

# *The Many Canons of Tibetan Buddhism*



EDITED BY

HELMUT EIMER & DAVID GERMANO

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THE MANY CANONS OF TIBETAN BUDDHISM

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**KANJUR AND TANJUR STUDIES:  
PRESENT STATE AND FUTURE TASKS**



# KANJUR AND TANJUR STUDIES: PRESENT STATE AND FUTURE TASKS

## INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

HELMUT EIMER (BONN / GERMANY)

Research in the Kanjur and Tanjur started already in the first half of the 19th century on different levels: mention may be made here of ALEXANDER CSOMA KŐRÖSI's analytical contributions concerning the texts within the blockprint edition housed at Narthang Monastery<sup>1</sup> on the one hand and the study of an individual text by PHILIPPE ÉDOUARD FOUCAUX<sup>2</sup> on the other. In the beginning the aim of investigations into individual texts was limited to regaining the original text, especially in such cases where the Sanskrit version was not handed down to our times. In general researchers used a single source or—later on—a few manuscript and xylograph editions only. In the sequel other text witnesses turned up. So first steps were taken to compare the arrangement of sections and individual texts within the different editions of the Kanjur and Tanjur.

From Tibetan historical sources some general information as to the development of the Kanjur and Tanjur was already known before the end of the 19th century. It refers mainly to those Buddhist scriptures translated into Tibetan which were collected at Narthang Monastery in the early 14th century. In accordance with historical tradition this collection was regarded as the basis of all later manuscripts and blockprints of the Kanjur and Tanjur.<sup>3</sup> In spite of the fact that many of the Buddhist texts contained in it were translated into Tibetan some five hundred years earlier the notion evolved in research that the Old Narthang collection was the archetype of the ensuing tradition. The actual

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<sup>1</sup> CSOMA KŐRÖSI 1836: 42: "The edition of the *Kā-gyur* ... appears to have been printed with the very wooden types that are mentioned as having been prepared in 1731 ... at *Snār-t'hang* ..., not far from *Teshi-lhun-po*".

<sup>2</sup> FOUCAUX 1841.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. TUCCI 1949: 478: "But some of these sets, though based on the sNar-thaṅ copy, were new editions ..." This statement refers to those editions which were prepared from the early 18th century onwards.

lines of the transmission remained still unexplored. It was only in the 1950s<sup>4</sup> that the number of accessible text witnesses increased so that by applying textual criticism some first sound results as to the relationship of the different editions became possible.

The critical edition of the *Rab tu 'byung bai'i gzhi* is based on six blockprint and five manuscript editions of the Kanjur.<sup>5</sup> Relying on this extensive text the division of the mainstream transmission into two branches was established which afterwards were named the Tshal pa<sup>6</sup> and the Them spangs ma<sup>7</sup> group. In this text the origin of variants can be explained by simple mistakes or corrections due to the individual copyist. At some instances mistakes which originated during the earliest transmission are met with, so we have some *lacunae* attested by all accessible text witnesses.<sup>8</sup>

As regards the Tibetan *Drumakinnararājaparipṛcchāsūtra* which was critically edited by PAUL HARRISON<sup>9</sup> the transmission is quite different: the text is extant in two recensions of which one has come down to us in the Them spangs ma and the other in the Tshal pa line. In the two branches the wording of the text is often at variance:<sup>10</sup> the recension contained in the Tshal pa witnesses represents an earlier, i.e. unrevised version of the text.<sup>11</sup> Therefore, HARRISON introduced the term

<sup>4</sup> Cf., e.g., HAMM 1957 and NOBEL 1958.

<sup>5</sup> EIMER 1983.

<sup>6</sup> This line goes back to an exemplar prepared in Tshal Gung thang Monastery; it comprises the manuscript and blockprint editions stemming from Beijing (Peking), the Lithang / 'Jam sa tham edition, and the xylographs relying on the latter.

<sup>7</sup> This group consists of manuscripts copied from the Them spangs ma, an exemplar housed in Gyantse (Gtsang province). The widely spread xylograph prepared in Narthang (1730-32) comprises both texts from the Them spangs ma and from the Tshal pa line. The Derge edition contaminates both traditions as well.

<sup>8</sup> A striking example is the gap discussed by EIMER 1983: 1, 59-60 (Text: 2, 311, 15, 5-19, 2). This omission is also to be noted in the Phug brag Kanjur ('*dul ba, ka* (1), 181a6) and in the two manuscripts of the Mustang Kanjur (Ms in Lo Manthang ('*dul ba*) *cha* (6), 209a1-2; Ms in Tsarang ('*dul ba*) *cha* (6), 212b6-7), cf. also EIMER 1998: 20.

<sup>9</sup> HARRISON 1992.

<sup>10</sup> The problems connected with the sometimes thorough revision of existing translations have only been touched upon so far by research.

<sup>11</sup> The younger recension in the Them spangs ma line is somehow closer to the vocabulary as contained in the *Mahāvvyūtpatti*, cf. HARRISON 1992: xxxvii foll.

“recensional variants”<sup>12</sup> in contrast to “transmissional variants”. If a text underwent a recension we have to regard it—applying strict rules of textual criticism—as a new text altogether. In addition, HARRISON's edition also considers the readings given by the Phug brag manuscript which does not belong to the mainstream tradition.

The *Akṣayamatīnirdeśasūtra* as edited by JENS BRAARVIG<sup>13</sup> shows a comparable picture, the main difference being that the Them spangs ma version is the more archaic one; of the two copies of that text in the “local” Phug brag Kanjur one is related to the Tshal pa and the other to the Them spangs ma branch.<sup>14</sup>

The notion that the 14th century Narthang collection formed a thoroughly structured consistent *corpus* cannot be upheld.<sup>15</sup> Referring to 'Gos Lo tsā ba G'zon nu dpal's *Deb ther sngon po* HARRISON enumerates

... three significant features of the copy of the sNar thang bsTan 'gyur which Bu ston worked on: it was incomplete, it was not in order (at least not to Bu ston's satisfaction), and it contained duplicates. What was true of the bsTan 'gyur is equally likely to have been true of the bKa' 'gyur; it is quite possible that it too contained multiple copies of texts, either different translations of the same text, or different recensions of the same translation.<sup>16</sup>

On the basis of his extensive studies of the *Mahāsūtras*<sup>17</sup> PETER SKILLING comes to the conclusion:

The O[ld] N[arthang manuscript Kanjur] was thus the *conceptual prototype* for later, large-scale, single project Kanjurs—but not their *textual archetype*.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> HARRISON, 1992: xxv (... “reveal either extensive and deliberate editorial changes to the text, or the adoption of a different text altogether, rather than errors resulting from scribal lapses or casual attempts to improve or modernise the text”).

<sup>13</sup> BRAARVIG 1993.

<sup>14</sup> BRAARVIG 1997. The Mustang Kanjur manuscripts of the *Akṣayamatīnirdeśasūtra* contain a recension which is related to the Tshal pa version going back to an earlier textual layer, cf. MAAS 2001.

<sup>15</sup> From the titles of the *dkar chags* prepared by Bcom ldan Rig pa'i ral gri it is obvious that in the beginning of the 14th century the structure of the canon was disputed in Narthang Monastery, cf. SKILLING 1997: 99.

<sup>16</sup> HARRISON 1996: 78.

<sup>17</sup> SKILLING 1994.

<sup>18</sup> SKILLING 1997: 100.

In his “Proposed stemma for Mahāsūtras 1-7 (mDo Division)” SKILLING puts the “Old Narthang Ms” at a similar level with the “Them spans ma Ms” and four “local” Kanjurs, viz. the “Lahul Ms, Ta pho Ms, Newark Batang Ms, Phug brag Ms”.<sup>19</sup> In this manner he emphasizes the importance of the local Kanjurs for further research, because they often go back to a layer of transmission which precedes the mainstream Kanjurs; they sometimes contain different recensions or translations of individual texts. All Kanjurs—whether belonging to the mainstream tradition or not—ultimately go back to smaller collections some of which are known by their names contained in the section colophons to the Lithang Kanjur.<sup>20</sup> In this context the value of the Tabo fragments<sup>21</sup> and the Newark Kanjur<sup>22</sup> cannot be overestimated. In any case, editing a Kanjur text requires investigations in the transmission of that specific text using all accessible sources.

Tradition speaks of several lists dating back to the 9th century<sup>23</sup> which register the texts translated until then into Tibetan;<sup>24</sup> one of them, viz. the *Ldan* (better: *Lhan*) *dkar ma*, has been handed down to our times. These catalogues were—at least to some extent—consulted when the texts in the later Kanjurs were arranged. The catalogues of the Tantras by Grags pa rgyal mtshan (1147-1216) and by 'Phags pa Blo gros rgyal mtshan (1235-1280)<sup>25</sup> were used in arranging the texts within the Tantra section of an Old Narthang manuscript.<sup>26</sup> They also influenced Bu ston Rin chen grub (1290-1364) whose *Rgyud 'bum gyi dkar chag* in turn became the model for the *rgyud* section of the Them spans

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<sup>19</sup> SKILLING 1997: 106-107. Concerning the position of the Tshal pa group he says: “that one of them, the Tshal pa, is *claimed to derive from the ON ...*” (SKILLING 1997: 101, with reference to SKILLING 1994: xl foll.).

<sup>20</sup> SAMTEN / RUSSELL 1987: 22-25 (translation), 29-35 (Tibetan text).

<sup>21</sup> Some first studies on these fragments have been published in *East and West* 44, 1 (1994) and in SCHERRER-SCHAUB / STEINKELLNER 1999: 3-36.

<sup>22</sup> The “Newark Kanjur” comprises 23 bulky volumes, SKILLING 2001 gives a first survey of them.

<sup>23</sup> Some of the early catalogues are quoted, e.g., by Bu ston in his *Bde bar gshegs pa'i bstan pa'i gsal byed chos kyi 'byung gnas gsung rab rin po che'i mdzod*, cf. NISHIOKA 1981-83.

<sup>24</sup> Text material from that time is accessible in the Dunhuang findings.

<sup>25</sup> A synoptic edition of these catalogues is given in EIMER 1997: 19-78.

<sup>26</sup> SAMTEN / RUSSELL 1987: 24 (translation) and 32 (text); cf. also HARRISON 1996: 77.

ma Kanjurs<sup>27</sup> and later on of the Derge edition. Which rôle Bu ston played in the compilation of the Tshal pa Kanjur cannot yet be estimated in full.

The modern descriptions of the different Kanjurs could produce the impression that the blockprint or manuscript editions apply different principles for arranging the individual texts. By way of contrast we may note here that the manuscripts belonging to the Them spangs ma branch show an astonishingly consistent pattern, as has been shown for the *rgyud* section in a study on Bu ston's *Catalogue of the Tantras*.<sup>28</sup> As a matter of fact, this observation is valid for other sections as well. The close correspondences even permit us to correct a modern catalogue or list. Thus, e.g., the lemma *Gan ti'i dus kyi mdo* in the list of the Śel dkar (London) Manuscript<sup>29</sup> relying on the catalogue of the Tog Palace manuscript should be split up into four entries.<sup>30</sup>

The central texts in the blockprint and manuscript editions of the other mainstream line of transmission, viz. that of Tshal pa, are similarly arranged in a specific and consistent order, if we neglect the differences in the sequence of the sections and the deletions<sup>31</sup> or additions<sup>32</sup> reportedly made in the Tshal pa redaction. The first blockprint edition of the Kanjur dating back to 1410 belongs to the Tshal pa branch, it was prepared in Beijing (Peking).<sup>33</sup> The Derge edition, however, occupies a peculiar position, because Si tu Gtsug lag chos kyi snang ba, the editor, adopted for the *rgyud* section the Them spangs ma pattern, sporadically inserting additional texts. As concerns the arrangement of individual texts, the Narthang blockprint of the Kanjur too introduced a reformed pattern which the Lhasa xylograph in turn follows to some extent.

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<sup>27</sup> EIMER 1997: 16. —The only change due to influences of a specific school of Tibetan Buddhism noted so far is found at the beginning of the *rgyud* section of the Tog Palace Kanjur (cf. SKORUPSKI 1985: xxi: "This rearrangement may well have been done because of the '*Brug-pa dKar-brgyud-pa* preference for the *Laghusamvara Tantra* and other related works").

<sup>28</sup> EIMER 1989: 43-48, 126-147 ("Gesamtkonkordanz ...").

<sup>29</sup> PAGEL/GAFFNEY 1996: 42-43, no. 201, i.e. *mdo, ci* (35), 210a3-300a7.

<sup>30</sup> SKORUPSKI 1985: 155-156, text no. 283-286; the exact locations for the four texts in the London Manuscript are *mdo, ci* (35), 210a3-211a8, 211a8-223a5, 223a5-225b5, and 225b5-300a7, resp.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. SAMTEN / RUSSELL 1987: 22-23 (translation) and 31 (text).

<sup>32</sup> Cf. EIMER 1989: 40-41.

<sup>33</sup> For the origin and structure of this edition cf. SILK 1996.

In the initial stage of investigating the Tanjur—as in Kanjur Studies—one text witness only was consulted by the editors and/or translators. It was CLAUS VOGEL who in his study of the first five chapters of Vāgbhaṭa's *Aṣṭāṅgahrdayasaṃhitā* constituted the text by means of the four blockprint editions of the Tanjur dating from the 18th century. In his introduction he develops on the basis of historical records and an evaluation of the variant readings a first survey of the Tanjur transmission and proposes a pedigree which by now might be in need of some changes and additions.<sup>34</sup> In general the readings of the Cone and Derge Tanjurs go together as against the Narthang and Beijing blockprints.<sup>35</sup> This relation between the text witnesses has been corroborated—except for the first Tanjur volume, viz. the *bstod tshogs* section<sup>36</sup>—in further studies.

Recently the Golden Manuscript from Ganden Monastery which was prepared in the 18th century as well<sup>37</sup> became known as a fifth text witness for the Tanjur. In two studies JOHANNES SCHNEIDER<sup>38</sup> regards this additional witness as having been prepared from the same exemplar as the Beijing blockprint. Until now only the catalogues of one local edition stemming from Mustang have been located, the collection itself seems to have been lost.

The genesis of the Tanjur, i.e. its growth out of small collections of texts, has not yet been investigated in detail. In any case Bu ston Rin chen grub influenced the formation of the present day Tanjur editions considerably by his *Bstan 'gyur gyi dkar chag yid bzhin nor bu dbang gi rgyal po'i phreng ba*, a comprehensive catalogue written in 1335.

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<sup>34</sup> VOGEL 1965: 24-34 (§§ 21-24), the “pedigree” appears on p. 30.

<sup>35</sup> This is also valid in cases where duplicates occur, cf. EIMER 1978: 61-78.

<sup>36</sup> See HARTMANN 1987: 45-46, cf. also SCHNEIDER 1993: 41-49, and SCHNEIDER 1995: 158-159. In the *bstod tshogs* section, however, the Cone Tanjur is not directly traceable to the Derge edition.

<sup>37</sup> The date is to be fixed later than 1733, cf. MIYAKE 1995: 16. I thank Dr. Jan-Ulrich Sobisch, Hamburg, for having drawn my attention to this paper.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. note 36. STEINER 1997: *passim*, notes that in the *skyes rabs* section the Ganden manuscript reads with the Narthang and Beijing xylographs. Relying on the *Rtsod pa'i dus kyi gnam*—which covers about one folio only—SIGLINDE DIETZ (2000: 176) reaches a somewhat divergent stemma for this Tanjur text.

Kanjur and Tanjur are commonly styled the “canon of Tibetan Buddhism”, sometimes the expression “primary canon” is used for the Kanjur and “secondary canon” for the Tanjur. In general the term “canon” has several meanings; here we understand it in the specific sense of a “normative text” or a “normative collection of texts” which should not be subject to alteration. In his paper “From bKa' bstan bcos to bKa' 'gyur and bsTan 'gyur” PETER SKILLING points out that it is inadequate at all to speak of the Kanjur and Tanjur as a “canon” or as “canons”.<sup>39</sup>

Kanjur and Tanjur texts, however, show distinctive marks claiming authenticity which in turn is the precondition for a normative authority: At the very beginning of almost all the texts in the Kanjur and the Tanjur the title is specified in its original language and in Tibetan translation. Moreover, generally each text in the Kanjur starts with the words '*di skad bdag gis thos pa ...*', “Thus have I heard...”,<sup>40</sup> thereby attesting that a direct witness renders a sermon or other teaching delivered by the Buddha himself, by a bodhisattva, or by another elevated being. Thus Kanjur texts claim a higher degree of authenticity—which suits the fact that the Tanjur in general covers works of individual human authors.

While the witness formula was borrowed from Indian Buddhist scriptures, the authorization by indicating the original title was introduced by the translators. These two features can be understood as a formal fixing of the individual texts contained in a normative collection, a canon.<sup>41</sup> But the habit of starting a text with the Sanskrit and Tibetan titles and the witness formula is also met with in other collections, e.g. in the *Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum*.

According to Indian tradition it was a council of arhats that collected the teachings of the Buddha and thereby created the first canon of the early Hīnayāna Buddhism. In Tibet obviously no such council took

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<sup>39</sup> SKILLING 1997: 104: “In the absence of a normative or standard collection it is inaccurate to speak of a “canon”—of *the* Kanjur or *the* Tanjur—or to speak of a “recension” or “edition” of *the* Kanjur. We may speak of Kanjurs, or a recension or edition of a specific text within a Kanjur ...”

<sup>40</sup> Sanskrit: *evaṃ mayā śrutam ...* This formula is absent from those texts in the '*dul ba* section which originally were commentaries on the two *Prātimokṣasūtras*.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. ASSMANN 1999: 103-104.

place.<sup>42</sup> Concerning the acceptance of tantric masters by faithful pupils and the appreciation of their teachings as the Words of the Buddha DAVID SNELLGROVE reaches the following conclusion:

Once codified and transmitted through a succession of masters and pupils, such a corpus of teachings and instructions might easily gain acceptance as “canonical”. Canonization of religious literature, whether in the Buddhist or the Christian sense, means no more in the first instance than the gradual acceptance by an ever widening circle of believers of certain oral and textual traditions as valid doctrine relatable to earlier traditional teachings which have been already accepted as true. The mere fact of its wider acceptance results in their increased circulation, which assists in stabilizing their contents, ...<sup>43</sup>

Facing the common habit to call the Kanjur—and often the Tanjur as well—a “canon”, it seems high time to revise our definition of the term and consider modifications which are able to reflect the specific cultural background of the texts “canon” refers to in a Buddhist context.

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<sup>42</sup> In the year 1351 Bu ston Rin chen grub was present at the consecration (*rab gnas*) of the Tshal pa Kanjur in Tshal Gung thang.

<sup>43</sup> SNELLGROVE 1987: 147.



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On the occasion of the 9th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Leiden University, two meetings were concerned with questions of Kanjur and Tanjur history and transmission.

In a session dealing with the "Canon" on Sunday, June 25, 2000, the following papers were presented for discussion:

- HELMUT EIMER: On the Structure of the Tibetan Kanjur  
see below pp. 57ff.<sup>44</sup>
- FRANZ-KARL EHRHARD: On the Transmission of the *Bka' gdams glegs bam*  
see below pp. 29ff.
- DRUGPA (ZHOU HAU) GYALMO: *bKa' bstan bod du bsgyur ba'i lo rgyus la dpyad pa*
- BA DUO (DPAL RDOR): On the New Edition of the Tibetan Canon

In the panel "Kanjur and Tanjur Studies, Present State and Future Tasks" held on Monday, June 26, 2000, the following papers were read:

- HELMUT EIMER: Notes on the Mustang Tanjur see below pp. 73ff.
- CRISTINA SCHERRER-SCHAUB: A Frontier Tale: Small Historical Notes on Spiti's Monasteries

KURT TROPPER: Tibetan Inscriptions with 'Canonical Contents'

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<sup>44</sup> Page numbers are indicated only when the paper in point was submitted for publication.

MICHAEL ZIMMERMANN: The Kanjur Stemma of the *De bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po'i mdo* (*Tathāgatarbhasūtra*) Including Fragments from Tabo and its Relation to the Paracanonical Translation in the 'Newark-Kanjur' see below pp. 177ff.

SIGLINDE DIETZ: The *'Jig rten gzhas pa* in the Kanjur Manuscript of the Newark Museum see below pp. 13ff.

KARÉNINA KOLLMAR-PAULENZ: The Transmission of the Mongolian Kanjur: A Preliminary Report see below pp. 151ff.

ADELHEID HERRMANN-PFANDT: Why Did Bu ston Write the *Chos kyi nam grangs dkar chag?* Some Considerations on Early Kanjur and Tanjur History  
substituted by: The *Lhan kar ma* as a Source for the History of Tantric Buddhism see below pp. 129ff.

PAUL HARRISON announced for the 9th Seminar of the IATS a paper entitled "How much is enough? A minimalist approach to editing Kanjur texts". Unfortunately the paper was withdrawn. For initiating the discussion on this topic it seems appropriate to quote here from the summary published in the *Book of Abstracts* as under:

"In the course of working on ... the *Ajātaśatru-kaukṛtya-vinodanā-sūtra* ..., I have been constructing an "edition" of the relevant sections of the Tibetan text based on three witnesses only: the Peking (Q), as a senior representative of the Tshal pa line, the Tokyo Manuscript (T), as an exemplar of the Them spangs ma group, and the Tabo manuscript (A), valuable precisely because of its presumed antiquity."

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The editor of these lines wishes to thank the participants in the "Canon" session and the members of the panel "Kanjur and Tanjur Studies: Present State and Future Tasks". He is particularly obliged to the contributors to this section of the present volume for their close cooperation. He is also grateful to Dr. Henk Blezer, the convenor of the 9th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Leiden University, and at the same time the general editor of the proceedings thereof, and to Peter Wyzlic M.A. for his valuable tips in handling the computer. He extends his thanks to Dr. Cathy Cantwell (Canterbury), Susanne Kammüller M.A. (Bonn), and to Dr. Robert Mayer (Canterbury) for their assistance in questions of English style.

THE 'JIG RTEN GZHAG PA  
IN THE KANJUR MANUSCRIPT  
OF THE NEWARK MUSEUM

SIGLINDE DIETZ (GÖTTINGEN / GERMANY)

In the Tibetan Collection of the Newark Museum (Newark, New Jersey) we find a fragmentary Manuscript Kanjur from Batang in Khams which was dated by ELEANOR OLSEN to the 16th century and by VALRAE REYNOLDS to the 15th or 16th centuries. 15 volumes from the 23 surviving Kanjur volumes belong to the Sūtra division. PETER SKILLING prepared a preliminary report on this Kanjur the draft of which he was friendly enough to send to me.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore he published a short description of the Batang Kanjur and his observations of specific features of the *Mahāsūtras* in the Newark Manuscript Kanjur in his edition of the *Mahāsūtras*.<sup>2</sup>

This Kanjur contains in volume *Mdo bsde, Va* (Acc. No. 20.490), Fol. 1-77b6 a version of 'Jig rten gzhag pa, Skt. *Lokaprajñapti*, "(Treatise on) the arrangement of the world". This description of the cosmological and cosmogonical ideas of the Buddhists belongs to the canonical Abhidharma works of the Sarvāstivādins. The complete text is preserved in Tibetan translation. The film of the relevant volume of the Kanjur manuscript from Batang was made accessible to me through the kindness of Valrae Reynolds, Curator of the Oriental Collections of the Newark Museum. In my paper I shall examine the peculiarities of this Kanjur with reference to some specimens from the sixth chapter of 'Jig rten gzhag pa which is contained in volume *Mdo bsde, Va*, fol. 11b8-19b7. For the publication of this chapter of the 'Jig rten gzhag pa I was able to use 12 Kanjur and Tanjur versions.<sup>3</sup>

In the Newark Manuscript Kanjur the 'Jig rten gzhag pa does not have a division into *bam po*, but only a division into 14 *tshigs*. Other Kanjur versions have a division into eight *bam po* and 14 *tshigs* and

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<sup>1</sup> Now published as SKILLING 2001.

<sup>2</sup> SKILLING 1994: XXVI ff.

<sup>3</sup> The Sigla used here are those of HARRISON / EIMER 1997: XI-XIV.

the Tanjur versions one into nine *bam po* and 14 *tshigs*.<sup>4</sup> The invocation in the beginning of the text (fol. 1b) agrees with that in the Kanjur versions and reads | *thams cad mkhyen pa la phyag 'tshal lo* | | , “Homage to the Omniscient (Buddha)!”, whereas the Tanjur versions have | *bcom ldan 'das Śākya thub pa la phyag 'tshal lo*, “Homage to the venerable Śākyamuni!” Each folio contains nine to ten lines.

In the Newark Manuscript Kanjur the *shad* is represented in several ways: most often as the standard vertical stroke which may be replaced by a short half-stroke after final *nga* or by two vertically arranged dots over a tail curling to the right. In verses we find only single strokes and never double strokes.

Abbreviations and contractions are freely used and not only at the end of a line. Thus we find the following contractions: *gnasu*, 'gyuro, *gcigo*, *cigo*, *brgyado*, *bzhagnas* (for *gzhag gnas*), *tsamo*, *rjesu*, *yongsu*, *yino*, *legso*, *mdzeso*. Some abbreviations are, e.g. 'joms, *de ltar* (for *de lta bur*), *gsuṃ*, *rnaṃs*, *thaṃd* (for *thams cad*), *naṃs*, *seṃn* (for *sems can*).

Prefixes are frequently omitted, e.g. we have almost always *cig* (for *gcig*) and find *ñis* (for *gñis*), *skor* (for *bskor*), *kar* (instead of *dkar*). Also suffixes are omitted in words like *phyog* (for *phyogs*), *srog chag* (for *srog chags*) and always *rig* (for *rigs*).

There are some specific words which recur regularly. Like in the other Kanjur versions of the 'Jig rten *gzhag pa* the Sanskrit word *ud-dāna* is translated *sdom la*, “index of content”, and *antaroddāna* with *bar sdom la* instead of *mdo la*, “in short”, and *bar gyi mdo la* of the Tanjur editions. Furthermore we find everywhere *zhing du*, “in breadth”, instead of *zheng du*; *mgo*, “head”, instead of *mgo bo*; *ba lang yog pa*, “hide of an ox”, instead of *ba lang gi ko ba*; *ri mo*, “honour”, instead of *rim gro*; *tshad*, “time of life”, instead of *tshe'i tshad*; *zla*, “month”, instead of *zla ba*; 'khor ra 'khor, “all round”, instead of *kho ra khor*; *dngar*, “sweet”, instead of *mngar*; *ci 'ang* instead of *ci yang*. The words *yan lag*, “branch”, and *yal ga*, “branch, bough”, which occur side by side and are quasi synonyms are constantly interchanged and mingled. In chapter 6.4 we find always *brtsis pa ni* or *brtsis pa*, “according to the calculation”, instead of *brtsis na*,

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<sup>4</sup> Cf. DIETZ 1988: 115-117.

“if one calculates”, in the translation of Sanskrit *gaṇanayā*, “in the calculation”. In all the Kanjur editions we find the reading *gser gyi bye ma bdal cing* for *gser gyi phye ma brdal cing*, “golden sand is spread”. For the “battle elephant” of Indra we find four variant readings: *g.yul ngor chas pa* in CDNQ, *g.yul ngor spyod pa* in ELST, *g.yul ngor spyad pa* in F and *g.yul ngor bcad pa* in F\*.

The *uddānas* in the beginning of the chapters are very faulty. The names of the groups of gods etc. are full of mistakes or their orthography is changed at every instance. For *'Thab bral gyi lha*, “Yāma god”, we find *mTha' bral gyi lha* or *'Thab bral pa'i lha*; *Tshangs kyi lha* instead of *Tshangs ris kyi lha*, “Brahmakāyika god”; *Tshangs pa chen po pa'i lha* instead of *Tshangs pa chen po'i lha*, “Mahābrahma god”; *'Od chung ba rnams* instead of *'Od chung gi lha rnams*, “Parī-tābha gods”; ... *mched kyi lha* instead of ... *mched pa'i lha*, “<sup>o</sup>āyatana god”. Other names are *Bsdus 'jos* or *'joms* instead of *Bsdus gzhom*, “(the hell) Saṃghāta”; *Ngu'i bod* instead of *Ngu 'bod*, “(the hell) Raurava”; *Gang* instead of *Gangs*, “Himavat”; *Spos gyi ngan ldang* instead of *Spos kyi ngad ldang*, “Gandhamādana”; *Dal gyi blab* or *'bab* instead of *Dal gyis 'bab*, “Mandākini”. The transliteration of Sanskrit names and words varies and deviates from other editions. We find *ud pa la*, *pad ma*, *ku mu ta*, *Gang ga*, *Sin du*, *Pag shu*; *tsa dan* or *tsa dang* for *tsan dan* “sandal-wood” and everywhere *sa la* for *sā la*, “Sāl tree”.

Most mistakes occur among the numerals in chapter 6.4, where the life-span of gods, men and beings in the hells are treated. In those parts of the text where the same wording is repeated several times single words or phrases or whole paragraphs are omitted by mistake. Thus the description of the life-span of men in the continents of Pūrvavideha and Aparagodanīya are lost as well as the computation of the life-span of the Trāyastriṃśa-Gods calculated in men's years. In the calculation of the duration of life of the beings in the Raurava-hell E (i.e. the Newark Kanjur), L, S and T specify the “year” *lo* with the apposition *sems can dmyal ba pa'i* “of the beings of the hell”. In the beginning of chapter 6.5 where the mountains are described the Newark Kanjur loses the phrase *ri nag po gzhan gsum yod do* “lie other three black mountains” by haplography. In chapter 6.11 half a paragraph concerning the description of the findings of the four

heavenly messengers who explore the doings of the mankind is lost by haplography. The resort of the elephants during the summer time is omitted in all Kanjur versions.

In a paper “Remarks on the textual transmission of four stanzas from the *Lokaprajñāpīśāstra*”<sup>5</sup> I had examined the transmission of these verses in the nine Tibetan Tanjur and Kanjur editions available to me at that time. In these verses the four main rivers of India are described. The textual transmission of the second verse is the most interesting, since we can differentiate three branches of transmission on account of the second part of the verse. The Sanskrit text of this verse is as follows:

Gaṅgā ca Sindhuś ca nadī ca Vakṣuḥ  
Sītāpī ca rukmiṇī phenamālīnī |  
vahanti mūrdhnā caturo viśiṣṭā  
diśaś catasro viśtāḥ samantāt ( | | )

“Gaṅgā as well as Sindhu, the river Vakṣu and Sītā, which shines brightly and is garlanded with foam, (these) four excellent (rivers) flow from (all sides) heading in the four directions.”

The second part of this verse in the Tibetan translations reads:

1. The version of CDNQ:

| 'bab cing thams cad bsil [v.l. gsal CDQ] ba'i chu yin te | (c)  
| phyogs bzhi kho ra khor yug dag nas 'byung (d)

“They flow, all having cool (CDQ: “clear”) water, and proceed from all sides (in) the four directions.”

2. The version of FF\*:

| chu gang khyud [v.l. khyab F] par 'phags pa bzhi 'bab ste | (c)  
| phyogs bzhi dag na [v.l. tu F\*] kun tu rnam par 'bab | (d)

“filled with water (and all) encircling, (these) four excellent (rivers) flow and spread out on all sides in the four directions.”

3. The version of LST:

| chus gang khyad par bzhi 'bab ste | (c)  
| 'bab cing thams cad bsil ba'i chu yin te | (d)  
| phyogs bzhi kho ra khor yug dag nas 'byung | (e)

“filled with water (these) four excellent (rivers) flow; they flow, all (of them) having cool water, and proceed from all sides (in) the four directions.”

<sup>5</sup> DIETZ 1996: 7-15.



In the last version line c agrees with line c in FF\*, but *'phags pa* is omitted and line d is added and agrees with line c in CDNQ. The reading of FF\* is the closest one to the Sanskrit text.

As I mentioned in the paper, FF\* and LST belong to the Kanjur editions of the so-called Them spangs ma tradition. For the transmission of the Newark Kanjur it is important to know that the variant readings of the second stanza in the Newark Kanjur do not agree with those of the other Kanjur editions, but with the readings of the Tanjur tradition. In line c it has the same variant *gsal ba'i chu* "clear water" as CDQ.

Besides these readings which the Newark Kanjur has in common with the Tanjurs, the readings of the *'Jig rten gzhag pa* in the Newark Kanjur agree more often with the Kanjur manuscripts of London, Tokyo and Stog Palace. Despite of its many corruptions resulting from its transmission the *'Jig rten gzhag pa* in the Newark Kanjur is a very valuable testimony in the editing of this text on account of its frequent independent readings.

## SIGLA, ABBREVIATIONS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

- A Tabo Manuscript Fragments, [Running no. 148, Reel no. 8, Photo nos. 12 below - 14], vol. *Ka*, fol. 90 b7; foll. 92 and 97.
- C Cone Tanjur, Microfiche Edition of the Institute for Advanced Studies of World Religions, Stony Brook, N. Y., 1974: vol. *I* (60), fol. 13b1-23b5.
- D sDe dGe Tanjur, *The Tibetan Tripitaka, Taipei Edition* 1991: vol. 41 (vol. *I* (60)), fol. 13a4-23a7. D followed by a number refers to a text catalogued in *Chibetto Daizōkyō Sōmokuroku*.
- E Newark Manuscript Kanjur, vol. *Va*, fol. 11 b8 - 19 b7.
- F Phug brag Manuscript Kanjur, Microfiche Edition of the Institute for Advanced Studies of World Religions, Stony Brook, N. Y., 1990, vol. 79, Fiche #878 42E = fol. 258 b8 - Fiche #878 44F = fol. 265a2. F followed by a number refers to a text catalogued in EIMER 1993.
- F\* Phug brag Manuscript Kanjur, Microfiche Edition of the Institute for Advanced Studies of World Religions, Stony Brook, N. Y., 1990, vol. 97, Fiche #896 37B = fol. 216a6 - Fiche #896 39E = fol. 230 b3. F\* followed by a number refers to a text catalogued in EIMER 1993.
- G Ganden Tanjur, vol. *Khu* (62), fol. 18a6-32a3.
- L Manuscript Kanjur (Or.6724), housed in the British Museum, London, Microfilm of vol. 61 (*Mdo* vol. 37), fol. 19a7-33a5.
- N Narthang Tanjur, Microfilm of the Staatsbibliothek Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, vol. *Khu* (62), fol. 16a1-28a6.
- Q Peking Tanjur, *The Tibetan Tripitaka, Peking Edition* 1955-1961: vol. 115 (vol. *Khu* (62)), fol. 15a7-27b1. Q followed by a number refers to a text listed in the above catalogue.
- S The (s)Tog Palace Manuscript of the Tibetan Kanjur, Repr. Leh 1980, vol. 88, fol. 19a2-33a4. S followed by a number refers to a text catalogued in SKORUPSKI 1985.
- T Manuscript Kanjur in the Kawaguchi Collection of the Tōyō Bunko, Tokyo, Microfilm of vol. 93 (*Mdo* vol. 37), fol. 18a8-32a2.

ADAW Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin

IATS International Association for Tibetan Studies

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- , "Remarks on the textual transmission of four stanzas from the *Lokaprajñaptiśāstra*". In: *Suhrllekhāḥ. Festgabe für Helmut Eimer*, ed. MICHAEL HAHN, JENS-UWE HARTMANN und ROLAND STEINER. Swisttal-Odendorf 1996 (Indica et Tibetica. 28), 7-15.
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APPENDIX:  
PRELIMINARY BASIC CATALOGUE  
OF TWO VOLUMES FROM THE NEWARK KANJUR

The present catalogue is just a basic and preliminary list in so far as it provides the locations, titles and colophons of the individual texts available in the volumes *Mdo bsde*, *Tsha* and *Va*. More detailed descriptions and interpretations of the texts will be added in the complete catalogue of the Kanjur Manuscript from Bathang.<sup>6</sup>

*MDO BSDE, TSHA // 20.472*

1. Abhiniṣkramaṇasūtra<sup>7</sup>

fol. 1b rgya gar skad du | | A-bhi-ni-skra-ma-na Su-tra :  
bod skad du | | mNgon bar byung ba'i mdo :<sup>8</sup>

fol. 104b5 mngon par byung ba'i mdo | | | | bam po bcu gñis  
pa rdzogs so | | rgya gar gyi mkhen po ā-tsa-rya dar-ma-shri-  
bad-tra dang | zhu chen gyi lo tsa dge slong rin-bzangs-pos  
bsgyur cing zhus te | gtan la phab pa | | | |

2. Ārya-dharmaketu-Mahāyānasūtra<sup>9</sup>

fol. 104b6 rgya gar skad du | | Ā-rya-dha-rma-ke-tu na-ma Ma-ha-  
ya-na-su-tra | bod skad du : 'Phags-pa-chos-kyi-rgyal-mtshan  
zhes bya ba Theg-pa-chen-po'i mdo | |

fol. 105a2-3 'phags pa chos kyi rgyal mtshan zhes bya ba theg pa  
chen po'i mdo rdzogsho | |

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<sup>6</sup> List of symbols:

( ) omitted in the manuscript

{ } superfluous syllables (dittography)

(underlined letter) letter written as a subscript

˙ punctuation mark (used instead of *śad*)

ṃ *m* replaced by a dot (*anusvāra*) over the syllable base.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. D 301; F 255; Q 967; S 40. The section of this Sūtra corresponding to *Bimbisārapratyudgamana-mahāsūtra* was published in SKILLING 1994: 59-111. In this edition the Newark Kanjur has the siglum A.

<sup>8</sup> Fol. 1b contains 3 lines, fol. 2a 5 lines, fol. 2b 6 lines, 3a 7 lines, 3b-4a 8 lines and 4b ff. 9 lines.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. D 254; Q 920; S 80.

3. Ārya-mahābherīhāarakaparivarta nāma Mahāyānasūtra<sup>10</sup>

- fol. 105a3 rgya gar skad du : Ā-rya-ma-ha-bhi-ri-ha-ra-ka nā-ma Ma-  
hā-ya-nā-su-tra | bod skad du : 'Phags-pa-rnga-bo-che-chen-po'i  
le'u zhes bya ba Theg-pa-chen-po'i mdo | | bam po dang po :
- fol. 112b6 bam po gñis pa :
- fol. 119a3 bam po gsum pa |
- fol. 126b5 bam po bzhi pa |<sup>11</sup>
- fol. 132b8 bam po lnga ste tha ma'o |
- fol. 138a1-2 'phags pa theg pa'i mdo rnga-bo-che-chen-po'i-le'u  
rdzogsö | | rgya gar gyi mkhan po byid-dyi-ka-ra-bra-ba dang  
| lo tsa ba ban-'de dpal gyi lhun pos bsgyur zhu chen kyi lo tsa  
ba ban-'de dpal brtsegs kyis zhus te gtan la phab pa | |

4. Karmaprajñapti<sup>12</sup>

- fol. 138a2 rgya gar skad du | Kar-ma-prad-ña-ba-ti | bod skad  
du : las gtags pa
- fol. 149b6 bstan chos chen po chos mngon pa las las gdags pa tshigs  
dang po'o |
- fol. 150b4 las gdags pa tshigs gñis pa'o |
- fol. 159a6 las gdags pa tshigs gsum pa'o |
- fol. 160b9 las gdags pa tshigs bzhi pa'o |
- fol. 163a2 las gdags pa'i tshigs lnga pa'o |
- fol. 164b2 las gdags pa tshigs drug pa'o |
- fol. 167b2 las gdags pa tshigs bdun pa'o |
- fol. 169b8 las gdags pa tshigs brgya(d) pa'o |
- fol. 175a1 las gdags pa tshigs dgu'o |
- fol. 178a6 las gdags pa tshigs bcu pa'o |
- fol. 186a8 chos mngon par las gdags pa bshad pa tshig(s) bcu gcig  
pa ste | las gdags pa bshad pa gsum pa rdzogs sho | |

<sup>10</sup> Cf. D 222; F 297; Q 888; S 94.

<sup>11</sup> Here the order of folios in the film is disturbed: 124/5a, b; 126a, b; 127b, 126b; 126b; 127a, b.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. D 4088; Q 5589; S 286.

5. Karmavibhaṅga<sup>13</sup>

fol. 186a9 rgya gar skad du : Kar-ma-bi-bha-ga : bod skad du : las  
rnamṣ par 'byed pa |

6. Ārya-karmāvaraṇaviśuddhi nāma Mahāyānasūtra<sup>14</sup>

fol. 203a3 rgya gar skad du Ā-rya-kar-rma-a-ba-ra-na-byi-shud-di  
na-ma ma-hā-ya-na-su-tra bod skad du : 'phags pa las kyi sgrib  
pa rnamṣ par dag pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo |

fol. 212b3 'phags pa las kyi sgrib pa rnam par dag pa zhes bya ba  
theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogso | | rgya gar gyi mkhan po 'dzi-  
na-mi-tra dang prad-ñā-par-ma dang zhu chen kyi lo tsa ban-de  
ye shes sde la stsogs pas bsgyur cing zhugs te : gtan la phab pa  
| |

7. Ārya-karmāvaraṇapratiprasabdhi nāma Mahāyānasūtra<sup>15</sup>

fol. 212b4 rgya gar skad du Ā-rya-kar-ma-a-ba-ra-na-pad-te | sra-  
ba-nī na-ma ma-ya-na-su-ta (*sic*) bod skad du 'phags pa las kyi  
sgrib pa 'rgyun gcod pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo |

fol. 220b1-2 'phags pa las kyi sgrib pa rgyun gcod pa zhes bya ba  
theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogso | |

8. Ārya-saṅghātīśūtradharmaparyāya<sup>16</sup>

fol. 220b3 rgya gar skad du Ā-rya-sang-gha-su-tra-dar-ma-pa-rya-ya  
(*sic*) | |

bod skad du 'phags pa <dge 'dun> zung gi mdo'i chos kyi rnamṣ  
grangṣ bam po dang po | |

fol. 231b5-6 'phags pa zung gi mdo'i chos kyi rnamṣ grangṣ bam po  
gñis pa

fol. 241b5 'phags pa zung gi mdo'i chos kyi rnam grangṣ | bam  
po gsum pa :

fol. 251a1-2 'phags pa gzung gi mdo'i chos kyi rnam grangṣ bam  
po bzhi pa |

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<sup>13</sup> Cf. D 338; Q 1005; cf. LÉVI 1932: 183-214. S 287 = F 186 = F 404 is a different version containing the introduction with the story of Taudeya's rebirth as a dog. Cf. LÉVI 1932; the mutual relationships of the various versions are treated on pp. 1-19.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. D 218; F 180; Q 884; S 128.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. D 219; F 198, 320; Q 885; S 79.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. D 102; F 128; Q 770; S 76. Cf. CANEVASCINI 1993.

- fol. 260a5 'phags pa gzungs gi mdo'i chos kyis rnams grangs rdzogs  
sho |  
fol. 260a6 yen mche bkra shis gyur cig | tshe ring bar gyur cig nad  
med par gyur cig | bkra shis phun sum 'tshogs par gyur cig |

*MDO BSDE, VA // 20.490<sup>17</sup>*

Volume *dkar chag*:

- | glegs bam va pa 'di nang na  
[1] 'jig rten gzhag pa'i mdo' |  
[2] 'phags pa theg pa chen po'i man ngag dang |  
[3] 'phags pa chos kun tu 'gro ba dang | |  
[4] da (*sic*) bzhin gshegs pa'i 'gro ba dang :  
[5] mdo' chen po stong pa ñid dang | |  
[6] mdo' chen po lnga gsum pa dang |  
[7] gsal rgyas kyi tshigs su bcad pa dang  
[8] mchod rten bskor ba'i tshigs su bcad pa dang :  
[9] bkra shis pa brjod pa'i tshigs su brjod pa dang |  
[10] bkra shis kyi tshigs su bcad pa dang | |  
[11] de bzhin gshegs pa lnga'i bkra shis kyi tshigs su bcad pa dang  
| |  
<[12] bkra shis kyi tshigs su bcad pa)  
<[13] bkra shis kyi tshigs su bcad pa)  
[14] bde legs kyi tshigs su bcad pa dang | |  
[15] dkon mam chog (*sic*) gsum kyi bde legs kyi tshigs su bcad  
dang |  
[16] bkra shis dam pa gang zhig gi rtse pa dang |  
[17] yang bkra shis dam pa rtse pa dang :  
[18] bde legs su 'gyur ba'i tshigs su bcad pa dang :  
bcu drug<sup>18</sup> bzhugs so | | | | yon mchod bkra shis par gyur cig | |

<sup>17</sup> The order of the photographs on the film is as follows: fol. 246b-229a; 1b-228b; 247a-260a. Each folio contains nine or ten lines.

<sup>18</sup> The texts nos. 12 and 13 are not mentioned in this list. Therefore we find here the sum *bcu drug* "sixteen".

1. Lokaprajñapti<sup>19</sup>

- fol. 1b lo-ka-prad-ña-ba-ti  
 bod skad du | 'jig rten gzhang pa |  
 | thams cad mkhyen ba la phyag 'tshal lo | |
- fol. 3b3 [Q 3b5] 'jig rten bzhag pa las tshigs dang po'o  
 fol. 6a7 [Q 6a5] 'jig rten bzhags pa las tshigs gñis pa'o  
 fol. 7b2 [Q 9a3] 'jig rten bzhag pa las tshig gsum pa'o  
 fol. 10a9 [Q 13a5] 'jig rten bzhag pa las tshigs bzhi pa'o  
 fol. 11b8 [Q 15a7] 'jig rten bzhag pa las tshig lnga pa'o  
 fol. 19b7 [Q 27b1] 'jig rten bzhig (*sic*) pa las tshig drug pa'o  
 fol. 32b6 [Q 46b6] 'jig rten bzhag pa las tshig bdun pa'o  
 fol. 34a6 [Q 49a2] 'jig rten bzhig (*sic*) pa las tshigs brgyad pa'o  
 fol. 37a2 [Q 53a2] 'jig rten bzhags pa las tshigs dgu pa'o  
 fol. 38a3 [Q 54b1] 'jig rten bzhag pa las tshigs bcu ba'o  
 fol. 58a7 [Q 82a6] 'jig rten bzhag pa las tshigs bcu cig pa'o  
 fol. 61a1 [Q 85b6] 'jig rten bzhag pa las tshigs bcu ñis pa'o  
 fol. 64b1 [Q 90b5] 'jig rten bzhag (pa) las tshigs bcu gsum pa'o  
 fol. 77b6 [Q 111b8] 'jig rten bzhag pa la tshig bcu bzhi pa ste  
 rdzogs sho | |

2. Mahāyānopadeśa-nāma-mahāyāna-sūtra<sup>20</sup>

- fol. 77b6 rgya gar skad du : a-rya-ma-ha-ya-no-pa-ta-sha na(-ma)  
 ma-ha-ya-na-su-tra  
 bod skad du : 'phags pa theg pa chen po'i man ngag ces bya ba  
 theg pa chen po'i mdo' | |
- fol. 87b8 bden bstan pa zhes bya ba'i le'u'o  
 fol. 115a5-6 'phags pa theg pa chen po'i man ngag {ces bya ba theg  
 pa chen po man ngag} ces bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogs  
 sho | | rgya gar kyi mkhan po 'dzi na mi tra dang da na shi  
 la dang zhu chen gyi lo tsa ba ban dhe ye shes sdes bsgyur cing  
 zhus te skad gsar cad kyis kyang bcos nas gtan la phab pa | |

## 3.

- fol. 115a6 rgya gar skad du | a-rya-dā-sang-'ga'-ni na-ma ma-ha-  
 ya-na-su-tra |

<sup>19</sup> Cf. D 4086; F 230a, 403; Q 5587; S 313.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. D 169; F 163, 286; Q 836; S 50.



bod skad du 'phags pa chos kyis 'gro ba zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo' | |

fol. 194b2 'phags pa chos kun 'gro ba stong phrag pa'i mdo las rtsom pa med kyi le'u ste gñis rdzogs sho | |

4. Tathāgatasamgīti-nāma-mahāyāna-sūtra<sup>21</sup>

fol. 194b3 rgya gar skad du | ta-tha-ga-ta-sa-gi-ti na-ma ma-ha-ya-na-su-tra |

bod skad du | de bzhin gshegs pa 'gro ba zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo | |

fol. 229a7 de bzhin gshegs po (*sic*) 'gro ba zhes bya ba'i mdo' rdzogso | | rgya gar kyi mkhan po gñan kar pa dang | lo ba ban ta dpal gyi dbangs (*sic*) kyi (*sic*) bsgyur cing | zhu chen gyi lo tsa ba ban te dpal brtsegs gyis zhus te gtan la phab ba'o | |

5. Mahāsūnyatā-nāma-mahāsūtra<sup>22</sup>

fol. 229a8 rgya gar skad du | ma-hu (*sic*) shu-nya-ta na(-ma) ma-ha-su-tram |

bod skad du mco chen po stong pa ñid chen po zhes bya ba

fol. 238a7 mdo chen po stong pa ñid chen po zhes bya ba rdzogso | | | | rgya gar gyi mkhan po 'dzi na mi tra dang | prad ña bar ma dang | zhu chen gyi lo tsa ba ban 'di ye shes la stsogs pa bsgyur cing zhus te gtan la phab pa |

6. Pañcatraya-nāma-mahāsūtra<sup>23</sup>

fol. 238a8 rgya gar gyi skad du ban-tra-yan-na(-ma) mahā-su-tram |

bod skad du mdo chen po lnga gsum zhes bya ba

fol. 246a8 mdo chen po lnga gsum pa zhes bya ba rdzogs so | |

7. Prasenajid-gāthā<sup>24</sup>

fol. 246a8 | | rgya gar skad du | bra-se-na-dzid-ga-tha

bod skad du | gsal rgyal gyis tshigsu bcad pa

<sup>21</sup> Cf. D 229; F 366; Q 895; S 182.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. D 291; F 307; Q 957; S 202. This text was published in SKILLING 1994: 188-263.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. D 294; F 374; Q 960; S 118. This text was published in SKILLING 1994: 310-383.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. D 322; F 295; Q 988; S 259.

fol. 249a2 gsal rgyal gyi tshigsu bcad pa rdzogs sho | |

8. Caityapradakṣiṇa-gāthā<sup>25</sup>

fol. 249a2 | | rgya gar skad du | rtsve-tya-pra-dag-shi-na-ga-thā  
| | bod skad du | mchod rten bskor ba'i tshigsu bcad pa  
fol. 251a2 mchod rten bskor ba'i tshigs su bcad rdzogs sho | |

9.

fol. 251a2 bkra shis pa brjod pa'i tshigs su bcad pa  
fol. 252b3 bkra shis par brjod pa'i tshigs su bcad pa rdzogs sho | |

10. Maṅgalagāthā<sup>26</sup>

fol. 252b4 | | rgya gar skad du mang-ga-la-ga-thā | |  
| | bod skad du | | bkra shis kyi tshigs su bcad pa  
fol. 253/4<sup>27</sup>b2-3 bkra shis kyi tshigs su bcad pa rdzogs sho | |  
| | rgya gar gyi mkhan po dzi na mi tra dang | zhu chen gyi  
lo tsa ba ban te ye shes sdas (*sic*) sgyur cing gtan la phab pa | |

11. Pañcatathāgatamaṅgala-gāthā<sup>28</sup>

fol. 253/4b3 | | rgya gar skad du | pan--tsa-ta-tha-gha-ta-mang-  
gang-la-ga-tha |  
bod skad du | de bzhin gshegs pa'i bkra shis kyi tshigs su bcad  
pa  
fol. 253/4b8/9 de bzhin gshegs pa lngas tshigs su bcad pa rdzogs  
so | | | | rgya gar gyi mkhan po 'dzin na mi tra dang | shri  
len tra po de dang zhu chen gyi lo tsa ba bde ye shes sdas (*sic*)  
bsgyur cing gtan la phab | |

12. Maṅgala-gāthā

fol. 253/4b9 | | rgya gar skad du mang-ga-la-gā-thā | |  
bod skad du : bkra shis kyi tshigs su bcad pa  
fol. 255a6 bkra shis kyi tshigs su bcad pa rdzogs sho | |

13. Maṅgala-gāthā

<sup>25</sup> Cf. D 321; Q 987; S 104.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. D 4400, 4410, 4411; Q 449, 724, 4603, 5943, 5954, 5956 and the texts Nos. 12 and 13.

<sup>27</sup> At the margin: *va 200 nga-lnga* (deleted) *nga-sum* : *nga-bzhi*.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. D 822, 3782; Q 445; S 242, 762.

- fol. 255a6 | | rgya gar skad du | mang-ga-la-gā-the (*sic*) |  
 bod skad du bkra shis kyi tshigs su bcad pa
- fol. 256b6 bkra shis kyi tshigs su bcad pa rdzogs sho | |
14. Svasti-gāthā<sup>29</sup>
- fol. 256b6 | | rgya gar skad du | svā-sta-gi-thā (*sic*) :  
 bod skad du : bde legs gyi tshigs su bcad pa
- fol. 258a5/6 bde legs gyi tshigs su bcad pa rdzogs so | |
15. Ratnatrayasvasti-gāthā<sup>30</sup>
- fol. 258a6 | | rgya gar skad du | ra-na-tra-ya-svā-ste-ga-tha | |  
 bod skad du | dkon mchog gsum gyi bde legs kyi tshigs su bcad  
 pa
- fol. 258b1 dkon mchog gsum gyi bde legs kyi tshigs su bcad pa  
 rdzogs sho | |
- 16.
- fol. 258b1/2 | | dkon mchog sum la phyag tshal lo | | bkra shis  
 dam pa gang zhig gis | [10 blessings beginning with these words]
- fol. 258b9 gshegs bla blang<sub>s</sub> te tshigs su bcad pa rdzogs sho | |
- 17.
- fol. 258b9 [title illegible] [10 blessings containing the words:] bkra  
 shis dam pa gang zhig gis | ... | des ni 'dis yang bkra shis  
 mchog gyur cig
- fol. 259a7 sangs rgyal byin gyis rlabs gyis rgyal ba gshegs pa mngon  
 par (bstod pa)<sup>31</sup> rdzogs sho
- 18.
- fol. 259a7 | | dkon mchogs (*sic*) gsum la phyag 'tshal lo | | [10  
 blessings containing the words:] bkra shis dam pa gang zhig gis  
 | ... | des ni 'dis yang bkra shis legs [or: mchog] gyur cig |
- fol. 259b4 klu'i dbyangs kyi tshigs su bcad pas rgyal ba gshegs pa  
 mngon par bstod pa rdzogs sho | |

<sup>29</sup> Cf. D 817; F 99, 237, 371; Q 440; S 329.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. D 827; Q 450; S 332, 763.

<sup>31</sup> Added under the line.

19. Svastyayana-gāthā<sup>32</sup>

fol. 259b4 | | rgya gar skad du : sta-ba-sva-sti-ya-na-ga-tha |  
bod skad du bde legsu gyur pa'i tshigsu bcad pa

fol. 260a4/5 de dag kun tu bde legs tu gyur pa'i tshigs su bcad pa  
rdzogs sho | |

fol. 260a6/7 | | om ye dhar-rma he-tu-pra-bha-ba he-tung te-shin  
(sic) ta-tha-gha-ta hy-a-ba-tad te-shan tsa yo ni-ro-dha e-bha-ti  
(sic) ma-ha-shra-ma-ne-ye (sic) svo-hā (sic) | | <sup>33</sup>  
gang gis lus med chos de la | |

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<sup>32</sup> Cf. D 818; F 100, 238; Q 441; S 328.

<sup>33</sup> This is the famous *ye dharmā* formula which can be found, e.g. in WALDSCHMIDT 1957-1962: 28 b.10; c.6,8 *ye dharmā hetuprabhavā hetuṃ teṣāṃ tathāgato hy avadat teṣāṃ ca yo nirodha evaṃvādī mahāśramaṇaḥ* | | “Of all the objects which proceed from a cause, the Tathāgata has explained the cause and their cessation. Thus is the doctrine of the great Śramaṇa.”

# THE TRANSMISSION OF THE *THIG-LE BCU-DRUG* AND THE *BKA' GDAMS GLEGS BAM*

FRANZ-KARL EHRHARD (LUMBINI)

## I. INTRODUCTION

While working on literary sources dealing with the self-originated Avalokiteśvara statues, and especially the legends concerning the Ārya Va-ti bzang-po from Mang-yul Skyid-grong, I came across a passage in the collection of texts called “The Book of the Bka’-gdams[-pa Tradition]” (*bka’ gdams glegs bam*) referring to three of these statues and identifying them with three famous Bka’-gdams-pa masters of the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> century. Like the statues Ārya Va-ti bzang-po, Ārya ’Ja’-ma-li and Ārya ’Bu-khang, they are called “Three Brothers” (*sku mched gsum*), and this label stands for Po-to-ba (1027/31-1105), Phu-chung-ba (1031-1109) and Spyang-snga-pa (1038-1103), the three well-known disciples of ’Brom-ston Rgyal-ba’i ’byung-gnas (1005-1064) who transmitted the teachings of Atiśa Dīpaṅkaraśrījñāna (982-1054) in Tibet.

A closer look at this passage shows that the identification of Avalokiteśvara icons with Bka’-gdams-pa masters is part of a longer discussion concerning the incarnation status of the disciples of ’Brom-ston Rgyal-ba’i ’byung-gnas. It turns out that they are also regarded as embodiments of the “Protectors of the Three [Tantric] Families” (*rigs gsum mgon po*): Phu-chung-ba being an emanation of Avalokiteśvara, Po-to-ba of Mañjuśrī, and Spyang-snga-pa of Vajrapāṇi. As we find the whole discussion at the end of the biography of Atiśa known as *Rnam thar rgyas pa yongs grags*,<sup>1</sup> the impression is one of following a strategy to unify the three important transmitters of Bka’-gdams-pa teachings at a time when the tradition as such had spread already from

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<sup>1</sup> See Pha-chos 1994: 223.20-226.1; this biography of Atiśa, written by Mchims Nam-mkha’ grags (1210-1285), the seventh abbot of Dpal Snar-thang, is found in all accessible editions of the *Bka’ gdams glegs bam*. Pha-chos 1994 is a modern edition of its first part based on the Sde-dge xylograph produced by Si-tu Paṅ-chen Chos-kyi ’byung-gnas (1700-1774); if not otherwise mentioned I quote from this edition in the following.

Mnga'-ris skor-gsum in the west up to the domain of the king of Tsong-kha in the east.

The problem of the author of the biography of Atiśa was that he used the scheme of the three Avalokiteśvara brothers to legitimate the status of the disciples of 'Brom-ston Rgyal-ba'i 'byung-gnas as incarnations of the protectors of the three tantric families. He seemed to have had his own doubts about this strategy, since he states that the "scriptural source" (*khungs*) for this kind of identification does not come from the Bka'-gdams-pa tradition itself. By the 15<sup>th</sup> century, however, such doubts were no longer entertained and as a literary source for the episode which brings together Po-to-ba, Phu-chung-ba and Sphyan-snga-pa as the "Three Brothers Ārya [Avalokiteśvara]" (*'phags pa skumched gsum*), another text from the biographical tradition was brought forward; it bears the title *Jo bo rje'i rnam thar lam yig*. Unfortunately this work, an apocryphal text considered to be a composition of 'Brom-ston Rgyal-ba'i 'byung-gnas himself, does not contain any reference to either the self-originated Avalokiteśvara statues or to the three Bka'-gdams-pa masters. The reason for taking this text as the source for the identification of these two triads was obviously its mention of the Svayambhūcaitya in Nepal as an important stopover during Atiśa's journey to Tibet.<sup>2</sup> According to the passage in the *Rnam thar rgyas pa yongs grags*, it was precisely at this sacred site in Nepal where the spiritual identities of Po-to-ba, Phu-chung-ba and Sphyan-snga-pa were revealed by "non-humans" (*mī ma yin*) to a yogin who had joined their company in circumambulating the caitya.

Having reaped these marginal results from consulting the works of the *Bka' gdams glegs bam* for which it is famous—i.e. the different texts concerning the biographical tradition of Atiśa—I decided to take a closer look at the collection as a whole and try to find out if there were more hints of Avalokiteśvara teachings, of how they were transmitted, and of the geographical areas where this took place. It was

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<sup>2</sup> The reference to the *Jo bo rje'i rnam thar lam yig* as the literary source for the identification between icons and masters is contained in Chos-'byung II: 319.8-320.4; this work was composed in the year 1484. The text of Chos-'byung IV, written in 1634, is for the greater part a verbatim copy of the earlier work; for the same reference see *ibid.*, 118.18-119.12. Atiśa's stay at the Svayambhūcaitya according to the *Jo bo rje'i rnam thar lam yig* is treated by DECLER 1996: 40.

only then that I discovered the importance of the spiritual practice of the cycle of the “Sixteen Spheres” (*thig le bcu drug*) for the way the collection of texts made its appearance and how it was handed down in the generations following the three brothers.

## II. THE “ARCHAIC VERSION” OF THE BKA' GDAMS GLEGS BAM

In one of the historiographical works of the Bka'-gdams-pa tradition written in the 15<sup>th</sup> century we find a good overview of the *Bka' gdams glegs bam* based on the classification of its content into different “scriptural sections” (*dpe tshan*). The collection as a whole consists of 54 of these sections, which are divided first into four “preparatory teachings” (*sbyor ba'i chos*) and into the remaining sections, which make up the “main part of the book” (*glegs bam dngos gzhi*). It is explicitly stated that the first four sections should not be confounded with the main part.

The four preparatory teachings turn out to be two works attributed to 'Brom-ston Rgyal-ba'i 'byung-gnas, with the titles '*Brom chos kyi rgyal po nyid kyis logs su nan gyi gtad pa'i bka' rgya* and *Rang rgyud skul ma 'debs pa dad pa'i ljon shing*. The first work is also known under the short title “The Book's Sealed Command” (*glegs bam kyi bka' rgya*) and should, according to its colophon, be read both prior to and after the promulgation of the actual book. The second work, too, consists for the most part of verses to be recited by the religious practitioner following this specific teaching of the Bka'-gdams-pas.

Although they do not actually belong to the main part of the *Bka' gdams glegs bam*, the two remaining works are characterized as being of “great importance for both the preparatory [teachings] and the main part [of the book], [these] two” (*sbyor dngos gnyis kar gal che*). The first one bears the alternative titles *Glegs bam gyi chos 'byung* or *Lha chos bdun ldan gyi bla ma brgyud pa rnams kyi rnam thar*, both titles suggesting that this text will shed light on the individual teachers who transmitted the *Bka' gdams glegs bam*. The second work is devoted to the “doctrine of the sixteen spheres” (*thig le bcu drug bstan pa*) and more specifically to the “practice [of these teachings] as a spiritual experience” (*nyams len*). As different iconographical forms of Avalokiteśvara are described in this text, it is obviously the best literary source concerning the actual spiritual practices relating to the Great Compassionate One in the book of the Bka'-gdams-pa tradition.

The classification of the collection into different scriptural sections ends with a fifth work which should not be included in the main part. It is the text *Rgyal ba yab sras kyi bkod pa phun sum tshogs pa'i gter* (or *Thugs dam jo bo yab sras kyi bkod pa phun sum tshogs pa'i gter*), and the historiographical work of the 15<sup>th</sup> century again gives a reason for this fact. It is stated that “because [the text] appears as something that was later made by the one from Snar-thang, it is perceived as a condensed version, and thus this [work] should not be confounded with the main part.”<sup>3</sup> Indeed, at the end of the text we find a note that it was set down in writing at Dpal Snar-thang, the “place of seclusion of [all] the scholars and siddhas” (*mkhas grub kyi dben gnas*). Although a date for the composition is given, i.e. a “male water-tiger year” (*chu pho stag gi lo*), there is no author’s name stated.

The colophons of these two works, which stand out as quite important for the transmission history of the *Bka' gdams glegs bam* and its Avalokiteśvara teachings, in both cases give Dpal Snar-thang as the place of composition, and in the *Glegs bam gyi chos 'byung* again we find a male water-tiger year as the date when the text was written down. All things considered, the evidence seems quite strong that the two works came from the pen of the same man, who composed them in the same year in the monastery of Dpal Snar-thang in Gtsang province. This evidence is supported in the form of a rhetorical question by another historiographical work of the Bka'-gdams-pa tradition from the 15<sup>th</sup> century;<sup>4</sup> we are introduced thus to Mkhan-chen Nyi-ma rgyal-mtshan (1225-1305), the ninth abbot of Dpal Snar-thang:

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<sup>3</sup> The whole classification of the contents of the *Bka' gdams glegs bam* into different scriptural sections can be found in Chos-'byung II: 379.8-380.8; cf. Chos-'byung IV: 178.8-179.7. The just cited quotation closes this classification (... *phyis snar thang pas byas par snang bas / don bsdu lta bur snang la / 'di dang dngos gzhi la mi the'o*). It was H. Eimer who first pointed out this classificatory scheme in the work of Bsod-nams lha'i dbang-po, characterizing it at the time as a “still more archaic form of the *Bka' gdams glegs bam*” (see EIMER 1984: 45 & 47, note 11).

<sup>4</sup> This text was composed in 1494, i.e. ten years after the historiographical work of Bsod-nams lha'i dbang-po. The author, Las-chen Kun-dga' rgyal-mtshan, associated with the monastery of Rtse-thang in the Yarlung valley, had been a direct disciple of Bsod-nams lha'i dbang-po and we find a biographical sketch of his teacher in the same work; see *ibid.*, vol. 1, 622.2-624.6; cf. also VAN DER KUIJP 1987: 125, note 6.



Now, the ninth upādhyāya of Snar-thang, Mkhan-chen Nyi-ma rgyal-mtshan, listened to these teachings in their entirety and lived them as a spiritual experience. Afterwards, on the eighth day of the third Tibetan month of the male water-tiger year [= 1302] he produced the śāstra *Thugs dam rgyal ba yab sras kyi bkod pa phun sum tshogs pa* and the [accompanying] paintings.

Then on the thirtieth day of the twelfth Tibetan month of the same year, he wrote down the great history of the [doctrine of the] *Lha chos [bdun ldan]* as it came forth from the words of Bla-ma Brom[-ston Kumāramati] (b. 1271); and as one says that also the instruction text for living the Sixteen Spheres as a spiritual experience called *Lag len zung 'jug nyi zla'i thig le* was composed in Snar-thang [at that time]: isn't this just [the same] upādhyāya [who composed the other two works]?

It is certain that the [*Bka' gdams*] *glegs bam* originated in Snar-thang as well, it having been set down in writing [by Mkhan-chen Nyi-ma rgyal-mtshan] [as] what was lodged in the mind of 'Brom-ston Kumāra[mati].<sup>5</sup>

The ninth abbot of Dpal Snar-thang is thus the person who wrote down the three mentioned introductory works in the year 1302—each seemingly quite important for an understanding of the *Bka' gdams glegs bam* in its formative phase. As the quotation suggests further, Mkhan-chen Nyi-ma rgyal-mtshan was also involved in bringing the larger work into some kind of definite form by recording the words of his teacher 'Brom Kumāramati. But before coming to this decisive event in the process of codification, I shall give an overview of the sections of the main part as they are presented in the later historiographical literature.

With five of the 54 sections having been bracketed out—the two works attributed to 'Brom-ston Rgyal-ba'i 'byung-gnas and the three works of Mkhan-chen Nyi-ma rgyal-mtshan—there remain 49 sections in that part of the *Bka' gdams glegs bam* conceived as the central core of the book. They are divided into the 26 sections of the so-called “Teachings for the Father” (*pha chos*) and the 22 sections of the

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<sup>5</sup> See Chos-'byung III, vol. 2, 248.1-6 (*de la snar thang mkhan po dgu pa mkhan chen nyi ma rgyal mtshan gyis / chos 'di dag ma lus par gsan te thugs nyams su bzhes shas chu pho stag gi lo nam thongs kyi zla ba'i tshes brgyad la thugs dam rgyal ba yab sras kyi bkod pa phun sum tshogs pa'i bstan bcos dang / ras bris de bzhengs / de nas lo de'i rgyal zla ba'i sum cu'i tshes la bla ma 'brom gyi gsung las byung ba ltar lha chos kyi lo rgyus chen mo de mdzad / thig le bcu drug nyams su blang ba'i 'khrid yig lag len zung 'jug nyi zla'i thig le zhes bya ba de yang snar thang du mdzad zer ba snang bas / mkhan po 'di nyid yin nam snyam mo / snar thang du glegs bam mched pa yang / 'brom ston ku ma ra nyid kyi thugs la bzhugs pa yi ger bkod par nges so*).

“Teachings for the Sons” (*bu chos*); to this is added an “Additional Chapter” (*kha skong gi le’u*), containing prophecies etc.

We are quite well informed about the 22 sections of the *Bka’ gdams bu chos*, which consist of the “Twenty Teachings for Rngog [Legs-pa’i shes-rab]” (*rngog chos nyi shu*) and the “Two Teachings for Khu[-ston brtson-’grus]” (*khu chos gnyis*). They have already been described as examples of Buddhist narrative literature dealing with the former lives of ’Brom-ston Rgyal-ba’i ’byung-gnas, the narrator being Atiśa himself, who was staying on the mountain Lha-ri snying-po in Yer-pa. These narratives, which are said to have been requested from Atiśa by Rngog Legs-pa’i shes-rab (11<sup>th</sup> century) and by Khu-ston Brtson-’grus (1011-1075) themselves, contain not only a great amount of Buddhist dogmatic doctrine, but also numerous teachings concerning political morals of Buddhist rulers. They are thus of special importance for an analysis of the formation of political and religious ideologies in Tibet in the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>6</sup>

The 26 sections of the *Bka’ gdams pha chos* are for the greater part related to a work by Atiśa with the title *Byang chub sems dpa’ nor bu’i phreng ba* (*Bodhisattvaṃyāvali*) and its commentary in 23 chapters. The number of these chapters matches with the 23 sections of the “Teachings for the Father”, the latter term referring to ’Brom-ston Rgyal-ba’i ’byung-gnas as the person who requested the master for an explanation of these teachings. The commentary is thus an exchange of “questions and answers” (*zhus lan*) between Atiśa and his main Tibetan disciple. Bibliographical data on Atiśa’s text and an overview of the different chapters of the commentary are already available, and I will only point out the relation of this text to another work of the famous Buddhist scholar from modern-day Bengal.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> For an overview of the *Bka’ gdams bu chos* see SCHUH 1981: 1-23 [=Nos. 1-3]. The same volume also contains an analysis of the four prayers contained in all printed versions of the *Bka’ gdams glegs bam*, the last one providing details of the way the texts were compiled by Mkhan-chen Nyi-ma rgyal-mtshan in Dpal Snar-thang in the year 1302; cf. *ibid.*, 302-305 [=No. 352]. The block print used for this description was the one from Dga’ldan phun-tshogs gling (17<sup>th</sup> century).

<sup>7</sup> For an overview of the contents of the *Bodhisattvaṃyāvali* and its commentary see MEISEZAHN 1990: 448-450; the block print for this description was again the one from Dga’ldan phun-tshogs gling. The cover title for both works is *Jo bo yab sras kyi gsung bgros pha chos rin po che’i gter mdzod byang chub sems dpa’ nor bu’i phreng ba rtsa ’grel sog*; the commentary alone bears the title *Pha chos nyi shu*

An interesting statement in this respect was made by Gtsug-lag phreng-ba (1504-1566), the second Dpa'-bo sprul-sku, in his compendium on the religious history of Tibet:

[The text] *Byang chub sems dpa' nor bu'i phreng ba*, [which is] the root [of the *Bka' gdams glegs bam*], is a condensed version of the words of Jo-bo [Atiśa] by 'Brom[-ston Rgyal-ba'i 'byung-gnas]. And as this [text] and the letter to the king Neyapāla composed by Jo-bo [Atiśa] for the greater part made their appearance as one and the same [work], it is said that this king is of one mind-stream with 'Brom[-ston Rgyal-ba'i 'byung-gnas].<sup>8</sup>

According to this quotation the text of the *Bodhisattvamānyāvali*<sup>9</sup> is typologically similar to an epistle addressed to King Neyapāla, a ruler of the late Pāla dynasty who was a contemporary of Atiśa. To identify this letter according to Tibetan classifications we need to look at a collection of works translated all by Atiśa and his different Tibetan collaborators, and known under the title "The Hundred-and-some Small Teachings of the Lord [Atiśa]" (*jo bo'i chos chung brgya rtsa*). This collection was transmitted as a separate teaching tradition, as we can see, for example, from the *Gsan yig* of the Fifth Dalai Bla-ma. It contains both the *Byang chub sems dpa' nor bu'i phreng ba* and the letter to King Neyapāla, the latter work bearing the title *Dri ma med pa rin po che'i 'phrin yig* (*Vimalaratnalekha*) and forming the last item in the collection. The works of this collection are listed in the historiographical work of the

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*rtsa drug las zhus lan gyi dngos gzhi nor bu'i phreng ba le'u nyi shu rtsa gsum pa.*

<sup>8</sup> See Dpa'-bo Gtsug-lag phreng-ba: *Chos 'byung mkhas pa'i dga' ston*, Peking 1986, 709.21-710.1 (... *rtsa ba byang chub sems dpa' nor bu'i phreng ba ni 'brom gyis jo bo'i gsung bsdu pa yin la 'di dang jo bos nīrya (=neya) pa la (= pāla) la 'phrin yig mdzad pa phal cher gcig tu byung bas rgyal po de 'brom dang thugs rgyud gcig pa'o zhes* ...).

<sup>9</sup> The Fifth Dalai Bla-ma Ngag-dbang Blo-bzang rgya-mtsho (1617-1682) identifies the text as a translation by Atiśa himself, and adds in a note that the identification of this work in the *Bka' gdams glegs bam* as a version orally transmitted by 'Brom-ston Rgyal-ba'i 'byung-gnas is somewhat off the mark, contradicting as it does the generally accepted definitions of the "Teachings for the Father" and the "Teachings for the Sons"; see his *Chos kyi thob yig gangā'i chu rgyun*, Gangtok: Sikkim Research Institute of Tibetology, 1991, vol. 1, 89.4-5 (*byang chub sems dpa' nor bu'i phreng ba jo bo nyid kyi rang bsgyur du mdzad pa [[chos rje dpa' bo'i gsan yig na 'di bka' gdams kyi rtsa ba yin pas 'brom gyis gsungs pa'i phyogs mdzad pa ni cung zad ma dgongs par mngon te pha 'brom ston gyis zhus nas jo bos gsungs pa la pha chos dang bu khu rngog gnyis zhus nas gsungs par bu chos zhes grags pas so]]*).

Bka'-gdams-pa tradition used as the starting point for the present investigation, the letter to King Neyapāla, written as a privy advice, being classified under the literary genre of *nītiśāstra* (*lugs kyi bstan bcos*).<sup>10</sup>

It has been shown that this letter to the king of the Pāla dynasty was put down in writing by Atiśa around 1040 on his journey through Nepal and western Tibet, while the *Byang chub sems dpa' nor bu'i phreng ba* was composed at least three years later—which makes the *Dri ma med pa rin po che'i 'phrin yig* the literary model for the central text of the *Bka' gdams glegs bam*. We should particularly keep in mind the fact that Gtsug-lag phreng-ba used the typological similarity between the two texts to construe a kind of spiritual identity between 'Brom-ston Rgyal-ba'i 'byung-gnas and the Indian ruler; in this way the *Bka' gdams pha chos* was open to interpretation in the interest of political and religious ideologies.<sup>11</sup>

But what are the spiritual practices described in the commentary of the *Byang chub sems dpa' nor bu'i phreng ba*, the sections of which form, together with the root-text, the main teaching of the whole book? If we restrict ourselves to chapters two to five in the long dialogue between Atiśa and 'Brom-ston Rgyal-ba'i 'byung-gnas, we are introduced to the “four gods” (*lha bzhi*), i.e. Buddha Śākyamuni, Avalokiteśvara, Acala and Tārā; among these the Great Compassionate One is called the “God Whose [Religious] Share Is Tibet” (*bod kyi lha skal*). These four divine beings are claimed by Atiśa to be his personal meditative deities (*nga yi lha nyid lha bzhi ste*). In chapter three the question concerning a “selection” (*'dam kha*) of the most effective teachings of the Buddhist doctrine leads to the importance of the “Three Baskets” (*sde snod gsum*), i.e. Vinaya, Sūtra and Abhidharma. One of the statements of Atiśa is that “this selection of the doctrine is the best” (*chos kyi 'dam kha de ni mchog go*). After a presentation

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Chos-'byung II: 377.8-378.1, and Chos-'byung IV: 176.5-7.

<sup>11</sup> For the *Jo bo'i chos chung brgya rtsa* as listed by the Fifth Dalai Bla-ma in his *Thob yig* see the text (as in note 9), vol. 1, 89.1-101.6, where a critical remark is once again made of Chos-rje Dpa'-bo's position of regarding the two works as one, and the point insisted upon that the “texts” (*dpe*) and their “reading [authorization]” (*lung*) should be kept apart; see *ibid.*, 100.3.5. A comparison of the *Vimalaratnalekha* and the different versions of the *Bodhisattvaṃyāvali* in the *Bka' gdams glegs bam* and the Bstan-'gyur has shown that the version familiar to the Bka'-gdams-pa tradition cannot be considered the original one; see EIMER 1981: 323 ff.

in chapter four of the combination of the four gods and the Three Baskets as a teaching called “sevenfold divine doctrine” (*lha chos bdun ldan*), chapter five elaborates “how one enters into the main part [of the spiritual practice]” (*dnegos gzhi la 'jug pa*) of this specific teaching.

The actual practice is then described as an emanation of the four divine beings, starting with Buddha Śākyamuni and leading consecutively to Tārā, Avalokiteśvara and Acala in a process of mental creation. Upon the request of 'Brom-ston Rgyal-ba'i 'byung-gnas, Atiśa clarifies that the actual iconographical forms of the individual meditation deities are in this case not so important, since this teaching is an “instruction for holding them in the mind” (*sems 'dzin pa'i man ngag*). The whole procedure of spiritual practice is called the “method of contemplating the divine doctrine” (*lha chos kyi bsgom lugs*).<sup>12</sup>

Returning one last time to the classification of the *Bka' gdams glegs bam* into scriptural sections, one may note that the three missing sections—to reach the number 26 for the *Bka' gdams pha chos*—are called *Bka' rgya ma*, *Ma 'ongs lung bstan* and *Rdo rje'i glu*.<sup>13</sup> The first work is again set on the mountain Lha-ri snying-po in Yer-pa, and it is said to have been delivered on the occasion when Atiśa “turned the wheel of the sevenfold divine doctrine” (*lha chos bdun ldan gyi 'khor lo bskor ba*). Given that at the beginning and at the end of this text a stanza from the *Byang chub sems dpa' nor bu'i phreng ba* is quoted which corresponds to chapter 16 of the commentary, we can regard the text as a kind of sub-commentary to that particular chapter. The *Rdo rje'i glu* section contains the final instructions of Atiśa to 'Brom-

<sup>12</sup> See *Jo bo yab sras kyi gsung bgros pha chos rin po che'i gter mdzod byang chub sems dpa' nor bu'i phreng ba rtsa 'grel sogs*, Dharamasala: Tibetan Cultural Printing Press 1992, 27.2-71.3. This edition of the *Bka' gdams pha chos* is a manuscript version of the Lha-sa block print dating from after 1940. The complete xylograph of this edition of the *Bka' gdams glegs bam* was reproduced in Sikkim in the years 1977 to 1990; cf. *Ka-dam Pha-chos*, Part Three, Gangtok: Sikkim Research Institute of Tibetology 1980, 629.4-666.3.

<sup>13</sup> In all block print editions of the *Bka' gdams glegs bam* these three sections are grouped together with the two sections *Khu chos gnyis* and the “additional chapter” (*kha skong gi le'u*) of the *Bka' gdams bu chos*; they are then placed at the end of the whole book under the title *Bka' rgya / khu chos gnyis / lung bstan / rdor glu / kha skong rnam*s. The manuscript version of the Lha-sa xylograph (see note 12) presents these works immediately after the *Byang chub sems dpa' nor bu'i phreng ba* and its commentary.

ston Rgyal-ba'i 'byung-gnas—again in the form of questions and answers—and is dated to a “male wood-horse” (*shing pho rta*) year [=1054]; this is the generally accepted date for the year when Atiśa passed away. The section titled *Ma 'ongs lung bstan*, finally, is devoted to different prophecies, mentioning for example the three main disciples of 'Brom-ston Rgyal-ba'i 'byung-gnas as incarnations of the protectors of the three tantric families. Concerning the foundations of monasteries of the Bka'-gdams-pa tradition, one such institution in the province Gtsang is mentioned, obviously with reference to Dpal Snar-thang, and we also hear of the future establishment of Stabs-ka'i dgon-pa.

### III. THE TRANSMISSION OF THE *THIG-LE BCU-DRUG*

In the later historiographical works of the Bka'-gdams-pa tradition the three disciples of 'Brom-ston Rgyal-ba'i 'byung-gnas, known as the “Three Brothers”, are associated with three different teaching lineages. The lineage going back to Spyān-snga-pa is called *Bka' gdams ngag pa* in these works, while the one deriving from Po-to-ba bears the name *Bka' gdams gzhung pa*. The teachings of the *Bka' gdams glegs bam* are associated with the person of Phu-chung-ba, this tradition being classified in the works of the 15<sup>th</sup> century as a “secret teaching” (*gsang chos*).

That Phu-chung-ba occupies a special position within this group, which is sometimes enlarged by a fourth brother, Kham-pa lung-pa Śākya Yon-tan (1025-1115), is reflected in the earlier historical literature. Let me quote, for example, from the work of Myang-ral Nyi-ma'i 'od-zer (1136-1204) on the history of the Buddhist doctrine in Tibet:

Among the [spiritual] sons of Jo-bo [Atiśa], the oldest [is] Rgyal-ba'i 'byung-gnas, the teacher from the 'Brom [family]. His disciples [are] the precious “Three Brothers” and others. [Concerning] Dge-bshes Phu-chung-ba: not relying on disciples, [who are like] sons, he only performed his religious practice. From Po-to-ba and Spyān-snga Rin-chen, [these] two, [further] disciples, [who are like] sons, arose individually; they are known as the “followers of the authoritative scriptures” and the “followers of the instructions”, [these] two.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> See *Chos 'byung me tog snying po sbrang rtsi'i bcud*, Lhasa 1988. (Gangs can rig mdzod. 4), 469.13-17 (*jo bo sraskyi thu bo 'brom ston pa rgyal ba'i 'byung*

In order to assess the development of the teaching lineage associated with Phu-chung-ba, I want to return now to the text *Glegs bam gyi chos 'byung* of Mkhan-chen Nyi-ma rgyal-mtshan, which we have already identified as the most promising literary source for information on the different teachers who transmitted the *Bka' gdams glegs bam*. Attention should be paid foremost to the circumstances under which the book made its appearance and how Avalokiteśvara teachings are described in it.

In the introductory verses the “precious lineage of the seven[fold] divine doctrine” (*lha chos bdun gyi brgyud pa rin po che*) is brought into a connection with the “seven precious beings” (*skyes bu rin chen bdun*), namely the following persons: 'Brom-ston Rgyal-ba'i 'byung-gnas - Rngog Legs-pa'i shes-rab - Mnga'-ris-pa Shes-rab rgyal-mtshan - Phu-chung-ba - Rin-chen rgyal-mtshan - Zhang-ston Dar-ma rgyal-mtshan - Stabs-ka-ba Byang-chub bzang-po. We can thus differentiate between an early transmission, up to Phu-chung-ba, and a later transmission, from him to a person whose name shows his connection with the already-mentioned Stabs-ka'i dgon-pa. These two transmissions I shall call the “legendary” one and the “local” one.

The early—or legendary—transmission centres on two persons: Rngog Legs-pa'i shes-rab, a personal disciple of Atiśa and founder of Gsang-phu Sne'u-thog college, and Shes-rab rgyal-mtshan, a native of western Tibet, who is said to have also studied with the Indian master. Rather than go into the details of the extensive narrative of how the “kalyāṇamitra from Gsang-phu [Sne'u-thog]” (*bshes gnyen gsang phu ba*) received this special teaching, I simply note that Rngog Legs-pa'i shes-rab set down the latter teaching for the first time in the form of a “book” (*glegs bam*). The transmission of the teaching to

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*gnas / de'i slob ma rin po che sku mched gsum la sogs so / dge bshes blo chung {phul chung} (=phu chung) pas slob bu ma bsten par sgrub pa kho na mdzad do / {po} to ba dang / spyan snga rin chen gnyis las / slob bu so sor byung ba la / bka' gdams gzhung pa dang / man ngag pa gnyis su grags so*). The same characterization of Phu-chung-ba can still be found in the 14<sup>th</sup> century; see Śākya Rin-chen sde: *Yar lung jo bo'i chos 'byung*, Lhasa 1988, 98.5-10. For the change in the presentation of Phu-chung-ba as a holder of a specific teaching lineage in the 15<sup>th</sup> century—and the chapter devoted exclusively to him and the *Bka' gdams glegs bam*—see Chos-'byung III: vol. 2, 183.1-251.5. For the term dge-bshes as a title of Bka'-gdams-pa teachers like 'Brom-ston Rgyal-ba'i 'byung-gnas, see TARAB TULKU 2000: 18.

Mnga'-ris-pa Shes-rab rgyal-mtshan is described thus: "Now, the way the book was transmitted from his [i.e. Rngog Legs-pa'i shes-rab's] hand" (*da de'i phyag nas glegs bam ji ltar brgyud pa'i tshul*). In the account concerning Mnga'-ris-pa Shes-rab rgyal-mtshan it is stated that Rngog Legs-pa'i shes-rab handed over to his disciple this "[miraculously] manifested book" (*sprul pa'i glegs bam*) and soon afterwards conferred upon him initiation into the maṇḍala of the Sixteen Spheres. The same account also gives details of the personal encounter between Mnga'-ris-pa Shes-rab rgyal-mtshan and Phu-chung-ba during which the book was passed on to the disciple of 'Brom-ston Rgyal-ba'i 'byung-gnas.<sup>15</sup>

The longest section in the text of Mkhan-chen Nyi-ma rgyal-mtshan concerns events dealing with Phu-chung-ba's special status as transmitter of the sevenfold divine doctrine. The four meditative deities of Atiśa are several times referred to, and we find an interesting classification of the "four gods" in terms of whom they should be entrusted to. As this discussion of different "entrustments" (*bka' babs*) follows immediately upon an enquiry into the nature of Atiśa's teaching lineages of "authoritative scripture" and "instruction", and as Po-to-ba and Spyang-snga-pa figure quite prominently in this section, I would see the document as mainly being concerned with establishing a teaching lineage of Phu-chung-ba along its own lines. This can be dated around the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> century, given that one comes upon the name of Skyer-sgang-pa (1154-1217) as one of the teachers who were entrusted with the spiritual practice of the Great Compassionate One. In this section Phu-chung-ba is credited with not differing from his teacher 'Brom-ston Rgyal-ba'i 'byung-gnas (who at one point takes the form of the Ṣaḍakṣarī formula *Oṃ maṇi padme hūṃ*). Manifesting himself as Avalokiteśvara Khasarpaṇa, Phu-chung-ba delivers a pro-

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<sup>15</sup> For Rngog Legs-pa'i shes-rab see Chos-'byung I: 314.14-336.20, and for Mnga'-ris-pa Shes-rab rgyal-mtshan *ibid.*, 336.21-352.9; the authorship of the second section is ascribed to Phu-chung-ba. In the historiographical work of Bsod-nams lha'i dbang-po the transmission of the *Bka' gdams glegs bam* is treated, accordingly, in the context of the teaching lineages of Rngog Legs-pa'i shes-rab. These lineages are divided into one extending to his nephew Rngog Lo-tṣā-ba Blo-dan shes-rab (1059-1109) and another to Mnga'-ris-pa Shes-rab rgyal-mtshan; see Chos-'byung II: 362.4-366.6 & 366.4-368.4, and Chos-'byung IV: 160.8-164.9 & 164.9-166.12.



phency concerning the next holder of the teaching lineage.<sup>16</sup>

The disciple of Phu-chung-ba was born in the valley of Klungs-shod and in his young years met the Bka'-gdams-pa teacher Sne'u zur-pa (1042-1118). In his later life he studied many years under Zhang Ka-ma-pa (1057-1131) from the same tradition, and was ordained by the latter. The name he received on that occasion was Rin-chen rgyal-mtshan. The section treating his person represents a quite long interpolation on the "book [containing] the vast number of pronouncements of the Buddha in their entirety" (*sangs rgyas kyi bka' rab 'byams thams cad kyi glegs bam*), while also containing dialogues of the "Three Brothers" about this special scripture. At one point the latter is even taken out of a small wooden box and displayed before the eyes of the excited observers: "The [miraculously] manifested teaching" (*sprul pa'i chos*) is identified as the text *Zhus lan nor bu'i phreng ba*, i.e. *Byang chub sems dpa' nor bu'i phreng ba*, and called a "great treasure script" (*gter yig chen mo*). Rin-chen rgyal-mtshan, according to the narrative, is able to acquire this special book only after six months spent mastering the propitiation of Avalokiteśvara; only then does he meet Phu-chung-ba and obtain from him the initiation into the maṇḍala of the Sixteen Spheres. This happened at a site known as Rts[v]a Sgyer-mo, its actual name being Phug-rings.<sup>17</sup>

Rin-chen rgyal-mtshan followed his spiritual practices not only at this site, but also travelled extensively, reaching western Tibet and Nepal. During a stay in Rva-sgreng he met his future disciple Zhangston Dar-ma rgyal-mtshan. The latter had arrived there as a member of the entourage of Dar-ma grags (1103-1174), a master holding the

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<sup>16</sup> For the section on Phu-chung-ba see Chos-'byung I: 352.10-396.15 (supposedly written by Rin-chen rgyal-mtshan). The classification of the "four gods" according to whom they should be entrusted to can be found *ibid.*, 360.1-20. This is the literary source for the treatment of the same subject in the historiographical works of the Bka'-gdams-pa tradition; see Chos-'byung II: 367.4-6, and Chos-'byung IV: 165.13-16 (*lha bzhi ni rab tu byung ba'i cha nas śākya thub pa / tshad med pa bzhi la dge sbyor byed pa'i cha nas thugs rje chen po / 'gro don byed pa'i cha nas rje btsun ma sgrol ma / gnyen po bsten pa'i cha nas mi g.yo ba*).

<sup>17</sup> This rough résumé of the life of Rin-chen rgyal-mtshan is again based on Chos-'byung I; see *ibid.*, 396.16-438.9. The section is supposed to be in Rin-chen rgyal-mtshan's own words. For the interpolation of the episode concerning the "Three Brothers", their dialogues and the revealing of the book see *ibid.*, 400.2-431.15. The number of pages is said to have been 672 (*drug brgya bdun cu rtsa gnyis shog bu'i tshad*).

teaching lineage of the Bka'-gdams gzhung-pa through Shar-ba-pa Yon-tan grags (1070-1141). Dar-ma grags is known to have been the founder of Stabs-ka'i dgon-pa in the Mal-gro valley, and it was at this monastery that Rin-chen rgyal-mtshan gave teachings to a great number of monks from Dbus and Gtsang shortly before the death of Dar-ma grags in the year 1174. Afterwards Zhang-ston Dar-ma rgyal-mtshan followed Rin-chen rgyal-mtshan to various sites, including Phug-rings, where he received the transmission of the *Byang chub sems dpa' nor bu'i phreng ba*. Among further episodes in the life of Zhang-ston Dar-ma rgyal-mtshan I highlight only his visit to the 'Phrul-snang temple in Lha-sa, where he paid reverence to the statue of the thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara. After the icon proceeded to manifest the forms of Avalokiteśvara with four and two arms, dialogues took place between Zhang-ston Dar-ma rgyal-mtshan and the Great Compassionate One, during which the former is identified as an incarnation of the king Lha bla-ma Ye-shes 'od (947-1024); it is prophesied that Byang-chub bzang-po, a person again born in the valley of Klungs-shod to the north of the Mal-gro valley, will be his disciple.<sup>18</sup>

With Stabs-ka-ba Byang-chub bzang-po we have reached the last member of what I have called above the later "local" transmission. He was born into the "'Brom family" (*'brom gyi mi brgyud*), and the place where he received the transmission of the book and the maṇḍala of the Sixteen Spheres from his teacher was again Phug-rings; this site is described by later authors as the "birthplace of the precious 'Brom[-ston Rgyal-ba'i 'byung-gnas]" (*'brom rin po che'i khrungs yul*). After studying nine years with Zhang-ston Dar-ma rgyal-mtshan, and upon the death of his teacher, Byang-chub bzang-po went to Stabs-ka'i dgon-pa and pursued there his spiritual practice of the Great Compassionate One.

According to the colophon of the *Glegs bam gyi chos 'byung*, the introductory verses with the list of the "seven precious beings" mentioned above came from the pen of a certain Slob-dpon Nam-mkha'

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<sup>18</sup> See Chos-'byung I: 438.10-456.15. The dialogues between the thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara and Zhang-ston Dar-ma rgyal-mtshan refer to the hiding of "treasure scripts" (*gter yig*) in pillars of the 'Phrul-snang temple. It should be remembered that the literary cycles of the Avalokiteśvara teachings of the Rnying-ma-pa tradition made their appearance in the central temple of Lha-sa in the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries; see EHRHARD 2000: 207-208 & 210 (Appendix I).

rin-chen, who is also known under the name Stabs-ka-ba Nam-mkha' rin-chen, having been the disciple of Stabs-ka-ba Byang-chub bzang-po. With him we enter now that phase in the transmission of the *Bka' gdams glegs bam* and its teachings when these were no longer restricted to a single person—we can thus speak of a broadened transmission.

The details of the life of Stabs-ka-ba Nam-mkha' rin-chen are said to have been written down by him personally. The first thing we note is that he too was born into the 'Brom family. After receiving the initiation into the maṇḍala of the Sixteen Spheres, he travelled with his teacher to different secluded spots—for example to the “Fortress of Nepal” (*bal po'i rdzong*), where a temple of Atiśa was located (due to the great heat they were only able to stay for a period of half a month there). For fifteen years, up to the age of 45, Stabs-ka-ba Nam-mkha' rin-chen remained in the company of his teacher; after that—like Stabs-ka-ba Byang-chub bzang-po—he moved to Stabs-ka'i dgon-pa and spent the rest of his days there. Among the highlighted activities was his continuously preaching to worthy disciples the “profound meanings of the precious book” (*glegs bam rin po che'i zab don rnams*). There are several dates given in the account of his life, enough to propose for Stabs-ka-ba Nam-mkha' rin-chen's lifetime the years 1214-1286.<sup>19</sup>

This leaves us with the final part of the text on the transmission of the “sevenfold divine doctrine”, written by the ninth abbot of Dpal Snar-thang and dealing with the life of his own teacher 'Brom Kumāramati. This master is another member of the family of 'Brom-ston Rgyal-ba'i 'byung-gnas. At the age of seven he met Stabs-ka-ba Nam-mkha' rin-chen in Stabs-ka'i dgon-pa and received from him the read-

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<sup>19</sup> For Byang-chub bzang-po see Chos-'byung I: 456.18-471.15 and for Nam-mkha' rin-chen 471.16-488.16; both narratives are ascribed to Stabs-ka-ba Nam-mkha' rin-chen. The history of the transmission of the *Bka' gdams glegs bam* in later historiographical works is based on the text used by us here; compare the account in Chos-'byung III: vol. 2, 192.3-242.5. The 15<sup>th</sup>-century author opens this chapter with a quotation from Stabs-ka-ba Nam-mkha' rin-chen according to which the latter was the only holder of the transmission at his time; see *ibid.*, 192.3-4 (*stob dpon nam rin gyi zhal nas / yongs su rdzogs pa gzhon nu rgyal mtshan ni / phal cher 'dzin pa tshul khirms 'bar du gda' / phyogs tsam gsal bar rin chen gsal ba yin / ding sang du na kho bo nyid du zad / byang chub bzang po'i thugs dgongs rdzogs gyur cig*). For this quotation and the interlinear commentary (identifying the persons in the first three lines as the “Three Brothers”) see Chos-'byung I: 302.11-15.

ing authorization of the work *Byang chub sems dpa' nor bu'i phreng ba*, which he learned by heart at the age of fifteen (this date corresponds to the year 1285). Already before, in 1282, he had received first ordinations in Dpal Snar-thang under Mchims Nam-mkha' grags (1210-1285), the seventh abbot. After further studies he finally settled down in Dpal Snar-thang in the year 1294, spreading the teaching lineage of his family tradition according to the wishes of his preceptor.

We may pause over the fact that 'Brom Kumāramati learned the whole scripture by heart; as stated above, it was Mkhan-chen Nyi-ma rgyal-mtshan who set down in writing what his own teacher had kept stored in his mind. Later authors, such as Yongs-'dzin Ye-shes rgyal-mtshan (1713-1793), assert that it was the special kindness of 'Brom Kumāramati, sometimes regarded as an incarnation of his ancestor 'Brom-ston Rgyal-ba'i 'byung-gnas, which made possible the appearance of the *Bka' gdams glegs bam* as a collection of texts. It was thus a specific oral transmission of the teachings which led to the first manuscript version in Dpal Snar-thang in the year 1302. This change from an oral culture to one depending on manuscripts is signaled by the disappearance of the "[miraculously] manifested book" of Rngog Legs-pa'i shes-rab. One has the impression that this work, said to have been set down by its author in writing despite the reservations of 'Brom-ston Rgyal-ba'i 'byung-gnas, takes on, in the long narratives of the early and later transmission, the function of a sacred authorization of this specific teaching lineage. It seems that up to the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century this lineage had spread only among a limited group of persons: for the most part, the Bka'-gdams-pa monastery of Stabs-ka and members of the 'Brom family, the birthplace of 'Brom-ston Rgyal-ba'i 'byung-gnas being a favourite spot for spiritual practices in the initial phase.<sup>20</sup> Stabs-ka-ba Nam-mkha' rin-chen, the master who finally started to make this lineage's teachings available to a greater

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<sup>20</sup> The residence of Phu-chung-ba in the 'Phan-yul region was also located in the immediate vicinity of one of the sites where Dar-ma grags, the founder of Stabs-ka'i dgon-pa had stayed. This at least is what the pilgrimage guide book written by Brag-dgon Sprul-sku 'Jam-dbyangs bstan-pa rgya-mtsho (1824-1906) claims; see *Dbus gtsang gi gnas bskor byed tshul rag bsdud tsam zhig brjod pa mi brjed dran pa'i gsal 'debs gzur gnas mkhas pa'i ma rgyan*, Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, Acc. No. 11013, fol. 4a/2-3 (*de nas 'phan yul gyi yul (=yung) lnga zhes pa'i phur / phu chung ba'i gdan sa phu chung dang / stabs ka ba'i gdan sa khra phu zhes pa yod*).

public, is also regarded as the one responsible for the disappearance of the mysterious book, which he is said to have inserted into the *Sku-'bum*, the great caitya, at Stabs-ka'i dgon-pa.<sup>21</sup>

Although the maṇḍala of the Sixteen Spheres occupies a central position within this transmission, from Rngog Legs-pa'i shes-rab onwards, the text concerning the history of the *Lha chos bdun ldan* does not give any detailed information on the actual form of these spheres. We can only suggest that the four meditative deities of Atiśa formed the basis or substratum of this specific spiritual practice. As already noted above, we are dependent on the particular work of Mkhan-chen Nyi-ma rgyal-mtshan belonging to the literary genre of "instruction text" (*khrid yig*). The actual process of the unfolding of the Sixteen Spheres is contained in the "Main Part" (*dnegos gzhi*) of the text and we find in this scenario of manifesting and dissolving light-circles, next to divinities like Prajñāpāramitā, also the Indian Buddhist masters Maitreyañātha and Nāgārjuna, whose teaching lineages play an important role in the Bka'-gdams-pa school. The central deity is the thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara, who figures as the first and the seventh *thig le*; the iconographical form of the Great Compassionate One with two arms is also represented two times, namely as the third and fourth *thig le*.

In order to gain a visual impression of the arrangement of the different spheres as a tradition idealizing Atiśa and 'Brom-ston Rgyal-ba'i 'byung-gnas as divine beings, I present a scroll painting of the *Thig-le bcu-drug* in an appendix. This painting is based on the instruction text of Mkhan-chen Nyi-ma rgyal-mtshan, the captions of the Sixteen

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<sup>21</sup> For the life of 'Brom Kumāramati see the final part of Chos-'byung I: 488.17-495.11. On the role of Stabs-ka-ba Nam-mkha' rin-chen in making the teachings public and the special role of 'Brom[-ston] Kumāramati as the one whose powers of memory tapped the "original [manuscript] copy" (*ma phyi*) of the *Bka' gdams glegs bam*, see Yongs-'dzin Ye-shes rgyal-mtshan: *Lam rim bla ma brygyud pa'i rnamthar*, Lhasa, 1990, 918.16-919.2. Like the other historiographical works, this text contains the episode on the insertion of the book into the *Sku-'bum* at Stabs-ka'i dgon-pa; see *ibid.*, 910.24-25 (*bka' gdams sprul pa'i glegs bam chen mo ni slob dpon nam mkha' rin chen gyis stabs ka'i mchod rten gyi nang du bzhugs su solzhes 'byung ngo*). Concerning the traditional view that 'Brom-ston Rgyal-ba'i 'byung-gnas had reservations about putting down the teachings into written form—something that had to wait for his reincarnation 'Brom[-ston] Kumāramati, see BOUSSEMART 1999: 218-219.

Spheres corresponding exactly to this work. We can find a seventeenth *thig le* added to this set, showing the Fifth Dalai Bla-ma Ngag-dbang Blo-bzang rgya-mtsho. The painting thus belongs to the “close transmission” (*nye brgyud*) of this teaching lineage, which the Fifth Dalai Bla-ma had received in a vision of 'Brom-ston Rgyal-ba'i 'byung-gnas in the year 1652. In that year the worldly and spiritual ruler of Tibet set out from 'Bras-spungs monastery on a journey to China and the first episode along the way described in the account of his visionary experiences concerns his encounter with 'Brom-ston Rgyal-ba'i 'byung-gnas. This happened at Rts[v]a Sgyer-mo (or Phug-rings), the birthplace of Atiśa's most important disciple, and the site where the later or “local” transmission of the teachings of the *Bka' gdams glegs bam* had taken place.<sup>22</sup>

#### IV. THE OLDEST BLOCK PRINT OF THE *BKA' GDAMS GLEGS BAM*

The further transmission of Phu-chung-ba's teaching lineage after its codification in the form of a manuscript is quite well documented in the historiographical works of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. After Mkhan-chen Nyi-ma rgyal-mtshan the following line of teachers is given in these works: Rin-chen byang-chub - Rigs-kyi bdag-po'i dpal - Byang-chub dpal - Bla-ma Bsod-nams 'od-zer - Mkhan-chen Sangs-rgyas bzang-po - Bya-bral-ba Bsod-nams bzang-po - U-yug-pa Bla-ma Dpal-'byor. The last person passed the tradition on to a certain Chos-rje Seng-ge rgyal-mtshan, who was for some time the abbot of Stag-tshang Chos-'khor sngang in Gtsang province. Of him we know that he saved the

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<sup>22</sup> The captions of the individual spheres as reproduced on the painting should be compared with *Nyams len snying gi thig le'i gsal byed zung 'jug nyi zla'i thig le*, Pha-chos 1994: 533.4-555.20. Among the later works concerning the rituals related to the Sixteen Spheres and its maṇḍala I shall only refer to three works of Yongs-'dzin Ye-shes rgyal-mtshan: *Bka' gdams thig le bcu drug gi ngag 'don*, 28 fols., *Bka' gdams lha chos bdun ldan gyi man ngag*, 42 fols., and *Bka' gdams thig le bcu drug gi dkyil chog bka' gdams gsal byed*, 100 fols.; the first two works are contained in vol. da, and the third one in vol. tsa of his writings. For the visit of the Fifth Dalai Lama to Rts[v]a Sgyer-mo at the age of 36 years and his vision of 'Brom-ston Rgyal-ba'i 'byung-gnas see KARMAY 1988: 34-35. Cf. *Gsang ba'i mam thar rgya can ma: A Record of the Visionary Experiences of the Fifth Dalai Lama Ngag-dbang-blo-bzang-rgya-mtsho*, Leh: S.W. Tashigangpa 1972. (Smanrtsis Shesrig Spenzdod. 42), 23.5-25.1.

teachings centring on the text *Byang chub sems dpa' nor bu'i phreng ba* from being nearly extinguished. The merit gained in preserving the "lineage of the [sevenfold] divine doctrine" (*lha chos kyi brgyud*) earned Chos-rje Seng-ge rgyal-mtshan recognition for being a reincarnation of 'Brom-ston Rgyal-ba'i 'byung-gnas. From him the tradition reached the "translator" (*skad gnyis smra ba*) Thugs-rje dpal (14<sup>th</sup>/15<sup>th</sup> century) and then Rje Dge-'dun grub (1391-1451), who later became known as the First Dalai Bla-ma.<sup>23</sup>

The *Gsan yig* of the Fifth Dalai Bla-ma shows the transmission of the *Bka' gdams glegs bam* passing through the same lineage up until it branches off after Bya-bral-ba Bsod-nams bzang-po. From there it goes on to one Bla-ma Dpal-ldan-pa and then to Nam-mkha' 'od-zer, an otherwise unknown person who also bears the name Stag-tshang Chos-'khor-ba Mkhan-chen. In either case we see that the monastery of Stag-tshang Chos-'khor sgang played an important role in keeping this special Bka'-gdams-pa teaching alive in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. After two further teachers this transmission is vouchsafed to Gnyug-la Pañ-chen Ngag-dbang grags-pa (1458-1515), another important link in the further spread of the *Bka' gdams glegs bam*.<sup>24</sup>

There exists a short biographical sketch of this master from Gnyug-la or Smyug-la in the province of Dbus, and it tells us that he not only

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<sup>23</sup> This is the line of transmission recorded by Las-chen Kun-dga' rgyal-mtshan, who had received it from Rje Dge-'dun grub; see Chos-'byung III: vol. 2, 248.6-250.4. Concerning Chos-rje Seng-ge rgyal-mtshan it is stated that in the later part of his life he held the seat of the monastery Stag-tshang Chos-'khor sgang; for the foundation of this monastery in Gtsang by Lo-chen Skyabs-mchog dpal bzang-po see *ibid.*, 181.5. The same line of transmission up to Rje Dge-'dun grub can also be found in the historiographical work of Pañ-chen Bsod-nams grags-pa (1478-1554), written in 1529: *Bka' gdams gsar rnying gi chos 'byung yid kyi mdzes rgyan* in "Two Histories of the Bka'-gdams-pa Tradition", Gangtok & Delhi: Gonpo Tseten, 1977, 35.1-2. Pañ-chen Bsod-nams grags-pa, the 15<sup>th</sup> throne-holder of Dga'-ldan, was a disciple of Las-chen Kun-dga' rgyal-mtshan.

<sup>24</sup> For the transmission of the *Bka' gdams glegs bam* in the record of teachings received by the Fifth Dalai Bla-ma see the text (as in note 9), vol. 2, 88.4-95.1. Further lineages include the one passing through Bsod-nams lha'i dbang-po, who was also a teacher of Gnyug-la Pañ-chen Ngag-dbang grags-pa; see, for example, the two transmissions of the *Bka' gdams lha bzhi* in the chapter on the Kriyāntāra in the same text of the Fifth Dalai Bla-ma; vol. 1, 221.6-222.6, and 222.6-226.2. Cf. also the lineages of the transmission of the *Bka' gdams lha bzhi* and the *Thig le bcu drug* as part of the collection of the "[More than] One Hundred Instructions" (*khrid brgya*) of Jo-nang Kun-dga' grol-mchog (1507-1566) in vol. 2, 283.1-3, and 284.1-4.

“held the true system of the Bka’-gdams[-pa tradition]” (*bka’ gdams kyi srol dngos ’dzin*), but was also regarded as a reincarnation of Spyan-snga-pa, one of the “Three Brothers”. It is said that Ngag-dbang grags-pa had made the promise to give the teachings of the *Bka’ gdams glegs bam* and the empowerment of the *Thig-le bcu-drug* every year, and that these teachings had been followed by auspicious signs—rains of flowers and so forth. We have at least one eyewitness account of this hagiographical episode, which shows the importance of Gnyug-la Paṅ-chen for the popularization of this teaching lineage at the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>25</sup>

The residence of Ngag-dbang grags-pa in Gnyug-la or Smyug-la was called g.Yul-rgyal rdzong. This is the same place in the province of Dbus that brought forth the manuscript copy of the *Bka’ gdams glegs bam* on the basis of which the first xylograph edition of the collection of texts was produced. A pair of brothers, known to be nephews of Gnyug-la Paṅ-chen, provided the copy. Although this fact is known from earlier research, the date of the printing project was thought to be in the years 1478 and 1479. As the biography of the person behind the project is now available, we can correct the dates and shift them one sixty-year-cycle forward to the period between the years 1538 and 1539. I have dealt with this oldest block print of the *Bka’ gdams glegs bam* elsewhere, and here merely reproduce a passage from the biography of the Bo-dong-pa scholar Chos-dbang rgyal-mtshan (1484-1549) describing the events immediately after the manuscript copy arrived from Central Tibet:

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<sup>25</sup> The biographical sketch of Gnyug-la Paṅ-chen is contained in *Sgrub brgyud karma kaṃ tshang brgyud pa rin po che’i rnam par thar pa rab ’byams nor bu zla shel gyi phreng ba*, written by Si-tu Paṅ-chen Chos-kyi ’byung-gnas and completed by his disciple ’Be-lo Tshe-dbang kun-khyab in the year 1775, New Delhi: D. Gyal-tsan and K. Legshay, 1972, vol. 1, 648.3-649.3; see especially 648.6-7 (*bka’ gdams glegs bam kyang lo re la lan re gnang ba’i dam bca’ mdzad*). The eyewitness account of this event can be found in the biography of the ’Ba’-ra-ba Bka’-brgyud-pa master Nam-mkha’ rgyal-mtshan (1475-1530); see *Dpal ldan bla ma dam pa sprul sku nam mkha’ rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po’i rnam par thar pa / dgos ’dod kun ’byung nor bu’i ’phreng ba*, NGMPP reel-no. L 18/14, fol. 18a5-b1 & fol. 19a3-5 (... *zab chos bsam gyis mi khyab pa gsan / bka’ gdams glegs bam gnang ba’i dus su / me tog gi char dang / dri bzang rgyun mi ’chad pa yong gin ’dug pas / dam ’di nyid mgon po spyan ras gzigs kyi sprul pa yin nges snyam nas / mi phyed dad pa thob / sge sbyor la bogs thon zhing / khyad par snying rje la bogs chen po byung gsung*).



The steward [Nam-mkha' dkon-mchog] and close friends brought the original copy of the *Bka' gdams [glegs bam]* from Dbus [and] Gtsang on the twenty-fifth day of the month of December [in the year 1537] after the Precious One [= Chos-dbang rgyal-mtshan] had taken up residence in [the palace of] Rdzong-dkar. They arrived safely.

As at that time the official Kun-spangs don-grub from G.yul-rgyal rdzong offered [to Chos-dbang rgyal-mtshan] a silk scroll painting of the White Tārā, [the latter] was especially pleased, and consecrated it, [on which occasion] he said: "It has happened that Bhaṭṭārikā Tārā from among the four gods' of the Bka'-gdams[-pa tradition] has arrived [in person]. It is an opportune favour [and] an auspicious sign that the printing of the *Bka' gdams glegs bam* will be completed [in time]." Wherever he went [later], he [always] carried this sacred object in his hands.<sup>26</sup>

The palace of Rdzong-dkar in this quotation refers to the residence of the kings of Mang-yul Gung-thang. In the 16<sup>th</sup> century their domain offered good conditions for producing block print editions of what one might call "Buddhist Classics." A final point I want to make concerning the printing colophon of the *Bka' gdams glegs bam* is that we find, among the sponsors of the undertaking, representatives of the teaching lineage of the Bka'-gdams-pa tradition going back to Nag-tsho Lo-chen Tshul-khrims rgyal-ba (b. 1011). This translator brought Atiśa from the Indian plains via Mang-yul Gung-thang to Tibet and stayed many years in the company of the master. Nag-tsho Lo-chen was a native of this kingdom bordering on Nepal, while another person contributing to the production of the printing blocks of the *Bka' gdams glegs bam* came from Yang-thog, the former residence of Tshul-khrims rgyal-ba.

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<sup>26</sup> See *mTshan ldan bla ma dam pa mnyam med chos dbang rgyal mtshan gyi rnam par thar pa / rin po che nor bu'i phreng ba*, NGMPP reel-no. L 66/5 [= L 389/13-390/1], fol. 90b/3-6 (*rgyal zla'i nyer lnga la / gsol dpon grogs mched kyi dbus gtsang nas / bka' gdams kyi phyi mo spyang drangs nas / rin po che pa* (sic) *rdzong dkar na bzhus ring la nye zho med par 'khor re / de dus g.yul rgyal rdzong pa nang so kun spangs don grub gyis / rje btsun ma sgrol ma dkar mo'i gos thang gcig phul bas / lhag par dges shing rab gnas mdzad cing / bka' gdams lha bzhi'i ngang nas rje btsun ma sgrol ma phebs byung / thugs rje myur / bka' gdams glegs bam gyi spar 'grub pa'i rten 'brel yin gsung / sku de gang phebs su snoms phebs par mdzad do*). The first attempt to date this print was made by SCHUH 1981a: 353-355. For the four different print editions of the *Bka' gdams glegs bam* (not including the print from Sde-dge) see EIMER 1977: 72-96. On the life of Chos-dbang rgyal-mtshan see EHRHARD (in press).

## V. CONCLUSIONS

The change from a manuscript culture to a block print culture in the transmission of the *Thig-le bcu-drug* and the *Bka' gdams glegs bam* occurred in a geographical area in which originated not only the writings concerning the biographical tradition of Atiśa, but also a particular lineage of his Avalokiteśvara teachings. In the later historiographical writings of the Bka'-gdams-pa tradition, this teaching lineage is known as the "Transmission of the Pronouncements of Nag-tsho [Lo-chen]" (*nag tsho'i bka' brgyud*). The origin of the biographical tradition—and the role played by Lag-sor-pa (or Phyag-sor-pa) in going to Yang-thog in Mang-yul Gung-thang in order to solicit from Tshul-khrims rgyal-ba the life-story of Atiśa—has already been dealt with in earlier research.<sup>27</sup> It should be added that the transmission of Mahākaruṇika-Ṣaḍakṣara teachings which Atiśa had received from his teacher Rāhulaguṭtavajra also ran through Nag-tsho Lo-chen and his disciple Lag-sor-pa, the special feature of this lineage being that all its members encountered the Great Compassionate One face to face.

After Lag-sor-pa the lineage was continued by Bya 'Dul-ba 'dzin-pa (1100-1174), also called Dge-bshes Zul-phu-ba, the author of the biography of Atiśa known as *Rnam thar rgyas pa*. He in turn gave these special teachings to 'Phags-pa Lce-sgom-pa and Mnga'-ris-pa Shes-rab rgyal-mtshan. 'Phags-pa Lce-sgom-pa has received some attention recently, so there is reason to come back to Mnga'-ris-pa Shes-rab rgyal-mtshan, whom we have met already as a key figure in the early transmission of the *Bka' gdams glegs bam*, and as a teacher of Phu-chung-ba. We thus have a chronological problem with his being a contemporary of Lce-sgom-pa (ca. 1140/50-1220). As already pointed out, information disseminated concerning Phu-chung-ba can be seen as an attempt to construct an independent teaching lineage in the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries, and I would regard the inclusion of Mnga'-ris-pa Shes-rab rgyal-mtshan in the early—or legendary—transmission of the book of the Bka'-gdams-pa tradition as part of this attempt. Both 'Phags-pa

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<sup>27</sup> For Lag-sor-pa as initiator of the biographical tradition of Atiśa see EIMER 1982: 41-51.

Lce-sgom-pa and Mnga'-ris-pa Shes-rab rgyal-mtshan transmitted the instructions of the "Transmission of the Pronouncements of Nag-tsho [Lo-chen]" to the "mahāsiddha" (*grub thob chen po*) Skyer-sgang-pa, who had already played a role in the account of Phu-chung-ba's special status as transmitter of the sevenfold divine doctrine.<sup>28</sup>

I come back now to the incarnation status of the Bka'-gdams-pa masters Po-to-ba, Phu-chung-ba and Spyan-snga-pa, and their identification respectively with the Avalokiteśvara icons Ārya Va-ti bzang-po, Ārya 'Ja'-ma-li and Ārya 'Bu-khang. From the 12<sup>th</sup> century onwards the cult of these statues, like the one for the thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara in the 'Phrul-snang temple in Lha-sa, gradually became quite popular in south-western and Central Tibet. As the three statues of Padmapāṇi Lokeśvara were located either in Mang-yul Gung-thang or Nepal, they eventually became known to early members of the teaching lineage of Nag-tsho Lo-chen Tshul-khrims rgyal-ba, who transmitted the biographical tradition of Atiśa and a particular spiritual practice of the Great Compassionate One. Such identification of Avalokiteśvara icons with Bka'-gdams-pa masters, at a time when Phu-chung-ba's status was being raised to an incarnation of Avalokiteśvara, can only be explained in the context of an oral tradition.<sup>29</sup> It was probably spread by travellers who visited the three statues in Mang-yul Gung-thang and in Nepal, whence it found its way into the biographical writings of Atiśa, supplementing the role of the "Three Brothers" as embodiments of the protectors of the three tantric families known from the *Ma'ongs lun bstan* section of the *Bka' gdams glegs bam*.

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<sup>28</sup> The transmission history of the *Nag tsho'i bka' brgyud* is again to be found in Chos-'byung III: vol. 2, 390.4 ff.; for the Mahākaraṇika-Ṣaḍaḥsara lineage see *ibid.*, 397.3 ff. A treatment of 'Phags-pa Lce-sgom-pa was recently undertaken by SØRENSEN 1999; for the contacts of the siddha with Skyer-sgang-pa see especially pp. 193-194. The lineage of Skyer-sgang-pa was later absorbed into the Shangs-pa Bka'-brgyud-pa tradition and was known as one of the "Four Families of Direct Instruction [on the Practice of Mahākaraṇika]" (*dmar khrid rigs bzhi*); see EHRHARD (as in note 18, 199).

<sup>29</sup> The statue of the Ārya Va-ti bzang-po, the so-called "Lord of [Mang-yul] Skyid-grong" (*skyid grong jo bo*), occupies a central position in prophecies concerning the spiritual identity of Byang-sems Zla-ba rgyal-mtshan (11/12<sup>th</sup> cent.). The latter transmitted Avalokiteśvara teachings of Bhikṣuṇī Lakṣmīṅ[karā] which passed through Atiśa as well; see Chos-'byung III: vol. 2, 328.3-333.1. The teaching lineages of Byang-sems Zla-ba rgyal-mtshan and Bhikṣuṇī Lakṣmīṅ[karā] are counted as two doctrinal systems when subsumed under the "Four Families of Direct Instructions [on the Practice of Mahākaraṇika]".

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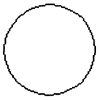
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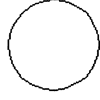
## APPENDIX

The scroll painting of the Sixteen Spheres reproduced here is from the volume *Bod kyi thang ka*, Peking: Rig-dngos dpe-skrun khang, 1984, no. 98. In the description on p. 173 of the volume it is said that the painting is located in the Potala palace. The caption of the seventeenth *thig le* reads "*Thams cad mkhyen pa ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho la namaḥ*". The central deity's caption has also this formula of veneration, while all other captions simply give the name of the *thig le* in question as found in the "instruction text" of Mkhan-chen Nyi-ma rgyal-mtshan. The numbering of the spheres and the wording of the legends in the following list is according to this text:

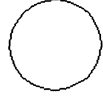
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| 1. <i>Phyi'i bkod pa bsam gyis mi khyab pa</i><br>[=Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara] | 5. <i>Yum sher phyin</i><br>[=Prajñāpāramitā]                              |
| 2. <i>Mi mjed kyi bkod pa</i><br>[=Buddha Śākyamuni]                               | 6. <i>De'i sras thub pa</i><br>[=Buddha Śākyamuni]                         |
| 3. <i>Bod khams</i><br>[=Padmapāṇi Lokeśvara]                                      | 7. <i>De'i sras snying rje chen po</i><br>[=Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara] |
| 4. <i>Gnas khang dang bris pa dkyil 'khor</i><br>[=Padmapāṇi Lokeśvara]            | 8. <i>De dag gi ye shes sgrol ma</i><br>[=Tārā]                            |
|  | 9. <i>De nyid khros pa</i><br>[=Ugratārā]                                  |



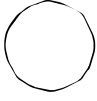
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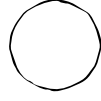
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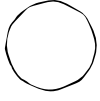
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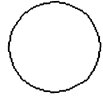
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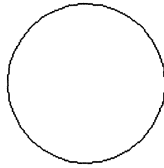
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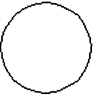
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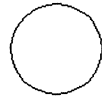
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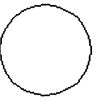
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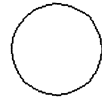
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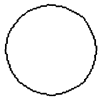
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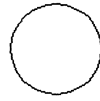
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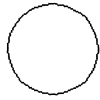
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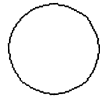
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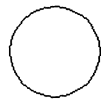
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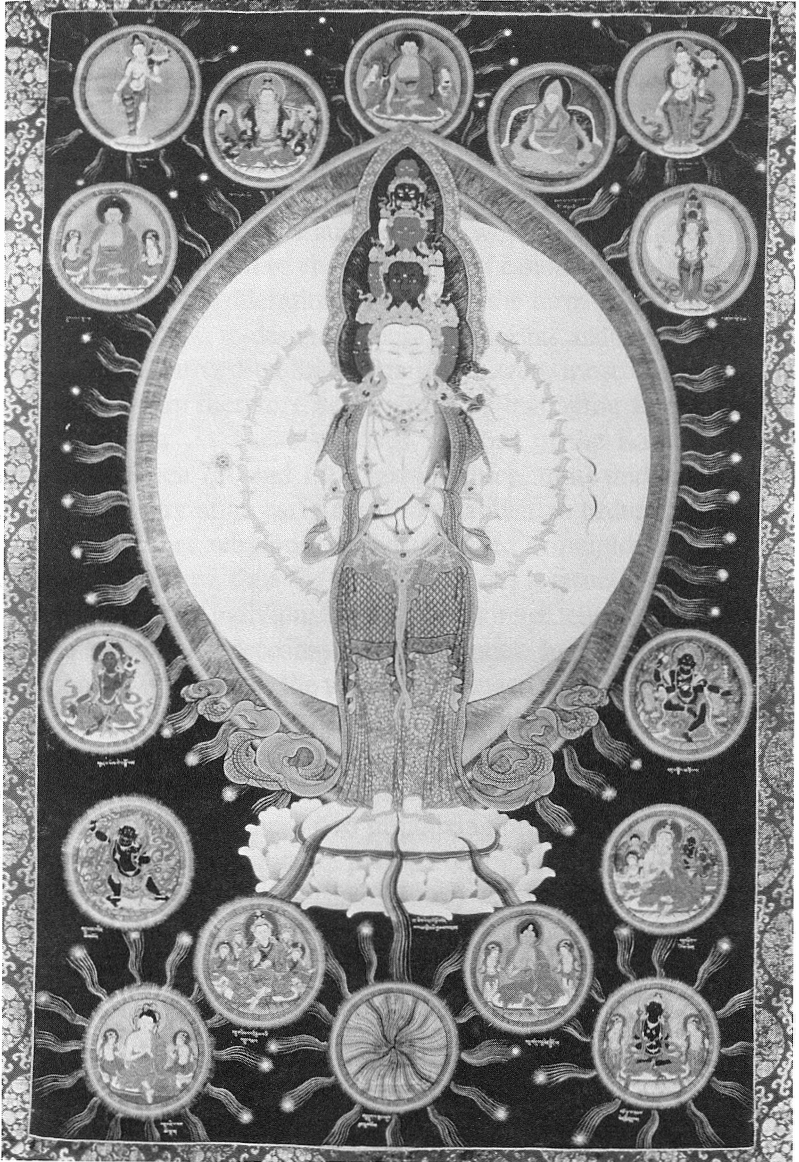
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| 10. <i>De rnams kyi rang bzhin mi</i><br><i>g.yo ba</i> [=Acala]       | 14. <i>Zab mo lta ba</i><br>[=Nāgārjuna]         |
| 11. <i>Thams cad kyi ngo bo a ti sha</i><br>[=Atiśa Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna] | 15. <i>Nyams len byin rlabs</i><br>[=Vajradhara] |
| 12. <i>Rgyal ba'i 'byung gnas</i><br>[='Brom-ston]                     | 16. <i>Byang chub chen po</i><br>[=Bodhicitta]   |
| 13. <i>Rgya chen spyod pa</i><br>[=Maitreyañātha]                      |  |



## ON THE STRUCTURE OF THE TIBETAN KANJUR\*

HELMUT EIMER (BONN / GERMANY)

The basic, unspecific meaning of the Tibetan word “Kanjur” (*bka’ gyur*) is “translation of the authoritative word”. This means that in general it can be applied to any collection of canonical Buddhist texts. In the following considerations, however, the term will be used in a narrower sense, viz. to designate those blockprints and manuscript editions of authoritative Buddhist texts which were most widely spread in Tibet and may therefore be regarded as belonging to the “mainstream tradition”.<sup>1</sup> These standard versions of the Kanjur usually comprise between 750 and 1200 texts,<sup>2</sup> which, quite understandably, made it necessary at an early stage to establish an order for their arrangement. Other religions, too, established principles of order for their holy scriptures, thus the Koran (*Qur’ān*) is structured according to the length of its individual texts, the more extensive Suras—with only one exception—preceding the shorter ones. In the original Mosaic canon, on the other hand, the texts are arranged according to their importance: the law obligatory for all (*Torāh*) is followed first by the prophetic books (*Nebi’īm*), and then by the further scriptures (*Ketubīm*<sup>3</sup>). In the Pāli Tipiṭaka (Sanskrit: Tripiṭaka), the canon of the Theravāda Buddhism, these two organizing principles occur in combination: the order of its main parts, i.e. the divisions Vinaya “monastic discipline”, Sutta (Sanskrit: Sūtra) “word of the Buddha” and

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<sup>1</sup> In an earlier paper the expression “vulgate” (EIMER 1994: 230) was used instead. Apart from this transmission some other manuscripts are extant that were only of local importance, e.g., those from Phug brag (catalogued by SAMTEN 1992), O rgyan gling (cf. SAMTEN 1994) and Mustang (*dkar chag* written by Ngor chen, ed. by EIMER 1999).

<sup>2</sup> The Tokyo Them spangs ma manuscript, e.g., comprises 761 (cf. SAITO 1973) and the print from Derge 1110 texts (cf. UI *et al.* 1934).

<sup>3</sup> The short title for this canon as a whole is *Tanak*.

Abhidhamma (Sanskrit: Abhidharma) “scholastic texts”, is determined by their contents and importance, while at least the first two subsections within the Sutta section, viz. the Dīghanikāya and the Majjhimanikāya, are arranged according to the length of the individual texts contained therein.

It is likely that the canonical compilations of the Indian Hīnayāna Buddhism, of which only the Pāli canon survived complete in its original language,<sup>4</sup> served as a model for the Tibetan collections. At present no testimonies for comprehensive Mahāyāna or Tantrayāna canons in India are known, we can assume that at least smaller collections of related texts existed. By the time when the first Buddhist texts were translated into the Tibetan language, the authoritative word of the Buddha did not only consist of the Hīnayāna, but of the Mahāyāna and Tantrayāna scriptures as well. The Tibetan canon incorporated this literature which had—as far as we know—not been included in the Indian canonical collections. Therefore, it proved necessary to supplement the pattern for a “Tibetan Tripiṭaka”, which was done by adding the writings of Mahāyāna Buddhism to the section *mdo* (Sūtra) and creating a new section, *rgyud* (Tantra), for tantric literature.

The earliest list of Buddhist texts translated into Tibetan which has been handed down to our times, viz. the *Lhan kar ma*,<sup>5</sup> was prepared in the first half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century. This register of Buddhist scriptures kept in Lhan kar Palace covers in all more than 730 titles of which about 490 belong obviously to the category *buddhavacana*, the “authentic word of the Buddha”. If we classify this main part of the *Lhan kar ma* according to the section titles of the Kanjur,<sup>6</sup> the result is the following: Sūtra, Tantra, Vinaya. The Abhidharma texts *'Jig rten bzhas pa*, *Rgyu gdags pa*, and others are listed near the end of the Sūtra section under the category *theg pa chung ngu'i sde*, “class of the Hīnayāna”.

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<sup>4</sup> Therefore it is generally taken to be the prototype of a Buddhist canon.

<sup>5</sup> This title is generally known as *Ldan dkar ma*; the form given here was introduced by STEINKELLNER 1988: II, 15, note 31.

<sup>6</sup> The *Lhan kar ma* itself is divided into 30 (according to LALOU 1953: 317) or 27 (according to YOSHIMURA 1950: 6-7) sections, of which the first 19 or 16 cover the titles which are found in the Kanjur as well.

In the *Mahāvvyutpatti*—the Tibetan-Sanskrit dictionary compiled by the early translators in the beginning of the 9<sup>th</sup> century—the following four entries appear one after another: *tripiṭakam/sde snod gsum, sūtram/mdo sde, abhidharmaḥ/chos mngon pa*, and *vinayaḥ/’dul ba*.<sup>7</sup> This sequence can be understood in the sense that Tripiṭaka comprises the sections Sūtra, Abhidharma, and Vinaya; but, as a matter of fact, in that context “*tripiṭaka*” is not a chapter heading for the following three entries, it appears as the 86<sup>th</sup> lemma in a long list of text titles.

Only in one of the two main lines in which the Tibetan Kanjur has come down to our times a few Abhidharma (*mngon pa*) writings were still included,<sup>8</sup> because it had become a rule to regard only those texts as canonical which were supposed either to stem from the Buddha himself or to have been revealed to human or higher beings and only then had been put down in script. The scholastic texts were added to the Tanjur,<sup>9</sup> where they appear in a separate subsection, viz. the *mngon pa*. Thus, the three main sections of the Kanjur are the following: *’dul ba* (Vinaya), *mdo* (Sūtra) and *rgyud* (Tantra). The sequence of Vinaya, Sūtra and Tantra corresponds in its first two sections to the order of the Theravāda canon, therefore research assumed it to be consistent with the structure of the Tibetan Kanjur.

*Diagram 1: Order of the main sections*

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Pāli Canon:	Derge & Narthang Kanjurs:	Beijing Kanjur:
<i>Vinaya</i>	<i>Vinaya</i>	<i>Tantra</i>
<i>Sūtra</i>	<i>Sūtra</i>	<i>Sūtra</i>
<i>Abhidharma</i>	<i>Tantra</i>	<i>Vinaya</i>

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<sup>7</sup> ISHIHAMA / FUKUDA 1989: 75 (nos. 1415-1418).

<sup>8</sup> In the last volume of the Sūtra section in the Them spangs ma line of transmission (viz. *mdo, ji* (37)) we find, e.g., the *’Jig rten bzhag pa / Lokaprajñāpti* and the *Rgyu gdags pa / Kāraṇaprajñāpti*.

<sup>9</sup> First in the redaction from Tshal pa monastery, cf. SAMTEN 1987: 22-23.

Even the first catalogues of Kanjur xylographs, edited by PAUL L. BARON SCHILLING DE CANSTADT,<sup>10</sup> ALEXANDER CSOMA KÖRÖSI,<sup>11</sup> and ISAAK JAKOB SCHMIDT,<sup>12</sup> seemed to confirm this assumption. But when in 1909 BERTHOLD LAUFER introduced a Kanjur blockprint<sup>13</sup> which had been prepared for the Kangxi emperor in Beijing (Peking), he came across the sequence Tantra, Sūtra, Vinaya in the *dkar chag*, the indigenous Tibetan catalogue. On comparing this to the structure of the Narthang Kanjur, which he knew from the survey prepared by CSOMA KÖRÖSI, he arrived at the following conclusion:

It is quite obvious that the Tibetan organization of the texts [as met with in the Narthang Kanjur] preserves the older, original tradition, as it corresponds with the canon of the old Buddhist church. The most striking alteration in the K'ang-hsi edition is that the Vinaya loses its rank and is moved to the end, while the Tantra, which for chronological reasons alone comes last, marches to the front. This fact is very interesting, for it clearly illustrates the change in the appreciation of the different sections of Buddhist literature that has ensued in the course of the last centuries. The Vinaya constantly lost importance, while in the hands of the priests and in the eyes of the believers the Tantra and the cult of magic and invocation connected with it gained in esteem and influence.<sup>14</sup>

When HERMANN BECKH catalogued a Beijing manuscript,<sup>15</sup> he nevertheless followed the example known to him from the above mentioned catalogues, although in this manuscript the *dkar chag* was added to

<sup>10</sup> SCHILLING DE CANSTADT 1831.

<sup>11</sup> CSOMA KÖRÖSI 1836 and 1839.

<sup>12</sup> SCHMIDT 1845.

<sup>13</sup> LAUFER 1909: 567-574; he describes the print of 1700.

<sup>14</sup> The original German version of LAUFER 1909: 570-571 reads as follows: "Dass die tibetische Einteilung [im Narthang Kanjur] die ältere, echte Tradition bewahrt, ist ohne weiteres klar, da sie mit dem Kanon der altbuddhistischen Kirche übereinstimmt. Die auffallendste Änderung in der K'ang-hsi-Edition ist die, dass das Vinaya seinen Rangplatz eingebüßt [hat] und ans Ende abgeschoben ist, während die schon aus chronologischen Gründen an letzter Stelle kommenden Tantra hier oben an der Spitze marschieren. Diese Tatsache ist sehr interessant, denn sie veranschaulicht deutlich den Wechsel, der im Laufe der letzten Jahrhunderte in der Wertschätzung der einzelnen Abteilungen der buddhistischen Literatur eingetreten ist. Das Vinaya sank immer mehr an Bedeutung, während die Tantra und der mit ihnen verbundene Zauber- und Beschwörungskultus in den Händen des Priester[s] wie in den Augen der Gläubigen an Ansehen und Einfluss wuchsen."

<sup>15</sup> BECKH 1914.

the first volume of the Tantra section—which alone indicates that the tantric texts were put first—and although the *dkar chag* begins with a description of the Tantra section.<sup>16</sup>

We can assume that the sequence of sections in the Tibetan Kanjur mirrors their importance, like it does in the Indian Tripitaka. Hence the question arises which sequence is the ‘correct one’ for the Tibetan canon.

The first step to come to a solution will be to consider the age of the modes of structuring by means of the text witnesses. Properly speaking, a structure that has existed from the beginning of the Kanjur tradition, i.e., that is already to be found in the model for the first comprehensive canonical collection, should be regarded as the basic pattern. If, however, no witnesses are available which would allow a certain statement on the earliest structure, we have to turn to the contents of the texts themselves and ask about their importance in religious life. This will possibly enable us to gain a better understanding of the structuring principles of this extensive collection. In spite of the fact that the present-day Kanjurs comprise a great number of the texts recorded in the *buddhavacana* sections of the *Lhan kar ma* no direct line of transmission from that early canonical catalogue to the earliest accessible Tibetan canons can be established.

Textcritical investigations have shown that the Kanjur has been transmitted—as already mentioned—in two main strands, firstly in the group called *Them spangs ma*, which is only represented by manuscripts from the province of Gtsang, secondly in the transmission resulting from a redaction in the Tshal pa Monastery between 1347 and 1351.<sup>17</sup> The Tshal pa group in turn is divided into an unedited branch leading to the Beijing prints and a revised one of which the earliest accessible witness is the edition from 'Jang sa tham / Lithang,<sup>18</sup> to which—more or less<sup>19</sup>—most of the other blockprint editions are related.

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<sup>16</sup> HAARH 1954: 539-540.

<sup>17</sup> For a list of the known Kanjur editions and of the respective sigla see HARRISON / EIMER 1997.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. the survey in EIMER 1992.

<sup>19</sup> The prints from Narthang and Derge, as well as the Lhasa print, which is dependent on the former two, are to be mentioned here for their contaminations.

As lists or catalogues of most Kanjur xylographs are available now, it is easy to establish that a majority is structured after the pattern Vinaya, Sūtra, Tantra by their respective *dkar chags*. In the very first blockprint of a Kanjur, however, i.e. in the Beijing xylograph of 1410, which was followed by a number of further editions,<sup>20</sup> the Vinaya texts are placed at the end and the Tantra texts at the beginning. The earliest of the other blockprint editions showing the “common” organization of the sections, namely the one from 'Jang sa tham / Lithang, was only printed about 200 years later, probably between 1608 and 1614.<sup>21</sup>

It is not easy to decide which sequence of the main sections was the original one in the numerous Them spangs ma manuscripts. In a short accompanying text to the London manuscript called *dkar chag*,<sup>22</sup> though, there is an indication that in this manuscript too—and probably in other manuscripts of this group as well—the Tantra section formed the beginning.<sup>23</sup> The Them spangs ma manuscripts contain their colophons at the end of the *mdo* (Sūtra)<sup>24</sup> section, so this section must have stood at the end.<sup>25</sup> In this context we may add that the sections of Vinaya and Sūtra texts—so to speak as a collection of “non-esoteric” texts—were presumably regarded as a unit.<sup>26</sup> The manuscript in the palace of Tog / Ladakh must have been subsequently restructured after the “common” pattern (Vinaya, Sūtra, Tantra);<sup>27</sup> in addition, the texts in the Vinaya section are reorganized there according to the Tshal pa

<sup>20</sup> The Beijing Kanjur manuscripts kept in Berlin (described by BECKH 1914) and in Taipei belong to the same group, as they have been copied from an early Beijing print. In general the print from Cone is structured in the same way (cf. MIBU 1959).

<sup>21</sup> IMAEDA 1982-84: I, 12-14, gives 1606-1621 as the period of origin.

<sup>22</sup> Entitled *Dkar chag dam chos gsal sgron*, it is not a full-length catalogue, but a sort of extensive colophon (EIMER 1981: 537); for a detailed study see EIMER 1981 and SAMTEN / SKILLING 1996.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. EIMER 1981: 539-540.

<sup>24</sup> Viz. in volume *mdo (sde), ji (37)*.

<sup>25</sup> In the Tog Palace manuscript, a colophon referring to the reprint made between 1975 and 1980 appears at the end of volume *mdo sde, ji (37)* as well, cf. SKORUPSKI 1985: 166-167.

<sup>26</sup> We also find such a division into Tantra and Vinaya/Sūtra in the catalogue of the Mustang Kanjur by Ngor chen Kun dga' rgyal mtshan (middle of 15<sup>th</sup> cent.), cf. EIMER 1999: 12 and note 27.

<sup>27</sup> The *dkar chag* issued separately from the reprint showing this structure is most probably secondary.

tradition.<sup>28</sup> An alteration in the sequence of sections can easily be achieved by simply changing the arrangement of the volumes or of groups of volumes. A change of the sequence of individual texts within a section, however, would cause a new numbering of folios at many places within the respective volumes.

*Diagram 2: The basic patterns of the arrangement  
of sections and texts in the mainstream transmission of the Kanjur<sup>29</sup>*

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*First comprehensive canonical collection in Narthang (after A.D. 1310)  
and other canonical collections*

- |  |   |
|--|---|
|  | (1.) <i>Tshal pa MS (1347-51)</i>                                   |
| (2.) <i>Them spangs ma group,<br/>since 1431<br/>(in Gyantse):<br/>L, S, T, U MS</i> | (1.A) <i>Beijing group,<br/>since 1410:<br/>B, K, Q, W, Y</i>       |
|  | (1.B) <i>Lithang group,<br/>since 1608-14:<br/>C, D, J, U print</i> |
| (3.) <i>New Narthang group:<br/>H, N</i>   |   |
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Tibetan tradition sees the beginning of canonical compilations in a comprehensive canon prepared in the years after 1310 in Narthang Monastery.<sup>30</sup> The accompanying catalogues, composed by Bcom ldan Rig pa'i ral gri<sup>31</sup> and by Dbus pa Blo gsal,<sup>32</sup> are up to the present not

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<sup>28</sup> For the changes in the arrangement of the Vinaya and some Tantra texts see SKORUPSKI 1985: xix.

<sup>29</sup> Sigla are those of HARRISON / EIMER 1997. (1.A) and (1.B) differ mainly in the order of the sections; (2.) arranges the individual texts in its own way; (3.) follows the order of sections found in (1.B), but arranges several texts in a new manner, it comprises, e.g., a separate subsection *myang 'das* not found in (1.B); *N* and *H* differ to a limited extent in the order of individual texts.

<sup>30</sup> Cf., e.g., HARRISON 1996: 74.

<sup>31</sup> The dates of his birth and death are not known, his *floruit* is in the late 13<sup>th</sup>

available to research, that is if they have been transmitted at all. In consequence, it is impossible to make any definite statement about this canonical collection. Yet the assumption is not unfounded that in the first attempts at a canonical formation the Tantra section was positioned at the front and the Vinaya [Sūtra] section at the end. Similarities between the title of the *dkar chag* to the early Beijing Kanjur and of that of the Kanjur catalogue by Bcom ldan Rig pa'i ral gri<sup>33</sup> already indicate a closer relation, though this is a rather weak argument.

Much more significant seems the fact that the Tanjur with its commentaries and supplementary texts to the Kanjur organizes the main sections according to the sequence Tantra, Sūtra, Vinaya. One might argue at this point that this order was not the original one but was only introduced by the redactor of the Tanjur, Bu ston Rin chen grub (1290-1364). That, however, appears quite unlikely when compared with Bu ston's *Bde bar gshegs pa'i bstan pa'i gsal byed chos kyi 'byung gnas gsung rab rin po che'i mdzod*,<sup>34</sup> written in 1322-23. In the third main part of this "History of Buddhism", Bu ston provides a survey of the Buddhist literature known to him,<sup>35</sup> a survey which lists in its first portion the Vinaya and Sūtra texts.<sup>36</sup>

While compiling the Tanjur, the catalogue of which<sup>37</sup> he completed twelve years later, i.e. in 1335, Bu ston will presumably have adapted the order Tantra, Sūtra, Vinaya from the pattern of the Narthang Monastery canon.

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and early 14<sup>th</sup> centuries. He composed three catalogues of canonical collections, viz. the *Bka' bstan dkar chag bstan pa rgyas pa* (most probably covering the texts later placed into Kanjur and Tanjur), the *Bka' 'gyur dkar chag nyi ma 'od zer* (a description of the Kanjur texts), and the *Rgyud 'bum rgyan gyi me tog* (a list of the Tantras), cf. SKILLING 1997: 99.

<sup>32</sup> His dates are unknown either, his catalogue was entitled *Bka' bstan gyi dkar chag*, recording Kanjur and Tanjur texts, cf. SKILLING 1997: 99.

<sup>33</sup> IMAEDA 1977, 26: "... on sait que le Kanjur de Snar thang dit «ancien» était accompagné d'un index intitulé «*Nyi ma'i 'od zer*» compilé par Bcom ldan rig ral".

<sup>34</sup> Brief title *Chos 'byung*; accessible in the reprint published by LOKESH CHANDRA 1965-71: part 24 (*ya*), 633-1055.

<sup>35</sup> Ed. by NISHIOKA 1980-1983.

<sup>36</sup> This order of Vinaya and Sūtra is also found in Ngor chen Kun dga' rgyal mtshan's *dkar chag* (cf., above note 26), but there the Tantra section precedes the others.

<sup>37</sup> Under the title *Bstan 'gyur gyi dkar chag yid bzhin nor bu dbang gi rgyal po'i phreng ba* reprinted in LOKESH CHANDRA 1965-71: part 26 (*la*), 401-644.



To gain further proof for the original structure of the first canonical compilation, it is necessary to examine the organization of individual sections or subsections. The basic structure is most clearly recognizable in the Tantra section; its development up to the contemporary forms, which only slightly differ from each other, can easily be traced. With the *Kye'i rdo rje'i rgyud 'bum gyi dkar chag* by the Sa skya pa scholar Grags pa rgyal mtshan (1147-1216), we have a catalogue of the Tantra texts<sup>38</sup> in hand that is already divided into the four Tantra Classes of Anuttarayogatantra, Yogatantra, Caryātantra and Kriyātantra, with the highest class, Anuttaratantra, standing at the beginning.

'Phags pa Blo gros rgyal mtshan (1235-1280) employs the same basic pattern in his catalogue, the *Rgyud sde'i dkar chag*, although he replaces individual subcategories. According to tradition, Bcom ldan Rig pa'i ral gri used the two Sa skya pa scholars' *dkar chags* for his catalogue,<sup>39</sup> which most probably also began with the highest Tantra class and recorded the three others in descending order.

In his "History of Buddhism" (*Chos 'byung*), and his *Rgyud sde spyi'i mam par bzhag pa rgyud sde rin po che'i mdzes rgyan*<sup>40</sup> Bu ston Rin chen grub presents the four Tantra Classes in an ascending order, i.e. starting with the Kriyātantra. The highly differentiated arrangement of the individual Tantra text titles found in the latter work underlies Bu ston's *Rgyud 'bum gyi dkar chag*<sup>41</sup> as well, but changed in one major point, viz. the four Tantra Classes are given in descending order.

The catalogue to the Tanjur written by Bu ston in 1335<sup>42</sup> gives the same descending structure, there we find the Anuttarayogatantra

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<sup>38</sup> Together with 'Phags pa Blo gros rgyal mtshan's *Rgyud sde'i dkar chag* edited in EIMER 1997: 19-78.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. HARRISON 1995: 77.

<sup>40</sup> Accessible in the reprint published by LOKESH CHANDRA 1965-71: part 15 (*ba*). This "analysis" is dated into the year 1339. For its structure cf. TUCCI 1949: I, 261-263 (note 276).

<sup>41</sup> Accessible in the reprint published by LOKESH CHANDRA 1965-71: part 26 (*la*), 365-399; edited in EIMER 1989; this Tantra catalogue was most probably written in or shortly after 1339 (cf. SEYFORTH RUEGG 1966: 118, note 1, and EIMER 1989: 37).

<sup>42</sup> Cf. note 37 above.

preceding the Yogatantra, the Caryātantra and the Kriyātantra;<sup>43</sup> at the end some texts common to several Tantra Classes are added.

In the Kanjur editions of the Tshal pa branch of transmission<sup>44</sup> to the general Tantra section, which arranges the individual texts according to the four Tantra Classes, two subsections, viz. the *rnying [ma'i] rgyud [bum]* and the *gzungs 'dus*, are added at a later stage of development. A note in the *dkar chag* of the Derge Kanjur says that the two volumes *gzungs 'dus* were added during the Tshal pa redaction.<sup>45</sup> The subsection *rnying rgyud* was inserted into the Derge Kanjur not until the reign of the Derge King 'Jam dbyangs Mkhayen brtse'i dbang po (1820-1892).<sup>46</sup> Therefore, the Kanjur manuscripts representing the Them spans ma group of transmission do not contain the sections *rnying rgyud* and *gzungs 'dus*.<sup>47</sup>

A *graduatio ad minus* merely in respect to the length of the texts is generally to be met with in the *sher phyin* (Prajñāpāramitā) section, which belongs to the *mdo* (Sūtra) section: in this section, the most extensive text, which according to its title comprises more than 100.000 stanzas, precedes a text of 25.000 stanzas followed one after the other by texts of 18.000, 10.000 and 8.000 stanzas.<sup>48</sup> In this case, the gradation refers in a purely mechanical way to the bulk of the texts. A different arrangement of the *sher phyin* texts in which the Prajñāpāramitā in 8.000 stanzas immediately follows that in 25.000

<sup>43</sup> In the reprint edition (LOKESH CHANDRA 1965-71: part 26 (*la*)) the texts of the *rnal 'byor gyi rgyud* start on page 507, those of the *spyod pa'i rgyud* on page 520, and those of the *bya ba'i rgyud* again on page 520.

<sup>44</sup> In general the Derge Kanjur follows in his main Tantra (*rgyud 'bum*) section the order of titles given in Bu ston's *Rgyud 'bum gyi dkar chag*, but adds some further texts.

<sup>45</sup> DKK 156b5-7: *de ltar gsang sngags rgyud 'bum gyi skor rnams (6) rdzogs nas | de dag las gzungsphran rnams 'grophan gyi ched phyogs gcig tu bkol ba | deng sang gzungs 'dus su grags pa tshal pa bka' 'gyur gyi dpe rgyun la byang ba bzhiñ rgyud kyi gsham nyid bkod pa la | glegs bam e vam gyi rtags (7) can gnyis.*

<sup>46</sup> IMAEDA 1981: 234.

<sup>47</sup> BETHLENFALVY 1982: 36-37, lists the *rnying rgyud* texts between the *myang 'das* and the *rgyud* sections, most probably following the *Thob yig gsal ba'i me long* of Dzaya pañḍita Blo bzang bstan 'dzin 'phrin las (1642-1715), cf. BETHLENFALVY 1982: 8.

<sup>48</sup> This is also the case in the extensive *dkar chag* to the Lhasa Kanjur, cf. *Bdag cag gi ston pa mnyam med shākya'i rgyal po'i bka' gangs can 'dir 'gyur ro cog gi gsung par 'dzam gling spyi nor gyi dkar chag legs bshad 'phrul gyi lde mig*, fol. 436b1-438a6.

stanzas, is found in the brief *dkar chag* to the Lhasa Kanjur<sup>49</sup> and in the list of the Cone Kanjur.<sup>50</sup> The *Mahāvīyutpatti* lists the 100.000, the 25.000, and the 8.000 Prajñāpāramitā only.<sup>51</sup>

In the original order of the Tibetan Vinaya section as traceable in the Them spangs ma manuscripts, we also find an arrangement relating to the significance of the texts.<sup>52</sup> Here the *Vinayavibhaṅga* (*'Dul ba rnam par 'byed pa*) as the commentary to the most important ritually employed text—the *Prātimokṣasūtra* (*So sor thar pa'i mdo*)<sup>53</sup>—stands at the beginning.

Trying to convey the principle of descending order to the Kanjur as a whole, we must position the Tantras at the front. The Kanjur would then begin with the highest class of texts of esoterical Buddhism; the second main division would be the Sūtras belonging to the Mahāyāna, the end would be the corpus on monastic discipline stemming from Hīnayāna Buddhism. Such a structuring of the Kanjur might well have been the aim of the Ska skya pa scholars mentioned before, of Bcom ldan Rig pa'i ral gri, and of Bu ston Rin chen grub; they did not reach it, however, at least as far as the order within the divisions belonging to the Sūtra section is concerned.

Mahāyāna texts are to be found within the following four subsections in the Kanjur: *sher phyin* (Prajñāpāramitā), *dkon brtsegs* (Ratnakūṭa), *phal chen* (Avataṃsaka) and *mdo* (general Sūtra section), in some editions a section *myang 'das* (Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra) follows.<sup>54</sup> This arrangement seems to keep to an ascending order, for the Prajñāpāramitā texts stand also at the beginning of early Mahāyāna in terms of dogma. The subsections Ratnakūṭa and Avataṃsaka are com-

<sup>49</sup> Cf. *Rgyal ba'i bka' 'gyur rin po che'i chos tshan so so'i mtshan byang dkar chag bsdus pa*, fol. 3b3-4b6 (ed. in EIMER 1998), on which source TAKASAKI 1965: 4-5, nos. 9-11, and TOKUOKA 1968: 33-43, rely.

<sup>50</sup> MIBU 1959: 29-30, nos. 999-1001.

<sup>51</sup> ISHIHAMA / FUKUDA 1989: 71, nos. 1330-1332.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. EIMER 1987: 219-227; the Tog Palace manuscript, in spite of belonging to the Them spangs ma line of transmission, arranges the Vinaya texts according to the pattern found in all Tshal pa editions, cf. SKORUPSKI 1985: xix.

<sup>53</sup> In the earliest Indian Buddhism the *Prātimokṣasūtra* did not belong to the codified Canon, it was the *arcanum* of the monks and nuns, not to be taught to anyone not ordained, cf. OLDENBERG 1959: 88.

<sup>54</sup> I.e. all the manuscripts belonging to the Them spangs ma branch of transmission and the blockprint editions of Narthang and Lhasa.

pilations of several quite extensive Sūtras partly belonging to the early, partly to the more developed system of Mahāyāna. The subsection of general Sūtras places the extensive Mahāyānasūtras at the beginning, further on it gives Hīnayāna texts,<sup>55</sup> too. So a general principle of order is not ascertainable in this field.

It is not possible, therefore, to draw a continuous line leading from the heights of the Tantric texts down to the supplements of the texts on monastic discipline. Such a continually descending gradation from text to text would have been the ideal of a *graduatio ad minus* probably aimed at by the Buddhist scholars who from the 12th century onward down to Bu ston Rin chen grub were concerned with the structure of the canon. Attempts to arrive at an order appropriate to the special esteem for esoteric teachings in Tibetan Buddhism as is reflected in the sequence Tantra, Sūtra, Vinaya, started already between the 12th and the 14th century.

The structural pattern of the Hīnayāna canon with its divisions Vinaya, Sūtra and Abhidharma, however, probably served as a guideline already for the Tshal pa edition, which excludes the Abhidharma texts. As a result, there ensued an ascending order of Hīnayāna, Mahāyāna and Tantrayāna that was not, however, transferred to the internal structure of the sections. This order based on the Indian Hīnayāna tradition nevertheless remained dominant, it was finally used for most blockprint editions of the Kanjur and became the norm editors adhered to since 1614 at the latest (i.e. since the 'Jang sa tham / Lithang print). Furthermore, it influenced a number of manuscripts that do not belong to the mainstream tradition, such as for example the manuscript from the West Tibetan monastery of Phug brag.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> E.g., the "Mahāsūtras", edited in SKILLING 1994-97.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. SAMTEN 1992.

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## NOTES ON THE MUSTANG TANJUR

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In preparing the structured edition of the *Early Mustang Kanjur Catalogue*<sup>1</sup> I met with three texts which by their titles are styled as *dkar chags* of the Tanjur. These three Tibetan “catalogues” appear one after another in the third volume of the *bka' 'bum (Collected Works)* of Ngor chen Kun dga' bzang po (A.D. 1382-1456).<sup>2</sup> They are preceded by the *Bka' 'gyur ro cog gi dkar chag bstan pa gsal ba'i sgron me* which covers the first main section of the Early Mustang Kanjur listing the texts of the Vajrayāna section (*rdo rje theg pa'i chos skor*). The description of the Pāramitāyāna section (*phar phyin theg pa'i chos skor*) of the Early Mustang Kanjur appears as the second part of the *Mdo sngags bka' 'gyur dkar chag* which is accessible in a manuscript coming from the Myu gu district in West Nepal and filmed for the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project.<sup>3</sup> This manuscript in turn contains the second of the three Tanjur *dkar chags* under the title *Bstan 'gyur sngags phyogs dkar chag*.<sup>4</sup> So we have three Tanjur *dkar chags* in the third volume of the *bka' 'bum* of Ngor chen Kun dga' bzang po and only the second of them in the manuscript from Nepal.

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<sup>1</sup> EIMER 1999; see EIMER 1994 as well.

<sup>2</sup> Accessible in *Bsod nams rgya mtsho* 1969: 10, 349/2/6-366/4/4. Hereafter references to the texts in question are given according to the double original foliation which runs from 61a/269a6 to 96a/304a4.

<sup>3</sup> A copy of the book microfilmed by Dr. Franz-Karl Ehrhard was kindly sent to me. I take pleasure in extending my sincerest thanks not only to Dr. F.-K. Ehrhard, but also to Prof. Dr. Albrecht Wezler, Hamburg, for his kind help in obtaining permission to use this text and to Sani Maiya Rana, Acting Chief Research Officer, National Archives, Kathmandu, for granting that permission. Dr. F.-K. Ehrhard, Dr. Christoph Cüppers and Dr. Klaus-Dieter Mathes provided me with additional information for which I would like to offer them my best thanks.

<sup>4</sup> In accordance with the rules of the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project, a microfilm copy is kept in the Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin, its shelf mark being: Reel No. E 2301/21, Running No. E 42546. This book bears a double foliation as well, the Kanjur catalogue covers fol. 1a/106a1-34a/139a6 and the Tanjur catalogue 1a/140a1-32a/171a4. Hereafter references to texts in the Myu gu manuscript are given according to the double original foliation enclosed in square brackets.

Thus we arrive at the following distribution of the extant canon catalogues by Ngor chen Kun dga' bzang po:

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <p>A <i>Bka' 'bum</i> of Ngor chen<br/>Vol. 3 (<i>ga</i>)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <i>Bka' 'gyur ro cog gi dkar chag bstan pa gsal ba'i sgron me</i> (i.e.: <i>rdo rje theg pa'i chos skor</i>)<br/>50b/258b1-61a/269a6</li> <li>2. <i>Bstan 'gyur dkar chag</i><br/>61a/269a6-62a/270a6</li> <li>3. <i>Rdo rje theg pa'i bstan bcos 'gyur ro 'tshal gyi dkar chag</i><br/>62b/270b1-78a/286a3</li> <li>4. <i>Bstan bcos 'gyur ro 'tshal gyi dkar chag thub bstan rgyas pa'i nyi 'od</i><br/>78a/286a3-96a/304a4</li> </ol> | <p>B Manuscript from Myu gu district in West Nepal</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <i>Mdo sngags bka' 'gyur dkar chag</i><br/>(<i>rdo rje theg pa'i chos skor</i>)<br/>[1a/106a1-22b /127b6]<br/>and (<i>phar phyin theg pa'i chos skor</i>)<br/>[23a/128a1-34a/139a6]</li> <li>2. <i>Bstan 'gyur sngags phyogs dkar chag</i><br/>[1a/140a1-32a/171a4]</li> </ol> |
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The present paper is meant to examine the three Tanjur catalogues by Ngor chen with a view to finding out the provenance of their exemplars. This includes the issue whether the canons described belong to the mainstream tradition of the Tanjur or not. At the outset we may note that studies into the transmission of the Tanjur so far have yielded some general results as to the interrelation between the accessible text witnesses.<sup>5</sup> In most cases we have common readings of the Cone and Derge Tanjurs on the one side and the Narthang, Beijing (Peking) and Golden Manuscript Tanjurs on the other. This does not, however, hold good for the *bstod tshogs* section, i.e. for the first volume, in which the Cone Tanjur is not directly traceable to the Derge edition.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Investigations of this kind started, e.g., with VOGEL 1965 and EIMER 1978.

<sup>6</sup> HARTMANN 1987, SCHNEIDER 1993, and SCHNEIDER 1995, 158-159. DIETZ 2000: 176, reaches another divergent stemma for the Tanjur section *spring / gtam yig*.

For the history of the Tanjur since the time when the first comprehensive Tibetan Buddhist Canon was prepared at Narthang Monastery in the years after 1310, we only have some preliminary research at our disposal.<sup>7</sup> The question of how the texts translated into Tibetan were assembled in collections like the Tanjur must now be viewed in the light of enquiries made into the earliest transmission of the Kanjur.<sup>8</sup>

The first—which at the same time is the shortest—of the three Tanjur *dkar chags* contained in the *Collected Works* of Ngor chen bears the most comprehensive title, viz. *Bstan 'gyur dkar chag*, i.e. “Catalogue of the Tanjur”. This is astonishing inasmuch as the text covers one folio only. Such a brief *dkar chag* does not suffice to list the titles of the more than three thousand texts found in the commonly known Tanjur editions, as printed in Cone, Derge, Narthang and Beijing. It is, in fact, a sort of “table of contents”.<sup>9</sup> By the way, the expression *dkar chag* denotes both the extensive catalogue and its abridged version.

The initial three lines of the *Bstan 'gyur dkar chag*, making up the first quarter of the whole text, state that both Kanjur and Tanjur are needed for preaching the Buddhist doctrine by persons who are able to explain it.<sup>10</sup> As to the sources for copying a Kanjur at the time of the Mustang king A ma dpal, the introductory portion of the *Bka' 'gyur ro cog gi dkar chag bstan pa gsal ba'i sgron me* tells us the following:

... mnga' ris kyi sa phyogs su bstan (4) pa phyi dar gyi dus nas brtsams  
te yun ring [5] mo'i bar la bstan pa rin po che rma med par gnas su zin  
kyang | dus ha cang ring du gyur pa'i dbang gis glegs bam 'ga' zhig  
'thor nas deng sang rgyal ba'i bka' 'gyur ro cog gi glegs bam tshang ba  
phyogs gcig mi bzhugs pa'i ...

<sup>7</sup> Cf. VOGEL 1965: 24-34 (§§ 21-24).

<sup>8</sup> Cf. HARRISON 1996, and the contributions published in EIMER (ed.) 1997.

<sup>9</sup> MARTIN 1996 uses this term for translating Tibetan *dkar chag*.

<sup>10</sup> 61a/269a6: sa phyogs gang na sangs rgyas kyi (61b/269b1) bstan pa tshang  
bar bzhugs pa der bka' 'gyur ro cog dang | bstan bcos 'gyur ro 'tshal gyi glegs bam  
tshang bar bzhugs dgos | 'di gnyis tshang bar mi bzhugs na | sangs rgyas kyi bstan  
pa yongs su rdzogs par mi bzhugs pas bstan pa tshang bar mi bzhugs | bka' (2)  
'gyur dang bstan 'gyur gyi glegs bam dang | de 'chad byed kyi gang zag la rag las  
pa lags | (text continues in note 13).

“... although the jewel of the [Buddhist] Teaching had survived unharmed in Mnga’ ris for a long period since the time of the later propagation, in consequence of the very long time elapsed, several volumes had decayed and at that juncture no complete volume of the Kanjur existed in any one place ...”<sup>11</sup>

From the preface given to the *Early Mustang Kanjur Catalogue* we understand that in Mustang itself the canonical transmission was almost extinct in the middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. The reference to Mnga’ ris, which is situated west of Glo bo, i.e. Mustang, indicates that one had to rely on canonical texts extant in Western Tibet, because the manuscript material accessible in Mustang was not sufficient to prepare a Kanjur on its basis. Therefore we conclude that the Kanjur transmission in Mustang is connected with that in Western Tibet.

The main body of the *Bstan ’gyur dkar chag* consists of a passage covering about eight lines of the xylograph edition.<sup>12</sup> It is a list of section titles, text titles and authors’ names placed side by side, and is preceded by a reference to three renowned Lamas, viz.<sup>13</sup>

1. Kun dga’ blo gros rgyal mtshan, who lived from 1299 to 1327 and held the office of Ti shri since 1316,<sup>14</sup>
2. Rgyang ro Byang chub ’bum, who engaged with other scholars in compiling the first comprehensive Tibetan Buddhist Canon prepared at Narthang Monastery in the years after 1310, and
3. the incarnation of Mgon po ’Jam dbyangs, who collected the funds needed for copying that canon.<sup>15</sup>

On account of these names one is inclined to assume that the ensuing sketch delineates the structure of the Tanjur of the first comprehensive Tibetan Buddhist Canon of Narthang. At the end of the *Bstan ’gyur dkar chag*, however, we read:

<sup>11</sup> The passage in question is found (51b3-5) [4b4-5a2], cf. EIMER 1999: 26-27.

<sup>12</sup> Extending from 61b/269b4 to 62a/270a5.

<sup>13</sup> 61b/269b2: *de la bka’ ’gyur gyi dgongs pa rang stobs kyiis ’chad mi shes pas | tshul bzhin du ’chad pa la bstan ’gyur gal che bar gzigs nas | ’gro ba’i bla ma ti shri kun dga’ blo gros (3) rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po pas sangs rgyas kyi bstan pa skyong ba’i dus su | dge ba’i bshes gnyen rgyang ro byang chub ’bum la sogs pa mkhas pa du ma la bka’ gnang nas phyogs gcig tu bsduš shing zhu dag dang do dam bgyis nas | mgon po ’jam dbyangs kyi rnam par ’phrul (4) pa bla ma bdag nyid chen po’i thugs dam bzhengs pa’i bstan ’gyur khyad par can ’di na |* (text continues in note 18).

<sup>14</sup> The identification of this personage I owe to the kind help of Dr. Joachim Karsten, Bonn.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. BA, II, 338.

Although currently in Central Tibet, i.e. in Dbus and Gtsang, a great number of copies of the Tanjur exist, there is obviously no better, fairer and purer version than this one.<sup>16</sup>

We consider this statement to mean that Ngor chen Kun dga' bzang po regards the copy of the Tanjur he describes as the best version. At this stage we cannot yet decide which version is detailed—or better sketched—in the *Bstan 'gyur dkar chag*.

Turning to the list of section titles, text titles and authors' names given in the *Bstan 'gyur dkar chag*, we see that it records all topics contained in a full-fledged Tanjur. If we assign these topics to the standard section titles, we obtain a table of contents comparable to the known Tanjur editions, as will appear from the following outline of the *Bstan 'gyur dkar chag*.

The first main section, i.e. the part of the Tanjur which is exclusively devoted to “religious” literature, starts with the *bstod tshogs* section occurring at the same place in all Tanjur editions. In the catalogue accompanying the Derge Tanjur, e.g., the description of this “collection of hymns” forms the first chapter.<sup>17</sup> In the *Bstan 'gyur dkar chag*, however, this section does not only consist of hymns addressed to the Buddha, but comprises hymns directed to the *yi dam* and *chos skyong* as well.<sup>18</sup> Compared with the mainstream tradition, this is an important difference that could be interpreted as originating from a formerly separate collection of Tantric hymns of praise. In the last part of his *History of Buddhism (Chos 'byung)* Bu ston Rin chen grub lists the “cycle of manifold hymns of praise”<sup>19</sup> towards the end of the Mahāyāna treatises, but preceding the compendia of logic, grammar, etc.<sup>20</sup> Therefore a relation between Bu ston's list and the Mustang Tanjur cannot be ascertained.

<sup>16</sup> 62a/270a6: *ding sang bod dbus gtsang gi sa la bstan 'gyur 'ga' ro yod kyang | 'di bas legs pa bzang dag pa gzhan na med par mngon sum gyis grub pa bde yin* (end of text). Mrs. Hanna-Christine Schneider M.A., Bonn, kindly told me that 'ga' ro in colloquial Tibetan means “many, a mass of”.

<sup>17</sup> This description covers DTK 338b4-341a7, its end being indicated by: *bstod pa'i bstan bcos kyi skabs te dang po'o*.

<sup>18</sup> 61b/269b4: *dang por mchod brjod kyi tshul gyi sangs rgyas dang | yi dam gyi lha dang | rdo'rje chos skyong rnam la bstod pa'i tshogs thams cad tshang bar bkod cing |* (text continues in note 22).

<sup>19</sup> NISHIOKA 1980-83: nos. 896-972: *bstod pa sna tshogs kyi skor*.

<sup>20</sup> *Op. cit.*, nos. 996 sqq.; the list of the Tantric texts starts with no. 1119.

In all standard editions of the Kanjur the *rgyud* (Tantra) section is subdivided according to the four well-known Tantra Classes, viz.

- (1) *rnal 'byor bla na med* (Anuttarayogatantra),
- (2) *rnal 'byor* (Yogatantra), (3) *spyod rgyud* (Caryātantra), and
- (4) *bya ba'i rgyud* (Kriyātantra).<sup>21</sup>

The *Bstan 'gyur dkar chag* adopts this common arrangement. A subsection with commentaries, *sādhanas* and other texts pertaining to *maṅdalas*, offerings and meditation and belonging to the four Tantra Classes is attached.<sup>22</sup> The Derge Tanjur is aware of this organization of the Tantra section, its catalogue refers at least to the three main subsections of the highest Tantra Class<sup>23</sup> and concludes with cycles of explanatory texts common to all Tantra Classes.<sup>24</sup>

The *Bstan 'gyur dkar chag* subdivides the highest Tantra Class, viz. the Anuttarayogatantra, with the help of the names of tantric deities residing in the centre of the respective cycles. First we have the *dus kyi 'khor lo*, i.e. Kālacakra. Bu ston Rin chen grub's *Tantra Catalogue* subsumes this cycle under the *gnyis su med pa'i rgyud* (Advayatantra) and assigns it to the top of the canonical Tantras. At least since 'Phags pa Blo gros rgyal mtshan's *Rgyud sde'i dkar chag* the Sa skya pa tradition attributes the first place to the *Hevajratantra*, which also belongs to the Advayatantra.<sup>25</sup> Now the *Rdo rje theg pa'i bstan bcos 'gyur ro 'tshal gyi dkar chag*, i.e. the second of the three

<sup>21</sup> Cf., e.g., EIMER 1989: 29-33.

<sup>22</sup> 61b/269b4-6: *de nas dus kyi 'khor lo | kye rdor | 'khor lo bde mchog | rdo rje gdan bzhi | sgyu ma chen po | gsang ba 'dus pa | gshin rje'i gshed skor la sogs pa | rnal 'byor bla na med kyi bstan bcos* (Anuttarayogatantra) *mtha' dag dang | de nyid bsdus pa la sogs rnal 'byor gyi rgyud* (Yogatantra) *kyi chos skor dang | rnam snang mngon byang sogs spyod rgyud kyi* (Caryātantra) *chos skor dang | dpung bzang gi mdo 'grel sogs | bya ba'i rgyud kyi* (Kriyātantra) *chos skor te | gsang sngags rgyud sde bzhi dang 'brel pa'i rgyud kyi 'grel pa | sgrub thabs | dkyil cho ga | sbyin sreg gi cho ga | bsgom rim gyi gdams ngag sogs tshang mar bzhugs pa dang |* (text continues in note 32).

<sup>23</sup> DTK 386a2 ... *de ltar thabs kyi rgyud dang | shes rab kyi rgyud dang | thabs shes rab gnyis su med pa'i rgyud kyi so so'i bstan bcos rnam bkod nas.*

<sup>24</sup> Cf. DTK 404b7 ... *de ltar bya ba'i rgyud so so'i 'grel pa rnam bkod nas | da ni de dag gi sgrub thabs dkyil chog la sogs pa'i skor la* and DTK 415b3: ... *de ltar rgyud sde so so ba dang 'brel pa'i chos skor rnam bkod nas | rgyud sde bzhi thun mong ba ci rigs pa dang 'brel (4) pa'i dgongs 'grel bstan bcos kyi skor la ...*

<sup>25</sup> EIMER 1997: 12 and 25.

Tanjur catalogues by Ngor chen,<sup>26</sup> records the texts of the *Hevajra-tantra* at the beginning<sup>27</sup>—they appear in the volumes 1 to 5—and thereafter the *Kālacakratantra* starting with volume 6.<sup>28</sup> In the *dkar chag* to the Derge Tanjur the texts explanatory of the Hevajra cycle form the first part of the Tantra section,<sup>29</sup> they precede the commentaries etc. on the *dus kyi 'khor lo*.<sup>30</sup> The Beijing and Narthang Tanjurs, on the other hand, give the *Kālacakratantra* texts at the commencement of the *rgyud 'grel* section.<sup>31</sup>

In the *mdo* (Sūtra) section we first have the Pāramitā (*phar phyin*) texts, to which the *Mngon rtogs rgyan* (*Abhisamayālaṅkāra*) is appended, because it is the register of keywords contained in the *Nyi khri*, the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā*. As the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* belongs to the group of the *Byams chos sde lnga* (“the five treatises of Maitreya”), the four other texts of this group and their commentaries are referred to directly thereafter. And these treatises in turn are followed by the other texts of the *Sems tsam pa* (Yogācāra) school.<sup>32</sup>

Next come the basic texts of the *Dbu ma pas* (Madhyamakās), starting with the *Dbu ma rtsa ba shes rab* (*Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*). This is indicated by the names of the respective authors, viz. Buddhapālita, Bhavya, Candrakīrti, Śāntarakṣita and Kamalaśīla.<sup>33</sup> In the mainstream transmission the texts of the Madhyamaka school precede those of the Yogācāra school.

<sup>26</sup> The double foliation of the manuscript coming from Myu gu is added in square brackets to the double foliation of the *Sa skya pa'i bka' 'bum*.

<sup>27</sup> 62b/271b6 [2b/141b5] *thog mar 'bras bu rdo rje theg pa'i gzhung la | thog [3a/142a1] mar dpal kye [kyai] rdo rje'i chos skor...*

<sup>28</sup> 64b/271b6 [8b/147b5]: *CHA PALA | dus kyi 'khor lo'i bsdus pa'i rgyud shong (65a/272a) gis 'gyur.*

<sup>29</sup> The cycle starts at DTK 341a7, cf. D 1180.

<sup>30</sup> This portion begins at DTK 348b5, cf. D 1346.

<sup>31</sup> Starting with Q 2064 and with N 65, respectively.

<sup>32</sup> 61b/269b6: *phar phyin theg pa'i phyogs (62a/270a1) la | rgyas pa 'bum gyi fi ka sogs sher phyin gyi mdo mang po'i 'grel pa dang | mngon rtogs rgyan la sogs pa byams chos sde lnga rjes 'brang dang bcas pa'i 'grel pa | 'grel bshad | sa sde lnga | sdom rnam gnyis | pra ka ra na sde brgyad sogs 'phags pa thogs med sku (2) mched rjes 'brang dang bcas pa'i gzhung dag dang | (text continues in note 33).*

<sup>33</sup> 62a/270a2: *dbu ma rtsa ba'i shes rab la sogs pa 'phags pa klu sgrub kyi dbu ma'i gzhung lugs rnam dang | de dag gi dgongs pa 'grel pa | slob dpon sangs rgyas skyong | legs ldan byed | zla ba grags pa | zhi ba 'tsho | kā ma la shi la sogs (3) pa dbu ma'i slob dpon chen po rnam kyis mdzad pa'i 'grel pa | 'grel bshad | gzhung phran dang bcas pa ji snyed pa dang | (text continues in note 34).*

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 Chart:

 STRUCTURED CONTENTS OF THE DERGE TANJUR <sup>a</sup>

## (A: religious texts)

- (a) *bstod tshogs* hymns  
 (b) *rgyud* <sup>b</sup> [commentaries and texts in connection with the] *tantras*  
 (c) [*mdo*] <sup>c</sup> [commentaries and texts in connection with the] *sūtras*  
     (1.) *sher phyin* (*prajñāpāramitā*)      (2.) *dbu ma* (*madhyamaka*)  
     (3.) *mdo 'grel* <sup>d</sup> [in connection with general] *sūtras*  
     (4.) *sems tsam* (*cittamātra*)      (5.) *mngon pa* <sup>e</sup> (*abhidharma*)  
 (d) *'dul ba* <sup>f</sup> (*vinaya*)

## (B: edifying literature)

- (1.) *skyes rabs* (*jātaka*)      (2.) *spring yig* (*lekha*)

## (C: “secular” sections)

- (1.) *tshad ma* (*pramāṇa*)      (2.) *sgra mdo* <sup>g</sup> (*vyākaraṇa*)  
 (3.) *gso rig pa* <sup>h</sup> (*cikitsā*)      (4.) *bzo rig pa* (*śilpa*)  
 (5.) *thun mong ba lugs kyi bstan bcos* [“common gnomics”]  
 (6.) *sna tshogs* <sup>i</sup> [“various texts”]  
 (7.) *jo bo'i chos chung* <sup>j</sup> [“small treatises of Atiśa”]

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<sup>a</sup> The section titles are drawn from the table of contents at the beginning of Uī *et al.* 1934. The divergent section titles of the Beijing Tanjur appear in the notes relying on the Beijing Kanjur and Tanjur catalogue (SUZUKI 1955-61: 165, xi).

<sup>b</sup> Q: *rgyud 'grel*.

<sup>c</sup> Uī *et al.* 1934 do not report this section title; SUZUKI 1955-61: 165, xi, gives *mdo 'grel*.

<sup>d</sup> Q: *mdo tshogs 'grel pa*.

<sup>e</sup> Q: *mngon pa'i bstan bcos*.

<sup>f</sup> Q: *'dul ba'i bstan bcos*.

<sup>g</sup> Q: *sgra rig pa*.

<sup>h</sup> Q: *gso ba rig pa*.

<sup>i</sup> Q: *ngo mtshar bstan bcos*.

<sup>j</sup> This section is absent in Q.

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After listing the Abhidharma texts of the Vaibhāṣika school in the (sub)section *Mngon pa*,<sup>34</sup> the *Bstan 'gyur dkar chag* has an enigmatic entry that runs as follows:

(62a/270a3-4) *spyod phyogs kyi gzhung brgya rtsa brgyad dang | bslab btus la sogs pa byang chub sems dpa'i spyod pa la slob tshul gyi gzhung mtha' dag dang |*<sup>35</sup>

The syllables *brgya rtsa brgyad dang* obviously refer to the *jo bo'i chos chung brgya rtsa brgyad*, i.e. the “collection of the small treatises of Atiśa [and other texts<sup>36</sup>], in all 108”. This reading is probably one of the mistakes occurring in the 1736 Derge edition of the *Sa skya pa'i bka' 'bum*. We understand the syllables in question as mixing up two separate text categories, viz. the “small treatises of Atiśa” on the one hand and “Śāntideva's *Śikṣāsamuccaya* and *Bodhicaryāvatāra* and the texts connected with them” on the other hand. In the Narthang and Beijing Tanjurs the *jo bo'i chos chung* appear after the works of Śāntideva in the *dbu ma* section,<sup>37</sup> whereas the Derge Tanjur unites the treatises of Atiśa in a separate volume at the end of the collection. The final portion of the “religious” part of the Tanjur consists of the texts concerning the *'dul ba* (Vinaya).<sup>38</sup>

The *Bstan 'gyur dkar chag* does not record the edifying literature, as contained in the sections *Jātaka* (*skyes rabs*) and *Lekha* (*spring yig*) just before the “secular” part of the Cone, Derge and Beijing Tanjurs. The second main section, viz. the “secular” one, covers the subjects logic, grammar, poetics, metrics, lexicography, astrology, iconometrics, checking of men,<sup>39</sup> and medicine.<sup>40</sup> This list does not go with that

<sup>34</sup> 62a/270a3: *mngon pa mdzod rtsa 'grel sogs bye brag tu smra ba'i gzhung 'grel mtha' dag dang |* (text continues in the following quotation).

<sup>35</sup> Text continues in note 38.

<sup>36</sup> This subsection starts with 26 works by Atiśa, followed by 77 texts owed to other authors.

<sup>37</sup> In the Narthang edition this volume bears the marginal title *mdo ('grel dbu ma)*, *gi* (33). The short title *jo bo'i chos chung* appears in the Narthang Tanjur on the title page. The Beijing Tanjur gives as marginal title *byang chub lam sgron*, short for *Byang chub lam gyi sgron ma*, i.e. *Bodhipathapradīpa*, because this text opens the collection of the “small treatises of Atiśa”.

<sup>38</sup> 62a/270a4: *'dul ba lung sde bzhi'i 'grel chen sogs 'dul ba'i 'grel pa 'grel bshad gzhung phran mang po dang |* (text continues in note 40).

<sup>39</sup> *mi'i brtag pa*; cf. BHSD, 333a, s.v. *parīkṣā* “... vastu-, dāru-, ratna-, hasti-, aśva-, kumāra- (or puruṣa-), kumārī-, and vastra- (...) parīkṣā.”

<sup>40</sup> 62a/270a4: *tshad ma sde bdun gyi 'grel pa 'grel bshad bsam gyis mi khyab*

given in the other Tanjurs, where we have logic (*tshad ma*, *pramāṇa*), grammar (*sgra mdo*, *vyākaraṇa*), medicine (*gso rig pa*, *cikitsā*), arts (*bzo rig pa*, *śilpa*), gnomics (*thun mong ba lugs kyi bstan bcos*) etc. These topics may be compared with the “Liberal Arts” of medieval Europe, which were studied as prerequisites for theology. At the very end the *Bstan ’gyur dkar chag* refers to some concluding prayers also found in the common Tanjur editions.<sup>41</sup>

The two above-mentioned extensive Tanjur catalogues by Ngor chen, viz. *Rdo rje theg pa’i bstan bcos ’gyur ro ’tshal gyi dkar chag* and *Bstan bcos ’gyur ro ’tshal gyi dkar chag thub bstan rgyas pa’i nyi ’od*, differ—not only due to their length—from the *Bstan ’gyur dkar chag*, they are real catalogues in the sense that they give the individual title of each text, generally in a shortened form; very often the names of the authors and / or translators are added. The catalogue of the Vajrayāna lists 45 volumes numbered from *ka* to *tsa* and again *tsa*<sup>42</sup> to *phi*, that of the Pāramitāyāna covers 100 volumes in all—marked *ka* to *the*—, as noted in its introduction as well.<sup>43</sup> The individual volumes, however, offer some more text than those of the Derge edition, the difference being—as I believe—a couple of leaves. These data clearly show that the Mustang Tanjur with its 145 volumes did not reach the size of the Derge, Narthang and Beijing Tanjurs which number more than 200 volumes each.

Either of the two *dkar chags* has its individual introduction<sup>44</sup> and colophon,<sup>45</sup> but we will treat them in this paper as closely belonging together and virtually forming one catalogue; for taken as a unit they comprise almost all the sections found in a common Tanjur. The *Rdo*

*pa dang* | *gzhan yang sgra dang* | *snyan ngag dang* | *sdeb sbyor dang* | *mngon*  
(5) *brjod dang* | *skar rtsis dang* | *sku gzugs kyi mtshan nyid dang* | *mi’i brtag*  
*pa dang* | *sman dpyad yan chad kyi bar gyi bstan bcos mtha’ dag yongs su tshang*  
*bar bzhugs pa’i mthar* (text continues in note 41).

<sup>41</sup> 62a/270a5: *bkra shis dang* | *smon lam dang* | *bden pa’i tshig gi rgya gzhung*  
*rnams yongs su rdzogs par bzhugs pa’i glegs* (6) *bam rnams la bstan bcos ’gyur ro*  
*’tshal zhes yongs su rdzogs par grags pa ’di lags* | (text continues in note 16 above).

<sup>42</sup> I.e., there are two volumes bearing the siglum *tsa*; in the text we find 68b/276b  
[15b/154b4] *tsa pa la*, 69a/277a2 *tsa pa gnyis pa la*, and [15b/154b7] *tsa pa ’og ma la*.

<sup>43</sup> 78b/287b6: ... *bstan bcos ’gyur ro ’tshal gyi glegs bam brgya phrag gcig*  
*bzhengs pa* ...

<sup>44</sup> 62b/270b1-62b/270b6 [1b/140b1-31/142a1], and 78a/286a3-78b/286b6 resp.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. note 52 below.

*rje theg pa'i bstan bcos 'gyur ro 'tshal gyi dkar chag*, which in the manuscript from Myu gu is entitled *Bstan 'gyur sngags phyogs dkar chag*, lists texts pertaining to the Tantras only—as already indicated by their titles. In the *Bstan bcos 'gyur ro 'tshal gyi dkar chag thub bstan rgyas pa'i nyi 'od* we first find the *bstod tshogs* section, thereafter follow the other sections, i.e. all the texts relating to the categories Prajñāpāramitā, Sūtra, Yogācāra, Madhyamaka, Abhidharma, Vinaya and the “secular” arts. Compared with the mainstream Tanjurs, the position of the hymns' section preceding the *shes phyin* texts is a specific feature of the Mustang Tanjur *dkar chags* not known from other sources.<sup>46</sup>

The introduction to the *Rdo rje theg pa'i bstan bcos 'gyur ro 'tshal gyi dkar chag* informs us that King A ma dpal started compiling the Tanjur when the copy of the Kanjur was written.<sup>47</sup> At first sight it is astonishing that five hundred years ago, in a country the agricultural income of which is very limited nowadays, two such voluminous canonical collections should have been prepared almost simultaneously. For copying a complete Kanjur, fifty well-trained scribes need a full year;<sup>48</sup> a copy of the Tanjur requires about the double amount of work.

The present economic situation in Mustang would not allow to have two such bulky canons copied at the same time. Archaeological investigations during the years 1991-1992 and 1994-1995 made by the “Kommission für Allgemeine und Vergleichende Archäologie” have shown that the climatic conditions in the high Himalayas have changed in the last thousand years.<sup>49</sup> The formerly dense woods disappeared, the climate grew more arid, the alpine steppes spread. Half a millennium ago, however, the climatic situation in the high Himalayas is likely to have been far better than today so that a larger population

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<sup>46</sup> The catalogue of the Mustang Kanjur (cf. EIMER 1999) consists of two main sections too, viz. the list of Tantra texts in the first part extant in the Collected Works of Ngor chen and in the Myu gu manuscript, and then the list of such texts within the other sections contained in the Myu gu manuscript only (see the initial paragraph).

<sup>47</sup> 62b/270b5 [2b/141b3] ... *a ma dpal bzang po rgyal mtshan gyi* [4] *thugs dam du rgyal ba'i bka' 'gyur ro* (6) *cog bzhengs shing | bstan bcos 'gyur ro 'tshal* [5] *rim [rims] gyis [kyis] 'bri bas brtsams pa ...*

<sup>48</sup> This calculation relies on the information given by SAITO 1977: 398 (9) § 5.1: a skilled scribe needs five months to copy a volume and an additional month to do the corrections.

<sup>49</sup> HÜTTEL 1994: 138, 1997: 11, note 9, and 2000: 78 and 81.

could live there. In the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century King A ma dpal founded a new kingdom in Lo Manthang that expanded to Southern Mustang, where at that time some new settlements sprang up.

The introduction to the *Bstan bcos 'gyur ro 'tshal gyi dkar chag thub bstan rgyas pa'i nyi 'od* moreover informs us that the copying was done in Smon thang Bkra shis lhun grub Monastery in the year “fire female hare”, i.e. in A.D. 1447.<sup>50</sup> A second date is given in the final colophon of the same text, but it appears in a mutilated form: *rab byung gi lo smal po zla ba'i mar tshes bco lnga la*.<sup>51</sup> This date consists of the month and the day only; the year has most probably been lost during the transmission of the text within the *Collected Works* of Ngor chen. According to the colophons of the two extensive *dkar chags* both were written in Glo bo Brag dkar Monastery.<sup>52</sup>

The two catalogues resemble the *dkar chags* we know of the Cone, Derge and Narthang Tanjurs in listing the texts by their individual titles often adding the names of the authors and / or translators. So it is possible to trace a considerable number of texts in other Tanjur editions. Identical sequences of syllables in the titles given by Ngor chen's *dkar chags* and the catalogues of the mainstream Tanjurs form the chief grounds for identifying them. In addition to that we can rely on those personal names appearing together with the titles. In case the titles are very much abbreviated and no names are recorded by Ngor chen's *dkar chags*, even identical syllables do not allow a definite identification. The two *dkar chags* include about 600 titles each, i.e. about 1,200 items in all. In the Derge Tanjur with its more than 3,450 texts of different length we have tentatively located parallels to more than 500 items of the Tantra section<sup>53</sup> and to about 530 entries of the Sūtra section.

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<sup>50</sup> 78b/286b5: ... *glo bo'i sa'i cha smon thang bkra shis lhun gyis grub pa'i gling du | rab byung gi lo bod kyi me mo yos kyi lor (6) grags pa la | bstan bcos 'gyur ro 'tshal gyi glegs bam brgya phrag gcig bzhengs pa ...*

<sup>51</sup> 96a3/304a3.

<sup>52</sup> 78a/286a2 [32a/171a4]: *ces pa glo bo brag dkar gyi gtsug lag khang du bris pa 'dis sbyin bdag gis thog drangs [grangs] (3) [5] sems can thams cad bkra shis par gyur cig, and 96a/304a3: glo bo'i sa yi cha dpal brag dkar theg chen gling gi gtsug lag khang chen por bris pa'o | | 'dis dam pa'i chos phyogs (4) thams cad du dar zhing rgyas pa gyur cig.*

<sup>53</sup> The headings → *sgrub thabs rgya mtsho zhes grags pa* and → *bla ma ba ri lo tstsha ba'i bsgyur ba'i sgrub thabs brgya rtsa grags pa* (74b/282b2-3) [26a/165a5-

As concerns their structure, the two extensive catalogues differ: the *Rdo rje theg pa'i bstan bcos 'gyur ro 'tshal gyi dkar chag*, i.e. the catalogue of the Tantras, makes only one brief reference to the contents of the following list, saying that the Hevajra cycle of texts occupies the first place.<sup>54</sup> The *Bstan bcos 'gyur ro 'tshal gyi dkar chag thub bstan rgyas pa'i nyi 'od* falls into two parts, the register of the *bstod tshogs* section and that of all the remaining sections; at their juncture a new introduction is added in which we find a short discussion on the arrangement of the sections listed.

Throughout the main part of the latter *dkar chag* there appear intermediate notices of the topics treated in the following works. The order of texts does not fully agree with that given by the *Bstan 'gyur dkar chag*: the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* (*Mngon rtogs rgyan*) is appended to the commentaries of the Prajñāpāramitāsūtras and related texts, but then occur the basic works of the *Dbu ma* school including the Prāsaṅgikas (*thal gyur*) and the Svatantrikas (*rang rgyud*). The “small treatises of Atiśa” (*jo bo'i chos chung*) precede the Abhidharma section. The “secular” part of the Tanjur first lists logic and grammar and thereafter poetics which in turn is represented by two works belonging to the category “drama” (*nāṭaka*). The following three sections correspond to the order of the Derge Tanjur, viz. *gso rig pa* (*cikitsā*), *bzo rig pa* (*śilpa*) and *thun mong ba lugs kyi bstan bcos* [“common gnomics”].

In general the Mustang Tanjur comprises all the main sections of a Tanjur. The two extensive Tanjur catalogues by Ngor chen Kundga' bzang po present the individual titles, as far as we can identify them, in an order which diverges from the mainstream editions; only occasionally there are brief identical sequences of texts, but they belong to a very limited number of corpora. A case in point is the group of the “small treatises of Atiśa” which is always given in the same order: be it that this formerly separate collection of texts forms an appendix of its own as in the Derge Tanjur, be it that it is included in the *dbu ma* section. Among the many texts noted by Ngor chen we find titles furnished with authors' or translators' names not given

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7], e.g., comprise a total of more than 340 individual short *sāghanā* texts, which are not counted separately here.

<sup>54</sup> 62b/270b6 [2b/141b6] ... *thog mar* [ | ] 'bras bu rdo rje theg pa'i gzhung la | *thog* [3a/142a1] *mar dpal kye* [kyai] *rdo rje'i chos skor* ...

in the accessible Tanjur editions. In some cases this may be due to mistakes made in the course of transmission, but there are also texts not known from other sources, or which represent divergent translations as found in the Mustang and Phug brag Kanjurs as well.

All these differences together lead us to the assumption that the exemplars of the Mustang Tanjur have the same provenance as those of the Mustang Kanjur. As mentioned above, in the introduction to his catalogue of the Kanjur Ngor chen implies that the sources used for the Kanjur originate from Mnga' ris, i.e. Western Tibet. By now it is possible to go a step further. Dr. Klaus-Dieter Mathes kindly provided us with microfilm copies of the *Akṣayamatīnirdeśasūtra* from the Lo Manthang and Tsarang Kanjurs, which were investigated with a view to establishing their affiliation. In a still unpublished paper PHILIPP A. MAAS arrived at the conclusion that the Mustang version of the *Akṣayamatīnirdeśasūtra* is more complete, i.e. correct, than that contained in the Tshal pa group of transmission, which is related in general to the Mustang recension. Thus it is possible to reach the hypothesis that the Mustang Kanjur and Tanjur could have been copied from manuscript material kept in Western Tibet at that time, and which must be viewed in the context of the tradition now manifest in fragments from Tabo Monastery and from the deserted town of Tsaparang.

#### SIGLA, ABBREVIATIONS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

- BA see ROERICH 1949.  
 BHSD see EDGERTON 1953.  
 D Text in the Derge Tanjur, quoted according to the number in UI *et al.* 1934.  
 DTK (i.e. Derge Tanjur Dkar chag) Zhu chen Tshul khrim, *Thams cad mkhyen pa chen po nyi ma'i gnyen gyi bka' lung spyi dang bye brag gi dgongs don nam par 'grel pa'i bstan bcos gangs can pa'i skad du 'gyur ro 'tshal gyi chos sbyin rgyun mi 'chad pa'i ngo mtshar 'phrul gyi phyi mo rdzogs ldan bskal ba'i bsod nams kyi sprin phung rgyas par dkrigs pa'i tshul las brtsams pa'i gnam ngo mtshar chu gter 'phel ba'i zla ba gsar ba.*  
 N Text in the Narthang Tanjur, quoted according to the number in MIBU 1967.

- Q Text in the Beijing Tanjur (prepared under the Qianlong emperor), quoted according to the number given by SUZUKI 1955-61.
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APPENDIX:  
THE MUSTANG TANJUR *DKAR CHAG*  
IN THE MYU GU MANUSCRIPT\*

The *Bstan 'gyur sngags phyogs dkar chag* comprised in the manuscript from the Myu gu district in West Nepal<sup>55</sup> registers Tanjur texts pertaining to the Tantras only. It is almost identical with the *Rdo rje theg pa'i bstan bcos 'gyur ro 'tshal gyi dkar chag* accessible in the *Collected Works (bka' 'bum)* of Ngor chen Kun dga' bzang po. Differences of major bearing between these two *dkar chags* occur to a limited extent;<sup>56</sup> but in a number of cases the *Bstan 'gyur sngags phyogs dkar chag* records with the text titles personal names which are not found in the *Rdo rje theg pa'i bstan bcos 'gyur ro 'tshal gyi dkar chag*.

The following pages give a structured diplomatic transcript of the *Bstan 'gyur sngags phyogs dkar chag*. The start of the individual leaves, pages, and lines in the Myu gu manuscript is noted enclosed in square brackets ([ ]). To facilitate comparison with the corresponding Tanjur *dkar chag* in the *bka' 'bum* of Ngor chen references to folio, page, and line are added, they appear in parentheses. In both cases only the lower of the two foliations, i.e. that of the fascicle, is given.<sup>57</sup>

The manuscript is written in *dpe bris*; the letter numerals indicating the start of a new volume are given in *dbu can* letters,<sup>58</sup> they are here transcribed with capitals. A pointer (→) appears at the beginning of a new line wherever the *dkar chag* starts listing a new text. The individual items are not counted by numbers. In general an entry listing

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\* I would like to express here my best thanks to Susanne Kammüller M.A., Bonn, who was so kind as to go through this appendix and to correct my English.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. note 3 above.

<sup>56</sup> The most extensive passage of this kind occurs in the description of volume *ca* (5); it is obvious that in this instance both versions are corrupt.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. notes 4 and 2 above.

<sup>58</sup> There are a few other instances where *dbu can* script appears in additional notes.

an individual text ends with 'gyur ("has translated")<sup>59</sup> or *mdzad* ("has written")<sup>60</sup>, sometimes it covers the title only. After that, a tentative identification<sup>61</sup> with a text in the Derge edition of the Tanjur, viz. D combined with a four-digit number,<sup>62</sup> may be found; this reference appears in angle brackets ( < > ).

No attempt is made to correct the spelling of Sanskrit words, e.g. to write *indra* instead of *intra*,<sup>63</sup> to expand the contracted *abhya*<sup>64</sup> into *abhaya*, or to add a missing 'a *chung* which marks a long vowel. Tibetan *dbu med* abbreviations and contractions are written in full form, the letters to be doubled or added are enclosed in braces ( { } ). When a simple *tsheg* or a sign in the form of the Sanskrit *visarga* stands before a gap, both are understood as a *shad* and reproduced by a vertical line. A *tsheg* together with a second similar stroke preceding a gap is rendered by a double *shad*. Letters at the start or end of a syllable written as subscripts are given underlined (   ).

### THE STRUCTURED DIPLOMATIC TRANSCRIPT

[1a1] (62b1)<sup>65</sup>

bstan 'gyur sngags phyogs dkar chag bzhugs sho<sup>66</sup> | |

[1b1]<sup>67</sup> | | om svasti siddham | rdo rje theg pa'i bstan bcos 'gyur ro 'tshal [2] gyi dkar chag gsang sngags bstan pa rgyas byed zhes bya ba |

<sup>59</sup> In more than 280 cases.

<sup>60</sup> In more than 200 cases.

<sup>61</sup> Such identifications remain preliminary as long as the collection described by the *dkar chag*, viz. the Early Mustang Tanjur, is not accessible.

<sup>62</sup> As introduced by UI *et al.* 1934; the entries in DTK are considered, too. In exceptional cases references to the Beijing Tanjur (*siglum* Q) are given as well, then the numbers follow SUZUKI 1955-1961.

<sup>63</sup> The ligatures *dr* and *tr* are not differentiated in the manuscript.

<sup>64</sup> The three consonant signs, viz. *b*, *h*, and *y*, are given in a cluster.

<sup>65</sup> The second foliation of the manuscript starts with 140 and of the *bka' 'bum* edition with 270b (in the reprint page 350 with 1/1), cf. notes 4 and 2 above.

<sup>66</sup> On the title page we find the title in *dbu can* letters. The *bka' 'bum* edition gives the title in smaller type, preceding the initial mantra, as follows: *rdo rje theg pa'i bstan bcos 'gyur ro 'tshal gyi dkar chag bzhugs so* | .

<sup>67</sup> Legend with the left hand vignette: *rdo rje 'chang la na mo*, with the right hand vignette: *phyag na rdo rje la na mo*.

bla ma dang dpal rdo rje sems [3] dpa' la (2) phyag 'tshal lo | |

'od gsal chos sku'i sprin lam rab tu yangs | |

zung [4] 'jug long<sup>68</sup> sku'i nyin byed rab tu rgyas | |

phrin las sprul sku'i tshe zer stong 'phro ba | | [5]

dpal bla ma 'od stong bdag por 'dud | | 1

rdo rje 'chang gi gsung rab (3) zab mo'i don | | [2a1]

mtha' drug tshul bzhis sbas don gsal mdzad nas | | [2]

ma nor lam bzang 'gro la snang mdzad pa | |

'phags yul mkhas pa'i dbang phyug [3] thams cad rgyal | | 2

rab 'byam rgyud dang 'grel mang chu gter la | |

rnam dag (4) dgongs [4] don yid bzhin nor blangs nas | |

gangs can 'gro blo'i dbul ba sel mdzad pa | |

rje [5] btsun saskya pa rnam spyi bos mchod | | 3

bde gshegs bstan la bya ba byed 'dod pa'i | | [2b1]

skal bzang de dag dam chos 'chad pa dang | |

'tri<sup>69</sup> dang klog (5) dang nyan dang sgrub sogs kyis | |

dal [2] 'byor thob pa'i don yod bya bar<sup>70</sup> rigs | | | | 4

'dir dad pa dang blo gros dang bsod nams kyis [3] dpal gyis mngon par

mtsho ba'i | dge spyong chen po a ma dpal bzang po rgyal mtshan

gyi [4] thugs dam du rgyal ba'i bka' 'gyur ro (6) cog bzhengs shing |

bstan bcos 'gyur ro 'tshal [5] rims kyis 'bri bar tsam pa las thog

mar | 'bras bu rdo rje theg pa'i gzhung la | thog [3a1] mar dpal

kyai rdo rje'i chos skor rnam 'byung ba'i | |

KA<sup>71</sup> pa la

→ brtag [2] gnyis kyis 'grel (63a1) pa | byang chub sems dpa' rdo rje

snying pos mdzad pa yongs su szogs pa | 'gro'i<sup>72</sup> [3] 'gyur (cf.

D 1180) |

<sup>68</sup> Read with the *bka' 'bum* edition *longs*.

<sup>69</sup> Read with the *bka' 'bum* edition *'bri*.

<sup>70</sup> *ba* corrected to *bar*.

<sup>71</sup> A double canopy appears above the *dbu can* letter *ka*.

<sup>72</sup> The *bka' 'bum* edition reads *'brog gi*.

- bka'<sup>73</sup> 'grel ku mu ti | slob dpon sbyang dka' zla bas mdzad pa |  
 shākya ye {sh}es kyi 'gyur (cf. D 1185) | [4]  
 → bka' 'grel mu tig phreng ba | (2) slob dpon shan ti pas mdzad  
 pa | dge ba'i blo gros kyi 'gyur (cf. D 1189) | [5]  
 → bka' 'grel tran pa'i 'byung gnas (cf. D 1187) |  
 → bka' 'grel pad ma can | mtsho skyes kyis mdzad pa | [3b1] khu  
 dngos grub kyi 'gyur (cf. D 1181) rnam s bzhugs |

KHA<sup>74</sup> | | pa la

- brtag gnyis 'grel pa | ḍam ka da shas [2] mdzad pa | shong blo  
 brtan gyi 'gyur (cf. D 1184) | | (3)  
 → brtag gnyis kyi bka' 'grel | snyan grags bzang [3] pos mdzad  
 pa | chos kyi bzang po'i 'gyur (cf. D 1186) |  
 'di na ro 'grel chen du grags so | |  
 → brtag gnyis [4] kyi bka' 'grel pad ma'i myu gus mdzad pa | 'di  
 sngar gyi mtsho skyes kyi bka' 'grel gyi mgo [5] nas tshigs bcaḍ  
 (4) cung zad bzhag | mjug tu pad ma'i myu gus mdzad zer ba  
 sbyar ba tsam ma [4a1] gtogs (cf. D 1188) | gzhan thams cad kyañ  
 khyad par med pas | mtsho skyes kyi [2] ṭik yin la | pad ma'i  
 myu gu'i ṭik yin ngo shes<sup>75</sup> logs na yod do | |

GA | | pa la

- brtag gnyis [3] kyi rnam (5) 'grel | bha va pa tras mdzad pa |  
 bsod nams rgyal mtshan gyi 'gyur (cf. D 1182) |  
 → brtag gnyis kyi [4] 'grel pa rin chen sbyor phreng | dam tshig rdo  
 rjes mdzad pa | mgos lha btsas kyi 'gyur (cf. Q 4687) |  
 → dpal [5] sam pu ṭi kha sbyor thig le'i 'grel pa | intra bhu tis mdzad  
 pa | gyi jo zla ba'i (6) 'od zer gyi 'gyur (cf. D 1197)  
 rnam s [4b1] bzhugs so | |

NGA pa la

- sam pu ṭi'i 'grel pa man ngag gi snye ma | a bhyas mdzad pa |  
 spyal (?) chos [2] kyi bzang po'i 'gyur (cf. D 1198) |  
 → sam pu ṭi'i 'grel pa | dpa' bo rdo rjes mdzad pa (cf. D 1199) |

<sup>73</sup> Here and in the following the *bka' 'bum* edition reads correctly *dka'* for *bka'*.

<sup>74</sup> Up to volume *a* (30) the *dbu can* letter numerals are marked by three tiny circles placed on top.

<sup>75</sup> The *bka' 'bum* edition reads *ngos shes pa*.

- rin chen phreng ba<sup>76</sup> |  
 → rdo rje gur gyi [3] bka' 'grel | lha'i (63b1) rigs kyi blo gros kyis  
 mdzad pa | mgos kyi 'gyur (cf. D 1196)  
 rnam bzhugs so | |

CA pa la [4]

- dpal dges pa'i rdo rje'i bka' 'grel rdo rje'i tshig btus pa | dge  
 slong shākya ye {sh}es kyi (2) 'gyur (cf. D 1192)  
 → gleng gzhi'i [5] 'grel pa nag po pas mdzad pa | ga ya dha ra dang  
 shākya ye {sh}es kyi 'gyur (cf. D 1195) | |  
 → klu'i 'grel pa che ba sgröl ma [5a1] can gyi sdes mdzad pa | ga  
 ya dha ra dan shākya ye {sh}es kyi 'gyur (cf. D 1208) | |  
 → klu'i 'grel pa [2] chung ba dpal pad ma'i zhal mnga' nas mdzad pa |  
 rad na badzra dang shākya ye {sh}es kyi 'gyur (cf. D 1207) | |  
 → rtsa'i mngon [3] rtogs che chung | rad na badzra dang shākya ye  
 {sh}es kyi 'gyur (cf. D 1209) | |  
 → dur khrod kyi gzhung gnyis | rad na shrī mi tra [4] dang shākya  
 ye {sh}es kyi 'gyur (cf. D 1212 and 1213) | |  
 → brda'i 'grel pa bla chen gyi las | lha lnga bdag ye shes rgyal  
 mtshan gyis [5] 'gyur (cf. D 1214) bcos pa  
 → bdud rtsi 'od kyi sgrub thabs ga ya dha ra dang shākya ye {sh}es  
 kyi 'gyur |  
 → ... <sup>77</sup> ... ḍom bhi he ru kas [5b1] mdzad pa | ga ya dha ra dang  
 shākya ye {sh}es kyi 'gyur | |  
 → tshogs kyi 'khor lo'i cho ga dang (cf. D 1231) | |  
 → thun mong ma yin [2] pa'i don la gdams pa | ḍom bhi he ru kas  
 mdzad pa (cf. D 1230) | |  
 → de nyid bcu pa mar me mdzad ye {sh}es dang | dge blo'i [3] 'gyur  
 (cf. D 1229) | |  
 → dpa' bo gcig pa'i sgrub thabs ḍom bi pas mdzad pa (cf. D 1464) | |  
 → kyai rdo rje'i (63b4) sgrub thabs ḍom bi pas mdzad pa | ta ra [4] klu  
 shu pa<sup>78</sup> dang | tshul khrims gzhon nu'i 'gyur (cf. D 1232) | |

<sup>76</sup> The syllables *rin chen phreng ba* form the ornate title of D 1199.

<sup>77</sup> At this place, obviously a title is missing. It can possibly be restituted from the *bka' 'bum* edition. There we find (63b3) *bdag med ma'i sgrub thabs bdud rtsi'i 'od* (cf. D 1306) | *lhan cig skyes grub* (cf. D 2223) | *tshogs kyi 'khor lo ...*

<sup>78</sup> This transliterates Tārākalaśu, cf. D 1404 and D 1479. At 7b7 *ta ra kla zhu*

- kyai rdo rje phyag gnyis pa'i sgrub thabs badzra a la las mdzad [5] pa (cf. D 1235) |
- kyai rdo rje dran pa gcig pa'i sgrub thabs gar ba ri pas mdzad pa (cf. D 1236) dang |
- dpa' mo gcig ma'i sgrub thabs sgra [6a1] can 'dzin gyis mdzad pa gnyis | pradnyā intra ru tsi dang shākya ye shes kyi 'gyur (cf. D 1310) | |
- bzang [2] po yongs bzungs mi thub zlas mdzad pa ga ya dha ra dang | shākya ye shes kyi 'gyur (cf. D 1240) | |
- sgrub thabs yan lag drug pa [3] mi thub zla bas mdzad pa | rad na shrī dznyā na dang shākya ye shes kyi 'gyur (cf. D 1239) | |
- bdag med ma'i sgrub thabs mi thub zla bas [4] mdzad pa (cf. D 1306A<sup>79</sup>) |
- gur gyi sgrub thabs dang (cf. D 1321) |
- 'byung po thams cad pa'i gtor (63b6) chog mi thub zla bas mdzad pa | ga ya [5] dha ra dang | shākya ye {sh}es kyi 'gyur (cf. D 1241) | |
- rin chen 'bar ba pradnyā intra ru tsi dang | shākya ye shes kyi 'gyur (cf. D 1251) | |
- kyai rdo rje'i [6b1] sgrub thabs mngon par rtogs pa'i rim pa mdzad byang med pa |
- kyai rdo rje'i dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga pad ma bas mdzad pa | shākya ye [2] shes kyi 'gyur (cf. D 1263) | |
- kyai rdo rje'i (64a1) sgrub thabs mtsho skyes rdo rjes mdzad pa | ga ya dha ra dang | shākya ye shes kyi 'gyur (cf. D 1220) | |
- kyai rdo rje'i [3] maṅḍal gyi cho ga dang (cf. D 1221) |
- bstod pa nyi shu pa gnyis mtsho skyes rdo rjes mdzad pa | ga ya dha ra dang | shākya ye shes kyi 'gyur (cf. D 1225) | |
- dam [4] tshig lnga pa mtsho skyes rdo rjes mdzad pa | dharma kirti'i 'gyur (cf. D 1224) | |
- kyai rdo rje'i sbyin sreg<sup>80</sup> cho ga mtsho skyes rdo rjes mdzad pa (cf. D 1223) |

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seems to stand for Tārāsrī.

<sup>79</sup> This capitel letter refers to the second title listed in D under no. 1306.

<sup>80</sup> The syllables *sbyin sreg* are added *secunda manu* below the line in *dbu can* letters.

- he ru ka zhal [5] gcig pa'i sgrub thabs yan lag med pa'i rdo rjes mdzad pa | badzra pa ni dang rma ban chos 'bar gyi 'gyur (cf. D 1249) | |
- kyai rdo rje zhal gcig [6] pa'i (64a2) sgrub thabs yan lag med pa'i rdo rjes mdzad pa |
- rdo rje sgron ma dza lan dha ri pas mdzad pa | sa dbang bzang po dang blo gros rgyal [7] po'i 'gyur (cf. D 1237) | |
- kyai rdo rje'i sgrub thabs bde ba'i rdo rjes mdzad (64a3) pa | dharma tsantra gnyis kyi 'gyur (cf. D 1250) | |
- he ru ka 'byung ba'i dkyil chog [7a1] nyin 'byung zla bas mdzad pa (cf. D 1261) |
- sgrub thabs 'khrul spong shan ti pas mdzad pa (cf. D 1245) |
- bdag med ma'i sgrub thabs [2] dkon mchog 'byung gnas kyi mdzad pa (cf. D 1309) |
- lhan skyes mchog gi sbyor ba rin chen 'byung gnas zhi bas mdzad pa (cf. D 1246) | (64a4)
- lhan skyes [3] 'grel pa snying po rab gsal tha ga nas mdzad pa | man dha ka la shu'i<sup>81</sup> 'gyur (cf. D 1247) | |
- kyai rdo rje'i sgrub thabs ye {sh}es sgron ma'i mngon par [4] brjod pa | tri med ye shes dang shes rab grags kyi 'gyur | |
- kyai rdo rje'i gzhung 'grel gyi cho ga nag po pas mdzad pa |
- kyai rdo [5] rje'i sgrub thabs 'khrul 'joms rin chen 'byung gnas zhi bas mdzad pa | de ba ka ra tsantra dang shākya 'od kyi 'gyur | |
- kyai rdo rje'i sgrub [6] thabs de kho na nyid gsal ba dang |
- dpa' bo gcig pa nag po pas mdzad pa | de nyid dang mgos kyi 'gyur (cf. D 1252) | |
- kyai rdo rje phyag gnyis [7] pa'i sgrub thabs nag po pas mdzad pa | ta ra kla zhu<sup>82</sup> dang pradznyā kirti'i 'gyur | | (64a6)
- bdag med ma'i sgrub thabs dang |
- tshogs 'khor gyi [7b1] cho ga gnyis nag po pas mdzad pa | de nyid dang mgos kyi 'gyur (cf. D 1258) | |
- rab gnas kyi cho ga dang (cf. D 1257) |
- sbyin sreg gi cho ga gnyis [2] nag po pas mdzad pa ga ya dha ra dang mgos kyi 'gyur (cf. D 1255, 1256) | |
- mchod rten gyi cho ga dang (cf. D 1259) |

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<sup>81</sup> Read *sha'i*.

<sup>82</sup> Cf. fol. 5b3 above.

- gshin gyi cho ga gnyis nag po pas [3] mdzad pa | nyi ma rgyal mtshan gyi 'gyur (cf. D 1260) | |
- dbang bskur ba'i cho ga me tri pas mdzad pa | (64b1)
- kyai rdo rje'i sgrub thabs gnyis [4] med rdo rjes mdzad pa (cf. D 1243) |
- bdag med ma'i sgrub thabs gnyis med rdo rjes mdzad pa | dznyā nā a ga ra'i 'gyur (cf. D 1308)
- gsang ba'i dbang [5] gi rab byed birva pas mdzad pa | ga ya dha ra dang shākya ye {sh}es kyi bsgyur ba las sprin gyi shugs can dang mgos kyis bcos pa (cf. D 1274)
- thig [6] le chen po'i rim pa nag po pas mdzad pa | ga ya dha ra dang | shākya ye shes kyi 'gyur (cf. D 1290) | |
- phyag bzhi pa'i sgrub (64b2) thabs dgra [7] las rnam rgyal gyis mdzad pa | ga ya | dha ra dang | gyi jo'i 'gyur | |
- dbang gtan la dbab pa dgra las rnam rgyal gyis [8a1] mdzad pa | gha ya dha ra dang | gyi jo'i 'gyur (cf. D 1272) |
- khro bcu'i rig pa'i cho ga mdze ta ris mdzad pa | nyi ma [2] rgyal mtshan gyi 'gyur (cf. D 1273) | |
- gur gyi sgrub thabs lha'i brtul zhugs kyis mdzad pa | mar lo'i 'gyur (cf. D 1322) | |
- kyai rdo rje'i sgrub thabs [3] byang chub snying pos (64b3) mdzad pa | de ba ka ra tsantra dang mu ne ra dzā'i 'gyur (cf. D 1227) | |
- sgrub thabs rin chen sgron me mar me mdzad ye {sh}es [4] kyis mdzad pa | dha na shrī mi tra dang | dar ma blo gros kyi 'gyur (cf. D 1268) | |
- rim pa bzhi ba'i sgrub thabs kam pa las mdzad pa | bai ro [5] tsa na dang | dar ma blo gros kyi 'gyur (cf. D 1248) | |
- mngon par rtogs pa'i thig le shākya srung bas mdzad pa | skyob pa dpal gyi 'gyur (cf. D 1277) | | [6]
- dpa' bo gcig pa'i (64b4) sgrub thabs tril bu pas mdzad pa | gha ya dha ra dang | shākya ye shes kyi 'gyur (cf. D 1226) | |
- gsung rdo rje'i sgrub [7] thabs so ma ti shrī bha tra dang | shākya ye {sh}es kyi 'gyur (cf. D 1276) | |
- sbyin bsreg gi cho ga bo de gar bas mdzad pa | skyabs kyi 'gyur (cf. D 1228) | | [8b1]
- gtor ma'i cho ga mar me mdzad ye {sh}es kyi mdzad pa (cf. D 1295) |



- gtor ma'i de nyid bsdus pa dharmā pa kas (5) mdzad pa (cf. D 1281) |  
 → kyai rdo rje'i [2] <sup>83</sup>gtor ma'i cho ga shrī a nanta badzras mdzad pa (cf. D 1298) |  
 → 'khor lo nyi shu phyed pa nag po rdo rjes mdzad pa | shes rab rin chen gyi [3] 'gyur |  
 → kyai rdo rje'i gtso bo | sems dpa' gsum gyi sgrub thabs nā ro pas mdzad pa (cf. D 1292) |  
 → bdag med ma'i sgrub thabs gcig [4] ro bsreg gi cho ga nā ro (6) pas mdzad pa (cf. D 1255) |  
 → de kho na nyid snang ba rdo rje snying pos mdzad pa | so ma na tha'i rang 'gyur (cf. D 1293) | |  
 → kyai rdo rje'i [5] lag tu blang ba'i rim pa (cf. D 1294)  
 rnames bzhugs | |

CHA pa la |

- dus kyī 'khor lo'i bsdus pa'i rgyud | shong (65a1) gi 'gyur | |  
 'jig rten [6] khams le'u'i 'grel pa | nang le'u'i 'grel pa<sup>84</sup> | dbang gi le'u'i 'grel pa | shong gi 'gyur (cf. D 1347)  
 rnames bzhugs | |

JA pa la | [7]

- sgrub thabs le'u 'grel pa | ye {sh}es le'u'i 'grel pa | shong 'gyur (cf. D 1347) | |  
 → dus 'khor (2) gyi bka' 'grel pad ma can | so ma na thi'i<sup>85</sup> [9a1] 'gyur (cf. D 1350) |  
 → dbang mdor bstan gyi 'grel pa | dus zhabs pas mdzad pa | shes rab grags kyī 'gyur (cf. D 1353) | |  
 → sbyor [2] ba yan lag drug gi 'grel pa | sbas pa mig 'byed zhes pa a va dhu ti pas mdzad pa | zla ba grags (3) pa'i 'gyur (cf. D 1373) | |  
 → dus [3] 'khor gyi bskyed rim<sup>86</sup> yan lag bzhi pa | dus zhabs pas mdzad pa dang | zla ba'i 'od zer gyi 'gyur (cf. D 1356) | |

<sup>83</sup> At the start of the line one or two letters seem to be erased.

<sup>84</sup> In the *bka' 'bum* edition the syllables *nang le'u'i 'grel pa* are added *secunda manu* on the upper margin.

<sup>85</sup> Read with the *bka' 'bum* edition *tha'i*.

<sup>86</sup> The consonants of the syllable *rim* are added below the line in *dbu can* letters, the *gi gu* is given above the line.

→ dus 'khor gyi dkyil chog dus [4] zhabs pas mdzad pa | yon tan  
'bar gyi 'gyur (cf. D 1360) | | rnam bzhugs | |

NYA pa la |

→ dus 'khor (4) gyi dkyil chog | sa dhu pu tros [5] mdzad pa | chos  
rab kyi 'gyur (cf. D 1359) | |

→ dus 'khor gyi stod pa rgyun chags | sa dhu kirtis mdzad pa |  
tshul khirms seng ge'i 'gyur (cf. D 1381) | | [6]

→ sbyor pa yan lag drug gi 'grel pa | nyi ma dpal ye {sh}es kyis  
mdzad pa | bi bhu ta tsantra'i (5) 'gyur (cf. D 1368) | |

→ dus 'khor nang gi snye ma | [7] bi bhu ta tsantras mdzad pa (cf.  
D 1377) |

→ sbyor drug a nu pa ma rakṣi tas mdzad pa | mi mnyam bzang po'i  
'gyur (cf. D 1367) | |

→ dpal ldan rgyu skar [9b1] gyi dkyil 'khor gyi sgrub thabs | dus zhabs  
pas mdzad pa | shes rab grags kyi 'gyur (cf. D 1357) | | (6)

→ dus 'khor lhan skyes kyi sgrub thabs rol [2] pa'i rdo rjes mdzad  
pa | chos rab kyi 'gyur (cf. D 1362) | |

→ dus 'khor snying po rgyan gyi sgrub thabs | bsod snyoms pas  
mdzad pa | zla ba'i 'od [3] zer gyi 'gyur (cf. D 1365) | |

→ mtshan brjod dus 'khor lugs kyi 'grel pa | mi'i dbang po (65b1)  
grags pas mdzad pa | rdo rje rgyal po'i 'gyur (cf. D 1397) | [4]

→ mtshan brjod phan yon gyi 'grel pa | dus zhabs pas mdzad pa |  
rdo rje rgyal po'i 'gyur (cf. D 1399) | |

→ mtshan brjod kyi mdor bshad bdud rtsi [5] thigs pa nyi ma dpal ye  
shes kyis mdzad pa | chos kyi dpal gyi 'gyur (cf. D 1395) | |

→ mtshan (2) brjod kyi 'grel pa | zla ba grags pas [6] mdzad pa |  
'phags pa shes rab kyi 'gyur (cf. D 2535) | |

→ mtshan brjod kyi 'grel pa sgron me gsal ba | a nu pa ma rakṣi tas  
mdzad [7] rdo rje rgyal mtshan gyi 'gyur (cf. D 1396) | |

→ 'jam dbyangs rigs lnga'i sgrub thabs shrī dha ras (4) mdzad pa |

→ mtshan brjod kyi sgrub thabs byang chub [10a1] mchog gi 'grel  
pa | smri ti'i 'gyur (cf. D 2579) | |

→ 'jam dpal rin po che'i sgrub thabs | dge bsnyen ma grangs [2]  
sbyin gyis mdzad pa | smri ti'i 'gyur (cf. D 2588) | |

→ 'jam dpal gyi szogs rim | shanti garbhas mdzad pa |

→ 'jam dpal gyi sgrub thabs [3] snyan grags dge bas mdzad pa (cf.  
D 2587) |

- 'jam dpal gyi sgrub thabs shanti garbhas mdzad pa (cf. D 2595) |  
 → mtshan brjod nye bar bsod pa gnyis med [4] rdo rjes mdzad pa |  
 bsod nams rgyal mtshan gyi 'gyur (cf. D 2094)  
 rnames bzhugs | |

TA pa (5) la |

- sgyu 'phrul tra ba'i bka' 'grel slob [5] dpon kun dga' snying pos  
 mdzad pa | rin chen bzang po'i 'gyur (cf. D 2513) | |  
 → sangs rgyas mnyam sbyor gyi bka' 'grel | rab zhi bshes [6] gnyen  
 gyis mdzad pa | rin chen bzang po'i 'gyur (cf. D 1663) | |  
 → mnyam sbyor gyi 'grel pa (6) kun dga' snying pos mdzad pa |  
 smri ti'i 'gyur (cf. D 1662) | | [7]  
 → mnyam sbyor gyi 'grel pa dga' ba'i rdo rjes mdzad pa (cf. D 1660)  
 rnames bzhugs | |

THA pa la |

- sangs rgyas mnyam sbyor gyi 'grel pa | brgya byin [10b1] sdong  
 pos mdzad pa | lha rin po che'i 'gyur | (cf. D 1659)  
 → mnyam sbyor gyi (66a1) bka' 'grel | intra bhu tis mdzad pa |  
 rin chen bzang po'i 'gyur (cf. D 1661) | | [2]  
 → rdo rje sems dpa'i gsang don bkod pa (cf. D 1664) |  
 → rnam par snang mdzad kyi (cf. D 1666) |  
 → he ru ka'i (cf. D 1665) |  
 → pad ma gar dbang gi (cf. D 1667) |  
 → rdo rje nyi ma'i (cf. D 1668) |  
 → rta mchog rol [3] pa'i | gsang don bkod pa (cf. D 1669) rnames |  
 (2) ku ku rā dzas mdzad pa |  
 → mnyam sbyor sems dpa'i dkyil chog rin chen rdo rjes mdzad pa |  
 snyan [4] ban bsod de'i<sup>87</sup> 'gyur (cf. D 1679) | |  
 → rdo rje sems dpa'i sgrub thabs dkyil 'khor thams cad kyi rjes su 'jug  
 pa | ku ku rā dzas mdzad pa (cf. D 1670) |  
 → tshogs [5] kyi (3) 'khor lo'i | chog | intra bhu tis mdzad pa (cf.  
 D 1672) |  
 → rdo rje sems dpa' rjes su tran pa'i cho ga | rā dza ha stas mdzad  
 pa (cf. D 1682) |

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<sup>87</sup> Read with the *bka' 'bum* edition (66a2) *nams kyi*.

- he ru [6] ka'i sgrub thabs | huṃ mdzad kyis mdzad pa (cf. D 1674) |
- yan lag bzhi'i don snang ba | huṃ mdzad grags pas mdzad pa (cf. D 1676) |
- he ru ka'i sgrub [7] thabs (4) huṃ mdzad rdo rjes mdzad pa (cf. D 1675) |
- he ru ka'i sgrub thabs | ra dza ha stas mdzad pa (cf. D 1673) |
- rdo rje sems dpa'i sgrub thabs | intra bhu [11a1] tis mdzad pa (cf. D 1680) |
- mnyam sbyor gyi dkyil 'khor sgrub pa'i rim pa | huṃ mdzad rdo rjes mdzad pa (cf. D 1677) rnam bzhugs | | [2]
- DA pa la |
- phyag (5) rgya chen po'i thig le'i 'grel pa | zab pa'i rdo rjes mdzad pa | g.yung drung snying po'i 'gyur (cf. D 1200) | |
- rang bzhin gyi [3] dga' ba'i sgron ma rdo rje gsang bas mdzad pa (cf. D 1202) |
- dga' ba'i spyan | shes rab gsang bas mdzad pa | rin chen rgyal mtshan gyi 'gyur (cf. D 1201) | [4]
- dbang rin chen snang (6) ba | shes rab gsang bas mdzad pa (cf. D 1333) |
- rin chen phreng ba'i man ngag | shes rab gsang bas mdzad pa (cf. D 1338) |
- rin chen char [5] yang gi sgrub thabs | shes rab gsang bas mdzad pa (cf. D 1331) |
- rin chen thigs pa'i sgru{b tha}bs she{s ra}b gsang bas mdzad pa<sup>88</sup> (cf. D 1332) |
- dga' (66b1) ba'i me tog gi phreng ba | intra bhu tis mdzad pa (cf. D 1336) |
- dbang rin chen [6] 'khor lo'i gdam ngag | intra bhu tis mdzad pa (cf. D 2472) |
- ji bzhin brnyes pa nam mkha' dang<sup>89</sup> mnyam pa'i rgyud kyi 'grel pa | shānti pas mdzad pa | [7] chos kyi shes rab kyi 'gyur | |
- rnyog pa med pa'i brgyud kyi 'grel pa | gzhon nu zla bas mdzad pa (cf. D 1204) |

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<sup>88</sup> This entry is added on the bottom margin in *dbu can* letters.

<sup>89</sup> *Ex correctura*.

- bde mchog rtsa brgyud kyi [11b1] phyag (2) na rdo rje'i stod  
'grel | shong gi 'gyur (cf. D 1402) | |  
→ bde mchog rtsa brgyud kyi bka'<sup>90</sup> 'grel bha va bha tras mdzad pa |  
rin chen grags kyi [2] 'gyur (cf. D 1403)  
rnams bzhugs | |

NA pa la

- bde mchog rtsa rgyud kyi bka' 'grel la ba pas mdzad pa | mgos  
kyi 'gyur (cf. D 1401) | | (3)  
→ bde [3] mchog rtsa brgyud kyi 'grel pa | dpa' bo rdo rjes mdzad  
pa | ba ri ba'i 'gyur (cf. D 1408) | |  
→ bde mchog rtsa brgyud kyi 'grel pa | skal ldan [4] grags pas  
mdzad pa | | | rin chen bzang po'i 'gyur (cf. D 1405) | |  
→ bde mchog rtsa brgyud kyi bka' 'grel | skar rgyal zla bas mdzad  
[5] pa | gu na (4) shri'i 'gyur (cf. D 1404) | |  
→ bde mchog rtsa brgyud kyi 'grel pa | lang ka rgyal bzang gis  
mdzad pa (cf. D 1406) | |  
→ bde mchog rtsa brgyud kyi gnyis [6] ka'i bshad sbyar | ta thā ga ta  
rakṣi tas mdzad pa | dharma blo {gr}os kyi 'gyur (cf. D 1409) | |  
→ bde mchog rtsa brgyud kyi 'grel pa | lha sbas kyis [7] mdzad pa  
(cf. D 1407) rnams (5) bzhugs so | |

PA pa la |

- bde mchog gi bshad brgyud rdo rje mkha' 'gro'i 'grel pa | bha  
va bha tras mdzad pa | [12a1] mgos kyi 'gyur (cf. D 1415) | |  
→ rdo rje mkha' 'gro'i bka' 'grel | nor bzangs kyis mdzad pa | zla  
ba'i 'od zer gyi 'gyur (cf. D 1417) | | [2]  
→ rdo rje mkha' 'gro'i sgrub thabs (6) | ka la kam pas mdzad pa |  
mgos kyi 'gyur (cf. D 1503) | |  
→ bde mchog sdom 'byung gi 'grel pa | rad na [3] rakṣi tas mdzad  
pa | shong blo brtan gyi 'gyur (cf. D 1420) | |  
→ ye {sh}es 'byung ba'i man ngag | gha ya dha ras mdzad pa |  
shākyā ye shes kyi 'gyur (cf. D 1514) | | [4]  
→ bde mchog gi bshad brgyud (67a1) | rnal 'byor ma kun spyod kyi  
'grel pa | ta thā ga ta rakṣi tas mdzad pa | ba ri ba'i 'gyur (cf.  
D 1422) | |

<sup>90</sup> This syllable is added below the line in *dbu can* letters.

→ bde [5] mchog gi bshad brgyud | khrag 'thung mngon 'byung gi  
'grel pa | zla ba gzhon nus mdzad pa (cf. D 1421)  
rnams bzhugs so | | rnal 'byor [6] ma'i man ngag |

PHA pa la |

→ bde (2) mchog gi bshad brgyud mkha' 'gro rgya mtsho'i 'grel pa |  
pad ma rdo rjes mdzad pa'i gru gzings | dar [7] ma yon tan gyi  
bsgyur ba (cf. D 1419) |<sup>91</sup>

bzhugs so | |

BA pa la |

→ bde mchog gi dkyil<sup>92</sup> chog de bzhin gshegs pa'i rdo rjes mdzad pa  
[12b1] bhi bhū ti tsandra'i 'gyur (cf. D 1511) | | (3)

→ bde mchog bcu gsum ma'i sgrub thabs | me tri pas mdzad pa |  
mtshur dbang nge'i 'gyur | |

→ bde mchog [2] gi sgrub thabs phyag na rdo rjes mdzad pa | so ma  
nā da'i 'gyur (cf. D 1426) | |

→ bde mchog gi sgrub thabs | nyin mor mdzad kyis mdzad pa | [3]  
dge ba'i blo gros kyi 'gyur (cf. D 1501) | | (4)

→ bde mchog gi sgrub thabs |<sup>93</sup> khrul spong a bhyas mdzad pa |  
cho{s} rje dpal gi 'gyur (cf. D 1500) |

→ rang byin gyis brlabs pa'i man ngag |

→ bde mchog dpa' {b}o gcig {pa}'i sgru{b tha}bs<sup>s</sup> ma na shrīs mdzad  
pa | pradžnyā kirti'i 'gyur (cf. D 1536) | |

→ he ru ka'i sgrub thabs [4] mdor bsdus | braṃ ze bhrim ka ras  
mdzad pa | mar lo'i (5) 'gyur (cf. D 1482) | |

→ bde mchog lha bcu {gsu}m ma'i sgrub thabs | jo bo rjes mdzad  
pa [5] rin chen bzang po'i 'gyur (cf. D 1491) | |

→ bde mchog lus dkyil gyi dbang gi bya ba | rdo rje tril bu pas  
mdzad pa (cf. D 1431) |

→ lus dkyil gyi [6] sgrub thabs | rdo rje dril bu pas mdzad pa (cf.  
D 1434) |

<sup>91</sup> At this place obviously the syllable *rnams*, which appears in the *bka' 'bum* edition (67a2), is erased.

<sup>92</sup> The first four syllables of this entry are repeated *secunda manu* on the bottom margin of the page.

<sup>93</sup> The passage up to <sup>s</sup> is added *secunda manu* in *dbu can* letters on the top margin of the leaf.

- *sdzogs rims rim pa lnga pa rdo rje* (6) *tril bu pas mdzad pa* (cf. D 1435) | |
- *lhan skyes kyi sgrub thabs* [7] *rdo rje tril bu pas mdzad pa* (cf. D 1436) |
- *bde mchog lha lnga'i sgrub thabs* | *rdo rje tril bu pas mdzad pa* (cf. D 1441) |
- *bde mchog gi dkyil chog* | [13a1] *la ba pas mdzad pa* | *mar lo'i 'gyur* (cf. D 1444) | |
- *yi ge bdun pa'i sgrub thabs* | *gnyis* (67b1) *med rdo rjes mdzad pa* [2] *mar lo'i 'gyur* (cf. D 1483) | |
- *bde mchog dpa' gcig pa gi sgrub thabs* | *garbha ri pas mdzad pa* (cf. D 1236) |
- *bde mchog gi bstod pa rgyun chags chos* [3] *kyi grags pas mdzad pa* | *chag lo'i 'gyur* (cf. D 1442) | |
- *phag mo'i sgrub thabs* | *pradnyā bha tras mdzad pa dang* (cf. D 1541) | (2)
- phag mo gzhung drug tu* [4] *grags pa la* |
- *zhal gnyis ma'i sgrub thabs* | *ldong nar ras*<sup>94</sup> *mdzad pa dang* (cf. D 1561) |
- *sgrub thabs che ba stong nyid ting nge 'dzin rdo rjes mdzad* [5] *pa* (cf. D 1551) |
- *phag mo don grub ma'i sgrub thabs chung ba* | *a ba dhu ti pas mdzad pa* (cf. D 1552) |
- *sgrub thabs che ba* | *stong* (3) *nyid ting 'dzin rdo rjes* [6] *mdzad pa* (cf. D 1553) |
- *phag mo dbu bcad ma'i sgrub thabs chung ba* | *dpal gyi blo gros kyis mdzad pa* (cf. D 1554) |
- *sgrub thabs che ba* | *birva pas* [13b1] *mdzad pa* (cf. D 1555) |
- *sbyin bsreg sangs rgyas byin gyis mdzad pa* | *blo ldan shes rab kyi 'gyur* (cf. D 1556)
- rnams la* | *gzhung* (4) *drug sbyin bsreg dang bcas* [2] *pa ces grags pa dang* |
- *keng rus kyi rnal 'byor ma'i sgrub thabs* | *dha ri ka pas mdzad pa* (cf. D 1568) |

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<sup>94</sup> A person of this name cannot be identified, the *bka' 'bum* edition gives the name as *ldong* (or *lngong*) *ngar ras* in 67b2, the author of D 1561 is *Rngon pa ba*.

- phag mo'i bstod pa | klog skya [3] lo tstsha ba'i 'gyur | |
- keng rus kyi rnal 'byor ma'i sgrub thabs kyi tik ku ma ra bho tis mdzad pa (cf. D 1569) | (5)
- phag mo lha mo bdun ma'i [4] sgrub thabs | 'byung gnas sbas pas mdzad pa | da na shi la'i 'gyur | |
- rnal 'byor ma'i sgrub thabs kyi 'grel pa | dha ri ka pas [5] mdzad pa (cf. D 1565) |
- tshes bcu'i mchod pa | dha ri ka pas mdzad pa (cf. D 1567) |
- rnal 'byor ma'i dbang chog | sha (6) ba ri pas mdzad pa (cf. D 1563) |
- slob ma [6] rjes su bzung ba'i cho ga (cf. D 1562) |
- tshogs 'khor gyi cho ga | sha va ri pas mdzad pa (cf. D 1564) |
- phag mo don grub ma'i sgrub thabs | gnyis [14a1] med rdo rjes mdzad pa (cf. D 1578) rnam | thar pa lo tstsha ba'i 'gyur | |
- phag mo'i sgrub thabs | mi dbang intra bhu (68a1) tis mdzad [2] pa (cf. D 1545) |
- sngags kyi de kho na nyid kyi byin brlabs | intra bhu tis mdzad pa (cf. D 1546) |
- phag mo'i sgrub thabs yang dag grub pa'i 'grel pa | [3] brtson 'grus dpal bshes gnyen gyis mdzad pa | thar lo'i 'gyur (cf. D 1585) | |
- phag mo (2) dkar mo'i sgrub thabs | kong<sup>95</sup> kas sbyin gyis mdzad pa [4] chag lo'i 'gyur (cf. D 1573) | |
- phag mo mngon 'byung gyi dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga | dbu ma pa tis mdzad pa | chos rab kyi 'gyur (cf. D 1584) | |
- phag [5] mo mngon byung gi sgrub thabs | dbu ma pa ti tas mdzad pa | chos rab kyi (3) 'gyur (cf. D 1581) | |
- sgyu ma chen mo'i brgyud kyi 'grel pa | [6] shanti pas mdzad pa | mgos kyi 'gyur (cf. D 1623) | |
- sgyu ma chen po'i brgyud kyi 'grel pa | nag po dam tshig rdo rjes mdzad pa | | mgos [7] kyi 'gyur (cf. D 1624) | |
- sgyu ma chen po'i brgyud kyi 'grel pa | durya tsantras mdzad pa | ye {sh}es dad (4) pa'i 'gyur (cf. D 1622) | |
- sgyu ma chen po'i brgyud kyi [14b1] bka' 'grel | dpal rgyan pas mdzad pa | shākya ye {sh}es kyi 'gyur (cf. D 1625) | |
- sgyu ma chen mo'i dkyil chog | mgos kyi 'gyur (cf. D 1630) |

<sup>95</sup> In the *bka'* 'bum edition (68a2) we have *kaṃ*.



→ sgyu [2] ma chen mo'i dkyil chog rim pa gsal ba | dgra las rnam  
par rgyal (5) bas mdzad pa | gzhon nu tshul khirms kyi 'gyur (cf.  
D 1636) rnam [3] bzhugs | |

MA pa la

→ sgyu ma chen mo'i dkyil chog | 'dul bas byin gyis mdzad pa (cf.  
D 1645) |

→ sgyu ma chen mo'i dkyil chog | ku [4] ku ri pas mdzad pa |  
mgos kyi 'gyur (cf. D 1630)

→ sgyu ma chen mo'i<sup>96</sup> (6) sgrub thabs rmongs pa sgrol ba | ku ku  
ri pas mdzad pa (cf. D 1629) |

→ spros pa med [5] pa'i man ngag | ku ku ri pas mdzad pa |

→ gtor ma'i cho ga | ku ku ri pas mdzad pa |

→ de kho na nyid kyi man ngag gi 'grel pa [6] dang | gzhung rtsa  
ba gnyis | blo bzang snying pos mdzad (68b1) pa (cf. D 1632,  
1633) |

→ sgyu ma chen mo'i dkyil chog | sbyin bsreg dang bcas pa |  
rgyan pas [7] mdzad pa (cf. D 1644) |

→ lha lnga'i sgrub thabs | rgyan pas mdzad pa |

→ lha lnga'i sgrub thabs | sku med rdo rjes mdzad pa (cf. D  
1648) |

→ lha lnga'i sgrub thabs [15a1] shanti pas mdzad pa (cf. D 1643) |

→ lha lnga'i sgrub thabs | dbu rgyan nas (2) 'byung ba rnam  
dang |

→ gdan bzi'i bshad sbyar ye {sh}es snying [2] pos mdzad pa |

→ rdo rje gdan bzhi'i rgyud kyi 'grel pa | slob dpon bha va bha tras  
mdzad pa | mgos kyis 'gyur (cf. D 1607) | |

→ gdan bzhi'i [3] dkyil chog |

→ snying po mdo bsags ārya de bas mdzad pa (cf. D 1613) |

→ ye {sh}es dbang phyug ma'i sgrub thabs | 'phags (3) pa lhas  
mdzad pa (cf. D 1612) | [4]

→ gdan bzhi'i dkyil 'khor rgyas pa'i sgrub thabs | 'phags pa lhas  
mdzad pa (cf. D 1615) |

→ shing gcig pa'i bka' 'grel | 'phags pa lhas [5] mdzad pa (cf. D  
1614) |

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<sup>96</sup> This syllable is added below the line in *dbu can* letters.

- gdan bzhi'i sgrub thabs | bha va bha tras mdzad pa (cf. D 1616) |
- mchan khung gi sbyor (4) ba | 'phags pa klu sgrub kyis mdzad [6] pa (cf. D 1609) |
- gdan bzhi de kho na nyid bzhi pa mdze ta ris mdzad pa (cf. D 1620) |
- gdan bzhi yab bka' yum bka' gnyis kyis sgrub thabs | rnam rgyal [7] dpa' bos mdzad pa |
- ye {sh}es snang ba'i sgrub thabs | bsham ma (5) tshang ba gcig rnam dang |
- sangs rgyas thod pa'i rgyud kyis 'grel pa [15b1] sa ra has mdzad pa | gyi jo'i 'gyur (cf. D 1652) | |
- sangs rgyas thod pa'i brgyud kyis bka' 'grel | a bhyas mdzad pa | chos grags kyis [2] 'gyur (cf. D 1654) |
- sangs rgyas thod pa'i dkyil chog | sa ra (6) has mdzad pa (cf. D 1657) |
- lha nyi shu rtsa lnga'i sgrub thabs | sa ra has mdzad pa (cf. D 1655) | [3]
- dpa' bo gcig sgrub pa'i thabs | ting nge 'dzin bzang pos mdzad pa |
- gtor ma'i cho ga | sa ra has mdzad pa | gyi jo'i [4] 'gyur (cf. D 1656)

rnam bzhugs so | |

TSA pa dang po la<sup>97</sup> |

- rdo rje bdud rtsi'i (69a1) rgyud kyis 'grel pa | bha nos<sup>98</sup> mdzad pa | shes rab [5] brtsegs kyis 'gyur (cf. D 1651) | |
- rdo rje bdud rtsi'i brgyud kyis rnam bshad | mjug ma tshang ba (cf. D 1650) |
- dpal gsang ba 'dus pa'i brgyud kyis 'grel [6] pa | le'u bcu bdun pa yan chad dang |
- le'u bcvo (2) brgyad pa'i 'grel pa | 'phags pa klu sgrub kyis mdzad par grags pa | [7] gzhon nu bum pa'i 'gyur (cf. D 1784<sup>99</sup>)
- rnam bzhugs so | |

<sup>97</sup> In the *bka' 'bum* edition appears *tsa pa la*.

<sup>98</sup> The *bka' 'bum* edition reads *nos* as well; the author of D 1651 is Bhago.

<sup>99</sup> The first part of this text is equivalent to Q 2648, the second to Q 2649.

- TSA pa 'og ma la<sup>100</sup> |
- gdan bzhi'i sgrub thabs dza ga ta a nan tas [16a1] mdzad pa | blo  
gros rgyal mtshan dang smra pa'i seng ge'i 'gyur (cf. D 1611) | |
- spyan ras gzigs pad ma tra ba'i dkyil [2] chog | (3) pad ma'i rdo  
rjes mdzad pa | su ma na dang rin chen grub {k}yi 'gyur (cf. D  
1751) | |
- padma tra ba'i sgrub thabs | pad ma'i rdo rjes [3] mdzad pa |  
su ma na dang rin chen grub kyi 'gyur (cf. D 1750) | |
- 'khor lo sdom pa'i sgrub thabs | nag po pas mdzad pa | su ma  
ti [4] kirti dang mar pa'i 'gyur | |
- 'khor lo bde mchog gi cho ga dharma shrī bha tra dang | rin chen  
bzang po'i 'gyur | |
- 'khor lo [5] bde mchog gi sbyin bsreg gi cho ga kṛṣṇa pas mdzad  
pa | dharma bha tra dang rig pa gzhon nu'i 'gyur (cf. D 1447) | |
- gsang ba'i de kho na nyid [6] gsal ba nag po pas mdzad pa | su  
ma ti kirti dang mar pa'i 'gyur (cf. D 1450) | |
- rim pa bzhi pa nag po pas mdzad pa | su ma ti [7] kirti dang |  
grags pa shes rab kyi 'gyur (cf. D 1451) | |
- dpyid kyi thig le gha ya dha ra dang shākya ye {sh}es kyis bsgyur  
ba la | mgos lo tstsha [16b1] ba sogs kyis bcos pa |
- mkha' 'gro rgya mtsho'i sgrub thabs | dza ya se na'i gsuñ | dar  
ma yon tan gyi 'gyur (cf. D 1516) | |
- rkang pa [2] bzhi bcu rtsa brgyad pa'i bstod pa | dza ya se na  
dang dar ma yon tan gyi 'gyur (cf. D 1517) | |
- mkha' 'gro rgya mtsho'i dkyil 'khor gyi cho [3] ga dza ya se na'i  
gsung | ye {sh}es rdo rje'i 'gyur (cf. D 1521) | |
- mkha' 'gro rgya mtsho'i sbyin bsreg gi cho ga (cf. D 1522) |
- gtor ma'i cho ga (cf. D 1518) |
- maṅdal [4] gyi cho ga rnam dza ya se na'i gsung | ye shes rdo  
rje'i 'gyur (cf. D 1519) | |
- rnal (5) 'byor ma'i mchod chog dza ya se na bsdus pa de nyid [5]  
dang | dar ma yon tan gyi 'gyur | |
- nges brjod bla ma'i 'grel pa de kho na kyi snyin po dznyā na srī  
mi tra'i gsung bzhin du | 'phaḍ [6] pa shes rab kyi 'gyur | |
- sgtol ma gsal ba'i 'grel bshad | arya de bas mdzad pa (cf. D 1794) |

<sup>100</sup> In the *bka' 'bum* edition appears *tsa pa gnyis pa la*.

→ sgron gsal gyi sa gcod snying gi [7] (6) me long | ku ma ras mdzad pa | gzhon nu bum pa dang | shākya blo gros kyi 'gyur (cf. D 1791) | |

→ sgron gsal bka' 'grel [17a1] legs ldan byed kyis mdzad pa | rgyal ba mchog dang | shākya brtson 'grus kyi 'gyur (cf. D 1792) |

→ brgyud phyi ma'i [2] rgya che 'grel snyan grags pa bzang pos mdzad pa | smri ti rang 'gyur (cf. D 1787) rnam bzhugs so | |

TSHA pa la | (69b1)

→ gsang 'dus kyi [3] brgyud kyi 'grel pa sgron gsal | zla ba grags pas mdzad pa | rin chen bzang po'i 'gyur (cf. D 1785) | |

→ sgron gsal gyi 'grel [4] bshad skal ldan grags pas mdzad pa'i le'u gnyis pa yan chad (cf. D 1793) bzhugs so | |

DZA pa la |

→ 'grel pa'i (2) smad le'u bcu [5] bdun pa yan chad yongs su sdzogs pa | ku ma ra'i 'gyur (cf. D 1793) | |

→ gsang ba 'dus pa'i brgyud kyi 'grel pa | ye {sh}es zhabs kyi rjes [6] su 'brang ba | rdo rje bzhad pas mdzad pa | bai' ro tsa na'i 'gyur (cf. D 1909) rnam bzhugs so | |

VA pa la | (3)

→ gsang 'dus le'u bcvo [7] brgyad pa'i bka' 'grel | rgyal bas byin gyis mdzad pa (cf. D 1847) |

→ gsang 'dus kyi rgyud le'u bcu bdun pa'i 'grel pa | tri med [17b1] sbas pas mdzad pa (cf. D 1848) |

→ le'u bcvo brgyad pa'i 'grel pa | de'i slob ma zla 'od kyis mdzad pa | dar ma (4) grags kyi 'gyur (cf. D 1849) [2]

rnam bzhugs | |

ZHA pa la |

→ gsang 'dus kyi bshad sbyar snyim pa'i me tog | slob dpon shanti pas mdzad pa | mgoṣ [3] kyi 'gyur (cf. D 1851) | |

→ gsang 'dus brgyud phyi ma dang bcas pa'i 'grel pa gcig rnam bzhugs | |

ZA (5) pa la |

→ gsang 'dus kyi [4] 'grel pa rin chen ljon shing | slob dpon tsi lu pas mdzad pa | lha ye {sh}es rgyal mtshan gyi 'gyur (cf. D 1846) | |

→ gsang 'dus kyi 'grel [5] pa | rab bzhi ye shes kyis mdzad pa (cf.

D 1843) |

→ gsang 'dus kyi 'grel pa | bi shva mu<sup>101</sup> tras mdzad pa (cf. D 1844) | (6)

→ gsang 'dus kyi bka' 'grel [6] kun dga' snying pos mdzad pa | rin chen bzang po'i 'gyur (cf. D 1917) rnam bzhugs | | | |

A YA RA gsum la |

→ gsang [7] 'dus kyi brgyud kyi 'grel pa | slob dpon kun dga' snying pos mdzad pa | pañḍi ta 'phra la ras kyi 'gyur (cf. Q 4787) (70a1) lags | | 'grel pa [18a1] 'di | pañḍi ta 'phra la ras kyi 'pho ba grong 'jug byas pa | rong pa chos bzangs su skyes | des rdol chos [2] mang po brtsams pa'i nang nas | 'di yang khong gi brtsam chos yin no | | (2)

LA pa la |

→ lha mo bzhis zhus kyi tik smri tis [3] mdzad pa (cf. D 1915) |

→ lha mo bzhi zhus kyi brgyud kyi 'grel pa | ye {sh}es snying pos mdzad pa | smri ti'i 'gyur (cf. D 1916) | |

→ gsang 'dus kyi dkyil [4] chog | 'phags pa klu sgrub kyis mdzad pa | rin chen bzang po'i 'gyur (cf. D 1798) | |

→ gsang 'dus kyi (3) dkyil chog nyi shu pa | klu'i [5] byang chub kyis mdzad pa | pa tshab kyi 'gyur (cf. D 1810) | |

→ gsang 'dus kyi dkyil chog | nag po dam tshig rdo rjes mdzad pa | mgos [6] kyi 'gyur (cf. D 1819) |

→ gsang 'dus kyi dkyil chog | sgra gcan 'dzin dpal bshes gnyen gyis mdzad pa | (4) chos rje saskya pañḍi ta'i 'gyur (cf. D 1818) | | [7]

→ sgrub thabs mdor byas mdo dang bsre ba rnam | klu sgrub kyis mdzad pa | pa tshab kyi 'gyur (cf. D 1796) | |

→ rnam gzhang rim pa | klu'i [18b1] byang chub kyis mdzad pa (cf. D 1833) |

→ sdzogs rims rim pa lnga pa | klu sgrub kyis mdzad pa | pa tshab kyi 'gyur (cf. D 1802) | | (5)

→ spyod bsdus sgron ma | arya [2] dhe bas mdzad pa (cf. D 1803) |

→ bdag byin gyis brlabs pa'i rim pa | arya dhe vas mdzad pa (cf. D 1805) |

→ mngon par byang chub pa'i rim pa (cf. D 1806) |

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<sup>101</sup> Read with the *bka' 'bum* edition *mi*.

- ro [3] bsregs kyi cho ga rnams | arya de bas mdzad pa | rin chen  
bzang po'i 'gyur (cf. D 1807) | |
- rim lnga'i 'grel pa don gsal (6) klu byang gis [4] mdzad pa (cf. D  
1809) |
- rim pa khongs su bsdu ba | klu byang gis mdzad pa | pa tshab  
'gyur (cf. D 1812) | |
- las kyi mtha' rnam par 'byed pa | klu [5] byang gis mdzad pa |  
chos rje dpal gyi 'gyur (cf. D 1811) rnams bzhugs | |

SHA pa la |

- rim lnga'i 'grel pa nor bu (70b1) phreng ba | klu [6] byang gis  
mdzad par grags pa | gzhon nu tshul khirms kyi<sup>102</sup> 'gyur (cf. D  
1840) | |
- 'jam rdor gyi sgrub thabs | dpe med rdo rjes mdzad pa | rin [7]  
chen bzang po'i 'gyur (cf. D 1891) | |
- mdor byas kyi 'grel pa | rin chen phreng ba | shanti pas mdzad  
pa | karma badzra'i 'gyur (cf. D 1826) | |
- dbang [19a1] bzhi pa'i (2) rab tu byed pa | klu sgrub kyi mdzad  
pa | mgos kyi 'gyur (cf. D 1799) | |
- gsang 'dus mngon rtogs rgyan gyi [2] 'grel pa | zla ba grags pas  
mdzad par grags pa (cf. D 1817) |
- rdo rje sems dpa'i sgrub thabs zla grags kyi mdzad pa | gzhon  
nu 'bar [3] gyi 'gyur (cf. D 1814) | |
- de'i 'grel pa | ta thā ga (3) ta rakṣi tas mdzad pa | ba ri ba'i  
'gyur (cf. D 1835) | |
- rdo rje sems dpa'i mchod chog nag po [4] pas mdzad pa | mgos  
kyi 'gyur (cf. D 1820) | |
- gtor ma'i cho ga nag po pas mdzad pa (cf. D 1821) |
- gsang 'dus mi bskyod rdo rje'i sgrub thabs [5] rdo rje bzhad pas  
mdzad pa (cf. D 1911) |
- de'i 'grel pa (4) | bde ba chen po'i sgrub thabs kyi 'grel pa | bi  
ma la garbhas mdzad pa (cf. D 1912) |
- rdo rje [6] 'chang gi man ngag bdud rtsi gsang ba | slob dpon sgra  
dbyangs bcu gcig pas mdzad pa (cf. D 1823)  
rnams bzhugs | |

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<sup>102</sup> The signs for *ky* are added below the line.

SA pa la

- gsang [7] 'dus kyi dkyil (5) 'khor gyi cho ga mar me mdzad bzang  
pos mdzad pa | pad ma ka ra bar ma dang | rin chen bzang  
pa'o<sup>103</sup> 'gyur (cf. D 1865) | | [19b1]
- bzhi brgya lnga bcu'i 'grel pa | shinta<sup>104</sup> pas mdzad pa | birya  
bha tra dang rin chen bzang po'i 'gyur | |
- dbang gi cho ga ngag dbang [2] grags pas mdzad pa | rgyal ba  
mchog dang | shākya brtson 'grus kyi 'gyur | |
- dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga bsod snyoms pas [3] mdzad pa dang | rin  
chen bzang po'i 'gyur (cf. D 1882) | |
- dbang gi rab byed dga' ba'i rdo rjes (6) mdzad pa | mar me  
mdzad dang ba ri'i 'gyur (cf. D 1886) | | [4]
- sgrub thabs kun bzang sangs rgyas ye shes kysis mdzad pa | shrad dha  
ka ra varma dang | rin chen bzang po'i 'gyur (cf. D 1855) | |
- kun bzang gi [5] 'grel pa shrī pha la badzras mdzad pa | shrad dha  
ka ra var ma dang | rin chen bzang po'i 'gyur (cf. D 1868) | |
- kun bzang gi 'grel pa shrī pha [6] la badzras mdzad pa | birya pa  
tra dang | bi bha ka ra dang | rin chen bzang po'i 'gyur (cf. D  
1867) | |
- 'jam dpal zhal lung (71a1) ye shes zhabs [7] kyi bsodus pa | ka ma  
la ghu hya dang | ye shes rgyal mtshan gyi 'gyur | |
- 'jam dpal zhal lung gi 'grel pa | bi ta pa das [20a1] mdzad pa | ka  
ma la ghu hya dang | ye shes rgyal mtshan gyi 'gyur (cf. D 1866) | |
- sgrub thabs zhal lung rin chen bzang [2] po'i 'gyur (cf. D 1854) | |
- bdag sgrub pa'i thabs la 'jug pa | sangs rgyas ye {sh}es kysis  
mdzad pa | dhi paṃ ka ra shrī dznyā na dang | dge ba'i blo gros  
[3] kyi 'gyur (cf. D 1860) | |
- grol ba'i thig le sangs rgyas ye {sh}es zhabs kysis mdzad pa | ka ma  
la ghu hya dang | ye shes rgyal mtshan gyi 'gyur (cf. D 1859) [4]
- grol ba'i thig le'i 'grel pa | 'be'i ba (2) tas<sup>105</sup> mdzad pa | ka ma la  
ghu hya dang | ye shes rgyal mtshan gyi 'gyur (cf. D 1870) | |
- yan [5] lag bdun pa ngag dbang grags pas mdzad pa (cf. D 1888)  
rnam bzhugs | |

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103 Read *po'i*.

104 Read with the *bka' 'bum* edition *shanti*.

105 The author of D 1870 is Vitapāda.

HA pa la |

- 'jam rdor gyi sgrub thabs kun du bzang mo | ye [6] shes zhabs  
kyis mdzad pa | smri ti'i 'gyur |
- de'i 'grel pa | snying po snye ma kun du bzang (3) pos mdzad pa  
| blo ldan [7] shes rab kyi 'gyur (cf. D 1869) | |
- he ru ka'i sgrub thabs | sangs rgyas ye shes zhabs kyis mdzad pa  
(cf. D 1857) |
- de'i 'grel pa (cf. D 1858) |
- gsang 'dus kyi [20b1] sgrub thabs | dngos grub 'byung ba'i  
gter | sman zhabs kyis mdzad pa | lha ye shes rgyal mtshan gyi  
(4) 'gyur (cf. D 1874) | |
- sbyor ba bdun [2] pa | bi ta pa tis<sup>106</sup> mdzad pa (cf. D 1875) |
- mi shigs pa'i sgrub thabs | bi ta pa tas mdzad pa (cf. D 1877) |
- bdag gi don sgrub pa | bi ta pa tas [3] mdzad pa (cf. D 1878) |
- bstan pa'i nor sdzas | rad na kirtis mdzad pa (cf. D 1897) |
- mi bskyod rdo rje'i sgrub thabs | rin chen (5) rdo rjes mdzad pa  
(cf. D 1884) [4]
- gsang 'dus 'jig rten dbang phyug gi sgrub thabs | jo bo rjes mdzad  
pa | rin chen bzang po'i 'gyur (cf. D 1892) | |
- 'jam rdor gyi [5] mngon rtogs | bsod snyoms pas mdzad pa | rin  
chen bzang po'i 'gyur (cf. D 1881) | |
- gshin po bde ba la 'god pa'i cho ga | [6] ting (6) nge 'dzin rdo  
rjes mdzad pa |
- argha yi cho ga (cf. D 1903) dang |
- rab gnas kyi cho ga snang byed zla bas mdzad pa (cf. D 1904) |
- gsang 'dus [7] sbyin bsreg gi cho ga | rab 'jigs rdo rjes mdzad  
pa | rin chen bzang po'i 'gyur (cf. D 1825) | |
- 'jam rdor gyi sgrub thabs | kun [21a1] du bzang pos mdzad pa (cf.  
D 1880) |
- 'jam rdor gyi sgrub thabs | (71b1) rgyal bas byin gyis mdzad pa  
(cf. D 1883) |
- 'jam rdor gyi sgrub [2] thabs | puṇye shrīś<sup>107</sup> mdzad pa | gzhon  
nu 'bar ba'i 'gyur (cf. D 1885) |
- khro bo bcu'i gtor ma'i cho ga |

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<sup>106</sup> Read *tas*, the author of D 1875 is Vitapāda.

<sup>107</sup> The *bka' 'bum* edition reads *puṇya shrīś*.



→ rab gnas kyi cho ga | mi [3] 'jigs pa'i phyag gis mdzad pa (cf. D 1905) rnam bzhugs | |

A pa la | (2)

- dgra nag gi brgyud kyi 'grel pa | nag po pas mdzad [4] pa | pradznyā shri'i 'gyur (cf. D 1920) | |
- dgra nag gi brgyud kyi 'grel pa | grub chen dpal 'dzin gyis mdzad pa | tshul khriims rgyal ba'i [5] 'gyur | |
- dgra nag gi dkyil chog gshin rje gshed 'byung ba | la li ta badzras (3) mdzad pa (cf. D 1926) |
- dgra nag gi sgrub thabs | dpal [6] 'dzin gyis mdzad pa (cf. D 1923) |
- 'jam dpal gsang rgyud kyi dkyil chog |
- sbyin bsreg gi cho ga |
- tshogs 'khor gyi cho ga rnam [7] ka ma las mdzad pa (cf. D 1934) |
- dgra nag gi dkyil chog | dpal 'dzin gyis mdzad pa | (4) tshul khriims rgyal ba'i 'gyur (cf. D 1924) | |
- gshin [21b1] rje gshed kyi sgrub thabs (cf. D 1930) |
- 'khor lo'i don rgyas par bshad pa | mi bskyod pas mdzad pas | chos kyi shes rab kyi 'gyur (cf. D 1931) | |
- dgra [2] nag gi sgrub thabs | ka ma la rakṣi tas mdzad pa | tshul khriims rgyal ba'i 'gyur (cf. D 1932) | | (5)
- dgra nag gi sgrub thabs | nyin [3] mor byed pa'i grags pas mdzad pa | mgos kyi 'gyur (cf. D 1929) | |
- dgra nag gi sgrub thabs mdor bsduṣ pa |
- gshin rje nag po dus [4] mthar phyin pa'i sgrub thabs | mar me mdzad kyis mdzad pa |
- rnam snang gshin rje gshed kyi sgrub thabs (cf. D 1937) | (6)
- rin 'byung gshin rje [5] gshed (cf. D 1938) |
- 'dod chags gshin rje gshed (cf. D 1939) |
- gshin rje gshed rdo rje rnon po (cf. D 1940) | |
- rdo rje sems ma (cf. D 1941) |
- rdo rje mkha' 'gro ma (cf. D 1942) |
- rdo rje [6] dbyangs can ma (cf. D 1943) |
- rdo rje go ri rnam kyi sgrub thabs | mar me mdzad kyis mdzad pa re re (cf. D 1944) |
- gshin rje gshed (72a1) mchod pa'i [7] cho ga (cf. D 1945) |
- gshin rje gshed nag po'i sgrub thabs (cf. D 1946, 1947) |

- tho ba gshin rje gshed (cf. D 1948) |  
 → dbyug pa gshin rje gshed (cf. D 1949) |  
 → ral gri gshin rje [22a1] gshed (cf. D 1950) |  
 → pad ma gshin rje gshed | shes rab ma rnam<sup>s</sup> kyi sgrub thabs (cf. D 1951) |  
 → dgra (2) nag gi 'khor lo'i sgrub [2] thabs | shes rab bla ma'i 'gyur | |  
 → gshin rje gshed kyi 'khor lo'i sgrub thabs | klu'i byang chub kyis mdzad pa (cf. D 2016) |  
 → rtog pa [3] gsum par grags pa'i man ngag |  
 → gshin rje gshed kyi 'khrul 'khor | gzhon nu 'byung gnas sbas (3) pas mdzad pa |  
 → dgra [4] nag sgrub thabs | rdo rje'i blos mdzad pa (cf. D 1958) |  
 → 'jigs byed rtog bdun gyi 'grel pa | mi bskyod pas mdzad pa | chos kyi [5] shes rab kyi 'gyur (cf. D 1970) | |  
 → rtog bdun gyi mdor bshad | ta thā ga ta rakṣi tas mdzad pa (cf. D 1972) |  
 → rtog bdun gyi bka' (4) 'grel | gzhon [6] nu zla bas mdzad pa | ba riba'i 'gyur (cf. D 1973) | |  
 → rdo rje 'jigs byed kyi dkyil chog | a mo gha badzras mdzad pa |  
 → 'jigs byed [7] lha bzhi bcu zhe dgu'i sgrub thabs la li ta badzras mdzad pa | shes rab brtsegs kyi 'gyur (cf. D 1998) | |  
 → 'jigs byed kyi (5) sbyin bsreg [22b1] a mo ghas mdzad pa (cf. D 1997) |  
 → 'jigs byed phyag gnyis pa'i sgrub thabs | 'jam dbyangs kyis mdzad pa | rdo rje grags kyi 'gyur (cf. D 1976) | | [2]  
 → 'jigs byed kyi sgrub thabs | shrī bha tras mdzad pa (cf. D 1977) |  
 → 'jigs byed kyi bsnyen sgrub kyi cho ga | zhi ba ye (6) shes kyis mdzad pa (cf. D 1978) |  
 → <sup>108</sup>las sbyor grag po phyogs [3] gcig pa ye {sh}es<sup>109</sup> mdzad pa<sup>§</sup> (cf. D 1980) |  
 → 'jigs byed lha bcu bdun ma'i sgrub thabs | don yod rdo rjes mdzad pa |

<sup>108</sup> The passage up to <sup>§</sup> is added in *dbu can* letters on the side margins, the *bka'* 'bum edition reads: *las sbyor drag po phyogs gcig pa zhi pa ye shes kyis mdzad pa* | .

<sup>109</sup> The syllables *pa ye {sh}es* are nearly illegible; the author of D 1980 is Zhi ba ye shes.

- 'jigs byed kyi bstod pa | las kyi rgyal pos [4] mdzad pa (cf. D 2012) |
- mgon po mngon byung gi (72b1) dkyil chog | sa manta shrīs mdzad pa | chos rab kyi 'gyur (cf. D 1754) | |
- sbyin bsreg gi cho [5] ga sa manta shrīs mdzad pa | chos rab kyi 'gyur (cf. D 1755) | |
- gshed dmar bcu gsum ma'i dkyil chog | dpal 'dzin gyis mdzad [6] pa | chag gi 'gyur (cf. D 2024) | |
- gshed dmar lha lnga'i sgrub thabs | (2) bi ru pas mdzad pa | da na shi la'i 'gyur (cf. D 2018) | |
- gshed dmar [7] bcu gsum ma'i sgrub thabs | dpal 'dzin gyis mdzad pa | chag lo'i 'gyur | |
- gshed dmar lha lnga'i sgrub thabs | blo gros [23a1] bzang pos mdzad pa | chag gi 'gyur (cf. D 2032) | |
- gshed (3) dmar gsal byed kyi 'khrul 'khor | dus 'khor lugs (cf. D 2022) | [2]
- gshed dmar 'khor lo'i gsal byed | byang chub snying pos mdzad pa | spyal lo'i 'gyur (cf. D 2034) | |
- ting nge 'dzin gyi cho ga | dpal 'dzin [3] gyis mdzad pa (cf. D 2029) | |
- gtor ma'i cho ga | dpal 'dzin gyis (4) mdzad pa (cf. D 2030) |
- gshed dmar gtso bo rkyang pa'i sgrub thabs | rnam snang [4] bsrung bas mdzad pa (cf. D 2031) |
- gtso bo brkyang pa'i sgrub thabs | birva pas mdzad pa |
- gtor ma'i cho ga birva pas mdzad pa |
- mchod [5] pa'i cho ga | dpal 'dzin gyis mdzad pa (cf. D 2028) |
- las tshogs (5) kyi sgrub thabs | dpa' bo'i rgyal pos mdzad pa (cf. D 2021) |
- 'khrul 'khor [6] gyi phreng ba | birva pas mdzad pa | dha na shi la'i 'gyur (cf. D 2022) | |
- gtor ma'i cho ga | 'gro bzangs snying pos mdzad pa | nyi ma [7] rgyal mtshan gyi 'gyur | | 'di rgya dpe 'khrugs pa las bsgyur 'dug go | (6)
- gshed dmar gyi las tshogs kyi sgrub thabs | dpal [23b1] 'dzin gyis mdzad pa |
- gshed dmar gyi maṅḍal gyi cho ga | dpal 'dzin gyis mdzad pa (cf. D 2024) | |  
rnam bzhugs | |

KI<sup>110</sup> pa la |

- dkyil [2] 'khor gyi cho ga rdo rje phreng ba | chag lo'i 'gyur (cf. D 3140) | |
- sgrub thabs (73a1) sdzogs pa'i rnal 'byor | chag lo'i 'gyur (cf. D 3141) | |
- sbyin bsreg [3] 'od kyi snye ma | chag lo'i 'gyur (cf. D 3142) | |
- dbang gi rab byed | a bhyas mdzad pa | shes rab dpal gyi 'gyur | |
- rdor dbyings bla [4] med du bshad pa (cf. D 2530) |
- bya ba bsdus pa rigs (2) sbyin du mdzad pa | grags pa rgyal mtshan gyi 'gyur (cf. D 2531) | |
- grub thob brgyad bcu rtsa bzhi'i rtogs [5] brjod | dpa' bo 'od gsal gyis bsdus pa (cf. D 2292) |
- spyod pa'i glu'i mdzod kyi 'grel pa | thub paṣ byin gyis mdzad pa | grags pa rgyal [6] mtshan gyi 'gyur (cf. D 2293) (3)  
rnams bzhugs so | |

KHI pa la |

- do ha mdzod | spyod pa'i glu | sa ha ra has mdzad pa (cf. D 2263) |
- mi zad pa'i [7] gter mdzod kyi glu (cf. D 2264) |
- mdo ha mdzod kyi glu | sa ra has mdzad pa (cf. D 2224) |
- mdo ha mdzod kyi bka' 'grel | gnyis med rdo rjes mdzad pa (cf. D 2256) | [24a1]
- nag po'i rdo rjes mdo ha mdzod (cf. D 2301) |
- de'i 'grel (4) pa paṅḍi ta 'od dpag med kyis mdzad pa (cf. D 2302) |
- mi zad pa'i gter mdzod [2] kyi glu'i 'grel pa | gnyis med rdo rjes mdzad pa (cf. D 2257) |
- ka kha'i mdo ha (cf. D 2666) |
- de'i bshad pa | sa ra has mdzad pa | bai ro tsa na'i 'gyur (cf. D 2267) | |
- sku'i [3] mdzod | 'chi med rdo rje'i glu (cf. D 2269) |
- gsung gi mdzod | 'jam dbyangs rdo rje'i (5) glu (cf. D 2270) |
- shugs<sup>111</sup> kyi mdzod skye med rdo rje'i glu (cf. D 2271) |

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<sup>110</sup> Starting from this volume, no circles above the *dbu can* letter numeral are given any more.

<sup>111</sup> Read with the *bka' 'bum* edition *thugs*.

- sku gsung [4] thugs yid la mi byed pa'i glu (cf. D 2272) |  
 → rdo rje gdan gyi rdo rje'i glu | mar me mdzad kyis mdzad pa (cf. D 1494) |  
 → de'i 'grel pa mar me mdzad kyis [5] mdzad pa | tshul khrims rgyal ba'i 'gyur (cf. D 1495) | |  
 'di rnams la mdo ha mdzod | (6) de kho na nyid rnal 'byor du mtshon pa | don dam pa'i yige [6] ces mtshan dang ldan pa'i mdo ha mdzod dang | mar me mdzad kyi rdo rje gdan gyi glu ces pa gnyis ma rtogs | gzhan rnams bal po [7] skye med mdzod kyis byas nas | sa ra ha la kha dbyar ba yin (73b1) no zhes | mkhas pa rnams gsung ngo | |  
 rdzogs rim gyi gzhung rnam par [24b1] dag pa la |  
 → gsang ba grub pa | pad ma badzras mdzad pa | tshul khrims rgyal ba'i 'gyur (cf. D 2217) | |  
 → thabs shes rab gtan la dbab pa | [2] yan lag med pa'i rdo rjes mdzad pa | mgos kyi (2) 'gyur (cf. D 2218) |  
 → ye {sh}es grub pa | intra bhotis mdzad pa | rin chen bzang po'i 'gyur (cf. D 2219) | |  
 → gnyis [3] med grub pa | lcam legs smin gyis mdzad pa (cf. D 2220) |  
 → de kho na nyid grub pa | rnal 'byor ma tsin tos mdzad pa | mgos kyi 'gyur (cf. D 2222) | |  
 → dpal de kho [4] na nyid grub pa | ke ra ri pas mdzad pa (cf. D 1985 or 2262) |  
 → lhan (3) cig skyes grub kyi gzhung 'grel | lcam dpal mos mdzad pa | shes rab grags kyi [5] 'gyur (cf. D 2261)  
 rnams la | grub dbang snying po'i chos skor zhes grags so | |  
 slob dpon me tri pa'i gzhung | a ma na se'i chos skor la |  
 → lta ba [6] ngan sel mi tri pas mdzad pa (cf. D 2229) |  
 → lta (4) ba ngan sel {g}yi dran pa (cf. D 2231) |  
 → de kho na nyid man ngag | rin po che'i phreng ba (cf. D 2240) |  
 → rmi lam nges bstan (cf. D 2233) |  
 → sgyu ma nges [7] bstan (cf. D 2234) |  
 → dbu ma drug pa (cf. D 2230) |  
 → rab tu mi gnas pa gsal bar ston pa (cf. D 2235) |  
 → de kho na nyid bcug pa (cf. D 2236) |  
 → de kho na nyid bcug pa'i 'grel pa | [25a1] lhan cig skyes (5) pa'i rdo rjes mdzad pa (cf. D 2254) |

- theg chen nyi shu pa (cf. D 2248) |  
 → rang bzhin lnga pa (cf. D 2245) |  
 → phyag rgya lnga'i rnam par bshad [2] pa |  
 → dbang der brtad |  
 → dbang bskur nges par bstan pa (cf. D 2252) |  
 → de'i bka' 'grel | dga' ba skyong gis mdzad pa (cf. D 2253) |  
 → bde chen gsal ba (cf. D 2239) |  
 → de [3] kho na nyid nyi shu pa (cf. D 2250) | (8)  
 → de kho na nyid rab tu bstan pa (cf. D 2241) |  
 → zung 'jug gsal ba (cf. D 2237) |  
 → lhan skyes drug pa (cf. D 2260) |  
 → mi phyed pa lnga pa (cf. D 2238) |  
 → brtse lnga pa (cf. D 2246) | [4]  
 → dga' phyugs<sup>112</sup> lnga pa |  
 → dbang gi dgos pa mdor bsdus pa (cf. D 2243) |  
 → yid ma mi phyed pa ston pa (cf. D 2249) |  
 → shes rab ye {sh}es gsal ba | de va (74a1) tsantras mdzad [5] pa  
 (cf. D 2226) bzhugs so | |  
 → rdo rje'i tshig brtag gnyis las btus pa | badzra pa ñis mdzad pa  
 (cf. D 2255) |  
 → dbang chen po rim pa gsum pa (cf. D 1275) |  
 → gsang [6] dbang gi rab tu byed pa (cf. D 1274) |  
 → bsgom rim drug pa (cf. D 2299) |  
 → bla ma brgyud pa'i rim pa'i man ngag (cf. D 3716) | (2)  
 → de kho na nyid kyi man ngag | dha ri ka pas mdzad pa [7] mgos  
 kyi 'gyur (cf. D 2221) |  
 → lhan cig skyes grub | ñom bhi pas mdzad pa (cf. D 2223) |  
 → by{ang ch}ub sems 'grel klu sgrub kyis mdzad pa | nyi ma grags  
 kyi [25b1] 'gyur (cf. D 1800) |  
 → sems kyi sgrib sbyong | 'phags pa lhas mdzad pa | tshul khrims  
 rgyal (3) ba'i 'gyur (cf. D 1804) | |  
 → phyag rgya bzhi rjes su bstan pa klu [2] sgrub kyi mdzad pa<sup>113</sup> (cf.  
 D 2225) |

112 The *bka'* 'bum edition reads *bcugs*.

113 The letters after *mdz* are substituted *secunda manu*.

- bsam mi khyab pa'i man ngag | dpal rtog tse pas mdzad pa |  
 mgos kyi 'gyur (cf. D 2228) rnam bzhugs | | | | [3]
- GI pa la |
- dbu rgyan sgrol ma'i sgrub thabs (cf. D 1711) |
- dbang bskur gyi cho ga | (4)
- mchod pa'i cho ga |
- gtor ma'i cho ga |
- gtor ma'i cho ga [4] nyung ngu (cf. D 1712) |
- dbu rgyan sgrol ma la bstod pa |
- bstod pa rgyas pa |
- de kho na nyid kyi man ngag (cf. D 1714) |
- de'i 'grel pa rnam she{s} rab rgyal mtshan gyi [5] 'gyur (cf. D 1715) |
- dbu rgyan sgrol ma dpa' mo gcig pa'i (5) sgrub thabs |
- rigs kyi 'jig rten dbang phyug gi sgrub thabs | ma hi kas mdzad pa (cf. D 2137) |
- rigs [6] kyi 'jig rten mgon po'i byin brlabs kyi cho ga | bi ma la shris mdzad pa | grags pa rgyal mtshan gyi 'gyur (cf. D 2135) | |
- rigs kyi 'jig rten [7] mgon po'i sgrub (6) thabs kyi snang ba | ma hi kas mdzad pa | grags pa rgyal mtshan gyi 'gyur (cf. D 2133) |
- thugs rje chen po'i sgrub thabs | 'phaḍ [26a1] pa klu sgrub kyis mdzad pa | rgyal ba mchog dbyangs kyi 'gyur (cf. Q 3556)
- byams pa'i sgrub thabs | thogs med kyis mdzad [2] pa | dge bshes ston (74b1) pa'i 'gyur (cf. Q 3648) | |
- phyag na rdo rje'i me lce'i brgyud kyi 'grel pa | bha vas mdzad par grags pa |
- phyag na rdo rje'i dkyil [3] chog | bha vas mdzad pa (cf. D 2171) |
- phyag rdor gyi sgrub thabs (cf. D 2167) |
- gos sngon can gyi sgrub thabs (cf. D 2168-2170) |
- gtor ma'i cho ga (cf. D 2175) |
- tshogs 'khor gyi cho ga (cf. D 2176) | [4]
- sbyin (2) bsreg gi cho ga (cf. D 2177) |
- trag po'i sbyin bsreg (cf. D 2178) |
- maṅḍal gyi cho ga rnam | bha va pas mdzad par grags pa (cf. D 2183) |

- rdo rje snying po'i man [5] ngag | dznyā na shrīs mdzad pa (cf. D 2897) rnames dang |
- sgrub thabs kun la btus pa la sgrub thabs rgya mtsho zhes grags pa | yar lungs pa graḍ [6] pa (3) rgyal mtshan gyis bsgyur ba (cf. D 3400-3644)<sup>114</sup> la | sgrub thabs nyis brgya dang bzhi bcu zhe drug<sup>115</sup> yod pa |
- bla ma ba ri lo tstsha ba'i bsgyur ba'i sgrub thabs brgya [7] rtsar grags pa la | sgrub thabs dgu bcu go drug (cf. D 3306-3399)<sup>116</sup> bzhugs pa |
- phyag rdor gyi sgrub thabs | dza va ri pas mdzad pa (cf. D 2147-2150) | (4)
- don zhags lha [26b1] lnga'i sgrub thabs | e ra pa tis mdzad pa (cf. D 2725) |
- bcu gcig zhal gyi sgrub thabs | dge slong ma dpal mos mdzad pa | rin chen bzang po'i [2] 'gyur (cf. D 2737)
- rnames bzhugs | |

NGI pa la |

- 'jam dpal mtshan brjod kyī 'grel pa | 'jam dpal grags (5) pas mdzad pa | rin chen [3] bzang po'i 'gyur (cf. D 2534) | |
- 'grel pa de'i dkyil chog gi skabs | nag 'byam zur du byung ba |
- mtshan brjod kyī 'grel chung | 'jam [4] dpal bshes gnyen gyis mdzad pa (cf. D 2532) |
- mtshan brjod kyī 'grel pa | sngags don rnam gzigs | sgeg (6) pa'i rdo rjes mdzad pa | shes rab [5] brtsegs kyī 'gyur (cf. D 2533) | |
- rnal 'byor gyi mtshan nyid bstan pa | byang chub bzang pos mdzad pa (cf. D 2458) |
- byang chub kyī sems | sgom don bcu [6] gnyis pa | 'jam dpal bshes gnyes<sup>117</sup> kyis mdzad pa (cf. D 2578) rnames bzhugs | |

<sup>114</sup> Cf. SUZUKI 1955-1961: vol. 166, 459, note to nos. 4221-4466.

<sup>115</sup> A different number of texts collected in the *Sādhanāmālā* counts NISHIOKA 1980-83: no. 2651: *sGrub thabs rgya mtsho shes pa sgrub thabs n̄is brgya l̄na* [v.l. *bsh̄i*] *bcu rtsa gcig pa Grags pa rgyal mtshan gyi ḡgyur*.

<sup>116</sup> Almost all texts of this group of more than 90 *sādhanās* are translated by Bari lo tstsha ba. A different number of texts gives NISHIOKA 1980-83: no. 2677: *Ba riḡi sgrub thabs brgya rtsa la dgu bcu rtsa l̄na ste* ... As equivalent for no. 2677 we find *op. cit.*, III, 174, Peking (i.e. Q) 4127-4220.

<sup>117</sup> Read with the *bka'* 'bum edition *gnyen*.



CI pa la |

→ de nyid (75a1) bsdus pa'i 'grel pa | slob dpon kun dga' [7] snying  
pos mdzad pa'i de nyid snang chen dum bu dang po'i bstod 'grel |  
rin chen bzang pos bsgyur ba dang | dum bu lhag ma gsum gyi  
'grel pa [27a1] zangs dkar lo tstsha bas (2) bsgyur ba las | dum  
bu gnyis pa'i 'grel pa'i bstod yan chad (cf. D 2510)

bzhugs | |

CHI pa la |

→ de [2] nyid snang chen gyi smad yongs su sdzogs pa (cf. D 2510)  
dang |

→ de nyid bsdus pa'i 'grel pa | ko sa la'i rgyan gyi bstod (cf. D 2503)

bzhugs | |

II pa la |

→ ko sa [3] la'i rgyan gyi (3) smad yongs su sdzogs pa | slob dpon  
shākya bshes gnyen gyis mdzad pa | rin chen bzang po'i 'gyur (cf.  
D 2503) bzhugs | | | [4]<sup>118</sup> | |

→ dpal mchog shes rab kyi pha rol phyin pa 'byung ba'i 'grel pa |  
slob dpon kun dga' snying pos mdzad pa las | dum bu dang [5]  
(4) po'i 'grel pa | rin chen bzang po'i 'gyur dang | dum bu gnyis  
pa'i 'grel pa (cf. D 2512) bzhugs | | <sup>119</sup> | |

→ dum bu gsum pa dang | bzhi [6] pa'i 'grel pa yongs su sdzogs pa  
ste | dum bu 'og ma gsum po | paṅḍi ta la ka dang | lha bla  
ma'i 'gyur (cf. D 2512<sup>120</sup>) bzhugs | | <sup>121</sup> | | [7] (5)

→ dpal mchog sher dum gyi 'grel pa | rin chen bzang po'i 'gyur (cf.  
D 2511) | |

→ spyod brgyud kyi 'grel pa gsal ba'i sgron me | kun dga' [27b1] snying  
pos mdzad par grags pa | khyung po chos brtson gyi 'gyur | |

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<sup>118</sup> Space left blank for inserting the letter numeral of volume *nyi pa la*, as found in the *bka' 'bum* edition.

<sup>119</sup> Space left blank for inserting the letter numeral of volume *ti pa la*, as found in the *bka' 'bum* edition.

<sup>120</sup> Cf. SUZUKI 1955-1961: vol. 166, 350, note to no. 3335.

<sup>121</sup> Space left blank for inserting the letter numeral of volume *thi pa la*, as found in the *bka' 'bum* edition.

- spyod brgyud kyi 'grel pa | mdzes rgyan rdo rje go chas (6)  
mdzad par [2] grags pa rnam bzhugs | | <sup>122</sup> | |
- de nyid bsdus pa'i don 'grel | a va ta ra | sangs rgyas gsang bas  
mdzad pa (cf. D 2501) |
- thams [3] cad gsang ba'i bshad sbyar (cf. D 2623) |
- rdo rje dbyings kyi don bsdus (cf. D 2530) |
- khams gsum rnam rgyal gyi brgyud kyi 'grel pa | mu ti ka ko shas  
mdzad pa (cf. D 2509) | [4]
- rdor dbyings kyi dkyil chog | rdo rje 'byung ba | (75b1) kun dga'  
snying pos mdzad pa | rin chen bzang po'i 'gyur (cf. D 2516) | |
- rdo rje 'byung ba'i bka' [5] 'grel | mu hen tra bha tras mdzad  
pa | chos kyi shes rab kyi 'gyur (cf. D 2529) | |
- khams gsum rnam rgyal gyi dkyil chog | kun dga' [6] snying pos  
mdzad pa | rin chen bzang po'i 'gyur (cf. D 2519) | |
- dpal (2) mchog rdo rje sems dpa'i dkyil chog | kun dga' snying  
pos mdzad pa (cf. D 2520) | | rnam bzhugs | | <sup>123</sup> | |
- gtsug dgu'i dkyil chog | slob dpon kun dga' snying pos mdzad pa |
- mchod rten bsgrub pa'i cho [28a1] ga | zhi ba snying pos mdzad  
pa (cf. D 2652) |
- sems dpa' 'byung ba | (3) slob dpon kun dga' snying pos mdzad  
pa | dge blo'i {''}gyur (cf. D 2517) | [2]
- gtsug dgu'i cho ga | sa ra ha tas mdzad pa |
- ro sbyong ba'i cho ga | skal bzang dga' bas mdzad pa (cf. D  
2634) |
- sbyin bsreg gi cho ga [3] rab 'byor skyangs kyis mdzad pa | rin  
chen bzang po'i 'gyur (cf. D 2525) | |
- rdo rje (4) chos rnal 'byor gcig pa'i sgrub thabs | dpal ldan rgya  
che [4] ba'i dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga (cf. D 2526) |
- rdo rje lta bu'i sgrub thabs | kun du bzang po'i sbyin bsreg gi cho  
ga (cf. D 2527) |
- rab gnas kyi cho ga | rab [5] gnas kyi rgyal po thugs rje 'byung  
ba'i bsgom bzlas | (5) rin chen bzang po'i 'gyur | | (cf. D 2528)

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<sup>122</sup> Space left blank for inserting the letter numeral of volume *di pa la*, as found in the *bka' 'bum* edition.

<sup>123</sup> Space left blank for inserting the letter numeral of volume *ni pa la*, as found in the *bka' 'bum* edition.

- shes rab kyi pha rol du phyin pa tshul brgya lnga bcu pa'i [6] 'grel pa | dznyā na mi tras mdzad pa (cf. D 2647) |
- 'jam dpal khro bo gsang rgyud kyi 'grel pa | pra ti va na tsantras mdzad pa (cf. D 2669) |
- bsam gtan [7] phyi ma'i 'grel pa | sangs rgyas gsang bas mdzad (6) pa | dpal brtsegs kyi 'gyur (cf. D 2670) | |
- gtsug tor gdugs dkar gyi 'grel pa | shu ram [28b1] ka varmas mdzad pa | grags pa shes rab kyi 'gyur (cf. D 2689)  
rnam s bzhugs | | <sup>124</sup> | |
- rnam snang mngon byang gi bsdus don bud dha ku tas [2] mdzad pa | shi len tra bo de dang | dpal brtsegs kyi 'gyur (cf. D 2662) | |
- dpung bzangs (76a1) kyi bsdus don | sang{s rg}yas gsang bas mdzad pa (cf. D 2671) |
- dpung [3] bzangs kyi bsdus don bshad pa'i rjed byang ye shes rdo rjes mdzad pa | (cf. D 2672)
- rdo rje slob dpon gyi bya ba kun las btus pa | 'gro ba'i me long gis [4] mdzad pa | manydzu shri dang | blo gros rgyal mtshan gyis bsgyur ba (cf. D 3305) rnam s bzhugs | | <sup>125</sup> | |
- dpa' bo gcig sgrub kyi brgyud 'grel [5] pa | shu ba ka ras mdzad pa | da na shi la'i 'gyur (cf. D 2674) | |
- rdo rje rnam 'joms kyi 'grel pa | bi ma la mi tras mdzad pa (cf. D 2681) |
- rnam [6] 'joms kyi 'grel (3) pa pa<sup>126</sup> | pad ma 'byung gnas kyi mdzad pa (cf. D 2679) |
- legs grub kyi sgrub thabs | byang chub mchog gis mdzad pa (cf. D 3066) | [7]<sup>127</sup>
- dam tshig gsum bkod kyi sgrub thabs | ku mu ta a ka ras mdzad pa | tshul khrims rgyal ba'i 'gyur (cf. D 3144) | |

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<sup>124</sup> Space left blank for inserting the letter numeral of volume *pi pa la*, as found in the *bka' 'bum* edition.

<sup>125</sup> Space left blank for inserting the letter numeral of volume *phi pa la*, as found in the *bka' 'bum* edition.

<sup>126</sup> This superfluous syllable is missing in the *bka' 'bum* edition.

<sup>127</sup> The text of the seventh line is copied by a different hand in *dpe bris* on the bottom margin of this page.

- so 'brang gi 'khor lo [29a1] 'bri thabs shanti pas (4) mdzad pa (cf. D 3118) |
- so 'brang (cf. D 3119) |
- rma bya chen mo (cf. D 3120) |
- stong chen rab 'joms (cf. D 3121) |
- gsang sngags rjes 'dzin (cf. D 3122) [2]
- bsil ba'i tshal rnam kyis sgrub thabs chung ngu re re (cf. D 3123) |
- so 'brang gi cho ga | su ma ti kirtis mdzad pa | dharma kirti'i 'gyur | |
- so [3] 'brang gi 'khor lo (5) 'bri tshul paṇḍi ta pu ru ṣotta ma las nyan te | nyi ma rgyal mtshan gyis bsgyur ba (cf. D 3125) |
- bsrung ba lnga'i cho ga shanti pas [4] mdzad pa | bkra shis rgyal mtshan gyi 'gyur (cf. D 3126) | |
- bsrung ba lnga'i cho ga shanti pas mdzad pa | nam mkha' rdo rje'i 'gyur | | 'di dang [5] gong ma (6) gnyis 'gyur khyad tsam ma rtogs gcig tu snang ngo | |
- so 'brang gi cho ga gzungs las btus pa | gong 'og gnyis |
- bsrung [6] ba lnga'i sgrub thabs | dze ta ris mdzad pa | seng rgyal gyi 'gyur |
- bsrung ba lnga'i cho ga | phyed {da}ng nyis brgya pa | dzi ta ris (76b1) mdzad pa | [7] seng ge rgyal mtshan gyi 'gyur | |
- so 'brang gi 'khor lo'i 'bri tshul | dze ta ris mdzad pa | ba ri pa'i 'gyur (cf. D 3127) | |
- so 'brang gi 'khor [29b1] lo'i 'bri tshul | shanti pas mdzad pa |
- so 'brang gi 'khor lo'i 'bri tshul | ye shes zhabs kyis mdzad pa | nam mkha' rdo rje'i [2] (2) 'gyur |
- rdo rje rnam 'joms kyis gzungs kyis 'grel pa | rdo rje go chas mdzad pa | rin chen bzang po'i 'gyur (cf. D 2682) | |
- rnam 'joms [3] kyis dkyil chog drug pa | shu ram ka varmas mdzad pa (cf. D 2906) |
- rnam 'joms sngon po'i chos skor la |
- gtso bo brkyang pa'i sgrub thabs [4] gam ga (3) dha ras mdzad pa (cf. D 2914) |
- lha bcu dgu'i cho ga | ma ṇi badzras mdzad pa (cf. D 2914) |
- rnam 'joms la bstod pa (cf. D 2915) |
- bum pa'i cho ga (cf. D 2916) [5]
- sbyin bsreg gi cho ga (cf. D 2917) |
- gtor ma'i cho ga (cf. D 2918) |

- las bzhi sgrub pa'i cho ga (cf. D 2919) |  
 → las bzhi'i sbyin bsreg (cf. D 2920) |  
 → las bzhi'i bum chog (cf. D 2921) | [6]  
 → las (4) bzhi'i 'khor lo'i cho ga (cf. D 2922) |  
 → las sgrub pa'i gdam ngag (cf. D 2923) |  
 → las kyi tshogs sgrub pa'i cho ga rnam | ma ñi badzras mdzad [7]  
 pa | rab zhi'i 'gyur (cf. D 2924) | |  
 → rnam 'joms kyi khru kyi cho ga'i 'grel pa | rdo rje go chas  
 mdzad pa (cf. D 2908) |  
 → las<sup>128</sup> bco bryad pa'i [30a1] sgrub thabs | rdo rje (5) go chas  
 mdzad pa (cf. D 2909) |  
 → srol ma la bstod pa nyi shu rtsa gcig gi sgrub thabs | nyi ma sbas  
 [2] pas mdzad pa | ma la | gyo'i 'gyur (cf. D 1688) |  
 → nyi shu rtsa gcig gi las kyi cho ga | nyi ma sbas pas mdzad pa |  
 mal gyo'i 'gyur (cf. D 1686) | | [3]  
 → srol ma'i sgrub thabs | bi bhu ta tsantras mdzad pa |  
 → 'jam (6) dbyangs a ra pa tsa na lha lnga'i sgrub thabs | sra dha  
 ka ras mdzad pa (cf. D 2713) | [4]  
 → a ra pa tsa na mchod pa'i cho ga | nyi ma rgyal mtshan gyi 'gyur  
 (cf. D 2719) | |  
 → mi g.yo ba sngon po'i sgrub thabs | dze ta ris mdzad pa | [5]  
 gzhon nu 'bar gyi 'gyur (cf. D 3063) |  
 → mi 'khrugs pa lha dgu'i sgrub thabs | (77a1) di pam ka ras mdzad  
 pa (cf. D 2654) |  
 → gtso bo brkyang pa'i sgrub thabs | di pam [6] ka ras mdzad pa |  
 → mi g.yo ba dkar po'i sgrub thabs | da na shi las mdzad pa (cf. D  
 3065) |  
 → mi g.yo ba dkar po'i sgrub thabs | tshigs bcad [7] drug pa | da  
 na shi las mdzad pa |  
 → rtog pa bdun brya (2) pa'i rta mgrin gyi sgrub thabs | nyi ma  
 rgyal mtshan gyi 'gyur (cf. D 3622) | |  
 → rta mgrin [30b1] phyag bryad pa'i sgrub thabs | tsantra go mis  
 mdzad pa (cf. D 3621) |  
 → rta mgrin lha lnga'i sgrub thabs | pra bha ka ras mdzad pa | thar  
 lo'i 'gyur (cf. D 3623) | [2]

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128 The title of D 2909 should start with the syllable *las*, cf. Q 3735.

- rta mgrin phyag drug pa'i sgrub thabs | mar me mdzad kyis (3) mdzad pa |
- rta mgrin phyag bzhi pa'i sgrub thabs | mar me mdzad kyis [3] mdzad pa |
- phyag na rdo rje gos sngon po can gyi sgrub thabs | stong nyid ting nge 'dzin rdo rjes mdzad par grags pa (cf. D 2886) |
- rnam 'joms kyis [4] sgrub thabs | sangs rgyas gsang bas mdzad pa | 'jam dpal (4) go cha'i 'gyur (cf. D 2926) | |
- gos sngon can gtso bo brkyang pa'i sgrub thabs [5] nyin mdzad rdo rjes mdzad pa (cf. D 2895) |
- phyag na rdo rje'i dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga | klu sgrub dang 'gro bzangs snying po'i lugs | | don 1<sup>129</sup> [6] tu bkod zer ba ni |
- phyag na rdo rje'i sgrub thabs | 'gro bzangs kyis mdzad pa | (5) zangs dkar gyi 'gyur (cf. D 2894) | |
- gtor ma'i cho ga (cf. D 2891) | [7]<sup>130</sup>
- klu gtor gyi cho ga (cf. D 2892) |
- tshogs 'khor gyi cho ga rnam | 'gro bzangs snying pos mdzad par grags pa (cf. D 2893) |
- rnam sras kyis sgrub thabs [31a1] 'gro bzangs snying pos mdzad pa | zangs dkar gyi 'gyur (cf. D 3730) |
- rnam sras trag byed kyis cho ga | (6) 'gro bzangs snying pos [2] mdzad pa | zangs dkar gyi 'gyur (cf. D 3731) |
- rnam sras dmar po' i gsang sgrub | dga' rab rdo rjes mdzad par grags pa (cf. D 3732) |
- rnam sras [3] ljang khu lus ngan po'i sgrub thabs | dpa' bo rdo rjes mdzad pa | nyi ma rgyal mtshan gyi 'gyur (cf. D 3733) | |
- rnam sras kyis sgrub (77b1) thabs | shu ram [4] ka varmas mdzad pa | zangs dkar gyi 'gyur (cf. D 3734) | |
- dzam bha lha ser po'i sgrub thabs | sangs rgyas ye shes zhabs kyis mdzad pa (cf. D 1863) |
- dzam bha [5] lha lha dgu'i sgrub thabs | sangs rgyas ye shes zhabs kyis mdzad pa |
- nor rgyun ma lha dgu'i sgrub thabs |
- dzam bha lha nag po'i (2) sgrub [6] thabs | sgeg pa'i rdo rjes

<sup>129</sup> The numeral 1 stands here for the syllable *gcig*.

<sup>130</sup> The text of the seventh line is copied by a different hand in *dbu chen* on the bottom margin of this page.

- mdzad pa | dā na shi la'i 'gyur (cf. D 3742) | |  
 → dzaṃ bha lha nag po'i sgrub thabs | a bha yas mdzad pa | chos  
 rje [7] dpal gyi 'gyur (cf. D 3743) | |  
 → dzaṃ bha la nag po'i bstod pa | btsun pa zla bas mdzad pa | pa  
 tshab 'gyur (cf. D 3748) | |  
 → dzaṃ bha lha ser po'i sgrub thabs | ārya ma [30b1] tis (3) mdzad  
 pa | dharma graḍ kyī 'gyur (cf. D 3744) | |  
 → de bzhin gshed pa bdun {g}yi cho ga rgyas pa | mkhan po bho dhi  
 satvas mdzad par grags pa (cf. D 3133) |  
 → de bzhin gshegs [2] pa bdun gyi cho ga | mkhan po bho dhi satvas  
 mdzad pa shin tu dag pa (cf. D 3134) |  
 → 'phags pa klu sgrub kyis mdzad pa'i dge (4) ba'i 'dod 'jo mgos lo  
 tstsha [3] bas bsgyur ba (cf. D 3067) rnam bzhugs {s}o | |
- de ltar rdo {rj}e theg pa'i dgongs 'grel mchog |  
 'phags yul mkhas pa'i tshogs kyis gsal [4] mdzad pa | |  
 gangs can 'gro ba'i dpal du byon pa rnam | |  
 glegs baṃ rin (5) chen phung por bsgrubs pa 'di | | 5
- dad pa'i yul gyi skyabs gsum [5] gtsug gi mchog |  
 snying rje'i stobs kyis 'khor 'bang byams pas skyong | |  
 sbyin bdag chen po bzang po rgyal mtshan gyi | |  
 lhag [6] bsam rnam par dag pa'i bsam pas (6) bsgrubs | | 6
- 'dir 'bad dge bas sbyin pa'i bdag po dang | |  
 nam mkha'i mthas gtugs<sup>131</sup> pa'i sems [7] can rnam | |  
 srid dang zhi ba'i mtha' la mi gnas pa'i | |  
 rdo {rj}e 'chang chen go 'phang thob par shog | | | 7
- gnas skabs [32a1] kun du sbyin bdag yab (78a1) sras rnam | |  
 tshe ring nad med bsam pa chos bzhin 'grub | |  
 mi mthun phyogs [2] kyī gnod pa kun zhi nas | |  
 dpal 'byor yar ngo'i zla ltar rgyas par shog | | 8
- sangs rgyas bkra shis sku bzhi'i dpal gyis brtsen | |  
 dam [3] (2) chos bkra shis lung rtogs yon tan brnyes | |  
 dge 'dun bkra shis rim gnyis rtogs pas 'byor | |  
 bkra shis dam pas sbyin [4] bdag bkra shis shog | | 9

<sup>131</sup> The *bka' 'bum* edition adds *gyur*, thus reaching nine syllables in the line.

ces pa | glo bo brag dkar gyi gtsug lag khang du bris pa 'dis |  
 sbyin bdag gis thog grangs [5] (3) sems can thams cad bkra shis par  
 gyur cig |

(in a faster handwriting follows:)<sup>132</sup>

zhus dag | skyes rtsa bla brang gi phyag dpe'o | | ... ...<sup>133</sup> {b}yed phug  
 pa dgon dpal phug rdzo{gs} so | | [6]

(in a divergent handwriting nearly illegible blessings follow, ending with:)  
 ... bkra shis sas {for: par} gyur cig |



། རྒྱལ་བའི་མཚན་ལོ་མོ།

*Left hand vignette on fol. 1b / 140b*

<sup>132</sup> We are obliged to Hanna-Christine Schneider, M.A., Bonn, for her kind help in deciphering this passage.

<sup>133</sup> Here an abbreviated spelling is given, it consists of the letters *nga* and *sa* with two *na ro* above.



# THE *LHAN KAR MA* AS A SOURCE FOR THE HISTORY OF TANTRIC BUDDHISM

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## INTRODUCTION

In this paper,<sup>1</sup> I intend to present some results of an investigation into the different sources of the historical development of Tantric Buddhism and its literature in the 8th and 9th centuries.<sup>2</sup> It was obviously this period in which the transition from the early form of *anuttarayoga-tantra*, the so-called Father Tantras, to its later form, called Mother Tantras, took place. This was the age of the flourishing of Esoteric Buddhism in China, its introduction to Japan and the first propagation of Buddhism (including Tantric Buddhism) in Tibet.

My research project was to compare what different sources tell us concerning which translated texts already existed in Tibet in the 8th and 9th centuries. The only surviving first-hand information about the texts translated into Tibetan in that time is the so-called *Lhan kar ma*, a list made in 812 A.D. of translated texts. It will be shown that although the *Lhan kar ma* is an important source, for historical reasons it fails to show the full range of Tantric texts then already present in Tibet. Therefore, other sources have to be used as well: Bu ston's *Chos 'byung*, the Dunhuang texts, the Chinese translations, and last but not least, the Tibetan Rnying ma pa text collections. I shall try to show that by correlating all these different text collections and text lists, light is thrown not only on the development of the Tibetan canonic Tantra collections, but on the history of late Indian Tantric Buddhism as well.

As is widely known, one of the most difficult problems in Tantra research is to find out the dates of the source material. Of many texts,

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<sup>1</sup> My thanks are due to Ms. Lindel Caine (Kathmandu, Nepal) who was so kind as to revise the English of the first draft of this paper very thoroughly, as well as to Dr Cathy Cantwell and Dr Robert Mayer (Canterbury) for their corrections of its final version.

<sup>2</sup> See HERRMANN-PFANDT n.d. (to be published in due course of time).

not only the time of origin is unknown, but even the names of their authors. If we believe in what is told in the texts themselves, of course, we have to admit that the Tantric works have been in existence for ever, if not on earth then at least in some Tantric heaven, protected by the Dakinis or some other Tantric deity. Other texts are believed to have been taught secretly by the Buddha Śākyamuni to some selected disciples, whose successors continued to keep them secret until the time was considered ripe for writing them down and sharing them with other devotees. Scholars who accepted these myths as historical truth have as a consequence dated tantras much too early. The *Guhyasamāja-tantra*, for example, has been dated by BHATTACHARYYA<sup>3</sup> and WAYMAN<sup>4</sup> to the 4th century A.D., despite the fact the word *tantra* as a name for a “tantric” text cannot be proved to be earlier than the 7th century.<sup>5</sup>

Therefore, even if we like to believe in the legends of the Tantras having been kept secret for centuries, the historical material which we have to rely on as scholars can only be sources which *prove* the existence of a text in a certain time. As long as the existence of the *Guhyasamāja-tantra* in the 4th century is not proved by a contemporary source, all statements which place it there are mere speculation.

What are these sources then? Fortunately, scholars of Tantric Buddhism are in a somewhat better position than those of Tantric Hinduism, since they can rely on texts other than Indian, especially Chinese and Tibetan sources.

### THE CHINESE TANTRA TRANSLATIONS

The Chinese translations of Buddhist texts, the earliest of which were made in the 2nd century A.D., are as a rule dated very exactly. Sometimes, even the day is given on which the translation was finished. Using all 573 Tantric translations included in the Taishō Canon (T. 848-1420)<sup>6</sup>, most of which are dated quite exactly, it is possible (and has already been undertaken by the Japanese scholar MATSUNAGA

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<sup>3</sup> BHATTACHARYYA 1927: 733-746; see also BHATTACHARYYA 1925-28: cvi-cviii.

<sup>4</sup> WAYMAN 1968: 99-110, reprinted in: WAYMAN 1973: 12-23.

<sup>5</sup> WINTERNITZ 1905: 482, note 1; cf. also GOUDRIAAN 1981: 20.

<sup>6</sup> Numbers of texts according to DEMIÉVILLE *et al.* 1978.

YUKEI)<sup>7</sup> to establish a chronology of Chinese translations of Tantric Buddhist texts covering more than a millennium. Of course this chronology does not necessarily tell us anything about the times of origin of the texts, since it is easily possible that a text had been in existence for centuries before its Chinese translation was made. However, shouldn't we expect that the Indian translators who came to China, as well as the Chinese pilgrims who returned from India, both did their best to achieve and translate the texts prevailing in their times? So it seems quite probable that many of the Chinese translations of Sanskrit texts were no more than fifty years (or even less) younger than their Sanskrit originals. The logical development of the Tantric ideology and cult which MATSUNAGA found, when he compared the contents of Chinese translations of different ages, also makes this probable.

Unfortunately, however, the Chinese translations cannot help us in dating the latest and highest Tantras, those of the so-called *anuttarayoga-tantra* class. In China, it was not permitted to translate any text which might disrupt the Confucian Chinese society, and that was just what might have occurred if the *anuttarayoga-tantra* type of texts and practices had been introduced, in which alcohol, meat and sexuality were used as part of the path.

Therefore, apart from five translations of texts, none of which was made earlier than in the 10th century,<sup>8</sup> there are no other *anuttarayoga-tantras* in the Taishō Canon, i. e., in the most complete edition of the Chinese Canon. The most famous among these Chinese *anuttarayoga-tantra* translations are the *Guhyasamāja Tantra* (T. 885) and the *Hevajra Tantra* (T. 892). However, there are also two texts (T. 883-884) which seem to belong to the *Guhyagarbha-tantra* cycle which in Tibet is practised only by the Rnying ma pa school.

Esoteric Buddhism in China flourished mostly in the 8th century with the work of the three greatest Tantra translators in China, Śubhākarasiṃha (640-739), Vajrabodhi (670-741) and Amoghavajra (705-774). Most of the Tantra texts in the Taishō Canon were translated by them.

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<sup>7</sup> MATSUNAGA 1980; cf. DE JONG 1984. Cf. also MATSUNAGA 1977.

<sup>8</sup> Their numbers in the Taishō Canon are: T. 883-885, T. 890, T. 892.

## THE TIBETAN TANTRA TRANSLATIONS

The country which truly inherited the biggest bulk of Indian Tantric Buddhist texts and practices, especially of the *anuttarayoga-tantra* tradition, was Tibet. Fortunately, Tibetan translations were also dated. The colophons do not, however, give the date directly, but they name the translators most of whom are dated by Tibetan historiography.

Translations began to be made in Tibet from the 7th century onwards, and most of the early period translations were made between 779 and 838 A.D.<sup>9</sup> Thereafter, there was a break till the late 10th century when the second period began with most translations being made in the 11th and 12th century. Since Tantric texts were not translated earlier than in the 8th century, colophons to Tibetan translations cannot be used for dating early Tantric texts, for instance, *dhāraṇīs* which were written from the 3rd century onwards. However, it is possible to use the Tibetan colophons to get a clearer picture of the chronology of later Tantric Buddhism, especially of the *anuttarayoga-tantra* class. The only problem is that we have to find out how reliable the colophons are.

This question has to be asked because since the late 10th century, the reliability of colophons was a matter of dispute between the Tibetan scholars themselves. At the very beginning of the second period of translations in Tibet, several of the Tantras stemming from the first period were rejected by some of the foremost scholars of the second period. The reason was the fact that, since there had not been monks in Tibet for over one century, the old Tantras were practised by non-clerical Tantrics and included sexual rituals, meat and alcohol. The West Tibetan kings, however, especially the pious Lha bla ma Ye shes 'od, favoured the monastic way of life and refused to believe that a Tantrism including the above-mentioned elements harmonized with the teachings of the Buddha. It was especially the *rdzogs chen* teachings and the *Guhyagarbha-tantra* which were accused of misleading Tantrics towards wrong practices.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> The translations started at a large scale after the foundation of the first Tibetan monastery of Bsam yas in 775 and the consecration of the first seven monks in 779 A. D. In 838, Ral pa can, the last Buddhist king of Tibet, died.

<sup>10</sup> KARMAY 1975: 150f.; KARMAY 1980: 151, 152, 154.

While many of the translators of the new Tantras followed Ye shes 'od in rejecting the old Tantras, the adepts of the latter continued to practise them. From the 11th century onwards, they even began to enlarge their text reservoir by beginning to find so-called "treasure texts" (*gter ma*), which they believed had been hidden by Padmasambhava and other scholars of the 8th/9th centuries.<sup>11</sup> This Indian *yogin* who had been one of many Indian translators in the early period, now began to grow to mythical greatness as the main *guru* of those adhering to the old Tantra translations and was henceforth regarded as a second Buddha and as the source of every Rnying ma pa doctrine<sup>12</sup>.

So the Rnying ma pas, on the one hand, believed that any devotee inspired by any deity, or even by Padmasambhava himself, to find a new *gter ma* text and mystically transcribe it in Tibetan,<sup>13</sup> had the right to say that this text really stemmed from Padmasambhava or at least from his time. The Gsar ma pas or adherents of the new Tantras, on the other hand, were distrustful of any old translation of high Tantras, not so much because they rejected the practices included in them, but because they accused the Rnying ma pas of writing new texts and then making them look like old translations.

In view of this conflict which dominated the second period of translations, we can expect to find new texts whose colophons tell us they are old, nor is it at all certain that we shall find this only in the Rnying ma pa collections. Therefore, it seems useful to have a closer look at the colophons and, moreover, to seek for other sources to find out which texts are really old and which are not.

### THE TIBETAN DUNHUANG MANUSCRIPTS

There are two kinds of sources to use for this question. One is the collection of Tibetan texts found in the Dunhuang cave in Central Asia. In spite of the fact that the cave where the texts were stored was closed only in the first half of the 11th century,<sup>14</sup> when the second

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<sup>11</sup> TULKU THONDUP 1986: 53f. *et passim*.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. SNELGROVE 1987: 397.

<sup>13</sup> *Gter mas* used to be in a language one could only read with the help of *dākinīs* and were, so to say, to be translated.

<sup>14</sup> See FUJIEDA 1966-1969: part I, p. 16.

translation period in Tibet was already in full swing, it is evident that the Tibetan translation texts stored at Dunhuang cannot have been written in the second period. The reason for this assumption is that Tibetan translations of Indian texts, which as a rule were done in Tibet proper, could only have been disseminated to Dunhuang as long as the Tibetans dominated the Dunhuang area. This, however, ceased in 848 A.D., shortly after the assassination of the last Tibetan king in 842.<sup>15</sup> After that, Tibetan texts definitely continued to be written in Dunhuang by the Tibetans living there till shortly before the closing of the cave around 1036 A.D., but it is not probable that translation texts made in Tibet could have reached Dunhuang on a large scale. So we can expect, and that expectation is fulfilled in practice at least concerning the Tantra texts, that *Tibetan Dunhuang manuscripts containing translations from the Sanskrit as a rule were not made later than in the 8th/9th centuries.*

Manuscripts of about one third of all Tantric Kanjur texts with colophons showing them to be translated in the early translation period (8th/9th centuries A.D.), have been found in Dunhuang, thus proving the correctness of the Kanjur colophons. In fact, not one identifiable Dunhuang Tantra manuscript described either in the Paris catalogue by MARCELLE LALOU<sup>16</sup> or in the London catalogue by LOUIS DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN<sup>17</sup> corresponds to a Kanjur text which to our knowledge has been translated in the second translation period only. In the very few cases where the Kanjur colophon points to the second period of translations, I was lucky enough to find other editions of the text, (e.g. in the Rnying ma pa Canon), in which the colophons show names of early translators, thus proving that the Dunhuang manuscripts do not contain the 11th century translations, but their respective earlier predecessors.

#### THE *LHAN KAR MA*

A second source for examining the correctness of Kanjur and Tanjur colophons is the so-called *Lhan kar ma*, sometimes also spelled *Ldan*

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<sup>15</sup> FUJIEDA 1966-69: part I, p. 22.

<sup>16</sup> LALOU 1939-1950.

<sup>17</sup> LA VALLÉE POUSSIN 1962.

*dkar ma*, the only contemporaneous list of translations made in the first period still in existence.<sup>18</sup> This list was written probably in the year 812 A.D.,<sup>19</sup> but must have been added to later since it contains titles of texts which were translated after 830.<sup>20</sup> Three authors are named in the introduction of the catalogue: Dpal brtsegs, Nam mkha'i snying po and Klu'i dbang po. These three Tibetans were famous translators of the early period, and all of them were active in the so-called Great Revision (*zhu chen*). This revision, which had the aim of uniforming the Tibetan translation language, probably took place in the first two decades of the 9th century during the reign of Khri srong lde btsan's second son Sad na legs (804-815) and covered all texts translated up to that time or in the process of translation.<sup>21</sup> The writing of the *Lhan kar ma* catalogue seems to have happened in the course of the Great Revision; it may have been a list used for collecting all existing translations to ensure that no text was forgotten in the Great Revision.

#### *LHAN KAR MA* AND DERGE CANON

The *Lhan kar ma* already contained the embryo form of the division into Kanjur ("translated Buddha Word") and Tanjur ("Translated Treatises" written by later disciples) used later in the Tibetan Canon. Of the 735 texts included in the *Lhan kar ma* according to the edition by LALOU,<sup>22</sup> most of the first 445 texts are of the kind which were later put into the Kanjur, and the rest, as far as they have survived, were mostly to become Tanjur texts. Of course, the later text order was

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<sup>18</sup> Editions: YOSHIMURA 1950 and LALOU 1953.

<sup>19</sup> This is the most probable date because the *Lhan kar ma* was finished shortly before the Great Revision came to an end; see the title of chapter XXIX in the edition by LALOU 1953: 337, which shows that only the one text named there had not been revised by the time the *Lhan kar ma* was finished.

<sup>20</sup> The Chinese translator Chos grub worked in Dunhuang from 830 onwards; see SNELGROVE 1987: 445. Several of his translations are mentioned in the *Lhan kar ma* (e.g. Lhan 31/D 51; Lhan 38/D 58; Lhan 84/D 107; Lhan 250/D 341; Lhan 251/D 555, Lhan 252/D 108; Lhan 338/D 691A; Lhan 343/D 692; Lhan 565/D 4016).

<sup>21</sup> This revision, which was finished in 814 A. D., was documented in the *Sgra sbyor bam po gnyis pa*, ed. SIMONSSON 1957: 241f.

<sup>22</sup> LALOU 1953.

not yet there, and some texts later shifted from “Tanjur” to “Kanjur” and vice versa.

Comparing the texts of the Kanjur with those of the *Lhan kar ma*, the following results were achieved: Of the 735 *Lhan kar ma* texts, 117 are no longer extant, all others are found in the Derge Kanjur or Tanjur, or, in nine cases, in other Kanjur editions only. Not more than eight of the *Lhan kar ma* texts missing today are Tantric texts (including *dhāraṇīs*).

Of all the old translations in the Derge Kanjur, only 38 are not included in the *Lhan kar ma*, and of these are 17 Tantra texts. All other Kanjur texts which are to be classified as old translations by their colophons are included in the *Lhan kar ma*, and additionally about 50 texts which totally lack colophon information can be classified as old by their presence in the *Lhan kar ma*.

Concerning the Tanjur, the number of old translations missing in the *Lhan kar ma* is bigger: it is 97 texts of which 21 are not translations but works authored by Tibetan scholars of the early translation period which were included in the canonical collections. 28 of these 97 works are in the Tantra Section.

Therefore, 124 old translations of both Kanjur and Tanjur, of which 44 are Tantra texts, are not included in the *Lhan kar ma*. Does this prove the unreliability of the *Lhan kar ma*, or else, of the Kanjur- and Tanjur colophons?

#### BU STON AND THE OLD CATALOGUES

To answer this question, we have to proceed to the 14th century when the Tibetan Kanjur and Tanjur were compiled. The oldest known Kanjur and Tanjur was the so-called *Old Narthang Canon*<sup>23</sup> which came into existence shortly after 1310 as a compilation of some three thousand translations,<sup>24</sup> which had been collected from many monasteries. One of the monasteries which gave texts to the collection was Zha lu where the young Bu ston Rin chen grub (1290-1364) had just

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<sup>23</sup> See, e.g. HARRISON 1994: 297-301.

<sup>24</sup> In his biography Bu ston is said to have added another 1,000 texts to the collection which today has 4,569 texts in the Derge edition and about six-hundred more in the Peking edition; cf. SEYFORTH RUEGG 1966: 33.



begun his career as one of Tibet's most famous scholars. Bu ston was interested and engaged in the above-mentioned discussion among translators and scholars about the problem of whether all Tantra texts then present in Tibet were true translations of Indian originals or not. Some scholars, among them the famous Rin chen bzang po (958-1055), the West Tibetan kings Lha bla ma Ye shes 'od (10th/11th cent.) and Pho brang Zhi ba 'od (late 11th cent.) as well as the translator 'Gos khug pa Lhas btsas (11th century),<sup>25</sup> doubted the Indian origin of some of the old Tantra translations and suspected that they had been written by Tibetan practitioners in the "dark" period between the fall of the Tibetan empire in 842 and the beginning of the second period of translations or even during the second period. The adepts of these Tantras, on the other hand, did not want to cease practising them and defended their texts against these attacks.

In this conflict Bu ston, as a true historian, decided to find out "how things really had been". For this purpose, he compared the texts in the *Old Narthang Canon* not only with the *Lhan kar ma*, but with two other catalogues stemming from the first period of translations as well, the so-called *Mchims phu ma* and the *'Phang thang ma*.<sup>26</sup> These two additional catalogues which Bu ston had at his disposal, are no longer extant. From the text list made in his *Chos 'byung*,<sup>27</sup> however, it is possible to find several old translation texts as well as works of Tibetan origin which he took from one or both of the two old catalogues missing today. Of the 38 old texts in the Kanjur that are not included in the *Lhan kar ma*, as many as 28 are to be found in Bu ston's *Chos 'byung*, and of the 97 old texts in the Tanjur that are not included in the *Lhan kar ma*, I found 78 in Bu ston. (The ten old Kanjur texts and 19 old Tanjur texts missing from Bu ston's list may have been added to the Canon only later.)

The fact that so many texts missing in the *Lhan kar ma* are mentioned by Bu ston shows that the *Lhan kar ma* was not a complete catalogue by itself, but that it was complete only together with the other two old catalogues used by Bu ston, none of which seems to have been

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<sup>25</sup> Bu ston, *Chos 'byung*, ed. NISHIOKA 1980-1983, III, p. 70.

<sup>26</sup> See NISHIOKA 1980-1983: III, p. 119.

<sup>27</sup> Edited by NISHIOKA 1980-1983.

complete either. All three catalogues together contained most or even all texts translated in the first period—apart from the Tantras, as we shall see.

What Bu ston did with the three catalogues was to either locate each of their titles in the *Old Narthang Canon*, or to mention it as “missing” (*ma rnyed*) or “to be searched for” (*btsal bar bya’o*) in his list. 70 of the 117 *Lhan kar ma* texts missing in the Kanjur or Tanjur have remarks like this in Bu ston’s *Chos ’byung*.<sup>28</sup>

The high correlation between the three old text lists on the one hand and the group of old texts in the Canon on the other hand, shows that, apart from the lost texts, today’s Kanjur and Tanjur include nearly all texts which according to the three old lists were translated in the first translation period. Therefore, one might expect that it is possible to draw conclusions from the three lists concerning the history of Tantric texts, especially from the *Lhan kar ma*, the only one now extant. However, as we look closer, we can definitely not be sure that the three lists accurately cover all Tantra translations existing in the early period.

#### TANTRAS INCLUDED IN THE *LHAN KAR MA*

The Tantric texts included in the *Lhan kar ma*<sup>29</sup> are of two kinds: On the one hand we have *stotras*, *aṣṭaśatakas*, *mahāsūtras*, and, most of all, *dhāraṇīs* (chapters VIII, XIII-XVI), all of which later formed the bulk of the *kriyātantra* section in the Kanjur. On the other hand there is one chapter (XII) called *gsang sngags kyi rgyud* “Tantras of secret *mantras*” containing 13 texts which are the only lengthy Tantras included in the *Lhan kar ma*. These are the following, in the order according to the four Tantra classes of later Kanjurs:<sup>30</sup>

KRIYĀTANTRA, Avalokiteśvara Cycle:

Lhan 316: *’Phags pa don yod zhags pa rtogs pa chen po*, 7.800  
*śloka* (śl.) = 26 *bam po* (bp.)  
 (*Ārya-Amoghapāśa-kalparāja*, D 686)

<sup>28</sup> Of the remaining 47 titles, 19 have been (erroneously ?) noted down as extant in B<sup>C</sup>. The rest were not at all mentioned by Bu ston.

<sup>29</sup> See LALOU 1953.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. *Lhan kar ma*, ed. LALOU 1953: 326.

## KRIYĀTANTRA, Vajrapāṇi Cycle:

Lhan 317: 'Phags pa rig pa mchog, 3.500 śl. = 15 bp.

(Ārya-Vidyottama-mahātantra, D 746)

## CARYĀTANTRA, mūlatantra (Vairocana Cycle):

Lhan 321: 'Phags pa nam par snang mdzad mngon par byang chub pa, 1.950 śl. = 6 bp. 150 śl.

(Ārya-vairocanābhīśambodhi = Mahā-vairocana-sūtra, D 494)

Lhan 322: de'i sdus 'brel slob dpon Buddhaguptas mdzad pa, 2.300 śl. = 7 bp. 200 śl.

(Vairocanābhīśambodhi-tantra-piṇḍārtha, D 2662)

## CARYĀTANTRA, Vajrapāṇi Cycle:

Lhan 318: 'Phags pa phyag na rdo rje dbang bskur ba'i rgyud, 3.600 śl. = 12 bp.

(Ārya-Vajrapāṇy-abhiṣeka-mahātantra, D 496)

## YOGATANTRA, Cha mthun Tantra:

Lhan 323: 'Phags pa ngan song thams cad yongs su sbyong ba gzi brjid kyi rgyal po'i brtag pa, 700 śl. = 2 bp., 100 śl.

(Ārya-sarvadurgati-parīśodhana-tejorājasya samyaksambuddhasya kalpa, D 483)

Lhan 324: de'i 'grel pa slob dpon Buddhaguptas mdzad pa, 3.000 śl. = 10 bp.

(Durgatiparīśodhanārtha-vārttika-nāma, D 2624)

## KRIYĀTANTRA, all cycles:

Lhan 325: 'Phags pa dpung bzangs kyis zhus pa, 350 śl. = 1 bp. 50 śl.

(Ārya-Subāhupariṣcchā, D 805)

Lhan 326: de'i 'grel pa, 1.500 śl. = 5 bp.

(Ārya-Subāhupariṣcchā-nāma-tantrapiṇḍārtha-vṛtti, D 2671)

Lhan 327: 'Phags pa bsam gtan phyi ma'i rim par phyeb ba, 110 śl.

(Ārya-dhyānottara-ṣaḍala-krama, D 808)

Lhan 328: de'i 'grel pa slob dpon Buddhaguptas mdzad pa, 900 śl. = 3 bp.

(Dhyānottaraṣaḍala-tīkā, D 2670)

Lhan 320: 'Phags pa legs par grub pa, 2.100 śl., 7 bp.

(Ārya-susiddhikara-mahātantra, one chapter in D 807)

(NO CYCLE KNOWN)

Lhan 319: 'Phags pa rgyud kun las btus pa, 3.600 śl. = 12 bp.

(\*Ārya-sarvatantra-samuccaya, not extant in Kanjur)

This list shows that it is mostly the Tantras of the lowest class (*kriyā-tantra*) which are collected in the *gsang sngags kyi rgyud* chapter of the *Lhan kar ma*. However, we find two Tantras of the *caryātantra* class (one with commentary) and one Tantra of the second highest, the *yogatantra* class. But of the highest and latest category of Tantras, the so-called *anuttarayoga-tantra* class (called *mahāyoga* class with the Rnying ma pas) we do not find a single Tantra included in the *Lhan kar ma*. This could bring us to the conclusion that there were no *anuttarayoga-tantra* class texts in the 8th and 9th century, but a closer investigation shows that things were not as simple as that.

(1) Firstly, we find a few *anuttarayoga-tantra* or *mahāyoga* texts in the Dunhuang collections, in spite of the fact that they reappear in the Kanjur colophons as translations of the second period only.

(2) Secondly, there are some early translations within the *anuttarayoga-tantra* sections of the Kanjur and Tanjur.

(3) Thirdly, some of these early *anuttarayoga-tantra* texts mentioned in (1) and (2) reappear in the Rnying ma pa collection of so-called "old Tantras" (*Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum*), thus showing that there really is some historical truth in the claim of the Rnying ma pas of possessing some of the oldest Tantra translations existing in Tibet.

These three observations point to the fact that there have been at least some translations of highest Tantra texts which were not included in any of the three old catalogues. Before we ask for the reasons, let us consider the points mentioned.

#### (1) DUNHUANG TANTRAS NOT INCLUDED IN THE THREE OLD CATALOGUES

If we look through the Dunhuang collections, which, as shown before, only contain translations from the first period, we do find some *anuttarayoga-tantra* texts. Although these, being found in Dunhuang, must be early translations, they are not mentioned in the *Lhan kar ma* and also not in Bu ston's *Chos 'byung*, at least not as early translations. Texts which are not mentioned in Bu ston were in all probability also not included in the other two old catalogues, despite the fact that by

their Dunhuang manuscripts they are proven to be old translations. I shall name only two: the *Guhyasamāja-tantra* (S<sup>T</sup> 438) and the *'Phags pa'i thabs kyi zhags pa padmo 'phreng gi don bsdus pa zhes bya ba'i rgyud* (S<sup>T</sup> 321) of which no Sanskrit name is known.

Concerning the *Guhyasamāja-tantra* which is one of the most famous Buddhist Tantras, KENNETH EASTMAN has compared the text according to several different Kanjur editions, one *Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum* version and the Dunhuang version with the conclusion that it is obvious that only a single original translation is represented: the Dunhuang text. The other texts represent revisions of that translation or revisions of revisions.<sup>31</sup>

In the Kanjur colophon of the *Guhyasamāja-tantra*, it is said that the text was translated by Śraddhākaravarman and Rin chen bzang po (D 442-3, Q 81). EASTMAN's result, though, shows us that this is only part of the truth: both scholars only revised the old translation, and the names of the actual translators have been deleted for reasons unknown. In the *Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum* (Dilgo 211-2, Taipei 4863), however, the names of the old translators have been preserved: Vimalamitra and Ka ba Dpal brtsegs in the colophon of the first 17 chapters and Buddhāgūhya and 'Brog mi Dpal gyi ye shes in the colophon of chapter 18. In the latter colophon, the names of Śraddhākaravarman and Rin chen bzang po as revisers have been added as well. So, we can conclude that in the *Rnying ma pa* Canon, the colophon informations were preserved more truly than in the Kanjur, and the correctness of the *Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum* colophon dating the translation in the first period (8th/9th centuries) is proved to be true by the existence of the Dunhuang manuscript. Yet another proof is the old *Guhyasamāja-tantra* commentary in the Tanjur (D 1909), authored by Vajrahāsa and translated by Jñānagarbha and Vairocana, both translators of the early period.

Now, of course we would expect to find this truly old translation of the *Guhyasamāja-tantra* in the *Lhan kar ma*, but it is missing there, and since Bu ston's *Chos 'byung* also mentions the text only as a translation of Śraddhākaravarman and Rin chen bzang po, it is most probable that none of the other two old catalogues which Bu ston used as

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<sup>31</sup> EASTMAN 1980: 5.

sources, contained the old translation of the *Guhyasamāja-tantra* either. If all this had been the case with some small *dhāraṇī*, it could be explained as human error, but concerning one of the most famous and popular Tantras, it is obvious that its omission in the three old catalogues cannot have happened by accident.

The second Tantra from Dunhuang not included in the three old catalogues is the *Thabs kyi zhags pa* (S<sup>T</sup> 321), of which no Sanskrit title is known. This is a Tantra which, even if the *Old Narthang* had contained it, was excluded totally from the canonical Tantras by Bu ston, perhaps because no Sanskrit original could be discovered. It was kept exclusively by the Rnying ma pas as one of their 18 main Tantras (18 *mahāyoga-tantras*). Only later, long after Bu ston's time, it found its way into the Kanjur when a group of Rnying ma pa Tantras was included into the Kanjur as the *Rnying rgyud* section. The old age of this Tantra translation, too, is confirmed by the Rnying ma pa collection.

## (2) OLD KANJUR AND TANJUR TRANSLATIONS NOT INCLUDED IN THE THREE OLD CATALOGUES

Out of the 16 old Kanjur and 28 old Tanjur texts not included in the *Lhan kar ma*, two Kanjur and 16 Tanjur texts belong to the *anuttara-yoga-tantra* class:

1. The *Sarvabuddhasamayoga-tantra* (D 366) was translated by Lha Rin po che. The second part of this tantra (D 367) was translated in the second period only and perhaps also written later than the first.

There is a voluminous Tanjur cycle of this Tantra, which contains 15 more texts translated in the early period: The first is a commentary to the Tantra by Brgya byin sdong po (D 1659), translated by Vidyākarasiṃha and Lha Rin po che. Further on there are six texts by Kukurāja on the six *maṇḍala* deities of the *Sarvabuddhasamayoga-tantra* cycle: Vajrasattva, Vajraheruka, Vairocana, Padmanarteśvara, Vajratatnaprabha, and Hayagrīva (D 1664-1669), all translated by Vidyākarasiṃha and Lha Rin po che, two *maṇḍala* works by Kukurāja (D 1670-71) and a *gaṇavidhi* by Indrabhūti (D 1672), translated by different scholars of the early period. At the end of the cycle, we find five different cult texts by Hūṃkaravajra (D 1674-8) in translations by early scholars.

2. The *Vajrahṛdaya-vajrajihvānala-dhāraṇī* (D 462) whose title actually looks more like *kriyātantra*, belongs to the Vajrapāṇi cycle of the *upāya-tantras* of the *anuttarayoga-tantra*. The translators' names are given as Ska Cog which means Ska ba Dpal brtsegs and Cog ro Klu'i rgyal mtshan of the first translation period; the text was revised by Darma grags in the second period. There are no early texts in the Tanjur of this cycle.
3. The last early Tanjur translation to be named here is the *Guhyasamājanatantra* commentary (D 1909) mentioned before.

### THE ORDINANCE OF KING SAD NA LEGS

In all, there are four Tantras of the Kanjur and 16 commentaries and other secondary works of the Tanjur, all belonging to the *anuttarayoga-tantra* or *mahāyoga* class, which are not mentioned by the *Lhan kar ma*, in spite of the fact that they were translated in the first period. There are more examples like this in the *yogatantra* and *caryātantra* classes, which, because of lack of space and time, I shall not mention here.

The question arises why all these Tantras and secondary texts whose colophons or other sources certainly qualify them as old translations, were not mentioned in the *Lhan kar ma* or in the other old catalogues. The answer to this question can be found in the historical sources of the early translation period. A well-known ordinance of 814 A.D. by the Tibetan king Sad na legs includes a passage in which it was forbidden to translate any Tantras without official permission, and the reason stated was that there had already been wrong Tantric practices.<sup>32</sup> We can conclude that the Tantras mentioned previously belonged to the category rejected by the King and either were translated before this ordinance or in spite of it, but in any case, they were not included in the official translation lists (i.e., the *Lhan kar ma*, *'Phang thang ma* and *Mchims phu ma*), and their vocabulary did not enter the *Mahāvvyutpatti*. Also, there may have been some other Tantras of this kind in the 8th/9th centuries of which we know nothing to identify them as old Tantras. One of these possibly is the *Guhyagarbha-tantra* which

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<sup>32</sup> *Sgra sbyor bam po gnyis pa*, ed. SIMONSSON 1957.

is the most prominent of the 18 *mahāyoga-tantras* of the Rnying ma pas today.<sup>33</sup>

So, the *Lhan kar ma* as a direct source about the early translation texts and Bu ston's *Chos 'byung* as an indirect source reproducing the lost catalogues lose their relevance in the *anuttarayoga-tantra* area: they do not give the names of those Tantras translated in the early period, which were considered dangerous by the king. The *Lhan kar ma* is an almost complete list of early translations on many topics: in the field of higher Tantras, however, it is deliberately incomplete, and so the age of most higher Tantra translations known to us today has to be found by other means.

### (3) THE *RNYING MA 'I RGYUD 'BUM* AS A COLLECTION OF OLD TRANSLATIONS

When the *Old Narthang Canon* was compiled after 1310, the dispute about the origin of the old Tantra translations was not yet settled. Bu ston's *Chos 'byung* text list gives information which shows that some old Tantras, which are not today part of the Kanjur, must have been included in this first Canon.<sup>34</sup> It was Bu ston personally who decided which of the texts favoured by the Rnying ma pas were to be rejected and which to be left in the Kanjur and Tanjur. His criterion was no longer the contents of cult practice but the Indian origin of the text. This, Bu ston proved either by finding the title in any of the three old catalogues or by having an Indian original at his disposal. The first condition could be fulfilled only by very few old Tantra translations of the higher Tantra classes, since most of them, as mentioned above, had never entered the old catalogues. As for the second condition, it was, of course, much more difficult to prove Indian origins for a tantra of the early period by bringing forward an Indian original, than for one of the second period. So it was no wonder that even texts that

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<sup>33</sup> See, e.g. KARMAY 1981: 201, note 31.

<sup>34</sup> See, e.g. the mention of the *He ru ka rol pa'i rgyud* in Bu ston's *Chos 'byung*, cf. NISHIOKA 1980-1983: III, no. 1538, which was thrown out by Bu ston and added to the *Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum* where it is no. 216 and 218 in the Dilgo edition (cf. KANEKO 1982). In the section *Rnying rgyud* of the later Kanjur, it is included as D 840/Q 463.



definitely came from the first period were, in some cases, where neither of the conditions were fulfilled, excluded by Bu ston. Some others of the old Tantras, however, which did not occur in the catalogues, did have a Sanskrit original, and so they were included in the Kanjur, but of course they remained in the Rnying ma pa practice as well.

As a result of all this, the *Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum* collection, in which the Tantras favoured by the Rnying ma pas were gathered, contains two different kinds of *old* texts: on the one hand there are the old Tantras which the Rnying ma pas share with the Gsar ma pa schools, for instance the *Guhyasamāja-tantra* and the *Sarvabuddhasamayoga-tantra*, and on the other hand there are those old Tantras which only the Rnying ma pas possess, because they were excluded by Bu ston who was unaware of the fact that they were true old Tantras, for instance the *Thabs kyi zhags pa*.

Since, however, there is a third voluminous group in the *Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum* consisting of *gter ma* texts, it is in each case necessary to examine a *Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum* text and its colophon very closely before calling it old.

My close investigation of the *Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum*, the results of which will be published elsewhere, has shown that in all probability less than 50 of the one thousand Tantra translations of the largest *Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum* edition in existence can be traced back to the 8th/9th century.

#### SOME RESULTS CONCERNING THE STATE OF DEVELOPMENT OF INDIAN TANTRIC BUDDHIST LITERATURE IN THE 8TH AND 9TH CENTURIES

Since the 8th century was the most flourishing period of Esoteric Buddhism in China and the 8th and 9th century the period of the first propagation of Buddhism in Tibet, we can expect to find some similarities in the state of development of the Tantric Buddhism in the Chinese and Tibetan translation texts of that time. Indeed, there are several similarities which I am going to describe in my forthcoming book.

One of the most interesting parallels between Chinese and Tibetan Tantric Buddhism of that time is the group of the fierce forms of the five Buddhas of the *maṇḍala*. We find them as the five “Kings of Esoteric Knowledge” in the Chinese and Japanese pantheon and as the first five of the eight *sādhana* deities of the *Sgrub sde*<sup>35</sup> in the Rnying ma pa pantheon. Maybe the most important difference between both groups is that the Chinese group does not contain the deity Heruka which seems to emerge first in the *Sarvabuddhasamayoga-dākinijālasaṃvara-tantra* translated into Tibetan in the early period but not into Chinese. Heruka, who is the fierce form of the Buddha Akṣobhya in the Tibetan group, is one of the most important deities in the Rnying ma pa pantheon. Only after the first period of translations in Tibet, which was the time of origin of the Rnying ma pa pantheon, Heruka split into several different forms with the names Cakrasaṃvara, Hevajra and others. Since these various forms emerged only after the first propagation of Buddhism in Tibet, they are exclusively found in the Gsar ma pa pantheon. Their Tantras are gathered in the category “Mother Tantras”.

Concerning cult practice, it is certain that Tantric rites including the use of meat, alcohol and sexuality already entered Tibet in the 8th/9th century. This is evidenced by the problems the early kings found with Tantras, as well as by the false rites causing the West Tibetan kings of the 10th/11th century to fight the old Tantras.

Remarkably, nearly no old translation carries the name *-sādhana*; this term seems to have been used for the visualization practice only after the first translation period.

Also, nearly all Tantric commentary and secondary literature in the Tanjur has been written shortly before or during the second period. Only six old Tantra commentaries are included in the *Lhan kar ma*,<sup>36</sup> and six more can be found in the Tanjur.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> *Rgyud sde* and *Sgrub sde* are the two main parts of the Mahāyoga Tantras in the *Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum* which correspond to the texts belonging to the *anuttara-yoga-tantra* class in the Kanjur and Tanjur.

<sup>36</sup> Lhan 322/D 2662; Lhan 324/D 2624; Lhan 326/D 2671 or D 2672; Lhan 328/D 2670; Lhan 550/D 2696; Lhan 667/D 1800.

<sup>37</sup> D 1659; D 1909; D 2501; D 2678; D 2680; D 2681.

The *Lhan kar ma* as well as the additional old texts in the Kanjur/Tanjur, *Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum*, Dunhuang text collections and Chinese translations show the 8th/9th centuries as a period of transition, as a time shortly after the development of the *anuttarayoga* father tantras and at the eve of the emergence of the *anuttarayoga* mother tantras, which are considered by Tibetan Buddhists to be the highest form of Tantra created on Indian soil.

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- bp. *bam po*  
 D Text in the Derge Kanjur, quoted according to UI *et al.* 1934.  
 Dilgo Text in the Gting skyes dgon pa byang manuscript of the *Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum*, edited as facsimile by DINGO (alias DILGO) KHYENTSE RINPOCHE, Thimbu 1974, quoted according to KANEKO 1982.  
 Lhan Text in the *Lhan kar ma* catalogue, quoted according to LALOU 1953.  
 Q Text in the Peking Tanjur (prepared under the Qianlong emperor), quoted according to SUZUKI 1955-61.  
 śl. *śloka*  
 S<sup>T</sup> Text in the London Dunhuang collection, quoted according to DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN 1962.  
 T. Text in the Taishō edition of the Chinese canon, quoted according to DEMIÉVILLE *et al.* 1978.  
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THE TRANSMISSION  
OF THE MONGOLIAN KANJUR:  
A PRELIMINARY REPORT\*

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If we compare the research work on the transmission of the Tibetan Kanjur to the research which up to now has been carried out on the Mongolian Kanjur, it is obvious that Kanjur research is not a topic of primary importance in the mongolist's eyes. Still very little is known about the translation and the transmission of the Mongolian Kanjur.

As early as 1927, the famous Russian scholar BORIS YA. VLADIMIR-TSOV observed that the redaction committee of the Kanjur translation executed under the last Mongol emperor *Liydan qayan* must have used older translations of canonical texts, incorporating them in the canon by simply changing the colophons in favour of *Liydan qayan*. The German mongolist WALTHER HEISSIG confirmed this suspicion and pointed out the importance of the manipulations the colophons underwent in this Kanjur redaction for a history of the Mongolian canon transmission.<sup>1</sup> HEISSIG is one of the few scholars who were interested in the transmission process of the Mongolian canon. Since his pioneering contributions, new material which considerably adds up to our knowledge of the transmission process of the Mongolian Kanjur has been published. To my knowledge, however, this recent research into the Mongolian canon is almost exclusively limited to Russia. This is understandable because the one manuscript Kanjur, dating around the beginning of the 17th century, which throws considerable light on the history of the translation of the Kanjur into the Mongolian language is preserved in St. Petersburg.<sup>2</sup>

In my short report about the transmission of the Mongolian Kanjur I

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\* I wish to thank Mrs. Susanne Kammüller M.A., Bonn, very much for correcting my English.

<sup>1</sup> See his works on the Mongolian *Kanjur* (HEISSIG 1954; 1957; 1962; 1973).

<sup>2</sup> See KASYANENKO 1993.

will proceed in three steps:

I. In a brief introduction I will discuss the term *canon*, which is used by Tibetologists and Mongolists alike to define the Kanjur and Tanjur collections of texts. After analysing the term *canon* in its broader socio-cultural context and its different modes of application, I will reflect upon the possibility to use this term as a descriptive category for the Tibetan and Mongolian Kanjur.

II. I will give a short survey of what up to now is known about early translations of the Mongolian Kanjur.

III. Then I will compare the different manuscripts of the Mongolian Kanjur which have come down to us in respect to their use of language and their structure. The similarities as well as the apparent differences between the different manuscripts will be pointed out. Due attention will also be paid to the colophons of individual texts, as the colophons prove to be of singular importance for establishing a tentative chronology of the transmission process of the canon.

IV. From the material discussed here I will draw some preliminary conclusions as to the history of the transmission of the Mongolian Kanjur.

## I.

Generally, we call the Tibetan collection of authoritative texts which constitutes the Kanjur and the Tanjur a “canon”, without, however, explaining why and in what sense we apply this term to both collections of texts. In the Judaeo-Christian religio-cultural context the term “canon” denotes a collection of religious texts which derives its authority from divine revelation. Once such a canon has been established, it is supposed to remain unaltered once and for all, usually it is approved of by a religious institution at a council, it is extremely resistant against any change, even against minor changes like orthography or punctuation, and thus constitutes a “closed” set of authoritative scriptures. Conferring this term with its given hermeneutical background to a Tibetan cultural and religious context should cause considerable reflection about its applicability.

We have to consider whether the terms *canon* and *canonization*, drawn from an entirely different cultural context, can be of heuristic value for the description of the collections of religiously authoritative texts extant in Tibet and also in Mongolia. Therefore, I think it neces-

sary to explain how I understand the term “canon” that I am going to use as a descriptive category for the Mongolian Kanjur before embarking on a discussion about the transmission history of the Mongolian Kanjur.

The term *canon*<sup>3</sup> is used in various academic disciplines to characterize processes of consolidation of different aspects of culture. These processes may be located in a variety of different contexts, for example literary, religious or historical, and are expressed in various ways. They all have in common that they provide a way to reflect upon hitherto unquestioned traditions. Usually, in a given society traditional modes of behaviour, ways of living, moral codes etc. are not reflected upon, they are taken for granted. This situation changes when a canonization process starts, which will include certain segments of culture and exclude others. Such an ongoing process of canonization will never include the totality of culturally relevant meaning but just more or less small segments which symbolically represent this totality. Canonization, therefore, does not necessarily exclude a given culture's totality of meaningful codes, but rather emphasizes certain aspects of these codes. Moreover, we have to note that canonization is understood and interpreted on the basis of a complex conception of the nature of the world which in itself is not canonized, but which provides the background for its interpretation. Canonization processes are therefore always based on a non-canonized, culturally dependent interpretative code.

Processes of canonization follow a structure of inclusion and exclusion which determines the self-image or the cultural identity of a given culture. This structure corresponds to the central function of canonization processes, namely to draw explicit symbolical lines with the help of patterns of self-interpretation. Such patterns are mainly responsible for creating and determining identity. They are introduced into a society whenever a given cultural identity is questioned, for example by intruders from outside, and always denote a strategy of power. On the other hand, however, a need for canonization is generally felt if a new cultural identity is in the process of developing. Canonization then has the function to represent the culture as a whole through emphasizing a part of it.

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<sup>3</sup> The following considerations are inspired by HAHN 1987.



From the above we can conclude that there exists a correlation between canonization processes of religious texts and questions of political power and authority. As PAUL HARRISON already observed<sup>4</sup>:

The more I myself delve into these matters, the more acutely I become aware of the political implications of the production of Bka' 'gyur editions, and how, from the very beginnings of Buddhism in Tibet, the quest for the standardized and authoritative text or collection of texts has been driven by the struggle for prestige, power and hegemony...<sup>5</sup>

This is not the place to elaborate on this topic which nevertheless deserves to become the focus of future research. Further investigations will probably shed a new light on our understanding of Tibetan textual transmission processes and their close interdependence with culturally implicit patterns of creating a complex world-view, as can be observed in Tibet from the 12th century onwards.

We have now determined the meaning of the term *canon* in a wider socio-cultural context. I will return to our issue at hand and try to evaluate the fruitfulness of applying this term in the above outlined meaning to the collection of texts which constitute the Kanjur in the Tibetan and Mongolian cultural context. For this purpose I want to remind the reader of the meanwhile well established fact that the Kanjur does not provide a standard redaction of texts which are not liable to change. Recent Kanjur research has brought to light a considerable divergence concerning the content as well as the arrangement of different Kanjur collections. As PETER SKILLING notes,

In a Tibet frequently fragmented politically, with its many individual and autonomous monastic lineages, there has never been a single, standard, authorized edition: there is not one Kanjur, there are only Kanjurs ... Kanjurs are living entities that undergo a constant process of renewal, and no two are alike; they are complex organisms, as yet imperfectly known. Kanjurs are never closed ...<sup>6</sup>

From this observation SKILLING draws the conclusion, that

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<sup>4</sup> HARRISON 1994: 1, 295-317.

<sup>5</sup> HARRISON 1994: 1, 309.

<sup>6</sup> SKILLING 1997: 100-101.

In the absence of a normative or standard collection, it is inaccurate to speak of a “canon”—of *the* Kanjur or *the* Tanjur—or to speak of a “recension” or “edition” of *the* Kanjur.<sup>7</sup>

I would, however, not ban the term “canon” as a descriptive category for the Tibetan and Mongolian Kanjur as well as Tanjur. I would rather suggest to apply this term in the above outlined sense, as a form of self-ascertainment or self-representation of a given culture or parts of a culture. This allocation of meaning implies an understanding of the Tibetan and Mongolian canons as “open” in the sense of a dynamic, still ongoing canonization process. Moreover it allows us to include into the Tibetan “canon” respectively “canonical texts” not only the Kanjur and Tanjur collections, but also the many major and minor text collections which for a part of Tibetan society provide a similar focus of self-identification as the Kanjur. Last but not least, this understanding of “canon” opens up new possibilities of interpreting Tibetan and Mongolian political, cultural and social codes in relation to its corpus of authoritative scriptures. The process of textual canonization went along with the process of building a political, cultural and religious identity in Tibet and Mongolia through the modes of inclusion and exclusion, or, to put it differently, through canonizing and censorship.

## II.

As is well known, the redaction committee of the K’ang-hsi era heavily relied on the Kanjur translation prepared under Liydan qayan in 1628/29. We further know that the sections and the texts of the Beijing print were arranged according to the Beijing edition of the Tibetan Kanjur from 1684-92. The catalogue of the printed Mongolian Kanjur was already prepared by LOUIS LIGETI in the forties of the 20th century.<sup>8</sup> In my paper I will not give more attention than necessary to this printed edition of the Mongolian Kanjur. I will concentrate foremost on the translations prepared nearly a century earlier, during the first years after the conversion of the Mongols to Tibetan Buddhism, at the beginning of the 17th century.

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<sup>7</sup> SKILLING 1997: 104.

<sup>8</sup> LIGETI 1942, and LIGETI 1987: 347-497.

What do we know about Kanjur redactions before the Beijing print of 1718-20, a date which denotes the culmination point of the canonizing process of the Mongolian Kanjur? HEISSIG already had suspected that at least a partial translation of the Kanjur had been prepared prior to the Kanjur redaction of 1628/29. His assumption was mainly based on two arguments: First of all it is next to impossible to translate such a bulk of texts in just two years, as the translation committee under Liydan qayan had pretended to do. Secondly, as I have already mentioned, by comparing the colophons of works translated in the late 16th century with the colophons of the same works allegedly translated anew in 1628/29, HEISSIG had found out that the redaction committee under Liydan qayan had incorporated older translations of canonical texts by simply changing the colophons of these texts.

HEISSIG's suspicions have been confirmed now. Since 1984 we have had textual evidence that, apart from the translations of singular canonical texts into Mongolian,<sup>9</sup> from 1602 to 1607 a first, complete Kanjur translation into the Mongolian language had been prepared under the auspices of Namudai sečen qayan,<sup>10</sup> the ruler of the Tumed Mongols at the turn of the 17th century, his then wife the Jönggen qatun<sup>11</sup> and Onbo qung tayiji.<sup>12</sup> The translation project was led by the

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<sup>9</sup> For a preliminary analysis of these translations cf. HEISSIG 1962: 19-42.

<sup>10</sup> For a long time the identity of Namudai sečen qayan was not entirely clear. B. YA. VLADIMIRTSOV (1927: II, 226) identified him with the Bošoytu nom-un sečen qayan, who like Namudai sečen qayan is often mentioned in the colophons of the Mongolian canon translations of the late 16th century. HEISSIG and SERRUYS repeated this dubious identification, see HEISSIG 1954: 109-110, and SERRUYS 1958: 59, n. 29, and 57, n. 27. Along with this identification Bošoytu qung tayiji used to be confused with the Bošoytu jinong of the Ordos Mongols, which ultimately led to the identification of the Namudai sečen qayan with the Bošoytu jinong of the Ordos. This mistake was finally set right by SERRUYS in his paper about the Jönggin qatun (1974: 209, n. 81). Namudai sečen qayan, who is also known by the name Čürüke, was the eldest son of Sengge dügüreng, himself the eldest son of the great Altan qayan of the Tümed Mongols, cf. verse 98 (fol. 12v25-27) of the *Erdeni tunumal neretü sudur: bayasqulang-tu altan qayan-u ači inu namudai sečen noyan...*

<sup>11</sup> The Jönggin/Jönggen qatun was one of the most powerful personages in Mongolia during the late 16th and early 17th centuries. She married in succession the Altan qayan, his eldest son Sengge dügüreng, Sengge's eldest son Namudai sečen qayan and again his grandson Bošoytu qung tayiji. Her life and times are analysed by SERRUYS 1974, and KOLLMAR-PAULENZ 2000: 190-204. In the *Mayidari-yin*

famous translators from Köke qota, Siregetü güsi čorji<sup>13</sup> and Ayusi ananda manjusiri güsi.<sup>14</sup> This fascinating piece of information we get from the rhyme biography of the Altan qayan of the Tumed Mongols, the *Erdeni tunumal neretü sudur*, “Sūtra called ‘Jewel[like] Clarity’”, written sometime after 1607, which was discovered as late as 1959 by the Mongolian historian NACAGDORŽ.<sup>15</sup> The text has been made accessible by the Inner Mongolian scholar JORUNGF-A in 1984.<sup>16</sup> In the *Erdeni tunumal* the unknown author relates the following details about the translation project of the *Kanjur*:

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*joo*, founded by Altan qayan, a beautiful painting of this powerful woman is preserved, cf. CHARLEUX 1999: 89.

<sup>12</sup> Onbo qung tayiji is often mentioned in the colophons of the canon translations at the turn of the 17th century, for example in the colophon of the *mGur 'bum*, where he is called *altan nom-un qayan-u odqan ači köbegün*, “youngest grandson of the Dharmarāja Altan qayan”, cf. VLADIMIRTSOV 1927: II, 226. Thus VLADIMIRTSOV (*op. cit.*), HEISSIG (1962: 26, n. 41) and SERRUYS (1958: 98) presumed that he was a son of Sengge dügüreng. Onbo qung tayiji, however, is without doubt the son of Budasiri qung tayiji (born 1568), the son of the Altan qayan and the Jönggin qatun, as the *Erdeni tunumal*, fol. 52v3-5, tells us. He erected the famous *Baya joo*-temple in Köke qota, cf. *Erdeni tunumal*, fol. 52v8-10. Compare also HEISSIG 1953: 33.

<sup>13</sup> The famous translator from the end of the 16th and beginning of the 17th centuries. His exact dates are not known. Siregetü güsi čorji was a personal disciple of the Dalai Lama III bSod nams rgya mtsho and travelled in his entourage to Mongolia. He lived predominantly in the Tumed region in and around Köke qota. On him see HEISSIG 1961-62: 575-577 and n. 68. DAMDINSÜREN 1977: 501 and 503-4, and KARA 1983: 210-217.

<sup>14</sup> Ayusi güsi was active mostly in the Qaračin territory and in and around Köke qota. He is mentioned as translator in a number of colophons of the canonical literature. Some time after 1587 Ayusi güsi, at the behest of the Dalai Lama III, translated the five volumes of the *Pañcarakṣā* as well as the *Āli-kāli* into Mongolian. On him cf. KOLLMAR-PAULENZ (forthcoming).

<sup>15</sup> NACAGDORŽ 1963: 10, mentions the work under the title *Altan qayan-u töröl üye-yi uqayuluyči Erdeni tunumal neretü šastir*. See also *Bükü ulus-un mongyol qayučin nom-un yarčay* 1979: No. 1061, 310-311: *Altan qayan-u erdeni-yin toli neretü quriyangyui čadig (erdeni-yin tunumal neretü sudur)*, cf. HEISSIG 1982: 203.

<sup>16</sup> The Mongolian text is edited by JORUNGF-A 1984 (Text: 8-185, facsimiles: 186-239). For a thorough analysis *cum* translation of the text cf. KOLLMAR-PAULENZ 2001.

Later, after Namudai sečen qayan, Jönggen qatun and Qung tayiji, the three, concerning the rule of the exalted holy Qayan had acted according to the *dharma*,

the learned translators of the glorious three *Tumen*, led by Sirege-tü güsi čorji and Ayusi ananda manjusiri güsi, at the time from the black tiger-year to the red sheep-year translated the hundred-eight volumes of the *Kanjur*, taught by the Buddha, into the Mongolian language. They completely translated all the works and arranged them in wonderful, appropriate volumes.<sup>17</sup>

It is interesting to note that we could also have drawn this piece of information from the colophon of the *Daśasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā*,<sup>18</sup> which was translated into Mongolian by Siregetü güsi čorji and incorporated into the *Kanjur* edition of 1628/29 under Liydan qayan. Strangely enough, the information given in this colophon was ignored. The colophon reads thus:

The firstborn grandson of the *Dharmarāja*, Namudai sečen qayan ... and ... Yönggen qatun, these two: they immediately and steadfastly arranged the words of the incomparable Buddha, the *Bka'* 'gyur, to be translated. At that time the Sečen qayan obtained *nirvāṇa*...<sup>19</sup>

From Chinese sources we know that Namudai sečen qayan died in 1607. Therefore this *Kanjur* translation must have been undertaken around that time. Thus two independent sources confirm a translation

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<sup>17</sup> *Erdeni tunumal*, fol. 52r7-19: *Tegünü qoyina namudai sečen qayan jönggen qatun qung tayiji yurbayula degedü boyda qayan-u törö-yi nom-un yosuyar yabuyuluwad. tegsi burqan baysi-yin nomlaysan jayun naiman yajur nom-i mongyol-un keleber. tere čay-tur sirege-tü güsi čorji ayusi ananda manjusiri güsi terigüten ba. // yayiqamsiy yurban tümen-ü kelemürči merged-iyer. Qar-a bars jül-eče ulayan qonin jil kürtele ber. qamuy nom-ud-i bürin tegüs orčiyulju bür-ün. yayiqamsiy jokistai-a debter-tür orosiyulju talbibai. //*

<sup>18</sup> *S. Ārya-daśasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā-nāma-mahāyānasūtra*, T. 'Phags pa shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa khri pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo, M. *Qutuy-tu bilig-ün činadu kijayar-a kürügsen tümen silüg-tü*, P [= Petersburg *Kanjur*] No. 545, M [= Beijing edition] No. 765.

<sup>19</sup> *Nom-un qayan-u auyan ači inu: ... Amutai sečen qayan: ... Yönggen qatun qoyayula:: sayaral ügei čing sedkil-iyer: sačalal ügei burqan-u jarliq bkanjuri sayitur duradun orčiyulqui čay-tur: Sečen qayan nirvan-u qutuy oluluy-a*, see KASYANENKO 1993: 158. Mong. *namudai* in the orthography of the early 17th century can also be read *amutai*, as KASYANENKO prefers to do here.

project of the whole Kanjur from the Tibetan into the Mongolian language for the early years of the 17th century. This oldest known Kanjur translation has apparently not come down to us. At least we do not have any Kanjur volumes which can be dated to 1607 beyond doubt.

The oldest complete Mongolian Kanjur translation known to us is the hand-written Kanjur that is now preserved in St. Petersburg University.<sup>20</sup> This Kanjur manuscript was discovered in 1892 by the Russian scholar A. M. POZDNEEV (1856-1920) in Inner Mongolia. It is claimed that the St. Petersburg Kanjur is one of the original “black” Kanjur manuscripts which had been prepared in 1629 by the redaction committee led by Kun dga’ ’od zer, a learned Sa skya pa monk, who was appointed to this task by Liydan qayan. We are well informed about the work of this Kanjur redaction because the Mongolian historian Ārya paṇḍita mkhan po writes extensively about it in his chronicle *Altan erike* (composed in 1817). According to tradition five “black” Kanjur manuscripts were prepared in 1629 along with one “gold” Kanjur, which means that one manuscript on blue paper with golden script was prepared. Henceforth in Mongolian texts this Kanjur manuscript was referred to as “*altan ganjuur*”, “golden Kanjur”. V. USPENSKY tells us that this “golden Kanjur” is now preserved in the Library of the Academy of Social Sciences of Inner Mongolia (PRC).<sup>21</sup>

Apart from the section *vinaya*, which HEISSIG was able to study in a photocopy made available in New Delhi by the courtesy of Raghu Vira and Lokesh Chandra, until recently the St. Petersburg Kanjur was inaccessible to scholars in the West and thus could not be compared to the printed edition of 1718-20.

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<sup>20</sup> One of the first who drew attention to this Kanjur was WELLER, who in 1936 gave a tentative evaluation of the printed Kanjur edition of 1718-20 and the St. Petersburg manuscript Kanjur. He suggested that the St. Petersburg manuscript Kanjur is younger than the printed edition of Beijing (cf. WELLER 1936: 417). For a variety of reasons this opinion cannot be maintained, the most important being the type of script and orthography of the manuscript which is typical of the early 17th century. Compare also HEISSIG 1962: 14, n. 68a.

<sup>21</sup> USPENSKY 1997: 113-114, and n. 3.

In 1993 ZOYA K. KASYANENKO, by publishing the catalogue of the St. Petersburg Kanjur, finally made accessible this Kanjur manuscript to scholars outside Russia.<sup>22</sup> According to KASYANENKO, the hand-written Kanjur preserved in St. Petersburg is generally executed in sloppy calligraphy, written with many corrections and amendments.<sup>23</sup> Only a few volumes or parts of volumes are executed in good handwriting. Therefore KASYANENKO draws the conclusion that the hand-written Kanjur could have been a working copy, probably written during the process of preparing the first redaction of the canon under Liydan qaγan, or it could have been written for the use in a monastery.

Accompanying the hand-written Kanjur is a catalogue entitled *Sayibar oduysan-u jarliy nom erdeni-yin toy-a šasin-i delgeregüügči naran-u genel nere-tü yarčay* (“Dkar chag named ‘Sun light’, which increases the jewel[like] teaching, the Word of the Sugata”).<sup>24</sup> This *dKar chag* is contained in the first volume of the section *dandir-a*. From the existence of this catalogue USPENSKY<sup>25</sup> draws the conclusion that the hand-written Kanjur “was not regarded by its translators and compilers as a chaotic mixture of texts put in some order but as an established collection.” He, however, disregards the fact that the *Naran-u genel nere-tü yarčay* does not provide a catalogue of the hand-written Kanjur. It deviates in major points from this Kanjur and therefore cannot be considered as the standard catalogue for the hand-written Kanjur.<sup>26</sup> It rather seems to represent yet another preliminary draft for the final translation.

If we take into account the description which KASYANENKO gives of the hand-written Kanjur there remains some doubt whether the St. Petersburg Kanjur is indeed one of the five original “black” Kanjur manuscripts made in 1628/29,<sup>27</sup> or whether it is only—so to speak—a

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<sup>22</sup> KASYANENKO 1993; see also her article 1986: 252-264. Her recent papers 1993a: 201, 1998: 20-22, have been made available to me by Ms. Ekaterina Afonina, a young scholar from St. Petersburg National University.

<sup>23</sup> KASYANENKO 1993: 9.

<sup>24</sup> This catalogue has been made available in Latin transcription by KASYANENKO 1987.

<sup>25</sup> USPENSKY 1997: 114.

<sup>26</sup> Compare the list of the different sections of the *Kanjur* editions (P and M) and the *Dkar chag* provided by KASYANENKO 1993: 10.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. USPENSKY 1997: 113.

preliminary draft of the final Kanjur version of 1628/29. USPENSKY also discusses this possibility, hereby stressing the fact that the hand-written Kanjur does not model any of the known Tibetan canon redactions as far as the arrangement of the texts is concerned. This in itself is a peculiar feature of the hand-written Kanjur. We will see later that KASYANENKO's suspicions can be proved by comparing the St. Petersburg Kanjur with the Kanjur volume preserved in Kopenhagen.

Apart from the hand-written Kanjur we know of the existence of 58 hand-written Kanjur volumes preserved at the State Library in Ulanbator, two Kanjur volumes from the Bayisingtu monastery and one volume preserved in Kopenhagen. I will come back to these manuscripts later.

The Mongolian scholar ZAMCARANO is said to have found an unknown Kanjur manuscript in a monastery of Southern Mongolia during his journey there in the years 1909-1910. Unfortunately he was not able to buy it because the abbot of the monastery demanded the price of 500 silver ounces.<sup>28</sup>

There exists yet another Kanjur manuscript, preserved in the Manuscript Fund of the Buryat Institute of Social Sciences, but unfortunately we do not have any information about it.

We are now in the fortunate position to make a first, preliminary comparison of the text order, the language, and the colophons of the above mentioned canon volumes preserved at the Bayisingtu monastery and at Kopenhagen with the St. Petersburg manuscript. This comparison brings to light some new data concerning the transmission history of the Mongolian canon.

The following observations about the transmission of the Mongolian Kanjur rely on the one hand on the two catalogues of the hand-written St. Petersburg Kanjur and the printed edition of 1718-20,<sup>29</sup> on the other hand on the detailed descriptions given by HEISSIG of the contents of the two Kanjur volumes found in Bayisingtu Keyid<sup>30</sup> and the Kanjur volume preserved in Kopenhagen.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Cf. HEISSIG 1962: 18, n. 88; compare also KASYANENKO 1993: 13, n. 6.

<sup>29</sup> LIGETI 1942.

<sup>30</sup> HEISSIG 1973: 477-501.

<sup>31</sup> HEISSIG 1957: 71-87.



In my communication the sigla P [= Petersburg MS] and M [= Peking Edition] as proposed by P. HARRISON and H. EIMER<sup>32</sup> are used respectively. For the two volumes of the Bayisingtu Keyid *Kanjur* and for the volume preserved in Kopenhagen the sigla BK and P1 are introduced.

### III.

A volume of an old hand-written *Kanjur* was collected during the Second Central Asia Expedition of the Royal Danish Geographic Society (1938-39) in the Tsakhar region. HEISSIG describes the manuscript and its contents in detail:<sup>33</sup> it consists of 150 folios with 30-39 lines, written in *calamus* in black ink on old yellowish-brown paper; the beginnings, the mantras and sometimes also the beginnings of the colophons are written in red ink. The left margin is marked in red ink in Tibetan: *cha*, the pagination (VI) is in Mongolian. The writing does not distinguish between the letters *č* and *j* in the middle of a word, as is usual in manuscripts of the late 16th and early 17th centuries. The wooden parts of the boards are not glued together but joined by leather thongs which is typical of nomadic handicraft. The manuscript is part of an unknown hand-written *Kanjur*, vol. *cha*, No. VI. It includes 23 translations of the tantra section of the *Kanjur*. Due to the then inaccessibility of the St. Petersburg *Kanjur* HEISSIG could not compare P1 to P. Now, since the publication of KASYANENKO's catalogue, we are in the fortunate position to compare the two versions with each other. We hereby note the following: Vol. *cha*, VI, of P1 follows the same text order as Vol. *cha*, VI, of P.<sup>34</sup> Moreover both volumes contain identical colophons. The arrangement of the texts is illustrated in the following chart:

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<sup>32</sup> HARRISON / EIMER 1997: xiii.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. HEISSIG 1957: 77, also n. 6.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. KASYANENKO 1993: *Dandir-a*, *cha*, VI, Nos. 97-120.

## P

Včir amuyulang kilinglegsen dandiras-un qayan (No. 97)  
 Yelvi qubilyan-u toor neretü (No. 98)  
 Qamuy tegünčilen iregsed-ün beye kelen sedkil Erlig-ün qar-a dayisun neretü dandir-a (No. 99)  
 Čoytu yeke včir ayuyuluyçı-yin dandir-a neretü (No. 100)  
 Čoy-tu qara Erlig-ün dayisun-u dandir-a-yin qayan yurban onol-tu (No. 101)  
*(title at the end)* Domoy-un onol (No. 102)  
 Qar-a Erlig-ün dayisun: kürdün-ü qamuy üiles-i bütügel-ün üiledügči ner-e-tü dandir-a-yin qayan (No. 103)  
 Čoy-tu včir ayuyuluyçı-yin onol-un dandir-a-yin qayan (No. 104)  
 /Čoy-tu/ ulayan Erlig-ün dayisun neretü dandir-a-yin qayan (No. 105)  
 Čoy-tu /ulayan/ Erlig-ün dayisun-u qayan neretü (No. 106)  
 Čoy-tu ilaju tegüs nöğčigsen. yağça üsütü-yin onol-un yeke dandir-a-yin qayan neretü (No. 107)  
 Čoy-tu niyuča saran-u dusul neretü dandiras-un:: qayan:: (No. 108)  
 Vagašvari Manjuširi-yi naiman ökid maytar-un (No. 109)  
 Getülgegči qutuy-tu Dar-a eke-yin jayun naiman ner-e-yin kemegdekü (No. 110)  
 Getülgegči Dar-a eke ökin tngri jayun naiman ner-e (No. 111)  
*(title at the end)* Qutuy-dai Dhar-a eke-yin tarni (No. 112)  
 Dar-a eke-yin öber-ün aman aldaysan neretü tarni (No. 113)

## P1

1. Včir amuyulang kilinglegsen dandiras-un qayan
2. Jili-qubilyan-u tour neretü yeke dandiras-un qayan
3. Qamuy tegünčilen iregsed-ün beye elen<sup>35</sup> sedkil erlig-ün qara dayisun neretü dandira
4. Čoytu yeke včir-iyar ayuyuluyçı-yin dandira neretü
5. Čoytu qara erlig-ün dayisundur dandira-yin qayan yurban onol tu
6. Qara erlig-ün dayisun. kürdün qamuy üiles-i bütügülün üiledügči neretü dandira-yin qayan
7. Čoytu včir ayuyuluyçı-yin onol-un dandira-yin qayan
8. Ulayan erlig-ün dayisun neretü dandira-yin qayan
9. Čoytu ulayan erlig-ün dayisun-u qayan neretü
10. Čoytu ilaju tegüs nöğčigsen yağça üsütü-yin onol-un yeke dandira-yin qayan neretü
11. Čoytu niyuča saran-u dusul neretü dandiris-un qayan
12. *(incipit)* Vagindari manjusiri-yi nayiman ökid maytar-un...
13. Getülgegči qutuy tu dara eke-yin jayun nayiman nere-yin kemegdekü
14. Getülgegči dhara eke ökin tngri-yin jayun nayiman nere
15. *(terminatur)* Qutuy tai dhara eke-yin tarnis tegüsbe
16. Qutuy tai dhara eke-yin aman aldaysan neretü tarni

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<sup>35</sup> A printing mistake for *kelen*?

P	P1
Qutuy-dai Dar-a eke-yin naiman ayul-ača ibegegči sudur (No. 114)	17. Qutuy tai dhara eke-yin nayiman ayul-ača ibegegči sudur
Qutuytai naiman yeke ayul-ača tonilyayči neretü tarni (No. 115)	18. Qutuy tai nayiman yeke ayul-ača tonilyayči neretü tarni
( <i>title at the end</i> ) Uran dayutu	19. Čoytu uran dayun tai ökin
čoy-du ökin tngri maytaysan (No. 116)	tngri-yi maytar-un
Qutuy-dai yeke čoytu ökin tngri-dür viyanggirid üjügülügsen (No. 117)	20. Qutuy tai yeke čoytu ökin tngri-i vivangirid üjügülügsen
Qutuy-du yeke čoy-dai-yin sudur (No. 118)	21. Qutuy tu yeke čoytai-yin sudur
( <i>title at the end</i> ) Yeke čoy-dai ökin tngri-yin arban qoyar ner-e (No. 119)	22. Čoytu ökin tngri-yin arban qoyar nere
Qutuy-tu qamuγ mayui jayayan-u teyin böged arilyayči neretü tarni (No. 120)	23. Qutuy tu qamuγ mayui jayayan-u tüidkeri teyin büged arilyayči neretü tarni

Apart from a few minor orthographical and lexicographical deviations, the colophons in both volumes are identical. Vol. *cha*, VI, of P1 corresponds in the order of the texts as well as in the names of the translators to vol. *cha*, VI, of P. The texts 101 and 102 of P apparently form one text in P1.<sup>36</sup> Both P and P1 make extensive use of old Mongolian forms like *hindkeg* for “Indian”. The archaic Mongolian *hindkeg*<sup>37</sup> is generally used in texts dating from around the turn of the 17th century. In the printed edition of the Mongolian Kanjur the form *hindkeg* has been changed in nearly every occurrence to *enedkeg*, which is still used nowadays. This conscious change of old forms like *hindkeg* and *qotola* to *enedkeg* and *qotala* in later re-editions of texts can also be proved in different *Gzungs bsodus* collections, the oldest of them continuously using the archaic forms which were consequently changed in the later redactions. It is interesting to note, however, that P uses the archaic form *hindkeg* consistently throughout the colophons

<sup>36</sup> The *terminatur* of No. 5 ends *domoy-un onol tegüsbe*, just as the title at the end of No. 102 in P.

<sup>37</sup> For this old form which probably goes back to an Iranian prototype, see POPPE 1938: 185. Compare also HEISSIG 1957: 78, n. 1.

of Nos. 97-120, whereas P1 in two instances (No. 4 and No. 10) uses *enedkeg*. This minor deviation in my opinion does not allow us to draw a conclusion as to which of the manuscripts is older, it nevertheless still allows us to suggest a close connection between P and P1.

Comparing the two volumes of P and P1 to the respective texts of M<sup>38</sup>, we note that P No. 106/P1 No. 9 is not included in M. It is likewise noteworthy that in the colophons of Nos. 118-120 of P as well as Nos. 21-23 of P1 Mati badra sagara širi badr-a toyin čorji is mentioned as translator and not, as is noted in M, Samdan sengge.<sup>39</sup> The arrangement of the texts as well as the colophons in P and P1, especially in respect to the names of the translators, differ considerably from M.<sup>40</sup>

These last two observations directly lead us to a re-evaluation of the transmission history of the Mongolian Kanjur. On the one hand we know from the index volume of the printed edition of 1718-20 that the translation committee under the K'ang-hsi emperor relied on the Kanjur redaction of 1628/29. The printed Beijing edition underwent a few minor changes and corrections, especially in the arrangement of texts,

<sup>38</sup> They are extant in *Dandr-a*, Vol. VII, Nos. 101-111, Vol. XIII, No. 167, Vol. XVII, Nos. 397-407, and Vol. XXIV, Nos. 641, 646 and 650.

<sup>39</sup> See the colophon of M No. 405, *Qutuy-tai yeke čoytai-yin sudur. Samdan sengge töbed-ün kelen-eče mongyol-un kelen-dür orčiyuluyad nayirayulju orusiyulbai*; M No. 406, *Čoy-tai ökin tngri-yin arban qoyar ner-e-tü: Samdan sengge töbed-ün kelen-eče mongyol-un kelen-dür orčiyuluyad nayirayulju orusiyulbai*. M No. 407 does not have a colophon, cf. LIGETI 1942: 101.

<sup>40</sup> P No. 97/P1 No. 1 = M No. 101; P No. 98/P1 No. 2 = M No. 102; P No. 99/P1 No. 3 = M No. 103; P No. 100/P1 No. 4 = M No. 105; P No. 101/P1 No. 5 = M No. 107; P No. 102 = M No. 108; P No. 103/P1 No. 6 = M No. 104; P No. 104/P1 No. 7 = M No. 106; P No. 105/P1 No. 8 = M No. 109; P No. 106/P1 No. 9 = missing in M; P No. 107/P1 No. 10 = M No. 110; P No. 108/P1 No. 11 = M No. 111; P No. 109/P1 No. 12 = M No. 167; P No. 110/P1 No. 13 = M No. 397, 641; P No. 111/P1 No. 14 = M No. 398; P No. 112/P1 No. 15 = M No. 399; P No. 113/P1 No. 16 = M No. 400; P No. 114/P1 No. 17 = M No. 401; P No. 115/P1 No. 18 = M No. 402, 572; P No. 116/P1 No. 19 = M No. 403; P No. 117/P1 No. 20 = M No. 404; P No. 118/P1 No. 21 = M No. 405, 646; P No. 119/P1 No. 22 = M No. 406; P No. 120/P1 No. 23 = M No. 146, 407, 650. As can be seen from this table, the works contained in vol. *cha*, VI, of P and P1 are distributed in the volumes VII, XIII, XVII and XXIV of M.

but on the whole it faithfully reproduces the earlier redaction under *Liydan qayan*. On the other hand it is a well established fact that the translation committee under *Liydan qayan* changed the colophons of earlier translations and inserted the name of *Samdan sengge*, one of *Liydan qayan*'s prominent translators. This change can be considered an intentional variance and not a transmissional variance. We have to ask at what time the colophons of the Kanjur translations were actually changed.

From a historical perspective it does not make sense at all to suppose that any colophon of a Kanjur text was changed in favour of *Liydan qayan* and his translators after 1629, considering the unstable political situation of the Tsakhar Mongols against the rising Manchu power. By 1629 *Liydan qayan* had lost his stronghold even among his own followers. The only solution to the apparent enigma of the changed colophons lies in a re-evaluation of the Kanjur manuscript preserved at St. Petersburg. The St. Petersburg Kanjur cannot possibly present the Kanjur redaction of 1628/29, because the names of the translators differ from the printed Beijing edition which relies on the redaction of 1628/29. If we assume that P does not represent the final version compiled by the translation committee in 1628/29, if we further assume that it is rather a preliminary draft of the final version still subject to changes, we may still suppose that the redaction committee under *Liydan qayan* in the final draft put in the names of the translators who were especially honoured by the emperor. This assumption is further strengthened by the fact that the translator *Toyin čorji* must have used the Sde dge redaction of the Tibetan Kanjur, because only the Sde dge redaction contains the *Čoytu ulayan erlig-ün dayisun-u qayan neretü* (No. 9/ P1 and No. 106 P) following No. 8 (P1) respectively No. 105 (P). The text is omitted in the Beijing edition of the Tibetan Kanjur,<sup>41</sup> and consequently also omitted in the printed Beijing edition of 1718-20.

Therefore, we have to draw the conclusion that P as well as P1 have both been compiled earlier than 1628/29. This conclusion implies the still unsolved question whether at all and where the Kanjur redaction

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<sup>41</sup> Cf. USPENSKY 1997: 120, No. 106, as well as HEISSIG 1957: 86.

of 1628/29 is still extant. Perhaps the solution to this problem lies in an analysis of the “Golden Kanjur” preserved in China?

The suggestion that there must have been more than just the Kanjur redaction of 1628/29 and the later printed edition of 1718-20, heavily relying on the former, can be proved by the examination of two volumes of a hand-written Kanjur which have come to light in the monastery of Bayisingtu (Bayisingtu Keyid) in the Ömnegobi Ayimay of Mongolia. In 1970 HEISSIG had the opportunity to examine these two volumes (abbreviated: BK) and gave an exhaustive account of his findings. The two volumes are written in black and red ink. The orthography does not distinguish between the letters *č* and *j*. Both volumes bear the title *olan sudur* which corresponds to the appellation *eldeb* in P and M. One volume bears as marginal signature the Tibetan letter *om*, the other volume has Tibetan *da*. *Om* denotes volume I of the Kanjur section *olan sudur*, whereas *da* denotes volume XI of the same section.

The arrangement of the texts in both volumes does not follow the printed Beijing edition. It rather follows an arrangement according to the translators of the different works, thus closely following the textual arrangement of P.

In volume I of *olan sudur* (BK), which corresponds to *eldeb yi* of P, we find the following seven works:

1. S. *Ārya-śraddhābalādhānāvātāramudrā-nāma-mahāyāna-sūtra*,  
T. 'Phags pa dad pa'i stobs bskyed pa la 'jug pa'i phyag rgya zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo,  
M. *Qutuy-tu süsüg-ün küčün-i törögülküi-dür oroqui mudur neretü yeke kölgen sudur*.<sup>42</sup>
2. S. *Ārya-mahāyānopadeśa-nāma-mahāyāna-sūtra*,  
T. 'Phags pa theg pa chen po'i man ngag ces bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo,  
M. *Qutuy-tu yeke kölgen-ü ubadis neretü yeke kölgen sudur*.
3. S. *Ārya-bodhisattvagocara-upāyaviṣayavikurvāṇanirdeśa-nāma-mahāyānasūtra*,  
T. 'Phags pa byang chub sems dpa'i spyod yul gyi thabs kyi yul la rnam par 'phrul pa bstan pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo,

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<sup>42</sup> M has *oroqu* instead of *oroqui*.

- M. *Qutuy-tu bodisadu-a nar-un yabudal-un ary-a-yin višai teyin böged qubilyan-i üjügülügsen neretü yeke kölgen sudur* (P 868).<sup>43</sup>
4. S. *Ārya-mahāberīharakaparivarta-nāma-mahāyānasūtra*,  
T. 'Phags pa rnga bo che chen po'i le'u zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo,  
M. *Qutuy-tu yeke kenggerge*<sup>44</sup>-yin bölüg neretü yeke kölgen sudur.
5. S. *Ārya-anakṣarakaraṇḍakavairocanagarbha-nāma-mahāyānasūtra*,  
T. 'Phags pa yi ge med pa'i za ma tog rnam par snang mdzad kyi snying po zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo,  
M. *Qutuy-tu üsüg ügei qayurčay teyin böged geyigülküi-yin jirüken neretü yeke kölgen sudur*.<sup>45</sup>
6. The Sanskrit and Tibetan titles cannot be reconstructed. The work up to now remains unidentified.<sup>46</sup> The Mongolian title in BK reads *Qutuytu sedkikü ündüsün-i yeke erike bodistva nar teyin büged amurlingyui-yi uqayulqui-ača*. The title in P instead of *erike* reads *erke* and after *-ača* adds the following sentence: *yeke mani erdeni-yi mergen uqayulqui-tur sayitar jorin irügeküi yeke qayan neretü*. KASYANENKO<sup>47</sup> identifies this work with LIGETI No. 1042, on which grounds I do not know. I have not been able to identify this work. According to the colophon which is extant and identical in both P and BK, the text was translated by Samdan Senge. There is, however, the possibility that it was not included in the printed Beijing edition of the Kanjur.
7. We do not know the title of this text because the cover folio in BK is missing. The text, however, can be clearly identified as the colophon mentions Mayidari gündeng güši as translator.<sup>48</sup> This colophon is identical with the colophon of the *Qutuy-tu Manjuširi-yin teyin böged qubilyaqui bölüg neretü yeke kölgen sudur* in the printed Beijing Kanjur and the St. Petersburg Kanjur. The Sanskrit and Tibetan titles are  
S. *Ārya-mañjuśrī-vikurvāṇaparivarta-nāma-mahāyāna-sūtra*, and  
T. 'Phags pa 'jam dpal rnam par 'phrul ba'i le'u zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo, respectively.

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<sup>43</sup> The title of BK deviates slightly: *Qutuytu bodistva nar-un arya-yin yabuydaqu oron visi-dür teyin büged qubilyan-i üjegülügsen neretü yeke kölgen sudur*. The title in M is as follows: *Qutuy-tu bodhi-satva-nar-un yabudal-un ary-a-yin višai-dur teyin böged qubilyan-i üjügülügsen neretü yeke kölgen sudur*.

<sup>44</sup> BK has the old form *kögörge*.

<sup>45</sup> Instead of *teyin böged geyigülküi-yin* the title in BK has *aru čay-yin*.

<sup>46</sup> Apparently it is not included in the Peking edition of the Tibetan Kanjur, cf. USPENSKY 1997: 149, s.v. 871.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. KASYANENKO 1993: 265.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. also HEISSIG 1973: 480.

The order of the texts in the three redactions is as follows:

P ( <i>eldeb yi</i> )	BK ( <i>olan sudur om</i> )	M ( <i>eldeb</i> )
No. 866	1	No. 957
No. 867	2	No. 925
No. 868 + colophon	3 no colophon	No. 902 + colophon
No. 869	4	No. 979
No. 870	5	No. 1016
No. 871	6	?
No. 872	-	No. 929
No. 873 <sup>49</sup>	-	?
No. 874	7	No. 852

P and BK show a close similarity as to the arrangement of the texts. The titles, however, deviate slightly. In general, P and M show a closer resemblance concerning the titles than P and BK do. In No. 3 of BK the colophon is missing, whereas the corresponding texts in P (No. 868) and M (No. 902) both contain identical colophons, which only differ in the usage of the word *hindkeglenedkeg*. The *hindkeg* of P is changed to *enedkeg* in M. The texts No. 852 in M and No. 874 in P actually contain two colophons, hereby indicating that the redaction committee under Liydan qayan used two different translations of the same work: *tayi erketü kümün-ü ejen delekei-dekin-ü qormusda-yin jarliy-iyar Samdan sengge mongyol-un kelen-dür orčiyuluyad nayirayulju orusiyulbai:: cakravarti qutuy-tu tayiming lingdan qayan-u jarliy-iyar Čooski odser Samdan darqan blam-a-yi dulduyidču Mayidari gundang gusi orusiyulbai*.<sup>50</sup> BK only contains the second colophon of M: *Čagravarti qutuytu dayiming lingdan qayan-u jrliy-iyar čorji odser samdan darqan lama-yi dulduyidču Mayidari gündeng guosi orčiyulbai. Sečen guosi kiged dalai oyitu dai guosi qoyar kičiyen bičibei*. The colophons of P and M, however, do not mention the names of the scribes, Sečen guosi and Dalai oyitu Dai guosi.

<sup>49</sup> P contains in *Eldeb yi* two further works, Nos. 872-873.

<sup>50</sup> LIGETI 1942: 218. The colophon in the St. Petersburg Kanjur is nearly identical, cf. KASYANENKO 1993: 265.



This difference concerning the colophons in both P and BK stresses that, despite their apparently very close relationship which is obvious from the nearly identical text order, both P and BK may very well represent yet two different redactions of the Mongolian Kanjur.

Now we turn to the second volume of BK, namely vol. XI (*da*) of *Olan sudur*. Again the volume consists of seven translations:

1. S. *Ārya-mahāyānaprasādaprabhāvanā-nāma-mahāyānasūtra*,  
T. 'Phags pa theg pa chen po la dad pa rab tu sgom pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo,  
M. *Qutuy-tu yeke kölgen-tür süsüg-i*<sup>51</sup> *sayitur bisilyaqui neretü yeke kölgen sudur*.
2. S. *Ārya-dānāniśamsanirdeśa*,  
T. 'Phags pa sbyin pa'i phan yon bstan pa,  
M. *Qutuy-tu öglige-yin ači tus-a-yi uqaydaqui*.<sup>52</sup>
3. S. *Bodhisattvapratimokṣacatuṣkanirhāra-nāma-mahāyānasūtra*,  
T. *Byang chub sems dpa'i so sor thar pa chos bzhi sgrub pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo*,  
M. *Bodisung narun öber-e öber-e tonilqui dörben nom-i bütügeküi neretü yeke kölgen sudur*.<sup>53</sup>
4. S. *Ārya-ratnākara-nāma-mahāyānasūtra*,  
T. 'Phags pa dkon mchog 'byung gnas shes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo,  
M. *Erdeni yarqu-yin neretü yeke kölgen sudur*.<sup>54</sup>
5. S. *Ārya-caturdharmanirdeśa-nāma-mahāyānasūtra*,  
T. 'Phags pa chos bzhi bstan pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo,  
M. *Qutuytu dörben nom-i uqayulqui neretü yeke kölgen sudur*.
6. S. *Ārya-ratnacūḍapariṣṛchā-nāma-mahāyānasūtra*,  
T. 'Phags pa gtsug na rin po ches zhus pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo,  
M. *Qutuy-tu oroi-dayan erdeni-tü-yin öčigsen neretü yeke kölgen sudur*.
7. S. *Ārya-sukhāvativyūha-nāma-mahāyānasūtra*,  
T. 'Phags pa bde ba can gyi bkod pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo,  
M. *Qutuy-tu jiryalang-tu oron-u jokiyal neretü yeke kölgen sudur*.

<sup>51</sup> BK reads *sijü*, whereas M reads *süsül-ün*.

<sup>52</sup> The title in BK reads as follows: *Qutuy tu arya dana sangsanvan desa*. M has the variant reading *uqayulqui* for *uqaydaqui*.

<sup>53</sup> The title in M is slightly changed: *Bodhi-satuva-nar-un anggida tonilqui dörben nom-i bütügeküi neretü yeke kölgen sudur*.

<sup>54</sup> BK and M read *Qutuy-tu erdeni...* and add after *yarqu-yin* the word *oron*.

Again we note that BK and P follow a nearly identical order of texts, whereas the same texts in M are found scattered in different volumes of the sections *Erdeni dabqurliy* and *Eldeb*.

A table may illustrate the order of texts in the three Kanjur redactions:

P ( <i>eldeb na</i> )	BK ( <i>olan sudur da</i> )	M ( <i>erdeni dabqurliy/ eldeb</i> )
No. 618	1	No. 901
No. 619	2	No. 938
No. 620	-	No. 1008
No. 621	3	No. 1005
No. 622	4	No. 881
No. 623	5	No. 1006
No. 624	6	No. 839
No. 625	7	No. 870

The colophons of three of the texts of BK (Nos. 3, 4, 5) correspond to the colophons of the respective texts of P (Nos. 621, 622, 623). They were translated by one Ananda güsi. The colophon of the BK manuscript of the *Ārya-ratnacūḍaparipṛcchā-nāma-mahāyānasūtra* (No. 6) corresponds with a few minor deviations to the colophon of the *Ārya-ratnacūḍaparipṛcchā-nāma-mahāyānasūtra* in P (No. 624).<sup>55</sup> However, two significant changes can be noted: instead of the older form *hindkeg* in P *enedkeg* is used in BK. P also uses the older *qotola* instead of *qotala*, as is apparent in the colophon of P No. 622: *Hindkeg-ün ubadini-i... Činggis qotol-a jüg-i ilayuyči tang tayisung qayan-u jarliy-iyar*<sup>56</sup>. BK No. 4 writes *činggis qotala jüg-i...*<sup>57</sup>

More important is the change of the translator's name from Ananda ayusi güsi in P, No. 624,<sup>58</sup> to Ananda güisi in BK, No. 6.<sup>59</sup> HEISSIG identifies Ananda güsi with the Šarba qutuytu, the personal Lama of

<sup>55</sup> HEISSIG 1973: 482-483.

<sup>56</sup> KASYANENKO 1993: 201.

<sup>57</sup> HEISSIG 1973: 481.

<sup>58</sup> KASYANENKO 1993: 201: *erdem-ten-ü manglai Čoski odser darqan lam-a bandiu guuši-tur sitijü: öčüken oyun činege-ber Ananda ayusi güisi orčiyuluyad.*

<sup>59</sup> HEISSIG 1973: 482: *Erdemten-ü manglai čos gi oser daran blama badab güi si dur sitijü Üčeken oyun-u činege-ber Ananda güi si orčiyuluyad.*

Liydan qayan.<sup>60</sup> If we agree with this assumption, that by name-changing this translation was consciously assigned to the Šarba qutuγtu, this may provide a strong hint that indeed BK was composed slightly later than P. There is, however, another possibility we have to consider. This Ananda güsi could still be identical with Ananda ayusi güsi of P. This famous translator, who is best known under his name Ayusi güsi and who is known to have been active in the region around Köke qota since the eighties of the 16th century,<sup>61</sup> in the *Erdeni tunumal* is called Ananda ayusi güsi or Ananda manjusiri güsi.<sup>62</sup> Moreover Sayang sečen tells us in his chronicle *Erdeni-yin tobči* that Ayusi güsi received the honorary name Ananda güsi.<sup>63</sup> Thus the Ananda güisi of BK may still be the Ananda ayusi güsi of P.

In the corresponding text in M (*Erdeni dabqurliq*, No. 839) a different colophon which gives as translator's name Kun dga' 'od zer mergen mañjuśrī paṇḍita, who was active during Liydan qayan's time, is added to the text.<sup>64</sup> This change of colophon in M further strengthens the assumption that P does not represent the final *Kanjur* redaction of 1628/29.<sup>65</sup> It also suggests that BK is closer to P than to M.

Whereas BK generally seems to be closer to P, textual evidence also points to a relationship between some texts of P and M. In the colophon of the *Ārya-caturdharmanirdeśa-nāma-mahāyānasūtra* we read *bayatur čikirvan qayan-u*. The corresponding passage in M follows this reading (*bayatur čigiray qayan-u*), whereas in BK the colophon reads *bayatur činggis qayan-u*. In general the choice of words differs more between P and BK than between P and M. BK's choice of words is more sanskritized, as can be noted in the title of BK No. 2 as compared to P No. 619.<sup>66</sup>

The *eldeb* section of P seems to be the most extensive redaction, including works both BK and M have disregarded.

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<sup>60</sup> HEISSIG 1973: 485-486.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. n. 14 above.

<sup>62</sup> *Erdeni tunumal*, fol. 30r22-30v2.

<sup>63</sup> Cf. HAENISCH 1955: fol. 77v22-23; German rendering in SCHMIDT 1985: 254.

<sup>64</sup> LIGETI 1942: 208: *Ene sudur Kun-dga' 'od-zer mergen mañjuśrī paṇḍi-ta mongyolčilan orčiyulbai*:

<sup>65</sup> Cf. HEISSIG 1973: 487.

<sup>66</sup> P: *öglige-yin ači tus-a-yi*; BK: *arya dana sangsanvan*.

## IV.

To conclude my brief communication: The textual evidence makes it abundantly clear that the St. Petersburg hand-written Kanjur does not present one of the five “black” Kanjur manuscripts. Therefore it cannot be considered the final version of the Kanjur prepared under Liydan qayan in 1628-29. For the time being we have to state that this final Kanjur redaction of 1628-29 is still not known to us. The St. Petersburg Kanjur rather seems to be a preliminary draft to the final version of 1628/29. For the reasons given here it should be dated definitely before 1628.

So far, P and P1 seem to be among the oldest Mongolian Kanjur translations which have come down to us. Furthermore we can conclude that P1 belongs to the same redaction of the Mongolian Kanjur as P, also dating from before 1628.

We are not able, however, to determine the date of composition of BK. The fact that BK follows the same arrangement of texts as P and P1 but does no longer use ancient forms like *hindkeg* or *qotola* hints at a slightly later date of composition than P and P1. Moreover, the names of the translators in BK differ at least in some instances from P. From the evidence discussed above we can draw the conclusion that BK as extant in the two volumes from the Bayisingtu Keyid is not based on M, but on some unknown redaction close to P.

The fact that P and M evidently used different translations, as can be seen from the inclusion of two different colophons in one text, hints at a transmission history of the Mongolian Kanjur which is not as simple-structured as scholars have thought. The history of the translation and transmission of the Mongolian Kanjur seems to have been a multi-layered process of which we know but a very few aspects. We can only hope that new material emerges in the near future which will modify and add to the rather crude picture I was able to draw here.

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BK	Bayisingtu Keyid <i>Kanjur</i> (two volumes)
CAJ	<i>Central Asiatic Journal</i>
IATS	International Association for Tibetan Studies
M	Peking edition of the Mongolian <i>Kanjur</i>
M.	Mongolian
P	Petersburg MS of the Mongolian <i>Kanjur</i>
P1	<i>Kanjur</i> volume preserved in Kopenhagen
S.	Sanskrit
T.	Tibetan
UAJb	<i>Ural-Altäische Jahrbücher</i>
ZAS	<i>Zentralasiatische Studien</i>
ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>

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THE TABO FRAGMENTS  
AND THE STEMMA  
OF THE TIBETAN *TATHĀGATAGARBHASŪTRA*

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Until now several scholars have dealt with Tibetan texts of the manuscript collection of Tabo monastery in Spiti District, Himachal Pradesh, India.<sup>1</sup> With this short contribution I would like to throw light on the Tabo fragments of one of the Tibetan translations of the *Tathāgatagarbhasūtra*, in Tibetan *De bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po'i mdo*. I shall focus on the textual characteristics and the relation of the Tabo fragments to the versions of the sūtra contained in the other main Kanjurs. It is strictly to be kept in mind that all conclusions drawn from the presentation of the material and its evaluation can only claim validity for the *De bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po'i mdo*. My conclusions are not meant to provide a characterization of the Tabo Kanjur in general. Though, regarding the position of the manuscript in the general Kanjur stemma, there seem to be certain tendencies common to all the texts of the Kanjur found in Tabo and analysed until now, each work should be seen as an individual case. Only when a sufficient number of studies will have been executed and will repeatedly confirm the results shall we be able to draw conclusions of a more general nature.

THE RECENSIONS OF THE *DE BZHIN GSHEGS PA'I*  
*SNYING PO'I MDO*

The *Tathāgatagarbhasūtra* (*TGS*) has been handed down to us in four translations. No Sanskrit manuscripts of the *TGS* are available. The only citations of the *TGS* found in Sanskrit literature are offered in the *Ratnagotravibhāga* (*vr̥tti*).<sup>2</sup> Apart from two short word-by-

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<sup>1</sup> See the studies in *East and West* 44-1, 1994, and SCHERRER-SCHAUB / STEINKELLNER 1999; further PAGEL 1999: 165-210.

<sup>2</sup> See JOHNSTON 1950: 15.11f.; 25.18; 26.7; 68.13; 72.11-12; 73.11-12; for the



word citations the central section of the *TGS* is rendered very freely in verses, so to say, being more a re-account in different words, though transmitting faithfully the content of the sūtra passage. Among the four translations there are two in Chinese, executed in the beginning of the fifth century by Buddhahadra<sup>3</sup> and in the eighth century by the tantric master Amoghavajra.<sup>4</sup> Whereas the fifth century translation seems to be based on a recension different from that of the other three translations and should be regarded as a separate version of the sūtra, the eighth century translation by Amoghavajra corresponds closely, though not always in detail, with the two Tibetan translations. One of the two Tibetan translations has become part of the Tibetan canon and is represented in all the major Kanjurs.<sup>5</sup> Henceforward I will call it the canonical translation (*Tib*) of which the Tabo fragments are also representatives. A second Tibetan translation has been traced only recently. The manuscript is kept in the Newark Museum in New Jersey and was brought there from Bathang in Khams (East Tibet) in 1920.<sup>6</sup> This so-called “Bathing translation” (*Bth*) is obviously based on a Sanskrit text of the same transmissional line which also *Tib* and the eighth century Chinese translation are representatives of. The Tibetan text of *Bth* is a unique translation. Judging from its syntax, vocabulary and grammar, it is very unlikely

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re-formulated verses: I.95-152.

<sup>3</sup> *Da fang deng rulai zang jing* 大方等如來藏經, *Taisho Shinshu Daizokyo* 666, vol. 16, 457a1-460b21.

<sup>4</sup> *Da fang guang rulai zang jing* 大方廣如來藏經, *Taisho Shinshu Daizokyo* 667, vol. 16, 460b25-466a6.

<sup>5</sup> I have prepared a critical edition of this version which will be published in 2001/2002 in the Bibliotheca Philologica et Philosophica Buddhica of The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology, Soka University, Tokyo. Here it should suffice to provide the references for the sūtra in the Peking and the Stog Kanjur: *Tib* in the Peking Kanjur (Otani Reprint): no. 924, vol. 36, *Mdo, Shu* 259b4-274a1; *Tib* in the Stog Palace Ms Kanjur: no. 72, vol. 59, *Mdo sde, Nya* 194a4-212a6.

<sup>6</sup> For a description of the Kanjur cf. OLSON 1971: 114; the most detailed analysis of the 23 volumes of the Kanjur can be found in SKILLING 2001; one of the studies including some texts of this Kanjur in a textcritical edition is SKILLING 1994. The forthcoming publication mentioned in fn. 5 will contain a diplomatic edition of this Bathang translation. For a detailed discussion of the characteristics of the *TGS* in the Bathang-ms see ZIMMERMANN 1998. A catalogue of the Kanjur from Bathang kept in the Newark Museum is currently prepared under the guidance of Dr. Helmut Eimer.

that it has played any role in the formation of the canonical translation which, as some of the colophons tell us, dates from the beginning of the ninth century.<sup>7</sup> The translation from Bathang thus is the only representative of a (presumably) older translation executed before the compilation of compendiums like the *Mahāvvyutpatti* or the *Sgra sbyor bam po gnyis pa*, i.e., before the ninth century, when translation activities became more organized and standardized by way of the New Terminology Edict (*skad gsar bcad*).<sup>8</sup> No other representatives of this paracanonical “Bathang translation” have come to light yet and it might in fact be the case that this translation was never revised according to the New Terminology and later forgotten when *Tib*, revised or even translated according to the new standard, became the “official” canonical *De bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po'i mdo*.

### THE MAIN TRANSMISSIONAL GROUPS

Dealing with the stemmatic relations between the Kanjur manuscripts and blockprints of the *TGS*, I found myself confronted with the following limitation. The *TGS* is a short text. In the Otani reprint of the Peking Kanjur it extends to no more than 15 double sided folios. In addition, the fragmentary Tabo manuscript covers only 40% of the whole text. Everybody who has worked in the field of Kanjur philology knows that in order to make substantial claims about the affiliation of certain manuscripts a large amount of variants must be compared. In light of the fact that the Sanskrit text on which the Tibetan *TGS* is based is not available, among these variants only a few will enable us to come to a definite conclusion regarding their originality. I, nevertheless, think that the textual variants offer sufficient evidence to develop a reliable grouping of the Kanjurs used. Moreover, a couple of peculiar readings shared by only a few of the representatives will allow to draw a hypothetical conclusion on the position of the Tabo fragments in this stemma.

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<sup>7</sup> See pp. 189-190 for the wording of the different colophons. The translator Ye shes sde who is mentioned in all of the colophons was active at the beginning of the ninth century.

<sup>8</sup> For the *Sgra sbyor bam po gnyis pa* see SIMONSSON 1957; PANGLUNG 1994.

Apart from the Tabo fragments, throughout the text of *Tib* we basically find three main transmissional groups whose respective representatives share the same variant in a large number of cases. These three main groups are the Them spangs ma family, the Tshal pa family, and the three Phug brag versions. The grouping into these three branches is well-attested for most, if not all, other studies of Kanjur material. I will not deal here with the exact relation between the representatives within each of the three groups,<sup>9</sup> relations which, in particular for the Them spangs ma derived manuscripts, seem to be rather intricate. All three Phug brag versions of the *TGS* turned out to derive from a common archetype  $P_0$ . On the Tshal pa side I analysed the *TGS* as contained in the so-called Berlin Kanjur, the Derge Kanjur (Nyingma Edition), the 'Jang sa tham or Lithang Kanjur, the Narthang Kanjur,<sup>10</sup> and the Otani Reprint of the Peking Kanjur. The Them spangs ma representatives comprise the Shel dkar Kanjur (London), the copy of the Stog Palace Kanjur, and the so-called Tokyo Kanjur.

As mentioned above, this threefold classification scheme does not come as a surprise. In the next step I tried to gain conclusions on the relation among these three groups which would form a basis for the stemmatic classification of the Tabo fragments. In order to throw light on the stemma of the three main groups I had to look for variants common to two or more of the groups. Only variants of a definitely "secondary character," i.e., variants which in the light of the other attested readings cannot have been part of the text in the form it presumably came from the hands of the translators are relevant, as only such secondary readings can prove a close relation between manuscripts whereas variants not determinable as primary or secondary variants are of little use for stemmatic investigations. Unfortunately, the absolute gross of the variants throughout the *TGS* is of such stemmatically futile character and the already rather limited basis for my analysis became thereby further weakened. Fortunately, I was able to make use of the second Tibetan translation from Bathang and the Chinese translations in order to decide on the

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<sup>9</sup> This, however, I will do in my forthcoming study (see fn. 5).

<sup>10</sup> The *TGS* version in the Narthang Kanjur turned out to be a pure member of the 'Phying ba stag rtse branch of the Tshal pa family.

authenticity of a reading in some cases. Next I shall give the numbers of all the cases in which a decision on the authenticity of a variant was possible regarding the text part for which Tabo is not available.

	Combination	Distribution of faulty variants
I	Tshal pa : Them spangs ma/Phug brag	6 : 0
II	Phug brag : Them spangs ma/Tshal pa	3 : 0
III	Them spangs ma : Tshal pa/Phug brag	4 : 4

While in I and II all faulty variants are on the side of the single group, i.e., the mistakes have been introduced by the Tshal pa editors (I) or in the transmission of the Phug brag Kanjur (II), III is remarkable as the mistakes are equally divided between the pair Tshal pa/Phug brag on the one hand and the Them spangs ma representatives on the other. The fact that Tshal pa and Phug brag share mistakes indicates that these two groups have transmitted faulty readings from a common ancestor or that one of the two (or its respective ancestor) has undergone contamination by the other so that the mistake could spread into the second group. What about the situation for the 40% of the *TGS* for which we have the Tabo fragments as testimony?

All verifiable mistakes shared by two or three groups comprise:

	Combination	Number of faulty variants
IV	Tabo/Them spangs ma	1
V	Tshal pa/Phug brag	3
VI	Tabo/Tshal pa/Them spangs ma	1
VII	Tshal pa/Phug brag/Them spangs ma	?

In this second table it also becomes evident that Tshal pa and Phug brag are closely connected (V). Further, also Tabo and Them spangs ma (IV) share a single mistake and in VI the correct reading has only been transmitted by the Phug brag representatives. The question whether the last grouping Tshal pa/Phug brag/Them spangs ma (*versus* Tabo) should be considered as carrying secondary variants will be part of the second part of this contribution. First, I shall shortly present the variants subsumed under IV and VI as they have decisive meaning for establishing the hypothetical stemma of the *TGS*.

INDICATIVE MISTAKES SHARED  
BETWEEN THE KANJUR GROUPS

The only verifiable mistake shared between Tabo and Them spangs ma alone (IV) can be found in an intricate passage which is part of the fifth simile of the sūtra. There, the buddha nature of living beings is compared to a hidden treasure beneath the house of a poor house holder. It is stated that when the bodhisattvas dig out this treasure, i.e., their buddha nature, they would themselves “become like a big treasure of [buddha] qualities and then teach sentient beings the aspects of [this] unprecedented proof [of buddhahood in all of them] (\**apūrvahetvākāra*), similes [illustrating this matter], reasons for actions, and [tasks] to fulfill.”

The canonical translation (*Tib*) reads:<sup>11</sup>

... *chos kyi gter chen po lta bur gyur nas / sems can rnam la  
sngon ma byung<sup>1</sup> ba'i gtan tshigs kyi rnam pa dang / dpe<sup>2</sup> dang /  
byed pa'i gtan tshigs dang / bya ba rnam ston pa ...*

[<sup>1</sup> *A*: *la sngon ma byung* ba sngon ma byung *ba'i*; *LST*: *la sngon ma byung* ba 'am // \* *sngon ma byung ba'i* [\**L*: /; <sup>2</sup> *A*: *dpe*'].]

In footnote 1 we find a repetitive element in *A* and *LST*. The words not printed in *italics* do not appear in the other versions. In order to decide on the originality of the reading we have to compare it to its parallels in *Bth* and in the Chinese translation by Amoghavajra.

*Bth* (250b1f.):

... *chos kyi gter du gyur nas / sems can rnam la rim kyi thog mar rgyu  
dang : rnam pa dang : dpe dang : dgongs pa dang : bya ba smra zhing  
chen : chen po'i mdzod kyi bdag go //*

*Bth*, as often is the case throughout the text, does not correspond to *Tib* in regard to syntax and the analysis of compounds. The compound \**apūrvahetvākāra* on which the translation of *Tib* is most probably based, appears in *Bth* as *rim kyi thog mar rgyu dang* :

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<sup>11</sup> *Q* 265b5; All citations refer to *Q*. The displayed text, however, is the result of my text-critical study of the *TGS* as found in the forthcoming publication mentioned in fn. 5 and should come as close as possible to the original Tibetan translation.

*rnam pa*. The translators of *Bth* have obviously read \**anupūrvahetvākāra* and analysed it as a dvandva compound. However, there is no indication that the repetition in *A* and *LST* could be based on the Sanskrit text. In Amoghavajra's Chinese translation there is also nothing advocating the variant put forward by *ALST*:<sup>12</sup>

... 見一切有情未曾有因相。是故譬喻說大法藏， ...

By comparing it to the other translations it should now be evident that in the above passage Tabo and the representatives of Them spangs ma share a secondary reading which, in their common ancestor, must have been introduced by an inattentive scribe, so to say, a case of dittography. The introduction of 'am /(/) by *LST* before the repetition could mirror how the Them spangs ma editors tried to improve on the repetition which otherwise would too easily raise the suspicion of being just a plain mistake.

Let us now turn to the combination Tabo/Tshal pa/Them spangs ma (VI). Here too, only by help of the other translations, it will become clear that the Phug brag representatives have conserved the original text in the Tibetan transmission. The passage is part of a eulogy verse on the one "who holds the *TGS* in his/her hands" towards the end of the text.<sup>13</sup>

Tabo/Tshal pa/Them spangs ma read in the third pāda:

*de ni nyi zla lta bur blta ba'i 'os //*

"He/She [in whose hands this sūtra is found] is worthy of being looked upon ... like sun [and] moon."

The Phug brag versions, on the other hand, have transmitted the following text:

*de ni zla nya lta bur blta ba'i 'os //*

"He/She [in whose hands this sūtra is found] is worthy of being looked upon ... like the full moon."

Here Tabo/Tshal pa/Them spangs ma seem to be based on the compound *sūryacandra*, a term frequently met with in Buddhist Sanskrit

<sup>12</sup> *Taisho* 667, 462c28.

<sup>13</sup> Verse 12.3 (in the forthcoming edition); *Q* 273b6.

literature.<sup>14</sup> However, *Bth* and the Chinese translation support Phug brag in reading *zla nya* and 滿月.<sup>15</sup> Without doubt, this must be the original reading based on something like \*(*pari*)*pūrṇacandra*.<sup>16</sup> Only Phug brag has here preserved the original Tibetan text *zla nya*, which, in the other versions, was changed to *nyi zla*. The decision for *nyi zla* was probably influenced by the many occurrences of *nyi zla* for *sūryacandra* in Buddhist literature. The alteration from *zla nya* to *nyi zla* does not deserve much editorial engagement as only the *gi gu* above the syllable *nya* had to be added and the position of *zla* and *nyi* had to be exchanged.

#### PHYSICAL, PALEOGRAPHIC AND ORTHOGRAPHIC FEATURES OF THE TABO FRAGMENTS

Having elucidated the main constellations of mistakes among the four groups of transmission, I shall make some remarks on the features regarding material, paleography and orthography of the Tabo fragments of the *TGS* and then deal with their single variants.

The fragments consist of 4 folios, each of them measuring 66.5cm x 19.5 cm. The first folio (*Mdo sde*, *Ki* 25a1-b11) covers the middle of the *sūtra*, the other three folios (*Ki* 28a1-30a5) cover the *sūtra*'s last parts. Apart from the angles which seem to have suffered water damages the folios are of excellent readability. Each of it has eleven lines and two binding holes with a diameter of about five letters in approximately the centre of the left and the right half. At the beginning of each *recto* side we find a *mgo yig* in form of a "curl-like symbol" with a tail to the top.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> See e.g. the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* (*SP*) where a number of compounds include the term *candrasūrya* (Tib.: *nyi zla*): *Candrasūryapradīpa*, *Candrasūryapradīparāja*, *candrasūryaprabhā*, *Candrasūryavimalaprabhāśārī*. The term *pūrṇacandra*, on the contrary, appears only once in the whole *SP*. It is the name of a bodhisattva and rendered in Tibetan as *zla gang*. The situation is similar for the *Lalitavistara*, where the Tibetan version in the Derge Kanjur attests the combination *nyi zla* 27 times, whereas *zla nya* or *zla gang* is found only once throughout the text.

<sup>15</sup> *Bth* 258a3; *Taisho* 667, 466a1.

<sup>16</sup> For Tib. *nya* for *pūrṇa* see e.g. *Kāśyapaparivarta* §88 (VON STAËL-HOLSTEIN 1926).

<sup>17</sup> On ornaments and auspicious symbols in the Tabo manuscript collection see SCHERRER-SCHAUB 1999: 17f.

The fine *dbu can* script is the result of a steady hand. It contains very few mistakes. Its extreme degree of accuracy is further demonstrated by the fact that at the end of each sentence immediately before the beginning of a new verse the copyist has employed a triple *shad* instead of the usual *nyis shad*. For the scribe this probably served as an instrument by which he wished to ensure that a single pāda in the set of four pādas forming a verse would not be overlooked in the copying process, a mistake sometimes encountered in other copies.

The following horizontal ligatures are used whenever the clusters appear: ལྷ for *st-* (ལྷ), ལྷ for *spy-* (ལྷ), ལྷ for *rts-* (ལྷ). *Tsheg* is always set before *shad*. The gap between the *shad* and the following letter is of about one letter. Throughout the fragments no *spungs shad* is employed.

The orthography contains the usual archaisms of the Tabo fragments. We find palatalisation of *ma* before *e* and *i* using the *ya btags*, the employment of the *da drag*,<sup>18</sup> the *mtha' rten 'a*,<sup>19</sup> occasionally the inverted *gi gu*, the spelling *las stsogs pa* for *la sogs pa*, and in some cases *cen* instead of *chen*. Further remarkable are the appearances of *ba(r)* instead of the regular *pa(r)* when the preceding syllable ends with *-n* in *mngon bar*, *ldan ba*, *brtson ba*, *yin ba*, but never in cases of *rkun po*, *mgon po*, *snyan pa*, *'thon pa*, *'dron po*, *chen po*, *ljon pa*, *'brog dgon pa*, and finally the use of *ba* instead of the regular *pa* when the preceding syllable ends with *-m*: *bcom ba*, *zhim ba*, *gsum ba* but never in *dam pa* or *rnam pa(r)*. Commonly employed is also the *anusvāra*-like abbreviation for *ma* in the words *thams*, *rnam*, *rnam̐s*, *'am̐* and *sem̐s*. There are no contractions (*bsdus yig*) or abbreviations (*skung yig*).

### THE SINGLE VARIANTS OF THE TABO FRAGMENTS

The text as represented in the Tabo fragments contains a number of redactional single readings. I will now present these indicative variants of the Tabo fragments with their correspondences in the other

<sup>18</sup> We find *bskald*, *mkhyend*, *gyurd*, *stond*, *bstand*, *'drend*, *stsald*, *zhend*, *shard*, etc.

<sup>19</sup> The *mtha' rten 'a* appears in *mdo'*, *'dra'* and *dpe'*.



translations. Then follows a short discussion of the variants' originality.

(1) Throughout the whole text (with one exception) *A* has *brgya stong* instead of *'bum* in the canonical versions. *Bth* also reads *brgya stong*. The Skt. in all these cases was most probably *śata-sahasra*. The rendering *brgya stong* literally sticks to the Sanskrit. In § 19 of the *Sgra sbyor bam po gnyis pa*<sup>20</sup> it is laid down that in order to attain "good" Tibetan language numbers should be translated in a Tibetan way.

(2) When introducing the verses spoken by the Buddha *A* continually employs *gsungs so* instead of *bka' stsal to*. Here again, in all these cases also *Bth* reads *gsungs so*.

(3) In a passage towards the end, *A* has *rab tu thob* instead of *thob* in the other canonical versions. The passage in *A* runs as follows (28b3f.):

*yang phyir mi ldog pa gang dag la 'od des reg pa de dag reg ma thag tu de dag thams cad mi skye ba'i chos la bzod pa rab tu thob par gyur to // yon tan lnga brgya pa'i le'u zhes bya ba'i gzungs kyang rab tu thob bo //*  
 "Also, all those incapable of turning back who had been touched by the light, immediately when touched by the light attained the intellectual receptivity [to the truth that] dharmas [have] no origination (*anutpattikadharmakṣānti*).<sup>21</sup> [They] also obtained the efficacious formulas (*dhāraṇī*) called 'Chapter of The Five Hundred Qualities.'"<sup>22</sup>

*Bth* (255b14f.):

*yang phyir mi ldog par la rig pa gang 'od kyi reg par gyur pa de dag thams cad kyang mi skye ba'i chos la bzod pa rnyed do : yon tan lnga brgya dang ?an pa'i gzugs rnyed do //*

Though not completely to be excluded, the by far more usual rendering of the prefix *prati* in Tibetan is *yongs su*. If we assume that also in the Sanskrit of the passage in the *TGS* we originally had forms of *prati-√labh* as attested in e.g. the *Saddharmapundarīka*, one is faced with the question how the reading *rab tu thob* came into existence.

<sup>20</sup> See SIMONSSON 1957.

<sup>21</sup> The attainment of the *anutpattika-dharma-kṣānti* is usually referred to with forms or nominalisations of the verb *prati-√labh*.

<sup>22</sup> See e.g. *SP* 327.8: ... *koṭīnayutaśatasahasraparivartāyā dhāraṇyāḥ pratilambho 'bhūt /*.

(4) In a unique case *A* reads *khyim nas byung ba* instead of *mngon par byung ba* in all other canonical versions. *Bth* simply has *byung ba*.<sup>23</sup> The passage describes a bodhisattva from whose body rays of light are emitted from the time he “had been born, set out for ascetic life (*abhiniṣkramaṇa*), and [finally] completely awakened to buddhahood.” Though the translation of *abhiniṣkramaṇa* in *A* is clear enough, the usual rendering of *abhiniṣkramaṇa* in Tibetan translation literature is doubtlessly *mngon par byung ba*, the reading attested in the canonical versions.<sup>24</sup>

(5) A major variant is found in passage 12A (in the forthcoming edition). The Buddha explains to Vajramati, his main interlocutor, that “sons and daughters of good family who are restricted by obstacles [caused by their] deeds (*karmāvaraṇa*) will become purified” due to the merit attained from the propagation of the sūtra. The canonical version (*Tib*) has the following text (the differences to *A* are underlined):<sup>25</sup>

*rdo rje'i blo gros rigs kyi bu 'am / rigs kyi bu mo las kyi sgrib pas  
bsgribs pa gang dag de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po'i chos kyi rnam  
grangs 'di nyan tam / lung nod dam / kha ton byed dam / ston kyang  
rung chos kyi rnam grangs 'di nyan pa dang / lung nod pa dang / kha  
ton byed pa dang / rab tu 'chad pa dang / yi ger 'dri ba de dag la  
tshegs chung ngus chos de dag kyang mngon sum du 'gyur / las kyi sgrib  
pa de yang byang bar 'gyur ro //*

“Vajramati, [those] sons and daughters of good family restricted by obstacles [caused by their] deeds who may listen to this Dharma discourse (*paryāya*) [called] *Tathāgatagarbha*, may expose (*\*uddiṣati*), recite (*\*svādhyāyati*) or teach [it]; for them, listening to this Dharma discourse, exposing, reciting, explaining and copying [it, it will happen that they] will easily (*alpākṛcchra*) see the *dharmas* before their eyes [and they will] become purified [from] the obstacles [caused by their] deeds.”

The Tabo fragments read (29b5ff.):

*rdo rje'i blo gros rigs kyi bu 'am / rigs kyi bu mo las kyi sgrib pas  
bsgribs pa gang dag gis / de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po'i chos kyi rnam  
grangs 'di thos pa dang / lung bog pa dang / kha ton du byed pa dang /*

<sup>23</sup> *A* 28b10; *Bth* 256a3; *Q* 271b7.

<sup>24</sup> See e.g. the index to the *SP* s.v. *abhiniṣ-√kram* (EJIMA and others 1985-1993).

<sup>25</sup> *Q* 273a3ff.

*ston* pa de dag *chos kyi nnam grangs 'di thos pa dang / lung 'bog pa dang / kha ton byes pa dang / rab tu bshad pa dang / yi ger bris pas tshogs chu ngus de dag la chos* kyang mngon sum du gyurd // *las kyi sgrib pa de yang byang bar 'gyur ro //*

Apart from the divergent translations of some words, *A* offers a slightly different understanding by ending the second unit of enumeration of activities with ... *pas* indicating that the second enumeration of activities should here be understood as the means by which to reach the desired result. Problematic in *A* is that *gang dag gis* functioning as a relative pronoun seems to be taken up twice by *de dag* in line 4 and by *de dag la* in line 6. If we decide that the relative clause refers to *de dag la* as it does in *Tib*, *de dag* in line 4 cannot be included in the structure of the sentence. One possible translation of *A* could be:

“Vajramati, for those sons and daughters of good family restricted by obstacles [caused by their] deeds who listen to this Dharma discourse [called] *Tathāgatagarbha*, expose, recite or teach [it]; through listening to this Dharma discourse, exposing, reciting, explaining and copying [it, it will happen that they] will easily see the Dharma before their eyes [and they will] become purified [from] the obstacles [caused by their] deeds.”

*A* is more explicit in stating that the activities performed are the means of getting rid of the obstacles, a connotation not openly expressed in *Tib*. Further, the particle *de dag*, redundant in *A*, in *Tib* refers to *chos*.

*Bth* (257a8-257b1):

*yang rdorje'i blo gros kyis rigs kyi bu pho 'am : rigs kyi bu mo las kyi bsgrib pas bsgrib pa yang : de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po'i chos gzhung 'di nyan pa dang : ston pa dang : khadon byed pa dang : 'chad pa de dag gis chos kyi gzhung 'di thos pa dang : bstan pa dang : khadon byed pa dang : bris nas : nyon mongs chung ngus chos mngon du gyur : zhing las kyis bsgrib pa de dag kyang zad par 'gyur :*

In *Bth*, *de dag* (*gis*) is found at the end of the first enumeration (and not as in *Tib* after *chos*). No relative clause is grammatically expressed. *De dag la* does not appear. However, *bris nas* should most probably be emended to *bris pas*, as *bris nas* would grammatically be impossible to combine with the nominalized stems connected with *dang* before. *Bth* offers no indication that the employment of the particle *'am* as seen in *Tib* might be based on a Sanskrit original.

Chinese (Amoghavajra, 465c9-13):

若善男子、善女人被於業障之所纏縛得聞此如來藏經，受持，讀誦，爲他敷演，由彼聞此經典，讀誦，受持，諷誦，敷演，書寫經卷，以少勤勞業障銷滅，佛法現前。

With the particle *you* 由 (syntactically governing the sentence till ... 書寫經卷) Amoghavajra also marks the second enumeration clearly as the necessary condition for the result mentioned at the end of the sentence: "... in consequence of listening ..."

Speaking in terms of originality, it is hardly possible to settle with certainty the question whether *Tib* in this passage is the revised version derived from the text as found in *A*, though there is some evidence which seems to suggest this. The explicit characterization of the activities as the means in *A* which is also found in the Chinese translation and (with the emendation of *nas* to *pas*) also in *Bth* would favour such an explanation. The redactors of *Tib* would then have also changed the position of the irritating *de dag* (still found in *A*) and combined it with *chos*. *Bth* also agrees with *A* in uniformly using the particle *dang* in both enumerations instead of *'am* which is found in *Tib*.

(6) The colophons:

(a) Phug brag: no colophon

(b) Them spangs ma:

*rgya gar gyi mkhan po shā kya pra bha dang / zhu chen gyi lo tstsha ba ban de ye shes sdes bsgyur cing zhus te gtan la phab pa //*

"The Indian master Śākyaprabha and the Venerable Great-Reviser-Translator Ye shes sde have executed [this] translation, revised [it], and established [it] definitely."

(c) Tshal pa:

*rgya gar gyi mkhan po shā kya pra bha dang / zhu chen gyi lo tstsha ba ban de ye shes sdes bsgyur cing zhus te skad (g)sar chad kyis kyang bcos nas gtan la phab pa //*

"... have executed [this] translation, revised [it], also emended [it] according to the New Terminology,<sup>26</sup> and established [it] definitely."

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<sup>26</sup> This seems to refer to the revision of translations and the execution of new translations according to the newly compiled manuals such as the *Mahāvvyutpatti* at

(d) The Tabo fragments:

*rgya gar gyi mkhan po 'dzi na myi tra dang / da na shi la dang / zhu  
chen gyi lo tstsha ba ban de ye shes sde las stsogs pas bsgyurd cing zhus  
te / skad<sup>1</sup> gsar cad kyis kyang bcos nas gtan la phab te chos kyi phyag<sup>2</sup>  
rgyas btab pa //*

[<sup>1</sup> ms reads *skar*; <sup>2</sup> ms reads *phyad*]

“The Indian master JINAMITRA, DĀNAŚĪLA, the Venerable Great-Reviser-Translator Ye shes sde and others have executed [this] translation, revised [it], also emended [it] according to the New Terminology, established [it] definitely, and confirmed [it] with the Dharma seal.”

### THE ORIGINALITY OF THE VARIANTS OF THE TABO FRAGMENTS

Eventually, I would like to deal with the question how the position of the main four versions of the canonical translation of the *TGS* should be arranged in a hypothetical stemma in order to fit with the results of the analysis above. The evaluation of the single variants found in the Tabo fragments is vital for such considerations. Basically, there are two possibilities to explain the unique readings of *A*. They could (A) represent the original phrases in the best case chosen by the translation team itself or mirror a very old step of transmission whereas in these cases all other versions must have undergone a process of revision. Or they could (B) result from a later intervention by a reviser based on his own judgement or on the evidence of newly available Sanskrit manuscripts. That Sanskrit manuscripts were used to revise Tibetan translations is known about the *Pañcakrama*.<sup>27</sup> HARRISON in his analysis of several Tabo fragments of the *mdo mang* section also does not seem to exclude this possibility.<sup>28</sup> However, I cannot imagine that a later editor would have had any good reason to alter the readings of *Tib* attested under (1), (2) and (4) into the much less commonly used phrases of *A*. In addition, what should lead him to replace *thob* rendering a form of *prati-√labh* by *rab tu thob* as shown under (3)? If he indeed had had access to a

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the beginning of the ninth century.

<sup>27</sup> See TOMABECHI 1999: 88.

<sup>28</sup> See HARRISON 1999: 53.

Sanskrit version of the *TGS* should we not rather expect that he would have supplied the particle *yongs su* as the “regular” counterpart of *prati*? Finally, why should he have left *A*’s dittography shared with Them spangs ma uncorrected? If, on the other hand, we assume that a reviser changed the text in *A* without resorting to a Sanskrit manuscript, how could he have known about the construction of the passage under (5) which, after all, is widely confirmed by *Bth* and the Chinese?

A different question is certainly the colophon. Instead of Śākyaprabha and Ye shes sde, *A* mentions the team “Jinamitra, Dānaśīla, Ye shes sde and others.” This is not the only case of colophons attributing different translators to a canonical work.<sup>29</sup> Together with Ye shes sde, Jinamitra and Dānaśīla are well-known as translators participating in the *skad gсар bcad*. This might also have led to their later glorification. In the Peking Kanjur Jinamitra is charged with 160 translations, while Dānaśīla is mentioned 107 times. Together with Ye shes sde they functioned as a well-known team. Śākyaprabha, on the other hand, is far less known and in the same Peking Kanjur he appears as a translator of only ten texts. One should generally rather assume a tendency to substitute colophons with famous names for ones with less well-known names than to substitute in the opposite direction. Therefore the mention of Śākyaprabha proves to be more plausible here. This, however, does not violate the results indicating that *A* might have preserved original readings in the passages discussed above. Colophons tend to have a life on their own and could, independent of the text they were originally associated with, easily be exchanged as an independent element at the end of the texts. We should therefore be cautious and not draw any conclu-

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<sup>29</sup> Two other cases of such confusion immediately come to my mind: the *Drumakinnara-rāja-paripṛcchā-sūtra* where the Phug brag version has Śīlendrabodhi and Ye shes sde (no. 294) against Dpal gyi lhun po and Dpal brtsegs in all other versions; and the *Śūraṅgamasamādhisūtra* where the Phug brag versions have no colophons at all (no. 207 and 387), whereas the Stog Kanjur version has Jinamitra, Śīlendrabodhi and Ye shes sde (no. 67) versus Śākyaprabha and Ratnarakṣita in the Peking Kanjur (no. 800). See also DE ROSSI FILIBECK 1999: 191-204, where she is dealing with a manuscript of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtra* from Western Tibet whose colophon mentions Rnam par mi rtog as the translator whereas the “usual” canonical attribution is to Ye shes sde, Jinamitra and Śīlendrabodhi.

sions on the version of a text and its stemmatic relations on the basis of its colophon without any further text-critical investigation.<sup>30</sup>

A biography of Rin chen bzang po believed to be written by one of his immediate disciples states that he has worked together with the scholars Jinamitra, Śīlendrabodhi and Ye shes sde.<sup>31</sup> As Rin chen bzang po, to whom Tabo monastery is closely affiliated, lived in the tenth/eleventh century this can hardly be possible. However, it demonstrates that from early times on Jinamitra, who appears in the colophon of *A*, was somehow associated with the activities of Rin chen bzang po. It might be due to this simple reason that in the colophon he and his colleague Dānaśīla could later oust the hardly known Śākyaprabha.

#### A HYPOTHETICAL STEMMA OF THE *TGS*

I think that the evidence should lead us to assume that the nature of the single readings of *A* discussed above in fact documents an older stage of transmission which partly was able to escape later revisional interventions. That *A* also suffered alteration is clear by the mistake *nyi zla* instead of *zla nya* which *A* shares with the Them spangs ma and Tshal pa blockprints and manuscripts. According to chart 1, the new reading *nyi zla* entered the transmission in V whereas in chart 2 the variant was born in Y and could by contamination also spread to the Tshal pa tradition. The similarities and the shared mistake between *A* and Them spangs ma result from the fact that they derive from the same archetype W (in chart 1) or Y (in chart 2). The Them spangs ma manuscript or one of its predecessors later than W must have undergone contamination by a Tshal pa or pre-Tshal pa manuscript which offered its standardized readings not found in *A*. The mistakes common to Tshal pa and Phug brag on the other hand, would, according to the model, have originated in the Tshal pa strand of transmission and

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<sup>30</sup> This becomes obvious especially in light of the phrase "...emended [it] according to the New Terminology" which in the colophons of some versions of the *TGS* is missing though all versions of this translation show the same degree of conformity regarding the New Terminology as presented in the *Mahāvīyūtpatti*.

<sup>31</sup> See his biography in SNELGROVE / SKORUPSKI 1980: 105.15f. (90.7).

Chart 1

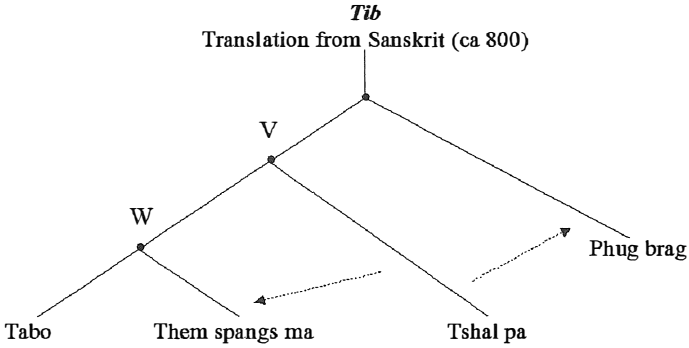
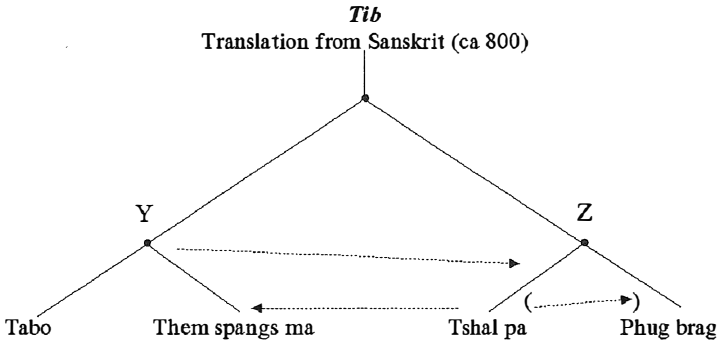


Chart 2



from there have entered the Phug brag manuscript (chart 1) by contamination or they could result from Z (chart 2).<sup>32</sup> For both alternatives we have to assume that cross contaminations were part of the transmissional process of the Tibetan Kanjurs. The classical text-

<sup>32</sup> Of course there is no reason to exclude further contamination of Phug brag by a Tshal pa manuscript in chart 2 in order to account for the relatively high number of shared mistakes between Tshal pa and Phug brag.



critical methods associated with scholars like Karl Lachmann<sup>33</sup> or his twentieth century counterpart Paul Maas<sup>34</sup> alone can, in the case of the *TGS*, not lead us to a satisfactory explanation of the complicated processes involved. According to the models, Tshal pa, however, would be the transmission with the highest degree of emissivity. Only the manuscript of Tabo could, probably due to Tabo's remote position in Western Tibet, remain uninfluenced from the Tshal pa tradition and thereby preserve an old stage of transmission.

Above I have tried to outline two alternatives regarding the stemma of the *TGS*. I am duly aware of their purely hypothetical status. I tend to believe that the less probable alternative is represented in chart 1 for the following reason: the above analysis of mistakes had brought to light a very close relation between Phug brag and Tshal pa. In light of chart 1 this would mean that Phug brag underwent strong contamination by a manuscript of the Tshal pa branch. Assuming such strong contamination, it would be surprising if the variant *nyi zla*, a term of great popularity in Buddhist literature as shown above, had not also been adopted from this Tshal pa related copy by the editors of Phug brag. Considering the fact that the Phug brag editors voted in most cases for the adoption of the Tshal pa variant (and therefore Phug brag does not share any variants with *A* alone), the decision to keep the less common *zla nya* could only have been inspired by a careful editorial work based on a Sanskrit manuscript of the sūtra. For such an assumption, however, we do not have any suggestive hints.

#### SIGLA AND ABBREVIATIONS

- A* Fragments of *Tib* found among the mss of Tabo: File no. 198, Running no. 24, Reel no. 29/1-4 (4 folios in all), *Mdo sde*, *Ki* 25a1-25b11, 28a1-30a5.
- Bth* Second Tibetan translation of the *TGS* in the Ms Kanjur from Bathang, now in the Newark Museum: no. 20.288, *Mdo bsde*, *Ta* 245b1-258a8.
- L* *Tib* in the copy of the Shel dkar Ms Kanjur kept in the British Library (Or. 6724), London: vol. 8, *Mdo*, *Nya* 188b3-206a2.

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<sup>33</sup> On the significance of Lachmann see e.g. KRISTELLER 1984.

<sup>34</sup> See MAAS 1958.

- Q* *Tib* in the Peking Kanjur (Otani Reprint): no. 924, vol. 36, *Mdo, Shu* 259b4-274a1.
- S* *Tib* in the Stog Palace Ms Kanjur copy: no. 72, vol. 59, *Mdo sde, Nya* 194a4-212a6.
- SP* H. KERN and B. NANJIO (eds.), *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, St. Petersburg 1908-1912. Reprint Osnabrück: Biblio Verlag, 1970.
- T* *Tib* in the Kawaguchi Collection Ms Kanjur of the Tōyō Bunko, Tokyo: no. 72, vol. 64-2, *Mdo sde, Nya* 187a2-203b3.
- TGS* *Tathāgatagarbhasūtra; De bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po'i mdo.*
- Tib* Tibetan translation of the *TGS* as contained in the main Kanjurs.

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CANONS AT THE BOUNDARIES:  
THE RNYING MA *TANTRAS* AND SHADES OF GRAY  
BETWEEN THE EARLY AND LATE TRANSLATIONS

CANONS AT THE BOUNDARIES:  
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BETWEEN THE EARLY AND LATE TRANSLATIONS

DAVID GERMANO

It is well known that Tibetan religions were never governed by a single authoritative literary canon analogous to the Bible or Koran, but we remain in the early stages of developing a comprehensive understanding of the manner in which they have been governed by a great multiplicity of regional and sectarian canons from the eleventh century onwards. Canonical studies in Tibet have focused largely on the great translation canons of the *Bka' 'gyur* and *Bstan 'gyur*, which largely represent orthodox Buddhist translations of Indian texts attributed to buddhas and scholars respectively. However, these collections, while of undeniable importance, do not at all embrace the main canonical literary sources of authority in Tibet. This is even true for collections of unambiguously Buddhist texts presented as translations of Indian texts authored by Buddhas and prominent scholars, as discussed immediately below. In addition, any serious treatment of religious canons in Tibet must deal with broader issues of literary legitimacy and authority raised by canonization. The present volume represents a landmark in Tibetan Studies as it integrates *Bka' 'gyur* and *Bstan 'gyur* studies with both interpretative analysis of one of the most important alternative canons in Tibet, the *Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum*, and discussions of issues of legitimacy, authority and lineage during the 'gray' period of the tenth to twelfth centuries which laid the foundation for the formation of canons over the ensuing centuries. They are all united by issues of boundaries—the boundaries that divide foreign productions from indigenous originals, the old translations (*Snga 'gyur*) from the new translations (*Phyi 'gyur*), oral Buddha-authored texts from written human-authored texts, Buddhist from Bon, *sūtra* from *tantra*, authentic from inauthentic, lineage from lineage.

The papers contained in this section of the book derive from two distinct panels at the Ninth Seminar of the International Association

for Tibetan Studies.<sup>1</sup> One set is devoted to the study of the *Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum* (Blondeau, Cantwell, and Hillis) and the other set concentrates on controversial texts and transmissions in the ninth through twelfth centuries presenting the complex realities underlying the simplistic categories of later canon formations (Davidson, Germano, Martin, and Wangchuk). The two subjects are directly linked since the *Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum* took gradual form during precisely this period, while its texts and transmissions posed some of the most complex cases for the study of textual legitimacy and canonicity during this early period of Tibetan Buddhism. In addition, with the single exception of Davidson's analysis of early 'new translations' lineages—which itself turns simplistic characterizations of early translations vs. old translations on their head—all contributions concern the old translations.

The first panel dealt with various issues pertaining to the most important canon of the Rnying ma tradition of Tibetan Buddhism, the so-called *The Collected Tantras of the Ancients* (*Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum*). Its various editions—which vary in structure, sequencing and extent—collected together tantric literature claiming Indian authorship and imperial period Tibetan translation which had for the most part been excluded from the broader canons of Tibetan Buddhist translations known as the *Bka' 'gyur* and *Bstan 'gyur*. Many of these texts were controversial, and/or products of the visionary revelatory movement known as 'treasure' (*gter*), which is of vital importance in the production of new literature within the Bon and Rnying ma traditions, and hence in our understanding of the character of their central bodies of literature and practices. As such, this canon is essential for understanding the character of *Snga 'gyur*, the early translations of Buddhist literature into Tibet dating from the eighth century onwards. By extension, it is also central for understanding the later *Gsar 'gyur* era of translations dating from the late tenth century onwards, since the era was in part defined in relationship to the earlier period. While the vast majority of texts contained

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<sup>1</sup> I would like to thank the National Endowment of the Humanities for providing financial support for activities pertaining to my work on these panels and the resultant book. In addition, I would like to thank all the contributors for their excellent scholarship and timely submissions. Finally, I would like to make a special thanks to Henk Blezer, the Convenor of the 9<sup>th</sup> International Seminar on Tibetan Studies, who has been exceptionally helpful (and patient) at every stage of this process.

in this canon claim to be ‘translations’ of non-Tibetan original manuscripts, it in fact seems they are a complex mix of translations, original Tibetan compositions, and literary products falling somewhere in between. Thus the papers of Blondeau, Cantwell and Hillis offer valuable insights into the contents, and editions, of this vitally important canon of early Tibetan literature. Blondeau’s essay focuses on a rich array of cosmogonic and theogonic myths found in those *tantras* centered on the *ma mo* goddesses. Hillis’ paper is a literary analysis of the fascinating permutations of the figure of the majestic *khyung* bird as it emerges in different literary tropes and metaphors across a series of texts. Cantwell’s contribution provides insight into the history and characteristics of a unique edition of the *Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum* found in the British Library known as the Rig ‘dzin tshe dbang nor bu edition.

The second panel related to texts and transmissions in the early post-dynastic period (842 to early 12<sup>th</sup> century) which offer grounds for blurring the retroactive boundaries of *Snga 'gyur* and *Gsar 'gyur*, and illuminating a bit of the darkness that supposedly lies between them. Many historical studies—both Tibetan and non-Tibetan—have supposed that a period of darkness and literary inertness separated these two periods of large scale translation activity between the mid-ninth and mid-tenth centuries. In addition, it has often been supposed that there is a strict differentiation between ‘pure’ Indian texts and transmissions on the one hand, and creative or distorted Tibetan texts and transmissions on the other hand. Most frequently this has taken the form of *Gsar 'gyur* polemics about the impure character of *Snga 'gyur* traditions, which are seen as Tibetan and hybrid in character in contrast to the purely Indian content around which the *Gsar 'gyur*’s own traditions formed. The papers by Davidson, Germano, Martin and Wangchuk thus look at issues of what an authentic Buddhist text is considered to be during this time period when Indians create texts for Tibetan consumption, Tibetans translate ancient classic Indian texts into Tibetan transplants, and Tibetans themselves create entirely new texts in Tibet, which may or may not be firmly grounded in Indian paradigms. The papers both thus look at signs of continuing transmissions that bridge the two periods across the supposed darkness of their intervening period, and controversial texts that reflect a hybrid Indian and Tibetan quality blurring the constructed boundaries that constitute *Gsar 'gyur* and *Snga 'gyur*, and Indian and Tibetan. Martin looks at unbroken *Snga' 'gyur* transmissions of the

*Mngon pa kun btus* from the imperial period into the eleventh century, thereby showing continuity of exoteric transmissions in the period of social upheaval intervening between the disintegration of the Tibetan empire and the rise of the 'new translations' in the late tenth century when supposedly only fragmentary esoteric traditions survived. Davidson examines the Indian production of texts for *Gsar 'gyur* Tibetans in Tibet, thereby challenging simplistic associations of Indian authorship with India, and *Gsar 'gyur* with faithful translations vs. original compositions. Germano looks at the esoteric roots of the 'early translations' and its 'descent' into Tibet and the eleventh century; he thus shows the formation of the later historical status quo accounting for controversial early translations pedigrees, as well as suggesting the period of decentralization following the empire's disintegration was a site of considerable literary production in which Tibetans produced 'Indian' texts for Tibetans. Finally, Wangchuk looks at the early status of what is probably the most central and controversial of the early translations, namely the *Gsang ba snying po*, and delineates both polemical attacks on its authenticity, and polemical defenses of its authenticity as part of the evolving canon of Buddhist translations. The papers of Germano and Wangchuk thus deal primarily with *Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum* literature as well.

As a collective, these papers present a powerful analysis of some of the central lineaments of the early formation of the categories of the 'early translations' and 'new translations,' and hence the formation and complexity of issues of authenticity, legitimacy and lineage that underlie the gradual formation of the great canons of Tibetan Buddhism. Together with the essays on the *Bka' 'gyur* and *Bstan 'gyur*, they articulate a provisional map to the still largely uncharted territories of the multiple canons of Tibetan religious literature.



GSAR MA APOCRYPHA: THE CREATION OF  
ORTHODOXY, GRAY TEXTS, AND  
THE NEW REVELATION

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Both during and after the *Gsar 'gyur* reintroduction of Indian Buddhism into Tibet, Tibetans came to voice concerns about authentic Dharma. The discussion was applied to three fundamental domains: the authenticity of the scriptural sources, the authenticity of the commentarial or instructional texts, and the authenticity of the oral instructions by which the former two were practiced. By the time of canonical formation in the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries, questions about the viability of these particular sources normatively centered on their respective origins.<sup>1</sup> The question became understood as an issue of geography or ethnicity: were these texts or instructions produced in India or by Indians (therefore authentic), or produced by Tibetans or others (therefore inauthentic). Such issues have proven particularly acute in the case of the esoteric scriptures, the *tantras*, and their respective practical directions (*upadeśa*, *vidhi*, *sādhana*, etc.). These questions have especially focused on the Rnying ma lineages, and their narrative frames. However, the traditional focus on the Rnying ma systems did not necessarily take cognizance of the manner in which the Gsar ma transmissions actually occurred during the tenth to twelfth centuries. Many of the canonical editors' presuppositions are called into question by an investigation into the activities of Gsar ma translators, their informants, and their subsequent lineages over the course of this period. Accordingly, this paper will examine:

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<sup>1</sup> See, for example, Ruegg (1966), pp.28–30; cf. Bu ston's *Dkar chag za ma tog*, fol.3b2, where texts from Nepal, Khotan and China may be acceptable.

- I. the models of authentic scripture or instruction and the complementary culture of textual production,
- II. the polemical field in the tenth to thirteenth centuries,
- III. some specific 'gray' texts from this period which were neither wholly Indic nor wholly Tibetan, and, finally,
- IV. the paradigms of the 'short transmission' and new translation *gter*.

### I. MODELS OF AUTHENTICITY

Models of authentic scripture are easy to affirm and began to be established with the early movement towards the definition of the 'teaching of the teacher' in India.<sup>2</sup> A scripture is expected to be produced at a specific time, in a specific place, by a buddha, bodhisattva, arhat, or otherwise inspired individual, to a specific questioner or audience, and affirming a doctrine. It must have been collected by a certain person, and passed down in a line of authentic Indian masters. In Tibet, this model was expanded to include the process of transportation: an Indian *paṇḍita* arrived in Tibet with the Indic text in question. Working with a Tibetan translator, the *paṇḍita* taught the text to the translator, who realized its meaning through practice, and rendered it into accurate classical Tibetan. The translation was checked, edited and concluded.

While this model was supposedly applied to all texts with canonical status, the site of struggle was clearly the esoteric literature, the documents of the *Mantranaya* rather than the works of the *Pāramitānaya*. A paradigmatic instance of the classical model is the narrative of the *Guhyasamāja tantra*. Ostensibly, it was preached first to king Indrabhūti of Uḍḍiyāna, who requested of the Buddha a teaching appropriate for those who were unwilling or incapable of renouncing sensuality.<sup>3</sup> After it was taught to Indrabhūti, it was collected and recited by the Master of Secrets (*guhyakādhipati*) Vajrapāṇi, and passed down through a line of *siddhas* whose life spans were measured in centuries. Finally, it was brought to Tibet by

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<sup>2</sup> See Davidson (1990) for these standards.

<sup>3</sup> The Indrabhūti story is found in a number of places in the canon, but the Sa skya version is told by Bsod nams rtshe mo in the *Rgyud sde spyi'i rnam par gzhag pa*, pp. 271.2–72.3; cf. A mes zhabs, *Gsang 'dus byung tshul*, pp.13.4–15.4.

Śraddhākaravarman and translated by him working with the Gu ge lo chen, Rin chen bzang po (T. 442).

Such prototypical texts, and there are many, are surrounded by an entire network of systems referential to their authenticity. Thus, an esoteric text is commented on by multiple Indian masters—both from the specific tradition and by those involved in other traditions—who provide narrative support for its claims. By the time these proto-typical texts are encountered in Tibet, they also have multiple manuscripts or recensions, with versions of the text circulating with different numbers of chapters. Finally, the texts will be translated several times by different translators, perhaps as early as the Royal Dynasty, extending up through the fourteenth century. Generally, one of the many translations will become normative, revised, included in the canon, and commented on by Tibetan masters. Our example of the *Guhyasamāja* is prototypical in all of these respects.

The problem with these models is that they are, at their roots, fictive. Indian Buddhism was preeminently a culture of scriptural composition, and esoteric Buddhism was a quintessential example of this rule. The period in India between Wuxing's excited letter home around 680 CE announcing the sudden popularity of a new form of Buddhism, which employed *mantras*, and the mid-eleventh century was one of the most fertile in Buddhist history, with hundreds of scriptures and thousands of supporting treatises written at this time.<sup>4</sup> Virtually all our Indian esoteric literature was composed in this short four centuries, and the Indian Buddhist institutions that evolved during this period did so in the hothouse climate of scriptural composition. While the precise formative process needs be considered scripture by scripture, the mechanism I believe was most influential was a procedure of diverse short explanations in the pedagogical environment, where masters imparted their understanding to disciples. These instructions were compounded into short scriptures, which were in turn included into longer *tantras* as chapters or parts of chapters. Most importantly, *tantras* reflected the rise of regional centers, with the environs of large towns becoming the locus of primary creativity in early medieval India.<sup>5</sup> Post-Gupta

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<sup>4</sup> The quote from Wuxing's letter survives in the *Zhenyanzongjiaoshiyi*, T. 2396.75.431a8–12.

<sup>5</sup> See Davidson (forthcoming).

political fragmentation afforded the freedom and regional affirmation that Indian masters employed in their systems of teaching and elaboration, and precipitated the ease with which their compositions became institutionalized.

In developing their fictive model of scriptural revelation, Indian masters did not include the idea that they would be necessarily written down or even transmitted by Indians. We occasionally find non-human extra-terrestrials, such as *ḍākinīs* or *herukas* from other worlds or *yakṣas* in forests and snakes from the subterranean realm as the sources or recipients. Neither was the locus of revelation invariably set in India, with scenarios occurring in Mahācīṇa, the summit of Mt. Meru, Akaniṣṭha, Ghanavyūha, and elsewhere. The idea that different locales were the sources of the esoteric tradition is supported by place name identity—including Tibetan or Southeast Asian places—and the names employed in some divinities, such as the goddess Lāmā, apparently from the Tibetan Lha mo.<sup>6</sup> Most important was an Indian aesthetic sense, so that Indian metaphors, Indic ritual paraphernalia, and an Indic sense of linguistic importance were observed in the work. This attendance to style rather than substance has been a continuing value in Indian works on scriptural criticism.

This is not to say that all putative scriptures were accepted blithely by Indian representatives, and we have a sense that the different sections of communities found themselves engaging in contentious discussions about the validity of this or that work. Yet it cannot be questioned that the net result was an astonishingly open approach to the development and institutionalization of new ideas in the old Buddhist scriptural format. However, because the new ideas were institutionalized in a hierarchy of ascending ritual and yogic practices—so that their disparate models of reality and claims to correct praxis would not have to compete directly—Indian Buddhists managed to juggle the hermeneutic strategies that these different claims required. Thus, there was no single, unifying criticism that applied to all aspects of Indian esoteric literature.

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<sup>6</sup> Tucci (1930), pp.155–58.

## II. THE POLEMICAL FIELD

It is not surprising, then, that once Tibetans began to engage Indian institutions on Tibetan soil, they would encounter this same principle of scriptural authorship and elaboration in Tibetan terms. Put another way, we may observe that—like the Chinese, Tocharians, Turfanese, Khotanese, Gandhārans, and others before them—Tibetans institutionalized and internalized both the received canonical materials and the principles of scriptural composition. This latter, however, caused difficulties for all these civilizations, and Tibetans were no exception. Yet, the process of scriptural composition appeared to require a few centuries to mature, for the Chinese and others as well as for the Tibetans. Until then, cultures seemed only dimly aware that the process existed, and early Tibetans appeared open to literatures clearly authored elsewhere. We might recall that Royal Dynasty translators, especially 'Gos chos grub, were allowed to propose scriptures translated from Chinese as authentic, and we find a number of curiosities—like several histories of Khotan—included in the canon.<sup>7</sup> Because so many of the earliest translations were done under imperial auspices, though, a relatively tight rein was placed on the potential for textual creativity. All this was to change following the collapse of the Royal Dynasty, and it appears that many of the *Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum* compositions were written during the period of fragmentation.<sup>8</sup>

From the late tenth century proclamation of Lha bla ma ye shes 'od, however, Tibetans began to accept an idea that was not entirely Indian: the canon needed to be closed, or at least restricted to texts with an Indic basis or Indian consensus. Incredibly, if there was an influential Chinese idea that the Tibetans accepted, this was probably it—the strategic system enforcing a finite closed canon. Chinese Buddhists were the first to itemize by title the contents of their canon, and the first to develop standards affirming the illegitimacy of new Buddhist literature not composed in an Indic language.<sup>9</sup> They were the first to develop the category of 'doubtful' scriptures, and the first to encounter systematically the problem of scriptural develop-

<sup>7</sup> Studied by Thomas (1935–63), vol.1, and by Emmerick (1967).

<sup>8</sup> I owe these suggestions to David Germano and Matthew Kapstein.

<sup>9</sup> Tokuno (1990) for the Chinese catalogues and strategies. Chag lo chos rje dpal mentions some sort of *dkar chags* at Vajrāsana, but it does not appear to have been a catalogue of titles, but of preaching events *Sngags log sun 'byin gyi skor*, p.4.3.

ment in India. While most of the problems Tibetans experienced were anticipated by the Chinese, the lack of political unity in Tibet from ca. 850–1260, with a concomitant inability to effect scriptural suppression, certainly contributed to the remarkable efflorescence of literature on the roof of the world. In this regard, Tibetan scriptural development seemed as influenced by fragmentation and regionalization, as had Indian composition before it.

*Gsar 'gyur* Tibetans employed two different methods to call attention to the problem as they perceived it—they questioned either observable practices or specific texts. Practices that were ostensibly un-Indic were castigated, usually as things misconceived by Tibetans, or as having a Bon po admixture. The Proclamation of Lha bla ma was predominantly of this variety, marking the incidence of behaviors which it castigates as either the creations of Tibetans—especially the 'Ba' ji ba—or a misunderstanding of the nature of esoteric literature.<sup>10</sup> The ostensible danger of a potential 'misreading' of esoteric literature had been a primary concern of the old dynasty, and we see that in the *Sgra 'byor bam po gnyis pa* it is the central issue with which translators of the scriptures of secret spells must be concerned.<sup>11</sup> Analogous sections of other texts—surviving parts of the *Lo rgyus chen mo*, the old *Vinaya* annals, or sections of the *Bka' 'chems ka khol ma*—discuss the problems of esoteric innovations in Tibet after the demise of the kings' law.<sup>12</sup> Similarly, Sa skya paṇḍita's *Sdom gsum rab dbye* emphasizes the non-Indic basis of the formulations he analyses. Sa paṇ, however, went further than his predecessors, specifying that Chinese sources were behind the Phyag rgya chen po of his day, especially the *Dkar po gcig thub* of the Dwags po dka' bryud, as seen in the formulae of 'Bri gung 'Jigs rten mgon po and others.<sup>13</sup> In fact, Sa paṇ's *Sdom gsum rab dbye* appears to be the first time that an anti-Chinese polemic was introduced into Gsar ma literature. His polemic built on the resurgent narrative of the Bsam yas debate, which was circulating in recensions of the *Sba*

<sup>10</sup> This material is collected in Karmay (1998), pp.3–16.

<sup>11</sup> *Sgra sbyor bam po gnyis pa*, fols.132b6–133a1.

<sup>12</sup> *Chos byung mkhas pa'i dga' ston*, vol.1, p.431; *Bka' 'chems ka khol ma*, pp.278–86.

<sup>13</sup> For Sa skya paṇḍita's position, see Jackson (1990) and (1994), pp.67–90. The phrase *dkar po gcig thub* appears to have been connected to the Chinese prior to Sa skya paṇḍita, but without either the relation to current Tibetan practice or the strong polemic of the Sa skya master; see Ruegg (1989), pp.100f.

*bzhed* and in the hagiographic *gter* of Nyang ral Nyi ma 'od zer (1124–92).

We might observe that, while it is no doubt true that the practices identified as illegitimate were performed in Tibet, it is equally obvious that some of them were Indian as well. Let me give two examples having to do with the ritual of *abhiṣeka*. Both the printed *Bka' 'chems ka khol ma* and Sa skya paṇḍita chide Tibetans for performing consecrations that they had not received from a predecessor, but just making up rituals as they went along.<sup>14</sup> Likewise, the *Bka' 'chems ka khol ma* indicates that some Tibetans were performing consecrations using a consort that the teacher selected and for which the teacher received money—a kind of ritualized prostitution.<sup>15</sup> Yet, it is clear from the Indic texts that analogous practices existed in India; individuals certainly constructed the *abhiṣeka* rituals concerning various traditions, and the intermittent allusion to prostitutes as partners suggests further association as well. We may conclude that the Tibetan challenges to such ‘misunderstandings’ were from a perspective that at least some Indian authors did not themselves share.

Second, it is evident that the protest about Tibetan innovations or Chinese influence was somewhat selective. Sa skya paṇḍita, who is consistently critical of others about their lack of Indic sources, neglects to mention that there was at least one time when he argued *against* Indic doctrine. In his chronological appendix to his hagiography of his uncle, Grags pa rgyal mtshan, Sa skya paṇḍita argues that the *Vinaya* record as calculated by Śākyaśrī in 1210 CE represented a faulty chronology, since it placed the Buddha's *parinirvāṇa* in 544 BCE.<sup>16</sup> For Sa paṇ, the Khotanese chronology accepted by his uncle was correct, even though this calculation placed the Buddha's *parinirvāṇa* in 2133 BCE.<sup>17</sup> The irony is that, while discounting the Indian oral tradition on this matter in favor of received scriptures, the Sa skya sources for their chronology privileged pieces of apocryphal literature.<sup>18</sup> The chronology was

<sup>14</sup> *Bka' 'chems ka khol ma*, p.284; *Sdom gsum rab dbye*, p.305.4.2–4.

<sup>15</sup> *Bka' 'chems ka khol ma*, p.284.

<sup>16</sup> Martin indicates (1997), p.39, that Śākyaśrī is credited with three chronological calculations, 1204, 1207, and 1210.

<sup>17</sup> *Bla ma rje btsun chen po'i rnam thar*, SKB V148.1.3–2.5.

<sup>18</sup> His sources include (148.1.6–2.4) the acceptance of the Khotanese reckoning by Grags pa rgyal mtshan, the Khotanese apocryphal *sūtra* 'Phags pa dge 'dun 'phel

apparently based on earlier Chinese Buddhist calculations and imported into Tibet through Central Asia. In China it served the Chinese Buddhist apologetic by identifying the Buddha as having lived, not during the Warring States period of disunity, but during the Western Chou dynasty (1122–771 BC), which Confucian scholars specified as the source of all authenticity.<sup>19</sup> Thus, a Confucian chronology of authenticity appears to have been borrowed by Chinese Buddhists, and probably extended even earlier by Central Asian monks. It was retained by the Sa skya tradition, and defended by Sa skya paṇḍita against the normative—and certainly more correct—Indian chronology. Thus, we may wonder if Sa skya paṇḍita’s castigation of some Tibetan practices as being Chinese was not a selective enterprise, given the probability that both his geographical standards of scriptural authenticity and his chronological calculations are derivative of Chinese rather than Indian models.

Finally, it is clear to me that the criticism of specific behaviors, while couched in the language of ‘misinterpretation,’ is directed at nipping in the bud the possibility of formulating new scriptures. If my assessment on the process of esoteric scriptural formation is correct, these ritual instructions, taken collectively, represent the potential for the development of indigenous *tantras*, in the manner of many of the works now included in the *Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum*. In this procedure, a somewhat new form of orthodoxy is being assessed by conservative Tibetans, for it is not based on the inauthenticity of texts, but on the inauthenticity of instructions based on geography. It does not seek to delimit a canon, as canonical criticism does, but to delimit the range of viable ritual, doctrinal or meditative instructions.

This brings us to the other domain of orthodoxy: the criticism of specific scriptures, as opposed to practices, as inauthentic. Such scriptural criticism would appeal, not to an idea of misinterpretation, but to the notion that such texts are not valid sources of the Buddha’s word. Yet this category, seemingly so clear, was also fraught with difficulties. Sa skya paṇḍita, for example, does mention that there were both old and new translation texts written by Tibetans, yet he

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*la dris pa* (Thomas (1935–63), vol.1, pp.39–69) and the *Candragarbha sūtra* (Nattier (1991), pp.228–77), the *\*Vimaladevīvyākaraṇa*, the source cited for the famous line that “2500 years after my nirvana, the Saddharma will spread to the country of the red faces,” (Thomas (1935–63), vol.1, p.139) and references to the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*.

<sup>19</sup> Zürcher (1959), vol.1, pp.271f.



was reluctant to provide a full list of titles, even when specifically asked by Chag lo chos rje dpal (1197–1264).<sup>20</sup> I would like to suggest that one reason for this reticence was that Tibetans, even with Sa skya paṇḍita's background in Indian languages, had some difficulty identifying which texts were authored in India, and which were composed in Tibet or elsewhere.<sup>21</sup> It is clear, as in the case of the *Guhyagarbha tantra*, that Indic works were falsely accused of being Tibetan because they did not fit the orthodox conceptual pattern. It is also clear, as with the Khotanese and Chinese apocryphal *sūtras* translated into Tibetan, that Tibetans had trouble differentiating one foreign text from another.<sup>22</sup>

### III. GRAY TEXTS—THE INTERSECTION OF PAṆḌITA AND LO TSĀ BA

We may also suspect that part of Sa skya paṇḍita's wariness about titles stems from the fact that, when we find specific texts condemned as inauthentic, some were brought by Indians themselves or even written by Indians in Tibet. Such realities cause us to consider the question of Gsar ma apocrypha, a curious idea, for we so frequently hear of the Rnying ma or *gter* traditions as the sources of Tibetan apocrypha. Yet challenges to Gsar ma texts began as early as the late eleventh century, with the *Bka' shog* of Pho brang zhi ba 'od.<sup>23</sup> Likewise, Chag lo chos rje dpal, in his *Sngags log sun 'byin*, identified several scriptures that he considered fabricated in the Gsar ma setting.<sup>24</sup> The Rnying ma also moved in this polemical direction, and I have discussed elsewhere the challenge to Indians in Tibet formulated by Rong zom chos bzang, himself a Gsar ma translator.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>20</sup> *Chag lo tsā ba'i zhus lan*, p.411.3.2f.; he says that feelings would be hurt.

<sup>21</sup> In the *Sdom gsum rab dbye*, pp.317.4.6–318.1.1, Sa skya paṇḍita identifies three *sūtras* that he considers were written by Tibetans: *ko'u shi ka'i mdo dang ni / de bzhin 'phags pa shig can dang / blo gros bzang po chung ngu sogs / bod kyi sbyar ba'i mdo sde yin /*. While the references are not as clear as we might like, the first is probably the *Kauśikaprajñāpāramitā sūtra*, doubtlessly Indian; see Conze (1956) for an edition of the surviving Sanskrit and discussion of the text.

<sup>22</sup> The Korean *\*Vajrasamādhi sūtra* (Tōh.135) would seem a candidate for Sa skya paṇḍita's condemnation, but he apparently chose to concentrate on Tibetan apocrypha; see Jackson (1994), pp.2, 22f.

<sup>23</sup> Collected in Karmay (1998), pp.17–40; he dates the text to 1092 CE.

<sup>24</sup> *Sngags log sun 'byin gyi skor*, pp.14.1–17.4.

<sup>25</sup> See Davidson (in press); Rong zom is quoted in the *Chos 'byung grub mtha' chen po* of Rog bande shes rab 'od, pp.43.3–47.4.

He claimed that some Indians would inquire as to what Tibetans wanted and then compose that material on the way to Tibet. Thus, from the second half of the eleventh century forward, many of those engaging in scriptural criticism indicate that both Indians and Tibetans authored scriptures composed in the Gsar ma milieu.

Therefore we might investigate if the received models of scripture actually apply to many of the texts transmitted to and received by Tibetans in the eleventh century. To this end, I would like to introduce the concept of 'gray texts,' by which I mean texts that do not accord with the prototypes of works either wholly Indian or wholly Tibetan. That is, there is a category of esoteric works found in various compendia, including the *Bstan 'gyur*, which neither fit the classical paradigm, as in the case of the *Guhyasamāja*, nor are wholly the composition of a Tibetan, as in the instance of such Rnying ma Treasure classics as the *Rig pa rang shar chen po'i rgyud*. Gray texts are thus neither wholly authentic nor wholly inauthentic by the orthodox standards. These gray texts became the sources for many of the most important esoteric directions transmitted by the Gsar ma traditions, and in many cases were these traditions' bases of sanctity.

Indeed, we might note that the standard of esoteric authority had changed in some measure in the eleventh century, and we find the short texts of secret instructions—frequently called 'adamantine phrases/verses' (*vajrapada*, *rdo rje'i tshig rkang*)—challenging or even replacing the *tantras* as the most important sources of spiritual vitality. This is seen in the *Bka' shog* of Pho brang zhi ba 'od, who disputes approximately as many instructional texts as full scriptures by the end of the eleventh century. It is seen in the invitation of 'Brog mi to Zur chen shākya 'byung gnas, who is invited, not to learn about the *Hevajra* specifically, but to hear instead the *Acintyakramopadeśa* of Koṭālipa.<sup>26</sup> This invitation was extended so that 'Brog mi himself could pay for Gayādhara's teaching of Virūpa's *Lam 'bras*, not the teaching of the *tantras per se*. Similarly, the centerpiece of the Shangs pa bka' brgyud pa was the *Rgyu ma lam rim*, attributed to the *dākinī* Nigu.<sup>27</sup> We will provide other examples, but the change is

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<sup>26</sup> *Bla ma brgyud pa bod kyi lo rgyus* by Grags pa rgyal mtshan, pp.173.1.7–174.1.7; *Deb ther sngon po*, vol.1, p.145 (Roerich, *Blue Annals*, p.112; *Zhib mo rdo rje*, fol.4b. Other *Lam 'bras* traditions maintain that this was Zur chung, not Zur chen; see the *Lam 'bras snyan brgyud*, p.438 and *Bhir ba pa'i lo rgyus*, p.396.

<sup>27</sup> Kapstein (1979) for this neglected school.

clear: by the mid- to late eleventh century, distinctions between esoteric scriptures and esoteric instructions had become blurred. Thus, many Gsar ma translators considered the esoteric directions, whose authorship is attributed to *siddhas* rather than to a Buddha, to be the most important instructions. In part, this was a result of the *siddha* traditions in India, and in part it was a result of the fact that by the 1076 CE Chos skor of Mnga' bdag rtse lde, the majority of the esoteric scriptures had already been translated.

What distinguishes 'gray texts' is that the work in question probably never existed in India in any form, but was entirely the result of the collaboration of an Indian/Nepali/Kashmiri and a Tibetan translator. The text may have been an actual Sanskrit or Prakrit composition—and some were subsequently introduced into India from Tibet in this form—but for many we may be justly dubious that there was ever an Indic version. Tibetans have generally not treated gray texts as a different form, although we can see that a work produced for a Tibetan audience in a Tibetan environment must be different from one produced and transmitted solely in India. Not only will the horizon of expectations differ, but the aesthetics and even the terminology may legitimately be presumed to have shifted.

Certainly, there are many such works in Tibetan history. During the Royal Dynastic period, the three *Bhāvanākrama* of Kamalaśīla fall into this category. Likewise, the commentary on the *Mañjuśrī-nāmasaṃgīti* attributed to Vimalamitra (Tōh.2092) was said to be composed for the Tibetan sangha.<sup>28</sup> Similarly, the *Bodhipathapradīpa* was an eleventh century composition with the Tibetan audience in mind, a fact acknowledged in the Bka' gdams pa literature.<sup>29</sup>

Gray texts have shown themselves in the Gsar ma period to be agreeable to being bundled into multi-text compendia. Four of such compendia are of interest to me. The first is an excellent example of a compendium of gray texts—the collaborative production of Pha dam pa sangs rgyas kamalaśīla and Zha ma lo tsā ba chos kyi rgyal po (1069–1144) in the latter part of the eleventh or early twelfth century.<sup>30</sup> These works are good test cases for two reasons. First, there are several of them. Zha ma lo tsā ba was responsible for many

<sup>28</sup> Davidson (1981), pp.9f., for this text.

<sup>29</sup> *Rnam thar rgyas pa yongs su grags pa*, p.143.

<sup>30</sup> The dates are from *Deb ther sngon po*, vol.1, pp.274, 279f., 283; Roerich (1949), vol.1, p.221, 226 & 229. He was further attributed the names Seng ge rgyal po, Bsod nams rgyal po, and 'Khon phu ba.

translations in which the teachings and identity of *siddhas* are curious or clearly in distinction to known Indic models. Second, the Zha ma tradition did not succeed in the manner of other lineages. His sister, Zha ma ma gcig, became a notable figure in the history of the *Lam 'bras*, yet the Zha ma tradition of *Lam 'bras* did not become institutionalized in the manner of the Sa skya.<sup>31</sup> Zha ma lo tsā ba, like his sister, was not able to establish a long-lived lineage. His translated materials were considered central to the *Zhi byed pa*, but that system remained rather fragile through its short separate history, so that in the standard hagiographies of Pha dam pa sangs rgyas, Zha ma lo tsā ba is but a footnote, if that.<sup>32</sup> Thus, there has been little investment in hagiographic inflation and the editing of colophons.

Zha ma lo tsā ba was responsible for at least seventeen translations of esoteric instructions and hagiographies. Fifteen are consecutively included in the Sde dge version of the *Bstan 'gyur* (Tōh.2439–53), while the other two are found in *Zhi byed pa* and *Gcod* collections.<sup>33</sup> Most interestingly, however, is that many of them were claimed to have been extracted directly from the Secret Treasury of the *dākinīs* (*Dākinīguhyakośa*; *Mkha' 'gro gsang mdzod*) by Pha dam pa and transmitted to Zha ma lo tsā ba, who translated them as is. For example, the colophon to the *Śrīvajraḍākinīgītā*.<sup>34</sup>

The *Sign of the dākinī in Five Fascicles*—In conference with the Chieftainesses of the Element, it was given to the Indian Rje Dam pa from its residence as a roll of paper in the Secret Treasury. Subsequently, one in attendance in Ding ri, Zha ma lo tsā ba, translated it and entrusted it to the bodhisattva Kun dga'. This is the completion of the four-fold signs from the distinguished eight great songs.

<sup>31</sup> *Lam 'bras byung tshul*, pp.115.1.1–116.2.4.

<sup>32</sup> E.g., *Pha dam pa'i rnam thar*, pp.60f.

<sup>33</sup> The *Zhi byed snyan rgyud zab byed ma* includes most of the canonical works and another small text (*Phyag rgya chen po brda'i man ngag sil lu*, vol.I, 281.1–293.7). I wish to thank Janet Gyatso and Dan Martin for bringing this collection to my attention. Zha lo also translated the *Shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i tshigs su bcad pa chen mo*, translated in Edou (1996), pp.15–23, that did not appear in the canon.

<sup>34</sup> *Śrīvajraḍākinīgītā*, Tōh.2442, fol.67a1f.: *mkha' 'gro ma'i brda bam po lnga pa zhes bya ba gsang mdzod na shog dril du gnas pa las dbyings kyi gtso mo rnam kyis bka' bgros nas rje dam pa rgya gar la gngang / slad kyi ding ri zla 'khor du zha ma lo tsā bas bsgyur nas bla ma byang chub sems dpa' kun dga' la gtad / 'di khyad par gyi mgur chen po bryad las brda skor rnam pa bzhi rdzogs so //*.

In these descriptions, we find specific characteristics: a roll of paper extracted from a hidden treasury, a secret *dākinī* guardian, a revealer who is not the actual person writing down the material—so many of these appear to be in conformity with the Tibetan Treasure tradition.<sup>35</sup> Equally, we find certain anomalous forms in Zha ma's texts—the expansion of *siddhas* to a list of 381 in the *Rnal 'byor pa thams cad kyi de kho na nyid snang zhes bya ba grub pa rnam kyī rdo rje'i mgur* (Tôh.2453) appears to mark the only text anywhere to include more than eighty-five names in a *siddha* list. Building on similar difficulties, Chag lo chos rje dpal accused Dam pa nag chung—one of the names attributed to Dam pa sangs rgyas—with fabricating works which incorporate the un-Buddhist doctrines of *Gcod* into a Buddhist framework.<sup>36</sup> Chag lo charges him with composing Gsar ma apocryphal works—a *Gcig char rig pa rgyang 'dod*, and works on *Rdzogs chen*, *Zhi byed* and *Gcod*—all based on *tīrthika* practices.

If the Zha ma compendium appears curious, it at least has given us specific texts said to have been translated at specific times, whereas the majority of the second group of esoteric works are represented by texts composed much later, generally by Sa chen kun dga' snying po or Grags pa rgyal mtshan. 'Brog mi's most esoteric materials are held to be the *Lam skor dgu*, the *Nine Cycles of Practice on the Path*, of which the *Lam 'bras rtsa ba* (Tôh.2284) is the first in importance according to the Sa skya pa. Yet, of all the nine, only the *Acintyakramopadeśa* completely satisfies our canons of textual authenticity, for the translation is attributed to the team of Ratnavajra and 'Brog mi, and the text is also represented by a canonical translation (Tôh.2228) by \*Sukhānkura and 'Gos [khug pa lhas btsas]. None of the other works, including the *Lam 'bras rtsa ba*, is so clearly Indian.

The *Lam 'bras rtsa ba*, though is complex enough to deserve a separate treatment, so I would like to turn to one of the other problematic texts instead. The final text of the *Lam skor dgu* is the *Phyag rgya'i lam skor*, a teaching attributed to Indrabhūti.<sup>37</sup> As its

<sup>35</sup> For a thirteenth century discussion of the standards of *gter*, see Gyatso (1994).

<sup>36</sup> *Sngag log sun 'byin kyi skor*, p.14; Dam pa Sangs rgyas Kamalaśīla and Dam pa ngag chung appear distinguished in the text p.16.2, but the “nag chung” or “A tsa ra nag po” designation is found frequently in the *Zhi byed snyan rgyud zab byed ma*, I.293.5, II.153.1, 177.5, 380.1, 394.1, 440.3, 464.4, etc.

<sup>37</sup> The text occurs in *Pod ser LL XI.461–479*.

title indicates, this text is exclusively concerned with practices surrounding the use of a sexual partner in the advanced levels of the perfecting stage. The length of the work, one of the longer of the eight subsidiary practices, suggests its importance in the tradition, and in fact its directions are reflected in discussions found in the longest of the eleven commentaries on the *Lam 'bras rtsa ba* attributed to Sa chen, the *Sras don ma*.<sup>38</sup> The *Phyag rgya'i lam skor* is concerned with the exegesis of a verse ascribed to Indrabhūti.<sup>39</sup>

On the horse made [i.e., rode] by Devadatta,  
 The four doors are to be opened by the *nāga*.  
 Seize desire with the extended bow.  
 Increase it with the tortoise gait.  
 Since it is blocked and with a sigh,  
 The [*bodhicitta*] is carried in place by the *hik* girdle.

The interpretation of this cryptic verse occupies most of the text, a literal interpretation in the first half of the work and an exegesis of specific difficult points in the second half. Devadatta—a curious use of the designation of the Buddha's heretical cousin—indicates the well-prepared yogin, who rides the horse of the *Vajrayāna*. The '*nāga*' (a snake) indicates an odd practice that involves preparing an implement (the snake) that is to be inserted in the rectum of the female partner (who is strapped to a saddle), so that the four ends of her psycho-physical channels are forcibly opened and accessible to the yogin. He controls his desire with *mantras* (the bow), or, if necessary, increases desire by slow intercourse (the tortoise gait). He blocks the ejaculate by the arrest of the breath (the sigh) or by the use of the *mantra hik*. The work ends with the Sa skya affirmation that there were three Indrabhūtis: the great, the middle, and the lesser.

This esoteric instruction came to 'Brog mi via Prajñāgupta, a name attached to one of the most notorious figures of eleventh century Tibet. Otherwise known as Ācārya dmar po, he is said to have come from Uḍḍiyāna as a disciple of the Kashmiri Ratnavajra.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>38</sup> *Sras don ma*, pp.364.4–366.1.

<sup>39</sup> *Pod ser LL XI.461.2f.*: *lhas byin gyis ni rta byas la / klu yis sgo bzhi dbye bar bya / gzhu rgyas kyis ni 'dod pa gzung / rus sbal 'gros kyis 'phel bar byed / 'gog par byed cing dbugs dbyung bas / ska rags hik gis gnas su bskyal /*

<sup>40</sup> *Pod ser LL XI.479.3f.*: *indra bhū ti chung ba'i slob ma / jo bo bram ze rin chen rdo rje / de la jo bo dmar po zhes bya ba shes rab gsang bas gsan pa yin no /*; cf. Roerich, *Blue Annals* (1949), vol.II.697, on Prajñāgupta and the *Mahāmudrātilaka* (Tôh.420) and other *tantras* (Tôh.421–22). Ruegg (1981), pp.220f. incorrectly

Ratnavajra also worked with 'Brog mi on several projects, as in the case of the *Acintyakramopadeśa*. The Bka' gdams pa remember Ācārya dmar po as the cause for Byang chub 'od to invite Atiśa in the first place, for it is said that Ācārya dmar po caused monks to return to lay status with his emphasis on sexual yoga.<sup>41</sup> Prajñāgupta's disrepute was well attested from the time of Pho brang zhi ba 'od, who declared that Ācārya dmar po was responsible for the composition of works of dubious pedigree. Specifically, Pho brang zhi ba 'od identifies seven works, either two or three *tantras* and four to five separate instructions, that were composed by Ācārya dmar po; the uncertainty comes from the way in which one of the titles is variously reported.<sup>42</sup> In all likelihood, three of the works were *tantras*, the *Mahāmudrātilaka* (Tōh.420), the *Jñānagarbhayoginī-mahātantrarājātirāja* (Tōh.421), and the *Jñānatilakayoginītantra-rājaparamamahādbhuta* (Tōh.422). Yet none of texts specified by Zhi ba 'od appears peculiar by the standards of other Indian *tantras* of the period, most of which were acceptable to Gsar ma communities. Rather, it was probably Ācārya dmar po's interpretations of this material that Tibetans found offensive. Chags lo Chos rje dpal, for example, declares that Ācārya dmar po tended to rearrange *mantras* and apply *Anuttarayoga* ritual understandings to *Kriyā* and *Caryā* rituals, all of which is seen elsewhere in Indian esotericism.<sup>43</sup> Interestingly, while Sa skya paṇḍita pays court to Zhi ba 'od's diatribe against false scriptures, he affirms the legitimacy of the *Mahāmudrātilaka*, probably because his great grandfather had studied it with the infamous Ācārya dmar po himself.<sup>44</sup>

Two other groups of bundled texts are extraordinarily interesting and closely related. They are the *Pal sa skya pa'i man ngag gces pa btus pa rin po che'i phreng ba*, attributed to Sa chen kun dga' snying

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reconstructs his name, while the colophon to the *Jñānatilakayoginītantrarājaparamamahādbhuta*, Tōh.422, fol.136b4, provides Prajñāgupta. Gzhon nu dpal, *Deb ther ngon po*, vol.2, p.1221 (Roerich, *Blue Annals*, vol.2, p.1049; followed by Karmay (1998), p.30) has made the error of identifying Sa chen Kun dga' snying po as a student of Prajñāgupta, because Dkon mchog rgyal po's hagiography is included with his son's *Bla ma sa skya pa chen po'i rnam thar*, p.84.2.5f. Apparently this was the cause for Gzhon nu dpal postulating two trips by Prajñāgupta to Tibet.

<sup>41</sup> *Rnam thar rgyas pa yong su grags pa*, p.118.

<sup>42</sup> Karmay (1998), pp.30, 35.

<sup>43</sup> *Sngags log sun 'byin gyi skor*, pp.14.6–15.3.

<sup>44</sup> *Sdom gsum rab dbye*, pp.306.2.5, 319.2.6; *Bla ma sa skya pa chen po'i rnam thar*, p.84.2.5f., this being the section in Dkon mchog rgyal po's hagiography.

po, and the *Phyag rgya chen po gces pa btus pa'i man ngag* of his son, Grags pa rgyal mtshan.<sup>45</sup> Both are collections of very short meditative instructions—forty-nine in the former and thirty-two in the latter—and the work of Grags pa rgyal mtshan mostly includes materials from the larger compendium. We see in Sa chen's collection many standard esoteric instructions: visualizations of Virūpa as the preeminent teacher, an emphasis on protective rites, confession texts, specific instructions on psychic heat, and so forth. Some are attributed to the Paṇḍita Vajrāsana, who worked with Ba ri lo tsā ba, while others are from various Nepalese or other individuals who worked in the eleventh–twelfth centuries. However, the compendium certainly has been edited later, for we find slipped in a very short work on alchemy attributed to Sa skya paṇḍita.<sup>46</sup> These Sa skya compendia are also gray, in the sense that many of the texts are meditative directions attributed to Indians, even while most of the actual compositions are assuredly Tibetan. Like the work of Zha ma and 'Brog mi, these compendia are somewhat in the canon (even including an occasional canonical work) and somewhat outside it, neither wholly Indian nor entirely Tibetan.

#### IV. SHORT TRANSMISSIONS AND GSAR MA *GTER*

Beyond these specific groupings of texts concerned with instructions that might be considered difficult to vindicate, given the received models of authentic Buddhist texts, we also have such curious formulae as the notion of a 'short transmission.' This indicates that a Gsar ma figure has received a special understanding from an Indic personality, such as the short transmission between Virūpa and Sa chen kun dga' snying po. The basic story is found in a document entitled *Rje btsun gyis ldan ma sga 'theng la gdams pa*—a letter ostensibly from Grags pa rgyal mtshan to Kyog po sga 'theng and collected in the *Vermillion Text of the Path & Fruit* (*Lam 'bras gzhung bshad Pod dmar ma*) by Kun dga' dbang phyug (1424–1478).<sup>47</sup> The introductory line presents it as the “Chronicle of the face-to-face meeting of Sa chen and Virūpa.” The document relates that Grags pa rgyal mtshan did not hear of the event while his father

<sup>45</sup> Respectively, *SKBI*.268.2.1–281.2.6, and *SKB* IV.302.3.1–311.4.5.

<sup>46</sup> *SKBI*.278.2.4–4.1.

<sup>47</sup> *LL*.XIII.13–15.



was alive, but was only informed of the vision at the age of 18, while his father had passed away when he was 10 or 11. At the age of 17 he was speaking with Slob dpon jo gdan rong sgom, who said, “It seems as if there is a narrative of your father encountering Virūpa,” and Jo gdan asked him if he knew anything about it. Jo gdan was unwilling to relate what he himself had heard, declaring that he had vaguely learned of it from someone who was “disturbed” (*yid yengs pa*), but had yet to learn any details. He counseled Grags pa rgyal mtshan to seek out Slob dpon dge bshes Gnyan. Jo gdan had asked the good Dge bshes many times, but had received no further information. He assured Grags pa rgyal mtshan that Gnyan would relate the story to him, if Grags pa rgyal mtshan asked. When he returned to Sa skya, the letter says, he asked the Dge shes and received the story in reply.

Related in the letter is a story both curious and questionable. When he was staying in Gung thang, we are told, Sa chen contracted a terrible disease. For a month Sa chen was terribly ill, entirely losing his memory. Afterwards, the disease progressed for three years, and he completely lost his recollection of everything he had learned, including all recognition of letters and friends. He prayed to his teacher, Zhang ston dgon pa ba, and the latter appeared in a vision, from which Sa chen recovered his memory. Furthermore, he had a dream, then the vision of Virūpa, from whom he received many teachings over the course of a month. The catalogue of teachings is extensive, and emphasizes that these instructions were not available to Zhang ston and only came down through Sa chen. The letter declares that the cause for the secrecy was simple: Virūpa swore Sa chen to silence until he became as Virūpa himself. Finally at the age of sixty-two, he told a little of his vision to select disciples.

Multiple problems occur for anyone attempting to understand the story’s historical nexus. Its earliest mention—beyond the letter—is in the thirteenth century work of Dmar ston chos rgyal, but is absent from any other document ascribed to Sa chen’s sons. Moreover, the story clearly grows with time and assumes the position of sufficient importance that the fifteenth century *Lam 'bras byung tshul* claims that the short transmission defines the superiority of the 'Khon system of *Lam 'bras* over all other forms.<sup>48</sup> In all likelihood, the story is an early thirteenth century production, generated specifically for this purpose: affirming the superiority of the 'Khon lineage.

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<sup>48</sup> SKB IX.118.2.4f.

Even beyond such visionary revelations of the short transmission, we also find the odd concept of Gsar ma *gter*, especially connected with the 'Brug pa bka' brgyud pa. The preeminent example of this is the discovery of various texts associated with Mar pa and Nā ro pa by the founder of 'Brug pa monastery, Gtsang pa rgya ras in 1189 CE.<sup>49</sup> According to the various legends associated with the find, the core of the revelation was the *Ro snyom skor drug*, although the *Myang chos byung* provides an extensive list of various texts and teachings that Gtsang pa rgya ras discovered at Lcags phur can cliff in Lho brag.<sup>50</sup> While the exploration of Gsar ma *gter* must be reserved for another time, for our purposes we might simply note that the language of the find is exactly that we encounter from the time of the *snying thig gter* forward. The texts are composed by Indians, buried by Tibetan disciples of the Indian teacher, protected by guardians entrusted with their revelation at a future period, and revealed by a teacher who has trained in the tradition in question, revealing the quintessence of the lineage under circumstances foretold.

#### CONCLUSION

The data provided by Indian Buddhism supports the conclusion that it was a religion whose fundamental model of scripture was based on the institutionalization of further composition of the 'word of the Buddha.' Esoteric Buddhism, perhaps more than its predecessors, continued its institution building during an extraordinary period of scriptural efflorescence. For the esoteric system, this happened during the astonishingly short period of the middle seventh through the middle eleventh centuries. Towards the end of this time, Buddhist institutions became engaged in two new geopolitical developments—the advent of protracted Islamic incursions into Northern India and renewed Tibetan interest in Indian Buddhist literature and ritual.

In this context, Tibetans sought to institutionalize two mutually incompatible ideas: first, the received culture of Indian Buddhism

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<sup>49</sup> *Dkar brgyud gser 'phreng*, pp.485–525; *Myang chos byung*, pp.15–25; *Lho rong chos 'byung*, pp.645–63; *Mkhas pa'i dga' ston*, pp.845–48.

<sup>50</sup> *Dkar brgyud gser 'phreng*, pp.509.6–510.2, gives mkhar chu; cf. *Myang chos byung*, p.23; *Lho rong chos 'byung*, p.650; *Mkhas pa'i dga' ston*, p.847.

was to be preserved; second, the Chinese generated ideology of a restricted canon was extended to Tibet, while the Indian Buddhist processes of scriptural composition and consensual authentication were eliminated. During the protracted period of Tibetan involvement with Indian Buddhism, from ca. 750–860 and ca. 980–1400, only minority communities among both the Rnying ma and Gsar ma managed to perpetuate the dynamics and values of Indian Buddhism that caused India to produce the world's most massive scriptural corpus.

Gray texts, neither wholly Indian or exclusively Tibetan, operated as a mediating force: composed in a Tibetan horizon, they united a Tibetan agenda with Indian authority and aesthetics, even if their authenticity was questioned at times. The socio-cultural bases for the continued proliferation of sacred texts, however, could not be entirely restricted, and Tibetans continued to reconfigure their comprehension of Dharma, in both Rnying ma and Gsar ma contexts.

## ABBREVIATIONS

- LL: *Lam 'bras slob bshad.*  
 SKB: *Sa skya bka' 'bum.*  
 Töh.: Sde dge canon numbers found in Tōhoku catalogue of Ui (1934).

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# THE SEVEN DESCENTS AND THE EARLY HISTORY OF RNYING MA TRANSMISSIONS

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## I. INTRODUCTION: THE HISTORY OF DESCENTS

From the 11<sup>th</sup> century onwards there is a proliferation of historical accounts of lineal transmissions for emerging sectarian traditions in Tibet that attempt to anchor their own teachings' origins within foreign Buddhist countries (India above all), as well as account for subsequent unbroken transmissions of those teachings within Tibet. These lineages are often expressed as a series of descents (*babs lugs*), or those to whom the precepts descended (*bka' babs*), terminology which charts progressive developments within India or Tibet, as well as across cultural boundaries. The most important early way of thus representing the Indian tantric traditions transmitted into imperial Tibet which subsequently formed the heritage of the Rnying ma was the seven successive descents (*babs bdun*), and 'four processes' (*tshul bzhi*). They provide an overview of the transmission of *tantra* not only during the Tibetan empire, but also following its disintegration in what is described in Tibetan histories as a dark period between the early and later translations. Significantly, their focus is on traditions known as 'transmitted precepts' (*bka' ma*) which claim to be continuously transmitted from the imperial age to the renaissance. This contrasts to the 'treasure traditions' (*gter ma*) which by their own accounts often were unknown in imperial times, and were transmitted into the 11<sup>th</sup> century and beyond through highly tenuous visionary means. These accounts are crucial for understanding *tantra* in Tibet during the imperial period, as well as in the post-imperial period of fragmentation, the site of more literary activity than commonly supposed. In contrast to many histories' focus on transmissions of the exoteric triad of *Vinaya*, *Abhidharma* and *Prajñāpāramitā* in the dark period, vitality was in the esoteric traditions of the 'magical emanations' (*sgyu 'phrul*) and 'mind series' (*sems sde*).

This historical scheme goes back at least to the 11<sup>th</sup> century, with a lost account by Rong zom chos kyi bzang po which may have been a distinct text, or a historical section located within a larger work.<sup>1</sup> It survives as cited in mostly Rnying ma histories: the 12<sup>th</sup> century *Nyang ral chos 'byung*, the 13<sup>th</sup> century *Lde'u Chos byung*,<sup>2</sup> the 14<sup>th</sup> century *Klong chen chos 'byung*, the 16<sup>th</sup> century *Nor bu'i phreng ba* by Mkhyyen rab rgya mtsho and the 20<sup>th</sup> century *Pad ma dkar po'i rdzing bu* by Zhe chen rgyal tshab pad ma nman rgyal.<sup>3</sup> However, such lineal descents often involved a high degree of fabricated character, and in this case it is essential to realize that even the source cited is at least two centuries after the events in question, while we are unaware of what sources Rong zom himself may have been drawing upon. However, despite the difficulties in historical verification of these descents' veracity, they do reflect a crucial element of how Rnying ma pas came to understand their own historical origins and priorities from the 11<sup>th</sup> to 15<sup>th</sup> centuries in ways separate from the ever more complex narratives surrounding the imperial period that emerged through the visionary treasure movement.

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<sup>1</sup> Mkhyyen<sup>2</sup> rab rgya mtsho's *Nor bu'i phreng ba*, pp.211 and 213.1, attributes his discussion of the seven descents and four processes to a *chos 'byung* by Rong zom, while he refers to it again for a discussion of the history of the Rnying ma (p. 253.5). It thus seems both that Khyen rab was able to consult this work, and that it may have been a substantial and free-standing work. The much later *Pad ma dkar po'i rdzing bu* also explicitly attributes its description of the seven descents to Rong zom, p.74.

<sup>2</sup> See Karmay (1994), pp.413–14; also see Sorensen (1994), pp.635–37 and Kuijp (1992), pp.471f. *Lde'u chos byung* is a commentary by Mkhas pa lde'u written in 1261 on a versified text perhaps authored by Mkhas pa jo 'bum (1123–1175). The same verses were also commented on by Lde'u jo sras in the *Jo sras chos 'byung*, which seems to have been roughly contemporaneous with the *Lde'u chos 'byung*, though the former lacks much of the latter's Rnying ma-oriented discussions.

<sup>3</sup> The passages are as follows: *Nyang ral chos 'byung*, pp.434f., *Lde'u chos 'byung*, pp.302–22, *Klong chen chos 'byung*, pp.267–380, *Nor bu'i phreng ba*, pp.194.6–207.6, and *Pad ma dkar po'i rdzing bu*, pp.74–6. Nyang ral's (pp.434f.) brief account is located in the middle of his narrative of Glang dar ma's destruction of Buddhism, evidently as a way of summing up what type of tantric Buddhism had taken hold in Tibet up until this turning point. Klong chen, however, uses the seven as rubrics to directly organize the bulk of his discussion of the imperial period, while Lde'u's description lies in between. The source for much of later Tibetan historical traditions concerning the reign of Khri srong lde btsan, namely the various versions of *Sba bzhed*, apparently contains at its core a genuine late eighth century document that is perhaps in large part a product of a minister of Khri srong named Ba Sel nang (see Faber 1986, 3ff).



Rong zom's basic formulation apparently was threefold:<sup>4</sup> (i) "seven descents" (*babs bdun*) of tantric teachings from India to Tibet during the imperial period; (ii) "four processes" (*tshul bzhi*) of their consequent transmission *within* Tibet by disciples of the original figures; and (iii) "the cycle of total completion" (*yongs su rdzogs pa'i skor*) or "the cycle of total expansion" (*yongs su rgyas pa'i skor*) associated with Vimalamitra's supposed later translation activity in Tibet during Ral pa can's reign in the second and third decades of the 9<sup>th</sup> century. The root verses commented on in *Lde'u Chos byung* clearly refer to the same formulation, though he expands the seven descents to ten:<sup>5</sup> Mkhas pa lde'u's exegesis of this verse says that six of the descents are during the reign of Khri srong lde btsan, and the final four phases are during the reign of the sons and grandsons. Mkhyen rab rgya mtsho makes a similar comment associating the first five descents with Khri srong lde btsan, the sixth with his son, and the seventh with his grandson Ral pa can.<sup>6</sup>

Rong zom's original list most likely is as follows, with the order evidently representing their supposed chronological order:<sup>7</sup> (i) Padmasambhava, (ii) Śāntigarbha, (iii) Buddhaguhya, (iv) Hūṃkara, (v) Śrīsiṃha with Vairocana, (vi) Prajñāvarman with Dānaśīla, and (vii) Vimalamitra. Lde'u's expanded list adds a fabricated second transmission by Śrīsiṃha during a supposed visit to Tibet and two further descents: three 9<sup>th</sup> century Indians (the later Viśvamitra, Dhanadhala and Candrakīrti) and Gnubs sangs rgyas ye shes.

Zhe chen rgyal tshab pad ma rnam rgyal's twentieth century formulation alters the sequence by placing Hūṃkara before Śāntigarbha, and replaces Prajñāvarman by considering the supposed earlier and later phases of Vimalamitra as separate descents.<sup>8</sup> More

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<sup>4</sup> *Nor bu'i phreng ba*, pp.194.6, 207.6 and 213.1.

<sup>5</sup> *Lde'u chos 'byung*, p.302: "Here are the ten translations of secret *mantra*, the four processes of (their) transmission, and the cycle of (their) total completion as the fifth." He later uses the term "process of descent" (*babs lugs*) to refer to the ten translations (p. 321).

<sup>6</sup> *Lde'u chos 'byung*, p.302 and *Nor bu'i phreng ba* (reference lost).

<sup>7</sup> This is provided in *Klong chen chos 'byung*, *Nor bu phreng ba*, and *Lde'u chos byung*. Mkhyen rab switches the order of the final two in his discussion of the seven descents, but not in his concluding verse summary. While *Klong chen chos 'byung* gives the seven in this order in its concluding summary (pp.377–80), its preceding elaborate discussion of each switches the final two.

<sup>8</sup> I have largely omitted the text's descriptions in the following summaries since their extreme brevity and modern provenance entail they hold little relevance.

interesting is a second account involving only six descents which is based upon “my own teacher’s” explanation: Padmasambhava, Vairocana, Vimalamitra, Gnubs sangs rgyas ye shes, Gnubs nam mkha'i snying po, and the entire process of treasure revelation considered as a single descent, which is also highlighted in the descriptions of Padmasambhava and Vimalamitra’s descents. This latter version is a modification that strips out the list of those elements lacking contemporary interest, and supplements it with references to the treasure traditions that dominate post-10<sup>th</sup> century Rnying ma horizons despite their dubious historical authenticity.

The earliest existent source, however is the *Nyang ral chos 'byung*: while agreeing with Padmasambhava, Buddhaguhya, Hūmkara and Vimalamitra (though in a different sequence), Nyang ral elides Śāntigarbha, Prajñāvarman and most remarkably Śrīsiṃha/Vairocana. Instead of the latter three, he specifies a second phase of Vimalamitra, then Guhya, and then a non-tantric transmission by Jinamitra and others. Thus it appears we have two distinct versions of these seven transmissions: an 11<sup>th</sup> century formulation by Rong zom followed by most Rnying ma historians, and a different version by Nyang ral in the 12<sup>th</sup> century. It is important that with the exception of Gnubs and the trio of Viśvamitra, Dhanadhala and Candrakīrti, all of these transmissions date from an one hundred year period (the latter half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century and first half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century). Each descent has a core limited set of teachings associated with the figure in question that seem to reflect genuinely ancient historical traditions, while the more prominent figures also are separately associated with a much more expansive set of traditions of dubious historical authenticity.

1. BUDDHAGUHYA: THE TRANSMISSION OF CLASSIC BUDDHIST  
TANTRA INTO TIBET<sup>9</sup>

Buddhaguhya (mid-eighth century) was supposedly a disciple of Buddajñānapāda who resided at the famous Nālanda Buddhist academy. Rnying ma sources also claim he studied in Oḍḍiyāna with Vilāsavajra, an important transmitter of the *Guhyagarbha*.<sup>10</sup> The circumstances of his transmissions of *tantra* into Tibet concern his supposed pilgrimage to Kailash in western Tibet, where he is said to have exchanged letters with the Emperor Khri srong lde btsan.<sup>11</sup> Though he declined an invitation to Central Tibet to engage in scholarly activities there, he supposedly received several emissaries from the court and transmitted teachings to them at Kailash. One letter by him to Khri srong mentions teaching Tibetans his own *Rnal 'byor rgyud la 'jug pa* and the *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi tantra*.<sup>12</sup> Our present accounts indicate the transmissions occurred while he was Kailash after the court dispatched translators to work with him.

The *Lde'u chos 'byung* specifies that the Tibetans visiting him translated the *Upaya tantra*,<sup>13</sup> *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi*, *Zhi ba*

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<sup>9</sup> The accounts are as follows: *Nyang ral chos 'byung*, p.435, *Lde'u chos 'byung*, p.304, *Klong chen chos 'byung*, pp.272–75, 377, *Nor bu'i phreng ba*, pp.197.6–198.1, and *Pad ma dkar po'i rdzang bu*, 74. I have changed Buddhaguhya from the third to first, and accordingly displaced Padmasambhava from first to third, since this allows a more ordered presentation of tantric transmissions in terms of their historical origin in India. The precise dates of the interaction of either Buddhaguhya or Padmasambhava with Tibetans in the latter half of the eighth century is uncertain, though the accounts of the seven descents consistently place Padmasambhava at the beginning of the entire chronology. However, this may reflect his mythic priority and at any rate, his emphasis on *Mahāyoga* materials is more easily understood against the backdrop of Buddhaguhya's transmission of the earlier tantric traditions. For the same reason, although Śāntigarbha's involvement with the consecration of Bsam yas monastery presumably means his visit to Tibet followed Padmasambhava's arrival, I have left him in his second slot ahead of the repositioned Padmasambhava.

<sup>10</sup> See *Bdod 'joms chos 'byung*, pp.464f. and Hodge 1994, pp.58 and 68. *Klong chen chos 'byung*, p.272, describes him as from a warrior caste in West India, while *Bdod 'joms chos 'byung*, p.463, says he was born in Central India. Colophons to existent works in Tibetan translation focus on Dba' 'Jam dpal go cha as the translator (see Karmay (1988), p.62).

<sup>11</sup> See Snellgrove (1987), pp.446–50 for a partial translation of Buddhaguhya's supposed letter to the King.

<sup>12</sup> See Snellgrove (1987), pp.447 and 450.

<sup>13</sup> \**Upaya* is used as a rubric either to signify performance *tantras*, or a subcategory of them (see Snellgrove (1988), pp.1354 and 1357). Snellgrove explains

*drwa chen*, *Drwa Chung*, *Khro bo dam pa rgyan*, *'Phreng lung*, and *Cung lung*; the *Klong chen chos 'byung* adds the *Rnal 'byor rgyud la 'jug pa*, as well as internal (*tantras*) such as *Sgyu 'phrul rdo rje las rim*, and the important *Yoga tantra*, the *Sarvadurgatipariṣodhana*. He then lists out teachings belonging to the “internal secret *mantra*,” including the *Guhyagarbha* together with commentary (perhaps his own *Rnam bshad kyi 'grel*) his own shorter esoteric precepts such as the *Man ngag rdo rje lam rim*, *Khro bo'i lam rim*, *Zhi drwa chen*, *Drwa chung* and *Drwa 'bring po* and finally *Bsam gtan phyi ma'i rgyas 'grel*. Mkhyen rab rgya mtsho's list is similar to Lde'u, and seems to characterize everything but the *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi* and *Rnal 'byor rgyud la 'jug pa* as ‘internal doctrines.’

A primary 8<sup>th</sup> century authorities on *Yoga tantras*, Buddhaguhya was one of the main impetuses behind the transmission of such traditions into Tibet. The chief *tantra* of the mid-seventh century was the *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi*, dating to c. 650 CE. When Buddhaguhya transmitted it to Tibetans, it represented a codified classic exemplar of Buddhist *tantra*. He composed important commentaries on it translated into Tibetan, the *'Grel bshad* (T 2663) and *Bsdus 'grel* (T 2662), in which he speaks only of *Kriyā* and *Yoga tantras*, while he classifies the *tantra* itself as a ‘dual’ text (*ubhaya*) bridging the two classes. Among the texts he puts forward as representative of the *Kriyā tantras* is *Vajrapāṇyabhiṣeka tantra*, while for *Yoga tantras* he highlights *Tattvasaṃgraha* and *Dpal mchog dang po*.<sup>14</sup> Later doxographies place both the *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi* and *Vajrapāṇyabhiṣeka tantra* in the class of *Caryā*, such as Atiśa's 11<sup>th</sup> century auto-commentary to *Byang chub lam gyi sgron ma*;<sup>15</sup> they were in general considered the main exemplars of *Caryā tantras* in Tibet, while a few other such *tantras* were controversial. Both stress the central figure of Vairocana and his cosmos. The next major tantric work in India was undoubtedly the *Tattvasaṃgraha*, which took shape by the late seventh century,

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the term as meaning the earlier *tantras* of the three families “approximate” the *Yoga tantras* in that the central Buddha is known as Vairocana. Hodge (1994), p.58, says that Buddhaguhya uses its alternative spelling, *ubhaya* (‘dual’), to describe *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi tantra* as bridging the ritual action and *Yoga tantras*. However the present quote separates the term and the latter title, suggesting it is mistaken, or the term points to a generic reference to performance *tantras*.

<sup>14</sup> Hodge (1994), p.58.

<sup>15</sup> See Sherburne (1983).

though it appears to have been expanded in phases until the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>16</sup> While retaining Vairocana at the *maṇḍala*'s center, this influential *tantra* codified the fivefold expression of buddhahood as the central iconic configuration, offered a classic series of ritual consecrations as the path, and articulated one of the defining tantric narratives—the ritual subjugation of Śiva/Rudra by Vajrapāṇi.<sup>17</sup> It thus represented the evolving norm of *tantra* in the 8<sup>th</sup> century, to which Buddhaguhya devoted *Rnal 'byor rgyud la 'jug pa*. This all provides a picture of a mainstream tantric scholar transmitting the tantric classics of the time.

However, the accounts also indicate that he was involved with new developments emerging out of *Yoga tantra*, and which were referring to themselves as a distinct tradition known as the 'Great Yoga' (*Rnal 'byor ba'i gzhung*, *Rnal 'byor chen po pa rnams*, *Rnal 'byor chen po mchog gi lugs*; *Mahāyoga*). The Rnying ma sect's debt to tantric traditions existent in the latter half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century and first half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century can be grouped into three interrelated groups: classic *Mahāyoga tantras* with associated commentarial literature; related miscellaneous traditions focused on particular meditation deities (*yi dam*), including indigenous deities; and brief texts on the Great Perfection. There is evidence suggesting that the classic set of eighteen such *tantras* transmitted in Tibet under the banner of *Mahāyoga* reflected a standard eighteen fold tantric corpus current in India during this period with regional variations.<sup>18</sup> At its heart was a cycle of texts known as *Sgyu 'phrul drwa ba (Māyājāla)*, with the central texts being the *Guhyagarbha* and *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti*. The former differed from the ensuing tantric developments over the next two centuries in that it continued to center on the basic fivefold set of Buddhas rather than a single wrathful couple, its emphasis on the wrathful ideology and praxis of ritual subjugation had not yet given complete way to the radically antinomian rhetoric of the so-called *tantras*, and the internally based meditations on sexuality and death were still in initial forms. The *Guhyagarbha* would have been, at least for Buddhaguhya, the next step up from the *Tattvasaṃgraha*, itself a deepening of the *Mahāvairocanābhisam-*

<sup>16</sup> Hodge (1994), p.65 and de Jong (1984), p.102.

<sup>17</sup> See Davidson (1991) for an excellent discussion of this paradigmatic myth.

<sup>18</sup> See the detailed arguments in Eastman 1981, which argues for an Indian prototype giving striking similarities between contemporaneous Tibetan and Chinese traditions; also see Eastman (1983), pp.43f. and 57.

*bodhi*. However, in the 11<sup>th</sup> century the Rnying ma *Mahāyoga* corpus became the locus of polemical attacks claiming partial Tibetan authorship, since in the intervening period in India some of the texts had disappeared, as well as the overall notion of an eighteen-fold canonical collection. Thus while the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti* became a standard in modernist circles, the *Guhyagarbha* was repeatedly attacked as inauthentic. While some of these *tantras* may have been altered or supplemented in Tibet, however, the core of the original collection appears to date back to genuine imperial period translations of Indian texts.<sup>19</sup>

## 2. ŚĀNTIGARBHA: NORMATIVE TANTRA BY 1 OF THE 8 RIG 'DZIN<sup>20</sup>

Śāntigarbha is identified as a contemporary of Padmasambhava invited to Bsam yas. He is associated with pre-*Mahāyoga* normative tantric materials like Buddhaguhya (*bya rgyud*), and otherwise is only linked to evocation practices of wrathful deities (especially Yamāri) that are central to the *Mahāyoga* tradition. However, there is no any mention of the classic *tantras* of *Mahāyoga*.

## 3. PADMASAMBHAVA: THE WRATHFUL DEITIES OF MAHĀYOGA<sup>21</sup>

In Rnying ma mythic history, Padmasambhava gradually became the central figure of the entire tradition as the exorcistic tamer of the spirits of Tibet, and as the ongoing source of revealed scriptures known as treasures (*gter*). Unlike Buddhaguhya and Śāntigarbha, Padmasambhava became a visionary lightening rod around which

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<sup>19</sup> The controversial *Guhyagarbha* goes back to an Indian original. The Phug brag version of the *Bka' 'gyur* contains two different translations of it (#753 and 754 in Samten (1992)). While the former is the standard translation used by Rnying ma pas, the latter's colophon says that Lcom ldan rig ral obtained its Indian manuscript and had Thar pa lo tsā ba nyi ma rgyal mtshan retranslate it at Dpal thar pa gling using the old translation and the commentary attributed to the Indian Sūryaprabhāsiṃha for reference (thirteenth to fourteenth century).

<sup>20</sup> The accounts are as follows: *Lde'u chos 'byung* pp.303f., *Klong chen chos 'byung* pp.271 and 377, *Nor bu'i phreng ba* pp.197.5f. and *Pad ma dkar po'i rdzings bu* p.74. It is absent from *Nyang ral chos 'byung*.

<sup>21</sup> The accounts are as follows: *Nyang ral chos 'byung* p.435, *Lde'u chos 'byung* pp.302f., *Klong chen chos 'byung* pp.267–70 and 377, *Nor bu'i phreng ba* pp.195.1–197.5 and *Pad ma dkar po'i rdzings bu* pp.74 and 75. Aside from these short accounts, there are also separate discussions of Padmasambhava in each text.

masses of literature and narratives accumulated over the century. While the visionary came to be linked with Great Perfection traditions, the historical Padmasambhava was mainly associated with *Mahāyoga*. Unlike Buddhaguhya, he seems to have been focused on the new movement, and not so interested in earlier tantric cycles. He participated in both the more philosophically inclined *Guhyagarbha* and the particular deity cults of the *phur pa* deity, with the common thread an inclination towards the wrathful deities and their praxis of subjugation.

One of the few works attributed to Padmasambhava that may actually be his is a doxographically inclined commentary on the 13<sup>th</sup> chapter of the *Guhyagarbha*, the *Man ngag lta ba'i phreng ba*.<sup>22</sup> Structured upon a sequence of vehicles leading from the lowest exoteric traditions to the highest esoteric teachings, it is notable for its threefold presentation of the highest 'inner yogic tantric vehicle of efficacious means' (*rnal 'byor nang pa thabs kyi rgyud kyi theg pa*): the generation mode (*bskyed pa'i tshul*), the perfection mode (*rdzogs pa'i tshul*) and the great perfection mode (*rdzogs pa chen po'i tshul*). Amidst the violent imagery and rituals that were becoming normative for Buddhist *tantra*, the *Guhyagarbha* is a classic *tantra* sweeping over the full range of ritual, mythic, contemplative and philosophic topics of the period with a pronounced gnostic emphasis on the indwelling nature of gnosis (*ye shes, jñāna*). Its communality with *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti* is in this gnostic orientation, with the latter text otherwise being a more specialized poetic reverie on the names of Mañjuśrī as expressive of transcendent reality. The latter also contains fourteen verses pointing in a germinal way to the wrathful reflexes of Mañjuśrī, which were as crucial to the Rnying ma as they were to the later modernists in the form of Yamāntaka (Gshin rje gshed), Yamāri (Gshin rje dgra, Gshin rje gshed), Yama (Gshin rje) and Vajrabhairava (Rdo rje 'jigs byed). These two sides of *Sgyu 'phrul drwa ba*—the wrathful and the gnostic—formed the matrix of the emergence of the Great Perfection as a distinct tradition. The Great Perfection emerged by detaching the gnostic orientation out from its complex web of tantric ritualism while converting the wrathful antinomianism into a sublimated rhetoric of

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<sup>22</sup> *Pad ma dkar po'i rdzings bu* p.75 implicitly acknowledges this by saying he taught this text to ordinary disciples, while he taught the threefold yoga (of the inner *tantras*) to extraordinary disciples, most of which was concealed as treasure.

simple negation turned back upon *tantra*'s own antinomian instincts as much as the conventional world *tantra* attempted to invert. However, it appears the triad in Padmasambhava's commentary refers to three aspects of a unitary *Mahāyoga* tradition rather than independent traditions. The treatment of the Great Perfection as a mode within a broader *Mahāyoga* movement is reinforced by the fact that all of the pre-15<sup>th</sup> century Great Perfection literature attributed to Padmasambhava found in the various editions of *Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum* are classified under the rubric of the esoteric precept series (*man ngag sde*), which are definitely later Tibetan developments of the Great Perfection. He is absent in colophons of the original matrix of Great Perfection literature, namely the *sems sde*.

This is borne out by the artificial manner in which Padmasambhava-centric texts gratuitously insert him into the transmission of early Great Perfection teachings into Tibet. Thus the 12<sup>th</sup> century *Zangs gling ma* has Padmasambhava requesting Vairocana to go to India get Great Perfection teachings from Śrīsiṃha, a contrived addition notable for its absence in the standard accounts, including Nyang ral's own history (*Nyang ral chos 'byung*).<sup>23</sup> In a similar fashion, Klong chen pa's Padmasambhava-centric *Gter 'byung rin po che'i lo rgyus* also attributes the translation of both the eighteen-fold and twenty-five-fold sets of early Great Perfection texts to Padmasambhava's supervision of Tibetan translators, but it is inserted into the text without any intrinsic connection to the overall narrative.<sup>24</sup> In the accounts of the seven descents, Padmasambhava is consistently linked only to *Mahāyoga* texts, even within Nyang ral's own history, despite Nyang ral being one of the main early proponents of the Padmasambhava cult. Nyang ral specifies one descent as being *Gshin rje gshed skor gsum* precepts from Padmasambhava, while to Hūṃkara's descent he adds Padmasambhava's *Gshin rje gshed 'od byang* precepts to Gnubs nam mkha'i nam mkha'i snying po. Even in his separate extensive accounts of other texts supposedly transmitted from, and translated by, Padmasambhava in Tibet, there is no reference to Great Perfection texts among a number of *Mahāyoga* and even *Anuyoga* texts he supposedly translated with Cog ro klü'i

<sup>23</sup> See *Zangs gling ma* pp.73ff. and *Nyang ral chos 'byung* pp.317f.

<sup>24</sup> The passage begins on *Mkha' 'gro yang thig*, p.71.5, with the twenty-five *tantras* listed out on p.76.3 and the eighteen on p.78.1



rgyal mtshan.<sup>25</sup> Subsequently he lists out a number of evocation rituals based on *Mahāyoga* traditions that he supposedly translated from Oddiyāna and Indian languages, as well as violent *mantras* (*drag sngags*) and evil mantas (*ngan sngags*) from a variety of languages.<sup>26</sup> These provide a picture of Padmasambhava as someone immersed in deity evocation rituals emphasizing magical attainments and violent exorcistic rituals for subduing malignant forces, and with no involvement with a Great Perfection tradition outside of its role in the deity logic of the traditions with which he was deeply involved.

The following texts and deities are cited in these texts as associated with Padmasambhava. *Guhyagarbha* and *Thabs kyi zhags pa* are two of the key texts belonging to the classic set of eighteen *Mahāyoga tantras*, and there is reason to believe that Padmasambhava authored existent commentaries on both.<sup>27</sup> The *ma mo* goddesses and Gshin rje ('Lord of Death,' a wrathful form of Mañjuśrī) *tantras* associated with him revolve around important deities found in the classic *Mahāyoga tantras*, and the cycles of the eight precept deities.<sup>28</sup> The Rnying ma tradition developed a vast number of ritual and contemplative cycles centered on Mañjuśrī's various wrathful forms, including Yamāntaka (Gshin rje gshed), Yamāri (Gshin rje sgra/gshed) and Bhairava ('Jigs byed). The Powerful Lotus (Pad ma dbang chen) and Phur pa (Kīla) also signify important deities within the same overall body of materials. The Powerful Lotus is the Horse-Necked One (Rta mgrin, Hayagrīva), the wrathful manifestation of Avalokiteśvara with his lotus of compassion, while the Phur pa is one of the most prominent of all wrathful deities with its lower body shaped into a piercing dagger.<sup>29</sup> Mkhyyen rab rgya mtsho's account

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<sup>25</sup> *Nyang ral chos 'byung*, pp.306–8.

<sup>26</sup> *Nyang ral chos 'byung*, pp.339–42 and 351 respectively.

<sup>27</sup> I have already referred to his commentary on the former, *Man ngag lta ba'i phreng ba*, while for the latter (K #223) I have in mind a substantial commentary in the Dunhuang archives that is attributed to *Pad ma rgyal po* (S. Tib. 321 and P 4717).

<sup>28</sup> *Ma mo tantras* are found in vols.30, 31 & 33 of the Gting skyes edition of the *Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum*, while the main text in the context of the eight precept deities is K 385 of vol.32. The Lord of Death *Tantras* are found in vols.20–22 of Gting skyes, while the main text in the context of the eight precept deities is K 382 of vol.32.

<sup>29</sup> The Horse-Necked One cycles are found in vols.23f. of Gting skyes, while the main text in the context of the eight precept deities is K 383 of vol.32. The Phur pa cycles are found in vols.19 & 27–29, while the main text in the context of the eight

gives a more comprehensive survey of *Mahāyoga* traditions that it claims Padmasambhava transmitted in Tibet, but makes no attempt to associate him directly with any specific *Anuyoga* or Great Perfection traditions. His subsequent verse summary mentions “the *tantras* of *The (Guhya)garbha*, *The Lotus*, *Ma mo*, *Lord of Death*, *Lotus*, and *Phur pa*,” as well as “the quartet of *Mañjuśrī*, *Supreme*, *Powerful*, and *Phur pa*” as ancillaries.<sup>30</sup>

It is important to understand that at an unknown date Tibetans began to speak of two divisions of *Mahāyoga*: the *tantra* section (*rgyud sde*) and the evocation rituals section (*sgrub sde*). It seems that initially there was an internally heterogeneous body of materials, devoid of anything but thematic classifications such as Padmasambhava’s triad. In addition to this corpus of eighteen *tantras*, there were miscellaneous traditions that focused on particular deities both from within and without the classic eighteen *tantras*, such as the famous *Phur pa*. While the deities of the ‘evocation rituals’ tradition of *Mahāyoga* are thus largely based upon the canonical texts of the ‘*tantra* section,’ its literature represents a quite distinct tradition. The *tantra* section undoubtedly represents a predominantly Indian transmission dating back to the 8<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> centuries, even if they may include Tibetan modifications. The evocation section is more likely an Indian-based Tibetan development which gradually wove together wrathful meditation deities (*yi dam*) drawn from *Mahāyoga* and other sources into a sprawling tradition of mythic narratives, ritual cycles and contemplative praxis based on a set of known as the ‘eight precept deities’ (*bka' brgyad*). The eight are divided between five mainstream transcendent Buddhist deities associated with the five facets of a Buddha—enlightened body, speech, mind, qualities and activities—and three worldly deities which have been coercively subjugated into the Buddhist realm. The tradition is thus centered on the *heruka*, or blood drinkers (*khrag 'thung*), a generic term for the wrathful divine principals of Buddhist tantric *maṇḍalas*.<sup>31</sup> Later Tibetan traditions had the root *tantras* for each taken out of concealment from an Indian *stūpa* by eight great Indian mystics (*rig*

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precept deities is K 384 of vol.32. See Mayer 1992 for a survey of sources indicating the clear Indian pedigree for the *Phur pa* deity.

<sup>30</sup> *Nor bu'i phreng ba*, pp.211f.

<sup>31</sup> In addition to this general significance, in the Rnying ma tradition Heruka often has a particular denotation of either *Che mchog* (“Supreme Greatness”) or *Yang dag* (“Ultra Pure”).

'*dzin*), with Padmasambhava also receiving the integrated presentation of all eight in *Bka' brgyad bde gshegs 'dus pa* (K#375-388): Mañjuśrī by Mañjuśrīmitra, Pad ma by Nāgārjuna, Yang dag by Hūṃkara, Bdud rtsi by Vimalamitra, Phur pa by Padmasambhava, Mamo by Dhanasamkr̥ta, 'Jig rten by Rombughya and Drag *Mantras* by Śāntigarbha.<sup>32</sup>

These later narratives were constructed on the basis of historical associations with the individual deities' heterogeneous transmission into Tibet, traces of which are preserved in the seven descents. The latter passages support the association of Ambrosia with Vimalamitra, Mañjuśrī and Phur pa with Padmasambhava, and Yang dag with Hūṃkara, which were likely deities to which each had a personal commitment, such it was their deity cult which each was particularly eager to spread.

#### 4. HŪṂKARA AND GNUBS: THE WRATHFUL YANG DAG DEITY<sup>33</sup>

Hūṃkara also never visited Tibet itself, but rather transmitted teachings to a group of Tibetan translators who sought him out in his Indian residence during the reign of Khri srong lde btsan. Nyang ral sums this up as his transmission of the Yang dag deity precepts to Gnubs nam mkha'i snying po, which he links in a single descent to Padmasambhava's transmission of *Gshin rje gshed 'od byang* precepts to Gnubs.<sup>34</sup> Mkhyen rab rgya mtsho cites a variant opinion that seems to reflect the typical process of Padmasambhava inflation, which has the Master Vajrahāsyā and Hūṃkara both conferring the empowerment to Padmasambhava, who then transmits it to Nam mkha' snying po, who in turn teaches Khri srong lde btsan and so

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<sup>32</sup> See Thondup (1986), p.226. Also see *Bdud 'joms chos 'byung*, pp.482f. for a summary of this tradition deriving from treasure texts, and pp.475–81 for a summary as it derives from non-treasure traditions. The treasure tradition often displaces *Gshin rje gshed* (Yamāntaka) with *Che mchog he ru ka*, with the key texts being as follows (in the order given above): K#380–85 and the final two located in T 844 and T 843. The chief *Che mchog he ru ka tantra* is either the *Dpal he ru ka rol pa'i rgyud*, K #216 and 218, or the *Dpal che mchog 'dus pa rtsa ba'i rgyud*, K #380, the latter being the one particularly connected to the eight precept deities.

<sup>33</sup> The accounts are as follows: *Nyang ral chos 'byung* pp.310–17 and 435, *Lde'u chos 'byung* p.304, *Klong chen chos 'byung* pp.275–81 and 377–78, *Nor bu'i phreng ba* pp.198.1–201.2 and *Pad ma dkar po'i rdzings bu* pp.74 and 75–76.

<sup>34</sup> *Nyang ral chos 'byung*, p.435.

on.<sup>35</sup> The core of these narratives is thus Hūṃkara's transmission of traditions of the deity Yang dag to Tibetans visiting him in India, and above all to Gnubs nam mkha'i snying po.<sup>36</sup> He complements Padmasambhava as an exponent of the wrathful deities of *Mahāyoga* with the consequent orientation towards rhetoric of subjugation and the primacy of deity evocation rituals, but unlike him never became a major locus of subsequent visionary revelations nor colophonic attributions of texts that certainly postdated him.

### 5. ŚRĪSĪMHA AND VAIROCANA: THE GREAT PERFECTION<sup>37</sup>

The fifth descent deals exclusively with the Great Perfection (*Rdzogs chen*), a very different movement that apparently emerged out of the *Guhyagarbha*. The preceding phases of *tantra* generally transformed their predecessors along the lines of an increasing complexity of the rituals of deity evocation, expansion of Buddhas, and intensification of antinomian rhetoric with an emphasis on paradigms of subjugation and horrific Buddhas. In contrast, the Great Perfection turned towards simplicity to undercut the intricate complexity of *Mahāyoga*'s esoterica, displaced the wrathful orientation with a rhetoric of naturalness and relaxation, and rejected deity evocation in favor of simple cultivation of awareness.

The Great Perfection's original founder seems to have been Śrīsīṃha, the third and final of the Indian figures involved in these descents to never have visited central Tibet, though *Lde'u chos byung* contains a clearly fabricated account of a supposed visit.<sup>38</sup> The *Zangs gling ma* lays out the narrative of two Tibetan translators Vairocana and Legs grub being sent to India by the King Khri srong lde btsan in the latter half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century to obtain Great Perfection teachings.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> *Nor bu'i phreng ba*, pp.200.5ff. See the brief biographical remarks on Vajrahāsyā in *Bdud 'joms chos 'byung*, pp.466–67.

<sup>36</sup> The *Śrītheruka tantras* are located in K #289–92. In the context of the eight precept deities, the reference is generally to K #381.

<sup>37</sup> The accounts are as follows: *Lde'u chos 'byung* pp.304–16, *Klong chen chos 'byung* pp.281–98 and 378, *Nor bu'i phreng ba* pp.201.2–206.1 and *Pad ma dkar po'i rdzings bu* pp.74f. It is absent from *Nyang ral chos 'byung* as a descent, though the same basic account is provided elsewhere in the text (pp.317–28).

<sup>38</sup> *Lde'u chos 'byung*, pp.316–17.

<sup>39</sup> See chapter 14, p.73ff. See Karmay (1988), pp.17–37 for a summary of the similar account found in the *'Dra 'bag chen mo*, along with related comments.

In India the two Tibetans meet up with Śrīsiṃha as the most famous master of the Great Perfection, who is usually said to live in India in the Dhahena assembly hall ('*du khang*).<sup>40</sup> He teaches them two sets of texts known as the twenty five *tantras* (*rgyud nyi shu rtsa lnga*) and the eighteen scriptures (*lung*) or *sems sde* texts. Legs grub decides to return to Tibet but dies on the road, while Vairocana insists on further teachings and only returns subsequently. The sources vary widely on the content of these further teachings, and it became a niche in the narrative that served as a place to locate the origins of many texts that were surely later Tibetan Great Perfection compositions.

Nyang ral omits Śrīsiṃha and Vairocana from his seven descents, though elsewhere in the same work he presents the basic narrative. It may be that Nyang ral is valorizing Padmasambhava by de-emphasizing one of his main rivals for dynastic period fame, i.e., Vairocana, perhaps in connection with Nyang ral's own corpus' success being linked to Padmasambhava in contrast to other rival lineages, such as the Zur, which were associated with Vairocana. Lde'u's second descent involving Śrīsiṃha describes him going to Tibet to see how the teachings are coming along and so on, and thus teaching Khri srong lde btsan, who in turn teaches Gnubs sangs rgyas ye shes.<sup>41</sup> This is a clear historical fabrication not found in other texts, presumably motivated by the desire to bring this shadowy figure into a more concrete relationship to Tibetan soil.

None of these accounts associate Śrīsiṃha with China (*rgya nag*), but instead locate his activities in India itself. The later puzzling association of him with China, which has led some to speculate he was linked to Chinese Central Asia, is most likely a fabrication that may have originated in *snying thig* chronicles in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, namely the *Lo rgyus chen mo*.<sup>42</sup> The motivation may have been to

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<sup>40</sup> *Nyang ral chos 'byung*, p.318. *Lde'u chos 'byung* pp.307f. says that the *Dha he na ku sha* assembly hall was in an Indian region named *Za ha 'bu rta'i yul*, ruled by a King *Ku ma sha da ka*.

<sup>41</sup> *Lde'u chos 'byung*, pp.316f.

<sup>42</sup> His birth place is specified as the Chinese region Soshay Ling (*rgya nag po i yul so sha'i gling*) in *Bi ma snying thig*, vol.3, p.110.1, which also specifies he was trained by Chinese teachers. There may be earlier prominent sources of which I am unaware associating him with China. It became a standard association in *Snying thig* literature, such as *Bya bral bzod pa's* 14<sup>th</sup> century historical section within the *Mkha' 'gro snying thig* (vol.2, 465.5-507.6), p.474.2), even as the *Rnying ma* histories continued to present him as being exclusively based in India.

express the international nature of the early Great Perfection as the quintessence of all Buddhism, and hence both legitimize it as well as divert questions for its low profile in India. It may also reflect suppressed awareness of the importance of Chinese Buddhist lineages in dynastic period Tibet, which it acknowledges but sublimates into hybrid figures like Śrīsiṃha who straddled the Indo-Chinese boundary, as well as Vimalamitra's supposed trip(s) to China.

Śrīsiṃha in conjunction with his Tibetan translator, Vairocana is almost exclusively associated with an evolving Great Perfection tradition that seems to have already gained a self-conscious identity. The Great Perfection literature linked with Śrīsiṃha includes critical texts classified as the *sems sde*, which represents the earliest phase of the tradition. The eighteen are short and devoid of references to complicated contemplative techniques, which I think accurately represents the nature of the Great Perfection as initially transmitted into Tibet: poetic meditations on the indwelling and spontaneous nature of gnosis against an implicit backdrop of the larger framework of the *Mahāyoga tantras*.

As pointed out by Kapstein, "The peculiar Nyingma emphasis on a way of practice that combines elaborate tantric ritualism including a vast body of regulations and precepts (i.e., gradual esotericism) with the apparent antinomianism of the Great Perfection may appear to embody a remarkable contradiction."<sup>43</sup> The origin of the Great Perfection within *Mahāyoga* points, however, to their symbiotic relationship. The former offered a built in deconstruction of the latter's own architectonic doctrinal and ritual complexity, as well as a mitigating influence on its emphasis on the visual logic of deities and the wrathful logic of subjugation. *Mahāyoga* in turn offered the Great Perfection a backdrop for its radical rhetoric of negation and the natural inherence of Buddhahood, a safety net in which it could perform its acrobatics within empty space, semantic fields that gave its own denials substance even under the erasure of negation. In later developments, the Great Perfection underwent a radical transformation through a detailed appropriation of new tantric ideologies flowing into Tibet from India. While maintaining its earlier ideology, these new developments offered a wide variety of contemplative systems that reflected creative adaptations of standard tantric paradigms then current in India. Thus while the Great Perfection

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<sup>43</sup> Kapstein (1992), p.58.

itself seems to have originated in India as one of the many fragile individual tantric lineages that constantly bloomed and faded away in local obscurity throughout the history of tantric Buddhism, the vast majority of its literature and subsequent systems of thought and praxis most likely are specifically Tibetan developments.

#### 6. VIMALAMITRA: THE SECOND WAVE OF THE GREAT PERFECTION<sup>44</sup>

Along with Padmasambhava and Vairocana, Vimalamitra was the third and final figure dominating early Rnying ma mytho-historical accounts of their own dynastic period origins, until the gradual rise of Padmasambhava ultimately eclipsed both once and for all. Vimalamitra also represents the second major Indian representative of the Great Perfection in Tibet following Śrīsiṃha. While also invited to Tibet by Emperor Khri srong lde btsan, in contrast the charismatic Padmasambhava, Vimalamitra seems to have been a more scholastic figure in tone, though with yogic associations that left him perhaps somewhat at the margins of normative Indian Buddhist scholasticism of the time. It seems Vimalamitra as well may have been involved with the Great Perfection as a self-consciously distinct movement, since he is consistently associated in Tibet with the early *sems sde* traditions of the Great Perfection in addition to one particular tradition of *Mahāyoga* deity traditions, namely that concerning the Ambrosia deity (*bdud rtsi*). Thus it appears he may have constituted a second Indian transmission of the Great Perfection into Tibet, which itself was again directly linked to the shadowy Śrīsiṃha, said to be Vimalamitra's teacher.

Accounts of Vimalamitra oscillate back and forth between two periods: the late 8<sup>th</sup> century contemporary to Padmasambhava and the early 9<sup>th</sup> century during the reign of King Ral pa can. This appears to be why Rong zom complemented the seven descents and four processes of transmission with a 'fifth' element termed 'the cycle of total completion' or 'the cycle of total expansion' that is associated with Vimalamitra, despite one of the seven descents already being for Vimalamitra. In the *Lde'u chos byung*, Vimalamitra's descent is

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<sup>44</sup> The accounts are as follows: *Nyang ral chos 'byung* pp.328–34, 422, and 435, *Lde'u chos 'byung* pp.318–20, *Klong chen chos 'byung* pp.298–354 and 378, *Nor bu'i phreng ba* pp.206.1–207.5 and *Pad ma dkar po'i rdzings bu* p.75 (this has two distinct accounts).

dated to Ral pa can's reign and ranges over a wide range of materials drawn from *Mahāyoga*, *Anuyoga* and *Atiyoga*; the account of the 'cycle' then focuses on Vimalamitra's earlier activities during the time of Khri srong lde btsan with a focus on Great Perfection traditions.<sup>45</sup> Mkhyen rab rgya mtsho's account, however associates Vimalamitra's descent with Khri srong lde btsan and the 'cycle' with the same wide range of materials translated during Ral pa can's reign, though his subsequent summary instead places Vimalamitra's descent in Ral pa can's time.<sup>46</sup> His account of Vimalamitra's descent only says he "taught immeasurably many teachings tied up with cause and effect and which are beyond cause and effect."<sup>47</sup> Depending on which of Vimalamitra's phases with which it is associated, the term "total completion" or "total expansion" thus apparently refers to Vimalamitra being the one figure who was most extensively involved in the fullest range of tantric transmissions unique to the Rnying ma, and that his second trip to Tibet completed and expanded earlier transmissions during the great codification of Buddhist teachings sponsored by Ral pa can.

The *Klong chen chos 'byung* specifies the seventh transmission as involving Vimalamitra active in the time of King Ral pa can (reigned 815–38), but it then says another tradition based upon research into ancient manuscripts says that Vimalamitra came to Tibet only during the time of the King Khri srong lde btsan (reigned 754–97?). In particular, he cites the *Lo rgyus chen mo* (of *snying thig*) and the "royal genealogies" (*rgyal rabs rnams*). He then suggests that the association of Vimalamitra with the later period "has in mind" the famous correction of previous translations and supplementary translations that occurred during Ral pa can's reign. However, it is unclear if he means that Vimalamitra was re-invited at that time, or that Vimalamitra's own previous work was later modified and supplemented by others during this later period without his actual presence, such that perhaps new colophons appeared in his translations dating them to this later period.<sup>48</sup> It is interesting to note

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<sup>45</sup> *Lde'u chos 'byung*, pp.318–20 and 331–37. There is also an intervening discussion in the text of eight modes of transmission of the Great Perfection (pp.328–31).

<sup>46</sup> *Nor bu'i phreng ba*, pp.206.1–207.5, 207.6ff. and 212.

<sup>47</sup> *Nor bu'i phreng ba*, pp.207.1f.

<sup>48</sup> The fact that he first defines the seventh descent as Vimalamitra coming to Tibet during the time of Ral pa can, and then uses the honorific language "has in



that one of the supposed 'old' manuscripts on which Vimalamitra's earlier dates are proposed is in fact what is most likely a 12<sup>th</sup> century document (the *Lo rgyus chen mo*). In fact his previous discussion of Vimalamitra's activities clearly places him in the earlier period, with the King Khri srong lde btsan sending a trio of Tibetans to invite him, though he cites variant traditions as to their identity, namely 'Khon klu'i dbang po, Nyang po klu'i rgyal mtshan and Sbas rna wa can, or Ska ba dpal brtsegs, Cog ro klu'i rgyal mtshan and Rma rin chen mchog.<sup>49</sup> The King then gathers together all of the *paṇḍitas* and translators in a vast assembly, with his opening speech making clear that Padmasambhava and Vimalamitra are the chief figures.<sup>50</sup> However there is nothing beyond the mere assertion of their simultaneous presence at the convocation to indicate any truth to this supposed encounter, such as conversations and so forth. The granting of a higher throne to Padmasambhava also clearly indicates this is a later narrative which subordinates Vimalamitra to the triumphant Padmasambhava. Subsequently, he has Vimalamitra meeting up with a returned Vairocana at the opening of the 9<sup>th</sup> century during the funeral of either Khri srong lde btsan or Mu ne btsan po, after which Vairocana and Vimalamitra are invited together to Khams.<sup>51</sup> As for the actual texts associated with Vimalamitra, his summary comments say that he translated "many teachings of *mantra* and dialectics," including "the subsequent translations of the *sems phyogs* (tradition), *sgyu 'phrul* along with commentary, the scripture of the Supreme Ambrosia (*Bdud rtsi mchog gi lung*) and so forth ..."<sup>52</sup> Earlier, his general translation of "teachings of external and internal secret *mantra*" is associated with Gnyags jñānakumāra, while his teaching

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mind" to seemingly describe this apparent error (in fact he can hardly accurately be described as "coming to Tibet" if one only has in mind the later revision and dissemination of his teachings without his physical presence), suggests that he may be tactfully critiquing the source he is drawing upon (most likely Rong zom). Certainly it seems here he is embracing the notion that Vimalamitra only came to Tibet during Khri srong's reign. However, he elsewhere clearly specifies Vimalamitra as one of the scholars who had previously come to Tibet and was later re-invited by Ral pa can to participate in the great revision (p. 378).

<sup>49</sup> *Klong chen chos 'byung*, p.299; also see pp.331–37. *Nyang ral chos 'byung* specifies the latter triad. *Nor bu'i phreng ba* p.206.1f. has a different set: 'Khon klu'i dbang po, Dran nam mkha', Gnyags jñānakumāra, and Rma rin chen mchog.

<sup>50</sup> *Klong chen chos 'byung*, p.304. The same passage is found in *Nyang ral chos 'byung* pp.332f.

<sup>51</sup> *Klong chen chos 'byung*, pp.364 and 365 respectively.

<sup>52</sup> *Klong chen chos 'byung*, p.378.

of the mind-oriented (teachings) is linked to G.yu sgra snying po; however he and Gnyags are also linked to translation of 'esoteric cycle' (*gsang skor*) of Great Perfection teachings at Bsam yas.<sup>53</sup>

*Nyang ral chos 'byung* copes with this divergence by associating two distinct 'descents' with Vimalamitra: the earlier "descent of the *sems sde* and Ambrosia (*bdud rtsi*, *amṛta*) precepts of G.yu sgra snying po and Vimalamitra to Gnyags jñāna" during the time of Khri srong lde btsan and the later "descent of Vimalamitra's *Sgyu 'phrul* precepts to Rma rin chen mchog" during the reign of Ral pa can.<sup>54</sup> Zhe chen rgyal tshab's *Pad ma dkar po'i rdzing bu* also assigns the final two descents to Vimalamitra in his exegesis of Rong zom, the first in conjunction with the triad of Ska ba, Cog ro and Rma rin chen, and the second when he returned from China to preside over the funeral for Mu ne btsan po and taught such figures as Gnyags jñānakumāra.<sup>55</sup> Given that this clashes with Mkhyen rab's account of Rong zom, I would suggest Zhe chen is collapsing the seven descents with the 'cycle' associated with Vimalamitra. *Lde'u chos byung*'s verse summary of Vimalamitra's descent focuses on *sems sde*, eight precept deities, *Sgyu 'phrul drwa ba*, and *Anuyoga*.<sup>56</sup> In *Lde'u*'s exegesis of this passage, he has Khri srong lde btsan inviting Vimalamitra via his emissary Gnon klu'i dbang po, but "arriving at the time of Ral pa can;" the *'Dra bag* also has Vimalamitra being invited during the final years of Khri srong lde btsan, but only arriving after his death.<sup>57</sup> In contrast, the *Sba bzhed* says

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<sup>53</sup> *Klong chen chos 'byung*, pp.306, 349 and 360–62. The final passage lists out the following texts: *Phyag na rdo rje me lce 'phreng ba'i rgyud*, *mKha' 'gro ma gtsug na me 'bar gyi rgyud*, *Jam dpal ye shes rgyan gyi rgyud*, *Jam dpal dgongs pa 'dus pa'i rgyud*, *Yongs su grags pa spu gri sde drug*, *bShad pa'i rgyud*, *bsKal pa du ma'i rgyud* and *Rin po che a ti'i gzer mig che chung gnyis*.

<sup>54</sup> *Nyang ral chos 'byung*, p.435. Vimalamitra is first invited to Tibet during by Khri srong lde btsan (pp.328–32), he translates a variety of materials with Gnyags (pp.334 and 395), meets up with G.yu sgra snying po (pp.334f.), leaves Tibet without fan fare (p. 338), and then later in a brief passage is said to have been re-invited in the great revision during the reign of Ral pa can (p. 422). This last passage also lists out a number of texts he supposedly worked on at that time, all of which are associated with the classic eighteen *Mahāyoga tantras*.

<sup>55</sup> *Pad ma dkar po'i rdzing bu*, p.75.

<sup>56</sup> *Lde'u chos 'byung*, p.318. The second set of enumerated groups of texts is repeated in *Nor bu'i phreng ba* with minor variances in the same context, pp.207–10 and 212.

<sup>57</sup> *Lde'u chos 'byung*, pp.318–20 and Karmay (1988), p.28. While the former passage could be read as indicating that Khri srong lde btsan invited Vimalamitra

Padmasambhava departed in an untimely fashion, which causes Khri srong to send Vairocana to India to get further teachings; his return and consequent exile then results in Vimalamitra's invitation, who arrives and teaches Khri srong.<sup>58</sup> Finally, 'Gos lo tsā ba gzhon nu dpal suggests that there were two Vimalamitras, though his reasoning stems instead from the presence of two non-tantric normative exegetical works attributed to Vimalamitra, which he assumes must be a second figure than the tantric scholar.<sup>59</sup>

Certainly it is conceivable that Vimalamitra made two distinct trips to Tibet separated by some twenty odd years, but the various attempts to account for a felt discrepancy indicate the tradition itself saw this as problematic. Obviously the accounts linking him to the later period are devoid of any substantial narrative and yet persistently occur, while the earlier accounts include elaborate narratives. The density of references associating him with figures and events prior to Ral pa can's rule support the earlier association, including such seemingly hard evidence as the citation of compositions attributed to him in the *Bka' 'gyur dkar chag ldan dkar ma*. However, Snellgrove has suggested that this catalogue was supplemented to include translations made during the reigns of Sad na legs and Ral pa can, raising doubts as to whether the presence of the title entails it being datable to 800 or 812 as some have assumed.<sup>60</sup> In addition, the persistent accounts that he only showed up after Khri srong lde btsan's death, as well as the general chronology which dates him subsequent to Padmasambhava and Vairocana, tends to suggest that in fact he arrived right at the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> century after Padmasambhava, and only during the final years of Khri srong lde btsan, if that. I believe the earlier narratives are thus largely fabricated, as he was subsequently repositioned to an earlier generation as part of the general condensation of essential figures into the high profile period of the late 8<sup>th</sup> century with the founding of Bsam yas and so on, as well as to increase his status by making him one of the founding figures. This process may have resulted in his actual visit then being partially displaced into later years to create a two phased stay in Tibet. This most likely was an

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during Ral pa can's lifetime, the two figures' lives did not overlap, so I have instead read "Ral pa can's lifetime" separately.

<sup>58</sup> Karmay (1988), pp.33f.

<sup>59</sup> See Faber (1989).

<sup>60</sup> Snellgrove (1987), pp.440f. and Hodge (1994), p.68.

attempt to legitimize the indigenous compositions attributed to Vimalamitra over the decades following his actual visit to Tibet, as well as simply account for discrepancies of records with the fabricated account of earlier activities.

The triad of deity-centric evocation rituals on the *Bdud rtsi* deity, the *Sgyu 'phrul drwa ba tantras*, and a few early *sems sde* texts linked to his earlier visit are Vimalamitra's core transmissions, since it is highlighted as a distinct unit in all sources around which the long lists of other transmissions later constellated.<sup>61</sup> The subsequent evolution of the Great Perfection was disseminated under the cover of retroactive historiography involving the triad of Padmasambhava, Vimalamitra and Vairocana, such that Vimalamitra's actual involvement with it was later distorted to include movements that surely post dated him, while accounts of his transmissions also gradually expanded to include a fuller range of *Mahāyoga* traditions.

Padmasambhava, Śrīsiṃha and Vimalamitra formed the crucial triad of non-Tibetan figures for the subsequent generations that came to be known as the *Rnying ma*. While Padmasambhava represents *Mahāyoga* and Śrīsiṃha the Great Perfection, Vimalamitra appears to have been balanced between both poles.<sup>62</sup> Vimalamitra, who like Padmasambhava traveled to Tibet itself, seemed to have been associated with less orthodox tantric traditions, open to Ch'an influences, and more given to scholarship and contemplation than miraculous displays of ritual power. Śrīsiṃha himself never arrived in Tibet, but rather influenced Tibetan lineages through his teaching of the Tibetan Vairocana. All accounts point to a chronology beginning with Padmasambhava, followed by Vairocana's encounter

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<sup>61</sup> See, for example, *Klong chen chos 'byung*, p.377 in its summary of the descent. The *Bdud rtsi*-centered *tantras* are located in vol.26 of the Gting skyes edition of the *Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum*. In particular, there is *Bdud rtsi bam brgyad* (*Sarvapañcāmrtaśārasiddhimahodgatahṛdayaparivartāṣṭaka*), K #302. The deity is also called *Rdo rje bdud rtsi* (*vajrāmṛta*), or the term *Che mchog* (*Mahottara*) is used as an epithet.

<sup>62</sup> The index of the Gting skyes edition of the *Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum* associates Padmasambhava with fifteen *man ngag sde* texts, two *Anuyoga* texts and forty four *Mahāyoga* texts. All texts associated with Śrīsiṃha, or some variant of his name, belong to *Atiyoga*: twelve *sems sde*, ten *klong sde*, and seven *man ngag sde*; his *sems sde* and *klong sde* texts are associated with Vairocana as well, while the *man ngag sde* texts are associated with various figures, including Vimalamitra and Gnubs sangs rgyas ye shes (K131). Vimalamitra is associated with two *sems sde* texts, two *klong sde* texts and ten *man ngag sde* texts of the *Atiyoga* tradition, three *Anuyoga* texts, and seventeen *Mahāyoga* texts.

with Śrīsiṃha, which in turn ultimately leads to Vimalamitra's visit. There is no reason to believe Padmasambhava had connection with Śrīsiṃha or Vimalamitra, but there are persistent reports that Vimalamitra was Śrīsiṃha's own student, which would render Śrīsiṃha even more central to the early Great Perfection movement. In addition to their historical contributions, these three figures along with the Tibetan Vairocana were the major loci of later visionary movements, such that the legacy of each was shrouded by the ongoing revelations which they magnetically attracted.

This triad of figures was complimented by a somewhat earlier triad of figures who by most accounts never had any direct relationship with Tibet or Tibetans: Dga' rab rdo rje, Mañjuśrīmitra and Jñānasūtra. While Mañjuśrīmitra may very well have been a teacher of Śrīsiṃha and one of his compositions is in the core 'five earlier translations' transmitted to Vairocana, the text itself makes no reference to the Great Perfection and thus it may be that his *Yogācāra* speculations simply constituted a strand that Śrīsiṃha wove into his synthesis without ever having met the author.<sup>63</sup> Jñānasūtra, the most obscure of the group as well the one with the least amount of literature attributed to him, may well have been the actual teacher of Vimalamitra. One of the most prominent of later lineages (the *snying thig*) constructed all but Padmasambhava into a lineal transmission in the following order: Dga' rab rdo rje, Mañjuśrīmitra, Śrīsiṃha, Jñānasūtra and Vimalamitra. It seems reasonable to suggest that separate links between Mañjuśrīmitra and Śrīsiṃha on the one hand, and Jñānasūtra and Vimalamitra on the other, may have been conflated by making both of the latter Śrīsiṃha's students.

It is remarkable that the three main Indian figures who subsequently become prominent as authors of revealed Great Perfection literature and get constructed into lineal transmissions appear to be genuine exegetes of *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti*: Dga' rab rdo rje, Mañjuśrīmitra and Vimalamitra. I would suggest that as the Great Perfection evolved into a major tradition in Tibet and produced new bodies of literature, Tibetans looked to the Indian antecedents of their own tantric traditions for icons that could as loci for visionary attribution, particularly to the *Sgyu 'phrul drwa ba* cycle. As the textual attributions accumulated, presumably new life-narratives accounted for these unprecedented connections, and gradually lineal accounts were

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<sup>63</sup> See Lipman (1987).

constructed as these figures were patched together into coherent vertical lines of transmission. This process of narrative construction as well as the retroactive association of new Tibetan compositions with the same figures obscured the historical relationship of these figures, who all seem likely to date from the mid to late 8<sup>th</sup> century, and who may very well have been from quite different parts of South Asia without any actual acquaintance with each other outside of a shared interest in *Sgyu 'phrul drwa ba*: Mañjuśrīmitra seems to have been from Ceylon, Vilāsavajra from Oḍḍiyāna, and so on.<sup>64</sup> The interesting Great Perfection reinterpretation of *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti* attributed to Padmasambhava seems to be a later Tibetan composition, which continued the long standing Indian tradition of ongoing reinterpretation of the text in line with newly emergent traditions by explicitly positioning it as a major Great Perfection work.

It thus seems the original inspiration of the Great Perfection in Tibet derives from brief texts Vairocana disseminated supposedly as his Indian teacher Śrīsiṃha's personal transmission, possible later supplementary texts by Vimalamitra while in Tibet, and a strand of *Sgyu 'phrul* exegesis particularly represented by Padmasambhava's *Man ngag lta ba'i phreng ba* as well as commentaries on *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti* by Mañjuśrīmitra (who also is the author of one of the 'five early translations' supposedly circulated by Vairocana), Dga' rab rdo rje and Vimalamitra. These fragile beginnings were elaborated by later Rnying ma histories into lineages of six shadowy Indian figures known as *rig 'dzin*: Dga' rab rdo rje, Mañjuśrīmitra, Śrīsiṃha, Jñānasūtra, Vimalamitra and Padmasambhava. Of these, two actually visited Tibet during the late 8<sup>th</sup> century and early 9<sup>th</sup> century (Vimalamitra and Padmasambhava) while one other is said to have worked closely with Tibetan translators outside of Tibet during the same period (Śrīsiṃha).

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<sup>64</sup> The colophon to the Cambridge manuscript of Vilāsavajra's commentary on *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti* specifies he came from a Buddhist monastery in Swat valley. I am indebted to Ronald Davidson for this information.

7. PRAJÑĀVARMAN, DĀNAŚĪLA AND OTHERS: THE CODIFICATION OF BUDDHISM UNDER THE EMPERORS SAD NA LEGS AND RAL PA CAN<sup>65</sup>

None of these Indian scholars—six in all—figured prominently in later Rnying ma devotional cults and mytho-historical cycles, while their textual associations are correspondingly generic. The glory days of Imperial Buddhism were during the latter half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century, with the founding of Bsam yas, the taming of demons and the elaborate romantic myths that evolved around the figures of Khri srong lde btsan and Padmasambhava. While the reigns of Sad na legs and Ral pa can during the first half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century were periods of intense Buddhist activity under imperial patronage, including the high profile scholarly activity and codification during Ral pa can's reign, the period never became a site of mythic elaboration and devotional energy. Elaborate narratives surrounding Indian figures active in the first half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century are conspicuously absent, even for Vimalamitra. This is even more true of the period ensuing upon the empire's collapse in the mid 9<sup>th</sup> century, which even Rnying ma historians are content to leave as a dark space traversed only by two dimensional figures and hollow lineages.

Khri srong lde btsan's reign thus became a site of ever intensifying density into which all religious developments from the mid-8<sup>th</sup> to the late 10<sup>th</sup> centuries were collapsed, a process which continues to the present with the treasure cult increasingly homogenized to retroactively situate contemporary compositions back in this time period of a few decades. This collapsing of historical development can be seen in these areas of the seven descents where successive historians increasingly load in ever greater numbers of texts. They gradually create the illusion not only that centuries of development took place within the span of a few decades, but that later and specifically Tibetan developments were a passive product inherited

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<sup>65</sup> The accounts are as follows: *Lde'u chos 'byung* pp.317f., *Klong chen chos 'byung* pp.372–377 and 378 and *Nor bu'i phreng ba* pp.207.5f. It is absent from *Nyang ral chos 'byung* and *Pad ma dkar po'i rdzings bu*. While the accounts of the seven descents place Vimalamitra after the descent related to Prajñāvarman, I have inverted the order since their chronology is based on the questionable association of Vimalamitra with a much later second visit, while his historically attested first visit was certainly earlier than Prajñāvarman. In addition, Vimalamitra is linked with a later transmission of *Mahāyoga* and the Great Perfection, while Prajñāvarman and associates are instead linked directly to the activities in the early ninth century with the post-Khri srong lde btsan era.

from late 8<sup>th</sup> century Indians. The scholars headed by Prajñāvarman here thus serve as markers acknowledging the activity that occurred during the first four decades of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, while the absence of any associated dramatic narrative or precise religious transmissions point to the emotional lack of interest in them and their time period. It may also be that the empire was increasingly tied up with normative Buddhist institutions, such that the tantric lineages of the proto-Rnying ma pas were already largely evolving outside of transmissions taking place under official imperial patronage.

In *Lde'u Chos byung*, this descent is the first of the final four, which are identified as taking place during the reigns of the 'sons and grandsons' of Khri srong lde btsan. The first six descents account for the basic range of older tantric materials, and newer distinctively Rnying ma tantric traditions; with the exception of the introduction of the *Anuyoga* tradition into Tibet by Gnubs sangs rgyas ye shes, the last five descents focus on the filling out of these traditions through codification and expansion during the emperors of the first half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, and then in particular the continuance of these traditions amidst the disintegration of imperial rule.

#### 8. GUHYEŚVARA: THE MA MO TRANSMISSIONS DURING THE EMPIRE'S COLLAPSE<sup>66</sup>

The significance of this otherwise obscure figure appears to be that he reflects transmissions taking place in the mid-9<sup>th</sup> century outside of official channels amidst the decline of the Empire and its patronage of Buddhism. The nature of the transmissions are deity-centric *Mahāyoga* constituting the vast bulk of the authentically Indian imperial period transmissions on which the later Rnying ma traditions based themselves on. This figure only appears within *Nyang ral chos 'byung*, which summarizes his transmission as "the descent of Guhya's *ma mo* precepts to 'Brog mi ('the nomad')." <sup>67</sup>

<sup>66</sup> The descent stemming from Guhyeśvara is found only in *Nyang ral chos 'byung* (pp.434f.).

<sup>67</sup> There are three texts in the Gting skyes edition of *Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum* that are associated with 'Brog mi dpal gyi ye shes and the *ma mo* deities: *Yum gzungs ma'i dngos grub chen po'i rgyud* (K# 356), *Sngags kyi srung ma dpal eka dzā ṭi rgyud* (K# 361), and *Ma mo srid pa zla gsang thig le'i rgyud* (K #364). The first names the Indian working with him as Paṇḍita buddha gsang ba, the second names Dhanasantrita, and the third names Paṇḍita guhya gsang ba; the third title is clearly a



9. JINAMITRA AND OTHERS: THE EXOTERIC TRANSMISSIONS<sup>68</sup>

Nyang ral's seventh and final descent is "the descent of the precepts on (non-tantric) dialectics (*mtshan nyid*) of Jinamitra and so on to the triad of (the translators) Ska ba dpal brtsegs, Cog ro klu'i rgyal mtshan and Zhang ye shes sde."<sup>69</sup> While not found in the other texts, Jinamitra is included within the seventh descent of "Prajñāvarman, Dānaśīla and others," the expanded accounts of which also cite translation of non-tantric materials. Jinamitra appears to have been active in Tibet in the first two decades of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, while other sources place him earlier as well during the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>70</sup> With this exception, all other accounts of the seven descents focus on tantric transmissions, thereby ignoring the extensive non-tantric materials translated into Tibetan during the same period. This is because developments during the dark period focused on tantric traditions, such that most creative elaborations were specifically tantric in character, while non-tantric Buddhist traditions either lapsed or were only maintained in a conservative manner. In the renaissance age from the late 10<sup>th</sup> century it was thus the Rnying ma tantric traditions that were controversial, and which required historical justification in the charged polemical and sectarian atmosphere from the late 11<sup>th</sup> century onwards. These traditions also formed the matrix for the major developments from the 11<sup>th</sup> through 14<sup>th</sup> centuries, during which time there is a scarcity of any specifically Rnying ma literature authored on non-tantric subjects in marked contrast to the burgeoning modernist literature on epistemology, logic, metaphysics and the like. Noticeably absent from the descents are the Indian scholars Śāntarakṣita and his student Kamalaśīla, despite their prominence in Tibet during the latter half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century, and despite the influence of their scholastic brand of *Yogācāra* on subsequent tantric syncretic developments in Tibet.<sup>71</sup>

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variant of the title mentioned in the cited passage, though the reference to "nine" is unclear.

<sup>68</sup> This descent is found only in *Nyang ral chos 'byung* (p. 435).

<sup>69</sup> The third name is elided in the text, but I have added it in on the basis of this being a standard triad of translators.

<sup>70</sup> See Snellgrove (1987), pp.441f. and *Bdod 'joms chos 'byung*, p.515.

<sup>71</sup> *Klong chen chos 'byung* (pp.270f.) gives a short description of Śāntarakṣita's translations between the first and second descent, but does not classify it as part of either, nor as a separate descent.

10. THE LATER VIŚVAMITRA, DHANADHALA AND CANDRAKĪRTI<sup>72</sup>

These represent Indian figures operative in Tibet transmitting new teachings in the post-imperial period. They constitute traces of transmissions elided by the lack of institutions preserving historical records during the dark period and suggest its darkness may be more epistemic and than intrinsic to the period itself. Given that the figures are not particularly famous nor are their generic *Mahāyoga* transmissions critical for legitimization, it is reasonable to expect they reflect a terse summary of miscellaneous inherited lineages dating back to the 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> centuries. This triad is unique to *Lde'u Chos byung*, and is part of his expansion to ten descents. Mkhyen rab rgya mtsho's concluding summary of the seven descents includes a reference to all three Indian figures' activities at the end, indicating it was a part of Rong zom's original account.<sup>73</sup>

11. GNUBS SANGS RGYAS YE SHES: THE EMERGENCE OF *ANUYOGA*<sup>74</sup>

Gnubs sangs rgyas ye shes (832?–943?) is only found in the descents within *Lde'u chos byung*, where he is one of the three descents added to constitute a tenfold list. The other texts discuss him in the context of the subsequent transmission of these descents *within* Tibet, i.e., in the 'four processes.' Gnubs is a liminal figure since he translated new texts into Tibetan, yet he lived during the dark period after the other figures in question, and is prominent within subsequent *Tibetan* lineages. He is also prominent for producing significant texts in the *Snga 'gyur* tradition which he acknowledged composing himself, an authorial acknowledgement rarely echoed outside a few individuals such as Rong zom prior to the 14<sup>th</sup> century. His importance led Mkhas pa lde'u to present him as the 10<sup>th</sup> and final descent of *tantra* that formed the basis of the later Rnying ma transmissions.

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<sup>72</sup> This descent is found only in *Lde'u chos 'byung* (pp.320f. and 394–96). See *Bdod 'joms chos 'byung* (pp.614f.) for an account of Khu lung yon tan rgya mtsho and his relationship with Dhanadhala, the former of whom is said to have been an important student of Gnubs sangs rgyas ye shes. Thus it would appear this encounter should be dated in the earlier half of the tenth century (?).

<sup>73</sup> *Nor bu'i phreng ba*, p.212. He also mentions the latter two figures on p.211.

<sup>74</sup> Gnubs sangs rgyas ye shes is only found in *Lde'u chos 'byung* (pp.321f.) as part of the list of descents.

Though he is linked to Padmasambhava and other figures of the early 9<sup>th</sup> century in later accounts, it is not clear that he lived so early. His *Bsam gtan mig sgron* refers to Glang dar ma's persecution in retrospect, so we can date him to at least the latter half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, while ensuing lineage accounts make it unlikely he lived as recently as the latter half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>75</sup> It seems his dates should be located between the mid-9<sup>th</sup> and mid-10<sup>th</sup> centuries, and that earlier associations are fabrications trying to link him to the glory days of the empire. *Nyang ral chos 'byung* doesn't include Gnubs in his descents, but he precedes them by saying that Gnubs translated *tantras*, instructions, esoteric precepts and practice manuals with the Paṇḍita Vasudhara.<sup>76</sup> He also mentions Gnubs as one of a series of 'old translators' living during the reign of Glang dar ma.<sup>77</sup> However Nyang ral also emphasizes Gnubs as the person in which all transmissions combined from the nine 'glorious disciples' of Gnyags jñānakumāra, indicating he was separated from him by at least one intervening generation.<sup>78</sup> This is reinforced by Nyang ral's

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<sup>75</sup> *Lde'u chos 'byung*, pp.321f. The dating of this pivotal figure is very difficult. Snellgrove gives his dates as 772–884 (1987, vol.2), p.464, Karmay 1988, pp.99–103 dates him to late 10<sup>th</sup> century, Dorje and Kapstein 1991, p.154 (*Bdud 'joms chos 'byung*, pp.613f.) suggest 832–943 and Martin 1991, p.265 says the Tibetan tradition generally dates him as 832–962. *Klong chen chos 'byung* says he died at the age of 120 (p. 406). It also says Gnubs studied with 'O bran dpal gyi gzhon nu (p. 395), who is himself identified as a principal student of Gnyags (p. 393), while *Lde'u chos 'byung* (see below) associate him with another student, namely Sog po dpal gyi ye shes. I suspect that he may have had contact with some of Gnyags' students in his youth, while the associations with earlier figures are fabrications. *Lde'u chos 'byung* (p. 326) specifies Gnubs as receiving transmissions from the disciples of G.yu sgra snying po, himself a disciple of Vairocana. At least four of the five specified disciples are also mentioned as the primary disciples of Gnyags in *Klong chen chos 'byung* (p. 393), indicating figures living around the first half to middle of the ninth century one or two generations removed from the key figures of the late eighth century. *Lde'u* then (p. 326) specifies that Gnubs' disciples teach Myang mi shes rab 'byung gnas, who in turn teaches the famous Zur po che (tenth to eleventh centuries). This thus places two generations between Gnubs and Zur po che, such that from both sides Gnubs is clearly indicated as having lived between the mid ninth and tenth centuries. I should note, however, that two lineage lists in *Nyang ral chos 'byung* (pp.487f.) have six to seven figures intervening between Gnubs and Zur po che, with Gnubs right near the transmission's beginning.

<sup>76</sup> *Nyang ral chos 'byung*, p.435. He refers to Gnubs by the name of Gnubs Sgregs pa sangs rgyas, with Sgregs referring to the locale he was associated with (see p.437, while *Lde'u chos 'byung* p.321 specifies it as his birth place).

<sup>77</sup> *Nyang ral chos 'byung*, pp.437f.

<sup>78</sup> *Nyang ral chos 'byung*, pp.436f.

statement that Gnubs was a student of Dar rje dpal gyi grags pa, himself a student of Khyung po dbyig 'od.<sup>79</sup> Thus we can discern a divergence between fabricated narratives that associate Gnubs with famous figures of the late 8<sup>th</sup> and early 9<sup>th</sup> centuries, and on the other hand lineage lists which locate him several generations later. While clearly Gnubs was an important figure both for his own compositions and his translation activity, part of his prominence is due to his composing texts in his own name, rather than the anonymity which appears to have been the standard practice of contemporaries. This acted as a lightning rod that attracted historical attention, and rendered him into a generalized icon for lineal authentication during this time period.

Gnubs apparently made a number of cross Himalayan trips in search of new Buddhist teachings in India, Nepal and Bru sha, which the *Lde'u chos byung* explains as motivated by his dissatisfaction with existing lineages.<sup>80</sup> Lde'u explanation of these root verses says his root teacher was Sog po dpal gyi ye shes, but dissatisfaction led Gnubs to (Sog po's teacher) Gnyags jñānakumāra, while dissatisfaction with him in turn led him to cross the Himalayas at the age of fifty four. In Bru sha, he translated the key *Anuyoga tantra Mdo dgongs 'dus pa* with the translator Che btsan skyes and brought it to Tibet, as well as medicinal treatises, evocation texts, and fierce mantas dealing with evil. Of interest on this point is that *Nyang ral chos 'byung* says that first Che btsan skyes translated this having met four scholars from Eastern Tibet (Mdo khams), while Gnubs "subsequently systematized" it with Dharmarakṣita and Dharmabodhi; the *tantra's* own colophon says it was translated by Che btsan from the Bru sha language.<sup>81</sup> Gnubs may revised *Anuyoga* traditions that had prior dissemination in Tibet, though he himself speaks of his link with Che btsan in *Bsam gtan mig sgron's* colophon.<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> *Nyang ral chos 'byung*, p.435.

<sup>80</sup> *Lde'u chos 'byung*, p.321. See *Bdud 'joms chos 'byung*, pp.608f.; also see the full sketch of his life on pp.607–14. It has been assumed that Dru sha is a Tibetan term referring to Gilgit, but it appears more likely at least in this context and below that it instead refers to a valley connected to the famous Swat Valley that seems to have been the historical reality of the famous Oḍḍiyāna. See Swift (1989) for a detailed discussion of Brushaski in the Western Himalayas. I am indebted to Ronald Davidson for this suggestion.

<sup>81</sup> *Nyang ral chos 'byung*, pp.487f. and Karmay (1988), p.100.

<sup>82</sup> *Bsam gtan mig sgron*, pp.497f.

The significance of Gnubs is that cross-Himalayan translation activity continued after Glang dar ma and that *Anuyoga* may date from the late 9<sup>th</sup> and early 10<sup>th</sup> centuries, despite attempts to locate it in the late 8<sup>th</sup> century. As for early references to the three vehicles of *Mahā*, *Anu* and *Ati* as a set, I suggest that these partially reflect divisions internal to *Mahāyoga*; partially early associations with systems for we have no precise knowledge of any content, but which may have been important precedents for what later emerge as the *Anuyoga* system transmitted into Tibet; and partially later interpolations introduced by someone other than the original author. As for references to *Anuyoga* being associated with Vimalamitra, Padmasambhava and the like, these are likely fabrications reflecting the trend to condense all developments within that single three decade period at the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>83</sup> One of the most striking omissions in the descents is *Anuyoga*, an absence reinforced by the indications that Gnubs and/or his immediate predecessor is translating them into Tibetan for the first time. Related to this is the absence of any prominent mentions of *rdzogs rim* anthologies, since *Anuyoga* is traditionally associated with such traditions.

#### AFTER THE SEVEN DESCENTS: THE FOUR PROCESSES

The second phase of the Rnying ma tantric traditions, that which linked the original dynastic period transmissions to their renaissance transformations, is generally discussed by the early Rnying ma historians following Rong zom as 'four processes' (*tshul bzhi*) of transmission within Tibet. This immediately follows the discussion of the seven descents of doctrines from India into Tibet, since they reflect how these original descents continued within Tibet. Since all versions we possess of these lists date from the mid-11<sup>th</sup> century onwards, and thus to a period when everyone in Tibet is constructing lineal histories, or 'descents,' from India and within Tibet, we can assume that these lists reflect a mixture of inherited oral and written accounts which are themselves of questionable authenticity, and a renaissance period construction of such accounts as driven by the need for systematic pedigrees. Nyang ral lacks this discussion, but

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<sup>83</sup> For example, K 162 and 174 are supposedly *Anuyoga* texts associated with Padmasambhava, while K 163, 171 and 174 are associated with Vimalamitra (I am indebted to Phil Stanley for this observation).

instead concludes his discussion of the seven descents with a very brief discussion of Tibetan lineages stemming from those seven descents, which accounts in a partial way for how these transmissions then continued in Tibet.<sup>84</sup> He begins with Gnyags jñānakumāra and emphasizes the same figures found in Lde'u's account of the four processes (see below). This fragmentary account is expanded into an miscellaneous anthology of such lineages for Rnying ma tantric traditions running from the dynastic period into the 12<sup>th</sup> century, which appears to be an appendix to *Nyang ral chos 'byung* that may postdate Nyang ral himself.<sup>85</sup>

Mkhyen rab rgya mtsho only defines the four processes as “the disciples who spread from those (seven transmissions)” without further explanation, but Mkhas pa lde'u presents these “four processes of the transmission of the translated teachings” in detail.<sup>86</sup>

1. *The Transmission Establishing Them as Scriptural Precepts*: this involves Gnyags jñānakumāra and Rma rin chen mchog, while among their lineal descendants Khu byang chub 'od and Khyung po dbyig 'od figure prominently as do Central Tibet and Gtsang, as well as the subsequent figure Zhang rgyal ba'i yon tan.<sup>87</sup> Subsequently the pair of Khu and Khyung po is also described as receiving the traditions of Vimalamitra through Rma rin chen mchog and Gnyags, though the first passage suggests their may have been an intervening generation of disciples.<sup>88</sup> Lde'u also describes Gnubs as teaching Khyung po dbyig gi in at least one context, indicating these two were contemporaries, though not necessarily entailing that Gnubs was the senior.<sup>89</sup>

<sup>84</sup> *Nyang ral chos 'byung*, p.435.

<sup>85</sup> *Nyang ral chos 'byung*, pp.482–94.

<sup>86</sup> *Nor bu'i phreng ba*, p.207.6 and *Lde'u chos 'byung*, pp.322–28.

<sup>87</sup> *Lde'u chos 'byung*, pp.322f. Subsequently he clearly indicates Zhang is separate from Khu and Khyung po by one generation of disciples (p. 328).

<sup>88</sup> *Lde'u chos 'byung*, p.328. However *Nyang ral chos 'byung* seems to say that Kyung po dbyig 'od and Khu byang chub 'od (based on which I have corrected Lde'u's *khu byug 'od*) were students of Rma rin chen mchog (p. 435).

<sup>89</sup> *Lde'u chos 'byung*, 326. This is also supported by *Nyang ral chos 'byung*, p.484, which says Khyung po was one of the seven people who spread Gnubs' teachings. However the latter text also has “Khyung po's disciple Dar rje dpal gyi grags pa” teaching Gnubs his “*Sgyu 'phrul*” tradition (pp.435, 483, 487). However he subsequently (pp.482f.) identifies Dar rje as one of the “nine glorious disciples” of Gnyags, pointing to possible confusion on his identity, though it is not impossible that he both studied with Gnyags, and later became Khyung po's disciple or at least received teaching from him.

2. *The Transmission as the Well-known Teachings of Realization*: this begins with Khyung po and his son, proceeds to Khams, and then returns to Central Tibet and Gtsang.<sup>90</sup> *Nyang ral chos 'byung* also highlights the importance of Khyung po and Khu in his brief summary of lineal continuations of the original seven descents, evidently stressing their role in the transmission of *Guhyagarbha* and associated literature:<sup>91</sup> Khyung po was responsible for the Khams tradition (*khams lugs*) in Eastern Tibet, Khu was responsible for the “precepts tradition of the *Sgyu 'phrul*” (*sgyu 'phrul bka' lugs*), and Khyung po’s disciple Dar rje dpal gyi grags pa was responsible for the Central Tibetan tradition (*dbus lugs*).

3. *The Transmission as the Wealth Full of Tantric Scriptures for Exegesis and Actualization*: this deals with Vairocana’s traditions through his disciple G.yu sgra, though it should be noted that G.yu sgra specified disciples are for the most part the same as those associated with Gnyags.<sup>92</sup> Those disciples transmit it to Gnubs sangs rgyas ye shes, from whom in turn it gradually ends up with the famous Zur lineage in the late 10<sup>th</sup> century onwards.

4. *The Transmission as Miscellaneous Oral Transmissions*: this deals with the proliferation of miscellaneous oral transmissions, which Lde'u emphasizes as all re-collecting in the 11<sup>th</sup> century figure of Rong zom.<sup>93</sup>

#### THE BABS LUGS CHEN MO GSUM

*Klong chen chos 'byung* instead discusses these continuities of the “teachings of the early translations of *mantras*” in terms of “three great flows of descent” (*babs lugs chen mo gsum*).

1. *The Initial Descent to Gnyags jñānakumāra*: this begins with Gnyags from Yar lung instead of Vairocana, since he is focused on the transmission of traditions *within* Tibet following the activity of translators such as Vairocana. Gnyags lived during the 8<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> centuries, and is presented as the Tibetan in whom the first order transmissions represented by Padmasambhava, Vimalamitra, Vairocana, Gnubs nam mkha'i snying po, G.yu sgra snying po and so forth

<sup>90</sup> *Lde'u chos 'byung*, pp.324f.

<sup>91</sup> *Nyang ral chos 'byung*, p.435.

<sup>92</sup> *Lde'u chos 'byung*, p.326.

<sup>93</sup> *Lde'u chos 'byung*, p.328.

combined.<sup>94</sup> He discusses various groups of Gnyags' disciples, but the main one is usually identified as Sog po dpal gyi ye shes.<sup>95</sup> 'O bran dpal gyi gzhon nu also figures prominently in lineage lists, while it is of note that Gnyan dpal dbyangs is also mentioned. He also traces four specific traditions going back to Gnyags that appear to largely refer to Great Perfection traditions.

2. *The Intermediate Descent to Gnubs sangs rgyas ye shes*: the account of Gnubs claims he met Gnyags and such 8<sup>th</sup> century luminaries as Padmasambhava, but again the framing discussion says he studied with disciples of Gnyags, thus placing him in the latter half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>96</sup> Of his five main disciples, the principal was Khu lung yon tan rgya mtsho.

3. *The Final Descent to the Three Members of the Zur Clan*:<sup>97</sup> the intermediate and final descent are separated by an account of the origins of the Gsar ma's later translations, which points to the Zur transmissions taking place within the renaissance period after the Gsar ma movement had already begun.<sup>98</sup> It consists of three individuals who spanned the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> century to the first half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century: Zur po che śā kya 'byung gnas, his grandnephew Zur chung shes rab grags pa, and the latter's son Zur sgro phug pa śā kya seng ge.<sup>99</sup> They formulated the famous Zur tradition (*zur lugs*) of conservative exegesis of *Guhyagarbha* and also may have maintained the *sems sde* lineages collected in the *Bai ro rgyud 'bum*.

## CONCLUSION

The details of these scattered lineages are extraordinarily difficult to historically attest given the lack of information on the figures involved, and obviously constructed nature of the existent accounts that were compiled long after the period in question and in a polemically charged atmosphere where lineage was legitimization. However, in both the accounts of 'descents' and 'processes' of con-

<sup>94</sup> *Klong chen chos 'byung*, p.392.

<sup>95</sup> *Klong chen chos 'byung*, p.393. Also *Bdud 'joms chos 'byung*, pp.604–6.

<sup>96</sup> *Klong chen chos 'byung*, p.309.

<sup>97</sup> These are located in *Klong chen chos 'byung*, pp.392–95, 395–413 and 422–30 respectively. This scheme is repeated in *Pad ma dkar po'i rdzings bu* (p. 76).

<sup>98</sup> *Klong chen chos 'byung*, pp.414–22.

<sup>99</sup> *Klong chen chos 'byung*, pp.422f. Also see *Bdud 'joms chos 'byung*, pp.617 and 645f. and Dorje 1991, p.57.



tinuity we can see the traditional focus on lineage in face of the fragility of continuity in Tibet with its limited population base, vast geographical stretches, and consequent weakness of social centralization. Once primarily mediated through the medium of clans, lineal continuity was increasingly thought of in terms of Buddhist transmissions, with Buddhas assimilating ancestral deities and masters displacing clan heads, though just as often the two strands of continuity intermingled with each other as Buddhist teachings became family property. During the dark period it is likely this intermingling was prominent, since the institutions of monasteries with their independent institutional continuities were largely latent. At the same time, I think a third element must be factored in, namely the often unregulated lives of those traveling through a web of sacred sites in Tibet, though the types of transmissions and contacts established in this underground were rarely properly recorded even in subsequent historical periods.

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- K: numbers from Kaneko's catalogue to the Gting skyes edition of the *Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum*.  
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# AN ELEVENTH-CENTURY DEFENCE OF THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE *GUHYAGARBHA TANTRA*<sup>1</sup>

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## INTRODUCTION

Although Tantric Buddhism ultimately prevailed throughout the entire Tibetan Buddhist sphere, its initial introduction in Tibet was not without problems. Already towards the end of the eighth century considerable doubt seems to have existed as to whether highest yoga practices such as '[sexual] union' (*sbyor ba*) and 'liberation' (*sgrol ba*) should be taken literally and whether *tantras* containing such practices should be translated into Tibetan at all.<sup>2</sup> As a result, random translation and practice of *tantras* were forbidden by a royal decree of the Tibetan King Khri ral pa can (805–38).<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, the collapse of the Tibetan dynasty and its authority left the way open, according to some later Tibetan historians, for the tantric yogis to

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<sup>1</sup> I would like to express my gratitude to all my teachers who have directly or indirectly contributed to this paper. In particular, I am indebted to David Jackson for his valuable suggestions on an earlier version of the paper; to Harunaga Isaacson for going through the final version and making priceless suggestions; to Anne MacDonald for her careful proof-reading and correction of my English and above all to my wife Orna for her valuable critique and consistent support.

<sup>2</sup> The scholarly reception of Buddhist *tantras* in the West was not smooth either. Nineteenth-century Western scholars such as L. Austine Waddell, Cecil Bendall, de la Vallée Poussin, M. Winternitz and T.W. Rhys David considered *Vajrayāna* teachings repulsive, a view which Western scholars today perhaps no longer share. See, for example, Newman (1987), p.27–41.

<sup>3</sup> *Sgra sbyor bam po gnyis pa*, p.4: *gsang sngags kyi rgyud rnams gzhung gis gsang bar bya ba yin te/ snod du ma gyur pa rnams la bshad cing bstan du yang mi rung la/ bar du bsgyur zhing spyod du gnang gis kyang ldem po dag tu bshad pa ma khrol nas sgra ji bzhin du 'dzin cing log par spyod pa dag kyang byung/ sngags kyi rgyud kyi nang nas thu zhing bod skad du bsgyur ba dag kyang byung zhes gdags kyi/ phyin chad gzungs sngags dang rgyud bla nas bka' tsal te sgyur du bcug pa ma gtogs pa/ sngags kyi rgyud dang sngags kyi tshig thu zhing bsgyur du mi gnang ngol/ [The variants are not reproduced here].*

practice *sbyor sgrol* incorrectly, in ignorance of the import of the *tantras*.<sup>4</sup>

In the late tenth century, at the end of the Early Propagation Period (*Snga dar*) and the beginning of the Later Propagation Period (*Phyi dar*), Ye shes 'od, the king of Pu hrangs in west Tibet, although convinced of the authenticity of the *sūtra* teachings, became skeptical regarding the tantric teachings owing to the manner in which tantric practices such as *sbyor sgrol* were practiced during his time, and thus launched a campaign of denunciation. Twenty-one Tibetans, among them Rin chen bzang po (958–1055), were sent to Kashmir to find out if these practices and *tantras* were authentic.<sup>5</sup> This campaign of criticism was continued in the late eleventh century by Ye shes 'od's grand nephews Byang chub 'od and Pho brang zhi ba 'od as well as by other Gsar ma scholars such as the eleventh-century translator 'Gos khug pa Lhas btsas.

During this important transitional period at the beginning of the Later Propagation Period, there lived a scholar and translator who was the first Tibetan known to have resisted this campaign of denunciation. This was the eleventh-century Rnying ma scholar Rong zom chos kyi bzang po (henceforth: Rong zom pa), who was not only active in translating new Sanskrit texts but also in transmitting, teaching and commenting on old texts passed down to him by his Tibetan predecessors.<sup>6</sup> The sources give the impression that he was aware of skepticism among some of his contemporaries though they do not specify which written compositions he may have had access to. He is the first scholar known to have written in

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<sup>4</sup> See Seyfort Ruegg (1981) & Seyfort Ruegg (1984).

<sup>5</sup> *Bu ston cho 'byung'*, p.84: [ye shes 'od] *des mshan nyid kyi theg pa bkar shes kyang sngags pa rnam kyis sbyor sgrol la sogs spyod log gis bka' yin min the tshom du gyur tel rin chen bzang po la sogs pa khye'u nyi shu rtsa gcig brdzangs nas!* Roberto Vitali, basing himself on both external evidence such as the cultural situation in Zhang zhung and internal evidence such as relevant passages in the *Mnga' ris rgyal rabs*, demonstrated that Ye shes 'od and the intelligentsia in Mnga' ris area had launched a campaign that pursued the eradication of teachings they believed were heretical. See Vitali (1996), p.226.

<sup>6</sup> For an analysis of Rong zom pa's biographies and a short discussion of his works, see Almogi (forthcoming). For a detailed survey of his works and the revival of his textual tradition, see Almogi (1997).

defense of the teachings of the initial dissemination such as the \**Guhyagarbha*<sup>7</sup> and the Great Perfection (*Rdzogs chen*).<sup>8</sup>

The uncharted territory of the vast range of *bka' ma* and *gter ma* literature in the Rnying ma tradition and the number of polemical writings both for and against the authenticity of this literature which has been accumulated over the centuries makes a detailed investigation difficult. I am neither in a position to discuss the authenticity of the Rnying ma *tantras* in general nor to consult all the polemical writings on the issue,<sup>9</sup> but shall primarily discuss the authenticity of only one important Rnying ma *tantra*, i.e., the *Guhyagarbha*, through the eyes of one exponent, i.e., Rong zom pa, and consider its

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<sup>7</sup> Although the term *Guhyagarbha* is commonly used to designate the basic *tantra* (*mūlatantra*) which contains twenty-two chapters (Otani 455), in a wider sense, it is also used to refer to the larger collection which includes eighty chapters (Otani 457). A comparison of the first twenty-two chapters of the two versions, however, reveals that they are similar but definitely not identical. Furthermore, the twenty-two-chaptered *mūlatantra* appears to have been assumed to be an extract from a greater unknown or inaccessible collection consisting of one hundred thousand chapters (*Dkon mchog 'grel*, p.4: *rdo rje sems dpa' sgyu 'phrul drwa ba le'u stong phrag brgya pa las ... gsang ba snying po de kho na nyid nges pa las ...*). According to H. Isaacson (lecture), in the Indian Buddhist tantric tradition too it is often said that given *tantras* are extracts from much longer *tantras* which are usually said no longer to be accessible. Also the title of the *tantra* varies slightly in the different editions. It appears with or without *dpal*, with or without the prefix *rnam par*, and reads either *gsang ba* or *gsang ba'i*. The longest title of the *Guhyagarbha* noted is the one in the *Dkon mchog 'grel* (pp.33 & 248): '*Phags pa'i rtog pa'i rgyal po rdo rje sems dpa' sgyu 'phrul drwa ba gsang ba snying po de kho na nyid nges pa'i rgyud* (\**Āryakalparājavarasattvamāyājālaguhyagarbhatattvavinīścayatāntra*). Rong zom pa might have relied upon the *piṇḍārtha* of the *Guhyagarbha* (Otani 4755) attributed to Vimalamitra where the same title appears in the colophon. Alexis Sanderson has suggested that the original title of the text possibly may have been *Guhyakośa* (*Gsang ba'i mdzod*) on account of the references he discovered in the Sanskrit commentaries on the *Nāmasaṃgīti* by Bhavabhaṭa and Vilāsavajra. See Mayer (1996), p.122, n.13.

The asterisk (\*) used to indicate a reconstructed Sanskrit title or name is employed in this paper only when the title or name occurs for the first time.

<sup>8</sup> Karmay primarily alluded to Rong zom pa's defense of the Great Perfection and did not refer explicitly to his defense of the *Guhyagarbha* in the *Dkon mchog 'grel*. See Karmay (1988), p.13

<sup>9</sup> For a general discussion of the Rnying ma tradition with a backdrop of their opponents through the centuries, see Smith (1969), pp.2–15 and Smith (1970), pp.1–52. For a detailed discussion of some polemical literature concerning the issue of authenticity, see Kapstein (1989), pp.217–44. Robert Mayer, taking the *Phur pa bcu gnyis kyi rgyud* as his text case, discussed the problem surrounding the authenticity of some Rnying ma *tantras*. See Mayer (1997).



critics from the period of the early tenth to the eleventh century. In the course of investigating historically the early Tibetan critiques of the *Guhyagarbha* and Rong zom pa's defense of it, I shall point out that some of the critiques appear to have been connected with problems regarding the textual tradition of the *Guhyagarbha*, and that these might indeed have provided grounds for suspicion.

#### I. THE IMPORTANCE OF THE *GUHYAGARBHA* IN THE RNYING MA TRADITION

In connection with the controversies surrounding the authenticity of the *Guhyagarbha*, it may not be irrelevant to consider its traditional importance for Rnying ma tantric scholarship and practice. The *Guhyagarbha* is probably the most commented work in the Rnying ma tradition and has always played a fundamental role in the Rnying ma tantric philosophical systems, as already noted by G. Tucci.<sup>10</sup> It is considered by most Rnying ma scholars, including Rong zom pa, as the 'basic *tantra*' (*rtsa rgyud*) of the *Mahāyoga* class.<sup>11</sup> Rong zom pa describes the *Guhyagarbha* as the "foremost of the authoritative scriptures of all the [vehicles] of *sūtra* and *tantra*" (*mtshan nyid dang rgyud thams cad kyi lung gi spyi*) and as the "secret of all *tathāgatas*" (*de bzhin bshegs pa thams cad kyi gsang ba*). He further describes it as the "ultimate" (*mthar thug*) of all philosophical tenets (*grub mtha'*).<sup>12</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Tucci (1980), p.258, n.202. The *tantra* has also been the focus of several studies by Western scholars, the most important of which are: Guenther (1984), a work intended to be a study of the *Guhyagarbha* from a phenomenological perspective eschewing what Guenther calls "any philological reductionism" (p. vii); Dan Martin (1987); Gyurme Dorje's (1987) translation of the enormous *Phyogs bcu mun sel* of Klong chen pa.

<sup>11</sup> Rong zom pa states (*Dkon mchog 'grel*, p.79): "Among these [tantric systems], this *Guhyagarbha tantra* belongs to [the class of] the *Mahāyoga tantras*. Among them, it is known as the 'basic *tantra*' which mainly establishes the methods of the Perfection [Phase]" (*de las gsang ba snying po'i rgyud 'di ni rnal 'byor chen po'i rgyud du gtogs soll de'i tshul las kyang rdzogs pa'i tshul gtso bor sgrub par byed pa rtsa ba'i rgyud du grags soll*).

<sup>12</sup> See the *Dkon mchog 'grel*, p.43. Furthermore, the *Guhyagarbha* has been glorified by attributing to it 'eight excellences' (*che ba brgyad*), namely, its being: 1. the king of all *tantras* (*rgyud thams cad kyi rgyal po*), 2. the zenith of all vehicles (*theg pa thams cad kyi yang rtse*), 3. the source of all doctrines (*bstan pa thams cad kyi 'byung khungs*), 4. the general commentary to all authoritative scriptures (*lung thams cad kyi spyi 'grel*), 5. the noble ultimate intent of all buddhas (*rgyal ba thams*

## II. RECORDS OF EARLY CRITICISM

The *Guhyagarbha*, in spite (or perhaps because) of its tremendous importance to the Rnying ma pas, has been the focus of much controversy. While the exponents of the Rnying ma *tantras* saw it as the ‘word’ (*bka'*) of the Buddha, its critics doubted its authenticity. In the following passages, I shall investigate evidence of criticism implied in Rong zom pa’s writings and some of the earliest records of criticism, namely, the so-called ‘refutations of false *mantra*’ (*sngags log sun 'byin*).

II.1. CRITIQUES OF THE *TANTRA* EXPRESSED OR IMPLIED BY RONG ZOM PA’S DEFENSE

One of the most important sources for critiques against the *Guhyagarbha* is Rong zom pa’s own writings. His commentary on the difficult points (*dka' grel*)<sup>13</sup> of the *Guhyagarbha*—commonly called the *Dkon mchog 'grel* (*Jewel Commentary*)—is the earliest full-fledged commentary on this *tantra* by a Tibetan scholar.<sup>14</sup> There, before refuting the opponents’ criticism against the authenticity of the *Guhyagarbha*, he summarizes their positions in the following manner:<sup>15</sup>

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*cad kyi dgongs pa'i zhe phugs dam pa*), 6. the ultimate of all [spiritual] results (*'bras bu thams ca kyi thar thug*), 7. the trail traversed by all *tathāgatas* (*de bzhin gshegs pa thams cad kyi gshegs pa'i shul*), and 8. the ‘highway’ of all yogis (*rnal 'byor pa thams cad kyi lam po che*). The *Khog gzhung gsal sgron* (Otani 4739) attributed to Vimalamitra is often given as the source of these eight attributes (*Mdzod kyi lde mig*, p.16).

<sup>13</sup> The word *bka' 'grel* as a standard translation of the Sanskrit term *pañjikā* is attested in the *Mahāvīyūtpatti* (no.1461). In fact, Rong zom pa’s commentaries on the *Guhyagarbha* and the *Buddhasamāyoga* are both considered to be *pañjikās*. Rong zom pa himself states (*Dkon mchog 'grel*, p.596) that his commentary to the *Guhyagarbha* is a “commentary on difficult points.” However, although the commentary of the *Buddhasamāyoga* is indicated as a *dka' grel* in the title (*Sangs rgyas thams cad dang mnyam par sbyor ba mkha' 'gro ma sgyu ma bde ba'i mchog ces bya ba'i rgyud kyi dka' 'grel*), I have not found the term in the commentary itself.

<sup>14</sup> The two important Indian commentaries of the *Guhyagarbha*—Vilāsavajra’s *Rgyud kyi rgyal po chen po dpal gsang ba snying po'i 'grel pa* (Otani 4718), commonly called *Spar khab* or *Rin po che'i spar khab* as indicated in the colophon, and Sūryasiṃha’s *Dpal gsang ba snying po'i rgya cher 'grel pa* (Otani 4719), commonly known as the *Rgya cher 'grel*—are perhaps the only two full commentaries that predate Rong zom pa’s *Dkon mchog 'grel*.

<sup>15</sup> *Dkon mchog 'grel*, p.83: *gghan yang kha cig 'di skad zer tel gsang sngags kyi rgyud du grags pa 'di dag la yang/ ldab bu dang zlos bur bstan pa mang du bstan tel*

Moreover, some allege that numerous overlaps and redundancies occur in these [works] which are said to be the *tantras* of the *Mantra[yāna]*,<sup>16</sup> thus undermining<sup>17</sup> the [authenticity of the] *tantras*. Still some others<sup>18</sup> suspect [these works] to have been composed by earlier Upādhyāyas [by], for instance, collecting [materials] from [other tantric] treatises. Therefore, thinking that [these works cannot] be an object of faith and that they also cannot be a cause of tantric

*de bas na 'di dag rgyud yin par khungs phyung[/] yang kha cig sngon gyi mkhan po rnam kyis gzhung las bsdu pa la sogs pa rang gis sbyar ba yin par the tshom za stel/ de bas na dad pa'i yul du mi 'gyur ba dang/ las (zhi ba'i las?) dang dngos grub kyi rgyur yang mi rung ngo snyam du the tshom za ba stel/ 'di lta gsang ba bsdu pa las gsungs pa'i byang chub sems kyi le'u dang/ rigs kyi yum dang khro bo bcu'i sngags dang/ las dang drag po'i las kyi brtul zhugs dang/ phur pa byin gyis brlab pa'i cho ga lta bu/ sgyu 'phrul drwa ba'i rgyud las kyang/ de bzhin du zlos bur gsungs pa dang/ gsang ba snying po dang bryad bcu pa lta bu mang nyung zlos bur gsungs pa dang/ de bzhin du rdo rje gdan bzhi che chung dang/ kṛṣṇayamari che chung la sogs pa 'di dag ston pas de bzhin du gsungs so zhe bya ba ni/ zlos bur bshad pa don med par 'gyur la/ gal te gang zag gcig gis sdebs pa zhig yin na yang/ gong du bstan pa lta bu'i skyon du 'gyur la/ gang zag gi dpang po yang med del/ de bas na 'di lta bu 'brel pa bsgrub par mi nus so zhe na/.*

<sup>16</sup> According to H. Isaacson, overlaps and redundancies are common features in Indian tantric works.

<sup>17</sup> The understanding of the term *khungs phyung* is critical in determining the authorial intent here. The spelling *khungs* (“source” or “origin”) is preferable to *khung* (“hole” or “pit”), though a historical and etymological link between the two terms may exist. Also the spelling *phyung* seems, at least nowadays, to be preferable to *phyungs*, being the past and imperative form of *'byin* (“extract, take out”). I translate the term *khungs phyung* here as “undermine,” although one may translate it also as “challenge” or “question.” A relation between *khungs phyung* and *sun phyung* (“refute” or “criticize”), may also be assumed: *khungs phyung* may be a specific *sun phyung*. The word *khungs phyung* is also used in the author’s colophon which reads (*Dkon mchog 'grel*, p.249): *yul dus gang zag dman bzhin bdag gis ni/ dam pas mdzad ces khungs phyung ma byas pas/*. The line—*dam pas mdzad ces khungs phyung ma byas pas*—may be translated as “Because [I] did not challenge that [the *Guhyagarbha*] was composed by the sublime ones ...” However, in the following sentence from the *Theg chen tshul 'jug* which reads (p. 445): *gal te bsam gyis mi khyab pa'i chos yin no zhe na ni/ nan gyis kun brtags pa thams cad kyang bsam gyis mi khyab pa yin par khungs dbyung du rung bar 'gyur ro*, the expression *khungs dbyung du rung ba* may be translated as “questionable” or “challengeable.” Cf., however, the *Sngags log sun 'byin* attributed to Lhas btsas which reads (p. 21): *gnub sangs rgyas rin chen gyis rgya gar nas khungs byung/ rmad du byung ba'i chos brtsams/*. Here the phrase *rgya gar nas khungs byung* seems to mean “having extracted from India[n] sources.”

<sup>18</sup> In all versions of the Tibetan texts available to me, the stroke (*shad*) is placed after *yang* reading *khungs phyung yang* which translates as “although it undermines ...” Contextually, this does not make any sense. Hence, I suggest the reading: ... *khungs phyung/ yang kha cig ...*

activities<sup>19</sup> and accomplishments, they have their doubts. Likewise, (1) the *bodhicitta* chapter, (2) the *mantras* of the consorts of the families [of the five Buddhas] and of the ten wrathful ones, (3) the penance of the [peaceful] and wrathful activities, and (4) the ritual procedure for blessing the [ritual] peg, [all already] taught in the *Guhyasamāja*, are also redundantly taught in the *Māyā* [tantras such as the *Guhyagarbha*]. And [even within the *Māyā* cycle, tantras] like the *Guhyagarbha* and the *Brgyad bcu pa*<sup>20</sup> are taught in varying sizes redundantly. And similar [is the case with other works] such as the *Vajracatuṣpīṭha* (i.e., *Catuṣpīṭha*)<sup>21</sup> and the *Kṛṣṇayamāri*,<sup>22</sup> which too vary in size. Claiming that the teacher (i.e., the Buddha) taught them in this manner (i.e., redundantly), [they argue further], would lead to the illogical consequence [of the implication that Buddha's] teachings, being redundant, are purposeless. If [these works] were compiled by a single individual, it would lead to faults such as those demonstrated above (i.e., not being an object of devotion and so forth). Furthermore, there is also no witness of person, and thus no [scriptural] coherency can be established in this way.

## II.2. OTHER RECORDS OF EARLY CRITICISMS

There are a number of 'refutations of false *mantra*' written by the critics of the Rnying ma *tantras*. In this paper, however, I shall consider mainly the earliest ones, i.e., those written, or said to be written, either before or during Rong zom pa's time, namely, the writings by Ye shes 'od, Rin chen bzang po, Zhi ba 'od and Lhas btsas, and investigate them in the light of the *Guhyagarbha*.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> The term "activities" here might not refer to the tantric activities themselves but rather to the ability or the power to carry them out for soteriological or worldly purposes.

<sup>20</sup> The *Brgyad bcu pa* (Tôh.98/ Otani 457), a *tantra* of the *Māyā* cycle, is mentioned in the ordinance of Zhi ba 'od as syncretistic (*'dres ma*). See Karmay (1998b), p.31 (English translation) and p.38 (Tibetan text).

<sup>21</sup> *Śricatuṣpīṭhamahāyoginī tantrarāja* (Otani 67).

<sup>22</sup> *Kṛṣṇayamāri* (Tôh.469, 473); see also Samdhong Rinpoche, Vrajvallabha Dwivedi, et al., eds., *Kṛṣṇayamāri tantra*, Rare Buddhist Texts Series 9, Sarnath, 1992.

<sup>23</sup> Ye shes 'od, Rin chen bzang po, Zhi ba 'od and Lhas btsas are all mentioned in the *Bu ston chos 'byung*, (pp.266 & 313) as persons who considered Rnying ma *tantras* to be inauthentic (*yang dag ma yin pa*).

II.2.1. THE ORDINANCE (*BKA' SHOG*)<sup>24</sup> OF LHA BLA MA YE SHES 'OD

The ordinance of Ye shes 'od was sent to the tantric practitioners of central Tibet and primarily called for the remedying and straightening of their view. One of the earliest references to the ordinance is made by Bu ston rin chen grub (1290–1364). Sog zlog pa blo gros rgyal mtshan (1552–1624) quoted, interpreted and responded to it.<sup>25</sup> A certain two-page *Letter [Refuting] False Mantras (Sngags log spring yig)* by Ye shes 'od is listed in A khu chin's *Tho yig*.<sup>26</sup> Most probably only one such ordinance was issued by Ye shes 'od, and considering the size indicated in A khu chin's list, it appears that the one quoted by Sog zlog pa and the one mentioned in the list are one and the same text. At this stage, the only source for this letter is Sog zlog pa's *Nges don 'brug sgra*<sup>27</sup> from which Samten Karmay extracted the ordinance, edited, translated and commented upon it.<sup>28</sup> Although this ordinance does not refer explicitly to the *Guhyagarbha* or any other text, Karmay, "reading between the lines," thinks that the *Guhyagarbha*, among others, is the object of criticism. It is true that the practices of 'union' and 'liberation' are taught in the *Guhyagarbha*, but, in my opinion, criticism of such practices (or rather mal-practices) does not necessarily imply that all *tantras* that teach such practices were (or could be) the targets of criticism.

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<sup>24</sup> The 'ordinance' of Ye shes 'od, had, like any other composition of this kind, no title. The *Bu ston chos byung*<sup>a</sup> (p.313) does not speak of an "ordinance" but rather of "refutation of false mantras" (*sngags log sun 'byin pa*). It is elegantly referred to by Sog zlog pa (pp.179 & 187) as an "ordinance" (*bka' shog* or *chab shog*), and in A khu chin's list (no.15802), it is designated as a "letter" (*springs yig*). The line: "A request sent to the tantric practitioners of central Tibet by the Lha bla ma, the king of Pu hrangs, to remedy and straighten their view" (*pu hrangs kyi rgyal po lha bla ma'i zhal snga las bod dbus kyi sngags pa rnams la brdzangs pa/ gnyen po mdzad cing lta ba bsrang bar zhu'o/l*) probably appeared at the beginning of the letter.

<sup>25</sup> *Nges don 'brug sgra*, pp.181–83 (the quotation of the ordinance), pp.183–87 (Sog zlog pa's interpretation) and pp.187–203 (his response to it).

<sup>26</sup> *Tho yig*, p.673, no.15802.

<sup>27</sup> Unfortunately, the collection of refutations of false *mantras* published in Thimphu entitled *Sngags log sun 'byin gyi skor* does not include Ye shes 'od's ordinance. I take the opportunity here to thank Gregory Hillis for providing me with a copy of the text.

<sup>28</sup> Karmay (1998a). For the date of issue of the ordinance cf. Vitali (1996), p.239.

II.2.2. THE *SNGAGS LOG SUN 'BYIN RGYAS PA* BY RIN CHEN BZANG PO

Sa paṅ kun dga' rgyal mtshan (1182–1251) refers to a work by Rin chen bzang po entitled “Treatise on the Distinction of Dharma and Non-Dharma” (*Chos dang chos min rnam par byed pa'i bstan bcos*),<sup>29</sup> whereas Bu ston mentions a certain “Extensive Refutation of False *Mantras*” (*Sngags log sun 'byin pa rgyas pa*) by the renowned translator.<sup>30</sup> It would be, indeed, interesting to learn about Rin chen bzang po's position. Nevertheless this work, although documented by A khu chin in his list of rare texts, seems not to be available at present.<sup>31</sup> All we know about Rin chen bzang po's view regarding the Rnying ma *tantras* is that he, in general, considered them inauthentic (*yang dag ma yin pa*).<sup>32</sup> Thus as long as we do not have any access to Rin chen bzang po's *Sngags log sun 'byin*, we will never know if and how he treated the *Guhyagarbha*.

II.2.3. THE ORDINANCE (*BKA' SHOG*) OF ZHI BA 'OD

The next important early source is the ordinance of Zhi ba 'od. Not only does Bu ston count Zhi ba 'od as a critic of the Rnying ma *tantras*,<sup>33</sup> he also alludes to a certain “Refutation of False *Mantras*” composed by him.<sup>34</sup> Sa paṅ, however, sounds somewhat skeptical about the existence of such a work.<sup>35</sup> Sog zlog pa fully quotes a polemical composition by Zhi ba 'od in his *Nges don 'brug sgra*, referring to it as an “ordinance” (*bka' shog*).<sup>36</sup> A khu chin mentions such a

<sup>29</sup> *Sdom gsum rab dbye*, p.94.

<sup>30</sup> *Bu ston chos 'byung*, p.313. Bu ston's description of Rin chen bzang po's “Refutations of False *Mantra*” as “extensive” is perhaps due to its relative large size of forty-eight folios (see the following footnote). Most of the earlier writings on the topic are very brief. There is also reference to Rin chen bzang po's works, among others, in Chag lo tsā ba's *Sngags log sun 'byin shes rab ral gri*, just before the suspicious author's colophon: *sun 'byin 'di dang mthun par rin chen bzang po'i sngags log sun 'byin dang 'gos dang pho brang zhi ba 'od dang tsa mi la sogs pa'i springs yig dang paṅḍita shākyaśhrī'i zhus lan dang lho brag gi gze ma ra mgo dang/ dpag med kyi springs yig yod doll chag lo chen pos mdzad pa dge legs 'phell/*. See the *Sngags log sun 'byin gyi skor*, pp.17f.

<sup>31</sup> *Tho yig*, p.673, no.15801: ([vol.] *ka*) *pa la rin chen bzang po'i sngags log sun 'byin la zhe brgyad*.

<sup>32</sup> *Bu ston chos 'byung*, p.266.

<sup>33</sup> *Bu ston chos 'byung*, p.266.

<sup>34</sup> *Bu ston chos 'byung*, p.313.

<sup>35</sup> *Sdom gsum rab dbye*, p.95: *de yi slob ma zhi ba 'od/ll des kyang sngags log sun 'byin pal/ zhes bya'i bstan bcos mdzad ces zer/ll*.

<sup>36</sup> *Nges don 'brug sgra*, pp.204–17.

two-folio work by this author and designates it a letter (*springs yig*).<sup>37</sup> The two are presumably referring to the same text. This work too was edited, translated and analyzed by Karmay based on the text cited by Sog zlog pa.<sup>38</sup> Unlike the ordinance of his father Ye shes 'od, the ordinance of Zhi ba 'od is more specific in its details. A number of *tantras*, inclusive of the group to which the *Guhyagarbha* belongs, are referred to there as adulterated (*'dres ma*). Here again there is no explicit mention of the *Guhyagarbha* itself. Perhaps one should differentiate here between an accusation of the *tantras* being adulterated and an outright rejection of their authenticity. One might assume that the expression “and others” (*la sogs pa rnam*)<sup>39</sup> which refers to other *tantras* in the *Māyā* cycle, is intended to include the *Guhyagarbha*. Yet I believe that the *Guhyagarbha* may not have been included within this group of syncretistic texts. If the *Guhyagarbha* had been considered by Zhi ba 'od to be apocryphal or syncretistic, one might expect it to have been mentioned, especially since he did mention the *Spar khab*,<sup>40</sup> a *Guhyagarbha* commentary ascribed by the Rnying ma pas to the Indian scholar Vilāsavajra (= Sgeg pa'i rdo rje), claiming it to be an indigenous work composed by Zur chen shākya 'byung gnas (1002–62) and others.<sup>41</sup> And the fact that the

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<sup>37</sup> *Tho yig*, p.673, no.15801: *de'i sras chung ba* [i.e., the younger son of Ye shes 'od] *pho brang zhi ba 'od kyi springs yig la gnyis/*.

<sup>38</sup> Karmay (1980b).

<sup>39</sup> *Nges don 'brug sgra*, p.205: *nang pa la sgyu 'phrul gyi rgyud la bcu gsum pa dang/ bcu dgu pa dang/ bzhi bcu pa dang/ brgyad bcu pa dang le'u lag la sogs pa rnam ni 'dres mar snang/*.

<sup>40</sup> The term *spar khab* is attested in none of the lexicons and dictionaries I consulted. Since I have been so far unable to locate any discussion of its meaning in any of the commentarial literature either, the meaning of the term must remain obscure for the time being.

<sup>41</sup> The status of the *Spar khab* (Otani 4718) is a complex one. Even Klong chen pa (*Phyogs bcu mun sel*, p.74) dismissed this text as “Tibetan” (*bod ma*) and thus “unreliable” (*yid rten du mi rung ba*). *The Blue Annals*, apart from mentioning Klong chen pa's preference for Rong zom pa's commentary to the *Spar khab*, also reports that Zur chen studied this work under one teacher called Thod *dkar* nam mkha' sde. See Roerich (1988), pp.110 & 157. In any case, although Zur chen pa does seem to have had something to do with this text, whether he was the author is questionable. Sog zlog pa (*Nges don 'brug sgra*, p.210), on the other hand, states: “Concerning the *Spar khab*, it is certain that a disciple of Jetāri called Vilāsavajra who attained the *siddhi* of White Mañjuśrī had composed it. Because of its fine and profound literary expressions, it totally lacks the style of a Tibetan composition” (*spar khab ni jetāri'i slob ma 'jam dkar gyi sgrub thob slob dpon sgeg pa'i rdo rje zhes pa des mdzad pa nges pa stel tshig bzang zhing brling bas bod rtsom gyi nyams*

*Guhyagarbha* was not included in this list, no doubt, led Sog zlog pa to believe that Zhi ba 'od had considered it an authentic *tantra*.<sup>42</sup>

#### II.2.4. THE *SNGAGS LOG SUN 'BYIN* BY 'GOS KHUG PA LHAS BTSAS

The *Sngags log sun 'byin* attributed to Lhas btsas is of particular interest for the history of the *Guhyagarbha* and the controversies surrounding it, for Lhas btsas was not only a contemporary of Zur chen shākya 'byung gnas (1002–62), Zur chung Shes rab grags pa (1014–74) and Rong zom pa, all important exponents of the *Guhyagarbha*, but is also said to have confronted these three scholars in person.<sup>43</sup> While Sa paṅ does refer to a *Sngags log sun 'byin* by Lhas btsas,<sup>44</sup> Bu ston, in spite of including Lhas btsas as a critic of the Rnying ma *tantras* in his history of Buddhism, makes no mention of such a work by him.<sup>45</sup> A khu chin mentions a certain four-folio *Spring yig* by Lhas btsas.<sup>46</sup> Sog zlog pa states that three propaganda pamphlets (*'byams yig*) attributed to Lhas btsas were known to have existed, viz., an extensive (*rgyas*), a medium (*'bring*) and a short (*bsdus*) one.<sup>47</sup> When he wrote his *Nges don 'brug sgra*, he had access to only two of them and believed that a third did not exist at all.<sup>48</sup>

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*gtan nas medll*). See also Karmay (1998b), p.32, n.78, and Loseries (1989), p.218, n.35. Mkhan po rnam grol tshe ring (b. 1953) proposed two explanations regarding Klong chen pa's comment on the *Spar khab*: (a) The text is indeed corrupt, since in the course of the textual transmissions, "annotations crept (lit. "were lost" or "fell") into the text" (*mchan gzhung la shor ba*). (b) Some teachers are of the opinion that two different texts are in question: the *Spar khab* composed by an Indian master and another text entitled *Spar khab bod ma* (*A Tibetan spar khab*) which was the one referred to by Klong chen pa. I shall, however, refrain from making any definite statement at this point.

<sup>42</sup>*Nges don 'brug sgra*, pp.217 & 299.

<sup>43</sup> It is said that Lhas btsas went to Zur chen to study but was made to work. Displeased, he went to 'Brog mi who demanded gold in exchange for tantric instructions. He left 'Brog mi, went to India, and later became one of the most prolific translators of the Gsar ma era. See Roerich (1988), p.360; also cf. the *Nyang ral chos 'byung*, p.475. For his meetings with Zur chung and Rong zom pa, see Roerich (1988), pp.121 & 165, respectively.

<sup>44</sup>*Sdom gsum rab dbye*, p.95: *lhas btas zhes bya'i lo tsā ball des kyang chos log sun 'byin pa// zhes bya'i bstan bcos mdzad nas ni// chos dang chos min rnam par phyel/*.

<sup>45</sup>*Bu ston chos 'byung*, p.266.

<sup>46</sup>*Tho yig*, p.673, no.15805: ([vol.] *kha pa la*) ... *rta nag 'gos khug pa lhas btsas kyi spring yig la bzhi/*.

<sup>47</sup>*Nges don 'brug sgra*, p.217.

<sup>48</sup> Which two of these three pamphlets were available to Sog zlog pa is unclear.



Nonetheless, on the basis of the content of these and other stylistic features, he agrees with the opinion of some unidentified scholars (*mkhas pa kha cig*) that the pamphlets do not seem to be by Lhas btsas. If they were indeed by Lhas btsas, he states, they should then be understood to be of intended meaning (*dgongs pa can*).<sup>49</sup> He nevertheless quoted what seems to be one of the two pamphlets and responded to it.<sup>50</sup> The *Sngags log sun 'byin* attributed to Lhas btsas published in Thimphu in 1979 is the same text discussed by Sog zlog pa. This pamphlet, whoever its author may be, while accepting the authenticity of *tantras* such as the *Guhyasamāja* (Otani 81),<sup>51</sup> the *Candraguhyatilaka* or *Guhyendutilaka* (Otani 111), and the *Sarva-buddhasamāyoga* (Otani 8–9) (all *tantras* shared by Gsar ma and Rnying ma), alleges that the *Guhyagarbha* was composed by Rma Rin chen mchog.<sup>52</sup> According to Sog zlog pa, the *Guhyagarbha* was

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<sup>49</sup> *Nges don 'brug sgra*, p.229: *bka' shog 'di mkhas pa kha cig gis/ brjod bya bzang po gcig kyang mi snang la rjod byed kun kyang grong tshig kho nar snang/ de'i phyir 'gos kyis mdzad pa min pa 'dra/ zhes gsungs pa bzhin du snang/*. The references to Lhas btsas as the author in the opening line of the pamphlet and in the colophon-like concluding passage seem suspect and are likely to be later insertions. The opening line (*Sngags log sun 'byin skor*, p.18) reads: *gsang sngags mtha' dag la mkhas pa/ mkhas pa'i dbang phyug 'gos khug pa lhas btsas kyis gdams pa/* and the concluding passage (op. cit., p.25): *brtse ba'i dbang gis lo tsā ba mkhas pa chen po 'gos khug pa lhas btsas kyis sngags pa dang rab 'byung chos nor ba la zhugs pa rnams la phan pa'i phyir du 'di bsgyur (?) ba yin no//*. Also the presence of the verb *bsgyur* in the last passage raises questions. Thus, unless a more reliable manuscript is located and the text critically edited, nothing certain can be said. Furthermore, the versions of the pamphlets available at present are abound in textual problems. The publishers of the Thimphu edition note: “Although the spellings in the master copy of the letters by Chag lo and 'Gos are not satisfactory, they are set to print in order to enable [further] investigation”(chag lo dang 'gos kyi springs yig 'di gnyis ma dpe dag cha thon pa mi 'dug kyang dpyod pa 'jug phyir par du bkod pa lags).

<sup>50</sup> Although Sog zlog pa did not specify which one of the two pamphlets he cited, one would assume he chose the larger of the two which presumably offered more details for discussion. Owing to the structure of the text as found in Sog zlog pa's *Nges don 'brug sgra*, it is quite improbable, in my opinion, that he combined the two pamphlets and cited them together.

<sup>51</sup> For the Sanskrit edition of the *Guhyasamāja tantra*, see Matsunaga (1978).

<sup>52</sup> *Sngags log sun 'byin gyi skor*, pp.20f.: *dus phyis rin chen mchog gis gsang ba snying po brtsams/*. See also the *Nges don 'brug sgra*, p.220. Rma Rin chen mchog was one of the first seven monks who were ordained by Śāntarakṣita on a trial basis, hence referred to as the “seven persons on test” (*sad mi bdun*). See Obermiller (1986), p.190. He is also counted as one of the twenty-five disciples of Padmasambhava who demonstrated his sign of *siddhi* by devouring boulders as food (*pha bong zas su za*) (*Nyang ral chos 'byung*, p.342). He is further said to be the person who invited Vimalamitra to Tibet and is considered as the translator of many

also attributed to Vairocana by some scholars whom he does not specify.<sup>53</sup>

### III. THE CRITIQUE<sup>54</sup>

As we have seen, most of the sources of critique described above, with the exception of the *Sngags log sun 'byin* attributed to Lhas btsas, do not specify the *Guhyagarbha* as an apocryphal *tantra*.<sup>55</sup> Relying on Rong zom pa's allusion to the critique, however, it is certain that the *Guhyagarbha* was indeed alleged to be either

tantric works belonging to the *Māyā* cycle including the *Guhyagarbha* (op. cit. pp.422 & 435). According to Nyang ral, during Glang dar ma's persecution of Buddhism in Tibet, Rin chen mchog hid himself in 'U yug for nine months disguised as a woman. Charged (*snyad btags*) with using women for tantric practices, he was assassinated at a water source (*chu kha gcig tu*) one evening (op. cit., p.437). The *Sngags log sun 'byin* attributed to Lhas btsas, however, alleges that Rma Rin chen was punished severely (*bka' bcad dam po byas*) for composing the *Guhyagarbha* and its supplementary (*kha skong*) *tantras* and died in Nyang rong in Gtsang (*Sngags log sun 'byin skor*, p.21).

<sup>53</sup>*Nges don 'brug sgra*, p.212: "Again, some allege that the *Guhyagarbha* was composed by Vairocana but nobody seems to have sound reasons" (*yang kha gcig gsang [ba] snying po bai ros byas so zer te gtan tshigs yang dag pa ni su la yang smra rgyu mi 'dug goll*).

<sup>54</sup> The *Guhyagarbha* is also charged with containing the so-called "four defects of falsities" (*log pa'i skyon bzhi*). See, for example, the *Rgyud don gsal byed me long* by G.yung ston Rdo rje dpal (1284–1365), which reads (p. 44): *kha cig na re/ gsang ba snying po 'di la log pa'i skyon bzhi yod del/ rgyud gzhan na 'di skad thos bya ba yod pa la/ 'dir 'di skad bshad bya ba byung bas gleng gzhi log goll/ gzhan na dus gsum yod pa las/ 'dir dus bzhi byung ba dus log/ rgyud kyi bdag po kun tu bzang po yin pa la dkyil 'khor gyi tso bo rdo rje sems dpa' byung bas dkyil 'khor log/ sgrub pa'i zhag dang tsho grangs nil/ rgyud las smos pa bzhin du bshad// ces kha 'phangs pas rgyud log go zhe nal*. I shall, however, refrain from discussing these allegations here for neither the "Refutations of False *Mantras*" that I consult here nor Rong zom pa seem to have been aware of them, at least not in the form known to later scholars such as G.yung ston.

<sup>55</sup> Also the *Sngags log sun 'byin* (*Sngags log sun 'byin skor*, pp.1–18) attributed to Chag lo tsā ba chos rje dpal (1197–1246) does not explicitly mention the *Guhyagarbha*. One of the questions (no.15) Chag lo posed to Sa paṇ concerned the identification of Rnying ma and Gsar ma '*tantras*' composed by Tibetans. Sa paṇ, in his answer, named only a few *tantras*, not including the *Guhyagarbha*. He refrained from being very explicit (*gsal kha ston*) fearing that it would hurt (*phog thug*) those concerned. See the *Chag lo'i zhus lan*, pp.545f. Could the *Guhyagarbha* be one of the *tantras* he thought were apocryphal but did not dare mention? On the other hand, given his relative favorable opinion of Rnying ma tantric teachings in general, as expressed in his *Sdom gsum rab dbye*, the *Guhyagarbha*, a very important Rnying ma *tantra*, was probably not considered by him as apocryphal.

compiled or composed by earlier Tibetan Upādhyāyas already during his time. Unlike Lhas btsas' "Refutation of False *Mantras*" which does not provide the reason for this allegation, Rong zom pa, when referring to the opponents' position, explains, as we shall see below, why the authenticity of this *tantra* was questioned.

#### IV. RONG ZOM PA'S DEFENSE

Rong zom pa's tactics of defense can be fully understood only by placing them in the broader context of his general methods of exposition. Given the scope and size of the paper, however, I can mention them here only briefly. A fundamental conviction of his, which he applies to argumentation, appears to be that objectivity (*blo gzu bo*) is indispensable for any discussion.<sup>56</sup> His rare sense of objectivity is accompanied by a readiness to combat using reasoning that are invincible against the faults of others (*skyon gyis mi brdzi ba*), his choice of decisive (*thog tu phab pa*) authoritative scriptures, his skilful use of the quintessential instructions of his predecessors and of the treatises of grammar (*sgra'i bstan bcos*) and reasoning (*rigs pa'i bstan bcos*). In addition, his expositions are marked with striking analogies and short anecdotes that didactically lend a powerful effect. Employing these methods, he seeks to convince his critics by means of persuasion rather than by reactive attacks.

The objective of Rong zom pa's defense of the *Guhyagarbha* is to establish it as the word (*bka'*) of the Buddha in general<sup>57</sup> as well as to

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<sup>56</sup> *Gsung thor bu*, p.129: "Even if one notices mistakes [in my writings], one should, having first set aside the philosophical tenets of others and oneself, investigate [them] with an objective mind and scrutinize [them] well [to see if they] turn out to be faulty or not. If the fault of contradicting both authoritative scriptures and reasoning is indeed noticed, one should even write résumés at the end of this [text] to refute (or ward off people from) this view [of mine], [thus] benefiting the people in the future" (*gal te gang zag gis nyes pa'i skyon mthong na yang/ dang por rang dang gzhan gyi grub pa'i mtha' btang stel gzu bos blos nges par rtogs la/ skyon du 'gyur ba'am mi 'gyur ba legs par dpyad par gyis shig/ nges par lung dang rigs pa gnyi(s) ka dang 'gal ba'i skyon mthong bar 'gyur na/ lta ba de nyid las tu bzlog pa'i yi ge dag kyang 'di'i rjes su bris shig/ ma 'ongs pa'i gang zag rnam la phan par 'gyur rol/*).

<sup>57</sup> *Dkon mchog 'grel*, p.76: "To those who doubt whether or not this treatise is the word taught by the Omniscient One, [its] coherency with the general authoritative scriptures should be established" (*gzhung nyid thams cad mkhyen pas gsungs pa'i bka' yin nam ma yin the tshom bza' ba rnam la nil/ gzhung spyi'i 'brel ba bsrub par bya ba yin nol/*). See also op. cit. p.78. At the end of his legitimization of the

counter the specific allegations against it. In order to fulfil his first objective, he calls the “three witnesses” (*dpang po gsum*), namely, the witness of prophecy (*lung bstan pa'i dpang po*), the witness of person (*gang zag gi dpang po*) and the witness of scriptural coherency (*lung 'brel ba'i dpang po*), to the witness-stand.<sup>58</sup> By witness of prophecy, he means a prediction regarding certain teachings or individuals made by someone accepted by the opponent as an authority. Witness of person refers to an individual of authority accepted by the opponent. References to key concepts of the text in question in a generally accepted work are described by him as witness of reasoning or witness of scriptural coherency. He first applies these three witnesses to prove the omniscience of Buddha Śākyamuni to the non-Buddhist Brahmins of India, then to prove the validity of *Mahāyāna* teachings to the *śrāvakas*, and then the validity of *Vajrayāna* teachings to the proponents of the *Pāramitā* teachings of the *Mahāyāna*. As for the latter, however, the key *Vajrayāna* concepts that he defends are essentially and primarily those of the inner *tantras* of the Earlier Propagation rather than of *Vajrayāna* in general.

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*Vajrayāna*, he repeats his objective in the following manner (*Dkon mchog 'grel*, p.82): “Thus the Buddhas, the Bhagavans, would neither manifest nor give sublime teachings without witnesses. [They] would not teach [anything that could be] an object of skepticism. The skeptics, out of their pride, would not generate devotion even for an extraordinary person. Out of ignorance, they would not even give rise to the thought of looking for witnesses. They are ignorant [and] ignoble [persons] who, because of their scant learnedness, have not even heard about the three kinds of witnesses established by the Victorious One. Such establishment of the [scriptural] coherency [is carried on here] because of the possibility of such [skeptics]” (*de lta bas na sangs rgyas bcom ldan 'das rnams ni dpang po dang bral bar gzugs kyi sku mi ston shing/ dam pa'i chos mi ston tel the tshom gyi gnas mi ston nol/ gang dag the tshom bza' ba rnams ni nga rgyal gyi dbang gis gang zag khyad par can la yang mos pa mi skyed la/ gi mug gis dpang po tshol ba'i blo yang mi skyed/ thos pa chung bas rgyal ba'i dpang po rnam po gsum bzhag pa yang ma thos pa'i blun po ma rabs rnams yin tel 'brel ba bsgrub pa 'di lta bu yang de lta bu dag srid pa'i phyir yin nol/*).

<sup>58</sup> As for the term “witness,” it is explained in the *Dkon mchog 'grel* ( p.78) as follows: “Of course ‘witness’ is said generally in terms of a trustworthy person. But there is no fault in applying the term ‘witness’ also to other evidences, if they can be trusted. These witnesses are established from the standpoint of the opponents themselves, and thus are suitable for being causes of trust” (*de la spyir dpang po zhes bya ba ni yid ches pa'i gang zag gi sgo nas brjod pa yin mod kyi/ 'on kyang gtan tshigs gzhan yang yid ches par byed nus na dpang po'i sgras brjod pa la nyes pa med doll/ dpang po de dag kyang rgol ba nyid la grub pa yin tel de bas na yid ches pa'i rgyur rung ba nyid doll/*).

Here I shall provide a translation of the portion concerning the authenticity of the *Vajrāyāna*:<sup>59</sup>

In addition, the proponents of the *Pāramitā* [teachings] of the *Mahāyāna* allege: “There is no certainty that the *Mantrayāna* [teachings] are the word of the Omniscient One.” This must be responded to in a way similar to the preceding [argumentation]:

1) As for the witness of prophecy, the *sūtra*<sup>60</sup> *Gdams ngag 'bog pa'i rgyal po*, which is established [as authentic] by you, prophesizes:<sup>61</sup> “A

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<sup>59</sup> *Dkon mchog 'grel*, pp.80–82: *yang theg pa chen po pha rol tu phyin pa 'dzin pa rnams na rel gsang sngags kyi theg pa thams cad mkhyen pa'i bka' yin pa'i nges pa med do zhes zer rol/ de la snga ma bzhin du brjod par bya stel/ de la lung bstan pa'i dpang po ni khyed nyid la grub pa'i mdo sde gdams ngag 'bog pa'i rgyal po las/ nga ni 'di nas mi snang nas// lo ni brgya dang bcu gnyis nal/ bstan pa'i snying po dam pa zhig// 'dzam gling lho yi phyogs ngos kyi// rgyal po dza zhes bya ba lal/ thugs rje mthun pa'i byin rlabs kyi// lag na rdo rje snang bar byed// ces lung bstan pa yin tel/ lung bstan pa dang mthun par thun mong du grags pa nil gsang sngags kyi theg pa yin pa'i phyir lung bstan pa'i dpang po dang bcas pa'o// gang zag gi spang po ni byang chub sems dpa' phyag na rdo rje rtag tu bcom ldan 'das kyi mdun du 'gro zhing/ theg pa chen po thams cad kyi sdud pa po yin par mdo sde nyid la grags la/ de yang lho phyogs gyad kyi yul lha ma srin sde brgyad dang bcas pa'i 'khor gyi dkyl 'khor du/ bcom ldan 'das shākya thub pas dbang bskur bar thung mong du grags pa yin nol/ byang chub sems dpa' phyag na rdo rjes gsang sngags thams cad bsdu nas/ mkhan po ku ku la sogs pa skal ba dang ldan pa rnams la bshad pas gang zag gi dpang po dang bcas pa'o// lung 'brel ba'i dpang po yang yod de/ de yang pha rol tu phyin pa'i mdo sde nyid las/ bdag dang sangs rgyas rang bzhin mnyam par gnas pa dang/ phung po lnga grangs med pa'i de bzhin bshegs pa yin pa dang/ nyon mongs pa de bzhin bshegs pa'i rigs yin pa dang/ nyon mongs pa rang bzhin rnam par grol ba yin pa dang/ sems can gyi sems rang byung gi ye shes kyi snying po can yin pa dang/ chos thams cad rnam par bsgrub pa nye bar gzhas pa'i mtshan nyid can yin pa dang/ bcom ldan 'das shākya thub pa'i zhing khams yongs su ma dag par snang ba 'di nyid kyang yongs su dag pa'i zhing khams yin pa dang/ 'jug pa dam pa gnyis su med pa'i tshul la jug pa yin pa dang/ de bzhin gshegs pa mchod pa'i dam pa bud med kyi mnyes par byas pa la sogs pa yin pa ni khyed kyi lung pha rol tu phyin pa'i tshul gyi mdo sde kyi gsungs pa yin lal/ gsang sngags kyi tshul las kyang/ don de dag nyid ji ltar bsgrub pa'i thabs legs par gtan la phab pa tsam du zad pas lung 'brel pa'i dpang po grub pa yin nol.*

<sup>60</sup> I have rendered the Tibetan term *mdo sde* as *sūtra* throughout and not as *sūtrapīṭaka*, the proper rendering of which is rather in Tibetan *mdo sde'i sde snod*. As recorded in the *Mahāvīyūtpatti*, the term *mdo sde* is a translation of either *sūtrānta* or simply *sūtra*.

<sup>61</sup> There are different versions of this prophecy quoted by different authors from various sources used to validate the *Vajrāyāna*. See Karmay (1998c). See also

hundred and twelve years after my disappearance from here, a supreme essence of doctrine will be revealed by Vajrapāṇi, through the blessings corresponding [to his] compassion, to a king of the southern part of Jambudvīpa called Dza.” Because the *Mantrayāna* is the one commonly known to be associated with [this] prophecy, it has the witness of prophecy.

2) The witness of person is the bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi who is known in the *sūtras* to have constantly been in the presence of the Buddha and as the compiler of all *Mahāyāna* [teachings]. He is also commonly known to have been initiated by the Bhagavan Śākyamuni into the *maṇḍala* consisting of eight classes of [beings who were] neither gods nor demons [in] the Southern land of acrobats. Because the bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi, after having compiled all [teachings of] the *Mantra[yāna]*, taught the fortunate ones such as Upādhyāya Kuku[rāja], it has also the witness of person. Before the *Mantra[yāna]* became commonly known, Upādhyāya Kuku[rāja] was known as the most learned one in the three baskets [of the canonical corpus] among those who were not fortunate enough to see Vajrapāṇi. He is also commonly known to have received great and extraordinary accomplishments after having seen Vajrapāṇi. Therefore, it has the witness of person.

3) There is also the witness of scriptural coherency. It is taught in the *Pāramitā sūtras*<sup>62</sup> that (a) the Buddha and we are of the same nature, (b) the five aggregates are countless *tathāgatas*, (c) the defilements are the *tathāgata* families, (d) the defilements are fully liberated by nature, (e) the minds of sentient beings are of the essence of the innately occurring gnosis, (f) all phenomena are characterized by their contributing<sup>63</sup> to the attainment [of the ultimate result], (g) even the field of the Bhagavan Śākyamuni that appears to be utterly impure is an utterly pure [Buddha] field, (h) the supreme ‘entering’ is the ‘entering’ into the ways of non-duality, and (i) the best offering or service that can be rendered to the *tathāgatas* is to please women. [Teachings] such as these are taught in the *sūtras* of the *Pāramitā* way,

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*Gsung thor bu*, p.49: *gdam ngags 'phogs pa'i mdo zhes bya ba gsang ba lung ston pa'i mdo ...*; cf., op. cit., p.36.

<sup>62</sup> The expression “*Pāramitā sūtras*” obviously does not refer to the *Prajñāpāramitā* literature alone but to the *Mahāyāna sūtras* that the author considers to be of “definitive meaning” (*nges don*). For the individual *sūtra* references to these statements, see the following passage in the *Dkon mchog 'grel*, p.82.

<sup>63</sup> The meaning of the term *nye bar gzhas pa* in this passage as well as in the following one (which is not quoted here) obviously differs from its meaning used in other terms such as in *dran pa nye bar gzhas pa (smṛtyupasthāna)*. See the *Mahāvvyutpatti*, nos. 952–56. Perhaps a meaning of *nye bar bzhag pa* “to wait upon,” “to serve,” “to help” (*upasthāna*) fits the context. See Edgerton (1985).

which are your authoritative scriptures. Because all the *Mantrayāna* does is nothing but excellently establish the methods in which these ideas are to be put into practice, the witness of scriptural coherency is established.

#### IV.1. RESPONSE TO SPECIFIC PHILOLOGICAL OR TEXTUAL ISSUES

Rong zom pa's response to the allegation in connection with specific philological or textual issues may come as a surprise to some. He does not categorically rule out the possibility of the *tantra* being a compilation or a composition by a Tibetan scholar or of its containing redundancies, but rather addresses his opponents from a stance of spiritual ethics, trying to persuade them that in spite of such a possibility, one should approach the text with reason and respect on the basis of its scriptural coherency:<sup>64</sup>

When the *tathāgatas*, through their blessings, appear to the minds of [sentient beings] who are fit to be trained and benefit them and teach [them] the Doctrine, [they are] not limited to appearing only in extraordinary physical bodies. They may appear as ordinary as well as extraordinary, or as inferior as well as superior. And there is no Buddha activity that the Buddhas do not perform due to the fact that sentient beings are defiled through the four *māras* and the eighty-[four?] thousand defilements. Therefore, the appearances of the blessings of the Buddhas occur in association with the appearances of conceptions. Thus no negative thoughts should be generated against the persons [i.e., the previous masters alleged to have composed 'tantras']. If a spiritual friend is endowed with faith, discriminatory wisdom, concentration and the vows which are assisting factors for

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<sup>64</sup> *Dkon mchog 'grel*, pp.83f.: *de bzhin bshegs pa rnams kyi byin gyis brlabs gdul bya rnams kyi rgyud la snang stel/phan pa dang chos nyid ston pa nal/ gzugs kyi sku khyad par can snang ba 'ba' zhig tu ris su chad pa med del 'di lta du thun mong dang khyad par du snang yang rung/ dman pa dang dam par yang rung/ tha na bdud bzhi po dag dang nyon mongs pa stong phrag brgyad cu po dag gis sems can rnams nyon mongs par byed pa dag gis sangs rgyas rnams sangs rgyas kyi mdzad pa mi byed pa gang yang med doll de bas na de bzhin bshegs pa byin gyis brlabs 'byung ba yang rnam par rtog pa'i snang ba dang 'dres nas byung stel/ de'i phyir gang zag la ngan sems mi bskyed doll dad pa dang shes rab dang ting nge 'dzin dang de'i grogs su gyur pa'i sdom pa dang ldan na dge ba'i bshes gnyen yang sangs rgyas nyid dang 'dra stel/ mdo sde'i gzhung las slob dpon brtags pa'i sangs rgyas su gsungs pa bzhin nol/ de lta bu'i yon tan dang ldan na sangs rgyas la brten nas mtshams med pa'i las gsog pa de bzhin bshegs pa la ngan sems kyi[s] phrag phyung ba, bzhin nol/ de bas na lung 'brel ba yod na da lta gang zag gi dpang po med kyang the tshom gyi gnas su bya ba yang ma yin nal/ dangos su skur pa gdab pa lta ci smos stel/ 'di lta bu la sogs pa ni shin tu bzod par dka'ol/.*

those (i.e., faith etc.), he is similar to the Buddha himself; [it is] like in the *sūtra* treatises in which too the master is said to be a resemblance of the Buddha.<sup>65</sup> If [a master] possesses such qualities, [by despising him as a falsifier of *tantras*], one accumulates immeasurable [bad] *karma* in connection with the Buddha, similar to the *karma* accumulated by causing the *tathāgata* to bleed out of evil motives. Thus if there is a scriptural coherency, and even if there is no witness of person at present, one should not make [the *tantra*] an object of doubt, let alone directly deprecate it. [Deeds] such as this are of extreme severity.

As we have seen, it was suspected that the questionable *tantras* could not possibly be the cause of tantric activities and accomplishments. To this, Rong zom pa responds by indicating that the authenticity of a *tantra* is not the only prerequisite for the attainment of *siddhis*:<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> I am not sure if the text should read *btags* instead of *brtags*, hence translating as “the master is a ‘designated’ (or ‘labeled’) Buddha.” The term *brtags* can also be the past form of *rtog* “to imagine” or “to conceptualize” but this meaning does not seem to be suitable here. See also the *Dkon mchog 'grel*, p.224.

<sup>66</sup> *Dkon mchog 'grel*, pp.84f.: *las dang dngos grub kyi rgyur mi rung ba ni/ rgyal ba'i bka' dam pa nyid yin du zin kyang/ slob dpon dam tshig nyams par gyur pa dang/ bka' chad kyi gnas su gyur pa rnams kyi lag nas brgyud pa'i gzhung gi tshogs dang/ kha las brgyud pa'i man ngag gis tshogs kyi las dang dngos grub 'grub par 'gyur ba ni/ skal ba dang dad pa dang mnyam par bzhag pa rnams shin tu phul du gyur pa 'ga' zhig las ma gtogs pal gzhan rgyur rung ba ma yin no// de bas na shes bya la phyin ci ma log par smra ba rnams kyi ched du ni gzhung 'brel pa'i rigs pa grub pa kho nas chog par bya'o// las dang dngos grub myur du thob par bya ba la ni bla ma dam pa rnams kyi bka' thob pa kho na bdag po'i rkyen yin tel/ 'di dag tsam gyis gang zag gi bya ba yongs su rdzogs par 'gyur ro// gzhan du rgyud kyi gzhung la gang zag gis bsal pa la sogs par the tshom za bas ni skyon gyi gzhi mang por 'gyur tel dad pa tsam gyis rab tu 'jug bya'i phyr// rnam par dpyad pa 'di ni ming tsam stel/ gang zhig sgom pa de ni yang dag bral// zhes gsungs pa lta bu stel bka'i spong len byed pa theg pa chen po'i spyi'i dam tshig nyams pa'i rgyur bshad doll/ gzhan yang chos la brten nas las kyi sgrib pa gsog pa'i rgyur 'gyur ba dang/ gang zag la brten nas de bzhin du 'gyur ba ni sangs rgyas la brten nas las kyi sgrib pa gsog pa nyid dang 'dra'o// de bas na rgyud kyi gzhung ldab bu la sogs par ston pa dang/ gal te mkhan po rnams kyis bsdus shing sbyar ba srid na yang/ de bzhin bshegs pa'i byin gyis rlabs byung ba la tshul nges pa med pa yin pas the tshom gyi yul du bya ba ma yin no// yang gal te lta ba mtho dman la rtsod pa 'di ni sems can gyi don du gyur ba yin pas rgyal bas kyang gngang ba yin la/ sngon gyi mkhan po rnams kyis kyang bshad pas/ lta ba dman la smad pa 'di la nyes skyon med do zhe na/ 'di lta bu ni gong du lung spyi'i 'brel pa bsgrub pa dang 'dra stel/ mu stegs can gyis legs par bshad pa'i gzhung yang sangs rgyas rnams kyis byin gyis brlabs pa dang sprul pas bshad pa yin pa/ sangs rgyas nyid kyis lung bstan pa yin na/ de bzhin gshegs pa nyid du snang bas gsungs pa'i lung lta smos kyang ci dgos tel/ rgyal ba rnams kyis 'gro ba'i don du gsungs pa 'dra bas/ theg pa chung ngu rnams la yang spang zhing sun dbyung bar mi bya'o// lta ba mtho dman dang thabs che chung yang yod pa yin pas*



As for the unsuitability of [such questionable *tantras* to function as] the cause of [tantric] activities and accomplishments, even if [a *tantra*] is the authentic word of the Victorious One, it will not—except for some remarkable few who are fortunate, devoted and have [engaged in] meditative equipoise—be suitable as a cause for [tantric] activities and accomplishments through the collection of [related] treatises and quintessential instructions transmitted, respectively, from the hand and the mouth of teachers, whose tantric pledges have deteriorated and whose continuity of transmission has been interrupted. Therefore, it should be realized that for the proponents of non-erroneousness regarding the objects of knowledge the establishment of the reasoning of scriptural coherency alone would suffice.

Only the reception of teachings from a genuine master [can] be the dominating condition for a quick attainment of [tantric] activities and accomplishments. It is through this [reception of teachings] that the tasks of a person are thoroughly accomplished. Otherwise, suspecting tantric treatises of having been manipulated by persons and of other [faults] will give rise to bases for numerous shortcomings. As it is stated:

Because one enters [the path] with faith alone,

This analytical analysis is a mere theory

From which one who meditates is completely free.<sup>67</sup>

It is explained that the rejection or acceptance of the [Buddha's] word [due to prejudices] is the cause of deterioration of the general *Mahāyāna* commitments. Furthermore, the causes for accumulating karmic obscurations related to the Doctrine and such [obscurations] related to the person are similar to the [causes for] accumulating karmic obscurations in connection with the Buddha. Therefore, even if tantric treatises are taught with overlaps and so on, and even if it is possible that they were compiled and composed by [Tibetan] Upādhyāyas, they should not be considered objects of doubt, for the ways the blessings of the *tathāgatas* appear are not restricted.

If [the opponent] states: “Even the Victorious One permitted disputing about the assessment of [various] views for it brings about benefit for sentient beings. Also the early Upādhyāyas taught so. Thus there is no

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*theg pa gong ma pa la yang skur pa gdab tu ga la rung ste/ rang rang gi skal ba dang mos pa ji ltar mtshams pa bzhin so sor spyad par bya'ol/ rgyud 'di nyid las kyang/ sa rnam khyad par bkod pa yang// gsang ba'i snying por 'gro ba'i lam// ye shes ngo mtshar rab 'byamskyis// don du mi 'gyur yongs ma gsungs// zhes gsungs pa lta bu'ol/ de bas na sangs rgyas kyi bstan pa rnam ni 'gro ba chud mi gson pa la so so rang bden pa yin pas/ lta ba mtho dman rtsod pa'i skabs su yang gcig la gcig smad cing rstod pa'i phyir skur pa mi bya'i/ nges pa'i don gang nye ba'i rigs pa 'gran pa tsam la nyes skyon med dol//* See also the *Dkon mchog 'grel*, p.245.

<sup>67</sup> I am unable to identify the source of this verse.

fault in degrading the inferior views.” Such [an issue] is established in a way similar to [that of] the coherency with the general authoritative scriptures. If the Buddha himself taught that even the well-expounded treatises of the *tīrthikas* are teachings [caused by] the Buddha’s blessings and emanations, what need is there to mention those authoritative scriptures that were taught through the appearance of the Tathāgata himself! Because [all Buddhist teachings] are similar in so far as they were taught by the Victorious Ones for the sake of sentient beings, even the smaller vehicles should not be given up and condemned. How can one as well disparage the higher vehicles [simply] because there are [differences in] the level of the views and in the degree of the skilful means! One should, therefore, engage oneself in accordance with one’s own endowments and preferences just as stated in this *tantra* [i.e., the *Guhyagarbha*]:<sup>68</sup>

The stages, though differently fashioned,

Are [all] paths leading to the Secret Essence.

Nothing meaningless has ever been taught [by the Buddhas]

Through the amazingly infinite gnosis.

Therefore, the doctrines of the Buddha are true in their own right insofar as they were [all intended] not to ‘lay waste’ the [fields of] living beings.<sup>69</sup> Thus, even while debating about the assessment of the [varying] views, one should not deprecate [any of them just] in order to condemn and refute one another. However, there is no fault in the mere contest of reasoning to assess who draws closest to the definitive meaning.

## V. THE PROBABLE REASON FOR SUSPICION

Given the complicated and complex nature of the textual history of the *Guhyagarbha*, it is difficult to say anything with certainty regarding the allegations of the *tantra* being a Tibetan compilation or composition.<sup>70</sup> Various factors, including a peculiar phenomenon

<sup>68</sup> For the commentary on this verse, see the *Dkon mchog 'grel*, p.245.

<sup>69</sup> Cf. Sa paṅ’s critique (*Sdom pa gsum rab dbye*, p.74): “Some announce to all that each vehicle is true in its own level” (*kha cig theg pa rang sa nal/ bden pa yin zhes kun la sgrogs/*). One wonders if Sa paṅ had Rong zom pa in mind. Nonetheless, before any judgement of Rong zom pa’s position in this regard can be made, a thorough investigation of Rong zom pa’s extensive coverage on the distinctions and similarities of the various philosophical tenets and their theories should be undertaken in order to prevent his statements from being taken out of context.

<sup>70</sup> The deposit of a certain manuscript of the *Guhyagarbha* in Bsam yas dkor mdzod gling, is already reported in the *Nyang ral chos 'byung* (p. 308). For accounts of the discovery of a Sanskrit manuscript in Bsam yas sometime in the 12/13<sup>th</sup>

occurring in the *Guhyagarbha* called 'phyong may have contributed to its authenticity being called into question. The meaning of the term 'phyong is unclear. It appears in Nyang ral's history of Buddhism twice but unfortunately in both cases the text is obscure.<sup>71</sup> Rong zom pa states that some claim that Rma rin chen mchog (a direct student of Vimalamitra, who in turn was instrumental in the translation, teaching and transmission of the *Guhyagarbha* extracted certain passages from other *Māyā tantras* and inserted them sporadically in the *Guhyagarbha*. Later, Gtsug ru Rin chen gzhon nu (a disciple of Rma Rin chen mchog) sorted them out, with the result that two recensions of the *Guhyagarbha* came to be transmitted, one with 'phyong (i.e., with allegedly inserted verses) and one without.<sup>72</sup> Hence, for the purpose of the present discussion, I suggest rendering the term as ["sporadic] insertions."<sup>73</sup> As already mentioned, the propaganda pamphlets ascribed to Lhas btsas alleged that Rma rin chen mchog was the author of the *Guhyagarbha*. One cannot help but wonder if the allegation that Rma rin chen mchog had inserted the 'phyong was not the actual cause of the critics suspecting his authorship of the *tantra*. Thar lo nyi ma rgyal mtshan (who was Bu ston's teacher) stated in his translation colophon of the *Guhyagarbha* that the Sanskrit manuscript used by him had six 'chongs (i.e., 'phyongs) while Indian commentaries such as Sūryasiṃha's did not have any. It was thus clear to him that two Sanskrit versions (with and without 'phyong) had existed and that the allegation that the parts of the manuscripts (consisting of 'phyongs) were concealed in Tibet was not true.<sup>74</sup> Klong chen pa, too, devotes a few passages to this

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century, see, for example, Roerich (1988), pp.103f. and the *Thar lo'i 'gyur byang*, pp.121–27.

<sup>71</sup> See the *Nyang ral chos 'byung*<sup>a</sup>, pp.422f. and 435; *Nyang ral chos 'byung*, plate 316 (fol.70b)–plate 315 (fol.71a.) and plate 305 (fol.56a).

<sup>72</sup> *Dkon mchog 'grel*, p.149: *sku yi phyang rgya che mchog nil/ zhes bya ba la sogs pa ni phyang du grags pa stel/ slob dpon rin cen mchog gis sgyu 'phrul gzhon nas phyang stel skabs skabs su bcug pa las gtsug ru rin cen gzhon nus phong yod pa dang med pa'i dpe ris gnyis su phye ste de bzhin du grags so zhes zer roll*. See also op. cit., p.161.

<sup>73</sup> The word 'phyong occurs seldom in Tibetan Buddhist literature whereas it seems to occur frequently in Bon po literature with a meaning nearing on "chapter." *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo* gives its meaning as *zur* ("corner" or "side").

<sup>74</sup> *Thar lo'i 'gyur byang*, pp.121–27: '*chong drug kyang rgya dpe 'di nas tshang bar byung zhing/ rgya 'grel nyi 'od la sogs par ma byung bas/ rgya dpe la yang rgyas bsdud gnyis su yod par gsal zhing/ bod du dpe mkhyud byas zhes pa mi bden cing/ gzhung rgyas bsdus bstan pa yin no//*. It appears that while some had alleged

issue in which he also classifies and explains the various types of 'phyongs'.<sup>75</sup> My impression is that this issue, while providing fertile ground for the subsequent allegations of falsification, could also shed light on the controversial textual history of the *Guhyagarbha* if properly studied. Nevertheless, to my knowledge, no modern scholar has brought it up yet in connection with the textual problems of the *Guhyagarbha*.

## VI. CONCLUSION

A discussion of Rong zom pa's defense of the authenticity of the *Guhyagarbha* and its teachings without mention of his policy of 'inclusivism' in general would be neither just nor adequate. From a doctrinal point of view, he saw the Great Perfection according to which he interpreted the *Guhyagarbha* not only as the source from which all vehicles emerge (*phros*) but also the domain where all philosophical systems can merge into one single taste of the Buddha's teachings, as remarkably illustrated in the following passage:<sup>76</sup>

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that the 'phyongs were inserted and had thus corrupted the *tantra*, others perhaps had alleged that the 'phyongs, which were legitimate parts of the *tantra*, were removed from the *tantra* and concealed. Cf. the next footnote on Klong chen pa's discussion of 'phyong (no.3).

<sup>75</sup> Klong chen pa presents some of the theories regarding the phenomenon of 'phyong: The first theory that he cites seems to be a verbatim reproduction of the one already mentioned by Rong zom pa. The second theory is that the *Guhyagarbha* translated by Gnyags jñānakumāra is without 'phyong and the one translated by Rma rin chen mchog is with 'phyong on account of his insertion of them. The third one is that Rma rin chen mchog concealed them (the 'phyongs) out of envy (*ser sna byas nas*). The fourth theory is that of Klong chen pa himself: The 'early translation' (*Snga 'gyur*) by Buddhaguhya and Vairocana and the 'middle translation' (*bar 'gyur*) by Padmasambhava and Gnyags Jñānakumāra contained 'phyong, while the 'later translation' (*phyi 'gyur*) by Vimalamitra, Gnyags jñānakumāra and Rma rin chen mchog did not. According to Klong chen pa, whether or not the translation of the *Guhyagarbha* contains 'phyong depends on the length of the original Sanskrit manuscript used by the translators, thus indicating that the 'phyong were not inserted by Tibetans. See the *Phyogs bcu mun sel*, pp.864–66.

<sup>76</sup> *Lta ba'i brjed byang*, pp.12f.: *sangs rgyas kyi chos thams cad ni ro gcig pa tshul gcig pa stel 'di ltar mnyam pa chen po'i ngang du mthar mi 'jug cing mi 'du ba med del ji ltar chu phran thams cad chu chen po rnams dang 'grogs tel rgya mtsho chen por phyin pa na thams cad lan tsha'i ro gcig pa bzhin du theg pa 'og ma pa'i sgo phra mo thams cad kyang gang zag gi bdag med par rtogs pa'i chus/ dngos por lta ba'i ljan ljin rnams rims gyis ded del theg pa chen po rnams dang bsdongs nas/ mthar rdzogs pa chen po'i rgya mtsho chen por bab pa nal mnyam pa chen po'i ngang du ro mi gcig pa'i mshan nyid rdul phra mo tsam yang med doll 'di ltar sangs*

All the Buddhist teachings are a single mode with a single taste. Likewise, there is in the end nothing that is not embraced and included in the expanse of the great equanimity [of the Great Perfection]. For instance, all the small rivers join the big rivers, and upon their arrival in the ocean, they all become identical in their salty taste. Similarly are all the 'minor entrances' of the lower vehicles: the water of realization of the selflessness of the individual carries along gradually all the dirt of the belief in substance, joins the greater vehicles, and finally flows into the great ocean of the Great Perfection. Then, there is not even the subtlest characteristic in the expanse of the great equanimity that is not of one taste. Likewise, amongst the Buddhist vehicles, the higher vehicles would neither [attempt] to (1) promote nor (2) demote [the degree of] elimination [of the extremes of] manifoldness in the views of the lower vehicles, which varies in [the degree of] eliminating these [extremes]. Even if [the higher vehicles] eliminate these [extremes] of manifoldness that have not been eliminated [by the lower vehicles], the fundamentals [of the views of the latter] would neither be (3) disparaged nor (4) demoted [by the former]. Thus through these four ways, one should perceive the Buddhist teachings as being of one taste. But [at the same time], one should know the distinctions [regarding the degree of their] views. This is one concise aspect of the distinction of the views. Hold this way [of explanation] as the supreme essence amongst all distinctive features of the views!

Rong zom pa thus draws a circumference (of inclusivism) that both embraces the multiplicity of the various Buddhist views and, as already shown, the well-expounded teachings of the non-Buddhists. He urges his opponents to refrain from disputations detrimental to oneself and others, encouraging them instead to adopt a tolerant approach while still engaging in objective and constructive discussions based on the principle of respect and acceptance.

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*rgyas pa'i theg pa rnams las gongs ma gongs mas 'og 'og ma rnams kyi lta ba la/ spros pa chod pa dang ma chod pa'i bye brag las chod pa rnams las 'bog mi 'byin pa dang/ phyir mi zlog pa gnyis/ spros pa ma gcod pa rnams las gcod par byed kyang/ gzhi khyad du mi gsod pa dang/ gzhi phyir mi zlog pa gnyis te/ de ltar tshul bzhi'i sgo nas/ sangs rgyas kyi gsung gi chos thams cad ro gcig par shes par bya ba dang/ lta ba mtho dman gyi bye brag kyang shes par bya ba 'di ni/ lta ba'i bye brag mdr bsdus pa phyogs gcig yin te/ tshul 'di ni lta ba'i bye brag thams cad kyi nang na snying po'i mchog tu zung shig/.*

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## LES MA MO: MYTHES COSMOGONIQUES ET THEOGONIQUES DANS LE RNYING MA'I RGYUD 'BUM

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Mon intérêt pour les *tantra* des *ma mo* a d'abord été guidé par la remarque que fait Kong sprul blo gros mtha' yas dans le volume kha (*dkar chag*) du *Rin chen gter mdzod*, à propos des rituels *mdos*: pour leurs textes de base (*gzhung*), il renvoie entre autres à ces *tantra*. A la lecture—décevante pour ce que j'y cherchais: une histoire d'origine des *mdos*—j'ai trouvé une série de mythes originaux, d'une longueur et d'une cohérence inhabituelles; ce sont eux qui seront présentés ici, avec l'espoir qu'un collègue pourra apporter des lumières sur les nombreuses questions que je n'ai pas pu résoudre, concernant notamment des parallèles indiens.

Les *ma mo* forment une catégorie de *numina* dont le nom revient sans cesse, soit comme l'une des huit catégories de dieux et démons (*lha srin sde brgyad*), soit individualisé dans l'entourage de très nombreuses divinités: Lha mo, Mgon po, etc. Elles restent cependant mal identifiées. On les assimile le plus souvent aux *mātrka* indiennes, les 'Mères.' Le sujet est complexe parce que, d'une part, le nom de certaines *mātrka* figure effectivement, translittéré ou traduit, dans les listes de *ma mo* tibétaines: Ekajāṭī, Camunti, Rematī ...; d'autre part, les études sur les *mātrka* sont peu nombreuses et assez décevantes dans la perspective qui nous intéresse ici car elles traitent le sujet d'un point de vue archéologique et iconographique surtout. Je ne l'aborderai pas. Le groupe indien le plus connu est celui des Sept Mères (*Saptamātrka*), mais beaucoup d'autres existent.

Pour en terminer avec ces problèmes de classification, il faut remarquer que les noms des *mātrka* dans ce groupe de sept sont aussi fluctuants que ceux des *ma mo* dans les classifications tibétaines. Nebesky-Wojkowitz (1956) cite de nombreuses références aux *ma mo*, sans qu'un schéma clair s'en dégage. Par ailleurs, peu des noms

qu'il indique se retrouvent dans les *tantra* des *ma mo* (ou inversement).

### I. LES *TANTRA* DES *MAMO* DANS LE *RNYING MA'IRGYUD 'BUM*

Dans l'édition de Gting skyes,<sup>1</sup> ces *tantra* occupent deux volumes (nos 30 et 31 de la réédition faite sous les auspices de Khyentse Rinpoche); ils sont classés dans la section *Mahāyoga*, et dans le cadre des *Bka' brgyad*, dont le huitième est, comme on le sait, *Ma mo rbod gtong*, "Exciter les *ma mo* [pour] les envoyer [agir contre les ennemis]."

#### I.1 ORGANISATION DES TEXTES DANS LES VOLUMES TRENTE ET TRENTE UN

Chaque volume porte un titre général. Le volume 30 s'intitule: "Les *Tantra* de la grande réalisation (*siddhī*) de Yum bzung ma, Grandes instructions des *ma mo* de la citadelle (?) du monde phénoménal" (traduction incertaine). En effet, le *tantra* principal est le premier texte, qui reprend le titre ci-dessus: "*Tantra* de la grande réalisation de Yum gzungs ma;"<sup>2</sup> les autres textes se présentent, explicitement ou non, comme des *phyi rgyud*, des *tantra* 'ultérieurs' ou 'consécutifs.' Ils ne renferment, à l'exception notable du sixième texte consacré à Ekajātī, que des rites violents de suppression des ennemis, entremêlés de textes plus 'classiques' de propitiation: disposition du *maṇḍala*, *sādhana*, etc.

Le volume 31 porte comme titre général: "Collection des *mūla-tantra* des *ma mo*, Cycle de la 'goutte.'" On y trouve la même alternance de rites magiques et de textes véritablement ésotériques. Seuls les 2e et 3e *tantra* contiennent des mythes/récits d'origine. On ne prendra pas en compte ici le deuxième, qui concerne les *las kyi mkha' 'gro ma* (*karmaḍākini*) du plan mondain,<sup>3</sup> parce que le mythe qu'il expose rejoint le schéma plus banal de la soumission de Rudra.

<sup>1</sup> Cette édition reste la seule que j'ai pu consulter à ce jour, contrairement à l'intention que j'avais de la comparer au manuscrit de Mtshams brag.

<sup>2</sup> Les graphies incertaines ne sont pas l'une des moindres difficultés de cette édition du *Rnying rgyud*; j'ai opté pour la graphie trouvée dans le titre du volume: Yum bzung ma.

<sup>3</sup> *Las kyi mkha' 'gro ma de kho na nyid gsum du 'dus pa zhes bya ba'i rtsibs kyi rgyud chen po.*

La table ci-dessous synthétise les textes et chapitres dans lesquels se trouvent des récits d'origine:

Vol.30: *Ma mo srid pa'i rdzong lung chen mo Yum bzung ma'i dngos grub chen mo'i rgyud rnams*

— 1er texte (Kaneko no.356): *Yum gzungs ma'i dngos grub chen po'i rgyud* (en langue de l'Inde: *Ka ma la de wi siddhi mahātantra*)<sup>4</sup>, 21 chapitres, 62 fols. (pp.1–124 de la réédition).

Colophon: traduit par U rgyan pad 'byung et Jñānakumara. [Transmis (?) à 'Brog mi Dpal gyi ye shes, Tha ston Zla ba bzang po, etc. (Suit une série de titres, puis: traduits par le pandit Ghu ya [sic] gsang ba'i dbang phyug et 'Brog mi dpal gyi ye shes.)

Chap.1: *Ma mo rnams kyi gtso mo'i yang gtso mo yang gsang thig le'i gtan tshigs*

Chap.6: *Srid pa'i ma mo yum drug gyi byung tshul dang ma mo so so'i dbang chad rim par phye ba*

Chap.7: *Ma mo bcu bzhi'i rab[s b]rgyud*

Chap.8: *Srid pa pho rgyud mo rgyud gnyis kyi khungs dang / gtan tshigs*

— 6e texte (Kaneko no.361): *Sngags kyi srung(s) ma dpal E ka dzā ti rgyud* (en langue de l'Inde: *E ka dzā ta snying kha rag mo tra ga raksha ma hā kro dhi kā li tantra nā ma*), 95 chapitres, 103 fols. (pp.305–511 de la réédition).

Colophon: traduit par Dha na sang tri ta, 'Brog mi dpal gyi ye shes et Gñub[s].

Chap.1: *Ma mo rnams kyi jo mo ste yang gsang thig le'i gtan tshigs*

Chap.12: *Ma mo so so'i dbang chad kyi rim pa*

Chap.13: *Ma mo bcu bzhi'i rabs [b]rgyud*

Chap.14: *Srid pa pho rgyud mo rgyud gnyis kyi khungs dang / gtan tshigs*

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<sup>4</sup> Kamala est, entre autres, l'un des noms de Lakṣmī, ou celui d'une des Mères dans la suite de Skanda, dans le *Mahābhārata*. C. Scherrer-Schaub m'a signalé que le culte de Kamaladevī est toujours très vivace et important au Cachemire. Yum bzung/gzungs ma devrait être une traduction de ce nom, ce qui n'est pas le cas: en sanskrit, *kamala* signifie "rouge."

Vol.31: *Ma mo rtsa ba'i rgyud 'bum t[h]ig gi skor*

- 3e texte (Kaneko no.367): *Ma mo snang srid thig le'i rgyud* (pas de titre en sanskrit), 31 chapitres, 50 fols. (pp.193–293 de la ré-édition).

Colophon: traduit par Bsnubs (*sic*) nam mkha'i snying po.

Chap.1: *Ma mo rnam ki gtso mo yang rje mo ste / yang gsang thig le gtan tshigs*

Chap.12: *Ma mo so so'i dbang tshad (= chad) rim pa*

Chap.13: *Ma mo bcu bzhi'i rabs brgyud*

Chap.13 (bis): *Pho rgyud mo rgyud ki gtan tshigs*

## I.2 DOUBLONS

Il ressort aussi bien de cette table que de la lecture des textes que, pour les chapitres qui contiennent des mythes d'origine, ils forment des doublons, lesquels sont parfois complets, avec la même séquence de chapitres (*tantra* d'Ekajātī et *Thig le'i rgyud*), parfois légèrement décalé (*Yum bzung ma*). Or, les traducteurs—vrais ou supposés—indiqués aux colophons sont pratiquement les mêmes. Je n'ai pas d'explication sur les raisons de ce 'collage mythique' en tête de textes qui sont différents par ailleurs; la seule hypothèse que je peux proposer est d'y voir le désir d'authentifier une production qui serait tibétaine?

Ces doublons ont au moins une utilité: la combinaison des trois versions permet souvent de corriger les graphies extrêmement aberrantes de l'édition de Gting skyes, et d'obtenir un sens raisonnable, même si la traduction reste encore problématique parfois. Je ne peux que redire combien la comparaison avec d'autres éditions du *Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum* s'avère nécessaire.

## II. LES MYTHES

Les récits d'origine rencontrés dans ces *tantra* sont de deux types: cosmogoniques, et théogoniques, qui s'articulent sur les premiers. Parmi eux, on trouve d'abord le mythe créateur de la *ma mo* primordiale, *Yum bzung ma*, qui produit les cinq Jina et engendre cinq *ma mo* du plan nouménal (*ye shes kyī ma mo*) qui deviennent leurs pères; puis l'origine d'un groupe de quatorze *ma mo*, 'esclaves' de *Yum bzung ma*, et des fils qu'elles ont engendrés.

## II.1 MYTHE COSMOGONIQUE (CHAPITRE UN)

Je prendrai comme texte de base le *tantra* de Yum bzung ma, en le corrigeant avec les autres versions quand leur leçon m'a semblé meilleure. Il faut remarquer que le texte commence par une simple phrase d'hommage, sans les formules habituelles d'authentification: 'Ainsi un jour ai-je entendu,' etc.

Chapitre qui expose de manière indubitable<sup>5</sup> (*gtan tshigs*) la 'goutte' archi-secrète de la *ma mo* suprême, chef de toutes les *ma mo*.

Hommage au Bhagavat, Dpal rdo rje Heruka! Autrefois, aux temps passés, avant que quelque chose soit apparu, au sommet du Sumeru, dans la demeure des dieux du svastika, le Bhagavat très compatissant Dpal rdo rje Heruka savait que tout le monde phénoménal apparaîtrait de la vulve (*ba ga* = Skt. *bhaga*) de la Mère. Alors il se dressa, sous la forme du parfait éveil, une grande goutte (?),<sup>6</sup> dans l'espace de parfaite félicité (*bde ba chen po*) de la Grande Mère Nyid gzhi mu kha le. Du cœur du *vajra* et du *padma* secrets [unis], il produisit un *hūṃ* blanc: par la diffusion et la rétraction incessante de celui-ci, il procura [à la Mère] la jouissance secrète et il disparut dans la grande jouissance, à savoir le sexe de la Grande Mère Nyid gzhi mu kha le. En disparaissant dans le sexe, la grande jouissance, de la Mère Nyid gzhi mu kha le, il fit s'épanouir les pétales de son lotus (*padma*). Parce qu'il avait fait s'épanouir les pétales du lotus, ils couvrirent les régions des mondes dans un chiliocosme.

Dans ces domaines, tous les êtres mûs par la passion furent troublés [de désir]: la vulve de tous les êtres femelles fut excitée; le fondement (*rtsa ba*) de tous ceux qui sont dotés d'un *vajra* dans ces mondes se gonfla (entra en érection). Troublés de désir et très stupéfaits, ils se rendirent par la force de leurs pouvoirs magiques là où se trouvait la source de leur désir. Ils allèrent dans le lieu où s'était formé le *mandala* de la vulve [de la Mère], ils en firent la cicumambulation et se prosternèrent. C'étaient les principaux chefs des dieux du svastika, les cohortes des dieux du svastika: le roi des dieux, Gnod 'dul, etc.

Gnod 'dul lha est l'interlocuteur du Buddha dans ce *tantra*: il l'interroge sur l'origine des cinq éléments, celle de la distinction des genres—masculin et féminin— etc. Le Buddha déclare qu'il va commencer par expliquer la Souveraine des Quatorze *Ma mo*:

<sup>5</sup> Traduction libre de *gtan tshigs* dans ce titre: *ma mo rnams kyi gtso mo'i yang gtso mo yang gsang thig le'i gtan tshigs kyi le'u*.

<sup>6</sup> *thig le chen po'i mngon par byang chub pa'i tshul du bzhengs te*. Les autres versions parlent seulement d'une grande goutte secrète. Ce pourrait être une erreur pour *byang chub kyi sems, bodhicitta*, métaphore du sperme?

Elle est appelée la Grande Mère Nyid gzhî mu kha le; sa dimension est presque celle du Ri rab et des quatre continents actuels; sur son corps unique, elle manifeste cinq faces; elle a six bras et huit jambes; son cœur (*tsi ta*) irradie cinq pointes. Entre ses deux jambes de l'est, son 'espace secret' (sexe) grand ouvert présente, dans une vulve de cristal, un lotus *kesara* de diamant (*rdo rje*). Entre ses deux jambes du sud, son 'espace secret' chaud et doux présente, dans une vulve de *ke ke ru*, un *kesara* de joyau. Entre ses deux jambes de l'ouest, son 'espace secret' humide et mouillé présente, dans une vulve de *padma*, un *kesara* de corail. Entre ses deux jambes du nord, son 'espace secret' rugueux et froid est un très glorieux *kesara*. Ainsi son corps est-il orné de quatre 'espaces.' Au tréfonds de son corps, ces quatre sexes se rejoignent: c'est un lotus *kesara* à mille pétales de cuivre, formé dans l'abysse de félicité [couleur] de turquoise.

Quant aux [bouches de ses] cinq faces: dans celle de l'est, blanche et resplendissante, aux crocs de conque saillants, elle tient neuf *vajra* de cristal empilés; elle les consacre (*byin gyis brlabs te*) comme l'élément terre et ils se transforment en la famille du *vajra*. Dans celle du sud, bleue, béante et aux crocs saillants, elle tient neuf *ke ke ru* flamboyants; elle les consacre comme l'élément feu et ils se transforment en la famille du joyau. Dans celle de l'ouest, rouge, béante, aux crocs de corail saillants, elle tient neuf *padma* empilés; elle les consacre comme l'élément eau et ils se transforment en la famille du lotus. Dans celle du nord, verte, béante et aux crocs saillants, elle tient neuf doubles *vajra* (*viśvavajra*) de turquoise; elle les consacre comme l'élément air et ils se transforment en la famille du *karma*. Dans celle du centre, changeante (*cir yang 'gyur ba*), aux crocs saillants, elle tient une roue d'or à mille rayons; elle la consacre comme l'élément espace et elle se transforme en la famille du *tathāgata*. De là viennent les cinq éléments. Là aussi les *buddha* des cinq familles trouvent leur origine. Entre chacune de ses faces, ses tresses sont aussi assorties aux [couleurs] de chacune des cinq familles.

Quant à son cœur à base unique et à cinq pointes: des cinq pointes apparaissent les cinq Connaissances (*ye shes*) des cinq familles. Sur la base unique se concentre la sphère du *dharma* non-produit (= *dharma-dhātu*), on l'appelle "La bannière qui ne disparaît pas" (*mi nub pa'i rgyal mtshan*). Des cinq pointes flamboyantes, apparaissent tous les phénomènes mentaux (*dran pa*): la base universelle (*kun gzhî, ālayavi-jñāna*) qui condense le principe vital (*srog*). De sa base unique, apparaît aussi la grande compréhension de l'esprit des êtres.

Son 'espace' secret de l'est, grand ouvert, est consacré en tant qu'hiver; celui du nord, rugueux et froid, est consacré en tant que printemps; celui de l'ouest, humide et mouillé, est consacré en tant qu'été; celui du sud, chaud et doux, est consacré en tant qu'automne. Les quatre saisons s'équilibrent aussi là.

Les *buddha* des cinq familles issus, en haut de son corps, de ses bouches, se tiennent plongés presque à mi-corps<sup>7</sup> dans les vulves secrètes du bas de son corps.

Les quatre sortes de naissance et les six destinées sont aussi condensées là.

En ce qui concerne ses six bras: de ses deux mains supérieures elle tient la veine du cœur des principales des Quatorze *Ma mo*, ses ‘esclaves’ (*khol mo*)<sup>8</sup>: Srid pa bde 'gro ma et Nyi ma thod 'phreng can. De ses deux dernières mains (du bas), à droite et à gauche, elle tient la veine du cœur des quatre Très puissantes *ma mo* irritées (*khros pa'i dbang mo che*). De ses deux mains cachées,<sup>9</sup> elle produit réellement la jouissance des cinq sortes d'*amṛta*. Sous ses huit pieds, elle écrase le cœur des quatre *dbyings phyug ma* et des quatre *thugs kyi dgyes sde mo*. De son œil triangulaire situé au centre du front de sa face centrale, elle regarde et fait trembler les ‘esclaves’ des Quatorze *Ma mo*: Srid pa chags byed ma, Shan shan ne'u, E ka dza ti, etc. Elle claque de la langue de sa bouche centrale, ce qui arrache le cœur de toutes les *ma mo* du monde phénoménal: He ru ka ni, etc., et elle soumet à son pouvoir toutes les *ma mo*. (...).

Sa vulve secrète est appelée “Espace de la Mère, abysses de la Grande Félicité.” Comme elle se tient dans l’immuabilité de la grande permanence (*rtag pa chen po'i g.yung drung du*), elle est appelée “Celle qui est au-delà de vie et de mort.” Comme elle n'éprouve aucune souffrance, elle est aussi appelée “Celle qui est au-delà de la souffrance” (*Mya ngang las 'das ma*). De même, comme elle ne prend ni ne rejette, elle est appelée *Kun tu bzang mo*. Comme elle prend l'élixir de toutes les consciences, elle est aussi appelée *Prajñāpāramitā*. Comme les cinq éléments sont parachevés en son corps, elle est aussi appelée “Reine des cinq éléments.” Comme les quatre saisons sont issues de son ‘espace,’ elle est aussi appelée “Régulatrice des quatre saisons.” Comme elle engloutit dans les vulves du bas de son corps les *buddha* des cinq familles issus des bouches du haut de son corps, elle est aussi appelée “Mère des cinq familles.” Comme, de ses deux mains cachées, elle produit réellement la jouissance des cinq sortes d'*amṛta*, elle est aussi appelée “Reine de l'*amṛta*.” Comme elle établit définitivement le monde phénoménal (*snang srid gtan la 'bebs pas*), elle est aussi appe-

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<sup>7</sup> “A la manière de l’union,” ajoute le *Ma mo snang srid thig le'i rgyud* (vol.31), f. 99a.

<sup>8</sup> L’histoire d’origine et la généalogie des Quatorze *Ma mo* forment la matière du chapitre 7.

<sup>9</sup> *sbas pa'i phyag gnyis kyis ...* La mention de membres cachés—non attestée par l’iconographie d’autres divinités—revient à plusieurs reprises dans la description de *ma mo* du plan nouménal. M. Kapstein m’a suggéré que ce pourrait être précisément une référence à ce plan.

lée “Reine du monde phénoménal” (Srid pa'i rgyal mo). Elle est aussi appelée “Celle qui a neuf noms pour un seul corps.” (...).

Les *buddha* des cinq familles issus des bouches du haut du corps de cette Grande Mère, s'unirent à elle dans les vulves du bas de son corps et ils eurent cinq filles, indissociables (*gnyis su med pa*) de la Mère.

Ces cinq filles, appelées Reines de la permanence (*rtag pa'i rgyal mo*), au corps blanc, bleu, rouge, vert et de couleur changeante, pratiquent l'union [avec les cinq *buddha*] par des méthodes différentes (non-attachement ...). Ce sont les parèdres des *buddha* des cinq familles et les maîtresses de cette vie-ci. Suit l'énoncé de leur formule vitale et des instructions pour les méditer.

(Les chapitres 2 à 5 ensuite, exposent la méditation qui crée le *mandala* des Quatorze *Ma mo*, le grand *amṛta*, le *samādhi*, la propreté des six *ma mo* du plan nouménal — Yum bzung ma et ses cinq filles —, leurs *mudrā*.)

## II.2 DEVOILEMENT [DE LA MANIÈRE DONT] LE POUVOIR DE CHAQUE *MA MO* EST ANNIHILÉ TOUR A TOUR (CHAPITRE SIX)

Ce chapitre commence, dans *Yum bzung ma*, par un mythe original qui est absent des deux autres *tantra* et que je traiterai à part ultérieurement. La partie commune énonce une soumission ‘pyramidale’ de 68 *ma mo*, à partir de la Grande Mère (Yum bzung ma) et de ses cinq filles Reines de la permanence: chacune soumet celle qui lui est immédiatement inférieure, qui à son tour soumet son inférieure, etc. On ne trouve ici qu'une simple énumération, mais les chapitres suivants, comme on le verra, fournissent les histoires d'origine de certaines de ces *ma mo* et de ces catégories, dont voici la liste:

La Grande Mère soumet les trois *ma mo* qui circulent dans l'éther (*mkha'*), les trois *ma mo* issues de l'espace (*dbyings*) et Yi dam bsgom legs ma.

Celle(s)-ci soumet(tent) La très puissante irritée (*khros pa'i dbang mo che*) Rdo rje nyi ma,

qui soumet La très puissante irritée Padma khrag 'thung, qui soumet Srid pa chags byed ma,

qui soumet les Sept Mères (*Saptamātṛka*): Ekajaṭī, etc.,

qui soumettent les deux sœurs, 'Dod khams lha'i gts'o mo et Rdo rje gar gyi dbang phyug,

qui soumettent Nam mkha' rgyal mo et Gling bzhi spyi phud ma.

Quant aux cinq filles de la Grande Mère, elles règnent sur le monde entier et chacune soumet les *ma mo* suivantes:



- (1) La Reine de la permanence Bkrag gsal mnyam soumet Dkar mo  
 Nyi ma'i thod 'phreng can,  
 qui soumet Srid pa cha snyoms ma,  
 qui soumet Sa bdag padma 'phreng,  
 qui soumet Ekadzara.  
 Ce sont les *nyul le ma* ('vagabondes')<sup>10</sup> du centre, qui courent  
 (*rgyugs*) à minuit.
- (2) La Reine de la permanence Rnam snang gsal soumet La très puis-  
 sante irritée Rdo rje nyi ma (déjà soumise par la Grande Mère, ci-  
 dessus),  
 qui soumet Dkar mo mig cig ma,  
 qui soumet Rgyan gyi rgyal mo,  
 qui soumet la *gru 'degs ma* ("Qui soutient les angles")<sup>11</sup> Shan ting  
 dkar mo,  
 qui soumet la Reine des armées (*dmag gi rgyal mo*) Mche brtsegs  
 ma,  
 qui soumet Srin mo Gling bzhi spyi 'gro ma.  
 Ce sont les *nyul le ma* de l'est, qui courent au crépuscule.
- (3) La Reine de la permanence 'Od gsal 'bar soumet La très puissante  
 irritée Srid pa bde 'gro,  
 qui soumet la *thugs kyi dgyes sde mo* ("Qui réjouit l'esprit") Ral pa  
 can,  
 qui soumet Dbyings phyug mo,  
 qui soumet la *gru 'degs ma* Dun ting nag mo,  
 qui soumet la Reine des armées Kha lan ma,  
 qui soumet Sring mo Mkha' la khyung lding.  
 Ce sont les *nyul le ma* du sud, qui courent en pleine nuit (? *nam gyi*  
*'jings*).

<sup>10</sup> L'explication du nom de cette catégorie de *ma mo* n'est pas fournie dans les *tantra* des *ma mo*. Au Bhutan central, l'un des *'cham* de Byams pa lha khang représente la soumission des démons "nyulema;" mais le démon qui est sévèrement battu et expulsé est figuré par un jeune garçon habillé en nomade (*'brog pa*). Je ne sais pas si il faut chercher un lien autre que phonétique avec ces *ma mo*.

<sup>11</sup> L'origine de cette catégorie est expliquée au chapitre 8: les deux *ma mo* 'esclaves:' Srid pa chags byed ma et Srid pa zhid 'dzin s'unirent et donnèrent naissance (*sic*) à un fils bâtard (le *tantra* d'Eka jati qui, précédemment, avait parlé de la *khol mo* Srid pa zhid 'dzin, l'appelle ici *khol po*, esclave masculin). La Souveraine Nyi ma thod 'phreng can nomma l'enfant Skos rje drang (= 'brang) dkar—un dieu bien connu du panthéon tibétain non-bouddhique—et le prit comme ministre. Il s'unit à la *Ma mo* Srid pa cha snyoms ma et ils eurent six filles; les quatre aînées devinrent les épouses de quatre ministres des quatre Très puissantes irritées (*khros pa'i dbang mo che*) et furent désignées par la Souveraine pour tenir le Sumeru, c'est pourquoi elles furent appelées "Les quatre grandes (*ma mo*) qui soutiennent les angles (du Sumeru)."

- (4) La Reine de la permanence Mnyen (Gnyan) gsal ma soumet La très puissante irritée Padma khrag 'thung (déjà soumise par la Grande Mère, au début),  
 qui soumet la *thugs kyi dgyes sde mo* Dmar mo dbang sgyur ma,  
 qui soumet Bdag nyid ma,  
 qui soumet la *gru 'degs ma* Har ting dmar mo,  
 qui soumet la Reine des armées Mchu 'jig,  
 qui soumet Sring dmar mo g.yag thod can.  
 Ce sont les *nyul le ma* de l'ouest, qui courent au petit jour (? *nam chung*).
- (5) La Reine de la permanence Yang gsal g.yos soumet La très puissante irritée Ba ga khrag 'thung,  
 qui soumet la *thugs kyi dgyes sde mo* Ser mo las mkhan ma,  
 qui soumet Gcig pu ma,  
 qui soumet la *gru 'degs ma* Grub ting ser mo,  
 qui soumet la Reine des armées Ser mo rkang ldag ma,  
 qui soumet Sring mo Nag mo ser mo can.  
 Ce sont les *nyul le ma* du nord, qui courent à l'aube.

Ensuite, le texte reprend cette soumission en indiquant la hiérarchie des catégories de *ma mo* qui se soumettent les unes les autres et le chapitre conclut très logiquement:

Ainsi, quelle que soit celle qui est perturbée (*khru*gs), comme elles sont hiérarchisées (littéralement: en succession), si l'on traite rituellement (*bcos*) la principale d'entre elles, toutes seront satisfaites; le pouvoir de chacune des *ma mo* sera annihilé.

### II.3 GENEALOGIE DES QUATORZE *MA MO*, SOUVERAINES ET ESCLAVES (CHAPITRE SEPT)

Le Meilleur des yogins (le *buddha* Heruka) expose cette généalogie à la requête de gNod 'dul lha, le principal des dieux.

Le Sumeru avec les quatre continents, qui étaient apparus précédemment, étaient restés en l'état (laissés à eux-mêmes? *rang lugs su*). 901 soleils et 901 lunes, mille (?) soleils et lunes se trouvaient à l'extérieur du Sumeru et consumaient tout le monde créé: rien n'apparaissait.

A l'intérieur du Sumeru, il y avait l'arbre qui exauce les désirs, Yongs su brtol ("Qui perce totalement").<sup>12</sup> Dans le vase (*bum pa*) du Sumeru,

<sup>12</sup> L'arbre Yongs 'du sa brtol ljon shing est attesté dans la cosmologie bouddhique, mais il se trouve au nord-est de la 'ville' Lta na sdug—qui est en réalité l'une des sept chaînes de montagnes concentriques autour du Sumeru—; sa base s'enfonce de 50 *yojana*, il a 100 *yojana* de haut, ses branches et ses feuilles

au sommet de l'arbre, résidait la Mère Mo Srid pa bde 'gro ma ("La Femme céleste du monde phénoménal?"), appelée la Mère excellente des trois domaines (*kham s gsum*) tout entiers; elle était de couleur bleu-noir. Elle manifestait têtes et bras à sa guise, elle avait une chevelure faite de toutes les sortes de bijoux. De ses deux yeux cachés (*sbas pa'i spyan gnyis nas*), elle répandait: de l'œil droit des larmes de sang, de l'œil gauche des larmes d'*amṛta*. De ses deux pieds cachés (*sbas pa'i zhabs*), elle produisait le suc des cinq fruits.<sup>13</sup> Dans ses deux mains cachées elle tenait, dans la droite la longévité de tout le monde phénoménal, dans la gauche le Vajrāsana, sous terre (? *sa 'og Rdo rje gdan*). Avec ses deux pieds cachés elle piétinait, avec le droit, le cœur de tous les puissants (*dbang po che*) du monde, avec le gauche, le cœur de toutes les puissantes du monde. Du centre de son 'espace' secret, un lotus *kesara*, elle était celle qui accroît et diminue tout le monde phénoménal. Tous ceux qui ne saisissent pas intuitivement qu'elle est le lieu même où brille la Connaissance étaient rassemblés dans les tréfonds de son 'espace.' Au moyen d'une tresse ensanglantée du sommet de son crâne, elle réduisait à son pouvoir toutes les *ma mo* du monde phénoménal. Elle résidait dans le vase au sommet du Sumeru.

Ses deux esclaves, Srid pa chags byed ma ("Celle qui fait apparaître le monde phénoménal") et Cha snyom ma ("La Régulatrice"), résidaient au milieu de l'arbre et ses deux esclaves, Srid pa zhig 'dzin ("Détenitrice de la destruction du monde") et Srid pa byan byed ma ("La Cuisinière du monde"), résidaient à la base de l'arbre.

A l'extérieur du Sumeru, tous les êtres du monde phénoménal, consumés, n'existaient plus. Alors, Srid pa bde 'gro ma, pour soumettre à son pouvoir les soleils et les lunes, produisit de la chaleur des cinq éléments une fille 'émanée' (*sprul pa'i bu mo*), de couleur blanche, à la chevelure de turquoise, qui avait au milieu du front un œil triangulaire et qui lançait un lasso de fer et de cuivre torsadés avec lequel elle attrapait les cœurs. Avec ce lasso, elle lia en guirlande les crânes des mille soleils et lunes et elle ne laissa libres qu'une paire de soleil-lune. De ce fait, à ce moment, le monde fut régulé. Alors, la Mère Srid pa bde 'gro ma émit à l'extérieur (fit sortir, *phyung*) tout le monde phénoménal.

Alors, cette Dkar mo Nyi zla thod 'phreng can ("Blanche, à la guirlande de crânes de soleils et lunes"), moi [Heruka, le Meilleur des Yo-

s'étendent sur 50 *yojana*; il a 150 *yojana* d'envergure et 450 de circonférence. Son parfum se fait sentir à 50 *yojana* (*Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo*).

<sup>13</sup> Selon le *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo*, les cinq fruits sont: celui des causes favorables, celui des actes dont on est responsable, celui des activités que l'on exerce, celui du mûrissement total des actes, celui des renoncements (vertueux) que l'on s'est imposés.

gins], je la pris secrètement. Tandis que je la cachais très secrètement, le *tīrthika* appelé Ka la chen po (Mahākāla?) qui habitait sous le Sumeru, dans l'océan, la vit. Il s'unit mentalement (*yid kyi sbyor ba*) à elle en l'année du rat et, en l'année du bœuf, quatre filles, sœurs, naquirent. L'esclave Cha snyoms ma coupa le cordon ombilical et leur mère leur donna un nom: Dbyings phyug ma ("Riche sphère"), Rgyan gyi rgyal mo ("Reine des ornements"), Bdag nyid ma ("Soi-même") et Gcig pu ma ("L'Unique"). Ces noms étant excessifs (littéralement: trop grands), ces quatre filles à la fois firent du monde phénoménal un champ de ruines.

Alors moi-même, je produisis une émanation du plan nouménal qui, avec Srid pa bde 'gro ma, engendra des émanations mentales, lesquelles réduisirent à leur pouvoir les (leurs?) mères, etc.<sup>14</sup> Quatre filles émanées de *hūm*, ces quatre furent engendrées. Leur nourrice fut Srid pa chags byed ma et un nom leur fut donné par leurs mères et leur grand-mère: Rdo rje nyi ma *khros pa'i dbang mo che* ("La Très puissante irritée *Vajra*-Soleil"), Rdo rje srid pa bde sbyor *khros pa'i dbang mo che* ("La Très puissante irritée *Vajra* qui assure le bonheur du monde (?)" ), *Rdo rje khams gsum 'tsho byed khros pa'i dbang mo che* ("La Très puissante irritée *Vajra* qui fait vivre les trois domaines").<sup>15</sup> Ces noms étant bons, les quatre filles soumirent à leur pouvoir leurs mères. Puis elles établirent le monde phénoménal dans le bonheur.

L'année du dragon, ces quatre filles-émanations, dans les quatre éléments ...(?) *rigs kyi 'byung ba bzhi po ru*, s'amusaient (? *rtse gzho ba*) dans les branches de l'arbre qui exauce les désirs.<sup>16</sup> Le *tīrthika* Ka na (Ka la) les aperçut et leur lança l'arme d'une imprécation terrifiante: "Vous qui courez vainement (? 'dza' na), concevez des enfants de l'inceste et cachez ces enfants de la honte!" En l'année du serpent, quatre sœurs naquirent et, à nouveau, Srid pa chags byed ma coupa le cordon ombilical. Alors les quatre mères, honteuses, les cachèrent aux quatre côtés du Sumeru et les abandonnèrent.<sup>17</sup>

L'année du cheval, Spyi dpal chen po (Heruka) vit quatre femmes miraculeusement belles et douées de signes fastes; il les prit comme femmes adultères (concubines? *byi mo*) secrètes qui réjouissent sa

<sup>14</sup> Le texte n'est pas très explicite mais la suite montre que ces quatre émanations sont aussi les filles des quatre *ma mo* nocives précédentes.

<sup>15</sup> Il manque le nom de la quatrième fille, ici. Au chapitre 6, les quatre *khros pa'i dbang mo che* sont appelées: Rdo rje nyi ma, Srid pa bde 'gro (confusion avec la principale des Quatorze *Ma mo*), Padma khrag 'thung ("Lotus-Beuveuse de sang") et Ba ga [Bhaga] khrag 'thung ("Vulve-Beuveuse de sang").

<sup>16</sup> Les versions parallèles ne sont pas plus claires. Un récit similaire, au chapitre 8 de *Yum bzung ma*, fait comprendre que les quatre filles se livraient à des ébats amoureux. L'imprécation du *tīrthika* laisse supposer que c'était avec leur propre père, le *buddha* Heruka.

<sup>17</sup> Dans le *tantra* d'Ekajātī, ce sont les mères elles-mêmes qui se cachent.

pensée<sup>18</sup> et il leur donna lui-même un nom: Dkar mo mig rgyas 'debs ma ("La Blanche aux grands yeux"), Nag mo ral can rmongs byed ma ("La Noire, avec des tresses, qui rend stupide"), Dmar mo dbang sgyur za byed ma ("La Rouge, dévoreuse?"), Ser mo las mkhan tshe 'phel ma ("La Jaune, ouvrière qui développe la longévité"). Ainsi les nomma-t-il par sa pensée.

#### II.4 ORIGINE DES LIGNEES MASCULINES ET FEMININES (CHAPITRE HUIT)

A la demande de Gnod 'dul lha, le Buddha expose de courts récits généalogiques, sans lien entre eux, qui expliquent la naissance de certaines catégories de *ma mo* et de dieux qui deviennent les ministres des souveraines des *ma mo*, et les époux des *ma mo* de rang inférieur: un exemple en a été donné dans la note 11. Je ne les détaillerai pas ici et j'indiquerai seulement le trait commun, frappant, de ces récits: toutes ces naissances sont le fruit d'adultères ou d'incestes perpétrés par des *ma mo* dont l'origine a été exposée dans les chapitres précédents.

#### II.5 ORIGINE DES SIX MERES, MA MO DU MONDE PHENOMENAL (DEBUT DU CHAPITRE SIX DE YUM BZUNG MA)

Ainsi que je l'ai dit plus haut, le chapitre 6 du *tantra* de Yum bzung ma commence par un mythe particulier absent des chapitres parallèles dans les autres *tantra*, comme on peut le repérer dans l'intitulé même du titre. Voici ce mythe initial qui, comme les autres, fournit l'histoire d'origine de catégories de *ma mo* énoncées dans la partie commune de ce chapitre, consacrée à leur soumission les unes par les autres:

Au centre du Sumeru, poussa l'arbre qui exauce les désirs (*dpag bsam gyi shing*). A la racine de cet arbre, s'arrondissait l'océan de sang des passions; dans l'écorce de cet arbre, le feu de la haine flamboyait; les feuilles de cet arbre étaient enténébrées par les ténèbres de l'obscurcissement mental; la vie interne de cet arbre (la sève? *khong srog la*) était remplie de la roche de l'orgueil; au sommet de cet arbre, l'orage de l'envie se déployait (*'khyil ba*). Un tel arbre poussa et sur cet arbre, les cinq sortes de passions se trouvaient au complet.

Dans l'océan de sang des passions, se tenait la Mère appelée Phya sangs 'bum gyi rgyal mo. Elle est la génitrice (*bskyed ma*) de tout le monde phénoménal; elle est celle qui fait naître tout le monde phéno-

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<sup>18</sup> *thugs kyi dgyes sde mo*; c'est l'une des catégories de *ma mo* répertoriées au chapitre 6.

ménal de son corps de transformations magiques (*rdzu 'phrul gyi sku*); celle qui fait augmenter et diminuer la longévité (*tshe*) et la chance (mérites, *bsod nams*) de tous; celle qui fait naître les cinq éléments et qui les fait s'épuiser (*zad*) également; celle qui exerce le pouvoir sur les cinq éléments [du corps] des êtres vivants; celle qui, vainquant tout par son 'espace' secret triangulaire (son sexe), réduit à son pouvoir, par la passion, les espèces mâles. Issu de ses mouvements, il y eut l'élément air; issu de la passion, il y eut l'élément eau; issu de l'engendrement, l'élément terre apparut; issu du *maṇḍala* de son esprit, il y eut l'élément espace, qui recouvre tout. Ainsi est-elle la mère qui engendre tout.

Parce qu'elle tient de la main droite la base de l'arbre qui exauce les désirs, elle fait mûrir tous les fruits. Parce que, de la main gauche, elle jouit des cinq *amṛta*, elle est l'amie des yogins. Elle écrase l'océan de son pied droit et l'empêche de pénétrer dans les terres (les vallées: *lung*). Elle piétine de son pied gauche tous les arrogants (*dregs pa*) orgueilleux et les soumet à son pouvoir. Ecrasant de sa splendeur les *bdud* hostiles (*mi mthun pa*), elle est la guérisseuse universelle.

[Au sommet de l'arbre], à l'intérieur de l'orage de l'envie, se tenait le père, appelé Dgu ri dgu stong gi rgyal po. Il émanait tout le monde créé de son esprit et de sa splendeur (? *dangs ma*); il est aussi appelé Srid pa skos bdag ("Le maître des divinités Skos du monde phénoménal"). Son désir excité par cette [création], il envoya à la mère Phya sangs 'bum, au fond de l'océan, un message mental. Alors que, l'esprit agité de désir par le déploiement du monde créé il avait envoyé une lettre passionnée au pied du Sumeru, de l'union totale de son esprit avec celui de la mère, [deux] oiseaux furent émanés dans l'espace intermédiaire. Mûs par le désir ils s'unirent et, l'année suivante, cinq œufs naquirent à la mère [Phya sangs 'bum].

Elle plaça l'œuf blanc de conque sur les branches de l'arbre qui exauce les désirs, à l'est. La coquille extérieure se fendit, le *ngar* (?) interne se coupa et la membrane intérieure se transforma en une tente de conque, avec un rideau de soie blanche, des piquets de turquoise et des [motifs de] cases en *bse* dessinés. A l'intérieur, il y avait une femme blanche à la chevelure de conque, qui tenait dans ses mains une cassette de conque dans laquelle, versant l'essence (*bcud*) des êtres, elle était celle qui? (*mtshe bar mdzad ma*). Le père lui donna un nom: parce qu'elle était apparue de l'espace, il la nomma Rus pa'i bdag mo ("Maîtresse des os"). Quant au nom que lui donna la mère, elle la nomma Ssang srid 'byung ba'i sa'i bdag mo ("Origine du monde phénoménal, Maîtresse de [l'élément] terre"). [Ils lui dirent]: "Comme lot d'activité (*las skal*), tu enverras les grandes maladies de poison et les maladies des os."

Sur les branches de l'arbre qui exauce les désirs, du côté sud, la mère plaça l'œuf bleu de turquoise. De l'intérieur (? *phrugs pa = phru ma*,

intérieur de l'œuf?) de cet oeuf, apparut une tente de turquoise qui avait un rideau de soie bleue peint, des piquets de tente en corail et des *gur mig* (?) de conque peints. A l'intérieur, il y avait une femme bleue à l'épaisse chevelure dorée, qui tenait dans les mains une cassette de turquoise. Parce qu'elle y versait les cinq *amrta*, elle était la guérisseuse de tous les êtres. Le père lui donna un nom: Lus la 'od byung sems can drod bdag mo ("Origine de la luminosité des corps, Maîtresse de la chaleur des êtres"). Quant à la mère, elle la nomma 'Byung ba me la mnga' mdzad ma ("Celle qui a pouvoir sur l'élément feu"). [Ils lui dirent]: "Comme lot d'activité, tu rempliras tout le monde phénoménal des maladies de la bile *ga sha'i ya* (?)." .

Sur les branches de l'arbre qui exauce les désirs, du côté ouest, la mère plaça l'œuf rouge de cuivre; celui-ci ayant mûri complètement, de l'intérieur (? *phrugs pa las*) apparut une tente rouge de cuivre qui avait un rideau de soie rouge peint, des piquets de tente en turquoise et des *gur mig* de *bse* peints. A l'intérieur, se tenait une femme rouge à l'épaisse chevelure de corail, qui tenait dans les mains une cassette de cuivre dans laquelle elle versait le sang menstruel des êtres. Le père lui donna un nom: 'Byung ba chu bdag mo ("Maîtresse de l'élément eau"), parce qu'elle réduisait tout à son pouvoir. La mère lui donna un nom: Mngal khrag dbang sdud khrag gi bdag mo ("Maîtresse du sang, qui réduit à son pouvoir le sang menstruel"). [Ils lui dirent]: "Comme lot d'activité, tu enverras les maladies du sang et les douleurs foudroyantes."

Sur les branches de l'arbre qui exauce les désirs, du côté nord, la mère plaça l'œuf bigarré de *'phra* (?); sa coquille se fendit, la membrane intérieure se perfora et le *bar gyi bdag* (?) se fendit: il en apparut une tente de *phra* (?) bigarré qui avait un rideau de soie bleu-noir peint, des piquets de tente en cuivre et des *gur mig* de *bse* peints. A l'intérieur, il y avait une femme bigarrée à l'épaisse chevelure de *bse*, qui tenait dans ses mains une cassette en *bse* dans laquelle elle versait le souffle (*dbugs*) de tous les êtres et elle faisait s'accroître et diminuer [le nombre] de tous les êtres. Le père lui donna le nom de 'Byung ba rlung bdag mo ("Maîtresse de l'élément air"). Parce qu'elle avait pouvoir sur le souffle, la mère lui donna le nom de Dbugs kyi bdag mo srid pa 'thor byed ma ("Maîtresse du souffle, Qui éparpille le monde créé"). [Ils lui dirent]: "Comme lot d'activité, tu rempliras la totalité des trois domaines (*kham*s *gsum*) de maladies mentales et d'ulcères (? *lhog rgyal*)."

(Il manque le cinquième œuf, qui aurait dû être placé au centre.)

Et aussi, ces femmes, en ce qu'elles produisent les cinq éléments, elles sont Kun tu bzang mo; en ce qu'elles ont le pouvoir, elles sont les Cinq sœurs; en ce qu'elles équilibrent [le monde], elles sont les Srid pa bde 'gro ma ("Les Femmes célestes du monde phénoménal?"); en ce qu'elles sont les vagabondes (? *nyul le ma*) des cinq éléments, elles

sont les Chags 'dzin spun gnyis (“Les deux sœurs attachement et saisie?”); en ce qu'elles parachèvent les quatre saisons, elles sont Kun tu bzang mo; en ce qu'elles ont pouvoir sur les quatre saisons, elles sont les Cinq sœurs; en ce qu'elles sont les ‘vagabondes’ des quatre saisons, elles sont les épouses de/des Phya ya bdud.

Vient ensuite un titre annonçant la partie commune avec les autres *tantra*: “Manière dont les *ma mo* se soumettent elles-mêmes” (voir 2.2).

### III. REFLEXIONS ET QUESTIONS FINALES

#### III.1 ORIGINE DE CES MYTHES?

L'ensemble de ces chapitres constitue ainsi un ensemble de mythes d'origine d'un panthéon des *ma mo* d'une grande cohérence, sans égal ailleurs, semble-t-il. Mais du même coup, on se trouve sans référence pour déterminer la source originale de ces histoires. En suivant certains thèmes majeurs, je ne pourrai qu'indiquer quelques rapprochements et pistes de recherche.

Le mythe créateur initial, celui de Yum bzung ma, obéit plus ou moins à un schéma tantrique banal: l'union d'un *buddha* et de sa parèdre, la Mère primordiale. C'est aussi, dans une moindre mesure, celui qui sous-tend l'histoire de la Mère Phya sangs 'bum gyi rgyal mo, au chapitre 6, et de la principale des Quatorze *Ma mo*, la Mère Mo Srid pa bde 'gro ma, au chapitre 7. Pourtant, à l'intérieur de ce schéma classique, bien des détails paraissent peu orthodoxes, mais ma connaissance de la littérature tantrique est trop mince pour que je puisse dire si l'on rencontre ailleurs un parallèle de cette création de l'univers.

Je ne rappellerai que pour mémoire que toutes ces *ma mo*, qu'elles soient du plan nouménal ou phénoménal, et les dieux qu'elles engendrent, naissent d'un inceste, parfois d'une relation adultère. C'est là un thème fréquemment rencontré dans les mythes d'origine des dieux et des hommes, au Tibet comme dans les populations tibéto-birmanes.

De la même façon, le mythe de la Mère Phya sangs 'bum gyi rgyal mo évoque immédiatement des noms—Phya sangs 'bum khri, Srid pa'i skos bdag—caractéristiques des mythes bon po. Mais des thèmes frappants, dans ces *tantra* des *ma mo*, se rencontrent aussi en dehors du Tibet. Tout d'abord, celui des soleils et des lunes trop nombreux,



qui dessèchent l'univers et qu'il faut réduire à une paire de soleil-lune. On trouve cette histoire en Chine, où dix soleils et douze lunes brûlaient la terre. L'archer Yi abattit de ses flèches neuf des dix soleils, permettant ainsi à la nature et aux hommes de vivre (Soymié 1962:292–94). En Inde, il est question de sept soleils, mentionnés dans Stith Thompson (1955), et il faudra poursuivre l'enquête de ce côté, éventuellement dans les *Pūrāna*.

On sait que la naissance à partir d'un œuf, dont on a dit trop vite qu'elle caractérise les mythes cosmogoniques bon po,<sup>19</sup> existe dans le brahmanisme (cf. par exemple Esnoul 1959, et la bibliographie qu'elle donne en référence); en Chine, dans le mythe de Panku, le chaos primordial est comparé à un œuf. En revanche, la transformation en belles femmes de ces œufs placés sur l'arbre cosmique, évoque le mythe d'origine arabe de l'arbre fabuleux de l'île de Wâqwâq: il produisait, en guise de fruits, des têtes d'enfants, "ou, lors du plein développement du mythe, des femmes d'une extraordinaire beauté ..." (Bacqué-Grammont et al. 2000). Selon ces auteurs, l'attestation la plus ancienne de ce mythe date de 751 et l'on en trouve des variantes en Thaïlande, dans la légende persane d'Alexandre, dans une encyclopédie japonaise du 18e siècle.

En fait, nombre de détails évoquent plutôt un milieu sivaïte: le nom des dieux, l'épithète des *ma mo* "Reines de la permanence," ou encore des remarques telles que celle-ci: "Le créateur et la créatrice, cet homme et cette femme sans père ni mère, existaient avant le monde créé. Ils sont beaucoup plus vieux que le Buddha même."<sup>20</sup>

### III.2 PROBLEME DE L'AUTHEENTICITE DES TANTRA DU RNYING MA'I RGYUD 'BUM

Les inspirations variées que l'on peut déceler dans les *tantra* examinés ici renvoient évidemment au problème de leur authenticité par rapport à un original indien revendiqué à travers les titres 'en langue de l'Inde' et les colophons. Le contexte indien est si présent qu'il est difficile de penser que ce sont des créations purement tibétaines, même si les interpolations sont évidentes. Est-on en présence de ce que Ronald Davidson a appelé, lors de cette conférence de l'IATS, des 'gray texts,' c'est-à-dire des ouvrages composés par des pandits

<sup>19</sup> Pour une revue de ces mythes au Tibet, cf. Kvaerne (1981), pp.249–52.

<sup>20</sup> *Yum bzung ma*, f. 10b: *byed papo dang bya ma mo // pha ma med pa'i pho mo gnyis // srid pa'i sngon du byung ba yin // sangs rgyas nyid pas shin tu bgres.*

indiens à l'usage des Tibétains? Cela n'y ressemble guère, au premier abord. Les recherches sur le *Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum* n'en sont qu'à leurs débuts; en réfléchissant sur un possible modèle indien—qui ne serait pas obligatoirement bouddhique—il faudrait étudier non seulement les thèmes, ou les rituels, mais aussi les titres 'en langue de l'Inde' et les *mantra* qui mélangent sanskrit, tibétain, et une langue qui pourrait être un dialecte du Tibet occidental (information de C. Scherrer-Schaub).

Un argument, me semble-t-il, en faveur d'un modèle indien, est la multiplicité des versions. On en trouve un nouvel exemple avec un autre *tantra* dont j'ai entrepris l'étude, le *Lha 'dre stong gi drwa ba'i rgyud* qui n'existe qu'en un exemplaire dans la version de Gting skyes, mais offre de multiples versions dans le manuscrit de Mtshams brag.

Par contrecoup, cela incite aussi à être très prudent dans l'identification comme 'bon po' d'histoires qui ne cadrent pas avec les données bouddhiques classiques: les liens du Bon organisé—g.Yung drung bon—avec l'hindouisme, et les emprunts des Tibétains au shivaïsme du Cachemire restent à étudier.

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# KHYUNG TEXTS IN THE RNYING MA'I RGYUD 'BUM

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## I. INTRODUCTION

The point of departure for this paper is my ongoing interest and inquiry into *The Treasury of Abiding Reality* (*Gnas lugs mdzod*) and its commentary by the great 14<sup>th</sup> century polymath Klong chen rab 'byams pa (1308–63). Klong chen pa employs the metaphor of the 'khyung'—a mythical bird possessing supernatural powers—throughout the text as part of a larger group of 'natural' metaphors. One such metaphor is 'space' (*nam mkha'*), usually grouped together with its various characteristics such as 'unboundedness' (*ma 'gags pa*), 'freedom' (*grol ba*), and so forth. Klong chen pa also employs the 'khyung' analogy to a lesser extent to convey the capacity of the *Rdzogs chen* view to surpass (*zil gyis gnon*) the views of the lower vehicles. Not only does this extraordinary work contain numerous explicit references to the figure of the 'khyung,' citing such works as Dga' rab rdo rje's *Natural Freedom of Concrete Qualities* (*Mtshan ma rang grol*), *The Fulfillment of the Lion's Dynamism Tantra* (*Seng ge rtsal rdzogs chen po'i rgyud*), *The All-Creating King Tantra* (*Kun byed rgyal po*), and so on, its underlying structure is based in part on tropes drawn from a *Rdzogs chen* text entitled *The Sky-Soaring Great Khyung* (*Khyung chen mkha' lding*) attributed to Śrisiṃha (ca. seventh–eighth centuries).

As I continued my inquiry, it occurred to me that the *gnas lugs mdzod* might well be a literary byproduct of a sub-genre of 'khyung' texts within the larger genre of Rnying ma tantric literature. This minor epiphany led me to begin to seek out all texts relating to the mythical 'khyung' within the corpus of Rnying ma tantric literature. Since this is a daunting undertaking, I began more modestly by identifying all 'texts' within the *Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum* that contained the term 'khyung' in the title. In addition, because larger *tantras* within the *Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum* frequently assimilated earlier and shorter texts (as is the case with the well-known *kun byed*

*rgyal po*, for instance), I decided to include individual chapters of larger textual entities within my overall definition of ‘texts’ in this body of literature. Thus, I made an initial pass at identifying all text and chapter titles within the Mtshams brag edition of the *Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum* that contained the term ‘*khyung*,’ the results of which I will elaborate upon below.<sup>1</sup>

## II. BACKGROUND

Buddhist literature in general, and Tibetan literature in particular, is filled with references to the mythological bird known as the *khyung*. In general the *khyung* is explained as being the Tibetan translation for the Sanskrit term *garuḍa*, the mount of the god Viṣṇu and the sworn enemy of *nāgas*. In the purāṇic literature, the *garuḍa* is said to have hatched fully grown from its egg and immediately to have taken to the skies, over-powering other creatures with its strength and effulgence. The theme of a powerful bird with a strong sense of enmity for snakes is a trans-cultural phenomenon found in ancient Greek, Sumerian, Persian, Chinese, Indian, and even Mexican cultures. Variations of the *garuḍa*'s artistic representations are found throughout Asia, including India, Nepal, Śri Lanka, Burma, Thailand, and Southeast Asia. The *garuḍa* is commonly evoked in these countries to ward off snakes, to cure snakebites and various poisons, and so forth.

In Tibet the figure of the *garuḍa* was assimilated to the *khyung* — a great bird explained in early Tibetan oral traditions as being impossible to snare.<sup>2</sup> References to the *khyung* are found throughout Tibetan literature, assuming perhaps the greatest prominence in the *Rdzogs chen* traditions of the Rnying ma and Bon traditions. Indeed many *Rdzogs chen* texts dating from at least the eighth–tenth centuries contain references to the *khyung* in their titles. Such references in the *sems sde* literature may reflect the ‘*khyung*’ of pre-

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<sup>1</sup> This work was greatly facilitated by preliminary versions of an electronic catalogue to the Mtshams brag edition of the *Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum* created by David Germano and his graduate students at the University of Virginia. This catalogue has recently been greatly expanded and improved, and is presently accessible to scholars via the internet at thdl.org (then Collections: Literature: Samantabhadra Collection).

<sup>2</sup> See *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo*, p.266 (*sngar gyi bshad srol bya chen zhig khyung mkha' lding snyi la 'dzin thabs med*).

Buddhist Tibet more than they do notions of the pan-Indian *garuḍa*, and may well have served as the inspiration for later authors such as Klong chen pa in his *Khyung chen gshog rdzogs*, and Zhabs dkar tshogs drug rang grol (1781–1850/1) in his *Mkha' lding gshog rlabs*.

Most mainstream editions of the *Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum* were redacted in the fifteenth century, and there is some evidence that earlier proto-editions about which we know little or nothing.<sup>3</sup> It may be, for instance, that the *Bai ro rgyud 'bum* represents one such early redaction, or that 'Ancient *Tantras*' (*rnying rgyud*) sections of certain editions of the *Bka' 'gyur* and *Bstan 'gyur* represent some form of early redaction. At any rate, we can say with some certainty that the *Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum* is a pre-sixteenth century compilation of translated materials from three distinct tantric traditions that were excluded from the mainstream Tibetan canon of Indian Buddhist materials. While the materials included within it were clearly in public circulation prior to the fifteenth century, its dating is complicated by the fact that the tradition asserts all its texts to be pre-ninth century in origin. Thus, the 'family' of *khyung* texts, if it can be characterized as such, possibly dates as far back as the eighth century, and was firmly entrenched by the fifteenth century.

As might be expected, a particularly strong concentration of these texts is found in the canonical collection of *Rnying ma tantras* known as the *Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum*. The '*khyung*' texts in this collection fall within two distinct categories: those relating to *Rdzogs chen*, and particularly *sems sde* traditions, and those relating to the *Mahāyoga* traditions. At first glance, the concentrations of these two sub-groupings appear to be characterized by a more literary or aphoristic orientation in the case of the former, and an emphasis on ritual and subjugation of various negative forces in the case of the latter.

With this background information in mind, then, let us turn to a description of the texts themselves.

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<sup>3</sup> See Ehrhard (1997).

## III. THE TEXTS

1. CHAPTER TWENTY TWO OF THE *KUN BYED RGYAL PO*<sup>4</sup>

This chapter of the *All-Creating King* (*Kun byed rgyal po*), entitled “The non-Localized Dimension” (*mi gnas yul*), is actually the *Soaring Great Khyung* (*Khyung chen lding ba*), a short *tantra* included within several of the versions of *The 18 Texts of the Mind-Series* (*Sems sde bco brgyad*). Large portions of the text are also included in the second chapter of *The Great Khyung Tantra* (*Khyung chen gyi rgyud*) to which we will turn our attention in a moment. Although this text has the word ‘*khyung*’ in the title, in fact its development of the theme of the *khyung* and related metaphors is negligible. There exists an interesting commentary to this text whose authorship is unclear, although it has been suggested that it may have been composed by Gnubs sangs rgyas ye shes (10<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> cent.?), entitled *Rdzogs pa chen po khyung chen ldings pa'i 'grel pa*. What is interesting about this commentary is that it interprets this text of the *sems sde* tradition in terms of epistemological categories and terminology.<sup>5</sup>

2. CHAPTER NINE OF THE *LA ZLO GSANG BA'I 'KHOR LO*<sup>6</sup>

This chapter, entitled “The View: Settling the Intention of the Soaring Great Khyung” (*Lta ba khyung chen ldings pa'i dgongs pa la bzla ba*), is a valuable source for thematic figures of speech relating directly the *khyung*. For instance, it employs the images of the *khyung* soaring in space with perfect power, and thus is free from ‘projection’ (*spro ba*) or ‘contraction’ (*bsdu ba*). The baby *khyung* breaks free of the shell of its egg in a single movement, and is thus immediately equal in stature to its mother (*ma dang mnyam pa*). It exerts dominion over space (*mkha' la dbang sgyur*). These analogies are then thematically developed to illustrate how the *Rdzogs chen*

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<sup>4</sup> See *Kun byed rgyal po*, Tb. 1, pp.87.2–91.7. This chapter is clearly an appropriation of the *Soaring Great Khyung* (*Khyung chen lding ba*) found in other editions of *The Collected Tantras of the Ancients*. See *Khyung chen lding ba*, Tk 1, pp.419.4–423.3. Large portions of this chapter are also found in the second chapter of *Byang chub kyi sems khyung chen gyi rgyud* discussed immediately below.

<sup>5</sup> *Rdzogs pa chen po khyung chen ldings pa'i 'grel pa* (no publication data).

<sup>6</sup> See *La zlo gsang ba'i 'khor lo* in *The Collected Tantras of the Ancients* (*Rnying ma rgyud 'bum*), Mtshams brag Edition (Tb), vol.1, (Thimpu: National Library of Bhutan, 1982), pp.282.3–284.3.

practitioner is to conduct herself, neither attempting to develop *nirvāṇa* or the Dharma, nor to constrain *samsāra* or conceptuality (*rtog pa*). Similarly, the *Rdzogs chen* practitioner is said to break free of the confines of the egg of appearances (*snang ba*), physicality (*lus*), and ego-fixation (*bdag 'dzin*).

### 3. THE *BYANG CHUB KYI SEMS KHYUNG CHEN GYI RGYUD*<sup>7</sup>

The translation of this *tantra* is attributed to Śrīsiṃha and the Tibetan translator Vairocana. This is a ten-chapter work and its topics range widely. These include some of the following: the virtual identity of mind and phenomena, the absence of any ‘method’ for becoming enlightened other than the realization of the text’s authentic meaning, ‘natural’ meditation, and so forth. These are also themes common to many other significant *sems sde* texts. The specific tropes relating to the *khyung* theme in this text include references to the ability of *khyung* chicks, lion cubs, and baby princes to subjugate in the manner of overcoming the bonds of the womb. Also, when the *khyung* spreads its wings to their full extent it flies without any sense of attachment or fixation to the sky (*mkha' la mi chags*). The baby *khyung* can extend its entire body within its egg before birth (*khyung phrug sgo nga'i nang nas lus rgyas*). The *khyung* dwells neither in space nor on the ground (*khyung chen nam mkhar mi gnas sa la mi gnas*). The *khyung* has a large body and is fully fledged from birth, and as such complete from the beginning without seeking for something outside itself. The flight of the *khyung* leaves no trace in the sky (*bya lam rjes med*).

### 4. CHAPTER SIXTY OF THE *NYI ZLA KHA SBYOR SENG GE SGRA YI DGONGS PA BSHAD PA' I RGYUD*<sup>8</sup>

This very brief chapter, entitled “The Intention of the Full-Fledged *Khyung*” (*Khyung chen gshog rdzogs dgongs pa*), devotes itself to an explanation of how practitioners err by trying to assign notions of causality to reality and seeing the phenomenal world as something

<sup>7</sup> See *Byang chub kyi sems khyung chen gyi rgyud*, Tb 1, pp.537–60.

<sup>8</sup> See *Rdzogs pa chen po sku gsum ye shes lnga'i don bshad pa nyi zla kha sbyor seng ge sgra yi dgongs pa bshad pa'i rgyud*, Tb 5, pp.528.7–529.7. The image of the *khyung* is pervasive throughout various genres of Tibetan religious literature from different sectarian traditions as a metaphor ‘sudden’ enlightenment. For an interesting discussion on this and other animal metaphors, see Jackson (1992).



external to themselves. This is followed by an explanation of the qualities of the *dharmadhātu* (*chos dbyings*), the *dharmakāya* (*chos sku*), *bodhicitta* (*byang chub kyi sems*), and so forth. This language, while extremely common to *sems sde* literature, contains no explicit references to the figure of the *khyung*, and only two references to the tangentially related metaphor of ‘space’ (*nam mkha*). Stylistically, it is very similar to the second chapter of the *'phags pa bsam gyis mi khyab pa'i mdo* discussed below, sharing with it many identical expressions. It may, in fact, represent either an earlier or later version of the latter somewhat longer textual fragment.

5. CHAPTER TWO OF THE *RDO RJE GSANG BA CHEN PO'I SKU RIN PO CHE DBYIG GI SGRON MA SHES RAB CHEN PO'I MDO*<sup>9</sup>

This chapter, entitled “Advice that Resembles the *Khyung*—King of the Birds” (*'Dab chags kyi rgyal po khyung lta bu'i gdams pa*), concerns a prophecy made by Vajradhara to Vajrapāṇi about a text concealed in China, and represents a stylistic departure from the more aphoristic character of the preceding texts insofar as it is almost entirely narrative in structure and content. Only the closing section of this text makes any remarks that might be construed as being aphoristic in character, and there is no implicit or explicit reference to the *khyung* or related metaphors. It may also be significant that the site where the text is said to have been concealed is explicitly identified with Hwa-shang Mahāyana (*Ha shang ma hā ya na kyi gnas*). This suggests, perhaps, the connection between this quasi-historical figure and early forms of *Rdzogs chen*, and the strong possibility that this text is a Tibetan composition rather than a translation.

6. THE *LTA BA KHYUNG CHEN LDING BA'I RGYUD*<sup>10</sup>

*The Tantra of the Soaring Great Khyung's View* (*Lta ba khyung chen lding ba'i rgyud*) has several unusual and interesting references to the figure of the *khyung*. In particular, it identifies the ‘real’ or ‘actual’ *khyung* (*don gyi khyung*) as one who ‘soars in Reality’s Expanse’ (*chos kyi dbyings na lding*). It goes on to show how this actual soaring *khyung* experiences no anxiety whatsoever (*gang la nyam*

<sup>9</sup> See *Rdo rje gsang ba chen po'i sku rin po che dbyig gi sgron ma shes rab chen po'i mdo*, Tb 7, pp.875.7–876.7.

<sup>10</sup> See *Lta ba khyung chen lding ba'i rgyud*, Tb 8, pp.19.4–22.7.

*nga med*) with regard to normative Buddhist categories. These include rubrics such as esoteric instructions (*man ngag*), conduct (*spyod pa*), tantric commitments (*dam tshig*), enlightened activities (*'phrin las*), meditation (*sgom pa*), compassion (*thugs rje*), and cause and effect (*rgyu 'bras*). Another striking mythological detail is revealed in this *tantra* when it refers to the *khyung* as possessing six wings (*gshog drug*). The only other similar reference to the *khyung*'s six wings occurs just once in the *Rig pa rang shar tantra*.<sup>11</sup>

7. CHAPTER TWO OF THE 'PHAGS PA GSANG SNGAGS CHEN PO BSAM GYIS MI KHYAB PA'I MDO<sup>12</sup>

As mentioned above, this chapter, entitled “The Intention of the Full-Fledged Great *Khyung*” (*Khyung chen gshog rdzogs kyi dgongs pa bstan pa*), is stylistically very similar to the second chapter of *The Intention of the Lion's Roar* (*Seng ge sgra yi dgongs pa*) discussed above. It is a longer work, and hence more elaborate and detailed. It draws on standard *sems sde* language and imagery in its metaphysical assertions, and, like the *Seng ge sgra*, does not contain a single explicit reference to the *khyung* except when referring to the title or a particular meditative state that the Buddha entered into.

8. CHAPTER SIXTY SEVEN OF THE DPAL ZLA GSANG NAG PO'I RGYUD<sup>13</sup>

With this chapter, entitled “Hail of the *Khyung* Bird” (*Bya khyung ser ba*), we enter into an examination of texts belonging to the *Mahāyoga* class of Rnying ma *tantras*. There is a marked difference between texts identified as *Rdzogs chen* or *sems sde* and those affiliated with *Mahāyoga*. Generally speaking, texts associated with the *sems sde* class tend to be extremely aesthetic, aphoristic, relying on literary images and figures of speech to convey a sense of meditative experience or metaphysical truth. *Mahāyoga* texts, on the other hand, tend to be more concerned with ritual, ceremony, and other more pragmatic matters. In the case of this specific chapter/text, we find what amounts to a *khyung sādhana* that describes the provenance of the practice, the detailed manner in which one is to

<sup>11</sup> See *Rig pa rang shar*, Kaneko #153, p.784. Thanks to David Germano for this reference.

<sup>12</sup> See *'Phags pa gsang sngags chen po bsam gyis mi khyab pa'i mdo*, Tb 8, pp.618.2–621.1.

<sup>13</sup> See *Dpal zla gsang nag po'i rgyud*, Tb 26, pp.178.3–180.1.

visualize the *khyung*, *mantra* recitation, *mudrās*, and finally imaging that one has slain snakes, *nāgas*, and other harmful animals.

9. CHAPTER FIVE OF THE *DPAL PADMA DBANG CHEN DREGS PA ZIL GNON GYIRGYUD*<sup>14</sup>

This chapter, entitled “*Maṇḍala* in which Wings Conquer the Three Realms: The *Khyung* Bird Subdues the *Nāgas*” (*Gshog pa khams gsum rnam par rgyal ba'i dkyil 'khor bya khyung klu 'dul ba*), describes a *khyung gtor ma* offering by which conceptuality is eliminated (*rtog pa'i phang yang gcod par byed*), those who do harm are pulverized with a *vajra* (*gnod par byed pa rdo rjes brdung*), cruelty and attachment are burned in a fire (*gdug rtsub zhen chags me la sreg*), spirits and powerful *nāgas* are trained (*sa bdag klu gnyan zhen chags sbyong*), and so forth. Finally, it gives instructions on how to recite *mantras* and assemble offerings and then finishes with a poetic description of how the “support of the view” (*lta ba'i 'degs*) is adorned with *vajra*-wings, and the smile (?*'dzum*) of conduct is adorned with jeweled wings.

10. CHAPTER SEVENTEEN OF THE *KHRO BO RTA MCHOG ROL PA*<sup>15</sup>

This chapter, entitled “Utilizing the Fire *Khyung*” (*Me'i khyung bkol ba*), describes the 360 million terrifying fire-*khyungs* emerging for the crown of the Buddha *Dpal padma'i gar gyi dbang phyug* and a similar number arising from elsewhere. All these *khyung* possess blazing claws and beaks and are accompanied with blazing light. This is followed by the emergence of an immeasurable mass of *nāgas* from a mountain. Next, *Dpal padma'i gar gyi dbang phyug* recites a *mantra* of subjugation that causes the world and all its elements to shake and catch on fire, poisons to become completely subdued (*gang gis gdug pa 'dul bya ba*), the fire-pits (for fire *pūjas*) to be smeared with blood (*ho khung khrag gis byug*), and performs the ‘battle’ *mudrā* (*'khrug byed kyi phyag rgya*) causing lightning to strike.

<sup>14</sup> See *Dpal padma dbang chen dregs pa zil gnong gyi rgyud*, Tb 31, pp.255.5–257.4.

<sup>15</sup> See *Khro bo rta mchog rol pa*, Tb 32, pp.446.6–447.7.

11. CHAPTER SEVENTEEN OF THE *KHRO BO RTA MCHOG ROL PA'IRGYUD*<sup>16</sup>

This chapter appears to be simply a repetition of the previous citation.

12. THE *RDO RJE KHYUNG GI SNYING PO SROG GI RTSA BA'IRGYUD*<sup>17</sup>

The content of this four-chapter *tantra* is largely mythological and ritual in character. It begins with the bodhisattva Bdud rtsi 'khyil pa requesting Buddha Rdo rje gtum po to protect sentient beings from the oppression of *sa bdags* and *nāgas*. Rdo rje gtum po replies with the advice that a certain *mantra* will overcome the *nāgas* and pacify their malevolence. Next Bdud rtsi 'khyil pa requests the Buddha to explicate the *Khyung gi rtsa ba'i rgyud*. Here we are informed that Rdo rje gtum po and the *khyung* are the same in essence, but only appear to be different. This is then followed with specific instructions on how the practitioner is to proceed in the manner of a *sādhana*. He or she is to amass agreeable gifts (*vid dang mthun par yo byad bsag*), draw a *khyung maṇḍala* (*khyung gi maṇḍala bri ba*), construct fire-pits for the four types of enlightened activity within the triangular *maṇḍala* (*'phrin las bzhi yis 'brub khung bya*), generate oneself as Rdo rje gtum po from the syllable *hūṃ* (*bdag nyid hūṃ las gtum po bskyed*). One next accumulates the external, internal, and secret offering substances (*phyi nang gsang ba'i mchod rdzas bsag*), and then emanates Rdo rje gtum pos from the *hūṃ* at one's heart. After the merit from this activity have been collected, one meditates on emanational black *khyungs* are generated out of emptiness in the heart of Rdo rje gtum po, and then recites appropriate *mantras*. The next chapters concern the procedures for the concluding fire rituals and advice on suppression and wrathful activities.

13. THE *RDO RJE KHYUNG NAG GSANG BA RIN PO CHE'IRGYUD*<sup>18</sup>

This *tantra*, translated by Vasudhara and Rdo rje yang dbang gter, is also framed with mythological narrative components. The bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi requests instruction on the meaning of the *khyung* from Buddha Vajradhara in order to benefit all beings afflicted by

<sup>16</sup> See *Khro bo rta mchog rol pa*, Tb 32, pp.646.6–648.1.

<sup>17</sup> See *Rdo rje khyung gi snying po srog gi rtsa ba'i rgyud*, Tb 43, pp.27.1–30.6.

<sup>18</sup> See *Rdo rje khyung nag gsang ba rin po che'i rgyud*, Tb 43, pp.243.6–249.3.

the poisonous harm of *nāgas* and other creatures. Vajradhara then replies with an elaborate description of the *khyung*'s fearsome attributes such as its beak made of indestructible meteorite metal (*gnam lcags rdo rje'i mchu*), it surveys the entire world (*'jig rten khams kun g.yogs par khebs*), it holds *sa bdags* and *nāgas* in its claws (*sder mos sa bdag klu gnyan 'dzin*), wrathful *mantras* are emitting from its mouth (*zhal nas sngags zer drag po 'phro*), and so forth. Then follows a chapter on *mantra* recitation including *mantras* for application of activities (*las la sbyar ba'i sngags*), taming the extremes (*mtha' btul ba*), churning the waters (*chu mig dkrug pa*), offering *gtor ma* (*gtor ma dbul ba*), and averting *nāgas* (*klu log na bzlog pa'i sngags*). Other sections of interest deal with advice for the practitioner on how to praise and exhort the *khyung*, and encouragement to practitioners to eschew conceptuality by not being concerned with pleasant and unpleasant forms, but rather adhere to one's own meditative stabilization.

14. THE *RDO RJE GTUM PO GSANG BA RIN PO CHE KHYUNG NAG TU SPRUL PA'IRGYUD*<sup>19</sup>

This text is also translated by Vasudhara and Rdo rje yang dbang gter. It possesses eight chapters on topics such as taming the *nāgas* (*klu gnyan btul ba*), practice (*sgrub pa*), wrathful activities (*drag po'i las*), *gtor ma* offerings (*gtor ma*), praise and exhortation (*bstod cing bkul ba*), and upholding the *tantra* (*rgyud yongs su bzung ba*). Of particular interest are some of the components of the 'practice' section, which include self-generation as Rdo rje gtum po, meditative generation of the *khyung*, invocation and offering of the torma cake, recitation of the wrathful *mantras* for destroying, binding, tying, killing and subduing the *nāgas*, and so forth. The chapter on "praise and exhortation" also includes some interesting epithets for the *khyung* such as "supreme among sorcerers" (*mthu chen kun gyi nang na mchog*), "tamer of the hosts of malevolent *yakṣas*" (*gnod sbyin gdug pa'i tshogs rnams ma lus 'dul*), "protector of all transmigrators from all *yakṣas*" (*gnod sbyin kun las 'gro ba thams cad skyob*), "subduer of all obstructing spirits" (*bgegs rnams 'jom mdzad pa*), and "the god who bestows all *siddhis*" (*siddhi thams cad stsol ba'i lha*), among others.

<sup>19</sup> See *Rdo rje gtum po gsang ba rin po che khyung nag tu sprul pa'i rgyud*, Tb 43, pp.249.3–256.3.

15. THE *RDO RJE KHYUNG NAG GI RGYUD YANG SNYING RTSA BA'I MAN NGAG*<sup>20</sup>

This text appears to be simply a repetition (with minor variations) of the *Rdo rje khyung gi snying po srog gi rtsa ba'i rgyud* cited above.

16. THE *GSANG BA DON 'DUS PHYAG NA RDO RJE KHYUNG DANG BCAS PA'IRGYUD*<sup>21</sup>

This ten-chapter text (again translated by Vasudhara and Rdo rje yang dbang gter) starts by describing the “lord of secrets,” Vajrapāṇi, blazing with strength and power, as the combination of all the Buddhas of the three times in his pure land. At that time, he had subjugated all the malevolent (*nāgas*?) of the heavens and earth, and then entered into the *samādhi* called “subduing the *nāgas* and *sa bdags* of the netherworld” (*srid pa sa 'og gi klu gnyan dang sa bdag 'dul ba'i ting nge 'dzin*). Then he traveled to the city of the *nāgas* where he filled the sky with emanated bodies, and five different types of *khyung*, associated with the body, speech, mind, qualities, and enlightened activity of blazing wisdom, respectively. In so doing he was able to subdue the *nāgas* and *sa bdags* of the netherworld, and members of the various castes as well. This left only the most difficult *nāgas* and spirits to be subjugated, which Vajrapāṇi then does through emanating furious *khyung* birds. At this point the dialogue between Bdud rtsi 'khyil pa and Rdo rje gtum po commences. The former requests the latter to explain the enlightened activity which is the play of his compassion (*nyid kyi thugs rje'i rol pa chen po'i 'phrin las*). Rdo rje gtum po explains 1) protection (from?) the *nāga*'s poison (*klu'i gdug bsrung ba*), and 2) drawing out the *nāga*'s poison (*klu'i gdug dbyung ba*). He then gives Bdud rtsi 'khyil pa *mantras* for eradicating various sorts of poisons.

In the next chapter Rdo rje gtum po explains how human beings should employ the “wheel of five concentrations” (*bsam gtan rnam lnga'i 'khor lo bsgom*) to avert harm done by *nāgas* and *sa bdag*. Next the practitioner is instructed to generate the intention to become enlightened (*sems bskyed*), obtain the requisite empowerment (*dbang*) and permission (*rjes gnang*), and then to meditate on Rdo rje

<sup>20</sup> See *Rdo rje khyung nag gi rgyud yang snying rtsa ba'i man ngag*, Tb 43, pp.256.4–260.2.

<sup>21</sup> See *Gsang ba don 'dus phyag na rdo rje khyung dang bcas pa'i rgyud*, Tb 43, pp.260.2–268.3.

gtum po. While doing such meditation one is to concentrate on a black *khyung* at the heart. The *khyung* has wings marked with *vajras* and its talons hold *nāgas* and *sa bdag*. Finally, having invoked the 'wisdom beings' (*ye shes pa*) and received initiation from them, one is instructed to recite the root and essence *mantras*.

Next Bdud rtsi 'khyil pa requests Rdo rje gtum po to gradually explain the method for curing those seized by illnesses induced by poisons, to which the latter responds that the recitation of the root *mantra* is the most effective cure. Following chapters describe specific methods to cope with those occasions when demons seize one's tongue, or when one is unable to digest food, inability to retain semen, and the inability of Hindus to cure these ailments decisively. Finally, Bdud rtsi 'khyil pa and the retinue are satisfied and delighted by the teaching, and praise it lavishly, whereupon Rdo rje gtum po exhorts them to preserve the *tantra* for the sake of human beings in the future.

#### 17. THE RDO RJE KHYUNG NAG GIRGYUDRIN PO CHE'I SPRUL PA<sup>22</sup>

As in the previous text, Vajrapāṇi emanates five *khyung* to subjugate five types of *nāgas*, whereupon Vajrapāṇi himself emanates as a *khyung* and smashes all the remaining *nāgas* (*klu thams cad brlag par gyur*). A dialogue between Bdud rtsi 'khyil pa and Rdo rje gtum po ensues in which the former requests the latter to protect all beings who are afflicted with *nāga* poison. Rdo rje gtum po responds by entering into *samādhi* and reciting a *mantra*, whereby all malevolent *nāgas* and *sa bdag* are pulverized (*rdul du brlag pa*). Bdud rtsi 'khyil pa then requests Rdo rje gtum po to protect those *nāgas* and *sa bdag* who harm humans (*'gro ba mi la gnod pa*). Rdo rje gtum po explains that there are two methods to cure diseases induced by *nāga* poison, one through the use of *mantras* (*sngags kyis gso ba*), and one through the use of substances (*rdzas kyis gso ba*). These substances include dog spittle (*khyi lud*), the hair of a dead man (*mi shi'i skra*), musk (*gla rtsi*), burnt animal horn (*ra gzhob*), a peacock feather (*rma bya'i mdongs*), deadly poison (*btsan dug*), effigies (*tshabs chung*), and so forth.

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<sup>22</sup> See *Rdo rje khyung nag gi rgyud rin po che'i sprul pa*, Tb 43, pp.268.3–271.5.

18. THE *RDO RJE BYA KHYUNG GSANG BA RIN PO CHE 'KHROS PA SPRUL PA'IRGYUD*<sup>23</sup>

This *tantra*, also translated by Vasudhara, also begins with Rdo rje gtum po emanating a series of *khyung* in order to subdue a host of malevolent beings. Bdud rtsi 'khyil pa then requests an explanation of whatever may have been omitted (*kha skongs*) from the earlier and later *tantras*. Rdo rje gtum po responds with specific instructions on how to slay the various 'castes' (*rigs*) of *nāgas* such as the *brahmin* (*bram ze'i rigs*), *kṣatriya* (*rgyal rigs*), *vaiṣya* (*rje'u rigs*), *śūdra* (*dmangs rigs*), and outcaste (*gdol pa'i rigs*).

19. THE *GTUM PO CHEN PO MA RUNGS PA RDO RJE KHYUNG DANG BCAS PA DON 'DUS PA GSANG BA'IRGYUD CHEN PO'I DON BTUS PA*<sup>24</sup>

This text concerns the particular methods for freeing members of the individual castes from the grip of malevolent *sa bdag* and *nāgas*. The various techniques mentioned include various wrathful rituals, *mantra* recitation, meditation on oneself as a god (*lha sgom*), torma offering (*gtor ma sbyin*), application of spittle (*mchil ma gdags*), and so forth.

20. CHAPTER SEVEN OF THE *RDO RJE GTSUG LAG 'KHOR LO GSUM PA'IRGYUD CHEN PO*<sup>25</sup>

This brief chapter, entitled "Teaching of the *Vajra-khyung's Cakra*" (*Rdo rje khyung chen 'khor lo bstan pa*), appears to be an enumeration of categories, the import of which is not immediately clear to me. At first glance, these appear to be a terse enumeration of different *khyung* emanations and/or variations.

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<sup>23</sup> See *Rdo rje bya khyung gsang ba rin po che 'khros pa sprul pa'i rgyud*, Tb 43, pp.271.5–277.3.

<sup>24</sup> See *Gtum po chen po ma rungs pa rdo rje khyung dang bcas pa don 'dus pa gsang ba'i rgyud chen po'i don btus pa*, Tb 43, pp.277.3–281.3.

<sup>25</sup> See *Rdo rje gtsug lag 'khor lo gsum pa'i rgyud chen po*, Tb 44, pp.130.4–131.4.



21. CHAPTERS TWENTY ONE, TWENTY TWO AND TWENTY THREE OF THE 'PHAGS PA RDO RJE GTSUG LAG GI 'KHOR LO'IRGYUD CHEN PO<sup>26</sup>

These chapters, are entitled *Rdo rje khyung chen gtsug lag gi them s bshad pa*, *Rdo rje khyung chen gi tshad ma brgyad pa*, and *Rdo rje khyung chen gtsug lag gi rtsis bshad pa* respectively.

In the first chapter Vajrapāṇi asks Samantabhadra to explain the esoteric or 'magical' practices (*khrol 'khor*) of the great *vajra khyung*. Samantabhadra replies that it is very good (*rab tu legs*) that Vajrapāṇi made this request for the benefit of future persons, and thus he will explain the meanings of the 'wheel.' First he explains that there are 500,000 classes of *khyung*, comprised of groups of 100,000 each for the categories of enlightened body, speech, mind, qualities, and activities. The wheels of the three enlightened bodies, i.e., the *chos sku*, *long sku*, and *sprul sku*, are marked with precious jewels (*nor bu rin chen*), crossed vajras (*rdo rje rgya gram*), and variegated lotuses (*padma sna tshogs*) respectively. These are further divided into extensive, middling and low, consisting of ten, eight, and four categories respectively. The first's ten categories are peace (*zhi*), increase (*rgyas*), power (*dbang*), wrath (*drag*), summoning (*dgug*), dispelling (*bskrad*), separating (*dbye*), suppression (*gnan*), confounding (*dkrug*), and escaping insanity (*smyo 'bros*). The second's eight categories are summoning, dispelling, stabbing (*gdab*), separation, suppression, killing (*bsad*), and imprisoning (*brub?*). The third's four categories are peace, increase, power, and wrath. This chapter continues with such spiritual calculations.

The next chapter begins with a discussion of the enumeration of authenticity (*tshad ma*). Initially this category is divided into two: common (*thun mong pa*) and special (*khyad par*). Each has five subdivisions.

22. THE RDO RJE KHYUNG GTSUG LAG 'KHOR LO'IRGYUD<sup>27</sup>

The object of homage in this short text (5 folios) is *Khro rgyal mkha' lding rgyal po*. It begins with Vajrapāṇi making offerings to Samantabhadra, who is then roused to address Vajrapāṇi and the assembly of *khyungs* on the various classifications of enlightened activity. He states that the hundreds of thousands of 'khyung' *tantras*

<sup>26</sup> See 'Phags pa rdo rje gtsug lag gi 'khor lo'i rgyud chen po', Tb 44, pp.204.3–209.7.

<sup>27</sup> See *Rdo rje khyung gtsug lag 'khor lo'i rgyud*, Tb 44, pp.254.4–258.2.

(*khyung gi rgyud chen 'bum sde rnams*) are differentiated by means of the three 'keys' (*lde mig*) of 'completeness' (? *thems*), 'authenticity' (*tshad ma*), and 'enumeration' (*rtsis*). The first is identified as the key relating to the cakras (*'khor lo*), the second as relating to *mantra* (*sngags*), and the last as relating to esoteric instructions (*man ngag*).

23. CHAPTER SIX OF THE *RDO RJE GTSUG LAG DRAG PO NGAN SNGAGS ME LONG RNAM PAR BKOD PA 'KHOR LO GZER GYIRGYUD*<sup>28</sup>

This obscure chapter appears to concern the placement of certain visualized syllables on the figure of the *khyung* in union with his consort (*yab yum*).

24. CHAPTERS TWELVE, TWENTY, TWENTY SEVEN, SIXTY SEVEN, AND ONE HUNDRED AND THIRTY EIGHT OF THE *DRAG PO BRTSEGS PA DGONGS PA LUNG BSTAN PA'IRGYUD*<sup>29</sup>

These extremely short chapters each comprise a prophecy (*lung bstan*) pertaining to the activities of the *khyung*. Chapter 12 relates to the intention of the primordial wisdom *khyung* (*ye shes khyung chen dgongs pa lung bstan*), chapter 20 relates to appropriate methods for invoking hail (*ser ba*), chapter 27 relates to invoking lightning (*thog*), chapter 67 is concerned with enlightened activities (*'phrin las*), and chapter 138 concerns 'words and meanings' (*tshig don*). The actual contents of each of these chapters is extremely terse, sometimes no more than a line or two enumerating short lists of practices such as *mantra*, *samādhi*, etc.

25. CHAPTERS TWELVE, TWENTY, AND SIXTY SIX OF THE *DRAG PO NGAN SNGAGS KYIR TSA BA'IRGYUD*<sup>30</sup>

The first two of these chapters each concern a particular form of subjugation *mantra*, and are significantly more detailed in their actual content than were the 'prophecies' in the previous text. Chapter 12, entitled "Wrathful Subjugation *Mantras* of the *Khyung*

<sup>28</sup> See *Rdo rje gtsug lag drag po ngan sngags me long rnam par bkod pa 'khor lo gzer gyi rgyud*, Tb 44, pp.296.7–297.4.

<sup>29</sup> See *Drag po brtsegs pa dgongs pa lung bstan pa'i rgyud*, Tb. 44, pp.352.3–352.5, 355.4–355.6, 357.5–357.7, 371.1–371.2, 396.4–396.5.

<sup>30</sup> See *Drag po ngan sngags kyi rtsa ba'i rgyu*, Tb. 44, pp.438.6–439.2, 445.2–446.1, 502.1.

Bird” (*Bya khyung gi drag po ngan sngags*), describes the efficacy of specific *mantras* in invoking the *khyung*, executing *nāgas*, etc. Chapter 20, entitled “Causing Hail to Descend through Wrathful Subjugation *Mantras* of the *Khyung* Bird” (*Bya khyung gi drag po ngan sngags kyis ser ba dbab pa*), describes the way in which one may destroy the hosts of one’s enemies, strike the hearts (*gnad la 'bebs*) of the king of interferors (*bgegs pa'i rgyal po*) and one’s enemies, afflict *nāgas*, and so forth by means of specific *mantras* designed to invoke hail. Chapter 66, “Turning the Wheel of the *Khyung* Bird’s Wrathful *Mantras*” (*Bya khyung gi drag sngags kyi 'khor lo bskor ba*) is given as its title only, with no other content.

26. CHAPTERS TWELVE, TWENTY, TWENTY SEVEN, SIXTY SEVEN AND ONE HUNDRED THIRTY NINE OF THE *DRAG PO NGAN SNGAGS KYI GSHAD RGYUD*<sup>31</sup>

The chapters relating to the *khyung* in this explanatory *tantra* (*bshad rgyud*) resemble the material in the previous two texts in both form and content. Chapter 12 is entitled “Subjugation *Mantras* of the Wisdom *Khyung*” (*Ye shes khyung gi ngan sngags*) and briefly describes some of the factors such as substances (*rdzas*), contemplation (*ting 'dzin*), and one must rely upon to accomplish (*bsgrub*) the aims of the practice. Chapter 20 is entitled “Causing the Hail of the Wisdom *Khyung* to Fall” (*Ye she khyung gi ngan sngags*) and similarly describes the factors required for successful accomplishment of this practice. Chapter 27, titled “Causing the *Khyung*’s Lightning to Descend” (*Ye shes khyung gi thog dbab pa*), is a similar brief list of required elements for this practice. Chapter 67 is entitled “Turning the Magical Wheel and Making an Iron House with the Wrathful *Mantra* of the *Khyung* Bird” (*Bya khyung 'khrul 'khor bskor ba dang drag sngags lcags khang bca' ba*). Finally, chapter 139 is titled “Explicating the Words and Meanings of the *Khyung* Bird” (*Bya khyung gi tshig don dgrol ba*).

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<sup>31</sup> See *Drag po ngan sngags kyis gshad rgyud*, Tb 44, pp.530.3–530.6, 533.5–533.6, 535.2–535.4, 547.3–547.5, 574.1–574.3.

27. THE *TANTRA OF RITUAL FOR THE LIGHTNING KHYUNG BIRD* (*BYA KHYUNG GLOG 'GYU'I LAS KYIRGYUD*)<sup>32</sup>

This 13 chapter work is the longest text in the *Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum* that has 'khyung' in its title. It begins with Vajrapāṇi requesting the Bhagavan to explain whatever rituals will benefit those who experience the suffering of being seized by the malevolent *yakṣas*. The Bhagavan responds that he will teach 108 *khyung* rituals or methods that will be of benefit to those particularly afflicted (*shin tu nyon mongs pa*) by malevolent hungry ghosts (*yi dags*). This is followed by an elaborate description of the body, speech and mind *maṇḍalas* (*sku gsung thugs kyi dkyil 'khor*) of the *khyung*, along with an explanation of how to worship (*mchod pa*) these. Chapter four begins a detailed explanation of the 108 methods (*thabs*) mentioned above. These include methods for curing what are traditionally mentioned as the 'main diseases associated with phlegm' (*bad kan*), 'wind' (*rlung*), bile (*mkhris pa*), and blood (*khrag*). Additionally, methods for subjugating *yakṣas* (*gnod sbyin 'dul ba*), enjoining them to perform enlightened actions (*gnod sbying la 'phrin las bcol ba*), instructions for (the practice of?) Yamāntaka, *rākṣasas*, and so on. Several methods are specifically concerned with the manner in which one employs the *khyung* to imprison *nāgas* of the four castes in houses of misery (*mya ngan gyi khang par zhugs*), to snatch them by their hearts or heads, and so forth.

28. CHAPTER TWO OF THE *NĀGA-KING TANTRA*—DIFFERENTIATING RITUALS (*LAS RAB TU 'BYED PA KLU'I RGYAL PO'I RGYUD*)<sup>33</sup>

This chapter is entitled "Conquering as the King of the *Khyung* Birds" (*Bya khyung gi rgyal por gyur par brtul ba*).

29. CHAPTER THREE OF THE *KLU'I RGYAL PO MCHOD RTEN GYI RGYUD THUGS YANG DAG PA*<sup>34</sup>

This chapter is entitled "Sādhana for the Profound *Khyung*" (*Zab mo khyung gi sgrub thabs*).

<sup>32</sup> See *Bya khyung glog 'gyu'i las kyi rgyud*, Tb 45, pp.198.7–268.3.

<sup>33</sup> See *Las rab tu 'byed pa klu'i rgyal po'i rgyud*, Tb 45, pp.271.4–273.2.

<sup>34</sup> See *Klu'i rgyal po mchod rten gyi rgyud thugs yang dag pa*, Tb 45, pp.479.2–482.2.

30. CHAPTER THIRTY FOUR OF THE ESOTERIC INSTRUCTIONS ON SLAYING THE BLACK *NĀGAS* (*KLU NAG PO BSAD PA'I MAN NGAG*)<sup>35</sup>

This chapter is entitled “Context for the King of the *Nāgas* [performing] the *Khyung's Secret Mantra*” (*Klu'i rgyal po bya khyung ga ru'i gsang sngags kyi skabs*).

IV. CONCLUSION

Looking at the so-called ‘*khyung*’ texts contained in the *Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum*, we find that in general they belong to one of two major doxographical categories: (1) *Atiyoga* (principally *sems sde*), and (2) *Mahāyoga*. The former texts are largely aesthetic works in which, if it appears at all, the *khyung* is an image of grace, power, freedom, and spontaneity. In the *sems sde* works in particular, the image of the *khyung* is part of a larger network of associated images related to space, and is most frequently analogized to the practitioner of *Rdzogs chen*. Such images and language are reminiscent of what scholars of East Asian Buddhism such as Robert Scharf or Bernard Fauré might call the ‘rhetoric of experience’ or the ‘rhetoric of immediacy,’ and what I have sometimes termed the ‘rhetoric of naturalness.’<sup>36</sup> There are occasional anomalies in these *sems sde* texts, however, as in the case of the second chapter of the *Dbyig gi sgron ma shes rab chen po'i rgyud* discussed above, in which Vajradhara makes a prophecy concerning the discovery of a text. Similarly, it is worthwhile to note that even a text as central to the *sems sde* tradition as the *Khyung chen lding ba* (a.k.a. chapter 22 of the *Kun byed rgyal po*) was understood to be a critique of normative Buddhist philosophical discourse (*grub mtha'*) by early commentators.

Somewhat surprisingly, however, the majority of ‘*khyung*’ texts in the *Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum* belong to the *Mahāyoga* category. Unlike those texts from the *Atiyoga* section of the canon, the *Mahāyoga khyung* texts concern themselves with far more practical matters of ritual and healing. They are most often framed within a tradition Buddhist narrative structure (‘thus have I heard’), and usually take the form of a dialogue between a buddha and a bodhisattva. The image of the *khyung* in these texts is that of a

<sup>35</sup> See *Klu nag po bsad pa'i man ngag*, Tb 45, pp.930.7–931.1.

<sup>36</sup> See, for example, Fauré (1991).

furious avenging bird of prey rather than a sublime sovereign soaring in space. The texts themselves describe in great detail the means by which one is to subjugate, suppress, and even slay *nāgas* and other harmful spirits. There are discussions of blood, spit, semen, hair of corpses, and so forth, as means to cure all manner of maladies. Many of these texts appear to constitute a single textual 'cycle.' As with the *Atiyoga khyung* texts, however, there are some anomalies, as with those texts that appear to be little more than enumerations of obscure categories.

What I would like to suggest, then, is that the 'khyung' texts of the *sems sde* tradition in the *Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum* represent responses to various factors, among which include (1) Indian mythological antecedents, (2) indigenous conceptions of the 'khyung,' (3) normative philosophical categories, and (4) the *khyung* rituals, practices, and images associated with *Mahāyoga*. It may be that the *khyung* images utilized in the *sems sde* sections of the *Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum* represent an appropriation and aestheticization of the more violent and raw language of the presumably earlier *Mahāyoga* texts. It may also be that the *khyung* images found in the *sems sde* materials draw on indigenous conceptions of the *khyung* as much or more so than they do on the pan-Indian motifs. A much more thorough study in which a far greater range of materials, including Bon sources, is examined is essential before any definitive judgement may be offered on these matters. For the moment, however, we can safely say that the *khyung* texts and metaphors found in the *Atiyoga* sections of the *Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum* represent a complex intersection of various and often divergent discourses.

## ABBREVIATIONS

- Tb: Mtshams brag edition of *Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum* numbers found in Samantabhadra Collection catalogue. Thimphu: National Library of Bhutan. The number following "Tb" indicates which volume text is in.
- Tk: Gting skyes edition of *Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum* numbers found in Samantabhadra Collection catalogue. Thimphu: Dingo Khyentse Rinpoche. The number following "Tk" indicates which volume text is in.

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GRAY TRACES: TRACING THE TIBETAN TEACHING  
TRANSMISSION OF THE *MNGON PA KUN BTUS*  
(*ABHIDHARMASAMUCCAYA*) THROUGH THE EARLY  
PERIOD OF DISUNITY

DAN MARTIN (JERUSALEM)

The *Abhidharmasamuccaya* (*AS*), composed by Asaṅga, is a text well known to general Buddhology. The original Sanskrit, although only partially preserved, has been filled out and edited with the help of the complete Chinese and Tibetan translations and then translated into French.<sup>1</sup> From a number of different research motives, I became interested in the Tibetan transmissions of *Abhidharma* teachings based on this text. What I found most intriguing of all was, naturally, the very obscure segment of this transmission lineage spanning the post-Imperial times (from 842 CE until about the end of the tenth century) which we will here refer to as the 'gray period.' The present essay may be considered as a report about an attempt to find out certain things, a quest which, in some part, failed. Much of what is written here is an effort to find a context for better comprehending the reasons for that failure.

On the more general level of its significance, the Tibetan *AS* transmission represented the continuity of one of the Three Baskets of Buddhist scriptures through the gray period. This may seem to be stating the obvious, but it is simply a fact that specific scriptures, or specific sets of scriptures, were made to represent each of the Three Baskets. The set of *Prajñāpāramitā* scriptures represented the *Sūtra* Basket, the main *Vinaya* texts were, of course, the *Vinaya* Basket, and the *AS* in particular stood for the *Abhidharma* Basket. In each case there was a discontinuity, that was at the same time a

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<sup>1</sup> See Pradhan (1950) and Rahula (1971). A number of studies on more as well as less minor aspects of the *AS* have also been published, but very little will be said in the present context about the content of the text; here I will mention only Schmithausen (1983/1995), which contains valuable information on the Indian and Tibetan commentarial literature.

continuity, with imperial period Buddhism—perhaps we could say, 'A continuity that served to bridge over a larger discontinuity.'

Now it is said that, near the end of the eighth century during his brief reign, Emperor Mu ne btsan po had instituted three distinct holidays for making offerings to the three Baskets. They were called the *Sūtra* Basket Offerings (*Mdo sde mchod pa*), the *Vinaya* Basket Offerings (*'Dul sde mchod pa*) and the *Abhidharma* Basket Offerings (*Mngon sde mchod pa*). They were called the 'Four Great Offerings [Holidays]' because the *Vinaya* Basket Offerings was held at Lhasa, the *Abhidharma* Basket Offerings was held at Khra 'brug, and at Bsam yas were held both the *Sūtra* Basket Offerings and the *Abhidharma* Basket Offerings. The *Sba bzhed Zhabs btags ma*<sup>2</sup> links their celebration with the agricultural cycle— The *Abhidharma* Basket Offerings occurred during *Sa ga zla ba*, when all the farmers would take leave of their plowing to bring offerings. For the *Sūtra* Basket Offerings, in the middle summer month, they would leave off their irrigation. The *Vinaya* Basket Offerings were held in the last month of autumn [after the harvest]. Little more is known about how these holidays were celebrated, and little may be said about their subsequent fate. The *Sūtra* Basket Offerings was said to have been in some way revived in the late twelfth century at Tshal Gung thang under the name of the Flower Offerings (*Me tog mchod pa*).<sup>3</sup> The existence of these holidays would at least seem to indicate a general level of public knowledge of the Three Baskets.

One reason the *AS* transmission is important, historically speaking, is because understanding it may help us to understand and assess the historical significance of the *Prajñāpāramitā* (*PP*) and *Vinaya* teaching transmissions. Of the different transmissions that are believed in some way to have bridged over the late *Snga dar* into the *Phyi dar*, the best known by far is the *Vinaya* ordination transmission called the Lowland *Vinaya*, while the *AS* and *PP* teaching transmissions have been very little studied, most

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<sup>2</sup> Stein (1961), p.67.

<sup>3</sup> On these holidays, see Sørensen (1994), p.404 *et passim*. See also Sde srid (1990), p.799, which lists them quite differently, based on the "Thang yig." There are scenes of the three different 'offerings' holidays in *Bod kyi thang ga* (1984), p.19. Dpa' bo (1986), pp.404f., says that the *Vinaya* and *Abhidharma* Offerings were held in Lha sa and Khra 'brug; the *Sūtra* Basket and *Abhisambodhi* (*Mngon par byang chub pa*) Offerings were held at Bsam yas, these being the Four Great Offerings. Note, too, that a *Me tog mchod pa* observance is in use in Bon religion.

probably because of their relative lack of narrative drama. They ought to be studied more, in the first place because their lineages cross with that of the Lowland *Vinaya* (a few members are held in common). More generally, the three lineages share the same historic space and they are traced with similar motives, so that in order to make sense of the conflicting accounts of the Lowland *Vinaya*, the *PP* and *AS* lineages might need to be brought into the equation.<sup>4</sup>

Both Asaṅga's 'higher *Abhidharma*,' the *Abhidharma-samuccaya*, and Vasubandhu's 'lower *Abhidharma*,' the *Abhidharmakośa*, had teaching transmissions that entered Tibet through the translating triad of Ka ba dpal brtsegs, Cog ro klu'i rgyal mtshan and Sna nam zhang ye shes sde. However, according to the earliest source, that of Nyang ral, there was a hiatus in the teaching transmission of the *Abhidharmakośa* (*AK*), which was re-instituted only in the late tenth century, at the cusp of the *Snga dar* and *Phyi dar*, by Smṛti, after whom it continued and eventually came to flourish thanks to members of the Mchims family at Snar thang Monastery. In short, the *AS* had a continuous teaching lineage linking it back to imperial times, while the *AK* did not.

However, the same source says that the *AS* lineage remained, although 'underground' (or 'concealed,' *bskungs*), during the time following Glang dar ma.<sup>5</sup> There are those who tell how the main lineage holder had to move to Khams, but these are late sources and it is unclear how much one ought to rely on their testimony (more discussion on this point later on).

Now we should have a look at the lineage itself, starting with the author Asaṅga and his half-brother Vasubandhu. It might prove useful, while reading the following discussions, to consult the appended charts from time to time.

There is a well-known scholarly debate about the dates of Vasubandhu, and we offer no solution to the problem here. Marek

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<sup>4</sup> On the 11<sup>th</sup>- to 12<sup>th</sup>-century *PP* transmissions, see Tarthang Tulku (1977), pp.157–60, which is based on a text corresponding to that found in Kong sprul (1985), pp.445–49; see also Jackson (1988), pp.xxif., and Samten (1997), p.835. Numbered among the *PP* lineage members is Khu ston shes rab brtson 'grus, on whom more will be said.

<sup>5</sup> Nyang (1988), pp.472f. No other historical source for the early Tibetan *Abhidharma* transmissions appears to employ this expression.

Meior has already studied the Tibetan sources on his life.<sup>6</sup> But no matter what date might be proposed for him, surely two generations are insufficient to cover the period between him and Jinamitra. Somewhere between Pūrṇavardhana (line 6) and Dānaśīla with Jinamitra (in lines 7 to 8) there is a huge chronological gap. It seems quite likely that the Indian segment was constituted in Tibet itself, and based solely on the fact that these figures either translated the *AS*, as in the case of Śīlendrabodhi and Jinamitra, or, in the case of Pṛthivībandhu<sup>7</sup> and Śāntipa (in column G only), wrote *Abhidharma* commentaries. Historically speaking, the Indian segment of the lineage tells us very little. In any case, it doesn't supply a full lineage account. Bu ston, in his history, probably had similar chronological problems in mind when he said with a certain measure of skepticism, "The pupil of Sthiramati was Pūrṇavardhana, and it is said that the pupils of the latter were Jinamitra and Śīlendrabodhi. This however must be examined."<sup>8</sup>

In the space remaining, we will concentrate on the Tibetan history of the *AS* teaching transmission. Furthermore, we will restrict our attention to the earliest members of the Tibetan lineage, basically ending with Brang ti who was active between the years 1076 and 1103 CE.

Looking at line 10 of the chart, observe first of all that Ska, Cog, and Zhang are very well known translators. Some of the compositions of Ska ba dpal brtsegs, a native of 'Phan yul,<sup>9</sup> and Zhang ye shes sde, a Ngam shod native of the Sna nam clan, have miraculously survived in the Tanjur. To give one example, a philosophical text by Ye shes sde, preserved in both Tanjur and

<sup>6</sup> See Meior's (1984) article on the subject, as well as his more recent book (1991). The relatively early version of Vasubandhu's life by Mkhas pa lde'u (1987), pp.103–8, 178 *et passim*) still remains to be taken into account in future surveys of the Tibetan biographical sources.

<sup>7</sup> Sa'i rtsa lag is the Tibetan form for the name of the Singhalese commentator Pṛthivībandhu (active during the reign of King Gopāla; 685–720 CE). It is not an Old Tibetan translation of the name Vasubandhu (Chimpa 1990), p.261; cf. Karmay (1988), 150.

<sup>8</sup> Obermiller (1986), pp.148f.

<sup>9</sup> In the tenth-century (?) *Bsam gtan mig sgron* (Gnubs (1974), pp.406), we find a mention of Skol mdo lo tswa ba dpal brtsegs. This might be Ska ba dpal brtsegs, although this is not certain. There are quotations, too (at pp.151f.), from a meditation text (*bsgom lung*) by Lo tsā ba ska ba dpal brtsegs (consult also Karmay (1988), p.103.

Dunhuang versions, has been studied by David Ruegg (1981). One of the surviving works by Ska ba dpal brtsegs, little more than a set of doctrinal lists, does extract some of those lists from the AS, including the list of Mental Factors.<sup>10</sup> Cog ro klu'i rgyal mtshan, native to Yar lung valley, is mentioned as a translator working together with Jñānagarbha in a Dunhuang text (Richardson 1998:190). These three translators mainly (although not exclusively) worked with the Kashmiri pundit Jinamitra, whom Peter Skilling (1997:122) has called “an important—and probably the most important—Indian figure in the introduction of *Abhidharma* in Tibet.” Although neither Jinamitra nor the three Tibetan translators are mentioned in the *Sba bzhed*, the *Sba bzhed zhabs btags ma* states clearly that Jinamitra was invited by Khri gtsug lde btsan (official throne name of Ral pa can, reigned 815–38),<sup>11</sup> and so I consider doubtful the accounts in other historical sources which would place his and the three Tibetan translators’ activities in the times of Khri srong lde btsan (reigned 756–97).<sup>12</sup> The *Rgyal rabs gsal ba'i me long* among others, it is true, includes them in a list of nine translators active under Khri srong lde btsan, but this is rather suspect, since an earlier list of the nine translators working in Khri srong lde btsan’s reign contained in Mkhas pa lde'u’s history does not include them. The names in Lde'u’s list are for the most part obscure (most of them do *not* surface among the translators in the

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<sup>10</sup> Rikey and Ruskin (1992), pp.13–31.

<sup>11</sup> Stein (1961), p.73. Compare also Wangdu (2000), p.90, where again they are only mentioned in the appended sections. Bsod nams rtse mo (1968), p.343, writing in 1167, agrees in placing the translation activities of Klu'i rgyal mtshan and Dpal brtsegs in Ral pa can’s reign. For a later list of the nine translators, see Sørensen (1994), pp.398f. As I hope to be able to demonstrate in a separate place, later sources had an increasing tendency to push the translating triad back into the latter half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century, and one way they did this was by inserting them into the list of nine translators.

<sup>12</sup> In the catalogue of the Sde dge edition of the *Bka' 'gyur*, Ye shes sde always works with one or two from a group of Indian masters comprised of Śilendrabodhi, Surendrabodhi, Dānaśīla and, most often, Jinamitra. Some of his translations were also done with Prajñāvarman. These Indians are usually said to have been invited by Ral pa can (although in the 814 *Sgra sbyor bam po gnyis pa*, we find the Indian pundits listed as Jinamitra, Surendrabodhi, Śilendrabodhi, Dānaśīla, and Bodhimitra so it is rather certain that these particular pundits had arrived in Tibet before the final year in the reign of Sad na legs; see Uebach (1987), p.107, and also Simonsson (1957), p.241, as well as the list of earlier Tibetan translators whose works were then deemed inadequate on p.243.

canon catalogues), but they *are* found in the *Sba bzhed*.<sup>13</sup> This seems to violate what we think we know from some of the other sources, which even give Jinamitra as well as Dānaśīla a role in the ordination of the Seven Test Monks (Mang thos 1987:52), include Ye shes sde in the list of twenty-five disciples of Padmasambhava or have Ska ba dpal brtsegs greeting Padmasambhava on his arrival at the Tibetan border. One simple, albeit disappointingly so, explanation is possible: that Tibetan history writers in the past mistook the regal name for Ral pa can, Khri gtsug lde btsan, for that of Khri srong lde btsan. In any case, the historians' tendency to push events and personages of the first decades of the ninth century back into the last half of the eighth requires further evaluation.<sup>14</sup>

Note that Zla ba'i rdo rje (line 11) and the very famous monk assassin of Emperor U'i dum brtsan (a.k.a. Glang dar ma) named Lha lung dpal gyi rdo rje (line 12)<sup>15</sup> first make their appearance in the lists of Bu ston (column C).

Comparing columns A through C at lines 13–15, we may see that a mistake has crept into the *Gsan yig* of Bu ston which was later on copied (in columns F and I). A single Rgyal ba'i ye shes has been made into two separate figures: Dbas (or Sbas) Rgyal ba'i ye shes (line 13) and Cog gru rgyal ba'i ye shes (line 14). We may know that this is mistaken by looking at the AS lineage contained in Bu ston's history (Obermiller 1986:212), where only Sbas Rgyal

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<sup>13</sup> Stein (1961), p.52, which must be compared to *Sba bzhed* (1980), p.60. See, too, Nyang (1988), p.332, Mkhas pa lde'u (1987, p.301, Dpa' bo (1986), p.402) and Sørensen (1994), pp.398f. In another passage, Nyang (1988), p.420, says that the triad came in the latter days of Khri srong lde btsan, while later on (p. 421) saying that Ral pa can invited four pundits: the Kashmiri Jinamitra, Surendrabodhi, Vidyākaraṅgabha and Dānaśīla.

<sup>14</sup> In Uray (1989) there is a different argument that some of the accomplishments of Sad na legs (Khri lde srong btsan, re. 799–815), in particular the Language Reform [of 814], have been pushed forward by some historians into the reign of Ral pa can (Khri gtsug lde btsan, re. 815–38), in part because of confusion about their regal names.

<sup>15</sup> A base of a pillar with an Old Tibetan inscription recording Lha lung dpal gyi rdo rje's name (mentioned in Richardson 1998), p.305, is still to be seen at Yer pa. Mkhas pa lde'u (1987), p.322, lists Nam smad zla ba rdo rje as a disciple of Rma rin chen mchog. The Sna nam of Bu ston's text is probably a mistaken (scribal?) correction of Nam nang, which is Zla ba'i rdo rje's usual surname. He was probably part of the rather mysterious nation known in Old Tibetan times as Nam (Richardson (1998), p.29, identified by Sato (1975), p.8, with the To mi tribe south of the Kokonoor.

ba'i ye shes appears—likewise in a separate lineage list (with the names Sanskritized) in another part of Bu ston's works (1966: XVI 19–20).<sup>16</sup> We might slightly support this argument by noting that no Gru or Cog gru Rgyal ba'i ye shes seems to be mentioned in any other context. However, Dbas rgyal ba'i ye shes is obscure himself,<sup>17</sup> as is his lineage successor Gru Mchog gi ye shes. The two latter are the ones that serve to bridge the gap across the grayest parts of the Period of Fragments. The *Blue Annals* (cf. Roerich 1976:345) is the earliest source which tells us, *dbas Dbus su 'khrug pa byung nas khams su gshegs*, “Because of the disturbances in Central Tibet, Dbas went to Khams.” Later on, Padma dkar po's (1968:346) history would state more briefly, *dbas kyis dbus nas khams su byon*, “Dbas went from Central Tibet to Khams.” It is uncertain if the ‘disturbances’ refers to the disorder during the final years of Emperor U'i dum brtsan or the peasant revolts that occurred later on.<sup>18</sup>

Now we should concentrate first of all on the most illustrious members of this final segment of the lineage (nos. 16–18). It is rather well known that Khu ston brtson 'grus g.yung drung was a

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<sup>16</sup> An alternative AS lineage (signaled in Dudjom (1991), I p.526; II p.44, n. 570) by the 14<sup>th</sup> century commentator Sa bzang ma ti pañ chen (Sa bzang (1977), II p.520), who probably wrote soon after Bu ston, reads as follows (its *mchan*-notes are placed in square brackets here): *dzi na mi tras ka cog zhang gsum la'o // de rnams kyis ni [nam nang] zla ba'i rdo rje dang // [lha lung] dpal gyi rdo rje [dpa'] rgyal ba'i ye shes la'o // de nas rgyal [ba'i ye shes] dang [bu] mchog gi ye shes [gsum ka] la'o //*. Here, too, there seem to have been two different persons named Rgyal ba'i ye shes, although there are further problems with the interpretation of this passage.

<sup>17</sup> Dbas (or Dba's) was an important ministerial clan of the imperial times. Dbas rgyal ba ye shes is mentioned in a late (*circa* 10<sup>th</sup> century) Dunhuang document composed by 'Bro dkon mchog dpal (see Hackin (1924), p.36), which at least informs us that he was at some time located at Bsam yas Monastery.

<sup>18</sup> It does seem plausible that, if Dbas had to flee to Khams, it would not have been because of any persecution by U'i dum btsan, but rather because he belonged to the Dbas clan which was involved in the peasant revolts. See Karmay (1989:84f). To follow Dpa' bo (1986), p.431 (also see Richardson (1998), p.51), this should have been the second peasant revolt (*dbu rur 'bro sbas 'khrugs pa la*), probably during the later decades of the ninth century. The exact dates of the peasant revolts have yet to be satisfactorily resolved. That these large-scale social disruptions are in themselves in considerable part to blame for the grayness of the gray period perhaps does not go without saying. Dudjom (1991), I p.526) says that “E Yeshe Gyelwa” went to Khams ... It is not certain if he should be identified with the Sbas rgyal ba'i ye shes of Mkhas pa lde'u (1987), p.323).



student of both Se btsun and Gar mi.<sup>19</sup> Our earliest list confuses us by giving the name Khu ston Shes rab brtson 'grus. It is true that the two Khu ston's are often confused in historical works. However, the earlier and more famous one, the disciple of Atiśa and author of the often cited if no longer extant history called the *Lo rgyus chen mo*, surely the one in question here, was Khu ston brtson 'grus g.yung drung, whose dates are 1011–75. Khu ston shes rab brtson 'grus lived from 1075 to 1143; he was the third abbot of Sphyang g.yas Monastery, founded by Grwa pa mngon shes (d.1090) at the source of the 'Phyongs rgyas river. Besides, the Nel pa history (1990:46) clearly associates Khu ston brtson 'grus g.yung drung with Lha sdings Monastery. Hence, we have every reason to believe that our earliest lineage list from Nyang ral's history, as well as the Dge ye list (in column E), and Bu ston's history are all mistaken in listing Khu ston shes rab brtson 'grus. The latter was important for the *Prajñāpāramitā* teaching transmission, and not for that of the AS. This shows, too, that the earliest source may also be misleading, although it is certainly possible that the mistaken identification entered in late in the manuscript transmission and was not the responsibility of the author.

To follow the two Lde'u histories, Khu ston brtson 'grus [g.yung drung] belonged to the monastic ordination lineage that was initiated when the Six Sog mo of Khams went to receive their vows from Dgongs pa rab gsal.<sup>20</sup> Four of the Six Sog mo ordained both

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<sup>19</sup> Mkhas pa lde'u (1987), p.393. The Bka' gdams pa history by Las chen (1972), II pp.215–18) says he was born in Yar klungs in a Wood Pig year, the same year as Nag tsho's birth. He went together with Rngog and Bang ston to Khams, and studied much Dharma with Jo bo se btsun, while studying *Abhidharma* with Gar mi yon tan g.yung drung. He was made the Elder (*Gnas brtan*) of all the Klu mes (monastic circle). His disciple was Ra khri bzang 'bar, and the latter's disciple was Brang ti dar ma snying po who made the teaching of *Abhidharma* spread widely. Khu ston died in a Wood Hare, his 65<sup>th</sup> year. The same source (p. 218) says that Rngog legs pa'i shes rab also went to Khams to study with Jo bo se btsun. Las chen's account of Khu ston is basically repeated by Yongs 'dzin (1970), I pp.375f., who does, however, correct the date of birth to an Iron Pig year.

<sup>20</sup> Mkhas pa lde'u (1987), p.393, and Lde'u jo sras (1987), p.156. Note, too, that this monastic lineage for Khu ston contradicts that supplied in Uebach (1987), p.41 [table 5]), where Khu ston is an ordinand (*mkhan bu*) of Klu mes and Sum pa. The Six Sog mo are the subject of a paper by Heather Stoddard given at the 9<sup>th</sup> seminar of the International Association of Tibetan Studies, but not yet available to me.

Se btsun and Gar mi. These latter two, in turn, ordained Khu ston. This particular segment of the AS lineage crosses with the history of an ordination lineage, although not the one led by Klu mes which came to dominate Central Tibet.

Se btsun gzhon nu dbang phyug is a figure frequently mentioned in the Bka' gdams pa histories, although there seems to be no general biographical passage about him. It is said that Se btsun studied Sanskrit with Smṛti, and that he was a teacher of all three of Atiśa's chief disciples: Khu ston, Rngog lo tsā ba, and 'Brom ston pa (see Stein 1972:72f).

Gar mi yon tan g.yung drung (line 17) is the most significant person for the remainder of the lineage. This is because in the early eleventh century he founded a monastery at Rdzing phyi in 'Ol kha which included a *Abhidharma* Teaching College (*bshad grwa*). The Las chen history (1972:I.238) has the only brief sketch of his life available to me at the moment. Following is a complete translation: "Gar mi yon tan g.yung drung was one of the eleven great teachers of Central Tibet. He erected the *vihāra* of Rdzong phyi [i.e., Rdzing phyi] in 'Ol kha. He went to Mnga' ris to invite Atiśa and he heard much Dharma. While Atiśa was staying in Bsam yas, he prepared and offered only yogurt and milk. There he was the chief of those who requested the *Eight Thousand Prajñāpāramitā*. Because he was skilled in the *Abhidharma*, he produced a number of students including Khu ston."

The *Bai dūrya ser po* (Sde srid 1960:160) informs us that the AS lineage members from Gar mi through Brang ti belonged to the 'generations of Lamas' (*bla rabs*) of Rdzing phyi Monastery. After Brang ti (line 22), the lineage began to fork out and spread widely in Central Tibet. The *Guidebook* to Rdzing phyi, known to exist only in the Tucci Collection, is not available to me, although it has been studied by Federica Venturi (forthcoming 1 and forthcoming 2), who tends toward dating its composition to about the late seventeenth century. Nowadays, Rdzing phyi is probably most famous because Tsong kha pa stayed there for some time and restored its Maitreya Temple. However, it is clear that during the eleventh century its main claim to renown, apart from its cubit-high reddish-gold-alloy Maitreya image made by a Khotanese king,<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Sde srid (1960), pp.159f. Some further details about this image were supplied in Tucci (1999), p.563. He says it was given to Gar mi by Gtsang rab

was as a center of *AS* studies. In effect, the eleventh century was a heyday for *AS* studies, and Kong sprul could even say that some time after Brang ti the teaching transmission of the *AS* was neglected and that it was, at the time of writing, no longer current.<sup>22</sup> This would seem to have been due to the rise to prominence and influence of the Mchims School of *AK* teaching at Snar thang.

In the future, historians of Tibet will be relying more and more on lineage records, on evidence contained in the 'records of teachings received,' known as *thob yigs* or *gsan yigs*. In order to understand the historical import of these lineage records, it will be necessary to closely compare whole sets of lineages, to treat them as 'texts' and attempt to isolate errors in their textual transmissions, as we have attempted to do here. This is not a modern or post-modern idea. In fact, most of the records of teachings received, particularly the more recent ones since the four-volume set of the Fifth Dalai Lama, as for example the set of equal length by Dza ya paṇḍita, because of their strong concern for the validity of their transmission lineages, have already done a great deal of critical comparative work in course of their compilation. Regardless of that fact, very interesting and unusual things may and do occur in the histories of these lists. For example, the Fifth Dalai Lama's list (column I) and three eighteenth-to-nineteenth-century sources—Dza ya Paṇḍi ta (1981:I.264), Klong rdol bla ma (1991:II.130f), and A khu ching (1974:44f)—who ultimately copied their *AS* lineages from the *gsan yig* of the Fifth Dalai Lama, all rename it as an *AK* lineage. It is clear that lineage lists are not just passive historical sources, but texts with interesting histories of their own to tell. In this case, it tells the story that the *AK* had, by the time of the Fifth Dalai Lama, so thoroughly replaced the *AS* in the monastic curriculum that the *AS*' unbroken lineage could be better employed to supplant and replace the broken lineage of the *AK*.

During the eleventh century, even as the new schools were emerging on the basis of their differences with the old translation *tantras*, they simultaneously sought to underscore, by means of the Lowland *Vinaya* ordination lineage and the teaching lineages of the *Prajñāpāramitā* and the *AS*, their continuity with old translation

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gsal, although other sources would seem to say that Gar mi went to Khotan to get it himself.

<sup>22</sup> Kong sprul (1985), p.I.446.

scriptures and treatises of the non-tantric kinds. But within this continuity is a discontinuity; each of the three lineages was forced (whether in fact or only in historical narrative) to transfer out of Central Tibet to what was, in those days, called Khams. The transference of the Lowland ordination lineage to Khams is a very well-known story, but there are several other less famous accounts of people loading up their mules with *Vinaya* texts, or with *Abhidharma* texts, or with a combination of the two.<sup>23</sup> The AS was transferred out of Central Tibet, as we have seen, by the rather obscure Dbas rgyal ba'i ye shes. Likewise it is said that the PP teaching tradition of 'Bre was known to have emerged from the Earlier Propagation's explanation lineage that had transferred to Khams.<sup>24</sup> The 'Bre tradition of PP studies was founded by a disciple of Rngog lo tsā ba blo ldan shes rab (1059–1109) by the name of 'Bre shes rab 'bar (AKA Shes rab bla ma). So far I have been unable to locate the specific lineage of PP that is supposed to have continued without break through Tibet's gray period.<sup>25</sup>

There is a certain amount of parallelism at work, raising the suspicion that the parallelism might have resulted from the [re-]writing of history, and have little to do with what in fact occurred. The Dharma Histories, while they acknowledge that some thin strands of *Vinaya* and PP traditions were continuing in Central Tibet, tended to disparage and belittle them with their brief narratives about the 'tufted arhats' and the practices of reading PP texts of different lengths at funerals depending on the age of the deceased. So far, I have not noticed any narrative that, in a similar manner, belittles *Abhidharma* teachings that might have existed during that same time.

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<sup>23</sup> See especially Sørensen (1994), p.431, and literature cited there. The most authoritative passage would seem to be Nel pa (Uebach (1987), pp.122f.

<sup>24</sup> *Gsang phu gdan rabs* (Otani ms.; for details, see Martin (1997), pp.115, 237, fol.8r.6: 'bre'i bshad srol ni snga dar gyi bshad brgyud khams 'phos pa las byung bar grags so. Compare Roerich (1976), p.330, which says that his teachings on PP followed the tradition from the Earlier Spread that had been preserved in Khams. Compare also Tarthang Tulku (1977), p.159.

<sup>25</sup> Jackson (1988), pp.xxif., lists the members of three lineages of *Abhisamayālamkāra* teachings received by 'Bre chen po shes rab 'bar: 1. the one from 'Bum phrag gsum pa (the Indian by the name, although two later Tibetans were also known as 'Bum phrag gsum pa; see van der Kuijp n.d.); 2. the 'Brom tradition ('brom lugs); and 3. the Khu tradition (khu lugs). None of these lists appear to contain any Tibetan members prior to the Second Spread.

Could we argue, nevertheless, that *Abhidharma* ideas had some form of general cultural transmission during the gray period? In a separate paper (Martin 2000), I have attempted to trace the 'Mental States' theory of the *AS*, in particular to try to discover how it could have entered into the bilingual Zhang zhung-Tibetan text of the *Mdzod phug* excavated by Gshen chen klu dga' in 1017. Although this was my initial motive for going into the transmission histories of the *Abhidharma* treatises, I still have no real answer to this question, and there is no specific reason to connect the transmission lineage investigated here with Gshen chen or the *Mdzod phug*. It is quite clear that, even though the *AS* no longer serves as a core textbook for study in Tibetan monasteries as it did at Rdzing phyi in the eleventh century, certain parts of it have taken on a life of their own in Tibetan Buddhist tradition. For example, there are a number of recent Dge lugs pa treatises of the 'Mind and Mental Factors' (*Sems dang sems byung*) genre which employ the *AS*' categories either directly or, perhaps, filtered through summaries such as that by Ska ba dpal brtsegs or early commentarial literature not now available.

This attempt to study how the *AS* bridged the gray period may not be considered very successful. The two lineage members who actually lived within the gray period remain very obscure figures, leaving the gray period itself almost as gray as ever. However, gaps in knowledge are not necessarily total vacuums. By investigating the areas of relative light surrounding the gray period, the gray period itself, if not exactly illuminated, will begin to bear import of an increasing historical significance. Certainly future research will succeed in locating patches of different shades of gray within its somewhat less gloomy outlines.

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## ABHIDHARMASAMUCCAYA LINEAGES

	columns A	B	C
lines	NYANG RAL, in ca. 1200	'PHAGS PA, in ca. 1278–80	BU STON ( <i>Gsan yig</i> ), in ca. 1360
1.		Buddha (yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas) >	Buddha (Shākya thub pa) >
2.	Maitreya (Byams pa) >	Maitreyaṅātha (Mgon po byams pa) +	Maitreya (Byams pa) >
3.	Asaṅga (Thogs med) >	Asaṅga (Slob dpon thogs med) >	Asaṅga (Thogs med) >
4.	Vasubandhu (Dbyig gnyen) >	Vasubandhu (Slob dpon dbyig gnyen) >	Vasubandhu (Dbyig gnyen) >
5.	Sthiramati (Blo brtan) >	Sthiramati (Slob dpon blo gros brtan pa) >	Sthiramati (Blo brtan) >
6.	Pūrṇavardhana (Gang ba spel) >	<i>de nas 'ga' brgyud nas 'ga' la spel /</i>	Pūrṇavardhana (Gang ba spel) >
7.			Dānaśīla (Dā na shī la) >
8.	Jinamitra (Dzi na mi tra) >	Jinamitra ( <i>de nas mang rab brgyud nas</i> Dzi na mi tra) +	Jinamitra (Dzi na mi tra) >
9.	Śīlendrabodhi (Shi len dra bo dhi) >	Śīlendrabodhi (Shi lendra bo dhi) >	
10.	1. Cog ro klu'i rgyal mtshan + / > 2. Ska ba dpal brtsegs + / > 3. Sna nam gyi ban de ye shes sde l	Ska cog rnam [i.e., zhang] <i>gsum</i> >	Ka cog zhang <i>gsum</i> >
11.			Sna nam zla ba'i rdo rje +

12.			Lha lung dpal gyi rdo rje +
13.	(Ka cog gi <i>slob ma</i> ) Sbas rgyal ba'i ye shes >	Sbas rgyal ba'i ye shes >	Dbal rgyal ba'i ye shes >
14.			<i>de gsum gyis</i> Cog gru rgyal ba'i ye shes >
15.	Gru mchog gi ye shes >	Gru mchog gi ye shes >	Cog gru mchog gi ye shes >
16.	Se btsun gzhon nu >	Se btsun gzhon nu >	Se btsun gzhon nu >
17.	Dhar mi yon tan g.yung drung >	Gar ma yon tan g.yung drung >	'Bar yon tan g.yung drung >
18.	Khu ston shes rab brtson 'grus (Lha sdings pa <i>yin no</i> ) [>?]	Khu chen po lha sdings pa >	Khu ston brtson 'grus g.yung drung >
19.	Ra khri bzang 'bar +	Rgya rgyal bu tshul le >	Rgya tsha yi >
20.	Rgya rgyal bu tshul la >	Rwa khri bzang 'bar >	Ra ston khri bzang >
21.			Li ston chos grags >
22.	<i>de gnyis kyis</i> rong ngur smrig pa brang ti dar ma snying po +	Ngur smrig pa dar ma snying po >	Brang ti dar snying >
23.	Ye 'byung >	Ko bo ye 'byung >	
24.	<i>des bhan rog la bshad de / lugs gnyis su grags so.</i>	<i>de gnyis ka'i slob ma</i> 'Ban dkon mchog rdo rje >	Rog chos brtson >

Note: > means that the lineage was passed on to the next person.  
 + means “and” the following person.  
 | means that the person did not pass on the lineage.

	D	E	F
lines	RGYAL TSHAB RJE, in early 15 <sup>th</sup> cent.	DGE YE, in 1474	<i>DEB THER SNGON PO</i> , in 1476–78
1.	Buddha (Thub pa'i dbang po >		Buddha (Sangs rgyas) >
2.	Maitreyañātha (Byams pa mgon po) >		Maitreya (Byams pa) >
3.	Asaṅga (Thogs med) >		Asaṅga (Thogs med) >
4.	Vasubandhu (Dbyig gnyen) >		Vasubandhu (Dbyig gnyen) >
5.	Sthiramati (Blo brtan) >		Sthiramati (Blo brtan) >
6.	Pūrṇavardhana (Gang ba spel) >		Pūrṇavardhana (Gang spel) >
7.			
8.	Jinamitra (Dzi na mi tra) >		Jinamitra of Kashmir (Kha che dzi na mi tra) >
9.			
10.	Ka cog zhang <i>gsum</i> >	Nag, gcog and zhang >	Ka cog zhang <i>gsum</i> >
11.	Dpal gyi rdo rje >	Nam nang zla ba rdo rje +	<i>des</i> Lha lung dpal gyi rdo rje + Nam nang zla ba'i rdo rje + Dbas rgyal ba ye shes <i>gsum la bshad / dang po gnyis kyis bsgoms pas grub pa thob /</i>
12.	Zla ba'i rdo rje >	Dpal gyi rdo rje +	
13.	Rgyal ba'i ye shes >	Rgyal ba ye shes >	Dbas [rgyal ba ye shes] dbus <i>su 'khrug pa byung nas khams su gshegs</i> >
14.			de la [i.e., Dbas la] Grum rgyal ba'i ye shes >
15.	Mchog gi ye shes >	Cog gru mchog gi ye shes >	<i>de nas</i> Gru mchog gi ye shes >

16.	Se btsun gzhon nu dbang phyug >	Se btsun gzhon nu >	Se btsun >
17.	'Gar mi nyag yon tan g.yung drung >	Gar mi yon tan g.yu rung >	Gar mi yon tan g.yung drung >
18.	Khu ston brtson 'grus g.yung drung >	Khu sher brtson >	Khu ston brtson 'grus g.yung drung >
19.	Rwa rgya Li <i>gsum</i> >	Ra khri bzangs >	A. Rwa khri bzang 'bar + / >
20.		Rgya rgyal bu tshul le >	B. Rgya chul le [i.e., Tshul le] +
21.			C. Li bdud rtsi grags <i>rnams byung ba las</i> / Rwa khri bzangs <i>la</i> >
22.	Brang ti dar ma snying po >	Brang ti dar ma snying po.	Brang ti dar ma snying pos <i>gsan</i> / Brang ti <i>ni slob ma shin tu mang ste</i> / ...
23.	Ko'u ye shes 'byung gnas >		Brang ti <i>la</i> Ko bo ye shes 'byung gnas >
24.	'Ban dkon mchog rdo rje >		<i>de la</i> Rog chos kyi brtson 'grus > (this source then traces two lineages, one from Rog and another from 'Ban)

	G	H	I
lines	SHAKYA MCHOGLDAN, in 1479	PAṄ CHEN BSOD NAMS GRAGS PA (1478–1554)	FIFTH DALAI LAMA (ca. 1670)
1.		Buddha (Thub dbang) >	Buddha (Ston pa thub pa'i dbang po) > Gnas brtan 'od srungs chen po > 'Phags pa kun dga' bo > Gra bcom pa dbyangs sgrog > Kha che 'dus bzang >
2.	Maitreya (Byams pa) >	Maitreya (Byams pa) >	
3.	Asaṅga (Thogs med) >	Asaṅga (Thogs med) >	
4.	Vasubandhu (Dbyig gnyen) >	Vasubandhu (Dbyig gnyen) >	[ <i>kun mkhyen gnyis pa</i> ] Dbyig gnyen >
5.	Sthiramati (Blo brtan) >	Sthiramati (Blo brtan) >	[ <i>Mngon pa rang las mkhas pa</i> ] Blo gros brtan pa >
6.	Śāntipā (Shan ti pa) > Pṛthivībandhu (Sa'i rtsa lag) >	Pūrṇavardhana (Gang spel) >	Pūrṇavardhana (Gang ba spel) >
7.	Dānaśīla (Dā na shī la) >		Dānaśīla (Dā na shī la) >
8.	Jinamitra (Dzi na mi tra) >	Jinamitra (Dzi na mi tra) >	Jinamitra (Dzi na mi tra) >
9.	Śīlendrabodhi (Shi lendra bo dhi) >		
10.	Ka lcog zhang <i>gsum</i> >	Ka cog zhang <i>gsum</i> >	Ska ba dpal brtsegs Rakshi ta > Cog gru klu'i rgyal mtshan > Zhang sna nam ye shes sde >
11.		Zla ba'i rdo rje >	Sna nam zla ba'i rdo rje (But Kun mkhyen b[u]'s <i>gsan yi ghas</i> Rnam nang zla ba'i rdo rje) >
12.	Lha lung dpal gyi rdo rje >		Lha lung dpal gyi rdo rje (long note) >

13.		Rgyal ba ye shes >	Sbas rgyal ba ye shes (Dbas in Bu's <i>gsan yig</i> ) >
14.			(student of last 3) Cog gru rgyal ba'i ye shes >
15.			Cog gru mchog gi ye shes >
16.		Se btsun dbang phyug gzhon nu >	Se btsun dbang phyug gzhon nu >
17.	'Gar mi yon tan g.yung drung >	Gar mi yon tan g.yung drung <i>dung</i> (sic!) >	'Gar mi yon tan g.yung drung >
18.	Rwa ston blo bzang >	Bur chen po >	Khu ston brtson 'grus g.yung drung >
19.	Rwa khri bzang 'bar >	Rang rgya Yi <i>gsum</i> >	Ra khri bzang 'bar (long note) >
20.			Rgya tshul le >
21.			Li ston chos grags >
22.	Brang ti dar ma snying po >	Brang ri [i.e., Brang ti] dar ma snying po >	Brang ti dar ma snying po >
23.	Mchims brtson seng > ... ..	Ga'u ye shes 'byung gnas >	Ko ye 'byung >
24.		'Bang dkon mchog rdo rje > ... ..	'Bum dkon cog rdo rje > ... ..



DISTINCTIVE FEATURES OF THE RIG 'DZIN TSHE  
DBANG NOR BU (WADDELL) EDITION OF THE *RNYING  
MA'IRGYUD 'BUM*<sup>1</sup>

CATHY CANTWELL (UNIVERSITY OF KENT, CANTERBURY)

The Rig 'dzin tshe dbang nor bu (Waddell) edition of the *Rnying ma'irgyud 'bum* is a beautifully illustrated manuscript collection which was procured in Tibet by L.A. Waddell during the Younghusband expedition in 1904, and is now mainly kept at the British Library, London, with one volume at Oxford University's Bodleian Library, and two illuminated title folios at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.<sup>2</sup> We have very little information about its history, and there does not even appear to be a clear record of its fate on leaving Tibet, so we are not certain whether the collection was complete in 1904 and thus whether any of the presently missing volumes might come to light elsewhere. Since April 1999, Rob Mayer and myself have been working on a research project to make an inventory of the collection, which will soon be available on the Web site of the University of Kent's Centre for Social Anthropology and Computing. Since Rob has been away in Berlin as *Gastprofessor* for Tibetology for much of the last two years, I have done the greater part of the work.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Financial assistance from the British Academy enabled me to deliver this paper at the 9<sup>th</sup> Seminar of IATS in Leiden.

<sup>2</sup> Thanks to Sam van Schaik and Burkhard Quessel of the British Library for bringing to our attention the location of these two title folios. Waddell (1912:87,99 [Item 5]) makes reference to the twenty-nine volumes now held at the British Library (formerly at the India Office Library) and includes them in a list of textual items brought back in the expedition, although he makes no mention of volume *Ka*, which was acquired by the Bodleian Library in 1909 (on this volume, see van Schaik 2000).

<sup>3</sup> The University of Kent project, funded by the British Academy's Arts and Humanities Research Board, is under the direction of Dr. Michael Fischer, who is working on the XML markup for the electronic catalogue. Others who have worked on the collection include Sam van Schaik (see van Schaik 2000), as well as Kerstin Grothmann of Humboldt University, Berlin, and Michael Kowalewski, who have made contributions to our Web catalogue.

The purpose of this paper is to highlight some features of the collection and to raise questions which I hope might be resolved in due course, so that we can improve our understanding of its history and characteristics. Perhaps the most appropriate opening statement is to comment that the collection is better named the “Rig 'dzin tshe dbang nor bu edition” than the “Waddell edition” as it has formerly been known. Although we as yet know very little about the circumstances of its production in Tibet, it would appear likely that it was made in honor of Kaḥ thog tshe dbang nor bu (1698–1755). An immediately striking feature of twenty-seven of the twenty-nine volumes for which we have title folios is that we find a miniature of and homage to this famous eighteenth century *bla ma* on the left-hand side of each illuminated first folio. Although one might initially suspect this to point to an Eastern Tibetan origin for the edition since Kaḥ thog is in Eastern Tibet, of course Tibetan *bla mas* frequently traveled and had followers throughout the Tibetan speaking region. In Rig 'dzin tshe dbang nor bu's case, we know that he traveled extensively and that his reputation was such that in 1752–53, he mediated in a dispute between the kingdoms of Ladakh and Purig at the Seventh Dalai Lama's request.<sup>4</sup> He was active in restoration work at the Buddhist sites in the Kathmandu area and he spent the final years of his life in the border regions of Southern Tibet and Nepal, passing away in Skyid grong.<sup>5</sup> We also know that students of his in this area were involved in the late eighteenth century Rnying ma scriptural revival and reproduction of the *Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum* in Skyid grong. To be precise, Franz-Karl Ehrhard's work has drawn our attention to the central role played by Phrin las bdud 'joms mgon gngang chos rje (1726–89).<sup>6</sup> in this revitalization. Phrin las bdud 'joms was a student of Rig 'dzin tshe dbang nor bu and after his passing, two of his students in turn produced a manuscript edition of the *Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum*. It is therefore possible that our edition is another representative of this late eighteenth century Rnying ma pa activity in the area, perhaps produced by direct students or later followers of the lineage of Rig 'dzin Tshe dbang nor bu. Moreover, the illustrated title folio of our first volume, kept at the Bodleian Library Oxford, includes a name written in tiny letters within a box

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<sup>4</sup> Schwieger (1996).

<sup>5</sup> Dudjom Rinpoche, vol.II, p.68, n.961 and Ricard, p.392 n.69.

<sup>6</sup> Ehrhard (1997), p.260, Mayer, pp.230f. and Ricard, p.391 n.44.

beneath the central miniature. This name appears to read: Snya bsod nam chos 'phel, and may possibly refer to the artist and his place of origin.<sup>7</sup> Again, we cannot reach any firm conclusions—even if this is the artist's name, artists were also itinerant—but if “snya” does indicate the place where the artist lived, it might stand for “Gnya' nang,” which is located exactly in this South-western Tibet region, close to the border with Nepal and south-east of Skyid grong. But David Jackson includes a case study which would further strengthen our suspicions of a link between our illustrated manuscripts and the late eighteenth century Rnying ma revival in this region.<sup>8</sup> Jackson tells us that the lama artist Kun bzang phrin las dbang phyug of Skyid rong (1772–1812) painted the “front deities” of a Rnying rgyud manuscript in 1790. This artist is none other than one of the two students of Phrin las bdud 'joms mentioned above. It also seems that in 1803, he painted a full-color *thang ka* of Rig 'dzin Tshe dbang nor bu, and that in executing a set of paintings of the *mahāsiddhas*, he followed a painting manual composed by Rig 'dzin tshé dbang nor bu. It is tantalizing to wonder what connection this artist might have had with our manuscripts, but if he was not the artist himself, it is quite possible that another painter or painters<sup>9</sup> in the area were drawing on his work.

Unfortunately, not only are the circumstances of the acquisition of the collection by Waddell in the early twentieth century unclear, and we know little of where it came from in Tibet, but the collection itself provides us with few other clues. It would appear that the collection consisted of thirty-three volumes, volume *Ka* to *A*, *Oṃ*, *Āḥ*, and *Hūṃ*. Of these thirty-three volumes, thirty are known to have survived and are available; we are missing volumes *Ta*, *Oṃ*, and apart from its illustrated title folio, volume *Ga*, and we are also missing the title folios to volumes *Ca* and *Sha*. It is also conceivable that one or more further volumes might possibly have followed our final volume *Hūṃ*. At the end of volume *Hūṃ*, the texts simply end, and there is no *dkar chag*, nor information on the circumstances of the production of the edition. Nonetheless, it is most likely that the

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<sup>7</sup> See the discussion of this feature in van Schaik 2000:30, 49 note 8.

<sup>8</sup> Jackson (1996), pp.346–49.

<sup>9</sup> The miniatures were probably but not definitely the work of a single artist. They are similar in style although there are some differences and some are more expertly painted and/or detailed than others, but this could simply be a reflection of the time the artist had available.

collection never had a *dkar chag* or any further volumes; the situation is exactly the same as in the case of the Gting skyes dgon pa byang edition, which has been catalogued by Kaneko (1982), which also has no *dkar chag* of its own.<sup>10</sup> As I hope to show below, the Gting skyes dgon pa byang edition is very close to ours in its structure and content. Our volume *Hūṃ* is completed with the full set of texts within the Gting skyes dgon pa byang's volume *Hūṃ*, so that the two end with exactly the same texts.

In a comparison of different available editions of the *Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum*, although all share the general sequential division of texts starting with *Rdzogs chen* and followed by *Anuyoga* and then *Mahāyoga*, we find that the five editions of Sde dge, Mtshams brag, Rig 'dzin tshe dbang nor bu, Gting skyes and Nubri in some cases have rather different schemas of texts within these divisions.<sup>11</sup> In particular, Sde dge and Mtshams brag are distinctive. Sde dge is distinctive because it uniquely turns around the order within the *Rdzogs chen* section as followed by most of the other editions: Sde dge starts with *yang ti'i skor*, *spyi ti'i skor*, then the rest of *man ngag sde'i skor* proper, continuing with *klong sde*, and then going on to *sems sde*. On the whole, the other editions proceed the other way, starting with *sems sde*, going on to *klong sde*, and then culminating with *man ngag sde*. Mtshams brag is distinctive, firstly because it is occasionally rather loose in structure. For example, a few apparently *Rdzogs chen* texts stray into the *Mahāyoga* section. Also, the *Rdzogs chen* section appears to be less systematically structured than other editions, or alternatively, to follow an order of *Rdzogs chen* texts unique to itself. It has mainly *sems sde* texts in its first volume and *man ngag sde*, *phyi nang* and *spyi'i ti* texts in its final *Rdzogs chen* volumes, but otherwise we find sequences of texts of different categories interspersed. Furthermore, Mtshams brag starts its *Mahāyoga* (in volume *Tsha*) with the *Sangs rgyas mnyam sbyor* and some other of the major *Mahāyoga* texts often included among the

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<sup>10</sup> In fact, the Gting skyes dgon pa byang edition, as catalogued by Kaneko, has thirty-six volumes, but the final three are later additions of *dkar chags* belonging to Sde dge—see n.9.

<sup>11</sup> Since the earlier draft of this paper was delivered in Leiden, Rob Mayer (with some help from Kerstin Grothmann) has established the full set of equivalents between the texts in our and the *Mtshams brag* edition, and the revisions to the section below on the relationship between the different editions arise out of our joint work.

18 *tantras* of *Mahāyoga* before introducing the *Sgyu 'phrul drwa ba* texts, whereas all other currently available editions start *Mahāyoga* with the *Gsang ba'i snying po* materials, which begin Mtshams brag's volume *Wa*. Mtshams brag also places the *Dgongs 'dus gter ma* of Sangs rgyas gling pa before the *Anuyoga* section in its volume *Pha*. In contrast, the redactors of Sde dge counted this as *Mahāyoga* (including it in its volume *Pha*). Secondly, Mtshams brag is very much bigger than any of the other editions: according to the enumerations within the Taipei Tibetan Tripiṭaka (which re-issues the Mtshams brag *Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum* within its vols.54–63), Mtshams brag has exactly 1,001 texts. It is likely that the University of Virginia project to catalogue Mtshams brag will reach a slightly different number (at the time of writing, their provisional figure is 929 texts). Note that since *Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum* collections are sometimes quite amorphous, in the sense that it is often difficult to decide whether a specific piece of writing is an independent text or a sub-section of another text, small differences in enumeration are inevitable. In comparison with Mtshams brag, all the other *Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum* editions share a similar and smaller scale. For example, Kaneko lists only 406 texts in his catalogue of Gting skyes (although the Yeshe De Project gives Gting skyes the slightly higher number of 420 texts).<sup>12</sup> Rig 'dzin tshe dbang nor bu has missing volumes so we cannot count it exactly, but it seems to be close to Gting skyes in every way, including the number of texts. Nubri is not yet systematically catalogued, but in several features, including size, it is certainly closer to Gting skyes and Rig 'dzin tshe dbang nor bu than Mtshams brag. Nubri in fact shares several similarities with Gting skyes and Rig 'dzin tshe dbang nor bu such as many substantial shared text sequences, even if it also has its own very distinct differences from these two. Meanwhile Yeshe De gives Sde dge's size as 446 texts.<sup>13</sup> So the general picture at the present stage of research looks like this: Sde dge has a near reversal of the ordering of the *Rdzogs chen* text categories found in most other editions, Mtshams brag includes a great many additional texts not included in the other editions and has other distinctions as discussed above, Rig 'dzin Tshe dbang nor bu and Gting skyes are very close to one another in many ways and seem to form a close family; while Nubri

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<sup>12</sup> Tarthang Tulku, pp.28f.

<sup>13</sup> Tarthang Tulku, pp.28f.

is probably a more distant member of the same family since it has both substantial shared sequences (e.g., in volume *Ka* and *Kha*) and significant different sequences of text orderings and contents (e.g., a much shorter *Anuyoga* section). Also, as Franz-Karl Ehrhard has pointed out<sup>14</sup>, Nubri and its sister collection (the one brought from Walungchung to Kathmandu in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century) has an addendum of extra *Rdzogs chen tantras* in two final volumes that bear some relation to the *Vairo rgyud 'bum* collection which is not shared by Gting skyes, nor by Rig 'dzin tshe dbang nor bu (that is, unless Rig 'dzin tshe dbang nor bu has more missing volumes than we have guessed), so this also sets Nubri apart from Rig 'dzin tshe dbang nor bu and Gting skyes. Note that such an addendum of extra *Rdzogs chen tantras* at the end of a collection is not a unique pattern within *Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bums* as a whole, since Sde dge also has additional *Rdzogs chen tantras* in its final volume, *Ra*, which apparently its redactor, Tshe dbang mchog grub, could not find at first.<sup>15</sup> But many of these texts from Sde dge's *Ra* do appear to be included in the main body of the early volumes of Rig 'dzin tshe dbang nor bu, Nubri and Gting skyes. The texts put at the end of Nubri are different to these ones at the end of Sde dge. Mtshams brag, by contrast with Nubri and Sde dge, simply includes its many extra *tantras* into its various main sections, rather than consigning them to the end as a separate addendum.

So, to look at some precise examples, if we compare the famous 18<sup>th</sup> century *dkar chag* made by 'Gyur med tshe dbang mchog grub (a.k.a. dGe rtse mahāpaṇḍita) for the Sde dge edition<sup>16</sup> against Kaneko's catalogue of Gting skyes, for instance, while they both begin with the *Rdzogs chen* sections, the Sde dge *dkar chag* lists the first and second volumes *Ka* and *Kha* as starting with the Yang ti texts, parallels for most of which are found in Gting skyes' volumes

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<sup>14</sup> Ehrhard (1997), pp.263ff.

<sup>15</sup> Thanks to Jean-Luc Achard for this information (personal communication, February 1, 2001).

<sup>16</sup> This is found among his *rtogs brjod* works in volume *A* of the Sde dge edition of the *Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum*, which bears the full title *bde bar gshegs pa'i bstan pa thams cad kyi snying po rig pa 'dzin pa'i sde snod rdo rje theg pa Snga 'gyur rgyud 'bum rin po che'i rtogs pa brjod pa lha'i rnga bo che lta bu'i gnam*. The actual catalogue is on ff.284b–308a. This material along with 'Jigs med gling pa's *rtogs brjod* work which is also found in the Sde dge *Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum* has also been appended by Dilgo Khyentse Rinpoche to his re-edition of the Gting skyes *Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum*, vols.34–36 (*E-Śrī*).

*Ja*, *Nya*, and *Cha*, but not in any clear relation to the order in which they are found in Gting skyes. The rest of Sde dge's second volume *Kha* and the beginning of *Ga* has *spyi ti* texts which correspond to texts from Gting skyes' *Cha*, this time mostly in the same sequential order. Sde dge's *Ga* and *Nga* continue with *man ngag sde* texts, some of which have equivalents in Gting skyes' *Ta* and *Tha*, some from the same sections but not in the same sequential order. This section is followed by *gsang skor* and then at the end of *Nga* and beginning of *Ca*, *phyi* and *nang skor* texts, with equivalents in Gting skyes' *Ca* and *Nga*. The *klong sde* texts follow, corresponding to texts in Gting skyes' *Ga* and *Nga*. Again, we find some groups of texts kept together but slotted into a different overall schema: three texts with equivalents found consecutively in Gting skyes' *Ga* are followed by two from *Nga*, then one from an earlier part of *Ga*, back to four from *Nga*, another from *Ga* and a final text from *Nga*. The *sems sde* section then begins with the first text from Gting skyes' volume *Ka*. Thus, in one volume, *Ca*, we find texts with equivalents in four of Gting skyes' volumes. The pattern continues with volume *Cha*, with parallel texts in Gting skyes' *Ka*, *Kha*, and *Ga*.

The picture appears to be similar if we compare the Mtshams brag edition against the catalogue of Gting skyes.<sup>17</sup> It would seem that although its volume *Ka* begins with the same texts as Gting skyes, parallels are not so striking as the volume continues. Most of the texts in this volume seem to have equivalents in Gting skyes' volume *Ka*, although apart from one cluster of four texts, the sequential ordering is different. Five texts have equivalents in Gting skyes' volume *Nga*, one text in Gting skyes' volume *Ga*, and three appear not to be found in Gting skyes.

The next volumes of Mtshams brag even more clearly depart from both Gting skyes and Sde dge: volume *Kha* has three texts with equivalents in Gting skyes' *Ga* followed by one found in *Ka*, three from *Kha*, back to two from *Ga*, one from *Kha*, one from *Nga* and one from *Nya*. It would appear that Mtshams brag's next volume *Ga* consists entirely of a number of texts not listed in the Kaneko

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<sup>17</sup> We have consulted the list of texts in the introductory pages of each volume of the Taipei Tibetan Tripiṭaka edition as edited by Anthony Barber, and also the University of Virginia on-line catalogue of Mtshams brag (The Samantabhadra Collection 2000; this was not available to us in full at the time of writing this paper). Anthony Barber's list includes all titles, and also most of the Kaneko numbers, thus giving most of the equivalent texts in Gting skyes.

catalogue of Gting skyes at all.<sup>18</sup> Mtshams brag's Nga then continues with texts which have parallels in seven of Gting skyes' volumes. Although we again find small groups of texts with close Kaneko numbers, they are nestled between other groups from altogether different sections, and we have an overall order which runs: texts with equivalents from Gting skyes' *Ga, Ka, Ga, Nya, Kha, Na, Nya, Ga, Ca, Nga, Ja, Ca, Ka, Kha*.

In examining the next few volumes, we find that of about half the titles in Mtshams brag's *Ca* which appear to correspond to titles in the Kaneko catalogue, we have texts with equivalents in Gting skyes' volumes *Ka, Kha, Ga*, without any reference to their ordering in Gting skyes. There are rather closer correspondences in *Cha*, with nine out of eleven texts occurring in Gting skyes' *Ja*, although not in the same order. With volume *Ja*, all the texts appear to have easily identifiable equivalents in the Kaneko catalogue, and we return to the pattern of titles occurring in several of Gting skyes' volumes, in this case, volumes *Ka, Kha, Ga, Nga, Ca, Cha* and *Ja*, without any relation to their ordering in Gting skyes, with the exception of a group of seven texts which are found not in identical order, but in one section of Gting skyes' volume *Kha*.

Taking an entirely different part of the collection, the *Mahāyoga* texts found in Mtshams brag's volume *Wa*, we find equivalents from Gting skyes' volumes *Dza, Pha* and *Ba*, and these texts also do not appear to be found in one place in the Sde dge collection. Furthermore, although the final volume of Mtshams brag, *Mi*, has material in common with Gting skyes' last two volumes, the volumes immediately prior to volume *Mi* in Mtshams brag, *Pi, Phi* and *Bi*, seem to contain *Mahāyoga* texts which do not occur in Gting skyes at all.

An altogether different picture emerges when we examine our Rig 'dzin Tshe dbang nor bu edition against the Kaneko catalogue of Gting skyes. Although there are departures, we find a close relationship not only in the overall doxographical ordering of texts, but in parts, a close equivalence in the exact ordering of texts, and we even find that some of the volumes run precisely in parallel.

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<sup>18</sup> One text has the same title as a text in Gting skyes' *Ga*, and one a similar title to a text in Gting skyes' *Kha*, but in both cases, the chapter numbering and titles are different; one text has a similar title to a text in Gting skyes' *Ka*, but its chapters do not correspond, and this text in Gting skyes' *Ka* is found in Mtshams brag's *Ka*.



Thus, some volumes seem to have exactly the same texts in the same order (e.g., volume *Kha, Da, Ba, Tsa, Tsha, Wa* and *Ra*). Some volumes seem to have the same or virtually the same texts in a slightly different order (e.g., volume *Ja* and *Nya*). Some volumes seem to have some or most of the same texts but they may insert single or sequences of texts from other volumes (e.g., volume *Nga, Sa, Ha, A* and *Hūṃ*). However, in all cases, these insertions seem to be from the immediately previous or subsequent volume. Sometimes, two consecutive volumes in our edition seem to have their texts seemingly shuffled in relation to Gting skyes' order (e.g., volume *Ta/Tha; Zha/Za; and 'A/Ya*). There might be a few, usually short, texts which are not shared and are unique to one of the collections but this is as yet not entirely certain; I may simply not yet have identified their equivalents.

It would seem to be clear, then, that the basic doxographical order is shared. Where we find texts shifting position from one volume to another, this is where the two volumes both contain texts relating to a specific category, for example, the *gshin rje* texts in *Zha* and *Za*, or *phur pa* texts in *Sa* and *Ha*. Generally, our edition makes no explicit mention of doxographical categories; it simply has one text following another without any reference to its classification. However, very rarely, we do find doxographical references. Where we have such references in the *Rdzogs chen* sections (within *Nga, Cha* and *Ja*), they are worded exactly the same and are positioned before the same texts in both editions, as though these are features accidentally left in our collection during the copying process, and their presence would seem to confirm the hypothesis of a close connection between the two editions.

A further piece of evidence regarding the close relationship between these two editions is that in critically editing the *Phur pa bcu gnyis*, Robert Mayer found that in the case of this one text from the *Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum*, there was a definite pattern of shared errors between the Gting skyes and the Rig 'dzin tshe dbang nor bu (Waddell) editions. One conclusion of his stemmatic analysis was that neither of the versions were descended from the other, but that both were descended from a common ancestor, itself descended from the text which was also an ancestor of the Kathmandu edition (i.e., the sister edition to Nubri), while the two editions were still more distantly related to Mtshams brag. Although the case of a single text cannot make us certain about other texts within the collection, it

strengthens the evidence we have found of a close relationship in the overall structure of the Gting skyes and the Rig 'dzin tshe dbang nor bu editions of the collection.

We therefore have two kinds of internal evidence emerging from our work so far: the association with Rig 'dzin tshe dbang nor bu, possibly suggesting a link to the Rnying ma scriptural revival in the late eighteenth century in the South-western Tibetan—Nepalese border areas, and the textual evidence suggesting a close connection with the Gting skyes dgon pa byang edition. How these two pieces of evidence may tie up with each other and whether we can tease out more clues from the artwork and style of writing etc. is a matter we are seeking more information upon.

A few comments are possible on the volumes. Each volume consists of a varying number of folios, between 256 and 343 numbered folios, the first folio beginning immediately with the first text and the last folio ending after the final text of the volume, without any added introductory or concluding comment. The size of the folios varies slightly: in most volumes, the plain sheets are 577 x 125 mm, but these measurements not only vary from volume to volume, even within a volume there may be some small amount of size variation. There may also be some variation in the thickness of the folios, most but not all consisting of more than one layer of paper. Sometimes there is some consistency within a volume in this respect (e.g., volume *Ca* where nearly all the sheets are thick), but on other occasions, there may be some sheets so thin that the ink on one side of the folio is visible on the other, while other sheets are thick (e.g., volume *Kha*). Furthermore, we frequently find that some sheets are not cut very straight, the writing is not always exactly square on the page, and occasionally, the top and bottom of a folio may be cut in rather wavy lines. Most sheets have 7 lines of black ink writing on each side of the folio, with double red vertical lines to the sides of the writing area, and the word, “*rgyud*,” together with the volume reference and folio number written sideways in black to the left of each recto side. As well as the usual numbering in words, most volumes also have tiny Tibetan numerals written sideways towards the bottom of the left-hand edge of the page. However, these numerals do not seem to correspond to the page numbering in words and they are missing or partially cut off on many of the sheets, suggesting that the sheets may have been cut after they were written. Generally, we find a double *yig mgo* in the top left-hand corner of all

recto sides, with the exception of the first three to five folios, and sometimes of the sheets following an internal title page, where there may be a triple *yig mgo*. In the case of the very first folio, the triple *yig mgo* will be found on the verso side. Where we have a collection of *gter ma* texts, as in volume *Āḥ*, we find a special *gter yig mgo* replacing the usual *yig mgo* on each recto side, consisting of what appears like a truncated Om syllable without its right-hand stroke, together with a *gter shad* (*gter yig mgo a thung*, with *ma* above, and *rnam bcad*)<sup>19</sup>. The writing is usually well-executed and clear, and there is often (but not always) considerable consistency within a volume in terms of the size and style of writing and the thickness of the ink. Unfortunately, while some of the volumes are well preserved, others have many sheets with torn edges, worm or water damage. Volume *Hūṃ* is so badly damaged, many of its folios are missing large sections of text, or the washed out writing which remains is barely legible. However, in the case of the other volumes, any damage to the sheets rarely makes the writing actually unreadable.

At the front of each volume, there is an unnumbered plain blue lacquered folio, which is usually slightly smaller in length and width than the standard sheets. Generally, the front of the folio has a red rectangular box with ruled margins. There are—or should be—four or five hanging index leaves stitched onto this unnumbered front folio, although these are missing in many of the surviving volumes.<sup>20</sup> The design of the index leaves is essentially the same in each volume where we have them. They measure between 94–137mm in length, by 75–100mm across. The top leaf has an originally blue brocade front, sewn with an orange thread border, and a plain reddish-orange material back.<sup>21</sup> The second leaf has a plain yellow silk front, sewn with a blue thread border and embroidered in red thread in the center with the Tibetan letter for the volume concerned (12–29 mm down x 14–20 mm across). Its back is plain canvas type material. The third

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<sup>19</sup> *Gter yig mgo a thung* = unicode 001; *ma* above = unicode 131; *rnam bcad* = unicode 127 (see Unicode 2000).

<sup>20</sup> Volumes *Ka*, *Nga*, *Cha*, *Da*, *Na*, *Pha*, *Ma*, *Tsha*, *Dza*, *Zha*, *Za*, 'A, *Ya*, *La*, *Sha* and *Sa* have these index leaves, while they are missing in volumes *Kha*, *Ca*, *Ja*, *Nya*, *Tha*, *Pa*, *Ba*, *Tsa*, *Wa*, *Ra*, *Ha*, *A*, *Āḥ* and *Hūṃ*. However, we can be fairly certain that they were once present and have been lost subsequently. In some cases, the front unnumbered folio is also missing.

<sup>21</sup> In most cases, the leaves are now very dirty and frayed.

leaf is reddish-orange silk at the front, with a golden colored thread border, and plain beige canvas type material at the back. The fourth (and in occasional cases fifth) leaf<sup>22</sup> is of plain beige canvas type material, usually with two horizontal neatly ruled red lines at the top and where the edges have not been frayed, also at the bottom, as well as two vertical ruled red lines at both sides, between which there is written a list of short titles of the texts within the volume.

The first numbered folio, *gcig*, is the illuminated title page. It is a laminate of some 6–18 sheets and it is also usually slightly smaller in length and width than the standard folios. Its recto side is plain blue lacquer, with a rectangular box and margins ruled, giving the volume and folio identification along with the word, *rgyud*, in the left border, all in gold writing. The box varies in size, measuring between 407–460 x 39–72 mm, and frequently, we find that the box has not been ruled very precisely, the vertical lines often not at exact right angles to the horizontal lines. Thick crossed stitches attach the folio together, two along the top, five along the bottom and one to the left and right of the folio.

The blue lacquered top sheet of the verso side has a central window cut out, in which we see the black layer below with the illustrations and the titles and beginning of the volume's first text. The window, measuring 442–456 x 70–6 mm, is outlined with a red paint line around the frame, and the blue border is decorated with an elaborate interlocking key design of intertwining straight gold lines around the outside of the page. The legends for the miniatures, within double ornamental brackets, are written below each illustration within the outlined sections made by these lines. At the top of the page, a triple-layered silk cover is stitched into the folio, tucking under the upper blue layer, and making a curtain for the window. With the exception of volume *Ka*, which has a five-layered cover,<sup>23</sup> there appears to be a standard design for these covers. The top layer of material is yellow silk with a gold colored thread border

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<sup>22</sup> We find a fifth leaf like the fourth, with extra titles, in volumes *Ka*, *Cha* and *Za*.

<sup>23</sup> In *Ka*, we find layers colored from top to bottom, yellow with blue stitching, blue, white with gold brocade, green, and orange. This color scheme is thus an elaboration of the colored layers we find in the other volumes. Given that there are five layers, it is unsurprising that the upper smallest layer is smaller than the top layer of our other volumes, measuring 410 mm across and 50 mm visible down. The lowest orange layer is consistent in size with the bottom layer of the other volumes.

sewn around it. It is always the smallest layer in dimension, measuring between 422–440 mm across, and 57–66 mm visible down from the window frame above. The middle layer is blue, with white thread sewn around the outside, and slightly larger than the upper layer, measuring between 431–450 mm across, and 64–75 mm visible down from the frame. Finally, the bottom layer is orange, with green thread sewn around the outside, and it is the largest piece, measuring 438–459 mm across, and 70–76 mm visible down from the frame. They are not exact rectangles of cloth, and this may be quite noticeable in the case of the orange layer, which may be uneven along the bottom or bulge out at the sides, and it may not quite cover the whole of the window.

Beneath the cover, we find a rectangle outlined in gold, with 3 lines of gold writing on black lacquer, split across two sides of the window, either side of the largest, central miniature. There are two other miniatures to the left and right, besides which the areas for writing are bounded by black lacquered vertical strips with regular textile patterns of gold lines.<sup>24</sup> We have identified six alternative patterns for these strips. One (found in volumes *Kha*, *Pa*, *Ba*, *Ya*, *Ra*, *Sa* and *A*) is made up of vertical rows of diamond shapes going down the sheet, the points of the central row extending to each side of the strip, and bounded by two other rows for which only half of each diamond is visible. Within each diamond shape is a black swastika outlined in gold and pointing clockwise. The second pattern (found in volumes *Nga*, *Da*, *Na*, *Wa* and *Hūm*) is made up of a series of hexagons fitted together like a honey-comb, each hexagon having a central dot surrounded by 5–8 other dots. Volume *Ka*, again more elaborately decorated than our other volumes, has the hexagon with dots patterns not only in the usual place to right and left, but also on a further horizontal strip beneath the right-hand miniature, while a similar strip beneath the left-hand miniature has the diamond and swastika pattern. These two horizontal strips have an added strip above them with a pattern of curved lines. Furthermore, we find the diamond and swastika pattern on more vertical strips to the right and left of the central miniature. The third pattern (found in volumes *Ga*, *Cha*, *Ja*, *Nya*, *Tha*, *Tsha*, *Zha*, 'A and *Āḥ*) consists of a wavy line going down the strip, forming a series of areas to the left and right, in each of which there is a spiral ornamented with curved lines. The

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<sup>24</sup> Volume *Dza* alone has no pattern in these strips.

fourth pattern (found in volumes *Ma*, *Tsa*, *La* and *Ha*) is made up of a series of a number of curved lines on top of each other, going in alternating directions, creating a wave design. This pattern is also found on the verso side of volume *Pha*'s fol.2 and on both sides of volume 'A's fol.4, where there are two vertical strips drawn in black ink either side of the writing. The fifth pattern (found in volume *Pha*) consists of a number of what appear to be flower blossoms, drawn sideways from the edges to the other side of the strip, alternating between the right and left edges. Finally, the sixth pattern (occurring in volume *Za*) has a large spiral half-way down, reaching to the edges of the strip, and then two smaller spirals coming from it above and below, and further spirals of decreasing size coming from these, emerging into a thin line which then attaches to a small spiral pattern at the top and bottom of the strip.

The central miniature, which breaks up the page, is normally<sup>25</sup> bounded to the left and right by a thin double vertical gold line, making a box 79–84 mm across by 67–71 mm down. The smaller left- and right-hand miniatures are usually roughly the same size as each other, measuring between 49–52 mm across, and 67–71 mm down.<sup>26</sup> In the case of all the extant volumes, apart from *A* and *Āh*, the central miniature depicts Guru Rinpoche flanked by his two consorts, Mandārava and Ye shes mtsho rgyal, while the left-hand miniature depicts Rig 'dzin tshes dbang nor bu in various postures, and the legends beneath express a homage to these figures, with Guru Rinpoche praised as a second Buddha. There are some small stylistic variations in the painting; for instance in volume 'A 23, where we find a more elaborated background of foliage and clouds in the central painting, unlike most other volumes where the background is often left relatively (e.g., volume *Kha*) or entirely (e.g., volume *Cha*) plain. The right-hand miniatures generally depict one of the significant figures from the Rnying ma mythical histories of the early transmission of the Dharma in Tibet, usually one of the twenty-five disciples of Guru Rinpoche (*rje 'bangs nyer lnga*).

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<sup>25</sup> As noted above, in the case of volume *Ka*, we find the more elaborate diamond and swastika patterned strip.

<sup>26</sup> Once again, volume *Ka* is an exception; the added horizontal strips below the side miniatures means that they boxes for the miniatures measure only 60 mm down, while the addition of the gold patterned strips at each side of the central miniature means that its box measures only 65 mm across. Nonetheless, in these cases, the paintings do extend slightly outside the ruled boxes and over the patterned strips.

Occasionally, we find an illustration of a deity instead.<sup>27</sup> This standard layout is broken for volumes *A* and *Āḥ*, where we find an eight-armed female deity in the center. Although the deity herself appears to be similar, with the same clothing and ornamentation, there are some differences in the hand postures and the implements she holds in the two miniatures. It may be that different deities are depicted. The figure in volume *A* is a form of Uṣṇīṣavijayā; I am less certain about that in volume *Āḥ*.<sup>28</sup> To the left and right in volume *A*, we have Amitāyus and White Tārā respectively, and to the left and right in volume *Āḥ*, we have Ekajaṭā and Rāhula respectively.

We also find a standard layout with minor variations for the next few folios of each volume. The second folio is also a laminate of 5–10 layers, with thick cross stitches visible both sides, two to the top and bottom, one to both the left and right. The recto side is blue lacquer, with 4 lines of gold writing, within two double lined gold rectangular boxes, with margins ruled and volume and folio identification given as usual within the inner box, while the verso side is ordinary paper. Fols.2b–6a usually have double red lined rectangular boxes and margins, 2b and 3a with four lines each of black writing within two boxes, 3b–5b, with five lines of slightly smaller writing within a single double red lined box, and 6a with 6 lines of writing, again within one double lined box; 6b starts the usual style of seven lines per side without boxes.<sup>29</sup> Frequently, where we have a title page within a volume, we also find that the following one or two sides and sometimes the side before it which completes the previous text (e.g., *Pha* 220a, 221a), has a red rectangular box and six ruled lines of writing, and so too does the final side of each volume. Generally, we find that the boxes are not very accurately drawn rectangles. They vary in size, sometimes the vertical lines are not at exact right angles to the horizontal lines, quite often, some of the lines overshoot the boxes slightly, and occasionally the lines within the boxes are not exactly parallel to the horizontal lines of the

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<sup>27</sup> In volume *Hūm*, we find Rdo rje legs pa, and in volume *Ha*, Vajrasattva.

<sup>28</sup> Unfortunately, the legend in volume *Āḥ* has been torn off.

<sup>29</sup> As slight variations on the pattern, we have volumes *Ja*, *Tha*, *Ra*, *La* and *Āḥ* where 3b–4b have five lines, 5a six lines, and 5b begins the usual format of seven lines per side. Volume *Wa* follows this pattern although 5a has seven lines of small writing in the rectangular box. In volumes *Pha* and *Sha*, 3b–4b have five lines and 5a–6a six lines, but unusually in volume *Pha*, 5b does not have a red rectangular box although the following 6a does.

boxes. The lines may be of variable thickness, and where the ink is thick, the double lines may merge into each other. Other than these boxes, the addition of more elaborate *yig mgo* on the recto sides (see above) and slightly larger writing on these folios than is standard for other folios, we do not usually find any other type of decorative embellishments.<sup>30</sup> Only in the first volume, *Ka*, where fol.1b has additional decorated strips (see above) and a gold, red and blue flaming motif before the writing, do we also find further miniatures on fol.2a, Samantabhadra to the left, and Amitābha to the right of the page.

However, although we mostly find text without illustrations or ornamentation for the bulk of each volume, there are a few other interesting decorative features which occasionally occur. Normally, one text follows another without any highlighting of the title of each new text, except for the fact that we usually find that the first title given for a text is written in comparatively small writing. Sometimes, a text will have its own internal title page; more rarely, attention is drawn to the title by ornamental bracketing above the title, in red or red and black ink (e.g., volume *Tha*, fol.205b). During the first part of volume *Pha* we find rubrication which is both attractive and reader-friendly: fol.14b–36a, the chapter endings and beginnings are highlighted in red ink. There are a few variations. Usually, the ending chapter numbering (e.g., *dgu pa'o*, *bcu pa'o* etc.) or the final part of the numbering (e.g., “*drug pa'o*” in “*bcu drug pa'o*,” “*nyis pa'o*” in “*gnyis pa'o*,” or minimally, “*pa'o*”), and the “*de nas*” which begins the new chapter are highlighted, and sometimes other words, such as, “*le'u*,” are too. In some cases, the main letters are highlighted but not the vowels, and the *shads* are not usually but may be highlighted. We also find attention drawn to the beginnings of new texts in these folios: not only is there red bracketing above the first given title on fol.31b, we also find rubrication of the following, “*bod skad dul*,” which introduces the full Tibetan title. The same feature also occurs for the opening of the next text on 34a.

Finally, we often find minor corrections in the text, especially insertions given above or below the line, often in small letters, and attached to the correct place with a line of dots, or deletions indicated by a triangle of dots above the syllable concerned. It is usually not

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<sup>30</sup> A minor exception to this pattern is in volume *Pha* and volume 'A, where we find decorated strips on 2b, and on 4a and 4b, respectively, as mentioned above.



possible to tell whether such amendments were made by the original scribe or a later hand. Uniquely, in volume *Sa*, the first half of the volume has many corrections made, presumably later, in red ink (e.g., 13b, 14a). These corrections are frequently not visible on the microfilm, and one must have some sympathy for the scribe who went to such efforts to correct the manuscript, who could not have known that future generations consulting the text on microfilm might be unaware of his painstaking work!

These are some of the distinctive features of our Rig 'dzin Tshe dbang nor bu/ Waddell *Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum*, which have emerged from our research so far. It is to be hoped that in due course, the various puzzles concerning its origins and affiliations will be clarified.

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THIS VOLUME (BEING THE TENTH OF THE Proceedings of the Ninth Seminar of the IATS, 2000) is one of the first to include scholarship on both the mainstream Tibetan canons of translated Buddhist classics known as the Bka' 'gyur & Bstan 'gyur (section one) and the alternative canon of literature of the Rnying ma tantric traditions known as the Rnying ma rgyud 'bum (section two).

The first section discusses various aspects of the formation and transmission of Tibetan 'canonical' texts, but also includes important works of reference, such as a Bka' gdams pa handbook and several unique catalogues, and features a first report on Tibetan textual transmission in Mongolia.

The second section presents interpretative analysis of one of the most important alternative canons in Tibet, the Rnying ma rgyud 'bum, but also discusses issues of legitimacy, authority and lineage during the 'gray' period of the tenth to twelfth centuries which laid the foundation for the formation of all Tibetan canons over the ensuing centuries.

The volume thus develops fresh perspectives on the nature, plurality and contents of canons in Tibetan Buddhism going beyond the typical divisions of such scholarship. Many of the individual articles also offer important new light on the history of the period from the tenth to thirteenth centuries in terms of religious literature.

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