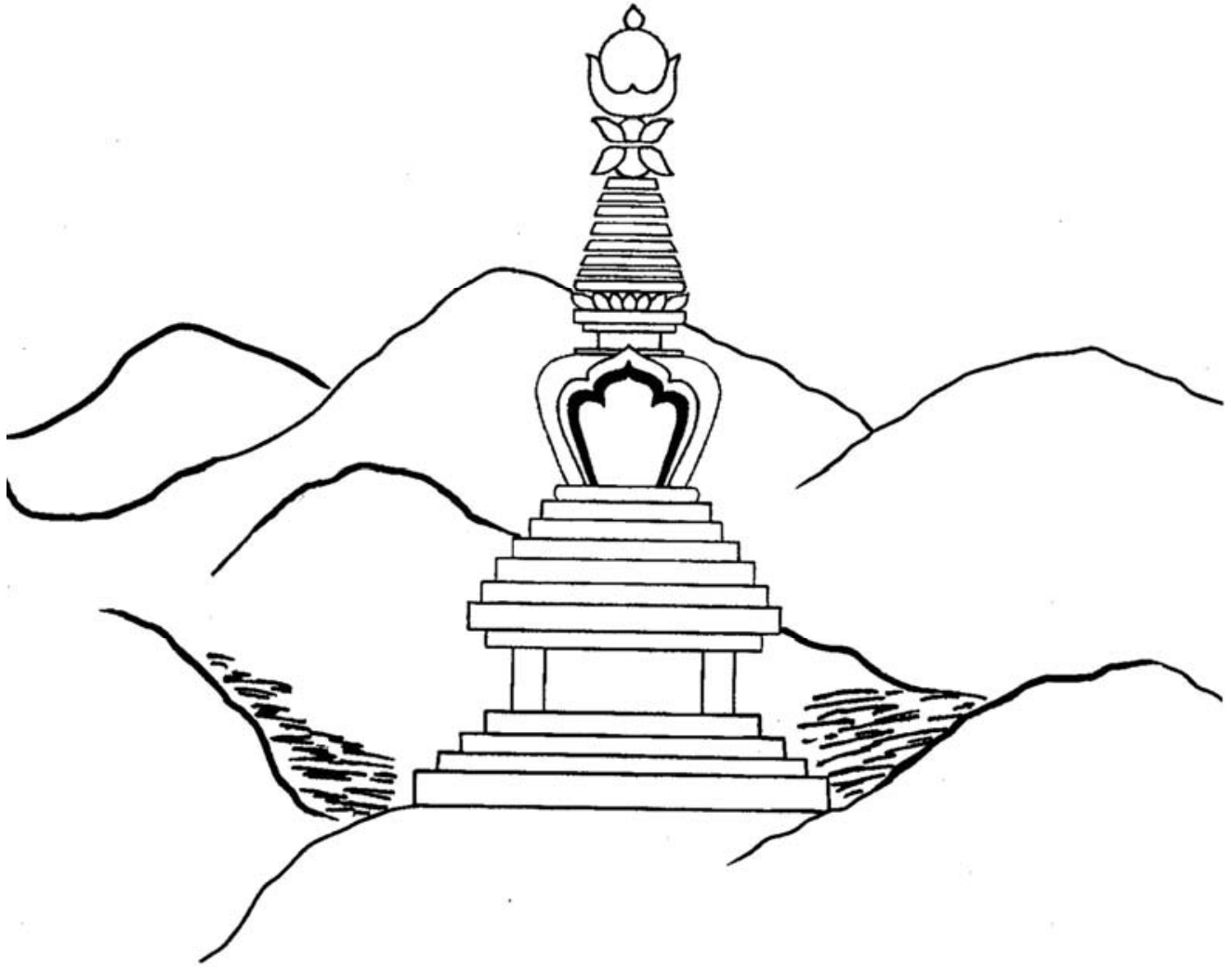


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# BULLETIN OF TIBETOLOGY

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## **BUDDHIST HIMALAYA: PERSPECTIVES ON THE TIBETAN CULTURAL AREA**

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## EDITORIAL INTRODUCTION

BUDDHIST HIMALAYA:  
PERSPECTIVES ON THE TIBETAN CULTURAL AREA

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Different forms and traditions of Tibetan Buddhism have their roots in Tibet and in the course of many centuries, these also spread to the surrounding regions in the Himalaya. Classical Tibetan was and is used as the basic literary medium and many of the inhabitants in the Himalaya speak some variation of Tibetan. Furthermore, similar craft traditions can be observed.<sup>1</sup> Even today, different parts of Northern India, such as Ladakh, Himachal Pradesh, Darjeeling, Sikkim, and Arunachal Pradesh, as well as Bhutan and parts of Nepal belong to these Himalayan regions. They were and sometimes still are oriented toward Tibetan Buddhism and connect some of their roots to Tibetan culture. These regions that surround the central region of Tibet are also known as Greater Tibet (*Bod chen po*) or as ethnographic Tibet.<sup>2</sup> In this special issue, five articles have been brought together that deal either with Tibet or with one of the surrounding areas in the Himalaya that were once influenced by Tibetan Buddhism.

The issue begins with Franz-Karl Ehrhard's article on biographies of Buddhist teachers from Dolpo in Nepal and Buddhist masters who visited this region. A focus lies on the monastery Gonsar (dGon gsar) in the Barbond valley and the succession of its abbots. Thus, this study represents a contribution to the religious history of southern Dolpo. Following an overview of the available biographies, the lives of Yontan Gyatso (Yon tan rgya mtsho, 1548-1621) and his direct disciple Yontan Gyaltsen (Yon tan rgyal mtshan, 1590-1674) are presented. The latter also met Ngadag Phuntshog Rigzin (mNga' bdag Phun tshogs rig 'dzin, 1592-1656), one of the Tibetan masters who ritually opened Sikkim for the Buddhist doctrine in the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

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<sup>1</sup> See Matthew Kapstein, *The Tibetans* (Blackwell Publ., 2006), p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> See Sam van Schaik, *Tibet: A History* (Yale University Press, 2011), xv.

Marlene Erschbamer's paper focuses on monastic structures in the Lachen valley situated in Northern Sikkim (India). The inhabitants of this valley had close ties with Tibet in religious, political, and economic aspects. By looking closer to the heterogeneity in perceptions of the same area, various aspects are examined that give a more complete picture of the Lachen valley, its people, its history, and its peculiarities. Hence are presented accounts of Tibetan masters as well as of westerners, be it people on political and scientific missions, mountaineers, seekers and disciples of Buddhism, or missionaries.

Petra Maurer's article introduces a wrathful ritual for the suppression of *sri* demons performed in the Kali-Gandaki and the Muktinath valleys in Nepal. The ritual is presumably a combination of a Buddhist ritual from India and a non-Buddhist ritual that originated from the pre-Buddhist Bon religion that was once practiced in Tibet. The presented manuscript offers a detailed account of how the different types of demons, which are named after the threat they can cause, can be subdued by imprisoning them in a specific skull that is buried at a certain place.

Marco Walther's contribution looks at the development of the biography of Ling Repa Padma Dorje (Gling ras pa Padma rdo rje), who was posthumously declared being the founder of the Drukpa Kagyu ('Brug pa bKa' brgyud) tradition. Additionally, this article provides information on the role of Ling Repa's wife, Jomo Menmo (Jo mo sMan mo), along with her position as a tantric consort. Furthermore, it presents the meeting with the main disciple Tsangpa Gyare (gTsang pa rgya ras, 1161-1211) and it briefly elaborates on the vows of a cotton-clad (*ras pa*).

In the final paper of this issue, Yuan Zhong highlights the life and songs of Karma Norbu Zangpo (Karma Nor bu bzang po, 1906-1984), a *yogin* that is known as second Milarepa by his followers. This Buddhist teacher and hermit from Kham, who underwent the political and historical changes of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, decided to stay in Tibet for the benefit of a continuous transmission of teachings and practices. A special focus lies on the translation of one song, a reply to his direct disciple Karma Topgyel (Karma sTobs rgyal, 1944-2014) regarding appearance and all-encompassing purity, that, on top of it, gives insight into the ascetic life of the second Milarepa.

To sum up, the articles of this special issue involve temporal and spatial facets of the Tibetan Cultural Area and focus on aspects of Tibetan Buddhism that were and, partly, are still practiced in Buddhist Himalaya.

“THRONE-HOLDERS OF THE MIDDLE VALLEY”:  
BUDDHIST TEACHERS FROM SOUTHERN DOLPO<sup>1</sup>

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1. *Introduction*

Local literature from Dolpo in the Nepalese Himalayas, and especially “biographies” (*rnam thar*) and “spiritual songs” (*mgur*), document the presence of different schools of Tibetan Buddhism in the region and have been investigated in this regard since the 1960s. Efforts in collecting and compiling literary sources on the lives and spiritual achievements of individual teachers from the different areas of Dolpo and neighbouring Himalayan valleys have been undertaken, among others, by local teachers, with one set covering over a dozen biographies having been published in recent years. Among the Buddhist masters from Dolpo addressed in either the catalogue or preface introducing two editions of this collection are Dol po pa Shes rab rgyal mtshan (1292–1361), rNam grol bzang po (b. 1504), Chos skyabs dpal bzang (1536–1625), O rgyan bstan ’dzin (1657–1732) and ’Phrin las chos ’phel (1825–1884). The prefatory matter states that the region, known as “White Valley of the Buddhist Doctrine” (*chos lung dkar po*), had witnessed a period of decline and that it was difficult to locate documents and historical records from the phase of the so-called “early spread” (*snga dar*); this applies in particular to biographical literature and certain old scriptures. Thus, the different biographical accounts assembled in the collection all belong to the phase of the “later spread” (*spyi dar*) and cover the period from the 14<sup>th</sup> to the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A first version of this paper was presented at the panel “Buddhism in the Himalaya” at the 17<sup>th</sup> Congress of the International Association of Buddhist Studies (IABS), Vienna, August 20, 2014.

<sup>2</sup> The set of biographies, distributed locally, contains computer-typed versions of the original manuscripts; it bears the title *Gangs can dol po khul du byon pa’i ris med kyi bstan ’dzin skyes chen dam pa rnam kyi rnam thar phyogs gcig tu bkod pa* and was published on two occasions: Ed. A: 917 pp. Kathmandu, 2009, and ed. B: 771 pp. Taipei, 2012. Both editions were compiled by sMan bla phun tshogs, also known as Dol po mKhan po. The catalogue bears the title *dKar chag mu tig phreng ba*, 4 fols.;

In the following I will first give an overview of the individual biographies contained in this collection in order to document their treatment in previous research. In addition to one particular work concerning a Buddhist teacher from southern Dolpo, which is unique to the collection, other hitherto unpublished materials will be considered; these deal with the lives and spiritual songs of two further masters from the same region. All the texts are presented with the aim of directing attention to a monastery known as dGon gсар in the Bar bong valley and to its succession of abbots, called “throne-holders” (*khri gnyer pa*). In the process it should be possible to shed some light on some of the ways rJe btsun Kun dga’ grol mchog (1507–1566), a native of the Mustang region and later regent of the Jo nang monastery in Central Tibet, was active in the area of the Dhaulagiri Himal, and to present similar new facets of the different Buddhist traditions in the Dolpo region.

## 2. *The collection and its individual biographies*

The set is introduced and concluded by two works dedicated to Shes rab rgyal mtshan, the most famous Buddhist teacher associated with Dolpo. The hagiographic account was composed by the editor of the collection and is based on three different biographies. Mention is made of the different sites still commemorating the activities of the master in the region, but the editor emphasizes that historical knowledge about this figure is extremely rare. The final prayer is known under the title *sMon lam gal po che* and was composed by Shes rab rgyal mtshan himself; the colophon points out that it was written by the “All-Knowing Dol po [pa]” (*kun mkhyen dol po*), who was endowed with the “four reliances” (*rton pa bzhi*).<sup>3</sup>

After the biographical account of this influential regent of Jo nang monastery, born in the Bam tshang valley in northern Dolpo, follows that of rNam grol bzang po, who came from the same valley. Like his illustrious predecessor, he conducted his studies in Central Tibet, the course of his life having already been sketched to some extent. It

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see A: pp. 1–8. See B, pp. I–V, for the corresponding preface. The iconographic portraits of the Buddhist teachers from Dolpo accompanying the collection are reproduced in Appendix I according to edition A.

<sup>3</sup> See *Kun mkhyen dol po pa shes rab rgyal mtshan gyi rnam thar*, 10 fols., and *sMon lam gal po che*, 2 fols., in *rNam thar phyogs gcig tu bkod pa* (as in note 2), A: pp. 1–19 & 915–917, and B: 1–13 & 769–770. See Stearns (1999:11–12) for the primary early and later sources on the life of Dol po pa Shes rab rgyal mtshan.



should be noted that rNam grol bzang po studied mainly in gSer mdog can, the Sa skya pa monastery associated with the name of Paṅ chen Śākya mchog ldan (1428–1507). He also counted the great hermit Kun spangs rDo rings pa Chos kyi nyi ma (1449–1524) among his teachers, a figure who left a strong imprint on his Sa skya students. rNam grol bzang po also received treasure teachings of the rNying ma pa school—and in particular, the cycles of the “Northern Treasures” (*Byang gter*)—from mNga’ ris Paṅ chen Padma dbang rgyal (1487–1524), another native of the Mustang region. His teacher in the doctrines of the bKa’ brgyud pa school was the illustrious Kun dga’ bzang po (1458–1532), called the “Madman from dBus” (*dbus smyon*); from him he obtained such teachings as the Mahāmudrā doctrine known as *Phyag rgya chen po lhan cig skyes sbyor* and the teachings of the “Aural Transmission of Ras chung [pa]” (*Ras chung snyan brygud*).<sup>4</sup>

rNam grol bzang po was also a student of rJe btsun Kun dga’ grol mchog. The biography lists in detail the teachings received from this master, including the Śaḍaṅgayoga of the Kālacakra tradition as transmitted by Dol po pa Shes rab rgyal mtshan and the above-mentioned *Ras chung snyan brygud*; it states in particular that these transmissions were obtained when Kun dga’ grol mchog turned the wheel of the Dharma extensively in the Bar bong valley in southern Dolpo.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> See *mKhas grub chen po rnam grol bzang po'i rnam thar mthong ba don ldan dad pa'i spu long g.yo byed*, 27 fols., in *rNam thar phyogs gcig tu bkod pa* (as in note 2), A: pp. 20–73, and B: pp. 14–57; for a sketch of his life and studies based on this work, see Ehrhard (2013:324–328). Another student of Kun spangs rDo rings pa was the Sa skya pa master Tshar chen Blo gsal rgya mtsho (1502–1566); on their relationship, see Stearns (2012:1–3 and passim). Concerning the religious career of dBus smyon Kun dga’ bzang po, who in the second half of his life stayed mainly in the 'Phan yul region in Central Tibet, consult Ehrhard (2010:222–242); see note 38 for the further transmission of the Mahāmudrā teachings of dBus smyon via rNam grol bzang po in southern Dolpo.

<sup>5</sup> rJe btsun Kun dga’ grol mchog stood also in the teaching tradition of the Sa skya monastery of gSer mdog can and is the author of the most extensive biography of Paṅ chen Śākya mchog ldan; for the latter work and a list of his teachers, see Caumanns (2010:212–218). On rJe btsun Kun dga’ grol mchog as a later Jo nang lineage master and member of the Kālacakra tradition as transmitted by Dol po pa Shes rab rgyal mtshan, consult Sheehy (2009:224–226). He was also one of the main students of Kun spangs rDo rings pa and an acquaintance of the above-mentioned Tshar chen Blo gsal rgya mtsho; see Stearns (2012:13–14). Appendix II [3] below contains details of the extensive teaching session in Bar bong according to the autobiography of rJe btsun Kun dga’ grol mchog.

The author of the biography of rNam grol bzang po—and a fine exponent of the eclecticism of Buddhist traditions in the Nepalese Himalayas during the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries—bears the name bSod nams blo gros (1516–1581). A biography of him together with ones of dPal ldan blo gros (1527–1596) and Chos skyabs dpal bzang (1536–1625) are the next ones in the collection, which were originally arranged in chronological order. All three masters count among the abbots of dMar sgom, a monastery of the Ngor pa tradition of the Sa skya pa located in the northern part of Dolpo, and all three biographies have already been published as facsimiles of *dbu med* manuscripts and translated. Furthermore, this teaching lineage of bSod nams blo gros, “the Dharmarāja of glorious dMar sgom” (*dpal ldan dmar sgom chos kyi rgyal po*) has transmitted treasure-teachings of the rNying ma pa school, a unifying figure in this lineage being the previously mentioned mNga’ ris Paṅ chen Padma dbang rgyal.<sup>6</sup>

The next two biographies deal with the lives of two Buddhist teachers active in the southern part of Dolpo. The first one, that of Yon tan rgya mtsho (1548–1621), has not been available previously and is unique to the collection; this work will be investigated in more detail below. The second one is that of dPal ldan rdo rje (1647–1723), the existence of whose *rnam mgur* collection has been known for some time now. It is also known that he was associated with Hrab, another monastery of the Sa skya Ngor pa tradition in northern Dolpo.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> The three biographies of the abbots of dMar sgom have the following titles: *mKhas grub chen po bsod nams blo gros kyi rnam par thar pa mthong ba don ldan dad pa’i spu long g.yo byed*, 40 fols., *’Dren mchog dam pa dpal ldan blo gros kyi rnam par thar pa dad gsum sgo ’byed*, 43 fols. and *Chos skyabs dpal bzang gi rnam thar*, 55 fols.; they can be found in *rNam thar phyogs gcig tu bkod pa* (as in note 2), A: pp. 74–348, and B: pp. 58–285. The author of the first text is Chos skyabs dpal bzang, while the remaining two biographies are authored by another bSod nams blo gros (16<sup>th</sup>/17<sup>th</sup> cent.); the order of the biographies of dPal ldan blo gros and Chos skyabs dpal bzang has been reversed in the second edition. These three works were edited and translated by Snellgrove (1967:I:81–230& II:11–238). On the treasure-teachings of Nyang ral Nyi ma ’od zer (1124–1192), Rig ’dzin rGod ldem phru can (1337–1406) and Gu ru chos dbang (1212–1270) as transmitted by these three masters, see Ehrhard (2013:316–321).

<sup>7</sup> See *rJe ’gro ba’i mgon po mnyam med chen po yon tan rgya mtsho’i rnam thar dad pa’i spu long zhes gsal ba’i sgron me*, 41 fols., and *Bla ma dpal ldan rdo rje’i rnam thar rags bsodus*, 46 fols., contained in *rNam thar phyogs gcig tu bkod pa* (as in note 2), A: pp. 349–522, and B: pp. 286–352 & 408–473. The second edition presents the two biographies in reversed order, obviously in order to conform to a chronological arrangement. In the series of iconographic portraits of the Buddhist teachers from Dolpo, the dates for dPal ldan rdo rje are given as 1527–1603; see Appendix I. His dates are two sixty-year cycles too early, having seemingly been confused with those

The collection contains not only biographies of persons born in Dolpo, but also accounts of the lives of important Buddhist teachers whose teaching traditions became important or were propagated during visits to its valleys in the south and north. Thus, we find a biography of Rig 'dzin Gar dbang rdo rje (1640–1685), a “treasure-discoverer” (*gter ston*) of the rNying ma pa school, in the modern compilation, and another of Karma Blo bzang (17<sup>th</sup> cent.), an important lineage-holder of the Karma bKa' brgyud pa who transmitted treasure-teachings of the rNying ma pa school as well. Their religious careers and their influence in South-western Tibet and the Nepalese Himalayas have already been documented, a full translation of the biography of Rig 'dzin Gar dbang rdo rje being available. It should be noted that Karma Blo bzang—whose account is an autobiography—was one of the first teachers of the treasure-discoverer and that they were both closely associated with religious sites in Mang yul Gung thang. While the former actually never visited Dolpo, Karma Blo bzang is known for his extensive travels in the region; he also stayed for a fairly long period at dGon gsar monastery in the Bar bong valley, at that time still known as the “residence” (*gdan sa*) of rJe btsun Kun dga' grol mchog.<sup>8</sup>

In the second edition of the collection, a further biography has been added at this place. It deals with the life of Tshe ring dpal bzang (b. 1637), a lineage-holder of the treasure-teachings of Rig 'dzin Gar dbang rdo rje. He, too, was born in southern Dolpo and had been active in the Bar bong valley at a site known as Byang chub gling; in the latter part of his life he also acted as a resident teacher at the monastery of

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of dPal ldan blo gros (16<sup>th</sup>/17<sup>th</sup> cent.), who is known as the founder of the monastic settlement of Hrab; on the *rnam mgur* collection of dPal ldan rdo rje, see Ehrhard (2013:315, note 5).

<sup>8</sup> For the two biographies, see *sPrul sku rig 'dzin chen po gar dbang rdo rje snying po'i phyi'i rnam par thar pa nges don rgya mtsho*, 33 fols., and *mKhas grub chen po karma blo bzang gyi rnam thar mchod sprin rgya mtsho*, 38 fols. They are reproduced in *rNam thar phyogs gcig tu bkod pa* (as in note 2), A: pp. 523–585, and B: pp. 353–407 & 474–521. The biography of Rig 'dzin Gar dbang rdo rje was placed in the second edition between those of mNyam med Yon tan rgya mtsho and dPal ldan rdo rje. A translation and edition of this biography can be found in Solmsdorf (2014:75–211). For the activities of Karma Blo bzang in the Nepalese Himalayas and a sketch of his life, see Mathes (2001: 172–174) and Ehrhard (2013:229–235). The master of the Karma bKa' brgyud pa school also founded a monastery called gSang sngags chos gling in the Bar bong valley, where he propagated the *Ras chung snyan brgyud* and the treasure-cycles of Rig 'dzin 'Ja' tshon snying po (1585–1656); concerning a later visit there see note 21.

dMar bsgom in northern Dolpo, having officially been recognized for this position by the king of Mustang.<sup>9</sup>

The two following biographies can be viewed as closely related texts. They describe the life of O rgyan bstan 'dzin (1657–1737) and that of his female disciple O rgyan chos skyid (1675–1729). The former received his name and first religious training from O rgyan dpal bzang (1617–1677), a native of southern Mustang, and travelled to Central Tibet at an early age. His later activities were centred in southern Dolpo, especially at the monastery of his called Sa 'dul dgon pa. A personal disciple of Rig 'dzin Gar dbang rdo rje, he was particularly instrumental in getting his teacher's treasure-cycles spread in regions like rTa rab. O rgyan chos skyid has left an account which is the earliest example of a woman's autobiography in Tibet; a full translation is available together with further observations on the lives of religious women in Dolpo.<sup>10</sup>

A further biography written by the compiler of the collection is that of bsTan 'dzin ras pa (1646–1723). This 'Brug pa bKa' brgyud pa yogin, born in southern Mustang, is especially known as the founder of Shel monastery near Ri bo 'brug sgra, the sacred mountain of Dolpo. The account is based on the different autobiographical writings of bsTan 'dzin ras pa and his spiritual songs, all executed in the Mustang region as xylographs; it ends with the names of the members of the incarnation lineage of the master, the fourth one being the present rebirth. This work is followed by the biography of bSod nams dbang phyug (1660–1731), a contemporary of the 'Brug pa bKa' brgyud pa yogin and later representative of dMar sgom in northern Dolpo; like the

<sup>9</sup> See *mKhas grub chen po tshe ring dpal bzang gi rnam thar*, 59 pp. in *rNam thar phyogs gcig tu bkod pa*, ed. B, pp. 522–581. On his role as lineage-holder of the treasure-teachings of Rig 'dzin Gar dbang rdo rje, see Solmsdorf (2014:60&134). The five-year stay in dMar bsgom is treated in the *rnam thar* on pp. 574.15–578.4. It should also be noted that Tshe ring dpal bzang opened a “Hidden Valley” (*sbas yul*) in roughly the same region of the Dhaulagiri Himal, the start and endpoint of his expedition being the village of dMu; see *ibid.* pp. 549.16–551.6.

<sup>10</sup> See *sPrang rgan o rgyan bstan 'dzin pa'i rnam thar bsdu pa*, 45 fols., and *mKha' 'gro o rgyan chos skyid kyi rnam thar*, 33 fols., in *rNam thar phyogs gcig tu bkod pa* (as in note 2), A: pp. 666–754 & 850–914, and B: pp. 582–638 & 639–692. An overview of the life of O rgyan bstan 'dzin, including his encounter with Kaḥ thog Rig 'dzin Tshe dbang nor bu (1698–1766) in Sa 'dul dgon pa in the year 1730, is given in Ehrhard (2013:332–341). For the translation of the autobiography of O rgyan chos skyid, see Schaeffer (2004:131–184); consult Schaeffer (2005:102–109) concerning other women writers in Dolpo. It seems that this autobiography of a Buddhist nun was shifted to the end of the collection in the first edition because such writing was traditionally regarded as the exclusive domain of males.

accounts of the lives of the other abbots of this monastery, it has already been edited in the form of a *dbu med* manuscript and rendered into English.<sup>11</sup>

In the series of iconographic portraits of Buddhist teachers from Dolpo at the beginning of the first edition of the collection one finds the caption “mNyam med Yon tan rgyal mtshan” (see Appendix I). This obviously refers to Yon tan rgya mtsho, whose biography has already been singled out as a unique contribution of the collection. As a biography of the Buddhist teacher named Yon tan rgyal mtshan also exists—but not included in the collection—I will first provide an overview of his life before shifting to the biographical account of Yon tan rgya mtsho.

### 3. *The Life of Yon tan rgyal mtshan (1590–1674)*

A common introductory theme of hagiographies of Buddhist teachers is their status as a “rebirth” (*sku skye*). The text devoted to the life of Yon tan rgyal mtshan thus begins by presenting his previous incarnations. It is mentioned that of his three most recent lives, two were spent in the sKyid grong region of Mang yul Gung thang. In one of them he had been gNas Rab ’byams pa Byams pa phun tshogs (1503–1581), an influential master whose fame must have reached the Dolpo region. Short descriptions of the activities during each of the lives are given before the actual subject of the biography comes into focus. The place of birth is given as sPung ’gag, nowadays spelled Punga, in the central part of Bar spongs, also called Bar bong or Bar rong. The birth took place in the first month of the “tiger year” (*stag lo*) which corresponds to 1590, an “iron male tiger year” (*lcags pho stag gi lo*).<sup>12</sup>

<sup>11</sup> These two biographies bear the titles *rNal ’byor gyi dbang phug rje btsun bstan ’dzin ras pa’i rnam thar phyogs bsodus*, 8 fols., and *’Jam pa’i dbyangs bsod nams dbang phyug gi rnam thar skal ldan re skong*, 40 fols., and are contained in *rNam thar phyogs gcig tu bkod pa* (as in note 2), A: pp. 755–84, and B: pp. 693–758. For the edition and translation of the latter work, see Snellgrove (1967:I, 231–273 & II, 239–290). An overview of the life of bsTan ’dzin ras pa and the printing of his works, a project O rgyan chos skyid was involved in, can be found in Schaeffer (2004:43). Concerning the printing of further ’Brug pa bKa’ brygud pa materials in the Mustang region, including the works of sTag rtse sku skye ba Mi pham phun tshogs shes rab (1654–1715), see Ehrhard (2013:104).

<sup>12</sup> The text contains both the biography and the spiritual songs, and bears the title *sNyoms las pa yon tan rgyal mtshan gyi rnam thar mgur ’bum dang bcas pa*, 79 fols. This *dbu med* manuscript has been microfilmed by the NGMPP under reel-no. L 120/4; the details of the previous lives and the birth can be found on fols. 3a/3–5a/2.

Among his early teachers one finds one Zhabs drung Chos skyong rdo rje, also known (as will be seen below) as Sa dga' Rab 'byams pa. One episode mentioned that took place at the age of six was a gathering of the inhabitants of sPung 'gag at the reliquary shrine of rNam grol bzang po, called “Lord among Scholars” (*mkhas pa'i dbang po*); this indicates that a *stūpa* commemorating the master from northern Dolpo was once located in the Bar bong region. One year later, in 1597, he met the teacher Zhabs drung Yon tan rgya mtsho, who oversaw his vows as a Buddhist novice and gave him the name Yon tan rgyal mtshan. Before taking up his religious training under this master, he joined a group of “*maṇi*-devotees” (*maṇi pa*) who had just arrived from a pilgrimage to Glang skor in the Ding ri region of La stod lho. Yon tan rgyal mtshan spent the period from his 16<sup>th</sup> to his 19<sup>th</sup> year in the company of the group, who were also known as so-called *bu chen*.<sup>13</sup>

The religious instruction taken in by Yon tan rgyal mtshan consisted of the individual steps set forth in the Mahāmudrā doctrine and resulted in a direct encounter with the nature of his own mind. Having successfully completed these teaching sessions, he received reading authorisations for the “Golden Rosary” (*gser 'phreng*) texts of the bKa' brgyud pa school and—especially significant—the “Complete Works of 'Ba' ra ba [rGyal mtshan dpal bzang po (1310–1391)]” (*'Ba' ra ba bka' 'bum*).<sup>14</sup> In the company of further teachers including one Kun dga' dpal 'byor—known as Nam legs mkhan po—he also obtained from Yon tan rgya mtsho empowerments of such Buddhist tantras as the *bDe mchog lha bcu gsum* and teachings going back to rGod phrug ras pa (1363–1447). These transmissions must have taken place in the latter's final years, as the biography reports soon after his death; and they must have occurred at the monastery of dGon gsar in Bar bong, as can be seen from his biography. Following this, a teacher known as Drung pa Śākya bzang po was called from his residence in Sa dga', and Yon tan rgyal mtshan received further Mahāmudrā instructions and those of the “Six Doctrines” (*Chos drug*); among the various lineages, mention is made of a cycle called “The Six Doctrines of Śavari[pa]”

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For a sketch of the life of Byams pa phun tshogs, born in the village of gNas, and his religious activities, especially in printing Buddhist texts, see Ehrhard (2012:150–167).

<sup>13</sup> On the first ordination and the period spanning the years 1616–1619, see *rNam thar mgur 'bum dang bcas pa* (as in note 12), fols. 5a/2–7a/4. According to the local tradition of the nearby rTsib ri region of La stod lho, there was no difference between a *bu chen* and a *maṇi pa*, the former being a local name for the latter; for the function of these lay or religious persons during Buddhist pilgrimages, see Buffetrille (2013:45–46).

<sup>14</sup> On the life and works of 'Ba' ra ba rGyal mtshan dpal bzang, see Erschbamer (2017).

(*Sha va ri chos drug*), a teaching lineage going back to the Indian siddha sometimes called the Younger Saraha.<sup>15</sup>

The names of further teachers can be found in the following section of the biography, the actual encounters being treated in later parts of the text. Among them one finds two masters from northern Dolpo. The first one, Chos skyong dpal bzang, had been affiliated to the monastery of mTha' dkar, and the second one, dPal ldan bzang po, was another representative of the monastic settlement of Hrab.<sup>16</sup>

After a stay at Brag dmar chos sde—another monastery in the centre of the Bar bong valley—one finds Yon tan rgyal mtshan soon afterwards at gSer mdog can, the Sa skya pa institution in gTsang in Central Tibet. It is stated that the Buddhist novice from Dolpo presented offerings to an unnamed *mkhan po*. In order to obtain teachings on the *Lam 'bras* doctrine he continued his journey to the Sa skya monastery of Ngor E vaṃ chos ldan, where he took ordination as a full Buddhist monk. The officiating *ācārya* during the ceremony was Shar chen Shes rab 'byung gnas (1596–1653), the 18<sup>th</sup> abbot of Ngor E vaṃ chos ldan, and it was from this same master that he received empowerments of such Buddhist tantras as Hevajra and Vajrabhairava. Following this, he returned to his homeland in the Bar bong valley via the kingdom of Glo bo.<sup>17</sup>

For a certain period, Yon tan rgyal mtshan remained at the monastery of dGon gсар, generally referred to as the “residence of the teacher” (*bla ma'i gdan sa*). The biography states that he had reached the age of 41 years according to Tibetan reckoning; this stay can thus be dated to the year 1630. The subsequent death of his mother prompted him to undertake a further journey to Central Tibet. This time

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<sup>15</sup> The studies under Yon tan rgya mtsho and Śākya bzang po are described in *rNam thar mgur 'bum dang bcas pa* (as in note 12), fols. 7a/4–10a/1. This section also includes the teachings received from Kun dga' dpal 'byor. Both Śākya bzang po and the latter teacher were present in dGon gсар after the death of Yon tan rgya mtsho in the year 1621; see note 35.

<sup>16</sup> For this list, see *rNam thar mgur 'bum dang bcas pa* (as in note 12), fols. 10a/1–b/6. The two mentioned individuals are known to have been the teachers of Ngag dbang rnam rgyal (b. 1628), another Buddhist teacher from Dolpo; see Ehrhard (2013:315). Chos skyong dpal bzang should not be confused with Chos skyabs dpal bzang from dMar bsgom. dPal ldan bzang po from Hrab was for his part the main teacher of dPal ldan rdo rje, another master associated with the monastery of dGon gсар. The latter's biography is included in the modern collection; see note 7.

<sup>17</sup> The stay at Brag dmar chos sde and the first journey to Central Tibet is described in *rNam thar mgur 'bum dang bcas pa* (as in note 12), fols. 10a/6–11b/6. For a reference to the monastery of Brag dmar chos sde in the autobiography of rJe btsun Kun dga' grol mchog, see Appendix II [4].

he again joined a group of *ma ni pa bu chen* who were travelling through Glo bo en route to mNga' ris rDzong dkar, the capital of Gung thang. When the pilgrims left for the sacred sites of Mang yul sKyid grong, he continued on to gTsang and arrived back at Ngor E vaṃ chos ldan, where he stayed for a period of three years at the Sa skya pa monastery. This section of the biography contains his first spiritual songs. His retreats were devoted to the practice of Hevajra, and he was also blessed by visions of Padmasambhava during his spiritual practice of the latter's wrathful form known as Guru drag po. At the same time monks from Ngor E vaṃ chos ldan were leaving on a pilgrimage to the famous statue of Ārya Wa ti bzang po, the so-called "Lord of sKyid grong" (*skyid grong jo bo*), he left Central Tibet, but the return journey was not easy and there is a long episode relating how he found his way with the help of the local population. Finally, he reached the [s]Ku thang region in the Nepalese Himalayas where he visited a cave of the great yogin Mi la ras pa known as Brag skya rDo rje rdzong. From there he made his way to mNga' ris rDzong dkar and had an audience with the last king of Mang yul Gung thang and a daughter of his called mKha' spyod ma Ye shes mtsho mo; this was Khri bSod nams dbang phyug lde (b. 1577), whose daughter was also known under the name lHa gcig or lHa sras. After making a round of pilgrimage sites in Gung thang and Mang yul, including the caves commemorating Ras chung pa and Mi la ras pa, he proceeded to the statue of the Ārya Wa ti bzang po and made offerings to it. Via [s]Ku thang and another pilgrimage to the site of the "Hundred-and-Some Springs" (*chu mig brgya rtsa*), namely Muktināth in southern Mustang, he returned to the Bar bong valley.<sup>18</sup>

A short reference to a third and final journey to Central Tibet can be found in the following section of the biography. During this pilgrimage Yon tan rgyal mtshan encountered the Jo bo Śākyamuni in lHa sa and underwent an unusual spiritual experience in the presence of the statue. Returning to Bar bong this time, he is said to have erected

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<sup>18</sup> For the second journey to Central Tibet and the pilgrimage to Mang yul Gung thang and southern Mustang, see *rNam thar mgur 'bum dang bcas pa* (as in note 12), fols. 11b/5–22a/5. A 15<sup>th</sup>-century chronicle presents a group of "six fortresses of sKu thang" (*sku thang rdzong drug*) associated with Mi la ras pa, chief among them Brag skya rdo rje rdzong; see Quintman (2008:382, note 42). lHa sras Nor 'dzin dbang mo, the daughter of Khri bSod nams dbang phyug lde, was the spiritual partner of the Third Yol mo ba sprul sku bsTan 'dzin nor bu (1598–1644); see Bogin (2013:239–240) for the reference in the latter's autobiography (completed in 1632).



many *stūpa* and *maṇi* walls, and to have acted for the benefit of beings in his home region.<sup>19</sup>

The second half of the life of Yon tan rgyal mtshan was spent mainly in the Dolpo region and began with a three-year retreat at the monastery of dGon gsar. The biography records various spiritual songs that recall his teacher Shar chen Shes rab 'byung gnas from Ngor E vaṃ chos ldan and the pilgrimage to Lha sa; he also calls Drung pa Śākya bzang po back to mind, addressing him in two of the songs. After this period of seclusion, he travelled to rTa rab, there exchanging teachings with one Chos rje Ngag dbang thogs med, who had also been mentioned in the list of teachers. Accepting an invitation from [s]Kag, on the border to Tichurong, he instructed a group of disciples in the Mahāmudrā doctrine *Phyag rgya chen po lhan cig skyes sbyor*. The same teachings were given during a later trip to rTa rab, where he took up residence in the monastery of Me skyems. He agreed to instruct local disciples there, at Byams pa lha khang and other places only after Legs pa dkon mchog, another one of the *maṇi pa bu chen*, had arrived. On that occasion a manuscript of a *bKa' brygud gser 'phreng* was produced and consecrated at his host monastery. Following the advice of Legs pa dkon mchog he travelled afterwards from rTa rab to Southern Mustang in order to meet Chos rje Karma Blo bzang at Muktināth. During this first encounter with the teacher of the Karma bKa' brygud pa school he received the transmission of the *Ras chung snyan brygud* and the treasure-teachings of Rig 'dzin 'Ja' tshon snying po; after this meeting he travelled back to the monastery of Me skyems in the rTa rab valley.<sup>20</sup>

It is at that time that Yon tan rgyal mtshan was offered the post of resident teacher, or throne-holder, of dGon gsar. Accepting this official position involved, among other things, contacts with the political authorities controlling the Dolpo and Mustang regions at that time. The biography provides descriptions of two audiences with Vikram Śāhi, the king of Jumla. During the first encounter the new abbot expressed

<sup>19</sup> The short reference to the third journey to Central Tibet can be found in *rNam thar mgur 'bum dang bcas pa* (as in note 12), fols. 22a/5–b/1. The last two journeys are not dated in the biography, but they must fall in the period of the 1630s after his return from the first trip to gTsang to visit the monasteries of gSer mdog can and E vaṃ chos ldan.

<sup>20</sup> For the three-year retreat in dGon gsar, the following teaching activities and the first encounter with Karma Blo bzang, see *rNam thar mgur 'bum dang bcas pa* (as in note 12), fols. 22b/1–44b/5. Concerning the invitation by the ruling prince of Muktināth to Karma Blo bzang and the great honour shown to him by each of the dukes of the three fortresses rDzar, sKag and rDzong, see Ehrhard (2013:231–232).

his wish that the monastery should not be damaged by the Mon people, while it seems that during the second audience a corresponding “copperplate” (*zangs yig*) was issued by the ruler; it is also reported that the Buddhist teachers delivered religious instructions on the same occasion. In sTeng ’byon, modern-day Tangchen in Tichurong, he afterwards instructed local disciples in the Mahāmudrā doctrine *Phyag chen lhan cig skye sbyor* and the Six Doctrines of Śavaripa. During that time he himself received teaching transmissions from the aforementioned Chos skyong dpal bzang from mTha’ dkar and dPal ldan bzang po from Hrab, the biography referring also to the monastery of Brag dmar chos sde as a further site of his teaching activities. A detailed account in the biography deals with the visit of Karma Blo bzang to the Bar bong valley. It was Yon tan rgyal mtshan who had issued the invitation accompanied by quite extensive offerings. The list of teachings transmitted is given where it is stated that the local donors and the inhabitants of the monasteries of dGon gsar and Brag dmar chos sde came together in great numbers at the newly founded site of gSang sngags chos gling.<sup>21</sup>

In the following years of his teaching activities we find Yon tan rgyal mtshan in southern Mustang—called [b]Se rib, an archaic ethnonym of the region of the upper Kali Gandaki River—the population hubs of [s]Kag, rDzar and rDzong together with the pilgrimage site of Chu mig brgya rtsa being mentioned in particular. He also travelled to Chu bar, a sacred site in South-western Tibet on the border with Nepal celebrated for the former presence of the great yogin Mi la ras pa, and at the time under Karma bKa’ brgyud pa administration. It is recorded that he met there Chos rje mNga’ bdag Phun tshogs rig ’dzin (1592–1656), a member of the mNga’ bdag family, known especially for his instalment of the first Buddhist king in the Hidden Valley of ’Bras mo gshongs (present-day Sikkim). Yon tan rgyal mtshan gained immediate faith in this master, regarding him as an embodiment of Padmasambhava. From northern Mustang he headed on to the nomadic regions of the Byang thang Plateau in Tibet and via rNam rgyal lha rtse to the region of dBu legs, where for a longer period

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<sup>21</sup> For the beginning of the tenure as abbot of dGon gsar and Karma Blo bzang’s visit, see *rNam thar mgur ’bum dang bcas pa* (as in note 12), fols. 44b/5–50b/1. The sovereignty which Jumla had established over regions including Mustang and Dolpo goes back to at least the 1630s. A corresponding passage in the biography of Karma Blo bzang describes an encounter with two brother kings of Jumla during a later stay in gSang sngags chos gling; see Ehrhard (2013:233–234). On the ruler Vikram Śā[hi] in the genealogy of the kings of Jumla, see Tucci (1956:122).

he intoned spiritual songs and was blessed with a vision of a youthful yogin. His teaching activities were centred on sites like dBu legs and Chos lung and on the Mahāmudrā doctrine *Phyag rgya chen po lhan cig skyes sbyor*. He returned afterwards to dGon gсар in the Bar bong valley, now called his “own monastery” (*rang gi dgon pa*). In one of the following songs he encountered Yon tan rgya mtsho in a vision, addressing him therein as a “main teacher” (*rtsa ba’i bla ma*).<sup>22</sup> Having served for twenty-one years as abbot of dGon gсар, Yon tan rgyal mtshan stepped down and nominated a successor called bSam grub dpal ’byor. On that occasion he taught the Mahāmudrā doctrine to him and other monks, and in particular the Six Doctrines of Śavari[pa]. Other Buddhist teachers seem to have been invited to the monastery to participate, the biography mentioning the arrival of O rgyan dpal bzang, a native of southern Mustang well known as a lineage-holder of treasure-teachings of the rNying ma pa school. After this teaching session in dGon gсар, he personally received from Yon tan rgyal mtshan a rare transmission going back to the Indian siddha; the biography contains the dialogues between the two masters during their encounter, which concluded with a great *gaṇacakra* in the region of Bar bong. This meeting is also documented in the biography of O rgyan dpal bzang, where it is stated that the actual transmission took place in the Bar bong village of Khrims gnyer, modern-day Trimnyer. The text also provides details of the teaching lineage of the Six Doctrines of Śavaripa, including the fact that it had passed through Vanaratna (1384–1468), the famous Buddhist *mahāpaṇḍita* from Chittagong.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> The journey to southern Mustang and Chu bar followed by the stay in the Byang thang region is described in *rNam thar mgur ’bum dang bcas pa* (as in note 12), fols. 50b/1–58b/6. The name [b]Se rib as an archaic ethnonym has been elucidated by Ramble (1997:502–505). For an overview of the life of mNga’ bdag Phun tshogs rig ’dzin, holder of the teaching lineage of Rig ’dzin Zhig po gling pa (1524–1583), see Ehrhard (2005:17–21). The rNying ma pa master was also active at the royal court of Mustang, his visit to Glo bo sMon thang being datable to the year 1651. dBu legs and Chos lung in the Byang thang region are known as sites where rJe btsun Kun dga’ grol mchog had delivered teachings at a rather young age to the local population; see Appendix II [1] & [2].

<sup>23</sup> For the end of the tenure as abbot of dGon gсар and the meeting with O rgyan dpal bzang, see *rNam thar mgur ’bum dang bcas pa* (as in note 12), fols. 56b/6–60a/2. The invitation extended to the latter master to visit Bar bong, which he took up shortly before the foundation of his own monastery, called ’Od gsal sgang, in Som po in the year 1668, has already been referred to in Ehrhard (2013:223). For the corresponding section of the meeting and the transmission of teachings, see *Rigs brgya dbang po ’dren mchog slob dpon dpal bzang po’i rnam par thar pa dad pa’i spu long g.yo byed mthong bas yid ’phrog ngo mtshar ’phreng ba’i gтам rmad du byung ba*, NGMPP

After teaching activities in the Tichurong area, where he was welcomed at a monastery of the 'Bri gung bKa' brygud pa school, at the monastery of Sa 'dul and at other places, Yon tan rgyal mtshan visited for the first time the region of Song thags, namely Som po and Thak, located on the southern fringes of Mustang. The route taken for the return back to Bar bong led through the village of Sa dga', obviously an earlier name of present-day Tsharka. When an invitation arrived from the donors at [s]Kag, he returned to Mustang and was welcomed by O rgyan dpal bzang and one mKhan chen dKon mchog lhun grub. Travelling on in the northern direction, he delivered instructions and spiritual songs to the local population at places like gTsang rang, [d]Ge lung and Brag dmar before returning to [s]Kag. After being accommodated at the fortress of Rab rgyal rtse mo by dPon drung Khro bo rnam rgyal, the ruling prince of the Muktināth valley, he finally settled down for a lengthy stay in the company of O rgyan dpal bzang at the latter's monastery, 'Od gsal sgang, in Som po. From there he returned to bSam grub chos sdings, his own residence in Khrims gnyer. When he acceded to a final invitation to teach in the Bar bong valley, he found dPal ldan rdo rje among the disciples, and the latter remained in his presence when Yon tan rgyal mtshan returned to bSam grub chos sdings. He gave his last teachings at dGon gsar in the "ox year" (*glang lo*) which corresponds to 1673, a "water female ox year" (*chu mo glang gi lo*), and passed away one year later.<sup>24</sup>

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reel-no. L 83/1, fols. 316a/6–317a/5 (*dgon gsar gdan sa ba bla ma bsam grub kyi (= kyis) dgon gsar spyan 'dren zhus cing sprul sku snying thig dbang lung zhus 'bul ba bsnyen bkur yang grub cing / slar khrims gnyer du bla ma yon tan rgyal mtshan la dpal sha ba ri'i chos skor 'brel pa tsam zhus pa la / bla ma'i rnal 'byor maṅḍal gsol 'debs / brgyud pa'i rnam thar gser 'phreng / sbas pa'i mig 'byed gsal ba'i sgron me / chos drug / gsang spyod chung ngu bum can gser 'phreng / thabs lam yid bzhin nor bu'i yig chung / rje btsun sha va ri rigs lnga'i rjes gnang / 'khor lo sdom pa lhan skyes kyi dbang / brgyud pa'i gsol 'debs dang bstod pa / gsol 'debs yid kyi mun sel / ye shes mgon po me ral can gyi sgrub thabs / me ral can gyi rjes gnang gi brgyud pa ni / chos sku rdo rje 'chang / rje btsun rdo rje rnal 'byor ma / dpal chen sha va ri pa / paṅ chen nags kyi rin chen / mtshan ldan sprul pa'i yum / byang sems dge blo / bstan rtsa gong ma / chos dpal rnam rgyal / byang chub brtson 'grus / dharmabhadra / rab 'byams pa chos rje chos skyong rdo rje / śākya bzang po / mnyam med yon tan rgyal mtshan / des 'dren mchog o rgyan dpal bzang la'o*).

<sup>24</sup> For his last teaching activities and death, see *rNam thar mgur 'bum dang bcas pa* (as in note 12), fols. 60a/2–73b/6. dPon drung Khro bo rnam rgyal was the same duke who had invited Karma Blo bzang for the first time to the Muktināth valley; see Ehrhard (2013:231–232). Concerning Som po, its dGa' rab rdzong fortress and the fact that O rgyan dpal bzang had been born into its ruling family, see Ehrhard (2013:220). The colophon of the biography of Yon tan rgyal mtshan gives no author's

With these observations on the life of Yon tan rgyal mtshan, who held the position of throne-holder at dGon gsar for a remarkably long period, I now come to the biography of his teacher contained in the modern collection. Although the latter took up the same position only in his final years, he nevertheless introduces us to further sites in the Bar bong valley and the Dhaulagiri Himal important for this particular tradition in southern Dolpo.

#### 4. *The Life of Yon tan rgya mtsho (1548–1621)*

The biography of Yon tan rgya mtsho was written by Yon tan rgyal mtshan, the author being mentioned in the colophon as a “direct disciple” (*dnegos slob*) of the master. After the introductory verses, the work starts off proper with references to former lives and provides details of three previous incarnations. The first one is Śākya bzang po, characterized as having stayed at the sacred site of Ri bo dpal ’bar in Mang yul Gung thang and having been an acquaintance of a Buddhist teacher known as sNgags ’chang chen po Chos rgyal bsod-nams (1442–1509). He is obviously sNgags ’chang Śākya bzang po, well known as the first member of the incarnation lineage of the Yol mo ba sPrul sku, which shows once again that the fame of Buddhist teachers active in Mang yul Gung thang had reached the Dolpo region. The second incarnation was one Tshul khrims bzang po from the monastery called Grva lung bSam gtan gling, while the third one passed away at a quite early age.<sup>25</sup>

The actual account of the life of Yon tan rgya mtsho starts in the first section by describing his family, birth and the early childhood. It is stated that he was a native of the Bar bong valley and that the spiritual qualities of his mother had been praised by a teacher called Yon [tan]

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name or date of composition, referring only to one O rgyan chos ’dzin as the scribe; see *ibid.*, fols. 73b/6–74a/6.

<sup>25</sup> The short colophon is contained in the biography of Yon tan rgya mtsho (as in note 7), A: pp. 521.5–6, and B: pp. 352.9–10 (*’gro ba’i mgon po’i rnam thar ’di dnegos slob bla ma yon tan rgyal mtshan pas dgung lo bdun cu don brgyad la bris pa dge’o*); the work was thus composed in the year 1667. For the introduction and the previous incarnations, see *ibid.*, A: pp. 444.1–5, and B: pp. 286.3–287.14. Concerning sNgags ’chang Śākya bzang po and his activities in Mang yul Gung thang, see Ehrhard (2013:121–127). The reference to the meeting with Chos rgyal bsod nams reflects the latter’s importance as the teacher who transmitted the *Byang gter* tradition to the First Yol mo ba sPrul sku; see Ehrhard (2013:318). This teaching lineage reached, among others, bSod nams blo gros, the founder of dMar bsgom in northern Dolpo, who was regarded for his part as an incarnation of Chos rgyal bsod nams.

dar (15<sup>th</sup>/16<sup>th</sup> cent.). The same teacher issued prophecies concerning the son, born in an “earth male monkey year” (*sa pho spre’u lo*); this corresponds to the year 1548.<sup>26</sup>

The second section bears the title “How I Was Cared For by Noble Ones” (*dam pas rjes su bzung tshul*) and thus follows the order of topics normally taken up in a Buddhist hagiography. The first teacher was Yon [tan] dar, from whom the young boy received the vows of a Buddhist layman at the age of three. The following years he studied the religious cycles of the Sa skya pa and bKa’ brgyud pa under the same master, special mention being made of the Cakrasaṃvara-, Hevajra- and Guhyasamājantras. Taking its start from a request for the *Phyag rgya chen po lnga ldan* Mahāmudrā doctrine at the age of twelve years (i.e. in 1560), a list is given of all the teachings obtained during the period of twenty-two years that Yon tan rgya mtsho stayed in the company of his teacher, whom he regarded as a true emanation of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara. In the year 1567, when he had reached his nineteenth year, he was ordained as a Buddhist monk at the monastery of Brag dmar chos sde in the Bar bong valley. The acting *ācārya* is identified as rJe btsun dam pa Kun dga’ dpal bzang (1513–1593), and the other two teachers involved in the ceremony were Bla ma dam pa Kun [dga’] legs [pa] and, once again, mNyam med Yon [tan] dar. On the same occasion he obtained from Kun dga’ dpal bzang different empowerments and teaching transmissions including the “More Than One Hundred Great Instructions of the Tradition of the Noble Lord” (*rJe btsun dam pa’i lugs kyi khrid chen brgya rtsa*); this was a set of instructions collected and codified by rJe btsun Kun dga’ grol mchog, the uncle of the teacher who was transmitting them.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>26</sup> For the first section, see the biography of Yon tan rgya mtsho (as in note 7), A: pp. 444.5–446.3, and B: 287.14–289.5. This part presents short events up to the age of two years and is written in the first person; the work is thus an autobiography, with the final part having been written out by Yon tan rgyal mtshan. The structuring of the text according to “sections” (*spyi don*) occurs only at the beginning and covers two such divisions.

<sup>27</sup> The initial studies and the ordination as a Buddhist monk are contained in the biography of Yon tan rgya mtsho (as in note 7), A: pp. 446.3–448.5, and B: pp. 289.5–291.3. Additional teachings were later received from the master Kun dga’ legs pa, who seems to have acted as resident teacher of dGon gsar monastery at that time; see *ibid.*, A: p. 451.5–6, and B: p. 293.13–15. (*rang gi dgon pa’i bla ma gdan sa pa kun dga’ legs pa’i drung du / spyan ras gzigs ’gro ba ’dul ba’i dbang / gur sam bu kri (= pu tri) / mgon po lha rgyad (= brgyad) / gzhan pa (= zhen pa) bzhi ’bral (= bral) / de la sogs pa dbang lung mang du zhus so*). For a biographical sketch of rJe btsun Kun dga’ dpal bzang, see [www.treasuryoflives.org/biographies/view/Kunga-Pelzang/P2MS4764](http://www.treasuryoflives.org/biographies/view/Kunga-Pelzang/P2MS4764). The ordination in Bar bong must have taken place shortly before

When soon afterwards the master Yon [tan] dar passed away, his disciple proceeded at the age of twenty-two (i.e. in 1570) to dGon gсар monastery. This he did following a prophetic dream wherein he heard that a certain Sa dga' Rab 'byams pa had arrived there. After meeting this teacher at the monastery in Bar bong, he obtained different Mahāmudrā transmissions, especially all the cycles revealed by the Mahāsiddha Śavaripa, including the so-called *sBas pa mig 'byed*; similarly, he received the Six Doctrines according to the Shangs pa bKa' brgyud pa tradition and the *Ras chung snyan brgyud*.<sup>28</sup>

The next teacher of Yon tan rgya mtsho was dPal ldan blo gros, the abbot of dMar bsgom and founder of Hrab monastery, who spent his summer retreats at dGon pa Gro tshang. Described in the text as an incarnation of a disciple of the Sa skya hierarch rJe btsun Grags pa rgyal mtshan (1147–1216), he transmitted teachings of the *Byang gter* tradition, among other treasure-cycles, to his disciple. After further studies with one Chos rje 'Jam dbyangs kha ba at Sa 'dul, dGon pa Gro tshang is mentioned again in the biography as the site where Yon tan rgya mtsho returned to in order to receive teachings from one Chos rje bSod nams ye shes. This latter monastery, located in the vicinity of the Dhaulagiri Himal (*mu le gangs*), appears in other textual sources as well. The description of this encounter closes the second section of the text, which is not marked as such in the narrative of the early life of Yon tan rgya mtsho.<sup>29</sup>

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Kun dga' dpal bzang ascended the monastic seat of Jo nang as the twenty-fifth throneholder in 1567; he followed rJe btsun Kun dga' grol mchog, who had passed away the previous year.

<sup>28</sup> For the studies of Yon tan rgya mtsho at dGon gсар under Sa dga' Rab 'byams pa, see his biography (as in note 7), A: pp. 448.5–450.2, and B: pp. 291.3–292.9. The full name of this teacher is given in the biography of dPal ldan rdo rje, and therein said to be an incarnation of *mahāpaṇḍita* Vanaratna; see the latter work (as in note 7), A: p. 400.6–401.1, and B: p. 441.1–2 (*paṇ chen nags rin rnam sprul / sa dga' rab 'byams pa chos skyong rdo rje*). For the transmission lineage of the *sBas pa mig 'byed* also known as *dPal chen sha va ri dbang phyug gi snyan brgyud* see above, note 23.

<sup>29</sup> The final studies of Yon tan rgya mtsho—including under Kun dga' dpal bzang, this time at dGon gсар—can be found in the biography (as in note 7), A: pp. 450.2–452.4, and B: pp. 292.9–294.8. The site known as dGon pa Gro tshang or dPal Gro tshang served dPal ldan rdo rje and others in later times as a retreat place. dPal ldan rdo rje himself spent over a decade there, initially as “care-taker” (*dkon gnyer*); for this period, see his biography (as in note 7), A: pp. 383.1–399.2, and B: pp. 429.7–439.19. The same site is also known as a place where Yon [tan] dar, Yon tan rgya mtsho's first teacher, had intoned some of his spiritual songs and where the second part of his song collection was compiled; see *Chos rje yon dar gyi mgur 'bum*, marg. kha, NGMPP reel-no. L121/2, fols. 219a–256a.

While staying in the Dhaulagiri region in southern Dolpo, Yon tan rgya mtsho established his own retreat place in the village of dMu, nowadays spelled Mu. It became known as dMu'i dgon pa dGa' steng[s]. The biography relates the story that while collecting wood for constructing the initial structure in the company of his local benefactors two women prophesied a period of twenty years for his stay at the hermitage. At that time Yon tan rgya mtsho followed the spiritual practice of Gu ru Drag po, the wrathful aspect of Padmasambhava, according to the *Byang gter* tradition, and was blessed with various visions of the master.<sup>30</sup>

During this period Yon tan rgya mtsho had a dream of a frightening female deity who revealed that she had already been close to him at Ri bo dpal 'bar in Mang yul Gung thang, namely in his previous existence as sNgags 'chang Śākya bzang po, the important lineage-holder of the Northern Treasures. The hermit from southern Dolpo received from her prophecies concerning his religious activities, and upon awakening he intoned a new spiritual song.

At the age of thirty-four years, in 1582, Yon tan rgya mtsho was invited to the region of Hros, present-day Rö, where he gave teachings on the Mahāmudrā doctrine and the Six Doctrines of the bKa' brgyud pa school to his local benefactor in the Tichurong valley. Part of the following winter was spent at a monastery called 'Bar phug. In the dreams occurring during this time he was advised not to remain too long in the “southern forested gorges, a land where the noble Buddhist doctrine does not exist” (*lho yul nags rong dam chos med pa'i yul*). Yon tan rgya mtsho must have nevertheless remained in Tichurong, inasmuch as 'Bar phug, now called a “monastery of the gorges” (*rong gi dgon pa*), is again mentioned as his residence in the year 1584. During this stay he had various visions of his teacher mNyam med Yon [tan] dar, who provided him with various instructions, including one calling for erecting a *stūpa* at a site known as a meeting place of malicious spirits. Prior to that another dream is recorded in which Yon [tan] dar, holding a “book” (*po ti*) in his hand, requested his disciple to

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<sup>30</sup> For the foundation of dMu'i dgon pa and the initial retreat at this site, see the biography of Yon tan rgya mtsho (as in note 7), A: pp. 452.4–460.1, and B: 294.8–300.14. The foundation of this site can be dated to around the year 1575, when Yon tan rgya mtsho had reached the age of 27 years; see *ibid.*, A: p. 455.5–6, and B: p. 297.3–4. (*yang rang lo nyi shu rtsa brgyad 'gro ba'i tshe / dmu'i dgon pa [dga'] steng la stod (=sdod) du / gu ru drag po'i bsnyen sgrub byas pa'i dus su*). The monastery of dMu'i dgon pa was later frequented by dPal ldan rdo rje, who stayed there supported by the local population of dMu; see his biography (as in note 7), A: pp. 379.6–383.1, and B: pp. 428.15–429.7.



compose the master's biography; on that occasion he also revealed that he had been a personal disciple of rJe btsun Kun dga' grol mchog, and that—after an initial meeting at a site called sPo dmar—he had acted as the latter's attendant for a period of six years.<sup>31</sup>

As already observed above, this section of the biography is not structured in a formal way but presents the life of Yon tan rgya mtsho in a series of narratives dealing for the greater part with his visions and dreams, while also providing details about his places of residence and his travels. Several mentions are made of dGa' steng[s] monastery (i.e. dMu'i dgon pa), from where, it is recorded, Yon tan rgya mtsho started on a pilgrimage to the sacred site “Hundred-and-Some Springs” (*chumig brgya rtsa*), Muktināth, in southern Mustang. On the way back another dream of his teacher Yon [tan] dar occurred, revealing that the latter's reliquary shrine, located at a monastery known as bDe chen sdings, had fallen into oblivion, and that a renovation had become necessary. Yon tan rgya mtsho spent afterwards over one year at that place repairing the *stūpa* and other religious edifices.

Although he stayed in remote places, including a hermitage in dPung 'gag, the main residence in the later part of Yon tan rgya mtsho's life seems to have been bDe chen sdings monastery. It was there that he had another dream which resulted in the renovation of a *stūpa*; this time it was the reliquary shrine of his teacher Sa dga' Rab 'byams pa Chos skyong rdo rje, located at rDza kha, nowadays called Tsharka. The donations came from benefactors in sTang shongs, the shrine itself being described as a “*stūpa* at the southern border of Mon.” At that time, he had reached the age of fifty-three, and thus the renovation can be dated to the year 1601.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>31</sup> The vision of the female deity associated with Ri bo dpal 'bar and the events in 'Bar phug in Tichurong can be found in the biography of Yon tan rgya mtsho (as in note 7), A: pp. 460.1–466.6, and B: pp. 294.8–306.9. For the importance of Ri bo dpal 'bar as the place of sNgags 'chang Śākya bzang po's spiritual practice and where the cycles of the Northern Treasures were transmitted, see Ehrhard (2013:125–126). For the stay of rJe btsun Kun dga' grol mchog at sPo dmar in the Byang thang region and his encounter with Buddhist teachers from Dolpo as described in his autobiography, see Appendix II [1].

<sup>32</sup> For the renovation of bDe chen sdings monastery and the *stūpa* located at rDza kha, see the biography of Yon tan rgya mtsho (as in note 7), A: pp. 466.6–484.1, and B: pp. 306.9–320.15. bDe chen sdings (or dPal gyi bDe chen sdings) is the main site where the first group of Yon [tan] dar's spiritual songs had been composed; see *Chos rje yon dar gyi mgur 'bum* (as in note 29), fols. 23a/3, 47b/6, 481/1, 71b/1, 81b/6, 82a/1, 97b/6, and 102a/6. The *stūpa* located at rDza kha was later also renovated by dPal ldan rdo rje; see the latter's biography (as in note 7), A: pp. 400.5–403.2, and B: 440.19–442.11. In this case the repair work is preceded by a prophecy relating to the

It is further stated in the biography that Yon tan rgya mtsho travelled at that time regularly to the region of dMu to provide religious instructions to the local population. He also undertook a first journey to northern Dolpo in order to meet Chos skyabs dpal bzang, “the Dharmarāja of dMar sgom” (*dmar sgom chos kyi rgyal po*), at g.Yas ’tsher. There he requested especially the doctrine of the “Great Perfection” (*rdzogs chen*) according to the tradition of the Northern Treasures from the master. A second journey to northern Dolpo brought him to sTeng khyu and the monastery called Grva lung bSam gtan gling, where he imparted empowerments and reading-authorisations; among the recipients, one Drung pa bKa’ bcu pa Sangs rgyas pa can be mentioned.

His fame as a Buddhist teacher had by then spread to regions in the south, not only among ordinary people but also among kings, nobles and ministers. It is thus stated in the biography that a “great minister of the king of Jumla” (*’dzum lang rgyal po’i blon chen*) bearing the name rNam rim pa had become a patron of Yon tan rgya mtsho. One is also told of a prophecy pronounced by the teacher Sa dga’ Rab ’byams pa in a further dream concerning his lifespan. This is followed by the actual arrival of the prophesier’s disciple Drung pa Śākya bzang po, who gratified Yon tan rgya mtsho with the transmission of various teachings.<sup>33</sup>

The last journey took Yon tan rgya mtsho to the kingdom of Glo bo, present-day Mustang, and its capital sMon thang. Only after repeated requests had he responded to an invitation from the then ruler Khri rgyal bSam grub [rdo rje] (16<sup>th</sup>/17<sup>th</sup> cent.), the visit falling in a “dragon year,” which probably corresponds to 1616 when the Buddhist teacher had reached the age of 68 years. The clerics and laypersons of the Bar bong valley bid him farewell, and he headed off via rDza kha

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name of the Sa skya pa hierarch Sa chen Kun dga’ snying po (1092–1158) and a *vihāra* called Sa chen which had later been destroyed. The toponym Sa dga’ seems to be an alternative spelling for rDza kha, where the reliquary shrine of Sa dga’ Rab ’byams pa Chos skyong rdo rje had been kept. A description of Tsharka by a western traveller is contained in Snellgrove (1961:158–162); see Appendix II [2] for a further etymology of this toponym.

<sup>33</sup> The journeys to g.Yas ’tsher and sTeng khyu in northern Dolpo, followed by the reference to the minister of Jumla and the vision of Sa dga’ Rab ’byams pa, are described in the biography of Yon tan rgya mtsho (as in note 7), A: pp. 484.1–498.1, and B: pp. 320.15–332.11. The prophecy concerning the lifespan is followed by a journey to the rTa rab valley, where further visions occurred during a “public empowerment” (*khrom dbang*); see *ibid.*, A: pp., 495.3–496.6, and B: 330.7–331.12. For the studies of Yon tan rgyal mtshan under Drung pa Śākya bzang po at that time, consult note 15.

(now called Bar bong Sa dga' in the text) to the palace of the king and his queen. For a period, he delivered religious teachings at the royal court including transmissions of the Mahāmudrā doctrine and the Six Doctrines according to the tradition of Śavaripa. In return Yon tan rgya mtsho received a great number of offerings. The journey back passed again through Sa dga', from where, after conferring public empowerments upon his Bar bong patrons, he returned to bDe chen sdings monastery.<sup>34</sup>

The remaining part of the biography describes further visions—including one where it is mentioned that the disciples of Yon tan rgya mtsho were concentrated in the southern gorges region of Mon, (*lho rong mon pa'i phyogs*). A prominent place among his benefactors is taken by ones from dMu and Ti rang (present-day Terang). A special role in the final phase of his life is played by the previously mentioned Drung pa Śākya bzang po, who, it is stated, was a direct disciple of the “noble highest guide” (*'dren mchog dam pa*) Chos skyong rdo rje (i.e. Sa dga' Rab 'byams pa) and one bKa' bcu pa Kun dga' dpal 'byor. After repeated requests from Yon tan rgya mtsho, the former master finally arrived at a retreat place known as Ta la and afterwards remained at dGon gсар in the Bar bong valley. At that time Yon tan rgya mtsho was especially transmitting teachings of the *rDzogs chen* doctrine according to the *Byang gter* tradition, having accepted an official position as “monk in charge” (*zhal bdag*) at dGon gсар monastery. Soon afterwards however, signs of a sickness manifested, and he set about delivering what would be his final teachings, with once again Drung pa Śākya bzang po and Nam legs mkhan po Kun dga' dpal 'byor named among the disciples who received them. When he passed away at the age of seventy-three years, these two masters supervised the cremation ceremony, while the reliquary shrine was erected by Drung pa Śākya bzang po, now called the “protector of beings of the residence [of dGon gсар]” (*gdan sa 'gro ba'i mgon po*). The year of death is given as another “dragon year” (*'brug lo*), but considering that the year of birth had been given as 1548, the year of

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<sup>34</sup> For the invitation to Glo bo sMon thang and the route via Bar bong Sa dga', see the biography of Yon tan rgya mtsho (as in note 7), A: pp. 498.1–500.2, and B: 332.11–334.8. The place where he was welcomed and sent off by the court of bSam grub [rdo rje] is called Pus dgong, up to now unidentified. According to the biography of Chos skyabs dpal bzang, this ruler of Mustang in turn had at some point personally visited the region of Dolpo with his retinue; see Snellgrove (1967: 167) and Jackson (1984: 128).

death would have had to be an "iron female bird" (*lcags mo bya*), namely 1621.<sup>35</sup>

Although he served only for a short time as resident teacher of the monastery of dGon gsar, Yon tan rgya mtsho had earlier been affiliated to that monastery for a longer period during his studies with Sa dga' Rab 'byams pa. Regarded as an incarnation of an important representative of the *Byang gter* tradition, he unsurprisingly attached particular importance to these teachings. He likewise propagated the cycles of the bKa' brgyud pa school, as can be seen in the case of the Mahāmudrā doctrine and the Six Doctrines according to the lineage of the Mahāsiddha Śavaripa. In addition, he was steeped in the teaching tradition of rJe btsun Kun dga' grol mchog through the latter's nephew Kun dga' dpal bzang, and even more so through his teacher Yon [tan] dar, known to have served as a personal attendant to the Jo nang pa master for several years.

### 5. Conclusions

As could be seen in the biographies of both Yon tan rgyal mtshan and Yon tan rgya mtsho, the pilgrimage site of "Hundred-and-Some Springs" was in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries attracting Buddhist teachers from Dolpo. It is known that rJe btsun Kun dga' grol mchog, too, travelled at an early age—around the year 1528—to this site. In one of his autobiographical writings one finds a vivid description of the encounter with Buddhist Nats'varī yogins with whom he spent first one and a half years, then one year, and then another eight or nine months. He next frequented the valleys of the Nepalese Himalayas, his stays at sNye shang[s] to the west of Muktināth being described in quite some detail. After one of those sojourns, which can be dated between the years 1545 to 1549, rJe btsun Kun dga' grol mchog travelled to regions in southern Dolpo, and to the Bar bong valley in particular. As this event was still remembered in later times, and was the reason that dGon gsar was associated with rJe btsun Kun dga' grol mchog, a translation

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<sup>35</sup> The final years of Yon tan rgya mtsho and his nomination as resident teacher of dGon gsar can be found in his biography (as in note 7), A: pp. 500.2–521.5, and B: 334.8–352.9. For the colophon of the biography and its date of composition, see note 25. The text was thus composed by Yon tan rgyal mtshan at the age seventy-seven, by which time his tenure as abbot of dGon gsar had come to an end; see note 23.

of the relevant passage and a further one concerning a visit to Brag dmar chos sde will be presented in Appendix II below.<sup>36</sup>

It is quite possible that dGon gsar monastery had already served previously as a residence for Kun dga' mchog grub (1454–1526), the uncle and first teacher of rJe btsun Kun dga' grol mchog. Although the biography of the former, written by his nephew, does not contain any specific details in this regard, we find the name of one dGe slong Kun dga' mchog grub in an addition to the collection of spiritual songs of Yon [tan] dar; these particular songs are addressed to Kun dga' mchog grub, at “his own monastery” (*rang gi dgon pa*), dGon gsar.<sup>37</sup>

In the narratives of the lives of both Yon tan rgyal mtshan and Yon tan rgya mtsho—and also in the one relating to dPal ldan rdo rje—one can find the names of Sa dga' Rab 'byams pa Chos skyong rdo rje and Drung pa Śākya bzang po as important teachers and lineage-holders of the doctrines of the bKa' brgyud pa school. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century the names of all these mentioned teachers from southern Dolpo were recorded as forming one particular lineage that was transmitting principally the Mahāmudrā doctrine as delivered by dBus smyon Kun dga' bzang po to rNam grol bzang po, the master who has already been described as a disciple of rJe btsun Kun dga' grol mchog. In this particular record Yon tan rgyal mtshan and Yon tan rgya mtsho, along with dPal ldan rdo rje, are designated as “throne-holders of the Middle Valley” (*bar lung khri gnyer pa*), an expression that obviously refers to their position as resident teachers of dGon gsar monastery in the Bar bong valley.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>36</sup> For the episode of the encounter of rJe btsun Kun dga' grol mchog with Buddhist Nateśvarī yogins at Muktināth according to the first of his autobiographical writings, see Templeman (2012: 127–128); consult Ehrhard (2013: 203–205) for the background to Indian royal pilgrimages conducted to the site during this time.

<sup>37</sup> For the original of the passage in Appendix II, see *Chos rje yon dar gyi mgur 'bum* (as in note 29), 11 fols. For the introduction, see *ibid.*, fol. 1a/1–2 (*yang skabs gcig na / sprang po ri khrod pas / rgya rin chen rdo rje'i brag nas / rang gi dgon pa dgon gsar nas dge slong mchog grub lo bsgrub la bzhugs nas bde dge (=kye) gsang gsum gyi bsnyen pa byed dus / gol sa gcod pa'i phyir / yi ger bris nas bkur ba ni / 'di ltar ro*). For the mentioned biography, see rJe btsun Kun dga' grol mchog: *Kun dga' mchog grub kyi rnam thar ngo mtshar dad pa'i glang pa'i lcags kyu*, 15 fols. (xylograph); my thanks to Cyrus Stearns for providing a copy of this work. The family relations and the studies of Kun dga' dbang phyug, based on this work, have been described in Heimbel (2017: 330 & 338, note 542).

<sup>38</sup> The particular Mahāmudrā doctrine transmitted by the Madman from dBus belonged mainly to the 'Ba ra ba tradition of the “Upper 'Brug pa [School]” (*stod 'brug*). Its transmission to rNam grol bzang po and the further spread from him to the Buddhist teachers of southern Dolpo is documented in the “record of teachings received” (*gsan*

By following the life-stories of two of the Buddhist teachers from southern Dolpo who were active at this monastery and looking at the description of their teaching activities at particular points in time, one can gain a sense of the role this site played in the region of the Dhaulagiri Himal. dGon gsar is located in sPung 'gag, where it still serves today, together with Brag dmar chos sde, as one of the two main monasteries of this central part of the Bar bong valley. With the biographies having now been made available, we can thus get a clearer picture of the religious history of southern Dolpo and the presence of the various Buddhist traditions in the region.

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yig) of Kaḥ thog Rig 'dzin Tshe dbang nor bu (1698–1755); see *lHa rje mnyam med zla 'od gzhon nu'i bka' brgyud phyag chen gdams pa ji tsam nod pa'i rtogs brjod legs bshad rin chen 'byung khungs* in “Kaḥ thog rig 'dzin tshe dbang nor bu'i bka' 'bum”, vol. 1. Beijing: Krung go'i rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2006, pp. 392.2–13 (*phyag rgya chen po lhan cig skyes sbyor gyi khrid rgyun bcu gsum pa rtogs pa'i gar mkhan dbus smyon he ru ka dpal kun bzang grub pa'i dpa' bo nas bka' srol nod pa'i bla ma brygud pa ni / skyes mchog 'ba' ra ba rgyal mtshan dpal bzang yan chad stod 'brug skabs spyi dang 'dra ba / de nas ras chen brtson 'grus dar po / chu bo ri pa kun dga' rnam rgyal / dbus smyon he ru ka dpal kun bzang grub pa'i dpa' bo / des mnga' ris dol po rnam grol bzang po / tshar kha chos skyong rdo rje / bar lung khri gnyer pa yon tan rgya mtsho / kun spang śākya bzang po / bar lung khri gnyer pa yon tan rgyal mtshan / bar lung khri gnyer pa dpal ldan rdo rje / rje o rgyan rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po / des bdag tshe dbang nor bu la'o*). Further teachings transmitted by this lineage included the Mahāmudrā stemming from sPyan snga bSod nams rgyal mtshan (1385–1435) and passing through the Madman from dBus to the Buddhist teachers of Dolpo; see *ibid.*, pp. 392.14–27. Consult Sernesi (2010: 131–132) on the Mahāmudrā manuals of the former master, a member of the ruling house of Phag mo gru pa and abbot of the monastery of gDan sa thel in Central Tibet.

APPENDIX I



Iconographic portraits of Buddhist teachers from Dolpo, edition A

## APPENDIX II

*rJe btsun kun dga' grol mchog gi rnam thar skal bzang dad pa'i shing rta*, ed. A: New Delhi: Tibet House, 1982 [= TBRC W4CZ15391]; ed. B: Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2005.

A: fol. 83a/3– b/5; B: pp. 124.19–125.19

[1]

de ltar brag stengs su zla ba dgu gdan thog gcig tu skad gcig kyang g.yel ba<sup>1</sup>  
 med par bsdad rjes / lo chen drung du maṅ<sup>2</sup> [B 125] bskul gyi dam bca' phul  
 ba ltar phyogs med kyi 'gro don la dmigs / chu bzang pa 'dug pas byang  
 phyogs kyi ri khrod spo dmar du phyin / sa der ba lung snying rje can dpon  
 slob dad can kyi skye bo du ma dang bcas dol phyogs nas phebs / mos ldan  
 gyi slob ma dge slong tshul 'dod pas gtso mdzad sprin chen pa'i dge 'dun  
 mang ba / drung pa dpal ldan rin chen pa dang / sman khrod pa'i thugs dam pa  
 'ga' re / kra dum pa'i<sup>3</sup> che bgre<sup>4</sup> drag pa du ma / dbu legs / chos lung / dgon  
 par / kho [A 83b] la spro / 'brog phyogs kyi dgon sde so so nas 'dus pa'i chos  
 nyan pa shin tu mang ba la slar yang ni gu'i khrid spyi nye bar bsdus pa'i<sup>5</sup>  
 'bring po gzhang bka' nyer lnga dang sbrel / dmigs pa 'dril zhing<sup>6</sup> 'doms che  
 ba'i go bde kun gyi snying la 'bab pa 'bad med du byung /

khyad par rgyab rten<sup>7</sup> sgyu ma lam rim rtsa bral la mtha' chos kyi bshad  
 pa skyar chos yod pa byas / drung ba lung pa sogs kyis sngar ma gsan pa'i  
 stabs rgyud sde lnga / bde mchog nag po pa / phyag bzhi pa'i dbang bzhi  
 rdzogs sogs 'dus pa rnam 'dod chos kyi re ba gang bar bgyis / phyogs nas  
 'ongs pa'i mi nag gi skye bo grangs med byung ba la nyin re bzhin tshe dbang  
 / rgyu 'bras la yid ches pa'i bskyed pa'i<sup>8</sup> spyi chos thun mi 'chag tu bshad pas  
 sems 'khul / ma ṅi dung 'phyur<sup>9</sup> 'jug mkhan dang rang gi lce thog nas phen<sup>10</sup>  
 mi / drung ba lung ba sogs bla rnam pas<sup>11</sup> gzhan la bskul nas<sup>12</sup> / dung 'phyur<sup>13</sup>  
 spel ba'i dam bca'i khur bzhes grangs su btab pas nyi shu rtsa lnga byung nas  
 slar brag steng rang su log /

<sup>1</sup> B: g.yo ba

<sup>2</sup> A, B: maṅ

<sup>3</sup> B: bkra dum pa'i

<sup>4</sup> B: bsgres

<sup>5</sup> B: dril ba'i

<sup>6</sup> A: shing

<sup>7</sup> A: bsten

<sup>8</sup> B. om. bskyed pa'i

<sup>9</sup> B: 'gyur

<sup>10</sup> B: len

<sup>11</sup> A: rnam pas

<sup>12</sup> A: te

<sup>13</sup> B: 'gyur



A: fol. 85a/3–b/4; B: pp. 127.14–128.11

[2]

snar yul stod smad rnam su yang ma ṅi'i<sup>14</sup> 'gro don rgya<sup>15</sup> che ba byung skabs / bar bong<sup>16</sup> nas 'bod mi 'byung pas / skag<sup>17</sup> song<sup>18</sup> thag<sup>19</sup> gi lam la brygud / skye chen skye chung gi lar grags pa / gyen rang la nyin rtser 'dzeg dgos shing / la rtse na dbyar kyang kha ba<sup>20</sup> bab pa'i lam 'jigs bcas de la rgyud<sup>21</sup> / 'dzum glang rgyal po maṅi<sup>22</sup> rā dza'i mnga' zhabs kyi char gtogs pa / rgyal po shar nub gnyis ka'i sa mtshams / bla ma sa chen<sup>23</sup> gyis sku'i bkod pa bstan / lam 'bras gsungs pa'i gnas / mtshar 'ga'<sup>24</sup> zhes pa'i sa phyogs der zla phyed tsam gyi [B 128] ring bsdad / rong phyogs kyi bla ma chen po songs pa<sup>25</sup> sku mched sogs sku drag [A 85 b] dpag med 'dus pa dang / dol phyogs nas kyang<sup>26</sup> drung ba lung snying rje can gyi gtso mdzad / bla ma dpon slob<sup>27</sup> chos don gnyer gyi dad 'dus bsam gyi mi khyab pa la gtso bor ni gu'i<sup>28</sup> gnad nye bar 'dril ba'i bsdus pa ltar / smin byed sgyu lus dbang mo che'i chos sgo phye nas chos drug so so'i bka' drug dang / khrid drug spel ba'i gdams ngag dbang dang'brel ba'i<sup>29</sup> yid tshim par bgyis / gzhan yang rang so so'i<sup>30</sup> zhe 'dod ltar dbang lung nyin mtshan bar ma chad pa'i chos 'chad le lo med pa dang / rgyun gyi kha ton sgröl ma brgya rtsa sogs<sup>31</sup> / sos dal gyi rnam pa skad gcig ma bsten / der yang ma ṅi dung 'phyur<sup>32</sup> rang gi lce thog nas 'don pa dang / gzhan<sup>33</sup> bskul nas 'jug mi sogs stobs che ba byung mtshams slar log /

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- 14 A: maṅ  
 15 B: om. rgya  
 16 B: bar gong  
 17 A, B: sgog  
 18 A: sing  
 19 A: stag; B: tag  
 20 A: gangs  
 21 B: byas  
 22 A, B: manu  
 23 B: pa chen  
 24 A: dga'  
 25 A: song pa  
 26 B: om. kyang  
 27 B: slob dpon  
 28 B: nu gu'i  
 29 B: 'grel ba'i  
 30 B: gzhan yang so so'i  
 31 B: add las  
 32 B: 'gyur  
 33 B: add. yang

A: fols. 93a/2–95b/1; B: pp. 137.13–141.1

[3]

skye yul glo bo rang de / sngon rgyal po ge sar gyis btul bdud gya ru'i<sup>34</sup> yul  
yin par grags pa don la gnas par 'dug / dam pa'i chos la sol phye las gnag pa'i  
blo drag gzhan<sup>35</sup> yongs la che chung med par khyab 'dug pas / chos brgyad<sup>36</sup>  
dang<sup>37</sup> sgo bstun<sup>38</sup> sgrub mchod re tsam gyi zhabs tog 'jig rten las snang gi  
'gran dpe la dmigs sgrub la ma gtogs lha chos 'dres med gtsang ma<sup>39</sup> la snang  
phugs<sup>40</sup> kyang 'dren par mi nus 'dug pa nas /

yang dol phyogs kyi yul rnam su maṇi<sup>41</sup> bskul la phyin / 'tsho ba<sup>42</sup> so  
so'i mi dpon rgan pa rnam la ster sbyin yang dag pas sems khrid nas<sup>43</sup> ma [B  
138] ṇi<sup>44</sup> yul kun tu khyab pa'i 'khrul che ba blo yul las 'das pa'i dge tshogs  
'bad [A 93b] med lhun grub spyi khyab tu byung zhing / dung 'phyur<sup>45</sup> yang ri  
khrod rang du chig sgril byas / lce thog nas 'don mi<sup>46</sup> chod pa yang dag dpag  
med byung nas yid bde bsam gyis<sup>47</sup> mi khyab pa skyes / phyogs der byung  
ba'i 'bul ba thams cad kyang ma ṇi ba kho na'i phyogs su lhag ma lus pa  
khyab par byas / drung ba lung pa / drung rnam grol ba / drung<sup>48</sup> 'bum ram pa  
/ drung pa rang byung sa<sup>49</sup> dang bzhi la do dam bcol / dol phyogs kyi ma ṇi ba  
rnam la grangs kyi gnas phra mo la yang som nyi med pa'i yid ches par yod /

de nas mon yul kha thod bar bongs su grags pa'i yul der phyin / dbyar ngo  
dgon gsar<sup>50</sup> du bsdad nas / chos don gnyer gyi dge 'dun dad ldan sha stag la  
lam 'bras shin tu rgyas pa<sup>51</sup> zhi gi dbu btsugs mtshams / drung ba lung pa  
sku mched kyang byon byung / sa der nyin mtshan dus drug 'khor mor chos  
kyi 'da' bar byung ste / nged rang gi<sup>52</sup> lam 'bras gzhung bzhi<sup>53</sup> du snga phyi  
thun gnyis su bcaḍ pa'i<sup>54</sup> chos thun shin tu ring ba / bar bar 'phral 'phral<sup>55</sup> la

34 A: gyu ru'i; B: rgyu'i

35 B: zhan

36 B: khyad

37 B: om. dang

38 B: btun

39 B: gtsang ma 'dres med

40 B: phug

41 B: maṇ

42 A: 'tshe'u

43 B: de

44 B: maṇis

45 B: 'gyur

46 B: 'don pa'i

47 B: gyi

48 B: drung pa

49 B: rang byung ba

50 B: sar

51 A: zhib pa

52 A: gi

53 B: zhing

54 B: bshad pa'i

55 B: om 'phral 'phral

glo bur du 'ongs pa'i bya bral gnas skor ba lam 'bras ma zin pa'i chos  
bsnyegs pa<sup>56</sup> yul gyi rgan pa du ma la lam 'bras rin<sup>57</sup> la ni gu lan bcu gcig  
tsam song / nged dgos<sup>58</sup> [A 94a] chos 'chad pa'i skabs dang snyan du<sup>59</sup> / zur  
chos la ba lung snying rje'i zla bas tshogs pa spyi khyab tu ma gcig ka so ma'i  
dbang le lhag brgyad ma dang bcas pa / rnam grol bstan pa'i nyi mas bde  
mchog lhū i pa'i dbang lan grangs du ma / padma bka' thang yig gi lung /  
'bum ram pa tho rangs skar chen pas gsang 'dus mi bskyod pa'i dbang cha  
sbrel ma dang 'brel [B 139] bar gsang 'dus rnam bshad chen mo'i bshad lung  
/ sdom brtson dge chung bas<sup>60</sup> bde mchog nag po pa'i dbang cha gnyis / dar  
smyon he ru ka nas las phag mo khros nag gi lung<sup>61</sup> / rang byung chos kyi rdo  
rjes bde chen skor gsum sogs / khong so sos kyang gcig tho gcig la ma phog  
par chos 'chad drag la yun ring ba gnang zhing /

skabs der 'bri gung mkhan rin po che mgon bzang pa dpon slob / song  
pa<sup>62</sup> sku mched kyis<sup>63</sup> gtso mdzad / lba lba<sup>64</sup> sogs mon rgyal po'i mnga' zhabs  
nas 'ongs pa'i che dgu / ras<sup>65</sup> 'ba' zhig gyon pas lung pa'i stod smad<sup>66</sup> thams  
cad ngang dkar gyi khyus gang pa ltar dkar por mthong ba / khyad par bud  
med thams cad smad g.yogs ras khra sul<sup>67</sup> bsgrigs<sup>68</sup> su byas pa'i sham thabs  
mdzes pas dkris / gra'i<sup>69</sup> [A 94b] tshogs ltag par bcings pa lha mo'i rnam pa  
can / rkang lag thams cad gser dngul gyi gdu bu dang / g.yer khas<sup>70</sup> brgyan<sup>71</sup>  
te / rgyang rin po nas kyang sil khrol gyi sgra snyan par sgrog la<sup>72</sup> / dkyil  
'khor pa'i rig ma<sup>73</sup> bcu drug kyang snang cha 'di lta bu yin no snyam pa'i yid  
dpyod<sup>74</sup> lhag par<sup>75</sup> bskyed pa'i<sup>76</sup> dad 'dus kyi skye bo dpag tu med pas dgon  
gnas kyi phyogs thams cad khyab pa na / yi ge drug pa las brtsams pa'i<sup>77</sup> chos  
kyi sgo mdo sde za ma tog bkod pa'i rgyal po la bshad lung skad gnyis su

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56 A: bsnyegs pa

57 B: ring

58 A: sgos

59 B: om. dang snyan du

60 B: om. dom brtson dge chung bas

61 B: add dbang

62 B: song pa

63 B: gyi

64 A: rba rba

65 B: add. gos

66 A: sral

67 B: bsul

68 A: sgrigs

69 B: sgra'i

70 A: g.yer kas

71 B: rgyan

72 A: pa

73 B: rigs ma

74 B: yid spyod

75 B: lhug par

76 A: skye ba'i

77 B: brtsam pa'i

sdebs nas skal bzang gi gdul bya rmad du byung ba de dag gi rna ba'i khung bur zhag bdun gyi bar nyin re las nyin re chos<sup>78</sup> ches<sup>79</sup> rgyas su spel ba'i chos kyi gtam rgya cher rnyed pas / khong rang gi skad kyis<sup>80</sup> 'grol nges<sup>81</sup> yid lhag par rangs pa'i mgu ba thob / bha dra<sup>82</sup> gu ru / mahā paṇḍita / a tse pha la pha la / ces brjod cing / shin tu gtsang sbra dang [B 140] ldan pa'i brtul zhugs 'chang ba de dag rang dbang med pa'i dad pa'i rlabs g.yos / nged rang gi lham gtsug tu len pa sogs mi phyed pa'i dad pa dang / rgyu 'bras la<sup>83</sup> yid ches pa'i yang dag pa'i lta ba<sup>84</sup> khyad par can gyi rnyed pa dang bcas / yi ge drug ma'i sgra di ri ri / tshong pa [A 95a] nor bu'i gling nas re ba'i bsam rdzogs pa ltar / slar rang gi yul ga la ba der log rjes / 'bri gung mkhan rin po che dpon slob rnams la ni gu'i ma gyogs khrid / bde mchog lhū<sup>85</sup> dril nag gsum gyi dbang / gzhan yang dgongs bzhed<sup>86</sup> gyi 'dod chos lhug par phul / mkhan chen pa nyid kyis chig rdzogs kyi gnas legs par bzhes / thugs dad smos bcas ma yin pa sngar nas kyang 'dug cing / slar yang 'phel te gdung shugs kyi spyen chab ser phran drag po 'bab pa la 'gran du bzod pa'i rgyun nyin mtshan khor mor 'bebs pa<sup>87</sup> dang<sup>88</sup> 'bral bar mi phod pa'i ngang nas 'bri gung gi gdan sa chen po nyid du<sup>89</sup> thegs / lam 'bras sogs chos rnams kyang bar chad med par mthar phyin / mon phyogs nas phul ba'i ras cha sngo dmar / sman / mkhar ba'i phor gzhang / shing 'bras / khyad par zas mchog g.yos<sup>90</sup> su sbyar ba'i lha'i zhal zas la bskrun par nus pa de<sup>91</sup> cung zad kyang ma 'bags par / gzeb kyi<sup>92</sup> nang du bkur stir<sup>93</sup> bgyis nas bdag gis gzung / gzhan<sup>94</sup> longs spyod thams cad der 'dus kyi dge 'dun<sup>95</sup> la sna<sup>96</sup> chud ma zos par sbyin gtong byas / sa der<sup>97</sup> skya [A 95b] btsun khong su ma ṅi dung 'phyur<sup>98</sup> nyi shu rtsa lnga 'khrul med len mi

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78 B: add. chos thun

79 A: rje; B: je

80 A: gyi

81 B: des

82 B: baḍa

83 B: 'khrul med du

84 B: lta bas skal pa

85 B: om. lhū

86 B: add. ltar

87 B: khor mor g.yo

88 B: add: bcas

89 B: add phyag

90 B: pos

91 B: add. rnams

92 B: add. che ba gig gi

93 A: bkur sti

94 B: add. 'bul ba

95 B: add. kun

96 B: gcig kyang

97 B: 'dir

98 B: 'gyur

byung ba rnam bla ma'i thugs dgongs rdzogs pa'i sngo ba [B 141] dang smon lam gyis<sup>99</sup> rgyas thebs par<sup>100</sup> byas nas pha yul du log /

A: fol. 110a/1–b/3; B: pp. 161.9–162.7

[4]

de nas dbu legs byams pa gling du zhag 'ga' ngal bsos te glo bo<sup>101</sup> nang du phyin / de lo'ang sa ga'i dus chen la bsnyen bkur<sup>102</sup> yang dag gi zhabs tog<sup>103</sup> bgyis nas / bar bong gi brag dmar chos sde'i lha khang gi rab gnas la 'bod mi rkang btsugs byung bas phyin<sup>104</sup> rab gnas legs par bgyis / der 'dus rnam la ni gu sogs 'dod chos kyi re ba yongs su<sup>105</sup> rdzogs par byas skabs / 'bul ba la byung ba'i zangs rnam lha khang gi kun rar bsags pas mi gshong pa tsam<sup>106</sup> byung ba / der 'tshogs pa'i dge 'dun rnam la ma'i don du<sup>107</sup> phul nas bsngo pas rgyas<sup>108</sup> btab / de dus<sup>109</sup> dzo ki cig yod pa snying ha las nas brgyal pa lta bu byung / der dngos po so<sup>110</sup> gcig ma 'brel<sup>111</sup> byas nas slar log gnam steng su bsdad /

dpyid sos nas dbyar smad bar sos ngal<sup>112</sup> cing bag phebs pa<sup>113</sup> byung / dus der gong nas nam mkha rin chen<sup>114</sup> skyar skya rdzong du khri dmag dang bcas phebs byung ba'i phyag [B 162] phyir bkris shog [A 110b] gsung ba'i bka' stsal lo chen drung gis<sup>115</sup> phebs byung na'ang / char chu ches rkyen phran bu 'ga' la brten<sup>116</sup> cung ma thon / gong nas kyi chibs kha shar phyogs la bsgyur rjes / rang las kyi rtod phur ma'i 'ching ba<sup>117</sup> ni grol / gzhan ngo bsrung 'phreng chags<sup>118</sup> ni shig tsam<sup>119</sup> med pas / lo chen dgongs dbyings sgrub pa

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<sup>99</sup> A: gyi

<sup>100</sup> B: thobs par

<sup>101</sup> B: blo bo

<sup>102</sup> A: bskur

<sup>103</sup> B: 'degs

<sup>104</sup> B: add te

<sup>105</sup> B: om. yongs su

<sup>106</sup> B: add. zhig

<sup>107</sup> B: don la ltos med

<sup>108</sup> B: add. byas

<sup>109</sup> B: tshe

<sup>110</sup> A: se

<sup>111</sup> B: 'dres

<sup>112</sup> B: dal

<sup>113</sup> B: add. rang

<sup>114</sup> A: nam mkha' rin chen pa

<sup>115</sup> B: om. lo chen drung gis

<sup>116</sup> A: sten

<sup>117</sup> B: mching ba

<sup>118</sup> B: cha

<sup>119</sup> B: add yang

dang / bla ma 'ga' re dang mjal ba / gnas skor lhag ma rnam byas pa<sup>120</sup> la zla  
ba dgu'i<sup>121</sup> dgu mchod nyin dpon slob gsum gyis shar phyogs la yong to<sup>122</sup> /

[1]

Then, after I had remained in Brag steng[s] for nine months on a single seat, without even moving for a moment, according to the promise which I had made to Lo chen [Ratnabhadra] (b. 1489) to make resound the *maṇi*[-mantra], I considered the benefit of beings in every direction. And as there was pure water [there], I went to sPo dmar, a mountain retreat in the north.<sup>123</sup> At that time there arrived from Dol [po] Ba lung sNying rje can, master [and] disciples, together with many faithful beings.<sup>124</sup> Heading up these faithful disciples, who longed for the life of a Buddhist monk, [was] a great cloud of many *saṃgha* [members], [including] Drung pa dPal ldan Rin chen pa, some who had taken an oath [to live] on medicine [alone], many elderly people from [b]Kra dum (=Pra dum), [and] those who gathered from individual monasteries—dBu legs, Chos lung, dGon par, Kho la spro and [others in] the nomad region. For all these very many listeners I gave again the middle [version of] the general condensed guidance of the Ni gu [ma doctrine], combined with the twenty-five central pronouncements—something easily understood, the object having been [both] condensed and explained. [These teachings] entered the ears of all [the listeners] without any effort [on their part].

In particular, I made the repetition of the root[-text] [and the] commentary on the *sGyu ma lam rim* as the supportive [teaching], since it expounds the cutting away of all doubt [and] contains the doctrine through and through. I fulfilled the hopes of all those gathered [there] for requested teachings [by transmitting] the five sections of the *sTabs rgyud*, the Cakrasaṃvara [according to] Kṛṣṇācārya, the four empowerments of the four Mudrās in their

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<sup>120</sup> B: bgyid pa

<sup>121</sup> A: dgu pa'i

<sup>122</sup> B: te

<sup>123</sup> Lo chen Ratnabhadra was a lineage-holder of the Kālacakra teachings in the Jo nang pa school. He transmitted the six-branch yoga to rJe btsun Kun dga' grol mchog and was involved with the tradition of the wandering “*maṇi* devotees” (*ma ṇi pa*); he was also known as a teacher of the practical guidance instructions relating to Avalokiteśvara. For a sketch of his life, see [www.treasuryoflives.org/biographies/view/Lochen-Ratnabhadra/P2417](http://www.treasuryoflives.org/biographies/view/Lochen-Ratnabhadra/P2417). dPo dmar is located in the Byang thang region to the east of Gangs Ti se; it was a meditation place of Bon po masters of the *Zhang zhung snyan brgyud* tradition; see Vitali (2012:8, note 7).

<sup>124</sup> The teacher called sNying rje can or sNying rje zla ba seems to have been the main disciple of rJe btsun Kun ga' grol mchog from the Dolpo region. He is also mentioned under the name Chos rje Ba lung pa in the biography of bSod nams blo gros, the founder of dMar sgom, who obtained a number of teachings from this master in Ban tshang, including the Ni gu ma doctrine; see Snellgrove (1967, I: 95–97 & II:34.6–35.17).

entirety and so forth, which had not been received earlier by Drung Ba lung pa and others. To the countless black-faced beings showing up from everywhere [I] daily [gave] empowerments for a long life and explained, without breaking [the exposition] up into [individual] sessions, the general teaching of developing confidence in [the law of] karma, and [thus] tamed their minds. Those like Ba lung pa and others who took the form of teachers—[that is,] those who continuously recited the *maṇi*[-mantra] and flung [it] from the tip of their tongues—[also] admonished the others. And when those who took up the burden of a promise to engage in the continuous recitation [of the maṇi-mantra] were counted, it came to twenty-five persons. After that I returned once again to Brag steng[s].

## [2]

At this time, when in the upper and lower [parts of] sNar, too, great benefit was accruing to beings on account of the *maṇi*[-mantra], people from Bar bong[s] showed up who called [for me]. Via the route passing through [s]Kag, Songs [po] [and] Thag, I took the frightening path of what is known as the Great Being – Small Being Pass, and when ascending I had to climb during the middle of the day, while on the peak of the pass, snow was even falling in the summer. I stayed for about half a month at the place known as mTshar 'ga'—at the border between the eastern and western kings, [these] two—under the dominion of the Jumla king Maṇirāja; a sacred site where the teacher Sa chen [Kun dga' snying po] (1092–1158) had displayed his bodily form and taught the *Lam 'bras* [doctrine].<sup>125</sup> For countless teachers, masters [and] disciples who had accrued the faith to strive for the doctrine—headed by a great assembly of such nobles as the Song[s] po brothers [and] the great teachers of the gorges, and by Drung Ba lung [pa] sNying rje can from Dolpo—I opened, according to the very condensed essence of the Ni gu [ma doctrine], the doctrinal gate to the great empowerment of the *sgyu lus*. (which [empowerment] leads to liberation) and satisfied their minds with instructions, [namely] statements of each of the six doctrines [of Ni gu ma] augmented by the [relevant] six guidances together with the [corresponding] empowerments.<sup>126</sup> For the others there was made an untiring exposition of

<sup>125</sup> The eastern and western kings are respectively the rulers of Mustang and Jumla. On the ruler Maṇirāja in the genealogy of the kings of Jumla, see Tucci (1956:122). Concerning Sa chen Kun dga' snying po's transmission of the *Lam 'bras* system at mTshar 'ga', i.e. Tsharka, see Stearns (2001:151 & 252, note 224). The disciple Byang chub sems dpa'i sTag, who received and passed on these teachings, was a nomad from the region. The Sa skya pa hierarch's manifestation of his bodily form at mTshar 'ga' may have given rise to the toponym, which could thus be translated as “[Place of] Some Miracles” (*[ngo] mtshar 'ga'*).

<sup>126</sup> The toponym Song[s] po is a variant reading of Som po, a region in southern Mustang. The nobles present at that time at mTshar 'ga' belonged to the family of the rulers of dGa' rab rdzong, near present-day Thini; see Ehrhard (2013: 220 & 222 ff.) on the region of Som po and its castle.

empowerments and reading[-authorisations] day and night according to their individual wishes, along with such things as [the recitation of the dharaṇī of] the hundred-and-some Tārās verbalized in a continuous stream; I [could] not count on a single moment of relaxation. It so happened that there too the continuous recitation of the *maṇi*[-mantra] came forth from the tip of my tongue and that there was the great power of making the people [to do the same]; after that I returned again [to Glo bo].

[3]

As this Mustang, the land of my birth, is known to be the domain of the demon Gya ru, tamed earlier by King Ge sar, it has obviously remained as such [a Buddhist land].<sup>127</sup> Regarding the noble doctrine [these days, however,] a fierce mind blacker than charcoal pervades everyone else without any distinction, and thus for a long time, except for performing the service of a mere few ritual offerings which are in accordance with the eight dharmas [and] have as their object [simply furnishing] an example of competing in the manifestation of worldly deeds, I was not able to maintain a [proper] feeling in regard to the genuine, pure, divine Buddhist doctrine.

Thus, in order to make resound the *maṇi*[-mantra] I went to the lands of the Dol [po] region. Since the old rulers were properly provisioned with individual livelihoods, the great illusion [appeared] that the *maṇi*[-mantra], this guidance for the mind, was filling all the lands [and] that the accumulation of inconceivable virtue was manifesting without effort, spontaneously and in a general way. Further, in a mountain retreat I united the continuous [recitation of the *maṇi*-mantra] into a single whole; after countless uninterrupted authentic utterings [of the *maṇi*-mantra] had arisen from the tip of my tongue inconceivable well-being was produced. All the offerings which had come forth from the region [of Dol po] were redistributed without remainder, and exclusively, to those who recited the *maṇi*[-mantra], and these I left in the care of Drung Ba lung pa, Drung rNam grol ba, Drung pa 'Bum ram pa [and] Drung pa Rang byung ba, [these] four. Though few in number, the people [under vow] of continuous *maṇi* repetition in the region of Dol [po] had my full doubt-free confidence.<sup>128</sup>

<sup>127</sup> For the same wording in regard to Mustang as a country tamed by Ge sar, see rJe btsun Kun dga' grol mchog: *Kun dga' mchog grub kyi rnam thar ngo mtshar dad pa'i glang po'i lcags kyu*, fol. 4a/4 (*spyir yang glo bo 'di rgyal po ge sar gyis btul ba'i bdud rgya rur grags pa'i yul yin par grags*). In other literary sources Chos skyong 'bum (fl. ca 1400), the founder of the kingdom of Mustang, is associated with the war god Ge sar; see Jackson (1984:146). See Kramer (2008:19) and Vitali (2012:114–118) concerning the appointment of Chos skyong 'bum as the ruler of Glo bo and Dolpo by the Gung thang ruler bSod nams lde (1371–1404).

<sup>128</sup> Drung rNam grol ba (or rNam grol bzang po) has already been mentioned as another important disciple of rJe btsun Kun dga' grol mchog in the Dolpo region. bSod nams blo gros, the author of his biography, in his own life-story adds a separate chapter about his studies under this master; see Snellgrove (1967, I:99–114 & II:40.2–46.17).



Then I went to the upper opening into Mon yul, [to] the land known as the “Middle-size [Valley].” After settling down for the summer in dGon gsar, I began a very extensive [transmission of] the *Lam ’bras* [tradition] to the few mere faithful members of the *samgha*, [all of whom were] striving for the Buddhist doctrine. The Drung Ba lung pa brothers arrived as well. At that place something which surpassed [ordinary] Buddhist doctrine manifested day and night for the entourage of six [persons]. For some eleven times in the course of a very long period of time, split up between early and late sessions of the day, the Ni gu [ma doctrine being taught] by me changed into the precious *Lam ’bras* [tradition], so as to accord with the latter, for carefree ascetics who showed up suddenly, on the move from holy place to holy place, in search of unfinished *Lam ’bras* [teachings], and for many elderly local people as well.

When I heard, [at the time of teaching, the words] “We need [them personally],” [I gave] in the form of a separate teaching, [as requested] by Ba lung pa sNying rje zla ba, the empowerment of Ma gcig Ka so ma for the general assembly, together with the eight remaining chapters; [as requested] by rNam grol bsTan pa’i nyi ma, the empowerment of Cakrasaṃvara many times [according to] Luipada [along with] the reading-authorisation of the *Padma bka’[i] thang [yig]*; [as requested] by ’Bum ram pa Tho rangs skar chen, an explanation and reading-authorisation of the great exposition of the Guhyasamāja together with the associated empowerment of the *gSang ’dus mi bskyod pa*, the two-part empowerment of Black Cakrasaṃvara (as the persevering with vows was small) [and] the reading-authorisation of the black wrathful Vajravarahī from [the tradition of] Dar smyon Heruka; [and as requested] by Rang byung Chos kyi rdo rje, the three Mahāsukhā cycles and so forth. For a long time extensive expositions of the Buddhist doctrine were given, [as requested] by them individually, to such an extent that not [even] the single [teachings] could be contained in a single list.<sup>129</sup>

At that time a great number of persons of high class came who were subjects of the king of Mon: [l]Ba [l]ba and others, [among whom] the precious scholar of ’Bri gung mGon [po] bzang [po] (master [and] disciples)

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This chapter is introduced by the episode in which the founder of dMar sgom, having originally intended to pay another visit to the “incomparable” (*mnyam med*) Ba lung pa [sNying rje zla ba], instead moved to Grva lung, where rNam grol bzang po had just completed a three-year retreat. The latter’s transmission and spiritual practices start with the six doctrines of the Ni gu ma tradition. A manuscript copy of one of the autobiographical writings of rJe btsun Kun dga’ grol mchog written down by ’Bum ram pa [Tho rangs skar chen] has survived; see *rJe rtsun(= btsun) ’jam pa’i dbyangs kun dga’ grol ’chog (=mchog) gyi rnam thar ngo ’tsar (=mtshar)*, 26 fols., NGMPP reel-no. L 121/4.

<sup>129</sup> The extensive transmission of Buddhist teachings by Kun dga’ grol mchog in Bar bong[s] is also documented in the biography of rNam grol bzang po; see *mKhas grub chen po rnam grol bzang po’i rnam thar mthong ba don ldan dad pa’i spu long g.yo byed* (as on p.9, note 4), A: pp. 46.3–47.6, and B: pp. 34.16–36.4.

and the Song[s] pa brothers were chief. They were dressed only in cotton, and thus all the upper and lower [parts of the] valley looked as if they were filled by a flock of white geese. For their part, all the women were wrapped in beautiful pleated lower garments of particoloured cotton, covering the nether parts [of their bodies]. Their hair was bound together, [and] with all their hands and legs ornamented with bracelets and small bells of gold [and] silver they had the appearance of goddesses. Even from far away the sounds of the small bells rang out, and I thought “The sixteen female deities [of the Cakrasaṃvara] *maṇḍala*, too, have such an appearance.” When all the countless people of [such] faith [as to] abundantly produce [in me] the mental analysis [leading to that thought] had pervaded all directions around the monastic site [of dGon-gsar], [I] extensively bestowed religious discourses in such a way as to, during one week, increase from day to day the teaching discourses [that penetrated] into the opening of the ears of those marvellous [and] fortunate disciples, mixing two languages for an explanation and reading-authorisation of the king [of Buddhist *sūtra* known as] *Kāraṇḍavyūha*, the entrance into the Dharma composed on the basis of the Śaḍakṣarī [formula]. Having thus been released in their own language, they obtained utter satisfaction and exclaimed: “O good teacher, great scholar, father, father!” And a wave of spontaneous faith was stirred up in those who had maintained disciplined conduct endowed with complete purity. Through the correct view of complete confidence in the [law of] karma and [through] unwavering faith—[displayed when I] set my boot on their heads and so forth—they acquired a special disposition while murmuring the Śaḍakṣarī [formula], like a merchant who fulfils all his hopes of riches from an island.<sup>130</sup>

After they had returned to their own regions from where they had come, I offered spontaneously to [mGon po bzang po,] the precious scholar of 'Bri gung, master [and] disciples, quick instruction on the Ni gu [ma doctrine], Cakrasaṃvara empowerments [according to] Ghanta[pada], Kriṣṇa[ācārya] and Lui[pada], [these] three, and in addition all the teachings he requested. [This master] possessed already early on an unadulterated faith [in me], and it has been ever increasing. Unable to muster the courage to separate [himself from me]—[and], in the strong desire [to stay on], day and night continuously shedding a stream of tears able to rival the intense ones flowing from my own humble self—he [finally] returned to the great residence of 'Bri gung.<sup>131</sup>

When the *Lam 'bras* and other teachings had come to an end without obstacle, all that had been offered from the regions of Mon, such as the red-

<sup>130</sup> The *Ārya-karaṇḍavyūha-mahāyāna-sūtra* is the locus classicus for the cult of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara and the emergence of the Mantra *Oṃ maṇī padme hūṃ*. It should be noted that a Tibetan translation of the *sūtra* had been completed at the royal court of Mustang in the year 1513 with the support of King Ang Grags pa mtha' yas, a nephew of Glo bo mKhan chen; see Ehrhard (2014:25, note 14).

<sup>131</sup> The 'Bri gung master mGon [po] bzang [po] has not been identified. A monastery of the 'Bri gung pa school in the Tichurong area is noted in the biography of Yon tan gyäl mtshan; see p.20.

[and-]blue cotton cloth, medicine, bronze bowls [and] plates, fruit, and particularly all the cooked dainties fit for a feast for the gods, I respectfully put in a basket without spoiling anything. All the other articles which I was meant to take I gave away to various [members of the] *samgha* gathered there, without wasting a single item. Among the religious and the laypersons of that site (i.e. dGon gсар) were ones who had accumulated twenty-five faultless [and] continuous recitations of the *mani*[-mantra], and after these were sealed with a “fulfilling the final intention of the teacher” dedication and [further] prayers, I returned to my home country.

[4]

Then, after I had taken a rest for a few days at Byams pa gling [in] dBu legs I went on to the inner part of Glo bo. That same year, after the renewed service of offerings for the festival of the fourth Tibetan month, people appeared who called upon me to inaugurate Brag dmar chos sde [monastery in] Bar bong[s]; thus, I went [there] and the consecration was properly performed. When I was fulfilling hopes for doctrines—Ni gu [ma]’s and others—requested by those who had gathered [there], the copper which had been offered [for the construction] was being stored in the shrine room of the temple, and it came about that there was not space [for all of it]; I sealed [it all] for the [members of the] *samgha* assembled there with an extensive dedication [of all this merit], inasmuch as they had offered [the copper] for their own mothers’ benefit. It happened at that time that a yogin who was present became unconscious, as if having fainted. I returned back [to Glo bo], leaving all the [offered] materials completely untouched, and stayed at gNam steng.

From after spring up to the middle of the summer there arose naturally [a state of] relaxation and leisure. Although at that time an order from the noble Lo chen [Ratnabhadra] arrived to teach the supremo Nam mkha’ rin chen as an attendant [to him] once he arrived at sKyar skya rdzong together with his army, due to the minor circumstance of heavy rainfall the latter did not turn up at all; the supremo’s reins had turned eastwards, after which I was liberated from being tied to a stake of karma. As there was not a single desire [on our part] to protect ourselves from how others viewed us on the day of the ninefold offering during the ninth Tibetan month, in order to fully carry out the wishes of Lo chen [Ratnabhadra], to meet certain teachers and to perform the remaining pilgrimages, [we], master [and] disciples, three [persons in all], proceeded to the east.<sup>132</sup>

<sup>132</sup> The “supremo” (*gong nas*) Nam mkha’ rin chen (16<sup>th</sup> cent.) was the eldest grandson of bDag chen Nam rgyal grags bzang (1395–1473) and belonged to the ruling house of La stod Byang. He is known to have been a student of rJe btsun Kun dga’ grol mchog; see Byams pa Thub bstan: *sPyan snga dbon rgyud bod rje sne’u gdong sde srid snga phyi dang / byang bdag chos rgyal rnams kyi lo rgyus kun gsal me long*, Dharamsala 2002, p. 124.14–17. The noble family of sKyar skya were local rulers of the Muktināth valley in southern Mustang; concerning their fortresses, built in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the main one being rDzar, see Ehrhard (2013:206).

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“WILD AND LAWLESS AREA”?  
 MONASTIC INSTITUTIONS IN THE LACHEN VALLEY  
 (NORTH SIKKIM, INDIA)<sup>1</sup>

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Orchids clustered on mountainsides, herds of burhel and chamois, water-driven prayer-wheels, and smoke-darkened monasteries; it is a world that lives apart, preserving ancient rhythms.<sup>2</sup>

### 1. *Introduction*

The Lachen valley, extending from Chungthang village to Tsho Lhamo lake, is one of the remotest parts of Sikkim and, due to its climate and lack of cultivable land, it is sparsely populated. The most important villages within this valley are Lachen, also known as Lamteng, and Thangu. The Lachen valley shows different particularities: First, it has a special political system, the *dzumsa* (*'dzoms sa*), a public assembly and system of self-governance. Second, people still practice pastoral-nomadism, following their cattle throughout the year. Because of this agro-pastoral practice, religious ceremonies are held at Lachen monastery during the winter months and at Thangu monastery during the summer months. Third, the valley is adjacent to the Khangchendzonga National Park, declared a national park under the Indian Wildlife (Protection) Act in 1977, and accepted and inscribed as

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<sup>2</sup> Datta-Ray (1984, p. 54), describing the Lachen valley.

a UNESCO World Heritage Site in July 2016. Both the monasteries of Thangu and Lachen are part of the so-called transition zone.



Lachen village in 1936<sup>3</sup>

The Lachen valley is connected to Guru Rinpoche, also known as Padmasambhava, who visited present-day Sikkim during the eighth century. He first reached Gurudongmar lake in the Lachen valley from where he entered Sikkim, blessed countless places and prepared the land for the Buddhist doctrine. Afterwards, he left for Tibet passing Chungthang, where he rested and left his footprints on a rock, known as Guru Neydo (*Guru gnas rdo*).

There [in Sikkim] exist eight doors: four doors to walk through and four hidden ones. One is commonly known as Lamo Lachen, a pass road of the eastern door, the way [taken] during the three autumn months (i.e. seventh, eighth, and ninth month of Tibetan lunar calendar). If one surrounds the snow mountains in the upper part of the valley [of Lachen, one finds] Lamo Gangra. [Whereas] in the lower part of the valley [one finds the place] Chungthang, where the dwelling place of Dorje Phagmo (i.e. Vajravārāhī) is located and Orgyan (i.e. Guru Rinpoche) established symmetrically a precious

<sup>3</sup> From the Richard Nicholson Collection, Namgyal Institute of Tibetology.



triangular ground, where rice ripens, inseparable wild crops, blessed [by Guru Rinpoche]. Between Lamo Gangra, which is located higher, and Chungthang, which is located lower in the valley, [there lies the place] called Lachen, where [one finds] magnificent pure water.<sup>4</sup>

Because of its proximity to the Chinese border, the Lachen valley is under military surveillance, the border itself has been closed since 1962. In the past, people from Lachen were connected to the Lama of Digarchi in Tibet.<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, Sikkimese nomads were allowed to herd their cattle in the Tibetan region of Kampa Dzong (Gam pa rDzong), which borders on North Sikkim. People from Kampa even paid taxes to the Sikkimese kingdom.<sup>6</sup>

La chen and La chung are located in the modern North District of Sikkim and on account of their remoteness to the centre of power in Sikkim, have always been a somewhat wild and lawless area.<sup>7</sup>

Buddhist structures such as monasteries or small village prayer houses were established at different places in the Lachen valley. The establishment of these was often connected to the visit of important teachers and masters from Tibet.

Westerners who travelled to this remote area of Sikkim gave different descriptions of this region because of their various cultural and social background. Some of these accounts are given below. This is a contribution to the cultural and religious history of Sikkim focussing on the monasteries of Lachen and Thangu.

## 2. Monastery of Thangu

The monastery of Thangu, also known as Thangu Samten Choeling (Thang sgo bsam gtan chos gling), lies in the very north of Sikkim, on the way to Gurudongmar lake, the latter being a pilgrimage site just a

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<sup>4</sup> Compare BJJ (p. 84); *de la 'gro ba'i lam sgo chen po bzhi dang / gsang ba'i sgo bzhi ste sgo brgyad yod pa las / ston zla gsum gyi lam sgo shar gyi la mo la chen zhes yongs su grags / de yang phu mtha' gangs kyi bskor bas la mo gangs ra / mda' na rje btsun rdo rje phag mo'i bzhugs gnas yin pas mtshon o rgyan gyis byin brlabs pa'i marmos pa'i lo tog dang dbyer med pa'i 'bras smin pa'i thang gru gsum nor bu'i dbyibs can du chags pas btsun thang / phu ba'i la mo gangs ra dang mda' ba'i btsun mo rin chen thang gi bar la chen gyi khang du chu gtsang rgya che be'i la chen zhes pa .*

<sup>5</sup> See Bhasin (1989, p. 87). Also the monks of the Lachung monastery had close ties with the ones from Digarchi in Tibet. Digarchi is the Nepalese name for Shigatse (gZhis ka rtse).

<sup>6</sup> See Mullard and Wongchuk (2010, pp. 97-101) and Mullard (2012).

<sup>7</sup> Mullard and Wongchuk (2010, p. 81).

few kilometres away from the border to Tibet.<sup>8</sup> The monastery and village of Thangu can be reached from Gangtok, the capital of Sikkim, by the North Sikkim Highway, passing Mangan, Chungthang, and finally crossing the Lachen valley. It is commonly believed that the monastery of Thangu, which follows the Nyingma (rNying ma) tradition, was established at the beginning of the nineteenth century.<sup>9</sup> However, an initial structure, though surely simpler as the present one, can be traced back to at least the 1750s.

## 2.1 History

The site where the Thangu monastery is situated, is connected to Guru Rinpoche, who is said to have visited Sikkim and blessed places throughout the country during the eighth century.

In the east [one finds] the cave of Yangru, in the south the cave of Troga (sPro dga'), in the west the cave of Thangu, and in the north the cave of Dothang. By circumambulating this four great caves, in front [one finds] a self-originated [sacred item], developed from the centre of the basis of Guru Rinpoche's throne. [This] is known as Gyikyur Doké (sGyid skyur rdo skas, the staircase of idleness). In the centre of [this], one finds the monastery Thangu.<sup>10</sup>

During the lifetime of the fifth Buddhist king, Chogyal Namgyal Phuntshog (Chos rgyal rNam rgyal phun tshogs, 1733-1780), a highly accomplished master arrived from Tibet and erected a small wooden hermitage in Thangu.<sup>11</sup> He was named Toe Dragnag Lama Padma Oebar (sTod brag nag bla ma Padma 'od 'bar, d.1776) from Tsang (gTsang).<sup>12</sup> He was a disciple of many renowned masters such as

<sup>8</sup> As Guru Rinpoche arrived from Tibet, he first stayed at Gurudongmar lake, where he saw different good signs and subsequently entered Sikkim; see Tenpa Gyatso (2016, p. 98).

<sup>9</sup> The Ecclesiastical Department of Sikkim states that it was founded in the beginning of the 19th century; see Ecclesiastical Dept. Monasteries. Another source suggests it was erected during the late 1800s; see Sonam Dhondup Tshering (2011?, p. 2).

<sup>10</sup> Compare *BJG* (p. 85): *shar du yang ru'i phug / lhor spro dga' phug / nub tu thang sgo phug / byang du rdo thang phug / phug chen bzhi yis bskor ba / mdun na o rgyan rin po che'i bzhugs khri rtsang ba'i dkyil nas rang byon / ming sgyid kyur (= skyur) rdo skas zhes su grags pa yod / dbus na thang rdo dgon pa yod /*.

<sup>11</sup> This highly realised master, a tantric siddha and madman (*grub thob smyon pa*), was on pilgrimage when he reached North Sikkim in the beginning of the thirteenth Tibetan *rab byung*, that is 1747-1806; see *LCGP* (p. 84).

<sup>12</sup> Dragnag (Brag nag) is a pilgrimage site in the upper end of the Drotang (Gro thang) valley in Mangyul Gungtang (Mang yul Gung thang); see Ehrhard (2004, p. 286). The Drotang valley is connected to the yogin Milarepa (Mi la ras pa); see Aufschnaiter

Kahtog Rigdzin Tsewang Norbu (Kaḥ thog Rig 'dzin Tshe dbang nor bu, 1698-1755).<sup>13</sup>

In Sikkim, a beautiful girl from Lachen, named Kuensang Pelmo (Kun bzang dpal mo), became his secret lover. As she got pregnant, people from the Lachen valley became angry and, according to local custom, they wanted to punish both of them for their relationship. As a consequence, Padma Oebar showed his power and left his footprint on a stone slab, which today is kept in the monastery of Lachen. Furthermore, he advised the people from the Lachen valley to establish a monastery at Thangu.<sup>14</sup> He passed away in 1766.<sup>15</sup>

In 1974, the monastery was renovated and in 2003 it was rebuilt and extended under the guidance of the fourth Lachen Rinpoche Kunsang Youngdol Wangpo (Kun bzang yongs grol dbang po, 1949-2012). The latter was also responsible for the initiation of the Pang Lhabsol (dPang lha gsol) celebration, a dance once introduced by the third Buddhist ruler (*chos rgyal*) Chagdor Namgyal (Phyag rdor rnam rgyal, 1686-1717) on occasion of the establishment of Pemayangtse monastery in 1705. This dance is held in order to worship and honour Sikkim's most important mountain deity, Khangchendzonga (Gangs chen mdzod lnga).<sup>16</sup>

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(1976, p. 178). Furthermore, a monastery called Dragnag (Brag nag) existed near Lhasa; see Ehrhard (2002, p. 44), van der Kuijp (1987, p. 107), Roerich (1949, p. 325), and Sørensen and Hazod (2007, p. 271, note 794).

<sup>13</sup> See *gSer phreng/a* (Vol. 4, 159.1-4), *Don brgyud dpal ldan 'brug pa'i mkhas grub bla ma rgya mtsho'i rnam thar legs bshad nor bu'i gter mdzod* (p. 218), *BJG* (p. 85), and Erschbamer (2017).

<sup>14</sup> See *LCGP* (p. 84) and Sonam Dhondup Tshering (2011?, p. 2). As stated by Ven. Lachen Gomchen Rinpoche, this footprint was sometimes mistakenly referred as being one of Guru Rinpoche. But one can speculate, that the footprint was left in one stone slab belonging to Guru Rinpoche's throne in the area, as described in the quotation above, the monastery being established in the centre of that throne.

<sup>15</sup> See *gSer phreng/a* (Vol. 4, 184.2 and 185.2). The information that Padma Oebar was from Tsang is found in the hagiography of Ngawang Choeki Gyatso (Ngag dbang chos kyi rgya mtsho, 1755-1831), son of Padma Oebar. For his hagiography see *gSer phreng/a* (Vol. 4, 137-319), *gSer phreng/b* (Vol. 29, 137-319), and *Don brgyud dpal ldan 'brug pa'i mkhas grub bla ma rgya mtsho'i rnam thar legs bshad nor bu'i gter mdzod* (pp. 218-21). Nonetheless, it is important to note that, according to the common Sikkimese perception, Padma Oebar was a master from Khams; see *BJG* (p. 85), *LCGP* (p. 84), Sonam Dhondup Tshering (2011?, p. 2), and Ecclesiastical Dept. Monasteries.

<sup>16</sup> See Lachen Gomchen Rinpoche Kunsang Youngdol Wangpo (2013, p. 81), Sonam Dhondup Tshering (2011?, p. 2), and Ecclesiastical Dept. Monasteries. For further reading on Khangchendzonga see Balikci (2008), Balikci-Denjongpa (2002), id. (2006, pp. 132-5), and id. (2014, p. 57).

## 2.2 *Important sons*

The above-mentioned teacher from Tibet, Padma Oebar, had two sons with his Sikkimese consort, whose incarnation lineages are often mixed up. The older one was recognised as Kagyu Tulku (bKa' brgyud sPrul sku), an incarnation lineage going back to Koenchog Gyaltsen (dKon mchog rgyal mtshan, 1601-1687), whereas the younger one was identified as incarnation of a master from the Phari (Phag ri) monastery in Tibet and thus became known as Phari Tulku (Phag ri sPrul sku). Only sparse information is preserved on the younger brother, named Yeshe Choeki Gyatso (Ye shes chos kyi rgya mtsho, d.1803), besides that he held close contacts to the monastery of Thangu.<sup>17</sup>

The older brother named Ngawang Choeki Gyatso (Ngag dbang chos kyi rgya mtsho, 1755-1831), was born in Lachen. During his early years, he stayed at Thangu monastery, where he was recognised as the incarnation of Tendzin Nyida (bsTan-'dzin nyi-zla, d.1753) who, in turn, was the incarnation of Koenchog Gyaltsen (dKon mchog rgyal mtshan, 1601-1687), to whom the lineage of the Kagyu Tulku or Druptop Tulku (Grub thob sPrul sku) goes back to. This lineage is one of the main incarnation lineages within the Barawa Kagyu ('Ba' ra ba bKa' brgyud) tradition. Also these two lineages were sometimes mixed up and Ngawang Choeki Gyatso was also mistakenly said to be the incarnation of Rinchen Tenpe Selje (Rin chen bstan pa'i gsal byed, 1658-1696), one of the Barawa Tulku, a lineage going back to Je Barawa Gyaltsen Pelsang (rJe 'Ba' ra ba rGyal mtshan dpal bzang, 1310-1391), the founding father of the Barawa tradition, which has its origins in the Shang (Shangs) valley in Tibet.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> See *BJG* (p. 86). In 1803 the Phari Tulku passed away and in 1807 his reincarnation was enthroned in the monastery of Phari Gompa Gong (Phag ri dgon pa gong); see *gSer phreng/a* (Vol. 4, 243.4-5 and 452.2-453.4). In *Bod kyi gal che'i lo rgyus yig cha bdams bsgrigs* (p. 345), the Phari Tulku is confounded with his elder brother. Here, the two former incarnations of the Kagyu Tulku Ngawang Choeki Gyatso, namely Koenchog Gyaltsen (1601-1687) and Tendzin Nyida (bsTan 'dzin nyi zla, d.1753) are given as being those of the Phari Tulku. However, these incarnations can clearly be attributed to the Kagyu Tulku and not to his younger brother, the Phari Tulku.

<sup>18</sup> According to the different hagiographies, a brief history of the lineage of the Kagyu Tulku, written by the late Kagyu Tulku Ngawang Tenpe Gyaltsen (Ngag dbang bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan, 1939–2007), as well as oral accounts of members of the Barawa tradition, these two lineages can clearly be divided. For further reading on both of these lineages see Erschbamer (2017). Koenchog Gyaltsen, to whom the lineage of the Kagyu Tulku is going back, was the first to bring the Barawa teachings to Sikkim during the seventeenth century. Furthermore, he established a monastery at

The most important teachers of Ngawang Choeki Gyatso were Ngawang Choedrag Gyatso (Ngag dbang chos grags rgya mtsho, 1722–1769), a member of the Barawa transmission lineage and Moendzong Drupwang Karma Palden (Mon rdzong Grub dbang Karma dpal ldan, 1709-1781), a Barawa master. Ngawang Choeki Gyatso was enthroned at the Kagyu monastery in Dromo (Gro mo), present-day Chumbi valley in Tibet, the former main seat of this lineage. The late Kagyu Tulku left Tibet in the late 1950s and founded a new centre at Chandmari, close to Gangtok, the capital of Sikkim.<sup>19</sup>

### 3. *Monastery of Lachen*

The Lachen monastery, also known as Lachen Ngodub Choeling (Lachen dngos grub chos gling), which follows Nyingma tradition, was established in 1866, and became the seat of the Lachen Gomchen.

#### 3.1 *Early history*

The Lachen monastery was established due to the efforts of the village chiefs (*spyi dpon*) Tsering Lhuendrup (Tshe ring lhun grub) and Dorje Samdrup Kuche (rDo rje bsam 'grub sku mched) in 1866, a Tibetan fire-tiger year.<sup>20</sup> The villagers of Lachen and thus the monastery of Lachen stayed in close contact with Drag Kharchen (Brag mkhar chen), also known as Kharchen Dorje Drag (mKhar chen rdo rje brag) in Tibet. The first important master from Tibet, who resided in the monastery of Lachen, was Shar Khumbu Lama Orgyen Tendzin (Shar khum bu'i bla ma O rgyan bstan 'dzin). He was a disciple of Druptop Longyang Rangdroel (Grub thob Klong yangs rang grol), also known as Kharchen Rinpoche (mKhar chen rin po che). The latter was the disciple of the great Jamyang Khyentse Wangpo ('Jam dbyangs mkhyen brtse dbang po, 1820-1892). Orgyan Tendzin was responsible for the obtaining of an edition of the Kanjur (*bKa' 'gyur*). Kharchen Rinpoche, his root teacher, was invited for the consecration and stayed

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Chungthang in northern Sikkim, where the roads from the Lachen and Lachung valley meet. For further reading see Erschbamer (2011), id. (2013), and id. (2017).

<sup>19</sup> For further reading on the Kagyu monastery in the Chumbi valley and its close ties with Sikkim see Erschbamer (2014), id. (2016), and id. (2017).

<sup>20</sup> The *pipon* (*spyi dpon*) is the village chief. In the Lachen and Lachung valleys, a traditional administrative system of self-governance, called *dzumsa* ('*dzoms sa*), is practiced. This council elects, among others, two *pipon*, the village chiefs, every year. For further reading see Bhasin (1989, pp. 126-7), Chhetri (2013), Mullard and Wongchuk (2010, p. 81), Bourdet-Sabatier (2004), and id. (2011, pp. 301-4).

for half a month at Lachen before returning back to Tibet. Later on, another disciple of Kharchen Rinpoche, Pudrag Lama Kelsang Oesel (Phu brag bla ma sKal bzang 'od gsal), was sent to the Lachen monastery and was responsible for it for three years. During that time, the text *Chaktong Chentong* (*Phyag stong spyan stong*), a work related to Avalokiteśvara, was obtained. After three years, Kelsang Oesel returned to Tibet. In 1896, a Tibetan fire-monkey year, Dzamdre Gelong Goenpo Namgyal ('Dzam 'bras dge slong mGon po rnam rgyal), a disciple of the above-mentioned Orgyen Tendzin, arrived at Lachen monastery. Under his guidance, the previous monastery, merely a small hut (*brtsigs dgon*), was destroyed and a new one made of mud (*gyang dgon*) erected.<sup>21</sup>



The Lachen monastery in 1938<sup>22</sup>

<sup>21</sup> See *BJG* (pp. 86-7 and 103-5) and *LCGP* (pp. 87-8). See also Bourdet-Sabatier (2011, p. 303) for a short description of this monastery. For some notes, although not always corresponding to primary sources, see Sonam Dhondup Tshering (2011?, p. 3) and Ecclesiastical Dept. Monasteries.

<sup>22</sup> From the Bruno Beger Collection, Namgyal Institute of Tibetology.

### 3.2 *The Lachen Gomchen*

Ngawang Kunsang Rinpoche (Ngag dbang kun bzang rin po che, 1867-1947), the third Lachen Gomchen, was a native from Namok in North Sikkim.<sup>23</sup> He spent his early years at Labrang monastery and then at Phodang monastery. He travelled to Tibet several times to receive teachings and empowerments from high masters. On these travels he also frequented the Lachen monastery.<sup>24</sup>

In 1898, a Tibetan earth-dog year, the third Lachen Gomchen was asked by the village chief Drachom (dGra bcom) and by the ninth Buddhist ruler (*chos rgyal*) Thutob Namgyal (mThu stobs rnam rgyal, 1860-1914) and Prince Sidkeong Tulku (Srid skyong sprul sku rnam rgyal, 1879-1914) to stay at Lachen and to take care of the monastery, which he eventually did.<sup>25</sup> During this time, the number of monks increased. Furthermore, the third Lachen Gomchen was responsible for the purchase of a copper drum and the establishment of thirteen hand operated prayer wheels.<sup>26</sup> He was also responsible for getting a statue of Guru Nangsi Silnon (Gu ru sNang srid zil gnon, i.e. Guru Rinpoche) made of copper, an edition of the Tanjur (*bsTan 'gyur*) from Narthang (sNar thang), and twelve silken dancer costumes, as well as for manufacturing clay statues of the three Buddha of the three times. Additionally, he directed the creation of murals in the temple.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> His incarnation, the fourth Lachen Gomchen, used to stay at Namok during his journeys to the Lachen monastery. According to the Ecclesiastical Department, he was responsible for the erection of a village prayer house, known as Namok Mani Lhakhang, at this site in 1979; see Ecclesiastical Dept. Mani Lhakhang.

<sup>24</sup> In *BJG* (p. 87) the year 1894, a Tibetan wood-horse year, is recorded for his first visit to the Lachen monastery. As the biographies of the third and fourth Lachen Gomchen were published in Lachen Gomchen Rinpoche Kunsang Youngdol Wangpo (2013), only the events in their lives that were directly connected to the Lachen monastery are referred to. Labrang monastery, which follows Nyingma tradition, and Phodang monastery, which follows Kagyu tradition, are both situated in the North District of Sikkim.

<sup>25</sup> See *BJG* (pp. 87-8 and 105-6), *LCGP* (pp. 88-90), and Lachen Gomchen Rinpoche Kunsang Youngdol Wangpo (2013, pp. 74-6).

<sup>26</sup> See *BJG* (p. 106).

<sup>27</sup> See *LCGP* (p. 90) and Lachen Gomchen Rinpoche Kunsang Youngdol Wangpo (2013, p. 76). The third Lachen Gomchen directed the establishment of a village prayer house at Tingchim in North Sikkim in 1922. This structure, known as Tingchim Mani Lhakhang, was renovated in 2002; see Ecclesiastical Dept. Mani Lhakhang. The printing press of Narthang monastery, located not far away from Shigatse, is famous for printing the Kanjur and Tanjur. For a history of this monastery see *dPal snar thang chos sde'i lo rgyus*.



The third Lachen Gomchen, Ngawang Kunsang Rinpoche (1867-1947)  
at Lachen in 1936<sup>28</sup>

The fourth Lachen Gomchen, Kunsang Youngdol Wangpo (Kun bzang yongs grol dbang po, 1949-2012), a native of Yangang in South Sikkim, was also responsible for restoration work at Lachen monastery.

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<sup>28</sup> From the Richard Nicholson Collection, Namgyal Institute of Tibetology.



In 1977, a Tibetan fire-snake year, the complete renovation of the monastery had begun with the financial assistance from the State Government. The place where the old monastery stood was so narrow that the temple had to face south-west, which is considered to be inauspicious. In order to face the temple to the east, the place had to be widened up, which took nearly two years. The outside was bricked up with white stones, whereas the inner of the monastery was made by iron rod and cement. The monastery consists of an assembly hall for monks (*'du khang*), living quarters (*gzim chung*), and a treasury room (*dkor mdzod*). Furthermore, living quarters for high teachers and a two-storied building for educating the novices and for visiting students from other places were established.<sup>29</sup> The fourth Lachen Gomchen passed away in New Delhi. His worldly remains were brought to Sikkim, where his funeral ceremony was held at Enchey monastery in Gangtok. Afterwards, some relics were brought to Lachen monastery.<sup>30</sup>

#### 4. *Village prayer houses*

The first prayer wheel in North Sikkim was constructed in 1724 by a yogin from Tibet: Sonam Choedzin (bSod nams chos 'dzin, b.1668), a 'care-free yogin' (*bya btang*). This native from Tsedong (rTse gdong) set out on a journey to Sikkim in 1724, where he established small structures for prayer wheels in Lachung and Chungthang. Then he reached Lachen, where he erected a prayer wheel near the Lachen river. The carpenter and the stone-worker were of Tibetan origin, the other workers were people from Lachen.<sup>31</sup> This prayer wheel probably marks the first Buddhist structure of worship and devotion in this valley.

<sup>29</sup> See *LCGP* (pp. 94-6) and Lachen Gomchen Rinpoche Kunsang Youngdol Wangpo (2013, pp. 79-80).

<sup>30</sup> See Anand Oberoi.

<sup>31</sup> See *Mthong thos yid kyi dga' ston* (93.5-94.5). For further reading on Sonam Choedzin see Ehrhard (2015). Sonam Choedzin stood in a transmission lineage, whose members all travelled to Sikkim: Ngadag Phuntsog Rindzin (mNga' bdag phun tshogs rig 'dzin, 1592-1657) is one of the Tibetan masters who opened Sikkim for the Buddhist doctrine in the seventeenth century. He was the teacher of Lachen Dreshong Chogyal Dorje (Bla chen 'Gres gshongs pa Chos rgyal rdo rje, 1602-1687), who visited Sikkim as well. Chogyal Dorje taught Sonam Tendzin Wangpo, throneholder of Tsedong (rTse gdong Khri chen bSod nams bstan 'dzin dbang po, 1639-1694). As times were unstable in his monastery, the latter travelled to Sikkim in 1692, where he finally passed away. He was the teacher of Sonam Choedzin, the 'care-free' yogin. For further reading on Sonam Tendzin Wangpo see *Sa skya'i gdung rabs* (pp. 116-88).



Prayer wheel at Lachen Mani Lhakhang

Different village prayer houses, called Mani Lhakhang, are located in the Lachen valley. The present village prayer hall of Lachen was built by Dzogchen Sungrab Gyatso (rDzogs chen gSung rab rgya mtsho, 19<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> century) from Khams in Tibet. He initially went to Tholung monastery in Dzongu. But since there were some disagreements, he left Tholung and went to Lachen, where he intended to establish his own monastery along with his disciples. After he had passed away, the monastic structure became a village prayer house for women. The clothes of Sungrab Gyatso along with the texts that were brought by him and that are regarded as Ter (*gter*) are kept in this monastic structure.<sup>32</sup> Having formerly been a wooden structure, it then was extended.<sup>33</sup> It houses a prayer wheel of about three metres height and one and a half metres width.<sup>34</sup> A conservation project was started for the Lachen Mani Lhakhang encouraged by Ven. Lachen Rinpoche.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>32</sup> Information stems from notes taken during interviews by Anna Balikci-Denjongpa at Lachen Monastery, 29<sup>th</sup> May 2008 and 12<sup>th</sup> April 2011. According to the Ecclesiastical Department of Sikkim, the present village prayer hall of Lachen, which is situated near the monastery of Lachen, was established in 1858. But Lachen Rinpoche was not sure about this date; communication with Anna Balikci-Denjongpa, 13<sup>th</sup> September 2017.

<sup>33</sup> See Ecclesiastical Dept. Mani Lhakhang. See also Bourdet-Sabatier (2011, p. 303).

<sup>34</sup> See Bhasin (1989, p. 123). The British engineer and Political Officer John Claude White (1853-1918) gave a description of an enormous prayer wheel, containing four

Further village prayer halls are situated in the Lachen valley, one at Tsateng, which lies on the way to Lachen and one at Yakthang below Thangu village. The one at Tsateng, known as Tsateng Mani Lhakhang, was established in 2002 and is looked after by a monk from Thangu monastery, whereas the village prayer house at Yakthang, called Yakthang Mani Lhakhang, was erected in 1967 and is affiliated to the Thangu monastery.<sup>36</sup>

### 5. *Western perceptions*

Westerners who spent time in the very north of Sikkim can be divided into four different categories: 1) people on political and scientific missions, 2) mountaineers, 3) seekers and disciples of Buddhism, and 4) missionaries. All came there looking for something, having political, social, or religious motives for their visits. The British explored the boundaries to Tibet and searched for a trade route connecting British India with Tibet. The mountaineers were heading for solitude and glory, Westerners who previously had come in contact with Tibetan Buddhism looked for teachers, and missionaries sought new members for their faith. Depending on their official or personal mission, and of course depending on their individual social, cultural, and religious background, differing notions can be noticed in their travel reports.

#### 5.1 *Political and scientific missions*

The first Westerner to explore North Sikkim in an abundant way was the English botanist and explorer Joseph Dalton Hooker (1817-1911). In his book *Himalayan Journals*, he described his experiences and observations, which he had collected in Chungthang and the valleys of Lachen and Lachung in 1849. During this time, the Lama of Chungthang monastery, called Choongtam Lama by Hooker, had great influence in this area. He and Hooker had some disagreements, as the

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tons of printed paper; see White (1909, p. 193). The British trade agent of Gyantse and Yatung from 1909-1924, David Macdonald (1870/3-1962), described the prayer wheel, housed near the monastery of Lachen, as the largest of its kind in Sikkim; see Macdonald (1943, p. 97). The Earl of Ronaldshay reported about the famous mechanism of this prayer wheel; see Dundas (1977, pp. 148-9).

<sup>35</sup> Lachen Rinpoche asked Anna Balikci-Denjongpa to coordinate this project, which was taken over by the French conservationist Mélodie Bonnat.

<sup>36</sup> See Ecclesiastical Dept. Mani Lhakhang.

Lama did not like Hooker's activities. Hooker described it in the following way:

The Choongtam Lama was at a small temple near Tangu (i.e. Thangu) during the whole of my stay, but he would not come to visit me, pretending to be absorbed in his devotions. Passing one day by the temple, I found him catechising two young aspirants for holy orders. He is one of the Dukpa sect, wore his mitre, and was seated cross-legged on the grass with his scriptures on his knees: he put questions to the boys, when he who answered best took the other some yards off, put him down on his hands and knees, threw a cloth over his back, and mounted; then kicking, spurring, and cuffing his steed, he was galloped back to the Lama and kicked off; when the catechising recommenced.<sup>37</sup>

In 1884, the British Colman Macaulay (1849–1890) led a party to the north of Sikkim to look for a new trade route to connect Tibet with British India through the Lachen valley. He provides information that up to the 1870s, the Lama of the Chungthang monastery had held jurisdiction throughout the Lachen and Lachung valleys.<sup>38</sup> During Macaulay's expedition, the party also camped at Lachen village where they were welcomed by the head Lama of the Lachen monastery.

Later on the Lamas of the monastery came with a sheep and a teapot, and after some conversation I gave them ten rupees, a present which led to the utmost protrusion of tongue that they could manage.<sup>39</sup>

In 1891, John Claude White (1853-1918), Political Officer in Sikkim, made a photographic expedition to the Lonak valley, Lachen, and Lachung, along with the photographer Theodore J. Hoffmann. Thick photographic albums resulted from this expedition, copies of which are preserved in the archives of the Namgyal Institute of Tibetology<sup>40</sup>.

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<sup>37</sup> Hooker (1854, pp. 93-4). With 'during the whole of my stay' Hooker's visit to Thangu is meant and not the entire time of his expedition.

<sup>38</sup> See Macaulay (1885, pp. 50-1). According to this report, the Chungthang Lama, named Larip Dechan, had tyrannised people. Therefore, people from the Lachen and Lachung valleys had met at a paddy field below Chungthang monastery, had slaughtered two bulls, had dipped their hands into the warm blood and had sworn to not obey to the Chungthang Lama anymore. The Lama had escaped and the monastery was left deserted for the following six years, until a new Lama was installed by the Sikkimese king and the Lamas of the Pemayangtse monastery.

<sup>39</sup> Macaulay (1885, p. 33).

<sup>40</sup> According to White, Lachen comprised 75 houses in 1891. On this mission see White (1909, pp. 63 and 73-4).

Several years later, in 1903, Francis Younghusband (1863-1942), John Claude White, and Captain O'Connor (1870-1943) led a British expedition to Tibet which is also known as the Younghusband Expedition. In July 1903, the party arrived at Thangu village where they camped for a while. During this time, they made conversations with Tibetan and Chinese representatives at the nearby Kampa Dzong (Gam pa rDzong).<sup>41</sup>

In 1938-1939, a German expedition was led to Tibet. Ernst Schäfer and his team collected data on botany, geology, and zoology. Furthermore, they collected ethnological data, taking cranial measurements of local people. In course of this expedition, they explored the north of Sikkim. One basecamp was located near Lachen village.<sup>42</sup>

## 5.2 *Mountaineers*

Several other expeditions of mountaineering purpose were led to north of Sikkim. In 1899, Sir Douglas Freshfield travelled to different places in North Sikkim to explore various mountains.<sup>43</sup>

Alexander Mitchell Kellas (1868–1921), a Scottish chemist, mountaineer and explorer, carried out his first expedition in Sikkim in 1907.<sup>44</sup> He also crossed the Lachen valley, recruiting Lachen men to join his expeditions.<sup>45</sup> Kellas died during his last trip in Kampa Dzong (Gam pa rDzong), Tibet, on the way to Mount Everest. He was buried in direction of the Kellas' three peaks, the Pauhunri, Khangchengyao, and Chomiomo, all of which were ascended for the first time by him.<sup>46</sup>

The German Paul Bauer conducted two expeditions to the Zemu Glacier in 1929 and 1930. The party crossed Chungthang and Lachen during both trips. Although there is no detailed description of the Lachen valley in the published travel reports, some photographs are

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<sup>41</sup> See Dundas (1977, pp. 153-4) and Younghusband (1910, pp. 109-15).

<sup>42</sup> A large number of photographs were taken during this expedition, some of which are included in Engelhardt (2007) and can be viewed online at [www.bild.bundesarchiv.de](http://www.bild.bundesarchiv.de).

<sup>43</sup> See Freshfield (1903).

<sup>44</sup> Further expeditions were conducted in 1909, 1911, 1912, 1920, and 1921.

<sup>45</sup> For reports of these missions see Kellas (1912), id. (1913), and West (1989-90).

<sup>46</sup> See Bullock (1962, pp. 134-5) and West (1989-90, p. 212). The Pauhunri lies on the border to China, close to the headwaters of the Lachen river, which joins the Lachung river at Chungthang and continues as Teesta river, flowing through Sikkim. The Khangchengyao, not to be confused with Sikkim's most important mountain Kangchendzonga, lies close to the border to China, left from Pauhunri, and dominates the glacial lake area in North Sikkim. Further left, Chomiomo is situated.

depicted, showing the village and some people of Lachen, as well as the monastery and some monks.<sup>47</sup>

In 1936, another expedition was led to North Sikkim for further explorations of the Zemu Glacier by Frederick Spencer Chapman (1907-1971), Marco Pallis (1895-1989), Richard Nicholson, and Robert C. Roaf (1913-2007). This party spent some time at Lachen and later also at Thangu, during which they met the third Lachen Gomchen several times. Chapman gave the following description of the Gomchen, after their first meeting in the monastery of Lachen:

After breakfast we went up to pay our respects to the abbot of the monastery. He sat cross-legged on a couch in a little room about nine feet square, a fat cheerful, intelligent-looking man, more Mongolian-featured than most of the Lachen people. The room was packed with painted scrolls, silver teapots, holy-water vessels, drums, carved and painted furniture, leopard-skin rugs and even paper Christmas-decorations and tinsel balls.<sup>48</sup>

Marco Pallis, capable of the Tibetan language, had several long talks with the Gomchen, who could not understand why to climb mountains. Pallis explained how he looked for solitude by doing so and the Gomchen replied that he better looked for that in his own heart than to climb mountains.

At Thangu a new wall had just been built by an itinerant Tibetan, who possessed only the clothes he wore, an eating bowl and the tools of his trade. He spent his life travelling from village to village, building mani walls. The only reward he received was his food while he was working; a remarkable example of apostolic poverty combined with usefulness. The Abbot (i.e. Lachen Gomchen), arriving on a white mule, conducted a moving ceremony. Afterwards he asked Marco why he climbed mountains. Marco said that it was for peace and solitude. The Abbot rebuked him: "You should be able to find those in yourself without artificial aids."<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> See Bauer (1931, pp. 32-3) for photographs of some houses of Lachen and of a panoramic photograph showing the monastery of Lachen taken in 1929. For photographs of the village in 1931, musicians from the Lachen monastery as well as of the carpenter of Lachen see Bauer (1933, pp. 28-9 and 32-3).

<sup>48</sup> Chapman (1945, pp. 51-2).

<sup>49</sup> Roaf (2001, p. 180). On a note that Pallis and David-Néel received teachings from the third Lachen Gomchen see Morris (1938, p. 71). For a description of the village of Lachen and the third Lachen Gomchen see also Pallis (1995, pp. 128-32 and pp. 178-93). For a portrayal of the third Lachen Gomchen see id. (1995, p. 166).

### 5.3 *Western Buddhists*

The explorer, orientalist and writer Alexandra David-Néel (1868-1969) spent time in North Sikkim in 1912 and again between 1914-1916. She was taught by the third Lachen Gomchen in a cave near Thangu, in Lachen monastery, and in a self-constructed hut at Detschen (bDe chen) above Lachen. David-Néel and Prince Sidkeong Tulku, whose friend she was, arranged plans to reform the monastic structures in Sikkim as they thought they had developed in a wrong way. They wanted, among others, to abandon certain practices, for example, fermented beverages in monasteries. They were supported by the third Lachen Gomchen who wrote several letters on this issue to Tibet. But their plan came to an abrupt end with the sudden death of Sidkeong Tulku in 1914.<sup>50</sup>

About thirty years later, the German-born Ernst Lothar Hoffmann (1898-1985), better known as Lama Anagarika Govinda, visited the Lachen Gomchen at his hermitage to receive advices and guidance shortly before the latter passed away.<sup>51</sup> Govinda summarised this meeting as follows:

And when leaving the Great Hermit, after having received his blessings, I felt that I had not only met him in flesh but in the spirit: in a manner which revealed both his spiritual power and his human kindness.<sup>52</sup>

### 5.4 *Missionaries*

The Scandinavian Alliance Mission (SAM), later Free Church of Finland Mission, entered Sikkim in 1892 to proceed to Tibet. Since that failed, they settled in North Sikkim, where they established missionary centres at Mangan, Lachen, and Lachung, three important villages on the way to Tibet.<sup>53</sup> The first missionaries Anna Massinen and Klara

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<sup>50</sup> See David-Néel (1936, pp. 60-2) and id. (1979, pp. 90, 97-8, and 193). For David-Néel in Sikkim see also Thévoz (2016) and id. (2015, pp. 14-17). For a translation of the monastic guidelines (*bca' yig*) with which Sidkeong Tulku intended to reform all monasteries in Sikkim, see Jansen (2014).

<sup>51</sup> See Govinda (2006, pp. 99-103).

<sup>52</sup> Govinda (2006, p. 103). The outstanding qualities of the third Lachen Gomchen were also described by the Earl of Ronaldshay; see Dundas (1977, pp. 148-9).

<sup>53</sup> SAM was founded in America in 1890. In 1892, six women and two men arrived at Darjeeling from where they wanted to enter Tibet for missionary purpose; see Francis (2008, p. 111) and Perry (1997, p. 88). The Church of Scotland, whose members entered Sikkim in the 1880s, were mainly based in South Sikkim.

Hertz arrived at Lachen in 1900. The missionary compound at Lachen comprised a weaving centre, opened in 1903, a school, and a church, completed in 1911. Only female missionaries were allowed to settle in Lachen and Lachung, whereas ordained couples resided at Mangan.<sup>54</sup>



The Scandinavian Alliance Mission station at Lachen, 1938<sup>55</sup>

In 1912, David-Néel met both the third Lachen Gomchen and Reverend Owen, the latter being a member of SAM stationed at Mangan. Her description of Reverend Owen was not the most charming one. The

<sup>54</sup> Further female missionaries who stayed at Lachen were Elly Peterson (1920-1922), Edla Trasback, Siiri Aartola, and Annikki Tunturivuo during the 1920s, May Isaacson (1930-1932), and Elin Kronqvist; see Perry (1997, pp. 129-30, note 149). Elin Kronqvist worked as missionary in India and Sikkim for thirty-four years. She received four Tibetan seal imprints in wax by the thirteenth Dalai Lama for her help; see Halén (1978, p. 61). A photograph of Elin Kronqvist can be viewed at <http://divdl.library.yale.edu/dl/OneItem.aspx?qc=AdHoc&q=11352>, viewed February 24, 2017, showing Kronqvist at Lachen Mission house, receiving a present from a villager. In 1938, the German Ernst Schäfer and his expedition stayed near Lachen village. During this time a photo was taken, showing Kronqvist with her assistants and children from Lachen; see [www.bild.bundesarchiv.de](http://www.bild.bundesarchiv.de), photo no. 135-KA-02-050. Kronqvist died at Lachen in 1939. For a note on missionary work in Lachen see also Pallis (1995, pp. 194-8).

<sup>55</sup> From the Bruno Beger Collection, Namgyal Institute of Tibetology.



Lachen missionaries, who provided food for David-Néel, were criticised for their rage for conversion in David-Néel's travelogue. Vice versa, the missionaries complained about David-Néel's interference and incitement of the Sikkimese king against the Christians.<sup>56</sup>

The missionary work was of moderate success but the missionaries are remembered for improving cultivation and for introducing apple varieties, barley, cabbage, coffee, potatoes, and wheat.<sup>57</sup> The last missionary members left Lachen during the early 1940s. As a result, local Christians re-converted to Buddhism or moved to other places.<sup>58</sup>



Finish missionary at Lachen in 1938. Possibly Elin Kronqvist<sup>59</sup>

<sup>56</sup> See David-Néel (1979, pp. 90-1, 99, and 184) and Perry (1997, p. 110).

<sup>57</sup> See Francis (2008, p. 113) and Perry (1997, p. 108).

<sup>58</sup> See Perry (1997, p. 109).

<sup>59</sup> From the Bruno Beger Collection, Namgyal Institute of Tibetology.

## 6. Concluding Remarks

Ever since, people from the Lachen valley had close ties with Tibet. They not only herded their cattle at Kampa Dzong, were indebted to the monks of Shigatse, and merchandised with Tibetan traders, but they also held contact with different highly accomplished Tibetan masters, who travelled to this remote part of Sikkim. Belonging to the so-called Hidden Lands (*sbas yul*), Sikkim was a place of refuge for Buddhist masters from Tibet in times of turmoil. Furthermore, due to its position, North Sikkim was of interest for different political missions led by the British who wanted to intensify their contact with Tibet. Situated in the very north of Sikkim, the Lachen valley served as starting point for several mountaineering expeditions because of its geographical position. Additionally, it was also frequented by Western Buddhists and Christian missionaries for their respective religious purpose.

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A RITUAL FROM MUSTANG ON THE SUPPRESSION OF *SRI*

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*Abstract*<sup>1</sup>

The article introduces a ritual for the suppression of *sri* demons that is performed in the Kālī-Gaṇḍakī and the Muktināth valleys. *mtshams pa* Ngag dbang, a ritual specialist and healer from Dhumba displayed this manuscript during a conversation on the bone and skull finds. In the 1990s, two German archaeological teams excavated bones in the abandoned settlement Kyinga and the fortification Garabdzong (dGa' rab rdzong). They were buried under the doorstep or close to the entrance of a building. The bone findings showed characteristic incision marks. The foramen occipital magnum of several skulls had been enlarged, practices that point to a ritual deposition of the bones as protection against or repellent of *sri* demons.<sup>2</sup>

Numerous spirits and demons populate the Tibetan world. The *sri* demons belong to the early classes of Tibetan deities or demons. They are like the *bdud*, *dmu*, *the'u rang* evil spirits that cause all kind of harm and damage in the human and animal world. The *sri* originate in the Bon religion that shaped religious concepts in Tibet before Buddhism.<sup>3</sup>

They personify various kinds of threat for human and animal life: they obstruct activities of daily life, cause harm such as disease, enmity, slander, bad luck or even death. They also endanger specific groups of people. Demons move and appear in time and space: topographic characteristics of an area indicate their appearance, or they appear at certain times, as in the case of the demon Rāhula, who appears only on certain days and is thought to cause strokes. Rituals are the counteragents: they repel the demons and obstruct their damage.

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<sup>2</sup> Manhart, von den Driesch, Maurer, Pohl 2001: 130-131; von den Driesch, Manhart, Maurer, Pohl 1998. NGMPP, Reel No. L 262/4.

<sup>3</sup> Tucci and Heissig 1970: 239.

The terms *sri* or *sri ngan* can denote disaster and misfortune in general, and are frequently associated with death. In his treatise on *gto* rituals, the great rNying ma master 'Ju Mi pham rnam rgyal (1846-1912) exemplifies *sri ngan*—among *byad kha*, *phur kha*, *rbod gtong*, *nad gdon* and *bar chad*—as one of the great disasters or harms (*gnod pa'i skeg rigs*)<sup>4</sup> for people.<sup>5</sup>

The *sri* can be subdued by inserting them in a skull that is buried. As the manuscript will show, the type of skull depends on the type of *sri*. To bury the skull and to perform the ritual is a task performed by a ritual specialist; it was one of the tasks of the Bon priests called *dur gshen*.

### *Places of the sri*

The topography of an area, such as the shape of rocks, indicates the appearance of demons. Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho (1653–1705) describes them in chapter 32 of his *Vaidūrya dkar po*.

The *sri* variety called '*phung sri* seems to be of some significance, as he describes them most frequently. He identifies these as the following shapes of an area: a yellow she-bear shaking her shaggy hair, the open mouth of a *srin*-demon, the wavy pattern of tears, the pattern of the lance of a *gnod sbyin*,<sup>6</sup> the body imprint of a *bse rag*,<sup>7</sup> a running hungry wolf, the lance print of a *srin po* and the scratch mark of claws. Other shapes Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho identifies with '*phung sri* are the forehead of an old man, a widow wearing a torn blanket, the forehead of a Chinese woman, the rest area of a *bse rags*, a crooked fox's tail, the triangular human mouth, a black snake wriggling downhill, a pig running downhill and the angry Yama. Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho describes two places in more detail: A place 25 steps in line with the door resembling a chasing fox indicates the '*phung sri*. A rock looking like a wolf at the upper backside of a burial ground is also a sign for the '*phung sri*. Areas, mountains in such shapes are said to cause damage.<sup>8</sup> A rock like a hungry wolf however indicates the appearance of a *chung sri* (*spyang ltogs 'dra na chung sri ldang*).<sup>9</sup>

<sup>4</sup> The term *skeg*, *skag* or *keg* denotes any kind of obstacle or mischief.

<sup>5</sup> See Lin 2005: 101. Among those written on *sri*, I would like to mention Silhé, Boord and Ramble.

<sup>6</sup> See for example Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1993: 280-281. The *srin po* are identical with the Indian Rākṣasa, the *gnod sbyin* are the Yakṣa.

<sup>7</sup> The *bse rags*- or *bse rag* belong to the *dam sri*, see Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1993: 284.

<sup>8</sup> Maurer 2009: 112, 115, 170-172, 180.

<sup>9</sup> Maurer 2009: 115, 180.



Places resembling a reddish yak horn are suitable to suppress the *dgra sri*.<sup>10</sup> At places like a chorten one suppresses the *god sri* and those like garuḍa the *sri* causing leprosy (*mdze sri*). The *gdon sri* are suppressed in places like the end of a mountain peak where water and fire are opposed and at a place resembling a copper pot in a plain. The *'dre* and *sri* are overcome in places that look like something being retained at the right side and caved in at the left side, or like a person who looks to the east but runs to the west.<sup>11</sup>

### *The sri demons in the manuscript*

The manuscript mentions several types of *sri* named after the damage they cause to the group of people they harm. The main demon is called *dam sri*. To render him harmless, one draws it on a piece of paper surrounded by Buddhist mantras. The image is pressed down with ritual dagger, sprinkled with blood and fumigated. These symbolic acts to ban it recall the suppression of the demoness being banned by the erection of Buddhist temples. Then, one inserts the paper in the horn or the skull of the respective animal. The demon is imprisoned and the skull is buried near the entrance of the house. Depending on the demon's type and his activities, the skull can also be buried elsewhere such as at a crossroad.

### *pho sri* and *mo sri*

Two types of *sri* are the *pho sri* and the *mo sri* (fol. 3v7), the *he-sri* and the *she-sri*, an obviously gendered influenced distinction that might be related to the earth and the sky. The ancestors of the *sri* were, according to the sources available to Nebesky-Wojkowitz, the sky *sri* (*gnam sri*) and the earth *sri* (*sa sri*). Their origin can roughly be explained as follows: The *sri* demons originate from the *sri* land of the nine continents. They lived on a castle made of piled up skulls. The next *sri* coming into being were the *Ya ma dam sri*, originating from men with broken oaths and the female *Man ges dgu shor* originating from women listening to non-Buddhist teachings. Next there came into being the father and the mother of the *sri*. They were both a kind of hybrid creatures: he was a black bird of the sky with a broken wing and she the winged earth rat. They united and laid 13 eggs called *srid pa'i snon lnga bcu gsum*, the

<sup>10</sup> The various types of *sri* demons and their origin explains Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1993: 300ff.

<sup>11</sup> Maurer 2009: 141-142, 254-255.

thirteen eggs of existence, a concept recalling the *srid pa'i rus sbal* in Chinese divination. They were the origin of the various types of *sri*, usually hybrid creatures with human shaped bodies and animal heads. They were cannibals, man-eaters and named according to their gendered preferences. The male *sri* have the head of a wolf or a yak and live in mountain caves. One day they started to eat male creature, which is why they are called *pho sri*. The *sri* demons with camel or dog shaped head are *mo sri* because they ate female beings.

Another source describes the *pho sri* as demons with a big belly and iron-coloured. The *mo sri* on the other hand run around naked, and are ugly with a wrinkled skin.

The gendered distinction of *pho sri* and *mo sri* leads to one of the social classifications in the text. Their social order is described as follows: *rje bo sri*, *'bangs sri*, *chos sri*, *bon sri*, *zhang sri* and *tsha bo'i sri*. The upper class is followed by the commoners distinguished according to their gender in *bu pho sri* and *bu mo sri*, *pho sri* and *mo sri*. The last group following here are *dgra sri*, *'dre sri*, *god sri* and the *gnod pa'i sri*.

The distinction given above—except the last group of *sri*—resemble the social classes Mi pham distinguishes in his *gto* rituals. For seven classes (*mi rigs*) of people *gto* rituals can be performed: the king (*mi rje sa bdag rgyal po*), the Buddhist monk (*bande*), the Bon po (*bon po*), the minister (*zhang blon*), the commoners (*dmangs*), the women (*bud med*) and the children (*byis pa*).<sup>12</sup>

The manuscript however names a second group of *sri* demons when it describes the specific skull that the ritualist should bury at a certain place in order to suppress the specific demon. To repel the

<i>rgyal po dam sri:</i>	the skull of a lion below a big snow mountain
<i>slob dpon dam sri:</i>	the skull of a tiger close to a red rock
<i>dge bshes dam sri:</i>	the skull of a black male <i>mdzo</i> below a big path
<i>sgom chen dam sri:</i>	the skull of a marmot below a chorten at the entrance of a village
<i>sngags pa dam sri:</i>	the skull of a dog below a big chorten
<i>btsun pa dam sri:</i>	the skull of a monkey below a big bridge
<i>skye pa dam sri:</i>	the skull of a wolf under the beak of a mountain pass
<i>bud med dam sri:</i>	the skull of a fox close to the ocean
<i>byis pa dam sri:</i>	the skull of a mule at a path or a threshold

<sup>12</sup> Lin 2005: 136-138.

<i>rgod sri</i> :	the skull of a black <i>mdzo</i> at a river or at a big path
<i>rgod sri</i> harming cattle:	the skull of a black goat close to a fence
<i>dur sri</i> :	the skull of a vulture at a burial ground
<i>phung sri</i>	the skull of a reddish donkey
<i>chung sri</i>	the skull of a female mule
<i>spyi sri</i>	the skull of an infertile creature or, if not available, that of a goat, pig or dog should be buried. <sup>13</sup>

*chung sri*

Another type of demons are the *chung sri* (fol. 3r4, 9r1): they cause damage to children. According to other sources of Nebesky-Wojkowitz, they are born with the head of a weasel. They live under beds and eat little children, lead to the death of children or obstruct their birth.<sup>14</sup>

Mi pham recommends *gto* rituals as repellent against *chung sri* demons, with the restriction that many, that is more than two children died. In that case, a *gto* ritual should be performed. The ritual executor has to prepare figures of the demons and places these in the direction of the neighbour's house, possibly of a neighbour who is childless. He asks the demons to move and eat there. Mi pham addresses in this very ritual the demons called *g.ya' sri*, *spang sri*, *nags sri*, *chung sri*, *dam sri* and *'gong mo*.<sup>15</sup>

*dgra sri*<sup>16</sup>

The demons called *dgra sri* are thought to cause robbery and ambush. According to Nebesky-Wojkowitz's sources, the *dgra sri dar ma* have the head of a yak and settle at the borders of hostile neighbouring countries.<sup>17</sup> This idea might have acted as model for the explanations in the *Vaiḍūrya dkar po*: the place resembling the horn of a reddish yak is supposed to be the best to suppress the *dgra sri*.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1993: 517 gives a different list.

<sup>14</sup> Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1993, S. 300-303. The counterpart of *chung sri* is *che sri*, the *sri* harming adults.

<sup>15</sup> Lin 2005: 151.

<sup>16</sup> Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1993: 517.

<sup>17</sup> Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1993: 301f.

<sup>18</sup> Maurer 2009: 141, 255.

The ritual called *dgra bzlog* is performed as repellent, to avert the attack enemies that includes the construction of Sumeru, the mountain sacred to Tibetans, Hindus and Bonpos alike and various figures, an arrow and a spindle and weapons.<sup>19</sup> In case, one's enemy became too powerful, Mi pham recommends reciting the *dgra sri dgra bzlog* or passages of the *Shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa* in 100,000 or 20,000 verses. The prayer can change the direction of the damage and slander.<sup>20</sup>

### *dur sri*

The *dur sri* are the demons of the burial ground. They have the head of a fox, which is used to repel them. Other skulls that are used as a repellent are those of a badger or marmot.<sup>21</sup> For the construction of burial grounds Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho recommends burying the skull of fox against slander and other damage assigned to the activities of the *dur sri*. The skull should be filled with brown substances (*smug rdzas*) and black peas (*sran can?*).<sup>22</sup>

### *phung sri*

Another group of *sri* named in the text are the *phung sri*. Nebesky-Wojkowitz calls these *skandha sri*, that is demons “who stir up the five skandhas.” They are also divided in certain social class sub-categories, like for *rgyal po'i phung sri*, *blon po'i phung sri*, *yul pa'i phung sri*. They have the head of a camel. The *rgyal sri* can be cock-headed.<sup>23</sup>

Stein's interpretation however is different, he reads *'phung* and relates it to a tumulus. Like the *dur srid*, he regards the *'phung sri* as the demons of a burial ground.<sup>24</sup> Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho refers to eight shapes of places as *'phung sri* and assesses these places as unsuitable for construction.<sup>25</sup>

### *god sri*

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<sup>19</sup> Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1993: 392.

<sup>20</sup> Lin 2005: 119.

<sup>21</sup> Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1993: 302, 517.

<sup>22</sup> Maurer 2009: 146, 265.

<sup>23</sup> See Nebesky-Wojkowitz 199: 216, 302, 393. For their subjugation by ritual, see Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1993: 517-518.

<sup>24</sup> Stein 1939: 366.

<sup>25</sup> Maurer 2009: 170.

The *god sri* hatches from the 13<sup>th</sup> egg of the *pho sri* and *mo sri*. The sources describe their shape in different ways. They have a human body, the head of a goat, a wild dog or a wolf and live in small caves. These “*sri* of damage” harm the cattle.<sup>26</sup> Or, they are azure blue and have a pig’s head. The suitable place to suppress the *god sri* looks like chorten.<sup>27</sup>

### *dam sri*

The manuscript here focuses on the so-called *dam sri*, the demon that has broken its vows.<sup>28</sup> Nebesky-Wojkowitz describes the *dam sri* as a class of important Buddhist deities in Pehar’s retinue. The *dam sri* hatch from an egg, have a human body but the head of a pig. Their residence is at the place where three valleys meet.<sup>29</sup>

The ritual described in the manuscript is very likely to be a combination of a Buddhist ritual—the application of a *ling ga*—introduced from India and a non-Buddhist ritual that belongs to the so-called *gto* or *lto* rituals.<sup>30</sup> It originates in the pre-Buddhist Bon religion that was spread in Tibet and other regions of the high Himalayas before the 7<sup>th</sup> century. The purpose of the ritual is to fight off and to stop the harming influences of demons. It belongs to the wrathful, violent ritual (*drag las*). *gTo* rituals are performed as protection against demons that cause damage to people or animals. One type of these demons is called *sri*. The most common procedure to repel the *sri* is the ritual called *sri mnan*, “the suppression of *sri* demons.” It is often performed by using an effigy as the ritual described here shows.

The one who performs the ritual draws the demon, here the main demon called *dam sri*, on a piece of paper. The paper is rolled up, inserted in a horn, in a skull or between other bones, sometimes in figures made of clay or other substances and then buried. The activity of drawing represents the expelling, the banishing of the demon. The type of bone or skull applied depends on the type of demon that the ritual performer wants to repel. Furthermore, the person performing the ritual has often to visualise himself as the demon that is caught in a prison, the “iron house.”<sup>31</sup>

<sup>26</sup> See Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1993: 302.

<sup>27</sup> The manuscript however has both spellings, *god sri* and *rgod sri*.

<sup>28</sup> Namkhai Norbu 1997: 210.

<sup>29</sup> Namkhai Norbu 1997: 210; see Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1993: 300-301.

<sup>30</sup> For a funeral ritual of a similar type, a combination of *ling ga* and *sri mnan*, see Heller 2003.

<sup>31</sup> See Lin 2005: 62f.

*Translation of the Manuscript: The suppression of the sri*

I bow down in front of the assembly of the spiritual teachers, the yidam and the *ḍākinīs*. Within the practise of the spiritual teachers, there is a method for the evocation against the arising of the [wrathful] Drag po.<sup>32</sup> One draws a burning mountain in a triangle. One draws an arrow, a bow, a spear and a knife.<sup>33</sup> Outside [of the triangle] one draws many attributes of the Drag po, like a vajra, a dagger etc. On a piece of cotton from a cemetery or a piece of bark, one draws with poison and blood an image of *sri* [demon]. In his heart, one draws the essence of the life-mantra. One surrounds [the image of the demon] with sharp knives and mantras. One covers his limbs with [the syllable] *dza*. On a small dog skull,<sup>34</sup> pig-, snake-, bird- or hare skull etc. one draws a double vajra. One covers [the skulls] with life-mantras. Inside [the skulls] one applies poison and blood. One rolls the image [of the demon], puts it into the skull opening and binds a black and white thread [around the skull] and holds the dagger in front of it, so it is said.

The basic [instructions] for drawing of his image: He beats with his right hand on his chest and his left hand pulls his hair. Blood drops from his mouth and his eyes are like those of a dead. His head is big, his limbs are slim and his belly is big. His shoulders, his heart and his private parts are pierced by daggers. His arms and hands are in iron chains. Nine syllables *dza* are surrounding him. On his calves and forearms and private parts one draws [the mantra] *ma ra ya rbad*. [One writes his] name. On his navel and his chest one inserts [the syllables] *tin ta* and writes [the mantra]: *gnod byed tig nan ma ra ya rbad. snyags thum hri ma ra ya rbad sod sod*. Surrounding one writes: *om sarva shan ti ni hum dza. ni ti ni hrum dza. grum grum grum dza dza dza*.

Hereafter one draws with an ointment [made of] material like sulfur, singed horn [of any animal], chestnut of a horse, poison and an ointment [made of] blood. One draws the skull of a dead animal etc., at the upper part of the skull [is used] to suppress the *sri* demon, one draws a swastika, on the forehead a double vajra and on the nose a cross. On the right cheek one writes *shi kha chod*<sup>35</sup> (and on the left [cheek] *rgod kha mchod*).<sup>36</sup> In addition to the life mantra one writes [the syllables] *tig nan* and *ma ra ya rbad* etc. to suppress [the demon]. He himself<sup>37</sup> should meditate on the yidam and offer “the golden drink” [to the

<sup>32</sup> A wrathful deity also named Khro bo.

<sup>33</sup> According to *mtshams pa* Ngag dbang the objects should also be drawn outside the triangle.

<sup>34</sup> *khyi gu* could also be a misspelling for *phyi ru* (outside).

<sup>35</sup> “Cutting of the death”.

<sup>36</sup> According to *mtshams pa* Ngag dbang and dBang ’dus the term *rgod kha* is synonym to *bar chad*.

<sup>37</sup> The person who performs the ritual.

gods]<sup>38</sup> and curse [the demon]. In this way it becomes like a clear samādhi. He evokes the *dam chen*<sup>39</sup> and recites the mantra of the Drag po, so it is said. He has obtained the initiation of the Red or the Black Yamantaka and passed a retreat. The yogin, being full of compassion and experienced in the practise arranges supports for the spiritual teachers, yidam, dākinīs and the protector deities of the dharma. He meditates in front of the arranged offerings [on the demon] and after he has done so the *dam sri* demon will be destroyed. At first, he explains the origin of the demon<sup>40</sup> and digs his nest. He calls by the messengers and enters them. Then he fumigates [the demon] with smoke [prepared from] bdellium (*gu gul nag*)<sup>41</sup> and separates him from the gods. He blames and besweares him. He presses the vajra [in the demon] and throws white mustard on him. He presses *gtor ma* as magical weapon [in the demon]. He pours magical substances and blood on him. He throws magical weapons made of burning daggers on him, these are the ten [activities]. Second, the oppression of the demon: One performs the ritual for the ground. It is said that he will be oppressed at a crossing or at a threshold.

At first, the origin of the demon will be explained: “You are a wicked one, called *dam sri*. At first, the element you emerged from: at first you were created by hatred, your father. Then you were created by desire, your mother. Then, these [elements] were united in the womb of your mother. The Gandharvas circled close to you. Your origin: you came into being in the middle of the navel. Then [you took] the form of the [five] skandhas. Then you roamed around on the cemeteries. Then you stayed in hermitages, you lived in an empty hermitage and you became bodiless. Bodiless you wandered around and in the empty hermitage as a consequence of your bad *karma*, many ill-omened children were generated in the womb. Deceiver, you walked around and performed bad deeds. Because of this you are a common enemy of the Buddhist teachings. You are an object that quickly has to be destroyed.” The achievement of everything: This is the *dam sri* [demon] who causes damage. With the bad deeds of your former lives, you broke with the teachings of the Buddha. You are an enemy of the true teaching and you will be subdued as enemy. You broke the orders of the sublime Sangha. You insult me, the yogin. You are a wicked, dangerous *dam sri*. In just one moment, I summon you. In this dark-black burning *sgrub khung*,<sup>42</sup> the doorless iron building. Afraid of an error, I write the name of your family. Afraid of your escape I surround you with knives. Out of fear that you might be

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<sup>38</sup> Usually *chang*.

<sup>39</sup> Das 1960: 618-619 explains the term *dam chen chos rkyal* as follows “the tutelary deity of the Grand Lama of Tashi-lhunpo, and is supposed to be under a solemn oath to defend Buddhism against all infidels”. *mtshams pa* Ngag dbang explains *dam chen* with *chos skyong*.

<sup>40</sup> See Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1993: 119 and 300.

<sup>41</sup> *Gu gul nag po* is a common remedy to scare away demons. It is applied in medicine to scare away Rāhula.

<sup>42</sup> The term *sgrub khung* means here the triangle in which the demon is drawn.

forgotten I draw your image. Out of fear that you could flee I put you into iron chains. Afraid you might not be killed, I stab the dagger [into you].

I speak the words of truth and recite the life mantra. I bow down in front of the true speech of the sacred Buddha etc.<sup>43</sup> Through his blessing, you the *dam sri*, who came into existence by [bad] deeds in this burning iron building, the *sgrub khung*. You are a *dam sri*, who originated through these causes. You are a *dam sri*, who came into existence through his karma. I irresistibly call the harming *dam sri*.” I recite [the mantra] *tak ki vajra ang gu sha dza dza gnod byed krig nan ma ra ya rbad rnyags thum kri ma ra ya rbad sod sod* one hundred times. The call for the messengers and the dissolving [the *dam sri* into the image]: “You are a wicked one, called *dam sri*. Through the bad deeds of your former existences you become now a *bu yi dam sri*. You are the enemy of the yogins. You damage the lives of the elder [generation]. You rob the power of the youth. Furthermore, you cause obstructions as a *chung sri*.<sup>44</sup> As a result, you belong to the category of those whom it is appropriate to ‘liberate’. According to the order of Vajrapāṇi I call you into this *sgrub khung* of the Drag po, the iron building.” The evocation of the messengers and the request: “He! On the order of the assembly of the dark messengers with their wrathful appearances and angry faces [I call] in this manner the retinue of the eight classes of gods and rakṣasa,<sup>45</sup> the assembly of the Yama, *ma mo* and *ḍākinīs*, the assembly of the *srog bdag nag po*, the *bdud* [demons], the assembly of the one hundred thousand *za byed* and *sha za*, the assembly of the wrathful *gsod byed* and *gnod byed*, all [gods with] fearful appearance in the ten directions of the [gods with] wrathful appearance, to cut off the life veins of the vow-breakers.<sup>46</sup> They fill the three realms with their angry screams. With great power they destroy the Sumeru. With the sun rays they destroy the ocean. The whole atmosphere is filled with their incarnation, so it is said. The time for the great vows has come.” So and so on it is said.

One fumigates with smoke of bdellium. The separation from the gods [is performed] with incense that separates [the demon] from its allies. If one separates him from the *go ba'i lha*,<sup>47</sup> [one needs] smoke [made] of bdellium. By fumigating the nose of the wicked one, he is quickly separated from his magical

<sup>43</sup> *mtshams pa* Ngag dbang completes the sentence as follows: *chos kyi bka' bden pa dang dge 'dun gyi bka' bden pa dang 'jam dpal gyi bka' bden pa dang gshin rje'i bka' bden pa dang yi dam gi bka' bden pa dang rgyal ba'i dkyil 'khor lha tshogs 'khor dang bcas ba'i bka' bden pa dang rnal 'byor ba'i bdag gi bka' bden pa dang bden pa chen po'i byin gyi rabs kyis//*

<sup>44</sup> For the activities and the treatment of the *chung sri* see for example Blondeau 1997: 297ff.

<sup>45</sup> These are *gshin rje*, *ma mo*, *bdud*, *btsan*, *rgyal po*, *klu*, *gnod sbyin* and *gza'*.

<sup>46</sup> Synonym to *dam sri*.

<sup>47</sup> The '*go ba'i lha lnga* are the five protector deities of a person with *bon*-origin: *mo lha*, *srog lha*, *dgra lha*, *pho lha* and *yul lha*. See Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1993: 264, 327f., Namkhai Norbu 1997: 66, 116 and 248, footnote 16; also Tucci und Heissig 1970: 213f.



powers and magical qualities. *ma ha gu ta ta gyu phat*. With the power of the truth of the Three Jewels [one recites] hereafter [their mantra].<sup>48</sup> [Then one says]: “He is an enemy aggressive towards us, the *sbying bdag* and the *yon mchod*. He is a *bgegs*[-demon] who causes damage. Push this dangerous *dam sri* demon from behind with the strong wind of deeds. May he be received in front of the dark house of fear. May [the wrathful deities] Khro bo and Khro mo pull him by the heart. May his body and mind be pulverised into powder. May his head be [bound] like a *tsha ka*-fruit. May his teeth fall into pieces. May his eyeballs fall on the ground and be destroyed. May he sink into the fire at the end of the kalpas. May wisdom destroy him. May his retinue and his family be destroyed. May this wrathful ritual overcome him. May this wrathful ritual kill him.” The piercing with the dagger: “You wicked one called *dam sri*. These ritual activities of the *sbyin bdag* and the *yon mchod* with their retinue are without great kindness.<sup>49</sup> Those diseases are very painful. This fever burns a lot. This killing is more powerful than the one of the *bdud* demon. The *rje bo* [*sri*] [harm the ruler], the *'bangs sri* [harm the subjects], the *chos sri* [harm the Buddhist teachings], the *bon sri* [harm the *bon*], the *zhang sri* [harm the uncle of the queen’s mother] and the *tsha bo’i sri* [harm the nephew]. The *bu pho* [*sri* harm the boys] and the *bu mo sri* [harm the girls]. The *pho sri* [harm the men] and the *mo sri* [harm the women]. The *dgra sri* [harm the enemies] and the *'dre sri* [harm the *'dre*]. The *god sri* [are the *sri* of misfortune] and the *gnod pa’i sri* [cause harm]. [These are] demons that transgress the orders of the yogin. May, when the demons here have assembled, a rain of burning vajras with one tip, with three tips, five tips, nine tips, with one hundred thousand tips fall down on them. May all the enemy *bgegs* [demons] turned into dust. Summon [the *dam sri*] quickly, assembly of protectors. *Dam sri*, now your time has come.” So we recite and pierce the vajra [in the *dam sri*]. The throwing of the white mustard seed and the magical substances: “You are known as *dam sri*, are wicked, will be ground into dust, and to do this, I will point the ritual dagger of the vajra class towards you. I will give you to the *ma mo* as offering. I will send you to the assembly of the messengers. I sharpen the blade of the weapons. I will completely kill you with these weapons of wisdom. I will point with an arrow of white mustard to you. The liquid of poison and blood will afflict your life-force. Iron dust and copper dust whirl swirling around you.<sup>50</sup> May waves of boiling blood roll. May hail of sand and barberry plant be thrown on you. May the ten Khro bo cut off your veins of life. The powerful messengers dance the dance of the horse. *maha rakta dza la ma ra ya rbad*. I recite this mantra and throw magical substances at you.” The application of *gtor ma*: “You who are called *dam sri*. In order to smash you into fine dust, I press big red *gtor ma* into your heart. Through me there is no damage and no destruction (?).<sup>51</sup> As protector

<sup>48</sup> See fol. 3r Z1.

<sup>49</sup> The passage is unclear. According to Panglung Rinpoche, one could also understand that “there are no other *'dre* demons (*'dre* for *dri*) as the *sri* demon”.

<sup>50</sup> During the recitation, the yogin throws the substances on the image.

<sup>51</sup> According to *mtshams pa* Ngag dbang *tho* is synonym to *gnon*.

there are the Three Jewels. The protectors of the Buddhist Teaching gathered as promised. The judgement is made by all the gods and the *srin*. Invoke the oath-bound protectors. May they lead their armies in the land of the enemy *bgegs*. The *gtor ma* [made] of poison, blood and grain will make you vomit your violations as blood. I will throw these magical weapons on the enemy who causes the damage.<sup>52</sup> I will throw these magical weapons upon the vindictive enemy. I will throw these magical weapons upon the *bdud*-demons that cause obstacles. Hatred, enmity and damage may settle in your heart. *bha mi che ge mo la ma ra ya rbad*, with these words I throw the *gtor ma* [on the demon].”

The splashing with blood: “You are called *dam sri*. To destroy you completely, these waves of magical substances are stirred up (?). These circling magical substances *li li*. Bloody arrows and bloody rags of cotton *sil li li*. White mustard seeds and magical arrows *shar ra ra*. The fog of diseases *thu lu lu*. The bloody steam *phyur ru ru*. Bloody rays and big hailstones *shar ra ra*. Bloody sleet *sil li li*. Bloody waves *nye re re*. The red ocean of blood *chil li li*. The bloody snowstorm *tshub se tshub*. Red rays of blood *zeng se zeng*. I throw red rays of blood<sup>53</sup> as magical substance on you. I shift these on the vindictive enemy [who performs] bad deeds. I throw the magical bloody weapons on the wicked one. The enemy’s building should collapse from its fundamentals. May you be completely destroyed and be seized at your breast.<sup>54</sup> May you completely disperse into dust.” With these words one splashes blood on [the demon]. The piercing with the dagger: “You who are called *dam sri*, to [destroy you so that] even your name is obliterated. Between the knot and the tip of the dagger [made of] iron or black wood is of three finger-widths. Its hollow interior represents the enlightened mind. On its sides, it is surrounded by fierce deities. As [the dagger] is stabbed in the enemy *bgegs* [demon], the hateful [demon] is liberated from his five qualities.<sup>55</sup> The sharp dagger for the hateful enemy. The sharp [dagger] against the *bgegs* [demon], who causes damage. [I stab the dagger] in the *bdud* [demon] of the obstacles. In his five limbs<sup>56</sup> [I stab the dagger]. In the five solid organs such as the heart etc. [I stab the dagger]. In the five sense organs [I stab the dagger]. The *sri* demons, who rise up and come [I stab the dagger]. The dagger is like a shot arrow *shar ra ra*. White mustard seeds like rolling stones *’gril li li*. Dense darkness *khriq se khriqs*. The top of the *tshe*[-plant]<sup>57</sup> *ling se ling*. The shining bloody horse *chil li li*. The bloody horse [like] a snowstorm *tshub se tshub*. In the interior of the black [demon] I stab the magical weapon [made of] horn. May the magical weapon not be turned back on me. I am friendly not hostile. Foodstuff will not be turned into poison. *gnod byed dgra bgegs ma ra ya rbad*.” Thus, one recites and stabs the dagger [into the demon].

<sup>52</sup> *rgyab* instead of *ya*?

<sup>53</sup> According to *mtshams pa* Ngag dbang, the term *bhyo* replaces *rgyab*.

<sup>54</sup> The phrase is unclear, should one read *grang nad*, *brang nas* or *brang nad*?

<sup>55</sup> *mtshams pa* Ngag dbang understands the term *lnga chos* as the body, blood, bones and so on.

<sup>56</sup> These are the four limbs and the head.

<sup>57</sup> Translation doubtful. For *tshe* see Jäschke, s.v. *tshe pad*.

When having performed [the ritual] for a [couple of] of days<sup>58</sup> the activities for the killing of [the demon] are accomplished. Second, there are the ten [activities] to suppress [the demon]. At first, dressing [the demon] in goat-hair fabric: *hum*. The six Yama of the retinue ask *yab* 'Jam dpal Yama. "What sort of clothes does the wicked one wears?" 'Jam dpal Yama gives the order: "You six Yama of my retinue, listen to me. As consequence of his former malicious deeds the one known as *dam sri* is now bad for the holy Dharma. Therefore he wears goat-hair clothing." That's what he says. [Then] one wraps goat-hair fabric around [the demon]. Second, when the demon is afflicted with curses by means of the blue and red [cords], the retinue of *yab* Yama<sup>59</sup> [requests]: "When these are the clothes of the wicked one, we bind him tight. When we bind him, by what means should we bind him?" 'Jam dpal [answers] his retinue: "If his karma is bad he harms all. Because he sends diseases, bad [fruits] ripen. Therefore, we load the curse of the red-blue [cords] on him." With these words, he is cursed with the red-blue thread. Thirdly, the burying of the skull: Downwards in the opening of any skull, having rolled up the image [of the demon] starting from the head. After one has inserted everything, the retinue [asks] *yab* [Yama]: "After we have made the belt for the wicked one, regarding the place where he has to go, where should he go?" 'Jam dpal [answers] the retinue: "As his karma is bad, he harms everyone. You are called *dam sri*. The power of your deeds [who you have done] out of ignorance, is great. If you therefore think you could walk in the upper direction, [there] is a wheel with burning spokes. How could I apply the vajra there? Do not break the orders.

[The skull] is also called the iron house of Brahma. The skull is called iron house. [Demon], go in your dark house, the skull. If you do not enter [but] stay I will cause the tyranny to reflect on you. [You are called] *dam sri*. The power of your deeds full of hatred is great. [If you therefore think you could go] in the eastern direction, there is a hollow (*'ob chen*) with smoke of a burning fire. Why [should I dare to apply the vajra [there]? Therefore, [do not break] the orders. [The skull is also called] the iron house of the Gandharvas. The skull [is called iron house]. [Demon, go into] your dark [house], the skull. If [you do not go but stay I let] your tyranny [reflect on you]. You are called *dam sri*.

The power of your deeds [committed] by arrogance is great. [If you think that you could go] in the southern direction, there are deep swamps filled with decomposed bodies. [How could I apply] the vajra there? Therefore, [do not break the orders]. [The skull is called] iron [house] of Yama. The skull [is called iron house]. [Demon, go into your] dark [house], the skull. If [you do not go but stay I let] your tyranny [reflect on you]. You are called *dam sri*. [The power of your] out of greed [committed] deeds [is great].

[If you think you could go] in the western direction, there is a plain with protruding razors. [How could I apply the vajra] there? Therefore, [do not break the orders. The skull is also called] iron house of the *klu* and *bdud* demon. The

<sup>58</sup> The ritual should be performed within three or seven days.

<sup>59</sup> The complete text would be: *'jam dpal gshin rje la 'khor gyi gshin rje drug gis bzhus*.

skull [is called iron house. Demon, go in the] dark [house], the skull. If [you do not go but stay here I cause] the arbitrary [to reflect on you]. You are called *dam sri*. [The power of your out of] envy [committed] deeds [is great]. [If you think you could go] in the northern direction, there are the ashes of the dead and a river [to hell] that can not be crossed. [How could I apply] the vajra there? Therefore [do not break] the orders. [The skull is also called] iron house of the Yakṣa. The skull [is called iron house. Demon, go in the] dark [house] the skull. If [you do not go but stay I cause] your tyranny [reflect on you]. [You are called] *dam sri*. The power of your [bad] karma and your mental defects is great.

[If you think you could] go downwards there are the tombs of the *mnar med* hell.<sup>60</sup> [How could I apply] the vajra there? Therefore [do not break] the orders. [The skull is also called] iron house of the Sa bdag. The skull [is called iron house. Demon, go in the] dark [house], the skull. If [you do not go there but stay here I cause your tyranny to reflect on you].” With these words one inserts [the image of the demon into the skull]. Then one seals the skull with sealing wax. From the outside, one wraps it in goat-hair fabric. One also binds it with a blue and a red thread in the form of a cross and impresses a seal seven times in succession. In order to do so one puts the seal on every drop of sealing wax and impresses solidly each time a seal.<sup>61</sup> [The ritual] should be performed according to this practice. Fourth, the sealing of the skull: The retinue [asks] *yab ’Jam dpal*: “[If] the skull [is prepared] in this manner, how is the skull to be sealed?” ’Jam dpal [answers]: “Retinue, [listen to me]: At first [you will be sealed] with the seal of the Three Jewels, [of these the seal of the] Buddha. As the Buddha is the truth, do not come again. Second, [you will be sealed] with the seal of the holy Dharma. As the Dharma is the truth, [you will not escape anymore]. Third, [you will be sealed with the seal] of the sublime Sangha. As the [sublime] Sangha [is the truth will not escape anymore]. Fourth, [you will be sealed] with the seal of the *ma mo* ḍākinīs. [As] the ḍākinīs [are the truth you will not escape anymore]. Fifth, [you will be sealed] with the seal of the protectors of the Dharma. [As] the protectors of the Dharma [are the truth you will not escape anymore]. Sixth, [you will be sealed] with my seal, the one of the yogin. [As] the yogin [is the truth you will not escape again]. Seventh, [you will be sealed] with the seal of my completely ripened deeds. As your deeds are the truth [you will not escape anymore]. As [the skull] is sealed now you will not escape anymore. If you develop bodhicitta your mind will become like that of the sublime one. If you work for your own benefit and the benefit of others you will come out in this life.” Thus should one say.

Fifth, regarding the explanation of the origin and the lineage of the skull: [The retinue asks] *yab* [Yama]: “If the sealing of the skull is good, who is the

<sup>60</sup> Tibetan *mnar med* denotes “one of the eight hells the torments of which are excruciating”, see Das 1960: 755, s. v. *mnar ba*.

<sup>61</sup> According to *mtshams pa* Ngag dbang the procedure is performed in the house while all family members should be present and participate. Everyone has to impress the seal seven times.

father of the skull? Who is the mother of the skull?" 'Jam dpal [answers]: "Retinue [listen to me]. The father of the skull is hatred, the mother of the skull is desire. Then, Gandharvas gathered near the mother, who was part desire and part human. [The skull] is also called iron house of the Gandharvas. [The skull] is also called burning iron house. Inside the skull, the burning house of darkness, the burning iron house, I cause those who perform deeds that violate my command, to be killed."

Sixth, the explanation of the types of skulls: The retinue asks *yab* [Yama]: "If the skull has an origin and a lineage it is buried as a skull that suppresses anything." 'Jam dpal [answers]: "Retinue [listen to me]: This *ma tam ka'i ru ta*<sup>62</sup> will be buried as the skull of a black infertile animal. [For] him who turned into the *rgyal po dam sri* demon, the skull of a big lion in his prime of life will be [buried]. [For him] who turned into the *slob dpon* [demon the skull] of a big full-grown tiger [will be buried]. [For him, who turned into the *dge bshes* [demon the skull] of a black male *mdzos* [will be buried]. [For him who turned] into the *sgom chen* [demon the skull] of a marmot in the prime of life [will be buried]. [For him who turned] into the *sngags pa* [demon], [the skull] of a dog in the prime of life [will be buried]. [For him who turned into] the *btsun pa* [demon the skull] of a full-grown monkey [will be buried]. [For him who turned into] the *skye pa* [demon the skull] of a full-grown wolf [will be buried]. [For him who turned into] the *bud med* [demon the skull] of a fox [will be buried]. [For him who turned into] a *byi pa* [demon the skull] of a full-grown mule [will be buried]. Regarding the assembly of the *rgod sri* [one buries the skull] of a black *mdzo*. If the *rgod sri* demon who harms the cattle appears, [one buries the skull] of a black dead goat. If the demon of the burial ground appears [one buries the skull] of a full-grown eagle. Generally [one buries] for all [other demons] the skull of a plowing animal or an infertile animal. After the burying of [the skull, you demon are not allowed] to appear again. As [the vein of your life] is cut off [you demon are not allowed] to fix it again." Seventhly, regarding the explanation of the burying of the skull; Yama [is asked by his] retinue: "The skull [can] be buried here and there. To suppress the demon where should he be suppressed?" 'Jam dpal [answers]: "Retinue [listen to me]: After having buried [the skull] in order that [the demon] should be unable to rise again, regarding the places to suppress the *dam sri*, [the one] who became the *rgyal po dam sri* will be suppressed below a big snow mountain. The *slob dpon dam sri* [will be suppressed] at an area close to a red rock. The *dge bshes dam sri* [will be suppressed] close to a big temple. The *dbon po dam sri* [will be suppressed] below a big path (*stong lam*). The *sgom chen dam sri* [will be suppressed] below a big chorten.<sup>63</sup>

The *sngags pa dam sri* [will be suppressed] below a big chorten, the *btsun pa dam sri* below a big bridge. The *skye pa dam sri* [will be suppressed] under a

<sup>62</sup> According the *mtshams pa* Ngag dbang a denomination for the demon, *ru ta* means *sdig can*.

<sup>63</sup> The term *ka ne* denotes according to *mtshams pa* Ngag dbang the chorten placed at the entrance of a village.

big peak of a mountain pass, the *bud med dam sri* close to the ocean. The *byis pa dam sri* [will be suppressed] at a path or a threshold. If the *god sri* demon of cattle appears [suppressed] close to a fence. [The demon] of the assembly of angry enemies [will be suppressed] at a river [or] at a big path. If the *dur sri* demon of a burial ground appears [he will be suppressed] at a big burial ground. In the regions of the *mnar med* hells his anger is little. In the iron house there are 17 iron houses without a door. Therein is the Yama of [bad] deeds. If you [demon] are extradited, he can retain you and will never release you. After he has seized you, there is no more time to escape. Even [if] you fight one kalpa, he will not release you again. [Only] if you develop an enlightened mind you will escape from the claws of the black Yama. Therefore, attain quickly the highest mind of enlightenment.” Eighth, the explanation of suppressing: the oblations are distributed. “I hand [the demon] over to the assembly of the holy teachers of the three times and entrust him to them. Keep him under control. I hand him over to all the assembly of the yidam and gods and entrust him to them. [Keep him under control]. I hand him over to the assembly of the *ma mo* and *dākinīs* [and entrust him to them. Keep him under control]. I hand him over to the assembly of the protectors of the teaching and the *srung ma* [and entrust him to them. Keep him under control]. I hand [the demon] over to the Sa bdag, the *pho lha* and The se<sup>64</sup> [and entrust him to them. Keep him under control]. I hand him over to the Sa’i lha mo bstan ma [and entrust him to her. Keep him under control.] I hand him over to all the *gnyan* in the upper region [and entrust him to them. Keep him under control.] I hand him over to the friendly *klu* in the lower region [and entrust him to them. Keep him under control.]

I hand him over to all *bdud* and *btsan* demon [and entrust him to them. Keep him under control.] I hand him over to all *yul ha* and *gzhi bdag* of the area [and entrust him to them. Keep him under control.] You are called *dam sri*. If you develop an enlightened mind, I will pass you in the hands of Vajrapani. I will never hand him over to other [gods]. Because the dagger was pierced into you, you cannot escape. Because sand weapon<sup>65</sup> is thrown on you, you cannot live. Because you were deluged with poison water you became made. Because the mountain collapsed, you are overcome by the earth. The collapsed mountain is not overcome by the earth, the collapsed mountain cannot be turned up again. Therefore, you are suppressed by earth of the collapsed mountain. You are suppressed by the water of an invisible spring. The invisible [spring] is not overcome by water. The invisible [spring] has no opportunity to flow. Therefore, you are overcome by the water of the invisible [spring]. You are suppressed by stones that are rolling back and forth. The stones do not suppress each other; the stones cannot, even when rolling, hit each other. Therefore, you will be suppressed by the stones rolling back and forth.

You will be suppressed by the earth at the crossing of a big path. The earth is not suppressing the big path. The earth of the big path has no opportunity to

<sup>64</sup> This is the Sa bdag in the east, see Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho 1997: vol. II, p. 76.

<sup>65</sup> Translation of *be rtson* according to *mtshams pa* Ngag dbang.

come forth. Therefore, you will be suppressed by the earth of the big path. You will be suppressed by the rotten driftwood.

There is no opportunity for the rotten wood to grow. The rotten has no opportunity to grow in the wood. Accordingly, you will be suppressed by the rotten wood.

You will be suppressed by the horn of a yak and the horn of a small wild yak. The small wild yak will not be suppressed by the horn. If the yak has died [the horn] has no opportunity to grow.

Therefore, you will be suppressed by the horn of a small wild yak. You will be suppressed by the hoof of a horse and a *spyān spyān*-hoof.<sup>66</sup> The horse will not be suppressed by a hoof. A *spyān spyān*-hoof has no opportunity to kick. Therefore you will be suppressed by the kick of a horse hoof. You were suppressed, do not appear anymore. You were killed, do not be born again. You were cast away so do not return anymore.” Ninth, the sealing with the elements together with the weapons: “At first you will be suppressed by the element earth. Because you were suppressed by the element earth, you may not appear anymore. Second, you will be suppressed by the element water. As you were suppressed by the element water, [you may not appear anymore]. Third, you will be suppressed by the element fire. As you were suppressed by the element fire [you may not appear anymore]. Fourth, there is the seal of the wind. You will be scattered by the wind therefore do not appear anymore. Fifth, there is the seal of the ether. As you will completely be penetrated [by it] you may not appear anymore. Sixth, there is the seal of the different weapons. The weapons did hit you [therefore you may] not [appear anymore]. Seventh, the seal of interdependent origination: it is the truth that does not deceive, [therefore you may] not [appear] anymore. The seal was impressed henceforth you will not flee. Because you were dug into the ground, you may not appear anymore. Because you were suppressed, you may not appear anymore. Because you were killed, you may not be born again. You are free of any thought to harm others. If you generate the sublime enlightened mind you will be free from any oppression. May you quickly achieve buddhahood.” Tenth, the dance [the yogin], his feet are dancing the dance of the vajra. His hands form a gesture [like] the wings of the Garuda. *hum*. In the world of the emptiness in the three realms *kun kyang vajra he ru ka. vajra kro ti shva ri ram. yab* and *yum* are identical and the dance will be performed as magical demonstration of the non-duality. “I dance the dance on anger. I dance the dance against the hated enemy. I dance the dance to prevent any damage. I dance the dance against the *bdud*-demon of obstacles. I dance the dance against the appearance of the *sri*. I dance the dance against the arrival of the *dam sri* [demon]. I dance the dance against the arrival of the demon. I danced and henceforth [the demon] can not come anymore. The hateful enemy who caused the harm, has not a name anymore. The wheel of causes was empty from right the beginning. Khro bo dances *khriḡs se khriḡs* The manner of Khro mo’s

<sup>66</sup> The term *spyān spyān* is unclear. *mtshams pa* Ngag dbang explained *spyān spyān (ldan)* as “dead”.

dancing is *logs se logs*. The power of *dam can kyu ru ru.*” This is the recitation for the Khro bo. One dances in this way,<sup>67</sup> and expels the demon. Recite the prayer for the dedication of merit, and then the prayer for auspiciousness. Perform the concluding part of the ritual. Sarva mangalam.

Against the *dgra sri* [demon] in the *sgrub khung* [one needs] the left horn of the best breeding bull. If there is no [bull, one takes] the left horn of an uncastrated yak. Against the *god sri* [demon who harms the cattle one needs] the right horn [of a yak] or its skull. Against the *phung sri* [one takes] the skull of a reddish donkey. Against the *spyi sri* [demon] [one needs] the skull of an infertile [creature]. If it is not available [one buries the skull] of a goat, a pig or a dog. Against the *dur sri* [demon one buries] the skull of a black vulture [or] of a [another] bird. Against the *chung sri* [demon who harms children one buries] the skull of a female mule. Furthermore, one collects a chestnut and a hoof of the *zhang blon*'s horse, the stone of a water mill, earth from a burial ground, a stone broken from the Sumeru, earth and stones from a junction, the old horn of a yak, twenty-five daggers made from barberry plant, the square piece of black cotton, earth from an area between mountains and a plain: A list [of these things],<sup>68</sup> incense for one day to suppress the *sri* [demon], an arrow, a knife and a spear, the tail of a wild yak and a mirror. Sarva mangalam. The explanation regarding the circulation of the The Five *r̥si* planets: it moves at the 4<sup>th</sup> day in the dusk from west to east, at the morning of the 8<sup>th</sup> day from southeast to northwest, at midnight of the 11<sup>th</sup> day from north to south, at midnight of the thirteenth day from the sky to the bottom of the ocean. At midday of the 15<sup>th</sup> day, it moves from southwest to northeast, at midnight of the 18<sup>th</sup> day from east to west, at midnight of the 22<sup>nd</sup> day from northwest to southeast. On the 24<sup>th</sup> day, it moves at midday from the bottom of the ocean to the peak of the mountain. At early dawn of the 25<sup>th</sup> day, it moves from south to north. On the 29<sup>th</sup> day, it moves at midday from northeast to southwest. In such a way, if the movement of the planet and one's [planet?] are facing, one makes that these do not meet?

The wrathful rituals: [throwing] of magical weapons, suppressing activities, burnt offering and casting out. For circumstances like lightening, hail and so on one should perform appeasing rituals at the appropriate time. Blessings!

### *Transliteration of the Manuscript*<sup>69</sup>

#### **fol. 1r**

*sri gnon cho ga bca' mo bzhugs so*

#### **fol. 1v**

<sup>67</sup> *tho rtsigs* is unclear.

<sup>68</sup> The passage is problematic. *mtshams pa* Ngag dbang corrects *sa ming sbyang* (clean white sand).

<sup>69</sup> {} mark deletion, [] mark insertions, \*text insertion in the original, + marks repetitions in the original.



[[Z1]] om sva [s]ti / bla ma yi dam mkha' 'gro tshogs la phyag 'tshal lo / bla ma dam pa'i phyag len la / drag{s} po la lang kyi sgrub thab[s] ni / gru [g]sum nang la me ri bris/ mda' gang gzhu/ mdung dang ral dri (r. gri) bris / phyi ru rdo rje [Z2]] phur bu sogs / drag{s} po'i phyags mtshan du ma bris/ 'dud drod (r. dur khrod) ras 'am shing shun la/ dug{s} dang khrag{s} gis sri ling kha (r. ga) bris / rnying (r. snying) kar srog{s} gi{s} rnying (r. snying) po bris/ spu gri{s} sngags kyis bskor bar bya/ yan lag dza ye (r. yi) khyab par bya / khyi gu [Z3] phag{s} sbrul byi ba dang / re (r. ri) bong thod pa la sogs pas / steng {'}du rdo rje gya gram bris / srog{s} gi{s} sngags kyi[s] steng nas mnan / dug{s} dang khrag gis nang nas byugs / ling ka (r. ga) dril la/ sgrub[s] 'gung (r. khung) gzhugs / dkar nag btags [Z4] la phur ba stong (r. btang) / ces gsung ba ltar / ling ka'i (r. ga) bcab (r. bca') [g]zhi ni / lag{s} pa g.yas pas brang bsdung pa / g.yon pa skra na {'}bal ba / kha nas khrag{s} [']dzag{s} pa/ mig shi mig du lta ba / mgo che [Z5] la yan lag{s} phra ba / lto ba che ba bris / phrag{s} pa rnying (r. snying) ka sdom (r. 'doms) la sogs su phur btib (r. btab) / rkang lag{s} lcags grogs gis bcugs / dza dgu'i tha ma bskor / nya zhi dang sdom (r. 'doms) su ma ra ya rbad rnying kar bris / ming / lte [Z6] bar rnying kar tin ta kha byor/ gnod byed tig nan ma ra ya rbad/ snyags thum hri ma ra ya rbad sod sod zhes ba bris/ mtha' bskor du/ om sarva shan ti ni hum dza/ rdzi tri ni hrum dza/ grum grum grum dza dza dza

### fol. 2r

[Z1] zhes na bris/ nas/ byugs rdzas mu ze (r. zi) ro zhob rta bon dug{s} dang khrag gi byugs pa bris / phyugs shi ba'i thod pa sogs/ sri gang gnon pa'i thod ba yi stags (r. ltag) par g.yung {'}drung spral bar rdo rje rgya gram/ rna (r. sna) gong [Z2] la gram cig bris/ mgram ba (r. 'gram pa) g.yas la shi kha chod / g.yon la rgod kha mchod / ces bris / srogs sngags steng gnod ni / krigs (r. tig) nan ma ra ya zhes sogs/ rang nyid yi dam gang byed du rgom (r. sgom) / ser [s]kyem [b]tang [Z3] la rmod yang 'dzugs / 'di ltar gsal ba'i ting 'dzin ltar / dam chen bskul ba drag{s} sngags bzlas {b}zhes bsung (r. gsung) ba ltar / gshin rje gshed dmar nag gang rung du dbang bskur thob cing rnyen (r. bsnyen) mthar phyin ba / rnying (r. snying) rje [Z4] ldan zhing phyag{s} len la mkhas pa'i mnal 'byor pas / bla ma yi dam mkha' 'gro chos skyong rnam rten bkram / mchod {g}tor [b]sham pa'i mdun ngos su grub dal bcas [b]shom byas nas / dam sri [g]sad pa dang gnan pa las dang po dang la / dam [Z5] sri khung bstan pa / tshang bru ba / pho nya bkugs cing stim ba / gu gul kyi{s} dud pas bdug cing / lha dang phral ba / dman 'beb cing rmod mos btab ba / rdo rje rnun ba / yung dkar kyis brab ba / gtor [Z6] ma'i mtshon zor gyis rnun ba / thun rakti thun btab la / phur ba'i 'bar zor gyis brab pa dang bcu'o / [2.] gnyis pa mnan pa ni / sa tshogs btang / lam rgya {r}gram mam / rgo (r. sgo) them sogs su mnan cing zer

### fol. 2v

[Z1] ba'o / dang po dam sri khung bstan ba / dam sri bya ba'i sdig can khyod / dang po byung ba gang nas byung / dang po zhe sdang pha yi skyed / de nas 'dod chags ma yi skyed / de nas ma yi [Z2] mngal nang 'du / {'}de la dri za nye par 'khor / chags pa lte ba'i dkyil du chags / de nas phung po lnga yi gzugs / de nas 'dud drod (r. dur khrod) gnas su khyam[s] / de nas db{y}en [g]nas rnam su 'dug{s}/ dben stong gnas [Z3] nas khong stong {'}byung/ khong stong myul

shing dben stong la/ las kyi dbang gis mngal nang du/ lta ngan phru gu mang po  
 bskyes (r. bskyed)/ sgyu (r. rgyu) { ' }drug 'khor zhing las ngan byed/ de phyi[r]  
 [b]stan pa spyi'i [Z4] dgra/ myur du sgral pa'i zhing yin no / tshang grub ni/  
 gnod par byed pa'i dam sri 'di/ tshe rab lnga ma'i (r. snag ma'i) las ngan gyis/  
 sangs rgyas bstan pa khyod kyi[s] shigs / dam pa'i chos [d]gra rgra (r. dgra) yang  
 bcom/ [Z5] 'phags pa'i dge dun bka' yang bcag/ rnal 'byor nga la khyod kyi  
 brnyes (r. brnyas)/ sdig can dam sri ma rung pa/ skad gcig {r}tsam gyis 'dir  
 khugs 1 / [s]grub khung mthing nag 'bar ba yi/ lcags kyi khang pa rgo (r. sgo)  
 med [Z6] 'dir / nor gyi{s} dog[s] nas ming rus bris / shor gyi dog[s] nas dri (r.  
 gri) 'gyi (r. yis) skor / brjed gyi dog[s] nas ling ga bris / bros kyi dog[s] nas lcags  
 grogs bcugs / ma [b]sod dog[s] nas phur bu 'tab (r. btab) / bden

**fol. 3r**

[Z1] pa rdar (r. bdar) shing srog{s} sngags bzlas / na mo sangs rgyas kyi bka'  
 bden pa dang / zhes sogs nas/ byin gyi rlab[s] kyi[s] [s]grub khung lcags mkhar  
 'bar ba 'di nang du / rkyen las gyur ba'i dam sri / las las [Z2] gyur pa'i dam sri/  
 gnod par byed pa'i dam sri nam[s] rang dbang med par gnas 'dir khug 1/ tak ki  
 vajra ang gu sha dza dza gnod byed krig nan ma ra ya rbad / rnyags thum kri ma  
 ra ya rbad sod [Z3] sod / ces [b]rgya rtsa bzlas / pho nya b[s]kul zhing stim pa ni  
 / dam sri zer pa'i sdig can khyod / tshe rab snga ma'i las ngan kyis / da lta bu yi  
 dam sri gyur / rnal 'byor pa yi sku dgra bo/ rgan pa nam[s] kyi tshe la [Z4] gnod  
 / bzhon (r. gzhon) pa nam[s] kyi dbang thang phrogs / gzhan yang chung sri bar  
 chad byed / 'di nas [bs]gral pa'i zhing yin pas/ gsang pa'i bdag po bka' [b]zhin  
 du / drag{s} po'i [s]grub khung lcags mkhar 'dir/ las [Z5] kyi dbang gi{s} 'dir  
 khugs 1/ pho nya skyed zhing bskul ba ni / bhyo bka' yis pho nya nag bo'i  
 tshogs / khros pa'i cha lugs rngam pa'i zhal / dam nyam srog{s} rtsa gcod byed  
 ba'i / lha srin sde brgyad 'khor gyi tshogs/ [Z6] gshin rje ma mo mkha' 'gro'i  
 tshogs/ srog{s} [b]dag nag po bdud kyi tshogs/ za byed sha za bum gyi tshogs/  
 gsod byed gnod byed tum po'i tshogs/ 'jigs pa'i gzugs kyi tham cad ngam/  
 khros pa'i gzugs kyi phyogs bcur [Z7] ltar/ rngam pa'i nga ros stong [g]sum  
 'geng / drag{s} po'i stob[s] kyis ri rab gshig{s} / gdugs pa'i 'od kyi[s] rgya  
 mtsho rnyil / sprul ba'i bar rnang (r. snang) tham cad khengs / ces dang / dam  
 tshig{s} chen po'i dus la bab / zhes sogs bya'o/

**fol. 3v**

[Z1] gu gul gyi bdud pas bdug cing lha 'phral ba ni / gnyen po ku[n] phrol bdugs  
 pa'i rdzas/ [']go ba'i lha dang phral ba na / gu gul sbyar pa'i bdud pa yin / sdig  
 can nam kyi rnar bdug pas/ [Z2] mthu dang / 'dzu 'phrul myur du phrol/ ma ha  
 gu ta ta gyu phat/ dman 'beb cing mdos mos btab ba] dkon mchog gi bden  
 stob[s] kyis rjes su / bdag cag yon mchod nam[s] la sdang par byed pa'i dgra/  
 gnod par byed pa'i bgegs dam sri [Z3] ma rung ba 'di dag / las kyi rlung dmar  
 kyi rgyab nas phul 1/ 'jigs pa'i mun khang gyi mdun nas bsus cig/ khro bo khro  
 mo nam[s] kyi rnying (r. snying) nas grong (r. drongs) cig/ lus sems bye ma (r.  
 phye mar) [Z4] rnyil ba [b]zhin du thong 1/ mgo bo a tsa ka'i dgos ba (r.  
 'dogspa) zhon (r. bzhin)/ kha so sil bur thong 1/ mig [']bras thang la phyung  
 shigs (r. zhig)/ bskal ba'i me grib/ gzugs phung/ ye shes sdug 1/ 'khor [Z5]  
 bsrung/ tshang shig+/ drag[s] po'i las kyi gnon+/ drags po'i las kyi sod+/ rdo rje

rnun (r. snun) ba ni/ dam sri zer pa'i sdig can khyod/ bdag cag yon mchod 'khor bcas kyi{s}/ sri{d} las [Z6] de ni dri[n] che med/ na sa (r. tsha) de ni [g]zer du che/ tsha ba de ni dpal du che/ [g]sod kyi de ni bdud du che/ rje bo dang ni 'bang[s] sri dang/ chos sri dang ni bon sri dang/ zhang sri dang ni tsha bos (r. bo'i) sri/ bu pho [Z7] dang ni bu mo sri/ pho sri dang ni mo yi sri/ dgra sri dang ni 'dre yi sri/ god sri dang ni gnod pa'i sri/ rnal 'byor bka' las 'das pa'i sri/ sri rnam[s] 'dir ni b[s]dus pa'i tshe/ rtse 1 rtse [g]sum [r]tse

**fol. 4r**

[Z1] lnga dang/ rtse dgu brgya{d} khri la sogs pa'i/ rdo rje 'bar ba'i char bab pas/ dgra bgegs tham[s] cad bsdul (r. rdul) du rlog{s}/ myur du khug 1 bsrung ma'i tshogs/ dam sri khyod ni dus la babs/ ces [Z2] bzlas shing rdo rje rnun (r. snun) no/ yung[s] dkar kyis brab pa] thun gyi[s] brab pa ni/ dam sri zer/ sdig can bsdul (r. rdul) du rlugs (r. rlog) pa'i phyir/ rdo rje rigs kyi phur bstan bya/ mo (r. ma) mo rnam[s] la mchod par bul/ pho nya'i tshogs la [b]tab [Z3] bar bya/ mtshon cha rnam[s] kyi rtse mo bstar (r. brdar)/ ye shes mtsho na (r. mtshon cha) dpal gyi bsad/ yung[s] dkar mda' yi[s] 'bem du tsugs/ dug{s} khrag{s} chu yi srog{s} la bab/ lcags phye zang phye tshub mas tshub/ [Z4] rakta khol pa'i rba rlab g.yeng/ bye ma skye tshe'i ser ba phob/ khro bcu'i khyod kyi srog{s} rtsa chod/ pho nya drag po'i rta bro bsdung (r. brdung)/ maha rakta dza la ma ra ya rbad/ rngags (r. sngags) bzlas thun [Z5] gyi brab ba'o/ gtor ma' i mtshon zor gyis rnun ba] gtor brgyab ba ni/ dam sri zer/ {b}rdul phral bzhin du brlags pa'i phyir/ dmar chen gtor ma {rnying ma} snying la rnun(r. rnun)/ nga yi[s] ma nyes ma tho yod/ skyabs mgon du [Z6] dkon mchog bzhugs/ chos skyong bsrung ma dam la {'}du/ zhal lce lha srin yong kyi mchog (r. gcod)/ dam can {b}srung ma ram (r. rnam[s]) b{s}dar mdzod/ dgra bgegs yul du dmag{s} rna (r. sna) drong/ dug{s} khrag{s} 'bru'i gtor ma 'di

**fol. 4v**

[Z1] {'}gal byed khrag{s} du skyug par byed/ zor 'di gnod pa'i dgra la ya/ zor 'di sdang ba'i dgra la ya/ zor 'di bar chad [b]dud la ya/ sdang dgra gnod byed rnying (r. snying) la phob/ bha mi che [Z2] ge mo la ma ra ya rbad/ ces gtor ma rgyab bo/ rakta btab ba ni/ dam sri {b}zer+/ rtsad nas bcad pa bya ba'i phyir/ thun cod thun gyi rba klong 'khrug/ thun 'khor de ni sil [Z3] li li/ khrag{s} mda' khrag{s} gur sil li li/ yung dkar zor mda' shar ra ra/ nad kyi na bun thu lu lu/ khrag gi rlang ba phyur ru ru/ khrag{s} zer ser chen shar ra ra/ khrag gi khu phang [Z4] sil li li/ khrag gi rba klong nye re re/ khrag gi{s} mtsho dmar chil li li/ khrag gi bu yug tshub se tshub/ khrag{s} zer dmar po zeng se zeng/ khrag{s} zer dmar po thun bhyo ya/ las ngan [Z5] sdang pa'i dgra la bhyo/ khrag{s} zor sdig can 'di la bhyo/ dgra bo yul [m]khar rmang nas gyel/ [r]tsad nas {m}chod la grang nas thong/ lhag{s} ma med pa[r] {b}rdul du rlogs/ ces rakta [b]tab bo/ [Z6] phur ba [b]tab pa ni/ dam sri zer+/ ming yang med par bya ba'i phyir/ lcags sam nag po'i shing dag la[s]/ phur ba'i rgya mdud rtse sor sum/ khong stong byang byub sems su stan (r. rten)/ logs la drag{s} po'i ldas (r. lhas) [Z7] skor ba/ dgra [b]gegs rnam[s] la [b]tab ba yis/ sdang lha lnga chod (r. chos) thar chod pa/ ldang (r. sdang) pa'i dgra la dbal phur ya/ gnod pa'i [b]gegs la dbal/ bar chad [b]dud la/ yan lag lnga la/ don rnying (r. snying) rnga (r. lnga)

**fol. 5r**

[Z1] la/ dbang po lnga la+/ sri lang yong la/ phur ba'i mda' 'phen shar ra ra/ yung dkar rhab rdo 'gril li li/ mon thong zlum po khrig se khrigs/ tshe'i zur phud ling se [Z2] ling/ gzi 'od khrag{s} rta chil li li/ khrag{s} rta bu yub (r. yug) tshub se tshub/ nag po'i khog tu ru zor rgyab/ zor yang slad la ma ldog l/ gnyen byas dgra ru ma ldang l/ zas zos dug tu [Z3] ma gyur l/ gnod byed dgra bgegs ma ra ya rbad/ ces b[r]jod la phur [b]ba tab bo/ zhag{s} du byed tshe [g]sad pa'i las [b]cu po 'di yan gtong ba yin no/ gnyis pa mnan ba la bcu yod pa'i/ dang pos res pa'i (r. re ba) [Z4] gos rkon (r. gyon) pa ni/ hum yab cig 'jam dpal [g]shin rje la/ 'khor gyi bshin (r. gshin) rje drug gis bzhus/ sdig can gos su 'ji ltar gyon/ 'jam dpal gshin rje bka' rtsal ba (r. stsal ba)/ 'khor gyi gshin [rje] drug nga la nyon/ [Z5] dam sri zer/ sngon gyi sdig spyod 'bras bu yis/ da lta dkar po chos la nag/ de phyr re ba'i gos su gyon/ ces b[r]jod la re bas bril (sgril) lo/ [2.] gnyis ba rngo (r. sngo) dmar gyi byad du tshugs pa na/ yab [Z6] cig 'jam dpal 'khor gyi+/ sdig can gos ni de yin na/ bcing zhing grags (r. bsgrog) na gang gis rgrags (r. bsgrog)/ 'jam dpal+/ 'khor+/ las [']phro ngan pas kun la tshe (r. btse)/ nad rnam[s] gtang pas rnam (r. ngan) [Z7] rmin (r. smin) gyi/ da lta sngo dmar byad du btsugs/ ces [s]kud pa rngo (r. sngo) dmar gyi byad du btsugs go/ gsum pa thod pa 'dur ba ni/ thod pa gang yin kyi slad (r. klad) khung mar ling ka'i (r. ga'i) [']go nas/rim ba 'beb drugs la tshang

**fol. 5v**

[Z1] ma bcugs zin pa'i ring/ yab cig+/ 'khor gyi/ sdig can ske reg (r. ska rags) des byas nas/ 'gro pa'i (r. ba'i) gnas ni gang du [']gro/ 'jam dpal 'khor/ las phro ngan pas kun la tshe (r. btse)/ [Z2] dam sri/ [gti] mug las kyi dbang rtsan (r. btsan) pas/ steng gi phyogs su [']gro [s]nyam na/ 'khor lo 'bar pa'i rtsib can yod/ de la rdo rje (?) ga la nus/ de bas bka' la ma mda' (r. 'da') ba/ tshang pa'i [Z3] lcags khar zhes kyang bya/ thod pa [l]cags khar zhes kyang bya/ thod pa mun khang nang du chos/ gal te mi gro bdug (r. 'dug) 'gyur na/ rang shed rang la 'beb[s] pa yin/ dam sri/ zhe sdang las kyi [Z4] dbang b{r}tsan bas/ shar kyi phyogs su+/ me dmar [r]mugs kyi 'ob chen yod/ de la rdo rje(?)+/ de bas [b]ka[']/ dri zi (r. za) lcags khar/ thod pa/ thod pa mun/ gal te rang shed/ dam sri zer/ [Z5] nga rgyal las kyi+/ lho yi phyogs su+/ ro myag kh[y]ab'i [']dam zab yod/ de la rdo rje/ de pas (r. bas)/ [g]shin rje'i bcags (r. lcags)+/ thod ba (r.pa)+/ thod pa mun+/ gal te/ rang shed+/ dam sri bya+/ 'dod chag las kyi+ [Z6] nub kyi phyogs su+/ spu gri rdol pa'i thang yang yod/ de la rdo rje+/ de bas+/ klu bdud [l]cags khar+/ thod pa /thod pa mun+/ gal te+/ rang shed+/ dam sri bya ba'i+/ phra dog las kyi/ byang

**fol. 6r**

[Z1] gi phyogs su/ thal chen chu bo rab med yod/ de la rdo rje(?)+/ de pas (r. bas) [b]ka[']+/ gnod byin bcags (r.lcags) khar/thod pa+/ thod pa mun+/ gal te+/ rang shed+/ dam srid/ las dang nyom mongs dbang rtsan (r. btsan) [Z2] pas/ 'og gi{s} phyogs su/ mnar med dmyal pa'i dur khang yod/ de la rdo rje(?)+/ de bas [b]ka[']/ sa bdag bcags (r. lcags) khar/ thod pa/ thod pa mun/ gal te/ rang shed/ dam srid/ ces bcug go/ de nas thod [Z3] ba la la chas rgyas [b]tab/ phyi nas kyang re bas bril (r. sgril)/ sngo dmar [r]gya gram {'}du byed [b]cug lo (r. la)

rgya rims bdun gyi rgyas [b]tab ba'i la thig re la rgya dam yod pa re la gnas (r. gong) pa sogs phyag len ltar bya'o/ bzhi [Z4] ba thod pa rgyas btab ba ni/ yab cig 'jam dpal+/ 'khor gyi+/ thod pa de ltar yin mod kyang/ thod pa rgyas [b]tab ji ltar bya/ 'jam dpal/ 'khor/ dang po sangs rgyas dkon mchog rgya/ sangs rgyas bden [Z5] pas ma thon cig/ gnyis pa dam pa chos kyi rgya/ dam chos bden/ gsum pa phag[s] pa'i dge dun+/ dge dun+/ bzhi ba ma mo daki rgya/ mkha' 'gro+/ lnga pa chos skyong bsrung {slang} ma'i rgya/ chos skyong/ [Z6] drug pa rnal 'byor nga yi rgya/ rnal 'byor+/ mdun pa rnam rmin (r. smin) las kyi rgya/ las kyi bden+/ rgyas btab phan chad ma thon 1/ gal te byang byub sems skyed na/ 'phags pa'i thugs dam mnyam gyur ste/ rang [Z7] gzhan don gnyis 'grub gyur na/ de'i tshe na 'thon pa yin/ ces brjod/ lnga pa thod pa'i 'byung khung dang rab[s] [b]rgyud bstan pa ni/ yab+/ 'khor+/thod pa rgyas 'deb[s] de legs na/ thod

**fol. 6v**

[Z1] pa'i pha ni gang zhig{s} legs (r. lags)/ thod pa'i ma ni gang zhig{s} legs (r. lags)/ 'jam dpal+/ 'khor+/ thod pa'i pha ni zhe sdang yin/ thod pa'i ma ni 'dod chags yin/ de nas 'dod chags ma mi ma [Z2] de la dri za nye par 'khor/ dri za'i lcags khar zhes kyang bya/ lcags khar bar zhes kyang bya/ thod pa mun khang bar ba ru/ lcags khar bar pa'i nang shed na/ bka' las 'das pa'i las [Z3] gsad bcug{s}/ drug pa thod pa'i rigs bstan pa ni/ yab+/ 'khor+/ thod ba byung/ rab[s] de legs (r. lags) na/ thod pa gnon ba yin gang rung mnan/ 'jam dpal+/ 'khor+/ ma tam ka'i ru ta de/ rab chad [Z4] nag po'i thod par mnan/ rgyal po dam sri song ba de/ seng chen dar ma'i thod par/ slop dpon+/ stag chen dar m[a']i+/ [d]ge [b]shes+/ rdzo (r. mdzo) pho nag po'i+/ sgom chen/ phi pa dar ma'i+/ sngags pa/ [Z5] khyi pho dar ma'i+/ b{r}tsun pa+/ spre'u dar+/ skye ba+/ spyang khu dar+/ bud med+/ va [s]kye[s] dar+/ byi pa dam+/ {'}dre bong dar+/ sdang pa dgra yi tshogs rnam[s] ni/ rdzo (r. mdzo) pho nag po'i+/ phyugs kyi rgod sri lang/ [Z6] pa de/ sri ra rog po'i\*{'}dur gi dur sri lang ba 'de/ 'god (r. rgod) po {'}dar ma[']i\* spyi ru dam thams cad ni+/ [r]mon nam rab[s] chad thod+/ mnan pa'i phyir ni ma sdang 1/ bcad pa'i phyir ni ma thud 1/ bdun ba thod pa mnan pa stan pa ni/ yab rtsigs

**fol. 7r**

[Z1] 'khor+/ thod pa der dang der mnan \*pa\*/ dam srid gnon pa gang du gnon/ 'jam dpal+/ 'khor+/ mnan nas ldang par mi nus phyir/ dam srid gnon pa'i sa rnam[s] ni/ rgyal po dam sri song ba de/ [Z2] gang dkar chen po'i 'og du gnon/ slop dpon dam sri+/ brag dmar gling gu'i gram du+/ dge [b]shes+/ lha khang chen po'i gram du/ bon po+/ stong lam chen po'i 'og du+/ sgom chen/ ka ne chen po 'og [Z3] tu+/ sngags pa/ mchod rtan (r. rten) chen po'i 'og du+/ b{r}tsun pa+/ stong zam chen po'i 'og tu/ skye ba dam/ l{h}a rdzas (r. rtse) chen po'i bu med/ rgya mtsho'i chen po'i/ byi[s] pa dam/ lam mam them pa'i/ [Z4] phyugs kyi god sri lang pa {'}de/ phyugs lhas chen po'i/ sdang pa dgra yi tshogs rnam[s] ni/ chu klung [r]gya lam+/ dur kyi dur sri lang ba ni+/ dur drod (r. khrod) chen po'i/ mnar med dmyal pa'i zhing kham[s] na/ [Z5] khro chung lcags kyi mkhar nang na/ rgo (r. sgo) med bcags (r. lcags) mkhar bcu bdun na/ de nas las kyi [g]shin rje yod/ de'i lag{s} tu gtad pa na/ 'dzin pa shes la stong (r. gtong) mi shes/ bzung nas thar [Z6] pa'i dus kyang med/ bskal par bkrug kyang med

[b]tang 1/ gal te byang chub sems bskyed na/ bshin (r. gshin) rje nag po'i lag{s}  
nas thong/ bla med byang chub myur thob shog{s}/ brgyad pa mnan pa [b]stan  
ba ni/

**fol. 7v**

[Z1] gser skyem thor shing/ dus [g]sum bla ma'i tshogs rnam[s] la/ gtad 'di bcol  
lo thub par mdzod/ yi dam lha tshogs thamś cad la/ gtad 'di+/ ma mo ḍaki tshogs  
rnam[s] la/ gtad 'di+/ chos skyong srung [Z2] ma'i tshogs rnam[s] la/ gtad 'di+/  
sa [b]dag pho lha the se la/ gtad+/ sa'i lha mo [bs]tan ma la/ [g]tad+/ steng gi lha  
gnyen thamś cad la/ [g]tad+/ 'og gi klu gnyen thamś cad la/ gtad+/ bar [Z3] gyi  
bdud rtsan (r. btsan) thamś cad la/ gtad+/ yul 'di yul lha zhi dag la/ gtad/ dam sri  
zer/ gal te byang chub sems bskyed na/ bsang pa'i bdag po'i lag tu gtong/ gzhan  
la nam yang ma [Z4] gtong 1/ phur bu [b]tab pas chor mi srid/ be rtson brgyad (r.  
rgyab) pas 'tsho mi srid/ dug chu slud pas rmyos (r. smyos) su 'dzugs/ ri bo nur  
bas sa yi gnan/ ri nur sa'i mi gnan du/ ri nur gyen [Z5] la ldog mi srid/ de phyir ri  
nur sa yi gnan/ chu mig rkug (r. lkug) pa'i chu yi[s] gnan/ skug ba (lkug pa) chu  
yi[s] mi gnan/ skug (r. lkug) pa chu la [r]gyugs dus med/ de phyir skug ba (r.  
lkug pa) chu yi[s] mnan (r. gnan)/ [Z6] pha ka tshu ka'i rdo yi[s] gnan/ phan tshun  
rdo yi[s] mi mnan du/ {'}ji ltar rdo ni gyogs gyur kyang/ pha ga tshu ka 'phrad  
mi srid/ de phyir phan tshun rdo yi[s] mnan/ lam chen

**fol. 8r**

[Z1] [r]gya {r}gram sa yi[s] gnan/ rgya lam sa yi[s] mi mnan du/ rgya lam sa  
yi[s] thong {'}dus med/ de phyir rgya lam sa yi[s] mnan/ chu shing rul pa'i shing  
gi[s] mnan/ rul pa shing gi[s] [Z2] mi gnan du/ rul pa shing la rkyes (r. skye) dus  
med/ de [b]zhin{g} rul ba (r. pa) shing gi[s] mnan/ g.yag ru 'brong chung ra (r.  
rwa) yi[s] gnan/ 'brong chung ra yi[s] mi mnan du/ g.yag shi ba la rkye (r. skye)  
[Z3] dus med/ de phyir 'brong chung ra yi mnan/ rta [r]mig spyen spyen rmig  
pas gnan/ rta yi rmig pas mi mnan/ spyen spyen rmig pa sdeg (r. rdeg) dus med/  
de phyir rta yi rmig{s} [Z4] pas gnan/ mnan ste kho na ma ldang shig{s}/ bcad  
ste kho na ma rkyes (r. skyes) shig{s}/ 'phang ste kho na ma sdog (r. ldog) shig/  
dgu ba (r. pa) [']byung bzhi mtshon dang bcas {b}rgyas [b]tab ba ni/ dang po  
byung [Z5] ba sa yi[s] mnan/ sa yi[s] mnan phyir ma sdang (r. ldang) cig/ gnyis  
pa [']byung pa chu'i [r. yis) mnan/ chu yi[s] mnan+/ gsum pa [']byung pa me  
yi[s] mnan/ me'i (r. yis) mnan+/ bzhi pa [']byung pa rlung [Z6] gi rgya/ rlung gi  
stor (r. gtor) phyir ma sdang (r. ldang) 1/ lnga pa [']byung ba nam mkha'i rgya/  
gar yang khyab pas ma sdang (r. ldang) 1/ drug pa sna tshogs mtshon cha'i rgya/  
mtshon chas theb pa ma/ bdun pa

**fol. 8v**

[Z1] rten cing 'brel 'byung rgya/ mi slu bden pas ma/ rgyas [b]tab phan chad ma  
gros 1/ bkung ba yin pas ma thon 1/ mnan pa yin pas ma ldang 1/ bcad pa yin  
[Z2] pas ma [s]kyes 1/ gzhan la gnod ba'i sems bral zhing/ byang chub tshogs tu  
semś skyed na/ mnan pa'i 'og nas thar nas kyang/ rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas myur  
thob shog{s}/ bcu pa bro sdung (r. rdung) ba ni  
[Z3] rkang pa rdo rje'i {'}gros/ lag{s} pa khyung {b}shogs gi phyag{s} [r]gya  
byas la/ hum/ stong bsum (r. gsum) stong gi 'jig rten na/ kun kyang badzra he ru  
ka/ badzra kro ti shva ri ram/ yab yum gnyis su med pa la/ gnyis [Z4] med rol

pa'i bro brdung pa'i/ bro 'di zhi (r. zhe) sdang steng du bsdung (r. bdrung)/ bro 'di sdang pa'i dgra la bsdung (r. bdrung)/ bro 'di gnod pa'i gegs la bsdung (r. bdrung)/ bro {'}di bar chad bdud la bsdung (r. bdrung)/ bro 'di sri lang yong [Z5] la bsdung (r. bdrung)/ bro 'di dam sri yong la bsdung (r. bdrung)/ brdo sdung (r. bdrung) phan chad thon mi srid/ sdang dgra gnod byed ming yang med/ rgyu drug 'khor ba ye nas stong/ khro bo bro brdung khrigs se 'khrigs [Z6] khro mo gar stab logs se logs/ dam can shugs gyu gyu ru ru/ 'di ni khro'i bzlas pa yin/ {b}ces bro [br]dung [tho?] rtsigs bzlogs ba bya/ sngo rmon (r. smon) bkra shis rdzod (r. mdzod)/ rje[s] chog{s} sdu (r. 'du)/ sarva mangalam/ [s]grub [Z7] khung dgra sri la rab glang dmar kyis ra g.yas/ man na g.yag log can kyis ra g.yas/ god sri la g.yon nam de rang gi{s} thod/ phung sri la bong bu ga dmar gyi thod pa/ spyi

**fol. 9r**

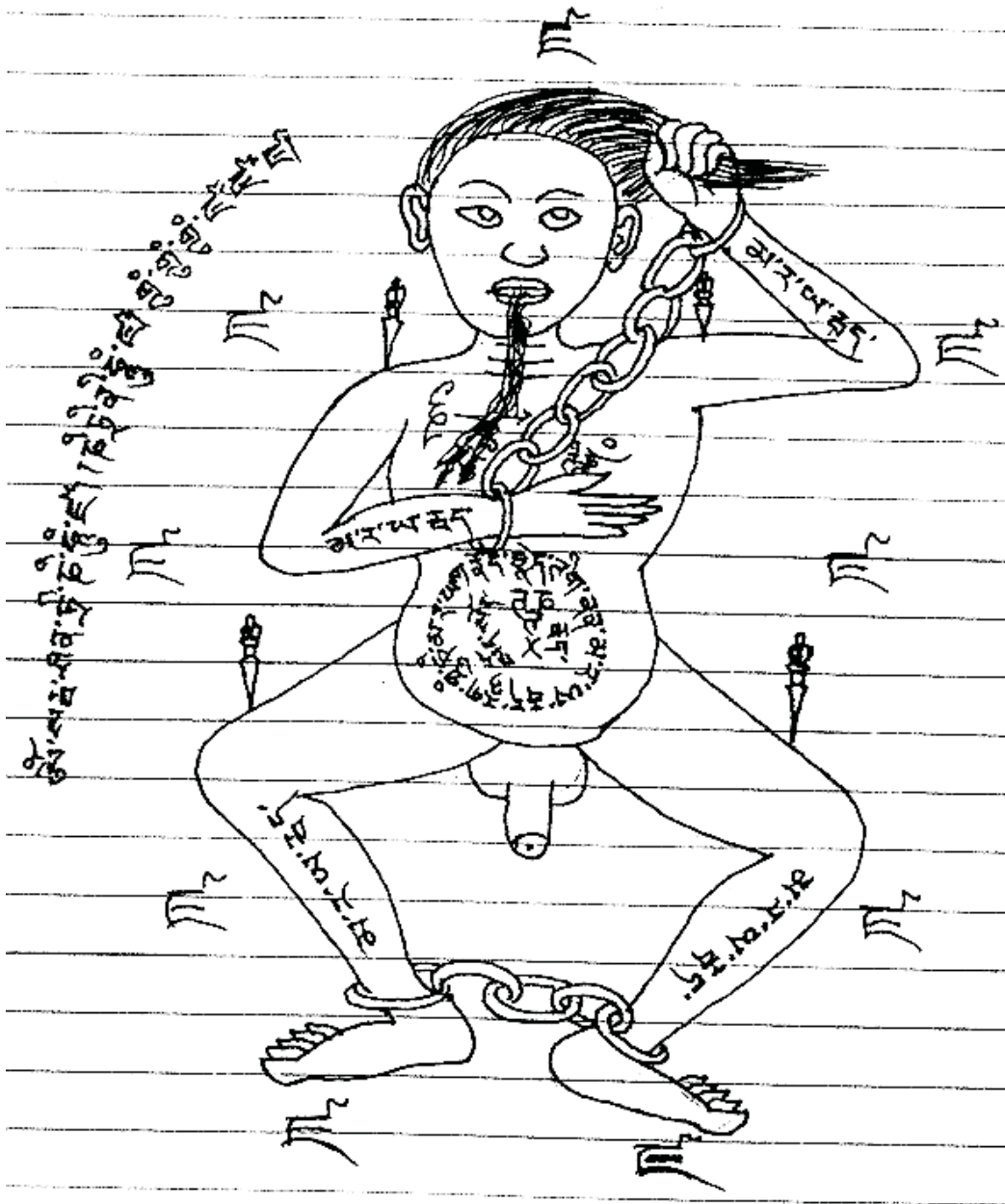
[Z1] sri la rab[s] chad thod pa/ ma byor na ra phag{s} khyi gsum/ dur sri la dur bya nag po bya thod pa/ chung sri la {'}dre thod/ gzhan zhang rta bon rta rmig rang thag{s} rdo/ {'}dur khrod sa/ ri rab chad rdo/ [r]gya [Z2] lam [b]zhi mdor sa rdo/ g.yag ru rgad po/ rkyer (r. syker) phur nyer lnga/ ling ras nag po kha gang/ ri thang [m]tsham kyis sa ming byang/ sri mnon nyin lha bsang/ mda' gri mdung [g]sum/ brong rnga me long sogs tshogs par sags [Z3] go (r. so)/ sarva mangalam/ drang srong gza'i rgyu du bstan pa ni/ tshe [b]zhi la nub nas shar du srod la [r]gyu/ tshe brgyad pa shar lho nas nub byang du snga gro (r. dro) rgyu/ tshe bcu [g]cig gi nam phyed la byang nas lhor rgyu/ tshe [Z4] bcu [g]sum nam phyed la nam kha'i [m]thong[s] nas rgya mtsho'i [g]ting du [r]gyu/ tshe bco lnga'i nyi[n] phyed la lho nub nas byang shar du rgyu/ tshe bco brgyad kyis nam phyed la shar nas nub tu rgyu/ nyi shu gnyis kyis phyed yol la nub [Z5] byang nas shar lhor rgyu/ nyi shu [b]zhi la rgya mtsho'i gting nas ri{n} kyis rtser nyin phyed dus su rgyu/ nyi shu lnga'i skya reng shar rtsa na lho nas byang du rgyu/ nyi shu dgu'i nyi ma dgung gang tsaṃ la byang shar nas lho nub [Z6] la [r]gyu/ de ltar gza' [r]gyu ba dang rang gis kha blta gnyis gdong ma thug{s} pa byas la drag{s} las zor mnan sregs 'phang ba/ thogs ser beb (r. bab) pa la sogs pa skab[s] dang 'byor/ las zhi gang [Z7] 'dod byar par bya'o/ bkra shis/

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*dam sri*, drawing by *mtshams pa Ngag dbang*



THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE BIOGRAPHIES OF  
GLING RAS PA PADMA RDO RJE (1128-1188)

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The aim of this paper is to present some aspects of the image of Gling ras pa Padma rdo rje that was generated within the 'Brug pa bKa' brgyud pa school over the centuries and to relate this image to his writings. The study draws on my Ph.D. project focussed on the life and works of Gling ras pa.<sup>1</sup>

So far academic studies have not dealt with the person of Gling ras pa in great detail; the same holds true for the 'Brug pa bKa' bryud pa school that originated from his disciple gTsang pa rgya ras ye shes rdo rje (1161-1211), which posthumously made Gling ras pa its founder.

For the discussion of Gling ras pa's biography so far only a limited number of sources has been drawn upon, all of which belong to the literature of either “collections of legends of saints” (*gser phreng*) or “religious chronicles” (*chos 'byung*). The very first publication in a western language was Roerich's translation of the Blue Annals in 1949, containing a short biography of Gling ras pa. Later two papers dealing with his life and role in founding the 'Brug pa school were published: in 1979 Dan Martin presented “*Gling-ras-pa and the Founding of the 'Brug-pa School*”, an initial study of the biography using multiple sources, which presented a compiled account of Gling ras pa's life, but did not particularly focus on an analysis of the narrative strands and their development from one biography to another.<sup>2</sup> This initial study was followed by a contribution from Willa Blythe Miller in 2005 under

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<sup>1</sup> This article was first presented as a paper at the exchange workshop LMU-UCB in Munich on June 27-29, 2016. I would like to thank Jake Dalton for his response at the time, as well as Franz-Karl Ehrhard for his ongoing support of my work.

<sup>2</sup> Dan Martin used the following sources: Ye shes chos dar: *Dwags po bka' brgyud kyi ring lugs dri ma med pa'i tshul cung zad gleng ba*; 'Gos Lotsāwa gZhon nu dpal: *Deb ther sngon po*; Mon rtse pa Kun dga' dpal chen: *Grub thob chen po gling chen ras pa padma rdo rje'i rnam par thar pa* and Padma dkar po: *Chos 'byung bstan pa'i pad ma rgyas pa'i nyin byed*. Miller drew upon: 'Gos Lotsāwa gZhon nu dpal: *Deb ther sngon po*; Mon rtse pa Kun dga' dpal chen: *Grub thob chen po gling chen ras pa padma rdo rje'i rnam par thar pa*. See Roerich (1959), Martin (1979).

the title “*The Vagrant Poet and the Reluctant Scholar: A Study of the Balance of Iconoclasm and Civility in the Biographical Accounts of two Founders of the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud Lineages*”. This study relies on the same sources as Martin did earlier and does not provide any new information on the sources and their development, but focusses on an extended discussion on Gling ras pa's and gTsang pa rgya ras' roles as founders of the 'Brug pa school.<sup>3</sup>

So far, none of Gling ras pa's works has been studied and the accounts of his life have not been put into the context of his own literary output. A further aspect that has not yet been examined is the influence that his training with different teachers had upon him.

*Overall the different biographies can be divided into three categories:*

1. Presentations of historical sequences:

- 1.1 *rJe grub thob chen po sna phu pa'i rnam par thar pa*, the “Autobiography” by Gling ras pa
- 1.2 *rJe grub thob chen po gling ras pa'i rnam par thar pa drang nge rab tu gsal ba* by gTsang pa rGya ras Ye shes rdo rje (1161-1211)
- 1.3 *Grub thob chen po gling chen ras pa padma rdo rje'i rnam par thar pa* by Mon rtse pa Kun dga' dpal chen (1408-1475?)
- 1.4 *Deb ther sngon po* by gZhon nu dpal (1392–1481)
- 1.5 *lHo rong chos 'byung* by rTag tshag tshe dbang rgyal (15<sup>th</sup> century)
- 1.6 *brGyud pa ring lugs kyi rnam thar nor bu 'od kyi phreng ba* by Chos kyi grags pa (date unknown)

In general, there are many similarities in the content of these works. Many of the stories therein had already become incomprehensible at the time at which they were recorded, thus they were only passed on as narrative fragments of those stories. Also names of places change partially or completely from work to work. In some of the works, songs are interspersed within the narrative.

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<sup>3</sup> Miller (2005) did not cite Martin as her source, hence the similarity must stem from the fact that both used the most accessible sources and with a strong focus on the Blue Annals. It should be noted that tracing Martin's article proved extremely difficult. After putting in requests at numerous institutions, I am grateful to Martin for providing me with a copy of this article which is otherwise difficult to obtain.

2. Presentations of historical sequences that portray controversial points in a positive light:

- 2.1 *Grub thob kyi rgyal po gling chen ras pa'i rnam par thar pa* by rGyal thang pa bDe chen rdo rje (13<sup>th</sup> century)
- 2.2 *Grub thob gling ras pa'i rnam mgur mthong ba don ldan* by lHa btsun Rin chen rnam rgyal (1473-1557)

These works rely mainly upon the episodes of the previous grouping, but glorify minor and also difficult points from the perspective of tantric practice.

3. Presentations that are built around the structure of the five miracles:<sup>4</sup>

- 3.1 *Chos 'byung bstan pa'i pad ma rgyas pa'i nyin byed* by Padma dkar po (1527–1592)
- 3.2 *Gling ras pa'i rnam thar* by Śākya rin chen (1710-1759)

These works present further biographic details, but were not taken into account here since the structure of the first differs entirely and since both mark the latest development of the biography. They should nevertheless not be entirely disregarded as they are the most read today. This is not because they present an accurate reworking of biographical detail, but because of the renown and status of the authors. Padma dkar po, the great scholar and the pivotal hierarch of the 'Brug pa school, and his works form the basis of study within the curriculum of that school. Śākya rin chen as the ninth rJe mKhan po was the spiritual leader of Bhutan and thus the most prominent figure of the Bhutanese branch of the 'Brug pa school.

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<sup>4</sup> These five miracles are presented by Martin (1979), 59-61. These are: 1. Gling ras pa upon reading the Ratnakūṭa, remembers his past life as a monk out of a group of sixty monks who slandered two monks teaching women. His name at the time was Vīryaprabha and he in turn spent a long period of time in the hell realms. In turn Gling ras pa understood the hardships in his present life, including the loss of his monastic ordination, as a result of his past deeds. 2. Gling ras pa used to regularly offer a part of his food to his teacher Phag mo gru pa. The offered part miraculously appeared in his teacher's tea cup. 3. In a dream a blue woman appeared to Gling ras pa; she placed a single volume of scripture upon his tongue that contained the entire *bKa' 'gyur*. From then on, he would remember the entire *bKa' 'gyur*. 4. Based on his knowledge of *sūtra* and *tantra*, he began to write commentaries for tantric scripture, which he was criticized for. Challenging his critics, he tied bookbinding boards around himself, flew up in the sky and answered with a song. 5. After being warned by a ḍākinī not to stay at a cave, as soon as he went outside, the cave's roof collapsed. In turn, he built himself a grass hut where he was crowned by five ḍākinīs as the Vajradhara.

The biography of Gling ras pa escaped to a great extent the trend of enlarging biographies that took place in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. All versions of the biography rely to a certain extent upon the same source material.<sup>5</sup> After lHa btsun, there does not seem to have been much further development of the narrative.

*Examples of the historical development of certain topics*

To illustrate the developments from the initial narrative I will give four examples. I will take the “autobiography” dating roughly from the 12<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> century as the starting point and the *Grub thob gling ras pa'i rnam mgur mthong ba don ldan* by lHa btsun Rin chen rnam rgyal dating from 14<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> century as the latest relevant biography to show those developments.

The “autobiography” was published by the Khampa Gar community in 1985 as part of the collected works (*gsung 'bum*) of Gling ras pa Padma rdo rje and was based on manuscripts from the monastery of Go 'jo nub dgon in eastern Tibet.

*Grub thob gling ras pa'i rnam mgur mthong ba don ldan* is partly based upon the 13<sup>th</sup> century work *Grub thob kyi rgyal po gling chen ras pa'i rnam par thar pa* by rGyal thang pa bDe chen rdo rje as can be seen below. It should be noted that lHa btsun Rin chen rnam rgyal operated largely outside of the traditional framework of the 'Brug pa's monastic structures as he was a main student of gTsang smyon Heruka Sangs rgyas rgyal mtshan (1452-1507). Following his teacher's activity, he was committed to rewriting and printing biographies of lineage masters to make them more accessible for wider audiences. The printing happened in his own printing house (*par khang*) of the hermitage of Brag dkar rta so near sKyid grong, in the region of Mang yul in south-western Tibet, north of the Kathmandu valley.<sup>6</sup>

*Being Saraha*

According to the autobiography, Phag mo gru pa (1110-1170), the famed student of sGam po pa (1079-1153), was greatly pleased about the unusual behaviour of Gling ras pa during a feast gathering (*gaṇacakra*) saying:

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<sup>5</sup> See Schaeffer (2010), 261.

<sup>6</sup> This is stated in the colophon of the work. See lHa btsun Rin chen rnam rgyal: *Grub thob gling ras pa'i rnam mgur mthong ba don ldan* Folio 57a.7.

Up to the river Gangā in India the great Brahmin Saraha is of highest realisation. From there on [until here] your realisation is the highest.<sup>7</sup>

IHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal now presents at the outset of his *Grub thob gling ras pa'i rnam mgur mthong ba don ldan* three quotations, which he attributes to passages of distinct *sūtras* to prove the status of Gling ras pa as a rebirth of Saraha, the Indian *mahāsiddha*. As is to be expected, these quotations are not to be found within the canonical works, which also do not contain passages of any similar content.

1. The *'Jam dpal gyi[s] zhus pa'i mdo* is quoted, which should be the *Ārya-mañjuśrīparipṛcchā-nāma-mahāyāna-sūtra* (*'Phags pa 'jam dpal gyis dris pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo*). The fictional quotation now states that in the land of India, in the city of Varanasi, he who has left his parents and rid himself of all responsibility, who is the eighth holder of essential reality, has purified the natural state and obtained the key points is called the “archer” (*mda' bsnun*).<sup>8</sup>

2. The *Ārya-mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* (*Mya ngan las 'das pa'i mdo*) is referred to with another fictional quotation, saying that 200 years after the Buddha's *nirvāṇa* in the city of Varanasi, the “archer” will appear within a brahmin family, having realised the natural state and spreading the essential reality.

3. The *Ratnakūṭa* (*mDo dkon mchog brtsegs*) is referred to with the final fictional quotation. Here, the Bhagavat predicts that in the period of the final 500 years of the Buddha's teaching the Bodhisattva *Vīryaprabhā* will be widely known in the northern glacier mountains at a place called Rig pa'i 'byung gnas as a yogin under the name of Gling. He will accomplish a vast benefit for sentient beings and then be born in the western world of *Sukhāvātī*. During that time the Tathāgata *Amithābha* will predict his complete buddhahood.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Gling ras pa: *rJe grub thob chen po sna phu pa'i rnam par thar pa* Folio 8b.1: *rgya gar chu bo gang ga phan chad na bram ze chen po sa ra ha rtogs pa mtho ba yin| de tshun chad na khyod rtogs pa mtho bar 'dug|*.

<sup>8</sup> The name “archer” (*Saraha*; *mDa' bsnun*) originates from the legend of Saraha, that can be found in the writings of Karma 'Phrin las pa (1456-1539) and goes back to Bal po A su. No other source of this account is known at present. See Guenther (1973), 3-6.

<sup>9</sup> IHa btsun Rin chen rnam rgyal: *Grub thob gling ras pa'i rnam mgur mthong ba don ldan* Folio 2b.5-3a.3.

In fact only the third quotation mentions Gling ras pa, the first two only mention Saraha, but all three build up the argument of Gling ras pa being Saraha.

While citing *sūtras* with passages not found in them seems to be taking the need for authentication rather far, stories of previous births as a part of hagiographies are in most cases apocryphal.<sup>10</sup>

The above-mentioned quotation about the realisation of Gling ras pa and its correspondence to Saraha's, which is attributed to Phag mo gru pa, is the only connection between the two of them in the earliest biographies. The equation of both of them with each other seems, based on this quotation, not to point to a matter of rebirth, but to remain with the topic of direct awakening (*cig char*), which is in line with the myth of Saraha and with his teaching. Among all the biographies, only gTsang pa rGya ras makes this a point in his introductory verses:

By the force of the two accumulations gathered earlier;  
[he was named] in all *sūtras* and *tantras* extensively and  
[his] experiences and realisations appeared from the dimension  
(*klong*) of the awakened mind (*thugs*) directly (*chig char*),  
now, right up to the river Ganges,  
his incomparable realisation is known to all.<sup>11</sup>

The realisation of a person of direct awakening (*cig char pa*) is opposed to a person of gradual awakening (*lam gyis rim pa*). A person of direct awakening obtains spiritual accomplishment without needing to rely on the methods of the path, like the six perfections (*pāramitā*) of the *mahāyāna* or on the phases of generation and completion of the *vajrayāna*.<sup>12</sup> A further reference to Gling ras pa having obtained direct awakening is a story reporting that Gling ras pa embarked for an extended meditation retreat but returned shortly after, because he had achieved his goal of realisation.

<sup>10</sup> Phag mo gru pa, one of the main teachers of Gling ras pa, is also said to have spoken elaborately about his previous lives. See Schiller (2014), 30.

<sup>11</sup> gTsang pa rGya ras Ye shes rdo rje: *rJe grub thob chen po gling ras pa'i rnam par thar pa drang nge rab tu gsal ba* Folio 1b.1-3: *gang sngon bskal par tshogs gnyis bsags pa'i mthus* | *mdo rgyud kun la mkhyen pa rab rgyas shing* | *nyams rtogs cig char thugs kyi klong nas shar* | *da lta chu bo ganga tshun chod na* | *rtogs pa 'gran zla med par kun la grags* |.

<sup>12</sup> For an extensive discussion of the teaching style related to persons of direct awakening vs. persons of gradual awakening in the context of the teachings of sGam po pa and specially Bla ma Zhang (1123-1193), see Jackson (1994).



This also is no proof of an early connection between Gling ras pa and Saraha since Saraha is nowhere mentioned as a person of direct awakening.

*The role of his wife, Jo mo sMan mo (also called Ma jo Shes rab rgyan), and her position as a tantric consort (mudrā)*

The autobiography mentions Gling ras pa's meeting with his wife and then again mentions her in the context of the monastic environment during his discipleship with Phag mo gru pa:

After having become the most powerful man in upper Myang due to his abilities to perform black magic, he met his consort Jo mo sman mo.<sup>13</sup>

Further on in the text Gling ras pa and his wife are described as a practicing couple. When he was aged thirty (1159), they were in full tantric outfit wearing a short cotton skirt (*ang ga rag*), a shawl made of cotton, a knife stuck in their belt, a bundle on their backs and their matted hair was bound upwards. Thus they were in search of teachings of the aural transmission with Dam pa Sum pa, a direct disciple of Ras chung pa (1084-1161). Later on in the story, Gling ras pa and his wife were caught in quarrels, which became so unpleasant that the situation was no longer in accordance with the teaching. Gling ras pa thought thereupon that one's own death is unforeseeable and that he should from now on be a beggar and devote himself exclusively to the teaching. Upon this incident he resolved to live as a hermit and collected the necessary things. He thought to take along some of the bundled scriptures and to offer them to his teacher Phag mo gru pa.

He spoke to Phag mo gru pa:

I am bound to this female practitioner by oath. Since this is not in accordance with [your] teaching, I will act. I will go to Nags shod rtsal.<sup>14</sup> Also, I got weary of these books and want to get rid of them.

The noble Phag [mo] gru [pa] spoke:

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<sup>13</sup> In the rNying ma tradition Jo mo sman mo is believed to be the consort of Guru Chos kyi dbang phyug (1212-1270). It is reported that she met Gling ras pa as his consort and helped him to open his energy channel of discerning wisdom, whereafter an all-encompassing realisation arose in him. Her birth is dated to the year 1248. See Dudjom Rinpoche (1991), Vol. 1, 772-773. Since the year of the passing of Gling ras pa is 1188, there is no possibility that both met and hence two people with the same name are confused here. See: Alexander Gardner, "Jomo Menmo".

<sup>14</sup> This must be Nags shod in the rural district of 'Bri ru in Khams. See Sørensen and Hazod (2007), 259, Fn. 741.

If this female practitioner is not in accordance with the teaching, you have to go separate ways. This is the nature of things. If due to your spiritual oath (*samaya*), you do not want to be separated from her, I will take her as a gift. If the Jo mo is the daughter of a good father, then bring her to Tsol in Kha rag, [that lies] in gTsang.”<sup>15</sup>

These are two of the few mentions of his wife in the earliest works, which do not show her in a very respected or appreciated light; even her role as tantric consort is not depicted any differently from that of a common wife. Nevertheless, Gling ras pa’s testament which is included as a lengthy poem in the earlier works is addressed to his wife in the introductory verse.<sup>16</sup>

IHa bstun Rin chen rnam rgyal now relies upon the earlier work of rGyal thang pa bDe chen rdo rje describing her in a much more positive way:

At the time when Gling ras pa lived in the monastery of Zul po, west of Lha sa to train in inner heat practice, he was visited by Ma jo Shes rab rgyan, whose mother passed away at this very time. Due to her mother’s sudden death she was consumed by grief and approached him, since she was no longer able to do her practice. Gling ras pa performed the parting ceremonies for her mother and she had to return to her homeland in Grags<sup>17</sup> against her will. Gling ras pa accompanied her, likely to lead ceremonies there. As they were on the way Gling ras pa thought, that in accordance with the *vajrayāna* a wisdom-consort is indispensable, and that, relying upon her, good qualities will be generated soon. This would bring him closer to buddhahood and thus be the true teaching. Since she is a wisdom-consort possessing good energy channels, the winds (*prāna*) will be tamed (literally: be ridden). To rely upon such a consort buddhahood will be obtained quickly. In this way, ordinary desire will be renounced and having the key

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<sup>15</sup> Gling ras pa: *rJe grub thob chen po sna phu pa'i rnam par thar pa* Folio 9b.3-5: *bdag sgom ma 'di dang dam tshigs gis 'brel ni che| 'di chos dang ni mi mthun pa gcig byung bas| ji ltar bgyi ces zhus pa dang| bdag nags shod rtsal du 'gro bas dpe cha 'di tsho yags brgyal bar 'dug pas phyag tu bzhes pa| bsgom ma chos dang mi mthun na so sor 'gro ba chos nyid yin no mod| dam tshig gis sel mi 'dod pa kho bos g.yon len| mo rang pha bzang bu mo yin na gtsang kha rag tsol du skyol|*.

Kha rag is located in gTsang, south-west of Lha sa. See Sørensen and Hazod (2007), 23.

<sup>16</sup> See Gling ras pa: *rJe grub thob chen po sna phu pa'i rnam par thar pa* Folio 17b.6-19a.5.

<sup>17</sup> This region lies in the western part of the rGod dkar la mountain range near bSam yas. See Sørensen and Hazod (2007), 23 & 312 Map 8.

instructions of insight-wisdom (*prajñājñāna*)<sup>18</sup> they arrived together at her home. Back in Grags she sold her house and property which took a year to complete. She studied the teaching under Gling ras pa, who was much older than her, and devoted herself to practice.

His teacher Khyung tshang pa Ye shes bla ma (1115-1176), himself a monk who had advised him to take monastic ordination, was particularly unhappy about Gling ras pa's wife and instructed the latter to remain within his teaching tradition. This was because he taught that the practices related to sexual energies were purely imaginative and even rewrote corresponding passages in commentaries that advise about the need of a physical partner to correspond to his teachings.<sup>19</sup>

For some time Gling ras pa complied with this order, yet he thought that Khyung tshang pa's teaching in relation to conduct of the mantra vehicle (*mantrayāna*) was wrong and his confidence in his teacher lessened. Even at the time of Lha btsun there was still talk about this story and the authenticity of Khyung tshang pa as a holder of the aural transmission was called into question. lHa btsun calls upon the reader not to bother any further with the subject.<sup>20</sup>

Later on in the work, lHa bstun Rin chen rnam rgyal relies once again upon the earlier work of rGyal thang pa bDe chen rdo rje and strengthens again the position of Gling ras pa's consort: During an initiation ceremony of the deity Vajrayoginī in sNa phu his disciples asked how to imagine the deity upon which Gling ras pa answered that the deity would be just like Ma jo Shes rab rgyan. Then he uttered *hrīḥ* and *hūṃ*, the seed syllables (*bīja*) of Vajrayoginī and Cakrasaṃvara. Upon that, they saw Ma jo Shes rab rgyan in the form of Vajrayoginī surrounded by a mass of blazing fire and from then on all viewed her as a true magical appearance of Vajrayoginī and him as Cakrasaṃvara or Vajrapaṇi.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>18</sup> These are the instructions on *karmamūdrā*, that rely upon the third initiation within the system of the four initiations of the *niruttarayogatantra*.

<sup>19</sup> Sernesi: oral communication, November 2014.

<sup>20</sup> rGyal thang pa bDe chen rdo rje: *Grub thob kyi rgyal po gling chen ras pa'i rnam par thar pa* Folio 5b.1-5 & lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal: *Grub thob gling ras kyi rnam mgur mthong ba don ldan* Folio 4b.7-5a.5.

<sup>21</sup> See rGyal thang pa bDe chen rdo rje: *Grub thob kyi rgyal po gling chen ras pa'i rnam par thar pa* Folio 22a.1-4 & lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal: *Grub thob gling ras kyi rnam mgur mthong ba don ldan* Folio 55b.

*Meeting his disciple gTsang pa rgya ras Ye shes rdo rje*

Among the biographies worked on, gTsang pa rgya ras is only mentioned by name in rGyal thang pa's *Grub thob kyi rgyal po gling chen ras pa'i rnam par thar pa* and lHa btsun's *Grub thob gling ras pa'i rnam mgur mthong ba don ldan*. Of course within the “collections of legends of saints” (*gser phreng*), gTsang pa rgya ras is given a distinct biography following the one of Gling ras pa in which their meeting is mentioned. This does yet not make up for the evident lack of information on him in Gling ras pa's own biographies that in turn served as blueprints for the individual biographies within those collections.

lHa bstun now bases his presentation entirely upon chapter sixteen of *Grub thob kyi rgyal po gling chen ras pa'i rnam par thar pa* by rGyal thang pa bDe chen rdo rje. First the other students are mentioned there in a generic manner, grouped into the respective realisation of the four yogas of Mahāmudrā, with ten having reached the stage of without [formal] meditation (*sgom med*), eight the stage of one taste (*ro gcig*), twenty the stage of freedom from proliferation (*spros bral*), and many the great stage of one-pointedness (*rtse gcig chen po*).<sup>22</sup> After that, gTsang pa rGya ras Ye shes rdo rje is mentioned as a main student.

The episode of meeting between teacher and student is given as a prophecy: At the given time Gling ras pa was dwelling in sNa phu. There appeared a girl bearing the 37 marks, revealing herself as a *dākinī* of space (*dbyings kyi mkha' 'gro*), as mistress and protectress of

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<sup>22</sup> The four yogas are four different stages of realisation on the path from the first stabilisation of mind up to full buddhahood as presented within the system of Mahāmudrā according to sGam po pa. In the first yoga-stage the yogin experiences in “one-pointed” (*rtse gcig*) absorption the nature of his unchanged mind. With the second yoga, he recognises the essence of his mind, the “freedom from proliferation” (*spros bral*). In the third yoga-stage the trainee grasps appearances as deluding manifestations of his mind. Manifestations and mind are both of “one taste” (*ro gcig*). In the fourth stage the yogin abides continually in “without [formal] meditation” in the insight of reality. See Schiller (2014), 161. These four yoga-stages are furthermore equated in the works of 'Bri gung Chos rje Rin chen dpal (1143-1217) and Lo ras pa dBang phyug brtson 'grus (1187-1250) with the five paths of the bodhisattva stages of the *pāramitāyāna*: the first yoga-stage is equal to the path of preparation (*prayogamārga*; *sbyor lam*), the second to the path of vision (*mthong lam*; *darśanamārga*) being the first to the seventh Bodhisattva-stage, the third to the path of application (*bsgom lam*; *bhāvanāmārga*), being the eighth to the tenth Bodhisattva-stage, and the fourth to the path of completion (*mthar phyin lam*; *niṣṭhāmārga*) or the *Buddhabhūmi*. See *ibid*, 181.

the transmission lineage's teaching of practice (*sgrub brgyud*). She foretold that he would meet Jñānasiddhi (Nāropa) on the very day at lunch time. He would hold his transmission lineage and reach liberation. Gling ras pa, knowing about the meeting in advance, greeted him with the proclamation that he was to become his spiritual son and holder of his transmission lineage and spread it far and wide.<sup>23</sup> *Grub thob kyi rgyal po gling chen ras pa'i rnam par thar pa* goes on to describe the exceptionally quick spiritual development of gTsang pa rGya ras under the guidance of Gling ras pa and states that due to those signs he recognised him as his spiritual successor and as an emanation of Nāropa.

This identification of gTsang pa rGya ras as Nāropa goes hand in hand with the afore mentioned identification of Gling ras pa as being Saraha and thus places the two Indian figures of the streams of the path of means (*thabs lam*) and the path of liberation (*grol lam*) as the founding figures of the 'Brug pa bKa' brgyud pa.

#### *The vows of a cotton-clad (ras pa)*

The autobiography only mentions the context of the cotton-clad briefly, as seen above where Gling ras pa dons the outfit of a tantric yogin along with his wife.

In the work of lHa bstun now the thirteen vows of Gling ras pa (*rje btsun gling ras kyi dam bca' bcu gsum*) are mentioned in a short passage:

1. not to amass household items (*them spangs*); 2. to [only] dwell in moderate housing (*sgo cig*); 3. to don cotton clothing (*ras rkyang*); 4. not to gather money (*sog 'jog bral*); 5. to stay alone (*gcig pu*); 6. to have the seven kinds of devotion (*mos gus bdun ldan*); 7. to have a clear generation stage (*b skyed rims gsal*); 8. to possess loving kindness (*byams can*); 9. yogic conduct (*gsang spyod*); 10. whatever arises, not to be stained by artificiality (*gang shar bcos slad bral*); 11. not to visit central places (*dbus sgnas [=gnas] mi 'bebs*); 12. [to abandon] patrons (*yon bdag*); and 13. to abandon holding on to entities (*ngos 'dzin spangs*).<sup>24</sup>

This acts as a testimony of his commitment to live as a cotton-clad

<sup>23</sup> See rGyal thang pa bDe chen rdo rje: *Grub thob kyi rgyal po gling chen ras pa'i rnam par thar pa* Folio 20a.3-22a.6 & lHa bstun rin chen rnam rgyal: *Grub thob gling ras kyi rnam mgur mthong ba don ldan* Folio 38 'og.a.4- 38 'og.b.2.

<sup>24</sup> See lHa bstun rin chen rnam rgyal: *Grub thob gling ras kyi rnam mgur mthong ba don ldan* Folio 14 'og.b.

yogin. A further reference to the discipline of a cotton-clad yogin is found in a spiritual song that Mi la ras pa directs to his disciple Zhi ba 'od: There Zhi ba 'od vows in the presence of his teacher to only wear clothing (*ras rkyang las mi gon pa*), not to wear footwear made from leather (*ko pa gas lham mi gyon pa*), not to return to his home region (*pha yul du mi 'gro ba*) and not to amass provisions for longer than two days (*nyi ma gnyis ldang ba las lhag pa'i rdzas mi 'dzin pa*).<sup>25</sup> Since both textual witnesses are only to be traced to the same generation and were moreover written by gTsan smyon Heruka and his disciple lHa btsun in the 15<sup>th</sup>/16<sup>th</sup> century it is not at all evident that these and similar commitments were defined as such by the tradition of cotton-clad yogins at the time of Gling ras pa.

### *Conclusion*

The examples given here show the development of Gling ras pa's biographies from the first layer of biographies, "the presentations of historical sequences", to the second layer, "the presentations of historical sequences that portray controversial points in a positive light". Within a relatively short period of just one or two centuries, a considerable shaping of their form and contents has taken place. This is surely due to fact that the second layer of biographies, best represented by lHa btsun rin chen nam rgyal's *Grub thob gling ras kyi rnam mgur mthong ba don ldan*, was intended for a larger audience as it was a printed book and thus readily available.

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<sup>25</sup> See Sang rgyas rgyal mtshan: *Mi la ras pa'i rnam mgur*, 350.

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SONG OF PURE VIEW  
 BY KARMA NOR BU BZANG PO (1906-1984)  
 AN EMBODIMENT OF TEACHINGS AND PRACTICES IN HIS  
 ASCETIC LIFE<sup>1</sup>

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Karma Nor bu bzang po (1906–1984),<sup>2</sup> also known as Karma gZhan phan chos kyi rgya mtsho, is a legendary teacher who attained a high level of accomplishment.<sup>3</sup> He is commonly depicted as “the Second Mi la ras pa”<sup>4</sup> for the fact that he carried out yogic practice and ascetic conduct throughout his life and left several spiritual songs for his followers, as did the famous *yogin* of the bKa’ brgyud lineage, Mi la ras pa (1052–1135).

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<sup>1</sup> During the dissertation project (Zhong: 2018) about the Kaṃ Tshang Trikāya Practice Lineage focusing on the life accounts of Karma Nor bu bzang po and his main disciple Karma sTobs rgyal, the collection of Karma Nor bu bzang po’s spiritual songs have attracted my attention, especially this song that was related to Karma sTobs rgyal. Without the help of the following people I would not have been able to bring the translation of this spiritual song into being. First and foremost, I must express my gratitude to Karma bsTan pa rnam rgyal, who is the disciple and nephew of Karma sTobs rgyal. Because of him, I have been able to gain direct access into the spiritual world of Karma Nor bu bzang po, Karma sTobs rgyal, and the Kaṃ Tshang Trikāya Practice Lineage. Second, I am deeply indebted to Prof. Franz-Karl Ehrhard, Bla ma Tshe ring, mKhan po Theg mchog ’od zer, rDo rje tshe ring, Phun tshogs sgrol dkar, and Helga Frensel, Dolores Zoé Bertschinger, Mo sang and Sonja Zimmermann. Their opinions and interpretations extended and deepened my understanding of the concise but comprehensive content. Lastly, I am deeply grateful to Harmony DenRonden, an experienced editor, who proofread my writing.

<sup>2</sup> For a historical photo of Karma Nor bu bzang po, cf. plate 2.

<sup>3</sup> The signs of progress on the path (*lam rtags*), such as visions, predictions, signs of accomplishment, appearance of relics and the like, are described in Karma Nor bu bzang po’s biography; cf. Karma sTobs rgyal (1999, pp. 30–59; 2016, pp. 895–906).

<sup>4</sup> Karma Nor bu bzang po is depicted as “the Second Mi la ras pa” in the complete and abbreviated versions of his life accounts composed by Karma sTobs rgyal (1999, pp. 2–3; 2016, p. 885): *rJe btsun mi la gnyis pa lta bu’i grub pa’i dbang phyug nyid du nges pa*.

His whole life directly reflects the manner of how a Buddhist teacher and hermit underwent the radical political and historical changes of the twentieth century in Tibet. However, without leaving Tibet for exile even during the difficult times of the 1950s, he stayed in Khams regardless of hardship, hunger or sickness exclusively for the sake of a continuous transmission of the non-sectarian scriptural teachings and spiritual practices. The famous four aims (*gtad sa bzhi po*) of the bKa' gdams pa lineage that have become the principle of all practitioners summarise the essential features of Karma Nor bu bzang po's ascetic life:

Aim your mind at the teachings,  
Aim your religious [practice] at [living as] a beggar,  
Aim your life at being a beggar till death,  
Aim your death at solitude.<sup>5</sup>

This article will primarily focus on one of his spiritual songs, or songs of experience (*nyams mgur*), which was a reply to his direct disciple Karma sTobs rgyal (1944–2014) about how to view appearances and existences as all-encompassing purity,<sup>6</sup> in order to explore the ascetic aspect of Karma Nor bu bzang po's life from his own perspective.

### *Karma Nor bu bzang po's Life and Songs*

The life accounts of Karma Nor bu bzang po are illustrated in his biographies (*rnam thar*, literally, “full liberation story”) as well as in his songs of experience, which can be regarded as a type of spiritual memoir (*rang rnam*)<sup>7</sup> to express one's spiritual development, experience, realisation, instructions and the like. The biography of Karma Nor bu bzang po was first summarised in the academic arena by Turek (2013), based on her collected sources.<sup>8</sup> During my doctoral research on the Kaṃ Tshang Trikāya Practice Lineage (Kaṃ tshang sku gsum sgrub brgyud), I obtained a newly published work from Lhasa,

<sup>5</sup> Karma sTobs rgyal (1999, p. 24; 2016, p. 891): *blo phug chos la gtad/ chos phug sprang la gtad/ sprang phug shi la gtad/ shi phug grogs stong la gtad* [...].

<sup>6</sup> I have collected four sources of Karma sTobs rgyal's life accounts; cf. Karma sTobs rgyal (1999, pp. 73–74; 2016, p. 912), 'Jam dbyangs bstan dar (2014, digital version; 2006, vol. 1, pp. 1–48; 2016, pp. 932–1003); for a portrait photo of Karma sTobs rgyal, cf. plate 3.

<sup>7</sup> The translation of *rang rnam* as spiritual memoir is attributed to Rheingans (2008, pp. 78–79).

<sup>8</sup> Turek (2013, pp. 169–176).

*The Biographies of the Successive Teachers of the Trikāya Practice Lineage* (*sKu gsum sgrub brgyud pa'i bla rabs kyi rnam thar*), compiled by Karma sTobs rgyal's direct disciple and the throne holder of the Trikāya Practice Lineage, dByings rig sPrul sku 'Jam dbyangs bstan dar (b. 1985),<sup>9</sup> which provides a new version of Karma Nor bu bzang po's biography.<sup>10</sup> Besides, the earliest biographical account<sup>11</sup> in combination with a supplication in the form of four-line verses was composed by Karma sTobs rgyal in the Saga Month (i.e., the fourth Tibetan month) of 1981, before the demise of Karma Nor bu bzang po in 1984. As to the important source for exploring Karma Nor bu bzang po's inner life, it is a collection of his spiritual songs compiled by Karma sTobs rgyal, *The Songs of Experience of the Lord of Accomplished Ones, Karma Nor bu bzang po: Self-Liberation upon Hearing* (*Grub pa'i dbang phyug karma nor bu bzang po'i nyams mgur gyi skor thos pa rang grol*). This collection contains thirty-one songs, among which only five bear titles (nos. 19, 20, 21, 22, 28). Their contents range from aspiration (nos. 1, 30), replies to questions (nos. 2, 10, 12, 21, 23, 31), instructions to disciples in general (nos. 3, 5, 9) or in specific (nos. 4, 6, 13, 15, 18, 19, 20, 22, 26, 24), confession and supplication to the deity (no. 7), his thoughts and feelings (nos. 8, 11, 17, 24, 29), teachings to common individuals (nos. 14, 25), songs of

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<sup>9</sup> 'Jam dbyangs bstan dar (2016).

<sup>10</sup> Both versions, the abbreviated biography (Karma sTobs rgyal: 2016, pp. 884–931) and the complete biography (Karma sTobs rgyal: 1999, pp. 1–119), provide relatively limited life accounts rather than a detailed and informative chronological narration. According to the colophon of the complete biography, Karma sTobs rgyal was asked to write down Karma Nor bu bzang po's biography based on: 1) the earliest biographical account composed by Karma sTobs rgyal (cf. n. 11 below), 2) the explanatory notes written by his son-like disciple, Nor bu bsod nams (n.d.), in the Water Pig Year (1983), and 3) the valid source of Karma Nor bu bzang po's words, which have been heard and passed on; *ibid.*, pp. 117–118. The particularity of this type of liberation story lies in describing “the Ris med ‘self-made’ saint mode” (Turek: 2013, p. 170) of Karma Nor bu bzang po rather than highlighting his previous reincarnation. According to a direct disciple of Karma sTobs rgyal, Karma bsTan pa rnam rgyal (personal communication, 2017.01.17), the abbreviated version was proofread and edited by the Tibet People's Publishing House (Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang), therefore, the whole chapter about the superior features of the bKa' brgyud lineage was deleted, and moreover, numerous paragraphs in the other remaining chapters were edited out for various reasons, which Karma bsTan pa rnam rgyal didn't specify.

<sup>11</sup> Karma sTobs rgyal: 2006, vol. 3, pp. 33–40.

experience and realisation (no. 27) and teachings received in visions (no. 28).<sup>12</sup>

The functions of the thirty-one spiritual songs, or *vajra* songs (*rdo rje'i glu*), are said to: arouse the recollection of faith, turn the mind to Buddhist teachings, inspire confident certainty, bring down the great resplendence of blessings, stimulate experience and generate realisation through hearing.<sup>13</sup> From among them, the tenth is worth noting. Although it is designated as a reply to Karma sTobs rgyal's question about how to view appearances and existences as all-encompassing purity, Karma Nor bu bzang po described his ascetic life and expressed his attitude toward it thoroughly in this song, and it enables the readers to easily and directly approach his personality and inner world as an ascetic *yogin*.

*Transliteration and Translation of the Spiritual Song (no. 10)*

Karma Nor bu bzang po's spiritual song, whose transliteration and translation are provided below, shows us what makes the scriptural and spiritual transmissions of Tibetan Buddhism still possible to pass down from generation to generation without interruption, even during times of change and difficulty. All the transmissions of the Buddhist teachings and practices lie primarily in the individual's application and realisation instead of merely in scriptures and theories, and if the subject, who embodies the teachings and practices, exists, the line of transmission will never be interrupted. Karma Nor bu bzang po clearly

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<sup>12</sup> Karma Nor bu bzang po (1999, pp. 123–172): no. 1 (pp. 123–125), no. 2 (p. 125), no. 3 (pp. 125–128), no. 4 (pp. 128–129), no. 5 (pp. 129–130), no. 6 (pp. 130–131), no. 7 (pp. 131–133), no. 8 (pp. 133–135), no. 9 (pp. 135–140), no. 10 (pp. 140–148), no. 11 (p. 148), no. 12 (pp. 148–150), no. 13 (pp. 150–151), no. 14 (pp. 151–153), no. 15 (p. 153), no. 16 (pp. 153–154), no. 17 (p. 154), no. 18 (pp. 154–155), no. 19 (pp. 155–156, *A Reply: The Profound Instruction on How the Apparent Conditionings Appear as Friends* (*rKyen snang grogs su shar ba'i gdams pa zab mo'i zhus len*)), no. 20 (pp. 156–158, *A Spiritual Song Which Introduces the Sublime Meaning* (*Don dam ngo sprod kyi mgur ma*)), no. 21 (pp. 158–159, *An Introduction to the Fundamental Reality of the Innate Three Bodies* (*sKu gsum gnyug ma'i gnas lugs kyi ngo sprod*)), no. 22 (pp. 159–162, *The Practice of the Four Yogas of the Great Seal: Warm Breath of Speech Nectar of the Great Accomplished Adept* (*Phyag chen rnal 'byor bzhi pa'i nyams bzhes grub thob chen po'i zhal gyi bdud rtsi'i drod rlangs ma yal ba*)), no. 23 (pp. 162–163), no. 24 (pp. 163–164), no. 25 (p. 164), no. 26 (pp. 164–166), no. 27 (pp. 166–169), no. 28 (pp. 169–171, *The Teaching of a Yogin with Long Hair Bound up into a Crown* (*rNal 'byor ral cog can gyi lung bstan*)), no. 29 (p. 171), no. 30 (pp. 171–172) and no. 31 (p. 172).

<sup>13</sup> Mu ne (1999, p. 121).

shows in both the biography and this song how he embodies the teachings and practices in his authentic ascetic life by way of equal taste and pure view.

1/[140] nga nā ro chen po'i bu brgyud kyis/	1) [140] I, descendent of the Great Nāro,
2/sgrub brgyud kyi chos 'khor tshugs pa dgos/	2) Must establish the doctrinal wheel of the practice lineage.
3/ngas lus srog la ma ltos sgrub pa'i rgyal mtshan btsugs/	3) I've raised the victory banner of the practice regardless of body and life.
4/ngas chos phyir dka' ba spyad pa la/	4) Though I've undergone hardships for the sake of <i>dharmā</i> ,
5/ltog sgur dang sdug sgur ma yin te/	5) I am not the one who bends over in hunger and misery.
6/de rnal 'byor nga yi ya tshul yin/	6) [These] are my marvellous conducts [as] a <i>yogin</i> .
7/tshe 'di dang phyi ma bar do gsum/	7) Unifying this life, the intermediate state and the future [lives],
8/de gcig tu dril la nyams su len/	8) I practise.
9/yul gyi ming ni sbas gnas lung gsum ljongs/	9) The name of the region is Lung gsum Valley of the Hidden Place. <sup>15</sup>
10/gnas kyi ming ni lhun chags stag mo 'gying 'dra'i g.yon rol na/	10) The name of the sacred site is Magnificent Tigress, as if [she] were showing [her] mightiness [when one views it] on the left side.
11/sa yi ming ni bkra shis 'o ma'i ltem/	11) The name of the place is Overflow of Auspicious Milk. <sup>16</sup>
12/mi yi ming ni sprang ban smyon pa nga/	12) The name of the person is Mad Beggar Monk.
13/nga 'dug sa ni lug ra brtsegs pa'i phug/	13) Where I sit is the Cave Stacked with Sheep and Goats.
14/nga nyal sa ni ril khang bkra shis sbug <sup>14/</sup>	14) Where I sleep is the Auspicious Cavity of a Round House. <sup>17</sup>

<sup>14</sup> *sbugs*.

<sup>15</sup> For the picture of sBas gnas lung gsum ljongs, cf. plate 1.

<sup>16</sup> The name bKra shis 'o ma may originate from the supernatural emergence of white milk during Karma Nor bu bzang po's dwelling in sBas yul lung gsum ljongs; cf. Karma sTobs rgyal (1999, pp. 44–45; 2016, pp. 901–902).

<sup>17</sup> The name Ril khang bkra shis sbugs is mentioned twice in Karma Nor bu bzang po's biography; cf. Karma sTobs rgyal (1999, pp. 28 & 51; 2016, pp. 893 & 904).

- 15/rgyang nas bltas na khas grags bla ma'i ming/  
 16/drung nas bltas na mi rgan gcer nyal mkhan/  
 17/hu thug thug hu thug [141] ban rgan nga/  
 18/a mtshar bo pha bzang bu pho rnam/  
 19/gtam de 'dra'i<sup>19</sup> mtshar po ni bshad ma myong/  
 20/nga res 'ga' ni nyal zhing nyal zhing bsgom/  
 21/nyal ba 'od gsal chos sku'i ngang du gda'/  
 22/res 'ga' ni gnyid cing gnyid cing bsgom/  
 23/gnyid 'od gsal rmi lam sprul<sub>sgyur</sub> bsgom/  
 24/res 'ga' ni za zhing za zhing bsgom/  
 25/bza' btung ma spangs 'dod yon gyi tshog 'khor gda'/  
 26/re 'ga' ni 'gro zhing 'gro zhing bsgom/  
 27/'gro 'dug dkyil 'khor pa la bskor ba bya shing gda'/  
 28/'gro 'chag nyal 'dug spyod lam rnam pa bzhi/
- 15) If looking from a distance, [I have] the name of a widely-known teacher;  
 16) If looking closely, [I am] a naked sleeping old man.  
 17) Hu thug thug hu thug<sup>18</sup> is me, [141] the old monk.  
 18) How amazing! Sons of good fathers,  
 19) I've never given such an amazing talk.<sup>20</sup>  
 20) Sometimes, I'll meditate while lying down.  
 21) [I'll be within the state of *dharmakāya*, the clear light, while lying down.  
 22) Sometimes, [I'll meditate while sleeping.  
 23) [I'll cultivate the transformation of clear light into dreams while sleeping.  
 24) Sometimes, [I'll meditate while eating.  
 25) Without abandoning food and drink, [I'll be [in] the feast gatherings of desirables.  
 26) Sometimes, [I'll meditate while going.  
 27) Going will be circumambulating the *maṇḍala*, and sitting will be dwelling [inside it].  
 28) Knowing the four conducts of going, moving about, lying down and sitting are impermanent and illusionary,

<sup>18</sup> The phrase *hu thug thug hu thug* possibly refers to a duplication of the word *ho thog thu*, a Mongolian equivalent of the Sanskrit *ārya* and Tibetan *'phags pa*, translated as “the noble one”. Other variants such as *hu thug thu* and *hu thog thu* are also found; cf. Duff (2014, under the entry *ho thog thu*).

<sup>19</sup> 'dri'i.

<sup>20</sup> As Bla ma Tshe ring explained (personal communication, 2015.05.15), Karma Nor bu bzang po depicted his talk as “funny, astonishing, amazing” (*mtshar po*), but in fact, his talk, as given in the following (lines 20–29), is not astonishing at all but very profound. mKhan po Theg mchog 'od zer and rDo rje tshe ring (personal communication, 2015.05.16) also shared with me their understanding about this paragraph.

- 29/mi rtag sgyur ma yin par shes bzhin bzla/ 29) [I]’ll exhort myself.
- 30/nga skyid ya ni bka’ brgyud bla ma yin/ 30) Those delighting me are the teachers of the bKa’ brgyud.
- 31/sdug rogs<sup>21</sup> ni ma tshogs mkha’ ’gro yin/ 31) The lovely friends are the assembly of mother-like *dākiñī*.
- 32/skyabs gnas ni dkon mchog gsum po yin/ 32) The places of refuge are the three jewels.
- 33/rgyab rten ni yi dam lha tshogs yin/ 33) The supporters are the assembly of personal deities.
- 34/rogs dan ni dpa’ bo mkha’ ’gro yin/ 34) The assistants are *dāka* and *dākiñī*.
- 35/bka’ srung ni ma mgon lcam dral yin/ 35) The guardians of the teachings are Mahākālī and Mahākāla.
- 36/bran g.yog ni dregs pa sde brgyad yin/ 36) The servants are the eight classes of arrogant ones.<sup>22</sup>
- 37/sgo srung ni klu bdud btsan gsum yin/ 37) The gatekeepers are *nāga*, *māra* and *btsan*, these three.
- 38/srung ma ni zangs btsan spyang zhon dur bdag yin/ 38) The guardians are Copper-bTsan,<sup>23</sup> Wolf-Rider<sup>24</sup> and Lords of the Cemetery.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>21</sup> *rog*.

<sup>22</sup> The group of *dregs pa sde brgyad*, abbreviated from the eight classes of arrogant gods and demons (*dregs pa’i lha srin sde brgyad*), comprises six subdivisions, i.e., the eight outer classes (*phyi yi sde brgyad*), the eight inner classes (*nang gi sde brgyad*), the eight secret classes (*gsang ba’i sde brgyad*), the eight supreme classes (*mchog gi sde brgyad*), the eight classes of manifestation (*sprul pa sde brgyad*) and the eight classes of apparent manifestation (*snang srid sde brgyad*), and each of these six categories includes eight members or groups of deities; cf. Nebesky-Wojkowitz (1996/1956, pp. 254–256).

<sup>23</sup> *Zangs btsan* is an abbreviation of bTsan rgod zangs ri spun bdun, “the wild *btsan*, the seven brothers of the Copper-Mountain”, who are red men on red horses and clad in armour. This important group of *btsan*, headed by Tsi’u dmar po — the guardian of the bSam yas Monastery — is also known as Dam can mched bdun, “the seven oath-bound brothers”, Drag btsan mched bdun, “the violent *btsan*, the seven brothers” and bTsan rgod ’bar ba, “the flaming wild *btsan*”. They are regarded as the leaders of all the *btsan*-demons; cf. Nebesky-Wojkowitz (1996/1956, pp. 167–176).

<sup>24</sup> The protectress sPyang zhon, also known as bDul ’dul drag mo’i bka’ srung dam can spyang zhon, “the oath-bound one who rides on a wolf, the guardian of the teachings who is a wrathful subduer of demons” is black in colour with one face and red hair, mounted on a blue wolf with nine heads. Her right hand holds a red lasso and her left raises a golden staff in the air. For the description for sPyang zhon, cf. Blo gros mtha’ yas (2007–2008, vol. 33, pp. 129–130).

<sup>25</sup> Dur bdag refers to the Lords of the Cemetery (Skt. *citipati*) in the form of both male and female skeletons, white in colour, adorned with precious gems and silk garments; the right hand holds a skull-staff and the left holds a skull-cup of blood; both stand in

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| <p>39/lta ba ni phyag rgya chen po yin/<br/>40/sgom pa ni nā ro chos drug yin/</p> <p>41/spyod pa ni phyogs las rnam rgyal yin/<br/>42/dam chos ni yi ge drug ma yin/</p> <p>43/nyams len ni ro snyoms skor drug yin/<br/>44/lus ma<sup>28</sup> yengs rdo rje phag mo bsgom/<br/>45/nga ma yengs ni hūṃ dang phaṭ sgra sgrogs/<br/>46/sems ma yengs ni rig pa'i rtsa brdar bcad/</p> | <p>39) The view is the Great Seal.<br/>40) The meditation is Nāro[’s] Six Doctrines.<br/>41) The conduct is the complete victory in all directions.<br/>42) The sublime doctrine is the six-syllable [formula].<sup>26</sup><br/>43) The practice is the Six Cycles of Equal Taste.<sup>27</sup><br/>44) Body being undistracted, [I]’ll meditate on Vajravārāhī.<br/>45) Speech being undistracted, [I]’ll utter the sound of <i>hūṃ</i> and <i>phaṭ</i>.<br/>46) Mind being undistracted, [I]’ll investigate the awareness thoroughly.</p> |
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a dancing posture with legs intertwined (i.e., the male raises the right foot and presses against the thigh of the extended left leg, whereas the female does the opposite). For the description of Dur bdag, cf. ’Jam dbyangs chos kyi blo gros (2012, vol. 11 (Da), pp. 125–126).

<sup>26</sup> The term *yi ge drug ma* refers to the six-syllable *mantra* of Avalokiteśvara, *om mañipadme hūṃ*, which is elaborately introduced in the *Kāraṇḍavyūha-sūtra*; for extensive studies, cf. Studholme (2002), Roberts (2012, pp. 224–242).

<sup>27</sup> The Six Cycles of Equal Taste (*Ro snyoms skor drug*) is a profound teaching of the ’Brug pa bKa’ brgyud lineage. It derives from Tillipa (alias Tailopa, Tilopa, 988–1069), Nāropa (1012/1016–1100), and Tiphupa (alias Tipupa, 12<sup>th</sup> cent.), who transmitted it later to the main disciple of Mi la ras pa (1052–1135), Ras chung rDo rje grags pa (1085–1161). After bringing this teaching from India back to Tibet, Ras chung pa buried it as hidden treasure (*gter ma*) at mKhar chu, and ’Gro mgon gTsang pa rGya ras (1161–1211), the founder of the ’Brug pa bKa’ brgyud lineage, discovered and propagated the concealed treasure within the lineage. This teaching aims at bringing or transforming the six circumstances into equal taste and consists of six instructions relating to the six circumstances respectively: 1) bringing discursive thoughts onto the path (*rnam rtog lam ’khyer*), 2) bringing afflictions onto the path (*nyon mongs lam ’khyer*), 3) bringing sickness onto the path (*na tsha lam ’khyer*), 4) bringing gods and demons onto the path (*lha ’dre lam ’khyer*), 5) bringing suffering onto the path (*sdug bsngal lam ’khyer*), and 6) bringing death onto the path (*’chi ba lam ’khyer*). For the content and history of the teaching, cf. Tiphupa (1973–1974, vol. 24 (A), pp. 21–28): *Ti bus mdzad pa ro snyoms skor drug gi rtsa tshig*, mKha’ spyod dbang po (1999, vol. 10 (Tha), pp. 33–39): *dPal mkha’ spyod dbang pos mdzad pa’i ro snyoms skor drug gi khrid yig*, Miller (2005, p. 394), Roberts (2007, pp. 11–12).

<sup>28</sup> *mi*.



- 47/rtsa [142] rlung drwa mig gi 'khor lo  
bskor zhing bsgom/
- 48/ro snyoms gar gyi 'khrul 'khor bskor  
zhing bsgom/
- 49/lus ni khang pa rtsa ni rgya mthongs  
tshul/
- 50/lus kyi gzhu la gdugs kyi mda'/
- 51/mda' gzhu gnyis kyi bar lam na/
- 52/rnam par shes pa 'ben la bzung/
- 53/'di sdig sgrib sbyong ba'i phyag ma  
yin/
- 54/mi mthun grogs su khyer ba dang/
- 55/ltas ngan g.yang du len pa 'di/
- 47) [142] [I]'ll turn the latticework-  
wheels of channels and winds,<sup>29</sup> and  
meditate.
- 48) [I]'ll turn the magical wheel of the  
equal-taste-dance and meditate.
- 49) Body is [in] the manner of a house,  
and channel a skylight.<sup>30</sup>
- 50) Breath [is like] arrow, and body  
[like] bow.
- 51) In the meantime, [shooting] an  
arrow [from] a bow,
- 52) The consciousness is targeted.
- 53) This is the *mudrī*<sup>31</sup> to purify  
misdeeds and obscurations.
- 54) Turning enemies into friends,
- 55) And taking bad signs as fortune,

<sup>29</sup> Torricelli and Naga (1995, pp. 44 & 74, n. 61) and Quintman (2014, p. 29) provide two different translations of the phrase *rtsa rlung drwa mig 'khor lo*, which refers to one of the Nine Teachings from the Aural Lineage of the Formless *Ḍākinī* (*Lus med mkha' 'gro snyan brgyud chos skor dgu*). The first translation is as follows: “Circumambulate the wheels (*cakra*) of the [coiling] energy channels (*nāḍī*) and winds (*vāyu*) [through their] eyelets”, as well as the latter one: “Channels and their energies: animate the networks and centers”. Here *drwa mig* is a very important description of the wheels (*cakra*), which means the major structures of the subtle body where the energy channels come together in a nexus, so “latticework” is better to convey the meaning that the channels are collected in the manner of a network with eyelets; cf. Duff (2014, under the entry *'khor lo* and *drwa mig*). For the instructions on *rtsa rlung dra mig 'khor lo*, cf. A mgon Rin po che (2004, vol. 64 (Ngu), pp. 102–106), Mar pa Lo tsā ba Chos kyi blo gros (2009, vol. 2, pp. 10–11).

<sup>30</sup> The term *rgya mthongs* is clarified in *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo* as follows: *khang pa'i dbus kyi gseng yangsl*, “a wide open middle space of a house”; cf. Zhang (1993, p. 532). Consequently, it can be understood and translated as “the middle skylight”, therefore, the phrase *rtsa ni rgya mthongs tshul* indicates implicitly the central channel which resembles a middle skylight of a house. mKhan po Theg mchog 'od zer (personal communication, 2017.05.18) explained the verses (lines 47–53) as follows: “This is a description about the channel-wind-practice (*rtsa rlung*). When the wind flows fluently without obstruction in the channels, the channels are hence unhindered, just as the windows are opened, and one experiences the state of ‘equal taste’ (*ro snyoms*), be it good or bad, pure or impure. In the case of body which resembles a house, the channels are like its skylights. When the central channel, which is the most important one like the central skylight on the roof, is unhindered, various phenomena appearing from the mind, be they extraordinary or not, are ultimately empty.”

<sup>31</sup> The term *phyag ma* is possibly an abbreviation of *phyag rgya ma* (*mudrī*), who is the secret wife (*gsang yum*) of a teacher or the female consort (*rig ma*), upon whom a yogin of *mantra* (*sngags kyi rnal 'byor*) relies; cf. Zhang (1993, p. 1733).

- 56/nga rnal 'byor nyams rtogs ldan pa'i ya tshul yin/ 56) Are my marvellous conducts of a *yogin*, who has experience and realisation.
- 57/snang srid sems kyi cho 'phrul 'di/ 57) Appearances and existences are the magical display of mind.
- 58/cho 'phrul dang sems nyid gtan la phab/ 58) [I]'ve determined the magical display and the mind-essence.
- 59/phyi bzung ba'i yul la phar bltas na/ 59) When looking outward at the outer perceived object,
- 60/bzung ba'i yul 'di rang sar dag pa yin/ 60) The perceived object is pure at its own site.
- 61/sna tshogs su snang ba dkar dmar 'di/ 61) Various appearances, be they white or red,
- 62/snang tsam nyid nas sems su 'dus/ 62) Derive from the mind from the very moment of appearing.
- 63/nang 'dzin pa'i sems la tshur<sup>32</sup> bltas na/ 63) When looking inward at the inner perceiving mind,
- 64/sems nyid gsal ba'i ngang du gda' / 64) [It] remains within the luminous state of the mind-essence.
- 65/snang sems 'dres pa ro gcig yin/ 65) The mixture of appearances and mind is one taste.
- 66/snang srid dag pa rab 'byams kyi gzhal yas 'di/ 66) The immeasurable [mansion] of the all-encompassing pure appearances and existences is
- 67/rnal 'byor nga yi gzhal yas khang mchog gi mchod pa chen po yin/ 67) My, a *yogin*'s great offering of the supreme immeasurable mansion.
- 68/'jig rten mi yi sa rdo las brtsegs mkhar dang lha khang 'di/ 68) [Of] humans' buildings and temples layered with earth and stones,
- 69/rnal 'byor nga la de 'dra'i dgos pa chung/ 69) I [merely] have such a small need [as] a *yogin*.
- 70/stong gsum 'jig rten bkod pa'i mchod rdzas 'di/ 70) The offering substances of trichiliocosm<sup>33</sup> are
- 71/rnal 'byor nga yi mchod rdzas kyi mchod pa chen po yin/ 71) My, a *yogin*'s great offering substances.
- 72/'jig rten mi yi dar zab gser dngul gyi mchod rdzas 'di/ 72) [Of] humans' offering substances of silk brocade, gold and silver,
- 73/rnal 'byor nga la de 'dra'i dgos pa chung/ 73) I [merely] have such a small need [as] a *yogin*.
- 74/rtswa dang rtsi shing me tog gsum/ 74) Grasses, plants and flowers, [these]

<sup>32</sup> *tshul*.

<sup>33</sup> According to the Buddhist cosmology, the term *stong gsum 'jig rten* [*khams*], or *trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu* in Sanskrit, refers to “trichiliocosm”, or understood as “the third-order thousandfold world system”, which consists of one thousand cubed world systems; cf. Kloetzli (1983, pp. 1–6).

- 75/rnal 'byor nga yi 'phan dar [143]  
rnga yab kyi mchod pa chen po yin/
- 76/'jig rten mi yi dar zab gos chen gyi  
'phan dar rnga yab kyi mchod pa 'di/
- 77/rnal 'byor nga la de 'dra'i dgos pa  
chung/
- 78/'ja' dang sprin dang na bun gsum/
- 79/rnal 'byor nga yi gdugs dang rgyal  
mtshan gyi mchod pa chen po yin/
- 80/'jig rten mi yi dar zab gos chen gyi  
gdugs dang rgyal mtshan gyi mchod  
rdzas 'di/
- 81/rnam 'byor nga la de 'dra'i dgos pa  
chung/
- 82/'brug dang glog dang thog ser gsum/
- 83/rnal 'byor nga yi rnga sil dung dang  
rgya gling gi mchod pa chen po yin/
- 84/'jig rten mi yi zangs rag 'khar gsum  
gyi rnga sil dung dang rgya gling gi  
mchod pa 'di/
- 85/rnal 'byor nga la de 'dra'i dgos pa  
chung/
- 86/snod bcud dag pa rab 'byams kyi  
dkyil 'khor 'di/
- 87/rnal 'byor nga yi lha bde gshegs 'dus  
pa'i dkyil 'khor gyi mchod pa chen po  
yin/
- 88/'jig rten mi yi tshon rtsi dkar dmar  
las grub pa'i dkyil 'khor 'di/
- 89/rnal 'byor nga la de 'dra'i dgos pa  
chung/
- 90/brag ri la gong gtor bshams 'dra yod/
- three, are
- 75) [143] My, a *yogin's* great offerings  
of silk hangings and yak-tail fly-  
whisks.<sup>34</sup>
- 76) [Of] humans' offerings of silk  
hangings [made of] fine brocade and  
yak-tail fly whisks,
- 77) I [merely] have such a small need  
[as] a *yogin*.
- 78) Rainbow, cloud and fog, [these]  
three, are
- 79) My, a *yogin's* great offerings of  
parasols and victory banners [as] the  
great offerings.
- 80) [Of] humans' offering substances  
of parasols [made of] fine brocade and  
victory banners,
- 81) I [merely] have such a small need  
[as] a *yogin*.
- 82) Thunder, lightning and hail, [these]  
three, are
- 83) My, a *yogin's* great offerings of  
drums, cymbals, horns and clarinets.
- 84) [Of] humans' offerings of drums,  
cymbals, horns and clarinets [made of]  
copper, brass and bronze,
- 85) I [merely] have such a small need  
[as] a *yogin*.
- 86) The *maṇḍala* of the all-  
encompassing pure worlds and beings  
is
- 87) My, a *yogin's* great offering of the  
Buddha's *maṇḍala*.
- 88) [Of] humans' *maṇḍala* made [in]  
white and red [colours],
- 89) I [merely] have such a small need  
[as] a *yogin*.
- 90) The rocky mountains resembling

<sup>34</sup> The term *rnga yab*, translated as “yak-tail flywhisk” (*cāmara*), was employed to fan the monarch in the heat of summer and to drive away flying insects. Furthermore, it is also an emblem of the Buddha's sovereignty and compassionate activity, and the earliest Buddhist symbol of protection; cf. Beer (2003, pp. 177–178).

91/rnal 'byor nga yi gong gtor gyi  
mchod pa chen po yin/

92/'jig rten mi yi rgyan cha dkar dmar  
las bzos pa'i gong gtor 'di/

93/rnal 'byor nga la de 'dra'i dgos pa  
chung/

94/rang byung ma bcos chu bo gtsang  
ma 'di/

95/rnal 'byor nga yi yon chab kyi mchod  
pa chen po yin/

96/'jig rten mi yi gser dngul zangs rag  
bshams pa'i yon chab 'di/

97/[144] rnal 'byor nga la de 'dra'i dgos  
pa chung/

98/nyi ma zla ba skar ma gsum/

99/rnal 'byor nga yi 'od gsal ma rig mun  
sel gyi mchod pa chen po yin/

100/'jig rten mi yi 'bri mar las bzos pa'i  
mar me 'di/

101/rnal 'byor nga la de 'dra'i dgos pa  
chung/

102/ri bo la zhal zas bshams 'dra yod/

103/rnal 'byor nga yi pha bla ma mnyes  
pa'i zhal zas kyi mchod pa chen po yin/

104/'jig rten mi yi rtsam pa las bcas pa'i  
zhal zas 'di/

105/rnal 'byor nga la de 'dra'i dgos pa  
chung/

106/chu bo la bdud rtsi dang rakta  
bshams<sup>35</sup> 'dra yod/

107/rnal 'byor nga yi bdud rtsi dang  
rakta'i mchod pa chen po yin/

108/'jig rten mi yi ja chang gi bdud rtsi  
dang rakta'i mchod pa 'di/

109/rnal 'byor nga la de 'dra'i dgos pa  
chung/

the arranged round offering cakes are

91) My, a *yogin's* great offerings of the  
round offering cakes.

92) [Of] humans' round offering cakes  
decorated with white and red  
ornaments,

93) I [merely] have such a small need  
[as] a *yogin*.

94) The self-arisen unaltered pure  
rivers are

95) My, a *yogin's* great offerings of  
water.

96) [Of] humans' offering water  
arranged in the golden, silver, copper  
and bronze [bowls],

97) [144] I [merely] have such a small  
need [as] a *yogin*.

98) The sun, moon and stars, [these]  
three, are

99) My, a *yogin's* great offerings of the  
luminosity to dispel the darkness of  
ignorance.

100) [Of] humans' butter lamps made  
of the yak-butter,

101) I [merely] have such a small need  
[as] a *yogin*.

102) Mountains resembling the  
arranged [offering] food are

103) My, a *yogin's* great offerings of  
food, which please the father-like  
teachers.

104) [Of] humans' food made of roast  
flour,

105) I [merely] have such a small need  
[as] a *yogin*.

106) Rivers resembling the arranged  
[offerings of] nectar and blood are

107) My, a *yogin's* great offerings of  
nectar and blood.

108) [Of] humans' offerings of nectar  
and blood [in the form of] tea and beer,

109) I [merely] have such a small need  
[as] a *yogin*.

<sup>35</sup> *bsham*.

- 110/ri chen la tshogs chen bshams<sup>36</sup> 'dra yod/  
 111/ri chung la tshogs chung bshams 'dra yod/  
 112/rnal 'byor nga yi spros med kyi tshogs 'khor gyi mchod pa chen po yin/  
 113/'jig rten mi yi sha chang bza' bca'i tshogs 'khor 'di/  
 114/rnal 'byor nga la de 'dra'i dgos pa chung/  
 115/brag ri la dkar gtor bshams<sup>37</sup> 'dra yod/  
 116/rnal 'byor nga yi dkar phyogs lha klu dgyes pa'i mchod pa chen po yin/  
 117/'jig rten mi yi rtsam pa las bcas pa'i dkar gtor 'di/  
 118/rnal 'byor nga la de 'dra'i dgos pa chung/  
 119/brag ri la dmar gtor bshams<sup>38</sup> 'dra yod/  
 120/rnal 'byor nga yi dam can chos skyong mnyes pa'i mchod pa chen po yin/  
 121/'jig [145] rten mi yi rtsam pa las bcas pa'i dmar gtor 'di/  
 122/rnal 'byor nga la de 'dra'i dgos pa chung/  
 123/grogs ni rang byung ye shes yin/  
 124/rnal 'byor nga yi grogs mchog gi mchod pa chen po yin/  
 125/'jig rten mi yi grogs po chen po 'di/  
 126/rnal 'byor nga la de 'dra'i dgos pa chung/  
 127/'khor ni snang ba sna tshogs yin/  
 128/rnal 'byor nga yi 'khor g.yog gi mchod pa chen po yin/  
 129/'jig rten mi yi 'khor g.yog mang po
- 110) Large mountains resemble large feasts served [as offerings].  
 111) Small mountains resemble small feasts served [as offerings].  
 112) [These] are my, a *yogin's* great offerings of the unelaborate feast gatherings.  
 113) [Of] humans' feast gatherings of meat, beer and food,  
 114) I [merely] have such a small need [as] a *yogin*.  
 115) The rocky mountains resembling the arranged white offering cakes are  
 116) My, a *yogin's* great offerings, which delight the virtuous deities and *nāga*.  
 117) [Of] humans' white offering cakes made of roast flour,  
 118) I [merely] have such a small need [as] a *yogin*.  
 119) The rocky mountains resembling the arranged red offering cakes are  
 120) My, a *yogin's* great offerings to please the oath-bound *dharma* protectors.  
 121) [145] [Of] humans' red offering cakes made of roast flour,  
 122) I [merely] have such a small need [as] a *yogin*.  
 123) The friends, being the self-arisen wisdom, are  
 124) My, a *yogin's* great offerings of the supreme friends.  
 125) [Of] humans' great friends,  
 126) I [merely] have such a small need [as] a *yogin*.  
 127) The servants, being the various appearances, are  
 128) My, a *yogin's* great offerings of servants.  
 129) [Of] humans' numerous servants,

<sup>36</sup> *bsham*.<sup>37</sup> *bsham*.<sup>38</sup> *bsham*.

'di/

130/rnal 'byor nga la de 'dra'i dgos pa chung/

131/snang ba yab la stong pa yum/

132/rnal 'byor nga yi snang stong zung 'jug dang sbyor sgröl gyi mchod pa chen po yin/

133/'jig rten mi yi bu mo'i rig ma 'di/

134/rnal 'byor nga la de 'dra'i dgos pa chung/

135/zas ni zag med ting 'dzin zas/

136/rnal 'byor nga yi zas mchog gi mchod pa chen po yin/

137/'jig rten mi yi sha chang gi bza' btung 'di/

138/rnal 'byor nga la de 'dra'i dgos pa chung/

139/rang byung ma bcos chu bo gtsang ma 'di/

140/rnal 'byor nga yi ja chang gi mchod pa chen po yin/

141/'jig rten mi yi nyes zas kyi ja chang 'di/

142/rnal 'byor nga la de 'dra'i dgos pa chung/

143/gos ni ras gos rkyang gcig 'di/

144/rnal 'byor nga yi gos bzang gi mchod pa chen po yin/

145/'jig rten mi yi dar zab pags rigs kyi gos mchog 'di/

146/rnal 'byor nga la de 'dra'i dgos pa chung/

147/rnal 'byor pa la sgo zog yod kyang chog la med kyang [146] chog/

148/sha ba dang rna ba dgo ba gsum/

149/rnal 'byor nga yi sgo zog gi mchod pa chen po yin/

130) I [merely] have such a small need [as] a *yogin*.

131) Appearance as father and emptiness as mother are

132) My, a *yogin*'s great offerings of the unified appearance-emptiness and union-deliverance.

133) [Of] humans' knowledge-consort [in the form of] a girl,

134) I [merely] have such a small need [as] a *yogin*.

135) The food, being the food of uncontaminated concentration, is

136) My, a *yogin*'s great offering of the supreme food.

137) [Of] humans' food and drink [like] meat and beer,

138) I [merely] have such a small need [as] a *yogin*.

139) The self-arisen unaltered pure rivers are

140) My, a *yogin*'s great offerings of tea and beer.

141) [Of] humans' improper food<sup>39</sup> [like] tea and beer,

142) I [merely] have such a small need [as] a *yogin*.

143) The robe, being a single cotton cloth, is

144) My, a *yogin*'s great offering of the excellent robe.

145) [Of] humans' supreme robes [made of] silk or leather,

146) I [merely] have such a small need [as] a *yogin*.

147) Whether a *yogin* may own animals or not [146],

148) Deer, sheep and antelope, [these] three, are

149) My, a *yogin*'s great offerings of animals.

<sup>39</sup> rDo rje tshe ring (personal communication, 2017.05.23).

- 150/'jig rten mi yi rta nor gyi sgo zog  
'di/  
151/rnal 'byor nga la de 'dra'i dgos pa  
chung/  
152/ngas 'tsho rgyu ni 'phags pa'i nor  
bdun yin/  
153/rnal 'byor nga yi 'phags nor yon tan  
gyi mchod pa chen po yin/  
154/'jig rten mi yi rgyu zas dpal 'byor  
'di/  
155/rnal 'byor nga la de 'dra'i dgos pa  
chung/  
156/ngas bsrung rgyu ni sdom pa dam  
tshig yin/  
157/rnal 'byor nga yi ngo<sup>41</sup> lkog med  
pa'i dam tshig gtsang ma'i mchod pa  
chen po yin/  
158/'jig rten ma rig dbang gis dug gsum  
'di/  
159/rnal 'byor nga la de 'dra'i dgos pa  
chung/  
160/nga dgos rgyu ni dad pa dam tshig  
yin/  
161/rnal 'byor nga yi 'gyur med kyi dad  
pa brtan po'i mchod pa chen po yin/  
162/'jig rten mi yi nga rgyal dang phrag  
dog gi 'gran sems 'di/  
163/rnal 'byor nga la de 'dra'i dgos pa  
chung/  
164/nga yod rgyu ni snying rje byams  
sems yod/  
165/rnal 'byor nga yi snying rje byams  
sems ldan pa'i mchod pa chen po yin/  
  
166/'jig rten mi yi g.yo sgyu dang tshul  
'chos 'di/  
167/rnal 'byor nga la de 'dra'i dgos pa  
chung/  
168/ngas bsam rgyu ni 'khor ba la
- 150) [Of] humans' animals like horse,  
mule and yak,  
151) I [merely] have such a small need  
[as] a *yogin*.  
152) What I live on are the seven  
riches of the noble ones.<sup>40</sup>  
153) The positive qualities of the noble  
riches are my, a *yogin*'s great offerings.  
154) [Of] humans' properties and  
riches,  
155) I [merely] have such a small need  
[as] a *yogin*.  
156) What I guard are vows and  
commitments.  
157) The pure and honest  
commitments are my, a *yogin*'s great  
offerings.  
158) [Of] humans' three poisons due to  
ignorance,  
159) I [merely] have such a small need  
[as] a *yogin*.  
160) What I need are faith and  
commitments.  
161) The changeless firm faith is my, a  
*yogin*'s great offering.  
162) [Of] humans' competitive mind of  
arrogance and jealousy,  
163) I [merely] have such a small need  
[as] a *yogin*.  
164) What I have are compassion and  
loving mind.  
165) Being the one having compassion  
and loving mind is my, a *yogin*'s great  
offering.  
166) [Of] humans' slyness and  
hypocrisy,  
167) I [merely] have such a small need.  
  
168) What I think is cyclic existence

<sup>40</sup> The term '*phags pa'i nor bdun* refers to "the seven riches of the noble ones" — faith (*dad pa*), discipline (*tshul khrims*), hearing (*thos pa*), giving (*gtong ba*), conscience (*ngo tsha shes pa*), shame (*khrel yod pa*) and wisdom (*shes rab*); cf. Zhang (1993, p. 1777).

<sup>41</sup> *ngos*.

snying po med par bsam/

169/rnal 'byor nga yi chags zhen 'khri  
ba bral ba'i mchod pa chen po yin/

170/'jig rten mi yi zhe 'dod tshul 'chos  
'dis/

171/rnal 'byor nga la de 'dra'i dgos pa  
chung/

172/nga bdag 'dzin bral ba'i phung  
[147] po 'di/

173/rnal 'byor nga yi sems nyid kun tu  
bzang po'i mchod sprin gyi mchod pa  
chen po yin/

174/'jig rten mi yi gces par 'dzin pa'i  
phung po 'di/

175/rnal 'byor nga la de 'dra'i dgos pa  
chung/

176/rang lus rgyal ba'i dkil 'khor 'di/

177/rnal 'byor nga yi lus lha rgyal ba zhi  
khro'i dkyil 'khor gyi mchod pa chen po  
yin/

178/'jig rten mi yi nga dang nga yir gyi  
'dzin pa 'di/

179/rnal 'byor nga la de 'dra'i dgos pa  
chung/

180/sprang bya btang gi chos 'go ma  
thon bar/

181/sgom gol shor gyi dogs pa ma yin  
te/

182/tshe gcig la sgrub pa'i rgyal sa zin  
par shog/

183/nyams rtogs pa mi skye'i the tshom  
med/

184/gson dang skal ldan bu slob rnam/

185/mkho dgu yod kyang dgos dgos je  
mang 'gro/

186/de bas dgos pa chung na legs/

187/ngo srung dgos pa'i yon bdag 'di/

188/mig nang gra ma bas kyang tsha/

189/de bas yon bdag spangs na legs/

has no essence.

169) Being free from attachment is my,  
a *yogin's* great offering.

170) [Of] humans' desire and  
hypocrisy,

171) I [merely] have such a small need  
[as] a *yogin*.

172) The aggregates free from self-  
grasping are [147]

173) My, a *yogin's* great offerings of  
the ever-excellent offering clouds of  
the mind-essence.

174) [Of] humans' cherishing  
aggregates,

175) I [merely] have such a small need  
[as] a *yogin*.

176) My body is the *maṇḍala* of  
Victory.

177) My, a *yogin's* body is the great  
offering of the *maṇḍala* of victorious  
peaceful and wrathful deities.

178) [Of] humans' attachment to 'me'  
and 'my',

179) I [merely] have such a small need  
[as] a *yogin*.

180) Without finishing the practices of  
a renunciant that [I]'ve started,

181) I have no fear, if [my] meditation  
will go astray.

182) May [I] seize the throne of  
accomplishment in one life.

183) [I] have no doubt of experience  
and realisation's not arising.

184) Though the living and fortunate  
son-like disciples have needs,

185) Still, [their] needs will increase,

186) So if one needs little, it is good.

187) The patron, who needs to save  
face,

188) [Makes] one more painful than  
the wheat awn in the eye,<sup>42</sup>

189) So if one abandons the patron, it

<sup>42</sup> rDo rje tshe ring (personal communication, 2017.06.19).



190/gnas ri khrod 'grims kyang don ma  
go/

191/kha bshad pa mang yang rgyud ma  
dul/

192/kha bshad chu yi lbu ba 'dra/  
193/lag len gser gyi thigs pa bzhin/  
194/chos bshad pas mi rig lta bas rig/

195/lta bas gtan la 'bebs na legs/

196/sgom pa ma yin goms pa yin/

197/goms pa klong du chud pa yin/  
198/glu dga' mos mi len sdug mos len/

199/sdug mos skyo ba sangs pa'i glu/

200/rnal 'byor rang sangs rgya ba'i glu/

201/dus de ring dga' ba'i glu zhig len/  
202/dus de ring skyid pa'i glu zhig len/  
203/[148] nga tshig snyan mo'i sdeb  
sbyor mi mkhas shing/

204/ngag bde mo'i gre 'gyur mi bde ste/  
205/pha bla ma dgyes pa'i zhabs tog  
yin/

206/ma dā ki mnyes pa'i gdung dbyangs  
yin/

207/dus tshod bskal pa yar la dar ba'i  
glu/

208/chos sangs rgyas kyi bstan pa dar  
ba'i glu/

209/sems can la bde skyid 'byung ba'i  
glu/

210/rnal 'byor nga yi nyams mgur 'di/

is good.

190) Though one wanders [through] sacred places [and] mountain solitudes, one still doesn't understand the meaning.

191) Though one speaks much, one still doesn't tame the [mind-]continuum.

192) Speaking is like water bubbles.

193) Practising is like golden drops.

194) By [merely] teaching *dharma*, one still doesn't know, [yet] by seeing, one knows.

195) If one gains certainty by seeing, it is good.

196) It is not meditating [but] becoming familiar;<sup>43</sup>

197) It is to perfect the familiarisation.

198) I don't sing songs joyfully [but] melancholy.

199) Melancholy, [I sing] songs clearing out [my] weariness,

200) And songs about a *yogin*[ 's] self-enlightenment.

201) Today, [I] sing a joyful song.

202) Today, [I] sing a happy song.

203) [148] [I] am not good at composition [with] fine words,

204) And I don't have a pleasant voice.

205) [This song] is a service to please the father-like teacher.

206) [This song] is a longing melody to please the mother-like *dākiñī*.

207) [This] is a song to make time and epoch flourish.

208) [This] is a song to make *dharma*, the teachings of Buddha, flourish.

209) [This] is a song to make sentient beings feel happy.

210) The spiritual song of me, a *yogin*, is

<sup>43</sup> Barron provides a translation of this sentence: "It is not so much meditation as it is getting 'used-to'" (*sgoms pa ma yin gom pa yin*) in the Translator's Introduction; cf. Jamgön Kongtrul Lodrö Tayé (2012, p. 25).

<p>211/pha bla ma dgyes pa'i zhabs tog yin/ 212/ma mkha' 'gro mnyes pa'i mchod pa yin/ 213/drin pha ma'i drin lan bsab pa yin/ 214/ma 'gro drug yongs kyi dge rtsa yin/</p> <p>ces sbas pa'i rnal 'byor karma gzhan phan chos kyi rgya mtsho la bu slob kar stobs kyis dag pa rab 'byams ji ltar yin/ zhus pa'i lan du snang srid dag pa rab 'byams kyi mgur ma 'di gsungs so/</p>	<p>211) A service to please the father-like teacher, 212) An offering to please the mother- like <i>dākiṇī</i>, 213) A repayment of the kind fathers' and mothers' kindness, 214) And a virtuous root of the entire six [classes] of the mother-like beings.</p> <p>The hidden <i>yogin</i> Karma gZhan phan chos kyi rgya mtsho sang this song about the all-encompassing purity of appearances and existences as a reply to the son-like disciple Karma sTobs rgyal's inquiry about how to [view the appearances and existences as] all- encompassing purity.</p>
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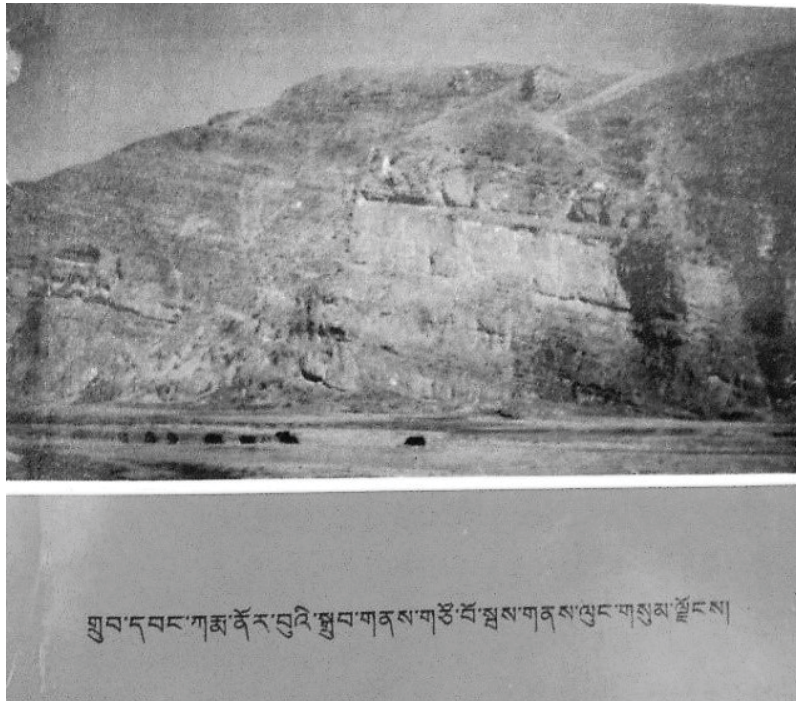
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### Plates



1. sBas gnas lung gsum ljongs



ལྷན་པའི་དབང་ལྷན་ལྷན་གཞན་པན་ཚོས་ཀྱི་ལྷ་མོ་མཚོག་ལ་ན་མོ།

2. Karma gZhan phan chos kyi rgya mtsho  
(alias Karma Nor bu bzang po)



3. Karma Nor bu bzang po (above)  
and Karma sTobs rgyal (below)

## BOOK REVIEW

*Kailas Histories: Renunciate Traditions and the Construction of Himalayan Sacred Geography* by Alex McKay (530 pages). Leiden/Boston: E. J Brill, 2015.

MATTHEW CLARK  
SOAS London

Mount Kailās/Kailāś, situated in western Tibet, is arguably the most ‘holy’ of mountains in contemporary Hindu religious understanding: it is the abode of Lord Śiva and his wife Pārvatī. Kailās (known as Tise in Tibetan) is also important for Tibetan Buddhists, as the abode of Demchok (Cakrasaṃvara). *Kailas Histories* is the first fully comprehensive study of the geographical history and religious conceptualization of this mountain, tracing the way that the ancient mythological notion of Kailās became localized; not only, however, at the Tibetan Kailās (with the nearby lakes, Mānasarovar and Rākṣastāl/Rakas Tāl), but also at the sites in the Indian Himalayas of four other mountains known as Kailās: Kaplaś Kailās (near Bhadarvāh, Udhampur District, south-eastern Jammu and Kashmir), Maṇimahaś Kailās (near Brāhmaur, Chamba District, Himachal Pradesh), Śrī Kailās (near Gangotri, close to the source of the Ganges), and Adhi Kailās (in Kinnaur District, Himachal Pradesh).

This is a wide-ranging investigation by McKay, who has travelled extensively in the Himalayas and published around forty articles and monographs on Indo-Tibetan history, including *The History of Tibet* (in three volumes, 2003). This study began with a pilgrimage to Kailās Mānasarovar in 1986 and utilizes an extensive range of sources, including religious texts, ethnographies, colonial reports and fieldwork, in the project of untangling the multiple histories associated with Mount Kailās.

The first chapters of the book (Section 1) mainly consider references in the *Mahāhārata*, *Rāmayaṇa* and *Purāṇas* to the

mythological Kailās, which, along with Mount Meru, is one of several holy mountains referred to in these texts. Early references in the Hindu tradition to a mythological Kailās often conceive of the site as the abode of Kubera, rather than of Śiva; while in the Pali canon early Buddhist conceptions of ‘heavenly abodes’ included references to a holy lake called Anotatta, which only in modern sources is identified as Mapham/Mapang (= Mānasarovar), an abode *nāgas* (snake deities), there being no cult of mountains in the earliest Tibetan traditions.

Section 2 of the book assesses the religious history and relative importance of the other four Kailās mountains, none of which attracts anything like the number of pilgrims as does Mānasarovar Kailās, nor enjoys anything approaching the latter’s current exalted status. The background to these other Kailās mountains indicates that pilgrimage to Kaplaś and Maṇimaheś was, as with the Tibetan Kailās, originally to the nearby lakes containing *nāga* deities rather than to a mountain. It seems that the notion of the specific abode of Śiva was only attached in the last century or so to these mountains. If any of the five sites has any claim to geographical ‘legitimacy,’ then, McKay suggests, from somewhat inconsistent descriptions in the epics, it would be Śrī Kailās that is the best candidate. However, this site is generally inaccessible, except for mountaineers, and virtually no pilgrims visit.

Section 3 examines more closely the way the Tibetan Kailās became a pilgrimage site. It was the Buddhist sect of Kagyu renouncers who, beginning around the thirteenth century, first ‘sacralized’ the site; followers of Bön also appropriated the area as their homeland, as Zhang-zhung. It is suggested that the ‘nationalisation’ of Tise only became established after the visit of the Panchen Lama (1567–1662). However, only in the twentieth century did Kailās become the most sacred site in Tibet, eclipsing the importance of other sacred sites in Tibet, which hitherto had attracted significant numbers of pilgrims.

One of themes recurring throughout the book is the way both Hindu and Buddhist renouncers have been at the forefront of exploration, travelling beyond the security and, in the case of Hindus particularly, the ‘purity’ of the Brahmanical world; going beyond the frontier of the known to places which, through pilgrimage and trade, become eventually incorporated into the dominant religious and political landscape.

Section 4 examines how various publications in the twentieth century propagated and promoted the idea of Kailās Mānasarovar as the most sacred site for Hindus and as the abode of Śiva. McKay suggests that a publication in 1906 by George Sherring (1868–1940), *Western*



*Tibet and the British Borderlands*, was particularly influential in promoting the modern understanding of Kailās Mānasarovar, in which it is declared that the site is the holiest place for Hindus; a theme that was publicized by several subsequent, influential authors. However, before the twentieth century only a handful of scholars and pilgrims were aware of this site. The promotion of Kailās Mānasarovar is the final stage in a long process in which a mythological idea eventually finds concrete expression at a specific geographical site.

This publication will be of great interest to historians of India and Tibet; it provides a useful history of several regions of the Himalayas, particularly of western Tibet, Garhwal, Kumaun and eastern Himachal Pradesh. Importantly, it also enhances our understanding of the way social, economic, political and religious processes not only shape events but can impel the invention of the paramount religious significance of particular sites that may previously have been relatively insignificant. Numerous related insights and observations into other aspects of sacred geography are also contained in this book; such as the relatively recent rise to prominence of Gangotri for pilgrims.



## NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

FRANZ-KARL EHRHARD is Professor of Tibetan and Buddhist Studies at the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität Munich, Germany. His research work centres on the religious and literary traditions of Tibet and the Himalayas. A collection of articles has been published with the title *Buddhism in Tibet and the Himalayas: Texts and Traditions* (Vajra Publications, 2013) and he is co-editor of *Tibetan Printing: Comparison, Continuities and Change* (Brill, 2016).

MARLENE ERSCHBAMER studied Tibetology, Sociology, and Philosophy at the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität Munich, Germany, where she received her Ph.D. in 2016. Her emphasis in research include the Barawa Kagyu ('Ba' ra ba bKa' brgyud) tradition of Tibetan Buddhism, Sikkim Studies, and religious geography and Buddhist pilgrimage sites in the Himalaya. In 2017, she published the monograph *The 'Ba' ra ba bKa' brgyud pa: Contemporary and Historical Studies* (Vienna: WSTB).

PETRA MAURER (Ph.D. in Tibetan Studies at the Rheinische-Friedrich-Wilhelms-University in Bonn, habilitation at the Ludwig-Maximilians-University in Munich) works at the Wörterbuch der tibetischen Schriftsprache in the Bavarian Academy of Sciences and Humanities. Furthermore, Prof. Maurer teaches Tibetan language, culture and religion at the Ludwig-Maximilians-University in Munich. Before joining LMU she has been lecturing at Bonn University and working in research projects sponsored by the German Research Foundation. Her scholarly interests range from Tibetan Buddhism and traditional sciences, such as divination and medicine, to the cultural history of Tibet including modern Tibetan history and language.

MARCO WALTHER has recently completed his doctoral thesis on the life and works of Gling ras pa: "Leben und Lehren des Gling-ras-pa Padma rdo-rje (1128-1188), Yogin in den Traditionen von Ras-chung-pa und sGam-po-pa" within the Doctoral Program for Buddhist Studies at the University of Munich. He holds an M.A. in Tibetology, Indology and Religious Studies from the same university, where his thesis focused on the transmission lineage and family of the rNgog bKa' brgyud pa. His

research centres around the history of Buddhist transmission lineages as well as Buddhist doctrine, mainly within the bKa' brgyud pa and rNying ma pa schools.

YUAN ZHONG has recently completed her Ph.D. thesis on the lives and works of Karma nor bu bzang po (1906-1984) and his chief disciple Karma stobs rgyal (1944-2014) at the University of Munich (LMU). Her M.A. thesis (2012, LMU) focused on the reconstruction and identification of an unknown collection of spiritual songs (*'Bri khung mgur rnams*) found in the Bavarian State Library. She has an intensive interest in biographical research, as well as theories and practices of various spiritual traditions. Besides academic studies, she dedicates herself mainly to translating Tibetan and Chinese Texts into English, German and French, and promoting the application of traditional Asian self-healing methods.

MATTHEW CLARK (Ph.D.) is a Research Associate in the School of Languages, Cultures and Linguistics at SOAS (University of London). He specialises in yoga, *sādhus*, and the religious cultures of India. He is involved in the SOAS Centre of Yoga Studies and is one of the editors of the *Journal of Yoga Studies*. His research in the last few years has focussed on *soma/haoma*, the ancient Asian ritual drink. His theory, presented in his recent book (*The Tawny One: Soma, Haoma and Ayahuasca*. London/New York: Muswell Hills Press, 2017) and several articles, is that it was originally made from plants that acted as analogues of ayahuasca, a powerful psychedelic concoction.