

Jan-Ulrich Sobisch

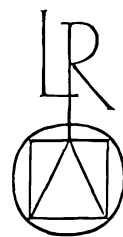
Hevajra and *Lam 'bras* Literature  
of India and Tibet  
as Seen Through the Eyes of A-mes-zhabs





Sobisch

Hevajra and *Lam 'bras* Literature of India and Tibet



# Contributions to Tibetan Studies

Edited by David P. Jackson and Franz-Karl Ehrhard

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DR. LUDWIG REICHERT VERLAG

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as Seen Through the Eyes of A-mes-zhabs

by  
Jan-Ulrich Sobisch

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typical depiction of A-mes-zhabs (with sideburns)  
miniature from the manuscripts  
of A-mes-zhabs' works  
vol. *tsha*(b), no. 23, fol. 1v right





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## Acknowledgments

A study such as the present one is the result of a confluence of many conditions. It all began in the middle of the 1990s, when I was working at the University of Hamburg for the NEPAL-GERMAN MANUSCRIPT PRESERVATION PROJECT and discovered, scattered among a large delivery of microfilms, films of manuscripts of Ame Zhab's (A-mes-zhabs) works. At that time I divided my working time between the Project, research for my dissertation and language class teaching. In my spare moments, I began to take notes on the material and soon established that the set of manuscripts of this important historian of the Sa-skya-pa lineage was almost complete. It was due to the kindness of Prof. Albrecht Wezler, who allowed me to use these films for my own research, and the expertise of Prof. David P. Jackson, who pointed out to me the enormous significance of this find, that the work on these manuscripts was able to take shape.

In the following years, I was able to start three projects based on this material. The first was an exhaustive catalogue of the manuscripts, including an overview of A-mes-zhabs' life and his transmissions. The result of that project, which I began at the University of Munich, was published in 2007 as *Life, Transmissions, and Works of A-mes-zhabs Ngag-dbang-kun-dga'-bsod-nams, the Great 17th Century Sa-skya-pa Bibliophile*, (*Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, Supplement Band 38*). The second project concentrated on the records of teachings received (Tib.: *gsan yig*) of Ame Zhab and of his teachers, which forms the greatest part of volume *kha* of his manuscripts. Several articles issued forth from my occupation with these records of teachings that I consider an actual genre of Tibetan literature. I started a complete digitized documentation of these records and handed this project over to Jowita Kramer when I accepted a position at Copenhagen University. Dr. Kramer's work has been completed now and an electronic publication is on the way (in cooperation with Gene Smith's fantastic *tbrc.org*). While working on both of these projects, i.e. the work with the manuscripts in general and the study of the records of teachings, I stumbled onto a third line of research, namely the Indian and Tibetan literature on Hevajra and the Path with Its Fruit, the result of which is the present study. The first two projects were directly financed by the GERMAN RESEARCH COUNCIL (DFG). The third project began somewhere in the middle of all of this and was more or less completed during my three tenure-track years at the University of Copenhagen (2003-2006). I would like to express my deepest gratitude to the Professors Albrecht Wezler, David Jackson (both previously at the University of Hamburg), Jens-Uwe Hartmann (University of Munich) and to the DFG for their support over the years. I would also like to take this opportunity and thank Dr. Anne MacDonald (University of Vienna) for her careful editing of my introduction to this book and Jürgen Klein for his technical assistance in the final print.

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All mistakes remaining in this books are, needless to mention, my sole responsibility.

Copenhagen and Hamburg, Mai 2008

Jan-Ulrich Sobisch



## General introduction to the transmission of the Hevajra teachings

In the following, I would like to provide an introduction to this study of the Hevajra teachings (and subsequent to that to the Path with Its Fruit teachings) that is accessible to both those who do read the Tibetan language and those who do not. I have therefore abstained in these two introductory chapters from using the regular Wylie transliteration of Tibetan names, and I have translated an abbreviated form of all titles of Tibetan works mentioned. I am sure that all names, which I have rendered here in an approximate phonetic transliteration, will be easily recognizable to the expert. To ensure, furthermore, the expert's recognition of the translated titles of works, I have added the Tibetan abbreviated form of titles in Wylie transcription in brackets. For all bibliographical references, please refer to the main part of the book. Page and footnote numbers within the text of these introductions in pointed brackets and smaller script provide references to the respective passages of *Part I* and *II* of this book.

\* \* \*

Hevajra is the most prominent tantric deity in the practice of the Sakyapas. This is conspicuous above all in the Path with Its Fruit (*lam 'bras*) cycle, the most important tantric teaching of the Sakyapas, but also apparent when one investigates the extant collected writings of the great Sakyapa writers, such as those of the great founding fathers,<sup>1</sup> and of subsequent masters such as Ngorchen Künga Zangpo (1382-1456) and Gorampa Sönam Senge (1429-1489).<sup>2</sup> Ame Zhab (1597-1659), too, has authored, compiled and edited commentaries, literary histories and liturgies pertaining to the Hevajra cycle that add up to almost a thousand folios. Among these is a small work of ten folios that is of great interest to anyone interested in literary history, namely the NOTES ON HOW TO ENTER INTO THE WRITINGS OF THE SAKYAPAS (henceforth "NOTES"),<sup>3</sup> which, despite its title, focuses almost entirely on Hevajra literature up to the first half of the thirteenth century, both of Indian and Tibetan origin. This brief but indeed supremely important work is the composition of Chöpal Zangpo (15th c.), which is based on the teachings of Ngorchen Künga Zangpo, and preserved and (perhaps) edited by Ame Zhab.

The NOTES throws interesting light on one approach to primarily tantric teachings among the Sakyapas during Chöpal Zangpo's time, i.e. the early 15th c., and, representing the teaching of the great Ngorchen Künga Zangpo, it is certainly an authoritative approach. Central to it was a thorough introduction to the scholar's equipment, i.e. basic linguistic instructions, an overview of the Buddha's teachings in general, a specific introduction to the tantric teachings, and, finally, a full overview of the scholar's activities of teaching (*chad pa*), writing (*rtsom pa*), and debating (*rtsod pa*). This introduction was set forth with the help of some of the masterpieces of the early Sakya tradition by the great Slob-pön, Sönam Tsemo, and his nephew, Tibet's first Pandita, Künga Gyaltsen, namely the ENTRANCE GATE TO THE DHARMA (*Chos la 'jug pa 'i sgo*) and the SYSTEMATIC PRESENTATION OF THE TANTRA SECTION (*rGyud sde spyi 'i rnam par gzhas pa*) of the former and the EXPLICATION THAT INTRODUCES THE YOUNG ONES WITHOUT DIFFICULTIES (*Byis pa bde blag tu 'jug pa 'i rnam bshad*) and the ENTRANCE GATE FOR THE WISE (*mKhas pa rnam 'jug pa 'i sgo*) of the latter. It was furthermore thought suitable to round

---

<sup>1</sup> Five masters are often referred to as the "five former Sakyapa [masters]" (*sa skya gong ma lnga*), namely (1) Sachen Kunga Nyingpo (1092-1158), (2) Lobpön Sönam Tsemo (1142-1182), (3) Jetsün Dragpa Gyaltsen (1147-1216), (4) Sakya Pandita Kunga Gyaltsen (1182-1251), and (5) Phagpa.Lodrö Gyaltsen (1235-1280).

<sup>2</sup> Throughout the book I will, in most cases, give dates of persons only at their first occurrence and in the index of names.

<sup>3</sup> The full Tibetan title is: NOTES FOR THE CORRECT EXPLICATION OF HOW TO ENTER INTO THE WRITINGS OF THE VENERABLE SAKYAPAS: OPENING WIDE IN A HUNDRED DIRECTIONS THE DHARMA-GATES TO WHICH ALL BEINGS OF TIBET ARE GUIDED.

off training in the principal tantric teachings of the Sakyapas with the study of two further works by Sakya Pandita, the first viewed as a means for dispelling wrong views and doubts, namely his CLEAR DIFFERENTIATION OF THE THREE VOWS (*sDom gsum rab dbye*), the second seen as a means for preparing the ground for skillful investigation and debate, namely his TREASURE OF VALID KNOWLEDGE AND LOGIC (*Tshad ma rigs gter*). <pp. 21-22>

It is perhaps also interesting to note what were perceived as being the principal tantric transmissions in the fifteenth century at Ngor. The NOTES refers to “four great transmissions,” all of which occurred during the new translation period. These are the transmissions of Drogmi Lotsāva Shākya Yeshe (993-1074/1087), Mal Lotsāva Lodrö Dragpa (11th c.), Lama Yöntan Tsültrim (11th c.), and Bari Lotsāva Rinchen Drag (1040-1112). Drogmi Lotsāva’s speciality was the so-called “nine path-cycles” (*lam skor dgu*), of which the “Path with Its Fruit” cycle, together with the instructions of the “three Hevajra tantras,” was the most important one. From among these, the NOTES focuses exclusively on the Hevajra teachings. <p. 21>

The concern of the NOTES is chiefly a bibliographical one. Beyond the mere bibliographical listing of titles, however, the NOTES also provides us with other interesting information, some of it well known, some not, and some of it rare and unique. The text tells us, for example, that the Hevajra teachings are subdivided into eight sections, namely into the “six great chariot systems” (*shing rta'i srol chen po drug*) plus two systems of pith instructions (*man ngag lugs*), i.e. together eight transmissions. The “six great chariot systems” of the Hevajra teachings are, in short, the cycles of

- (a) Ḍombīheruka,
- (b) Tsokye Dorje (Saroruhavajra),
- (c) Nagpo Damtshig Dorje (Kṛṣṇa Samayavajra),
- (d) Shāntipa (Ratnākaraśānti),
- (e) Nyendrag Zangpo (Yaśobhadra?), and
- (f) Nyime Dorje (Advayavajra/Maitrīpa/Avadhūtipa). <p. 30>

The two systems of pith instructions are those of Nāropa and Virūpa.<sup>4</sup> Of the “six great chariot systems,” the Sakyapas followed four, namely those of Ḍombīheruka (a), Tsokye Dorje (b), Nagpo Damtshig Dorje (c) and Nyime Dorje (f—but the latter got lost quite early). Of the pith instructions they followed Virūpa’s system. In other words, they possessed five (later four) of the eight transmissions. Three of these transmissions were passed on by Drogmi. Two of these are known as “distant lineages” (*ring brgyud* <p. 77 ff.>). They are Virūpa’s “system of pith instructions” (*man ngag lugs*) and the “system of commentaries” (*grel lugs*), which also originated with Virūpa (system (a) in the above schema). Virūpa’s “system of pith instructions” was passed on to Slob-dpon Nagpo (Kāṇha) and finally to Drogmi. The “system of commentaries” was passed on to Ḍombīheruka and then through some intermediates to Mithub Dawa (Durjayacandra), whose codifying activities provided the system’s name, and eventually to Drogmi. The third transmission (system (b) in the above schema), also found among the “great chariot systems,” originated with Vilāsyavajra and was passed on to Yenlag Mepa and Tsokye Dorje (i.e. Saroruhā, who is treated in the Sakyapa tradition as being the same as

<sup>4</sup> I deal with the Indian tradition primarily from a Tibetan perspective. Since the names of Indian masters are a matter of considerable confusion, instead of adding to the confusion by giving my own inexpert reconstructions, I will provide the names here as I found them in my sources, i.e. in Tibetan, unless I mention them in a more general context, or the Tibetan version of the name is a transcription of an originally Sanskrit name, such as in the cases of Indrabhūti or Ḍombīheruka (and in such cases I try to follow the standard Sanskrit orthography). In the case of Indian text titles I will provide abbreviated Sanskrit versions in brackets.



Padmavajra) and eventually reached to Drogmi. A “great chariot system” practiced by the Sakyapas (but not transmitted by Drogmi) originated with Nagpo Damtshig Dorje, was passed on to Nagpo Zhiwa Zangpo (Kṛṣṇa Śāntibhadra) and eventually was passed on to Sachen Kūnga Nyingpo. In contrast to these “distant lineages” there also existed a “close lineage” (*nye brgyud* <p. 77 ff.>) that was directly transmitted from Virūpa to Sachen Kūnga Nyingpo in visions. <pp. 30-32>

distant lineage “system of pith instructions”	distant lineage “system of pith commentaries”	Tsokye Dorje’s transmission	system of initiation of Nagpopa	close lineage
Vajradhara	Vajradhara	Vajradhara	Vajradhara	
Jñānaḍākini	Jñānaḍākini	Vilāsyavajra	Nairātmya	
Virūpa	Virūpa	Yenlag Mepa	Nagpo Damtshig Dorje	Virūpa
Lobpön Nagpo (Kāṇha)	Ḍombīheruka	Tsokye Dorje	Nagpo Zhiwa Zangpo	
...	...			
...	Mithub Dawa	...	...	
...	...			
Drogmi	Drogmi	Drogmi		
Sachen	Sachen	Sachen	Sachen	Sachen

The NOTES additionally describes in great detail the many texts that are connected with the above systems. At the core of each of the “great chariot systems” is an Indian commentary on the basic Hevajra tantra plus a number of fundamental tantric rituals such as those pertaining to the maṇḍala (*dkyil ‘khor*), the evocation of deities (*sādhana*, chiefly Hevajra and Nairātmyā), completion practices (*niṣpannakrama*, *rdzogs rim*), tantric feasts (*gaṇacakra*, *tshogs ‘khor*), tormas (*balिंगta*)<sup>5</sup> and so forth, some of them with their own commentaries. Ḍombīheruka’s system, for example, is said to comprise twenty-one works, of which the first seven are the “basic texts of Mithub Dawa” (Durjayacandra):

- one commentary on the basic tantra
- one maṇḍala ritual
- three evocation rituals
- one work pertaining to practices of completion
- one tormas ritual

The remaining fourteen works are “limbs,” such as further evocations and other tantric rituals.

<sup>5</sup> I have left the Tibetan term “torma” (*gtor ma*) untranslated. A torma is a complex ritual tantric object. It may take a multitude of forms and shapes and fulfills various functions. As far as I can see, one might differentiate three general types of torma: (1) representation of a tantric deity, (2) representation of a general food offering and (3) appeasement offering to spirits and demons. There are in addition “inner torma” offerings that do not depend on outer objects.

<pp. 32-35> The system of Tsokye Dorje (Saroruhavajra/Padmavajra) is similar, and comprises five works:

- one commentary on the basic tantra
- one initiation
- one evocation ritual
- one tantric feast
- one praise (stotra) <pp. 35-36>

And again the system of Nagpo-pa (Kṛṣṇa Samayavajra), which consists of thirteen works:

- one commentary on the basic tantra
- one maṇḍala ritual
- five evocations
- one work pertaining to practices of completion
- five limbs (i.e. further rituals)

These thirty-nine works are the most important Hevajra works of the Sakya tradition; the NOTES adds that these teachings have existed “complete and unerringly” down to the present day.<sup>6</sup> <pp. 36-40>

Two further “great chariot systems,” also found documented in the NOTES, are very similar in structure, but are clarified as “not transmitted within the Sakya tradition” (Shāntipa, i.e. Ratnākaraśānti) or as “no longer existing in Tibet” (Advayavajra/Maitrīpa/Avadhūtipa). The last of the “six great chariot systems” is that of Nyendrag Zangpo (Yaśobhadra?). It has one commentary on the basic tantra and one sub-commentary. The NOTES argues against the view of those who hold that the commentary on the basic tantra was authored by Nāropa. <pp. 40-43>

In reliance on several Hevajra commentaries composed by Ame Zhab and Ngorchen Künga Zangpo and on Ame Zhab’s records of teachings received (*gsan yig*), I have been able to supplement information known about a number of the works mentioned. We learn from these secondary sources that certain works are a “support” (*rgyab rten*) for particular other works. Such a remark is sometimes made in passing; in some instances, however, we learn a good deal about the rather intricate relationships these works have with one another, for example, when we are told that a seemingly independent ritual has to be understood as one of the limbs of a particular system, or when we learn that certain commentaries have actually resulted from the blending of two systems. Sometimes these secondary works also provide us with alternative names for authors, or inform us that two or more names were thought, by some (or most) scholars of the tradition, to refer to one and the same person. We also find remarks regarding the authors’ lives, more detailed work titles, assessments of the work’s particular usefulness for the tradition, and details of translation processes and teaching histories. Of particular interest are the different names or expressions under which a work or a system is known or listed. In this regard, I would like to refer the reader to the “Index of specialized terminology” at the end of the book. Here one finds an alphabetized list of relevant terms (in English and Tibetan) with entries such as (to give just a few examples):

- abbreviated path (*lam bsdus pa*)
- eight great instruction systems (*bka' srol chen po brgyad*)
- father’s system of explication (*yab kyi bshad srol*)
- four types of requirements (*dgos tshan bzhi*)

<sup>6</sup> This may refer to the time of Ngorchen or Ame Zhab, but nevertheless, these texts (as far as I have been able to determine) still exist today.

- nine profound ways (*zab pa'i tshul dgu*) and
- three continuities (*rgyud gsum*)

Other information that can be gleaned from these sources pertains to details regarding the number and types of deities in an evocation ritual, the works associated with a particular Buddha family, chapter orders and thematic contents, and other details, including evaluations of the work's compatibility with other works and its suitability for persons with particular (high, medium or minimal) faculties. An interesting piece of information, for example, is that according to an oral tradition, Zhiwa Zangpo (Kṛṣṇa Śāntibhadra) thought that it would not be sufficient to merely sign his own name to one of his compositions. He therefore requested to be allowed to put his master's name (Kṛṣṇa Samayavajra) in the colophon, and thus the name was added. <p. 37> On another occasion we learn that Ngorchen ascertained that large parts of a commentary by Kṛṣṇa Samayavajra were copied from one by Ratnākaraśānti. <p. 38> Beyond their immediate relevance for our particular theme, such remarks may help us, of course, to better our understanding of Tibetan attitudes towards authorship and other related matters. I am, of course, not intending to claim here that these examples are unique discoveries. One can, in fact, find similar remarks in many Tibetan works dealing with literary history. These various remarks—pertaining to one particular cycle such as the Hevajra teachings—should nevertheless be gathered from the different related sources; one of the aims of this study is to collect them, at least in part.

Of great interest is also the treatment of the two systems of pith instructions in the NOTES. The first of these is the system that Marpa Lhodragpa received from Nāropa. These instructions were also received by Sachen, but they were already no longer existent within the Sakyapa lineage by Ngorchen's time. Marpa also received (among other things) the basic Hevajra tantra (*brTag pa gnyis pa*) together with the *Vajrapañjaratantra* (*mKha' 'gro ma rdo rje gur*), the uncommon "explanation tantra" (*vyākhyātantra*, *bshad rgyud*) of the Hevajra cycle. The oral tradition of the pith instructions on the Hevajra tantra was later written down by Ngog Chödor and became known as the JEWEL ORNAMENT (*Rin po che'i rgyan*). When, again later, the text was stolen, it had to be reproduced from memory and its reconstructed form was henceforth called LIKENESS OF THE JEWEL ORNAMENT (*Rin po che'i rgyan 'dra*). This tradition, together with a number of other commentaries and rituals, we are informed, "remains unbroken to the present day" and "is a fully complete path." <pp. 46-48> It is in this context perhaps important to note that neither Ngorchen nor Ane Zhab voice any doubts regarding Marpa's supposed meeting with Nāropa. Doubts over Marpa's meeting with Nāropa as expressed by Dragpa Gyaltsen have been presented by Davidson (2005: 144 f.). His presentation, however, is chiefly based on hearsay in the fourth degree (Davidson presents a letter by Dragpa Gyaltsen, who quotes Nagtso-Lotsāva, who quotes a disciple of Tsangdar Depa Yeshe, who said he received information from Depa Yeshe, who said he heard it from Marpa). Nevertheless, a certain tension between Marpa's and the Sakya system of Hevajra is certainly noticeable in a quote from the beginning of the LIKENESS OF THE JEWEL ORNAMENT, as cited by Ngorchen:

Saroruha, Ming Zang [Zhiwa Zangpo?], Shāntipa, etc., [are known as] great *siddhas* ... but even with their learning [they] do not understand but a part of its [i.e. the Hevajra tantra's] meaning; however, through these pith instructions of the guru [i.e. Marpa], the JEWEL ORNAMENT, the commentaries [of the other systems that are like] the light of the stars and the moon are blackened out. <ftn. 121>

Ngorchen mentions another commentary belonging to the Marpa/Ngogpa tradition, namely that by Ram Dingmawa (a former disciple of Dragpa Gyaltsen), which is also quoted by Ngor as saying:

There are three Hevajra explications: (1) The explication that is the darkness [of being] a wrapped head, (2) the explication that mixes milk with water, and (3) the one that is like a wish-fulfilling jewel. The first is the system of the Khönpa Sakyapa father and sons. The second is the system of Gö Khugpa Lhatse, which partly follows Nagpo Damtshig Dorje's and partly Tsokye Dorje's system. The third is this explication of Marpa's system, because it teaches the pith instructions for obtaining the siddhi of mahāmudrā in this life based on this body. <fn. 122>

According to this quote, the system of the Sakyapas is worthless. But to which specific system does this remark refer? Since it does not refer to Saroruha and Kṛṣṇa Samayavajra's (as these are combined to form the quote's second system), could it refer to Ḍombīheruka's system, i.e. the "system of commentaries" (which did not include the basic text and the pith instructions)? I find this—because of its polemical nature—rather unlikely, because the Kagyüpas accepted many of Ḍombīheruka's tantric teachings. The thrust of the critique might be against the early commentaries of the Sakya Khön family, on which see below. It is interesting to note that the second system is also considered useless because it mixes the two systems, namely those of Saroruha and Kṛṣṇa Samayavajra. This could either mean that one of these two is milk (i.e. rich) and the other water (i.e. useless), or it could mean that the mixing of systems as such is considered a fault. Ngorchen retorts that Marpa only received the pith instructions on the *Vajrapañjara* and the basic Hevajra tantra, but not the commentaries. For the same reason Ame Zhab considers, in one of his Hevajra commentaries, the system of Nāropa, Marpa, and Ngogpa to be inferior. Ame Zhab also points out that Marpa did not receive the common *vyākhyā* tantra, namely the *Saṃpuṭa* (*dPal kha sbyor gyi rgyud*). <fn. 114> One possible interpretation of a "Sakyapa" and a "Kagyüpa" approach to tantra may therefore be that the Sakyapas consider the Indian commentaries (and the *Saṃpuṭa*) to be of major importance, while the Kagyüpas stress the importance of the pith instructions alone, and in particular advise refraining from mixing these with commentaries or mixing different systems together. This, however, can merely be a very preliminary working hypothesis, especially since it is only based on material within a polemic context. The matter certainly deserves further attention.

The second system of pith instructions is the one transmitted from Virūpa to the "Nagpo of the East" (Kāṇha). This system is considered by the Sakyapa tradition to be the superior one, among other things because it is based on all three Hevajra tantras, i.e. the basic tantra and the two *vyākhyā* tantras (including the *Saṃpuṭatantra*). The *Saṃpuṭatantra* is considered to be of major importance, because it is here that the stage of completion is revealed in detail. The system is also superior because it possesses Jetsün Dragpa Gyaltsen's (fifty-seven) CLEAR REALIZATIONS OF TANTRA (*rGyud lqi mngon par rtogs pa*), which are (according to the NOTES) the "distinctions of the three clear realizations arising from the blending of the intentions of the [above-mentioned] three tantras into one." <p. 49> This assessment reveals the great confidence placed in the founding fathers by the tradition. The CLEAR REALIZATIONS OF TANTRA, which is perhaps the most central work of Tibetan Hevajra exegesis among the Sakyapas, was finished by Dragpa Gyaltsen at the order of Sönam Tsemo, who deemed it necessary because Sachen's *abhisamaya* had not been put into writing, and who himself had started its composition up to a certain point. The work was finally edited by Sapan. A few interesting remarks on it have recently been made by Davidson (2005: 364-367).

A typical feature of both the Hevajra and the Path with Its Fruit cycles of the Sakya tradition is the great number of texts, indispensable for the practice, which have been composed within the tradition and the systematic way in which they have been organized into thematic or practical units. In particular, the Hevajra pith instructions of the Sakya tradition are organized

into “three successive paths” (*lam rim gsum po* <pp. 49-58>) and a combination of these three (*dkrugs su sbyar ba'i lam*), which itself has two parts, namely the “extensive successive path” for the “successive engager” (*gang zag rim gyis pa bkri ba'i lam rgyas pa*) and the “simultaneous path” for the “simultaneous engager” (*gcig car ba bkri ba'i lam bsdus pa* <pp. 59-61>). The first of the three paths, the successive path, is said to endow the studying practitioner with authoritative statements (*lung*) and provides a comprehensive explanation of the path (*lam gyi khog phub*). The second successive path endows him or her with pith instructions (*man ngag*) and teaches the stages of the practice (*lag len gyi rim pa bstan*). The third successive path provides reasoning (*rigs pa*) and cuts off doubts concerning the path (*lam gyi spros pa gcod par byed pa*).

The first successive path that endows one with authoritative statements and provides a comprehensive explanation of the path comprises twenty-eight “common authoritative texts” (*thun mong ba gzhung*). These are works composed by Sachen Kunga Nyingpo, Sönam Tsemo, Dragpa Gyaltsen and Sakya Pandita Kunga Gyaltsen that cover a wide range of tantric topics. They provide important citations from the tantras, differentiate the Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna paths in terms of ground, path and goal, focus on the above-mentioned “fifty-seven clear realizations,” provide an outline of how tantras should be taught, and contain praises. We also find here five commentaries on the basic tantra (*rtsa rgyud*), four commentaries on the *Vajrapañjaratantra*, and four on the *Samputatantra* by these masters. Their remaining works on this section deal with ripening (i.e. initiation, *dbang*), consecration (*rab gnas*), burnt offerings (*sbyin sreg*), tantric feast rituals (*tshogs 'khor*), ritual tools such as vajra, bell, mālā, and filling-pouring [ladle] (*dgang blugs*), and include a systematic presentation of basic transgressions (*rtsa ltung*), evocation rituals (*sgrub thabs*), and a work that apparently deals with the establishing of stūpas. The final of these twenty-eight “common authoritative texts” is Dragpa Gyaltsen’s work on the concealed yogic-ascetic practices (*sbas pa'i brtul zhugs*). <pp. 49-56>

The second successive path that endows the practitioner with pith instructions and teaches the stages of the practice comprises the full set of the sixty basic texts that in Tibet from a certain point onwards were categorized into “four authenticities” (*tshad ma bzhi*). It is uncertain whether this terminology was already applied during Ngorchen’s time when the NOTES was first written down. It may simply occur in the NOTES due to Ame Zhab’s editing (probably following Khyentse Wangchuk’s reckoning). The fact that the Hevajra cycle of teachings as transmitted in the Sakya tradition has much in common with the Path with Its Fruit cycle of the same tradition is most apparent in the case of these sixty works, for these works, which are collected in the YELLOW BOOK (*pod ser ma*), are shared almost completely by the two. I will refer to more details on the YELLOW BOOK below, in the context of the Path with Its Fruit teachings.

The “four authenticities” are in general: (1) the “authenticity of the guru” (*bla ma'i tshad ma*), (2) the “authenticity of experience” (*nyams myong tshad ma*), (3) the “authenticity of the treatise” (*bstan bcos tshad ma*), and (4) the “authenticity of basic scriptures” (*lung tshad ma*). The term “four authenticities” (*tshad ma bzhi*) stems from the VAJRA LINES (*rDo rje tshig rkang*), the basic text of the Path with Its Fruit cycle (on which more below). Dragpa Gyaltsen defined “authenticity” in this connection as “a special ascertained knowledge, which after one has produced it, [is such that] others cannot take away one’s conviction.” The “authenticity of the guru” refers to the guru’s pith instructions on the VAJRA LINES. The “authenticity of experience” are writings of the early lineage masters concerning the practices of the path. The “authenticity of the treatise” refers to the VAJRA LINES and the “authenticity of basic scriptures” to the Hevajra tantras.

The texts of the category “authenticity of the guru” are the histories and biographies of the Path with Its Fruit lineage. Here, the example of the guru’s liberation (*rnam thar*) and his status as a member of an authoritative lineage lend him authority; his teachings are authentic. The category “authenticity of experience” comprises the largest number of texts. These works of the early lineage masters explain the path and its aspects from different perspectives. One theme is the so-called “three continua” (*rgyud gsum*), the first of which is the continuum of the universal ground, which is the cause (*kun gzhi rgyu'i rgyud*), and on which the view that saṃsāra and nirvāṇa are inseparable is maintained. The continuum of the body, which is the method (*lus thabs kyi rgyud*), is the practice of the path connected with the four initiations. The third continuum is that of the final fruit (*mthar thug 'bras bu'i rgyud*), i.e. mahāmudrā, where the five bodies, namely the qualities of the five gnoses, arise, which are in accordance with the vajrayāna. Stearns has translated the EXPLICATION FOR NYAG that deals in twenty pages (of the translation) with the three continua (2006: 27-47). Other works focus on themes connected with the four initiations, the outer and inner stages of production (*phyi nang gi bskyed rim*), eliminating impediments (*gegs sel*), tantric pledges (Skt. *samaya*, *dam tshig*), the tantric feast (Skt. *gaṇacakra*, *tshogs kyi 'khor lo*), burnt offerings (*sbyin sreg*) or guru yoga. We also find discussions of the relationship between the non-tantric and tantric forms of Buddhist practice, of the integration of mahāyānic structures (such as the five paths and thirteen levels of the bodhisattva literature and the four bodies of a Buddha) into the Path with Its Fruit teachings, and of the twelve acts of the Buddha aligned with moments of yogic experience. This section also contains drawings or diagrams of the channels and syllables in parts of the body such as the vagina (Skt. *bhaga*) and explanations of the postures of the thirty-two exercises (*'khrul 'khor*).

The section of the “authenticity of the treatise” centers on one of the commentaries of the basic text of the Path with Its Fruit cycle, namely the VAJRA LINES, and on the various clarifications and summaries of that commentary. The VAJRA LINES is a recapitulation of the teachings the tradition claims Virūpa received from the goddess Nairātmā, the consort of Hevajra. It was transmitted orally until the time of Sachen Künga Nyingpo, who, according to the tradition, wrote it down in 1141. Drogmi, its translator, had memorized the verses in Sanskrit and passed them on in Tibetan to his disciples. There are altogether eleven commentaries on the basic text, but this section focuses on the EXPLICATION FOR NYAG <p. 91>, a small authoritative text of vast meaning and the last of the eleven commentaries composed, which derives its name from the teacher for whom the work was composed, i.e. Nyag Zhirawa Wangchuk Gyaltzen (12th c.). The section includes twenty-three further clarifications of this work (for which see below, in the general introduction to the Path with Its Fruit teachings).

Finally, the fourth authenticity, namely that of “the basic scriptures,” in general comprises the three Hevajra tantras. In this particular context, however, it comprises four great collections of authoritative statements (*lung sbyar*) from the tantras and one single work, namely the title list of another collection of Path with Its Fruit works, i.e. of the RED BOOK (*pod dmar ma* or *pusti dmar chung*). These writings make up the second successive path that endows the practitioner with pith instructions and teaches the stages of the practice. <pp. 56-58>

The third successive path is described as an expansion of the pith instructions and a clearing away of erroneous notions (*log rtog*). In order to achieve this, the student of this path enters into Sapan’s CLEAR DIFFERENTIATION OF THE THREE VOWS by studying and reflecting on the author’s own interlinear commentary (*rang mchan*), as well as his epistles and replies to questions. <p. 58>

These are the “three successive paths,” which make up one part of the Sakyapa system of pith instructions of Hevajra. The other part consists of a combination of these three, which again has two parts, namely the “extensive successive path” (*lam rgyas pa*) for the “successive engager” (*gang zag rim gyis pa*) and the “abbreviated path” (*lam bsdus pa*) for the “simultaneous engager” (*gang zag gcig car ba*). The “extensive successive path” for the “successive engager” comprises ten works. Seven of these have already been mentioned: most importantly Dragpa Gyaltsen’s CLEAR REALIZATION OF THE TANTRA, Sönam Tsemo’s ENTRANCE GATE TO THE DHARMA (which is one of the four preliminary texts from the “thorough introduction to the scholar’s equipment”), Sapan’s replies to questions (*dris lan*), some instructions on particular themes such as initiation, Dragpa Gyaltsen’s work on the relation between non-tantric and tantric Buddhist practices, <p. 97, no. 1> and, as the last work of the list, the CLEAR DIFFERENTIATION OF THE THREE VOWS. The other three works are clarifications of tantric practices such as mantras and symbols. <p. 59> Finally, the “summarized path” for leading the “simultaneous engager” comprises only five works: three instructions by Sachen and Dragpa Gyaltsen, a text comprising only a single quatrain of verse, which sums up the teachings on many levels, and a profound guru yoga (*bla ma’i rnal ’byor*) by Sakya Pandita. Ultimately, however, even the extensive path can be summarized into three works, namely Dragpa Gyaltsen’s CLEAR REALIZATION OF THE TANTRA and his work on the relation between non-tantric and tantric Buddhist practices, and Sapan’s CLEAR DIFFERENTIATION OF THE THREE VOWS. <pp. 59-61>

The presentation of the Hevajra cycle through the NOTES as outlined above includes only Indian and Tibetan works up to Sakya Pandita. Ame Zhab, however, also received numerous other transmissions of works pertaining to Hevajra, authored by masters both earlier and later than Sapan. These transmissions can be found in his own records of teachings (*thob yig*), in the records collected by him of his masters’ teachings (*gsan yig*), and in passages in several of Ame Zhab’s own works (or works edited by him) on Hevajra that pertain to matters of bibliography and transmission. All these works are described in my *Life, Transmissions, and Works of Ames-zhabs Ngag-dbang-kun-dga’-bsod-nams, the Great 17th Century Sa-skya-pa Bibliophile*,<sup>7</sup> which contains, among other things, a detailed catalogue of the Ame Zhab manuscripts that have recently become available. The records of teachings are an important bibliographical and historical source for the study of Tibetan literature in general. Despite its obvious usefulness, this particular genre has not been studied much. I have provided an overview of the genre in general and of Ame Zhab’s and his teachers’ records of teachings in two recent publications, namely in my article “The ‘Records of Teachings Received’ in the Collected Works of Ames Zhabs: An Untapped Source for the Study of Sa skya pa Biographies”<sup>8</sup> and in my above-mentioned book, where I have devoted Chapters Two and Three of Part One (pp. 33-74) to them. Ame Zhab’s and his teachers’ records of teachings mention well over 3,000 (different) titles that belong to all Tibetan Buddhist genres and themes, mostly in a highly systematic form of presentation. Most important in the present context is the fact that these titles are first of all presented within their respective cycles of teachings such as “the *pañcakrama* instructions of Guhyasamāja” or, of course, the “Path with Its Fruit” teachings and the “Cycle of Hevajra.” The records also often add information beyond the bare titles of works. Whatever I could learn

<sup>7</sup> This book appeared as volume 38 of the “Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland” (VOHD), Berlin.

<sup>8</sup> The article appeared in *Tibet, Past and Present*, (Proceedings of the Ninth Seminar of the IATS, 2000), Brill, Leiden, pp. 161-181.

through them on the Hevajra teachings is contained in the present book in Chapter Two of *Part I*, sections (a) "Further works on Hevajra transmitted within the Path with Its Fruit transmission" and (b) "Still further works on Hevajra transmitted independent of the Path with Its Fruit transmission." In (a) we find mentioned the works of Mūchen Könchog Gyaltsen (1388-1469), Gorampa Sönam Senge (1429-1489), who were the second and sixth abbots of Ngor, respectively, and of Dzungpa Kūnga Gyaltsen (1382-1446) and Je Dorje Denpa Kūnga Namgyal (1432-1496), both representatives of the Dzung system of Path with Its Fruit teachings, located at the Dzung-chung monastery, the other great center of mantra teachings of the Sakya tradition (to which I will return below, in the context of the Path with Its Fruit teachings). These are ritual works and instructions on practice, plus a clarification of quarrels and an as yet untraceable commentary on the basic tantra. <pp. 63-64>

In the "Still further works on Hevajra transmitted independent of the Path with Its Fruit transmission" section, I mention only those titles that were not already mentioned in the NOTES. Of some importance are the additional notes (*mchan*) on the basic Hevajra tantra by Phagpa Lodrö Gyaltsen, the nephew of Sapan. These notes are to my knowledge at present unavailable, but they are mentioned in a recent title list that gives all the works that exist in the Potala in Lhasa. In the "teachings received" of Ngawang Chödrag, we find eight maṇḍala works identified among Abhayākara Gupta's *Vajrāvalī* that pertain to the three Hevajra tantras. These writings have survived both in Sanskrit and Tibetan. We furthermore find ritual works (*sādhana*, initiation and maṇḍala) and explanations of these belonging to the four "chariot systems" transmitted within the Sakya tradition, namely those of Ḍombīheruka, Tsokye Dorje, Nagpo Damtshig Dorje, and Nyandrag Zangpo. These works were authored by Sönam Tsemo, Ngorchen Kūnga Zangpo, and Gorampa Sönam Senge. Ngorchen has also composed an important history of the Hevajra tantra (*rgyud kyi byung tshul*) and its lineage gurus (*bla ma'i rnam thar*) and a very useful title list (*dkar chag*) of Hevajra commentaries (*'grel pa*). Another prolific writer has been Sharpa Yeshe Gyaltsen (d. 1406), the disciple of Palden Tsültrim and teacher of Ngorchen. He contributed, among other things, an abbreviated version of Dragpa Gyaltsen's work on the manner of giving expositions of Hevajra, supplements to Dragpa Gyaltsen's explication of the basic tantra, and a blending of Dragpa Gyaltsen's exposition just mentioned and his Hevajra-*abhisamaya* work. The latter work stands in a long tradition of blending these works of Dragpa Gyaltsen that appears to have become a popular practice around the time of Phagpa's direct disciples. But we also find mention of earlier examples, such as a work by Khangtön Özer Gyaltsen (fl. 13th c.), who is said to have recorded a teaching by Sapan. It is also said that the blending of Dragpa Gyaltsen's works (and also sometimes additional works) into one was a teaching method started by Sapan. <pp. 64-66>

As mentioned above, an important source for the study of the Hevajra transmission within the Sakyapa tradition are the colophons of Ame Zhab's own works on Hevajra and those passages within his works that pertain to matters of Hevajra bibliography and transmission. If we draw up a list of the authors of the Hevajra commentaries and pith instructions that he refers to in his colophons as the basis for his own compositions, it looks like this:

- Ngari Salwe Nyingpo (11th c.),
- Jetsün Dragpa Gyaltsen (1147-1216),
- Sakya Paṇḍita Kūnga Gyaltsen (1182-1251),
- Phagpa Lodrö Gyaltsen (1235-1280),
- Mūchen (unspecified),
- Zhalu Lotsāva Chökyong Zangpo (1441-1527),
- Mūchen Sangye Rinchen (1450/53?-1524),



- Lowo Khenchen Sönam Lhündrub (1456-1532),
- Könchog Lhündrub (1497-1557),
- Thartse Nä Namkha Palzang (1532-1602),
- Müchen Sangye Gyaltzen (1542-1618),
- Nag Gönpa Jinpa Dragpa (late 16th to early 17th c.), and
- Ngawang Chökyi Dragpa? (1572-1641).

To this list we could add more than forty further authors of works that Ame Zhab mentions in his own writings on Hevajra, the most important of these being:

- Gyagom Tshultrim Drag (b. 11th c.),
- Khön Gyichuwa Shākya Bar (late 11th to early 12th c.),
- (Minyag) Prajnyā Jāla (b. 12th c.), and
- Nyen Phul Chungpa Tsugtor Gyalpo (12th c.).

Of great interest are the Hevajra commentaries by Ngari Salwe Nyingpo, a direct disciple of Drogmi Lotsāva. Drogmi transmitted Ḍombīheruka's and Kāṅha's Hevajra systems (of commentaries and of pith instructions) to him. <p. 31> His other tantric teacher was Gö Khugpa Lhatse, responsible for the Hevajra transmission according to Nagpopa's (Samayavajra's) system. <p. 36> Salwe Nyingpo enjoys the reputation of being a great expert on Hevajra in the Sakya tradition. He had apparently produced extremely detailed notes on the three Hevajra tantras and his eccentric teacher Drogmi is reported to have confiscated. Yet Salwe Nyingpo again produced notes (*mchan*) for the basic tantra and explanatory notes (*zin bris*) on difficult passages (*dka' sa*), but the guru again demanded that they be removed. This time, however, he at least hid the explanations of the difficult passages of the basic tantra in a felt bag (*phying khug*); these seem to be the notes that later became famous as the "wrapped book." The tradition further reports that at a later time he composed a large and a small word commentary (*tshig 'grel*) on the basic Hevajratantra and notes to all three tantras. <ftn. 176> A detailed word commentary indeed survived and this may be the earliest extant Tibetan Hevajra commentary. Ame Zhab mentions (another?) work, the CLARIFYING LIGHT (*rGyud sde spyi rnam theg pa gsal ba'i sgron me*), describing it as a very detailed scrutinizing of the basic tantra. <p. 67> I am at present uncertain whether these descriptions refer to one and the same work. The notes of the "wrapped book" are, according to Ngorchen, contained in three Hevajra commentaries by the great Sakyapa fathers, namely (1) Sapan Kūnga Nyingpo's COMMENTARY ON DIFFICULT PASSAGES: CLARIFYING PITH INSTRUCTIONS (*dKa' 'grel man ngag don gsal*), (2) Sönam Tsemo's LIGHT RAYS OF THE SUN (*rNam bshad nyi ma'i 'od zer*) and (3) Jetsün Dragpa Gyaltzen's DETAILED EXPLANATION POSSESSING PURITY (*rNam bshad dag ldan*). Ame Zhab describes these as being for those of supreme intelligence, of medium and higher intelligence, and of inferior understanding, respectively. <pp. 52-53> Ngorchen also mentions that at first Khenchen Gechuwa (i.e. Gyichuwa) Dralha Bar, the disciple of Salwe Nyingpo, extended the notes on the three tantras and composed a commentary on the "wrapped book" (i.e. his COMMENTARY ON DIFFICULT PASSAGES - *bKa' [!] 'grel*), before Sapan, Sönam Tsemo and Dragpa Gyaltzen again slightly extended the notes. <ftn. 226> It is therefore also possible that Salwe Nyingpo's notes on the three tantras were the teaching that later became known as the "wrapped book." However that may be, it is clear that for the Sakyapas, Salwe Nyingpo and his teachings provided the crucial link to the transmission of the two translators Drogmi and Gö.

The two most important Hevajra works by Jetsün Dragpa Gyaltzen are certainly his (fifty-seven) CLEAR REALIZATIONS OF TANTRA: TREE OF JEWELS and the DETAILED EXPLANATION POSSESSING PURITY, containing the notes of the "wrapped book" (both already mentioned above). In his commentary on the basic Hevajra tantra, Ame Zhab mentions Dragpa Gyaltzen's

“three writings *Dag, lJon* and *sPyi*.” Of these, the first two are the above-mentioned works. The “*sPyi*,” however, is actually Sapan’s TOPICAL OUTLINE OF THE GENERAL MEANING (*sTong thun* [= *spyi don*] *sa bcaad*), which comments on Dragpa Gyaltsen’s “four preceding ways through which tantras are explicated.” <p. 51 > These were later also commented upon by Sharpa Yeshe Gyaltsen (d. 1406) and Nag Gönpa Jingpa Drag (16th/17th c.). <pp. 66 and 67>

Phagpa Lodrö Gyaltsen’s notes on the basic Hevajra tantra have still not turned up. I have been told, however, by the present Drigung Chetshang Rinpoche that he saw Phagpa’s notes mentioned in a recent title list of all the works that exist in the Potala in Lhasa. His commentary on the tantra is rather short and is combined in the collected works with another work. Both of them allude in their titles to two works mentioned in the paragraph above, namely to Dragpa Gyaltsen’s (POSSESSING PURITY/*Dag ldan*) and Sapan’s (GENERAL MEANING/*sPyi don*). Another of his works is the easily read condensed CLEAR REALIZATION: SMALL TREE (*mNgon rtogs ljon chung*). <p. 69>

There are also the three early masters of the 11th/12th century, namely Minyag Prajnyā Jāla (disciple of Sapan), Gyagom Tshultrim Drag (disciple of Sönam Tsemo?) and Nyanphul Chungwa Tsugtor Gyalpo (= Sönam Dorje?), whose COMMENTARY ON DIFFICULT PASSAGES (*dKa' 'grel*) writings were considered by Ame Zhab as being “very necessary works for this system” and as “equal to the seven special teachings of the three great Sakyapa masters,” <p. 68> five of which I was able to identify<sup>9</sup> as the following works (which have all been mentioned above in different contexts):

- (1) Sapan Künga Nyingpo’s COMMENTARY ON DIFFICULT PASSAGES: CLARIFYING PITH INSTRUCTIONS (*dKa' 'grel man ngag don gsal*),
- (2) Sönam Tsemo’s LIGHT RAYS OF THE SUN (*Nyi ma'i 'od zer*),
- (3) Jetsün Dragpa Gyaltsen’s DETAILED EXPLANATION POSSESSING PURITY (*rNam bshad dag ldan*),
- (4) Sönam Tsemo’s SYSTEMATIC PRESENTATION OF THE TANTRA SECTION (*rGyud sde spyi'i rnam gzhang*), and
- (5) Jetsün Dragpa Gyaltsen’s CLEAR REALIZATIONS OF TANTRA (*mNgon rtogs ljon shing*).

Finally Ngawang Chökyi Dragpa (1572-1641), the direct disciple of Mangthö Ludrub Gyatso (1523-1596), must be mentioned. He is referred to as the person on whose teachings and writings Ame Zhab based his own extensive notes on the three Hevajra tantras (see bibliography: *A-mes-zhabs' "Three Tantras"*). Unfortunately, however, the colophon does not mention any details and it remains uncertain which of Ngawang Chödrag’s works (whose title list is documented in *Appendix IIj*) was used as the basis for Ame Zhab’s composition.

Ame Zhab also provides some interesting observations on the VAJRA TENT TANTRA (*Ḍālānī-Vajrapañjara*) and on the *Saṃpuṭatantra* and their commentaries. The VAJRA TENT TANTRA is the “uncommon *vyākhyātantra*” (*bshad rgyud thun mong ma yin pa*), i.e. one that is not shared with other tantras, while the *Saṃpuṭatantra* is the common *vyākhyātantra* and thus shared with the Cakrasaṃvara (and other) cycles. <p. 29 f.> As already mentioned above, the *Saṃpuṭatantra* is considered to be of major importance, because it is here that the stage of completion is revealed in detail. The commentary on the VAJRA TENT TANTRA by Lhai Rigkyi Lodrö, a COMMENTARY ON DIFFICULT PASSAGES, is in accordance with the system of Slobdpon Shāntipa (i.e. Ratnākaraśānti). But since Ngorchen has not stressed that commentary, it may be neglected, says Ame Zhab. Nevertheless, except for a small part of its introduction (*gleng gzhi*), it accords with the Sakyapa system. In addition, there were also what appear to be

<sup>9</sup> The quote from which I was able to identify them is unfortunately interrupted.

two commentaries by Indrabhūti and “the lesser Nagpo” (Kṛṣṇapāda), but already Ngorchen noted that they are merely different translations of the same Indian work. Although he makes no indication of the actual author, he nevertheless states that the text was of considerable interest to Sapan and his sons. <p. 75> Accordingly, Ame Zhab states that Dragpa Gyaltsen composed his VAJRA TENT TANTRA ORNAMENT (*Gur gyi rgyan*, see below) “on the basis of the lesser Nagpo’s commentary,” and thereby indicates that he holds Kṛṣṇapāda to be the author of the controversial commentary. As mentioned above, the VAJRA TENT TANTRA reveals the stage of production in great detail. Accordingly, Mithub Dāwa (Durjayacandra) based his six-limbed *sādhana*, which is supposedly “for those with highest faculties,” on a model found in the fourth chapter. <fn. 33> Maṇḍalas of the VAJRA TENT TANTRA were transmitted by Abhayākaragupta in his *Vajrāvalī*, namely one with fifteen deities and a *Vajratārā-maṇḍala*. <p. 65>

In Tibet, a number of related works were composed by the early Sakyapas. Sapan Kūnga Nyingpo provided a short list (*tho yig*) concerning the VAJRA TENT TANTRA <fn. 211> and a very abbreviated outline (*chings*). <p. 53> His disciple (Minyag) Prajnyā Jāla is supposed to have composed an explanation of difficult passages. Likewise Sōnam Tsemo is said to have composed a commentary “up to the fifth chapter” (*rtse mo ’i le ’u lnga pa yan gyi ’grel pa*), but I have not been able to find any trace of it. Finally, Dragpa Gyaltsen contributed three compositions: One full commentary, i.e. the VAJRA TENT TANTRA ORNAMENT, together with its abbreviation and detailed interlinear notes. All three works survived. <ftns. 211 and 142>

In regard to the *Samputa*, three Indian commentaries are mentioned, namely the ones by Indrabhūti, Abhayākaragupta and Nyime Dorje (Advayavajra?). They are, however, written only partly in accordance with the Sakyapa system. Furthermore, the one by Indrabhūti is “very unrefined” (*shin tu gyong pa*) and thus “cannot be taught today.” <p. 76> Abhayākaragupta’s commentary only played a role among later Sakyapas (ca. from the 14th century onwards). I could not locate a commentary by Nyime Dorje. Among the “eight minor commentaries connected with Drogmi,” we find a commentary that is ascribed to Nagpo, but that might be a mistake, for such a commentary is otherwise ascribed to Pawo Dorje (Vīravajra), who was, according to the Sakyapas, Prajñendraruci, Drogmi’s collaborator on many occasions. Ame Zhab, however, drawing on notes to Ngorchen’s teachings, suggests that this is really Zangkar Lotsāva, since the latter’s secret name (*gsang mtshan*) may also have been “Pawo Dorje.” <p. 76>

The early Sakyapas also contributed a few works. Ngari Salwe Nyingpo, Sachen and Sapan are all said to have provided interlinear notes. In addition, Sapan composed explanations (*rnam bshad*) <fn. 215> and Sōnam Tsemo, in 1175, his extensive CLARIFICATION OF VITAL POINTS (*gNad kyi gsal byed*), the final part of which was somewhat supplemented by Dragpa Gyaltsen, and also made its topical outline (*bsdus don*), which was edited by Dragpa Gyaltsen. <p. 53>

## General introduction to the transmission of the Path with Its Fruit teachings

My attempt to map out the Path with Its Fruit literature of the Sakyapas is based on the title lists (*dkar chag*) of the central volumes of this cycle of teachings, and on the writings and records of teachings of Ame Zhab. There are three central volumes of Path with Its Fruit teachings in this tradition: The YELLOW BOOK (*pod ser ma*), the (LITTLE) RED BOOK (*pod dmar ma* or *pusti dmar chung*), and the BLACK BOOK (*pod nag ma*). Both the YELLOW BOOK and the RED BOOK are said to have derived their names from the fact that they were wrapped in yellow and red cloth at one time. One would assume that this is also the case with the BLACK BOOK. These collections are not likely to always have contained the exact same works they do today.

The YELLOW BOOK originally contained the VAJRA LINES (*rDo rje tshig rkang*), the basic text of the Path with Its Fruit cycle, together with a number of early writings by Sapan Kunga Nyingpo and, in a few cases, by Phagmo Drupa, <ftn. 258> who, prior to meeting Gampopa, had been a close disciple of Sapan for more than a decade. Both Sönam Tsemo and Dragpa Gyaltsen added works to it, with the latter composing a title list (*dkar chag*) sometime between 1212 and 1216. This title list is of course of some interest, and it fixes the content of that collection for this early period. <p. 83>

At the beginning of the text of the title list, Dragpa Gyaltsen remarks that the VAJRA LINES and those texts written down by Sapan (remaining silent about Phagmodrupa's) were in fact previously oral transmissions. <p. 85> The first part of the YELLOW BOOK comprises the "extensive path" (*lam rgyas pa*), consisting of thirty-four books:

- (1) The basic text, i.e. the VAJRA LINES,
- (2) its commentary, namely the EXPLICATION FOR NYAG <p. 83>,
- (3-25) twenty-three clarifications of the EXPLICATION FOR NYAG, <pp. 92-94> (26-34) and "nine of seventeen texts that issued from the basic text." <pp. 94-95>

Of these, the basic text, i.e. the VAJRA LINES, can be subdivided into the following sections (cf. Davidson 2005: appendix 2):<sup>10</sup>

The extensive path (*lam rgyas pa*)

1. Teaching the path common to both saṃsāra and nirvāna
  - 1.1. The path taught as the "three appearances" (*snang ba gsum*)
  - 1.2. The path taught as the "three continua" (*rgyud gsum*)
  - 1.3. The path taught as the "four authenticities" (*tshad ma bzhi*)
  - 1.4. The path taught as the six pith instructions (*gdams ngag drug*)
  - 1.5. The path that is taught as the four oral transmissions (*snyan brgyud bzhi*)
  - 1.6. The path that is taught as the five dependent originations (*rten 'brel lnga*)
  - 1.7. Teaching the particulars of protecting from the impediments of being overly inclined (*phyogs su lhung ba*) toward method and insight
2. Teaching the mundane path
  - 2.1. Teaching briefly the cause for the arising of meditative concentration (*samādhi*)
  - 2.2. Detailed teaching of the cause for the arising of concentration in condensed form
  - 2.3. Teaching the path that is free from hope and fear (*re dogs dang bral ba*)
  - 2.4. Teaching the path that is taught as the four tests (*sad pa bzhi*)
  - 2.5. Teaching the path of the application of the mindfulness (*dran pa nyer gzhang*)
  - 2.6. Teaching its result<sup>11</sup>
  - 2.7. Teaching the conclusion (*mjug sdud*)
3. Teaching the transcendent path

<sup>10</sup> Davidson bases his sections on the *sGa theng ma*. They do not appear in the VAJRA LINES itself.

<sup>11</sup> This is the heading in Davidson's presentation of the Tibetan headings (p. 486, F.). In Stearns (p. 89 ff.) this is called the "four perfect renunciations."

- 3.1. Obtaining the *nirmāṅakāya*
- 3.2. The four initiations from the *sambhogakāya*
- 3.3. The four initiations from the *dharmakāya*
- 3.4. The four initiations again; the *svabhavikakāya*
- 4.1. Gnosis
- 4.2. The profound, middling and abbreviated path

The commentary on the VAJRA LINES, namely the EXPLICATION FOR NYAG, is (as mentioned above) the last of the eleven commentaries composed and derives its name from the teacher for whom the work was composed, i.e. Nyag Zhirawa Wangchuk Gyaltzen (12th c.). It provides a short but very profound overview of the Path with Its Fruit teachings, touching upon each of the key issues. In his amazing book *Taking the Result as the Path*, Stearns has provided a complete translation of the text (2006: 25-126). The text is an interesting example of a Tibetan attempt at systematizing the Indian tantric heritage, which—especially in contrast to the Tibetan approach—sometimes appears to be rather chaotic. Sachen Kunga Nyingpo has brought an order to the VAJRA LINES that has a strong resemblance to the “stages of the path” (*lam rim*) approach. His EXPLICATION FOR NYAG has three main parts, namely (1) the path of *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa* in common, (2) the mundane path, and (3) the transcendent path. In his treatise, he applies the idea of a progression on the path from a multitude of perspectives. Thus the treatise describes a path that leads from the mundane to the transcendent, from the impure to the pure, from first and subsequent causes of concentration to their respective results, and from the first levels of attainment to the final gnosis. Along the way he touches upon more general tantric concepts, such as that of the three appearances (*snang ba gsum*) and the three continua (*rgyud gsum*). But he also connects the teaching of the VAJRA LINES up to the specifics of primarily the path of means (*thabs lam*) by applying the two perspectives of the “three modes of guidance” and the “two modes of progression” on the path, describing the various experiences that arise in connection with the practices of the vital winds, channels, and drops.

\* \* \*

The twenty-three clarifications of the EXPLICATION FOR NYAG are sometimes broken down into two, i.e. twenty-two clarifications and one summary. Ame Zhab presents them divided into three sections: (1) the path common to *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa* (*‘khor ‘das thun mong ba’i lam*), (2) the mundane path (*‘jig rten pa’i lam*), and (3) the trans[mundane] path (*‘das pa’i lam*). Seventeen of the twenty-three clarifications are concerned with the first section. They deal with the continuity of the universal ground, the body as *maṅḍala*, the four initiations, the intermediate state, the four authenticities (*tshad ma bzhi*), various instructions such as the protection of the *bindu* (*thig le*), and with branch practices for removing obscurations such as the burnt offering (*sbyin sreg*), the offering of *Tsa-tsa*, and the recitation of the hundred-syllable *Heruka* mantra. The two works focusing on the second section deal with wind (*rlung*) practices and with the syllables visualized within the *bha ga*-*maṅḍala*. The three works on the third section focus on specific practices in conjunction with the four initiations and with the thirteenth bodhisattva level. The final text contains a summary. This section of the YELLOW BOOK with the EXPLICATION FOR NYAG and its clarifications also forms an important part of the Hevajra pith instructions, namely of the “second successive path” (which has been mentioned above); from a certain point in time on, the section was designated the “authenticity of the treatise.” <pp. 92-94>

The first of the remaining nine texts of the extensive path of the Path with Its Fruit teachings in the YELLOW BOOK covers the “three continua” (*rgyud gsum*), i.e. the continuum of the universal ground, which is the cause (*kun gzhi rgyu'i rgyud*), where the view that saṃsāra and nirvāṇa are inseparable is maintained, the continuum of the body, which is the method (*lus thabs kyi rgyud*), i.e. the practice of the path connected with the four initiations, and the continuum of the final fruit (*mthar thug 'bras bu'i rgyud*), i.e. mahāmudrā, where the five bodies, namely the qualities of the five gnoses arise. Other works deal again with initiation, the outer and inner stages of production (*phyi nang gi bskyed rim*), the blessing of nectar pills (*bdud rtsi ril bu*) and the removal of impediments (*gegs sel*). Eight of these nine works are again to be found among the previously discussed Hevajra pith instructions. They are part of the “seventeen texts that issued from the basic text” <p. 94>. Only one title, the blessing of nectar pills, differs from the works included in the Hevajra pith instructions. Other works are known to the Path with Its Fruit system, but they are usually not contained in the YELLOW BOOK. These are works that pertain directly to the practice of Hevajra, i.e. an initiation ritual, two *sādhana*, a tantric feast (*tshogs kyi 'khor lo*) and a burnt offering (*sbyin sreg*). Thus the VAJRA LINES, the EXPLICATION FOR NYAG, the twenty-three clarifying works, and the nine (of the seventeen works) make up the thirty-four writings that form what Dragpa Gyaltsen terms the “extensive path of the Path with Its Fruit teachings.” <pp. 94-95>

The YELLOW BOOK also offers a “medium path” (*lam 'bring po*) and an “abbreviated path” (*lam bsdus pa*). The first, a work of four folios, is described as the “path without the basic text” (*rtsa ba med pa'i lam*), which means that it is a path that is not based on the VAJRA LINES; it abbreviates the path through five topics. The second consists of a single quatrain of verse, which sums up the teachings on many levels. These are obviously not alternatives to the extensive path, but merely provide its abbreviations. These, too, are part of the Hevajra pith instructions. <p. 96>

The next section in the YELLOW BOOK comprises ten works. These are known as the “four great fundamental [instructions]” (*gzhung shing chen po bzhi*), the “five teachings to produce realization” (*rtogs pa bskyed pa'i chos lnga*), and the *guru yoga*. Except for the latter, these are again also part of the Hevajra pith instructions. The *guru yoga* is not the same as the one mentioned in the Hevajra instructions. Some later authors have described the above twenty-nine works, namely the “seventeen works that issued [from the basic text],” two “medium” and “abbreviated” path-texts, “four great fundamental [instructions],” “five teachings for producing realization,” and the *guru yoga*, as the “authenticity of experience” (*nyams myong gi tshad ma*). <pp. 97-98>

Finally, the collection of writings in the YELLOW BOOK contains five texts that are considered to be a support (*rgyab rten*) for all the above teachings. These are three collections of quotations from basic scriptures (*lung sbyor*) and two works with biographies of the early lineage gurus. These were later described as “authoritative statements of the Sugata-authenticity” and “guru-authenticity,” and they are also part of the Hevajra pith instructions. <pp. 98-99> Thus the sixty works of the YELLOW BOOK are almost completely identical with the sixty writings of the “extensive path” of Hevajra, consisting of the pith instructions.

The second collection of Path with Its Fruit teachings is contained in what is called the (LITTLE) RED BOOK (*pod dmar ma* or *pusti dmar chung*). It contains works by authors up to and including the great founder of Ngor, Künga Zangpo (1382-1457), who also compiled the volume. His nephew, Gyaltsab Künga Wangchuk (1424-1478), composed its title list. It contains sixty works of former masters from Sapan Künga Nyingpo (1092-1158) onwards, which are described as “minor pith instructions” (*man ngag phra mo*) or “minor texts” (*yi ge*

*phra mo*), and ten writings by Ngorchen himself. The sections in the book are labeled in the following way:

- “authenticity of the guru,”
- “authenticity of experience,”
- “authenticity of the treatise,”
- “authenticity of basic scriptures”
- “four profound Dharmas conferred to Sapan by Virūpa,”
- “Dharma links [with] the six gates” (*sgo drug chos 'brel*), and
- “supplements.”

The first section, “authenticity of the guru,” contains material pertaining to the lineage of gurus of the Path with Its Fruit transmission. <p. 103> The second section, “authenticity of experience,” is the largest section of the RED BOOK. Here one finds instructions pertaining to various aspects of the practice of the Path with Its Fruit, in particular with regard to the initiations and the removing of obstacles. <pp. 103-106> The “authenticity of the treatise” section contains the pith instructions of the Path with Its Fruit teachings that Sapan obtained from Zhangtön Chöbar (1053-1135), who in turn had obtained them from Drogmi’s direct disciple Se-ston Kun-rig. <pp. 106-107> The “authenticity of basic scriptures” section contains a supplement to the collection of quotations from basic scriptures (*lung sbyor*) found in the YELLOW BOOK (which appears to be a later addition to the RED BOOK). <p. 107>

The next section is the one called “four profound Dharmas conferred to Sapan by Virūpa.” A later note shows how these sixteen writings are “four Dharmas.” Accordingly, there are four key works, namely the PROFOUND GURU YOGA (*Lam zab mo bla ma'i rnal 'byor*), the TEACHING OF THE HIDDEN PATH (*Lam sbas bshad*), dealing with the secret initiation, the PITH INSTRUCTIONS OF GUARDING ACCORDING TO VIRUPA (*Bir bsrung gi man ngag*), and the BLESSING OF VIRUPA’S VAJRAVIDARANI (*rNam 'joms bir lugs lgyi byin rlabs byed tshul*). The other twelve are branches of these. <pp. 108-109>

The section “Dharma links [with] the six gates” (*sgo drug chos 'brel*) contains instructions that Drogmi Lotsāva obtained from the “masters of the six gates” (*mlchas pa sgo drug*), i.e. the gate keepers of Nāleन्द्रa: Shāntipa, Prajñākara Gupta, Jñānaśrī, Ratnavajra, Nāropa and Vāgīśvarakīrti. Their teachings pertain to the practice of blending sūtra and mantra (*mdo rgyud bsre ba'i nyams len*), the elimination of the three impediments (*bar chad gsum sel*), the body-maṇḍala (*lus dkyil*), and the mahāmudrā that is the removal of the threefold suffering (*phyag rgya chen po sdug bsngal gsum sel*). <p. 110>

Finally, the RED BOOK contains nine mostly very brief supplements that were all composed by Ngorchen. One of these pertains to the PITH INSTRUCTIONS OF GUARDING ACCORDING TO VIRUPA, and summarizes the miscellaneous writings of the former Sakyapa masters on this subject and the pith instructions (*man ngag*) that are contained in the evocation rituals of Phagpa Lodrö Gyaltsen and Kar Shākya Drag. <pp. 110-111>

The third collection of Path with Its Fruit teachings is contained in the BLACK BOOK (*pod nag ma*). It contains the writings of the fifteenth throne-holder of Sakya, Lama Dampa Sönam Gyaltsen (1312-1375), composed between 1342 and 1347. Lama Dampa provides, among other things, the earliest surviving history of the Path with Its Fruit and the other teachings of the “nine path-cycles” (*lam skor dgu*), incorporating older material into his work. In the second work, a commentary on the VAJRA LINES, he draws from a number of earlier commentaries and smaller works by Sapan, Dragpa Gyaltsen and Sakya Pandita. In the third work, Lama Dampa bestows instructions on the “three appearances” (*snang gsum*) and “three continua” (*rgyud gsum*). The “three appearances” are preliminaries, which are, in short, in accordance with the

*prajñāpāramitā* system, the impure appearances (*ma dag pa 'i snang ba*) of ordinary beings, the appearances of yogic experience (*rnal 'byor nyams kyi snang ba*), and the pure appearances (*dag pa 'i snang ba*) of the Buddha (see p. 114 and fn. 239). The three continua (*rgyud gsum*) have already been mentioned above. The remaining works deal with further pith instructions, guru yoga, and initiation into the body maṇḍala. <pp. 113-115> One must also mention the mantra tradition that was located at Sakya Dzong-chung, a monastery founded by Dzongpa Zungkyi Pal (1306-1389), a disciple of Lama Dampa Sönam Gyaltzen. The masters of this tradition also added a number of important contributions to the Hevajra and Path with Its Fruit literature. Ame Zhab composed a detailed work on the stages of the practice of the Ngor (i.e. the other important mantra tradition of Sakya) and Dzong that is as yet unstudied. <pp. 115-116>

Finally there is also the practice of Khau Drag Dzong, which received its name through the isolated retreat site Khau Drag Dzong. It is built on the pith instructions of the Path with Its Fruit as handed down through the “profound explication for disciples,” a term which also provides an alternative name for this cycle of practice (i.e. *lam 'bras slob bshad*). This “profound explication for disciples” was formerly completely unknown outside of a very small cycle of teachers and their students. These instructions were passed down from Müchen Könchog Gyaltzen (1388-1469) to Dagchen Lodrö Gyaltzen (1444-1495), who passed them to Kunpang Doringpa (1449-1524). The Doringpa bestowed them in Khau Drag Dzong on his disciple Tsharchen Lodrö Gyatso (1502-1566/67), who became the greatest figure of this tradition. Hence, it has the third name “tradition of Tshar.” <pp. 116-117>

These are the principle collections and traditions of the Path with Its Fruit teachings, namely the YELLOW BOOK, the RED BOOK, the BLACK BOOK, the Dzong mantra tradition and the tradition of Khau Drag Dzong, also known as “profound explication for disciples” (*lam 'bras slob bshad*) or “tradition of Tshar.” Outside of these collections and following these chief traditions, numerous other works appeared, whose authors were such eminent figures as Müchen Könchog Gyaltzen (1388-1469), Gorampa Sönam Senge (1429-1489), Müchen Sangye Rinchen (1450-1524), Könchog Lhündrub (1497-1557), Dagchen Lodrö Gyaltzen (1444-1495), Jamyang Khyentse Wangchuk (1524-1568), and Ngagwang Chökyi Dragpa (1572-1641), and of course Ame Zhab together with his uncle Sönam Wangpo (1559-1621). Their contributions are listed in the main part of this book. <pp. 118-124>



## Short note on divisions and numbers in this book

The presentation in *Part I* is structured in the following way. The first chapter deals with the NOTES in three sections. The first (short) section explains the four successive stages of entering the path (1-4), the second (short) section deals with the four great transmissions (A-D), and the third section covers 'Brog-mi Lo-tsā-ba's (11th c.) transmission in detail (A1-A4d2). I have inserted these paragraph numbers (A1-A4d2) in accordance with the original divisions of the Tibetan text of the NOTES, which itself is presented in *Appendix IIIb* at the end of the book (*Appendix IIIa* contains the translation proper of the text). The second chapter of *Part I* has five sections and utilizes A-mes-zhabs' own works (i-v). All of the works mentioned in this part were authored after Sa-paṅ (but includes authors who were his and his uncle Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan's direct disciples).<sup>12</sup> The five sections of chapter two contain (i) remarks on Hevajra works transmitted within and (ii) independent of the Path with Its Fruit transmission, (iii) remarks on Hevajra works in further works of A-mes-zhabs, (iv) his remarks on the Indian commentaries of the *Vajrapañjara* and *Saṃputatantra*, and (v) miscellaneous mentionings. The third chapter presents the main lineages of Hevajra transmissions received by A-mes-zhabs.

With *Part II* of this book I attempt to map out a cycle of literature known as the Path with Its Fruit (*lam 'bras*). My approach to the *lam 'bras* literature is based on the title lists (*dkar chag*) of the central volumes of this cycle of teachings, and on the writings and records of teachings of A-mes-zhabs. I will present the title lists of the so-called *Yellow* and *Red Book* (chapters 1 and 2) and explain their structure with the help of title lists and notes in A-mes-zhabs' records of teachings (chapter 3) and through some passages of his Path with Its Fruit writings (chapter 4).

Several hundred titles of works on Hevajra and *lam 'bras* are mentioned in this study. To keep excessive citation of bibliographical data and cross-references in the main body of the book to an unavoidable minimum, I have assigned a number to (most of) the titles mentioned throughout the book. Despite considerable overlap, in general the titles numbered #001#-#274# refer to works on Hevajra mentioned in my sources and the titles numbered #275#-#683# refer to *lam 'bras* literature. In addition to these topical title lists of Hevajra and *lam 'bras* literature respectively, I have prepared an exhaustive "in house" title list of works mentioned in the collected records of teachings (*gsan yig*) of A-mes-zhabs with over 3,000 titles.<sup>13</sup> In the present study, however, I mention only those titles from the records of teachings that pertain to the cycles of Hevajra and *lam 'bras*. These latter titles (#001#-#683#) are documented together with their available bibliographic data, etc. in *Appendix I* of this book. Please refer to the introduction of that *Appendix* for further details of the system of numbering and the structure of the list. The exhaustive title list of the records of teachings with well over 3,000 titles will not be documented in this study. I intend to make it available in digital form some time in the future.

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<sup>12</sup> Authored previous to Sa-paṅ and thus exceptions are a few works by the Indian master Abhayākaragupta (d. 1125), which are listed in chapter 2(b) of *Part I*, and one work each by sGyi-chu-ba (late 11th to early 12th c., #211#), and Se-mkhar-chung-ba (= Se-ston, late 11th c., #212#), for which see chapter 2(c) of *Part I*.

<sup>13</sup> Titles which I have found in A-mes-zhabs' collection of *gSan yig* are marked in *Appendix I* with an asterisk, e.g. *sGrub thabs rgya rtsa* \*.



Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po  
miniature from the manuscripts  
of A-mes-zhabs' works  
vol. *dza*, no. 3, fol. 1v right

# Part I

## Hevajra literature of India and Tibet as seen through the eyes of A-mes-zhabs

### Chapter 1

#### The NOTES on the Hevajra literature

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The NOTES is called a “Dharma gate” (*chos sgo*) and an “explication of how to enter” (*jug tshul*). This reminds one of the titles of works such as bSod-nams-rtse-mo’s *Chos la ‘jug pa’i sgo* (“Gate for Entering the Dharma”), or Sa-paṅ’s *mKhas pa ‘jug pa’i sgo* (“Entrance Gate for the Wise”). These works, however, are introductions to the Buddha’s teachings in general and to the methodology of Indian Buddhist scholarship. The work under investigation is primarily concerned with the Indian and Tibetan Sa-skya-pa literature on Hevajra; it introduces its main transmissions and writings in a highly systematic fashion. As such, this work appears to be unique.

According to the colophon of the NOTES, A-mes-zhabs has arranged this work reproducing a teaching of Ngor-chen Kun-dga’-bzang-po (1382-1456) that had been written down by Chos-dpal-bzang-po, one of Ngor-chen’s direct disciples.<sup>14</sup> The exact nature of A-mes-zhabs’ contribution to the NOTES is unclear. He preserves quite a few important works by previous masters in his collected works, some clearly earlier works simply transmitted by him, some to some extent edited or supplemented. The fact that none of the works mentioned in the NOTES are *post* Sa-paṅ rather suggests that it was not supplemented, but perhaps rather edited by A-mes-zhabs. The work is also not mentioned in an old title list of A-mes-zhabs’ writings (and compilations), thus it is likely to have been rendered into its present state after 1648.<sup>15</sup>

#### (a) The introduction of the NOTES

The introduction of the NOTES mentions, in general, four successive stages of entering the path. In short, these are:

- (1) studying the “four great treatises” (*bstan bcos chen po bzhi*),
- (2) dwelling on the “four great transmissions” (*bka’ bab chen po bzhi*),
- (3) purifying oneself (*byi dor byas*) through “*sdom*” and “*rig(s)*”, and
- (4) exerting oneself in the three activities of a scholar (*mKhas pa’i bya ba gsum*) by studying, reflecting, and practicing (*thos bsam bsgom gsum*).

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<sup>14</sup> Vol. *kha*, fol. 393: *dpal ldan sa skya pa’i bstan ‘dzin kun gyi gtsug rgyan dam pa rgyal ba’i lung bstan gyi bdud rtsi brnyes pa’i rje btsun rdo rje kun dga’ bzang po’i gsung rgyun/ rje de nyid kyi dngos kyi slob ma chos rje chos dpal bzang pos yi ger btab pa’i gsung rab kyi dgong(!) pa ji lta ba bzhi du bkod pa ‘di ni/ sa skya pa sngags ‘chang ngag dbang kun dga’ bsod nams kyis sugon byon pa’i sa skya pa’i bstan ‘dzin dpon slob rnams la dang ‘dod kyi dad pa lhag par ‘phel ba’i ngang nas/ phyin chad kyang skal bzang las ‘phro can gyi skyes bu rnams lta grub nam par dag pa’i lam la kun kyang rgyun chad med par ‘khrid pa’i slad du bsam pa dag cing sbyor ba gus pa’i sgo nas mgyogs par sbyar ba’o.*

<sup>15</sup> This “old title list” of A-mes-zhabs’ writings mentioned here, compiled by his first biographer, Byams-pa-bsam-gtan-rgya-mtsho, covering the period up to his 53rd year, was composed in late 1648. It is contained in the collected works of A-mes-zhabs in vol. *nga*, ms. no. 11, fols. 298r-312v. See Sobisch (forthcoming), *Part IIa*, chapter 1 (=Old title list).

The main focus of the first part of the text is on the second point, the dwelling on the “four great transmissions.” This will be investigated in detail below. The “four great treatises” to be studied first are:

- (1) Sa-skyā Paṇḍita Kun-dga’-rgyal-mtshan’s commentary on bSod-nams-rtse-mo’s *Yi ge’i bklag thabs byis pa bde blag tu ‘jug pa*,<sup>16</sup> namely the *Byis pa bde blag tu ‘jug pa’i rnam bshad*,<sup>17</sup>
- (2) bSod-nams-rtse-mo’s *Chos la ‘jug pa’i sgo*,<sup>18</sup>
- (3) his *rGyud la ‘jug pa’i sgo* (#151#),<sup>19</sup> and
- (4) Sa-skyā Paṇḍita Kun-dga’-rgyal-mtshan’s *mKhas pa rnam ‘jug pa’i sgo*.<sup>20</sup>

The topics of the first work range from the long and short vowels of the Sanskrit alphabet (*yi ge’i ring thung*) to Tibetan orthography (*sgra’i sdeb sbyor*), etc. The second work teaches how the Buddha appeared in this world, how his teachings emerged, how to enter them, etc. The third work makes known the respective presentations of ultimate realities (*gnas lugs*) according to sūtra and tantra and is a general systematic presentation (*spyi’i rnam par gzhang pa*) of the tantra classes and their teachings. Finally the *mKhas ‘jug* is a systematic presentation of teaching, writing, and debating, the “three activities of a scholar.”<sup>21</sup>

The “purifying oneself,” the third stage of entering the path that follows after dwelling in the “four great transmissions,” is achieved through “the two, [i.e.] *sdom* and *rig(!)*.” This must refer to “the two [treatises, namely] *sDom [gsum rab dbye]*<sup>22</sup> and [*Tshad ma*] *rigs [gter]*,<sup>23</sup> which perhaps are thought to be purifying because of the clarifications of misinterpretations (through the first work) and preparing for investigation and debate (through the second). The fourth stage corresponds with the topic of the fourth of the four great treatises, Sa-pan’s *mKhas ‘jug*.

### (b) The “four great transmissions”

Having thus studied the “four great treatises” as a preliminary, one then proceeds with the “four great transmissions” (*bka’ bab chen po bzhi*). These are the transmissions passed down to the great Sa-skyā-pa Kun-dga’-snying-po, namely from

- (A) ‘Brog-mi Lo-tsā-ba Shākya Ye-shes (993-1074/1077/1087),<sup>24</sup>
- (B) Mal Lo-tsā-ba Blo-gros-grags-pa (11th c.),
- (C) Bla-ma Yon-tan-tshul-khrims (11th c.), and
- (D) Ba-ri Lo-tsā-ba Rin-chen-grags (1040-1112).

<sup>16</sup> *Sa-skyā-pa bKa’ ‘bum* 2/18, 318r-326r. See for a detailed study, Verhagen (1995).

<sup>17</sup> *Sa-skyā-pa bKa’ ‘bum* 5/9, 235v-247r.

<sup>18</sup> *Sa-skyā-pa bKa’ ‘bum* 2/17, 263r-317r.

<sup>19</sup> In the NOTES (fol. 2r) it appears as if “*rGyud la ‘jug pa’i sgo*” were the actual title of the work and “*rGyud sde spyi’i rnam par gzhang pa*,” its actual title, only a description of its contents.

<sup>20</sup> *Sa-skyā-pa bKa’ ‘bum* 5/6, 163r-224r.

<sup>21</sup> For the “three activities of a scholar,” Tib. *chad rtsom rtsod*, cf. also Sa-pan’s *sDom gsum rab dbye* (#175#, 2.65) and Rhoton (2002: 89).

<sup>22</sup> The *sDom gsum rab dbye* (#175#) is Sa-pan’s discussion of theoretical and practical problems concerning the *vinaya/prātimokṣa*, the Bodhisattva vows, and the *samaya* of mantra. See Jackson (1987:47 f.) and for a translation Rhoton (2002).

<sup>23</sup> Sa-pan’s masterpiece on Buddhist *pramāṇa* (*Sa-skyā-pa bKa’ ‘bum* 5/19, 1r-25r). For studies of parts of this work until 1987, see Jackson (1987: 44 ff.). For more recent remarks, see Jackson (1994).

<sup>24</sup> For remarks on the life of ‘Brog-mi, see Davidson (2005, esp. chapter 5) and Stearns (2001: 83-101; 2006: 169-181).

From among these, the NOTES deals solely with the Hevajra transmission by ‘Brog-mi Lo-tsā-ba.<sup>25</sup> The other three transmissions are nevertheless identified: (B) Mal Lo-tsā-ba Blo-gros-grags-pa (11th c.) transmitted pith instructions of Lūyipa’s, Kṛṣṇācārya’s, and Ghaṇṭāpāda’s<sup>26</sup> systems of Cakrasaṃvara, three cycles of the black Yamāri, etc., and a cycle of Mahākāla (*mgon po*), etc., (C) Bla-ma Yon-tan-tshul-khrims transmitted cycles of the “major and minor yogas” and of Dharma protectors, etc., transmitted earlier by dGun-blon(?) Rin-chen-bzang-po,<sup>27</sup> and (D) Ba-ri Lo-tsā-ba Rin-chen-grags, second throne holder of Sa-skyā and predecessor of Sa-chen Kun-dga’-snying-po, transmitted the pith instructions that have the *kriyā* and *caryā* tantras as their main subjects, such as the *sGrub thabs brgya rtsa*.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Judging from the initial organization of the text and from its name as given in the colophon and on the title page, one could speculate here whether the text was originally planned as a much larger work that was supposed to include the other three transmissions mentioned as well.

<sup>26</sup> I deal with the Indian tradition primarily from a Tibetan perspective. Since the names of Indian masters are a matter of considerable confusion, instead of adding to the confusion by giving my own inexpert reconstructions, I will give the names here as I found them in my sources, i.e. in Tibetan, unless I mention them in a more general context, or the Tibetan version of the name is a transcription of an originally Sanskrit name, such as in the cases of Indrabhūti or Ḍombiheruka (and in such cases I try to follow the standard Sanskrit orthography). In the case of Indian text titles I will provide abbreviated Sanskrit versions in brackets.

<sup>27</sup> In *Ngor-chen’s Correct System*<sup>a</sup> (5v), Lo-chen Rin-chen-bzang-po (958-1055) is mentioned as having translated Bla-ma Shākya-brtson-‘grus’s commentary on both the *rDo rje gur’ (Vajrapañjara)* and the basic Hevajra tantra and Shānti-pa’s commentary on the basic tantra (*dKa’ ’grel mu tig phreng ba* by Ratnākaraśānti, *Pañjikamuktikāvali*, #010#). Shākya-brtson-‘grus’s commentary and both translations are unknown to me. Moreover, a Shākya-brtson-‘grus seems to appear only as a translator. *Ngor-chen’s Correct System* furthermore notes that among Rin-chen-bzang-po’s central practices has been the Hevajra according to Shānti-pa’s system. Cf. the edition of the *Shel phreng* (biography of Rin-chen-bzang-po) by Snellgrove and Skorupski (1977: 109), according to which Rin-chen-bzang-po was observed practicing Hevajra at noon.

<sup>a</sup> *Ngor-chen’s Correct System* is Ngor-chen Kun-dga’-bzang-po’s teachings of the divisions of tantra as a preliminary of the Hevajra teachings noted down by (Nyag-re) dPal-gyi-rgyal-mtshan (15th c.), edited by A-mes-zhabs; see the collected works of A-mes-zhabs, vol. *pa*, no. 7: *dPal kyai rdo rje’i rgyud ’chad pa’i sngon du ’gro ba rgyud sde spyi’i rnam gzhag la nye bar mkho ba’i legs bshad rdo rje ’chang gi gsung la chos rje dpal gyi rgyal mtshan gyis zin bris su mdzad pa’i gsung rab ngo mtshar can gyi ma dpe tshig sna ring thung sogs cung zad mi ’dra ba gsum la/ phan tshun ’dra bsdur gyis sgo nas zhus dag bgyis pa’i legs par bshad pa blo gsal mig thur*.

<sup>28</sup> The *sGrub thabs rgya rtsa*, i.e. *sGrub thabs kun las btus pa brgya rtsa* (\**Sādhanasāta*) is a collection of evocation rituals mainly translated by Ba-ri Lo-tsā-ba Rin-chen-grags (1040-1112) and Pañḍita Don-yod-rdo-rje (Amoghavajra, b. 10th c.). It comprises some ninety works. Only two works among them were translated by Rin-chen-bzang-po and several by Chos-kyi-grags-pa (the ascription to the latter is, according to Bühnemann, an error, see Bühnemann, 1994: 14). See *P* 80/4127-4220, where the titles of these *sādhanas* are listed in almost exactly the same order as in A-mes-zhabs’ record of teachings (*bSod-nams-dbang-po’s Record*<sup>a</sup> 17r-18v. For Ba-ri Lo-tsā-ba’s biography by bSod-nams-rtse-mo, see *TBRC W20767*. For Ba-ri, see also Stearns (2001: 135 ff., 244 ff.); Davidson (2005: 295 ff.); *Blue Annals*, pp. 73, 211, 405, 1020, 1048; *Collected Works of Bu-ston*, pp. 219 f. His work is also mentioned in Thomas (1903).

Cf. also the *sGrub thabs spyi’i rnam gzhag* by rJe-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, *Sa-skyā-pa bKa’ ’bum* 4/100, 343r-354r, and the *sGrub thabs so so’i yig sna* (arranged) by rJe-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, to which it refers (*Mus-chen’s Record* 60v<sup>b</sup>; *Sa-skyā-pa bKa’ ’bum* 4/99, 299r-343r. These are ca. one-hundred evocation rituals, which were, according to *Mus-chen’s Record*, arranged by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan. According to dKon-mchog-lhun-grub’s *sGrub thabs brgya rtsa’i tho yig mun sel sgron me* (mentioned in the catalogue of his writings in *Kun-dga’-don-grub’s Record* 72v<sup>c</sup>), these rituals were arranged by Sa-chen Kun-dga’-snying-po. Ninety of these works are also listed in *Mus-chen’s Record* 59r-60v, under the heading “*Sa skyā pa’i yab chos sgrub thabs rgya rtsa*.”

<sup>a</sup> *bSod-nams-dbang-po’s Record* is the record of teachings of bSod-nams-dbang-po; see the collected works of A-mes-zhabs, vol. *kha*, no. 2: *Chos kyī rje dpal ldan bla ma dam pa rnam la dam pa’i chos ji ltar thos pa’i tshul legs par bshad pa zab rgyas chos kun gsal ba’i nyin byed las rje btsun grub pa’i ’khor lo bsgyur ba dpal ldan sa skyā pa chen po ’jam mgon bsod nams dbang po’i zhal snga nas kyī rjes su bzung ba’i sarka*.

The first of these transmissions, i.e. (A) ‘Brog-mi Lo-tsā-ba’s, is identified as the “nine path-cycles” (*lam skor dgu*), the most important of which is the Path with Its Fruit cycle, together with the instructions (*bshad bka’*) of the “three Hevajra tantras,”<sup>29</sup> namely the “transmission of the inconceivable pith instructions” (*bsam gyi mi khyab pa’i gdams ngag gi bka’ babs pa*). The “nine path-cycles” minus the Path with Its Fruit cycle are furthermore known as the “eight later path-cycles” (*lam skor phyi ma brgyad*). Stearns has discussed these in a footnote (2001: 210 f., n. 30) and more recently Davidson has devoted several pages to them (2005: 194-204<sup>30</sup>). The “eight later path-cycles,” for the most part in the form of fixations of oral traditions by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, are contained in *Sa skya Lam ‘bras Literature Series 2*, 347-479. The “eight later path-cycles” are:<sup>31</sup>

(1) *bSam gyis mi khyab pa’i rim pa’i man ngag* by Tog-tse-pa (Kuddālapāda).<sup>32</sup>

<sup>b</sup> *Mus-chen’s Record* is the record of teachings of Mus-chen Sangs-rgyas-rgyal-mtshan (1542-1618); see the collected works of A-mes-zhabs, vol. *kha*, no. 4: *Chos kyi rje dpal ldan bla ma dam pa rnams las dam pa’i chos ji ltar thos pa’i tshul legs par bshad pa zab rgyas chos kun gsal ba’i nyin byed ces bya ba las khyab bdag ‘khor lo’i mgon po rgyal ba mus pa chen po rdo rje ‘chang sangs rgyas rgyal mtshan gyi rjes su bzung ba’i tshul gyi sarka.*

<sup>c</sup> *Kun-dga’-don-grub’s Record* is the record of teachings of sPyan-snga Chos-kyi-spyan-ldan Kun-dga’-don-grub (late 16th c.-early 17th c.); see the collected works of A-mes-zhabs, vol. *kha*, no. 12: *Chos kyi rje dpal ldan bla ma dam pa rnams las dam pa’i chos ji ltar thos pa’i tshul legs par bshad pa zab rgyas chos kun gsal ba’i nyin byed ces bya ba las sprul pa’i sku spyan snga chos kyi spyan ldan gyi rjes su bzung ba’i tshul gyi sarka.*

<sup>29</sup> For the “three Hevajra tantras,” see below, p. 28.

<sup>30</sup> In connection with these teachings, Davidson raises in several instances the “question of authenticity” (e.g. p. 198), without, however, clarifying what exactly he has in mind with this concept. The fact alone that these texts in the *Lam ‘bras* collection (not originally part of the *Yellow Book*, by the way), are differing from other received textual traditions is, in my mind, not necessarily relevant to the problem of authenticity. It is made quite clear to the reader that these are fixations of oral traditions. At the moment I can see no argument why the received canonical texts—of which we do not exactly know by whom and when they were put into writing—are *per se* “more original.” Furthermore, seven out of these eight text of the *Lam ‘bras* collection make no claim to be an original writing of Ḍombiheruka, Nāgārjuna, Vāgīśvarakīrti, etc., but rather identify themselves as compilations (of the oral tradition) by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan or at least by a Sa-skyapa author. The *lHan cig skyes grub*, for example, starts off with a quotation of Ḍombiheruka. The colophons of the *mChod rten drung thob* (p. 405), the *bsKyed rim zab pa’i tshul dgyes brgyan pa* (p. 441), and the *gTum mo lam rdzogs* (p. 457) clearly state Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan as author. The *Yon po bsrang ba’i gdams ngag* states in the colophon (p. 461) that it was composed in Sa-skyapa and the *Phyag rgya’i lam skor* explicitly states at the end of its *Lam ‘bras* version that it is an abbreviated teaching of Indrabhūti’s teaching (p. 478).

In principle, if these oral traditions are “intact” (as, of course, they claim to be), they are in the eyes of the tradition as authentic as any canonical writing. If one wants to consider them less authentic, one would have to present arguments and evidence for that. Moreover, Davidson perceives a tension where there is none: Regarding the *lHan cig skyes grub* he complains that it “is introduced with an Indic title, as if we were about to encounter a translation” (p. 197). According to him, there is an “evident tension” between this *Lam ‘bras* text and one or more canonical works bearing the same title (*Sahajasiddhi*). Having an “Indic title,” however, is not a sufficient characteristic for a text to be considered a translation—even according to the (learned) tradition, for it does usually maintain the custom of attaching colophons with statements regarding author(s) and translator(s) to text they perceive as translations. And finally and most strange, I could find no trace of a Sanskrit title at the beginning of the *lHan cig skyes grub* in the editions of the *Lam ‘bras Literature Series* and of the *gDams ngag mdzod*.

<sup>31</sup> The following titles of the “eight later path-cycles” are not mentioned in the NOTES. See the collected works of A-mes-zhabs, *ba* 18, with a teaching manual of the “eight later path-cycles” of 21 folios. Its colophon comprises transmission lineages.

<sup>32</sup> The Sanskrit text of the *bSam gyis mi khyab pa’i rim pa’i man ngag* has been published in *Guhyādi-aṣṭasiddhi-saṅgraha*, Sarnath: Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, 1988, pp. 196-208. For notes on ‘Brog-mi’s translation, etc., see Stearns (2001: 211, n. 31). Different editions, and in fact translations, of the text are found in *P* 68/3072, 107r-113r (= *To* 2228), translated by \*Sukhānkura and ‘Gos, and *Lam ‘bras Literature Series* 11, pp. 348-387 and *gDams ngag mdzod* 4, 576-589, both translated by Ratnavajra and ‘Brog-mi. According to *A-mes-zhabs’ Transmission and Summary*<sup>a</sup> (71r) and mKhyen-brtse’i-dbang-phyug (Stearns 2006: 135), this teaching is

(2) *dPal lhan cig skyes pa grub pa*, a teaching attributed to Ḍombīheruka (#031#).<sup>33</sup>

based on the *Samputatantra* (#003#). An instruction together with its transmission lineage is mentioned in *Kun-dga’-bsod-nams’s Record* 4r.<sup>b</sup> The lineage begins: rDo-rje-‘chang, rTa-mchog (= mDa’-can), Bī-ṅa-ba (= Pi-waṅ-‘dzin), Indrabhūti, Phun-tshogs-zhabs, sGeg-pa’i-rdo-rje, Gandha-ri-pa, Padmavajra, Chos-kyi-pa, bZang-po’i-zhabs, Tog-tse-pa (= ‘Jor-‘dzin), Bhu-ṣa-na, Dha-ma-pa, Kāṅha, dPa’-bo-rdo-rje, ‘Brog-mi, Se-ston, Zhang-dgon-pa-ba, Sa-pan, etc.

One of the records of teachings mentions interlinear notes together with a topical outline for the *bSam gyis mi khyab pa* (*mchan bu sa bcad dang bcas pa*) by rJe-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (*Kun-dga’-bsod-nams’s Record* 5v). See Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan’s *bSam gyis mi khyab kyi gdams pa gsal byed* with notes (*mchan bu*) and topical outline (*bsdus don*—among early Sa-skyas *bsdus don* is synonymous with *sa hcad*) in *gDams ngag mdzod* 4, 592-611. *Kun-dga’-bsod-nams’s Record* mentions furthermore a text on how to bestow its blessings (*byin rlabs bya tshul*) by ‘Khon dKon-mchog-rgyal-po (1034-1102) and an anonymous *lo rgyus* (*Kun-dga’-bsod-nams’s Record* 5v; for the *lo rgyus* see *gDams ngag mdzod* 4, 589-592: *Lam bsam gyis mi khyab pa lnga’i lo rgyus*). On ‘Brog-mi Lo-tsā-ba teaching the *bSam mi khyab* to ‘Khon dKon-mchog-rgyal-po, see Stearns (2001: 111; 2006: 186). According to *Nyi-lde-ba’s dKar chag*<sup>c</sup> (150v), rJe-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan composed a *Tshig ‘grel*, the *Lo rgyus* (mentioned above) was authored by Theg-chen-pa (Chos-kyi-rgyal-po Kun-dga’-bkra-shis, 1349-1425), a *bSam mi khyab kyi lam lnga yongs rdzogs* was composed by rJe Sa-skyas-pa (Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan), and there also existed a *Byin rlabs kyi zin bris*. Cf. also the *Tog rtse pa’i bsam gyis mi khyab kyi khrid yig bkra shis dwangs shel me long* by Kong-sprul Blo-gros-mtha’-yas in *Sa skyas Lam ‘bras Literature Series* 20, 263-287 (also in *gDams ngag mdzod* 4, 741-764).

<sup>a</sup> *A-mes-zhabs’ Transmission and Summary* comprises his transmissions and general summary of the *lam ‘bras* teachings. See his collected works, vol. *ba*, no. 6: *Yongs rdzogs bstan pa rin po che’i nyams len gyi man ngag gsung ngag rin po che’i byon tshul khog phub dang bcas pa rgyas par bshad pa legs bshad ‘dus pa’i rgya mtsho* (also: *Sa skyas Lam ‘bras Literature Series* 21, pp. 1-313).

<sup>b</sup> *Kun-dga’-bsod-nams’s Record* is the record of teachings of Kun-dga’-bsod-nams-lhun-grub; see the collected works of A-mes-zhabs, vol. *kha*, no. 6: *Chos kyi rje dpal ldan bla ma dam pa rnam las dam pa’i chos ji ltar thos pa’i tshul legs par bshad pa zab rgyas chos kun gsal ba’i nyin byed ces bya ba las ‘jam pa’i dbyangs kun dga’ bsod nams lhun grub kyi rjes su bzung ba’i tshul gyi sarka*.

<sup>c</sup> *Nyi-lde-ba’s dKar chag* is a title list of the Path with Its Fruit literature by Nyi-lde-ba Nam-mkha’-bzang-po, an author of the rDzong-tradition of the 14th century. It is cited in full in *A-mes-zhabs’ Transmission and Summary* (148r-151r).

<sup>33</sup> This teaching is sometimes referred to as the “*lam ‘bras* without the basic text” (*rtsa ba med pa*), since Ḍombīheruka did not receive the *rDo rje tshig rkang* (#275#), which is considered the basic text of the *Lam ‘bras*. Cf. Stearns (2001: 87 and 210, n. 29) and Davidson (1991: 109). According to *A-mes-zhabs’ Transmission and Summary* (71r f.), in general, Ḍombīheruka’s teaching transmission (which lacks the “basic text”) is instead based on the “three Hevajra tantras” and thus there is no paradox involved, as Davidson (2005: 173) claims, since this transmission was by no means “textless” (Davidson), but rather based on the tantras instead of the *rDo rje tshig rkang*.

‘Brog-mi received the transmission of the *dPal lhan cig skyes pa grub* from Paṅḍita Shes-rab-gsang-ba (i.e. Prajñāgupta, late 10th to early 11th c.). The text found in the *Yellow Book* obviously reflects ‘Brog-mi’s tradition and differs from the edition of the Sanskrit text of the *dPal lhan cig skyes pa grub pa*, together with a Tibetan translation, in *Guhyādi-aṣṭasiddhi-saṅgraha*, Sarnath, Central Institute for Higher Tibetan Studies, 1988, pp. 185-191 and 275-283. See also the *Śrīśahajasiddhi* (To 2223), translated and studied by Malati J. Shengde (1967) *Indo-Iranian Journal* 10.2/3, pp. 126-49.

*Nyi-lde-ba’s dKar chag* (150v) records a *Yi ge skor* of this teaching by rJe Sa-skyas-pa (Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan). This seems to refer to the version found in the *Yellow Book* (194r-198r), which appears to be the scriptural fixation of ‘Brog-mi’s oral transmission. An instruction (*khrid yig*) was recorded by dKon-mchog-lhun-grub (*Kun-dga’-bsod-nams’s Record* 5r). Notes (*zin bris*) were taken down by Lung-rigs-smra-ba dKon-mchog-rin-chen (late 16th c., *Kun-dga’-bsod-nams’s Record* 5v—in the colophon of A-mes-zhabs’ *Teaching manual of the eight later path cycles*, vol. *ba* 18, A-mes-zhabs identifies Lung-rigs-smra-ba “mGon-po”-rin-chen as a direct disciple of dKon-mchog-lhun-grub). See also Kong-sprul Blo-gros-mtha’-yas’s *Ḍombi he ru ka’i lhan cig skyes grub kyi khrid yig bkra shis kyi wam sman bcud*, *gDams ngag mdzod* 4, 631-644. The lineage of the instruction (*Kun-dga’-bsod-nams’s Record* 53): rDo-rje-‘chang, Ye-shes-mkha’-‘gro, Ḍombīheruka, Vajrālala, Nags-khrod-pa, Garbhari-pa, bSod-snyoms-pa, Mi-thub-zla-ba, dPa’-bo-rdo-rje, ‘Brog-mi.

- (3) *mChod rten drung thob*, a teaching attributed to Nāgārjuna (#677#).<sup>34</sup>  
 (4) *Phyag rgya chen po yi ge med pa*, a teaching attributed to Ngag-gi-dbang-phyug-grags-pa (Vāgīśvarakīrti).<sup>35</sup>  
 (5) *bsKyed rim zab pa 'i tshul dgus brgyan pa(?)*, a teaching attributed to Padmavajra.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>34</sup> According to *A-mes-zhabs' Transmission and Summary* (70v f.), the *mChod rten drung thob* is an instruction based on the chapter concerning the resolve for awakening in the Guhyasamāja tantra bestowed by Nāgārjuna on his disciple Āryadeva in the vicinity of a stūpa. He furthermore notes that according to some gurus it was composed to prevent (Āryadeva) from thinking that engagement in the “view” (*lta ba*) is the most important endeavor (see also Davidson’s remarks in 2005: 197, according to which Nāgārjuna received the text in front of a stūpa from Saraha). According to mKhyen-brtse’i-dbang-phyug (Stearns 2006: 133 f.), Nāgārjuna composed the *Bodhicittavivaraṇa* (To 1800/01) based on the *bodhicitta* chapters of the Guhyasamāja tantra and the *Vairocanābhisambhōditantra*. The practiced received its name since Āryadeva realized the nature of mind (based on this practice) in front of a stūpa.

*Nyi-lde-ba's dKar chag* (151r) lists a “clarification” by rJe-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, which seems to refer Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan’s scriptural fixation of ‘Brog-mi’s oral tradition (see *mChod rten drung thob*, *Lam 'bras Literature Series* 11, pp. 400-406, and *mChod rten drung thob bam sems thag bcad pa 'i man ngag gi gsal byed*, *gDams ngag mdzod* 4, 555-561), and furthermore a *Zin bris* by sNye-thang Bla-ma rGyal-po-dpal, and a “*Them yig sa bcad*.” See also Kong-sprul Blo-gros-mtha'-yas's *mChod rten drung thob kyi yig bkra shis bilba 'i ljon bzang*, *gDams ngag mdzod* 4, 700-723. The lineage for the instruction is (*Kun-dga'-bsod-nams's Record* 4v): rDo-rje-'chang, Phyag-na-rdo-rje, Sa-ra-ha-pa, 'Phags-pa Klu-grub, Arya-de-wa, dGe-slong Nag-po-zhabs, Zla-ba-grags-pa, Bram-ze dPal-'dzin (=Mahe'i-dbu-can), dPa'-bo-rdo-rje, 'Brog-mi, etc. (as in ftn. 32).

<sup>35</sup> According to mKhyen-btrse’i-dbang-phyug (Stearns 2006: 136), the this practice goes back to three of Vāgīśvarakīrti’s writings, i.e. the *bZhi pa snang ba* (unidentified), the *Yang lag lbdun ldan* (To 1888) and the *De kho na nyid rin po che* (To 1889). According to *A-mes-zhabs' Transmission and Summary* (71v), the *Phyag rgya chen po yi ge med pa* was received (by ‘Brog-mi) from Paṇḍita Amogha. It is based on both the basic Hevajra tantra and the Guhyasamāja system, “but since its blessing is performed by way of the fifteen-deity Nairātmyā, it is subsumed among the Hevajra cycle.” *Nyi-lde-ba's dKar chag* (150v) notes a “clarification” by rJe-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, which as in the above cases should refer to his fixation of ‘Brog-mi’s oral tradition (see *Lam 'bras Literature Series* 11, pp. 406-419, and *gDams ngag mdzod* 4, 562-574)—although the colophon does not contain an author’s statement—and furthermore a *Lam sbyar sa bcad*. See also Kong-sprul Blo-gros-mtha'-yas's *Phyag rgya chen po yi ge med pa 'i khrid yig bkra shis durba 'i myu gu*, *gDams ngag mdzod* 4, 724-740.

A lineage of a blessing-pith instruction of this teaching (*byin rlabs gdams ngag*, *Kun-dga'-bsod-nams's Record* 4v) is: sGrol-ma, Ngag-gi-dbang-phyug-grags-pa, De-ba-a-kar-tsantra, the latter two bestowed it on A-mogha-ba-dzra, then follow ‘Brog-mi, Se-mkhar-chung-ba [Se-ston, tentatively dated 1026-1112 by Davidson, 2005: 266], etc. (as in ftn. 32).

<sup>36</sup> That Padma-rdo-rje (Padmavajra) is generally identified in the Sa-skyapa literature with mTsho-skyes-rdo-rje (Saroruhavajra) was mentioned by Davidson (1991: 109). In a footnote (p. 177, no. 6) he refers to *Ngor-chen's Sādhana Explication*<sup>a</sup> and *Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan's Title List*.<sup>b</sup> What the evidence shows there is that Ngor-chen identifies the author of a set of writings as mTsho-skyes-rdo-rje, while Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan identifies a very similar set as “the cycle of Padma.” mKhyen-brtse’i-dbang-phyug (Stearns 2006: 135) identifies Saroruhavajra with the “middle Padmavajra.”

A-mes-zhabs notes in *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Word Commentary*<sup>c</sup> (7v), that “the stages of production and perfection of mTsho-skyes-rdo-rje are both part of the ‘nine path-cycles’ (*lam skor dgu*).” See the *Śrīhevajrasādhana* by Saroruhavajra/Padmavajra (To 1218), p. 36. Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan’s *bsKyed rim zab pa 'i tshul dgu*, *Lam 'bras Literature Series* 11, pp. 419-441, and *gDams ngag mdzod* 4, 519-537. See also below, the *Mar me 'i rtse mo* (apparently the matching stage of perfection), with which it appears together in the *Lam 'bras Literature Series* 11, pp. 441-445 and in the *gDams ngag mdzod*, pp. 537-540.

*Nyi-lde-ba's dKar chag* (150v) mentions a “clarification of unclear points together with a *Lo rgyus*” by rJe-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan. See also Kong-sprul Blo-gros-mtha'-yas's *Padma badzra 'i zab pa 'i tshul dgu 'i khrid yig bkra shis yungs kar gong bu*, *gDams ngag mdzod* 4, 645-674.

One work mentioned in *Kun-dga'-bsod-nams's Record* (5v) together with the above instructions, *lo rgyus*, and notes, is called *Mar me 'i rtse mo 'i rgya gzhung*. There is no indication in *Kun-dga'-bsod-nams's Record* to which of the eight later path-cycles this work is connected, but it must be the same as the *Mar me 'i rtse mo lta bu 'i rdzogs rims* mentioned in *Nam-mkha'-dpal-bzang's Record* (3v) and the *dPal kyai rdo rje 'i mar me 'i rtse mo lta*



- (6) *gTum mo lam rdzogs*, a teaching attributed to Kṛṣṇācārya/Kāṇha.<sup>37</sup>  
 (7) *Yon po bsrang ba*, a teaching attributed to Nag-po U-tsi-ṭa'i 'Chi-med-pa'.<sup>38</sup>  
 (8) *Phyag rgya 'i lam ston*, a teaching attributed to Indrabodhi.<sup>39</sup>

*bu'i gdams pa* by mTsho-skyes-rdo-rje (#053#), whose identification was made possible through *A-mes-zhabs' General Exposition*<sup>d</sup> (2v) and *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Word Commentary* (7r), where a *rDzogs rims mar me'i rtse mo lta bu('i gdams ngag)* is listed as being one of the seven works of the cycle of mTsho-skyes-rdo-rje. This identification is further backed up by mKhyen-brtse'i-dbang-phyug (Stearns 2006: 135). According to *A-mes-zhabs' Transmission and Summary* (70v), it is based on the basic Hevajra tantra.

<sup>a</sup> *Ngor-chen's Sādhana Explication* is Ngor-chen Kun-dga'-bzang-po's *dPal kyai rdo rje'i sgrub thabs kyi rgva cher bshad pabskyed rim gnad kyi zla zer, Sa-skyā-pa'i bKa' 'bum* 9/55, 3r-211r, esp. pp. 174/4/5-175/1/3.

<sup>b</sup> *Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan's Title List* is his title list of the Hevajra cycle, the *Kyai rdo rje'i chos skor gyi dkar chag* as contained in the *Sa-skyā-pa'i bKa' 'bum* 3/27, 205v-206v, p. 276/2/1-2.

<sup>c</sup> *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Word Commentary* is his commentary on the basic tantra, composed in 1648; see the collected works of A-mes-zhabs, vol. *pha*, no. 2: *Tshul bzhi sngon du 'gro ba dang bcas pa'i dpal kyai rdo rje'i rtsa rgyud brtag pa gnyis pa'i tshig 'grel rgyud bshad bstan pa rgyas pa'i nyin byed*.

<sup>d</sup> *A-mes-zhabs' General Exposition* is his teachings on the preliminaries of the Hevajra cycle, composed in 1625; see the collected works of A-mes-zhabs, vol. *pa*, no. 5: *dGyes mdzad rdo rje'i chos skor 'chad pa'i sngon 'gro'i spyi bshad 'phrin las rab rgyas*.

<sup>37</sup> According to *A-mes-zhabs' Transmission and Summary* (71r), the *gTum mo lam rdzogs* is the *dPyid kyi thig le* based on the Cakrasaṃvara (tantra) known in the Ḍākinī-language as *O la pa ti*, “nowadays known as the *gTum mo lam rdzogs*” (probably based on mKhyen-brtse'i-dbang-phyug). mKhyen-brtse'i-dbang-phyug (Stearns 2006: 136) identifies the *O la pa ti* with the *Rim pa bzhi pa (To 1451)*. *Nyi-lde-ba's dKar chag* (150v) notes the existence of a “*Them yig*.” Pith instructions by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan are published in *Lam 'bras Literature Series* 11, pp. 445-457 and *gDams ngag mdzod* 4, 541-551. See also Kong-sprul Blo-gros-mtha'-yas's *gTum mo lam rdzogs kyi khrid yig bkra shis li khri'i thig le, gDams ngag mdzod* 4, 675-691. The lineage for the instruction is (*Kun-dga'-bsod-nams's Record* 4v): rDo-rje-'chang, rDo-rje-rnal-'byor-ma, Dril-bu-pa, Rus-sbal-zhabs-can, Jalandhara, Nag-po-spyod-pa, Śrīdhara, Gayadhara, 'Brog-mi, etc. (as in ftn. 32). For remarks on the life and activities of Gayadhara, see Davidson (2005: 178 ff. and throughout), and Stearns (2001: 6, 47-57, 73, 91-99).

<sup>38</sup> According to *A-mes-zhabs' Transmission and Summary* (71r), the *Yon po bsrang ba* (“Straightening the Crooked”) is a pith instruction of abruptly forcing the wind into the central channel, based on all mother tantras. It was received (by 'Brog-mi) from both dPa'-bo-rdo-rje and Gayadhara, but is the only instruction of this cycle not considered a complete path (71v). *Nyi-lde-ba's dKar chag* (151r) notes the existence of a clarification and a *Zin bris*. Both the *Lam 'bras Literature Series* (11, pp. 457-461) and the *gDams ngag mdzod* (4, 552-554) contains pith instructions by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan and also Kong-sprul Blo-gros-mtha'-yas's *Yon po srong ba'i khrid yig bkra shis zho'i snying po* (4, 692-699). The lineage for the instruction (recorded in *Kun-dga'-bsod-nams's Record* 4v) is the same as the one recorded in the previous note. Stearns (2006: ftn. 139) points out that the practice goes back to a single verse of Kṛṣṇa Utsiṭa, which can be found in Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan's text (fol. 229v).

<sup>39</sup> According to *A-mes-zhabs' Transmission and Summary* (71r), the *Phyag rgya 'i lam ston* is an instruction (here spelled “*Phyad rgyas lam*”) for those of highest faculties (teaching the path of the consort-mūdra), based on the *Ye shes thig le'i rgyud* (cf. below, section A1, the uncommon *vyākhyātantra, Ye shes thig le, P 14, Jñānatilaka*). mKhyen-brtse'i-dbang-phyug (Stearns 2006: 134) mentions an (as yet unidentified) composition by Indrabhūti as the basis for this practice, namely a *dBang yon tan rim pa. Nyi-lde-ba's dKar chag* (150v) mentions “a writing” on the *Phyag rgya 'i lam* by rJe Sa-skyā-pa (Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan). For the latter, see *Lam 'bras Literature Series* 11, pp. 461-479, and *gDams ngag mdzod* 4, 613-630 (including the basic text). See also Kong-sprul Blo-gros-mtha'-yas's *Phyag rgya 'i lam gyi khrid yig bkra shis dung dkar g.yas 'lkyil, gDams ngag mdzod* 4, 765-779.

The lineage for the instruction is (*Kun-dga'-bsod-nams's Record* 4v): Dang-po dPal-ldan-sde (=Indra-bo-dhi-che-ba), Yang-tshangs-pa (=Drang-srong-gzugs), Bram-ze Mo-ni-rdo-rje-(rnal-'byor-ma)-grub, Shri Ba-dzra-bo-dhi-(bar-pa)-rgyal, Slob-dpon De'i-phyi-ma (=U-pa-ma), Gos-bral (=gCer-bu), dPal-ldan-dznya-na-(chung-ba), Bo-dhi-rgyal-po, Shri Yo-bo-dhi, Padma-ba-dzra, Ḍombī(heruka), Yan-lag-bar-pa dPal-ldan-mo, Bung-ba'i-(inkha'-'gro-ma)-padma, lHa-lcam-legs-smin (dwelling in Dur-khrod Ki-la). This lineage ends with the remark *bdag kyang dang po grub pa yin*, which might refer to a possible connection between A-mes-zhabs and Indra-bo-dhi-che-ba (who is, however, not mentioned in the lineages of A-mes-zhabs' “predecessors” of vol. x<sup>b</sup>, mss. 16, 17a, and 17b). An alternative lineage (5r): rDo-rje-'chang, dPal bDe-ba-chen-mo, Indra-bo-dhi, dPal Tshangs-pa, Bram-ze-mo, Grub-pa'i-rdo-rje, Indra-bo-dhi Bar-pa, U-pa-ma, Gos-bral, Dznya-na-bo-dhi, Padma-ba-dzra (then

*Nyi-lde-ba's dKar chag* (151r) mentions in general the existence of “many notes (*zin bris*) of the *Lam skor* by Sa-chen and his sons.” Instruction on each of these eight teachings are also mentioned in a list of one-hundred eight instructions (*Jo nang khrid brgya*) of Kun-dga'-grol-mchog Blo-gsal-rgya-mtsho (1507-1566).<sup>40</sup> A record of teachings mentions some supplications to the transmission lineages of these teachings in a list of Ngor-chen Kun-dga'-bzang-po's works.<sup>41</sup>

The “three [Hevajra] tantras” (*rgyud gsum*) are the *Hevajratantrarāja*, i.e. the basic Hevajratantra, which in Tibet is commonly known as the “*brTag pa gnyis*” (#001#), because it comes in two segments, the *rDo rje gur* (*Vajrapañjara*, #002#), and the *Samputatantra* (#003#). This identification of the “three Hevajra tantras” is well known and is repeated in the extant work in section A3a. Within the extant text, the main focus is placed on the “three Hevajra tantras” together with their instructions, namely the “inconceivable pith instructions” (*bsam gyi mi khyab pa'i gdams ngag*) as transmitted by 'Brog-mi Lo-tsā-ba.

### (c) The Hevajra tantras

Here begins the main part of the NOTES. The explication of 'Brog-mi Lo-tsā-ba's transmission is at this point furthermore characterized as the “stages of the path of Hevajra [with] nine deities” (*dges pa rdo rje lha dgu'i lam gyi rim pa*). The explication is divided into four sub-sections:

- (A1) Identifying to which of the vehicles of sūtra and tantra the Hevajra teachings belong,
- (A2) analyzing how many systems (of instructions) appeared (*byung dpyad pa*),
- (A3) identifying the miraculous system within these systems (primarily a discussion why a particular system of pith instructions is held to be more special than others), and
- (A4) how that identified path is established (through study and practice).

(A1) The first section with the identification of the vehicle begins with a quote from the *gNad kyi gsal byed*.<sup>42</sup>

From within the teachings of the Sugata, mahāyāna, mantra, [and] tantra;  
with regard to the four tantra classes, the supreme nondual *uttara[tantra]* (*bla ma gnyis med mchog*).

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as above until) lCam-legs-smin, Indra-bo-dhi Chung-ba, Bram-ze Rin-chen-rdo-rje, Kha-chen Shes-rab-bzang, 'Brog-mi, etc. A short lineage: rDo-rje-'chang, Indra-bo-dhi Che-ba, lCam-legs-smin, Shes-rab-bzang, 'Brog-mi, etc.

<sup>40</sup> This list is included in *Kun-dga'-don-grub's Record* 41r-43r. The lineage for this transmission is documented there as follows: rJe Grol-mchog, rJe bsTan-'dzin Ngag-dbang-nyi-zla-bzang-po, rJe Rin-po-che lCags-zam-pa Ngag-dbang-nyi-ma, Gong-dkar-ba Rin-po-che Kun-dga'-dpal-bzang, Chu-bo-ri-pa bsTan-'dzin Kun-dga'-bsod-nams, sPrul-pa'i-sku Lo-nas sPyan-snga Rin-po-che Kun-dga'-don-grub, A-mes-zhabs. For the *Jo nang khrid brgya*, see TBRC W24008. It has been published by Mirgmar Tseten, Dehra Dun, 1984, 460 p., LCCN: 84-902156. TBRC holds digital scans.

<sup>41</sup> *Kun-dga'-don-grub's Record* 63r/v: 016. *bSam mi khyab kyi bla ma brgyud pa'i gsol 'debs*, 017. *lHan cig skyes grub kyi bla ma brgyud pa'i gsol 'debs*, 018. *mChod rten drung thob kyi bla ma brgyud pa'i gsol 'debs*, 019. *Yi ge med pa'i bla ma brgyud pa'i gsol 'debs*, 020. *Padma bazra'i lam gyi bla ma brgyud pa'i gsol 'debs*, 021. *gTum mo lam rdzogs kyi bla ma brgyud pa'i gsol 'debs*, 022. *Yon po bsrang ba'i bla ma brgyud pa'i gsol 'debs*, 023. *Indra bhu t'i lam gyi bla ma brgyud pa'i gsol 'debs*. Cf. the *Lam skor dgu'i gsol 'debs* by Ngor-chen Kun-dga'-bzang-po and his *Lam skor phyi ma brgyud kyi brgyud pa'i gsol 'debs*, for which see *gDams ngag mdzod* 4, 501-506 and *Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series* 20, pp. 257-262.

<sup>42</sup> Apparently bSod-nams-rtse-mo's extensive *Sam puṭa'i ṭi ka gnad kyi gsal byed* (#114#).

This serves now as the classification of the Hevajra tantra literature, identifying its appropriate section as the “supreme inseparable *uttara[tantra]*.” Next, fourteen Hevajra tantras are listed:<sup>43</sup>

- (1) The extensive basic tantra (*rtsa rgyud rgyas pa*) of 700.000 [*ślokas*] (‘*bum phrag bdun pa*),
- (2) the summarized one of 500.000 [*ślokas*] (‘*bum phrag lnga pa*),<sup>44</sup>
- (3) the *rgyud phyi ma* (*uttaratantra*), *Phyag chen thig le* (P 12: *Mahāmudrātilaka*),
- (4) the *rgyud phyi ma ’i phyi ma* (*uttarottaratantra*), *Ye shes snying po [thig le(?)]* (P 13: *Jñānagarbha*),
- (5) the uncommon *bshad rgyud* (*vyākhyātantra*), *Ye shes thig le* (P 14: *Jñānatilaka*),
- (6) *dPal sam bu ṭi* of 136.000 [*ślokas*] (‘*bum phrag sum cu rtsa drug pa*),<sup>45</sup>
- (7) the essential tantra (*snying po ’i rgyud*), *sGrub pa nges bstan thig le*,<sup>46</sup>
- (8) the resultant tantra (‘*bras bu ’i rgyud*),<sup>47</sup> *De kho na nyid sgron ma [thig le(?)]* (P 15: *Tattvapradīpa*),
- (9) the *brTag pa gnyis pa* (#001#)<sup>48</sup> and
- (10) the (*mKha ’ gro ma*) *rdo rje gur* (*Ḍākinīvajrapañjara*, #002#), both of which arose from the basic tantra of 500.000 [*ślokas*],<sup>49</sup> the
- (11) the common *bshad rgyud* (*vyākhyātantra*), *dPal kha sbyor gyi rgyud* (#003#),<sup>50</sup>
- (12) the *rDo rje a ra li* (*To* 426, P 65?: *Vajrārali*),
- (13) the *sNyog* (= *rNyog?*) *pa med pa ’i a ra li* (P 58: *Anāvila*), and
- (14) the *Rigs kyi a ra li* (*To* 427, P 66: *Rigi-ārali*), all four of which arose from the “*Saṃpuṭa* of 136.000(?) [*ślokas*].”

Of these fourteen tantras, three were not translated into Tibetan: The first two Hevajra tantras of great (mythical) length and no. 11, the *dPal kha sbyor gyi rgyud*. The translated tantras are grouped into three: The “summarized ones” of the *A ra li* cycle (nos. 12-14), the “medium” ones of the *Thig le* cycle (nos. 3-5, 7-8), and the “extensive ones”—the main topic of the extant work—the three Hevajra tantras, often also referred to as the “three, [namely] *Gur brTag Sam*” (nos. 10, 9, and 6).

<sup>43</sup> Different views with regard to the tantras with their mythical lengths of seven and five-hundred thousand *ślokas*, etc., are briefly discussed by A-mes-zhabs in *A-mes-zhabs’ Hevajra Commentary* (27v). For *A-mes-zhabs’ Hevajra Commentary*, see A-mes-zhabs’ commentary on the basic tantra, composed in 1623; collected works, vol. *pa*, no. 6: *Tshul bzhi sngon du ’gro ba dang bcas pa ’i kyai rdo rje ’i rtsa ba ’i rgyud brtag pa gnyis pa ’i don ’grel khog phub legs par bshad pa rgyud ’grel sgo brgya ’i lde mig*.

<sup>44</sup> Described as “*rtog pa ’i rgyud*” and existing in a realm of gods called “Tsan-dan Dar-‘byed-kyi-gling” in *A-mes-zhabs’ Stage of Production* (3r). According mKhyen-brtse’i-dbang-phyug (Stearns 2006: 153), this tantra served as the support for the *rDo rje tshig rkang*. *A-mes-zhabs’ Stage of Production* was composed in 1635; see his collected works, vol. *ma*, no. 7: *dPal kyai rdo rje yab yum gyi sgrub thabs phyi nang gi bskyed pa ’i rim pa ’i rnam par bshad pa dgyes rdor chos kun gsal ba ’i nyin byed*.

<sup>45</sup> An (at least nowadays) non-existent text of mythological length. The correct Sanskrit form would be *Saṃpuṭa* or *Saṃpuṭa*. See also below, fn. 50.

<sup>46</sup> In *A-mes-zhabs’ Stage of Production* (3v) “*grub pa*.”

<sup>47</sup> Cf. *A-mes-zhabs’ Stage of Production* (3v).

<sup>48</sup> The basic tantra has twenty-three chapters and seven-hundred fifty *ślokas* (cf. *A-mes-zhabs’ Stage of Production*, 3v). See *Tsukamoto et al.* 292 ff. for Sanskrit manuscripts, editions, and translations.

<sup>49</sup> The *Ḍākinīvajrapañjara* is the uncommon *vyākhyātantra* (*bshad rgyud thun mong ma yin pa*), i.e. one that is not shared with other tantras; see *A-mes-zhabs’ Stage of Production* (3v).

<sup>50</sup> This is the *vyākhyātantra* that Hevajra has in common with other tantras (*rgyud gzhan thun mong ba ’i bshad rgyud*); see *A-mes-zhabs’ Stage of Production* (3v). This text is supposed by some to have arisen from the vast (and at least now non-existent) no. 6 above. I owe the identifications of no. 6 and no. 11 and of their relation to one another to Harunaga Isaacson.

**(d) The “six great chariot systems”**

(A2) The second section of the main part of the NOTES deals according to its heading with an analysis of how many systems (of instructions) appeared (*ji tsam byung dpyad pa*). To be sure, it introduces further subdivisions of the ‘Brog-mi transmission and identifies their basic texts. The transmission of Hevajra is subdivided into eight sections, namely the “six great chariot systems” (*shing rta’i srol chen po drug*) plus two systems of pith instructions. These latter systems of the pith instructions will be discussed at the end of section A2 and in A3, after having dealt with the “six great chariot systems.” These “six great chariot systems” are in this context the cycles of:

- (a) Ḍombī[heruka],
- (b) mTsho-skyes-rdo-rje (Saroruhavajra/Padmavajra)
- (c) Nag-po Dam-tshig-rdo-rje (Kṛṣṇa Samayavajra),
- (d) Shānti-pa (Ratnākaraśānti),
- (e) sNyan-grags-bzang-po (Yaśobhadra?), and
- (f) gNyan-med-rdo-rje (Advayavajra/Avadhūtipa/Maitrīpa)

Let me point out here that various classifications such as into the “six great chariot systems” are often overlapping with one another. Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, for example, identifies the “Hevajra of the essential meaning” (*snying po don gyi kyai rdor*), whose most important teachings number thirty-nine, in the following way:<sup>51</sup>

- (1) The cycle of Ḍombī(heruka), who follows Virūpa,
- (2) the cycle of Padma(vajra), who follows Yan-lag-med-pa, and
- (3) the cycle of Dam-tshig-rdo-rje Nag-po.<sup>52</sup>

Ngor-chen Kun-dga’-bzang-po (*Ngor-chen’s Sādhana Explication*, 8r), commenting on this verse, explains these cycles to be the cycle of mTsho-skyes-rdo-rje (= Padmavajra, i.e. no. 2), Nag-po (= Kṛṣṇa Samayavajra, i.e. no. 3), and of the followers of Virūpa (=1), namely Slob-dpon Nag-po (i.e. Kāṇha with the “system of pith instructions:” *man ngag lugs*) and Mi-thub-zla-ba (with the “system of commentaries,” the *’grel pa lugs* as transmitted through Ḍombīheruka).<sup>53</sup> Since the (systems of) the latter two (Slob-dpon Nag-po and Mi-thub-zla-ba) are of the same nature (*ngo bo gcig*, namely being Virūpa’s *man ngag* and *’grel lugs*), says Ngor-chen, there are either three cycles, or, according to the “words of the teacher,” who differentiates the latter two, “four instruction systems” (*bka’ srol bzhi*). Slob-dpon Nag-po of the pith instruction system (*man ngag lugs*) has been identified as Kāṇha.<sup>54</sup> According to Stearns (2001: 10, 47), the basic teaching of Virūpa’s *lam ’bras* was first given to Kāṇha, who was followed by Ḍamarupa, Avadhūti, Gayadhara, and ‘Brog-mi (see also *A-mes-zhabs’ Hevajra Commentary* 6v, and below, chapter 3, pp. 77 ff.). The “system of commentaries”

<sup>51</sup> *Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan’s Title List* (6v): *snying po’i don gyi loyai yi rdo rje ni,, birwa’i rjes ’brang dom bi’i skor,, yan lag med rjes padma’i skor,, dam tshig rdo rje nag po’i skor,, gtso che’i chos sna sum cu dgu,, lam skor dgu ni khyad par ro*. I am not quite sure how to render the last stanza—perhaps thus: “The ‘nine later path-cycles’ are [a] special [case].”

<sup>52</sup> “Dam-tshig-rdo-rje Nag-po” is explained by A-mes-zhabs in *A-mes-zhabs’ Stage of Production* (4v) as “Dam-tshig-rdo-rje’s follower Nag-po Śāntibhadra.”

<sup>53</sup> In the above mnemonic verse of *Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan’s Title List*, the differentiation of Virūpa’s system into a *’grel lugs* and a *man ngag gi lugs* is not mentioned. Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan remarks: “These [i.e. the three cycles] are taught to be the most important cycles of Hevajra,” indicating that the system of presenting them in this way already existed before him.

<sup>54</sup> For the identification of Kāṇha, see Stearns (2001: 171 fn. 12); Davidson’s reference, p. 109 fn. 4, is unclear to me.

(*'grel pa lugs*) that did not include the basic text (*rtsa ba med pa*) was bestowed by Virūpa on Ḍombīheruka; it received its name because of the later codifying activities by Mi-thub-zla-ba.

The Hevajra transmission from Mi-thub-zla-ba via dPa'-bo-rdo-rje to 'Brog-mi is well attested and documented on several occasions. *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Commentary* (5r) mentions dPa'-bo-rdo-rje, 'Brög-mi, mNga'-ris gSal-ba'i-snying-po, 'Khon sGyi-chu-ba Shākya-'bar (according to *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Word Commentary*, 6r, the same as sGyi-chu-ba dGra-lha-'bar), and Sa-chen. mTsho-skyes-rdo-rje's Hevajra transmission is documented in *Ngag-dbang-chos-grags's Record* (7r).<sup>55</sup> The complete lineage is: Vajradhara, Vilāsyavajra, Yan-lag-med-pa, mTsho-skyes-rdo-rje, Indrabhūti, lCam-legs-smin, Nag-po-spyod-pa, Bram-ze dPal-'dzin, Gayadhara, 'Brog-mi (*A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Commentary*, 5r, has Lakṣmīmīkara for lCam-legs-smin.). "Dam-tshig-rdo-rje Nag-po's" transmission is documented below (in chapter 3, pp. 77 ff., according to *Ngag-dbang-chos-grags's Record*, 7v; see also *Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan's Title List*, 6r, l. 5).

Another version of six Hevajra systems is presented by A-mes-zhabs in *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Commentary* (4r) and *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Word Commentary* (5r). Here the "six chariot systems" that teach complete stages of production and perfection (*bskyed rdzogs tshang bar ston pa'i shing rta'i srol 'byed drug*) are the systems of Saroruha (mTsho-skyes-rdo-rje), Nag-po Dam-tshig-rdo-rje, Shānti-pa (Ratnākaraśānti), Nāropa, Maitrīpa, and Virūpa. Yet again another listing is found in *A-mes-zhabs' Stage of Production* (4r): Padmavajra, Mi-thub-zla-ba, Shānti-pa, Nag-po Śāntibhadra, sNyan-grags-bzang-po, and Maitrīpa.

Thus the following picture of systems of the Hevajra transmission develops according to five sources:

NOTES	Grags-pa-rdo-rje	<i>Ngor-chen's Sādhana Explanation</i>	<i>A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Commentary/A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Word Commentary</i>	<i>A-mes-zhabs' Stage of Production</i>
Ḍombīheruka	Ḍombīheruka	Mi-thub-zla-ba	Virūpa	Mi-thub-zla-ba
mTsho-skyes-rdo-rje	Padma-rdo-rje	mTsho-skyes-rdo-rje	mTsho-skyes-rdo-rje	Padma-rdo-rje
Nag-po Dam-tshig-rdo-rje	Nag-po Dam-tshig-rdo-rje	Nag-po Dam-tshig-rdo-rje	Nag-po Dam-tshig-rdo-rje	Nag-po Dam-tshig-rdo-rje
Shānti-pa			Shānti-pa	Shānti-pa
sNyan-grags-bzang-po			Nāropa	sNyan-grags-bzang-po
gNyi-med-rdo-rje			Maitrīpa	Maitrīpa
		Nag-po		

<sup>55</sup> *Ngag-dbang-chos-grags's Record* is the record of teachings of Sa-skyā Yongs-'dzin Ngag-dbang-chos-grags (1572-1641); see the collected works of A-mes-zhabs, vol. *kha*, no. 10: *Chos kyi rje dpal ldan bla ma dam pa rnams las dam pa'i chos ji ltar thos pa'i tshul legs par bshad pa zab rgyas chos kun gsal ba'i nyin byed ces bya ba las mkhan chen 'jam pa'i dbyangs ngag dbang chos kyi grags pa'i zhal snga nas kyi rjes su bzung ba'i sarka.*

“Ḍombīheruka,” “Mi-thub-zla-ba” and “Virūpa” are obviously three different labels for the same thing, i.e. the “system of commentaries” (*grel lugs*). Padma-rdo-rje and mTsho-skyes-rdo-rje have been treated as a single person in the Sa-skyapa literature on Hevajra (see fn. 36). The authorship of Nāropa is contested (see the discussion in A2e). That gNyi-med-rdo-rje (Advayavajra) is Maitrīpa is suggested through #089#, and it is also well established in sources surviving in Sanskrit (Tatz 1987). *Ngor-chen’s Sādhana Explication* mentions “Nag-po” twice probably because one refers to Kṛṣṇa Samayavajra and the other to Kāṇha.

### (e) Ḍombīheruka’s cycle of Hevajra teachings

(A2a) The NOTES mentions twenty-one works belonging to Ḍombīheruka’s cycle of Hevajra teachings.<sup>56</sup> The first seven of these are known as the “seven basic texts by Mi-thub-zla-ba” (*mi thub zla bas gzhang bdun*):<sup>57</sup>

(1) The commentary on the basic tantra, *Ku mu ti*, i.e. the *Kau mu dī zhes bya ba’i dka’i grel* (*Kaumudī-nāma-pañjikā*, #004#); this work is described in *A-mes-zhabs’ General Exposition* (2r) as a support (*rgyab rten*) for the following six works.<sup>58</sup> *A-mes-zhabs’ Hevajra Word Commentary* (4r) lists three of the many Tibetan names of its author: Mi-thub-zla-ba, sByangs-dkar-zla-ba, and dKar-gsal-zla-ba. This is a “very good system of explication (*bshad srol*) that goes back to Virūpa” and is “indispensable for our system.”<sup>59</sup> On fol. 5v it states that ‘Brog-mi translated the *Ku mu ti* during the earlier part of his life and taught it. The teaching of this work is known as the “father’s (i.e. ‘Brog-mi’s) system of explication” (*yab kyi bshad srol*).<sup>60</sup>

(2) The maṇḍala ritual *bZang po yongs bzung*, i.e. *dKyiil ‘khor gyi cho ga’i sgrub thabs bzang po yongs su bzung ba* (*Suparigraha-nāma-maṇḍalopāyikā-vidhi*, #019#).<sup>61</sup>

<sup>56</sup> A lineage for the transmission of the initiation of this system is given in *Ngag-dbang-chos-grags’s Record* (6v f.): rDo-rje-‘chang, bDag-med-ma, Birwa-pa, Ḍombīheruka, Vajrāla, Nags-khrod-pa, Garbhari-pa, Jayaśrījñāna (= rGyal-ba-dpal-gyi-ye-shes), Mi-thub-zla-ba, dPa’-bo-rdo-rje, ‘Brog-mi Lo-tsa-ba (Shākya-ye-shes), mNga’-ris-pa gSal-ba’i-snying-po, ‘Khon sGyi-chu-ba dGra-lha-‘bar, Sa-chen, etc. The same lineage is also given for the “system of the commentaries” (*grel pa lugs*) in *A-mes-zhabs’ Hevajra Commentary* (5v, quoting Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan).

<sup>57</sup> Mi-thub-zla-ba belonged to the transmission lineage that went through Ḍombīheruka, i.e. the “*lam ‘bras* without a basic text” (*rtsa ba med pa*, see fn. 33). While Ḍombīheruka mainly produced *sādhana* texts, Mi-thub-zla-ba codified this particular transmission as a whole; see Davidson (1991: 109). *Ngor-chen’s Sādhana Explication* furthermore mentions in this connection a practice of the stage of production not mentioned by A-mes-zhabs: *Rigs lnga char gyi sgrub thabs ston pa*, which might be the *mKha’ ‘gro ma rdo rje gur gyi mkha’ ‘gro rnam pa lnga’i sgrub pa’i thabs* (#020#).

<sup>58</sup> Cf. also *A-mes-zhabs’ Hevajra Word Commentary* (7r). On the heavy influence of this commentary on Sa-skyapa authors such as mNga’-ris, Sa-chen, Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan and others, see Davidson (1991: 112, 179 fn. 21).

<sup>59</sup> *A-mes-zhabs’ Hevajra Word Commentary* (4r) provides an explanation of the name *Ku mu ti*: ‘*phags yul gyi mkhas pa gzhan gyi blo gros kyis rgyud don ku mu ti’i kha ‘byed par mi nus pa de, mi thub zla ba’i thos byung gi shes rab ston ka’i mtshan dus kyi mkha’ la shar ba’i zla ba lta bus rgyud kyi tshig don mtha’ dag tshul bzhin du kha phyed ste, dper na nyin mo’i dus ku mu ta kha zum pa de bung ba rnams kyis khang par mthong nas sbrang rtsi bsags pa* (negative missing?), *mtshan mo zla ba shar bas ku mu ta kha bye ste nang gi sbrang rtsi mtshan mo ‘ba’ zhih rgyu ba’i bye’u tsa ko ra zhes bya ba’i tshogs kyis longs spyod pa dang ‘dra bar, rgyud don rim gnyis kyi sbrang rtsi rjes ‘jug gi mkhas pa rnams len du ‘jug pa mi thub zla ba kho na’i byed las min zhes pa’i don te.*

<sup>60</sup> For the “son’s (i.e. ‘Brog-mi Jo-sras-rdo-rje) system of explication,” see my notes below on text no. 27, p. 38.

<sup>61</sup> In *A-mes-zhabs’ Hevajra Commentary* (11v) A-mes-zhabs makes a remark using words to the effect that bSod-nams-rtse-mo composed interlinear notes (*mchan bu*) for this maṇḍala ritual. Cf. below, fn. 153. *A-mes-zhabs’ Hevajra Word Commentary* (6v) and *A-mes-zhabs’ Stage of Production* (4v) describe the work as a *smin byed kyi cho ga* and *A-mes-zhabs’ Hevajra Word Commentary* adds: “by Mi-thub-zla-ba, the disciple of ... bSod-snyoms-pa.”

- (3) The six-limbed evocation ritual of the nine deities, *Yan lag drug pa*, i.e. the *Yan lag drug pa zhes bya ba'i sgrub thabs* (Ṣaḍaṅga-nāma-sādhana, #022#), according to *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Word Commentary* (6v), an *abhisamaya* especially for the Akṣobhya Buddha family.<sup>62</sup>
- (4) The evocation ritual of the fifteen female deities (*yum lha mo*), i.e. the *bDag med ma lha mo bco lnga'i sgrub thabs* (title according to *Nam-mkha'-dpal-bzang's Record*, 3v<sup>63</sup>). This is the *bDag med ma zhes bya ba'i sgrub thabs* (*Nairātmā-sādhana*, #023#).<sup>64</sup> For Sanskrit mss., see Tsukamoto *et al.* 303.
- (5) A *Gur rigs bsdus kyi sgrub thabs* (#021#: *Rigs bsdus kyi sgrub thabs*, also mentioned as such in *Ngor-chen's Sādhana Explication*), according to *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Word Commentary* (6v) an *abhisamaya* for all five Buddha families.<sup>65</sup>
- (6) A *rDzogs rim gtum mo'i 'grel chung*, #024#.<sup>66</sup>
- (7) The *'Byung po thams cad pa'i gtor ma'i cho ga*, according to *Ngor-chen's Sādhana Explication*, *Nam-mkha'-dpal-bzang's Record* (3v) and *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Word Commentary* (7r) necessary for the previous three evocation rituals (namely nos. 3-5). This is the *'Byung po thams cad kyi gtor ma* (*Sarvabhūtabali*, #027#).

For no. (2), *P* does not mention a translator, but *Nam-mkha'-dpal-bzang's Record* (3v) has 'Brog-mi Lo-tṣā-ba. The same translator is also stated for the as yet unidentified no. (5). In translating four of these works, 'Brog-mi cooperated with Prajñendraruci (no. 1), Ratnaśrījñāna (no. 3, = Gayadhara?), and Gayadhara (nos. 4 and 7).

<sup>62</sup> Mi-thub-zla-ba based his six-limbed *sādhana* on a model found in the fourth chapter of the *rDo rje gur* (*Vajrapañjara*, #002#, 227.1.4 f.), see van der Kuijp (1987: 173). *A-mes-zhabs* describes this *sādhana* in *A-mes-zhabs' Stage of Production* (4v) as a “a stage of production for those with highest faculties” (*bskyed rim dbang po rab la*).

<sup>63</sup> *Nam-mkha'-dpal-bzang's Record* is the record of teachings of Thar-rtse-nas Nam-mkha'-dpal-bzang (1532-1602); see the collected works of *A-mes-zhabs*, vol. *kha*, no. 5: *Chos kyi rje dpal ldan bla ma dam pa rnam las dam pa'i chos ji ltar thos pa'i tshul legs par bshad pa zab rgyas chos kun gsal ba'i nyin byed ces bya ba las 'dren mchog nam mkha' dpal bzang pa'i zhal snga nas rjes su bzung ba'i tshul gyi sarka*.

<sup>64</sup> The evocation ritual of the fifteen female deities is not listed in *A-mes-zhabs' Stage of Production* (4v) as belonging to Ḍombīheruka's cycle of Hevajra teachings.

<sup>65</sup> The title *Gur rigs bsdus kyi sgrub thabs* suggests that it is based on the *Vajrapañjara* (*rDo rje gur*). It is not listed in *A-mes-zhabs' Stage of Production* (4v) as belonging to Ḍombīheruka's cycle of Hevajra teachings. Harunaga Isaacson suggests that this is almost certainly the *Ḍākinī-Vajrapañjara-Pañcaḍāka-Sādhana* by Durjayacandra (Mi-thub-zla-ba), translated by Lilavajra and bSod-nams-rgyal-ṃtshan, *P* 57/2453 (*To* 1321).

<sup>66</sup> *Ngor-chen* voices in *Ngor-chen's Sādhana Explication* (3v) doubts about the supposed authorship of Mi-thub-zla-ba (Durjayacandra). He reports that the colophon of a text he has in his possession names “Ratnaśrījñāna” as author, who, as he later notes, is also known as Gayadhara. However, he continues, an old note apparently by bSod-snyoms-pa states the author as Mi-thub-zla-ba, which is contradicted by bSod-nams-rtse-mo, who gave yet another author, namely “Jayaśrīsānti.” *Ngor-chen* furthermore makes the interesting observation that the *gTum mo'i 'grel chung* is not in harmony with the *gtum mo* taught in the *Ku mu ti* (#004#, by Mi-thub-zla-ba), nurturing the doubts that Mi-thub-zla-ba has been the author of the *gTum mo'i 'grel chung*. The *gTum mo'i 'grel chung* is rather in accordance with the *O la pa ti* by Nag-po-pa, which is also known as the *gTum mo lam rdzogs* (see above, fn. 37). The text accords with both the Cakrasaṃvara and Hevajra system and Gayadhara is said to have composed a summary of it. So, in short, even if it appears to be confusing at first sight, it can be boiled down to this: *Ngor-chen* seems to propose here the authorship of Ratnaśrījñāna=Gayadhara, because (a) the colophon of the text in his possession states this, and (b) because this teaching fits much better with the *O la pa ti* by Nag-po-pa, of which Gayadhara is known to have composed a summary. In fact, if I understand this correctly, he seems to imply that this text is just that summary by Gayadhara. Furthermore, *A-mes-zhabs* observes in *A-mes-zhabs' Stage of Production* (4v) that this *rdzogs rim* is “common” (*mthun mong su rdzogs rim*), i.e. that it is shared with other tantra systems such as Cakrasaṃvara.

The remaining fourteen works of this section of twenty-one works of Ḍombīheruka's cycle are five further works (8-12) for which no particular designation is provided and nine "basic works that are limbs" (13-21). The first group comprise the following:

- (8) *sGrub thabs rin chen 'bar ba* by dPa'-bo-rdo-rje (= Prajñendraruci), i.e. the *Rin chen 'bar ba'i sgrub pa'i thabs* (*Ratnajvāla*, #037#). This work by Mi-thub-zla-ba's disciple comprises nine chapters with *maṇḍala viddhi*, stage of production and perfection, consecration, burnt offering, cremation, *gaṇacakra*, *bāli*, and offering (*A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Word Commentary*, 7r). 'Brog-mi also translated with Prajñendraruci a maṇḍala rite and a praise of Hevajra.<sup>67</sup>
- (9) *Dran pa gcig pa'i sgrub thabs* by Garbhari-pa, i.e. the *Kyai rdo rje'i dran pa gcig pa* (*Hevajraikasmṛti*, #035#). *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Word Commentary* (6v) provides the full title as *sKra rdo rje dpa' bo gcig pa'i mngon par rtogs pa dran pa gcig pa* by Garbhari-pa, "a disciple of Nags-khrod-pa."<sup>68</sup>
- (10-11) Two evocation rituals of the single *vīra* (cf. #036#)? *Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan's Title List* (205v-206r) mentions two "*dpa' mo(!) gcig*." None of the commentaries (*A-mes-zhabs' General Exposition*, *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Commentary*, *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Word Commentary*, *A-mes-zhabs' Stage of Production*) clarify the problem. *A-mes-zhabs' General Exposition* (2r) and *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Word Commentary* (6v) mentions the *bDag med ma dpa' mo gcig pa'i sgrub thabs* by (bSod-snyoms-pa) dGra-can-'dzin-pa (#115#).<sup>69</sup> Curiously, *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Word Commentary* (6v) mentions in this context also the *Kyai rdo rje phyag gnyis pa'i sgrub thabs* by A-la-la Badzra (*Vajrālala*, #116#), which is furthermore described as "*sku rdo rje lha dgu'i(!) mngon par rtogs pa phyag gnyis pa'i sgrub thabs*."
- (12) *sGrub thabs bdud rtsi 'od* by Ḍombīheruka, according to *Nam-mkha'-dpal-bzang's Record* (3v) and the NOTES (2r), its full title is *bDag med (rnal 'byor) ma'i sgrub thabs bdud rtsi 'od* (*Nairātmā-yoginī-sādhana*, #030#), in *P* without the poetical title. For Sanskrit manuscripts, see *Tsukamoto et.al.* 303: *Amṛtaprabhā-nāma-sādhanopāyikā/Nairātmayoginī-sādhana*. The work has been published by Bhattacharya (1925: no. 228).
- (13) *rDzogs rim lhan cig skyes grub*.<sup>70</sup>

<sup>67</sup> On these works and on dPa'-bo-rdo-rje and Prajñendraruci being identical, see Stearns's translation of the *Zhib mo rdo rje* (2001:87 and 210, n. 27). The text translated by Stearns says that Vīravajra (dPa'-bo-rdo-rje) is the secret name (*gsang mtshan*) of Prajñendraruci (similarly mKhyen-brtse'i-dbang-phyug translated in Stearns 2006: 172). mKhyen-brtse claims that the text was composed by Vīravajra on a (secret or visionary?) visit to Tibet (Stearns 2006: 179). See on the nature of Prajñendraruci's transmission also fn. 223.

<sup>68</sup> *A-mes-zhabs* describes the *Dran pa gcig pa* in *A-mes-zhabs' Stage of Production* (4v) as "a stage of production for those of lowest faculties" (*[bskyed rim] dbang po tha ma la*).

<sup>69</sup> The identification of bSod-snyoms-pa with dGra-can-'dzin-pa is made in *A-mes-zhabs' General Exposition* (2v). According to *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Word Commentary* (6v), bSod-snyoms-pa was the disciple of Garbhari-pa. *A-mes-zhabs' Stage of Production* (4v) mentions only "one *Yum gyi sgrub thabs dpa' mo*."

<sup>70</sup> "*rDzogs rim lhan cig skyes grub*" refers to the *dPal lhan cig skyes pa grub pa* (*Śrī-sahaja-siddhi-nāma*, #031#) by Ḍombīheruka, being one of the "eight later path-cycles," (on which see above, p. 24). This is explicitly stated in *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Word Commentary* (7v, *lam skor dgu'i nang tshan yin*). No translator is mentioned in *P*, but the lineage recorded in *Nam-mkha'-dpal-bzang's Record* (see fn. 33) mentions the well known paṇḍita-translator team dPa'-bo-rdo-rje and 'Brog-mi. *A-mes-zhabs' General Exposition* (2r), too, includes it among the works composed by Ḍombīheruka while it is not mentioned in the list of his cycle in *A-mes-zhabs' Stage of Production* (4v).



Of these six works, four were translated by ‘Brog-mi (nos. 8-10, 12), one might have been translated by him (no. 13, if it is in fact the *lHan skyes* of the *Lam skor phyi ma brgyad* cycle), and one pair of translators is unknown. The final section, the “basic texts that are limbs” (*yan lag tu gyur pa’i gzhung*), comprises eight (resp. nine) works, four of which are as yet unidentified or with uncertain identification:

- (14) *De kho na nyid bcu pa* by Ḍombīheruka (*Daśa-tattva*, #032#). This work was according to *P*, *To*, and *Ngag-dbang-chos-grags’s Record* translated by Mar-me-mdzad and dGe-ba’i-blo-gros.
- (15) *Phyag mtshan gyi dag pa* (or: ... *phan yon?*) (#026#).
- (16-17) *Tshogs ’khor dang tshogs ’khor gyi bslab bya ’du ba sgrag pa* (identified as the *Gaṇacakra-viddhi*, #033#-#034#), also mentioned in *Nam-mkha’-dpal-bzang’s Record*, according to which it was translated by ‘Brog-mi.<sup>71</sup>
- (18-19) *sNgags don gyi gzhung gnyis* (#028#-#029#).
- (20-21) *sByin bsreg dang man ngag gi ro bsreg* (#038#).<sup>72</sup>

#### (f) mTsho-skyes-(rdo-rje)’s cycle of Hevajra teachings

(A2b) The second of the “six chariot systems” is the cycle of mTsho-skyes-(rdo-rje).<sup>73</sup> Five works are listed:<sup>74</sup>

- (22) The commentary on the basic tantra, *Padma can*, i.e. the *Kyai’i rdo rje’i rgyud kyī dka’ ’grel padma can* by mTsho-skyes-rdo-rje (*Pañjikā-padminī*, #005#). According to *A-mes-zhabs’ Hevajra Word Commentary* (4r), this commentary teaches the stage of production (*bskyed rim*) like the “nine profound ways” (*zab pa’i tshul dgu*), i.e. the *bskyed rim zab pa’i tshul dgu s brgyan pa* by Saroruha/Padmavajra, for which see above (p. 26), text 5. Its stage of perfection (*rdzogs rim*) is in accordance with the *Mar me’i rtse mo* (#053#), for which see ftn. 36. It is the support for six works (i.e. nos. 23-26, 38-39; see *A-mes-zhabs’ Hevajra Word Commentary*, 7r). For extant Sanskrit

<sup>71</sup> The *Tshogs ’khor* is according to *A-mes-zhabs’ General Exposition* (2v) by Ḍombīheruka and “not different” (*gzhan mi ’byung*) from *Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan’s Tshogs ’khor* (#117#). *A-mes-zhabs’ General Exposition* also mentions the second title, the *’Du ba sgrag pa*, and notes that the *Tshogs ’khor* and this work were two separate titles in India, but later they were combined into one by bSod-snyoms-pa Prajñāśrījñāna. From a remark in *A-mes-zhabs’ Hevajra Word Commentary* (6v) it is clear that these are to be taken as two works, both composed by Ḍombīheruka.

<sup>72</sup> Cf. the *sByin bsreg cho ga*, #025#, according to *Nam-mkha’-dpal-bzang’s Record* translated by Gayadhara and ‘Gos Lo-tśā-ba, but according to *P* by Kṛṣṇa and (‘Gos Lo-tśā-ba Khug-pa) lHas-btsas; furthermore, *Nam-mkha’-dpal-bzang’s Record* mentions a *Ro bsreg gi cho ga* by Nag-po Shanta Bhadra, disciple of Dam-tshig-rdo-rje (#118#), for whom see section A2c.

<sup>73</sup> Cf. in general the works *To* 1218-25. A lineage for the transmission of the initiation of this system is given in *Ngag-dbang-chos-grags’s Record* (7r): rDo-rje-’chang, Vilāsavajra, Yan-lag-med-pa’i-rdo-rje, mTsho-skyes-rdo-rje, Indrabhūti, lCam-legs-smin, Nag-po-spyod-pa, Bram-ze dPal-’dzin, Gayadhara, ‘Brog-mi, Se-mkhar-chung-ba, Zhang dGon-pa-ba, Sa-chen, rTa-stag Se-ba Khu-dbon (b. 12th c.), rGyan-grags (b. 12th c.), dPal Chu-bo Ri-pa (13th c.), Zhang dKon-mchog-dpal (1240-1307), Brag-phug-pa (1277-1346/50), Blo-gros-brtan-pa (1316-1358), dPal-ldan-tshul-khrims (1333-1399), Kun-dga’-bzang-po, etc.

<sup>74</sup> Four additional works are mentioned in *A-mes-zhabs’ General Exposition*: (1) The *rDzogs rims mar me’i rtse mo lta bu* (cf. #053#), (2) a “burnt offering” (*sbyin bsreg*, cf. #054#), (3) the *Saṃpuṭa* commentary *Yang dag pa’i lta ba’i dran pa snang ba* by Indrabhūti, i.e. the *dPal kha sbyor thig le zhes bya ba rnal ’byor ma’i rgyud kyī rgyal po rgya cher ’grel pa yang dag par lta ba’i dran pa’i snang ba* by Indrabodhi (*Smṛtisamdarśanāloka*, #018#), and Indrabodhi’s *Gur gyi dka’ ’grel*, i.e. the *rGyud kyī rgyal po mkha’ ’gro ma rdo rje gur gyi dka’ ’grel zhal nas brgyud pa* (*Pañjika-prathama-paṭala-mukhabandha*, #013#).

manuscripts, see *Tsukamoto et.al.* 295 f.: *Hevajra-ṭippanī* or *Hevajratippana* (Sāṅkrtyāyana 91).

- (23) *dKyil 'khor gyi cho ga nas gling ma* (#039#), mentioned in *Nam-mkha'-dpal-bzang's Record* as the *Gling ma sgrub thabs*. An initiation into the maṇḍala, authored, according to *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Word Commentary* (7r), by Padmavajra.<sup>75</sup>
- (24) A “Saroruha-sādhana” (*sgrub thabs mtsho skyes*). This is the *dPal dgyes pa rdo rje'i sgrub thabs* by Padmavajra, translated by ‘Brog-mi (*Śrī-hevajra-sādhana*, #040#).<sup>76</sup> For a Sanskrit manuskript, see *Tsukamoto et al.* 298 (Sāṅkrtyāyana 119).
- (25) *Tshogs 'khor dam tshig lnga pa* (#683#?).<sup>77</sup>
- (26) *bsTod pa nyi shu pa*, i.e. the *rJe btsun kyai rdo rje'i bhaṭṭāraka'i bstod pa* by mTsho-skyes-rdo-rje (*Bhaṭṭāraka-stotra*, #042#).<sup>78</sup>

In *Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan's Title List*, two more works are mentioned for Padmavajra's cycle: *Gur gyi bshad sbyar* and *Phyag bcu drug pa dkar po* (#043# and #044#; also mentioned in *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Commentary*, 5r), but their identification remains uncertain. In *Stage of Production* (4v f.), *A-mes-zhabs'* adds that they are “equally helpful in both traditions” (i.e. Ḍombīheruka and Padmavajra's).

### (g) Nag-po-pa's cycle of Hevajra teachings

(A2c) The third of the “six chariot systems” is the cycle of Nag-po-pa (i.e. Nag-po Dam-tshig-rdo-rje = Kṛṣṇa Samayavajra, and/or of his disciple Nag-po Zhi-ba-bzang-po = Kṛṣṇa Śāntibhadra). According to *Ngor-chen's Correct System* (5v), ‘Gos Khug-pa lHa-btsas went to India and studied with seventy gurus. He became an expert of the Guhyasamāja. From Nag-po Dam-tshig-rdo-rje he received the Hevajra cycle. Later he spread the initiation and teaching instructions in Tibet and prepared translations of commentaries. A lineage for the transmission of the initiation of Dam-tshig-rdo-rje's system, however, given in *Ngag-dbang-chos-grags's Record* (7v), adds Zhi-ba-bzang-po between Dam-tshig-rdo-rje and ‘Gos, and in *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Word Commentary* (7r), the entire cycle is called the “cycle of Zhi-ba-bzang-

<sup>75</sup> Indirect evidence in *A-mes-zhabs' General Exposition* (2v) also points to Padmavajra/Saroruha as the composer (in a list of nine works of the cycle of Padmavajra, the last two items are “by his disciple Indrabhūti,” which implies that the former five works are compositions by Padmavajra). Cf. also *Ngag-dbang-chos-grags's Record* (7v) mentioning the *dPal kyai rdo rje'i dkyil chog nas gling ma* by bSod-nams-rtse-mo (#120#) and a *Nas gling ma'i dbang gong ma'i cho ga* by Mus-chen (#119#). Neither Mus-chen Sangs-rgyas-rin-chen's nor Mus-chen dKon-mchog-rgyal-mtshan's title lists mention the latter title.

<sup>76</sup> This work is apparently the basis for one of the nine path-cycles, see fn. 36. Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po wrote an outline of the text (*sGrub thabs mtsho skyes kyi bsduḥ don*, #121#), based his own *sādhana* on it (*mNgon rtogs tshig gi bum pa*, #122#), and composed a short *lo rgyus* of mTsho-skyes-rdo-rje (*Slob dpon mtsho skyes kyi lo rgyus*, #123#; see Davidson, 1991: 110, 178, n. 13). bSod-nams-rtse-mo composed a detailed commentary (*dPal kyai rdo rje'i sgrub thabs mtsho skyes kyi ṭi ka*, #124#) and Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan composed another commentary (*Slob dpon padma badzra gyis mdzad pa'i bskyes rim zab pa'i tshul dgos brgyan pa*, #125#; see Davidson, 1991: 110, 178, n. 14). Cf. also *Ngag-dbang-chos-grags's Record*, fol. 7r/v, mentioning in connection with Saroruha's system the *mTsho skyes lugs kyi phra mig* by Go-rams-pa, #126#, an explanation of an evocation and maṇḍala ritual, and the *dPal kyai rdo rje mtsho skyes lugs kyi dkyil. 'khor mchod pa'i cho ga tshogs gnyis rgyas byed* by Ngor-chen Kun-dga'-bzang-po (#127#). See also Ngor-chen's *sGrub thabs mtsho skyes kyi bsduḥ don* (#128#). Cf. also the *dGyes pa rdo rje'i maṇḍal gyi cho ga* by Saroruhavajra (#129#).

<sup>77</sup> Cf. in the Hevajra section of *P*, the *Dam tshig lnga pa* allegedly by Padmasambhava (*Samaya-pañca*, #041#). *TBRC* has a *mTsho skyes tshogs 'khor* by bSod-nams-rtse-mo (#683#).

<sup>78</sup> The “*Bhaṭṭāraka*” has twenty verses and thus appears to be the “*bstod pa nyi shu pa*.” Cf. also the *Kye'i rdo rje'i bstod pa* by mTsho-skyes-rdo-rje (#130#). The *bsTod pa nyi shu pa* has been edited (in Tibetan) and studied by Leonard W. J. van der Kuijper (1987).

po/Śāntibhadra” (cf. also *A-mes-zhabs’ Hevajra Commentary*, 5r).<sup>79</sup> As early as *Grags-pa-rgya-mtshan’s Title List* we find the interesting remark that some works (#058#-#065#) were transmitted by “the lesser (or younger?) one of the Nag-[po-pa]’s” (*nag chung gis*, i.e. Zhi-ba-bzang-po) to ‘Gos Khug-pa. *Ngor-chen’s Sādhana Explication* (4v) confirms that Nag-po Zhi-ba-bzang-po was a direct disciple of Nag-po Dam-tshig-rdo-rje. According to *Ngor-chen’s Sādhana Explication* (4v), Nag-po Zhi-ba-bzang-po composed the following works. With regard to ripening:

*dKyil ’khor gyi cho ga gzhung ’grel* (#073#),

as stage of production rituals:

*lHa dgu’i sgrub thabs* (#074#),

*Yab rkyang pa’i sgrub thabs* (#075#),

*Yum rkyang gi sgrub thabs* (#076#),

and a single work on the stage of perfection (*rDzogs rim gyi gzhung*, #077#). Ngor-chen adds, however, that according to Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan’s teachings these works existed, but that they seem to have vanished now (i.e. at the beginning of the 15th century). Furthermore, still according to *Ngor-chen’s Sādhana Explication* (4v), as branches of the path, Nag-po Zhi-ba-bzang-po also composed the following branch-works:

*Tshogs kyi ’khor lo’i cho ga* (#078#, cf. #061#)

*sByin sreg gi cho ga* (#079#)

Still furthermore he composed these works:

*Ro sreg gi cho ga* (#080#)

*Rab gnas kyi cho ga* (#081#)

*mChod rten gyi cho ga* (#082#)

*gShin gyi cho ga* (#083#)

*dKa’ ’grel rnal ’byor rin po che sbyor ba’i phreng ba* (#084#, compare the text below, no. 27) as a support for the above works.

As the first works #073#-#076# had, according to Ngor-chen, vanished already at the beginning of the 15th century and all of them together, except the last (#011#), are only mentioned here by short and merely descriptive titles, there seems to be little chance to locate or identify them.

Ngor-chen also relates the following. When Nag-po Zhi-ba-bzang-po came to Tibet, at the Ka-ru temple of Mang-yul he was requested by ‘Gos Lo-tṣā-ba, mTshur Lo-tṣā-ba, and Nag-tsho (1011-1064) to compose these short works (mentioned above). The *dKa’ ’grel rnal ’byor rin po che sbyor ba’i phreng ba* (#084#) had been composed in India and offered to the guru (Dam-tshig-rdo-rje), who approved of it. But since Zhi-ba-bzang-po thought that his own name would not be sufficient, he requested to be allowed to put his master’s name (Kṛṣṇa Samayavajra?) into the colophon, and so it was done.

It is in this context curious to note that the lists of writings of Nag-po-pa (Kṛṣṇa) and Zhi-ba-bzang-po (Śāntibhadra) show a number of similarities. Both contain a commentary on the basic text of the maṇḍala ritual (*dKyil ’khor cho ga gzhung ’grel*, #055# and #073#), an evocation ritual for a single vīra (#057# and #075#), one (or two) evocation rituals for the *yum* (#063# and #076#), a “basic text of the *rdzogs rim*” (#065# and #077#) and rituals for the burnt offering

<sup>79</sup> The lineage in *Ngag-dbang-chos-grags’s Record* (4r) is: rDo-rje-’chang, bDag-med-ma, Nag-po Dam-tshig-rdo-rje, Nag-po Zhi-ba-bzang-po, ‘Gos-khug-pa lHas-btsas, mNga’-ris-pa gSal-ba’i-snying-po, ‘Khon sGyi-chu-ba Shākya-’bar, Sa-chen, bSod-nams-rtse-mo, Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, dKar Shākya-grags (b. 13th c.), his nephew, bDe-lung-pa Kun-bzang-dpal (b. 13th c.), Dar-ma-ye-she (13th c.), Bag-ston gZhon-tshul (b. 13th c.), Tshul-rgyal, dPal-ldan-don-grub (b. 14th c.), Sa-bzang-’phags-pa (1358-1412/1424), Kun-dga’-bzang-po, etc.

(#059# and #079#), burning of corpses (#060# and #080#) and gaṇacakra (#061# and #078#). In addition to this, both cycles contain a commentary on the basic tantra, i.e. the *Rin chen sbyor ba 'i phreng ba* (*Yogaratnamālā*) by Kṛṣṇa Samayavajra, and a *dKa' 'grel rnal 'byor rin po che sbyor ba 'i phreng ba* (#084#) by “Paṇḍita Kṛṣṇa,” which seems to be the text that according to the above story related by Ngor-chen was composed by Śāntibhadra and for which he requested to be allowed to put his teacher’s name (“Paṇḍita Kṛṣṇa,” i.e. Kṛṣṇa Samayavajra) into the colophon. Thus, in conclusion, if the two cycles of these two Kṛṣṇas are not at least partly identical, they must have been closely connected, perhaps as notes (*zin bris*) by the disciple on the teachers works or commentaries of difficult points (*dka' 'grel*), as the titles of the *Yogaratnamālā* and the *dKa' 'grel* (#084#) suggest.

The NOTES lists thirteen works for Nag-po-pa (Kṛṣṇa Samayavajra).<sup>80</sup>

(27) The commentary on the basic tantra *Rin chen sbyor ba 'i phreng ba* (*Yogaratnamālā*, #011#, the work mentioned above), i.e. the *dPal dges pa 'i rdo rje 'i dka' 'grel rin po che sbyor ba 'i 'phreng ba* by Dam-tshig-rdo-rje (Samayavajra), translated by Nag-po and lHas-tshas (i.e. ‘Gos). According to *Ngor-chen's Correct System* (3v), even though this work does not accord with the *cittamātra* view, it follows Ratnākaraśānti in its systematic presentation.<sup>81</sup> Ngor-chen (*Ngor-chen's Sādhana Explication*, 5r) more explicitly states that both the passages of the stage of production and the explanation of the tantra were copied from Ratnākaraśānti’s writings. *A-mes-zhabs' General Exposition* (3r), *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Commentary* (5v), and *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Word Commentary* (7r-v), however, identify a text called *rNal 'byor rin po che sbyor ba 'i phreng ba* as belonging to this section, namely the *dGyes pa rdo rje 'i dka' 'grel rnal 'byor rin po che phreng ba* by Paṇḍita Kṛṣṇa/Kāṇha (*Yogaratnamālā*, #006#, cf. p. 44, text no. 4). According to *A-mes-zhabs' General Exposition*, this commentary is the support for the following works of this cycle. According to *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Word Commentary* (4v), except for matters connected with the *madhyamaka* view, all (of Nag-po Dam-tshig-rdo-rje’s) other (writings) are similar to Ratnākaraśānti’s. On folio 5v it adds that ‘Brog-mi Jo-sras-rdo-rje translated the *rNal 'byor rin po che 'i sbyor 'phreng* and taught it. This system is known as the “son’s (i.e. ‘Brog-mi Jo-sras-rdo-rje’s) system of explication” (*sras kyi bshad srol*).<sup>82</sup> An edition of this commentary is contained in Snellgrove (1959).

(28) *dKyiil 'khor gyi cho ga gzhung 'grel*, i.e. the *dPal dgyes pa 'i rdo rje 'i gzhung 'grel gyi dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga* by Nag-po, translated by Nag-po (according to *P*) or Gayadhara (*To*) and lHa-btsas (*Paddhatimaṇḍala-viddhi*, #055#). This title is mentioned in *A-mes-zhabs' Stage of Production* (5r) as the *Nag po gzhung 'grel*.

(29) *sGrub thabs de nyid gsal ba*. According to *Nam-mkha'-dpal-bzang's Record* (4r) translated by ‘Gos Lo-tśā-ba (#056#). In *A-mes-zhabs' Stage of Production* (5r)

<sup>80</sup> *A-mes-zhabs' General Exposition* (2v-3r) omits the *bsTod pa* (#062#) and adds two works, namely a *mChod rten gyi cho ga* and a *gShin gyi cho ga*. *A-mes-zhabs' Stage of Production* (5r) omits nos. 32-34 and 37.

<sup>81</sup> *Ngor-chen's Correct System* (3v) also mentions at this occasion a *rGyud kyi rgyal po chen po dgyes pa 'i rdo rje zhes bya ba sgyu ma brtag pa gnyis pa 'i dka' 'grel dran pa 'i 'byung gnas* (*Dvikaḥpamāyā-pañjikā-smṛtīnīpāda*, #009#) by a Kṛṣṇa, but the author does not seem to be either the “Kṛṣṇa of the Cakrasaṃvara,” the “direct disciple of Virūpa,” or the “full monk Kṛṣṇa.” According to *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Word Commentary* (3v), the (explanation of) the stage of production (*bskyed rim*) of this work is in accordance with the system of Ye-shes-zhabs (i.e. Buddhajñānapāda, see fn. 92). There is no certain knowledge with regard to its stage of perfection (*rdzogs rim*).

<sup>82</sup> For the “father’s (i.e. ‘Brog-mi’s) system of explication,” see above, p. 32, text no. 1.

mentioned as the *Yab kyi sgrub thabs*, which is for those of highest faculties. According to *A-mes-zhabs' General Exposition* (2v), the title should be *sGrub thabs de nyid SNANG ba*.

- (30) *Phyag bcu drug pa dpa' bo gcig pa'i sgrub thabs*, i.e. the *dPa' bo gcig pa dpal he ru ka phyag bcu drug pa'i sgrub pa'i thabs* (*Ekavīra-śrīheruka-ṣoḍaśabhūja-sādhana*, #057#).<sup>83</sup> According to *Nam-mkha'-dpal-bzang's Record* and *To*, it was translated by 'Gos/lHas-btsas. It is suitable for those of medium faculties (*A-mes-zhabs' Stage of Production* 5r).
- (31) *Phyag gnyis pa dpa' bo gcig pa'i sgrub thabs*.<sup>84</sup> Suitable for those of minimal faculties (*A-mes-zhabs' Stage of Production* 5r).
- (32-33) The two *sādhana* of the *yum*, cf. *bDag med ma'i sgrub thabs* (#063#-#064#), according to *Nam-mkha'-dpal-bzang's Record* (4r) translated by 'Gos Lo-tsā-ba.<sup>85</sup>
- (34) *rDzogs rim gyi gzhung*, cf. *Nam-mkha'-dpal-bzang's Record* (4r), *rDzogs rims thig le chen po*, translated by 'Gos Lo-tsā-ba (#065#).
- (35) *Rab gnas tshul bzang mo*, cf. *Nam-mkha'-dpal-bzang's Record* (4r), *Rab gnas kyi cho ga*. Cf. also *Rab gnas kyi cho ga'i tshul* by Kṛṣṇa (*Pratiṣṭhā-viddhi*, #058#).
- (36-37) *Tshogs 'khor*<sup>86</sup> and *bsTod pa* (#062#).
- (38-39) *sByin bsreg* (#025#/#059#)<sup>87</sup> and *Ro bsreg* (#060#); see fn. 72.

These thirty-nine works are according to the NOTES of great importance (*gtso che'i chos*). It adds here that the transmissions of the initiation and teachings,<sup>88</sup> etc., of these three systems (i.e. A2a-c) are complete and unerring in the glorious Sa-skyapa tradition until the present day. Elsewhere, A-mes-zhabs strongly makes the point that these thirty-nine works “do not need further supplements” (*A-mes-zhabs' General Exposition*, 2r and 3r). In *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Commentary* (5r), he mentions as the source for this enumeration of thirty-nine works the biography of lHo-pa Kun-mkhyen (b. 13th c.).<sup>89</sup> In *A-mes-zhabs' Stage of Production* (5r), he adds that additionally to the fifteen works of Ḍombīheruka's cycle and the five of Padmavajra, ten works are equally helpful for both systems (*de gnyis dang thun mong du phan 'dogs pa*). He does not explicitly mention which works these mutually helpful works are, but my guess is that these are the six works of Ḍombīheruka's cycle (nos. 3-4, 11, 13, 17, 19) and the four of Śāntibhadra (nos. 32-34, 37) that are *not* listed in *A-mes-zhabs' Stage of Production* (and without these the works listed in *A-mes-zhabs' Stage of Production* would not add up to thirty-

<sup>83</sup> According to *A-mes-zhabs' General Exposition* (2v), the “single *vīra* [with] eight heads and sixteen arms.”

<sup>84</sup> Cf. the *Kyai rdo rje phyag gnyis pa'i sgrub thabs* (*Dvibhūjasādhana*) by Tāraśrī (#131#). The sequence of the titles in *Nam-mkha'-dpal-bzang's Record* and in *P* would suggest this identification. According to *Nam-mkha'-dpal-bzang's Record* (4r), however, the work was translated by Tāraklaśu and Tshul-khrims-grags; *P* has Sumatikīrti and Chos-dbang and as author Tāraśrī. A note in *A-mes-zhabs' General Exposition* (2v) says that rJe-btsun (Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan) was in possession of the Sanskrit manuscript.

<sup>85</sup> Again *A-mes-zhabs' General Exposition* (2v) notes that rJe-btsun (Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan) was in possession of the Sanskrit manuscripts.

<sup>86</sup> Cf. *Tshogs kyi 'khor lo'i mchod pa'i rim pa* by Kṛṣṇa, #061#.

<sup>87</sup> Cf. *To* 1255-56.

<sup>88</sup> The Tibetan terms that I have chosen to translate as “transmission of the initiation and teachings” are *dbang bka'* and *bshad bka'*. I understand them as *dbang [gi] bka' [babs]* and *bshad [kyi] bka' [babs]*.

<sup>89</sup> lHo-pa Rin-chen-dpal-bzang-po, 13th c., a direct disciple of Sa-pan; cf. *Mang-thos Klu-sgrub's bsTan rtsis* 150, *Great Genealogy*<sup>a</sup> fol. 96, *Lokesh Chandra's Materials* 10914. This may refer to lHo-pa's biography of Sa-pan (#132#).

<sup>a</sup> The *Great Genealogy* is A-mes-zhabs' famous genealogy of the 'Khon family, the '*Dzam gling byang phyogs kyi thub pa'i rgyal tshab chen po dpal ldan sa skyapa'i gdung rabs rin po che ji ltar byon pa'i tshul gyi rnam par thar pa ngo tshar rin po che'i bang mdzod dgos 'dod kun 'byung*.

nine). In the same passage, he points out that there are many different ways to reckon the thirty-nine works. Here, however, he follows the system according to what was seen by bDag-chen Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan (1444-1495) in the notes of two direct disciples of rJe-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan kept in the sGo-rum library, which he considers to be a very reliable source.<sup>90</sup>

### (h) Shānti-pa's cycle of Hevajra teachings

(A2d) The fourth of the “six chariot systems” is the cycle of Shānti-pa. It comprises seven works:

- (1) The commentary on the basic tantra, *Mu tig phreng ba*, i.e. the *dPal dgyes pa'i rdo rje'i dka' 'grel mu tig phreng ba* by Ratnākaraśānti, translated by Śāntibhadra and lHa-btsas (i.e. 'Gos) (*Pañjikā-muktikāvali*, #010#). For Sanskrit manuscripts, see *Tsukamoto et.al.* 296 f.: *Hevajra-pañjikā Muktāvali*. It has also been published by Ram Shankar Tripathi and Thakur Sain Negi (eds.): *Hevajratantram with Muktāvali Pañjikā of Mahāpaṇḍitācārya Ratnākaraśānti*, Sarnath, Varanasi, Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies 2001, Bibliotheca Indo-Tibetica Series 48. *Ngor-chen's Correct System* (3v) remarks that Ratnākaraśānti propounds in this as well as in his other commentaries the *cittamātra* view.<sup>91</sup> The stage of production of his system is in accordance with the system of Ye-shes-zhabs (Buddhajñānapāda), i.e. the binding with the structure of the three *samādhis* (*ting nge 'dzin gsum gyi chings kyi bcings pa*) and has a very profound purification of the base to be purified (*sbyangs gzhi sbyong ba*).<sup>92</sup> Therefore Ye-shes-zhabs's Guhyasamāja *sādhana* is unlike other (*sādhanas*) of the father tantra and Ratnākaraśānti's mother-tantra system is unlike other mother-tantra systems. *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Word Commentary* adds to this that the stage of perfection (*rdzogs rim*) with the *mudrās* etc., is taught here in accordance with what is taught in the basic tantra.
- (2) *dKyiil 'khor gyi cho ga he ru ka 'byung ba*, i.e. the *dPal he ru ka 'byung ba zhes bya ba'i dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga by* (Ratnākaraśānti's direct disciple) Nyin-mo'i-'byung-gnas-zla-ba'i-zhabs (Divākaraśānti, translators not mentioned), (*Herukabhūta-nāma-maṇḍalopāyikā* #069#).
- (3) *sGrub thabs 'khrul spong rtsa ba*, i.e. the *'Khrul pa spong ba zhes bya ba'i sgrub pa'i thabs* by Ratnākaraśānti (translators not mentioned), (*Bhramahara-nāma-sādhana*, #066#). Mentioned in *Ngor-chen's Sādhana Explication* as *Yab kyi sgrub thabs*. For Sanskrit manuscripts, see *Tsukamoto et.al.* 300: *Bhramaharo-nāma-sādhana* and *Hevajrasāadhanopāyika* (Sāṅkṛtyayana 188). It is now published by Harunaga Isaacson (2002) “Ratnākaraśānti's Bhramaharanāma Hevajrasādhana: Critical Edition (Studies in

<sup>90</sup> *A-mes-zhabs' Stage of Production* (5r): *'dir bkod pa ni rje btsun gyi dngos slob gnyis kyi zin bris kyi dpe sgo rum dpe khang na yod pa bdag chen blo gros rgyal mtshan gyis gzigs pa'i nang bzhin yin pas shin tu khung btsun par shes par bya'o.*

<sup>91</sup> *Ngor-chen's Correct System* (3r) lists the following commentaries as propounding a *cittamātra* view: The Guhyasamāja commentary *gSang ba 'dus pa'i bshad sbyar snyim pa'i me tog* (*Kusumāñjali-guhyasamājanibandha*, P 64/2714), Kṛṣṇa-yamāri commentary *dPal gshin rje'i dgra nag po'i rgyud kyi rgyal po chen po'i dka' 'grel rin po che'i sgron ma* (*Pañjikā-ratnapradīpa*, P 66/2782), Mahāmāyā commentary *dPal sgyu 'phrul chen mo 'grel pa yon tan ldan pa* (*Guṇavatī*, P 57/2495), *dPal thams cad gsang ba'i bshad sbyar gsang ba'i sgron ma* (*Sarvarahasya-nibandha-rahasya-pradīpa*, P 76/3450 (To 2623), a commentary on the *Sarvarahasyatantra*, which is a yogatantra, P 114 = T 481, the Sanskrit manuscript is mentioned by Tsukamoto, p. 203: Śrīśrī Sarvahasyanibandho Rahahpradīpo, Sāṅkṛtyāyana 299), and his commentary on the *Ji bzhin brnyes pa nam mkha' dang mnyam pa* (*Yathālabdha-khasama*, P 3/80), i.e. the *Nam mkha' dang mnyam pa zhes bya ba'i rgya cher 'grel pa* (*Khasama-nāma-ṭikā*, P 51/2141).

<sup>92</sup> Cf. *Sems dpa' gsum gyi ting nge 'dzin la mnyam par bzhag pa* by Buddhajñānapāda (#133#).

Ratnākaraśānti’s tantric works III),” *Journal of the International College for Advanced Buddhist Studies* vol. 5, pp. 151(80)–176(55).

- (4) *sGrub thabs ‘khrul spong gi ‘grel pa ye shes sgron mer mngon par brjod pa* (#070#), according to *Ngor-chen’s Sādhana Explication* composed by “Ratnākaraśānti’s direct disciple Divākaraśānti.”
- (5) *Yum gyi sgrub thabs*. Mentioned in *Ngor-chen’s Sādhana Explication* as being composed by Ratnākaraśānti (#067#). This is, according to Harunaga Isaacson, almost certainly *P 2439/T 1309*, of which a Sanskrit manuscript also survives.
- (6-7) The two, i.e. basic text and commentary on the *rDzogs rim lhan cig skyes pa’i dga’ ba la yang dag sbyor ba* (#068#), *Hevajrasahajasadyoga* or *Sahajasadyoga* of Ratnākaraśānti, *P 2375/T 1246*; it survives in Sanskrit (*Tsukamoto et.al.* 301: *Hevajrasahajasadyoga*) and has been published by Harunaga Isaacson (2001) “Ratnākaraśānti’s *Hevajrasahajasadyoga* (Studies in Ratnākaraśānti’s tantric works I),” Raaele Torella (ed.), *Le Parole e i Marmi: studi in onore di Raniero Gnoli nel suo 70 compleanno*, Roma, Istituto Italiano per l’Africa e l’Oriente, [appeared 2002], Serie Orientale Roma, XCII. pp. 457–487. These are also mentioned in *Ngor-chen’s Sādhana Explication*, which also mentions that a commentary on the *lHan cig skyes pa’i rnal ‘byor* (#071#, cf. #068#) existed, but was not translated into Tibetan, and that the direct disciple of Ratnākaraśānti, Bram-ze-thag (Thagana), composed yet another *rDzogs rim lhan cig skyes pa’i rnal ‘byor gyi ‘grel pa* (#072#), which is, according to Harunaga Isaacson, almost certainly *P 2376/T1247*.

According to the *Notes*, none of these works were transmitted in the Sa-skyapa tradition.<sup>93</sup>

#### (i) sNyan-grags-bzang-po’s cycle of Hevajra teachings

(A2e) The fifth of the “six chariot systems” is the cycle of sNyan-grags-bzang-po.<sup>94</sup> According to the NOTES there exists an extensive commentary on the basic tantra, known as the “*Nā ro ‘grel chen*” (#012#), which in itself is a fully complete system. It mentions that this commentary contains the stages of production and perfection together with the limbs “in faded ink” (*nag ‘byams kyi tshul du*). Some assert that this commentary was composed by Jo-bo Na-ro-ta-pa (Nāropa), but, as is observed in the NOTES, this is not correct, since its colophon states: “Written by the Bhikṣu sNyan-grags-bzang-po, who was born in Kashmir.” It is furthermore observed that the time of the two (i.e. of Nāropa and Bhikṣu sNyan-grags-bzang-po) also does not coincide, since dPyal Lo-tsā-ba Chos-kyi-bzang-po (b. 12th c.), who was a contemporary of Sa-pan, studied with that Bhikṣu (which indicates that the Bhikṣu sNyan-grags-bzang-po lived several generations after Nāropa). The author of the NOTES remarks furthermore that the transmission of instructions etc. of this system remains in the Sa-skyapa tradition, but I have as yet been unable to locate any trace of it.<sup>95</sup>

<sup>93</sup> It should be noted, however, that according to *Ngor-chen’s Correct System* (5v), ‘Brog-mi studied the Hevajra cycle with Ratnākaraśānti. See also Stearns (2001: 87).

<sup>94</sup> sNyan-grags-bzang-po (Yaśobhadra?) is otherwise known as a commentator of *Guhyasamāja*, cf. *Sarvaguhya-pradīpa-ṭīkā*, *P* no. 2652.

<sup>95</sup> The transmission of this system within the Sa-skyapa tradition is also mentioned in *Ngor-chen’s Sādhana Explication*. Ngor-chen furthermore adds that oral instructions known as “*sgrom gter*” were handed down by dPyal (Chos-kyi-bzang-po) Lo-tsā-ba and “exist until the present day.”

In *Ngor-chen's Correct System* (4r-v), we find a more detailed account:<sup>96</sup> Furthermore, there existed the text known as “*Nā ro 'grel chen*” translated in the temple of gSer-sding by Śākyaśrībhadrā (1127-1225) and dPyal Chos-kyi-bzang-po<sup>97</sup> and the (sub-)commentary on its difficult passages (*dka' 'grel*), topical outline (*sa bcad*), and the *rDzogs rim sgrom lde* by dPyal Lo-tsā-ba. In the three large and small *Chos 'byung* of Bu-ston and in the *Yo ga'i chos 'byung*, both that commentary and the *Dus 'khor gyi dbang mdor bstan gyi 'grel pa* are said to have been authored by the *mahāsiddha* Nāro-pa (*nā ro ta pa*). Similarly, it also spread in the system of the Jo-nang-pas [and] was said to be authored by Nāropa. The reason for composing it is said to be [the following]. In the early part of his life, the *mahāsiddha* Nāropa taught any tantra according to the *rang stong* view. That [view] was spread widely by the Tibetan dGe-bshes in Tibet. Later, in the latter part of his life, the Kālacakra appeared(?) in India (*'phags yul du 'gyur ba*). Because it taught the view of *gzhan stong*, in order to refute the earlier impure view of *rang stong*, he composed this commentary that elucidates also the Hevajra (*brtag gnyis*), teaching the *gzhan stong* view.<sup>98</sup> This, however, does not make sense, because in its colophon it is said: “composed by the full monk sNyan-grags-bzang-po who was born in Kashmir,” and because the *mahāsiddha* Nāropa remained in the latter part of his life in the manner of a yogi [and thus was not a “full monk” like the Kashmirian author mentioned in the colophon]. Furthermore, except for [what] dPyal Lo-tsā-ba [said], we do not have much knowledge with regard to this commentary and while dPyal Lo-tsā-ba said that it was composed by a full monk who was born in a royal family that appeared in a lineage of the south, he does not say that it was composed by Nāropa. Therefore, [someone may say]: “As there is a white, black, and multicolored Nāropa known in India, [the commentary] was composed by a [member of the] Nāro clan, but not by the *mahāsiddha* Nāropa.” If that were so, it would become very difficult for the proponent [of such a statement] to maintain that the very incompatible Hevajra systems of dPyal, rNgog, and this one were the product of a single person [i.e. Nāropa]. Even though it is not composed by the

<sup>96</sup> *Ngor-chen's Correct System* (4r-v): yang kha che pañ chen dang dpyal chos bzang gnyis kyi gser sding gi gtsug lag khang du 'gyur byas pa'i, nā ro 'grel chen du grags pa yod cing, dpyal los byas pa'i de nyid kyi dka' 'grel, sa bcad, rdzogs rim sgrom lde zhes pa rnams yod do, bu ston gyi chos 'byung che chung gsum dang, yo ga'i chos 'byung rnams su 'grel pa de nyid dang, dus 'khor gyi dbang mdor bstan gyi 'grel pa gnyis, grub chen nā ro ta pas mdzad par byas so, de bzhin du jo nang pa rnams kyi lugs la dar nā ro ta pas byas pa yin te, brtsoms pa'i rgyu mtshan ni, grub chen nā ro ta pa'i sku tshe'i stod la rgyud sde gang 'chad thams cad rang stong gi lta ba ston par bshad cing, de nyid bod kyi dge bshes mang pos bod yul du dar bar byas la, phyis rting sku tshe'i smad la dus 'khor 'phags yul du 'gyur bas, de nyid gzhan stong gi lta ba ston par 'dug pas, sngar gyi rang stong gi lta ba ma dag pa sun dbyung ba'i phyir du, brtag gnyis kyang gzhan stong gi lta ba ston par bkral ba'i 'grel pa 'di spyen la 'dzag <4v> ma'i ka ba btsugs nas brtsams zhes zer ba yang rigs pa ma yin te, de nyid kyi mjug tu, kha che'i yul du slyes pa yi., dge slong snyan grags bzang pos sbyar., zhes bshad cing, grub chen nā ro pa sku tshe'i smad la rten rnal 'byor pas tshul du bzhugs pas so, yang 'grel pa de nyid la dpyal lo las rgyus che ba med cing, dpyal los yul lho phyogs kyi rgyud du byung ba'i rgyal po'i rigs su slyes pa'i dge slong cig gi sbyar bar bshad kyi, nā ro pas sbyar bar ma bshad do, des na rgya gar na nā ro dkar nag khra gsum zhes grags pa ltar, rus nā ro yin pa cig gi byas pa yin gyis, grub chen nā ro pas byas pa ma yin te, yin na kyai rdor dpyal lugs, rngog lugs, 'di dang gsum lugs shin tu mi mthun pa, gang zag gcig gi byas pas khas len pa skyong dka' mo yongs pa 'dra'o, grub chen nā ro pas ma byas kyang, pañdi ta shes rab can gcig gi byas par gsal zhing, de nyid nas bskyed rim grub chen mtsho skyes kyi lugs dang mthun pa dang, rdzogs rim yan lag drug bsgom rnal 'byor pas, zhes pa la, so sor bsdu dang bsam gtan dang, srog rtsol dang ni 'dzin pa dang, rjes su dran dang ting nge 'dzin dang, rnal 'byor yan lag drug tu 'dod, zhes sbyor ba yan lag drug ston par 'bru mnan nas, dus 'khor dang mthun par 'chad do, 'grel pa de nyid kyi ming la kyai rdor don bsdu zer la, de nyid kyi 'grel bshad, kyai rdor don bsdu kyi 'grel pa ces pa smad ma tshangs pa gcig yod, bod snga ma 'ga' res 'di bod mar byas pa yod kyang, rgya gar gyi yin gyis, bod ma min no.

<sup>97</sup> *rDo rje tshig gi snying po bsdu pa'i dka' 'grel* (*Vajrapada-sāra-saṃgraha-pañjikā*) by Nāropāda (#134#), which is, despite its name, not a short commentary (100 folios in *P*).

<sup>98</sup> I do not understand the phrase “*spyen la 'dzag ma'i ka ba btsugs nas*.”



*mahāsiddha* Nāropa, it is clear that it was composed by a Paṇḍita endowed with insight. He taught a stage of production compatible with the system of the *mahāsiddha* Saroruha and a stage of perfection (...) that is in accordance with Kālacakra.<sup>99</sup> The name of this commentary (i.e. the *Nā ro 'grel chen*) is *Kyai rdor don bsdu*<sup>100</sup> and there exists a detailed (sub)-commentary on it, the *Kyai rdor don bsdu kyī 'grel pa*, whose last part is incomplete. Some ancient Tibetans say that while it has been composed in Tibet, it is Indian, not Tibetan.<sup>101</sup>

### (j) Avadhūtipa's cycle of Hevajra teachings

(A2f) The last of the “six chariot systems” is the cycle of Avadhūtipa (who is apparently treated here as being identical with Advayavajra and Maitrīpa). Five works are mentioned:

- (1) *dKyil 'khor gyi cho ga dbang gi rab byed* (#088#).
- (2) *sGrub thabs rnam par dag pa'i gter*, i.e. the *Kyai rdo rje'i sgrub pa'i thabs rnam par dag pa'i gter* by gNyi-su-med-pa'i-rdo-rje Avadhūti-pa dPal Maitrī-zhabs (*Viśuddhi-nidhi-nāma-heruka-sādhana*, #089#). For a Sanskrit manuscript (Sāṅkṛtyāyana 125: *Hevajra-viśuddhi-sādhana*), see *Tsukamoto et.al.* 300.
- (3) *Yun gyi sgrub thabs*, according to *Ngor-chen's Sādhana Explication* “*bDag med ma gsal ba*,” thus see the *bDag med ma'i rab tu gsal ba* by gNyi-su-med-pa'i-rdo-rje (*Nairātmā-prakāśa*, #090#).
- (4-5) the *rDzogs rim lta ba ngan sel rtsa 'grel*, for which cf. the *lTa ba ngan pa sel ba* and the *lTa ba ngan pa sel ba'i 'dran pa*, both by gNyi-su-med-pa'i-rdo-rje(#091#).

At the end of this section we find the remark “and so forth, [i.e.] the twenty-four basic texts of A-ma-na-se [teachings].”<sup>102</sup> The author of the NOTES adds that today the transmissions of the initiations, etc., of this system are not remaining in Tibet.

### (k) Minor works of the “six chariot systems”

After this, the author of the NOTES adds two sections of minor works that are connected with these “six chariot systems.” The first group, which is said to (still) remain (in Tibet?), comprises the following works:

- (1) The commentary by Bodhisattva rDo-rje-snying-po (Vajragarbha) on the first part (*stod 'grel*) of the *brTag pa gnyis pa* (*Hevajratantra*), i.e. the *Kyai rdo rje bsdu pa'i don gyi*

<sup>99</sup> The stages of production and perfection works (#086#-#087#) are also mentioned in *Ngor-chen's Sādhana Explication*, which also notes a *sMin byed kyī cho ga yongs su rdzogs pa* (#085#). *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Word Commentary* (3v) specifies: “in accordance with the *ṣaḍaṅga* system.”

<sup>100</sup> According to *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Word Commentary* (3v), *rDo rje tshig gi snying po bsdu pa*. The situation is quite unclear. We have a *rDo rje tshig gi snying po bsdu pa* and a *dka' 'grel* by the same name—could this be one and the same text? The latter is a 100 folio work attributed in *P* to “Nāro-zhabs.” It was translated by Śākyaśrībhadrā and (dPyal) Chos-kyi-bzang-po and the latter is again credited with a sub-commentary on the *dka' 'grel* type. The exact relations between these persons, the position of sNyan-grags-bzang-po, and the commentaries and sub-commentaries mentioned, still have to be worked out.

<sup>101</sup> Still another commentary, allegedly by Nāropa, is mentioned in *Ngor-chen's Correct System* (5r), the *gSung gi 'od zer bstan pa* (#135#), but it is held by Bu-ston to be a Tibetan composition.

<sup>102</sup> These twenty-four works are listed in *Ngor-chen's Sādhana Explication* (#091#-#110#): (6) *Rin chen phreng ba*, (7) *dBang gi dgos pa*, (8) *rNam pa lnga pa*, (9) *De bzhin gshegs pa lnga'i phyag rgya*, (10) *sGyu ma nges bstan*, (11) *rMi lam nges bstan*, (12) *Rab tu mi gnas pa*, (13) *Theg chen nyi shu pa*, (14) *De kho na nyid nyi shu pa*, (15) *brTse ba lnga pa*, (16) *dGa' gtsugs lnga pa*, (17) *Mi phyed pa lnga pa*, (18) *dBu ma drug pa*, (19) *lHan slyes drug pa*, (20) *Zung 'jug gsal ba*, (21) *bDe chen gsal ba*, (22) *gNas pa bsdu pa*, (23) *Shes rab ye shes gsal ba*, (24) *dBang bskur rnam nges kyī dka' 'grel*. *Ngor-chen* adds that these instructions appear to be in accordance with the system of Guhyasamāja.

- rgya cher 'grel pa* (*Piṇḍārtha-ṭikā*, #007#); *To* 1180 (see the next entry). For various Sanskrit titles of manuscripts, see *Tsukamoto et.al.* 294 f.: *Ṣaṭsāhasrikā Hevajra-ṭikā*, *Hevajra-tantra-ṭikā* (Nagao 128); *Hevajraṭikā* (Sāṅkṛtyāyana 92). See Malati J. Shendge (2004) *Ṣaṭ-Ṣāhasrikā-Hevajraṭikā: A Critical Edition*, Delhi: Pratibha Prakashan.<sup>103</sup>
- (2) The commentary on the second part (*smad 'grel*) by Paṇḍita rDo-rje-snying-po (Vajragarbha?). According to *Ngor-chen's Correct System* (2v) the above work is known to comprise two parts (*stod 'grel* and *smad 'grel*). Up to the fifth chapter it is known to be composed by Vajragarbha. The second part begins with chapter six.<sup>104</sup> The first part seems to be in accordance with the Kālacakra system. With regard to the second part, the author of *Ngor-chen's Correct System*, in agreement with the former masters, holds that since it is not in accordance with the Kālacakra system, it is not by Vajragarbha, even though the author of the second part has the same name. Furthermore, the author of the first part had access to the basic tantra and explained the meaning of the basic tantra of five-hundred thousand *ślokas*, having first summarized it.<sup>105</sup> The first part was translated by the lesser Lo-tsā-ba from Pu-hrang, Grags-'byor-shes-rab, while the second part was translated by the full monk from 'Bro, Shes-rab-grags-pa. The former masters, such as Sa-chen, have received the system of explanation of the first part together with the teaching system of the Kālacakra from the lesser Lo-tsā-ba from Pu-hrang. *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Word Commentary* (3r-v) adds that the first part belongs to the earlier translation period and the second to the later one. The second part was furthermore “certainly not composed by the Kashmirian rDo-rje-snying-po (Vajragarbha)” and is “difficult to be considered authentic” (*tshad ldan du rtsi ba dka'*).
- (3) The commentary by Padma'i-myu-gu-(rdo-rje), i.e. the *Kyai rdo rje zhes bya ba'i rgyud kyi rgyal po'i 'grel pa* (*Tantrarāja-ṭikā*, #136#). According to *Ngor-chen's Correct System* (3r), Padma'i-myu-gu was a great master with regard to the general tenets and those of the *tīrthikas*, the knowledge of which he demonstrates in his commentary. He does not teach a systematic presentation of the stages of production and perfection of Hevajra. He does, however, teach that the practice of a protection *maṇḍala* precedes the *sādhana* proper.<sup>106</sup>
- (4) The commentary by Paṇḍita Kṛṣṇa/Kāṇha, i.e. probably the *dGyes pa rdo rje'i dka' 'grel rnal 'byor rin po che['] phreng ba* (*Yogaratanmālā*, #006#). But see also p. 38, text no. 27. For Sanskrit manuscripts and editions, see *Tsukamoto et.al.* 296: *Yogaratanmālā Hevajra-pañjikā*.
- (5) The commentary by Kāmadhenu, i.e. the *dPal dgyes pa'i rdo rje'i dka' 'grel rdo rje'i tshig btu ba* (*Vajrapadoddharāṇa*, #137#). According to *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Word Commentary* (4v), this very abbreviated commentary is also known as *Ka ma dhe nu*.
- (6) The commentary by Bhavabhāṭa, i.e. the *dPal dgyes pa'i rdo rje'i rnam bshad rnam par 'grel pa* (*Vyākhyā-vivaraṇa*, #008#). According to *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Word Commentary* (3v), this commentary presents in detail the opinions of the *tīrthikas*.

<sup>103</sup> Harunaga Isaacson informs me that a new and more reliable edition will be published by Francesco Sferra.

<sup>104</sup> *Tsukamoto et.al.* 295 notes different titles for chapters I.1-5, i.e. *Kyai rdo rje'i 'grel pa stong phrag drug pa/drug stong pa*, and I.6-II.12., i.e. *Kyai rdo rje'i nges pa'i don gyi rgya cher bshad pa*.

<sup>105</sup> *Ngor-chen's Correct System* (2v): *ritsa rgyud gzigs pa'i paṇḍi ta gcig yin gyis, stod 'grel mdzad mkhan dang mi gcig ste, de dang grub mtha' mi mthun pa du ma snang zhing, stod 'grel du rtsa rgyud 'bum phrag lnga pa'i don de nyid le'u lnga pa yan chad du bsdu nas 'chad zhes dam bcas kyis, le'u drug pa man chad kyi 'grel pa byed zhes ma gsung pa'i phyir ro.*

<sup>106</sup> See P 54/2318, 239v, l. 8.

(7) The commentary by Dharmakadāśa, i.e. the *rGyud kyi rgyal po dpal kyai rdo rje*’i ‘*grel bshad kha sbyor shin tu dri ma med pa*’ (*Suviśadasaṃpuṭa*, #138#). *Ngor-chen*’s *Correct System* (3v f.) comments: In the earlier translation period this [same work] was called “*rDo rje gsum gyi kha sbyor rin po che*’i *phreng ba*” (#139#), translated by Glan Dar-ma-blo-gros and composed by Paṇḍita Kā-ya-ta-na-sgres-po. Based on that, the compilers of the *bsTan* ‘*gyur*, dBus-pa Blo-gsal (b. 13th c.) and rGyang-ro Byang-‘bum (b. 13th c.) took it as a *Saṃpuṭa* (#003#) commentary and incorporated it into their *bsTan* ‘*gyur*, however, in the later translation period it appeared as Paṇḍita Dharmakadāśa’s “*Kyai rdo rje*’i ‘*grel bshad kha sbyor dri ma med pa*” (#140#), translated by the disciple(s?) of Bla-chen ‘Phags-pa, Vimalaśrībhadra and gShong Blo-brtan, which is correct. It is an error with regard to [the part of] the title “*kha sbyor*” that [the compilers] took it as a *Saṃpuṭa* commentary; it is rather a sub-commentary (‘*grel bshad*) of Ācārya Bhavabhāṭa’s commentary on the basic tantra (#008#), containing comments upon each and every word of the basic tantra.<sup>107</sup> *A-mes-zhabs*’ *Hevajra Word Commentary* (3r f.) remarks that this commentary is in accordance with (the teachings of) the former gurus (*rje btsun gong ma dang mthun pa*).

The second group of minor works are called the “eight minor commentaries connected with ‘Brog-mi” (‘*brog mi*’i *skabs kyi* ‘*grel chung brgyad*). These are:

(1) The *Gleng gzhi*’i ‘*grel pa*, according to *Nam-mkha*’-*dpal-bzang*’s *Record* (3v) by Nag-po (#045#). There exists a *Saṃpuṭitantra* commentary with “*nidāna*” (Tib. *gleng gzhi*) in the title: *rGyud thams cad kyi gleng gzhi dang gsang chen dpal kun tu kha sbyor zhes bya ba*’i *rgyud kyi rgyal po*’i *rgya cher bshad pa rin chen phreng ba*. It was authored by dPa’-bo-rdo-rje (Vīravajra),<sup>108</sup> who is, according to the Sa-kya tradition no other than Prajñendraruci (see fn. 67), with whom ‘Brog-mi has worked on numerous occasions.

(2-3) The *rTsa ba*’i *mngon rtogs*. Cf. the *mNgon par rtogs pa*’i *rim pa* (*Abhisamaya-krama*, #046#). No author or translator is mentioned, but the text is found in *P* in the midst of a group of titles translated by ‘Brog-mi (and *To* 1209 explicitly mentions ‘Brog-mi as translator). According to *A-mes-zhabs*, there exists also a second part (one part is supposed to be large and one small).<sup>109</sup>

(4-5) The two *Dur khrod kyi* ‘*grel pa* works, “large and small,”<sup>110</sup> i.e. the two works with the same title, *Dur khrod brgyad*, both translated by ‘Brog-mi (*Aṣṭa-śmaśāna*, #048#-#049#).<sup>111</sup>

<sup>107</sup> *Ngor-chen*’s *Correct System* (3v f.): ‘*di nyid la snga*’ *gyur du rdo rje gsum gyi kha sbyor rin po che*’i *phreng ba glan dar ma blo gros kyi bsgyur ba*, *paṇḍi ta kā ya ta na sgres pos mdzad zer by*’ *byung*, *de la rten nas bstan*’ *gyur bsdud mkhan dbus pa blo gros gsal dang*, *rgyang ro byang*’ *bum gnyis kyis*, *sambu ti*’i ‘*grel par byas te*, *de*’i *bstan*’ *gyur du bsdus pa yod kyang*, *phyi*’ *gyur la bla chen*’ *phags pas slob ma paṇḍi ta bi ma la shri dang*, *gshong blo brtan gyis bsgyur ba*, *kyai rdo rje*’i ‘*grel bshad kha sbyor dri ma med pa zhes bya ba*, *paṇḍi ta dam ka da shas mdzad pa*’o, *zhes*’ *byung ba de nyid don la gnas pa yin no*, *sam ti*’i(!) ‘*grel par byas pa ni kha sbyor zhes pa*’i *ming la*’ *khrol pa yin gyis*, ‘*di ni rtsa rgyud kyi*’ *grel pa slob dpon bha wa bha dras byas pa de nyid kyi*’ *grel bshad yin no*, *rtsa rgyud kyi tshig ma lus pa la*’ *grel pa yod pa ni*’ *di tsam mo*.

<sup>108</sup> But see p. 76, where *A-mes-zhabs*’ suggests that the *Saṃpuṭitantra* commentary by dPa’-ba-rdo-rje is actually by Zangs-dkar Lo-tsa-ba.

<sup>109</sup> According to interlinear notes (*mchan*) in *A-mes-zhabs*’ *Hevajra Commentary* (5v) and *A-mes-zhabs*’ *Hevajra Word Commentary* (7r).

<sup>110</sup> According to *A-mes-zhabs*’ *Hevajra Commentary* (5v) and *A-mes-zhabs*’ *Hevajra Word Commentary* (7r).

<sup>111</sup> These two (different) works with the same title, however, are of exactly the same length and thus not “large and small.”

- (6) The *brDa'i 'grel pa* (i.e. the *brDa nges par gzung ba*, translated by lHa-mnga'-bdag Ye-shes-rgyal-mtshan), #050#.
- (7-8) The two *rDo rje'i glu'i 'grel pa* works, large and small, i.e. the *Glu'i de kho na nyid* by Saroruha (small) and the *rDo rje'i glu bshad pa* by sGrol-ma-can-gyi-sde (large), both translated by 'Brog-mi (*Gīti-tattva* and *Vajragīti-bhāṣya*, #051#-#052#).

The author of the NOTES remarks here that even though these evocation rituals etc. by Byang-chub-snying-po (Bodhi[sattva Vajra?][garbha])<sup>112</sup> etc. are “minor inconceivable works,” they are fully complete paths and belong to the above mentioned six great chariots. Ngor-chen in *Ngor-chen's Sādhana Explication* as well as A-mes-zhabs in *A-mes-zhabs' Stage of Production* (4r) mention the latter while referring to two further systems, namely one with seven (sub)-commentaries of the *rDo rje snying 'grel* (i.e. Vajragarbha's commentary on the basic tantra, #007#?) and six *sādhana*s such as the one composed by “Byang-chub-snying-po.”<sup>113</sup> These, however, are not considered to be “fully complete path-systems” (*lam srol yongs su rdzogs pa*).

### (I) The two systems of pith instructions of Hevajra

The transmission of Hevajra is subdivided into eight sections and comprises apart from the “six great chariot systems” also two systems of pith instructions. The first of these is the one that Mar-pa lHo-brag-pa (1002/1012-1097) received from Nāropa. The second one, which will be discussed in section A3, is the one transmitted from the Yogeśvara Virūpa to the “Nag-po of the East.” The first of these is the following. After Mar-pa lHo-brag-pa requested from Jo-bo Nāropa the basic tantra, i.e. the *Hevajratāntrarāja* (“*brTag pa gnyis*,” #001#), and the *rDo rje gur* (*Vajrapañjara*, #002#),<sup>114</sup> the *rDo rje gdan bzhi* (*Catuspīṭha*, P 67), and the *sGyu 'phrul chen po'i rgyud* (*Mahāmāya*, P 3/64),<sup>115</sup> and after he had received the transmissions known as the “four great pillars of Mar-pa” (*mar pa'i ka(!) chen bzhi*)<sup>116</sup> and their seven *Nang sel* maṇḍalas, he returned to Tibet and bestowed them on Mes-ston-chen-po,<sup>117</sup> etc. Mes-ston bestowed them to 'Khon sGyi-chu-ba dGra-lha-'bar and the latter on the great Sa-skyapa Kun-

<sup>112</sup> That this can hardly refer to Bodhigarbha becomes clear below, where Bodhigarbha's *sādhana* is not considered to be a fully complete path system.

<sup>113</sup> That “Byang-chub-snying-po” is the name of one of the authors is explicit in *A-mes-zhabs' Stage of Production* 4r. See *dPal kyai rdo rje zhes bya ba'i sgrub pa'i thabs* (*Śrīhevajra-nāma-sādhana*, #141#).

<sup>114</sup> *Ngor-chen's Correct System* (6r/v) stresses the point that Mar-pa received the pith instructions on the *rDo rje gur* (*Vajrapañjara*, #002#) and the basic Hevajra tantra not based on (or mixed with) the commentaries but the tantra alone. Mar-pa prepared notes of Nāropa's advice on the *rDo rje gur* (*Vajrapañjara*), known as the “life-tree of the *Pañjara*” (*gur la srog shing*). See also *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Commentary* (15r), where the system of Nāropa, Mar-pa, and rNgog-pa is, for the same reason (namely that it is solely based on pith instructions of the guru without relying on other means), presented as an inferior system (*'grel byed gzhan la ma ltos par bla ma'i man ngag kho na la rten nas 'chad pa'i tshul*). In *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Word Commentary* (5v), A-mes-zhabs stresses the point that Mar-pa did not receive the common *vyākhyā* tantra, namely the *Sanipūṭa* (#003#). Mar-pa prepared translations of the basic and the uncommon *vyākhyā* tantra. It is interesting to note that in another work (*A-mes-zhabs' Stage of Production* 4r) A-mes-zhabs allows Mar-pa's system to appear in a different light when he says that the teachings that were transmitted to rNgog, namely a perfect initiation (*smin lam yongs su rdzogs pa*), a six-limbed stage of production, pith instruction of the *'pho ba* merged with the stage of perfection, and as the support for these a commentary on the basic tantra, are a “fully complete path” (*lam rdzogs par tshang ba*). The “commentary” may refer to rNgog Chos-rdor's work, for which see below.

<sup>115</sup> For an existing Sanskrit manuscript of the *Mahāmāyatantra*, see *Tsukamoto et al.* 308.

<sup>116</sup> This must refer to the “four great instructions” of Mar-pa, for which see fn. 119.

<sup>117</sup> According to *Mang-thos Klu-sgrub's bsTan rtsis* 85, gTsang-rong-gi Mes-ston-chen-po was one of Mar-pa's main disciples in receiving the transmission of clear light. Cf. Mes-ston Kun-dga'-snying-po (12th c.).

dga’-snying-po.<sup>118</sup> The transmission of these instructions is said to have been broken off after Sa-chen.<sup>119</sup>

Furthermore, the NOTES mentions that the transmission of the basic texts bestowed by Mar-pa lHo-brag-pa on rNgog-ston Chos-kyi-rdo-rje<sup>120</sup> remains unbroken to the present day and the manuals of these, too, exist, namely rNgog Chos-rdor’s commentary *Rin po che’i rgyan* (#142#), the *Rin po che’i rgyan ‘dra* (#143#) of his disciple,<sup>121</sup> Mes-ston-chen-po’s commentary, Ram-sding-ma-ba Sangs-rgyas-‘byung-gnas-rdo-rje’s commentary,<sup>122</sup> gTum-ston

<sup>118</sup> On ‘Khon sGyi-chu-ba dGra-lha-‘bar bestowing Hevajra on Sa-chen, see *Mang-thos Klu-sgrub’s bsTan rtsis* 129, 132; Stearns (2006: 216 f.). Davidson (2005: 299) was able to specify that Sa-chen studied with sGyi-chu, namely the three Hevajra tantras (#001#-#003#) and the commentaries *Kaumudī-pañjika* by Durjayacandra (#004#) and *Yogaratanmālā* by Kṛṣṇa/Kāṇha (#006#). I have as yet been unable to find the link Mes-ston - ‘Khon sGyi-chu-ba dGra-lha-‘bar in the records of teachings of A-mes-zhabs. Instead, we find plenty of evidence for the link ‘Brog-mi—mNga’-ris-pa gSal-ba’i-snying-po—sGyi-chu-ba for the Hevajra transmissions.

<sup>119</sup> According to *Ngor-chen’s Correct System* (6v), too, the initiation-instructions of Mar-pa called “four great instructions” (*bKa’ chen bzhi*) and the seven *maṇḍalas* did not exist anymore at the time of Ngor-chen.

<sup>120</sup> Davidson (2005: 261, 425, n. 48) provides the dates 1023-1090(?) on the basis of the *lHo rong chos ‘byung* (pp. 50.20-52.12), which is again in this respect based on a (now lost) *rNgog gi gdung rabs che dge yig tshang*. The *Blue Annals* provides the dates 1036-1102.

<sup>121</sup> According to *Ngor-chen’s Correct System* (6r/v), Mar-pa’s advice on the basic Hevajra tantra, the *Rin po che’i rgyan*, was written down by rNgog Chos-rdor. Later on, at the time of rTing rNgog Zhe-sdang-rdo-rje (see *Ming mdzod* 468 and 472), the *Rin po che’i rgyan* was enclosed in a box so that it could not be seen by others. At the time of its teaching, each word had to be remembered by heart. These are the pith instructions of the oral transmission (*snyan brgyud*) of Nāropa. A monk from Khams stole (the box) and fled (with it). Then (a text) similar to that *Rin po che’i rgyan* of his was composed (i.e. the *Rin po che’i rgyan ‘dra*). At its beginning, it says: “Saroruha, Ming-bzang, Shānti-pa, etc.// (are known as?) great *siddhas* ...(?) but even through learnedness // (they?) do not understand but a part of its meaning, // however, through this pith instructions of the guru, // the *Rin po che’i rgyan*, // the commentaries [that are like] the light of the stars and the moon are blackened out” (*mtsho skyes ming bzang shanti pa la sogs,, grub thob mkhas su re dang mkhas pas kyang,, ‘di don phyogs re tsam las ma rtogs pas,, bla ma’i man ngag rin chen rgyan ‘dra ‘dis,, ‘grel pa skar ma zla ‘od nub par byas*).

<sup>122</sup> According to *Ngor-chen’s Correct System* (6v), the *Kyai rdo rje ram lugs* is a commentary on the basic tantra in the tradition of rNgog. Ram-sding-ma-ba Sangs-rgyas-‘byung-gnas-rdo-rje is quoted here with the following words: “There are three Hevajra explications: (1) The explication that is the darkness [being?] a wrapped head(?) (*mun pa mgo bsdum gyi bshad pa*), (2) the explication that mixes milk with water, and (3) the one that is like a wish fulfilling jewel. The first is the system of the mKhon-pa Sa-skyapa father and sons. The second is the system of ‘Gos Khug-pa lHa-bstas, following partly the system of Nag-po Dam-tshig-rdo-rje and partly of mTsho-skyes-rdo-rje. The third is this explication of the system of Mar-pa, because it teaches the pith instructions for obtaining the *siddhis* of *mahāmudrā* in this life based on this body.” Ram-sding-ma and Ra-pa are credited with their own systems of explicating Hevajra also in *A-mes-zhabs’ Hevajra Word Commentary* (5v). *A-mes-zhabs’ Stage of Production* (4v) mentions only Ram-sding-ma. Ra-pa must be Rwa Lo-tsā-ba rDo-rje-grags (b. 11th c.) or Rwa Chos-rab.<sup>a</sup> Both are mentioned together with rNgog on the same and following folio as upholders of a system of explication. Rwa and rNgog are also mentioned in *A-mes-zhabs’ “Three Tantras”*<sup>b</sup> (3r) as having composed their explications not in accordance to the Sa-skyapa’s own system (*rang lugs mi mdzad pa*). In *A-mes-zhabs’ Stage of Production* (4v), A-mes-zhabs subsumes the systems of Ram-sding-ma and Rwa among those that are, even though based on Indian systems of explication (*bshad srol*), not considered “complete paths” (*lam yongs su rdzogs pa med*).

It is interesting to note that despite the fact that according to *Ngor-chen’s Correct System* Ram-sding-ma harshly criticized the Sa-skyapa transmission of Hevajra, at one point he has been a disciple of rJe-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, whose verse in answer to a question from Ram-sding-ma-ba is explained in mKhyen-brtse’i-dbang-phyug’s *Comprehensive History* (p. 140 f.; information and reference supplied by Cyrus Stearns).

<sup>a</sup> For an extant translation of Rwa Chos-rab, cf. *TBRC W25279: dBang gi rab tu byed pa*.

<sup>b</sup> *A-mes-zhabs’ “Three Tantras”* comprises his notes of Ngag-dbang-chos-kyi-grags-pa’s Hevajra teachings and writings; see the collected works, vol. *pha*, no. 3: *Gangs can bstan pa’i mnga’ bdag rje btsun chen po sa skyapa’i yab chos kyai rdo rje’i rgyud gsum sngon ‘gro tshul bzhi dang bcas pa’i don ‘grel zin bris rin po*

Blo-gros-grags's commentary,<sup>123</sup> rNgog Thog-med-grags's commentary, Ru-mtshams-kyi-skyob-pa Ag-skyo-bhya's commentary,<sup>124</sup> etc. It still furthermore adds that the ritual of the ripening initiation, the evocation ritual with six limbs, the *rDzogs rim sre 'pho'i gdams ngag*, etc., i.e. the collection of manuals exists and is a fully complete path. To these, the NOTES finally adds a system known as *Kyai rdo rje dpal(!) lugs*. This was received by "dPal" from Blama Pham-thing-pa with his brothers and is to be understood as a part of the system of Nāropa. It, too, was transmitted through Mar-pa.<sup>125</sup>

### (m) The pith instructions transmitted from Virūpa to Nag-po

(A3) The second pith instruction transmission of Hevajra is the one transmitted from the Yogeśvara Virūpa to the Nag-po of the East (Kāṇha).<sup>126</sup> This last of the "eight great instruction systems" (*bka' srol chen po brgyad*—the "six chariots" and the two pith instruction transmissions) is explained here to be the "miraculous system" (*rmad du byung ba'i lam srol*) within those systems. The text is presenting it in two sections. The first (A3) explains why it is more miraculous than others and the second (A4) deals with the system itself. In order to explain why this transmission is more miraculous or special than others, the author of the NOTES shows (A3a) how it is basing itself on tantras, (A3b) how it expounds tantras, and (A3c) how the pith instructions emerged from explicating them. In short, this system of pith instructions is special in that, unlike others, it is based on all three basic and *vyākhyā* tantras. It is necessary to be based on all three tantras because in the basic tantra the stages of production and completion are only briefly expounded, the stage of production is revealed in detail only in the *rDo rje gur (Vajrapañjara, #002#)*, and the stage of completion is revealed in detail only in the *Samputa (#003#)*. Furthermore this system uses the full set of teaching methods<sup>127</sup> and it

*che'i gter mdzod.*

<sup>123</sup> In *A-mes-zhabs' Stage of Production* (4v), A-mes-zhabs credits gTum-ston Blo-[gros]-grags (1106-1166) with his own Hevajra system, but he subsumes it among those that are, even though based on Indian systems of explication (*bshad srol*), not considered "complete paths" (*lam yongs su rdzogs pa med*). On gTum-ston Blo-gros-grags, also known as sNar-thang-inkhan-chen, founder of sNar-thang (1153), see *Mang-thos Klu-sgrub's bsTan rtsis* 98, 245; *Ming mdzod* 715, 1460; *Grags can mi sna* 226.

<sup>124</sup> Ru-'tshams-pa sKyo-ston Akṣo-bhya-ba-dzra, another follower of rNgog's system, is also mentioned in *Ngor-chen's Correct System* (6v). I did not find any trace of him in A-mes-zhabs' records of teachings.

<sup>125</sup> *Ngor-chen's Correct System* (7r/v) adds some further details: The Hevajra system of dPyal. dPyal Se bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan was the son of dPyal Se 'Byung-gnas-rgyal-mtshan of sMan-lung. He went to Nepal and received Nāropa's initiation instructions and pith instructions on the basic tantra from the elder one of the Pham-thing brothers, i.e. 'Jigs-med-grags-pa (b. 11th c.). Together with an Indian Paṇḍita (Puṇyakīrti) he translated Bhavabhaṭṭa's Hevajra commentary, i.e. the *dPal dgyes pa'i rdo rje'i rnam bshad rnam par 'grel pa (Vyākhyā-vivarāṇa, #008#)*. Then he went back to Tibet. He also translated a work without an author's colophon called *Las dang po pa'i bya ba'i rim pa (#145#)* that combined a Hevajra *sādhana*, *bali* ritual, and burnt offering in one book. He also composed a commentary up to the fourth chapter of the second part of the basic tantra which was completed by one of his disciples. Another one of his followers, dGa'-ldan-pa Tshul-khri-m-bzang-po of Grang-po in the Southern part of sTod, composed another commentary according to his system. *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Word Commentary* (5v) mentions in connection with Paṇḍita 'Jigs-med-grags-pa another name for dPal(!) Lo-tsā-ba, namely Kun-dga'-rdo-rje. In *A-mes-zhabs' Stage of Production* (4v), A-mes-zhabs subsumes the system of dPyal Se among those that are, even though based on Indian systems of explication (*bshad srol*), not considered "complete paths" (*lam yongs su rdzogs pa med*).

<sup>126</sup> For Nag-po being Kāṇha, see Stearns (2002: 171, n. 112); cf. *Ngag-dbang-chos-grags's Record* 22r and *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Commentary* 6v.

<sup>127</sup> The "full set of teaching methods" is not explained in detail. The text provides only the following mnemonic verse, which I have left untranslated because I was not able to clarify all of its details: *gdams ngag drug dang rgyud gsum dag pa gsum,, bdag nyid can gsum gsang bdun gnas pa bzhis,, tshig dang don rtogs bshad thabs man ngag*

possesses a treatise like rJe-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan’s *rGyud kyi mngon par rtogs pa rin po che ’i ljon shing* (#144#). The *Rin po che ’i ljon shing* is a treatise that “teaches the systematic presentation of the ‘fifty-seven clear realizations’ (*mngon par rtogs pa lnga bcu lnga bdun*), which are the distinctions of the three clear realizations arising from the blending of the intentions of the three tantras into one.” Such a system, concludes the author of the NOTES, is unique (see also section A4d2).

(A4) Coming to the system itself now, the explanation of how it is established is divided into four parts: (A4a) For the sake of that to be known, namely the collection of basic texts or the systematic presentation of the general tenets (*grub mtha’ spyi ’i rnam gzhang*), one enters into the “explication of the common basic texts” (*thun mong ba gzhang gi bshad pa*), (A4b) for the sake of that to be ascertained, namely the practice and experience, one enters into the “stages of the uncommon pith instructions” (*thun mong min pa man ngag gi rim pa*), (A4c) in order to expand on that and clear away erroneous notions (*log rtog*), one enters into Sa-paṅ’s treatise *sDom pa gsum gyi rab tu dbye ba* (#175#), and (A4d) having combined the intentions of the above three proceedings into a single intention, one establishes the successive path (*lam rim*) that blends all three together.

#### (n) The twenty-eight treatises (*bstan bcos nyi shu rtsa brgyad*)

(A4a) When the adept is “entering the succession of common authoritative texts” (*thun mong ba gzhang gi rim pa la ’jug pa*) he has to study twenty-eight treatises. These are summarized through the “four types of requirements” (*dgos tshan bzhi*): (A4a1) Seven basic texts are required for the three tantras in general, (A4a2) six basic texts are required for the respective three tantras, (A4a3) fourteen basic texts are required for pith instructions (*gdams ngag*) in general, and (A4a4) a single basic text is required for the concealed yogic-ascetic practices (*sbas pa ’i brtul zhugs*).<sup>128</sup> (A4a1) With regard to the seven basic texts required for the three tantras in general it has been taught:<sup>129</sup>

Do not allow the seven basic texts that are required, [namely]

- (1) the *rGyud sde ’i dum bu*, (2) the *rNam gzhang*, the (3) *mNgon rtogs*,
- (4) the *sTong thun gnyis kyi bsduṣ don*, (5-6) the two praises,
- and (7) the *bDag med bstod pa ’i rnam ’grel* to become scattered.

The works mentioned in this verse are the following:

- (1) *rGyud sde ’i dum bu brgya bcu gsum pa* (#146#). The work is ascribed in *sByin-pa-grags-pa’s Record*<sup>130</sup> to Sa-paṅ, but seems to have been composed by Sa-chen Kun-

gi., *gsal byed ’di ni gsang rgyud ’dir bshad bya,,*

<sup>128</sup> *A-mes-zhabs’ Hevajra Commentary* (9r-11v) and *A-mes-zhabs’ Hevajra Word Commentary* (13r ff.) are in accordance with A4a1-2 and 4, but other than A4a3 they have “teachings necessary in general for vajrayāna” (*rdo rje theg pa spyi la dgos pa ’i chos*). *A-mes-zhabs’ Hevajra Word Commentary* presents a separate topic, namely “teachings necessary for the yogi of this tantra” (*rgyud ’di ’i rnal ’byor pa spyi la dgos pa ’i chos*) and thus has in this section five topics in total.

<sup>129</sup> In *A-mes-zhabs’ Stage of Production* (5r), A-mes-zhabs notes the source for this enumeration, i.e. rJe-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan’s *Dag ldan* (#147#).

<sup>130</sup> *sByin-pa-grags-pa’s Record* is the record of teachings of Nags-dgon sDom-brtson Dam-pa sByin-pa-grags-pa (late 16th to early 17th c.); see the collected works of A-mes-zhabs, vol. *kha*, no. 8: *Chos kyi rje dpal ldan bla ma dam pa rnams las dam pa ’i chos ji ltar thos pa ’i tshul legs par bshad pa zab rgyas chos kun gsal ba ’i nyin byed ces bya ba las chos kyi rje nags dgon sdom brtson dam pa sbyin pa grags pa ’i rjes su bzung ba ’i tshul gyi sarka.*

dga'-snying-po.<sup>131</sup> It has been incorporated into the collected works of Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan by the later editors of the Derge collection. In *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Commentary* (9r-v), A-mes-zhabs describes this work in the following way: The *rGyud sde dum bu* by rJe-btsun Sa-skyapa-chen-po, is also known as the “*Lung 'bum*” (“collection of quotations”). It contains two quotes summarizing the meaning of all (three) tantras,<sup>132</sup> twenty applying to the “causal continuum” (*rgyu rgyud*), eighty-one to the “continuum of means” (*thabs rgyud*), ten to the “resultant continuum” (*bras rgyud*), i.e. together one-hundred thirteen.<sup>133</sup> According to a different reckoning it contains twenty-eight quotations “up to ‘initiation’” (*dbang man chad*), eighty-six refer to the continuum of means, ten to the continuum of result, and twenty-eight to all three (? *tshul lhag ma gsum*), i.e. one-hundred fifty-two.<sup>134</sup> The *Notes* also mentions a topical outline (*sa bcad*) for this work by “rJe-btsun-chen-po” (Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan?),<sup>135</sup> which is as yet unidentified, and a later very detailed collection of quotes by Shar-pa Shes-rab-'byung-gnas (13th c.).<sup>136</sup>

- (2) The “*rNam gzhag*” is identified here (also in *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Commentary*, 9v) as referring to two works. The first is the “*rGyud sde spyi'i rnam*” by Sa-skyapa-chen-po (Kun-dga'-snying-po), i.e. his *rGyud sde spyi'i rnam gzhag chung ngu* (#150#). Davidson (2005: 315) describes it as a work that is concerned with the fundamental differences between the two vehicles (Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna) in terms of ground, path, and goal (see also p. 97, #333#). The second is the “*sPyi rnam chen mo*,” i.e. the *rGyud sde spyi rnam gzhag* by bSod-nams-rtse-mo (#151#). In *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Word Commentary* (13v), A-mes-zhabs identifies bSod-nams-rtse-mo's work as the principle one among the two. He mentions as the full title “*rGyud sde spyi'i rnam par gzhag pa rgyud ma lus pa la 'jug pa rnal 'byor gyi mig*” (its poetical title is also mentioned at the beginning of a prayer in the colophon of bSod-nams-rtse-mo's work, on fol. 73v).

<sup>131</sup> The NOTES ascribes it to “Sa-skyapa-chen-po,” in *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Commentary* (9r) it is ascribed to “rJe-btsun Sa-skyapa-chen-po.” According to *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Word Commentary* (14r), Sa-pan was the requestor for this work. See below, no. (3), p. 51.

<sup>132</sup> The quotes are not identified by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan. He only mentions “this is a fragment (*dum bu*) from the tantra” or “from the *vyākhyā* tantra.” A-mes-zhabs says in *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Commentary* (9r-v) that “the gurus” taught that these are fragments from the three Hevajra tantras. This is also clear from *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Word Commentary* (13v), where he says that some call the quotations from the basic tantra and the *rDo rje gur* (*Vajrapañjara*, #002#) “*rGyud lyi dum bu*” and from the *Samputa* (#003#) “*rGyud sde'i dum bu*.”

<sup>133</sup> The three continua (*rgyud gsum*) that are referred to are the main sections of the Path with Its Fruit (*lam 'bras*), i.e. the continuum of the universal ground, which is the cause (*kun gzhi rgyu'i rgyud*), where the view that saṃsāra and nirvāṇa are inseparable is maintained, the continuum of the body, which is the method (*lus thabs lyi rgyud*), i.e. the practice of the path that is connected with the four initiations, and the continuum of the final fruit (*mthar thug 'bras bu'i rgyud*), i.e. mahāmudrā, where the five bodies, namely the qualities of the five gnoses, which are in accordance with the vajrayāna, arise. See for example A-mes-zhabs' work *Lam 'bras bu dang bcas pa'i gdams ngag gi gzhung ji lta ba bzhin dlri ba'i lam gyi sngon 'gro dang dngos gzhi'i khrid yig snang ba gsum dang rgyud gsum mdzes par byed pa'i rgyan gyi sa bcad rnams logs su bsgrigs pa rin po che'i phreng ba* (collected writings, *ba* 8). I owe the identification of the *rgyud gsum* in this context as the three continua to Cyrus Stearns.

<sup>134</sup> In this case, the same work seems to be referred to as the “*Dum bu lnga bcu pa*.”

<sup>135</sup> In *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Word Commentary* (13v), A-mes-zhabs ascribes this topical outline to “Sa-chen” (i.e. Kun-dga'-snying-po).

<sup>136</sup> Shar-pa Shes-rab-'byung-gnas was a disciple of Sa-pan (*Mang-thos Klu-sgrub's bsTan rtsis* 150). In *Ngag-dbang-chos-grags's Record* (21v), two works called “*rGyud sde'i dum bu che ba*” (#148#) and “*Chung ba*” (#149#) are ascribed to Shar-pa Ye-shes-rgyal-mtshan (d. 1406).



- (3) The “*mNgon rtogs*” is the *rGyud kyi mngon par rtogs pa rin po che'i ljon shing* by rJe-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (#144#). According to *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Commentary* (10r), it was composed based on the order of bSod-nams-rtse-mo,<sup>137</sup> who also had composed himself the sections up to “*lta ba rim can.*”<sup>138</sup> Sa-pan edited the work (this fact is also mentioned in the colophon, fol. 139r). There existed a (different) short “*abhisamaya* of the tantras” at Sa-chen’s time, but A-mes-zhabs argues that in fact it was not composed by Sa-chen. *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Word Commentary* (14r) provides a title: *rGyud don mngon rtogs su slong ba*, a short work, “not authored by Sa-chen.” Again according to *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Word Commentary*, another short work existed before the time of Sa-chen by “a former guru.” Furthermore, the “*abhisamaya* authored by Sa-chen” is a reference to the *abhisamaya* section of the *rGyud sde dum bu* (#146#). Chos-rje-pa (Sa-pan) acted as the requestor for it and added a topical outline (*sa bcad dkyus la bcug*).
- (4) The “*sTong thun gnyis kyi bsdu don*” is the *rGyud sde spyi'i rnam gzhag dang rgyud kyi mngon par rtogs pa'i stong thun sa bcad* by Sa-pan (#152#). This is a topical outline of Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan’s “four ways,” i.e. the “four preceding ways through which tantras are explicated” (*tshul bzhi sngon du 'gro ba'i sgo nas rgyud 'chad pa*). These “four ways” are listed in *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Commentary*.<sup>139</sup> (1) Giving a systematic presentation of the four tantra classes, (2) expressing the meaning of the titles of the tantras, (3) teaching the pith instructions that are teaching aids [for these] tantras, and (4) teaching the stages of arising in the mental stream of a person, the “clear realization of the stream.”
- (5-6) The two praises are the “*Yab kyi bstod pa danṭa ka,*” i.e. the *dPal kyai rdo rje'i bstod pa danṭa ka* by rJe-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (#153#) and his “*Yum gyi bstod pa dri ma med pa'i rgyan,*” i.e. the *bDag med lha mo bco lnga'i bstod pa dri ma med pa'i rgyan* (#154#). In some interlinear notes (*mchan*) “a detailed and an abbreviated *stotra* of Nairātmya” are mentioned. This is, in A-mes-zhabs opinion, not correct (*A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Commentary*, 10v).<sup>140</sup>
- (7) The *bDag med bstod pa'i rnam 'grel* (#155#) is ascribed in *sByin-pa-grags-pa's Record*, *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Commentary* (10v), and the extant text to Sa-pan. According to *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Word Commentary* (15r), Chos-rje-pa (Sa-pan) composed this work in his youth and offered it for approval to Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan. It is contained in the collected works of Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan.

<sup>137</sup> *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Word Commentary* (14v): rJe-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan composed the text ordered by bSod-nams-rtse-mo because Sa-chen’s *abhisamaya* had not been put into writing.

<sup>138</sup> *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Word Commentary* (14v): “*thun mong ba'i lta ba rim pa can.*” It was completed “in the manner of a supplement” by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan.

<sup>139</sup> *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Commentary* (15v/16r): (1) *mdo rgyud ma lus pa'i gnas lugs rtogs par bya ba'i phyir, rgyud sde spyi'i rnam par bzhiag pa*, (2) *rgyud rang rang gi ngo bo ngos bzung bar bya ba'i phyir, rgyud kyi mtshan gyi don brjod pa*, (3) *mtshan de dang ldan pa'i rgyud bshad thabs kyi man ngag bshad pa*, (4) *man ngag des bshad pa ltar gyi mngon par rtogs pa gang zag gi rgyud la skye ba'i rim pa ston pa rgyud kyi mngon par rtogs pa bshad pa*.

<sup>140</sup> Only in *sByin-pa-grags-pa's Record* these praises are ascribed to Sa-pan. *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Word Commentary* (15r) and *A-mes-zhabs' Stage of Production* (5v) provide for the “*Yum gyi bstod pa* by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan” the title “*Rin po che'i 'phreng ba.*”

(A4a2) With regard to the six<sup>141</sup> basic texts required for the respective three tantras, the *Notes* cites the following verse:

You must take the commentaries, including summaries,  
of the respective three tantras in whichever order you like (*gang la gang 'dod?*).<sup>142</sup>  
Thus, having studied (lit.: “looked at”) those thirteen [works] well,  
by analyzing them, you will understand the three tantras.

These thirteen commentaries and summaries are listed below. The first three are commentaries of the basic Hevajra tantra:

- (1) The commentary on the basic tantra, i.e. Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po's “*dKa' 'grel mngon rtogs*.” This has been identified in *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Commentary* (10v) as the *Man ngag don gsal*, i.e. the *dPal kyai rdo rje'i rtsa ba'i rgyud brtag pa gnyis pa'i dka' 'grel man ngag don gsal* (#156#). According to *Ngor-chen's Correct System* (8r), it contains the “explications of the wrapped [book]” by gSal-ba'i-snying-po (see fn. 226). According to *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Word Commentary* (15r), since Sa-chen's work is brief and the vajra-words (of the basic tantra) are extremely difficult to comment upon, this work is only for those who possess supreme intelligence. The ones with medium and lower intelligence are not able to understand the tantra based on this work.
- (2) bSod-nams-rtse-mo's *Nyi ma'i 'od zer*, i.e. the *dPal kyai rdo rje'i rtsa rgyud brtag gnyis ky'i rnam par bshad pa nyi ma'i 'od zer* (#157#), composed in 1174. According to *Ngor-chen's Correct System* (8r), it contains the “explications of the wrapped [book]” by gSal-ba'i-snying-po (see fn. 226). According to *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Word Commentary* (15r), this work fits those of medium and higher intelligence, since it is a very masterly, poetic, and profound work. Those of inferior intelligence will hardly understand it.<sup>143</sup>

<sup>141</sup> With regard to the “six texts,” there is a remark in *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Commentary* (11r), repeated almost verbatim in *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Word Commentary* (16v f.) and *A-mes-zhabs' Stage of Production* (5v), for which I can only tentatively provide an explanation. It says: “If one differentiates them in this way, there are many, but here, if one divides them into pairs(?) of [full?] commentaries and abbreviated explanations of the meaning, the three tantras are known by having read two if you want to know one, four if you want to know two, and six if you want to know [all] three. The Tibetan text is: *de ltar so sor phye na mang du yod kyang 'dir ni rgyud gsum gyi rnam 'grel dang, don bsduḡs gnyis su phye na rgyud gcig shes par 'dod na gnyis dang, gnyis shes par 'dod na bzhi dang, gsum zhes par 'dod na drug bltas pas rgyud gsum shes par 'gyur zhes pa'o*. The “pairs” must be the following from the texts below: nos. (1)-(3) are the commentaries of the basic tantra, nos. (4)-(5) the abbreviated explanations of its meaning, nos. (6)-(8) are the commentaries of the *rDo rje gur*, no. (9) is its abbreviated meaning, nos. (10)-(12) are the commentaries of the *Saṃpuṭa*, and no. (13) is its abbreviated meaning. Of these, *A-mes-zhabs' Stage of Production* mentions only the works nos. 3-4, 8-9, and 12-13. In this case the verse seems to make clear sense, for these are in each case exactly two secondary works per basic text.

<sup>142</sup> *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Commentary* (10v) has “*gang la gang dgongs de de blang bya zhing*.” “in the intended order?” And again on folio 11r: “*gang la gang dgos*.” “in the necessary order?” On this latter instance, *A-mes-zhabs* adds that “by the implicit meaning of these words you have to teach also the subtle meanings of the basic texts, [i.e.] the explanatory interlinear notes” (*gang la gang dgos ces pa'i tshig gi shugs la gzhung gi don phra mo rnam mchan bu'i blral ba yang bstan*). He quotes from Sa-chen (the *bKa'(!) 'grel*, i.e. no. 1?): “I have correctly attached the meanings of the basic text as notes (*mchan du legs par btob*).” And *A-mes-zhabs* continues that accordingly there exist interlinear notes (*mchan bu*) to the basic tantra by Sa-chen, detailed interlinear notes on the *rDo rje gur* (*Vajrapañjara*, #002#) by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (#678#), and on the *Saṃpuṭa* (#003#) interlinear notes by mNga'-ris-pa, Sa-chen, and Sa-pan. These are also mentioned in *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Word Commentary*, 16v. Sa-pan's notes on the *Saṃpuṭa* survived and are accessible through *TBRC* (#679#). Davidson was able to date them to 1198 (2005: 204 f., n. 163).

<sup>143</sup> Cf. *br-Tag gnyis ky'i yig sna slob dpon rin po ches mdzad pa*, an *dbu-can* manuscript with golden letters on black paper of 197 fols. from sMon thang, *NGMPP* L150/2. I didn't yet have any opportunity to examine the film.

(3) rJe-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan’s *rNam bshad dag ldan*, i.e. the *brTag pa gnyis pa’i rnam par bshad pa ma dag pa rnam ‘joms par byed pa’i rnam ‘grel dag ldan* (#147#). According to *Ngor-chen’s Correct System* (8r), it contains the “explications of the wrapped [book]” by gSal-ba’i snying-po (see fn. 226). According to *A-mes-zhabs’ Hevajra Word Commentary* (15r-v), this work fits those of inferior understanding. It is detailed and composed for easy understanding.

These three are therefore described as having been composed “having in mind the trainees of the highest, medium, and lower capacity.” The following two works are teaching an abbreviated meaning (*bsdus don*) of the basic tantra:

(4) Sa-chen Kun-dga’-snying-po’s *bsDus don*, i.e. the *brTag gnyis kyi sa bcad* (#158#), which teaches according to its colophon an abbreviated meaning of the basic tantra.

(5) rJe-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan’s *bsDus don*, i.e. the *brTag pa gnyis pa’i bsdus don* (#159#), contained in the volume of Sa-pan’s collected works. According to the colophon, it was expanded a bit by Sa-pan. This work is actually a topical outline (*sa bcad*).

The following are three full commentaries of the *rDo rje gur (Vajrapañjara)* and one with “abbreviated meaning:”

(6) The *Don gyi chings* of the *mKha’ ‘gro ma rdo rje gur (Vajrapañjaratantra, #002#)* by Sa-chen Kun-dga’-snying-po, i.e. the *rDo rje gur gyi bshad pa’i chings* (#160#).

(7) A *Zin bris*, i.e. the *Gur gyi rgyud kyi zin bris* by Sa-chen Kun-dga’-snying-po (#161#). According to a note in the title list of Sa-chen’s works (*Mus-chen’s Record*, 62r), it appeared in the library of sGo-rum and contains some notes (*mchan*). There are apparently no notes in the *Sa-skyapa bKa’ ‘bum* edition.<sup>144</sup>

(8) rJe-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan’s commentary *Gur rgyan*, i.e. the *‘Phags pa rdo rje gur gyi rgyan zhes bya ba’i rnam ‘grel* (#162#).

(9) The *Sa bcad*, i.e. the work following the *Gur rgyan*, namely Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan’s *Gur gyi bsdus don*, which is actually a topical outline (*sa bcad*, #163#).

The four remaining writings are three full commentaries and one with abbreviated meaning of the *Samputa*:

(10-11) Two writings on the *Sam bu ti*: the *brTag pa phyi ma* by rJe Kun-dga’-snying-po, i.e. the *dPal yang dag par sbyor ba’i rgyud phyi ma’i rnam par bshad pa*, which is known in its colophon as the *Sam pu ta’i rgyud phyi ma’i rnam par bshad pa* (#164#). In *A-mes-zhabs’ Hevajra Commentary* (10v), A-mes-zhabs identifies the second work as Sa-chen’s, i.e. his *Sam pu ta’i dka’ ‘grel* (#165#).

(12) bSod-nams-rtse-mo’s commentary *gNad kyi gsal byed*, i.e. the *Sam pu ta’i ti ka gnad kyi gsal byed* (#114#), completed in 1175. According to *A-mes-zhabs’ Hevajra Commentary* (10v), the final part of this work was somewhat supplemented by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan.

(13) A topical outline (*sa dpyad = sa bcad*) by bSod-nams-rtse-mo (of the previous work), i.e. his *Sam pu ta’i rgyud kyi bsdus don* (#166#). According to *A-mes-zhabs’ Hevajra Commentary* (10v), edited by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan.

<sup>144</sup> The catalogue of the first volume of *Sa-skyapa bKa’ ‘bum* includes a note, saying that the record of teachings “*dBang gi rgyal po*” terms the work “*Le ‘grel*” (*‘di la gsan yig dbang gi rgyal por le ‘grel gsungs*). This is also the term that *A-mes-zhabs’ Hevajra Commentary* (10v) uses (without specifying, however, this particular *zin bris*).

(A4a3) With regard to the fourteen basic texts required for bestowing the pith instructions,<sup>145</sup> our text cites the following lines:

The fourteen [teachings] to be practiced by everyone, starting from the beginners,<sup>146</sup> are the ripening, the systematic presentation of transgressions, the four evocation rituals, the consecration, the burnt offering, the *gaṇacakra* ritual, the *vajra-ghaṇṭa-mālā*, the filling-pouring [ladle], and the *Tha ma'i cho ga mchod rten sgrub*.

As is stated in the above verse, the first topic dealt with is the ripening. Thus the first text is this:

(1) bSod-nams-rtse-mo's *dBang gi chu bo chen mo*, i.e. the *dPal kyai rdo rje'i dkylil 'khor du slob ma smin par byed pa'i cho ga dbang gi chu bo chen mo* (#320#).<sup>147</sup>

The next topic is the systematic presentation of transgressions:

(2) rJe-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan's *rTsa ltung 'khrul spong*, or in full: *rTsa ba'i ltung ba bcu bzhi pa'i 'grel pa gsal byed 'khrul spong* (#324#).

Then follow the four evocation rituals:

(3) bSod-nams-rtse-mo's *Yab kyi sgrub thabs rgyas pa yan lag bzhi pa*, i.e. the *dPal kyai rdo rje'i mngon par rtogs pa yan lag bzhi pa* (#321#). According to Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan and Go-rams-pa, this "four-limbed" *sādhana* was based on the system of Padmavajra (mTsho-skyes-rdo-rje), comprising the parts (1) service (*bsnyen pa*), (2) proximate accomplishment (*nye bar sgrub pa*), (3) accomplishment (*sgrub pa*), and (4) great accomplishment (*sgrub pa chen po*).<sup>148</sup>

(4) rJe-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan's *'Bring po yan lag drug pa*, i.e. his *dPal kyai rdo rje'i mngon rtogs yan lag drug pa* (#322#).<sup>149</sup>

(5) rJe-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan's *bsDus pa skad cig gi bskyed pa*, i.e. his *Phyi nang gi bskyed pa'i rim pa mdor bsodus pa* (#313#).

(6) rJe-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan's *Yum gyi sgrub thabs*, i.e. his *bDag med lha mo bco lnga'i mngon rtogs* (#323#)?

The consecration:

(7) The "bZang drug by rJe-btsun's brother," i.e. bSod-nams-rtse-mo's *dPal kyai rdo rje'i rab tu gnas pa bzang po drug* (#168#). A-mes-zhabs remarks (*A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Commentary*, 11v) that bSod-nams-rtse-mo composed a direct presentation of the tantra (i.e. of the first chapter of the second part of the basic tantra).

<sup>145</sup> *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Commentary* (9r-11v) and *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Word Commentary* (13r ff.) have at this place "teachings necessary in general for vajrayāna and the yogi of this tantra" (*rdo rje theg pa spyi dang rgyud 'di'i rnal 'byor pa spyi la dgos pa'i chos*).

<sup>146</sup> Cf. *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Commentary* (11v): "In that way, starting with the beginners up to those persons who are fully realized, everyone has to seize these fourteen [works]."

<sup>147</sup> bSod-nams-rtse-mo's text was later ornamented by dKon-mchog-lhun-grub with his *dPal kyai rdo rje'i dbang gi chu bo chen mo mdzes par byed pa'i rgyan* (#682#), composed in 1542.

<sup>148</sup> See Davidson (1991: 111). Davidson refers to Go-rams-pa's *dPal kyai rdo rje'i sgrub pa'i thabs kyi rgya cher bshad pa bskyed rim gnad kyi zla zer la rtsod pa spong ba gnad kyi gsal byed* (#167#), but his volume and page numbers (i.e. vol. 12, p. 598) seem to refer to a different edition of the text than the one mentioned in his bibliography. Go-rams-pa refers to Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, *dPal kyai rdo rje'i mngon rtogs yan lag drug pa* (#322#), and his *brTag pa gnyis pa'i rnam par bshad pa ma dag pa rnam 'joms par byed pa'i rnam 'grel dag ldan* (#147#).

<sup>149</sup> See previous note and Davidson (1991: 112, 179 fn. 23). For the "six limbs" (*yan lag drug pa*), cf. Mi-thub-zla-ba's *abhisamaya* work (#022#), which is based on the fourth chapter of the *Vajrapañjaratantra* (#002#).

The burnt offering:

(8-9) “*Las bzhi'i sbyin sreg* by both brothers,” i.e. bSod-nams-rtse-mo, *Zhi ba'i sbyin sreg* (#169#), and as a supplement Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, *Las bzhi'i sbyin sreg mdor bstan cing nam gzhag rgyas par mdzad pa* (#170#).

The *gaṇacakra*:

(10-11) rJe-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan's *Tshogs 'khor 'bring po* (#117#),<sup>150</sup> and Chos-rje Sa-pan's “elimination of objections” (*rtsod spong*), namely the *Tshogs 'khor cho ga* (#171#). Despite their titles, these are not rituals, but explications. The first work deals primarily with the Hevajra *gaṇacakra*, while Sa-pan's work also refers to other deities. In the colophon of Sa-pan's work, it is said that the text is a clarification of the works and teachings of the previous gurus, hence, perhaps, the author of the NOTES saw it as an “elimination of objections.”

On *vajra*, *ghaṇṭa*, etc., the text says:

(12-13) “There is one manual that is a systematic presentation of *vajra* and *ghaṇṭa*, which is known as ‘rJe-btsun’s.’ With regard to that, there is an error concerning the name ‘rJe-btsun.’ In reality it appears to be composed by rJe-btsun Mar-pa.<sup>151</sup> Look at what is contained in the systematic presentation of *vajra* and *ghaṇṭa* of our own system in the *gNad kyi gsal byed*.<sup>152</sup> For the ‘filling ladle and pouring ladle,’ look at the contents of the *Las bzhi'i sbyin sreg* (#169# and #170#, nos. 8-9 above).<sup>153</sup> In *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Commentary*, *A-mes-zhabs* refers to the proper section of the *gNad kyi gsal byed*<sup>154</sup> since “there exists no independent manual on *vajra* and *ghaṇṭa*.”

The final topic, the *Tha ma'i cho ga mchod rten sgrub*, is this:

(14) The *gZhan phan bdud rtsi* by rJe-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, *Dus tha ma'i cho ga gzhan phan bdud rtsi'i thigs pa* (#172#). *A-mes-zhabs* mentions in *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Commentary* (11v), *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Word Commentary* (17v), and *A-mes-zhabs' Stage of Production* (5v), that with regard to establishing *stūpas*, this is like it occurs in the *Gur rgyan* (#162#, cf. p. 53, text no. 8).

<sup>150</sup> This work is explained in *A-mes-zhabs' General Exposition* (2v) to be “not different” (*gzhan mi 'byung*) from Ḍombīheruka's *Tshogs 'khor* (#033#). In *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Word Commentary* (17r) and *A-mes-zhabs' Stage of Production* (5v) it is described as “*Tshogs 'khor tshim pa drug pa*.”

<sup>151</sup> In *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Commentary* (11v), *A-mes-zhabs* refers to a “Bla-ma dByil bsGom” (b. 12th c.), a direct disciple of Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, who said in his *Khrid kyi tho yig* that it is not true that Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan had taught an *abhisamaya* of *vajra* and *ghaṇṭa*, instead one should look (directly) into the *Saṃpuṭa* (#003#). And *A-mes-zhabs* adds that similarly for the *mālā* one should look (directly) into the *Saṃpuṭa* (#003#) and the *rDo rje gur* (*Vajrapañjara*, #002#).

<sup>152</sup> *gNad kyi gsal byed* may refer to bSod-nams-rtse-mo's *Saṃpuṭa* (#003#) commentary, for which see above, p. 53, text no. 12. With regard to the topic of “*mālā*,” etc., *A-mes-zhabs* refers to the (same?) “*Saṃpuṭa* commentary.” See also *A-mes-zhabs' own works* in his collected works: *rDo rje dang dril bu'i rnam par bshad pa sngags 'chang rnams la gces pa'i nor rdzas*, vol. *tsha*<sup>b</sup>, no. 2, and *rDo rje dril bu bgrang phreng dgang blug bum pa rnams kyi rnam par bshad pa gsang sngags 'dzin pa rnams la nye bar mkho ba'i legs bshad 'phrin las kun khyab*, no. 3.

<sup>153</sup> See also *A-mes-zhabs' own work* (fn. 152), vol. *tsha*<sup>b</sup>, no. 3. In *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Commentary* (11v), he says that there is no independent manual of the filling and pouring ladle, but that bSod-nams-rtse-mo gave an explication in his interlinear notes of the *bZang po yongs bzung* (#019#), and that the subject can also be understood from the brief occurrence in Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan's *Las bzhi'i sbin bsreg* (#170#; this is also said in *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Word Commentary*, 17r).

<sup>154</sup> For the *gNad kyi gsal byed*, see above, p. 53, text no. 12. *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Word Commentary* (11v) adds “*rdo rje dril bu'i rgyu dang tshad dang dka'ol thabs sogs*,” which might refer to a chapter or section of bSod-nams-rtse-mo's work.

(A4a4) With regard to the one basic text required for the concealed yogic-ascetic practices, the text cites this verse:

Body ornaments, drinking cup, articles (*rdzas*) to be held,  
 ritual musical instruments, seat, garments to wear,  
 these become fourteen [topics]  
 if you analyze the *He ru ka dpal chas drug*.<sup>155</sup>

This refers to the *He ru ka dpal chas drug* by rJe-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (#173#).

### (o) The stages of the uncommon pith instructions

(A4b) With regard to entering the stages of the uncommon pith instructions, one studies and reflects in the full set of the sixty basic texts that are summarized by the four authenticities (*tshad ma bzhi*) as they are stated in the title list of the pith instructions (i.e. of the *Yellow Book*).<sup>156</sup> These “four authenticities” are (A4b1) the “guru-authenticity,” (A4b2) the “experience-authenticity,” (A4b3) the “treatise-authenticity,” and (A4b4) the “authoritative statements of the Sugata-authenticity.” The “sixty basic texts” are as follows. (A4b1) At first, the section of the “guru-authenticity:”

(1) The *Bla ma rgya gar ba* (#342#), a history of the Indian part of the *lam 'bras* tradition.

(2) The *Bod kyi rnam thar gyi yi ge* (#343#), i.e. the second part of the above. This is supposed to be a history of the Tibetan part of the *lam 'bras* tradition; in essence, however, these are biographical works on Virūpa and 'Brog-mi Lo-tśā-ba, for which see p. 99.

(A4b2) The section of the “authenticity of experience:” There are twenty-nine works, namely (A4b2a) the “four great fundamental instructions” (*gzhung shing chen po*, nos. 3-6), (A4b2b) the “five teachings for producing realization” (*rtogs pa bskyed pa'i chos lnga*, nos. 7-11), (A4b2c) the “seventeen writings that issued [from the basic text]” (*'phros gyur gyi yi ge*, nos. 12-28), and (A4b2d) the “three writings of the three, i.e. the profound, middling, [and abbreviated] paths” (*lam zab 'bring gsum gyi yi ge gsum*, nos. 29-31).

(A4b2a) For the “four great fundamental instructions” (#329#-#332#), see p. 97.

(A4b2b) For the “five teachings for producing realization” (#333#-#337#), see p. 97.

(A4b2c) The “seventeen (12-28) writings that issued [from the basic text]” are again subdivided into several sections.<sup>157</sup> The first section is called the “four writings for eliminating impediments” (*gegs sel yi ge bzhi*). These are:

<sup>155</sup> A-mes-zhabs provides the following details in *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Commentary* (12r): “How are they fourteen? The body ornaments are four, [namely] drop of blood, grease smears (*zhag gi zo ris*), heaps of human ashes (*thal chen gyi tshom bu*), and bone ornaments, the drinking cup is a skull cup, the articles (*rdzas*) that are held are two, [i.e.] the *kaṭvaṅga* and the hooked knife (*gri gug*), with regard to the [ritual] musical [instruments] there are three, [i.e.] *damaru*, secret (or concealed?) small drum (*gsang ba'i rnga chung*), and the trumpet made from the large bone (*dung chen gyi gling bu*), the seat is twofold, [namely] human corpse and tiger skin, the garments are two, [i.e.] human skin (*mi lpags kyi g.yang gzhi*) and lower robe of tiger skin (*stag lpags kyi sham thabs*).” And furthermore, “how [they] are analyzed as thirteen in the [*He ru ka dpal*] *chas drug*: One body ornament, one cup, four articles to be held, namely *vajra* and *ghaṇṭa*, *mālā*, filling and poring ladle, and *kaṭvaṅga*, three [ritual] musical [instruments] as above, one seat, three garments, i.e. human skin, wet elephant skin, and tiger skin underskirt.” For the first, see also *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Word Commentary* 17v-18r. Cf. also *A-mes-zhabs' Stage of Production* 6r.

<sup>156</sup> The terminology of the four authenticities cannot be found in the *Yellow Book Title List*, but A-mes-zhabs has applied it, following mKhyen-brtse'i-dbang-phyug. For more details of the *tshad ma bzhi*, see p. 99.

<sup>157</sup> There is a group of seventeen works mentioned in the *Yellow Book Title List*, for which see p. 94, that apparently differs from this one only with regard to one entry: While we have here the *gDan stsogs kyi yi ge* (#289#), the list in the *Yellow Book* includes the *bDud rtsi ril bu'i sgrub thabs* (#314#) instead.

- (12) *bSam gtan 'od zer ba'i 'phrang bdun*, i.e. *bSam gtan 'dor ba'i 'phrang bdun bsal ba* (#316#).
- (13) *Byung rgyal du mi btang ba'i gnad bzhi*, i.e. *Byung rgyal du mi gtong ba'i gnad rnam pa bzhi* (#317#).
- (14) *'Byung lus 'khrugs rlung dang spyod lam gyi gsal ba* (#318#).
- (15) *rNal 'byor gyi 'phrin las sum cu rtsa gnyis*, i.e. *Phrin las sum cu rtsa gnyis kyi 'khrul 'khor by* Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (#319#).

The next section is called “ripening:”

- (16) *gDan stsogs kyi yi ge by* Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (#289#).
- (17) *dBang gi chu bo chen mo by* bSod-nams-rtse-mo (#320#).
- (18) *mChog dhang gsum grol lam la hrten te hskur ha('i yi ge)* by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (#312#).
- (19) *dBang gi man ngag gi gnad kyi yi ge*, i.e. *dBang gi chu bo ma nub par bskur ba by* Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (#311#).

Next follows the “view” section:

- (20) *'Khor 'das dbyer med rtsa 'grel*, i.e. *'Khor 'das dbyer med kyi lta ba'i rtsa 'grel gnyis* (#310#).

Two works are contained in the “*samaya*” section:

- (21) *bSrung ba'i dam tshig gi rtsa ltung 'khrul spong* (#324#).
- (22) *bZa' ba'i dam tshig tshogs kyi 'khor lo* (cf. #325#).

Then follows the “stage of production” section:

- (23) *Yab kyi sgrub thabs rgyas pa yan lag bzhi pa by* bSod-nams-rtse-mo (#321#).
- (24) *'Bring po yan lag drug pa by* Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (#322#).
- (25) *bsDus pa skad cig bskyed pa by* Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (#313#).
- (26) *Yum gyi sgrub thabs by* Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (#323#).
- (27) *sByin sreg gi yi ge* (cf. #326#).

And finally the “secret initiation” section:

- (28) *Yum gyi byin rlabs* (#315##).

(A4b2d) the “writings of the three, i.e. the profound, middling, [and abbreviated] paths” are these:

- (29) *'Bring po rtsa ba med pa'i yi ge* (i.e. the writing of the middling path without the basic text), i.e. according to Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan's catalogue of the *Yellow Book: rTsa ba med pa'i lam 'bring po* (#327#).
- (30) *bsDus pa sgrub pa'i lung sbyin pa* (i.e. the abbreviated path), i.e. according to Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan's catalogue of the *Yellow Book: sGrub pa'i lung sbyin pa lam bsdus pa* (#328#).
- (31) *Zab mo bla ma'i rnal 'byor* (i.e. the profound path) by Sa-skyā Paṇḍita (#398#).

The works of these sections (A4b1 and A4b2a-d) make up, in my account, thirty-one works. The text says “together twenty-nine works,” but probably refers here only to the works of the “authenticity of experience” section (nos. 3-31).

(A4b3) The section of the “authenticity of treatise” comprises twenty-four basic works. These are, in general, a basic commentary, twenty-two clarifications, and a summary. The basic commentary is this:

- (32) The *gNyag(s) ma*, i.e. the *rDo rje'i tshig gi rnam 'grel gnyag ma* by Sa-chen Kundga'-snying-po (#284#).

The twenty two clarifications and one summary (33-55) are not listed in the NOTES. Their titles are given in *Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan's Title List* of the *Yellow Book* of the *lam 'bras* teachings (cf. below, p. 92).

(A4b4) The section of the “authenticity of the Sugata’s authoritative statements” contains four great collections of authoritative statements (*lung sbyar*) and one single writing. The titles of the four collections are said to be:<sup>158</sup>

- (56) *Lung 'di nyid dang zhib tu sbyar ba*
- (57) *Lung 'di nyid mdor bsdus te sbyar ba*
- (58) *Lung mtha' dag dang mdor bsdus te sbyar ba*
- (59) *mTha' dag dang zhib tu sbyar ba*

The single writing is this:

- (60) *dMar chung gi dkar chag* (#174#) by rGyal-tshab Kun-dga'-dbang-phyug (1424-1478). I.e. the *Red Book Title List*.<sup>159</sup>

### (p) Entering the *sDom gsum rab dbye*

(A4c) This section is about entering the *sDom pa gsum gyi rab tu dbye ba* by Sa-skya Paṇḍita Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan (#175#).<sup>160</sup> In order to expand on the previous sections, one enters into the *sDom gsum gyi rab tu dbye ba* by studying and reflecting on the following works:

- (1) *The Rang mchan* (#176#),<sup>161</sup>

and furthermore the three epistles by Sa-pan:

- (2) *Phyogs bcu'i sangs rgyas la 'phrin du zhu ba*, i.e. the *Phyogs bcu'i sangs rgyas dang byang chub sems dpa' rnam la zhu ba'i 'phrin yig* (#177#). For an English translation, see Rhoton (2002: 241-258).
- (3) *sKyes bu dam pa la springs pa yig* (#178#), see the translation in Rhoton (2002: 229-240).
- (4) *dKar phyogs kyi lha rnam la springs yig*. This appears to be an alternative name for the *bsTan pa la dga' ba'i lha rnam la spring pa* (#179#).

Furthermore the three replies to questions:

- (5) *Chag lo'i dris lan*, i.e. the *Chag lo'i zhu ba* (#180#). For an English translation, see Rhoton (2002: 205-224).
- (6) *Do gor ba'i dris lan*, i.e. the *bKa' gdams do kor ba'i zhus lan* (#181#), see the translation in Rhoton (2002: 259-266).
- (7) *Nam mkha' 'bum gyi dris lan*, i.e. the *bKa' gdams pa nam mkha' 'bum gyi zhus lan* (#182#), see the translation in Rhoton (2002: 267-272).

### (q) Blending the common basic texts, uncommon pith instructions, and *sDom gsum rab dbye*

(A4d) With regard to the path that blends these three (A4a-c) together, in general, by the way of authoritative statements (*lung*), reasoning (*rigs*), and pith instructions (*man ngag*), through each of the three successive paths mentioned above a fully complete path with limbs is revealed.

<sup>158</sup> See #339#-#341#, p. 99 and fn. 283.

<sup>159</sup> See chapter 2 of *Part II* (pp. 103 ff.).

<sup>160</sup> See Rhoton (2002: 39-200).

<sup>161</sup> The “*rang mchan*” are supposed to be Sa-pan’s own notes to his *sDom gsum rab dbye*. TBRC is in possession of a computer print from Lhasa. About the controversy on whether in general these notes are authentic, see Jackson (1983: 13).



However, when speaking of main emphasis, since the first successive path endows one with authoritative statements and teaches a comprehensive explanation of the path (*lam gyi khog phub*), the second successive path endows one with pith instructions and teaches the stages of the practice, and the third successive path endows one with reasoning and cuts off doubts concerning the path (*lam gyi spros pa gcod par byed pa*), the three paths should be combined into one. By being combined like that, there emerge two paths, namely (A4d1) the extensive path for leading the person who is a “successive engager” (*gang zag rim gyi(!) pa*) and (A4d2) the summarized path for leading the “simultaneous engager” (*[gang zag] gcig car ba*).

(A4d1) The extensive successive path has ten writings that arrange its contents (*?khog sgrigs*).<sup>162</sup> The first works establish the extensive path in the manner of a comprehensive explanation (*khog phub pa'i tshul*):

- (1) *mNgon rtogs ljon shing* by rJe-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (#144#).
- (2) *rGyud sde spyi rnam* by bSod-nams-rtse-mo (#151#).
- (3) The clarifying replies (#180#-#182#).<sup>163</sup>

Secondly, the extensive path is established also by way of being endowed with mental images (*dmigs pa*):

- (4) *dBang gi chu bo chen mo* by bSod-nams-rtse-mo (#320#).
- (5) *gZhung ji lta ba bzhin bkri ba'i gzhung* by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (#329#).
- (6) *dBang po rab 'bring gsum gyi bkri ba'i gzhung* by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (#331#).

Thirdly, the extensive path is also established by way of symbols (*mtshon byed brda*):

- (7) *Bir bsrung thun mong ma yin pa'i gdams ngag*.<sup>164</sup>
- (8) *brDa don gsal ba* by Sa-skya Paṇḍita (#385#). The explanation of the entire path by means of symbols was received from Sa-chen by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan in a dream (Stearns 2006: 236).
- (9) *rTsa sngags gzhi bshad*, see the *rTsa sngags kyi rnam bshad snying po don gsal aṣṭa'i gzhi bshad pa* by Sa-skya Paṇḍita (#350#).

Finally, the extensive path is also established, summarizing the systematic presentation of the three observances, namely through the

- (10) *sDom gsum rab dbye* (#175#).

(A4d2) The summarized path for leading the simultaneous engager. This passage refers mainly to Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan's *rGyud kyi mngon par rtogs pa rin po che'i ljon shing* (#144#), which has been described elsewhere as being an element of the distinction of the inconceivable pith instructions of Hevajra (see pp. 49 and 51), and Sa-pan's *sDom gsum rab tu dbye ba* (#175#). The *lJon shing* “teaches the systematic presentation of the fifty-seven clear realizations (*mngon par rtogs pa*), which are the distinctions of the three clear realizations arising from the blending of the intentions of the three tantras into one.” These fifty-seven clear realizations are apparently listed here (in groups of 4, 14, 4, 11, 7, and 17), summarizing the essential sections of the path. I have attempted a first draft of a translation of this passage in *Appendix IIIa*, although I quickly realized that a detailed study of Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan's masterpiece would be desirable. A few interesting remarks have recently been made by Davidson (2005: 364-367).

First, five writings are listed that apparently teach the “summarized path of simultaneous engagement.” These are:

<sup>162</sup> These are ten because the three replies (see above) are reckoned as one.

<sup>163</sup> For the three replies, see p. 58.

<sup>164</sup> There are a great number of “*bir srung*” works, beginning with Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po's *Bir bsrung gi man ngag rnying pa gsum* (#406#). Cf. also #592# and #425#-#430# (by Kun-dga'-bzang-po).

- (1) The *gDams ngag gi gnad drug gi bkri ba*, i.e. the *Man ngag gi gnad drug gis dkri ba 'i gzhung* (#330#), according to the colophon by Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po,
- (2) the *bCu gcig gi dkri ba*, i.e. the *brTson 'grus can man ngag gi gnad bcu gcig gis dkri ba 'i gzhung shing* by Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po (#332#),
- (3) the *Lam 'bring po rtsa ba med pa* (#327#), i.e. the *rTsa ba med pa 'i lam 'bring po* by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan,
- (4) the *bsDus pa sgrub pa lung sbyin*, i.e. the *sGrub pa 'i lung sbyin pa lam bsdus pa* by Chos-snang Lo-tsā-ba? (#328#), and
- (5) the *Zab mo bla ma 'i rnal 'byor*, i.e. the *Lam zab mo bla ma 'i rnal 'byor* by Sa-skya Paṇḍita (#398#).

At the same time, the extensive path, which is the subject of most of the NOTES, is summarized through three writings:

- (1) All the basic writings are included within the *lJon shing*, i.e. Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan's *rGyud kyi mngon par rtogs pa rin po che 'i ljon shing* (#144#),
- (2) the writings of the pith instructions are included within the *gZhung ji lta ba bzhin bkri ba 'i gzhung shing* by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (#329#), and
- (3) the writings that cut off doubts are included within Sa-pan's *sDom gsum rab tu bye ba* (#175#)

The following section seems to teach the relations between the above three texts. The role of the *sDom gsum rab dbye* is described in this section as “cutting off doubts.” Judging from the content of the *sDom gsum rab dbye*, “doubts” here refers to the supposed false views of those teachers that come under attack in Sa-pan's work. This is also in line with the remark in the introduction of the NOTES, according to which the adept is to purify himself (*byi dor byas*) through “*sdom*” and “*rig(s)*” (i.e. the *sDom gsum rab dbye* and *Tshad ma rigs gter*, see p. 21). Here, the first four of the fifty-seven clear realizations (*mngon par rtogs pa*) pertain to the section of the *lJon shing* that is known as the “universal fundament of the causal continuity” (*kun gzhi 'i rgyu rgyud*, Davidson, 2005: 364). The next group of fourteen clear realizations seems to refer the “continuity of method” (*lam thabs kyi rgyud*) from the *lJon shing*, which—if I understand our text correctly—deals with refuge, *pośadhā* and the seven classes of *prātimokṣa*. The doubts regarding (altogether) eighteen clear realizations are “cut off” or clarified in the first part of the *sDom gsum rab dbye* (#175#), i.e. its section of the *prātimokṣa* vows.

Next, the doubts concerning the practices in the context of the impure appearances (*ma dag pa 'i snang ba*) of Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan's *gZhung ji lta ba bzhin bkri ba 'i gzhung shing* (#329#), and furthermore the “un arisen production of the resolve” (*skye med pa 'i sems bskyed*) taught in the *lJon shing* and the four clear realizations pertaining to the view are cut off through the second part of the *sDom gsum rab dbye*, i.e. its section of the bodhisattva vows. Thereafter, the doubts concerning the practices in the context of the (three?) appearances(?) pertaining to the “experience of the common *gZhung shing*” (again Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan's *gZhung ji lta ba bzhin bkri ba 'i gzhung shing*), the seven clear realizations in the context of the Hevajra initiation and the eleven clear realizations in the context of the “liberating path” (of the *lJon shing*) are cut off through the third part of the *sDom gsum rab dbye*, i.e. its section of the mantra vows. And still furthermore, the doubts regarding the “arising of experience” (*nyams snang*) of the “uncommon *gZhung [shing]*” and the “practices in the context of the ... three tantras,” and finally the seventeen clear realizations in the context of the resultant section of the *lJon shing* are cut off through the section pertaining to the result of the *sDom gsum rab dbye*. All this,

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continues the NOTES, is “practiced in the context of the result of the three appearances (*snang gsum*) of the *lJon shing* and the result of [its] three continua (*rgyud gsum*).”



rJe-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan  
miniature from the manuscripts  
of A-mes-zhabs' works  
vol. *dza*, no. 2, fol. 1v left

## Chapter 2

### Hevajra literature mentioned in A-mes-zhabs' records of teachings and other works

The first thing that becomes apparent when one analyzes the NOTES is that the transmission of the Hevajra teachings in the Sa-skyapa lineage runs to some extent parallel with the transmission of the Path with Its Fruit teachings. That is not surprising since the deity Hevajra is the central deity of the *lam 'bras* cycle. Thus A-mes-zhabs received one part of the Hevajra transmission embedded within the transmission of the Path with Its Fruit.

As mentioned above, the NOTES is originally the composition of Chos-dpal-bzang-po, who based his account on the instructions of his direct teacher Ngor-chen Kun-dga'-bzang-po (1382-1456). A-mes-zhabs remained silent about the extent to which he edited the work and added to it. However that may be, it is a fact that the NOTES include only Indian and Tibetan works up to Sa-skyapa Paṇḍita. A-mes-zhabs, however, also received numerous other transmissions of works pertaining to Hevajra, authored by masters both earlier and later than Sa-paṇ. These transmissions can be gleaned from his own records of teachings, from the records of his masters that he collected, and from those passages of A-mes-zhabs' own works on Hevajra that pertain to matters of bibliography and transmission.

#### (a) Further works on Hevajra transmitted within the Path with Its Fruit transmission

A-mes-zhabs' uncle, bSod-nams-dbang-po (1559-1621), transmitted among many earlier Path with Its Fruit teachings also some works composed by a "dPal Mi-bskyod-rdo-rje" (*rje sems dpa' chen po dpal mi bskyod rdo rje 'i zhal snga nas mdzad pa*). Here, "dPal Mi-bskyod-rdo-rje" must be a secret name of ("Bya-bral"<sup>165</sup>) Mus-chen dKon-mchog-rgyal-mtshan (1388-1469), for it is known that he composed the following works (with the possible exception of the last one). They can be found in the last quarter of the *Red Book*.<sup>166</sup>

(*dPal kyai rdo rje man ngag lugs kyi*) *ras bris kyi dkyil 'khor du dbang bskur ba 'i cho ga* (#458#),<sup>167</sup> an initiation ritual of the Hevajra system of pith instructions based a painted maṇḍala,

*mNgon par rtogs pa 'bring du bya ba yan lag drug* (this version of the title and the author are found in the colophon; #459#), a Hevajra *abhisamaya* in the tradition of rJe-btsun

Grag-pa-rgyal-mtshan's *abhisamaya* work (#322#), for which see p. 54,

(*dPal kyai rdo rje 'i*) *lus dkyil lam dus kyi dbang chog dang bcas pa* (#460#),

*gTor chog bar chad kun sel* (#461#),

*Khrid kyi zin bris che ba* (#462#),

*Khrid kyi zin bris chung ba* (#463#),

*Lam zab kyi nyams len byed tshul* (#464#).

The last entry in the section of the *lam 'bras* transmission in *bSod-nams-dbang-po's Record* is Go-rams-pa's clarification of the Hevajra stage of production based on the system of pith instructions:

*Kun mkhyen gyi man ngag rnam bshad*, i.e. the *dPal kyai rdo rje 'i man ngag lugs kyi bskyed pa 'i rim pa gsal bar bshad pa* (#470#). The colophon refers to Ngor-chen Kun-

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<sup>165</sup> For the yogic name "Bya-bral" ("without activities") that Ngor-chen bestowed on Mus-chen, see Davidson (1991: 180 fn. 34).

<sup>166</sup> For the *Red Book* and its title list, see part II, chapter 2, (pp. 103 ff.).

<sup>167</sup> According to *Ngag-dbang-chos-grags's Record* (13v), Tshar-chen Blo-gsal-rgya-mtsho's (1502-1566/67) *Kyai rdo rje 'i dbang chog gi lhan thabs nor bu 'i phreng ba* (#506#) is a supplement for Mus-chen's work.

dga'-bzang-po's *gNad kyi zla zer* (#431#), which was composed sixty-six years earlier in 1419. Go-rams-pa composed his work in 1485.

Other works by Go-rams-pa pertaining to Hevajra and embedded within the *lam 'bras* transmission were transmitted to A-mes-zhabs by Mus-chen Sangs-rgyas-rgyal-mtshan (1542-1618):

*dPal kyai rdo rje 'i sgrub pa 'i thabs kyi rgya cher bshad pa bsk'byed rim gnad kyi zla zer la rtsod pa spong ba gnad kyi gsal byed* (#167#), a clarification of quarrels (by Bo-dong Paṅ-chen and mKhas-grub-rje)<sup>168</sup> directly pertaining to Kun-dga'-bzang-po's *sādhana* explication (#431#). Composed in 1466.

*dPal kyai rdo rje 'i lus dkyil gyi rnam par bshad pa bde chen bcud kyi snying po* (#183#). Composed in 1484.

In the supplement section of the records of teachings of A-mes-zhabs, we find a transmission of three Hevajra texts within the *lam 'bras* of the rDzong system.<sup>169</sup>

*Kyai rdo rje 'i dkyil 'khor du dbang gi chu bo bskur ba 'i zhal gdams gnad kyi gsal byed kyi dka' 'grel bdud rtsi 'i bum pa* (#451#) by rDzong-pa Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan (1382-1446, *TBRC P4512*),

*Kyai rdo rje rgyud brtag pa gnyis pa 'i 'grel pa dag ldan snye ma* (#455#),<sup>170</sup>

*Kyai rdo rje 'i mngon rtogs kyi rnam bshad nyin byed snang ba* by rJe rDo-rje-gdan-pa Kun-dga'-mam-rgyal (1432-1496, #456#).

### (b) Still further works on Hevajra transmitted independent of the Path with Its Fruit transmission

Apart from transmissions of works pertaining to Hevajra embedded within the Path with Its Fruit transmission, A-mes-zhabs also received numerous transmissions of such works independent from *lam 'bras* teachings. Most of these are already mentioned in the NOTES.<sup>171</sup> Notable exceptions are the following titles. The first was transmitted to A-mes-zhabs by bSod-nams-dbang-po and Ngag-dbang-chos-grags:

*Kyai rdo rje rtsa rgyud brtag gnyis* (i.e. the basic *Hevajratāntra*, #001#) together with the additional notes (*mchan*) by 'Phags-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan (#184#). The present 'Bri-gung Che-tshang Rinpoche saw 'Phags-pa's notes mentioned in a recent title list mentioning all works that exist in the Potala in Lhasa.

Furthermore, Ngag-dbang-chos-grags (1572-1641) also transmitted Abhayākara-gupta's *Vajrāvalī*,<sup>172</sup> including the following works:

<sup>168</sup> See van der Kuijp (1965: 87 and 1987: 174).

<sup>169</sup> For the rDzong-system, see p. 115.

<sup>170</sup> One wonders which relation this work has with Theg-chen Chos-kyi-rgyal-po Kun-dga'-bkra-shis's commentary on the basic Hevajra tantra, the *dPal dgyes pa rdo rje 'i rtsa rgyud kyi tīkā dag ldan snye ma* (#265#). I do not know about Kun-dga'-bkra-shis's possible involvement with the rDzong-tradition, but he was one of the eleven great scholarly tutor disciples of Bla-ma-dam-pa bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan (1312-1375), whose other disciple, gZung-skyi-dpal (1306-1389), was the founder of the rDzong-tradition.

<sup>171</sup> Most of the titles mentioned in the sections A2a-c were transmitted by bSod-nams-dbang-po (*bSod-nams-dbang-po's Record*) and Nam-mkha'-dpal-bzang (*Nam-mkha'-dpal-bzang's Record*) independent from *lam 'bras* teachings. The same is true for all of the titles in section A4a1 and a few in A4a2. These were transmitted by Nags-dgon sDom-brtson Dam-pa sByin-pa-grags-pa (late 16th to early 17th c., documented in *sByin-pa-grags-pa's Record*) and Ngag-dbang-chos-grags (*Ngag-dbang-chos-grags's Record*).

<sup>172</sup> For the *Vajrāvalī-nāma-maṇḍalopāyikā* and its various Sanskrit manuscripts, see *Tsukamoto et.al.* 379 f. See also Bhattacharyya (1981: 80 ff.). For the Tibetan version, see *P* 80/3961, 1r-115v.

*rTag gnyis nas gsungs pa'i kyai rdor lha dgu ma'i bzhi* (#185#), based on the basic Hevajra tantra. See Bhattacharyya (1981: 82): *Navātmaka-hevajratrayasa-maṇḍala* (in the *Niṣpannayogāvalī: Navātmaka-heruka-catuṣṭayamaṇḍala*).

*Gur rigs bsdus lha nga gsum* (#186#). Maṇḍala with fifteen deities based on the *Vajrapañjaratantra* (#002#).<sup>173</sup>

*Sambu ti'i rgyud las gsungs pa'i bdag med ma lha mo nyer gsum* (#187#). *Nairātmyā-maṇḍala* based on the *Samputitantra* (#003#).

*brTag gnyis nas gsungs pa'i bdag med lha mo bcò lnga* (#188#). *Nairātmyā-maṇḍala* based in the basic Hevajra tantra. See for this and the previous title Bhattacharyya (1981: 81 f.).

*brTag gnyis nas gsungs pa'i ku ru kulle lha mo bco lnga* (#189#). *Kurukullā-maṇḍala* based on the basic Hevajra tantra. See Bhattacharyya (1981: 82).

*Gur nas gsungs pa'i rdo rje sgröl ma lha bcu gcig* (#190#). *Vajratārā-maṇḍala* based on the *Vajrapañjaratantra* (#002#). See Bhattacharyya (1981: 84).

*Sambu ṭa nas bshad pa'i he ru ka lha bcu bdun te dkyil 'khor bcu gsum(?) po 'di kyai rdo rje'i phyogs su gtogs so* (#191#). *Saptadaśātmaka-hevajratraya-maṇḍala* based on the *Samputitantra* (#003#). See Bhattacharyya (1981: 81).

*Sambu ṭa nas bshad pa'i rdor sems zhi ba dkar po lha so bdun* (#192#). *Vajrasattva-maṇḍala* based on the *Samputitantra* (#003#). See Bhattacharyya (1981: 80 f.).

*Kyai rdor bcu gsum* (#193#).

Still furthermore, Ngag-dbang-chos-grags also transmitted some works belonging to what he calls the “four instruction systems of Hevajra” (*kyai rdo rje la bka' srol bzhi*) that existed in Sa-skya. These systems are just those four systems from among the “six great chariot systems” (mentioned above) that were transmitted within the Sa-skya-pa, namely the traditions of Ḍombīheruka (A2a), mTsho-skyes-rdo-rje (A2b), Nag-po Dam-tshig-rdo-rje (A2c), and sNyan-grags-bzang-po (A2e). Two works belong to Ḍombīheruka's system:

*Ḍombhi'i he ru ka'i lugs kyi kyai rdo rje'i sgrub thabs* by Ngor-chen Kun-dga'-bzang-po (#194#), composed 1417 in Sa-skya. Cf. p. 33, #022#.

*Ḍombi he ru ka'i lugs kyi kyai rdo rje'i dkyil chog* by bSod-nams-rtse-mo (#195#). Cf. p. 32, #019#.

Four works belong to the system of mTsho-skyes-rdo-rje (for the maṇḍala works, see p. 36, #039#, and for the evocation ritual, see p. 36, #040#):

*mTsho skyes lugs kyi phra mig* by Go-rams-pa (#126#). This is an explanation of both the evocation and maṇḍala ritual.

*dPal kyai rdo rje mtsho skyes lugs kyi dkyil 'khor mchod pa'i cho ga tshogs gnyis rgyas byed* composed in Sa-skya by Ngor-chen Kun-dga'-bzang-po (#127#).

(*dPal kyai rdo rje'i mtsho skyes kyi*) *dkyil chog* by bSod-nams-rtse-mo (#197#). See also his *dPal kyai rdo rje'i sgrub thabs mtsho skyes kyi ṭi ka* (#125#),

*Nas gling ma'i dbang gong ma'i cho ga* by Mus-chen (#119#).<sup>174</sup>

For the third system, that of Nag-po, only a lineage is given (see fn. 78). Ngag-dbang-chos-grags also transmitted the following works by Shar-pa Ye-shes-rgyal-mtshan (d. 1406), a disciple of dPal-ldan-tshul-khrims (1333-1399) and teacher of Ngor-chen Kun-dga'-bzang-po. These were transmitted in the context of the transmission of commentaries of the three basic tantras by the great Sa-skya-pa masters (cf. A4a2, p. 52). Shar-pa's works are these:

<sup>173</sup> Cf. Mi-thub-zla-ba's *Gur rigs bsdus kyi sgrub thabs* (#021#).

<sup>174</sup> Cf. also bSod-nams-rtse-mo's *dPal kyai rdo rje'i dkyil chog nas gling ma* (#120#).

*rGyud sde'i dum bu che ba* (#148#) and the

*rGyud sde'i dum bu chung ba* (#149#), both of these must pertain to the collection of quotations from the three Hevajra tantras apparently by Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po (#146#), see p. 49.

*sTong thun gnyis kyi don bsdus* (#198#), which is connected to Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan's explanation of the "four preceding ways through which [Hevajra] tantras are explicated," see p. 51 (#152#).

*Yab kyi bstod pa danḍa ka* (#199#) and the

*Yum gyi bstod pa dri ma med pa'i phreng ba* (#200#), whose titles suggest a connection with rJe-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan's stotras, see p. 51 (#153#-#154#).

*Yum gyi bstod pa dri ma med pa'i rgyan* (#201#, see above).

(*rTsa rgyud kyi 'grel pa*) *dag ldan gyi kha skongs* (#202#), for which cf. rJe-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan's explication of the basic tantra, see p. 53 (#147#).

*Dag ljon lung 'grel* (#203#), which might refer to Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan's explication just mentioned (i.e. the "*Dag ldan*") and his *abhisamaya* work, the "*lJon shing*" (for which see p. 51, #144#). Both works were often blended into one teaching by the later commentators (several examples will appear below).

Finally, Ngag-dbang-chos-grags also transmitted three works by Shar-pa's disciple Ngor-chen Kun-dga'-bzang-po:

*Kyai rdo rje'i rgyud kyi byung tshul dang bla ma brgyud pa'i rnam thar*, i.e. the *rGyud kyi rgyal po dpal kyai rdo rje'i byung tshul dang brgyud pa'i bla ma dam pa rnam kyi rnam par thar pa ngo mtshar rgya mtsho* (#204#), pertaining to the history of the Hevajra tantra and its lineage gurus, composed 1405 in Sa-skya.<sup>175</sup>

*brTag gnyis kyi 'gyur tshad bsab pa shlo ka gnyis*, i.e. the *rTsa rgyud brtag gnyis kyi 'gyur* (#205#), a very brief work composed in Sa-skya.

*brTag gnyis 'grel pa'i dkar chag*, i.e. his brief *Kyai rdo rje'i 'grel pa'i dkar chag* (#206#).

### (c) Still further works on Hevajra mentioned in A-mes-zhabs' works

Four out of fifteen works on Hevajra themes authored by A-mes-zhabs himself mention works of former masters in their colophons. In the colophon of *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Commentary*, A-mes-zhabs mentions that in composing this work he based himself on works by mNga'-ris gSal-ba'i-snying-po, rJe-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, 'Phags-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan, Mus-chen, and Nags-dgon-pa sByin-pa-grags-pa. gSal-ba'i-snying-po, the direct disciple of 'Brog-mi, is known in the tradition to be a great expert of the Hevajra tradition. His manuscript on the three Hevajratantras (*kyai rdor rgyud gsum*) had been taken away from him by his teacher 'Brog-mi Lo-tsā-ba, because it revealed too many details.<sup>176</sup> The following works are mentioned:

<sup>175</sup> Van der Kuijp (1985: 87) has the following to say about this text: "The bulk of this text deals with the origins of the *vajrayāna* and the different recensions of the text of the *Hevajratantra*. The biographies (*rnam thar*) of the 'lineage lamas' more often than not merely consist of the mention of their names."

<sup>176</sup> See Stearns (2001: 15, 231, n. 112), who relates on this matter the detailed account of Cha-rgan dBang-phyug-rgyal-mtshan (13th/14th c.) in his *Lam 'bras kyi bla ma bod kyi lo rgyus rgyas pa bod dang bstan pa'i byung 'dems ma* (#210#), a rare *dbu med* manuscript of which he possesses a photocopy. According to Stearns, Cha-rgan mentions a "large and detailed manuscript ... on the outer, inner, secret, and ultimate meaning of the *Kye rdor rgyud gsum*." According to *Ngor-chen's Correct System* (8r), gSal-ba'i-snying-po had "attached also interlinear notes to the basic text of the three tantras and presented this to the guru for him to read. Therefore [the guru] said 'Well done,' and did not wish to hand it [back?]" (*rgyud gsum gyi gzhung la mchan yang btab ste bla ma la gzigs phul bas, legs kyis gsungs nas gtod du ma 'dod*). This part of the story is also reported by mKhyen-brste'i-dbang-phyug



*rGyud sde spyi rnam theg pa gsal ba'i sgron me* (#207#) by mNga'-ris gSal-ba'i-snying-po. This is a rare mentioning of that work. In *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Commentary* (12v), A-mes-zhabs describes this commentary as a very detailed scrutinizing of the basic tantra (*rtsa ba'i rgyud kyi 'bru shin tu zhib par bshad pa'i 'brel(!) pa*) and as the first of the commentaries of the system of 'Brog-mi Lo-tsa-ba. Its reading transmission existed in A-mes-zhabs' time and it was contained in the collected works of the Sa-skyapas.<sup>177</sup>

*Nye bar 'od pa'i(?) rgyud ldan yid ches can* (#208#) by Mus-chen. This title is neither mentioned in the title list of Mus-chen dKon-mchog-rgyal-mtshan's works (*Mus-chen's Record* 66v-67v) nor in the one of Mus-chen Sangs-rgyas-rin-chen's works (*Mus-chen's Record* 67v-68v), but it is mentioned in the colophon of *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Commentary*.

*Tshul bzhi sngon du 'gro ba'i rtsa rgyud kyi bshad pa dag ldan go sla dang bcas pa* (#209#) by Nags-dgon-pa sByin-pa-grags-pa (mentioned in the colophon of *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Commentary*). According to the title, this work seems to refer to Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan's "four preceding ways through which tantras are explicated" (cf. p. 51, #152#) and to his *rNam bshad dag ldan* (containing explications of gSal-ba'i snying-po's above mentioned "wrapped book," #147#).

The works of Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan and notes of 'Phags-pa (#184#) that are referred to in *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Commentary* (12v f.) have all been mentioned before,<sup>178</sup> but A-mes-zhabs also mentions some further works. Together with the above mentioned *rGyud sde spyi rnam* (#207#) by gSal-ba'i-snying-po, the first of these are said to have appeared even before the time of the three great masters of the Sa-skyapas (i.e. Sa-chen and his sons bSod-nams-rtse-mo and Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan):

A *bKa' 'grel* (#211#) by 'Khon sGyi-chu-ba Shākya-'bar, i.e. the *dPal kyai rdo rje'i rtsa ba'i rgyud brtag pa gnyis pa'i dka' 'grel man ngag don gsal*. A reading transmission existed in A-mes-zhabs' time. It is included in the collected works of the Sa-skyapas.<sup>179</sup>

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(Stearns 2006: 188). Yet on another occasion he composed interlinear notes (*mchan*) for the basic texts and explanatory notes (*zin bris*) on difficult passages (*dka' sa*), but [the guru] said "Obliterate them!" (*bsub gsungs*). Thinking, however, "it would not be in order to destroy good explications like these" (*bshad pa bzang po chad na mi yong ba 'dug*), he attached explanatory notes to the difficult passages and hid them in a felt bag (*phying khug tu sbas*; see fn. 226 and section A4a2, p. 52, with references to the "wrapped book," which appears to be the same as these notes kept in a felt bag). Later, he merely composed two word commentaries (*tshig 'grel*) of the basic Hevajratra, a detailed and an abbreviated one, and attached notes (*mchan btab*) to all three tantras. For a detailed word commentary by gSal-ba'i-snying-po, see the *Bla ma mnga' ris pas mdzad pa'i brtag gnyis kyi tshig 'grel* (#691#). As Davidson (2005: 264) points out, this may be the earliest surviving indigenous Tibetan commentary on the *Hevajatantra*.

<sup>177</sup> I am uncertain about the relation of the work mentioned here to the one mentioned above as #691#, for which see fn. 176.

<sup>178</sup> Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, *rNam bshad dag ldan* (#147#), his *rGyud kyi mngon par rtogs pa rin po che'i ljon shing* (#144#), and Sa-paṅ's *sTong thun sa bcad* (#152#).

<sup>179</sup> A-mes-zhabs adds here that some people claim that both works mentioned above, namely the one by mNga'-ris-pa and sGyi-chu-ba, as well as Sa-chen's "short commentary" (*tika chung*) are mistaken (*nor ba*—i.e. falsely ascribed to them), but that he has not investigated the matter in detail.

A *dKa* 'grel chung ngu (#212#) by Se-mkhar-chung-ba<sup>180</sup> that according to Mi-nyag Pradznya-dzwa-la was actually seen by Sa-chen.<sup>181</sup>

A-mes-zhabs furthermore mentions a number of works that are “equal to the seven special teachings of the three great Sa-skyapa masters” (*A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Commentary*, 12v).<sup>182</sup> They do not appear in the “*rGyud 'grel gyi dkar chag*,” but are “very necessary writings for this system” (*A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Word Commentary*, 18r):

*sPyi rnam dka* 'grel dang bcas pa (#213#) by the full monk (Mi-nyag) Pradznyā-dzā-la, a direct disciple of Sa-chen.<sup>183</sup>

*dKa* 'grel (#214#) on the *rDo rje gur (Vajrapañjara, #002#)* by the same author,

*Tshig 'grel* (#215#) on the *Saṃpuṭa* (#003#), by the same author.

*dKa* 'grel (#216#) by rGya-bsgom Tshul-khrims-grags (b. 11th c.?).<sup>184</sup>

*dKa* 'grel (#217#) by gNyan-phul-byung-pa gTsug-tor-rgyal-po (12th c.).<sup>185</sup>

Two works are by followers of the “former three” (*A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Commentary*, 12v f., *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Word Commentary*, 18v):<sup>186</sup>

<sup>180</sup> Cf. Se-mkhar-chung-ba (late 11th c.) is also known as Se-ston Kun-rig and was a teacher of dKon-mchog-rgyal-po, Zhang-ston Chos-'bar and Ma-gcig Zhwa-ma. According to mKhyen-brtse'i-dbang-phyug (Stearns 2006: 192-198, 206), he stayed for thirteen years with 'Brog-mi and received both the Path with Its Fruit instructions and the “eight later path-cycles” from him. From 'Khon dKon-mchog-rgyal-po he received the teachings on the basic Hevajra and on the *Saṃpuṭa* and *Vajrapañjara* tantras. Se in return offered the “inner structure and outline” of the Path with Its Fruit instructions to dKon-mchog-rgyal-po.

For Ma-gcig Zhwa-ma and her brother, Khum-bu-ba, see Stearns (2006: 208-212). She (and her brother) received the Hevajra initiation and oral instructions from Se-ston. According to mKhyen-brtse'i-dbang-phyug (Stearns 2006: 211), she failed to request the oral instructions fully, but she received some instructions that were not given to Zhang-ston Chos-'bar. She divided the practice by means of Saroruhā's sādhanā (#040#) and relied on the common sūtra vehicle for the view at the time of the cause, which was seen as a sign of incompleteness. At mKhyen-brtse's time, nothing except miscellaneous reading transmissions were left of her system.

<sup>181</sup> This fact is also mentioned in *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Word Commentary* (18r).

<sup>182</sup> Five of these “seven special teachings of the three great Sa-skyapa masters” are identified in the beginning of a mnemonic verse quoted in *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Commentary* (12v): *rje btsun sa chen yab sras kyi, dka* 'grel nyi 'od dag ldan gsum,, *spyi rnams(!) rgyud kyi mngon rtogs sogs,,* (here the quote is unfortunately interrupted). These five works must be the following: (1) Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po's *dPal kyai rdo rje'i rtsa ba'i rgyud brtag pa gnyis pa'i dka* 'grel man ngag don gsal (#156#), (2) bSod-nams-rtse-mo's *dPal kyai rdo rje'i rtsa rgyud brtag gnyis kyi rnam par bshad pa nyi ma'i 'od zer* (#157#), (3) rJe-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan's *brTag pa gnyis pa'i rnam par bshad pa ma dag pa rnam 'joms par byed pa'i rnam 'grel dag ldan* (#147#), (4) bSod-nams-rtse-mo's *rGyud sde spyi rnam gzhag*, (#151#), and (5) rJe-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan's *rGyud kyi mngon par rtogs pa rin po che'i ljon shing* (#144#).

<sup>183</sup> For Mi-nyag Pradznyā-dzwa-la, see *Mang-thos Klu-sgrub's bsTan rtsis* 131.

<sup>184</sup> Tshul-khrims-grags was, according to Ngor-chen's *Thob yig rgya mtsho* (98v), a direct disciple of bSod-nams-rtse-mo. Is he the same as Zhang Tshul-khrims-grags, *TBRC P6099*? The latter composed a *Kyai rdor dka* 'grel, i.e. *dPal brtag pa gnyis pa'i bka* 'grel (#216#).

<sup>185</sup> gNyan-phul-byung-pa gTsug-tor-rgyal-po's real name was, according to *Mang-thos Klu-sgrub's bsTan rtsis* 131, bSod-nams-rdo-rje. Cf. Stearns (2001: 252, n. 222). The work is also mentioned in *Ngor-chen's Correct System* (8v) together with six of the preceding works, beginning with gSal-ba'i-snying-po's *Tshig 'grel*, for which see fn. 176. On gNyan-phul-byung-pa, see also Stearns (2006: fn. 317).

<sup>186</sup> The “former three” are usually Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po, bSod-nams-rtse-mo, and Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, but both of the following authors, dKar Shākya-grags and Khang-ston 'Od-zer-rgyal-mtshan (fl. 13th c.), are given in *Mang-thos Klu-sgrub's bsTan rtsis* 150 as direct disciples of Sa-pan. dKar Shākya-grags, however, has (also?) been a direct disciple of Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan; see fn. 79 and the lineage for “Hevajra according to the system of Nag-po-pa,” p. 80. On Khang-ston being a direct disciple of Sa-pan, see also Jackson (1987: 160 f., fn. 83).

An abbreviation (*bsdus pa*, #218#) of the *Dag ldan* (#147#) with many quotes of the fake *gNyi med rnam rgyal* tantra<sup>187</sup> by dKar Shākya-grags that has not been valued (*rtsis su mi mdzad*).<sup>188</sup>

A special work by Khang-ston ‘Od-zer-rgyal-mtshan (fl. 13th c.), who recorded Sa-pan’s teaching, blending the *Dag* and *lJon* (i.e. the *Dag ldan*, #147#, and the *lJon shing*, #144#). It appears that the same work is referred to in *Ngor-chen’s Correct System* (8v) as the *sPyi don blo gros ‘od zer* (#220#), adding to the list of works blended into itself the *rGyud sde spyi rnam gzhas* (by bSod-nams-rtse-mo, #151#,) and a *rGyud kyi mtshan don*. Furthermore it is said that this blending “has been said to have been the teaching of Chos-rje-pa [i.e. Sa-pan] recorded by Khang.”<sup>189</sup> Mention is also made of a “mixed system” (*bsre lugs*), which seems to refer to Khang-ston’s teaching. Here, the text also mentions a work of ‘Phags-pa that has been blended with this teaching.<sup>190</sup>

*Ngor-chen’s Correct System* (9r) also mentions among the direct disciples of Sa-pan<sup>191</sup> one of his attendants, who remained with Sa-pan up to his thirty-fifth year, i.e. Shar-pa Shes-rab-‘byung-gnas. His younger brother Shar-pa rDo-rje-‘od-zer (13th c.) requested the *Mu tig lung gi phreng ba* (#222#) from him, a pith instruction on all three tantras together.

Sa-pan’s nephew ‘Phags-pa composed an easy to read condensed *mNgon rtogs ljon shing*, i.e. the *rGyud kyi mngon par rtogs pa ljon chung* (#223#), a short *Dag ldan* called *brTag gnyis kyi ‘grel pa dag ldan chung ba*<sup>192</sup> two tantra annotations (*rgyud kyi mchan*), and a topical outline (*sa bcad*), see *A-mes-zhabs’ Hevajra Word Commentary*, 18v.

*A-mes-zhabs’ Hevajra Commentary* (13r) mentions eight masters who wrote commentaries and five writers of notes (*zin bris*), who are said to be followers of ‘Phags-pa. Some of them, however, are also recorded as students of former masters. In another passage (*A-mes-zhabs’ Hevajra Commentary*, 13v f.), *A-mes-zhabs* remarks that those works of the followers of the earlier (masters) and ‘Phags-pa that are not included here are to be understood from the explanation of the notes (*mchan bshad*) on “Paṇ-chen Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan’s verse(s) of summery that mentions twelve texts.” *Ngor-chen’s Correct System* (9v f.) mentions twelve followers of ‘Phags-pa together, who wrote commentaries. In the following chart the first three columns present three sources on these twelve authors (plus some miscellaneous commentators). The fourth adds in some cases information from *Mang-thos Klu-sgrub’s bsTan rtsis*:

<sup>187</sup> *Phags pa gnyis su med pa mnyam pa nyid rnam par rgyal ba zhes bya ba’i rtog pa’i rgyal po chen po* (*Advayasamatā-vijayākhyā-vikalpa*, #219#, later translated by Bu-ston).

<sup>188</sup> The work is also mentioned in *Ngor-chen’s Correct System* (8v) as an abbreviation (*ris nyung du btang*) of the *Dag ldan* that quotes in connection with the transference of consciousness (*‘pho ba*) two *abhisamayās* of the basic tantra (? *rtsa’i[!] mngon rtogs gnyis drangs*) and throughout the text the *gNyi med rnam rgyal*.

<sup>189</sup> *Ngor-chen’s Correct System* (8v): *bla ma khang ‘od zer rgyal mtshan gyis chos rje pa’i gsung bgros yin zer ba’i, dag ldan dang, ljon shing phyogs gcig tu bsres pa’i ṭikka byas so*.

<sup>190</sup> ‘Phags-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan’s *Phags pa mkha’ ‘gro ma rdo rje gur gyi le’u’i ‘grel rnam par gzhas pa* (#221#).

<sup>191</sup> Cf. *Mang-thos Klu-sgrub’s bsTan rtsis* 150.

<sup>192</sup> This commentary on the basic tantra is the *dPal brtag pa gnyis pa’i ‘grel pa dag chung dang spyi don gsal ba* (#224#). It includes in the *Sa-skya-pa bKa’ ‘bum* a second work, namely the *dPal lya’i rdo rje’i spyi don gsal ba* (#225#).

<i>A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Commentary</i> (13r)	<i>A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Word Commentary</i> (18v ff.)	<i>Ngor-chen's Correct System</i> (9v f.)	<i>Mang-thos Klu-sgrub's bsTan rtsis</i>
(1) Lo-spe-ba rDo-rje-bsod-nams	blending the <i>Dag [ldan]</i> and <i>lJon [shing]</i> , recording a teaching of 'Phags-pa (#226#)	his commentary "spread in the Eastern Bla-brang and Zur-khang	-
(2) gSal-la-ba dBang-phyug-grags	a "good commentary" blending the <i>Dag [ldan]</i> and <i>lJon [shing]</i> ; with interlinear notes ( <i>mchan</i> ) of 'Phags-pa (#227#)	his commentary "spread in gSal-la, Don-mo-ri, and Mang-mkhar Mu-khu-lung;" it "blends [Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan's] <i>Dag ldan</i> and <i>lJon shing</i> ."	disciple of Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (p. 135) <sup>193</sup>
(3) Nyi-tshe-lung-pa Chos-kyi-seng-ge	blending the <i>Dag [ldan]</i> and <i>lJon [shing]</i> and attaching the topical outline of 'Phags-pa (#228#)	"his notes ( <i>zin bris</i> ) exist" (10r)	-
(4) gSal-la-ba Don-mo-ri-pa'i-mkhan-po gZhon-nu-'bum	blending the <i>Dag [ldan]</i> and <i>lJon [shing]</i> and recording a teaching of 'Phags-pa (#229#)	mentioned	"Don-mo-ri-pa," disciple of Sa-pan (p. 146)
(5) mNgon-dga'-ba Zhang Kun-dga'-'od-zer	blending the <i>Dag [ldan]</i> and <i>lJon [shing]</i> , and [records] 'Phags-pa's [teaching in the] <i>sPyi don</i> <sup>194</sup> (#230#)	mNgon-dga'-ba Kun-dga'-dbang-phyug	-
(6) Brag-gshog Dharma-pa-la'i Slob-dpon dBus-kyi dGa'-ldan-pa bKra-shis-dpal	blending the great <i>Dag ldan</i> , recording a teaching of 'Phags pa; he also composed the <i>sPyi don rin chen sgron ma</i> that records 'Phags-pa's teaching on the <i>lJon shing</i> (#231#)	mentioned	p. 166
(7) Brag-ram-gyi-mkhan-po rDo-rje-tshul-khrims	blending the <i>Dag chung</i> with 'Phags-pa's interlinear notes <sup>195</sup> (#232#)	Brag-ris-pa mkhan-po rDo-rje-tshul-khrims	-
(8) Shangs-bsreg-shing-pa 'Dre-ston	"a good commentary that blends Shangs-bsreg-shing-pa 'Dre-ston's <i>lJon chung</i> with 'Phags-pa's interlinear notes and attaches some of [the explications of] the difficult passages of the large <i>Dag ldan</i> " (#233#)	Shang-bsreg-shing-pa rDo-rje-'dzin-pa 'Dre-rkang; his <i>tika</i> "adds advice to a blending of the [Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan's] <i>Dag ldan</i> and <i>lJon shing</i> "	-

<sup>193</sup> If he worked with 'Phags-pa's notes and was a disciple of Grags-pa one would expect him to have been born in the late 1190's and being still active at least during the 1250's.

<sup>194</sup> See fn. 192.

<sup>195</sup> The text has *'phags chen*; read: *'phags mchan*.

<p>(9) Bla-ma gNyanston Tshul-khrims-rgyal-mtshan<sup>196</sup> “composed a masterly account of ‘Phags-pa’s and Chos-rje-pa’s (i.e. Sa-pan’s) oral teachings”</p>	<p>“good account that adds Sa-pan’s oral teachings to the notes he composed on ‘Phags-pa’s teachings” (see below) (#234#).</p>	<p>bDe-ba-can-pa Tshul-khrims-rgyal-mtshan (9v); gNyan Tshul-khrims-rgyal-po “composed very special notes attaching an account of the oral teachings of Sa-pan to Bla-chen [‘Phags-pa’s teachings]” (10r)</p>	<p>p. 166</p>
<p>(10) Chos-rje bZung-pa (11) Bo-dong Brang-mo-che’i-mkhan-po Grags-rgyal, and (12) Gung-pa Blo-gros-seng-ge; but since they copied from each other (<i>gcig la gcig bris bshus byas pa</i>—i.e. the latter three from Tshul-khrims-rgyal-mtshan), these works are to be considered merely minor in meaning (<i>don nyi tshe ba tsam</i>)</p>	<p>Chos-rje bZung-pa (#235#), Bo-dong Brang-mo-che’i-mkhan-po Grags-rgyal (#236#) and Gung-pa Blo-gros-seng-ge (#237#, the <i>slob dpon</i> of Theg-chen-pa); the works of Tshul-khrims-rgyal-mtshan and of these three are blending ‘Phags-pa’s interlinear notes with the <i>Dag chung</i> and are copied from each other; rJe-bla-ma said: “It is obvious that these are based on the teachings of ‘Phags-pa and Bla-ma-dam-pa.”</p>	<p>- - Gung-pa Blo-gros-seng-ge</p>	<p>-</p>
<p>Gung-pa Dar-ma-ye-shes (see fn. 79) “composed notes” (#238#); he is a nephew (<i>tsha bo</i>) of sKyonston Dri-med</p>		<p>-</p>	
<p>Cog-gru sTon-gzhon “composed notes” (#239#)</p>		<p>Cog-ro sTon-gzhon “composed notes” (10r)</p>	<p>-</p>
<p>rDo-rje-shes-rab “composed notes” (#240#)</p>		<p>-</p>	<p>a nephew (<i>dbon po</i>) of Zhang dKon-mchog-dpal (<i>Mangthos Klu-sgrub’s bsTan rtsis</i> 166 f.), who was a monk (<i>grwa pa</i>) under both Sa-pan and ‘Phags-pa (<i>chos rje khu dbon gnyis ka</i>)</p>
<p>Ye-chen “composed a short work” (#241#)</p>	<p>composed an account of ‘Phags-pa’s oral teachings</p>	<p>Shar-pa Ye-shes-grags</p>	<p>-</p>

<sup>196</sup> gNyan Tshul-khrims-rgyal-mtshan (13th c.) is known to have been a disciple of ‘Phags-pa.

-	dPa'-lung-pa Shākya-dpal (#242#) (20v)	dPa'-lung-pa Shākya-dpal (10r); his <i>ṭikka</i> "adds an account of the oral teachings to a blending of [Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan's] <i>Dag ldan</i> and <i>lJon shing</i> "	-
-	Rus-'bur-pa Byang-chub-dpal (#243#) (20v)	Rung-'byur-ba Byang-chub-dpal	-

Other commentaries mentioned in *Ngor-chen's Correct System* (9v-11r) and *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Word Commentary* (20v) are:

- (1) sPang-khang-pa Grags-pa-dpal-bzang's *ṭikka* (#244#) spread up to Byang-ngam. He was a disciple of La-ru-ba (14th c.), a disciple of 'Phags-pa's direct disciple Chos-rje Ye-shes-rgyal-mtshan.<sup>197</sup>
- (2) Tsam-pa dKon-mchog-bzang-po's *ṭikka* (#245#) spread up to sNga-ris (mNga'-ris). He was a disciple of Brag-ris-pa mKhan-po rDo-rje-tshul-khrims (mentioned in the table above).
- (3-5) Commentaries by Rin-chen-gzungs-kyi-dpal (early 14th c., #246#, *Mang-thos Klu-sgrub's bsTan rtsis* 185), Lo-tsā-ba Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (#247#),<sup>198</sup> and Chos-rje Theg-chen-pa (#248#).<sup>199</sup>
- (6) A commentary by Gung-pa sKyo-ston Dri-med (#249#), a direct disciple of Sa-pan (*Mang-thos Klu-sgrub's bsTan rtsis* 150).
- (7) A commentary by Phag(?) -gru-pa Ma(?) -lo? (#250#)
- (8) A commentary by rTag-pa Chos-mgon (#251#). *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Word Commentary*: rTag-pa Bya-lo'i-chos-mgon.
- (9) A commentary by Zad-pa-blo-gsal (b. 14th c., #252#), a direct disciple of Bla-ma-dam-pa.

Only mentioned in *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Word Commentary* (20v) are these:

- (10) A commentary by 'Dreg-pa Grags-rin (#253#).
- (11) A commentary by Yar-klungs-pa Seng-ge-rgyal-msthan (#254#, a disciple of Bla-ma-dam-pa, *Mang-thos Klu-sgrub's bsTan rtsis* 187).
- (12) A commentary by Byang-phug-pa Kun-legs (#255#).
- (13) A commentary by Gong-dbye(?) Kun-dga'-gzhon-nu (#256#).

Furthermore, eight "abbreviated commentaries" are mentioned in *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Commentary* (13r-v) and *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Word Commentary* (19r-v):

- (1) Chos-rje Bla-ma (Dam-pa bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan) *Nyi ma'i 'od zer* (#680#) is mentioned. *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Word Commentary* (19r) adds that the work was begun in Tsha-mo-

<sup>197</sup> According to mKhyen-brtse'i-dbang-phyug (Stearns 2006: 242), La-ru-ba bSod-nams-seng-ge received the Path with Its Fruit from Yon-tan-dpal (a disciple of Sa-pan). sPang-khang-pa Grags-pa-dpal (b. 1292) had received the teachings of La-ru-ba via a certain Don-ri Grags-chen.

<sup>198</sup> Perhaps the mNyam-med Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (early 1300s; = *TBRC P2637?*) who taught Hevajra to T'ai-situ Byang-chub-rgyal-mtshan? See L.W. van der Kuip (1991: 289).

<sup>199</sup> This is Theg-chen Chos-kyi-rgyal-po (Kun-dga'-bkra-shis, 1349-1425).

- rong and finished in Bo-dong Byang-chub-gling.<sup>200</sup> There seem to exist one or two very abbreviated works, whose authors are not mentioned, but our sources are a bit unclear here.
- (2) gNas-drug-pa's *ṭikka*, the *Slob ma la phan pa* (#257#). *Ngor-chen's Correct System* (10v) mentions him as a direct disciple of 'Phags-pa. His full name is gNas-drug-pa Blo-gros-mtshungs-med (b. 13th c.).
- (3) Nyug-sgog-ra-ba Se-ston 'Jigs-med-grags-pa's *ṭikka*. According to *Ngor-chen's Correct System* (10v), a direct disciple of 'Phags-pa.<sup>201</sup> He composed three commentaries. The largest one (#258#) established the (commentaries of) rJe Bla-ma<sup>202</sup> as the basis and merely records some teachings (*tshig bgros*; in *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Word Commentary* 19v: "smoothing the words"). The medium one reduces the former to a "general topics" (#259#, *spyi don rnams 'phri ba*; in *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Word Commentary* 19v: "having established a general topics [of it], he wrote the commentary"). The short one adds a topical outline (#260#) to both of 'Phags-pa's interlinear notes (*mchan*; in *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Word Commentary* 10v: "blending 'Phags-pa's topical outline with his interlinear notes"). These works spread to Nyug-rgyal-khang and Sa-skya'i-sgog-ra.
- (4) Jo-nang-pa Zhang-ston bSod-nams-grags's *ṭikka* (#261#). He is described in *Ngor-chen's Correct System* (10v) as a direct disciple of 'Phags-pa. His full name is given as "'Brog-khaba Lung-pa Zhang-ston bSod-nams-grags."<sup>203</sup> *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Word Commentary* 19v adds: "[He] abbreviated the large commentary on Chos-rje Bla-ma<sup>204</sup> (*ṭik chen chung du btang*) and blended it with many Jo-nang-pa *siddhāntas*."
- (5) Bla-ma rGyal-po-dpal's *ṭikka Lung gi 'phreng ba* (#262#).<sup>205</sup> According to *Ngor-chen's Correct System* (10v), two short clarifications of the meaning of the basic text and a larger work that is in general similar to the large *ṭikka* of Chos-rje Bla-ma (Dam-pa bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan) existed. *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Word Commentary* (19v): "A large and a small

<sup>200</sup> The mentioning of Tsha-mo-rong and Bo-dong Byang-chub-gling makes the identification with Bla-ma-dam-pa's work possible, whose colophon mentions these places (I owe the reference to Bla-ma-dam-pa's work to Cyrus Stearns). There also exists a Hevajra commentary with the same poetical name (*Nyi ma'i 'od zer*) by bSod-nams-rse-mo (#157#).

<sup>201</sup> See *Mang-thos Klu-sgrub's bsTan rtsis* 135, "Sa(!)-ston 'Jigs-med-grags-pa," one of the eight disciples of Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan with "grags" in their names. But if he was both a disciple of 'Phags-pa and Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, one would expect him to have been born in the late 1190's and being still active at least during the 1250's.

<sup>202</sup> Here "rJe Bla-ma" should refer to rJe-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan.

<sup>203</sup> For Zhang-ston bSod-nams-grags-pa, see *Ming mdzod* 1746. *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Word Commentary* (19v) adds an alternative name: Jo-nang-pa Zhang-ston rGya-bo.

<sup>204</sup> "Chos-rje Bla-ma" refers to Chos-rje Bla-ma Dam-pa-bsod-nams-rgyal-mtshan, mentioned as no. 1 of this list, the "large commentary" would be his *Nyi ma'i 'od zer*, which is indeed extensive. We don't know when that work was composed, but one would expect it to have happened certainly after the 1320's. In that case, if Jo-nang-pa Zhang-ston bSod-nams-grags was a direct disciple of 'Phags-pa (as Ngor-chen suggests), his life would have spanned from at least the early 1260's until the 1330's (as a commentator of the *Nyi ma'i 'od zer*). *TBRC*, however, notes his dates as 1280-1358 ('Phags-pa died in 1280).

<sup>205</sup> In *Nyi-lde-ba's dKar chag* (150r) he is associated with sNye-thang. He appears in a lineage of Vajrabhairava practice recorded in *A-mes-zhabs' Yi ge bzhi pa'i bzlog pa*, vol. *tha*, no. 2d: Vajrabhairava, Jñānadākinī, Lalitavajra, Amoghavajra, Ye-shes-'byung-gnas-sbas-pa, Padmavajra, Bal-po Thugs-rje-chen-po (Paṇḍita, b. 11th c.), Rwa Lo-tsā-ba rDo-rje-grags (*TBRC*: 1016-1198?!),<sup>a</sup> *Yamānataka* and *Vajrabhairavatantra* translator), Rwa Chos-rab (b. 11th c.), Rwa 'Bum-seng (b. 12th c.), Rwa Shes-rab-rgyal-mtshan, Bla-ma sNgags-dkar-ba, dBang-phyug-rgyal-mtshan, Bla-ma Khro-chen-pa, gZhon-nu-skyabs, sPrul-sku Shes-rab-bzang-po, rGyal-po-dpal. Alternative lineage: Shes-rab-rgyal-mtshan, Bla-ma dPal-ldan-seng-ge, Shes-rab-bzang-po, rGyal-po-dpal, rGyal-mtshan-dpal.

<sup>a</sup> The position of Rwa Lo-tsā-ba rDo-rje-grags in this lineage suggests that he was born in the 11th century.

- Lung gi phreng ba*, which adds much of Bu-ston's *Saṃpuṭa ṭikka* to the small commentary on Chos-rje Bla-ma" (*Sampu ta'i 'grel pa snying po'i de kho na nyid gsal bar byed pa [rgya cher 'grel pa]*, #271#).
- (6) gZhu-snyi-mo-ba brGya-ston Kun-dga'-brtson-'grus's<sup>206</sup> *ṭikka* (#263#), which is mainly commenting on the "Do rje snying." The basic text can be identified according to a remark in *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Word Commentary* (3r-v), as Vajragarbha's *Kyai rdo rje bsdus pa'i don gyi rgya cher 'grel pa* (#007#).
- (7) Karma dKon-gzhon (#264#, early 14th c.), who composed the basis for Chos-rje Bla-ma (Dam-pa bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan)'s *ṭikka*. *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Word Commentary* (19v): "and recorded the teaching of Bu-ston."<sup>207</sup>
- (8) Theg-chen Chos-kyi-rgyal-po Kun-dga'-bkra-shis's *ṭikka*.<sup>208</sup> *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Word Commentary* (19v): "The *Dag ldan snye ma* (#265#), which blends his small *Dag [ldan]* and *lJon [shing]* with 'Phags-pa's interlinear notes and records Chos-rje Bla-ma (Dam-pa bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan)'s teachings."

*A-mes-zhabs' Explanation of the Hevajra Basic Mantra* mentions in its colophon two works:

*Aṣṭa'i gzhi bshad pa* by Sa-skya Paṇḍita (#350#).

*rTsa sngags kyi gsal byed sgron me 'bar ba* (#266#) by Zhwa-lu Lo-tṣā-ba Chos-skyong-bzang-po (1441-1527), a clarification of Sa-pan's work.

*A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Exposition* mentions in the colophon as its basis the following work:

(*Kyai rdo rje bskyed rims kyi*) *rnam bshad snying po don gsal* (#267#) by Mus-chen Sangs-rgyas-rin-chen (1453?-1524). The title is mentioned in *Mus-chen's Record* (67v, no. 11).

And finally, the colophon of *A-mes-zhabs' Ritual Service of Hevajra with the Peaceful Burnt Offering Ritual* mentions the following works as the basis of the composition:

(*Kyai rdo rje'i*) *bsnyen thabs* (#268#) by Glo-bo mKhan-chen bSod-nams-lhun-grub (1456-1532).

(*Kyai rdo rje'i*) *bsnyen thabs* (#269#) by Thar-rtse-nas Nam-mkha'-dpal-bzang (1532-1602).

(*Kyai rdo rje'i*) *sbyin bsreg gsal ba'i me long* (#270#) by dKon-mchog-lhun-grub (1497-1557).

<sup>206</sup> He appears in a lineage of Vajrabhairava practice recorded in *A-mes-zhabs' Pal rdo rje 'jigs byed kyi man ngag yang gsang mthu bzlog nag*, vol. *tha*, no. 2a: Rwa Ye-shes-seng-ge (b. 12th c.), Rwa rDa-rma-seng-ge, Rwa dKon-mchog-seng-ge, Rwa dBon Shes-rab-rgyal-mtshan, Chos-rje dBang-phyug-rgyal-mtshan, rGya-ston Kun-dga'-brtson-'grus.

<sup>207</sup> Karma dKon-gzhon was active in Sa-skya at Bu-ston's time; see *Mang-thos Klu-sgrub's bsTan rtsis*, pp. 190 and 195.

<sup>208</sup> Theg-chen Kun-dga'-bkra-shis (1349-1425) is mentioned in *Khenpo Appey's Bibliography*<sup>a</sup> with two titles: A work on Hevajra, the *Dag ldan snye ma*, and his commentary on the difficult passages (*dka' 'grel*). These are the *dPal dgyes pa rdo rje'i rtsa rgyud kyi ṭikā dag ldan snye ma* (TBRC W15453) and the *dKa' ba'i gnas kyi dris lan* (W15457). According to *Mang-thos Klu-sgrub's bsTan rtsis* 189, Kun-dga'-bkra-shis was one of the eleven great scholarly tutor disciples of Bla-ma-dam-pa bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan (1312-1375). He received the first Path with Its Fruit teachings from Ma-ti Paṇ-chen 'Jam-dbyangs-blo-gros (1294-1376) in the Sa-bzang-mgon-pa and later from Bu-ston dBang-phyug-dar in Sa-skya-zur-khang (p. 198).

<sup>a</sup> *Khenpo Appey's Bibliography* is a bibliography of Sa-skya-pa literature, the *dKar chag mthong bas yid 'phrog chos mdzod bye ba'i lde mig*, compiled by mKhen-po A-pad (with contributions by other Sa-skya-pa scholars). See David P. Jackson's review in the *Indo-Iranian Journal*, 1991, vol. 34, pp. 220-229.



(d) A-mes-zhabs' remarks on the Indian commentaries  
of the *rDo rje gur* (*Vajrapañjara*) and *Samputatantra*

A-mes-zhabs provides in one section of *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Commentary* (14r/v) some information about certain Indian commentaries to the “supplementary” (*zhar la bshad pa'i rgyud*) *vyākhyātantras*, i.e. the *rDo rje gur* (*Vajrapañjara*, #002#) and the *Samputa* (#003#). At first he mentions a commentary on the *rDo rje gur* by lHa'i-rigs-kyi-blo-gros.<sup>209</sup> He adds that this is the same Slob-dpon Blo-gros-chen-po who composed a commentary on a *madhyamaka* epistle<sup>210</sup> and that, except for a small part of its introduction (*gleng gzhi*), it accords with the Sa-skyapa system. Furthermore, there are two commentaries by Indrabhūti and Nag-po, but in reality they are merely different translations of the same Indian work (*don la [skad] 'gyur [gyi] khyad tsam*—this fact was already mentioned in *Ngor-chen's Sādhana Explication*).<sup>211</sup>

With regard to the *Samputa*, A-mes-zhabs mentions three commentaries, namely one by Indrabhūti,<sup>212</sup> the *Man ngag snye ma*,<sup>213</sup> and the one by gNyis-med-rdo-rje.<sup>214</sup> These three are partly in accordance with the Sa-skyapa system and partly not (*lugs 'di pa dang mthun pa dang mi mthun pa ci rigs yod*).<sup>215</sup>

A little further down (*A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Commentary* 14r), A-mes-zhabs adds the observations of “rDo-rje-‘chang” (i.e. Ngor-chen Kun-dga'-bzang-po), which he found in some of his teachings as noted by his students (*gsung rgyun zin bris 'ga' zhig las*). According to him, the above mentioned *rDo rje gur* commentaries by Indrabhūti and the lesser Nag-po “appear to be one with regard to their words, even though the author's colophon of their translations are different,” and they were therefore of considerable interest for the father and sons (i.e. Kun-dga'-snying-po, bSod-nams-rtse-mo, and Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan).<sup>216</sup> With regard to the commentary on the *rDo rje gur* by lHa'i-rigs-kyi-blo-gros he observes that it is in accordance with the system of Slob-dpon Shānti-pa (i.e. Ratnākaraśānti). Therefore, both may belong to the

<sup>209</sup> *rGyud kyi rgyal po mkha' 'gro ma rdo rje dra ba'i dka' 'grel de kho na nyid rgyas pa* by lHa'i-rigs Blo-gros-chen-po (#015#). For a Sanskrit manuscript, see *Tsukamoto et al.* 298: *Tattvaṣiṣṭādhāyā-nāma-dākinīvajrapañjara-pañjikā*. *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Word Commentary* (20v) provides a different name for the author: Slob-dpon Rigs-kyi-birtul-zhugs. *Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan's Title List* mentions a large and a small commentary by lHa'i-rigs Blo-gros.

<sup>210</sup> *Shes pa'i spring yig gi rgya cher bshad pa tshig gsal ba* by Blo-gros-chen-po (*Vyaktapadā-suhṛl-lekha-ṭikā*, P 12/5690, 324v-376v). *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Word Commentary* (20v) mentions “dBu rtse she 'i(!) 'grel pa.”

<sup>211</sup> See the *rGyud kyi rgyal po mkha' 'gro ma rdo rje gur gyi dka' 'grel zhal nas brgyud pa* by Indrabodhi (#013#) and the following work, *Phags pa mkha' 'gro ma rdo rje gur zhes bya ba'i rgyud kyi rgyal po chen po'i brtag pa'i rgyal po'i bshad sbyar* by Kṛṣṇapāda (#014#).

Furthermore, A-mes-zhabs mentions in *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Word Commentary* (20v-21r) three Tibetan commentaries: (1) Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po, *rDo rje gur gyi tho yig* (#272#); (2) bSod-nams-rtse-mo's commentary, “up to the fifth chapter” (*rtse mo'i le'u lnga pa yan gyi 'grel pa*); (3) Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan's *Gur rgyan* together with its abbreviation (#162# and #163#). I have been unable to find a trace of bSod-nams-rtse-mo's *rDo rje gur* (*Vajrapañjara*) commentary.

<sup>212</sup> *dPal kha sbyor thig le zhes bya ba rnal 'byor ma'i rgyud kyi rgyal po'i rgya cher 'grel pa yang dag par lta ba'i dran pa'i snang ba* by Indrabodhi (*Smṛtisamdarśanāloka*, #018#).

<sup>213</sup> *dPal yang dag par sbyor ba'i rgyud kyi rgyal po'i rgya cher 'grel pa man ngag gi snye ma* by Abhayākara Gupta, #017#, which is also mentioned in *Ngor-chen's Sādhana Explication*.

<sup>214</sup> But such a commentary by Advayavajra does not exist to the best of my knowledge.

<sup>215</sup> *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Word Commentary* (21r) mentions the following Tibetan commentaries: (1) A *Khog phub* by Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po, i.e. his *dPal yang dag par sbyor ba'i rgyud phyi ma'i rnam par bshad pa* (#273#?); (2) bSod-nams-rtse-mo's *gNad kyi gsal byed* and its abbreviation (#114# and #166#); and interlinear notes by mNga'-ris gSal-ba'i-snying-po, Sa-chen and Sa-pan.

<sup>216</sup> *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Commentary* (14r): ‘gyur khyad kyi mdzad byang tha dad kyang tshig don gcig par snang bas 'di la rje btsun yab sras thugs rtsis shin tu che.

same tantra-school (*grwa rgyud gcig yin tshod 'dug*). Since he ('*di pa*, i.e. Ngor-chen) has not emphasized that commentary, it may be neglected. Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan composed his *Gur rgyan* (#162#) on the basis of the lesser Nag-po's commentary. The commentary on the *Samputa* (#003#) said to be by dPa'-bo-rdo-rje appears to be composed by Zangs-dkar Lo-tsā-ba since the latter's secret name (*gsang mtshan*) may have been "dPa'-bo-rdo-rje" (i.e. #045#?). With regard to the commentary on the *Samputa* by Indrabhūti (see above, fn. 212), since it is very unrefined (*shin tu gyong pa*) it cannot be taught today and it only appears in reading transmissions (*lung*). With regard to the above mentioned commentary by Abhayākaragupta (fn. 213), A-mes-zhabs (14v), still referring to Ngor-chen's teachings, draws an ambivalent picture. On the one hand, since Abhayākara was the teacher of (Kha-che) Paṅ-chen (i.e. Śākyāśribhadra) for the Kālacakra and Guhyasamājatantra, his comments are good. On the other hand, since Abhayākara is refuted in the *sDom gsum rab dbye* (#175#), his comments are also bad.<sup>217</sup> Later, Bu-ston took him as an authority, but sometimes he also refuted him. Bla-ma-dam-pa bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan quoted him extensively in his own commentary. However that may be, the three great masters (Sa-chen and his two sons) based their explanations on the teachings and small basic works of the lineage of Virūpa and composed commentaries (which seems to imply that they at best ignored Abhayākaragupta with regard to the Hevajra teachings). They and Sa-paṅ are like the "root-owners" of the Sa-skya-pa tradition. The later masters mixed (teachings from different traditions). Anyway, since the (i.e. Abhayākara's) system of explanation is good, the present-day followers are certainly better (in including him in their system).<sup>218</sup>

### (e) Miscellaneous mentionings of Hevajra commentaries

*Ngor-chen's Correct System* (5r) mentions a commentary by "Dharmakīrti," i.e. the *rGyud kyi rgyal po chen po dpal dgyes pa'i rdo rje'i dka' 'grel spyan 'byed* (*Pañjikā-netravibhaṅga*, #274#). It says that this was held by the Sa-skya-pa gurus as being a Tibetan composition. According to *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Word Commentary* (4v), Bu-ston and others maintained that the work was in reality composed by Zangs-dkar Lo-tsā-ba 'Phags-pa-shes-rab (b. 11th c.). *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Word Commentary* (3r) states that an exaggerating claim has been made in calling it an Indian commentary (*rgya 'grel du kha 'phang pa*).

<sup>217</sup> This probably refers to a passage in the *sDom gsum rab dbye* (#175#, 3.74) where a performance of the four initiations in the lower tantras and of the two stages of production and perfection in connected with Amoghapāśa and the like is criticized. Such a faulty position is in Go-rams-pa's *sDom gsum rab dbye'i rnam bshad* (#175#, 94r) identified with Abhayākaragupta's teachings. See also Rhoton (2002: 105, 186 n. 20).

<sup>218</sup> In view of the above statements, this is a remarkably non-secretarian remark. In Tibetan: *chos rje pas bla ma paṅ chen la dus 'khor dang gsang 'dus gsan, bla ma paṅ chen gyi bla ma a bha ya ka ra yin pas, des na bzang 'grel yod, sdom gsum rab dbye sogs nas a bha ya ka ra la ther bkag ner bkag byas pas, ngan 'grel yang yod, phyis bu ston pa, res 'ga' a bha ya tshad mar 'dzin zer, res dga' dgag pa byas, rang re'i bla ma dam pa bsod nams rgyal mtshan gyis mdzad pa'i 'grel par lung shin tu mang par drangs yod, gang ltar yang rje btsun yab sras rnam mthu stobs dbang phyug nas brgyud pa'i gsungs rgyun dang, gzhung phran rnam la rten nas 'chad, 'grel pa mdzad byed pa yin, rje btsun yab sras gsum chos rje pa dang bzhi po de sa slya pa'i rtsa bdag lta bu yin par gda', phyis kyi rnam 'dres mar snang ste, 'on kyang bshad srol bzang pas deng sang yang rjes 'jug rnam drag par nges so,, zhes 'byung ngo.*

## Chapter 3

### The main lineages of the Hevajra transmissions received by A-mes-zhabs

Here I would like to present a few lineages as recorded in our sources in so far as they are immediately relevant. In particular, I refer to lineages that have become important for the transmission of Hevajra teachings in the Sa-skyapa tradition, such as the “distant lineages” of the “systems of commentaries” and “of pith instructions,” and the lineages of mTsho-skyes-rdorje, and Nag-po Dam-tshig-rdorje or his disciple Nag-po Zhi-ba-bzang-po. No attempt is being made to investigate their “historicity,” for to do so would clearly go beyond the limits of this project. In general, according to *A-mes-zhabs’ Hevajra Commentary* (5v ff.) and *A-mes-zhabs’ Hevajra Word Commentary* (7v), the Hevajra transmission knows “distant lineages” (*ring brgyud*) and “close lineages” (*nye brgyud*). The first is again divided into “systems of commentaries” (*grel lugs*) and “of pith instructions” (*man ngag gi lugs*). The “close lineages” seem to refer to those transmissions, where Sa-chen Kun-dga’-snying-po received teachings (in visions) directly from Virūpa. It appears, however, that A-mes-zhabs did not apply this terminology consistently in his writings.<sup>219</sup> This problem, too, has to be left for future research.

The main translator teams of these lineages were Vīravajra/Brog-mi,<sup>220</sup> Gayadhara/Brog-mi,<sup>221</sup> and Kṛṣṇa Shanta Bhadra(?)’Gos-khug lHa-btsas.<sup>222</sup> Within the Sa-skyapa lineage, all lineages went through Sa-chen and Ngor-chen. The first is a lineage of the “three Hevajra tantras.” It is one of the “distant lineages” (*ring brgyud*) and particularly the “lineage of the commentaries” (*grel lugs*):<sup>223</sup>

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<sup>219</sup> Sa-chen’s visions of Virūpa are also referred to by mKhyen-brtse’i-dbang-phyug (Stearns 2006: 224 f.). In the footnotes (p. 651, no. 288), Stearns dates this event through Mang-thos-klu-grub to 1138, when Sa-chen was forty-six. It caused Sa-chen to compose an eulogy of Virūpa (*Sa-skyapa bKa’ ’bum* 1/1, fols. 1v-3v). Stearns also mentions Glo-bo-mkhan-chen bSod-nams-lhun-grub’s *rGyud sde bdun cu rtsa gnyis kyi dkar chag gsal ba’i sgron me* (NGMPP, L. 102/28) and the *Red Book* as containing references to this close transmission.

<sup>220</sup> Brog-mi met with dPa’-bo-rdorje (Vīravajra), having first met Shānti-pa (Ratnākaraśānti). From dPa’-bo-rdorje he received the initiation into the maṇḍalas of the three Hevajra tantras. He also received from him the teaching instructions of the three tantras and the “*lam ’bras* without the basic text” (Stearns, 2001: 89). Having translated the *Ku mu ti* (#004#) with him, he returned to Tibet.

<sup>221</sup> On this team—the translators of the three Hevajra tantras as we know them today—see Stearns (2001: 53, 56). Ngor-chen’s *Correct System* (5v) remarks that ‘Gos Khugs-pa lHa-btsas, having invited Gayadhara and having received initiation and instruction from him, had also prepared a translation of the three Hevajra tantras: ‘*gos kyi[s] rje btsun ga ya dha ra spyang drangs te ... paṇḍi ta de nyid dang lo paṇ du mdzad nas rgyud gsum gyi ’gyur yang mdzad do*. According to *A-mes-zhabs’ Hevajra Word Commentary* (5v), they “translated the Hevajra basic and *vyākhyā* tantras” (*kyai rdo rje’i rtsa bshad kyi rgyud rnams bsgyur*); it furthermore provides for ‘Gos the alternative name “bSod-nams-rtse-mo(?)”. ‘Gos is also credited there with a translation of mTsho-skyes-rdorje’s *sādhana* (#040#). The *To* catalogue, however, mentions Brog-mi as translator. The colophon of the *sādhana* remains silent about the translators.

<sup>222</sup> On this team, see fn. 78.

<sup>223</sup> This lineage is for example recorded in *A-mes-zhabs’ Hevajra Word Commentary* (7v f.), *A-mes-zhabs’ Hevajra Commentary* (5v f.), *A-mes-zhabs’ “Three Tantras”* (3v ‘og f.), *Ngag-dbang-chos-grags’s Record* (21r f.), and *sByin-pa-grags-pa’s Record* (3v f.). *A-mes-zhabs’ “Three Tantras”* (3v), however, records this as a “close lineage” (*nye brgyud*). The transmission of this lineage included the Hevajra initiation, which Brog-mi received at least twice from Prajñendraruci/dPa’-bo-rdorje. See mKhyen-brtse’i-dbang-phyug (Stearns 2006: 172 f.).

rDo-rje-'chang (Vajradhara)			
bDag-med-ma or Ye-shes-kyi-mkha'-'gro			
Virūpa			
Ḍombīheruka			
Vajrāla			
rDo-rje-nags-khrod-pa			
Garbhari-pa			
bSod-snyoms-pa			
"Jayaśrī" rGyal-ba-dpal-gyi-ye-shes			
Mi-thub-zla-ba / sByangs-dka'-zla-ba / sByangs-dka'-mdzes-pa'i-zhabs			
dPa'-bo-rdo-rje	Seng-ge-rdo-rje	dGra-can-'dzin	
'Brog-mi Shākya-ye-shes (11th c.)			
'Khon dKon-mchog-rgyal-po <sup>224</sup> (1034-1102)	Se-mkhar-chung-ba Kun-rig (late 11th c.)	Khyin Lo-tsā-ba 'Od-kyi-s nang-ba (b. 11th c.) <sup>225</sup>	mNga'-ris-pa gSal- ba'i-snying-po (11th c.)
	'Khon dKon-mchog-rgyal-po (1034-1102)		sGyi-chu-ba dGra- lha-'bar <sup>226</sup> (11th/12th c.)
Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po (1092-1158)			
bSod-nams-rtse-mo (1142-1182)	Zhang Tshul-khrims-grags (b. 11th c.?)	gNyan-phul-phyung-pa gT sug-tor-rgyal- po (12th c.)	

<sup>224</sup> A further alternative transmission is mentioned in *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Commentary* (6r) and *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Word Commentary* (8r), namely from 'Khon to Se-mkhar-chung-ba, to Zhang-ston Chos-'bar (1053-1135), to Sa-chen. For 'Khon teaching Se, see Stearns (2001: 121). For Zhang-ston to Sa-chen, see Stearns (2006: 220 ff.).

<sup>225</sup> For the connection of 'Khon and 'Khyin Lo-tsā-ba, which was short lived due to the Lo-tsā-ba's untimely death, see Stearns (2001: 212), Davidson (2005: 273, 429 n. 103). For more information on 'Kyin a.k.a. 'Tshur a.k.a. sBal-ti Lo-tsā-ba, see Stearns (2001: 230 fn. 106). According to mKhyen-brtse'i-dbang-phyug (Stearns 2006: 184-186), 'Khon dKon-mchog-rgyal-po studied with 'Khyin Lo-tsā-ba before he met 'Brog-mi. He stayed with 'Khyin at sBal-phug monastery, received initiation and studied the basic Hevajra tantra.

<sup>226</sup> This branch is identified in both *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Commentary* (6r) and *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Word Commentary* (8r) as the main branch for the Hevajra tradition of the Sa-skyas. According to *Ngor-chen's Correct System* (8r), mKhan-chen dGe-chu-ba (i.e. sGyi-chu-ba) dGra-lha-'bar slightly extended (*sna yang bsrings*) the interlinear notes (*mchan*) of the three tantras (composed by gSal-ba'i-snying-po) and composed a "commentary on the wrapped [book]" (*thum pa'i tikkā*) of (gSal-ba'i-snying-po's) word commentary on the Hevajratantra (*brtag gnyis*, #001#). See fn. 176, with the reference to the "notes kept in a felt bag," which appear to be the same as this "wrapped book." The notes of the three Hevajra tantras were again slightly extended by Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po and yet again by "the two brothers," i.e. bSod-nams-rtse-mo and Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan. The "explication of the wrapped [book]" (*thum pa'i rnam bshad*) is contained in Kun-dga'-snying-po's *dKa' 'grel man ngag don gsal* (#156#, see p. 52), bSod-nams-rtse-mo's *Nyi ma'i 'od zer* (#157#, see p. 52), and Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan's *Dag ldan* (#147#, see p. 53).

Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (1147-1216)	
Sa-paṅ (1182-1251)	
'Phags-pa (1235-1280)	
dGa'-ldan-pa bKra-shis-dpal (fl. 13th c.)	
Brag-phug-pa bSod-nams-dpaḷ (1277-1346/50)	
dPal-ldan Bla-ma-dam-pa (1312-1375)	Chos-rje Blo-gros-britan-pa (1316-1358)
dPal-ldan-tshul-khrims (1333-1399)	
Shar-chen Ye-shes-rgyal-mtshan (b. 14th c., d. 1406)	
Ngor-chen <sup>227</sup> (1382-1456)	
Mus-chen dKon-mchog-rgyal-mtshan (1388-1469)	Gu-ge Paṅḍi-ta Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (d. 1486)
	↓
rGyal-tshab Kun-dga'-dbang-phyug (1424-1478)	Glo-bo mKhan-chen (1456-1532)
Yongs-'dzin dKon-mchog-'phel <sup>228</sup> (1445-1514)	Sa Lo-tsā-ba <sup>229</sup> (1485-1533)
dKon-mchog-lhun-grub (1497-1557)	
rJe Kun-dga'-mchog-ldan (b. 15th c.)	
Mang-thos Klu-sgrub-rgya-mtsho (1523-1596)	
Ngag-dbang-chos-grags (1572-1641)	
A-mes-zhabs (1597-1659)	

The distant lineage of the oral tradition of the system of the pith instructions of the “three Hevajra tantras” (*rgyud gsum man ngag lugs kyi bshad srol gyi ring brgyud*) looks like this:<sup>230</sup>

rDo-tje-'chang (Vajradhara)
bDag-med-ma or Ye-shes-kyi-mkha'-'gro

<sup>227</sup> *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Word Commentary* (8v) also records a direct transmission from Ngor-chen to rGyal-tshab Kun-dga'-dbang-phyug and an indirect one to Mus-chen via Go-rams-pa.

<sup>228</sup> *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Word Commentary* (9r) also records a transmission from Go-rams-pa.

<sup>229</sup> According to *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Commentary* (6v), a system of the commentaries ('*grel pa lugs*) was passed on from this point onwards in the following manner: Ngag-dbang Kun-dga'-rin-chen-bkra-shis, the two 'Jam-dbyangs brothers (i.e. A-mes-zhabs' father and uncle, Grags-pa-blo-gros, 1563-1617/18?, and bSod-nams-dbang-po), A-mes-zhabs.

<sup>230</sup> See *Ngag-dbang-chos-grags's Record* (22r), *A-mes-zhabs' "Three Tantras"* (3v 'og), *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Commentary* (6v), and *A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Word Commentary* (7v).

Virūpa			
Nag-po (Kāṇha)			
Ḍā-ma-ru-pa			
Avadhūti			
Gayadhara			
‘Brog-mi (11th c.)			
‘Khon dKon-mchog- rgyal-po (1034-1102)	mNga’-ris-pa gSal-ba’i- snying-po	Se-mkhar-chung-ba (late 11th c.)	Khyin Lo-tsā-ba ‘Od- kyi-snang-ba (b. 11th c.)
		Zhang dKon-pa-ba (1240-1307)	
Sa-chen (1092-1158), etc.			

Apart from the distant lineages of the commentaries and pith instructions of Ḍombīheruka and Nag-po (Kāṇha), the lineages of the system of mTsho-skyes-rdo-rje (= A2b) and of Nag-po Dam-tshig-rdo-rje or of his disciple Nag-po Zhi-ba-bzang-po (= A2c) are of particular interest for the Sa-skyapa-s.

<b>mTsho-skyes-rdo-rje’s Hevajra transmission</b> ( <i>Ngag-dbang-chos-grags’s Record, 7r</i> )	The lineage of obtaining the initiation into the maṇḍala of body, speech, and mind of Hevajra according to the system of Nag-po-pa ( <i>Ngag-dbang-chos-grags’s Record, 7v</i> )
rDo-rje-‘chang (Vajradhara)	rDo-rje-‘chang (Vajradhara)
Bi-la-sya Ba-dzra (Vilāsyavajra)	bDag-med-ma (Nairātmya)
Yan-lag-med-pa’i-rdo-rje	Nag-po Dam-tshig-rdo-rje
mTsho-skyes-rdo-rje	Nag-po Zhi-ba-bzang-po
Indrabhūti	‘Gos-khug-pa lHas-btsas (11th c.)
lCam-legs-smin	mNga’-ris-pa gSal-ba’i-snying-po
Nag-po-spyod-pa	‘Khon sGyi-chu-ba Shākya-‘bar = dGra-lha-‘bar (11th/12th c.)
Bram-ze dPal-‘dzin	Sa-chen (1092-1158)
Gayadhara	bSod-nams-rtse-mo (1142-1182)
‘Brog-mi (11th c.)	Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (1147-1216)
Se-mkhar-chung-ba (late 11th c.)	dKar Shākya-grags (b. 13th c.)
Zhang dGon-pa-ba	his nephew: bDe-lung-pa Kun-bzang-dpal (b. 13th c.)
Sa-chen (1092-1158)	Dar-ma-ye-shes (13th c.)

rTa-stag Se-ba Khu-dbon (b. 12th c.)	Bag-ston gZhon-tshul (13th c.)
rGyan-grags (b. 12th c.?)	Tshul-rgyal
dPal Chu-bo Ri-pa (13th c.)	dPal-ldan-don-grub
Zhang dKon-mchog-dpal (1240-1307)	Sa-bzang-'phags-pa (1358-1412/1424)
Brag-phug-pa (1277-1346/50)	Ngor-chen Kun-dga'-bzang-po (1382-1456)
Blo-gros-brtan-pa (1316-1358)	
dPal-ldan-tshul-khrims (1333-1399)	
Ngor-chen Kun-dga'-bzang-po (1382-1456) <sup>231</sup>	

*Nam-mkha'-dpal-bzang's Record* (4v f.) also provides lineages for most of the works of sections A2a-c and the minor works of section A2f. They are, however, only given from Ngor-chen onwards. Before that, the record states “as in other lineages.” I presume that this refers to the lineages above. In detail, the works of section A2a seem to have been transmitted as in the “three Hevajra tantras” lineage (at the beginning of this chapter), because their authors appear in that lineage (Ḍombīheruka, Vajrālala, Garbhari-pa, bSod-snyoms-pa, Mi-thub-zla-ba, and dPa'-bo-rdo-rje). The author of most or all the works of section A2b appears to be mTsho-skyes-rdo-rje and we may safely presume that they were transmitted in “his” lineage (above). Similarly, the works of A2c seem to be related to the initiation lineage of Nag-po-pa (see above). Then all these lineages continue like this:

Ngor-chen (1382-1456)	
Mus-chen dKon-mchog-rgyal-mtshan (1388-1469)	
rGyal-tshab Kun-dga'-dbang-phyug (1424-1478)	
	mKhas-grub dPal-rdor (b. 15th c.)
'Dren-mchog dKon-mchog-'phel-ba (1445-1514)	
Chos-rje dGe-legs-bshes-gnyen	
rJe Shes-rab-rgyal-mtshan (b. 16th c.)	
Thar-rtse-nas Nam-mkha'-dpal-bzang (1532-1602)	
A-mes-zhabs	

<sup>231</sup> According to mKhyen-brtse'i-dbang-phyug (Stearns 2006: 241 f.), dPal-ldan-tshul-khrims died before the period of eighteen years after receiving the *Lam 'bras*. Apart from the Hevajra initiation and some minor instructions he was not able to pass on the complete Path with Its Fruit instructions. Ngor-chen therefore went to receive these from the master Buddha Shīrī.



Nāgārjuna  
miniature from the manuscripts  
of A-mes-zhabs' works  
vol. *dza*, no. 4, fol. 1v left



## Part II

### The Path with Its Fruit (*lam 'bras*) literature of India and Tibet as seen through the eyes of A-mes-zhabs

With *Part II* I am attempting to map out a cycle of literature known as the Path with Its Fruit (*lam 'bras*). Today, the Sa-skyapa tradition is famous for its transmission of the *lam 'bras* teachings, but when the transmission arrived in Tibet in the early 11th century, the Sa-skyapas had not even formed as such. The cycle is based on Virūpa's "stages of the path"-like teaching *rDo rje tshig rkang* (#275#), a recapitulation of the teachings tradition claims he had received from the goddess Nairātmyā, the consort of Hevajra. What precious little is known about its early transmission in India and even in Tibet, and its early history within the Sa-skyapa lineage, has been studied and analyzed by Stearns (2001) and Davidson (2005).<sup>232</sup>

My approach to the *lam 'bras* literature is based on the title lists (*dkar chag*) of the central volumes of this cycle of teachings, and on the writings and records of teachings of A-mes-zhabs. The earliest title list is one for the so-called "Yellow Book" (*pod ser ma*).<sup>233</sup> The *Yellow Book* at first contained the *rDo rje tshig rkang* together with a number of the early writings by Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po (and Phag-mo-gru-pa, see Stearns, 2001: 26-32). The name of the collection derives from the fact that the texts were wrapped in yellow cloth during the first part of rJe-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan's life (1147- 1216).<sup>234</sup> The *Yellow Book Title List* for the early works and those works which were added to the volume by bSod-nams-rtse-mo and Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan was composed by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan between 1212 and 1216 (Stearns, 2001: 32 f.). A collection of minor *lam 'bras* teachings is the so-called "(Little) Red Book" (*pod dmar ma* or *pusti dmar chung*). The book contains works of authors from Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po (1092-1158) to Ngor-chen Kun-dga'-bzang-po (1382-1457). It was compiled by Ngor-chen and its title list was composed by his nephew rGyal-tshab Kun-dga'-dbang-phyug (1424-1478).<sup>235</sup> Still another collection of *lam 'bras* teachings is the *Black Book* (*pod nag ma*). It contains the writings of Bla-ma-dam-pa bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan (1312-1375). The volume comprises no title list.<sup>236</sup> Another major source for a study of the *lam 'bras* literature are the records of teachings of A-mes-zhabs. Here, in *Part II*, I will present the title lists of the *Yellow* and *Red Book* and explain their structure with the help of title lists and notes in A-mes-zhabs' records of teachings and through some passages of his Path with Its Fruit-writings.

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<sup>232</sup> Davidson (2005, Appendix 2) offers a translation and edition of the *rDo rje tshig rkang* and some remarks (pp. 183-194). Another translation by Stearns can be found in his *Taking the Result as the Path: Core Teachings of the Sakya Lamdre Tradition*, Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2006.

<sup>233</sup> The title list of the *Yellow Book* is contained in *Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series* 11, 1r-4v.

<sup>234</sup> For the origin of the *Yellow Book*, see, for example, *A-mes-zhabs' Transmission and Summary* 138r/v.

<sup>235</sup> The title list of the *Red Book* is contained in *Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series* 13, 1r-3r. See also pp. 103 ff.

<sup>236</sup> The *Black Book* is contained in *Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series* 16.



'Phags-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan  
miniature from the manuscripts  
of A-mes-zhabs' works  
vol. *tsha*(b), no. 23, fol. 1v left

## Chapter 1

### The title list of the *Yellow Book* (*pod ser ma*)

The title of the *Yellow Book Title List* is: *Title List of the volume that clarifies the meaning of the precious teaching, the Path with Its Fruit.*<sup>237</sup> In the beginning of the text, Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan remarks that the teachings that were given in addition to the “basic vajra utterances” (*rtsa ba rdo rje 'i tshig* = Virūpa’s *rDo rje tshig rkang*) and the minor teachings that issued from these (*de las 'phros te cung cad gsungs pa rnams*) were at an earlier time without texts (*sngar yi ge med*). Later, however, having in mind the faith, endeavors, and benefit of beings, and being requested by the disciples with keen faculties, Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po put them in writing. Thus all of the teachings of the *Yellow Book*, including perhaps the *rDo rje tshig rkang*, were transmitted orally until the time of Sa-chen.<sup>238</sup> The title list, he continues, was composed in order to prevent any deletions and additions of texts in this volume.

#### (a) Preliminaries (*sngon 'gro*) of the actual path (*dnegos gzhi*): Biographies of masters, preliminary teachings and rituals in the *Yellow Book*

Before we analyze the title list of the *Yellow* and *Red Book*, etc., let us have a short look at the transmission of the Path with Its Fruit teachings as presented in the records of teachings of A-mes-zhabs. From a certain point onwards, it seems to have been the tradition among Sa-skyapa masters to transmit the *lam 'bras* in a prescribed manner, namely in the context of preceding instructions and reading transmissions and accompanying initiations. Accordingly, at the three occasions when A-mes-zhabs received the detailed teachings of the Path with Its Fruit, one important part of the preliminaries consisted of instructions on the so-called “three appearances” (*snang ba gsum*).<sup>239</sup> In later times and in the context of the “public teaching” (*tshogs bshad*) of the Path with Its Fruit, the main means for imparting these instructions was dKon-mchog-lhun-grub’s *sNang gsum mdzes pa 'i rgyan*, composed in 1543, which A-mes-zhabs received from his uncle bSod-nams-dbang-po and his principal teacher Mus-chen Sangs-rgyas-rgyal-mtshan.<sup>240</sup> It was customary that these instructions were furthermore accompanied by reading transmissions for a great number of biographies of *lam 'bras* masters. I have located fifty titles of biographies in the records of teachings. Those twenty-eight works from among these biographies that do not appear in the Indian edition of the *Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series* or the collected works of the former Sa-skyapa masters (*Sa-skyapa bKa' 'bum*) have already been presented elsewhere.<sup>241</sup> For the sake of completeness, below I will list the twenty-two works that can be found in the standard publications:

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<sup>237</sup> In Tibetan: *gSung ngag rin po che lam 'bras bu dang bcas pa 'i don gsal bar byed pa 'i glegs bam gyi dkar chag*, see bibliography.

<sup>238</sup> Cf. Stearns (2001: 9-16, 32 f.).

<sup>239</sup> The *lam 'bras* teachings were mainly transmitted to A-mes-zhabs by his uncle bSod-nams-dbang-po and his principal teachers Mus-chen Sangs-rgyas-rgyal-mtshan and Ngag-dbang-chos-grags. For the instructions of the “three appearances” preceding the actual teachings, see *bSod-nams-dbang-po's Record* (6v), *Mus-chen's Record* (12v), and *Ngag-dbang-chos-grags's Record* (13r). The “three appearances” is an instruction based on the very beginning of the *lam 'bras* basic text, the *rDo rje tshig rkang*. For the “three appearances,” see for example Davidson 2005: 477, and Lobsang Dagpa, Ngawang Samten Chopel, Jared Rhoton (trls., 1987) *The Beautiful Ornament of the Three Visions*, Golden Vase Publications, Singapore. See also p. 114.

<sup>240</sup> The full title is: *Lam 'bras bu dang bcas pa 'i gdams ngag gi gzhi shing rgyas pa gzhi lta ba bzhin bkri ba 'i lam gyi sngon 'gro 'i khrid yig snang gsum mdzes par byed pa 'i rgyan* (#486#).

<sup>241</sup> Sobisch (2002: 170-177).

- (1) *dPal sa skya pa chen po kun dga' snying po'i rnam thar* (#619#) by rJe-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan. A biography of Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po. In *Sa-skyapa bKa' 'bum*, the title is “*Bla ma sa skya chen po'i rnam thar*.”
- (2) *rJe btsun rtse mo'i rnam thar tshangs spyod ma* (#620#) by rJe-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan. A biography of bSod-nams-rtse-mo, beginning with the words “*tshangs par spyod pa*” (no title is given in *Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series*).
- (3) (*rJe btsun rtse mo'i rnam thar*) *mchan ma* (#621#) by rJe-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan.<sup>242</sup> A biography of bSod-nams-rtse-mo. It is listed in the *Yellow Book Title List* as the *Slob dpon rin po che'i rnam thar* and contains additional notes (*mchan bu*).
- (4) *rJe btsun gyi rnam thar mnal lam ma* (#622#) by sBal-ston Seng-ge-rgyal-mtshan. A biographic account of rJe-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan based on Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan's description of dreams that have occurred throughout his life. This work is ascribed to a Bandhe gShin-rje Grags (12/13th c.).<sup>243</sup>
- (5) *Bla ma rje btsun chen po'i rnam thar* (#623#) by Sa-pan Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan. A biography of rJe-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan. Composed in 1216, see Jackson (1987: 63).
- (6) *Chos rje'i sa paṅ gyi rnam thar bsodus pa* (#624#) by 'Phags-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan. A biography of Sa-pan Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan.
- (7) *dPal ldan sa skya paṅḍi ta'i rnam thar* (#625#) by lHo-pa Rin-chen-dpal.<sup>244</sup> A biography of Sa-pan Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan.
- (8) *Bla ma dam pa chos kyi rgyal po rin po che'i rnam par thar pa rin po che'i phreng ba* (#626#) by Shar-chen Ye-shes-rgyal-mtshan. A biography of 'Phags-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan, composed, according to its colophon, in 1403.
- (9) *Nyan chen pa bsod nams brtan pa'i rnam thar* (#627#) by dKar-po Brag-pa Rin-chen-seng-ge. A biography of Nyan-chen-pa bSod-nams-brtan-pa (b. 13th c.), “arranged by Ratna Siddhi,” for which read “Ratna Simha” (=Rin-chen-seng-ge).<sup>245</sup>

<sup>242</sup> The author is given in the records of teachings simply as “rJe-pa.” *Mus-chen's Record* (12v) probably refers to the same biography: *rJe btsun rtse mo'i rnam thar bstod pa mchan bu dang bcas pa rje pas mdzad pa*. Here internal evidence seems to suggest that “rJe-pa” is indeed Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (who is otherwise more often referred to as “rJe-btsun”): The same list contains a biography of “Chos-rje-pa” by lHo-pa Kun-mkhyen (i.e. Rin-chen-dpal), thus “Chos-rje-pa” must be Sa-pan (on lHo-pa, see fn. 244). Another item of that list is a biography of “rJe-pa” by “Chos-rje-pa” (i.e. Sa-pan). This is the biography on Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan by Sa-pan and thus “rJe-pa” is standing for “Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan.”

Stearns (2001: 201, n. 323) notes the following common respectful pseudonyms for the earlier Sa-skyapa masters: Kun-dga'-snying-po = Sa-chen, Sa-skyapa-chen-po, or brTse-ba-chen-po; bSod-nams-rtse-mo = Slob-dpon Rin-po-che; Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan = rJe-btsun, rJe-pa or occasionally Sa-skyapa-chen-po; Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan = Sa-skyapaṅḍita (or: Sa-pan), Chos-rje, Bla-ma 'Jam-pa'i-dbyangs, or in the earliest sources, Lo-tsā-ba-chen-po; Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan = 'Phags-pa, Chos-kyi-rgyal-po, and 'Gro-mgon.

<sup>243</sup> On Bandhe gShin-rje Grags being a disciple of Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, see Stearns (2001: 20). See also *Mth* (131), according to which he was also a direct disciple of Sa-chen.

<sup>244</sup> lHo-pa Rin-chen-dpal was a direct disciple of Sa-pan. Apart from this biography and the notes on Sa-pan's *brDa don gsal ba* (#385#), his main surviving work is the *Legs par bshad pa rin po che gter dang 'grel pa*, see *TBRC W20459*.

<sup>245</sup> For an autobiography of dKar-po Brag-pa, see *TBRC W16488*, which is probably the same as no. 14 below (#632#). dKar-po Brag-pa received *lam 'bras* teachings from sGang-ston Shes-rab-bla-ma, who was known under a number of names, such as sGang-ston Sher-'bum, Gye-re sGang-ston, and sNar-thang sGang-ston. His disciple was dPal-ldan-tshul-khrims. sGang-ston's teacher was Sa-pan's disciple dMar-ston Chos-kyi-rgyal-po (ca. 1198-1259). See Stearns (2001: 71 and 198, n. 305).

- (10) *Zhang dkon mchog dpal ba'i rnam thar* (#628#) by dPal-ldan-tshul-khrims.<sup>246</sup> A biography of Zhang dKon-mchog-dpal (1240-1307), who had followed 'Phags-pa almost all the way to China to receive the oral instructions of Lam 'bras and eventually became his chief spiritual son (Stearns 2006: 239 f.).
- (11) *rGyal ba brag phug pa'i rnam thar* (#629#) by Ri-khrod-pa Blo-gros-brtan-pa (1316-1358). A biography of Brag-phug-pa bSod-nams-dpal (1277-1346/50). According to the colophon, written in 1351. Brag-phug-pa received the Path with Its Fruit transmission from 'Phags-pa, Yon-tan-dpal (another disciple of Sa-pan), and Tshogs-sgom (an attendant of Sa-pan for thirteen years). The first two transmissions were passed down to him through Zhang dKon-mchog-dpal and Rwa-gnyis-pa rGyal-ba-rin-chen (and Zhang). Tshogs-sgom's transmission was handed down to him by Nyan-chen bSod-nams-brtan-pa (1222-1317). See mKhyen-brtse'i-dbang-phyug (Stearns 2006: 240): “Even to the present day, all major and minor points of the practice are judged according to whether they existed or not in [his] time.” His disciples were Bla-ma-dam-pa bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan and Ri-khrod-pa Blo-gros-brtan-pa.
- (12) *dPal ldan bla ma dam pa bsod nams rgyal mtshan gyi rnam par thar pa* (#630#) by dPal-ldan-tshul-khrims. A biography of Bla-ma-dam-pa bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan (1312-1375).<sup>247</sup>
- (13) *Ri khrod pa chen po blo gros brtan pa'i rnam thar* (#631#) by dPal-ldan-tshul-khrims. A biography of Ri-khrod-pa Blo-gros-brtan-pa (1316-1358).
- (14) *Shangs kyi bla ma chos rje rin seng ba'i rnam thar* (#632#) by dKar-po Brag-pa Rin-chen-seng-ge himself (see above, no. 9).
- (15) *Bla ma dam pa dpal ldan tshul khrims pa'i rnam thar* (#633#) by Mus-chen dKon-mchog-rgyal-mtshan (1388-1469).<sup>248</sup> A biography of dPal-ldan-tshul-khrims (1333-1399). According to the colophon “abbreviated from the biography of this Guru by Buddha Shri” (1339-1419). dPal-ldan-tshul-khrims received the Path with Its Fruit teachings from Bla-ma-dam-pa bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan and from Ri-khrod-pa Blo-gros-brtan-pa.
- (16) *Grub chen buddha shri'i rnam thar* (#634#) by Ngor-chen Kun-dga'-bzang-po. A biography of Buddha Shri (the disciple of dPal-ldantshul-khrims). According to the colophon, composed in Sa-skya.
- (17) *sNyig dus kyi rdo rje 'chang chen po chos kyi rje kun dga' bzang po'i rnam par thar pa mdor bsodus pa* (#635#) by Mus-chen dKon-mchog-rgyal-mtshan. A biography of Ngor-chen Kun-dga'-bzang-po. According to the colophon, composed in 1457 in Sa-skya. According to *bSod-nams-dbang-po's Record*, *Mus-chen's Record*, and *Ngag-dbang-chos-grags's Record*, there existed a supplement (or supplements, *kha skongs*). An additional note in *Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series* after the colophon says: “If the biographies of this [master] by Gu-ge Paṅ-chen (Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan) and Ye-chen-po (Ye-shes-grags) are found, they must be inserted here.”
- (18) *Mus chen gyi rnam thar kha skongs dang bcas pa* (#636#) by Go-rams-pa bSod-nams-seng-ge. Title in *Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series: rJe btsun bla ma mus pa chen po'i*

<sup>246</sup> See *TBRC W18652*, where the author (P5307) is given as “dPal-ldan.”

<sup>247</sup> Another biography is mentioned in *Nyi-lde-ba's dKar chag* (150v), authored by Lo-tsā-ba Byang-chub-rtse-mo (1303-1388). See for this biography *TBRC W14365* (=Lokesh Chandra's *Materials* 10924).

<sup>248</sup> Other works of Mus-chen dKon-mchog-rgyal-mtshan include a *Blo sbyong legs bam* (*TBRC W23164*) and a biography of Ngor-chen Kun-dga'-bzang-po, for which see below, no. 17.

*rnam par thar pa ngo mtshar rgya mtsho*. According to the colophon, composed in 1465, with a posthumous supplement. This is the *rJe btsun bla ma mus pa chen po'i rnam par thar pa ngo mtshar chu rgyun* (#637#).

- (19) *Tshogs bsgom pa'i rnam thar* (#638#). Tshogs-sgom Kun-dga'-dpal (1210-1307) was a disciple of Sa-paṅ. According to evidence unearthed by Stearns (2001: 77), the author must be Tshogs-sgom's disciple gNyag sNying-po-rgyal-mtshan (ca. late 1200s/early 1300s).<sup>249</sup> According to *bSod-nams-dbang-po's Record* and *Mus-chen's Record* (13r), it was "summarized from the *lo rgyus* composed by Bar-ston" (Bar-ston rDo-rje-rgyal-mtshan, mid 1300s).<sup>250</sup> This *lo rgyus* must be the text usually known as the *Zhib mo rnam dag*, presently unavailable, probably a history of the Path with Its Fruit teachings in both India and Tibet and perhaps an expansion or having some relationship to the *Zhib mo rdo rje* (#534#) of dMar-ston Chos-kyi-rgyal-po (ca. 1198-1259), for which see Stearns (2001). There exists an anonymous biography of Tshogs-bsgom in *Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series*. Its author must be gNyags sNying-po-rgyal-mtshan, the teacher of Bar-ston mentioned above. Such a work of gNyags is referred to (among many others) in the *mDo smad chos 'byung* (Kansu'u mi rigs dpe skrun khang, Lanzhou 1982, p. 10); see Stearns (2001: 76 f.). The authorship of gNyags sNying-po-rgyal-mtshan is also confirmed through *Ngag-dbang-chos-grags's Record* (13r/v), where the work is mentioned with this author.

Let me also, for the sake of completeness, mention three pre-17th century works that are contained in *Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series*, but do not appear in A-mes-zhabs' records of teachings.

- (20) *Chos rje sa skya paṅdi ta'i rnam thar* (#639#) by Yar-klungs-pa Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan. Jackson (1987: 17) says: "[It] is also a versified eulogy, though much longer and with many more details. Its proper title seems to be *Chos kyi rje sa skya paṅdita kun dga' rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po la bstod pa*. More than half its length was devoted to telling of Sa-paṅ's last years and death. Its author appears to have been a disciple of Sa-paṅ, though this is not definitely established." And in a note (p. 33, no. 6) he adds: "The colophon ascribes this work to Yar-klungs-pa Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, though the colophon itself was probably added later by someone else (it uses the honorific verb *mdzad* with reference to the author). In the colophon, this work is specified as being the "medium" (*bar pa*) version. However, Sangs-rgyas-phun-tshogs (1649-1705) ... attributes a "brief" (*bsdus pa*) version to Yar-klungs-pa Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, while stating that the extensive versified biography (*rnam thar tshigs bcaḍ ma rgyas pa*) was by Yar-klungs-pa Byang-chub-rgyal-mtshan (b. 12th/13th c.)." To this account we can only add the observation that this particular biography of Sa-paṅ of uncertain authorship has not been part of the *lam 'bras* tradition handed down to A-mes-zhabs by his uncle. It may have been inserted into the tradition even after Sangs-rgyas-phun-tshogs (1649-1705), who was active in the decades after A-mes-zhabs.

- (21) *Sa skya paṅdi ta kun dga' rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po'i rnam par thar pa bskal pa bzang po'i legs lam* (#640#) by Ngag-dbang-'jig-rten-dbang-phyug-grags-pa (1542-

<sup>249</sup> For gNyag sNying-po-rgyal-mtshan, see TBRC P4454.

<sup>250</sup> According to *Khenpo Appey's Bibliography* Bar-ston rDo-rje-rgyal-mtshan was a disciple of gNyags sNying-po-rgyal-mtshan (ca. late 1200s/early 1300s), who in turn was a disciple of Tshogs-sgom Kun-dga'-dpal (1210-1307), see *Mang-thos Klu-sgrub's bsTan rtsis* 182.

1625?, written in a *sa-yos* year, i.e. in 1579, in the palace of Rin-chen-spungs-pa). This is a very long work in verse with small explanatory notes (*mchan bu*). According to the date of its composition, it was composed when A-mes-zhabs' uncle, bSod-nams-dbang-po, was twenty, forty-two years before his passing in 1621. Although Rin-spungs, half-way on the road to Lhasa, was not too far away from Sa-skya, the book might not have been in circulation at that time; at least it was (obviously) not yet part of the *lam 'bras* tradition handed down in Sa-skya. It is, by the way, also mentioned in *Khenpo Appey's Bibliography* with the remark “versified and composed by Rin-spungs Ngag-dbang-‘jigs(!)-bral(!)” (*snyan mngags(!) su sdebs te mtshan sbyar ba*).

(22) *Kun dga' bzang po'i rnam thar legs bshad chu bo 'dus pa'i rgya mtsho* (#641#) by dPal-ldan-don-grub.

As I have already mentioned, the reading transmissions for fifty biographies accompanied the instructions of the “three appearances” that were based on dKon-mchog-lhun-grub's treatise.<sup>251</sup> At this stage of the teachings, bSod-nams-dbang-po also bestowed Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan's *Fifty Verses on Guru Devotion*<sup>252</sup> and a ritual for the production of the resolve for awakening.<sup>253</sup> When Ngag-dbang-chos-grags conferred the instructions of the “three appearances,” he additionally transmitted an unspecified *brGyud pa'i lo rgyus* and a “*Tshad ma snyan brgyud bzhi(?)*,” and a method for the production of the resolve for awakening that involved a maṇḍala of five heaps, combining both lineages. After these instructions were completed, bSod-nams-dbang-po and Ngag-dbang-chos-grags conferred a number of initiations and blessings.<sup>254</sup> Ngag-dbang-chos-grags added also the systematic elucidation of root and branch transgressions of mantra through the *rTsa ltung 'khrul spong* (#324#).

### (b) The “extensive path” of the *lam 'bras* teachings

The first part of the *Yellow Book* comprises according to its title list (3r) the “extensive path” (*lam rgyas pa*). This path is represented by some thirty-four books: The basic text “*rDo rje tshig rkang*” (#275#), its commentary, namely the *gNyags ma* (#284#), the twenty-three clarifications of the *gNyags ma* (#288#-#309#), and nine of the seventeen texts that issued from the basic text (#310#-#319#). Apart from the *gNyags ma*, Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po is said to have composed ten further commentaries of the *rDo rje tshig rkang*.<sup>255</sup> Even though from among these eleven commentaries only the *gNyags ma* is included within the *Yellow Book*, let me list all of them here, based on a mnemonic verse as found in *A-mes-zhabs' Transmission and Summary* (117r):

(1) *A seng* (2) *Zla rgyal* (3) *lDan bu dang*,

<sup>251</sup> See above, fn. 240.

<sup>252</sup> *Bla ma bsten pa'i thabs shlo ka lnga bcu pa* (#642#) by rJe-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan. According to *Mus-chen's Record*, A-mes-zhabs also received an annotated version of the *Shlo ka lnga cu pa* (#643#) by mKhan-chen Legs-'byung and a “*bKa' 'gre!*” by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (#644#). There also exists a commentary by Tshar-chen Blo-gsal-rgya-mtsho (#688#).

<sup>253</sup> This ritual is described as “a ritual for the production of the resolve that is a preliminary of the initiation transmitted by both lineages.” A *dBang gi sngon 'gro'i sems bskyed* (#645#) is mentioned in the title list of dKon-mchog-lhun-grub's collected works (*Kun-dga'-don-grub's Record* 71v). See also the *brGyud pa'i khyad par gnyis ldan sems bskyed kyi cho ga dam pa'i bzhed srol sems nyid ngal bso* by Ngag-dbang-chos-grags (#690#).

<sup>254</sup> The notes on the initiations and blessings to be bestowed in *Mus-chen's Record* (13v ff.) appear to be the most detailed. See also *bSod-nams-dbang-po's Record* (7r-v) and *Ngag-dbang-chos-grags's Record* (13v). Cf. also *Mus-chen's Record* (21v-26r), with descriptions of the ritual duties during the transmission of the *lam 'bras* teachings.

<sup>255</sup> For these eleven writings, see Stearns (2001: 18-24), Davidson (2005: 303-311).

- (4) *Yum don* (5) *Klog skya* (6) *sGa theng* (7) *Zhu*,,  
 (8) *Sras don* (9) *Jo mo* (10) *Zangs ri phug*,,  
 (11) *gNyags ma dang ni bcu gcig go*,,

These eleven commentaries are listed and briefly described by Stearns (2001: 18-24) so that it suffices here to state only some basic facts:

- (1) The *A seng ma* (#276#). This work is a summary (*bsdus don*) or outline of one part of the *rDo rje 'i tshig rkang ma* (#275#) and is known by this title because it was requested from Sa-chen by A-seng rDo-rje-brtan-pa (as is also stated in the colophon) in 1141. It is also known as the “*Thams cad kyi don bsdus pa 'i tshigs su bcad pa*” and “*Lam 'bras mdor bsdus ma*,” see Stearns (2001: 255, n. 237; 2006: 225). This short clarification has twenty verses. For sub-commentaries by sPru-lung-pa Kun-smon (b. 12th c.)<sup>256</sup> and Go-rams-pa, see Stearns (2001: 18, 177, n. 56). The *A seng ma* did not belong to the earliest form of the *Yellow Book*; Stearns (2001: 33). Its transmission is unbroken to the present day.
- (2) The *Zla rgyal ma* (#277#), composed for the master Byang-sems Zla-ba-rgyal-mtshan, a disciple of Sa-chen and teacher of Phag-mo-gru-pa rDo-rje-rgyal-po (1110-1170; Stearns, 2001: 20).
- (3) The *lDan bu ma* (#278#). Taught by Sa-chen to Jo-gdan lDan-bu from Sindhi in India or Ceylon (Stearns, 2001: 20 f.).<sup>257</sup>
- (4) The *Yum don ma* (#279#). Composed for Sa-chen's first wife, Ma-gcig bTsad-tsha (Stearns, 2006: 226).
- (5) The *Klog skya ma* (#280#). Composed for Klog-skya Jo-sras Chos-grags (12th c.; Stearns, 2001: 21).
- (6) The *sGa theng ma* (#281#). Composed for a man called sGa or rGa-theng (from Khams). Phag-mo-gru-pa's *Lam 'bras gzhung bshad dpe mdzod ma* (collected works 4, 13v-155v) and the surviving *sGa theng ma* are “absolutely identical” (Stearns 2001: 30). Beyond that Stearns was recently able to establish on the basis of quotes found in some texts that “it now seems fairly certain that it is the *sGa theng ma* that has survived under both names, and that the *dPe mdzod ma* has been lost.”<sup>258</sup>
- (7) The *Zhu byas ma* (#282#). Composed for the master Zhu-byas dNgos-grub (Stearns, 2001: 21). On Zhu-byas, see Stearns (2006: 228 ff.).
- (8) The *Sras don ma* (#283#). The most detailed of the eleven commentaries. According to one tradition, it was composed for the spiritual son gNyan-phul-byung-ba gTsug-gtor-rgyal-po, according to another tradition for Sa-chen's actual sons bSod-nams-rtse-mo

<sup>256</sup> According to new research by Stearns (personal communication), at least one copy of Spru-lung-pa's commentary has survived.

<sup>257</sup> This work is not mentioned in mKhyen-brtse'i-dbang-phyug's account (Stearns 2006: 226 f.). But see there p. 227, mentioning the Ceylonese sthavira arhat who achieved sublime attainment after six months through Sa-chen's teachings.

<sup>258</sup> Communication of September 2003. Davidson (2005: 308) doubts this and suggests that Sa-chen gave Phag-mo-gru-pa the text earlier and when Sa-chen's version was lost, Phag-mo-gru-pa's copy came in handy to replace it. On the other hand, he observes in a previous paragraph that the *sGa theng ma* is, among other things, the most curious text among the commentaries, the least classical and the most colloquial in style. It is in fact interesting that the *bKa' brgyud gser phreng*, as Davidson notes, states that the *Lam 'bras dpe mdzod ma* was given to Phag-mo-gru-pa by Sa-chen, but this is an extremely brief passage (less than half a line), bare of further context, and Stearns has already presented detailed and contextualized passages from works of the Sa-skyapa and other traditions, according to which Phag-mo-gru-pa's *Lam 'bras* composition was the result of Sa-chen's teachings. That Phag-mo-gru-pa received the *Lam 'bras* teachings from Sa-chen is undisputed.



and Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan and edited by gNyan-phul-byung-ba; see Stearns (2001: 22 f.; 2006: 226) and Davidson (2005: 308 f., 337). Its transmission is unbroken to the present day.

- (9) The *gNyags ma* (#284#). The last composed of the eleven commentaries was a work that Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan describes as a “small authoritative text having vast meaning” (*gzhung nyung la don rgyas pa*). Sa-chen himself had said that on this occasion (i.e. with regard to the *gNyags ma*) the clarification of unclear points is to be known directly from the teacher.<sup>259</sup> Even though these were only nine points, the further clarifying writings number twenty-three. The *gNyags ma* itself together with these twenty-three further clarifications and still ten further texts, i.e. together thirty-four works. are according to Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan to be included in the *Yellow Book* (for which, see below). The title “*gNyags ma*” derives from the name of the teacher for whom the work was composed, i.e. gNyags gZhi-ra-ba dBang-phyug-rgyal-mtshan (12th c.). The explanation of this text was unbroken from Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan and Sa-paṅ’s time down to A-mes-zhabs (see Stearns, 2001: 23 f.), and it continues to be so to the present day. Ngag-dbang-chos-grags, one of A-mes-zhabs’ teachers, composed an elucidation of the intention of Bar-ston rDo-rje-rgyal-mtshan’s commentary on the *gNyags ma*. Its full title is given in *Ngag-dbang-chos-grags’s Record* (80r), as *Lam ‘bras rdo rje tshig gi ‘grel pa gnyag ma’i dgongs don gsal bar byed pa gsung ngag bstan pa’i nyin byed*. Bar-ston’s notes survive within A-mes-zhabs’ works, vol. *ba*, no. 10. A-mes-zhabs finished “slightly unfinished sections in the last part.” A translation of the *gNyags ma* by Cyrus Stearns was published in the *Institute of Tibetan Classics* volume of *lam ‘bras* texts.<sup>260</sup>
- (10) The *Jo mo ‘a ‘u ma* (#285#). Also referred to as *Jo ‘bum ma* and *Mang chung ma*. Composed for the “howling lady” from g.Ya-lung (Stearns, 2001: 23, 176, n. 49).<sup>261</sup>
- (11) The *Bande ma* (#286#). Composed for Bandhe gShin-rje Grags (Stearns, 2001: 20). This work is not mentioned in *A-mes-zhabs’ Transmission and Summary* (117r).<sup>262</sup> Instead it mentions
- (12) the (*b*)*Zang ri phug ma* (#287#). For the including and excluding of this work from the lists of the eleven commentaries, see Stearns (2001: 25, 180, n. 104). It was composed for the spiritual friend bZang-ri-phug-pa (Stearns 2006: 226).

### (c) The support (*rgyab rten*) for the actual path: the basic texts in the *Yellow Book*

Let us now turn to the clarifications of *gNyags ma* (#284#) and the works that issued from the basic text, i.e. the *rDo rje tshig rkang* (#275#). As mentioned above, according to Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, thirty-four works are to be included in the *Yellow Book*: the *gNyags ma* itself together with twenty-three further clarifications together with ten still further texts:<sup>263</sup>

<sup>259</sup> *Sa skya Lam ‘bras Literature Series* 11, 2r: ‘di’i bar skabs mi gsal ba gsal bar byed pa la, zhal las shes so zhes smos pa.

<sup>260</sup> Cyrus Stearns (trsl., 2006) *Taking the Result As the Path: Core Teachings of the Sakya Lamdre Tradition*, Boston: Wisdom Publications.

<sup>261</sup> According to mKhyen-brtse’i-dbang-phyug’s account (Stearns 2006: 226 f.), there were two works for two different ladies, i.e. Mang-chung and ‘A-‘u. On the lady Mang-chung, see also Stearns (2006: 231).

<sup>262</sup> It is also not mentioned in mKhyen-brtse’i-dbang-phyug’s account (Stearns 2006: 226 f.).

<sup>263</sup> *Yellow Book Title List* (3r).

- (1) (*gZhung bshad*) *gnyags ma* (#284#) by Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po. This was the last of Sa-chen's eleven commentaries and incorporates extensive annotations in the extant edition (Stearns 2001: 23 f.).

The modern Indian edition (*Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series*) also contains the basic text, the *bsTan bcos rdo rje tshig rkang* (#275#) itself (even though such an inclusion is not explicitly indicated in Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan's *Yellow Book Title List*):

- (2) *bsTan bcos rdo rje tshig rkang* (#275#) by Virūpa, i.e. the *Lam 'bras bu dang bcas pa'i gdams ngag dang man ngag tu bcas pa*. According to the tradition, the teaching was transmitted orally until the time of Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po, who wrote it down in 1141. 'Brog-mi, the translator, memorized the verses in Sanskrit and spoke it in Tibetan to his disciples. See Stearns (2001: 9 ff.). After the text itself follows an anonymous layout of topics (*sa bcad*, #646#), which is ascribed in *Nyi-lde-ba's dKar chag* (295) to Sa-chen himself. A translation of the *rDo rje tshig rkang* by Cyrus Stearns will be published in the *Institute of Tibetan Classics* volume of *lam 'bras* texts.

**(d) The twenty-three further clarifications in the *Yellow Book***

The following is the standard list of the twenty-three further texts that issued from the basic text.<sup>264</sup> These twenty-three are sometimes broken down into two, i.e. the twenty-two clarifications and one summary (the *A seng ma*). In *A-mes-zhabs' Transmission and Summary* (139v) they are divided up into three sections: (1) '*Khor 'das thun mong ba'i [lam]*', (2) '*Jig rten pa'i lam*', and (3) '*Das pa'i lam*'. The first seventeen titles belong to the first section:

- (1) *Kun gzhi rgyu rygud* (#288#) by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan.  
 (2) *gDan stsogs kyi yi ge* (#289#) by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan.  
 (3) (*Lam la sogs pa'i chos nyi shu la*) *lus kyi dkyil 'khor* (#290#). Also referred to as "*Nang dkyil*" (*A-mes-zhabs' Transmission and Summary* 139v). A visualization of the body as the maṇḍala.  
 (4) *Bum dbang gi 'da' ka ma'i skabs su 'chi ltas, 'khrul 'khor, 'chi bslu ba dang bcas pa* (#291#) by rJe-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan.  
 (5) *Bum dbang gi snang ba bsgyur ba'i 'da' ka ma* (#292#). A text concerning the vase initiation.  
 (6) *gSang dbang gi skabs su thig le'i rnal 'byor bzhi* (#293#). A text concerning the secret initiation.  
 (7) *Shes rab ye shes kyi phyag rgya'i mtshan nyid* (#294#). A text concerning the characteristics of the consort in the context of the insight-gnosis initiation.  
 (8) *dBang bzhi pa'i 'da' ka ma dang, bum dbang dang thun mong du yi ges sgo dgag pa dang bcas pa* (#295#), title on fol. 74v. A text mainly concerned with the fourth initiation. These four texts contain the first remarks on specific practices in conjunction with the four initiations within the *lam 'bras* tradition of the Sa-skya-pas; see Stearns (2001: 13) and Davidson (2005: 312).  
 (9) *Bar do bzhi pa'i gdams ngag* (#296#). A text concerning the fourth *bar do*, i.e. the intermediate state.

<sup>264</sup> The same list of works appears also in Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan's *Yellow Book Title List*, in *A-mes-zhabs' A-mes-zhabs' Transmission and Summary* (117v and 139v), and in the modern Indian edition of the *Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series* (vol. 11).

- (10) *Lam dus kyi dbang (rgyas 'bring bsdus gsum) (#297#)* by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan. In *Mus-srad-pa's Tho yig* (151v), a *Lam dus kyi dbang chög* is attributed to Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po as being one of his four “blessing-scriptures” (*byin rlabs kyi yi ge*).
- (11) *Tshad ma bzhi'i yi ge (#298#)* by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan.
- (12) *gDams ngag drug gi yi ge (#299#)* by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan.
- (13) *rTen 'brel lnga (#300#)* by Sa-chen. This work did not belong to the earliest form of the *Pod ser ma*; Stearns (2001: 33). Cf. Sa-pan's elaboration (#389#, see p. 107).
- (14) *Grib sel gyi sbyin sreg bsdus pa (#301#)*. A burnt offering for the removing of obscurations.
- (15) *Grib mkhrus kyis sel ba (#302#)*, including the *Grib ma sātstshas sel ba* (also mentioned in *A-mes-zhabs' Transmission and Summary* 117v, 139v and 148v), beginning on fol. 85r. *A-mes-zhabs' Transmission and Summary* (139v) also mentions a *Grib sel gyi sbyin sreg bsdus pa'i yig chung* (#647#).
- (16) *Thig le ('dzag pa) bsrung (#303#)* by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan. A text concerned with preventing the (tantric) bodhicitta from getting lost.
- (17) *Yi ge brgya pa gdon pa'i gdams ngag (#304#)*. A text concerned with the recitation of the hundred-syllable Heruka (i.e. Vajrasattva) mantra.

The following two titles are part of the '*Jig rten pa'i lam*-section:

- (18) *rLung gi sbyor ba bdun gyis lam khrid pa (#305#)* by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, composed in Sa-skya.
- (19) *Bha ga'i yi ge bcu bzhi (#306#)*. A text concerned with the fourteen seed syllable visualized within the *bha ga-maṇḍala*.

The next three works are of the '*Das pa'i lam*:

- (20) *gSang dbang gi skabs su 'khor lo bzhi'i rgya (#307#)*. Davidson (2005: 438 n. 117) points out that the theme of this text (the secret initiation) was later taken up in Sa-pan's *Lam sbas bshad* (see p. 108, #400#).
- (21) *dBang bzhi pa'i skabs su dbang phyug gi don brgyad (#308#)*. These two texts concerning the secret initiation and the fourth initiations belong to a group of works with the first remarks on specific practices in conjunction with the four initiations within the *lam 'bras* tradition of the Sa-skya-pas; see Stearns (2001: 13).
- (22) *Sa bcu gsum pa'i phyed kyi mngon rtogs (#309#)*. A text concerned with the thirteenth bodhisattva stage.

The inclusion and position in the list of the last title is somewhat unclear:

- (23) *Thams cad kyi don bsdus pa'i tshigs su bcad pa (#276#)* also known as the “*A seng ma*,” for which see p. 90. As mentioned there, it did not belong to the earliest form of the *Yellow Book*. Some later masters, too, have not included this title into the present list.

In general, there seems to have been a slight disagreement as to whether twenty-two or twenty-three works were taught in addition to the “commentary” (i.e. the *gNyags ma*). Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan clearly states in his *Yellow Book Title List* (2v).<sup>265</sup>

In this way, ten of these twenty-three works were written by me, the other ones were composed by the exalted guru [i.e. Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po]. Together with the commentary [the *gNyags ma*] itself, twenty four works are contained [in the *Yellow Book*]. These have been completely taught on the basis of the treatise text.

<sup>265</sup> The Tibetan text is: *de ltar nyi shu rtsa gsum la bcu ni kho bos sbyar la, gzhan rnam ni rje bla ma mdzad cing, 'grel pa nyid dang nyi shu rtsa bzhi bzhugs te, 'di dag ni rtsa ba nyid kyi steng du rdzogs par 'chad yin no.*

*bSod-nams-dbang-po's Record* (7v) says that “twenty-four are to be explained on the basis of the treatise.”<sup>266</sup> Here “treatise” must refer to the *rDo rje tshig rkang* (#275#) and the “twenty-four” include the *gNyags ma* (#284#). Similarly, A-mes-zhabs: “[Together] with the commentary, the *gNyags ma*, twenty-four [works]. These are to be taught on the basis of the basic text, the *rDo rje tshig rkang*.”<sup>267</sup> *Ngag-dbang-chos-grags's Record* (14v), says that there are “twenty-two clarifying scriptures.” This is so, because the *Don bsodus ma* (= *A seng ma*, #276#), is there subsumed under the titles of works listed in the following section. We find the same approach with bDag-chen Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan and Mang-thos Klu-sgrub-rgya-mtsho (Stearns, 2001: 179, n. 69).

### (e) Ten still further texts in the *Yellow Book*

These “ten still further texts” that Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan includes within the *Yellow Book Title List* are part of a group of actually seventeen works, which “issued from the basic text, the *rDo rje tshig [rkang]*” (*de dag ni rtsa ba rdo rje tshig las 'phros.te*, *Yellow Book Title List*, 3r). The seventeen works mentioned in the *Yellow Book Title List* are apparently the same as a group of seventeen texts mentioned in *Part I* (p. 57). The two lists differ only with regard to one entry.<sup>268</sup> The works are also listed in a different order and in the NOTES they are grouped under specific headings. Seven of these seventeen works, however, are (usually?) kept separate from the *Yellow Book*. Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan remarks.<sup>269</sup>

To include also these seven into this book is no contradiction, but also to keep them separate because they are necessary for beginners in common is not a fault.

Furthermore, of the remaining “ten still further texts,” only nine are actually contained in the extant edition of the *Yellow Book*, and Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan himself states in his *Yellow Book Title List* that one of the works, the *Byin rlabs kyi brgyud ma nyams pa* (#315#), “is to be realized elsewhere” (*logs su rtogs par bya'o*).<sup>270</sup> In other words the tenth text is usually not a part of the *Yellow Book*, but it belongs to a group of sixty works that will be discussed below. The records of teachings (*bSod-nams-dbang-po's Record*, 7v; *Mus-chen's Record*, 14v) list the ten works completely, adding “*Yum gyi byin rlabs*” (#315#) as the tenth. In the NOTES, the same text is grouped under the heading “secret initiation” (text no. 28, p. 57). The remaining nine works come in two groups. The first five are all compositions of Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan.<sup>271</sup>

(1) *'Khor 'das dbyer med kyi lta ba'i rtsa 'grel gnyis* (#310#) by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan.

The *Yellow Book* contains the basic text, which is called in its colophon “*Rin chen snang*

<sup>266</sup> *bSod-nams-dbang-po's Record* (7v): *nyi shu rtsa bzhi ni, bstan bcos nyid kyi steng du bshad bya'o*.

<sup>267</sup> A-mes-zhabs (*A-mes-zhabs' Transmission and Summary* 117v): *'grel pa gnyags ma nyid dang nyi shu rtsa bzhi ste 'di rnams ni rtsa ba rdo rje tshig rkang nyid kyi steng du bshad par bya ba yin*. Cf. also *A-mes-zhabs' Transmission and Summary* (148v).

<sup>268</sup> While the present list includes here the *bDud rtsi ril bu'i sgrub thabs* (#314#), the NOTES has *gDan stsogs kyi yi ge* (#289#).

<sup>269</sup> Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, *Yellow Book Title List* (4r): *bdun ni glegs bam 'di na gnas kyang 'gal ba med la, las dang po pa dang thun mong du dgos pa'i phyir logs na 'dug kyang nyes pa med do*. *A-mes-zhabs' Transmission and Summary* (118r) states almost *verbatim* the same.

<sup>270</sup> “To be understood elsewhere” is unclear, but other works (*A-mes-zhabs' Transmission and Summary*, 118r, have “*logs na bzhugs*), “is kept elsewhere.” *Nyi-lde-ba's dKar chag* (150r) mentions a *dBang byin rlabs kyi brgyud ma nyams pa'i yi ge* by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, i.e. his *Byin rlabs kyi brgyud pa ma nyams pa'i lag len gyi tho yig* (see #315#).

<sup>271</sup> Even though the terminology is not yet applied in the *Yellow Book Title List*, all of these five works were later considered as belonging to the section “authenticity of experience” (*nyams myong gi tshad ma*). See my discussion of the “four authenticities” (*tshad ma bzhi*) below, p. 99.

*ba*” (96r), composed in 1206, and the commentary (97v-122r), composed in 1212. These two works did not belong to the earliest form of the *Yellow Book*. They are “the basis for all the works that were later written to explain the ‘three continua’” (*rgyud gsum*), i.e. the continuum of the universal ground, which is the cause (*kun gzhi rgyu’i rgyud*), where the view that saṃsāra and nirvāṇa are inseparable is maintained, the continuum of the body, which is the method (*lus thabs kyi rgyud*), i.e. the practice of the path connected with the four initiations, and the continuum of the final fruit (*mtshar thug ‘bras bu’i rgyud*), i.e. mahāmudrā, where the five bodies, namely the qualities of the five gnoses arise, which are in accordance with the vajrayāna. See also Stearns (2001: 33) and the short remark regarding the title of A-mes-zhabs’ *Topical Outline* in vol. *ba*, no 8.<sup>272</sup>

- (2) *dBang gi chu bo ma nub par bskur ba* (#311#) by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan. This text belongs to a group of works with the first remarks on specific practices in conjunction with the four initiations within the *lam ‘bras* tradition of the Sa-skyapas; see Stearns (2001: 13).
- (3) *mChog dbang gsum grol ba’i lam la rten te bskur ba* (#312#) by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan. The title is from the beginning of the text.
- (4) *Phyi nang gi bskyed pa’i rim pa mdor bsod pa* (#313#) by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan.
- (5) *bDud rtsi ril bu’i sgrub thabs* (#314#) by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan.

The second group has four works. These are known as the “four [writings for] eliminating impediments (*gegs sel [yi ge] bzhi*):<sup>273</sup>

- (6) (*bSam gtan ‘dor ba’i*) *‘Phrang bdun bsal ba* (#316#).
- (7) *Byung rgyal du mi gtong ba’i gnad rnam pa bzhi* (#317#). The title is from a phrase I found at the end of the work.<sup>274</sup>
- (8) *‘Byung lus ‘khrug rlung dang spyod lam gyis bsal ba* (#318#). The title is from the beginning of the actual text.
- (9) *Phrin las sum cu rtsa gnyis kyi ‘khrul ‘khor* (#319#). The title is from the beginning of the text; this work is, according to its colophon, by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan.<sup>275</sup> *Mus-srad-pa’s Tho yig* (154r) identifies the “thirty-two activities” as follows: *lus kyi phrin las nyi shu, rlung gi phrin las bdun, thun mong gi phrin las bdun* (which adds up to thirty-four activities).

<sup>272</sup> A-mes-zhabs’ *Topical Outline* is the *Lam ‘bras bu dang bcas pa’i gdams ngag gi gzhung ji lta ba bzhin dka’i ba’i lam gyi sngon ‘gro dang dngos gzhi’i khrid yig snang ba gsum dang rgyud gsum mdzes par byed pa’i rgyan gyi sa bcad rnam logs su bsgrigs pa rin po che’i phreng ba*, vol. *ba*, no 8, with 10 folios in the manuscript edition, composed in 1616.

<sup>273</sup> According to Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan’s *Yellow Book Title List* (3r), three of the *gegs sel* works were composed by the “exalted guru” (*rje bla ma*), i.e. Sa-chen Kun-dga’-snying-po. These four works were later considered as belonging to the section “authenticity of experience” (*nyams myong gi tshad ma*). See my discussion of the “four authenticities” (*tshad ma bzhi*) on p. 99.

<sup>274</sup> See Stearns (2001: 30 f.), who found evidence that this work, like probably some others in the *Yellow Book*, is in its original form a composition by Phag-mo-gru-pa rDo-rje-rgyal-po. It has been “reworked” and heavily annotated, most likely by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan. Phag-mo-gru-pa’s work, the *Lam ‘bras bu dang bcas pa’i zhal gyi gdams pa* (#648#), is contained in his collected works. For Phag-mo-gru-pa being one of the major *lam ‘bras* students, see Stearns (2001: 26-30). See also the following note.

<sup>275</sup> According to Stearns (2001: 31), this is a reworked version of formerly two works originally by Phag-mo-gru-pa rDo-rje-rgyal-po, i.e. the *Lam ‘bras kyi ‘phrin las sum bcu lnga sbyong* (#649#) and the *Lam ‘bras kyi yan lag lnga sbyong* (#650#), both contained in his collected works. See also the previous note.

The remaining seven works of the original set of seventeen works are mentioned in the *Yellow Book Title List* (and in the records of teachings), but they are not kept together with the works of the *Yellow Book*. According to a remark in the title list (3r), the initiation (#320#) and the detailed stage of production (#321#) were composed by “Slob-dpon Rin-po-che,” i.e. bSod-nams-rtse-mo, the other writings are by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan.<sup>276</sup>

(10) *dBang gi chu bo 'i lag len rgyas pa* (#320#). Being a composition by bSod-nams-rtse-mo, this should be the *dPal kyai rdo rje 'i dkyil 'khor du slob ma smin par byed pa 'i cho ga dbang gi chu bo chen mo*.

(11-13) *Yab yum gyi bskyed rim yan lag rab 'bring dang bcas pa de la gsum* (#321#-#323#). “Three Hevajra and consort stage of productions [i.e. evocation rituals] with detailed and medium branch-[practices].” Cf. bSod-nams-rtse-mo’s *Yab kyi sgrub thabs rgyas pa yan lag bzhi pa*, i.e. the *dPal kyai rdo rje 'i mngon par rtogs pa yan lag bzhi pa* (#321#), and rJe-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan’s *Bring po yan lag drug pa*, i.e. his *dPal kyai rdo rje 'i mngon rtogs yan lag drug pa* (#322#). For notes on both, see p. 54, text nos. 3-4. The *Yum gyi bskyed rim* appears to be rJe-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan’s *Yum gyi sgrub thabs*, i.e. his *bDag med lha mo bco lnga 'i mngon rtogs* (#323#),<sup>277</sup> see p. 54, text no. 6.

(14) *rTsa ltung 'khrul spong* (#324#) by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan.

(15) *Tshogs kyi 'khor lo* (#325#). *Nyi-lde-ba's dKar chag* (148v) adds: ... *yang lag dang bcas pa*.

(16) *sByin sreg* (#326#).

At the outset of describing the contents of the *Yellow Book* according to its title list by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan I have mentioned that according to him, thirty-four works are to be included within this collection of primary *lam 'bras* teachings. We can now establish that this set of thirty-four comprises the basic text, namely the *rDo rje tshig rkang*, the last one of Kun-dga'-snying-po's commentary on it, i.e. the *gNyags ma*, the twenty-three clarifying works, and the nine works out of the set of seventeen that have been discussed in the preceding section. Together with the seven works that were discussed last and that do not necessarily have to be kept within the *Yellow Book*, these works form what Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan terms the “extensive path” (*lam rgyas pa*, *Yellow Book Title List*, 3r).

#### (f) The “medium” and “abbreviated paths” in the *Yellow Book*

In the *Yellow Book Title List*, after the extensive path described above, follow the “medium path” (*lam 'bring po*) and the “abbreviated path” (*lam bsdu pa*). The “medium path” of the Path with Its Fruit teachings is furthermore described as the “path without the basic text” (*rtsa ba med pa 'i lam*, i.e. not being based on the *rDo rje tshig rkang*):<sup>278</sup>

<sup>276</sup> *Yellow Book Title List* (3r): *dbang dang bskyed rim rgyas gnyis ni slob dpon rin po ches sbyar zhing, gzhan rnams ni kho bos byas so*. All of these five works were later considered as belonging to the section “authenticity of experience” (*nyams myong gi tshad ma*). See my discussion of the “four authenticities” (*tshad ma bzhi*) on p. 99.

<sup>277</sup> A-mes-zhabs (*A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Commentary*, 11r) adds here a remark by Pañ-chen Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (i.e. Gu-ge Pañḍita, fl. mid 15th c.), according to whom one either applies the *Yum gyi sgrub thabs* to both the four and six limbed *sādhana*s, thus counting “four *sādhana*s,” or, when counting the *Yum gyi sgrub thabs* only as one, the fourth *sādhana* is the abbreviated outer stage of production (*phyi bskyed rim bsdu pa*) practiced in connection with the inner stage of production (*nang bskyed rim dang 'brel can du bsgom pa*).

<sup>278</sup> Both of the following works were later considered as belonging to the “authenticity of experience” (*nyams myong gi tshad ma*). See my discussion of the “four authenticities” (*tshad ma bzhi*) below, p. 99.

- (1) *rTsa ba med pa'i lam 'bring po* (#327#). According to a note in the *Yellow Book Title List* (3r) a(?) minor composition of Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (*rang gi gzhung cung zad yod pa*). A-mes-zhabs (*A-mes-zhabs' Transmission and Summary* 118r) remarks that the “medium path” is “abbreviated through five topics” (*chos lngas bsdus pa*).

Then follows the “abbreviated path.”

- (2) *sGrub pa'i lung sbyin pa lam bsdus pa* (#328#).<sup>279</sup> According to a note in the title list composed later by a certain Chos-s nang Lo-tṣā-ba.

**(g) The “four great fundamental [instructions]” and the “five teachings to produce realization” in the *Yellow Book***

Next follows a group of ten texts in three sections: the “four great fundamental [instructions]” (*gzhung shing chen po bzhi*), the “five teachings to produce realization” (*rtogs pa bskyed pa'i chos lnga*), and the *guru yoga*.<sup>280</sup> Seven of these were composed by Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po (“*rje bla ma*”), two by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (*Yellow Book Title List*, 3v, without further specifications). The first of these scriptures, the “four great fundamental [instructions],” are also mentioned in *Part I*, see p. 56.

- (1) *Gang zag gzhung ji lta ba bzhin du dkri ba'i gzhung* (#329#) by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan. It is otherwise well-known as the *Jo lcags ma* (Stearns 2001: 253, n. 229). According to the colophon (157v), the teaching was requested by lHo-brag dKar-ston-jo-sras lCags-kyi-rdo-rje (b. 12th c.), who came from the border of Tibet and Mon. According to Davidson (2005: 314), the work “covered the practical relationship between the exoteric and the esoteric forms of Buddhist practice.”
- (2) *Man ngag gi gnad drug gis dkri ba'i gzhung* (#330#), according to the colophon by Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po.
- (3) *Gang zag dbang po rab 'bring gsum du dkri ba'i gzhung shing* (#331#) by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan.
- (4) *brTson 'grus can man ngag gi gnad bcu gcig gis dkri ba'i gzhung shing* (#332#) by Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po.

The second group, i.e. the “five teachings to produce realization,” is also mentioned in *Part I* (see p. 56). The five titles are also listed in *A-mes-zhabs' Transmission and Summary* (118r).

- (5) *Lam 'jug pa dang ldog pa* (#333#), title according to the beginning of the text. Davidson (2005: 314) describes it as one of two of Sa-chen's works that explored the theory behind the difference between the exoteric and the esoteric forms of Buddhist practice (see also p. 50, #150#).
- (6) *Phyag rgya 'jug ldog* (#334#), title according to *Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan's Title List of the Yellow Book*. A similar phrase appears near the beginning of the text.
- (7) *Shes pas phan 'dogs pa'i man ngag (gi gnad) bdun* (#335#), title according to a phrase near the beginning of the text.
- (8) (*Phyi nang gi*) *lam bsre ba 'gros bzhi dang bcas* (#336#), title according to the *Yellow Book Title List*. The text has two parts: The first part of the title (*Lam bsre ba*) stems from a similar phrase at the end of part one. Davidson (2005: 313) describes it as an

<sup>279</sup> The “summation of the path and prediction of practice” is usually performed at the end of the *lam 'bras* teachings. Briefly, a single quatrain of verse, which sums up the teachings on many levels, is spoken by the master together with a strong injunction to keep the oral instructions secret; Stearns (2001: 237, n. 136).

<sup>280</sup> All of these ten works were later considered as belonging to the “authenticity of experience” (*nyams myong gi tshad ma*). See my discussion of the “four authenticities” (*tshad ma bzhi*) below, p. 99.

attempt to integrate the different structures of the Mahāyāna (such as the five paths, thirteen levels, different consecrations and the four bodies of a Buddha) into the *Lam 'bras* teachings. The second part of the title ('*Gros bzhi dang bcas*') stems from a phrase near the beginning of part two.

- (9) *Phyi nang gi mdzad pa bcu gnyis* (#337#), title at the beginning of the text. According to Davidson (2005: 313) "a peculiar attempt at yogic hermeneutics, trying to align the twelve acts of the Buddha with moments of yogic experience."

The next work mentioned in the *Yellow Book Title List* (4r), *A-mes-zhabs' Transmission and Summary* (118r), and following in *Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series* is a *guru yoga* for persons of the highest faculties (*gang zag dbang po rab*), who need this path alone for liberation:

*Bla ma 'i rnal 'byor* (#338#). This genre description or title is found at the beginning of the text.<sup>281</sup>

*bSod-nams-dbang-po's Record* furthermore describes this group of twenty-nine works<sup>282</sup> as the "authenticity of experience" (*nyams myong gi tshad ma*), a terminology not yet applied in the *Yellow Book Title List*. I will discuss the "four authenticities" (*tshad ma bzhi*) in a section below (p. 99). Furthermore, a group of five (or seven?) "small books" (? *dpe chung gi rim pa*) is mentioned just before the above guru-yoga in *Nyi-lde-ba's dKar chag* (148v f.). No authors are mentioned. According to Stearns (personal communication), these are drawings or diagrams of the channels and syllables in the *bhaga*, postures of the thirty-two exercises and so forth (some of these have survived).

- (10) '*Chi ltas kyi 'khor lo* ("two items"—i.e. large and small?). This might refer to the fourth title of the "twenty-three further clarifications in the *Yellow Book*," i.e. the *Bum dbang gi 'da' ka ma 'i skabs su 'chi ltas, 'khrul 'khor, 'chi bslu ba dang bcas pa* (#291#) by rJe-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (see p. 92).

(11) *rTsa'i dpe chung*.

(12) *Bha ga 'i yi ge bcu bzhi'i dpe chung* (#306#). Cf. p. 93, text no. 19.

(13) *Phrin las so gnyis kyi dpe chung* (#382#). Cf. p. 106, text no. 37.

(14) *Gegs sel gyi dpe chung* (#381#, "two items"—i.e. large and small?). Cf. p. 106, text no. 36.

#### (h) The "support (*rgyab rten*) for all" in the *Yellow Book*

Five texts are considered to be a support for all the above teachings. These are three collections of quotations from basic scriptures (*lung sbyor*) and two historical, or rather biographical works.<sup>283</sup>

<sup>281</sup> *Nyi-lde-ba's dKar chag* (149v) mentions four more guru-yogas: (1) *Bla ma 'i rnal 'byor ga ya dha ra 'i dbu snyung bzhes pa shog gcig ma* (#651#), (2) *Bla ma 'i rnal 'byor* (#398#) by Sa-pan, according to *Mus-srad-pa's Tho yig*, 152r, the "uncommon yoga" and also known as "*Ling chu rtse khrab ma*", (3) one by 'Phags-pa (#652#, *Sa-skya-pa bKa' 'bum* 6/27, 59v-61r), and (4) one by bKa'-bcu-pa gZhon-nu-seng-ge (b. 13th/14th c., #653#).

<sup>282</sup> This group of twenty-nine works of the "authenticity of experience" comprises the "seventeen works that issued [from the basic text]," two "medium" and "abbreviated" path-texts, "four great fundamental [instructions]," "five teachings for producing realization," and the *guru yoga*.

<sup>283</sup> A-mes-zhabs (*A-mes-zhabs' Transmission and Summary* 118r) mentions four works ("*lung sbyor bzhi*"): (1) *Lung 'di nyid dang mdor bsdus te sbyar ba*, (2) *Lung mtha' dag dang mdor bsdus te sbyar ba*, (3) *Lung 'di nyid zhib tu sbyar ba*, (4) *Lung mtha' dag dang zhib tu sbyar ba*. But he adds (*A-mes-zhabs' Transmission and Summary* 118r/v): "From among the enumeration of the sixty subtle pith instructions, the *Lung 'di nyid zhib tu sbyar ba* (attributed in *Nyi-lde-ba's dKar chag* 149v to bSod-nams-rtse-mo) is kept elsewhere (cf. #341# and #397#) and the *Lung mtha' dag dang zhib tu sbyar ba* has not been put into writing, since it cannot be expressed" (*man ngag phra*



- (1) *Lung sbyor bsdus pa* (#339#).
- (2) *Lung mtha' dag dang mdor bsdus sbyar ba* (#340#).
- (3) *Lung 'di nyid dang zhib tu sbyar ba* (#341#).

The biographical works are these:

- (4) *Bla ma brgyud pa rgya gar ba'i lo rgyus* (#342#) by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan.
- (5) *Bla ma brgyud pa bod kyi lo rgyus* (#343#) by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan.

These are accessible in at least three different editions, two of which are contained in the *Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series* (vol. 1 and vol. 2), the third one being contained in *Sa-skya-pa bKa' 'bum*, where it is listed in the title list as *Bla ma rgya gar ba'i lo rgyus* (the Tibetan part of the history starting on p. 173-1-6). For a few remarks on these, see Stearns (2001: 35). These are essentially biographical works on Virūpa and 'Brog-mi Lo-tsā-ba.

All of these writings by Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po, bSod-nams-rtse-mo, Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (and Phag-mo-gru-pa) that were included within the *Yellow Book* are supposed to add up to sixty works.<sup>284</sup> My own enumeration here, following the *Yellow Book Title List*, adds up to fifty-eight, fifty-nine or sixty texts, depending on whether one should include the basic text of the *lam 'bras* (i.e. the *rDo rje tshig rkang*, #275#) and the fourth *lung sbyor* text or not.<sup>285</sup>

#### (i) The “four authenticities” (*tshad ma bzhi*)

The *Red Book Title List* (of the 15th c.), which will be dealt with below, organizes the scriptures according to the “four authenticities” (*tshad ma bzhi*). These are: (1) the “authenticity of the guru” (*bla ma'i tshad ma*), (2) the “authenticity of experience” (*nyams myong tshad ma*), (3) the “authenticity of the treatise” (*bstan bcos tshad ma*), and (4) the “authenticity of basic scriptures” (*lung tshad ma*). The term “four authenticities” (*tshad ma bzhi*) stems from the basic text, the *rDo rje tshig rkang* (#275#). Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan wrote a short work of clarification,<sup>286</sup> where he defined “*tshad ma*” in this connection as “a special ascertained knowledge that after one has produced it [is such that] others cannot take away one’s conviction.”<sup>287</sup> He furthermore explains the term “basic scriptures” in “authenticity of basic scriptures” as “pure instructions of

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*mo'i rkang grangs dang drug cu las, lung 'di nyid zhib tu sbyar ba ni logs na bzhugs shing, lung mtha' dag dang zhab tu sbyar ba ni brjod kyi mi lang bas yi ger ma bkod*). This explains the second title: *Lung mtha' dag dang mdor bsdus sbyar ba*, which appears to be an abbreviation of the writing that “cannot be expressed” (see also fn. 285). In *Nyi-lde-ba's dKar chag* (149r) the first two titles seem to be attributed to rJe Sa-skya-pa (= Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po). mKhyen-brtse'i-dbang-phyug (Stearns 2006: 233 and fn. 310) refers to a *Lung 'di nyid dang sbyar ba* by bSod-nams-rtse-mo as being an oral instructions.

<sup>284</sup> *Yellow Book Title List* (3v); *A-mes-zhabs' Transmission and Summary* (118r); Stearns (2001: 35). See especially mKhyen-brtse'i-dbang-phyug's *Comprehensive History*, pp. 210 ff., with a discussion (I owe this reference to Cyrus Stearns).

<sup>285</sup> My enumeration (following the *Yellow Book Title List*) above matches in content with mKhyen-brtse'i-dbang-phyug's presentation (*Comprehensive History*, p. 213), except that according to him the basic text (*rDo rje tshig rkang*, #275#) is definitely part of the group of sixty titles and a fourth *lung sbyor* text, the *Lung mtha' dag dang zhib tu sbyar ba*, is also mentioned, although he adds with regard to the latter that “because there would be too many” (*ha cang mang bas*) it is often not mentioned (cf. fn. 283). If both the basic text and the fourth *Lung sbyor* text are included, my enumeration would also add up to sixty titles. The fourth *lung sbyor* text is also mentioned in *A-mes-zhabs' Transmission and Summary* (118r, see above, fn. 283, his enumeration is certainly based on mKhyen-brtse'i-dbang-phyug's), and *A-mes-zhabs* also includes the fourth *lung sbyor* text into the group of sixty (fol. 118v: “*lung sbyor bzhi dang ... drug cu'o*”). Whether *A-mes-zhabs*' includes the basic text or not is not explicitly clear. I have summarized the different ways of enumeration on p. 101.

<sup>286</sup> *Tshad ma bzhi'i yi ge* (#298#) by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan.

<sup>287</sup> *Tshad ma bzhi'i yi ge* (79v): *nges pa'i shes pa khyad par can skyes nas, gzhan gyis mos pa dbrog mi nus pa yin no*.

the Sugata” (*bde bar gshegs pa’i bka’ yang dag pa*)—the “basic scriptures” are here the Hevajra tantras.<sup>288</sup> For reasons that are not yet clear to me, the “authenticity of the treatise” is here called “*lo rgyus tshad ma*.” In general, “treatise” refers here to the *rDo rje tshig rkang* (#275#).<sup>289</sup> The “authenticity of the guru” exists through the pith instructions of the former that are taught by the guru. Since all other authenticities depend on that, it is the most important *tshad ma*. That which establishes the above three authenticities is the “authenticity of experience.”<sup>290</sup>

I have mentioned before that these terms were not yet applied in the *Yellow Book Title List*. A-mes-zhabs, however, presents the titles of the *Yellow Book* within the framework of this terminology (*A-mes-zhabs’ Transmission and Summary* 118v-119v). In this he appears to have followed mKhyen-brtse’i-dbang-phyug’s reckoning (*Comprehensive History*, p. 213). Accordingly, two works belong to the category “authenticity of the guru,” namely the two mainly biographical works:

- (1) *Bla ma brgyud pa rgya gar ba’i lo rgyus* (#342#) and
- (2) *Bla ma brgyud pa bod kyi lo rgyus* (#343#), both by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan.

Twenty-nine works come under the “authenticity of experience.” These are

- (3-6) the “four great fundamental [instructions]” (*gzhung shing chen po bzhi*, #329#-#332#),
- (7-11) the “five teachings to produce realization” (*rtogs pa bskyed pa’i chos lnga*, #333#-#337#),
- (12-15) the “four [writings for] eliminating impediments” (*gegs sel [yi ge] bzhi*, #316#-#319#),
- (16-28) the “thirteen ‘gzhung shing’ teachings” (#310#-#315#, #320#-#326#),<sup>291</sup>
- (29) the “medium path” (one work, #327#),
- (30) the “abbreviated path” (one work, #328#), and
- (31) the “profound guru yoga” (one work, #338#).

Twenty-four works are labeled “authenticity of the treatise,” namely the *gNyags ma* (#284#), its twenty-two clarifications (#288#-#309#), and the *Don bsdu ma* (i.e. the *A seng ma*, #276#, which did not belong to the earliest version of the *Yellow Book*; see p. 90). Finally, four works belong to the “authenticity of basic scriptures,” namely the four “*lung sbyor*” works (#339#-#341#, for which see fn. 283).

All of these categories are readily understandable, except for one category of the twenty-nine works of the “authenticity of experience,” namely (16-28) the “thirteen ‘gzhung shing’ teachings.”<sup>292</sup> These are defined as “the seventeen [texts] that issued [from the basic text]” minus the four ‘*gegs sel*’ works,<sup>293</sup> and thus they are:

- (16) *Khor ‘das dbyer med kyi lta ba’i rtsa ‘grel gnyis* (#310#).
- (17) *dBang gi chu bo ma nub par bskur ba* (#311#).
- (18) *mChog dbang gsum grol ba’i lam la rten te bskur ba* (#312#).
- (19) *Phyi nang gi bskyed pa’i rim pa mdor bsdu pa* (#313#).

<sup>288</sup> I owe the understanding of this term to Cyrus Stearns.

<sup>289</sup> Again I owe the understanding of this term to Cyrus Stearns.

<sup>290</sup> *Tshad ma bzhi’i yi ge* (79v).

<sup>291</sup> For these works, see below.

<sup>292</sup> The “thirteen ‘gzhung shing’ teachings” are termed “*gzhung shing dang por sbyar bya’i chos bcu gsum*,” which is according to Stearns (private communication) to be understood as “thirteen teachings to be applied to the first *gZhung shing*,” i.e. the *Jo lcags ma*, for which see p. 97.

<sup>293</sup> *Ames-zhabs’ Transmission and Summary* 119r: *sngar gyi ‘phros bcu bdun las gegs sel gyi yi ge bzhi spangs pa’i lhang ma bcu gsum*.

- (20) *bDud rtsi ril bu'i sgrub thabs* (#314#).  
 (21) *dBang gi chu bo'i lag len rgyas pa* (#320#).  
 (22-24) *Yab yum gyi bskyed rim yan lag rab 'bring dang bcas pa de la gsum* (#321#-#323#).  
 (25) *rTsa ltung 'khrul spong* by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (#324#).  
 (26) *Tshogs kyi 'khor lo* (#325#).  
 (27) *sByin sreg* (#326#).  
 (28) *Byin rlabs kyi brgyud pa ma nyams pa* (#315#).

To summarize the discussion, let me briefly describe (through the following table) the structures of the enumerations of the sixty titles as presented by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan in his *Yellow Book Title List*, mKhyen-brtse'i-dbang-phyug in his *Comprehensive History* (p. 213), A-mes-zhabs in his *Transmission and Summary* (118v-119v), and of the NOTES (see p. 56, section A4b, pertaining to the uncommon pith instructions of Hevajra).

<i>Yellow Book Title List</i>	<i>Comprehensive History</i>	<i>A-mes-zhabs' Transmission and Summary</i>
<p>(1) The basic text <i>rDo rje tshig rkang</i> (#275#). Not explicitly mentioned as being contained in the <i>Yellow Book</i>.            (2) The commentary <i>gNyags ma</i> (#284#).            (3-25) Twenty-two clarifications of the <i>gNyags ma</i> (#288#-#309#) and one summary (#276#).            (26-35) Ten of the seventeen texts that issued from the basic text (#310#-#319#). #315# is kept apart from the <i>Yellow Book</i> and #316#-#319# are known as “<i>Gegs sel bzhi</i>.” Without #315# these constitute the thirty-four texts of the <i>lam rgyas pa</i>.            (36-42) The remaining seven of the seventeen (#320#-#326#) are not kept in the <i>Yellow Book</i>.            (43) The <i>lam 'bring po</i> (#327#).            (44) The <i>lam bsdus pa</i> (#328#).            (45-48) The <i>gzhung shing chen po bzhi</i> (#329#-#332#).            (49-53) The <i>rtogs pa bskyed pa'i chos lnga</i> (#333#-#337#).            (54) The guru-yoga (#338#).            (55-59) The <i>rgyab rten</i>, consisting of three <i>lung sbyor</i> texts (#339#-#341#) and two <i>lo rgyus</i> (#342#-#343#).</p>	<p>(1-2) “<i>bla ma'i tshad ma</i>,” i.e. the two <i>lo rgyus</i> (#342#-#343#).            (3-31) “<i>nyams myong tshad ma</i>,” i.e. the (3-6) the <i>khrid kyi gzhung shing bzhi</i> (#329#-#332#), (7-11) <i>rtogs pa bskyed pa'i chos</i> (#333#-#337#), and (12-15) <i>gegs sel yi ge bzhi</i> (#316#-#319#).            (16-28) the thirteen “<i>gzhung shing</i>” teachings: #310#-#315# and #320#-#326#.            (29) <i>rTsa ba med pa'i lam 'bring po</i> (#327#).            (30) <i>Lam bsdus pa</i> (#328#).            (31) <i>Bla ma'i rnal 'byor</i> (#338#).            (32-56) “<i>bstan bcos tshad ma</i>,” i.e. twenty-five works comprising the basic text (#275#), the <i>gNyags ma</i> (#284#), twenty-two clarifications (#288#-#309#) and one summary (#276#).            (57-60) “<i>bde bar gshegs pa'i bka'i tshad ma</i>,” i.e. the four <i>lung sbyor</i> texts: (57) <i>Lung 'di nyid dang zhib tu sbyar ba</i> (#341#), (58) <i>Lung 'di nyid mdor bsdus te sbyar ba</i> (#339#?), (59) <i>Lung mtha' dag dang mdor bsdus te sbyar ba</i> (#340#), and (60) <i>mTha' dag dang zhib tu sbyar ba</i>.</p>	<p>The same as the <i>Comprehensive History</i>, but the basic text (#275#) is not explicitly mentioned. The four <i>lung sbyor</i> texts are mentioned collectively (“<i>lung sbyor bzhi dang ... drug cu'o</i>”).</p> <hr/> <p><i>The stages of the [60] uncommon pith instructions of Hevajra according to the “Notes” (A4b)</i>            This list is almost identical with the list of the <i>Comprehensive History</i>, except that instead of #314# it mentions the <i>gDan stsogs kyi yi ge</i> (#289#), the basic text (#275#) is not mentioned, and, curiously enough, the last item is the <i>Red Book Title List</i> (#174#).</p>



‘Gos Lo-tṣā-ba gZhon-nu-dpal?  
miniature from the manuscripts  
of A-mes-zhabs’ works  
vol. *dza*, no. 4, fol. 2rl left

### The title list of the (*Little Red Book* (*pod dmar/pusti dmar chung*))

The *Red Book* contains works of authors from Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po (1092-1158) to Ngor-chen Kun-dga'-bzang-po (1382-1457). It was compiled by the great founder of Ngor, Kun-dga'-bzang-po, and its title list (*dMar chung gi dkar chag*, #174#) was composed by his nephew, the fourth abbot, rGyal-tshab Kun-dga'-dbang-phyug (1424-1478), in Ngor E-wam Chos-ldan. The volume contains sixty works of masters before Ngor-chen and ten of his own writings.<sup>294</sup> The teachings of former masters are describes as “minor pith instructions” (*man ngag phra mo*) or “minor texts” (*yi ge phra mo*). This collection also received its name from the color of the cloth in which it was wrapped.<sup>295</sup>

#### (a) The “authenticity of the guru” texts in the *Red Book*

The first section in the *Red Book* comprises the “authenticity of the guru” texts. The *Red Book Title List* contains notes indicating authors (such as “rje”=rJe-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, “sa”=Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po, etc.).

- (1) *Bla ma brgyud pa'i gsol 'debs* (#344#) by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, also referred to as the “*Bla ma rdo rje 'dzin ma*” (*Mus-srad-pa's Tho yig*, 152r). A shorter supplication, the “*rDo rje 'chang gtso ma*” (#654#), is mentioned in *Mus-srad-pa's Tho yig* (152r).
- (2) *Bla ma rdor 'dzin ma'i kha skong gi gsol 'debs* (#345#) by Shar-pa Ye-shes-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzang-po. This is the supplement of #344#.<sup>296</sup>
- (3) *Sa bir mjal ba'i lo rgyus rje pas sga thang la gnanng ba*<sup>297</sup> (#346#) by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan. Also: *rJe btsun gyis ldan ma sga 'theng la gdams pa*.

#### (b) The “authenticity of experience” texts in the *Red Book*

Then follows the largest section in the *Red Book*, namely the “authenticity of experience” texts:

- (4) *Lam 'bras gzhung ji lta ba bzhin dkr'i ba'i khrid yig tshigs bcad ma* (#347#) by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan. Bestowed by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (“rje pas”) on Bra-ston (Blo-gros), or, according to *Ngag-dbang-chos-grags's Record*, Grwa-ston Blo-gros (*A-mes-zhabs' Transmission and Summary*: Gra-ston). It is also known as *Gra ston zhus lan gsal ba* (*A-mes-zhabs' Transmission and Summary* 142v).
- (5) *Sangs rgyas spyang gyi rnal 'byor* (#348#), according to the colophon by “rJe-btsun Sa-skyapa,” i.e. Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po (also according to *bSod-nams-dbang-po's Record/Mus-chen's Record*). According to *A-mes-zhabs' Transmission and Summary* (142v), its context is the preparation (*sta gon*) of the initiation.
- (6) *Aṣṭa'i bzlas lung gi tho yig* (#349#) by Sa-chen (Kun-dga'-snying-po, *bSod-nams-dbang-po's Record*, 8r, and *Mus-srad-pa's Tho yig*, 151v; the *Red Book Title List*, 2r, has “Sa-paṅ”). The work's context is the actual initiation (*dnagos gzhi*, *A-mes-zhabs' Transmission and Summary* 142v).

<sup>294</sup> Lists of Ngor-chen's works are contained in *Kun-dga'-don-grub's Record* (63v-66r) and *sByin-pa-grags-pa's Record* (7r-9r). I hope to be able to present these in a later publication.

<sup>295</sup> For a short introduction to the *Red Book*, see Stearns (2001: 38) and *A-mes-zhabs' Transmission and Summary* 138v. Stearns (2001: 38 and 184, n. 169) points out that the original spelling was *Pusti dmar chung*. Other spellings are *Pod dmar* and *Po ti dmar chung*.

<sup>296</sup> There is also an additional supplement to the *gSol 'debs* by Ngor-chen Kun-dga'-bzang-po on fol. 7r.

<sup>297</sup> *A-mes-zhabs' Transmission and Summary*, *bSod-nams-dbang-po's Record*, *Mus-chen's Record*: *theng*; *Title List*: *theng la bskur ba*.

- (7) (*rTsa sngags kyi rnam bshad snying po don gsal*) *aṣṭa'i gzhi bshad pa* (#350#) by Sa-skya Paṇita. A clarification of the previous work (*A-mes-zhabs' Transmission and Summary* 142v).
- (8) *bDud rtsi ril bu'i sgrub thabs (kyi zhal shes)* (#351#) by 'Phags-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan.
- (9) *dBang gi rab dbye* (#352#), according to the colophon composed by Zhang-btsun as it was taught and instructed by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan.<sup>298</sup> It belongs to the “*lam dbang*” (*A-mes-zhabs' Transmission and Summary* 142v).
- (10) (*rJe btsun gyis sga ston (rdo rje grags) la gdams pa*) (#353#) by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (according to *bSod-nams-dbang-po's Record/Mus-chen's Record* and the *Red Book Title List*). According to the colophon “written as dictated [by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan]” by lDe-ston (*zhal las 'bri ba*). This letter to Sa-chen's disciple sGa-ston rDo-rje-grags was considered by mKhyen-brtse'i-dbang-phyug (1524-1568) to be among the most important instructions of the *Lam 'bras* (see Davidson, 2005: 337; Stearns 2006: 231). It is contained in the *Sa-skya-pa bKa' 'bum* as the *sGa ston spring yig (Mus-chen's Record: “springs pa”, Ngag-dbang-chos-grags's Record* and *A-mes-zhabs' Transmission and Summary: “dGa' ston,” Mus-srad-pa's Tho yig: dGa' ston spring yig*).
- (11) *Phyi nang gsang gsum gyi maṇḍal* (#354#). According to colophon and *Mus-chen's Record* composed by Sa-skya Paṇita in the dPal-bsam-yas-lhun-gyis-grub-pa'i-gtsug-lag-khang. Its context is the preliminaries of the secret initiation (*gsang dbang gi sngon 'gro, A-mes-zhabs' Transmission and Summary* 142v).
- (12) (*Phyi nang gsang gsum gyi maṇḍal gyi*) *kha skongs* (#355#) by Shar-pa Ye-shes-rgyal-mtshan. A clarification of the previous work (*A-mes-zhabs' Transmission and Summary* 142v).
- (13) *Lus sbyongs nyi shu pa('i gsal byed)* (#356#) by Ma-nor-bzang-po.
- (14) *Lus gnad kyi gdams ngag* (#357#) by dPal-ldan Phug-pa dMar. A *zin bris* (30r).
- (15) *bDag med ma'i byin rlabs (kyi brgyud pa ma nyams par bskur ba 'i tho yig)* (#358#) by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan. Not mentioned in *A-mes-zhabs' Transmission and Summary*. In *Mus-srad-pa's Tho yig* (151v) a *bDag med ma'i byin rlabs* is attributed to Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po as being one of his four “blessing-scriptures” (*byin rlabs kyi yi ge*).
- (16) *gTum mo 'khor lo bzhi('i dmigs pa rgyas pa)* (#359#) by Sa-chen Kun dga'-snying-po (according to *Red Book Title List*). Its context is the actual secret initiation (*A-mes-zhabs' Transmission and Summary* 142v).
- (17) *Rang byin rlabs kyi dmigs pa nyi shu rtsa dgu* (#360#). The title according to *A-mes-zhabs' Transmission and Summary/bSod-nams-dbang-po's Record/Mus-chen's Record/Ngag-dbang-chos-grags's Record* is: *gTum mo 'i dmigs pa nyer dgu*. According to *Mus-srad-pa's Tho yig* (153v), this is an instruction taught at the occasion of teaching the *Saṃpuṭa* tantra. Since therefore it is not (purely) a *lam 'bras* pith instruction, it is not correct to say that it is indispensable.

<sup>298</sup> For Zhang-btsun-pa, see *TBRC P5240*: Zhang rGyal-ba-dpal or Gung-thang bTsun-pa rGyal-ba-dpal, author of one of Sa-pan's biographies (*Sa-skya-pa bKa' 'bum* 7/111, 279r-290r). The *Red Book Title List* refers to Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan as the author. After the colophon (21r) follows this lineage: “Until rJe-(btsun Grags)-pa as in the precious teaching (i.e. the *lam 'bras*)”, then: (1) Zhang rGyal-ba-dpal (which should be our author), (2) Bla-ma dKon-(mchog)-ye-shes, (3) rJe Lung-phu-ba (b. 12th/13th c.), (4) sGom-pa bSod-nams (13th c.), and (5) bKras-lung-pa.

- (18) *Bar chad gsum sel* (#361#) granted by Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po to lHo-brag dKar-ston (colophon and *Mus-srad-pa's Tho yig* 152r, according to which it is also known as “*dKar ston ma*”).<sup>299</sup>
- (19) *Bla ma chen po'i nyams chung ba* (#362#) by Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po (according to *Red Book Title List*). This work may be identical with the *Gegs sel nyams chung ba*, also known as *dMar khrid ma* that is mentioned in *Mus-srad-pa's Tho yig* (151v-152r).
- (20) *Untitled text* (#363#). *Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series* 13, 44r-45r.
- (21) *Untitled text* (#364#). *Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series* 13, 45r (colophon: *samādhi yod pa la 'phags yud gyi tog rtse ba ltar bogs 'don no*).
- (22) *Untitled text* (#365#). *Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series* 13, 45r-46v (colophon: *bla ma chen po'i gdams ngag dmar khrid thugs kyi nying khu yi ge'i ris su bkod pa'o*).
- (23) (*Bla ma chen po'i*) *nyams chen mo* (#366#) by Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po (according to *Red Book Title List*).
- (24) *Untitled text* (#367#). *Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series* 13, 48v-?<sup>300</sup>
- (25) *Gegs sel nyams chen mo* (#368#). Neither mentioned in the title list or the records of teachings, but in *Mus-srad-pa's Tho yig* (151v) it is attributed to Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po and discussed in three lines. *Nyi-lde-ba's dKar chag* (149v) mentions the title and adds “*yab sras gsum dang, zhu byas (dngos grub?) kyis mdzad pa.*” *Nyi-lde-ba's dKar chag* also mentions (a?) “*Zhal shes dbang dang byin rlabs*” in this connection.
- (26) (*Khyad par gyi*) *rlung reng lnga bcos (thabs)* (#369#).<sup>301</sup>
- (27) *Thig le 'chor ba bsrung ba'i zhal gdams* (#370#). Title at the end. Neither mentioned in the title list nor the records of teachings.
- (28) *Untitled text* (#371#).
- (29) *Untitled text* (#372#).
- (30) *Untitled text* (#373#).
- (31) *Gegs sel gsang bdun ma* (#374#). Requested by lHo-brag dKar-ston from Bla-chen Sa-skya (Kun-dga'-snying-po). *Nyi-lde-ba's dKar chag* (149v); *Mus-srad-pa's Tho yig* (152r).
- (32) (*Gegs sel*) *gleng gzhi ma* (#375#).
- (33) *Byung ba lus 'khrugs sogs sel (thabs)* (#376#). Colophon: “The meaning of the Hevajra Tantra was taught by Ācārya Virūpa as [this?] extracted essence.”
- (34) *Gegs sel gces btus ma* (#377#), according to *Mus-srad-pa's Tho yig* (152r) by Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po. After fol. 65v follow several small “*Gegs sel*” instructions. None of them have a separate title. The title given here in the colophon (75r) applies to all of these together. *Mus-srad-pa's Tho yig* (152r) speaks of altogether twenty-two texts.
- (35) (*Gegs sel*) *bka' rgya ma* (#378#). According to *Khenpo Appey's Bibliography*, requested by dMar Chos-kyi-rgyal-po. According to A-mes-zhabs (see Stearns, 2001: 199, n. 312), this work is one of the five works of dMar-ston that were transmitted

<sup>299</sup> A short supplement (*Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series* 13, 43r) says: *mchog tu zab pa'i man ngag 'di'i dpe slob dpon bsod nams rgyal mtshan la zhus, man ngag mdzub khrid du dpal sa skya'i dben gnas su bla ma lo tsā ba chen po la kho bo gcig pur gnyis su med pas zhus, dpal lhas phug gi dben gnas su bla ma dharmā rā dza la jo mo bsod nams dar gyis zhus pa'o.*

<sup>300</sup> The colophon (52v) says: *shangs pa'i sgom chen gcig gis bsgoms pas, lam rgyas pa nas bshad pa'i gegs phal cher byung bas, khong rang gi lta bas sol nas 'dug gsung ngo.*

<sup>301</sup> There is a lineage attached on fol. 60r: Vajradhara, Nairātmā, Virūpa, Kāṇha, Ḍamarupa, Avadhūtipa, Gayadhara, 'Brog-mi, rJe Se, rJe Zhang, rJe Sa-skya-pa Chen-po'o (Kun-dga'-snying-po). Then the text continues: *rje btsun rin po che, chos rje lo tsā bas dharmā rā dza ya mdzub khrid du gnanng ba'o.*

- without break to him. According to the same note, the rDzong master Mus-srad-pa rDo-rje-rgyal-mtshan (1424-1498), however, believed it to be Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po's composition (also *Nyi-lde-ba's dKar chag* 149v and in more detail in *Mus-srad-pa's Tho yig* 152r).<sup>302</sup> On fol. 79r-v, two more untitled instructions (#379#-#380#).
- (36) *Gegs sel gyi yi ge bzhi'i (zhal shes)* (#381#). "Written down by the full monk dPal-ldan according to a manuscript of the Dharma Lord, the glorious Bla-ma-dam-pa bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzang-po.<sup>303</sup> *Mus-srad-pa's Tho yig* (154r) mentions that Bla-ma-dam-pa possessed a manuscript of the Zhwa-ma tradition (for Ma-gcig Zhwa-ma, see fn. 180). *A-mes-zhabs' Transmission and Summary* (142v) mentions a *Gegs sel bzhi'i gsal byed*.
- (37) *Phrin las so gnyis kyi sdom tshig dang zhal shes* (#382#) by Buddha Shri.
- (38) *dBang bzhi ngo sprod* (#383#) by Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po. This text belongs to a group of works with the first remarks on specific practices in conjunction with the four initiations within the *lam 'bras* tradition of the Sa-skyas; see Stearns (2001: 13) and *Mus-srad-pa's Tho yig* (152r). Mistakenly ascribed in *Nyi-lde-ba's dKar chag* (149r) to Sa-pan; another work of the same title is mentioned there for Theg-chen-pa (i.e. Chos-kyi-rgyal-po Kun-dga'-bkra-shis).
- (39) *dBang bzhi ngo sprod rang 'grel* (#384#) by Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po.
- (40) *brDa don gsal ba* (#385#) by Sa-skyas Paṇḍita. Teaching that rJe-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan received in a dream from Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po,<sup>304</sup> a summary of all the essential points of the *lam 'bras*; see Stearns (2001: 257, n. 253; 2006: 236).
- (41) (*brDa don gsal ba*) *'grel pa* (#386#) by Sa-skyas Paṇḍita. According to *Mus-srad-pa's Tho yig* (152v), the limb of nos. 40-41 is a work called *Khrid kyī lung sbyor*.
- (42) (*brDa don gsal ba'i*) *zin bris* (#387#) by lHo-pa (according to *Mus-srad-pa's Tho yig*, 153r, lHo-pa Rin-chen-dpal).

### (c) The “authenticity of the treatise” texts in the *Red Book*

The following twenty folios in the *Red Book* comprise works that belong to the “authenticity of the treatise” section. The *Red Book Title List* mentions: “The pith instructions that Sa-chen received from rJe dGon-pa” (*rje dgon pa las sa chen gyis gsan pa'i man ngag rnams*), which seems to refer to all nine following works. “rJe dGon-pa” is Zhang dGon-pa Chos-'bar of gTsang-gi Sag-thang (cf. *Ngag-dbang-chos-grags's Record*, 54r, and *Kun-dga'-don-grub's Record*, 11r). On Zhang-ston Chos-'bar being dGon-pa-ba and the *lam 'bras* master of Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po, see Stearns (2001: 63, 242, n. 162; 2006: 220 ff.) and Davidson (2005: 301, 303). Sa-chen's studies with him lasted four years and included the entire *Lam 'bras* together with all the ancillary teachings and the “eight later path-cycles” (*lam skor phyi ma brgyad*). According to mKhyen-brtse'i-dbang-phyug (Stearns 2006: 222), Sa-chen received when he was twenty-eight the *Lam 'bras* for four years and the eight later path-cycles again for four years. On Zhang-ston being the recipient of *lam 'bras* teachings of Se-ston Kun-rig, the disciple of 'Brog-mi Lo-tṣā-ba, see Stearns (2001: 125 and 238, n. 142, 2006: 206 f.).<sup>305</sup> *Mang-*

<sup>302</sup> The colophon (7r), too, says: *dpal sa skyā pa chen po'i gegs sel bka' rgya ma*.

<sup>303</sup> Colophon (96r): *Chos kyī rje dpal ldan bla ma dam pa bsod nams rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po'i phyag dpe la dge slong dpal ldan gyis bris so*. According to Stearns (private communication), “the full monk dPal-ldan” is dPal-ldan-tshul-khrims, Bla-ma-dam-pa's main disciple.

<sup>304</sup> This fact is also mentioned in *A-mes-zhabs' Transmission and Summary* (142v).

<sup>305</sup> Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po also received an abbreviated version of *Lam 'bras* directly from Se-ston Kun-rig; see Davidson (2005: 299 f.).



*thos Klu-sgrub's bsTan rtsis* (110 f., followed by Stearns) provides the dates 1053-1135 for him, TBRC has 1029-1116.

- (42) (*gZhung bshad la gnad du che ba drug* (#388#) by Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po. According to *Mus-srad-pa's Tho yig* (154v), a work of this title is listed as being “necessary for all the later path cycles (i.e. the *lam skor phyi ma brgyad*).” These are the “six crucial points of Vajrayāna.” Stearns (2006: fn. 119) lists these points according to Bla-ma-dam-pa bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan: (1) stage of production practice (emphasized by Padnavajra), (2) vital winds (Nāgārjuna), (3) mahāmudrā practice (Kuddāla), (4) blessing of the master (Vajraghaṅṅā), (5) mudrā of the consort (Indrabhūti) and (6) the five dependently arisen connections (Virūpa).<sup>306</sup> All of these are included within the nine path-cycles (Stearns 2006: 132).
- (43) *rTen 'brel lnga'i bshad pa* (#389#) by Sa-skya Paṇḍita. *Sa-skya-pa bKa' 'bum* 5/45, 103r-107r: *rTen 'brel lnga rdzogs*. An elaboration of Sa-chen's teaching (#300#).
- (44) *Lam sdus pa 'dod pa'i lcags kyu* (#390#) by dMar-(ston Chos-kyi-rgyal-po). Cf. Stearns (2001: 199, n. 312).
- (45) *Phyag chen gyi dbye ba* (#391#) by Sa-skya Paṇḍita. The text is followed by a short verse on Mahāmudrā, which appeared to Sa-paṅ in a dream while he was staying in bSam-yas (115v).
- (46) *'Khor bzhi'i rgya('i bshad pa)* (#392#) by Sa-skya Paṇḍita.
- (47) *Tshogs sbyor gnyis kyi mngon rtogs* (#393#) by 'Phags-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan.
- (48) *Lam bsdus pa'i bshad pa* (#394#) by Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po. “Short explanation of the condensed path of Virūpa” (colophon).
- (49) *bsGrub pa lung sbyin* (#395#) by Sa-skya Paṇḍita.
- (50) *gSang ba bcu'i rgyas gdab* (#396#) by Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po.<sup>307</sup> In *Mus-srad-pa's Tho yig* (152r): *gSang bcu spyod pa'i rnal 'byor lung 'di nyid dang zhib tu sbyar ba*. I do not know how or whether this is connected with the *Lung 'di nyid dang zhib tu sbyar ba* (#341#).

#### (d) The “authenticity of basic scriptures” texts in the *Red Book*

The fourth and final section of the “four authenticities” in the *Red Book* is the “authenticity of basic scriptures” section. Neither this section nor a text belonging to it are mentioned in the *Red Book Title List*. Nonetheless, *bSod-nams-dbang-po's Record* (8v) and *Mus-chen's Record* (15v) note a title, the *Lung 'di nyid dang zhib tu sbyar ba*, “together with a clarifying scripture” (*de'i gsal byed kyi yi ge cig dang bcas pa*). Thus in *Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series* 13, 127v, we find the following title:

- (51) *Pod ser du bzhugs pa'i lung 'di nyid dang zhib tu sbyar ba'i kha skongs* (#397#). This is a supplement to the *Lung 'di nyid dang zhib tu sbyar ba* of the *Yellow Book* by bSod-nams-rtse-mo (#341#). The supplement (*kha skongs*) appears to be the clarification (*gsal byed kyi yi ge*).

<sup>306</sup> Sa-chen composed an explanation on the five dependently arisen connections (#300#) and Sa-paṅ elaborated on that (#389#). These are the outer, inner, and secret dependently arisen connections, the dependently arisen connections of reality, and the ultimate dependently arisen connections (Stearns 2006: 689).

<sup>307</sup> The colophon notes a transmission lineage: *sa skya pa'i gdams pa rgyal ba brag phug pa, chos rje bla ma dam pa, kum mkhyen bla ma chos rje, des bdag la'o*. The two Chos-rje Bla-mas may be bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan and Blo-gros-brtan-pa. The receiver would then be dPal-ldan-tshul-khrims.

**(e) The “four profound Dharmas conferred to Sa-chen by Virūpa” in the *Red Book***

The heading for this section of the *Red Book* is given in its title list and in the records of teachings.<sup>308</sup> The section comprises sixteen works. A-mes-zhabs (*A-mes-zhabs' Transmission and Summary* 142v f.) provides an explanation how these are “four.” Accordingly, the four key works are “*Lam zab*” (=52), “*Lam sbas bshad*” (=54), “*Bir srung*” (=60), and “*rNam 'joms bir lugs*” (=62). The first, (52) *Lam zab*, has as its branch no. (53). The second, (54) *Lam sbas shad*, has as branches nos. (55)-(58).<sup>309</sup> The third, (60) *Bir srung*, has as a branch no. (61). The fourth, (62) *rNam 'joms bir lugs*, has for the main work the entry “*rNam 'joms sgrub thabs*” by Sa-chen, which I was unable to identify, and as branches nos. (62)-(63) and (65).

(52) *Lam zab mo bla ma'i rnal 'byor* (#398#) by Sa-skya Paṇḍita. According to the colophon composed in the glorious Ling-chu-rtser-khab-kyi gTsug-lag-khang. Title according to the records of teachings: *Lam zab kyi khrid yig*.

(53) *Bla ma rin 'byung* (#399#) by dMar-(ston Chos-kyi-rgyal-po). Title according to the *Red Book Title List* and the records of teachings. Title in *Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series* (148r): *rGyas pa'i las sgrub pa'i bla ma'i rnal 'byor*.<sup>310</sup> According to A-mes-zhabs (Stearns, 2001: 199, n. 312), one of the five works of dMar-ston that were transmitted to him without break. According to the same note, the rDzong master Mus-srad-pa rDo-rje-rgyal-mtshan doubted dMar-ston's authorship, however, reading a very complex passage of *Mus-srad-pa's Tho yig* (153v) carefully, I found opposing evidence. According to my understanding, Mu-srad-pa is saying: “Some discard indispensable writings such as the (...) *Bla ma'i rnal 'byor rin 'byung ma* by dMar. That is very wrong (...) since it is to be listed among the works of dMar (...). These writings neither add nor distract anything.”<sup>311</sup>

(54) *Lam sbas bshad* (#400#) by Sa-skya Paṇḍita. According to the colophon, composed in mDo-smad and requested by Slob-dpon Bodhi-shī-la Manyju-shrī Ratna (Byang-chub-tshul-khrims-'jam-dbyangs-rin-chen?). Davidson (2005: 438 n. 117) points out that this work is a continuation of the theme (i.e. the secret initiation) of an earlier work (see the *gSang dbang gi skabs su 'khor bzhi'i rgya*, p. 93). According to *Mus-srad-pa's Tho yig* (152v), nos. 57-58 are limbs of this work. *Nyi-lde-ba's dKar chag* (149r) mentions a “*Lam sbas bshad kyi rtsa ba*” of rJe Sa-skya-pa (i.e. Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po).

(55) *Pho brang lnga la brten pa'i sbas bshad zab mo* (#401#).

(56) *Lam sbas bshad kyi 'khrul 'khor so gnyis kyi rtsa 'grel* (#402#) by dPal-ldan-tshul-khrims. Composed in Chos-rdzong (colophon).<sup>312</sup> *Mus-srad-pa's Tho yig* (154r) mentions that Bla-ma-dam-pa received this teaching from Mang-mkhar Bya-cha-lung-pa'i-bla-ma rGyal-mtshan-'bum and thus it is a later teaching and therefore not an indispensable basic pith instruction. In *Nyi-lde-ba's dKar chag* (149r) the same text is called “*Zhal shes 'khrul 'khor sum cu*.” *A-mes-zhabs' Transmission and Summary* (143r)

<sup>308</sup> In Tibetan: *rnal 'byor dbang phyug gi[s] sa chen la gnang ba'i zab chos bzhi*.

<sup>309</sup> See also the additional work, mentioned for no. (56).

<sup>310</sup> The incipit reads: ... *bla ma rin chen 'byung ldan gyi rnal 'byor, sa skya paṇ chen gyi gsung ji lta ba bzhin brjod par bya*.

<sup>311</sup> What I have translated here is part of a complex sentence covering nine lines of *Mus-srad-pa's Tho yig* (153v-154r): *'dir kha cig (...) dmar gyis mdzad pa'i bla ma'i rnal 'byor rin 'byung ma (...) sogs med mi rung gi yi ge du ma 'dor ba ni shin tu mi rigs te, (...) bla ma rin 'byung ma ni, (...) dmar <154r> gi yi ge dag gi gseb tu bgrang bar bya ba yin pa'i phyir (...) bris pa 'di dag ni sgro skur dang bral ba yin no*.

<sup>312</sup> The basic text comprises four lines on fol. 158v.

- mentions a clarification by Buddha Shrī (#655#), *Nyi-lde-ba's dKar chag* (149r) mentions notes (*zin bris*) by bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan (#656#).
- (57) *Grub chen bcu dang phra mo brgyad kyi man ngag gi rtsa ba* (#403#) by Sa-skyā Paṇḍita. See also the following entry. These two works (57-58) are according to *Mus-srad-pa's Tho yig* (152v) the limbs of no. 54 above.
- (58) *Grub chen bcu dang phra mo brgyad kyi man ngag gi 'grel pa* (#404#) by Sa-skyā Paṇḍita. See the previous entry.<sup>313</sup>
- (59) *Grub chen bcu dang phra mo brgyad kyi zhal shes gsal byed* (#405#) by Buddha Shrī. See the previous entries.
- (60) *Bir bsrung gi man ngag rnying pa gsum* (#406#) by Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po.<sup>314</sup>
- (61) *Bir hsrung gi man ngag byin rlabs byed tshul dang bcas pa* (#407#) by 'Phags-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan. In *A-mes-zhabs' Transmission and Summary* (143r), nos. (60) and (61) are presented as five works, i.e. “three old works” (*rnying pa gsum bir wa pa'i sgrub thabs*) and the “blessing together with its method” (*byin rlabs byed tshul gnyis ... ste lnga'o*).
- (62) *rNam 'joms bir lugs kyi byin rlabs byed tshul* (#408#) by Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po. In *Mus-srad-pa's Tho yig* (151v) a *Birwa-pa'i byin rlabs* is mentioned as being one of Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po's four “blessing-scriptures” (*byin rlabs kyi yi ge*).
- (63) *rDo rje rnam par 'joms pa'i gzungs la birwa pa'i man ngag ltar sa skyā paṇḍi tas mchan bu mdzad pa* (#409#) by Sa-skyā Paṇḍita. The additional notes (*mchan bu*) were appended by Sa-pan according to Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po's teachings (colophon).
- (64) *rDo rje rnam par 'joms pa bir lugs kyi rnam bshad bdud rtsi spel* (#410#) by Sa-skyā Paṇḍita. A clarification of the previous texts (*bSod-nams-dbang-po's Record*). This memorandum for himself was composed in the glorious Sa-skyā'i gTsug-lag-khang (colophon).
- (65) *rNam 'joms bir lugs kyi lag len* (#411#) by Rig-'dzin Grags. *A-mes-zhabs' Transmission and Summary* (143r): Nub-pa Rig-'dzin Grags.<sup>315</sup>
- According to *A-mes-zhabs' Transmission and Summary* (143r), nos. (66)-(67) belong to a different section, i.e. the “incidental works” (*zhar byung*).<sup>316</sup>
- (66) *Byin rlabs tshar gsum khug pa'i gdams ngag* (#412#) by rJe-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, composed in gTsang-kha dGon-pa (colophon).
- (67) *Yi ge brgya pa'i man ngag* (#413#) by Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po. In *A-mes-zhabs' Transmission and Summary* (143r): *Yig brgya'i las tshogs* (i.e. “groups of activities”).

#### (f) The “Dharma links [with] the six gates” (*sgo drug chos 'brel*) in the *Red Book*

The next section of the *Red Book* comprises six works. These are instructions to 'Brog-mi Lotsā-ba from the “masters of the six gates” (*mkhas pa sgo drug*, Stearns, 2001: 209, n. 22). In *A-*

<sup>313</sup> The “*phra mo brgyad*-section” begins on fol. 168v.

<sup>314</sup> The work includes notes on how to receive the reading transmission (*lung*, 176r-v). The colophon (176v) remarks about the lineage of this teaching: *'di'i brgyud pa ni lam 'bras dang 'dra, nye brgyud birwa pa la bla chen sa skyā pas zhus so*.

<sup>315</sup> For another writing of Nub-pa, the *Zhen pa bzhi bral gyi zin bris* (a *Blo sbyong*-instruction), see *TBRC W17261 (Lokesh Chandra's Materials 11213)*. It was published in *gDams ngag mdzod*, vol. 4, pp. 804-806.

<sup>316</sup> Having listed the works belonging to the four authenticities, *A-mes-zhabs' Transmission and Summary* 142v f.) continues with three categories: “Teachings directly transmitted by Virūpa to Sa-chen” (see above), “teachings transmitted by Sa-chen to rJe-pa (Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan) in a dream” (in the section “authenticity of experience,” nos. 39-41), and “incidental works.”

*mes-zhabs' Transmission and Summary* (143r) they are mentioned collectively (“teachings connected with the six gates [keepers],” *sgo drug chos 'brel rnams*) and subsumed under the above section, i.e. the “incidental works.” The “Dharma links” are contained in the *Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series* and their titles are listed in the various records of teachings as being received by A-mes-zhabs.<sup>317</sup> The first is Shāntipa's work:

(68) *mDo rgyud bsre ba 'i nyams len* (colophon title) by Shāntipa (#414#).

Next follow the “elimination of the three impediments” (*bar chad gsum sel*) by Shes-rab-'byung-gnas-sbas-pa (Prajñākaragupta), Jñānaśrī, and Rin-chen-rdo-rje (Ratnavajra). These are mentioned in *Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series* 13, 199v, as a set of three works, and then again on the same page as part of the five basic texts and pith instructions of “the other five masters” (from among the six masters of Nā-lendra who are gate keepers) that 'Brog-mi received after he had finished his studies with Shāntipa. The other two masters are Nāropa and Ngag-gi-dbang-phyug-grags-pa (Vāgīśvarakīrti). Their works are known separately (*logs su shes*, see below). The “elimination of the three impediments” (*bar chad gsum sel*) are the following:

(69) *Phyi rol gyis(!) gdon sum bsrung ba* (#415#) by Shes-rab-'byung-gnas-sbas-pa (Prajñākaragupta).

(70) *Byung ba lus 'khrugs bsrung ba 'i man ngag* (#416#) by Jñānaśrī.

(71) *Ting nge 'dzin sems kyi bar chad bsrung ba 'i man ngag* (#417#) by Rin-chen-rdo-rje (Ratnavajra).<sup>318</sup>

The remaining two works that are “known separately” are these:<sup>319</sup>

(72) *gNyug ma dran gsal*<sup>320</sup> (#418#) by Ngag-dbang-grags-pa (Vāgīśvarakīrti).<sup>321</sup> A “body-maṇḍala” (*lus dkyil, Nyi-lde-ba's dKar chag* 150r). An anonymous commentary (according to *Nyi-lde-ba's dKar chag*, 150r, by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan), follows (#419#).

(73) *Phyag rgya chen po sdug bsngal gsum sel* (#420#) by Nāropa.

### (g) The nine supplements of the Red Book

The records of teachings and the *Red Book Title List* mention nine supplements, all of which were composed by Ngor-chen Kun-dga'-bzang-po:

(74) *Lam 'bras bshad thabs kyi man ngag gsang ba 'i sgo 'byed* (#421#).

(75) *rGyud gsum lam rim gyi sa bcad*<sup>322</sup> (#422#).

<sup>317</sup> Instruction on each of these six teachings are also mentioned in the list of one-hundred eight instructions of Kun-dga'-grol-mchog Blo-gsal-rgya-mtsho. This list is included in *Kun-dga'-don-grub's Record* 41r-43r, nos. 52-57. See fn. 40.

<sup>318</sup> For the early transmission of this work, see also Stearns (2001: 233, n. 120).

<sup>319</sup> *Nyi-lde-ba's dKar chag* (151r) mentions for these works a “writing” (*yi ge*) and a “commentative writing” (*yi ge 'grel pa*) by rJe-btsun-chen-po (Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan). *Khenpo Appey's Bibliography* mentions for these works in the *lam 'bras* section a further work “by Grags-pa,” which is a method of receiving all four initiations “on a single cushion” (read *gdan*), i.e. a simplified practice (*de 'i dbang bzhi bstan thog gcig tu blang tshul*). I owe the understanding of this remark to Cyrus Stearns.

<sup>320</sup> Note also the alternative titles given in the commentary (203v): *Rim pa gnyis dbyer med du bsgom pa 'i man ngag* and *dBang bzhi 'i lam gdan [stan] thog gcig tu bsgom pa 'i man ngag [rnal 'byor]* (for the latter, cf. also 201v).

<sup>321</sup> The lineage given in the colophon of the commentary: rJe-btsun sGrol-ma, Ngag-gi-dbang-phyug-grags-pa, rJe 'Brog-mi, 'Khon dKon-mchog-rgyal-po, Bla-ma Shangs-pa (b. 11th c.), 'Khon Kun-dga'-snying-po, rJe-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, Lo-tsā-ba-chen-po, Bla-ma Lung-phu-ba, bKras-lung-pa, mKhas-grub Chos-rje.

<sup>322</sup> Title of the colophon: *rGyud gsum lam rim gyi sa 'i bsdus don*.

- (76) *Lam zab nang gi bla ma'i rnal 'byor* (#423#).
- (77) *rGyu dus kyi dbang gi rtogs bskyed pa'i rim pa* (#424#). This is the *dBang bzhi'i rtogs bskyed*, cf. *Ngag-dbang-chos-grags's Record* (15v) and *A-mes-zhabs' Transmission and Summary* (143r).
- (78) *Bir bsrung ba'i man ngag bar chad kun sel* (#425#). Based on the instructions of Bla-ma Kun-dga'-legs-pa, this work summarizes the miscellaneous writings of the former Sa-skyapa masters (on this subject) and the pith instructions (*man ngag*) that are contained in the *sādhana*s of 'Phags-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan and dKar Shākya-grags<sup>323</sup> (colophon).
- (79) *Birwa-pa'i sku'i rnam 'gyur drug gi zin bris* (#426#). “Summarized from the miscellaneous writings of the former masters (*rje btsun gong ma*) by rNal-'byor Rin-chen-rdo-rje (=Ngor-chen?)” (colophon).
- (80) *Thun mongs ma yin pa'i bir srung gi byin rlabs bya tshul* (#427#). The title in the *Sa-skyapa bKa' 'bum* is “Byin rlabs bya tshul.”
- (81) (*Bir bsrung thun mongs ma yin pa'i nyams su blangs tshul* (#428#). Title according to *bSod-nams-dbang-po's Record* (9r), *Mus-chen's Record* (16r), and *Ngag-dbang-chos-grags's Record* (15v). Written down by the full monk bSam-gtan according to the pith instructions of Kun-dga'-bzang-po out of fear of forgetfulness (colophon).<sup>324</sup>
- (82) *Bir srung thun mongs ma yin pa'i man ngag dang lam 'bras kyi gdams ngag mtshon bya mtshon byed du sbyar ba* (#429#). Title in the *Sa-skyapa bKa' 'bum*: *Lam 'bras mtshan mtshon sbyar ba*.
- (83) *Bir srung gsar ma* (#430#).<sup>325</sup>

With these supplements the list of the *Red Book Title List* ends. A-mes-zhabs, however, adds to these five more works by Ngor-chen Kun-dga'-bzang-po. Together with most of the above supplements (74 ff.) they form the first supplement of the *Red Book* (*A-mes-zhabs' Transmission and Summary* 143r):

- (84) *gNad kyi zla zer* (#431#), i.e. the *dPal kyai rdo rje'i sgrub thabs kyi rgya cher bshad pa bskyed rim gnad kyi zla zer*. According to the colophon of Go-rams-pa's commentary on the Hevajra stage of production (#470#), Ngor-chen has composed this work in 1419. It is a commentary on Durjayacandra's *Ṣaḍaṅgasādhana* (#022#) and seems to exist only in Tibetan (and Mongolian, see van der Kuijp 1987: 173).
- (85) *rGyud gsum 'khrul(?) 'joms* (#432#). Perhaps the *rGyud gsum gnod 'joms zhes bya ba'i bstan bcos* and the *rGyud gsum gnod 'joms kyi 'grel pa*.<sup>326</sup>

<sup>323</sup> According to *Mang-thos Klu-sgrub's bsTan rtsis* (p. 150), dKar Shākya-grags is Zur-khang-pa dKar Shākya-grags, one of Sa-pan's disciples and according to some abbot of Sa-skyapa after Sa-pan went to Mongolia between 1244 and 1264 (see the *Great Genealogy*, 92r).

<sup>324</sup> After the colophon (220r) follows a lineage: Birwa-pa, Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po, Slob-dpon bSod-nams-rtse-mo, rJe-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, Sa-skyapa Paṅḍi-ta, Tshogs-sgom Kun-dga'-dpal, Nyan-chen-pa bSod-nams-brtan-pa (b. 13th c.), Brag-phug-pa bSod-nams-dpal, Bla-ma-dam-pa bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan, dPal-ldan-tshul-khrims, Buddha Shri (1339-1419).

<sup>325</sup> The lineage as mentioned in the colophon: Virūpa, rNal-'byor-pa Dza-doṅ-badzra, Buddha Śrī Bhadra.

<sup>326</sup> Van der Kuijp (1985: 87) comments upon the *gNod 'joms*: “The commentary was written towards the second half of 1406. It is a polemical text against Ratnākaraśānti and his Tibetan followers, who maintained that the *Hevajratāntra* was mentalistic (*sems tsam pa*) in philosophical persuasion. These Tibetan followers included Red-mda'-ba gZhon-nu-blo-gros (1348/49-1412) and Bo-dong Paṅ-chen.”

(86) *Lus dkyil rtsod spong* (#433#), i.e. the *dPal kyai rdo rje'i lus kyi dkyil 'khor la rtsod pa spong ba smra ba ngan 'joms*. Van der Kuijp (1985: 88) makes the interesting observation that a second print of the *Ngan 'joms* with some interesting variant readings exists, which has a slightly different title, namely *lTa ba ngan sel*.<sup>327</sup> The work is a polemical reply to a remark found in mKhas-grub-rje's work on the maṇḍala of Guhyasamaja.<sup>328</sup>

(87) *Tshogs 'khor gsang ba kun brgyan* (#434#), i.e. the perhaps the *rNal 'byor chen po'i sgrub thabs thams cad la nye bar mkho ba'i cho ga gsang ba kun rgyan*.

(88) *gTor chog gi 'grel pa 'phrin las rgyas byed* (#435#), i.e. the *dPal kyai rdo rje'i rgyud las gsungs pa'i 'byung po thams cad pa'i gtor ma'i cho ga phrin las rgyas byed*.

Having exhausted now the title lists of the *Yellow Book* and the *Red Book*, two of the major volumes of the Path with Its Fruit teachings, let us now turn to the lists of works as contained in the records of teachings of A-mes-zhabs.

<sup>327</sup> *Sa-skyapa'i bKa' 'bum* 9, no. 50, fols. 287v-310r.

<sup>328</sup> mKhas-grub-rje, *rGyud thams cad kyi rgyal po dpal gsang ba 'dus pa'i bskyed rim dngos grub rgya mtsho*, *Collected Works of mKhas-grub-rje*, lHa-sa Zhol print, ja, Dharamsala, 1981, pp. 254 ff. He also wrote a reply to Ngor-chen, the *Phyin ci log gi gtam gyi sbyor ba la zhugs pa'i smra ba ngan pa rnam par 'thag pa'i bstan bcos gnam lcags 'khor lo*, vol. *kha*, pp. 1 ff. (reference by van der Kuijp).

## Chapter 3

### The records of teachings of A-mes-zhabs

All of the approximately one-hundred and sixty works listed in the title lists of the *Yellow Book* and the *Red Book* are also mentioned in the various records of teachings of A-mes-zhabs, mainly in the record of teachings of his uncle, bSod-nams-dbang-po (*bSod-nams-dbang-po's Record*) and his principal teacher Mus-chen Sangs-rgyas-rgyal-mtshan (*Mus-chen's Record*). In addition to these, A-mes-zhabs also received a great number of further Path with Its Fruit teachings from these two masters, as well as from his other eminent teachers rTse-gdong-khri-chen Kun-dga'-bsod-nams-lhung-grub (1571-1642, *Kun-dga'-bsod-nams's Record*), and Ngag-dbang-chos-grags (*Ngag-dbang-chos-grags's Record*). A few works were also received from Kun-dga'-don-grub (late 16th c.-early 17th c., *Kun-dga'-don-grub's Record*), and through miscellaneous transmissions (*A-mes-zhabs' Record*<sup>329</sup>). The biographies of *lam 'bras* masters among these additional works have already been dealt with in an earlier publication.<sup>330</sup> In the following section, I will deal with all the remaining *lam 'bras* works mentioned in these records of teachings.

#### (a) The *Black Book* (*pod nag ma*)

The *Black Book* comprises writings of the fifteenth throne-holder of Sa-skya, Bla-ma-dam-pa bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan (1312-1375).<sup>331</sup> The works are exclusively from the *lam 'bras* context and were composed between 1342 and 1347 (Stearns, 2001: 36). The collection does not contain a title list, however, the record of teachings of Ngag-dbang-chos-grags (*Ngag-dbang-chos-grags's Record*, 29r) provides such a list for the “single volume collection of manuals of the cycle of the precious teachings composed by the Dharmā lord, the glorious Bla-ma-dam-pa bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan, [i.e.] the teachings known as the Black Book [of the] Path with Its Fruit:”

- (1) *Bla ma brgyud pa 'i rnam thar ngo mtshar snang ba* (#436#) by Bla-ma-dam-pa bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan. According to the colophon, the work was finished on the twenty-third day of the fourth month of 1344 in Kha'u-skyed-lhas. An incomplete manuscript of 24 folios survived in *Patna* (no. 991). See also Martin (1997: 95). According to Stearns (2001: 37), “this text is the earliest surviving history to include brief information on the transmission and sources of the other systems of the *lam skor dgu*, the “nine path-cycles,” among which the *lam 'bras* is foremost. (...) Bla-ma-dam-pa completely incorporated dMar-ston [Chos-kyi-rgyal-po]'s *Zhib mo rdo rje* into his work.” Stearns also notes (p. 38) that Mus-srad-pa rDo-rje-rgyal-mtshan composed a clarification of this work, which is now lost, but to which A-mes-zhabs had access in 1621 (cf. below, #446#, text no. 3 in chapter 3b).
- (2) *gZhung bshad man ngag gi mdzod* (#437#), i.e. the *Lam 'bras bu dang bcas pa 'i gdams ngag gi rnam par bshad pa man ngag gter mdzod* by Bla-ma-dam-pa bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan.<sup>332</sup> A commentary on the *rDo rje tshig rkang* (#275#). According to the colophon, it was written in 1342. Stearns (2001: 36 f.) says: “In this work Bla-ma-dam-pa largely drew material from Sa-chen's *Sras don ma* (#283#) and *gNyags ma* (#284#),

<sup>329</sup> For *A-mes-zhabs' Record*, see his records of teachings in the collected works of A-mes-zhabs, vol. *kha*, no. 13: *Sa skya pa a nanda 'i ming can gyi thob yig chen mo 'i kha skong brjed byang du bkod pa don gnyis mthar phyin bsam pa lhun grub*.

<sup>330</sup> Sobisch (2002: 170-177).

<sup>331</sup> On Bla-ma-dam-pa and the *Black Book*, cf. Davidson (1991: 112 f., 179 f., ftns. 28-29).

<sup>332</sup> A complete translation by Cyrus Stearns is forthcoming.

and incorporated several small works by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan and Sa-skyā Paṇḍita,” which Stearns clarifies in a footnote to be the *‘Khor ‘das dbyer med* (#310#) and the *rTen ‘brel lnga* (#300#). He also incorporated dMar-ston’s commentary on the *rDo rje tshig rkang*,<sup>333</sup> entitled *gSung sgros ma* (which should not be confused with the biography on Sa-paṇ, bearing the same poetical title).<sup>334</sup> A copy of this commentary, entitled *gZhung rdo rje ‘i tshig rkang gi ‘grel pa ‘jam mgon bla ma ‘i gsung sgros ma zhes dmar chos rgyal gsung*, also known as the *gZhung bshad dmar ma* (#657#), is in the possession of Stearns, yet another “*gSung sgros ma*” was discovered by van der Kuijp in Beijing (2001: 200, n. 313).

- (3) *gZhung ji lta ba bzhin dkri ba ‘i gzhung shing sbas don gsal ba* (#438#), i.e. the *Lam ‘bras bu dang bcas pa ‘i gzhung ji lta ba bzhin dkri ba ‘i khrid yig sbas pa ‘i don kun gsal* by Bla-ma-dam-pa bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan. It contains instructions on the “three appearances” (*snang gsum*) and “three continua” (*rgyud gsum*). These are special features of the Sa-skyā-pa *lam ‘bras* system: The preliminaries, i.e. the three appearances (*snang gsum*) which are in accordance with the *prajñāpāramitā* system, i.e. the impure appearances (*ma dag pa ‘i snang ba*) of ordinary beings, the appearances of yogic experience (*rnal ‘byor nyams kyi snang ba*), and the pure appearances (*dag pa ‘i snang ba*) of the Buddha (see also ftn. 239), and the main sections, the three continua (*rgyud gsum*), which are in accordance with the vajrayāna, i.e. the continuum of the universal ground, which is the cause (*kun gzhi rgyu ‘i rgyud*), where the view that saṃsāra and nirvāṇa are inseparable is maintained, the continuum of the body, which is the method (*lus thabs kyi rgyud*), i.e. the practice of the path connected with the four initiations, and the continuum of the final fruit (*mthar thug ‘bras bu ‘i rgyud*), i.e. mahāmudrā, where the five gnoses arise. See also Stearns (2001: 37 and 183, n. 159). According to the colophon, the composition was finished in 1347. According to Stearns (2001: 37), the work is based on works of the *Yellow Book* and on the earlier manuals by Sa-paṇ’s disciple Tshogs-sgom Kun-dga’-dpal (1210-1307) and Tshogs-sgom’s disciples Nyan-chen bSod-nams-brtan-pa and gNyag sNying-po-rgyal-mtshan (none of which survived),<sup>335</sup> and oral teachings.
- (4) *gNad bcu gcig gi dkri ba ‘i gzhung shing gnad kyi sgo ‘byed* (#439#) by Bla-ma-dam-pa bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan.
- (5) *gNad drug gi bkri ba ‘i gzhung shing gnad kyi lde mig* (#440#) by Bla-ma-dam-pa bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan.
- (6) *dBang po rab ‘bring tha gsum gyis dkri ba ‘i khrid rim gyi gsal byed nyung du rnam gsal* (#441#) by Bla-ma-dam-pa bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan.
- (7) (*Lam zab mo*) *bla ma ‘i rnal ‘byor (zhal shes dang bcas pa)* (#442#) by bTsun-pa A-wa-dhū-ti-pa bSod-nams (according to colophon—this is an alternative name of Bla-ma-dam-pa).

<sup>333</sup> According to Cyrus Stearns, dMar-ston’s commentary records Sa-paṇ’s explanation of the *rDo rje tshig rkang*.

<sup>334</sup> See *Sa-skyā-pa bKa’ ‘bum*, where it is found among Ngor-chen’s writings, i.e. vol. 10, no. 96, fols. 61r-73r., and *Lam ‘bras Literature Series* 1, pp. 113-133.

<sup>335</sup> Both of these instructions (*khrid yig*) are mentioned in *Mus-srad-pa’s Tho yig* (153v) as being clarifications of the *gZhung ji lta ba bzhin dkri ba ‘i gzhung shing* (#329#), for which see p. 97, text no. 1.



- (8) *Lus dkyil gyi dbang chog* (#443#) by Bla-ma-dam-pa bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan. Title according to the *Black Book: Zab mo lus kyi dkyil 'khor du dbang bskur ba'i cho ga* by rDo-rje-'dzin-pa bSod-nams (according to colophon—i.e. Bla-ma-dam-pa).<sup>336</sup>

### (b) The Path with Its Fruit of the tradition of rDzong

In the Sa-skya-pa mantra tradition one finds a differentiation into the systems of Ngor-chen Kun-dga'-bzang-po and rDzong-pa Kun-dga'-rnam-rgyal, i.e. the “two [traditions] Ngor and rDzong” (*ngor rdzong gnyis*). These traditions are located in the monasteries of Ngor, E-wain Chos-ldan, and Sa-skya, rDzong-chung, which have respectively been founded by Ngor-chen Kun-dga'-bzang-po (1382-1456) and sNgags-'chang or Rig-pa-'dzin-pa or rDzong-pa gZungskyi-dpal (1306-1389<sup>337</sup>), a disciple of Bla-ma-dam-pa bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan (1312-1375). I have already listed seven biographies of *lam 'bras* masters of the rDzong tradition with their transmission lineages elsewhere.<sup>338</sup> Of great interest with this regard is a work by A-mes-zhabs, the *Stages of the Practice of the Precious Teachings According to Ngor-pa and rDzong-pa*, which is to my knowledge as yet unstudied.<sup>339</sup> In addition to the already mentioned biographies, we find the following works mentioned in *A-mes-zhabs' Record* (1v and 3v-5r) as belonging to the *lam 'bras* of the rDzong system:

- (1) *Lam 'bras glegs bam rtsa spod* (#444#). “Received from the Dharma lord of the tradition of rDzong, Byams-pa-dpal.”<sup>340</sup> This appears to be the *Yellow Book*.<sup>341</sup>
- (2) *Lam 'bras glegs bam khra spod* (#445#). *A-mes-zhabs' Record* (1r). “Received from the Dharma lord of the tradition of rDzong, Byams-pa-dpal” (see above).
- (3) *Bla ma'i rnam thar ngo mtshar kha bskongs* (#446#) by gTsang Byams-pa.<sup>342</sup>
- (4) *Lam 'bras kyi gegs bsel nor bu'i phreng ba* (#447#) by 'Jam-dbyangs-nam-mkha'-rgyal-mtshan (1398-1472).<sup>343</sup>
- (5) *Tshogs 'khor gyi gzur 'debs* (#448#) by rJe Nam-mkha'-dbang-phyug.<sup>344</sup>
- (6) *Lam 'bras rdo rje tshig rkang gi sa bcad* (#449#) by 'Jam-dbyangs-nam-mkha'-rgyal-mtshan. A topical outline for Virūpa's *rDo rje tshig rkang*.

<sup>336</sup> *Ngag-dbang-chos-grags's Record* (29r) adds as the last item of this list also a *Lam dus kyi dbang chog*.

<sup>337</sup> For these dates, see *Mang-thos Klu-sgrub's bsTan rtsis* 185.

<sup>338</sup> Sobisch (2002, nos. 23-28).

<sup>339</sup> A-mes-zhabs *Ngag-dbang-kun-dga'-bsod-nams, dPal ldan sa skya pa'i bstan 'dzin ngor rdzong rnam gnyis kyi gsung ngag rin po che'i phyag len gyi rim pa 'ga' zhis las brtsams te so so'i bzhed srol rnam legs par bshad pa lugs gnyis zab don gsal ba'i nyin byed*, vol. ma, no. 8, 105 fols. (308r-412v). The Derge title list notes a xylograph with 14 fols. (vol. ma, no. 2). This edition has been published in 1985 in Dehra Dun by the Sakya Centre.

<sup>340</sup> rJe La-tu-pa Byams-pa-dpal was, according to *A-mes-zhabs' Record* 2v and 5r/v a direct teacher of A-mes-zhabs.

<sup>341</sup> I owe this identification to Cyrus Stearns.

<sup>342</sup> This text is according to Cyrus Stearns a supplement to Bla-ma-dam-pa's *Bla ma bgyud pa'i rnam thar ngo mtshar snang ba* (#436#, see p. 113, text no. 1). gTsang Byams-pa is another name for Mus-srad-pa rDo-rje-rgyal-mtshan. In two lineages of *A-mes-zhabs' Record* (3v) he is said to be a disciple of “rJe rGyal-mtshan-dkon-mchog” or “Sems-dpa'-chen-po rGyal-mtshan-dkon-mchog-pa.” Cf. Mus-srad-pa gTsang-byams-pa rDo-rje-rgyal-mtshan (1424-1498), *TBRC P5302*.

<sup>343</sup> *A-mes-zhabs' Record* (3v) provides the following lineage for the biographies of *lam 'bras* masters of the rDzong tradition: rDzong-pa Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan, bDag-chen dPal-ldan-chos-skyongs (fl. 15th c.), Grub-chen Chos-kyi-rin-chen, dBen-chen brTson-'grus-rgya-mtsho, rJe Sangs-rgyas-mgon-po (b. 14th c.), rJe Nam-mkha'-rgyal-mtshan, rJe Nam-mkha'-dbang-phyug, rJe brTson-'grus-'od-zer (b. 16th c.), rJe Sangs-rgyas-bkra-shis, rJe Lo-phu-ba, A-mes-zhabs.

<sup>344</sup> For a lineage of the rDzong tradition including Nam-mkha'-dbang-phyug, see the preceding note.

- (7) *Lam 'bras dmar ba rang du lam bskor phyi ma brgyad kyang 'dus tshul gyi zab gnad* (#450#) by mKhas-grub-pa Lung-pa, the work explains how to include the “eight later path-cycles” into dMar-(ston Chos-kyi-rgyal-po’s) Path with Its Fruit (i.e. the *gZhung bshad dmar ma*, #657#).<sup>345</sup>
- (8) *Kyai rdo rje 'i dkyil 'khor du dbang gi chu bo bskur ba 'i zhal gdams gnad kyi gsal byed kyi dka ' 'grel bdud rtsi 'i bum pa* (#451#) by rDzong-pa Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan.<sup>346</sup>
- (9) *Kyai rdo rje 'i mngon rtogs gsal byed* (#452#) by the same author.
- (10) *dKa ' 'grel rgyud don gnad kyi gsal byed* (#453#) by the same author.
- (11) *Phyag len 'khrul 'joms* (#454#) by the same author. “A large and a small work.”
- (12) *Kyai rdo rje rgyud brtag pa gnyis pa 'i 'grel pa dag ldan snye ma* (#455#).
- (13) *Kyai rdo rje 'i mngon rtogs kyi rnam bshad nyin byed snang ba* (#456#) by rJe rDo-rje-gdan-pa Kun-dga'-rnam-rgyal (1432-1496).<sup>347</sup>

### (c) The Path with Its Fruit of “Kha’u-brag-rdzong”

The practice of Kha’u-brag-rdzong are the pith instructions of the Path with Its Fruit as handed down through the “profound explication for disciples”<sup>348</sup> (*[lam 'bras] slob bshad*). Stearns (2001: 39-45) mentions that the “explication for disciples” was formerly “completely unknown outside of a very small cycle of great teachers and their students” and (2006: 2) that the distinction into “explication for disciples” and “for the assembly” was known only from bDag-chen Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan (1444-1495) time onwards.<sup>349</sup> These instructions were passed down from Mus-chen dKon-mchog-rgyal-mtshan (1388-1469)<sup>350</sup> to bDag-chen Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan, who passed them to Kun-spangs rDo-ring-pa (1449-1524). The latter two only composed “a few significant texts.”<sup>351</sup> Between 1518 and 1524, rDo-ring-pa conferred them to the “greatest figure of this tradition,” Tshar-chen Blo-gsal-rgya-mtsho (1502-1566/67),<sup>352</sup> in the isolated retreat site of Kha’u-brag-rdzong (near Sa-skya), from which this “*slob bshad*” transmission takes its alternative names, i.e. the “tradition of Tshar” or the “tradition of Kha’u-brag-rdzong.” Recipients of Tshar-chen’s teachings were mKhyen-brtse’i-dbang-phyug (1524-1568)<sup>353</sup> and Mang-thos Klu-sgrub-rgya-mtsho (1523-1596).<sup>354</sup> It was not before the time of

<sup>345</sup> The “eight later path-cycles” are briefly discussed in *Part I* (p. 24). On the *gZhung bshad dmar ma* see the short remarks above, p. 114, text no. 2.

<sup>346</sup> Cf. p. 64, end of chapter 2(a). For the author, cf. the lineage given in fn. 343.

<sup>347</sup> The transmission lineage for this is given in *A-mes-zhabs' Record* (5r): rJe rDo-rje-gdan-pa Kun-dga'-rnam-rgyal, rGya-ston Byang-chub-dbang-rgyal (b. second half of 15th c.), rJe Rab-'jam-smra-ba Nam-mkha'i-mtshan-can, rJe Lo-phu-ba, A-mes-zhabs.

<sup>348</sup> *Ngag-dbang-chos-grags's Record* (13r): *kha 'ub(!) brag rdzong pa 'i nyams len gsung ngag rin po che lam 'bras dang bcas pa 'i gdams pa slob bshad zab mo*.

<sup>349</sup> According to mKhyen-brtse’i-dbang-phyug (Stearns 2006: 246), “the classification in that way was taught in a unique transmission by lord Ngorchen Dorje Chang [Ngor-chen Kun-dga'-bzang-po] to Müchen Sempa Chenpo [Mus-chen dKon-mchog-rgyal-mtshan]. Sempa Chenpo [= Mus-chen] also separated the teachings and gave them to Dakchen Dorje Chang [bDag-chen Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan] alone.” Since “there does not appear to have been a classification separating the Explication for the Assembly from the Explication for Disciples [earlier],” mKhyen-brtse’i-dbang-phyug seems to say that it was invented by Ngor-chen.

<sup>350</sup> Mus-chen was a direct disciple of Ngor-chen Kun-dga'-bzang, from whom he also received the Path with Its Fruit instructions (mKhyen-brtse’i-dbang-phyug in Stearns 2006: 242, “Lord Sempa Chenpo” = Mus-chen).

<sup>351</sup> For these works, see *Sa slya Lam 'bras Literature Series* 18, 1-113.

<sup>352</sup> Tshar-chen Blo-gsal-rgya-mtsho’s extensive biography was composed by the fifth Dalai Lama (#685#).

<sup>353</sup> mKhyen-brtse’i-dbang-phyug has composed an extensive auto-biography (#686#).

<sup>354</sup> Among the texts filmed in Nepal by the NGMPP one finds a *Mang thos klu sgrub rgya mtsho 'i lam 'bras slob bshad khrid yig skor*, xylograph Tyangpoche, 61 fols., L 170/6. For his extensive auto-biography, see #687#.

Tshar-chen that specific details about this tradition were put into writing, many of them by mKhyen-brtse'i-dbang-phyug<sup>355</sup> and Klu-sgrub-rgya-mtsho, but they were not cut into wood blocks before the beginning of the twentieth century (Stearns 2006: 2 f.). mKhyen-brtse'i-dbang-phyug composed the main historical text of the *slob bshad* tradition (mentioned in *A-mes-zhabs' Record* 9v):

(1) *Lam 'bras kyi khog phub* by mKhyen-brtse'i-dbang-phyug (#457#).<sup>356</sup>

Mang-thos Klu-sgrub-rgya-mtsho's teachings were upheld by Ngag-dbang-chos-grags (1572-1641), one of the principle teachers of A-mes-zhabs. A number of titles in the records of teachings of Ngag-dbang-chos-grags (*Ngag-dbang-chos-grags's Record*, 13r-v), come under the above mentioned heading "practice of Kha'u-brag-rdzong."<sup>357</sup> At the beginning of the list, we find twenty-two biographical works, most of which I have already documented elsewhere.<sup>358</sup> One title that has slipped my attention is the following:

(2) *bDag chen rdo rje 'chang gi rnam thar yid 'phrog utpa la'i phreng ba* (#658#) by Tshar-chen Blo-gsal-rgya-mtsho. "bDag-chen rDo-rje-'chang" is bDag-chen Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan. He is mentioned twice in *Ngag-dbang-chos-grags's Record* with this epithet, once in a lineage after Mus-chen dKon-mchog-rgyal-mtshan (16v/17r) and once (on 53r) in connection with his collected writings. This work appears in the *Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series as Yid 'phrog utpa la'i do shal* (composed in 1539).

Another one of Tshar-chen's works follows in *Ngag-dbang-chos-grags's Record* after the list of biographies:

(3) *Lam yig* by Tshar-chen Blo-gsal-rgya-mtsho (#659#).

Three works on Hevajra listed in this section of *Ngag-dbang-chos-grags's Record* by Mus-chen dKon-mchog-rgyal-mtshan and one by Tshar-chen have already been mentioned.<sup>359</sup> Otherwise Ngag-dbang-chos-grags transmitted *lam 'bras* teachings to A-mes-zhabs that were common also outside of the "Kha'u-brag-rdzong practices," such as the *Yellow, Red and Black Books*, etc. I will return to this point further down.

#### (d) The "eight later path-cycles" teachings

Together with the Path with Its Fruit the "eight later path-cycles" (*lam skor phyi ma brgyad*) form the "nine path-cycles" (*lam skor dgu*), the most important tantric legacy of 'Brog-mi Lotsā-ba. The "eight later path-cycles" by various Indian masters have traditionally been transmitted in the Sa-skyapa tradition when the *lam 'bras* was bestowed. I have listed them together with the commentaries on them by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, instructions and notes by other masters, and their lineages *Part I* (pp. 24 ff.). The "eight later path-cycles" have been briefly discussed by Stearns (2001: 210 f.).

<sup>355</sup> All of mKhyen-brtse'i-dbang-phyug's Path with Its Fruit writings (all composed in 1559) have been translated by Stearns (2006).

<sup>356</sup> My initial misidentification of this title has been corrected by Cyrus Stearns (personal communication), who translated the text (Stearns 2006: 129-251). He furthermore pointed out to me that this text is identical with the *Lam 'bras kyi chos 'byung rgyas pa* (#501#) mentioned below, on p. 121 (text no. 2). The work combines the historical writings of rJe-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, dMar-ston Chos-kyi-rgyal-po and others with Cha-rgan dBang-phyug-rgyal-mtshan's chronicles, which contains special information from the Zhwa-ma tradition (Stearns 2006: 4). See also fn. 176. For a twentieth century update of this work by Blo-gter-dbang-po, see the translation by Stearns (2006: 253-284). For Ma-gcig Zhwa-ma, see fn. 180.

<sup>357</sup> See also the section on Tshar-chen's works, p. 121.

<sup>358</sup> For these biographical works, see p. 85, and Sobisch (2002: 170-177).

<sup>359</sup> These three works are mentioned on p. 63. Tshar-chen's work is mentioned in fn.167.

## (e) The works of “Mi-bskyod-rdo-rje” (a.k.a. Mus-chen dKon-mchog-rgyal-mtshan)

The Path with Its Fruit transmission of bSod-nams-dbang-po as documented in *bSod-nams-dbang-po's Record* consisted primarily of *lam 'bras* biographies and the *Yellow* and the *Red Book*. In addition to these, bSod-nams-dbang-po also transmitted seven works to A-mes-zhabs that are grouped under the heading *rJe sems dpa' chen po dpal mi bskyod rdo rje'i zhal snga nas mdzad pa*. Here “dPal Mi-bskyod-rdo-rje” appears to be a secret name of Mus-chen dKon-mchog-rgyal-mtshan (1388-1469), since he is certain to have composed the first six of the following works. The corresponding passage in *A-mes-zhabs' Transmission and Summary* (143r/v) is also marked as “*rje sems dpa' chen pos mdzad pa*,” a common honorific for Mus-chen dKon-mchog-rgyal-mtshan. There they form the second supplement of the *Red Book*. Some of these works are nowadays contained in the same volume of the *Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series* as the *Red Book* (i.e. in vol. 13):<sup>360</sup>

- (1) (*dPal kyai rdo rje man ngag lugs kyi ras bris kyi dkyil 'khor du dbang bskur ba'i cho ga* (#458#) by Bya-bral dKon-mchog-rgyal-mtshan (i.e. Mus-chen dKon-mchog-rgyal-mtshan). According to the colophon, based on the instructions of Ngor-chen Kun-dga'-bzang-po and composed in the Bas(?) -mtha'i-dgon-pa bDe-ba-can. The scribe's name was Nam-mkha'-rgyal-mtshan. This title is not contained in the title list of works of Mus-chen dKon-mchog-rgyal-mtshan, *Mus-chen's Record* (66v-67v).
- (2) *mNgon par rtogs pa 'bring du bya ba yan lag drug* (#459#) by Bya-bral dKon-mchog-rgyal-mtshan (i.e. Mus-chen dKon-mchog-rgyal-mtshan; title and author according to the colophon). The work was composed “having relied for a long time on the nectar of Ngor-chen Kun-dga'-bzang-po's teachings” (colophon).<sup>361</sup> *Mus-chen's Record* (67r) lists a *Kyai rdo rje'i mngon rtogs*.
- (3) (*dPal kyai rdo rje'i lus dkyil lam dus kyi dbang chog dang bcas pa* (#460#) by Bya-bral dKon-mchog-rgyal-mtshan (i.e. Mus-chen dKon-mchog-rgyal-mtshan). Composed by dKon-mchog-rgyal-mtshan in E-waṃ Chos-ldan (colophon). *Mus-chen's Record* (67r) lists a *Lus dkyil gyi sgrub thabs snga ma* and a *Lus dkyil gyi sgrub thabs phyi ma*.
- (4) *gTor chog bar chad kun sel* (#461#). By Mus-chen dKon-mchog-rgyal-mtshan? *Mus-chen's Record* (67r): *Kyai rdo rje'i gtor chog*. *A-mes-zhabs' Transmission and Summary* (143v): *gTor chog rnam bshad*.
- (5) *Khrid kyi zin bris che ba* (#462#) by Mus-chen dKon-mchog-rgyal-mtshan. *Mus-chen's Record* (67r): *gSung ngag rin po che khrid kyi zin bris che ba*.
- (6) *Khrid kyi zin bris chung ba* (#463#) by Mus-chen dKon-mchog-rgyal-mtshan. *Mus-chen's Record* (67r): *gSung ngag rin po che khrid kyi zin bris chung ba*.
- (7) *Lam zab kyi nyams len byed tshul* (#464#).
- (8) *Kun mkhyen gyi man ngag rnams bshad* (#470#). This is the *dPal kyai rdo rje'i man ngag lugs kyi bskyed pa'i rim pa gsal bar bshad pa* in Go-rams-pa's collected works. Composed in Thub-bstan-mam-par-rgyal-ba'i dGon-pa in 1485 (colophon).

<sup>360</sup> For a title list of Mus-chen dKon-mchog-rgyal-mtshan as contained in *Mus-chen's Record* (66v-67v), see *Appendix IIg*.

<sup>361</sup> For the *Yan lag drug pa*, which is based on Ngor-chen's contributions, see Davidson (1991: 113, 180 fn. 34). For the *mNgon rtogs yan lag drug pa'i mdzes rgyan* (#681#) and the *Lus dkyil mdzes rgyan* by dKon-mchog-lhun-grub (#689#), see Davidson (1991: 113 f., 180 fn. 35, the works of dKon-mchog-lhun-grub, however, have not completely replaced Mus-chen's texts as Davidson claims in that article.

A-mes-zhabs adds the following works as Mus-chen's supplements of the *Red Book* (*A-mes-zhabs' Transmission and Summary* 143v):

- (9) *dBang chu gsal ba'i me long* (#465#). The same title is mentioned in the list of Mus-chen dKon-mchog-rgyal-mtshan's writings (*Mus-chen's Record* 67r, no. 22).
- (10) *Kha skong* (#466#). *Khenpo Appey's Bibliography* mentions a *sTa gon skabs nyer mkho'i yo byad kyi dgos pa bshad pa* as belonging to the previous work. *Mus-chen's Record* (67r, no 24) mentions a *So shing sogs kyi dgos pa bshad pa*.
- (11) *Sa chog* (#467#). In *Mus-chen's Record* (67r, no. 23): *Sa chog gi lag len*.
- (12) *gSang ba'i lam bzang* (#468#).
- (13) *Grub mtha'i rnam 'byed* (#469#). In *Mus-chen's Record* (67r, no: 25): *bsKyed rim gyi grub mtha'i shan 'byed*.
- (14) *Bla ma'i rnam thar*. Both *Khenpo Appey's Bibliography* and *Mus-chen's Record* (67r) mention biographies of Ngor-chen Kun-dga'-bzang-po (#660#, according to *Khenpo Appey's Bibliography* "abbreviated") and Bla-ma-dam-pa dPal-ldan-tshul-khrims (#661#).

#### (f) The works of Go-rams-pa bSod-nams-seng-ge

A-mes-zhabs' principal teacher, Mus-chen Sangs-rgyas-rgyal-mtshan, included within his *lam 'bras* transmission some few works of Go-rams-pa (1429-1489). The most important one is certainly the following:

- (1) *Lam 'bras bu dang bcas pa'i man ngag gi byung tshul gsung ngag bstan pa rgyas pa'i nyi 'od kha skong dang bcas pa* (#471#) by Go-rams-pa bSod-nams-seng-ge. Title according to *Sa-skya-pa bKa' 'bum*.

Two of his other works focusing on Hevajra *sādhana* and *maṇḍala* have already been listed on (#167# and #126#). Mus-chen also included two of Go-rams-pa's works on Mahākāla:

- (2) *mGon po dpa' rkyang gi sgrub thabs gur rgyan las 'byung ba* (#472#) by Kun-mkhyen Chen-po (Go-rams-pa).
- (3) (*mGon po dpa' rkyang gi*) *sgrub thabs dang rjes gnang gi yi ge* (#473#) by Kun-mkhyen Chen-po (Go-rams-pa).

#### (g) The works of Mus-chen Sangs-rgyas-rin-chen

A-mes-zhabs' principal teacher, Mus-chen Sangs-rgyas-rgyal-mtshan, also included within his *lam 'bras* transmission some works by Mus-chen Sangs-rgyas-rin-chen (1450-1524):

- (1) *Dam tshig gi bshad pa* (#474#).
- (2) *gSung ngag khrid yig dngos grub 'byung ba'i gter chen* (#475#). The title is given in the list of his works in *Mus-chen's Record*, 67v, (where this title is mentioned together with a supplement).
- (3) *dBang gong ma'i khrid yig* (#476#).
- (4) *Lam zab bsdus pa'i nyams len* (#477#). The work is mentioned in the title list, 67v.
- (5) *bDud rtsi ril bu bsgrub pa'i phyag len gyi yi ge* (#478#). The work is mentioned in the title list, 67v.

**(h) The works of dKon-mchog-lhun-grub**

Mus-chen Sangs-rgyas-rgyal-mtshan finally transmitted to A-mes-zhabs also some works pertaining to the Path with Its Fruit composed by dKon-mchog-lhun-grub (1497-1557):<sup>362</sup>

- (1) *(dBang gi sngon 'gro'i) sems bskyed kyi cho ga* (#479#; no. 57).
- (2) *Slob ma rjes bzung gi cho ga* (#480#; no. 58).
- (3) *Lam zab mo bla ma'i rnal 'byor gyi nyams len gsang ba'i nye lam tshar gsum khug pa gsung ngag rin po che'i dmigs rim dang mthun pa'i gsol 'debs zab don snying po* (#481#; no. 46).
- (4) *gSung ngag rin po che'i lam khyer gyi smon lam bdud rtsi'i snying po* (#482#; no. 47).
- (5) *Man ngag gi brda 'grol zab don snang ba* (#483#; no. 48).
- (6) *gZhung ji lta ba bzhin dkri ba'i gzhung shing las 'phros pa'i dri ba tshigs bcad ma* (#484#; no. 49).
- (7) *Lam gyi dngos gzhi'i khrid yig rgyud gsum mdzes rgyan* (#485#; no. 56).
- (8) *gSung ngag sngon 'gro'i nyams len snang gsum mdzes par byed pa'i rgyan* (#486#; no. 55).<sup>363</sup>

**(i) The works of bDag-chen Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan**

The record of teachings of Ngag-dbang-chos-grags (*Ngag-dbang-chos-grags's Record* 53r) includes a number of works by bDag-chen Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan (1444-1495) on several topics of the *lam 'bras* cycle. These works are also mentioned by A-mes-zhabs (*A-mes-zhabs' Transmission and Summary* 143v) as the third supplement of the *Red Book*.

- (1) *Mus chen sems dpa' chen po'i rnam thar*. A biography of Mus-chen dKon-mchog-rgyal-mtshan (#669#).
- (2) *Lam sbas bshad kyi khrid yig* (#487#), i.e. the *Lam sbas te bshad pa'i man ngag gi zin bris*.
- (3) *bDud rtsi ril bu'i bsgrub pa'i phyag len* (#488#) or *bDud rtsi ril bu'i sgrub thabs shin tu gsal zhig* (in *A-mes-zhabs' Transmission and Summary* 143v: *bDud rtsi sgrub thabs*). According to the colophon, the text was composed in Kha'u-skyed-lhas in a dog year (1466, 1478, or 1490), based on the writings of rJe-btsun (Grag-pa-rgyal-mtshan)<sup>364</sup> and 'Phags-pa (Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan),<sup>365</sup> supplementing them with 'Brom (De-pa sTon-chung)'s<sup>366</sup> *gSang bcu'i yig cha*, ornamenting them with the pith instructions of Bla-madam-pa (bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan).
- (4) *'Khor 'das dbyer med kyi zin bris* (#489#). See the *'Khor 'das dbyer med kyi khrid yig, bdag chen rdo rje 'chang chen po'i gsung rgyun*. In *A-mes-zhabs' Transmission and Summary* (143v): *'Khor 'das dbyer med gsal byed*.
- (5) *mNgon byang gi bshad pa rgyas pa* (#490#). In *A-mes-zhabs' Transmission and Summary* (143v): *mNgon byang gzhi bshad*.
- (6) *rDo rje dril bu'i bshad pa* (#491#) or *rDo rje dril bu'i rnam bshad*.
- (7) *rNam 'joms bir lugs kyi byin rlabs bya tshul gyi yi ge* (#492#).

<sup>362</sup> The collected works of dKon-mchog-lhun-grub are at present not accessible to me. See *TBRC W10241*. The numbering refers to the numbers in *Appendix IId*.

<sup>363</sup> See above, fn. 240.

<sup>364</sup> See the *Ril bu'i sgrub thabs* (#314#), i.e. *bDud rtsi ril bu'i sgrub thabs* by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan.

<sup>365</sup> See the *bDud rtsi ril bu'i sgrub thabs (kyi zhal shes)* (#351#) by 'Phags-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan.

<sup>366</sup> For the identification of 'Brom De-pa sTon-chung as a disciple of 'Brog-mi, see Stearns' translation of mKhyen-brtse'i-dbang-phyug (2006: 189-192). 'Brom was a former sorcerer, who stayed eight years with 'Brog-mi and completely received the oral instructions.

(8) *mGon rkyang gi rjes gnang gi yi ge* (#493#). In *A-mes-zhabs' Transmission and Summary* (143v): *Ga ya 'i mgon rkyang rjes gnang*.

A-mes-zhabs (*A-mes-zhabs' Transmission and Summary* 143v) adds the following works by bDag-chen to these:

(1) *Khrid kyi zin bris* (#494#).

(2) *brGyud pa gnyis ldan gyi sems bskyed* (#495#).

(3) *Lam dus dbang chog* (#496#).

(4) *lTung ba 'i rnam bshad 'khrul spong rab gsal* (#497#).

(5) *brDa don gsal ba 'i khrid* (#498#). This title is mentioned in *Khenpo Appey's Bibliography* in connection with bDag-chen. It is published in the *gDams ngag mdzod* and the *Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series*.

(6) *gSang ba 'i lam zab mchan bcas* (#499#).

#### (j) The teachings of Tshar-chen Blo-gsal-rgya-mtsho

Ngag-dbang-chos-grags also included some teachings of Tshar-chen Blo-gsal-rgya-mtsho (1502-1566/67) in his transmission of *lam 'bras* teachings (fol. 53r). The works 2-5 are Tshar-chen's teachings as noted down by 'Jam-dbyangs-mkhyen-brtse'i-dbang-phyug (*zin bris*) in 1559.<sup>367</sup> The works of this section can be subsumed under the "practices of Kha'u-brag-rdzong" (i.e. the *slob bshad*), for which see above, p. 116.<sup>368</sup>

(1) *Lam 'bras brgyud pa 'i gsol 'debs kun bzang mar grags pa* (#500#) by Tshar-chen Blo-gsal-rgya-mtsho.

(2) *Lam 'bras kyi chos 'byung rgyas pa* (#501#) noted down by 'Jam-dbyangs-mkhyen-brtse'i-dbang-phyug.<sup>369</sup> This is the *gDams ngag byung tshul gyi zin bris gsang chen bstan pa 'i rgyas byed ces bya ba kha 'u brag rdzong pa 'i bzhed pa ma nor ban rgan mkhyen brtse 'i nyams len* (#501#).

(3) *sNang gsum gyi khrid yig* (#502#) noted down by 'Jam-dbyangs-mkhyen-brtse'i-dbang-phyug. This is the *sNang ba gsum du bstan pa 'i lam gyi zin bris kha 'u brag rdzong pa 'i bzhed pa ma nor ba*. The main focus of the text are the three appearances.

(4) *'Khor 'das dbyer med kyi lta khrid rgyas pa* (#503#) by 'Jam-dbyangs-mkhyen-brtse'i-dbang-phyug. This is the *rGyud gsum du bstan pa 'i lam gyi zin bris zab mo kha 'u brag rdzong pa 'i khyad chos ban rgan mkhyen brtse 'i nams len*. Stearns (2006: 5 f.) describes the contents as following: "The text is principally concerned with the meditative cultivation of an experiential realization of the indivisibility of saṃsāra and nirvāṇa. First is a brief presentation, by means of the three aspects of coemergence, to demonstrate that all phenomena arise from mistaken notions about the intrinsic nature of the mind, which is described from the three perspectives of lucidity, emptiness, and their essential unity. Next is an extensive explication by means of three key points of practice: establishing that appearances are the mind, establishing that the mind is

<sup>367</sup> On the *lam 'bras* teachings bestowed by Tshar-chen on mKhyen-brtse'i-dbang-phyug and the latter's notes on these, see Stearns (2001: 43; 2006 3).

<sup>368</sup> Texts nos. 2 and 3 have been translated by Cyrus Stearns (Stearns 2006: 129-251; 319-394). Texts nos. 4 and 5, which could be identified based on their contents, are also translated in Stearns (2006: 395-476; 477-527). A further text is apparently not mentioned in Ngag-dbang-chos-grags' list, namely the *Byung ba 'i chos la bshad sgrub bya tshul gyi zin bris kha 'u brag rdzong pa 'i bzhed pa ma nor ba ban rgan mkhyen brtse 'i nyams len* (*Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series* 14, pp. 195-225). It is translated in Stearns (2006: 285-317).

<sup>369</sup> Cyrus Stearns pointed out to me that this is the same text as the *Lam 'bras khog phub* (#457#) mentioned above, p. 117, text no. 1.

illusory, and establishing that the illusory mind has no self-nature. Finally an extremely extensive explication is given by means of the three continua: the causal continuum of the universal ground, the method continuum of the body, and the resultant continuum of mahāmudrā.”

- (5) *Bum dbang gi lam gyi khrid* (#504#) noted down by ‘Jam-dbyangs-mkhyen-brtse’i-dbang-phyug. This is the *Phyi bskyed rim gyi zin bris kha’u brag rdzong pa’i bzhed ma nor ba*. This text deals with the creation stage of the deity, which is the vase initiation, the first of the four initiations.

A-mes-zhabs has added altogether four supplements to the *Red Book (A-mes-zhabs’ Transmission and Summary 143r/v)*. The fourth constitutes works of “rJe-btsun Bla-ma-mchog.” This is Tshar-chen Blo-gsal-rgya-mtsho, for all of the works mentioned are clearly his:

- (6) *bDag chen rdo rje ‘chang gi rnam thar* (#658#), i.e. the *bDag chen blo gros rgyal mtshan rnam thar utpal la’i do shal*, composed in 1539.
- (7) *Kun spangs rdo ring pa chen po’i rnam thar* (#670#), i.e. the *rJe btsun kun spangs chen po’i rnam thar ngo mtshar dad pa’i spu long g.yo ba*, composed 1538 in rDo-rje-brag-rdzong.
- (8) *Lam ‘bras brgyud ‘debs lam rim smon lam dang bcas pa* (#505#), together with a “bKra shis”.<sup>370</sup>
- (9) *dBang chu’i lhan thabs* (#506#), i.e. the *Kyai rdo rje’i dbang chog gi lhan thabs nor bu’i phreng ba*, which is mentioned in *Khenpo Appey’s Bibliography*. According to *Ngag-dbang-chos-grags’s Record* (13v), a supplement for Mus-chen’s Hevajra initiation (#458#).
- (10) *Phyi dkyil gyi rnam bshad* (#507#). Mentioned in *Khenpo Appey’s Bibliography* as *Phyi bskyed rim gyi rnam bshad legs bshad nyi ma’i ‘od zer*. This is published as Tshar-chen’s *dPal kye rdo rje’i rnam bshad nyi ma’i ‘od zer*.
- (11) *Nang dkyil gyi rnam bshad* (#508#), i.e. the *Nang bskyed rims kyi rnam bshad skal bzang snying gi padmo bzhad pa*, which is mentioned in *Khenpo Appey’s Bibliography*. This is published as Tshar-chen’s *Zab mo lus dkyil gyi rnam par bshad pa skal bzang snying gi padmo bzhad pa*.

### (k) The works of Ngag-dbang-chos-grags

In the last one of the thirteen records of teachings, a supplement of A-mes-zhabs’ own records of miscellaneous teachings, he lists nineteen works of his teacher Ngag-dbang-chos-grags that pertain to the cycle of the Path with Its Fruit teachings. About half of these works do also appear in a list of seventy-five works found towards the end of Ngag-dbang-chos-grags’s records of teachings (77v-80v), which is documented in *Appendix IIj*.<sup>371</sup>

- (1) *Lam ‘bras snang gsum rgyud gsum gyi khrid yig* (#509#).
- (2) *gSung ngag rin po che’i skabs kyi slob ma rjes ‘dzin mdzad tshul* (#510#, no. 47).

<sup>370</sup> According to Cyrus Stearns, this is the same text as #500#, for which see p. 121.

<sup>371</sup> Those titles that also appear in the extensive list of seventy-five works are indicated (nos. 47-54, which corresponds to the numbers in *Appendix IIj*). Note also a work by Ngag-dbang-chos-grags neither listed in the records of teachings nor in the *Appendix*: *gSung ngag rin po che lam ‘bras bu dang bcas pa’i lo rgyus dang dmigs pa’i zab gnad cung zad bshad pa’i yi ge kha’u brag rdzong pa’i bzhed pa ma nor ba pañ chen ngag dbang chos grags kyis mdzad pa* (#662#). Only a very small amount of works ascribed in the title lists and works of A-mes-zhabs to Ngag-dbang-chos-grags can be located in the works presently available at TBRC.



- (3) *Aṣṭa sogs kyi bzlas lung go bde bar bkod pa* (#511#).
- (4) *rGyud pa'i khyad par gnyis ldan gyi sems bskyed kyi cho ga dam pa'i bzhed srol sems nyid ngal mtsho'i bdud rtsi* (#512#).
- (5) *Tshar gsum khug pa'i byin rlabs bya tshul gsang chen chos kyi rnga chen* (#513#, no. 48).
- (6) *Lam dbang gi mtha' dpyad dang zur 'debs kyi gnad 'ga'* (#514#).
- (7) *bDag med ma'i byin rlabs bya tshul legs byas gtam gyi bdud rtsi* (#515#, no. 49).
- (8) *Lam zab bla ma'i rnal 'byor thun mongs kyi byin rlabs bya tshul mkhas la nyer mkho* (#516#).
- (9) *Bla ma rin 'byung gi nyams len byin rlabs dang bcas pa'i yi ge 'dod dgu'i dpal 'byor ma lus pa'i 'byung gnas legs bya myi rnga bo che lam zab nang gi rnal 'byor gyi byin rlabs bya tshul mkhas la nyer mkho* (#517#, no. 50).
- (10) *Bir bsrung thun mongs pa'i byin rlabs rdo rje 'chang gi mdzad pa la zur 'debs chung zad dang bcas pa* (#518#).
- (11) *Bir bsrung thun mongs ma yin pa'i byin rlabs byed tshul gyi phyag len* (#519#).
- (12) *Lam 'bras kyi brda' don gsal ba'i byin rlabs bya tshul gyi phyag len* (#520#, cf. no. 51).
- (13) *Lam 'bras kyi brda' don gsal ba'i byin rlabs bya tshul gnyis las gsum byung gi go don dang bcas pa* (#521#, cf. no. 51).
- (14) *Lam sbas bshad kyi byin rlabs bya tshul bklags mchog tu bkod pa* (#522#, cf. no. 51).
- (15) *Lam 'bras kyi brda' chig rgyud kyi byin rlabs lag len go bde bklags mchog tu bkod pa* (#523#), (no. 52). Cf. below, the miscellaneous *lam 'bras* works, no. 31.
- (16) *sGrub pa lung sbyin dang gsang bcu'i rgyas 'debs kyi phyag len go bde bklags mchog tu bkod pa mtha' sypod dang bcas pa* (#524#, no. 53).
- (17) *rNam 'joms bir lugs lha bdun cu rtsa lnga'i sgrub thabs nub pa rigs 'dzin grags kyi mdzad pa'i dbu phyogs* (#525#, no. 54?).
- (18) *rNam 'joms bir lugs rjes gnang bya tshul* (#526#).
- (19) *rJe btsun ga ya dha ra nas bryud pa'i gur gyi mgon po'i rjes gnang bya tshul* (#527#).

Note also the following works from the list of Ngag-dbang-chos-grags's writings in *Ngag-dbang-chos-grags's Record*, fols. 77v-80v. They have not been mentioned in the above list from the supplement of A-mes-zhabs' own records of miscellaneous teachings. The numbers refer to the numbering in *Appendix IIj*:

- (42) *mChog gi rnam 'dren 'gyur med bde chen zhabs kyi lam 'bras bu dang bcas pa'i gzhung shing las brtsams té dris lan gnang ba'i zhus lan dpyod ldan rna ba'i rgyan* (#673#).
- (43) *gSung ngag rin po che'i lam 'bras bu dang bcas pa'i dka' ba'i gnas rnam las brtsams te dris pa'i rang lan gzur gnas drang po'i gtam bskyel bdud rtsi thigs phreng* (#674#).
- (45) *gSung ngag sngon 'gro'i khrid rim snang gsum snying po'i legs bshad* (#675#).
- (46) *gSung ngag dngos gzhi'i khrid rim rgyud gsum snying po'i legs bshad* (#676#).

### (l) The works of bSod-nams-dbang-po

A few titles from the list of works of A-mes-zhabs' uncle, bSod-nams-dbang-po (1559-1621), pertain to the Path with Its Fruit cycle. For the complete list, see *bSod-nams-dbang-po's Record* (30r-31v), and *Appendix IIIh*:

- (1) *Lam 'bras brgyud 'debs byin rlabs myur 'jug* (#528#, no. 3).
- (2) *Lam 'bras brgyud pa'i gsol 'debs dngos grub bsam 'phel* (#529#, no. 4).

- (3) *Lam 'bras brgyud pa'i gsol 'debs bsdus pa byin rlabs myur 'jug* (#530#, no. 5).
- (4) *gSung ngag rin po che'i dmigs rims nyams su len tshul shin tu bde ba* (#531#, no. 36).
- (5) *Lam 'bras bu dang bcas pa'i khrid yig gyi yang snying bsdus pa tshig nyung don rgyas* (#532#, no. 37).
- (6) *gSung ngag rin po che lam 'bras bu dang bcas pa'i khrid yig shin tu go bde gsung rgyun gyi rims pa gsal ba dangos grub rgya mtsho ('di 'phro can yin)* (#533#, no. 45).

**(m) Miscellaneous lam 'bras works**

The following titles are mentioned throughout A-mes-zhabs' records of teachings in connection with lam 'bras teachings:

- (1) *brGyud pa'i rnam thar zhib mo rdo rje* (#534#) by dMar Chos-kyi-rgyal-po. See Stearns (2001: *passim*).
- (2) *Dag pa gsum gyi khrid yig* (#535#) by 'Phags-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan. This work is connected with the *Vajrapañjara*.
- (3) *(Rang byin rlabs kyi dmigs pa nyi shu rtsa dgu'i) khrid yig* (#536#) by Sa-chen (Kun-dga'-snying-po).
- (4) *gZhung bshad man ngag gter mdzod* (#537#) by Bla-ma-dam-pa bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan. This is the *Lam 'bras bu dang bcas pa'i gdams ngag gi rnam par bshad pa man ngag gter mdzod*. Composed according to the colophon after being persuaded by bSam-gtan-shākya-bzang-po (14th c.).
- (5) *Bir bsrung thun mongs pa'i rgyun gyi nyams len gyi yi ge* (#538#) by Mang-thos Klu-sgrub-rgya-mtsho.
- (6) *Slob bshad brgyud pa gsum 'dus kyi gsol 'debs lam gyi rims pa'i smon lam dang bcas pa* (#539#).<sup>372</sup>
- (7) *Gegs sel gces bsdus* (#540#).
- (8) *gSang ba'i dbang gi rab tu byed pa* (#541#) by Virūpa. Title according to *P*.
- (9) *rNal 'byor dbang phyug gi chos bzhi las lam zab bla ma'i rnal 'byor gyi byin rlabs man ngag dang bcas pa* (#542#) by Tshar-chen Blo-gsal-rgya-mtsho with notes by Mang-thos Klu-sgrubs-rgya-mtsho.
- (10) *Bir bsrung gi byin rlabs man ngag dang bcas pa* (#543#) by Tshar-chen Blo-gsal-rgya-mtsho with notes by Mang-thos Klu-sgrubs-rgya-mtsho.
- (11) *Lam sbas bshad kyi thugs rdo rje'i khrid* (#544#) by Tshar-chen Blo-gsal-rgya-mtsho with notes by Mang-thos Klu-sgrubs-rgya-mtsho. "Similar to bDag-chen (Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan)'s manual (#663#)."
- (12) *rDo rje rnam 'joms bir lugs kyi byin rlabs* (#545#) by Tshar-chen Blo-gsal-rgya-mtsho with notes by Mang-thos Klu-sgrubs-rgya-mtsho.
- (13) *Tshar gsum khug pa'i byin rlabs* (#546#) by Tshar-chen Blo-gsal-rgya-mtsho with notes by Mang-thos Klu-sgrubs-rgya-mtsho.
- (14) *Lam 'bras khrid yig cha tshang* (#671#) by rJe bZang-po-dpal.
- (15) *rDo rje'i tshig rkang gi bsdus don tshangs bde nyung gsal gyi gsal byed rin chen phreng ba* (#547#) by rGyal-tshab Dam-pa dKon-mchog-dpal-ldan (1526-1590).<sup>373</sup>

<sup>372</sup> According to Cyrus Stearns this is the same text as #500#, for which see p. 121.

<sup>373</sup> A list of rGyal-tshab Dam-pa dKon-mchog-dpal-ldan's works survives in *Kun-dga'-don-grub's Record* (74r). Within that list, this is title no. 2. For the complete list, see *Appendix IIf*.

- (16) *gSung ngag rin po che lam 'bras bu dang bcas pa'i khrid yig dang po'i blo can gyi rtogs par bla ba gsung rgyun gyi rims pa gsal ba* (#548#) by Grags-pa-blo-gros. *Grags-pa-blo-gros's Record* (24r-24v, no. 10).<sup>374</sup>
- (17) *gSung ngag rin po che khrid kyi zin bris che ba* (#549#) by Mus-chen dKon-mchog-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzang-po. *Mus-chen's Record* (66v-67v, no. 16).
- (18) *gSung ngag rin po che khrid kyi zin bris chung ba* (#550#) by Mus-chen dKon-mchog-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzang-po. *Mus-chen's Record* (66v-67v, no. 17).
- (19) *gSung ngag khrid yig dngos grub 'byung ba'i gter chen* (#551#) by Mus-chen Sangs-rgyas-rin-chen-dpal-bzang-po. *Mus-chen's Record* (67v-68v, no. 7).
- (20) *gSung ngag khrid kyi kha skongs* (#552#) by Mus-chen Sangs-rgyas-rin-chen-dpal-bzang-po. *Mus-chen's Record* (67v-68v, no. 8).
- (21) *rDo rje'i tshig rkang gi rnam bshad* (#553#) by Mus-chen Sangs-rgyas-rin-chen-dpal-bzang-po. *Mus-chen's Record* (67v-68v, no. 10).
- (22) *Lam 'bras phyag mchod kyi kha skongs* (#554#) by Ngor-chen Kun-dga'-bzang-po. *Kun-dga'-don-grub's Record* (63v-66r, no. 14).
- (23) *Lam 'bras bla ma brgyud pa'i gsol 'debs* (#555#) by Ngor-chen Kun-dga'-bzang-po. *Kun-dga'-don-grub's Record* (63v-66r, no. 15).
- (24) *Lam 'bras chos 'byung rtsoms 'phro* (#556#) by Ngor-chen Kun-dga'-bzang-po. *Kun-dga'-don-grub's Record* (63v-66r, no. 48). According to a suggestion by Cyrus Stearns, this might be Ngor-chen's *Lam 'bras bu dang bcas pa'i man ngag gi byung tshul gsung ngag rin po che bstan pa rgyas pa'i nyi 'od*, which was supplemented by Gung-ru-ba Shes-rab-bzang-po.
- (25) *dBang gsum pa'i lam la dbye ba* (#557#) by 'Phags-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan.

<sup>374</sup> See *Appendix III* for a short list of Grags-pa-blo-gros's works.



Ngor-chen Kun-dga'-bzang-po  
miniature from the manuscripts  
of A-mes-zhabs' works  
vol. *dza*, no. 2, fol. 1v right

### Additional lam 'bras and Hevajra works

In his *Transmission and General Summary of the Precious Teachings (A-mes-zhabs' Transmission and Summary)*, A-mes-zhabs included two title lists of members of the rDzong-tradition, namely Nyi-lde-ba Nam-mkha'-bzang-po's *dKar chag (Nyi-lde-ba's dKar chag)* and Mus-srad-pa rDo-rje-rgyal-mtshan's *Lam 'bras lam skor lhag ma rnams dang bcas pa'i tho yig (Mus-srad-pa's Tho yig)*.<sup>375</sup>

#### (a) Nyi-lde-ba's list (previously unmentioned works)

Of the first list, *Nyi-lde-ba's dKar chag*, I will mention only those titles that were not mentioned in lists compiled by earlier masters already presented above. The complete list, covering about four folios in *A-mes-zhabs' Transmission and Summary* (148r-151r), comprises two-hundred and thirty lam 'bras works and supplements compiled by Nyi-lde-ba Nam-mkha'-bzang-po.

- (1) *bsKyed rim gyi khrid* (#558#) by dGa'-ldan-pa Kun-dga'-bsod-nams (13th c.).
- (2) *'Pho ba* (#559#) by 'Phags-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan. I.e. the *'Pho ba'i rnal 'byor*.
- (3) *gSang bcu* (#560#) by rJe Sa-skyapa (Kun-dga'-snying-po), together with a commentary.
- (4) *Thun mong ma yin pa'i srung 'khor* (#561#) by rJe Sa-skyapa (Kun-dga'-snying-po).
- (5) *Bir srung* (#562#) by Sa-paṅ Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan.
- (6) *brDa gcig brgyud* (#563#) by 'Phags-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan. Cf. above, p. 123, text no. 15.
- (7) *Man ngag gces bsdus* (#564#). See Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po, *dPal sa skyapa'i man ngag gces pa btus pa rin po che'i phreng ba*. According to *Nyi-lde-ba's dKar chag* (149v), a collection of thirty-eight pith instructions (Davidson, 2005: 355, counts "forty-nine abbreviated practices" but offers no further explanation).
- (8) *Phyag chen gces bsdus* (#565#). See rJe-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, *Phyag rgya chen po gces pa btus pa'i man ngag. Nyi-lde-ba's dKar chag* (149v); according to Davidson (2005: 356) thirty-two short texts.
- (9) *Khrigs chags* (#566#) by bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan. *Nyi-lde-ba's dKar chag* (149v).
- (10) *bDag 'jug jim gyim ma* (#567#) by 'Phags-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan. Cf. *Kyai rdo rje'i bdag 'jug gi cho ga dbang la 'jug pa*, or *dPal kyai rdo rje'i dkyil 'khor du bdag nyid 'jug pa'i cho ga snying po gsal ba*.
- (11) *dKyil 'khor bdun bsres kyi zin bris* (#568#).
- (12) *Lus dkyil* (#569#) by dGra-las-rnam-rygal. *Nyi-lde-ba's dKar chag* (150r).
- (13) *Kyai rdo rje lus dkyil dbang gi tho* (#570#) by rJe Sa-skyapa. Cf. Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po, *bsDus pa'i dkyil 'khor du slob ma la dbang bskur ba*.
- (14) *Kyai rdor lus dkyil dbang dus kyi dbang* (#571#) by 'Phags-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan. See the *Lam dus kyi dbang rgyas pa blang ba'i lag len*.
- (15) *Kyai rdor lus dkyil dbang chog la ru ba* (#572#) by (La-ru-ba) bSod-nams-seng-ge.
- (16) *Lam dus kyi dbang* (#573#) by Blo-gros-brtan-pa.
- (17) *Kyai rdor lus dkyil lam dus kyi dbang* (#574#) by Theg-chen-pa (i.e. Chos-kyi-rgyal-po Kun-dga'-bkra-shis?, 1349-1425).
- (18) *Lag len zin bris* (#575#) by Yar-klungs-pa Seng-ge-rgyal-mtshan (1345-1413).

<sup>375</sup> Nyi-lde-ba Nam-mkha'-bzang-po is an author of the rDzong-tradition of the 14th century. In the *Great Genealogy* (300r) he is mentioned as belonging to the same period as Bla-ma-dam-pa bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan (1312-1375). Cf. also TBRC P5301.

- (19) *Lag len zin bris* (#576#) by sNye-thang Bla-ma rGyal-po-dpal.  
 (20) *bDag med lha mo 'i mngon rtogs* (#577#) by 'Phags-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan. See the *bDag med lha mo bco lnga 'i mngon rtogs*.  
 (21) (*bDag med ma 'i bstod pa* (#578#) by 'Phags-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan. *bsTod pa rnam dag phreng ba*.  
 (22) *bDag med ma 'i dbang chu* (#579#) by Ne-tso sBal-ston.  
 (23) *bDag med ma 'i dbang gi tho yig* (#580#) by bSod-nams-rtse-mo.  
 (24) *Zhen pa bzhi bral gyi gdams pa* (#581#) by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan.  
 (25) *rNal 'byor dbang bskur kyi tho yig* (#582#).  
 (26) *Zin bris* (#583#) by Zangs-tsha bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan (1184-1239).  
 (27) *Zin bris chen mo* (#584#) by Bar-ston rDo-rje-rgyal-mtshan.

**(b) Previously unmentioned biographies listed in *Nyi-lde-ba's dKar chag*<sup>376</sup>**

- (1) *Yab sras gsum khu dbon gnyis kyi rnam thar na za pa* (#664#) by Shākya-seng-ge.<sup>377</sup>  
 (2) *Rin po che tshogs pa 'i rnam thar* (#665#) by bZang-po-dpal.  
 (3) *Chos rje bsod rgyal ba 'i rnam thar* (#666#) by Lo-tsā-ba Byang-chub-rtse-mo (1303-1380). Biography of Bla-ma-dam-pa.  
 (4) *Theg chen pa 'i rnam thar* (#667#). Biography of Theg-chen Chos-kyi-rgyal-po Kun-dga'-bkra-shis (1349-1426). A digital scan of an eighteen folio dbu-med biography of Theg-chen by rDzong-pa Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan (1382-1446), composed in 1426, exists (*TBRC W1CZ1881*).<sup>378</sup>

**(c) The presentation of lam 'bras works by Mus-srad-pa (*Mus-srad-pa's Tho yig*)**

*Mus-srad-pa's Tho yig* (151r-155r) is a list of lam 'bras works compiled by Mus-srad-pa rDo-rje-rgyal-mtshan (1424-1498), a member of the rDzong-tradition. The list is contained in *A-mes-zhabs' Transmission and Summary* (151r-155r). It was compiled in 1474 (*A-mes-zhabs' Transmission and Summary*, 155r) and contains the works of the five founding-fathers (Sa-chen until 'Phags-pa) together with their followers. Because of its peculiar way to organize the scriptures, here I will mention from this list also those works that were already mentioned before.

**(c1) Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po's lam 'bras works in *Mus-srad-pa's Tho yig***

Among the lam 'bras works of Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po, *Mus-srad-pa's Tho yig* mentions three groups of writings: Four “blessing scriptures” (*byin rlabs kyi yi ge*), eight “elimination of impediments works” (*gegs sel yi ge*), and four general (?*spyi 'gro*) writings. Mus-srad-pa says: “Some of these scriptures appear to be notes (*zin bris*) directly from the guru's teaching.” Most of these have been mentioned before in *Part II*. The “blessing scriptures” are *Lam dus kyi dbang chog* (#297#, see p. 93, text no. 10), *bDag med ma 'i byin rlabs* (#358#, see p. 104, no. 15), *Birwa pa 'i byin rlabs* (#408#, p. 109, text no. 62), and *Aṣṭa 'i bzlas lung* (#349#, p. 103, text no. 6).

<sup>376</sup> This section is contained in *Nyi-lde-ba's dKar chag* on folio 150r/v.

<sup>377</sup> These biographies were probably published in one of the volumes of *lam 'bras* biographies, but I have been unable to locate a copy.

<sup>378</sup> These biographies have been published in a volume of biographies by Khenpo Appey at the *International Buddhist Academy* in Kathmandu, but I have been unable to locate a copy.

Six works of the eight *Gegs sel* works (151v-152r) have already been mentioned above (pp. 105 ff.): *Gegs sel nyams chen mo* (#368#, no. 25), *Gegs sel nyams chung baldMar khrid ma*, cf. “*Bla ma 'i nams chung*” (#362#, no. 19), *Bar chad rnam gsum bsal(!) baldKar ston ma* (#361#, no. 18), *Gegs sel bka' rgya ma* (#378#, no. 35), *Gegs sel gces btus ma* (#377#, no. 34), *Gegs sel gsang bdun ma* (#374#, no. 31). Two further titles are mentioned here:

(7) *Gegs sel ha dmigs* (#585#).

(8) *Lus sbyong nyi shu pa* (#586#).

The four “ordinary (?spyi 'gro) works” are all mentioned above (in *Part II*): *dBang bzhi 'i ngo sprod*, basic text and commentary (#383#, see p. 106, text no. 38), *Lam bsdus pa* (#394#, see p. 107, text no. 48), and *gSang bcu spyod pa 'i rnal 'byor lung* (#396#, see p. 107, text no. 50).

### (c2) bSod-nams-rtse-mo's lam 'bras works in *Mus-srad-pa's Tho yig*

For bSod-nams-rtse-mo, *Mus-srad-pa's Tho yig* (152r) mentions only interlinear notes (*mchan bu*) to the *Lung 'di nyid dang zhib tu sbyar ba* (#341#).

### (c3) Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan's lam 'bras works in *Mus-srad-pa's Tho yig*

The works of Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan are presented in three categories (*Mus-srad-pa's Tho yig*, 152r-v): supplications (*gsol 'debs*), instructions to disciples (*slob ma la gdams pa*), and biographies (*rnam thar*). The first comprises two texts:

(1) the larger *Lam 'bras bla ma brgyud pa 'i gsol 'debs* (#344#) and

(2) the smaller *rDo rje 'chang gtso ma* (#588#).

The two instructions are:

(1) *Gra ston la gdams pa*. Cf. the *Lam 'bras gzhung ji lta ba bzhin dkri ba 'i khrid yig tshigs bcad ma*, which is also known as *Gra ston zhus lan gsal ba* (#347#, see p. 103, text no. 4).

(2) *dGa' ston la spring yig* (#353#, see p. 104, text no. 10).

The biography is:

(1) *Bla ma chen po 'i ngo mtshar gyi gtam gnyis* (#692#, two works?). Perhaps an oral tradition of Sa-chen's biography.

### (c4) Sa-paṇ's lam 'bras works in *Mus-srad-pa's Tho yig*

The works of Sa-paṇ are presented in four categories (*Mus-srad-pa's Tho yig*, 152v): instructions (*khrid*), explanations (*bshad pa*), guru-yoga (*bla ma 'i rnal 'byor*), and *bir srung* scriptures. There are four instructions with two limbs:

(1) *Khrid kyi dkar chag* (#589#), i.e. the *Lam 'bras bu dang bcas pa 'i khrid kyi dkar chag*. *Mus-srad-pa's Tho yig* vehemently denies the claim of some people that this was not composed by Sa-paṇ.

(2) *Lam sbas bshad* with its limbs *Grub chen bcu dang phra mo brgyad*, basic text and commentary (#400#; see p. 108, text no. 54).

(3) *brDa don gsal*, basic text and commentary, with the limb “*Khrid kyi lung sbyor*” (#385#, see p. 59, text no. 40).

(4) *sGrub pa lung sbyin* (#395#, see p. 107, text no. 49).

The second category of Sa-paṇ's lam 'bras writings, the explanations, contains six scriptures (*Mus-srad-pa's Tho yig*, 152v):

(1) *rTsa sngags bshad pa*, i.e. the *Aṣṭa 'i gzhi bshad* (#350#, see p. 59, text no. 7).

(2) *Phyag chen dbye ba* (#391#, see p. 107, text no. 45).

(3) *rTen 'brel lnga* (#389#, see p. 107, text no. 43).

(4) *rLung gi rten 'brel* (#590#), i.e. the *rLung gi rten 'brel brtag pa*.

(5) *'Khor bzhi'i rgya* (#392#, see p. 107, text no. 46).

(6) *Sa paṅ zin bris*.

The third group contains two guru-yogas (*Mus-srad-pa's Tho yig*, 152v):

(1) *Bla ma'i rnal 'byor thun mong ma yin pa*, also known as “*Ling chu rtse khrab ma*” (#398#, see fn. 281).

(2) *Gu shrī (!)jo 'bum ma* (#591#), also known as “*Nad 'don ma*,” i.e. the *Bla ma'i rnal 'byor gug shi jo 'bum ma*.

The last group comprises four(!) *bir srung* works (*Mus-srad-pa's Tho yig*, 152v):

(1) *Bir srung thun mong ma yin pa sngags byang* (#592#). Cf. also #562# (p. 127, text no. 4).

(2) *Yan lag gi man ngag srung ba rnam gsum* (#593#).

(3) *Ril bu'i bcud len* (#594#).

### (c5) 'Phags-pa's lam 'bras works in *Mus-srad-pa's Tho yig*

The *lam 'bras* works of 'Phags-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan are presented in five groups: scriptures of paying homage and making offerings (*phyag mchod kyi yi ge*), instructions (*khrid*), body-maṅḍala's (*lus dkyil*), guru-yogas (*bla ma'i rnal 'byor*), and other pith instructions (*de dag las gzhan pa'i man ngag*). The first group has one title:

*Lam 'bras brgyud pa'i phyag mchod* (#595#).

In the second group, two instructions are mentioned (*Mus-srad-pa's Tho yig*, 152v):

(1) *Dag pa gsum gyi khrid kyi yi ge* (#535#, see p. 124, text no. 2).

(2) *dBang gsum pa'i lam rgyas bsdu*s (#557#, see p. 125, text no. 25).

The third group of 'Phags-pa's *lam 'bras* writings contains three body-maṅḍalas (*Mus-srad-pa's Tho yig*, 152v):

(1) *Lus dkyil dbang chog*, cf. *Kyai rdo rje'i bdag 'jug gi cho ga dbang la 'jug pa* (#596#).

(2) *Lus dkyil bsgom thabs* (#597#), cf. *Kyai rdo rje lus dkyil gyi sgrub thabs*.

(3) *Lam dus kyi dbang rgyas par blang ba'i lag len*, see *Kyai rdor lus dkyil dbang dus kyi dbang* (#571#, see p. 127, text no. 14).

Two guru-yogas are mentioned (*Mus-srad-pa's Tho yig*, 152v-153r):

(1) *Bla ma'i rnal 'byor la'u shu ma* (#598#).

(2) *Shong dgon spyang snga ma* (#599#).

Finally, the “other pith instructions” are four:

(1) *Bir srung thun mong ba* (#600#).<sup>2</sup>

(2) *bDud rtsi ril bu sgrub pa* (#351#, see p. 104, text no. 8).

(3) *rDo rje mkha' 'gro'i sbyin sreg*, see *dPal rdo rje rnal 'byor ma'i sbyin sreg gi cho ga* (#601#), title at the beginning.

(4) *Tshogs sbyor mngon rtogs* (#393#, see p. 107, text no. 47).

### (c6) The clarifications by the followers in *Mus-srad-pa's Tho yig*

The clarification by the followers of the above founding-fathers of the Sa-skyapa are presented in four groups: Clarification of the writings of Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po, Sa-paṅ Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan, 'Phags-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan,<sup>379</sup> and of the *gNyags ma* with its limbs. There are six clarifications of Sa-chen's *lam 'bras* writings:

<sup>379</sup> Apparently only his *bir bsrung* scripture received a clarification, but this particular passage in *Mus-srad-pa's Tho yig* (153r) remains unclear to me.



- (1) *Lus dkyil dbang chog gi gsal byed* (#602#).
- (2) A *Lus dkyil dbang chog* (#603#) by Ri-khrod-pa Blo-brtan (i.e. Chos-rje Blo-gros-brtan-pa? See fn. 73).
- (3) A large and a small clarification of the *Gegs sel brda 'grol* (#604#), i.e. the *Nyams chen mo*, etc. Cf. the *Gegs sel nyam chen mo* (#368#, see p. 105, text no. 25).
- (4) A clarification of the *dKar ston ma/Bar chad rnam gsum gsal ba* (#605#), cf. the *Bir bsrung ba'i man ngag bar chad kun sel* by Kun-dga'-bzang-po (#425#, see p. 111, text no. 78).
- (5) A clarification of the *bKa' rgya ma* (#606#), i.e. the *Na bza' ba'i dbyug bcos*.
- (6) A clarification of the *Ngo sprod byin rlabs lag len/Bar ston ma* (#607#).

There are six clarifications of Sa-paṅ's *lam 'bras* writings (*Mus-srad-pa's Tho yig*, 153r):

- (1) *Khrid kyi dkar chag gi gsal byed* (#608#), i.e. the notes (*zin bris*) of Zangs-tsha-ba bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan. Zangs-tsha-ba was Sa-paṅ's elder brother.
- (2) The *Bla ma'i rnal 'byor thun mong ma yin pa* (#609#) bestowed by Chos-rje gZung-s (kyi-dpal? 1306-1389) on Bla-ma Klu-pa.
- (3) *Lam sbas bshad lag len zin bris*, see above, the *Lam sbas bshad kyi khrid yig* by bDag-chen Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan (#487#, see p. 120, text no. 2).
- (4) *Phra grub kyi gsal byed grub chen* and
- (5) *Phra mo'i zhal shes zin bris*, large and small, see the *Grub chen bcu dang phra mo brgyad kyi zhal shes gsal byed* by Buddha Shrī (#405#, see p. 109, text no. 59). *Mus-srad-pa's Tho yig* (153r) has doubts about the authorship of Buddha Shrī, because "the script is not old."
- (6) The notes (*zin bris*) by lHo-pa Kun-mkhyen Rin-chen-dpal on Sa-paṅ's *brDa don gsal ba'i 'grel pa'i gsal byed* (#386#, see p. 106, text no. 41).

The next section contains the clarification of the *gNyags ma* with its limbs. These are presented in four sections: Clarifications of the *gNyags ma*, '*Phros don*, *Lam 'bring po*, and *gZhung shing*. The first has two clarifications:

- (1) *gZhung bshad gsal byed bar ston zin bris* (#610#). On Bar-ston rDo-rje-rgyal-mtshan's commentary on the *gNyags ma*, see p. 249.
- (2) *bDud rtsi bstan pa'i gsal byed* (#611#), i.e. the *bCud len zhal shes*. Apparently a clarification of the *bDud rtsi ril bu'i sgrub thabs* by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (#314#, see p. 95, text no. 5).

The second group, the works that issued (from the basic text, the *rDo rje tshig rkang*, #275#, see p. 92), comprise four(?) works:

- (1) '*Khor 'das dbyer med kyi zin bris byang ston ma* (#612#). For the '*Khor 'das dbyer med*, see p. 57, text no. 1 (#310#).
- (2) *rLung bcu sogs kyi gegs sel* (#613#), cf. the '*Byung lus 'khrug rlung dang spyod lam gyis bsal ba* (#318#, see p. 57, text no. 8).
- (3-4?) *Phrin las so gnyis dang dang zhal shes*, see the *Phrin las so gnyis kyi sdom tshig dang zhal shes* by Buddha Shrī (#382#, see p. 98, text no. 13).

For the medium path (*lam 'bring po*, #327#, see p. 57, text no. 1), exist two notes (*zin bris che chung gnyis*). The fourth group contains two clarifications of the *gZhung ji lta ba bzhin du dkri ba'i gzhung* (#614#-#615#, see #329#, p. 97, text no. 1). These were composed by gNyags sNying-po-rgyal-mtshan and Nyan-chen bSod-nams-brtan-pa, both disciples of Sa-paṅ's direct disciple Tshogs-sgom Kun-dga'-dpal (1210-1307). *Mus-srad-pa* adds that with regard to Nyan-

chen-pa, some people accept him as the author, however, they use a reasoning that does not agree with his own thinking.<sup>380</sup>

**(c7) Incidental pith instructions (*zur du gsungs pa'i man ngag*)**

The last section in Mus-srad-pa's title list of *lam 'bras* works is devoted to the incidental pith instructions (*Mus-srad-pa's Tho yig*, 154r-v). The first four works are by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan:

- (1) *Bla ma'i rnal 'byor tshar gsum khugs pa* (#412#, see p. 109, text no. 66).
- (2) *Aṣṭa'i byad bzlog* (#616#).
- (3) *Go cha lnga bsrung* (#617#).
- (4) *rTen 'brel bsrung ba* (#618#), consisting of *rmi lam ngan pa zhi bar bya ba dang, nad zhi bar bya ba dang, dgra zhi bar bya ba*.

For the second and third group of titles in this section, dealing with the eight later path-cycles (*lam skor phyi ma brgyad*), see p. 24. The last titles mentioned are those of the “Dharma links [with] the six gates” (*sgo drug chos 'brel*), for which see p. 110.

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<sup>380</sup> *Mus-srad-pa's Tho yig* (153v): *kha cig (...)* nyan chen pa'i gsung yin par smra mod rang gi blo dang ma mthun pa'i rgyu mtshan du byas pa'o – which does not necessarily imply that he believes Nyan-chen-pa not to be the author.

## Appendix I

### Title list of Hevajra and *lam 'bras* related works mentioned by A-mes-zhabs

The principal purpose of the title lists presented here is to keep excessive citation of bibliographical data and cross-references in the main body of the book to an unavoidable and acceptable minimum. I have therefore supplied a number to (most of) the titles mentioned throughout the book. The lists below are sorted by these numbers and contain all other available information, such as alternative titles, authors (and sometimes translators), accessibility, appearance on a page or in a footnote of the book, and the mentioning in my sources. Although there is a considerable overlap, I have marked numbers referring to titles in (1) the Hevajra-section with #001#-#274# and (2) the *lam 'bras* section with #275#-#676#.

The list concerning the Hevajra literature consists of two main parts, namely titles mentioned in earlier Tibetan indices by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (*Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan's Title List*) and Ngor-chen-Kun-dga'-bzang-po (*Ngor-chen's Sādhana Explication*, #001#-#113#) and other additional titles mentioned in A-mes-zhabs' records of teachings and in his works on Hevajra (#114#-#274#). The titles of the first part are organized according to genre, i.e. basic and *vyākhyā* tantras (1.1.) and their Indian commentaries (1.2.-4.) and cycles. The follow these cycles:

- (1.5.) Ḍombīheruka
- (1.6.) Padmavajra/Saroruha
- (1.7.) Naḡ-po/Kṛṣṇa
- (1.8.) Shānti-pa/Ratnākaraśānti
- (1.9.) Indrabhūti
- (1.10.) Zhi-ba-bzang-po/Śāntibhadra
- (1.11.) the Kashmirian sNyan-grags-bzang-po
- (1.12.) Maitrīpa/Advayavajra/Avadhūtī
- (1.13.) 'Brog-mi Lo-tṣā-ba.

This principle of ordering the works according to “cycles” (Tib. *skor*) is already employed in the earlier title lists of Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan and Ngor-chen Kun-dga'-bzang-po. The second main part of this title list of Hevajra literature contains all the additional titles (1.14.) in no particular order other than their appearance in the records of teachings and in A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra works.

The second list of titles, referring to *lam 'bras* works, has again two main parts. The titles of the first part are organized according to the compilation of these works in the major *lam 'bras* collections:

- (2.1.) *Yellow Book*
- (2.2.) *Red Book*
- (2.3.) *Black Book*

The titles given in the second part are again excerpts from A-mes-zhabs' records of teachings—organized, as in the records, according to system or author—and A-mes-zhabs' reproductions of two earlier title lists prepared by the two masters of the rDzong-system, namely (2.14.) Nyi-lde-ba Nam-mkha'-bzang-po (*Nyi-lde-ba's dKar chag*) and (2.15.) Mus-srad-pa (*Mus-srad-pa's Tho yig*). The records of teachings include titles of:

- (2.4.) the rDzong-system
- (2.5.) Mus-chen dKon-mchog-rgyal-mtshan
- (2.6.) Go-rams-pa
- (2.7.) Mus-chen Sangs-rgyas-rin-chen
- (2.8.) dKon-mchog-lhun-grub

(2.9.) bDag-chen Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan

(2.10.) Tshar-chen Blo-gsal-rgya-mtsho

(2.11.) Ngag-dbang-chos-grags

(2.12.) bSod-nams-dbang-po

(2.13.) additional material

After (2.14.) Nyi-lde-ba Nam-mkha'-bzang-po's and (2.15.) Mus-srad-pa's respective title lists follow two more sections, namely (2.16.) biographies and (2.17.) miscellaneous.

## 1.1. Hevajra Tantras

#001#	<i>brTag pa gnyis pa, Kyai rdo rje zhes bya ba rgyud kyi rgyal po</i> ; Tr. Gayadhara and 'Brog-mi; <i>P 1/10, 230r-262r; To 417; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series vol 23 (vol. za = tshogs bshad skor vol. 2), fols. 1r-36r, pp. 9-79; rGyud sde kun btus 27, pp. 283-362;</i>	28 f., 46, 47 n. 118, 64, 78 n. 226
#002#	<i>Gur; mKha' 'gro ma rdo rje gur zhes bya ba'i rgyud kyi rgyal po chen po'i brtag pa (Vajrapañjara)</i> ; Tr. Gayadhara and 'Brog-mi; <i>P 1/11, 262r-301v; To 419</i>	28 f., 33 n. 62, 46, 46 n. 114, 48, 50 n. 132, 52 n. 142, 53, 54 n. 149, 55 n. 151, 65, 68, 75
#003#	<i>Saṃ pu ṭa; Yang dag par sbyor ba zhes bya ba'i rgyud chen po (Samputitantra)</i> ; Tr. Gayadhara and 'Brog-mi; <i>P 2/26, 244r-330r, To 381 (Rev. Bu-ston)</i>	25 n. 32, 28 f., 45, 46 n. 114, 47 n. 118, 48, 50 n. 132, 52 n. 142, 55 n. 151, 55 n. 152, 65, 68, 75 f.

## 1.2. Commentaries of the Basic Hevajra Tantra

#004#	<i>Ku mu ti; Kau mu di zhes bya ba'i dka' 'grel</i> ; A. Durjayacandra; Tr. Prajñendaruci = Vīravajra and 'Brog-mi; <i>P 53/2315, 1r-69r; To 1185, ka 1v-58v; NGMPP A 683/2-684/1 (xylograph from the National Archives, Kathmandu), 420 fols.</i>	32, 33 n. 66, 47 n. 118, 77 n. 220
#005#	<i>Padma can; Kyai'i rdo rje'i rgyud kyi dka' 'grel padma can</i> ; A. Saroruha = Padmavajra; Tr. Kṣitigarbha and dNgos-grub; <i>P 53/2311, 139v-190v; To 1181, ka 126v-173r</i>	35
#006#	<i>rNal 'byor rin po che sbyor ba'i phreng ba; dGyes pa rdo rje'i dka' 'grel rnal 'byor rin po che phreng ba</i> ; A. Paṇḍita Kṛṣṇa (Kāṇha); Tr. Kṛṣṇapaṇḍita and Tshul-khrims-rgyal-ba; <i>P 53/2313, 1r-72v; To 1183, ka 1v-61r</i>	38, 44, 47 n. 118

#007#	<i>rDo rje snying 'grel</i> or <i>rDo rje snying po ma</i> ; <i>Kyai rdo rje bsdus pa'i don gyi rgya cher 'grel pa</i> ; A. Vajragarbha (rDo-rje-snying-po); Tr. Dānaśīla, Ting-nge-'dzin-bzang-po and dPal-'jigs-med, later revised; <i>P</i> 53/2310, 1r-139v; <i>To</i> 1180, <i>ka</i> 1r-126r, Tr. Dānaśīla, Seng-dkar Shākya-'od, Maitri, Nas-'bro dGe-slong; Rev. Subhūtiśrīśānti, Ting-nge-'dzin-bzang-po and Blo-gros-bstan-pa	44, 46, 74
#008#	<i>Bha ba ma</i> ; <i>dPal dgyes pa'i rdo rje'i rnam bshad rnam par 'grel pa</i> ; A. Bhavabhaṭṭa-pāda; Tr. Puṇyakīrti and bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan; <i>P</i> 53/2312, 190v-307r; <i>To</i> 1182, <i>ka</i> 173v-275r (A. Bhavabhadra)	44 f., 48 n. 125
#009#	<i>Dran pa'i 'byung gnas ma</i> ; <i>rGyud kyi rgyal po chen po dgyes pa'i rdo rje zhes bya ba sgyu ma brtag pa gnyis pa'i dka' 'grel dran pa'i 'byung gnas</i> ; A. Nag-po; Tr. dPal-ldan-zla-ba and lHa-btsas; <i>P</i> 54, 2317, 169v-228v, <i>To</i> 1187, 146v-194r	38 n. 81
#010#	<i>Mu tig phreng ba</i> ; <i>dPal dgyes pa'i rdo rje'i dka' 'grel mu tig phreng ba</i> ; A. Ratnākaraśānti; Tr. Śāntibhadra and lHa-btsas; <i>P</i> 54/2319, 262r-349r; <i>To</i> 1189, <i>ga</i> 221r-297r	23 n. 27, 40
#011#	<i>Dam tshig rdo rje ma</i> or <i>Rin chen sbyor ba'i phreng ba</i> ; <i>dPal dges pa'i rdo rje'i dka' 'grel rin po che sbyor ba'i 'phreng ba</i> ; A. Samayavajra (Dam-tshig-rdo-rje); Tr. Nag-po and lHas-tshas; <i>P</i> 82/4687, 65v-136v; cf. nos. #006# and # and the first item of 1.7.	37 f.
#012#	<i>Nā ro 'grel chen</i> ; alternative title: <i>Kyai rdor don bsdus</i> ; A. Kha-che sNyan-grags-bzang-po; incomplete sub-commentary: <i>Kyai rdor don bsdus kyi 'grel pa</i> , see #134#	41

### 1.3. Vajrapañjara Commentaries

#013#	<i>rDor rje gur gyi dka' 'grel zhal nas brgyud pa</i> ; <i>rGyud kyi rgyal po mkha' 'gro ma rdo rje gur gyi dka' 'grel zhal nas brgyud pa</i> ; A. Indrabodhi; Tr. Sūryagupta, Shākya-brtson-'grus; <i>P</i> 54/2324, 50r-57r; <i>To</i> 1194, <i>ca</i> 43v-49r, A. Indrabhūti	35 n. 74, 75 n. 211
#014#	<i>Gur brtag pa dang po'i bshad sbyar</i> ; <i>Phags pa mkha' 'gro ma rdo rje gur zhes bya ba'i rgyud kyi rgyal po chen po'i brtag pa'i rgyal po'i bshad sbyar</i> ; A. Kṛṣṇapāda; Tr. Gayadhara, 'Brog-mi; <i>P</i> 54/2325, 57r-62v; <i>To</i> 1195, <i>ca</i> 49r-54r	75 n. 211
#015#	<i>lHa'i rigs kyi blo gros kyis mdzad pa'i che ba</i> ; <i>rGyud kyi rgyal po mkha' 'gro ma rdo rje dra ba'i dka' 'grel de kho na nyid rgyas pa</i> ; A. lHa'i-rigs Blo-gros-chen-po; Tr. Gayadhara and lHa-btsas; <i>P</i> 54/2326, 63r-106v; <i>To</i> 1196, <i>ca</i> 54r-94v	75 n. 209

#016#	<i>lHa'i rigs kyi blo gros kyis mdzad pa'i chung ba</i> ; that both a large and a small commentary by lHa'i-rigs Blo-gros exists is mentioned in <i>Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan's Title List</i> (see #015#)	-
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#### 1.4. *Saṃputa* Commentaries

#017#	<i>Saṃ pu ṭa'i 'grel pa man ngag gi snye ma</i> ; <i>dPal yang dag par sbyor ba'i rgyud kyi rgyal po'i rgya cher 'grel pa man ngag gi snye ma</i> ; A. Abhayākaragupta; Tr. Abhayākaragupta, Sangs-rgyas-grags-pa; Rev. Shākya-shrī, Chos-kyi-bzang-po, dPal-ldan-blo-gros-brtan-pa; <i>P</i> 55/2328, 1r-357r; <i>To</i> 1198, <i>cha</i> 1v-316r, <i>NGMPP</i> B 567/3-568/1 (xylograph from the National Archives, Kathmandu), 353 fols. (plus one more xylograph, incomplete?, with 351 fols.);	75 n. 213
#018#	<i>Saṃ pu ṭa'i 'grel pa chen po</i> ; <i>dPal kha sbyor thig le zhes bya barnal 'byor ma'i rgyud kyi rgyal po'i rgya cher 'grel pa yang dag par lta ba'i dran pa'i snang ba</i> ; A. Indrabodhi; Tr. Srīvajrabodhi and Zla-ba'i-'od-zer; <i>P</i> 55/2327, 106v-364r; <i>To</i> 1197, <i>ca</i> 94v-313r	35 n. 74, 75 n. 212

#### 1.5. The Hevajra Cycle of *Ḍombīheruka*

	<i>Ku mu ti</i> ; see above, no. #004#	
#019#	<i>dKyil 'khor cho ga bzang po yongs bzung</i> ; <i>dKyil 'khor gyi cho ga'i sgrub thabs bzang po yongs su bzung ba</i> ; A. Durjayacandra; <i>P</i> 56/2369, 150r-179v; <i>To</i> 1240, <i>nya</i> 130r-154r	32, 55 n. 153, 65
#020#	<i>Rigs lngar char gyi sgrub thabs ston pa</i> ; mentioned only in <i>Ngorchen's Sādhana Explication</i> ; this appears to be: <i>mKha' 'gro ma rdo rje gur gyi mkha' 'gro rnam pa lnga'i sgrub pa'i thabs</i> , <i>To</i> 1321, <i>ta</i> 249r-254v, A. Durjayacandra, Tr. Līlavajra, Se-rtsa bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan	32 n. 57
#021#	<i>Gur rigs bsdus kyi mngon rtogs</i> ; by Mī-thub-zla-ba (Durjayacandra); almost certainly the <i>Ḍākinī-Vajrapañjara-Pañcaḍāka-Sādhana</i> by Durjayacandra, translated by Līlavajra and bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan, <i>P</i> 57/2453 ( <i>To</i> 1321)	33, 65 n. 173
#022#	<i>sGrub thabs yan lag drug pa</i> ; <i>Yan lag drug pa zhes bya ba'i sgrub thabs</i> ; A. Durjayacandra; Tr. Ratnaśrījñāna and 'Brog-mi; <i>P</i> 56/2368, 145v-150r; <i>To</i> 1239, <i>nya</i> 126v-130r	33, 54 n. 149, 65, 111
#023#	<i>bDag med ma'i sgrub thabs</i> ; <i>bDag med ma zhes bya ba'i sgrub thabs</i> ; A. Durjayacandra; Tr. Gayadhara and 'Brog-mi; <i>P</i> 57/2436, 91v-94r; cf. <i>To</i> 1306, <i>ta</i> 215r-217v	33

#024#	<i>gTum mo 'i 'grel chung</i> , summary of Nag-po-pa's <i>O la pa til dPyid kyi thig le/gTum mo lam rdzogs</i> (see fn. 37)?; A. variously given as Mi-thub-zla-ba (Durjayacandra), Ratnaśrījñāna (= Gayadhara?), or Jayaśrīsānti; an incomplete <i>O la pa ti dang dpyid kyi thig le 'i man ngag</i> was filmed by NGMPP L 199/6 (manuscript? from Thini)	33
#025#	<i>sByin sreg</i> ; <i>sByin bsreg cho ga</i> ; A. Kṛṣṇa; Tr. Kṛṣṇa and lHas-btsas ( <i>P</i> ), or Gayadhara and lHas-btsas ( <i>Nam-mkha' -dpal-bzang's Record</i> ); <i>P</i> 56/2384, 334r-338r; <i>To</i> 1255/1256, <i>nya</i> 274r-277r/277r-280r? (Tr. Gayadhara and lHas-btsas)	35 n. 72, 39
#026#	<i>Phyag mtshan gyi dag pa</i> , i.e. <i>Phyag mtshan gyi phan yon?</i> <i>P</i> 56/2412, 539v-540r	35
#027#	<i>gTor ma</i> ; <i>'Byung po thams cad kyi gtor ma</i> ; A. Durjayacandra; Tr. Gayadhara and 'Brog-mi; <i>P</i> 56/2370, 179v-180v; <i>To</i> 1241, <i>nya</i> 154v-155v	33
#028#	<i>sNgags don (dang po)</i>	35
#029#	<i>sNgags don (gnyis pa)</i>	35
#030#	<i>bDud rtsi 'od</i> ; <i>bDag med (rnal 'byor) ma 'i sgrub thabs bdud rtsi 'od</i> ; A. Ḍombīheruka; Tr. Gayadhara and 'Brog-mi; <i>P</i> 57/2435, 88v-91v; <i>To</i> 1305 (misnumbered in the catalogue itself)	34
#031#	<i>lHan cig skyes grub</i> ; A. Ḍombīheruka; <i>P</i> 68/3067, 72v-74v; <i>gDams ngag mdzod</i> 4, 507-517; the fixation of the oral tradition by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan is: <i>Lam 'bras Literature Series</i> 11, fols. 194r-200v (pp. 387-395)	25, 34 n. 70
#032#	<i>De nyid bcu pa</i> ; <i>De kho na nyid bcu pa</i> ; A. Ḍombīheruka; Tr. Mar-me-mdzad and dGe-ba'i-blo-gros; <i>P</i> 56/2358, 41v-46v; <i>To</i> 1229, <i>nya</i> 37r-41r	35
#033#	<i>Tshogs kyi 'khor lo</i> ; <i>Tshogs kyi 'khor lo 'i cho ga</i> ; A. Ḍombīheruka; Tr. 'Brog-mi ( <i>Nam-mkha' -dpal-bzang's Record</i> ), Jñānākara and Blo-gros of Mar-pa ( <i>P</i> ); <i>P</i> 56/2360, 48r-50v; <i>To</i> 1231, <i>nya</i> 43r-45r	35, 55 n. 150
#034#	<i>Tshogs 'khor gyi bslab bya 'du ba srag pa</i> , formerly a separate work, but in Tibet combined with #033#	35
#035#	<i>Dran pa gcig pa</i> ; <i>sKra rdo rje dpa' bo gcig pa 'i mngon par rtogs pa dran pa gcig pa</i> ( <i>A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Word Commentary</i> ); A. Garbhari-pa; Tr. Prajñendaruci and 'Brog-mi; <i>P</i> 56/2365, 83r-84v; <i>To</i> 1236, <i>nya</i> 71v-73r	34
#036#	<i>dPa' bo gcig</i> , <i>P</i> 56/2381 (by Kṛṣṇa)?, and/or <i>dPa' mo gcig</i> , for which cf. #115#	34



#037#	<i>Rin chen 'bar ba'i sgrub thabs</i> ; A. Prajñendraruci; Tr. Prajñendraruci and 'Brog-mi; P 56/2380, 251v-289v, To 1251, nya 214r-241v	34
#038#	<i>Man ngag gi ro sreg</i>	35

### 1.6. The Hevajra Cycle of Padma(vajra) = Saroruha

	<i>Padmo can</i> ; see above, no. #005#	
#039#	<i>dKyil chog nas gling ma</i> ; <i>dKyil 'khor gyi cho ga nas gling ma</i> ; A. Padmavajra ( <i>A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Word Commentary</i> )	36, 65
#040#	<i>sGrub thabs mtsho skyes rdo rje</i> ; <i>dPal dgyes pa rdo rje'i sgrub thabs</i> ; A. Padmavajra; Tr. 'Brog-mi ( <i>To</i> ); P 56/2347, 1r-8v; To 1218, nya 1v-7r; <i>dPal kyai rdo rje zhes bya bahi bsgrub thabs</i> , NGMPP L 130/16 ( <i>dbu can</i> manuscript from Lo sMon thang), 6 fols.	36, 65, 68 n. 180, 77 n. 221
#041#	<i>Tshogs 'khor dam tshig lnga pa</i> ; <i>Dam tshig lnga pa</i> ; A. Padmasambhava; Tr. Ba-ri Dharmakīti; P 56/2353, 30v-33a; To 1224, nya 26v-28v	36 n. 77
#042#	<i>bsTod pa (nyi shu pa)</i> ; <i>rJe btsun kyai rdo rje'i bhaṭṭaraka'i bstod pa</i> ; A. Saroruha; Tr. Gayadhara and 'Brog-mi; P 56/2354, 33r-34r; To 1225, nya 28v-29v	36
#043#	<i>Gur gyi bshad sbyar</i> ; mentioned in <i>Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan's Title List</i> and some of A-mes-zhabs' works (not in NOTES)	36
#044#	<i>Phyag bcu drug pa dkar po</i> ; mentioned in <i>Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan's Title List</i> and some of A-mes-zhabs' works (not in NOTES)	36
#045#	<i>Gleng gzhi'i 'grel pa</i> ; A. Kṛṣṇa ( <i>Nam-mkha'-dpal-bzang's Record</i> ); one of the "eight minor commentaries connected with 'Brog-mi"; perhaps the <i>Samputitantra</i> commentary <i>rGyud thams cad kyi gleng gzhi dang gsang chen dpal kun tu kha sbyor zhes bya ba'i rgyud kyi rgyal po'i rgya cher bshad pa rin chen phreng ba</i> by dPa'-bo-rdo-rje (Vīravajra, but see p. 76), P 55/2329, 1r-121r?; see for the latter: NGMPP A 684/3 (xylograph from the National Archives, Kathmandu), 366 fols.	45, 76
#046#	<i>rTsa'i mngon rtogs chen po</i> ; <i>mNgon par rtogs pa'i rim pa?</i> ; P 56/2339, 350r-353r; To 1209, ja 309r-313v, Tr. Ratnavajra, 'Brog-mi	45
#047#	<i>(rTsa'i mngon rtogs) chung ba</i>	cf. 45

#048#	<i>Dur khrod kyi 'grel pa chen po; Dur khrod brgyad; Tr. 'Brog-mi; P 56/ 2342, 355v-356r; To 1212, ja 313v-314r; same: #049#</i>	45
#049#	<i>Dur khrod kyi 'grel pa chung ba; Dur khrod brgyad; Tr. 'Brog-mi; P 56/ 2343, 356r-356v; To 1213, ja 314r-314v; same: #048#</i>	45
#050#	<i>brDa'i 'grel pa; brDa nges par gzung ba; Tr. lHa-mnga'-bdag Ye-shes-rgyal-mtshan, P 56/2344, 356v-358v; To 1214, ja 314v-316r</i>	46
#051#	<i>rDo rje glu'i 'grel pa che ba; Glu'i de kho na nyid; A. Saroruha; Tr. 'Brog-mi; P 56/2337, 341r-343v; To 1207, ja 301v-303v</i>	46
#052#	<i>rDo rje glu'i 'grel pa chung ba; rDo rje'i glu bshad pa; A. sGrol-ma-can-gyi-sde; Tr. 'Brog-mi; P 56/2338, 343v-350r; To 1208, ja 303v-309</i>	46
#053#	<i>Mar me'i rtse mo lta bu'i gdams ngag; dPal kyai rdo rje'i mar me'i rtse mo lta bu'i gdams pa, also rDzogs rims mar me'i rtse mo lta bu; A. Saroruha/Padma-vajra; Tr. 'Brog-mi; P 56/2349, 22v-24v; To 1220, nya 19r-20v, Tr. Gayadhara, 'Brog-mi; gDams ngag mdzod 4, 537-540</i>	27 n. 35, 35 n. 74, 36
#054#	<i>sByin bsreg gi cho ga; sByin sreg gi cho ga; A. Saroruhavajra; P 56/2352, 27r-30v; To 1223, nya 23r-26v</i>	35 n. 74

### 1.7. The Hevajra Cycle of Kṛṣṇa

	<i>rNal 'byor rin po che sbyor ba'i phreng ba; cf. above, nos. #006# and #011# and below, no. #084#</i>	
	<i>Gur brtag pa dang po'i bshad sbyar; see above, no. #014#</i>	
#055#	<i>dKyil 'khor cho ga gzhung 'grel; dPal dgyes pa'i rdo rje'i gzhung 'grel gyi dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga, also: Nag po gzhung 'grel; A. Kṛṣṇa; Tr. Nag-po (P) or Gayadhara (To) and lHa-btsas; P 56/2383, 306r-334r; To 1254, nya 253v-274r; cf. #073#</i>	38 f.
#056#	<i>sGrub thabs de nyid gsal ba; also: sGrub thabs de nyid snang ba; Tr. 'Gos Lo-tsā-ba (Nam-mkha'-dpal-bzang's Record); cf. P 56/2383, 292r-306r, dGyes pa'i rdo rje sgrub pa'i thabs de kho na nyid gsal bar byed pa, A. Kṛṣṇapāda, but translated by Tshul-khrims-rgyal-ba (with Nag-po'i-mtshan-can), To 1253, nya 243v-253v; cf. #074#</i>	38
#057#	<i>Phyag bcu drug pa dpa' bo gcig; dPa' bo gcig pa dpal he ru ka phyag bcu drug pa'i sgrub pa'i thabs; Tr. lHas-btsas (Nam-mkha'-dpal-bzang's Record, To); To 1297, ta 188v-190v (= P 56/2405, 530v-533r?); cf. #075#</i>	37, 39

#058#	<i>Rab gnas tshul zab mo; Rab gnas kyi cho ga'i tshul?</i> ; A. Kṛṣṇa; P 56/2386, 343r-346v; To 1257, nya 280r-282v	37, 39
#059#	<i>sByin sreg</i> ; cf. To 1255-56, nya 274r-277r and 277r-280r; cf. #079#	38 f.
#060#	<i>Ro sreg</i> ; cf. #080#	38 f.
#061#	<i>Tshogs 'khor; Tshogs kyi 'khor lo'i mchod pa'i rim pa</i> ; A. Kṛṣṇa; To 1258, nya 282v-285r; cf. #078#	37 f., 39 n. 86
#062#	<i>bsTod pa</i>	38 n. 80, 39
#063#	<i>bDag med ma'i sgrub thabs che ba</i> ; Tr. 'Gos Lo-tsā-ba ( <i>Nam-mkha'-dpal-bzang's Record</i> ); cf. <i>bDag med ma'i sgrub thabs</i> , P 57/2441, 104r-106r; To 1311, ta 227r-228v, A. Kṛṣṇa Paṇḍita; cf. #076#	37, 39
#064#	<i>bDag med ma'i sgrub thabs chung ba</i> (see above)	37, 39
#065#	<i>rDzogs rim gyi gzhung; rDzogs rims thig le chen po?</i> ; Tr. 'Gos Lo-tsā-ba; cf. #077#	37, 39

### 1.8. The Hevajra Cycle of Shānti-pa/Ratnākaraśānti

	<i>Mu tig phreng ba</i> , see above, no. #010#	
#066#	<i>Yab kyi sgrub thabs 'khrul spong; 'Khrul pa spong ba zhes bya ba'i sgrub pa'i thabs</i> ; A. Ratnākaraśānti; P 56/2374, 222r-228v; To 1245, nya 145r-194v	40
#067#	<i>Yum gyi sgrub thabs rgyas par bstan pa</i> ; A. Ratnākaraśānti ( <i>Ngor-chen's Sādhana Explication</i> ), <i>bDag med ma'i sgrub thabs rgyas par bstan pa</i> , P 57/2439, 99v-103v; To 1309, ta 223r-226v	41
#068#	<i>rDzogs rim lhan cig skyes pa'i dga' ba la yang dag sbyor ba, Hevajrasahajasadyoga or Sahajasadyoga</i> by Ratnākaraśānti, P 56/2375, 228v-230v; To 1246, nya 194v-196v (Tr. Kumārakalāśa)	41
#069#	<i>He ru ka 'byung ba; dPal he ru ka 'byung ba zhes bya ba'i dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga</i> ; A. Divākaraśānti; P 56/2390, 351r-411r; To 1261, nya 286r-329v	40
#070#	<i>sGrub thabs 'khrul spong gi 'grel pa ye shes sgron mer mngon par brjod pa</i> ; commentary on #066#, according to <i>Ngor-chen's Sādhana Explication</i> composed by Divākaraśānti	41
#071#	<i>lHan cig skyes pa'i rnal 'byor gyi 'grel pa</i> , according to <i>Ngor-chen's Sādhana Explication</i> not translated to Tibetan.	41

#072#	<i>rDzogs rim lhan cig skyes pa'i rnam 'byor gyi 'grel pa</i> ; A. Bramze-thag (Thagana), <i>P</i> 56/2376, 228v-230v; <i>To</i> 1247, <i>nya</i> 196r-201r; commentary on #068#	41
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### 1.9. Works by Indrabhūti

	<i>Sam pu ta'i 'grel pa chen po</i> ; see above, no. #018#	
	<i>rDor rje gur gyi dka' 'grel zhal nas brgyud pa</i> ; see above, no. #013#	

### 1.10. Works of Śāntibhadra

#073#	<i>dKyiil 'khor gyi cho ga gzhung 'grel</i> ; cf. #055#	37
#074#	<i>lHa dgu'i sgrub thabs</i>	37
#075#	<i>Yab rkyang pa'i sgrub thabs</i>	37
#076#	<i>Yum rkyang gi sgrub thabs</i> ; cf. #064#	37
#077#	<i>rDzogs rim gyi gzhung</i> ; cf. #065#	37
#078#	<i>Tshogs kyi 'khor lo'i cho ga</i> ; cf. #061#	37 f.
#079#	<i>sByin sreg gi cho ga</i> ; cf. #059#	37 f.
#080#	<i>Ro sreg gi cho ga</i> ; cf. #060#	37 f.
#081#	<i>Rab gnas kyi cho ga</i> , <i>To</i> 1257, <i>nya</i> 280r-282v, A. Nag-po-pa; Tr. Kṛṣṇa Paṇḍita, 'Gos lHas-btsas	37
#082#	<i>mChod rten gyi cho ga</i> , <i>To</i> 1259, <i>nya</i> 282v-285r, A. Nag-po-pa; Tr. Kṛṣṇa Paṇḍita, 'Gos lHas-btsas	37
#083#	<i>gShin gyi cho ga</i> , <i>To</i> 1260, <i>nya</i> 285v-286r, A. Nag-po, Tr. rGyal-ba'i-s nang, Nyi-ma-rgyal-mtshan	37
#084#	<i>dKa' 'grel rnal 'byor rin po che sbyor ba'i phreng ba</i> , cf. above, nos. #006# and #011# and the first item in 1.7.	37 f.

### 1.11. Works of Kha-che sNyan-grags-bzang-po

	<i>Nā ro 'grel chen</i> (see above, no. #012#)	
#085#	<i>sMin byed kyi cho ga yongs su rdzogs pa</i> , mentioned in <i>Ngor-chen's Sādhana Explication</i>	43 n. 99
#086#	<i>Grol lam bskyed rim</i> , mentioned in <i>Ngor-chen's Sādhana Explication</i>	43 n. 99

#087#	<i>rDzogs rim sbyor ba yan lag drug</i> , mentioned in <i>Ngor-chen's Sādhana Explication</i>	43 n. 99
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### 1.12. Works of Maitrīpa/Advayavajra/Avadhūti

#088#	<i>dKyil 'khor gyi cho ga dbang gi rab byed; sMin byed dbang gi rab byed</i>	43
#089#	<i>sGrub thabs rnam par dag pa'i gter; P 56/2373, 204v-222r, by gNyis-su-med-pa'i-rdo-rje Avadhūti-pa dPal Maitri Zhabs; To 1244, nya 175r-189r, by Avadhūti gNyis-su-med-pa'i-rdo-rje</i>	32, 43
#090#	<i>Yum gyi sgrub thabs bdag med ma gsal ba; P 57/2438, 95r-99v, by gNyis-su-med-pa'i-rdo-rje</i>	43
#091#	<i>rDzogs rim lta ba ngan sel rtsa 'grel gnyis, P 68/3073 and 3075, 113r-119r by gNyis-su-med-pa'i rdo-rje and 119v-120v by gNyis-su-med-pa</i>	43, 43 n. 102
#092#	<i>Rin chen phreng ba; bDe kho na nyid rin chen phreng ba, P 68/3085, 126v-139v, by Avadhūti-pa gNyis-su-med-pa'i-rdo-rje</i>	43 n. 102
#093#	<i>dBang gi dgos pa; dBang gi dgos pa mdor bsodus pa, P 68/3088, 134r-136v, by gNyis-su-med-pa'i-rdo-rje</i>	43 n. 102
#094#	<i>rNam pa lnga pa</i>	43 n. 102
#095#	<i>De bzhin gshegs pa lnga'i phyag rgya (rnam par bshad pa), P 68/3087, 131v-134r, by gNyis-med-rdo-rje</i>	43 n. 102
#096#	<i>sGyu ma nges bstan, P 68/3078, 121v-122r, by gNyis-med-rdo-rje</i>	43 n. 102
#097#	<i>rMi lam nges bstan, P 68/3077, 121r-121v, by gNyis-med-rdo-rje</i>	43 n. 102
#098#	<i>Rab tu mi gnas pa; Rab tu mi gnas pa gsal bar ston pa, P 68/3079, 122r-122v, by gNyis-su-med-pa'i-rdo-rje</i>	43 n. 102
#099#	<i>Theg chen nyi shu pa, P 68/3093, 150v-151v, by gNyis-med-rdo-rje</i>	43 n. 102
#100#	<i>De kho na nyid nyi shu pa; De kho na nyid theg pa chen po nyi shu pa, P 68/3095, 153v-154r, by Avadhūti-pa gNyis-med-rdo-rje</i>	43 n. 102
#101#	<i>brTse ba lnga pa; Thabs dang shes rab brtse ba lnga pa, P 68/3091, 149v-150r, by Avadhūti-pa gNyis-su-med-pa'i-rdo-rje</i>	43 n. 102
#102#	<i>dGa' gtsugs lnga pa; dGa' bcugs lnga pa, P 68/3082, 124r, by Maitri-pa</i>	43 n. 102
#103#	<i>Mi phyed pa lnga pa, P 68/3083, 124r-v, by Maitri-pa</i>	43 n. 102
#104#	<i>dBu ma drug pa, P 68/3074, 119r-v, by Maitri</i>	43 n. 102

#105#	<i>lHan skyes drug pa</i> , P 68/3076, 120v-121r, by Maitri-pa	43 n. 102
#106#	<i>Zung 'jug gsal ba; Zung du 'jug pa rab tu gsal ba bstan pa</i> , P 68/3081, 123r-v, by Avadhūti	43 n. 102
#107#	<i>bDe chen gsal ba</i> , P 68/3084, 124v-126v, by Avadhūti-pa dPal gNyi-su-med-pa'i-rdo-rje	43 n. 102
#108#	<i>gNas pa bsdu pa</i>	43 n. 102
#109#	<i>Shes rab ye shes gsal ba</i>	43 n. 102
#110#	<i>dBang bskur rnam nges kyi dka' 'grel; dBang bskur ba nges par bstan pa 'i dka' 'grel</i> , P 68/3098, 156v-176r, by dGa'-ba-skyong; see also the <i>dBang nges par bstan pa</i> , P 68/3097, 154v-156v, by rGyal-ba Maitri-pa	43 n. 102

### 1.13. Works by 'Brog-mi

The three titles mentioned below are given according to *Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan's Title List*, which mentions that they were “composed by the translator ['Brog-mi] and provided by his disciple[s] with notes (*phyag mchan dag pa byas*).

#111#	<i>Ro sreg cho ga</i> ; A. 'Brog-mi	
#112#	<i>gTor ma 'i cho ga</i> ; A. 'Brog-mi	
#113#	<i>Tshogs kyi 'khor lo</i> ; A. 'Brog-mi	

### 1.14. Other Hevajra and Hevajra-related works

#114#	<i>gNad kyi gsal byed</i> , probably the <i>Sam puṭṭa 'i ṭi ka gnad kyi gsal byed</i> ; bSod-nams-rtse-mo, <i>Sa-skyapa bKa' 'bum</i> 2/15, 1r-239r	28 n. 42, 53, 75 n. 215
#115#	<i>bDag med ma dpa' mo gcig pa 'i sgrub thabs</i> ; (bSod-snyoms-pa) dGra-can-'dzin-pa, P 57/2440, 103v-104r; <i>To</i> 1310, <i>ta</i> 226v-227r ( <i>dPa' gcig ma 'i sgrub thabs</i> , A. sGra(!)-can-'dzin, Tr. Prajñendraruci and 'Brog-mi)	34
#116#	<i>Kyai rdo rje phyag gnyis pa 'i sgrub thabs</i> (also: <i>sKu rdo rje lha dgu 'i mngon par rtogs pa phyag gnyis pa 'i sgrub thabs</i> ); A-la-la Badzra (Vajrālāla), P 56/2364, 81r-83r; <i>To</i> 1235, <i>nya</i> 70r-71v	34
#117#	<i>Tshogs 'khor 'bring po</i> ; rJe-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, <i>Sa-skyapa bKa' 'bum</i> 3/19, 109r-113r	35 n. 71, 55
#118#	<i>Ro bsreg gi cho ga</i> ; Nag-po Shanta Bhadra, disciple of Dam-tshig-rdo-rje, mentioned in <i>Nam-mkha'-dpal-bzang's Record</i>	35 n. 72

#119#	<i>Nas gling ma'i dbang gong ma'i cho ga</i> ; Mus-chen; mentioned in <i>Ngag-dbang-chos-grags's Record</i>	36 n. 75, 65
#120#	<i>dPal kyai rdo rje'i dkyil chog nas gling ma</i> ; bSod-nams-rtse-mo, <i>Sa-skyapa bKa' 'bum 2/10, 263v-287r</i>	36 n. 75, 65 n. 174
#121#	<i>sGrub thabs mtsho skyes kyi bsdus don</i> ; Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po, <i>Sa-skyapa bKa' 'bum 1/53, 340r-342r</i>	36 n. 76
#122#	<i>mNgon rtogs tshig gi bum pa</i> ; Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po, <i>Sa-skyapa bKa' 'bum 1/53, fols. 342r-352r</i>	36 n. 76
#123#	<i>Slob dpon mtsho skyes kyi lo rgyus</i> ; Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po, <i>Sa-skyapa bKa' 'bum 1/53, fols. 338r-340r</i>	36 n. 76
#124#	<i>dPal kyai rdo rje'i sgrub thabs mtsho skyes kyi ti ka</i> ; bSod-nams-rtse-mo, <i>Sa-skyapa bKa' 'bum 2/9, 234r-263v</i>	36 n. 76
#125#	<i>Slob dpon padma badzra gyis mdzad pa'i bskyed rim zab pa'i tshul dgus brgyan pa</i> ; Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, <i>gDams ngag mdzod</i> , vol. 4, pp. 518-534	36 n. 76, 65
#126#	<i>mTsho skyes lugs kyi phra mig</i> ; Go-rams-pa, <i>Sa-skyapa bKa' 'bum 15/90, 121v-133v</i>	36 n. 76, 65, 119
#127#	<i>dPal kyai rdo rje mtsho skyes lugs kyi dkyil 'khor mchod pa'i cho ga tshogs gnyis rgyas byed</i> ; Ngor-chen Kun-dga'-bzang-po, <i>Sa-skyapa bKa' 'bum 9/67, 258v-263r</i>	36 n. 76, 65
#128#	<i>sGrub thabs mtsho skyes kyi bsdus don</i> ; Ngor-chen Kun-dga'-bzang-po, <i>Sa-skyapa bKa' 'bum 9/65, 250v-253r</i>	36 n. 76
#129#	<i>dGyes pa rdo rje'i maṅḍal gyi cho ga</i> ; Saroruhavajra, <i>To 1221, nya 20v-22v</i>	36 n. 76
#130#	<i>Kye'i rdo rje'i bstod pa</i> ; mTsho-skyes-rdo-rje, <i>To 1222, nya 22v-23r</i>	36 n. 78
#131#	<i>Kyai rdo rje phyag gnyis pa'i sgrub thabs (Dvibhujasādhana)</i> ; Tāraśrī, <i>P 56/2393, 486v-488r, To 1271, ta 96v-98r</i>	39 n. 84
#132#	<i>Kun dga' rgyal mtshan gyi rnam thar</i> ; lHo-pa Rin-chen-dpal-bzang-po, <i>TBRC W18643</i> ; cf. <i>Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 1</i> , fols. 38v-57r (pp. 76-113), and fols. 57r-67r (pp. 113-133)	39 n. 89
#133#	<i>Sems dpa' gsum gyi ting nge 'dzin la mnyam par bzhag pa</i> ; Buddhajñānapāda, <i>P 86/4812, 179r-180r</i>	40 n. 92

#134#	<i>rDo rje tshig gi snying po bsdus pa'i dka' 'grel</i> ( <i>Vajrapada-sāra-saṃgraha-pañjikā</i> ), also: <i>Nā ro 'grel chen</i> , <i>Kyai rdor don bsdus</i> , and <i>rDo rje tshig gi snying po bsdus pa</i> ; Nāropāda, P 54/2316, 69r-169v, A. Nāro-zhabs, To 1186, ka 58v-146v, A. sNyan-grags-bzang-po	42 n. 97
#135#	<i>gSung gi 'od zer bstan pa</i> ; Nāropa?, mentioned in <i>Ngor-chen's Correct System</i> 5r, but according to Bu-ston a Tibetan composition	43 n. 101
#136#	<i>Kyai rdo rje zhes bya ba'i rgyud kyi rgyal po'i 'grel pa</i> ( <i>Tantrarāja-ṭikā</i> ); Padma'i-myu-gu-(rdo-rje), P 54/2318, 228v-262r; To 1188, ga 194v-220v	44
#137#	<i>dPal dgyes pa'i rdo rje'i dka' 'grel rdo rje'i tshig btu ba</i> ( <i>Vajrapadoddharaṇa</i> ); Kāmadhenu, P 54/2322, 1r-13v, To 1192, ca 1v-12r; NGMPP A 684/3 (xylograph from the National Archives, Kathmandu), (together with other works) 378 fols.	44
#138#	<i>rGyud kyi rgyal po dpal kyai rdo rje'i 'grel bshad kha sbyor shin tu dri ma med pa</i> ( <i>Suviśadasaṃputa</i> ); Dharmakadāśa, also: <i>rDo rje gsum gyi kha sbyor rin po che'i phreng ba?</i> , P 53/2314, 73r-351r; To 1184, ka 61r-294r	45
#139#	<i>rDo rje gsum gyi kha sbyor rin po che'i phreng ba</i> , see #138#; <i>Ngor-chen's Correct System</i> 3v	45
#140#	<i>Kyai rdo rje'i 'grel bshad kha sbyor dri ma med pa</i> ; Dharmakadāśa, P 53/2314, 73r-351r; <i>Ngor-chen's Correct System</i> 3v	45
#141#	<i>dPal kyai rdo rje zhes bya ba'i sgrub pa'i thabs</i> ( <i>Śrīhevajra-nāma-sādhana</i> ); Bodhigarbha, P 56/2356, 35v-38v; To 1227, nya 31r-34r	46 n. 113
#142#	<i>Rin po che'i rgyan</i> ; rNgog Chos-rdor	47
#143#	<i>Rin po che'i rgyan 'dra</i> ; rNgog Zhe-sdang-rdo-rje, TBRC W19472	47
#144#	<i>rGyud kyi mngon par rtogs pa rin po che'i ljon shing</i> ; rJe-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, <i>Sa-skyapa bKa' 'bum</i> 3/1, 1r-139r; <i>Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series</i> 22 (vol. za = <i>tshogs bshad skor</i> vol. 2), fols. 1r-139r (the <i>dkar chag</i> has pp. 1-227, which should be read: pp. 1-277); <i>rGyud sde kun btus</i> 28, pp. 1-292	49, 51, 59 f., 66, 67 n. 178, 68 n. 182, 69
#145#	<i>Las dang po pa'i bya ba'i rim pa</i> ; dPyal Se bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan, <i>Ngor-chen's Correct System</i> 7r	48 n. 125
#146#	<i>rGyud sde'i dum bu brgya bcu gsum pa by</i> Sa-pan or Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po, also: <i>Lung 'bum</i> and <i>Dum bu lnga bcu pa</i> , <i>Sa-skyapa bKa' 'bum</i> 3/10, 327r-341r	49, 51, 66



#147#	<i>rNam bshad dag ldan</i> , i.e. the <i>brTag pa gnyis pa'i rnam par bshad pa ma dag pa rnam 'joms par byed pa'i rnam 'grel dag ldan</i> by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, <i>Sa-skyapa bKa' 'bum</i> 3/9, 194r-326r	49 n. 129, 53, 54 n. 148, 66 f., 67 n. 178, 68 n. 182, 69, 78 n. 226
#148#	<i>rGyud sde'i dum bu che ba</i> by Shar-pa Ye-shes-rgyal-mtshan	50 n. 136; 66
#149#	<i>rGyud sde'i dum bu chung ba</i> by Shar-pa Ye-shes-rgyal-mtshan	50 n. 136, 66
#150#	<i>rGyud sde spyi'i rnam gzhag chung ngu</i> by Kun-dga'-snying-po, <i>Sa-skyapa bKa' 'bum</i> 1/3, 4r-14v	50, 97
#151#	<i>rGyud sde spyi rnam gzhag</i> by bSod-nams-rtse-mo, also: <i>rGyud sde spyi'i rnam par gzhag pa rgyud ma lus pa la 'jug pa rnal 'byor gyi mig</i> , <i>Sa-skyapa bKa' 'bum</i> 2/1, 1r-74r; <i>Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series</i> 21 (vol. zha = <i>tshogs bshad skor</i> vol. 1), pp. 429-575 (the text has in this edition its own pagination with 74 fols.); <i>rGyud sde kun btus</i> 27, pp. 535-691	22, 50, 59, 68 n. 182, 69
#152#	<i>sTong thun gnyis kyi bsdu don</i> , i.e. the <i>rGyud sde spyi'i rnam gzhag dang rgyud kyi mngon par rtogs pa'i stong thun sa bcad</i> by Sa-pan Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan, <i>Sa-skyapa bKa' 'bum</i> 3/2, 140r-162r; <i>rGyud sde kun btus</i> 27, pp. 487-534	51, 66 f., 67 n. 178
#153#	<i>Yab kyi bstod pa danḍa ka</i> , i.e. the <i>dPal kyai rdo rje'i bstod pa danḍa ka</i> by rJe-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, <i>Sa-skyapa bKa' 'bum</i> 3/33, 236r-238v	51, 66
#154#	<i>Yum gyi bstod pa dri ma med pa'i rgyan</i> , i.e. the <i>bDag med lha mo bco lnga'i bstod pa dri ma med pa'i rgyan</i> , also: <i>Rin po che'i phreng ba</i> , <i>Sa-skyapa bKa' 'bum</i> , 3/34, 238r-241r	51, 66
#155#	<i>bDag med bstod pa'i rnam 'grel</i> by Sa-pan, <i>Sa-skyapa bKa' 'bum</i> 3/35, 241r, where it is entered as <i>bDag med bstod pa'i bsdu don</i>	51
#156#	<i>dKa' 'grel mngon rtogs</i> , also: <i>Man ngag don gsal</i> , i.e. the <i>dPal kyai rdo rje'i rtsa ba'i rgyud brtag pa gnyis pa'i dka' 'grel man ngag don gsal</i> by Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po, <i>Sa-skyapa bKa' 'bum</i> 1/6, 132r-157r; NGMPP L 71/14 (xylograph from Lo Mathang), 26 fols. and L 71/15, <i>Bla ma sa chen gyis mdzad pa'i kye rdo rje'i rtsa rgyud brtags gnyis kyi dka' 'grel</i> (incomplete xylograph from Lo Manthang), 87 fols.	52, 68 n. 182, 78 n. 226
#157#	<i>Nyi ma'i 'od zer</i> , i.e. the <i>dPal kyai rdo rje'i rtsa rgyud brtag gnyis kyi rnam par bshad pa nyi ma'i 'od zer</i> by bSod-nams-rtse-mo, <i>Sa-skyapa bKa' 'bum</i> 2/6, 83r-219r; cf. <i>brTag gnyis kyi yig sna slob dpon rin po ches mdzad pa</i> , NGMPP L 150/2, ( <i>dbu med</i> manuscript from sMon thang, gold on black), 197 fols.	52, 68 n. 182, 73 n. 200, 78 n. 226

#158#	<i>bsDus don</i> , i.e. the <i>brTag gnyis kyi sa bcad</i> by Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po, <i>Sa-skyapa bKa'</i> 'bum 1/4, 14v-26r	53
#159#	<i>bsDus don</i> , i.e. the <i>brTag pa gnyis pa'i bsdus don</i> by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, <i>Sa-skyapa bKa'</i> 'bum 5/112, 291r-305v	53
#160#	<i>rDo rje gur gyi bshad pa'i chings</i> by Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po, <i>Sa-skyapa bKa'</i> 'bum 1/9, 256v-258v	53
#161#	<i>Gur gyi rgyud kyi zin bris</i> by Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po, <i>Sa-skyapa bKa'</i> 'bum 1/16, 320r-325v	53
#162#	<i>Gur rgyan</i> , i.e. the ' <i>Phags pa rdo rje gur gyi rgyan zhes bya ba'i rnam 'grel</i> by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, <i>Sa-skyapa bKa'</i> 'bum 3/12, 1r-73r	53, 55, 75 n. 211, 76
#163#	<i>Gur gyi bsdus don</i> by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, <i>Sa-skyapa bKa'</i> 'bum 3/13, 74r-82r	53, 75 n. 211
#164#	<i>brTag pa phyi ma</i> , i.e. the <i>dPal yang dag par sbyor ba'i rgyud phyi ma'i rnam par bshad pa</i> by Kun-dga'-snying-po, <i>Sa-skyapa bKa'</i> 'bum 1/19, 388v-405v, NGMPP L 71/16 (xylograph from Lo Manthang), 41 fols.	53
#165#	<i>Sam pu ta'i dka' 'grel</i> by Kun-dga'-snying-po, <i>Sa-skyapa bKa'</i> 'bum 1/17, 325v-384v	53
#166#	<i>Sam pu ta'i rgyud kyi bsdus don</i> by bSod-nams-rtse-mo, <i>Sa-skyapa bKa'</i> 'bum 2/14, 355r-377r	53, 75 n. 215
#167#	<i>dPal kyai rdo rje'i sgrub pa'i thabs kyi rgya cher bshad pa bskyed rim gnad kyi zla zer la rtsod pa spong ba gnad kyi gsal byed</i> by Go-rams-pa, <i>Sa-skyapa bKa'</i> 'bum 15/108, 285r-353r	54 n. 148, 64, 119
#168#	<i>dPal kyai rdo rje'i rab tu gnas pa bzang po drug</i> by bSod-nams-rtse-mo, <i>Sa-skyapa bKa'</i> 'bum 2/21, 90r-96r	54
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## 2.1. Yellow Book

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#277#	<i>Zla rgyal ma; Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 27 (vol. sha = lam 'bras rnam 'grel bcu gcig vol. 1), pp. 397-529 (the text has its own pagination with 67 fols.)</i>	90
#278#	<i>lDan bu ma; Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 29 (vol. ha = lam 'bras rnam 'grel bcu gcig vol. 3); pp. 297-497 (the text has its own pagination with 100 fols.)</i>	90
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#280#	<i>Klog skya ma; Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 27 (vol. sha = lam 'bras rnam 'grel vol. 1), pp. 191-395 (the text has its own pagination with 103 fols.); an ms. facsimile was published in gZhung bsad klog skya ma and Other Related Esoteric Sa-skyapa Texts, pp. 1-345.</i>	90
#281#	<i>sGa theng ma; Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po?; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 28 (vol. sa = lam 'bras rnam 'grel vol. 2), pp. 149-491 (the text has its own pagination with 172 fols.)</i>	90
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#288#	<i>Kun gzhi rgyu rygud</i> ; Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan; <i>Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 11</i> , 64v-66r	89, 92, 100 f.
#289#	<i>gDan stsogs kyi yi ge</i> ; Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan; <i>Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 11</i> , 66r-68r	56, 57 n. 157, 89, 92, 94 n. 268, 100 f.
#290#	( <i>Lam la sogs pa'i chos nyi shu la</i> ) <i>lus kyi dkyil 'khor</i> ; <i>Nang dkyil</i> ; <i>Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 11</i> , 68r-69v	89, 92, 100 f.
#291#	<i>Bum dbang gi 'da' ka ma'i skabs su 'chi ltas</i> , <i>'khrul 'khor</i> , <i>'chi bslu ba dang bcas pa</i> ; Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan; <i>Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 11</i> , 69v-72v	89, 92, 98, 100 f.
#292#	<i>Bum dbang gi snang ba bsgyur ba'i 'da' ka ma</i> ; <i>Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 11</i> , 72v-73v	89, 92, 100 f.
#293#	<i>gSang dbang gi skabs su thig le'i rnal 'byor bzhi</i> ; <i>Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 11</i> , 73v-74r	89, 92, 100 f.
#294#	<i>Shes rab ye shes kyi phyag rgya'i mtshan nyid</i> ; <i>Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 11</i> , 74r-74v	89, 92, 100 f.
#295#	<i>dBang bzhi pa'i 'da' ka ma dang</i> , <i>bum dbang dang thun mong du yi ges sgo dgag pa dang bcas pa</i> ; <i>Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 11</i> , 74v-76r	89, 92, 100 f.
#296#	<i>Bar do bzhi pa'i gdams ngag</i> ; <i>Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 11</i> , 76r-77v	89, 92, 100 f.
#297#	<i>Lam dus kyi dbang (chog)</i> ; <i>Lam dus kyi dbang rgyas 'bring bsdus gsum</i> ; Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan? Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po?; <i>Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 11</i> , 77v-79v	89, 93, 100 f., 128
#298#	<i>Tshad ma bzhi</i> ; Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan; <i>Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 11</i> , 79v-81r	89, 93, 99 n. 286, 100 f.
#299#	<i>gDams ngag drug</i> ; Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan; <i>Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 11</i> , 81r-82r	89, 93, 100 f.

#300#	<i>rTen 'brel lnga; Sa-chen; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 11, 82r-83v</i>	89, 93, 100 f., 107, 114
#301#	<i>Grib sel gyi sbyin sreg bsdu pa; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 11, 83v</i>	89, 93, 100 f.
#302#	<i>Grib mkhrus kyis sel ba; including the Grib ma sātstshas sel ba (fol. 85r-v); Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 11, 84r-85v</i>	89, 93, 100 f.
#303#	<i>Thig le bsrung; Thig le 'dzag pa bsrung; Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 11, 85v-86r</i>	89, 93, 100 f.
#304#	<i>Yi ge brgya pa gdon pa'i gdams ngag; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 11, 86r-87r</i>	89, 93, 100 f.
#305#	<i>'Jig rten pa'i lam gyi skabs su rlung gi sbyor ba bdun gyis lam khrid pa; Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 11, 87r-92r</i>	89, 93, 100 f.
#306#	<i>Bha ga'i yi ge bcu bzhi; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 11, 92r-93r</i>	89, 93, 98, 100 f.
#307#	<i>'Das pa'i lam la gsang dbang gi skabs su 'khor lo bzhi'i rgya; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 11, 93r-93v</i>	89, 93, 100 f.
#308#	<i>bZhi pa'i skabs su dbang phyug gi don brgyad; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 11, 93v-94r</i>	89, 93, 100 f.
#309#	<i>Sa bcu gsum pa'i phyed kyi mngon rtogs; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 11, 94r-94v</i>	89, 93, 100 f.
#310#	<i>'Khor 'das dbyer med kyi lta ba'i rtsa 'grel gnyis; Rin chen snang ba (basic texts); Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 11, 96r; 97v-122r; gDams ngag mdzod 4, 15-17</i>	57, 89, 94, 100 ff., 114, 131
#311#	<i>dBang gi chu bo ma nub par bskur ba; Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 11, 122r-122v</i>	57, 89, 95, 100 f.
#312#	<i>mChog dbang gsum grol ba'i lam la rten te bskur ba; Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 11, 122v-128r</i>	57, 89, 95, 100 f.
#313#	<i>Phyi nang gi bskyed pa'i rim pa mdor bsdu pa; Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 11, 128r-129r</i>	54, 57, 89, 95, 100 f.
#314#	<i>bDud rtsi ril bu'i sgrub thabs; Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 11, 129r-130v</i>	56 n. 157, 89, 94, 95 n. 268, 95, 100 n. 364, 100 f., 131

#315#	<i>Byin rlabs kyi brgyud ma nyams pa</i> ; also <i>Yum gyi byin rlabs?</i> and <i>dBang byin rlabs kyi brgyud ma nyams pa'i yi ge</i> , i.e. <i>Byin rlabs kyi brgyud pa ma nyams pa'i lag len gyi tho yig</i> ; Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan; <i>Sa-skyapa bKa'</i> 'bum 3/18, 106r-109r; <i>Yellow Book Title List</i> ; <i>A-mes-zhabs' Transmission and Summary</i> 118r	57, 89, 94 n. 270, 100 f.
#316#	<i>bSam gtan 'dor ba'i 'phrang bdun</i> ; <i>bSam gtan 'dor ba'i 'phrang bdun bsal ba</i> ; <i>Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series</i> 11, 130v	57, 89, 95, 100 f.
#317#	<i>Byung rgyal du mi gtong ba'i gnad rnam pa bzhi</i> ; <i>Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series</i> 11, 134r-144r	57, 89, 95, 101
#318#	<i>'Byung lus 'khrug rlung dang spyod lam gyis bsal ba</i> ; <i>Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series</i> 11, 144r-144v	57, 89, 95, 101, 131
#319#	<i>Phrin las sum cu rtsa gnyis kyi 'khrul 'khor</i> ; Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan; <i>Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series</i> 11, 144v-146v	57, 89, 95, 100 f.
#320#	<i>dBang gi chu bo'i lag len rgyas pa</i> ; <i>dPal kyai rdo rje'i dkyil 'khor du slob ma smin par byed pa'i cho ga dbang gi chu bo chen mo</i> ; <i>bSod-nams-rtse-mo</i> ; <i>Sa-skyapa bKa'</i> 'bum 2/20, 35r-89r	54, 57, 59, 96, 100 f.
#321#	<i>Yab kyi bskyed rim rgyas pa</i> ; <i>Yab kyi sgrub thabs rgyas pa yan lag bzhi pa = dPal kyai rdo rje'i mngon par rtogs pa yan lag bzhi pa</i> ; <i>bSod-nams-rtse-mo</i> ; <i>Sa-skyapa bKa'</i> 'bum 2/19, 1r-34r	54, 57, 96, 100 f.
#322#	<i>Yab kyi bskyed rim 'bring po</i> ; <i>'Bring po yan lag drug pa = dPal kyai rdo rje'i mngon rtogs yan lag drug pa</i> ; Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan; <i>Sa-skyapa bKa'</i> 'bum 3/15, 86r-94r	54, 54 n. 148, 57, 63, 96, 100 f.
#323#	<i>Yum gyi bskyed rim</i> ; <i>Yum gyi sgrub thabs = bDag med lha mo bco lnga'i mngon rtogs</i> ; Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan; <i>Sa-skyapa bKa'</i> 'bum 3/17, 96r-105r	54, 57, 96, 100 f.
#324#	<i>rTsa ltung 'khrul spong</i> ; <i>rTsa ba'i ltung ba bcu bzhi pa'i 'grel pa gsal byed 'khrul spong</i> ; Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan; <i>Sa-skyapa bKa'</i> 'bum 3/21, 123r-184r; NGMPP L 475/3 (xylograph from Nyile), 48 fols.	54, 57, 89, 100 f.
#325#	<i>Tshogs kyi 'khor lo</i> ; Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan	57, 96, 100 f.
#326#	<i>sByin sreg</i> ; Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan	57, 96, 100 f.
#327#	<i>rTsa ba med pa'i lam 'bring po</i> ; Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan; <i>Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series</i> 11, 146v -149v	57, 60, 97, 100 f., 131
#328#	<i>sGrub pa'i lung sbyin pa lam bsdus pa</i> ; Chos-s nang Lo-tsa-ba?; <i>Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series</i> 11, 149v-150v	57, 60, 97, 100 f.

#329#	<i>Gang zag gzhung ji lta ba bzhin du dkri ba'i gzhung</i> ; also well-known as the <i>Jo lcags ma</i> ; Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan; <i>Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series</i> 11, 150v-157v; <i>gDams ngag mdzod</i> 4, 17-28	56, 59 f., 97, 100 f., 114 n. 335, 131
#330#	<i>Man ngag gi gnad drug gis dkri ba'i gzhung</i> ; Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po; <i>Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series</i> 11, 157v-160r?	56, 60, 97, 100 f.
#331#	<i>Gang zag dbang po rab 'bring gsum du dkri ba'i gzhung shing</i> ; Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan; <i>Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series</i> 11, 160v-161r	56, 59, 97, 100 f.
#332#	<i>brTson 'grus can man ngag gi gnad bcu gcig gis dkri ba'i gzhung shing</i> by Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po; <i>Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series</i> 11, 161r-162r	56, 60, 97, 100 f.
#333#	<i>Lam 'jug pa dang ldog pa</i> ; <i>Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series</i> 11, 162r-163r	50, 57, 97, 100 f.
#334#	<i>Phyag rgya 'jug ldog</i> ; <i>Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series</i> 11, 163r-164r	56, 97, 100 f.
#335#	<i>Shes pas phan 'dogs pa'i man ngag bdun</i> ; <i>Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series</i> 11, 164r	56, 97, 100 f.
#336#	<i>Lam bsre ba 'gros bzhi dang bcas</i> ; <i>Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series</i> 11, 164r-168v; 168v-170r	56, 97, 100 f.
#337#	<i>Phyi nang gi mdzad pa bcu gnyis</i> ; <i>Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series</i> 11, 170r-172v	56, 98, 100 f.
#338#	<i>Bla ma'i rnal 'byor</i> ; <i>Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series</i> 11, 172v-173r	98, 100 f.
#339#	<i>Lung sbyor bsdus pa</i> ; <i>Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series</i> 11, 241r-247r	58 n. 158, 99 ff.
#340#	<i>Lung mtha' dag dang mdor bsdus sbyar ba</i> ; <i>Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series</i> 11, 265r-291r	58 n. 158, 99, 101
#341#	<i>Lung 'di nyid dang zhib tu sbyar ba</i> ; bSod-nams-rtse-mo (cf. #397#); <i>Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series</i> 11, 247r-265r; NGMPP L 486/12 (ms. from Nyile), 13 fols.	58 n. 158, 98 ff. 101 n. 283, 101 ff., 107, 129
#342#	<i>Bla ma brgyud pa rgya gar ba'i lo rgyus</i> ; also: <i>Bla ma rgya gar ba'i lo rgyus</i> ; Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan; <i>Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series</i> 1/1, 1r-7r; 1/11, 291r-297v; <i>Sa-skya-pa bKa' 'bum</i> 3/11, 342r-348r; NOTES A4b1 (1)	56, 99 ff.

#343#	<i>Bla ma brgyud pa bod kyi lo rgyus; Bod kyi rnam thar gyi yi ge; Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 1/2, 7r-9v; 1/11, 297v-300r; Sa-skyapa bKa' 'bum 3/11, 348r-350v; NOTES A4b1 (2)</i>	56, 99 ff.
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## 2.2. Red Book

#344#	<i>Bla ma brgyud pa'i gsol 'debs; also: Bla ma rdo rje 'dzin ma; Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 13, 3v-6r</i>	103, 129
#345#	<i>Bla ma rdor 'dzin ma'i kha skong gi gsol 'debs; Shar-pa Ye-shes-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzang-po; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 13, 6r-7r</i>	103
#346#	<i>Sa bir mjal ba'i lo rgyus rje pas sga theng la gnang ba; also: rJe btsun gyis ldan ma sga 'theng la gdams pa; Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 13, 7r-8r</i>	103
#347#	<i>Lam 'bras gzhung ji lta ba bzhin dkri ba'i khrid yig tshigs bcad ma; also: Gra ston zhus lan gsal ba; Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 13, 8r-10r</i>	103, 129
#348#	<i>Sangs rgyas spyang gyi rnal 'byor; Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po? Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan?; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 13, 10r-11r</i>	103
#349#	<i>Aṣṭa'i bzlas lung gi tho yig; Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po? Sa-pan?; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 13, 11r-12r</i>	103, 128
#350#	<i>Aṣṭa'i gzhi bshad pa; rTsa sngags kyi rnam bshad snying po don gsal aṣṭa'i gzhi bshad pa; Sa-skyapa Paṇita; Sa-skyapa bKa' 'bum 5/50, 120r-127r; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 13, 12r-18v</i>	54, 74, 104, 129
#351#	<i>bDud rtsi ril bu'i sgrub thabs (kyi zhal shes); 'Phags-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 13, 18v-20r</i>	104, 120 n. 365, 130
#352#	<i>dBang gi rab dbye; Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan? Zhang-btsun?; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 13, 20r-21r</i>	104
#353#	<i>sGa ston la gdams pa; rJe btsun gyis sga ston rdo rje grags la gdams pa; also: sGa ston spring yig; Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan; Sa-skyapa bKa' 'bum 3/24, 198v-202v; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 13, 21r-25r</i>	104, 129
#354#	<i>Phyi nang gsang gsum gyi maṅdal; Sa-skyapa Paṇita; Sa-skyapa bKa' 'bum 5/49, 118r-119r; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 13, 25r-26v</i>	104

#355#	<i>Kha skongs; Phyi nang gsang gsum gyi maṅḍal gyi kha skongs; Shar-pa Ye-shes-rgyal-mtshan; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 13, 26v-27r</i>	104
#356#	<i>Lus sbyongs nyi shu pa('i gsal byed); Ma-nor-bzang-po; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 13, 27r-29r</i>	104
#357#	<i>Lus gnad kyi gdams ngag; dPal-ldan Phug-pa dMar; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 13, 29r-30r</i>	104
#358#	<i>bDag med ma'i byin rlabs; bDag med ma'i byin rlabs kyi brgyud pa ma nyams par bskur ba'i tho yig; Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan? Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po?; Sa-skyapa bKa' 'bum 3/18, 106r-109r; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 13, 30r-33v</i>	104, 128
#359#	<i>gTum mo 'khor lo bzhi; gTum mo 'khor lo bzhi'i dmigs pa rgyas pa; Sa-chen Kun dga'-snying-po; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 13, 33v-34r</i>	104
#360#	<i>Rang byin rlabs kyi dmigs pa nyi shu rtsa dgu; also: gTum mo'i dmigs pa nyer dgu; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 13, 34r-41r; rGyud sde kun btus 27, pp. 19-34</i>	104
#361#	<i>Bar chad gsum sel; also: dKar ston ma; Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 13, 41r-43r</i>	105, 129
#362#	<i>Bla ma chen po'i nyams chung ba = Gegs sel nyams chung ba (= dMar khrid ma)?; Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 13, 43r-44r</i>	105, 129
#363#	<i>?; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 13, 44r-45r</i>	105
#364#	<i>?; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 13, 45r</i>	105
#365#	<i>?; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 13, 45r-46v</i>	105
#366#	<i>Nyams chen mo; Bla ma chen po'i nyams chen mo?; Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 13, 46v-?</i>	105
#367#	<i>?; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 13, 48v-?</i>	105
#368#	<i>Gegs sel nyams chen mo; Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po?; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 13, 52v-58v?</i>	105, 129, 131
#369#	<i>rLung reng lnga bcos; Khyad par gyi rlung reng lnga bcos thabs; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 13, 58v-60r</i>	105
#370#	<i>Thig le 'chor ba bsrung ba'i zhal gdams; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 13, 60r-v</i>	105
#371#	<i>?; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 13, 60v-61v</i>	105

#372#	?; <i>Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 13, 62r</i>	105
#373#	?; <i>Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 13, 62r-v</i>	105
#374#	<i>Gegs sel gsang bdun ma; Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 13, 62v-64v</i>	105, 129
#375#	<i>Gleng gzhi ma; Gegs sel gleng gzhi ma; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 13, 64v-65r</i>	105
#376#	<i>'Byung ba lus 'khrugs sogs sel (thabs); Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 13, 65r-65v</i>	105
#377#	<i>Gegs sel gces btus ma; Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 13, 65v-75r</i>	105, 129
#378#	<i>bKa' rgya ma; (Gegs sel) bka' rgya ma; dMar Chos-kyi-rgyal-po? Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po?; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 13, 75r-79r</i>	105, 129
#379#	?; <i>Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 13, 79r</i>	106
#380#	?; <i>Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 13, 79v</i>	106
#381#	<i>Gegs sel gyi yi ge bzhi'i (zhal shes); Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 13, 79v-96r</i>	98, 106
#382#	<i>Phrin las so gnyis kyi sdom tshig dang zhal shes; Buddha Shrī; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 13, 96r-96v</i>	98, 106, 131
#383#	<i>dBang bzhi ngo sprod; Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 13, 96v-97v</i>	106, 129
#384#	<i>dBang bzhi ngo sprod rang 'grel; Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 13, 97v-103r</i>	106
#385#	<i>brDa don gsal ba; Sa-skya Paṇḍita or Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 13, 103r-103v</i>	59, 86 n. 244, 106, 129
#386#	<i>(brDa don gsal ba) 'grel pa; Sa-skya Paṇḍita; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 13, 103v-106v</i>	106, 131
#387#	<i>(brDa don gsal ba'i) zin bris; lHo-pa (Rin-chen-dpal?); Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 13, 106v-108r</i>	106
#388#	<i>gNad du che ba drug; gZhung bshad la gnad du che ba drug; Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 13, 108r-110r</i>	107
#389#	<i>rTen 'brel lnga'i bshad pa; also: rTen 'brel lnga rdzogs; Sa-skya Paṇḍita; Sa-skya-pa bKa' 'bum 5/45, 103r-107r; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 13, 110r-114r</i>	93, 107 n. 306, 107, 129



#390#	<i>Lam sdus pa 'dod pa'i lcags kyu; dMar-(ston Chos-kyi-rgyal-po); Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 13, 114r-114v</i>	107
#391#	<i>Phyag chen gyi dbye ba; Sa-skya Paṇḍita; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 13, 114v-115v</i>	107, 129
#392#	<i>'Khor bzhi'i rgya('i bshad pa); Sa-skya Paṇḍita; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 13, 115v-117r</i>	107, 130
#393#	<i>Tshogs sbyor gnyis kyi mngon rtogs; 'Phags-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan; Sa-skya-pa bKa' 'bum 6/60, 298v-300r; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 13, 117r-119r</i>	107, 130
#394#	<i>Lam bsdus pa'i bshad pa; Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 13, 119r-119v</i>	107, 129
#395#	<i>bsGrub pa lung sbyin; Sa-skya Paṇḍita; Sa-skya-pa bKa' 'bum 5/44, 100r-103r; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 13, 120r-123r</i>	107, 129
#396#	<i>gSang ba bcu'i rgyas gdab; gSang bcu spyod pa'i rnal 'byor lung 'di nyid dang zhib tu sbyar ba; Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 13, 123r-127v</i>	107, 129
#397#	<i>Pod ser du bzhugs pa'i lung 'di nyid dang zhib tu sbyar ba'i kha skongs; bSod-nams-rtse-mo; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 13, 127v-139v</i>	98 n. 283, 107
#398#	<i>Lam zab mo bla ma'i rnal 'byor; Ling chu rtse khrab ma; Sa-skya Paṇḍita; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 13, 139v-148r; Sa-skya-pa bKa' 'bum 5/41, 88r-96v; Mus-srad-pa's Tho yig 152r</i>	57, 60, 98 n. 281, 108, 130
#399#	<i>Bla ma rin 'byung; rGyas pa'i las sgrub pa'i bla ma'i rnal 'byor; dMar-ston Chos-kyi-rgyal-po; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 13, 148r-150v</i>	108
#400#	<i>Lam sbas shad; Sa-skya Paṇḍita; Sa-skya-pa bKa' 'bum 5/ 46, 107r-108r; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 13, 150v-156r</i>	93, 108, 129
#401#	<i>Pho brang lnga la brten pa'i sbas bshad zab mo; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 13, 156r-158v</i>	108
#402#	<i>Lam sbas bshad kyi 'khrul 'khor so gnyis kyi rtsa 'grel; Zhal shes 'khrul 'khor sum cu; dPal-ldan-tshul-khrims; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 13, 158v-161v</i>	108
#403#	<i>Grub chen bcu dang phra mo brgyad kyi man ngag gi rtsa ba; Sa-skya Paṇḍita; Sa-skya-pa bKa' 'bum 5/47, 108r-115v; 115v-118r; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 13, 161v-162v</i>	109

#404#	<i>Grub chen bcu dang phra mo brgyad kyi man ngag gi 'grel pa;</i> Sa-skyā Paṇḍita; <i>Sa skyā Lam 'bras Literature Series 13, 162v-168v-171r</i>	109
#405#	<i>Grub chen bcu dang phra mo brgyad kyi zhal shes gsal byed;</i> Buddha Shrī; <i>Sa skyā Lam 'bras Literature Series 13, 171r-174v</i>	109, 131
#406#	<i>Bir bsrung gi man ngag rnying pa gsum;</i> Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po; <i>Sa skyā Lam 'bras Literature Series 13, 174v-176v</i>	59 n. 164, 109
#407#	<i>Bir bsrung gi man ngag byin rlabs byed tshul dang bcas pa;</i> 'Phags-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan; <i>Sa skyā Lam 'bras Literature Series 13, 176v-178r</i>	109
#408#	<i>rNam 'joms bir lugs kyi byin rlabs byed tshul;</i> Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po; <i>Sa skyā Lam 'bras Literature Series 13, 178r-179r</i>	109, 128
#409#	<i>rDo rje rnam par 'joms pa'i gzungs la birwa pa'i man ngag ltar sa skyā paṇḍi tas mchan bu mdzad pa;</i> Sa-skyā Paṇḍita; <i>Sa skyā Lam 'bras Literature Series 13, 179r-181v</i>	109
#410#	<i>rDo rje rnam par 'joms pa bir lugs kyi rnam bshad bdud rtsi spel;</i> Sa-skyā Paṇḍita; <i>Sa skyā Lam 'bras Literature Series 13, 181v-184v</i>	109
#411#	<i>rNam 'joms bir lugs kyi lag len;</i> Rig-'dzin Grags; <i>Sa skyā Lam 'bras Literature Series 13, 184v-192v</i>	109
#412#	<i>Byin rlabs tshar gsum khug pa'i gdams ngag;</i> rJe-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan; <i>Sa-skyā-pa bKa' 'bum 7/3, 189r-191v;</i> <i>Sa skyā Lam 'bras Literature Series 13, 192v-195v</i>	109, 132
#413#	<i>Yi ge brgya pa'i man ngag;</i> Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po; <i>Sa skyā Lam 'bras Literature Series 13, 195v-197v</i>	109
#414#	<i>mDo rgyud bsre ba'i nyams len;</i> also: <i>sNying po don gyi rang 'gros and Snang rig [or: srid] byin gyis brlab pa'i man ngag;</i> Shāntipa; <i>Sa skyā Lam 'bras Literature Series 13, 197v-199v;</i> <i>gDams ngag mdzod 4, 781-784</i>	110
#415#	<i>Phyi rol gyis(!) gdon sum bsrung ba;</i> Shes-rab-'byung-gnas-sbas-pa (Prajñākaragupta); <i>Sa skyā Lam 'bras Literature Series 13, 199v-200r;</i> <i>gDams ngag mdzod 4, 785</i>	110
#416#	<i>Byung ba lus 'khrugs bsrung ba'i man ngag;</i> Jñānaśrī; <i>Sa skyā Lam 'bras Literature Series 13, 200r-200v</i>	110
#417#	<i>Ting nge 'dzin sems kyi bar chad bsrung ba'i man ngag;</i> Rin-chen-rdo-rje (Ratnavajra); <i>Sa skyā Lam 'bras Literature Series 13, 200v-201r;</i> <i>gDams ngag mdzod 4, 786</i>	110

#418#	<i>gNyug ma dran gsal</i> ; also: <i>Rim pa gnyis dbyer med du bsgom pa'i man ngag</i> and <i>dBang bzhi'i lam gdan [stan] thog gcig tu bsgom pa'i man ngag [rnal 'byor]</i> ; <i>Ngag-dbang-grags-pa</i> (Vāgīśvarakīrti); <i>Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series</i> 13, 201r-201v; <i>gDams ngag mdzod</i> 4, 787-791	110
#419#	(commentary on the above); <i>Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan?</i> ; <i>Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series</i> 13, 201v-203v	110
#420#	<i>Phyag rgya chen po sdug bsngal gsum sel</i> ; Nāropa; <i>Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series</i> 13, 203v-205v; <i>gDams ngag mdzod</i> 4, 791-794	110
#421#	<i>Lam 'bras bshad thabs kyi man ngag gsang ba'i sgo 'byed</i> ; <i>Kun-dga'-bzang-po</i> ; <i>Sa-skya-pa bKa' 'bum</i> 9/38, 251v-254v; <i>Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series</i> 13, 205v-208v	110
#422#	<i>rGyud gsum lam rim gyi sa bcad</i> ; <i>rGyud gsum lam gyi rim pa'i bgsdus don</i> ; <i>Kun-dga'-bzang-po</i> ; <i>Sa-skya-pa bKa' 'bum</i> 10/123, 395r-396v; <i>Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series</i> 13, 208v-210r; <i>gDams ngag indzod</i> 4, pp. 31-33	110
#423#	<i>Lam zab nang gi bla ma'i rnal 'byor</i> ; <i>Kun-dga'-bzang-po</i> ; <i>Sa-skya-pa bKa' 'bum</i> 9/42, 258r-259r; <i>Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series</i> 13, 210r-211v	111
#424#	<i>rGyu dus kyi dbang gi rtogs bskyed pa'i rim pa</i> ; <i>dBang bzhi'i rtogs bskyed</i> ; <i>Kun-dga'-bzang-po</i> ; <i>Sa-skya-pa bKa' 'bum</i> 9/39, 254v-256r; <i>Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series</i> 13, 211v-212r	111
#425#	<i>Bir bsrung ba'i man ngag bar chad kun sel</i> ; <i>Kun-dga'-bzang-po</i> ; <i>Sa-skya-pa bKa' 'bum</i> 9/43, 259r-264r; <i>Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series</i> 13, 212r-218r; <i>NGMPP L 112/22</i> (ms.? from Nampa Kunden Monastery), 6 fols.; cf. also <i>NGMPP L 159/3</i> , <i>rJe btsun bīr vā pa'i bsrung ba'i man ngag bar chad kun sel</i> (xylograph from Dzarkot), 48 fols.	59 n. 164, 111, 131
#426#	<i>Birwa-pa'i sku'i rnam 'gyur drug gi zin bris</i> ; <i>Kun-dga'-bzang-po</i> ? <i>rNal-'byor Rin-chen-rdo-rje?</i> ; <i>Sa-skya-pa bKa' 'bum</i> 9/44, 264r-264v; <i>Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series</i> 13, 218r-218v	59, 111
#427#	<i>Thun mongs ma yin pa'i bir srung gi byin rlabs bya tshul</i> ; <i>Byin rlabs bya tshul</i> ; <i>Kun-dga'-bzang-po</i> ; <i>Sa-skya-pa bKa' 'bum</i> 9/45, 264v-265r; <i>Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series</i> 13, 218v-219r	59, 111
#428#	( <i>Bir bsrung thun mongs ma yin pa'i</i> ) <i>nyams su blangs tshul</i> ; <i>Kun-dga'-bzang-po</i> ; <i>Sa-skya-pa bKa' 'bum</i> 9/46, 265r-266r; <i>Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series</i> 13, 219r-220r	59, 111

#429#	<i>Bir srung thun mongs ma yin pa'i man ngag dang lam 'bras kyi gdams ngag mtshon bya mtshon byed du sbyar ba; Lam 'bras mtshan mtshon sbyar ba; Kun-dga'-bzang-po; Sa-skyapa bKa' 'bum 9/47, 266r-268r; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 13, 220r-222r</i>	59, 111
#430#	<i>Bir srung gsar ma; Kun-dga'-bzang-po; Sa-skyapa bKa' 'bum 9/48, 268r-269r; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 13, 222r-223v</i>	59, 111
#431#	<i>gNad kyi zla zer; dPal kyai rdo rje'i sgrub thabs kyi rgya cher bshad pa bskyed rim gnad kyi zla zer; Kun-dga'-bzang-po; Sa-skyapa bKa' 'bum 9/55, 3r-211r, Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 17, pp. 1-417 (209 fols.)</i>	64, 111
#432#	<i>rGyud gsum 'khrul 'joms = rGyud gsum gnod 'joms zhes bya ba'i dbstan bcos and rGyud gsum gnod 'joms kyi 'grel pa?; Kun-dga'-bzang-po; Sa-skyapa bKa' 'bum 9/51, 310r-312v; Sa-skyapa bKa' 'bum 9/52, 312v-327r</i>	111
#433#	<i>Lus dkyil rtsod spong; dPal kyai rdo rje'i lus kyi dkyil 'khor la rtsod pa spong ba smra ba ngan 'joms; Kun-dga'-bzang-po; Sa-skyapa bKa' 'bum 9/49, 270r-287v</i>	112
#434#	<i>Tshogs 'khor gsang ba kun brgyan = rNal 'byor chen po'i sgrub thabs thams cad la nye bar mkho ba'i cho ga gsang ba kun rgyan?; Kun-dga'-bzang-po; Sa-skyapa bKa' 'bum 10/95, 120r-143r</i>	112
#435#	<i>gTor chog gi 'grel pa 'phrin las rgyas byed; dPal kyai rdo rje'i rgyud las gsungs pa'i 'byung po thams cad pa'i gtor ma'i cho ga phrin las rgyas byed; Kun-dga'-bzang-po; Sa-skyapa bKa' 'bum 9/68, 264r-285v</i>	112

### 2.3. Black Book

#436#	<i>Bla ma brgyud pa'i rnam thar ngo mtshar snang ba; Bla-ma-dam-pa bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 16, 1r-61r</i>	113, 115 n. 342
#437#	<i>gZhung bshad man ngag gi mdzod; Lam 'bras bu dang bcas pa'i gdams ngag gi rnam par bshad pa man ngag gter mdzod; Bla-madam-pa bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 16, 62r-216v; NGMPP L 478/2 (ms. from Nyile), 127 fols.</i>	113

#438#	<i>gZhung ji lta ba bzhin dkri ba'i gzhung shing sbas don gsal ba; Lam 'bras bu dang bcas pa'i gzhung ji lta ba bzhin dkri ba'i khrid yig sbas pa'i don kun gsal; sBas don kun gsal; Bla-ma-dam-pa bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 16, 226r-272r; gDams ngag mdzod 4, pp. 327-421</i>	114
#439#	<i>gNad bcu gcig gi dkri ba'i gzhung shing gnad kyi sgo 'byed; Bla-ma-dam-pa bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 16, 216v-218r</i>	114
#440#	<i>gNad drug gi bkri ba'i gzhung shing gnad kyi lde mig; Bla-ma-dam-pa bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 16, 218r-221r</i>	114
#441#	<i>dBang po rab 'bring tha gsum gyis dkri ba'i khrid rim gyi gsal byed nyung du rnam gsal; Bla-ma-dam-pa bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 16, 221r-225r</i>	114
#442#	<i>(Lam zab mo) bla ma'i rnal 'byor (zhal shes dang bcas pa); bTsun-pa A-wa-dhū-tī-pa bSod-nams; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 16, 303v-307v</i>	114
#443#	<i>Lus dkyil gyi dbang chog; Zab mo lus kyi dkyil 'khor du dbang bskur ba'i cho ga; rDo-rje-'dzin-pa bSod-nams = Bla-ma-dam-pa bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 16, 299v-303v</i>	115

## 2.4. rDzong-System

#444#	<i>Lam 'bras glegs bam rtsa spod, i.e. probably the Yellow Book</i>	115
#445#	<i>Lam 'bras glegs bam khra spod</i>	115
#446#	<i>Bla ma'i rnam thar ngo mtshar kha bskongs; gTsang Byams-pa</i>	113, 115
#447#	<i>Lam 'bras kyi gegs bsel nor bu'i phreng ba; 'Jam-dbyangs-nam-mkha'-rgyal-mtshan</i>	115
#448#	<i>Tshogs 'khor gyi gzur 'debs; rJe Nam-mkha'-dbang-phyug</i>	115
#449#	<i>Lam 'bras rdo rje tshig rkang gi sa bcad; 'Jam-dbyangs-nam-mkha'-rgyal-mtshan</i>	115
#450#	<i>Lam 'bras dmar ba rang du lam bskor phyi ma brgyad kyang 'dus tshul gyi zab gnad; mKhas-grub-pa Lung-pa</i>	116
#451#	<i>Kyai rdo rje'i dkyil 'khor du dbang gi chu bo bskur ba'i zhal gdams gnad kyi gsal byed kyi dka' 'grel bdud rtsi'i bum pa; rDzong-pa Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan</i>	64, 116

#452#	<i>Kyai rdo rje 'i mngon rtogs gsal byed; rDzong-pa Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan</i>	116
#453#	<i>dKa' 'grel rgyud don gnad kyi gsal byed; rDzong-pa Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan</i>	116
#454#	<i>Phyag len 'khrul 'joms; rDzong-pa Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan</i>	116
#455#	<i>Kyai rdo rje rgyud brtag pa gnyis pa 'i 'grel pa dag ldan snye ma</i>	64, 116
#456#	<i>Kyai rdo rje 'i mngon rtogs kyi rnam bshad nyin byed snang ba; rJe rDo-rje-gdan-pa Kun-dga'-rnam-rgyal</i>	64, 116

## 2.5. The works of “Mi-bskyod-rdo-rje” (a.k.a. Mus-chen dKon-mchog-rgyal-mtshan)

#457#	<i>Lam 'bras kyi khog phub; mKhyen-brtse'i-dbang-phyug; identical with #501#</i>	117, 120 n. 369
#458#	<i>Ras bris kyi dkyil 'khor du dbang bskur ba 'i cho ga; dPal kyai rdo rje man ngag lugs kyi ras bris kyi dkyil 'khor du dbang bskur ba 'i cho ga; Bya-bral dKon-mchog-rgyal-mtshan (i.e. Mus-chen dKon-mchog-rgyal-mtshan); Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 13, 269v-302r</i>	63, 118, 122
#459#	<i>mNgon par rtogs pa 'bring du bya ba yan lag drug; Kyai rdo rje 'i mngon rtogs; Bya-bral dKon-mchog-rgyal-mtshan (i.e. Mus-chen dKon-mchog-rgyal-mtshan); Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 13, 236r-258v</i>	63, 118
#460#	<i>Lus dkyil lam dus kyi dbang chog dang bcas pa; dPal kyai rdo rje 'i lus dkyil lam dus kyi dbang chog dang bcas pa and Lus dkyil gyi sgrub thabs snga ma and a Lus dkyil gyi sgrub thabs phyi ma; Bya-bral dKon-mchog-rgyal-mtshan (i.e. Mus-chen dKon-mchog-rgyal-mtshan); Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 13, 258v-269v</i>	63, 118
#461#	<i>gTor chog bar chad kun sel; Kyai rdo rje 'i gtor chog and gTor chog rnam bshad; Mus-chen dKon-mchog-rgyal-mtshan?</i>	63, 118
#462#	<i>Khrid kyi zin bris che ba; gSung ngag rin po che khrid kyi zin bris che ba; Mus-chen dKon-mchog-rgyal-mtshan</i>	63, 118
#463#	<i>Khrid kyi zin bris chung ba; gSung ngag rin po che khrid kyi zin bris chung ba; Mus-chen dKon-mchog-rgyal-mtshan</i>	63, 118
#464#	<i>Lam zab kyi nyams len byed tshul</i>	63, 118

#465#	<i>dBang chu gsal ba'i me long</i> ; Mus-chen dKon-mchog-rgyal-mtshan; <i>A-mes-zhabs' Transmission and Summary</i> 143v; <i>Mus-chen's Record</i> 67r	119
#466#	<i>Kha skong</i> ; <i>sTa gon skabs nyer mkho'i yo byad kyi dgos pa bshad pa</i> and <i>So shing sogs kyi dgos pa bshad pa</i> ; Mus-chen dKon-mchog-rgyal-mtshan?; <i>A-mes-zhabs' Transmission and Summary</i> 143v; <i>Mus-chen's Record</i> 67r	119
#467#	<i>Sa chog</i> ; <i>Sa chog gi lag len</i> ; Mus-chen dKon-mchog-rgyal-mtshan; <i>A-mes-zhabs' Transmission and Summary</i> 143v; <i>Mus-chen's Record</i> 67r	119
#468#	<i>gSang ba'i lam bzang</i> ; <i>A-mes-zhabs' Transmission and Summary</i> 143v; <i>Mus-chen's Record</i> 67r	119
#469#	<i>Grub mtha'i rnam 'byed</i> ; <i>bsKyed rim kyi grub mtha'i shan 'byed</i> ; <i>A-mes-zhabs' Transmission and Summary</i> 143v; <i>Mus-chen's Record</i> 67r	119

## 2.6. Go-rams-pa's works

#470#	<i>Kun mkhyen gyi man ngag rnam bshad</i> ; <i>dPal kyai rdo rje'i man ngag lugs kyi bskyed pa'i rim pa gsal bar bshad pa</i> ; <i>Kyai rdor man ngag lugs kyi bskyed rim rnam bshad man ngag gsal byed</i> ; Go-rams-pa; <i>Sa-skyapa bKa' 'bum</i> 15/109, 1r-111r; <i>Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series</i> 17, pp. 419-640	63, 111, 118
#471#	<i>Lam 'bras bu dang bcas pa'i man ngag gi byung tshul gsung ngag bstan pa rgyas pa'i nyi 'od kha skong dang bcas pa</i> ; Go-rams-pa bSod-nams-seng-ge; <i>Sa-skyapa bKa' 'bum</i> 15/87, 16r-90r; <i>NGMPP</i> L 196/5 (ms. from Thini), 84 fols.	119
#472#	<i>mGon po dpa' rkyang gi sgrub thabs gur rgyan las 'byung ba</i> ; Kun-mkhyen Chen-po (Go-rams-pa?)	119
#473#	<i>(mGon po dpa' rkyang gi) sgrub thabs dang rjes gnang gi yi ge</i> ; Kun-mkhyen Chen-po (Go-rams-pa?)	119

## 2.7. Mus-chen Sangs-rgyas-rin-chen's works

#474#	<i>Dam tshig gi bshad pa</i> ; Mus-chen Sangs-rgyas-rin-chen, included in #475#?	119
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#475#	<i>gSung ngag khrid yig dngos grub 'byung ba'i gter chen</i> by Mus-chen Sangs-rgyas-rin-chen; <i>Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 25</i> (= <i>Tshogs bshad skor</i> vol. 5), pp. 1-149 (75 fols.); <i>Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 31</i> , pp. 337-463; <i>TBRC W28768</i> (digitally scanned images exist); <i>Mus-chen's Record</i> 67v; same as #551#	119
#476#	<i>dBang gong ma'i khrid yig</i> ; Mus-chen Sangs-rgyas-rin-chen, included in #475#	119
#477#	<i>Lam zab bsdus pa'i nyams len</i> ; Mus-chen Sangs-rgyas-rin-chen, included in #475#	119
#478#	<i>bDud rtsi ril bu bsgrub pa'i phyag len gyi yi ge</i> ; Mus-chen Sangs-rgyas-rin-chen, included in #475#	119

## 2.8. dKon-mchog-lhun-grub's works

#479#	<i>Sems bskyed kyi cho ga</i> ; ( <i>dBang gi sngon 'gro'i</i> ) <i>sems bskyed kyi cho ga</i> ; dKon-mchog-lhun-grub	120
#480#	<i>Slob ma rjes bzung gi cho ga</i> ; dKon-mchog-lhun-grub	120
#481#	<i>Lam zab mo bla ma'i rnal 'byor gyi nyams len gsang ba'i nye lam tshar gsum khug pa gsung ngag rin po che'i dmigs rim dang mthun pa'i gsol 'debs zab don snying po</i> ; dKon-mchog-lhun-grub; cf. <i>gSung ngag rin po che'i khrid yig bsdus pa gsol 'debs zab don snying po</i> , <i>Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 30</i> (vol. A = <i>lam 'bras rnam 'grel bcu gcig</i> vol. 4), pp. 297-303	120
#482#	<i>gSung ngag rin po che'i lam khyer gyi smon lam bdud rtsi'i snying po</i> ; dKon-mchog-lhun-grub	120
#483#	<i>Man ngag gi brda 'grol zab don snang ba</i> ; dKon-mchog-lhun-grub	120
#484#	<i>gZhung ji lta ba bzhin dkri ba'i gzhung shing las 'phros pa'i dri ba tshigs bcad ma</i> ; dKon-mchog-lhun-grub	120
#485#	<i>Lam gyi dngos gzhi'i khrid yig rgyud gsum mdzes rgyan</i> ; <i>Lam 'bras bu dang bcas pa'i gdams ngag gi gzhung shing rgyas pa gzhung ji lta ba bzhin bkri ba'i lam gyi dngos gzhi'i khrid yig rgyud gsum mdzes par byed pa'i rgyan</i> by dKon-mchog-lhun-grub; <i>Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 24</i> (= <i>Tshogs bshad skor</i> vol. 4), pp. 271-493 (112 fols.); <i>TBRC W28766</i> (digital scans exist)	120



#486#	<i>gSung ngag sngon 'gro'i nyams len snang gsum mdzes par byed pa'i rgyan; Lam 'bras bu dang bcas pa'i gdams ngag gi gzhung shing rgyas pa gzhung ji lta ba bzhin bkri ba'i lam gyi sngon 'gro'i khrid yig snang gsum mdzes par byed pa'i rgyan, Lam 'bras tshogs bshad by dKon-mchog-lhun-grub, vol. 4, pp. 75-270, Dehra Dun (U.P.), Sakya Centre, 1985 (sDe dge blocks); TBRC W28765 (digital scans exist); Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 24 (= Tshogs bshad skor vol. 4), pp. 75-269 (98 fols.)</i>	85 n. 240, 120
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## 2.9. bDag-chen Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan's works

#487#	<i>Lam sbas bshad kyi khrid yig; Lam sbas te bshad pa'i man ngag gi zin bris; bDag-chen Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 18, 14r-16v; gDams ngag mdzod 4, 422-428</i>	120, 131
#488#	<i>bDud rtsi ril bu'i bsgrub pa'i phyag len; bDud rtsi ril bu'i sgrub thabs shin tu gsal zhid and bDud rtsi sgrub thabs; bDag-chen Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 18, 46v-57r</i>	120
#489#	<i>'Khor 'das dbyer med kyi zin bris; 'Khor 'das dbyer med kyi khrid yig (bdag chen rdo rje 'chang chen po'i gsung rgyun) and 'Khor 'das dbyer med gsal byed; bDag-chen Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 18, 16v-29v</i>	120
#490#	<i>mNgon byang gi bshad pa rgyas pa; mNgon byang gzhi bshad; bDag-chen Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan</i>	120
#491#	<i>rDo rje dril bu'i bshad pa; rDo rje dril bu'i rnam bshad 'jam dbyangs chos rje bdag chen rdo rje 'chang blo gros rgyal mtshan gyi mdzad pa; bDag-chen Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 18, 33r-46v</i>	120
#492#	<i>rNam 'joms bir lugs kyi byin rlabs bya tshul gyi yi ge; bDag-chen Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan; cf. TBRC W21078</i>	120
#493#	<i>mGon rkyang gi rjes gnang gi yi ge; Ga ya'i mgon rkyang rjes gnang; bDag-chen Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan</i>	121
#494#	<i>Khrid kyi zin bris; bDag-chen Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan; A-mes-zhabs' Transmission and Summary 143v</i>	121
#495#	<i>brGyud pa gnyis ldan gyi sems bskyed; bDag-chen Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan; A-mes-zhabs' Transmission and Summary 143v</i>	121
#496#	<i>Lam dus dbang chog; bDag-chen Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan; A-mes-zhabs' Transmission and Summary 143v</i>	121

#497#	<i>lTung ba'i rnam bshad 'khrul spong rab gsal; Dam tshig gi rnam bshad 'grel pa 'khrul spong gi dgongs pa rab tu gsal ba; bDag-chen Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 20, pp. 105-191; A-mes-zhabs' Transmission and Summary 143v</i>	121
#498#	<i>brDa don gsal ba'i khrid; bDag-chen Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan; A-mes-zhabs' Transmission and Summary 143v; gDams ngag mdzod.4, 429-453; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 18, pp. 1-27</i>	121
#499#	<i>gSang ba'i lam zab mchan bcas; bDag-chen Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan; A-mes-zhabs' Transmission and Summary 143v</i>	121

## 2.10. Tshar-chen Blo-gsal-rgya-mtsho's teachings

#500#	<i>Lam 'bras brgyud pa'i gsol 'debs kun bzang mar grags pa; Tshar-chen Blo-gsal-rgya-mtsho</i>	121, 122 n. 370, 124 n. 372
#501#	<i>Lam 'bras kyi chos 'byung rgyas pa; gDams ngag byung tshul gyi zin bris gsang chen bstan pa'i rgyas byed ces bya ba kha'u brag rdzong pa'i bzhed pa ma nor ban rgan mkhyen brtse'i nyams len; Lam 'bras gdams pa'i byung tshul gsang chen bstan pa rgyas byed; Lam 'bras slob bshad khog phub; noted down by 'Jam-dbyangs-mkhyen-brtse'i-dbang-phyug; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 14, pp. 1-155; TBRC W11573</i>	117 n. 356, 121
#502#	<i>sNang gsum gyi khrid yig; sNang ba gsum du bstan pa'i lam gyi zin bris kha'u brag rdzong pa'i bzhed pa ma nor ba; noted down by 'Jam-dbyangs-mkhyen-brtse'i-dbang-phyug; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 14, pp. 253-344</i>	121
#503#	<i>'Khor 'das dbyer med kyi lta khrid rgyas pa; noted down by 'Jam-dbyangs-mkhyen-brtse'i-dbang-phyug; this is the rGyud gsum du bstan pa'i lam gyi zin bris zab mo kha'u brag rdzong pa'i khyad chos ban rgan mkhyen brtse'i nams len, Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 14, pp. 345-433</i>	121
#504#	<i>Bum dbang gi lam gyi khrid; noted down by 'Jam-dbyangs-mkhyen-brtse'i-dbang-phyug; this is the Phyi bskyed rim gyi zin bris kha'u brag rdzong pa'i bzhed ma nor ba; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 14, pp. 435-503</i>	122
#505#	<i>Lam 'bras brgyud 'debs lam rim smon lam dang bcas pa; Tshar-chen Blo-gsal-rgya-mtsho; A-mes-zhabs' Transmission and Summary 143r/v</i>	122

#506#	<i>dBang chu'i lhan thabs; Kyai rdo rje'i dbang chog gi lhan thabs nor bu'i phreng ba; Tshar-chen Blo-gsal-rgya-mtsho; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 18, pp. 537-626; A-mes-zhabs' Transmission and Summary 143r/v</i>	63 n. 167, 122
#507#	<i>Phyi dkyil gyi rnam bshad; Phyi bskyed rim gyi rnam bshad legs bshad nyi ma'i 'od zer; Tshar-chen Blo-gsal-rgya-mtsho; A-mes-zhabs' Transmission and Summary 143r/v; this is the dPal kye rdo rje'i rnam bshad nyi ma'i 'od zer, Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 10, pp. 327-513</i>	122
#508#	<i>Nang dkyil gyi rnam bshad; Nang bskyed rims kyi rnam bshad skal bzang snying gi padmo bzhad pa; Tshar-chen Blo-gsal-rgya-mtsho; A-mes-zhabs' Transmission and Summary 143r/v; this is the Zab mo lus dkyil gyi rnam par bshad pa skal bzang snying gi padmo bzhad pa, Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 10, pp. 513-579.</i>	122

### 2.11. Ngag-dbang-chos-grags's works<sup>381</sup>

#509#	<i>Lam 'bras snang gsum rgyud gsum gyi khrid yig</i>	122
#510#	<i>gSung ngag rin po che'i skabs kyi slob ma rjes 'dzin mdzad tshul</i>	122
#511#	<i>Aṣṭa sogs kyi bzlas lung go bde bar bkod pa</i>	123
#512#	<i>rGyud pa'i khyad par gnyis ldan gyi sems bskyed kyi cho ga dam pa'i bzhed srol sems nyid ngal mtsho'i bdud rtsi</i>	123
#513#	<i>Tshar gsum khug pa'i byin rlabs bya tshul gsang chen chos kyi rnga chen</i>	123
#514#	<i>Lam dbang gi mtha' dpyad dang zur 'debs kyi gnad 'ga'</i>	123
#515#	<i>bDag med ma'i byin rlabs bya tshul legs byas gtam gyi bdud rtsi</i>	123
#516#	#517# <i>Lam zab bla ma'i rnal 'byor thun mongs kyi byin rlabs bya tshul mkhas la nyer mkho</i>	123
#517#	<i>Bla ma rin 'byung gi nyams len byin rlabs dang bcas pa'i yi ge 'dod dgu'i dpal 'byor ma lus pa'i 'byung gnas legs bya myi rnga bo che lam zab nang gi rnal 'byor gyi byin rlabs bya tshul mkhas la nyer mkho</i>	123
#518#	<i>Bir bsrung thun mongs pa'i byin rlabs rdo rje 'chang gi mdzad pa la zur 'debs chung zad dang bcas pa</i>	123

<sup>381</sup> See also the miscellaneous works #673#-#676# below.

#519#	<i>Bir bsrung thun mongs ma yin pa'i byin rlabs byed tshul gyi phyag len</i>	123
#520#	<i>Lam 'bras kyi brda' don gsal ba'i byin rlabs bya tshul gyi phyag len</i>	123
#521#	<i>Lam 'bras kyi brda' don gsal ba'i byin rlabs bya tshul gnyis las gsum byung gi go don dang bcas pa</i>	123
#522#	<i>Lam sbas bshad kyi byin rlabs bya tshul bklags mchog tu bkod pa</i>	123
#523#	<i>Lam 'bras kyi brda' chig rgyud kyi byin rlabs lag len go bde bklags mchog tu bkod pa</i>	123
#524#	<i>sGrub pa lung sbyin dang gsang bcu'i rgyas 'debs kyi phyag len go bde bklags mchog tu bkod pa mtha' sypod dang bcas pa</i>	123
#525#	<i>rNam 'joms bir lugs lha bdun cu rtsa lnga'i sgrub thabs nub pa rigs 'dzin grags kyi mdzad pa'i dbu phyogs</i>	123
#526#	<i>rNam 'joms bir lugsrjes gnang bya tshul</i>	123
#527#	<i>rJe btsun ga ya dha ra nas bryud pa'i gur gyi mgon po'i rjes gnang bya tshul</i>	123

## 2.12. bSod-nams-dbang-po's works

#528#	<i>Lam 'bras brgyud 'debs byin rlabs myur 'jug; bSod-nams-dbang-po's Record 30r-31v</i>	123
#529#	<i>Lam 'bras brgyud pa'i gsol 'debs dngos grub bsam 'phel; bSod-nams-dbang-po's Record 30r-31v</i>	123
#530#	<i>Lam 'bras brgyud pa'i gsol 'debs bsdus pa byin rlabs myur 'jug; bSod-nams-dbang-po's Record 30r-31v</i>	124
#531#	<i>gSung ngag rin po che'i dmigs rims nyams su len tshul shin tu bde ba; bSod-nams-dbang-po's Record 30r-31v</i>	124
#532#	<i>#533# Lam 'bras bu dang bcas pa'i khrid yig gyi yang snying bsdus pa tshig nyung don rgyas; bSod-nams-dbang-po's Record 30r-31v</i>	124
#533#	<i>#535# gSung ngag rin po che lam 'bras bu dang bcas pa'i khrid yig shin tu go bde gsung rgyun gyi rims pa gsal ba dngos grub rgya mtsho ('di 'phro can yin); bSod-nams-dbang-po's Record 30r-31v</i>	124

## 2.13. Additional material in A-mes-zhabs' records of teachings

#534#	<i>brGyud pa 'i rnam thar zhib mo rdo rje</i> by dMar Chos-kyi-rgyal-po (see Stearns 2001: <i>passim</i> ); <i>Bod kyi lo rgyus rgyas pa</i> ; <i>Mus-chen's Record</i> (12v)	88, 124
#535#	<i>Dag pa gsum gyi khrid yig</i> ; 'Phags-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan; <i>Sa-skya-pa bKa' 'bum</i> 6/58, 289r-296v; <i>gDams ngag mdzod</i> 4, 486-500; <i>rGyud sde kun btus</i> 27, pp. 1-18; <i>Mus-chen's Record</i> (19v); <i>Nyi-lde-ba's dKar chag</i> 149v	124, 130
#536#	( <i>Rang byin rlabs kyi dmigs pa nyi shu rtsa dgu'i</i> ) <i>khrid yig</i> ; Sa-chen (Kun-dga'-snying-po); <i>Mus-chen's Record</i> 19v	124
#537#	<i>gZhung bshad man ngag gter mdzod</i> ; <i>Lam 'bras bu dang bcas pa 'i gdams ngag gi rnam par bshad pa man ngag gter mdzod</i> ; Bla-ma-dam-pa bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan; <i>Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series</i> 16, pp. 123-449; <i>Ngag-dbang-chos-grags's Record</i> 15v	124
#538#	' <i>Bir bsrung thun mongs pa 'i rgyun gyi nyams len gyi yi ge</i> ; Mangthos Klu-sgrub-rgya-mtsho; cf. TBRC W23636; <i>Ngag-dbang-chos-grags's Record</i> 15v	124
#539#	<i>Slob bshad brgyud pa gsum 'dus kyi gsol 'debs lam gyi rims pa 'i smon lam dang bcas pa</i> ; <i>Ngag-dbang-chos-grags's Record</i> 15v	124
#540#	<i>Gegs sel gces bsdus</i> ; <i>Ngag-dbang-chos-grags's Record</i> 18r	124
#541#	<i>gSang ba 'i dbang gi rab tu byed pa</i> ; P 82/4691, 147r-148r; Virūpa; cf. To 1274, ta 101v-102v, A. Vina-pa; <i>Ngag-dbang-chos-grags's Record</i> 18r; <i>Nyi-lde-ba's dKar chag</i> 149v	124
#542#	<i>rNal 'byor dbang phyug gi chos bzhi las lam zab bla ma 'i rnal 'byor gyi byin rlabs man ngag dang bcas pa</i> ; Tshar-chen Blo-gsal-rgya-mtsho; <i>Kun-dga'-don-grub's Record</i> 12r	124
#543#	<i>Bir bsrung gi byin rlabs man ngag dang bcas pa</i> ; Tshar-chen Blo-gsal-rgya-mtsho; <i>Kun-dga'-don-grub's Record</i> 12r	124
#544#	<i>Lam sbas bshad kyi thugs rdo rje 'i khrid</i> ; Tshar-chen Blo-gsal-rgya-mtsho; <i>Kun-dga'-don-grub's Record</i> 12r	124
#545#	<i>rDo rje rnam 'joms bir lugs kyi byin rlabs</i> ; Tshar-chen Blo-gsal-rgya-mtsho; <i>Kun-dga'-don-grub's Record</i> 12v	124
#546#	<i>Tshar gsum khug pa 'i byin rlabs</i> ; Tshar-chen Blo-gsal-rgya-mtsho; <i>Kun-dga'-don-grub's Record</i> 12v	124
#547#	<i>rDo rje 'i tshig rkang gi bsdus don tshangs bde nyung gsal gyi gsal byed rin chen phreng ba</i> ; rGyal-tshab Dam-pa dKon-mchog-dpal-ldan; <i>Kun-dga'-don-grub's Record</i> 74r	124

#548#	<i>gSung ngag rin po che lam 'bras bu dang bcas pa'i khrid yig dang po'i blo can gyi rtogs par bla ba gsung rgyun gyi rims pa gsal ba</i> ; Grags-pa-blo-gros; <i>Grags-pa-blo-gros's Record</i> 24r-24v, no. 10	125
#549#	<i>gSung ngag rin po che khrid kyi zin bris che ba</i> ; Mus-chen dKon-mchog-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzang-po, same as #462#	125
#550#	<i>gSung ngag rin po che khrid kyi zin bris chung ba</i> ; Mus-chen dKon-mchog-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzang-po; same as #463#	125
#551#	<i>gSung ngag khrid yig dngos grub 'byung ba'i gter chen</i> ; Mus-chen Sangs-rgyas-rin-chen-dpal-bzang-po; same as #475# (for bibliographical reference, see #475#)	125
#552#	<i>gSung ngag khrid kyi kha skongs</i> ; Mus-chen Sangs-rgyas-rin-chen-dpal-bzang-po; <i>Mus-chen's Record</i> 67v-68v, no. 8	125
#553#	<i>rDo rje'i tshig rkang gi rnam bshad</i> ; Mus-chen Sangs-rgyas-rin-chen-dpal-bzang-po; <i>Mus-chen's Record</i> 67v-68v, no. 10	125
#554#	<i>Lam 'bras phyag mchod kyi kha skongs</i> ; Ngor-chen Kun-dga'-bzang-po	125
#555#	<i>Lam 'bras bla ma brgyud pa'i gsol 'debs</i> ; Ngor-chen Kun-dga'-bzang-po; <i>Kun-dga'-don-grub's Record</i> 63v-66r, no. 15; cf. <i>Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series</i> 23 (vol. za = <i>tshogs bshad skor</i> vol. 3), fols. 1v-2r: <i>gSung ngag rin po che'i brgyud 'debs</i> by Ngor-chen Kun-dga'-bzang-po and Blo-gter-dbang-po	125
#556#	<i>Lam 'bras chos 'byung rtsoms 'phro</i> ; Ngor-chen Kun-dga'-bzang-po; perhaps: <i>Lam 'bras bu dang bcas pa'i man ngag gi byung tshul gsung ngag rin po che bstan pa rgyas pa'i nyi 'od</i> , supplemented by Gung-ru-ba Shes-rab-bzang-po, <i>Sa-skyapa bKa' 'bum</i> 9/37, fols. 218r-251v; <i>Kun-dga'-don-grub's Record</i> 63v-66r, no. 48	125
#557#	<i>dBang gsum pa'i lam la dbye ba</i> ; <i>dBang gsum pa'i lam?</i> 'Phags-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan; <i>Sa-skyapa bKa' 'bum</i> 6/59, 296v-298v?	125, 130

## 2.14. Additional material in rDzong-pa Nyil-lde-ba

### Nam-mkha'-bzang-po's presentation (*Nyi-lde-ba's dKar chag*)

#558#	<i>bsKyed rim gyi khrid</i> ; dGa'-ldan-pa Kun-dga'-bsod-nams; <i>Nyi-lde-ba's dKar chag</i> 149v	127
#559#	'Pho ba; 'Pho ba'i rnal 'byor; 'Phags-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan; <i>Sa-skyapa bKa' 'bum</i> 6/61, 300r-301r	127

#560#	<i>gSang bcu; rJe Sa-skyapa (Kun-dga'-snying-po); Nyi-lde-ba's dKar chag 149v</i>	127
#561#	<i>Thun mong ma yin pa'i srung 'khor; rJe Sa-skyapa (Kun-dga'-snying-po); Nyi-lde-ba's dKar chag 149v</i>	127
#562#	<i>Bir srung; Sa-paṅ Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan; Nyi-lde-ba's dKar chag 149v</i>	127, 130
#563#	<i>brDa gcig brgyud; 'Phags-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan; Nyi-lde-ba's dKar chag 149v</i>	127
#564#	<i>Man ngag gces bsdus; dPal sa skya pa'i man ngag gces pa btus pa rin po che'i phreng ba; Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po; Sa-skyapa bKa' 'bum 1/44, 111r-137r</i>	127
#565#	<i>Phyag chen gces bsdus; Phyag rgya chen po gces pa btus pa'i man ngag; rJe-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan; Sa-skyapa bKa' 'bum 4/133, 212r-230v</i>	127
#566#	<i>Khrigs chags; bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan; Nyi-lde-ba's dKar chag 149v</i>	127
#567#	<i>bDag 'jug jim gyim ma; Kyai rdo rje'i bdag 'jug gi cho ga dbang la 'jug pa? or dPal kyai rdo rje'i dkyil 'khor du bdag nyid 'jug pa'i cho ga snying po gsal ba; 'Phags-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan; Sa-skyapa bKa' 'bum 6/47, 223v-239r, or Sa-skyapa bKa' 'bum 6/49, 242r-262v</i>	127
#568#	<i>dKyil 'khor bdun bsres kyi zin bris; Nyi-lde-ba's dKar chag 149v</i>	127
#569#	<i>Lus dkyil; dGra-las-rnam-rygal; Nyi-lde-ba's dKar chag 150r</i>	127
#570#	<i>Kyai rdo rje lus dkyil dbang gi tho; bsDus pa'i dkyil 'khor du slob ma la dbang bskur ba?; rJe Sa-skyapa (Kun-dga'-snying-po); Sa-skyapa bKa' 'bum 1/21, 425r-428r?</i>	127
#571#	<i>Kyai rdor lus dkyil dbang dus kyi dbang; Lam dus kyi dbang rgyas pa blang ba'i lag len; 'Phags-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan; Sa-skyapa bKa' 'bum 6/50, 262v-263v</i>	127, 130
#572#	<i>Kyai rdor lus dkyil dbang chog la ru ba, (La-ru-ba) bSod-nams-seng-ge; Sa-skyapa bKa' 'bum 15/98, 233r-245r?</i>	127
#573#	<i>Lam dus kyi dbang; Blo-gros-brtan-pa; Nyi-lde-ba's dKar chag 150r</i>	127
#574#	<i>Kyai rdor lus dkyil lam dus kyi dbang; Theg-chen-pa (i.e. Chos-kyi-rgyal-po Kun-dga'-bkra-shis?); Nyi-lde-ba's dKar chag 150r</i>	127
#575#	<i>Lag len zin bris; Yar-klungs-pa Seng-ge-rgyal-mtshan; Nyi-lde-ba's dKar chag 150r</i>	127

#576#	<i>Lag len zin bris</i> ; sNye-thang Bla-ma rGyal-po-dpal; <i>Nyi-lde-ba's dKar chag</i> 150r	128
#577#	<i>bDag med lha mo'i mngon rtogs</i> ; <i>bDag med lha mo bco lnga'i mngon rtogs</i> ; 'Phags-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan; <i>Sa-skyapa bKa' 'bum</i> 6/56, 275r-287v	128
#578#	( <i>bDag med ma'i</i> ) <i>bstod pa</i> ; <i>bsTod pa rnam dag phreng ba</i> 'Phags-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan; <i>Sa-skyapa bKa' 'bum</i> 6/57, 287v-289r	128
#579#	<i>bDag med ma'i dbang chu</i> ; Ne-tso sBal-ston; <i>Nyi-lde-ba's dKar chag</i> 150r	128
#580#	<i>bDag med ma'i dbang gi tho yig</i> ; bSod-nams-rtse-mo; <i>Sa-skyapa bKa' 'bum</i> 2/23, 110r-111r	128
#581#	<i>Zhen pa bzhi bral gyi gdams pa</i> ; Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan; <i>Sa-skyapa bKa' 'bum</i> 4/138, 297r-299v; cf. NGMPP L 13/4 (xylograph from Langthang), 20 fols.; L 158/8 (xylograph from Dzarkot), 20 fols.; L 167/4 (xylograph from Tyangpoche), 20 fols.	128
#582#	<i>rNal 'byor dbang bskur kyi tho yig</i> ; <i>Nyi-lde-ba's dKar chag</i> 150r	128
#583#	<i>Zin bris</i> ; Zangs-tsha bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan; <i>Nyi-lde-ba's dKar chag</i> 150r	128
#584#	<i>Zin bris chen mo</i> ; Bar-ston rDo-rje-rgyal-mtshan; <i>Nyi-lde-ba's dKar chag</i> 150r	128

## 2.15. Additional material in

### Mus-srad-pa's presentation (*Mus-srad-pa's Tho yig*)

#585#	<i>Gegs sel ha dmigs</i> ; Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po; <i>Mus-srad-pa's Tho yig</i> 151v-152r	129
#586#	<i>Lus sbyong nyi shu pa</i> ; Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po; <i>Mus-srad-pa's Tho yig</i> 151v-152r	129
#587#	entry deleted (same as #344#)	
#588#	<i>rDo rje 'chang gtso ma</i> ; Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan; <i>Mus-srad-pa's Tho yig</i> 152r-v	129
#589#	<i>Khrid kyi dkar chag</i> ; <i>Lam 'bras bu dang bcas pa'i khrid kyi dkar chag</i> ; Sa-pan?; <i>Sa-skyapa bKa' 'bum</i> 5/54, 142v-147r	129
#590#	<i>rLung gi rten 'brel</i> ; <i>rLung gi rten 'brel brtag pa</i> ; Sa-pan; <i>Sa-skyapa bKa' 'bum</i> 5/102, 259r-261r	130



#591#	<i>Gu shrī (!) 'jo 'bum ma; also: Nad 'don ma and Bla ma'i rnal 'byor gug shi jo 'bum ma; Sa-paṅ; Sa-skyapa bKa' 'bum 5/42, 96v-99r.</i>	130
#592#	<i>Bir srung thun mong mā yin pa sngags byang; Sa-paṅ; Mus-srad-pa's Tho yig 152v</i>	59 n. 164, 130
#593#	<i>Yan lag gi man ngag srung ba rnam gsum; Sa-paṅ; Mus-srad-pa's Tho yig 152v</i>	130
#594#	<i>Ril bu'i bcud len; Sa-paṅ; Mus-srad-pa's Tho yig 152v</i>	130
#595#	<i>Lam 'bras brgyud pa'i phyag mchod; 'Phags-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan; Sa-skyapa bKa' 'bum 6/2, 36r-40v</i>	130
#596#	<i>Lus dkyil dbang chog, cf. Kyai rdo rje'i bdag 'jug gi cho ga dbang la 'jug pa; 'Phags-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan; Sa-skyapa bKa' 'bum 6/47, 223v-239r</i>	130
#597#	<i>Lus dkyil bsgom thabs; Kyai rdo rje lus dkyil gyi sgrub thabs; 'Phags-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan; Sa-skyapa bKa' 'bum 6/51, 263v-265v</i>	130
#598#	<i>Bla ma'i rnal 'byor la'u shu ma; 'Phags-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan; Mus-srad-pa's Tho yig 152v-153r</i>	130
#599#	<i>Shong dgon spyān snga ma; 'Phags-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan; Mus-srad-pa's Tho yig 152v-153r</i>	130
#600#	<i>Bir srung thun mong ba; 'Phags-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan; Mus-srad-pa's Tho yig 152v-153r</i>	130
#601#	<i>rDo rje mkha' 'gro'i sbyin sreg; dPal rdo rje rnal 'byor ma'i sbyin sreg gi cho ga; 'Phags-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan; Sa-skyapa bKa' 'bum 6/90, 87v-89v</i>	130
#602#	<i>Lus dkyil dbang chog gi gsal byed; Mus-srad-pa's Tho yig 152v-153r</i>	131
#603#	<i>Lus dkyil dbang chog; Ri-khrod-pa Blo-brtan (i.e. Blo-gros-brtan-pa); Mus-srad-pa's Tho yig 152v-153r</i>	131
#604#	<i>Gegs sel brda 'grol gyi gsal byed; Mus-srad-pa's Tho yig 152v-153r</i>	131
#605#	<i>dKar ston ma'i gsal byed; Bar chad rnam gsum gsal ba'i gsal byed; Mus-srad-pa's Tho yig 152v-153r</i>	131
#606#	<i>bKa' rgya ma'i gsal byed; Na bza' ba'i dbyug bcos?; Mus-srad-pa's Tho yig 152v-153r</i>	131

#607#	<i>Ngo sprod byin rlabs lag len gyi gsal byed; Bar ston ma'i gsal byed; Mus-srad-pa's Tho yig 152v-153r</i>	131
#608#	<i>Khrid kyi dkar chag gi gsal byed; Zangs-tsha-ba bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan?; cf. #441#</i>	131
#609#	<i>Bla ma'i rnal 'byor thun mong ma yin pa; Chos-rje gZungs-(kyi-dpal?); Mus-srad-pa's Tho yig 153r</i>	131
#610#	<i>gZhung bshad gsal byed bar ston zin bris; Mus-srad-pa's Tho yig 153r</i>	131
#611#	<i>bDud rtsi bstan pa'i gsal byed; bCud len zhal shes; Mus-srad-pa's Tho yig 153r-v</i>	131
#612#	<i>'Khor 'das dbyer med kyi zin bris byang ston ma; Mus-srad-pa's Tho yig 153r-v</i>	131
#613#	<i>rLung bcu sogs kyi gegs sel; Mus-srad-pa's Tho yig 153r-v</i>	131
#614#	<i>gZhung ji lta ba bzhin du dkri ba'i gzhung gi gsal byed; gNyags sNying-po-rgyal-mtshan; Mus-srad-pa's Tho yig 153r-v</i>	131
#615#	<i>gZhung ji lta ba bzhin du dkri ba'i gzhung gi gsal byed; Nyan-chen bSod-nams-brtan-pa; Mus-srad-pa's Tho yig 153r-v</i>	131
#616#	<i>Aṣṭa'i byad bzlog; Graggs-pa-rgyal-mtshan; Mus-srad-pa's Tho yig 154r-v</i>	132
#617#	<i>Go cha lnga bsrung; Graggs-pa-rgyal-mtshan; Mus-srad-pa's Tho yig 154r-v</i>	132
#618#	<i>rTen 'brel bsrung ba; Graggs-pa-rgyal-mtshan; Mus-srad-pa's Tho yig 154r-v</i>	132

## 2.16. Additional biographies

#619#	<i>dPal sa skya pa chen po kun dga' snying po'i rnam thar; Bla ma sa skya chen po'i rnam thar; rJe-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 1/3, 9v-16v; Sa-skyapa bKa' 'bum 3/5, 167r-175r</i>	86
#620#	<i>rJe btsun rtse mo'i rnam thar tshangs spyod ma; rJe-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 1/4, 17v-18r</i>	86
#621#	<i>(rJe btsun rtse mo'i rnam thar) mchan ma; Slob dpon rin po che'i rnam thar and rJe btsun rtse mo'i rnam thar bstod pa mchan bu dang bcas pa; rJe-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 1, 16v-17v</i>	86

#622#	<i>rJe btsun gyi rnam thar mnal lam ma</i> ; sBal-ston Seng-ge-rgyal-mtshan; <i>Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 1</i> , 29r-32v; <i>Sa-skya-pa bKa' 'bum 4</i> , fols. 197v-201r	86
#623#	<i>Bla ma rje btsun chen po'i rnam thar</i> ; Sa-paṅ Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan; <i>Sa-skya-pa bKa' 'bum 5/17</i> , 288v-299v; <i>Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 1</i> , 18r-29r	86
#624#	<i>Chos rje'i sa paṅ gyi rnam thar bsdus pa</i> ; 'Phags-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan; <i>Sa-skya-pa bKa' 'bum 6/29</i> , 62v-63v	86
#625#	<i>dPal ldan sa skya paṅḍi ta'i rnam thar</i> ; Lho-pa Rin-chen-dpal; <i>Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 1</i> , 38v-57r; TBRC W18643; Lokesh Chandra's Materials 10914	86
#626#	<i>Bla ma dam pa chos kyi rgyal po rin po che'i rnam par thar pa rin po che'i phreng ba</i> ; Shar-chen Ye-shes-rgyal-mtshan; <i>Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 1</i> , 145v-169v	86
#627#	<i>Nyan chen pa bsod nams brtan pa'i rnam thar</i> ; dKar-po Brag-pa Rin-chen-seng-ge; <i>Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 1</i> , 171r-173r; TBRC W16487	86
#628#	<i>Zhang dkon mchog dpal ba'i rnam thar</i> ; dPal-ldan-tshul-khrims; <i>Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 1</i> , 181v-184r; TBRC W18652; Lokesh Chandra's Materials 10920	87
#629#	<i>rGyal ba brag phug pa'i rnam thar</i> ; Ri-khrod-pa Blo-gros-brtan-pa; <i>Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 1</i> , 184r-187v	87
#630#	<i>dPal ldan bla ma dam pa bsod nams rgyal mtshan gyi rnam par thar pa</i> ; dPal-ldan-tshul-khrims; <i>Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 1</i> , 193v-203v; TBRC W8667; Lokesh Chandra's Materials 10922	87
#631#	<i>Ri khrod pa chen po blo gros brtan pa'i rnam thar</i> ; dPal-ldan-tshul-khrims; <i>Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 1</i> , 187v-193v; TBRC W8668; Lokesh Chandra's Materials 10923	87
#632#	<i>Shangs kyi bla ma chos rje rin seng ba'i rnam thar</i> ; dKar-po Brag-pa Rin-chen-seng-ge; <i>Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 1</i> , 173r-181v	87
#633#	<i>Bla ma dam pa dpal ldan tshul khrims pa'i rnam thar</i> ; Mus-chen dKon-mchog-rgyal-mtshan; <i>Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 1</i> , 203v-207r	87
#634#	<i>Grub chen buddha shri'i rnam thar</i> ; Ngor-chen Kun-dga'-bzang-po; <i>Sa-skya-pa bKa' 'bum 9/34</i> , 73r-85r; <i>Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 1</i> , 207r-216r; TBRC W11576	87

#635#	<i>sNyig dus kyi rdo rje 'chang chen po chos kyi rje kun dga' bzang po'i rnam par thar pa mdor bsodus pa; Mus-chen dKon-mchog-rgyal-mtshan; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 1, 216v-237r; TBRC W11241</i>	87
#636#	<i>Mus chen gyi rnam thar; rJe btsun bla ma mus pa chen po'i rnam par thar pa ngo mtshar rgya mtsho; Go-rams-pa bSod-nams-seng-ge; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 1, pp. 586 - 627; Sa-skyapa bKa' 'bum 14/63, 1r-27r; TBRC W11283</i>	87
#637#	<i>(Mus chen gyi rnam thar) kha skongs; rJe btsun bla ma mus pa chen po'i rnam par thar pa ngo mtshar chu rgyun; Go-rams-pa bSod-nams-seng-ge; Sa-skyapa bKa' 'bum, 11/6, 12r-17r</i>	88
#638#	<i>Tshogs bsgom pa'i rnam thar; gNyag sNying-po-rgyal-mtshan; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 1/12, pp. 338-340; TBRC W16459; Lokesh Chandra's Materials 10917</i>	88
#639#	<i>Chos rje sa skya paṇḍi ta'i rnam thar; Chos kyi rje sa skya paṇḍita kun dga' rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po la bstod pa; Yar-klungs-pa Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 1, no. 7, pp. 64-76</i>	88
#640#	<i>Sa skya paṇḍi ta kun dga' rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po'i rnam par thar pa bskal pa bzang po'i legs lam; Ngag-dbang-'jig-rten-dbang-phyug-grags-pa; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 1, no. 10, pp. 134-289</i>	88
#641#	<i>Kun dga' bzang po'i rnam thar legs bshad chu bo 'dus pa'i rgya mtsho; dPal-ldan-don-grub; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 1, no. 22, pp. 474-585</i>	89

## 2.17. Miscellaneous

#642#	<i>Bla ma bsten pa'i thabs shlo ka lnga bcu pa; Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan; Sa-skyapa bKa' 'bum 3/6, 176r-189r</i>	89 n. 252
#643#	<i>Shlo ka lnga cu pa (mchan); mKhan-chen Legs-'byung (Glo-bo mKhan-chen?); Mus-chen's Record 13v</i>	89 n. 252
#644#	<i>(Shlo ka lnga cu pa'i) bka' 'grel; Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan; Mus-chen's Record 13v</i>	89 n. 252
#645#	<i>dBang gi sngon 'gro'i sems bskyed; dKon-mchog-lhun-grub</i>	89 n. 253
#646#	<i>(rDo rje tshig rkang gi) sa bcad; Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 11, 10r-11r</i>	92
#647#	<i>Grib sel gyi sbyin sreg bsodus pa'i yig chung; A-mes-zhabs' Transmission and Summary 139v</i>	93

#648#	<i>Lam 'bras bu dang bcas pa'i zhal gyi gdams pa</i> ; Phag-mo-gru-pa rDo-rje-rgyal-po; gSung 'bum 4, 186r-194r	95 n. 274
#649#	<i>Lam 'bras kyi 'phrin las sum bcu lnga sbyong</i> ; Phag-mo-gru-pa rDo-rje-rgyal-po; gSung 'bum 4, 171r-173r	95 n. 275
#650#	<i>Lam 'bras kyi yan lag lnga sbyong</i> ; Phag-mo-gru-pa rDo-rje-rgyal-po; gSung 'bum 4	95 n. 275
#651#	<i>Bla ma'i rnal 'byor ga ya dha ra'i dbu snyung bzhes pa shog gcig ma</i> ; Nyi-lde-ba's dKar chag 149v	98 n. 281
#652#	<i>Bla ma'i rnal 'byor</i> ; 'Phags-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan; Sa-skya-pa bKa' 'bum 6/27, 59v-61r	98 n. 281
#653#	<i>Bla ma'i rnal 'byor</i> ; bKa'-bcu-pa gZhon-nu-seng-ge; Nyi-lde-ba's dKar chag 149v	98 n. 281
#654#	<i>rDo rje 'chang gtso ma</i> ; Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan?; <i>Mus-srad-pa's Tho yig</i> 152r	103
#655#	<i>(Lam sbas bshad kyi 'khrul 'khor so gnyis kyi) gsal byed</i> ; Buddha Shrī; <i>A-mes-zhabs' Transmission and Summary</i> 143r	109
#656#	<i>(Lam sbas bshad kyi 'khrul 'khor so gnyis kyi) zin bris</i> ; bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan; Nyi-lde-ba's dKar chag 149r	109
#657#	<i>gSung sgros ma</i> ; <i>gZhung rdo rje'i tshig rkang gi 'grel pa 'jam mgon bla ma'i gsung sgros ma</i> or <i>gZhung bshad dmar ma</i> ; dMarston Chos-kyi-rgyal-po; <i>Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series</i> 30, pp. 1-295	114, 116
#658#	<i>bDag chen rdo rje 'chang gi rnam thar yid 'phrog utpa la'i phreng ba</i> ; <i>Yid 'phrog utpa la'i do shal</i> ; Tshar-chen Blo-gsal-rgya-mtsho; <i>Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series</i> 2, 18r-76r	117, 122
#659#	<i>Lam yig</i> ; Tshar-chen Blo-gsal-rgya-mtsho	117
#660#	<i>(Ngor chen kun dga' bzang po'i) rnam thar</i> ; <i>sNyigs dus kyi rdo rje 'chang chen po chos kyi rje kun dga' bzang po'i rnam thar mod bsdus pa</i> ; Mus-chen dKon-mchog-rgyal-mtshan; <i>Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series</i> 1, pp. 413-431	119
#661#	<i>Bla ma dam pa dpal ldan tshul khrims pa'i rnam thar</i> ; Mus-chen dKon-mchog-rgyal-mtshan; <i>Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series</i> 1, pp. 386-405	119
#662#	<i>gSung ngag rin po che lam 'bras bu dang bcas pa'i lo rgyus dang dmigs pa'i zab gnad cung zad bshad pa'i yi ge kha'u brag rdzong pa'i bzhed pa ma nor ba pañ chen ngag dbang chos grags kyis mdzad pa</i> ; Ngag-dbang-chos-grags; <i>Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series</i> 17, pp. 58-65	122 n. 371

#663#	<i>Lam sbas te bshad pa'i man ngag gi zin bris</i> ; bDag-chen Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan; <i>Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 18</i> , pp. 27-32	124
#664#	<i>Yab sras gsum khu dbon gnyis kyi rnam thar na za pa</i> ; Shākya-seng-ge; <i>Nyi-lde-ba's dKar chag</i> (150r)	128
#665#	<i>Rin po che tshogs pa'i rnam thar</i> ; bZang-po-dpal; <i>Nyi-lde-ba's dKar chag</i> (150r)	128
#666#	<i>Chos rje bsod rgyal ba'i rnam thar</i> ; Lo-tsā-ba Byang-chub-rtse-mo; <i>TBRC W14365</i> ; <i>Lokesh Chandra's Materials 10924</i> ; <i>Nyi-lde-ba's dKar chag</i> (150v)	128
#667#	<i>Theg chen pa'i rnam thar</i> ; cf. rDzong-pa Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan (1382-1446), <i>Theg chen chos rje kun dga' bkra shis kyi rnam thar ngo mtshar rgya mtsho'i gter</i> , composed in 1426, <i>TBRC W1CZ1881</i>	128
#668#	deleted	
#669#	<i>Mus chen sems dpa' chen po'i rnam thar</i> ; <i>Mus chen gi rnam thar ngo mtshar phreng ba</i> ; bDag-chen Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan; <i>Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 2</i> , pp. 1-33; <i>Ngag-dbang-chos-grags's Record 53r</i>	120
#670#	<i>Kun spangs rdo ring pa chen po'i rnam thar</i> ; <i>rJe btsun kun spangs chen po'i rnam thar ngo mtshar dad pa'i spu long g.yo ba</i> ; Tshar-chen Blo-gsal-rgya-mtsho; <i>Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 2</i> , 77r-124r	122
#671#	<i>Lam 'bras khrid yig cha tshang</i> ; rJe bZang-po-dpal; <i>A-mes-zhabs' Record 12r</i>	124
#672#	deleted	
#673#	<i>mChog gi rnam 'dren 'gyur med bde chen zhabs kyi lam 'bras bu dang bcas pa'i gzhung shing las brtsams te dris lan gngang ba'i zhus lan dpyod ldan rna ba'i rgyan</i> ; <i>Ngag-dbang-chos-grags; Ngag-dbang-chos-grags's Record 79r.</i>	123
#674#	<i>gSung ngag rin po che'i lam 'bras bu dang bcas pa'i dka' ba'i gnas rnams las brtsams te dris pa'i rang lan gzur gnas drang po'i gtam bskyel bdud rtsi thigs phreng</i> ; <i>Ngag-dbang-chos-grags; Ngag-dbang-chos-grags's Record 79r</i>	123
#675#	<i>gSung ngag sngon 'gro'i khrid rim snang gsum snying po'i legs bshad</i> ; <i>Ngag-dbang-chos-grags; Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 25 (= Tshogs bshad skor vol. 5)</i> , pp. 219-281 (32 fols); <i>rGyud sde kun btus 26</i> , pp. 297-370; <i>Ngag-dbang-chos-grags's Record 79v</i>	123

#676#	<i>gSung ngag dngos gzhi'i khrid rim rgyud gsum snying po'i legs bshad</i> ; Ngag-dbang-chos-grags; <i>Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 25 (= Tshogs bshad skor vol. 5)</i> , pp. 283-399 (59 fols.); <i>rGyud sde kun btus 26</i> , pp. 531-664; Ngag-dbang-chos-grags's <i>Record 79v</i>	123, 133
#677#	<i>mChod rten drung thob</i> ; Nāgārjuna; <i>Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 11</i> , pp. 400-406	26
#678#	<i>rDo rje gur gyi rgyud rje btsun gyi mchan dang bcas pa</i> ; Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan; <i>TBRC W20775</i> (on CD)	52 n. 142
#679#	<i>Sam pu ta zhes bya ba'i mchan 'grel</i> ; Sa-paṅ Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan; <i>TBRC W20785</i> (on CD)	52 n. 142
#680#	<i>rGyud kyi rgyal po dpal kye rdo rje'i rgya cher 'grel pa nyi ma'i 'od zer</i> ; Bla-ma-dam-pa bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan; <i>Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 9</i> , pp. 1-760	72
#681#	<i>mNgon rtogs yan lag drug pa'i mdzes rgyan by dKon-mchog-lhun-grub, gDams ngag mdzod 4</i> , 121-150; <i>Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 18</i> , pp. 243-274	118 n. 361
#682#	<i>dPal kyai rdo rje'i dbang gi chu bo chen mo mdzes par byed pa'i rgyan by dKon-mchog-lhun-grub, gDams ngag mdzod 4</i> , 175-240; <i>Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 18</i> , pp. 293-364; <i>gDams ngag mdzod 4</i> , 175-240	54 n. 147
#683#	<i>mTsho skyes tshogs 'khor by bSod-nams-rtse-mo, TBRC W20770</i> , vol. 1, pp. 359-370 (produced from computer output in Lhasa)	36, 36 n. 77
#684#	deleted	
#685#	<i>Tshar chen rdo rje 'chang gi rnam thar bstan pa'i nyi 'od</i> by the fifth Dalai Lama Ngag-dbang-blo-bzang-rgya-mtsho, <i>Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series vol. 2</i> , pp. 399-638	116 n. 352
#686#	<i>Bla ma rin po che mkhan chen pa'i rnam thar ngo mtshar snye ma</i> by 'Jam-dbyangs-mkhyen-brtse'i-dbang-phyug (auto-biography), <i>Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series vol. 3</i> , pp. 1-250	116 n. 353
#687#	<i>Rang gi rnam thar yul sna tshogs kyi bdud rtsi myong ba'i gtam du byas pa zol zog rdzun gis mā bslad pa sgeg ma'i me long</i> by Mang-thos-klu-sgrub (auto-biography), <i>Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series vol. 3</i> , pp. 395-625.	116 n. 354
#688#	<i>bShes gnyen dam pa bsten par byed pa'i thabs shloka lnga bcu pa'i 'grel pa</i> by Tshar-chen Blo-gsal-rgya-mtsho, <i>Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series vol. 8</i> , pp. 415-465.	89 n. 252

#689#	<i>Lus dkyil mdzes rgyan</i> by Ngor-chen dKon-mchog-lhun-grub, <i>Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series</i> vol. 18, pp. 275-292; NGMPP L 136/4 (xylograph from Glo smon thang), 15 fols.	118 n. 361
#690#	<i>brGyud pa'i khyad par gnyis ldan sems bskyed kyi cho ga dam pa'i bzhed srol sems nyid ngal bso</i> by Ngag-dbang-chos-grags; <i>Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series</i> vol. 19, pp. 225-415	89 n. 253
#691#	<i>Bla ma mnga' ris pas mdzad pa'i brtag gnyis kyi tshig 'grel</i> by mNga'-ris gSal-ba'i-snying-po, <i>Sa-skyapa'i bKa' 'bum</i> 1/5, fols. 27r-131r; NGMPP L 71/13 (xylograph from Lo Manthang), 105 fols.	67 n. 176 and 177
#692#	<i>Bla ma chen po'i ngo mtshar gyi gtam (gnyis)</i> ; Grag-pa-rgyal-mtshan; <i>Mus-srad-pa's Tho yig</i> 152v	129



## Appendix II

### Ten rare title lists of former Sa-skyapa masters

#### as found in the records of teachings

#### compiled by Ames-zhabs Ngag-dbang-kun-dga'-bsod-nams

In these appendices IIa-k I will present ten rare title lists of writings of former Sa-skyapa masters. These title lists are all contained in the records of teachings compiled by Ames-zhabs and contained in his collected writings, vol. *kha*. I have decided not to include the title lists of the five founding masters of Sa-skyapa and Ngör-chen Kun-dga'-bzang-po, although they exist in these records. The reason is simply that their writings are well presented for example in the Tōyō Bunko (*Sa-skyapa bKa' 'bum*) edition with the detailed tables of contents in the beginning of each volume. Further lists are contained in *Khenpo Appey's Bibliography*. I nevertheless hope to present an article on the state of the different title lists of these masters at a later time. I have furthermore excluded the titles list of Glo-bo mKhan-chen bSod-nams-lhun-grub (1456-1532). Here we are awaiting the publication of Jowita Krupa's M.A. thesis, *The Life and Works of Glo-bo mKhan-chen*, in which she will present several title lists of this master's works, including the title list I have extracted from Ames-zhabs' records of teachings. The extant title lists include the following:

<b>Appendix IIa</b> <b>Rong-ston Shes-bya-kun-rig (1367-1449)</b>	A list of one-hundred twenty-seven minor writings, none of which were mentioned in <i>Khenpo Appey's Bibliography</i> .
<b>Appendix IIb</b> <b>Mus-chen Sangs-rgyas-rin-chen (1450-1524)</b>	The list includes fifty titles, fourteen of which it has in common with <i>Khenpo Appey's Bibliography</i> (which lists thirty-two writings).
<b>Appendix IIc</b> <b>Sa Lo-tsā-ba 'Jam-pa'i-rdo-rje (1485-1533)</b>	Our list contains two-hundred seventeen works; <i>Khenpo Appey's Bibliography</i> notes only fourteen works. In the records of teachings ( <i>bSod-nams-dbang-po's Record</i> ), these titles are listed in a thematic order. I have tried to reflect these themes in the section headings.
<b>Appendix IId</b> <b>dKon-mchog-lhun-grub (1497-1557)</b>	Our list is about a third larger than the one included in the <i>Khenpo Appey's Bibliography</i> , mainly because of the <i>stotras</i> , which are included here in more detail. The titles found in the records of teachings are also much less abbreviated than the ones in the <i>Khenpo Appey's Bibliography</i> .

<p><b>Appendix IIe</b>  <b>Ngag-dbang Kun-dga'-rin-chen (1517-1584)</b></p>	<p>With regard to this master's writings, says A-mes-zhabs, the authorization for some of these works such as the biographies of the eighty Siddhas were obtained from the direct disciple (of Ngag-dbang Kun-dga'-rin-chen), sPyan-snga Rin-po-che, and from later disciples of Kun-dga'-bkra-shis, but for the sake of easier presentation (<i>brjod bde ba'i phyir</i>) they have been written down together in the manner of a title list.<sup>382</sup> This collection was preserved through A-mes-zhabs' great efforts in receiving the reading transmission and compiling the works into a single collection (<i>lung rgyun bzhus shing phyogs gcig tu bsgrigs pa</i>). The list is also contained in A-mes-zhabs' works, vol. <i>tsha</i><sup>a</sup>, no. 26. Our list includes more than a hundred titles, whereas <i>Khenpo Appey's Bibliography</i> mentions only eight.</p>
<p><b>Appendix IIf</b>  <b>rGyal-tshab Dam-pa dKon-mchog-dpal-ldan (1526-1590)</b></p>	<p>The list in the records of teachings mentions only eight titles. No titles are mentioned in <i>Khenpo Appey's Bibliography</i>, which merely states "five books."</p>
<p><b>Appendix IIg</b>  <b>Mus-chen dKon-mchog-rgyal-mtshan (1388-1469)</b></p>	<p>Twelve of the fifty titles mentioned in the extant list are also included in the thirty-one titles mentioned in <i>Khenpo Appey's Bibliography</i>.</p>
<p><b>Appendix IIh</b>  <b>bSod-nams-dbang-po (1559-1621)</b></p>	<p>Not mentioned in <i>Khenpo Appey's Bibliography</i>. A-mes-zhabs remarks that within these writings the authorization for some of these works such as the biography of Slob-dpon-chen-po were obtained from direct and later disciples of bSod-nams-dbang-po, but for the sake of easier presentation (<i>brjod bde ba'i phyir</i>) they have been written down together in the manner of a <i>dKar chag</i> for the collected writings. Otherwise the works were directly received from bSod-nams-dbang-po.<sup>383</sup> The list is also contained in the collected works of A-mes-zhabs, vol. <i>tsha</i><sup>a</sup>, no. 27.</p>
<p><b>Appendix III</b>  <b>Grag-pa-blo-gros (1563-1617)</b></p>	<p>Not mentioned in <i>Khenpo Appey's Bibliography</i>. The list is also contained in the collected works of A-mes-zhabs, vol. <i>tsha</i><sup>a</sup>, no. 28.</p>

<sup>382</sup> *bSod-nams-dbang-po's Record*, fol. 29r: *gsung 'bum de dag gi khrod nas grub thob brgyad cu'i rnam thar sogs dpe sna 'ga' re'i lung rgyun ni sngags 'chang nyid (kyi dngos kyi slob ma rdzun pa chos rje la thugs pa spyan snga rin po che) dang brgyud pa'i slob ma gzhan dag las kyang nos mod kyis/ 'dir brjod bde ba'i phyir gsung 'bum gyi dkar chag bzhin phyogs gcig tu bris pa yin no.*

<sup>383</sup> *bSod-nams-dbang-po's Record*, fol. 32r: *gsung rab de rnam kyi nang nas slob dpon chen po'i rnam thar sogs dpe sna 'ga' zhi gi lung rgyun ni grub mchog dbang po'i mtshan can de nyid kyi dngos slob dang brgyud pa'i slob ma sogs gzhan las kyang nos mod kyis, 'dir brjod bde ba'i phyir gsung 'bum gyi dkar chag bzhin phyogs cig tu bris pa yin la, de las gzhan pa'i gong bkod bzhin gyi gsung rab rnam yongs su rdzogs par ni 'jam pa'i dbyangs dbang po'i mtshan can nyid las dngos su thos so.*

**Appendix IIj****Ngag-dbang-chos-grags  
(1572-1641)**

According to the records of teachings, these are “seven books with five-hundred folios each. About ten of the forty-two works listed in *Khenpo Appey’s Bibliography* are also mentioned in the extant list of seventy-five writings.

In the lists presented below I have only corrected the orthography in some cases where the spelling of the records of teachings appeared to be too distorted to be recognized. In a few cases I have indicated a misspelling with an exclamation mark.



A-mes-zhabs as tantric master  
miniature from the manuscripts  
of A-mes-zhabs' works  
vol. *tsa*, no. 24, fol. 1v right

## Appendix IIa:

### Some Minor Writings of Rong-ston Shes-bya-kun-rig (1367-1449)

This title list is contained in *Kun-dga'-don-grub's Record*, fols. 64v-67r.

#### [Praises of different gurus]<sup>384</sup>

001. *gNas brtan chen po nags kyi rin chen la bstod pa*
002. *Theg chen chos kyi rgyal po la bstod pa*
003. *Bla ma bsod nams bzang po la bstod pa*
004. *Chos rje blo gros rgya mtsho la bstod pa*
005. *Mus pa nam mkha'i rnal 'byor la bstod pa*
006. *Nyi ma dpal bzang po la bstod pa*
007. *mKhan chen blo gros gsal ba la bstod pa*
008. *Bla ma dam pa gangs pa la bstod pa*
009. *Bla ma tshul khrims rgyal mtshan la bstod pa*
010. *mKhan po 'jam dbyangs kha che la bstod pa*
011. *Bla ma dam pa sman gong 'dul ba la bstod pa*
012. *Dam pa ri khrod pa la bstod pa*
013. *mKhas pa dpal chen la bstod pa*
014. *Bla ma kun 'dus la bstod pa*
015. *Lo chen skyabs mchog la bstod pa*
016. *Grub thob chen po brgyad chu la bstod pa*
017. *Birwa pa la bstod pa*
018. *mKhas pa chen po shanti pa la bstod pa* <65r>
019. *Slob dpon sangs rgyas ye shes zhabs la bstod pa*
020. *rGyal mtshan drug mchog gnyis sa ka'i lha dang bcas pa la bstod pa rin chen spungs pa*
021. *mKhas pa chen po ka ma la shī la la bstod pa rgya mtsho'i rlabs phreng*
022. *rJe btsun dam pa rgya gar la bstod pa byin rlabs kyi char 'bebs*
023. *Grub chen la ba pa la bstod pa byin rlabs kun 'byung*
024. *dPal nā ro pa la bstod pa yon tan sgrogs pa'i rnga sgra*
025. *Jo bo dī pam ka ra shrī dzñā na la bstod pa byin rlabs kyi rgya mtsho rnam par rol pa'i bkod pa*
026. *Rab sding ma ba la bstod pa*
027. *Kha che paṅ chen shākya shrī la bstod pa rin po che'i phreng ba*
028. *Bla ma gser gling pa la bstod pa byin rlabs kyi gter mdzod*
029. *Paṅ (chen?) dā na shī la la bstod pa mkhas pa dga' byed*
030. *'Jam gling rgyan drug gi bstod pa thar pa'i them skas*
031. *Theg pa chen po dbu ma'i bla ma brgyud rims sogs la bstod pa rin po che'i phreng mdzes*

#### Praises of Tibetan lineage gurus

032. *Lo tsa ba ka cog zhang gsum la bstod pa smra ba'i rgyan*
033. *Lo tsa ba rin chen bzang po la bstod pa rmad byung rgya mtsho'i bkod pa*
034. *Lo tsa ba blo ldan shes rab la bstod pa mkhas pa dga' ba'i dbyangs*
035. *Jo bo rje'i dngos kyi slob ma khu rngog 'brom gsum la bstod pa dad pa'i snang ba rgyas byed*

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<sup>384</sup> For the first one-hundred and eight works (in seven categories), see *bsTod tshogs kyi skor*, TBRC W28945, sKye dgu mdo: Gangs ljongs rig rgyan gsung rab par khang, 2004, 1 vol., 127 pp. (TBRC holds digitally scanned images, tiffs and pdf files).

036. *Jo bo 'i brgyud pa 'i slob ma po to ba sogs la bstod pa dad pa 'i 'od 'phro <65v>*  
 037. *Sa chen kun dga' snying po la bstod pa mun pa sel ba 'i sgron me*  
 038. *Chos rje sa skya pañdi ta la bstod pa mkhas pa 'i mgul rgyan*  
 039. *Jo bos sa skyar 'jam dbyangs kyi sprul pa bdun phrag lung bstan pa rnams la bstod pa rin chen phreng ba*  
 040. *Chag lo tsa ba chos rje dpal la bstod pa rmad du byung ba 'i 'od phreng*  
 041. *bCom ldan 'das rig ral la bstod pa smra ba 'i rgyan*  
 042. *rGyal sras thog med pa la bstod pa byin rlabs kyi 'od rgyun*  
 043. *Byang sems zla ba rgyal mtshan la bstod pa rin po che 'i me tog*  
 044. *Kun mkhyen dol po la bstod pa zab don rin chen phreng ba*  
 045. *Kun mkhyen bu ston la bstod pa rab tu snyan pa 'i gtam*  
 046. *Kun mkhyen shes rab bzang po la bstod pa ngo mtshar rab rgyas*  
 047. *mKhas pa chen po gro lung pa dang cha gtsang dang gsum*  
 048. *La stod pa rnam rgyal padmo 'i phreng ba*  
 049. *'Gro mgon phag mo gru pa la bstod pa byin rlabs kyi char 'bebs*

### Praises of deities

050. *rJe btsun 'jam pa 'i dbyangs la bstod pa spobs pa mi zad pa 'i gter*  
 051. *Yum shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin ma la bstod pa yon tan rin po che 'i gter mdzod*  
 052. *dKon mchog gsum la bstod pa byin rlabs kyi rgya mtsho rnam par rol pa 'i sprin gyi bkod pa*  
 053. *Thub pa 'i bstod pa byin rlabs kyi char sprin rnam par g.yo ba*  
 054. *'Phags pa 'jam pa la bstod pa mkhas pa dga' ba 'i dbyangs <66r>*  
 055. *Sangs rgyas klu dbang la bstod pa rnam par rgyal ba 'i dbyangs*  
 056. *Phyogs bcu 'i de bzhin gshegs pa rnams la bstod pa byin rlabs kyi rgya mtsho*  
 057. *Sangs rgyas rab bdun la bstod pa chos kyi rnga sgra*  
 058. *De bzhin gshegs pa 'chi med rnga sgra la bstod pa 'chi med mdzod*  
 059. *Thugs rje chen po karsa pa ñi la bstod pa byin rlabs kyi char sprin*  
 060. *Tshe dpag med grub pa 'i rgyal mo la bstod pa 'chi med rnga sgra*  
 061. *mKha' 'gro ma rme brtsegs la bstod pa byin rlabs kyi char 'bebs*  
 062. *mKha' spyod dkar mo la bstod pa byin rlabs kyi rnam rol dang*  
 063. *Rin chen rgyan phreng gnyis*  
 064. *mKha' spyod dmar mo la bstod pa snyan pa 'i sgra dbyangs*  
 065. *Ye shes kyi mkha' 'gro nai gu la bstod pa byin rlabs myur 'gyogs*  
 066. *rJe phag mo la bstod pa byin rlabs char rgyun*  
 067. *dPal gsang ba 'dus pa la bstod pa byin rlabs rgya mtsho 'i gter*  
 068. *gSang ba 'dus pa 'i dkyil 'khor 'khor lo la 'khod pa 'i khro mo bcu dang bcas pa la bstod pa rngam pa sgra sgrogs*  
 069. *gSang ba 'dus pa rigs bzhi 'i lha mo rdo rje ma lnga la bstod pa rin chen rgyan gyi phreng ba*  
 070. *Kyai rdo rje la bstod pa byin rlabs kyi char rgyun rnam par g.yo ba*  
 071. *gShin rje gshed dmar la bstod pa rnam par rol pa 'i sgra dbyangs*  
 072. *rDo rje 'jigs byed la bstod pa 'jig pa 'i sgra sgrogs*  
 073. *'Khor lo bde mchog la bstod pa byin rlabs myur 'jug <66v>*  
 074. *bDe mchog gi 'khor bzhi 'i lha tshogs la bstod pa bdud rtsi 'i dga' ston*  
 075. *bDe mchog gi snying po 'i rnal 'byor ma bzhi 'i bstod pa snying po 'i mchog*  
 076. *'Jam dbyangs smra seng la bstod pa shes rab kyi gter mdzod*

077. *Mi g.yo ba la bstod pa spobs pa mi zad pa 'byung ba'i gter*  
 078. *bCom ldan 'das kun rig la bstod pa ye shes kyi snang ba kun tu rgyas pa*  
 079. *Phyag rdor 'chi bdag 'joms pa la bstod pa 'chi med rnga sgra*  
 080. *De bzhin gshegs pa kun tu bzang po la bstod pa dga' ba'i me tog kun nas rgyas pa'i phreng ba*  
 081. *Byang sems sgrub pa rnams sel la bstod pa ye shes kyi snang ba kun tu dga' ba'i dbyangs*  
 082. *sGrol ma ugra ta ra la bstod pa spobs pa mi zad pa'i gter*  
 083. *Nye ba'i sras brgyad la ...(?) bstod pa byin rlabs kyi chu char g.yo ba'i sprin*  
 084. *Nye ba' sras mchog zung gcig la bstod pa snyan pa'i sgra dbyangs*

### **Praises of compilers of teachings, Ārhats, etc.**

085. *Dam pa'i chos bsdu pa po rnams la bstod pa phul du byung ba'i yon tan gyi bkod pa*  
 086. *gNyas brtan bcu drug la bstod pa byin rlabs kyi rnga sgra*  
 087. *dGra bcom pa rnams la bstod pa phul du byung ba'i rnga sgra*  
 088. *Phar phyin drug gi yon tan brjod pa tshogs gnyis la spro ba bskyed pa'i gtam*  
 089. *bSlab pa gsum gyi yon tan brjod pa thar pa'i sa 'dzin dag snang rgyas pa 'od kyi phreng ba*  
 090. *rMad du byung ba'i smon lam gyi gtam <67r>*

### **Praises of the lineage gurus of great instructions**

091. *Nai gu chos drug gi brgyud pa rin chen sna bdun la bstod pa ganga'i chu rgyun*  
 092. *Nā ro chos drug gi bla ma brgyud pa la bstod pa byin rlabs gnad kyi zla zer*  
 093. *Zhi byed brgyud pa'i bla ma rnams la bstod pa rmad du byung ba'i phreng ba*  
 094. *Dam chos mngon pa'i bla ma brgyud pa'i bstod pa blo gros kyi padmo rgyas par byed pa'i nyi ma*

### **Praises of great places**

095. *rGya gar rdo rje gdan la bstod pa sangs rgyas kyi zhing gi yon tan brjod pa*  
 096. *rGya gar gyi shri na lendra la bstod pa snyan pa'i rnga sgra*  
 097. *Bya rgod phung po'i ri la bstod pa snyan pa'i sgra dbyangs*  
 098. *dGa' ldan gyi lha gnas la bstod pa phul du byung ba'i rnga sgra*  
 099. *rGya nag ri bo rtse lnga la bstod pa phul du byung ba'i sgra dbyangs*  
 100. *Ri bo gru 'dzin la bstod pa byin rlabs kyi rnga sgra*

### **Praises of the protectors of the teachings**

101. *Gur gyi mgon po la bstod pa rngam pa sgra sgrogs*  
 102. *Zhal bzhi pa la bstod pa rmad du byung ba'i sgra sgrogs*  
 103. *A go ra la bstod pa byin rlabs char 'bebs*  
 104. *Phyag drug pa la bstod pa dngos grub gter mdzod*  
 105. *dKar mo nyi zla la bstod pa mi 'jigs pa'i gter*  
 106. *Pu tra lcam sring la bstod pa snyan pa'i rnga chen*  
 107. *bDud rgyal thod phreng la bstod pa mthu stobs bskyed byed*  
 108. *Phyag bzhi pa la bstod pa rnam par rgyal ba'i bstod dbyangs*

### **Cycle of the stages of the practice**

109. *Shes byin nyams su len pa'i man ngag lam lnga gsal sgron (TBRC W8476)*

110. *Lam lnga'i khrid yig jo bo'i lugs ting nge 'dzin gyi gol sa'i mtha' dpyad pa'i gdams ngag bdud rtsi thigs pa*
111. *Blo sbyongs spyi dpung don gyi man ngag*
112. *sKu gsung thugs mnyam par gzhag pa'i man ngag rin chen spungs pa dang*
113. *sKu gsung thugs mnyam par gzhag pa'i man ngag zab don rgya mtsho*
114. *sKyabs 'gro'i man ngag gnad kyi zla zer*
115. *Sher phyin stong nyid bzhi sbyor nyams su len pa'i man ngag bdud rtsi'i dga' ston*
116. *dBus mtha' rnam par 'byed pa'i bsgom rims snying po rab gsal*
117. *mDo sde rgyan gyi bsgom rims legs bshad sgron me (TBRC W8465: mDo sde rgyan gyi rnam bshad theg chen gsal bar byed pa'i gnad kyi sgron me)*
118. *rGyud bla'i bsgom rims mi pham dgongs don*
119. *Rin chen phreng ba'i bsgom rims rin chen sgron me*
120. *rNal 'byor bzhi'i man ngag gnad kyi snying po*
121. *Phar phyin drug nyams su len tshul thar lam bde ba'i 'jug ngogs*
122. *Thugs rje chen po'i smar(!) khrid padma dkar po'i phreng ba*
123. *dBu ma lta khrid zab don gnad kyi zla zer*
124. *lTa khrid kyi bsdu don (TBRC W8470: dBu ma'i lta khrid kyi bsdu don snying po'i gsal byed)*
125. *dBu ma 'jug pa'i bsgom rims rin chen sgron me*
125. *sPyod 'jug gi bsgom rims rin chen rgyan phreng*
126. *Tshad ma rnam 'grel gyi bsgom rims phul du byung ba'i snying po dang*
127. *Ngo mtshar snang ba*

### The lineage

1. Rong-ston Chen-po (1367-1449)
2. Pañ-chen rGya-rdor-ba (b. 14/15th c.)
3. sTong-chen Shākya'i-mtshan-can (i.e. Shākya-don-grub, b. 15th c.)
4. sTong-ra-ba Kun-dga'-legs-grub (1500s, 17th abbot of the Earth throne of Na-lendra)
5. Lum(?) -pa-ba Kun-dga'-chos-grags = She'u Lo-tsā-ba Byams-pa (18th abbot; b. 16th c.)
6. rDzong Shar-pa Nam-mkha'-chos-dar
7. sPyan-snga Chos-kyi-spyan-ldan Kun-dga'-don-grub
8. A-mes-zhabs

### Appendix IIb:

#### A List of the Writings of Mus-chen Sangs-rgyas-rin-chen-dpal-bzang-po (1453?-1524)

This list is contained in *Mus-chen's Record* (67v-68v).

01. *rNam rgyal bla ma brgyud pa'i gsol 'debs*
02. *Kun mkhyen bsod nams seng ge'i rnam thar (TBRC W 29399: bSod nams seng ge'i rnam par thar pa dad pa rgya mtsho'i rlabs phreng rnam par g.yo ba)*
03. *Grub chen dkon mchog blo gros pa'i rnam thar bstod pa 'grel pa dang bcas pa*
04. *Yongs 'dzin dkon mchog 'phel ba'i rnam thar*
05. *rJe sems dpa' chen po sogs kyi bstod pa thor bu ba dga'*
06. *Lam zab bsdu pa'i nyams len*



07. *gSung ngag khrid yig dngos grub 'byung ba'i gter chen (TBRC W28768)*<sup>385</sup>
08. *gSung ngag khrid kyi kha skongs*
09. *'Khrul spongs gnad kyi gsal byed*
10. *rDo rje'i tshig rkang gi rnam bshad*
11. *Kyai rdo rje'i bskyed rims kyi rnam bshad snying po don gsal*
12. *rTsa sngags kyi bshad pa*
13. *bDud rtsi ril bu bsgrub pa'i phyag len*
14. *dPal mngon par rtogs pa'i gsal byed*
15. *sPyod pa'i rdo rje'i lugs kyi sgrub thabs ma nor gsal sgron*
16. *Lū hi pa'i bsgrub mchod kyi zur 'debs <68r>*
17. *mChod phreng gyi lhan thabs*
18. *bDe mchog dkar po'i tshe bsgrub*
19. *'Dus pa 'phags lugs kyi bsgrub dkyil gyi lhan thabs*
20. *'Jam pa'i rdo rje'i sgrub dkyil gyi lhan thabs*
21. *('Jam dpal rdo rje'i) bkra shis*
22. *sByongs rgyud dkyil 'khor phyi ma bcu cig gi bdag mdun bsgrub tshul*
23. *dKyiil 'khor bcu gnyis kyi dbang bskur ba'i phyag len*
24. *(dKyiil 'khor bcu gnyis kyi) sta gon gyi zur 'debs*
25. *'Chi bdag 'joms pa'i dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga 'phrin las kun khyab*
26. *Tshe dpag med lha dgu'i dbang gi cho ga rin chen phreng ba*
27. *Rong ston chen po nas brgyud pa'i tshe bsgrub khyad par can*
28. *Tshe dpag med grub pa'i rgyal mo'i lugs kyi dbang chog*
29. *sGrol ma dkar mo'i mngon rtogs rjes gnang gi cho ga dang bcas pa*
30. *Don yod zhags pa'i bsnyen bsgrub bya tshul*
31. *Seng ge sgra'i mngon rtogs*
32. *'Jam dbyangs dmar ser gyi rjes gnang bya tshul*
33. *U tsarya'i rjes gnang bya tshul*
34. *'Byung po 'dul byed kyi mngon rtogs dang rjes gnang bya tshul*
35. *mGon po lcam dral gyi rjes gnang bya tshul*
36. *mGon po'i man ngag rtsa gsum la rten pa'i bsnyen bsgrub las gsum 'jam*
37. *mGon po'i man ngag rtsa gsum la rten pa'i bsnyen bsgrub las gsum rsub*
38. *'Khor rkyang gi rjes gnang bya tshul man ngag zab mo 'ga' zhig dang bcas pa*
39. *Dud 'gro(?) bdag po'i rjes gnang bya tshul gtor chog dang bcas pa*
40. *Dud sol lha ma'i rjes gnang bya tshul (TBRC W22838)*<sup>386</sup>
41. *(Dud sol lha ma'i) gtor mchog*
42. *(Dud sol lha ma'i) thugs dam bskangs pa'i cho ga*
43. *gNod sbyin 'khor lo'i bsgrub yig*
44. *gSan yig mdor bsdus*
45. *Nyin zhag phrugs(?) re'i thugs dam nyams len gyi tho <68v>*
46. *gCod khrid gdan thog gcig ma'i nyams len*
47. *Gling dga' bde ba can gyi bca' yig*
48. *mDo khams la 'bul bsdud gnang ba'i yi ge*
49. *dGe bsnyen gyi sdom pa 'bog pa'i cho ga*
50. *bsNgo ba smon lam bya tshul*

<sup>385</sup> Dehradun, U.P.: Sakya Centre, 1985, vol. 5, pp. 1-150, LCCN: 85-903443.

<sup>386</sup> Paro: Lama Ngodrub and Sherab Drimey, 1982, 8 v; LCCN: 82-901827.

**The lineage**

'Jams-dbyangs-sangs-rgyas-rin-chen (1453?-1524)

Mus-chen dKon-mchog-rgya-mtsho (*Ming mdzod* 478; *Great Genealogy* 606r)

rJe-btsun Dam-pa Chos-[kyi]-dbang-phyug

from both: Mus-chen Sangs-rgyas-rgyal-mtshan (1542-1618)

A-mes-zhabs

**Alternative Lineage**

'Jam-dbyangs-sangs-rgyas-rin-chen

mKhan-chen Nam-mkha'-sangs-rgyas Brang-ti (b. 16th c.)

rJe-btsun Chos-dbang-pa

Chos-rje Kun-mkhyen-dbang-phyug

rJe Mus-pa-chen-po'i-thugs-sras Dam-pa Bhikṣu Paṅ-chen ...?

A-mes-zhabs

**Appendix IIc:**

**A list of writings of Sa Lo-tṣā-ba 'Jam-dbyangs-kun-dga'-bsod-nams-grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzang-po (1485-1533)**

This list is contained in *bSod-nams-dbang-po's Record*, fols. 22r-26v.

**Records of teachings received**

001. *gSan yig thos pa rgya mtsho padma ra ga'i phreng ba*

**Biographies**

002. (*Glo bo*) *mkhan chen bsod nams lhun grub kyi rnam thar blo gsar klu'i dbang po gtsug gi nor bu* (TBRC W8521)

003. (*Mus chen*) *'jam dbyangs sangs rgyas rin chen gyi rnam thar dge legs rin po che'i gter zhes bya ba* (TBRC W8522)

004. (*Sangs rgyas rin chen gyi rnam thar*) *kha skongs utpa la'i chun po* (TBRC W8523)

**Guru yoga and puja**

005. *Bla ma'i rnal 'byor dang mchod pa'i cho ga rgyas pa byin rlabs kyi chu gter zhes bya ba* (TBRC W8524)

006. *Bla ma'i rnal 'byor dang mchod pa'i cho ga bsdus pa* (TBRC W8525)

007. *Byin rlabs bla ma'i rnal 'byor utpa la dkar po'i cod pan zhes bya ba spyan ras gzigs la sbyar ba(?) lha cig sangs rgyas skyabs ma la gnang ba* (TBRC W8526)

**Prayers and praises**

008. *sByor ba yan lag drug gi lam rims kyi sgo nas bla ma'i gsol 'debs* (TBRC W8527)  
<22v>

009. *rJe btsun sa skya pa rnam la bstod pa thugs rje'i char 'bebs*

010. *rTsa ba'i bla ma yongs 'dzin dkon mchog 'phel la bstod pa*

011. *'Jam dbyangs sangs rgyas rin chen la bstod pa*

012. *mKhan chen bsod nams lhun grub la bstod pa*

013. *Lo chen chos skyong bzang po la bstod*

014. *rJe rang gi bdag bstod*

015. *rTsa ba'i bla ma*  
 016. *rJe nyid rang la gsol ba 'debs pa'i tshigs su bcad pa* - the latter three works were composed for the sake of Nus-ldan-dbang-mo Shri-de-wa  
 017. *rJe sangs rgyas rin chen gyi bstod pa*  
 018. *Zha lu lo chen gyi bstod pa*  
 019. *rJe rang gi bdag bstod rnams*  
 020. *Lam 'bras bla ma brgyud pa'i gsol 'debs* (TBRC W8528)  
 021. *sByor drug brgyud pa'i gsol 'debs* (TBRC W8527: *sByor ba yan lag drug gi lam rim bla ma'i gsol 'debs*)  
 022. *Rin chen rgyal mchog zhabs la gsol ba 'debs zer ba'i shlo ka gcig* - at the end of (21)  
 023. *dPal ldan bla ma dam pa bsod nams rgyal mtshan dpal bzang pos mdzad pa'i lam zab rdo rje rnal 'byor gyi khrid yig*  
 024. *Ngo sprod dang bcas pa'i bla ma brgyud pa'i gsol 'debs*  
 025. *rNal 'byor pa rol pa'i rdo rjes mdzad zer ba'i nyis 'bigs*  
 026. *Kun rig brgyud pa'i gsol 'debs*  
 027. *Mi 'khrugs pa'i brgyud pa'i gsol 'debs*  
 028. *rDo rje phur pa'i stod las kyi dbang gi brgyud pa'i gsol 'debs*  
 029. *sMad las drag po srol ba'i rjes gnang gi bla ma brgyud pa'i gsol 'debs kha skongs*  
 030. *rDo rje phur pa'i bla ma brgyud pa'i gsol 'debs bsod pa*  
 031. *bDe mchog bla brgyud kyi gsol 'debs kha skongs*  
 032. *sNar thang dpe khang gi bsrung ma spe ha ra la 'phrin bcol shlo ka gnyis*  
 033. *rTa mgrin yang gsang bla brgyud kyi gsol 'debs*  
 034. *Gu ru drag dmar bla ma brgyud pa'i gsol 'debs* <23r>  
 035. *Bla ma dam pa la shugs ring dad pa'i rgyang 'bod thugs rje'i chu skyes* - conferred to dBon-po Shes-rab-rgyal-mtshan

**Letters, replies to questions, documents, registers, and advices**

036. *Yon tan rgya mtsho ma'i tshig don gyi dogs dpyod ma rig mun sel rgya nag rgyal po la phul ba'i zhu yig* (TBRC W8529)  
 037. *mNga' ris rdzong khar mnga' bdag rgyal po la gnang ba* (TBRC W8531)  
 038. *Glo bo mkhan chen bsod nams lhun grub la phul ba'i zhu yig nyis 'bigs gcig dang bzhi(?)* (TBRC W8532 and 8533)  
 039. *Zha lu lo chen la phul ba'i zhu yig* (TBRC W8534)  
 040. *E warñ chos ldan gyi 'bul bsod pa dge 'dun dpal bzang la gdams pa*  
 041. *Yig mkhan zla grags la gnang ba'i bka' shog gnyis* (TBRC W8541)  
 042. *Lo dgon pa'i spyang snga la gnang ba'i bka' shog sdebs sbyor med pa gcig*  
 043. (two similar works?)  
 044. *Bla ma sgra tshad pa dkon mchog rgyal mtshan la gnang ba'i bka' shog* (TBRC W8535)  
 045. *Byang pa chos rje rin chen bzang po la gnang ba'i bka' shog gnyis* (TBRC W8535)  
 046. *Thub bstan rnam rgyal gyi mkhan po chos rje blo gros rab yangs la gnang ba'i bka' shog*  
 047. *Rab 'byams pa kun tshe la gnang ba'i bka' shog*  
 048. *sMin drug lo tsa ba la gnang ba'i bka' shog*  
 049. *gDong dga' ba kun spangs tshe rin grags pa la gnang ba'i bka' shog* (TBRC W8536)  
 050. *Lhun rtse mkhan mkhan po thams cad mkhyen pa la gnang ba'i bka' shog* (TBRC W8537)  
 051. *'Dol kha rgyal po la gnang ba'i bka' shog*

052. *rGyal mkhar rtser gnang ba'i bka' shog*
053. *Seng ge rtse pa la gnang ba'i bka' shog dge legs kyi tshigs su bcad pa gcig dang bzhi*  
(TBRC W8539)
054. *gZhis dga' rin spungs pa dpon sogs la gnang ba'i bka shog dgu <23v>*
055. *sNar thang pa'i rtsoms grogs zhus pa gcig*
056. *Tshong 'dus pa la gnang ba'i bka' shog*
057. *gNas gsar ba la gnang ba'i bka' shog* (TBRC W8540)
058. *gNas pa la gnang ba'i bka' shog gnyis*
059. *rTsed pa nam mkha' la gnang ba'i bka' shog*
060. *Rin chen rtse'i gnyer pa dkyil mkhar seng sding pa la gnang ba'i dris lan bka' shog*
061. *Khams kyi 'bul bsdus pa bla ma sgra tshad pa dkon mchog rgya mtsho la gnang ba'i*  
*lam yig*
062. *dGe slong nam mkha' rtse mo la gnang ba'i lam yig*
063. *rTa 'bul ba mdo sngags rab 'byams pa kun dga' dpal 'byor rnams la gnang ba'i lam yig*
064. *Yig mkhan zla grags la gnang ba'i gdams pa* (TBRC W8541)
065. *mKhar spe rab 'byams pa blo gros rab gsal gyi dris lan gnyis*
066. *Rab 'byams pa dbang phyug rgyal mtshan la gnang ba'i gdams pa* (TBRC W8542)
067. *gDong dga' ba kun spangs chos la bskul ba'i gtam* (TBRC W8543, poetical title: "nges  
'byung dad pa'i ba dan g.yo ba")
068. *Byas bgyur ba'i bsgrub chen rnams la dge sbyor bskul 'debs*
069. *sNar thang stong dpon dpon blon la gdams pa gnyis*
070. *Rigs drug 'khor ba'i bsdul gyi snang tshul rtsem 'phro cig*
071. *rJe nyid rang gi thugs dam smon lam tshigs bcad ma*
072. *dBu rtse rnying ma'i rten gsum rnams kyi dkar chag tshigs bcad ma* (TBRC W8544)
073. *sGo rum dpe khang gi rten gsum rnams kyi dkar chag tshigs bcad ma* (TBRC W8544)
074. *Tshe lha dang nor lha'i tshigs bcad shlo ka gnyis*
075. *rJe btsun 'jam dbyangs gzi 'od 'bar ba'i drung du rje nyid kyi snam sbyar phul ba'i kha*  
*yig*
076. *gSer khang na bzhugs pa'i yongs 'dzin dkon mchog 'phel ba'i dgongs pa rdzogs thabs su*  
*rje nyid kyi bzhengs pa'i bla ma rin 'byung gi snyan dar kha yig <24r>*
077. *rJe sangs rgyas rin chen gyi nang rten gling dga' na bzhugs pa'i thub pa'i snyan dar*  
*kha yig*
078. *sGo rum dang nang po'i mgon khang du gzhis dga' rin spungs nas gtor gsos gnang*  
*skabs kyi snyan dar kha yig le tshe dgu*
079. *rTsed pa nam mkhas chos skyong thun mong du phul ba'i snyan dar kha yig gcig srub*  
*na bzhugs yod*
080. *Chos rje dkon mchog tshul khrims pa'i gdung rten rgyal rtse na bzhugs pa'i dngul gyi*  
*mchod rten la bsngags pa bkra shis kyi mgrin dbyangs*
081. *dPal 'dus kyi 'khor lo la bstod pa*
082. *Gur mgon la bstod pa shlo ka gcig*
083. *dMar po skor gsum la bstod pa shlo ka gcig*
084. *mNga' ris rgyal po la gnang ba'i bstod pa* (cf. TBRC W8531: *mNga' ris rdzong kha*  
*mnga' bdag rgyal po la gnang ba*)

### Praises for disciples

*rje nyid kyi bu slob sogs dad ldan so so'i bskul ba'i ngor mdzad pa la*

085. *Byang pa bdag chen kun dga' bkra shis pa la bstod pa*

086. *Gu ge bzhi sde ba nam mkha' brtan pa la bstod pa*  
 087. *dPal 'khor bde chen gyi mkhan po dkon mchog tshul khrims la bstod pa*  
 088. *Lo dgon pa'i spyang snga la bstod pa*  
 089. *Blo gros rab gsal la bstod pa shlo ka gcig*  
 090. *Chos rje mgon po dbang phyug la bstod pa shlo ka gcig*  
 091. *Thub bstan rnam rgyal gyi gdan sa blra shis brtan pa la bstod pa*  
 092. *Chos rje dpal ldan rgyal mtshan la bstod pa*  
 093. *Thub bstan yangs can gyi gdan sa pa grags pa rgyal mtshan la bstod pa*  
 094. *sKye rtsa mkhan po rdor 'dzin la bstod pa*  
 095. *gTing skyes pa chos rje kun dga' blra shis la bstod pa shlo ka gcig*  
 096. *Chos rje rdo rje seng ge la bstod pa shlo ka gcig <24v>*  
 097. *Nyag re gser mdog pa'i bla ma la bstod pa*  
 098. *Jo nang mkhan po dpal ldan rin chen la bstod pa*  
 099. *Chos rje sangs rgyas rgyal mtshan la bstod pa shlo ka gcig*  
 100. *Chos rje kun dga' rgya mtsho la bstod pa shlo ka gcig*  
 101. *Jo nang mkhan po la bstod pa shlo ka gcig*  
 102. *bsGrub pa ba sangs rgyas dpal la bstod pa gcig*

### The cycle of evocation rituals

104. *Bla ma rin byung gi sgrub thabs*  
 105. *Bir srung thun mong ma yin pa'i bsgom tshul*  
 106. *dPal 'khor lo bde mchog nag po pa'i sgrub thabs nges don zla ba'i 'od zer (TBRC W8545)*  
 107. *sNgags phreng phyag bris ma las zhal bshul pa*  
 108. *rNal 'byor ma'i rgyun gyi nyams len (TBRC W8548)*  
 109. *dPal dges pa rdo rje'i sgrub thabs grol ba'i thig le (TBRC W8547)*  
 110. *rDo rje bdag med ma'i lus dkyil zur 'debs (cf. TBRC W8549: bDag med ma'i lus dkyil bsgom tshul ngag 'don)*  
 111. *bDag med gcig gi sgrub thabs nor bu'i phreng ba*  
 112. *dPal rdo rje gzhon nu khro bo'i sgrub thabs (TBRC W8550)*  
 113. *dPal rdo rje gzhon nu'i bsnyen bsgrub gsal byed bdud rtsi'i 'od can (TBRC W8551: dPal rdo rje phur pa ...)*  
 114. *Gu ru drag dmar gyi sgrub thabs (cf. TBRC W8552: Gu ru drag po'i sgrub thabs phrin las myur grub)*  
 115. *dPal dus kyi 'khor lo'i sgrub thabs (TBRC W8553)*  
 116. *bSrung ma drug cu'i gtor chog (TBRC W8554)*  
 117. *gShed dmar dpa' gcig gi sgrub thabs (TBRC W8555)*  
 118. *sPros med rgyun gyi rnal 'byor*  
 119. *'Jam dbyangs a ra pa tsa na'i sgrub thabs (TBRC W8556, poetical title: Blo 'phel gser gyi phreng mdzes)*  
 120. *A ra pa tsa na'i rjes gnang byed tshul (TBRC W8557, poetical title: gCig shes kun khyab)*  
 121. *Mi g.yo ba'i sgrub thabs*  
 122. *Phyag na rdo rje 'byung po 'dul byed kyi sgrub thabs chung ngu*  
 123. *Seng gdong ma sgrub thabs chung ngu*  
 124. *sPyan ras gzigs kyi sgrub thabs chung ngu*

125. *rJes gnang gi tho gnyis mchan du yod pa* - referring to nos. 123-124, see *Mus-chen's Record 54r: sa los mdzad pa'i mngon rtogs chung ngu rjes gnang gi tho yig dang bcas pa*
126. *Tshe dpag med grub pa'i rgyal mo'i sgrub thabs*
127. *Tshe dpag med je ta ri lha dgu'i sgrub thabs bdud rtsi rgya mtsho lha gcig sangs rgyas skyabs ma la gnang ba*
128. *rDo rje rnam 'joms kyi sgrub thabs*
129. *'Chi med sgrol dkar yid bzhin 'khor lo'i sgrub thabs <25r>*
130. *dPal gur gyi mgon po khro bcu'i bsrung 'khor khams su bdud las rnam rgyal*
131. *mGon po dpa' gcig gi sgrub thabs bdud 'joms rdo rje (TBRC W8558: Gur gyi mgon po'i sgrub thabs bdud 'joms rdo rje)*

### Necessary ritual works (*nyer mkho la*)

132. *rDo rje mkha' 'gro'i sbyin bsreg*
133. *Sa skya pa'i dkar gtor cha bzhi btong tshul gsung rgyun ma*
134. *gTor chen zur 'debs*
135. *rNam rgyal stong mchod kyi chog sgrigs 'chi med dpal ster (TBRC W8559)*
136. *Khro bo sme brtsegs kyi bstod pa grib sel kun grol (TBRC W8560)*
137. *bKra shis shog shlo ka gcig*
138. *Myur rtsis rnam dag skyon med nyer 'kho kun gsal (TBRC W8561)*
139. *Thub shing bgod bzhi'i yig chung*
140. *'Khor lo bde mchog gi 'chad thabs (TBRC W8563)*
141. *bDe mchog rtsa rgyud kyi sa bcad rtsoms 'phro*
142. *rDo rje phreng ba'i zin bris (TBRC W8564)*
143. *gNas yul rtsa khams kyi dbye ba (TBRC W8565)*
144. *Zhal gnyis ma'i byin rlabs byed tshul (TBRC W8566)*
145. *dBang bshad mdor bsdus (TBRC W8567)*
146. *sMon lam shlo ka gcig*
147. *mGon po lha lnga'i dbang bshad (TBRC W8568)*
148. *Byang pa bdag chen kun dga' bkra shis pa che 'don mdzad dus gnang ba'i mol gтам dgos pa skabs don(?)*
149. *rTse gdong pa'i sger gyi gdung rab*
150. *bsNgo ba gcig (cf. TBRC W8569: sNgo smon)*
151. *rDo rje 'jig byed ro lang brgyad bskor gyi dbang gi brgyud pa la nang mchod 'bul ba'i tshigs bcad (TBRC W8570: "rwa lugs")*
152. *Nag po chen po phyag gnyis pa'i bstod pa phreng 'dzin chos kyi nyin byed kyi mdzad pa la 'gyur gnang ba'i skad gnyis*
153. *rJe btsun sgrol ma'i mtshan brgya mchan ma*
154. *'Phags pa tshogs kyi bdag po'i snying po mchan ma*
155. *rDo rje rnam 'joms kyi gzungs ring gleng gzhi phan yon dang bcas pa 'di la skad gnyis med*
156. *gTsug tor rnam rgyal gyi gzungs mchan ma <25v>*
157. *rDo rje'i glu mchan ma*
158. *Bi ru pa'i sngags angu ri mchan ma*
159. *'Khor lo bde mchog gi sngags phreng mchan ma (TBRC W8546: Khor lo bde mchog gi sngags phreng phyag bris ma las 'bru len ma)*
160. *Uṣṇi ṣa mchan ma*
161. *sGra mi snyan gyis gzungs mchan ma*

162. *Tshe dpag med kyi gzungs ring thung gnyis mchan ma*  
 163. *sGrol ma'i yi ge bcu pa mchan ma*  
 164. *He ru ka'i yig brgya mchan ma*  
 165. *Bha ya na mchan ma*  
 166. *Kyai rdor gyi gtor sngags mchan ma*  
 167. *mGon po'i yi ge bcu gnyis ma dang*  
 168. *bDun ma mchan ma*  
 169. *mKha' 'gro spyi gtor gyi gtor sngags mchan ma*  
 170. *bCu gcig zhal gyi gzungs mchan ma*  
 171. *Tshul khrims rnam dag gi gzungs mchan ma*  
 172. *rDo rje sgrol ma'i gzungs mchan ma*  
 173. *So so 'brangs ma'i gzungs mchan ma*  
 174. *sTong chen mo'i gzungs mchan ma*  
 175. *rMa cha chen mo'i gzungs mchan ma*  
 176. *gSang sngags rjes 'dzin gyi gzungs mchan ma*  
 177. *bSil ba'i tshal gyi gzungs mchan ma*  
 178. *Ri khrod ma'i gzungs mchan ma*  
 179. *sNa tshogs par(?) yum gyi gzungs mchan ma*  
 180. *bDe bzhin gshegs pa'i yi ge brgya pa mchan ma*  
 181. *rDo rje sems dpa'i yi ge brgya pa mchan ma*  
 182. *Ngan song sbyong ba'i gzungs mchan ma*  
 183. *Mi 'khrugs pa'i gzungs mchan ma*  
 184. *'Chi 'joms 'khor bcas kyi sngags mchan ma*  
 185. *gTsug gtor dri med kyi gzungs mchan ma*  
 186. *gSang ba'i ring bsrel gyi gzungs mchan ma*  
 187. *Byang chub rgyan 'bum gyi gzungs mchan ma*  
 188. *rTen 'brel snying po'i gzungs mchan ma*  
 189. *mChod pa'i sprin gyis gzungs mchan ma*  
 190. *mChod rten bskor ba'i gzungs mchan ma*  
 191. *Yon sbyong ba'i gzungs mchan ma*  
 192. *sMan sbyin gyis rlobs pa'i sngags mchan ma*  
 193. *'Byung po 'dul byed kyi sngags mchan ma <26r>*  
 194. *gShin rje'i gshed kyi sngags mchan ma*  
 195. *gNod sbyin pho mo'i sngags mchan ma*  
 196. *rNam thos sras 'khor bcas kyi sngags mchan ma*  
 197. *Byin dbab pa'i sngags mchan ma*  
 198. *Tshe dpag med kyi mdo rnams la zhus dag dang 'gyur sogs mdzad pa'i skad gnyis ma*  
 199. *bDe mchog dkar po'i khrid yig zur 'debs gsal ba'i sgron med (TBRC W8571)*  
 200. *gShed dmar gyi khrid yig gsal byed nges don rdo rje rnal 'byor gyi them skas (TBRC W8572)*  
 201. *Ku ru ku lle'i rdzogs rims utpa la'i lcags kyu (TBRC W8573)*  
 202. *rDo rje phur pa'i 'cham bshad (TBRC W8574)*  
 203. *rDo rje phur pa'i dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga'i gsal byed rin po che'i do shal (TBRC W8578)*  
 204. *sByin bsreg rdo rje'i me 'od (cf. TBRC W8576: rDo rje phur pa sa lugs kyi sbyin sreg rdo rje me 'od)*  
 205. *gTor bzlog dgra 'gegs kun 'joms kyi lhan thabs gsal byed gnam lcags rdo rje'i dpal (TBRC W8577: dPal rdo rje gzhon nu'i ...)*

206. *Mahā kā la'i gtor chog 'phrin las lhun grub (TBRC W8578)*  
 207. *Mahā kā la'i gtor chog bdud las rnam rgyal*  
 208. *dPal sa skya pa'i bka' bsrung rnams kyi gtor chog rgyun gyi nyams len bklags pas grub pa (TBRC W8579)*  
 209. *dPal sa skya pa'i yi dam chos skyong rnams la gtor ma 'bul ba'i tho snar thang dpon mo la gnang ba*  
 210. *rDo rje nag po chen po'i zhi ba'i sbyin bsreg (TBRC W8580, poetical title: rDo rje 'od gsal)*  
 211. *dPal sa skya pa'i bka' bsrung rnams kyi bskangs gso mnyes byed 'chi med sgra dbyangs (TBRC W8581)*  
 212. *dPal ldan lha mo 'dod khams dbang phyug ma'i bskangs gso dngos grub rol mtsho (TBRC W8582)*  
 213. *dPal mgon 'khor dang bcas pa la bstod pa dgra 'gegs srog gcod kyi 'khor lo (TBRC W8583)*  
 214. *dPal sa skya pa'i chos skyong rdo rje gur gyi mgon po'i las tshogs gtor ma la brten nas dgra bsad pa'i man ngag drug cu pa'i cho ga dgra 'gegs gnad gcod kyi spu gri (TBRC W8584) <26v>*  
 215. *Chos kyi rgyal po lha bcu gsum gyi bskyed chog (TBRC W8585)*  
 216. *Dur khrod bdag po yab yum gyi gtor chog (TBRC W8586)*  
 217. *rDo rje phur pa'i bsrung ma dkar bdud lcam dral dang dam can gyi gtor chog dngos grub bsam 'phel (TBRC W8587)*

### The lineage

Sa Lo 'Jam-pa'i-rdo-rje  
 sNgags-'chang Chos-kyi-rgyal-po  
 Grub-mchog bSod-nams-dbang-po  
 A-mes-zhabs

### Alternative lineage

Sa-lo 'Jam-pa'i-rdo-rje  
 dKon-mchog-lhun-grub  
 sNgags-'chang Chos-kyi-rgyal-po  
 "thereafter as above"

## Appendix II d:

### A list of writings of dKon-mchog-lhun-grub (1497-1557)

This list is contained in *Kun-dga'-don-grub's Record*, fols. 70r-74r.

001. *'Dren mchog chos kyi rgyal po la bstod pa sgra rgyan me tog dkar po'i phreng ba*  
 002. *yang de la bstod pa dNgos grub kun 'byung*  
 003. *de la gsol ba 'debs pa Bla ma rgyang 'bod*  
 004. *Mus chen sangs rgyas rin chen la bstod pa dad pa'i pho nya*  
 005. *de la gsol ba 'debs pa Bla ma rgyang 'bod*  
 006. *mKhan chen bsod nams lhun grub la bstod pa ngo mtshar me tog gi phreng ba*  
 007. *dPal sa skya lo tsa ba 'jam pa'i dbyangs la bstod pa dad pa'i snye ma*  
 008. *de la gsol ba 'debs pa Bla ma rgyang 'bod*



009. *rTsa ba'i bla ma ngor mus sa gsum la gdung dbyangs kyi sgo nas gsol ba 'debs pa snying gi thig le*
010. *yang de gsum la gDung dbyangs kyi sgo nas gsol ba 'debs pa dad pa'i gsal 'debs*
011. *mKhan chen thams cad mkhyen pa la phul ba'i zhu yig*
012. *bDag chen 'jam pa'i dbyangs la phul ba'i zhu yig <70v>*
013. *Yul khyad par can rnams la mchod brjod kyi tshigs bcad ngag gi 'dod 'jo*
014. *Phud mchod dgos 'dod kun 'byung*
015. *rNal 'byor dbang phyug gi sku'i rnam 'gyur drug la nang gi rnam dag dang mthun par bstod pa*
016. *rDo rje 'chang la snyan ngag 'khor lo'i sgo nas bstod pa bdud'rtsi'i 'od can*
017. *Ri khrod pa kun dga' mchog ldan la bstod pa byin rlabs myur 'jug*
018. *rJe lha mchog seng ge la bstod pa rin po che'i phreng ba (lHa-mchog-seng-ge, ninth Ngor-mkhan-chen, 1468-1535, TBRC P2509)*
019. *mKhas pa lha dbang blo gros la bstod pa rin po che'i mgul rgyan*
020. *dPal sa skya pa'i yab chos rgyud gsum man ngag dang bcas pa'i bla ma brgyud pa'i gsol 'debs byin rlabs myur du 'jug pa'i pho nya*
021. *de'i Kha skongs shlo ka gcig*
022. *Lam zab brgyud 'debs kyi kha skongs*
023. *'Khor lo bde mchog gi bla ma brgyud pa la gsol ba 'debs pa byin rlabs char 'bebs*
024. *Shin tu spros med kyi brgyud 'debs 'od gsal snye ma*
025. *Tshe dpag med kyi bla ma brgyud pa la gsol ba 'debs pa*
026. *mGon po'i chos skor gyi brgyud 'debs 'phrin las myur 'grub*
027. *Byams pa'i rnam thar bstod pa byams chos kyi lam rims kyi sgo nas gsol ba 'debs pa dang bcas mi pham dgongs rgyan*
028. *'Jam pa'i dbyangs la bstod pa yon tan me tog gi phur ma*
029. *dByangs can ma la bstod pa don rgyan rnam par bkod pa'i phreng ba*
030. *sGrol ma dkar mo la bstod pa 'chi med rdo rje'i glu dbyangs <71r>*
031. *gNyan sgrol dang 'byung 'dul la bstod pa shlo ka re re*
032. *Rang la bstod pa che chung gsum*
033. *dGe sbyong gi chos bzhi bsgrub pa'i dam bca' smon lam du byas pa*
034. *Rang la bskul ba theg chen lam gyi gsol 'debs*
035. *Rang la gdams pa gces pa drug ldan*
036. *sDom gsum 'gal med du nyams su len tshul ston pa gdams pa sgo drug*
037. *Sa skya pa'i gdung rabs ya rab kyi kha rgyan (TBRC W10235)*
038. *Hor gyi rgyal rabs 'phros cung zad dang bcas pa*
039. *Sangs rgyas kyi bstan pa'i rtsis nyung ngu rab gsal*
040. *Dus 'khor lugs kyi bstan rtsis mkhas pa'i kha rgyan*
041. *'Dren mchog chos kyi rgyal po'i rnam thar ngo mtshar snang ba'i nyin byed (Khenpo Appey's Bibliography: Yongs 'dzin dkon mchog 'phel ba)*
042. *Sa lo tsa ba chen po'i rnam thar*
043. *'Jam pa'i dbyangs kyi yon tan rnam par bkod pa*
044. *Dam pa'i chos gsan pa'i yi ge thub bstan rgyas pa'i nyin byed*
045. *Lam zab mo bla ma'i rnal 'byor gyi nyams len gsang ba'i nye lam tshar gsum khug pa*
046. *gSung ngag rin po che'i dmigs rim dang mthun pa'i gsol 'debs zab don snying po*
047. *gSung ngag rin po che'i lam khyer gyi smon lam bdud'rtsi'i snying po*
048. *Man ngag gi brda 'grol zab don snang ba*
049. *gZhung ji lta ba bzhin dkri ba'i gzhung shing las 'phros pa'i dri ba tshigs bcad ma*

050. *Tshul dang po gsum gyi don nyung ngu'i ngag gi ston pa tshul gsum gsal bar byed pa'i rgyan* (TBRC W28751)<sup>387</sup> <71v>
051. *mNgon par rtogs pa'i don ston pa ljon shing mdzes par byed pa'i rgyan* (TBRC W28752: *rGyud kyi mngon par rtogs pa'i don nyun ngu'i ngag gis gtan la 'bebs pa'i bstan bcos ljon shing mdzes par byed pa'i rgyan*)<sup>388</sup>
052. *mNgon par ljon shing gi gsal byed gong ma'i dgongs rgyan* (TBRC W28755: *rGyud kyi ...*)<sup>389</sup>
053. *bDag med bstod pa'i bsdus don*
054. *rDo rje tshig rkang gi bsdus don tshang bde nyung gsal*
055. *gSung ngag sngon 'gro'i nyams len snang gsum mdzes par byed pa'i rgyan* (TBRC W10240)
056. *Lam gyi dngos gzhi'i khrid yig rgyud gsum mdzes rgyan* (TBRC W28766: *Lam 'bras bu dang bcas pa'i gdams ngag gi gzhung shing rgyas pa gzhung ji lta ba bzhin bkri ba'i lam gyi dngos gzhi'i khrid yig rgyud gsum mdzes par byed pa'i rgyan*; *Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 24*, pp. 271-493)
057. *dBang gi sngon 'gro'i sems bskyed*
058. *Slob ma rjes bzung gi cho ga*
059. *Kyai rdo rje'i dbang bshad lung man ngag gi gter mdzod*
060. *Kyai rdo rje'i dbang gi 'tshams sbyor lung dang man ngag gi snying po bsdus pa*
061. *Sa chog mdor bsdus dbang gi chu bo chen mo mdzes par byed pa'i rgyan*
062. *rDul tshon chu bor spyen pa'i cho ga*
063. *sGrub thabs bsnyen bsgrub yan lag bzhi ldan*
064. *Yan lag drug pa* (cf. TBRC W10237: *dPal kyai rdo rje'i mngon par rtogs pa 'bring du bya ba yan lag drug pa'i mdzes rgyan*)<sup>390</sup>
065. *Lam dus kyi dbang rgyas 'bring bsdus gsum gyi ngag 'don*
066. *Lus dkyil mdzes rgyan* (cf. TBRC W10238: *dPal kyai rdo rje'i ...*)<sup>391</sup> and TBRC W27576<sup>392</sup>
067. *sByin bsreg gi cho ga lag len gsal ba'i me long* (*Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 26*, pp. 395-433)
068. *de la ltos pa'i rGyas pa'i sbyin bsreg gi tho yig*
069. *bDag med ma'i sgrub dkyil gyi tho yig* (TBRC W27620: *rDo rje bdag med pa'i(!) sgrub thabs dang dkyil mchog gi tho yig*)<sup>393</sup>
070. *'Grel pa lugs kyi kyai rdo rje'i sgrub dkyil Dombhi mdzes rgyan* (cf. TBRC W27617: *Kyai rdo rje Dombi lugs kyi sgrub dkyil dbang chog gsal bar bkod pa bka' srol bstan pa'i skyed tshal rgyas pa'i nyin byed phrin las yongs khyab*)<sup>394</sup>
071. *Padma lugs kyi kyai rdo rje'i sgrub dkyil mtsho skyes mdzes rgyan*
072. *Nag po lugs kyi sku gsung thugs snying po kyai rdo rje'i sgrub dkyil nag po mdzes rgyan*
073. *Yi dam chos skyong gi gtor chog mdzes rgyan*<sup>395</sup> <72r>

<sup>387</sup> *Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 21*, pp. 315-350; *rGyud sde kun btus 27*, pp. 363-400.

<sup>388</sup> *Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 21*, pp. 351-427; *rGyud sde kun btus 27*, pp. 401-486.

<sup>389</sup> *Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 22*, pp. 279-625; *rGyud sde kun btus 28*, pp. 293-665.

<sup>390</sup> Delhi: T. G. Dhongthog, 1977, 187 pp.; LCCN: 77-907217; *gDams ngag mdzod 4*, pp. 121-150.

<sup>391</sup> Delhi: T. G. Dhongthog, 1977, 87-135 pp.; LCCN: 77-907217.

<sup>392</sup> Delhi: N. Lungtok and N. Gyaltsan, 1971-1972, vol. 18, pp. 32-48; LCCN: 70-919390.

<sup>393</sup> Delhi: N. Lungtok and N. Gyaltsan, 1971-1972, vol. 19, pp. 262-278; LCCN: 70-919390.

<sup>394</sup> Delhi: N. Lungtok and N. Gyaltsan, 1971-1972, vol. 19, pp. 1-145; LCCN: 70-919390.

<sup>395</sup> *Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 18*, pp. 375-398; vgl. TBRC W27580: *Kyai rdo rje'i gtor chog mdzes rgyan*, Delhi: N. Lungtok and N. Gyaltsan, 1971-1972, vol. 18, pp. 128-150; LCCN: 70-919390.

074. *mGon po'i bsnyen pa byed tshul*
075. *rDo rje gur gyi sgrub dkyil gyi gsal byed rab gsal snang ba*
076. *Sambu ti rdo rje dbyings kyi sgrub dkyil gyi gsal byed nyung ngu rab gsal*
077. *bDe mchog lu nag gnyis kyi dkyil chog gi gsal byed khyad par bzhi ldan*
078. *Nā ro mkha' spyod kyi rnal 'byor bcu gcig nyams len tshul*
079. *bDe mchog bcu gsum ma'i sgrub thabs gtsug gi nor bu'i rgyan (TBRC W21463: "Grub chen lwa ba'i zhal gyis legs bkral ba'i bcu gsum bdag nyid 'khor lo bde mchog gi sgrub thabs nyung gsal rtogs sla bzlas skyon bral khyad par bzhi ldan gtsug gi nor bu'")<sup>396</sup>*
080. *de'i dKyil 'khor gyi cho ga rin chen sgron ma (TBRC W21464: "bCu gsum bdag nyid 'khor lo bde mchog gi dbang bskur cho ga grub chen lwa ba'i lugs nyung gsal rtogs sla zlos pa'i skyon dang bral khyad par bzhi ldan rin chen sgron ma'")<sup>397</sup>*
081. *bDe mchog dpa' bo drug dpa' mo drug gi sgrub thabs byin rlabs kyi cho ga dang bcas pa re re*
082. *rDo rje lha mo'i bzlas bsgom la rten nas 'chi med bsgrub pa'i gdams ngag*
083. *gSang 'dus 'phags lugs kyi sgrub dkyil gyi gsal byed mkhas pa'i yid 'phrog*
084. *gShin rje'i gshed dmar po'i sgrub dkyil gyi gsal byed 'chi med bdud rtsi'i snying po*
085. *de'i sByin bsreg gi cho ga bklags pa don grub*
086. *dKyil 'khor gyi bkra shis*
087. *'Jigs byed skyo lugs kyi khrid yig gsung bgros ma*
088. *'Jigs byed rwa lugs kyi sgrub thabs bdud 'joms snang ba (TBRC W10243)<sup>398</sup>*
089. *de'i dKyil 'khor gyi cho ga rab gnas snang ba*
090. *de'i sGrub thabs dang gtor chog gi gsal byed bsnyen bsgrub rnam rol (TBRC W21360)<sup>399</sup>*
091. *Rwa lugs lha bcu gsum ma'i sgrub dkyil gyi tho yig nyin byed snang ba*
092. *'Jigs byed kyi sbyin bsreg (TBRC W21363)<sup>400</sup>*
093. *Las gshin bcu gsum ma'i gtor chog rjes gnang gi cho ga dang bcas pa <72v>*
094. *Kun rig gi dbang gi 'tshams sbyor blo gsal kun dga' (TBRC W21316)<sup>401</sup>*
095. *Kun rig gi sbyin bsreg ro bsreg tsha tsha'i rab gnas dang bcas pa*
096. *Bya spyod kyi thig tshon gyi byin rlabs*
097. *Tshe dpag med lha dgu'i dkyil chog 'chi med grub pa'i lam bzang (TBRC W10239)<sup>402</sup>*
098. *Mi 'khrugs pa'i dkyil chog las sgrub rnam sbyangs*
099. *de'i sByin bsreg*
100. *Bum gtor gzhug tshul*
101. *Dombhi he ru ka'i nyin bsrung mtshan bsrung dag gi byin rlabs kyi tho*
102. *Ku ru kulle'i sgrub thabs*
103. *de'i rJes gnang byed tshul*
104. *de'i sByin bsreg gi cho ga*

<sup>396</sup> Delhi: N. Lungtok and N. Gyaltsan, 1971-1972, 30 v. (v. 13, pp. 401-421); LCCN: 70-919390.

<sup>397</sup> Delhi: N. Lungtok and N. Gyaltsan, 1971-1972, 30 v. (v. 13, pp. 422-506); LCCN: 70-919390.

<sup>398</sup> Two editions: Delhi: N. Lungtok and N. Gyaltsan, 1971-1972, 30 v. (v. 9, pp. 224-238); LCCN: 70-919390; and New Delhi: T. G. Dhongthog Rinpoche, 1978, 40 p.

<sup>399</sup> Delhi: N. Lungtok and N. Gyaltsan, 1971-1972, 30 v. (v. 9, pp. 239-253); LCCN: 70-919390.

<sup>400</sup> Delhi: N. Lungtok and N. Gyaltsan, 1971-1972, 30 v. (v. 9, pp. 343-351); LCCN: 70-919390. A note in *TBRC* voices doubts about dKon-mchog-lhun-grub's authorship.

<sup>401</sup> Editions: Delhi: N. Lungtok and N. Gyaltsan, 1971-1972, 30 v. (v. 6, pp. 296-320); LCCN: 70-919390; Gangtok: Sa Nor Chos tshogs, 1968, 34, 2 ff.

<sup>402</sup> G.T.K. Lodoy, N. Gyaltsen and N. Lungtok, 1970, 14 v. (v 2, pp. 108-140); LCCN: 70-912479.

105. 'Dod rgyal gyi sgrub thabs  
 106. *de'i rJes gnang gi yig snying la mchan bu btab pa*  
 107. *Tshogs bdag gi sgrub thabs*  
 108. *de'i rJes gnang go cho ga*  
 109. *Thugs rje chen po dang phyag rgya chen po zung 'jug tu nyams su len tshul*  
 110. *sGrub thabs rgya rtsa'i tho yig mun sel sgron med (TBRC W21255: "sGrub thabs brgya rtsa nas bshad pa'i lha tshogs rnams kyi mngon rtogs rjes gnang gi cho ga dang bcas pa'i tho yig mun sel sgron me")<sup>403</sup>*  
 111. *gTsug gtor rnam rgyal gyi sgrub thabs stong mchod rjes gnang gi cho ga dang bcas pa*  
 112. *rDo rje rnam 'joms kyi sgrub thabs*  
 113. *Bum chog rjes gnang gi cho ga dang bcas pa*  
 114. *Tshe dpag med dkar po'i mngon rtogs rjes gnang gi cho ga dang bcas pa*  
 115. *bCu gcig zhal gyi sgrub thabs rjes gnang gi cho ga dang bcas pa*  
 116. *Seng ge sgra'i sgrub thabs de'i rjes gnang gi cho ga dang bcas pa*  
 117. *sGrol dkar gyi sgrub thabs de'i rjes gnang gi cho ga*  
 118. *gNyan sgrol gyi sgrub thabs*  
 119. *de'i rJes gnang gi cho ga <73r>*  
 120. *'Byung 'dul gyi sgrub thabs*  
 121. *de'i rJes gnang gi cho ga*  
 122. *U tsarya'i sgrub thabs*  
 123. *de'i rJes gnang gi cho ga*  
 124. *Dzam ser nag gi mngon rtogs rjes gnang gi cho ga dang bcas pa re re*  
 125. *Mi g.yo ba dkar sngon gyi mngon rtogs rjes gnang gi cho ga dang bcas pa re re*  
 126. *So 'brangs gi sgrub thabs 'chi med rang gzugs zhes bya ba lus bsrung ba'i man ngag gi bsgom bzlas*  
 127. *Ye shes mgon po phyag bzhi pa'i sgo nas 'chi med sgrub pa'i gdams ngag*  
 128. *Klu grub lugs kyi phyag bzhi pa'i mngon rtogs*  
 129. *Phyag bzhi pa lha mang gi rjes gnang gi cho ga*  
 130. *rNam sras kyi gtor chog*  
 131. *de'i rJes gnang gi cho ga*  
 132. *Yongs rdzogs dge bsnyen gyi bslab bya*  
 133. *Yas gtam rin po che'i phreng ba*  
 134. *bsNgo ba'i bstan bcos rin po che'i me tog mkhas pa blo gros bzang po*

### [Praises]

135. *bSam yas lha btsun pa*  
 136. *Kun mkhyen shes rab 'od zer*  
 137. *Zhu ston bkra shis rgya mtsho*  
 138. *gNas 'ji chos rje*  
 139. *Bla ma byang chub rgyal mtshan*  
 140. *bShes gnyen bkra shis dpal ldan*  
 141. *bShes gnyen tshul khriims dpal bzang*  
 142. *Chos rje legs blo ba*  
 143. *Rab 'byams pa 'od blo ba*  
 144. *Chos rje grags pa ba*

<sup>403</sup> G.T.K. Lodoy, N. Gyaltzen and N. Lungtok, 1970, 14 v. (v. 12, pp. 228-278); LCCN: 70-912479.

145. *Chos rje kun dga' rgyal mtshan dpal*
146. *Wa skya chos rje*
147. *Chos rje bsam 'phel ba*
148. *Shi ri chos rje khu dbon gsum*
149. *Ri khrod pa sbyin pa'i 'od zer rnam la bstod pa re re*
150. *Kun mkhyen shes rab 'od zer la phul ba me tog gi chub po*
151. *lHa btsun ma gur rgyal la phul ba chos gtam bdud rtsi thigs pa <73v>*
152. *Mi dbang ngag dbang rnam rgyal la phul ba gzugs kyi me long*
153. *de la Phul ba'i zhu yig ma mo la spel ba*
154. *sDe pa rin chen dbang rgyal la phul ba*
155. *dPal rnam pa lhun grub rtser phul ba gnyis*
156. *Shi ri chos rje*
157. *dPon btsun seng ge rgya mtsho*
158. *Nang so dpal ldan don grub rnam la gdams pa re re*
159. *'Jam thang sku skye*
160. *gNas 'ji chos rje*
161. *Bla ma byang chub rgyal mtshan*
162. *Bla ma bkra shis dpal ldan*
163. *Rab 'byams pa shes rab bzang po grogs mched*
164. *Glo bo sde pa*
165. *Mi chen dpon rnam la phul ba'i zhu yig re re*
166. *Ru tog jo jo la phul ba gsum*
167. *dPon chos mdzad la gdams pa*
168. *mNgon rtogs ljon shing las 'phros pa'i dris lan nges don gsal ba*
169. *gSang ba sgo 'byed las 'phros pa'i dris lan zab don snying po*
170. *A ldong bla ma'i dris lan ngang pa'i pho nya*
171. *gNas brtan chos skyong dpal gyi dris lan*
172. *Kun gzhi'i skabs kyi dka' gnas gsal byed*
173. *brGal lan tshangs pa'i rigs sngags kyi don bsdus don tshan brgyad pa*
174. *brGal zhing brtags pa'i lan mtha' bral bdud rtsi rol mtsho*
175. *mDo khams su 'bul bskul gyi yi ge*
176. *dKar chag gi yi ge ngo mtshar dpal gyi phreng ba*
177. *rNga bo che la bsngags pa'i rab tu byed pa sogs tshigs bcad thor bu kha ya*

**Lineage (fol. 74r)**

dKon-mchog-lhun-grub (1497-1557)

Thar-rtse-nas Nam-mkha'-dpal-bzang (1532-1602)

rTse-gdong-bdag-chen Kun-dga'-bsod-nams-lhun-grub (abbot of Ngor and Zhwa-lu)

sPyan-snga Chos-kyi-rje sPyan-ldan Kun-dga'-don-grub

A-mes-zhabs

## Appendix IIe:

**A title list of writings of Ngag-dbang Kun-dga'-rin-chen bKra-shis-grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzang-po (1517-1584), 16th successor on the Earth-Throne of Na-lendra and 24th throne holder in Sa-skya (1534-1584)**

This list is contained *bSod-nams-dbang-po's Record*, fols. 26v-29v.

### First Volume (*bka' 'bum po ti dang po*) <27r>

01. *Sa lo thams cad mkhyen pa la bstod pa rgyal ba 'i mkhyen brtse ma*
02. *rJe dkon mchog lhun grub la bstod pa dkon mchog gdung 'dzin ma*
03. *sNgags 'chang nyid kyi bdag bstod shlo ka gcig*
04. *Gur mgon lha brgyad kyi bla ma brgyud pa 'i gsol 'debs*
05. *dGe sdang mgon khang du phul ba 'i mnga' dar kha yig*
06. *Lam zab rgyun gyi nyams len*
07. *Lam zab bla ma 'i rnal 'byor gyi khrid byin rlabs bya tshul*
08. *rNal 'byor dbang phyug birwa pa 'i sgrub thabs*
09. *rNal 'byor dbang phyug gi lung byin rlabs bya tshul*
10. *dPal 'khor lo sdom pa nag po pa 'i lugs kyi dkyil 'khor bsgrub mchod kyi cho ga 'i gsal byed gsar bu 'i blo can rtogs par bla(?sla?) ba*
11. *'Khor lo bde mchog gi sngags phreng phyag bris ma las 'bru len byas pa shin tu bdag pa*
12. *Slob dpon spyod pa 'i rdo rje lugs kyi slob ma dbang bskur gyi 'chams sbyor slob dpon las dang po pa la nye bar 'kho ba 'i phyag chen gyi rims pa gsal ba*
13. *rDo rje rnal 'byor ma 'i rgyun gyi nyams len*
14. *rJe btsun rdo rje rnal 'byor ma 'i sgrub thabs rgyas pa ma rig mun sel*
15. *rJe btsun rdo rje rnal 'byor ma nā ro mkha' spyod kyi sindhu ra 'i dkyil du 'khor slob ma rjes su 'dzin pa 'i cho ga shin tu gsal ba*
16. *Nā ro mkha' spyod kyi sgrub thabs kyi bshad pa zin bris*
17. *Grib ma chung ngu khrus kyi sel ba 'i cho ga*
18. *Thugs rje chen po dang phyag rgya chen po zung 'jug du bsgom tshul bla ma 'i rnal 'byor la sbyar ba*
19. *bDud rtsi ril bu bsgrub tshul las dang po la 'kho ba bdud rtsi 'byung ba*
20. *Man ngag lugs kyi dbang gi 'tshams sbyor*
21. *Kyai rdo rje rgyu dus kyi dbang gi rtogs pa bskyed*
22. *Lam dus kyi dbang bskur tshul kun mkhyen chen pos mdzad pa la mchan gnang ba <27v>*
23. *Lam dus nyams su len pa 'i rims pa*
24. *rJe btsun rdo rje bdag med ma 'i byin rlabs bya tshul*
25. *bsGrub pa lung sbyin gyi gsal byed snying gi ze 'bru*
26. *gShed dmar dpa' gcig gi sgrub thabs gtor bsngo dang beas pa*
27. *dPal gsang ba 'dus pa mi bskyod rdo rje 'i sgrub thabs gzhan phan don yod*
28. *dPal gsang ba 'dus pa mi bskyod rdo rje 'i phyag chen gzhan phan rgyas byed*
29. *dPal gsang ba 'dus pa 'phags lugs kyi dkyil 'khor du slob ma dbang bskur ba 'i 'tshams sbyor gzhan phan lhun grub*
30. *gDan sa chen po dpal ldan sa skya 'i chos grwa chen po thub bstan lha chen gyi bca' yig bslab pa kun 'dus*
31. *mKhan chen dpal ldan bzang po mdo khams la 'bul bsdus bskul la gnang skabs kyi spyi 'gro*
32. *Bla ma kun dga' dpal bzang mdo khams la 'bul bskul la gnang ba 'i spyi 'gro*
33. *Deb ther rin chen bang mdzod*

34. *Dus mdos chen mo 'i deb bris rnam bzhugs***Second Volume (bka' 'bum po ti gnyis pa)**01. *'Jam dpal a ra pa tsa na 'i bsgrub pa byed tshul*02. *Mol gtam yid bzhin nor bu*  
(sngags 'chang ngag gi dbang po de nyid kyi sras mchog sngags 'chang grags pa blo gros rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po las rims par 'phel te dpal sa skya 'i gdung brgyud dri ma med pa rgyun ma chad pa 'byung ba 'i rten 'brel du)03. *Dus mchod pa sger gyi gdung rab bsgrig par mdzad pa 'i yi ge nyung gu*04. *Rab gnas don gsal gyi gsal byed dngos grub 'byung ba*05. *dPal yang dag mar me dgu pa 'i sgrub thabs rims pa gsal ba*06. *Yang dag me dgu 'i dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga rims pa gsal ba*07. *Yang dag me dgu 'i dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga blo dman dga' ba bskyed byed <28r>*08. *Yang dag me dgu 'i rdul mtshon la la rten pa 'i dkyil 'khor sgrub mchod byed tshul ngag 'don gyi tho*09. *rDo rje phur pa 'i rnga byin dbabs kyi brda sprod mthong bar rang grol*10. *rDo rje phur pa 'i bsnyen bsgrub kyi gsal byed bdud rtsi nyi 'od can zhes bya ba sa los mdzad pa la sngags 'chang chen po 'i mchan gnang ba*11. *rDo rje phur pa 'i stod las byang chub bsgrub pa 'i dkyil 'khor gyi cho gas rang gzhan smin byed kyi phyag chen shin tu gsal ba yid 'ongs blo gros kha 'byed*12. *Drag po sgrol ba 'i rjes gnang gi gsal byed rin chen phreng ba*13. *rDo rje phur pa 'i dngos grub char 'bebs kyi 'cham kyi brjed byang snang ba gyur thub*14. *sTong ra chos rje kun dga' legs grub pa 'i dris lan*15. *Dam can bstan ma bcu gnyis kyi sku 'og(?) phyag mtshan rgyan cha gzhan pa rnam bstan pa*16. *dPal rdo rje nag po chen po 'i sku bzhengs tshul yid bzhin nor bu mthong ba rang grol*17. *bsGrub lnga 'i nang gzungs 'dri tshul*18. *Gur gyi mgon po 'i khro bcu 'i bsrung 'khor*19. *rDo rje brag rdzong ma bar chad kun sel*20. *dPal rdo rje nag po chen po 'i bsnyen bsgrub gsal byed gdams pa rin chen 'bar ba*21. *mGon po 'i lus dkyil rdzogs rims bsgom tshul gyi khrid yig kha gsal gzhan phan rgyas byed*22. *Sa lo thams cad mkhyen pa 'i phyag chen gyi rims pa ji lta ba 'i gtor chog*23. *dPal sa skya 'i bka' bsrung rnam kyi gtor chog rgyun gyi nyams len shin tu gsal ba 'i phyag chen ma 'bring po*24. *gTor chog bsdu pa shin tu nyams len bde ba bar chad kun bcom dngos grub mchog stsol <28v>*25. *Rang bsrung rgyas pa 'dri tshul shin tu gsal ba*26. *dPal ldan sa skya 'i chos skyong khyad par can rnam kyi dus gtor gyi phyag chen rol yig*27. *gSon po 'i skra dang sen mo la tsha tsha btab pa 'i yig chung*28. *bDag chen kun legs pa la gnang ba 'i bka' shog rnam bzhugs***Third Volume (bka' 'bum po ti gsum pa)**01. *Ka mad sum cu la gras pa 'i gsung mgur*02. *dNgul chu chos rdzong gi rgyal sras thogs med pa 'i sku 'dra la snyan dar phul ba 'i kha yig*03. *Ka mad sum cu la gras pa 'i sa lo la gsol 'debs*

04. *Byas 'gyur gnas bstod*
05. *dBus phyogs su mdzad pa'i nyams mgur mkhyen brtse ma*
06. *Byas 'gyur bsgrub chen dge slong kun dga' la gdams pa'i nyams mgur che chung gnyis*
07. *Byas 'gyur du gnang ba'i mgur ma gcig*
08. *bSod nams chos kyi dpal 'joms la gnang ba'i nyams mgur*
09. *sKyid sdug med pa'i nyams dbyangs*
10. *Ye shes mkha' 'gro la gdams pa'i zhal gdams*
11. *Chos kyi rgyal po la gdams pa'i zhal gdams*
12. *Gong dkar dpon po mkhyen rab la gnang ba'i bka' shog*
13. *gDong dga' chos rje la gnang ba'i bka' shog*
14. *Gu ru drag po'i dbang chog mthong ba rang grol*
15. *Gu ru drag po'i las mtha' gsal byed dgra bgegs tshar gcod kyi dpe*
16. *mGon po tshe dpag tu med pa je ta ri lha dgu'i dkyil 'khor bsgrub cing mchod pa dang  
'jug cing dbang blangs ste slob ma la dbang bskur ba'i 'tshams sbyor dang bcas pa*
17. *Tshe bsgrub zab mo sa skya pa'i gdams pa thun mong ma yin pa <29r>*
18. *Ma cig grub pa'i rgyal mo lugs kyi tshe dpag med kyi dbang chog*
19. *rJe btsun ma sgröl ma yid bzhin 'khor lo'i sgrub thabs*
20. *rJe btsun ma sgröl ma yid bzhin 'khor lo'i tshe khrid bklags chog ma*
21. *rJe btsun 'phags ma sgröl ma'i rjes gnang bya tshul shin tu zab pa*
22. *Thub pa gnas brtan chen po bcu drug dang bcas pa'i rjes gnang bya tshul*
23. *mGon po lha brgyad kyi rjes gnang bya tshul shin tu gsal ba*
24. *Tsa turmu kha'i rjes gnang bya tshul bklags chog ma*
25. *sGrub thabs rjes gnang byed dus lung byed pa'i yi ge*
26. *dMag zor rgyal mo'i rjes gnang bya tshul*
27. *dPal dur khrod kyi bdag po yab yum gyi rjes gnang bya tshul sa lo'i gsung bzhin bkod pa*
28. *Pu tra ming sring gsum gyi rjes gnang bya tshul*
29. *Pu tra'i rjes gnang zur bka' byed tshul*
30. *Bran bdud gshin rje nag po yab yum gyi rjes gnang bka' gtad bya tshul*
31. *dKar bdud lcam dral gyi rjes gnang bya tshul shin tu gsal ba*
32. *mGon po lho nub pa'i rjes gnang bya tshul*
33. *Dzam dmar yid bzhin 'khor lo'i rjes gnang byed tshul bklags chog ma*
34. *Grub chen brgyad cu rtsa bzhi'i rjes gnang bya tshul*
35. *Grub thob brgyad cu rtsa bzhi'i rnam thar*
36. *Gur gyi mgon po'i las mkhan du(?) 'dren dang bcas pa'i 'cham dpe*
37. *dPal sa skya'i chos skyong gur gyi mgon po'i las tshogs gtor ma la rten nas dgra bsad  
pa'i man ngag drug cu pa'i cho ga dgra bgegs gnad gcod kyi spu gri zhes bya ba sa los  
mdzad pa la sngags 'chang chen po'i mchan bu gnang ba <29v>*
38. *gTor ma brgya rtsa'i ngag 'don*
39. *Bum gter gyi lag len*
40. *Chu gtor btang ba'i rims pa blo gsal dga' ba bskyed byed*
41. *Klu gtor btong tshul gsal byed sgron med*
42. *dKar bdud kyi bskangs gso*
43. *dMag zor rgyal mo'i bskangs gso'i yi ge rnam bzhugs so*



**The Lineage**

Ngag-dbang Kun-dga'-rin-chen-bkra-shis  
 bSod-nams-dbang-po  
 A-mes-zhabs

**Appendix II f:****A list of writings of rGyal-tshab Dam-pa dKon-mchog-dpal-ldan (1526-1590)**

This list is contained in *Kun-dga'-don-grub's Record*, fol. 74r.

1. *rJe dkon mchog lhun grub kyi rnam thar 'dod dgu'i dpal 'byung gi rnam bshad 'dod dgu'i chu gter blo gsal ngang pa'i bsti gnas*
2. *rDo rje'i tshig rkang gi bsodus don tshangs bde nyung gsal gyi gsal byed rin chen phreng ba*
3. *Tshul gsum gsal bar byed pa'i rgyan gyi go don nor bu'i phreng mdzes blo gsal mgul ba'i rgyan*
4. *dPal kyai rdo rje'i phyi bskyed pa'i rims pa'i sems 'dzin gyi sngon 'gro rnal 'byor bcu'i nyams len ku mu ta'i ze'u 'bru 'byed pa*
5. *dPal kyai rdo rje'i bskyed rdzogs kyi rnam bshad nges don zla ba'i 'od zer rgyas pa<sup>404</sup>*
6. *'Phags pa zhal bcu cig pa'i snyung gnas kyi cho ga mun pa gsal byed*
7. *dPal ldan lha mo re ma ti'i sgrub thabs gtor mchog rjes gnang dang bcas pa*
8. *bKra shis kyi rgya mtsho spel ba'i phyir bkra shis kyi tshigs bca'd*

**The Lineage**

rGyal-tshab dKon-mchog-dpal-ldan (1526-1590)  
 Shar-chen Kun-dga'-bkra-shis (1558-1603) 14th abbot of Ngor  
 sPyan-snga Chos-kyi-spyan-ldan Kun-dga'-don-grub  
 A-mes-zhabs Ngag-dbang-kun-dga'-bsod-nams

**Appendix II g:****A list of writings of Mus-chen dKon-mchog-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzang-po's (1388-1469)**

This list is contained in *Mus-chen's Record*, fols. 66v-67v.

- 01.-03. *rDo rje 'chang kun dga' bzang po la bstod pa* (three titles listed)
04. *sDom gsum brgyud pa 'i gsol 'debs kyi kha skongs snga*
05. *sDom gsum brgyud pa 'i gsol 'debs kyi kha skongs phyi*
06. *gSung ngag sogs kyi brgyud 'debs kyi kha skongs tshan pa lnga <67r>*
- 07.-08. *Sems pa chen po gzhon nu rgyal mchog pa la bstod pa* (two titles listed)
09. *dKon mchog gsum bstan bsrung dang bcas pa la bstod pa*
10. *mKhan po bo dhi satwa la bstod pa*
11. *rGyal po khri srong lde btsan la bstod pa*

<sup>404</sup> *Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series 31*, pp. 465-659.

12. *Jo bo rnams la bstod pa*
13. *Bla ma dpal ldan tshul khrims pa'i rnam thar*
14. *Bla ma rdo rje 'chang kun dga' bzang po'i rnam thar (TBRC W11241)*
15. *Zab mo bla ma'i rnal 'byor*
16. *gSung ngag rin po che khrid kyi zin bris che ba*
17. *gSung ngag rin po che khrid kyi zin bris chung ba*
18. *Kyai rdo rje'i mngon rtogs*
19. *Kyai rdo rje'i gtor chog*
20. *Lus dkyil gyi sgrub thabs snga ma*
21. *Lus dkyil gyi sgrub thabs phyi ma*
22. *dBang chu gsal ba'i me long*
23. *Sa chog gi lag len*
24. *So shing sogs kyi dgos pa bshad pa*
25. *bsKyed rim kyi grub mtha'i shan 'byed*
26. *De las 'phros pa'i rno(?) cha*
27. *Dril bu lus dkyil gyi bshad pa*
28. *Lu nag dril gsum gang zag cig gi nyams su len tshul*
29. *Nag po pa'i dkyil 'khor rgyal mchog gi skabs kyi las nyed(?)*
30. *Lū nag dril gsum gyi bum bskyed*
31. *bDe gshegs sa bzung gi lag len*
32. *'Dus pa 'phags lugs kyi dkyil chog gi gsal byed*
33. *'Jig byed kyi bskyed rim gyi bshad pa*
34. *'Chi bdag 'joms pa'i bsnyen pa dang*
35. *Tshe sgrub kyi man ngag*
36. *sGrub thabs brgya rtsa dang rgya mtsho'i gsan yig*
37. *gTsug gtor dri med kyi cho ga'i lag len*
38. *Tsha tsha'i rab gnas mdor byas pa*
39. *'Jig rten dbang phyug gtso 'khor gsum pa'i sgrub thabs*
40. *Rang gi rang la gros 'debs*
41. *bDe ba can na bzhugs pa'i dge 'dun rnams la gnang ba'i bka' shog*
- 42.-45. *Bla ma nam mkha' dpal bzang la gdams pa (four titles listed) <67v>*
46. *Bla ma blo rin la gdams pa*
47. *Slob dpon chos kyi rgyal mtshan la gnang ba'i bka' shog*
48. *Bla ma rin chos pa la gdams pa*
49. *dPon po kun dga' chos skyong la gdams pa*
50. *Byams chen rab 'byams pa sangs rgyas 'phel la bstod pa*

### The lineage

Mus-chen Sems-dpa'-chen-po (1388-1469)

Grub-chen dKon-mchog-blo-gros

'Jam-dbyangs-sangs-rgyas-rin-chen

Ngor-chen dKon-mchog-lhun-grub

'Jam-dbyangs-dkon-mchog-rgya-mtsho

Mus-chen Sangs-rgyas-rgyal-mtshan

A-mes-zhabs

## Appendix IIIh:

## A list of writings of bSod-nams-dbang-po (1559-1621)

This list is contained in *bSod-nams-dbang-po's Record*, fols. 30r-31v.<sup>405</sup>

First Volume (*glegs bam dang po*)

01. *Do rje phur pa'i brgyud 'debs bar chad kun sel*
02. *Lam zab brgyud 'debs dgos 'dod kun 'byung*
03. *Lam 'bras brgyud 'debs byin rlabs myur 'jug*
04. *Lam 'bras brgyud pa'i gsol 'debs dngos grub bsam 'phel*
05. *Lam 'bras brgyud pa'i gsol 'debs bsdus pa byin rlabs myur 'jug*
06. *dPal 'khor lo sdom pa'i bla ma brgyud pa'i gsol 'debs ...(?) dad pa'i pho nya*
07. *'Khor lo sdom pa'i bla ma brgyud pa'i gsol 'debs bsdus pa*
08. *Gur drag bla ma brgyud pa'i gsol 'debs*
09. *brGyud 'debs bsdus pa 'dod don myur 'grub*
10. *Zhal bzhi pa'i bla ma brgyud pa'i gsol 'debs bar chad kun sel*
11. *mThu stobs kyi dbang phyug sngags 'chang chen po la bstod pa byin rlabs dngos grub kyi char 'bebs*
12. *sNgags 'chang chen po la nang gi rnam thar dang mthun pa'i gsol 'debs*
13. *Rang rig bla ma'i gsol 'debs mthong ba rang grol*
14. *Bla ma'i bstod pa phun tshogs dge legs kun gyi 'byung gnas*
15. *'Dren mchog dam pa gzhon nu blo gros kyi sku bstod byin rlabs myur 'jug*
16. *gDams pa zab mo khyad par can*
17. *Bla ma mchod pa'i cho ga bsdus pa 'phrin las bsam 'phel*
18. *Mon bu pu tra'i drag bskul dam nyams tshar gcod dpa' bo'i 'brug sgra <30v>*
19. *bSrung ma spyi'i dmod bcol gyi bskul dam nyams tshar gcod rdo rje'i me dpal*
20. *rTen rdo rang byon lung bstan*
21. *Rol mo'i bstan bcos myong grub kyi lag len 'khrul med gcig shes kun grol*
22. *Dza mchod phun tshogs dge legs ma*
23. *Dam pa'i chos kyi dbye ba*
24. *sKyabs 'gro'i rnam bshad blo gsal dad pa bskyed byed*
25. *rDo rje phur pa'i sgrub thabs bsdus pa shin tu bde ba*
26. *bShes gnyen rnam kyi dris pa'i lan bstan pa rgyas byed*
27. *Dam tshig rdo rje'i sgrub thabs dam tshig gong 'phel*
28. *Tshe bsgrub 'chi med lhun grub*
29. *Rigs 'dzin tshe'i bsgrub pa yid bzhin nor bu*
30. *Tshe bsgrub 'chi med rdo rje*
31. *rDo rje sems dpa'i sgrub thabs sdig sgrub kun 'joms*
32. *sGrol dkar yid bzhin 'khor lo'i sgrub thabs shin tu bde ba*

<sup>405</sup> Within these writings, says A-mes-zhabs, the authorization for some of these works such as the biography of Slob-dpon-chen-po were obtained from direct and later disciples of bSod-nams-dbang-po, but for the sake of easier presentation (*brjod bde ba'i phyir*) they have been written down together in the manner of a *dKar chag* for the collected writings. Otherwise the works were directly received from bSod-nams-dbang-po (fol. 32r: *gsung rab de rnam kyi nang nas slob dpon chen po'i rnam thar sogs dpe sna 'ga' zhig gi lung rgyun ni grub mchog dbang po'i mtshan can de nyid kyi dngos slob dang brgyud pa'i slob ma sogs gzhon las kyang nos mod kyis, 'dir brjod bde ba'i phyir gsung 'bum gyi dkar chag bzhin phyogs cig tu bris pa yin la, de las gzhon pa'i gong bkod bzhin gyi gsung rab rnam yongs su rdzogs par ni 'jam pa'i dbyangs dbang po'i mtshan can nyid las dngos su thos so).*

33. *gNyan sgröl yan lag drug pa'i sgrub thabs rjes gnang gi cho ga dang bcas pa 'phrin las lhun grub*
34. *Khro bo'i rgyal po'i rme ba brtsegs pa'i sgrub thabs bar chad kun sel*
35. *'Phags pa seng ge sgra'i sgrub thabs nad kun sel byed*
36. *gSung ngag rin po che'i dmigs rims nyams su len tshul shin tu bde ba*
37. *Lam 'bras bu dang bcas pa'i khrid yig gyi yang snying bsdu pa tshig nyung don rgyas*
38. *Lam dus kyi dbang rgyas par bskur ba'i cho ga grol lam mthar phyin*
39. *dPal kyai rdo rje man ngag lugs kyi mngon par rtogs pa yan lag drug gi rnal 'byor nyams len tshul gyi bsgom don rnams phyogs gcig tu dril ba nyams rtogs gong 'phel*
40. *rJe btsun rdo rje bdag med ma'i sgrub dkyil gyi tho yig yid bzhin nor bu*
41. *rTen bskyed kyi yi ge*
42. *mGon po'i bla ma'i rnal 'byor*
43. *Ma hā kā la'i nyams len nyon mongs rang grol gyi gdams pa <31r>*
44. *Rigs 'dzin brgyud pa'i ja mchod ci bsam kun 'grub*
45. *gSung ngag rin po che lam 'bras bu dang bcas pa'i khrid yig shin tu go bde gsung rgyun gyi rims pa gsal ba dngos grub rgya mtsho ('di 'phro can yin)*

### **Second Volume (po ti gnyis pa)**

01. *Nang gi bla ma'i rnal 'byor gyi byin rlabs bya tshul gsang ba yid bzhin nor bu*
02. *Mahā kā la 'khor bcas kyi bstod pa khams gsum zil gnon*
03. *bsTan bsrung 'khor bcas kyi bstod pa bar chad kun sel*
04. *dBen gnas byas 'gyur rdo rje brag rdzong gi gnas bshad dngos grub rgya mtsho*
05. *Bya btang ku sa li'i brtul zhugs la gnas pa ri khrod dbang po'i nyams mgur bde chen phun tshogs*
06. *dBen gnas ngo mtshar can phur ri rdo rje'i brag rdzong gnas bshad ngo mtshar rgya mtsho dgos 'dod kun 'byung*
07. *Nyams dga' blo bde'i mgur*
08. *Nged rang la gnang ba'i zhal gdams dgos 'dod kun 'byung*
09. *Bla ma rgyang 'bod kyi tshigs bcad dgos 'dod kun 'byung*
10. *Bya btang ri khrod pa pi Nya indras rang la rang gi gros 'debs kyi tshigs su bcad pa snying gdam yid bzhin nor bu*
11. *mChog dman gyi gang zag kun la zhu ba'i phrin yig don gnyis lhun grub*
12. *sMon lam gyi tshigs bcad bsam chos bzhin 'grub pa dang*
13. *bKra shis kyi tshigs bcad bkra shis don grub gnyis*
14. *Rigs 'dzin grub pa'i dbang phyug chen po padma 'byung gnas kyi rnam par thar pa ngo mtshar phun tshogs pa'i rgya mtsho (TBRC W14681) <31v>*
15. *Rang rig dbang bskur gyi bsgom tshul cig shes kun grol*
16. *Slob dpon rin po che padma 'byung gnas dang rje 'bangs nyer lnga la gsol ba 'debs pa'i tshigs su bcad pa dngos grub kun rtsol*
17. *Grub chen shri singha dang mjal tshul phyag bris ma las zhal bshus pa*
18. *Slob dpon rin po che padma 'byung gnas kyi bla ma'i rnal 'byor nyams su blangs tshul grub gnyis bsam 'phel*
19. *rDo rje phur pa'i las thig gdab(?) tshul ma rig mun sel*

**Appendix III:****A list of writings of Grags-pa-blo-gros (1563-1617)**

This list is contained in *Grags-pa-blo-gros's Record*, fols. 24r-24v.

01. *sNgags 'chang chen po la mtshan bstod kyi sgo nas gsol ba 'debs pa'i tshigs su bcad pa*
02. *Bar do'i gdams pa zab mo*
03. *Chos kyi rgyal po 'phags pa rin po che'i rnam thar 'ja sa drug pa tshigs bcad du mdzad pa'i gsung rtsoms 'phro can*
04. *Chos dung dkar po rgyang grags kyi lo rgys sngags 'chang chen po'i gsung rgyun bzhin bkod pa*
05. *bSe 'bag nag po 'phur shes kyi lo rgyus snyan brgyud ma*
06. *Gur gyi mgon po'i las tshogs gtor ma la rten nas dgra bsad pa'i man ngag gi skabs su med thabs med pa'i man ngag dam pa*
07. *gSung mgor bla ma rgyang 'bod*
08. *dPal 'khor lo bde mchog nag po pa'i sbyin bsreg gi ngag 'don dang phyag len gsal bar bkod pa las dang po pa la nye bar 'kho ba dngos grub myur stsol <fol. 24v>*
09. *rDo rje 'phur pa dang kyai rdor gyi sbyin bsreg gyi phyag len zhal shes mkhas pa'i yid 'phrog*
10. *gSung ngag rin po che lam 'bras bu dang bcas pa'i khrid yig dang po'i blo can gyi rtogs par bla ba gsung rgyun gyi rims pa gsal ba*
11. *Dug bsrung zab mo*
12. *rJe rgyal ba mus pa chen po dang nged rang la lung bstan gyis tshul du gnang ba'i bka' shog tshan pa gsum*
13. *Nged rang sku mched la gnang ba'i gsang gtor byed tshul gyi yi ge*
14. *dPal rdo rje gzhon nu'i sgrub thabs 'bring po gzhan phan bdud rtsis chu rgyun*

**Appendix IIj:****A list of writings of Ngag-dbang-chos-grags (1572-1641)**

The list is contained in *Ngag-dbang-chos-grags Record*, fols. 77v-80v.

01. *'Jam dbyangs sa skya pañdi ta'i bla ma'i rnal 'byor gyi byin rlabs bya tshul*
02. *dBu ma lugs kyi sems bskyed cho ga theg chen sgo 'byed rgyal sras lam gyi rtsa ba*
03. *dPal rdo rje nag po chen po'i dbang gi cho ga bklags chog tu bkod pa*
04. *'Phags pa don yod zhags pa lha lnga'i rjes gnang go bde bklags chog*
05. *dPal mgon zhal gyi rjes gnang gi tho yig mun sel sgron me*
06. *Tshe dbang lcags stong ma'i phyag len 'chi med bdud rtsi bum bzang*
07. *rTa mgrin gsang bsgrub kyi sgrub thabs*
08. *(rTa mgrin gyi) rjes gnang*
09. *dPal mgon gdong gnyan can gyi rjes gnang go bde bklags chog*
10. *dPal mgon brtsegs zhal can gyi rjes gnang gi phyag bzhes gsal ba'i sgron me <fol 78r>*
11. *gShed dmar spros med kyi 'od gsal 'char ba'i byin rlabs kyi lag len khrigs chags su bkod pa*
12. *dPal lugs kyi phag mo skor gsum sogs kyi byin rlabs dang rjes gnang 'ga' yar gyi zin tho*
13. *rJe btsun ma ku ru ku lle'i gsang bsgrub lha lnga'i byin rlabs kyi cho ga gsal ba'i sgron me*
14. *dPal 'dod pa'i rgyal po gsang sngags sgra'i rjes gnang rgyas pa bklags chog tu bkod pa*

15. *dPal tshogs kyi bdag po dmar chen phyag bcu gnyis pa'i rjes gnang thun mongs ma yin pa'i phyag len khrigs chags 'dod dgu'i dpag bsam*
16. *rJe btsun sa skya pa'i gser chos dpal tshogs kyi bdag po'i khyad par gyi rjes gnang ma nor don tshangs gsal ba'i sgron me*
17. *gNyan lo tsa ba'i dbang gi lha gsum gyi rjes gnang bklags chog gsal ba'i sgron me*
18. *rJe btsun dzam lha dmar po brgyud pa lugs gnyis kyi sgrub thabs rjes gnang dang bcas pa'i phyag bzhes gsal ba'i sgron me*
19. *gSang khrid 'chad dus kyi mgon po lha dgu'i rjes gnang gnang bya tshul*
20. *rDo rje nag po chen po'i gur gyi mgon po'i chos skor gyi khog phub kyi snyan brgyud mdzes par byed pa'i rgyan*
21. *Phyi bsrung ba'i 'khor lo la rten nas bsgrub pa phyi'i brag rdzong ma'i khrid kyi yi ge 'dod dgu'i dpal ster*
22. *Nag po chen po'i gsang khrid kyi yi ge bla ma'i gsung bgros yid bzhin gyi nor bu <fol 78v>*
23. *dPal rdo rje 'jigs byed chen po rwa lugs kyi dbang gi cho ga las brtsams te dri ba rtog dpyod sprin gyi rnga gsang gi rang lan dpyid kyi rgyal po'i dga' ston legs bshad khu byug gi sgra dbyangs gsar pa (cf. TBRC W10279: 'Jigs byed bcu gsum ma'i skor [rwa lugs])<sup>406</sup>*
24. *dPal rdō rje 'jigs byed kyi dbang gi cho ga'i dka' gnas las brtsams te dris pa'i rang lan snying po 'jug tshugs (see no. 23)*
25. *dPal rdo rje 'jigs byed kyi bskyed pa'i rim pa'i rnam bshad bdud rtsi'i bum bzang bla ma dges pa'i mchod sprin (see no. 23)*
26. *rJe btsun bla ma sangs rgyas rgyal mtshan la brtan bzhugs rdo rje'i tshig mchog byin rlabs bdud rtsi'i zil dngar kun tu rgyas par byed pa*
27. *Mus chen sangs rgyas rgyal mtshan la bstod pa rdo rje'i brtan bzhugs lha'i rnga dbyangs 'chi med dpal ster*
28. *lHag pa'i lha gtsug tor rnam rgyal ma la bstod cing gsol ba gdab pa 'chi med 'dod dgu'i dpag bsam tshe rig bdud rtsi'i dpal sbyin*
29. *lHag pa'i lha gtsug tor rnam rgyal ma la bstod cing gsol ba gdab pa 'chi med 'did dgu'i dpal sbying*
30. *rJe btsun chos kyi rgyal po byams pa thugs rje dpal bzang po'i rnam thar ngo mtshar rin po che'i phreng ba (TBRC W10261)<sup>407</sup>*
31. *bKa' drin gzhal du ma mchis pa mkhan chen 'jam pa'i dbyangs dbang phyug dpal bzang po'i rnam thar rtogs pa brjod pa ngo mtshar yid bzhin gyi phreng ba dad pa'i dpal rgyun (TBRC W10262)<sup>408</sup>*
32. *Nai gu chos drug gi nyams len bsdu pa'i yi ge (cf. TBRC W10300)<sup>409</sup>*
33. *rGyud kyi spyi don tshul dang po gsum gyi rnam gzhas ston pa rgyud gsum la 'jug pa'i sgo*
34. *rGyud kyi spyi don tshul bzhi pa mngon rtogs kyi rnam gzhas ston pa rgyud gsum snying po'i legs bshad <fol 79r>*
35. *dPal dges pa rdo rje'i rgyud gsum dngos gzhi'i bshad pa khog phub gnad kyi lde mig*
36. *'Phags pa bzang po spyod pa smon lam gyi rgyal po'i rnam bshad theg pa chen po'i nyams len gnad kyi sgron me (cf. TBRC W10277: bZang po spyod pa'i ti ka)<sup>410</sup>*

<sup>406</sup> TBRC notes: Only a bibliographical record. The title(s) have not yet been found.

<sup>407</sup> TBRC notes: Only a bibliographical record. The title has not yet been found.

<sup>408</sup> TBRC notes: Only a bibliographical record. The title has not yet been found.

<sup>409</sup> TBRC notes: Only a bibliographical record. Most of the titles have not yet been found.

<sup>410</sup> TBRC notes: Only a bibliographical record. The title has not yet been found.

37. *rJe btsun rin po che grags pa rgyal mtshan la bstod pa yon tan rgya mtsho ma'i tshig don rnam bshad legs bshad nor bu'i phreng mdzes*
38. *mKhas pa'i bya ba rnam gsum las brtsams te bstan bcos chen po mkhas 'jug sgo'i dgongs pa spyi'i ngag gi ston pa legs bshad nor bu'i phreng mdzes*
39. *sDom pa gsum gyi rab tu dbye ba'i rnam bshad zla 'od nor bu (TBRC W10268)<sup>411</sup>*
40. *Bod kyi mkhas pa snga phyi [dag] gi grub mtha'i gshan 'byed mtha' dpyod dang bcas pa'i 'brel ['bel] pa'i gtam bskyel [skyes] dpyod ldan mkhas pa'i lus rgyan rin chen mdzes pa'i phra tshom [bkod pa] (TBRC W10305, vol. 3, text 1)<sup>412</sup>*
41. *dPal kyai rdo rje'i dbang gi skabs las brtsams te dri ba'i rang lan mkhas pa'i sna rgyan (cf. TBRC W10278: Kye rdor dang lam 'bras kyi dris lan)<sup>413</sup>*
42. *mChog gi rnam 'dren 'gyur med bde chen zhabs kyi lam 'bras bu dang bcas pa'i gzhung shing las brtsams te dris lan gnang ba'i zhus lan dpyod ldan rna ba'i rgyan (cf. TBRC W10278: Kye rdor dang lam 'bras kyi dris lan)<sup>414</sup>*
43. *gSung ngag rin po che'i lam 'bras bu dang bcas pa'i dka' ba'i gnas rnams las brtsams te dris pa'i rang lan gzur gnas drang po'i gtam bskyel bdud rtsi thigs phreng (cf. TBRC W10278: Kye rdor dang lam 'bras kyi dris lan)<sup>415</sup> <fol 79v>*
44. *dPal kyai rdo rje'i mngon rtogs lam dus 'bring rgyas gsum gyi rnam dbye bdud rtsi gtam bzang slob ma la phan pa*
45. *gSung ngag sngon 'gro'i khrid rim snang gsum snying po'i legs bshad (TBRC W29771)<sup>416</sup>*
46. *gSung ngag dngos gzhi'i khrid rim rgyud gsum snying po'i legs bshad (TBRC W28772)<sup>417</sup>*
47. *gSung ngag rin po che'i skabs kyi slob ma rjes mdzin mdzad tshul nyams su blangs bde ba*
48. *Tshar gsum khug pa'i byin rlabs bya tshul gsang chen chos kyi rnga chen*
49. *rJe btsun rdo rje bdag med ma'i byin rlabs bya tshul legs bshad gtam gyi bdud rtsi*
50. *Bla ma rin 'byung gi nyams len byin rlabs dang bcas pa'i yi ge 'dod dgu'i dpal 'byor ma lus pa'i 'byung gnas legs byas kyi rnga bo che*
51. *brDa don gsal ba dang lam sbas bshad*
52. *brDa chig brgyud*
53. *bsGrub pa lung sbyin*
54. *rNam 'joms bir lugs*
55. *Lam zab phyi nang*
56. *Bir bsrung phyi nang rnams kyi byin rlabs bya tshul*
57. *dPal 'khor lo bde mchog nag po spyod pa'i lugs kyi mngon rtogs nyams len tshul rgyas 'bring bsdus gsum gyi rims pa gsal ba*
58. *bDe mchog dkar po'i khrid sngon 'gro'i byin rlabs dang bcas pa'i zin bris pad dkar*
59. *bZhad pa'i phreng ba*
60. *dPal 'khor lo bde mchog gi chos skor las brtsams te dris pa'i rang lan legs bshad kun mud da'i tshal rab tu rgyas byed*

<sup>411</sup> Darjeeling, W.B.: Sakya Choepheling Monastery, 2000, vol. 5, 241 fols. (pp. 1-482); LCNN: 99-950881. Also: New Delhi: T.G. Dongthog Rimpoche, 1978, 579 pp.; LCNN: 908872.

<sup>412</sup> *mKhan chen Ngag dbang chos grags gyi pod chen drug gi 'grel pa phyogs sgrigs*, Dist. Darjeeling, W.B.: Sakya Choepheling, Guru Sakya Monastery, 2000-.

<sup>413</sup> TBRC notes: Only a bibliographical record. The title has not yet been found.

<sup>414</sup> TBRC notes: Only a bibliographical record. The title has not yet been found.

<sup>415</sup> TBRC notes: Only a bibliographical record. The title has not yet been found.

<sup>416</sup> Dehradun, U.P.: Sakya Centre, 1985, vol. 5, pp. 219-282; LCCN: 85-903443. TBRC has digital scans.

<sup>417</sup> Dehradun, U.P.: Sakya Centre, 1985, vol. 5, pp. 287-399; LCCN: 85-903443. TBRC has digital scans.

61. *dPal 'khor lo bde mchog dril bu pa'i rim pa lnga'i khrid rims sngon 'gro'i byin rlabs dang bcas pa* <fol 80r>
62. *Shrī sa skya pa sngags 'chang ngag dbang kun dga' bsod nams kyi 'khor lo bde mchog gi skor la dri ba zhus pa'i lan mkhan chen thams cad mkhyen pa ngag dbang chos grags nyid kyi mdzad pa*
63. *dPal kyai rdo rje'i man ngag lugs kyi dbang gi cho ga'i dka' gnas la dogs slong dpyod ldan yid kyi dga' ston*
64. *rJe btsun rdo rje rnal 'byor ma'i khrid rims bla ma'i gsung bgros dngos grub myur 'gyogs kyi pho nya*
65. *rNal 'byor gsang mtha'i lam srol lū nag dril gsum gyi sngon du 'gro ba'i spyi don gyi bshad pa'i zin bris bde chen zhal gyi thigs phreng*
66. *dPal 'khor lo bde mchog nag po lugs kyi bskyed pa'i rims pa'i rnam par bshad pa'i zin bris bde chen zhal gyi thigs phreng* (cf. TBRC W10294: *bDe nchog lū nag dril gsum gyi bskyed rdzogs*)<sup>418</sup>
67. *Phyag rgya chen po bsam mi khyab dang ngag dbang grags pa'i lugs kyi byin rlabs kyi yi ge bklags chog tu bkod pa*
68. *Lam 'bras rdo rje tshig gi 'grel pa gnyag ma'i dgongs don gsal bar byed pa gsung ngag bstan pa'i nyin byed*
69. *dPal 'khor lo bde mchog nag po lugs kyi bskyed pa'i rims pa'i bshad khrid rje bla ma mus pa chen po'i gsung rgyun* (cf. TBRC W10294: *bDe nchog lū nag dril gsum gyi bskyed rdzogs*)<sup>419</sup>
70. *dPal gsang ba 'dus pa mi bskyod pa'i dbang bka' gsar rnying gi dogs dpyod blo gsal nye 'kho'i legs bshad ya rab mkhas pa'i gtam bskyel* (cf. TBRC W10296: *gSang 'dus 'phags lugs skor*)<sup>420</sup>
71. *dPal gsang ba 'dus pa'i chos kyi 'byung tshul mdo tsam dang bskyed rdzogs kyi nyams len 'gos lugs gtsang ma yid 'phrog lha'i rol mo* (see above) <fol 80v>
72. *Lam 'bras brgyud pa'i gsol 'debs*
73. *rJe btsun rin po che dang grub chen thang stong rgyal po sogs la gsol ba 'debs kyi yi ge*
74. *rJe rang nyid kyi rtsa ba'i bla ma rnams kyi sku bstod* (“many [works]”)
75. *Dris lan chab shog*

Furthermore the reading transmission for the cycle of pith instructions (*zhal gdams kyi skor*) together with most (of the works) of the collected writings.

<sup>418</sup> TBRC notes: Only a bibliographical record. The title has not yet been found.

<sup>419</sup> TBRC notes: Only a bibliographical record. The title has not yet been found.

<sup>420</sup> TBRC notes: Only a bibliographical record. The title has not yet been found.



## Translation of the NOTES

With regard to the way of entering the writings of the glorious Sa-skyapa, at first one studies the FOUR GREAT TREATISES that are like gates or are endowed with the characteristic of a gate, dwells in the FOUR GREAT TRANSMISSIONS and, having polished [ones learning], one engages in the activities of a scholar through studying, reflecting, and practicing. These are the stages of entering the path.

The first of these [stages] is that one has to study the FOUR GREAT TREATISES. [The first is] the commentary on the root—Lord rTse-mo's [*Yi ge'i bklag thabs byis pa bde blag tu 'jug pa*]—namely the Dharma Lord Sa Paṅ's *Byis pa 'jug pa'i sgo*, the treatise that teaches primarily such things as the long and short [vowels of the Tibetan] letters and orthography. Thereafter one should study the treatise by the same rTse-mo, the *Chos la 'jug pa'i sgo*, which teaches such things as how the teacher appeared [in the world], how his teachings emerged and how to enter them. After that one should study yet another [work] by rTse-mo, the *rGyud la 'jug pa'i sgo*, a treatise, being a general systematic presentation of the tantra classes, which makes known the respective ultimate realities of all sūtras and tantras. And following that one should study the Dharma Lord Sa Paṅ's *mKhas pa 'jug sgo*, a treatise that provides a systematic presentation of teaching, writing, and debating.

Having studied like that, one should dwell afterwards in the FOUR GREAT TRANSMISSIONS. These are the transmission from (A) 'Brog-mi Lo-tsā-ba to the glorious, great Sa-skyapa of the NINE PATH-CYCLES such as the Path with Its Fruit together with the instructions of the THREE HEVAJRA TANTRAS, namely the INCONCEIVABLE PITH INSTRUCTIONS; (B) inconceivable pith instructions such as of Lū's, Kṛṣṇa's, and Ghaṅṭā's Cakrasaṃvara [transmission], the three cycles of the black Yamāri, and a cycle of Mahākāla, etc., from Mal Lo-tsā-ba Blo-gros-grags-pa; (C) inconceivable pith instructions such as of major and minor yogas and cycles of Dharma protectors from dGun-blon Lo-tsā-ba Rin-chen-bzang-po through Bla-ma Yon-tan-tshul-khrims; and (D) inconceivable pith instructions chiefly of such things as the *sGrub thabs brgya rtsa* from Ba-ri Lo-tsā-ba Rin-chen-grags.

(A) Regarding at this occasion the identification of the first of these, the stages of the path of Hevajra [with] nine deities, which is the foremost gradual path that was handed down by the great 'Brog-mi, this involves (A1) identifying where in the vehicles of sūtra and tantra [the Hevajra teachings] are realized, (A2) analyzing how many systems [of instructions] appeared within the identified [vehicle], (A3) identifying the [one] miraculous system within these systems, and (A4) how that identified path is established. (A1) Regarding the first it is said in the *gNad kyi gsal byed*:

From within the teachings of the Sugata, mahāyāna, mantra, [and] tantra;

with regard to the four tantra classes, the supreme inseparable *uttara[tantra]*.

With regard to that, “teachings of the Sugata” shows that this tradition is included within the teachings in the “inner” from among the “outer and inner.” “Mahāyāna” indicates it as the “great” from within the “small and great vehicle.” “Mantra [and] tantra” denotes that it is the “resultant mantra vehicle” from among the “causal and resultant [vehicle]” within the great vehicle. “With regard to the four tantra classes, the supreme” shows that it is included within the “supreme yoga [tantras]” from among the “four great tantra classes,” which [make up] the resultant mantra vehicle. “Inseparable *uttara[tantra]*” [shows that] it is the “inseparable tantra” from among “father, mother, and inseparable,” which [make up] the *uttara[tantra]*, i.e. Hevajra.

In which way do we identify within such a system [what], in general, exists as a tantra taught by the Buddha, is translated into Tibetan and concerns us in our present context? In general, it is taught that the manner in which the Buddha taught [this system] is the [set of] fourteen tantras, namely the extensive basic tantra of 700.000 [*ślokas*], the summarized one of 500.000 [*ślokas*], the *uttaratantra*, *Phyag chen thig le*, the *uttarottaratantra*, *Ye shes snying po thig le*, the uncommon *vyākhyātantra*, *Ye shes thig le*, the common *vyākhyātantra*, *dPal sam bu ti* of 136.000 [*ślokas*], the essential tantra, *sGrub pa nges bstan thig le*, the resultant tantra, *De kho na nyid sgron ma thig le*, the *brTag pa gnyis pa* and the *rDo rje gur*, both of which arose from the basic tantra of 500.000 [*ślokas*], the *dPal kha sbyor gyi rgyud*, *rDo rje a ra li*, *sNyog pa med pa'i a ra li*, and *Rigs kyi a ra li*, all four of which arose from the *Samputa* of 136.000 [*ślokas*]. From among these, the three extensive tantras *Gur*, *brTag* and *Sam*, the five medium ones of the *Thig le* cycle, and the three summarized ones of the *A ra li* cycle were translated into Tibetan. In our present context, from among these we are concerned with the *Gur*, *brTag* and *Sam*.

(A2) In analyzing how many systems [of instructions] appeared, generally, in India, the land of the noble ones, there appeared one INCONCEIVABLE SYSTEM, but in Tibetan translation appeared six perfect gradual paths that were the gradual instructions of the SIX GREAT CHARIOT SYSTEMS and two [systems] that appeared from the lineages of pith instructions, [i.e. together] eight. The first six of these are the cycles of (A2a) Ḍombī, (A2b) mTsho-skyes, (A2c) Nag-po Dam-tshig-rdo-rje, (A2d) Shanti-pa, (A2e) sNyang-grags bZang-po, and (A2f) gNylis-med-rdo-rje or “Avadhūti’s cycle.”

(A2a) How many collection of primary and secondary texts exist for the first? The commentary on the basic tantra, *Ku mu ti*, the maṇḍala ritual *bZang po yongs bzung*, the six-limbed evocation ritual of the nine deities, the evocation ritual of the fifteen female deities, the *Gur rigs bsdus kyi sgrub thabs*, the *rDzogs rim gtum mo'i 'grel chung*, and the *'Byung po thams cad pa'i gtor ma'i cho ga* are called *Seven Basic Texts* by *Mi-thub-zla-ba*. [Furthermore]: the *sGrub thabs rin chen 'bar ba*, the *Dran pa gcig pa'i sgrub thabs*, the two evocation rituals of the single *vīra*, the *sGrub thabs bdud rtsi 'od* and the *rDzogs rim lhan cig skyes grub*. The *Basic Texts that are Limbs* are the *De kho na nyid bcu pa*, the *Phyag mtshan gyi dag pa*, the *Tshogs 'khor dang tshogs 'khor gyi bslab bya 'du ba sgrag pa*, the two basic *sNgags don* works, the *sByin bsreg* and the *Man ngag gi ro bsreg*. These are twenty-one basic texts.

(A2b) mTsho-skyes’s cycle comprises such [works] as the commentary on the basic tantra, *Padma can*, the maṇḍala ritual *Nas gling ma*, the evocation ritual of mTso-skyes, the gaṇacakra *Dam tshig lnga pa*, and the praise in twenty verses.

(A2c) Nag-po-pa’s cycle comprises such [works] as the commentary on the basic tantra, the *Rin chen sbyor ba'i phreng ba*, a commentary on the basic text of the maṇḍala ritual, the evocation ritual *De nyid gsal ba*, the evocation ritual of the single *vīra* with sixteen arms, the evocation ritual of the single *vīra* with two arms, two *sādhana* of the *yum*, a basic text of the *rDzogs rim*, the *Rab gnas tshul bzang mo*, a gaṇacakra, a praise, a burnt offering and a [ritual for] burning corpses. Until here [these writings] are called the THIRTY-NINE [WORKS] OF GREAT IMPORTANCE. The transmissions of the initiation, teachings etc. of these three systems are said to remain within the [lineage of the] Sa-skyapa-complete and without error until the present day.

(A2d) The cycle of Shānti-pa comprises such [writings] as the commentary on the basic tantra, *Mu tig phreng ba*, the maṇḍala ritual *He ru ka 'byung ba*, the basic text of the *'Khrul spong* evocation ritual, the commentary on the *'Khrul spong* evocation ritual, the invocation ritual of the *yum*, and the basic text and commentary on the *rDzogs rim lhan cig skyes pa'i dga'*

*ba la yang dag sbyor ba*. It is taught that the initiations, instructions etc. of this [cycle] do not remain within the glorious Sa-skyapa tradition.

(A2e) The cycle of sNyan-grags-bzang-po is taught to consist of the commentary on the basic tantra, known as the *Na ro 'grel chen*. You may think that this system is not fully complete, but it is! This commentary is taught to contain the basic text [of the] stage of production and perfection together with the limbs in faded ink. Some assert that this commentary was composed by Jo-bo Na-ro-ta-pa, but that is not correct, as its colophon states: “Written by the Bhikṣu sNyan-grags-bzang-po, who was born in Kashmir,” and because the time of the two does not coincide, since the feet of this bhikṣu were touched by the glorious Lotsā-ba Chos-kyi-bzang-po, who is said [to have lived] at the same time as the Dharma Lord Sa-pan. It is taught that the transmissions of instructions etc. of this system remain in the Sa-skyapa [tradition].

(A2f) The cycle of Avadhūtipa comprises [writings] such as the maṇḍala ritual *dBang gi rab byed*, the evocation ritual *rNam par dag pa'i gter*, the evocation ritual of the *yum*, and the basic text and commentary on the stage of perfection, *lTa ba ngan sel*, [and] the twenty-four basic texts of *A ma na se*. It is taught that nowadays the transmissions of the initiations etc. of this system do not remain in Tibet.

Furthermore [the following writings] remain [in Tibet?], namely the commentary by Bodhisattva rDo-rje-snying-po on the first part of the *brTag pa gnyis pa*, the commentary on the second part by Paṇḍita rDo-rje-snying-po, the commentary by Padma'i-myu-gu, the commentary by Paṇḍita Nag-po, the commentary by Kāmadhenu, the commentary by Bhavabhāṣa, and the commentary by Dharmakāśa.

Furthermore, the EIGHT MINOR COMMENTARIES CONNECTED WITH 'BROG-MI ARE the *Gleng gzhi'i 'grel pa*, the large and small abhisamaya of the basic [tantra?], the two *Dur khrod* commentaries, large and small, the *brDa'i 'grel pa*, and the two commentaries of the *rDo rje'i glu*, large and small. Moreover, even though these evocation rituals by Byang-chub-snying-po etc. are minor inconceivable works, these fully complete paths complete the above mentioned six great chariots.

The first of the two [systems that are] based on the transmission of pith instructions is the following. Mar-pa lHo-brag-pa requested from Jo-bo Na-ro-ta-pa the basic tantra *brTag pa gnyis*, the *mKha' 'gro ma rdo rje gur*, the *rDo rje gdan bzhi*, and the *Mahāmāya* and these became known as the FOUR GREAT PILLARS OF MARPA. He received the seven *Nang sel* maṇḍalas of these, etc., returned to Tibet and bestowed them on the great Mes-ston and so forth. Mes-ston bestowed them on 'Khon sGyi-chu-ba dGra-lha-'bar and the latter on the great Sa-skyapa. The transmission of these, broken off after Sa-chen, are said to be nonexistent.

Furthermore, the transmission that was bestowed on rNgog-ston Chos-kyi-rdo-rje of the basic text that was composed by Mar-pa lHo-brag-pa himself remains uninterrupted until the present day and the manuals belonging to it, too, namely the commentary composed by rNgog Chos-rdor, the *Rin po che'i rgyan*, and the one composed by his disciple, the *Rin po che'i rgyan 'dra*, the commentary composed by the great Mes-ston, the commentary composed by Ram-sding-ma-ba Sangs-rgyas-'byung-gnas-rdo-rje, the commentary composed by lDum(?) -ston Blo-gros-grags, the commentary composed by rNgog Thogs-med-grags, and the commentary composed by Ru-mtshams-kyi-skyobs-pa Ag-skyo-bhya, and so forth, exist.

Moreover, the inconceivable collection of writings such as the ritual of the ripening initiation, the evocation ritual with six limbs, and the *rDzogs rim sde 'pho'i gdams ngag* exist and they are taught to be a system of a fully complete path. Still furthermore there exists [that which is] known as the dPal system of Hevajra. He received it from a Bla-ma Pham-thing-pa brother and

thus it is subsumed under the system of Jo-bo Na-ro-ta-pa. Therefore, with respect to the lineage, it is said to be not different from Mar-pa[‘s transmission].

(A3) The second transmission of pith instructions is that, which was transmitted from the Lord of Yogis Virūpa to the Kṛṣṇa of the East and how many writings of this system appeared and so forth is taught below. Regarding the identifying of the [one] miraculous system within these systems, it is the last of the eight great systems. But what is the reason that this system is more miraculous and more special than the other paths? (A3a) It is more special than others through the way how it is supported on the tantras, (A3b) it is more special through the way it expounds the tantras, and (A3c) it is more special through the pith instruction that emerged from the teaching. (A3a) It is more special through the way how it is supported on the tantras since while some of the above systems, which are not supported on the tantras, are apparently merely fragmentary, and while some, even though they are [partly] supported, appear to be not supported on the full perfection [arising] from whichever basic and vyākhyā [tantra exists], this [system] is supported on all three, [i.e.] the basic [tantra] and [both] vyākhyā tantras.

Isn’t it the case that the above [systems] are not supported [on all three tantras] because regarding being supported on any one of the basic and vyākhyā tantras without being supported completely on all three tantras, it is not necessary to be supported [completely]? While it is not so, it is necessary to be supported on all three! The reason is that apart from being merely briefly taught, the stage of production and perfection does not exist in the basic tantra. Of these the detailed stage of production is taught in the *rDo rje gur* and the detailed stage of perfection is taught in the *Sam pu ti*. Therefore one must be supported on all three tantras.

(A3b) With regard to being more special through the way it expounds the tantras, while some expound the tantras like evocation rituals and some expound the evocation rituals like tantras, etc., here the tantras are expounded like tantras.

(A3c) It is more special also through the pith instruction that emerged from the teaching, because here we possess such a treatise as the *Rin po che’i ljon shing* that teaches the systematic presentation of the FIFTY-SEVEN CLEAR REALIZATIONS, which are the distinctions of the three clear realizations arising from the blending of the intentions of the three tantras into one. Such a treatise was not taught even by the earlier superior ones. “Even taught,” it is said, “[it?] did not emerge(?)”

(A4) There are four ways how that identification is established. (A4a) For the sake of that to be known, namely the collection of basic texts or the systematic presentation of the general tenets, one enters into the EXPLICATION OF THE COMMON BASIC TEXTS, (A4b) for the sake of that to be ascertained, namely the practice and experience, one enters into the STAGES OF THE UNCOMMON PITH INSTRUCTIONS, (A4c) in order to expand on that and clear away erroneous notions, one enters into the *sDom pa gsum gyi rab tu dbye ba*, and (A4d) having combined the intentions of that into a single [intention], one establishes the successive path that blends all three together.

(A4a) Entering the succession of the COMMON BASIC TEXTS, one receives and studies the collections of basic texts that are included within the group of twenty-eight treatises, which are summarized as the FOUR TYPES OF REQUIREMENTS. Now, the FOUR TYPES OF REQUIREMENTS are these: required for the tantras in general, required for the respective three tantras, required for pith instructions in general, and required for the concealed yogic-ascetic practices. The twenty-eight treatises are such that there are (A4a1) seven basic texts that are required for the three tantras in general, (A4a2) six basic texts are required for the respective three tantras, (A4a3) fourteen basic texts are required for pith instructions in general, and (A4a4) one basic

text is required for the concealed yogic-ascetic practices. (A4a1) Of these the first seven basic texts are such as is taught [in the following verse]:

Do not allow the seven basic texts that are required, [namely]  
 the *rGyud sde'i dum bu*, the *rNam gzhaḡ*, the *mNgon rtogs*,  
 the *sTong thun gnyis kyi bsduḡ don*, the two praises,  
 and the *bDag med bstod pa'i rnam 'grel* to become scattered.

The first of these is the *rGyud sde'i dum bu*, composed by the great Sa-skyapa. In it there are said to appear one-hundred and fifty fragments from the tantras that are the root of all FOUR [PRECEDING] WAYS [THROUGH WHICH TANTRAS ARE EXPLICATED(?)] and one-hundred and ten(?) fragments from the tantras that are the root of just the *mNgon rtogs ljon shing*. The *rNam gzhaḡ* are the *rGyud sde bzhi rnam* composed by the great Sa-skyapa and the great *sPyi rnam* by rJe rTse-mo. The *mNgon rtogs* is the *Rin po che'i ljon shing* by the great rJe-btsun. The *sTong thun gnyis kyi bsduḡ don* was composed by the great rJe-btsun. The two praises are the *Yab kyi bstod pa daṅa ka* and the *Yum gyi bstod pa dri ma med pa'i rgyan*, both of which were composed by the great rJe-btsun. The *bDag med bstod pa'i rnam 'grel* was composed by the Dharma Lord Sa-paṅ.

(A4a2) With regard to the six basic texts required for the respective three tantras, it is like the following statement:

You must take the commentaries, including summaries,  
 of the respective three tantras in whichever order you like(?).  
 Thus, having studied those thirteen [works] well,  
 by analyzing them, you will understand the three tantras.

Here the commentaries on the basic tantra are the *dKa' 'grel mngon rtogs* by Sa-chen, the *Nyi ma'i 'od zer* by rJe rTse-mo, the *rNam bshad dag ldan* by the great rJe-btsun, and the *bsDus don* by Sa-chen, the *bsDus don* by the great rJe-btsun together with its extension by the Dharma Lord, the great Paṅ[ḡita]; on the *mKha' 'gro ma rdo rje gur* the *Don gyi chings* of rJe Sa-chen and his *Zin bris* [together with] interlinear notes, the commentary by the great rJe-btsun, *Gur rgyan*, and his topical outline; on the *Sam pu ti* the *brTag pa phyi ma* by rJe Sa-chen, which combines two writings, the commentary by rJe rTse-mo, *gNad kyi gsal byed*, his topical outline and the addendum on means and insight.

(A4a3) Regarding the fourteen basic texts required for the pith instructions, it is like in the following statement:

The fourteen [teachings] to be practiced  
 by everyone, starting from the beginners, are  
 the ripening, the systematic presentation of transgressions, the four evocation rituals,  
 the consecration, the burnt offering, the gaṅacakra ritual,  
 the vajra-ghaṅṅa-mālā, the filling-pouring [ladle],  
 and the *Tha ma'i cho ga mchod rten sgrub*.

Regarding the first of these, namely ripening, it is the *dBang gi chu bo chen mo* composed by rJe rTse-mo; the systematic presentation of transgressions is the *rTsa ltung 'khrul spong* composed by rJe-btsun, the four evocation rituals are the extensive evocation ritual of the *Yab*, the *Yan lag bzhi pa*, composed by rTse-mo, the medium [length] *Yan lag drug pa* composed by rJe-btsun, the abbreviated one [with] instantaneous [stage of] production composed by rJe-btsun, and the evocation ritual of the *Yum* composed by rJe-btsun. The consecration [ritual] is the *bZang drug* by rJe-btsun's brother. The burnt offering as well as the burnt offering of the four activities is by both brothers. The gaṅacakra are the medium gaṅacakra composed by rJe-btsun and Sa-paṅ's elimination of objections. There is one manual that is a systematic

presentation of vajra and ghaṇṭa, which is known as rJe-btsun's. With regard to that, there is an error concerning the name "rJe-btsun." It is said that in reality it appears to be composed by rJe-btsun Mar-pa. Look at what is contained in the systematic presentation of vajra and ghaṇṭa of our own system in the *gNad kyi gsal byed*. For the filling ladle and pouring ladle, look at the contents of the *Las bzhi'i sbyin sreg*. The *Tha ma'i cho ga mchod rten sgrub* is the *gZhan phan bdud rtsi* by rJe-btsun.

(A4a4) Furthermore, with regard to the basic text required for the concealed yogic-ascetic practices, [a verse says]:

Body ornaments, drinking cup, articles to be held,  
ritual musical instruments, seat, garments to wear,  
these become fourteen [topics]

if you analyze the *He ru ka dpal chas drug*.

The writing that is referred to is the basic text called *He ru ka dpal chas drug* composed by rJe-btsun.

(A4b) With regard to entering the stages of the uncommon pith instructions, one studies and reflects in the full set of the SIXTY BASIC TEXTS that are summarized by the FOUR AUTHENTICITIES as they are stated in the title list of the pith instructions. These FOUR AUTHENTICITIES are (A4b1) the GURU-AUTHENTICITY, (A4b2) the EXPERIENCE-AUTHENTICITY, (A4b3) the TREATISE-AUTHENTICITY, and (A4b4) the AUTHORITATIVE STATEMENTS OF THE SUGATA-AUTHENTICITY. The SIXTY BASIC TEXTS are as follows.

(A4b1) At first, within the section of the GURU-AUTHENTICITY, there are the *Bla ma rgya gar ba* and the writings of Tibetan biographies; (A4b2) within the section of the EXPERIENCE-AUTHENTICITY there are twenty-nine works, namely (A4b2a) the FOUR GREAT FUNDAMENTAL INSTRUCTIONS, (A4b2b) the FIVE TEACHINGS FOR PRODUCING REALIZATION, (A4b2c) the SEVENTEEN WRITINGS THAT ISSUED [FROM THE BASIC TEXT], and (A4b2d) the THREE WRITINGS OF THE THREE, i.e. the PROFOUND, MIDDLING, [AND ABBREVIATED] PATHS.

(A4b2a) Now, the FOUR GREAT FUNDAMENTAL INSTRUCTIONS are the *gZhung ji lta ba bzhin bkri ba'i [gzhung]*, the *dBang po rab 'bring gsum gyi bkri ba'i [gzhung]*, the *gDams ngag gi gnad drug gi bkri ba'i [gzhung shing]*, and the *gDams ngag gi gnad bcu gcig gi bkri ba'i [gzhung shing]*. (A4b2b) The FIVE TEACHINGS FOR PRODUCING REALIZATION are the *Lam 'jug ldog*, the *Shes pas phan 'dogs pa'i man ngag gi gnad bdun*, the *Pyi nang gi lam bsre ba 'gros bzhi dang bcas*, and the *Phyi nang gi mdzad pa bcu gnyis*. (A4b2c) The first section of the SEVENTEEN WRITINGS THAT ISSUED [FROM OTHER TEACHINGS] are the FOUR WRITINGS FOR ELIMINATING IMPEDIMENTS. These are the *bSam gtan 'od zer ba'i 'phrang bdun*, the *Byung rgyal du mi btang ba'i gnad bzhi*, the *'Byung lus 'khrugs rlung dang spyod lam gyi gsal ba*, and the *rNal 'byor gyi 'phrin las sum cu rtsa gnyis*. The section [called] RIPENING comprises the *gDan stsogs kyi yi ge*, the *dBang gi chu bo chen mo*, *mChog dbang gsum grol lam la brten te bskur ba'i yi ge*, and the *dBang gi man ngag gi gnad kyi yi ge*. For the VIEW section there is the *'Khor 'das dbyer med rtsa 'grel*. Within the SAMAYA section there are *bSrung ba'i dam tshig gi rtsa ltung 'khrul spong* and the *bZa' ba'i dam tshig tshogs kyi 'khor lo*. The section of the STAGE OF PRODUCTION comprises the *Yab kyi sgrub thabs rgyas pa yan lag bzhi pa*, the *'Bring po yan lag drug pa*, the *bsDus pa skad cig bsklyed pa*, the *Yum gyi sgrub thabs* and the *sByin sreg gi yi ge*. And in the section of the SECRET INITIATION is the *Yum gyi byin rlabs*. (A4b2d) The THREE WRITINGS OF THE THREE are the *'Bring po rtsa ba med pa'i yi ge*, the *bsDus pa sgrub pa'i lung sbyin pa*, and the *Zab mo bla ma'i rnal 'byor*. These are together twenty-nine works.

(A4b3) The section AUTHENTICITY OF TREATISE comprises the commentary, i.e. the *gNyag ma*, the twenty-two clarifications, and the summarized meaning of the *rDo rje'i tshig rkang*. These are twenty-four works. (A4b4) The section of the AUTHENTICITY OF THE SUGATA'S AUTHORITATIVE STATEMENTS contains the FOUR GREAT COLLECTIONS OF AUTHORITATIVE STATEMENTS, namely the *Lung 'di nyid dang zhib tu sbyar ba*, the *Lung 'di nyid mdor bsdu te sbyar ba*, *Lung mtha' dag dang mdor bsdu te sbyar ba*, and the *mTha' dag dang zhib tu sbyar ba*. A [further] single writing is the *dMar chung gi dkar chag*.

(A4c) In order to expand on the previous sections, one enters into the *sDom gsum gyi rab tu dbye ba* by studying and reflecting on the following works: The *Rang mchan*, the *Phyogs bcu'i sangs rgyas la 'phrin du zhu ba*, the *sKyes bu dam pa la springs pa yig*, and the *dKar phyogs kyi lha rnam la springs yig*, i.e. the three epistles, and the *Chag lo'i dris lan*, the *Do gor ba'i dris lan*, and the *Nam mkha' 'bum gyi dris lan*, i.e. the three replies to questions.

(A4d) With regard to the path that blends these three together, in general, by the way of authoritative statements, reasoning, and pith instructions, through each of the three successive paths mentioned above a fully complete path with limbs is revealed. However, when speaking of main emphasis, since the first successive path endows one with authoritative statements and teaches a comprehensive explanation of the path, the second successive path endows one with pith instructions and teaches the stages of the practice, and the third successive path endows one with reasoning and cuts off the doubts concerning the path, the three paths should be combined into one. By being combined like that, there emerge two [paths], namely (A4d1) the extensive path for leading the person who is a SUCCESSIVE ENGAGER and (A4d2) the summarized path for leading the SIMULTANEOUS ENGAGER.

(A4d1) The extensive successive path has ten writings that arrange its contents(?). Which are they? They are the *mNgon rtogs ljon shing*, the *rGyud sde spyi rnam*, and the clarifying replies, [all of] which establish the extensive path in the manner of a comprehensive explanation. [Furthermore] the *dBang gi chu bo chen mo*, *gZhung ji lta ba bzhin bkri ba'i gzhung*, and the *dBang po rab 'bring gsum gyi bkri ba'i gzhung*, which establish the extensive path by way of being endowed with mental images. [Moreover] the *Bir bsrung thun mong ma yin pa'i gdams ngag*, the *brDa don gsal ba*, and the *rTsa sngags gzhi bshad*, which establish the extensive path by way of symbols. [Finally] the *sDom gsum rab dbye* establishes the extensive path, summarizing the systematic presentation of the three observances.

(A4d2) The writings that arrange the contents(?) with regard to the SUMMARIZED PATH OF SIMULTANEOUS ENGAGEMENT are the inconceivable writings such as the *gDams ngag gi gnad drug gi bkri ba*, the *bCu gcig gi dkri ba*, the *Lam 'bring po rtsa ba med pa*, the *bsDus pa sgrub pa lung sbyin*, and the *Zab mo bla ma'i rnal 'byor*, and these [writings, which are] a summary of the SUCCESSIVE PATH, which has been thus classified [through the present work?], are again included within [the writings of the] EXTENSIVE PATH. And these [writings of the] EXTENSIVE PATH, again, [are such that] the paths that consist of the basic writings are included within the *lJon shing*, the writings of the pith instructions are included within the *gZhung ji lta ba bzhin bkri ba'i gzhung shing*, and the writings that cut off doubts are included within the systematic presentation of the three observances.

The doubts regarding the four CLEAR REALIZATIONS in the context of the [UNIVERSAL FUNDAMENT OF THE] CAUSAL CONTINUITY of the *lJon shing* [and] the refuge, the poṣadha, the seven classes(?) of the prātimokṣa from the CONTINUITY OF METHOD section [which are] the comprehensive explanation of the fourteen CLEAR REALIZATIONS are cut off through the first section of the *sDom gsum rab dbye*; the doubts concerning the *gZhung ji lta ba bzhin bkri ba'i gzhung shing*, i.e. the practice in the context of the impure appearances, and furthermore of the

un arisen production of the resolve during(?) the *lJon shing* and the comprehensive explanation of the view of the four CLEAR REALIZATIONS of the view [section] are cut off through the second section of the *sDom gsum rab dbye*; the doubts regarding the experience of the common *gZhung shing*, i.e. the practices in the context of [the three?] appearances(?), and furthermore the seven CLEAR REALIZATIONS in the context of the ripening initiation of Hevajra and the comprehensive explanations of the path of the eleven CLEAR REALIZATIONS in the context of the liberating path are cut off through the third section of the *sDom gsum rab dbye*; the doubts concerning the experiences of appearances of the uncommon *gZhung* and the practices in the context of the practice path of the three tantras, and furthermore the comprehensive explanations of the seventeen CLEAR REALIZATIONS in the context of the resultant [section of the] *lJon shing* are cut off through the section pertaining to the result of the *sDom gsum [rab dbye]*—[all this, being] the manner of including and blending into one like that [i.e. as explained in the previous paragraph], are practiced in the context of the result of the three appearances of the *lJon shing* and the result of [its] three continua.<sup>421</sup>

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<sup>421</sup> The colophon of this work, which is documented in the Tibetan text below and in my *Life, Transmissions, and Works of A-mes-zhabs Ngag-dbang-kun-dga'-bsod-nams, the Great 17th Century Sa-skyapa Bibliophile*, states that A-mes-zhabs composed this as an arrangement in accordance with the intention of Chos-dpal-bzang-po's scripture, through which the latter, a direct disciple of Ngor-chen Kun-dga'-bzang-po, had written down a teaching of Ngor-chen. Since this work is not mentioned in the title lists of A-mes-zhabs' works, it must have been compiled after 1648.



## Appendix IIIb

### Tibetan Text of the NOTES

Title: rJe btsun sa skya pa'i gsung rab la 'jug tshul legs par bshad pa'i yi ge bod yul 'gro kun bsgrod pa'i chos sgo phyogs brgyar ring du phye ba

Homage: na mo gu ru tsakra nā tha buddha dhwa dza ye,

Promise to compose: dpal ldan bla ma mchog la rab btud nas,, sa skya'i rje btsun mams kyi gsung rab la,, 'jug tshul chos sgo phyogs brgyar bskal pa'i bar,, ring du phye ba'i legs bshad 'dir spel lo,,

de la 'dir dpal ldan sa skya pa'i gsung rab la 'jug pa'i tshul la,, thog mar sgo dang 'dra ba'am sgo'i mtshan dang ldan pa'i bstan bcos chen po bzhi la bslab nas, bka' babs chen po bzhi la gnas te, sdom rig gnyis kyis byi dor byas nas, thos bsam bsgom gsum gyis mkhas pa'i bya ba gsum la brtson par byed pa ni lam la 'jug pa'i rim pa'o,,

de'i dang po bstan bcos chen po bzhi ni, rtsa ba rje rtse mos mdzad pa'i 'grel pa, chos rje sa paṅ gyis mdzad pa'i byis pa <2r> 'jug pa'i sgo zhes bya ba yi ge'i ring thung dang sgra'i sdeb sbyor sogs gtso bor ston par byed pa'i bstan bcos de nyid la bslab par bya'o,, de'i rjes su rtse mo nyid kyis mdzad pa'i chos la 'jug pa'i sgo zhes bya ba dang por ston pa'i byon tshul, de'i bstan pa 'byung tshul de la 'jug pa'i tshul la sogs pa ston par byed pa'i bstan bcos de la bslab par bya'o,, de'i rjes su yang rtse mo nyid kyis mdzad pa'i rgyud la 'jug pa'i sgo zhes bya ba mdo rgyud mtha' dag gi gnas lugs so sor shes par byed pa'i bstan bcos rgyud sde spyi'i mnam par bzhag pa la bslab par bya'o,, de'i rjes su chos rje sa paṅ gyis mdzad pa'i mkhas pa 'jug sgo zhes bya ba 'chad rtsod rtsom gsum gyi mnam gzhang ston par byed pa'i bstan bcos chen po de la <2v> bslab par bya'o,,

de ltar bslab nas, de'i rjes su bka' bab chen po bzhi la gnas par bya ba ni, (A) dpal sa skya pa chen po nyid la 'brog mi lo tsā ba nas lam 'bras la sogs lam skor dgu kyai rdor rgyud gsum gyi bshad bka' dang bcas pa bsam gyi mi khyab pa'i gdams ngag gi bka' babs pa dang, (B) mal lo tsā ba blo gros grags pa nas bde mchog lū nag dril gsum dang, gshin rje gshed nag po skor gsum la sogs pa'i gdams ngag dang, mgon po'i bskor la sogs pa bsam gyi mi khyab pa cig babs pa dang, (C) dgun blon lo tsā ba rin chen bzang po nas brgyud pa, bla ma yon tan tshul khirms nas yo ga che chung dang chos skyong gi skor la sogs pa bsam gyi mi khyab pa cig babs pa dang, (D) ba ri lo tsā ba rin chen grags nas sgrub thabs brgya rtsa la sogs pa'i bya spyod gtso bor gyur pa'i gdams ngag bsam gyi mi khyab pa cig babs pa rnams yin no,,

(A) de la 'dir de rnams kyi dang po 'brog mi chen po nas babs pa'i kyai rdo rje'i lam rim gtso bor gyur pa'i dges pa rdo rje lha dgu'i lam gyi rim pa 'di gtan la 'beb pa la, (A1) 'di mdo rgyud kyi theg pa gang du rtogs<sup>422</sup> ngos bzung ba dang, (A2) ngos zin pa de la lam srol ji tsam byung dpyad pa dang, (A3) srol de dag gi nang nas rmad du byung ba'i lam srol ngos bzung ba <3r> dang, (A4) ngos zin pa'i lam de nyid gtan la 'beb pa'i tshul bshad pa'o,, (A1) dang po ni gnad kyi gsal byed las,

bde gshegs gsung las theg chen gsang sngags rgyud,,

rgyud sde bzhi la bla ma gnyis med mchog,,

ces gsungs, de la bde gshegs gsung zhes pas lam srol 'di nyid bstan pa la phyi nang gnyis su yod pa las, nang gi khongs su gtogs par bstan, theg chen zhes pas theg pa che chung gnyis las chen

<sup>422</sup> Read: *gtogs*.

por bstan, gsang sngags rgyud ces pas chen po la'ang rgyu 'bras gnyis su yod pa las 'bras sngags kyi theg par bstan, rgyud sde bzhi las<sup>423</sup> bla ma ces pas 'bras sngags kyi theg pa, de la yang rgyud sde chen po bzhi yod pa las rnal 'byor bla ma'i khongs su gtogs par bstan, gnyis med mchog ces pas, bla med la yang pha ma gnyis med dang gsum du yod pa las, gnyis med kyi rgyud kyai rdo rje'o,,

de lta bu'i lam srol las, phyir sangs rgyas kyis gsungs pa'i rgyud du yod, bod du 'gyur, skabs su babs pa ngos ji ltar 'dzin snyam na, spyir sangs rgyas kyis gsungs pa'i tshul ni, rtsa rgyud rgyas pa 'bum phrag bdun pa, bsdu pa 'bum phrag lnga pa, rgyud phyi ma phyag chen thig le, phyi ma'i phyi ma ye shes snying po thig le, thun mong min pa'i bshad rgyud ye shes thig le, thun mong gi bshad rgyud dpal sam bu ti 'bum phrag sum cu rtsa drug pa, snying po'i rgyud sgrub pa nges bstan thig le, 'bras bu'i rgyud de kho na nyid sgröl ma thig le, rtsa rgyud 'bum phrag lnga pa nas phyung ba brtag pa gnyis pa dang, rdo rje gur, sam bu ti 'bum phrag sum cu rtsa drug pa nas phyung ba, dpal kha sbyor gyi rgyud dang, rdo rje a ra li, snyog pa med pa'i <3v> a ra li, rigs kyi a ra li ste rgyud bcu bzhi tsam gsungs so,, de mams kyi nang nas bod du rgyud rgyas pa gur brtag sam gsum, 'bring thig le skor lnga, bsdu pa a ra li skor gsum mams 'gyur ro,, de dag gi nang nas 'dir skabs su babs pa ni gtso bor gur brtag sam gsum mo,,

(A2) gnyis pa lam srol ji tsam byung dpyad pa la, phyir rgya gar 'phags pa'i yul du lam gyi srol bsam gyi mi khyab pa zhig byung mod kyang, bod du 'gyur ba la gzhung 'grel bstan pa'i shing rta'i srol(?) chen po drug gi bka' rim gyi lam rim yongs su rdzogs pa drug dang, man ngag brgyud pa las 'byung ba gnyis te brgyad tsam byung, de mams kyi dang po drug ni (A2a) dombhi pa'i skor, (A2b) mtsho skyes kyi skor, (A2c) nag po dam tshig rdo rje'i skor, (A2d) shanti pa'i skor, (A2e) snyan grags bzang po'i skor, (A2f) gnyis med rdo rje'am a wa dhū ti pa'i skor mams so,,

(A2a) dang po la lus dang yan lag tu gyur pa'i yig cha'i tshogs ci tsam yod snyam na, rtsa rgyud kyi 'grel pa ku mu ti, dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga bzang po yongs bzung, lha dgu'i sgrub thabs yan lag drug pa, yum lha mo bco lnga'i sgrub thabs, gur rigs sdus kyi sgrub thabs, rdzogs rim gtum mo'i' grel chung, 'byung po thams cad pa'i gtor ma'i cho ga mams la mi thub zla bas gzhung bdun zer ro,, sgrub thabs rin chen 'bar ba, dran pa gcig pa'i sgrub thabs, dpa' bo gcig pa'i sgrub thabs gnyis, sgrub thabs bdud rtsi 'od, rdzogs rim lhan cig skyes grub, yan lag tu gyur pa'i gzhung ni, de kho na nyid bcu pa, phyag mtshan gyi dag pa, tshogs 'khor dang tshogs 'khor gyi bslab bya 'du ba srag pa, sngags don gyi gzhung gnyis <4r> sbyin bsreg dang man ngag gi ro bsreg ste gzhung nyi shu rtsa gcig yod,

(A2b) gnyis pa mtsho skyes skor la, rtsa rgyud kyi 'grel pa padma can, dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga nas gling ma, sgrub thabs mtsho skyes, tshogs 'khor dam tshig lnga pa, bstod pa nyi shu pa la sogs pa yod,

(A2c) gsum pa nag po pa'i skor la, rtsa rgyud kyi 'grel rin chen sbyor ba'i phreng ba, dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga gzhung 'grel, sgrub thabs de nyid gsal ba, phyag bcu drug pa dpa' bo gcig pa'i sgrub thabs, phyag gnyis pa dpa' bo gcig pa'i sgrub thabs, yum gyi sgrub thabs gnyis, rdzogs rim gyi gzhung gcig, rab gnas tshul bzang mo, tshogs 'khor dang bstod pa, sbyin bsreg dang ro bsreg la sogs pa yod do,, 'di yan la gtso che'i chos sum cu dgu zer ro,, bka' srol 'di gsum gyi dbang bka' dang bshad bka'<sup>424</sup> sogs dpal ldan sa skya pa la tshang la ma nor ba deng sang gi bar bzhugs pa yin gsung ngo,,

(A2d) bzhi pa shanti pa'i skor la, rtsa rgyud kyi 'grel pa mu tig phreng ba, dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga he ru ka 'byung ba, sgrub thabs 'khrul spong rtsa 'grel gnyis yum gyi sgrub thabs gcig,

<sup>423</sup> Both readings (*la* as in the verse and *las* as in its explication) are possible.

<sup>424</sup> Reading perhaps: *dbang bka' 'babs dang bshad bka' 'babs?*

rdzogs rim lhan cig skyes pa'i dga' ba la yang dag par sbyor ba rtsa 'grel gnyis la sogs pa yod do,, 'di'i dbang bka' sogs dpal sa skya pa la mi bzhugs gsungs,

(A2e) lnga pa snyan grags bzang po'i skor la, rtsa rgyud kyi 'grel pa na ro 'grel chen du grags pa yod gsungs, 'di la lam srol yongs su ma rdzogs sam snyam na rdzogs te, 'grel pa 'di'i nang na bskyed rdzogs yan lag dang bcas' <4v> pa gzhung nag 'byams kyi tshul du bzhugs pa yin no gsungs, kha cig 'grel pa 'di jo bo na ro ta pas mdzad pa bzhed ni mi 'thad de, 'grel pa 'di'i mjug tu, kha che'i yul du skyes pa yi,, dge slong snyan grags bzang pos sbyar,, zhes 'byung ba dang, 'di gnyis dus kyang mi mtshungs ste, dge slong 'di yi zhabs ni dpal lo tsā ba chos kyi bzang pos zin la, lo tsā ba de ni chos rje sa pañ dang dus mnyam pas gsungs so,, bka' srol 'di'i bshad bka' sogs sa skya pa la bzhugs gsungs so,,

(A2f) drug pa a wa dhu ti pa'i skor la, dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga dbang gi rab byed, sgrub thabs nmam par dag pa'i gter, yum gyi sgrub thabs gcig, rdzogs rim lta ba ngan sel rtsa 'grel gnyis la sogs pa a ma na se'i gzhung nyi shu rtsa bzhi yod do,, bka' srol 'di'i dbang bka' sogs bod na deng sang mi bzhugs gsungs,

gzhan yang brtag pa gnyis pa la byang chub sems dpa' rdo rje snying pos mdzad pa'i stod 'grel, pañdi ta rdo rje snying pos mdzad pa'i smad 'grel, padma'i myu gu can gyis mdzad pa'i 'grel pa, pañdi ta nag po pas mdzad pa'i 'grel pa, ka ma dhe nus mdzad pa'i 'grel pa, bha wa bha ṭas mdzad pa'i 'grel pa, ḍam ka da shas mdzad pa'i de'i 'grel bshad rnams bzhugs so,,

gzhan yang 'brog mi'i skabs kyi 'grel chung brgyad du grags pa ni, gleng bzhi'i 'grel pa, rtsa ba'i mngon rtogs che chung gnyis, dur khrod kyi 'grel pa che chung gnyis, brda'i 'grel pa, rdo rje'i glu'i 'grel pa che chung gnyis rnams yin no,, <5r> gzhan yang byang chub snying pos mdzad pa'i sgrub thabs la sogs pa gzhung phran bsam gyi mi khyab pa gcig 'gyur kyang, lam yongs su rdzogs pa ni gong du smos pa'i shing rta'i srol chen po drug po de tsam du zad do,,

man ngag brgyud pa la brten pa gnyis kyi, dang po ni jo bo na ro ta pa la mar pa lho brag pas, rtsa brgyud brtag pa gnyis pa dang, mkha' 'gro ma rdo rje gur, rdo rje gdan bzhi, ma hā mā ya mams zhus nas, mar pa'i ka chen bzhir grags pa dang, de dag gi nang sel gyi dkyil 'khor bdun la sogs pa gsan nas slar bod du byon te mes ston chen po sogs la gngang, mes ston gyis 'khon sgyi chu ba dgra lha 'bar la gngang, des sa skya pa chen po la gngang ste, de'i brgyud pa ni rje sa chen nyid nas chad nas med gsungs,

yang mar pa lho brag pa nyid kyis gzhung gi rngog ston chos kyi rdo rje la gngang ba'i brgyud pa deng sang gi bar du ma chad par bzhugs pa yin zhing, de'i phyogs kyi yig cha yang rngog chos rdor gyis mdzad pa'i 'grel pa rin po che'i rgyan zhes bya ba dang, de'i slob mas mdzad pa'i rin po che'i rgyan 'dra zhes bya ba, mes ston chen pos mdzad pa'i 'grel pa, ram sding ma ba sangs rgyas 'byung gnas rdo rjes mdzad pa'i 'grel pa, ldum<sup>425</sup> ston blo gros grags kyis mdzad pa'i 'grel pa, rngog thog med grags kyis mdzad pa'i 'grel pa, ru mtshams kyi skyob pa ag skyo bhya zhes bya bas mdzad pa'i 'grel pa sogs yod, gzhan yang smin byed dbang gi cho ga, sgrub thabs yan lag drug pa, rdzogs <5v> rim sde 'pho'i gdams ngag sogs yig cha'i tshogs bsam gyi mi khyab pa yod cing, lam yongs su rdzogs pa'i bka' srol yin zhes gsungs so,,

gzhan yang kyai rdo rje dpal lugs su grags pa yod de, 'dis bla ma pham thing pa sku mched la gsan pa yin pas, jo bo na ro ta pa'i lugs su 'dug pas, brgyud pa'i ngos nas mar pa las logs su ma smos so,,

(A3) man ngag brgyud pa gnyis pa ni mnal 'byor gyi dbang phyug birwa pa nas shar phyogs kyi nag po pa la brgyud 'ongs pa 'di yin zhing, 'di'i phyogs kyi yig cha ji tsam byung la sogs pa 'og tu ston par byed do,, gsum pa de mams kyi nang nas rmad du byung ba'i lam srol ngos bzung ba ni, bka' srol chen po brgyad kyi phyi mar gyur pa de'o,, 'o na bka' srol 'di nyid lam

<sup>425</sup> The usual orthography would be *gtum*.

gzhan las rmad du byung ba'am khyad par du 'phags pa'i rgyu mtshan ci zhe na, (A3a) gzhan las rgyud la brten tshul gyi sgo nas khyad par 'phags, (A3b) rgyud 'chad tshul gyi sgo nas khyad par 'phags, (A3c) bshad nas thon pa'i man ngag gi sgo nas khyad par 'phags pa'o,, (A3a) dang po rgyud la brten tshul gyi sgos khyad 'phags te, gong gi lam srol 'ga' zhig rgyud la ma brten pa nyi tshe ba tsam du snang, 'ga' zhig brten kyang rtsa bshad gang rung las yongs su rdzogs pa la ma brten par snang mod, 'di ni rtsa bshad gsum ka la brten pas so,,

gong gi nams rgyud gsum ka la rdzogs par ma bstan<sup>426</sup> par rtsa bshad gang rung la brten pa ni brten mi dgos pas ma brten pa yin no snyam na, de ni ma yin par rgyud gsum ka la brten dgos te, rgyu mtshan ni rtsa ba'i rgyud du bskyed rdzogs mdor bstan pa las med pa de nyid kyi <6r> bskyed rim rgyas par rdo rje gur nas ston zhing, rdzogs rim rgyas par sam bu ti nas ston pas na rgyud gsum ka la brten dgos pa yin no,,

(A3b) gnyis pa rgyud 'chad tshul gyi sgo nas khyad par 'phags pa ni, 'ga' zhig rgyud sgrub thabs ltar 'chad pa, 'ga' zhig sgrub thabs rgyud ltar 'chad pa sogs yod mod, 'dir ni, rgyud rgyud ltar 'chad pa yin no,,

de yang,

gdams ngag drug dang rgyud gsum dag pa gsum,,

bdag nyid can gsum gsang bdun gnas pa bzhis,,

tshig dang don rtogs bshad thabs man ngag gi,,

gsal byed 'di ni gsang rgyud 'dir bshad bya,,

ces gsungs pa'i don dang ldan pa'i sgo nas 'chad pas so,,

(A3c) gsum pa bshad nas thon pa'i man ngag gi sgo nas kyang khyad par du 'phags pa te, 'dir ni rgyud gsum gyi dgongs pa gcig tu 'dres pa las byung ba'i mngon par rtogs pa gsum la phye ba'i mngon par rtogs pa lnga bcu lnga bdun gyi nmam gzhag ston par byed pa rin po che'i ljon shing zhes bya ba'i bstan bcos 'di lta bu yod pas so,, 'di 'dra ba'i bstan bcos snga rab pa nmams kyis kyang ma gsungs, gsungs kyang thon par mi 'gyur ro zhes gsungs,

(A4) phyi don bzhi pa ngos zin pa de nyid gtan la dbab pa'i tshul la bzhi ste, (A4a) gzhung tshogs sam grub mtha' spyi'i nmam gzhag shes par bya ba'i phyir, thun mongs gzhung gi bshad pa la 'jug pa, (A4b) nyams len dang nyams myong nges par bya ba'i phyir thun mongs min pa man ngag gi rim pa la 'jug pa, (A4c) de dag la spros pa spyad cing log tog<sup>427</sup> bsal ba'i phyir sdom pa gsum gyi rab tu dbye ba la 'jug pa, (A4d) de dag gi dgongs pa gcig tu gril nas gsum <6v> dkrugs su sbyar ba'i lam rim gtan la dbab pa'o,,

(A4a) dang po thun mong ba gzhung gi rim pa la 'jug pa ni, gzhung gi dkar chag las byung ba ltar, dgos tshan bzhis bsodus pa'i bstan bcos nyi shu rtsa brgyad kyi rigs su gtogs pa'i gzhung gi tshogs nmams la thos bsam byed pa'o,, de la dgos tshan bzhi ni, rgyud spyi la dgos pa, rgyud gsum so so la dgos pa, gdams ngag spyi la dgos pa, sbas pa'i brtul zhugs la dgos pa dang bzhi'o,, bstan bcos nyi shu rtsa brgyad ni, (A4a1) rgyud gsum spyi la dgos pa'i gzhung bdun, (A4a2) rgyud gsum re re la dgos pa'i gzhung drug, (A4a3) gdams ngag spyi la dgos pa'i gzhung bcu bzhi, (A4a4) sbas pa'i brtul zhugs la dgos pa'i gzhung gcig mams yin no,, (A4a1) de'i dang po gzhung bdun ni,

rgyud sde'i dum bu mam gzhag mngon rtogs dang,,

stong thun gnyis kyi bsodus don bstod pa gnyis,,

bdag med bstod pa'i nmam 'grel dang bcas pa'i,,

kun du(!) dgos pa'i gzhung bdun 'thor mi bya,,

<sup>426</sup> Reading: *brten*.

<sup>427</sup> Read: *rtog*.

ces gsungs pa ltar yin no,, de'i dang po rgyud sde'i dum bu ni, rje sa skya pa chen pos mdzad de, 'di la yang tshul bzhi ga'i rtsa bar gyur pa'i rgyud sde'i dum bu brgya lnga bcu bcas pa gcig dang, mngon rtogs ljon shing kho na'i rtsa bar byas pa'i rgyud sde'i dum bu brgya dang bcu'am(?) tsam bcas pa gcig ste gnyis snang gsungs, nam gzhag ni sa skya pa chen pos mdzad pa'i rgyud sde spyi rnam dang, rje rtse mos mdzad pa'i spyi mam chen mo gnyis yin no,, mngon rtogs ni, rje btsun chen pos mdzad pa'i rin po che'i ljon shing yin no,, stong thun gnyis kyi bsdus don ni rje btsun chen pos mdzad do,, bstod pa gnyis ni <7r> yab kyi bstod pa danḍa ka dang, yum gyi bstod pa dri ma med pa'i rgyan gnyis te rje btsun chen pos mdzad do,, bdag med bstod pa'i rnam 'grel ni chos rje sa paṅ gyis mdzad do,,

(A4a2) rgyud gsum so so la dgos pa'i gzhung drug ni,  
 rgyud gsum so so'i rnam 'grel don bsdus bcas,,  
 gang la gang 'dod de dang de blang bya,,  
 de ltar bcu gsum legs par bltas byas nas,,  
 mam par phye bas rgyud gsum shes par 'gyur,,

zhes gsungs pa ltar yin te, de la rtsa rgyud kyi rnam 'grel sa chen gyis mdzad pa'i dka' 'grel mngon rtogs, rje rtse mos nyi ma'i 'od zer, rje btsun chen pos mdzad pa rnam bshad dag ldan, sa chen gyis bsdus don, rje btsun chen pos mdzad pa'i bsdus don, chos rje paṅ chen gyis kha bskang ba dang bcas pa yod, mkha' 'gro ma rdo rje'i gur la rje sa chen gyi don gyi chings, zin bris kyi yig sna gnyis, mchan bu, rje btsun chen pos 'grel pa gur rgyan, sa dpyad<sup>428</sup> mams yod, sam bu ṭi la rje sa chen gyi brtag pa phyi ma la yig sna gnyis yod, rje rtse mos 'grel pa gnad kyi gsal byed, sa dpyad, thabs shes rab kyi zur bkol gyi yig sna dang gsum yod do,,

(A4a3) gang zag<sup>429</sup> spyi la dgos pa'i gzhung bcu bzhi ni,  
 smin byed ltung ba'i rnam gzhag sgrub thabs bzhi,,  
 rab gnas sbyin sreg tshogs kyi cho gar bcas,,  
 rdo rje dril bu bgrang phreng dgang blugs dang,,  
 tha ma'i cho ga mchod rten sgrub pa ste,,  
 de ltar bcu bzhi dang po'i las can nas,,  
 brtsams te gang zag kun gyi blang bar bya,,

ces gsungs pa ltar yin te, de'i dang po smin byed ni, rje rtse mos mdzad pa'i dbang gi chu bo chen mo, ltung ba'i rnam gzhag ni rje btsun gyis mdzad pa'i rtsa ltung 'khrul spong, sgrub thabs bzhi ni, yab kyi sgrub thabs rgyas pa yan lag bzhi pa rtse mos mdzad pa, 'bring po yan lag drug pa rje btsun gyis mdzad pa, bsdus pa skad cig gi bskyed pa rje btsun gyis mdzad pa, yum gyi sgrub thabs rje btsun gyis mdzad pa mams so,, rab gnas ni rje btsun sku mched kyis mdzad pa'i bzang drug go,, sbyin sreg kyang, las bzhi'i sbyin sreg sku mched gnyis ka'i mdzad do,, tshogs 'khor ni rje btsun gyis mdzad pa'i tshogs 'khor 'bring po dang, chos rje sa paṅ gyi rtsod spong gnyis so,, rdo rje dril bu'i rnam gzhag gi yig cha gcig yod pa de ni rje btsun gyis mdzad par grags te, de ni rje btsun zhes pa'i ming la 'khrul pa yin gyis, don rje btsun mar pas mdzad par snang gsung, rang lugs kyi rdor dril gyi mam gzhag gnad kyi gsal byed na yod pa de blta'o,, dgang blugs kyi rnam gzhag ni, las bzhi'i sbyin sreg gi nang du blta'o,, tha ma'i cho ga mchod rten sgrub pa ni, rje btsun gyis mdzad pa'i gzhan phan bdud rtsi zhes bya ba'i yig cha yod do,,

(A4a4) sbas pa'i brtul zhugs la dgos pa'i gzhung gcig ni, gzhan yang sbas pa'i brtul zhugs la dgos pa'i gzhung gcig ni,

lus rgyan btung ba'i snod dang bzung bya'i rdzas,,  
 rol mo'i cho ga stan dang bgo ba'i gos,,

<sup>428</sup> The modern orthography would be: *bcad*.

<sup>429</sup> Read: *gdams ngag* (easily misread or misspelled as an *dbu med* abbreviation).

'di dag he ru ka dpal chas drug ste,,  
 nmam par phye na bcu bzahir 'gyur ba yin,,  
 ces <8r> gsungs pa'i don dang ldan pa'i yi ge rje btsun gyis mdzad pa he ru ka'i chas drug ces  
 bya ba'i gzhung yod do,,

(A4b) don gnyis pa thun mong ma yin pa man ngag gi rim pa la 'jug pa ni, man ngag gi dkar  
 chag las 'byung ba ltar tshad ma bzhis bsdus pa'i gzhung drug cu thim<sup>430</sup> pa la thos bsam byed  
 pa ste, de yang tshad ma bzhi ni, (A4b1) bla ma tshad ma, (A4b2) nyams myong tshad ma,  
 (A4b3) bstan bcos tshad ma, (A4b4) bde bar gshegs pa'i bka' lung tshad ma dang bzhi yin la,  
 gzhung drug cu ni,

(A4b1) thog mar bla ma tshad ma'i skabs su, bla ma rgya gar ba dang, bod kyi nmam thar gyi  
 yi ge gnyis, (A4b2) nyams myong tshad ma'i skabs su (A4b2a) 'khrid kyi gzhung shing chen po  
 bzhi, (A4b2b) rtogs pa bskyed pa'i chos lnga, (A4b2c) 'phros gyur gyi yi ge bcu bdun, (A4b2d)  
 lam zab 'bring gsum gyi yi ge gsum ste yi ge nyi shu rtsa dgu yod de,

(A4b2a) de yang gzhung shing bzhi ni, gzhung ji lta ba bzhin bkri ba'i, dbang po rab 'bring  
 gsum gyi bkri ba'i, gdams ngag gi gnad drug gi bkri ba'i, gdams ngag gi gnad bcu gcig gi bkri  
 ba'i gzhung shing bzhi'o,, (A4b2b) rtogs pa bskyed pa'i chos lnga ni, lam 'jug ldog, phyag rgya  
 'jug ldog, shes pas phan 'dogs pa'i man ngag gi gnad bdun, phyi nang gi lam bsre ba 'gros bzhi  
 dang bcas, phyi nang gi mdzad pa bcu gnyis nmams yin no,, (A4b2c) 'phros gyur gyi yi ge bcu  
 bdun gyi dang po, gegs sel yi ge bzhi ni, bsam gtan 'od zer ba'i 'phrang bdun, byung rgyal du  
 mi btang ba'i gnad bzhi, 'byung lus 'khrugs rlung dang spyod lam gyi gsal ba, mnal 'byor gyi  
 'phrin las sum cu rtsa gnyis nmams yin no,, smin <8v> byed kyi skabs su gdan stsogs kyi yi ge,  
 dbang gi chu bo chen mo, mchog dbang gsum grol lam la brten te bskur ba'i yi ge, dbang gi  
 man ngag gi gnad kyi yi ge, lta ba'i skabs su 'khor 'das dbyer med rtsa 'grel, dam tshig gi skabs  
 su bsrung ba'i dam tshig gi rtsa ltung 'khrul spong, bza' ba'i dam tshig tshogs kyi 'khor lo,  
 bskyed rim gyi skabs su yab kyi sgrub thabs rgyas pa yan lag bzhi pa, 'bring po yan lag drug pa,  
 bsdus pa skad cig bskyed pa, yum gyi sgrub thabs, sbyin sreg gi yi ge, gsang dbang gi skabs su  
 yum gyi byin rlabs nmams yin no,, (A4b2d) lam zab 'bring gsum gyi yi ge gsum ni, 'bring po  
 rtsa ba med pa'i yi ge bsdus pa sgrub pa'i lung sbyin pa, zab mo bla ma'i mnal 'byor gyi yi ge ste  
 gzhung nyi shu rtsa dgu 'di yan la yod do,,

(A4b3) bstan bcos tshad ma'i skabs su 'grel pa gnyag ma, gsal byed nyer gnyis, rdo rje'i tshig  
 rkang gi bsdus don te gzhung nyi shu rtsa bzhi yod do,, (A4b4) lung tshad ma'i skabs su lung  
 sbyar chen mo bzhi yod de, bzhi ni lung 'di nyid dang zhib tu sbyar ba dang, lung 'di nyid mdor  
 bsdus te sbyar ba dang, lung mtha' dag dang mdor bsdus te sbyar ba, mtha' dag dang zhib tu  
 sbyar ba bzhi yin no,, yi ge gcig ni dmar chung gi dkar chag yin no,,

(A4c) gsum pa de dag la spros pa spyad pa'i phyir sdom pa gsum gyi rab tu dbye ba la 'jug pa  
 ni rang chan, phyogs bcu'i sangs rgyas la 'phrin du zhu ba, skyes bu dam pa la springs pa yig,  
 dkar phyogs kyi lha nmams la springs yig ste spring yig gsum dang, chag lo'i dris lan, do gor ba'i  
 dris <9r> lan, nam mkha' 'bum gyi dris lan te dris lan gsum la thos bsam byed pa yin no,,

(A4d) don bzhi pa de dag gsum dkrugs su sbyar ba'i lam ni, spyir gong du smos pa'i lam rim  
 gsum po re res kyang lung rigs man ngag gsum gsum gyi sgo nas lam yan lag dang bcas pa  
 yongs su rdzogs pa re re ston mod kyang, gtso che ba'i dbang du byas na lam rim dang pos lung  
 dang bcas te lam gyi khog phub, lam rim gnyis pas man ngag dang bcas te lag len gyi rim pa  
 bstan, lam rim gsum pas rig pa<sup>431</sup> dang bcas te lam gyi spros pa gcod par byed pas na lam gsum

<sup>430</sup> Read: *thim*.

<sup>431</sup> Read: *rigs pa*.

gcig tu bsre'o,, de ltar bsres pas (A4d1) gang zag rim gyi pa bkri ba'i lam rgyas pa gcig dang, (A4d2) gcig car ba bkri ba'i lam bsdus pa gcig gnyis thon pa yin no,,

(A4d1) dang po lam rgyas pa la khog sgrigs kyi yi ge bcu yod de, gang zhe na, mngon rtogs ljon shing, rgyud sde spyi mam, zhus lan gsal ba mams kyi lam rgyas pa khog phub pa'i tshul gyi gtan la 'beb, dbang gi chu bo chen mo, gzhung ji lta ba bzhin bkri ba'i gzhung shing, dbang po rab 'bring gsum gyi bkri ba'i gzhung shing mams kyi lam rgyas pa dmigs pa dang bcas pa'i sgo nas gtan la 'beb, 'bar bsrung thun mong min pa'i gdams ngag brda don gsal ba rtsa sngags gzhi bshad mams kyis mtshon byed brda'i sgo nas gtan la 'beb, sdom gsum rab dbyes lam rgyas pa sdom pa gsum gyi mnam gzhag bsdus nas gtan la 'beb pa yin,

(A4d2) gnyis pa la bsdus pa gcig car ba'i lam la khog sgrigs kyi <9v> yi ge, gdams ngag gi gnad drug gi bkri ba, bcu gcig gi bkri ba, lam 'bring po rtsa ba med pa, bsdus pa bsgrub pa lung sbyin, zab mo bla ma'i rnal 'byor la sogs pa bsam gyi mi khyab pa dang, de ltar phye ba'i lam rim bsdus pa de dag kyang lam rgyas pa mams su 'du zhing, rgyas pa de dag kyang gzhung gi lam mams ljon shing du 'du, man ngag gi [yi ge?] mams gzhung ji lta ba bzhin bkri ba'i gzhung shing du 'du, spros pa gcod byed kyi yi ge mams sdom gsum gyi mnam gzhag du 'du gsungs,

de ltar 'du zhing gcig tu bsre ba'i tshul yang, ljon shing gi rgyu rgyud kyi gnas skabs kyi mngon rtogs bzhi, thabs rgyud kyi skabs nas skyabs 'gro, gso sbyong, so thar bstan khris bdun te mngon par rtogs pa bcu bzhi(?) gyi<sup>432</sup> khog phub, sdom gsum rab dbye'i skabs dang pos de dag gi spros pa bcad, gzhung ji lta ba bzhin bkri ba'i gzhung shing ma dag pa'i snang ba'i skabs kyi nyams su blang, yang ljon shing gi dus nam(?) skye med pa'i sems bskyed dang, lta ba'i mngon rtogs bzhi mams kyi lta ba'i khog phub, sdom gsum gyi skabs gnyis pas spros pa bcad, gzhung shing thun mong ba'i nyams mnam snang gi skabs kyi nyams blang, yang ljon shing gi rgyud sde bzhi'i skabs, kyai rdo rje'i smin byed dbang gi skabs kyi mngon pa rtogs pa bdun, grol byed lam gyi skabs kyi mngon par rtogs pa bcu gcig mams kyi lam gyi khog phub, sdom gsum gyi skabs gsum pas spros bcad, gzhung gi thun mong min pa'i nyams snang dang, rgyud gsum gyi lam bsgom pa'i skabs mams kyi nyams su blang <10r> yang ljon shing gi 'bras bu'i skabs kyi mngon rtogs bcu bdun gyis khog phub, sdom gsum gyi 'bras bu'i skabs la spros pa spyod byed mams kyis spros pa bcad, gzhung shing gi snang ba gsum gyi 'bras bu'i skabs dang, rgyud gsum gyi 'bras bu'i skabs mams kyis nyams su blang ngo,,

ces rje btsun sa skya pa'i gsung rab la 'jug tshul legs par bshad pa'i yi ge bod yul 'gro kun bsgrod pa'i chos sgo phyogs brgyar ring du phye ba zhes bya ba'i bstan bcas 'di yang / dpal ldan sa skya pa'i bstan 'dzin kun gyi gtsug rgyan dam pa rgyal ba'i lung bstan gyi bdud rtsi brnyes pa'i rje btsun rdo rje kun dga' bzang po'i gsung rgyun/ rje de nyid kyi dngos kyi slob ma chos rje chos dpal bzang pos yi ger btab pa'i gsung rab kyi dgong(!) pa ji lta ba bzhin du bkod pa 'di ni/ sa skya pa sngags 'chang ngag dbang kun dga' bsod nams kyis sngon byon pa'i sa skya pa'i bstan 'dzin dpon slob mams la dang 'dod kyi dad pa lhag par 'phel ba'i ngang nas/ phyin chad kyang skal bzang las 'phro can gyi skyes bu mams lta grub mnam par dag pa'i lam la kun kyang rgyun chad med par 'khrid pa'i slad du bsam pa dag cing sbyor ba gus pa'i sgo nas mgyogs par sbyar ba'o.

<sup>432</sup> Read: gyi.





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## Abbreviations and Bibliography

- A-mes-zhabs' Explanation of the Hevajra Basic Mantra* = *dPal kyai rdo rje'i rtsa ba'i sngags kyi rnam par bshad pa zab don rgyas pa'i nyin byed*, vol. *ba*, no. 15, with 12 folios in the manuscript edition, composed in 1628.
- A-mes-zhabs' General Exposition* = *dGyes mdzad rdo rje'i chos skor 'chad pa'i sngon 'gro'i spyi bshad 'phrin las rab rgyas*, A-mes-zhabs' teachings on the preliminaries of the Hevajra cycle, composed in 1625; collected works of A-mes-zhabs, vol. *pa*, no. 5.
- A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Commentary* = *Tshud bzhi sngon du 'gro ba dang bcas pa'i kyai rdo rje'i rtsa ba'i rgyud brtag pa gnyis pa'i don 'grel khog phub legs par bshad pa rgyud 'grel sgo brgya'i lde mig*, A-mes-zhabs' commentary on the basic tantra, composed in 1623; collected works, vol. *pa*, no. 6.
- A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Exposition* = *dPal kyai rdo rje'i mngon par rtogs pa'i rnam par bshad pa 'jam dbyangs dgongs rgyan*, vol. *ma*, no. 5, with 53 folios in the manuscript edition, composed in 1616.
- A-mes-zhabs' Hevajra Word Commentary* = *Tshul bzhi sngon du 'gro ba dang bcas pa'i dpal kyai rdo rje'i rtsa rgyud brtag pa gnyis pa'i tshig 'grel rgyud bshad bstan pa rgyas pa'i nyin byed*, A-mes-zhabs' commentary on the basic tantra, composed in 1648; collected works, vol. *pha*, no. 2.
- A-mes-zhabs' Record* = *Sa skya pa a nanda'i ming can gyi thob yig chen mo'i kha skong brjed byang du bkod pa don gnyis mthar phyin bsam pa lhun grub*, Record of Teachings of A-mes-zhabs; collected works of A-mes-zhabs, vol. *kha*, no. 13.
- A-mes-zhabs' Ritual Service of Hevajra with the Peaceful Burnt Offering Ritual* = *dPal kyai rdo rje'i bsnyen pa bya tshul zhi ba'i sbyin bsreg gi cho ga dang bcas pa thub bstan gling bzhi mdzes par byed pa'i nyi ma*, vol. *zha*, no. 7, with 23 folios in the manuscript edition, composed in 1640.
- A-mes-zhabs' Stage of Production* = *dPal kyai rdo rje yab yum gyi sgrub thabs phyi nang gi bskyed pa'i rim pa'i rnam par bshad pa dgyes rdor chos kun gsal ba'i nyin byed*, Composed by A-mes-zhabs in 1635; collected works, vol. *ma*, no. 7.
- A-mes-zhabs' "Three Tantras"* = *Gangs can bstan pa'i mnga' bdag rje btsun chen po sa skya pa'i yab chos kyai rdo rje'i rgyud gsum sngon 'gro tshul bzhi dang bcas pa'i don 'grel zin bris rin po che'i gter mdzod*, Notes by A-mes-zhabs of Ngag-dbang-chos-kyi-grags-pa's Hevajra teachings and writings; collected works, vol. *pha*, no. 3.
- A-mes-zhabs' Transmission and Summary* = *Yongs rdzogs bstan pa rin po che'i nyams len gyi man ngag gsung ngag rin po che'i byon tshul khog phub dang bcas pa rgyas par bshad pa legs bshad 'duis pa'i rgya mtsho* (A-mes-zhabs' Transmission and General Summary of the Precious Teachings), in: *Lam 'bras khog phub bde mchog chos 'byung* (1974) Two Historical Studies of the Sa-skya-pa Lam-'bras and Cakrasamvara Traditions, New Delhi, pp. 1-113 (157 fols.). Also in: *Jam-dbyangs-blo-gter-dbang-po et al., Lam 'bras tsgogs bshad*, (1985) Dehra Dun: Sakya Centre, vol. 1, pp. 1-313 (157 fols.). Composed by A-mes-zhabs in 1621. See also collected works, vol. *ba*, no. 6.
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- Kun-dga'-don-grub's Record* = *Chos kyi rje dpal ldan bla ma dam pa rnams las dam pa'i chos ji ltar thos pa'i tshul legs par bshad pa zab rgyas chos kun gsal ba'i nyin byed ces bya ba las sprul pa'i sku spyan snga chos kyi spyan ldan gyi rjes su bzung ba'i tshul gyi sarka*, Record of teachings of sPyan-snga Chos-kyi-spyan-ldan Kun-dga'-don-grub; collected works of A-mes-zhabs, vol. *kha*, no. 12.
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- Mus-srad-pa's Tho yig* = Mus-srad-pa rDo-rje-rgyal-mtshan (= gTsang-byams-pa), *Lam 'bras lam skor lhag ma rnams dang bcas pa'i tho yig*, Contained in *A-mes-zhabs' Transmission and Summary* (151r-155r).
- Nam-mkha'-dpal-bzang's Record* = *Chos kyi rje dpal ldan bla ma dam pa rnams las dam pa'i chos ji ltar thos pa'i tshul legs par bshad pa zab rgyas chos kun gsal ba'i nyin byed ces bya ba las 'dren mchog nam mkha' dpal bzang pa'i zhal snga nas rjes su bzung ba'i tshul gyi sarka*, Record of teachings of Nam-mkha'-dpal-bzang; collected works of A-mes-zhabs, vol. *kha*, no. 5.
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