weiters liegen uns Lebensbeschreibungen vor von Chos rgyal bKra shis stobs rgyal (1550?–1603) und der beiden Äbte des Klosters rDo rje brag, das sind Ngag gi dbang po (1580–1639) und Padma 'phrin las (1641–1717), sowie die Berichte zum Leben des Rig 'dzin Nyi ma seng ge (1687–1738) und Brag dkar rta so Chos kyi dbang phyug (1775–1837).

lungen, die Rig 'dzin rGod ldem zugeschrieben werden, wurden von den Überlieferungsträgern dieses Zweigs, ausgehend von den beiden Brüdern aus mNga' ris bis hin zu rDo rje brag sPrul sku Padma 'phrin las, nun auch durch eine Vielzahl ergänzender Schriften erweitert.<sup>108</sup>

Überlieferungslinie C (Anh. 1, Taf. 3): In eben dieser Überlieferungstradition über das Kloster rDo rje brag hatte Karma bdud 'joms bereits in seiner Kindheit die Übertragung der Weihen zum Zyklus *Thugs rje chen po 'gro ba kun grol* von seinem Vater Rig 'dzin Nyi ma seng ge (1687–1738) empfangen, der sie wiederum über seinen Hauptlehrer, den 4. Yol mo sPrul sku Zil gnon dbang rgyal rdo rje (1647–1716) und dessen Vater Rig 'dzin 'Chi med rgya mtsho erhalten hatte.<sup>109</sup>

Neben dieser Überlieferung, die ausgehend von La stod byang am Beginn des 16. Jh. nach Zentral-Tibet (*dbus*) erfolgt war, existierte die Lehrüberlieferung aber auch im westlichen Zentraltibet weiter. Im Studienbuch des 5. Yol mo sPrul sku finden sich mehrere Lehrer-Schüler-Ketten, aus denen ersichtlich ist, dass die Übertragung der „nördlichen Schätze“ nach Mang yul auch unmittelbar aus La stod byang erfolgte (Überlieferungslinie D und E), oder aber, dass die Überlieferung seit ihrem Beginn im 14. Jh. bis zum 18. Jh. in La stod byang weitergeführt worden war (Überlieferungslinie F).

Überlieferungslinie D (Anh. 1, Taf. 4): Die Überlieferung der *byang gter*-Textzyklen kursierte weiterhin auch in Kreisen von Religiosen, die in La stod byang ansässig waren. Ein Überlieferungszweig des *rdzogs chen*-Zyklus *Kun tu bzang po'i dgongs pa zang thal* verlief weitgehend über Geistliche aus der Se ston-Familie. Ausgehend von Se ston Nyi ma bzang po, der als direkter Schüler von Rig 'dzin rGod ldem, die erste und wirkungsmächtigste Hagiographie seines Lehrers verfasst hatte, sind die weiteren hier genannten Überlieferungsträger dieser Familie weitgehend unbekannt. Aus der Geschichtschronik von Gu ru bKra shis wissen wir aber, dass die Se-Familie das Kloster bKra bzang später als Aufenthaltsort übernommen hatte.<sup>110</sup> Von hier erreichte die

108 Der 5. Yol mo sPrul sku nimmt in seinem *gsan yig* auf diese Werke Bezug. Vgl. *supra*, Anm. 94.

109 Siehe die Linie in KDJSY, ca, fol. 5a. Vgl. *supra*, Anm. 98. Die Überlieferung des Textzyklus *Thugs rje chen po 'gro ba kun grol* (V) in diesem Überlieferungszweig ist im Anhang dargestellt, *infra*, Anh. 1 (Taf. 3).

110 Der Historiker Gu ru bKra shis berichtet, dass die Se-Familie in die Zweige Se mKhar ba und Se bKra bzang pa gespalten war. Nach dieser Quelle wurde

Überlieferung rGyal thang pa Zil gnon rdo rje, der seinen Sitz in Ling ba (*var. lect.* Ling nga) Brag dmar rdzong (Mang yul) hatte, ein früherer Rückzugsort des Yogins Mi la ras pa, und sich in der Nähe des Klosters Brag dkar rta so befand.<sup>111</sup> Der 5. Yol mo sPrul sku erhielt die *rdzogs chen*-Lehren in dieser Übertragungslinie von Geistlichen aus der rDo dmar-Familie, also seiner Familie mütterlicherseits, die sich am Beginn des 18. Jh. im tibetisch-nepalesischen Grenzraum Glang 'phrang (Nepal) niedergelassen hatte, die aber auch in Mang yul als Lehrer und Ritualpriester aktiv waren. Im Jahr 1751 überlieferte rDo dmar 'Gyur med lhun grub in gNas chen Zla gam gnam sgo (Glang 'phrang) dem 5. Yol mo sPrul sku die Wortüberlieferung dieses *rdzogs chen*-Zyklus.<sup>112</sup>

Überlieferungslinie E (Anh. 1, Taf. 5): Für den Zyklus *Kun tu bzang po'i dgongs pa zang thal* ist eine weitere Übertragungskette belegt: ausgehend von Rig 'dzin rGod ldem und dessen Sohn wurde der Ritualzyklus an Überlieferungsträger aus dem Raum La stod byang übermittelt, unter denen die meisten wiederum fast nur dem Namen nach bekannt sind. Weiter fortgesetzt wurde die Übertragung der „nördlichen Schätze“ über Nub dgon 'Jam dbyangs [=Byams pa] chos kyi rgyal mtshan (1511–1571) und Thugs sras Blo gros rygyal mtshan (16. Jh.), die im Kloster Nub dgon ihren Aufenthaltsort hatten, gelegen in La stod byang, nördlich von Gung thang.<sup>113</sup> Von hier aus erreichte die

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das Kloster bKra bzang von Rig 'dzin rGod ldem gegründet und war der Aufenthaltsort seines Sohnes rNam rgyal mgon po. Später wurde es der Sitz des Se ston-Familienzweigs, darunter waren bKra bzang pa Se ston Padma dbang chen, Tshe dbang rig 'dzin, Nam mkha' rig 'dzin, Thugs mchog 'od 'bar, Se ston Kun bzang 'dzam gling rdo rje usw.; siehe GKChB, S. 664. Vgl. Martin 1991: 334; Gung thang bsTan 'dzin nor bu 2018: 380–382.

111 Zu rGyal thang pa Zil gnon rdo rje und seiner Bedeutung im Zuge der Verbreitung der „nördlichen Schätze“ siehe Ehrhard 2008: 76, Anm. 28; 103–104, Anm. 4. Von Zil gnon rdo rje erhielt auch Gur phu ba Nor bu bde chen die Überlieferung einzelner Ritualzyklen aus dieser Schatztradition, siehe *ibid.*: 113, Anm. 14.

112 Die Überlieferung des Textzyklus *Kun tu bzang po'i dgongs pa zang thal* (I) in diesem Überlieferungszweig ist im Anhang dargestellt, *infra*, Anh. 1 (Taf. 4).

113 Zur Lokalisation des Klosters Nub dgon, siehe Ehrhard 1997: 257, Anm. 10; Ehrhard 2008: 26. Einen kurzen Abriss der Geschichte des Klosters Nub dgon bietet Gung thang bsTan 'dzin nor bu 2018: 396–397. Zu Nub dgon Byams pa chos kyi rgyal mtshan siehe Ehrhard 1997: 69, Anm. 19. Von Byams pa chos kyi rgyal mtshan hatte auch Chos rgyal bKra shis thob rgyal im Jahr 1556 in Nub

Lehrübertragung rGyal thang pa Zil gnon rdo rje, der weiter südlich in Ling ba Brag dmar rdzong (Mang yul) ansässig war. Der 5. Yol mo sPrul sku erhielt die Wortübertragung dieses *rdzogs chen*-Zyklus von seinen Verwandten aus der rDo dmar-Familie in Glang 'phrang.<sup>114</sup>

Überlieferungslinie F (Anh. 1, Taf. 6): Das Studienbuch des 5. Yol mo sPrul sku gibt ferner eine Überlieferungstradition, die demnach seit ihrem Beginn in La stod byang in diesem Raum fortbestand und wohl weitgehend in Ri bo bkra bzang selbst erfolgte, dem Ursprungsort dieser Schatztradition. Die Überlieferung lief zunächst von Rig 'dzin rGod ldem bis Sangs rgyas dpal bzang, und setzte sich über Thugs sras Nam mkha' rgyal mtshan (1454–1541) fort auf uns wiederum weniger bekannte Lehrer aus La stod byang, von denen einzelne der bKra bzang-Familie zugeordnet werden können. Der 5. Yol mo sPrul sku erhielt in dieser Überlieferungstradition Weihen, die Wortübertragung und Einführungen zu einem großen Teil der Hauptzyklen der „nördlichen Schätze“ (I, II, VI, VII, VIII, IX), darunter auch zum Zyklus *Ka dag rang byung rang shar*, als er in den Jahren 1760 und 1761 das Kloster gNas chen Ri rgyal bkra bzang aufsuchte, um dort von bKra bzang pa Kun bzang ye shes die Überlieferungstradition der Ritualzyklen der „nördlichen Schätze“ zu empfangen, so wie diese am Ursprungsort dieser religiösen Tradition seit nahezu 400 Jahren überliefert worden waren.<sup>115</sup>

Ein flüchtiger Vergleich der Überlieferungslinien, die im Studienbuch des 5. Yol mo sPrul sku festgehalten sind, mit jenen, die uns in der *gsan yig*-Literatur aus der mDo chen bKa' brgyud-Schule und vom 5. Dalai Bla ma vorliegen, macht deutlich, dass in Bezug auf die Überlieferungsträger der „nördlichen Schätze“ in La stod byang ein fester Personenkreis genannt wird mit weitgehenden Überschneidungen in den einzelnen Studienbüchern. Außerhalb des Herkunftslandes dieser religiösen Tradition wurde die Übertragung der einzelnen Ritualzyklen je nach Verbreitungsgebiet und Schule, in die sie einmündete, in diversen Überlieferungszweigen mit regionaler Prägung fortgesetzt.

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dgong die Überlieferung der „nördlichen Schätze“ erhalten. Siehe *ibid.*: 69, Anm. 19.

114 Die Überlieferung des Textzyklus *Kun tu bzang po'i dgongs pa zang thal* (I) in diesem Überlieferungszweig ist im Anhang dargestellt, *infra*, Anh. 1 (Taf. 5).

115 Die Überlieferung des Textzyklus *Ka dag rang byung rang shar* (II) in diesem Überlieferungszweig ist im Anhang dargestellt, *infra*, Anh. 1 (Taf. 6).

### Schlussbemerkung

Textausgaben der Lehr- und Ritualzyklen der „nördlichen Schätze“ sind in reicher Anzahl auf uns gekommen, vorwiegend als separate Textsammlungen der einzelnen Lehrzyklen (*chos skor*) und handschriftlich überliefert, später aber auch zu mehreren Sammlungen gebündelt und als Blockdruckausgaben herausgegeben. Eine Beurteilung der Überlieferungsgeschichte dieser Quellentexte erfordert eine gründliche Untersuchung der Handschriften und Drucke. Die einzelnen Ausgaben unterscheiden sich beträchtlich in Umfang und Inhalt. In die Zyklen aufgenommen wurden auch Inhaltsangaben (*them/thems byang, tho byang*), die den Umfang der Textsammlungen zu einem frühen Zeitpunkt dokumentieren. Zur Erforschung der Überlieferungsgeschichte dieser Textsammlungen liegen uns eine Reihe weiterer Quellen vor, dazu zählen insbesondere biographische Quellen, Epitomen (*spyi chings*) und Studienbücher (*gsan yig*). In Anbetracht des Beginns der mündlichen Überlieferung der „nördlichen Schätze“ im 14. Jahrhundert sind die auf uns gekommenen Studienbücher aus dem 17. und 18. Jh. relativ späte Zeugnisse zur Überlieferungsgeschichte. Das an dieser Stelle untersuchte Studienbuch des 5. Yol mo sPrul sku ist unter den uns aus der Literatur bekannten Exemplaren aus der rNying ma-Schule die früheste überlieferte Quelle ihrer Art und detaillierteste Darstellung, die über die Inhalte und Überlieferungsgeschichte der „nördlichen Schätze“ des Rig 'dzin rGod ldem berichtet. Karma 'phrin las bdud 'joms hielt in seinem Studienbuch im Zuge der Wortüberlieferung, die er zu den einzelnen Ritualzyklen erhalten hatte, sorgfältig die Einzeltitel fest, und vermittelt uns damit den akkuraten Umfang und die Inhalte der Textsammlungen, so wie diese im 18. Jh. in Mang yul (Westtibet) und Glang 'phrang (Nordnepal) im Umlauf waren. 'Phrin las bdud 'joms erhielt die Lehr- und Ritualzyklen an seinen Ausbildungsstätten in Mang yul, Glang 'phrang, Helambu, und nach seiner Reise zum Ursprungsort dieser Schatztradition, in bKra bzang (La stod byang) aus verschiedenen Überlieferungstraditionen. Die Übertragungsketten in seinem Studienbuch zeugen von einer komplexen Überlieferungsgeschichte der Ritualzyklen, die sich seit dem 14. Jahrhundert ausgehend von La stod byang nach Zentral-Tibet (*dbus*) und auch in die tibetisch-nepalesischen Grenzregionen Mang yul, Gung thang, Glang 'phrang und Helambu erstreckte.

Eine Auswertung weiterer Studienbücher unter dieser Fragestellung mag die Erkenntnisse, die aus dieser Quelle gewonnen werden konnten, präzisieren und erweitern. Dies ist eine Aufgabe für die zukünftige Forschung, und insbesondere geknüpft an die Hoffnung, dass einzelne der im vorliegenden Aufsatz als „nicht überliefert“ gelistete, frühe Exemplare der Studienbücher in absehbarer Zeit für eine Untersuchung zugänglich werden und Einblicke in frühe Stadien der Überlieferungsgeschichte des späten 15. oder frühen 16. Jh. gewähren, wie sie uns bereits im *gsan yig* des 5. Dalai Bla ma im Zuge seiner Diskussion der Inhalte der Studienbücher zu den „nördlichen Schätzen“ fragmentarisch zur Kenntnis gebracht wurden.

## Bibliographie

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 NGMPP    Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project (<https://catalogue.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de>)

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- BTThG *Byan' gter thugs sgrub gyi skor: A collection of texts from the revelations of Rig-'dzin Rgod-kyi-ldem-'phru-can concerned with the gsañ sgrub practice*. Darjeeling: Lama Dawa and Chopal Lama, 1984. (BDRC, W27870).
- ChBThY Brag dkar rta so Chos kyī dbang phyug (1775–1837). *Zab rgyas chos tshul rgya mtsho las / rang skal du ji ltar thob pa'i yi ge rnam grol bdud rtsi'i bum bzang*. In *Brag dkar chos kyī dbang phyug gi gsung 'bum*. Bd. ga. (NGMPP, L377/3).
- ChGNTh sNgags 'chang Chos rgyal bsod nams (ca. 15.–16. Jh.). *Rig 'dzin Chos rgyal bsod nams kyī rnam thar*. In BTNTh. S. 235–250.
- DChThY *mDo chen bka' brgyud kyī thob yig skor*. Dalhousie: Damchoe Sangpo, 1980. (BDRC, W23754).
- DJBGB Yon do mChog sprul Kun bzang 'gro 'dul rdo rje (ca. 19.–20. Jh.). *gSang chen snga 'gyur rnying ma pa'i gdan sa chen po dpal thub bstan rdo rje brag e waṃ lcog sgar chos 'khor rnam rgyal gling dgon gyi byung ba mdo tsam brjod pa ngo mtshar baidūrya'i phreng ba*. [Nachdruck, o.O., 2004]. (BDRC, WooKH03797).
- DLSY Dalai Bla ma o5 Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho (1617–1682). *Record of teachings received: The gSan-yig of the Fifth Dalai Lama Nag-dbañ-blo-bzañ-rgya-mtsho*. 4 vols. Delhi: Nechung & Lhakhar, 1970–71. (BDRC, W30183).
- GDNTh Se ston Nyi ma bzang po (ca. 14.–15. Jh.). *sPrul sku chen po'i rnam thar gsal byed nyi ma'i 'od zer*. In BTNTh. S. 49–147.
- GKChB sTag sgang mKhas mchog Ngag dbang blo gros alias Gu ru bKra shis (geb. 18. Jh.). *bsTan pa'i snying po gsang chen snga*

- 'gyur nges don zab mo'i chos kyi byung ba gsal bar byed pa'i legs bshad mkhas pa dga' byed ngo mtshar gtam gyi rol mtsho (Gu bkra'i chos 'byung). Pe cin: Krung go'i bod kyi shes rig dpe skrun khang, 1990. (BDRC, W20916).
- GSThY Gur phu ba rGyal sras seng ge (gest. 1752). *bKa' drin mnyam med chos kyi rje / gter bdag gling pa'i rgyal ba'i sras / 'gyur med yid bzhin las (=legs) grub zhabs / zab mo'i chos kyi thob yig*. In DChThY. S. 265–307. *bKa' drin mtshungs med bla ma rje / bstan pa'i nor bu'i zhabs drung du / gsang sngags bka' gter dbyer med kyis / rgyal sras seng ge'i thob yig*. Ibid. S. 333–356. *rDor brag rigs (=rig) 'dzin chen po'i thugs sras / nub dgon pa sngags 'chang rigs (=rig) 'dzin padma dbang gi rgyal po nas / bdag rgyal sras seng ges dbang lung thob pa'i yig chung zur bkod*. Ibid. S. 357–377.
- KDBNTh rDo rje brag Rig 'dzin Padma 'phrin las (1641–1717). *bKa' ma mdo dbang gi bla ma brgyud pa'i rnam thar*. Leh: S.W. Tashigangpa, 1972. (BDRC, W21523).
- KDJNTh Yol mo sPrul sku oṣ Karma 'phrin las bdud 'joms (1726–1789) und Tshe dbang 'chi med mgon po (1755–1807). *Rig 'dzin chen po karma bdud 'joms zhabs kyi rnam pa thar pa gsal bar byed pa'i nyin byed ngo mtshar snang ba'i gter mdzod*. Delhi: Dawa Lama, 1982. (BDRC, W22982).
- KDJSY Yol mo sPrul sku oṣ Karma 'phrin las bdud 'joms (1726–1789). *Rig 'dzin bla ma karma bdud 'joms zhabs kyi gsan yig gi rim pa rnams phyogs gcig tu sgrigs pa zab rgyas chos kyi gan mdzod*. (NGMPP, L382/2).
- KZNTh ——. *Kun bzang 'gyur med lhun grub 'od gsal bstan pa'i nyi ma'i rnam thar gsol 'debs*. (NGMPP, L382/21).
- LDNTh mNga' ris Rig 'dzin Legs ldan bdud 'joms rdo rje (geb. 1500/12?). *Rig 'dzin mnga' ris pa chen po legs ldan bdud 'joms rdo rje'i rnam thar chen mo*. In BTChK. Bd. 59, S. 217–304.
- NDThY Gur phu ba Nor bu bde chen (geb. 1617). *rGyal dbang padma kāra yi / rnam 'phrul mchog gi sprul pa'i sku / bstan 'dzin nor bu'i zhabs drung du / bka' gter zab chos thob yig*. In DChThY. S. 75–95. o.T. Ibid. S. 97–190. *Byin rlabs thugs rje'i sprin spung can / ngag dbang zil gnon rdo rje las / zab rgyas*



- smin grol dam chos kyi / thob yig utpala 'phreng tshogs. Ibid.*  
S. 461–487.
- NKhNTh Nam mkha' bsod nams dpal (15.–16. Jh.). *Thugs sras nam mkha' rgyal mtshan gyi rnam thar*. In BTNTh. S. 207–234.
- NThOPh Sangs rgyas dpal bzang (ca. 15. Jh.). *Bla ma rnam kyi rnam thar 'od kyi 'phreng ba*. In BTNTh. S. 173–206.
- NyBGP Rig 'dzin rGod kyi ldem 'phru can (1337–1408/09). *sNying byang rgyas pa gnad gyi thim bu*. In BTNTh. S. 299–319.
- PBGNTTh mNga' ris Pañ chen Padma dbang rgyal (1487–1542). *Yongs rdzogs bstan pa'i mnga' bdag nges pa don gyi pañ chen mnga' ris pa padma dbang rgyal rdo rje grags pa rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po'i rrtogs pa brjod pa rin chen phreng ba*. In gSung thor bu. o.O., o.J. (BDRC, W3CN18537).
- PGThY Gur phu ba Padma rgya mtsho (ca. 18. Jh.). *Rig 'dzin chen po padma dbang rgyal gyi zhabs drung du byang gter sgrub bskor (=skor) rnam (=rnam) gsum gyi thob yig*. In DChThY. S. 419–448 (unvollständig).
- PKNL Rig 'dzin rGod kyi ldem 'phru can (1337–1408/09). *sPrul sku rig 'dzin chen po'i mnal lam le'u brgyad pa*. In BTNTh. S. 159–172.
- RDzGTh Rig 'dzin rGod kyi ldem 'phru can (1337–1408/09). *Rig 'dzin rtsa ba'i sgrub thabs*. In *Rig 'dzin gduñ sgrub kyi chos skor*. Gangtok: Bari Longsal Lama, 1981, S. 111–128. (BDRC, W23449).
- SSNTh Yol mo sPrul sku o5 Karma 'phrin las bdud 'joms (1726–1789). *Gu ru sūrya seng ge'i rnam thar mdor bsdus nges shes 'dren pa'i shing rta*. (NGMPP, E2691/6).
- TGSY gTer bdag gling pa 'Gyur med rdo rje (1646–1714). *gTer bdag gling pa'i gsan yig*. In *bKa' brgyad drag po rang byung rang shar*. Bd. 1, S. 189–193. (BDRC, W1KG11884).
- TLThY sTag lung rTse sprul Rin po che [Tshe bshad sgrub nyin byed phrin las bzang po]. (geb. ca. 1926). *Byang gter chos skor khag gi thob yig*. In BTChK. Bd. 63, S. 137–217.
- YBSY gNas nang Ye shes bdud 'dul (20. Jh.). *Byang gter ma bu'i chos skor gyi gsan yig*. In BTChK. Bd. 63, S. 219–326.

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## Anhang 1 Die Überlieferung der „nördlichen Schätze“ nach den Aufzeichnungen im Studienbuch des Karma 'phrin las bdud 'joms

### ÜBERLIEFERUNGSLINIE A

*Thugs sgrub gu ru drag po rtsal* (VII)

#### La stod byang

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

#### Gung thang, Mang yul, Glo bo

9. [1. Yol mo sPrul sku] sNgags 'chang Shākya bzang po (gest. ca. 1541)

#### IHo kha (Zentral-Tibet), 'Bras mo gshongs (Südtibet)

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

#### Mang yul

17. [Khams lung] Rig 'dzin Padma dbang rgyal (1657–1731)
18. (*gnyis kas*) [Khams lung] gNyags ston Rig 'dzin Padma gsang sngags bstan 'dzin
19. (*bdag*) [5. Yol mo ba] Rig 'dzin 'Phrin las bdud 'joms (1726–1789)

Taf. 1 Die Wortübertragung des Ritualzyklus *Thugs grubs drag po rtsal* (VII) empfang Karma 'phrin las bdud 'joms im Jahr 1742, in Mang yul (? dNgos grub phug) von seinen Lehrer Padma gsang sngags bstan 'dzin aus der Khams lung-Familie (KDJSY, ca, fol. 9a–b; KDJNTh, fol. 17a–b). Diese Überlieferungslinie deckt sich nahezu mit jener, in der die Überlieferung des Vajrakīla-Zyklus in demselben Jahr über diesen Khams lung-Lehrer erfolgte. Die Übertragung lief hier lediglich unmittelbar von (2) rNam rgyal mgon po auf (3) rDo rje mgon po und von diesem auf (4) Ngag dbang grags pa (KDJSY, ca, fol. 13a–b; KDJNTh, fol. 17a–b).

**ÜBERLIEFERUNGSLINIE B***Rig 'dzin gdung sgrub* (VI)**La stod byang**

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

**IHo kha (Zentral-Tibet), 'Bras mo gshongs (Südtibet)**

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

**Mang yul**

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

Taf. 2 Weihen, die Wortübertragung und umfangreiche Lehrunterweisungen zum Zyklus *Rig 'dzin gdung sgrub* (VI) wurden 'Phrin las bdud 'joms im Jahr 1747, in Mang yul (? dNgos grub phug) von seinem Lehrer Khams lung Padma gsang sngags bstan 'dzin übertragen (KDJSY, ca, fol. 6a; KDJNTh, fol. 23a–b).

### ÜBERLIEFERUNGSLINIE C

*Thugs rje chen po 'gro ba kun grol* (V)

#### La stod byang

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

#### Gung thang, Mang yul, Glo bo

7. [1. Yol mo sPrul sku] Shākya bzang po (gest. ca. 1541)

#### IHo kha (Zentral-Tibet), 'Bras mo gshongs (Südtibet)

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

#### Mang yul, Helambu

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

Taf. 3 Die Übertragung des Ritualzyklus *Thugs rje chen po 'gro ba kun grol* (V) erhielt der 5. Yol mo sPrul sku bereits in früher Kindheit von seinem Vater Rig 'dzin Nyi ma seng ge (KDJSY, ca, fol. 5a).

**ÜBERLIEFERUNGSLINIE D**

*Kun tu bzang po'i dgongs pa zang thal (I)*

**La stod byang**

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

**Mang yul, Glang 'phrang**

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

Taf. 4 Die Wortübertragung des *rdzogs chen*-Zyklus *Kun tu bzang po'i dgongs pa zang thal (I)* wurde Karma 'phrin las bdud 'joms im Jahr 1751 übertragen, in gNas chen Zla gam gnam sgo (Glang 'phrang). Als Lehrer fungierte Kun bzang 'gyur med lhun grub aus der rDo dmar-Familie (KDJSY, *nga*, fol. 4b).



**ÜBERLIEFERUNGSLINIE E**

*Kun tu bzang po'i dgongs pa zang thal* (I)

**La stod byang**

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

**Mang yul, Glang 'phrang**

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

Taf. 5 Die Wortübertragung des Zyklus *Kun tu bzang po'i dgongs pa zang thal* (I) empfang Karma 'phrin las bdud 'joms im Jahr 1751, in gNas chen Zla gam gnam sgo (Glang 'phrang) von seinem Onkel Kun bzang 'gyur med lhun grub (KDJSY, *nga*, fol. 4a–b).

**ÜBERLIEFERUNGSLINIE F***Ka dag rang byung rang shar* (II)**La stod byang**

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

Taf. 6 Die Überlieferung des *rdzogs chen*-Zyklus *Ka dag rang byung rang shar* (II) erhielt der 5. Yol mo sPrul sku in den Jahren 1760/61, in gNas chen Ri rgyal bkra bzang (La stod byang) von bKra bzang pa Rig 'dzin Kun bzang ye shes (KDJSY, *da*, fol. 2b).

Anhang 2 Rig 'dzin bla ma karma bdud 'joms zhabs kyi gsan yig: Das Studienbuch des 5. Yol mo sPrul sku Karma 'phrin las bdud 'joms

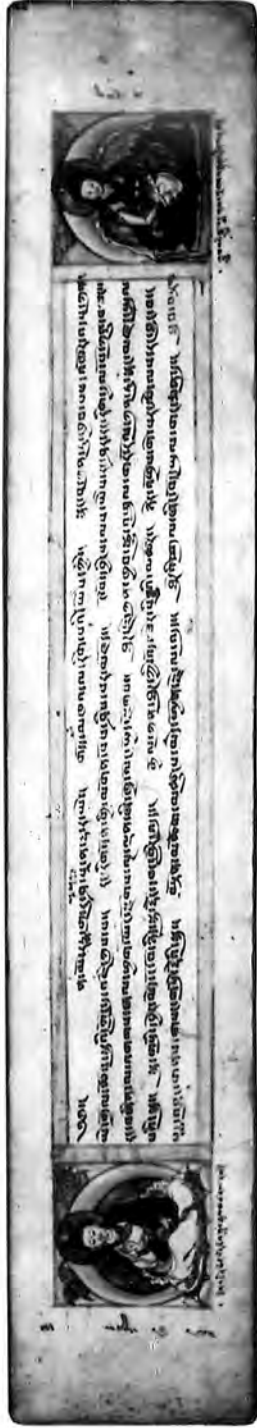


Abb.1 Textseite aus dem Studienbuch des Karma 'phrin las bdud 'joms zu seinen Studien bei Rig 'dzin Padma gsang sngags bstan 'dzin. Miniaturen zeigen gTer ston Rig 'dzin rGod ldem (links) und Padma gsang sngags bstan 'dzin (rechts). KDJSY, ca, fol. 1a. Privatbibliothek Slob dpon 'Gyur med, Samagaun, Gorkha, Nepal. NGMPP, L382/2. Manuskript, ca. 18./19. Jh. Bildunterschriften, links: rig 'dzin chen po dngos grub rgyal mtshan la na mo /, rechts: sprul pa 'i sku padma gsang sngags bstan 'dzin la na mo /.

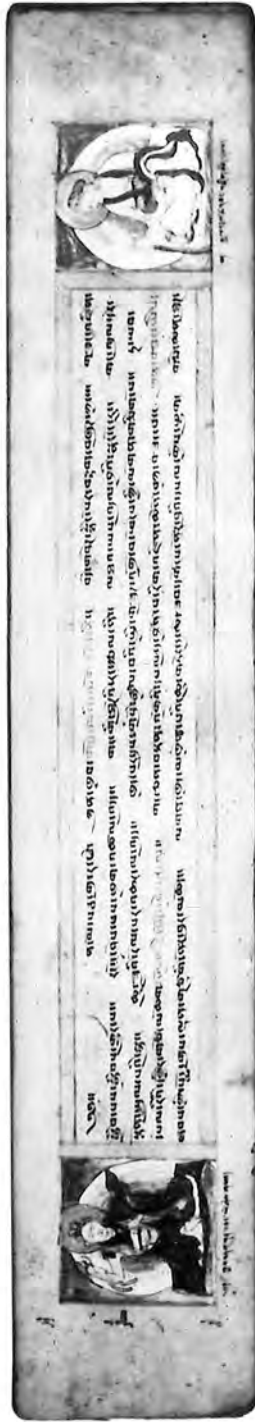


Abb. 2 Textseite aus dem Studienbuch des Karma 'phrin las bdud 'joms zu seinen Studien bei bKra bzang pa Rig 'dzin Kun bzang ye shes und dessen Söhnen Padma dga' ba und Tshe dbang 'jigs med dpal bzang po. Miniaturen zeigen Rig 'dzin Kun bzang ye shes (links) und Tshe dbang 'jigs med dpal (rechts). KDJSY, da, fol. 1a. Privatbibliothek Slob dpon 'Gyur med, Samagaun, Gorkha, Nepal. NGMPP, L382/2. Manuskript, ca. 18./19. Jh. Bildunterschriften, links: *khyab bdag kun bzang ye shes zhabs /*, rechts: (*zwei nicht lesbare Silben*) *tshé dbang 'jig (= 'jigs) med dpal /*.

## Divination and Buddhism: An Instance of Religious Contact\*

Jan-Ulrich Sobisch

(CERES, Center for Religious Studies, Ruhr University Bochum)

Divination is a phenomenon that can be observed worldwide, and it goes back very far in the history of humanity. Scholars have investigated divination based on material culture (such as the dice used for divination<sup>1</sup>) or oral<sup>2</sup> and textual traditions of divination. In this paper, the focus will be on some aspects of divination in the context of religious contact. Of interest are the mutual influences that existing practices of divination and newly developing so-called “high religions”<sup>3</sup> have on each other, how religions that reject divination and those that practice it react to one another, or what happens when a high religion penetrates another region where divination practices already exist.

To discuss divination and religious contact, three pairs of concepts are fundamental. These are (1) the Mahāyānistic doctrine of absolute and relative truth, (2) the idea of deities that from the Buddhist perspective belong to transmundane and mundane levels of reality, and, finally, (3) the Buddhist concept of *karma* and pre-Buddhist concepts of fortune. In brief, my argument will be that through contact with already established religions in India and Tibet, Buddhism came to incorporate the pre-Buddhist terminology and concepts of “fortune.” Then, bypassing its own *karma* ideology, Buddhism gave fortune and the ideas that

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1 For an overview, see Dotson 2019.

2 For an overview of oral traditions in Tibetan rosary (Skt. *mālā*) divination, see Nielsen 2019: 186–232.

3 To define “high religion” is as difficult as providing a definition for “folk religion” (see next note). What I have in mind here are textual and canonized religions, although both concepts are problematic with regard to Buddhism. In any case, however, Buddhism is certainly textual and canonized to a much higher degree than the various local cults in India and “old Bön” in Tibet.

surround it an “upwards dynamic” to some extent. One can perceive a similar dynamic in Buddhist philosophy and practice as proceeding from relative to absolute truth and from mundane to transmundane deities. The basis for such an analysis is the comparison of Indian and Tibetan Buddhism on the one hand, and Indian Vedic religion, pre-Buddhist Tibetan religion, and what is often called “folk religions,”<sup>4</sup> on the other. The quality that both of these sides have in common in our comparison (*tertium comparationis*) is divination practices and the ideas and terminology of *karma* and/or fortune.

### 1 Fortune and misfortune

It is well-known that Buddhists, including fully ordained monks, practiced divination right from the beginning of the inception of Buddhism.<sup>5</sup> At first, this was perhaps because the monks had already practiced divination before they became Buddhists, and later because there was an ongoing public demand for prognostic guidance from religious experts. The terminology and conceptuality of fortune and misfortune, however, is foreign to the doctrinal positions of Buddhism. In the theistic and folk religions that existed in India and Tibet before the spread of Buddhism, the most common religious belief was that one’s fortune would be destined by birth, for instance, through particular macrocosmic constellations at birth,<sup>6</sup> or by the will of the gods. During one’s lifetime, however, one could improve one’s lot by striving towards conducive and avoiding adverse conditions.<sup>7</sup>

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4 I use the term “folk religion” here in the sense of folk-cultural dimensions of religion, not in the sense of primitivism. Concerning India, I am thinking of local cults that existed before and parallel to Buddhism. Concerning Tibet, I am thinking of the pre-Buddhist religious cults that are often subsumed under “old Bön.” A strict definition of “folk religion” is certainly very difficult, if not impossible, because it often appears in a *mélange* with high religion. I am mainly concerned with concrete phenomena of folk culture, not with “folk interpretation/expression of religion.”

5 Fiordalis 2014.

6 Gansten 2010.

7 In contrast to that, the *karma* of a person can in Buddhism not be changed or removed (even by the Buddha). However, the ripening of *karma* can be avoided by becoming an arhat first (as, for example, the murderer and robber Aṅgulimāla

In general, all kinds of malevolent spirits and demons may cause misfortune and obstruct fortune. On the other hand, one could make gods or other powerful beings to improve one's fortune and ward off all kinds of misfortune. In ancient India, for example, and even still today, we can observe a multitude of ritual acts for pacification (Skt. *śānti*) and worship and offering (Skt. *pūja*).<sup>8</sup> This is also an essential aspect of divination in Tibet: To recognize obstructing and supporting forces respectively and to identify ritual remedies and supports to ward off obstruction and summon support.<sup>9</sup>

## 2 *Karma, appropriation, and mobility*

In Buddhist doctrine, in theory at least, *karma* should have entirely taken the place of fortune and misfortune. Instead of macrocosmic and other outer influences, or the will of gods, it is a central Buddhist concept that one's intended actions determine one's conditions in this and all future lives.<sup>10</sup> For that reason, neither the Buddha nor any worldly deity can improve the lot of a person other than by teaching the truth of reality (Skt. *dharma*), which then must be applied by that person to gain spiritual progress. However, that is only the doctrinal position.<sup>11</sup> In truth, we can observe that the terminology and concepts of fortune persist.

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had done). *Karma* can also be superimposed or even eliminated through specific practices such as the "Four Immeasurables," but the mechanism is never clearly explained. Most likely, these and similar processes in Mahāyāna Buddhism are a "thinning out" of nonvirtue by masses of virtue. On these problems, see my paper "*Karma* in Buddhism and the Problems of Cross-Cultural and Cross-Religious Comparison of 'Guilt' and 'Forgiveness'" (forthcoming). These ideas of the possibility of "changing" *karma* probably arose not due to influences from folk religions. But the possibility of changing fate in folk religion and *karma* in Buddhism are surely brought forth by similar human desires and needs.

8 Gansten 2010: 283, 290.

9 Sobisch 2019: 35–43, 239–254.

10 Aṅguttara Nikāya III 415; *Abhidharmakośa* IV.1b; *Abhidharmasamuccaya*, cf. Bayer 2010: 128.

11 Speaking about "doctrinal positions" in Buddhism, I am not trying to establish an "Ur-Buddhism." I only compare developments in Buddhism with positions that can be found in the discourses of the Buddha (*sutta*).

This continued existence of former terminology and thinking is not a surprise. From early on, Buddhism appropriated<sup>12</sup> elements belonging to other religions or cults. In a significant contribution in 2008, David Seyfort Ruegg discussed various forms of the symbiosis of Buddhism with Brahmanism/Hinduism in South Asia and also of Buddhism with the “local cults” in Tibet and the Himalayan region. His idea of horizontal mobility of ideas, customs, and deities between religions occurring on the level of, for example, a pan-Indian substratum is applicable in our context, too. Apart from such an exchange between religions on a, from an emic Buddhist perspective, “mundane” or “worldly” level (Skt. *laukika*), he also described an upwards mobility within Buddhism. As conceived by the tradition, it occurs when, for instance, an adapted deity undergoes a career on the Buddhist bodhisattva path and reaches a transmudane (Skt. *lokottara*) level and, thereby, the absolute level of truth and reality (Skt. *paramārtha*).<sup>13</sup>

Similarly, we can observe a Buddhist appropriation of pre-existing divination techniques, terminology, and concepts. These were adapted to the range of the activities even of transmudane deities, who, through this appropriation, gain one more means to act on a mundane level for the benefit of beings. Buddhists have thus made divination a technique of their own, and they have brought the terminology and concepts of divination into their fold. As a contemporary Tibetan Buddhist scholar explained, talking about the Tibetan Buddhist deity Achi Chökyi Dölma (Tib. *A phyi chos kyi sgröl ma*):<sup>14</sup>

Generally, Buddha activity is to bring sentient beings to Buddhahood. Persons with Śrāvaka potential are brought to the level of the Śrāvakas, those with Pratyekabuddha potential to the level of the Pratyekabuddhas, and those of the lower realms to the higher realms. The suffering of those who have great suffering is pacified, and the illnesses of the ill is cured. In brief, the activities of awakening accomplish

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12 I use “appropriation” in a neutral sense for acts of taking on something one comes upon and using it for one’s own purpose, be it a material thing or an idea. “Adaptation” is then a further step in which this thing or idea is modified and adjusted according to one’s own ideas. These processes are mostly not entirely conscious acts.

13 Two examples are provided below.

14 Khenchen Nyima Gyaltshen, in Sobisch 2019: 52 f.



temporary and ultimate benefit and happiness for sentient beings. All these activities [with temporary and ultimate results] are called Buddha activities. Accordingly, the performance of the Achi divination can accomplish many temporary purposes of others ... Temporarily, in the mundane world, we need things like long life, freedom from illnesses, and material enjoyments. The divination helps to create conditions conducive to those needs. In this way, the divination manual is a means to make the supramundane path arise authentically in the mind-streams [of people].

A transmundane divination deity employs (or is employed together with) mundane activities such as divination, instilling faith in the devotee, leading him or her onto the path, and ultimately to awakening. This is a case of religious contact, which takes place in the space where (from an emic Buddhist point of view) transmundane Buddhist and mundane levels of all neighboring religions meet, and where Buddhism appropriates and adapts ideas and methods and, generally, employs them for the benefit of the people. From this perspective, it is not a surprise that the Buddha did not forbid the practice of divination, even though it did not conform to Buddhist doctrine. In fact, divination remained a widespread and accepted practice at all times. What the Buddha did prohibit merely was that the ordained ones would earn a livelihood through such activities—they were supposed to live on alms alone. David Fiordalis (2014: 94) has shown this based on the *Samaññaphala Sutta* (*Dīgha Nikāya* i 47), which is criticizing Brahmins for their practice of palmistry, reading omens, interpreting dreams, body shapes and marks, casting horoscopes, and so forth. The practices themselves, however, are not criticized. It is, in the typically pragmatic fashion of the Buddha, only deemed problematic to earn a livelihood through them. Buddhist monks and nuns are, at least at the time of the Buddha, only allowed to accept food on their alms rounds,<sup>15</sup> but never as an exchange for services. In this way, the Buddhists differentiate themselves from the Brahmins, who earn impure, “unholy” livelihoods. By avoiding that, Buddhist monks see themselves as living the pure life of ascetics.<sup>16</sup> Here,

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15 The thirty-ninth of the ninety *pāyantika dharmas* says: “Whatever monk should put food in his mouth which was not given, except for water or a tooth-pick, that is a *payantika*.” See Prebish 1975: 81.

16 Fiordalis 2014: 86.

too, we see a religious contact, in this case between Buddhists and non-Buddhist Brahmins, where Buddhists are, in their view and as a result of a comparison, advantageously different from the Brahmins.

In Tibet, too, Buddhist lamas perform divinations. They are mostly aware that their forms of practice are not unique, but often inherited from other previously existing traditions. As one lama told me:<sup>17</sup>

[W]e Buddhists also need divination. By attaching our own deities and protectors to the [already existing] practice [of divination], a Tibetan Buddhist tradition of performing divinations came about. There was probably also a mutual exchange [of the elements of divination]. The most important aspects [of the divination manuals] in both [our and other traditions] are probably very similar. However, in the performance of their [respective] divinations, there are differences concerning the deity practice.

Stating that “we Buddhists also need divination” he wanted to express that Buddhist lamas generally have to serve the needs of the people, and people want divinations. Furthermore, when he says that “by attaching our own deities and protectors to the practice, a Tibetan Buddhist tradition of performing divinations came about,” he acknowledges that some Tibetan Buddhist divination manuals were appropriations from other religions. Buddhists adapted them merely by attaching to them, for the sake of blessing the procedure, a ritual evocation of a Buddhist deity (Skt. *sādhana*) at the beginning. Ritual remedies against misfortune and ritual supports for furthering fortune, too, were often added for the same purpose. The use of already existing divination techniques is an appropriation; it is a “Buddhacization” mostly by way of framing these techniques within previously established Buddhist rituals.<sup>18</sup>

In his above-mentioned book, Seyfort Ruegg has provided numerous examples of such an appropriation and “Buddhacization.” It occurs,

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17 Khenchen Nyima Gyaltshen in Sobisch 2019: 57.

18 It is, however, not the case, that Tibetan Buddhism only built its procedures on pre-Buddhist Tibetan divination rituals and handbooks. The situation is much more complex than that. In truth, the Tibetan Buddhist tradition of divination owes much to Chinese, Central Asian, and Indian predecessors. The role of Indian Buddhist divination still needs to be researched; cf. a ritual handbook in the Tenjur ascribed to Śāntideva (Sobisch 2019: 40–44) and several such works attributed to Atiśa (Nielsen 2019: 186 ff.).

for instance, when an element of Brahmanism is allowed to be continued by converts: According to the *Sigālovāda Sutta*, lay followers who have converted to Buddhism are told that they should, among other things, “make donations on behalf of dead ancestors,” i.e., that they should simply continue their former non-Buddhist custom of ancestor worship.<sup>19</sup> Another example is the Buddhist treatment of *brāhmaṇa*. In India, one is a Brahmin by birth. The purity concept of *brāhmaṇa* is appropriated in Buddhism and also adapted: it is now applied to a person’s (including a woman’s) moral acts, not his or her birth or gender. Here, too, Buddhists differentiate themselves favorably in their own eyes from the Brahmins, who adhered to the Indian caste system.<sup>20</sup> Still another example provided by Seyfort Ruegg is found in a passage of the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpatantra* (2.31):<sup>21</sup>

Those numerous rituals described in the [“Hindu”] *Vaiṣṇava Tantra* are salvific devices for beings to be trained once pronounced by [the Buddhist deity] Mañjuḥṣa.

According to the theory of Buddhist *kriyātantra*, there are six clans (Skt. *kula*), one of which is the *laukikakula* (mundane clan). The deities of this clan, such as Viṣṇu, are of this world. When they are ritually transformed by initiation, they offer their respective mantras to the Buddha, or here to the bodhisattva Mañjuḥṣa. From the moment the Buddhist deity has accepted the mantras and pronounced them onwards, these mantras are Buddhacized (and thereby now Buddhist). Here, “foreign” material is taken into one’s own fold. The part of the narrative where the mantras are accepted is the appropriation, and the part where they are incorporated into Buddhism by pronouncing them is the adaptation. In brief, we can also speak here of a transformation

19 Seyfort Ruegg 2008: 11. *Sigālovāda Sutta* (*Dīgha Nikāya* iii 180): “In five ways should a mother and father ... be respected by a child: ‘I will support them who supported me; I will do my duty to them; I will maintain the family lineage and tradition; I will be worthy of my inheritance; and I will make donations on behalf of dead ancestors.’”

20 Seyfort Ruegg 2008: 12 f. *Brāhmaṇavagga* 388: “He’s called a brahman for having banished his evil, a contemplative for living in consonance, one gone forth for having forsaken his own impurities.” <https://www.accesstoinsight.org/tipitaka/kn/dhp/dhp.26.than.html> (accessed August 2020).

21 Seyfort Ruegg 2008: 19, my square brackets.

of formerly non-Buddhist ideas, and so forth, into Buddhist ideas, concepts, and practices.

However, there is also a transformation occurring in the Buddhist practices themselves: The Buddhist ritual practices focusing on Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, and deities of the Mahāyāna and the tantras *themselves* have, through these appropriations and adaptations, expanded their ritual arsenal by adding prognostic practices. My interviewees said that the “Buddha activities” for the sake of sentient beings are *enhanced*, i.e., there is yet one more possible way of benefiting other beings through the practice of Buddhist deities, namely by performing divination with the help of these Buddhist deities.<sup>22</sup>

### 3 Material aspects

Religious contact also has material aspects and thus includes manufactured objects. In the practice of divination, one of the most interesting objects are dice, and among these, four-sided dice have received much attention by authors like Stein (1907), Francke (1924, 1928), Thomas (1957), and Dotson (2007, 2015, 2019). One can trace the four-sided dice to ancient regions such as Egypt, Greece, and Persia, and it was used in India and, finally, Tibet. Buddhists have appropriated and adapted these dice in several ways. First, the diviner has to produce such dice by cutting the wood used for them on especially blessed days of the lunar calendar, uttering mantras while they do it. Then, through rituals and mantras, they bless and consecrate the dice by transferring the power of a Buddhist deity to them. They also utter mantras before the dice are thrown or rolled (or when they “fall”; Tib. *babs*).<sup>23</sup> Thereby, the Buddhist deity blesses the outcome of the divination. It has also been shown that the Sanskrit letters *A Va Ya Da*, which on some Indian dice replace the usual pips, were derived from Greek  $\alpha \beta \gamma \delta$ .<sup>24</sup> Likewise, six-sided dice in Tibet sometimes use the mantra of Mañjuśrī, *A Ra Pa Tsa Na Dhīḥ*, instead.<sup>25</sup>

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22 Sobisch 2019: 50–53.

23 Weber 1868: 276; Lüders 1907; Sobisch 2019: 40–41.

24 Strickmann 2005: 117 f., with further references on p. 172, n. 44.

25 Goldberg and Dakpa 1990; Sobisch 2019: 7, n. 8.

#### 4 Cultural transfer on the collective level in Tibet

Many ancient pre-Buddhist terms in Tibetan express fortune, luck, and similar concepts. These are generally twin terms and counter concepts, i.e., fortune-misfortune, lucky-unlucky, and so forth. These terms and concepts, although they pre-existed Buddhism in Tibet, and although they run counter to some of the core Buddhist ideas like causation and *karma*, continue to exist within Buddhist practice alongside the new Buddhist terminology. Moreover, in some cases, indigenous terms persist and have acquired a Buddhist meaning that exists alongside their pre-Buddhist connotation, e.g., *dge ba* (auspiciousness-virtue), *rten 'brel* (circumstance-dependency), and *las 'phro* (misfortunate-karmic residue).<sup>26</sup>

Giovanni Da Col (2012) has introduced in the context of fortune terminology the useful concept of “economies of fortune.”<sup>27</sup> Following his idea of “inner and outer forces of fortune,” we might say that in a thinking that is determined by the ideas of fortune and misfortune, a person is born with an endowment that is derived from, for example, family lineage and macrocosmic constellations at birth. During one’s life, one can further build up these inner forces of fortune through all kinds of efforts, but one can also waste them away. Concerning “outer forces of fortune,” da Col points out that in the Tibetan world, it is almost impossible to avoid actions that, in some way or other, offend powerful beings such as the local spirits, gods, and demons.<sup>28</sup> These are easily disturbed by farming or household activities like cooking. Farming disturbs the places where these beings abide, and particular odors produced, for instance, when something boils over into the fire of the hearth, or when substances leak into the groundwater or a river, and so forth, offend or even harm them. Moreover, fortune can be stolen, exhausted, and wasted, but also restocked by investing in the right ritual approach to appease angry spirits and making the gods favorably inclined. There are numerous methods of appeasement or warding off, and so forth,<sup>29</sup> and

26 For an introduction to the terminology of fortune and misfortune (with examples), see Nielsen 2019: 230–232.

27 Giovanni da Col’s article of 2012 was brought to my attention through Nielsen 2018.

28 For a glossary of disturbing deities and spirits, see Sobisch 2019: 233–238.

29 For ritual remedies and supports that are recommended in divinations manuals, see Sobisch 2019: 239–254.

one can ritually request various household, family, and nature gods to exert their positive influences.

## 5 Oral traditions

The ritual approach is where divination comes into play because it is through divination that one can find out about the state of one's fortune, the dangers of misfortune, possible remedies against misfortune, and ritual supports for furthering fortune. The earliest ritual approaches have been transmitted to the present day in the form of oral traditions, which usually are not based on, but sometimes accompanied by manuals. Solvej H. Nielsen (2018, 2019) has made significant contributions by documenting several of these Tibetan oral traditions for rosary (Skt. *mālā*) divination. Here we find methods to discover the current state of the gods' fortune (since gods, being mundane deities in Buddhism, have good and bad times too). If they are in a favorable (literally, "high") position (Tib. *lha ngo mtho ba*), they can provide support; if not, i.e., if they are in a "low" position (Tib. *lha ngo dma' ba*), they are unable to assist. Through *mālā* divination, one can also determine whether one presently has a positive outlook for fortune (Tib. *grogs phywa*) or whether there exist obstacles (Tib. *kha 'tshag*) to one's undertakings. Moreover, an outlook concerning the future (Tib. *phyi phywa*) may reveal that whatever is going to happen, whether good or bad, occurs "quickly" (Tib. *mg-yogs po*) or "slowly" (Tib. *dal po*), or, in slightly different terminology, is "light" (Tib. *yang*) or "heavy" (Tib. *lji*). Based on these prognoses, the diviner can recommend ritual appeasements of spirits or petitions to the gods, and so forth.

Through the appropriation of divination techniques from pre-Buddhist religions, transmitted orally or in manuals, the terminology and the concepts of fortune have become interwoven with Buddhacized rituals of divination, and with all kinds of already established Buddhist rituals that are used to further fortune and to ward off misfortune. Divination provides the space where pre-Buddhist and Buddhist practices and forms of thinking come into contact and exercise mutual influence. In short, together with divination practices, the "economy of fortune" with its concepts and terminology has come into Buddhism's fold.

## 6 Conceptual contradictions to Buddhist doctrine

The Buddha has ethicized *karma*: Everyone is responsible for his or her own state in the present and future lives. The only way of improving one's lot is to avoid the practice of nonvirtue and the accumulation of *karma*, and to engage in virtue, thereby accumulating spiritual merit, for instance through such activities as white-washing a *stūpa*, feeding the monks and nuns, worshiping images of the Buddha, and so forth. Strictly speaking, Buddhist doctrine does not accept any spiritual self-improvement by relying on gods, especially if these are mundane deities like family, household, or nature gods. In fact, not even the Buddha himself can change the *karma* of another being. When, for example, householders make offerings to the community of monks or nuns, it is not the Saṃgha that improves their *karma* in return, but the virtue lies in the householders' own act of generosity itself.

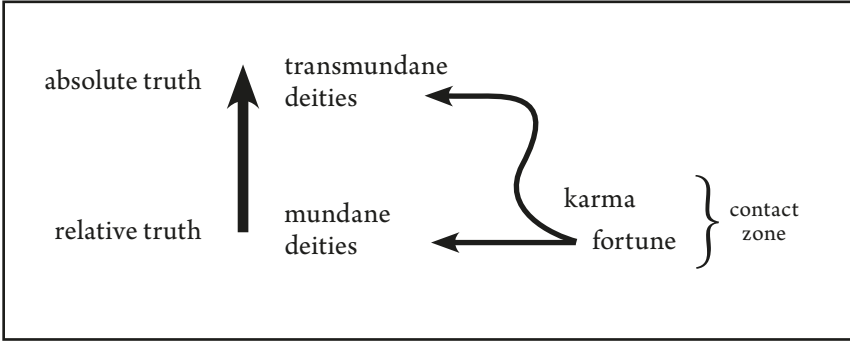
Nevertheless, Buddhists have appropriated and adapted the methods of divination, which they use to improve fortune and to ward off misfortune. In Buddhist manuals of divination, especially in the Tibetan ones, Buddhist deities are evoked and thereby employed for personal purposes. These evocations can be as brief as uttering a single verse or mantra, or can include detailed ritual visualizations; the central idea is always that the Buddhist deity now provides the necessary blessing for a correct prognostic insight. Some Indian<sup>30</sup> and many Tibetan Buddhist divination manuals prescribe ritual supports to improve one's fortune and ritual remedies that serve as antidotes to misfortune.<sup>31</sup> Within these rituals, peaceful Buddhist deities are employed to increase merit and wrathful Buddhist tantric deities to ward off evil. Numerous Buddhist rituals deal with non-Buddhist deities like family or household gods, gods of the nature, earth gods and spirits, and all kinds of spirits and demons that are dangerous to different degrees. These beings are then gratified, appeased, bound, forced, destroyed, and so on. One could, therefore, conclude that the fact that not even the Buddha himself can change the *karma* of another being is bypassed by harnessing the world of fortune and misfortune, which enables the Buddhist to accept outside help to improve his or her own situation.

30 See, e.g., the manuals ascribed to Śāntideva and Atiśa mentioned in n. 18.

31 Sobisch 2019: 35–46.

## 7 Horizontal and vertical dynamics

From an emic perspective, the contact of pre-Buddhist practices of divination with the Buddhist doctrine can be related to four dynamic processes described below (1.–4.).



### 7.1 Horizontal mobility in the contact zone *karma*/fortune

In what we can describe as horizontal mobility, the terminology and concepts of fortune and misfortune have been appropriated by Buddhism on the level of mundane deities and relative truth, where the fortune/misfortune concepts largely remain stable and continue to exist alongside Buddhist concepts. It is noteworthy that I did not find the terms “*karma*” and “dependent origination” (Skt. *pratītyasamutpāda*) in any of the Indian and Tibetan Buddhist divination manuals that I have studied. Nevertheless, nowadays, perhaps embarrassed by such “superstition,”<sup>32</sup> learned Tibetans sometimes make attempts to explain divination through the Buddhist doctrines of *karma* and dependent origination. His Holiness the Dalai Lama, for instance, says in the foreword to a book on Tibetan elemental divination paintings:<sup>33</sup> “With the introduction of Buddhism into Tibet in the seventh century these procedures came to be used within a Buddhist framework, functioning

32 A certain embarrassment over the peculiar idea of *btsan* spirits being brought along with reddish dogs appearing at night time or of harm coming from *mo'dre* spirits when foxes howl at night was expressed by Khenchen Nyima Gyaltsen when, in the context of the *A phyi* divination, we talked about the contamination of the god of the hearth, which occurs through odors emanating from foodstuffs that boil over.

33 Dorje 2002: 8.



in accordance with Buddhist principles such as interdependence and *karma* or cause and effect.” But again, in truth, such Buddhist concepts are never mentioned in the manuals, for instance, when the prognosis of a divination says that a household god—a mundane deity—is displeased because milk or other substances have boiled over and produced a bad odor in the fire of the hearth, and when these deities have to be appeased by offering the smoke of certain appeasing substances (Tib. *bsang*) or other ritual practices.<sup>34</sup> The workings of divination and the relation between producing odor and displeasing the household god and the offering of such things as fragrance and appeasement occur in an alternative reality that Buddhists can obviously take advantage of without having to integrate it fully into the Buddhist doctrine of *karma* and dependent origination.<sup>35</sup>

## 7.2 Vertical mobility of concepts of fortune and misfortune, bypassing *karma*

Theoretically, it is possible to force an exchange of fortune/misfortune terminology with the Buddhist terminology of *karma* and dependent origination. A divination manual may explain that one is born at an unfortunate place where dangerous spirits reside. In the language of the *karma* doctrine, this would not be due to misfortune in any conventional sense, but the result of one’s previous deeds, i.e., the result of bad *karma*. From the perspective of *karma*, the spirits themselves, too, are seen as sentient beings gone bad through their previous bad deeds. Another way of interpreting harm has been developed in the context of Yogācāra Buddhism (but has become widely accepted in the Indo-Tibetan tradition). In Śāntideva’s *Bodhicaryāvatāra* (5.7), for instance, the question arises, what the harm really is that one experiences in the realm of hell. The next verse provides the answer: It has all sprung from one’s evil thoughts (Skt. *pāpacittasamudbhūtaṃ tattatsarvaṃ*). In the language of the *karma* doctrine, this is the “sovereign fruit” (Skt. *adhipatiphalaṃ*),

34 Sobisch 2019: 87, 93, 119, and 121.

35 Nielsen (2019) provides several examples where the term *rten ’brel* (according to Buddhist doctrine: dependent [origination]) is used in the context of divination. However, these passages pose no problem when one translates the term here following the fortune/misfortune concept as “circumstances.”

where external objects appear in accordance with one's former deeds.<sup>36</sup> The *misfortune* in which one finds oneself could thus easily be explained as the workings of *karma* and dependent origination. Instead, however, the terminology and concepts of fortune/misfortune continue to exist alongside the Buddhist doctrinal interpretations of reality, to some extent, even on the transmundane level. Here, transmundane Buddhist deities are employed in the context of divination to accomplish virtue as a support for fortune and an antidote to misfortune. In the manuals of the *A phyi mo* that I translated, when five pips show on the dice, the general prognosis is very good, which is expressed by the line "upon the earth, one finds gold and turquoises." Nevertheless, if one plans to set out for traveling, one is advised to recite the names of the white and blue Tārā a hundred times to keep the travel smooth and as a precaution against robbery.<sup>37</sup> On the other hand, when six pips show on the dice, "the prognosis is only bad." The prognosis further states that there is in the household of the requester a great danger that a young couple will separate. One of the prescribed antidotes is the recitation of the *Heart Sūtra* (a thousand times).<sup>38</sup> Instead of describing the danger of robbery and the separation of a couple in terms of *karma* as the result of former deeds, they are clearly presented here as unfortunate circumstances which can be remedied by recourse to methods that are not considered to be ordinary and mundane. The concepts of fortune/misfortune thus are not only horizontally, but also vertically mobile by being negotiated here on a level dominated by transmundane teachings and deities. No apparent effort is made to update these concepts in terms of Buddhist doctrine; they occur here on this level without apparent transformation. They persist on a higher level, having bypassed the notion of *karma*.

### 7.3 "Incorporation" of mundane deities into Buddhism

Non-Buddhist deities can be converted when they take refuge in Buddhist transmundane deities like Avalokiteśvara. As Seyfort Ruegg explains, these deities "have no independent and autogenous soteriological or gnoseological function in Buddhism [i.e., they do not have the

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36 *Abhidharmasamuccaya*, cf. Bayer 2010: 154.

37 Sobisch 2019: 95.

38 Sobisch 2019: 97.

power to fully liberate other beings]. They are regarded by informed Buddhists as divine beings, but in a lower degree and, usually, in a derivative mode.”<sup>39</sup> These deities are systemically and structurally Buddhist, but on a mundane level, they belong to a substratum that is shared with other Indian religions. Many of these beings populate the Buddhist world, and they are usually categorized as *deva*, *nāga*, *yakṣa*, *gandharva*, *asura*, *daitya*, *garuṇa*, *kinnara*, *mahoraga*, *kumbhāṇḍa*, and so forth. Unlike the supramundane *tathāgatas*, they all remain subject to *karma* and *saṃsāra* and have not (yet) attained nirvana. Through horizontal mobility and, in our context, through the vehicle of divination, they have come into the Buddhist fold.

#### 7.4 Vertical mobility of deities

There is a great narrative variety concerning the genesis of powerful deities in Buddhism,<sup>40</sup> including cases, where apart from mere horizontal mobility of mundane deities, we also find vertical mobility. In such a case, a non-Buddhist deity may even rise to the transmudane level. One example is Vajrapāṇi, who rose from being a great general of the *yakṣas* in the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa Sūtra* to being one of the bodily forms of Avalokiteśvara in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, and finally to his identity as a Vajra being (Skt. *vajrasattva*) in the *Tattvasaṃgrahatantra*, a fully awakened one as conceived in the tantric tradition.<sup>41</sup> Another example provided by Seyfort Ruegg,<sup>42</sup> also from the *Tattvasaṃgrahatantra*, is the Hindu deity Mahādeva (not the central Vedic god bearing that name, but a *duṭṭa-sattva*, i.e., a wicked, offensive, and spoiled being full of pride). Vajrapāṇi, acting as the agent of Buddha Vairocana, subdues him and trains him forcefully. Thus, he takes refuge, accepts the *samaya* and *saṃvara*, receives the Vajra-jewel-initiation (Skt. *vajraratnābhiṣekha*) and is admitted to the Vajra-family (Skt. *vajrakula*), receiving the new Buddhist name Khrodharāja, “the king of hatred.”

This form of “vertical mobility” is very rare, and it does not seem to play a particular role in the context of divination. In contrast to the concepts of fortune/misfortune that, bypassing *karma*, occur on a level

39 Seyfort Ruegg 2008: 34 (explanation in square bracket added by me).

40 See, e.g., Davidson 1991.

41 Snellgrove 1987: 134 ff.

42 Seyfort Ruegg 2008: 51 ff.

dominated by transmundane teachings and deities, deities with such a career must necessarily receive an upgrade to the transmundane level in order to be soteriologically effective in Buddhism. The concepts of fortune/misfortune, on the other hand, persist as they are, but have no *direct* soteriological effect, even when they come into contact with deities and teachings of the higher level. In the view of my Buddhist informants, mundane activities such as divination only serve an *indirect* purpose, instilling faith in the devotees, leading them onto the path, whereas it remains the activity of the transmundane deities to lead them ultimately to awakening. As part of that purpose, the transmundane deities employ the skillful means of blessing the divination practices for the temporary benefit of beings, and, in that way, making them predisposed for the higher path.

## 8 Relative and absolute truth

Alongside the two levels of mundane and transmundane deities, Mahāyāna Buddhism also knows the crucial hermeneutical concept of a distinction between “relative and absolute truth.” Generally speaking, everything that has to do with *karma*, cause, and result belongs to the relative level of truth, and this also includes divination. When in my interviews, I asked: “Is there no contradiction when a Buddhist deity of the transmundane level is used for divination, which is relative truth,” the reply was that the transmundane deities fulfill both temporary and ultimate purposes through divination.<sup>43</sup> The temporary or immediate benefit arises for the requester of divination, for instance, when the divination identifies adverse conditions and destructive powers and helps to avoid and even overcome them. Thereby, such things as life, health, and happiness are secured. Buddhists ascribe these functions to the level of relative truth. However, all of my interviewees pointed out that accurate divination requires “faith in the deity.”<sup>44</sup> Without such faith, divination will not work. This faith of the devotee is an “investment” through which the connection to the deity is strengthened. The strengthening happens when, as a result of that faith, the divination turns out to be accurate, and the devotee’s mind is further purified

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43 Sobisch 2019: 47–53.

44 Sobisch 2019: 49, 56, 62.

through growing faith. Such a purified mind still belongs to the sphere of relative truth, but its appearances are gradually freed from error, thus denoting the level of “pure relative truth.”<sup>45</sup> In such a mind, the activities of the Buddhas can unfold more effortlessly, which will eventually make the realization of absolute non-dual truth possible.<sup>46</sup> In other words, from an emic perspective, non-Buddhist systems of divination only produce results that are consistent with the relative level of truth, since they are only connected, if at all, with mundane samsaric deities, whereas Buddhist systems of divination “pave the way for higher transmundane truths.”

The concepts of fortune connected with mundane deities are consistent with the concepts of fate and destiny. They are comparable to the actions and efforts of the Greek gods, whose interventions may change the fate of the people. A similar concept is probably at work with the Tibetan pre-Buddhist deities. The transmundane Buddhist deities also intervene, but in the final (emic) analysis, the effort belongs to the requester or practitioner. First, the requester develops faith, which then paves the way for higher achievements. When a person is directly involved with the practice of Tibetan Buddhist divination, i.e., as a practitioner of divination, ritual proficiency in the practice of a transmundane deity is usually a prerequisite for being able to perform divinations, and it is also often part of the divination practice itself. Such practice, which involves the evocation of a transmundane deity, is in itself salvific and eventually leads on the Buddhist path to liberation from *samsāra* and to perfect awakening.

## 9 Embeddedness

In Tibet, the history of the Buddhist appropriation of divination seems to be embedded in the power struggle between the non-Buddhist nobility and the newly Buddhist royalty. During the Tibetan empire (600–850), priests of the indigenous Bön religion practiced divination in the context of healing and funeral rites, thereby fulfilling an essential role

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45 Relative truth is differentiated into “pure relative truth” (Tib. *yang dag pa'i kun rdzob*) and “wrong” or “false relative truth” (Tib. *log pa'i kun rdzob*). Their definitions differ from school to school, but, in general, pure relative truth is seen as a more reliable basis since it accepts karma and dependent origination.

46 Sobisch 2019: 51, 53 ff.

at the Tibetan court.<sup>47</sup> They further helped the king with divinations to avoid dangers, especially coming from evil demons, and they provided ritual remedies, such as spirit traps, and so forth.<sup>48</sup> They were also involved in other affairs like taxation and court decisions, which were carried out based on divination.<sup>49</sup> However, when the kings started to lean towards the new religion of Buddhism, Bönpos and non-Buddhist nobility “used divination and omen interpretation as weapons against the new religion.”<sup>50</sup> This line of research promises to be fruitful but is certainly only at its beginning.

## 10 Conclusion

Although one might perceive the practices of divination with its ideology of fortune and misfortune as inherently existing within Buddhism, for analytical purposes, it is helpful to contrast pre-Buddhist ideas or elements of folk religion with ideas expressed in Buddhist doctrine. Accordingly, what for the one is fortune destined by birth through birth constellations and the will of gods and what they see as obstruction by spirits and demons, is for the other only due to *karma*. And while the one seeks for the pacification (Skt. *śānti*) of obstructors and the worship and offering (Skt. *pūja*) to gods, the Buddhist should know, according to the doctrine, that a change of *karma* by external forces is impossible (although he may become an arhat before *karma* ripens or he might try to “thin out” *karma* by a massive effort in virtue). Despite such a contrast, however, the terminology and ideology of fortune have been appropriated and adapted in Buddhism. Moreover, they do not only persist having been horizontally moved into Buddhism on what Buddhists perceive as the mundane level but vertically also come into contact with the transmundane level of Buddhism.

Seyfort Ruegg’s symbiosis theory provides an interesting model for horizontal and sometimes even vertical mobility, where (from an emic perspective) mundane levels of different religions communicate with one another and elements from other religions are adapted

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47 Dotson 2008: 45.

48 Tucci 1980: 232.

49 Dotson 2007.

50 Tuttle and Schaeffer 2013: 128 f.

and appropriated to Buddhism, in some rare cases even to Buddhism's transmundane level. Divination and its ideology of fortune is another instance where this model seems to work quite well. It explains why Buddhist doctrinal positions and the older ideologies can coexist within one religion. The incorporation into Buddhism of deities belonging "to a substratum that is shared with other Indian religions"<sup>51</sup> is especially visible in Buddhist divination manuals. In a case of vertical mobility, bypassing *karma*, fortune and misfortune are brought to a higher level, where Buddhist transmundane deities have been employed as a support for fortune and an antidote to misfortune. Apart from a mere coexistence of two alternative realities, both sides are sometimes affected by the respective other. In the view of my Buddhist informants, mundane activities such as divination with its ideology of fortune and misfortune are employed to serve a new *indirect* purpose, instilling faith in the devotees, leading them onto the path that eventually leads to salvation. Moreover, the Buddhist ritual practices focusing on Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, and deities of the Mahāyāna and the tantras have, through these appropriations and adaptations, expanded their ritual arsenal by adding prognostic practices (Khenchen Nyima: "Buddha activities are enhanced by divination"). Further research may perhaps be able to uncover a universality concerning religious contacts between "high religions" like Buddhism and "folk" or "indigenous religions."

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51 Seyfort Ruegg 2008: 34.

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**The Twelve Great Deeds or *mDzad pa bcu gnyis*  
A Thangka Set in the Tibet House Museum Collection**

Kimiaki Tanaka  
(The Nakamura Hajime Eastern Institute, Tokyo)

**Introduction**

The life of the founder of Buddhism, the Buddha Śākyamuni, is one of the most popular subjects of Buddhist paintings. This motif had already appeared before statues of the Buddha appeared in India. In Gandhara, where sculptures of the Buddha appeared for the first time, we can see many episodes from the Buddha's life, and their iconography influenced icons created later in India and other parts of Asia. Subsequently, this motif was repeatedly depicted until the final stage of Indian Buddhism.

However, the number of events shown from the Buddha's life gradually decreased over time. Namely, minor episodes were gradually reduced, and eventually the Buddha's life consisted of only eight events: 1) Birth at Lumbini, 2) Subjugating demons and attaining enlightenment at Buddhagaya, 3) Turning the wheel of Dharma at Sāranātha, 4) The monkey's offering of honey at Vaiśālī, 5) Performing miracles at Śrāvastī, 6) Descent from Trayastrimśa Heaven at Sāṃkāśya, 7) Subjugating the mad elephant at Rājagṛha, and 8) Mahāparinirvāṇa at Kuśinagara. These eight events also correspond to the Eight Great Caityas (Skt. *aṣṭamahāsthānacaitya*) that were erected in eight different places to commemorate the four primary and four secondary events in the Buddha's life.

**The *mDzad pa dgu thang***

In Tibet, meanwhile, where Buddhism prospered until 1959, many thangkas depicting the Buddha's life have been produced. Among

them, thangkas depicting the Buddha's entire life in a single painting were very popular. In these thangkas, the Buddha displaying the *bhūmisparśamudrā* is depicted in the center, and scenes from the Buddha's life are arranged around the center, in many cases in a clockwise fashion.

In these thangkas, the scene depicting the palace at Kapilavastu and Prince Siddhārtha's excursions through the four gates often occupies the bottom part of the canvas.<sup>1</sup> This means that Tibetan Buddhists placed more importance on events before the Buddha's enlightenment and omitted many of the deeds performed after he attained enlightenment. This is a reversal of the Indian Buddhists' prioritization of the eight important events.

On the other hand, there are also various thangka sets depicting the Buddha's life. Among these, the most common set was the so-called *mdzad pa dgu thang*. According to David P. Jackson, this *mdzad pa dgu thang* was produced on the basis of paintings by the renowned artist Phur bu tshe ring of Khams, or by his pupils.<sup>2</sup> This set deeply influenced the iconography of the Buddha's life in modern Tibet, since a xylograph of this set was published by sDe dge printing house in the first half of the 18th century.<sup>3</sup>

This set consists of eight thangkas, arranged four on each side of a central thangka (Tib. *gtso thang*) depicting Śākyamuni displaying the *bhūmisparśamudrā*. The eight thangkas represent: 1) Birth; 2) Study and the four excursions; 3) Renunciation, practising austerities, and betaking himself to the Diamond Seat (Skt. *vajrāsana*); 4) Subjugating demons and attaining enlightenment; 5) Turning the wheel of Dharma; 6) Descent from Trayastrimśa Heaven; 7) Performing miracles; and 8) Entering Nirvāṇa. The order of events seems to fall between the Indian order, which attached importance to events after the Buddha's attainment

1 We can find at least five examples (3-15, 3-16, 4-20, 5-25, and 6-13) of this arrangement in a private collection. For further information, see Tanaka 2001, 2003, 2005, 2012.

2 Jackson 1996: 328.

3 In 1999, I visited sDe dge printing house and purchased a complete set of the woodblock prints available there. They are now kept at the Toga Meditation Museum where I am chief curator. The *mdzad pa dgu thang* corresponds to nos. 1.1–1.9 of their collection.

of enlightenment, and the order of the Tibetan single thangkas mentioned above.

### The Twenty-four Thangka Set in the Tada Collection

In addition, there is a twenty-four thangka set of the Buddha's life in the Tada Collection in Japan. The Japanese priest Tōkan Tada (a.k.a. Thub bstan rgyal mtshan) studied Buddhism at Sera Monastery and became the first Japanese to be awarded the title of *dge bshes lha rams pa*. He was a beloved student of the 13th Dalai Lama, and the twenty-four thangka set of the Buddha's life was presented to him in 1936 as a memento in accordance with the Dalai Lama's will.<sup>4</sup>

Prof. Naoji Okuyama of Koyasan University has already examined this set<sup>5</sup> and has shown that the selection of events is based mainly on Jo nang Tāranātha's *bCom ldan 'das thub pa'i dbang po'i mdzad pa mdo tsam brjod pa mthong bas don ldan rab tu dga' ba dang bcas pas dad pa'i nyin byed phyogs brgyar 'char ba*<sup>6</sup> and his *sTon pa shākya'i dbang po'i mdzad pa brgya pa'i bris yig*.

In Tibet, many biographies of the Buddha were composed and published. Among them, Tāranātha's biography of the Buddha and gTsang mkhan chen 'Jam dbyangs dpal ldan rgya mtsho's *bCom ldan 'das śākya thub pa'i rnam thar mdo sde kun las btus pa* are very popular. gTsang mkhan chen mentions many Mahāyāna sūtras when reconstructing the Buddha's biography. Tāranātha, on the other hand, mainly referred to Vinaya and Avadāna sources and deliberately refrained from mentioning Mahāyāna texts. This is said to be a special characteristic of Tāranātha's biography of the Buddha.<sup>7</sup> Therefore, the twenty-four thangka set of the Buddha's life in the Tada Collection is also a reconstruction of the Buddha's life from the viewpoint of the so-called Hīnayāna tradition.

4 Okuyama 1996: 63–66.

5 Okuyama's study first appeared in Okuyama 1991; a more detailed study with illustrations appeared in Okuyama 1996.

6 In 1997, this text was published under the title *bCom ldan 'das ston pa Shākya thub pa'i rnam thar* together with the *Śatapañcaśatika nāma stotra* by Aśvaghōṣa and the *Skyes rabs brgya ba* by Karma Rang byung rdo rje.

7 Okuyama 1996: 73–76.

### Twelve Great Deeds or *mdzad pa bcu gnyis*

In Tibet, the main events of the Buddha's life are frequently called the "Twelve Deeds," or *mdzad pa bcu gnyis*. The term *mdzad pa bcu gnyis* is sometimes shortened to *mdzad bcu*, which does not mean "Ten Deeds" but is rather an abbreviation of "Twelve Deeds." The "Twelve Deeds" have their source in the second chapter of the *Ratnagotravibhāga* (known as *rGyud bla ma* in Tibet). The *Ratnagotravibhāga* explains the activities of the *nirmāṇakāya* of a Buddha as follows:<sup>8</sup>

*jātakāny upapattim ca tuṣiteṣu cyutiṃ tataḥ/  
garbhāvakraṃaṃ janma śilpasthānāni kauśalyam//54//  
antaḥpuraratikrīḍāṃ naiṣkramya duḥkhacārikām/  
bodhimāṇḍopasaṃkrāntiṃ mārasainyapramardanam//55//  
sambodhiṃ dharmacakraṃ ca nirvāṇādhiḡamakriyām/*

The Tibetan translation of this passage is as follows:<sup>9</sup>

*skye ba mngon par skye ba dang/  
dga' ldan gnas nas 'pho ba dang/  
lhums su 'jug dang bltams pa dang/  
bzo'i gnas la mkhas pa dang//54//  
btsun mo'i 'khor dgyes rol pa dang/  
nges 'byung dka' ba spyod pa dang/  
byang chub snying por gshegs pa dang/  
bdud sde 'joms dang rdzogs par ni//55//  
byang chub chos kyi 'khor lo dang/  
mya ngan 'das par gshegs mdzad rnams/*

Thus, the "Twelve Deeds" are: 1) *dga' ldan gnas nas 'pho ba* (descent from Tuṣita Heaven), 2) *lhums su 'jug pa* (entering into the womb), 3) *bltams pa* (birth), 4) *bzo'i gnas la mkhas pa* (training in various arts), 5) *btsun mo'i 'khor dgyes rol pa* (enjoyment of consorts), 6) *nges 'byung* (renunciation), 7) *dka' ba spyod pa* (practising austerities), 8) *byang chub snying por gshegs pa* (approaching the Diamond seat), 9) *bdud sde 'joms* (subjugating demons), 10) *rdzogs par byang chub pa* (attaining enlightenment), 11) *chos kyi 'khor lo bskor ba* (turning the wheel of Dharma), and 12) *mya*

8 *Ratnagotravibhāga*, chap. 2, 54–55; Johnston 1950: 87–88.

9 *D sems tsaṃ, phyi*, fol. 64b3–4.

*ngan (las) 'das pa* (entering Nirvāṇa). This selection of deeds is rather similar to that of the single thangkas depicting the Buddha's entire life in that it places importance on deeds prior to his attainment of enlightenment.

### **The *mDzad pa bcu gnyis* Thangka Set in the Tibet House Museum**

As pointed out in the introduction, quite a few thangkas depicting the Buddha's life were produced in Tibet, and these are sometimes called "*mdzad bcu*." However, it is very difficult to find a thangka set whose selection of deeds coincides precisely with the "Twelve Deeds" explained in the *Ratnagotravibhāga*.<sup>10</sup>

In February of 2008, I was invited to Tibet House, New Delhi, and examined several thangka sets in the possession of the Tibet House Museum. Among these paintings were seven thangka sets depicting the Buddha's life, titled "*mdzad bcu thang ka*." This set consists of six thangkas, arranged three each on either side of a central thangka (*gtso thang*). Fortunately, on the back of each thangka the inscriptions *gyas dang po* ("first on the right"), *gyon gnyis pa* ("second on the left"), etc., have been preserved, and we can easily reconstruct the original arrangement of the thangka set.

The canvas size of each thangka is 39 cm × 55 cm, and at the top of each thangka Aparimitāyus (*Tshe dpag med*) is depicted. This suggests that these thangkas were created in order to promote someone's longevity. In the center of the central thangka, Śākyamuni displaying the *bhūmisparśamudrā* and flanked by his two main disciples is depicted. At the top of the central thangka, Tsong kha pa, a Dalai Lama (most probably the 5th Dalai Lama), and other Lamas in yellow hats are arranged around Aparimitāyus. Therefore, the sectarian affiliation of this set is clearly dGe lugs pa, and the date of its production may be placed after the establishment of the dGa' ldan pho brang regime in 1642.

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10 Judging from my experience, most modern thangkas depicting the life of the Buddha are nine-thangka sets or fragments of this set based on the sDe dge xylograph. I have frequently encountered thangkas that depict the Buddha's entire life in a single painting like the above-mentioned Hahn Cultural Foundation examples. However, I had not seen a Twelve Deeds set faithfully following the *Ratnagotravibhāga* until I found the Tibet House Museum set.

### The Arrangement of the “Twelve Deeds”

Next, I shall analyze the arrangement of scenes in the Tibet House Museum set. The central thangka depicts only the Śākyamuni triad and other deities. There are no scenes from the Buddha’s life. It is similar to the central thangka in the *mdzad pa dgu thang* of the sDe dge version.

The first thangka on the right (*gyas dang po*) depicts the Buddha Śākyamuni displaying the *bhūmisparśamudrā* in the center, and scenes from the Buddha’s life are arranged on both sides. At the top facing right, there is the inscription “*ka. lha rnam (sic) la chos gsung tshul*” in Tibetan dBu can script. This is the first scene of the Buddha’s life since *ka*, the first letter of the Tibetan alphabet, is frequently used in Tibet as the ordinal “No. 1.” Moreover, the first scene depicts the Bodhisattva Śvetaketu, the previous incarnation of the Buddha, preaching the Dharma in the palace of the Tuṣita Heaven. However, the scenes do not continue to the left of the same thangka. At the top facing left, there is the inscription “*ga. sku brtams pa’i tshul*” (“manner of birth”) in Tibetan dBu can script. This part depicts the birth of the Buddha in Lumbini garden and subsequent episodes. There must be an inscription with *kha*, the second consonant, between *ka* and *ga*.

The first thangka on the left (*gyon dang po*) depicts the Buddha Śākyamuni displaying the *bhūmisparśamudrā* in the center, and scenes from the Buddha’s life are arranged on both sides. In the center facing left, there is the inscription “*kha. lhum du zhugs tshul*” (“manner of entering the womb”) in Tibetan dBu can script. Therefore, the first scene of the Tuṣita Heaven continues on the facing left side of the first thangka on the left. This part depicts scenes from Queen Māyā’s dream of a white elephant entering her body up to her arrival at Lumbini garden. These scenes correspond to the second of the “Twelve Deeds,” i.e., entering into the womb.

At the top facing left, there is the inscription *nga, (?) yi ge sbyang pa’i tshul* (“manner of studying letters”) in Tibetan dBu can script. This scene is followed by scenes depicting Prince Siddhārtha’s competing in archery with other youths of the Śākya clan and his trial of strength with an elephant against other youths. These scenes correspond to the fourth of the “Twelve Deeds,” i.e., training in various arts.



Therefore, in the Tibet House Museum set the scenes of the Buddha's life are not arranged in a clockwise fashion around the central figure of each *thangka* as in the *mdzad pa dgu thang*, but are arranged symmetrically, centered on the main *thangka* (*gtso thang*). This is the reason that we could not readily understand this specific arrangement of events in the Buddha's life.

In the same way, at the top facing right of the second *thangka* on the right (*gyas gnyis pa*) is the inscription *ca, sa 'tsho ma khab tu bzhes pa'i tshul* ("marriage to Gopikā") in Tibetan dBu can script. Yaśodharā is well known as the Buddha's consort. However, the Tibet House Museum set depicts his marriages to three consorts, i.e., Gopikā (Sa 'tsho ma), Mṛgajā (Ri dwags skyes ma), and Yaśodharā (Grags 'dzin ma). As far as I know, Prince Siddhārtha's marriages to three consorts are shown only in the twenty-four *thangka* set in the Tada Collection. These scenes correspond to the fifth of the "Twelve Deeds," i.e., enjoyment of consorts.

At the top facing left of the second *thangka* on the right (*gyas gnyis pa*) is the inscription *ja, dka' ba bcad tshul* ("manner of practising austerities") in Tibetan dBu can script. This part corresponds to the seventh of the "Twelve Deeds," i.e., "practising austerities."

At the bottom facing left of the second *thangka* on the left (*gyon gnyis pa*) is the inscription *cha, ser skya'i gong (sic) pa'i kor(sic)* ("episodes of Kapilavastu") in Tibetan dBu can script. Scenes from the excursions through the four gates, at the bottom, to the renunciation at the top are depicted. These correspond to the sixth of the "Twelve Deeds," i.e., "renunciation."

At the top facing right of the second *thangka* on the left (*gyon gnyis pa*) is the inscription *nya, byang chub snying por gshegs tshul* ("manner of approaching the *bodhimaṇḍa*") in Tibetan dBu can script. This part corresponds to the eighth of the "Twelve Deeds," i.e., "approaching the Diamond seat."

At the top facing right of the third *thangka* on the right (*gyas gsum pa*) is the inscription *ta, bdud btul ba'i tshul* ("manner of subjugating demons") in Tibetan dBu can script. The rendering of the subjugation of demons does not differ from that of other sets. This part corresponds to the ninth of the "Twelve Deeds," i.e., "subjugating demons."

At the top facing left of the third thangka on the right (*gyas gsum pa*) is the inscription *da, Wa ra na sir chos 'khor dang po'i tshul* (“first preaching of the doctrine at Vārāṇasī”) in Tibetan dBu can script. As with the depiction of marriage, the scenes of preaching are repeated three times. This means that the producer of this set adopted the theory of the three turnings of the wheel, namely, the first promulgation of the four noble truths at Vārāṇasī, the second promulgation of *śūnyatā* at Ḡḍhrakūṭa, and the third promulgation of perfect and intensive analysis at Vaiśālī. These scenes correspond to the eleventh of the “Twelve Deeds,” i.e., “turning the wheel of Dharma.”

At the top facing left of the third thangka on the left (*gyon gsum pa*) is the inscription *tha, byang chub chen po bsnyes (sic) pa'i 'khor* (“episodes of attaining great enlightenment”) in Tibetan dBu can script. Most depictions of the Buddha’s life, whether of Tibetan origin or not, show the subjugation of demons and the attainment of enlightenment as one scene. However, the *Ratnagoṭravibhāga* counted these two events separately. Therefore, the producer of this set adopted the incidents that occurred at Buddhagaya soon after the Buddha’s attainment of enlightenment as the expression of the tenth of the “Twelve Deeds,” i.e., “attainment of enlightenment.”

Finally, at the top facing right of the third thangka on the left (*gyon gsum pa*) is the inscription *sku gdung cha brgyad du bgos pa'i tshul* (“partition of the relics into eight parts”) in Tibetan dBu can script. This part depicts Māra requesting the Buddha to enter Nirvāṇa, the Buddha lying between two sal trees, and the cremation of the Buddha. These scenes correspond to the twelfth of the “Twelve Deeds,” i.e., “entering Nirvāṇa.”

## Conclusion

The purpose of this paper has been to introduce a noteworthy thangka set kept in the Tibet House Museum in New Delhi. In Tibet, thangka sets depicting the Buddha’s life have been called *mdzad bcu thang ka*. However, many examples do not follow the order of the “Twelve Deeds” and sometimes add events not included in the “Twelve Deeds.” The Tibet House Museum set showing the Buddha’s life is very valuable since it is not only of good quality but also fully follows

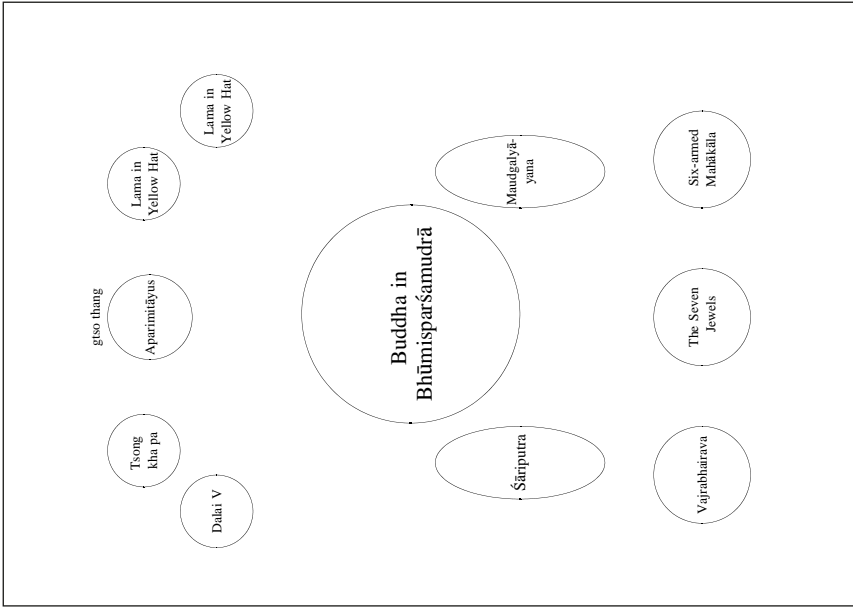
the order of the “Twelve Deeds.” Consequently, we can call this set a *mdzad bcu thang ka* in the true sense of the term.

As pointed out earlier, it is remarkable that single thangkas depicting the Buddha’s entire life sometimes attached importance to events before his attainment of enlightenment and omitted many deeds after his enlightenment. It is difficult to interpret the arrangement of these single thangkas as the reduction of thangka sets like the *mdzad pa dgu thang*, which includes several scenes after his attainment of enlightenment.

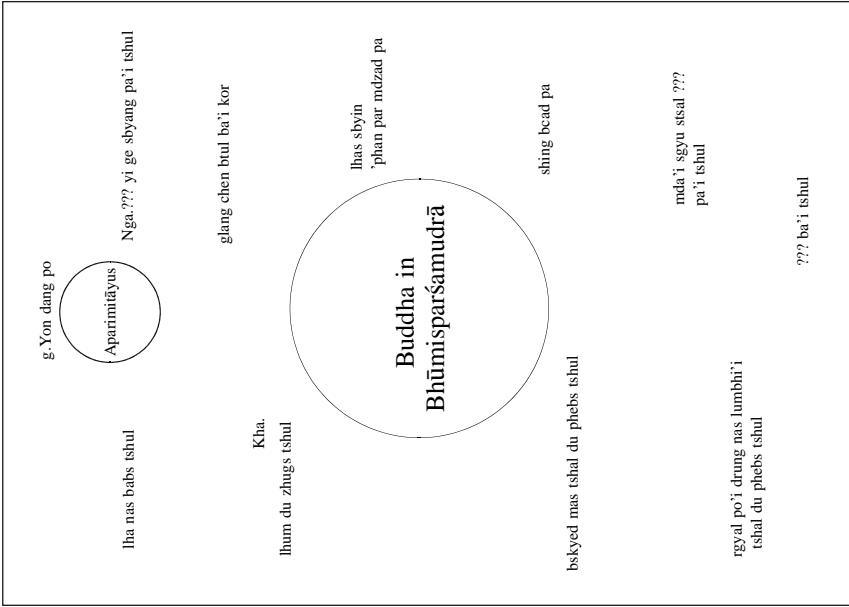
At present, we do not have any other examples of a *mdzad bcu thang ka* similar to the Tibet House Museum set. However, if we surmise that this type of *mdzad bcu thang ka* was propagated before the popularization of the *mdzad pa dgu thang* after the 18th century, we can explain the arrangement of the single thangkas as a reduction of the *mdzad bcu thang ka* in a true sense. Therefore, the discovery of this *mdzad pa bcu gnyis* set at the Tibet House Museum is of considerable importance for understanding paintings depicting the Buddha’s life in Tibet.

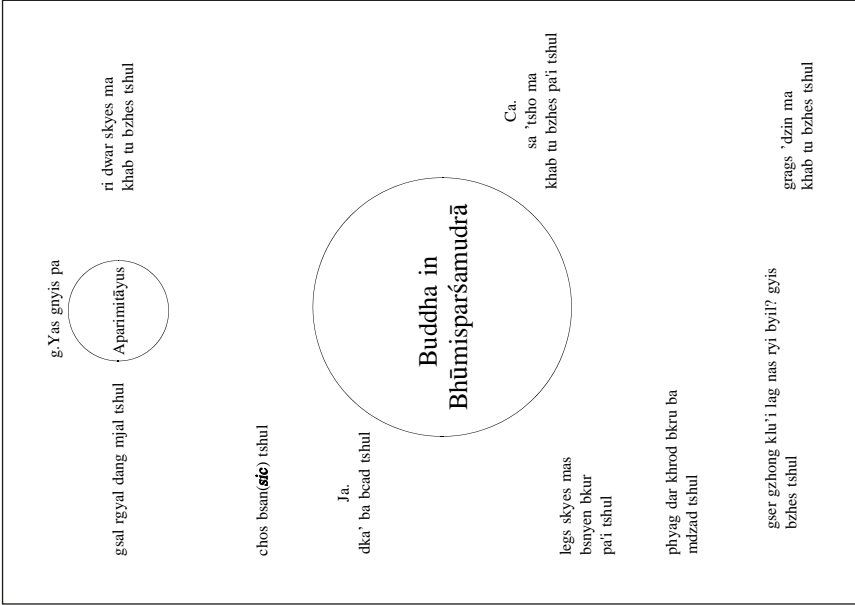
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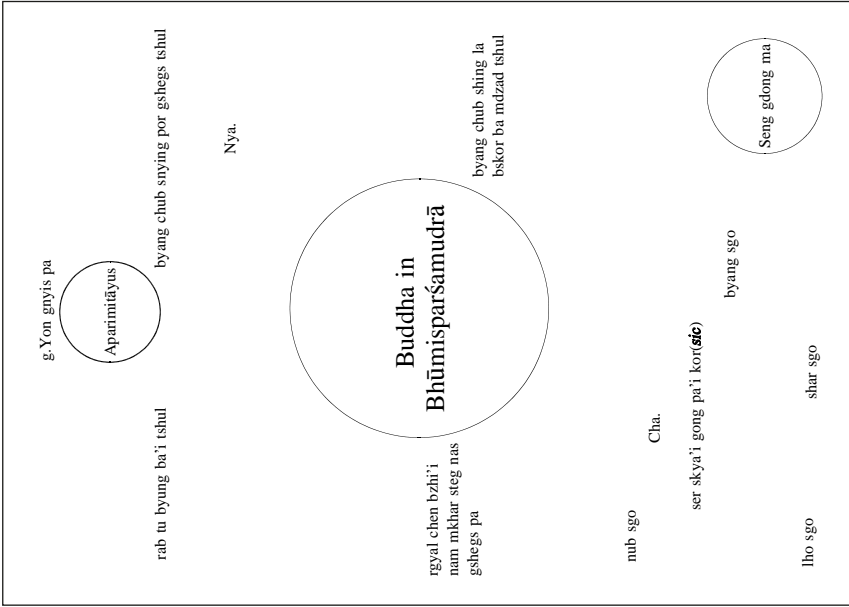














g. Yas gsam pa  
Aparimitāyus

bodud btul ba'i tshul  
Ta.  
lha mo bstan(ste) ma

bya rгод [phun por chos]  
'khor gnyis pa

Buddha in  
Bhūmisparsamudrā

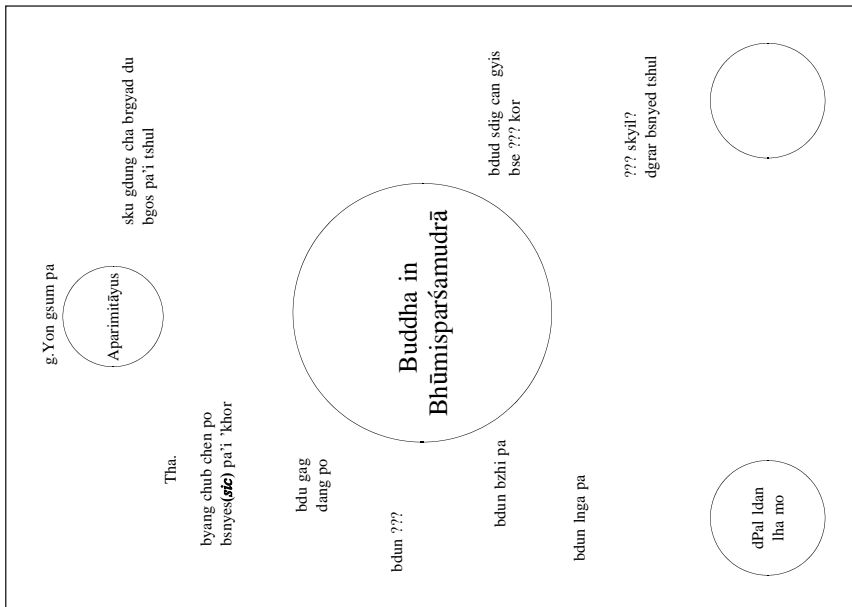
Da.  
Wa ra na sir chos 'khor  
dang po'i tshul

tshang(ste) pa dang bgya byin  
gnyis kyi bskul ba'i tshul

regyal chen bzhi'i lhung bzed phul ba  
ga gon bzang po'i kor

Chos rgyal  
phyi sgrub

Vaiśravaṇa





སྐུན་མཁུན་བྲིས་རྒྱུ་ཚོན་རྗེས་ཀྱི་བྲིས་ཚེ་རྟོག་ལ་ཚོན་  
 འགོའི་རྟོག་དཔྱད་དང་བསམ་འཆར་ལུ་ལུའུ་བྲུས་པ། \*

རྫོགས་པ་གཤམ་ཚེ་རིང་།

(ཨ་མེས་མཚེན་པོ་དང་ཀྱི་རིག་གཞུང་ཞིབ་འཇུག་ཁང་།)

འབྲས་རྒྱུ་དམ་གཞིམ་ཁང་འོག་གི་རྒྱལ་ལྷན་རྒྱུ་ལ་རྒྱལ་དབང་བམས་ཅད་མཁུན་པ་རྒྱ་སྤྱོད་  
 རྒྱ་པ་ཚེན་པོ་དག་དབང་སྤོ་བཟང་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་ (1617-1682) ལྷ་མཚན་དགའ་ལྷན་པོ་  
 མང་གི་ཞལ་རོ་རྒྱ་ལེ་ཚོས་མཛོད་དམ། ལྷིས་རྒྱ་ད་ལའི་ལུག་མཛོད་བསོད་ནམས་རབ་  
 བརྟན་ (1658 གཤམ་གསལ་) དང་། གདན་ས་མེར་འབྲས་གཉིས། རྗེ་པ་རྒྱུད་ཤོད་པའི་  
 དམག་དཔུང་ཐོག་ཁམའམི་མོག་པོ་ཨོ་རོད་ལུ་ཤི་ཉན་ (1582-1654) ལྷི་མོག་དམག་  
 དཔུང་འོགས་རྒྱ་སྤྱོད་ནས་བོད་རྗེ་ལེ་པ་གཙང་པ་ཀམ་བསྐྱུ་སྤྱོད་དབང་པོའི་ (1606-  
 1642/43) ལྷི་ད་དབང་ལ་དམག་འཐབ་ཚོལ་བརྟུངས་ལྷིས་དབུས་གཙང་པའི་  
 ཚེར་ 1642 ལོར་བཙན་སྐྱོད་བྲུས། དེ་རྗེས་ 1682 ལོར་དགའ་ལྷན་པོ་མང་པའི་བོད་དམག་  
 དང་མོག་དམག་མཉམ་རྒྱུ་ལྷིས་མངའ་རིས་རྟོག་གསུམ་ཡང་དགའ་བ་བརྒྱ་དང་ལྷན་པའི་པོ་  
 མང་པའི་ཆབ་འོག་ཏུ་བཅུག་དཔལ་མཉམ་མེད་འི་བོད་དགའ་ལྷན་པའི་བརྟན་པ་ལྷ་མེར་ཚོད་

\* ལྷལ་རྒྱུའི་བོད་རིག་པ་ཞིབ་འཇུག་བསྐོར་མེད་ཚོགས་ཚེན་ཐངས་ 15 ཚོགས་ (15th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Paris, 7-13 July 2019) ཐོག་ 2019 ལྷི་ལྷ་ 7 ཚེས་ 8 རོགས་པ་རྒྱུ་ཚོད་ 11:50 ཐོག་རྫོགས་རྒྱུད་ལུས་པའི་དབུང་ཚོས་ནས་ཆགས་ཤིག་ལྷན་རྒྱུ་ལྷན་ནས་བཀོད་པའོ། །བཞུགས་སྐུར་བོད་ཀྱི་དཔེ་མཛོད་ཁང་གི་རིག་གཞུང་ཉམས་ཞིབ་པ་དང་། ལྷུང་བསྐྱུ་སྤོ་ཚོན་རྒྱུ་ཡོངས་ཀྱི་འགན་འཛིན་མཁས་དབང་རྒྱ་ལོག་ལྷན་པ་ལ་གསལ་ན་གསལ་སྤོ་བརྟན་དང་ལགས་ནས་ཐངས་གཅིག་ལྷགས་གྲོག་དང་ལུ་དག་གནང་བ་བཙམ་ལ་ལྷགས་རྗེ་ལྷུག་ཏུ་ཚེ་ལུའོ།།

པན་འཆར་བའི་རིང་ལུགས་ཀྱི་སྲིད་གཞུང་དགའ་ལྷན་པོ་བྱང་ཚུགས་ཐམས་ཅད་ལས་རྣམ་  
 པར་རྒྱལ་བའི་མངའ་བའ་བྱུང་ལ་རེག་པའི་སྐབས་ 1675 མོར་སྐྱེན་ལྷོ་དོན་གྲུབ་ཀྱིས་མཛད་  
 པའི་བདེ་བར་གཤེགས་པའི་སྐྱ་གཟུགས་ཀྱི་ཚད་ཀྱི་རབ་ཏུ་བྱེད་པ་ཡིད་བཞིན་ལོར་བུ་ཞེས་  
 བྱ་བ་བཞུགས།<sup>1</sup> ཞེས་པ་དང་། འཕྲོང་ཁ་བ་དཔལ་ལྷན་གྲོ་གྲོས་བཟང་པོས་<sup>2</sup> མཛད་པའི་  
 བདེ་གཤེགས་མཚོད་རྟེན་བརྒྱུད་ཀྱི་ཐིག་ཅུ་གཉིས་པོ་སྐྱ་ཞོལ་དགའ་ལྷན་ལུན་ཚོགས་སྲིད་  
 ཏུ་ཤིང་སྤར་གསར་བཞོས་མཛད་དེ་སྤར་བྱང་སློན་ཚོག་གྲུང་ལ་རྒྱལ་དབང་ལྷ་པ་རང་ནས་  
 མཛད།<sup>3</sup>

1687 མོར་དབུ་བརྒྱམས་ནས་ 1688 མཇུག་ཅམ་ལ་གོང་གསལ་སྐྱེན་ལྷོ་དོན་གྲུབ་དང་  
 འཕྲོང་ཁ་བའི་ཐིག་ཅུ་གཞིར་བཞག་གིས་སྐྱ་རས་ [=སྤེ་སྲིད་ལངས་རྒྱས་རྒྱ་མཚོས་ (1653-  
 1705)] “ཆ་ཚད་ཀྱི་བྱིས་དཔེ། དཔྱེད་ལྷན་ཡིད་གསོས་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་བཞུགས་སོ།།” ཞེས་པའི་  
 ཐིག་དཔེ་གཏན་འབེབ་མཛད། དེ་ལས། “གངས་ཅན་མི་རྗེ་སྲོང་བཙན་ཏུས་ཉིད་ནས། །བལ་  
 རིས་ལ་སོགས་ཚུལ་འདིར་མིག་གི་དུས། །སྐྱ་ [=རྣ་] བར་འཁོང་བ་རིམ་བརྒྱུད་དོ་པ་  
 དག །བཀྲས་རྒྱལ་ལས་དཔྱེས་ [=ལྱེས་] ལྷན་མཁུན་རིང་ལུགས་སྤྱད། [=མང་?] ལྱད་  
 པར་སྐྱེ་མང་བག་ཆགས་སྲོང་སྐྱགས་ [=སྐྱག་] ལས། །སྐྱ་བའི་སྐྱས་བརྒྱུད་ཤེས་རབ་ལུས་

1 དཔལ་བརྟེན་པོ་དཔྱེད་དཔེ་རྟེན་ཞིབ་འཇུག་ཁང་། འབྲས་སྤྱངས་དགོན་ཏུ་བཞུགས་སུ་གསོལ་  
 པའི་དཔེ་རྟེན་དཀར་ཆག །སྤྱད་ཆ། ཤོག་གངས་ 1497 བ་ད། ལྱི་མ་ 1, 016871 “བདེ་བར་གཤེགས་  
 པའི་སྐྱ་གཟུགས་ཀྱི་ཆ་ཚད་མདོ་རྒྱུད་ལས་གསུངས་པའི་དགོངས་དོན་གསལ་བའི་མེ་ལོང་བཞུགས་  
 སོ།། །རི་མོ་མཁུན། ལྷན་ལྷོ་དོན་གྲུབ། དཔེ་རྒྱུགས། 18” ཞེས་གསལ་བ་བདེ་བར་གཤེགས་པའི་སྐྱ་  
 གཟུགས་ཀྱི་ཚད་ཀྱི་རབ་ཏུ་བྱེད་པ་ཡིད་བཞིན་ལོར་བུ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་དང་མཚན་བྱང་མ་འདྲ་བ་ཅམ་  
 ལས་ནང་དོན་གཅིག་གས་དཔྱད་འཚལ། ཡང་སྐྱེན་ལྷོ་དོན་གྲུབ་ཀྱིས་བྲིས་པའི་མཛད་བྱང་ཡོད་པ་  
 དཔེར་ན། དཔལ་བརྟེན་པོ་དཔྱེད་དཔེ་རྟེན་ཞིབ་འཇུག་ཁང་། འབྲས་སྤྱངས་དགོན་ཏུ་བཞུགས་སུ་  
 གསོལ་བའི་དཔེ་རྟེན་དཀར་ཆག །སྤྱད་ཆ། ཤོག་གངས་ 575 བ་ད། ལྱི་མ་ 6, 006247 “ཀུན་མཁུན་  
 འཇུག་ཀྱི་ལོ་ལོ་སྤྱི་ལོ་ཚད། ལྷན་ལྷོ་དོན་གྲུབ། དཔེ་རྒྱུགས། 2” ཞེས་པ་ལྷ་བྱུང་འགས་ལ།  
 2 བསྐྱེད་པ་རབ་བརྟན། དག་དབང་འཇིགས་མེད། རྒྱ་པོད་པོད་རྒྱ་མཛོས་རྩལ་ཚོག་མཛོད། ཤོག་  
 གངས་ 533-534; བསྐྱེད་པ་རབ་བརྟན། བོད་ཀྱི་སྲོལ་རྒྱུན་མཛོས་རྩལ་ལས་བྲིས་འབྲུར་གཉིས་ཀྱི་  
 བྱུང་བ་མདོ་ཅམ་བཛོད་པ། ཤོག་གངས་ 97-98  
 3 དག་དབང་གྲོ་བཟང་རྒྱ་མཚོ། སྐྱ་གསུང་བུགས་རྟེན་གསར་བཞེངས་རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་མཚོད་རྫོང་ཁང་  
 བཟང་གི་དཀར་ཆག་དང་ཐམ་བུད་དོ་བ་ལྷོ་མས་ཡིག་གི་འགོ་རྒྱུངས་སྤེ་བཞིའི་སྐོ་འཕར་ལུ་བའི་སྐལ་  
 བཟང་། ལྷོ་གས་བམ་གཉིས་པ། ཤོག་ལྷེབ་ 68ན5-67བ3



ལས། ལྷི་མོ་ 1642 “མཚན་བརྒྱུད། བྲག་དམར། མ་ཉིང་དང་བཅས་པའི་ཐང་ཁ་ཡར་རྒྱུ་ཏུ་  
 བཞེངས་པའི་མཁའ་རིམ་ལྷན་མཚར་གྲ་ཚར་བཅུ་གཅིག”<sup>5</sup> ཅེས་དང་། “ཐམས་ཅད་མཁའ་  
 བ་བསོད་ནམས་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་ཐུགས་དམ་རྟེན་རྟོ་རྟེ་གདན་བཞིའི་དཀྱིལ་ཐང་སྒྲན་ཐང་པའི་  
 རྒྱག་གིས་མ། ཐམས་ཅད་མཁའ་བ་དགེ་འདུན་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་ཐུགས་དམ་རྟེན་དཔལ་སྒྲན་དམག་  
 རོར་མ་སྐྱལ་སྐྱེད་ལ་གཞིགས་ཀྱི་ཐུག་གིས་མ།”<sup>6</sup> ཞེས་དང་། “རྒྱལ་དབང་ལྷ་པ་ཚེན་པོའི་  
 རང་ནམ་དུ་ཀུ་ལའི་གོས་བཟང་པོད་ཁ་པ་ལས། 1669 “ལམ་འབྲས་བརྒྱུད་པའི་ཞལ་ཐང་  
 མཁའ་རིམ་དངོས་གཙང་བཞིག”<sup>7</sup> ཅེས་དང་། “དེའང་ཞི་བའི་རིགས་ལ་སྒྲན་ཐང་པ་དང་  
 རྩོ་བོ་དང་དཀྱིལ་ཐང་ལ་མཁའ་བཙུན་བཙུན་བཟུང་རྒྱུ་ལས་ལུགས་གཉིས་ཀ་མ་རྟུབ་པ་ཞིག་དགོས་  
 རྒྱུར”<sup>8</sup> ཞེས་དང་། “རི་མོའི་འདུ་བྱེད་མཁའ་བཙུན་བཙུན་ལུགས་ལ་རིང་དུ་སྐྱུངས་པའི་གོང་དཀར་

ལུགས་ལུགས་འདིར་བསྐྱབ་སྐྱབ་གང་ཡང་མ་ལྟོང་བའི་ཐབས་ཤིན་ཏུ་ནས་སྐྱལ་ [ =རྒྱགས་ ] ། ། ། །  
 ཐིག་ཁེང་མིན་སོགས་སྐྱུ་གིས་ལ་བསྐྱེན་འདི་ཕྱན་བྱ་བའི་པ་བཅས་གཏན་ལ་ཡབ་པའི་སྐྱུ་རྟེན་དང་  
 ཚོས་སྐྱུའི་རྟེན་ནས་ཐུགས་རྟེན་ནམས་སྐྱུ་རིས་རོ་ལོ་ནས་མཇུག་ཚགས་ཀྱི་བར་རི་མོའི་ལག་ཏུ་བསྐྱར་  
 མི་ཕྱོགས་འདིར་སྐོ་མིག་ཡངས་པ་སྣོ་བྲག་སྐྱུ་སྐྱེ་ལོར་བརྒྱ་མཚོས་བྱས། གསུང་རྟེན་གྱི་ཡི་གེའི་  
 རིགས་ནམས་སྐྱུ་རས་ཐིག་ཅུ་དང་འདི་ལུགས་རྟེན་པ་མང་པོ་དང་བསྐྱར་བའི་ [=ཞིང་] བརྟགས་ཏེ་  
 ལྷངས་སྐྱབ་ཐང་ [=འཐང་] པ་གཞིར་བཟུང་། ལག་ཏུ་ལེན་མི་སྐྱུ་མདྲ་ཚེན་པོ་བཞི་དང་། འཕགས་  
 ལུལ་གྱི་ཡི་གེའི་རིགས་སོགས་མཐར་སོན་པ་རྒྱལ་ཅུ་འཇམ་དབྱངས་དབང་པོས་གིས་ཏེ་སྐྱུ་གསུང་  
 ཐུགས་རྟེན་གྱི་དཔེར་གཏན་ལ་ཡབ་པའི་དབྱ་གཤམ་གྱི་ཚོགས་བཅད་ཕྱན་བྱ་དང་ཁ་བྱང་ལོགས་  
 སྐྱུ་རས་སྐྱུག་གིས་སྐྱུ་བཞོད་པ་ལྷར་ངམ་རིང་སངས་རྒྱལ་ཚོས་གྲགས་ཀྱིས་བཞུགས་པའོ། ། ཞེས་  
 གསལ། ཐུགས་སྐྱུང་མཚན་དགོས་ཤིག་ལ། མཚན་གྱི་གིས་དཔེ། དམྱོད་ལྡན་ཡིད་གསོས་ཞེས་བྱ་  
 བ་བཞུགས་སོ། ། ཞེས་པའི་ཤོག་གངས་ལྷ་པ་དང་དུག་པའི་ཐིག་ཚེན་དང་པོའི་ཁོངས་སྣོན་པའི་སྐྱུ་  
 བཞེངས་བཞུགས་གིས་འབྱར་གཉིས་ཀྱི་ཐིག་དཔེའི་ཁ་བྱང་གཉིས་འབྱུགས་ནས་འགོད་ལོར་བྱང་  
 འདུག་སྐྱུམ་པ་དེ་ལྷར་ཡིན་མིན་ལྟ་བཙོ་མཁན་ནམས་ཀྱིས་གཟིགས་འཚལ།

5 དག་དབང་ལྷོ་བཟང་རྒྱ་མཚོ། དག་དབང་ལྷོ་བཟང་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་ནམ་ཐང། ལྷོད་ཆ། ཤོག་གངས་ 218  
 6 དག་དབང་ལྷོ་བཟང་རྒྱ་མཚོ། དག་དབང་ལྷོ་བཟང་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་ནམ་ཐང། ལྷོད་ཆ། ཤོག་གངས་ 218-  
 219  
 7 དག་དབང་ལྷོ་བཟང་རྒྱ་མཚོ། དག་དབང་ལྷོ་བཟང་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་ནམ་ཐང། བར་ཆ། ཤོག་གངས་ 157  
 8 དག་དབང་ལྷོ་བཟང་རྒྱ་མཚོ། དག་དབང་ལྷོ་བཟང་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་ནམ་ཐང། བར་ཆ། ཤོག་གངས་ 176;  
 དག་དབང་ལྷོ་བཟང་རྒྱ་མཚོ། སྐྱུ་གསུང་ཐུགས་རྟེན་གསར་བཞེངས་རིན་པོ་ཚེའི་མཚན་ཇུས་ཁང་  
 བཟང་གི་དཀར་ཆག་དང་ཐམས་ཕྱད་དེ་བཞུགས་ཡིག་གི་འགོ་རྒྱུངས་སྐྱེ་བཞིའི་སྐོ་འཕར་ཕྱེ་བའི་  
 སྐལ་བཟང་། ཐུགས་བམ་དང་པོ། ཤོག་ལྷེབ་ 160བ5-6 ལས། “རོ་མཚར་སྐྱུ་མའི་གཟུགས་བརྟན་



དོན་གཤམ་གྱི་འབྲས་སྤྲངས་སློབ་དཔོན་དག་དབང་འཕྲིན་ལས།”<sup>9</sup> ཞེས་དང་། “སྐྱེན་རབས་གཙུག་ལག་གཉིས་པ་ཤེས་པའི་མིག་། དཔྱུས་རིང་མང་རྗེས་བཀྲ་ཤིས་རྒྱལ་པོའི་མཚན། །རབ་སྐྱེན་མ་རྟོས་མཚོ་ལས་ལེགས་བབས་པ། །སྐྱེན་མཁུན་གཤམ་སྐྱེན་གྱི་ལྷན་ཆེན་འཕེལ།”<sup>10</sup> ཞེས་དང་། “སྐྱེན་ཐང་རིང་ལུགས་རྗེས་ལུགས་པོར་བོགས་ཀྱི།”<sup>11</sup> ཞེས་དང་། “ཚོན་མངས་གསེར་རིས་ཀྱི་ལག་གཤམ་དུ་མཁུན་ལུགས་དབྱ་མཛད་ཚེ་འཕེལ། དབྱ་རྒྱུད་བྱམས་པ་རྒྱལ་

འབྱེད་མཁས་པ། །སྐྱེན་སྲོན་ཀུན་གྲུབ་པའི་རིང་ལུགས་ཀྱིས། །འཆིམ་པོ་བཟོ་བའི་ཁེངས་པ་བག་ལ་ཞ། །མཁས་འདོད་དཀར་ནག་རྒྱ་སོགས་ལུལ་མང་པོའི། །སྐྱ་ཚོགས་རིམ་འདྲེན་པ་མ་ལུགས་ཤིང་། །རང་རིགས་འབྲལ་མེད་སྲོལ་གྱིས་རྒྱུགས་བཅད་མངས། །མཁའ་ལ་དབང་པོའི་གུ་ལྟར་སྲེལ་བྱེད་མཁན། །སྐྱེན་ཐང་ཚོ་རིགས་འཛིན་དང་སློབ་མར་བཅས།” ཞེས་དང་། ཤོག་ལྗེ་བ་ 181ན5-6 ལས། “ཁོ་མོ་ཞེས་པ་ཤིང་འབྲུག་ [=1664] ལོ། རྒྱག་མཛོད་ས་སྲོད་འཕྲིན་ལས་རྒྱ་མཚོས་ཁུར་ལེན་དང་། གཙུག་ལག་གཉིས་པ་ཤེས་པའི་མིག་ཡངས་སྐྱག་ལུང་དཔལ་མགོན་གྱིས་དབྱ་མཛད་བྱས་པའི། མཁུན་སྐྱེན་མཁས་པའི་ལུགས་འཛིན་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ར་ས་འབྲལ་སྐྱེད་གི་བར་སྐྱོར་གྲེབས་གྲིས་ལ་ཚོ་འབྲལ་བཀོད་པ།” ཞེས་དང་།

- 9 དག་དབང་སློབ་བཟང་རྒྱ་མཚོ། སྐྱ་གསུང་བྲུགས་རྟེན་གསར་བཞེངས་རིན་པོ་ཆའི་མཚོད་རྗེས་ཁང་བཟང་གི་དཀར་ཆག་དང་ཐམ་ཕུད་དེབ་ཁྲིམས་ཡིག་གི་འགོ་རྒྱུངས་སྡེ་བཞིའི་སློབ་མར་ཕྱེ་བའི་སྐལ་བཟང་། སྐྱེགས་བམ་དང་པོ། ཤོག་ལྗེ་བ་ 292བ6; དག་དབང་སློབ་བཟང་རྒྱ་མཚོ། སྐྱ་གསུང་བྲུགས་རྟེན་གསར་བཞེངས་རིན་པོ་ཆའི་མཚོད་རྗེས་ཁང་བཟང་གི་དཀར་ཆག་དང་ཐམ་ཕུད་དེབ་ཁྲིམས་ཡིག་གི་འགོ་རྒྱུངས་སྡེ་བཞིའི་སློབ་མར་ཕྱེ་བའི་སྐལ་བཟང་། སྐྱེགས་བམ་གཉིས་པ། ཤོག་ལྗེ་བ་ 40ན1-2 ལས། “ཡོངས་འཛིན་ཞེས་པ་རྒྱལ་ལྷོ་བྱེ། [=1672] བའི་ལོ་ནས་དབྱ་བཙུགས་རྒྱ་རྒྱུད་ [=1673] གི་ནང་དུ་ལེགས་པར་གྲུབ་པའི་སྐྱེགས་གསར་རྟེན་དང་འབྲེལ་བའི་རྩ་བ་གསུམ་གྱི་སྐྱ་ཐང་དུས་རིམ་ཆེན་མོ་སོགས་ཀྱི་སྐྱབས་བཀའ་ཚོག་པའི་སྐྱེན་ལུགས་ཐང་ནག་འོ་མཚར་བགངས་ [=གངས་] སུམ་རྩུ་སོ་ལྷ་ཡོད་པ་འདི་ས་སྲོད་སློབ་བཟང་མཐུ་སློབས་ཀྱིས་ཁུར་བཞེས།” ཞེས་སོགས་གསལ།
- 10 དག་དབང་སློབ་བཟང་རྒྱ་མཚོ། སྐྱ་གསུང་བྲུགས་རྟེན་གསར་བཞེངས་རིན་པོ་ཆའི་མཚོད་རྗེས་ཁང་བཟང་གི་དཀར་ཆག་དང་ཐམ་ཕུད་དེབ་ཁྲིམས་ཡིག་གི་འགོ་རྒྱུངས་སྡེ་བཞིའི་སློབ་མར་ཕྱེ་བའི་སྐལ་བཟང་། སྐྱེགས་བམ་གཉིས་པ། ཤོག་ལྗེ་བ་ 66བ3
- 11 དག་དབང་སློབ་བཟང་རྒྱ་མཚོ། སྐྱ་གསུང་བྲུགས་རྟེན་གསར་བཞེངས་རིན་པོ་ཆའི་མཚོད་རྗེས་ཁང་བཟང་གི་དཀར་ཆག་དང་ཐམ་ཕུད་དེབ་ཁྲིམས་ཡིག་གི་འགོ་རྒྱུངས་སྡེ་བཞིའི་སློབ་མར་ཕྱེ་བའི་སྐལ་བཟང་། སྐྱེགས་བམ་གཉིས་པ། ཤོག་ལྗེ་བ་ 286བ6

མཚན། ལྷིང་ས་གྲས་བསོད་ནམས་མགོན་པོ། བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཚེ་རིང་།”<sup>12</sup> ཞེས་སོགས་སྟུན་མཁྱེན་གཉིས་རྒྱུ་འབྲས་ཁོ་ན་ལ་བུར་འདོན་གཅིགས་ཚེར་འཛིན་གནང་ཡོང།

ཕྱི་མིང་སངས་རྒྱལ་རྒྱ་མཚོས་ 1688 ལོར་མཛོད་པའི་བེ་རྩུ་ར་གཤམ་ཐེལ་ལས། “པོད་ཡུལ་འདིར་ཡང་རྗེ་ལྷོ་མ་སྐྱབས་མགོན་ཚེན་པོ་འདི་ལེ་སྐུ་འཕྲེ་ཕྱིད་གོང་མ་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་ཐེས་དཔོན་གྱི་དུས་ཤིས་འབྱུང་གི་སྐོལ་རྒྱུན་མང་ཞིང་ལྷན་པར་གྱིས་ལ་དོ་རྗེ་གཏན་གྱི་རྟོན་པའི་སྐུ་ཚང་དཀའ་ལོ་ཉེར་ལྷ་པ་ཅན་ལ་སྤྱིས་དྲི་བཟང་བྱུགས་པར་རས་བཀའ་སྤྱི་ཤིས་རྒྱུན་སྤེལ་བ་རྒྱ་གར་དང་བལ་པོ་སོགས་ན་ཡོད་ཅིང་དེ་ཅུང་གིས་རྒྱུན་མི་ལེགས་པར་གྲགས་ཤིང་བལ་པོའི་ལྷ་བཟོ་བས་ཤིས་པའི་བལ་གྱིས་”<sup>13</sup> [...] “རྗེས་སུ་སྐུ་བཟོ་ལ་མཁས་པ་དོ་པ་བཀའ་རྒྱལ་ཞེས་པར་སྐོབ་མ་སྐོབ་དཔོན་ལས་མཁས་པ་གཉིས་ལྷུང་བ་སྟོ་བཀའ་སྤྱི་གས་ནས་སྟུན་ཐང་དུ་སྟུན་ལྷོ་དོན་གྲུབ་པ་སྐུ་འབྱུངས་པ་དང་མཉམ་དུ་སྟོ་བཀའ་སྟུན་ཐང་གི་མཚལ་ཁ་ཡང་ཐོན། བ་ཐོག་ཚར་བ་དང་། རང་གི་ཚུང་མ་དང་མ་མཐུན་པར་ཡུལ་འབྱུང་ནས་སྟོན་པ་ཡར་འགྲོག་སྟེན་ལྷུང་དུ་པིར་སྟོད་དང་གིས་དཔེ་ཞིག་རྟེན་པས་གིས་ལ་སྟོ་སྤྱི་གས། གཙང་ས་སྐུ་སོགས་གིས་ཤེས་ཤོ་ཡོད་ལ་སྟུན་མཐར་དོ་པ་བཀའ་རྒྱལ་དང་ལྷག་པའི་རི་མོ་གསན་མཁྱེན་གྱི་ཚུལ་མཛོད། རང་གི་སྐུ་བ་སྟོན་མ་རྒྱ་ནག་ཏུ་འབྱུངས་དུས་པའི་སི་བང་རྒྱ་མཛོད་ཚེན་པོར་གྲགས་པ་དེ་གཟིགས་པ་ཅན་གྱིས་སྟོན་གནས་རྗེས་བུན་གྱི་ཚུལ་བསྟན་པའི་རྒྱལ་རིགས་དང་ཉེ་བའི་ལྷན་ལུགས་གྱི་རི་མོ་འདི་ལྷགས་ལ་བཀའ་ལམ་གྱིས་གར་རྒྱུད་ཕྱི་གཉིས་དང་བསྟུན་ཡིག་ཚ་མཛོད་ཅིང་ཚུགས་ཚེན་བརྒྱུད་ལ་གཙུགས་རེ་དང་། བ་བཟའ་རྒྱུན་སྟོད་ [=སྟོན་] རེ་བཅས་བཅུ་དུག་གིས་གཏན་ལ་ཕབ་ལ་སྐབས་མགོན་དམ་པ་འདི་ལེ་ཡང་ཕྱིད་གོང་མ་པའི་ཚེན་དགེ་འདུན་གྲུབ་ [1391-1473] ལ་མཉམ་ལམ་དུ་རྗེ་བཅོམ་སྟོན་མས་སང་འཇམ་དབྱངས་གྱི་སྐུལ་པ་ཞིག་ཤོར་བ་ཡོད་ཅེས་ལུང་བསྟན་པ་སྟུན་ལྷོ་དོན་གྲུབ་པ་དང་མཇམ་བའི་འཇམ་དབྱངས་གྱི་སྐུལ་པར་དོས་ཟིན་པ་སོགས་སྟུན་ཐང་ཚེན་མོ་དང་། གོང་དཀར་སྐད་རྟོད་ནས་ལྷུང་བའི་

12 དག་དབང་གྲོ་བཟང་རྒྱ་མཚོ། སྐུ་གསུང་ལྷགས་རྟེན་གསར་བཞེངས་རིན་པོ་ཚེའི་མཚོད་རྗེས་ཁང་བཟང་གི་དཀར་ཆག་དང་ཐམ་ལུང་དེ་བ་ཞིམས་ཡིག་གི་འགོ་རྒྱུར་སྡེ་བཞིའི་སྐོ་འཕར་ཚུ་བའི་སྐུལ་བཟང་། ལྷགས་བམ་གཉིས་པ། ཤོག་ལྗེ་བ་ 287ན6

13 ཕྱི་མིང་སངས་རྒྱལ་རྒྱ་མཚོ། བསྟན་བཅོས་བེ་རྩུ་ར་དཀར་པོ། ལྷགས་བམ་དང་པོ། ཤོག་གངས་582.2-3; བསྟན་པ་རབ་བརྟན། དག་དབང་འཇིགས་མེད། རྒྱ་པོད་པོད་རྒྱ་མཛོན་རྒྱལ་ཚོགས་མཛོད། ཤོག་གངས་540; ཡོ་ཆེ་ག་བོ་དོན་གྲུབ། བལ་གྱིས་པོད་ལ་ཐོག་མར་དར་བའི་དུས་སྐབས་ལ་གསར་དུ་དབྱེད་པ།; Jackson 2010.

མཁུན་པལ་ཆེན་པོ་དེ་གཉིས་སོ་སོའི་བཞེད་པས་ལུགས་ཀྱང་ཅུང་ཟད་མི་མཐུན་པར་གྱུར་པ་  
དང་། གཞན་ཡང་སྐྱེད་སྐྱེ་བྱེད་ལུ་<sup>14</sup> ཞེས་པ་འཕྱུར་ས་ཡར་སྟོན་དུ་གྱུར་བ་བྱིས་ལ་བརྩོན་པ་  
ལྷན་ཀྱང་ཆེ་བའི་རྒྱལ་ཏུ་གྱུར་ཤིང་དང་ཤོག་དཔེ་འབྲེལ་མེད་དུ་བཅང་ཞིང་བྱིས་རྒྱུན་ལེན་པ་  
དང་བྱིས་དཔེ་ལེགས་པ་ཐོས་ན་ལེན་པར་སྐྱེགས་མཐའ་ལྷུས་ལ་ཞིག་གྱུར་བར་བརྟེན་འདྲ་  
དཔེའི་སྐོན་ལ་སྐྱེད་སྐྱེ་བའི་བྱེད་དང་དཔྱད་མ་མཆིས་ཞེས་མིང་གྲེས་ཐོགས་པ་ཞིག་གྱུར་  
འདྲུག་པ་དེ་ནི་སྐྱེན་མཁུན་དང་ཅུང་མི་མཐུན་པའི་ལུགས་བཅས་རི་མོ་གསུམ་དུ་བྱེས་པའི་  
རྒྱལ་སོགས་དེར་སང་བར་དར་རྒྱས་ཆེ།”<sup>15</sup> ཞེས་དང་། ཡང་ཕྱི་ཕྱིད་སངས་རྒྱལ་རྒྱ་  
མཚོས་ 1697 མོར་མཛད་པའི་ མཚོད་སྟོན་འཇོམ་སྒྲིང་རྒྱན་གཅིག་གི་དཀར་ཆག་  
ལས། “འབགས་པ་ལུགས་པ་ལྷན་ལུ་འབྲེལ་བྱེད་པའི་སྐོན་གར་ཆོས་རྒྱལ་མེས་དཔོན་རྣམས་པ་  
གསུམ་གྱི་དྲིན་ལས་ལུར་རྒྱལ་བོད་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་ཁམས་འདྲིའི་བྱིས་འབྲུར་གྱི་སྐོན་པོ་སྟོན་ཅིག་དར་  
བ་ལ། ཐོག་མའི་ལག་རྒྱུན་བལ་པོ་ནས་མཆེད་པ་ཁོ་ན་ལས་ཆེ་ཞིང་། བྱིས་དོ་པ་བཀྲས་རྒྱལ་  
བའི་སྐོན་པོ་སྟོན་གསུམ་ཐང་པ་བཟོ་རིག་པའི་རྒྱལ་ལ་གཞན་དྲིང་མི་འཛོག་པའི་མཁས་པར་  
གྱུར་ཏེ་སྐོན་པོ་དཔྱད་པ་སྐྱེན་ལུགས། ཐོང་དཀར་སྟོན་པ་མཁུན་པལ་ཆེན་པོ་ཞེས་རྣམ་  
དཔྱད་སོར་མོའི་འབྲེལ་བྱིས་སྟངས་ཀྱི་གཞུགས་བརྟེན་དུ་བྱེད་པ་དེ་ལས་མཆེད་པ་མཁུན་  
ལུགས།<sup>16</sup> ཡར་སྟོན་བྱེད་པའི་རི་མོ་ལ་སོགས་པ་རང་རང་གི་བསམ་པའི་བྱེད་སོས་ལུགས་ལ་

14 ཞེས་པ་དབང་ལྷག་བདེ་ལྷན། བོད་ཀྱི་ཕྱིད་དོན་རྒྱལ་རབས། རྒྱེགས་བམ་དང་པོ། ཤོག་གངས་  
108; བསྐྱེད་པ་རབ་བརྟན། དག་དབང་འཛིགས་མེད། རྒྱ་བོད་བོད་རྒྱ་མཛེས་རྩལ་ཚིག་མཛོད། ཤོག་  
གངས་ 544; བསྐྱེད་པ་རབ་བརྟན། བོད་ཀྱི་སྐོན་རྒྱལ་མཛེས་རྩལ་ལས་བྱིས་འབྲུར་གཉིས་ཀྱི་བྱུང་  
བ་མདོ་ཙམ་བཛོད་པ། ཤོག་གངས་ 56-58; སུར་ཚོ། ཕྱེད་སྐྱེད་ལུགས་དེ་སྐོན་མཁུན་གཉིས་ཀྱི་སྐོན་  
ལ་གྱུར་བའི་སྐོར་ལ་ཅུང་ཟད་དཔྱད་པ།; བསོད་ནམས་དོན་གྲུབ། བོད་ཀྱི་རི་མོའི་བྱིས་ལུགས་ཕྱི་  
སྐྱེད་ལུགས་ཀྱི་སྟོར་རགས་ཙམ་གླེང་བ།; ཕྱི་སྐྱེད་པའི་ལུགས་ཀྱི་ཐང་ག། །འབྲི་རྒྱལ་རྟོག་པར་གསོན་  
ལུགས་གསར་པ་རྒྱལ།; Jackson 1996: 89-94.

15 ཕྱི་ཕྱིད་སངས་རྒྱལ་རྒྱ་མཚོ། བསྐྱེད་བཙོས་ལེ་རྟུར་དཀར་པོ། རྒྱེགས་བམ་དང་པོ། ཤོག་གངས་  
582.3-583.3

16 ཞེས་པ་དབང་ལྷག་བདེ་ལྷན། བོད་ཀྱི་ཕྱིད་དོན་རྒྱལ་རབས། རྒྱེགས་བམ་དང་པོ། ཤོག་གངས་ 106-  
107; བསྐྱེད་པ་རབ་བརྟན། དག་དབང་འཛིགས་མེད། རྒྱ་བོད་བོད་རྒྱ་མཛེས་རྩལ་ཚིག་མཛོད། ཤོག་  
གངས་ 445-446; བརྩེ་བྱང་སྟེན་པ་དབང་འདུས། ཐོང་དཀར་དོན་རྟོག་པར་གྱི་ཕྱེད་པས་བྱིས་ཀྱི་དོན་  
སྟོན་དང་དཔྱད་པའི་གནས་བབས་སྟོར་ལ་རགས་ཙམ་གླེང་བ།; བསྐྱེད་པ་རབ་བརྟན། བོད་ཀྱི་སྐོན་རྒྱལ་  
མཛེས་རྩལ་ལས་བྱིས་འབྲུར་གཉིས་ཀྱི་བྱུང་བ་མདོ་ཙམ་བཛོད་པ། ཤོག་གངས་ 84-85; བརྩེ་བྱང་

དང་པ་མང་དུ་སྒྲུབ་ཡང་རོ་པོ་སྒྲུབ་མཁུལ་གཉིས་སུ་མ་འདུས་པ་མེད་ཅིང་།”<sup>17</sup> ཞེས་གསལ། དེས་ན་འ་རྒྱལ་དབང་ལྔ་པ་ཚེ་ལོ་ཡལ་སྐྱུ་གཉིས་པོ་དགོངས་པ་གཅིག་དང་དབྱེས་གཅིག་ཏུ་བབས་པར་མངོན། (སྐབས་འདིའི་ཡལ་སྐྱུ་ནི་ཚོས་སྒྲོགས་ཀྱི་བླ་སྒྲོབ་ལ་གོ་བ་ལས་འཛིག་རྟོན་གྱི་པ་ལུར་མི་གོ།) ད་ལྟ་བར་ད་རང་གི་ཤེས་ཚོད་རྣམ་ལྔ་ལུང་འདྲེན་འདི་གསུམ་གྱི་གོང་ངམ་སྒོན་དུ་བོད་དུ་གིས་ཚེ་སྒོར་དང་ “ལུགས་” རི་ཡོད་གསལ་ཁ་དོད་པོ་འདི་འདྲེན་པ་མེད་པར་དང་པོ་རེད་སྟེ། རྗེ་སྲིད་སངས་རྒྱལ་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་བཞེད་པ་འདི་ལ་དེ་ག་རང་ཡིན་ཤིག་གྱེད་པ་ལས་གིས་རྒྱུན་གཞན་དག་ཡོད་མིན་ལ། ཚེ་ས་ནས་དགག་པ་དང་རྒྱུར་ས་ནས་དོགས་སྒོར་ཙམ་ཡང་བྱས་པ་ད་བར་མིག་ལམ་དུ་མ་ལྟར། ཚང་མས་དེ་ག་རང་ལ་ལུང་འདྲེན་བྱས་པ་འཕ་ཡང་ན་ཁ་བསམ་བ་བཙམ་བསྐྱར་ལུ་བྱས་ནས་བསྐྱར་གིས་ཡང་གིས་བྱས་པ་རྟེ་བུ་ཤ་རྟེན་ཏུ་མངོང་། དཔེར་ན་ཁ་བསམ་རྒྱལ་མང་འོ་མའི་མཚོ་ཁའི་དགེ་སྒོར་རིན་ཚེན་མཚོག་གྲུབ་ (1664 འཕྲུངས་) ཀྱིས་ 1704 ལོར་མཚུར་ལུར་མངོང་པ། ལྷ་གཟུགས་ཀྱི་མཚོན་ཉིད་རྣམ་པར་བཞག་པ་དགེ་ལེགས་སྲིད་པོའི་རྣམ་འགྲུལ་ཉི་མ་ཚེན་པོའི་འོད་ཟེར་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་ལས། “དེ་ལྟར་སྐྱ་གཟུགས་ཀྱི་ལྷུང་རྒྱལ་བ་ཤད་ནས་བཟོ་རྒྱུན་གྱི་རྣམ་གྲངས་ལ་བོད་འདིར་ཐོག་མར་བལ་རིམ་འོན་དར་སྒོམ་ཚེ་བ་ལས། རི་ཞེག་ན་འཇམ་པའི་དབྱེད་མི་ཡི་རྒྱལ་ཙན་སྐྱབ་བླ་དོན་གྲུབ་ཞབས་སྒོ་བྲག་སྐྱབ་མང་དུ་སྐྱུ་འཕྲུངས་པ་དང་། ལུལ་དེའི་མཚོལ་ཁ་ཡང་གྱེ། རྒྱར་མའི་རྒྱུན་གྱིས་ལུལ་འཕྲུང་དེ་གཙང་དུ་བྱོན་ནས་རྟོ་བ་བཀ་གིས་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལས་རིམ་གསལ། ལྷ་སྐྱེ་བ་རྣམ་ལྔ་རྒྱ་གཟུ་འཕྲུངས་དུས་ཀྱི་རིམ་མི་མང་གཟིགས་པས་སྒོན་གནས་བྲན་དེ་ལུལ་དུ་ལྷུང་བའི་རིམ་འི་རྒྱུན་འདི་མངོན། དུས་འོར་དར་སྒོམ་འཕྲུང་གི་དོན་བཞིན་ཚོད་ཀྱི་གཞུང་དང་རྒྱལ་ཚེན་རྣམས་ཐིག་གིས་གཏན་ལ་ཕབ་པ་སྐྱབ་མང་ཚེན་མོར་གྲགས་པ་དེ་དང་། ཡང་མཁུལ་བཙེ་ཚེན་མོ་ཞེས་གོང་དགར་སྐད་སྒོད་དུ་ལྷུང་བ་དེས་ཀྱང་རྣམ་ལས། ལུར་དུ་བཟོ་རྒྱུན་མངོན་དེ་སྐྱབ་མཁུལ་གཉིས་ཞེས་གངས་ཙན་དུ་ཉི་ཟླ་རྣམ་གྲགས་པའི་

སྐོན་པ་དབང་འདུས། གོང་དགར་སྐད་སྒོད་མཁུལ་བཙེ་ཚེན་མོ་དགེ་བསྐྱབ་རྣམ་པར་རྒྱལ་བ་དང་མཁུལ་ལུགས་ཀྱི་ལུང་ཚོས་སྐོར་རགས་ཙམ་གྱིང་བ། དབྱེད་ཚོམ་འདིའི་རྒྱུས་སྒོན་སྐྱེ་ཞབས་ Jörg Heimbel ལགས་ནས་གནང་བུང་བ་བྲགས་རྗེ་ཚེ་ལུ་བ་ལགས། Jackson 1996: 139–168; Jackson 2016.

17 རྗེ་སྲིད་སངས་རྒྱལ་རྒྱ་མཚོ། མཚོད་སྒོར་འཇོམ་གྱིད་རྒྱུན་གཅིག་གི་དགར་ཆག་ཤོག་གྲངས་ 267.4–



མདངས་སྟེར་འཇམ་འོད་འབྱུང་འབྱིན་པ་ས། བོད་འདིར་བརྗོད་རྒྱུ་དང་དང་ལྟེ་ས། །འཕགས་  
 པ་ལི་བརྗོད་རྒྱུ་ལྷ་ཚོགས་ཞིག [=ཤིག་] །བུམ་ཟེ་དྲུང་གི་རྣ་ཚ་དང་། །ཁི་བུ་ཀམ་མ་ས་  
 རྒྱ། [=སམ་རྒྱ་] །མཁམ་པོ་མཐུ་ [=མོན་] མི་མི་ལྟོ་བ། [=ཤ།] །པམ་ཚེན་མེ་འོག་ས་དང་  
 མི། །རྒྱ་ར་རྣ་ཚེན་མ་སོགས་པ་ས། །མོ་རི་རྣམ་པལ་མེས་དཔོན་གསུམ། །སོགས་ཀྱི་དྲུས་བརྒྱུར་  
 རྗེས་འབྲང་ལ། །བྱིས་རྒྱུན་མ་རེས་ལྷ་ཚོགས་དང་། །སྤྱིས་དྲུས་རྣ་བརྗོད་ལ་དྲུབྱུང་། །རྫོ་བ་  
 བཀའ་སྐྱུལ་ཞེས་བྱ་བར། །སློབ་མ་རང་ལས་མཁས་པ་གཉིས། །ལྷུང་བ་རྣེ་བཀ་སློབ་ཐང་  
 དུ། །འཁྲུངས་པ་ལི་སློབ་སློབ་དོན་ལྷུབ་པ་ས། །ཡར་འབོག་རྣམ་ལུང་དུ་བྱོན་ཚེ། །པིར་སྟོང་དང་ཅི་  
 བྱིས་དཔེ་ཞིག །རྟེན་པས་བརྗོད་པ་མོས་པ་སང། །གཙང་སྟོང་ས་རྒྱ་ལ་སོགས་ལུམ། [=ལུམ་  
 ལམ་ལུམ།?] །གར་ཡང་བརྗོད་རྒྱུ་བཙུལ་ [=བཙུལ་] དུ་བྱོན། །རྫོ་བ་བཀའ་སྐྱུལ་དེ་དང་  
 མཇལ། །རི་མོ་རི་རྒྱུན་གསལ་ལེགས་སྤྱངས་ཚེ། །རང་ཉིད་ཚེ་སྟོན་རྒྱུ་ལག་དུ། [=དུ།] །མི་ཐང་  
 མཁམ་པོར་ལྷུང་པ་ཡིས། །བྱིས་པ་རྒྱ་མཚན་ཚེན་པོ་དེ། །གཟིགས་མ་ཐག་ཏུ་སྟོན་སྤྱངས་  
 དུ། །རྒྱལ་རིགས་དང་ཉེ་སྤྲོད་ལུགས་ཀྱི། །རི་མོ་ལུགས་ལ་བཀའ་ལམ་སང། །རྒྱུད་སྟེ་གཉིས་

ཀྱང་ [=ཡང་] དགྲངས་ལི་ལ་བབ་པས་འཛེམ་པ་ཡིན་ཞེས་ཞལ་བཞེས་གནང་མ་སོང་བས་  
 གཞན་རྣམས་ཀྱང་ཀྱང་གིག་གིག་མེད་པ་ཞིག་བྱུང་།” ཞེས་གསལ།; བསྟན་འཛིན་ཚོས་ཀྱི་ཉི་  
 མ། (1730–1779) ཁམས་པ་སྐར་ཀྱི་ལ་རྒྱལ་བ་མདོ་ཁམས་པ་སྐུ་སྟེང་བཞི་བ་བསྟན་འཛིན་ཚོས་  
 ཀྱི་ཉི་མའི་རང་རྣམ། ཤོག་གངས་ 31.23–32.3 ལས། “འདི་སྐབས་ [=1710] ཤིག་སློབ་ལོལ་  
 སྲིང་ནས་ལོ་ཚེན་རྣམས་ལྷི་ཚབ་མདོར་ལེབས་པ་ལི་སྐུ་མཐུན་དུ་དེ་ཉིད་མར་དགོ་བཤེས་བསྟན་འཛིན་  
 ལུན་ཚོགས་སྟེབ་སྟོར་སོགས་རིགས་ [=རིག་] གནས་འགའ་ཞིག་གི་དོགས་གཙོང་ལ་གཏོང་བ་  
 གནང་།” ཞེས་དང་། ཤོག་གངས་ 37.12–37.16 ལས། མདོ་ཁམས་པ་སྐུ་སྟེང་གསུམ་པ་ཀུན་དགའ་  
 བསྟན་འཛིན་ (1680–1728) ཀྱི་དངོས་སྟོབ་བཟང་འབྲེན་སྐབས། གཞན་རང་ལུགས་ཀྱི་དབང་  
 ལྷིང་ལུང་གསུམ་ཀ་ [=ག་] ལ་གཅིག་ཏུ་བཀའ་རིན་ཚེ་བ་བྲམ་དམ་པ་དག་དབང་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་རྒྱ་  
 མཚོའི་ཞལ་སྟེན་དང་། ཡོངས་འཛིན་དགོ་ལེགས་བཞད་པ་དང་བྱུན་མོང་བའི་སྟོབ་མ་བྲམ་དམ་  
 པ་བསོད་ནམས་སྟིང་པོ་དང་། དིལ་དམར་དགོ་བཤེས་བསྟན་འཛིན་ལུན་ཚོགས་གཉིས་མཁས་སྟུབ་  
 གཉིས་འཛེམས་ཀྱི་སྟོབ་མ་ཡོངས་གསལ་དང་།” ཞེས་དང་། ཤོག་གངས་ 75.12–75.18 ལས། 1734  
 “ཟླ་བ་དགུ་པའི་མགོན་པོ་སྐུ་བ་མཚོད་ཟླ་བ་སྟེ་མར་ཚུགས་ཟིན་འདུག་པ་སྐར་ཡང་ལེད་སྟེ་བས་པའི་  
 དགའ་སྟོན་གྱི་རྒྱལ་དུ་བསྐྱུར་ནས་ཟླ་བ་བཅུ་པའི་ཚོས་མགོར་བཙུགས། དེའི་ར་འཆམས་ཉིན་ལྷང་  
 མོ་ལ་ལྷི་ཁར་ཡོད་སྐབས་ཤིག་དེལ་དམར་དགོ་བཤེས་བསྟན་འཛིན་ལུན་ཚོགས་དེ་ཉིད་ལེད་སྟེ་  
 དུ་འཕྲད་པར་བྱོན། དངོས་ཚས་ཀྱི་གནང་སྟེས་གཞན་འདྲ་འདུག་མིན་ཅི་མ་དུ། མགུལ་དར་མཛོད་  
 བཏགས་ཤིག་དང་སྟེ་ཐ་ཁའི་སྟོང་བ་སོའི་རྒྱ་མི་ཞིག་སོགས་བྱིན་པ་གསལ་བར་དུ། དགོ་བཤེས་  
 འདི་དང་དེ་རྗེས་ནས་མ་སྤང་།” ཅེས་སོགས་གསལ་ལོ།།

བསྐྱེན་ཡིག་ཆ་མངོན། །ཚུགས་ཆེན་བརྒྱན་པ་ཤ་ཚུགས་དང་། །ན་བཟུང་  
བརྒྱན་ [=རྒྱན་] རྣོས་ཏེ་ [=དང་:] བཅས་པའི། །བཅུ་དྲུག་གིས་ཅི་གཏུན་པ་པབ། །སྐྱེན་  
མང་ཆེན་མོར་གྲགས་ཆེ་དཔེ། །འཇམ་དཔལ་དབྱེད་ཀྱིས་ [=ཀྱི་] རྒྱལ་པའི་སྐྱེ། །ཡིན་པ་རྗེ་  
བཅུན་རྣོས་མ་ཡིས། །པའ་ཆེན་དགེ་འདུན་གྲུབ་པ་ལ། །ཡུང་བསྐྱེན་ཐོབ་པས་དེས་པ་  
མངོན། །གངས་ [=མོང་] དཀར་སྐང་བརྟོན་ [=རྟོན་] ཅས་ཡུང་བའི། །མཁུན་བཙེ་ཆེན་མོ་  
ཞེས་བྱ་བར། །བཀས་རྒྱལ་གྱིས་བསྐྱབ་ [=བསྐྱབས་] རྟེན་ལས་སྐྱེག་ །དེ་གཉིས་མོ་མོ་ཅི་  
བཞེད་ལུགས་ཀྱིས། །ཅུད་ཟད་མི་འབྲང་ལུགས་གཉིས་དང་། །གཞན་ཡང་ཡར་ཡུང་དུ་འཇུག་ས་  
པ། །གིས་མ་སྐྱེག་པར་བཙེ་ཆེ་བས། །ཡུང་ཞིང་ [=ཤིང་] མོག་དཔེ་འབྲལ་མེད་དུ། །བཅང་  
ཅས་གིས་བརྒྱན་ [=རྒྱན་] གང་རྟེན་ལེན། །གིས་དཔེ་ལེགས་ཡོད་ཐོས་ལྷུང་ན། །ལེན་ལྷིང་  
ལྷོགས་མཐའ་ཉལ་བར་བརྟེན། །རྒྱལ་སྐྱེ་དཔེ་ཅི་ལྷི་ལྷུང་། །ཞེས་སྐྱེ་མང་བས་འདྲ་དཔེ་  
ཡིས། །སྐྱོ་ནས་ལྷི་ལྷུང་པར་གྲགས་ལུགས། །སྐྱེན་མཁུན་གཉིས་དང་ཅུང་མི་མཐུན། །ཚུགས་ལས་  
རང་རྒྱན་རྒྱན་ [=རྒྱན་:] དེས་འཇུག། །དེ་རྟེན་གསུམ་ལ་དེད་སང་དུས། །ལུགས་ཆེན་གསུམ་  
ཞེས་ལུང་ [=ལུངས་] ལུབ་མངོན། །དེ་གསུམ་རིགས་ལ་མ་གཏོགས་པ། །ལྷ་མ་མཁན་པོ་  
མཁས་མང་འགས། །ཚུགས་བརྒྱད་དུས་ལྷ་བཏོན་པའི་རྒྱུ། །མ་ཆད་ཅམ་པ་གར་ཡང་  
སྐྱང་།”<sup>21</sup> ཞེས་དང་། དེ་ལྟ་དམར་དགེ་བཤེས་བསྐྱེན་འཛིན་སྐྱེན་ཚོགས་ཞབས་  
ཀྱིས་ 1716 མོར་མངོན་པའི། རབ་གནས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་བཤད་འཇམ་མཐོན་དགེས་པའི་བཞེད་  
གད་སྐྱེན་ཚོགས་བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཆ་བརྒྱན་ཅེས་པ་ལས། “བོད་འདིར་སྐྱར་རྒྱ་བལ་གྱི་ལུགས་དང་  
ལུང་པར་བལ་ལུགས་དར་ཆེ་བར་ལྷིས་གསར་རྒྱན་པ་མ་རྒྱད་ཞིག་ལྷུང་ཞིང་། ལྷིས་དུས་སྐྱེ་

21 དེ་ལྟ་དམར་དགེ་བཤེས་བསྐྱེན་འཛིན་སྐྱེན་ཚོགས། ཀུན་གསལ་ཚོན་གྱི་ལས་རིམ་མེ་རྟོག་མདངས་  
སྐྱེར་འཇམ་འོད་འབྲལ་འབྲིན་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་བཞུགས་པའི་གཟིགས་ལྷོགས་ལེགས་སོ། །དབྱ་ཅན་གིས་  
མ་མགོ་འཚམ་འཕྲལ་སེལ་དབྱིན་ཟིའི་ཤོག་གངས་ 128-130; སྐྱེན་སྐྱེན་ལྷུང་དང་དེ་ལྟ་དམར་  
བསྐྱེན་འཛིན་སྐྱེན་ཚོགས། གནང་རབས་གིས་སྐྱེ་དང་བཟོ་སྐྱེ་ཚོན་ཁ་ཅན་གྱི་ཚད་དང་ལྷན་པའི་  
གཞུང་ལུགས། ཤོག་གངས་ 48-145 བར། ཀུན་གསལ་ཚོན་གྱི་ལས་རིམ། དེ་ལྟ་དམར་དགེ་བཤེས་  
བསྐྱེན་འཛིན་སྐྱེན་ཚོགས་ཀྱིས་བརྒྱུས་ཞེས་ཀུན་གསལ་ཚོན་གྱི་ལས་རིམ་མེ་རྟོག་མདངས་སྐྱེར་  
འཇམ་འོད་འབྲལ་འབྲིན་ཞེས་པ་སྐྱུར་སྐྱུར་གནང་འདུག། །དེ་ལ་དམར་དགེ་བཤེས་གསུང་འདིའི་མ་  
ལྷི་ག་ནས་བྱུང་དང་། སྐྱར་མ་གིས་མ་གཟབ་གཤར་ཇི་ཡིན་སོགས་གང་ཡང་རྟོསྐྱོད་མ་གནང་སྐྱབས་  
སྐྱར་བསྐྱེན་གྱི་ལས་གཞི་མགོ་མཇུག་ཆེད་ལས་མ་ཚང་བ་ལྷ་བུ་མཐོང་ལགས། མ་ཡིག་དག་མིན་ལ་  
རྒྱ་བསྐྱུར་ནི་བཞེད་གད་སྐྱོད་མཁན་ཡིན་ཡིན་པ་རེད། ཤོག་མར་མ་དཔེར་ཡིག་རྟོར་མང་དག་ཡོད་པ་  
རང་མོར་བཞག་པ་ལས་མ་དཔེ་གཞན་འཚོལ་བསྐྱེད་དང་དཔེ་བསྐྱུར་གྱིས་དལ་བ་མ་བྱས་སོ་སྐྱེ་མོ།

བཟོ་ལུགས་ཀྱི་རྒྱུ་ལོ་ལོ་བ་བྲག་ [=བྲག་] རྒྱལ་བྱ་བ་བྱུང་བའི་སྲོད་མ་སྲོད་ལྷན་སྲུང་དུ་  
 རྒྱུངས་པ་སྲུང་སྲོད་ལྷན་སྲུང་དང་། བར་ [=ལོད་] དཀར་སྲུང་སྲོད་ཀྱི་མཚེན་བཙེ་ཚེན་མོ་  
 བཞིས་སྲུང་བ་ཡང་བཟོ་ལྷན་ཅུང་མི་འདྲ་བ་སྲོ་སྲོར་སྲུང་སྲུང་མཚེན་སྲུང་སྲུང་ཞེས་བཞིས་  
 དང་། ཡར་སྲུང་དུ་རྒྱུངས་པ་སྲུང་སྲོད་ཀྱི་ལོ་ལོ་ལྷན་སྲུང་ [=ཏེ་] དེ་གསུམ་ལ་སྲུང་ཚེན་  
 བཞིས་ཞེས་དེར་སྲུང་གསུམ་ཚེན་ལོ་ལོ་ལྷན་ཚེན་སྲུང་དང་། བཞིས་སྲོད་ལྷན་སྲུང་སྲུང་མཐའ་ཡོད་  
 མེད་སྲོད་ཚོགས་ལས་བྱུང་བའི་སྲུང་ཏེན་དང་།”<sup>22</sup> ཞེས་སྲོད་སྲུང་གསུམ་ལ་བཟོ་སྲུང་དང་། རོན་གྱི་དང་  
 དེས་ཡོད་གནས་ཚུལ་ལོ་ལོ་ལྷན་སྲུང་སྲུང་སྲུང་སྲུང་སྲུང་སྲུང་སྲུང་སྲུང་སྲུང་སྲུང་སྲུང་སྲུང་སྲུང་སྲུང་སྲུང་  
 མེས་དཔོན་གྱི་དུས་ཤིག་འདྲེན་གྱི་སྲོད་སྲུང་མང་ཞིང་། ཞེས་དང་། ཡར་ན། “ཚོས་རྒྱལ་མེས་  
 དཔོན་རྒྱལ་ལ་གསུམ་གྱི་དེན་ལས་ལྷན་སྲུང་སྲུང་སྲུང་སྲུང་སྲུང་སྲུང་སྲུང་སྲུང་སྲུང་སྲུང་སྲུང་སྲུང་  
 རྒྱུང་ཚིག་དར་བ་” ཞེས་སྲོད་སྲུང་དང་། དེ་དུང་མར་དགོ་བཤེས་བསྐྱེན་འཛིན་སྲུང་ཚོགས་ཀྱིས་  
 གྱུང་། “ལོད་འདིར་བཟོ་རྒྱུན་དར་དར་གྱིས། །འཕགས་པ་ལོ་བཟོ་རྒྱུན་སྲོད་ཚོགས་  
 ཞིག་ [=ལྷོག] །བུམ་ཟེ་དུང་གི་རྒྱ་ཚད་དང་། །འི་ལྷ་ཀམ་མ་མ་རྒྱ། [=མམ་རྒྱ] །མཁན་པོ་  
 མཐུ་ [=མོན] །མི་སྲོད་སྲུང་། [=ཏེ།] །པའ་ཚེན་མེ་ཏོག་ས་དར་མི། །རྒྱ་ར་སྲོད་ཚེན་ལ་སྲོད་སྲུང་  
 པས། །མོ་ལི་སྲུང་ལས་མེས་དཔོན་གསུམ། །སོགས་ཀྱི་དུས་བསྐྱེད་རྒྱུ་འདྲེན་ལ། །འིས་རྒྱུན་མ་  
 དེས་སྲོད་ཚོགས་དར།”<sup>23</sup> ཞེས་ཁ་གསུམ་ལ་བོད་གནས་མཚན་འདྲེན་ལྷན་སྲུང་དུས་དུས་ལྷན་སྲུང་  
 མཚེན་སྲུང་སྲོད་ལོ་ལོ་ལྷན་སྲུང་ལས་ལོད་ལྷན་སྲུང་ལྷན་སྲུང་བཟོ་རྒྱལ་གྱི་སྲོད་ལོ་ལོ་ལྷན་  
 དར་བ་བཤད་འདྲེན་གྱི་དང་། འདྲེན་སྲུང་སྲུང་གཟིམ་ཁང་ལོག་གི་སྲུང་སྲུང་ལིམ་དར་ཐད་ཀར་  
 ཚོས་དར་ཚད་མི་འདྲེན་ལ་མེད་རྒྱུ་ལྷན་སྲུང་སྲུང་གྱི་ “སྲུང་སྲུང་” ལས་ལས་སྲོད་གཞན་པ་  
 དེ་དག་གི་མིང་ཙམ་སྲོད་སྲུང་སྲུང་སྲུང་སྲུང་སྲུང་སྲུང་སྲུང་སྲུང་སྲུང་སྲུང་སྲུང་སྲུང་སྲུང་སྲུང་སྲུང་སྲུང་སྲུང་  
 དོགས་སྲོད་ཞེས་གྱུང་། རོར་སྲོད་སྲུང་སྲུང་ལོད་ལྷན་སྲུང་སྲུང་སྲུང་སྲུང་སྲུང་སྲུང་སྲུང་སྲུང་སྲུང་སྲུང་སྲུང་  
 དུ་ཞིག་ལྷན་སྲུང་དང་། དེ་སྲོད་ལིམ་ལྷན་སྲུང་སྲུང་སྲུང་སྲུང་སྲུང་སྲུང་སྲུང་སྲུང་སྲུང་སྲུང་སྲུང་སྲུང་  
 དོད་ “འདྲེན་ལ་ཚེན་མོད་ལྷན་སྲུང་སྲུང་སྲུང་སྲུང་སྲུང་སྲུང་སྲུང་སྲུང་སྲུང་སྲུང་སྲུང་སྲུང་སྲུང་སྲུང་  
 བསྐྱེད་ཅུས་བསྐྱེད་པ་དར་མཉམ་མེད་སྲུང་ལ་ཚེན་ལོ་ལོ་ལྷན་སྲུང་སྲུང་སྲུང་སྲུང་སྲུང་སྲུང་སྲུང་སྲུང་སྲུང་སྲུང་

22 དེ་དུང་མར་དགོ་བཤེས་བསྐྱེན་འཛིན་སྲུང་ཚོགས། རབ་གནས་ཀྱི་རྒྱུ་བཤད་འཇམ་མཐོན་དམེས་  
 པའི་བལད་གད་སྲུང་ཚོགས་བཟོ་གིས་ཆ་བསྐྱེད། ཤོག་གངས་ 17

23 དེ་དུང་མར་དགོ་བཤེས་བསྐྱེན་འཛིན་སྲུང་ཚོགས། ཀུན་གསུམ་ཚོན་གྱི་ལས་རིམ་མེ་ཏོག་མདངས་  
 རྒྱུར་འཇམ་འོད་འདུམ་འཕྱིན་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་བཞུགས་པའི་གཟིགས་ཚོགས་ལོགས་སོ། །དུ་ཅན་གྱིས་མ་  
 མཐོ་འཚེན་འཕམ་མེད་དམིན་མི་ཤོག་གངས་ 128



བ། རྟོན་པ་སངས་རྒྱུ་མཛད་བཅུ་འཕྲི་བུ་ལྷོ་བུ་གྱི་སྐྱེན་སྐྱེན་སྐྱེན་སྐྱེན་”<sup>24</sup> དང་། བར་ལམ་དབུ་ལྷན་ས་  
སྐྱེན་སྐྱེན་གསར་རྟེན་གྱི་བུ་པ་གཙོ་འཁོར་གསུམ་གྱི་ཞལ་ཐང་སྐྱེན་སྐྱེན་དོན་གྱི་སྐྱེན་སྐྱེན་གསར་  
མ་རྒྱུ་བྱང་བཞོད་པ་<sup>25</sup> དེ་ཚོ་ “སྐྱེན་གྱི་སྐྱེན་” ཞེས་པ་དེ་དེ་དང་མཁུན་ལའང་སྐྱེན་སྐྱེན་དོན་གྱི་

24 དཀའ་ཚེན་སྐྱོ་བཟང་སྐྱེན་ཚོགས། (1935 འཇུངས་) ལྷ་སྐྱེན་ཐོག་ཅུ་ཀུན་གསལ་མེ་ལོང་།  
ཤོག་གངས་ 5; གལ་ཡང་བསྐྱེན་ཚོགས་དོ་རྩེ། (1966 འཇུངས་) བོད་ཀྱི་རི་མོའི་སྐྱེན་ལམ་ལས་ལྷ་  
སྐྱེན་ཐོག་ཅུ་དང་ཤིང་ཚོན་སྐྱེན་གྱི་སྐྱེན་གཞིའི་ཤེས་བྱ་འགྲོ་མཚན་སྐྱོ་གསར་དག་འབྱེད་ཅེས་  
བྱ་བ་བཞུགས་སོ། པར་རིས་ཚོན་ལག་གི་དོ་རྩེ། ཤོག་གངས་ 3 ཅན། “མཁུན་དབུ་ལྷན་  
སྐྱེན་དོན་གྱི་སྐྱེན་གྱི་སྐྱེན་ལག་གཉིས། སྐྱེན་ཐང་གི་སྐྱེན་དོ་རྩེ་འཚང་ལ་གྱུ་ཐོབ་བརྒྱུད་ཅུས་  
སྐྱོར་ [=བསྐྱོར་] བ། སྐྱེན་ཐང་གི་སྐྱེན་གྱི་བུ་པ་གཙོ་འཁོར་གསུམ་ལ་གནས་བཏུན་བཅུ་དྲུག་གི་  
སྐྱོར་ [=གིས་བསྐྱོར་] བ།” ཞེས་ལྟེ་བས་རིས་དོ་མའི་སྐྱེན་པར་ལ་གཟིགས་དང་།

25 སྐྱེན་ཐང་ལྷགས་ཀྱི་ཐང་ག་འབྲི་ཅུ།; སྐྱེན་སྐྱེན་དོན་གྱི་སྐྱེན་བཞེདས་པའི་ཐང་ག་ཞིག་ཐོག་མར་  
རྟེན་པ།; དགེ་རུ་པ་སངས་ལོར་བྱ། མཁུན་བསྐྱེན་དབང་། གསར་རྟེན་བྱང་བའི་སྐྱེན་སྐྱེན་དོན་གྱི་  
ཀྱི་སྐྱེན་གྱིས་བསྐྱེན་མའི་ཞལ་ཐང་ལ་དབྱེད་པ། ལ་ཤོག་ནང་མར། གསར་རྟེན་བྱང་བའི་སྐྱེན་སྐྱེན་  
དོན་གྱི་སྐྱེན་ཞལ་ཐང་དེ་འབྲེལ་གྱི་པར་རིས་ལག་གཉིས། (ཞལ་ཐང་གི་མེ་ལོང་།) ལ་ཤོག་ཀྱི་  
མའི་ནང་མར། གསར་རྟེན་བྱང་བའི་སྐྱེན་སྐྱེན་དོན་གྱི་སྐྱེན་ཞལ་ཐང་དེ་འབྲེལ་གྱི་པར་རིས་ལག་  
གཉིས། (ཞལ་ཐང་གི་རྒྱུ་ལོག) ༡༡ །བཟོད་པ་དཀའ་བྱུང་བཟོད་པ་དམ་པ་ནི། ལྷ་དཔྱད་འདས་  
པ་མཚོག་ཅེས་སངས་རྒྱུ་གསུང་། །རབ་རྒྱ་བྱང་བ་གཞན་ལ་གཞོད་པ་དང་། །གཞན་ལ་འཚོ་བ་  
དགེ་རྒྱུདས་མ་ཡིན་ནོ། །བཟུ་ཤིས། །དགེ་ལོ།; ༡༢ །སྐྱེན་སྐྱེན་ལྷ་ར་བཅས་འཇིག་རྟེན་ཀུན་གྱི་སྐྱེན་སྐྱེན་  
གཉིས་ལྷ། ལྷ་དབང་གནས་བཏུན་བཅུ་དྲུག་འཁོར་བཅས་རྣམས། །རིན་ཚེན་མར་གང་མངས་  
ལྷ་ར་བ་མཛེས་པའི། །ལྷ་རྒྱས་གོས་ཀྱི་གཞི་མ་སྐྱེན་ཚོགས་ལ། །ལེགས་པར་བསྐྱེན་སྐྱེན་པའི་ཐང་  
སྐྱེན་དུ་ཕྱག་གཉིས། །དབང་པོའི་གཞུ་ལྷ་ར་བ་མཛེས་རྒྱ་དར་ལ། །ཚོ་དཔག་མེད་མགོན་འཇམ་  
དབྱངས་སྐྱེན་རས་གཟིགས། །སྐྱོལ་དཀར་ཚོས་སྐྱོང་ཚེན་པོ་ལ་སོགས་དར་ཐང་ལ། །ལྷ་དབང་  
གནས་བཏུ་སྐྱོལ་མ་རྣམས་ཏེ། །རས་གྱིས་ཐང་སྐྱེན་གསུམ་དང་བཅས་བརྣམས། །སྐྱེ་བ་སྐྱེ་བར་དགོ་  
ཚོགས་དུ་མ་ཡིས། །ལེགས་པར་བསྐྱེན་པས་མཐོ་རིས་མཚོག་ཐོབ་པ། །ལ་རྒྱ་རྒྱུ་པོའི་རིགས་  
འཇུངས་དགེ་ལ་སྐྱོ། །འབྱོར་པ་རྣམས་ལྷ་ལ་འདྲེན་ [=འགྲན་] འདྲ་བ། །མིའི་ལུ་མཚོག་དཔོན་པོ་  
བཟུས་རྒྱུ་དང་། །ཡིད་འཕྲོག་འཚི་མེད་བྱ་མོའང་སྐྱེདས་བྱེད་ཅིང་། །འོར་འཇིན་མཛེས་པའི་དཔལ་  
དང་འབྱོར་པ་ལ། །འདྲེན་ [=འགྲན་] འདྲ་བྱང་མེམས་ལྷན་པ་དཔལ་ལ་ཡིས། །ལལ་ལྷུ་ལྷག་  
པའི་བསམ་པས་ཀུན་སྐྱེདས་ [=བསྐྱེདས་] ཅས། །སྐྱེ་མའི་རོར་ལ་སྐྱེད་པོ་སྐྱེདས་ [=སྐྱེདས་] པ་  
དང་། །འགྲོ་ཀུན་རྒྱུ་བའི་གོ་འཕང་ཐོབ་ཕྱིར་བསྐྱེདས། །རྒྱལ་འདི་ལག་ཅེར་སོན་བྱེད་རི་མོ་བ། །སྐྱོ་  
ཐག་སྐྱེན་ཐང་ཕྱོགས་ནས་གྱི་ནའི་ལས། །ལྷ་ལ་ལོན་སྐྱེན་སྐྱེན་དོན་གྱི་སྐྱེན་ཞེས་ [=ཅེས་] བྱ་བ། །གང་  
གི་སོར་མོ་བསྐྱེད་པའི་བསྐྱོས་ [=སྐྱོས་] གར་ལས། །སྐྱེས་བཅས་རྒྱལ་བའི་རི་མོ་འདི་སྐྱོས་སོ། །རྣམ་  
དཀའ་དགེ་འདིས་འཁམས་ [=འཁམས་] གསུམ་འཁོར་བའི་རྒྱ་མཚོ་ལས། །དལ་འབྱོར་མཚོག་གི་  
གྱུ་ཚེན་ལྷག་བསམ་ xxx [three syllables illegible] ལུས་ཅན་འགྲོ་བ་འདྲེན་བྱེད་པའི། །རྣམ་

ཀྱིས་མཛོད་པའི་བདེ་བར་གཤེགས་པའི་སྐྱ་གཟུགས་ཀྱི་ཚད་ཀྱི་རབ་ཏུ་བྱེད་པ་ཡིད་བཞིན་  
 རྣམས་ཀྱི་དམོངས་པ་རི་རྩེ་བར་ལག་ཏུ་བྱེད་པའི་ཚུལ་གྱིས་བཤད་པ་འདི་ནི། རང་གི་  
 དཔུས་གཙང་གི་སློབ་མ་མཐའ་དག་གིས་བསྐྱུལ་བའི་ཚེ། རྩོགས་འདི་དག་ལ་ནམ་ཉན་དུ་བྱ་  
 བྱེད། རྒྱ་གར་ནག་ཤོད་བལ་པོ་ལ་སོགས་པའི་རི་མོའི་རིང་ལུགས་གང་དང་གང་གི་འདྲི་བར་  
 འདོད་པ་ལ་དེ་དང་དེའི་གནས་ལུགས་མ་ལུས་པ་འོང་དུ་རྒྱུད་ཅིང་། གཞན་ཡང་། རྒྱ་  
 དང་། ལྷན་རག་དང་། སྤེལ་སྤྱོད་དང་། ལྷ་རྒྱུ་དང་། ལྷ་རྒྱུ་ལ་དང་། ལྷ་གར་དང་། ལྷ་  
 ཀ་དང་། འོད་ཀྱི་ཡི་གེའི་རིགས་མཐའ་དག་ལ་སོགས་པ་ལ་སློབ་སྦྱོར་གྱི་སྤྱོད་བ་ཅུང་ཟད་ཅི་  
 སོལ་བའི་རི་མོ་བ་སློབ་སློབ་དོན་གྱི་གཙང་ཉེ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ [=ཀྱི་] ཚར་ཚེད་དུ་བྱས་པ་  
 ལས། གཙང་འོད་འབྲས་ལུལ་རྒྱུ་རྒྱུ་དཀར་དུ་ལེགས་པར་གྲུབ་པའོ།”<sup>26</sup> ཞེས་དང་། བསྐྱེད་  
 བཅོས་ལེགས་བཤད་ལོར་བུའི་འཕྲེང་བ་ཞེས་བྱ་བའུ་གས་སོ། ཞེས་པ་ལས་ཀྱང་། “དེ་རྣམས་རྒྱ་  
 གར་དང་རྒྱ་ནག་བལ་འོད་ལ་སོགས་པའི་རིགས་ [=རི་] མོའི་ལུགས་གང་དང་གང་འདྲི་འདོད་  
 པ་ལ། དེ་དང་དེའི་ལུགས་མ་ལུས་པ་འོང་དུ་རྒྱུད་ཅིང་། གཞན་ཡང་རྒྱ་དང་། ལྷན་རག་  
 དང་། ལྷ་རྒྱུ་དང་། ལྷ་རྒྱུ་ འོད་ཀྱི་ཡི་གེའི་རིགས་མཐའ་དག་ལ་སློབ་སྦྱོར་བ་སོལ་བའི་  
 རིགས་ [=རི་] མོ་མཐའ་སློབ་སློབ་དོན་གྱི་གཙང་ལས་དང་པོ་བ་རྣམས་ལ་སོ་བདེ་བའི་སྤྱིར་སྤྱིར་  
 བའོ།”<sup>27</sup> ཞེས་སོགས་གསལ་ལ་སློབ་སློབ་དོན་གྱིས་རི་མོ་རྒྱ་གར་དང་། རྒྱ་ནག་། བལ་  
 པོ། འོད་ལུགས་བཅས་པ་མཉེན་པས་མ་ཚད་ཡོན་བདག་གི་ལུགས་འདོད་རྣམས་ལུགས་གང་  
 དང་གང་འདྲི་གྲུབ་པ་ལྟ་བུ་གསལ་ལ་ནད་བར་སློབ་སློབ་དོན་གྱི་གཙང་གི་ “སློབ་སྦྱོར་” རྟེན་ལྡན་བདེ་  
 དག་གི་ཉམས་དང་རྣམ་འབྱུང་། ལྷ་རྒྱུ་གས། རི་མོའི་འཇམ་མཉེན། ཚོན་མདངས། རོ་བོ་སོགས་

མཉེན་རྒྱལ་བའི་དེད་དཔོན་མཚོག་དེ་རྣམས་ཐོབ་ཤོག །རྩོགས་དུས་ཐམས་ཅད་དུ་བཀྲ་གིས་པར་གྱུར་  
 ཅིག །ཅེས་གསལ། དཀོན་མཚོག་བསྐྱེད་འཇིན། བཟོ་རིག་རྩོགས་བསྐྱེད་ལས་རིན་ཚེན་སློབ་བྱ་ཞེས་བྱ་  
 བ། ལུག་དེའི་ཀྱི་མཐའ་དེར། “རྒྱར་བཀོད། རྩོན་འཁུར་ལམས་པའི་སྐྱ་སྤྱི་ཐིག་ཅུའི་ཐིག་དཔེ་འགའ་  
 བཞུགས།” ཞེས་པའི་མགོར་ “སློབ་སློབ་དོན་གྱི་ཡུལ་གསལ་” ཞེས་སློབ་སློབ་དོན་གྱི་རྣམ་ཚུགས་  
 ལྷས་པས་གལས་གཡོན་དུ་སྤྱོད་དཔོན་རྣམས་གཉིས་བཅས་པ་འདྲ་རིས་བཀོད་མཛོད་འདུག །

26 ལྷན་རག་དོན་གྱི་བདེ་བར་གཤེགས་པའི་སྐྱ་གཟུགས་ཀྱི་ཚད་ཀྱི་རབ་ཏུ་བྱེད་པ་ཡིད་བཞིན་ལོར་བུ་  
 ཞེས་བྱ་བ་བཞུགས། ཤོག་ཞེས་ ཀ 25ན 2-5

27 ལྷན་རག་དོན་གྱི་བདེ་བར་གཤེགས་པའི་སྐྱ་གཟུགས་ཀྱི་ཚད་ཀྱི་རབ་ཏུ་བྱེད་པ་ཡིད་བཞིན་ལོར་བུ་  
 ཞེས་བྱ་བ་ 218

གྱི་དེས་ཚིག་དང་རོས་འཛིན་ནམ། རོ་རྟགས་ཁྱུངས་ལྷུང་བཟེལ་བཤད་གང་ལ་བསྟན་དགོས་སམ། ཞེར་འཕྲོས་སྤྱུ་སྤྱུ་བློ་དོན་གྲུབ་ཅི་མདོ་སྤྲུགས་སྤྱུ་མོང་རིག་གནས་མང་པོ་མཁུན་པའི་མཁས་པ་ཞིག་གྱུང་ཡིན་དགོས་འདུག།

དུས་རབས་ 15 པའི་མོང་ལ་བོད་དུ་བྱིས་འདུར་སྐྱུ་ཅལ་དང་བཅམས་ཚོས་ཚད་མཚོ་ལ་གྲངས་མང་བ་ཡོད་པ་རྒྱུན་ཤིང་དང་། འཛིག་རྟེན་དངོས་པོའི་ཚོས་ཉིད་ཡིན། དེ་ལ་འད་གཙོ་བོ་བོད་རང་ལུགས་གདོད་མ་དང་། བོན་པོའི་ལུགས།<sup>28</sup> རྒྱ་གར་ལུལ་དཔུས་མགུ་འི་ལུགས། ཁ་ཆའི་ལུགས། བལ་པོའི་ལུགས། (དཔུས་ཞེ་ཤའི་ལི་ལུགས་དང་འདན་ལུགས་ཟེར་བ་གཉིས་ཡོད་དམ་དཔྱད།) རྒྱ་ནག་ལུགས་སོགས་དར་བྱུང་བུ་ལ་ལྟ་མོའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ལས་ཚོད་དཔག་གིས་ཤིས་ལུགས་ལྟུང་ནང་བསྟན་སྤྲོད་དུས་བརྒྱུད་། རྟེན་བཞེངས་བྱིས་འདུར་རི་ལྷུང་རགས་རིམ་ཙམ་ཞིག་གྲངས་བཤེར་བཞིས་ན། འཕྲུལ་གྱི་སྤྱོད་བཅོན་པོ་སྲོང་བཅོན་སྐལ་པོའི་སྐུ་དུས་དུས་རབས་བརྟན་པ་ནས་བརྒྱུད་དུ་གོོན། མཐའ་འདུལ། ཡང་འདུལ། ཡང་འདུལ་ལ་འཕྲོངས་བརྟགས་པ། ཡང་འདུལ་གྱི་ཡང་འདུལ་སྤྱོད་སོགས་སྤྱོད་ཁང་ 55 ར་ས་འཕྲུལ་སྤྲང་དང་། ར་མོ་ཆེ། བསམ་ཡས། དཔོན་སྐུ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་བཞེངས་པ། དཔོན་སྐུ་གྱི་ལུས་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་བཞེངས་པ། འབངས་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་བཞེངས་པ་སོགས་སྤྱོད་ཁང་ 108 བཞེངས་པར་གྲགས།<sup>29</sup> ར་ས་འཕྲུལ་སྤྲང་གི་ཞལ་རས་སྤྱོད་ཁང་གི་སྤེབས་བྱིས་ལ་གཟིགས་དང་། “མཁན་པོ་དགོར་ལེ་ཤེས་དབྱངས་དང་། དགེའ་སྲོད་རྟག་ལོག་ཐན་ [=ཕོན་ཐན་] རྟེ་ [=སྤེ་] དང་། གད་ནམ་ཀའི་སྤྱིང་པོ་དབྱངས་ཀྱིས། །བཅོན་པོའི་སྐུ་ཕོན་དང་སེམས་ཅན་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་བསོད་ནམས་སྤྱོད་གཞུགས་དང་དར་མ་ [=རྣམ་] འདྲི་རྣམས་བྱིས་རྟེ།”<sup>30</sup> ཞེས་སྤྱི་ལོ་ 804 ལོར་ཁམས་བྲག་གཡའ་ར་ལ་རྣམ་སྤྲང་བྲག་བརྗོས་

28 See Karmay and Watt 2007; འོད་ཟེར་སྐྱིན་པ། གཡུང་ཏུང་བོན་གྱི་ཞལ་ཐང་ཀུན་འདུས་ཚེན་མོ། ཕྱག་དེབ་འདིའི་རྒྱུས་སྟོན་བོད་མི་མང་སྤྱི་འཐུས་སྤྱན་རྟོན་ཚོགས་གྱི་བོན་པོའི་སྤྱི་འཐུས་དགེ་བཤེས་སྟོན་ལམ་མཐར་ཕྱིན་ལགས་ནས་གནང་བུང་བར་ཐུགས་རྗེ་ཆེ་ལུའོ།།

29 འེུ་པ་རྒྱ་ཏ། སྐྱོན་གྱི་གཏམ་མེ་རྟོག་སྤོང་བ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ། དབྱིན་ཇིའི་ཤོག་གྲངས་ 15-27; རྒྱལ་རབས་སོགས་བོད་ཀྱི་ཡིག་ཚང་གསལ་བའི་མེ་ལོང་བཞུགས། དབྱིན་ཇིའི་ཤོག་གྲངས་ 81-83

30 ཆབ་འགག་རྟེ་མགྱིན། བོད་ཡིག་རྟོ་རིང་ཞིབ་འཇུག་ཤོག་གྲངས་ 110



དང་། ལྷག་པར་དུ་བོད་ཁ་བ་ཅན་པའི་སྐབ་གྱིས་སོ་སོའི་མཚན་པོའོད་པའི་སྐབ་བཟོ་རི་  
 མོ་སྐབ་འོས་གསལ་དུ་ཚོས་དུ་སྐབ་ལེས་པ་ལོ། ཏུན་ཉོད་བཀ་ལུག་ནས་སོབ་པའི་དར་གོས་རས་  
 གཞིའི་སྐབ་སྐབ་མོ་ 836 མོར་བཅུན་པ་དཔལ་དབྱུངས་ལྷུ་བས་སྐབ་གནང་བ་སངས་  
 རྒྱས་སྐབ་སྐབ་དང་སྐབ་རས་གཞིགས་སྐབ་སྐབ་བཞེདས་པ་དེད་སང་དབྱིན་ལུག་འཁོར་རི་རྟེ་  
 ལོ་འབྲེམས་སྐབ་ཁང་དུ་ (The British Museum, Stein Collection No. 32)  
 བཞུགས་པ་དེ་ཡིན། དེའི་ཞལ་བྱང་ནང་ “སྐབ་ཀྱི་མོ་ལ་དགོ་སྐབ་བདག་དཔལ་དབྱུངས་  
 ལུས་ཀྱི་རིམ་སྐོ་བསོད་ནམས་བསྐོས་ཏེ། སྐབ་གཞུགས་སྐབ་ཀྱི་སྐབ་དང་ཀུན་ཏུ་བཟང་པོ་འཇམ་  
 དཔལ་གཞོན་དང་སྐབ་སྐབ་སྐབ་སྐབ་དང་། ཡིད་བཞིན་འོར་མོ་དང་། ཡོད་སྐབ་བསྐོ་བའི་ཁོ་  
 མོ་ལ་སྐབ་ལ་འོར་གཅིག་གིས་”<sup>35</sup> ཞེས་གསལ། དེད་སང་ཁ་ཅིག་གིས་བོད་མི་གྱིས་འབྲུང་  
 རྒྱ་ཅལ་མཁུན་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་རང་གི་བཅུམས་ཚོས་ལ་མཚན་རྟགས་བཀོད་སྐོལ་མེད་ཅེས་ཁ་  
 མོ་སྐོལ་བའང་མཐོང་རྒྱ་རྒྱུད་པའི་རྟོལ་རྒྱུགས་ཀྱིས་གཏམ་དུ་ཟང་།<sup>36</sup> 1984 མོར་རྒྱ་གར་  
 བདུལ་འི་བོད་ཀྱི་རྒྱ་ཅལ་གྱིས་འབྲུང་གཉིས་ལ་ཉམས་ཞིབ་ཁས་འཆེ་བ་བྲུ་བྱེད། པལ་  
 (Pratapaditya Pal, 1935 འབྲུངས་) ལས་བོད་ཀྱི་གྲི་བྱིས་རྒྱུན་ལུགས་གསར་“བཀའ་  
 གདམས་པའི་ལུགས་”<sup>37</sup> ཞེས་པ་དེ་སྐབ་སྐོལ་མེད་པ་གསར་བཅུམས་གནང་། བརྟན་པ་  
 རྐྱེད་དང་ཀྱི་རྟོལ་སྐབ་མོ་ཆེན་རིན་ཆེན་བཟང་པོས་ (958–1055) རྐྱེད་མོ་ 996 མོར་སོ་  
 རྐྱེད་དང་། འོར་ཆུགས། ཉམ་མ། ཏུ་པོ་བཅས་བཞེདས་སྐབས་ཁ་ཆེ་དང་མངའ་རིས་བའི་  
 གྱིས་འབྲུང་གྱི་བཟོ་བོ་མང་པོས་ལག་ཅལ་མངའ་རིས་བཞག་པ་དང་། དེད་སང་ཡང་སོ་གྱིད་

སྐབ་གཏིབས་པ་ལྷར་བཀུག་སྐབ་སྐབ་ཀྱི་གྲོགས་མཛད་དགོས་པར་གཉེར་དུ་གཏད། དེའི་ཚེ་ཐ་མི་  
 མགོན་བཙུན་གྱིས་རྣམ་སོས་སྐབ་ཀྱི་བཀོད་པ་རྣམས་འབྲུང་དར་ལ་རི་མོར་གྱིས། སྐོབ་དཔོན་གྱིས་  
 རབ་གནས་མཛད་པས་རྒྱལ་པོའི་སྐབ་དང་དུ་གྲགས།” ཞེས་སོགས་གསལ་ལོ།

35 See British Museum, number 1919,0101,0.321, [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/A\\_1919-0101-0-321](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/A_1919-0101-0-321) (accessed 06.01.2021); Karmay 1975: 8–14.

36 Hays 2015: “Most Tibetan art has traditionally been produced by monks at monasteries. Most artists were anonymous and rarely signed their works, although names have survived in texts, in murals on monastery walls, and on some thankas and bronzes.”

37 See Pal 1984: 29.

གི་ལྟེ་བས་གྲིས།<sup>38</sup> ཏུ་པོའི་ལྟེ་བས་གྲིས།<sup>39</sup> ཏུ་དཀར་གཟར་སྒོའི་ལྷག་པ་དང་།<sup>40</sup> ལ་ཚེན་  
 ལྷག་པའི་<sup>41</sup> ལྟེ་བས་གྲིས་སོགས་མངོན་སུམ་མངལ་རྒྱ་ཡོད། མངལ་རིས་མར་ལུལ་ལ་དུགས་  
 གི་ཨལ་ལྷི་ཚེས་ལའོར་གྱི་གྲིས་ལྟེར་བཟོ་ཚལ།<sup>42</sup> ལུམ་པ་ཡོ་ཤེས་ལྷོ་ཤོས་གྲིས་གཙོས་དཔུས་  
 གཙང་མི་ 10 མདོ་ཁམས་ནས་སྤྱད་འདུལ་མེ་རོ་བསྐྱེད་ས་ནས་ཉི་ལོག་དཔུས་གཙང་ལྟོད་ས་སུ་  
 མིར་ཕེབས། 1009 མོར་དཔུས་ལ་སྐྱེ་མེས་གྲིས་མོར་འགྲུལ་སྐྱེ་ཁང་དང་། གཙང་ལ་ལོ་སྟོན་  
 དོ་རྩེ་དབང་ལྷག་གིས་ 997 མོར་རྒྱན་མོར་སྐྱེ་ཁང་བཏབ་པ་ནས་བཟུང་སློབ་བརྒྱད་བཙས་  
 པས་སྐྱེ་ཁང་མང་དུ་བཞེངས་པ་<sup>43</sup> རྣམས་དང་། 1057 མོར་རྒྱེད་བཏབ་ནས་བཟུང་བཀའ་  
 གདམས་དག་བཤེས་རྣམས་གྲིས་བཞེངས་པའི་སྐྱེ་ཁང་རྣམས་ལ་གྲིས་འབྱུང་གི་རྟེན་བཞེངས་  
 ཚེར་མངོན་ཡོད་པ་ཁག་ཐེག །ག་པ་མངོན་ཤེས་ (1012 འབྲུངས) གྲིས་ 1081 མོར་དཔལ་  
 ག་བང་ཚེས་གྲུ་ལྷག་བཏབ་འགོ་བརྩམས་ནས་སྐྱེ་ཚོ་འབྲུང་གནས་དང་འབྲུང་ཚུལ་རྣམ་གཉིས་  
 གྲིས་ 1093 མོར་མཇུག་ཡོངས་སུ་རྫོགས་པ་ལེགས་པར་སྐྱབ་བཏབ།<sup>44</sup> མོགས་རིས་ཁ་ཤས་  
 ད་ཏུ་ཉམས་མེད་དུ་བཞུགས་པ་རྣམས་གྱི་སྐྱེ་ཚལ་གྱི་གསོན་ཉམས་དོད་པའི་མཉེན་ཆ་དང་  
 བཀྲག་མདངས་ལ་གཟིགས་དང་། ཏུས་རབས་ 12 མཇུག་ཏུ་ཚེས་རྗེ་ཀམ་པ་སྐྱེ་ཤིང་དང་པོ་

38 ལྷད་བྱུང་ལང་ལུང་གི་འབྲི་ཚལ། གྲུང་གོའི་བོད་ལྗོངས་མངལ་རིས་གི་གནའ་བོའི་ལྟེ་བས་རིས་བདམས་  
 རྟེན། ཤོག་གངས་ 61–102; བོད་ཀྱི་ནང་བསྟན་དགོན་པའི་ལྟེ་བས་རིས་སྐྱེ་ཚལ། ཤོག་གངས་ 134–  
 144; Laird 2018: 460–513.

39 See Klimburg-Salter 1997.

40 ལུན་ཚོགས་རྣམ་རྒྱལ། གྲུང་གོའི་བོད་ལྗོངས་མངལ་རིས་ཏུ་དཀར་གྲེབས་རིས།; ལྷད་བྱུང་ལང་ལུང་  
 གི་འབྲི་ཚལ། ཤོག་གངས་ 176–202

41 གུ་གེ་ཚེ་རིང་རྒྱལ་པོ། མངལ་རིས་རྩ་མདའ་རྫོང་ལོངས་ལ་ཚེན་སུག་པའི་ལྟེ་བས་རིས་སྐྱེ་ཚལ།

42 See Goepper and Poncar 1996; Tsering 2009.

43 See Vitali 1990: 38–39; ཚེས་རྗེ་བསོད་ནམས་གསལ་པ། འདུལ་བའི་ཚེས་འབྲུང་། ཤོག་གངས་  
 25–35; རེུ་པ་རྗེ་ཏུ། རྫོན་གྱི་གདམ་མེ་ཏོག་ཕྱིང་བ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ། དབྱིན་ཇིའི་ཤོག་གངས་ 34–46;  
 རྒྱལ་རབས་སོགས་བོད་ཀྱི་ཡིག་ཚང་གསལ་བའི་མེ་ལོང་བཞུགས། དབྱིན་ཇིའི་ཤོག་གངས་ 83– 89

44 See Henss 1998: 148–153; Vitali 1990: 37–68; བོད་ཀྱི་ནང་བསྟན་དགོན་པའི་ལྟེ་བས་  
 རིས་སྐྱེ་ཚལ། ཤོག་གངས་166–186; ལྷ་རྒྱུད། གྲུང་པོས་ཀྱི་གནའ་བོའི་སྐྱེ་ཚལ།; Laird 2018:  
 94–105.

དུས་གསུམ་མཁུན་པའི་ (1110-1193) ལྷ་ཚེའི་སྐྱེད་དུ་འཇམས་སྐྱེད་པའི་སྐྱེད་ལྷ་ཚེན་<sup>45</sup> ཞེས་  
པའི་རྟོན་བཞེངས་བཞོ་བོ་གྲགས་ཅན་གྱི་དུ། ཚོས་རྗེ་ཀམ་པ་སྐྱེད་གཉིས་པ་པགྱིས་ (1204-  
1283) ཞེས་བཞོད་ལྟར་ 1263 རྗེས་སུ་སྐྱེད་པའོ་འཕན་ཡུལ་གྱི་པགྱི་ཞེས་པས་མཚུར་པའི་  
སྐྱེ་ཚེན་འཇོམ་སྐྱེད་ཚུན་ཞེས་སྐྱེད་ཚད་གཞུ་འདོམ་བཅུ་གསུམ་ཟངས་རག་དང་གསེར་དཔལ་  
རིན་ཚེན་སྐྱེ་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་སྐྱེ་ཚུ་སུགས་སུ་བསྐྱེགས་པ་མཛད་པ་<sup>46</sup> འདི་ནི་བོད་གངས་ཅན་ནང་  
ལྷུག་སྐྱེ་ཚེ་ཤོས་ཡིན་ཅན་སྐྱེ་ལ། དུས་རབས་ 13 ནང་བཞེངས་པའི་སྐྱེ་ཤོག་གི་གྲུ་ཚེའི་སྐྱེ་ཁང་  
གི་ལྗེ་བས་བྱིས་ལ་གཟིགས་དང་།<sup>47</sup> ཞེ་སྐྱེ་ཞང་གྲགས་པ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་གྱིས་ 1306 ཞེ་སྐྱེ་

45 མཁས་གྲུབ་གནས་མདོ་ཀམ་ཆགས་མེད། (1609-1678) གདན་ས་ཚེན་པོ་འོག་མིན་དཔལ་གྱི་ཀམ་  
པའི་གནས་བསྟོད་སྐྱེད་གྲགས་ལྷ་ཡི་རྩ་ཚེན་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་བཞུགས་སོ། །ཤོག་གངས་ 44.9-44.19 ལས།  
ཀམ་པ་སྐྱེ་མཛད་དང་པོ་དུས་གསུམ་མཁུན་པ་ (1110-1193) ལྷ་གཤེགས་མ་ཐག་དངོས་སློབ་སྐྱེས་ཀྱི་  
ཐུ་བོ་འགྲོ་མགོན་རས་ཚེན་ (1088-1158) གྱིས་གདན་ས་བར་པ་ཀམ་འི་དགོན་དུ་ “རྟོན་གྱི་གཙོ་བོ་  
དུས་མཁུན་གྱི་སྐྱེ། རྒྱད་པར་འཕགས་པ་བདུན་དང་ལྷན་པ་ཡིན་ཏེ། བཞོ་བོ་ལྱད་པར་དུ་འཕགས་པ་འཇམས་  
དབྱངས་ཀྱི་སྐྱེལ་པ་སྐྱེ་རྣམས་ལྷ་ཚེན་གྱི་ཕྱག་བཞོ་ཡིན། ལྷ་ལྱད་པར་འཕགས་པ་རིན་ཚེན་ཟེ་ཕྱིམ་ [=རྗེ་  
ཀྱིམ་] ལས་གྲུབ་པ། བཞོ་བོའི་ལྱད་པར་དུ་འཕགས་པ་སྐྱེ་ཚད་ལས་གཉིས་འཇུར་གྱི་ཚེ་བ་གཅིག་ལྷོགས་  
སུ་གྲུབ་པར་ [=པ།] རབ་གནས་ལྱད་པར་དུ་འཕགས་པ་འགྲོ་མགོན་རས་ཚེན་པས་རབ་གནས་མཛད་  
དུས། རྗེ་དུས་མཁུན་མདོན་སུམ་དུ་བྱོན་ནས་བྱིན་གྱིས་བསྐྱབས་པ། འགྲོ་དོན་ལྱད་པར་དུ་འཕགས་པ་  
ལས་ཅན་འགའ་ཡེ་ལ་ཚོས་དུག་གསུངས་པས་ཚོས་དུག་དུ་གྲགས་པ། མཛད་པ་ལྱད་པར་དུ་འཕགས་  
པ་སྐྱེ་རྒྱལ་སྐྱེགས་ཀྱི་བདག་པོའི་པོ་བང་རྒྱ་མིག་སྟེང་དུ་བཞུགས་ནས་སྐྱེའི་ལ་གཞོན་མཛད་པ། བྱིན་  
བསྐྱབས་ [=སྐྱབས་] ལྱད་པར་དུ་འཕགས་པ་དུས་ཕྱིས་བར་དུ་གསུང་ཡང་ཡང་བསྐྱེགས་ཤིང་རྗེ་དངོས་  
དང་ལྱད་པར་མཛད་པ་ཡིན་ལོ།” ཞེས་དང་། ཀམ་འེ་མཁན་ཚེན་རིན་ཚེན་དར་རྒྱས་ (1835-1913) ཀྱིས་  
མཛད་པའི་ འོག་མིན་ཀམ་འི་གདན་རབས་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ལྷུག་གཞོན་ལུའི་མགྱིན་སྐྱེ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་བཞུགས་  
སོ། །ཤོག་གངས་ 86.17 ལས། “རྗེ་ཉིད་ཀྱི་འདྲ་སྐྱེ་སྐྱེ་ཚད་ལས་ལོག་པོས་ཚེ་བསྐྱེལ་པའི་སྐྱེ་བཞོ་སྐྱེ་རྣམས་  
ཚེན་དུ་གྲགས་པས་བཞེངས། སངས་རྒྱལ་གྱི་སྐྱེ་བརྟན་བཞོ་རྒྱ་འགྲན་ལྷ་དང་བུལ་བ་སྐྱེ་འབུམ་དབུས་མའི་  
མཚན་རྟོན་རྣམས་བཞེངས། འདྲ་སྐྱེ་དུས་མཁུན་ཚོས་དུག་མར་གྲགས་ཤིང་ཡེ་ཤེས་སེམས་དཔའ་དངོས་  
སུ་བཞུགས་པའི་བྱིན་སྐྱབས་དཔལ་འབར་འབྲེལ་ཚད་དོན་ལྷན་པའི། ལྷར་བཅས་འགྲོ་བའི་མཚན་སྟོང་དུ་  
གྲགས་པ་རོ་མཚར་མིག་གི་བདུད་རྩིར་གྲུབ་པ་ཉིད་དོ།” ཞེས་གསལ།

46 དུའི་སི་དུ་ཀམ་པསྐྱེན་པའི་ཉིན་བྱེད། བསྐྱེབ་ [=སྐྱེབ་] ལྷུད་ཀམ་ཀི་ཚང་བཞུད་པ་རིན་པོ་ཚེའི་རྣམ་  
པར་ཐར་པ་རབ་འབུམས་ལོར་བུ་ལྷ་བ་རྒྱ་ཤེལ་གྱི་ཕྱིང་བ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་བཞུགས་སོ། །པོད་དུ། ཤོག་  
ལྷེབ་ 60ན6; རིན་ཚེན་དཔལ་བཟང། མཚུར་ཕུ་དགོན་གྱི་དཀར་ཆག་ཀུན་གསལ་མེ་ལོང་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་  
བཞུགས་སོ། །ཤོག་གངས་ 53, 356

47 དཀོན་མཚན་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ལྷུག་གི་ལུའི་སྐྱེ་ལང་གི་ལྷེབས་བྱིས་རྟོན་པའི་ཉམས་འཇུག་ཤོག་

གཞེས་ཁང་ཞིག་གསོ་རྒྱུ་བསྐྱེད་མཛད་སྐབས་ཀྱི་ལོ་གསུམ་རིས་ལྷན་མས་ལ་གཞིགས་དང་།<sup>48</sup> ལྷོ་  
 ཚང་དོ་རྗེ་འཆང་ 1392 མཇུག་རྫོགས་པར་བཞེངས་ཚར་བའི་ལྷེབས་བྲིས་དང་ལྷེར་བཟོ་ད་  
 ལྷོ་བཞུགས་པ་ལྷན་མས་ལ་གཞིགས་དང་། ལྷོ་རབས་ 15 དང་ 16 ལྷོ་ཚའི་མངའ་རིས་གུ་གེ་  
 རོ་བདག་པོའི་མཁར་ཤོག་གཤམ་གྱི་ལྷོ་ཁང་དཀར་པོ་དང་། ལྷོ་ཁང་དམར་པོ། འཇིགས་བྱེད་  
 ལྷོ་ཁང་། ལྷོ་མ་ལྷོ་ཁང་བཅས་ཀྱི་ལྷེབས་བྲིས་དང་ལྷེར་བཟོ་ལ་གཞིགས་དང་།<sup>49</sup>

སྐྱོན་ལྷོ་དོན་གྲུབ་གྱི་ལྷོ་བྲིས་དགེ་ཆེན་རྫོང་པ་བཀའ་སྲུང་གཅིག་པུ་མིན་པ་ཁོང་རང་གིས་  
 མཛད་པའི་བསྟན་བཅོས་ལེགས་བཤད་ལོར་བུའི་འཕྲེང་བ་ལས། “གངས་རིའི་ལྷོ་དཀྱིལ་བདེ་  
 གཤེགས་སྐུ་གཞུགས་ཉིད་ལ་ཅི། ཚད་དང་ལྷན་ཞིང་མཁས་མཚོག་དཔལ་འབྱོར་རིན་ཆེན་  
 དང་། བསྐྱེད་ནམས་དཔལ་འབྱོར་རྒྱ་སྐར་འཕྲེང་བ་དེ་ལ་འདུད།”<sup>50</sup> ཅས་གནས་སྡོད་ཚོས་  
 ལྷོ་ལྷོ་བྲིས་ཡིན་པ་རྒྱལ་ཅེ་སྐུ་འབྲུམ་མཚོད་རྟེན་གྱི་སྐུ་མང་ལྷོ་ཁང་གི་ལྷེབས་བྲིས་འབྲི་མཁར་

གངས་ 69–73

48 འཕྲིན་ལས་ཚོས་གྲགས། རྒྱ་བོད་སྐྱོན་ལྷོ་མི་རིགས་དབར་མཐུན་ལམ་ཆེ་བའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཀྱི་དཔང་  
 རྟགས། དཔལ་ལྷ་ལུ་གཞེས་ཁང་ལ་ལྷོ་སྐོར་དུ་ཕྱིན་པའི་མཐོང་བྲིས། བོད་ཀྱི་ནང་བསྟན་དགོན་  
 པའི་ལྷེབས་རིས་སྐུ་ཅུལ། ཤོག་གངས་ 187–291; རྗེ་བཙུན་ཏུ་ར་ལྷ་ཤ། རྒྱའུལ་སྟོན་སྲིད་བར་  
 གསུམ་གྱི་རོ་མཚར་གཏམ་གྱི་ལེགས་བཤད་མཁས་པའི་འཇུག་དོགས་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་བཞུགས། ཤོག་  
 གངས་ 173.5–173.6 ལས། དཔལ་ལྷ་ལུའི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་གི་སྐབས་ “ཤར་རྒྱ་རྟོར་གྱི་ཡུལ་ནས་  
 བཟོ་བོ་མཁས་པ་བོས། རྒྱ་ལིབས་གཡུ་རྒྱ་ཅན་གསེར་གྱི་གན་རྩིར་ [=གསྐྱིར་] བཙུགས་པ་ཆེ་བ་  
 བཞི།” ཞེས་གསལ། རྒྱའུལ་སྟོན་སྲིད་བར་གསུམ་གྱི་རོ་མཚར་གཏམ་གྱི་ལེགས་བཤད་མཁས་  
 པའི་འཇུག་དོགས་ཞེས་པ་འདི་རོ་ནང་རྗེ་བཙུན་ཏུ་ར་ལྷ་ཤས་མཛད་སྐོར་ཁང་ལུང་ག་རེར་བཅོལ་  
 ལམ་དཔུད་མཛོད། Laird 2018: 374–425; Vitali 1990: 89–122; Jackson 1996: 67–  
 102 བར་དུ་ལྷོ་རབས་ 12 ལས་སྐྱོན་ལྷོ་དོན་གྲུབ་མ་བྱོན་བར་གྱི་བོད་པའི་ལྷོ་བཟོ་གྲགས་ཅན་དང་  
 དེ་དག་གི་བྲིས་ཆའམ་བཟོ་རྒྱུ་སྐོར་ཞིབ་པར་གསལ།; སྤིང་པོ་ཡག བོད་དུ་ནང་བསྟན་གྱི་ལྷོ་བྲིས་  
 པ་བྱུང་བའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཀྱི་ཤོག་མའི་དཔུད་གཞི།

49 See Aschoff and Weyer 1987; ལྷོ་བྱུང་ཁང་ལྷོ་དཀྱིལ་འབྲི་ཅུལ། ཤོག་གངས་ 108–172; བོད་  
 ཀྱི་ནང་བསྟན་དགོན་པའི་ལྷེབས་རིས་སྐུ་ཅུལ། ཤོག་གངས་ 51–129; གུ་གེ་ཚེ་རིང་རྒྱལ་པོ། མངའ་  
 རིས་ཚོས་འབྲུང་གངས་ལྷོ་དང་མཛོས་རྒྱན་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་བཞུགས་སོ། ཤོག་གངས་ 188–194; གུ་གེ་  
 ཚེ་རིང་རྒྱལ་པོ། བོད་ཀྱི་ལྷེབས་བྲིས་ལྷོ་གསུམ་བསྟན། མངའ་རིས་ཀྱི་བོད།

50 ལྷོ་ལྷོ་དོན་གྲུབ། བསྟན་བཅོས་ལེགས་བཤད་ལོར་བུའི་འཕྲེང་བ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་བཞུགས་སོ། ཤོག་  
 གངས་ 177.14–178.4; Jackson 1996: 83; Laird 2018: 351, 372; Ricca and Lo Bue  
 1993: 250, 290, 303.



སྐྱེན་སྐྱོན་དོན་གྲུབ་ཀྱི་སྐྱེན་གྱིས་དགེ་ཆུན་དོན་པ་བཀའ་སྐྱོན་མིན་པའི་གྲགས་ཅན་སྐྱེན་གྱིས་དཔལ་  
འབྱོར་རིན་ཆེན་དང་། །བསོད་ནམས་དཔལ་འབྱོར་གཉིས་ཡིན། ལྷི་ལོ་ 1370-1425 བར་  
ལ་བཞེངས་པའི་རྒྱལ་ཅེ་དཔལ་འཁོར་ཚོས་སྒྲིབ་གྱིས་ཆ་དང་སྐྱེར་བཞོད་དང་།<sup>51</sup> ལྷི་  
ལོ་ 1427 ལོར་བཞེངས་པའི་རྒྱལ་ཅེ་སྐུ་འབྲུམ་མཚོད་རྟེན་གྱི་གྲིས་ཆ་དང་སྐྱེར་བཞོད་ལ་  
གཟིགས་དང་།<sup>52</sup> དེས་ན་དུས་རབས་ 7 པ་ནས་དུས་རབས་ 15 ནང་བྱོན་པའི་སྐྱེན་སྐྱོན་  
གྲུབ་<sup>53</sup> བར་བོད་མདོ་དབྱུས་ཁམས་གསུམ་མངའ་རིས་སྐོར་གསུམ་དང་བཅས་པར་བོད་པ་

51 See Laird 2018: 358-373.

52 See Laird 2018: 290-357.

53 ལྷ་སྐལ་པ་དབང་ལྷུག་བདེ་ལྷན། བོད་ཀྱི་སྲིད་དོན་རྒྱལ་རབས། རྒྱལ་མཚན་དང་པོ། ཤོག་གངས་ 106;  
Jackson 1996: 103-120; བསྟན་པ་རབ་བརྟན། དག་དབང་འཛིགས་མེད། རྒྱ་བོད་བོད་རྒྱ་  
མཛེས་རྒྱལ་ཚོག་མཛོད། ཤོག་གངས་ 559; བསྟན་པ་རབ་བརྟན། དག་དབང་འཛིགས་མེད། རྒྱ་བོད་བོད་རྒྱ་  
མཛེས་རྒྱལ་ཚོག་མཛོད། ཤོག་གངས་ 559.10 ལས། “སྐྱེན་སྐྱོན་གྲུབ་རྒྱུ་མཚོ། ཞེས་པ་  
འི་སྐྱི་ལོ་ 1400 ལོར་ལྷོ་བྲག་སྐྱེན་ཐང་དུ་སྐུ་འཁྲུངས།” ཞེས་དང་། འདར་དཔོན་ཉི་ཤར། (a) སྐྱེན་  
ལུགས་ཤིང་རྟེན་སྐོལ་འབྱེད་ཆེན་མོ་སྐྱེན་སྐྱོན་གྲུབ་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་དང་གང་གིས་མཛོད་པའི་ཆ་ཚད་ཀྱི་  
བསྟན་བཅོས་ཆེན་མོ་བདེ་བར་གཤེགས་པའི་སྐུ་གཟུགས་ཀྱི་ཚད་ཀྱི་རབ་དུ་བྱེད་པ་ཡིད་བཞིན་ལོར་  
བུ་ཡི་སྐོར་ལ་ཅུང་ཟད་དཔྱད་པ།; འདར་དཔོན་ཉི་ཤར། (b) སྐྱེན་ལུགས་ཤིང་རྟེན་སྐོལ་འབྱེད་ཆེན་  
མོ་སྐྱེན་སྐྱོན་གྲུབ་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་དང་གང་གིས་མཛོད་པའི་ཆ་ཚད་ཀྱི་བསྟན་བཅོས་ཆེན་མོ་བདེ་བར་  
གཤེགས་པའི་སྐུ་གཟུགས་ཀྱི་ཚད་ཀྱི་རབ་དུ་བྱེད་པ་ཡིད་བཞིན་ལོར་བུ་ཡི་སྐོར་ལ་ཅུང་ཟད་དཔྱད་  
པ།; འདར་དཔོན་ཉི་ཤར། (c) སྐྱེན་ལུགས་ཤིང་རྟེན་སྐོལ་འབྱེད་ཆེན་མོ་སྐྱེན་སྐྱོན་གྲུབ་ཀྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་  
དང་གང་གིས་མཛོད་པའི་ཆ་ཚད་ཀྱི་བསྟན་བཅོས་ཆེན་མོ་བདེ་བར་གཤེགས་པའི་སྐུ་གཟུགས་ཀྱི་ཚད་  
ཀྱི་རབ་དུ་བྱེད་པ་ཡིད་བཞིན་ལོར་བུ་ཡི་སྐོར་ལ་ཅུང་ཟད་དཔྱད་པ།; བསྟན་པ་རབ་བརྟན། བོད་ཀྱི་  
རི་མོའི་སྐོབ་དེབ་ལག་ལེན་ལྷན་ཐིགས། ཤོག་གངས་ 9.23-10.1 ལས། “དེ་ཡང་སྐྱེན་སྐྱོན་གྲུབ་  
རྒྱུ་མཚོ་འི་སྐོར་བྲག་སྐྱེན་ཐང་དུ་སྐུ་འཁྲུངས་པ་དང་མཉམ་དུ་སྐྱེན་ཐང་གི་མཚལ་ཁ་ཡང་ཐོན། སྐྱེན་  
ཐང་གི་མཚལ་ཁ་ཐོན་པའི་ལོ་འོ་ལྷུགས་འབྲུག་ 1400 ལོར་ཡིན་པ་བོད་རྒྱ་ཚོག་མཛོད་ཆེན་མོར་  
གསལ།” ཞེས་དང་།; བསྟན་པ་རབ་བརྟན། བོད་ཀྱི་སྐོལ་རྒྱུན་མཛེས་རྒྱལ་ལས་བྲིས་འབྲུར་གཉིས་  
ཀྱི་བྱུང་བ་མདོ་ཅན་བཛོད་པ། ཤོག་གངས་ 83-84; བསྟན་པ་རབ་བརྟན། བོད་ཀྱི་སྐོལ་རྒྱུན་མཛེས་  
རྒྱལ་ལས་བྲིས་འབྲུར་གཉིས་ཀྱི་བྱུང་བ་མདོ་ཅན་བཛོད་པ། ཤོག་གངས་ 83.3-6 ལས། “དེ་ཡང་  
སྐྱེན་སྐྱོན་གྲུབ་རྒྱུ་མཚོ་འི་སྐོར་བྲག་སྐྱེན་ཐང་དུ་སྐུ་འཁྲུངས་པ་དང་དུས་མཉམ་སྐྱེན་ཐང་གི་མཚལ་  
ཁ་ཡང་ཐོན། སྐྱེན་ཐང་གི་མཚལ་ཁ་ཐོན་པའི་ལོ་འོ་ལྷུགས་འབྲུག་ (སྐྱི་ལོ་ 1400) ལོར་ཡིན་པ་  
བོད་རྒྱ་ཚོག་མཛོད་ཆེན་མོར་གསལ།” ཞེས་གསལ། འོན་ཀྱང་ཀྱང་དབྱི་སུམ་གྱིས་གཙོ་འགན་བཞེས་  
ནས་ཚུམ་སྐྱིག་བྱས་པའི་བོད་རྒྱ་ཚོག་མཛོད་ཆེན་མོ། ཤོག་གངས་ 3244 ལས། “1400 (7) ལུགས་

ལྷ་བྱིས་ལྷ་གས་ཅན་མང་དག་ལྷོན་ཀྱང་ཉེ་སྲིད་སངས་རྒྱལ་རྒྱ་མཚོས་སྐྱེས་ལྷ་དོན་གྲུབ་གཅིག་  
པུར་སྐྱེན་རིས་ “ལུགས་” ཞེས་ཚད་མཐོའི་གདེང་འཛིག་དང་འབྲེལ་དམིགས་བཀའ་རམ་རྒྱར་  
དབྱེའི་འབྲུར་དོད་མཚན་རྟགས་མིང་འཕོད་བྱེད་དགོས་དོན་གང་ཡིན་ནམ།

ལྷ་བཟོ་བྱིས་འབྲུར་ལུག་རྩལ་ལེགས་པས་མ་ཚད་ཆ་ཚད་ཀྱི་གཞུང་ལུགས་བརྟན་  
བཅས་ཀྱང་མཛད་ཡོད་པས་རེད་ཟེར་ནའང་མི་བད་དེ། ལྷ་ར་བད་གི་བཅོམ་ལྷན་རིགས་  
རལ་ (1227-1305) གྱིས་མཛད་པའི་སྐུ་གཟུགས་ཀྱི་མཚན་ཉིད་རྒྱན་གྱི་མེ་ཏོག་<sup>54</sup> ཅེས་  
པ་དང་། དཀྱིལ་འཕོར་གྱི་ཐིག་གི་མན་དག་<sup>55</sup> ཅེས་པ་གཉིས་དང་། འགྲོ་མགོན་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་  
འཕགས་པའི་ (1235-1280) ཞལ་སློབ་དག་སློབ་དོ་རྗེ་འཛིན་པ་ཚོ་མོ་རོང་པ་བསོད་ནམས་  
འོད་ཟེར་གྱིས་མཛད་པའི་རྟེན་གསུམ་བཞུགས་གནས་དང་བཅས་པའི་བཞེངས་ཚུལ་ཡོན་  
ཏུན་འབྲུང་གནས་ཞེས་པ་དང་། རྗེ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ཙོང་ཁ་པའི་ (1357-1419) དཔོན་སློབ་རོང་  
རིན་ལྷུངས་བྱམས་ཆེན་བཅུན་པ་མདྲ་ལ་ཤི་ལས་ (=བཀྱ་ཤེས་རྒྱལ་བྱིམས་) མཛད་པའི་ལྷ་  
སྐུའི་ལུག་ཚད་རྒྱལ་བའི་གཟུགས་བརྟན་ལེགས་པར་བལྟ་བའི་མེ་ཏོག་<sup>56</sup> བོ་དོང་པའ་ཆེན་

འབྲུག་མཚོ་བྱག་སྐྱེན་བད་དུ་འཁྲུངས་པའི་ལྷ་བྱིས་མཁས་པ་སྐྱེན་ལྷ་དོན་གྲུབ་ཀྱིས་རྒྱ་བལ་གྱི་རི་མོ་  
གཞིར་བཞག་ཐོག་རིག་རྩལ་གྱི་ལེགས་ཚད་མས་བརྒྱན་ཏེ་རི་མོའི་བྱིས་རྒྱུན་གསར་དུ་དར་བ་ལྟོ་  
བྱག་སྐྱེན་བྱིས་ཞེས་པ་བྱུང་།” ཞེས་གསལ་བ་འབྲུངས་གང་ཡིན་མ་གསལ། འདིར་ནི་བྱིས་རྒྱུན་སྐྱེན་  
བྱིས་ག་དུས་བྱུང་མིན་ལས་སྐྱེན་ལྷ་དོན་གྲུབ་འཁྲུངས་པའི་ལོ་ཁམས་དང་སྐྱེན་བད་དུ་མཚལ་ཁ་བོན་  
པའི་སློང་མོགས་མ་གསལ།

54 བཅོམ་ལྷན་རིགས་པའི་རལ་གྱི། བཅོམ་ལྷན་རིགས་པའི་རལ་གྱི་འི་གསུང་འབྲུམ་ཉལ། 3-4 ཤོག་  
གངས་ 261-269

55 བཅོམ་ལྷན་རིགས་པའི་རལ་གྱི། བཅོམ་ལྷན་རིགས་པའི་རལ་གྱི་འི་གསུང་འབྲུམ་ཉལ། 3-6 ཤོག་  
གངས་ 301-313

56 དགེ་ཆེ་རིག་འཛིན་དཔལ་འཕྱོར། འབྲུར་སྐུའི་ལུག་ཚད་རྒྱལ་བའི་སྐུ་བརྟན་ལེགས་པར་བལྟ་བའི་  
མེ་ཏོག་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་བཞུགས་སོ། །ཤོག་གངས་ 65.1-19 ལས། “ཆ་ཚད་སོགས་ཡི་དམ་ཞི་མོ་དུ་མ་  
བཞེངས་པའི་དུས་སྐུ་རྒྱལ་བའི་སྐུ་གཟུགས་ཀྱི་སློ་ནས་ཀྱང་། བརྟན་པ་དང་སེམས་ཅན་ལ་ཕན་  
པར་དགོངས་ནས་ཚད་ཡིག་གི་རྣམ་གངས་དུ་མ་ཞིག་ལས། བདེ་མཚོག་སྣོམས་ [=སྣོམ་] འབྲུང་  
གི་དཀའ་འབྲེལ་རྒྱ་གར་གྱི་གྲུབ་ཆེན་ཤར་སྤྲི་ཏས་ [=ཤར་རྤྲི་ཏས་] མཛད་པའི་ལེའུ་སུམ་རུ་པ་  
ལས་ལུག་ཚད་ཀྱི་དེ་ཉིད་རྒྱལ་བར་གསུངས་པ་ལས་ལེགས་པར་གཏན་ལ་ཕབ་ཅིང་། གངས་ཅན་  
གྱི་རིག་བྱེད་འཛིན་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་གཙུག་རྒྱུན་སྣོམ་པ་གསུམ་ལ་སོགས་པའི་ལུང་རྟོགས་ཀྱི་ཡོན་ཏན་  
དུ་མས་བྱུགས་རྒྱུད་ལེགས་པར་གང་བ་ལྷུང་པར་སྐྱ་མ་དེ་ཉིད་ཀྱི་བྱིན་རྒྱུ་བས་ལུགས་པས་ཐིན་ལས་  
དང་། འགྲོ་དོན་བསམ་གྱིས་མི་བྱུབ་པའི་བཤེས་གཉེན་མཁས་པའི་དབང་པོ་བསོད་ནམས་རྒྱལ་

ཕྱོགས་ལས་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་ (1376-1451) གྱིས་མཛད་པའི། མཁས་པ་འཇུག་པའི་བཟོ་རིག་སྐྱེ་  
གསུང་ཐུགས་ཀྱི་རྟོན་བཞེངས་ཚུལ་བཞུགས་སོ།<sup>57</sup> ཞེས་དང་། རྟོན་གསུམ་བཞེངས་ཚུལ་  
བསྟན་བཅོས་བཤད་པ་བཞུགས་སོ།<sup>58</sup> ཞེས་པ་དང་། རྟོག་ཚང་མོ་ལྷ་བ་ཤེས་རབ་རིན་  
ཚེན་ (1405-1477) གྱིས་མཛད་པའི། རྟོན་གསུམ་གཞེངས་ཚུལ་དཔལ་འབྱོར་རྒྱ་མཚོ་ལས་

མཚན་དང་། ཤེས་རབ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་ཞེས་ཡོངས་སུ་གྲགས་པ་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་ཇི་ལེགས་པའི་བཞེན་དུ་  
ཐིག་དང་གོ་རིམ་རྣམས་མ་འཇུགས་པར་རིམ་དང་འབྱར་དུ་དོད་པ་ལ་གཏན་ལ་ཕབ་ཅིང་དགོངས་  
པ་ཡང་དག་པར་སྒྲངས་པ་རྣམས་ལ་འདྲིས་ཤིང་། ལེགས་པར་སྐྱེངས་པ་དང་། དཔལ་ལྷན་སྒྲུ་མ་  
ཙོང་ཁ་བ་ཡབ་སྐུ་སོགས་བཤེས་གཉེན་དམ་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ཞབས་རུ་ལས་སྤྱི་བོར་ཞོད་པའི་བཙུན་  
པ་མངུ་ལ་ཤྱི་ལས་ཕྱག་ཚད་ཀྱི་སྲིད་ཞིང་། [=ཞེང་?] དུས་འཁོར་འགྲུལ་ཚེན་དང་བསྟན་ནང་  
ཚན་གྱི་དབྱེ་བ་སྟོན་འབྱུང་དང་མཐུན་པར་རང་བཟོ་སྤངས་ཏེ་གཙང་ལོང་གི་བྱམས་ཚེན་དུ་ཡི་གེར་  
བཀོད་པའོ། ཞེས་གསལ། སྟོན་འབྱུང་ལས་མིུ་བྱུང་དང་། ཐོ་དུག་པའི་ཚད་སྟོན་འབྲི་བྱས། ཡིག་  
རྒྱུང་ལག་མདོ་རྒྱུད་སོ་སོ་ནས་ལུང་དངས་པའི་ཚུལ་དུ་བྱས་པ་བདག་རིག་འཛིན་དཔལ་འབྱོར་  
པས་པ་མེས་ཀྱི་བྱུལ་འཛིན་བཟྱི་བྱུལ་བྱས།” ཞེས་གསལ། མ་ཕྱི་རོམ་འི་ཞབ་བྱང་དངོས་ནི་ “ལྷ་  
སྐྱེའི་ཕྱག་ཚད་རྒྱལ་བའི་གཟུགས་བརྟན་ལེགས་པར་བལྟ་བའི་མེ་ཡོང་ཞེས་བྱ་བ།” ཡིན་པ་དང་།  
མཛད་པ་པོ་ཡང་རྗེ་ཙོང་ཁ་བའི་ (1357-1419) དངོས་སློབ་རོང་རིན་སྐྱེངས་བྱམས་ཚེན་བཙུན་  
པ་མངུ་ལ་ཤྱི་ལས་ (=བཀྲ་ཤིས་རྒྱལ་ཁྲིམས་) མཛད་པ་ཞིག་རེད་འདུག །སྐར་བསྐྱེད་སྐབས་  
མཚན་བྱང་དང་མཛད་པ་པོའི་མཚན་ཡང་བསྐྱར་བཅོས་མཛད་ནས་ “འབྱར་སྐྱེའི་ཕྱག་ཚད་ལྷ་རྒྱལ་  
བའི་སྐྱེ་བརྟན་ལེགས་པར་བལྟ་བའི་མེ་ཡོང་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་བཞུགས་སོ། །དག་ཆེ་རིག་འཛིན་དཔལ་  
འབྱོར། (1933-1991)” ཞེས་བཀོད་པ་དང་། འབྱར་སྐྱེའི་ཆ་ཚད་མིན་བཞེན་དུ་རྟོན་བཞེངས་བཟོ་  
སློབ་ཀྱི་ཆེད་དུ་འབྱར་སྐྱེའི་ཆ་ཚད་ཡིན་ལུལ་གྱིས་བཟོ་བཅོས་ལྷན་བཅུག་གནང་འདུག །ཕྱག་དེབ་  
དཀྱུས་ཀྱི་ཤོག་གངས་ 2 ནང་། དང་པོ་ཕན་ཡོན་བརྗོད་པ། ཤོག་གངས་ 7 ནང་། གཉིས་པ། སྐྱེ་  
གཟུགས་ཆེ་རྒྱུད་ཚད་ལེན། ཤོག་གངས་ 11 ནང་། གསུམ་པ། ལྷུ་བསྐྱར་བའི་ཚད། ཤོག་གངས་  
19 ནང་། བཞི་པ། བྱང་རྒྱལ་སེམས་དཔའི་ཚད། ཤོག་གངས་ 29 ནང་། ལྷ་པ། ཞི་བའི་ལྷ་མོའི་ཚད།  
ཤོག་གངས་ 33 ནང་། དུག་པ། ལྷོ་བོ་གཞོན་སྐྱེན་གྱི་ཚད། ཤོག་གངས་ 57 ནང་། བདུན་པ།  
བཞུགས་སྐྱེའི་ཆ་ཚད། ཤོག་གངས་ 62 ནང་། བརྒྱུད་པ། མཚན་ཉིད་མི་ལྷན་པའི་ཉེས་པ། བཅས་པ་  
གསར་དུ་ཁ་བསྟོན་བྱས་འདུག །མདོར་ན་སྐྱེན་སྒྲོ་དོན་གྲུབ་ལས་སྐྱེ་བའི་བོད་ཀྱི་ལྷ་བྱིས་ལ་མཁོ་བའི་  
ཕྱག་ཚད་ཐིག་དཔའི་ཡིག་ཆ་གལ་ཆེན་འདི་དག་ལྷན་སྐྱོན་ཅན་བཅོས་པའི་སྤྲིག་ཉེས་བསགས་འདུག

57 བོ་དོང་པཎ་ཆེན་ཕྱོགས་ལས་རྣམ་རྒྱལ། བོ་དོང་པཎ་ཆེན་ཕྱོགས་ལས་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་གྱི་གསུང་འབུམ་  
བཞུགས་སོ། །པོད་ཁ་པ། ཤོག་གངས་ 215-264

58 བོ་དོང་པཎ་ཆེན་ཕྱོགས་ལས་རྣམ་རྒྱལ། བོ་དོང་པཎ་ཆེན་ཕྱོགས་ལས་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་གྱི་གསུང་འབུམ་  
བཞུགས་སོ། །པོད་ཁ་པ། ཤོག་གངས་ 265-342



མར་སྐལ་ལྷན་གྱི་ཉེ་ཆོས་པ་པོ་དང་།<sup>62</sup> ལྷ་གྲིས་པའང་ཡིན། གནས་ལུགས་རྒྱ་མཚོན་འབྲེལ་  
 པ་དེ་དག་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་ལྷན་ཁང་པ་ཁྲུ་དཔོན་ཡཔ་སྐྱེས་སྲོལ་བརྒྱུད་དང་བཅས་པར་དོ་སྙོལ་  
 མེ་འདོན་གྱིས་ཁོ་ལོན་བཟུང་བའི་ཆབ་སྲིད་ཀྱི་སློབ་གར་འབྲེལ་ལྷན་གྱིས་ཆའམ་  
 གྲིས་རྒྱུན་ལོ་འདྲ་བ་མང་པོའི་ནང་ནས་སྐྱེས་ཤིང་ཀྱི་ལོ་གནས་སམ། གནས་བབས་མཐོན་པོར་  
 བརྟེན་པ་པ་དང་། དེ་སྐབས་ཀྱི་རྒྱུན་འཛིན་རྣམས་ལ་བདག་གཅེས་གསོ་སྦྲིད་ལྟར་པའི་ལས་  
 འཁུགས་ཞིག་ཏུ་མཐོང་པགས། རྟེན་སྲིད་སངས་རྒྱས་རྒྱ་མཚོས་འབྲས་ལྷན་གཞིམ་ཁང་པོག་  
 གི་སྐལ་སྐྱོལ་ལྷན་དཔལ་འབྲས་ཅན་མཁུན་པ་སྐྱེས་པའི་ལྷན་དང་འབྲེལ་བ་པོར་པའི་སྐྱེན་  
 མར་པ་ལ་མེ་འདོན་བྱས་ཞོར་དུ་ཀོང་རྒྱལ་དཔལ་ཀམ་ལི་སྐར་མེན་དང་འབྲེལ་བའི་སྐྱེས་  
 ཀམ་ལི་སྐར་ལི་སྐྱེས་ལུགས་པའི་གྲིས་ཆའི་སྐར་དེ་ནས་བཟུང་གཏོང་མཐའ་མཐོང་པོར། དེ་ཙམ་  
 དཔལ་འཛིན་མི་སྣམ་མའོན་གསལ་དོད་པོས་དྲག་ལུགས་ཀྱི་རན་དཔལ་མཐོན་སྦྱོར་གྱི་ཐབས་  
 ལས་གཅིག་ལུ་ཅོམ་མིན་པར། བསམ་པའི་དཔལ་པོན་ལ་འཇལ་ཚེས་དང་འཇལ་དུག་སྐྱེས་  
 པའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་འཆད་སྤངས་ཤིག་ལྟེན་ལྷན། གཞན་སྟེས་མཐོང་པ་བལྟས་བཞག་སྐྱེས་ལི་སྐྱེས་  
 བཟུང་བུ་བཏར་ནས་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་རྒན་པའི་ཡུལ་ལས་རིང་དུ་ཡལ་ཐབས་ཀྱི་འཇལ་པའི་མ་  
 རུང་བ་ཞིག་ལས་གཞན་དུ་ཅི། ལྷན་དཔལ་ལྷ་པ་མེན་པོ་དང་སྟེ་སྲིད་སངས་རྒྱ་མཚོ་རྣམ་  
 གཉིས་ཀྱིས་པོད་ཁམས་སྲིད་དཔལ་བརྒྱུར་སྐབས་ཚོས་བརྒྱུད་ལྷ་བརྒྱུར་མང་པོ་མཐོང་ཞོར་  
 རྟེན་བཞེས་ཀྱང་རྒྱ་ཆེ་མཐོང་པ་དང་། མེ་པོ་ཏུ་ལའི་པོ་བྲང་དམར་པོ་དང་དཀར་པོ་རྒྱ་བསྐྱེད་  
 ལར་བརྒྱན་དང་། ཐོགས་བཅེགས་མང་པོའི་སྤྲེལ་གྲིས་གསར་བཞོད་སྐབས་ཚོགས་སུ་བཤང་  
 ཀམ་སྐར་ལི་སྐྱེས་ལུགས་ཀྱི་སྐྱེས་པ་གཅིག་ཀྱང་ལས་སྐར་བཅུག་མེད་པ་ལི་པོད་སྐབས་ལྟེན་  
 ལ་མཚོད་སྤོང་འཛིན་སྲིད་རྒྱུན་གཅིག་དཀར་ཆག་དང་། དུ་ལུ་ལའི་ལོས་བཟང་འཕྲོ་མཐུང་ད་  
 ཅ་ཆ་པོད་ཆེན་གསུམ་བཅས་པར་གཞིགས་ན་མཁུན་རྒྱ་དེད། ཆབ་མདོ་སྐོར་དོད་ལྷ་མ་དག་  
 དཔལ་སྐོར་བཟང་ (1719-1805) གི་གསུང་ལས་ཀྱང་སྟེ་སྲིད་སངས་རྒྱས་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་བཞེད་  
 པ་རྣམས་སྐྱེ་གཞུགས་ཆ་ཚད་སྟོན་པའི་བརྒྱུན་ཚོས་དང་རི་མོ་ལོ། རྟོ་བཀག་ཏུ་བཟུངས་པ་སྐྱེན་  
 ལྷ་དོན་སྐབས་རྒྱ་མཚོ། (སྐབས་འདྲིར་མཚན་ལོགས་ “རྒྱ་མཚོ” ཞེས་པ་ཐོས་པ་བརྒྱན་ནས་  
 ལྷ་མོ) དེ་ཡི་སྲོལ་མ་སྐྱེན་མང་ཡཔ་སྐྱེས་གཉིས། དེ་ཡི་རྗེས་འབྲང་ཡུལ་གཅོད་པ་དཔུ་མཐོང་  
 ཚོས་དཔྲིངས་རྒྱ་མཚོ། ཡར་སྐྱེད་དུ་བཟུངས་པ་ལྟེ་དུ་ལྷ་བཟོ། དུགས་པོ་ལྷན་མིང་པའི་དུགས་

62 See Chandra 1963: 506.

རིམ། བོད་དཀར་ཉེན་དུ་བཟུངས་པ་སྐྱུལ་སྐྱུ་མཁུའི་བཙེ་བ། སྐྱུལ་སྐྱུ་ཉེན་ལུ་ཚུང་། (= སྐྱུལ་སྐྱུ་  
 ཉེན་ལུ་ཚུང་བ་) <sup>63</sup> སྐྱུལ་སྐྱུ་རི་མཁར་བ། སྐྱུལ་སྐྱུ་ཕྱང་ཁ་བ། (= སྐྱུལ་སྐྱུ་རི་མཁར་བ་དང་སྐྱུལ་  
 སྐྱུ་འབྲེད་ཁ་བ་མི་གཅིག་ཡིན་) དབུ་མཛེད་བརྟན་འཛིན་ལོར་དུ་རྟམས་ཀྱིས་མཛེད་པ་ལ་ཚད་  
 མར་འཛིན་པ་མང་བས། དེ་དག་པལ་ཆེར་གྱི་ལྷགས་ལ་འདི་ལྟར་རྟོ།” <sup>64</sup> ཞེས་བཀོད་པ་ལས་  
 ཀམ་ལི་སྐར་རིས་སྐོར་ལ་ཚིག་ཟུར་ཅན་ཡང་བཀོད་པར་མ་མཛེད་ལ། ལྟོད་རྟོལ་སྐྱ་མ་དག་  
 དབང་སྐོ་བཟང་གིས་དུས་རབས་ 16 པའི་ཡར་སྟོན་སྐྱུལ་སྐྱུ་ནས་མཁར་བཀའ་ཁྲིམས་ཀམ་སྐར་  
 རིས་ <sup>65</sup> སྟོལ་གཏོད་པ་ལྷགས་རྒྱས་མེད་པ་ལ་ཆ་བཞག་ཡིན་ཅེས་སྟོང་རྟོལ་སྐྱ་མ་རིན་པོ་

63 བརྟན་པ་རབ་བརྟན། བོད་ཀྱི་སྟོལ་རྒྱན་མཛེས་རྩལ་ལས་བྱིས་འབྲུར་གཉིས་ཀྱི་བྱང་བ་མདོ་ཅན་བརྗོད་  
 པ། འོག་གངས་ 63-64

64 ལྟོད་རྟོལ་དག་དབང་སྐོ་བཟང། བཟོ་དང། གསོ་བ། སྐར་རྩིས་རྣམས་ལས་བྱུང་བའི་མིང་གི་རྣམ་  
 གངས་བཞུགས་སོ། འོག་གངས་ 700

65 ཁམས་རྒྱལ་ཐང་འོ་མའི་མཚོ་ཁའི་དགེ་སྟོང་རིན་ཆེན་མཚོག་གུབ་ཀྱིས་ 1704 ལོར་མཚུར་ཕུར་  
 མཛེད་པ། སྐྱ་གཟུགས་ཀྱི་མཚན་ཉིད་རྣམ་པར་བཞག་པ་དགེ་ལེགས་སྟིང་པོའི་རྣམ་འབྲེལ་ཉི་  
 མ་ཆེན་པོའི་འོད་ཟེར་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་བཞུགས་སོ། ཞེས་པའི་ཀམ་ཕུ་ཏར་ནང་བཅུག་པའི་ A4 འོག་  
 གངས་ 9.15-10.2 ལས། “དཀི་རང་གི་ལྷགས་ཇི་ལྟ་བུ་ཞིག་ཡིན་སྟེ་ལྟ་སྐྱུལ་སྐྱུ་ནས་མཁར་  
 བཀའ་ཁྲིམས་འཁྲུངས་ཡུལ་ཡར་སྟོན་པ་སྟེ། ཕྱིས་པ་རྒྱུང་དུ་འདྲེས་ནས་ཇི་མོ་བརྒྱུད་ཞབས་ཀྱིས་  
 ཉིད་ཀྱི་སྐྱུལ་པར་ཞལ་གྱིས་བཞེས། སྐྱ་གཟུགས་ཀྱི་ཕྱིན་ལས་ཕྱེད་པོར་ལུང་བརྟན་པ་དེ་ལ་ལྷ་དམར་  
 དཀོན་མཚོག་ཡན་ལག་གིས་ཞལ་བཀོད་དང། ཨེ་ནས་སྐལ་ལྷན་ཤར་ཕྱོགས་པ་དཀོན་མཚོག་  
 བན་བདེ་བྱ་བ་རྒྱ་མོ་བཟའ་ཀོང་ཇོའི་སྐྱུལ་པར་གཤགས་པ་དེ་ལ་རྒྱལ་ཚབ་གཤགས་པ་དོན་གྲུབ་ཀྱིས་  
 ཞལ་བཀོད་མཛེད་དེ། རུས་རྒྱལ་རྒྱ་གར་ལི་མ་དང་སྐྱུ་ཐང་ལྷགས་གཞིར་བཞག་པ་ལ་དུ་མིང་  
 དུས་ཀྱི་སི་ཐང་བཞེན་ལུལ་ལྲོང་ [=སྟོངས་] ཚོན་མདངས་མཛེད་པ་ལ་སྐར་རིས་སུ་གཤགས་པའི་  
 བྱི་རྒྱན་འདི་བྱུང་ཞིང།” ཞེས་དང། དེ་ལྟ་དམར་དགེ་བཤེས་བརྟན་འཛིན་ཕུན་ཚོགས་ཞབས་ཀྱིས་  
 མཛེད་པའི། ཀམ་གསལ་ཚོན་གྱི་ལས་རིམ་མེ་ཏོག་མདངས་སྟེར་འཇར་འོད་འབྲུས་འབྲིན་གྱི་ (དབུ་  
 ཅན་བྱིས་མ་མགོ་འཚོམ་འབྲལ་སེལ་དབྱིན་ཇིའི་འོག་གངས་ 50.5-7) ལེ་ལུ་བཅུ་པ་སྟོན་བྱུང་ཚོན་  
 སྟོལ་གཏམ་ལས། “ཚོན་ཉམས་རྒྱ་དང་ཕྱོགས་འདྲ་ལ། རྟེན་ས་རྩུང་ཟེང་ཇམ་ཆེ་ཞིང། ཀམ་ལ་རྒྱ་  
 མདངས་བཟང་འཇམ་ལྷན། ཞལ་སྐྱུན་བཟང་གུང་སྐྱ་ཤ་སྟོང། ལྟོ་སྐྱ་རྒྱལ་ལ་དབུ་ལྷ་རྒྱུང། བཀོད་  
 པ་པལ་ཆེར་རྒྱ་དང་མཐུན། འདི་ནི་ཀམ་ལི་སྐར་ལྷགས་ཡིན།” ཞེས་དང། བྲག་གཡབ་ཚོགས་བརྒྱ་  
 དཀོན་པའི་སྐྱུབ་སྐྱུལ་ཕྱིན་ལས་རྒྱ་མཚོས་ (1810-1856) 1851 ལོར་མཛེད་པའི། རབ་གནས་  
 ཡོན་བསྟེན་སྐབས་ཀྱི་སྟོང་སྐུན་འཇུག་བདེ་ཕུན་ཚོགས་བཀའ་ཁྲིམས་ཆ་བཞུད་ཅས་པའི་དབྱིན་ཇིའི་  
 འོག་གངས་ 69 ལས། “སྐྱ་རྟེན་བྱིས་འབྲུར་གཉིས་ལ་རྒྱ་གར་དབུས་དང། ཤར་ལུབ་ཁ་ཆེ་བལ་  
 པོའི་བཟོ་རྒྱུ། བོད་འདིར་ཡང། སྐྱ་ལྟ་དོན་གྲུབ་པ་དང། མཁུའི་བཙེ་ཆེན་མོ། ཕྱི་ལྟ་སྟོན་གྱིས་

ཆེ་མ་འཁྲུངས་ཤོད་གི་མི་ལོ་ 200 ཉེ་བའི་ཕྱི་དྲུ་ཆབ་མདོའི་ཉེ་འཁྲིལ་རི་བོ་ཆེ་དང་ནང་ཆེན་  
ལ་འབྲེལ་ཀམ་འི་དགོན་གྱི་འདུ་ཁང་གཡེར་མོ་ཆེ་མི་ལོ་བརྒྱད་ (1610-1617) ལ་ཉེ་བར་ཞིག་  
གསོས་གསར་བཞེངས་ལུས་པ་དང་། ལྷག་པར་དུའང་ཤོད་དབུས་ནས་སྐུ་ལ་སྐུ་པན་བདེ་དང་  
ཆོ་བརྟན་འབྲུམ་གཉིས་གདན་དྲངས་ནས་ལྷེ་བས་བྲིས་ “སྐར་བྲིས་རྟེན་མའི་”<sup>66</sup> ལུགས་སུ་

སུ་སྐབ་སར་དང་། སྐར་རིས་སོགས། དེང་སང་གྲགས་ཆེ་བའི་རྒྱན་ཚད་ལྡན་དང་། གཞན་ཐོར་བུ་  
སྐྱ་ཚོགས་ལས་བྱུང་བའི་ཞི་ཆགས་ལོ་རྒྱུལ་རྣམ་པ་དུ་མའི་བཀོད་རིས་དང་། བརྒྱུང་འབྲུར་ལུགས་  
སུ་ལྷག་པ་སྐྱ་ཚོགས།” ཞེས་གསལ། ཀམ་སྐར་རིས་ཀྱི་ཐིག་དཔེའི་སྐོར་གཤམ་གསལ་ལུག་དེ་བ་  
རྣམས་ལ་གཟིགས་འཚལ། རྗེ་བརྟུ་བཞི་པ་ཐེག་མཚོག་རྟོ་རྗེས་ (1797-1867) མཛད་པ། དཔེ་  
རིས་བྲིས་པ་པོ་ཀམ་བྱང་ཆུབ་རྟོ་རྗེ། རྒྱུད་ལྡེ་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་གྱི་ཐིག་ཟ། ཐིག་གཤམ་ཆུལ་  
དང་བྲི་བྱའི་ཚོན་གྱི་དབྱེ་བ་སོགས་ཐོ་བདེར་བཀོད་པ་བཞུགས་སོ།། ། རྒྱུའི་བརྩུན་གཟུགས་ཀམ་  
བསྟན་འཛིན་གྱིས་བྱུབ་པའི་གནས་མཚོག་འོག་མིན་དཔལ་གྱི་ཀམ་འི་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་ཆེན་དུ་  
རྗོགས་པར་སྐྱར་བ། སྐྱ་གཟུགས་ཀྱི་མཚན་ཉིད་རྣམ་པར་བཤད་པའི་བྲིས་འབྲུར་གྱི་ཐིག་ཅ་རྩོ་  
གསལ་དབྱེས་བྱེད་དོན་གཉིས་འབྲས་སྐྱེར་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་བཞུགས་སོ།། སྐྱ་སྟོན་གནས་བཟང་བ་དགེ་  
འདུན་ (1830-1900) གྱིས་མཛད་པ། སྐྱ་གཟུགས་ཀྱི་ཐིག་ཅ་དམ་པ་གོང་མ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་མན་ངག་  
མདོན་དུ་སྐྱུང་བ་སྟོ་དམན་འཇུག་བདེ་འཛམ་བུའི་ཆུ་གསེར་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་བཞུགས་སོ།། མཁུན་པོ་  
འདུལ་འཛིན་པ་ཀམ་རིན་ཆེན་དར་རྒྱས་དཔལ་བཟང་པོས་ (1835-1913) འོག་མིན་ཀམ་འི་ཡང་  
དབེན་ནས་བྲིས་པ། སྐུའི་བྲིས་འབྲུར་ཡོངས་ཀྱི་ཐིག་ཚད་བཟོ་བའི་ཡིད་བཞིན་ལོར་བུ་བཞུགས་  
སོ།། ཁོ་པོ་ལྷ་མོ་སྤྱིང་གི་མི་རིགས་སུ་གཏོགས་པ་དཔོན་དགེ་དགའ་རྒྱ་མཚོའམ། དགེ་དགའ་བླ་  
མ་ (སྤྱིང་ཚང་དགེ་དགའ་བླ་མ་ 1931-1997?) ཞེས་བྱ་བས་མཛད་པ། རྟེན་གསུམ་གྱི་ཐིག་རིས་  
དང་དེའི་འབྲེལ་བཤད་ལེའུ་བརྟན་རིན་ཆེན་བུམ་བཟང་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་བཞུགས་སོ།། དཀོན་མཚོག་  
བསྟན་འཛིན་གྱིས་བརྩམས་པ། (1949 འཁྲུངས་) བཟོ་གནས་སྐྱ་ཅེའི་ཆུ་ཐིགས། ཤོག་གངས་  
110-114; Jackson 1999: 75-127; Konchog Lhadrepa 2005; བང་ལྷ་ཚོ་དབང་།  
(1902-1989) བང་ལྷ་ཚོ་དབང་ལུག་བྲིས་གཙེས་བསྐྱིགས་བཟོ་རིག་མིག་རྒྱན།; Jackson  
2009; ཀམ་འི་མཁུན་པོ་སྟོ་གོས་རབ་གསལ་གྱིས་མཛད་པ། བཟོ་རིག་གི་བྱུང་བ་དང་པོར་བརྗོད་  
པ་དུས་ཀྱི་མེ་ལོང་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་བཞུགས་སོ།། ཀར་ཤོད་ཀམ་བདེ་ལེགས་ (1932 འཁྲུངས་) གྱིས་  
ཚོམ་སྐྱིག་བྱས་པ། སྐར་ལུགས་བྲིས་འབྲུར་གཉིས་ཀྱི་སྐྱ་གཟུགས་ཀྱི་ཐིག་དཔེ་ཉེ་མའི་སྐར་བ་ཞེས་  
བྱ་བ་བཞུགས་སོ། ཐིག་དཔེའི་ལུག་དེ་བ་འདི་བཞིན་འབྲུམ་རམས་པ་གཡུ་འབྲུག་མཚོ་མོས་སྐྱེས་  
སུ་བསྐྱར་གནད་བྱུང་བ་ལུགས་རྗེ་ཆེ་ལུའོ།། ཀམ་བདེ་ལེགས། བཟོ་རིག་བྱུང་བ་ལས་ཀམ་སྐར་བྲིས་  
གྱིས་ལུགས་བྱུང་ཚམ་འབྲེལ་བ།

66 སི་ཏུ་པ་ཚོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱ་མཚོ། དབུས་གཙང་གནས་བསྐོར་ལམ་ཡིག་ཤོག་གངས་ 14 རྟང་། “པོ་བྱང་  
ཀམ་འི་གཡེར་མོ་ཆེ་འདུ་ཁང་ག་བ་ 56 ལོགས་བྲིས་སྐྱེས་རབས་རྒྱས། སྐར་བྲིས་རྟེན་རྒྱུགས་ཅན།  
ལྷ་དམར་ནག་བཞུགས་ལྷི།” ཞེས་སོགས་གསལ།

བཞེངས་ཡོད་ཀྱང་གྲུབ་གྲུབ་མཐའི་སྟོན་པ་འཛིན་གྱི་སྤང་མེད་བཏང་སྟོན་མས་སྤྱུ་བཞག་གང་པ།  
 ད་མང་པོ་བཤད་ན་དེར་སང་དར་ལུང་རྣ་བས་ཉན་པའི་མང་ཁོམ་མེད་ལ་ཐེངས་འདིར་  
 ས་ཚའི་གྲུ་ཡུལ་ཡང་མི་འདུག་པས་མདོར་བསྡུས་ནས་དོན་གྱི་དོ་ཁབ་ལ། བསམ་འཆར་ལྷུ་རྒྱ་  
 བློ་དུས་རབས་<sup>17</sup> སྤང་ཆ་ནས་བཟུང་བྲིས་རྒྱུན་ནམ་བྲིས་ཆ་མི་འདྲ་བ། གཙང་མཁན་ཚེན་  
 འཇམ་དབྱངས་དཔལ་ལྷན་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་ (1610–1684) ལྷན་བཞེས་ནས་བཟུང་སྤྱུལ་སྤྱུ་འབྲུག་  
 བསྟན་འཛིན་ལ་གདུང་མཁར་སྟོབ་དཔོན་འབྲུག་བསམ་གྲུབ་དང་། ཁ་མིང་སྟོབ་དཔོན་བསྟན་  
 འཛིན་རྣམ་གཉིས། དེ་རྗེས་ཨ་འགོད་ཚོར་བུ་དོན་གྲུབ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་བྲིས་རྒྱུན་རྟེན་བྲིས་སམ་རྟེན་  
 འབྲུག་གི་ལུགས་དང་།<sup>67</sup> ཁལ་ཁ་རྗེ་བཅུན་དམ་པ་སྤྱི་བྲིང་དང་པོ་སྟོ་བཟང་བསྟན་པའི་རྒྱལ་  
 མཚན་ (Ankhdugaar Bogd Óndór Gégèen Zanabazar, 1635–1723) གྱིས་  
 གཙོས་པའི་སོག་པོའི་ལུགས།<sup>68</sup> གུན་མཁྱེན་སི་རུ་པའ་ཚེན་ (1700–1774) གྱི་དཔལ་  
 སྤྱངས་ལུགས།<sup>69</sup> ཉེ་དོར་བྲག་མགོའི་སྤྱུལ་པའི་ལྷ་བཟོ་ནམ་མཁའ་རྒྱན་གྱི་ལུགས།<sup>70</sup> ལྷུང་  
 པོ་ཉེང་ཚེན་གྱི་སྟོང་མདོ་དང་། རྒྱ་མཁར་ལུགས།<sup>71</sup> ཨ་མདོ་རེབ་ཤོང་སེངྒེ་གཤོང་གི་

67 རི་མོ་མཁན་རྣམས་ལ་ཉེ་བར་མཁོ་བའི་ཚོན་གྱི་ལག་ལེན་དང་སྤྱིན་བདག་གི་མཚན་ཉིད་འབྱུང་རྒྱལ་  
 རགས་ཅམ་བཀོད་པ་བཞུགས། ཤོག་གངས་ 145–146; སྟོབ་དཔོན་གནག་མདོག་ཤེས་པ་ལྷན་དཀར་  
 པོ་འབྲུག་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་ཀྱི་ཚོས་སྤྱིད་གནས་སྤངས། ཤོག་གངས་ 236–237

68 See Tsultem 1982; Tsultem 1986; Choinkhor1995; Fleming and Shastri 2011.

69 བསྟན་པ་རབ་བཏན། བོད་ཀྱི་སྟོལ་རྒྱུན་མཛེས་རྩལ་ལས་བྲིས་འབྲུག་གཉིས་ཀྱི་བྱུང་བ་མདོ་ཅམ་བཟོད་  
 པ། ཤོག་གངས་ 136–139; Jackson 2006: 92–107; Tsering 2013: 125–192.

70 ཡེ་ཤེས་རབ་བསལ། སྤྱུལ་པའི་ལྷ་བཟོ་ཚེན་པོ་ནམ་མཁའ་རྒྱན་གྱི་དོ་སྟོན་མདོར་བསྡུས། དཀོན་  
 མཚོག་བསྟན་འཛིན། བཟོ་གནས་སྤྱི་ཚེའི་རྒྱ་བྲིགས། ཤོག་གངས་ 117–120; བཟོ་ཤེས་ཚེ་  
 རིང་། བོད་ཀྱི་བྱུང་མེད་དང་། རང་དབང་ཅན་གྱི་དེང་སྟོལ་རི་མོའི་སྟོར་སྟོན་འགོའི་སྟོང་སྟོང་། ཤོག་  
 གངས་ 23; བསྟན་པ་རབ་བཏན། བོད་ཀྱི་སྟོལ་རྒྱུན་མཛེས་རྩལ་ལས་བྲིས་འབྲུག་གཉིས་ཀྱི་བྱུང་བ་  
 མདོ་ཅམ་བཟོད་པ། ཤོག་གངས་ 165–167

71 སྤན་རིའི་སྟོབ་བྱུར་བསྟན་འཛིན་རྣམ་དག (1926 འབྲུངས་) སྤ་རབས་བོད་ཀྱི་བྱུང་བ་བཟོད་པའི་  
 འབེལ་གཏམ་ལུང་གི་སྟིང་པོ་ཞེས་བྲ་བ་བཞུགས། ཤོག་གངས་ 179; གཡང་དགེ་ལྷུང་པོ་སྟོང་  
 ཚེན། 1 ཤོག་གངས་ 199–204; Kvarne et al. 2006; བསྟན་འཛིན་སྤྱིན་པ། ལྷུང་ཡུལ་རུ་བཟོ་  
 རིག་དར་རྒྱལ་ལས་ལྷུང་པོའི་ལྷ་བྲིས་ཀྱི་བརྒྱུད་རིམ་བཤད་པ་རིག་སྤང་འོད་ཀྱི་དམ་ཐག་ལྷན་དེབ་  
 འདིའི་རྒྱུས་སྟོན་བོད་མི་མང་སྤྱི་འབྲུས་རྒྱན་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་བོན་པོའི་སྤྱི་འབྲུས་དགེ་བཤེས་སྟོན་ལས་  
 མཐར་ཕྱིན་ལགས་ནས་གནང་བུང་བར་བྲུགས་རྗེ་ཆེ་ལྟོའོ།། ལྷུང་པོ་ཚེ་རིང་དཔལ་རྒྱལ། བོད་ཀྱི་བཟོ་  
 རིག་པ་ལས་ལྷ་རིས་དང་འབྲེལ་བའི་གཏམ་བྱུང་མ་ཁར་བཏབ་པའི་ཕྱ།





ཞེ་གངས་ལ་ཉེ་བར་དབྱིན་ཡིག་དང་། འཇར་མན། ཉེ་རྟོང་། བོད་ཡིག་། རྒྱ་ཡིག་ནང་བོད་རིག་  
 པ་དང་འབྲེལ་བའི་ལྷགས་རྩོམ་དེབ་ཚེན་ 10 དང་། བོད་རིག་པ་ཞིབ་འཇུག་དང་འབྲེལ་བའི་  
 དཔྱད་རྩོམ་གངས་ 46 བོད་ཀྱི་རི་མོའི་སྐུ་རྩལ་དང་ལྷ་བརྗོད་བ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་སྐོར་ལ་ཉམས་ཞིབ་  
 རུང་ཞིབ་ཚགས་སྐུ་གས་སྲིད་རིགས་གཅིག་རྟེན་ལ་འཛིན་གྱིས་འབད་བརྩོན་གནང་འབྲས་སུ་  
 དཔྱད་རྩོམ་གངས་ 30 དང་། གཤམ་གསལ་ཕྱག་དེབ་ཚེན་པོ་ 8

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 འབྲེམས་སྟེལ་གནང་ཡུན་མི་ལོ་བཞི་བརྒྱའི་རིང་ལ་ཁོང་པའི་ཡིད་མཐུན་གྱི་སོགས་པོ་སྟོན་  
 སུབ་ཁོ་བོ་རྫོགས་བཀྲ་ཞིས་ཚེ་རིང་གིས་ད་བེདས་གཞིས་བྱེས་བོད་མི་དང་དང་འབྲེལ་བ་ཡོདས་  
 ཀྱི་ཚབ་ལུས་ཏེ་བྱེད་ལ་སྟོང་ཁོང་རུས་པའི་གཏིང་ནས་བཀའ་བྲིན་ཆེ་ལྷུ་བ་དང་། སྟོན་པ་སྟོན་  
 དཔྱད་རྩོམ་ཉུང་རུ་རབ་གསལ་འདི་ཡང་སྐུ་གས་རྗེ་ལོགས་འབྲུལ་མཚོན་བྱེད་དུ་སྐྱུན་བརྟར་ལྷུ་  
 རྒྱ་དང་། སྲིད་ནས་བྱེད་སྐྱེད་དཔག་བསམ་གྱི་ལྡོན་ཅ་རབ་ཏུ་བརྟན་ཅིང་མཛད་བཟང་གི་འབྲས་

བྱུང་བ་དང་རྒྱུ་རྐྱེན་གྱི་སྐབས་སྐབས་ཀྱི་སྐབས་ཆེན་པོ་ལ་སྒྲུབ་པའི་རྒྱུ་རྐྱེན་དང་པོ་བསམ་འཆར།  
ཡིན་ལགས་སོ། །དགེ་ལེགས་ལེལ།

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མརྒྱུན་ཁང་། 1992

ཀར་ཤོད་ཀམ་བདེ་ལེགས། (ཀྱིས་ཚོམ་སྒྲིག་བྱས།) མར་ལུགས་བྱིས་བུར་གཉིས་ཀྱི་སྐབས་  
གཞུགས་ཀྱི་སྐབས་དཔེ་ཉི་མའི་སྐབས་བ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་བཞུགས་སོ། །ཆལ་མདོ་རྒྱུ་རྐྱེན་ལོ་  
གནས་རྒྱུ་བསྐྱབས་བརྟན་ལེགས་ཅུང་ཀྱིས་བསྒྲིགས། དེ་ཅིང་། ལྷུང་ཤོད་ཤོད་ལོ་གསལ་  
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རྒྱུ་རྐྱེན་ཆལ་མདོ་ས་ལུགས་ཀྱི་རིག་གནས་ལོ་རྒྱུས་དཔུང་གཞི། དོན་མཐུན་གཉིས་  
ལ། བོད་རྒྱུ་རྐྱེན་ཆལ་མདོ་ས་ལུགས་ཀྱི་རིག་གནས་ལོ་རྒྱུས་དཔུང་གཞི་ཚོམ་སྒྲིག་ལྷུ་ལོན་  
སྐབས་ཁང་། བྱེད་ཅུང་། སི་ཁོན་མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྐྱུན་ཁང་། 2014 ཤོག་གྲངས་ 46-58

ཀམ་ལེ་མཁན་ཆེན་མེན་ཆེན་དར་རྒྱལ། (1835-1913) ལོ་གཅིག་ཀམ་ལེ་གདན་རབས་ལོ་རྒྱུས་  
ལུ་ལུགས་གཞོན་ཅུའི་མཁུན་སྐབས་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་བཞུགས་སོ། །ལུ་ལུགས་མཐོན་རྒྱུ་ལེལ་  
པུ་དོན་ཤོད་ཉིན་གྱི་དབང་པོ་མཚོག་དགུང་གྲངས་ལྔ་བཅུའི་མཚན་སྐོར་དེ་དག་  
རྒྱུ་རྐྱེན་དང་པོ་བཞུགས་སོ། །ལུ་ལུགས་ལྱེད་པོ་བཟུང་གིས་ཚེ་རིང་། ལྷི་མོ་ 2003 ལྷི་  
ཟླ་ 3 པར་དཔལ་སྐྱེད་སྐབས་གསུང་རབ་ཉམས་གསོ་ཁང་ནས་སྐར་བསྐྱུན་བསྐྱེད་སྐབས་  
ལུགས་ལེལ། ཤོག་གྲངས་ 81-112

ཀམ་ལེ་མཁན་པོ་ཤོ་ཤོས་རབ་གསལ། བཟོ་རིག་གི་གྲུང་བ་བྱེད་པོར་བརྒྱུད་པ་ལུས་ཀྱི་མེ་ལོང་  
ཞེས་བྱ་བ་བཞུགས་སོ། །ཀར་ཤོད་ཀམ་བདེ་ལེགས། (ཀྱིས་ཚོམ་སྒྲིག་བྱས།) མར་  
ལུགས་བྱིས་བུར་གཉིས་ཀྱི་སྐབས་གཞུགས་ཀྱི་སྐབས་དཔེ་ཉི་མའི་སྐབས་བ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་

བཞུགས་སོ། །ཆབ་མདོ་རྫོང་རིག་གནས་རྒྱུ་བསྐྱེད་པའི་བསྐྱེད་པའི་ལྷན་ཚུན་ལྷན་ལྷན་གྱིས་  
བསྐྱེད་པའི་ལོ་ཅིན། གྲུང་མོའི་ཐོད་རིག་པ་དཔེ་སྐྱེན་ཁང་། 2010 སོག་གྲངས་ 67-82

སྐྱོད་རྩོམ་དག་དབང་སྐྱོད་བཟང་། བཟོ་དང་། གསོ་བ། སྐར་ཚིག་རྣམས་ལས་ལྷུང་བའི་མིང་གི་  
རྣམ་གཞག་བཞུགས་སོ། །སྐྱོད་རྩོམ་དག་དབང་སྐྱོད་བཟང་གི་གསུང་འཕུལ། དེབ་གྲངས་  
གཉིས། གངས་ཅན་རིག་མཛོད། 20 ལྷ་ས། ཐོད་རྫོང་པོ་དཔེ་ལྷན་ཁང་། རྩོད་དཔེ་སྐྱེན་  
ཁང་། 1991 ལྷོགས་བམ་དང་པོ། སོག་གྲངས་ 687-738

དཀའ་ཚེན་སྐྱོ་བཟང་ལུན་ཚོགས། ལྷ་སྐུའི་ཐིག་ཚུ་ཀུན་གསལ་མེ་མོང་། = བཟོ་རིག་པའི་  
བསྐྱེད་བཅོས་ལས་སངས་རྒྱལ་གྱི་སྐྱེད་པའི་དམ་ཞི་འོ་ལྷ་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་ཆ་ཚད་  
གསལ་བའི་རིམ་དོན་ལུན་ཀུན་གསལ་མེ་མོང་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་བཞུགས་སོ། །པེ་ཅིན། མི་  
རིགས་དཔེ་སྐྱེན་ཁང་། 1993

དགོན་མཚོག་བསྐྱེད་འཛིན། བཟོ་གནས་རྒྱ་ཚེའི་ཚུ་ཐིགས། པེ་ཅིན། གྲུང་མོའི་ཐོད་ཀྱི་ཤེས་  
རིག་དཔེ་སྐྱེན་ཁང་། 1994

དགོན་མཚོག་བསྐྱེད་འཛིན། (གིས་བསྐྱེད་པའི་) བཟོ་རིག་སྤོགས་བསྐྱེད་པའི་ཚེན་སྐྱོམ་ལུ་ཞེས་  
བྱ་བ། པེ་ཅིན། གྲུང་མོའི་ཐོད་རིག་པ་དཔེ་སྐྱེན་ཁང་། 2011

དགོན་མཚོག་རྩོ་རྩེ། ལུལ་ལུལ་གྱི་སྤྱི་ཚེའི་སྐྱོ་ཁང་གི་སྐྱེད་པའི་ལྷན་ཚུན་ལྷན་ལྷན་གྱིས་  
བཞུགས་དཀར་པོ། 2017 མོའི་དཔེ་བཞེ་པ། ལྷོ་ལྷོ་དེབ་ 18 པ། སོག་གྲངས་ 69-73

ཡང་དབྱི་ལུལ། (གིས་གཙོ་བོ་ལག་བཞེས་ནས་ཚོམ་སྐྱིག་བྱས་པ།) ཐོད་རྫོང་ཚོགས་མཛོད་ཚེན་  
སོ། པེ་ཅིན། མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྐྱེན་ཁང་། 1993

བཟོ་རིག་ཚོ་རིང་། ཐོད་ཀྱི་ལུང་མེད་དང་། རང་དབང་ཅན་གྱི་དེད་སྐྱོམ་རིམ་མོའི་སྐོར་སྐོར་  
འཛོའི་སྐོར་སྐོར། *Fading Dreams: Paintings and Sculptures of Pekar.*  
དུས་རྒྱུ་བསྐྱེད་ཀྱི་མི་ལམ། པད་དཀར་གྱི་དེད་སྐྱོམ་གྱིས་སྐྱེད་པའི་ཚུ་ལ། ལྷ་རམ་ས་  
ལ། ཨ་ལྷོས་མ་ཚེན་ཐོད་ཀྱི་རིག་གཞུང་ཞིབ་འཇུག་ཁང་། 2002 སོག་གྲངས་ 22-  
23, 38-40

འམས་རྒྱལ་མང་པོ་མའི་མཚོ་ཁའི་དགེ་སྲོང་རིན་ཆེན་མཚོག་གྲུབ། ལྷ་གཞུགས་ཀྱི་མཚན་ཉིད་  
རྣམ་པར་བཞག་པ་དགེ་ལེགས་སྲིད་པོའི་རྣམ་འབྲེལ་ཉི་མ་ཆེན་པོའི་འོད་ཟེར་ཞེས་བྲུ་  
བ་བཞུགས་སོ། ། ཀམ་ཕུ་ཉམ་ནང་བཞུག་པའི་ A4 འོག་གྲངས་ 1-81

འམས་རྒྱལ་བསྐྱེད་ནམས་དོན་གྲུབ། ལྷན་མ་བྲག་ཅ་ཞེས་པའི་སྐྱེ་རྒྱ་མདོའི་འཕྲིན་འོག་ལ་  
ཟེར་བ་ལས་བྲག་གཡེབ་བྱམས་མདུན་གྱི་རི་མདར་ཟེར་བ་མ་ཡིན། ལེགས་པར་  
བཤད་པ་གཏམ་གྱི་ཚོགས་ལྷན་ལ་སྲོན་པོའི་དོ་ཤལ་ཤེས་ལྷན་དགེས་པའི་མཁུན་རྒྱན་  
ཞེས་བྲུ་བ་བཞུགས་སོ། ། [s.l.]: [s.n.], 2006? འོག་གྲངས་ 239-244

——. བྲག་ཡབ་རི་མདའི་རྩོད་འཛོལ་རྣམ་པར་སྦྱང་མཛད་ཀྱི་རྒྱབ་བྱང་དུ་བསོད་པའི་ཡི་གེ་  
དོ་བཤུས་དང་དེ་ལས་འཕྲོས་པའི་གཏམ། འོད་སྣངས་ཞིབ་འཇུག་ 2004 (3) འོག་  
གྲངས་ 36-40

——. བྲག་ཡབ་རི་མདའི་རྩོད་འཛོལ་རྣམ་པར་སྦྱང་མཛད་ཀྱི་རྒྱབ་བྱང་དེ་ལས་འཕྲོས་པའི་  
གཏམ་ལུང་དུ་ལེགས་པར་བཤད་པ་གཏམ་གྱི་ཚོགས་ལྷན་ལ་སྲོན་པོའི་དོ་ཤལ་ཤེས་  
ལྷན་དགེས་པའི་མཁུན་རྒྱན་ཞེས་བྲུ་བ་བཞུགས་སོ། ། [s.l.]: [s.n.], 2006? འོག་  
གྲངས་ 231-238

ལྷ་ལྷ་ཤེས་ལྷ་པའི་ཉེ་ལྷ་བྱང་བ་དང་འོད་གི་ལྷ་རིས་ཀྱི་ལྷ་ཚོས། ལྷ་མོའི་འོད་  
སྣངས། 1998 (5) འོག་གྲངས་ 26-29

ལྷ་པོ་ཆེ་རིང་དཔལ་རྒྱལ། འོད་ཀྱི་བཟོ་རིག་པ་ལས་ལྷ་རིས་དང་འབྲེལ་བའི་གཏམ་ལྷང་  
མ་ཁར་བཏབ་པའི་ལུ། འོད་སྣངས་ཆབ་མདོ་ས་ལུལ་གྱི་རིག་གནས་ལོ་རྒྱུས་དཔྱད་  
གཞི། འདོན་བཅངས་གཉིས་པ། འོད་སྣངས་ཆབ་མདོ་ས་ལུལ་གྱི་རིག་གནས་ལོ་རྒྱུས་  
དཔྱད་གཞི་ཚོམ་སྒྲིག་ལུ་ཡོན་ལྷན་ཁང་། ལྷ་ས། འོད་སྣངས་མི་དམངས་དཔེ་སྐྱེན་  
ཁང་། 2014 འོག་གྲངས་ 369-371

མཁུན་པོ་འདུལ་འཛིན་པ་ཀམ་རིན་ཆེན་དར་རྒྱས་དཔལ་བཟང་པོ། ལྷ་མོའི་སྐབ་འདུར་  
ཡོད་ཀྱི་མེག་ཚད་བཟོ་པོའི་ཡིད་བཞིན་ནོར་བུ་བཞུགས་སོ། ། ཀམ་མོད་ཀམ་བདེ་  
ལེགས། (ཀྱིས་ཚོམ་སྒྲིག་བྲུལ།) ལྷ་ས་ལུགས་མིས་འདུར་གཉིས་ཀྱི་སྐབ་གཞུགས་ཀྱི་

ཐིག་དཔེ་ཉི་མའི་སྐར་བ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་བཞུགས་སོ། །ཆབ་མདོ་རྫོང་རིག་གནས་རྒྱུང་  
བསྐྱེད་པ་བརྟན་འཁོར་ཅུང་ལྷིས་བསྐྱེད་པ། པེ་ཅིན། ལྷུང་ཕོ་འུ་བོད་རིག་པ་དཔེ་སྐྱུན་  
ཁང་། 2010 འོག་གྲངས་ 229-246

མཁར་མེ་ལུ་བསམ་གཏུན། ལུལ་སྐྱེ་རྒྱ་མདོ་ན་མཆིས་པའི་བཅའ་པོ་ཁྲི་ལྗེ་སྲོང་བཅའ་སྐབས་  
བཀོས་པའི་རྩོད་བཀོས་ཡི་ལེར་དཔྲད་པ། བདེ་ཁང་བསོད་ནམས་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་གྱིས་  
བསྐྱུར། བོད་རྫོང་ས་སྐྱེ་ཅུལ་ཞེས་འབྲུག་ 2004 (2) འོག་གྲངས་ 64-77

—— ལུལ་སྐྱེ་རྒྱ་མདོ་ན་མཆིས་པའི་བཅའ་པོ་ཁྲི་ལྗེ་སྲོང་བཅའ་སྐབས་བཀོས་པའི་རྩོད་བཀོས་  
ཡི་ལེར་དཔྲད་པ། མཁར་མེ་ལུ་བསམ་གཏུན་གྱི་གསུང་ཚོམ་སློབ་པ་བསྐྱེད་པ། མདའ་  
དང་འབང་། བདེ་ཁང་བསོད་ནམས་ཚོས་རྒྱལ་གྱིས་དབྱིན་ཡིག་ནས་བོད་ཡིག་  
ཏུ་བསྐྱུར། པེ་ཅིན། ལྷུང་ཕོ་འུ་བོད་རིག་པ་དཔེ་སྐྱུན་ཁང་། 2007 རྫོང་ཆ། འོག་  
གྲངས་ 119-141

མཁས་ལུབ་གནས་མདོ་ཀམ་ཆགས་མེད། གདན་ས་ཆེན་པོ་ལོག་མིན་དཔལ་གྱི་ཀམ་པའི་  
གནས་བརྟོན་རྟུན་གྲགས་ལྷ་ཡི་ར་ཆེན་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་བཞུགས་སོ། །ལྷ་བསམ་མཐོན་རྩོད་  
རྩོད་འཆར་པ་རྒྱ་དོན་པོད་ཉིན་གུང་དཔལ་པོ་མཚོག་དཔྲད་གྲངས་ལྷ་བཅུ་འཛོད་  
སྐོའི་དུན་རྟེན་དེབ་དང་པོ་བཞུགས་སོ། །ལྷ་སྐྱེད་གྲེད་པོ་བཀྲ་འིས་ཚེ་རིང་། ལྷི་  
ཕོ་ 2003 ལྷི་རྒྱ་ 3 པར་དཔལ་སྐྱུངས་གསུང་རབ་ཉམས་གསོ་ཁང་ནས་སྐར་བསྐྱུན་  
འབྲེམས་སྡེལ་ལུས་པའོ། འོག་གྲངས་ 9-80

ལྷ་གེ་ཚེ་རིང་རྒྱལ་པོ། མདའ་རིས་ཚོས་འབྲུང་གངས་རྫོང་ས་མཚོས་རྒྱུན་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་བཞུགས་  
སོ། །རྟེན་གྱི་བོད་རྫོང་ས་མི་དམངས་དཔེ་སྐྱུན་ཁང་། 2006

—— མདའ་རིས་རྒྱ་མདའ་རྫོང་ཁོངས་སྐོར་ལུག་པའི་སྡེབས་རིས་རྒྱུ་ཅུལ། *Mural*  
*Paintings in Wa-chen Cave in Western Tibet.* རྟེན་གྱི་བོད་རྫོང་ས་མི་  
དམངས་དཔེ་སྐྱུན་ཁང་། 2011

—— བོད་ལྷི་སྡེབས་གིས་སློབ་པ་བསྐྱེད་པ། མདའ་རིས་ལྷི་པོད། དེབ་གྲངས་གཉིས། རྟེན་  
ས། བོད་རྫོང་ས་མི་དམངས་དཔེ་སྐྱུན་ཁང་། 2011

དགོ་དགའ་བླ་མ། རྟེན་གསུམ་གྱི་ཐིག་རིས་དང་དེའི་འགྲེལ་བཤད་ལེ་བུ་བདུན་རིན་ཆེན་བུམ་  
བཟང་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་བཞུགས་སོ།། *Principles of Tibetan Art: Illustrations and  
explanations of Buddhist iconography and iconometry according  
to the Karma Gardri School.* 2 vols. Darjeeling, W.B.: Jamyang  
Singe, 1983

དགོ་ཆེ་རིག་འཛིན་དཔལ་འབྱོར། འབྲུར་སྐྱེའི་བྱུག་ཚད་ལ་རྒྱལ་བའི་སྐྱེ་བརྟན་ལེགས་པར་  
བལྟ་བའི་མེ་མོང་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་བཞུགས་སོ།། །བཞུགས་སྐར་བོད་ཀྱི་ལག་ཅུལ་སློབ་གཉེན་  
ཁང་། Dharamsala: Centre for Tibetan Arts and Crafts, 1991

དགོ་རུ་པ་སངས་ལོར་བུ། མཁར་བསྐལ་དབང་། གསར་རྟེན་བྱུང་བའི་སྐྱེན་བླ་དོན་གྲུབ་ཀྱི་  
བྱུག་བྱིས་བསྟར་མའི་ཞལ་བཟང་ལ་དཔྱད་པ། བོད་རྫོང་ས་ཞིབ་འཇུག་ 2018 (1) འོག་  
གངས་ 89-101

རྒྱལ་རབས་ལོགས་བོད་ཀྱི་ཡིག་ཚང་གསལ་བའི་མེ་མོང་བཞུགས། བོད་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་རབས་ལོགས་  
བསྟེན་སྐལ་ལ་མེ་རྩེ་འབབ་ཉལ་ཨ་མིང་མཚོག་ནས་ལོགས་བསྟེན་གཅེས་གསོག་གནང་  
བའི་བོད་དཔེའི་ཁོངས་རིམ་པ་བདུན་པའོ།། Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan  
Works and Archives, 1985: 79-123

རྣམ་རྟོན་གནས་བཟང་བ་དགོ་འདུན། ལྷ་གཟུགས་ཀྱི་ཐིག་ཅུ་དམ་པ་གོང་མ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་མན་  
ངག་མཛོན་དུ་བྱུང་བ་ལྟོ་དམན་འཇུག་བདེ་འཛུལ་བུའི་རྒྱ་གསེར་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་བཞུགས་  
སོ།། *Canonical proportions for the representation of the Buddhas,  
Bodhisattvas, and Tutelary and Protective Deities.* Kyichu  
Monastery, Paro: Ngodrub and Sherab Demy, 1978

དགའ་དབང་ལྟོ་བཟང་རྒྱ་མཚོ། ལྷ་གཟུང་ལྷགས་རྟེན་གསར་བཞེངས་རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་མཚོད་རྒྱས་  
ཁང་བཟང་གི་དཀར་ཆག་དང་བཟང་ལུང་དེབ་ཁྲིམས་ཡིག་གི་འགོ་རྒྱངས་སྟེ་བཞེའི་སྟོ་  
འཕར་སྟེ་བའི་སྐལ་བཟང་གི་བློགས་བམ་དང་པོ། ལ་རྒྱལ་དབང་བཟང་ཅན་མཚེན་  
པ་བྱས་ན་པརྟོ་ཀུན་གཟིགས་སྟེ་པ་ཆེན་པོའི་གསུང་འབུམ། མ་པ། དཔལ་ལྷན་འབྲས་  
སྤྲངས་དགའ་ལྷན་ལོ་བྱང་གི་སྤྲར་མ།

— ལྷ་གསུང་ལུགས་རྟེན་གསར་བཞེངས་རིན་པོ་ཆའི་མཚོན་རྫས་ཁང་བཟང་གི་དཀར་  
 ཆག་དང་ཐམ་ལུང་དེའི་ཁྲིམས་ཡིག་གི་འགོ་རྒྱུད་སྡེ་བཞིའི་སྡེ་འཕར་སྡེ་བའི་སྐལ་  
 བཟང་གི་སྡེ་གས་བམ་གཉིས་པ། ལྷ་གསུང་དབང་ཐམས་ཅད་མཚུན་པ་ལུགས་ན་པར་རྫོག་  
 གཟིགས་ལྷ་པོ་ཆེན་པོའི་གསུང་འབྲུམ། ཅེ་པ། དཔལ་ལྷན་འབྲས་སྤྱད་སྤྱད་དགའ་ལྷན་  
 མོ་བྱང་གི་སྤྱད་མ།

— དག་དབང་སྡོམ་བཟང་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་རྣམ་ཐར། = ཟ་ཚོར་གྱི་བཅུ་དེ་དག་དབང་སྡོམ་བཟང་  
 རྒྱ་མཚོའི་འདི་རྣམ་འབྲུམ་འའི་རོམ་ཅེད་རྟོགས་བརྗོད་ཀྱི་རྣམ་ཏུ་བཞོད་པ་ཏུ་  
 ལུ་ལའི་མོས་བཟང་། དེའི་བྱངས་གསུམ། ལྷ་ས། བོད་རྫོང་ས་མི་དམངས་དཔེ་སྐྱེན་  
 ཁང་། 1989-1991

བཅོམ་ལྷན་རིགས་པའི་རལ་གྱི། བཅོམ་ལྷན་རིགས་པའི་རལ་གྱིའི་གསུང་འབྲུམ། བོད་བྱངས་  
 བཅུ་ ལྷ་ས། ཁམས་སྤྱུལ་བཅོད་ནམས་དོན་གྲུབ་བྱིས་དཔལ་བཅེགས་དཔེ་རྫོང་སྡོག་  
 ལས་ཁང་ལ་པར་བསྐྱེན་ལུས། 2006

ཆབ་འགག་རྟེ་མགོན། བོད་ཡིག་རྫོང་འི་ཞིབ་འཇུག །ལྷ་ས། བོད་རྫོང་ས་མི་དམངས་དཔེ་སྐྱེན་  
 ཁང་། 2012

ཚོས་རྗེ་བསོད་ནམས་གྲགས་པ། འདུལ་བའི་ཚོས་འབྲུང་། = དམ་པའི་ཚོས་འདུལ་བའི་ཚོས་  
 འབྲུང་དང་པའི་འབབ་སྡེགས་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་བཞུགས་སོ།། Dharamsala: Library of  
 Tibetan Works And Archives, 1975

འདིགས་མེད་ཐེག་མཚོག །རོང་པོ་དཀོན་ཆེན་གྱི་གདན་རབས་རྫོགས་ལྷན་གཏམ་གྱི་རང་སྐྱོ་  
 ཞེས་བྱ་བ་བཞུགས་སོ།། ཁྲི་ལིང་། མཚོ་སྡོན་མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྐྱེན་ཁང་། 1988

རྗེ་བཅུ་བཞི་པ་ཐེག་མཚོག་རྫོ་རྗེ། དཔེ་རིས་གྲིས་པ་པོ་ཀམ་བྱང་ཆུབ་རྫོ་རྗེ། རྒྱུད་རྗེ་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་  
 དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་གྱི་ཐེག་ཅུ། ཐེག་གདབ་ཆུལ་དང་གི་བྱའི་ཚོན་གྱི་དབྱེ་བ་སོགས་སོ།  
 བདེར་བཞོད་པ་བཞུགས་སོ།། Kathmandu: Jamgon Kongtrul Labrang,  
 Pullahari Monastery, 2005

རྗེ་བཅུ་ལྔ་པ་རྣ་བ། ལྷ་ལུལ་སྡོད་སྤྱད་བར་གསུམ་གྱི་ངོ་མཚར་གཏམ་གྱི་ལེགས་བཤད་  
 མཁས་པའི་འཇུག་རོགས་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་བཞུགས་སོ།། རོ་ནང་རྗེ་བཅུ་ལྔ་པ་རྣ་བའི་གསུང་



འབྲུག་དཔེ་བསྐྱར་མ་བཞུགས་སོ། །དཔལ་བཅེགས་པོད་ཡིག་དཔེ་རྙིང་ཞིབ་འཇུག་  
ཁང་ནས་བསྐྱེད་སྤྱོད། དེ་བ་ལྷན་ཁེ་ལྷ། པེ་ཅིན། ལྷན་པོའི་པོད་རིག་པ་དཔེ་སྐྱོན་  
ཁང་། 2008 པོད་ཞེ་བཞི་པ། སོག་གྲངས་ 1-228

ཉན་ལུམ་འཇམ་དབྱེད་སྐྱབས་པ། མདོ་ཁམས་མི་ཉལ་གྱི་ལུམ་རྒྱ་པོད་ཀྱི་བརྗོད་རིག་པའི་  
གཙོ་བོ་བདེ་བར་གཤེགས་པ་སྐྱེས་བཅས་ཀྱི་སྤྱོད་བརྟན་བཞེད་སྐྱེས་ཀྱི་དར་ལྷན་  
འཕགས་ལྷ་བརྗོད་མོ་རྒྱལ་མདོད་བསྐྱེད་གཞུགས་མཛོད་མིག་གི་དཔལ་རྟོན་ཞེས་བྲ་  
བ་བཞུགས་སོ། །ཁམས་པའི་འཇུག་རིམ། 2016 (1): 6-9

རྙིང་པོ་ཡག་པོད་རྒྱ་ནང་བརྟན་ཀྱི་སྤྱོད་རིམ་པ་ལྷན་བའི་མོ་རྒྱལ་གྱི་སོག་མའི་དབྱེད་གཞི། མཚོ་  
རྙིང་རྒྱུ་ཚོགས་ཚན་རིག་པོད་ཡིག་གི་མཚན་ཉིད་རིག་པ་དང་རྒྱུ་ཚོགས་ཚན་རིག་  
སྐོར་གྱི་སྤོམ་ཤིང་རྒྱུ་དེབ། 2019 (1) སོག་གྲངས་ 58-68

རྒྱའི་སྤྱི་རྒྱ་ཀམ་བརྟན་པའི་ཉིན་ལྟེང་། བསྐྱབ་ [=སྐྱབ་] ལྷན་ཀམ་ཀོ་ཚར་བརྒྱུད་པ་རིན་  
པོ་ཚེའི་རྣམ་པར་བར་པ་རབ་འབྱུངས་ཅོར་ལུ་ཟླ་བ་རྒྱ་ཤེས་ཀྱི་ལྟེང་བཞེས་བྲ་  
བ་བཞུགས་སོ། །དཔལ་སྤྱོད་སྤྱོད་དཔེ་རྙིང་གསར་བསྐྱོན། སི་རྒྱ་ཚོས་འབྲུང་གི་  
གསྲུང་འབྲུམ། པོད་ད། ཤེས་རབ་སྤྱིར། དཔལ་སྤྱོད་སྤྱོད་གསྲུང་རབ་སྤྱོད་སྐྱོན་  
ཁང་། 2010 སོག་སྟེབ་ 1-341

—— རྒྱའི་སྤྱི་རྒྱ་ཀམ་བརྟན་པའི་ཉིན་ལྟེང་གྱི་རང་ཚུལ་གྲངས་ [=དར་] པོར་  
བརྗོད་པ་རྒྱུ་ལེ་ཤེས་ཀྱི་མོ་ལོད་ཞེས་བྲ་བ་བཞུགས་སོ། །སི་རྒྱ་ཚོས་འབྲུང་གི་གསྲུང་  
འབྲུམ། པོད་ལ། ཤེས་རབ་སྤྱིར། དཔལ་སྤྱོད་སྤྱོད་གསར་བསྐྱོན། 2010 སོག་  
སྟེབ་ 1-371

རྣལ་ཚར་མོ་ལུ་བ་ཤེས་རབ་རིན་ཚེན། ཉེན་གསུམ་གཞེད་སྐྱེས་དཔལ་འབྲོར་རྒྱ་མཚོ་  
ལས་སྤྱི་ལྷན་ཚད་ཀྱི་སྐབས་ཟུར་རྒྱ་ལྷན་བ་བཞུགས། རྣལ་ཚར་མོ་ལུ་བ་ཤེས་  
རབ་རིན་ཚེན་གྱི་གསྲུང་འབྲུམ། དཔལ་བཅེགས་པོད་ཡིག་དཔེ་རྙིང་ཞིབ་འཇུག་  
ཁང་ནས་བསྐྱེད་སྤྱོད། དེ་བ་ལྷན་ཁེ་ལྷ། པེ་ཅིན། ལྷན་པོའི་པོད་རིག་པ་དཔེ་སྐྱོན་  
ཁང་། 2007 པོད་གཉིས་པ། སོག་གྲངས་ 302-316

— ཉེན་གསུམ་བཞུགས་གནས་དང་བཅས་པའི་རྒྱལ་ཚུལ་དཔལ་འབྱོར་རྒྱ་མཚོ་བཞུགས་སོ། །རྣམ་ཚང་མོ་ལྷ་པ་ཤེས་རབ་རིན་ཚེན་གྱི་གསུང་འབུམ། དཔལ་བཅེགས་པོད་ཡིག་དཔེ་ཉིད་ཞེས་འབྲུག་ཁང་ནས་བསྐྲུན། དེའི་གྲངས་བརྒྱུན། པེ་ཅིན། གྲུང་པོ་འི་པོད་རིག་པ་དཔེ་རྒྱུན་ཁང་། 2007 པོད་གཉིས་པ། ཤོག་གྲངས་ 317-399

བརྟན་པ་རབ་བརྟན། བཀ་དབང་འཛིགས་མེད། རྒྱ་པོད་པོད་རྒྱ་མཚོས་ཅལ་ཚིག་མཚོད། ལྷ་ས། པོད་རྫོང་ས་མི་དམངས་དཔེ་རྒྱུན་ཁང་། 2003

བརྟན་པ་རབ་བརྟན། པོད་གྱི་སོལ་རྒྱུན་མཛོས་ཅལ་ལས་བྱིས་འབྲུང་གཉིས་གྱི་གྲུང་པ་མདོ་ཅམ་བཟོད་པ། པེ་ཅིན། མི་རིགས་དཔེ་རྒྱུན་ཁང་། 2007

— པོད་གྱི་རི་མོའི་སློབ་དེབ་ལག་ལེན་ཞུན་ཐིགས། པེ་ཅིན། གྲུང་པོ་འི་པོད་རིག་པ་དཔེ་རྒྱུན་ཁང་། 2006

བརྟན་འཛོལ་ཚོས་གྱི་ཉི་མ། ཁམས་པ་སྐར་གྱི་ལྷུང་པ་མདོ་ཁམས་པ་སྐུ་སྲེང་བཞེ་པ་བརྟན་འཛོལ་ཚོས་གྱི་ཉི་མའི་རང་རྣམ། རང་རྩལ་རྒྱལ་པར་སྐྱས་པ་མ་བཅོས་གཏུག་མའི་རང་སོལ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་བཞུགས་སོ།། [s.1.]: ལྷ་པོད་གཞོན་ཅུ་ཚོམ་སྐྱིག་ཁང་། 2007

བརྟན་འཛོལ་རྒྱུན་པ། ལྷུང་ལྷུང་དུ་བཟོ་རིག་དར་ཚུལ་ལམ་ལྷུང་པོའི་སྐྱ་བྱིས་གྱི་བརྒྱུད་རིམ་བཤད་པ་རིག་རྒྱུད་པོད་གྱི་དམ་ལག་པོད་རྫོང་ས་སྲེང་ཚེན་ཚོད་སྲིད་སོལ་ནས། མཁའ་འཁྱིལ་གསལ་པས་གཙོ་སྐྱིག་བྱས། ལྷུང་པོ་སྲེང་ཚེན། 2 བྲོང་ཏུ་ལུ། སི་ཁྲོན་དཔེ་རྒྱུན་ཚོགས་པ། སི་ཁྲོན་མི་རིགས་དཔེ་རྒྱུན་ཁང་། 2012: 123-145

ཐར་རྣམ་ཚེ་དབང་། ཐར་རྣམ་ཚེ་དབང་ལུག་བྱིས་གཅེས་བསྐྲུན་པམོ་རིག་མིག་རྒྱལ། ཁེན་ཏུ་ལུ། སི་ཁྲོན་དཔེ་རྒྱུན་ཚོགས་པ། སི་ཁྲོན་མི་རིགས་དཔེ་རྒྱུན་ཁང་། 2006

དེ་ལྟར་མང་དག་བཤེས་བརྟན་འཛོལ་རྒྱུན་ཚོགས། གུན་གསལ་ཚོན་གྱི་ལས་རིམ་མེ་རྟོག་མདངས་སྲེང་འཇབ་པོད་འབུམ་འབྱིན་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་བཞུགས་པའི་གཟིགས་ལྷོགས་ལེགས་སོ། །དེ་ལྟར་ཅན་བྱིས་མ་མཐོ་འཚོམ་འཕལ་ལེགས་ཤོག་གྲངས་ 182

— རབ་གནས་གྱི་རྒྱས་བཤད་འཇམ་མཐོན་དབྱེས་པའི་བཞད་གད་ལུན་ཚོགས་བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཚ་བརྒྱད། In *bsTan'dzin phun tshogs, Phrin las rgya mtsho, and Kun gzigs chos kyi snang ba. Rab gnas rgyas bshad: Detailed*

*Explanations of the Significance of Rites for the Consecration of Buddhist Icons, Books and Stupas.* Palampur, H.P.: Sungrab Nyamso Gyunphel Parkhang, Tibetan Craft Community, 1970

ཤོག་གྲངས་ 1-62

དེལ་དམར་སྐྱེན་ཡིག་གཅེས་བསྟུན་གྱི་ནང་དོན་གནད་བསྟུན། གངས་སྐྱོད་སྐྱེན་ཚིས་རིག་མཛོད་ཆེན་མོ། བོད་རང་སྐྱོད་སྐྱོད་སྐྱེན་ཚིས་ཁང་གིས་བསྐྱིགས། བོད་གྲངས་བརྒྱད་ཅུ། པེ་ཅིན། གྲུབ་ལོ་ལྟེན་ལྟེན་ལྟེན་ལྟེན་ལྟེན། 2016

འདར་དཔོན་ཉི་ཤར། (a) སྐྱེན་ལུགས་ཤིང་རྟེན་ལྟེན་ཆེན་མོ་སྐྱེན་སྐྱོད་དོན་གྲུབ་གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་དང་གང་གིས་མཛོད་པའི་ཆ་ཚད་གྱི་བསྟན་བཅོས་ཆེན་མོ་བདེ་བར་གཤེགས་པའི་སྐྱེན་ལུགས་གྱི་ཚད་གྱི་རབ་རྒྱ་བྱེད་པ་ཡིད་བཞིན་ལོར་བུ་ཡི་སྐོར་ལ་ཅུང་ཟད་དཔྲད་པ། བོད་སྐྱོད་སྐྱེན་ཚིས་ཁང་གིས་འཇུག། 2005 (2): 15-35

—— (b) སྐྱེན་ལུགས་ཤིང་རྟེན་ལྟེན་ཆེན་མོ་སྐྱེན་སྐྱོད་དོན་གྲུབ་གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་དང་གང་གིས་མཛོད་པའི་ཆ་ཚད་གྱི་བསྟན་བཅོས་ཆེན་མོ་བདེ་བར་གཤེགས་པའི་སྐྱེན་ལུགས་གྱི་ཚད་གྱི་རབ་རྒྱ་བྱེད་པ་ཡིད་བཞིན་ལོར་བུ་ཡི་སྐོར་ལ་ཅུང་ཟད་དཔྲད་པ། བོད་སྐྱོད་སྐྱེན་ཚིས་ཁང་གིས་འཇུག། 2006 (1): 38-52

—— (c) སྐྱེན་ལུགས་ཤིང་རྟེན་ལྟེན་ཆེན་མོ་སྐྱེན་སྐྱོད་དོན་གྲུབ་གྱི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་དང་གང་གིས་མཛོད་པའི་ཆ་ཚད་གྱི་བསྟན་བཅོས་ཆེན་མོ་བདེ་བར་གཤེགས་པའི་སྐྱེན་ལུགས་གྱི་ཚད་གྱི་རབ་རྒྱ་བྱེད་པ་ཡིད་བཞིན་ལོར་བུ་ཡི་སྐོར་ལ་ཅུང་ཟད་དཔྲད་པ། བོད་སྐྱོད་སྐྱེན་ཚིས་ཁང་གིས་འཇུག། 2006 (2): 19-40

ལྷོ་ལྷོ་སངས་རྒྱལ་རྒྱ་མཚོ། མཚོད་སྐོང་འཇམ་ལྷིང་རྒྱན་གཅིག་གི་དཀར་ཆག = མཚོད་སྐོང་འཇམ་ལྷིང་རྒྱན་གཅིག་རྟེན་གཅུག་ལག་ཁང་དང་བཅས་པའི་དཀར་ཆག་ཐར་ལྷིང་རྒྱ་མཚོར་བསྐོད་པའི་སྐྱེན་ལྟེན་སྐྱེན་སྐྱོད་ལྟེན་ལྟེན་ལྟེན་ལྟེན་ལྟེན། 1990

—— བསྟན་བཅོས་བེ་རྒྱར་དཀར་པོ། = བསྟན་བཅོས་བེ་རྒྱར་དཀར་པོ་ལས་ཤིས་ལན་འཇུག་སྐྱོད་གཡལ་འཕེལ་དོན་གྱི་བཞིན་རས་སྐོན་བྱེད་ཅེས་བུ་བའི་སྐྱེན་ལུགས་བསམ་དང་པོ་བཞུགས། Dehradun: Tau Pon Sakya Centre, 1976

ནེ་ལུ་བཞི་ཏུ། རྫོན་གྱི་གཏམ་མེ་རྟོག་སྤོང་བ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ། བོད་གྱི་རྒྱལ་རབས་ཚོལ་གས་  
 བསྐྱེད་པས། ལ་མི་རྗེ་འབའ་ཉལ་ཨ་མིང་མཚོག་ནས་ཚོལ་གས་བསྐྱེད་པ་གཅེས་གསོག་གནང་  
 བའི་བོད་དཔའི་ཁོངས་རིམ་པ་བདུན་པ་ལོ། Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan  
 Works and Archives, 1985: 1-50

དཔལ་བརྟེན་གས་བོད་ཡིག་དཔེ་རྙིང་ཞིབ་འཇུག་ཁང་། (ནས་བསྐྱེད་པས།) འབྲས་སྤྱངས་དགོན་  
 དུ་བཞུགས་སུ་གསོལ་བའི་དཔེ་རྙིང་དཀར་ཆག་ལྟོད་ཆ་དང་སྤང་ཆ། པེ་ཅིང་། མི་  
 རིགས་དཔེ་སྐྱེན་ཁང་། 2004

ལུན་ཚོགས་ནམ་རྒྱལ། (གཙོ་འགན་ཚོམ་སྐྱེད་པ།) གྲུང་པོའི་བོད་སྤྱི་དམ་མངའ་རིས་དུང་  
 དཀར་སྐྱེད་པས་རིས། *Donggar Cave Murals in Ngari Prefecture, Tibet,*  
*China.* Beijing: Zhongguo dabaikquanshu chubanshe, 1998

ལུང་ཚོ། བྱེ་ལུ་སྤྱང་ལུགས་དེ་སྐོན་མཁུན་གཉིས་གྱི་རྫོན་ལ་བྱུང་བའི་སྐོར་ལ་ཅུང་ཟད་དཔྱད་  
 པ། བོད་སྤྱི་དམ་སྐུ་ཅམ་ཞིབ་འཇུག་ 2007 (2): 57-65

འཕྲིན་ལས་ཚོས་གྲགས། རྒྱ་བོད་སྐད་རྒྱ་མི་རིགས་དབར་མཐུན་ལམ་ཚེ་བའི་མོ་རྒྱལ་གྱི་དཔའ་  
 ཏུགས། དཔལ་ལུ་ལུ་གསེར་ཁང་ལ་ལྟ་སྐོར་དུ་ཕྱིན་པའི་མཐོང་བྱིས། ལྷང་རྒྱན་མེ་  
 རྟོག་ 1991 (2): 27-35

བོ་དོང་པའ་ཚེན་ཚོལ་གས་ལས་ནམ་རྒྱལ། མཁས་པ་འཇུག་པའི་བཟོ་རིག་སྐུ་གསུང་ལུགས་  
 གྱི་རྟེན་བཞེངས་ཚུལ་བཞུགས་སོ། །བོ་དོང་པའ་ཚེན་ཚོལ་གས་ལས་ནམ་རྒྱལ་གྱི་  
 གསུང་འབྲམ་བཞུགས་སོ། །བོད་གྲངས་བརྒྱ་དང་ལྷམ་ཅུ་སོ་བདུན། རྗེ་མི། བོད་  
 ཁང་། 1969-1981 བོད་ཁ་པ། འོག་གྲངས་ 215-264

—— རྟེན་གསུམ་བཞེངས་ཚུལ་བསྟན་བཅོས་བཤད་པ་བཞུགས་སོ། །བོ་དོང་པའ་ཚེན་  
 ཚོལ་གས་ལས་ནམ་རྒྱལ་གྱི་གསུང་འབྲམ་བཞུགས་སོ། །བོད་གྲངས་བརྒྱ་དང་ལྷམ་ཅུ་སོ་  
 བདུན། རྗེ་མི། བོད་ཁང་། 1969-1981 བོད་ཁ་པ། འོག་གྲངས་ 265-342

བོད་གྱི་ནང་བསྟན་དགོན་པའི་སྐྱེད་པས་རིས་སྐུ་ཅམ། ཁྲིང་ཏུ་ལུ། མི་བོན་མི་དམངས་དཔེ་སྐྱེན་  
 ཁང་། 1994

བྲག་གཡལ་ཚོགས་བརྒྱ་དཔོན་པའི་སྐྱབ་སྐྱུལ་ཡིན་ལས་རྒྱ་མཚོ། རབ་གནས་ཡོན་བསྐྱེད་  
སྐབས་ཀྱི་རྟོན་རྒྱན་འཇུག་བདེ་ལུན་ཚོགས་བགྲ་ཤིས་ཆ་བརྒྱད་ཅེས་པ། In bsTan  
'dzin phun tshogs, Phrin las rgya mtsho, and Kun gzigs chos  
kyi snang ba. *Rab gnas rgyas bshad: Detailed Explanations of  
the Significance of Rites for the Consecration of Buddhist Icons,  
Books and Stupas*. Palampur, H.P.: Sungrab Nyamso Gyunphel  
Parkhang, Tibetan Craft Community, 1970 འོག་གྲངས་ 63-88

འཇུག་པའི་ལུགས་ཀྱི་ཐང་ག། འཇུག་རྒྱན་རྟེན་པར་གསོན་ལུགས་གསར་བ་རྒྱས། ཡོང་  
ལུངས། གྲུང་མོའི་བོད་གསར་འགྱུར་དྲ་བ། སྤེལ་དུས། 2017.04.15

ལྷོ་བཟང་བསམ་འཕེལ་དང་ལེས་ཡེ་མིང། (གཉིས་ཀྱིས་གཙོ་སྒྲིག་བྱས།) སེང་གཤོང་བཟོ་རིག་  
སྐྱུ་རྩལ། *Wutun Tangka and Clay Sculptures*. ཟස་ལིང། མཚོ་སྐོན་མི་རིགས་  
དཔེ་སྐྱུན་ཁང། 2005

ལྷན་ལུང་ཞང་ཞུང་གི་འཇུག་རྩལ། གྲུང་མོའི་བོད་རྫོང་ས་མངའ་རིས་ཀྱི་གནའ་བོའི་སྤྲེལ་སྐྱེ་  
བདམས་སྒྲིག་ཁོང་སྐྱོང་ས་མི་དམངས་དཔེ་སྐྱུན་ཁང། 2001

ལྷན་ཐང་ལུགས་ཀྱི་ཐང་ག། འཇུག་རྩལ། ཡོང་ལུངས། གྲུང་མོའི་བོད་ཀྱི་གསར་འགྱུར་དྲ་བ། སྤེལ་  
དུས། 2015.06.13

ལྷན་ལྷོ་དོན་གྲུབ། བཟུན་བཅོས་ལེགས་བཤད་ཅོར་བུའི་འཕྲོང་བ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་བཞུགས་སོ། །རི་  
མོའི་ཐིག་ཚད་དང་ཚོན་གྱི་ལག་ལེན་ཚད་ལྡན་དོན་དུ་གཉེར་བ་རྣམས་ལ་ཉེ་བར་མཁོ་  
བ་མཁོང་བ་དོན་ལྡན་ཅེས་བྱ་བ་བཞུགས། །རྟོག་བརྟན་དོ་རྗེ་རྒྱ་གམ་བཅས་ལྷོགས་  
གཅིག་རྒྱ་བཟུས་ཏེ་སྤྲི་ལིར་ [=མི་] རས་སྤྱི་ལོ་ 1985 ཟස་ 11 ཚེས་ 20 ལ་འཇུག་  
པར་ 1000 སྤེལ་བ་དགོལ། འོག་གྲངས་ 177-218

——. བདེ་བར་གཤེགས་པའི་སྐྱུ་གཟུགས་ཀྱི་ཚད་ཀྱི་རབ་རྒྱ་བྱེད་པ་ཡིད་བཞིན་ཅོར་  
བུ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་བཞུགས། །། གངས་ཅན་པན་བདེའི་གཏེར་མཚོད་སྤྱིང་པར་མ། ལྷ་  
ས། 1945

ལྷན་ཁྲུང་། རྟོན་གྲུབ་ཀྱིས་བཞེངས་པའི་ཐང་ག་ཞིག་ཐོག་མར་རྟེན་པ། མོང་ཁུངས། གྲུང་མོའི་བོད་  
ཀྱི་གསར་འགྱུར་དྲ་བ། སླེལ་དུས། 2016.06.18

ལྷན་ཁྲུང་། རྟོན་གྲུབ་དང་དེ་ལྟར་མར་བརྟན་འཛིན་ལུན་ཚོགས། གནལ་རབས་གྲིས་སྐྱུ་དང་བཙོ་སྐྱུ་  
ཚོན་བྲ་ཅན་གྱི་ཚད་དང་ལུན་པའི་གཞུང་ལུགས། པེ་ཅིན། གྲུང་མོའི་བོད་རིག་པ་དཔེ་  
སྐྱུན་ཁང་། 2005

ལྷན་རིམ་སློབ་ལུང་བརྟན་འཛིན་རྣམ་དག །སྐྱ་རབས་བོད་ཀྱི་བྱུང་བ་བརྗོད་པའི་འབེལ་གཏམ་  
ལུང་གི་རྟེན་འོ་ཞེས་བྲ་བ་བཞུགས། Dolanji: Tibetan Bonpo Monastic  
Community, 1983

བཙེ་བྱང་སྟོན་པ་དབང་འདུལ། མོང་དཀར་རྩོ་རྩེ་གདན་གྱི་སྟེབས་གྲིས་ཀྱི་དོན་སྦྱོར་  
དང་ད་ལྟའི་གནས་བབས་སྟོར་ལ་རགས་ཅམ་སྟེང་བ། བོད་སྡེངས་ཞིབ་  
འཇུག 2005 (2): 105-109

——. མོང་དཀར་སྐད་རྟོན་མཁུན་བཙེ་ཚེན་མོ་དག་བསྟེན་རྣམ་པར་རྒྱལ་བ་དང་མཁུན་  
ལུགས་ཀྱི་ཁྱད་ཚེས་སྟོར་རགས་ཅམ་སྟེང་བ། བོད་སྡེངས་སྟོབ་བྲ་ཚེན་མོའི་རིག་  
དཔེ 2010 (4): 112-117

ཚངས་དབང་དག་འདུན་བརྟན་པ། པཱི་ཏུ་ལྷོ་བཟང་ཤེས་རབ་མཚན་ཅན་གསུམ་དང་དེ་  
དག་གིས་བོད་ཀྱི་མཛེས་ཅམ་རིམ་མཛད་ཐང་ལ་མཛད་རྗེས་བཞག་ཚུལ་རྟོབ་ཅམ་སྟེང་  
བ། གྲུང་མོའི་བོད་ཀྱི་ཤེས་རིག 1988 (3): 85-95

——. གཟི་དམར། ཐེང་ཏུལ། སི་ཁོན་མི་དམངས་དཔེ་སྐྱུན་ཁང་། 2018

ཀུན་དགའ་ཚེ་རིང་། (གཙོ་སློབ་པ།) འཛོམ་ཉག་ལྟ་དཔེ། ལན་གོལ། ཀན་ལུལ་མི་རིགས་དཔེ་  
སྐྱུན་ཁང་། 2018

ལྷ་སྐབ་པ་དབང་ལུག་བདེ་ལུན། བོད་ཀྱི་སྦྱོང་དོན་རྒྱལ་རབས། དེབ་གྲངས་གཉིས། ཀ་སྟོན་  
ལུག །ལྷ་སྐབ་ཤེས 1976

ཟླ་ཚུང་། ལྱང་དོས་ཀྱི་གནལ་བོའི་སྐྱུ་ཅལ། གྲུང་མོའི་བོད་སྡེངས། 2017 (5): 32-37

འོད་ཟེར་གྱི་ཕྱི་ལ། (གཙོ་སྒྲིག་པ) གཡུང་རྒྱུད་བོན་གྱི་ཞལ་ཐང་ཀུན་འདུས་ཆེན་མོ། *Great Collection of Yungdrung Bon Thankas*. དེབ་གྲངས་གཉིས། ལྷ་ས། བོད་རྒྱུད་སྐོར་འཛིན་པའི་རྩིང་དཔེ་སྐུན་ཁང་། 2019

འོམ་ཁབ་མ་སྐྱེ་ལུང་རྒྱུ་ལྷོང་བཞི་པ་རིག་པ་འཛོལ་པ་བཞད་པའི་དོ་རྩེ། བསྐྱེད་སྐྱུང་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་རྣམ་ཐར་ = དམ་ཅན་བསྐྱེད་སྐྱུང་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་རྣམ་ཐར་ཐར་པ་ཆ་འགས་ཅམ་བརྗོད་པ་རྒྱུ་མེད་ལེགས་བཤད་ཅེས་བྱ་བའི་སྐྱེད་ཆ་བཞུགས་སོ།། Leh: T. S. Tashigang and B. P. O. Nemo, 1979

ཡེ་ཤེས་རབ་བསམ། ལྷུ་ལ་པའི་ལྷ་བཟོ་ཆེན་པོ་ནམ་མཁའ་རྒྱུན་གྱི་དོ་སྲོད་མདོར་བསྐྱེད། གངས་དགར་རི་བོ། 1993 (1): 49-53

ཡོ་ཆེ་ཤ་བོ་དོན་གྲུབ། བལ་གྱིས་བོད་ལ་ཐོག་མར་དར་བའི་དུས་སྐབས་ལ་གསར་དུ་དཔྱད་པ། བོད་རྒྱུད་སྐོར་ལ་ཞེས་འདུག། 2017 (2): 61-71

གཡང་དགེ། ལྷུང་པོ་རྒྱུད་ཆེན།<sup>1</sup> བོད་རྒྱུད་སྐོར་ཆེན་རྒྱུད་མིང་གོ་ས་ཚོམ་སྒྲིག་བྱས། ལྷུང་རྒྱུ་མི་ཚོམ་དཔེ་སྐུན་ཆོགས་པ། མི་ཚོམ་མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྐུན་ཁང་། 2005

གཡང་པ་ལུང་ཆོགས་དོ་རྩེ། བོད་གྱི་རི་མོའི་རྒྱུ་རྐྱེན་ལས་ལྷ་སྐྱེའི་ལེག་ཅ་དང་ཤིང་ཆོན་སོགས་གྱི་མར་གཞིའི་ཤེས་བྱ་བའོ་ལན་ལྷོ་གསར་དགའ་རྒྱུད་ཅེས་བྱ་བ་བཞུགས་སོ།། བོ་ཅིན་མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྐུན་ཁང་། 2006

རིན་ཆེན་དཔལ་བཟང་། མཚུར་ཕུ་དཔོན་གྱི་དགར་ཆག་ཀུན་གསལ་མེ་ལོང་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་བཞུགས་སོ།། བོ་ཅིན་མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྐུན་ཁང་། 1995

རི་མོ་མཁུན་རྣམས་ལ་ཉེ་བར་མཁོ་བའི་ཆོན་གྱི་ལག་ལེན་དང་གྱིན་བདག་གི་མཚན་ཉིད་འདུང་རྒྱལ་རྣམས་ཅམ་བརྗོད་པ་བཞུགས། རི་མོའི་ལེག་ཆོད་དང་ཆོན་གྱི་ལག་ལེན་ཆོད་སྐྱེན་དོན་དུ་གཉེར་བ་རྣམས་ལ་ཉེ་བར་མཁོ་བ་མཚོང་བ་དོན་སྐྱེན་ཅེས་བྱ་བ་བཞུགས། རྟག་བརྟན་དོ་རྩེ་རྒྱལ་བཅས་སྲོགས་གཅིག་ཏུ་བསྐྱེད་ཏེ་ལྷོ་ལེར་ [=ལི་] ལས་སྐྱེ་ལོ་ 1985 ཟླ་ 11 ཚེས་ 20 ལ་འདུལ་པར་ 1000 རྩེ་ལ་བ་དཔེ་ལོ། རོག་གྲངས་ 99-176

རེ་བ་མོང་པ་འཛིགས་མེད་བསམ་བློ། རེ་བ་མོང་མེད་མེ་གཤོང་གི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་གངས་ཤིའི་རྒྱ་རྒྱུན་  
ཞེས་བྲལ། པེ་ཅིན། མི་རིགས་དཔེ་སྐྱེན་ཁང་། 2005

རྫོང་པོ་རིན་ཆེན་བཟང་ལྟོ་མེད་དང་རྣམ་བཟང་གྲགས་པ། (གཉིས་ཀྱིས་ཚོམ་སྒྲིག་བྲས།) རེ་བ་  
མོང་རྒྱ་རྒྱུ་ཅལ་ཞེས་བྲལ། པེ་ཅིན་པོ་ལོ་རིན་ཆེན་བཟང་མཚོ། ལན་ཤོ་ལུ། ཀན་སྐུ་ལུ་མི་རིགས་  
དཔེ་སྐྱེན་ཁང་། 2009

ལྷ་ལྷོ་འཕེན་གཞུགས་ཀྱི་ལྷ་བསྐྱེད་འཛིན། ལྷ་གཞུགས་ཀྱི་མཚན་ཉིད་རྣམ་པར་བཤད་པའི་  
བྱིས་འཕྲུལ་གྱི་མིག་རྩ་ལོ་གསལ་དཔྱད་ལུང་དོན་གཉིས་ལྟེར་ཞེས་བྲལ། བ་  
བཞུགས་ལོ། །ཀར་མོང་ཀྱི་བུ་བུ་ལེགས། (ཀྱིས་ཚོམ་སྒྲིག་བྲས།) ལྷ་རྒྱུགས་བྱིས་  
འཕྲུལ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་སྐུ་གཞུགས་ཀྱི་མིག་དཔེ་ཉི་མའི་སྐྱེད་པ་ཞེས་བྲལ། བ་བཞུགས་ལོ། །ཆབ་  
མཛོད་རྫོང་རིག་གནས་རྒྱུང་བསྐྱེད་ལྷ་བསྐྱེད་ལུང་གི་ཀྱིས་བསྒྲིགས། པེ་ཅིན། ལྷ་རྒྱུ་  
མོང་པོ་རིག་པ་དཔེ་སྐྱེན་ཁང་། 2010 ལོག་གངས་ 247-255

མི་རྒྱུ་པ་ཚོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱ་མཚོ། དབུས་གཙང་གནས་བསྐོར་ལམ་ཡིག = མི་རྒྱུ་པ་ཚོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱ་མཚོ་  
གངས་རྒྱུངས་དབུས་གཙང་གནས་བསྐོར་ལམ་ཡིག་ཅན་ལུ་རྒྱ་ལོག་གི་མོ་དོ་ཞེས་  
བྲལ། བ་བཞུགས་ལོ། Tashijong, Palampur, H.P.: The Sungrab Nyamso  
Gyunphel Parkhang, Tibetan Craft Community, 1972

རྫོང་པོ་རིན་གནས་མདོག །འབྲུག་དཀར་པོ། འབྲུག་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་ཀྱི་ཚོས་སྤྱི་དགནས་  
སྤངས། Bumthang: Lopon Nado, Tharpaling Monastery, 1986

བསོད་ནམས་དོན་བྲལ། བོད་ཀྱི་རི་མའི་བྱིས་ལུགས་བྱི་ལུ་སྐྱེད་ལུགས་ཀྱི་སྐོར་རྣམས་ཅམ་གླེད་  
བ། བོད་རྫོངས་རྒྱ་རྒྱུ་ཅལ་ཞིབ་འཇུག 2013 (1): 65-86

ཉི་ལུ་རི་ཆ་སྐྱེ། [=སམ་] ཉེ་ཆར་རྟེན་པའི་བོད་ཀྱི་བྲག་བཞོས་ཡི་གེའི་སྐོར་གླེད་བ། ཚོ་རིང་  
གིས་བསྐྱེད། བོད་རྫོངས་རྒྱ་རྒྱུ་ཅལ་ཞིབ་འཇུག 2013 (2): 64-79

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## Miscellanea Himalaica

### **Thakali *rhab*, *mi dpon* bKra shis bzang po and Bam steng Tulku**

Michael Vinding and Per K. Sørensen

Two research fields, in particular, come to the fore when the talk is about David Jackson: Mustang and a large number of pioneering studies of the rich Tibetan thangka painting tradition, yet his impressive and versatile academic production covers a wide range of other themes. It is with great pleasure we offer this small essay to a close friend we have known for almost half a century. Appropriately, we hope, we have found a few interesting research vignettes that touch upon David's research interests.

#### **I. *Rhab*: Thakali Clan Stories**

Mustang district (Fig. 1) comprises several entities: north of Jomsom, the district headquarters, is Glo bo, Geling, and Baragau with the main villages Kagbeni, and Dzar and Dzong in the Muktinath valley.<sup>1</sup> South of Jomsom is the Thak Khola valley which is divided into Yhulngha<sup>2</sup>

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- 1 Glo, also known as Glo stod, 'Upper Lo,' popularly known as Mustang after the capital sMon thang, lit. 'Plain of Aspiration.' Geling (Tib. dGe gling or sGer lung) is culturally and linguistically a part of Glo bo. Baragau (lit. 'Twelve Villages'), also known as Glo smad, 'Lower Lo.' Kagbeni (Tib. bKag or sKags) is an important village located along the Kali Gandaki river at the entrance to the Muktinath valley. Dzar (Tib. rDzar, Nep. Jharkot) and Dzong (Tib. rDzong, Nep. Jhong), collectively known as Dzar-Dzong (Tib. rDzar rdzong yul drug, lit. 'Six Villages [including] Dzar [and] Dzong'). Muktinath (Tib. Chu mig brgya rtsa, lit. 'Place of 100 Springs,' Thak. Salpi or Salpui) is a sacred pilgrim site with allegedly 108 springs and a fire that burns from the earth, water, and stone.
  - 2 Yhulngha (Tib. Yul Inga, lit. 'The Five Villages'), traditionally comprising Sum (Tib. gSum, 'three,' i.e., Thini, Syang, and Cimang), Marpha (Thak. Ma or Mari; Tib. sPrung khris), and Chairö. We have used a simplified spelling of Thakali and Nepali words. For more accurate spellings, see Vinding 1998.

and Thak,<sup>3</sup> commonly known by their Nepali names—Pacgau and Thaksatsae.<sup>4</sup>

The region with its ethnically, culturally, and linguistically heterogeneous makeup accommodated through history several local political entities, often being temporary dependencies of supra-regional powers such as Parbat,<sup>5</sup> Jumla,<sup>6</sup> Ladakh, and the neighbouring Tibetan Mang yul Gung thang dynasty.

Thak Khola is the homeland of the Thakali, which comprise three separate endogamous ethnic groups, namely the Tamang Thakali, whose homeland is Thak; the Mariemhi Thakali, who are the indigenous people of Marpha village of Yhulngaha; and the Yhulkasompaimhi Thakali, who originate from the villages of Thini, Syang, and Chimang in Yhulngaha.<sup>7</sup>

The ethnonym Thakali is Nepali and means ‘a person from Thak.’ It was most likely originally used for the Tamang Thakali only. Tibetans refer to the Thakali as *thag pa*.

Every 12th year, in the year of the monkey (Thak. *pre lo*),<sup>8</sup> Tamang Thakali from Nepal and abroad gather in Thak to celebrate the 17-day long Lha Phewa festival.<sup>9</sup> Lha Phewa or ‘the coming of the gods’ is a celebration of the gods and ancestors of the four Tamang Thakali clans.<sup>10</sup>

3 The designation Thak (or Tha) derives from Tib. *mtha'*, ‘border, border-country’ or alternatively Tib. *thag*, ‘distant (country).’ The area is also known as Thasang.

4 Pacgau, Nep. ‘Five Villages,’ Thaksatsae, Nep. ‘Seven Hundred Thak.’

5 Parbat is known as Malebum and in Tibetan sources: ‘Gru/’Bru, ‘[Land of] Grain.’

6 The Jumla (Khasa) kingdom, in Tibetan sources known as Ya rtse, became a supra-regional power in the 13th century. Jumla continued to be a power until it fell to the Gorkhalis in 1789.

7 For the Thakali, see Vinding 1998, Vinding and Bhattachan 1985, Fisher 2001. In Nepal, in general the Tamang Thakali are known as Thakali, the Mariemhi as Marphali or Marphali Thakali, and the Yhulkasompaimhi as Tingaunle Thakali.

8 Thak. *pre lo*, cf. Tib. *sprel*, *spre'u lo*.

9 For the Lha Phewa (Tib. *lha phebs pa*) festival, see Vinding 1992, Vinding 1998, and Fisher 2001.

10 The four clans are: Cyogi (Nep. Gaucan); Salgi (Nep. Tulacan); Dhimcan (Nep. Shercan); and Bhurghi (Nep. Bhattacan). According to Vinding 1998, the ending *-gi* is probably an abbreviation of Thak. *ghyu* (Tib. *brgyud*), ‘lineage,’ here understood as clan. *Bhurghi rhab* renders the clan names as mChod, gSal, Grim btsan and 'Bur, respectively (the spellings vary in the different versions of the *rhab*). Vinding has offered what could not ‘be more than a qualified guess’ for the translation: ‘*Cyogi*, the ‘respected lineage’; *salgi*, the ‘pure/clear lineage’; *dhimcan*, the

An important element of the festival is the ritual and performative recitation of the four clan stories or narratives (Thak. *rhab*).<sup>11</sup> The recitation is conducted by the clans' priests (Thak. *pare*), yet occasionally others are also invited to recite and recount the *rhab*. The clan stories are also recited during the shorter Soi Soi festival which takes place three years before the Lha Phewa festival.<sup>12</sup> The narratives centre around important events in the life of the clan's ancestor and/or god/goddess.

The entire clan stories were first presented to a Western audience in 1977 when Gauchan and Vinding published a retelling of the texts.<sup>13</sup> In 1992 Vinding published a revised version of the retellings and in 2016 an article on God Self-Created Yak's stay in Tsari of Kongpo, Tibet.<sup>14</sup> However, a full and annotated translation of the texts has never been conducted. At present, we are preparing the first complete translations of the four Tamang Thakali *rhab* based on all available 'original' written texts.<sup>15</sup>

## I.1 The Clan Narratives: A Brief Retelling

### *Cyogi rhab*

According to the *Cyogi rhab* (and *Dhimcan rhab*),<sup>16</sup> Ani Airam, the ancestor of the *Cyogi* clan, was born in 'the Northwest' (*nhubcan*)<sup>17</sup>—a reference to the Guge-Purang region of Western Tibet or—more generally—Western Himalaya, including Ladakh.

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'illustrious and mighty lineage' and *bhurgi*, the 'prominent lineage.'"; *ibid.*: 168–169.

11 Thak. *rhab*, cf. Tib. *rabs*.

12 Vinding 1998: 339.

13 Gauchan and Vinding 1977.

14 Vinding 1992 and Vinding 2016.

15 Vinding and Sørensen, *forthcoming*. Facsimiles of the texts will be included.

16 The original *Dhimcan rhab* allegedly has been lost. Informants tell that 'in the old days' they were informed by elders that the *Dhimcan rhab* was similar to the *Cyogi rhab*. Consequently, the *Dhimcan rhab* which is used for the Lha Phewa festival is basically similar to the *Cyogi rhab*—the most important difference is that the main actor of the *Cyogi rhab* is their clan ancestor Ani Airam while in *Dhimcan rhab* it is the ancestor of the *Dhimcan* clan, Dhakpa Gyalsang (in some *rhab* known as Ladakhpa Gyaltsang, cf. Tib. La dwags pa rgyal mtshan, lit., 'Gyaltsan from Ladakh'). We have in our possession photographs of a *rhab* written in Tibetan script. This may indeed be the legendary 'original' *Dhimcan rhab*, but this may be determined only after a future in-depth study.

17 *Nhubcan* (*Cyogi rhab*, verse 4), cf. Tib. *nub byang*, 'northwest.'

Ani Airam left the Northwest and arrived at Sinjapati in the present Jumla district.<sup>18</sup> At Sinjapati, a herdsman and later Ani Airam tried to cut down a sandalwood tree. Then three birds—red, blue, and white—flew from the tree; the birds symbolized Lha Langba Nhurbu,<sup>19</sup> the god of the Cyogi clan; Lha Chyuring Gyalmo,<sup>20</sup> the goddess of the Salgi clan; and Lha Gangla Singi Karmo,<sup>21</sup> the goddess of the Dhimcan clan.

Ani Airam left Sinjapati and after fog had blocked his way at the northern side of the Dhaulagiri Range, eventually arrived in Thak Khola. At the sacred river Mharsyangkyu<sup>22</sup> he purified himself in the water. Ani Airam continued to Gyatodak opposite Tukche<sup>23</sup> where he met Pau Kuti,<sup>24</sup> the ancestor of the Bhurgi clan. The ancestors hunted a musk deer which they managed to kill. A fellow hunter was sent to a river to clean the stomach. Apparently, ancestor Pau Kuti tried to hide some meat before it was divided and therefore was cursed by the fellow hunter.

The ancestors continued south to Tamo<sup>25</sup> whose inhabitants Ani Airam called Thatan.<sup>26</sup> Ani Airam told, that the Thatan ate ‘rice of gold

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18 Sinjapati (aka Sijapati, Semja, Simja) used to be the summer capital of the Khasa Kingdom. The ruins of Sinja are found at present-day village Lamathada (29,24,27N 82,01,25E).

19 Lha Langba Nhurbu, cf. Tib. lHa Glang ba nor bu, ‘God Jewel Elephant.’

20 Lha Chyuring Gyalmo, cf. Tib. lHa Chu srin rgyal mo, ‘Goddess Crocodile Queen.’

21 Lha Gangla Singi Karmo, cf. Tib. lHa Gangs la Seng ge dkar mo, ‘Goddess White Lioness of the Glacier.’

22 Mharsyang kyu, Thak. ‘River [at] the Golden Rock?’, cf. Thak. *mhar*, gold and *syang*, rock (Gauchan 2004: 89 and 109); Nep. Chokhopani is a river sacred to the Tamang Thakali, the site of a pre-historical settlement.

23 Tukche, originally called Tuce, cf. Tib. ’Bru brje, lit., ‘grain barter,’ as this plain originally was a place where Tibetan salt was bartered for Nepalese grains. In the late 19th century, it became the centre of the Thak Khola valley, the home of the rich contractors (*subba*) who enjoyed a monopoly on the lucrative salt trade, see Vinding 1998: 75–92.

24 Pau Kuti (Pala Kuti), also known as Dhamchi Dhamru, cf. Tib. *dam tshig dam bca’ ba*, to promise (to keep) an oath. The *Salgi rhab* mentions how ancestor Pau Kuti was named Damce Damru.

25 Location unknown, but most likely in the Khanti-Kobang-Larjung-Nakhung area.

26 Thatan, Thak. ‘the people of Tha(g).’ Tamang Thakali believe that the Thatan were the indigenous people of Thak Khola who lived in the area before the arrival of the Tamang Thakali (Vinding 1998: 63–69; Gauchan 2004: 61).



and dhal of turquoise’—that is a discriminatory remark for porridge of bitter buckwheat and nettle soup.

Ani Airam then travelled to Taglung (southern part of Thaksatsae). He did not like the village and named the inhabitants *parang purung*, apparently a reference to their strange language.<sup>27</sup> Ani Airam left Thak Kola and continued south. Below the Gorapani pass, he was stung by nettles and lost his way. When Ani Airam asked his way from a local, the man replied, “go along the way.” This silly answer angered Ani Airam who therefore cursed the locals. Following this bad experience, Ani Airam returned to Thak where he examined the water, the soil, and the stones. He found these of excellent quality and decided to settle in Thak.<sup>28</sup>

### *Salgi rhab*

It starts with the sandalwood tree in Sinjapati. The text mentions that the branches had different places of birth, but the meeting point was one.<sup>29</sup> The four branches dried out and birds flew away, including a blue through which Goddess Crocodile Queen originated. The goddess left Sinjapati. Her journey ended at Dhocho where members of the eighteen houses presented her various offerings. This pleased Goddess Crocodile Queen who blessed the eighteen ancestors so that they could become rich and powerful.

After becoming powerful, the eighteen ancestors misused their power. Therefore, the ancestors of the Thacan<sup>30</sup> decided to kill the eighteen Dhocho ancestors with whom they had marriage relations. They would invite the Dhocho ancestors to a ceremony and put poison in their beer and alcohol. While travelling to the ceremony, the eighteen ancestors met a traditional priest (*dhom*) who warned them because in a dream he had seen the plot. Therefore, the ancestors gave part of their food and drinks to a dog which died. Then the eighteen ancestors returned home.

27 The earliest inhabitants of Taglung may have been Magars.

28 For this theme, see below.

29 For this idiom, see below.

30 The Tamang Thakali are also known as Thacan (Gauchan, *ibid.*). *Salgi rhab* uses Thatan and Thacan interchangeably. This is, we believe, a mistake. The story makes sense only if it is the Thacan rather than the Thatan who killed the eighteen ancestors of Dhocho.

The Thacan ancestors prepared a new plot. They would kill the Dhocho ancestors while making planks for a bridge over the Kali Gandaki river. The eighteen Dhocho ancestors agreed to help the Thacan after they had been flattered and offered beer and scarfs of felicitation.

An old grandmother, Mom Lhasarphi, warned the eighteen ancestors that she had had an ominous dream and begged them not to go. The ancestors bragged: “How can we be harmed? What to fear?”<sup>31</sup> Then they left for the forest at Narilhedong to help the Thacan. At the forest, the Thacan said that even after having placed wedges in the cleft of a trunk, it was impossible to break. The eighteen ancestors from Dhocho placed the hands in the cleft in order to break the tree. As soon as they did this, the Thacan removed the wedges and rolled the trunk. In this way, the 18 ancestors died.

When the Thacan returned with music, Mom Lhasarphi knew that the ancestors of Dhocho had been killed. She, therefore, fled with her grandchild Konca Bum.<sup>32</sup> The ancestors of the Thacan searched the houses in Dhocho to find the reason for the eighteen ancestors’ power and success. When they found Goddess Crocodile Queen in the form of a wooden mask dressed in clothes of cypress, they tried to spear it, cut it, and burn it, but all in vain. Consequently, they threw the mask into the Kali Gandaki river.

The mask stopped at Ghayangdhak.<sup>33</sup> The river was blocked and started flowing upwards. The Thacan consulted a diviner and an astrologer and were told that the problem was due to Goddess Crocodile Queen. They were also told that the worship of the Goddess could be done only by a member of her clan (that is, Salgi). The Thacan realized that Mom Lhasarphi and her grandson Konca Bum had fled and decided to find them. The diviner identified ancestor Pau Kuti of the Bhurgi clan as the most suitable person to find Konca Bum.

Pau Kuti found Mom Lhasarphi hiding in a tree at Ipsang above Misi south of Lete. Mom Lhasarphi refused to climb down, but after having received promises, most important, that Pau Kuti would not kill her

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31 *Salgi rhab*, verse 53.

32 Koncha Bum, cf. Thak. *konca*, grandson. Interestingly, the village Kunjo or Kuncio (Nep.) (Thak. *Konca*) is reportedly originally named *Koncaphlum* (Tulachan 2016: 8).

33 Ghayangdak, also known as Ghayang Ghang, is a place south of Thasang where the Kali Gandaki river becomes very narrow. There is a bridge connecting the two banks.

and her grandson, she showed Pau Kuti where her grandson was hiding. Mom Lhasarphi agreed to return to Dhocho only after Pau Kuti had promised her a huge area of land in the Ipsang area. Before returning, Mom Lhasarphi told Pau Kuti that he should keep his promises and named him ‘Dhamci Damru,’ lit. ‘[the one who] promised to keep [his] promise.’

At Ghayangdak, Mom Lhasarphi and Konca Bum made offerings to Goddess Crocodile Queen and begged her to come out of the river. The goddess flew into Mom Lhasarphi’s shawl and the Kali Gandaki started to flow southwards again.

The *Salgi rhab* ends—like the other *rhab*—with a prayer to the four clan gods that the Tamang Thakali enjoy prosperity and avoid evils. It closes with proclamations (here Salgi as an example): “[Goddess] Crocodile Queen proclaimed from the mouth and the heart that Samledhen Samlecyang is the ancestor of the Salgi clan.”<sup>34</sup>

### *Bhurgi rhab*

The narrative starts with a story of the origin of the world. Next follows a story as to how God Self-Created Yak<sup>35</sup> (Fig. 2) was born: one of the four branches of a sandalwood tree in Sinjapati dried out and a black bird flew to the north where it became three hailstones. On a day with a clear sky, the hailstones fell in front of a nun who ate them. She became pregnant and nine months later gave birth to a piece of male flesh which she threw into Lake Manasarovar. After a period of only three days, the flesh turned into a yak. The yak protruded and started a journey across Tibet. During the journey, the yak discovered mines with salt and precious metals, visited lake Nam Tsho and afterwards Nag Tsam<sup>36</sup> where the Lord of Salt, Dorje Dralha<sup>37</sup> prostrated in front of the god who bless-

34 *Salgi rhab*, verse 195. The meaning of the name Samledhen Samlecyang is not clear, but the suffixes *-dhen* and *-cyang* mean ‘big, elder’ and ‘small, younger,’ respectively.

35 *Ya la pa rang ’byung*; in the text also God Precious Yak (*ya la pa nor bu ye lha*).

36 Location unknown.

37 rDo rje dgra lha; we have not been able to identify this as a real person. He appears several times in *Bhurgi rhab*, the first time in the narrative at Nagtsam (Tib. Nag tsam) which God Self-Created Yak reached after having left Nam Tso (Tib. gNam mtsho) (MS-A, verses 101 ff.). It is referring to an adamantine dGra lha, ‘Enemy Gods,’ usually deities, such as Chos skyong, i.e., Dharmapāla, believed to be capable of protecting its worshippers against enemies. Most often, it more

ed the place. The yak visited Lhasa and then Samye monastery. God Self-Created Yak arrived at Tsari of Kongpo<sup>38</sup> where he made circumambulations and ate ‘the king of herbs’ named ‘Thunderbolt of Demon Serpents.’<sup>39</sup> Afterwards, he ate the young plants in the fields. The residents shot arrows, bullets, and stones after the yak. Finally, they managed to catch it with a lasso. They buried him in a hole and constructed a stupa above it. Then a strong wind started to blow for several days, earthquakes took place and God Self-Created Yak came forth from the hole. The residents of Tsari repented that they had caused trouble to the god whom they had not recognized.

God Self-Created Yak travelled back to Western Tibet and entered Mustang. The god continued south visiting sacred places and important settlements on his way. The journey continued and it proceeded to the Rupsi Falls<sup>40</sup> where God Self-Created Yak met the four ancestors and the other three gods/goddesses. He named the place Hyam Kyu, which in Thakali meant ‘the river [where] all [met].’

Afterwards, God Self-Created Yak travelled to the pastures of Dhau-lagiri where he, according to *Bhurgi rhab* MS-A, died at Ma Bang. *Bhurgi rhab* MS-A ends—like the other *rhab*—with a prayer to the four clan gods that the Tamang Thakali enjoy prosperity and avoid evils, and proclamations (here Bhurgi): “[God] Self-Created Yak proclaimed from the mouth and the heart [that] Damce Damru is the ancestor of the Bhurgi clan.”<sup>41</sup>

There exist several versions of *Bhurgi rhab* (Fig. 3). According to the text which is recited at the Lha Phewa festival, God Indra<sup>42</sup> told God Self-Created Yak that he should go to the pastures of Sesen Dhong (Sha

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specifically refers to a personal protective deity (Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956: 318f.), also as warrior gods of the mountains (Stein 1959: 95, 284, 312). As a category, they are documented in neighbouring cultures, even portrayed as clan gods, so among the Tamang (Höfer 1981: 14, 125f.). Within the larger context, as the Lord of the Salt, it might refer to the protective and fierce god of the salt trader(s).

38 For Tsari, see Sørensen 1990: 113–142; Filibeck 1990; Huber 1990, 1999.

39 Tib. *klu bdud rdo rje*. See Sørensen 1990: 122f.; Huber 1999. The Bonnet Bell-flower/Asian Bell (*codonopsis*). A plant possessing magical and medically active properties conducive to attaining supernatural powers (*siddhi*) widely used in rituals not least within the ’Brug pa school.

40 Rupsi Falls (Nep. Chahara) is a waterfall more than 300m high south of Thak Khola.

41 *Bhurgi rhab* MS-A, verse 322.

42 MS-B, verse 298: dBang po brGya byin.

chen 'brong) above Marpha to die.<sup>43</sup> The yak stayed at Sesen Dhong for three years without hearing the voice of humans. Then one day he was seen by Namcya Goltok<sup>44</sup> of Marpha.<sup>45</sup>

When Namcya Goltok told the other villagers to join him in the hunt of the yak, the ancestor of the Gumli Cyangpa (Pannacan) clan said that they should not kill the yak as it was a manifestation of a god. When the villagers the next day tried to kill the yak, he sent flames from his nostrils, burning the people who had encircled him. The yak then rolled three times, causing the earth to tremble. Finally, the yak caused heavy hailstones to fall. The hunters ran away but some fell from a cliff and died. Namcya Goltok and his fellow hunters realized their mistake of having tried to kill a god and asked for forgiveness and prostrated in front of the yak. The god told ancestor Gumli Cyang that he had been ordered by God Indra to die here. The god then went to a cave at Phusang where he died. In a dream, the god told Gumli Cyang, “on the auspicious 3rd day of the 12th month, [you should] hand over my head to Khunara, the second son of Damchi Damru.”<sup>46</sup> Gumli Cyang sent a message to Damchi Damru who went to Marpha with his son Khunara. At Phusang they worshipped their clan god who flew into the lap of Khunara. They returned to Thasang with the head of the god. At Khanti they met the other three ancestors who returned after having washed themselves and the gods in the holy river Mharsyang Kyu. At Khanti and Kobang the ancestors celebrated.<sup>47</sup> *Bhurgi rhab* ends, as the other *rhab*, with prayers to the four clan gods.

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43 This version is also found in MS-B written in Tibetan script. The site means ‘Big Lump of Wild Yak Meat.’

44 MS-B, verse 317: gNam lcags gol gtog.

45 The people of Marpha are called Puntan (‘lit. the people of Pun’) by the Tamang Thakali. Marpha is in Tibetan documents called Pundri (Tib. sPung khri—spelling varies). The people of Marpha refer to themselves in Thakali as Mari-emhi, “a person from Mari.” In MS-B, verse 314, sPun rten is crossed out and replaced with Marpha—probably an effort not to offend the people of Marpha who do not like the term Puntan. This is another example that not only oral texts but also written stories may change over time. Hence, there are no authoritative versions of the four *rhab*.

46 MS-N, verse 352.

47 These events are reacted on day 2 of the Lha Phewa festival which falls on the third day (*chaiwa sum*) of the 12th month (*bumla*).

## I.2 Pan-Himalayan themes

There are many noteworthy themes in the *rhab*: the origin of the world, its cosmogenesis; the zoomorphic or zoolatrous traits and the manifestation of their clan gods; how the ancestors had different places of birth yet one place of gathering or assembling; how a nun became pregnant by eating three hailstones which fell from a clear sky; how a clan was almost wiped out due to their arrogance and misuse of power—a trite allusion to the workings of hubris and nemesis; the relationship between the Tamang Thakali and the Mariemhi Thakali; how some villagers did not recognize an animal manifested as a god, or how they attempted to kill it, how in retaliation they are punished, etc.

### *Journeys*

One of the most popular and interesting themes in Himalayan studies in recent years has been journeys. There are different kinds of mythic, ritual, and spiritual journeys.<sup>48</sup> Usually, the journeys are performed by shamans (Nep. *jankri*) who go into trance and become possessed by spirits.<sup>49</sup> During possession, the shaman usually tells about his journey—the places he visits, etc.<sup>50</sup> The traditional ritual specialists among the Thakali, known as *dhom* or *aya lama*, do not go into trance.<sup>51</sup> However, Lha Phewa and the *rhab* are good examples of mythical and spiritual journeys.

As detailed above, the main theme of the *Cyogi rhab* is the journey of the ancestors, while *Bhurgi rhab* narrates how God Self-Created Yak travelled through Tibet and came to Thak Khola where he died. In Tibet, the god performed one of the most famous pilgrimages, the circumambulation of Tsari. During Lha Phewa, the priests (*pare*) of the four clans travel to the holy river Mharsyangkyu and later travel routes that are supposed to have been taken by their gods. According to *Bhurgi rhab*, the head of God Self-Created Yak travels (is carried) from Marpha

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48 See Bickel and Gaenszle 1999.

49 See Hitchcock and Jones 1976 for a collection on early studies of spirit possession in Nepal.

50 Höfer 1994: 29–31.

51 For the Thakali *dhom* (in Yhulngha known as *aya lama*), see Jest 1976: 302–304; Vinding 1998: 307–312; and Fisher 2001: 107–120.

to Thasang. Finally, at one level, the participants of the Lha Phewa festival are on a spiritual journey—to get blessings from their clan gods, to meet fellow clansmen and other persons from their own ethnic group, in essence, to reconfirm their identity that they are in fact Thakali. This is true especially for those coming from outside Thak Khola.<sup>52</sup>

#### *Nun Eats Hailstones and Becomes Pregnant*

In *Bhurgi rhab*, a nun eats three hailstones and becomes pregnant. This theme appears to be well-known in the Tibetan culture area. Jest was told the following story by Karma, a nomad: “Many years later, a woman was weaving some cloth, the weather was clear, not a cloud in the sky, when suddenly a large hailstone fell near her, and as the woman was thirsty, she ate it. She later gave birth to a child who was given the name Shangtarpig ...”<sup>53</sup> And Mumford reports the following story among the Ghale clan of Gyasumdo (in Manang district): “The Ghale legend begins with the divine birth of the first ancestor in Tibet. A woman who was a Jomo was weaving when she saw a hailstone fall in front of her. Being thirsty, she ate it, and later became pregnant. She was ashamed and hid in a cave, where she had the child.”<sup>54</sup>

#### *A Sandalwood Tree Home to Gods*

The *Cyogi rhab* tells that a herdsman and later ancestor Ani Airam tried to fell a white sandalwood tree—and that clan gods flew from the tree. The theme of cutting down a sandalwood tree which houses (representations of) gods is found in several Tibetan texts, a parallel we find e.g. in the 14th-century chronicle ‘The Mirror Illuminating the Royal Genealogies’ (*rGyal rabs gsal ba’i me long*).<sup>55</sup> Another similarity is worth pointing out: according to the Royal Genealogies, the sandalwood tree was home to four self-originated or autogenous brother idols; similarly,

52 Fisher 2001, especially ‘Introduction: Thakali Again for the Very First Time,’ discusses (in what some Thakali may find a provocative way) this search for identity among the Thakali. See also Pettigrew 1999 for a similar search among the Tamu (Gurung).

53 Jest 1993: 14.

54 Mumford 1990: 42.

55 Sørensen 1994: 189f.

according to the *rhab*, the sandalwood tree in Sinjapati was home to the Tamang Thakali's four clan gods.<sup>56</sup> Finally, in the *rhab*—as well as in the Royal Genealogies—a herdsman is a central figure in the story.

### *Soil, Water and Stones*

The *rhab* mentions that water, soil, and stones all are of excellent quality in Thatongkor, the homeland of the Tamang Thakali.<sup>57</sup> This theme—to test and evaluate elements like water and soil before deciding to settle in an area—is also found among the Kham Magar.<sup>58</sup> Soil, water, and stones are also a theme at Muktinath, where an eternal fire is said to burn over these three elements.

### *The Twelve plus One Parts of the Body*

In *Bhurgi rhab* we find the following intriguing words, *lhiba cyungngi goba cyuksom*, lit. 'the body 12, the head 13,' cf. Tib. *lus bcu gnyis mgo ba bcu gsum*.<sup>59</sup> Most Thakali mistake this sentence and believe that there were 13 heads of the yak before the *rhab* were put down on paper. A key or parallel to the understanding is found in the *Oral Tradition of Zhang zhung*, where there is a reference to 'all 12 parts of his body and for his head making a total of thirteen.'<sup>60</sup>

Sørensen and Hazod retell a similar or parallel concept, related to the construction of twelve temples for suppressing a demoness (known as the Supine Demoness scheme), an old imagery or portraiture of Tibet.<sup>61</sup> Here the 13th or central part of the body is the heart with the corresponding temple dBu ru Ra sa'i lha khang in Lhasa, the remaining 12 elements consist of temples concentrically arranged in three sets of four.

56 According to the Royal Genealogies, a buffalo emptied its udder at the sandalwood tree (*ibid.*: 193). This theme is not found in the *rhab*, but it (and the theme of the herdsman) is found in a myth about the local goddess Bhue Ama of Thini (Vinding 1998: 291 and 407–408). Interestingly, Bhue Ama appears also every twelfth year when she is celebrated, see Somlai 1982.

57 Thatongkor (Thasang) comprises traditionally five villages: Naprungkot, Nakhung, Larjung, Kobang and Kanti (incl. Sauru).

58 Oppitz 1983: 189, 202.

59 MS-N, verse 265. See also MS-B, verse 405 which refers to the 13th head (*mgo bo bcu gsum*).

60 Snellgrove and Richardson 1968: 102.

61 Sørensen and Hazod 2005: 202–215.



*Place of Birth is Different, Place of Gathering is One*

In all the versions of the *rhab*, the ancestors pray: “Oh four gods, although our birthplace is different, our place of gathering or union is the same.” This locution, in our Thakali-Tibetan texts, rendered as *skyes sa la ma 'bri* (: *gcig*), *'dzoms sa la 'bri* (: *gcig*), lit. ‘place of birth not one, place of gathering one,’ reflects a common Tibetan saying, *skye sa skye yul mi gcig*—*'dzoms sa gcig*.<sup>62</sup> A vague resemblance of the rhetorical combination of antonyms, or the oxymoronic use of *varietas* versus *unitas*.

*An Analysis of the rhab*

The *rhab* are written in the Thakali language occasionally using Tibetan words; this is especially true for *Bhurgi rhab*. The texts were originally oral texts, but later they were written down using Tibetan script, as the Thakali do not have their own script. The manuscripts were written on single, large sheets of paper which were rolled up and stored in small bamboo containers.

The structure of the *rhab*—such as the frequent repetitions—shows that they originally were oral texts meant to be recited from memory. The oral nature or orality of the texts causes several problems, written as it was in Tibetan script. Later, the authors or scribes behind these hybrid Tibetan-Thakali language clan stories were increasingly using Devanagari script as a vehicle to facilitate the reading by the priests who over time did not read or properly understood Tibetan script. The language used is a mixture of Thakali intertwined with classical, literary, and vernacular Tibetan both in syntax, words, and constructions. The texts, as it seems, are characterized by both poor syntax and grammar, and often marred by idiosyncratic orthographic features, or little-known idiomatic phrases. The texts nevertheless reveal that for a long time the Thakali have been part of the Tibetan cultural world, heavily influenced by its language and not least the dominant Tibetan Buddhist/Bon conceptual and religious notions and cultural lore. With the penned texts, our only sources available, and impaired by a number of illegible readings and recondite phrases, any translation at best remains tentative.

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62 Sørensen 1990: 261.

Translation of the *rhab* presents a number of difficulties.<sup>63</sup> First, the texts written in Tibetan script include local features which are not found in standard dictionaries. Second, as the texts arguably have been written by several authors, the spelling, especially of personal and place names, is inconsistent, as if written by a scribe with low literacy. Third, the texts are basically couched using the Thakali idioms, but with many Tibetan words, especially in *Bhurgi rhab*, making the texts difficult to understand for most Thakali speakers. Indeed, even among our key informants, we have found none who was able to translate all verses sensibly.

There exist several versions of the four *rhab*.<sup>64</sup> When a new *pare* or priest is appointed, a new own copy is often produced to make the recitation easier for himself. Laymen too have made their own copies. About one hundred years ago new copies of the *rhab*—except for *Bhurgi rhab*—were allegedly produced by Mani Raj Gauchan. In consonance with the general realignment of Tamang Thakali culture towards the Hindu rulers of Kathmandu, he used the Devanagari script and wrote on folios instead of single sheets of paper. Among the known *rhab*, as far as we know, only *Bhurgi rhab* exist in the original version with Tibetan script.

When a scribe produced a new copy, he often took the opportunity to change and correct certain words and passages, occasionally producing interpolations. For instance, for the 1968 Lha Phewa, Mr. Narsing Bhatta Tulachan produced a printed copy of the *Salgi rhab* written in Devanagari script, using an older version also written in Devanagari script. But in the process he substituted some Tibetan words with Thakali ones: the Tibetan word for ‘black,’ *nag po*, was thus substituted with the Thakali word *mlang*.

*Bhurgi rhab* shows that the authors had a reasonably good knowledge of the cultural world of Tibet. The description of Tsari, the famous sacred mountain area south in Kong po in South Tibet, could probably only have been made by a person who had been there—the author of *Bhurgi rhab* or an informant of his? They also display fair knowledge of Tibetan traditions, geography, creation myths, sayings, etc.

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63 See also Ramble and Vinding 1987.

64 For details as to the different versions, see Vinding and Sørensen, *forthcoming*.

The authors of the *rhab* remain unknown.<sup>65</sup> The texts do not have traditional colophons, as it generally is with oral literature characterized by fluidity. However, in the end of *Bhurgi rhab* MS-B is a concluding yet standard prayer: “[May this] printing-paper [be] blessed/ [May] blessings [prevail] (*bkra shis par shog*)” and the signature of a monk named Gelong Namkha;<sup>66</sup> nothing is known about him and whether he was the author of the text or merely served as scribe.<sup>67</sup>

The texts are of signal importance for several reasons, being concrete witnesses of a row of cultural memories, belief systems and now bygone traditions, some still vividly present in their everyday life or lingering on in their memory. First, the *rhab* are, as far as we are aware, the only lengthy clan stories or clan mythologies found in the Himalayas. Second, the *rhab* record the origin of the Thakali—their ethnogenesis—a much-debated and long-disputed subject. Most Tamang Thakali claim that their ancestors came from Jumla. As proof, they refer, *inter alia*, to their *rhab*. Since Thak Khola periodically was under the rule of Jumla and armies from Jumla came to Thak, it is not unlikely that *some* of the ancestors of the present-day Tamang Thakali indeed were emigrants from Jumla or Western Tibet (incl. Ladakh). Third, the *rhab* also include several interesting, even archetypal themes, trite folk-literary topoi, and historical motifs shared among other Himalayan peoples.

In assessing the *rhab* as historical sources, it is a common truism that the barriers between recorded history and constructed fiction in form of myths and legends are porous, occasionally unbridgeable, yet not seldom they interrelate and thus both inform and enrich one another. The *rhab* as genre could be coined fictionalized or mythologized narrative(s), the texts moreover being thematically and contextually interlinked, as they all end with prayers to the four clan gods portrayed or staged to control various mishaps as it should be for cultural, ancestral or supernatural heroes of the remote past. In the light of the narratives’

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65 The scribes of *Cyogi rhab* MS-A (Mani Raj Gauchan) and *Dhimcan rhab* MS-2016 (Bimal Sherchan) are known, but they cannot be regarded as the original authors.

66 Tib. dGe slong Nam mkha’.

67 *Bhurgi rhab* MS-B is longer than MS-A as it includes a long addendum of God Self-Created Yak at Marpha. Could Gelong Namkha be the author of this addendum?

emic presuppositions, a number of elements and plots in the tales do relate to or at least reflect historical events or allude to identifiable and locatable sites, cultural markers, and components. Well-founded and concrete episodes such as salt trade and topographical connections in the tales reflect historical realities and clearly must be seen to reconfirm or corroborate long-established traditions. Legends constitute invented stories, yet contain a kernel of truth, resonating with human actions and events believed to or matter-of-factly are seen to have taken place, thus becoming part of a tradition or, as here, of an ethnic group's master narrative. Do the Thakali stories therefore constitute allegories, a method of generating or providing meaning to a tradition of yore?

The different Thakali clan stories constitute distinct tales, although in closing sections an attempt is made to interlink the contents, its intertextual connectedness suggests that the question of their invention and formulation appears to be a concerted effort among the anonymous authors.

It is impossible to date the texts. The texts are likely to have changed over time—also after they were committed to the pen to ensure their survival. *Bhurgi rhab* mentions Potala in Lhasa, therefore the present versions of this *rhab* are not older than the 17th century.<sup>68</sup> This does, however, not rule out that elements of *Bhurgi rhab* are of an earlier date.

## II. Mi dpon bKra shis bzang po

*Bhurgi rhab* tells how God Precious Yak arrives in Mustang. This section on Mustang has a reference to sMon thang rgyal po *mi dpon* bKra shis bzang po. His precise identity is still a matter of inquiry. From texts and previous studies already conducted on the royal history or genealogy of Mustang, we find three options:

- *chos rgyal* A ma dpal bzang po rgyal mtshan
- the elder brother of *chos rgyal* A ma dpal bzang po rgyal mtshan
- *chos rgyal* A mgon bzang po, son of *chos rgyal* A ma dpal bzang po rgyal mtshan

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68 MS-A, verse 115.

## II.1 *Chos rgyal A ma dpal bZang po rgyal mtshan*

A me dpal is the most celebrated king of Lo.<sup>69</sup> He was born as the son of *dpon tshang* Chos skyong 'bum. Jackson refers to the *gdung rabs* of the mNga' ris gung thang rDzong dkar kings, which “tells about Chos-skyong-'bum and his older brother Khri-pon Byir-ma (also spelled 'Jir-ma). According to it, Chos-skyong-'bum (*fl.* 1400) was the nobleman to whom a Gung thang king gave the rulership of Lo as a reward for that noble's having led the reconquest of Purang.”<sup>70</sup> It was Chos skyong 'bum's father, Shes rab bla ma, who conquered Lo on behalf of the king of Gung thang, bSod nams sde (1371–1404).<sup>71</sup>

In 1427 *chos rgyal A ma/me dpal* (1380/88-*after* 1440), who had been celebrated as the true founder of the Glo bo dynasty, was ordained and given the name bZang po rgyal mtshan.<sup>72</sup> The rule was passed on to his son A mgon bzang po (b. ca. 1420).<sup>73</sup> His root *bla ma* was the great teacher Ngor chen Kun dga' bzang po (1382–1456) whom A me dpal invited to Glo bo. A me dpal probably did not die before 1456.<sup>74</sup>

In his book on the early history of Mustang, Vitali notes that “a brother according to *Blo bo rgyal rabs mu thi li'i phreng mdzes* (p. 11, line 3) to A ma dpal: “*De la sras gnyis te / mi dpon bkra shis bzang po dang / byang chub sems dpa'i sprul pa //*” “He (i.e., Chos skyong 'bum) had two sons: mi dpon bKra shis bzang po and the Byang chub sems dpa' incarnation.” This epithet of his (i.e., a Byang chub sems dpa' incarnation) may indicate that he embraced religion. bKra shis bzang po was A ma dpal.”<sup>75</sup> If A me dpal indeed was known as *mi dpon bKra shis bzang po*, this could explain why *Bhurgi rhab* refers to *rGyal po mi dpon bKra shis bzang po*; it does, however, not explain why the *Glo bo rgyal rabs* uses the title *mi dpon* (prefect or governor) and not *chos rgyal* and, more importantly, why *Bhurgi rhab* does not use the well-known name A ma dpal bZang po rgyal mtshan.

69 The spelling A me/ma dpal varies.

70 Jackson 1984: 119.

71 Jackson 1978: 214; Kramer 2008: 17f.; Vitali 1996: 484; Vitali 2012: 127.

72 Kramer 2008: 21, n. 63.

73 Everding: 2000: 502f.; Vitali, *op. cit.* 488ff.; Kramer 2008: 22f.

74 Vitali 2012: 124 and 127. For a comprehensive study of Ngor chen, see Heimbel 2017.

75 Vitali, *op. cit.*: 127. Vitali lists *Blo bo rgyal rabs mu thi li'i phreng mdzes bzhugs so*, computer copy in fifty-one pages (p. 229).

Nothing is known about Byang chub sems dpa'. Most obviously, Byang chub sems dpa' is a reference to A me dpal and *mi dpon* bKra shis bzang po was his elder brother. This interpretation agrees with the information found in other texts.

*Chos rgyal* A ma dpal bZang po rgyal mtshan and Ngor chen Kun dga' bzang po together with A ma dpal's chief minister (*bka' blon*) Tshe dbang bzang po<sup>76</sup> were known as the 'three (name-element) excellent' (*bzang po rnam gsum*).<sup>77</sup> However, according to other sources, the three men included A mgon bzang po, A ma dpal's eldest son and successor—not A ma dpal (Fig. 5).<sup>78</sup>

## II.2 The Elder Brother of *chos rgyal* A ma dpal bZang po rgyal mtshan

With reference to the text *Blo bo chos rgyal rim byon rgyal rabs mu thi li'i phreng mdzes*,<sup>79</sup> Jackson mentions that *mi dpon* bKra shis bzang po was the elder brother of A me dpal.<sup>80</sup>

Although being the elder brother, *mi dpon* bKra shis bzang po apparently did not rule as *chos rgyal*, only as governor or prefect (*mi dpon*). Why? As explained above, this was also the case with regard to A me dpal's father Chos skyong 'bum, who became ruler although he too had an elder brother, Khri dpon Byir ma, but this was because of Chos skyong 'bum's conquest of Pu hrang.

## II.3 *Chos rgyal* A mgon bzang po

In his book on Glo bo, Dhungel presents a 'genealogy of Lo Ruling Dynasty.' Here is *mi dpon* bKra shis bzang po, an elder brother of A me dpal. But also listed as *chos rgyal* A mgon bzang po, aka bKra shis bzang po.<sup>81</sup>

76 For Tshe dbang bzang po, see Jackson 1984: 154, n. 17; Vitali 2012: 172, n. 272; Heimbel 2017: 330–31. Tshe dbang bzang po's son was Kun dga' grol mchog.

77 The Tsarang Molla (Jackson 1984: 147); the Gelung Speech (*ibid.*: 30). They all had *bzang po* or 'excellent' in their names.

78 Peissel 1968: 84, 86, 125, 225 and 283; Henss 1993: 135; and Först 1994: 129.

79 Jackson 1984: 115, 119, 120, and 133. *Blo bo chos rgyal rim byon rgyal rabs mu thi li'i phreng mdzes* (short: *Glo gdung rabs*) is 64 folios long and written mainly in black *tshugs thung* characters (*ibid.*: 115). Also, Dhungel reports that A ma dpal had an elder brother named *mi dpon* bKra shis bzang po (2002: 77).

80 Jackson 1980: 134, Vitali 2012: 127.

81 Dhungel 2002: 77. For the document MHR doc. No 7 Tib., see *ibid.*: 228–232.

Dhungel notes that “A-mgon bzang-po became the king of Lo/Mustang in 1447 as A-ma-dpal’s eldest son and successor.”<sup>82</sup> In a note, Dhungel argues: “He was also known by another name, bKra shis bzang po (MHR doc. No. 7 Tibetan).”<sup>83</sup> MHR doc. No. 7 which will be described and analysed briefly below, does indeed mention sMon thang gi *dpon me dpon* bKra shis bzang po, but, as far as we can read, not *chos rgyal* A mgon bzang po.

We are not in a position to establish the identity of *mi dpon* bKra shis bzang po further. However, we are inclined to agree with Jackson 1984, that he was the elder brother of the famous *chos rgyal* A ma dpal bzang po rgyal mtshan.

### III. *Rhab* Elements in a Local Covenant

As mentioned above, Dhungel 2002 has presented a typed copy in Tibetan script (in *dbu can*) of a manuscript, ‘Traditional Agreement Signed Between Mustang, Parbat, Jumla, Thak and Pancgaun’ from the collection of ‘the traditional village assembly of Thakkhola.’ The document is entitled *Blo thag som gru dang ’dzum lang bcas kyi mchings yig srol lugs kyi gan rgya*, that is a covenant (*gan rgya*) between Mustang, Thag, Yhulgasum (Thini, Syang and Chimang), Parbat, and Jumla.

The text is a jumble of different themes. The document, resembling a summary of sorts, contains, among other brief themes, a historical overview of some of the agreements once signed between these political entities, in form of short narratives committed to paper in order to memorize, indeed to corroborate or record either the role, mutual commitment and obligations entered by the different parties, among others, by the Thakali in dealings with neighbouring states and polities.

The original manuscript is not provided so we have not been able to check the transliteration. Also, there are several lacunae in the manuscript. These constraints—as well as the many local, partly unidentified, and often mangled, names—make the text rather difficult to interpret

82 Dhungel notes that A ma dpal died in 1447 and that his son A mgon bzang po became king the same year (*ibid.*: 88). According to Vitali, A ma dpal did not pass away before 1456 (Vitali 2012: 127). He was ordained in 1427 whereupon the rule was passed on to his son A mgon bzang po.

83 *Ibid.*: 88. Thus, Dhungel mentions two persons by the name bKra shis bzang po. But while A ma dpal’s elder brother has the title *mi dpon*, A ma dpal’s son *chos rgyal* A mgon bzang po, aka bKra shis bzang po, did not have this title.

properly. In spite of this, we would like to make a few comments on the document.

Dhungel provides no translation, only a short resume of the first section of the document which he dates to 1746 (a fire tiger year): "...In 1746, Lama Ka-thog rig 'dzin Tshe-dbang nor-bu (1698–1755) mediated the regional dispute between Jumla and the allied forces of Lo/Mustang and Parbat...the unpleasant result of a matrimonial relationship established between Jumla and Parbat (MHR doc. 7 Tibetan)... The document describes how king Sudarshan Shaha of Jumla refused to return his daughter Nanaju to Parbat, although she was married to Parbat king Shahibam Malla... Parbat finally agreed to give the village of Klu-brag to Jumla and the Jumli king agreed to send his daughter back to her husband..."<sup>84</sup>

The first section does mention princess (*sras mo*) Na na 'dzu from Jumla ('Dzum lang), prince (*sras*) Kyir ste 'bum sma la of Parbat (Tib. 'Gru) and Katok Tsewang Norbu (sPrul sku zhabs Kaḥ thog Rig 'dzin chen po Tshe dbang nor bu rin po che).<sup>85</sup> As we read the text, the princess from Jumla was married to Kirtibam Malla (not his father Shaibam Malla); Kirtibam Malla died shortly after he lost his kingdom in 1786 to the rising Gorkha power.<sup>86</sup>

The second section is basically about fees, remuneration or tribute to be paid or tendered (especially to the ruler of Glo bo) when trading in salt, and it highlights the importance of the salt traded through Thak Khola, here in the form of a salt tax or trading tax during the rule of the 15th century Mustang bKra shis bzang po: A certain quantum of salt, surely meant to be a sort of salt tax, was levied upon Thak to be presented to the Mustang ruler.<sup>87</sup>

84 *Ibid.*: 115–116.

85 Kaḥ thog Rig 'dzin Tshe dbang nor bu (1698–1755), a famous teacher of the Nyingmapa school, author of *Gung thang rgyal rabs*, teacher of the 8th Ta'i Si tu Paṅ chen (1700–1774); for Si tu Paṅ chen, see Bamsteng thangka below. He visited Glo bo in 1749 at the invitation of the queen (Everding 2000: 14).

86 See Hamilton 1819: 271.

87 *Ibid.*: 229. *sngar tsh(w)a 'phud* (? = 'phul) *ston lugs la / go po* (= *kong po*) *rtsa ri nas 'brongs rang byon ri bskor nas spun ri ru s(!)ebs pa thag jo bo rgyal po ar sa lta bu gang phu mi bu stams bu nas bsad / khu spu tsan rgyal po rgyal po bzos nas de yi sras mgo pa'i tsan rgyal po'i ngo la lha bzhi bzos ste tsh(w)a'i bdag po rdo rje dgra lha nas sti rang gi 'brongs rang byon thag gi yul du slebs 'dug zer ba'i skad thos nas rang gi lha ci rgyu yin zer nas byang gi 'bru tshongs stangs ba dang / smon thang gi dpon me dpon bkra shis bzang po la bzhes sgo 'phul ba yin no /*



The section is interesting because it deals with elements from the *rhab*. It mentions that Self-Created Wild Yak (*'brongs rang byon*) performing a circumambulation at Tsari and Kongpo (here written: Go bo rTsa ri), afterwards it arrived at Marpha (sPun ri) where it died. It then mentions Khu spu tsan<sup>88</sup> and more importantly, *tsh(w)a'i bdag po rDo rje dgra lha*, the Lord of Salt (see above) and sMon thang gi *dpon me dpon bKra shis bzang po*.<sup>89</sup> It altogether appears that, both for *rhab* and the present document, bKra shis bzang po stood for some Mustang influence in the region including Thak, at least in the memory of former Mustang rule, as seen several centuries later when the documents were orally transmitted and then put on paper.

The third section starts with *skag mda' ni dang bli phum mda' ni gnas lugs dang byung lugs ni*, “the condition and origin of the customs post of Kag and Libum.” The word *mda' ni* is found in several other documents. A receipt for the exchange of goods from 1829 published by Pant and Pierce mentions a person named *dani jitaram*; in the glossary the word *dani* is explained as “the revenue functionary responsible for overseeing the customs station at Dana.”<sup>90</sup> The name *dani* is obviously not limited to Dana, but used for Kag(beni) too. Dani appears to refer to the customs office rather than the head of the office.

The fourth section contains what appears to be an incomprehensible list that reads *a ni a sa ram bsam las gran bsam las cang la grags pa rgyal sang dam chas dam ru*. This list actually turns out to be the mangled names of the ancestors of the four Tamang Thakali clans: Ani Airam, Samledhen Samlecyang, Ladakpa Gyalsang and Damce Damru. The rest of the document is of no relevance for the present study.

To conclude, the document appears to be an *aide memoire* used for discussions and negotiations among some of the regional powers, Globo, Parbat and/or Jumla, rather than constituting a formal agreement. This would also explain why the text, for example, mentions the name

88 Could *Khu spu tsan* be the Tamang Thakali who in the *Cimang bem chag* is referred to as *Thakhubtsen* (Ramble and Vinding 1987: 27, n. 70)?

89 Clearly corrupt.

90 Pant and Pierce 1989: 93. Dana is mentioned in the *rhab* where it is named by its Thakali name Lerbum cyang lerbum den (in modern Thakali: Lebang). In Tibetan Libum (Bli phum). According to Dhungel 2002: 142, n. 42, the Thak Customs Office was formally re-established in Dana around 1816; the customs office appears to have been established much earlier by the kings of Parbat.

of the four Tamang Thakali ancestors—an information which appears to have no interest except to the Tamang Thakali.

#### IV. Kong po Bam steng sPrul sku

The present thangka (Fig. 6) represents an early 19th-century painting of a leading figure dedicated to the central dignitary Bam steng sprul sku, most likely a representative of the Karma Kam tshang school, flanked by masters or students of his adhering to both the 'Brug pa and, arguably, Dwags po bKa' brgyud/Karma pa tradition respectively. Overall, from the curricula and attire of the protagonists, it reflects the widely disseminated hybrid or dual bKa' (brgyud)-rNying (ma) lineage tradition, when seen in a wider *ris med* context. The portrait is painted in or influenced by the New Menri style, and as a tentative guess suggests that the painting either was crafted in or reflects a tradition related to Bhutan based upon some common artistic and compositional features.<sup>91</sup>

##### IV.1 The Composition

The religious figures display many common, but also a few idiosyncratic artistic features. Some are worth noticing. Due to the sectarian syncretism suffusing the painting, the protagonists are wearing hats and paraphernalia commonly linked to both streams (*chu bo*), i.e., bKa' and rNying traditions, merging here in a sort of artistic confluence. The two figures flanking the central figure are gazing towards him, suggesting that they both are students of him. As to the hat of the central figure, Bam steng sprul sku wears a hat prominently favoured in the bKa' brgyud tradition, variants of the typical hat style of sGam po pa. This style was particularly popular among the Karma Kam tshang, 'Brug pa and the 'Bri gung pa dignitaries.<sup>92</sup> The painting had been crafted in bKa' brgyud circles, yet it may also indicate the non-sectarian stance taken by the painter or commissioner. More unusual is the gesture of repose that characterizes the hand *mudrā* of the central figure. This is rarely seen if it is not seen as a variant of the common meditation gesture. The same hat style is shared by the master situated to the right, the other

91 Thanks also to G. Verhufen for additional comments on the composition.

92 For the evolution of the different meditation hat (*sgom zhwa*) styles within the schools of the Dwags po bka' brgyud pa, see Jackson 2015: 62–73.

wears the typical rNying ma pa multi-coloured Lotus headwear (*pad-ma dbu zhwa*). The figure to the right displays the traditional pose, and another minor variant of the meditation gesture (*dhyāna mudrā*) as well as the seven-point pose (*chos bdun*) of Vairocana. Interestingly, again the master to the left displays the traditional right arm *bhūmisparśa mudrā*, and the left holds the book ‘Summery of the Guru’s Intention’ (*Bla ma dgongs ’dus*).<sup>93</sup> A ritual *kīlaya* dagger is fastened behind his girdle. The wrathful deities depicted are in particular revered not least in the esoteric rNying ma pa tradition.

Returning to the central figure and his institution: The Bam steng dgon pa itself and its lineage in Kong po are regrettably little known but must have exerted some influence within the school. A repute that is largely connected to the celebrated Kong sprul (abbr. for Kong po Bam steng sprul sku) Blo gros mtha’ yas, the great *ris med* pioneer. The master, not depicted here, appears to be the succeeding incarnation of the central figure in our painting and doubtless the most prominent member of this little-known lineage.

The thangka evinces a classic composition: a central figure (1), flanked by other dignitaries, either students or teachers of the central figure (2 and 3), in the upper register (4–6) the Trikāya triad, the central Buddha Amitābha, Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara and (the Nirmānakāya) Guru Rinpoche, at the lower register (7–9) wrathful protective deities are seen.

4	5	6
3	1	2
7	8	9

1. Kong po Bam steng sPrul sku Thams cad mkhyen gzigs Tshogs gnyis legs grub c. 1750/60–1830
2. ’Jam dpal Ye shes grub pa, the 5th bDe chen Chos ’khor Yongs ’dzin (1781–1835/45), student of Bam steng sPrul sku
3. (mChog grub?) Kun bzang bDe chen rgya mtsho, the 5th rTse la sgang / rTse le sPrul sku (c. ? 1757–1804/05)

<sup>93</sup> A celebrated esoteric cycle written by Sangs rgyas gling pa (1340–96), popular not least in rNying ma pa circles.

4. Avalokiteśvara / sPyan ras gzigs
5. Amitābha / 'Od dpag med
6. Padmasambhava / Padma 'byung gnas (Guru Rinpoche)
7. Drang srong chen po gZa' bdud, wrathful aspect of Rāhula
8. Mahākāla, Ma ning
9. Dam can rDo rje Legs pa, in the form of Dam can mGar ba nag po<sup>94</sup>

As the inscriptional text (reverso, see below) stipulates, the central figure (1) is considered a manifestation of Guru Rinpoche; in the painting, depicted together with Avalokiteśvara and Amitābha—the favourite Trikāya triad not least within the rNying ma pa school. The presence of a representative of the 'Brug pa school would be an added clue to the painting's possible provenience towards Bhutan (or to the Northern 'Brug pa school) as well as to its artistic and sectarian milieu. Indeed, the prolific 'Jam dpal Ye shes grub pa (2) of the local Yongs' dzin lineage had his seat at the bDe chen Chos 'khor monastery in Tibet<sup>95</sup> and thus adhered to the Northern 'Brug pa school.

#### IV.2 Kong po Bam steng sprul sku (Fig. 7)

The inscription reads: *Thams cad mkhyen gzigs chen po Bam steng Tshogs gnyis legs grub la na mo*, “Reverence to the Great Omniscient Bam steng Tshogs gnyis legs grub.”

The central figure depicts Kong po Bam steng sPrul sku Tshogs gnyis legs grub (c. 1750/60–1830), carrying a name rarely met with. So far no biography and no thangka have been found of the Bam steng lineage, discounting materials and paintings of the even more famous successor, Kong sprul Blo gros mtha' yas, since the painting in all likelihood depicts his immediate predecessor. Not much is known about Bam steng

94 The dark-hued Blacksmith, an 'officer or agent' (*las mkhan*), goat-riding and oath-bound in the retinue (*parivāra*, 'khor) of rDo rje legs pa, revered in particular in the rNying ma pa tradition, and defined as a 'jig rten pa'i srung ma or worldly protector, not least of Guru Rinpoche. See Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956: 154f.

95 For the history of this famous 'Brug pa monastery located in the Gong dkar district of present-day IHo kha area, see Akester (2016: 260–62). The front panel of 'Jam dpal Ye shes grub pa's hat is inscribed with the mantic letter *Maṃ*. Such mantic formula letter inscribed hats are seen on many, not least Bhutanese thangka paintings.

pa's life, except that he originated from Kong po and in his youth served as a student and attendant to the famous lama and great artist, the 8th Kun mkhyen Ta'i Si tu Paṅ chen Chos kyi 'byung gnas (1700–1774), during the later part of Si tu's life.<sup>96</sup> The latter was a master of non-sectarianism incorporating in his curricula teachings of 'Bri gung, 'Brug pa and rNying ma pa lore. Si tu Paṅ chen mentions in a text that he, at the age of fifteen (1715), learned iconometric proportions (*thig rtsa, lha bris*) from a Kong po sPrul sku.<sup>97</sup> If so, it might suggest that a Bam steng predecessor of the current central figure existed (tentative *fl.* 1670–1740), and this unknown Bam steng lineage-holder served as a teacher of Si tu Paṅ chen, anchoring the Bam steng tradition in this milieu.

The famous lama and *ris med* master 'Jam mgon Kong sprul Blo gros mtha' yas (1813–1899), a follower of the Karma Kam tshang tradition, in his youth met one of his main teachers, the 9th Ta'i Si tu Padma Nyin byed dbang po (1774/75–1853) at the dPal spungs Monastery (of the Karma bka' brgyud school). 'Jam mgon Kong sprul had such a bright intelligence that Ta'i Si tu feared he was going to be recruited to serve at the court of the Kings of sDe dge. Knowing that incarnate lamas were excused from performing such duties, Ta'i Si tu in 1833 opportunely recognized the young man as the incarnation in the same lineage, and this indicates that it can only be an incarnation of the main figure Kong po Bam steng sPrul sku Tshogs gnyis legs grub depicted here. The latter had been a student of the 9th Si tu. This recognition took place a few years after Tshogs gnyis legs grub's putative passing, in around *c.* 1830. Unusually, 'Jam mgon Kong sprul, however, at that point was about 20 years old, having earlier been trained and groomed in the family's religious Bon po milieu. He apparently was unhappy with this arrangement of being identified as an incarnation of Bam steng, later in his life, he claimed a number of famous men as his previous incarnations, Bam steng would not be among them.<sup>98</sup> The entire motive and

96 Jackson 2009.

97 See *Dri bral shel gyi me long (Ta'i Si tu Diaries)* 45.6 (also Jackson 1996: 260); *Sa skya chos 'byung gces bsdu*, vol. 6: 94.

98 See Barron 2003: 24; Gardner 2019: 47. The 9th Si tu in one of his minor texts titled *Tshe mchog bdud rtsi'i gter mdzod* 766 (found in vol. 3 of his *gSung 'bum*) expresses a well-wishes statement of longevity (*ring 'tsho'i smon tshig*) for the rebirth (*skye srid*) of Kong po'i bam steng pa by the name Karma Ngag dbang yon tan rgya mtsho, which is an alternative name or one of the aliases for the great

background behind this sudden titulation, being nominal or not, of being recognized as an incarnation still needs further research, surely the title Kong sprul at this early stage might have helped him personally, yet it obviously meant little to the famed *ris med* proponent. This information is all we currently have as to the background and possible importance of Tshogs gnyis legs grub, Kong sprul's predecessor.

### IV.3 'Jam dpal Ye shes grub pa (Fig. 8)

Inscription:

*Yongs 'dzin thams cad mkhyen pa 'Jam dpal ye shes grub pa la na mo*, "Reverence to Yongs 'dzin, the Omniscient 'Jam dpal Ye shes grub pa."

'Jam dpal Ye shes grub pa (1781–1835/45) was a prominent master of the Northern 'Brug pa school and the 5th incarnation of the bDe chen chos 'khor Yongs 'dzin sprul sku lineage.<sup>99</sup> He was, among others, a student of the 8th rGyal dbang 'Brug pa Kun gzigs Chos kyi snang ba (1768–1822). He later became an important teacher and dignitary at the bDe chen Chos 'khor monastery, located in the Gong dkar district, an important 'Brug pa monastery that played a key role in the history of the school. His biography informs us that he had a peregrinating life, travelling extensively, not least in dBus, Kong po and South Tibet. Their abbots reportedly served the kings of Ladakh and Lahaul-Spiti. His predecessor was the 4th Yongs 'dzin 'Jam dpal dPa' bo (1720–80).

### IV.4 Kun bzang bDe (ch)en rgya mtsho (Fig. 9)

Inscription partly illegible: (*thams cad mkhyen pa?*) ...? *mchog grub?* ... *kun bzang bde (ch)en rgya mtsho la na mo*, "Reverence to the (All-knowing) Kun bzang bDe chen rgya mtsho."

This is in all likelihood the 5th incarnation of the Kong po rTse la sgang incarnation lineage, a major Karma pa seat. He was born in Kong po in around 1757. He holds in his hands the book *Bla ma dgongs 'dus*. He may have been a local pupil of Bam steng sPrul sku.

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Kong sprul Blo gros mtha' yas. This Kong po'i Bam steng pa can only be the central figure depicted on the present thangka.

99 The lineage goes back to lHa rtse ba Ngag dbang bzang po (1546–1615), a principal student of the celebrated 'Brug pa master Kun mkhyen Padma dkar po (1527–1593).

Reverse: Inscription with consecration and benediction (Fig. 10)

*oṃ āḥ hūṃ*

*oṃ svasti*

The immortal Padmasambhava, (manifesting) the nature of the three bodies (*trikāya*),  
 Once again as the Lord of the Living Beings (*jagatnātha*) of the degenerate era, he arrived as ‘Bam steng,’  
 Striving to ‘Successfully Accomplish the Two Assemblages (of Wisdom and Merit)’<sup>100</sup> that prove meaningful in all connections.  
 To you, we pray from our heart that you spontaneously fulfill the two forms of welfare (of oneself and others).  
 O Lord, in whatever realm you may dwell in all of the ten directions,  
 May you firmly dwell in this image with no differentiation between the ‘pledge being and wisdom being.’<sup>101</sup>  
 Through the connection with us, your devout patron(s)<sup>102</sup>,  
 May both the highest and common *siddhi* for temporary and ultimate (happiness) be granted.  
 The glorious pair of masters (i.e., Bam steng and Guru Rinpoche), indistinguishable from the Jina (i.e., Buddha),  
 Based upon supplication (of ours) full of yearning and devotion,  
 May they rest in this image for as long as it lasts until enlightenment (*bodhi*) is achieved (for all).  
 And without ever being separated, pray look upon us with compassion,  
 And grant us both the highest and common (accomplishments, *siddhi*)!

*Oṃ supraṭiṣṭha vajraye svāhā*

*Maṅgalam*

100 Tshogs gnyis legs grub. Word-play on his name.

101 I.e., *dam ye gnyis med*, the non-duality or non-differentiation between *dam tshig sems dpa’ / samayasattva* and *ye shes sems dpa’ / jñānasattva* in Tantric visualisation.

102 “Means and wealth” (*rgyu ’byor*).

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Fig. 1 The larger Glo bo / Mustang District (based on Google Earth).



Fig. 2 God Self-Created Yak. Lha Phewa festival, January 2017.

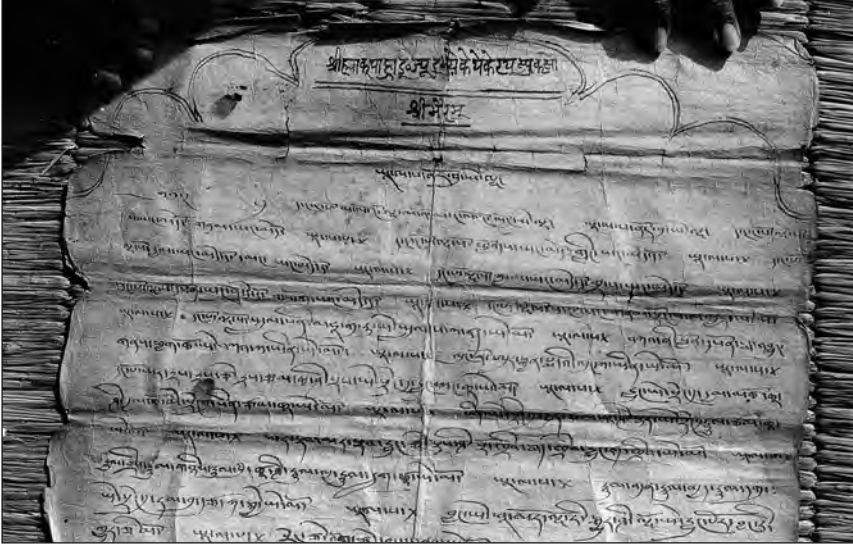


Fig. 3 The initial part of *Bhurgi rhab* MS-A, written in Tibetan script on a long sheet of paper.

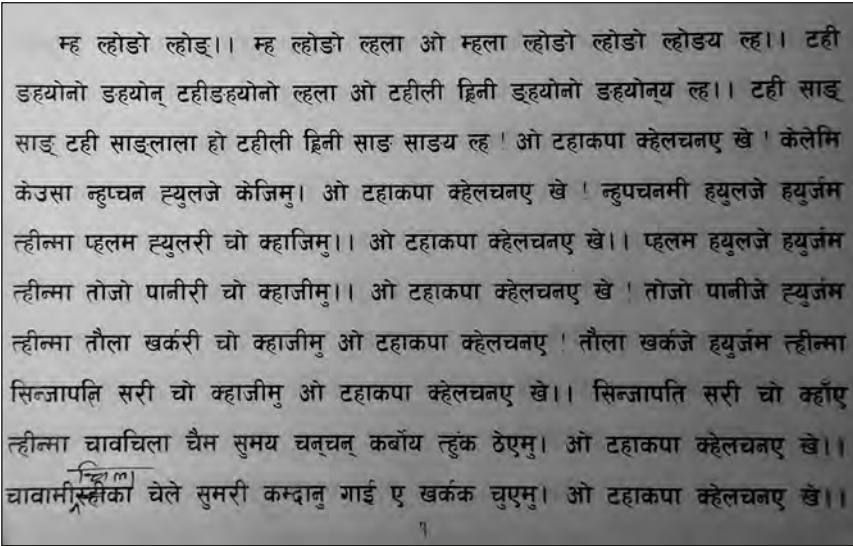


Fig. 4 *Dhimcan rhab* MS-2016, verses 1-10, written in Devanagari script on a computer, A4 paper size. Handwritten correction in verse 10.



**Fig. 5** This photograph from Tsarang Palace reportedly shows ‘the three excellent men’ (*bzang po rnam gsum*): teacher Ngor chen Kun dga’ bzang po, king A mgon bzang po and chief minister (*bka’ blon*) Tshe dbang bzang po (Först 1994: 129). A similar identification of the statues was earlier done by Henss (1993: 135). Photo: Först 1994.

There are inscriptions on the double tired cushions of two of the statues, but in this photograph they are unreadable. Fortunately, Christian Luczanits has seen the statues and read the inscriptions *in situ*. He kindly shared with us his notes on the statues. Luczanits has identified the statue in the centre as Ngag dbang kun dga’ blo gros (1729–1783), the 31st Sa skya khri ’dzin, and the one on the right as Kaḥ thog Rig ’dzin Tshe dbang nor bu (1698–1755) (see note 85). The inscriptions on the cushions of both statues mention that dBang rgyal rdo rje, king of Mustang, was the sponsor of the statues. Considering that this king ruled from around 1750 to the late 1790s (Dhungel 2002: 119), the statues probably date to the 1790s. The statue on the left does not bear an inscription, but might portray an abbot of Ngor.

We guess that Henss and Först (mis)identification of the statues as “the three excellent men” must have been provided by a local informant, who wanted to connect the statues with the Golden Age of A me dpal and his son A mgon bzang po – similar to the retrospective creation of the triad, as noted by Heimbel (2017: 330).





Fig. 6 Thangka of Bam steng sPrul sku. Ground mineral pigment on cotton, 55 × 37 cm. Private Collection.



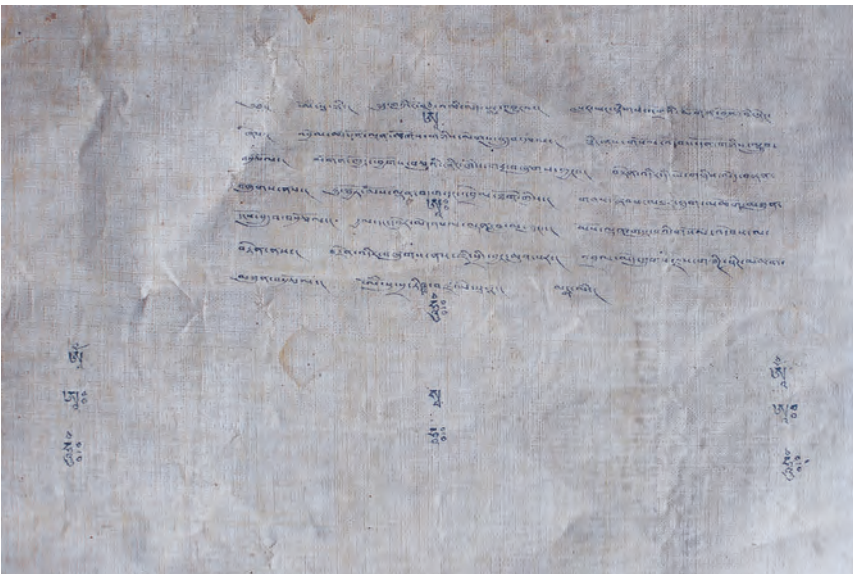
Fig. 7 Kong po Bam steng sprul sku.



Fig. 8  
'Jam dpal Ye shes grub pa.



**Fig. 9**  
Kun bzang bDe (ch)en  
rgya mtsho.



**Fig. 10** Reverse: Inscription with consecration and benediction.



## **The Trope of a Lioness's Milk in Buddhist and Non-Buddhist Literatures\***

Dorji Wangchuk  
(Hamburg)

### **Introductory Remarks**

Professor David Jackson's incredible knowledge of Tibetan Buddhism, his mastery of both levels of Tibetan language (classical and colloquial), and his works dealing with various historical and doctrinal issues have always been sources of inspiration. This present contribution, which is intended as a tiny token of appreciation, has partly been inspired by his article "Birds in the Egg and Newborn Lion Cubs: Metaphors for the Potentialities and Limitations of 'All-at-once' Enlightenment" (1992). In part, it is an offshoot of a recent article that I wrote on "Secrecy in Buddhism."<sup>1</sup>

What I wish to do in this article is not to discuss metaphors or similes as such but rather specifically the milk of a lioness, as found mainly but not exclusively in Tibetan and Indian Buddhist sources. Out of sheer curiosity, an attempt will be made also (although I am by no means an expert in these fields) to take a fleeting look into secondary sources to see how the milk of a lioness has been treated in literatures of other cultures. My main interest is, of course, to see how this trope has figured in various contexts in Indian and Tibetan Buddhist sources. Owing to several factors, and despite my effort to cover as many Tibetan literary genres as possible, I can make no claim of completeness.

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\* I wish to express my sincere thanks to Philip Pierce for proofreading my English and for his valuable suggestions and remarks. Thanks are also due to Professor Harunaga Isaacson for providing me with several sources for the section "Lioness's Milk in Sanskrit Literature," and to Mr. Nicola Bajetta for assisting me with the section "Lioness's Milk in Christian Literature." Needless to state that I alone am responsible for all the mistakes and deficiencies.

1 Wangchuk 2020.

### Lioness's Milk in Greek Literature

To serve as a background I quote here Diane J. Rayor, who, in her anthology *Sappho's Lyre*, states:<sup>2</sup> "The first collection of Greek poetry was made in the third century B.C.E., at the royal court in Alexandria. After conquering Egypt, Alexander founded the city, which became the literary center of the Greek world. There Ptolemy II developed the impressive Museum and Library. Alexandrian scholars selected the work of nine lyric poets to preserve in editions and commentaries: Alkman, Stesichoros, Sappho, Alkaios, Ibykos, Anakreon, Simonides, Bacchylides, and Pindar." Of these, it is Alkman, who is said to have been probably active in the late seventh century BC, that is our interest here, for it states:<sup>3</sup>

But often on the mountain peaks when the festival with many torches pleases the gods, holding a golden vessel, a great bowl, such as shepherd men have, pouring milk of a lioness in by hand you made a great whole cheese for the slayer of Argos.

The interpretation of the lyric need not concern us. Our main interest is that the mental images of lioness's milk and a suitable vessel for it, namely, a golden vessel, that occur here, which, as we shall see below, can also be found in Indian and Tibetan Buddhist sources.

### Lioness's Milk in Latin Literature

A brief allusion may also be made to the occurrence of a lioness's milk in Latin literature. We are told that it occurs, for example, in the *Metamorphoses*, a Latin narrative poem by the Roman poet Publius Ovidius Naso, known as Ovid (43 BC–17/19 AD), who lived during the reign of the *de facto* first Roman emperor Augustus as a contemporary of the older Virgil and Horace, with whom he is often regarded as one of the three canonical poets of Latin literature. In the narrative, Byblis, the daughter of Miletus, falls in love with Caunus, her twin brother. Despite the inappropriateness of her feelings, her attempts to make him love her, and his rejection, she believes that Caunus will eventually give

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2 Rayor 1991: 1–2.

3 Rayor 1991: 36. See also Levin 1985: 227, where the author speaks "of Alcman's 'great cheese, unbroken and shining white' which is churned from the milk of a lioness during a nocturnal feast of Bacchantes."

in because he was not suckled on lioness's milk.<sup>4</sup> Here the thrust of the use of the expression "lioness's milk" is clearly to show that Caunus, like Byblis herself, is not the offspring of a lion and hence cannot be hard-hearted.

### Lioness's Milk in Jewish Literature

Milk of a lioness figures on several occasions in Jewish literature, and the point of departure seems to be *Proverbs* 18.21 (from the Old Testament), according to which "Death and life are in the power of the tongue."<sup>5</sup> The underlying story as recounted in *The Jewish Story Finder* by Sharon Barcan Elswit, is as follows:<sup>6</sup>

Hands, feet, ears, eyes and tongue are arguing about which is the most powerful part of the body. When the King of Persia comes down with a mysterious illness and the doctors say he can be cured only by drinking milk of a lioness, a brave young man determines to risk his life to obtain it. The parts of the body decide that whichever of them helps the young man the most will triumph. The young man finds a lioness and throws her goat meat each day until she lets him come near to milk her. On the way back to the palace, the parts of the body fight again. The eyes, the ears, the feet, and the hands all say they did the most. The tongue keeps quiet, until the young man arrives before the king. Then the tongue tells the king that the young man has brought milk from a dog. Shock and anger meet this statement; how dare he mock the king? The tongue tells the others to admit he is the most powerful. They do, and the tongue undoes the damage, saying that the milk really is from a lioness. The king drinks the milk and recovers. And the tongue enjoys its command.

In what follows, Elswit also provides a list of sources documenting how else the story has been narrated in the *Midrash*, the biblical exegesis by

4 Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 9.613–615 (quoted and translated in Raval 2001: 304): *neque enim est de tigride natus nec rigidas silices solidumve in pectore ferrum aut adamanta gerit nec lac bibit ille leaenae* ("He is not born from a tigress nor does he have hard flint, solid iron, or adamant in his heart, nor was he suckled on lion's milk").

5 *Proverbs* 18.21 (as cited in Heller 1934: 411): מות וחיים ביד לשון ("Death and life are in the power of the tongue").

6 Elswit 2012: 225.

ancient Judaic authorities.<sup>7</sup> The overt message of the story is clear: the power of speech. A covert message conveyed here seems to be the idea of the power of lioness's milk and the risks involved in obtaining it.

### Lioness's Milk in Christian Literature

As an example of the treatment of lioness's milk in Christian literature, I wish to allude here to the thirty-ninth chapter of what appears to be a collection of various Christian parables by the Venetian Capuchin Valerio Veneziano (or Valerio da Venezia)—“How the Devil in human form served a soldier” (“Come il Diavolo in forma umana servi à un Soldato”)<sup>8</sup>—which is said to be based on a writing by Cesareo (perhaps the Capuchin Father F. Cesareo da Spira), by relying on the reference and a summary of the pertinent parable kindly provided by Nicola Bajetta, to whom I am very grateful. In the story, the Devil, in the guise of a handsome young man, succeeds in getting employed as a servant of an honorable soldier. When the soldier's wife falls ill and no cure seems to work, the servant suggests that the only remedy would be to smear her with the milk of a lioness, which he hastily procures from a cave in the mountains of Arabia by driving away the cubs and milking the lioness. After completely smearing her body with the lioness's milk, the soldier's wife miraculously recovers! When the servant discloses his actual identity, the soldier is compelled to dismiss him. The soldier offers the Devil a compensation for his service but the latter accepts only five coins, which he donates back to the soldier and begs him to buy a bell for the country church. The Devil's motive for the donation, however, according to the narrator, is not that he wished for the devotees to attend Mass, but to prevent them from going to the church ahead of time and praying and performing other such meritorious deeds before Mass began. The implication seems to be that the devotees are likely to go to church ahead of time if the church has no bell to toll. Although the lioness's milk is portrayed here as possessing great healing power, it is not clear if the power is due to the milk itself or due to the power of the Devil.

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7 Elswit 2012: 225–226.

8 Veneziano 1614: 818–820.



### Lioness's Milk in Islamic/African Literature

The story of how Solomon prescribes the milk of a lioness to a sick Persian king who eventually recovers is said to be found also in Islamic narrative literature.<sup>9</sup> The motif of milking a lioness is found in African literatures as well. Here<sup>10</sup> the main character is a hare who wishes to be more intelligent, and requests Allah to increase his intelligence. Allah, however, tells the hare to first fetch a bag of blackbirds, the tusk of an elephant, and the milk of a lioness. The hare, using his intelligence, succeeds in obtaining all three. But in the end Allah does not give him more intelligence, since the hare already has enough, and if he were to possess more, he would ensnare the world and destroy it. In this African narrative, the motif of milking a lioness seems to be used only to show that it is a difficult and a dangerous task.

### Lioness's Milk in Chinese Literature

Buddhist scholars in China must have known the trope of the milk of a lioness found in Indian Buddhist literature, but assessing the exact nature of it is beyond my competence. Here, I wish merely to allude to milk of a lioness as mentioned in a letter that the Kangxi Emperor (康熙大帝)—the fourth of the Manchu Qing dynasty (清朝) and the second Qing emperor to rule over China, from 1661 to 1722/23—wrote to Pope Clement XI (1649–1721). In this letter, the emperor writes:<sup>11</sup>

We have resolved to espouse a fair and noble maiden that has drunk the milk of a lioness and a tender deer. As your Roman people always have been known as fathers of brave and chaste and unsurpassed women, we will reach out our mighty hand and take one of them to wife.

Although quite a late source, the letter demonstrates the Chinese or at least the emperor's perception of a Roman maiden as one who has drunk the milk of a lioness and, as I understand, also the milk of a tender

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9 Heller 1934: 411. Here the story of how the sick Persian king got cured through Solomon's prescription of lioness's milk is so patchy that one cannot make complete sense of it, unless one reads it together with Elswit 2012: 225.

10 Magel 1979: 355–357.

11 Blackmer 1945: 10.

doe. The implication perhaps is that Roman ladies were perceived to be strong and ferocious as well as gentle and tender at the same time.

### Lioness's Milk in Jaina Literature

An example of the use of lioness's milk as a metaphor or simile in Jainism may be mentioned here based on Maurice Bloomfield's article "The Śālibhadra Carita: A Story of Conversion to Jaina Monkhood." The *Śālibhadracarita*, composed by Dharmakumāra in AD 1277, is said to be "one of the best known Jain didactic religious stories" and that its "an account of the conversion and salvation of the youthful son of a merchant prince, Śālibhadra." The pertinent passage from the article reads:<sup>12</sup>

He [i.e., Śālibhadra] meets his mother [i.e., Bhadrā], and tells her that he has heard from the mouth of the Guru the Law that furnishes refuge, and that he is exceedingly pleased with it. A mother should feel honored by a son whose numberless virtues confer honor upon the family. Bhadrā is much rejoiced, yet points out that the son of his father (Gobhadra) is not the bond-servant of lust, even tho he is sunk in the delights of Fortune (Śrī); the Jaina truth sits upon him as does the milk of a lioness upon a golden dish.

We have seen above that the metaphor of the milk of a lioness in a golden vessel has already been used in Greek literature and will also see below that the same has been used by Buddhist authors, and although the *Śālibhadracarita* was rather a late composition, the advantage of the source is that it provides us with the Sanskrit text. The Sanskrit text of *Śālibhadracarita* 5.57 and the English translation given by Bloomfield read:<sup>13</sup> *siṅhīpayah svarṇapātra evāvatiṣṭhate*, "The milk of a lioness remains only in a golden vessel." Bloomfield also quotes a *nītiśloka* found in the gloss: *kṣīraṃ śvānodare siṅhīdugdham asvarṇabhājane | niṣpunye śrī rasendro 'gnāu dharmas tiṣṭhati nādham*. And he translates: "Milk does not remain in the belly of a dog; the milk of a lioness in a dish which is not gold; Fortune in him that has not accumulated a stock of merit; quicksilver in the fire; or religion in the vile."

12 Bloomfield 1923: 278. The notes within the cited passage have been left out.

13 Bloomfield 1923: 290.

### Lioness's Milk in Brahmanical/Hindu Literature

I have not been able to find allusions to lioness's milk and a fitting vessel for it (namely, a vessel made of gold) in what one might call typical Brahmanical/Hindu literature, although as we shall see below, allusions to lioness's milk can be found in Sanskrit narrative literature. Perhaps one may find such a metaphor or simile in the *nītiśāstras* of the type found in the Jaina passage above. Nonetheless, for the sake of representation, I wish to mention one case, although its source is somewhat unusual.

The Earl of Minto (1845–1914) must have been the then governor general of British India during whose term (1905–1910) British administrators were told to report to the authorities, among other things, what “natives” were up to and were writing in their newspapers. One such published report is: *Report on Native Papers: Published in the Bombay Presidency for the week ending 14th July 1906*. It is stamped “Confidential.” This report contains a section called “Exhortation to the present-day Indians to emulate heroic conducts of their Kshatriya ancestors.” It is a report of an article from *Hind Swarājya (Anglo Gujarati)* 28, 7th July. The author, whose name does not occur in the report, is calling upon Indians to be heroic and patriotic. It states:<sup>14</sup>

It is said in the Bhagwatgita, “A spirit of enterprise, vigour, patience, skilfulness, resolute determination in war, liberality and strength are the inherent virtues of a Kshatriya”. The ancient Indians were endowed with these qualities which Krishna ascribed to Arjun, and hence it is that their names are writ large on the pages of history. But their present-day descendants are devoid of these attributes. The reason for this is not far to seek. Just as a cub alone can digest the milk of a lioness, similarly the virtues inculcated by Krishna can be practised only by the progeny of Kshatriya warrior kings. The present-day Indians boast of Kshatriya descent, but their conduct and actions are dissimilar to those of their forefathers. This shows that they are not the true sons of Kshatriyas, but a hybrid progeny. They desire to be loyal to Government, but they forget that by doing so they become traitors to their country and undermine their religion.

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14 [India Office] 1906: 14–15.

The article goes on. The political and religious ideology suggested by the article is, however, not our concern here. Our concern is the author's allusion to the idea of a lioness's milk. The idea that lion cubs alone can digest lioness's milk seems unique to this context. The gist of the message that we wish to draw for our present purpose is that a true *kṣatriya* is like a lion who has drunk lioness's milk.

### Lioness's Milk in Sanskrit Literature

While some other Indian sources that I consult in the present article would be subsumable under "Sanskrit literature" as well, I wish to devote a separate section to the idea of a lioness's milk in Sanskrit narrative or artistic literature, availing myself of materials generously shared by Professor Harunaga Isaacson.<sup>15</sup> We have seen above in the context of lioness's milk in Jaina literature the proverbial saying that the milk of a lioness can only be kept in a golden vessel. This proverb/belief current in Tibetan culture, also according to Isaacson, is probably of Indian origin. In addition to such an idea, we also find stories of a lioness suckling a youngling of a human being or another animal (e.g., a jackal or antelope). First, the story of a boy brought up on the milk of lionesses is said to be found in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* of the eleventh-century Kashmiri Sanskrit author Somadeva.<sup>16</sup> Isaacson writes:

In the *Kathāsaritsāgara* of Somadeva, a famous Sanskrit retelling of the lost *Bṛhatkathā* (supposedly written in Paiśācī), there is a story in which a boy who was brought up on the milk of lionesses becomes king Sātavāhana (his father was actually a Guhyaka/Yakṣa); he made love to the daughter of a sage without her parent's permission, and they cursed the couple to become lions; their child was however born in human shape. The mother died after he was born, and the father, the Yakṣa, still in the form of a lion, nurtured the boy with the milk of other lionesses. He tells all this when he is struck by the arrow of a hunting king, which releases him from the curse; he takes on his

15 All the materials and references under "Lioness's Milk in Sanskrit Literature" have been shared by Professor Harunaga Isaacson, my esteemed colleague, via an email on May 5, 2020. In addition, he also sent the reference to the Jaina poem *Śālibhadracarita*, which I was able to trace myself.

16 For an English translation of the pertinent story from Somadeva's *Kathāsaritsāgara*, see, for example, Tawney 1924: 67–68.

divine form and tells the king the story, then gives him the boy and disappears (back to his Yakṣa abode). The expression about the lionesses' milk is in the line *ayaṃ ca vardhito 'nyāsāṃ śimhīnāṃ payasā mayā* |; "and this [boy] has been brought up/nourished by me with the milk of other lionesses."

Second, stories of a lioness suckling younglings of other animals can also be found in Sanskrit narrative literature, for example, in some versions of the *Pañcatantra*.<sup>17</sup> I cite Isaacson again:

Some versions of the *Pañcatantra* (at least Pūrṇabhadra's, completed in 1199 CE) contain a story of a jackal raised by a lioness (in Pūrṇabhadra's version it is the fourth story in the fourth book) together with her two sons. In the end the jackal proves a jackal, not a lion, and leaves to be with his kinfolk.

Isaacson also draws our attention to yet another case of a lioness suckling the younglings of other animals, namely, in the *Kādambarī*, a romantic novel in Sanskrit composed substantially by Bāṇabhaṭṭa in the first half of the seventh century.<sup>18</sup> He states:

Another kind of case of other animals drinking lion's milk is in the context of descriptions of *āśramas*. It falls under the broader topos of the disappearance of ordinary enmity between 'natural' enemies in the presence of a saintly person or a community of such. An example from the early seventh century is in Bāṇa's great ornate prose work *Kādambarī*.

Isaacson also adds that Gwendolyn Layne's "translation might be just slightly ambiguous; in the Sanskrit, though, it is very clear and unambiguous that it is the 'young antelope' that is sucking at the breasts of the lioness, the mother of its lion cub friends. The same trope of a fawn drinking from a lioness's breasts can be found elsewhere, but this might be the earliest occurrence." Although there is no allusion to lioness's milk in the story of Khyi ra ras pa in Mi la ras pa's hagiography,<sup>19</sup> we do find the topos of the disappearance of ordinary enmity between

17 *Pañcatantra* (Hertel 1908: 241–246).

18 For an English translation of the pertinent text from the *Kādambarī*, see Layne 1991: 47.

19 gTsang smyon, *Mi la'i rnam mgur*, pp. 430.2–442.16.

“natural” enemies, namely, between the hunting dog (i.e., predator) and the deer (i.e., the prey) in the presence of Mi la ras pa.

### Lioness’s Milk in Bon Literature

Although there may be several instances of the use of the milk of a lioness as an analogy in Bon literature, I wish to mention here just one example. The metaphor occurs in the *sGron ma drug gi gdams pa* of the *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud*.<sup>20</sup> Jean-Luc Achard’s English rendering of the pertinent verse is as follows:<sup>21</sup>

This milk of a white lioness  
Should be poured into fortunate chalices.  
To the unfortunate ones who are not proper chalices,  
Hold it like the jewel in the throat of a makara  
And do not let it dissipate for a thousand kalpas!

What is striking here is the specification of the lioness as a “white lioness,”<sup>22</sup> notably, however, not as “snow lion.” Achard explains “like the jewel in the throat of a makara [i.e., crocodile]” as “like a jewel that is beyond the reach of ordinary beings.”

### Lioness’s Milk in Tibetan Medical Literature

The allusion to the idea of a lioness’s milk can also be found in the *Yongs su gtad pa’i rgyud*, namely, the part of the Tibetan medical scripture that deals with the entrustment of the medical Tantric scripture. It states:<sup>23</sup>

For example, [if] the milk of a white lioness is not put in a vessel made of precious material but in an ordinary vessel, not only would the

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20 *sGron ma drug gi gdams pa*, p. 214.6–8: *seng ge dkar mo’i ’o ma ’di || las skal can gyi snod du blug || snod dang mi ldan skal med la || chu srin gre ba’i nor bu ltar || bskal ba stong du ma shor cig ||*.

21 Achard 2017: 93.

22 In general, we find several Tibetan references to “milk of a white lioness,” “milk of a white goat” (*ra dkar mo’i ’o ma*), and “milk of a white cow” (*ba dkar mo’i ’o ma*), all of which were obviously considered special and auspicious. For the use of the milk of a white goat to make a special kind of ink, see Wangchuk 2016: 380, 381.

23 *Yongs su gtad pa’i rgyud* as found in Byang ba rNam rgyal grags bzang’s *Yongs gtad rgyud kyi ’grel chen*, pp. 250.9–11; 251.14–15: *dper na seng ge dkar mo’i ’o ma de || rin chen ma yin snod ngan phal bar blug || snod kyang ’chag la ’o ma’i bcud kyang ’bo ||*.

container break but also the contents, the [lioness's] milk, would be spilled.

One can notice some affinity between these lines of verse and others cited below from the *\*Guhyagarbhatantra* (in 80 Chapters). The difference, however, is that in the medical Tantric scripture the verse line is longer, there is a specification of a “white lioness,” and it speaks of a “vessel made of precious material” instead of “a golden vessel.” Tibetan medical literature also alludes to the use of lioness's milk to prepare a certain kind of medicinal pill called an “organic pill” (*dbang po ril bu = dbang ril*),<sup>24</sup> that is, one made from animal products such as elephants, snakes, peacocks, and musk deer. Not being a specialist in Tibetan medicine, I cannot speak about the topic with authority. Nonetheless, the following passage might give us an idea of what “white lioness's milk” (*seng ge dkar mo'i 'o ma*) is all about in Tibetan medicine:<sup>25</sup>

The second main point concerns “animal organic pills [obtained through] practice (*sgrub pa'i dbang ril*). Although [organic pills obtained through practice] flourished as a praxis of the Nāga king [of the Nāga world], it is the tradition of Āryaviṣaya, India. There are multiple positions to the effect that actual lioness's milk is required for the preparation of [pills] containing precious minerals. Moreover, it has been stated that this is the position taken by Nāgārjunanātha (i.e., that actual lioness's milk is required). The Nāga king Nanda called [this type of pill] the “white lioness's milk of practice” (*sgrub*

24 The term *dbang po ril bu* or *dbang ril* does not seem to mean something like “medicinal pills [to clear] the sense organs” but indeed “medicinal pills consisting of organic substances” as opposed to medicinal pills consisting of minerals such as gold, mercury, and the like. See, for example, the *Tshig mdzod chen mo*, s.v. *dbang po ril bu*: (1) *rtsi sman gyi rigs shig ste | ro mngar la kha | zhu rjes snyoms | nus pas sbyar dug dang gyur dug sogs dug nad kun 'joms | bad kan smug po dang | mchin nad sel | ...* (2) *glang chen | sbrul | rma bya | gla ba sogs las 'byung ba'i ril bu'i sman zhig |*

25 De'u dmar dge bshes, *gSo rig gces btus*, p. 326.8–5: *rtsa ba'i sa bcad gnyis pa sgrub pa'i dbang ril ni | klu yi rgyal po'i phyag len du dar yang rgya gar 'phags pa'i yul gyi lugs yin te | rin chen sbyor ba la seng ge dkar mo'i 'o ma dgos zer ba la 'dod lugs mang yang | mgon po klu sgrub kyis 'di nyid yin par 'dod gsungs | klu rgyal dga' bos sgrub pa'i seng ge dkar mo'i 'o ma zhes gsungs | seng ge dngos kyi 'o mar 'dod pa la dgag sgrub gzhung lugs mang yang yi ge mang du dogs pas re zhig bzhag | sgrub pa'i dbang ril seng ge dkar mo'i 'o ma 'di sa bcad rnam pa drug yin te | (1) byung khungs kyi rgyud dang | (2) sbyar thabs | (3) cho ga | (4) lag len | (5) phan yon | (6) gtong thabs so ||*

*pa'i seng ge dkar mo'i 'o ma*). Regarding the position that takes [the lioness's milk here] to be the actual milk of a lioness, there are multiple positions that refute and defend [it]. But for fear of ballooning the text, [details] are dispensed with here. The “white lioness's milk as an organic pill [obtained through] practice” (*sgrub pa'i dbang ril seng ge dkar mo'i 'o ma*) [will be explained here] under six points, namely, (1) [its] Tantric scriptural source (*byung khungs kyi rgyud*), (2) how to prepare [it] (*sbyar thabs*), (3) ritual procedure/manual (*cho ga*), (4) praxis tradition (*lag len*), (5) benefits (*phan yon*), and (6) how to administer (*gtong thabs*) it.

This should give us a vague idea of the place lioness's milk occupies in Tibetan medicine. Significant is that not everyone believed that the milk in question was meant literally; rather, it was understood as somewhat like a magical formula (*mantra: gsang sngags*) whose efficacy could only be tapped via certain meditative practices. That would explain the expression “white lioness's milk as an organic pill [obtained through] practice” (*sgrub pa'i dbang ril seng ge dkar mo'i 'o ma*). We need not go into details of each of the six points mentioned above but may selectively look at those that make explicit reference to lioness's milk. Under the first point, the *Thor 'dum*, a certain source, is said to state the following:<sup>26</sup>

Nanda, the Nāga king gladly expounded the “Pippalī manual”—instructions [relating to] “lioness's milk,” a medicine for destroying poison and rescuing [the ill] from death—to Ācārya [Nāgārjuna].

We learn that *pippalī* (*pi pi ling*) is used here as another designation for the milk in question.<sup>27</sup> What is important here is that lioness's milk, be it actual or virtual, is seen as a medicine against poison, a point which

26 De'u dmar dge bshes, *gSo rig gces btus*, p. 326.20–21: *klu rgyal dga' bos slob dpon la || dgyes bzhin dug 'joms 'chi gso'i sman || seng ge'i 'o ma gdam pa ni || pi pi ling gi sgrub thabs bshad ||*.

27 De'u dmar dge bshes, *gSo rig gces btus*, p. 329.2–6: *'di ni klu yi sgrub pa yi || dbang po ril bu zhes bya'o || seng ge'i 'o ma zhes kyang bya || rab byung dbang rol seng ge'i 'o ma las || rdzas dang sgrub pas 'di nyid lhag || bsgrub pa'i pi pi ling yang zer || pi pi ling zhes bya ba'i don || mang du tshogs pa'i [= pas?] pi zhes bya || ma tshang med pa'i [= pas?] slar yang pi || nad kun 'dul bas ling zhes brjod || sngags dang ldan pas sgrub ces bya ||*.



recurs under the second point:<sup>28</sup> “[I resolve to] accomplish the lioness's milk, by resorting to (or relying on?) the meditation on the Poison-destroying Deity/Goddess.” In the course of the meditative processes,<sup>29</sup> through the utterance and cumulation of a chain of *mantras*, medicines that are elixir in essence (*amṛta: bdud rtsi*) but lioness's milk in form, which has the destruction of various kinds of poison as its function, are visualized as having assumed the form of “organic medicinal pills” (*dbang po ril bu*).

If we examine the passages dealing with lioness's milk in the context of Tibetan medicine, we can see why the question whether here it is to be taken as actual milk of a lioness or simply as a virtual substance that has been conjured up by means of *mantras* and meditation. My feeling is that such medicine would have been considered best if acquired on the basis of all three, namely, *mantras* (i.e., recitation-cum-visualization), mind (i.e., meditation), and matter (i.e., actual lioness's milk). Finally, the idea that the milk of a white lioness was received by Nāgārjuna in “a golden vase” (*gser gyi bum pa*) is also noteworthy.<sup>30</sup>

### Lioness's Milk in Śilpaśāstric Literature

Perhaps one can subsume Tibetan works dealing with the analysis of the quality of porcelain ware (*dkar yol*) under the genre of *śilpaśāstra*, namely, the field of knowledge having to do with any fine art or craft. sTag tshang rdzong pa dPal 'byor bzang po (fl. 15th century) in his *rGya bod yig tshang* devotes a section to the analysis of the quality of such ware. He states:<sup>31</sup>

28 De'u dmar dge bshes, *gSo rig gces btus*, p. 327.17: *dug 'joms lha mo sgom pa la || bsten [= brten?] nas seng ge'i 'o ma sgrub ||*.

29 De'u dmar dge bshes, *gSo rig gces btus*, p. 328.14–16: *bdag mdun sngags phreng 'phro 'du yis || sman rnams ngo bo bdud rtsi la || rnam pa seng ge'i 'o ma ste || byed las dug rigs 'joms byed pa'i || dbang po ril bu nyid du gyur ||*. I understand *bdud rtsi la* in the sense of *bdud rtsi yin pa la* and thus *la* as “and.”

30 De'u dmar dge bshes, *gSo rig gces btus*, p. 329.10–13: *de sogs dug rigs ma lus la || gnyen po seng ge dkar mo yi || 'o ma 'di ni bdud rtsi'i mchog || rgya mtsho gangs dkar ri bo las || klu rgyal seng ge dkar mo yis || bdud rtsi sgrub pa'i 'o ma de || klu sgrub gser gyi bum par blugs || 'gro ba'i srog 'tsho bcud du 'khyil ||*. Note: these verses are citations and not composed by De'u dmar dge bshes himself.

31 sTag tshang rdzong pa, *rGya bod yig tshang*, p. 179.8–12: *de 'dra'i rtags dang ya mtshan ldan pa yi || nor bu'i shugs kyis dkar yol gnyis po des || chos rgyal mya ngan*

These two kinds of porcelain cups, on account of the jewels [they are embossed with],  
 Endowed with such signs and amazing features,  
 Served as cups for relishing lioness's milk  
 During the time of the religious king known as Aśoka.  
 In the present time, [these cups] function as  
 Great objects of (or for) offering in the temple of Kapilavastu.

I am not sure if my understanding of these verse lines is accurate. What in any case they do make clear is two things. First, from these, we know that sTag tshang rdzong pa knew of a legend according to which Aśoka used precious porcelain ware to drink lioness's milk from, that is, despite the fact that the text actually only states "during the time of the religious king known as Aśoka" and not something like "by or for Aśoka." Second, we know from several other sources that no ordinary vessel, a clay vessel, for example, should contain lioness's milk. It should only be contained in a golden vessel or a vessel made of precious material. From the present source, we thus know that extraordinary porcelain cups were also considered as suitable vessels for lioness's milk.

### Lioness's Milk in Hagiographical Literature

As an example of the use of the metaphor of lioness's milk in hagiographical literature, I may mention here the hagiography of the famous Tibetan Yogi Mi la ras pa (1028/40–1111/23). His hagiography may also be subsumed under hymnic literature insofar as it contains a great number of "songs or hymns of spiritual experience" (*nyams mgur*). It is, however, beyond the scope of the present article to refer to all the sources (mainly by bKa' brgyud masters) that refer to this particular hymnic song of Mi la ras pa. Since the metaphor of lioness's milk also occurs in historical works such as in dPa' bo gTsug lag phreng ba's *mKhas pa'i dga'ston*, one may speak of its occurrence in "historical literature" as well. At any rate, the song of Mi la ras pa that alludes to lioness's milk occurs in the context of his first encounter with his principal disciple sGam po pa bSod nams rin chen (1079–1153). We can take a brief look at dPa' bo

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*med ces grags pa'i dus || seng ge'i 'o ma bzhes pa'i gsol zhal byas || deng sang dus na ser skya'i grong khyer gyi || gtsug lag khang gi mchod rdzas chen po byed ||.*

gTsug lag phreng ba's recount of the encounter:<sup>32</sup>

[Mi la ras pa:] "What is your name?" "My name is bSod nams rin chen" (lit. "Precious Merit"), [sGam po pa] replied. Thereupon, after repeating "bSod nams rin chen" thrice, [Mi la ras pa] said: "[That] arose [as your name] because [you] gathered a great accumulation of merit. [These are] the previous [treasures or valuables] of all [sentient beings of] the six realms." [Mi la ras pa], who was drinking a skull cup full of beer/alcohol, gave what remained [to him] and, as [he] hesitated, said: "Drink without a host of conceptual constructions!" [He then] drank without [any] hesitation, thereby [causing] an auspicious condition/coincidence to be set for the completion [of the transmission] of the instructions. [Mi la ras pa then] sang a hymnic song of reception beginning with [the words] "The Milk of a White Lioness of the East (i.e., probably East India)."

Mi la ras pa's song referring to the milk of a white lioness may be found in earlier sources, but we shall look at the following verse recorded by gTsang smyon Heruka (1452–1507):<sup>33</sup>

The milk of a white lioness of the East  
 Must certainly be nutritious.  
 But [it] cannot be nutritious unless one has tasted [it].  
 The milk of a white lioness of the East  
 Should by no means be poured into a base, ordinary vessel,  
 [Something] that is not a precious golden goblet.  
 If it is poured into a base ordinary vessel,  
 Not only would the vessel break, but the contents, too, would be  
 spilled.

32 dPa' bo gTsug lag phreng ba, *mKhas pa'i dga' ston*, vol. 1, p. 792.5–11: *khyod kyi ming ci gsungs | bsod nams rin chen lags zhus pas bsod nams rin chen zhes lan gsum gsungs nas | bsod nams tshogs chen bsags las byung || 'gro drug kun gyi rin po che || gsungs | chang ka pa la gang gsol zhing 'dug pa gnang bas the tshom pa na rnam rtog ma mang bar 'di 'thung gsungs | the tshom med par gsol bas | gdams ngag rdzogs pa'i rten 'brel 'grig | shar seng ge dkar mo'i 'o ma de || zhes sogs sne len gyi mgur mdzad |*.

33 gTsang smyon, *Mi la'i rnam mgur*, p. 626.1–16: *shar seng ge dkar mo'i 'o ma de || bcud che dang che bar cha mchis tell bcud ma myangs gong na che rgyu med || ... shar seng ge dkar mo'i 'o ma de || snod rin chen gser skyogs ma lags pa || snod ngan phal du cang mi ldug || snod ngan phal du blugs pa na || snod kyang 'chag la bcud kyang 'bo ||*

As one might anticipate, the story of the encounter between Mi la ras pa and sGam po pa can also be found in the latter's biography. But the details differ, the pertinent verse lines stating:<sup>34</sup>

The milk of a white lioness of the East  
 Must certainly be nutritious,  
 But it would be he, Śakra, the king of gods, who will come to relish  
 [it and not anyone else].

The idea that Śakra (Indra) drinks lioness's milk is interesting, and something we have not seen asserted elsewhere.

### Lioness's Milk in Tibetan Query (*zhus lan*) Literature

The *Jo bo rje'i gsung 'bum* contains "twenty-six sets of teachings of the father [i.e., 'Brom ston pa rGyal ba'i 'byung gnas (1004/1005–1064)]" (*pha chos nyi shu rtsa drug*) and "twenty-two sets of teachings of the sons [i.e., rNgog Legs pa'i shes rab (1018–1115) and Khu ston brTson 'grus g.yung drung (1011–1075)] (*bu chos nyi shu rtsa gnyis*). The former consists of mainly queries made by 'Brom ston pa and answers given by Jo bo rje. The oral nature of these works seems to be obvious. In one of these queries regarding the choice of the teachings of the *Tripitaka*, Jo bo rje tells 'Brom ston pa the following:<sup>35</sup>

The ultimate teachings are [those of] the highest vehicle.  
 These are extremely profound and difficult to adhere to (lit. 'protect').  
 [Their] excellent content, lioness's milk,  
 Would cause a base vessel, a clay cup, that is, ordinary sentient beings,  
 To break as soon as [it is] poured into the clay cup.

34 bSod nams lhun grub, *sGam po pa'i rnam thar*, p. 67.17–19: *shar seng ge dkar mo'i 'o ma de || ro bcud dang ldan pa cha mchis kyang || lha dbang brgya byin khong gis gsol nas 'ong ||*.

35 \*Adhiśa, *Jo bo rje'i gsung 'bum*, p. 17.10–11: *chos mthar thug theg pa'i yang rtse yin | de shin tu zab ste bsrung bar dka' || bcud bzang po seng ge'i 'o ma de || snod ngan pa so skye'i rdza phor du || dus blug tsam nyid nas rdza phor chag ||*.

### Lioness's Milk in Buddhist Commentarial Literature

As a case of the use of the simile of the milk of a lioness in commentarial literature, I wish to mention here the *Viśeṣadyotanī*, Vibhūticandra's commentary on Śāntideva's *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, which states:<sup>36</sup>

[The instruction concerning the practices of a *bodhisattva* should only be given to suitable recipients,] inasmuch as this teaching is like the milk of a lioness. If one puts it in a vessel that is not of gold, the vessel will break and it [i.e., the lioness's milk] will go to waste.

Noteworthy here is again the use of the phraseology “a vessel that is not of gold” (*gser snod ma yin*), which, as we shall see below, occurs in the larger version of the \**Vajravvyūhatanātra*, and the Sanskrit parallel of which, according to what we have seen in the Jaina context, would be *asvarṇabhājana*.

### Lioness's Milk in Tibetan Buddhist Philosophical Literature

As an example of the use of the metaphor of a lioness's milk in Tibetan Buddhist philosophical works, I may allude to a verse from the *Nges shes sgron me* by Mi pham rNam rgyal rgya mtsho (1846–1912). The pertinent verse states:<sup>37</sup>

The supreme doctrine, lioness's milk,  
Is held only by the astute, [by] excellent vessels.  
[The content] would not remain in other [vessels] despite the efforts  
[to contain it].  
Likewise, these are the [only] vessels that contain this [teaching].

The fourth verse line is somewhat cryptic and has been subjected to different interpretations. Commentators have evidently understood the referents of “these” vessels differently. For Khro shul mkhan po 'Jam

36 Vibhūticandra, *Viśeṣadyotanī*, P, dBu ma, vol. Sha, fol. 235a2–3; D, dBu ma, vol. Sha, fol. 197a7–b1: *gang gi phyir chos 'di seng ge'i 'o ma dang 'dra ste | de ni gser gyi snod ma yin par blugs na | snod kyang 'chag la de yang chud gsan par 'gyur ro ||*.

37 Mi pham, *Nges shes sgron me*, p. 55.9–10: *chos mchog seng ge'i 'o ma ni || blo gros snod bzang kho nas 'dzin || gzhan du 'bad kyang mi gnas ltar || 'di shong snod ni 'di yin no ||*. For a commentary on the verses, see Kun dpal, *Nges sgron 'grel chung*, p. 270.7–15. For an English translation, see Pettit 1999: 239, 408.

dpal rdo rje, for example, the syllables of Mañjuśrī's *mantra* are the golden vessels, while the doctrinal content discussed in the *Nges shes sgron me* seems to be the lioness's milk.<sup>38</sup> For mKhan po 'Jam dbyangs grub pa'i blo gros, however, the "great gnosis consisting in the coalescence of primordial purity and spontaneity (or innate presence)" (*ka lhun zung 'jug gi ye shes chen po*) is the lioness's milk and the person who practices Mañjuśrī's *mantra* correctly in terms of view and meditation is the golden vessel.<sup>39</sup>

### Lioness's Milk in Tibetan Buddhist gTer ma Literature

One is also bound to find ample allusions to the metaphor or simile of the milk of a lioness in the gTer ma ("Treasure") literature. I wish to pause over two such sources. First, there is a work by lHo brag grub chen Nam mkha' rgyal mtshan (1321–1401), a bKa' gdams rnying ma and rNying ma master who was both a guru and student of the famous Tsong kha pa Blo bzang grags pa (1357–1419). It is not officially a gTer ma work but a kind of teaching that has been aurally transmitted (*snyan brgyud*). If we examine the nature of the work, though, we realize that it is a de facto gTer ma work. In this work, Vajrapāṇi is directly addressing lHo brag grub chen aka Las kyi rdo rje as follows:<sup>40</sup>

One cannot possibly expound all the 84,000 teachings of the [various] vehicles  
[Or] the quintessential instructions associated with Tantric scriptures.

38 Khro shul mkhan po, *Nges sgron 'grel bshad*, p. 467.5: *des na zab mo'i don 'di dag sgong ba'i gser gyi snod ni a sogs sgo 'di dag yin no* ||; Pettit 1999: 408 "Therefore, the golden vessel for these profound meanings is 'A,' etc."

39 mKhan po 'Jam dbyangs grub pa'i blo gros, *Nges sgron rnam bshad*, pp. 385.19–386.1: *bcud mchog ye stong dbu ma chen po gzhi ka dag stong pa'i 'od gsal dang 'bras bu sku dang ye shes chen po'i rang bzhin lhun grub gsal ba'i 'od gsal te ka lhun zung 'jug gi ye shes chen po 'di nyid shong shing mi nyams pa'i snod ni 'jam dpal rdo rje rnon po yi ge drug gi rnam par shar ba'i rdo rje'i rig sngags kyi rgyal po tshul bzhin du lta sgom yang dag pas bsgrub pa'i gang zag 'di yin no* ||.

40 lHo brag grub chen, *bDud rtsi'i thigs pa*, p. 854.6–7: *brgyad khri bzhi stong theg pa'i chos* || *rgyud 'brel man ngag brjod mi lang* || *de dag thams cad 'dus pa'i bcud* || *mar gyi yang zhun lta bu yi* || *man ngag bdud rtsi thigs pa 'di* || *bcud mchog seng ge'i 'o ma 'dra* || *snod mchog gser bum lta bu yi* || *las kyi rdo rje khyod la sbyin* ||. These verses have been cited by later Tibetan scholars, but I shall not discuss that here.

This drop of elixir consisting in quintessential instructions,  
 Which is the essence of all those teachings  
 And akin to the quintessence of butter,  
 Is similar to the supreme essence, the milk of a lioness.  
 [I] give [it] to you, Las kyi rdo rje,  
 Who is like a golden vase, a supreme receptable!

Noteworthy is the occurrence of the “golden vase” (*gser gyi bum pa*) as an ideal receptable for lioness's milk. The second source, which has been formally marked as a gTer ma work, is the one by rDzong gter Kun bzang nyi ma alias Rig 'dzin Nus ldan rdo rje (1904–1958), a famous treasure revealer of the twentieth century and a grandson of bDud 'joms gling pa (1835–1904) and a disciple of gTer ston Las rab gling pa (1856–1926). Following a list of attributes of the teachings in question, namely, a certain practice associated with a certain form of Avalokiteśvara, the text continues:<sup>41</sup>

Instruction through which whoever comes into contact with [it] is placed on the path of release [from *samsāra*]; one that is like an elixir, a life-saving medicine; more efficacious (lit. “sharper”) and powerful than the proverbial (*dpe*) milk of a white lioness (*seng ge dkar mo'i 'o ma*), a nutriment which does not desire [to fill some] random vessel. For those who are endowed with Mantric commitment/precepts, faith, a pure attitude/perception, and devotion it is a profound and superior means of obtaining release in the domain of pure [*buddha*] fields after effortlessly realizing the great bliss characterized by gnosis, [and] by merely coming into contact with [it]. Thus all should put [this] into practice!

Some noteworthy elements in this passage are the efficacy and power of the milk of a white lioness and the idea that no ordinary vessel can contain it. In another work from the same collection, the lioness is specified as a “white snow lioness” (or perhaps “lioness [as] white [as] snow”)

41 Kun bzang nyi ma (revealed), *Ye she sgron me*, p. 230.1–3: 'brel tshad rnam grol gyi lam la 'god pa'i gdams pa bdud rtsi 'chi gsos kyis sman lta bu ' dpe seng ge dkar mo'i 'o ma las rno nus che ba ' snod gang yang rung ba la bcud mi chags pa ' dam tshig dang dad pa dag snang mos gus ldan pa la 'phrad pa tsam gyis bde chen ye shes stsol [= rtsol] med du rtogs nas dag pa'i zhing la rnam par grol ba'i thabs zab mo khyad par 'phags pa yin pas kun gyis nyams su len par mdzod cig '.

(*gangs seng dkar mo*), and the great nutritious-ness (*bcud che ba*) of lioness's milk is underscored.<sup>42</sup> The following verses from yet another work from the same collection is even more telling:<sup>43</sup>

Whether you will be a treasure holder (*gter bdag*) or not,  
 Depends on you as a person.  
 For example, if one wishes  
 To obtain the milk of a white snow (or snow-white) lioness (*gangs  
 seng dkar mo'i'o ma*),  
 And if one is well endowed with perseverance, bravery, excellent  
 strategy,  
 And a golden vessel,  
 Elixir, the life-saving medicine, will gush forth.  
 For someone who is stupid and foolhardy,  
 There will never be a time  
 To summon the five-faced one (*pañcānana/pañcāsyā*) [i.e., lioness or  
 a special medicine].  
 If the excellent golden vessel  
 For holding the elixir vanished,  
 The treasure (i.e., the elixir) would be deprived of its essence,  
 And its powers would vanish into space.  
 Whether [you] are suitable [to serve] as an excellent vessel  
 For the profound, true/sublime teachings or not  
 Depends on you as a person.

42 Kun bzang nyi ma (revealed), *Rab gsal me long*, p. 29.1–4: *de yang rten 'brel gyi sna kha ma log | byin rlabs kyi tshan kha ma yal | dngos grub kyi rno myur ma sdur | ma dang mkha' gro'i zhal rlangs tho le ba | dpe gangs seng dkar mo'i'o ma las kya bcud che ba | 'di nyid mthong thos dran reg 'brel tshad thams cad don ldan du byed pa'i man ngag | rtoḡ ge'i blo yi dri mas bsld ma zhugs pa | yid dpyod kyi blo yis bsre slad gang yang ma byas pa | zab gsang rdo rje snying po'i chos sde dbang chen padma gsung gi nye lam zab mo'o |.*

43 Kun bzang nyi ma (revealed), *Dri bral me long*, p. 140.1–4: *gter bdag 'ong dang mi 'ong | gang zag khyod la rag las | dper na gangs seng dkar mo'i'o ma len par 'dod na | rtsol phod thabs mchog bzang po | rin chen gser gyi snod dang | rnam par ldan na bdud rtsi | 'chi gso'i sman gyis 'tshang ngo | glen pa u tshug can gyis | gdong lnga 'gugs dus mi srid | bdud rtsi 'dzin pa'i gser gyi | snod bzang yal bar gyur na | rin chen srog dang bral la | bcud rnams dbyings su yal 'gro | zab mo'i dam pa'i chos kyi | snod mchog rung dang mi rung | gang zag khyod la rag las |.*



This Tibetan source is somewhat unusual because, unlike all Buddhist sources that we have seen thus far, it explicitly refers to the bravery and ingenuity that one requires for such a dangerous enterprise. The motif of the golden vessel recurs here as well.

The trope of the milk of a lioness can also be found in the *dMyal gling rdzogs chen*, which forms a part of the famous Tibetan epic of King Gesar.<sup>44</sup> Although one could regard this as an example of the use of the trope in epic literature, I include it here because the *dMyal gling rdzogs chen* is a gTer ma text revealed in the nineteenth-century by Rig 'dzin Drag rtsal rdo rje from rMa chung rdzong in 'Go/mGo log region in eastern Tibet.

### Lioness's Milk in Vinaya Literature

As an example of the use of the simile of lioness's milk in the Buddhist Vinaya context, I recur to an ordination manual by Karma phrin las pa Dwags po Phyogs las rnam rgyal (1456–1539), who was a student of the Seventh Karma pa Chos grags rgya mtsho (1454–1506) and a teacher of the Eighth Karma pa Mi bskyod rdo rje (1507–1554). At the very beginning of the manual, which by the way, according to the author himself, is based on a manual composed by the Third Karma pa Rang byung rdo rje (1284–1339), the following is stated:<sup>45</sup>

Given also that this training/instruction in the [higher] ethical-ascetical discipline ([*adhi*]śīla: [*lhag pa*'i] *tshul khrims*), which is the essence of the Doctrine [of the Buddha], is like the milk of a lioness, a precious receptacle is required. Therefore, a pure [receptacle, i.e., candidate] is required, one who is free from factors associated

44 Rig 'dzin Drag rtsal rdo rje (revealed), *dMyal gling rdzogs chen*, p. 117.10–16: *chos zab mo rdzogs pa chen po 'di || bu skal ldan snod bzang med pa na || gzhan la spel ba'i gnas med do || spel na rang gzhan dmyal bar ltung || shar seng ge dkar mo'i 'o ma de || rin chen snod mchog ma gtogs par || snod spyad gzhan gyis khyog' mi srid || snod kyang chag la bcud kyang zags || (' gyis khyog] conj., gyi tshog Text).*

45 Karma phrin las pa, *Dul chog mthong ba don ldan*, p. 557.2–4: *bstan pa'i snying po tshul khrims kyi bslab pa 'di yang dper na seng ge'i 'o ma lta bu yin pas snod rin po che dgos te | de bas na rgyud la sdom pa skye ba dang gnas pa dang khyad par du 'gro ba dang mdzes pa'i bar chad bzhi po 'di'i phyogs rnams dang mi ldan pa'i dag pa zhig dgos |.*

with these four kinds of hindrance, namely, (1) [that which obstructs] the arising of the [*prātimokṣa*] precepts in one's continuum, (2) [that which obstructs their] continuation and (3) [that which obstructs their] enhancement, and (4) that which is associated with aesthetic [issues which would undermine the image of the ordained community].

Kun mkhyen Padma dkar po (1527–1592) in his manual for the *prātimokṣa* ordination explicates the analogy as follows:<sup>46</sup>

The doctrine of the Buddha is like a lioness's milk. The reason for this [is]: Lioness's milk should be poured into an excellent vessel such as those made of gold or silver. Otherwise, if it is poured into clay cups or earthenware (*kham phor* = *rdza phor*) and the like, there will be such unfortunate consequences as the breaking of the vessel or the spilling of its contents.

If one presupposes, as most Buddhist traditions do, that the life and vitality of Buddhist doctrine hinges on the practice of the Vinaya in general and on the *prātimokṣa* rules in particular, the use of the analogy of a lioness's milk to describe the Doctrine of the Buddha will seem only too appropriate.

### Lioness's Milk in Abhidharmic Literature

As an example of how the symbolism of a lioness's milk is used in the Abhidharmic literature, I wish to refer to a work by the Eighth Karma pa Mi bskyod rdo rje (1507–1554), namely, his commentary on Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa*. It states:<sup>47</sup>

Regarding the visual objects of the visual faculties/organs of [sentient

46 Padma dkar po, *Sor sdom 'bogs chog*, p. 2.3–4: *sangs rgyas kyi bstan pa ni seng ge dkar mo'i 'o ma dang 'dra | de'i rgyu mtshan | seng ge dkar mo'i 'o ma de snod bzang po gser dngul la sogs pa'i nang du blug dgos kyi gzhan kham phor la sogs par blug na snod chag cing bcud 'bo ba la sogs pa'i nyes pa yod |*.

47 Eighth Karma pa, *mNgon mdzod kar tik*, fols. 112b5–113a1: *rang sa pa'am gong ma'i mig mngon du byas pa'i mig gi yul ni | sa de'am 'og ma'i mig gis gong ma'i gzugs mthong bar nus pa ma yin te | mig de yul rags pa dang 'tshams shing gong ma'i gzugs phra ba'i phyir | sa gong ma'i mig gi rnam par shes pa'ang sa 'og ma'i mig la brten pa min te | gong ma'i rnam shes mchog ni 'og ma'i mig la mi brten pa'i phyir | seng ge'i 'o ma rdza la mi brten pa lta bu'o ||*.

beings on] one's own plane [of existence, e.g., the first *dhyāna*] and of the visual faculties of higher planes [of existence, e.g., of the second *dhyāna*]) that have been acquired/realized: The visual faculties/organs of the former plane [of existence, e.g., of the first *dhyāna*] or of [even] lower planes of existence [e.g., of the *kāmadhātu*] cannot perceive the visual objects of a higher plane of existence [e.g., of the second *dhyāna*,] since visual faculties [of the lower planes of existence] are suitable only for [perceiving] the grosser visual objects and since visual objects of the higher [planes of existence] are subtler. Also, the visual perceptions of the higher planes [of existence] are not dependent on the visual faculties of the lower planes [of existence,] inasmuch as the superior visual perceptions of the higher [planes of existence] do not rely on the visual faculties of the lower [planes of existence,] just as a lioness's milk does not rely on a clay pot [as its receptacle].

It remains to be seen whether the employment of the analogy of a lioness's milk not depending on earthenware as its support is Karma pa Mi bskyod rdo rje's own or whether he drew it from an earlier Indian or Tibetan Abhidharmic source. At any rate, the message conveyed by the analogy seems to be clear: A superior visual perception cannot have an inferior visual organ as its support, just as superior content (e.g., lioness's milk) cannot be held by an inferior container (e.g., clay pot).

### Lioness's Milk in Buddhist Sūtric Scriptures

The *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra* is full of metaphors or similes. A great deal of these have been used to illustrate the nature, function, and significance of *bodhicitta*. The milk of a lioness, too, has been employed there as follows:<sup>48</sup>

48 *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra* (Suzuki & Idzumi 1949: 503.14–19): *tadyathā kulaputra goma-hiṣyajākṣīrapūrṇamahāsamudre* [V; °dra SU] *ekasimhadugdhabinduprakṣepeṇa sarvakṣīrānyapakrāmantinasamdhayati* | *evamevakalpaśatasahasrasamcittaḥkarmakleśakṣīramahāsamudrah tathāgatamahāpuruṣasimhasarvajñātācittotpādādugdhaikabinduprakṣepeṇa sarvo* 'navaśeṣaḥ kṣayaṃ gacchanti sarvaśrāvakaḥpratyekabuddhāvīmuktayaś ca na samtiṣṭhante na samdarśayanti |; Tib. T, Phal chen, vol. Cha, fol. 153a5–b1; P, Phal chen, vol. Hi, fol. 212a1–4: *rigs kyi bu 'di lta ste | dper na rgya mtsho chen por* [P; po T] *ba dang | ma he dang | ra'i 'o mas yongs su gang ba'i nang du seng ge'i 'o ma thigs gcig blugs pas 'o ma de dag* [P; om. T] *thams cad 'gyes par 'gyur te 'dur mi btub bo || de bzhin du bskal pa brgya phrag stong du bsags pa'i nyon mongs pa*

O son of a noble family, it is as follows: Putting a single drop of milk of a lioness (*siṃhadugdha* = *siṃhīdugdha* = *siṃhīpaya*: *seng ge'i 'o ma*) in an ocean filled with milk (or thickened milk) of cows, of buffaloes, and of goats would spoil [the latter] and [one] could not churn [it]. Similarly, if a single drop of the milk of a great lion, a *tathāgata*, a great being—[milk] consisting of the generation of the resolve to [attain a *buddha*'s] omniscience—is put in the great ocean of milk consisting of the cognitional-emotional defilements and impulses of volitional actions that have accumulated for hundreds and thousands of eons, all would be laid waste to completely, [and] the salvific release of all the *śrāvakas* and *pratyekabuddhas* would not prevail, would not be sustained.

This passage is cited in the *Sūtrasamuccaya* ascribed to Nāgārjuna.<sup>49</sup> Noteworthy for our present context is that it is not the suitability of the vessel that is accentuated here but rather the special quality of the milk of a lioness and its ability to spoil all other kinds of milk.

sTag tshang lo tsā ba Shes rab rin chen (b. 1405) cites seven lines of verse alluding to the idea of the milk of a white lioness, and the source is said to be the *Tathāgatācintyaguhyanirdeśasūtra*. This Sūtric scripture in Tibetan translation, however, does not seem to contain such lines, and the source indication seems questionable. Nonetheless, the lines, which are of interest for the present context, are as follows:<sup>50</sup>

*kun gyi 'o ma'i rgya mtshor yang de bzhin gshegs pa skyes bu'i seng ge chen po'i thams cad mkhyen pa nyid du sems bskyed [T; om. P] pa'i 'o ma thigs pa gcig blugs pas thams cad ma lus par zad par 'gyur te | nyan thos dang rang sangs rgyas thams cad kyi rnam par thar pa rnams kyang mi gnas mi 'du'o ||*

49 Nāgārjuna (ascribed), *Sūtrasamuccaya* (Pāsādika 1989: 18.10–20): *rigs kyi bu 'di lta ste | dper na rgya mtsho chen po ba dang | ma he dang ra'i 'o mas yongs su gang ba'i nang du seng ge'i 'o ma thigs pa gcig blugs pas 'o ma de dag thams cad 'gyes par 'gyur te | 'dur mi btub bol | de bzhin du bskal pa brjod du med pa brgya stong du bsags pa'i las dang nyon mongs pa kun gyi 'o ma'i rgya mtshor yang de bzhin gshegs pa skyes bu'i seng ge chen po'i thams cad mkhyen pa nyid du sems bskyed pa'i 'o ma'i thigs pa gcig blugs pas de thams cad ma lus pa zad par 'gyur tel nyan thos dang rang sangs rgyas thams cad kyi rnam par thar pa rnams kyang mi gnas mi 'du'o ||*

50 sTag tshang lo tsā ba, *dBang don gsal byed*, p. 324.12–16: *gsang ba bsam gyis mi khyab pa'i mdo las kyang | sengge dkar mo'i 'o ma de || rin chen snod du ma gtogs pa || snod ngan khams [= kham] sa'i nang blug na || snod kyang chag la 'o ma 'bo | | de bzhin snod ngan gang zag la || zab mo'i gdam pa stan [= bstan] gyur na || don mi go la log lta skye || zhes gsungs |.*

Instead of [pouring it into] a vessel made of precious material,  
 If a white lioness's milk  
 Is poured into a base vessel [made of] clay (*mṛd: kham sa = kham pa*),  
 The vessel would break and the milk would be spilt.  
 Similarly, if profound instructions  
 Are taught to persons who are base vessels,  
 The content would not be understood and false views would arise.

### Lioness's Milk in Buddhist Tantric Scriptures

One of the popular sources used by Tibetan scholars to exploit the idea that a lioness's milk should not be put in earthenware is the *Vajramālātantra*, which is regarded as an explanatory Tantric scripture (*vyākhyātantra: bshad pa'i rgyud*) of the *Guhyasamājantra*. It states:<sup>51</sup>

For example, lioness's milk  
 Should not be put in an earthen vessel.  
 Similarly, [this] *mahāyogatantra*  
 Should not be given to those who are not [appropriate] receptacles.  
 [If given], the disciple would die instantaneously.  
 [The disciple] would be ruined in this life and in the beyond.  
 If quintessential instructions are given to those who are not [appropriate] receptacles,  
 The teacher[']s accomplishments [too] would come to ruin.

These lines have been cited by several Tibetan scholars, but I forego discussion of them here. The idea that the milk of a lioness can only be poured into a container made of gold is found also in the larger eighty-chapter *\*Guhyagarbhatantra* (aka the *sGyu 'phrul brgyad cu pa*), a Mahāyoga Tantric scripture of the rNying ma school of Tibetan Buddhism. It states:<sup>52</sup>

51 *Vajramālātantra*, T, rGyud, vol. Ca, fol. 247a4–5; P, rGyud, vol. Ca, fol. 233a2–3: *ji ltar seng ge'i 'o ma ni || sa yi snod du gzhag [T; bzhag P] mi bya || de bzhin rnal 'byor chen po'i rgyud || snod min dag la sbyin mi bya || slob ma skad cig de la 'chi || 'di dang pha rol tu ni phung || snod min man ngag rab bshad na || slob dpon dngos grub nyams par 'gyur ||*

52 *\*Guhyagarbhatantra* (in 80 Chapters), D, rNying rgyud, vol. Kha, fol. 298b6; P, rGyud, vol. Wa, fol. 299b5–6: *dper na seng ge'i 'o ma ni || gser gyi physis bus 'dzin 'gyur gyi || snod gzhan dag tu blugs pa ni || snod kyang 'chag [D; chag P] la 'o ma'ang*

For example, the milk of a lioness can only be held by a container (*phyis bu = snod spyad*) made of gold. If [it is] poured into other vessels, not only would the vessels break but the milk, too, would be spilled.

According to the *Vajramālātantra*, as we have seen above, an example of “other vessels” (made of base materials) would be “earthenware” (*sa yi snod*).

The trope is again found in the principal Anuyoga Tantric scripture of the rNying ma school called the \**Vajravṛyūhatantra* (*rDo rje bkod pa'i rgyud*) aka the *Kun 'dus rig pa'i mdo*, of which there are two versions, a longer version in seventy-five chapters (P 452; D 829) and a shorter version in thirty-three chapters (P454; D 831). According to the longer version, “the pure milk of a lioness should not be poured into a vessel that is not of gold.”<sup>53</sup> What is perhaps noteworthy is the phraseology “a vessel that is not of gold” (*gser snod ma yin*), the Sanskrit parallel (i.e. *asvarṇa-bhājana*) of which we have seen above in the Jaina context.

These and other verse lines are also cited—without, however, specifying the source but simply preceded by the phrase “in the following manner” (*ji skad du*)—in the *Sarvasamayasaṃgraha* ascribed to \*Adhīśa (commonly spelled \*Atiśa).<sup>54</sup> The shorter version of the \**Vajravṛyūhatantra* also alludes to the milk of a lioness, namely, that “the pure milk of a lioness should not be poured into a vessel that contains poison.”<sup>55</sup> These lines were cited by Rong zom pa in the eleventh century.<sup>56</sup>

We even find two Tantric scriptures, for example, in the mTshams brag edition of the *rNying ma rgyud 'bum*, one bearing the title *Seng ge 'o ma'i rgyud*, which is presumably a six-chapter basic *tantra* (*mūlatantra*:

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'bo [D; bo P] ||.

53 \**Vajravṛyūhatantra* (in 75 Chapters), P, rGyud, vol. Dza, fol. 243b7; D, rNying rgyud, vol. Ka, fol. 256a5: *seng ge dkar mo'i 'o ma dag* || *gser snod ma yin blugs mi bya* ||.

54 \*Adhīśa, *Sarvasamayasaṃgraha*, P, rGyud 'grel, vol. Nu, fol. 255a8–b1; D, rGyud, vol. Tshu, fol. 45a7–b1: *seng ge dkar mo'i 'o ma dag* || *gser snod ma yin blug* [P; *blugs D*] *mi bya* ||. See also the *A ti sha'i gsung 'bum*, p. 1107.14.

55 \**Vajravṛyūhatantra* (in 33 Chapters), P, rGyud, vol. Wa, fol. 4ob6; D, rNying rgyud, vol. Kha, 41b3–4: *seng ge dkar mo'i 'o ma dag* || *dug can snod du blug pa min* ||.

56 Rong zom pa, *Dam tshig mdo rgyas*, p. 362.3–4: *seng ge dkar mo'i 'o ma dag* || *dug can snod du blug pa min* ||.

*rtsa ba'i rgyud*), and the other *Seng ge 'o ma'i rgyud phyi ma*, which is a sixteen-chapter subsequent *tantra* (*uttaratantra: rgyud phyi ma*). The chapters are very short. Of the three types of Tantric scripture proposed by Orna Almogi,<sup>57</sup> namely, Indic, Indic-Tibetic, and Tibetic, these two Tantric scriptures seem to belong to the third type. Although the main titles and the chapter titles explicitly contain the component *Seng ge 'o ma'i rgyud*, the texts themselves make no reference to the milk of a lioness with one exception: the sixteenth and the final chapter of the *Seng ge 'o ma'i rgyud phyi ma*<sup>58</sup> explains that “lion” means “extreme rarity” (*rab tu dkon [pa]*) and “milk” means “essence” (*bcud*).

Karma gling pa (b. 1326), in an initiation manual, cites a verse containing the analogy of a lioness's milk. Obviously, this manual is to be considered a normally composed work and not a revelation. The source of the verse is specified as one *rTsal chen rdzogs pa'i rgyud*. Two possible candidates that come to mind are the *Seng ge rtsal rdzogs chen po'i rgyud*, one of the seventeen Tantric scriptures of the Man ngag sde cycle of rDzogs chen teachings, and the *Yon tan rtsal chen rdzogs pa'i rgyud*<sup>59</sup> or *Byang chub sems rtsal chen gyi rgyud* transmitted in the *rNying ma rgyud 'bum*, but such a verse does not seem to be found in these scriptures. Nonetheless the verse found in Karma gling pa's empowerment manual is as follows:<sup>60</sup>

57 Almogi 2019: 9, 11–22 (in particular), 21.

58 *Seng ge 'o ma'i rgyud phyi ma*, vol. La, p. 491.4–6: *de nas rgyud 'di gtad pa ni || seng ge zhes pa rab tu dkon || 'o ma zhes pa bcud yin te || 'jig rten 'dir 'byung ba rab tu dkon || de las byung ba'i chos 'di ni || tshangs pa bya byin khyod la gtad || nyin kun snying gyer khyod la gtad || brjed bya srog gcod khyed la gtad || drag po las sdud khyod la gtad || seng ge 'o ma'i rgyud 'di khyod la gtad ||*

59 The title *Yon tan rtsal chen rdzogs pa'i rgyud* occurs in Kapstein 2018: 116, 124 as one of the five rDzogs chen Tantric scriptures belonging to the “King's Cycle” (*rgyal po'i skor*). And it has been identified with the *Byang chub sems rtsal chen gyi rgyud* transmitted in the *rNying ma rgyud 'bum*.

60 Karma gling pa, *Puñ ḍa rī ka'i do shal*, fol. 11a5–b5: *khyed rang la ye shes pa phab pa'i don ni | rtsal rdzogs chen po'i rgyud las | gsang sngags seng ge'i 'o ma 'dra || rin chen gser snod ma lags pas || snod gzhan phal par blug gyur na || snod kyang chag la bcud kyang zag | snod bcud gnyis ka ma rang 'gyur || zhes gsungs pas rgyud kyi nyon mongs pa ma sbyang bar gsang sngags zab mo'i dbang bskur du mi rung zhing bskur yang mi chags pas | ye gdod ma nas snod gzhal yas khang dang bcud yi dam gyi lha tshogs rtog tshogs chos nyid kyi rol par gnas pa yin te | de ltar ma shes pa'i gang zag la yin tshul ngo sprod pa'i phyir dam tshig ye shes gnyis med du rgyas gdab pa ni ye shes pa dbab pa yin pas dmigs pa 'di bzhin du mdzod |*

Mantra[yāna] teachings are a like a lioness's milk.  
 If, there being no precious golden vessel,  
 [They] are poured into other, ordinary vessels,  
 The vessels would break and the content would spill out.  
 Both the container and the content would be ruined.

The *Dohāvṛtti*, a collection of *dohas* attributed to the eighty-four *mahāsiddhas* and commentaries on them, was compiled by 'Jam dbyangs mKhyen brtse'i dbang po (1820–1892) and 'Jam dbyangs Blo gter dbang po (1847–1914). At the end of a rather complicated textual history, it was included in the fourteen-volume *sGrub thabs kun btus*, a collection of various practice manuals, where it cites the following verse from a certain *bKod pa rgyal po'i rgyud* (\**Vyūharājatantra*):<sup>61</sup>

Lioness's milk-like [instructions]  
 [Are absorbed] into fortunate/worthy receptacles—  
 Into jewel-like receptacles,  
 Just like rain being absorbed into (i.e., 'striking'?) stones.

Obviously, something is amiss here. The comparison is forced and we are dealing with mixed similes. And one would think that the analogy of rain and stones actually expresses the opposite, namely, the imperiousness of the disciple to absorbing the teachings. Interestingly, the version of the *Dohāvṛtti* transmitted in the Peking *bsTan 'gyur* does not contain this analogy of a lioness's milk. Instead it refers to the analogy of the Nāga king bringing down (timely) rain.<sup>62</sup> Thus the present verse seems to have been added later. At any rate, the image of rain seeping into rocks is intended here positively and not as a counterexample.

61 Abhayaśrī, *Dohāvṛtti* in the *sGrub thabs kun btus*, vol. 14 (Shri), pp. 221.7–222.1: *bkod pa rgyal pa'i rgyud nas 'di skad bshad || seng ge'i 'o ma lta bu ni || rin chen lta bu'i snod du ni || skal ba can gyi snod dag la || rdo la char bzhin rab tu thim || zhes bshad do ||*. See also the same work transmitted in the Peking xylographic edition of the *bsTan 'gyur* (not found in the sDe dge edition) and the section on Sakara, the *rNal 'byor pa sa ka ra'i rtogs brjod dang 'grel pa*, in the *Dohāvṛtti*, P, rGyud 'grel, vol. Lu, fol. 107a2–b5. The latter edition does not contain our verse dealing with lioness's milk, which begs the question regarding the exact relationship between the two versions of what is seemingly the same work.

62 Abhayaśrī, *Dohāvṛtti*, P, rGyud 'grel, vol. Lu, fol. 107b5: *char phab pa ni rten gyi gang zag gong ma rnam la klu rgyal gyi dpe ltar bur phab pa'o ||*.



### Lioness's Milk in Modern Tibetan Poetical Literature

As one would say in Tibetan, “merely in order not to leave the outline blank” (*sa bcad ma stong tsam du*), I would like to mention an example of a reference to lioness's milk in modern Tibetan poetry.<sup>63</sup> The expression “lioness's milk” (*seng ge'i 'o ma*) is used in a poem titled *Rong rgyal a grags bris pa* (“Writing Rong rgyal a grags”) composed by The'u rang. Actually, *the'u rang* is a kind of Tibetan goblin, comparable to *ko-bold* of German folklore. But here The'u rang is a penname of bKra shis rab brtan, an author and a publisher from A mdo, and one of the editors of the banned journal *Eastern Snow Mountain*. I cite here a somewhat free English translation of the pertinent stanza provided by Buchung D Sonam:<sup>64</sup>

This old man is a river  
Whose source is the mountains,  
Where the snow lions reside  
Whose milk is white as snow.

The “old man” (*rgad po*) here is Rong rgyal a grags. He is compared to a river originating from the “snow mountains” (*gangs ri*), which, in turn, are described as the “capital or stronghold of lions” (*seng ge'i rgyal sa*). Although the expression “snow lion” does not occur in the Tibetan text, it becomes clear from the context that the lions in question are “snow lions.” Indeed, that is what we see in the English translation. The significance of the poem, however, does not seem to lie so much in the literary aesthetics but more so in the political message, which can best be appreciated at the backdrop of the life of Rong rgyal a grags, the theme of the poem, and of bKra shis rab brtan (alias The'u rang), the poet.<sup>65</sup>

63 I would like to express my thanks to Volker Caumanns for providing me with the source for the section “Lioness's Milk in Modern Tibetan Poetical Literature.”

64 The'u rang, *Rong rgyal a grags bris pa*, p. 152.7–10: *rgad po 'di gtsang po zhid yin | gt-sang po'i mgo khongs gangs rir 'khyil yod | gangs ri ni seng ge'i rgyal sa yin | seng ge'i 'o ma dkar po yin |*. The *shads* are mine. The syntax of the second sentence is somewhat odd. It may be rendered thus: “The source (lit. ‘head’) area/part of the river (i.e., perhaps ‘the river at its source’) meanders around/down the snow mountains.”

65 For some information on bKra shis rab brtan, see Sonam 2017: 31 (in English); on Rong rgyal a grags, see *ibid.*, pp. 50–51 (in English), 152 (in Tibetan).

## Concluding Remarks

What I attempted to do in this article is to examine how lioness's milk figures in literatures of various cultures. In the case of non-Buddhist or non-Tibetan literatures, I did not aspire to be exhaustive but only to find one or two examples. In the case of Tibetan sources, however, an attempt has been made to be as comprehensive and representative as possible, so as to gain an accurate picture of the matter. While no claim of completeness can be made, I hope to have shown the fascination with lioness's milk in various cultures and how it is reflected in various genres of their literatures. What is most significant throughout is not lioness's milk *per se* but the wide range of figurative uses it gives rise to.

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- Ye she sgron me* = Kun bzang nyi ma (revealed). *Zab gsang rdo rje snying po las | thugs rje chen po dri med padma dkar po'i | lo rgyus rab gsal don gyi snying po ye shes sgron me*. In *Kun bzang nyi ma'i gsung 'bum*. 27 vols. Shar rgyal ba dung dkar dgon: s.n., 2001 (?), vol. 15, pp. 221-231.
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## Shākya mchog ldan's Mahāyāna Tenets System and the Three Wheels of the *dharmā*\*

Kodo Yotsuya  
(Komazawa University, Tokyo)

### I

The Madhyamaka school and the Vijñānavāda school were two dominant religious traditions in Indian Mahāyāna Buddhism. In the 8th century, the great figures of the Madhyamaka school such as Śāntarakṣita (725–784), Kamalaśīla (740–797) and others, who made a great contribution to the introduction of Buddhism into Tibet in the earlier dissemination period (*snga dar*), formed a new school by integrating the thought of the Vijñānavāda school (i.e., the Yogācāra school) into the Madhyamaka system. This is the so-called Yogācāra-Madhyamaka school, which is a branch of the Svātantrika-Madhyamaka school.<sup>1</sup> Here it should be noted that the Yogācāra thought was apparently subordinate to the Madhyamaka thought.

In the later propagation period (*phyi dar*), the Prāsaṅgika-Madhyamaka school took the place of the Svātantrika-Madhyamaka school that flourished in the earlier dissemination period due to the activities of

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1 Concerning the Yogācāra-Madhyamaka school, Matsumoto has drawn attention to a unique and interesting understanding of that school in *Ye shes sde's lTa ba'i khyad par*. As Matsumoto has pointed out, according to *Ye shes sde*, the term "Sūtra (Sautrāntika)" in "Sautrāntika-Madhyamaka" refers to the *Prajñāpāramitāsūtra*, etc., and the term "Yogācāra" in "Yogācāra-Madhyamaka" refers to the *Yogācārabhūmi*. Furthermore, *Ye shes sde* considers the thought of Sautrāntika-Madhyamaka to be superior to the thought of Yogācāra-Madhyamaka, because the former is treated after the latter in that treatise. See Matsumoto 1997: 35–115.

Atiśa (Dīpaṅkaraśrījñāna, 982–1054), sPa tshab Nyi ma grags (born in 1055) and other masters.<sup>2</sup> It was in this historical and doctrinal context in a broad sense that Tsong kha pa Blo bzang grags pa (1357–1419) appeared a few hundred years later. Concerning the classification of the Mahāyāna schools in India, he was relatively faithful to the predecessors of Mahāyāna Buddhism in India, although he presented fairly unique interpretations of Madhyamaka philosophy.

In his *Drang ba dang nges pa'i don rnam par phye ba'i bstan bcos legs bshad snying po* (hereafter *Legs bshad snying po*), for example, Tsong kha pa divides Mahāyāna Buddhism into the Madhyamaka school and the Yogācāra school, and regards Asaṅga (ca. 310–390) as a central figure of the former and Nāgārjuna as a central figure of the latter. As the full title of the treatise shows, in its earlier part Tsong kha pa deals with the problems related to provisional and definitive meaning in the Yogācāra system, and in its latter part he makes systematic and detailed analyses of the same issues in the Madhyamaka system, concluding that the definitive meaning of the Prāsaṅgika-Madhyamaka school represents the real intention of the Buddha.

Tsong kha pa was severely criticized for his original interpretations of Madhyamaka philosophy by numerous Buddhist scholar monks, one of whom was gSer mdog pan chen Shākya mchog ldan (1428–1507). The latter was indeed an illustrious Sa skya pa scholar monk, but unlike his contemporary Go rams pa bSod nams seng ge (1429–1489), Shākya mchog ldan was later not considered to belong to the mainstream of the Sa skya pa tradition.<sup>3</sup>

Remarkably enough, Shākya mchog ldan dissociates the Alīkāravāda (or Anākāravāda, rNam rdzun pa) from the Satyākāravāda (or Sākāravāda, rNam bden pa) and places the Alīkāravāda—in which, according to him, the Madhyamaka thought is synthesized with the thought of the Vijñānavāda—above the received traditional Madhyamaka school, namely the Niḥsvabhāvavāda (the Svātantrika-Madhyamaka and the Prāsaṅgika-Madhyamaka school), rather than below it.<sup>4</sup> He also terms this school “Yogācāra-Madhyamaka (rNal

2 On sPa tshab Nyi ma grags's activities, see Lang 1990.

3 On this issue, see Komarovski 2011: 20, 37–38, and Caumanns 2015: 3–6, 16–19.

4 Komarovski 2011: 140 provides a table which shows two kinds of doxographical subdivisions, namely, “Common Doxographical subdivisions” and “Shakya Chokden's Alternative Doxographical Subdivisions.” According to it, the Niḥ-

'byor spyod pa'i dbu ma),” “Alikākāravāda-Madhyamaka (rNam rdzun dbu ma pa)” or simply “Yogācārin (rNal 'byor spyod pa).” It could be said that Madhyamaka thought and Vijñānavāda (or Yogācāra) thought belong together as if blending into each other in his understanding of the Yogācāra-Madhyamaka system.<sup>5</sup>

Such an eclectic character of Shākya mchog ldan's interpretation can also, as Komarovski points out,<sup>6</sup> be recognized in the so-called Ris med philosophy occurring in 19th century in Tibet. It could be said, therefore, that Shākya mchog ldan is a forerunner of the Ris med movement.<sup>7</sup>

Shākya mchog ldan's unique tenet system which is mentioned above is closely related to the discussion about the provisional and definitive meaning in the framework of the three wheels of the *dharma*. The present essay will therefore be concerned with the problem of how Shākya mchog ldan develops his characteristic view of the Mahāyāna tenet system in connection with the three wheels of the *dharma*.<sup>8</sup>

## II

Shākya mchog ldan makes reference to various sources for the three wheels of the *dharma* in his *dBu ma rnam par nges pa'i chos kyi bang mdzod lung dang rigs pa'i rgya mtsho* (hereafter *dBu ma rnam nges*). Since these sources show us that there are several facets of the three wheels of the *dharma*, it would be useful to examine them in the first place.

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svabhāvavāda (the Svātantrika-Madhyamaka and the Prāsaṅgika-Madhyamaka school) is placed above the Alikākāravāda.

5 Komarovski 2011: 157 describes this situation very clearly: “Shakya Chokden advances on two different but interdependent fronts: reworking the subcategories of Yogācāra, and reworking the subcategories of Madhyamaka, respectively. In the first case, he demonstrates clear differences between Alikākāravāda and Satyākāravāda and explains why Satyākāravāda cannot belong to the Madhyamaka system and Alikākāravāda cannot be subsumed under the category of Cittamātra. In the second case [...] he explains why Alikākāravāda should be treated as a legitimate category of Madhyamaka alongside Niḥsvabhāvavāda.” It should be noted that, in his discussion connected with the Yogācāra-Madhyamaka school, Shākya mchog ldan makes little mention of Śāntarakṣita and Kamalaśīla.

6 Komarovski 2011: 87–88.

7 On the Ris med movement, see Ringu Tulku 2006.

8 I will not touch on the issues relevant to this problem in Shākya mchog ldan's Mantrayāna system, because this is far beyond the scope of the present article.

The three wheels of the *dharma* are usually associated with the *Samḍhinirmocanasūtra*. However, in the first chapter of the *dBu rnam nges* Shākya mchog ldan refers in this respect not only to the *Samḍhinirmocanasūtra*, but also to the *Dhāraṇīśvararājasūtra* and some treatises of Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva. By enumerating those sources, he would probably elucidate that as far as the three wheels of the *dharma* are concerned, those *sūtras* and treatises have some characteristics in common. The most vital of these characteristics might be that both the second and third wheels of the *dharma* have definitive meanings, but only the third wheel of the *dharma* has the *final* definitive meaning, or in other words, that the third wheel of the *dharma* is the supreme teaching.

In the *Samḍhinirmocanasūtra*, as is generally known, it is indicated that the second wheel of the *dharma* belongs to the Madhyamaka school and the third wheel of the *dharma* belongs to the Vijñānavāda school, and both wheels of the *dharma* are obviously conflicting with each other.

The outline of the teaching on the three wheels of the *dharma* in the *Samḍhinirmocanasūtra* is as follows:<sup>9</sup>

	trainee	contents of teaching	provisional or definitive meaning
1st <i>dharma</i> wheel	trainee of the Śrāvakayāna	four noble truths	provisional meaning
2nd <i>dharma</i> wheel	trainee of the Mahāyāna	non-substantiality of all entities	provisional meaning
3rd <i>dharma</i> wheel	trainee of all vehicles	clear distinction between substantiality and non-substantiality of <i>dharma</i> s	definitive meaning

Shākya mchog ldan next quotes the relevant passage from the *Dhāraṇīśvararājasūtra*, which is quoted in the *Ratnagotravibhāga*:

9 SM (in Lamotte 1935: 85).

[The Buddha] who is familiar with the skillful means makes sentient beings feel an aversion to the three realms of existences and leads [them] to *nirvāṇa* by the words 'impermanent,' 'suffering,' 'selflessness' and 'quiescence.' Those who enter into the path of quiescence and think that [they] have attained *nirvāṇa* make them, [i.e., sentient beings], free from the former prejudice by teaching the true doctrine [as stated] in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarikasūtra* and other [scriptures]. And [they], by embracing skillful means and wisdom, make sentient beings mature in the ultimate vehicle and give them predictions about [their attainment] of the highest enlightenment.<sup>10</sup>

Shākya mchog ldan comments on this passage in terms of the three wheels of the *dharma*:

It, [i.e., the *Ratnagotravibhāga*], has explained [the passage of the *Dhāraṇīśvararājasūtra*] by summing up the intention of that *sūtra*. The meaning of it is as follows: The four *dharma* seals have been taught in the first wheel of the *dharma*, three gates to liberation in the second wheel of the *dharma*, and the embryo-essence of the *tathāgata* in the third wheel of the *dharma*. It is exclusively the third wheel of the *dharma* which [has taught] the definitive meaning. If [we would follow] the intention of the *sūtra*, [i.e., the *Dhāraṇīśvararājasūtra*], and the *śāstra*, [i.e., the *Ratnagotravibhāga*], it should be explained in the following way: The second wheel of the *dharma* has taught the non-affirming negation which denies all proliferations, and it is the tentative definitive meaning. The mind which is naturally luminous characterized by such a negation is just the main part of what is to be explained (*bstan bya*) of the last wheel of the *dharma*, and it has just the final definitive meaning. [It] is the *dharma-nature* of the Tathāgata and the embryo-essence of the Tathāgata.<sup>11</sup>

10 BNG ka 3a6–7: *mi rtag sdug bsngal bdag med dang | zhi ba'i sgra yis thabs mkhyen pa | sems can srid gsum skyo bskyed nas | mya ngan 'das la rab 'jug mdzad | zhi ba'i lam la rab zhugs pa | mya ngan 'das thob 'du shes can | dam chos padma dkar la sogs | chos kyi de nyid bstan pa yis | de dag sngar 'dzin las bzlog ste | thabs dang shes rab yongs gzung bas | theg pa mchog la smin mdzad de | byang chub mchog tu lung ston to |*; cf. RGVV, P, phi 123b8–124a2.

11 BNG ka 3b1–4: [...] *des mdo de'i dgongs pa nye bar bsdu te bshad pa yin la | de'i don yang 'khor lo dang por chos kyi sdom bzhi dang | 'khor lo gnyis par rnam par thar pa'i sgo gsum dang | 'khor lo gsum par de bar gshegs pa'i snying po ston par gsungs shing | 'khor lo tha ma nyid nges don gyi 'khor lo yin par gsungs so | mdo de dang bstan bcos*

The outline of Shākya mchog ldan's understanding of the three wheels of the *dharma* in the *Dhāraṇīśvararājasūtra* is as follows:

	contents of teaching	provisional or definitive meaning
1st <i>dharma</i> wheel	four dharma-seals	provisional meaning
2nd <i>dharma</i> wheel	– three gates to liberation – non-affirming negation which denies all proliferations	tentative definitive meaning
3rd <i>dharma</i> wheel	– luminous mind which shines by nature – embryo-essence of the Tathāgata – affirming negation	final definitive meaning

Thus, both in the *Samdhinirmocanasūtra* and in Shākya mchog ldan's understanding of the *Dhāraṇīśvararājasūtra* quoted in the *Ratnagotravibhāga*, the third wheel of the *dharma* has definitive meaning.

Now let us turn our attention to the writings of Nāgārjuna and his spiritual son Āryadeva. In the *dBu ma rnam nges*, Shākya mchog ldan first makes reference to Āryadeva's understanding of the three stages of the *dharma*, i.e., the three wheels of the *dharma*, as stated in the *Catuhśataka*:

He who knows that firstly non-meritorious [deeds] are rejected, and secondly the self is rejected and finally all [views] are rejected is a wise man.<sup>12</sup>

A “wise man” refutes non-meritorious deeds in the first stage and refutes next all non-empty things such as the self (*ātman*, *bdag*) in the second one. Then he refutes finally not only the views that postulate substantial entities but even the views that comprehend emptiness as

*de'i dgongs pa ltar na| 'khor lo bar par ni spros pa'i mtha' thams cad bkag tsam gyi med par dgag pa de nyid bstan la| de yang gnas skabs kyi nges don yin zhing| 'khor lo tha mar ni de ltar bkag pas khyad par du byas pa'i sems rang bzhin gyis 'od gsal ba de nyid bstan bya'i gtso bo yin la| de nyid la nges pa'i don mthar thug pa dang| de bzhin gshegs pa'i chos nyid dang| bde bar gshegs pa'i snying po [...].*

12 BNg ka 3b4–5: *bsod nams min pa dang por bzlog| | bar du bdag ni bzlog pa dang| | tha mar lta zhig kun bzlog pa| | gang gis shes de mkhas pa yin*; cf. CŚ VIII.15 (in Lang 1986: 82–83; D tsha 9b4–5).

well. Although Āryadeva himself does not explicitly mention that this verse is involved with the third wheel of the *dharma*, Shākya mchog ldan seems to understand so.

In addition, it should be kept in mind that this verse could be considered to be especially important for Shākya mchog ldan, because he cites first Āryadeva's writing prior to that of Nāgārjuna, who is the founder of the Madhyamaka school and Āryadeva's master, and, moreover, Shākya mchog ldan often quotes it in various other discussions.

Next, Shākya mchog ldan adduces three sources for the three wheels of the *dharma* from Nāgārjuna's writings. In those sources, however, Nāgārjuna does not clearly state how many wheels of the *dharma* the Buddha (or Buddhas) has turned in each sermon. In the *Ratnāvalī*, for example, the Buddha is supposed to have proclaimed five sorts of teachings in response to the requirements of the audiences:

When a grammarian teaches a language, he would [first] make [his students] read the alphabet. Likewise, the Buddha would [also] give sentient beings the teachings to the extent that they could understand: To some [beings] [he] has preached the teachings in order to prevent [them] from committing a misdeed; to some [beings] he has done so as to make [them] accumulate merit; to some [beings] he has preached based on duality; to some [beings] he has done based on non-duality; [to some beings] he has given the teachings which are profound and of which a suspicious man is full of fear when he has heard; to some [beings] he has given the teachings of emptiness and compassion, which lead [them] to enlightenment.<sup>13</sup>

These verses show more or less that the Buddha has progressively taught his teachings, but it is not clear how they are related to the three wheels of the *dharma*.

13 RV IV.94–96 (as quoted in BNg ka 3b5–7): *brda sprod pa dag ji lta bur | yi ge phyi mo klog 'jug ltar | de bzhin sangs rgyas sems can la | ji tsaṃ bzod pa'i chos ston to | kha cig la ni sdig pa las | rnam par bzlog phyir chos ston to | kha cig bsod nams 'grub bya'i phyir | kha cig la ni gnyis brten pa | kha cig la ni gnyis mi brten | zab mo 'khu 'phrags can 'jigs pa | stong nyid snying rje'i snying po can | byang chub sgrub pa kha cig la'o*; cf. Hahn 1982: 129–131. On these verses, see also Hopkins 1998: 147.

Shākya mchog ldan quotes then two verses from the *Mūlamadhyama-kakārikā*, one of which is as follows:

The Buddhas have [first] taught the self, and then have proclaimed that there is no self, and have finally denied any view that asserts that there is the self or that there is no self.<sup>14</sup>

As with the verse of the *Catuḥśataka*, it is hardly difficult to associate this verse with the three wheels of the *dharma*. Nāgārjuna points out here that, like both *sūtras* mentioned above, the Buddhas have progressively given three kinds of teachings. That is, the Buddhas have first taught that there is the self and next that there is no self. And they have finally denied any pair of dichotomic doctrinal views such as the self and selflessness, etc.<sup>15</sup>

The other verse to which Shākya mchog ldan refers is:

The Buddhas have taught “All is true,” “All is not true,” “All is both true and not true,” “All is neither true nor not true.”<sup>16</sup>

It is needless to say that this verse shows that the Buddhas are supposed to have proclaimed four kinds of teachings in stages based on the typical four conceivable alternatives (*catuḥkoṭi*). However, as far as I see, there is no commentary which links this verse with the three wheels of the *dharma*.

### III

It seems to be very helpful to try to apprehend the following two terms, *bstan bya* and *brjod bya*, when one wishes to explore the issues involved with provisional and definitive meaning especially in Shākya mchog

14 MMK XVIII.6 (as quoted in BNg ka 3b7–3b1): *bdag go zhes kyang btags gyur zhing|| bdag med ces kyang bstan par gyur|| sangs rgyas rnams kyi bdag dang ni|| bdag med 'ga' med ces kyang bstan*; cf. de Jong 1977: 24; D tsa 11a1–2.

15 Concerning this verse, many commentators agree on the point that there are two ways of rendering it. In his *lTa ngan mun sel (Zab mo stong pa nyid kyi lta ba la log rtog 'gog par byed pa'i bstan bcos lta ngan pa'i mun sel)*, Sera rje btsun Chos kyi rgyal mtshan (1469–1544) criticizes Shākya mchog ldan who interpreted this verse as being concerned with the Buddha's wheels of the *dharma*.

16 MMK XVIII.8 (as quoted in BNg ka 4a1): *thams cad yang dag yang dag min|| yang dag yang dag ma yin nyid|| yang dag min min yang dag min|| de ni sangs rgyas rjes bstan pa'o*; cf. de Jong 1977: 25; D tsa 11a2–3.



ldan's philosophical system. Regarding these terms, he briefly explains:

The main part of what is to be explained (*bstan bya'i gtso bo*), [i.e., the content of teaching], means the main part of what is intended (*zhe 'dod kyi gtso bo*), whereas what is to be expressed (*brjod bya*) is exclusively what is explicitly [expressed] or what is assumed to be expressed (*dnegos dang zhen pa'i brjod bya*).<sup>17</sup>

On the one hand, what is to be explained (*bstan bya*) is that which a speaker would say in his mind. On the other hand, what is to be expressed (*brjod bya*) is that which a speaker actually says or that which he is assumed to actually express (*zhen pa'i brjod bya*).

Shākya mchog ldan further illustrates the difference of these two terms:

That being so, that which is to be expressed (*brjod bya*) and not to be explained (*bstan bya*) [can] be [illustrated as follows]: For example, it should be considered that [the statement] "There is a self" (*bdag yod pa*) is that which is not to be explained (*bstan bya*) but to be expressed (*brjod bya*) in a *sūtra* which is assumed to have said "There is a self."<sup>18</sup>

That is to say that a *sūtra* which is assumed to have said "There is a self," actually expresses that there is a self, but it implies that that there is no self.

Shākya mchog ldan continues:

Therefore, it is determined from the view point of what is to be expressed (*brjod bya*) whether or not [a statement of a *sūtra* should] be literally understood, whereas the criterion (*'jog mtshams*) for [discerning whether a statement of a *sūtra* has] provisional meaning or definitive meaning is [explained as follows]: it is in terms of the main part of what is to be explained (*bstan bya'i gtso bo*) to distinguish [between provisional and definitive meaning].<sup>19</sup>

17 BNg ka 16a1: *bstan bya'i gtso bo ni zhe 'dod kyi gtso bo la bya la| brjod bya ni dnegos dang zhen pa'i brjod bya gang rung kho na'o||*.

18 BNg ka 16a1-2: *de ltar na[|] brjod bya yin la bstan bya ma yin pa ni| bdag yod pa de bdag yod do zhes pa'i mdo'i zhen pa'i brjod byar bzhang dgos pa lta bu'o||*.

19 BNg ka 16a2-3: *de'i phyir sgra ji bzhin pa yin min ni brjod bya'i ngos nas bzhang la| drang nges kyi 'jog mtshams ni| bstan bya'i don gyi gtso bo las rnam par phye ba yin no|*.

There are two points that we have to take into account in order to explore how Shākya mchog ldan treats the problem of provisional and definitive meaning. The first one is whether or not a statement of a *sūtra* should be understood literally, and the second one is—as will be shown soon below—whether it is concerned with conventional or ultimate truth. Shākya mchog ldan is of the opinion that although the first point is certainly important when one distinguishes between provisional and definitive meaning, its decision depends ultimately on the second point. In other words, the second point is the more vital for Shākya mchog ldan, because he considers that its decision should have to be finally made according to whether or not it is concerned with conventional or ultimate truth, not whether or not a statement of a *sūtra* should be understood literally.

In the *Legs bshad snying po*, as mentioned before, Tsong kha pa also discusses the same issue. He discusses the problem of provisional and definitive meaning from the standpoint of the Vijñānavāda school and that of the Madhyamaka school respectively. According to him, the Vijñānavāda school, on the one hand, takes the view that if a statement of a *sūtra* should not be understood literally, it has provisional meaning and otherwise it has definitive meaning. On the other hand, the Madhyamaka school holds the opinion that a statement which presents conventional truth has provisional meaning, whereas a statement which presents ultimate truth has definitive meaning.<sup>20</sup>

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20 In the *dBu ma rnam nges*, Shākya mchog ldan clearly depicts Tsong kha pa's standpoint on this issue: "As to the traditions of the two great chariots discerning the provisional meaning and the definitive meaning, there are only two distinctive manners. Those [can be explained] as follows: Asaṅga and his brother [Vasubandhu] explain that, as far as those meanings of those *sūtras* are concerned, the explicit meaning [of a *sūtra* which] should be explained literally is [the definitive meaning], and [the explicit meaning of a *sūtra* which] should not be explained literally is [the provisional meaning]. This [tradition of interpretation] is based on the *Samḍhinirmoanasūtra*. Father Nāgārjuna and his [spiritual] son, [i.e., Āryadeva], expound that a *sūtra*, the main part of the contents (*brjod bya*) of which is concerned with the conventional truth, is that [i.e., the provisional meaning], and [a *sūtra*, the main part of the contents] of which is concerned with the ultimate truth, is that, [i.e., the definitive meaning]. This [tradition of interpretation] is based on the *Akṣayamatinirdeśasūtra* and the *Samādhirājasūtra*." See BNg ka 9a4–6: *shing rta'i srol 'byed chen po gnyis kyi drang nges kyi srol 'byed tshul ni mi 'dra ba gnyis kho na yin te | de yang 'di ltar | thogs med sku mched kyis ni | mdo de*

Now let us turn to first look at how Shākya mchog ldan understands *sūtras* of provisional meaning and those of definitive meaning. He first defines *sūtras* of provisional meaning as those that teach conventional truth:

That being so, the definition of the scriptures of the provisional meaning is: the scriptures in which the specific content of teaching (*bstan bya*), i.e., the conventional truth, is taught as the main part of the provisional content of teaching to the specific trainee, for whom the provisional conventional truth should be mainly taught.<sup>21</sup>

Shākya mchog ldan defines in turn *sūtras* of definitive meaning:

The definition of scriptures of the definite meaning is as follows: scriptures in which the specific content of teaching (*bstan bya*), i.e., the tentative ultimate truth and the final ultimate truth, is taught as the main part of the content of teaching to the specific trainee who is suitable to the ultimate truth's being taught.<sup>22</sup>

In contrast to *sūtras* of provisional meaning, he holds that *sūtras* of

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*dang de'i dngos bstan gyi don de dang de sgra ji bzhin du bshad du rung ba dang mi rung ba la 'chad la| de yang dngos pa nges par 'grel ba'i mdo la brten pa'o|| klu sgrub yab sras kyi ni kun rdzob dang don dam pa'i bden pa dngos bstan gyi brjod bya'i gtso bor ston pa la de dang de'i don du 'chad do|| de yang blo gros mi zad pa bstan pa'i mdo dang| ting nge 'dzin rgyal po'i mdo la brten pa'o||*

Shākya mchog ldan criticizes Tsong kha pa, because he thinks that there are some cases where the Vijñānavāda school discerns whether a statement of a *sūtra* has provisional or definitive meaning in terms of whether it is concerned with conventional or ultimate truth, and the Mādhyamika school does so in terms of whether it should be understood literally or not. For example, Shākya mchog ldan refers to the discussion in the *Madhyamākavatāra* in which Candrakīrti regards the *ālayavijñāna*, etc. as having provisional meaning. According to Tsong kha pa's interpretation, Candrakīrti would absurdly accept the *ālayavijñāna*, etc. conventionally, because the provisional meaning must be involved with the conventional meaning; see BNg ka 10a3–4; MA (in La Vallée Poussin 1970: 194–198).

21 BNg ka 15b1–2: *de ltar na| drang ba'i don can gyi gsung rab kyi mtshan nyid ni| gdul bya'i khyad par gnas skabs kun rdzob kyi bden pa gtso bor ston dgos pa'i gdul bya la| bstan bya'i khyad par kun rdzob kyi bden pa nyid gnas skabs kyi bstan bya'i gtso bor ston pa'i gsung rab bo||*

22 BNg ka 15b2–3: *nges pa'i don can gyi gsung rab kyi mtshan nyid ni| gdul bya'i khyad par don dam pa'i bden pa ston pa skabs su bab pa'i gdul bya la bstan bya'i khyad par don dam pa nyid gnas skabs dang mthar thug gi bstan bya'i gtso bor byas nas ston pa'i gsung rab'o||*

definitive meaning are those that teach ultimate truth.

Furthermore, Shākya mchog ldan divides *sūtras* of provisional meaning and *sūtras* of definitive meaning into two categories respectively:

Concerning [both those kinds of *sūtras*, i.e., *sūtras* of provisional meaning and *sūtras* of definitive meaning], there are also two types respectively: [*sūtras* which] should [be understood] literally and [*sūtras* which] should not [be understood] literally.<sup>23</sup>

With respect to *sūtras* of provisional meaning, there are two types, that is, *sūtras* of provisional meaning that should be understood literally and those that should not be understood so. Similarly, with respect to *sūtras* of definitive meaning, there are two types, that is, *sūtras* of definitive meaning that should be understood literally and those that should not be understood so.

Furthermore, Shākya mchog ldan subdivides *sūtras* of provisional meaning that should not be understood literally in the following way:

With respect to the second [type], [i.e., *sūtras* of provisional meaning that should] not be understood literally, there are [also] two types: [*sūtras* of provisional meaning that should be understood literally with a purport, and *sūtras* of provisional meaning that should be understood literally without a purport]. And ...<sup>24</sup>

Thus, concerning *sūtras* of provisional meaning that should not be understood literally, there are also two types; *sūtras* of provisional meaning that should not be understood literally and have a purport, and *sūtras* which do not have a purport. Here “purport” (*dgongs pa*) probably means the real intention of the speaker which is not explicitly presented by him.

And the same holds also true for *sūtras* of definitive meaning that should not be understood literally. Shākya mchog ldan states:

With respect to the second [type], [that is, *sūtras* of] definitive meaning that should not be understood literally, there are two types: [*sūtras* of definitive meaning that should not be understood literally]

23 BNg ka 15b3–4: *de re re la'ang gnyis gnyis tel sgra ji bzhin pa dang ji bzhin pa ma yin pa'o||*.

24 BNg ka 15b4: *gnyis pa sgra ji bzhin pa ma yin pa la [...]*.

with a purport and [*sūtras* of definitive meaning that should not be understood literally] without a purport.<sup>25</sup>

Concerning *sūtras* of definitive meaning that should not be understood literally, there are also two types: *sūtras* of definitive meaning that should not be understood literally and have a purport, and *sūtras* which do not have it.

A rough outline of what has been mentioned above is given below:

1. *sūtras* of provisional meaning (= *sūtras* that explain the conventional truth)
  - 1-1. those which should be understood literally
  - 1-2. those which should not be understood literally
    - 1-2-1. those which should not be understood literally with a purport
    - 1-2-2. those which should not be understood literally without a purport
2. *sūtras* of definitive meaning (= *sūtras* that explain tentatively or finally the ultimate truth)
  - 2-1. those which should be understood literally
  - 2-2. those which should not be understood literally
    - 2-2-1. those which should not be understood literally with a purport
    - 2-2-2. those which should not be understood literally without a purport

In the *dBu ma rnam nges*, Shākya mchog ldan classifies the scriptures into the following four types: 1) genuine provisional meaning (*drang don gyi drang don*), 2) tentative provisional meaning (*drang don gyi nges don*), 3) tentative definitive meaning (*nges don gyi drang don*), 4) final definitive meaning (*nges don gyi nges don*).<sup>26</sup> Thus, the following could be said: *sūtras* of provisional meaning that should not be understood literally belong to type 1); *sūtras* of provisional meaning that should be understood literally belong to type 2); *sūtras* of definitive meaning that should not be understood literally belong to type 3); and *sūtras* of definitive meaning that should be understood literally belong to type 4).

25 BNg ka 15b4: *phyi ma de re re la yang gnyis gnyis te| dgongs pa can dang| dgongs pa can ma yin pa'o||*.

26 BNg ka 16a5–6.

## IV

In Tibet, a large number of doxographical texts have been composed. The *Grub pa'i mtha'i rnam par bzhag pa gsal bar bshad pa thub bstan lhun po'i mdzes rgyan* (hereafter *Grub mtha' rnam bzhag*) of the Mongolian scholar lCang skya Rol pa'i rdo rje (1717–1786) is one of those texts, which is highly systematized and rich in significance. Broadly speaking, the *Grub mtha' rnam bzhag* is, like other doxographical texts, divided into two parts: The first part deals with non-Buddhist philosophy and the second part with Buddhist philosophy. As for Buddhist philosophy, lCang skya discusses the tenets of four schools, namely Vaibhāṣika (Bye brag smra ba), Sautrāntika (mDo sde pa), Vijñaptimātravāda (rNam par rigs pa tsam smra ba; i.e., Vijñānavāda) and the non-substantialist Madhyamaka (Ngo bo med par smra ba'i dbu ma pa). He further subdivides the Madhyamaka school into the Svātantrika-Madhyamaka and the Prāsaṅgika-Madhyamaka schools. He deals with these two Madhyamaka schools successively and claims that the Yogācāra-Madhyamaka school belongs to the former.

In the doxographical literature, there is a well-known convention that the author addresses the different tenets in order of increasing importance, addressing the tenet he considers least important first, and leaving the most important tenet for last. Therefore, since lCang skya analyzes the Madhyamaka system after the Vijñānavāda system, for him the former is superior to the latter. Shākya mchog ldan, however, would disagree with lCang skya on this very point. More precisely, although they both agree that the Vijñānavāda school is next in rank to the Madhyamaka school and the latter is called “Non-substantialist” (Ngo bo nyid med par smra ba, Niḥsvabhāvavāda),<sup>27</sup> Shākya mchog ldan holds that there is a school above the Madhyamaka school in rank, which is syncretic of the Madhyamaka and the Vijñānavāda schools. As mentioned before, he calls this school the “Yogācāra school” or the “Yogācāra-Madhyamaka school,” which could be more or less identified with the Alikākāravāda of the traditional Vijñānavāda system. For Shākya mchog ldan, this Yogācāra-Madhyamaka school is obviously

27 For lCang skya, “dbu ma pa” and “Ngo bo nyid med par smra ba” are synonymous. Shākya mchog ldan however differentiates them from each other.

superior to the Non-substantialist school, although he holds both those schools to be the Great Madhyamaka (dBu ma chen po).<sup>28</sup>

Shākya mchog ldan differentiates these two schools in the following way: the teaching of the Non-substantialist school pertains to the second wheel of the *dharma*, whereas that of the Yogācāra-Madhyamaka school pertains to the third wheel of the *dharma*. The Non-substantialist school asserts the self-emptiness (*rang stong*) and maintains that the negation they apply is a non-propositional negation (*med dgag, prasajya-pratiṣedha*). Therefore, they think that it is essential to merely deny the object of negation such as proliferations (*sprod pa, prapañca*) through analyses based on learning and reflecting. Furthermore, this process consists of two stages: At the first stage, the substantial entity is denied by reasoning (*rigs [pa], yukti*). At the second stage, even the non-existence of the substantial entity as well as the substantial entity is denied by reasoning. In contrast, the Yogācāra-Madhyamaka school expounds the other-emptiness (*gzhan stong*) and the negation that school applies is a propositional negation (*min dgag, paryudāsa*). It postulates the specific consciousness of the dharma-realm (*chos kyi dbyings, dharmadhātu*) characterized by negating the duality of the cognizer and the cognized. In other words, that consciousness is positively postulated as the emptiness that is to be experienced during the meditative practice.

Again, according to Shākya mchog ldan, the emptiness asserted by the Non-substantialist school demonstrates its ability exclusively in denying proliferations, while the emptiness asserted by the Yogācāra-Madhyamaka school, i.e., the emptiness endowed with all excellent modes (*rnam kun mchog ldan kyi stong pa nyid, sarvākāravāropeta*), can positively posit the absolute entity. Concerning the adherents of the Non-substantialist school, Shākya mchog ldan especially refers to Bhāviveka, Candrakīrti and Śāntideva as the central figures of that school.

28 Thus, Shākya mchog ldan states: “The Great Madhyamaka is precisely the one which became the highest among the four proponents of tenets, and concerning the understanding of it, there are two different ones, namely the understanding which is stated in texts of the Yogācāra[-Madhyamaka school] and the one stated in texts of the Substantialists school (Ngo bo nyid med par smra ba).” See STNS *kha* 25a2–3: *dbu ma chen po ni grub mtha' smra ba bzhi'i ya mthar gyur pa'i dbu ma de nyid yin la| de'i ngos 'dzin la mi 'dra ba gnyis te| rnal 'byor spyod pa'i gzhung las 'byung ba dang| ngo bo nyid med par smra ba'i gzhung las 'byung ba'o||*

Here a question should be posed: Is Nāgārjuna, who is the founder of the Madhyamaka school, supposed to belong to the Non-substantialist school? I will leave this question aside for a moment and proceed the discussion.

Shākya mchog ldan, as mentioned before, makes a clear distinction between the second wheel of the *dharma* and the third wheel of the *dharma* and explicitly indicates that he believes that the latter is superior to the former. Nevertheless, he argues that both those wheels of the *dharma* have definitive meaning, because they do have one and the same intention. On the one hand, the second wheel of the *dharma* has definitive meaning from this point of view, but only tentatively, since it should not be understood literally. On the other hand, the third wheel of the *dharma* has final definitive meaning, since it should be understood literally. Shākya mchog ldan explains this in connection with the verse of the *Catuḥśataka* quoted above, in which he stresses that all views are rejected in the third wheel of the *dharma*:

Both the second one, i.e., the middle wheel of the *dharma*, where the self is negated, and the final one, [i.e., the third wheel of the *dharma*], where all proliferations are negated, have definitive meaning, because [they] are wheels [of the *dharma*] which mainly express the ultimate truth to the trainees who are proper vessels for teaching the ultimate truth. Among those two [wheels of the *dharma*], the wheel [of the *dharma*] in which the self is negated at the middle [stage] has tentative definitive meaning (*nges don gyi drang ba'i don can*), because [it] consists of *sūtras* which express the very definitive meaning (*nges don gyi drang ba'i don can*) in terms of that they should not [be understood] literally.<sup>29</sup>

Both the second wheel of the *dharma* where all dogmatic views positing substantial entities such as the self are negated, as well as the third wheel of the *dharma*, where all proliferations, i.e., all kinds of views, are

29 BNg ka 33a5–7: *gnyis pa bar du bdag bzlog pa'i 'khor lo dang| tha mar spros pa kun bzlog pa'i 'khor lo chos can| nges pa'i don yin te| don dam pa'i bden pa ston pa'i snod du rung ba'i gdul bya la| de nyid gtso bor ston pa'i 'khor lo yin pa'i phyir| de gnyis kyi nang nas kyang bar du bdag bzlog pa'i 'khor lo chos can| nges don gyi drang ba'i don can yin te| nges don de nyid sgra ji bzhin pa ma yin pa'i sgo nas ston pa'i mdo yin pa'i phyir|*.



entirely negated, are concerned with ultimate truth and have definitive meaning. Still, the teaching of the second wheel of the *dharma* has to be denied in the third wheel of the *dharma*, where all views must be rejected, even though it is concerned with ultimate truth.

In addition, this verse of the *Catuhśataka* appears to be extremely important for Shākya mchog ldan in another respect, because it provides him with a scriptural testimony when he criticizes Tsong kha pa who strongly insists that the view or assertion of selflessness must not be repudiated.

However, Shākya mchog ldan confronts here the following problem:

[The *sūtras* of the third wheel of the *dharma* are] the *sūtras* which teach that all entities from visible things up to omniscience exist neither as the extreme of existence nor the extreme of non-existence. Still, [those] *sūtras* teaching so, [namely the *sūtras* of the third wheel of the *dharma*], should be indeed understood literally. But [one] cannot say that what they are teaching has final definitive meaning, because whatever has final definitive meaning is necessarily ineffable.<sup>30</sup>

It would certainly be absurd if the third wheel of the *dharma* were to say by words that it is teaching the final definitive meaning, because the final definitive meaning itself, namely the ultimate truth itself, must transcend any verbal expression.

Shākya mchog ldan replies:

It is not contradictory. The reason is as follows: On the one hand it is [generally] said that ultimate truth cannot be grasped [by words at all]. But on the other hand it is taught in the final wheel of the *dharma*, [i.e., the third wheel of the *dharma*], that all entities such as from visible things up to omniscience do not exist as any extreme of the proliferations; [nevertheless those two issues] essentially mean the same thing.<sup>31</sup>

30 BNg ka 33b3–4: *gzugs nas rnam pa thams cad mkhyen pa nyid la thug pa'i bar gyi chos thams cad yod med la sogs pa'i mtha' gang du yang yod pa ma yin par ston pa'i mdo rnams so | de ltar ston pa'i mdo de sgra ji bzhin pa yin mod | des ston pa'i don de nyid nges don mthar thug yin no | zhes kyang brjod par mi nus te | gang nges don mthar thug yin na | rjod pa dang bral bas khyab pa'i phyir*].

31 BNg ka 33b6–7: [...] *'gal ba ma yin te | don dam pa'i bden pa ngos bzung bar mi nus so zer ba dang | 'khor lo tha mar gzugs nas rnam mkhyen gyi bar thams cad spros pa'i*

In the third wheel of the *dharma*, ultimate truth is indirectly presented by words. For example, ultimate truth is described by negating all proliferations such as existence and non-existence. However, it is widely known that ultimate truth itself can by no means be comprehended by words. Shākya mchog ldan makes an attempt to reconcile these two issues that apparently contradict each other. He probably considers this problem in the following way: The fact that ultimate truth is described indirectly by words in the third wheel of the *dharma* means that the ineffability of ultimate truth is shown by words in that wheel of the *dharma*. Thus, the fact that ultimate truth is presented by words indirectly in the third wheel of the *dharma* is not at variance with the fact that ultimate truth itself cannot be grasped by words at all.

Nāgārjuna presents a similar idea in his *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*:

Without depending on conventional truth, ultimate truth cannot be taught. Without comprehending ultimate truth, *nirvāṇa* cannot be attained.<sup>32</sup>

Nāgārjuna also says that the ultimate truth must be expressed and unless it can be comprehended thereby, *nirvāṇa* cannot be attained, although it is considered to transcend any words.

Again, Shākya mchog ldan treats the same issue by taking also the second wheel of the *dharma* into consideration. He says:

Therefore, as far as the last two wheels of the *dharma* are concerned, there are two ways to describe ultimate truth. [One] is delineated from the viewpoint that definite meaning is tentatively expressed and [the other] is delineated from the viewpoint of final definitive meaning that cannot be expressed at all.<sup>33</sup>

He explains then the ultimate truth expressed in the second wheel of the *dharma*, the teaching which has tentative definitive meaning, as follows:

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*mtha' gang du yang yod pa ma yin no | zhes gsungs pa gnyis po don gcig la 'du ba'i phyir|.*

32 MMK XXIV.10 (in de Jong 1977: 35): *vyavahāram anāśritya paramārtho na deśyate // paramārtham anāgamyā nirvāṇaṃ nādhigamyate //.*

33 BNg ka 34a2–3: *de bas na 'khor lo tha ma gnyis su don dam pa'i bden pa ston tshul la gnyis te| gnas skabs kyi nges don brjod bcas kyi sgo nas bstan pa dangl mthar thug gi nges don brjod bral gyi sgo nas bstan pa'o||.*

The first one [of the last two wheels of the *dharma*, i.e., the second wheel of the *dharma*], is that which is verbalized by words and phrases such as “emptiness,” “free from any proliferations,” etc.<sup>34</sup>

Next, Shākya mchog ldan touches on the third wheel of the *dharma*, which is the final definitive meaning:

Regarding the second one [of the last two wheels of the *dharma*, i.e., the third wheel of the *dharma*], it is articulated [in that wheel of the *dharma*] by superimposing that [the ultimate truth] is free from any expression, although one cannot even say that [the ultimate truth expressed in the third wheel of the *dharma*] is ineffable.<sup>35</sup>

As mentioned before, the ultimate truth itself, i.e., the authentic ultimate truth, transcends verbal expressions, but the teaching of the third wheel of the *dharma*, which is involved with such an authentic ultimate truth, is nothing but the verbal expression. Although it has deviated from the authentic ultimate truth because it is expressed by words, it could be understood that it is the indispensable tools, without which one cannot comprehend the authentic ultimate truth. In other words, the third wheel of the *dharma* has the authentic ultimate truth as its object or objective. This is why the third wheel of the *dharma* is seen to have final definitive meaning. Shākya mchog ldan illustrates this in the following way:

Both [the second and third wheels of the *dharma*] are eventually traced back to the final intention of the Buddha that the [authentic] ultimate truth cannot be expressed [by words]. It is explained as follows: in the former, [i.e., the second wheel of the *dharma*], it must be said, [for example], “what is truly existent is empty” etc. But in the latter, [i.e., the third wheel of *dharma*], it is impossible to say even “what is truly existent is empty,” etc. This is the difference between the last two wheels of the *dharma*.<sup>36</sup>

34 BNg ka 34a2–3: *dang po ni | stong nyid dang | spros bral la sogs pa'i ming gis bstan pa de'o||*.

35 BNg ka 34a3: *gnyis pa ni | brjod bral du yang brjod par mi nus mod | 'on kyang sgro btags nas brjod pa thams cad bral lo zhes bstan pa'o||*.

36 BNg ka 34a3–4: *gnyis ka'i mthar thug gi dgongs pa brjod bral la thug na yang | gcig gis ni bden stong sogs su brjod dgos par bshad la | gcig shos kyes ni bden stong sogs su'ang brjod mi nus par bshad pa ni | 'khor lo phyi ma gnyis kyi khyad par yin no||*.

Authentic ultimate truth, i.e., ultimate truth itself, cannot be completely comprehended by words, whereas the second and third wheels of the *dharmā* are verbalized teachings. While the former should not be understood literally, the latter should be understood literally. And it is vitally important in the second wheel of the *dharmā* to say by words, for example, “There is not any substantial existence whatsoever,” whereas it is essentially important in the third wheel of the *dharmā* to explain by words that one is allowed to say, for example, neither “There is no entity that is truly existent,” nor “The ultimate truth is inexpressible.”

It is generally known that there are two kinds of ultimate truth in the Madhyamaka system (especially in the Svātantrika-Madhyamaka system). One is the ultimate truth which is verbalized and the other is that which transcends verbalization.<sup>37</sup> However, Shākya mchog ldan develops the discussion here on the assumption that there are three kinds of ultimate truth. The first one is the ultimate truth which is verbalized but should not be understood literally, which is mainly taught in the second wheel of the *dharmā*; the second one is the ultimate truth which is verbalized and should be understood literally, which is mainly taught in the third wheel of the *dharmā*; and the final one is the ultimate truth which rejects any linguistic approach whatsoever.

Here it should be kept in mind that the aforementioned discussion is apparently related not to the three wheels of the *dharmā* in the *Samḍhinirmocanasūtra*, but to the three stages of the *dharmā*, i.e., the three wheels of the *dharmā*, in the *Catuḥśataka*.

## V

As seen above, Shākya mchog ldan has considered not only the third wheel of the *dharmā* but also the second wheel of the *dharmā* to have definitive meaning. However, it is stated in the *Samḍhinirmocanasūtra* that the third wheel of the *dharmā*, which is thought to mainly explain the doctrine of the Vijñānavāda school, has definitive meaning, but the

37 In his *Tarkajivālā* (TJ, D, *dza* 60b4–5), Bhāviveka maintains that there are two types of ultimate truths. One is the genuine one, which is free from any verbalization (*abhisamḥkāra*, *mngon par 'du byed pa*), and the other is the one with verbalization. On two types of ultimate truths of the Svātantrika-Madhyamaka, see Seyfort Ruegg 1981: 63–64.

second wheel of the *dharma*, which is thought to explain the doctrine of the Madhyamaka school, does not have it. How does Shākya mchog ldan solve this incompatibility? He states:

In the *Samdhinirmocanasūtra* it is explained that the last two wheels of the *dharma* have a purport in common, because [the *Samdhinirmocanasūtra*] claims that the main part of the purport that both [wheels of the *dharma* share] consists in the [doctrine] of the non-existence of the three natures. However, the last two wheels [of the *dharma*] differ from each other in terms of how one and the same purport is described, [that is], whether it is described literally or not.<sup>38</sup>

Shākya mchog ldan certainly accepts that—as stated in the *Samdhinirmocanasūtra*—there is a difference between the second and third wheels of the *dharma*. And the difference lies, he thinks, in the fact that the second wheel of the *dharma* expresses the teaching that does require further interpretation, whereas the third wheel of the *dharma* expresses the teaching which does not need to be interpreted any more. Still, it is not a crucial difference for him. According to Shākya mchog ldan, both wheels of the *dharma* have one and the same purport, that is, the non-existence of the three natures, and thus both equally have definitive meaning. Thus, Shākya mchog ldan can say that his view is not incompatible with the statement of the *Samdhinirmocanasūtra*.

## VI

Now we will return to the issue of Shākya mchog ldan's view of the question, 'Is Nāgārjuna, who is the founder of the Madhyamaka school, supposed to belong to the Non-substantialists?'

Shākya mchog ldan primarily presents two kinds of interpretations of the three wheels of the *dharma*. One is based on the *Samdhinirmocanasūtra* and the other is based on the Āryadeva's *Catuhśataka*. In both interpretations, he discusses mainly the second and third wheels of the *dharma* and places the latter above the former. More precisely,

38 BNg ka 20a4–5: *dgongs 'grel gyis 'khor lo phyi ma gnyis ni dgongs pa gcig tu 'chad pa yin te | gnyis ka' i dgongs pa' i gtso bo ngo bo nyid med pa gsum yin par 'chad pa' i phyir ro | de lta na yang | dgongs pa gcig pu de ston tshul sgra ji bzhin pa yin min ni 'khor lo phyi ma gnyis kyi khyad par rol*.

although he regards the teachings of both wheels of the *dharma* as definitive meaning, the second wheel of the *dharma* is the tentative one and the third wheel of the *dharma* is the final one.

In his interpretation based on the *Samḍhinirmocanasūtra*, as mentioned before, Shākya mchog ldan thinks that self-emptiness is taught in the second wheel of the *dharma* and other-emptiness is taught in the third wheel of the *dharma*. Concerning the adherents of the second wheel of the *dharma*, he distinguishes Nāgārjuna from his followers such as Bhāviveka, Candrakīrti and Śāntideva. Shākya mchog ldan takes the view that the position of Nāgārjuna extends over the last two wheels of the *dharma*, while those followers stand exclusively on the second wheel of the *dharma*. In other words, Nāgārjuna is supposed to address not only the teaching of the second wheel of the *dharma*, but also that of the third wheel of the *dharma* along with Maitreya[nātha] and Asaṅga, etc. As the founder of the Madhyamaka school, Nāgārjuna should be counted as a central figure of the second wheel of the *dharma*, but at the same time Shākya mchog ldan—who does not think that Nāgārjuna and Asaṅga hold a different view and highly appreciates the third wheel of the *dharma* as the supreme teaching—favors Nāgārjuna who expounds the doctrine of other-emptiness and accepts the absolute entity in the third wheel of the *dharma*.

In order to justify this interpretation, Shākya mchog ldan makes use of Nāgārjuna's writings which belong to so called *stava*-collection (*bstod tshogs*) such as the *Dharmadhātustava*, etc., because the absolute entity is positively taught in those writings.<sup>39</sup> According to Shākya mchog ldan, Nāgārjuna's writings of the so-called *yukti*-collection (*rigs tshogs*) belong to the second wheel of the *dharma*, whereas his *stava*-corpus (*bstod tshogs*) belongs to the third wheel of the *dharma* and Nāgārjuna presents his real position in it. Thus, Shākya mchog ldan makes an attempt to avoid the discrepancy of Nāgārjuna's two doctrinal positions stated in the last two wheels of the *dharma* by his eclectic interpretation that Nāgārjuna is not only the founder of the Madhyamaka

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39 We can find his various positive interpretations of the Madhyamaka thought, for example, in his commentary on the *Dharmadhātustava* entitled *Chos kyi dbyings su bstod pa zhes bya ba'i bstan bcos kyi rnam par bshad pa chos kyi dbyings rnam par nges pa* (in *The Collected Works of gSer mdog paṅ chen Śākya mchog ldan*. 24 vols. Thimphu: Kunzang Tobgey, 1975, vol. 7, pp. 302–346).

school, but also belongs to the adherents of the third wheel of the *dharma* which he considers most important.

Furthermore, Shākya mchog ldan, as mentioned before, invents the terms “tentative definitive meaning” (*nges don gyi drang don*) and “final definitive meaning” (*nges don gyi nges don*) to support his interpretation. As mentioned above, the last two wheels of the *dharma* are equally as important as the definitive meaning, but while the third wheel of the *dharma* as the final definitive meaning should be literally understood, the second wheel of the *dharma* as the tentative definitive meaning should not be. Nāgārjuna expounds both wheels of the *dharma*, but he only teaches the second wheel of the *dharma* tentatively and his real intention lies in his teaching of the third wheel of the *dharma*. On Shākya mchog ldan's interpretation that Nāgārjuna is not only the founder of the Madhyamaka school, but also belongs to the adherents of the third wheel of the *dharma* along with Maitreya[nātha] and Asaṅga, the following three points are essential: first, it must be ensured that Nāgārjuna is a Mādhyamika; second, the real intention lies in his teaching of the third wheel of the *dharma*; third, the second wheel of the *dharma* is subordinate to the third wheel of the *dharma*, or in other words, the third wheel of the *dharma* is the supreme teaching; that is, it presents the Buddha's real intention.

In this way, Shākya mchog ldan can reinforce his novel idea that Nāgārjuna and Asaṅga do not have different views, because they are supposed to share the teaching of the third wheel of the *dharma*.

In his interpretation based on Āryadeva's *Catuhśataka*, Shākya mchog ldan considers the view postulating substantial entities to be denied in the second wheel of the *dharma* and any kind of view (inclusive of the view negating substantial entities) whatsoever to be denied in the third wheel of the *dharma*. More accurately, any kind of conceptual activity such as investigation by reasoning is denied and the inexpressible ultimate truth is directly experienced in the third wheel of the *dharma*. However, it should be noted that he does not provide a discussion about his unique interpretation that Nāgārjuna and Asaṅga do not have a different view, which is based on the-*Samḍhinirmocanasūtra*, in this context.

### Abbreviations

- BNg *Theg pa chen po dbu ma rnam par nges pa'i chos kyi bang mdzod lung dang rigs pa'i rgya mtsho*. In *The Collected Works of gSer mdog paṅ chen Śākya mchog ldan*. 24 vols. Thimphu: Kunzang Tobgey, 1975, vol. 14, pp. 341–647.
- CŚ *Catuḥśataka*. Lang 1986; D (dBu ma), vol.2, pp. 1–10.
- D sDe dge edition of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka.
- MA: *Madhyamakāvatāra*. La Vallée Poussin 1970.
- MMK *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*. de Jong 1977; D (dBu ma), vol.1, pp.1–10.
- P Peking edition of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka.
- RGVV. *Ratnagoṭravivāgavyākhyā*. P5526, vol.108, pp-32–56.
- RV *Ratnāvalī*. Hahn 1982.
- SM *Samḍhinirmocanasūtra*. Lamotte 1935.
- STNS *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 *The Collected Works of gSer mdog paṅ chen Śākya mchog ldan*. 24 vols. Thimphu: Kunzang Tobgey, 1975, vol.2, pp. 471–619.

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