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Liu Manqing: A Sino-Tibetan Adventurer and the Origin of a New Sino-Tibetan Dialogue in the 1930s

Fabienne Jagou¹
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The young lady who departed from Nanjing to Lhasa in 1929 against the will of her family and who endured the hardship of a year's travel through the gorges of Kham and the snowy mountain peaks of Tibet is known by her Chinese name: Liu Manqing (1906-1941). A few decades ago, parents used to tell their children her story, and Liu Manqing's name is still on their minds many years later. Many contradictory accounts about Liu Manqing's personal life are still told, making her life a story, if not an epic, then at least an extraordinary legend.

In 1929, Liu Manqing was 23 years old. In China, the government of Nanjing, with Chiang Kai-shek (1887-1975) at its head, has just been founded. The era of the warlords was finished, at least in theory, and the Republican government was ready to implement its ideas about the unification of the five nationalities (Han, Manchus, Tibetans, Mongols and Muslim Turks). In Tibet, the 13th Dalai-lama (1876-1933), the spiritual and temporal head of the Tibetan government since 1895, had closed his country to foreigners including British and Chinese since the failure of his national reforms at the end of the 1920s.² In a context of the *status quo* between China and Tibet, the Sino-Tibetan margins (the Tibetan province of Kham, Eastern Tibet or the future Xikang province of China: Western China) can be considered a link, or transitional zone between the two countries and their cultures thanks to its geographic position and to its people, educated in Chinese and able to understand both cultures and both languages. The Chinese who wanted to study Tibetan religion or to travel in Tibet had understood this point well. By their travel and their dialogue with Tibetan people they were able to construct a politics of communication between Kham, Central Tibet and China proper and so between Tibet and China. The wish to renew a new dialogue came also from Tibetans. When Liu Manqing went to Lhasa, members of the Kham pa elite also went to

¹ This paper has been presented at the Xth Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, St Hugh's College, University of Oxford, 6-12 September 2003. I would like to thank the Tibetans I met in Oxford who knew stories about Liu Manqing, Peng Wenbin and Peter Zarrow for their insightful comments.

² A Chinese mission came to Tibet in 1919, followed by a British one led by Charles Bell in 1920. In 1919, the Chinese government ordered the Gansu province government to send representatives to Tibet to meet the 13th Dalai-lama and the 9th Panchen-lama in order to reinforce the Chinese influence in the Tibetan capital. This mission arrived in Lhasa on 24 November 1919, and stayed there more than five months. Spencer Chapman, *Lhasa, the Holy city*. London: Readers Union Ltd. 1940. p. 2 ; Huang Yusheng, *Xizang difang yu zhongyang zhengfu guanxi shi*. Lhasa: Xizang renmin chubanshe, 1995, p. 226.

Nanjing searching for the Chinese government's support, as well as the Tibetans from Central Tibet who disagreed with the policies of the 13th Dalai-lama.³ Many people were then on the move, building up dynamic and negotiative features of Sino-Tibetan relations.

Liu Manqing was of Chinese nationality, although she was born in Lhasa (of a Chinese father and a Tibetan mother), and she lived in Nanjing as part of the Khams pa community there. She symbolizes the young half-Tibetan, half-Chinese generation that was able to handle the question of the China-Tibet relationship in a more objective and constructive manner. As such, Liu had to manage her beliefs in Chinese policies towards Tibet and her wishes to help Tibet as well. We will see that her first trip to Tibet revealed a kind of Chinese as well as Tibetan nationalism.

Liu's trip was considered an extraordinary one at the time: she was a young lady who left Nanjing, the Chinese capital, to go to Lhasa, the Tibetan capital, with a Tibetan man as an escort. She was the first foreign lady ever to be received by the 13th Dalai-lama, not only once but twice during her first trip in 1930.⁴ Her heroic travels were noticed among her Chinese contemporaries in Republican China, and later among scholars from the People Republic of China and Western countries. No written Tibetan testimony seems available today, but Liu is remembered as a heroine by the Tibetan people. Peng Wenbin wrote: "the story of Liu Manqing can be studied in many ways and might become many stories and a few publications."⁵ This paper will focus on the politics of travel, *i.e.*, the role of Liu Manqing in Sino-Tibetan relations and the significance of her mission as part of a revival of a Tibetan international policy. Neither the literary value of her account, nor questions of identity or gender will be analyzed in this paper. Liu Manqing's own writings will be our main source to analyze her motives (the nationalism question) as well as her travel activities (the heroine legend).

Liu Manqing wrote three books. Two were related to Tibet while the third dealt with education in the Chinese borderlands. Travel accounts were fashionable at the beginning of the twentieth century and book titles had to be original to attract readers. The fashion came from the review *New Asia* (*Xinyaxiya*). In its third volume, editorial commentary called upon readers to transform their view of the peripheries from the cliché imaginary of desolation to an appreciation of their 'limitless mysteries' and 'inexhaustible treasures'. It called for photographs of the landscapes and peoples of those regions, so that readers could become more familiar to them.⁶ And we could

³ For example the case of the 9th Panchen-lama (1883-1937) who left Tibet to China in 1923. Cf. F. Jagou, *Le 9e Panchen Lama (1883-1937) Enjeu des relations sino-tibétaines*. Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient, 2004.

⁴ Others women travelers went to Tibet during the first half of the twentieth century: Liu Manqing met the well-known Belgian traveler, Alexandra David-Néel, who went to the Tibetan provinces of Amdo and Khams at the very beginning of the century. Other women traveled to Khams included the American Anne R. Taylor at the end of the nineteenth century and the Chinese Feng Yunxian, who traveled to Khams in the 1930s. All of them failed to reach Lhasa, the Tibetan capital. Others ladies might have traveled in these Tibetan areas that we still do not know about.

⁵ Personal communication.

⁶ P. Duara, *Sovereignty and Authenticity. Manchukuo and the East Asian Modern*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003, p. 199.

really speak of a frontier travel literature related to the northwest and southwest.⁷ Liu Manqing's travel diary, *Expedition in a Carriage to Xikang and Tibet (Kang Zang yaozheng)*, met the conditions for success. Its title was original but misleading since she actually traveled by foot.⁸ Indeed, she had to find a way to show that her journey was overland through Khams and not through India.⁹ This travel account is divided into two parts. The first describes her travels to Tibet *via* the Chinese province of Sichuan in 1929-1930. It is divided into sixty-two chapters that recount chronologically as well as by subject the steps of her journey. She writes about the difficulties of travel while describing what she saw and heard. The second part, a supplement or addendum (*xuji*), narrates her last trip to Tibet *via* the Chinese province of Yunnan in 1938. This part is far shorter with only nine chapters. Her aim was to describe another route to Tibet.¹⁰ Finally, she gives her opinion on the conduct of Chinese officers on the Sino-Tibetan borders, criticizing their lack of respect for the doctrine of Sun Yat-sen (1866-1925). Both parts end with details of her itineraries and information about the length of the legs of her journeys.

As a consequence, the book met with success, had gone through three editions in China by 1938, and was translated into Tibetan, Mongol, Japanese, English, Hindi and Latin during the Republican period.¹¹ More recently, it has been republished in Japan in 1986, in Taiwan in 1987 and in China in 1998.¹²

Tibet (Xizang), Liu's second book (1934), is a rather short (sixty pages) introduction to Tibetan culture. Its fourteen chapters address subjects such as geography, the real situation of Tibet, nomadic life, cuisine habits, dresses, weddings, and so forth. It does not refer to the author's own travel experience at all.

Her last publication was very different from the first two. *Education in the Chinese Border Areas (Bianjiang jiaoyu)*, published in 1937, marks the political and social influences Liu Manqing experienced after her Tibetan sojourns and her involvement in Tibetan policy discussions.

A young lady's courage

No doubt the trip that Liu Manqing made from Nanjing to Lhasa *via* Dar tse mdo from 15 July 1929 (the date of her departure from Nanjing) to 3

⁷ See for example, Peng Wenbin, "Allegorizing the Local on the Borderland: Ai Wu's *Nanxingji* and National Subjectivity." *Inner Asia*, vol.4, n°1, 2002, special issue: *Traveling cultures and histories: nation-building and frontier politics in Twentieth Century China*.

⁸ Printed by Wang Yunwu and He Bingsong in Shanghai in 1938 (3rd edition).

⁹ As Duara writes, "Indeed, to travel from China to Yunnan, it was best to take a boat to Vietnam and cross back into Yunnan on the French railroad; to travel to Xinjiang one had best take the trans-Siberian railroad and go through Soviet territory; Tibet was most accessible *via* India; and so on." *op. cit.*, p. 188-189.

¹⁰ Foreword of *Kang Zang yaozheng xuji*, p. 141.

¹¹ Huang Jingwan, foreword to *Kang Zang yaozheng*. The Japanese version is available: *Xikang Xizang ta cha ji*, Tokyo: Gaizao she, 1939.

¹² *Josei tensi chibetto wo iku*. Tokyo: Baishuishe, 1986; *Kang Zang yaozheng*, Taipei: Nantian (Yazhou minzu kaogu congkan), 1987; *Guomin zhengfu nu mi shi fu Zang jishi*, Peking: Minzu chubanshe (Minguo bianjiang youji xindu congshu), 1998.

February 1930 (the date of her arrival at Lhasa) was harsh.¹³ But her determination was high and her ability to speak Tibetan was an important advantage in the process which allowed her to think about a mission to Tibet. However, this process is quite hard to detail; there are a lot of blanks in the biographical accounts at our disposal. Most of the accounts were included in Liu's own diary or were based on it by her prefacers (Rtse dbyangs sgrol dkar, alias Jiang Weixin, and Huang Jingwan). In Chinese travel accounts, travelers most often revealed less of their personal information and travel agendas; that kind of information was considered trivial compared with such topics as encountering important persons or spectacular scenery.¹⁴

Liu Manqing's first act of heroism was to convince Chiang Kai-shek, then President of the Republic of China, to be allowed to go to Tibet. Our first tentative assessment concerns the way Liu Manqing became the interpreter of Blo bzang Pa sangs, then the abbot of one of the Wutai Shan monasteries in the Chinese province of Shanxi and envoy of the 13th Dalai-lama to the new Chinese Republican government in 1929.¹⁵ We know little about either the meeting or the Abbot's mission. But Chiang Kai-shek was very impressed by Liu's interpreting work, and he offered her a job in the government as a reward.¹⁶ Liu Manqing could have been satisfied with her fate. But, a few months later, she asked her director Gu Yingfen to allow her to go to Tibet in order to examine the situation there. With Gu's encouragement, to support her request to the government she wrote that she wanted to thank the Republican government for giving her a job and wished to see her native place again. These motives may have seemed sufficient to the Chinese government, as officials agreed and nominated Khang ltag rgyal mtshan (chin.: Kongdang Jiangcheng), a secretary of the second degree, to accompany her to Tibet. Presumably the Republican government was not so much interested in Liu's feelings as in the chance to acquire some Tibetan-speakers to give them more solid information about conditions in Tibet. Yet both Liu Manqing's initiative and the government's consent seem unexpected. Nothing had prepared Liu Manqing to become either a member of the Chinese government or an envoy of the Chinese Republican government to Tibet.

Yudhona, to give Liu her Tibetan name, was born in Lhasa in 1906 to a Tibetan mother and a Chinese (*Han*) father. Her father seems to have been a member of the Manchu *yamen* in Lhasa.¹⁷ She and her family left Tibet for Darjeeling in Sikkim when the Chinese were ordered to leave Tibet before the 13th Dalai-lama returned there from British India in 1912. Her parents

¹³ On the return trip, she went back to Nanjing *via* India and arrived in the Chinese capital on 7 August 1930.

¹⁴ Peng Wenbin, personal communication.

¹⁵ Liu Manqing, p. 1; Huang Yusheng comp., *op. cit.*, p. 230.

¹⁶ She became a secretary of the first degree at the civil office of the State Council (*xingzheng yuan wen guan chu yi deng shujiguan*). In practice, this was a low position.

¹⁷ Xirao Nima, *Guomin zhengfu nu mi shi fu Zang jishi*, Peking: Minzu chubanshe (Minguo bianjiang youji xindu congshu), 1998, introduction, p. 6: Liu Huaxuan, Liu Manqing's father, was the secretary to the Manchu commissioner in Tibet. The British thought she was the daughter of Lian Yu, the Manchu commissioner in Tibet from 1906 to 1912, begotten with his Tibetan wife; cf. IOR/L/PS/10/1088, file 1792/1930, telegram of Lieutenant-Colonel C.T. Daukes to the Foreign Secretary, 19/2/1930.

opened a shop in Darjeeling. Six years later in 1918 Liu, then twelve years old, and her family left Darjeeling for Peking. She entered a Chinese primary school (*Beiping shili di yi xiaoxue dushu*), and, according to one of her biographers, her ability was so high that while she only spoke Tibetan when she joined the school, she became fluent in Chinese in six months. She then got a diploma from a women's normal school (*Tongzhou nuzi shifan xuexiao*). Her studies could have stopped there because her father decided she should be married. She obeyed him, but then divorced and renewed her studies. She entered a medical school (Daoji Hospital) to study nursing, because, according to her biographer, she wanted to be useful to the Tibetan people.¹⁸ Liu gives no details about Tibetan medicine in her account. Actually, the emphasis on her medical schooling may have been added later to embellish Liu's own story and her willingness to go to Tibet.

The Khams pa connection

As a first hypothesis, we can argue that Liu Manqing's family helped her to become well known in China's Tibetan community. The only detail about her maternal side we get is about her grandmother whom Liu met in She'erpo near Dar rtse mdo. Liu describes her grandmother as very poor, and obviously very surprised and happy at meeting her granddaughter for the first time. The detail is important because it means that Liu Manqing was a Khams pa on her mother's side, and in all likelihood this was important for her integration into the Nanjing Khams pa community.¹⁹

As a matter of fact, many Tibetans who received an education in Chinese as well as in Tibetan circulated in the Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs Commission sphere of influence; most of them came from 'Ba' thang. Liu Manqing does not mention them much, referring to only one of them: Skal bzang tshe ring (chin.: Gesang Zeren or Wang Tianhua, 1899-1941). Skal bzang tshe ring is a representative example of the Tibetan youth of the time. From 'Ba' thang, he confronted the Tibetan and Chinese struggle over the region and its impact on the area's development. He also benefited from the opening of an American missionary school and eventually became an important member of the Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs Commission. As he himself wrote, he was the first Tibetan to join the Nationalist Party (*Guomindang*) and to be a delegate on behalf of Tibet or Xikang in the Republican government's third to the sixth plenary sessions. Skal bzang tshe ring attended both the public school established by Zhao Erfeng and also the missionary-run West China Primary School (*huaxi xuexiao*). Liu Manqing became very interested in the experience of the American missionary school in the district of 'Ba' thang. She praised Dr. Shelton who first rented a piece of land and began to construct a hospital, a school and a church in the town. According to Liu, Dr. Shelton's 'Ba' thang school taught both Chinese and Tibetan, thus producing a Tibetan elite.²⁰

¹⁸ Actually, the teaching of nursing began in China in the 1930s, therefore it is quite difficult to determine whether Liu Manqing was a nurse.

¹⁹ We know little about her father. His name was Liu Huaxuan or Liu Rongguang, and his nickname was Zang.

²⁰ Liu Manqing, p. 44-45.

In any case, because of “some incompatibilities,” Skal bzang tshe ring left for Yunnan before being admitted into the Xikang Officers Training Institute.²¹ Like Liu Manqing after him, he was noticed by the Chinese government when he served as an interpreter during a Sino-Tibetan meeting in Nanjing and because he was very close with the 9th Panchen-lama.²² Dai Jitao, president of the Examination Yuan and close adviser to Chiang Kai-shek, was interested in frontier affairs and Tibetan Buddhism and recommended him to the Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs Commission, which appointed him as Commissioner and head of the Tibetan Affairs Division in 1927. He held that post when Liu Manqing left for Tibet in July 1929. Skal bzang tshe ring’s political career became increasingly important in the Nationalist Party and his movement for the independence of Khams is well-known.²³ His political involvement could have helped Liu Manqing when she returned to Nanjing in August 1930 and became an important member of the China Tibetan community and a specialist on frontier affairs for the Chinese government.²⁴

However, Liu Manqing did at least first mention Skal bzang tshe ring’s leading role in the Khams pa community of Nanjing. She noticed that forty to fifty Tibetans from Khams province came to study in Nanjing following Skal bzang tshe ring’s example. The supplement to her book, written in 1938, gives details about the nomination of Skal bzang tshe ring as chief of the Nationalist Party branch of Xikang (*Xikang sheng dang bu*) and his propaganda work as a member of the Xikang government. She praises his work as a propaganda agent on the border, giving evidence of the welcome he received from local chiefs.²⁵ Liu Manqing and Skal bzang tshe ring did in fact work together. Liu Manqing conducted many propaganda projects after her return from Tibet. Indeed, it seems that the aftermath of her trip was much more important than the trip itself regarding her commitment to the policies of the Chinese government toward Xikang province.

Upon her return to China, Liu Manqing became the founder of and an activist in many new Tibetan or border associations.²⁶ From a practical point

²¹ Skal bzang tshe ring wrote that he ran away to Yunnan without giving any explanation. Actually after he qualified from the West China Primary School, he entered a business school which did not suit him. That is why he left for Yunnan. Gesang Zeren, “Bian ren chu yan (Humble Speeches of a Frontier Person)”. In Shen Yunlong, ed. *Jindai Zhongguo Shiliao congkan Xubian (Supplements to the Series of Historical Date of Modern China)*. N°11 (reprint). Taipei: Wenhai chubanshe (The Culture Sea Publishing House), 1974, p. 3; Ren Yimin, *Sichuan jin xian dai renwu zhuan*. Chengdu: Sichuan sheng shehui kexueyuan, 1985, p. 295.

²² When Gongdeng tashi, representative of the 9th Panchen-lama, was on a mission to Nanjing through Khams in 1926, Skal bzang tshe ring served as his interpreter and accompanied him to the capital. Cf. Gesang Zeren, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

²³ Gesang Zeren, *op. cit.*; Peng Wenbin, “Frontier Process, Provincial Politics and Movements for Khampa Autonomy During the Republican Period”. In L. Epstein, ed. *Khams pa Histories. Visions of People, Place and Authority*. Leiden: Brill, 2002, p. 64.

²⁴ It is hard to determine the nature of the relationship between Skal bzang tshe ring and Liu Manqing. According to informants, Liu Manqing and Skal bzang tshe ring were married first but as they could not get a child, then Skal bzang tshe ring married Liu Manyun who gave birth to two children. Some sources mention that they were married after she joined the Chinese government, Ren Yimin, *op. cit.* p. 296.

²⁵ Liu Manqing, p. 155.

²⁶ In 1931, she and a group of scholars and officials founded the Association of the Border Areas of China (*Zhongguo bianjiang xuehui*). On 7 October 1931, she created the Nanjing

of view, the members of these associations acted as investigators for the Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs Commission. They were also propaganda agents. We have two detailed examples of Liu Manqing's actions at this time.

The first was her attempt to go to Lhasa again. In May 1932, Liu left Nanjing by way of Hong Kong. She wanted to go to Tibet to comfort the Tibetan people and to inform them about the resistance of the Chinese Republican government against the Japanese. At this time, the 'Ba' thang uprisings had just begun and the roads were closed and unsecured. The fighting between the army of Central Tibet and Skal bzang tshe ring lasted three months from mid-April to mid-July 1932, and Liu Manqing was there at the moment. We do not know how much Liu Manqing was involved in the 'Ba' thang uprising, but I doubt her presence there was an accident. In any case, she found a way to transmit a letter from the Chinese government and gifts to the 13th Dalai-lama. And when a report entitled "Report on the administration of all Tibet" (*Gao quan Zang guanmin shu*) from the 13th Dalai-lama to the Republican government just arrived in Nanjing, she received a personal letter from the Tibetan leader regretting she was not able to come to Lhasa at this time:

"Last time you came to Lhasa from far enduring hardship to praise for the cordial Sino-Tibetan relationship. I praise you for having often helped Tibet after returning to Nanjing. Unfortunately this time, I sincerely regret that fighting broke out in Khams. But, I think you understand the reasons of this conflict and that as soon as you will go back to Nanjing you will make a report to the government. Your wish to come to Lhasa has been impeded by the fighting but I hope you will be able to come again in a time of peace. I especially appointed Paizhang Dingceng to communicate with you, he is trustworthy and you can give him all the letters and things you would like him to bring back to Tibet."²⁷

The third attempt of Liu Manqing to go to Lhasa was related to "the team of Khams pas, representatives of Chiang Kai-shek, giving comfort to the front lines (*Xikang minzhong weilao qian xian Jiang shi daibiao tuan*)."²⁸ The members of this team first tried to collect donations from Tibetans living in China. They went to Chongqing where their propaganda job must have been successful because they received many donations (especially gold or silver jewels) from Tibetans living in Sichuan.²⁸ Then they decided to go to Tibet to

Khams pas and Tibetan Compatriots Association for Resistance to the Japanese and National Salvation (*Kang Zang lu Jing tongxiang kang Ri jiu guo hui*). She also took part in the fourth popular assembly. In 1932, she represented Tibet at the Assembly of Reconstruction. Further studies will be done to analyze the identity of these groups and to determine if they were Guomindang or independent groups. She and Blo bzang rgyal mtshan, the representative of the 9th Panchen-lama in Nanjing, worked out a "project to improve Tibetan and Mongolian education, religion, political and military affairs in order to resist to the Japanese." In November 1937, Liu Manqing founded and became the president of the "propaganda team of Khams pas and Tibetans dedicated to the resistance against enemies *Kang Zang minzhong kangdi fu nan xuanchuan tuan*." In the summer of 1938, Liu Manqing and Khams pas like Skal bzang tshe ring, founded a new group, "The Team of Khams pas, Representative of Chiang Kai-shek, Giving Comfort to the Front Lines *Xikang minzhong weilao qian xian Jiang shi daibiao tuan*."

²⁷ Xirao Nima, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

²⁸ Gezang Zeren, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

collect other donations. In October 1938, two teams went to Tibet.²⁹ Their propaganda work was divided into three stages: first, to question the people; second, to give gifts; and third, to explain the policy of resistance against Japan first to the regent Rwa sgreng (Reting, regent from 1934 to 1941), the officials and the aristocrats, then to the clergy, and finally to the commoners. They made speeches in mosques (Liu Manqing was Muslim)³⁰ and in primary schools. They showed propaganda films three times: in the palace of Reting, in the house of Tsha rong (1886-1959), and in the residence of the Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs Commission agents in Lhasa. The result of this mission is quite hard to know; apparently Liu was given no encouragement by the Tibetan government.

However, Liu's main achievement was her book, which was a 268-page report about *Education in the Border Areas*. This report, containing twenty-one chapters in three parts, includes theories about education, a statement about education in the border areas of China (Gansu, Ningxia, Qinghai, Chahar, Suiyuan, Mongolia, Khams and Central Tibet, and Xinjiang) and a reform project to improve education. We do not know whether the government actually used this report. At the time, the Chinese Republic was coming under full-blown Japanese attack and was about to retreat to the southwest.

Liu Manqing's audiences with the 13th Dalai-lama

Liu Manqing's stay in Lhasa gives some indication about the purposes of her trip and her goals for Sino-Tibetan relationships. While her behavior suggests that her aim was to show that she was received by the aristocratic and official segments of Tibetan society, her writings tends to embellish her role as a political envoy of the Chinese government. Her observations about the Tibetan political situation in 1930 are superficial or entirely lacking. Apparently, Liu did not notice that Tibet had just undergone a political and religious crisis. She does not refer at all to the 13th Dalai-lama's proclamation of the independence of Tibet in 1912, or to his efforts to raise an army. She also fails to mention the opposition of the religious segment of Tibetan society to the founding of the army because its members were becoming too powerful. Religious elements opposed military reform so violently that members of the Tibetan government (Tsha rong, commander in chief of the army, minister and director of finance, for example) were degraded and the 13th Dalai-lama gave up his reform project. As a matter of fact, when Liu Manqing arrived in Lhasa, the policies of the 13th Dalai-lama had become oriented toward the preservation of the traditional Tibetan Buddhist polity, and he had abandoned attempts to give Tibet a place between the two powerful countries of China and the British Imperial India.

Arriving in Lhasa on 3 February 1930, Liu Manqing was welcomed by priests and Tsha rong, the now ex-chief commander of the Tibetan army, ex-

²⁹ The first team, composed of four members (Xiao Pinzhang, Li Jianhou, Rang Zhuo, and Guo Xiangqiu) left Nanjing on 28 November 1938. They went to Lhasa through Yunnan and arrived there in January 1939. The second team, headed by Liu Manqing and Zhu Ma went through Burma and India and arrived in Lhasa on 2 February 1939. Both teams stayed there six months, until 7 June 1939. Cf. Xirao Nima, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

³⁰ Li Tieh-tseng, *Tibet, Today and Yesterday*. New York: Bookman associates, 1960, p. 161.

minister and ex-director of finance, a man who still had much influence in Lhasa. Tsha rong became her adviser during her stay there. He taught her Tibetan customs (for example, she learnt how to do traditional religious prostrations with him but finally renounced its performance in front of the dalai-lama) and rules (e.g., that Tibetan aristocrats would not speak to her before she met the dalai-lama, and how to present a petition to the dalai-lama). She waited almost two months before meeting the dalai-lama. During this time she went to the Mosque to listen to teachings, concluding that the dalai-lama was still tolerant toward foreign religion, and then went to her father's Lhasa house. Liu also noticed that at the time the Tibetans were hostile to a British presence in Lhasa and concerned about the activities of Wangfel Laden La (Liandian in Chinese, 1876-1937), a Sikkimese agent for the British in Lhasa. Waiting for the 13th Dalai-lama's answer, she describes the administrative structure of the Tibetan government, the festivities for the New Year (5 March) and especially the military parade. Finally, Liu Manqing met the 13th Dalai-lama twice on 28 March and 25 May 1930.

Liu Manqing transcribed her interview with the 13th Dalai-lama in a way that embellished the aim of her mission to Tibet and her own responsibilities. We will first give the content of these interviews and then analyze them to determine if Liu's trip was an official mission and if the Chinese government had given her the responsibility to negotiate on its behalf.

On 28 March 1930, during her first interview with the dalai-lama, the Tibetan leader was surprised to learn that they could communicate without the help of an interpreter and asked her several times if she could converse in Tibetan. Their exchange was rather informal: the dalai-lama asked about her stay and accommodations in Lhasa and her family. They also discussed her education, and the dalai-lama questioned Liu about education in China, wanting to know if many Tibetans got into Chinese schools. For her part, Liu informed the dalai-lama about the creation of the new Republican government in Nanjing, emphasizing that government policy followed the Three Principles of the People of Sun Yat-sen, the leader of the Chinese Revolution of 1911, and the pacific coexistence of the five nationalities.³¹

On 25 May 1930, Liu Manqing went again to Nor bu gling kha, the summer palace of the dalai-lama, to say farewell to the dalai-lama and wanting him to determine the date of her departure from Lhasa. Apparently this time, the 13th Dalai-lama had greater confidence in Liu and gave her the responsibility of transmitting an oral message to Chiang Kai-shek.³² It appears that the 13th Dalai-lama freely gave Liu his opinion on various important matters of Tibetan politics. He began by claiming that the relationship between China and Tibet had been deadlocked until Liu's trip. He told her that he had been pleased to see that China wanted to renew good relations with Tibet by nominating Liu as an envoy to convey the salutations of the new Chinese government. The dalai-lama also showed that he was aware of the Chinese situation and said he prayed everyday for peace in China. Then, he made some requests on various subjects. First, he hoped that the Chinese government would appoint an official to negotiate with the Khams pas because he was afraid of the reactions of the Tibetan

³¹ Liu Manqing, p. 44-47.

³² In Tibet, oral messages are more important than written ones.

armies based on the border if China sent soldiers. Second, he vowed that Tibet could restore good relationships with Nepal without the interference of China. Third, he expressed his anxiety about the 9th Panchen-lama's peregrinations in Mongolia. Fourth, he felt threatened by the British occupation of India. Fifth, he asked China to send an other representative to explain its policies to the Tibetan people as Liu Manqing had to go back to China. Finally, the 13th Dalai-lama promised to choose both a representative with full authority to negotiate with China and young Tibetans to go to China and study there.³³ He also asked that China send to Tibet craftsman with tools such as looms for weaving cloth.³⁴

Do these political difficulties exposed by the Tibetan leader also emerge in the observations made by Liu during her stay in Lhasa? Between her two audiences, Liu met high officials of the Tibetan government. She met two men who were at the peak of their power: Lung shar (1880-1938) and Tsha rong, who were then favorites of the 13th Dalai-lama and had once held high positions in the Tibetan government. There were rivalries between them. Lung shar precipitated the end of Tsha rong's career and became commander-in-chief of the Tibetan army in his place. Kun 'phel lags, the third favorite of the 13th Dalai-lama also benefited from the destruction of Tsha rong. He became sole director of the mint, paper currency and ammunitions factory Grwa bzhi las khungs (from 1925 to 1927 Tsha rong and Kun 'phe lags had headed it). Nonetheless, Tsha rong remained a man with much influence in Lhasa. Liu Manqing did not meet Kun 'phe lags. In fact, she made no observations of any political significance, although she took many pictures of the members of the government she met. She did have insights into which Tibetan officers were pro-British or pro-Chinese, as it was usual at the time to categorize people as soon as the question of Tibet was raised. She noticed that while Tsha rong had adopted the English style of furniture, food, and tea, his relations with Laden la were not good.³⁵ Liu was astonished at having Lung shar receive her dressed in Manchu robes and with the old Manchu manners.³⁶ This contrasts with the British view, which expected that Lung shar would be pro-British because of his travels in England and Europe;³⁷ in fact, his political opinions were more complicated and he became the founder of the Tibetan Republican party.

³³ On the orders of the 13th Dalai-lama, the ministers submitted the names of seven monks and seven laymen officers for selection to be deputed to China. Ultimately, however, the idea to dispatch representatives to China was abandoned. IOR/L/PS/10/1088, file 3942/1930, telegram from C.T. Daukes, British envoy at the Court of Nepal to the Foreign Secretary of His Majesty's Government in India, 21/5/1930.

³⁴ Liu Manqing, p. 119-120.

³⁵ Liu Manqing, p. 98-99.

³⁶ Liu Manqing, p. 101-102.

³⁷ Lung shar accompanied the four Tibetan students who went to England supported by the British government in 1914. He was received by the King George V and Queen Mary during his stay there. He traveled to France, Germany, the Netherlands and Belgium. T.W. Shakabpa, *Tibet, a Political History*. New York: Potala, 1976, p. 249-250; H. Stoddard, *Le mendiant de l'Amdo*. Nanterre: Société d'ethnographie, 1985, p. 381-382.

Liu Manqing's political activities

Upon her return to China, Liu Manqing received a warm welcome from her contemporaries. She was considered "an extraordinary women who showed great courage" (*xin wei jinguo zhi xiong ye*) because of the difficulties of travel that she faced on her trip and because of her meetings with the 13th Dalai-lama. She was also qualified as "an eminent woman" (*yun wei nu zhong qiaochu*),³⁸ and was regarded as a reincarnation of the two Tang princesses Wencheng and Jincheng³⁹ or "a Chinese Hero".⁴⁰ Lin Sen (1868-1943), then president of the Chinese Republic, praised her by giving her a reward which said:

"This is a certificate of merit bestowed on Liu Manqing, who, upon approval of the Civil Office of this government, traveled ten of thousands of *li* to and from Tibet in one year, earnestly spreading the government's concern and care and who, without shame, had the ability to face conditions during her trip. The government gives her this reward and expresses its encouragement."⁴¹

Although Huang Jingwan, who wrote the preface to one of her books, emphasized the results of her trip, writing that "thanks to Liu Manqing, Tibet and China became closer after ten years without active relations," these flattering terms emphasized her behavior as a traveler more than her actions as an envoy of the Republican government. No one at the time judged the mission of Liu Manqing to be an official one. Of course, as we can see in her writings, she was a member of the Republican government and worked as an observer and an investigator in Khams and in Lhasa. But the way she exchanged letters with the Chinese government prove that she was not on an official mission: she wrote to her superior in the Civil Office in the Republican government, Gu Yingfen, but neither to the Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs Commission nor to Chiang Kai-shek. This point was also expressed by Lung shar, who was, with the dalai-lama, one of the addressees of the letter that Liu Manqing brought from China. Lung shar asked her for information about this unknown Gu Yingfen, who had signed the letter.⁴² Actually, it appears that Liu Manqing herself helped to maintain a certain ambiguity about her mission: for example, she told the *Yul phyogs so so'i gsar 'gyur me long*, Tibetan newspaper printed in Kalimpong, that she was the bearer of a dispatch from Chiang Kai-shek and then specified that she was not the bearer of a reply.⁴³ Also, on her way back to China when Liu

³⁸ Huang Jinwan, preface. 1933.

³⁹ Liu Manqing, 1933, foreword. Chinese historiography considers that the weddings of the Chinese Tang princesses Wencheng and Jincheng to the Tibetan kings Srong btsan sgam po in 641 and Khri lde gtsug btsan in 710 respectively marked the beginnings of Sino-Tibetan relationships.

⁴⁰ C.Y.W. Meng, "Miss Liu's Mission to Tibet." *China Weekly Review*, LIV (Sept. 6, 1930), p. 22, subtitled "Miss Liu—China's Hero." Wu Zhongxin, the president of the Mongol-Tibetan Affairs Commission from 1936 to 1954, thought otherwise, arguing that the comparison of Liu to Wencheng and Jincheng was a bit exaggerated as Liu "after all, is a romantic lady." Xirao Nyima, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

⁴¹ Xeirab Nyima, « A Special Envoy of the Nanjing Regime », *China's Tibet*, 1991, p. 42.

⁴² Liu Manqing, p. 102.

⁴³ IOR/L/PS/10/1088, file P938/23, telegram from J.L.R. Weir to the Foreign Secretary of His Majesty in India, dated Camp Lhasa, 16/8/1930: transmission of an interview given

stayed in Kalimpong and Calcutta she visited the British Consul-General several times; he knew nothing of the nature of her travels. For this reason the British Consul-General became suspicious and believed that she was on a secret mission for the Chinese government's Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs Commission.⁴⁴ In fact, as we have noted above, Liu Manqing asked to go to Tibet on her own and the Chinese Republican government allowed her to leave her official duty to fulfill this wish. However, as she was an official, she benefited from a five thousand *yuan* donation and military security from the government. It seems that she had no power to enter into negotiations.

However, Liu Manqing's trip to Lhasa may have prompted the official mission of Dkon mchog 'byung gnas (1883-1944), Tibetan abbot of the Yonghegong temple in Peking. Dkon mchog 'byung gnas was entrusted to discuss political questions, including Tibet's status, with the Lhasa authorities. As such, he went on an official mission from 7 November 1929 (almost four months after Liu Manqing's departure from Nanjing) to 16 January 1930 (three weeks before Liu arrived in Lhasa). He traveled to Lhasa by way of India. They met in Lhasa, but Liu Manqing gives no details about him except that he was from the same family as Tsha rong.

It was Chiang Kai-shek who initiated the mission. He entrusted Dkon mchog 'byung gnas with the mission of transmitting a letter on his behalf to the 13th Dalai-lama. In this letter, Chiang made proposals to the 13th Dalai-lama that would have permitted China to control Tibet. These included the payment of salaries by China to the dalai-lama, the Tibetan ministers and to soldiers; China's helping Tibet in case of foreign invasion; that the 13th Dalai-lama should become a member of the Republican Party and that he should establish representative offices in China.⁴⁵ This last point was agreeable; the 13th Dalai-lama entrusted Dkon mchog 'byung gnas with the mission of creating an Office of Tibet in Nanjing. In this way, the Chinese Republican government representative became the 13th Dalai-lama's representative as well. Tibet had now a representative in China with full authority.

Broadly speaking, Liu Manqing's trip also prompted a new British mission to Lhasa, just as the Gansu mission had made the Bell Mission a virtual inevitability in 1919 and 1920 respectively. Liu Manqing's stay in Lhasa was carefully watched by Laden La, the Sikkimese agent for the British in Tibet, who was in the Tibetan capital throughout the first half of 1930. As a matter of fact, after many years of deterioration in Tibeto-British relationships, the dalai-lama invited Lt. Colonel Weir (1883-1950), the British Political Officer in Sikkim, to visit Lhasa in 1930.⁴⁶ Moreover, perhaps to

by Liu Manqing to the editor of the Tibetan newspaper *Yul phyogs so so'i gsar 'gyur me long*, dated 27/6/1930.

⁴⁴ IOR/L/PS/10/1088, file P5626, note from the 7/8/1930.

⁴⁵ Dong Shufan, *Minguo shi san nian yilai zhi Zhongguo guomindang yu Xizang*. Taipei: Mongolian and Tibetan affairs commission, 1985. p. 16-18; Thub bstan sangs rgyas, *rGya nag tu Bod kyi sku tshab don gcod skabs dang gnyis tshugs stangs skor gyi lo rgyus thabs bral zur lam* History of the Tibet representative office in China, 1982, p. 17-18.

⁴⁶ Since F.M. Bailey, the British Political Officer in Sikkim, had come to Lhasa in 1924, no British officer went on a mission to Lhasa. After the crisis in Lhasa in 1925, the British influence there declined because the British failed to obtain Chinese agreement to the 1914 Simla Convention. They failed to supply arms and ammunitions to the Tibetan army,

counter some of the impact of Liu Manqing's femininity, the dalai-lama allowed Mrs. Weir to accompany her husband.⁴⁷ Although it did not entirely eradicate Tibetan suspicions about British intentions, Weir's 1930 Lhasa mission was successful in at least restoring a dialogue between British India and Tibet.

Liu Manqing's trips to Lhasa paved the way for a new Sino-Tibetan relationship by demonstrating that it was possible to go to Tibet and be received by the dalai-lama. Liu acted as a kind of unofficial *de facto* spokesman for the Republican government, as she believed in its policies, Sun Yat-sen's Three Principles of the People, and wanted to present this view to the dalai-lama. However, the fact remains that her mission was a personal one and no one in China had entrusted her with the duty of transmitting any official messages from head officials of the Chinese state. However, after her trip she did indeed engage in the kind of official propaganda work that she wanted her readers to think she had been doing all along. Liu was convinced that the Three Principles of Sun Yat-sen could be of help to the Tibetan people.

The claim for dialogue and *channels* for such dialogue have been part of the rhetoric of present-day Sino-Tibetan relations, as well as the tactics employed by both sides in the politics of image management, in order to promote openness and a will to negotiate or reconcile. Liu Manqing's story reminds us of the multiplicity of the means of communication and the interconnectedness of the personal with the official, giving us a glimpse of the then-volatile relations between China and Tibet.

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bringing an end to the reform movement in Tibet. A. McKay, *Tibet and the British Raj. The Frontier Cadre 1904-1947*. London: Curzon Press, 1997, p. 110.

⁴⁷ A. McKay, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

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Glossary

Beiping shili di yi xiaoxue dushu 北京市立第一小學讀書
 Bianjiang jiaoyu 邊疆教育
 Chahar 察哈爾
 Chiang Kai-shek 蔣介石
 Chongqing 重慶
 Dai Jitao 戴季陶
 Daoji yiyuan 道濟醫院
 Feng Yunxian 馮雲賢
 Gansu 甘肅
 Gao quan Zang guanmin shu 高勸藏官民書
 Gesang Zeren 格桑澤仁
 Gongdeng tashi 貢等塔什
 Gu Yingfen 古應芬
 Guomintang 國民黨
 Guo Xiangqiu 郭祥秋
 Han 漢
 Hong Kong 香港
 huaxi xuexiao 華西學校
 Huang Jingwan 黃警頑
 Jiang Weixin 蔣唯心
 Jincheng 金成
 Kang Zang lu Jing tongxiang kang Ri jiuguo hui 康藏旅京同鄉抗日救國會
 Kang Zang minzhong kangdi fu nan xuanchuan tuan 康藏民眾抗敵赴難宣傳團
 Kang Zang yaozheng 康藏輶征
 Kongdang Jiangcheng 孔黨江稱
 li 里
 Liandian 連典
 Lian Yu 聯預
 Li Jianhou 李劍侯
 Lin Sen 林森
 Liu Huaxuan 劉華軒
 Liu Manqing 劉曼卿
 Nanjing 南京
 Ningxia 寧夏

Paichang Dingceng 排長丁曾
 Qinghai 青海
 Rang Zhuo 讓卓
 Sichuan 四川
 Suiyuan 綏遠
 Sun Yat-sen 孫中山
 Tang 唐
 Tongzhou nuzi shifan xuexiao 通州女子师范学校
 Wang Tianhua 王天華
 Wencheng 文成
 Wutai Shan 五台山
 Wu Zhongxin 吳忠信
 Xiao Pinzhang 蕭品璋
 Xikang 西康
 Xikang minzhong weilao qian xian Jiang shi daibiao tuan 西康民眾慰勞前
 線蔣士代表團
 Xikang sheng dang bu 西康省黨部
 Xingzheng yuan wen guan chu yi deng shujiguan 行政院文官處一等書記官
 Xinjiang 新疆
 xin wei jinguo zhi xiong ye 新為巾幗之雄也
 Xinyaxiya 新亞西亞
 Xizang 西藏
 xuji 續記
 Yonghegong 永和宮
 yuan 元
 Yunnan 雲南
 yun wei nu zhong qiaochu 允為女中翹楚
 Zhongguo bianjiang xuehui 中國邊疆學會
 Zhu Ma 竺瑪



A Preliminary Report on Investigations into (*Bon nyid*) '*Od gsal* and *Zhi khro bar do* in Earlier *Zhang zhung sNyan rgyud* and *sNyan rgyud* Literature¹

Henk Blezer, Leiden, IAS 1999²

In this article, I shall give a preview of ideas that I intend to discuss in greater detail in a monograph that I am presently³ preparing on possible Bon origins of Tibetan speculations regarding a post-mortem state of 'reality as it is'.⁴ At this early stage, before attempting a (relative) chronology⁵ of the materials on the subject that are extant in Buddhist and Bon traditions, I here will try to accommodate my discussion of Bon (*Zhang zhung*) *sNyan rgyud* material in a wider background of Buddhist speculations, in the hope that this will allow the characteristics of these specific Bon *rDzogs chen* speculations to stand out more distinctly. Occasionally, I shall refer to relevant results from earlier researches on the *kar gling zhi khro*, the peaceful and wrathful deities according to Karma gling pa, and on *chos nyid bar do*, the intermediate state of 'reality as it is', and also, where necessary, provide, more or less in the manner of an update, additional Buddhist

¹ I should like to extend my sincere thanks to several colleagues who have provided thoughtful comments and useful references, especially Bryan Jare Cuevas and Dan Martin. I also owe a particularly large debt of gratitude to Geshe Namgyal Nyima Dagkar, who in the beginning of 1998 kindly assisted me for three months of painstaking work. With his characteristic energy, dedication and sharp intellect he helped straighten out both readings *and* meanings of several earlier *Bon bar do*-texts. Namgyal Nyima's valuable contribution will be even more conspicuous in the text-editions that, as separate publications, will accompany the mentioned forthcoming book on *Bon*-origin of Tibetan speculations regarding a post-mortem state of 'reality as it is'. [This research and attendance at the seminar were facilitated by a fellowship at the *International Institute for Asian Studies*, 1997–2000.]

² [This article was originally contributed to the proceedings of the Eighth Seminar of the *International Association for Tibetan Studies*, which convened in Bloomington, Indiana, late July 1998. Because of obstacles largely beyond the powers of the convenor of that seminar, the proceedings have not yet seen the light of day. Since several colleagues have already worked and quoted from this article in the form that had it in 1999, when it was submitted for the IATS proceedings, I decided it would be best to reproduce the article as it is, without additions and with only very minor emendations [meta-communications, such as this note, appear in square brackets]. I am of course aware that some of the information may now appear antiquated, certainly after subsequent publication by Philippe Cornu (Ph.D. thesis 2006), David Germano (2005; based on his paper for the IATS 8 seminar), Cuevas (2000/2003), and others. For a proper genealogy of knowledge, it seems nonetheless useful to make this article available for future reference in the form in which it has informally circulated ever since its first submission, with all the shortcomings of a preliminary report—which it was originally intended to be, ten years ago. The editors of RET have most kindly agreed to make it accessible for publication. I should like to thank my colleague Jean-Luc Achard and the other editors of RET, for finally resolving the issue of access to my early work on this topic. I should also like to thank the convenor of the Bloomington IATS, Elliot Sperling, for graciously condoning this breach of IATS procedure.]

³ [The adverb "presently" here as elsewhere pertains to the years 1998/99, when this article was written.]

⁴ [See postscript.]

⁵ Considering the insecurities with regard to dates in early Bon and also rNying ma traditions, this chronology will necessarily be a relative one. I propose to take the stage of development of the concept of an intermediate state of 'reality as it is' as something like a '*Leitfossil*'.

materials from both rNying ma and 'bKa' (b)rgyud⁶ traditions that are relevant to the theses of this article and the wider research objectives. Due to the limits of this article, I cannot present or discuss in detail the Tibetan text of the relevant passages. We have to content ourselves with a general survey, leaving the finer points, as they emerge from a detailed discussion of the concrete texts, for the mentioned forthcoming monograph.

When perusing the following discussion about *bar do* systems of diverse rNying ma, Bon and 'bKa' rgyud' traditions, I should like to recommend referring to the conspectus of classifications of *bar do*-s appended below, this may help to keep track of correspondences, divergences and distinctive features in the plethora of *bar do* speculations addressed. It is not an analytical tool, also not quite a Rorschachtest, but a visual aid designed to assist surveying the mass of data and search for meaningful patterns.

1-1. Embedding in Previous Research

In recent research [1993-97], I attempted to trace a conceptual history of the tantric Buddhist concept of *zhi khro* in a *chos nyid bar do* with some reference to Bon equivalents of a (*bon nyid*) 'od gsal (clear light of 'reality as it is') and *zhi khro bar do*.⁷ Almost all of the descriptions of *chos nyid bar do* that I am aware of do at least refer to, and at times even explicitly describe, a *zhi khro maṇḍala*.⁸ As far as my evidence now goes, the first Buddhist text that features a full description of a *zhi khro maṇḍala* in relation to (*chos nyid*) *bar do* might be the fairly well-known *Kar gling zhi khro* text, called *Chos nyid bar do'i gsal* [or *gsol*] 'debs thos grol chen mo'.⁹ Yet I should point here to an undated rNying ma'i rgyud 'bum text, the *Man ngag snying gi dgongs pa rgyal ba'i bka' zhes bya ba'i rgyud*, which might be earlier (which in its present redaction I doubt is the case) or at least preserve an earlier form of the core materials (which seems quite likely). A preliminary discussion of this interesting text has appeared elsewhere.¹⁰ Here I will only briefly resume that discussion and then proceed with other rNying ma materials.

1-2. Intermezzo I, Some More rNying ma Material

A brief update is necessary on material contained in the *rNying ma'i rgyud 'bum*.¹¹ First of all, I should like to mention the *Man ngag snying gi dgongs pa rgyal ba'i bka' zhes bya ba'i rgyud* (MNg), unfortunately anonymous and not yet dated. About half of the eight-chapter version of the MNg consists of phrases it shares almost verbatim with the *Bar do thos grol Chos nyid bar do'i gsal 'debs thos grol chen mo* (ChB) and *Srid pa bar do'i ngo sprod gsal 'debs thos*

⁶ [The scare quotes indicate that some traditions claimed by bKa' rgyud pa-s precede their historical formation.]

⁷ See Blezer 1997.

⁸ So far, I am aware of only a few exceptions, the concrete titles will be mentioned later.

⁹ Page-numbers pertain to the Kalsang Lhundup-edition (1969), for further bibliographical references, see Blezer (1997), pp. 133 and 136.

¹⁰ See reference below.

¹¹ My sincere thanks go to Bryan Jare Cuevas for pointing me to most of these additional texts.

grol chen mo (SB) texts. The exact chronology is difficult to establish, not in the last place because the editions of the *MNg* do not seem to be homogenous products, they rather appear rough edged collations and probably not all chapters are of the same date. I attempted a preliminary comparison of the *Mng* with the *ChB* and *SB* elsewhere, in a separate article, forthcoming in the 1998 yearbook of the IIAS.¹² In brief, my main conclusion is that comparison of the *Mng* with the *ChB* & *SB* allows us hypothetically to posit and to an extent even ‘reconstruct’ an earlier source (or redaction) on which both the *MNg* and the *ChB* & *SB* have drawn or from which they might have developed.¹³ I shall not attempt to summarise in one paragraph the finer points, which took about fifty pages to lay out in some (read: preliminary) detail.

This much as to possibly earlier evidence than the *ChB* for a full description of *zhi khro* in a separate *bar do*. A next point would be that some texts in the *rNying ma'i rgyud 'bum* and *rNying ma'i rgyud bcu bdun* do not, as in most of the Buddhist descriptions of *chos nyid bar do* that I am familiar with, directly refer to *zhi khro* in this context. The *bar do* discussions in the texts listed below are rather brief, so the absence of an explicit reference to *zhi khro* might at times be due to mere conciseness rather than to dogmatic intent. Unless indicated otherwise, all texts are from the Taipei edition, *casu quo* the *mTshams sbrag rNying ma'i rgyud 'bum*.

Several texts do not mention *zhi khro*:

- No reference at all in the very brief *Rin po che 'phags lam bkod pa'i rgyud*¹⁴. The text refers to *chos nyid gsal ba'i bar do*. A list of six *bar do*-s is presented: *rang bzhin gnas pa'i bar do*, *ting nge 'dzin gyi bar do*, *skye shi gnyis kyi bar do*, *de bzhin srid pa'i bar do*, *rmi lam gnyid kyi bar do*, *chos nyid gsal ba'i bar do*¹⁵. The *skye shi gnyis kyi bar do* is briefly characterised as: *skye shi gnyis kyi bar do la/ /ye shes ngo yis 'dzin mdzad na/ /mun khung sgron me bteg pa bzhin/ /mtshon pa'i tshig gis don rtogs pas/ /rten 'brel 'dzom pa'i ye shes kyi/ /rmongs pa'i mun pa sangs par 'gyur/ /*¹⁶
- No direct reference in the *sKu thams cad kyi snang ba ston pa dbang rdzogs pa rang byung chen po'i rgyud*¹⁷. The text refers to *chos nyid rang snang bar do*. A list of four *bar do*-s is presented: *rang bzhin gnas pa'i bar do*, *chos nyid rang snang bar do*, *rmi lam 'dzin pa'i bar do*, *srid par 'khyams pa'i bar do*¹⁸. The *rang bzhin gnas pa'i bar do* is briefly characterised as: *rang bzhin gnas pa'i bar do la/ /chos nyid gsang ba'i don rtogs nas/ /ma chags shes rab pha rol phyin/ /de nas lus 'di bor ba dang/ /...*¹⁹

¹² [Now published as Blezer (2003, cf. also 2001).]

¹³ [But now see also an impressive and very detailed Ph.D. thesis by Philippe Cornu (2006), who managed to date a version of the text to before *Klong chen pa* (1306/8–63), which, depending on the precise dates of *Karma gling pa* in the fourteenth century, might support at least a slightly earlier date for the *MNg*.]

¹⁴ Vol. LIV (Tib.Vol. *ka*), no.4504 (= *gTing skyes* no.64), pp. 120/837(3) – 124/863.

¹⁵ P. 123/858(5f).

¹⁶ P. 123/859(7) – 860(2).

¹⁷ Vol. LVI (Tib.Vol. *da*), no.4740 (= *gTing skyes* no.143), pp. 1/2 – 43/298(1).

¹⁸ P. 3/17(1f).

¹⁹ P. 3/17(2f).

- *sPros bral don gsal chen po'i rgyud* and *Thig le kun gsal chen po'i rgyud*.²⁰ The texts refer to *chos nyid 'od gsal (gyi) bar do*. A list of four *bar do*-s is presented: *rang bzhin dag pa'i(/ dag gi) bar do*, *ting nge 'dzin gyi bar do*, *chos nyid 'od gsal (gyi) bar do*, *srid pa'i bar do*.²¹ The *rang bzhin dag pa'i bar do* is briefly characterised as *de la rang bzhin bar do ni/ da lta'i 'khrul snang 'di nyid yin/ /*.²² The first text is said to be a *gter ma* of Guru chos dbang (1212–70), ultimately attributed to Padmasambhava, dGa' rab rdo rje?, 'Jam dpal bshes gnyen, Śrīsiṃha, and Padma(?). The *bar do*-section is, so far as I checked, identical to the one in the second title. The second title is attributed to dGa' rab rdo rje?, 'Jam dpal bshes gnyen, Śrīsiṃha, and Vairocana.

Some texts do mention *zhi khro*,

- *Nyi ma dang zla ba kha sbyor ba chen po gsang ba'i rgyud*, in the *rNying ma'i rgyud bcu bdun*.²³ Four *bar do*-s are treated in the several chapters, *rang bzhin gnas pa'i bar do*, *'chi kha bar do*, *srid pa'i bar do* and *chos nyid bar do*. This text has been discussed elsewhere.²⁴
- *Chos thams cad kyi don bstan pa rdzogs chen thig le nyag gcig ye nas bya rtsal bral ba* (= *Theg pa'i spyi phud klong chen rab 'byams kyi rgyud*).²⁵ The text refers to *chos nyid zhi khro'i bar do*. A list of four *bar do*-s is presented: *skye gnas bar do*, *'chi kha sdug bsngal bar do*, *chos nyid zhi khro'i bar do*, *srid par 'khyams pa'i bar do*.²⁶ The text is said to be a *gter ma* of rDo rje gling pa (1346–1406).

Texts that, like the *Bar do lnga'i ngo sprod*,²⁷ do not mention a *chos nyid bar do* are also extant in the *rNying ma'i rgyud 'bum*, some examples are:

- *rDzogs pa chen po bar do gsang ba'i rgyud*.²⁸ A list of five *bar do*-s is presented: *rang bzhin gnas kyi bar do*, *ting nge 'dzin gyi bar do*, *rmi lam dag gi bar do*, *skye shi dag gi bar do*, *srid pa dag gi bar do*.²⁹ The *skye shi dag gi bar do* is, like in the *Bar do lnga'i ngo sprod*, defined as a *ḥar do* of dying: *'chi ba'i dus su shes par bya/ /*. The text is attributed to Śrīsiṃha and rDo rje yang dbang gter.
- *Byang chub sems kyi man ngag rin po che sgron ma 'bar ba'i rgyud*.³⁰ A list of four *bar do*-s is presented: *rang bzhin gnas pa'i bar do*, *skye shi gnyis kyi bar do*, *ting 'dzin snga phyi bar do*, *srid pa dag gi bar do*.³¹ The *rang bzhin gnas pa'i bar do* is clarified as: *kun bzhin sdong po bcud la bor/ sbrul gyi rkang lag 'byung ba bzhin/* and the *skye shi gnyis kyi bar do* is here

²⁰ Vol. LVI (Tib.Vol. *pa*), no.4757 (= *gTing skyes* no.110), pp. 229/2 – 270/288(6).

²¹ P. 3/17(1f).

²² P. 3/236(6).

²³ Vol. II, pp. 153–233, esp. p. 220, l.2 – p. 227, l.6.

²⁴ Orofino (1990), Blezer (1997).

²⁵ Vol. LV (Tib.Vol. *nya*), no.4643 (= *gTing skyes* no.65), pp. 301/290(3) – 343/586(7).

²⁶ P. 339/558(4f).

²⁷ A text from the *Ka dag rang 'byung rang shar*-cycle associated with Rig 'dzin rgod kyi ldem 'phru can (1337–1408), the text claims an 8th c. AD origin.

²⁸ Vol. LIV (Tib.Vol. *nga*), no.4558, pp. 465/526(6) – 465/531(7).

²⁹ P. 465/527(4–6).

³⁰ Vol. LIV (Tib.Vol. *ca*), no.4587, pp. 543/267(1) – 553/338(6).

³¹ P. 548/305(3–5).

associated with *thog ma'i ye shes ngos gzung la/ /dwa phrug ma dang phrad pa bzhin/ /*. The text is attributed to Vimalamitra and sNyags Jñāna(kumāra).

I should also briefly like to discuss an interesting text from the *Ma ni bka' 'bum*³² that omits a *chos nyid bar do*, the *Thugs rje chen po'i bar do mun gsal sgron me'i zhal gdams*.³³ Per Sørensen dates this text no later than 1150–60.³⁴ Among the six *bar do*-s listed (*rang bzhin gnas pa'i bar do*, *skye shi'i bar do*, *shes pa snga phyi'i bar do*, *rmi lam gyi bar do*, *'chi kha'i bar do*, *srid pa'i bar do*)³⁵ we find *rang bzhin gnas pa'i bar do* and *skye shi'i bar do* listed together, both of which, elsewhere, frequently refer to an intermediate state of life. The *rang bzhin gnas pa'i bar do* is unambiguously explained as the process of straying from *gzhi'i gnas lugs*, the fundamental natural state.³⁶ The *skye shi'i bar do* clearly refers to a regular *bar do* of life in which one can practice under the guidance of a compassionate *bla ma*.³⁷ A similar feature we shall also encounter in the *mGur 'bum*,³⁸ texts by Yang dgon pa (1213–58) and in the Bon Zhang zhung snyan rgyud text, the *Bar do 'od lnga ngos bzung ba'i man ngag*, all of which will be discussed below.

The term *shes pa snga phyi'i bar do* refers to clarifying conceptual thinking as wisdom, to let conceptual thought liberate of itself and arise as wisdom.³⁹ A substantial discussion of this *bar do*, or at least of *bar do*-s with similar names and descriptions, appears in a text attributed Mi la ras pa (1040/53–1123/35), the *Lam blo nas gcod pa bar do ngo sprod kyi gdams pa zab mo*, and in the *Bar do lam khyer 'khor 'das rgyun gcod kyi gdams ngag* (which does not refer to an author, but until further notice I will assume it is also attributed to Mi la ras pa), both are discussed below.

But the most remarkable feature of this text is that the *srid pa'i bar do* is divided into three parts, each associated with one of the *buddhakāya*-s, the first week with *chos sku* (pertaining to those of the highest capacities), the second with *longs sku* (pertaining to those of mediocre capacities), and the third onward with *sprul sku* (pertaining to those of the lowest capacities).⁴⁰ Usually, that is, in rNying ma texts that feature *chos nyid bar do* (*rdzogs sku*) and a *bar do* of dying (*chos sku*), the *srid pa'i bar do* would be associated with *sprul sku*, or, like we frequently find in 'bKa' rgyud' texts—no (after-death) *chos nyid bar do* present—it would pertain to *rdzogs sku* (the *bar do* of entering a womb would then be associated with *sprul sku*; the *bar do* of dying, of course, again, with *chos sku*). The text continues with a very elaborate presentation of *srid pa'i bar do*, discussing each consecutive week of seven,

³² A text from the *Gab pa mngon phyung*, brought to my attention by Dan Martin.

³³ The title is taken from the colophon.

³⁴ Sørensen (1994), p. 586, thanks to Dan Martin for pointing me to Sørensen's discussion.

³⁵ I consulted the Dharamsala-edition in two volumes, Vol. II, p. 365, l.6 – p. 387, l.2. On p. 375, l.6 – p. 376, l.2, Dharamsala 1995.

³⁶ P. 376, l.2 – p. 379, l.6.

³⁷ P. 379, l.6 – p. 380, l.5.

³⁸ The *mgur* are said to derive from Mi la ras pa, but were compiled much later by the madman from gTsang, gTsang smyon He ru ka Sangs rgyas rgyal mtshan (1452–1507), and are not of uniform antiquity.

³⁹ P. 380, l.5 – p. 381, l.2.

⁴⁰ P. 383, l.5 – p. 385, l.3.

the last part, from the fourteenth day onward, pertains to *sprul sku* and those of the lowest capacities, (*dbang po tha ma*).

An interesting point, to which I shall return a little later, is that in this rNying ma material a '*chi kha'i bar do*' is not always referred to by that name; actually, often it is not even (explicitly) mentioned at all. In the *rDzogs pa chen po bar do gsang ba'i rgyud*, for instance, it is, like in the *Bar do lnga'i ngo sprod*, referred to by another name, *skye shi dag gi bar do* (or *skye shi bar do*, successively). This *skye shi bar do* does in this case not have the meaning of an intermediate phase of life, which, at least among 'bKa' rgyud pa-s', would be a more usual denotation. Instead *rang bzhin gnas pa'i bar do* here apparently covers a *bar do* of life. Especially amongst rNying ma pa-s, *rang bzhin gnas pa'i bar do* is indeed a standard reference to a phase of life. In other texts the process of dying seems to be subsumed under the heading for a phase of life, that is, under *rang bzhin gyi bar do* or *skye shi'i bar do*. But other variation also exists. Later, when briefly updating 'bKa' rgyud' material, we shall see that Phag mo gru pa (1110–70), following La va pa, describes *rang bzhin gnas pa'i bar do* quite unambiguously as '*chi kha'i bar do*'. Apparently a *bar do* of dying was often thought to be associated with, or implied in, an intermediate phase of life, eventually even borrowing the designation(s) for such a *bar do* of life as a specific reference to the process of dying.

1-3. Further Embedding in Previous Research

After this first intermezzo, allow me to continue accommodating my current work a little further in previous research. The Bon *zhi khro bar do* as described in the *sNyan brgyud bar do thos grol gsal sgron chen mo*⁴¹ seems, at least as far as the dates of textual fixation/ discovery are concerned (Dam pa rang grol, born 1149 AD), to predate the description of a *chos nyid bar do* in the *ChB* (Karma gling pa, 14th AD). The *sNyan rgyud bar do thos grol* texts are highly ritualistic, more so than the somewhat more theoretical Buddhist *ChB*, but both put equally much emphasis on the description of a *zhi khro maṇḍala*. In general, though, there does not seem to be much overlap between the Buddhist and Bon *Bar do thos grol* texts. In my *Kar gling Zhi khro*, I concluded that a comparison of the *maṇḍala-s* of the *ChB* (and the *Zhi khro nges don snying po*)⁴² and the *sNyan rgyud bar do thos grol* texts, given that only the most generic similarities occur, does not yield enough common ground for establishing any sound hypothesis concerning a positive affiliation between these texts. Moreover, also apart from the descriptions of the *maṇḍala-s*, the *ChB* and the *sNyan rgyud bar do thos grol* texts do not suggest much of a relation of borrowing (or shared resources), that is, except for a rather conspicuous match in the summarising prayer formulas that conclude the descriptions of the groups of deities in the *maṇḍala-s* of both. As I reported there, these prayers seem to derive from a probably older version, as it might have been preserved in the *Bar do 'phrang sgröl gyi smon lam*.⁴³ In both instances the prayers show signs of editing and deviate from the

⁴¹ Cf. other recensions of this text, called *Zhi khro bar do 'phrang grol gyi thos grol las byang bag chags rang grol* and *sNyan rgyud thos grol bar do 'phrang grol chen po*; see bibliography.

⁴² By Ngag dbang kun dga' bstan 'dzin (1680–1728), for further data, see Blezer (1997), p. 3.

⁴³ For bibliographical references see Blezer (1997), p. 187.

version preserved in the *Bar do 'phrang sgrol gyi smon lam*. The shared prayers do not suggest a direct borrowing either way but rather a common source. I have not yet been able to pinpoint a source text beyond the *Bar do 'phrang sgrol gyi smon lam* (and I am not sure if I ever will).

Even though there is a rather strong connection between the Buddhist *chos nyid bar do* (and the Bon *zhi khro bar do*) and *zhi khro maṇḍala-s*, I nevertheless tried to be prudent in my *Kar gling Zhi khro* not to overstate the link between the *chos nyid (/bon nyid) bar do* and *zhi khro maṇḍala-s* in general. This is mainly because I suspect that those of the *bar do* variants which feature a more explicitly described *maṇḍala* might represent relatively late developments. To be more precise, even though most of the Buddhist *chos nyid bar do* descriptions that I am familiar with do at least refer to a *zhi khro maṇḍala* (so far I found only a few exceptions, mostly in very brief descriptions), I do think that certainly as far as older Bon literature and a (*bon nyid*) '*od gsal gyi bar do* is concerned it would be incorrect to identify the introduction of a *maṇḍala* with the conception of a (*bon nyid*) '*od gsal gyi bar do* as such.

2-1. Present Research, Bon (*Zhang zhung*) *sNyan rgyud* Material

In my current⁴⁴ research, I investigate early Bon texts on *bon nyid* and *zhi khro bar do*. The larger hypothesis of my project, in which the preliminary research results presented here are instrumental, is to provide a history of ideas and, as part of that, evidence for a possible temporal precedence of Bon (*bon nyid*) '*od gsal gyi bar do* over Buddhist *chos nyid bar do* speculations (at the moment the most likely hypothesis).

For this article, I shall specifically focus on texts from (*Zhang zhung*) *sNyan rgyud* traditions. Besides the *sNyan rgyud bar do thos grol* texts that I discussed in an earlier publication, I am also looking at other relatively early *sNyan rgyud* texts on these *bar do-s*, amongst others the *Ma bcos gnyug ma'i don bstan pa'i gdams pa* and *Bar do 'od lnga ngos bzung ba'i man ngag* (13th AD),⁴⁵ at a *sNyan rgyud rig pa gcer mthong* text, to wit, the *Bar do dus kyi sgron ma* (12th AD),⁴⁶ and at an old and better known *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud* text, the *sGron ma drug gi gdams pa* (traditionally dated to the 8th AD, but may be even

⁴⁴ [See introduction above.]

⁴⁵ One manuscript edition available, the texts were most probably recorded in the 13th AD; see bibliography.

⁴⁶ Two manuscript editions are available. The *Bar do dus kyi sgron ma* was apparently committed to writing in the 12th c. AD. One manuscript is reproduced in an edition of the *sNyan rgyud rig pa gcer mthong*-cycle, attributed to Bon zhig khyung nag (1103–83); see bibliography. The orthography and grammar of this text are exceptionally poor. Many passages show corruption in transmission. Interestingly enough these not only pertain to scribal errors that conform with the particular script in which these manuscripts tend to be written but they also often involve remarkable “phonetic” mistakes that could indeed be indicative of an oral transmission. If I may I should like to add that both the corruptions and the poor command of orthography and grammar provide interesting information regarding the people and traditions transmitting these rare texts. The other manuscript was reproduced in *Rare Bonpo Texts Belonging to the Abhidharma and sNyan rgyud rig pa gcer mthong Cycles*; see bibliography. The two manuscript editions differ very much and do not seem to relate directly.

as late as the 11th c. AD?)⁴⁷ and its two commentaries *sGron ma'i 'grel pa nyi 'od rgyan* (12th AD)⁴⁸ and *sGron ma drug gi dgongs don 'grel pa*.⁴⁹ Furthermore some brief *bar do* discussions are included in other *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud* texts, like the *Byang chub sems kyi gnad drug ces bya ba'i lag len*,⁵⁰ *'Khor lo bzhi sbrag*⁵¹, *Man ngag le'u brgyad pa*.⁵²

2-1-1. *Zhi khro*

As far as I can see now, evidence indeed confirms that (possibly) older conceptions of a (*bon nyid*) *'od gsal gyi bar do* do not focus on a *zhi khro maṇḍala*, actually, the ones that I have examined so far do not even mention 'visions' of such a *maṇḍala* for this *bar do* (at least not directly)—though I noticed that a reference to, most probably geometric, luminous forms and *maṇḍala-s* (so, not *zhi khro maṇḍala-s!*) does occur in the *'Khor lo bzhi sbrag*.⁵³ More evidence will be reviewed later. This might then differentiate the Bon *zhi khro bar do* of the Bon *Bar do thos grol* texts on a relative scale from an, in origin, (probably) older and more 'generic' concept of a *bon nyid ('od gsal gyi) bar do*, the first possibly being a later, more specific elaboration of the latter. I must state emphatically that the provisional dates connected with a written fixation of the material examined would at this stage not encourage, nor even allow, such a hypothesis. According to tradition (and as far as I can see this may well be true),⁵⁴ some (*Zhang zhung*) *sNyan rgyud* texts have been transmitted orally for some time.

In general the *chos nyid bar do* as it is presented in the *Nyi zla kha sbyor* and some of the (other) *rNying ma'i rgyud 'bum* texts mentioned, in many respects—e.g. the point of arising of an 'experience' of luminosity at death, the focus on generic 'experiences' of *sgra 'od zer gsum* rather than on an (elaborately described) *zhi khro maṇḍala*—shows more resemblance to early Bon presentations of a (*bon nyid*) *'od gsal gyi bar do* than to that of the *chos nyid bar do* as we find it described in the *ChB*.

⁴⁷ Partly edited and translated by Orofino (1990); traditional claim 8th AD: it is said to have been received in vision by Gyer spungs chen po snang bzher lod po from Ta pi hri tsa; see bibliography.

⁴⁸ Also partly edited and translated by Orofino (1990); compiled by Uri bsod nams rgyal mtshan (died 1133 AD); see bibliography.

⁴⁹ Probably somewhere in the late 13th c. AD, written by 'Og blon sgom chen bKra shis shes rab for Bru sgom rgyal ba g-yung drung (1242–1290)? See bibliography.

⁵⁰ See esp. p. 447, l.4 – p. 448; attributed to Bla ma Ya ngal (gong bkra ba chen po); see bibliography.

⁵¹ See esp. p. 462, l.4 – p. 464; thanks to dGe bshes rNam rgyal Nyi ma brag dkar and Donatella Rossi for bringing this interesting text to my attention; see bibliography.

⁵² See esp. p. 500, l.1 – p. 501; also said to have been received in vision by Gyer spungs chen po snang bzher lod po from Kun tu bzang po in the form of Ta pi hri tsa; see bibliography.

⁵³ On this text see Karmay (1998), pp. 85–102, esp. pp. 97f.

⁵⁴ Compare for instance the *Bar do dus kyi sgron ma* (1972), p. 219, ll.6f., this is part of an elaboration on *sgra 'od zer gsum* at death, and the *Bar do dus kyi sgron ma* (1976), p. 368, l.10 – p. 369, l.1.

2-1-2. Doubling of 'Od gsal 'Experience'

This issue moreover seems to relate to a perceived 'inconsistency' in Buddhist *chos nyid bar do* traditions regarding the supposed position of an 'experience' of 'od gsal, which I already briefly noted in my *Kar gling Zhi khro*, i.e., whether the (first) confrontation with (the) clear light (of death) is placed at the end of the 'chi kha'i bar do or at the beginning of the *chos nyid bar do*.⁵⁵ If the former is the case, like, e.g., in the *ChB* and Klong chen pa's (1306/8–63) 'Chi kha'i bar do'i gsal 'debs,⁵⁶ different forms are distinguished, in this case a 'chi ba'i and *chos nyid kyi 'od gsal*. The disparity regarding this between texts like the *Nyi zla kha sbyor*,⁵⁷ but also other *rNying ma'i rgyud 'bum* texts⁵⁸ and the *ChB*, reflects a difference in focus. The *Nyi zla kha sbyor* is apparently more geared toward generic 'experiences' of sound, light and rays, *sgra 'od zer gsum*, and has the 'od gsal/ *chos nyid* 'experience' as a central theme in the *chos nyid bar do*. In the *ChB*, on the other hand, the emphasis has shifted toward highly diversified 'experiences' of *zhi khro*, while featuring the first 'experience' of ('chi ba'i) 'od gsal in another, the 'chi kha'i bar do (which, regarding the stages of dissolution at death, seems a logical position for such an 'experience'). The disruption of a more coherent description of a *chos nyid bar do* in (seven) stages by the insertion of a fully described *zhi khro maṇḍala* in the *ChB* is, as I noted earlier,⁵⁹ still very much apparent in the redaction of the text.

The (*Zhang zhung*) *sNyan rgyud* presentations of the arising of a vision of *kun gzhi* in the context of death that I have seen also do not show such an

⁵⁵ Blezer (1997), pp. 104f.

⁵⁶ The 'Chi kha'i bar do'i gsal 'debs by Klong chen pa dri med 'od zer (1306/8–63), in his *sNying thig ya bzhi*. Even though the text cites the *Nyi zla kha sbyor*, a *thun mong du 'char ba'i 'od gsal* and a *lhun grub rin po che'i (snang ba longs spyod rdzogs pa'i sku'i) 'od gsal* are distinguished (in the first and second *bar do*-s respectively).

⁵⁷ See bibliography, pp. 153–233, esp. p. 203, l.6 – p. 220, l.1, and p. 220, l.2 – p. 227, l.6.

⁵⁸ Taipei-edition (see bibliography), discussed in more detail above:

- *Rin po che 'phags lam bkod pa'i rgyud*, see esp. p. 123/858(5f), p. 123/859(3–5), and p. 123/859(7) – 860(2); no specific 'chi kha'i bar do mentioned, just a generic *skye shi gnyis kyi bar do* (without the specific meaning of a *bar do* of dying like e.g. in the *Bar do lnga'i ngo sprod*; see Blezer (1997), p. 37);
- *sKu thams cad kyi snang ba ston pa dbang rdzogs pa rang byung chen po'i rgyud*, see esp. p. 3/17(1f), p. 3/17(2f & 3–5), and p. 7/44(3) – 45(1); no specific 'chi kha'i bar do mentioned, just a generic *rang bzhin gnas pa'i bar do* (though briefly referring to leaving the body behind (*de nas lus 'di bor ba//...*) but without the specific meaning of a *bar do* of dying such as in the text of Phag mo gru pa discussed later);
- *Chos thams cad kyi don bstan pa rdzogs chen thig le nyag gcig ye nas bya rtsal bral ba (= Theg pa'i spyi phud klong chen rab 'byams kyi rgyud)*, see esp. p. 339/558(4f), p. 339/559(4f & 6f) & 560(3f & 5f), p. 340/561(3) – 565(1), and 340/565(2) – 341/569(7), a 'chi kha sduḡ bsngal gyi bar do is mentioned;
- *sPros bral don gsal chen po'i rgyud*, esp. p. 262/236(5f, 6 & 7) and pp. 262/237(6ff), no specific 'chi kha'i bar do mentioned, just a generic *rang bzhin dag pa'i bar do* (without the specific meaning of a *bar do* of dying like e.g. in the *Slob dpon chen po la ba pa'i bar do rnam pa gsum* of Phag mo gru pa discussed later), the *bar do*-section is identical to the one in:
- *Thig le kun gsal chen po'i rgyud*, see esp. p. 292/443(5f & 7) and pp. 292/444(6ff).

I must repeat here that considering the brevity of the *bar do*-discussions and the absence of a specific 'chi kha'i bar do in most of these texts, I should rather not give too much weight to this evidence.

⁵⁹ Blezer (1997), pp. 124f.

awkward double reference. In the commentaries to the *sGron ma drug gi gdams pa*, for instance, more elaborate and explicit descriptions are appended to a brief reference to the last dissolution at death,⁶⁰ but the elaboration on *kun gzhi* is not explicitly separated from the *bon nyid 'od gsal* descriptions that follow, in the sense of being viewed as a 'first arising' clearly set apart from a 'second one', so, here too, a double reference does not feature prominently. I shall review some more evidence later.

A most interesting point is that the commentaries, the *sGron ma'i 'grel pa nyi 'od rgyan* and the *sGron ma drug gi dgongs don 'grel pa*, reserve a special name for this last phase of dying, they style this phase *ye shes kyi bar do*,⁶¹ as if it were another, separate *bar do*, which is however not counted or listed, that is to say, it is most probably a descriptive designation rather than a separate category. It does, however, resonate with the casual way in which, as we shall see later, in the *Bar do 'od lnga ngos bzung ba'i man ngag a bon nyid 'od gsal gyi bar do* is distinguished at the beginning of a *srid pa'i bar do*, while it does, in fact, not appear in the list of *bar do*-s of this text.⁶²

2-1-3. *Bar do* of Dying and *Bar do* of 'Reality as It Is'

Needless to say, textual evidence supports that a *kun gzhi/ 'od gsal*-like 'experience' as such would indeed conclude the process of dying. What might be more worthy of mention here is that a *bon nyid* or *chos nyid bar do* may well be a specific elaboration on a theme from that (last) part of a *bar do* of dying, elaborating and projecting a *kun gzhi/ 'od gsal* 'experience' into 'the' after-death state (originally: *bar ma do'i srid pa, srid pa'i bar do*) as an 'experience' of *bon nyid/ chos nyid*, which in due course came to be distinguished as a separate (*bon nyid*) *'od gsal/ chos nyid kyi bar do*.

This already reflects clearly in the names used in Bon texts for an intermediate state of reality as it is, to wit, *bon nyid 'od gsal (gyi) bar do*, but too, and more pregnantly, in the above designation *'od gsal gyi bar do*,⁶³ and also in the concrete descriptions of that *bar do*. That name would, e.g., in 'bKa' rgyud' texts, rather be associated with a *bar do* of dying.

The above hypothesis moreover receives support from the curiously casual reference to a *bon nyid 'od gsal gyi bar do* in the *Bar do 'od lnga ngos bzung ba'i man ngag* (13th AD?).⁶⁴ The *Bar do 'od lnga ngos bzung ba'i man ngag* lists six *bar do*-s (*gnas pa gzhi'i bar do, skye shi gnyis kyi bar do, rmi lam bag chags kyi bar do, nyams su len pa ting nge 'dzin gyi bar do, mi rtag 'gyur ba 'chi kha'i bar*

⁶⁰ See p. 289, 1.4, the *sGron ma'i 'grel pa nyi 'od rgyan* comments on this phrase on p. 345, 1.6 – p. 346, 1.1 and the *sGron ma drug gi dgongs don 'grel pa* on p. 411, 11.3–5.

⁶¹ See the references to the *sGron ma drug*-commentaries above, see also the *sGron ma'i 'grel pa nyi 'od rgyan* on p. 349, 1.4.

⁶² The *Byang chub sems kyi gnad drug ces bya ba'i lag len* also briefly describes a (*bon nyid*) *'od gsal gyi bar do* on p. 447, 1.4 – p. 448, 1.1. See also The '*Khor lo bzhi sbrag*, which like the *sGron ma drug gi gdams pa* has a more elaborate version on p. 462, 1.4 – p. 464, 1.1. I should like to note here that the *Byang chub sems kyi gnad drug ces bya ba'i lag len* and the '*Khor lo bzhi sbrag* do speak of *'od gsal gyi bar do*, instead of, or, as far as the latter is concerned, alongside, a *bon nyid 'od gsal gyi bar do*.

⁶³ See for instance the *sGron ma'i 'grel pa nyi 'od rgyan* on p. 349, 11.1&5, the *Byang chub sems kyi gnad drug ces bya ba'i lag len* on p. 447, 1.6, and the '*Khor lo bzhi sbrag*, p. 462, 11.4f.

⁶⁴ A more elaborate discussion regarding this date will follow in my forthcoming book on the intermediate state of reality as it is.

do, and *shi nas pha rol 'phos pa srid pa'i bar do*)⁶⁵ but does not include a *bon nyid 'od gsal gyi bar do* in the list, while later, almost on an aside, such a *bar do* is nevertheless distinguished at the end of the *bar do* of dying and the beginning of the *srid pa'i bar do*.⁶⁶

Another interesting point is the inclusion of *gnas pa gzhi'i bar do* next to *skye shi gnyis kyi bar do* in the same list, a phenomenon that we also find in the Buddhist *Thugs rje chen po'i bar do mun gsal sgron me'i zhal gdams* (*Gab pa mngon phyung, Ma ni bka' 'bum*), but that is also present in 'Mi la ras pa's' *mGur 'bum* and in Yang dgon pa's *Bar do 'phrang sgrol*. The *gnas pa gzhi'i bar do* here does not refer to *rang bzhin gnas pa'i bar do* as a *bar do* of life, but to a process of straying from *kun gzhi*.⁶⁷ This meaning might, in a more general sense, well be implicit in the designation *rang bzhin* of *rang bzhin gnas pa (gzhi)'i bar do* as such. There is moreover no doubt that *skye shi'i bar do* refers to a phase of life here.⁶⁸

Lastly, I should like to point out briefly that this text features an oblique reference to *zhi khro'i lha* in the description of '*chi kha'i bar do* when referring to the relevant preparatory practices one could or should do while still alive.⁶⁹

Compare the list of *bar do*-s in the *Bar do 'od lnga ngos bzung ba'i man ngag* to the slightly different set of *bar do*-s listed in the 12th c. AD(?) *Bar do dus kyi sgron ma*⁷⁰ (to wit: *rang bzhin gnas pa'i bar do, ting nge 'dzin gyi bar do, rmi lam gyi bar do, skye shi'i bar do, bon nyid 'od gsal gyi bar do, and srid pa'i bar do*).⁷¹ Noteworthy is that one edition (the 1976 one) reads a curious '*jig rten gyi bar do* instead of *ting nge 'dzin gyi bar do* (maybe a convergence with the '*jigs pa dus kyi bar do* mentioned later?).

In this text, too, *rang bzhin gnas pa gzhi'i bar do* and *skye shi'i bar do* appear in the same list. Unlike in the *Bar do 'od lnga ngos bzung ba'i man ngag*, however, *rang bzhin gnas pa gzhi'i bar do* here seems to refer to a phase of life,⁷² while *skye shi'i bar do* here clearly refers to a phase of dying,⁷³ the name '*chi kha'i bar do* is not mentioned.

Also interesting is a reference to four more *bar do*-s that are not included in the discussion here (*chags pa gzhi'i bar do, gnas pa tshe'i bar do, 'jigs pa dus kyi bar do, stong pa srid pa'i bar do*).⁷⁴ This set of four *bar do*-s is discussed in the *sNyan rgyud rig pa gcer mthong gi gzhung*.⁷⁵ The text then proceeds to explain (only) four *bar do*-s of the first list further, to wit, *rang bzhin gnas pa'i bar do, skye shi'i bar do, bon nyid 'od gsal gyi bar do, and srid pa'i bar do*.

When we follow the text of the *Bar do dus kyi sgron ma* from the description of *skye shi'i bar do* as it continues into the first part of *bon nyid 'od gsal gyi bar do*,⁷⁶ no such awkward double reference to *kun gzhi* or '*od gsal*

⁶⁵ P. 345, ll.1–3.

⁶⁶ P. 356, ll.2–7.

⁶⁷ See the description on p. 345, l.3 – p. 346, l.1.

⁶⁸ Cf. p. 346, ll.1f.

⁶⁹ See p. 346, l.6 – p. 347, l.3.

⁷⁰ See a very helpful article by Achard (1998) on *Bon zhig khyung nag* (1103–83) and the *Rig pa gcer mthong*, which is the cycle that this text belongs to.

⁷¹ P. 377, l.9 (1976) and p. 236, ll.3f (1972).

⁷² P. 378, l.1 (1976) and p. 236, l.6 (1972).

⁷³ P. 378, l.2 (1976) and p. 237, l.1 (1972).

⁷⁴ P. 377, ll.9f (1976) and p. 236, ll.4f (1972).

⁷⁵ P. 440, l.2 – p. 442, l.2.

⁷⁶ P. 378, l.3 – p. 379, l.9 (1976) and p. 237, l.1 – p. 239, l.5 (1972).

arising occurs. Moreover there is a tantalising brief reference to deities ('bring gis <'od lnga> rigs lnga longs spyod rdzogs pa'i sku rnam shes par'⁷⁷ bya'o), stating that mediocre (no derogatory connotation implied) practitioners should understand the five lights as the *rigs lnga*, note well, it does not state that these five classes of deities would be arising as visions (a similar reference also appears in a Bon text from a different *rDzogs chen* tradition, the *Bar do'i ngo sprod kyi gdams pa* in the *Yang rtse klong chen* cycle discovered by gZhod ston dngos grub grags 'bar in 1088)!⁷⁸ This clearly shows at which point deities might have entered such a *bar do*, i.e., at the description of the 'experiences' of coloured lights; even the redaction of a relatively late text like the *ChB* still clearly shows how the insertion of a full description of the *maṇḍala* explodes a more coherent series of (seven) stages that describe general 'experiences' of luminosity (which features in most of the Buddhist and Bon descriptions).⁷⁹

It is fascinating to see how the (*Zhang zhung*) *sNyan rgyud* material adduced above in its peculiarities addresses and provides hints at possible developments, and at times even clarifies problems in later Buddhist presentations, like, for instance, in the *ChB*. But up to now this has very much been a finger painting session, allowing a large distance to the concrete historical contexts of the concepts that appear in these several texts. Most of the details of transmission and the concrete points of exchange still remain to be established at this point. What I hope to have made clear so far is that a bird's eye view of speculations on the subject reveals a framework and some directions in which to start working out further details. Especially with regard to the double reference to 'od gsal, as an 'experience' that the process of dying culminates in and as an important ingredient for speculations on an intermediate state of 'reality as it is', a closer examination of descriptions of the last phases of dying in 'bKa' rgyud' material will be revealing.

2.2 Intermezzo II, 'bKa' rgyud' Material

If one is interested in the position of 'od gsal in relation to *bar do*, a closer look at the writings of early bKa' rgyud pa-s and their ancestors is indispensable. In 'bKa' rgyud' texts, against a background of various versions of *chos drug*, we find very clear and elaborate descriptions of a 'chi kha'i bar do (though not necessarily under that very name) and 'od gsal 'experiences'. Not rarely 'od gsal 'experiences' are divided there into (two/three) separate categories.

In general, 'bKa' rgyud' material in its *bar do* presentations strikes me as fairly faithful to *abhidharma*. Both the descriptions and the classification of *bar do*-s are strongly reminiscent of presentations in texts like the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, quite often they have incorporated literal quotes. As I have noted elsewhere,⁸⁰ the most remarkable feature of early 'bKa' rgyud' discussions of *bar do*-s that I have been able to consult so far is that a *chos*

⁷⁷ Emend: *rnam shes par*.

⁷⁸ See the *Bla med rdzogs pa chen po yang rtse klong chen gyi khrid gzhung cha lag dang bcas pa'i gsung pod*, edited by Sherab Wangyal, Vol. I, p. 673, l.4 – p. 674, l.1, Dolanji 1973.

⁷⁹ See Blezer (1997), pp. 124f.

⁸⁰ See Blezer (1997), pp. 28f., esp. n.128, based on a few telling samples (*Mi la ras pa'i mgur 'bum* and a version of the *Nā ro pa'i rnam thar*).

nyid bar do as a separate phase does not seem to be distinguished, the *chos nyid bar do* rather seems to be a specific *rDzogs chen* development. The additional evidence adduced here has confirmed my earlier impressions, but more, early material needs to be studied to be absolutely sure. Typically one will find a trio of *bar do*-s (one or two with regard to death and dying), and even though the nomenclature is not always consistent, the material I have examined so far fits well into Vasubandhu-s scheme of (*pūrvakālabhava*), *mṛtyu-* or *marāṇabhava*, *antarābhava* and *upapattibhava*. Moreover the *bar do*-s are often characterised or distinguished on basis of the practices of (especially) the *chos drug* they are associated with (but also by the kind of subtle body being purified and, of course, the *buddhakāya* being realised, which is, in turn, related to the level of the practitioner). Descriptions of the stages of dissolution at death are most elaborate in texts of 'bKa' rgyud pa-s' and the stages are usually spelled out meticulously; a *bar do* of dying and 'experiences' of 'od *gsal* seems to be very much in focus.

Apart from the texts adduced in my 'Kar *gling Zhi khro*' (mainly the *Chos drug gi man ngag*, 'Mi la ras pa's' *mGur 'bum* and *Nā ro pa's rNam thar*)⁸¹ I should like to adduce some more early but also some later material here. The first text that I should like to discuss is attributed to Khyung po rnal 'byor (probably 11th–12th AD), to wit, the *Bar do rnam gsum gyi zhal gdams*.⁸² A list of three *bar do*-s appears: *skye shi'i bar do*, *rmi lam bar do*, and *srid pa bar do*.⁸³ This text features a listing of (four) phases of dissolution of gross and subtle (states of) conceptual thought that deviates from the regular scheme of three (*snang mched thob gsum*),⁸⁴ the last phase, i.e. *nye bar thob pa*, is, as far as my present knowledge goes, usually not distinguished. We do find a distinction of 'od *gsal* into *sgom pa'i 'od gsal* and *rang bzhin gyi 'od gsal*, but both clearly pertain to a phase of dying, so there is no doubling of an 'od *gsal* 'experience' over different *bar do*-s.⁸⁵

Mi la ras pa (1040/53–1123/35) is supposed to have written a text specifically on *bar do*, to wit, the *bDe mchog snyan brgyud kyi lam blo nas gcod pa bar do ngo sprod kyi gdams ngag zab mo*⁸⁶ and the *Lam blo nas gcod pa bar do ngo sprod kyi gdams pa zab mo*,⁸⁷ but the authorship particularly of the latter is not completely clear. The colophon of the first-mentioned version identifies the text as an instruction by Mi la ras pa to Ras chung rdo rje brags pa (1084–1161).⁸⁸ There is no clear indication of authorship in the second version, even though I remain alerted by this datum, I shall, as for now, rely on the attribution of the other version. Like in the *mGur 'bum*, the classification of *bar do*-s is not demarcated very clearly. The term *bar do* seems to be used somewhat more fluidly and metaphorically here for all kinds of transitional situations. Even though three *bar do*-s appear as a basic pattern, other *bar do*-s

⁸¹ See Blezer (1997), pp. 26–31.

⁸² See bibliography.

⁸³ P. 264, ll.2f. This list is briefly explained on p. 264, ll.3–6 when the basis of purification is explained.

⁸⁴ P. 266, l.1.

⁸⁵ P. 268, l.5 – p. 270, l.2, explaining *nye bar thob pa*.

⁸⁶ See bibliography.

⁸⁷ Other edition of the same text; see bibliography.

⁸⁸ See the colophon, after the colophon title on p. 73, l.3 (i.e. on p. 73, l.3 – p. 76, l.2) the text is identified as an instruction by Mi la ras pa to Ras chung rdo rje brags pa (1084–1161), see esp. p. 76, l.2.

are also distinguished. Thus we can, for instance, find three familiar-sounding *bar do*-s listed and discussed briefly, to wit: *skye shi'i bar do*, *bag chags rmi lam gyi bar do*, and *snang mun srid pa'i bar do*,⁸⁹ all in relation to the first category of a more generic classification of *bar do*-s into three main groups: *lus ldan gzhi'i bar do*, *nges shes rtags kyi bar do*, and *ngo sprod 'bras bu'i bar do*.⁹⁰

With regard to the other headings all kinds of further types of '*bar do*' are mentioned as well, some of these are of the more familiar kind, for instance *srid pa 'chi ka ma'i bar do*,⁹¹ but also more curious and at times confusing categories appear, like a *chos nyid bar do*,⁹² which here, quite clearly, pertains to being introduced to *chos nyid* while being alive and not to a phase immediately after death. The *skye shi shes pa snga phyi'i bar do* is associated with the conceptual vacuum between two thoughts (*shes pa snga phyi gnyis kyi bar ...*).⁹³ Such a *shes pa snga phyi gnyis kyi bar do* also appears in the *Bar do lam khyer 'khor 'das rgyun gcod kyi gdams ngag*, which will be discussed anon, but it is especially prominent in the *Thugs rje chen po'i bar do mun gsal sgron me'i zhal gdams*, which we discussed at the end of the presentation of rNying ma material. The classification is rather complicated; I shall not discuss it here. Three types of '*od gsal*' are distinguished, '*chi ka'i 'od gsal*', *rang bzhin gyi 'od gsal*, and '*bras bu'i 'od gsal*', all of these pertain to a *bar do* of dying.⁹⁴ The text furthermore describes a *snang mun srid pa bar do*,⁹⁵ an '*od gsal*' 'experience' is not described for this phase. A (*rigs mthun*) *mngal gyi bar do* is also discussed.⁹⁶

See also another text in the same volume, the *Bar do lam khyer 'khor 'das rgyun gcod kyi gdams ngag* (as said, I found no indication of the author).⁹⁷ Here we find a related discussion with a similar free use of the term *bar do*. There is no separate listing or discussion, but the basic distinction seems to be again into three, *skye shi'i bar do*, *rmi lam bar do*, *srid pa bar do*. *Srid pa 'chi ka ma'i bar do* is also mentioned⁹⁸ as is *shes pa snga phyi'i bar do*. The last-mentioned *bar do* features more prominently in the previous text and, as said, especially in the *Thugs rje chen po'i bar do mun gsal sgron me'i zhal gdams*, discussed above.

In the *Bar do'i dmar khrid*⁹⁹ sGam po pa (1079–1153) distinguishes three *bar do*-s: a so-called 'first', 'second' and 'third'. They correspond to a *bar do* of dying (associated with understanding '*od gsal*'), to a *srid pa'i bar do* (associated with understanding *sgyu lus*) and to a *bar do* of being reborn (associated with closing the door of the womb, *mngal sgo 'gag pa*).¹⁰⁰ sGam po pa appends this division to a quote from the *bKa' yang dag pa'i tshad ma zhes bya ba mkha' 'gro ma'i man ngag*, which is attributed to Ti lo pa (988–1069).¹⁰¹

⁸⁹ P. 100, l.2 – p. 101, l.3.

⁹⁰ P. 100, ll.1f.

⁹¹ E.g. on p. 103, l.2.

⁹² E.g. on p. 103, l.3.

⁹³ See p. 105, ll.3ff.

⁹⁴ P. 111, l.5 – p.113, l.1, esp. the last two lines.

⁹⁵ For the *snang mun* part in the name of this *bar do* see, for instance, p. 116, l.2.

⁹⁶ P. 115, ll.4f, discussed further on p. 121, ll.1ff.

⁹⁷ Ibid., pp. 129–142.

⁹⁸ E.g. p. 137, l.2.

⁹⁹ In his collected works, see bibliography.

¹⁰⁰ P. 54, l.7 – p. 55, l.2 (see also p. 55, ll.2–4).

¹⁰¹ P. 53, ll.4f (see also ll.5f).

That text indeed clearly discusses such a threefold *bar do* system in the preceding part (which is absent in the anonymous *bsTan 'gyur* version, see bibliography); but there is some reason for doubt about the direct attribution to Ti lo pa.¹⁰² In the *Bar do'i dmar khrid* we find a distinction into the clear light realised in meditative practice and the ground luminosity that dawns at death, which in other texts is usually classified as son and mother clear light. '*Od gsal* is not differentiated here any further.

Another text attributed to sGam po pa, the *Bar do'i man ngag*,¹⁰³ also distinguishes three *bar do-s*,¹⁰⁴ but distinguishes the 'experiences' of luminosity of the second *bar do* as a separate category of '*od gsal, rang bzhin gyi 'od gsal*. It thus distinguishes three '*od gsal* 'experiences': *goms pa'i 'od gsal, bsam gtan gyi 'od gsal*, and *rang bzhin gyi 'od gsal ba*.¹⁰⁵ Here we see a distinction similar to that in the *ChB* and *Klong chen pa's 'Chi kha'i bar do'i gsal 'debs*, one '*od gsal* 'experience', the *rang bzhin gyi 'od gsal*, is associated with the *bar do* following the phase of dying, in this case, of course, the *srid pa'i bar do*.

In sGam po pa's *Bar do bzhi gdams pa*¹⁰⁶ we find a minimal list of three *bar do-s* that is reminiscent of the one associated with Nā ro pa (1016–1100)¹⁰⁷ (*skye shi'i bar do, rmi lam bar do*, and *srid pa bar do*).¹⁰⁸ In another text, the *Bar do gsum gyi gdams pa lags*,¹⁰⁹ this scheme is indeed explicitly associated with Nā ro pa and described more elaborately.¹¹⁰ These two texts show the difference between the classifications attributed to Nā ro pa and Ti lo pa; compare also the system attributed to La va pa below.

We should also have a brief look at texts by Phag mo gru pa (1110–70) (quoting La va pa) and Zhang g-yu brag pa (1123–93).¹¹¹ In his collected works, Phag mo gru pa, like sGam po pa, also distinguishes three *bar do-s*, the first associated with '*od gsal*, the second with *sgyu lus*, the third with closing the door of the womb (*mngal sgo 'gag pa*).¹¹² He follows a classification attributed to La va pa.

Apparently, the text got corrupted at the enumeration of *bar do-s*, there seems to be evidence of a conflation of different schemes. Unfortunately, I do not have the text at hand, let alone different versions to consult, so the following must necessarily remain very tentative. There seems to be a scheme of three *bar do-s* discussed in which the first *bar do*, designated as a *bsgom pa'i bar do*, apparently refers to a *bar do* of life in which practice and

¹⁰² Many thanks to Dan Martin for identifying this text as the source; the quote is on f.9r, l.6 – f.9v., l.1, Kalimpong 1962, I-Tib-75. The preceding part, f.9r, ll.2–6, esp. l.2, clearly identifies the system of three *bar do-s* as indeed deriving from Ti lo pa. Yet the colophon indicates that the text was not actually *written* by Ti lo pa, but by Nā ro pa (1016–1100) (and Mar pa (1012–99)), which should leave some room for doubt.

¹⁰³ Vol.II, pp. 344–348.

¹⁰⁴ P. 344, ll.5–7.

¹⁰⁵ P. 344, l.7 – p. 345, l.1.

¹⁰⁶ Vol.II, p. 418, ll.3–6.

¹⁰⁷ See Blezer (1997), pp. 27f., see also the following text.

¹⁰⁸ P. 418, ll.3f.

¹⁰⁹ Vol.II, pp. 428f.

¹¹⁰ P. 229, ll.1–3.

¹¹¹ Thanks again to Dan Martin for pointing me to these texts and sharing an electronic and a photocopied version, and for providing bibliographical data.

¹¹² See bibliography. Since I do not have the original text at hand right now I have to rely on Dan Martin's e-text. See Vol. III, ff.209–211.

purification can take place. A second *bar do* is mentioned, a *srid pa'i bar do*, which is divided into three: *rang bzhin gnas kyi bar do*, *sgyu lus bsgoms pa'i bar do*, and *mngal gyi grong khyer dgag pa*, two of which, to wit, the ones pertaining to an 'intermediate state' proper and a phase of being reborn, one would indeed expect being expounded here. The text then continues discussing these three subdivisions, never finishing the main enumeration. Though such a subdivision of *bar ma do'i srid pa* or *srid pa bar do* seems well possible in theory (but also in a concrete text, e.g., *Thugs rje chen po'i bar do mun gsal sgron me'i zhal gdams*), I suspect that conflation has occurred. What immediately comes to mind is the quite common differentiation of individual capacities regarding *bar do* (practice) into three categories, to wit, practitioners of a best, mediocre and lower capacity. This may here have erroneously been read as another distinction into three *bar do-s*, which, as we saw above, 'bKa' rgyud pa-s', here and elsewhere, believe to hinge upon the very issue of capacity.

Such a differentiation into different capacities, in general, is used very frequently in *bar do* discussions. In 'bKa' rgyud' tradition it seems to be rather common to make a distinction into a superior class that should focus on 'od gsal, a mediocre class that should concentrate on *sgyu lus*, and an inferior class that should attempt to close the door of the womb.¹¹³ Anyway, regarding the seemingly poor transmission of the text, I am not sure whether what is here ascribed to Phag mo gru pa is actually faithfully representing a set of *bar do-s* of La va pa.

A most curious point is that the *bar do* of dying is, as was briefly mentioned above in Intermezzo I, clearly designated as *gnas pa'i gzhi'i bar do* here.

Zhang rin po che, in his *Nā ro pa'i bar do'i gdam ngag la bar do rnam pa gsum*,¹¹⁴ adheres to the minimal tripartite *bar do* classification that by now is already familiar from *Nā ro pa* (*skye shi bar do*, *rmi lam bar do*, *srid pa'i bar do*) and lists them with due reference to *Nā ro pa*.¹¹⁵

In the *Bar do 'phrang sgröl* texts contained in the collected works of Yang dgon pa rgyal mtshan dpal (1213–58)¹¹⁶ we can find a longer list of six *bar do-s*: *rang bzhin gnas pa'i bar do*, *rnam smin skye shi'i bar do*, *ting nge 'dzin bsam gtan gyi bar do*, *bag chags rmi lam gyi bar do*, *lugs zlog 'chi ka'i bar do*, and *lugs 'byung srid pa'i bar do*.¹¹⁷ Like in the Bon texts, the *Bar do 'od lnga ngos bzung ba'i man ngag* and *Bar do dus kyi sgron ma*, a *rang bzhin gnas pa'i bar do* is listed together with a *skye shi'i bar do*. Apparently, like in the *Bar do 'od lnga ngos bzung ba'i man ngag* (but unlike in the *Bar do dus kyi sgron ma*), here too, the former seems to refer to straying from (or being established in) *kun gzhi*¹¹⁸ and the latter to an intermediate phase of life.¹¹⁹ The same phenomenon also occurs in the *mGur 'bum* attributed to Mi la ras pa and in the *Thugs rje chen po'i bar do mun gsal sgron me'i zhal gdams*.

¹¹³ See, e.g., Zhang Rin po che in the *Nā ro pa'i bar do gdam ngag la bar do rnam pa gsum*, f.182r, l.5 – v, l.1.

¹¹⁴ See bibliography.

¹¹⁵ F.181v, ll.4f.

¹¹⁶ See bibliography.

¹¹⁷ See the *Bar do 'phrang sgröl gyi gzhung gdam pa* (see bibliography). On p. 563, l.5 – p. 564, l.3.

¹¹⁸ See pp. 564, l.4ff.

¹¹⁹ Pp. 567, ll.6ff.

Yang dgon pa, in his description of dying, clearly refers to the arising of 'od gsal but does not distinguish several types, as sGam po pa does.¹²⁰ The *Bar do 'phrang sgrol* texts by Yang dgon pa provide an elaborate discussion of the last phase of death and an 'experience' of 'od gsal, but, from the present perspective, not too many new ideas are added to the stock that is already extant in earlier texts and which Yang dgon pa (partly) draws upon.¹²¹

Conclusions

A *bon nyid* and *chos nyid bar do* 'experience' after death is obviously (thematically) connected to a 'chi ba'i 'od gsal 'experience' and can, as I already indicated in my *Kar gling Zhi khro*,¹²² be seen as an enlargement of the very first part of the more archaic concept of a *bar ma do'i srid pa* or *srid pa'i bar do*. The increased focus of attention was probably largely due to the prominence of practices dealing with *bon nyid/ chos nyid/ kun gzhi/ 'od gsal*. Later still, more elaborate visions of *zhi khro* may have been introduced under the influence of certain tantric and *rDzogs chen* practices,¹²³ giving rise to, for instance, a specific *zhi khro bar do* in Bon speculation and the *chos nyid bar do* as we know it from the *ChB*.

Moreover, at the moment it does not seem unlikely to me that the doubling of the 'od gsal 'experience' in the *ChB* is due to the time and circumstances of compilation of this highly composite text, developing at a time when speculations on *chos nyid bar do* and *zhi khro bar do* (and, of course, on a 'chi kha'i bar do and cognates) were already common knowledge, and combining a version of a *bar do* of dying—I am inclined to look at 'bKa' rgyud' traditions here (which the allotted space for this article does not permit me to present now)—that includes explicit reference to 'od gsal 'experience' with a fully developed *zhi khro bar do*-like *chos nyid bar do* that, of course, also features a reference to 'od gsal/ chos nyid, but has re-focused on a description of *zhi khro*. All this apparently without being any longer aware of the fact that a 'zhi khro bar do' as such derives from descriptions of *chos nyid kyi 'od gsal*, which thematically are again strongly indebted to the 'od gsal episodes from descriptions of the process of dying; thus juxtaposing two similar topics. This would—unless, of course, the diversification of 'od gsal would be doctrinal and intended rather than a result or by-product of compilation—support the eclectic nature of the *ChB* as compared to, for instance, the *Nyi zla kha sbyor*. It also suggests a later date of fixation, which, I guess, not many would doubt anyway), and would further underline the conclusion already forwarded in my *Kar gling Zhi khro*,¹²⁴ that the *ChB* shows many signs of editing and compilation.¹²⁵

¹²⁰ See pp. 600, 1.2ff. and p. 606, 1.2ff.

¹²¹ An interesting text in this collection, which also deserves to be briefly mentioned here, is the *Bar do 'phrang sgrol gyi lo rgyus tshé rings ma'i zhus len* (see bibliography), it presents some historical considerations.

¹²² With reference to Back (1979).

¹²³ Regarding which I shall not elaborate here, as this will be the subject of subsequent research to be published in later work. See also Germano (1994).

¹²⁴ See Blezer (1997), e.g. p. 93.

¹²⁵ [See publication, then forthcoming, now published as Blezer (2003).]

In this conclusion I also should like to summarise the general listings of *bar do-s* as they have surfaced in the texts discussed and referred to in this article. This is, of course, by no means a complete and exhaustive conspectus of *bar do* speculations between the eighth and fourteenth centuries (especially *bar do* discussions conceived during and shortly after the fourteenth century are poorly represented), but it might, its limited scope notwithstanding, nevertheless serve to indicate some lines in the variance perceived so far and reveal some directions for further hypotheses and research. Some general features do indeed seem to stand out. Again, kindly refer to the conspectus in the appendix when reading the following discussion.

Most of the possibly early¹²⁶ presentations in the *rNying ma'i rgyud 'bum* and *rNying ma'i rgyud bcu bdun*, tend to list four or five *bar do-s*. They typically include a *bar do* of life and death and a *bar do* of death is sometimes (two out of five) included here; more often than not (three out of five) a *ting nge 'dzin gyi bar do* is included; less often (two out of five) a *rmi lam bar do*; also a *chos nyid bar do* is often included (three out of five); a *srid pa'i bar do* here as in other texts is usually mentioned. These texts always prefer a designation like *rang bzhin gnas pa'i bar do* for an intermediate state of life. For a *bar do* of death the designation *skye shi bar do* is preferred (two out of three texts that explicitly list such). Moreover, in those texts that most probably constitute the earliest material, *zhi khro* are quite often (two out of three) not explicitly mentioned—but, as noted before, because of the concise nature of some of the presentations we should not attach too much weight to this evidence. I should moreover like to point out that the classification of the *Bar do lnga'i ngo sprod*¹²⁷ matches the one presented in the *rDzogs pa chen po bar do gsang ba'i rgyud* very well. The *Rin po che 'phags lam bkod pa'i rgyud* was not taken into account here, but it might well be an early text; based on its general characteristics; however, I provisionally arranged the brief discussion in this text with fourteenth century material. The *sPros bral don gsal chen po'i rgyud* and the *Thig le kun gsal chen po'i rgyud*, which, as far as I checked, feature identical descriptions, are weighed as one.

In possibly later (12th – 14th AD?) *rNying ma* presentations we find four to six *bar do-s* listed. A *chos nyid bar do* is usually present (three out of four) and *zhi khro* are, at least, referred to. A *ting nge 'dzin gyi bar do* (and possible cognates) and a *rmi lam gyi bar do* appear in half of the sampled texts and moreover appear together. Remarkable is the appearance of the locution *skye gnas* in the designation for a *bar do* of life (two out of four), a phrase that in the *mGur 'bum* is connected with a *bar do* of birth. A *bar do* of death is now more consistently styled *'chi kha'i bar do* (three quarters of a desperately small sample of four). While the list in the *Rin po che 'phags lam bkod pa'i rgyud*—I have no clue yet as to the date of this text, I have arranged it into this group purely based on the characteristics of its *bar do*-list—comes quite close to the *ChB*, the list in the *Chos thams cad kyi don bstan pa rdzogs chen thig le nyag gcig ye nas bya rtsal bral ba* (= *Theg pa'i spyi phud klong chen rab 'byams kyi rgyud*) matches the system in the *sNying thig ya bzhi* of *Klong chen pa* very well (what's in a name). But I have to emphasise here once more that

¹²⁶ Traditionally dated to the 8th c. AD, though some, first and foremost Germano, have tentatively suggested to move most of these to the 11th c. AD?

¹²⁷ From the *Ka dag rang 'byung rang shar*-cycle, which is associated with Rig 'dzin rgod kyi ldem 'phru can (1337–1408) but claims an 8th c. AD origin.

the narrow sample of texts, and, not in the last place, the at times conjectural ordering of them, does not allow reliable conclusions regarding the groups of texts that have been put together here (read: but might not deserve to be grouped together at all). The relation to other (more convincing) groups, however, might, regarding the suggested dating, still be of some relevance here.

The *Ma ni bka' 'bum* text, the *Thugs rje chen po'i bar do mun gsal sgron me'i zhal gdams*, shows in its listing of *bar do*-s a strong affinity with 'bKa' rgyud' material:

- A *bar do* of life is styled *skye shi'i bar do*; this would be the only rNying ma text that I know of that does this.
- It describes *rang bzhin gnas pa'i bar do* as a *bar do* of straying from *gzhi'i rang bzhin*.
- And, lastly, it gives a prominent place to *shes pa snga phyi'i bar do*, a *bar do* which so far I only encountered in 'bKa' rgyud' texts.

This might make the (indeed likely) attribution of the *Gab pa mngon phyung* to rNying ma and *rDzogs chen* circles in Sørensen (1994, p. 586) stand in need of a small footnote.

In Bon (*Zhang zhung*) *sNyan rgyud* texts that present a list of *bar do*-s, especially in the *Bar do 'od lnga ngos bzung ba'i man ngag*, we find a remarkable and quite surprising affinity to later bKa' rgyud material (as represented, for example, in Yang dgon pa's work). There are several arguments in favour of this:

- The ambiguity of the presence of a *bon nyid 'od gsal gyi bar do*—not listed but still described in the *Bar do 'od lnga ngos bzung ba'i man ngag* (as far as its dating goes it should be closely contemporary with Yang dgon pa)—suggests interesting relationships to bKa' rgyud traditions, which, as said, also do not list a *chos nyid bar do*.
- The presence of a *bar do* of straying from *kun gzhi* in both traditions. As far as I can see now, this *bar do* of straying from *rang bzhin* occurs most frequently in 'bKa' rgyud' material (but again note the curious position of the *Thugs rje chen po'i bar do mun gsal sgron me'i zhal gdams* in this respect).
- The resemblance is moreover born out by the concrete *bar do* lists in the *Bar do 'od lnga ngos bzung ba'i man ngag* and in Yang dgon pa's *Bar do'i 'phrang sgrol* texts.
- The use of the name *skye shi bar do* for a *bar do* of life in the *Bar do 'od lnga ngos bzung ba'i man ngag* also clearly points to writings of 'bKa' rgyud pa-s' (the *Thugs rje chen po'i bar do mun gsal sgron me'i zhal gdams*, again, uniquely complies).
- Last but not least, the resemblance receives very convincing support from remarkably detailed descriptions of the stages of dissolution at death, which, at such an early date, seem to figure very prominently in exactly these two traditions (a closer investigation of *Kālacakra* presentations on the subject of dying and *rtsa rlung yoga* seems a most worth-while investment in this respect, actually a quite obvious step, I should say).

The list of *bar do*-s in the *Bar do dus kyi sgron ma* seems to align better with the *Rin po che 'phags lam bkod pa'i rgyud* and the *ChB*, though Yang dgon pa here too provides a fine match.

So, some remarkable points indeed, seem to have come out of this survey. The earliest *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud* material examined so far does not provide explicit lists of *bar do*-s nor distinguish too many of them (only the *sGron ma drug* and commentaries present a modest group of three *bar do*-s). Later presentations do present more elaborate lists. But then, quite surprisingly, the nature of these later *bar do* lists and also parts of the concrete descriptions (especially of the *Bar do 'od lnga ngos bzung ba'i man ngag*) are quite distinct from the earlier descriptions and point in other directions than one would initially have expected, that is, for instance, not only to rNying ma but also to 'bKa' rgyud' traditions! So, the earliest texts tend to show convergence with rNying ma material and late medieval material tends to show some measure of affinity with roughly contemporaneous bKa' rgyud traditions. Many more texts need to be examined, not in the last place also from other Bon traditions on *bar do*, in order to be able to draw any more definite conclusions, but the evidence adduced so far does give some very interesting suggestions and directions and focus for further research, I dare say.

In 'bKa' rgyud' material, typically, two sets of three *bar do*-s are listed: one associated with La va pa (and Ti lo pa), the other with Nā ro pa. Most frequent are references to a *bar do* of death (six out of nine), a *srid pa'i bar do* (in all instances) and less frequently a *bar do* pertaining to rebirth (five out of nine), a *bar do* of life (five out of nine) and a *bar do* of dream (also five out of nine). Lists of six *bar do*-s also occur, such are, for instance, the list(s) attributed to Mi la ras pa (1040/53 1123/35), but these lists are not very clear and consistent; as I noted earlier (above and Blezer 1997:28f), the term *bar do* seems to be used rather freely in the *mGur 'bum*, but also in the *Lam blo nas gcod pa bar do ngo sprod kyi gdams pa zab mo*; these two texts, perhaps connected with Mi la ras pa, have been weighed as one. This total number also occurs in the late presentation of Yang dgon pa, which features a consistent list of six *bar do*-s (by the way, his are the only bKa' rgyud texts that I know of that list *ting nge 'dzin gyi bar do*).

In general, the most characteristic features of the 'bKa' rgyud' material examined are that a *chos nyid bar do* as a phase after death is not listed in any of the texts and that most of the texts list a *bar do* of birth. The latter does not appear in texts of other traditions (as far as the sample goes). In the Buddhist *Bar do thos grol*, for instance, it appears as part of the *srid pa'i bar do*. The 'bKa' rgyud' texts are very detailed in their descriptions of stages of dying. Another typical feature is that a *bar do* of life is always referred to as *skye shi bar do*, while the designations for a *bar do* of death vary widely. Lastly, I should like to point to the fact that *rang bzhin bar do* here does not refer to a *bar do* of life but rather to a *bar do* of straying from *rang bzhin*, and also, and most curiously, to a *bar do* of death (La va pa, Phag mo gru pa).

So, to summarise, the main hypotheses that I am currently forwarding are that in the earliest layers of speculation a *bon nyid ('od gsal gyi) bar do* and a *chos nyid kyi bar do*, true to their name, focused (in contrast to the presentation of a *chos nyid bar do* in the *ChB*) on an 'experience' of *bon nyid / chos nyid / 'od gsal* rather than on a *zhi khro maṇḍala*, the latter being a later

and more specific elaboration, in which case in a Bon context the term *zhi khro bar do* was preferred (though the Buddhist term *chos nyid zhi khro'i bar do* does occur in the *Chos thams cad kyi don bstan pa rdzogs chen thig le nyag gcig ye nas bya rtsal bral ba* (= *Theg pa'i spyi phud klong chen rab 'byams kyi rgyud*)). The conspicuous absence of (direct) references to *zhi khro* in the *bon nyid* ('*od gsal gyi*) *bar do* descriptions of the (*Zhang zhung*) *sNyan rgyud* texts that were examined so far would suggest a greater antiquity for the concept employed there as compared to that/those in most of the Buddhist *chos nyid bar do* descriptions that I am familiar with. And, however evident that might seem, I should also like to point out once more that, considering the fact that an '*od gsal* 'experience' would conclude a *bar do* of dying, the *bon nyid/ chos nyid bar do* can be seen as an elaboration on or projection of '*od gsal* 'experiences' into the beginning of a phase after death.

[Postscript]

The original, longer and more detailed study—of which this article is a mere summary—includes extensive quotes and also collations of the main versions. It was slated to appear around 2000. Due to organisational work on the Ninth Seminar of the IATS in Leiden (late June 2000) and its voluminous proceedings, publication has been delayed. Meanwhile, Philippe Cornu, with admirable stamina, has taken up work on a post-mortem state of 'reality as it is' in Bon and Buddhism. He continued the investigations and followed up suggestions for future research, in my thesis and elsewhere, including the present article. This resulted in a truly impressive 1200-page Ph.D.-thesis and recently in a paper, presented at an international Bon conference in *Shenten Dargye Ling*, Blou, France, 2008, forthcoming in *East & West*. I applaud academic synergies, especially when work is done well and conscientiously.¹²⁸

Echoing Germano's own words: his work also contributes much of importance to this discussion—reportedly even more in its unpublished parts—even though it may be somewhat flawed in its emphasis on the historical debt of these ideas to the earlier Great Perfection—and especially *sNying thig*—materials (2005:5); but perhaps we should be more careful than to use such rash qualifications (without further discussion ...). His angle indeed easily induces reification of a retrospective *snying thig* rubric and commitment to a Seminal Heart-centered view of the period and phenomena, which also pervades some other publication on the topic; a point of departure that may relate to the history of research interests (thesis). Intellectually and occasionally also exegetically these analyses and perspectives on past Great Perfection trends, almost in a teleological manner, seem to anticipate on Klong chen pa's writings, as a 'natural' culmination of *rDzogs chen* developments, or as Germano puts it: "the triumph of the Seminal Heart synthesis" (2005:27); this in spite of his more recent cautionings "that the category Great Perfection came to constitute a vast

¹²⁸ Under these circumstances, it of course does not make sense anymore to pursue the publication project as I had originally planned it. *Deo volente*, some of my unpublished materials may still appear in updated and rewritten form in publication on continuity and change in Bon ideas, under grateful reference to Cornu and others.

meta-rubric concealing the heterogeneity of an extremely diverse array of traditions" (2005:7)—needless to say, I could not agree more.

Naturally, I also agree with Germano's reminder of the "importance of commitment to a broader historical analysis of early treasure traditions for the assessment of the significance of particular doctrinal, ritual, and rhetorical elements in individual texts" (2005:28). Yet, working hypotheses regarding a probable history of ideas should not, *vice versa*, become used as *a priori* for the study of individual cases, at the exclusion of other possible framings; one would risk overlooking the evidence that does not suit one's points of departure. To avoid such methodological circularities, I should *not* advise to start from following, adjusting, or even construing grand narratives for later *rDzogs chen* doxographical categories (indeed deriving from those same categorisations!) *before* having studied individual texts in their own right, in in-depth case studies *without making any such assumptions*, and also not before understanding when, how and why exactly emic doxographical categories were designed the way they are. As Germano is aware, projecting doxography onto history, explicitly or implied, usually is a fragile exercise, fraught with difficulty. Also, assuming that developments that in retrospect, in a certain light, appear similar may also historically relate, before or without ascertaining the interface of exchange in greater philological and historical detail, while often an unavoidable starting point (such as also in this article in fact), is risky as well.

For example, I do not think we should start from subsuming what came to pass in the early community around Karma gling pa, under a grand scheme of developments epitomised by Klong chen pa's writing. It may well turn out to be true, one day, but the work needed to establish that affiliation or crossover at the present moment still needs to be done. For many Karma gling treasures it is unclear what exactly *his* contribution was. Central and probably early texts in his revelation do not fit *rDzogs chen* doxographical categories well. Also, *Man ngag gi sde* doctrinal affiliations of later additions, by his followers and family, should not be written into his record. We do not even know when exactly he lived. His dates quoted in secondary sources go back to the sexagesimal cycle in which his birth date is roughly located (1327–87, probably based on Dudjom Rinpoche) and do not indicate his life span. The scant available biographical sketches of him suggest that he was precocious and died young: he probably was pushing daisies before pushing 60. Moreover, I have discussed pre-existing, poorly organised materials that provide substantial overlap with work attributed to Karma gling pa (Blezer 2003). Those materials clearly predate Klong chen pa; in fact, Cornu (2006) shows that the latter also quotes from such a text in several of his works. We would therefore be ill advised to start from the assumption that Karma gling pa's revelations represent a consolidation of that 'triumph', epitomised by Klong chen pa. However seductive grand unified theories are, we should not lose sight of refractory philological and historical detail; in fact, one should, as a matter of methodological principle, probably specifically venture out and look for the cracks in theory, rather than attempt to find confirmation of preconceived notions.

The early evidence that we now have for a *bar do* of 'reality as it is', also from Bon traditions, recommends a very cautious approach. It seems advisable to evaluate the impact of continuity and change in expertise on death, dying, and funerary rites and on a *bar do* of 'reality as it is' based on

its own merits, rather than to frame it according to a retrospective grand narrative of the *Werdegang* of dominant trends in the Great Perfection. Appreciating that *sNying thig* is deeply constituted by funerary expertise is one step removed from considering the possibility that some developments subsumed under *rDzogs chen* such as *sNying thig* materials may have a (more) significant pedigree in expertise on death and dying and maybe were even sparked off by that—in *casu* this may even provide a more impartial and balanced angle on the problematic. The long history of continuity and change in thanatology in these cultural areas may provide more firmly grounded and relevant alternative framing: expertise on death and dying as a *Leitfaden*, shaped by the interests of the day. Much will be in the eye of the beholder, but the fact that thanatology, or even just *bar do* discourse, encompass much wider phenomena than the mentioned *rDzogs chen* trends should alert us. In fact, doctrinally speaking, *bar do*-s, are *not* for (serious) *rDzogs chen* pa-s at all.

But rather than arguing for alternative framings, I should recommend bottom-up case studies of individual textual traditions and avoid starting out by first trying to ‘read’ these cases from historicising perspectives that follow traditional doxographical sensibilities: one could thus easily miss or gloss over important distinctions. *sNying thig* may resume, posthoc, under its name, some earlier developments relating to death and dying: say, Germano’s funerary Buddhism, which now, inversely, is largely considered a main feature of *sNying thig*, at the cost of other strands of intellectual history that it forms a relevant and integral part of. That is the nature of history: it is always someone’s history. The world according to Shar rdza or the world according to Klong chen pa. The history of death-related ideas, such as a *bar do* of ‘reality as it is’, in any case ought to be as much about their autonomous development as it is about their emergence in literature classified as *sNying thig*. I am wary of framing, and particularly of emic framings, and have been from the very start of my analyses in *casu* (cf. 1997 Ph.D. thesis); some may indeed construe this reservation as a flaw, but I consider it a methodological point of departure, that eventually may reveal something new, something that we do not already know from religious doxography or other forms of received wisdom. When publishing my full research materials, I hope to show in more detail why it may not always be wise to make the history of such *rDzogs chen* rubrics the main framework for understanding the topic studied; a discussion which I could only summarily preview here.

I am again completely with Germano (2005), when he cautions us against ordering *rDzogs chen* history of ideas according to doxographical categories of late canonical collections, as if they were chronological categories. While later hierarchical classifications do usually suggest or at least imply relative chronologies, its individual categories do not necessarily neatly map unto a diachrony, they largely are posthoc (mostly 18th c. AD) scholastic classifications and hierarchically organise developments that at least are partly synchronic and are more deeply involved with co-existing, reactive, factional identities than with implied historical antecedence per se (see, e.g., Germano’s evaluation of the “Crown Pith’s [*sPyi ti*, HB] reactionary orientation”).]

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Several old *gTer ma* texts from *gZhod ston dngos grub grags 'bar* (according to the *bsTan rtsis* discovered 1088), not belonging to the (*Zhang zhung*) sNyan rgyud tradition are interesting to mention here too. In the *Bla med rdzogs pa chen po yang rtse klong chen gyi khrid gzhung cha la dang bcas pa*, Dolanji 1973, we find:

- *Bar do'i ngo sprod kyi gdams pa*, Vol. I, pp. 667–725.

And in the *rDzogs pa chen po zab lam gnad kyi gdams pa bsgrags pa skor gsum ma bu cha lag dan bcas pa*, Dolanji 1973, two other short texts on *bar do* discovered by gZhod ston are included:

- *Bar do'i gdams pa*, pp. 611–14;
- *sMar byañ bar do'i gdams pa*, pp. 615–18.

BUDDHIST

rNying ma'i rgyud bcu bdun, Collected Nyingmapa Tantras of the Man ngag sdé Class of the A ti yo ga (rDzogs chen) (reproduced from a set of prints from A 'dzom blocks preserved in the library of bDud 'joms rin po che by Sanje Dorje), three volumes, edited by Sanje Dorje, New Delhi 1973–77 (NG17):

- *sKu thams cad kyi snang ba ston pa dbang rdzogs pa rang byung chen po'i rgyud*, Vol. III, pp. 235-258;
- *Nyi ma dang zla ba kha sbyor ba chen po gsang ba'i rgyud*, Vol.III, pp. 153-233.

Texts from the *rNying ma'i rgyud 'bum*-section of the Taipei-edition of the Tibetan Tripitaka (Taipei 1991):

- *sKu thams cad kyi snang ba ston pa dbang rdzogs pa rang byung chen po'i rgyud*, Vol. LVI (Tib.Vol. da), no.4740 (= *gTing skyes* no.143), pp. 1/2 - 43/298(1);
- *Chos thams cad kyi don bstan pa rdzogs chen thig le nyag gcig ye nas bya rtsal bral ba* (= *Theg pa'i spyi phud klong chen rab 'byams kyi rgyud*), Vol. LV (Tib.Vol. nya), no.4643 (= *gTing skyes* no.65), pp. 301/290(3) - 343/586(7), a *gter ma* of rDo rje gling pa (1346-1406);
- *Thig le kun gsal chen po'i rgyud*, Vol. LVI (Tib.Vol. pa), no.4759 (= *gTing skyes* no.81), pp. 271/296(6), - 299/492(5), attributed to dGa' rab rdo rje?, 'Jam dpal bshes gnyen, Śrīsimha, Vairocana;
- *sPros bral don gsal chen po'i rgyud*, Vol. LVI (Tib.Vol. pa), no.4757 (= *gTing skyes* no.110), pp. 229/2 - 270/288(6), a treasure text of Guru chos dbang (1212-70), attributed to Padmasambhava, dGa' rab rdo rje?, 'Jam dpal bshes gnyen, Śrīsimha, Padma?;
- *Byang chub sems kyi man ngag rin po che sgron ma 'bar ba'i rgyud*, Vol. LIV (Tib.Vol.ca), no.4587, pp. 543/267(1) – 553/338(6), attributed to Vimalamitra and sNyags Jñāna(kumāra);
- *Man ngag snying gi dgongs pa rgyal ba'i bka' zhes bya ba'i rgyud* (*Man ngag*), in Taipei edition, Vol. LVI (Tib.Vol. pa), no.4766 (= *gTing skyes* no.84?), pp. 311/580(6) – 315/607(5), cf. the Dilgo Khyentse *gTing skyes* edition, Vol. V, pp. 314–52, Thimphu 1973;
- *rDzogs pa chen po bar do gsang ba'i rgyud*, Vol. LIV (Tib.Vol. nga), no.4558, pp. 465/526(6) – 465/531(7), attributed to Śrīsimha and rDo rje yang dbang gter;
- *Rin po che 'phags lam bkod pa'i rgyud*, Vol. LIV (Tib.Vol. ka), no.4504 (= *gTing skyes* no.64), pp. 120/837(3) – 124/863.

gDams ngag mdzod, A Treasury of Instructions and Techniques for Spiritual Realisation, compiled by 'Jam-mgon Koñ-sprul Blo-gros-mtha'-yas, reproduced from a xylographic print from the Dpal-spuñs blocks, edited by N. Lungtok and N. Gyaltan, Delhi 1971:

- *bKa' yang dag pa'i tshad ma zhes bya ba mkha' 'gro ma'i man ngag*, Vol. V, pp. 69–89.
- Cf. *bKa' yang dag pa'i tshad ma zhes bya ba mkha' 'gro ma'i man ngag*, Kalimpong 1962.
- Cf. also *bKa' yang dag pa'i tshad ma zhes bya ba mkha' 'gro ma'i man ngag* in the Taipei edition of the *sDe dge bsTan 'gyur* (Tôhoku 2331), Vol.28, p. 243/541.3 – 243/545.3), NB. this is a different and much shorter text as the above.

Ma ni bka' 'bum, two volumes, Vol.II, Dharamsala 1995:

- *Thugs rje chen po'i bar do mun gsal sgron me'i zhal gdams*, p. 365, 1.6 – p. 387, 1.2;
- *sBrul pa'i rgyal po'i 'pho ba'i zhal gdams*, p. 387, 1.2 – p. 391, 1.2;
- *dBang po rab bar do med pa'i lam khyer*, p. 554, 1.1 – p. 554, 1.6;
- *dBang po 'bring bar dor sangs rgya ba'i zhal gdams*, p. 554, 1.6 – p. 556, 1.1;
- *dBang po tha ma'i lam khyer 'da' kha 'chi brod kyi gdams pa*, pp. 556, 1.1–5.

Khyung po rnal 'byor (probably 11th–12th AD):

- *Bar do rnam gsum gyi zhal gdams*, in *Šaṅs-pa Bka'-brgyud-pa Texts, A Collection of rare manuscripts of doctrinal, ritual, and biographical works of scholars of the Šaṅs-pa Bka'-brgyud-pa tradition from the monastery of Gsañ-sñags-chos-gliñ in Kinnaur*, Vol. I, pp. 263–86, Sumra H.P. 1977.

Mi la ras pa (1040/53–1123/35),

- *bDe mchog snyan brgyud kyi lam blo nas gcod pa bar do ngo sprod kyi gdams ngag zab mo*, in *Rare Dkar-brgyud-pa Texts from the Library of Ri bo che Rje drun of Padma bkod*, edited by Tseten Dorji, pp. 47–76, Tezu Arunachal Pradesh 1974;
- *Lam blo nas gcod pa bar do ngo sprod kyi gdams pa zab mo*, in *mKha' 'gro snyan brgyud kyi yig rnying*, edited by the fourth rGyal dbaṅ 'Brug chen IV, Padma dkar po, Dookchen Thoosay Rinpoche, Vol.II, pp. 99–128, Darjeeling 1982 (other edition of the same text, there is no indication of authorship in this version); and another text in the same volume,
- *Bar do lam khyer 'khor 'das rgyun gcod kyi gdams ngag*, *ibid.*, pp. 129–42 (no indication of the author).

sGam po pa bsod nams rin chen (1079–1153), *Collected Works (gSung-'bum) of sGam po pa bsod nams rin chen*, in *Lahoul Shashin Learned Works Library and Publishing House Series*, Vol. V, edited by Khasdub Gyatsho Shashin from a manuscript from the *bKra shis chos rdzong Monastery in Miyad Lahoul*, 2 volumes, Vol. II, Delhi 1975:

- *rJe dags po lha rje'i gsung/ dmar khrid gsang chen/ bar do'i dmar khrid/ 'pho ba'i dmar khrid zhal gdams dang bcas pa* (Vol. II, pp. 32–58);
- *Bar do'i man ngag* (Vol. II, pp. 344–8);
- *Chos dags po lha rje'i gsung/ bar do bzhi gdams pa* (Vol. II, p. 418, 1.3–6);
- *Chos dags po lha rje'i gsung/ 'pho ba'i gdams pa* (Vol. II, pp. 418–28);
- *Chos rje dags po lha rje'i gsung/ bar do gsum gyi gdams pa lags* (Vol. II, pp. 428f.).

Phag mo gru pa (1110–70), *bKa' 'bum*:

- *Slob dpon chen po la ba pa'i bar do rnam pa gsum*, in: *Phag mo gru pa rdo rje rgyal po, bKa' 'bum* (Collected Works) (a photocopied version of a 'golden manuscript' (written in gold ink), privately acquired in Tibet

by Dan Martin) four volumes, Vol. III, ff.209–11 (the manuscript was constructed under the patronage of 'Bri gung kun dga' rin chen (1475–1527)).

Zhang rin po che (1123–93), *bKa' 'bum*:

- *Nā ro pa'i bar do'i gdam ngag la bar do rnam pa gsum*, in *Zhang g-yu brag pa brtson 'grus grags pa, bKa' 'bum* (Collected Works), Vol. IV, ff.181–6 (microfilm of a six-volume manuscript kept at Samdo Monastery in Nepal, this nearly complete set is found in the Nepalese National Archives microfilm collection from running numbers L4686 through L4697, which is equivalent to the reel numbers L448/2 through L450/4).

Yang dgon pa rgyal mtshan dpal (1213–58), the Collected Works of Yañ dgon pa rgyal mtshan dpal, three volumes, edited by Kunsang Thobgey from a Ms. preserved at Pha jo ldiñs Monastery, Thimphu 1976:

- *Bar do 'phrang srol gyi lhan thabs sbas pa gnad kyi gter mdzod*, Vol. II, pp. 1–51;
- *Bar do 'phrang sgrol gyi lo rgyus tshe rings ma'i zhus len*, Vol. II, pp. 531–49;
- *Bar do'i bsdus don*, Vol. II, pp. 551–9;
- *Bar do 'phrang sgrol gyi gzhung gdam pa*, Vol. II, pp. 561–644;
- *Bar do 'phrang sgrol gyi brnga skad gsang ba'i lde mig*, Vol. III, pp. 53–61;
- *Bar do 'phrang sgrol gyi gtam rgyud*, Vol. III, pp. 63–79;
- *Bar do 'phrang sgrol gyi khrid yig*, Vol. III, pp. 81–103;
- *Bar do 'phrang sgrol gyi 'khrul 'khor zin bris*, Vol. III, pp. 157–61.

Karma gling pa (14th AD), *Kar gling zhi khro*, see Kalsang Lhundup (1969), for further bibliographical references see Blezer (1997), p. 133:

- *Chos nyid bar do'i gsal 'debs thos grol chen mo* (*ChB*), pp. 4–69;
- *Bar do 'phrang sgrol gyi smon lam*, p. 115f.;
- *Srid pa bar do'i ngo sprod gsal 'debs thos grol chen mo* (*SB*), pp. 70–109.

Klong chen pa dri med 'od zer (1306/8–63), *sNying thig ya bzhi*, eleven volumes, Delhi 1970 (IASWR microfiche R-468) see amongst others (See not only Vol.3 but also Vol.6; for a full list see Blezer (1997), pp. 144f.):

- *Zhi ba bar do lam gyi mtshan nyid*, Vol. III, text h, p. 133, l.4 – p. 153, l.6;
- *Khro bo bar do gnad kyi sgron me*, Vol. III, text i, p. 154, l.1 – p. 174, l.6;
- *Bar do'i gdams pa 'byung ba 'dus pa 'bral ba rtags kyi rim pa*, Vol. III, text j, p. 174, l.6 – p. 183, l.6;
- *'Chi kha'i bar do'i gsal 'debs*, Vol. III, text k, p. 183, l.6 – p. 191, l.2;
- *Chos nyid bar do yon tan*, Vol. III, text l, p. 191, l.2 – p. 195, l.6;
- *Bar do ngo sprod*, Vol. III, text m, p. 195, l.6 – p. 198, l.5.

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APPENDIX. CONSPECTUS OF 5AR DO LISTINGS IN TEXTS DISCUSSED OR REFERRED TO IN THIS ARTICLE.

author/mediator/text	#	own nature	lit. & death	absorption etc.	dream	death	reality as it is	becoming	birth	c. AD ¹⁰⁶
<i>Abhiṣāhmasakabāyāna</i>	4		<i>gñan-wāḍā</i>			<i>māramā</i>	<i>oṅ-kāwā</i>	<i>oṅ-kāwā</i>	<i>mu-pō-ṅā</i>	4-5
BIKA ROYUD AND EARLY 'BIKA ROYUD'										
<i>La wa pa</i> (8 th c. AD?)	3					<i>rang bzhin</i>	<i>śrīd pa</i>	<i>śrīd pa</i>	(<i>mṅgal-ṅo</i>)	800?
<i>Ti lo pa</i> (988-1099)	3					[<i>ba gsal</i>]		[<i>gyā las</i>]	(<i>mṅgal-ṅo</i>)	10-11
<i>Nā ro pa</i> (1016-1100)	3	<i>śkye shi</i>			<i>rmi lam</i>		<i>śrīd pa</i>	<i>śrīd pa</i>		11
<i>Ki-yang po me</i> (probably 11 th -12 th AD)	3	<i>śkye shi</i>			<i>rmi lam</i>		<i>śrīd pa</i>	<i>śrīd pa</i>		11-12
<i>Mi la nas pa</i> (1040/53-1123/53). Bar do rgo sprod	6	(<i>sewa</i>) ¹⁰⁷	<i>śkye shi</i>	(<i>sewa</i>) ¹⁰⁸	<i>rmi lam</i>	<i>bhi kha ma</i>	<i>śrīd pa</i>	<i>śrīd pa</i>	<i>mṅgal</i>	11-12
<i>mGur buri</i> (fāfāfā) to <i>Mi la nas pa</i> ?	6	<i>rang bzhin</i> ¹⁰⁹	<i>śkye shi</i>		<i>rmi lam</i>	<i>bhi ba</i>	<i>śrīd pa</i>	<i>śkye gnas</i>		11-12
<i>Ḍam po pa</i> (1079-1153)	3					<i>dang po</i>	<i>gyāṅ pa</i>	<i>gyāṅ pa</i>		11-12
<i>Piag mo gtu pa</i> (1110-70)	3				<i>rmi lam</i>	<i>rang bzhin</i>	<i>śrīd pa</i>	<i>mṅgal-ṅo</i>		12
<i>Zhang & yu bwa pa</i> (1123-93)	3				<i>rmi lam</i>		<i>śrīd pa</i>	<i>mṅgal-ṅo</i>		12
<i>Yang ḍgon pa</i> (1213-58)	6	<i>rang bzhin</i>	<i>śkye shi</i>	<i>rang ḍzin</i>	<i>rmi lam</i>	<i>bhi kha</i>	<i>śrīd pa</i>	<i>śrīd pa</i>		13
HONI/ZHANG ZHUNG/SNYAN RGYUD										
<i>sGron ma ḍng gi ḍdams pa</i>	3					[<i>bhi ḍka</i>]	<i>bon nyid</i>	<i>śrīd pa</i>		8 th 11 th
<i>Bar do ḍas kyā sgron ma</i>	6	<i>rang bzhin</i>	<i>śkye shi</i>	<i>rang ḍzin</i>	<i>rmi lam</i>	<i>śkye shi</i>	<i>bon nyid</i>	<i>śrīd pa</i>		12
<i>Bar do 'bz' lṅa rgo sprod</i> to <i>Yamā rṅog</i>	6	<i>gnas gzhil</i>	<i>śkye shi</i>	<i>rang ḍzin</i> ¹¹⁰	<i>rmi lam</i> ¹¹¹	<i>bhi kha</i>	(<i>bon nyid</i>)	<i>śrīd pa</i>		13
RYŨNG MA										
<i>Nyi ḍa kha śkyor</i> [<i>yang ḡam</i> ?]	4					<i>bhi kha</i>	<i>chos nyid</i>	<i>śrīd pa</i>		8 th 11 th
... <i>Ḍang l'yang chen po</i> [<i>yang ḡam</i> ?]	4		<i>rang bzhin</i>		<i>rmi lam</i>		<i>chos nyid</i>	<i>śrīd pa</i>		8 th 10-13 th
... <i>Ḍroḍ bral ḍon gsal chen po</i> [<i>yang ḡam</i> ?]	4		<i>rang bzhin</i>	<i>rang ḍzin</i>			<i>chos nyid</i>	<i>śrīd pa</i>		8 th 13
... <i>Ḍag le kha gsal chen po</i> [<i>yang ḡam</i> ?]	4		<i>rang bzhin</i>	<i>rang ḍzin</i>			<i>chos nyid</i>	<i>śrīd pa</i>		8 th 13
... <i>sGron ma 'bar bo</i> [<i>yang ḡam</i> ?]	4		<i>rang bzhin</i>	<i>rang ḍzin</i>			<i>chos nyid</i>	<i>śrīd pa</i>		8 th 11 th
... <i>Bar do ḡamḡ bo</i> [<i>yang ḡam</i> ?]	5		<i>rang bzhin</i>	<i>rang ḍzin</i>	<i>rmi lam</i>	<i>śkye shi</i>	<i>śrīd pa</i>	<i>śrīd pa</i>		8 th 9/10 th ?
... <i>Bar do lṅa rgo sprod</i> [<i>yang ḡam</i> ?]	5		<i>rang bzhin</i>	<i>rang ḍzin</i>	<i>rmi lam</i>	<i>śkye shi</i>	<i>śrīd pa</i>	<i>śrīd pa</i>		8 th 14/15
... <i>Bar do mun gsal sgron ma</i> [<i>yang ḡam</i> ?]	6	<i>rang bzhin</i>	<i>śkye shi</i>	<i>rang ḍzin</i>	<i>rmi lam</i>	<i>bhi kha</i>	<i>śrīd pa</i>	<i>śrīd pa</i>		mañ 13 th ?
<i>Kha po ḡka</i> [<i>yang ḡam</i> ?]	6	<i>rang bzhin</i>	<i>śkye shi</i>	<i>rang ḍzin</i>	<i>rmi lam</i>	<i>śkye shi</i>	<i>chos nyid</i>	<i>śrīd pa</i>		??
<i>Kama gling pa</i> (14 th) [<i>yang ḡam</i> ?]	6	<i>rang bzhin</i> ¹¹²	<i>śkye gnas</i>	<i>rang ḍzin</i>	<i>rmi lam</i> ¹¹³	<i>bhi kha</i>	<i>chos nyid</i>	<i>śrīd pa</i>		14?
<i>Klong chen pa</i> (1306/8-1363) [<i>yang ḡam</i> ?]	4		<i>śkye gnas</i>	<i>rang ḍzin</i> ¹¹⁴	<i>rmi lam</i> ¹¹⁵	<i>bhi kha</i>	<i>chos nyid</i>	<i>śrīd pa</i>		14
... <i>Ḍag le rnyag ḡag ye nas</i> ... [<i>yang ḡam</i> ?]	4		<i>śkye gnas</i>			<i>bhi kha</i>	<i>chos nyid</i>	<i>śrīd pa</i>		14/15

¹⁰⁶ Question marks indicate conjectural or additional (additional 'realis') dates. It is of course highly doubtful that any of these texts in the present form predates the 11th c. AD.

The order within each section, for reasons of uncertainty of dates, is not strictly chronological, but regrettably dates and the notations of bar do 's' stems.

¹⁰⁷ Several bar do-s, like the *śkye shi ḡas pa ḡng ḡyāṅ bar do* or the *chos nyid kyāṅ bar do*, might belong here, or under the heading absorption etc.

¹⁰⁸ See r.ā. *bsam mi la nas pa* *mam thar rnyas*; *par phyā ba ngar buri*, *Kern* 28.536.3, F.165v, ll. 1. For more information, see Blezer (1997), Appendix II.

¹⁰⁹ NB: *rang bzhin śkye gnas*.

On the history and identification of two of the Thirteen Later Translations of the Dzogchen Mind Series

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The *Eighteen Major Scriptural Transmissions* of the Mind Series, in Tibetan *Sems sde lung chen po bco brgyad*, constitute probably the earliest extant group of texts from the Tibetan Great Perfection (*rDzogs chen*) tradition. As such, they have been held in reverence from the earliest period of the emergence of the *rNying ma* school right up to the present day. Modern scholarship, however, has barely begun to devote the attention to them which their historical importance deserves.

As the subject of my doctoral studies I have chosen to examine the sub-group of the Eighteen Major Scriptural Transmissions known to the tradition as the *Thirteen Later Translations*, in Tibetan *Phyi 'gyur bcu gsum*. These texts are described as having been translated in the eighth century C.E. by Vimalamitra and others during the exile of Vairocana, who translated the *sNga 'gyur lnga* or *Five Early Translations*.¹

The earliest lists of titles of the *Thirteen Later Translations* are found in the writings of the twelfth century treasure revealer Nyang Ral Nyi ma 'od zer. He gives two lists, one in his *Zangs gling ma* biography of Padmasambhava,² and the other in his religious history, the *Me tog snying po*.³ There are significant differences between the two lists, however, and subsequent lists drawn up by various authors⁴ also show marked variations, symptomatic of continuing fluidity in the composition of this group of texts.

This paper addresses the question of the history and identity of two of the texts whose titles are included in most of the extant lists, including that of the great fourteenth century *rNying ma* scholar and visionary, Klong chen rab 'byams, but whose locations have hitherto been undetermined, namely, the *sGom pa don grub* and the *Yid bzhin nor bu*.

¹ Karmay, 1988, p. 24.

² Found in Jamgon Kongtrul's *Rin chen gter mdzod*, Vol. 1, Paro, 1976, p. 78.4-p. 80.2. The *Zangs gling ma* is available in an English translation by E.P. Kunsang, entitled *The Lotus Born*.

³ *Chos 'byung me tog snying po sbrang rtsi'i bcud*, pp. 320-321.

⁴ Apart from Nyang Ral, lists of the texts are found in the following sources: Klong chen rab 'byams: *Chos dbyings rin po che'i mdzod kyi 'grel pa lung gi gter mdzod*, fol. 334/p. 749; *Grub mtha' mdzod*, fol. 284/p. 1169. rGyal sras thugs mchog rtsal: *Chos 'byung rin po che'i gter mdzod bstan pa'i gsal bar byed pa'i nyi 'od*, also known as *Klong chen chos byung*, Vol. 2, p. 51.2. dPa' bo gtsug lag: *Chos 'byung mKhas pa'i dga' ston*, ed. Lokesh Chandra, 1959, Vol. 1, p. 221. *Bairo'i 'dra 'bag chen mo* in the *Bairo'i rgyud 'bum*, Leh 1971, Vol. 8, pp. 405-605; the list begins on p. 519.4; English translation entitled *The Great Image* by Ani Jinba Palmo, where the list is on pp. 117, 118. Sog zlog pa blo gros rgyal mtshan: *bDag po rin po che'i chos 'byung la zhal snga nas blo bzang pas dgag pa mdzad pa*; in *Collected works of Sog zlog pa* Vol. 2, fol. 256.4. *Sems sde bco brgyad kyi dgongs pa rig 'dzin ruam kyis rdo rje'i glur bzhengs pa*, in *rNying ma bka' ma rgyas pa*, Vol. Tsa, p. 298ff, translated by E.P. Kunsang in *Wellsprings of the Great Perfection*, pp. 53-74. This list of sources is not exhaustive, merely representing those I have consulted for this paper.

1. The *bsGom pa don grub*

The *sGom pa don grub* is listed by Nyang Ral in his *Zangs gling ma* as one of the *Thirteen Later Translations*, where it is described as "teaching the method of meditation".⁵ However, in his second list,⁶ it has vanished, leaving an incomplete complement of only seventeen titles to make up the *Eighteen Major Scriptural Transmissions*. This suggests that the status or identity of this text was to some extent problematic by the twelfth century.

It is clear from a comparison of the various extant title lists that some contain a (*b*)*sGom pa don grub* while others, sometimes in the same place in the list, have a *bsGom pa don drug*. For example, Klong chen rab 'byams has a *bsGom pa don grub* as his text number eighteen,⁷ while rGyal sras thugs mchog rtsal⁸ has a *sGom pa don drug ma* placed very unusually as the fifth of the *sNga 'gyur lnga*. The *mKhas pa'i dga' ston*⁹ and *Bairo'i 'dra 'bag chen mo*¹⁰ omit the title from their lists altogether. Even so, the *Bairo dra 'bag chen mo* does mention a *Byang sems don drug* in a list of texts said to have been translated by Vairocana.¹¹ In the same position in a virtually identical list in the *Padma bKa' thang* biography of Padmasambhava by Orgyen Lingpa¹² is a *Byang sems don grub*.

Any remaining doubt that we are dealing with a single text with two alternative titles is fortunately dispelled by the Rig 'dzin tshe dbang Nor bu edition of the Collected Tantras of the Ancients (*rNying ma'i rgyud 'bum*). In its volume Ka, text twenty has as its cover title *Sems bsgom don drug pa*, but its title at the beginning of the actual text reads *Byang chub kyi sems sgom pa don grub pa*.¹³ At the end of this short text, the colophon gives the form once again as *don drug pa*. I set out below my translation and transliteration of this text from the volume now held in the Bodleian library, Oxford. It nicely matches Nyang Ral's description as "teaching the method of meditation". To my current knowledge, it appears to be the only extant "free-standing" version of the *sgom pa don grub/don drug*.¹⁴

(Folio 185a, 1.4) In the language of India: *bo dhi tsi ta sa ma ti a mo gha tsa na ma*. In Tibetan: *Accomplishing the aim of meditation on the Mind of Enlightenment*. Homage to glorious Samantabhadra, the great bliss! The sea of compas-

⁵ *sGom pa'i thabs bstan pa'i phyir*; *Zangs gling ma*, vol. 1, fol. 40 / p. 79 l. 1.

⁶ That is, the *Me tog snying po* list. Although the question of which of these two works is earlier is not yet settled by modern scholarship, Dan Martin dates the latter text to the late 1100's; see Martin D., *Tibetan Histories*, p. 30.

⁷ *Chos dbyings rin po che'i mdzod kyi 'grel pa lung gi gter mdzod*, fol. 334/ p. 749.5; Norbu & Clemente, 1999, p. 244.

⁸ *Klong chen chos byung*, Vol. 2, p. 51.4; Norbu & Clemente, 1999, p. 247.

⁹ *Chos 'byung mKhas pa'i dga' ston*, Vol. 1, p. 221.

¹⁰ *Bairo'i rgyud 'bum*, Vol. 8, p. 519.4 ff.

¹¹ Norbu & Clemente, 1999, p. 248.

¹² *Op. cit.*, p. 249.

¹³ Rig 'dzin Tshe dbang Norbu, Vol. Ka, fol. 185a. 3.

¹⁴ See below regarding its incorporation, under the chapter title *Zab mo don drug gi le'u*, into the *Khor ba rtsad nas gcod pa nyi zla dang mnyam pa dri ma med pa'i rgyud*.

sionate energy pervades all sentient beings, but the gods and nāgas, although they attend to the authentic teachings, will never venerate the Three Jewels. Once great beings have seen this realization for themselves, the realization of the true nature of things accomplished through great bliss, the mind of fortunate ones will understand it.

Phenomena and mind are, from the beginning, without duality. Since, despite searching for it, one does not find the mind's nature, there is nothing to show to another, saying "it's like this". Because mind and phenomena are not anything at all, when one meditates, one will not meditate on anything. Whatever characteristics of conceptual thought may arise, if one knows that very thought to be the true nature of things, there is no need to meditate on the realm of reality as anywhere else. In that, there is nothing to correct through antidotes or to suppress. In this way, non-distraction from this real state, through the three times and in all situations, is the Dharmakāya.

When this becomes powerful, the world has no self-nature. Compassionate energy's manifestation pervades everything, and pours a great rain of love upon sentient beings. When meditation and that which is experienced in meditation are without duality, blissfully being present in the state of the absolute is also what is called "meditation on the mind of enlightenment". Meditation on the immaculate mind of enlightenment signifies non-distraction [by] the great current of conceptual thought.

This concludes *Six points on Meditation on the Mind of Enlightenment*.¹⁵

The ambiguity over the title would seem to have its origin even earlier than Nyang Ral's twelfth-century lists. In fact, the ninth-to-tenth century *bSam gtan mig sgron* by Nub Sangs rgyas Ye shes quotes from a text entitled *Don drug pa* twice in its chapter seven.¹⁶ These citations exactly match the *sGom pa don grub* text found in the Rig 'dzin Tshe dbang Nor bu edition.

How did a text that was presumably originally entitled *sGom pa don grub* — *Accomplishing the aim of meditation*, or more succinctly, *Success in meditation*¹⁷ —

¹⁵ Folio 185a, l.4: *rgya gar skad du/ bo dhi tsi ta sa ma ti a mo gha tsa na ma/ bod skad du/ byang chub kyi sems sgom pa don grub pa zhes bya ba/ dpal kun tu bzang po bde ba chen po la phyag 'tshal [lol/ thug rje rgya mtsho (l. 5) sems can kun la khyab/ lha dang klu yang bden pa'i bka' nyan te/ dkon mchog gsum ni nam yang bskur mi bya/ chos nyid rtogs [pa?] bde ba chen por grub/ skyes bu chen po rang gis rig nas rtogs pa 'di/ skal (l. 6) ldan rnam kyi blo la go bar gyis/ chos dang sems ni ye nas gnyis su med/ sems kyi rang bzhin btsal yang ma rnyed na/ gzhan la 'di 'dra zhes ni bstan du med/ sems dang chos ni ci yang ma yin pas/ sgom (l. 7) pa'i tshe na ci yang mi bsgom mo/ rnam par rtog pa'i mtshan ma ci byung yang/ rtog pa de nyid chos nyid yin shes na/ chos kyi dbyings ni gzhan du bsgom mi dgos/ de la gnyen pos bcos shing dgag tu med/ 'di (Fol. 185 b) ltar dus gsum rnam pa thams cad du/ nyid las ma yengs pa ni chos kyi sku/ stobs su gyur na 'jig rten rang bzhin med/ thugs rje sprul pas kun la khyab mdzad cing/ sems can rnam la byam pa'i char chen (l. 2) 'bebs/ bsgom dang bsgom par bya ba gnyis med na/ don dam ngang la bde bar gnas pa ni/ byang chub sems sgom zhes kyang de la bya/ rtog pa'i rlung chen ma yengs don ston pa/ rnam dag byang chub sems (l. 3) kyi bsgom pa yin/ byang chub kyi sems bsgom pa don drug pa rdzogs so.*

¹⁶ *bSam gtan mig sgron* 441.3-4: *rnam par rtog pa'i mtshan ma ci byung yang/ rtog pa de nyid chos nyid yin zhe na/ chos kyi dbyings nyid zhan du bsgom mi dgos; 474.6: 'di ltar dus gsum rnam pa thams cad du/ nyid las ma yengs pa ni chos kyi sku/ stobs su gyur na 'jig rten rang bzhin med/ .*

¹⁷ *Bo dhi tsi ta sa ma ti a mo gha tsa*, the version of the title supposedly transliterated from Sanskrit, seems closer to the *don drug* Tibetan title, since *tsa* is likely to represent Sanskrit adjectival

come to be known as *sGom pa don drug*, *The six points of meditation?*¹⁸ The answer may not be as simple as someone deciding that the text contained six points, and renaming it accordingly. In fact, there does not seem to be any clearly-discernible structure of six points in the text.¹⁹

In the various editions of the *rNying ma'i rgyud 'bum* there is a group of texts whose title contains the phrase "cutting Saṃsāra from the root", *khor ba rtsad nas gcod pa* in Tibetan. One of the group, Tb.40 in the *mTshams brag* edition,²⁰ entitled '*Khör ba rtsad nas gcod pa nyi zla dang mnyam pa dri ma med pa'i rgyud*', consists of five *rDzogs chen* texts spread out over its chapters two to eleven. The titles given to these are as follows: *rDo rje tshig drug* (Chapter two, folios 696.7-697.2); *Zab mo don drug* (Chapter three, folios 697.2-698.1); *rTsol bral rtsal drug* (Chapter four, folios 698.1-699.1); *Yangs pa che ba drug* (Chapter five, folios 699.1-700.7); and chapters six to eleven, five of whose titles include the word *thig le*. The first chapter consists of an introduction in which Sattvavajra (*Sems dpa' rdo rje*), requests Samantabhadra (*Kun tu bzang po*) to explain various points by means of what he calls on fol. 696.5 *drug tshan lnga yi bshad pa*, that is, "the explanation of five sets of six".²¹

The *drug tshan lnga* are in fact the *Rig pa'i khu byug*, the *bsGom pa don drug/grub*, the *rTsal chen sprugs pa*, roughly the last two-thirds of the *Khyung chen lding ba*,²² and finally, what appears from its short title and its contents to be a version of the *thig le drug pa*.²³ These texts have been grouped together according

number *ṣaṭ*, six. *Don grub*, on the other hand, would be Amoghasiddhi or Siddhartha, (both also Buddha names), in Sanskrit. However, the Sanskrit can not simply be accepted without reservation as being the text's original title. Moreover, the absence of *sandhi* between the words *samādhi* and *amogha* (which would give *samādhyamogha*), as well as the divergence between the apparent meaning of the Sanskrit title and that of the Tibetan, in immediate juxtaposition here, strongly suggests that the text passed at some stage through the hands of one or more redactors or copyists unfamiliar with Sanskrit.

¹⁸ The two titles are not as far apart as the two English translations would suggest, as *don* is a multivalent term that can mean aim, purpose, meaning, aspect or point. The only real point of difference is between *grub* (achieve) and *drug* (six), two words which are pronounced similarly in Tibetan.

¹⁹ However, a tentative division into six points might be as follows: 1) *chos dang sems ni ye nas gnyis su med* 2) *sems kyi rang bzhin btsal yang ma rnyed na/ gzhan la 'di 'dra zhes ni bstan du med* 3) *sems dang chos ni ci yang ma yin pas/ sgom* (l. 7) *pa'i tshe na ci yang mi bsgom mo/ 4) rnam par rtog pa'i mtshan ma ci byung yang/ rtog pa de nyid chos nyid yin shes na/ chos kyi dbyings ni gzhan du bsgom mi dgos/ 5) de la gnyen pos bcos shing dgag tu med/ 6) di* (Fol. 185 b) *ltar dus gsum rnam pa thams cad du/ nyid las ma yengs pa ni chos kyi sku/* (the last point perhaps also including the subsequent lines concerning the fruition of the practice).

²⁰ This text is also found in *sDe dge* vol. Cha (Dg. 121); Taiwan edition Tb1. 4499; Kaneko catalogue Tk. 1.6; *Bairo'i rgyud 'bum* vol. Kha (Bg. 25).

²¹ Line 3 of the same folio gives their condensed titles as: *tshig drug don drug rtsal drug ste/ che ba drug dang thig le drug/ 'gro drug 'khör ba'i dra ba gcad /*.

²² Tb40/Tk. 18's chapter five opens with four lines that are not part of the *khyung chen lding ba*: [*de nas bcom ldan bka' stsal pa/ mi gnas dmigs med chos kyi sku/ spros med byang chub snying po'i don/ bde chen sprul pa gnyis su med/ gzhan nas mi btsal rang las byung/*. Chapter five then follows the *khyung chen lding ba*, from that text's *zin dang chags dang bral dang zhi* up to its end.

²³ The *Thig le drug pa* is another of the text titles included in lists of the *Thirteen Later Translations* whose identity is somewhat problematic. None of the quotations from it in the *bSam gtan mig sgron* are found in these chapters of Tb. 40.

to an overarching numerical principle of "sets of six", which certainly is relevant to the *Rig pa'i khu byug*, consisting as it does of six lines, and sometimes referred to by its alternative title of *Six vajra lines* (*rDo rje tshig drug*) to this day.²⁴ It also seems apposite to include the *Thig le drug pa* in such a group. However, its relevance to the other texts, and to the *sGom pa don grub* in particular, appears less obvious.

Regarding its dating and authorship, Tb. 40 has echoes of the *Kun byed rgyal po* in some of its language.²⁵ Unlike the *Kun byed rgyal po*, however, it incorporates not just texts from the *sNga 'gyur lnga*, but also two of the *Thirteen Later Translations*. Tb. 40 is likely to postdate the composition of the *Kun byed rgyal po*, but this is of limited usefulness for dating, as the *Kun byed rgyal po* itself, although considered as "the fundamental tantra of the rDzogs chen Mind Series",²⁶ has not been firmly dated.

Both Tb. 40 and the closely-related text that follows it, Tb. 41,²⁷ are said in their colophons to have been translated into Tibetan by the eighth century Indian paṇḍit Śrī Siṃha and the Tibetan translator Vairocana. Tb. 41 adds a rather odd redactor's colophon, however, which appears to say that "the Novice monk of gNyi ba, Nyi ma rdo rje, made the *Five Earlier Translations* and the *Thirteen Later Translations* as [?] Tantras".²⁸ Now, while Tb. 40 incorporates actual texts of the Five Earlier Translations, the texts included in Tb. 41 although bearing the titles of the Thirteen Later Translations, appear (with the possible exception of chapter ten, the *Yid bzhin nor bu'i le'u*, which I discuss in more detail below) to be paraphrases or elaborations of the original texts.

According to the *Blue Annals*, written in the fifteenth century, there was a disciple of Zhiḡ pa of dBus (who died in 1195) called sNye²⁹ ston Nyi ma rdo rje.³⁰ If he is the redactor in question, this would indicate a compilation date in the late twelfth or first half of the thirteenth century for Tb. 41 as well as, most probably, for Tb. 40, since Tb. 41's colophon appears to refer to both texts.

However, if we attribute the invention of the *drug mtshan lnga* scheme to Nyi ma rDo rje, how to account for the fact, as I mention above, that the much earlier *bSam gtan mig sgron* already cites from the *Don drug* rather than *Don grub*? It seems that the six-fold scheme itself must either predate or be roughly contemporary with the *bSam gtan mig sgron*. Tb. 40 surely cannot, however - while its core texts might be attributable to an eighth or early ninth century date, the framework which introduces and elaborates on them is certainly later. Tb.

²⁴ See Norbu, N., 2000, pp. 15, 16.

²⁵ The most obvious example is its frequent exhortation "listen, great being!" (eg. Tb. 40, p. 696.1-2) with which the *Kun byed rgyal po* introduces most of its teachings.

²⁶ Norbu & Clemente, 1999, p. 64.

²⁷ *mTshams brag* Tb. 41, p. 709.6-727.2; Taiwan edition Tb1. 4500; *sDe dge* edition Dg. 123; Kaneko catalogue, Tk. 1.7; also *Bairo'i rgyud 'bum*, Vol. 2 (Kha) Bg. 2.

²⁸ *mTshams brag* Tb. 41, 727.2 : *snga 'gyur lnga dang phyi 'gyur bcu gsum gyi rgyud la gnyi ba'i ban chung nyi ma rdo rje byas pa*.

²⁹ F.W. Thomas tentatively equates gNyi ba with the tribal division sNyi ba ; Thomas F.W., 1950-63, (Index of Tibetan proper names, p. 52).

³⁰ Roerich, 1988, p. 85.

41, with its paraphrase versions of the *Thirteen Later Translations*, is even more obviously later.

To sum up, it is my contention that the title of the *sGom pa don grub* was changed, perhaps as early as the ninth century, in order to fit it into the text group arranged according to the numerical scheme of sixes that we see in Tb. 40. This led to some uncertainty about the correct title and identity of the text, its omission from such early collections as the *Bairo'i rgyud 'bum*, and its eventual disappearance from view.

2. *The Yid bzhin nor bu*

This title, *The Wish-fulfilling Jewel*, is included in all of the lists of the *Thirteen Later Translations* that I have examined, yet even so a search for any extant text so-titled proves fruitless. It is described by Nyang Ral as teaching that "all desirable qualities arise from the nature of the mind",³¹ and by dPa' bo gtsug lag in his *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* as "condensing all philosophical tenets".³² It is classified in the *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* and *Bairo'i rgyud 'bum* as one of the four "minor" texts, which may or may not be an indication of its length.

If we turn to the indexes to the various *rNying ma'i rgyud 'bum* editions, we find, situated in the midst of the *Thirteen Later Translations*, several recurring titles that nevertheless do not appear in any of the lists. One of these unlisted texts, the *Khams gsum sgron ma*, is found among the *Thirteen Later Translations* in the *mTshams brag*, *gTing skyes*, and *Rig 'dzin tshe bdang nor bu* editions.³³

This short text, *The Lamp of the Three Realms* (Tb. 36), contains just after its opening homage to Samantabhadra the phrase "the precious *wish-fulfilling jewel* [my italics] that transcends the three realms", a possible alternative title³⁴ that would exactly match that of our missing text.

In the *Rin chen dru bo*, his commentary on the *Kun byed rgyal po*, Klong chen rab 'byams mentions a text by Vairocana named *The Jewel Lamp*, on which he says he has based his explanation.³⁵ This *Jewel Lamp* has remained unidentified up to now³⁶, but its title perhaps represents an amalgam of the *Khams gsum sgron ma* and the *Yid bzhin nor bu*, in which case it could tentatively be identified with Tb. 36.³⁷

³¹ *Sems nyid las 'dod pa'i yon tan thams cad 'byung bar bstan pa'i phyir* (*Zangs gling ma*, p. 79.3).

³² *Grub mtha' thams cad 'dus pa yid bzhin nor bu* (*mKhas pa'i dga' ston*, vol. 1, p. 222).

³³ Perhaps not coincidentally, these are the editions that group the *Eighteen Major Scriptures* together most tightly. The *Khams gsum sgron ma* is found in *mTsham brag* Tb. 36; *gTing skyes* Tk. 32; *Rig 'dzin Tshe dbang nor bu* Vol. Ka 33.

³⁴ *Khams gsum las 'das yid bzhin nor bu rin po che* / Tb. 36, p. 636.2.

³⁵ *Lo tsa ba chen po be ro tsa na'i sems lung rin chen sgron me'i lung bzhin bkod pa* (*Rin chen dru bo*, p. 426.3-4). See Lipman and Peterson, 2000, p. 55.

³⁶ See Clemente and Norbu, 1999, p. 66, and p. 274, n. 141.

³⁷ On the other hand, it is not immediately obvious how the *Khams gsum sgron ma* could actually have served as a basis for the exposition of the *Kun byed rgyal po* that we see in Klong chen rab 'byam's *Rin chen dru bo*.

At any rate, the case for identification of Tb. 36, *The Lamp of the Three Realms*, with the *Yid bzhin nor bu* is strongly supported by the *bSam gtan mig sgron*, which provides us with at least one quotation from the *Yid bzhin nor bu*. This reads: “*Rang byung ye nas ma bcos 'od gsal ba/ rtsol bas rtsol du med de snying po'i don*”.³⁸ The same lines, with minor variations, are found in *The Lamp of the Three Realms*.³⁹ While this is not a conclusive proof that the two texts are one and the same, it must add considerable weight to the argument.

Another text, Tb. 41, one of the set of four whose titles contain the phrase *'khor ba rtsad nas gcod pa*, has chapter titles consisting of the titles of the *Thirteen Later Translations*. As mentioned above, the actual contents of these chapters, generally speaking, do not match the extant texts after which they are named. They seem instead to be rough paraphrases. However, chapter ten, significantly entitled *Yid bzhin nor bu'i le'u* rather closely follows the *Khams gsum sgron ma*, line for line, up to *drang srong chen po nyid kyi spyod yul yin*. The main difference between the two texts is that Tb. 41 uses a seven-syllable verse form rather than the nine-syllable form used by the *Khams gsum sgron ma*. It also, interestingly, substitutes *rtag pa* for the term *g.yung drung* found in the *Khams gsum sgron ma*.⁴⁰

The picture is complicated by the fact that Tb. 41's chapter fourteen happens to be entitled “*Khams gsum sgron ma'i le'u*.” In fact, this chapter reads like a paraphrase of its preceding chapter ten. The intertextual relationships here are perplexing. The *Yid bzhin nor bu* citation from the *bSam gtan mig sgron* actually matches Tb. 41 slightly better than the version in Tb. 36, except for the fact that Tb. 36 and the *bSam gtan mig sgron* quotation both have nine syllables in their lines. Another problem lies in the apparent anomaly of including a single source-text in what otherwise would be a work made up instead of paraphrases of source-texts.

At any rate, the fact that this chapter is explicitly titled *Yid bzhin nor bu'i le'u* and is almost identical to the *Khams gsum sgron ma*, must add further support to the case for linking the *Khams gsum sgron ma* with the missing *Yid bzhin nor bu*, even if it eventually turns out that the *Khams gsum sgron ma* itself is merely a paraphrase or abridgement of the “original” *Yid bzhin nor bu*.

I set out below an English translation of the Tibetan text of the *Khams gsum sgron ma*.⁴¹

³⁸ *bSam gtan mig sgron*, p. 348.3.

³⁹ See my transliteration of the text below.

⁴⁰ See below for further discussion of this term.

⁴¹ *bCom ldan 'das dpal kun (2) tu bzang po la phyag 'tshal lo/ khams gsum las 'das yid bzhin nor bu rin po che/ bgrod med rnam par grol ba'i lam ston pa/ gzhan nas btsal bar rnyed (3) par mi 'gyur te/ thig le chen po kun la khyab par gnas/ rang byung ye shes ma bcos 'od gsal ba/ bde chen btsal du med pas snying po'i don/snang mdzad (4) nyid ni rtag par kun tu bzang/ gnyis med bde ba'i ngang ste lhun gyis grub/ g.yung drung chen po'i Klong du shar ba yis/ bde ba chen po'i long spyod rdzogs pa yang/ (5) rtag dpyod mtshan ma kun las 'das pa'i phyir/ drang srong chen po nyid kyi spyod yul yin/ thams cad sku gsung thugs kyi dkyil 'khor la/ shes te rtog pa'i Klong du (6) mnyam gzhas nas/ grub pa'i khyad par mngon du shar ba'i tshel/ khams gsum kun kyang bdag gi zhabs la 'dud/ byang chub kyi sems khams gsum sgron ma rdzogs (7) so. Transliterated from Tb. 36 (*mTshams brag*, Vol 1, p. 636).*

Homage to glorious Samantabhadra, the transcendent victor! The precious wish-fulfilling jewel that transcends the three realms, that shows the path of complete liberation (that does not need to be followed), will not be found if sought from others, since the great sphere dwells in and pervades everything. Self-originated wisdom, the natural clear light, great bliss, that is not to be sought-after, is the essential meaning. That which brings about phenomena is always, Everywhere Good (Samantabhadra). The non-dual state of bliss is spontaneously accomplished. Arising in the expanse of great changelessness, the enjoyment of great bliss is also perfect. Since it transcends all conceptual analysis, it is the experiential domain of great sages. In the all-inclusive mandala of enlightened body, speech and mind, once one rests in equipoise in the expanse of knowledge and realization⁴², when the particular aspects of accomplishment become manifest, all of the Three Realms bow down at one's feet. The mind of enlightenment, the Lamp of the Three Realms, is concluded.

Clearly this matches the classification of the *Yid bzhin nor bu* as a short (minor?) text, at less than a folio side in length. It also fits the description given by Nyang Ral quite well, although dPa' bo gtsug lag's description could only loosely apply.

In its homage to Samantabhadra, its conciseness, and its lack of terminology characterizing *rDzogs chen* traditions other than *sems sde*, the *Khams gsum sgron ma* can be said to meet some provisional criteria for identification as one of the *Thirteen Later Translations*. Its inclusion of the term *g.yung drung*, however, is unusual. Sam van Schaik has observed that this term from pre-Buddhist Tibet, with the rough meaning of "eternal", was "almost written out of Buddhist translations" after its meaning was fixed as equivalent to the Sanskrit *sanātana*, a rare word in Buddhist texts compared to the Sanskrit *nityā*, translated by a different Tibetan term (*rtag pa*).⁴³ The fact that *rtag pa* also occurs shortly before *g.yung drung* in this text could mean that the text is translating the two Sanskrit words differently, as one would expect after the standardization of vocabulary had occurred.

However, from the eleventh century *g.yung drung* became closely associated with the later Bon tradition.⁴⁴ Therefore the fact that the *Yid bzhin nor bu'i le'u* in Tb. 41 substitutes *rtag pa* for the term *g.yung drung* found in the free-standing version of the same text (i.e. the *Khams gsum sgron ma*) could be an indication of a later date for Tb. 41. This would accord with its probable redaction by Nyi ma rdo rje in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, as argued above.

⁴² The text here actually reads *rtog pa'i klong*, "the expanse of concepts" or "expanse of thoughts", but *rtog pa* is frequently found as a misspelling of *rtogs pa*, "realization", which seems to make better sense.

⁴³ Van Schaik, entry on *g.yung drung*, <http://earlytibet.com>.

⁴⁴ It may be significant that followers of the Bon *rDzogs chen* teachings have claimed that Vairocana himself was Bon po as well as Buddhist. See Karmay, 1988, p. 17.

Summary

By relying for corroboration on citations contained in the *bSam gtan mig sgron*, it has been possible to identify two of the *Thirteen Later Translations*, as listed by Klong chen pa and others, that have until now been unlocated. The *bsGom pa don grub* seems to be extant in free-standing form only in the Rig 'dzin tshe dbang nor bu edition of the *rNying ma'i rgyud 'bum*. I have postulated that the six-fold schema followed by Tb. 40, which incorporated this text under the title *Zab mo don drug*, contributed to this text's obscurity.

Further, I have found the *bSam gtan mig sgron* citation from the missing *Yid bzhin nor bu* in one of the three unlisted texts that are regularly located among the *Thirteen Later Translations* in the *rNying ma'i rgyud 'bum*, namely the *Khams gsum sgron ma*. This identification is confirmed by chapter ten of Tb. 41, entitled *Yid bzhin nor bu'i le'u*, which closely follows the text of the *Khams gsum sgron ma*.

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A Handlist of the Bonpo Kangyur and Tengyur

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What follows is a handlist of one edition of the Bonpo Kangyur and Tengyur and two editions of the Bonpo Tengyur. This handlist was originally created as a handlist of the editions of the Kangyur and Tengyur housed at the Ligmincha retreat center in Serenity Ridge Virginia. Serenity Ridge houses what is apparently the third edition of the Bon Kangyur. This edition contains 178 numbered volumes and one unnumbered volume entitled *brgyud rim*. The volume numbers are prepended to each page number. The catalog of this edition is abstracted from Appendix B of *A Catalogue of the Bon Kanjur* Edited by Dan Martin, with a foreword by Per Kvaerne. Senri Ethnological Reports No.40. National Museum of Ethnology, 2003. We examined each volume in the collection housed at Serenity Ridge and found this collection matched Martin's catalog precisely. The 179 volume electronic edition of the Bon Kangyur distributed by the Bon Foundation (<http://www.bonfoundation.org/>) appears to match *A Catalogue of the Bon Kanjur* as well.

For the Bon Tengyur we present two handlists. Serenity Ridge houses a collection of the Bon Tengyur that contains 324 volumes. This collection is distinguished from other editions of the Tengyur by the number of volumes and the inclusion of Shardza Rinpoche's collected works. The volume numbers are written on paper *dpe gdong* that accompany each volume. Our handlist for this edition is based on an unpublished catalog provided to us by Jean-Luc Achard. Any variations from Achard's list are noted in the end notes. This catalog is further collated with *A Catalogue of the New Collection of Bonpo Katen Texts*, edited by Samten Karmay and Yasuhiko Nagano, Senri Ethnological Reports No.25. National Museum of Ethnology, 2001. Karmay catalogs an edition of the Tengyur that was published Tenpai Nyima. Volumes 1-233 of this are identical with the edition housed at Serenity Ridge, but the two editions begin to differ after that. Numbers from Karmay's catalog are given in the right column. If the text is not found there then a 'n/a' is written in the right column.

If it is not obvious already it should be noted that the information in these handlists is a proper subset of the information in the aforementioned catalogs. Moreover, the information provided here is miniscule by comparison. Nevertheless, experience has shown these handlists are very handy for quickly checking for titles and hence they are offered here.



Bonpo Kangyur

མདོ།

mDo Section:

Vol.	Title	no. of pages
1.	སྲིད་པ་མཛོད་ཀྱི་མདོ་འཁོར་འདས་ཁམས་ཀྱི་རྩལ་གཡུང་དྲུང་ལས་རྣམ་པར་དག་པའི་རྒྱུད། Srid pa mdzod kyi mdo 'khor 'das khams kyi rtsa ba g.yung drung las rnam par dag pa'i rgyud.	223
2.	སྲིད་པའི་མཛོད་ཕུགས་ཀྱི་གཞུང་། Srid pa'i mdzod phugs kyi gzhung.	219
3.	འདུལ་བ་རྒྱུད་དུག། [Dul ba rgyud drug.] Contains seven titles.	676
4.	མདོ་སྡེ་དྲུང་མུ་བསྐྱལ་བཟང་། རྩལ་། mDo sde drung mu bskal bzang. KA (part 1).	463
5.	རྩལ་།— KHA (part 2).	441
6.	མདོ་སྡེ་ཁོད་པོ་བསྐྱལ་བཟང་། རྩལ་། mDo sde khod po bskal bzang. KA (part 1).	613
7.	རྩལ་།— KHA (part 2).	638
8.	གོ་ལྡེ་འི་བསྐྱལ་བཟང་འགོ་བ་འདྲེན་པའི་མདོ། རྩལ་། Go lde'i bskal bzang 'gro ba 'dren pa'i mdo. KA (part 1).	505
9.	རྩལ་།— KHA (part 2).	526
10.	ཡེ་སྲིད་ཐོག་མཐའ་འབྲུང་བའི་བདེར་གཤེགས་བསྐྱལ་བའི་གྲངས་རྩིས་ཀྱི་མདོ་ཁོ་གཉེན་གྱི་ག ཏན་ལ་མཐས་པ། རྩལ་། Ye srid thog mtha' 'byung ba'i bder gshegs bskal pa'i grangs rtsis kyi mdo khro gnyen gyi gtan la phabs pa. KA (part 1).	509
11.	རྩལ་།— KHA (part 2).	691

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| 12. | མདོ་སྤེལ་བསྐྱལ་པ་བཟང་པོ་གླིང་གཤེན་ནམ་མཁའ་མཐོང་གསལ་ལ་སྦྲུང་བརྒྱུད་པ།
༼༡༽
mDo sde bskal pa bzang po gling gshen nam mkha' mthong gsal la snyan du brgyud pa. KA (part 1). | 581 |
| 13. | ༼ཁ༽— KHA (part 2). | 583 |
| 14. | འདུས་པ་རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་རྒྱུད་དྲི་མ་མེད་པ་གཟི་བརྗིད་རབ་ཏུ་འབར་བའི་མདོ་ལས།
སྦྲོན་པ་འོད་གསལ་ལྷ་ལས་བབ་པའི་མདོ། ༼༡༽
'Dus pa rin po che'i rgyud dri ma med pa gzi brjid rab tu 'bar ba'i mdo las, sTon pa 'od gsal lha las bab pa'i mdo. KA (part 1). | 737 |
| 15. | ༼ཁ༽— KHA (part 2). | 667 |
| 16. | ༼ག༽— GA (part 3). | 611 |
| 17. | ༼ང༽— NGA (part 4). | 731 |
| 18. | ༼ཅ༽— CA (part 5). | 659 |
| 19. | ༼ཆ༽— CHA (part 6). | 679 |
| 20. | ༼ཇ༽— JA (part 7). | 652 |
| 21. | ༼ཉ༽— NYA (part 8). | 698 |
| 22. | ༼ཏ༽— TA (part 9). | 698 |
| 23. | ༼ཐ༽— THA (part 10). | 604 |
| 24. | ༼ད༽— DA (part 11). | 689 |
| 25. | ༼ཨ༽— A (final part). | 665 |
| 26. | འདུས་པ་རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་རྒྱུད་དྲི་མ་མེད་པ་རྩ་བའི་མདོ་སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་རྣམ་ཐར་རིན་ཆེན་འཕྲིང་བ།
'Dus pa rin po che'i rgyud dri ma med pa rtsa ba'i mdo sangs rgyas kyi rnam thar rin chen 'phreng ba. | 374 |

27. ཏུས་གསུམ་མི་ལུབ་བསྟན་པའི་རྒྱལ་མཚན་ཀུན་ཏུ་བཟང་པོ་ནམ་མཁའ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཐུགས་རྗེ་ཆེན་
པོ་འཁོར་བ་ཀུན་གྲོལ་གྱི་རྒྱུད། 117
- Dus gsum mi nub bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan kun tu bzang po nam mkha' rgyal po thugs rje chen po 'khor ba kun grol gyi rgyud.
Note: This is a *gter ma* of Bde-chen gling-pa.
28. འདུས་པ་རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་རྒྱུད་གཟེར་དམིག་གི་ལེའུ་སྤྱི་བཙེན་བརྒྱུད་པ། སྐྱེ། 507
- 'Dus pa rin po che'i rgyud gzer dmig gi le'u ste bco brgyad pa. KA (part 1).
29. སྐྱེ། — KHA (part 2). 635
30. མདོ་འདུས་པ་རིན་པོ་ཆེའི་རྒྱུད་ཐམས་ཅད་མཁྱེན་པའི་བཀའ་ཚད་མ། 234
- mDo 'dus pa rin po che'i rgyud thams cad mkhyen pa'i bka' tshad ma.
31. སྲིད་པ་ཁམས་གསུམ་སེམས་ཅན་སྤྱི་མཚའི་མདོ། 253
- Srid pa khams gsum sems can skye mchi'i [~'chi'i] mdo.
32. སྲོད་རྗེན་འབྱུང་བ་ཆགས་འཇིག་པའི་མདོ། 227
- sNod rten 'byung ba chags 'jig pa'i mdo.
33. སྲོ་མིད་གོ་འཕང་བསྐྱབ་ཐབས་གཡུང་དྲུང་ལམ་གྱི་སྤོན་མའི་མདོ། 537
- སྲོ་མིད་གོ་འཕང་བསྐྱབ་ཐབས་ཀྱི་མདོ་མཇུག་གི་གཏོར་རྗོག་སོགས་ཀྱི་མདོ།
- Bla med go 'phang bsgrub thabs g.yung drung lam gyi sgron ma'i mdo. Bla med go 'phang sgrub thabs kyi mdo mjug gi gtor zlog sogs kyi mdo.
34. རིན་པོ་ཆེ་གཏོར་བརྗོག་མདོ་ཆེན་མོ། 373
- ལྷུས་མདོ་པརྗོ་སྤྲུངས་པ་སྤྲར་ཁ་བརྒྱུད་ཀྱི་བཀའ་གསལ།
- Rin po che gtor bzlog mdo' chen mo. Zhus mdo padma spungs pa spar kha brgyad kyi bkag sel. [Several other titles.]

35. རྩམ་མཁའ་ལྷན་པ་མེད་པའི་མཚན་ཆེན་ཡོངས་སུ་གྲགས་པའི་མདོ་ལས།

སྤོང་གཞི་དང་བདེར་གཤེགས་དཔག་མེད་སངས་རྒྱལ་སྤོང་གི་མཚན་ཕྱག

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རྩམ་མཁའ་ལྷན་པ་མེད་པའི་མདོ་ལས། འགྲོ་བ་འདུལ་བ་སངས་རྒྱལ་སྤོང་གི་
མཚན།

Dus gsum nub pa med pa'i mtshan chen yongs su grags pa'i mdo las, Gleng gzhi dang bder gshegs dpag med sangs rgyas stong gi mtshan phyag. KA (part 1). Dus gsum nub pa med pa'i mdo las, 'Gro ba 'dul ba sangs rgyas stong gi mtshan. KHA (part 2).

36. རྩམ་མཁའ་ལྷན་པ་མེད་པའི་མདོ་ལས། ཏིང་འཛིན་རྒྱལ་པོའི་སངས་རྒྱལ་

སྤོང་གི་མཚན།

རྩམ་མཁའ་ལྷན་པ་མེད་པའི་མདོ་ལས། མཐའ་ཡས་རྒྱལ་པོའི་སངས་རྒྱལ་སྤོང་གི་མཚན་ཕྱག

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རྩམ་མཁའ་ལྷན་པ་མེད་པའི་མཚན་ཆེན་ཡོངས་སུ་གྲགས་པའི་མདོ་ལས།

བདེར་གཤེགས་དྲི་མ་མེད་པ་སངས་རྒྱལ་སྤོང་གི་མཚན་ཕྱག

GA: Dus gsum nub pa med pa'i mdo' las, Ting 'dzin rgyal po'i sangs rgyas stong gi mtshan. GA (part 3). Dus gsum nub pa med pa'i mdo las, mTha' yas rgyal po'i sangs rgyas stong gi mtshan phyag. NGA (part 4). Dus gsum nub pa med pa'i mtshan chen yongs su grags pa'i mdo las, bDer gshegs dri ma med pa sangs rgyas stong gi mtshan phyag. CA (part 5).

37. །ཆ། འུས་གསུམ་རུབ་པ་མེད་པའི་མཚན་ཚེན་ཡོངས་སུ་གྲགས་པའི་མདོ་ལས།
བདེར་གཤེགས་དབང་དང་ལྡན་པའི་སངས་རྒྱས་སྟོང་གི་མཚན་ལུག

།ཇ། འུས་གསུམ་རུབ་པ་མེད་པའི་མཚན་ཚེན་ཡོངས་སུ་གྲགས་པའི་མདོ་ལས།
བདེར་གཤེགས་བསྐལ་པ་བཟང་པོ་སངས་རྒྱས་སྟོང་གི་མཚན་ལུག

།ཉ། འུས་གསུམ་རུབ་པ་མེད་པའི་མདོ་ལས། བདེར་གཤེགས་འོད་ཟེར་སྟོང་གི་སངས་
རྒྱས་སྟོང་གི་མཚན་ལུག

Dus gsum nub pa med pa'i mtshan chen yongs su grags pa'i mdo las, bDer gshegs dbang dang ldan pa'i sangs rgyas stong gi mtshan phyag. CHA (part 6). Dus gsum nub pa med pa'i mtshan chen yongs su grags pa'i mdo las, bDer gshegs bskal pa bzang po sangs rgyas stong gi mtshan phyag. JA (part 7). Dus gsum nub pa med pa'i mdo las, bDer gshegs 'od zer spro ba'i sangs rgyas stong gi mtshan phyag. NYA (part 8).

38. །ཏ། འུས་གསུམ་རུབ་པ་མེད་པའི་མདོ་ལས། གཉིས་མེད་མཉམ་པའི་སངས་རྒྱས་
སྟོང་གི་མཚན་ལུག་ལེའུ་དགུ་པ།

།ཐ། འུས་གསུམ་རུབ་པ་མེད་པའི་མདོ་ལས། བཞོད་པ་ཟབ་མེད་སངས་རྒྱས་སྟོང་གི་
མཚན་ལུག་ལེའུ་བཅུ་པ།

།ད། འུས་གསུམ་རུབ་པ་མེད་པའི་མདོ་ལས། དགའ་ལྡན་བུམ་པའི་སངས་རྒྱས་སྟོང་གི་
མཚན་ལུག་ལེའུ་བཅུ་གཅིག་པ།

Dus gsum nub pa med pa'i mdo las, gNyls med mnyam pa'i sangs rgyas stong gi mtshan phyag le'u dgu pa. TA (part 9). Dus gsum nub pa med pa'i mdo las, bKod pa zab mo'i sangs rgyas stong gi mtshan phyag le'u bcu pa. THA (part 10). Dus gsum nub pa med pa'i mdo las, dGa' ldan byams pa'i sangs rgyas stong gi mtshan phyag le'u bcu gcig pa. DA (part 11).

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39. རྩོམ་གསུམ་རྩལ་པ་མེད་པའི་མདོ་ལས། ཐོག་པ་མེད་པའི་སངས་རྒྱས་སྟོང་གི་
མཚན་ཕྱག་ལེའུ་བཅུ་གཉིས་པ།

རྩོམ་གསུམ་རྩལ་པ་མེད་པའི་མདོ་ལས། མཐུ་དབང་ལྡན་པའི་སངས་རྒྱས་སྟོང་གི་མཚན་ཕྱག་ལེའུ་བཅུ་གསུམ་པ།

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རྩོམ་གསུམ་རྩལ་པ་མེད་པའི་མདོ་ལས། མདོན་པར་དགའ་བའི་སངས་རྒྱས་སྟོང་གི་མཚན་ཕྱག་ལེའུ་བཅུ་བཞི་པ།

Dus gsum nub pa med pa'i mdo las, Thog pa med pa'i sangs rgyas stong gi mtshan phyag le'u bcu gnyis pa. NA (part 12). Dus gsum nub pa med pa'i mdo las, mThu dbang ldan pa'i sangs rgyas stong gi mtshan phyag le'u bcu gsum pa. [PA] (part 13). Dus gsum nub pa med pa'i mdo las, mNgon par dga' ba'i sangs rgyas stong gi mtshan phyag le'u bcu bzhi pa. [PHA] (part 14).

40. རྩོམ་གསུམ་རྩལ་པ་མེད་པའི་མདོ་ལས། བདེ་ལྡན་བཀོད་པའི་སངས་རྒྱས་སྟོང་གི་མཚན་ཕྱག་ལེའུ་བཅོ་ལྔ་པ།

རྩོམ་གསུམ་རྩལ་པ་མེད་པའི་མདོ་ལས། ལྷ་དུམ་ལྷ་རའི་སངས་རྒྱས་སྟོང་གི་མཚན་ཕྱག་ལེའུ་བཅུ་དྲུག་པ།

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རྩོམ་གསུམ་རྩལ་པ་མེད་པའི་མདོ་ལས། མཐའ་ཡས་རྫོགས་པའི་སངས་རྒྱས་སྟོང་གི་མཚན་ཕྱག་ལེའུ་བཅུ་དྲུག་པ།

Dus gsum nub pa med pa'i mdo las, bDe ldan bkod pa'i sangs rgyas stong gi mtshan phyag le'u bco lnga pa. BA (part 15). Dus gsum nub pa med pa'i mdo las, U dum wa ra'i sangs rgyas stong gi mtshan phyag le'u bcu drug pa. [MA] (part 16). Dus gsum nub pa med pa'i mdo la[s], mTha' yas rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas. TSA (part 17).

41. མདོ་ཕྲན་ཉི་ཤུ་རྩལ་གཅིག་པ།
mDo phran nyi shu rtsa gcig (title of first text: Khri rje lung bstan gyi mdo).

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42. རིགས་དྲུག་ཐར་ལམ་གྱི་མདོ་གཉིས་ཐེང་གི་གཏེར་མ།
Rigs drug thar lam gyi mdo gnyen thing gi gter ma.

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43. རིགས་འཛིན་ཐུགས་སྐྱུལ་གཡུ་ལོ་དཀར་པའི་གཏེར་མ། རིགས་དྲུག་ཐར་ལམ་གྱི་མདོ།
Rig 'dzin thugs sprul g.yu lo dkar po'i gter ma, Rigs drug thar lam gyi mdo.

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| 44. | བདུན་ཚོགས་པོ་སྤོངས་མཚོད་སྐོར་བདུན་པའི་རྒྱུད་ལས།
རིགས་དྲུག་དགྲིལ་འཁོར་བཅའ་གཞི་དང་དམུལ་བ་ནས་དངས་པའི་ལེའུ། | 447 |
| | bDun tshigs pho sbyongs mchod skor bdun pa'i rgyud las, Rigs drug dkyil 'khor bca' gzhi dang dmyal ba nas drangs pa'i le'u. (Contains still other titles.) | |
| 45. | ༼༡༽ ལྷ་བུ་པདྨ་འཕུལ་གྱི་མདོ།
༼༢༽ རྩོན་ལན་འབུམ་གྱིས་བསབས་མདོ། | 471 |
| | Lha bu padma 'phrul gyi mdo. KA (part 1). Drin lan 'bum gyis bsabs mdo. KHA (part 2). | |
| 46. | ༼༡༽ མདོ་ཀ་བ་གླིང་དགུ། | 231 |
| | mDo ka ba gling dgu. KA. | |
| 47. | ༼༢༽ — KHA. | 303 |
| 48. | ༼༣༽ — GA. | 267 |
| 49. | ༼༤༽ — NGA. | 381 |
| 50. | ༼༥༽ — CA. | 327 |
| 51. | ༼༦༽ — CHA. | 225 |
| 52. | ༼༧༽ — JA. | 343 |
| 53. | ༼༨༽ — NYA. | 265 |
| 54. | ༼༩༽ — TA. | 118 |
| 55. | ཁུ་བྱུག་རིག་པའི་མདོ་སྤེ།
Khu byug rig pa'i mdo sde. | 278 |
| 56. | གཡུང་དྲུང་ལས་རྣམ་པར་དག་པའི་རྒྱུད།
g.Yung drung las rnam par dag pa'i rgyud. | 255 |
| 57. | རྣམ་དག་གི་སྐྱབ་གཞུང་།
rNam dag gi sgrub gzhung. | 225 |
| 58. | བྲམས་མ་ཚེན་མོ་རྩུ་བའི་རྒྱུད་དང་རྩུ་བའི་འབུམ་རྩུ་བའི་གཟུངས་སྐོར་གྱི་གསུང་པོད།
Byams ma chen mo rtsa ba'i rgyud dang rtsa ba'i 'bum rtsa ba'i gzungs skor gyi gsung pod. (Contains a large number of titles.) | 407 |

59. གཤེན་རབ་རྒྱལ་པར་རྒྱལ་བ་ཡིད་བཞིན་གྱི་ཚོར་བུ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་དཔལ་མགོན་རྒྱལ་པའི་གཟུངས།
 གཤེན་རབ་རྒྱལ་པར་རྒྱལ་བའི་མཚན་ལེགས་པར་བསྟོད་པའི་མདོ། 375
 gShen rab rnam par rgyal ba yid bzhin gyi nor bu rin po che dpal
 mgon rgyal po'i gzungs. gShen rab rnam par rgyal ba'i mtshan
 legs par bstod pa'i mdo.
60. རིན་ཆེན་སྒོན་མ་འཁོར་བ་དོང་སྤྲུག་གི་མདོ་སྟོར་གྱི་སྤྱང་པོད། 207
 Rin chen sgron ma 'khor ba dong sprug gi mdo skor gyi sgung
 pod.
61. རྩམ་དག་འདུལ་བའི་རྒྱུད་གྱི་འབུམ། 487
 rNam dag 'dul ba'i rgyud kyi 'bum. [Short title: 'Dul 'bum.] KA
 (part 1).
62. རྩམ་ཀྱི་འཁོར་ལོ་— KHA (part 2). 467
63. རྩམ་ཀྱི་གཞུང་ལོ་— GA (part 3). 487
64. རྩམ་ཀྱི་རྩམ་ལོ་— NGA (part 4). 475
65. རྩམ་ཀྱི་ཅན་ལོ་— CA (part 5). 519
66. རྩམ་ཀྱི་ཆུ་ལོ་— CHA (part 6). 541
67. རྩམ་སྤོང་སྤྱི་སྟོན་གཙོད་པའི་མདོ། ལྷུང་བཤགས་སོགས་གྱི་སྟོར། 248
 Ngan song skye sgo gcod pa'i mdo. lTung bshags sogs kyi skor.
 (Contains several titles.)
68. གཡུང་དྲུང་གཙང་མའི་སྒྲིབས་སེལ་གྱི་ཆེ་མདོ་གཟུངས། གསེར་འོད་ཚོར་བུ་འོད་འབར། 271
 g.Yung drung gtsang ma'i sgribs sel gyi tshe mdo gzungs. gSer 'od
 nor bu 'od 'bar.
69. འབྲས་བུ་ཆེ་བ་ལྷ་ཡི་བོན་ཕན་བྱེད་གྱི་གཟུངས་སྤེལ་པ། 293
 གཡུང་དྲུང་གཙང་མ་གསང་བའི་གཟུངས། གསང་བའི་གཟུངས་སྤེལ་པ།
 'Bras bu che ba lha yi bon phan byed kyi gzungs sde lnga pa.
 g.Yung drung gtsang ma gsang ba'i gzungs. gSang ba'i gzungs sde
 nyi shu.

70.	མོ་ཁོག་ཚེན་འཕུལ་གྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་བཤད་བྱུང་གཞུང་དོན་མདེལ་མིག་དང་བཅས་པ། ཕུག་ཀྱི་ཕྱོད་ལུག་ཐོག་ཀྱི་ཐོག་ཀྱི་པའི་བོན་སྐོ་ལས། དབྱུང་དོན་སྐྱུ་མ་གསེར་འབུམ། མོ་བྱ་འཕུལ་གྱི་མེ་ལོང་འབྱུང་བ་ལྗེའི་ཁག་རྩུང་།	467
	Mo khog chen 'phrul gyi rgyal po bshad byang gzhung don mdel mig dang bcas pa. Phyag [~Phywa] gshen thig [~theg] pa'i bon sgo las, dPyad don sgyu ma gser 'bum. Mo bkra 'phrul gyi me long 'byung ba lnga'i khag rdung.	
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146.	གསལ་མཁར་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་སྤྱི་སྤྲུངས་གའ་པ་སྐྱུ་གསུང་ཐུགས་གྱི་བརྒྱུག་པ། དཔལ་གསང་བ་འདུས་པ་དོན་གྱི་རྩལ།	416
	gSas mkhar rin po che spyi spungs gab pa sku gsung thugs kyi brnag pa, dPal gsang ba 'dus pa don gyi rgyud.	
147.	གསལ་མཁར་ཞིབ་གཡུང་དྲུང་ཡོངས་སུ་རྫོགས་པའི་གཞུང་།	264
	gSas mkhar zhi ba g.yung drung yongs su rdzogs pa'i gzhung.	
148.	མྱོ་བའི་རྩལ་དྲུག་	789
	Khro bo'i rgyud drug. (Contains six titles, the Khro bo rgyud drug in the sPa-gro-ma version.)	
149.	ལྷ་བ་ཁྲུང་ཆེན་ལྷིང་བའི་རྩལ་དང་། གསལ་ཆེན་རིགས་ལྷིང་རྩལ་སྐོར་གྱི་གསུང་པོད།	264
	lTa ba khyung chen lding ba'i rgyud dang, Gsas chen rigs lnga'i rgyud skor gyi gsung pod. (Contains six titles, the Khro bo rgyud drug in the Dang-ra-ma or Byang gter version.)	

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|---|--|---|-----|
| 150. | གསལ་མཁའ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་སྤྱི་སྤྲུངས་ཀྱི་ནང་ནས།
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| <p>gSas mkhar rin po che spyi spungs kyi nang nas. gSal byed me long pra yi 'phyong. Las kyi 'phyong chen sde dgu. g.Yung drung gting rdzogs gsang ba'i rgyud. Kun bzang gshen lha'i sgrub thabs skor. (Contains still other titles.)</p> | | | |
| 151. | སྤྱི་སྤྲུངས་གསལ་བ་ཐུགས་ཀྱི་བརྒྱུག་པ།
དབལ་གསལ་རྣམ་པའི་ཏིང་མུར་གཡུ་རྩེའི་བསྐྱེན་སྐྱབ་རྩུབ་པའི་རྒྱུད།
དབལ་གསལ་རྣམ་པ་དྲག་ཚོག་གི་རྒྱུད་སྐོར་རི་ཐོ་ཆེན།
སྤྱི་གཙུག་ཨུ་དུ་འབར་བའི་རྒྱུད་སྐོར། | | 360 |
| <p>sPyi spungs gsang ba thugs kyi brnag pa, dBal gsas rngam pa'i ting mur g.yu rtse'i bsnyen sgrub rtsa ba'i rgyud. dBal gsas rngam pa drag zlog gi rgyud stong ri tho chen. sPyi gtsug u du 'bar ba'i rgyud skor. (Contains still other titles.)</p> | | | |
| 152. | གསེར་ལོ་ལྗོན་ལོང་བདུད་རྩི་འབྲེལ་པའི་རྒྱུད།
མཁའ་འགྲོ་རིན་ཆེན་གསལ་སྐོར་གཡུང་རྩུང་རིག་པའི་རྒྱུད།
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| <p>gSer lo ljon shing bdud rtsi 'khyil pa'i rgyud. mKha' 'gro rin chen gsang skor g.yung drung rig pa'i rgyud. Byams ma chen mo rtsa ba'i bsgrubs pa.</p> | | | |
| 153. | མ་རྒྱུད་སངས་རྒྱས་རྒྱུད་གསལ།
རྩུ་རྒྱུད་ངེས་པའི་ཐིག་ལེ། | གསལ་ཆེན་འདུས་པའི་སྤྱིང་ཐིག་ལས། | 306 |
| <p>Ma rgyud sangs rgyas rgyud gsum. gSang chen 'dus pa'i snying thig las, rTsa rgyud nges pa'i thig le.</p> | | | |
| 154. | ཐུགས་ཀྱི་ཡང་གབ་མ་རྒྱུད་ཐུགས་རྗེ་ཉི་མའི་རྒྱུད། | | 749 |
| <p>Thugs kyi yang gab ma rgyud thugs rje nyi ma'i rgyud.</p> | | | |

- 155. གསལ་མཁར་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ཐིག་ལེ་དབྱིངས་ཆེན་གཡུང་དྲུང་ཡོངས་རྫོགས་ཀྱི་རྒྱུད་སྐོར།
 ཕ་རྒྱུད་རིག་པ་ཁ་བྱུག་གསང་མཚོག་རྒྱལ་པོ་མཐར་ཐུག་རྩ་བའི་རྒྱུད།
 gSas mkhar rin po che thig le dbyings chen g.yung drung yongs rdzogs kyi rgyud skor. Pha rgyud rig pa khu byug gsang mchog rgyal po mthar thug rtsa ba'i rgyud. (Contains still other titles.)
 324
- 156. གསལ་མཁར་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་སྤྱི་སྤངས་གསང་བ་འདུས་པ་ཐབས་ཆེན་ཡབ་ཀྱི་ལུང་རྒྱུད།
 གསང་བ་འདུས་པ་ཐབས་ཆེན་ཡབ་ཀྱི་རྒྱུད།
 gSas mkhar rin po che spyi spungs gsang ba 'dus pa thabs chen yab kyi lung rgyud. gSang ba 'dus pa thabs chen yab kyi rgyud. (Note: These are *gter ma* of gSang-sngags gling-pa.)
 276
- 157. གསང་བ་རིན་ཆེན་ཡན་ལག་སྤྱིང་རྒྱུད་དགོངས་འདུས་རྩལ་བརྟེན་ལུང་གི་རྒྱུད།
 ཀུན་འདུས་རིན་ཆེན་གཡུང་དྲུང་གསང་བའི་རྒྱུད་ལས། བདེར་གཤེགས་དགོངས་འདུས།
 བདེར་གཤེགས་དགོངས་པ་ཐུགས་བསྐྱབས་ཡིད་བཞིན་ཚོར་བའི་ལུང་གི་རྩ་བ་སོན་ལྷ་བའི་
 རྒྱུད།
 gSang ba rin chen yan lag snying rgyud dgongs 'dus rgyab brten lung gi rgyud. Kun 'dus rin chen g.yung drung gsang ba'i rgyud las, bDer gshegs dgongs 'dus. bDer gshegs dgongs pa thugs bsgrubs yid bzhin nor bu'i lung gi rtsa ba sa bon lta bu'i rgyud.
 297
- 158. ཞི་ཁྲོ་རབ་འབྲམས་རྩལ་གསུམ་ཀུན་འདུས་གསང་བ་སྤྲུགས་ཀྱི་རྒྱུད།
 རིག་འཛིན་འདུས་པ་ཐབས་ཆེན་མཁའ་ཡི་རྒྱུད།
 Zhi khro rab 'byams rtsa gsum kun 'dus gsang ba sngags kyi rgyud. Rig 'dzin 'dus pa thabs chen mkha' yi rgyud.
 251
- 159. ཆེ་མཚོག་དྲན་པ་ཡང་གསང་དྲག་པོའི་རྒྱུད། རྩ་རྒྱུད་དབང་དྲག་འབར་བའི་མྱེང་བ།
 དབང་དྲག་འབར་བ་མེ་མྱེང་གི་སྐོར།
 མཁའ་འགྲོ་ཤེས་རབ་སྐོར་འཕེལ་གྱི་བསྐྱབས་ཐབས་ཀྱི་སྐོར།
 Che mchog dran pa yang gsang drag po'i rgyud, rTsa rgyud dbang drag 'bar ba'i phreng ba. dBang drag 'bar ba me phreng gi skor. mKha' 'gro shes rab blo 'phel gyi bsgrub thabs kyi skor.
 302

160. ཀ་བ་ནག་པོ་མན་ངག་རྩ་བའི་རྒྱུད། ཉོན་མོངས་རང་གྲོལ་དུག་ལྷ་རྩུབ་གཅོད་གྱི་རྒྱུད།
 རི་རོང་ནག་པོའི་རྒྱུད། དབལ་གསལ་དྲག་པོ་མི་རི་འབར་བའི་རྒྱུད།
 འཕ་འབར་ནག་པོ་གསང་བ་ངན་སྤྲུག་འདུལ་པའི་རྒྱུད། རྩ་མདུད་འབར་བའི་རྒྱུད། 841
 རྩ་སྲིན་རྩམ་པའི་རྒྱུད། འཇིག་རྟེན་ཕུང་བྱེད་གྱི་རྒྱུད། ཁམས་གསུམ་ཀུན་གྲོལ་གྱི་རྒྱུད།
 གཤམ་པ་མངོན་ཕུང་སྤྲུག་ལའི་སྤྲེ་རྒྱུད།
 Ka ba nag po man ngag rtsa ba'i rgyud. Nyon mongs rang grol dug lnga rtsad gcod kyi rgyud. Ri rong nag po'i rgyud. dBal gsas drag po me ri 'bar ba'i rgyud. Sha 'bar nag po gsang ba ngan sngags 'dus pa'i rgyud. rGya mdud 'bar ba'i rgyud. Chu srin rngam pa'i rgyud. 'Jig rten phung byed kyi rgyud. Khams gsum kun grol gyi rgyud. Gab pa mngon phyung stag la'i skye rgyud.
161. ཕུར་པའི་རྒྱུད་དག་སྟོར་གྱི་གསུང་པོད། 795
 Phur pa'i rgyud dgu skor gyi gsung pod. (Contains nine titles.)
162. སྤྲུག་ཕུར་རྩུབ་རྒྱུད། དབལ་ཕུར་འབར་བ་ནག་པོའི་སྲིན་ལས་མེ་རི་འཁྲིལ་བའི་རྒྱུད་སྟོར། 262
 འཇོ་བོ་གནམ་ལྷ་གསལ་ཐོག་མདའ་ཡང་གསང་གི་རྒྱུད།
 sTag phur rtsa rgyud. dBal phur 'bar ba nag po'i phrin las me ri 'khyil ba'i rgyud skor. Khro bo gnam lcags thog mda' yang gsang gi rgyud.
163. གཤམ་པའི་བདུད་འདུལ་གསང་བ་རྩུབ་པའི་རྒྱུད། 426
 Ge khod bdud 'dul gsang ba rtsa ba'i rgyud. (With associated and additional titles.)
164. སྤུ་གྲི་དཀར་པོ་སྤྲུག་སེམས་དང་པོ་འབྱུང་སྲིད་ཐུགས་རྩེའི་ཉི་མ་ཤར་ཚུལ། 198
 sPu gri dkar po sngags sems dang po 'byung srid thugs rje'i nyi ma shar tshul. (Contains a number of titles connected with the sTag la spu gri dkar po'i rgyud.)
165. མ་མོ་འདུལ་པ་ཡང་སྤྲིང་གིས་རྒྱུད་ལས། གསང་བ་རྩུབ་རྒྱུད། 357
 Ma mo 'dus pa yang snying gi rgyud las, gSang ba rtsa rgyud (and associated texts of the Ma mo sbod gtong gi rgyud skor).

166.	<p>མཁའ་འགྲོ་རྩ་བའི་རྒྱུད་འབུམ་གསལ་ཆེན་རོལ་པ་ཟང་ཐལ་གྱི་རྒྱུད་གྱི་རྩལ་པོ། བྲག་བཙན་དམར་པོའི་རྒྱུད་སྐུ་གྱི་རིག་གཙུག་། བཞུགས་ལྷགས་སྲོག་གི་སི་བདར་ཟ་འགྲམ་ཆེ་བ། འཇིགས་བྱེད་གཤམ་རྩེན་གཤམ་པོའི་གསལ་རྒྱུད་དུག་མཚོའ་ལོལ་མའི་ལ་རྩལ། སྐྱེས་བུ་ལས་གིང་དཀར་པོའི་རྩུ་འཕྲུལ་སྐུ་ལྷའི་སྲོག་རྒྱུད་གནད་གྱི་ཐེམ་ཡིག་དངུལ་དཀར་བུ་ མ་པ།</p>	285
	<p>mKha' 'gro rtsa ba'i rgyud 'bum gsang chen rol pa zang thal gyi rgyud kyi rgyal po. Brag btsan dmar po'i rgyud spu gri reg gcod. gNam lcags srog gi se bdar za 'gram che ba. 'Jigs byed gshin rje nag po'i gsang rgyud dug mtsho' khol ma'i lo rgyus. sKyes bu las ging dkar po'i rdzu 'phrul sku lnga'i srog rgyud gnad kyi them yig dngul dkar bum pa.</p>	
167.	<p>ཀུན་འབུམ་གྱི་འབྲེད་རྩ་བའི་རྒྱུད།</p>	735
	<p>Kun 'bum go 'byed rtsa ba'i rgyud (Kun 'bum khra bo and associated texts).</p>	
168.	<p>སྐྱི་གཙུག་ཨུ་དུ་འབར་བ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ཏོག་གི་གཟུངས། གཙུག་ཏོར་སྐོར་གྱི་གསུང་པོད།</p>	375
	<p>sPyi gtsug u du 'bar ba rin po che tog gi gzungs. gTsug tor skor gyi gsung pod. (Contains several titles.)</p>	
169.	<p>གསལ་མཁའ་གསལ་བའི་འཚམས་སྲོག་གི་རྒྱུད་སྐོར།</p>	240
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<p>Volume 305</p>	<p>མདོ་ཚོག་འདོད་དགུ་གཏིར་མཛོད། mdo chog 'dod dgu gter mdzod མདོ་སྡེ་དམ་པ་ཡིད་བཞིན་ནོར་བུ། རྩེ་བུ་འུ་འུ་གམ་རྩོག་ཀྱི། mDo sde dam pa yid bzhin nor bu ('bum dum drug ma (ga))</p>	<p>257</p>
<p>Volume 306</p>	<p>རྩོམ་མཁའ་བརྒྱུད་གཏུན་པ་ཕབ་པ་མཁའ་རྩེ། རྩེ་མཁའ་བརྒྱུད་དུང་གསང་བའི་མཛོད་ཆེན། སྟོན་པའི་གདུལ་དཀར་ཐར་པ་དངས་པའི་ཚུལ། rNam thar g.yung drung gsang ba'i mdzod chen/ ston pa'i gdul dkar thar p drangs pa'i tshul</p>	<p>293</p>
<p>Volume 307</p>	<p>རྩོམ་མཁའ་བརྒྱུད་གཏུན་པ་ཕབ་པ་མཁའ་རྩེ། (ca) rgyal kun spyi gzugs dran pa nam mkha' rje'i རྩེ་མཁའ་བརྒྱུད་དུང་གསང་བའི་མཛོད་ཆེན་ལས། སྟོན་པའི་གདུལ་དཀར་ཐར་པ་སྐབ་པ་སྤྲང་ཚུལ། rNam thar g.yung drung gsang ba'i mdzod chen las : skye gnas gnyis pa sgrib pa sbyang tshul</p>	<p>295</p>
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Volume 313	<p>རྒྱལ་ཀུན་སྤྱི་གཟུགས་དྭན་པ་ནམ་མཁའ་རྗེའི། རྣམ་ཐར་གཡུང་དྭང་གསང་བའི་མཛོད་ཆེན་པོ་བཞག་པ། བཅའ་པོ་དང་པོའོ། Kha / Gud du phyung ba'i 'phyong chen po bzhi las // dum bu gnyis pa // bam po dang po'o //</p>	n/a
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Volume 316	<p>ཉི་ལམ་སྡེ་བཞི། Nye lam sde bzhi</p>	253
Volume 317	<p>བྱམས་མ་སྐད་ཆ། Byams ma smad cha (867 pages)</p>	266
Volume 318	<p>སྟོང་གསུམ་འབྲུགས་བཅོས་བཅའ་ཐབས་ལག་ལེན། sTong gsum 'khrugs bcos bca' thabs lag len</p>	264
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Volume 320	<p>འབུམ་དུམ་དུག་མ། རྩ་དབྱེ། 'Bum dum drug ma (nga) (Manuscript en couleur, inséré dans le vol. 322.)</p>	n/a
Volume 321	<p>དབལ་ཕུར་རམ་པ། dBal phur ram pa</p>	n/a
Volume 322	<p>འབུམ་དུམ་དུག། 'Bum dum drug</p>	n/a
Volume 323	<p>དྲན་པའི་བླ་སྐྱབ་སོགས། Dran pa'i bla sgrub sogs</p>	n/a

Volume 324	<p>？ རིག་འཛིན་གསང་བའི་སྐྱབ་ཆེན་ཆ་ཚང་ལེའུ་གྲངས་བཅས།</p> <p>རིག་འཛིན་སྐྱབ་གསལ་དགོངས་འདུས།</p> <p>Rig 'dzin sku gsum dgongs 'dus.</p>	281 ?
(Volume 325) ¹	<p>དབང་ཆེན་འབམ་པ།</p> <p>dbang chen 'bum pa</p> <p>དབང་རྫོགས་སྐྱུ་ལྷ་དྲིལ་སྐྱབ་ཀྱི་ཕྱག་བཞེས་སྐྱང་གསལ་འོད་ཁང་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་བཞུགས།</p> <p>གས།</p> <p>dbang rdzogs sku lnga dril sgrub kyi phyag bzhes snang gsal 'od khang zhes bya ba bzhugs</p>	247

This is a list of texts in Karmay's catalogue, but not found in this edition :

278, 279, 280, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290

¹ There is no 325 in original list, this number was added for our library at Serenity Ridge.

Karmay volume#	Title	Serenity Ridge' Volume #
234	<p>བཀའ་བརྟེན་འགྲུང་གྱི་དཀར་ཆག</p> <p>bka' brten 'gyur gyi dkar chag</p> <p>དཀར་ཆགས་དེ་མཁན་པོ་གཡུང་དྲུང་ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས། བཀའ་རྟེན་རྫོགས་སོ།</p> <p>dKar chags de mKhan po g.Yung drung tshul khrim</p> <p>bka' rten rdzogs so</p>	264
235	<p>ཞི་ཁྲོའི་སྐྱབ་སྐོར། zhi khro'i sgrub skor</p> <p>བླ་མ་ཡི་དམ་རིག་འཛིན་མཁའ་འགྲོ་སྤྱི་སྐྱབ།</p> <p>ཉིར་འཁོད་དུག་ཕྱུང་ཚན་བྲས་སྟོན་འགྲོ།</p> <p>Bla ma yi dam rig 'dzin mkha' 'gro spyi sgrub</p>	262
236	<p>རྩ་གསུམ་བདེར་འདུས་སྟོང་རྩུབ་པ། rtsa gsum bder 'dus stong</p> <p>rgyung sgrub pa</p> <p>first title p.1 : གསང་སྐྱེས་སྤྱི་ཡི་དུག་ཕྱུང་དང་རིག་འཛིན་ཚན་བྲས།</p> <p>gsang sngags spyi yi dug phyung dang rig 'dzin tshan</p> <p>khrus</p> <p>རྩ་གསུམ་བདེ་གཤེགས་འདུས་པ།</p> <p>rTsa gsum bde gshegs 'dus pa</p>	237
237	<p>གཤེན་ལུགས་ཁྲོ་བོ་རྩུབ་པ། gshen lugs khro bo rgyas pa</p> <p>གཡུང་དྲུང་ཡོངས་རྫོགས།</p> <p>g.Yung drung yongs rdzogs (gshen lugs khro bo)</p>	265
238	<p>གསམ་མཁར་གསང་བ་སྟོད་དག།</p> <p>gSas mkhar gsang ba sgo dgu</p>	235
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240	<p>དབལ་ཕུར་བསྐྱེན་སྐྱབ་ལས་གསུམ་གྱི་ཟིན་གྲིས་སྐོར། dbal phur bsnyen sgrub las gsum gyi zin bris skor ཡི་དམ་དབལ་ཕུར་གྱི་ཚོགས་འཁོར་བསྐྱེན་སྐྱབ། Yi dam dbal phur gyi tshogs 'khor bsnyen sgrub</p>	257
241	<p>དབལ་མོ་བླ་ཐབ་དམར་ནག་པོ་ད། dBal mo dra thab dmar nag pod</p>	250
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243	<p>ཕུར་པའི་འགྲེལ་པ། Phur pa'i 'grel pa</p>	247
244	<p>དབལ་ཕུར་ཞི་ཁྲོ་སྐྱེན་གསུམ་པོ་ད། dBal phur zhi khro sman gsum pod</p>	241
245	<p>ཕུར་པའི་ཕྱག་བཞེས་མེ་རི་བཀོད་ལེགས། Phur pa'i phyag bzhes me ri bkod legs</p>	304
246	<p>། རྩ་དབལ་ཕུར་ནག་པོའི་སྐོར་མདོས་སྐོར། ། (dbal phur nag po'i skong mdos skor) དབལ་ཕུར་བསྐྱང་མདོས། dBal phur bskang mdos</p>	296
247	<p>དབང་ཚེན་འབམ་པ། dbang chen 'bum pa དབང་རྩོགས་སྐུ་ལྷ་དྲིལ་སྐྱབ་གྱི་ཕྱག་བཞེས་སྐྱང་གསལ་འོད་འང་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་བཞུགས། dbang rdzogs sku lnga dril sgrub kyi phyag bzhes snang gsal 'od khang zhes bya ba bzhugs</p>	325

248	བྱམས་མ་སྟོད་ཅ། Byams ma stod cha (1070 pages)	245
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263	མདོ་སྡེ་མེ་ཏོག་འཕྲེང་བ། mdo sde me tog 'phreng ba འཕགས་པའི་གནས་བརྟེན་གྱི་མཚོན་པ་མདོ་སྡེ། 'Phags pa'i gnas brten gyi mchod pa mdo sde	243
264	སྟོང་གསུམ་འཁྲུགས་བཅོས་བཅའ་ཐབས་ལག་ལེན། sTong gsum 'khrugs bcos bca' thabs lag len	318
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271	<p>སྤྱལ་སྤྱོད་ལྷན་སྦྲིང་པོའི་གསུང་འབུམ། sPrul sku blo ldan snying po'i gsung 'bum</p>	238
272	<p>བསྟན་གཉིས་གྲིང་པའི་སྤྱེས་རབས་རྣམ་ཐར་གཏོར་འབྲུང་ལོ་རྒྱུས། bstan gnyis gling pa'i skyes rabs rnam thar gter 'byung lo rgyus རྩོུ་ཕྱིང་བའི་རྒྱན། ལོ་རྒྱུན་རྒྱལ་ཚབ་བསྟན་གཉིས་གྲིང་པ་ཡི། སྤྱེས་རབ་གཏོར་འབྲུང་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ལས། རྩོུ་ཕྱིང་བའི་རྒྱན། rDo rjhe phreng ba'i rgyan : O rgyan rgyal tshab bstan gnyis gling pa yi : skyes rab gter 'byung lo rgyus las : rdo rje phreng ba'i rgyan</p>	258
273	<p>མཁས་གྲུབ་འཇིགས་མེད་ནམ་མཁའི་རྣམ་ཐར། mkhas grub 'jigs med nam mkha'i rnam thar སྤྱབས་རྗེ་མཁས་གྲུབ་འཇིགས་མེད་ནམ་མཁའི་རྣམ་ཐར། །། sKyabs rje mkhas grub 'jigs med nam mkha'i rnam thar</p>	300
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275	<p>དབྱུངས་ཅན་སྤྱེས་འགྲེལ། dByangs can sgra 'grel དབྱུངས་ཅན་སྤྱེས་མདོའི་འགྲེལ་པ་རྒྱལ་ཡུམ་བཟང་བཟའ་རིང་བཙུན་གྱི་དགོངས་བ ཅུང་དཔྱོད་ལྷན་གྱི་བའི་མགྲུལ་རྒྱན་སྦྲིང་གསུམ་དགའ་བའི་སྦྲིང་ཚོར་ཞེས་གྲུབ། dByangs can sgra mdo'i 'grel pa rgyal yum bzang bza' ring btsun gyi dgongs bcud dpyod ldan bye ba'i mgul rgyan srid gsum dga' ba'i snying nor zhes bya ba</p>	269

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<p>277</p>	<p>༼དབུ་སྟོན་གསུང་འབུམ་བོན་ཆོས་རྣམ་དབྱེ་སོགས་༽ (dbra ston gsung 'bum bon chos nram dbye sogs) བོན་ཆོས་ཀྱི་རྣམ་པར་དབྱེ་བ་སོ་སོ་སྟོན་པ་ནོར་བུ་གཏེ་ཀའི་ཕྱིང་མཛེས་ཞེས་བྲུ་བ།</p> <p>Bon chos kyi nram par dbye ba so so smos pa nor bu ke ta ka'i phreng mdzes zhes bya ba (2 volumes: I-pp.1-582;583-1390)</p>	<p>319</p>
<p>278</p>	<p>༼ཀའ༽ ༼འཛིགས་བྱེད་གཤིན་རྗེའི་གསང་རྒྱུད་དུག་མཚོ་ལོལ་མའི་ལས་རིམ་ཁྲོ་ རྒྱུད་གདོང་གི་སྐྱབ་སྟོར་༽</p> <p>(ka) ('jigs byed gshin rje'i gsang rgyud dug mtsho khol ma'i las rim khro chu dug gdong gi sgrub skor)</p>	<p>n/a</p>
<p>279</p>	<p>༼ག༽ དབལ་ཆེན་འབྲུག་གསལ་ཆེན་པའི་བསྟེན་བསྐྱབས་ལས་སྟོར་གྱི་སྐྱབ་སྟོར་ ར་མི་རི་འཁྲུལ་པ་རིན་ཆེན་གཏེར་མཛོད་</p> <p>(ga) dbal chen 'brug gsas chem pa'i bsnyen bsgrubs las sbyor gyi sgrub skor me ri 'khyil pa rin chen gter mdzod</p>	<p>n/a</p>
<p>280</p>	<p>༼ཁ༽ བདེར་བཤེགས་རྗེ་སྲུང་ས་གསང་བ་ཐུགས་ཀྱི་བརྒྱུག་པ་བཀའ་བརྒྱུད་ཡི་ད མ་སྟེ་དགའི་སྐྱབ་སྟོར་</p> <p>(kha) bder gshegs rwi spungs gsang ba thugs kyi brnag pa bka' brgyad yi dam sde dgu'i sgrub skor</p>	<p>n/a</p>
<p>281 ?</p>	<p>རིག་འཛིན་གསང་བའི་སྐྱབ་ཆེན་ཆ་ཚང་ལེའུ་གྲངས་བཅས། (rig 'dzin gsang ba'i sgrub chen cha tshang le'u grangs bcas) རིག་འཛིན་སྐྱབ་གསུམ་དགོངས་འདུས། Rig 'dzin sku gsum dgongs 'dus.</p>	<p>324</p>

282	<p>རྩོམ་མཚོ་གདབ་དྲག་འབར་བ་མེ་ཕྱིང་རྩ་སྐྱབ་སྒོར་</p> <p>(ca) rta mchog dbang drag 'bar ba me phreng rtsa sgrub skor</p>	n/a
283	<p>ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་འཁོར་ལའི་རྩུད་གཞུང་དང་ས་སྐྱིང་འབྲུག་བཙུག་སྒོར་</p> <p>(cha) dus kyi 'khor lo'i rgyud gzhung dangs snying 'khrugs bcos skor</p>	n/a
284	<p>གསང་ཅན་རོལ་པ་ཟང་ཐལ་སྐྱབ་གཞུང་ཆ་ལག</p> <p>(ja) gsang chen rol pa zang thal sgrub gzhung cha lag</p>	n/a
285	<p>མ་མོ་ཡང་སྐྱིང་འདུས་པའི་སྐྱབ་སྒོར་དང་རྩུ་སྐྱབ་སྒོར་དང་སྐྱང་མའི་སྒོར་</p> <p>(nya) ma mo yang snying 'dus pa'i sgrub skor dang rnam sras skor dang srung ma'i skor</p>	n/a
286	<p>ཐུན་མོང་གི་རྩུ་ཆེན་མོ་ངོ་མཚར་པད་མའི་དགའ་ཚལ་དང་བསྐྱུས་དོན་ད</p> <p>གྲུས་པའི་དགའ་སྟོན་བཙུག་</p> <p>(ta) thun mong gi rnam chen mo ngo mtshar pad ma'i dga' tshal dang bsdus don dgyes pa'i dga' ston bcas</p>	n/a
287	<p>ཀུན་བཟང་ནམ་མཁའི་རྩུ་པོ་ལྟ་བུའི་རྩུད་གཞུང་ཆ་ལག་བཙུག་</p> <p>(tha) kun bzang nam mkha'i rgyal po'i rgyud gzhung cha lag bcas</p>	n/a
288	<p>ཀུན་བཟང་ནམ་མཁའི་རྩུ་པོ་ལྟ་བུའི་རྩུད་</p> <p>(da) kun bzang nam mkha'i rgyal po lta ba'i rgyud</p>	n/a
289	<p>བྱམས་མ་ཡང་གསང་རྩུ་མཚོད་མན་དག་འཛིགས་པ་ཀུན་སེལ་ཚོགས་</p> <p>བསམགས་ཚོགས་གཏོར་གྱི་བང་མཚོད་</p> <p>(na) byams ma yang gsang rgyun mchod man ngag 'jigs p kun sel tshogs bsags cho ga gter gyi bang mdzod</p>	n/a

290	<p>།པ། བདེར་གཤེགས་རྩི་སྤྱངས་གསང་བ་ཐུགས་ཀྱི་བརྒྱལ་པ་ལས་བཀའ་བརྒྱན་</p> <p>ཡི་དམ་སྤེལ་གྱི་རྒྱན་དང་སྟོན་ཐུན་</p> <p>(pa) bder gshegs rwi spungs gsang ba thugs kyi brnag pa las bka' brgyad yi dam sde dgu'i rgyud dang ston thun</p>	n/a
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