

# Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines



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# Contribution, Attribution, and Selective Lineal Amnesia in the Case of Mahāyogin dPal dbyangs

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## 1. Ambiguous Boundaries

*No one to bind, no binding,  
Nothing to be bound!  
Grasping at a conceptualized 'self',  
Beings insistently tie and untie knots in the sky.  
The variety of emanations are displayed in order to teach  
Unbound, unliberated  
Primordially spontaneously complete Buddhadharmā.  
--Guhyagarbhatantra<sup>1</sup>*

*No one to bind, no binding,  
Nothing to be bound!  
Unbound, unliberated,  
Without desire for liberation,  
free from bounds.  
--Mārgavyūha<sup>2</sup>*

*No one to bind, no binding,  
Nothing to be bound!  
Unbound, unliberated  
Primordially spontaneously  
complete Buddhadharmā.  
--Thugs kyi sgron ma<sup>3</sup>*

**H**istorical depictions of Tibet's ninth century describe an escalating violent chaos, the disintegration of centralized organization systems across social, political, and economic realms. However, the ritual tantric contexts of the emergence and development of Mahāyogatantra at the end of Tibet's Dynastic Period (ca. 650-850 CE) and into the Age of Fragmentation (ca. 850-950), might be characterized as a socially "bounded" environment. By this time, the wildly diverse oral systems of tantric initiation coming north from India appear to have been adapted and codified by individual

<sup>1</sup> *Guhyagarbhatantra* Ch. 2.15-16: *sus kyang ma bcings bcings med de/ /bcing bar bya ba yod ma yin/ /rnam rlog bdag tu 'dzin pa yis/ /nan gyis mkha' la mdud pa 'dor/ /bcings med rnam par grol med pa'i/ /ye nas lhun rdzogs sangs rgyas chos/ bstan phyir spro ba sna tshogs mdzad/.*

<sup>2</sup> *Mārgavyūha* 470b4: *sus kyang ma bcings bcings med de/ /bcing bar bya ba yod ma yin/ /bcings med rnam par grol med pas/.*

<sup>3</sup> *Thugs kyi sgron ma* 323: *sus kyang ma bcings bcings med de/ bcings par bya ba yod ma yin/ bcings med rnam par grol med pa'i/ ye nas lhun rdzogs sangs rgyas chos/.*

teachers into discrete practices oriented toward attendant normative texts, and the relationships binding master to disciple and practitioners to one another within a single lineage were considered crucial to the success of the technologies pursued by means of them. While political and ecclesiastical authority began to weaken in waves across the plateau beginning in the mid-ninth century, it is within these tantric communities most remarkably that the ideals of mutual obligation and regulation of loyalty and ritual protection seem to have prevailed.

For practitioners, failure to preserve the specific contractual bounds of their tantric initiation threatened to result in a wide variety of afflictions, ranging from dermatological nuisances to madness, demonic assault, and even rebirth in hell. Dunhuang treatises and liturgical manuals from the tenth century describe the horrific results of transgressing these loyalties within what appear to have been practicing yogic communities, as well as for tamed demons living on the edges of said communities, bound as the latter were via their own vows to protect. Despite the variety of restrictive vow sets, or *samaya*, described in these manuscripts, their warnings are consistent in one regard: the lineage of the teaching represented in the person of the guru, together with the associated practice community, was to be protected at threat of the integrity of body and mind. The personal nature of direct transmission of the *samaya* as *lung*, or oral teachings, lent further significance to these tantric relationships. Indeed, as van Schaik points out, the *samaya*, and the *prātimokṣa* before them, have always been definitional of discrete Buddhist communities.<sup>4</sup>

Within this extraordinarily bounded relational context, however, we also might observe a pervasive sense of unboundedness with regard to the ownership or authorship of texts, and to the sense of their structural integrity. However far modern Buddhist Studies may have moved beyond early efforts to identify “apocryphal” Buddhist literature, the search for original redactive moments to religious texts, whatever their native canonical status, has only recently fallen by the wayside. Tibetan Buddhist studies likewise have been slow to engage the sorts of redaction critical methods taken up in Christian biblical studies. The origins search proves to be a fruitless exercise for a few reasons. In some cases, the difficulty in discerning a text’s single origin is due most immediately to an utter lack of any internal or external indications of the text’s initial composition in the forms of a colophon, authorial attribution, or bibliographic reference to the text

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<sup>4</sup> Sam van Schaik, “The Limits of Transgression: The Samaya Vows of Mahāyoga,” in *Aspects of Esoteric Buddhism at Dunhuang: Rites and Teachings for This Life and Beyond*, ed. Matthew Kapstein and Sam van Schaik, (Leiden: Brill, 2010) 61-84.

elsewhere. In many cases, however, the historical emergence of a text cannot be identified simply because there appear to be in the development of a single text so many redactive moments. The fluidity and creativity involved in the evolution of a text as each is augmented, edited, and otherwise developed are observable throughout the history of Tibetan Buddhist authorship, but are especially prevalent during its earliest centuries before individual authorial identification was considered essential to knowing and valuing (or devaluing) a text. Recent strides in discerning the stemma of these early tantric Tibetan texts based on Dunhuang manuscripts and other material evidence has begun to have an exponentially positive effect on our understanding of the complex web of related texts from the ninth to eleventh centuries.

This paper takes up a type of textual redaction which belies a more specific type of literary fluidity and creativity, one that holds at the margins between shared texts within a particular community or lineage of transmission. In addition to the diachronic creative embellishment and accretion of individual texts of all genres, we see particularly in texts which might be characterized as representing oral traditions of *lung* or *man ngag*, passages which appear to have been borrowed wholesale from other texts with no expressed recognition by the authors of their sources via annotation, teaching title, or authorial attribution, or even of the fact of any loan whatsoever. Lines are excerpted from various sources and woven throughout scriptural commentary, treatise, and liturgy, such that the identity of a text appears to be more than malleable or augmentable—it is even porous.

This web of interactive replication between texts, together with the aforementioned process of textual evolution, makes immediate source identifications in such cases relatively rare. However, the discovery of shared passages between texts can reveal much about those texts' complicated trajectories of creation. More broadly, it also allows us to excavate a richer and more accurate history of canonical construction, transmission history, and ideological or ritual affiliation and identity. Whether the borrowed lines belonged to a bank of apophthegmatic teachings circulating among community members, or whether the chain of borrowing occurred between discrete texts transmitted orally or otherwise, identified citation patterns often seem to mirror the human relationships described by lineage histories.

Composed in the midst of this socially bounded, but bibliographically unbounded, milieu, seven texts by a ninth-century Tibetan author named dPal dbyangs exemplify this sense of ambiguous literary borders in their direct incorporation of material from three important works. These latter are the *sBas pa'i rgum chung* attributed to Bud-

dhagupta, the *Guhyagarbha tantra* (*gSang ba'i snying po*), and the *Mārgavyūha* (*Lam rnam par bkod pa*) attributed to Buddhaguhya. As I will show, the particulars of conservation and creativity that might be observed in this transfer of material from one context to another may serve to highlight the importance of the relationship of lineage affiliation to textual borrowing, including not only the use of other author's literary techniques and ideas, but also the verbatim words of certain others.

In dPal dbyangs's work we can see that the very literary culture allowing him unconstrained use of works within the sphere of what he proclaimed to be his own tradition, which borrowing in its turn fed his highly successful creative project, also appears to have had cannibalistic tendencies. A mere century after his death, the works of the once highly esteemed Tibetan authority on Mahāyoga thought, Master dPal dbyangs, were consumed and tossed aside, nearly erased entirely from the collective memory of those directly benefiting in their turn from his innovations, namely proponents of the nascent Great Perfection (*rdzogs chen*).

## 2. dPal dbyangs's Importance

In the Mahāyoga texts of dPal dbyangs, we see one of the earliest known literary extractions of Buddhist tantric view from its ritually-oriented matrix. dPal dbyangs's pioneering contribution to Tibetan tantric development was not only to isolate these tantric views as worthy of consideration and presentation in their own right, but in fact, to prioritize them as preeminent, even to the exclusion of their former liturgical contexts. However we might parse the perspectival distinctions between philosophical discourse, philosophy, and scholasticism,<sup>5</sup> it is clear that dPal dbyangs intended a sharp distinction between Mahāyoga texts' practical, ritual orientations and what he calls "view" (*lta*) or "vision" (*mthong*). This early, native division undergirds the central and explicit purpose of his works in promoting view as of foundational soteriological value.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> For more on these distinctions and the complications in applying them to Tibetan texts, see the following. Jose Cabezon, *Buddhism and Language: A study of Indo-Tibetan scholasticism*, (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1994). Matthew Kapstein, *The Tibetan Assimilation of Buddhism: Conversion, contestation and memory* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 85-120. Anne C. Klein, *Unbounded Wholeness: Dzogchen, Bon, and the logic of the nonconceptual* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

<sup>6</sup> The intentional differentiation of perspective from praxis, at least rhetorically, was made fully manifest only a century later in the tantric bibliographics of Mahāyoga and Atiyoga, which were held together historically in dialectic tension



In dPal dbyangs's expositions, we see both a firm rootedness in the Indian-oriented Mahāyoga tradition with references meant to establish, legitimate, and celebrate its tantric origins, and an intended departure from Mahāyoga's then-normative, ritually-oriented focus. This incipient bidirectionality presages the dual strands of the abstract and the active used by exegetes to characterize the rNying ma tradition's breadth in the eleventh century and beyond. Thus, it is apparent that dPal dbyangs acted as a pivotal figure both in the anchoring of early Mahāyoga tantra in Tibet, and in the evolution of the Tibetan hermeneutics of the rNying ma School.

A dPal dbyangs is credited with eight works in the bsTan 'gyur—a set of six poems collectively referred to as the *Six Lamps* (*sGron ma drug*), a Mahāyoga catechism called the *rDo rje sems dpa'i zhus lan*, and a letter to a Tibetan king, presumably King Khri srong sde brtsan, entitled *Letter Summarizing the Precious Teachings* (*gCes pa bsdu pa'i 'phrin yig*).<sup>7</sup> The three copies of ninth-century dPal dbyangs's *Zhus lan* found among the ancient manuscripts at Dunhuang seem to evidence both the high level of dPal dbyangs's popularity at Dunhuang in the tenth century, and the long geographic reach of his exegetical authority over the course of those intervening years.

### 3. dPal dbyangs in the *bSam btan mig sgron*

In addition to the Dunhuang manuscripts of dPal dbyangs's texts, quotations from his works also appear in the innovative doxographical treatise the *bSam gtan mig sgron* by Tibetan author gNubs chen Sangs rgyas ye shes. Though the age of the only extant edition is not known, gNubs's text appears to be a uniquely early,

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within the rubric of the rNying ma School, a process van Schaik's recent work has done much to illuminate. See Sam van Schaik's "A Definition of Mahāyoga: Sources from the Dunhuang Manuscripts" in *Tantric Studies* 1 (2008): 45-88.

<sup>7</sup> I have described this corpus in more detail in an earlier article. See Kammie Takahashi, "Ritual and Philosophical Speculation in the *rDo rje sems dpa'i zhus lan*," in *Esoteric Texts of Dunhuang* (London: Brill, 2010): 85-142. Of these, *'Phrin yig* is the most problematic as attributed to dPal dbyangs for several reasons, among them both content and colophon. In the only extended study of the text to date, Dietz argues that *'Phrin yig*'s author is most likely the Mahāyogin dPal dbyangs who also served as second abbot of bSam yas monastery, citing what she sees as a self-interested retroattribution of the sBa clan name to dPal dbyangs in the *sBa bzhed*. Siglinde Dietz, "Die buddhistische Briefliteratur Indiens: nach dem tibetischen Tanjur herausgegeben, übersetzt und erläutert" (Wesbaden; Harrassowitz, 1984), 85, fn. 242. Samten Karmay refutes that possibility on the basis of a roughly coeval Dunhuang document listing a sBa dPal dbyangs as successor to Ye shes dbang po, as well as what Karmay sees as language in *'Phrin yig* itself postdating the eighth century. See Karmay, *The Great Perfection*, 68-69.

tenth-century comparison of the interpretive schemes affiliated with four Buddhist meditation programs, the Gradual and Sudden exoteric systems of India and China respectively, and the Mahāyoga and Great Perfection tantric systems.<sup>8</sup> In his presentations of these four systems, gNubs eschews typically technological descriptions of ritual or cosmology, and despite the text's title, even avoids technical explanation of meditative process. Rather, he guides readers through a pastiche of ontological, epistemological, and contemplative poetic expressions of non-conceptuality representing each of the four traditions.<sup>9</sup> View is presented as the paramount feature of each of the four meditative programs in the *bSam gtan mig sgron*, with the ultimately liberative enlightenment belonging to the Great Perfection tradition. This final view is described most clearly in the text's seventh chapter on Great Perfection, but its perspective is woven throughout the text. gNubs's emphasis on perspective and his eschewal of meditative technique closely resemble dPal dbyangs's own authorial tendencies. The following citation makes the point clearly.

*If one knows the body to be illusory,  
There is no attachment whatsoever to the seated position with legs  
crossed.  
However one lives, in whatever of the three activities,  
There is neither an act to be undertaken, nor any activity at all.*<sup>10</sup>

gNubs references the source of this passage as the “*rGum chung*” when he quotes it in Chapter Seven of his *bSam gtan mig sgron*, but as Karmay has shown, the lines appear to have been taken from one of dPal dbyangs's *Lamp* texts instead, now known as the *bsGom thabs sgron ma*, which in its turn appears to have borrowed from the *sBas pa'i rgum chung*, about which I will have more to say below.<sup>11</sup> In fact, almost all the works attributed to dPal dbyangs in the Peking canon—the *Zhus lan* and four of his *Lamp* texts, as well as the *Letter* (if

<sup>8</sup> For analysis of the dating of this text, see Dylan Esler, “On the Life of gNubs-chen Sangs-rgyas ye-shes,” in *Revue d'Études Tibétaines* 29 (2014), 5-27.

<sup>9</sup> Carmen Meinert, “Structural Analysis of the *bSam gtan mig sgron*: A comparison of the fourfold correct practice in the *Āryavikalpapraveśana-madhāraṇī* and the contents of the four main chapters of the *bSam gtan mig sgron*,” *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 26.1 (2003): 175-195.

<sup>10</sup> STMG 287b4: *rgum chung las/ [...] sgyu ma bzhin du lus shes na/ drang 'dug skyil krung 'cha' ba'ang med/ spyod lam gsum gyis gnas pa gang/ lches du bya med byed pa'ang med/ lces 'byung/*

<sup>11</sup> *bsGom thabs sgron ma*: *sgyu ma bzhin du lus shes na/ drang 'dug dkyil dkrung 'cha' ba med/ spyod lam gsum gyis gnas pa gang/ ched du bya med byed pa'ang med/*. Karmay, *The Great Perfection*, 61, 72-73, and 85.

its attribution to our dPal dbyangs is accepted)—are quoted in four chapters of the *bSam gtan mig sgron*, amounting to two dozen citations and references in total, described in the following table.

**Citations in the *bSam gtan mig sgron*  
of works attributed to dPal dbyangs**

<i>STMG</i>	Source Identification in <i>STMG</i>	Root Text Title	Passage Location
<b>Chapter 2</b>			
30.3	“Master dPal byangs said...”	<i>Zhus lan</i>	P 20
35.4	“Ba dPal byangs taught...”	<i>gCes pa bsdus pa'i 'phrin yig</i> (P5842)*	127.1-4
<b>Chapter 3</b>			
49.5	<i>Khen po</i> dPal byangs’s meditational instruc- tions <sup>12</sup>	<i>lTa ba yang dag sgron ma</i> (P5919)	285b4
<b>Chapter 6</b>			
195.3	<i>Man ngag</i>	<i>lTa ba rin po che sgron ma</i> (P5923)	287b
201.6	<i>Zhus lan</i>	<i>Zhus lan</i>	P 35
202.4	<i>Zhus lan</i>	<i>Zhus lan</i>	P 34
204.4	Nyen (gNyan) dPal byangs (in notes only)	unidentified	N/A
219.3	<i>Zhus lan</i>	<i>Zhus lan</i>	P 25
225.2	the oral instructions of Master dPal byangs <sup>13</sup>	<i>Zhus lan</i> *	P 32
228.1	<i>Zhus lan</i>	<i>Zhus lan</i>	P 28
240.1	<i>Zhus lan</i>	<i>Zhus lan</i>	P 19
241.2	Master Nyen (gNyen) dPal byangs’s thought <sup>14</sup> (in notes only)	unidentified	N/A
255.6	<i>Zhus lan</i>	<i>Zhus lan</i>	P 13

<sup>12</sup> *mkan po dpal byangs kyi bsgom lung.*

<sup>13</sup> *mkan po dpal byangs kyi man ngag.*

<sup>14</sup> *mkan po gnyen dpal dbyangs na re sems las.*

<i>STMG</i>	Source Identification in <i>STMG</i>	Root Text Title	Passage Location
256.2	<i>Zhus lan</i>	<i>Zhus lan</i>	P 10
269.3	<i>Rin po che'i sgro ma</i>	<i>lTa ba rin po che sgron ma</i> (P 5923)	288b2
275.1	<i>Rin po che'i sgröl ma</i>	<i>lTa ba rin po che sgron ma</i> (P 5923)	288a3
277.3	<i>Zhus lan</i>	<i>Zhus lan</i>	P 43
278.2	Master dPal dbyangs	unidentified	N/A
<b>Chapter 7</b>			
318.2	<i>Man ngag</i>	<i>mTha'yi mun sel sgron ma</i> (P 5920)	286b4
382.2	<i>rBum chung</i>	<i>bsGom thabs sgron ma</i> (P 5922)*	287b1
404.1	<i>rGum chung</i>	<i>bsGom thabs sgron ma</i> (P 5922)*	287b4
404.1	<i>rGum chung</i>	<i>bsGom thabs sgron ma</i> (P 5922)	287b3
404.6	<i>rGum chung</i>	<i>bsGom thabs sgron ma</i> (P 5922)*	287b4
440.5	<i>rGum chung</i>	<i>bsGom thabs sgron ma</i> (P 5922)*	287b2

\* indicates identifications made by Karmay.<sup>15</sup>

Several points might be highlighted here. To begin, I would point out that not all of gNubs's many quotations of dPal dbyangs's words resonate with tantric significance or are even especially unique among Buddhist teachings. In the second and third chapters of the *bSam gtan mig sgron*, which compare the methods and requirements of the four traditions generally, gNubs cites passages from dPal dbyangs's *Zhus lan*<sup>16</sup> and *lTa ba yang dag sgron ma*,<sup>17</sup> identifying them

<sup>15</sup> Karmay, *The Great Perfection*, 69, fn. 41.

<sup>16</sup> STMG 30: *mkhan po dpal dbyangs kyi kyang/ blo ldan ma nor don bzhin bcos pa shin tu gces/*. "Master dPal dbyangs also says, 'One should dearly value unerring correction from the wise in accordance with reality.'" ITJ 470 and PT 837 manuscripts of the *Zhus lan* mirror this STMG citation.

<sup>17</sup> STMG 49: *mkhan po dpal dbyangs kyi bsgom lung las/ lung dang man ngag rig pas thag bcad del/ chos kyi rang bzhin yang dag yid ches bya/*. "From the meditation instructions of Master dPal dbyangs: 'Believe in the authentic intrinsic nature of phenomena having ascertained it through knowing the teachings and oral commentary.'" This passage matches that in the Peking version of the *lTa ba yang dag sgron ma*.

merely as the teachings of “Master (*mkhan po*) dPal dbyangs.” gNubs also includes a passage resembling lines in the *‘Phrin yig*, calling it the work of “dBa’ dPal dbyangs,” though we may discount this as a reference to an earlier historical figure.<sup>18</sup> All these quotations are general enough to be supportive of any of the four doctrines explicated in the *bSam gtan mig sgron*.

Of the nearly two dozen mentions and citations of dPal dbyangs and his works in the *bSam gtan mig sgron*, fifteen are concentrated in Chapter Six on the Mahāyoga, as might be expected of quotations drawn from the work of a self-proclaimed Mahāyoga exegete. Ten of the citations overall are drawn from the *Zhus lan*, identified by text title or as from “the oral instruction of scholar dPal dbyangs” (*mkhan po dpal dbyangs kyi man ngag*). Three more passages lacking any specific authorial attribution, said to be from the “*Rin po che’i sgro ma*,” “*Rin po che’i sgröl ma*,” or simply “*man ngag*,” are from a single *Lamp* text, the *Rin po che’i sgron ma*. That gNubs chose to include passages so commonly in his Mahāyoga chapter from these two texts in particular—the *Zhus lan* and *lTa ba rin po che’i sgron ma*—indicates that he felt them the best Mahāyoga representatives among dPal dbyangs’s texts. Unlike the passages cited in the earlier chapters of the *bSam gtan mig sgron*, these two texts indeed are quite similar in their approaches, together with dPal dbyangs’s *Thugs kyi sgron ma*, including the most classically tantric references in all of dPal byangs’s works. gNubs also ventures to provide summaries in the Mahāyoga chapter of the thought of “scholar gNyan dPal byangs,”<sup>19</sup> and twice summarizes teachings which are identified only in the interlinear notes as those of gNyan or gNyen dPal byangs.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>18</sup> STMG 35: *dba’ dpal dbyangs kyi zhal snga nas// lus la gru’i blo bzhag ste// pha mthar bde blag skyel ba bzhin// thar pa’i go ‘phangs gziḡs par bya/ zhes gsungs pa [illegible] bzhin du bsam mo/* “From the words of dBa’ dPal dbyangs: ‘Settling the mind in the boat of the body, behold the citadel of liberation, like being carried smoothly to the other side.’” Only the first section of the first line (“*lus la gru yi blo zhog ste*”) appears in the extant version of the *‘Phrin yig*. The rest of the STMG passage does not resemble any further discussion in the *‘Phrin yig*.

<sup>19</sup> STMG 278.

<sup>20</sup> STMG 204: *dge ba’i bshes gnyen [gnyan dpal dbyangs kyis bzhed la] la’i zhal nas//mahā yo ga gnyis su med par lta bar bzhed de/ chos rig pa ‘dus byas dang ‘dus ma byas la sogs pa thams cad rang gi rig pa yin pas/ ngo bo ‘di ‘dra bya ba yang med/ med bzhin du lha’i dkyil ‘khor la sogs par yang snang bas dbus su yang med de/ don de nyid ni yod med gnyis su med pa brjod pa med pa yin/* “Similarly, it is said in the oral instructions of a certain spiritual teacher [notes: the teachings of gNyan dPal dbyangs] that Mahāyoga is said to be a philosophy of nonduality. All things, compounded and un-compounded phenomena, awarenesses and so forth, are self-awareness. Likewise, entities have no function whatsoever. Accordingly, though deity maṇḍala and so forth may appear, there is no center. This means that there is neither of the two, existence nor nonexistence; [it] is inexpressible.” STMG 241: *yang*

The citations gNubs chooses from dPal dbyangs's texts in this sixth chapter fit well within gNubs's characterizations of the many methods (*thabs*) of Mahāyoga in general. There are mentions of mudra, *yabyum* pairs, maṇḍala of wrathful deities, absorptions and emanations, and empowerments and vows. Yet, they also serve the main topic of Chapter Six, and indeed of the entire text, which is explication of the view of nonconceptuality in each of the four traditions, and any cosmologies or practices which are mentioned are mere fodder for the inquiry into the traditions' respective experiences and expressions of the nature of reality. The views particularly of Chan and Atiyoga on the one hand, and of Mahāyoga and Atiyoga on the other, are in fact the bases upon which Atiyoga's universal superiority is asserted, which assertions provide the rationale for the composition of the *bSam gtan mig sgron* itself.<sup>21</sup>

There is evidence in the *bSam gtan mig sgron* of tantric development beyond the period in which dPal dbyangs was teaching, however. In a passage exemplifying at least one direction of that evolution as the Highest Yoga tantras emerged, gNubs explains that those who rely on the "lower teachings" practice the subtle body manipulations of the drops and winds in the channels, attaining the goal gradually through these practices. This subtle body technology is not described anywhere in dPal dbyangs's texts, and thus we have here evidence of newer Mahāyoga practices of which dPal dbyangs most likely was unaware.

Closing this passage, gNubs relates that teachings regarding the final stage of easy, spontaneous realization are provided in the orally transmitted instructions which teach freedom from specific meditations on Suchness, as in the first of the three meditative stabilizations, or *ting nge 'dzin gsum*. This ultimate stage is described

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*rnam gcig tu [mkhan po gnyen dpal dbyangs na re sems las] de bzhin nyid ni gzhan ma yin pas/ [de bzhin phar mi snang/ [blo tshur mi 'jug lte/ yul shes dmigs pa med par rig pa nyid de bzhin du rang gsal bar mi rtog pa bsgom zhes bya'ol. "And according to another commentator [notes: from Master gNyen dPal dbyangs's thought] regarding Suchness, there is no 'other', and thus likewise, there is no appearance elsewhere. The mind without observing either object or subject, does not engage here. Thus that very awareness is said to be non-conceptual meditation, self-illuminating." For grammatical evidence that the interlinear notes of the *bSam gtan mig sgron* are in at least one case "grammatisch nicht schlüssig," and thus most likely of a different pen than that of the text's author, see Carmen Meinert, "Chinesische Chan- und tibetische rDzogs chen-Lehre: eine komparatistische Untersuchung im Lichte des philosophischen Heilskonzeptes „Nicht-Vorstellen“ anhand der Dunhuang-Dokumente des chinesischen Chan-Meister Wolun und des Werkes bSam gtan mig sgron des tibetischen Gelehrten gNubs chen Sangs rgyas ye shes" (PhD diss., Rheinischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität, 2004), 238 fn. 599.*

<sup>21</sup> Sam Van Schaik, "Dzogchen, Chan and the Question of Influence," in *Revue d'études Tibétaines* 24 (October, 2012): 5–20.

as having been set forth “particularly in the Atiyoga,” but the implication is that these teachings are also present in the Mahāyoga tradition. Finally, when the practitioner has grown familiar with primordial wisdom, there is no further need for reliance upon those methods.<sup>22</sup> At this point of the practice, one’s perception of phenomena as external to the mind ceases, and becomes “like a *garuḍa* soaring in the sky.”<sup>23</sup> gNubs’s central point is that in Mahāyoga, familiarization leads to a different sort of view in which no effort is required to view the sphere of nonduality in its natural state. In this experience, the importance of the particulars of the previously performed rites and meditative generations fall away, the remainder of which is a bare awareness of the nonduality of deity and practitioner, of mind and appearances, and ultimately of Suchness and all things. The following passage demonstrates gNubs’s experientially oriented treatment of the view gained via Mahāyoga’s deity yoga:

*You might ask whether, if Body, Speech, and Mind — all three — are Buddha, would they be cultivated as one or as three during meditative practice. The answer is as follows: Such is not perceived as subject and object. Rather, that meditator’s awareness is that very Self, liberated from distinctions of Body, Speech, and Mind. Therefore, the mind, being clarified like this, cannot be conceived in any way distinct from self-luminosity. The answer is that Body, Speech, and Mind are also Suchness, free and unobstructed by things which can be counted.*<sup>24</sup>

In support of this presentation, the quotations drawn from dPal dbyangs’s *Zhus lan* and *lTa ba Rin po che sgron ma* are similarly experiential and epistemological in orientation.

If we turn now to organizational structure, each topic of Chapter Six is introduced by attributing it to the sayings of an unnamed Mahāyoga master, one of whom is identified in the notes as gNyan dPal dbyangs. These topics—the two truths, nonduality, sameness, and so forth, are the same topics addressed with an equally clear format of introduction in the *Thugs kyi sgron ma*. Once again, we see

<sup>22</sup> STMG 220-21.

<sup>23</sup> STMG 222.

<sup>24</sup> STMG 192-93: ‘o na de ltar sku gsung thugs su ril sangs rgyas na/ bsgom pa’i dus na gcig tu bsgom mam gsum du bsgom zhes drin/ lan btab pa de ni yul dang yul can du mi dmigs te/ bsgoms po’i rig pa nyid sku gsung thugs mtha’ las grol ba’i bdag nyid pas/ blo yang de ltar thag chod nas rang gsal ba las cir yang mi bsam ste/ grangs kyi rnam pa ma ‘gags bral bas sku gsung thugs kyang de bzhin nyid do/ zhes lan btab bo/.

dPal dbyangs's authority on the subject of Mahāyoga is uncontested for gNubs. Although obvious augmentations to the Mahāyoga practice of dPal dbyangs's day had been made by gNubs's time, dPal dbyangs's teachings are foregrounded and intact within gNubs's work.

Many of these cited passages in the *bSam gtan mig sgron*, though syntactically distinguished as citations, are identified by neither text name nor author, and thus heretofore have not been recognized as dPal dbyangs's works. Unless other previously unrecognized attributions are discovered, these new identifications make clear that in gNubs's chapter on Mahāyoga he defers to dPal dbyangs's texts more than to any other source, save for a tantra, the *rDo rje bkod pa*. Hence, on the basis of these new findings, we might surmise that gNubs considered dPal dbyangs the foremost textual authority on Mahāyoga thought at a time most likely some years into the Age of Fragmentation, roughly a full century after dPal dbyangs's life.

As noted above, however, citations from dPal dbyangs's texts also are to be found outside the Mahāyoga chapter, and six of these appear in an expected location, in Chapter Seven, devoted to exegesis of the Great Perfection. Five of these citations seem to have been taken from dPal dbyangs's *bsGom thabs sgron ma*. A sixth passage explores the nonabiding of the nonconceptual, characteristicless mind (*mi rtog mtshan med sems*). Comparison of this passage (2), which gNubs identifies only as derived from "man ngag," with lines from dPal dbyangs's *mTha'yi mun sel sgron ma* (1) reveals a remarkable similarity.

1) *mtshan ma med la mi gnas na/  
mtshan mar gnas pa smos ci dgos*<sup>25</sup>

2) *mtshan ma med pa la yang mi gnas na/  
mtshan mar mi gnas smos ci dgos*<sup>26</sup>

Though the *bSam gtan mig sgron* version includes an extra emphatic particle and has turned the grammar of the expression slightly, it is reasonable to believe that the passage was lifted from dPal dbyangs's *mTha'yi mun sel sgron ma* and inserted into the *bSam gtan mig sgron*, with no significant change in meaning. This would indicate that gNubs not only upheld dPal dbyangs's teachings as reliable Mahāyoga exegesis, but also saw passages within them as true expressions of the ultimate view of Great Perfection.

<sup>25</sup> *mTha'yi mun sel sgron ma* 279a.

<sup>26</sup> STMG 318.



One interesting distinction between the citations in the Mahāyoga and Great Perfection chapters is that gNubs commonly identifies the Mahāyoga chapter's citations as dPal dbyangs's, while those in the Great Perfection chapter are presented as anonymously voiced. What are we to make of this curious bifurcation in presentation? Why is dPal dbyangs seen fit to stand as Mahāyoga representative, but not to speak for the Great Perfection, especially if we accept that gNubs drew these lines from his text and not from Buddhagupta's?

Alas, the quickly changing fortunes of dPal dbyangs's reputation are evident from a perusal of any Tibetan dynastic history. Though his name and the names of his texts occasionally appear in bare lineage records of the transmission of the *Māyājāla* and indeed within lineages leading to gNubs, and his yogic feats receive a similarly cursory mention, Tibetan histories have nothing to offer regarding the substance of his contributions. In fact the tenth-century notations to the Dunhuang manuscripts of his texts indicate that those Mahāyoga views most characteristic of dPal dbyangs's works maintained their explicit Mahāyoga identity without significant modification or augmentation only for approximately a century, and that by the end of the tenth century, they had begun to be assimilated into, and redefined as reflective of, the new tradition of Atiyoga. These are significant findings for teasing out the links between dPal dbyangs and the later Great Perfection tradition and for explaining the lack of interest in dPal dbyangs's Mahāyoga texts as such on the part of the later rNying ma tradition. Clearly, his words and his teachings resonated with Tibetans of the tenth century and later, and his status as a Mahāyogin was sufficient for honorable preservation in some sectarian historical chronicles. However, it appears that rather quickly dPal dbyangs the author was disassociated from the most innovative aspects of his own teachings and thus from the Great Perfection as a whole.

#### 4. Buddhagupta

Having firmly established dPal dbyangs's importance, however fleetingly recognized, we may now turn to dPal dbyangs's own sources of instruction and inspiration. As already mentioned, several passages sprinkled throughout three of dPal dbyangs's texts appear to have been borrowed from a short poem of no more than two dozen lines entitled *sBas pa'i rgum chung*, attributed to a Sangs rgyas sbas pa, or Buddhagupta. These *rGum chung* lines appear in dPal dbyangs's *mTha'i mun gsal sgron ma* and *bsGom thabs sgron ma*, both *Lamp* texts,

and in dPal dbyangs's *Zhus lan*. Some of these lines were then incorporated, apparently from dPal dbyangs's texts, into the *bSam gtan mig sgron*.

dPal dbyangs's citations from the *rGum chung* present these lines without in any way delineating them as borrowed passages and without any mention of the source or its author in any context, silently and seamlessly recycling them. In fact, gNubs may have been unaware of Buddhagupta's affiliation with these lines at all given that gNubs seems to have taken the passages he needed to support his explication of the Great Perfection from dPal dbyangs's version instead.

Despite the fact that Buddhagupta's text is quoted verbatim by dPal dbyangs, who is affiliated so clearly with Mahāyoga, Buddhagupta himself typically is not associated in any specific or exclusive way with Mahāyoga texts or teachings. In fact, what we know of this figure is extremely limited, and tends toward a posthumously ascribed affiliation with Atiyoga rather than with Mahāyoga. Though gNubs quotes dPal dbyangs quoting Buddhagupta several times, Buddhagupta is mentioned only once in gNubs's text. A 'Bu ta kug ta is mentioned in the Mahāyoga chapter of the *bSam gtan mig sgron*, but in association with Vimalamitra who is commonly included in Atiyoga lineages,<sup>27</sup> and twice more in the Great Perfection chapter the interlinear notes claim passages are taken from the teachings of a 'Bu ta kug ta and a 'Bu ta kag ta.<sup>28</sup> Buddhagupta's name is also listed in a Dunhuang manuscript fragment (ITJ 1774) as a master of the "three secret classes of tantra,"<sup>29</sup> though here also in association with Shi ri man 'ju (Mañjuśrīmitra) and Hung ka ra (Humakara), both of whom are claimed by Atiyoga lineages. Four tantric commentaries attributed to Buddhagupta were considered adequately free of transgressive elements to allow for their inclusion in the ninth-century lDan dkar ma catalogue.<sup>30</sup> Finally, the Dunhuang manuscript copy of his *sBas pa'i rgum chung* is categorized in its introduction as Atiyoga, though most likely an ascription that considerably postdates the text itself.<sup>31</sup>

Buddhagupta's *rGum chung* does share a general perspective with dPal dbyangs's corpus as both texts celebrate a transcendent, nondual, uncontrived nature of reality in their texts, and it was this perspective that came to be codified as foundational to the later Great Perfection.

<sup>27</sup> STMG 223.

<sup>28</sup> STMG 344 and 414.

<sup>29</sup> See Cathy Cantwell and Robert Mayer, "A Noble Noose of Methods, The Lotus Garland Synopsis: A Mahāyoga Tantra and its Commentary" (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2012). 16-17.

<sup>30</sup> Kapstein, *The Tibetan Assimilation*, 62-63.

<sup>31</sup> ITJ 594.

tion tradition. Regardless of the fact that precise dating of these texts and their authors (if we may call them such, rather than ‘compilers’ or ‘editors’) has proven to be very difficult, and though there is no evidence for Buddhagupta identifying as a proponent of Mahāyoga tantra, it is reasonable to believe that dPal dbyangs availed himself of Buddhagupta’s teachings with certitude and enthusiasm given the number of citations and their relatively wide distribution throughout dPal dbyangs’s works.

Two questions arise most immediately from these observations. The first concerns the differing legacies of these two authors, for shared vision did not result in equal treatment. Whereas Buddhagupta is remembered for his contributions to the development of Atiyoga in Tibet as evidenced above, dPal dbyangs is almost entirely absent from its rosters. Here we might see the process by which dPal dbyangs’s free citation practices seem at once to have contributed to the success of his innovative prioritization of view, and simultaneously to have required the disassociation of that view from his name by historians of the Great Perfection. I would argue, in fact, that the keen perception of his crucial role in the establishment and interpretation of Mahāyoga teachings in Tibet, however strongly predictive of later Great Perfection emphases, led inevitably to dPal dbyangs’s being considered a sort of lineal albatross by the Atiyoga, his ideological heirs. Occupying the middle ground as he does between the eras of anonymous and specified authorship, dPal dbyangs is both remembered too well as a Mahāyogin proponent, and associated too tenuously with the texts he authored and the ideas within them.

The second question arising from the identification of these citations regards the reason for dPal dbyangs’ borrowing particularly from Buddhagupta. There appear to be only three sources of citations within dPal dbyangs’s works. Buddhagupta’s *rGum chung* is the first and only one to have been recognized to date. The second is the *Guhyagarbha tantra*, at which fact no one should be surprised given its place of prominence among the Mahāyoga tantras. However, the third source of citations in dPal dbyangs’s works—the *Mārgavyūha*—should now give us pause, because it is attributed to none other than Buddhaguhya, a figure identified from at least the ninth century by a variety of historians with our Buddhagupta.

## 5. Buddhaguhya

One of the central lineages for the Great Perfection tradition begins with Indian Mahāyoga exegete Buddhaguhya, whose teachings are described by rNying ma histories as the first descent (or *babs*) of tan-

tric traditions into Tibet.<sup>32</sup> A Tibetan translation of his *Mārgavyūha* is included in the Peking bsTan 'gyur, the *rNying ma bka' ma rgyas pa*, and the *Shin tu rgyas pa*. All three editions attribute the text, a "*man ngag*," to a Sangs rgyas gsang ba, most commonly retro-translated into Sanskrit as Buddhaguhya, beginning with the *Mahāvīyūtpatti*. The *Mārgavyūha* is a self-described Mahāyoga treatise, which both lauds the *Guhyagarbha Tantra* and cites from it without clear attribution. The colophon in the Peking canon's edition attributes the Tibetan translation to gNyags Jñānakumara, one of the lineal links connecting Buddhaguhya with dPal dbyangs in the few histories which mention him.

The greater portion of the *Mārgavyūha* describes the stages of the Mahāyoga path involving explicitly tantric practices of mudra, mantra, and maṇḍala. However, it introduces this ritually focused core of the text by means of an extended doxographical treatment of various thought systems, beginning with a brief account of the cosmological evolution of human beings. It then describes the Way of Gods and Men, the three Lower Buddhist Vehicles and the Lower Tantras of Kriyā and Yoga, and finally the Mahāyogatantra. In this introductory section of the *Mārgavyūha*, Buddhaguhya distinguishes the vehicles and tantras strictly in terms of view, without discussion of distinctions in their ritual or other forms of praxis. To my knowledge, it is the only Indian tantric doxography (albeit extant only in its Tibetan translation) from the late Imperial Period to do so.

dPal dbyangs apparently saw the *Mārgavyūha* as uniquely worthy of emulation in the drafting of his *Thugs kyi sgron ma*, the longest and most important of his *Six Lamps*. In addition to several direct quotations of Buddhaguhya's text therein, dPal dbyangs also adopts some of the *Mārgavyūha*'s unique terminology, models its structure, incorporates its doxographical template, and frequently appears to rely upon Buddhaguhya's citations of the *Guhyagarbha tantra* rather than on the tantra itself.

Some comments on the similarities between the two texts are warranted here. Both use doxography to introduce the Mahāyoga cores of the texts. Both take an evolutionary perspective in descriptions of samsaric rebirths in the Vehicle of Gods and Humans, and both rely upon analysis of distinctions in perspective rather than praxis to describe the Buddhist vehicles. dPal dbyangs begins his doxographical discussion by providing an overview of all Buddhist

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<sup>32</sup> David Germano, "The Seven Descents and the Early History of Rnying Ma Transmissions," in *The Many Canons of Tibetan Buddhism: Proceedings of the Ninth Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies*, ed. Helmut Eimer and David Germano (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 229-32.

views, which like Buddaguhya he categorizes into two (presumably Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna vehicles), and then more precisely, into five common paths and five supreme paths. Though he does not list them, he is most likely following the *Mārgavyūha*'s presentation of the five sutra, or causal, paths of the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*,<sup>33</sup> and the five tantric paths belonging exclusively to Mahāyoga tantra.<sup>34</sup> The five supreme paths are discussed in great detail in Buddaguhya's *Mārgavyūha*, which dedicates a chapter to each.

dPal dbyangs's characterizations include many of the same terms used by Buddaguhya, including a curious use of the term *bla na med pa'i theg pa*, or 'unsurpassed vehicle'. As Dalton has shown, this term was used by several tantric authors of both Indian and Tibetan origin in the eleventh century to refer to the highest form of tantra. *Niruttarayogatantra*, or *anuttarayogatantra* as it has more commonly been labeled in modern gSar ma scholarship, with its systems of subtle body manipulation and clear light meditations was a later development and most likely not known to Buddaguhya or dPal dbyangs. Indeed, in the *Thugs kyi sgron ma*, dPal dbyangs gives no indication that this term references anything associated with the tantras. Instead, he uses the term to categorize those Buddhist vehicles which, ironically, are surpassed by tantra itself within his own system. dPal dbyangs uses the term twice in the *Thugs kyi sgron ma*. In the first such usage, he says:

*As for those on the unsurpassed paths,  
The assertion that they purify objects of abandonment and  
Past deeds through the three disciplines  
Is made by the Sautrāntika [practicing] the yoga of  
cognition.*<sup>35</sup>

Clearly the term here is not meant to refer to a tantric system, but rather a lower form of practice in which objects are abandoned and purified, practices explicitly disparaged by dPal dbyangs. The referent of the second such usage is slightly less clear than the first:

*Thus, [for] those following the Unsurpassed Vehicle,  
In the ultimate, [all] is indivisible, and  
In the merely conventional, all [things]*

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<sup>33</sup> These are the paths of Accumulation, Joining, Seeing, Cultivation, and Being Beyond Training.

<sup>34</sup> These are the Paths of Great Emptiness, Great Compassion, the Single Seal, the Elaborate Seal, and Accomplishment of the Clusters of Maṅḍala.

<sup>35</sup> *Thugs kyi sgron ma* 276b: *bla na med pa'i theg ba pa/ bslab pa gsum gyis spang bya dag/ sol spyod dag pas thob 'dod pa/ rnam rig rnal 'byor mdo sde'o.*

*Are grasped, both the pure and impure.*<sup>36</sup>

This second passage appears to be a direct quotation from Buddhaguhya's *Mārgavyūha*, and we might infer from this earlier context the meaning dPal dbyangs intended in his own use. This passage is followed by lines extolling the Great Vehicle of Method (*thabs kyi theg pa chen po*) in contrast. It appears that Buddhaguhya intended the term 'Unsurpassed Vehicles' to refer to those Buddhist vehicles immediately preceding the tantric vehicles in an ascending order of correctness of view. In fact, dPal dbyangs's quotation omits two important lines from Buddhaguhya's text:

*The Great Views and Activity of Method,  
Are superior to [those of] the Unsurpassed Vehicles.*<sup>37</sup>

Thus, Buddhaguhya uses these two stanzas to describe the three lower sutric views or vehicles as he segues into a discussion of the three lower tantric vehicles, and dPal dbyangs's placement of these passages mirrors Buddhaguhya's exactly. It is an inexplicable choice of term, given its history, its literal meaning, and the very different usage of the term in the authoritative *Guhyagarbha tantra*, but for all this, serves as another indication of dPal dbyangs's dependence upon Buddhaguhya's text.<sup>38</sup>

Though dPal dbyangs must have greatly respected and admired Buddhaguhya's teachings, and though dPal dbyangs's own characterizations of the Mahāyoga view so closely resemble those of Buddhaguhya, there are important distinctions to make between the two presentations. Buddhaguhya's *Mārgavyūha* is primarily a ritual manual prefaced by an explanatory doxography. Though it does take up a few topics central to Indian Buddhist philosophy, its speculations on view are brief and relatively few. Furthermore, the *Mārgavyūha*'s project was to advance the transmission of technological and perhaps iconographic expertise in Mahāyoga rites. dPal dbyangs differs on all these counts. His texts eschew ritual and pictorial description altogether, and are comprised in the main of poetic pronouncements regarding the Mahāyoga view he extracts from the *Mārgavyūha*'s ritual-oriented context.

<sup>36</sup> *Thugs kyi sgron ma 277b: de bas bla med theg pa pa/ don dam du ni dbyer med del kun rāzob tsam du thams cad la/ dag dang ma dag gñis kar 'dzin.*

<sup>37</sup> *Mārgavyūha 472a: thabs kyi lta spyod chen po ni/ bla med theg pa las 'phags pa.*

<sup>38</sup> Since this paper was delivered at the American Academy of Religion annual conference in 2011, Jose Cabezon has also written briefly on this passage in the *Mārgavyūha* and on dPal dbyangs's citation of it. See Jose Cabezon, *The Buddha's Doctrine and the Nine Vehicles* (Oxford: Oxford, 2013), 22-29.

The passages that dPal dbyangs cites from the *Mārgavyūha* are either explicitly doxographical in nature, or they address the more transcendent soteriological, epistemological, and ontological elements of spontaneously arisen primordial wisdom, the purity of appearances, selflessness, and so forth. Indeed the same selective referencing can be seen in the type of passages he takes from the *Guhyagarbha tantra*. These passages provide valuable evidence of dPal dbyangs's compositional intentions. These are, first, to depict and propagate a Mahāyoga movement that was at least rhetorically more concerned with view than with practice. Secondly, we might assume on the basis of his citations that dPal dbyangs also meant to draw that depiction at least in part from a classic Mahāyoga work by one of its most uncontested representatives.

## 6. Conflation

Despite traditional accounts of the primacy and centrality of Buddhaguhya to a variety of Tibetan tantric traditions in addition to the Great Perfection, there is little evidence to elucidate the details of his life and the transmissions of his thought in Tibet without reliance on historically-suspect and often disparate traditional hagiographical treatments. As a result of this hazy history, there long has been controversy regarding his identity. Modern scholars tend to deny traditional assertions that the many translations and exegetical texts attributed to him were accomplished by one man. My own tallying finds 27 tantric texts attributed to a Buddhaguhya in the Peking bsTan 'gyur, ranging from Kriyā to Yoga to Mahāyoga tantra exegesis. Despite common agreement on the matter of authorial conflation, however, it is still far from apparent how to draw those lines of distinction between the two (or more) figures and their works.

One result of the traditional musings regarding the many faces of Buddhaguhya is whether he might be identified with the roughly contemporaneous author Buddhagupta, given that both of these Sanskrit names were considered valid retro-translations of the name Sangs rgyas sangs ba.<sup>39</sup> Though modern historians may roll their eyes at the very question, one might do more than ask whether there has been conflation, but when and why such a fusion of identities occurred. A great deal of research remains to be done on the huge corpus attributed to Buddhaguhya and on the many historical references

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<sup>39</sup> The *Mahāvīryūtpatti* seeks to resolve problems like these already in the early ninth century by associating *sbas pa* with *guptaḥ* and *sangs ba* with *guhyam*.

to the (various) Imperial Period figure(s) named Buddhaguhya before these questions can be answered fully.

Lest it be conjectured otherwise, I am not claiming that this bit of evidence supports an argument for a single identity of a man variously called Buddhaguhya and Buddhagupta. What I would like to suggest, however, is that by the ninth century Master dPal dbyangs saw the author(s) of the *Mārgavyūha* and of the *sBas pa'i rgum chung* as exclusively deserving of the era's highest and most intimate form of regard—unattributed citation. Based on this, it is not a stretch to conjecture that dPal dbyangs understood these texts to have been authored by a single person, one who was both uniquely authoritative and firmly enshrined within his own teaching lineage. Indeed, the passages dPal dbyangs chooses from both texts are remarkably similar in terminology, style, and content.

There may have been another element to dPal dbyangs's admiration for this Buddhaguhya/Buddhagupta than respect for his teachings and for his broad tantric expertise. Davidson has remarked that Yoga tantric commentator Buddhaguhya's most significant contribution to Indian tantric development was to integrate ritual and sacramental elements with mainstream philosophical systems in an attempt to define the newly emerging tantric corpus and practices, thereby making the tantras acceptable to the larger, institutionalized monastic community. It also may have been Buddhaguhya's successful merger of these elements which appealed to the Tibetan emperor as he invited Buddhaguhya to Central Tibet at a time when the national adoption and standardization of the tantric teachings was very much on the sovereign's mind. The integration of practice and thought that Buddhaguhya's collective works represented may have been uniquely attractive to dPal dbyangs as well, as the latter author sought to extract the beautiful speculative filaments of poetic musing and transcendent view from the fabric of normative Indian Mahāyoga literature without thereby rending it to pieces.

In support of this hypothesis that dPal dbyangs meant to cite from the single author (as dPal dbyangs understood him) of the *Mārgavyūha* and the *sBas pa'i rgum chung*, one might also consider two early Tibetan specimens of the well-established Buddhist epistolary tradition. These are Buddhaguhya's *rJe 'bangs dang bod btsun rnams la spring yig* and dPal dbyangs's suspiciously similar *gCes pa bsdus pa'i 'phrin yig*, mentioned previously. Both are letters addressed principally to a Tibetan monarch, expressly tantric in foundation but overwhelmingly mainstream in presentation and topic, and proceed via the highly unusual structure of addressing monarch, ministers, and monastics in turn. There have been many strong assertions that these letters differ enough from the rest of the works attributed re-



spectively to these men to justify our seeing them as misattributed, and I see no reason to contest these observations. However, in light of the many other remarkable parallels described here, one might reasonably imagine that epistler dPal dbyangs sought to emulate Buddhaguhya/Buddhagupta in this format as well, though of course, as I hope to have shown, there are other pegs on which to hang that hat.

### Tibetan Language Sources

gNubs chen sangs rgyas ye shes. *rNal 'byor mig gi bsam gtan or bSam gtan mig sgron: A treatise on bhāvanā and dhyāna and the relationships between the various approaches to Buddhist contemplative practice.* Edited by 'Khor-gdon Gter-sprul 'Chi-med rig-'dzin. Smarntsis Shesrig Spendzod, volume 74. Leh: S. W. Tashigangpa, 1974.

dPal dbyangs. *rDo rje sems dpa'i zhus lan.* P5082

———. *Thugs kyi sgron ma.* P5918

———. *lTa ba yang dag sgron ma.* P5919

———. *mTha yi mun sel sgron ma.* P5920

———. *Thabs shes sgron ma.* P5921

———. *bsGom thabs kyi sgron ma.* P5922

———. *lTa bar in po che sgron ma.* P5923

———. *gCes pa bsdus pa'i 'phrin yig bod rje 'bangs la brdzangs pa.* P5842

Sangs ba'i gsang ba. *sBas pa'i rgum chung.* ITJ 594

———. *Bod rje 'bangs dang btsun rnams la spring yig.* P5693

———. *Lam rim chen mo (Margavyūha).* P4736

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# Reanimating the Great Yogin: On the Composition of the Biographies of the Madman of Tsang (1452-1507)

By David M. DiValerio

## I. Introduction

ne of the most important figures of fifteenth-century Tibet was Sangs rgyas rgyal mtshan, more commonly known as gTsang smyon he ru ka—"the Madman from Tsang, the Heruka" (1452-1507). Sangs rgyas rgyal mtshan became famous as the "Madman of Tsang" for dressing and acting in a seemingly odd fashion that, as I have argued elsewhere, resulted from his literally enacting certain transgressive passages from the Unexcelled Yoga Tantras.<sup>1</sup> Sangs rgyas rgyal mtshan became even more notable for composing and then block-printing in 1488 what quickly became the standard biography or *Life (rnam thar)* and *Collected Songs (mgur 'bum)* of the eleventh-century meditator and poet Mi la ras pa. This was followed by a flurry of writing and publishing activity by the Madman of Tsang's disciples, who are responsible for creating many of the biographies and song collections of the early luminaries of the Kagyü sect. The body of work produced by the Madman of Tsang and his literary school has been addressed in recent studies by Michela Clemente, Franz-Karl Ehrhard, Stefan Larsson, Andrew Quintman, Peter Alan Roberts, Kurtis Schaeffer, Marta Sernesi, and others.

Much of what we think we know about the Madman of Tsang's life is derived from three versions of his biography, written by three of his disciples: dNgos grub dpal 'bar (1456-1527), lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal (1473-1557), and rGod tshang ras pa sna tshogs rang grol (1482-1559). There has been some uncertainty regarding the order in which these texts were composed and the relationships they bear to one another. The purpose of this article is to clarify what we know about when each biography was written and to establish the relationships between them, based on close readings of their contents.<sup>2</sup> The

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<sup>1</sup> See *The Holy Madmen of Tibet*. Research for this article was carried out with support from a Junior Fellowship from the American Institute for Indian Studies and an award from the Graduate School Research Council at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee.

<sup>2</sup> To summarize a few of the assertions this article seeks to redress: In his introduction to the 1969 reprint of rGod tshang ras pa's version of the *Life of the Madman of Tsang*, E. Gene Smith stated that it was the last of the three hagiographies to be

Madman of Tsang's *Collected Songs* and a *gSol 'debs* ("praise") of the great yogin composed by lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal will also be discussed, as dNgos grub dpal 'bar, lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal and rGod tshang ras pa at times drew from these texts in the course of writing their respective versions of the *Life of the Madman of Tsang*. Other sources that might illuminate these matters—like the biographies of dNgos grub dpal 'bar, lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal, and rGod tshang ras pa—will not be considered in this article.

In the course of establishing the relationships between these texts, this article will shed some light on the process through which these biographies were written, including the role the Madman of Tsang seems to have played in telling his own life story. The production of each of these biographies emerges as a highly collaborative process.

## II. dNgos grub dpal 'bar's version of the *Life*

The first of the three biographies of the Madman of Tsang was written by dNgos grub dpal 'bar, with the title *The Ordinary Biography of the Venerable Heruka from Tsang, Called, "The Lion of Faith Atop the Snow Mountain of Good Qualities."* The text's colophon states that it was finished in 1508 (*sa pho 'brug*), the year after the great yogin's death.<sup>3</sup> The

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written, and this in 1547; "Introduction to *The Life of Gtsang smyon Heruka*," 62. This seems to be based on a misreading of the colophon. Numerous authors, myself included, have at times been influenced by Smith's claim. As will be shown below, the text was written in 1512, 1524 or 1536. Peter Alan Roberts has argued that lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal's version of the *Life* must have been the last of the three to be written, based on the fact that in its colophon the author mentions that there were earlier biographies—in the plural—of the Madman of Tsang written by his past dharma brothers. Roberts assumes that this must include rGod tshang ras pa's version of the *Life*, along with dNgos grub dpal 'bar's; *Biographies of Rechungpa*, 40-1. This is mistaken. Although lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal drew from a number of texts concerning the life of the Madman of Tsang, I will show that rGod tshang ras pa's version of the *Life* was not one of them. Although Roberts may be correct that lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal's was the last of the three biographies to be written, the proof he offers for this is faulty. Andrew Quintman has stated that "large portions" of rGod tshang ras pa's version of the *Life of the Madman of Tsang* were copied directly from lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal's; "Mi la ras pa's Many Lives," 191-2. This is mistaken. It is not that rGod tshang ras pa drew from lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal's version of the *Life*, but that both drew from dNgos grub dpal 'bar's, as well as other shared sources. Noting the similarities between these three biographies, Stefan Larsson has stated that it is "plausible to assume" that rGod tshang ras pa and lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal both drew from dNgos grub dpal 'bar's version of the *Life* when creating their own; *Crazy for Wisdom*, 42. In this article I hope to prove Larsson's suspicion to be correct.

<sup>3</sup> 30b3. For a transcription and analysis of the colophon, see Ehrhard, "Editing and Publishing the Master's Writings," 154-5.

woodblocks were most likely carved shortly after the text was written.

Concerning the process by which the biography was composed, early in the narrative dNgos grub dpal 'bar describes how during a time when he was receiving instructions from the Madman of Tsang, he was requested by some of the great yogin's main students to write his biography (*rnam thar*). dNgos grub dpal 'bar got the Madman of Tsang's permission to do so, asked him some questions about his life, then set about composing a verse root text (*rtsa tshig*) relating his life story. This was in 1507, shortly before the Madman of Tsang's death. Not long after, the Madman of Tsang's disciples encouraged dNgos grub dpal 'bar to write a commentary (in prose) expanding on these verses, which resulted in the full version of the *Life* finished in 1508.<sup>4</sup> The original verses are preserved within the *Life*. Stefan Larsson has extracted and translated what he believes to have been dNgos grub dpal 'bar's original verse biography. It is comprised of fifteen four-line stanzas, the first ten of which follow the form, "... to you I bow" (... *la 'dud*).<sup>5</sup>

Toward the beginning of the *Life*, dNgos grub dpal 'bar states that the majority of his version of the biography is based on things he heard directly from the Madman of Tsang (*rje bstun nyid la dngos su thos pa*), while other parts are derived from other reliable sources.<sup>6</sup> Later, in the author's colophon, dNgos grub dpal 'bar specifies what sources he was drawing from: he describes his composition of the *Life* as "bringing into one place" things he had heard directly from the great yogin; notes (*skyus khrigs*) by the disciple Nor bu dpal ldan; notes (*tho yig*) about the Swayambhūnāth stūpa by one rGod tshang pa (which may refer to rGod tshang ras pa sna tshogs rang gro<sup>7</sup>); notes about the master's death by Lo paN pa [Jam dpal chos lha]; and things he heard from the master's consort and patron, the lady

<sup>4</sup> 2b3-5.

<sup>5</sup> Larsson, "Birth of A Heruka," 284-7.

<sup>6</sup> 2b5-6.

<sup>7</sup> dNgos grub dpal 'bar's, lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal's and rGod tshang ras pa's versions of the *Life* all have very similar passages describing the renovation of the stūpa. In his version of the *Life*, dNgos grub dpal 'bar mentions drawing from a *Shing kun tho yig* by one Thugs sras rgod tshang pa, which may refer to a text written by rGod tshang ras pa; Larsson, *Crazy for Wisdom*, 41. The long section in rGod tshang ras pa's version of the *Life* describing the renovation of the stūpa, 213.5-220.6, is said to have been extracted from a certain description of the stūpa referred to as the *Kun rang gi dkar chag*. lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal and rGod tshang ras pa may be drawing from dNgos grub dpal 'bar's description of the renovation (which was based on another source), or from a separate text (perhaps by rGod tshang ras pa) that circulated independently. Although there are various *dkar chag* of the stūpa, I have been unable to find the text dNgos grub dpal 'bar drew from.

Kun tu bzang mo.<sup>8</sup> Lo paN pa edited the biography and oversaw its printing; he would also have a hand in compiling the Madman of Tsang's *Collected Songs* around this same time.<sup>9</sup>

dNgos grub dpal 'bar's version is a brief, spotty account of the Madman of Tsang's life, totaling sixty folio-sides. Its chapters are unnumbered. There are no dates in the text, save for those of the Madman of Tsang's birth and death, and of dNgos grub dpal 'bar's composing the versified sketch and finishing the final prose version of the *Life*. The text is very readable, free from the bad spelling for which rGod tshang ras pa's version of the *Life* has become infamous. Much of dNgos grub dpal 'bar's text would be repeated word-for-word by rGod tshang ras pa and lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal when writing their respective versions of the *Life*, as will be shown below.

A passage in dNgos grub dpal 'bar's version of the *Life*—which would be repeated in the later versions—allows some insight into the process through which this biography was composed. dNgos grub dpal 'bar tells of a period early in the Madman of Tsang's career when he was living near rTsa ri and practicing meditation intensively, focusing on the deity Hevajra. dNgos grub dpal 'bar here mentions that a significant event attesting to the Madman of Tsang's special relationship with Hevajra occurred at this time, which the great yogin would tell him about years later, in the course of narrating his "secret *Life*" (*gsang ba'i rnam thar*). dNgos grub dpal 'bar states that this story will be related in full later on in the *Life*.<sup>10</sup> True to his word, some thirty-three folio-sides later, dNgos grub dpal 'bar tells the tale. Two days before his death, the Madman of Tsang was giving teachings to some of his disciples. dNgos grub dpal 'bar writes that at that time, the great yogin "told us the sacred teaching of his 'secret *Life*' in these exact *vajra* words..."<sup>11</sup> After an homage of *na mo gu ru de wa Da ki ni*, a story is given in the first person voice, as if narrated directly by the Madman of Tsang, beginning with the line, "At the time when I (*kho bo*) was staying at the great abode of rTsa ri..." The Madman of Tsang then relates how one day (in a dream? in a vision?) he found himself before his guru, Sha ra rab 'byams pa, in a temple made of corpses, the ground covered with blood. When Sangs rgyas rgyal mtshan knelt to request an empowerment, he saw an expression of great fright on his master's face. Sangs rgyas rgyal mtshan turned around to see a giant skeleton with nine heads and eighteen arms

<sup>8</sup> 30b1-2.

<sup>9</sup> Ehrhard, "Editing and Publishing," 155-8.

<sup>10</sup> 9a6-7.

<sup>11</sup> *gsang ba'i rnam thar zhal gdams rdo rje'i tha tshig 'di ltar du gnang ngo*, 25b7. For more information on and a translation of this passage, see Larsson, *Crazy for Wisdom*, 126-9.

coming toward him. The yogin tried to flee, but the skeleton caught him and swallowed him whole. He immediately arrived in a divine mansion inhabited by Hevajra and his retinue. Sangs rgyas rgyal mtshan then asked Hevajra for an empowerment. The deity gave him some *samaya* vows to adhere to, followed by a series of tantric empowerments. At the time of the “word empowerment,” Hevajra took up a *vajra* and bell, and with his right hand poking the yogin in the chest, spoke some verses, including the words, “This wisdom is very subtle...” (*ye shes 'di ni ches phra zhing*), which are drawn from the *Hevajra Tantra*. The Madman of Tsang states that from hearing these words, he completely understood the meaning of the four empowerments and knew that he had obtained the blessing of Hevajra. dNgos grub dpal 'bar punctuates the end of this first person account with the Sanskrit phrase *e baM*, then returns to the narrative of the *Life*, stating that after the yogin told this story, his disciples knew that he would not live much longer.

The earliest biography of the Madman of Tsang is thus already a hybrid, based on multiple sources. These include dNgos grub dpal 'bar's own understanding of the events of the yogin's life, some of which he observed directly; notes composed by other of the great yogin's followers; and tales told by the Madman of Tsang himself, rendered by dNgos grub dpal 'bar in either the third person voice or the first.

### III. The Collected Songs of the Madman of Tsang

The fifty-four folio-side *Collected Songs* of the Madman of Tsang bears the title *The Collected Songs of the Noble Heruka from Tsang, Called, "The Lord of Jewels, Showing the Path of Omniscience."* The text is easy to read, with relatively few spelling errors. In my counting, the collection is comprised of twenty-nine compositions. Twenty-six are songs or poems, varying in length from nine lines to almost three hundred.<sup>12</sup> Of the three passages entirely in prose, the first is a description of how, on the occasion of their final meeting, Sha ra rab 'byams pa commanded Sangs rgyas rgyal mtshan to take up a life of great asceticism, which continues into a description of how the yogin forced his way into the palace of Khri rnam rgyal lde in Mang yul gung thang while performing the tantric practice of the Observance (*brtul zhugs*; in Sanskrit, *vrata*). The second prose passage describes

<sup>12</sup> At the end of the text, 27a5, it is stated that there are twenty-seven *mgur* in the collection. It may be that I have failed to notice the transition from one song to the one that follows it, thus lumping two together and counting them as a single song.



how the deity Viśvakarman appeared before and spoke to the yogin when he was preparing to work on the Swayambhūnāth stūpa. The third is an account of the Madman of Tsang's final words to his disciples, in which he congratulates them on having met Mi la ras pa (i.e., him).<sup>13</sup> It seems that the compilers of the *Collected Songs* saw these passages as significant enough to warrant their inclusion in the collection, even though they were not songs or poems. They may be notes on the yogin's life taken down by his disciples, likely based on things he himself said.

Each of the twenty-six verse compositions included in the *Collected Songs* is preceded by a brief description of the context in which it was sung or composed, in most cases including where the Madman of Tsang was at the time, with whom he was interacting, and the topic of discussion between them. Many of the songs and compositions are followed by brief statements about the effects the yogin's words had on the people to whom they were addressed. For example, in describing the context in which one song was sung, it is stated that the Madman of Tsang was invited to Skyid grong by the local king and his son, and while staying at Kos dkar brag he met a Bönpo from Khams named rDo rje snying po. The Bönpo requested dharma teachings from the yogin. In the course of instructing the Bönpo about the nature of the mind, the Madman of Tsang sang the twenty-two-line song that is then related. After the song, the text states that because of hearing this teaching, "the Bönpo encountered the true nature of the mind and turned to the dharma"—i.e., became a Buddhist. This song is also included in rGod tshang ras pa's and lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal's versions of the *Life of the Madman of Tsang*, but with some details changed.<sup>14</sup>

It seems that the contents of the *Collected Songs* are meant to be understood as given in chronological order, for, as will be mentioned again below, rGod tshang ras pa for the most part kept the songs in this same order when incorporating them into his version of the *Life*.

The work of compiling the *Collected Songs* probably took place alongside dNgos grub dpal 'bar's writing his version of the *Life*. The colophon to the *Collected Songs* states that Kun tu bzang mo went over part of the song collection with the great yogin himself, making sure that things were correct as they were written down. The collection was finished shortly after the yogin's death and printed under the sponsorship of Kun tu bzang mo (whose portrait is included on the final page of the document). The first third of the *Collected Songs* was

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<sup>13</sup> 4a2-6, 25b5-7, 27a3-6.

<sup>14</sup> *Mgur 'bum*, 10a6-10b4; rGod tshang ras pa, 93.7-94.5; lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal, 66.1-5.

compiled by Lo paN pa 'jam dpal chos lha.<sup>15</sup> The rest of the collection was compiled by rGod tshang ras pa.

No date is given for when the *Collected Songs* were finalized or printed, but we can safely assume that this was around the same time that dNgos grub dpal 'bar's version of the *Life* was written and printed, 1508, for a handful of reasons. In rGod tshang ras pa's version of the *Life of the Madman of Tsang*, the printing of these two texts is said to have taken place at the same time.<sup>16</sup> Moreover, Kun tu bzang mo is mentioned as the main sponsor for the printing of both texts, making it likely that work on the two would have taken place at the same time. Also, the physical block print of the *Collected Songs* at our disposal is very similar to that of dNgos grub dpal 'bar's version of the *Life*, in terms of the size of the printed pages, the line borders around the text, and the depiction of the Madman of Tsang on the first page. The print of dNgos grub dpal 'bar's version of the *Life* bears the letter *ga* on the left side of the page before each page number, while the *Collected Songs* bear the letter *nga*. This suggests that they were the third and fourth volumes of a greater collection.<sup>17</sup>

The literary record of the life of the Madman of Tsang is, to this point, relatively straightforward. Things become more complicated when we consider the two later versions of the *Life of the Madman of Tsang* and their relationships to these earlier texts.

#### IV. rGod tshang ras pa's version of the *Life*

rGod tshang ras pa sna tshogs rang grol's biography of the Madman of Tsang bears the title *The Life Story of the Madman of Tsang, the Heruka, who is Victorious in All Respects, Called, "The Heart of the Sun, Clarifying the Vajrayāna."* The author's colophon states that the text was finished in a monkey year (*spre'u lo*). This most likely refers to 1512, but could also be 1524 or 1536.<sup>18</sup> The holdings of the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project contain an untitled verse composition in praise of the Madman of Tsang, in one folio, which was written by rGod tshang ras pa at rTsa ri on the occasion of his finishing writing the *Life*. Unfortunately, it does not mention a date.<sup>19</sup>

Many scholars have asserted that the copy of rGod tshang ras pa's

<sup>15</sup> Ehrhard, "Editing and Publishing," 155-7.

<sup>16</sup> 282.2.

<sup>17</sup> The first two volumes may well have been the Madman of Tsang's versions of the *Life* and *Collected Songs* of Mi la ras pa; Ehrhard, "Editing and Publishing," 154.

<sup>18</sup> rGod tshang ras pa, 284.5. Ehrhard, "Editing and Publishing," 145; Roberts, *Biographies of Rechungpa*, 41.

<sup>19</sup> This is the fourth of seven texts contained within NGMPP L803/5.

version of the *Life* that is at our disposal was written in 1547. There is no clear statement in the text's colophon to support this view.

At 293 folio-sides, rGod tshang ras pa's version of the *Life* is twice as long as lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal's and almost five times as long as dNgos grub dpal 'bar's. It is the most detailed of the three, and is remarkably well organized. The *Life* is divided into three parts (*tshom*), fifteen chapters (*le'u*), and forty-three subsections (*skor*).<sup>20</sup> The fifteen chapter headings are listed at the beginning of the *Life*, then given in variant forms marking the end of each chapter. At the beginning of each chapter, the number of subsections it will include is stated. Within each chapter, the subsections are numbered and clearly marked. This is a rare feat of organization in a text of this genre.

There are very few dates in the text, save for those of the yogin's birth and death. The age of the young Sangs rgyas rgyal mtshan is given a few times when describing the early years of his life.

Much of rGod tshang ras pa's version of the *Life* is comprised of material taken directly from the Madman of Tsang's *Collected Songs* (which rGod tshang ras pa helped compile). Every song or composition included in the Madman of Tsang's *Collected Songs* is included in this version of the *Life*. There are a handful of brief verse exchanges in rGod tshang ras pa's version of the *Life* that are not in the *Collected Songs*. rGod tshang ras pa also includes the three prose passages from the Madman of Tsang's *Collected Songs*, re-using the three passages almost word-for-word, but making liberal additions in select places.<sup>21</sup> The way rGod tshang ras pa describes the context and audience for these verse compositions in his version of the *Life* are in most cases based nearly word-for-word on the contexts as they were given in the *Collected Songs*, although rGod tshang ras pa at times expands these snippets to a few more descriptive sentences. For example, in describing the context for a song the Madman of Tsang sang for the king Shes rab dpal bzang, the *Collected Songs* describes how the yogin was staying in the capital of Gung thang, giving teachings to the king and his son, at which time Shes rab dpal bzang requested a teaching, which the yogin gave in the form of a song. In setting up the context for this same song in his version of the *Life*, rGod tshang ras pa adds the details that it was summer and they were planning to go to Mount Kailash; the Madman of Tsang sent some of his disciples ahead, while he and a few others stayed behind for an extra month. It was on the occasion of the Madman of Tsang's making ready to leave

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<sup>20</sup> The accounting given at the end of the text, 283.6, says that there are forty-two sub-sections (*skor*), but by my and E. Gene Smith's counting, there are forty-three; Smith, "Introduction," 62.

<sup>21</sup> 25.5, 216.3-4, 273.3-5.

after that month that he sang the song.<sup>22</sup> rGod tshang ras pa thus drew directly from the *Collected Songs*, but felt free to make changes or elaborate where he saw fit.

When re-using songs, compositions and episodes from the *Collected Songs* in his version of the *Life*, rGod tshang ras pa kept them in the same order, save for three exceptions.<sup>23</sup> This suggests that the contents of the *Collected Songs* were understood as being in chronological order.

In composing his version of the *Life* of the Madman of Tsang, rGod tshang ras pa also made extensive use of the version written by dNgos grub dpal 'bar. In some places, rGod tshang ras pa lifts passages from dNgos grub dpal 'bar's version word-for-word. In other places, rGod tshang ras pa draws from dNgos grub dpal 'bar's version while adding to it. As an example of the former, rGod tshang ras pa's description of a scene when, on his way to Nepal, the Madman of Tsang was moved by his overwhelming compassion to buy a woman and her three children out of slavery is taken directly from dNgos grub dpal 'bar's version of the *Life*. rGod tshang ras pa's version is word-for-word the same, but adds some egregious spelling errors (at least in the printing at our disposal).<sup>24</sup> For an example of the latter, we may look at the description of activity and miracles that took place just after the Madman of Tsang's death: here rGod tshang ras pa is clearly working from dNgos grub dpal 'bar's description of these events, but deviating from and adding to it.<sup>25</sup> Further comparisons between passages in rGod tshang ras pa's and dNgos grub dpal 'bar's respective versions of the *Life* will be given below, once lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal's version has been added to the discussion.

rGod tshang ras pa also repeats the story of the Madman of Tsang's being swallowed by a skeleton and receiving empowerments from Hevajra, drawing directly from dNgos grub dpal 'bar's version of the *Life*. rGod tshang ras pa includes the story at the same place in

<sup>22</sup> *Mgur 'bum*, 24b4-25a3; rGod tshang ras pa, 176.7-177.6.

<sup>23</sup> 1) rGod tshang ras pa moves Sha ra rab 'byams pa's final instructions to the Madman of Tsang to an earlier moment in his life, before any of the yogin's songs are recounted; beginning at rGod tshang ras pa, 25.5; *Mgur 'bum*, 4a2. 2) A song sung at Ron 'od gsal phug is moved to an earlier moment in the yogin's life; rGod tshang ras pa, 88.2-89.1; *Mgur 'bum*, 11b4-12a4; also included in lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal's version, 80.4-81.3. 3) The song that follows the previous one in the *Mgur 'bum*, 12a7-13a4, is also moved up slightly in rGod tshang ras pa's version of the *Life*.

<sup>24</sup> rGod tshang ras pa, 173.4-7; dNgos grub dpal 'bar, 18a4-18b1. This story is not told in lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal's version of the *Life*; if it were, we would expect it to come at 101.7. Smith, "Introduction," 68, discusses this passage in the course of his analysis of rGod tshang ras pa's writing style. It should instead be attributed to dNgos grub dpal 'bar.

<sup>25</sup> rGod tshang ras pa, 275.4-276.6; dNgos grub dpal 'bar, 27b2-28a6.

the narrative that dNgos grub dpal 'bar had: near the end of the yogin's life, just two days before his death (at the time of the yogin's telling of the event, rather than when it purportedly occurred). rGod tshang ras pa's version of what is again referred to as part of the Madman of Tsang's "secret *Life*" (*gsang ba'i rnam thar*) follows dNgos grub dpal 'bar's wording almost exactly, save for some minor differences in particles and the addition of some spelling mistakes.<sup>26</sup> As in dNgos grub dpal 'bar's version, this is the only passage in rGod tshang ras pa's version of the *Life* told in the first person, as if from the perspective of the Madman of Tsang himself.

There are many episodes in rGod tshang ras pa's version of the *Life* that do not appear in either dNgos grub dpal 'bar's or lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal's account. To name a sampling of these: there is the tale of how the first Dpa' bo, Chos dbang lhun grub (1440-1503), sent his younger brother to train under the Madman of Tsang; the story of how Kun tu bzang mo came to be his follower; the story of how his students got drunk at a tantric feast accompanying a twenty-ninth-of-the-month *torma* (*dgu gtor*) and almost got into a fight with one another; the story of the evil abbot of Ding ri glang 'khor, who scolded an artist for making statues in the yogin's likeness; the letter of safe passage (*lam yig*) the Madman of Tsang gave to his disciples, which would be lampooned by 'Brug pa kun legs in his *Miscellaneous Writings*; and many others.<sup>27</sup> rGod tshang ras pa's version of the *Life* is the only one of the three to mention the Madman of Tsang's interactions with his peer, dBus smyon Kun dga' bzang po, the Madman of Ü (1458-1532).

Lastly, there are the questions of how rGod tshang ras pa positions himself with respect to his version of the *Life* and how he positions it in relation to other texts. At one point in the narrative, rGod tshang ras pa mentions himself in the third person, marking the moment when he and some others became disciples of the Madman of Tsang. On this occasion, rGod tshang ras pa refers to himself as "one who gathered the words of [the Madman of Tsang] for the purpose of blessing his lineage."<sup>28</sup> Here rGod tshang ras pa describes himself as something like an embedded reporter, making a record of events as

<sup>26</sup> The story runs 272.3-273.3 and is introduced as *gsang ba'i rnam thar zhal gdams rdo rje'i tha tshig*. rGod tshang ras pa's version changes the Madman of Tsang's first person pronoun *kho bo* to *nga*, then directly after this changes a *nga* to a *kho bo*, dNgos grub dpal 'bar, 16a2; rGod tshang ras pa, 272.6.

<sup>27</sup> Dpa' bo, 126.6-127.3; Kun tu bzang mo, 140.1-142.1; fight, 149.3-150.2; abbot, 165.2-166.3; *lam yig*, 191.3-192.5. On the *lam yig*, see 'Brug pa kun legs kyi rnam thar, 79.17-83.15; Stein, *Vie et chants*, 143-8; DiValerio, *The Holy Madmen of Tibet*, chapter 6.

<sup>28</sup> *rje nyid kyi rgyud byin gyis rlabs phyir bka' yi bsdud pa po rgod tshang ras pa sna tshogs ming can*, 208.3.

they took place. In the colophon to his version of the *Life*, rGod tshang ras pa mentions that he was repeatedly requested by Kun tu bzang mo and many of his dharma brothers to write a version of the yogin's life, very similar to the way dNgos grub dpal 'bar had been petitioned. rGod tshang ras pa states that he composed this version of the *Life* based on the Madman of Tsang's own account of things (most likely mediated through notes rGod tshang ras pa had been taking), and the reliable accounts of the dharma brothers who preceded him.<sup>29</sup> rGod tshang ras pa does not state explicitly that he drew from dNgos grub dpal 'bar's version of the *Life* or from the *Collected Songs*, although the printing of these texts had been mentioned just earlier in the *Life*.<sup>30</sup>

One of the Madman of Tsang's great innovations in his literary work on Mi la ras pa was to extract the songs from the biography and put them in a separate *Collected Songs*. This made the narrative of the *Life* flow more smoothly and helped create the engrossing tale we know and love today. It is interesting to observe that shortly after the Madman of Tsang's death, a collection of songs and a separate biography were written and printed. But his two later biographers, rGod tshang ras pa and lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal, both saw fit to rewrite his *Life* with the songs embedded within it. It would seem that the Madman of Tsang's innovation of separating the *Songs* from the *Life* could not stand up against the prevailing literary conventions of his time.

### V. lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal's *gSol 'debs* of the Madman of Tsang

The holdings of the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project contain two different printings of a four-folio *gSol 'debs* of the Madman of Tsang composed by lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal. The text, which only bears the title *gSol 'debs*, tells the life of the Madman of Tsang in fifty four-line stanzas. According to the colophon, the *gSol 'debs* was written (*sbyar*) at Ling ba brag dmar in 1522 (*chu pho rta*).<sup>31</sup>

The events of the yogin's life are broken into various acts, in a terse, almost mnemonic form. All but two of the stanzas take the form, "To you who... I bow" (*khyod la 'dud*). lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal's *gSol 'debs* of the Madman of Tsang is similar to the versified

<sup>29</sup> ... yang yang skul nas/ phal cher rje btsun rang gi gsung ji lta ba la/ mched grogs gong ma rnams kyi gsung sogs nges pa can rnams kyi's phra btob te rags pa mdo tsam bkod pa 'di nyid, 284.3-4.

<sup>30</sup> 282.2.

<sup>31</sup> NGMPP L581/6, 4a6-7.

account of the yogin's life composed by dNgos grub dpal 'bar in tenor and in their reliance on the form "... to you I bow." However, a close reading reveals that the two texts bear no direct relationship to each other.

In the second quatrain, lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal states that he will undertake to write just a little about the yogin's life, "although his 'secret *Life*' is infinite."<sup>32</sup> In the colophon, the author refers to the work just finished as "this versified praise of the noble Madman of Tsang, drawn mainly from his 'secret *Life*,' written with the intention of benefitting self and others."<sup>33</sup> This suggests that in composing this *gSol 'debs*, lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal was working from the Madman of Tsang's own, probably oral telling of his life.

To review the contents of lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal's *gSol 'debs* of the Madman of Tsang, the future yogin's residing in his mother's womb, his birth, childhood, turning toward the dharma and renouncing worldly life are all told in a single quatrain. The first third of the text then moves swiftly through his meeting his guru, receiving empowerments, and his yogic training, followed by further austerities and meditation. The yogin's eccentric activity at rTsa ri and his receiving the name "the Madman of Tsang" are told in the fourteenth quatrain.

Much of the middle third of the text tells of miracles, visions of and interactions with divine beings the yogin had while staying in various places. When staying at Dom tshang, he was charged by an apparition of a boar, which led to a vision of Cakrasamvara; while staying at g.Yu mtsho, he had a vision of Vajrayoginī. One time he made a *torma* offering, which was followed by an earthquake and a vision of Mahākāla. Other passages tell of his miraculously crossing a river seated in the lotus posture, without a boat; his taking the Tshe ring/rings mched lnga, "Five Long-Life Sisters," as his consorts; a vision he had of Mi la ras pa and Pha dam pa sangs rgyas together; a vision of the *arhats* at Mount Kailash; and so on.<sup>34</sup>

The final third of the text contains many verses praising the yogin's accomplishments in a more general way: his manifesting realization of the Mahāmudrā; his accomplishment of *siddhis*; and his success in instructing disciples, some of whom are mentioned by name.

<sup>32</sup> *mgon khyod gsang ba'i rnam thar mtha' yas kyang / mchog dang thun mong gdul bya'i snang ngo ru/ brtul zhugs spyod pas rdzu 'phrul bstan tshul la/ ngo mtshar dad pas mdo tsam bstod par bgyi*, 1b1-2. The words missing from the broken corner of the paper are supplied from lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal's full version of the *Life*, 3.3.

<sup>33</sup> *rje btsun gtsang pa smyon pa la gtso bor gsang ba'i rnam thar gyi sgo nas bstod pa/ don gnyis mthar phyin bces pa'i tshigsu bcad pa 'di*, 4a5-6.

<sup>34</sup> Cakrasamvara, 2a4-5; Vajrayoginī, 2a5; Mahākāla, 2a7-2b1; river crossing, 2b2-3; Long-Life Sisters, 2b5; Mi la ras pa and Pha dam pa, 2b6; *arhats*, 3a1.

Many of the yogin's important works are referred to only obliquely: the *Life of Milarepa* (simply called "the *rnam thar*") is mentioned only once, when it is said that the yogin was encouraged by the Long-Life Sisters to write it.<sup>35</sup> All that is said about the yogin's renovation of the Swayambhūnāth stūpa in 1504 is that he was praised by the *yakṣas* (*gnod sbyin*) and *dākinīs* when outfitting the thirteen-ringed tower with a new parasol.<sup>36</sup> This text is impressionistic, giving glimpses of the significant events of the Madman of Tsang's life and some of its flavor.

Many of the events in the yogin's life mentioned in the *gSol 'debs* are of visions and occurrences that only the yogin himself was party to, and which are not mentioned in dNgos grub dpal 'bar's or rGod tshang ras pa's versions of the *Life*, or in the *Collected Songs*. It would seem that much of the autobiographical account (the "secret *Life*") given by the Madman of Tsang to IHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal was taken up with these more intimate details of his life. This is in keeping with how the term "secret *Life*" was used in dNgos grub dpal 'bar's version of the *Life* (to be repeated in rGod tshang ras pa's as well), as referring to the yogin's first-hand account of his being swallowed by a skeleton.

## VI. IHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal's version of the *Life*

IHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal's version of the *Life* of the Madman of Tsang is titled *The Life Story of the Mad Siddha from Tsang, Called, "That which Gives Goosebumps of Faith."* The colophon is somewhat unclear, and could be read as saying that IHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal finished composing his version of the *Life* in 1543 (*chu pho yos*) at Brag dkar rta so, or that it was printed in 1543, leaving the date of its composition unstated.<sup>37</sup> As this version of the *Life* includes within it the composition finalized by IHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal in 1522, it was likely written between 1522 and 1543. It is thus most likely the last of the three versions of the *Life* to be written. However, we cannot be sure about this, because of uncertainties over which monkey year (1512, 1524 or 1536) rGod tshang ras pa's version was written in and when exactly IHa btsun composed his versified account of the yogin's

<sup>35</sup> 3a5.

<sup>36</sup> 4a1.

<sup>37</sup> ... bya btang lha'i btsun pa rin chen rnam rgyal gyis/ mdzes byed zhes bya chu mo yos kyi lo hor zla da(?)g pa'i dkar phyogs kyi 'grub sbyor 'dzom pa (/? ) la par du bsgrubs pa pa 'dis kyang, 128.2-3. The edition of IHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal's version of the *Life* of the Madman of Tsang used in this study is not made from the original Brag dkar rta so woodblocks; Larsson, *Crazy for Wisdom*, 50.



life (despite the date of 1522 being given).<sup>38</sup>

The uncertainty over whether rGod tshang ras pa's version of the *Life* preceded lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal's or *vice versa* is not particularly important, however, because of the fact that neither text bears any sign of having been influenced by the other. A close reading makes clear that the two texts are completely independent of one another. lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal's version of the *Life* does, however, draw from dNgos grub dpal 'bar's version of the *Life*, the *Collected Songs*, and the *gSol 'debs*. This version of the *Life* also includes original sections added by lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal, which likely derived from his direct contact with the Madman of Tsang, as will be shown below.

lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal's version of the *Life* is the only one of the three that consistently tells us *when* in the Madman of Tsang's life certain events occurred. For example, the *Life* states that the Madman of Tsang was twenty-five when he met Thang stong rgyal po at Ri bo che; that he was forty-five when he went on his second trip to Kathmandu; that he was fifty when he accepted the request that he should renovate the Swayambhūnāth stūpa, and so on.<sup>39</sup>

lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal's version of the *Life* is organized as a series of expansions on the stanzas of the *gSol 'debs*. lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal's version of the *Life* includes a total of forty-eight of the printed version of the *gSol 'debs*'s quatrains, kept in their original order; it is missing three of the quatrains included in the *gSol 'debs*, but adds one of its own.<sup>40</sup> The prose sections between the verses vary in length, from only a few lines to twelve folios. The prose sections that follow each verse expand on the events described therein. Some of these sections relate the events of a significant time in the yogin's life, in the manner that we would expect from a work of the *rnam thar* genre. Other sections have little to say and are quite short, especially later in the text, when they are expanding on the *gSol 'debs*'s descriptions of the yogin's realizations and meditative accomplishments. These latter prose sections basically offer only a commentary on the

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<sup>38</sup> A biography of lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal mentions that he wrote a versified account of the life of the Madman of Tsang just after the great yogin told him the story of his life; Larsson, *Crazy for Wisdom*, 49-50. It may be that the text finalized by lHa btsun in 1522 is the same as or very similar to the one he must have written before 1507. If that is the case, then lHa btsun may have written his version of the *Life* before 1522, leaving us unable to say anything about the dating of the text other than that it was finished before 1543.

<sup>39</sup> 41.5, 102.1, 111.7.

<sup>40</sup> The stanza added by lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal, absent from the *gSol 'debs*, is at 15.3. The three stanzas of the *gSol 'debs* not included in the *Life* are at 2a2, 2a5-6, and 3a2-3.

verse itself.<sup>41</sup>

Much of the second half of lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal's version of the *Life* is taken up by twenty-one songs that were originally in the *Collected Songs* of the Madman of Tsang. There are eight songs in the *Collected Songs* that are not included in lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal's version of the *Life*. These eight songs are contiguous and come near the end of the *Collected Songs*.<sup>42</sup> This suggests that lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal was working from a physically incomplete copy of the *Collected Songs*, or from an earlier collection of the great yogin's songs that preceded the one finalized around 1508.

lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal's version of the *Life* also includes the three prose sections of the *Collected Songs*, with some changes made to them.<sup>43</sup>

There are also three songs in lHa btsun's version of the *Life* that are not included in the *Collected Songs* or in rGod tshang ras pa's version of the *Life*.<sup>44</sup>

Just as rGod tshang ras pa had, for the most part lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal follows the *Collected Songs* in explaining the context in which these songs were sung, but sometimes diverges from it significantly. In the way that lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal's version diverges from the *Collected Songs*, there is no evidence of its being influenced by rGod tshang ras pa's.<sup>45</sup>

lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal's version of the *Life* also draws directly from dNgos grub dpal 'bar's, sometimes reusing passages exactly, sometimes modifying them, just as rGod tshang ras pa's had. Significantly, the ways in which rGod tshang ras pa's and lHa btsun

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<sup>41</sup> See the section running 105-108, in which eight verses and their explanations given in quick succession, with little being added to the narrative save for wonderment at the yogin's state of realization.

<sup>42</sup> *Mgur 'bum*, 21a6-27a1. The text ends at 27b.

<sup>43</sup> 1) The final meeting with Sha ra rab 'byams pa, *Mgur 'bum*, 4a2-3; lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal, 13.4-5; also included in rGod tshang ras pa, 25.5. 2) Viśvakarma, *Mgur 'bum*, 25b5-7; lHa btsun, 115.5-6; also in rGod tshang ras pa, 216.3-4). 3) The Madman of Tsang's final advice, *Mgur 'bum*, 27a3-6; lHa btsun, 126.5; also in rGod tshang ras pa, 273.3-5.

<sup>44</sup> 1) A thirteen-line song expressing the yogin's thoughts upon being tasked by Hevajra to write a *yig cha* on Hevajra and Cakrasaṃvara, 50.5-7; this same vision is described in dNgos grub dpal 'bar's (11b) and rGod tshang ras pa's (51.1-3) versions of the *Life*, but without the song. 2) A fourteen-line song, 125.6-126.1. 3) The long song running 66.5-69.3.

<sup>45</sup> For example, the nine-line song in lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal, 55.1-2, is set up differently from the way it is in the *Mgur 'bum*, 3a5-6. rGod tshang ras pa's set-up for the song follows the *Mgur 'bum* more closely, 61.3-4. The same can be said concerning the song located in the *Mgur 'bum*, 9b6-10a5; lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal, 65.1-7; and rGod tshang ras pa 85.2-86.1. See also the song in the *Mgur 'bum*, 11b5-12a4; lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal, 80.4-81.3; and rGod tshang ras pa, 88.2-89.1.

rin chen rnam rgyal's versions of the *Life* deviate from that of dNgos grub dpal 'bar bear no relationship to one another. rGod tshang ras pa and lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal were both working directly from dNgos grub dpal 'bar's version of the *Life*, but not from each other's, proof of which will now be given.

All three versions of the *Life* (as well as the *gSol 'debs*) include a description of the Madman of Tsang's miraculously floating cross-legged across a river without a boat. The three versions are very similar, but rGod tshang ras pa follows dNgos grub dpal 'bar's wording more closely than does lHa btsun. rGod tshang ras pa also adds the detail, absent from both other accounts, that the yogin used his *khat-vāṅga* staff as a rudder.<sup>46</sup>

All three versions of the *Life* include a story about the Madman of Tsang's having a vision of a black demonic figure roasting a head over a fire. When the yogin asks the demon whose head it is he's burning, he says that it is the yogin's own. dNgos grub dpal 'bar and rGod tshang ras pa both place this story just after the Madman of Tsang's first trip to Nepal; lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal puts it before that trip. rGod tshang ras pa again follows dNgos grub dpal 'bar's wording more closely than does lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal.<sup>47</sup>

All three versions of the *Life* tell the story of how the Madman of Tsang once got into an argument with some residents of Nas mo over their refusal to perform the compulsory service (*'u lag*) of transporting his belongings. lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal's version is nearly the same as that offered by dNgos grub dpal 'bar. rGod tshang ras pa works off of dNgos grub dpal 'bar's description of the event, but adds significantly to it, placing the Madman of Tsang in the position of mediator who tries to bring the angry people to reason.<sup>48</sup>

All three versions of the *Life* tell of an instance when, at the age of twelve, Sangs rgyas rgyal mtshan had a dream in which some girls appeared and offered him gold. The next morning, the boy is said to have found some gold, which he gave to his family. lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal and rGod tshang ras pa both make slight variations to dNgos grub dpal 'bar's earlier account: lHa btsun adds that the boy found both gold *and* a small turquoise; rGod tshang ras pa only mentions the boy's finding gold, but adds that it was a large piece of gold, and that, rather than giving it to his family in general, he hand-

<sup>46</sup> dNgos grub dpal 'bar, 10a6-7; rGod tshang ras pa, 43.1-2; *gSol 'debs*, 2b2-3; lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal, 37.4-6.

<sup>47</sup> dNgos grub dpal 'bar, 11a4-6; rGod tshang ras pa, 50.6-51.1; lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal, 42.4-43.1.

<sup>48</sup> dNgos grub dpal 'bar, 15a2-4; lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal, 90.5-7; rGod tshang ras pa, 121.5-122.3.

ed it directly to his mother.<sup>49</sup>

When describing the Madman of Tsang's mother's pregnancy with him, rGod tshang ras pa and lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal both clearly take dNgos grub dpal 'bar's account as a starting point, each adding details of his own.<sup>50</sup>

lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal's version of the *Life* also includes the Madman of Tsang's telling of how he was swallowed by a skeleton and met Hevajra, but makes a minor change: when Hevajra points at the yogin's heart and addresses him, lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal includes the full four-line stanza from near the end of the *Hevajra Tantra*, whereas dNgos grub dpal 'bar and rGod tshang ras pa had both included the first line only.<sup>51</sup> lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal also moves this story closer to the beginning of the narrative, telling it at the moment when it purportedly occurred in the Madman of Tsang's life, rather than having him tell the story as a reminiscence shortly before his death.

rGod tshang ras pa and lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal both drew directly from dNgos grub dpal 'bar's version of the *Life*, but there is no indication that they influenced each other in any way. Significantly, there are no passages from rGod tshang ras pa's version of the *Life not* in dNgos grub dpal 'bar's that then appear in lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal's. There are also no passages from lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal's version of the *Life not* in dNgos grub dpal 'bar's that then appear in rGod tshang ras pa's. The fact that rGod tshang ras pa's and lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal's versions of the *Life* developed independently of one another makes the question of the precise chronology of their composition much less important.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> dNgos grub dpal 'bar, 5b5-6; lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal, 8.6-7; rGod tshang ras pa, 18.3-4.

<sup>50</sup> dNgos grub dpal 'bar, beginning at 3b1; rGod tshang ras pa, beginning at 13.4; lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal, beginning at 5.1.

<sup>51</sup> It begins the same as dNgos grub dpal 'bar version, *ye shes 'di ni ches phra zhing*, but continues: *rdo rje nam mkha'i dkyil lta bul brtul bral mthar phyin zhi ba stel khyod rang yang ni de yi pha*, 14.7-15.1. This is the fourth verse of the seventh chapter of the second book of the *Hevajra Tantra*. See Snellgrove, *Hevajra Tantra*, 2:101. lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal's version specifies that the yogin was at the time staying at g.Yu mtsho, whereas the other versions simply state that he was staying near rTsa ri.

<sup>52</sup> This was not the only instance of rGod tshang ras pa's and lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal's drawing from a common source in the course of their writing projects. One of Ras chung pa's three main disciples, Sum pa, composed in 1195 a biography of the yogin, called *The Essence of a Wonderful Jewel*. When composing his own biography of Ras chung pa in 1503, lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal summarized from this earlier biography. In writing his own version in 1531, rGod tshang ras pa lifted passages directly from *The Essence of a Wonderful Jewel*. Roberts, *Biographies of Rechungpa*, 2, 8, 98-9.

IHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal's version of the *Life* deviates from dNgos grub dpal 'bar's chronology of events in a few small ways. IHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal moves the Madman of Tsang's first trip to Nepal (during which he had the Swayambhūnāth stūpa white-washed) into an earlier moment in his life; he moves some stories about the yogin's practicing and spending time in rTsa ri to an earlier moment in his life as well.

IHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal's version of the *Life* includes a number of stories that are not included in any other version of the *Life* or the *Collected Songs* (many of these events were mentioned briefly in the *gSol 'debs*, however). For example, contained in all three versions of the *Life* and the *gSol 'debs* is the story (with variations) of the yogin's defeating a host of zombies with the aid of his disciple, Kun dga' legs bzang. These corpses were those of people who had died from an epidemic.<sup>53</sup> There is another story of the yogin's defeating a host of frightening zombies, told in rGod tshang ras pa's version of the *Life* but not included in any other.<sup>54</sup> IHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal's version of the *Life* contains yet another zombie story (also mentioned in the *gSol 'debs*). This is the fascinating tale of the Madman of Tsang's purposefully reanimating a corpse near rTse thang, struggling to subdue it, then being confronted by some soldiers. They run away in fright when they realize the extent of the yogin's eccentricity.<sup>55</sup>

IHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal's version of the *Life* also includes a description of some extreme asceticism practiced by the Madman of Tsang, which is not mentioned in either other version. For some months, Sangs rgyas rgyal mtshan was sustaining himself with nothing but water, pushing himself to his physical limits. The hardship led to his having a vision of Saraha and some deep meditative experiences. The story intimately relates how one night the yogin felt thirsty and desperately drank an excessive amount of water directly from the riverbank, which he then vomited up. He saw that in his vomit were innumerable insects (or perhaps he had vomited *on* the insects), which led to feelings of great remorse for his carelessness, and a renewed commitment to compassionate religious practice.<sup>56</sup>

Among the passages included in IHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal's version of the *Life* that are not included in dNgos grub dpal 'bar's,

<sup>53</sup> dNgos grub dpal 'bar, 136b-14a2; rGod tshang ras pa, 83.5-84.2; IHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal, 63.6-64.3. This event is mentioned laconically in the *gSol 'debs*, 3a2-3, but that stanza is not repeated in IHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal's version of the *Life*.

<sup>54</sup> rGod tshang ras pa, 47.6-48.3.

<sup>55</sup> IHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal, 33.7-37.4. *gSol 'debs*, 2b1-2.

<sup>56</sup> IHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal, 20.3-23.1; *gSol 'debs*, 2a1-2.

rGod tshang ras pa's, or the *Collected Songs* (but some of which are mentioned in the *gSol 'debs*) are many that tell of miraculous visions: the boar attack at Dom tshang, leading to a vision of Cakrasaṃvara; the vision of Vajrayoginī at g.Yu mtsho; the earthquake and the vision of Mahākāla; the vision of Mi la ras pa and Pha dam pa sangs rgyas; the vision of the Buddha surrounded by 36,000 disciples at Mount Kailash; and so on.<sup>57</sup> Of the three versions of the *Life*, lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal's has the greatest proportion of fantastical or visionary material. lHa btsun's version has more mentions of the yogin's having sex with various women and female divinities.

All three versions of the *Life* include at least one passage narrated in the first person from the perspective of the Madman of Tsang: that in which he describes being swallowed by a skeleton and encountering the deity Hevajra. In dNgos grub dpal 'bar's and rGod tshang ras pa's versions of the *Life*, this passage is specifically mentioned as being part of the Madman of Tsang's "secret *Life*" (*gsang ba'i rnam thar*), which he told to some of his disciples shortly before his death. In his version of the *Life*, lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal does not label this passage as part of the yogin's "secret *Life*." Nor does lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal signal that he is here drawing from another source, or that these are the words of the Madman of Tsang, save for the fact that the story is narrated in the first person. Concerning this passage, lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal is most likely drawing from dNgos grub dpal 'bar's version of the *Life*.

However, in lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal's version of the *Life* there are a handful of other passages told in the first person—from the perspective of the Madman of Tsang—that are not included in either other version of the *Life* or in the *Collected Songs*. For example, lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal's version of the *Life* contains an account of how the Madman of Tsang found a woman's corpse, which he ate parts of. He then happened upon a group of government officials sitting and drinking alcohol (*chang*). The yogin joined them, and after having a few drinks, pulled out his "secret *vajra*" (*gsang rdor*) and started urinating on the officials. They gave him a horrific beating, but he did not die. All were impressed by this miraculous feat and took him as their guru. The beginning of this story is told in the third person (as is most of the biography) and uses polite (*zhe sa*) forms of nouns and verbs in reference to the Madman of Tsang. But after a few lines it changes briefly to the first person voice, using a pedestrian form of the pronoun I (*nga*). Then it changes back to the

<sup>57</sup> Cakrasaṃvara, 2a4-5 in the *gSol 'debs*, 27.4-28.6 in the *Life*; Vajrayoginī, 2a5, 28.6-29.5; Mahākāla, 2a7-2b1, 31.6-32.6; Mi la and Pha dam pa, 2b6, 49.6-50.2; Kailash, 3a1, 55.7-56.3.

third person voice.<sup>58</sup>

The same kind of switch occurs in other passages as well. IHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal's version of the *Life* describes the Madman of Tsang's going to the market in IHa sa, where he has an argument with monks from Se ra and 'Bras spungs monasteries. This leads to a physical altercation. After being beaten and buried under a pile of stones, the yogin is accompanied back to the hut he had been occupying at a nearby boneyard by a girl. As soon as they are alone, she turns red, with fangs and three eyes. This low caste girl (*rigs ngan*) is actually an emanation of Vajravārahī, we are told. The yogin couples with her and she disappears. The narrative then slips briefly into the first person, telling of the intoxicating pleasure the yogin experienced with the girl (*nga bde ba'i ra ro ba'i ting nge 'dzin la song 'dug*). The text then alternates between the first and third person voice, telling of how the yogin went to visit the Jowo Śākyamuni statue the next morning. When the statue miraculously spoke to him, he put his arm around the statue's head to get closer and hear better. The caretaker thought the yogin was trying to steal some gold, and started beating him. Then the statue spoke, saying, "Don't do that!" The caretaker was shocked. The story moves in and out of the first person for a few more lines, as the yogin takes off his clothes and makes a hundred circumambulations of the statue (*ngas kyang phyi gos dor nas skor ba brgya song*).<sup>59</sup> It would seem that IHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal based this passage on the Madman of Tsang's own first person account, but added lines to clarify what was happening.

Another passage tells of how, when the yogin was twenty-six years old, he had a series of visions of Mi la ras pa and the Five Long-Life Sisters. At one point, while the yogin was in a state of half-dreaming, Mi la ras pa appeared before him holding a crystal skull-cup (*shel gyi ka pA la*) filled with divine nectar. The text then reads, "He poured the cup of nectar into my mouth" (*bdud rtsi ka pA la nga'i kha ru blug byung ba*).<sup>60</sup> The passage then switches definitively to the third person again, using polite forms to describe the way the yogin took the Five Long-Life Sisters as his sexual consorts.

These three passages suggest that in composing his version of the *Life*, IHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal relied on the Madman of Tsang's own autobiographical tellings (or that IHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal pretended to do so). One possibility is that IHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal was working with diary-like notes actually written by the Madman of Tsang. It may also be the case that the Madman of Tsang

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<sup>58</sup> 25.4-26.5.

<sup>59</sup> 38.5-40.2.

<sup>60</sup> 45.7.

did not write down any parts of his autobiography, but instead his students (likely including lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal himself) used the first person voice when writing down parts of the great yogin's autobiography as he told it to them.

We should observe that these passages given in the first person voice tend to be descriptions of the Madman of Tsang's own experiences, or things that occurred in relatively private moments, including his visions of divine beings. This is precisely the kind of material that is often the subject of a Tibetan master's "secret biography" (*gsang ba'i rnam thar*). However, in the few instances where lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal makes reference to the Madman of Tsang's "secret *Life*," it seems to refer specifically to things the yogin told him orally, rather than referring to a written text. For example, when narrating the circumstances in which the future Madman of Tsang met his guru, Sha ra rab 'byams pa, lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal makes an editorial aside (which is marked off by an ornamental *shad*) mentioning that he had heard conflicting accounts about this meeting, but the matter was cleared up when the Madman of Tsang "gave him his secret *Life*" (*gsang ba'i rnam par thar pa byin*). Here the "secret *Life*" seems to mean a first-hand, oral account of the master's life.<sup>61</sup>

It should be mentioned that there are instances in the *Life* that seem to be derived from lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal's first-hand observations of the events as they happened. For example, lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal's account of the renovation of the Swayambhūnāth stūpa is basically the same as those included in dNgos grub dpal 'bar's and rGod tshang ras pa's versions of the *Life*, except that he adds a four folio-side section in the middle of the description of the renovations, which tells of how there was a serious disagreement with the king of Kathmandu over the amount of gold the Madman of Tsang felt the king should offer for the project. lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal mentions himself in the midst of these events, which suggests that this addition to the narrative is based on what he himself witnessed.<sup>62</sup> Moreover, before launching into the narrative of the *Life* proper, lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal states that the following is based on what he had seen and heard of the great yogin's life, much of it coming directly from the master's own mouth.<sup>63</sup>

lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal does not mention that he drew from the *gSol 'debs*, the *Collected Songs*, or from dNgos grub dpal 'bar's ver-

<sup>61</sup> This passage in lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal's version of the *Life* follows dNgos grub dpal 'bar's almost exactly, save for this editorial aside. dNgos grub dpal 'bar, 6a; lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal, 9.

<sup>62</sup> 116.7-120.7.

<sup>63</sup> 3.6-4.1.



sion of the *Life*. But he does mention their existence. After the section relating the Madman of Tsang's death, lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal states that he was not present at the time of the yogin's passing, so "if you want to see a more detailed account, you should consult the biographies composed by my earlier dharma brothers."<sup>64</sup> This presumably refers to the work of dNgos grub dpal 'bar, notes composed by other of the great yogin's disciples, and perhaps rGod tshang ras pa's version of the *Life*.

lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal's version of the *Life of the Madman of Tsang* draws from many different sources. It draws from dNgos grub dpal 'bar's version of the *Life* (which is based on earlier notes compiled by dNgos grub dpal 'bar and other followers of the great yogin, as well as things dNgos grub dpal 'bar heard from the Madman of Tsang directly); the *Collected Songs* (compiled mainly by rGod tshang ras pa); and lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal's own verse *gSol 'debs* of the Madman of Tsang. lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal was also working from the Madman of Tsang's own telling of his life. This may have been in the form of a written document composed by the Madman of Tsang in the first person voice, or in the form of the yogin's oral autobiography, which was then written down in the first person by his disciples. It seems that lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal would consider either of these—a written document or stories told orally—as constituting the same text, the "secret *Life*" of the Madman of Tsang. Here "secret" does not suggest that the account was to be kept secret, but rather that it came directly from the great master.

For these reasons, if we accept the contents of lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal's version of the *Life* of the Madman of Tsang as not significantly doctored or falsified, it would seem to be the one most intimately connected to the great yogin's life, containing numerous passages that are essentially autobiographical. This is despite the fact that lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal's version of the *Life* was most likely the last of the three to be written.

## VII. Conclusion

To summarize what has been established above: dNgos grub dpal 'bar finished and then printed his version of the *Life of the Madman of Tsang* shortly after the great yogin's death, in 1508. dNgos grub dpal 'bar's version of the *Life* was based on a brief versified account of the yogin's life he had composed a year prior.

The Madman of Tsang's *Collected Songs* was compiled and pub-

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<sup>64</sup> 127.4.

lished concurrently with dNgos grub dpal 'bar's version of the *Life*. Another of the Madman of Tsang's disciples, rGod tshang ras pa, played a major role in putting this collection together.

In what was most likely 1512, rGod tshang ras pa composed his own version of the *Life*, drawing heavily from dNgos grub dpal 'bar's version, but also including the entire contents of the *Collected Songs*.

The remaining version of the *Life of the Madman of Tsang* was written by lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal sometime before 1543. Regardless of which was written before the other, the versions of the *Life of the Madman of Tsang* composed by lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal and rGod tshang ras pa developed entirely independently of one another.

Having come to this point, we are left with a significant question: why were three versions of the *Life* of the Madman of Tsang composed within a span of no more than thirty-five years (1508-1543)? The writing of dNgos grub dpal 'bar's version of the *Life* does not pose a problem. But why the latter two versions? As rGod tshang ras pa and lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal included so much of dNgos grub dpal 'bar's version of the *Life* when writing their own versions, they must have seen it as a valuable and worthwhile text. Perhaps they did not consider it to be thorough enough. But still: why the latter *two* versions?

After the Madman of Tsang's death, there developed two great hubs of literary production among his followers. One of these centers of literary production was at Ras chung phug in central Tibet, and headed by rGod tshang ras pa. The other main center was based at Brag dkar rta so in western Tibet, headed by lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal, who was native to nearby Glo bo smon thang. Kurtis Schaeffer has shown that there was very little overlap in the literature composed and published by these two centers, which suggests that they were communicating and coordinating effectively with one another.<sup>65</sup> Given the amount of communication within this circle, it seems unlikely that lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal or rGod tshang ras pa would have been unaware of a version of the *Life* of the Madman of Tsang written by the other.

Often in the composition of multiple versions of the *Life* of a saintly figure we can observe that the various authors are competing for control over his memory, that each author wants to characterize the saint in some way in order to use his legacy toward some end. This does not seem to be the reason behind the creation of multiple versions of the *Life* of the Madman of Tsang, for although rGod tshang ras pa's and lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal's versions of the *Life* are

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<sup>65</sup> Schaeffer, "The Printing Projects of Gtsang smyon Heruka and His Disciples," 456-60; Schaeffer, *Culture of the Book in Tibet*, 58-60.

different in many ways, they do not seem to be significantly different in how they characterize the yogin. Instead, it seems that lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal may have been moved to write his version of the biography because he had records of the great yogin's own telling of his life, which he wanted to incorporate into a text, to make them more widely available or preserve them for posterity. It seems that lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal was privy to some of the more intimate details of the Madman of Tsang's experiences, and was in a position of composing a unique account of his life, revived and animated by these tales of his experiences. Otherwise many of these details would have fallen out of the historical record forever.

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# The contribution of corpus linguistics to lexicography and the future of Tibetan dictionaries

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he first alphabetized dictionary of Tibetan appeared in 1829 (cf. Bray 2008) and the intervening 184 years have witnessed the publication of scores of other Tibetan dictionaries (cf. Simon 1964). Hundreds of Tibetan dictionaries are now available; these include bilingual dictionaries, both to and from such languages as English, French, German, Latin, Japanese, etc. and specialized dictionaries focusing on medicine, plants, dialects, archaic terms, neologisms, etc. (cf. Walter 2006, McGrath 2008). However, if one classifies Tibetan dictionaries by the methods of their compilation the accomplishments of Tibetan lexicography are less impressive.

Methodologies of dictionary compilation divide heuristically into three types. First, some dictionaries lack explicit methodology; these works assemble words in an *ad hoc* manner and illustrate them with invented examples. Second, there are dictionaries that are compiled over very long periods of time on the basis of collections of slips recording attestations of words as used in context. Third, more recent dictionaries are compiled on the basis of electronic text corpora, which are processed computationally to aid in the precision, consistency and speed of dictionary compilation. These methods may be called respectively the 'informal method', the 'traditional method', and the 'modern method'. The overwhelming majority of Tibetan dictionaries were compiled with the informal method. Only five Tibetan dictionaries use the traditional methodology. No Tibetan dictionary yet compiled makes use of the modern method.

## The Informal Method

The vast majority of Tibetan dictionaries in no way specify the methods by which they were compiled; the principle for excluding or including words and the evidence for the correctness of definitions remain tacit. The failure of the compilers of such dictionaries to have considered the need for principled decision-making probably

accounts for this silence. When writing a dictionary is approached pre-theoretically, the failings of existing works normally serve as the impetus for a new work's compilation. However, lacking a robust procedure by which to achieve progress the would-be lexicographer reenacts the errors of his forebears. Dictionaries of this type, no matter their girth, amount to glossaries or hand-lists; they are informal affairs prepared as aides to reading and not as works of scholarship. Specifically, such projects fail on three grounds: 1. They rely on previous dictionaries. 2. They rely on intuition rather than evidence. 3. They use invented examples rather than genuine examples.

Because it is the most recent large scale Tibetan-English dictionary, which many turn to as a first port of call, Melvyn Goldstein's (2001) *A New Tibetan English Dictionary of Modern Tibetan* serves as a convenient example of the informal method. A perceived insufficiency in the coverage of modern and administrative terminology and insufficient overall number of entries inspire Goldstein's project (2001: vii). Without an explicit methodology Goldstein is however unable to implement his concentration on the modern language. The work includes Old Tibetan words such as *hon-te* 'but, however', *hu-bu-cag* 'we', and *liñs* 'hunt' without comment; without acknowledgment these words are included on the testimony of previous dictionaries.

A dictionary that merely reports the information contained in other dictionaries in principle spares the user the need to consult those dictionaries on which it is based. The explicit goal of Hill (2010) is to present the testimony of previous dictionaries in order to spare the user the time of looking up the same word in nine earlier sources. However, whereas Hill (2010) specifies which morphological forms and which meanings are found in which previous sources, Goldstein omits such information. By not distinguishing entries based on the compilation of primary sources from entries incorporated wholesale from other works Goldstein obfuscates the value of the former and disguises the latter as his own contribution.

Impressionistically, Goldstein relies above all on the *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo* (Zhang 1985). For example, if one compares the treatment of words starting with *liñ-*, Goldstein adds two Chinese loanwords and subtracts a few words to do with Buddhism, but the reliance on Zhang (1985) is otherwise evident in every entry. Unfortunately, in Goldstein's hands a *réchauffage* of Zhang's entries loses value. For example, whereas the *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo* signals that *hon-te* is archaic (*rñiñ*), Goldstein inexplicably excludes this stipulation. In short, the savings of time achieved by consulting Goldstein rather than his sources entails a concomitant loss.

The criticisms presented here have focussed on Goldstein but could be readily applied to nearly any other Tibetan dictionary. The *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo* itself also fails to specify sources or methods, and does not cite real examples. Although works compiled with an informal method are of undeniable practical benefit as a place to look for a word one comes across in a text, their pragmatic benefit (and not only their scholarly value) is compromised by their methodological failings. A student looking for a common word must flip past rare or dubious words. A researcher looking for the meaning of a technical term is confronted by many homonyms listed together with no specification of genre or time period, even though no Tibetan text would use both. If the scope of a dictionary were explicitly stated and tightly controlled, such time wasting obstacles would be avoided. Thus, although the description of Goldstein's as "one more in a long parade of ignorant, mistake-filled books on the Tibetan language" (Beckwith 2001: 398) may appear a harsh verdict for a volume that many students find beneficial, as a call for future dictionaries to aim higher Beckwith's verdict is well founded.

#### The Traditional Method

Excerpting wholesale from previous lexicographical works commits the editor of a new dictionary to all of the mistakes of his predecessors. To avoid this pitfall, previous works should be seen as providing hypotheses, but these hypotheses must be tested against a body of data. In the traditional approach to lexicography a team of readers reads through a set of texts and writes onto slips of paper attestations of a word in its context together with a citation sufficiently explicit to find the passage again. The slips thus created are then filed according to alphabetical order in boxes or cabinets until a sufficient number of slips is available to provide a good set of data for establishing the meanings of the words. At this point in the process the team writes up the dictionary entries availing themselves of the collection of slips.

This method has led to many great dictionaries which are monuments of human achievement, but the traditional method is very slow. The Grimm brothers *Deutsches Wörterbuch* began in 1838 and reached completion in 1961. The *Oxford English Dictionary* started in 1857 and the complete first edition was brought out in 1928. The *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* began in 1894 and published volume P in 2010. The *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache* began in 1897 and finished in 1963. The Chicago Assyrian Dictionary began in 1921 and reached completion in 2011. The slow pace of work that the traditional method requires, inevitably leads to many dictionaries being abandoned after a few letters. The Burmese-English dictionary

begun by J. A. Stewart in 1925 was abandoned after one letter in 1981. The Pennsylvania Sumerian dictionary begun in 1974 abandoned publication in 1994 after the letter B. Beginning at the beginning of the alphabet and moving painstakingly through alphabetical order also has the disadvantage that editorial decisions taken lightly in the beginning can hamstring the project for decades to come.

Despite the high level of results that the traditional method achieves, it still suffers methodologically from what one might want to achieve. In general a reader preparing slips will be drawn to contextually salient words and thereby the evidence for very common words may be thin. To counteract this tendency some works may be fully indexed to ensure sufficient coverage of common words. Nonetheless, thousands of possible attestations of common words must simply be ignored for lack of space and time, without in any way informing the analysis of these words.

Because readers will by definition encounter rare words only rarely, it is also difficult to collect sufficient slips in such cases. To militate against this obstacle one may have readers focus their attention on particular genres in which words of overall rarity will be comparatively more common. Nonetheless, this is a half measure. There is no way in the traditional method for a reader to narrow his focus onto rare words *per se*.

Perhaps more troubling from a methodological perspective, in the traditional method there is no way of even knowing what the true frequency of a word is, because no record is made of the vast majority of words seen by the readers. One may hope that the number of slips collected well reflects the frequency and behavior of a particular word in the works consulted, but there is no way to know if this hope is realized.

Five Tibetan dictionaries can be said to conform to the traditional approach. First, Jäschke (1881) provides clear citations of original texts in support of his definitions. It is always clear what citation supports which claim and the strength with which a claim can be made is also made explicit. Jäschke (1881) is a lexicographical work of the highest standard and is still profitably consulted today. Second, Lokesh Chandra compiled a 12 volume Tibetan-Sanskrit dictionary on the basis of canonical Buddhists texts available in both languages (1958-61). This work was continued with seven supplementary volumes (1992-1994) and a one volume Sanskrit-Tibetan index (2007). Third, Negi (1993-2004) compiled another Tibetan-Sanskrit dictionary, this one in sixteen volumes. Negi includes extensive quotations in addition to citations and made reference to a larger



number of texts than Chandra.<sup>1</sup> Fourth, Nag dbaṅ tshul khrims (1997) provides a dictionary of difficult or archaic words. He provides attestations and cites the works they are found in, but does not specify page and line numbers and has an inadequate bibliography; consequently, these citations are not easily verified. Fifth, the single most impressive work of Tibetan lexicography is the ongoing *Wörterbuch der tibetischen schriftsprache* published by the Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften (Francke et al. 2005-). Helmut Hoffmann founded the project in 1954; the first fascicle was published in 2005. The sixteen fascicles published by 2011 cover from *ka* until *gcags*. Each entry gives copious citations of original sources precisely cited to page and line number. The use of previous dictionaries is carefully distinguished from the evidence of textual attestations. In addition, very thorough reference to previous scholarship is given when relevant.<sup>2</sup>

#### The modern method

The availability of electronic text editions greatly facilitates the collation of the lexical attestations that form the bedrock of the traditional method. Once a text is available in an electronic version the need for a human reader to meticulously read through the text, copying out attestations with their contexts onto paper slips, disappears. Instead, with the click of a button a researcher can assemble all attestations available within that text in context. Several of the drawbacks of the traditional have ceased to exist. Since the phase of slip collection can essentially be skipped, the process of compiling a dictionary becomes much faster.

There is much more to the modern method than the speeding up of collecting attestations through the availability of e-texts. These e-texts themselves introduce problems of their own; the modern method includes the use of e-texts and the solutions to those problems that the use of e-texts introduces.

Using the traditional method the lemma list that will serve as headwords in the dictionary is compiled in an ongoing way as

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- 1 In addition to these two Tibetan-Sanskrit dictionaries, there are bilingual indices available for a number of Tibetan translations of Sanskrit Buddhist texts: *Abhidharmakośabhaṣya* (Hirakawa 1973-1978), *Kāśyapaparivarta* (Weller 1933), *Mahāyānasamgraha* (Nagao 1994), *Mahāyānasūtralaṅkāra* (Nagao 1958-1961), *Meghadūta* (Chimpa et al. 2011), *Nyāyabindu* (Obermiller 1970), *Prasannapadā Mādhyamakavṛtti* (Yamaguchi 1974), *Yogācārabhūmi* (Yokoyama 1996), *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* (Suzuki 2000), *Sukhāvativyūha sūtra* (1984), *Saddharmapūṇḍarikasūtra* (Ejima et al. 1985-1993), among others.
  - 2 The compilation of the dictionary is discussed by Uebach & Panglung (1998), to which Maurer & Schneider (2007) and Schneider & Maurer (2012) provided a more recent perspective.

readers file slips in the cabinet. But to search in an electronic corpus one must already know what to search for. That is, there has to be a predefined lemma list. However, using a predefined lemma list precludes the discovery of new vocabulary items. Instead, we must find a way to have the e-texts themselves tell us the lemma list.

Another problem which e-texts introduce is the availability of too much data. In the traditional method, the readers pre-select what goes onto the slips, but searching an electronic corpus will yield all examples that meet the search parameters. Depending on the size of the electronic corpus this is more or less of a problem. Increasing the size of the corpus exacerbates the problem, but even with a small corpus the attestations of common words are overwhelming in number. Consideration of two available online corpora of Tibetan texts will illustrate these principles. The Old Tibetan Documents Online (OTDO) is a collection of 109 Old Tibetan texts.<sup>3</sup> The eKanjur is an electronic version of the Derge Kanjur, that unfortunately contains many typos.<sup>4</sup>

A lexicographer investigating the behavior of the indefinite article with the three sandhi forms *cig*, *zig*, and *sig* in the OTDO will find 221 examples of *cig*, 480 examples of *zig*, and 330 examples of *sig* (accessed 15, November 2012). The OTDO website provides no method to search for all three forms at once, nor is a way provided to weed out examples of the imperative verb final marker that happens to have the same three forms. This search does not have good precision (the fraction of retrieved instances that are relevant) because it includes many examples of the imperative verb final marker. This search also does not have good recall (the fraction of relevant instances that are retrieved) because a search for *cig* will not retrieve examples of *zig* and *sig*, nor will a search for *zig* yield *cig* or *sig*, etc. Thus, to write a dictionary entry for the indefinite article having looked at all of the relevant evidence in the OTDO one would have to read through a total of 1031 examples - possible, but not convenient. If we turn to the eKanjur the situation gets much worse. There are 14,801 examples of *cig*, 14,011 examples of *zig*, and 7,354 examples of *sig*, making a combined sum of 36,166, far more than any person could possibly look through (accessed 15, November 2012). The need to automatically differentiate the indefinite article from the imperative marker is demonstrable and the ability to search for *cig*, *zig*, and *sig* in one go would be helpful.

The Tibetan spelling *mi* (*myi* in Old Tibetan) signifies two words; one is the noun 'person' and the other a marker of negation. In the

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3 <http://otdo.aa.tufs.ac.jp/>

4 <http://www.thlib.org/encyclopedias/literary/canons/kt/catalog.php#cat=d/k>

OTDO the spelling *myi* occurs 1,718 times, and in the eKanjur the spelling *mi* occurs 35,434 times. In either corpus a lexicographer looking for examples of 'person' would have to scroll through many screens of 'not'; the search has terrible precision. Although technically the search provides perfect recall, the lexicographer could never be sure to have looked at all examples within a reasonable amount of time.

Negation is common enough in Tibetan texts that a lexicographer interested in *mi* 'not' may not find the occasional example of *mi* 'person' inconvenient. Nonetheless, he may find the overwhelming number of *mi* 'not' inconvenient. It would be sensible in a dictionary entry on *mi* 'not', to provide separate examples of the marker before presents, futures, imperatives (in the *potentialis* function, cf. Zeisler 2002), and adjectives. There is no way to differentiate these uses of *mi* with either the OTDO or the eKanjur. When working with paper slips in cabinets the constraining factor is the labour it takes to assemble examples; with electronic texts the constraining factor is the labour it takes to look through the surfeit of available examples. Some of the burden of classifying and analyzing the examples must be passed from the human lexicographer to the computer.

A computer can be taught to distinguish one word from another (tokenizing), can learn to assign a part-of-speech category to each word (POS-tagging), and learn to associate different orthographic or grammatical forms of the same word (lemmatization). There has been more than twenty years of work on these tasks of tokenizing, POS-tagging, and lemmatization for languages such as English, but for Tibetan such research is still at an early stage. After tokenization, POS-tagging, and lemmatization the frequency of different words are immediately available for calculation. The dictionary project can pick *a priori* whether it will focus on frequent or rare words and determine frequency thresholds for the inclusion or exclusion of vocabulary. If the texts making up the corpus are labelled for genre it is also possible to know with certainty which words occur more frequently in which genres, and the words may be labeled accordingly.

<b>part-of-speech</b>	<b>Number of Examples</b>
Singular noun	7150
Plural noun	1861
Proper noun	4
Past participle form of verbs	572
Past tense form of verbs	139
Infinitive form of verbs	132
Finite base form of verbs	107
The -ing form of verbs	85
The -s form of verbs	51
Unclassifiable	2

Table 1: part-of-speech categories for 'chair'

A look at what can now be easily done with English will give an impression of what may be possible one day in Tibetan. The English examples will make use of the British National Corpus, a part-of-speech tagged corpus of 96,048,950 words, and the Sketch Engine querying software.<sup>5</sup> An English lexicographer will want to distinguish 'chair' (noun) the piece of furniture and 'chair' (verb) a meeting. For the noun he will want to find examples of the plural 'chairs' and well as the singular 'chair' and for the verb he will want to find examples of forms such as 'chaired', 'chairing', and 'chairs'. Instead of checking for each of these separately and reading through ambiguous forms by hand one can simply stipulate the part-of-speech in the search window. More fine-grained categories such as 'past participle' can also be specified (cf. Table 1).

The lexicographer may still find himself with too many examples. A total of 9011 examples of 'chair' as a noun is still a lot to read through. One could of course simply choose one or two that seem easily excerptable, but it would be preferable to know that the examples chosen for the dictionary are somehow typical. The Sketch Engine software solves this problem by creating a 'sketch' of a word's behavior (cf. Table 2). Remaining with 'chair' as a noun, the Sketch Engine tells us what people most often do to chairs (chair as the object of verbs), what chairs themselves do (chair as the subject of

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5 <http://www.sketchengine.co.uk/>

object_of	Freq	Score	subject_of	Freq	Score	modifier	Freq	Score
swivel	14	8.07	creak	7	8.5	rocking	45	8.83
rock	14	7.43	face	23	4.92	high-backed	37	8.6
upholster	7	7.26	surround	6	4.27	swivel	36	8.53
push	66	7.1	stand	15	3.97	wicker	35	8.42

Table 2: A simplified word sketch of 'chair' (noun)

Lemma	Freq	Score
seat	10462	0.26
bed	16797	0.22
table	22162	0.21
furniture	3457	0.19
armchair	900	0.18

Table 3: A simplified thesaurus entry for 'chair' (noun)

verbs), and what kind of chairs there are (adjectives that modify 'chair').

The Sketch Engine can also find words that have a similar statistical behavior to 'chair'. Such words are normally close in meaning to the word in question. This is a way of developing a thesaurus, but rather than relying on a subjective notion of how close the meaning of two words is, it furnishes a rigorous comparison of two words' statistical behavior (cf. Table 3). Much more can also be achieved using a part-of-speech tagged corpus. Software can compare the word sketch of two different words, suggest examples for inclusion in the dictionary, compare usage across genres or time.<sup>6</sup> Outside of dictionary compilation, part-of-speech tagged corpora are a *sine qua non* for many language related technologies such as automatic translation, speech recognition, auto-completion, optical character recognition, etc. If these technologies are ever to be available to Tibetan speakers then more must be done to create part-of-speech tagged Tibetan corpora.

#### Tibetan in Digital Communication

Tibetan in Digital Communication is a research project funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council and based at SOAS,

6 For the 'Sketch Engine' see Kilgariff et al. (2004); for the use of corpus tools in lexicography see Kilgariff and Kosem (2012).

University of London, engaged in building a 1,000,000 syllable part-of-speech tagged corpus of Tibetan texts spanning the language's entire history. In addition to the corpus, the project is developing a number of digital tools allowing the corpus to be employed in many areas of humanities research, and enabling other researchers to more easily develop their own corpora or software tools. Tokenization and part-of-speech (POS) tagging fall within the goals of the project, but we do not currently intend to work on lemmatization.

The corpus will itself be a powerful resource for scholars working with Tibetan language materials in a wide range of disciplines—including history, religion, literature and linguistics—since it offers ready access to, and comparison across, texts from different time periods, regions and genres. It will also provide an important foundation for subsequent work on a historically comprehensive, lexicographically rigorous dictionary of Tibetan.

In the following sections, we describe the results of the project so far. On the one hand, we have developed a categorization of the parts of speech for Classical Tibetan based on a pilot study of the first 17,522 words of the *Mdzañs blun*. On the other, we have created a web-based software infrastructure for Tibetan natural language processing focused on tokenization, part-of-speech tagging, and the comparative evaluation of multiple models.

#### POS-Tagging

Our project has categorized the parts of speech of Classical Tibetan based on the first 17,522 words of the *Mdzañs blun*. The categorization presented here is not a rigorous analysis of Tibetan part-of-speech categories made on linguistic principles, instead it is a set of pragmatic solutions to the problems that arose during the tagging of the *Mdzañs blun* pilot corpus. In some cases (e.g. the analysis of *phrag* as a cardinal number), no researcher would agree intellectually with the decision we have made. Nonetheless, we hope that this categorization will be useful, whether for practical implementation in corpus research or as a stepping stone toward a more rigorous linguistic analysis.

For the duration of our project this set of POS-tags will remain fixed so far as practicable and be used in the tagging of the remainder of the Classical Tibetan portion of our corpus. The Old Tibetan and Modern Tibetan components of the corpus will use their own POS-tag sets, but these will also be developed with the tag-set described here as a point of departure. In this presentation, we discuss the POS categories according to the broad syntactic headings 'nouns', 'pronouns', 'adjectives', 'numerals', 'trailing members of the noun phrase', 'adverbs', 'negation', 'verbs', 'affixes', and 'clitics'.

## Nouns

We distinguish four types of nouns: lexical nouns, proper nouns, relator nouns, and mass nouns. We also distinguish verbal nouns from verb stems; verbal nouns are discussed further below together with verbs. Since any verbal noun can be used as a noun, it can be difficult to distinguish between nouns and verbal nouns. When a morphological verbal noun refers to a real physical thing in the world, *hgro-ba* 'animal', *skyes-pa* 'person', *mkhas-pa* 'wise man', *rgyal-ba* 'victor', *bzah-ba* 'food', we tag it as a lexical noun. When it refers to an abstract notion *bsam-pa* 'thought', *bde-ba* 'happiness', etc. we tag it as a verbal noun.

## Lexical nouns (n)

To identify lexical nouns we rely on the syntactic ability of the word in question to head a noun phrase, the dictionary meaning, and (when possible) the presence of nominal suffixes such as *-mo*, *-po* and *-bu*. Because we treat grammatical affixes as separate words, a single word normally does not include grammatical affixes such as case markers and converbs. Nonetheless, there are well-motivated exceptions to this policy like *gañ-na-ba* 'whereabouts' and *bdag-gi-ba* 'that which is mine'.<sup>7</sup> Another frequent category of exceptions is calques of Sanskrit terms, e.g. *kun-tu-rgyu* 'parivrājaka', *rten-ciñ-hbrel-bar-hbyuñ-ba* 'pratīyasamutpāda', etc.

In general, when two nouns occur in succession they are understood as a compound; the *dandva* compound *pha-ma* 'parents' is treated as one noun rather than two (*pha* 'father' and *ma* 'mother') and the *tatpuruṣa* compound *khyim-bdag* 'householder' is likewise treated as one noun rather than two (*khyim* 'home' and *bdag* 'lord'). When an adjective precedes its head this is also treated as a compound. Thus, because *dug btsan-po* would be the expected order for 'mighty poison', we treat *btsan-dug* 'mighty poison' (vol. 74, page 147a) as a single word.

Apposition is the one category of exceptions when the concatenation of two nouns is not treated as a compound. An example of this type is the two words *bu khyeḥu* in the following sentence: *deḥi tshe yul de na khyim-bdag cig la bu khyeḥu žig btsas na* / 'At that time, in that land, when a child, a son, was born to a householder,' (vol. 74, page 142b). Rather than understanding *khyeḥu* as an adjective modifying *bu*, or taking *bu-khyeḥu* as one word, the second word simply sits after the first one to add greater specificity.

7 We treat a *-pa* or *-ba* as part of the preceding word, regardless of the part-of-speech of the preceding word.

The reason to not treat apposition as compounding is because apposition occurs with proper nouns. For example, in the sentence *dehi tshe na rgyal-po Gsal-rgyal gyi btsun-mo chen-po Hbar-li zes bya-ba la bu-mo zig btsas-nas* 'At that time a daughter was born to Hbar-li, the main queen of king Prasenajit' (vol. 74, page 148a), *rgyal-po* 'king' and *Gsal-rgyal* 'Prasenajit' are in apposition; to unite the two as a compound would lead to unintuitive, unwieldy, and therefore unacceptable consequences.

Proper nouns (n.prop)

This tag is used for personal and place names.

Relator nouns (n.rel)

A relator noun is a noun, normally one syllable, which has a genitive before it and a spatial case (allative, locative, terminative) after it, e.g. *dehi nañ na* 'inside of that', *dehi druñ du* 'before him', *dehi hog tu* 'under that', *dehi tshe na* 'at that time'; relator nouns are not quantified and are not suffixed with adjectives, determiners or demonstratives. After identifying the class of relator nouns, these words are tagged as relator nouns even in syntactic contexts missing the genitive to left or the spatial case to the right. For example, in the sentence *dehi tshe blon-po zig phyi-rol nas nañ du hoñs-pa las/ mi btson du bzuñ-ba mthoñ-ba dan /* 'Then the minister went inside from outside and saw the man who had been taken to prison' (vol. 74, page 147a), the relator noun *tshe* is not followed by a spatial case and the relator noun *nañ* is not preceded by a genitive.

In the phrase *bar hgañ* 'sometimes' we do not consider *bar* a relator noun because it undergoes quantification, e.g. ... *bar hgañ ni gti-mug gi phyir lus btañ yañ chos kyi phyir bsod-nams kyi zin dan lan hgañ yañ ma phrad-pañ lus hdi ci ruñ ?* 'What is the use of this body which ... sometimes has been used because of ignorance, but has not yet met an occasion (to serve) as a field of merit' (vol. 74, page 139b).

Mass nouns (n.mass)

We divide out mass nouns from normal lexical nouns on the basis of two instances in our corpus where otherwise two nouns not in apposition would follow each other: *nor-bu sbar gañ* 'a handful of jewels' (vol. 74, page 153b) and *chu sñim-pa gañ* 'a handful of water' (vol. 74, page 144b). Knowing that there exists this syntactic difference between normal lexical nouns and mass nouns, we tag all plausible mass nouns on the basis of their meaning (e.g. *zañs* 'copper'). A final list of mass nouns can only be securely put forward after the syntactic behavior of these words is better investigated.



## Pronouns

We distinguish three types of pronouns: indefinite, interrogative, and personal.

## Indefinite pronouns (p.indef)

The words *la-la* 'some', *so-so* 'each', and *gñi-ga* 'both' are used as indefinite pronouns in our pilot corpus.

## Interrogatives (p.interrog)

This is the tag used for words such as *su* 'who', *nam* 'when', and *gañ* 'where'.

## Personal pronouns (p.pers)

The first 17,522 words of the *Mdzans blun* include the first person pronouns *na*, *bdag-cag*, and *kho-bo* and the second person pronouns *khyod* and *khyed*. The tagset does not distinguish the person and number of personal pronouns.<sup>8</sup>

## Adjectives (adj)

It is difficult to distinguish a class of words in Tibetan which are unambiguously adjectives. Those words that can occur immediately after a noun may appear morphologically to be nouns (*chen-po* 'big', *bzai-po* 'good', etc.) or verbal nouns (*che-ba* 'big', *mdzes-pa* 'beautiful'). Because all verbal nouns can function adjectivally but not all adjectives are verbal nouns we draw a distinction between adjectives properly speaking (those that are not verbal nouns) and verbal nouns functioning as adjectives. The latter, regardless of their frequency in attributive position, are tagged as verbal nouns. The category of adjectives is thus defined negatively vis-à-vis verbal nouns, adjectives are a morphologically heterogeneous class.<sup>9</sup>

Distinguishing between adjectives and verbal nouns is not always easy. When the removal of the *-pa* suffix yields a verb stem, there is no objection to calling the form with the *-pa* a verbal noun. However, in the case of the adjectives *g.yas-pa* 'right' and *gcig-pa* 'alone' the removal of the *-pa* leaves *g.yas* and *gcig* which are not verbal stems. Consequently, we tag *g.yas-pa* and *gcig-pa* as adjectives and not as verbal nouns.

<sup>8</sup> About personal pronouns in Old and Classical Tibetan see Hill (2007, 2010).

<sup>9</sup> Adjectives can be used as nouns directly, what one might analyze as omission of the head noun, in order to avoid proliferating each adjective into a noun and an adjective we tag this as adjective as well.

However, if the removal of *-pa* leads to a word that is not known to us as a verb, but is also not unambiguously non-verbal, we continue to regard the word as a verbal noun. In other words, when in doubt, the annotator favors the interpretation of a word as a verbal noun, but in the cases *g.yas-pa* and *gcig-pa* there is no doubt. This circumstance has led to the following words being tagged as verbal noun in the hand tagged portion of the *Mdzañs blun*.

- phañs-pa* 'dear, beloved' (no known verbal equivalent)
- khol-pa* 'boiling' (distinct from all tenses of the verb 'khol 'boil')
- bzad-pa* 'tolerable' (occurs in *mi bzad-pa* 'intolerable' which suggests it is a verb 'to tolerate'. The dictionaries however give *bzod* 'tolerate' with no verb *bzad*).
- skems-pa* 'lean' (distinct from all tenses of the verb *skem* 'dry')
- skam-pa* 'dry' (distinct from all tenses of the verb *skem* 'dry')
- bśor-ba* 'mangy' (distinct from the verb *bśor* 'hunt')

We expect that in some cases consideration of further data will vindicate the analysis of these words as deriving from verbal stems.

Although words such as *nag* 'black' and *gsar* 'new' are frequently treated like adjectives for pedagogical purposes, a single syllable in predicate position before verbal suffixes is a verb. These words may appear to occur attributively, but we see this as the formation of compounds. The compound *blon-chen* 'prime minister' contrasts beautifully with noun and adjective pair *blon-po chen-po* 'great minister'. In this case the *-n* in the word shows that the *chen* in *blon-chen* is not the verbal stem, but rather a short form of the adjective. This clarity is lost in a compound like *thig-nag* 'black dot' which is a compound version of *thig-le nag-po* and not a use of the verb *nag* 'be black'. The same distinction can be drawn between the compound *bu-chuñ* 'small child' versus *bu chuñ-ñu* or *bu chuñ-chuñ*.

#### Numerals

In numbers we distinguish cardinals (*gcig*, *gñis*, *gsum*, etc.) and ordinals (*dañ-po*, *gñis-pa*, *gsum-pa*, etc.). Other derivatives of numerals are treated according to their respective syntax, thus *gcig-pa* 'sole' is an adjective, *gñi-ga* 'both' is an indefinite pronoun, etc. In higher numbers each component digit is tagged separately, to do otherwise would prevent the computer from learning patterns by virtue of having to independently learn each possible cardinal number of the infinite possibility.

When a numeral follows a noun we regard the two as separate words. In addition to obvious cases like *mi lña* 'five men', we also treat *dkon-mchog gsum* 'triratna' as two words. While it is true that one

will almost never encounter any other numeral after the word *dkon-mchog* this fact says as much about Buddhism as it does about syntax.<sup>10</sup>

The treatment of *phrag* well exemplifies our pragmatic attitude toward part-of-speech tagging. Although not a cardinal number itself, this syllable occurs inside cardinal numbers, effectively marking a certain place with a zero, e.g. *stoñ phrag drug cu* '1060'. Because the internal structure of numerals is not of interest to our project and adding a new tag for *phrag* would add unnecessary complications to our tag-set, we treat *phrag* itself as a cardinal number.

Trailing members of the noun phrase

In a conceptually imprecise category, marked with the letter 'd' at the beginning of a POS-tag, we group together those classes of word that occur in the noun phrase after nouns and adjectives, but before case markers. The choice of the letter 'd' is arbitrary, but invokes the fact that demonstratives and determiners are members of this category. The subdivisions of this group are demonstratives (d.dem), determiners (d.det), emphatics (d.emph), the indefinite (d.indef), and plurals and quantifiers (d.plural).

Demonstratives (d.dem)

This tag is used for the demonstratives *h̄di* 'this' and *de* 'that'. These two words are tagged as demonstratives also when used as determiners (i.e. we do not distinguish *rgyal-po de* 'that king' from *de* 'that one, him').

Determiners (d.det)

The most frequent determiner is *ḡzan* 'other'. In addition, we identify *ya-re* 'each one (of two)' as a determiner on the basis of the following sentence: *Brgya-byin dañ Tshais-paḥi rgyal-pos lag-pa ya-re nas zin te* 'The kings Indra and Brahma each took him by one of his hands' (vol. 74, page 135a). We reckon *h̄baḥ* 'sole' as a determiner on the basis of sentences such as *rus-pa dañ khrag h̄baḥ žig gis sa rtsog-rtsoḡ ltar h̄dug-pa mthoñ* 'They saw the ground besmirched with only bone and blood' (vol. 74, page 139b).

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10 There are occasions when the morphology of a word suggests that it might contain a numeral (e.g. *m̄non-sum* 'real', *phun-sum-tshogs* 'marvelous'), but there is no reason to see such cases as synchronically analyzable.

## Emphatics (d.emph)

We initially invented this category for *ñid* in phrases such as *rgyal-po ñid* 'that very king' or *lus ñid* 'this body'. This syntactic use of *ñid* must be distinguished from its use in Buddhist terminology -*ñid* inside of words, e.g. *stoñ-pa-ñid* 'emptiness'. Apart from *ñid*, we have categorized *kho-na* 'the very, same' and *re-re* 'each' as emphatics.

This use of *kho-na* should not be confused with its function as a third person pronoun in Old Tibetan. In one case *kho* appears not as a personal pronoun but as what seems to be a variant of *kho-na*; this *kho* we also classify as an emphatic, viz. *smras-paḥi tshig ḥdi bden na bden-paḥi tshig bden-paḥi tshig smras-pas / bdag gi lus ḥdi sñā-ma kho bžin du rma med-par gyur cig* 'If these words that I have said are true, then because of saying true words, let this my body be without wounds like before' (vol 74, page 137b).

## Indefinites (d.indef)

This category is used for the allomorphs of the indefinite marker *cig*, *žig*, and *śig* as in *pho-ñā cig* 'a messenger'. The indefinite marker, which occurs inside of noun phrases, must be distinguished from the identically looking imperative converb (see below), which occurs suffixed to the imperative stems of verbs.

## Plurals and Quantifiers (d.plural)

The plural markers *rnam*s, *dag*, *kun*, *thams-cad*, *ḥo-cog* (and its variants) and *tsho* are tagged as their own category 'plural'. However, plural pronouns (*bdag-cag*, *khyed-cag*, *ḥu-bu-cag*) are treated as one word. The plural marker *-cag* is not removed because to do so would result in pronominal stems which are not mutually comparable (viz. *bdag* is a singular pronoun, *khyed* a plural pronoun, and *ḥu-bu* has no independent life outside of *ḥu-bu-cag*). We also tag *ḥgah* 'some' as a plural, although in the abstract one would perhaps prefer to call it a 'quantifier'.

The three verbs (*la*) *sogs-pa* 'etc', (*dañ*) *ldan-pa* 'having', (*dañ*) *bcas-pa* 'together with' could be seen as similar to quantifiers or otherwise to be treated as parts of the noun phrase, however, we have chosen to treat them etymologically as verbs.

## Adverbs

We distinguish four types of adverbs: 'directional' (adv.dir), 'temporal' (adv.temp), 'intensive' (adv.intense), and 'proclausal' (adv.proclausal).

## Directional adverbs (adv.dir)

We use this tag for adverbs that end in *-cad*, i.e. *phyin-cad* 'after', *sñon-cad* 'before', *man-cad* 'below', *yan-cad* 'above', *slan-cad* 'after'. We also include *phan-tshun* 'mutually' in this category, for lack of a better place to put it.

## Temporal adverbs (adv.temp)

Temporal adverbs are those that occur in syntactic positions or have morphological structure that suggests they are nouns, that refer to time, and that are not followed by case markers. In our corpus so far the temporal adverbs are *sñon* 'previously', *da* 'now', *deñ* 'these days', *mdañ* 'yesterday', *gdod* 'at first', *da-run* 'still', *phyi-ñin* 'the next day', *phyi-dro* 'in the afternoon', and *sañ* 'the next day'. There are also nouns that refer to time such as *žag* 'day' and *gdugs* 'noon', but these behave syntactically as nouns, for example by being suffixed with case markers. In the phrase *sañ gi gdugs la*, where *sañ* also appears to function as a noun, we have hesitatingly decided that for the time being it is best to tag *sañ* as a temporal adverb.

## Intensive adverbs (adv.intense)

This tag is used for the adverbs *rab (tu)* 'very' and *śin (tu)* 'very', because as uninflected stems they do not occur independently.

## Proclausal adverbs (adv.proclausal)

A small number of words occur clause initially and refer to the content of the previous clause. Such adverbs often begin with a demonstrative stem. These words are classed as 'proclausal adverbs'. In the following list they are presented together with their affixal suffixes, but in our tagging we divide off these suffixes in order to be consistent with their treatment elsewhere: *de (nas)* 'then', *de (ste)* 'thereafter', *gal (te)* 'if', *ho (na)* 'in that case', *hon (te)* 'nevertheless', *yañ (na)* 'alternatively'.

## Negation (neg)

The two negation prefixes *ma* and *mi* are classified together in their own category. In the modern language and presumably in its ancestors these morphemes combine phonologically with the following word. However, treating them as separate words has the advantage of reducing the number of tags and simplifying the task of word-breaking. For the two verbs *min* and *med* negation is inherent to their meaning, consequently 'neg' is also added to their POS-tags (i.e. *min* | v.cop.neg and *med* | v.neg see below).

## Verbs

In principle ten verb tags are recognized, each of which has a verbal noun equivalent (i.e. suffixed with *-pa* or *-ba*). The four possible stems of Tibetan verbs are distinguished: present (v.pres), past (v.past), future (v.fut), imperative (v.imp). This distinction is made when it is morphologically marked (e.g. *gsod*, *bsad*, *gsad*, *sod* 'kill') and when it is contextually recoverable on the basis of sandhi phenomena (e.g. *gsol lo* = present, *gsol to* = past, *gsol cig* = imperative). Whenever it is not possible to distinguish stems on these two grounds the distinction is not made and the tag is simply 'v'. A separate tag (v.cop) is used for copulas such as *yin*, *lags*, and *mchis*.

An addition tag (v.aux) marks auxiliary verbs, i.e. verbs that appear after a finite verb, e.g. *rgyal-po chen-po khyod kyi lus la mar-me ston btsugs te mchod-pa byed nus na chos bstan-par byaḥo* 'O great king, if thou art able to make an offering, erecting a thousand butter lamps on thine body, then I shall teach the dharma' (vol. 74, page 131a). Elements falling into this class should not have stem inflection and are distinct from converbs. A verb from among this class is recognized as an auxiliary verb even if the verb which it governs is omitted, e.g. *rgyal-po ñid bzeñs te / srañ gi nañ du ḥgro-ba r gzas-pa las ñams kyis ma nus te* 'The king tried to raise himself and was about to go inside of the scale, but because of weakness was not able' (vol. 74, page 137a). In this sentence the last clause could be expanded to be *ḥgro ma nus te* 'he was not able to go'.

In order to represent reduplicated verbs, we introduce a special tag for the second element (v.redup). In our corpus so far, this element is always a verbal noun. Thus, in the phrase *śiñ-thog skyel skyel-ba las* 'while he was gathering fruit', the first *skyel* is tagged as a present finite verb and the *skyel-ba* is tagged as a reduplicated verbal noun. There is no need to distinguish the stem in the reduplicated syllable because it is always an exact copy of the preceding syllable.

Finally, because negation is inherent to the meaning of the two verbs *min* and *med* negation 'neg' is also added to their POS-tags (i.e. *min* | v.cop.neg and *med* | v.neg).

## Affixes

As mentioned, we treat grammatical affixes as separate words; case markers are distinguished from converbs. This distinction may in fact be unnecessary and therefore unwise in those cases where cases and converbs are homophonous, but is nonetheless a prudent course of action.

Each case marker and converbial marker is distinguished with a separate part-of-speech tag. Naturally, phonologically predictable allomorphs (e.g. *-gi*, *-gyi*, *-kyi*, *-hi*, *-yi*) is brought under the same part-of-speech tag. The absolutive case, since it is zero-marked, will not be tagged or in any other way marked.

#### Cases

Table 4 presents the Tibetan case markers. The absolutive case is unmarked and is consequently untagged. This list of cases is based on morphosyntax and varies in several ways from the traditional reckoning of Tibetan case (cf. Hill 2012).

#### Converbs

Table 5 presents the Tibetan converbs. There is a great deal of overlap with the case markers. When an ambiguous morpheme, e.g. *-tu* is suffixed to a noun then it is tagged as a case marker and when it is suffixed to a verb it is tagged as a converb. Whenever a case marker is homophonous with a converb, we maintain the name of the case marker also for the converb; this practice implies nothing about how these converbs are used.<sup>11</sup>

Case name	Form	Abbreviation
Ablative	<i>-las</i>	case.abl
Agentive	<i>-gis</i> , <i>-gyis</i> , <i>-kyis</i> , <i>-s</i>	case.agn
Allative	<i>-la</i>	case.all
Associative	<i>-da</i>	case.ass
Comparative	<i>-bas</i> , <i>-pas</i>	case.comp
Elative	<i>-nas</i>	case.ela
Genitive	<i>-gi</i> , <i>-gyi</i> , <i>-kyi</i> , <i>-i</i>	case.gen
Locative	<i>-na</i>	case.loc
Terminative	<i>-tu</i> , <i>-du</i> , <i>-ru</i> , <i>-su</i> , <i>-r</i>	case.term

Table 4: Tibetan case markers

<sup>11</sup> What we call the 'final' converb, is a marker of finiteness, and thus is in no way what would normally be called a 'converb' in conventional linguistics. Nonetheless, since this item is a post verbal affix comparable to the others, it is convenient to label it analogously.

Case name	Form	Abbreviation
Agentive	<i>-gis, -gyis, -kyis, -s</i>	cv.agn
Allative	<i>-la</i>	cv.all
Elicative	<i>-nas</i>	cv.ela
Final	<i>-ho, -to, etc.</i>	cv.fin
Genitive	<i>-gi, -gyi, -kyi, -hi</i>	cv.gen
Imperative	<i>-ciñ, -ziñ, -síñ</i>	cv.imp
Imperfective	<i>-cig, -zig, -síg</i>	cv.impf
Locative	<i>-na</i>	cv.loc
Question	<i>-ham, -tam, etc.</i>	cv.ques
Semi-final	<i>-ste, -de, -te</i>	cv.sem
Terminative	<i>-tu, -du, -ru, -su, -r</i>	cv.term

Table 5 : Tibetan converbs

The general policy of allowing only case markers after nouns and only converbs after verbs is violated in two cases. We rarely analyse the genitive case marker as appearing directly appended to a verb stem. For example, *hgyur gyi mi* in the sentence *bdag-cag gi pha-ma dañ hdra-ba khyod me-don du mtshon na / hbañs hdi dag thams-cad la mgon-skyabs dañ / gnas med-par hgyur gyi mi hgah tsam gyi phyir / hbañs thams-cad kyi dpuñ-gñen med-par ma mdzad* 'If you, who are like our parents, jump into the fire pit, all these subjects will be some mere men without a protector or place, because of that do not extinguish the refuge of all subjects!' (vol. 74, page 134b), and *son gi phyir* in the sentence *rgyal-pos de skad ces thos nas rab tu khros te / mdañ gzu blañs nas rgyal-po ñid lag dar te khyeñu la hphañs nas mdañ hphangs pa khyeñu lam son gi phyir yañ rgyal-poñi druñ du lhuñ ño* 'When the king heard that, he became very angry. Taking up a bow and arrow, the king himself drew back his hand and shot at the person. The arrow that he show after the path the person had taken landed in front of the king' (vol. 74, page 146b). In the second exception, when *-na* means 'when' after a verbal noun we tag it as a converb rather than a case marker. For example, *skyes-pa na* in the sentence *miñi nañ du skyes-pa na / hdod-pas chog mi ses-pas gcig la gcig htshe ziñ gnod-par gyur to //* 'When born among men, because of desire and discontent they hurt and harm one another' (vol. 74, page 134b).



## Clitics

The remaining POS-tags we use for a variety of heterogeneous word classes all of which appear to be clitics. Consequently, we begin these POS-tags with the letter 'cl'.

### Focus clitics (cl.focus)

This tag is used for *ni* and *kyañ*.

### Quotative clitic (cl.quot)

This tag is used for the quotative clitic with the allomorphs *ces*, *žes*, and *šes*. This clitic sometimes appears with the nominative suffix *-pa*; we see no need to distinguish these forms in our tag set.

### The clitic *tsam* (cl.tsam)

This tag is used for *tsam*, which to us appears to have sui generis syntactic behaviour.

### Punctuation (punc)

While a *tsheg* is considered part of the preceding syllable, all other punctuation marks are tagged as punctuation. So far we have encountered |, ĩ, ||, ༄།, and ||||.

## Software Infrastructure

A preliminary web site has been created for the early stages of the project<sup>12</sup>, and a first batch of materials has been uploaded, including the Tibetan and Himalayan Library's digital version of the Derge Kangyur, a set of texts kindly provided to us by the Tibetan Buddhist Resource Centre, and the Otani Tibetan E-Texts.<sup>13</sup> Together, these texts constitute well over 20 million syllables of Classical Tibetan, ample fodder for our initial experiments. Our corpus system is being built in Drupal, a PHP-based open-source content management system widely adopted within academic and archival communities.

## Pages

Tibetan texts are batch imported into our system from XML files that we receive from our providers, with each page of text corresponding to a single Drupal node. To the basic page and metadata fields, we add new fields holding the results of our hand

12 The URL, subject to change: <http://larkpie.net/tibetancorpus>

13 <http://web.otani.ac.jp/cr/twrp/project/otet/index.html>

annotations: for example, page text segmented into words, and page text tagged by part-of-speech. Pages with part-of-speech tags can be edited online or exported for offline editing.

Our use of pages as a basic organizing principle for Classical Tibetan texts enables us to more easily integrate our work with the systems of our data providers. For example, the THL presents the Derge Kangyur in a paged interface, with overlays of scanned pecha manuscript pages where available. We could ignore page breaks during tokenization and part-of-speech tagging, and then re-align the tagged texts to our providers' source files later, but by remaining faithful from the start to the organizing principles established by prior projects, we guard against the possibility that alignment, if delayed, would be deferred and ultimately left undone, thereby lessening the impact of our final products.

The main challenge presented by a page-driven structure is the scribal practice that pages are free to break after any syllable, whether it ends a word or not. Therefore words frequently do span across pages. This challenge has already been addressed: in addition to storing the original page text, the THL also stores a "page transition" including the "sentence" which spans the previous page and the start of the page in question, provided that page begins in the middle of a sentence. Adopting this approach prevents the appearance of orphaned syllables in our tagged texts, and also enables phrase queries to be executed across pages.

#### Datatags

To facilitate analysis and evaluation, we organize data on the website into "datatags". A *datatag* is a set of data which shares a common chain of analysis. Each datatag may reference a different word-segmenter or a different part-of-speech tagger, and in this way we can directly compare the performance of multiple models applied to the same data. For example, at the moment we are comparing the POS-tagging performance of Taku Kudo's CRF++ tagger<sup>14</sup> against that of Helmut Schmid's TreeTagger.<sup>15</sup> We are also examining the impact on POS-tagging performance of adding a simple rule-based tagger based on regular expressions search and replace operations over neighboring words and tags.

Our project is developing Java-based NLP tools for Tibetan, which are updated regularly on GitHub.<sup>16</sup> Drupal datatags divide the corpus into sub-parts that are passed through customizable natural

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14 <http://crfpp.googlecode.com/svn/trunk/doc/index.html>

15 <http://www.ims.uni-stuttgart.de/projekte/corplex/TreeTagger/>

16 <https://github.com/tibetan-nlp>

language processing chains. The NLP components are plugged into SOLR, the open-source Lucene-based search platform that plays nicely with Drupal.<sup>17</sup> Specifically, they are implemented as “update processor factories” that add, remove, or modify fields before sending a document (page) to the SOLR search index. These update processor factories are specified in SOLR's configuration file (solrconfig.xml), but a factory's settings depends on parameters passed with the document by the datatag.

Some of the NLP components are for general purpose use, not necessarily tied to Tibetan language. For example, the following SOLR configuration fragment instructs the CRF++ tagger to POS-tag the “twxs\_pos\_guessed” field using the supplied language model.

```
<processor
class="org.soas.solr.update.processor.CrfppTaggerUPF">
  <str name="datatags">im_field_datatags</str>
  <str name="path">ss_pos_path</str>
  <str name="model">pos</str>
  <str name="guess">twxs_pos_guess</str>
  <str name="uuidField">uuid</str>
  <str name="folds">01,23,45,67,89,ab,cd,ef</str>
  <str name="delimitOutput"> </str>
  <str name="tagDelimiter">|</str>
</processor>
```

The following fragment compares the guessed tags to those produced by hand-annotation, scoring accuracy as well as generated a field with the errors highlighted:

```
<processor
class="org.soas.solr.update.processor.TagScoreUPF">
  <str name="datatags">im_field_datatags</str>
  <str name="words">ts_field_pos_bo</str>
  <str name="guess">twxs_pos_guess</str>
  <str name="tokenCount">is_pos</str>
  <str name="guessCount">is_pos_guess</str>
  <str name="correctCount">is_pos_correct</str>
  <str name="errorField">twxs_pos_error</str>
  <str name="errorE">twxhtm_pos_error</str>
  <str name="errorTag">strong</str>
</processor>
```

---

17 For SOLR, see <http://lucene.apache.org/solr/>. For Drupal and Solr integration, see <http://drupal.org/project/apachesolr>.

Another factory tags a text using a lexicon instead of a statistical model. So, given a lexicon file containing a list of words with their possible tags (where dashes mark that we are ignoring lemmatization):

```
སླེབ་          v.fut -      v.past -
སླེབ་པ་       n.v.fut -     n.v.past -
```

Then we can use the fragment below to assign a list of possible tags to each word of a text:

```
<processor
class="org.soas.solr.update.processor.LexiconTaggerUPF">
  <str name="fieldRegex">twxs_possible_tags.*</str>
  <str name="lexicon">lexica/2013-02-
26_lexicon.txt</str>
  <str name="tagDelimiter">|</str>
  <str name="delimitOutput"></str>
</processor>
```

In addition to developing general purpose NLP components, we are also exploiting and extending existing Java libraries for Tibetan language processing to create a range of update processor factories for manipulating Tibetan syllables, words, and part-of-speech tags.

#### Rules

One of these Tibetan-specific components is a rule-based tagger that takes the output of the lexicon tagger and then eliminates impossible or highly unlikely tag sequences.

```
<processor
class="org.thdl.tib.solr.SimpleRuleTaggerUPF">
  <str name="fieldRegex">twxs_possible_pos.*</str>
  <str name="rules">lexica/2013-03-05_rules.txt</str>
</processor>
```

Here, the referenced document contains a list of rules formulated as regular expressions over neighboring words and tags.

We include rules to handle the homonymy of indefinite determiners and imperative converbs:

```
# ཅིག་()/ཞིག་()/ཤིག་()
```

# If a word 'w' tagged with a hypothesized POS-tag [v.pres] is followed by ཅིག(), ཞིག(), or འིག()

# and is preceded by མ' then delete all other hypothesized POS-tags.

```
((?:^|\s)མ'\|\S+)\s+(\S+)\|\|S*\[v\.pres\]\S*\s+((?:ཅིག|ཞིག|འིག)?)\| >
$1 $2|[v.pres] $3|
```

# If a word 'w' tagged with a hypothesized POS-tag [v.imp] is followed by ཅིག(), ཞིག(), or འིག()

# (and is not preceded by མ') then delete all other hypothesized POS-tags.

```
((?:^|\s)(?!མ)\S+)\s+(\S+)\|\|S*\[v\.imp\]\S*\s+((?:ཅིག|ཞིག|འིག)?)\| >
$1 $2|[v.imp] $3|
```

Additional rules, applied in the order below, help to distinguish between the previously mentioned inconveniently homonymous words *mi* 'person' and *mi* 'not'.

# མི'

# If མི' is followed by a word with the hypothesized tags [v.pres], [v.fut],

# [n.v.pres] or [n.v.fut], then assign tag [neg] to the word མི'.

```
((?:^|\s)མི'\|\S+)\s+(\S+\|((?:v\.pres|v\.fut|n\.v\.pres|n\.v\.fut)\|\|S*) >
$1|[neg] $2
```

# If མི' follows a genitive, then assign tag [n] to it.

```
((?:^|\s)((?:འི|ཀྱི|གྱི)\|\S+)\s+(མི?)\|\|S+ > $1 $2|[n]
```

# If མི' precedes མེདམ' then assign the tag [n] to it.

```
((?:^|\s)མི'\|\S+)\s+(མེདམ?)\| > $1|[n] $2|
```

# If མི'/མ' is followed by any one of the words རེ, འདི, འདི, རྣམས, དག, ཐམས་ཅད,

# ཀུན, ཞིག, འགའ, and གཞན, then delete the [neg] tag.

```
((?:^|\s)((?:མི|མ')\|\|S*)\|[neg\]\|S*\s+(((?:རེ|འདི|འདི|རྣམས|དག|ཐམས་ཅད|ཀུན|ཞིག|འག|འགའ|གཞན)?)\| >
$1|$2$3 $4|
```

We use the output of the rule-based tagger in various ways. First, it informs and improves occasionally inconsistent hand-tagging. Second, it assists in the rapid tagging of new material. And third, it

narrows the possibilities that need to be considered by our statistical models, thereby improving automated tagging performance.

#### Evaluation

Datatags are divided into folds. Upon ingestion into the system, each page of data is assigned a random (but unique) 32 digit hexadecimal code called its Universal Unique Identifier.<sup>18</sup> We divide the data into 8 folds based on the UUID prefix: '01' refers to data points whose UUID begins with '0' or '1', and so on up to 'ef'. Each fold is evaluated against models trained on the entire dataset, minus the fold. From the datatags page, you can download the '01' training data, which includes the entire datatag except those data points that begin with '0' or '1'. Models are built from this training data and then tested against the '01' fold. The process is repeated for the other folds. This is known as (8-fold) cross validation. Our interface therefore does not distinguish between 'training' and 'test' data; for every page, each datatag's performance can be checked against the human-annotated baseline.

As mentioned above, we are currently comparing and optimizing the performance of both the CRF++ tagger and the TreeTagger. On our (admittedly homogenous) *Mdzans blun* pilot data, the TreeTagger is currently leading the race with 98.1% part-of-speech tagging accuracy.

#### Future developments

The tagging score above assumes that our Tibetan text has been accurately broken into words. However, since Tibetan script does not mark word boundaries, a Tibetan part-of-speech tagger can be no better than the tokenizer that precedes it. This serves to highlight the critical importance of word segmentation to Tibetan NLP. Following Huidan et al (2011), we are experimenting with re-casting Tibetan word segmentation as a syllable tagging problem, with each syllable in search of an appropriate word-internal position label. For example, the only syllable of a monosyllabic word is tagged with 'S' for "single syllable", and the first, middle, and end syllables of multisyllabic words are tagged with "B", "M", and "E", respectively. This work is still in its early stages.

We will also soon be presented with further challenges when we unleash our taggers on other texts, as well as distinct historical periods and genres within our overall corpus.

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18 See [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Universally\\_unique\\_identifier](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Universally_unique_identifier) for general discussion and <http://drupal.org/project/uuid> for the Drupal implementation that we are using.

## Conclusion

No Tibetan dictionary has been compiled which benefits from the advances in corpus linguistics which have revolutionized the lexicography of better studied languages. The compilation of a dictionary is always a major undertaking; a part-of-speech tagged corpus reduces the work and improves the outcome. Consequently, we call upon those who are considering starting a new Tibetan dictionary to invest their energy in the creation of the digital resources that will ensure a higher quality of dictionaries than would otherwise be possible. Although it is currently still in its beginning stages, 'Tibetan in Digital Communication' at SOAS promises to make a contribution in this direction.

## Appendix 1. Alphabetical list of POS tags

Adj: ཚེན་པོ་, མང་པོ་, དམ་པ་, ཚེན་པོ་, རིང་པོ་, རྒྱང་ཏུ་, ལྷ་མ་, ལྷུང་, ལྷ་བུ་, གང་, དབྱུང་པོ་, མང་པོ་, མཚོན་པོ་, གཅིག་པ་, གཅིག་པ་, ཉམ་ཐག་པ་, ཐ་རྒྱུད་, བཟང་པོ་, འཕགས་པ་, རིང་, གཙོ་བོ་, གཡམ་པ་, དན་པ་, རོམ་ཚར་, དུ་མ་, བཟང་པོ་, མཚོག་, མདོངས་པ་, རིང་པོ་, རྒྱན་མོ་, གཅིག་པུ་, གཉི་ལྷག་ཅན་, གཉི་ལྷག་ཅན་, གཅང་མ་, གཙོ་བོ་, གཞོན་ནུ་, བྲངས་མེད་, རྒྱུ་ཟད་, ཚེབ་ཅན་, ཉག་མ་, ཉམ་རྒྱུད་, ཐ་མལ་པ་, ཐ་མལ་པ་, དཀར་མུ་, དཀར་མུ་, དབྱུང་པོ་, དབྱུང་པོ་, རོན་མེད་, རོན་མོ་, ལྷི་མ་, ཞར་མ་, ཡ་མཚན་, རེ་བ་, རེ་བ་, རིང་པོ་, རིན་པོ་ཆེ་, རྣོན་པོ་, རྣོན་པོ་, ལྷམ་མེར་, ལྷ་མ

adv.dir: ཡན་རྒྱུན་, ལྷིན་ཅད་, ལྷོན་ཅད་, མན་ཅད་, ཡན་ཅད་, ལྷན་ཅད་

adv.intense: རབ་(ཏུ་), ཤིན་(ཏུ་)

adv.proclausal: དེ་(ནས་), དེ་(སྟེ་), གཡམ་(ཏི་), འོ་(ན་), ཡང་(ན་), འོན་(ཏི་)

adv.temp: ལྷོན་, ད་, དེང་, མདང་, གཤོད་, དུང་, ལྷི་ཉིན་, ལྷི་ལོ་, མང་

case.abl: ལས་, ལས

case.agn: ས་, ལྷིས་, གིས་, ལྷིས་, ས་, ལྷིས་, ལྷིས་

case.all: ལ་, ལ

case.ass: དང་, དང་<sup>19</sup>

case.comp: བས་, བས་

case.ela: ནས་, ནས་

case.gen: འི་, ལྷི་, གི་, ལྷི་, གིས་<sup>20</sup>

19 Unicode distinguishes two types of *tsheg*, which is the reason for this word to occur twice.

20 In the text itself -gis is a misprint for -gi.

- case.loc: ན་, ན
- case.term: འི་, འོ་, འུ་, འུ་, འུ་, འོ་, འོ་, འོ་
- cl.emph: ཉིད་, ལོན་, རེ་རེ་, ལོ་
- cl.focus: ཡང་, ནི་, ཀྱང་, ནི་, ཅང་, སྤྱིར་ཡང་, འང་
- cl.indef: ཞིག་, ཅིག་, འིག་, ཞིག་, ཞིག་, འིག་
- cl.quot: ཞེས་, ཅེས་, ཞེ་, ཅེས་པ་, ཅེས་པ་, ཞེས་པ་
- cl.tsam: ཅམ་, རྗེད་, ཅམ་
- cv.agn: ཀྱིས་, ཀྱིས་, ཀྱིས་, གིས་, ཀྱིས་
- cv.all: ལ་, ལ་
- cv.ela: ནས་, ནས་
- cv.fin: མོ་, ཏོ་, འོ་, ཏོ་, ཏོ་, མོ་, འོ་, ཏོ་, འོ་, ཏོ་, མོ་, ཏོ་, འོ་, ཏོ་, འོ་, ཏོ་, མོ་, ཏོ་, འོ་, ཏོ་
- cv.gen: ཀྱི་, ཀྱི་, ཀྱི་, གི་, གི་, ཀྱི་
- cv.imp: འིག་, ཅིག་, ཅིག་, འིག་
- cv.impf: ཞིང་, ཅིང་, འིང་, ཞིང་
- cv.loc: ན་, ན
- cv.ques: ནམ་, འམ་, ནམ་, ནམ་, འམ་, མམ་, མམ་, མམ་, འམ་, ཏམ་, མམ་, འམ་
- cv.sem: ཉི་, ཉི་, ཉི་, ཉི་, ཉི་
- cv.term: འི་, འི་, འོ་, འི་, འི་, འོ་
- d.dem: ནི་, འདི་, ནི་, འདི་
- d.det: གཞན་, འབའ་, ཡ་རེ་
- d.emph: ཉིད་, ལོན་, རེ་རེ་, ལོ་
- d.indef: ཞིག་, ཅིག་, འིག་, ཞིག་, ཞིག་, འིག་
- d.plural: ནག་, ཐམས་ཅད་, ཀྱན་, རྣམས་, ལྡོག་ལས་, ཡོངས་, ཏུང་ཟད་, འགའ་, ཐམས་ཅད་, འུམ་, མོ་ཅོག་
- dunno: ཅོག་ཅོག་, གཏན་, གཞུམ་ཀ་, ཀྱིན་, བྱངས་, བྱ་བ་, རྒྱ་, ལྟ་
- n: ལུས་, འུས་, བཅོམ་ལྷན་འདས་, ཚོས་, རྒྱལ་པོ་, རྒྱལ་པོ་, སངས་རྒྱས་, མི་, མེས་པ་, བཀའ་, རྒྱལ་ལུ་, ལྷ་, ལུ་, འཛིག་རྟེན་, འཁོར་, མེས་པ་ཅན་, མོ་བྱང་, མོ་ན་པོ་, ལྷ་, ལྷག་, བཞུན་མོ་, ལྷ་འདྲ་, ཚལ་, ཡིད་, ས་, ཚོ་, ལུལ་, འོངས་ལྷོད་, ལྷུ་, གངན་བ་, ས་མ་, བསོད་ནམས་, རིགས་, ལྷག་བསྐལ་, ལྷོག་, ལྷིས་, འབྲས་བུ་, གནས་, ལྷིང་, ལུང་མ་, ཐལ་མོ་, དགོ་འདུན་, དགོ་ལྷོད་, རོན་, ཚོད་, འཛོམ་བུ་, ཡི་, རིན་པོ་ཆེ་, རྣམ་པ་, ལས་, ལེན་, ལྷ་, ལྷིས་བདག་, ལྷགས་བཅེས་, བསྐལ་པ་, ཀྱན་དགའ་རབ་, གཏམ་, ཆར་, ཐོག་མ་, དགའ་,



རྣམ་མཁམ་, ཚེག་, འཕྲོ་བ་, རྣམ་པ་, སྤྲུལ་, གདོན་, བྱངས་, བོད་མེད་, དབྱ་བཅོམ་པ་, བ་མ་, ལྷོ་ལོ་, བརྩོན་འགྲུལ་, འུ་མོ་, བསལ་ཟེ་, མེ་ཏོག་, ཚེ་, ཞབས་, ཡུན་, ལོ་, ག་, སྤྱུ་, ལྷོན་པ་, ཁྲིམས་, འུ་, བྱང་རྒྱལ་, ཟླ་, མི་, མིང་, ཚེགས་, ཞག་, འཕྲོད་པ་, ཡོན་ཏན་, རྒྱ་མཚོ་, རྒྱལ་མཚན་, རྒྱལ་ཚབ་, རྩེ་, རྒྱབས་, རྫོན་ལམ་, རྒྱ་, ལ་, ལག་, ཚེས་མོས་, ཉིན་, དཔེ་, དབང་པོ་, བརྩོན་, ལྷོགས་, མགོ་པོ་, མཐ་, མཚན་, ཞལ་ཟམ་, འུམ་པ་, རྒྱ་མཚོ་, རྫོ་, རྒྱན་, རྒྱང་མ་, དེམ་པོ་, དབང་, བཀའ་རྒྱུན་, བསོད་སྙོམས་, བྱང་རྒྱལ་མེམས་དཔལ་, བྱང་གཟུགས་, བསལ་ཟེ་, རྫོན་པོ་, མཚིམ་, མེ་, ཚོང་པ་, འཁོར་བ་, འོད་, ཡམ་, ཡོ་བྱད་, རྒྱལ་འུ་, ལན་, ལྷ་རྩེ་, རྫོ་, ལྷག་མོ་, ལྷན་མོ་, ལྷན་, ལམས་, གཏེ་སྤྲུག་, གདན་, གསོད་སྙོམས་, རྒྱང་པོ་ཚེ་, ཚོ་ལྷུལ་, བམ་, བག་, ལྷགས་, དལྷ་, དགེ་བསྙེན་, དབྱགས་, དེབ་ཞིན་གཤེགས་པ་, དོང་ཚེ་, དོར་, བཀའ་པ་, འུམ་མོ་, ལྷག་པོན་, བོ་ཉ་, བཀ་, བལེགས་, བརྩོན་མོ་, བྱང་རྒྱལ་མེམས་དཔལ་འུ་, བག་, མ་, མ་སྤྱང་, མང་འབྲུད་, མཚོན་སྤུལ་, མཐུ་, མཐོ་མེས་, མའུན་, མའོག་, མིག་, མེ་, མེ་དོར་, རྒྱལ་ཁྲིམས་, ཞེ་སྤང་, ཟམ་, ཟླ་, འོད་དཀར་ལྷགས་, འབྲེང་པ་, འཕྲོང་པ་, ཡི་དགས་, ཡུམ་, རང་མངས་རྒྱལ་, རིན་པོ་ཚེ་, རིམ་, རྒྱུན་, རྒྱང་གཟུགས་, རྒྱ་, རྒྱན་, རྩ་, འག་, འག་པ་, འམ་, རྒྱག་མ་, འིད་, རྒྱད་, རྒྱེ་པོ་, རྒྱེད་ཇེ་, རྩ་, རྒྱན་སྤྱེ་, རྒྱེ་པོ་, རྩང་, རྩམ་, རྩམ་མོ་, རྩུ་, ལ་, ལ་དོག་, ལ་སྤྱེ་, ལམ་, རྒྱལ་མ་, འིད་, རྒྱད་, རྒྱེ་པོ་, རྒྱེད་ཇེ་, རྩ་, རྩུ་, རྩུ་མིག་, ཚོངས་, ཉམ་, ཉིམ་, ཉོན་ཞག་, ཉེག་ནས་, ཉེས་པ་, བམས་, བཅོམས་, དཀོན་མཚོག་, དགེ་པ་, དབྱ་བཅོམ་པ་, དཔག་, དཔུང་གཉེན་, དཔེ་, དབང་པོ་, དཔུ་, དཔུལ་མོངས་, དཀྱིབས་, དམ་, དམ་བཅས་པ་, དམ་བཅའ་པ་, དམ་གཤམ་, དུམ་ལུ་, དོར་, བན་ཏན་, བས་, བ་, བན་, ལུ་མོ་, ལྷག་དར་, སྤམ་, བདུད་, བམ་པོ་, བཅོན་དུག་, བརྩོན་པ་, བཟའ་བ་, བར་རྒྱན་, བར་སྤུང་, བརྩོད་, བརྩུན་, བསྐལ་བ་, འུ་མོ་, འུ་མོ་, འུམ་མོ་, བྱད་, རྫོ་, མགོ་, མཚེམ་, མཐའ་, མང་པ་, མདོ་, མཚན་མཁམན་, མམ་མེ་, ཞལ་, འཁོར་པོ་, འགམ་, འགམ་ལུ་, འཕྲིང་པོ་, ཡིག་, ཡི་དམ་, ཡི་ཤེས་, རབ་བསྐྱུང་བ་, རབ་, རམ་ལུ་, རལ་གྱི་, རལ་གྱི་, རི་, རུམ་ལུ་, རེ་, ཀང་པ་, རྒྱང་མ་, རྒྱན་, རྒྱལ་མཚན་, རྫོན་, རྫོང་ལུ་, འག་མཐེལ་, རྫོངས་, རྩུས་, རྩེ་མིག་, རྩུང་, རྩུན་, རྩུང་བཟེད་, འིད་ཐོག་, འིད་ན་, རྩུན་པ་, རྩུང་, རྩུང་ཇེ་, རྩུམ་པ་, རྩུག་པོ་, རྩུག་པ་, རྩུ་, ཀལ་, ཀལ་ལུ་, ཀལ་ཏུ་རྒྱུ་, ཀལ་ཏུ་རྒྱུ་པ་, ཀལ་ཏུ་རྒྱུལ་, ལཟམ་, ལང་པ་, ལང་པ་, ལང་བཟངས་, ལལ་, ལས་མ་, ལུ་རྩུང་, ལུ་ལེ་, ལོ་མོ་, ལོམ་ཐབ་, ལོ་ལྷག་, ལོ་སྤྲན་, ལུ་, ལུས་, གཅན་གཟན་, གཉེན་ཟླ་, གཏུན་, གདན་པ་, གདན་པ་, གཏུག་པ་, གཏུགས་, གན་, གནས་, གནས་ཁང་, གནས་པ་, གཞུ་, གཞོངས་, གཟི་བཞིན་, གཟུགས་བྱད་, གཡམ་, གཡམ་, གཡོག་འཁོར་, གཡོན་, གསོད་ནམས་, གྱི་, གྱོགས་, གྱོགས་པོ་, རྫོ་པ་, དན་མེས་, དན་མོང་, དན་རྒྱུགས་, དལ་, དུད་འཕྲོ་, དེས་, དོ་, དོ་འཛུམ་, རྒྱག་རྒྱག་, རྒྱང་, རྒྱབ་, རྒྱབ་མིག་, རྒྱབ་པོ་, རྒྱབ་སྐོབ་, རྒྱབ་སྐོབ་, རྒྱལ་, རྒྱལ་ན་, རོག་, རོང་, རོང་ལྷོགས་, རོམ་, ཉམས་, ཉུག་རུམ་, བརྒྱང་, བད་, བལ་མོ་, ལྷགས་ཇེ་ཚེད་པོ་, བཅོམས་, བོ་, དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་, དགེ་སྙོམས་, དེམ་པོ་, དེམ་སྤུག་, དཔེ་བྱད་, དབང་བཟང་, དབང་པོ་, དཔུལ་མོངས་པ་, དཔེན་པ་, དཔག་པ་, དཔེགས་ལུ་, དུག་, དུད་འཕྲོ་, དུམ་ལུ་, དེབ་ཞིན་གཤེགས་པ་, དེབ་ཞིན་གཤེགས་པ་, དོད་དཔོན་, དང་པོད་, དི་བསྐྱུང་, དི་མ་, དི་མ་, དིན་, བན་, ལུ་པོ་, ལུ་པོ་, ལུ་བཅོམས་, ལེུག་མིང་, ལོར་དཀྱིག་, ལོར་བདག་, བགས་, བདམ་, བས་མོ་, ལུན་སྤུམ་ཚོགས་པ་, ལྷི་, ལྷི་བཞིན་, ལྷི་མི་, ལྷི་བཅོམས་, ལྷག་པོར་དཀྱིག་, ལྷག་དོག་, ལྷག་པ་, ལྷིན་, བསྐྱུ་, བསྐྱུ་, བཀའ་རྒྱུ་, བཀའ་མིཤེས་, བཀའ་མིཤེས་, བག་,

བག་ཆགས་, བག་མ་, བག་མེད་, བགོ་བ་, བང་མཚོན་, བཏུང་བ་, བན་སྐྱང་, བཙོན་, བཟང་མོ་, བཟའ་ཤིང་,  
 བར་, བརྟན་, བརྟུན་པ་, བསྐྱེད་པའི་, བསྐྱེད་བཀའ་, བུ་ཚུང་, བུ་ཚོ་, བུ་ཚོ་, བུ་, བུང་རྒྱལ་སེམས་,  
 བུང་ལྷོགས་, བྱས་མ་པ་, བྱིང་ལེང་གར་ལི་, བྱིང་ལེང་གར་ལི་, བྱུང་བ་, བློ་ཅན་, མཁའ་མ་པ་, མམོན་, མམོན་སྐྱབས་,  
 མམིན་པ་, མམོན་, མཚན་ལུང་, མཚེས་བུང་, མཚེད་, མཚོན་རྟོན་, མདངས་, མདོ་, མཚོན་, མཚོན་ཆ་,  
 མཛོད་སྐྱོན་, མཛོད་མ་, མཛའ་མེ་, མི་ལྷོགས་, མི་བུ་, ལུན་ཁང་, མེ་ལུང་, མོ་ཁབ་, མོད་, ཚོད་, ཚོངས་མེས་,  
 ཚལ་པ་, ཚིག་རྒྱལ་, ཚུལ་, ཚོར་པས་, ཚོགས་, རལ་ཆེབ་, རིང་, རིག་ཅོད་པ་, རི་སྐྱེད་ལོ་བ་, ཟན་, ཟབས་,  
 ཟུག་རྒྱལ་, ཟུབ་, འཁོར་ལོ་, འཁོར་པ་, འཁོར་ལོ་, འདུ་ཤེས་, འཕྲིན་, འཕྲོད་པ་, འོད་ཟེང་, འོད་ལྷུང་,  
 འིད་ཚོས་པ་, འོན་པདག་, རབ་, རབ་, རིད་གས་, རིམོ་, རིམ་བུ་རྩེ་མོ་, རིག་པ་, རིན་, རིས་ལྟོ་, རིས་པ་,  
 རིལ་ཤིང་, རིས་, རྩམ་, རོ་, རོ་ལ་, རླུ་, རླུད་, རླུན་རྒྱུགས་པ་, ར་, རེའུ་, རོ་རོག་, རྟགས་,  
 རྟན་ཅིང་འབྲེལ་པར་འབྲུང་བ་, རུལ་, རེའུ་, རོ་རྩེ་, རོ་རྩེ་, མི་ལམ་, ཅུ་, ཅལ་, ཅི་ལོགས་, ཅུ་, ལུང་,  
 ལུས་གཟུགས་, ལེ་ལོ་, ལེའུ་, ལོང་བ་, ལོངས་, ལུགས་གཟེང་, ལྱིང་ག་, ལུ་མ་ཡིན་, ལུ་མ་རྩོམ་, ལུ་མོ་, ལུ་མོ་,  
 ལུ་རྟེན་, ལུན་, ལུ་ལྷོགས་, ཤས་ཐབས་, ཤར་ལྷོགས་, ཤིང་རོག་, ཤིང་རྩེ་, ཤུལ་, ཤེས་རབ་, ཤོག་ཤོག་,  
 ཤེར་སྐྱོ་, ཤོ་, ཤོ་ཆེས་, ཤུ་གསུང་, ཤུ་མདོག་, ཤུ་ཚོ་, ཤུ་གནས་, ཤུལ་ལུ་, ཤུལ་, ཤུལ་ས་པ་, ཤོས་, ཤོས་པ་,  
 ཤོ་སྐྱུང་, ཤུ་, ཤུ་ཅུལ་, ཤུ་, ཤུ་རྩེ་མ་, ཤུ་མ་, ཤུ་མེལ་, ཤུ་མོལ་, ཤུ་མོལ་, ཤུ་མོལ་, ཤུ་མོལ་, ཤུ་མོལ་, ཤུ་མོལ་,  
 ཤུ་ག་ལྷགས་, ཤོན་པ་, ཤོན་མོ་, ཤེ་, ཤེ་, ཤུག་ཅོ་, ཤུག་ཚོ་, ཤུམ་, ཤུང་, ཤུ་མོ་, ཤུའུ་, ཤུང་, ཤུག་ལྷག་,  
 ཤུན་བདག་, ཤུད་རིགས་, ཤུལ་ག་, ཤུལ་པོ་, ཤུལ་པོ་, ཤུལ་པོ་, ཤུངས་, ཤོག་གཅོད་, ཤུད་བཞིན་པ་, ཤུལ་དོན་,  
 རང་བཞིན་

n.mass: གལེར་, ལུ་, ལོར་ལུ་, ལུར་སྐྱིག་, ཟངས་, དུལ་, མཚོན་མཚེང་

n.prop: ཀུན་དགའ་པོ་, ཀྱལ་ལྗེད་, བརྒྱ་ལྷིན་, མམོན་མེད་ཟས་སྐྱོན་, ཀུན་དགའ་པོ་, མཚན་ལོད་, གལེར་དཀྱིག་,  
 ལྷ་རྩེ་སྤྲི་, གངས་དང་, གསལ་རྒྱལ་, གལེར་སྐབ་, ཚོངས་པ་, ལུ་ལེ་རིག་, ལུ་ལེ་རིག་ཆེན་, ལེ་ལི་,  
 སེམས་ཅན་ཆེན་པོ་, གངས་ལྷ་, ལྷ་རྩེ་སྤྲི་, ལེ་ལུ་ཀུམ་, ལྷས་པ་, མཚན་རྟོལ་པ་, ལུ་ཆེན་པོ་, ཤིང་རྩེ་ཆེན་པོ་,  
 ལྷེད་མོས་, ལུ་ཆེན་པོ་, ཀུན་མཁོན་པོ་, ལ་དོག་དམ་, ལ་དོག་དམ་པ་, གལེར་དཀྱིག་, དལ་བསོད་པོ་, དལ་ས་,  
 དམ་གསལ་, དགའ་ལྷན་, དབང་སྐྱུག་ཆེན་པོ་, དམ་གསལ་, དེབ་བཟུང་, དམ་ལེ་ལུ་, དག་ཤེས་མ་, ལེ་ལུ་ཀུམ་,  
 ལྷ་ལུ་ལན་དག་, ལ་ག་རྩེ་, ལ་ལེ་རྩེ་, ལ་སྐྱེས་དག་, ཚོངས་པ་, ཚོངས་པ་ལུ་, ཚོངས་པ་སྐྱེན་, ཟས་གཏང་མ་,  
 ཟས་གཅོང་མ་, འབར་ལི་, འོད་མ་, ལྷེལ་རོ་རྩེ་, ལུ་མོས་, ལུ་མ་པར་རྒྱལ་པ་, ལེའུ་རྩེ་, ལེའུ་རྩེ་, ལུ་ལེ་ལུ་,  
 ལུ་ལུ་སྐྱེས་ལོས་, ལུད་པ་ལ་, ལ་སྐྱེས་དག

n.rel: ཤེད་, ཚོ་, ལུ་, བཞིན་, ལུ་, ལུང་, ལུ་མ་, ལུང་, ལུ་མ་, ལུང་, ལུ་མ་, ལུང་, ལུ་མ་, ལུང་, ལུ་མ་, ལུང་, ལུ་མ་,  
 ལུ་མ་ཞིན་, འབྲེལ་

n.v: གསོལ་པ་, མོས་པ་, མཚོན་པ་, མོབ་པ་, མཚོན་པ་, གསུངས་པ་, དགའ་བ་, འདོད་པ་, ཤེགས་པ་, ལྷག་པ་, དགའ་བ་,  
 ལུན་པ་, ལུང་བ་, སེད་པ་, བསྐྱོབ་པ་, ཟབ་, རྩོགས་པ་, ལོན་པ་, ལྷག་པ་, ཤེས་པ་, གསོལ་པ་, བཅད་པ་, བཅས་པ་,  
 མཚོབ་, མཚོང་བ་, འདོད་པ་, ལོད་པ་, ལྷག་པ་, གསོལ་པ་, མཐའ་, དགའ་བ་, སེད་པ་, བཅད་པ་, མཚོབ་, འདྲ་བ་,  
 སེགས་པ་, ལུན་པ་, གསེགས་པ་, གསོལ་བ་, ཚོགས་པ་, ལྷག་པ་, དད་པ་, དད་པ་, བཅས་པ་, བཙེན་པ་,







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## *Opening the Eyes of Faith: Constructing Tradition in a Sixteenth-Century Catalogue of Tibetan Religious Poetry*<sup>1</sup>

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### Introduction

 Tsang smyon Heruka (1452–1507), the so-called Madman of gTsang, is best known for his novelistic accounts of early bKa' brgyud founders Mar pa (1012?–1097?) and Mi la ras pa (ca. 1040–1123). His efforts to compile, edit, print, and disseminate the narratives and religious poetry of those early figures underscored the central role that spiritual songs of realization (*mgur*) played in the expression and transmission of Buddhism across the Tibetan cultural world. gTsang smyon Heruka is himself credited with composing a significant corpus of spiritual verse, which has been compiled in a volume of his own collected songs (*mgur 'bum*).<sup>2</sup> He maintained his interest in literary activities through the latter part of his life. At one point, gTsang smyon returned to Chu bar in Southern Tibet, one of Mi la ras pa's favored retreats and site of the yogin's cremation, where he is said to have "brought many disciples to spiritual maturi-

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<sup>2</sup> gTsang smyon Heruka, *gTsang pa he ru ka'i mgur 'bum*. His songs are also preserved in two of the three extant biographies that gTsang smyon's disciples composed after his passing, i.e. rGod tshang ras pa, *Nyi ma'i snying po*; and lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal, *Dad pa'i spu slong g.yo ba*. The songs of gTsang smyon have not yet been studied carefully. Ilze Maruta Stearns has translated, transcribed, and edited two songs in her master's thesis (Stearns 1985, 12, 19–20, 97–124, 130–39). Franz-Karl Ehrhard (2010, 155–57) reproduced and studied the colophon of gTsang smyon's *mgur 'bum*. Stefan Larsson has written briefly about the song collection and translated some sections of the songs in his study of the madman's life (Larsson 2012, 42–44, 159ff.). Larsson is currently involved in a research project focusing on gTsang smyon's *mgur 'bum* and other related texts (Swedish Research Council, project 2013-1421).

ty through granting empowerments and instructions.”<sup>3</sup> During this period he also composed several texts related to the aural transmissions (*snyan brgyud*) lineages of esoteric instruction originating with the early bKa’ brgyud masters, as well as works on the tantric cycle of Hevajra. Included among gTsang smyon’s writings at this time is a catalogue of spiritual songs, the text under consideration here. The composition is not a collection of verses (*mgur ’bum*) per se. Rather it is a catalogue (*dkar chags*)<sup>4</sup> of songs, reflecting on the origin, forms, functions, and qualities of the wider *mgur* tradition. The work was completed in 1503 and wood blocks produced for a printed edition five years later. Only a single copy of the xylographic print is known to exist, preserved in the Sammlung Waddell of the Berlin State Library.<sup>5</sup>

gTsang smyon Heruka’s text, entitled *Opening the Eyes of Faith*, has so far received little attention. It is missing from Gene Smith’s seminal 1969 study of gTsang smyon Heruka’s life and works.<sup>6</sup> Kurtis Schaeffer likewise makes no mention of it in his recent overview of the printing projects of gTsang smyon and his disciples.<sup>7</sup> Several scholars have briefly noted the work in passing, but to date, the text has not been the subject of a detailed study.<sup>8</sup>

The catalogue offers a rare and relatively early reflection on the scope of the Tibetan *mgur* tradition by an author who helped make the genre famous in Tibet. This tradition is usually traced back, in part, to the early bKa’ brgyud figures Mar pa and Mi la ras pa, and the Indian *siddhas* before them.<sup>9</sup> In turn, the practice of singing *mgur* is frequently understood as a primary signifier of the “oral transmission” of esoteric instructions between teacher and disciple from

<sup>3</sup> rGod tshang ras pa, *Nyi ma’i snying po*, 207. *dbang dang gdams pas gdul bya mang po smin par mdzad/*. References refer to the Western pagination. Although no date is given in the biography, since rGod tshang ras pa’s *nam thar* of gTsang smyon is chronologically structured, this seems to have taken place around 1503.

<sup>4</sup> The term *dkar chags* is alternately spelled *kar chag* and *dkar chag*.

<sup>5</sup> The manuscript, i.e. “Waddell 120 h” was recently made available in the Digital Library of the Berlin State Library for free viewing and downloading: <http://digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/dms/>.

<sup>6</sup> Smith 1969. Republished in Smith 2001.

<sup>7</sup> Schaeffer 2011.

<sup>8</sup> The text is outlined briefly in Schuh (1981, 126–27). Ehrhard (2010, 157–58) noted the text’s title and colophon data in his examination of the writings of gTsang smyon’s biographer rGod tshang ras pa. Short references to it are also found in Larsson (2012, 251) and Sernesi (2011, 186). Larsson presented a preliminary survey of the text at the International Association for Tibetan Studies Seminar in Ulaanbaatar, 2013. Quintman presented the text at the “Tibetan Translation and Transmission Conference,” Boulder, CO, October 2014.

<sup>9</sup> On the tradition of Indian tantric songs, see for example, Guenther 1969; Jackson 2004; Kapstein 2006; Kværne 1977; Templeman 1994.

which the name bKa' brgyud is said to have derived. As compiler and early printer of their lives and songs, gTsang smyon Heruka thus stands as a central figure in the history of Buddhist songs in Tibet. Given his centrality in the development and popularization of the genre, gTsang smyon's thoughts about *mgur* are particularly significant. Despite its brevity, the madman's catalogue bears closer scrutiny, not only because it brings to light reflections on Tibetan verse forms that have languished in relative obscurity, although that is one reason. Perhaps more importantly, *Opening the Eyes of Faith* makes transparent some programmatic ways in which gTsang smyon employed the song tradition to construct a distinctive religious identity. And as with his better-known literary achievements, that identity was fashioned around the ideal of the ascetic yogin and his spontaneous expressions of spiritual awakening in song.<sup>10</sup>

The text is more than a simple list of song titles. It presents an indigenous Tibetan view of what *mgur* are and how they function. It details the suitable forms such verses can take, their necessary elements, potential flaws, and beneficial effects. It gives advice about how one should vocalize songs, to whom, and for what reasons. The catalogue reveals a picture of the *mgur* tradition that supports the stories Tibetans frequently tell about their esoteric traditions while also calling some of those stories into question. The text is thus interesting precisely because it helps complicate our understanding of *mgur* in a number of ways.

First, *Opening the Eyes of Faith* foregrounds the fact that *mgur* originated as a performative tradition. This follows the normative view that such verses are "songs of realization" and were expressed through the meditative experiences of great masters from the past. It then sets forth the ritual contexts in which those songs should be sung, together with the mental attitudes required of both performer and audience. Yet the text also reveals how *mgur* may function in non-performative ways. The catalogue lists only song titles and not the songs themselves. Individual titles included in the catalogue therefore seem to function as placeholders for the songs, and the instructions they transmit, while still demonstrating a valid transmission from teacher to student. The song titles here record the tradition's lineage extending from early Indian origins (both the tantric and historical buddhas) down to the author in sixteenth-century Tibet. Moreover, many individuals represented in the catalogue's lineage were themselves the subject of biographical writing produced by

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<sup>10</sup> Cf. Quintman 2014; Smith 2001, 61.

gTsang smyon and his followers. In this way, the text further reflects the mechanisms through which a religious community worked to record its lineage of the past and project it forward into the future.

The catalogue also echoes the traditional description of *mgur* as spontaneous expressions of an awakened mind, the “unstructured experience” of great yogins. In this view, such verses stand in contrast to the more scholastic prose of academic treatises as well as the more classical poetic forms based on Indian systems of *kāvya*. Here again, the text also contests that view. gTsang smyon underscores how songs require careful composition, expression, timing, etc. in order to be effective. A proper verse should “maintain songs of previous masters,” “uphold authentic dharma,” “bring forth the nectar-like oral instructions,” and “cause the attainment of perfect Buddhahood.” Likewise, their performance is a highly ritualized practice, one that requires a certain degree of care and training. Verses should be preceded by appropriate expressions of devotion and framed within a proper narrative context. The body of the song is to be “elevated and majestic,” its subject “clear and unadorned,” with a tone that is charming and a melody complete.

In light of these broad observations, this essay will offer a preliminary analysis and translation of gTsang smyon Heruka’s little known song catalogue. We begin with a history of the text’s production, the individuals involved in its printing, and the wider literary context into which such a text might fit. We then briefly survey the catalogue’s contents to highlight its principal features and functions. We conclude by reflecting on the traditional views about *mgur* in theory represented in this text (that they are based on meditative experience, that they are a spontaneous form of oral performance) while foregrounding some of the seemingly contradictory observations about them in practice (that they are often, perhaps predominantly, transmitted in literary form, that they conform to a strictly regulated framework). This short text, we contend, illustrates how spiritual poetry, and *mgur* in particular, can function in different registers depending on the context: original composition, biography, collected songs, catalogue, and subsequent performance as part of a living tradition, while serving both doctrinal and programmatic purposes. gTsang smyon has made use of each of these registers in order to constitute his view of the bKa’ brgyud tradition.

In the notes, we have referenced the sources for many of the catalogue’s best-known songs, such as those found in the Mi la corpus or Mar pa biography, which themselves are primarily known through the work of gTsang smyon Heruka. We have not, however, made an exhaustive attempt to identify or annotate all of the songs mentioned in the text. Further research will no doubt provide a clearer picture of

gTsang smyon Heruka's sources for this work. Appendix 1 provides a critical transcription of the Tibetan text. Appendix 2 presents a schematic illustration of the lineage masters recorded in *Opening the Eyes of Faith*, together with the number of songs attributed to each. Appendix 3 illustrates gTsang smyon's personal transmission lineage.<sup>11</sup>

### History of the Text

The full title of this work is *A Catalogue of Songs Dispelling the Darkness of Ignorance and Opening the Eyes of Faith* (*mGur gyi dkar chags ma rig mun sel dad pa'i mig 'byed*). The catalogue is relatively short, spanning just nine folios, and concludes with the following colophon:

This preliminary catalogue proclaiming the dharma that brings about well-being now and in the future is unstructured experience written down by the yogin who wanders in charnel grounds, King of Blood Drinkers, in the middle autumn month of the Water-Female-Pig year.<sup>12</sup>

Although gTsang smyon Heruka's name does not appear, the epithet "the Yogin who wanders in charnel grounds, King of Blood Drinkers" is one of the madman's best-known monikers, found in the *Lives* of both Mar pa and Mi la ras pa. The date of its composition, a Water-Female-Pig year, corresponds to 1503, which agrees with information found in the madman's own biography written by rGod tshang ras pa (1482–1559) shortly after his death.<sup>13</sup> It is therefore beyond reasonable doubt that gTsang smyon was the text's author.

The printing colophon provides further information about the text's creation:

E ma ho.  
This catalogue of songs, a lamp dispelling darkness,  
Was printed by Kun tu bzang mo,  
After she thought to benefit the Buddha's teachings and beings.  
sTod pa 'phel le of sMan khab wrote it down,

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<sup>11</sup> Publication constraints did not allow for the reproduction of chart graphics in the appendices. Appendix 2 and Appendix 3 can be downloaded here: <http://andrewquintman.com/openingeyes/>.

<sup>12</sup> gTsang smyon Heruka, *mGur gyi dkar chags*, 9a. See the Tibetan text in Appendix 1.

<sup>13</sup> rGod tshang ras pa, *Nyi ma'i snying po*, 207.

Sangs rgyal grogs mched of Zur tsho carved the blocks,  
and Lo paṅ 'Jam dpal chos lha performed the editing.<sup>14</sup>

Although these lines do not record a precise location or date for the text's production, they do offer a few clues about when and where it was eventually printed. Several of the names recorded here are known from other works by gTsang smyon Heruka. Kun tu bzang mo (1464–1549), who directed the printing project, can be identified as the madman's female disciple and partner.<sup>15</sup> She is also credited with arranging and sponsoring the block prints for at least two other literary works connected with gTsang smyon Heruka's life and teachings: (1) his earliest biography written by dNgos grub dpal 'bar (1456–1527); and (2) his collected songs. 'Jam dpal chos lha can be identified as another of gTsang smyon Heruka's disciples who collaborated with Kun tu bzang mo as editor on those two projects. The scribe sTod pa 'phel le and carver Sangs rgyal grogs mched likewise took on identical roles in the production of those two works.<sup>16</sup> This was, it seems, a well seasoned literary team.

A comparison of the physical features of these three works—biography, collected songs, and catalogue—provides corroborative evidence that they were products of a single publishing atelier. The title pages of all three works exhibit strikingly similar floral treatments (see Figure 1). The design and layout of the following pages likewise closely resemble one another. Although the catalogue lacks the illustrations found in opening folio side of the biography and

<sup>14</sup> gTsang smyon Heruka, *mGur gyi dkar chags*, 9a.

<sup>15</sup> The dPal brtsegs Institute has discovered a 73 folios manuscript *rnam thar* of Kun tu bzang mo, written by her disciple mKhan rab dbang phyug in 1551. Its full title is *Dus gsum rgyal ba ma lus pa bskyed pa'i yum chen kun tu bzang mo'i rnam par thar pa zab don gter mdzod mthong ba don ldan*. This text is the subject of ongoing study. Porong Dawa of the dPal brtsegs Institute and Hildegard Diemberger recently presented some of their findings at the conference *Printing as an Agent of Change in Tibet and Beyond* (Cambridge University, November 2013). See Dawa and Diemberger in press; Diemberger in press; see also Diemberger 2014. Kurtis Schaeffer presented a survey of Kun tu bzang mo's life based on this text ("An Introduction to the Life of Kuntu Zangmo (1464–1549) and some Remarks on Researching the History of Buddhist Women in the Himalayas," paper presented at the Third Himalayan Studies Conference, Yale University, March 15, 2014). rGod tshang ras pa includes a brief summary of Kun tu bzang mo's life in his biography of gTsang smyon (rGod tshang ras pa, *Nyi ma'i snying po*, 1969, 140–42). This short life story has been studied by Larsson, in press.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Ehrhard 2010, 154–58. For the original colophons, see, dNgos grub dpal 'bar, *Dad pa'i seng ge*, 30b–31a; gTsang smyon Heruka, *gTsang pa he ru ka'i mgur 'bum*, 27a–28a. The scribe came from sMan khab and the carver from Zur tsho, regions located not far from the printing location of bSam gtan gling, as will be discussed below. For more on these texts, the place of printing, and the people who made them, see Larsson in press.

songs, each first full text folio is circumscribed by a set of double lines with a box in the left and right margins, while the pages thereafter all have seven lines of text per folio and are flanked by two vertical lines on both sides of the text (see Figures 2.1 – 2.3).<sup>17</sup>

Franz-Karl Ehrhard has recently suggested that both gTsang smyon's biography and song collection were printed 1508 at bSam gtan gling, a monastery situated near the sacred mountain of rTsib ri in La stod Lho.<sup>18</sup> Together with Mi la ras pa's own biography and collected songs, they may have formed a four-part set.<sup>19</sup> The printed edition of gTsang smyon's catalogue *Opening the Eyes of Faith* was thus likely also produced in 1508 at bSam gtan gling. Indeed, rGod tshang ras pa describes exactly the kind of scene in which such activity could have taken place: shortly after the madman's passing, a group of his close disciples including Kun tu bzang mo gathered to compile and print gTsang smyon's life story and song collection, materials they imagined as forming a textual support for gTsang smyon's enlightened speech (*gsung gi rten*).<sup>20</sup>

*Opening the Eyes of Faith* concludes with a two-folio catalogue of gTsang smyon's own collected songs entitled *Illuminating Sunlight Catalogue* (*dKar chags nyi 'od snang ba*), appended directly after the printing colophon. This work was compiled by rGod tshang ras pa and this in turn suggests his involvement with the creation of *Opening the Eyes of Faith*.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>17</sup> To this trio of block prints may be added a fourth. Marta Sernesi has discovered that the same editor, scribe, and carver also participated in the production of gTsang smyon's famous biography of Mar pa, a work printed just a few years earlier, in 1505 (Sernesi 2011, 185–87). She notes the clear similarities between the original print of Mar pa's biography and the prints of gTsang smyon's *rnam thar* and *mgur 'bum* "in terms of page layout (*mise en page*) and *ductus*, confirming that they issued from the same workshop" (Sernesi 2011, 187). Sernesi further notes (2011, 187n17) that the print of Mar pa's *rnam thar* is marked with the marginal letter *ka*, which could indicate an "intended continuity" between this and the later prints, which are marked with letters *ga* (dNgos grub dpal 'bar, *Dad pa'i seng ge*) and *nga* (gTsang smyon, *gTsang pa he ru ka'i mgur 'bum*). *Opening the Eyes of Faith* bears no such marginal notations.

<sup>18</sup> Ehrhard 2010, 154–58. For more on bSam gtan gling, see Larsson in press; Wangdu and Diemberger 1996, 51–54. In the colophon to his biography of gTsang smyon, dNgos grub dpal 'bar records that he composed the text in 1508 in the monastery of bSam gtan gling at rGyal gyi śrī ri in La stod lho (dNgos grub dpal 'bar, *Dad pa'i seng ge*, 30b).

<sup>19</sup> Ehrhard 2010, 154. As noted, Mar pa's *rnam thar* could also have been included in such a set (see note 16).

<sup>20</sup> rGod tshang ras pa, *Nyi ma'i snying po*, 282.

<sup>21</sup> rGod tshang ras pa, *dKar chags nyi 'od snang ba*, 10b. This brief colophon concludes by identifying rGod tshang ras pa as its compiler: *rdo rje'i mgur chings dkar*

We can thus conclude that *Opening the Eyes of Faith* was written by gTsang smyon Heruka in Chu bar in 1503 and then likely printed in 1508. gTsang smyon's female companion Kun tu bzang mo sponsored the project, with several other disciples acting as editor, scribe, and carver, all of whom had been involved with producing xylographic editions of their guru's biography and collected songs. The text was likely printed at bSam gtan gling in La stod Lho, with further input from gTsang smyon Heruka's close disciple rGod tshang ras pa. Finally, *Opening the Eyes of Faith* was itself probably issued and circulated together with gTsang smyon's biography and songs, possibly as a kind of appendix to them.

### Precedents and Parallels for *Opening the Eyes of Faith*

Before turning to the catalogue, it will be helpful to first situate it within the broader Tibetan tradition of commentary on songs. Even with the profusion of *mgur* in Tibet, recorded in the biographies and collected songs of innumerable masters, commentary on the traditions of song and vocal performance themselves seems to have been relatively rare. It was, however, not entirely lacking, and we find some evidence for possible influences on gTsang smyon's exposition. In his youth, he was educated in a Sa skya monastic environment and thus may have been familiar with Sa skya Paṇḍita's famous *Treatise on Music (Rol mo'i bstan bcos)*.<sup>22</sup> Sa paṇ's *Treatise* was the earliest extended theoretical treatment of the Tibetan Buddhist musical tradition, with sections covering vocal music (*dbyangs*), composition (*tshig sbyor*), and melody and words (*dbyangs dang tshig*). All three of the madman's biographies agree that gTsang smyon studied for at least three years in the Gur pa monastic department of dPal 'khor chos sde Monastery in rGyal rtse, which was affiliated with the Sa skya tradition. During this period he studied tantric texts and he also learned to perform tantric rituals and dances. One source explicitly mentions that he studied *dbyangs* in the monastery.<sup>23</sup>

The performance of songs is also addressed in one of the oldest extant encyclopedias of traditional Buddhist knowledge in Tibet, a fifteenth- or early sixteenth-century compendium written by gTsang smyon Heruka's contemporary Don dam smra ba'i seng ge (ca. 15th

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*chags nil nyi 'od snang ba zhe bya 'di/ nyi ma'i rjes 'brang dkar chogs kyil dkar phran rgod tshang ras pas sbyar/*. Cf. Ehrhard 2010, 158.

<sup>22</sup> Kun dga' rgyal mtshan, *Rol mo bstan chos*. See Canzio 1979; Egyed 2000; Ellingson 1979. A seventeenth-century Tibetan commentary also exists, written by Kun dga' bsod nams (1597–1660). Kun dga' bsod nams, *Rol mo'i bstan bcos kyi 'grel ba*.

<sup>23</sup> rGod tshang ras pa, *Nyi ma'i snying po*, 27. Cf. Larsson 2011; 2012, 97–103.



century). Comprehensive works such as this often took as their primary subject the five main branches of classical Buddhist learning in the Indo-Tibetan world, the so-called five major cultural sciences (*rig gnas lnga*). Music (*rol mo*) and songs (often *glu*) were included within the category of “construction” or “arts and crafts” (*bzo rig*). Although little is known about the author, his work *Treasury of Explanation, a Wish-fulfilling Jewel* (*bShad mdzod yid bzhin nor bu*) includes a brief discussion about the forms and performance of song.<sup>24</sup> The relevant section is contained in the *Treasury’s* thirteenth chapter on “Oral Advice on Lasting Happiness,” which sets forth an abbreviated typology of songs (mostly designated by the term *glu*), the six modes of singing them, their four essential points, four results, and sixteen functions.<sup>25</sup> There is no evidence of a direct connection between gTsang smyon’s *Catalogue* and Don dam smra ba’i seng ge’s *Treasury*. And the latter says little about the tradition of songs of realization itself: the term *mgur glu* appears only in passing as one type of song. But as products of the same cultural moment in Tibet, these two works perhaps point to an increasing awareness of and interest in the forms and functions of songs. While it is unclear how widely Don dam smra ba’i seng ge’s *Treasury* circulated, *bshad mdzod* texts such as this, unlike Sa paṅ’s more scholarly *Treatise*, seem to have been composed for the benefit of a more general audience including pious lay readers, kings, and princes, who might one day become patrons.<sup>26</sup> This fits well with what we know about gTsang smyon’s wish to disseminate the *mgur* traditions of Mar pa and Mi la ras pa to as broad an audience as possible.<sup>27</sup>

Only a few autonomous song catalogues similar in form to *Opening the Eyes of Faith* are currently known, although other examples likely exist. The acclaimed rNying ma master Klong chen pa (1308–

<sup>24</sup> Don dam smra ba’i seng ge, *bShad mdzod yid bzhin nor bu*. Cf. Smith 2001, 209–24.

<sup>25</sup> Don dam smra ba’i seng ge, *bShad mdzod yid bzhin nor bu*, 522–27.

<sup>26</sup> Smith 2001, 210.

<sup>27</sup> On gTsang smyon’s intention to distribute the Mi la ras pa corpus to a broad audience, see Quintman 2014, 128ff. The better-known nineteenth-century compendium *Treasury of Knowledge* (*Shes bya kun khyab mdzod*) by ‘Jam mgon sKong sprul Blo gros mtha’ yas (1813–1899) includes extended discussions of both the “supreme” and “common” vocal arts (*ngag bzo mchog*, *ngag bzo phal*). The former covers topics such as the dynamics and modes of chanting (*gdangs*), melodic contour (*nga ro*), ceremonial contexts, etc. The “common vocal arts” includes singing that might take place during cultural festivals and public gatherings (‘Jam mgon sKong sprul, *Shes bya kun khyab mdzod*, 2: 295ff; Jamgön Kongtrul Lodrö Thayé 2012, 303–10). It is interesting to note, however, that sKong sprul does not mention the performance of *glu* and *mgur* in this context. The subsequent chapter on poetics focuses largely on classical forms of *kāvya*.

1364) produced a *Catalogue of Vajra Songs* (*rDo rje glu'i dkar chag*), which, although brief, is alternately referred to as the *Great Catalogue* (*dKar chag chen mo*) in the colophon. Klong chen pa describes the importance of *rdo rje'i mgur* as effectively encapsulating the entirety of the Buddhist tradition from the time of Śākyamuni down to fourteenth-century Tibet. He emphasizes the vajra songs (*rdo rje'i glu*) and *mgur* sung by masters after visiting the great sacred sites of the rNying ma tradition. From among the entire *mgur* tradition, he singles out Mar pa, Mi la ras pa, sGam po pa (1079–1153), Gling ras pa (1128–1188), rDza ri ras pa Shes rab dpal (ca. 12th century), and the great rNying ma adept Me long rdo rje (1243–1303). These masters, he writes, “reached the level of ‘Reality Exhausted’ and then sang songs (*mgur*) about realizing their own aims.”<sup>28</sup> The text concludes with a brief list of Klong chen pa’s own songs.

An unpublished work on poetry attributed to the seventeenth-century bKa’ brgyud scholar and polymath Karma chags med (1613–1678) contains a brief section, itself in verse, presenting an “analysis of dohā and vajra songs” (*do ha rdo rje'i glu'i rnam par dbye pa*).<sup>29</sup> Once again, we find an effort to establish the various Buddhist song traditions (*glu*, *glu dbyangs*, *dohā*, *mgur*) as encompassing the entire field of experience of the Buddhist path, from the historical Buddha Śākyamuni, to the great Indian *siddhas*, to the bKa’ brgyud founders in Tibet and their transmission of *mahāmudrā* instructions. Karma chags med writes:

All of the bKa’ brgyud lamas,  
In each of their meditation sites across the land of Tibet,  
Put their realization into song,  
Which became the central pillar of the Practice Lineage teachings.  
This is known as the “collected songs of the bKa’ brgyud.”<sup>30</sup>

As with gTsang smyon before him, the author reiterates that the tradition of songs of realization, and especially the collected songs (*mgur 'bum*) of its great masters, became a defining feature (“the central pillar”) of the lineage. It is not difficult to imagine that in writing those lines, Karma chags med had gTsang smyon’s literary corpus in mind.

<sup>28</sup> Klong chen pa, *rDo rje glu'i dkar chag*, 362. *chos nyid zad sar 'khyol bas rang don rtogs pa'i mgur bzhengs pa*.

<sup>29</sup> Karma chags med, *rDo rje glu'i rnam dbye*. The complete section title is *Do ha rdo rje'i glu'i rnam par dbye pa sha mang gi sul zhes bya ba'i glu*.

<sup>30</sup> Karma chags med, *rDo rje glu'i rnam dbye*, 2b. *gnas bod yul sgrub gnas so so tu/ dpal bka' [b]rgyud bla ma thams cad kyis/ rang rang gi rtogs pa glu tu blangs/ de sgrub [b]rgyud bstan pa'i srog zhing yin/ mtshan bka' [b]rgyud mgur 'bum zhes su grags/*.

The closest known parallel to gTsang smyon's catalogue, albeit one that circulated later, may be the brief text entitled *Comforting the Minds of the Fortunate* (*sKal bzang yid kyi ngal gso*), an independent work traditionally included as an introduction to the famous collection of bKa' brgyud verses *An Ocean of bKa' brgyud Songs* (*bKa' brgyud mgur mtsho*) compiled by the Eighth Karmapa, Mi bskyod rdo rje (1507–1554).<sup>31</sup> This is not designated a catalogue (*dkar chags*) per se, but rather serves as a practical introduction for the liturgical performance of the collection of songs that follows. Although its instructions are more explicit than those found in gTsang smyon's catalogue, there are close parallels between the two. The outline presented in *Comforting the Minds of the Fortunate* clearly follows gTsang smyon's own general framework; at times it seems to gloss the latter's opaque terminology.<sup>32</sup> It is therefore possible that its author not only knew of gTsang smyon's presentation of *mgur* from nearly half a century earlier, he may have drawn upon it directly.

### Survey of *Opening the Eyes of Faith*

*Opening the Eyes of Faith* begins with a traditional expression of homage to the lama and prayer of aspiration. gTsang smyon Heruka then introduces several of the text's central themes: the Tibetan tradition of spiritual songs is rooted in the ascetic practices of Indian Buddhism, it developed primarily through the transmission and performance of tantra, and it reflects the inner experiences of yogic practitioners. The narrative here describes how great adepts renounced the world, became realized through esoteric yogic techniques, and then expressed their realization in song. In gTsang smyon's telling, great *siddhas* of the past

... gave up clothes, food, and renown, and became the sons of mist and clouds. Wearing empty and secluded caves as their crowns, they cut the cord of happiness and abundance as aims of this life. They continuously remembered the difficulty of obtaining freedoms and advantages. For pillows they used mind-

<sup>31</sup> *sKal bzang yid kyi ngal gso*. Cf. Nālandā Translation Committee 1989, 6–12. The complete title of this text is *An Explanation, Outline, and Liturgical Procedures of the Ocean of bKa' brgyud Songs, Comforting the Minds of the Fortunate* (*bKa' brgyud mgur mtsho'i go don khog dbubs spyi chings rnam par bshad pa skal bzang yid kyi ngal so*). In the block print edition prepared at Rumtek Monastery, it is appended to the end of the main text.

<sup>32</sup> See note 80 in the translation.

fulness of the uncertainty of the time death; for clothes they wore awareness of the infallibility of cause and effect; for mats they laid out mindfulness of *samsāra*'s shortcomings. Then, modelling themselves upon the downward descent of a river and the upward blaze of a lamp, they practiced the two stages of yoga continuously, day and night, without interruption. This resulted in the actualization of unmistakable experience and realization, which they then expressed in vajra songs.<sup>33</sup>

This account largely reflects mainstream views about *mgur* in Tibet. It also supports gTsang smyon's stated purpose for writing the text that follows: the traditional Buddhist motivation of inspiring disciples, exhorting the wealthy to accumulate merit, and encouraging individuals to practice the path to liberation and omniscience.<sup>34</sup> But the story here also highlights gTsang smyon Heruka's long standing agenda to valorize the ascetic ideal, much as he did through his writings on the archetype of yogic virtuosity *Mi la ras pa*.

gTsang smyon next defines his terminology: "When the enlightened intentions of the victors and one's own wishes are versified, set to music, and then expressed, such is called *glu* or *dbyangs*. When it expresses the greatness [of realization] it is called *mgur*."<sup>35</sup> The distinctions between *glu* and *mgur*, and the blurred lines of those distinctions, have been discussed at length elsewhere.<sup>36</sup> In gTsang smyon's view, however, *mgur* may be distinguished from *glu* not so much by means of its formal properties—although they are clearly prescribed in the text that follows—as by its referent. Songs designated *mgur* address what is to be praised, literally "expressing the greatness" (*che brjod*), which in this case may be understood as the experience and realization of great adepts. This idea is encapsulated in one of the divisions of *mgur* Tibetan critic Don grub rgyal (1953–1985) defines as "songs about the way in which experience and realization arise from having meditated on the guru's instructions."<sup>37</sup> Nevertheless, gTsang smyon repeatedly designates songs of experience and realization not

<sup>33</sup> gTsang smyon Heruka, *mGur gyi dkar chags*, 1b.

<sup>34</sup> Curiously, gTsang smyon declares that he will "put into song the enlightened intentions of the victors of the three times" even though the text is written almost entirely in prose.

<sup>35</sup> gTsang smyon Heruka, *mGur gyi dkar chags*, 1b.

<sup>36</sup> For the growing literature on the poetic forms of *glu* and *mgur*, see for example Braitstein 2014; Don grub rgyal 1997; Ellingson 1979; Gamble 2014; Jackson 1996; Pema Bum 1994; Sørensen 1990; and Sujata 2005, 2008. Gamble (2014, 4ff.) notes that discussions among contemporary Tibetan critics about the *glu/mgur* distinction tend to focus less on genre divisions than on levels of honorific register and discourse. This also seems evident in gTsang smyon Heruka's definition here.

<sup>37</sup> Don grub rgyal 1997, 489. *bla ma'i gtams ngag bsgom nas nyams rtogs 'khrungs tshul gyi mgur/*.

as *glu* or *mgur* but as *dbyangs*, a term more commonly used to refer to a song's specific melody or performative context. It is clear, however, that in this text at least, gTsang smyon deploys the term *dbyangs* to refer both to the *mgur* tradition in general as well as to individual songs.

Having introduced the subject matter of the text, gTsang smyon cites selections from several authoritative Indian scriptures, such as *Aspiration of Noble Exalted Conduct* (*Bhadracarīprañidhānarāja*, *bZang spyod smon lam*), *The Litany of Names of Mañjuśrī* (*Manjuśrīnāmasaṅgīti*, *'Jam dpal mtshan brjod*), and *The Two Segments* (*brTag gnyis*) of the *Hevajra Tantra*, where it is written that songs constitute an important method of Buddhist practice. He also quotes from the *Sūtra of Ratnaketu* (*Mahāsannipātaratnaketudhāraṇī sūtra*, *'Dus pa chen po rin po che tog gi gzungs kyi mdo*) as evidence that *mgur* are not a Tibetan invention, but are firmly rooted in the early Buddhism of India, where even the Buddha's own disciples advocated the performance of song.

gTsang smyon next turns to the performance of *mgur*, presenting instructions first for the listener and then the singer of spiritual songs. The audience must abandon the so-called "four ruins" that might impede the proper reception of a song. He designates three capacities of audience members. There are those of highest capacity who focus on the song's inner meaning of the Buddhist ground, fruition, and view; and those of intermediate capacity who listen to the lyrics intent on practicing meditation. These he contrasts with listeners of inferior capacity who simply "stare at the mouth of the singer, slack-jawed and tongue drooping" while concentrating on the changing notes of the singer's voice.

He also provides guidance for how the singer should act. He should perform the songs "without giving in to childish displays of vocal ability, meaningless vulgarities, or desire for temporary pleasures." Instead, gTsang smyon presents a long list of ways to properly employ *mgur*, a list that includes the variety of appropriate listeners and the content suitable for each of them. Here, he writes in the first person, suggesting that he serves as a model for others in his tradition including, perhaps, his own disciples:

To the previous lamas I sing songs of praise and pleasing offering. To kings I sing songs about the laws that establish their subjects in the ten virtues. To the common folk I sing songs about the wish for contentment. To the Lords, the Great Teachers, I sing songs about the Buddha's teaching, namely sūtras, tantras and śāstras that are informed by scripture, reasoning, and pith instructions. To great meditators I sing songs

about experiencing tranquility and insight. To realized yogins I sing songs about manifesting the view, meditation, conduct, and fruition.... To doctors I sing songs about preparing medicinal wisdom nectar that dispels the degenerative disease of the five poisons. To merchants I sing songs about the greater profit of exchanging the sins of success in this life for the roots of virtue in the future.... To the old and frail I sing songs escorting them to the deathbed of their fixations.... To local villagers, including wealthy and faithful male and female lay followers, I sing songs that accord with the oral instructions of previous lineage holders, about the difficulty of obtaining freedoms and endowments; death and impermanence; the truth of karma, cause and effect; saṃsāra's shortcomings; and the benefits of liberation.<sup>38</sup>

*mGur* might be sung to gurus of the lineage and great teachers, meditators and yogins, kings and ordinary villagers alike, about all aspects of the Buddhist path, from the most profound philosophical insights and meditative experience, to the simple aspiration to practice virtue, to the foundational "four thoughts" that turn the mind toward dharma.

Performed in a proper context to an appropriate audience, *mgur* should effect certain changes in the minds of listeners, in which "the light of compassion radiates out and the blessings of the lineage enter into each of the different forms of song, which then easily take root in everyone's mind."<sup>39</sup> As a result, "hypocrites have their faults exposed," "the mournful are filled with laughter," "the sinful feel regret," and "the hateful pacify their cruelty."<sup>40</sup> When performed properly, the songs are utterly transformational, possessing six qualities to "turn the minds of even those lacking predispositions for virtue to the authentic dharma."<sup>41</sup>

The text next describes the proper form *mgur* should take. A song should begin in a mood that is elegant and majestic, "like the upper body of a lion." The middle is "magnificent and firm like a golden vajra," with clear, unadorned subject matter and charming tone, sung with a powerful voice. At its conclusion, the song should be long and gentle, "like the tail of a tiger."<sup>42</sup> In more prosaic terms, a *mgur*

<sup>38</sup> gTsang smyon Heruka, *mGur gyi dkar chags*, 2b–3a.

<sup>39</sup> gTsang smyon Heruka, *mGur gyi dkar chags*, 3a.

<sup>40</sup> gTsang smyon Heruka, *mGur gyi dkar chags*, 3a.

<sup>41</sup> gTsang smyon Heruka, *mGur gyi dkar chags*, 3b.

<sup>42</sup> gTsang smyon Heruka, *mGur gyi dkar chags*, 3b. While the meaning of these descriptions remains opaque, it is not difficult to imagine the tension between a lion's body—majestic, firm, ready to spring—and its tail, long, gentle, and soft if you dare to pet it. These images seem to reflect an image of *mgur* as graceful and

should possess three basic elements: (1) an opening expression of supplication and praise described as the song's "opening support" (*mgo 'dren*); (2) a middle framework consisting of "stories and their rationale" that contain the song's principal scope and themes; and (3) concluding prayers of auspiciousness and aspiration. gTsang smyon devotes the remainder of the catalogue to explaining the first two points, the opening supplication and then the body of the songs themselves.

Following the traditional bKa' brgyud refrain, the lama and previous masters of the lineage serve as the primary sources of blessing and realization. "Among the recitations of yogins," gTsang smyon reminds the reader, "nothing is more effective than supplications to the lama."<sup>43</sup> To underscore the supplication's importance as a form of preliminary practice, the text cites a wide range of tantric literature describing the lama's central role as well as a variety of supplicatory practices that employ the devotee's body, speech, and mind.

It is, however, the section on the framework of *mgur* that forms the heart of gTsang smyon's catalogue. Here the text presents a record of Buddhist masters, beginning with the tantric buddha Vajradhara and Buddha Śākyamuni, continuing with the Indian adepts Saraha, Tilopa, and Nāropa, and then their spiritual descendents in Tibet, including Mar pa the Translator and his disciple Mi la ras pa. The list continues with members of the bKa' brgyud tradition down to gTsang smyon Heruka's own teacher Sha ra ba Sangs rgyas seng ge (1427–1470). As expected in a catalogue of this kind, no actual songs are recorded. Rather, in each case, the text presents brief descriptive titles of songs attributed to individual masters. Occasionally it includes short contextual narratives describing where and when the song was composed or for whom it was sung. The format is not unlike another of gTsang smyon's literary works: the eleventh chapter of *The Life of Milarepa*, in which the yogin's various activities of taming demons and meeting disciples are surveyed in cursory fashion, forming a summary replacement for the extended accounts recorded in the *Collected Songs*.<sup>44</sup> The lists of songs included in the catalogue are valued not for any expository function, but for their documentation of a yogic lineage stemming from the tantric and historical buddhas, to the Indian *siddhas*, and extending through the bKa' brgyud lineage down to the author himself. In this context, the songs' con-

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aesthetically pleasing, even as they remain potent and affecting. Thanks to Janet Gyatso for her suggestions here.

<sup>43</sup> gTsang smyon Heruka, *mGur gyi dkar chags*, 3b.

<sup>44</sup> See Quintman 2014, 140.

tent, to which is ascribed various forms of liberative power, is less important than their marking the authentic transmission of yogic experience from teacher to student. It is also noteworthy that many individuals included in the catalogue's lineage were themselves the subjects of biographical literature produced by gTsang smyon and his followers. The text thus documents the songs of masters within the author's tradition. But it also, if somewhat indirectly, references an entire corpus of biographical literature the madman inspired.<sup>45</sup>

gTsang smyon begins with a record of the purported origin of Tibetan *mgur*: Vajradhara's teaching of the four classes of tantra in verse form. He next turns to the historical buddha Śākyamuni, noting briefly that the traditional twelvefold division of "excellent speech" ascribed to him (*dvādaśāṅgapravacana*, *gsung rab yan lag bcu gnyis*) includes the branch of mixed prose and verse (*geya*, *dbyangs bsnyad*). Next appears the great Indian *siddha* Saraha, with a reference to his famous *Dohā Trilogy*.<sup>46</sup> The text continues with the Indian forefathers of the bKa' brgyud tradition Tilopa and Nāropa, with mention of the former's famed verses of the *Mahāmudrā Upadeśa* informally known as the "Ganges Mahāmudrā."<sup>47</sup> The songs attributed to these three masters constitute one of the most important and authoritative sources for bKa' brgyud mahāmudrā in Tibet.

gTsang smyon follows the traditional lineage from Nāropa to the early Tibetan bKa' brgyud founders, beginning with translator Mar pa Chos kyi blo gros.<sup>48</sup> Mar pa was of course instrumental in transmitting the *mgur* tradition and helping to domesticate its performance within a uniquely Tibetan idiom. The text refers to ten of his songs, including his famous interpretation of Mi la ras pa's "dream of the four pillars." It is not surprising, however, that gTsang smyon Heruka devotes greatest attention to the subject of his own singular literary achievement, the acclaimed yogin Mi la ras pa.<sup>49</sup> Summarizing the yogin's life here, gTsang smyon reemphasizes the traditional view of *mgur* as the expression of deep realization in which "the melodious voice of his experience, the lion of no-self, has the power to

<sup>45</sup> References to this literature are included in the discussion that follows.

<sup>46</sup> gTsang smyon's disciple lHa btsun Rin chen rnam rgyal compiled texts related to Sa ra ha's *dohās* (Schaeffer 2011, 468).

<sup>47</sup> gTsang smyon's disciple dBang phyug rgyal mtshan compiled Tilopa's and Nāropa's *rnam thar* (Schaeffer 2011, 469; Smith 2001, 77–78). lHa btsun Rin chen rnam rgyal compiled Tilopa's *rnam mgur* and Nāropa's *rnam thar* (Schaeffer 2011, 469; Smith 2001, 76).

<sup>48</sup> gTsang smyon compiled and printed Mar pa's *rnam thar* in 1505.

<sup>49</sup> On gTsang smyon's production of Mi la ras pa's *rnam thar* and *mgur 'bum* in 1488, see Quintman 2014. lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal later printed a well-known collection of miscellaneous songs not included in gTsang smyon's collections to complement the work of his teacher (Schaeffer 2011, 470–71; Smith 2001, 76–77).



suppress all the animals of inferior views.”<sup>50</sup> The text mentions more than fifteen individual songs and song cycles, the latter of which constitute entire chapters of *mgur* and their associated narratives from Mi la ras pa’s *Collected Songs*. The list broadly follows the framework gTsang smyon employed there, beginning with the yogin’s subjugation and conversion of non-human spirits, followed by his training of human disciples, and then the final instructions he gave shortly before his death and cremation. He concludes with the assertion that even greater than these were the songs Mi la ras pa sang (presumably after his earthly passing) to gods and *dākinīs* each in their own individual realms.

The catalogue continues with songs of Mi la ras pa’s principal disciples Ras chung pa rDo rje grags (1084–1161)<sup>51</sup> and sGam po pa bSod nams rin chen (1079–1153)<sup>52</sup> before turning to the latter’s pupil Phag mo gru pa rDo rje rgyal po (1110–1170),<sup>53</sup> the great bKa’ brgyud hierarch whose followers established many of the school’s sub-branches including the ‘Brug pa bKa’ brgyud represented here. The text records a teacher-student lineage that runs from Phag mo gru pa as follows: gLing chen ras pa Padma rdo rje (1128–1188);<sup>54</sup> gTsang pa rgya ras Ye shes rdo rje (1161–1211),<sup>55</sup> founder of the ‘Brug pa bKa’ brgyud and recognized as the first rGyal dbang ‘Brug pa incarnation; rGod tshang pa mGon po rdo rje (1189–1258), founder of the sTod ‘Brug subsect;<sup>56</sup> Yang dgon Chos kyi rgyal po (1213–1258);<sup>57</sup> sPyan snga Rin chen ldan (b. 1202); Zur phug pa Rin chen dpal bzang (b. 1263); ‘Ba’ ra ba rGyal mtshan dpal bzang po (1310–1391); Nam mkha’ [seng ge],<sup>58</sup> and Byang sems bSod nams don grub (14th century).<sup>59</sup> Of the

<sup>50</sup> gTsang smyon Heruka, *mGur gyi dkar chags*, 6a.

<sup>51</sup> gTsang smyon’s disciples rGod tshang ras pa and lHa btsun Rin chen rnam rgyal compiled *rnam thars* of him (Roberts 2007, Schaeffer 2011, 471; Smith 2001, 77–78).

<sup>52</sup> rGod tshang ras pa printed a short text on sGam po pa called *Shes bya ma* (Schaeffer 2011, 471).

<sup>53</sup> lHa btsun Rin chen rnam rgyal printed his *rnam thar* (Schaeffer 2011, 472; Smith 2001, 77).

<sup>54</sup> lHa btsun Rin chen rnam rgyal printed his *rnam mgur* (Schaeffer 2011, 472; Smith 2001, 76).

<sup>55</sup> lHa btsun Rin chen rnam rgyal printed his *mgur ‘bum rgyas pa*; Sangs rgyas dar po printed his *rnam thar* (Schaeffer 2011, 472).

<sup>56</sup> gTsang smyon’s disciples lHa btsun Rin chen rnam rgyal and Sangs rgyas dar po both printed *rnam thars* of him (Schaeffer 2011, 472; Smith 2001, 75, 78).

<sup>57</sup> gTsang smyon’s disciple ‘Jam dpal chos lha composed his *rnam thar* (Schaeffer 2011, 473; Smith 2001, 78).

<sup>58</sup> He is listed in gTsang smyon’s *Authoritative Commentary* (*gZhung ‘brel*) under the name Nam mkha’ seng ge (gTsang smyon Heruka, *gZhung ‘brel*, 114).

<sup>59</sup> TBRC lists a master named bSod nams don grub (P1478) who was a disciple of Nam mkha’ seng ge.

two latter figures, gTsang smyon simply notes that they “sang songs that enhanced practice.”<sup>60</sup> The last name in the list is gTsang smyon’s own root guru, Sha ra ba Sangs rgyas seng ge, about whom the author writes, “This renowned supreme holy being sang songs about how to practice the ground, path, fruition, view, meditation, and conduct.”<sup>61</sup>

The list of teachers recorded here represents two separate but parallel lineages. First, the figures belong to the ‘Ba’ ra transmission lineage of the Upper ‘Brug (*sTod ‘Brug*) branch of the ‘Brug pa bKa’ brgyud school.<sup>62</sup> But the individuals also belong to one of the aural transmission lineages that gTsang smyon received from Sha ra ba and is recorded in one of gTsang smyon’s largest works, the *Authoritative Commentary* (*gZhung ‘grel*).<sup>63</sup> Aural transmission lines descended from Mi la ras pa’s three disciples Ras chung pa, sGam po pa, and Ngan rdzong Byang chub rgyal mtshan (b. late eleventh century). While gTsang smyon is most commonly associated with the Ras chung aural transmissions, the lineage preserved here stems from sGam po pa.

gTsang smyon Heruka’s religious affiliations were complex, as were those of his guru Sha ra ba.<sup>64</sup> (See Appendix 3.) The madman was an ardent supporter of the bKa’ brgyud tradition, and much of his literary work sought to reimagine its core identity by reemphasizing the centrality of asceticism and yogic practice. gTsang smyon also directed much of his attention to the preservation and revival of specific esoteric doctrines, that is, the bKa’ brgyud aural transmission lineages. And while he has often been identified as a supporter of the aural transmissions of Ras chung pa (Ras chung snyan brgyud), in this context he clearly represents the lineage extending back to sGam po pa (Dwags po snyan brgyud). This seems in line with statements found in the biographical literature of gTsang smyon and Sha ra ba, where, when asked about their religious affiliations, both masters are recorded as saying that they followed the Dwags po bKa’ brgyud

<sup>60</sup> gTsang smyon Heruka, *mGur gyi dkar chags*, 7a. Little is known about these two masters. Schaeffer notes that figures from the late-thirteenth to the mid-fifteenth centuries are not represented among the block print texts that gTsang smyon’s tradition produced. The biographical narratives resume with Sha ra ba, gTsang smyon, and his disciples (Schaeffer 2011, 459–60).

<sup>61</sup> gTsang smyon Heruka, *mGur gyi dkar chags*, 7a. rGod tshang ras pa’s disciple ‘Byams pa phun tshogs (1503–1581) printed Sha ra ba’s *rnam thar* (Ehrhard 2012, 162n12; Schaeffer 2011, 473).

<sup>62</sup> Cf. Smith 2001, 46–48.

<sup>63</sup> gTsang smyon Heruka, *gZhung ‘brel*, 114. Cf. ‘Jam mgon kong sprul blo gros mtha’ yas, *gDams ngag mdzod*, vol. *Nya*, 40–41.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. Larsson 2011; Larsson 2012, 29–30.

tradition.<sup>65</sup> Similarly, while *Opening the Eyes of Faith* mentions eight of Ras chung pa's songs, it does not refer to any other master of Ras chung's transmission lineage. The catalogue of songs here seem to reflect the ambiguous and often fluid religious affiliations maintained by gTsang smyon and his immediate followers.

Having outlined the *mgur* tradition embodied by his own traditions, gTsang smyon makes a cursory mention of traditions of *mgur* outside mainstream bKa' brgyud circles, although these appear as something of an afterthought. Here he includes songs purportedly sung by Guru Rinpoche on his meeting with Khri srong lde'u btsan, as well as songs attributed to rDza Ye shes dar po (d.u.); Ma cig labs sgron (1055–1149), acclaimed founder of the Tibetan tradition of Severance (*gcod*); the popular female Tibetan folk hero and revenant ('*das log*) sNang sa 'Od 'bum,<sup>66</sup> and Ri bo sgang pa.<sup>67</sup>

At the end of the catalogue's middle section, gTsang smyon indicates that songs are not sufficient on their own but require further context about their composition. For this reason, a song should also make clear who originally composed and performed it, where it was sung, and for what reasons.<sup>68</sup> Once again, he uses examples from Mi la ras pa's *Collected Songs* to illustrate his point. He concludes by noting briefly that the performer should carefully consider how many songs to include on a given occasion.

The last section of the catalogue's outline briefly addresses the prayers of aspiration and auspiciousness that should be performed at the song's conclusion. As a model, gTsang smyon presents the following text:

Lamas and Three Jewels, I offer the songs.  
 Assembled *vīras* and *ḍākinīs*, enjoy the sounds.  
 Four armed protector Mahākāla, dispel hindering conditions.  
 Sole mother Remati, protect us like a mother her son.  
 Noble lady Tshe ring ma, follow us like the body and its  
 smell.  
 Fortunate ones gathered here, rejoice.

For those of good auspice gathered from here and there with  
 devotion:  
 May there be auspiciousness of lamas and *yidams*.

<sup>65</sup> lHa btsun rin chen rnam rgyal, *Dad pa'i spu slong g.yo ba*, 125; Zla ba rgyal mts-han, *Sha ra rab 'byams pa'i rnam thar*, 471.

<sup>66</sup> Schaeffer 2004, 59–61.

<sup>67</sup> Cf. Roerich 1988 [1949], 504.

<sup>68</sup> gTsang smyon Heruka, *mGur gyi dkar chags*, 8a.

May there be auspiciousness of *vīras* and *ḍākinīs*.  
 May there be auspiciousness of dharma protectors and guardians.  
 May there be auspiciousness of thinking to cherish others more than oneself.  
 May there be auspiciousness of giving up sin and practicing virtue.  
 May there be auspiciousness of bringing thought and action in line with dharma.  
 May unchanging auspiciousness remain firm.<sup>69</sup>

With the main body of the catalogue complete, gTsang smyon concludes with a short but suggestive reflection on the value of *mgur* and how wandering yogins like himself and his followers might employ Buddhist songs of experience in a practical way. The songs, he says, are

provisions when wandering in charnel grounds and holy places, necessities when roaming savage lands and mountain retreats, offerings when meeting lamas, gifts when encountering dharma brothers, offering articles when visiting temples and stūpas, goods when traveling around the countryside, ferry-fees when crossing rivers, offering gifts for requests to kings, an axe for chipping away [alms from] the wealthy and a file for scraping away [alms from] the poor.<sup>70</sup>

In this view, *mgur* serve as far more than just spontaneous records of awakened experience attained by great masters of the past. Rather, they retain a material relevance in the world that lies beyond their purported soteriological value. For the yogin with few material possessions, *mgur* function as primary transactional objects of great practical value. Songs, even those deemed to be “songs of spiritual awakening,” thus become a form of religious capital. They may be given as gifts to lamas and fellow practitioners, they may serve as fees for ferry-men when crossing rivers, they may be presented as tribute to kings, they may be used to garner offerings from the rich and the poor alike. They may even be exploited to save one’s own skin in the event of attack by bandits.

If this image of *mgur* seems at odds with the orthodox view of their role in Tibetan religious life, it is not an unfamiliar one. The various registers in which spiritual songs may function are exemplified in the life story and song collection of gTsang smyon’s famous role model, Mi la ras pa. The Mi la ras pa corpus illustrates a wide variety

<sup>69</sup> gTsang smyon Heruka, *mGur gyi dkar chags*, 8a–b.

<sup>70</sup> gTsang smyon Heruka, *mGur gyi dkar chags*, 8b.

of contexts for the composition and performance of *mgur*. On some occasions, songs serve largely to transmit key doctrinal ideas and insights. But we also find examples of *mgur* used in the transactional manner outlined in the catalogue: Mi la repeatedly sings to defend himself from attack by bandits, he offers verses to the King of Bhaktapur, and he receives food and drink in return for his poetry, enabling him to continue his ascetic practice. In composing his catalogue of *mgur*, gTsang smyon seems to have had in mind precisely these kinds of stories, nearly all of which he had a hand in editing.

gTsang smyon encourages the catalogue's readers, likely his own circle of disciples, to adopt these modes of performance. He explicitly claims that even when used as objects of exchange, songs will serve as an "aid for faith" to promulgate the bKa' brgyud tradition. If the singer of *mgur*, gTsang smyon says,

is a yogin of the three sacred snow mountains, the outskirts of bustling towns, the middle reaches of slate and snow mountains, along the foothills of mist-shrouded woods, assembly halls where *vīras* and *ḍākinīs* gather, the dwellings of noble sages, [such places are] the central mast of the great ship of the bKa' brgyud teachings, the cornerstone of the mansion of the Practice Lineage teaching, a great sacred site where meditation naturally increases.<sup>71</sup>

gTsang smyon here is speaking directly to those yogins who wander among "the three sacred snow mountains," undoubtedly a reference to the great pilgrimage mountains of Ti se (Kailash), La phyi, and Tsa ri, each of which had become an important bKa' brgyud retreat site by the late fifteenth century. As a result, gTsang smyon specifies his intended readership: a small group of bKa' brgyud yogins, likely his own followers, emulating the lifestyle of Mi la ras pa and thus gTsang smyon himself, practicing meditation in remote locations and singing songs of realization. Such places form "the central mast of the great ship of the bKa' brgyud teachings, the cornerstone of the mansion of the Practice Lineage." Although perhaps few in number, gTsang smyon understood these individuals as essential to the traditions he had worked so hard to preserve and transmit.

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<sup>71</sup> gTsang smyon Heruka, *mGur gyi dkar chags*, 8b.

### Conclusions

In his study of the Tibetan genre of *dkar chags*, “tables of contents” or “catalogues,” Dan Martin writes that such works “are among the most challenging, intriguing and fascinating documents for the historian of Tibetan culture, society, religion, [and] politics.” But, he continues, “they are not being used very much by researchers, perhaps in part because they are still considered ‘just boring lists’.”<sup>72</sup> As we have suggested, gTsang smyon Heruka’s *Opening the Eyes of Faith* is more than a simple outline or collection of “boring lists.” As a catalogue of songs (*mgur gyi dkar chags*) *Opening the Eyes of Faith* indeed records lists of individual verses. But in this brief text, gTsang smyon also provides a window into how Tibetan “songs of experience” were composed, performed, remembered, and circulated, in order to serve both the loftiest ideals of the Buddhist tradition and the mundane requirements of wandering yogins. Martin adds that *dkar chags* can describe “the construction and/or content of items which the Tibetan Buddhist traditions consider holy and capable of bestowing blessings.”<sup>73</sup> *Opening the Eyes of Faith* does indeed illustrate how *mgur* are to be “constructed.” It also nicely illustrates how gTsang smyon Heruka positioned the tradition of *mgur* to define his vision of what the bKa’ brgyud was in the past and should be for future generations.

As we have seen, the catalogue brings gTsang smyon’s institutional identity into view largely through the representation of lineage. On one level, the catalogue traces the contours of the *mgur* tradition from its Indian origins up to the time of writing. It does so largely through the documentation of one particular line of bKa’ brgyud masters from Mar pa and Mi la ras pa through gTsang smyon’s own guru Sha ra ba. While most of these masters are central figures in the ‘Brug pa bKa’ brgyud tradition, the lineage affiliation of the last figures in the line, including Sha ra ba and gTsang smyon He ru ka himself, remains uncertain. It is clear, however, that the catalogue records one of several aural transmission lineages, the *Dwags po snyan brgyud*, that lies at the heart of the bKa’ brgyud esoteric doctrine and of gTsang smyon’s religious community. On another level, the catalogue seems to document the larger program of lineage building activities to which gTsang smyon and his disciples were deeply committed. These activities included the compiling and printing of biographies and song collections of early bKa’ brgyud masters, many of which are explicitly or implicitly represented in the catalogue. As a *dkar chags*, a “catalogue” or “list,” *Opening the Eyes of Faith* records a

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<sup>72</sup> Martin 1996, 501.

<sup>73</sup> Martin 1996, 504.

collection of verses attributed to great masters of the past. But it also serves as a kind of logbook for many of gTsang smyon's broader projects.

The text also exemplifies how *mgur* functioned in many registers. In some contexts, such verses are understood to be spontaneous and revelatory articulations of religious experience, expressions of an awakened mind that are unmediated by ordinary cognitive processes. Yet for the catalogue's readers, the recitation of *mgur* is a highly constrained verbal performance requiring a good deal of forethought and expert knowledge. Like other forms of esoteric Buddhist activity, the singing of tantric songs was a deeply ritualized and formalized endeavor. The catalogue suggests that *mgur* are primarily a vehicle for the transmission of esoteric Buddhist knowledge. They are to be valued for their liberative efficacy because they encapsulate the most profound insights of Buddhist meditators. Yet the text also demonstrates that *mgur* are equally important for negotiating the daily activities of a wandering yogin, in the model of Mi la ras pa or even gTsang smyon himself. Songs could be used by ascetics, who kept few possessions of their own, as a kind of religious capital, suitable for exchange among teachers and disciples, royal patrons, even ferry-men and bandits. In the end, gTsang smyon suggests that these various registers are not separate. The value of *mgur* "in the world" derives specifically from the fact that they express the Buddha's deepest insights about the nature of reality.

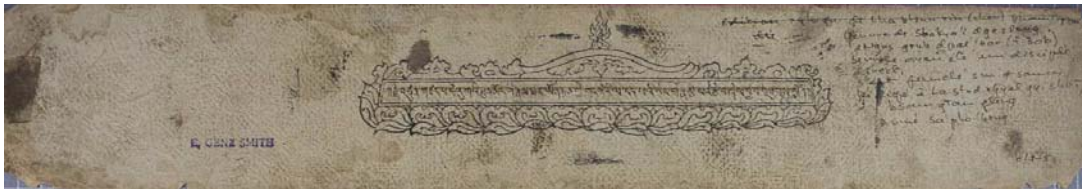
*Opening the Eyes of Faith* never achieved the widespread fame realized by gTsang smyon's writings about Mi la ras pa and Mar pa. This was, perhaps, by design, since the catalogue seems to have been written as a kind of practical guide for a smaller audience of disciples and followers, those yogins who "wander among the three sacred mountain retreats" of Southern Tibet. There is evidence, however, that it did attract some interest by followers in the lineage. We have already noted that there are close parallels between *Opening the Eyes of Faith* and *Comforting the Minds of the Fortunate* (*sKal bzang yid kyi ngal so*), a relatively short text that was included as an introduction to the famous collection of bKa' brgyud verses, *An Ocean of bKa' brgyud Songs* (*bKa' brgyud mgur mtsho*), compiled in the mid-sixteenth century. It is also noteworthy that nearly the entire text was copied and glossed within the collected songs of the eighteenth-century 'Brug pa bKa' brgyud lama Ngag dbang tshe ring (1717–1794).<sup>74</sup> Born in Ladakh several centuries after gTsang smyon's passing, he founded rDzong

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<sup>74</sup> Ngag dbang tshe ring, *rNam thar gsung skor*, vol 2, 13ff.

khul Monastery in Zangs dkar, far from the Tibetan region where the madman's followers carried out their printing activities. But like gTsang smyon, Ngag dbang tshe ring spent long periods in retreat and took an active interest in the composition and transmission of *mgur*, activities that earned him the title Lord of Yogins (*rnal 'byor dbang po*), much like gTsang smyon and Mi la ras pa before him. It is unclear how *Opening the Eyes of Faith* came to be included in Ngag dbang tshe ring's works.<sup>75</sup> Nevertheless, its presence there attests to the enduring power of gTsang smyon's advice about *mgur* for subsequent members of the lineage. And it provides evidence that the catalogue indeed served gTsang smyon's larger program for establishing new models for yogic and ascetic practice, models that would continue to inspire generations to come.

**Figure 1**



Title page of gTsang smyon Heruka's biography by dNgos grub dpal 'bar (TBRC W2CZ6647)



Title page of gTsang smyon Heruka's collected songs (TBRC W4CZ1248)



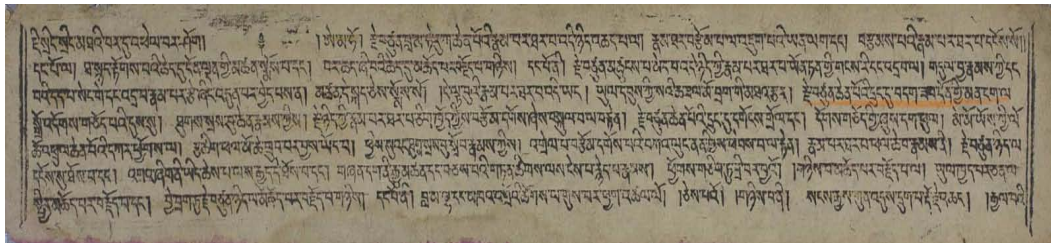
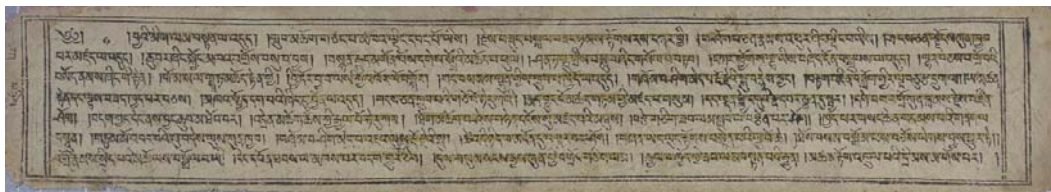
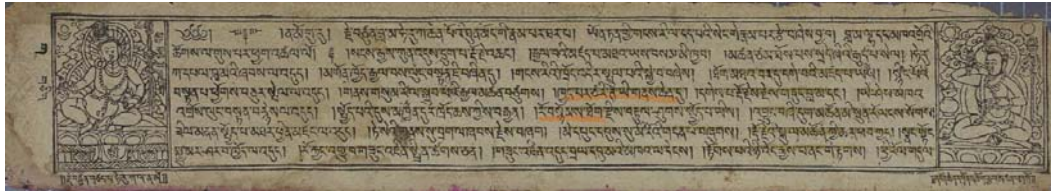
Title page of gTsang smyon Heruka's *Opening the Eyes of Faith* (Waddell 120 h)

<sup>75</sup> Tsering 1979, 3. The two volume collection of Ngag dbang tshe ring's works appear to have been edited in 1827 by his disciple Tshul khrims 'byung gnas a.k.a bZhad pa rdo rje. In his preface to the collection, Gene Smith writes, "During the passage of years, various folia have been removed and sections have disappeared. It is possible that some of the sections intact have little to do with Ngag dbang tshe ring" (Ngag dbang tshe ring, *rNam thar gsung skor*, preface).



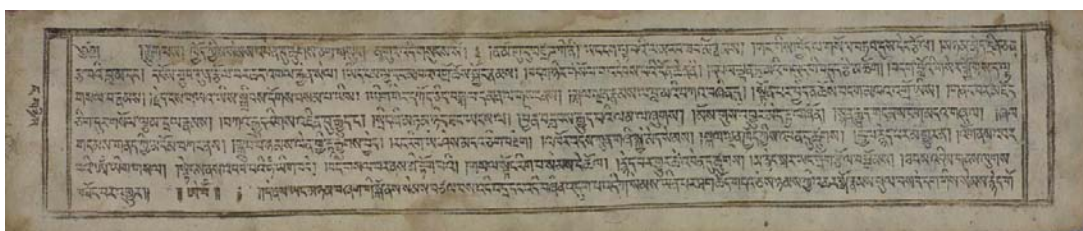
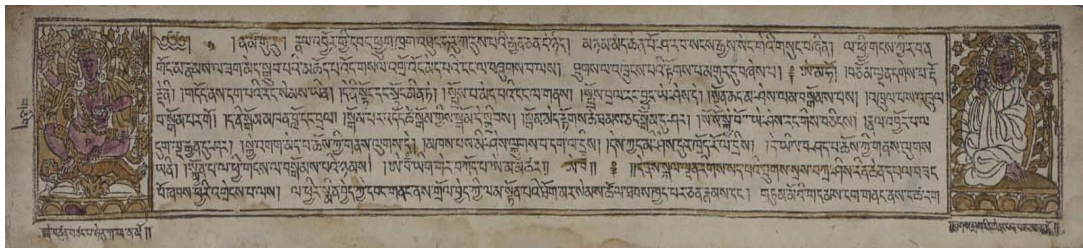
Figures 2.1-2.3

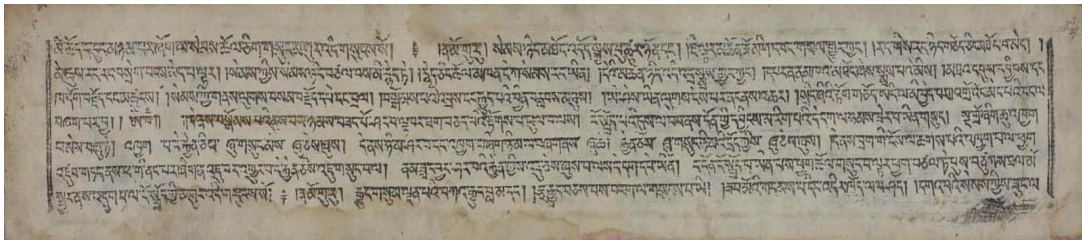
Figure 2.1



Opening folios, gTsang smyon Heruka's biography by dNgos grub dpal 'bar (TBRC W2CZ6647)

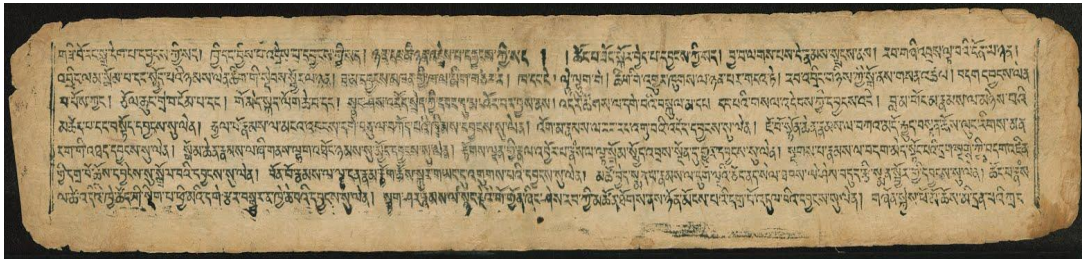
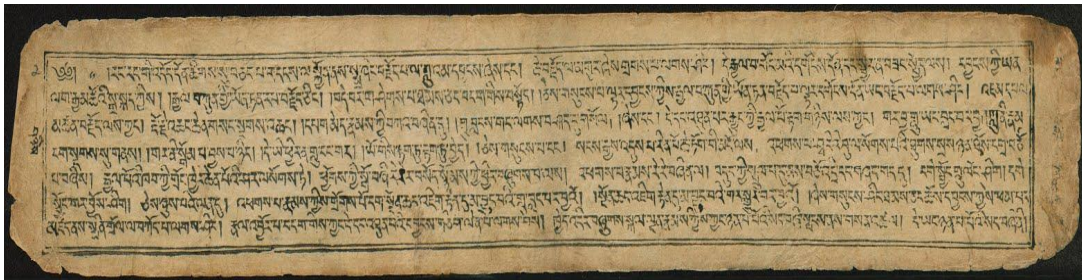
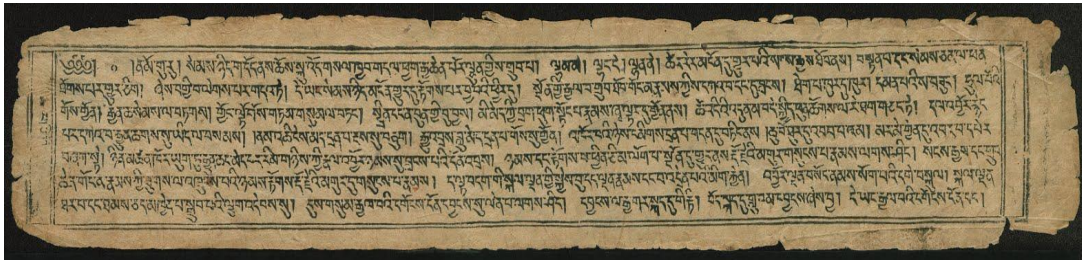
Figure 2.2





Opening folios, gTsang smyon Heruka's collected songs (TBRC W4CZ1248)

Figure 2.3



Opening folios gTsang smyon Heruka's *Opening the Eyes of Faith* (Waddell 120 h)



**English Translation of A Catalogue of Songs Dispelling the  
Darkness of Ignorance and Opening the Eyes of Faith**

Namo guru.

The nature of mind is primordially *dharmakāya*. Its luminosity is all-pervading and spontaneously accomplished as *mahāmudrā*. May I attain buddhahood that manifests distinctly, vividly, quietly, and brilliantly, and then benefit the teachings and beings.

The victors and *siddhas* of the past undertook hardships in order to directly realize the nature of mind. They eagerly undertook hardships, bore the burden of their path, took a low position, wore ragged clothes, and decorated their minds with ornaments. They gave up clothes, food, and renown and became children of mist and clouds. Wearing empty and secluded caves as their crowns, they severed the cords of hope for happiness and abundance as aims of this life. They continuously remembered the difficulty of obtaining freedoms and advantages. For pillows they used mindfulness of the uncertainty of the time death, for clothes they wore awareness of the infallibility of cause and effect, for mats they laid out mindfulness of *saṃsāra*'s shortcomings. Then, using the examples of the downward descent of a river and the upward blaze of a lamp, they practiced the two stages of yoga continuously, day and night, without interruption. This resulted in the actualization of unmistakable experience and realization, which they then expressed in vajra songs. The experience and realization that arose in the minds of previous buddhas and *mahāsiddhas* were expressed as vajra songs.

At present, in order to make these songs serve as the contributory cause for inspiring my fortunate and faithful disciples, as an exhortation for the wealthy to accumulate merit, and as an encouragement for the fortunate to accomplish liberation and omniscience, I will put into song the enlightened intentions of the victors of the three times.

In Indian languages, the songs are called *gīti* (*gi rti*) and in Tibetan, *glu* or *dbyangs*. [2a] Furthermore, when the enlightened intentions of the victors and one's own wishes are versified, set to music, and then expressed, such is called *glu* or *dbyangs*. When it expresses the greatness [of realization] it is called *mgur*.

If you want to apply this to the enlightened thoughts of the previous victors, it says in the [Aspiration Prayer for] Excellent Conduct (*Bhadracaryāpraṇidhānarāja*, *bZang po spyod pa'i smon lam gyi rgyal po*), "I praise all the *sugatas* and clearly proclaim the highest qualities of

all the victors with the sounds of an ocean of songs in their various forms."<sup>76</sup> As it says, songs express all the qualities of the victors and likewise express their enlightened intention. Furthermore, it says in *The Litany of Names of Mañjuśrī* (*Mañjuśrīnāmasaṅgīti*, 'Jam dpal mtshan brjod), "Countless ecstatic great Vajradharas, holders of Secret Mantra, extolled those songs sung."<sup>77</sup> In accordance with this, the King of Tantras, *The Two Segments* (*brTag gnyis*) says, "Dance! And also sing songs! Songs are perfectly pure mantras and dance, the very act of meditation. Therefore the yogin always, always, sings songs and dances."<sup>78</sup>

Moreover, the *Buddha Gathering Sūtra of Ratnaketu* (*Mahāsannipātaratnaketudhāraṇī sūtra*, 'Dus pa chen po rin po che tog gi gzungs kyi mdo) says,

Once the four heart-sons *śrāvaka-arhats*, noble Śāriputra and the rest, were staying to collect alms at the four respective gates, the eastern and so forth, of the great city Rājagṛha. Several emanations of *māra* appeared to each one of the Noble Ones. They ridiculed and laughed at them, saying: "Ascetic, sing a song! Ascetic, do a dance!" In response, the Noble Ones said, "Friends, let us sing like it has never been done before in the world! Let us dance like it never has been done before in the world!"<sup>79</sup>

Thus, they defeated all [the emanations of *māra*] by means of dharma songs and established them on the path of ripening and liberation. I, the yogin, will likewise sing a song in accord with them.

You fortunate ones present here should also abandon the "four ruins" (*sad bzhi*) of the listener, and listen. As for the four ruins of the listener: [2b]

Drunken stammer ruins the song.  
Mixing with [the noise of] dogs and children ruins the song.  
Mixing up listening and not listening ruins the song.  
Engaging with the wares of merchants ruins the song.

Having eliminated these activities, those of superior capacity listen to the meaning of the ground, fruition, and view, while those of intermediate capacity, who are involved in practicing meditation and

<sup>76</sup> Peking Kangyur 716, Vol. 11, 268a2–271b4.

<sup>77</sup> Peking Kangyur 2, Vol. 1, 1b1–15b7.

<sup>78</sup> *Hevajra Tantra*, Chapter 6, verse 13. Sanskrit: *mantra[vi]śuddhyā sthitā gītā nartanā bhāvanā smṛtā// tasmād gītāñ ca nāṭyañ ca kuryād yogī sadā sadā//* (Snellgrove 1959, part 2, 20).

<sup>79</sup> Peking Kangyur 806, Vol. 32, 201b3–300b3.

conduct of the path, listen to the prosody of the lyrics. Those of inferior capacity stare at the mouth of the singer, slack-jawed and tongue drooping, they listen to the changing notes of the lyrics. You should listen in the manner of both superior and medium capacities.

Furthermore, without giving in to childish displays of vocal ability, meaningless vulgarities, or desire for temporary pleasures, I, a singer of songs, sing these songs to those assembled here to exhort them to virtue and as an aid for their faith.

To the previous lamas I sing songs of praise and pleasing offering. To kings I sing songs about the laws that establish their subjects in the ten virtues. To the common folk I sing songs about the wish for contentment. To the Lords, the Great Teachers, I sing songs about the Buddha's teaching, namely *sūtras*, *tantras* and *śāstras* that are informed by scripture, reasoning, and pith instructions. To great meditators I sing songs about experiencing tranquility and insight. To realized yogins I sing songs about manifesting the view, meditation, conduct, and fruition. To mantra practitioners I sing songs about wrathful mantras of no-self and emptiness that liberate the enemy of self-grasping into *dharmadhātu*. To Bon pos I sing songs about summoning [true] richness, namely realizing that conceptual thoughts of wrong views are *dharmakāya*. To doctors I sing songs about preparing medicinal wisdom nectar that dispels the degenerative disease of the five poisons. To merchants I sing songs about the greater profit of exchanging the sins of success in this life for the roots of virtue in the future. To young men I sing songs about conquering enemies, the afflictions, by wearing the armor of compassion and wielding the weapon of wisdom. [3a] To swaggering boys and girls who have forgotten the dharma about the excellent body of the precious lama, I sing songs about the melodiousness of the teachings and songs of the holy dharma, the great value of the seven noble riches,<sup>80</sup> and the joy and happiness embodied by the city of liberation. To the old and frail I sing songs escorting them to the deathbed of their fixations. To immature beings I sing songs about playing in the world of childish perceptions as if they were dreams and illusions. To local villagers, including wealthy and faithful male and female lay followers, I sing songs that accord with the oral instructions of previous lineage holders, about the difficulty of obtaining freedoms and endowments; death and impermanence; the truth of karma, cause and result; *saṃsāra*'s shortcomings; and the benefits of liberation.

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<sup>80</sup> I.e., faith, discipline, generosity, learning, decorum, modesty, and knowledge.

In this way, having turned the perfectly pure oral instructions of former masters into songs—as is said, “although only one thing is taught it is understood in a variety of ways”—the light of compassion radiates out and the blessing of the lineage enter into each of the different forms of song, which then easily take root in everyone’s mind. The signs that their perceptions are transformed are the following. Hypocrites have their faults exposed. Those with deranged minds feel ashamed. Men and women full of pride are panicked. Those who dislike companions feel dejected. The wailing of widows abates. Foolish women declare their physical faults. Foolish men are shaken up. Children stop playing around. The mournful are filled with laughter. The misery of the suffering is driven away. The sinful feel regret. Those who are twisted by permanence control their minds. The miserly become munificent. Those craving sense pleasures overcome their grasping. The hateful pacify their cruelty. Ignorant people gain mindfulness. The sophistries of logicians are destroyed. Those who explain the scriptures incorporate experience of their meaning. The melancholic breath a sigh of relief. Renunciates are moved to tears. The faithful run away to practice dharma. The steadfast give rise to exertion. Those with karmic connection attain *siddhi*. [3b]

These songs, which turn the minds of even those lacking predisposition for virtue to the authentic dharma, should be sung so that the six dimensions of songs are brought about:

maintaining, they maintain the songs of previous masters;  
 upholding, they uphold the authentic dharma;  
 bringing forth, they bring forth the nectar-like oral instructions;  
 benefitting, they benefit the minds of all;  
 liberating, they liberate from saṃsāra;  
 attaining, they cause attainment of perfect buddhahood.

First, when the song begins with the opening support (*mgo 'dren*), it should be elevated and majestic. In the middle, the words that express its subject matter should be clear and unadorned; the metaphors and their meaning should be well matched and easy to understand; the tone should be charming and the melody complete; and the voice should be powerful and magnificent. When the song concludes it should be gentle with an easy end. Moreover, the beginning of the song is elevated and majestic like the upper body of a lion. Its middle part is magnificent and firm like a golden vajra. The end of the song is long with an easy end, like the tail of a tiger.

First, supplications and praises form the song’s opening support (1). In the middle, stories and their rationale form the song’s liturgical

framework (2.1), an outline together with introductions are how the songs are put together (2.2), and time markers together with sections keep it to the proper length (2.3). Prayers of auspiciousness and aspiration form the song's conclusion (3).<sup>81</sup>

### 1. Supplications and Praises Form the Songs' Opening Support

Among the recitations of yogins, nothing is more effective than supplications to the lama. This can be illustrated with the following examples from everyday life: If the sun doesn't rise in the east, the glaciers of the Ha bo [Mountains]<sup>82</sup> in the west won't melt. If the winds don't blow from the north, the sandalwood forests in the south won't sway. If the walls of the upper irrigation canals don't collapse, muddy water won't flow in the lower canals. [4a] If clay isn't heated, the lac won't stick. If the child doesn't cry, the mother won't hold it. If just three things are said, father and son can't communicate. If just three steps are taken, the upper and lower valley can't be distinguished. If hard work isn't done, delicious food won't be enjoyed.

Now I'll connect the meaning of these examples with the victors' enlightened mind, which will explain the reason for including supplications. If the two accumulations aren't gathered, the two obscurations won't be purified. If the three poisons aren't given up, the three bodies won't be obtained. If you don't engage the three gates in virtue, you won't be liberated from saṃsāra's three realms. If you don't meditate, you won't realize the essence of mind. If you don't endure hardship, good qualities won't arise. If you don't offer supplications, you won't receive blessings.

Furthermore, the venerable Mar pa said:

Whoever supplicates will receive blessings.

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<sup>81</sup> Compare this with the outline in the *sKal bzang yid kyi ngal so* that introduces the *bKa' brgyud mgur mtsho*: First, the songs are preceded by supplications, offerings, and praises. Secondly, the main body, which is the songs, is accompanied by stories describing the occasion for the song. The clarification of the songs is accomplished by reading the verses attentively. In accordance with the time and situation, the songs may be put together in various ways. Finally, the liturgy is drawn to an end with a gaṇacakra and with verses of auspiciousness and aspiration [Nālandā Translation Committee 1989, 11] (*dang po gsol 'debs mchod bstod dang bcas nas mgur gyi sna 'dren/ bar du lo rgyus 'byung khung dang bcas nas mgur gyi khog dbubs/ tshig bcad 'bru snon dang bcas nas mgur gyi gsal btab/ dus tshod gnas skabs dang bstun nas mgur gyi mtsham sbyar/ mthar tshogs 'khor bkra shis smon lam dang bcas nas mgur gyi cho ga bsdu dgos/ [sKal bzang yid kyi ngal so, 332]*).

<sup>82</sup> A mountain range in Nyang stod.

Whoever benefits others will please the victors.  
 Whoever accumulates merit will attain happiness.  
 Whoever meditates will realize the fundamental nature.  
 Whoever recites the essential will gain ability and power.  
 Whoever protects *samaya* will accomplish his wishes.  
 Whoever manifests sacred outlook will attain awakening.

Therefore, supplication is very important.

Moreover, there are four ways of performing supplication: Giving up unwholesome actions and carrying out virtue with one's body is the body supplication. Similarly, giving up unwholesome actions and carrying out virtue with one's speech is the speech supplication. Giving up unwholesome actions and carrying out virtue with one's mind is the mind supplication. In this way, the roots of virtue of the three gates all become supplications.

The fourth is to perform supplication with the three gates combined simultaneously. [This fourth category is divided] into three: extended supplication, supplication in the way of a jewel, and intense supplication. [4b]

Extended supplication is to pray with a tune to the entire lineage, from the blessed one, the great Vajradhara, down to one's root guru.

Supplication in the way of a jewel is to dissolve into one's root guru all the objects of refuge that are worthy of offerings such as the lineages, chosen deities, and the three jewels. Then pray that all needs and desires of this life and the next are granted.

Intense supplication is when a faithful and diligent person, who is terrified of *saṃsāra* and the lower realms, wants to attain the supreme accomplishment of *mahāmudrā* in this very life. In a secluded cave he expresses physical devotion with palms folded together and eyes full of tears. Within that state, convinced that his root guru is the primordial essence and unification of all the objects of refuge worthy of offerings and with his mind full of devotion and intense longing uninterrupted by other thoughts, he cries out the name of his root guru with a strong and rapid voice. Then he prays for his desired aim, namely liberation from the suffering of *saṃsāra* and the three lower realms, and the quick attainment of awakening.

Moreover, supplicating the lama becomes supplicating all the objects of refuge worthy of offerings. The *Cakrasaṃvara Saṃvarodaya Tantra* (*bDe mchog sdom 'byung gi rgyud*) says, "The lama is the Buddha, the lama is the dharma. Likewise the lama is the saṅgha. The lama is the creator of all. To the lamas I bow down."

The *Saṃvarodaya* also says, "Completely abandon all offerings except for perfect offerings to the lama. By pleasing him, supreme all-knowing wisdom is attained. How could merit not be made if one offers to the master of unsurpassed deeds, the highest Vajrasattva?"



*The Litany of Names of Mañjuśrī* says, “An object for homage, worthy of offerings and praise; continually worthy of veneration, [5a] worthy of respect and the highest acclaim, worthy of salutation: such is the highest lama.”<sup>83</sup> *The Bright Lamp Wisdom Tantra (Ye shes gsal sgron gyi rgyud)* says,

The merit of having recollected the lama is greater  
than having meditated for hundred thousand aeons  
on the body of a deity with the major and minor marks.  
Meditate on the lama, not the deity.

*The Great Array of Ati Tantra (A ti bkod pa chen po'i rgyud)* says,<sup>84</sup>

Whoever meditates upon the kind lama,  
appearing through the secret mantra,  
upon his head, in his heart,  
or in the palm of his hands,  
such a person holds  
the good qualities of a thousand buddhas.

*The Dakinīs Suppressing with Splendor Tantra (mKha' 'gro ma zil gyis gnon pa'i rgyud)* says, “The exalted merit of anointing sesame oil on a single pore of the vajra master is greater than making offerings to as many buddhas and bodhisattvas as there are grains of sand in the Ganges.”

In accordance with those statements, the lama is the highest and most excellent being embodying all those who are praiseworthy.

## 2. 1. Stories and their Rationale for the Songs' Liturgical Framework

First, the sovereign lord of all the victors, the great *saṃbhogakāya* Vajradhara, taught scriptures of the four classes of tantra, the *Net of Magical Manifestation (sGyu 'phrul dra ba, Māyājālamahātantrarājanāma)* and other versified tantras, in song (*mgur*).

Vajradhara's emanation, the victor Śākyamuni, taught the twelve divisions of scripture, such as the sūtras and including the division of teachings in mixed prose and verse, in song.

<sup>83</sup> Cf. Davidson 1981, 37, verse 152.

<sup>84</sup> We read *a ti sha bkod pa'i rgyud* as a mis-citation of the *A ti bkod pa chen po*. Thanks to Dan Martin for this suggestion.

Furthermore, the glorious Saraha, emanation of the victors and forefather of all the *siddhas*, sang many songs about the intrinsic reality, such as the *Dohā Trilogy* (*Do ha bskor gsum*).

Te lo Shes rab bzang po, who is inseparable from Cakrasaṃvara, taught the vajra songs that are the root of the aural transmissions. As their ancillaries he taught in song the eight inconceivable pith instructions to eight named yogins, each in their respective abode,<sup>85</sup> inconceivable spontaneous songs to Nāropa on the banks of the Ganges River, and the natural state of *dharmatā*.<sup>86</sup> [5b]

Tilopa's heart-son, the learned and disciplined supreme being who attained accomplishment, the glorious Nāro Paṅ chen, taught about practicing the four empowerments and a summary of the six dharmas as vajra songs.<sup>87</sup>

Nāropa's supreme heart-son, the translator Mar pa Lotsāwa, dispelled the darkness of ignorance in Tibet with the sun and moonlight of his compassion and knowledge of multiple languages. He then illuminated and spread the teachings of the Buddha's essence like the sun shining on mountain snows. He sang an inconceivable number of songs including an offering of realization to the lama, a long song in the drone of a tamboura;<sup>88</sup> the song of sparkling dew drops that clears away the drowsiness of meditative equipoise;<sup>89</sup> the iron hook of mind-awareness that gathers wild and scattered discursive thoughts;<sup>90</sup> the wail of the *ḍākinīs*<sup>91</sup> that clears away sadness and the long whistling song of the dharma protectors;<sup>92</sup> the view like a large garuḍa stretching out its wings: a grand *dohā* vajra song (*do ha rdo rje mgur chen*) that ascertains the natural state;<sup>93</sup> and the song of hardships endured for the sake of dharma that cultivates perseverance in dharma.<sup>94</sup>

Furthermore, he sang songs in accordance with the needs in various situations, such as the song of urgent command to his son;<sup>95</sup> the song of the benediction of auspiciousness;<sup>96</sup> the song of the father,

<sup>85</sup> Cf. Mar pa Chos kyi Blo gros 1995, 46–56.

<sup>86</sup> Cf. Brunnhölzl 2007, 93–117; Tiso and Torricelli 1991.

<sup>87</sup> Cf. gTsang smyon Heruka, *Mar pa'i rnam thar*, 92–94; Nālandā 1986, 95–97.

<sup>88</sup> Cf. gTsang smyon Heruka, *Mar pa'i rnam thar*, 34–36; Nālandā 1986, 34–36.

<sup>89</sup> Cf. gTsang smyon Heruka, *Mar pa'i rnam thar*, 116–18; Nālandā 1986, 123–25.

<sup>90</sup> Cf. gTsang smyon Heruka, *Mar pa'i rnam thar*, 132–34; Nālandā 1986, 142–45.

<sup>91</sup> Cf. gTsang smyon Heruka, *Mar pa'i rnam thar*, 132–34; Nālandā 1986, 142–45.

<sup>92</sup> Cf. gTsang smyon Heruka, *Mar pa'i rnam thar*, 104–6; Nālandā 1986, 108–111.

<sup>93</sup> Cf. gTsang smyon Heruka, *Mar pa'i rnam thar*, 43–46; Nālandā 1986, 43–48.

<sup>94</sup> Cf. gTsang smyon Heruka, *Mar pa'i rnam thar*, 132–34; Nālandā 1986, 142–45.

<sup>95</sup> Cf. gTsang smyon Heruka, *Mar pa'i rnam thar*, 67–69; Nālandā 1986, 68–69.

<sup>96</sup> Cf. gTsang smyon Heruka, *Mar pa'i rnam thar*, 68–69; Nālandā 1986, 69–70.

mother, and son;<sup>97</sup> and the song interpreting the signs of the four pillars in the dream.<sup>98</sup>

[Mi la ras pa] became Mar pa's principal disciple, renowned throughout the snowy land of Tibet. He had opened the channels of the throat enjoyment *cakra*, so an ocean of vajra songs issued forth. He had naturally liberated the knots of the central channel, so the cycle of the dualistic mind was expelled from the start. Because he examined the inner awareness-mind, all manifest outer appearances dawned as scripture.<sup>99</sup> The example of his intense effort in practicing meditation day and night without interruption impelled others to progress on the path. Through his exceptional devotion to the previous lineage masters, he received transmission of the lineage blessings. Having attained mastery over his mind and inner energies, he clearly displayed various miracles such as soaring in the sky like a bird. [6a] Like an unbridled white lion, he roamed the expanse of snow mountains, unbounded and limitless as the sky. The melodious voice of his experiences, the roaring of the lion of no self, had the power to suppress all the animals of inferior views. Nowadays, the name Mi la ras pa is famous throughout world, like the sun and moon. This superior being sang the following songs.

In the early part of his life he offered his realization to the lama in the song of the seven branches.<sup>100</sup> Then he sang the song of the prophetic dream of the four pillars<sup>101</sup> and the song of going up to gTsang.<sup>102</sup> Missing his father and mother in his homeland, he sang an inconceivable number of songs, the song of the fervent pledge to practice, and so forth.<sup>103</sup>

In the middle part of his life, about his accepting non-human spirits as his followers,<sup>104</sup> he sang many songs to the gods, *dākinīs*, and spirits, such as the cycle on accepting as a follower the king of obstacles, Vināyaka, and the six recollections of the lama;<sup>105</sup> the cycle on La phyi chu bzang;<sup>106</sup> the cycle on the demoness of Ling ba brag;<sup>107</sup> the

<sup>97</sup> Cf. gTsang smyon Heruka, *Mar pa'i rnam thar*, 154–59; Nālandā 1986, 165–71.

<sup>98</sup> Cf. gTsang smyon Heruka, *Mar pa'i rnam thar*, 172–75; Nālandā 1986, 185–88.

<sup>99</sup> Cf. gTsang smyon Heruka, *Mi la'i rnam mgur*, 3–7; Quintman 2010, 4–8.

<sup>100</sup> Cf. gTsang smyon Heruka, *Mi la'i rnam mgur*, 100–101; Quintman 2010, 88–89.

<sup>101</sup> Cf. gTsang smyon Heruka, *Mi la'i rnam mgur*, 109–10; Quintman 2010, 95–96.

<sup>102</sup> Cf. gTsang smyon Heruka, *Mi la'i rnam mgur*, 125; Quintman 2010, 111.

<sup>103</sup> Cf. gTsang smyon Heruka, *Mi la'i rnam mgur*, 133–35; Quintman 2010, 119–20.

<sup>104</sup> Cf. gTsang smyon Heruka, *Mi la'i rnam mgur*, 196–269; Chang 1989, 1–94.

<sup>105</sup> This is the first of the song cycles in the *Mi la'i mgur 'bum*. Cf. gTsang smyon Heruka, *Mi la'i rnam mgur*, 197–203; Chang 1989, 1–10.

<sup>106</sup> Cf. gTsang smyon Heruka, *Mi la'i rnam mgur*, 203–14; Chang 1989, 11–22.

<sup>107</sup> Cf. gTsang smyon Heruka, *Mi la'i rnam mgur*, 228–42; Chang 1989, 38–57.

cycle on La se dgon pa; the cycle on the goddess of bSe and the local spirit of Rag ma;<sup>108</sup> the cycles on the king of Gro thang<sup>109</sup> and the blue pigeon;<sup>110</sup> the cycle on Yol mo gangs ra;<sup>111</sup> and the cycle on the five sisters of long life.<sup>112</sup>

As for what he taught in order to accept human disciples as his followers, he sang songs in the extensive cycles on how he met each of the male and female adepts who were his heart disciples: his eight principal heart-sons, his thirteen close-sons, and his four female disciples. Moreover, he sang songs to male and female realized yogins and to male and female practitioners who had faith and so forth, which comprise the miscellaneous cycles.

At the end of his life, there are the songs in the cycle of bodily miracles that heartened all his disciples;<sup>113</sup> the cycle on his final advice before passing away; and his final vajra song from within the cremation chamber: the song summarizing the essential meaning.<sup>114</sup>

Even more extensive than those were the innumerable songs sung to gods and *dākinīs* for the sake of establishing beings on the paths of ripening and liberation. In these cases, he stayed in the individual abodes of each of the gods and *dākinīs* and [6b] benefited beings.

Having mastered the inner channels, energies, essences, and *samādhi*, the heart-son of the Venerable [Mi la ras pa] Ras chung rDo rje grags pa brought all outer appearances, such as the four elements, under his control. He then sang many songs, such as the song offering experience and realization to the lama;<sup>115</sup> the earlier and later cycles on requesting permission to travel to Central Tibet to fulfill his wishes,<sup>116</sup> the cycle on teaching for the benefit of others: the wearisome hardship and the eight mansions of the view; the cycle on Bya yul sGo brag; the cycle on Lady lDem bu: how adverse circumstances become helpful; the cycle on Yar lha sham bu; and songs on how to interpret omens and dreams.<sup>117</sup>

<sup>108</sup> Cf. gTsang smyon Heruka, *Mi la'i rnam mgur*, 250; Chang 1989, 58–67.

<sup>109</sup> Cf. gTsang smyon Heruka, *Mi la'i rnam mgur*, 250–54; Chang 1989, 68–73.

<sup>110</sup> Cf. gTsang smyon Heruka, *Mi la'i rnam mgur*, 265–69; Chang 1989, 88–94.

<sup>111</sup> Cf. gTsang smyon Heruka, *Mi la'i rnam mgur*, 254–64; Chang 1989, 74–87.

<sup>112</sup> Cf. gTsang smyon Heruka, *Mi la'i rnam mgur*, 451–521; Chang 1989, 296–361.

<sup>113</sup> This is the final cycle in the *mgur 'bum*. Cf. gTsang smyon Heruka, *Mi la'i rnam mgur*, 802–12; Chang 1989, 662–73.

<sup>114</sup> Cf. gTsang smyon Heruka, *Mi la'i rnam mgur*, 851–52; Quintman 2010, 210–11: *Pur khang nang nas rdo rje glu'i mgur nas byung ba'i rnying po gnad drug gi mgur 'di gsungs so*. Note that the *rnam thar* has *gnad drug* instead of *gnad dril*.

<sup>115</sup> Cf. gTsang smyon Heruka, *Mi la'i rnam mgur*, 389–93, 592–93; Chang 1989, 227–31, 436–37.

<sup>116</sup> Cf. gTsang smyon Heruka, *Mi la'i rnam mgur*, 731–53; Chang 1989, 584–605.

<sup>117</sup> A portion of the text is illegible here.

Furthermore, [regarding sGam po pa,] who became a genuine heart-son of bZhad pa rdo rje [i.e., Mi la ras pa], the previous victor said, “In the north a fully ordained monk named Physician will appear and cause the Mahāyāna to spread and flourish.”<sup>118</sup> In accordance with this prophecy, he is famous nowadays in this land of snow mountains as the physician of Dwags po, who spread the essential teachings of the Practice Lineage and caused them to flourish. This great being sang innumerable songs, such as the song of accepting lay followers sung to patrons and the song of resolving grasper and grasped, sung to disciples.

His heart-son, the protector of beings, glorious Phag mo gru pa, sang many songs about view, meditation, conduct, fruition, and practice.

Phag mo gru pa’s heart-son, the siddha gLing chen ras pa, whose realization is exalted all the way to the Ganges River in India, sang many songs, such as the former and latter songs of offering and praise to the [Three] Jewels; the song of praise to lamas and sacred places; the song of thirteen critiques in response to the behavior of many beings, many songs on the eight kinds of necessities, and the cycle on Mig mangs gangs.

The heart-son of the venerable gLing, the protector of beings gTsang pa rgya ras, sang many songs, such as the song of removing the obstacles of yoga; the song of examining the experiences of meditation and view; the song of arousing faith in lay disciples; the reason for singing songs; the reason for not singing songs; the *kha dgog po ma*; [7a] a message to the kingdom; and the garuḍa of rTsa ri.

The great austerities of his heart-son, the victor rGod tshang pa, caused the teachings of the practice lineage to shine like the sun. He sang innumerable songs, such as the song of voluntary hardships; the song that matures disciples; and the song expressing knowledge to disciples.

His heart-son Yang dgon chos kyi rgyal po sang many songs, such as the song of the spontaneous realization of the view and the song of the seven branches.

His heart-son, sPyan snga rin ldan sang songs such as the song of inevitable cause and effect.

His heart-son, the omniscient Zur phug pa, sang songs such as the song of oral instructions to the disciples.

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<sup>118</sup> This prophecy is usually attributed to the *The Great Compassion White Lotus Sūtra* (*sNying rje chen po Padma dkar po’i mdo*, *Mahākaruṇāpūṇḍarīkasūtra*), cited in Mi la ras pa’s *mGur ’bum* (gTsang smyon Heruka, *Mi la’i rnam mgur*, 618; Chang 1989, 463).

His heart-son, the supreme individual 'Ba' ra ba rGyal mtshan dpal bzang po, sang many songs, such as the song of the twelve analogies and the song of bringing what's desired.

His heart-son, the Venerable One with the name of Nam mkha', sang songs that enhanced the practice and removed obstacles of disciples.

His heart-son, Byang sems bSod nams don grub, sang songs that encouraged practice.

The heart-son who encompassed the essence of the nectar of speech of many superior lamas and *siddhas* such as Byang sems bSod nams don grub, my father, who brought together the wisdom and compassion of the buddhas of the three times during this period of the five degenerations and then acted for the benefit of the teachings and sentient beings, was called Sha ra ba Sangs rgyas seng ge, an incomparable emanation, who illuminated the teachings of the Practice Lineage realization. This renowned supreme and holy being sang songs about how to practice the ground, path, fruition, view, meditation, and conduct.

Moreover, the authentic bKa' rgyud lamas sang many songs to tame beings, each in accordance with their specific needs in order to benefit them.

In the tradition of Ancient Mantra, the one who was born in a lotus and whose life span is equal to the sun and the moon is called Padmakara, an emanation who openly subdued corrupting and malicious beings, such as [evil minded] seers and bloodthirsty demons. [7b] By annihilating them, he performed innumerable deeds for the benefit of the teachings and sentient beings. His amazing deeds are beyond measure and he also sang innumerable songs, such as I am greater than the king, and I am nobler to the queen.<sup>119</sup>

Furthermore, previous *siddhas* of the oral transmissions (*bka' rgyud*),<sup>120</sup> such as rDza Ye shes dar po, Ma cig labs kyi sgron ma, sNang sa 'Od 'bum pa, and Ri bo sgang pa, expressed their experience and realization in songs, which are inconceivable and indescribable.

Some of these are songs that burst forth from the depths of experience and realization, some are songs that arose through the perception of objects, and some were sung in response to supplications made by disciples.

<sup>119</sup> Cf. *Padma bka'i thang*, 369–75; Ellingson 1979, 230.

<sup>120</sup> The term bKa' rgyud in this context does not refer to the tradition stemming from Mar pa and Mi la ras pa, but rather to other traditions in which oral transmission is emphasized.

## 2.2. An Outline Together with the Verses: the Songs' Introduction<sup>121</sup>

These songs that were sung by *siddhas* of the past may here be understood in the following way. They are a breeze that dispels the drowsiness and torpor of meditators. They are iron hooks that rein in scattered and agitated minds, bringing forth experience and realization. They remove obstacles for those who suffer. They enhance well-being for those who are happy. They are heart-advice that encourages the faithful to practice dharma. They are the intended meaning of the victors of the three times. They are lamps that dispel the darkness of ignorance. They are rivers that purify the latencies of the two obscurations. They are bonfires that consume the firewood of a belief in a self. They are the ground that generates excellent qualities. They block the door of saṃsāra and the lower states. They show the path of liberation and the higher states. They become the glory and protector of all beings.

Concerning these completely pure statements [i.e. the songs], which are suffused with auspiciousness,<sup>122</sup> one should say which *siddha* lama sung them, where they were sung, and for what purpose.

One should express the individual great qualities of these *siddha* lama kings as explained above, and then sing [their songs]. [8a] [For example,] when singing the songs of venerable Mi la, briefly praise his greatness as described above. In a more extensive way, one should recite the entire section from the larger biography, from “Moreover, here in the snowy land of Tibet, in the beginning, like a pit of fire...” up to “The one called the Glorious Venerable Mi la bZhad pa rdo rje, the great Heruka himself, who is as famous as the sun and moon, has said....”<sup>123</sup>

[Concerning the second and third points,] one should state the place where and for what purpose a song was sung. For example, when singing the Ling ba brag song cycle, explain that the songs were sung in the cave of the sacred site of Ling ba brag. When describing the purpose for which it was sung, say it was sung for the sake of establishing on the paths of ripening and liberation the broth-

<sup>121</sup> The outline heading at this point in the text (*dkar chags tshigs bcad dang bcas te dbyangs kyi ngo sprod* [7b]) is different from that found in the text's opening section (*dkar chag ngo sprod dang bcas te dbyangs kyi mtshams sbyar* [3a]).

<sup>122</sup> Provisional translation.

<sup>123</sup> The quotations point to the introductory section to *The Life of Milarepa* wherein gTsang smyon Heruka provides a brief summary of the yogin's life. Cf. gTsang smyon Heruka, *Mi la'i rnam mgur*, 3–8; Quintman 2010, 4–11.

er and sister demons of Ling ba'i brag and so forth, all beings subsumed within the six classes of transmigrators, the five paths, or the four modes of birth. Moreover, one should state it just as it is described in the text, starting from "In order to fulfill the command of his lama, the venerable Mi la ras pa went to meditate at Ri bo dpal 'bar. Then, having reached Ling ba'i brag...."<sup>124</sup>

As illustrated by this, what is suitable for [the song about] Ling ba is appropriate for whatever other songs are sung. Analyze the person, place, and purpose, and then sing.

### 2.3. Time Markers Together with Sections Keep the Proper Length

One should judge how many songs to sing in order to benefit beings.

### 3. Prayers of Auspiciousness and Aspiration for the Songs' Conclusion

Lamas and Three Jewels, I offer the songs.  
Assembled *vīras* and *dākinīs*, enjoy the sounds.  
Four armed protector Mahākāla, dispel hindering conditions.  
Sole mother Remati, protect us like a mother her son.  
Noble lady Tshe ring ma, follow us like the body and its smell.  
Fortunate ones gathered here, rejoice.

For those of good auspice gathered from here and there with devotion:  
May there be auspiciousness of lamas and *yidams*.  
May there be auspiciousness of *vīras* and *dākinīs*.  
May there be auspiciousness of dharma protectors and guardians. [8b]  
May there be auspiciousness of thinking to cherish others more than oneself.  
May there be auspiciousness of giving up sin and practicing virtue.  
May there be auspiciousness of bringing thought and action in line with dharma.  
May unchanging auspiciousness remain firm.

<sup>124</sup> Cf. gTsang smyon Heruka, *Mi la'i rnam mgur*, 228; Chang 1989, 38.



It should be just so. If [such recitations are] too numerous, the king's ears will ache. If too few, the minister will not understand. Suitable and fit, like the temperature of milk, they should be said in a concise way just like that.

Concerning the sayings of the lamas of the past, lamps of wisdom that open the eyes faith, for us yogins who practice the two stages of meditation and belong to the lineage of compassion, they are provisions when wandering in charnel grounds and holy places, necessities when roaming savage lands and mountain retreats, offerings when meeting lamas, gifts when encountering dharma brothers, offering articles when visiting temples and stūpas, goods when traveling around the countryside, ferry-fees when crossing rivers, offering gifts for requests to kings, an axe for chipping away [alms from] the wealthy and a file for scraping away [alms] from the poor. Even when meeting bandits we reply in song, and on such occasions the advice should be an exhortation to practice virtue.

Having provided such an aid for faith, if one is a yogin of the three sacred snow mountains, the outskirts of bustling towns, the middle reaches of slate and snow mountains, along the foothills of mist-shrouded woods, assembly halls where *vīras* and *dākinīs* gather, the dwellings of noble sages, [such places are] the central mast of the great ship of the bKa' brgyud teachings, the cornerstone of the mansion of the Practice Lineage teaching, a great sacred site where meditation naturally increases.

Yogins coming from such remote places should consider what is of benefit for this life and the next, and then put effort into accumulating food and provisions for retreat. Or if one naturally gathers [9a] the accumulations, food offered to the lama becomes a supporting condition for one's own nourishment, and so forth. Thus practice in a broad way. Sing whatever is appropriate to the situation.<sup>125</sup>

In this way, in order to connect sentient beings to wholesome predispositions and the Mahāyāna dharma, the sayings of previous masters that explain the earlier and later profound methods for encouraging all beings in virtue, whatever was needed and appropriate, are lamps of wisdom that dispel the mind's darkness. This preliminary catalogue proclaiming the dharma that brings about well-being now

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<sup>125</sup> Provisional translation. 'brog 'di zhes bya ba nas byon pa'i rnal 'byor pa rnam la / 'di phyi'i don la bsams nas sgrub rgyags lam chas kyi tshogs bsog (gsog) yang dag mdzad 'tshol zhes sam / rang bzhin gyi tshogs [9a] bsog (gsog) yin na / zas 'brel 'tsho ba'i 'thun (mthun) 'gyur sogs / rgya che ba phyag len la 'debs 'tshal lo / zhes pa gang rung dbyangs len yul dang sbyar te bya'o /.

and in the future is unstructured experience written down by the yogin who wanders in charnel grounds, King of Blood Drinkers, in the middle autumn month of the Water-Female-Pig year (1503). By the virtue of doing so,

Through the power of spreading the Buddha's teaching and causing it to flourish  
 May all beings, limitless as space, have perfect happiness, and then  
 Have an attitude that cherishes others more than oneself,  
 Abandon sinful action and practice virtue, and thereby  
 Quickly attain the result of perfect Buddhahood.  
 Eṃam

E ma ho.  
 This catalog of songs, a lamp dispelling darkness,  
 Was printed by Kun tu bzang mo,  
 After she thought to benefit the Buddha's teachings beings.  
 sTod pa 'phel le of sMan khab wrote it down,  
 Sangs rgyal grogs mched of Zur tsho carved the blocks,  
 and Lo paṅ 'Jam dpal chos lha performed the editing.  
 Through the virtue of having completed this, may all beings,  
 limitless as space,  
 Perfect accumulations, purify obscurations, and quickly attain  
 the three bodies.

*manghalaṃ bhavantu shubhaṃ*

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Appendix 1: Tibetan Text<sup>126</sup>

() corrections

< > suggested readings for unclear text

།མགུར་གྱི་དཀར་ཆགས་མ་རིག་ལུན་སེལ་དང་པའི་མིག་འབྱེད་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་ཞུགས་སྟོ།

།ན་མོ་གུ་རུ།      སེམས་ཉིད་གདོད་ནས་ཚོས་སྐྱེ་འོད་གསལ་ཁྱབ་གདལ་ཕྱག་རྒྱ་ཆེན་པོར་ལྷན་གྱིས་གྲུབ་པ།  
 ལྷམ་མེ།      ལྷང་ངེ།      ལྷན་ནེ།      ཚོར་(འཚོར་)རེར་མངོན་དུ་གྱུར་པའི་སངས་རྒྱུས་ཐོབ་ནས།  
 བསྟན་པ་དང་སེམས་ཅན་ལ་ཕན་ཐོགས་པར་གྱུར་ཅིག      ཞེས་བགྱི་བ་ལེགས་པར་གདལ་ཏེ།      དེ་ཡང་  
 སེམས་ཉིད་མངོན་གྱུར་དུ་རྟོགས་པར་བྱ་བའི་ཕྱིར་དུ།      སྟོན་གྱི་རྒྱལ་བ་གྲུབ་ཐོབ་གོང་མ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་དཀའ་  
 བ་དང་དུ་སྒྲངས།      ཐེག་པ་ལུར་དུ་ལུར།      དམན་པའི་ས་བཟུང།      རྩལ་པའི་གོས་གྱོན།  
 རྒྱན་ཆ་སེམས་ལ་བཏགས།      བྱོང་སྟོ་གོས་གཏམ་གསུམ་ལ་བཏང།      སྟོན་དང་ན་བུན་གྱི་བྱ་བས།  
 མི་མེད་གྱི་བྲག་ཕྱག་སྟོང་པ་རྣམས་ལྷ་ལྷར་དུ་གྱོན་ནས།      ཚོ་འདིའི་འདུན་མ་བདེ་སྦྱིད་ཕུན་ཚོགས་ལ་རེ་ཐག་  
 གཅད་ཏེ།      དལ་འབྱོར་རྟེན་པར་དཀའ་བ་རྒྱན་ཆགས་སུ་ཡིད་ལ་བསམས།      ལམ་འཆི་ངེས་མེད་བྲན་པ་  
 རས་སུ་བཅུག།      རྒྱ་འབྲས་རྒྱུ་(བསྐྱུ་)མེད་བྲན་པ་གོས་སུ་གྱོན།      འཁོར་བའི་ཉེས་དམིགས་བྲན་པ་གདན་  
 དུ་བཏིང་ནས།      རྒྱ་བོ་ཐུར་དུ་འབབ་པའམ།      མར་མེ་གྱོན་དུ་འབར་བ་དཔེར་བཞག་སྟེ།      ཉིན་  
 མཚན་ཁོར་ཡུག་ཏུ་རྒྱན་ཆད་མེད་པར་རིམ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་རྣལ་འབྱོར་ཉམས་སུ་སྒྲངས་པའི་དོན་འབྲས།      ཉམས་  
 དང་རྟོགས་པ་ཕྱིན་ཅི་མ་ལོག་པ་སྟོན་(མངོན་)དུ་གྱུར་ནས་དོ་རྩེའི་མགུར་གསུངས་པ་རྣམས་ལགས་ཤིང་།  
 སངས་རྒྱུས་དང་གྲུབ་ཆེན་གོང་མ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་བྱ་བས་ལ་འབྲུངས་པའི་ཉམས་རྟོགས་དོ་རྩེའི་མགུར་དུ་གསུངས་པ་

<sup>126</sup> We have corrected minor orthographic inconsistencies present in the original text, adding a *tsheg* between a final *nga* and a *shad*, and deleting the *shad* after a final *ga*.

རྣམས། ད་ལྟ་བདག་གི་སྐལ་ལྷན་གྱི་སྐྱེས་བུ་དང་ལྷན་རྣམས་དང་བ་འདྲེན་པའི་མིག་(དམིགས་)རྒྱུན།  
 འབྱོར་ལྷན་བསོད་ནམས་སོག་པའི་དགོ་བསྐྱལ། སྐལ་ལྷན་ཐར་པ་དང་ཐམས་ཅད་མཁྱེན་པ་སྐྱབ་པའི་ལྷག་  
 འདེབས་སུ། དུས་གསུམ་རྒྱལ་བའི་དགོངས་དོན་དབྱེད་སྤྱི་ལེན་པ་ལགས་ཤིང་། དབྱེད་སྤྱི་ལེན་  
 གར་སྐད་དུ་གི་རྟེ། བོད་སྐད་དུ་སྐྱུ་འམ་དབྱེད་སྤྱི་ལེན་གྱི། དེ་ཡང་རྒྱལ་བའི་དགོངས་དོན་དང་།  
 2a རང་རང་གི་འདོད་དོན་ཚོགས་སུ་བཅད་པ་གདངས་ལ་སྐྱོན་ནས་སྤྱོད་པ་བཟོ་བའི་སྐྱུ་འམ་དབྱེད་སྤྱི་ལེན་  
 ཞེས་དང་། ཆེ་བཟོ་བའི་མགུར་ཞེས་གྲགས་པ་ལགས་ཤིང་། དེ་རྒྱལ་བ་གོང་མའི་དགོངས་དོན་དང་  
 སྐྱུར་ན་བཟང་སྤོད་ལས། དབྱེད་སྤྱི་ལེན་ལག་རྒྱ་མཚོའི་སྤྱོད་སྤྱི་ལེན། རྒྱལ་བ་ཀུན་གྱི་ཡོན་ཏན་  
 རབ་བཟོ་བའི་ཅིང་། །བདེ་བར་གཤེགས་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་བདག་གིས་བསྟོད། །ཅིས་གསུངས་པ་ལྟར་  
 དབྱེད་སྤྱི་ལེན་རྒྱལ་བ་ཀུན་གྱི་ཡོན་ཏན་བཟོ་བའི་སྤྱོད་སྤྱི་ལེན་དགོངས་དོན་ཡང་བཟོ་བའི་ལགས་ཤིང་། འཇམ་  
 དཔལ་མཚན་བཟོ་བའི་ལས་ཀྱང་། རྟོག་འཆང་ཆེན་གསང་སྤྱོད་འཆང་། །དཔག་མེད་རྣམས་ཀྱི་བཀའ་  
 (དགའ་)བཞིན་དུ། །སྤྱོད་སྤྱི་ལེན་གང་ལགས་བཤད་དུ་གསོལ། །ཞེས་དང་། དེ་དང་འབྲུན་པར་  
 རྒྱུད་གྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་རྟེན་(བརྟེན་)གཉིས་ལས་ཀྱང་། གར་བྱ་སྐྱུ་ཡང་སྤྱོད་བར་བྱ། །སྤྱོད་སྤྱི་ལེན་དག་  
 སྤྱོད་སྤྱི་ལེན་གསུངས། །གར་ནི་སྤོམ་པ་བྱས་པ་ཉིད། །དེ་ཡི་ཕྱིར་ན་སྤྱོད་སྤྱི་ལེན་གསུངས། །ཡོ་གིས་རྟེན་བྱ་  
 རྟེན་བྱ་བྱེད། །ཅིས་གསུངས་པ་དང་། སངས་རྒྱས་འདུས་པ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ཏོག་གི་མདོ་ལས།  
 འཕགས་པ་ལྷ་རིའི་བྱ་ལ་སོགས་པའི་སྤྱོད་སྤྱི་ལེན་སྤྱོད་སྤྱི་ལེན་དག་བཟོ་བའི་ལས་ལྟེན། རྒྱལ་པོའི་ཁབ་གྱི་གོང་  
 རྒྱུད་ཆེན་པོའི་ཤར་ལ་སོགས་ཏེ། སྤྱོད་སྤྱི་ལེན་གྱི་སྤོམ་པའི་རེ་རེ་བསོད་སྤོམ་པའི་སྤྱོད་སྤྱི་ལེན་བཟོ་བའི་ལས།  
 འཕགས་པ་རྣམས་རེ་རེ་བཞིན་ལ། བདུད་གྱི་སྤྱོད་སྤྱི་ལེན་པ་དུ་མས་བཅོ་(ཅོ་)འདྲི་དང་གཞན་གཞན་དུ། དགོ་  
 སྤོད་སྤྱོད་སྤྱོད་སྤྱོད་ལོང་ཤིག་ དགོ་སྤོད་གར་སྤོད་ཤིག་ ཅིས་ལྷན་པའི་ལན་དུ། འཕགས་པ་རྣམས་  
 གྱིས་གོགས་པོ་དག་སྤོད་ཆད་འཇིག་རྟེན་དུ་མ་བྱུང་བའི་སྤྱོད་སྤྱི་ལེན་པར་བྱའོ། །སྤོད་སྤྱོད་འཇིག་རྟེན་དུ་མ་བྱུང་

བའི་གར་སྐྱུར་བར་བྱའོ། ཞེས་གསུངས་ཤིང་ཐམས་ཅད་ཚོས་དབྱངས་ཀྱིས་ཕམ་པར་མཛད་ནས་སྤྲིན་གྲོལ་  
 ལ་བཀོད་པ་ལགས་ཤིང་། རྣལ་འབྱོར་པ་བདག་གིས་ཀྱང་དེ་དང་འཕུན་པའི་དབྱངས་གཅིག་ལེན་པ་  
 ལགས་བས། བྱིད་འདིར་བཞུགས་སྐལ་ལྔ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ཀྱང་ཉན་པ་པའི་སད་བཞི་སྤངས་ནས་གསལ་  
 འཚལ། དེ་ཡང་ཉན་པ་པའི་སད་བཞི་ནི། 2b གཟི་(བཟི་)བོ་རང་སྐྱེ་དུག་པ་དབྱངས་ཀྱི་  
 སད། བྱི་དང་བྱིས་པ་འདྲེས་པ་དབྱངས་ཀྱི་སད། ཉན་དང་མི་ཉན་འདྲེས་པ་དབྱངས་ཀྱི་སད།  
 །ཚོང་པ་ཚོང་སྐོར་བྱེད་པ་དབྱངས་ཀྱི་སད། བྱ་བ་ལགས་པས་དེ་རྣམས་སྤངས་ནས། རབ་གཞི་འབྲས་  
 ལྷ་བའི་དོན་ལ་ཉན། འབྲིང་ལམ་སྐོམ་པ་དང་སྤྱོད་པའི་ཉམས་ལེན་ཚོག་གི་སྤེབས་སྤྱོར་ལ་ཉན། ཐ་  
 མ་དབྱངས་མཁན་གྱི་ཁ་ལ་མིག་གཅེར་རེ། ཁ་དང་(གདང་)དེ། ལྷ་ལྷག་གི་ ཚོག་གི་འགྱུར་  
 བྱུགས་ལ་ཉན་པར་གདའ་ཏེ། རབ་འབྲིང་གཉིས་ཀྱི་སྐོར་ནས་གསལ་འཚལ། བདག་དབྱངས་ལེན་པ་  
 པོས་ཀྱང་། ཅོལ་རྒྱུང་གི་བ་དོམ་པ་དང་། གོ་མེད་སྐད་ལོག་ཆེ་བ་དང་། སྤང་ཤས་འདོད་སྲིད་  
 ཀྱི་དབང་དུ་མ་ཤོར་བར་བྱས་ནས། འདིར་ཚོགས་ལ་དགོ་བའི་བསྐྱལ་མ་དང་། དད་པའི་གསལ་  
 འདེབས་ཀྱི་དབྱངས་འདི། ལྷ་མ་གོང་མ་རྣམས་ལ་མཉེས་པའི་མཚོད་པ་དང་བསྟོད་དབྱངས་སྤྱ་ལེན།  
 རྒྱལ་པོ་རྣམས་ལ་མངའ་འབངས་དགོ་བཅུ་ལ་བཀོད་པའི་བྲིམས་དབྱངས་སྤྱ་ལེན། འོག་མ་རྣམས་ལ་རང་  
 རང་འགྲུ་(མགྲུ་)བའི་འདོད་དབྱངས་སྤྱ་ལེན། ཇོ་བོ་སྟོན་ཆེན་རྣམས་ལ་བཀའ་མདོ་རྒྱུད་བསྟན་ཚོས་  
 (བཙུན་)ལུང་རིགས་མན་ངག་གི་འཐད་དབྱངས་སྤྱ་ལེན། སྐོམ་ཆེན་རྣམས་ལ་ཞི་གནས་ལྷག་འཐོང་  
 (མཐོང་)ཉམས་སྤྱོད་དབྱངས་སྤྱ་ལེན། རྟོགས་ལྡན་གྱི་རྣལ་འབྱོར་པ་རྣམས་ལ་ལྷ་སྐོམ་སྤྱོད་འབྲས་སྤོན་  
 (མདོན་)དུ་རྒྱར་དབྱངས་སྤྱ་ལེན། རྒྱགས་པ་རྣམས་ལ་བདག་མེད་སྟོང་པའི་དུག་སྤྲུགས་ཀྱི་(ཀྱིས་)བདག་  
 འཛིན་གྱི་དབྲུ་བོ་ཚོས་དབྱིངས་སྤྱོད་པའི་དབྱངས་སྤྱ་ལེན། བོན་པོ་རྣམས་ལ་ལྷ་ངན་རྣམ་རྟོག་ཚོས་སྐྱར་  
 གཡལ་དུ་འགྲུགས་པའི་དབྱངས་སྤྱ་ལེན། མཚོ་(འཚོ་)བྱེད་སྤྲན་པ་རྣམས་ལ་དུག་ལཱི་ཅོང་  
 (གཅོང་)ནད་སེལ་ཐབས་ཡེ་ཤེས་བདུད་ཅི་སྤྲན་སྤྱོར་གྱི་དབྱངས་སྤྱ་ལེན། ཚོང་པ་རྣམས་ལ་ཆོ་འདིའི་བྱི་

ཚོང་གི་སྤྲིག་པ་སྤི་མའི་དགོ་ཅུར་བསྐྱར་ན་བྱེ་ཆེ་བའི་དབྱངས་སྤུ་ལེན།      ལྷག་ཤར་རྣམས་ལ་སྤིང་ཚེའི་གོ་  
 བྱོན་ཞིང་ཤེས་རབ་ཀྱི་མཚོན་ཐོགས་ནས་ཉོན་མོངས་པའི་དགྲ་བོ་འཕུལ་(བཏུལ་)བའི་དབྱངས་སྤུ་ལེན།  
 གཞོན་སྤྲིས་ཕོ་མོ་ཚོས་མི་དྲན་པའི་རྒྱང་      3a      ཤྱོང་རྣམས་ལ་སྤྲོ་མ་དགོན་མཚོག་སྤྲུ་གཟུགས་  
 ལེགས་ཤིང་།      གསུང་དབྱངས་དམ་ཚོས་སྤྲོ་སྤྲོན་པ་དང་།      འཕགས་པའི་ནོར་བདུན་རིན་ཆེ་ཞིང་ཐར་  
 པའི་ཤྱོང་(ཤྱོང་)བྱིར་བདེ་སྤྲིད་འཛོམ་པའི་དབྱངས་སྤུ་ལེན།      བས་གོགས་(འཁོགས་)རྣམས་ལ་དངོས་  
 འཛིན་གྱི་ཚེ་ཟད་སར་བསྐུལ་བའི་དབྱངས་སྤུ་ལེན།      བྱིས་པ་རྣམས་ལ་སྤྲོང་བ་བཅོལ་(ཅོལ་)ཀྱང་མི་ལམ་སྤྲུ་  
 མར་ཕྱེད་མོ་ཕྱེ་བའི་དབྱངས་སྤུ་ལེན།      དད་ཅན་དང་འབྱོར་ལྡན་གྱི་ཉ་མ་ཕོ་མོ་ལ་སོགས་ཏེ་རྒྱ་སྤེ་ཁོམ་པ་སྤྲི་  
 ལ།      དལ་འབྱོར་རྙེད་དཀའ།      འཆི་བ་མི་རྟག་པ།      ལས་རྒྱ་འབྲས་བུ་དེན་པ།      འཁོར་བའི་  
 ཉེས་དམིགས་དང་།      ཐར་པའི་ཕན་ཡོན་རྣམས།      རྒྱུད་པ་གོང་མ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་གསུང་སྤྲོས་ལྟར་དབྱངས་  
 སྤུ་ལེན་པ་ལགས་ཤིང་།      དེ་ལྟར་གོང་མའི་གསུང་སྤྲོས་རྣམ་པར་དག་པ་རྣམས་དབྱངས་སྤུ་སྤངས་པས།  
 གསུང་གཅིག་ཉིད་དུ་གསུང་མོད་ཀྱིས།      དུ་མ་ཉིད་དུ་སོ་སོར་གོ་      ཞེས་པ་དང་འབྲུན་པར་དབྱངས་ལེན་  
 དུལ་སོ་སོ་ཐ་དད་ལ།      ལྷགས་ཚེའི་འོད་ཟེར་འཕྲོས་ཤིང་རྒྱུད་པའི་བྱིན་བརྒྱབས་ལྷགས་ཏེ།      རང་རང་  
 གི་ལྷགས་དུལ་དུ་བདེ་བར་བབས་པས་སྤྲོང་བ་འགྱུར་པའི་རྟགས་སུ།      བཟང་རྒྱ་ཅན་གྱི་འཚང་ལ་འཕྲོག་  
 །སྤོ་སྤོན་ཅན་རང་ལ་ཁེལ།      ང་རྒྱལ་ཅན་གྱི་ཕོ་མོ་འཚོར།      བྱོགས་མི་དགའ་སྤིང་རྒྱུད་སྤོང་།  
 དུགས་ས་མེའི་དུ་སྤྲོད་འཆག་(ཆད་)།      ལྷོན་མས་ལུས་ཀྱི་རང་འཚང་སྤོན།      ལྷོན་པ་ཆིག་གོད་  
 (དགོད་)བྱེད།      བྱིས་པ་རྣམས་ཕྱེད་འཕྲོ་བཤོལ།      དོན་ག་ཕོ་ཁོང་འཕྲུམ་འཚོར།      ལྷག་བསྐུལ་  
 ཅན་གྱི་སྤུ་ངན་སངས།      སྤྲིག་པ་ཅན་འགྲོད་པ་སྤྲི།      རྟག་བཏུས་ཅན་སྤོ་སྤྲུ་རྒྱུང་(བསྤུངས་)།      སེར་སྤྲུ་  
 ཅན་ལ་བཏོད་(གཏོད་)ཕོད་སྤྲི།      སྤྲོང་ཤེས་ཅན་ཞེན་པ་རྫོགས།      ཞེས་ཅན་གཏུག་རྒྱུབ་ཞི།      མོངས་  
 པ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་དྲན་པ་རྙེད།      རྟོག་གི་པའི་ཐ་རྙེད་(སྤྲོད་)འཇིགས།      གཞུང་བཤད་མཁན་དོན་གྱི་རྣམས་

ལེན་ལ་འདྲིལ། སྐྱོ་ཤམ་ཅན་ཤུགས་རིངས་(རིང་)འབྱིན། ངེས་འབྱུང་ཅན་འཛི་(མཛི་)མ་འབྲུག།  
 དད་པ་ཅན་ཚེས་ལ་འབྲོས། སླིང་རུས་ཅན་སྒོམ་སྲན་བསྐྱེད། ལས་འབྲོ་ཅན་གྱིས་དངོས་གྲུབ་  
 3b ཐོབ། རྣམ་དཀར་གྱི་བག་ཆགས་མེད་པའི་སྐྱེ་བོ་རྣམས་ཀྱང་། སློའ་དམ་པའི་ཚེས་  
 ལ་འབྲུར་བར་བྱེད་པའི་འབྲུར་(མཁུར་)འདི། ལེན་པ་གོང་མའི་དབྱུངས་སུ་ལེན། འཆང་བ་དམ་  
 པའི་ཚེས་སུ་འཆང་། ཡོང་བ་བདུད་ཚིའི་གདམས་ངག་ཏུ་ཡོང་བས། བན་པ་ཀུན་གྱི་སེམས་ལ་  
 བན། སྒོལ་བ་འཁོར་བ་ལས་སྒོལ་ཞིང་། ཐོབ་པ་ཚེས་པའི་སངས་རྒྱས་ཐོབ་པར་བྱེད་པའི་དབྱུངས་  
 དོན་རྒྱལ་དང་ལྡན་པ་ཞིག་གི་སྒྲོན་མ་ལེན་པ་ལགས་ཏེ། དང་པོ་མགོ་འདྲེན་ཚེ་གཟེངས་འཕོ་(མཕོ་)ལ་  
 འབྱིང་ཆགས་པ། བར་དུ་བཅོད་བྱའི་ཚིག་གསལ་ལ་མཚན་(མཚས་)པ་མེད་པ། དཔེ་དོན་འཆུངས་  
 (མཆུངས་)ལ་གོ་བདེ་བ། གདངས་སྒྲན་ལ་འབྲུར་བྱུགས་(བྱུག་)ཚང་བ། སྐད་ངར་ལ་སྐྱེ་  
 (སྐྱེན་)ཆགས་པ། འཇུག་(མཇུག་)སྤྱད་ཚེ་དལ་ལ་འཛོགས་(འཛོག་)བདེ་བ་དང་བཅས་ལེན། དེ་  
 ཡང་དབྱུངས་སྒྲོད་སང་གའི་རོ་སྒྲོད་དང་འབྲ་སྤྱི་བཟེངས་(གཟེངས་)འཕོ་(མཕོ་)ལ་འབྱིང་ཆགས་པ། བར་  
 སྐབས་གསེར་གྱི་དོ་རྩེ་དང་འབྲ་སྤྱི་སྐྱེ་(སྐྱེན་)ཆགས་ལ་གྱིམས་ཆ་ལྡན་པ། དབྱུངས་ཞབས་སྤྲུག་གི་འཇུག་  
 (མཇུག་)མ་དང་འབྲ་སྤྱི་རིང་ལ་འཛོགས་(འཛོག་)བདེ་བའི་སྒྲོན་མ། དང་པོ་གསོལ་འདེབས་བསྒྲོད་པ་དང་  
 བཅས་ཏེ་དབྱུངས་གྱི་མགོ་འདྲེན། བར་དུ་ལོ་རྒྱས་གཏན་ཚིགས་དང་བཅས་ཏེ་དབྱུངས་གྱི་ཁོག་འབྲུབས་  
 (དབྲུབས་)། དཀར་ཆག་དོ་སྒྲོད་དང་བཅས་ཏེ་དབྱུངས་གྱི་འཚམས་(མཚམས་)སྤྱད། དུས་ཚོད་  
 གནས་སྐབས་དང་བཅས་ནས་དབྱུངས་གྱི་ཚོད་འཛིན། བཀྲ་ཤིས་སྒྲོན་ལམ་དང་བཅས་ཏེ་དབྱུངས་གྱི་འཇུག་  
 བསྐྱེད་(མཇུག་སྤྱད་)པ་ལགས་ཤིང་། དེ་ཡང་གསོལ་འདེབས་བསྒྲོད་པ་དང་བཅས་དབྱུངས་གྱི་མགོ་འདྲེན་  
 པ་ནི། རྣམ་འབྲོར་པ་ཁ་དད་(འདོན་)བྱེད་པ་ལ་སློམ་མ་ལ་གསོལ་བ་འདེབས་པ་ལས་བྱེ་བ་མེད་པ་ཡིན་  
 ཞིང་། དེ་ཡང་དཔེ་འཛིག་རྟེན་གྱི་སྤྱང་བ་དང་སྤྱན་ཏེ་བཤད་པ་ནི། ཤར་ནས་བྱི་གདུགས་གྱི་ཉི་མ་མ་  
 ཤར་ན། ལུབ་ཏུ་ཏེ་བའི་གདངས་མི་འཇུ། བྱང་ནས་གྱི་(སྐྱི་)སེར་གྱི་རྒྱུང་པོ་མ་བྱུང་ན།

ལྟོ་རྩུ་ཙན་དན་གྱི་ནགས་མི་འགྲུལ།      ལྷ་(ལྷ་)ལྟོད་དུ་གད་པ་མ་སྲིབ་(རྟོགས་)ན་ལྷ་(ལྷ་)ལྟོད་དུ་སྟོག་  
 (སྟོག་)པ་མི་ལྟོད།      ལྷ་      4a      །མ་གྲོས་(རྟོད་)ན་ལ་མི་འགོས།      ལྷ་མ་རྩུས་ན་མས་  
 མི་ལེན།      གཏམ་གསུམ་མ་ལབས་(ལབ་)ན་པ་དང་བུ་ཡང་བརྟེན་མི་འཕྲོད།      གོམ་གསུམ་མ་འཕགས་  
 ན་ལུང་པ་ལུ་མདའི་འག་མི་ཕྱེད།      །ཁག་པའི་ལས་མ་བྱས་ན་དངར་མའི་ཟས་མི་སྲོང་།      །ཞེས་བགྲི་བ་  
 ལགས་པར་གདའ་ཏེ།      དེ་དག་གི་དོན་རྒྱལ་བའི་དགོངས་པ་དང་སྤྱར་ཏེ་གསོལ་བ་འདེབས་པའི་རྒྱ་མཚན་  
 བཤད་པ་ནི།      ཚོགས་གཉིས་མ་བསགས་ན་སྤྱི་བ་གཉིས་མི་འདག      དུག་གསུམ་མ་སྤངས་ན་སྤྱི་  
 གསུམ་མི་ཐོབ།      ལྷོ་གསུམ་དགོ་བ་ལ་མ་རྟོག་ན་ཁམས་གསུམ་འཁོར་བའི་གནས་ནས་མི་ཐར།  
 མཉམ་པར་མ་བཞག་ན་སེམས་ཉིད་མི་རྟོགས།      དཀའ་བ་མ་བཅད་(སྤྱད་)ན་ཡོན་ཏན་མི་སྤྱི།  
 གསོལ་བ་མ་བཏབ་ན་བྱིན་བརྒྱབས་མི་འབྱུང་ཞེས་བྱ་བའི་དོན་དུ་གདའ་ཏེ།      དེ་ཡང་རྗེ་བཙུན་མར་པའི་ཞལ་  
 ནས།      གསོལ་བ་གང་གཏབ་(བཏབ་)དེ་ལ་བྱིན་བརྒྱབས་འཇུག།      །གཞན་ཕན་གང་བྱེད་དེ་ལ་རྒྱལ་བ་  
 མཉམས།      །བསོད་ནམས་གང་བསགས་དེ་ཡིས་བདེ་བ་ཐོབ།      །མཉམ་པར་གང་བཞག་དེ་ཡིས་གནས་  
 ལུགས་རྟོགས།      །སྤྱིང་པོ་གང་བརྒྱས་དེ་ལ་རྩུས་མཐུ་འབྱུང་།      །དམ་ཚིག་གང་བསྐྱུངས་དེ་ཡིས་  
 བསམ་པ་འགྲུབ།      །དག་སྤྱང་གང་ཤར་དེ་ཡིས་སངས་རྒྱས་ཐོབ།      །ཞེས་གསུངས་པ་ལགས་པས།  
 གསོལ་བ་འདེབས་པ་གལ་ཆེ།      དེ་ཡང་གསོལ་བ་འདེབས་ལུགས་བཞི་ཡོད་པ་ལས།      ལུས་སྤྱི་གསྲོང་  
 དགོ་བ་སྤྱི་བ་པ་ནི་ལུས་ཀྱི་གསོལ་འདེབས།      དེ་བཞིན་དུ་དག་སྤྱི་གསྲོང་དགོ་བ་སྤྱི་བ་པ་དག་གི་གསོལ་  
 འདེབས།      ཡིད་སྤྱི་གསྲོང་དགོ་བ་སྤྱི་བ་པ་ཡིད་ཀྱི་གསོལ་འདེབས་ཡིན་ཞིང་།      དེ་ལྟར་ན་སྤོ་གསུམ་གྱི་  
 དགོ་བ་ཅུ་ཐམས་ཅད་གསོལ་གདེབས་སུ་འགྱུར་བ་ལགས་སོ།      བཞི་པ་སྤོ་གསུམ་ཅིག་ཆར་དུ་བྱིལ་ནས་  
 གསོལ་བ་འདེབས་པ་ལ།      གསོལ་བ་རིང་ཕྱོགས་སུ་འདེབས་པ་དང་།      རོར་དུ་ལུགས་སུ་འདེབས་  
 པ་དང་།      ལུས་རྒྱུགས་སུ་འདེབས་པ་དང་གསུམ་ལས།      རིང་ཕྱོགས་སུ་འདེབས་པ་ནི།      བཅོམ་

ལྷན་འདས་ 4b རྫོལ་འཆང་ཆེན་པོ་ནས་ཉེ་བར་རྒྱུད་ཏེ། རང་གི་རྩ་བའི་སྤྲོ་མའི་བར་དུ་  
 གདངས་དང་བཅས་གསོལ་བ་འདེབས་པ་ལགས་ཤིང་། རོར་བུ་ལུགས་སུ་འདེབས་པ་ནི། རང་གི་རྩ་  
 བའི་སྤྲོ་མ་ལ་རྒྱུད་པ་རྣམས་དང་ཡིད་དམ་དགོན་མཆོག་གསུམ་ལ་སོགས་ཏེ་སྐྱབས་གནས་མཆོད་འོས་ཐམས་  
 ཅད་སྦྲིམ་སྦྲི། འདི་ཕྱིའི་དགོས་འདོད་ཐམས་ཅད་འབྱུང་བར་གསོལ་བ་འདེབས་པར་གདའ། ཕུར་  
 རྒྱགས་སུ་འདེབས་པ་ནི། འཁོར་བ་དང་ངན་སོང་གི་འཇིགས་སྐྱབས་སྤངས་(སྐྱབས་དངངས་)པའི་གང་  
 ཟག་དང་བརྩོན་ཅན་ཞིག་གིས། ཆོ་འདི་ཉིད་དུ་ཕྱག་རྒྱ་ཆེན་པོ་མཆོག་གི་དོས་བྱུབ་ཐོབ་པར་འདོད་པའི་  
 བསམ་པས། སྦྱོར་བ་མི་མེད་ཀྱི་ཕྱག་ཕྱུག་ཞིག་ཏུ་ལུས་གྲུས་པས་ཐལ་མོ་སྦྱར། གདོང་འཆི་(མཆི་)མ་  
 འབྲུག་བཞིན་པའི་ངང་ནས། རང་གི་རྩ་བའི་སྤྲོ་མ་ལ་སྐྱབས་གནས་མཆོད་འོས་ཐམས་ཅད་འདུས་པའི་ངོ་  
 བོར་ཡེ་ནས་ཐག་ཆོད་པ་ལ། ཡིད་མོས་གྲུས་གདུང་ལུགས་དྲག་པོས་བསམ་པ་གཞན་གྱིས་བར་མ་ཆད་པ་  
 དང་། དག་དྲག་ལ་རྒྱུར་བས་རང་གི་རྩ་བའི་སྤྲོ་མའི་འཆོན་(མཆོན་)ནས་འེ་དོད་བོས་ཏེ། འཁོར་བ་དང་  
 ངན་སོང་གི་སྐྱུག་བསྐྱེལ་ལས་ཐར་ནས་རྒྱུར་དུ་སངས་རྒྱས་ཐོབ་པར་འདོད་པའི་དོན་ལ་གསོལ་བ་འདེབས་པ་  
 ལགས་ཤིང་། དེ་ཡང་སྤྲོ་མ་ལ་གསོལ་བ་བཏབ་པས། སྐྱབས་གནས་མཆོད་འོས་ཀྱན་ལ་གསོལ་བ་  
 བཏབ་པར་འགྱུར་བ་ཡིན་ཏེ། བདེ་མཆོག་སྦྲོམ་བྱུང་(འབྱུང་)གི་རྒྱུད་ལས། སྤྲོ་མ་སངས་རྒྱས་སྤྲོ་མ་  
 ཆོས། དེ་བཞིན་སྤྲོ་མ་དགོ་འདུན་ཏེ། ཀུན་གྱི་བྱེད་པོ་སྤྲོ་མ་ཡིན། སྤྲོ་མ་རྣམས་ལ་ཕྱག་ཚལ་ལོ།  
 ཞེས་དང་། སྦྲོམ་འབྱུང་ལས། མཆོད་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཡོངས་སྤངས་ལ། སྤྲོ་མ་མཆོད་པ་ཡང་  
 དག་ཅུམ། དེ་མཉམས་པས་ནི་ཀུན་མཁྱེན་གྱི། ཡེ་ཤེས་མཆོག་ནི་ཐོབ་པར་འགྱུར། སྤྲོ་མེད་  
 མཚན་པའི་སྦྲོམ་དཔོན་ནི། རྫོལ་སེམས་དཔའ་རབ་མཆོད་ན། དེ་ཡིས་བསོད་ནམས་མ་བྱས་ཅི།  
 ཞེས་དང་། མཆོན་བརྗོད་ལས། མཆོད་འོས་བསྟོད་འོས་ཕྱག་གི་གནས། རྟག་ཏུ་རི་མོར་བྱ་བའི་  
 འོས། བསྐྱར་འོས་བརྗོད་པར་ 5a །བྱ་བའི་མཆོག་ ཕྱག་བྱར་འོས་པ་སྤྲོ་མའི་རབ།  
 ཅས་དང་། ཡེ་ཤེས་གསལ་སྦྲོན་གྱི་རྒྱུད་ལས། མཆོན་དཔེ་ལྡན་པའི་སྤྲོ་ཡི་སྤྱ། །སྐལ་པ་



འབྲུག་དུ་བསྐྱོམས་པ་པས།      །སླ་མ་དྲན་པ་བསོད་ནམས་ཆེ།      །སླ་སླ་མ་སྐོམ་སླ་མ་བསྐྱོམས།  
 །ཞེས་དང་།      ཨ་ཏི་ཤ་བཀོད་པའི་རྒྱུད་ལས།      གསང་བ་སྤྲུགས་ལས་བྱུང་བ་ཡི།      །དྲིན་དང་ལྡན་  
 པའི་སླ་མ་ཉིད།      །སྤྱི་བའི་གཙུག་གམ་སྤིང་གི་སྤྱིལ།      །ལལ་པའི་འཐིལ་དུ་གང་བསྐྱོམས་པ།  
 །སངས་རྒྱས་སྤོང་གི་ཡོན་ཏན་ཡང་།      །གང་ཟག་དེ་ཡིས་འཛིན་པར་འགྱུར།      །ཅེས་དང་།  
 མཁའ་འགྲོ་མ་ཟེལ་གྱིས་མཛོན་(གཛོན་)པའི་རྒྱུད་ལས།      སངས་རྒྱས་དང་བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་དཔའ་གོ་གའི་  
 རྒྱུད་(རྒྱུད་)གི་བྱེ་མ་སྤིང་ལ་མཛོད་པ་སྤུལ་བ་བས།      དོན་རྒྱུ་དཔོན་གྱི་བསྐྱེད་བྱ་ག་རེ་ལ་ཏིལ་མར་གྱི་  
 བྱུག་པ་བྱས་པ་ཆེས་བསོད་ནམས་ཁྱད་པར་དུ་འཕགས་སོ།      །ཞེས་གསུངས་པ་ལྟར།      སླ་མ་མཛོད་  
 འོས་ཀྱན་འདུས་པའི་བདག་ཉིད་རབ་དམ་པ་ལགས་སོ།      །ད་ལོ་རྒྱས་གཏན་ཆེགས་དང་བཅས་ཏེ་དབྱངས་  
 གྱི་ཁོག་འབྲུབས་(དབྲུབས་)པ་ནི།      དང་པོ་རྒྱལ་བ་ཀུན་གྱི་བྱུབ་བདག་འོངས་སྤྱོད་འཆང་ཆེན་པོས།  
 རྒྱུ་(རྒྱུ་)འཕྲུལ་བྱ་(བྱ་)བ་སྤྱོད་སྤངས་ཀྱི་རྒྱུད་ལ་སོགས་ཏེ་གསུང་རབས་(རབ་)རྒྱུད་ལྗེ་བཞི་མཁུར་དུ་གསུངས།  
 དེའི་སྤུལ་སྤྱོད་རྒྱུ་བ་ཤུ་བྱུབ་པས་དབྱངས་གྱི་(གྱིས་)སྤྱད་པའི་(བསྤྱད་པ་)ལྗེ་ལ་སོགས་ཏེ།      གསུང་  
 རབས་(རབ་)མདོ་སྤྱི་བཅུ་གཉིས་མཁུར་དུ་གསུངས།      གཞན་ཡང་རྒྱལ་བའི་སྤུལ་སྤྱོད་བྱུབ་ཐོབ་ཀྱན་གྱི་སྤྱི་  
 མེས་དཔལ་མ་ར་ཉ་ཡིས་དོ་ཉ་བསྐྱོར་གསུམ་ལ་སོགས་ཏེ་ཡང་དག་དོན་གྱི་མཁུར་དུ་མ་གསུངས།      བདེ་  
 མཛོག་འཁོར་ལོ་དང་དབྱེར་མེད་པའི་ཏེ་ལོ་ཤེས་རབ་བཟང་པོ་དེ་ཉིད་གྱིས་སྤྱོད་རྒྱུད་གྱི་རྩ་བ་དོན་ལེ་མཁུར་དུ་  
 གསུངས།      དེའི་ཡན་ལག་དུ་རང་རང་གི་གནས་སུ་རྣམ་འགྲུབ་མཚན་བརྒྱུད་ལ་གདམས་པ་བསམ་མི་བྱུབ་  
 བརྒྱད།      རྒྱ་བོ་གོ་གའི་འགྲུམ་དུ་རྒྱ་རོ་པ་ལ་གདམས་པ་རང་འབྱུང་བསམ་གྱིས་མི་བྱུབ་པ་དང་།      ཆོས་  
 ཉིད་གཙུག་མ་ལ་སོགས་མཁུར་དུ་གསུངས།      དེ་ཡི་      5b      ཐུགས་སྤྲུམ་མཁའ་བཅུན་གྲུབ་པ་  
 བརྟེས་པའི་སྤྱིས་མཛོག་དཔལ་རྒྱ་རོ་པར་ཆེན་གྱིས།      དབང་བཞིའི་ཉམས་ལེན་དང་ཆོས་དུག་རྒྱུ་བ་དོན་ལེ་  
 མཁུར་དུ་གསུངས།      རྒྱ་རོ་པའི་ཐུགས་གྱི་སྤྲུམ་མཛོག་དམ་པར་གྱུར་པ་སྤྱད་གཉིས་མཁུར་བཅུ་ཉི་ལྔའི་འོད་

གྱིས། བོད་མ་རིག་མཁུན་པའི་དམག་རྩམ་སངས་པར་མཛད་ནས་སངས་རྒྱལ་གྱི་སྤོང་པོ་དོན་གྱི་བསྟན་པ།  
 གངས་ལ་ཉི་མ་ཤར་བ་ལྟར་གསལ་ཞིང་རྒྱལ་པར་མཛད་པའི་སྐྱབས་བསྐྱར་མར་པ་ལོ་རྒྱུ་དེ་ཉིད་གྱིས། ལྷ་མ་ལ་  
 རྟོགས་པ་འབྲུལ་བ་དབྱེངས་ཤིངས་(ཤིང་)ཉ་བྱར་རའི་ཁོང་རྒྱན་(རྒྱད་)། མཉམ་བཞག་གྱིང་བ་བསེང་  
 (གསེང་)བར་གྱེད་པ་རྩ་ལྷག་ཟེལ་པ་མའི་མགྲུ། འཕྲོ་ཚོད་དང་འཕྲོར་བ་བསྐྱད་(སྐྱད་)པར་གྱེད་པ་ལ་  
 རིག་པ་སེམས་གྱི་ལྷགས་ཀྱ། སྐྱོ་བ་སངས་བར་གྱེད་པ་ལ་མཁའ་འཕྲོའི་སྐྱེ་སྤྲུགས་དང་ཚེས་སྐྱོང་གི་  
 བལྟགས་སྐྱེ་ཤིང་མོ། གནས་ལྷགས་གཏན་ལ་འབེབས་པར་གྱེད་པ་ལ་ལྟ་བ་ལྟར་ཆེན་གྱི་བཤོག་  
 (གཤོག་)རྒྱངས་དོ་ཉ་རྟོ་རྟོའི་མགྲུར་ཆེན། ཚེས་ལ་སྤིང་རྩམ་བསྐྱེད་པ་ལ་ཚེས་སྤིར་དཀའ་བ་བཅད་  
 (སྐྱད་)པའི་མགྲུ། གཞན་ཡང་གནས་སྐབས་དགོས་པ་དང་སྐྱུན་ནས་སྤྲུལ་ལ་བཀའ་བསྟོན་(ལོན་)གྱི་  
 མགྲུ། བཀྲ་ཤིས་མངའ་གསོལ་གྱི་མགྲུ། ཡབ་ལུ་སྤྲུལ་གསུམ་གྱི་མགྲུ། མི་ལམ་  
 ཀ་བཞི་བརྟེན་འགྲོལ་གྱི་མགྲུ་ལ་སོགས་པ་བསམ་གྱིས་མི་ཁྲབ་པ་ཞིག་གསུངས་པར་གདའ། མར་པའི་  
 སྤྲུལ་གྱི་སྐྱེ་བོར་གྲུར་པ། བོད་གངས་ཅན་གྱི་ཁྲོད་ན་སྐྱ་ཆེ་བ། མགྱིན་པ་ཡོངས་སྤྱོད་གྱི་ཚུ་ཁ་གྱེ་  
 (འགྱེད་)བས་རྟོ་རྟོ་ལྷ་ཡི་མཚོ་བོདོལ་བ། ཚ་དབྱུ་མའི་མདུད་པ་རང་སར་གྲོལ་བས་སྐོ་གཉིས་འཛིན་གྱི་  
 བསྐྱོར་མགོ་ནས་བྱུད་པ། ཅང་རིག་པ་སེམས་ལ་སྐྱོབ་གཉེར་བྱས་པས། སྤྱི་སྤྱང་དངོས་ཐམས་ཅད་  
 དཔེ་ཆར་ཤར་བ། ཉིན་མཚན་གཡེལ་མེད་དུ་བསྐྱོམས་པའི་བཙུན་འགྲུས་དྲག་པོའི་མིག་རྒྱེན་གྱིས་གཞན་  
 ལམ་སྐྱབ་པའི་ལྷག་ཐེབས་པ། རྒྱུད་པ་གོང་མ་ལ་མོས་གྲུས་སུལ་དུ་སྤྱིན་པས་རྒྱུད་པའི་བྱིན་བརྒྱབས་གྱི་  
 བཀའ་བབས་པ། ཅང་རྒྱུད་སེམས་ལ་རང་དབང་ཐོབ་པས་ནམ་མཁའ་ལ་བྱ་ལྟར་གྱིང་བ་ལ་སོགས་ཉེ་རྩུ་  
 6a འཕྲུལ་སྐྱ་ཚོགས་མངོན་སུམ་དུ་སྟོན་པ། ཅམ་མཁའ་མཐའ་དབྱུས་མེད་པའི་གངས་ཤིའི་སྐྱོང་  
 ན་སེང་གོ་དཀར་མོ་སྤྲུལ་མེད་དུ་འཕྲོ་བ། ཉམས་སུ་སྤོང་བའི་གསུང་དབྱེངས་བདག་མེད་སེང་གོའི་ངར་  
 རྐང་གྱིས། ལྷ་ངན་གྱི་རི་དགས་ཐམས་ཅད་ཟེལ་གྱིས་བསྐྱོན་(གཞོན་)ལུས་པ། ད་ལྟ་འཇིག་རྟེན་གྱི་  
 ཁམས་ན་མི་ལ་རས་པ་ཞེས་མཚན་ཉི་རྩེ་ལྟར་ཡོངས་སུ་བྲགས་པའི་སྐྱེས་མཚོག་དེ་ཉིད་གྱིས་གསུངས་པའི་

མགུར་ལ།      དང་པོར་སྒྲུ་མ་ལ་རྟོགས་པ་འབྱུང་བ་ཡན་ལག་བདུན་པའི་མགུར།      མཚན་ལྟམ་མི་ལམ་  
 ཀ་བཞིའི་མགུར།      གཙང་ལ་ཡར་འགྲོའི་མགུར།      འཁྲུངས་ཡུལ་དུ་ཡབ་ཡུམ་དྲན་ནས་སྐྱབ་པ་ལ་  
 དམ་བཅས་པ་ལྷ་མ་སྤྲིའི་མགུར་ལ་སོགས་པ་བསམ་གྱིས་མི་ཁྲབ་པ་ཞིག་གསུངས།      བར་དུ་མི་མ་ཡིན་  
 རྣམས་རྗེས་སུ་བཟུང་བ་ལ།      བགོགས་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་བོ་ན་ལ་ཀ་རྗེས་སུ་བཟུང་བ་སྒྲུ་མ་དྲན་དུག་གི་བསྐྱོར།  
 ལ་སྤྱི་རྒྱ་བཟངས་(བཟང་)ཀྱི་བསྐྱོར།      ལིང་བ་བྲག་སྤོན་མེའི་བསྐྱོར།      ལ་སེ་དགོན་པའི་བསྐྱོར།  
 བསའི་སྤྱོ་མོ་དང་རག་མའི་གཞི་བདག་གི་བསྐྱོར།      གྲོ་ཐང་རྒྱལ་པོ་དང་ཡུག་རོན་སྤོན་མེའི་བསྐྱོར།  
 ཡོལ་མེའི་གངས་རའི་བསྐྱོར།      ཚོ་རིངས་(རིང་)མཚེད་ལྗེའི་བསྐྱོར་ལ་སོགས་ཏེ་སྤྱོ་དང་མཁའ་འགོ་མི་མ་  
 ཡིན་དུ་མ་ལ་གསུངས་པའི་མགུར།      མི་རྣམས་རྗེས་སུ་བཟུང་སྤྱིར་གསུངས་པ་ལ་གཙོ་བོར་བྱགས་ཀྱི་སྤྱིས་  
 བརྒྱད།      ཉེ་བའི་སྤྱིས་བཅུ་གསུམ།      དེ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ལྷམ་བཞི་སྟེ་བྱགས་སྤྱིས་བྱུང་བོ་བ་པོ་མོ་ཉེར་ལྷ་དང་  
 འཇལ་རྒྱལ་ལ་བསྐྱོར་ཚེན་པོ་རེ།      གཞན་ཡང་རྟོགས་ལྡན་རྣལ་འབྱོར་པོ་མོ་དང་།      དད་ལྡན་གྱི་ཉ་  
 མ་པོ་མོ་ལ་གསུངས་པ་ལ་སོགས་ཏེ།      ཁ་འཐོར་སྤྱོ་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་བསྐྱོར་ཚོ་དུ་མ་ཞིག་མགུར་དུ་གསུངས་པ་  
 ལགས་ཤིང་།      མཐར་བུ་སྤྱོ་བ་ཡོངས་ལ་སྤྱོ་བ་བསྐྱེད་པ་བཞོད་པ་སྤྱིའི་རྩུ་འཕུལ་གྱི་བསྐྱོར།      འདེལ་ཀ་  
 ཞལ་ཚེམས་ཀྱི་བསྐྱོར།      དུར་ཁང་ནང་ནས་དོ་རྗེའི་མགུར་གྱི་ཐ་མ་སྤྱིང་པོ་དོན་དེའི་གྱི་མགུར་ལ་སོགས་ཏེ་  
 དུ་མ་ཞིག་གསུངས་པར་གདའ།      དེ་དག་པས་རྒྱ་ཚེ་བ་འགོ་རྣམས་སྤོན་གྲོལ་ལ་བཞོད་སྤྱིར་སྤྱོ་དང་མཁའ་  
 (མཁའ་)འགོ་ལ་གསུངས་པའི་མགུར་དཔག་དུ་མེད་པ་རྣམས་ནི།      སྤྱོ་དང་མཁའ་འགོ་རང་རང་སོ་སོའི་  
 གནས་ན་བཞུགས་ཤིང་འགོ་      6b      བའི་དོན་མཛད་པར་གདའ།      རྗེ་བཅུན་གྱི་བྱགས་སྤྱིས་ནང་  
 ཅུ་ཐིག་རྒྱུང་གསུམ་དང་ཉིང་ཏེ་འཛོན་ལ་རང་དབང་ཐོབ་པས།      སྤྱི་འབྱུང་བ་བཞི་ལ་སོགས་པའི་སྤྱོང་བ་  
 ཐམས་ཅད་དབང་དུ་འདུས་པའི་སྤྱིས་སུ་རས་རྒྱང་དོ་རྗེ་གྲགས་པ་དེ་ཉིད་ཀྱིས་གསུངས་པ་ལ།      སྤྱོ་མ་ཉམས་  
 རྟོགས་འབྱུང་བའི་མགུར།      རང་གི་འདོད་དོན་ལ་གསོལ་བ་འདེབས་པ་དབུས་གཞུང་(བཞུང་)སྤྱོ་སྤྲིའི་

བསྐྱོད། གཞན་དོན་དུ་གསུངས་པ་ལ་ངལ་བྱེད་དང་ལྟ་བའི་མཁར་བརྒྱད་ཀྱི་བསྐྱོད། བྱ་ལུལ་སྒོ་  
 བྲག་གི་བསྐྱོད། རྒྱུན་ངན་གྲོགས་སུ་ཤར་བ་ལྟ་ལྟམ་ལྟམ་བུའི་བསྐྱོད། ཡར་ལྷ་ཤམ་བུའི་བསྐྱོད།  
 མཚན་ལྷས་བརྟེན་འགྲོལ་བ་འདི་བསེབ་(གསེབ་)<ལྷ>མོ་དང་། རྣལ་ལམ་བརྟེན་འགྲོལ་ལ་སོགས་པའི་  
 མཁུར་དུ་མ་ཞིག་གསུངས་པར་གདའ། ཡང་གཞན་(བཞན་)པ་དོན་རྗེས་སྤྲུགས་སྲས་དམ་པར་གྱུར་པ།  
 སྒོན་རྒྱལ་བས་བྱང་སྤྲུགས་དོས་སུ་དགོ་སྒོར་འཚོ་བྱེད་ཀྱི་མིང་ཅན། ཐེག་པ་ཆེན་པོ་དར་ཞིང་རྒྱས་པར་བྱེད་  
 པ་ཞིག་འབྱུང་བར་འབྱུར་པོ། ཞེས་ལུང་<བསྟན་པ>ལྟར། ད་ལྟ་གངས་རིའི་ཁྲོད་འདི་ན་དགས་  
 (དུགས་)པོ་ལྷ་རྗེ་ཞེས་མཚན་ཡོང་སུ་གྲགས་ནས། སྐབས་རྒྱུད་ཉིང་པའི་བསྟན་པ་དར་ཞིང་རྒྱས་པར་མཛད་  
 པའི་བདག་ཉིད་ཆེན་པོ་དེས་གསུངས་པ་ལ། ཡོན་བདག་རྣམས་ལ་ཉ་མ་དང་སྦངས་ཀྱི་མཁུར། བྱ་  
 སྒོབ་རྣམས་ལ་བརྒྱང་(གཟུང་)འཛིན་ཐག་ཚོད་ཀྱི་མཁུར་ལ་སོགས་བསམ་གྱིས་མི་བྲལ་པ་ཞིག་གསུངས།  
 དེའི་སྤྲུགས་སྲས་འགྲོ་བའི་མགོན་པོ་དཔལ་ལ་ཕག་མོ་བྱུ་པ་དེ་ཉིད་ཀྱིས། ལྷ་སྒོམ་སྒྲིང་འབྲས་ཉམས་ལེན་གྱི་  
 མཁུར་དུ་མ་ཞིག་གསུངས་པར་གདའ། ཕག་མོ་བྱུ་པའི་སྤྲུགས་སྲས་རྒྱ་གར་གྱི་རྒྱ་བོ་གི་ག་ཚུན་ཆད་ལ་  
 རྟོགས་པ་འཕོ་(མཕོ་)བ། བྱུ་ཐོབ་སྦྱིང་ཆེན་རས་པ་དེ་ཉིད་ཀྱིས་དཀོན་མཆོག་ལ་མཚོད་བསྟོད་ཡན་ཆད་  
 མན་ཆད་ཀྱི་མཁུར། སྐ་མ་དང་གནས་ལ་བསྟོད་པའི་མཁུར། སེམས་ཅན་མང་པོའི་བྱེད་སྒྲིང་དང་  
 བསྟན་པ་རྒྱར་བ་བཅུ་གསུམ་གྱི་མཁུར། དགོས་པ་ཅན་བརྒྱད་ཚན་དུ་མའི་མཁུར། མིག་མངས་  
 གངས་ཀྱི་བསྐྱོར་ལ་སོགས་པ་དུ་མ་ཞིག་གསུངས་པ་ལགས་ཤིང་། རྗེ་བཙུན་སྦྱིང་གི་སྤྲུགས་སྲས་འགྲོ་བའི་  
 མགོན་པོ་གཙང་པ་རྒྱ་རས་དེ་ཉིད་ཀྱིས་ཀྱང་། རྣལ་འབྱོར་གོགས་སེལ་གྱི་མཁུར། ལྷ་སྒོམ་ཉམས་  
 སད་ཀྱི་མཁུར། ཉ་མ་རྣམས་ལ་དད་པ་ཀུན་སྒོར་གི་མཁུར། མཁུར་ལེན་པའི་རྒྱ་མཚན། མི་  
 ལེན་པའི་རྒྱ་མཚན། ཁ་དགོག་པོ་མ། རྒྱལ་ 7a ཁམས་མིན་(འཕྲིན་)སྐྱེལ་མ།  
 རྩ་རི་མཁའ་སྦྱིང་མ་ལ་སོགས་པ་མཁུར་དུ་མ་ཞིག་གསུངས་པར་གདའ། དེའི་སྤྲུགས་སྲས་སྤྲུགས་རུས་  
 དཀའ་བཅད་(སྦྱུད་)དག་པོས་སྐབས་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་བསྟན་པ་ཉིན་མོར་མཛད་པ། རྒྱལ་བ་ཚོད་ཚང་པ་དེ་ཉིད་ཀྱིས་

དཀའ་བ་དང་སྒྲུངས་གྱི་མགྲུར།      བུ་སློབ་སློན་བྱེད་གྱི་མགྲུར།      སློབ་མ་ཤེས་བརྗོད་གྱི་མགྲུར་ལ་སོགས་  
 པ་བསམ་གྱིས་མི་ཁྱབ་པ་ཞིག་གསུངས།      དེའི་ཐུགས་སྲས་ཡང་དགོན་ཚོས་གྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་དེ་ཉིད་གྱིས།  
 ལྟ་བུ་སློང་བཅོལ་གྱི་མགྲུར།      ཡན་ལག་བདུན་པའི་མགྲུར་ལ་སོགས་པ་དུ་མ་ཞིག་གསུངས།      དེའི་  
 ཐུགས་སྲས་སློན་སྲ་རིན་ལྡན་དེ་ཉིད་གྱིས་རྒྱ་ལྷན་སྲུ་མེད་གྱི་མགྲུར་ལ་སོགས་པ་གསུངས།      དེའི་ཐུགས་  
 སྲས་ཀུན་མཁྱེན་ཟུར་ཕྱག་པས།      སློབ་མ་ཞལ་གདམས་གྱི་མགྲུར་ལ་སོགས་པ་གསུངས།      དེའི་  
 ཐུགས་སྲས་སློབ་མཚོག་འབའ་ར་བ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་དཔལ་བཟང་པོ་དེ་ཉིད་གྱིས་དཔེ་དོན་བཅུ་གཉིས་མའི་མགྲུར།  
 ཡིད་སློན་ནམ་ཡོང་མའི་མགྲུར་ལ་སོགས་པ་དུ་མ་ཞིག་གསུངས།      དེ་ཡི་ཐུགས་སྲས་རྗེ་བཙུན་ནམ་མཁའ་  
 མཚན་ཅན་དེ་ཉིད་གྱིས་སློབ་མ་ལ་གོགས་སེལ་བོགས་འདོན་གྱི་མགྲུར་དུ་གསུངས།      དེའི་ཐུགས་སྲས་བྱང་  
 སེམས་བསོད་ནམས་དོན་གྲུབ་གྱིས་ཉམས་ལེན་ལ་ལྷག་འདེབས་གྱི་མགྲུར་དུ་གསུངས།      བྱང་སེམས་  
 བསོད་ནམས་དོན་གྲུབ་ལ་སོགས་ཏེ་སྒྲ་མ་གྲུབ་ཐོབ་གོང་མ་དུ་མ་ཞིག་གི་གསུང་གི་བདུན་ཅིའི་བཅུད་འདུས་པའི་  
 ཐུགས་སྲས།      བདག་གི་པ་སློགས་མ་ལུའི་དུས་འདིར་དུས་གསུམ་རྒྱལ་བའི་མཁྱེན་བཅེ་གཅིག་དུ་བསྐྱུས་  
 ནས་བསྟན་པ་དང་སེམས་ཅན་གྱི་དོན་མཛད་བས།      སྐྱབ་རྒྱུད་རྟོགས་པའི་བསྟན་པ་ཉིན་མོར་མཛད་པའི་  
 སྐྱལ་སྐྱེ་མཉམ་མེད་ཤར་བ་སངས་རྒྱས་སེང་གོ་ཞེས།      མཚན་ཡོངས་སུ་གྲགས་པའི་སློབ་མཚོག་དམ་པ་  
 དེས།      གཞི་ལམ་འབྲས་བུ་ལྟ་སློབ་སློབ་པ་རྣམས་ཉམས་ལེན་གྱི་མགྲུར་དུ་གསུངས་ཤིང་།  
 གཞན་ཡང་བཀའ་རྒྱུད་གྱི་སྒྲ་མ་དམ་པ་རྣམས་གྱིས་འགོ་བའི་དོན་དུ་གང་ལ་གང་འདུལ་གྱི་མགྲུར་དུ་མ་ཞིག་  
 གསུངས་པ་ལགས་ཤིང་།      སྐགས་རྙིང་མའི་ལྷགས་ལ་ཡང་།      སྐྱེ་པ་དམ་ལ་རྩུས་ཏེ་འཁྲུངས་ཤིང་སྐྱེ་  
 ཚེ་ཉི་ཟླ་དང་མཉམ་པ།      དང་སློང་སློན་པོ་ལ་སོགས་ཏེ་ལོག་འདྲིན་གཏུག་པ་ཅན་རྣམས་མཛོན་      7b  
 སུམ་དུ་འདུལ་ཞིང་།      ཚར་གཅོད་པའི་སློན་ནས་བསྟན་པ་དང་སེམས་ཅན་གྱི་དོན་དཔག་ཏུ་མེད་པ་མཛད་པའི་  
 སྐྱལ་སྐྱེ་པ་དམ་ལ་འབྱུང་གནས་ཞེས་བགྲི་བ།      རོ་མཚར་བའི་མཛད་པ་ཚད་ལས་འདས་པ་དེས་ཀྱང་།

རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་ང་ཆེ་དང་། བཅུན་མོ་ལ་ང་བཅུན་ལ་སོགས་པའི་མགྲུར་དཔག་ཏུ་མེད་པ་ཞིག་གསུངས་པ་  
 ལགས་ཤིང་། གཞན་ཡང་རྗེ་ཡེ་ཤེས་དར་པོ། མ་ཅིག་ལབས་(ལབ་)ཀྱི་སྒྲོན་མ། སྤང་ས་འོད་  
 འབྲུམ་པ། རི་བོ་སྒྲིང་པ་ལ་སོགས་པའི་བཀའ་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་གྲུབ་ཐོབ་གོང་མ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ཉམས་རྟོགས་མགྲུར་དུ་  
 གསུངས་པ་བསམ་གྱིས་མི་བྱུང་བརྗེད་ཀྱིས་མི་ལང་བ་ལགས་ཤིང་། དེ་རྣམས་ལ་ལ་ཉམས་རྟོགས་འོང་  
 བས་བརྗོད་པའི་མགྲུར། ལ་ལ་ཡུལ་སྤང་རྒྱུན་ལས་བྱུང་བའི་མགྲུར། ལ་ལ་སློབ་མས་གསོལ་བ་  
 བཏབ་པའི་རོར་གསུངས་པ་ལགས་ཤིང་། ད་དཀར་ཆགས་ཚིགས་བཅད་དང་བཅས་ཏེ་དབྱངས་ཀྱི་དོ་སློང་  
 པ་ནི། གྲུབ་ཐོབ་གོང་མ་དེ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་གསུངས་པའི་གསུང་མགྲུར་དེ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་ནང་ནས། ད་ལན་  
 རྒྱབས་སུ་བབ་པའི་གསུང་མགྲུར། སློམ་ཆེན་རྣམས་ཀྱི་བྱིང་རྣམས་སེལ་བའི་སིར་(སིར་)བྱ། འཕྲོ་  
 མོད་སྤྱད་པའི་ལྷགས་ཀྱུ་ཉམས་དང་རྟོགས་པའི་ངར་འདོན། ལྷག་བསྐལ་ཅན་གྱི་གིགས་སེལ། བདེ་  
 རྒྱུད་ལྷན་པའི་བོགས་འདོན། དད་ཅན་ཚེས་ལ་བསྐྱལ་བའི་སྤིང་གཏམ། དུས་གསུམ་རྒྱལ་བའི་  
 དགོངས་དོན། མ་རིག་ལུན་སེལ་སྒྲོན་མེ། སྤྱི་བ་གཉིས་བག་ཆགས་སྤྱོད་པའི་ཚུ་རྒྱུན། བདག་  
 ལྷའི་བྱད་ཤིང་བསྐྱེད་པའི་མེ་ཆེན། དགོ་ལེགས་ཡོན་ཏན་བསྐྱེད་པའི་ས་གཞི། འཁོར་བ་དང་ངན་  
 སོང་གི་སློ་འགོགས། མཐོ་རིས་དང་ཐར་པའི་ལམ་སྟོན། སྤྱི་འགོ་ཀུན་གྱི་དཔལ་དང་མགོན་དུ་གྱུར་  
 པ། བཀྱ་ཤེས་ལ་བྱིངས་ཆགས་པའི་གསུང་བགོས་རྣམ་པར་དག་པ་འདི་ཉིད། ལྷ་མ་གྲུབ་ཐོབ་གང་  
 གིས་གསུངས། གནས་གང་དུ་གསུངས། དགོས་སྤྱེད་(ཆེད་)ཅིའི་སྤྱིར་དུ་གསུངས་ཞེས་བགྱི་བར་  
 གཏའ་ན། ལྷ་མ་གྲུབ་ཐོབ་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་འདི་ཞེས་བྱ་བ། རང་རང་གི་ཆེ་བ་གོང་དུ་བཤད་པ་ལྟར་བརྗེད་  
 བས་དེས་གསུངས་པར་གཏའ་ཞེས་མཚམས་སྦྱར། རྗེ་བཅུན་མི་ལའི་མགྲུར་ལེན་ན་ཆེ་བརྗེད་བསྐྱུས་པ་གོང་  
 8a །ལྷར་བྱ་རྒྱས་པར་ནི། དེ་ཡང་བོད་གངས་ཅན་གྱི་ཁྲོད་འདིར་དང་པོ་མེ་འོབས་ལྷ་བུའི་ཞེས་པ་  
 བས། དཔལ་རྗེ་བཅུན་མི་ལ་གཞད་(བཞད་)པ་དོ་རྗེ་ཞེས་མཚན་ཉི་ལྷ་ལྷར་ཡོངས་གྲགས་པའི་ཉི་ལུ་ཀ་  
 ཆེན་པོ་དེ་ཉིད་ཀྱིས་གསུངས་པར་གཏའ་ཞེས། ལྷ་མ་ཐར་གྱི་ཆེ་བ་རྣམས་ཚང་མར་བརྗེད་དོ། །གནས་

བཤེད་ཏུ་གསུངས་པ་དང་། དགོས་བྱེད་(ཚེད་)ལང་གི་ཕྱིར་གསུངས་པ་དེ་རང་བཟོད་པར་བྱ་སྟེ།  
 དཔེར་ན་ལིང་བ་བྲག་གི་སྐྱོར་ལེན་ན། གནས་ལིང་བ་བྲག་གི་ཕྱུག་པར་གསུངས་པར་གདལ། དགོས་  
 བྱེད་(ཚེད་)ཅིའི་ཕྱིར་གསུངས་ན། ལིང་བའི་བྲག་སྲིན་མིང་སྲིང་ལ་སོགས་ཏེ། འགོ་བ་རིགས་དྲུག་  
 ལམ་རྒྱུད་ལ། སྐྱེ་གནས་རྣམ་བཞེས་བསྐྱུས་པའི་སེམས་ཅན་ཐམས་ཅད། སྲིན་གྲོལ་ལ་འགོད་ཕྱིར་  
 གསུངས་པར་གདལ་ཏེ། དེ་ཡང་རྗེ་བཙུན་མི་ལ་རས་པ་དེ་ཉིད་སྤྱོད་མའི་བཀའ་སྐྱབ་ཕྱིར་རི་བོ་དཔལ་འབར་  
 ལ་སྐྱོམ་དུ་བྱོན་པ་ལས། ལིང་བའི་བྲག་ལ་བྱགས་(བྱག་)སོང་སྟེ་ཞེས་པ་མན་ཆད་དཔེ་གཞུང་རིམ་བུ་  
 བཞེན་བཟོད། ལིང་བའི་རིགས་པ་འདིས་གཞན་མགྲུར་གང་ལེན་རུང་། བཤེད་ལ་དང་གནས།  
 དགོས་པ་རྣམས་རིགས་པས་སྤྱད་(དཔུད་)ནས་ལེན་པར་བྱའོ། །དུས་ཚོད་གནས་སྐབས་དང་བཅས་ནས་  
 དབྱངས་ཀྱི་ཚོད་བརྒྱུང་བ་ནི། འགོ་དོན་དུ་འགྱུར་མི་འགྱུར་མང་ཉུང་རིགས་པས་སྤྱད་(དཔུད་)ལ་སྲུང་རོ།  
 །བཀྲ་ཤིས་སྲོན་ལམ་དང་བཅས་ནས་དབྱངས་ཀྱི་འཇུག་བསྐྱད་(མཇུག་སྤྱད་)པ་ནི། དབྱངས་མཚོད་པར་  
 འབྲུལ་ལོ་སྒྲ་མ་དགོན་མཚོག་གསུམ། །སྤྱོད་ཀྱིས་སྤྱོད་ལོ་ཅིག་དཔའ་བོ་མཁའ་འགྲོའི་ཚོགས།  
 །རྒྱུན་བར་ཆད་སོལ་ཅིག་མགོན་པོ་ཕྱུག་བཞེ་པ། །མ་ཡིས་བུ་བཞེན་སྤྱོད་སེམས་ཤིག་མ་ཅིག་རེ་མ་ཏེ།  
 །ལུས་དང་རྩི་བཞེན་འགྲོགས་ཤིག་རྩོམ་ཚེ་རིངས་(རིང་)མ། སྤྱུགས་དགེས་པར་མཚོད་ཅིག་འདིར་  
 བཞུགས་སྐྱེལ་ལྡན་རྣམས། །བཀྲ་ཤིས་པར་བྱོན་དང་འདིར་བྱོན་གྱི་དད་འདུས་ལ། །སྤྱོད་ལེད་དམ་  
 རྣམས་ཀྱི་བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཤོག། དཔའ་བོ་མཁའ་འགྲོ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཤོག། ཚོས་སྤྱོད་བསྐྱུངས་མ་  
 རྣམས་ཀྱི་བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཤོག། བདག་པས་གཞན་གཅེས་ 8b བསམ་པའི་བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཤོག།  
 སྤྱིག་སྤོང་དགོ་སྐྱབ་སྤོང་བའི་བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཤོག། བསམ་སྤོང་ཚོས་འཇུན་(མཇུན་)འགྲུབ་པའི་བཀྲ་ཤིས་ཤོག།  
 བཀྲ་ཤིས་མི་འགྱུར་བཟན་པར་ཤོག། འོ་ལགས་སོ་མངས་(མང་)ན་རྒྱལ་པོའི་སྤྱན་སྤྱང། ཉུངས་  
 (ཉུང་)ན་སྤོན་པོས་བརྟེ་མི་འགྲོལ། རན་ལ་འཚམ་པ་ལོ་མའི་བྱོད་ཚད་ལྟ་བུ་དེ་ཀ་ཅམ་ལ་བསྐྱས་ཏེ་ལྷ།

ལྷ་མ་གོང་མ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་གསུང་བཤེས་དང་པའི་མིག་འབྱེད་ཡེ་ཤེས་སྒྲོན་མ་རྣམས་ནི། རེད་ཐུགས་རྗེའི་  
 གསུང་འཛོལ་རིམ་གཉིས་སྒྲོམ་པའི་རྣལ་འབྱོར་པ་རྣམས། གནས་ཆེན་དང་དུར་ཁྲོད་སྤྱུལ་བའི་འཚོ་ཆས།  
 སྒྲིན་(གཉན་)ས་རི་ཁྲོད་འགྲིམ་པའི་ཡོ་བྱད། ལྷ་མ་ལ་འཇལ་(མཇལ་)བའི་ཕུག་རྟེན། མཆེད་  
 བྲོགས་དང་འཇལ་བའི་སྐྱེས་ཀ(ཁ་)། ལྷ་ཁང་མཆོད་རྟེན་འཇལ་བའི་མཆོད་རྗེས། རྒྱལ་ཁམས་  
 སྐོར་བའི་ཡང་ཟོང་། རྒྱ་རབ་སྒྲོལ་བའི་གྲུ་རྗེས། རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་ལྷ་བའི་ལྷ་སྒྲིན་(རྟེན་)། ཕུག་པོ་ལ་  
 བཞོག་པའི་སྐྱ་གྱི། དབུལ་པོ་ལ་འབྲད་པའི་སེ་གདར། ཨར་བ་(པ་)ཕུག་(རྗེས་)པ་དང་འཕྲད་ཀྱང་  
 དབྱངས་སུ་ཚོར་རེ་ལེན་པ་ལགས་པས། ད་ལན་འདྲིར་ཡང་གསུང་སྒྲོམ་ལ་དགོ་བའི་བསྐྱེད་མ།  
 དད་པའི་གསལ་འདེབས་བབྲིས་ནས། གནས་གསུམ་གངས་རིའི་རྣལ་འབྱོར་པ་ཡིན་ན། འདུ་འཛི་  
 བྲོང་གི་པ་རོལ། གལའང་དང་གངས་ཀྱི་ནང་ཁོངས། ཉགས་དང་ན་བྱུན་འཁྲིགས་པའི་འདབས་རོལ།  
 དཔའ་བོ་མཁའ་འགྲོ་འདུ་བའི་ཚོགས་ཁང་། རྒྱང་སྲོང་འཕགས་པ་བཞུགས་པའི་སྤྱི་གནས།  
 བཀའ་རྒྱུད་བསྟན་པའི་གྲུ་ཆེན་གཞུང་ཤིང་། སྐུབ་རྒྱུད་བསྟན་པའི་ཁང་བཟངས་(བཟང་)མངས་བཅོ་  
 (མང་རོ་)། བསམ་གཏན་ངང་གིས་འཕེལ་བའི་གནས་ཆེན། འབྲོག་འདི་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་ནས་བྱོན་པའི་  
 རྣལ་འབྱོར་པ་རྣམས་ལ། འདི་སྤྱིའི་དོན་ལ་བསམས་ནས་སྐུབ་རྒྱགས་ལམ་ཆས་ཀྱི་ཚོགས་བསོག་  
 (གསོག་)ཡང་དག་མཛད་འཚོལ་ཞེས་སམ། རང་བཞིན་གྱི་ཚོགས་ 9a བསོག་(གསོག་)ཡིན་  
 ན། ཟས་འབྲེལ་འཚོ་བའི་འཕུན་(མཕུན་)འགྲུར་སོགས། རྒྱ་ཆེ་བ་ཕུག་ལེན་ལ་འདེབས་འཚོལ་ལོ།  
 ཞེས་པ་གང་རུང་དབྱངས་ལེན་ལུལ་དང་སྐྱར་ཉེ་བུའོ། དེ་ལྟར་སེམས་ཅན་རྣམས་ལ་རྣམ་དཀར་གྱི་བག་  
 ཆགས་དང་། ཐེག་པ་ཆེན་པོའི་ཚོས་ཀྱི་འབྲེལ་བ་བཞག་ཕྱིར། འགྲོ་ཀུན་དགོ་བ་ལ་བསྐྱེད་བའི་ཐབས་  
 ཟབ་མོ་གོང་འོག་གང་ནས་བཤད་རུང་ཚོག་པའི། གོང་མའི་གསུང་བཤེས་ཡེ་ཤེས་སྤང་བས་སྒྲོ་སྤྱན་སེལ་  
 ཞིང་། འཕྲལ་དང་ལུན་དུ་ཕན་བདེ་ལ་འགོད་པའི་ཚོས་སྐྱ་སྒྲོག་པའི་སྤྲོན་དུ་འགྲོ་བའི་དཀར་ཆགས་འདི་  
 ཉིད། རྒྱ་མོ་ཕག་གི་ལེའི་སྤྲོན་རྒྱ་འབྲིང་པོ་ལ། དུར་ཁྲོད་སྤྱུལ་བའི་རྣལ་འབྱོར་པ་ཁྲག་འཕྲད་རྒྱལ་



པོས། བྱུང་རྒྱལ་གྱི་ཉམས་ཡི་གེར་བཀོད་པའི་དགོ་བས། སངས་རྒྱལ་བསྟན་པ་དར་ཞིང་རྒྱས་པའི་  
 མཐུས། །མཁའ་མཉམ་བདེ་སྤྱིད་འགོ་ཀུན་ཕུན་ཚོགས་ནས། །བསམ་པ་བདག་པས་གཞན་གཅིས་  
 ལྡན་པ་དང་། །སྤྱོད་བདེ་གསོལ་དགོ་བ་བྱུང་བྱུང་པས། །འབྲས་བུ་རྩོགས་པའི་སངས་རྒྱལ་ལྷུང་ཐོབ་  
 འོག། །ཨེ་ཎོ། །།ཨེ་མ་ཉོ། མཁུར་གྱི་དཀར་ཆགས་ལུན་སེལ་སྤོན་མི་འདི། །སངས་  
 རྒྱལ་བསྟན་དང་འགོ་བའི་དོན་བསམས་ནས། །ཀུན་ཏུ་བཟང་མོས་སྤྱད་ཏུ་སྤྱུབས་པ་ཡི། །ཡིག་མཁན་  
 ལྷན་ཁབ་སྟོད་པ་འཕེལ་ལེ་སྟེ། །ཀོས་མཁན་བྱུང་ཚེའི་སངས་རྒྱལ་གྲོགས་མཆེད་ཡིན། །ལྷུས་དག་ལོ་  
 པཎ་འཇམ་དཔལ་ཚོས་ལྷས་བགྱིས། །འདི་བསྐྱབས་དགོ་བས་མཁའ་མཉམ་འགོ་ཀུན་གྱིས།  
 །རྩོགས་རྩོགས་སྤྱི་བྱུང་སྤྱུ་གསུམ་ལྷུང་ཐོབ་འོག། །མི་ལྷ་ལོ། །མ་ལྷོ། །ལྷོ།

Appendix 2

<http://andrewquintman.com/openingeyes/>

Appendix 3

<http://andrewquintman.com/openingeyes/>



# Quelques remarques linguistiques sur le tibétain de Lhagang, « l'endroit préféré par le Bodhisattva »\*

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## 1. Introduction

**L**hagang, orthographié *lha sgang* en langue littéraire et appelé Tagong en chinois, se situe au nord-ouest du district de Kangding (*dar rtse mdo*), au nord du plateau de Minyag Rabgang (*mi nyag rab sgang*), qui est un des six plateaux (*sgang drug*) du Khams, dans la géographie tibétaine traditionnelle. Le centre du village de Lhagang (Fig.1 et 2) héberge un grand monastère Sakyapa (Fig.3 et 4). Celui-ci inclut de nombreux stupas dans son arrière-cour (Fig.2) et constitue un lieu de pèlerinage très fréquenté par les populations locales.

D'après la description de Suzuki (2009a), la langue tibétaine parlée au centre du village de Lhagang ferait partie du sous-groupe de Minyag (ou Minyag Rabgang) du Khams. Mais certaines de ses particularités dialectales font douter de cette appartenance. Pour lever ce doute, le présent article expose les caractéristiques linguistiques essentielles de ce dialecte, à savoir :

1. la catégorie dialectale dans le sous-groupe de Minyag ;
2. l'esquisse de caractères dialectaux : multistrate linguistique ;
3. l'introduction à un conte concernant « l'endroit préféré par le Bodhisattva »

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\* Cet article est basé sur nos recherches à Lhagang réalisées en 2004-2009 et 2012-2014. La description de la section 3 reprend l'essentiel de l'article du premier auteur écrit en japonais (Suzuki 2006). Nous voudrions exprimer toute notre gratitude à Lha mo skyid, 'Jam dbyang sGrol ma et dGe lag pour leur soutien pendant cette étude. Un grand merci aussi à Nicolas Tournadre et Valérie Vandenabeele, à qui nous devons l'amélioration du français aussi que la révision du manuscrit.

L'analyse de ce conte, qui est le premier texte formulé dans le dialecte de Lhagang à être discuté, vise à contribuer à l'étude de la structure linguistique de ce dialecte ainsi qu'à vérifier la correspondance entre la version tibétaine originale de ce conte et ses versions en chinois et dans d'autres langues.

Cet article résulte de la collaboration de deux chercheurs, dont le second est originaire de Lhagang. Le premier auteur est principalement responsable de la description linguistique et le second est responsable de la description sociolinguistique. L'analyse et la traduction du conte résultent de la collaboration de tous les deux.



*Fig.1 : Village de Lhagang (côté Sud), en 2013. Photo : Hiroyuki Suzuki.*



*Fig.2 : Village de Lhagang (côté Nord), en 2014. Photo : Hiroyuki Suzuki.*



*Fig.3 : Monastère de Lhagang (façade avant), en 2009. Photo : Hiroyuki Suzuki.*



Fig.4 : Monastère de Lhagang (vue arrière), en 2007. Photo : Hiroyuki Suzuki.

## 2. La catégorie dialectale de Lhagang : remarques sociolinguistiques

Parce que ses locuteurs vivent majoritairement de l'élevage (hormis les résidents du centre-village), le dialecte de Lhagang est souvent considéré à tort comme un parler pastoral qui est plus proche de l'amdo que du khams. Certes, les environs de Lhagang constituent une aire pastorale habitée par beaucoup de nomades parlant un dialecte très similaire à l'amdo. Mais les alentours du monastère de Lhagang hébergent aussi des habitants sédentaires, qui forment une communauté (Sonam Wangmo 2013ab) et parlent vraisemblablement un dialecte du minyag du khams (Suzuki 2006) influencé par le parler pastoral. Cette variété appartient à un sous-groupe de dialectes du kham indépendants, qui est tantôt appelé *zhonglu* 'route médiane,' nommé par sKal bzang 'Gyur med (1985), qui forme une partie dialectale indépendante dans les dialectes du khams, tantôt minyag, tel que proposé par Suzuki (2009a)<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> La définition explicite de *zhonglu* n'existe pas dans sKal bzang 'Gyur med (1985), mais ce sous-groupe inclut les dialectes parlés dans l'ouest du district de Kangding. Puisque le nom *zhonglu* n'existe ni traditionnellement ni

Lhagang se situe dans le nord de la région de Minyag, entre Dartsendo à l'Est, Rangakha au centre, Thanggo au Sud et Nyagchukha à l'Ouest<sup>2</sup>. C'est une zone du pays Minyag où un parler vernaculaire tibétain du Khams demeure utilisé. Dans le pays Minyag, principalement dans le Sud, on trouve des locuteurs de la langue minyag, qui n'est pas tibétique<sup>3</sup> mais qiangique<sup>4</sup>. Yang (1994) rapporte que la région de Lhagang faisait aussi partie de l'aire linguistique de minyag (qiangique), mais il n'en reste aujourd'hui plus de traces, que ce soit dans la langue courante ou les légendes. On parlait par contre le minyag à Rangakha jusqu'aux environs de 1950. En témoignent les récits des populations locales actuelles et l'expérience de terrain dans le village de Yingguan (Waze [*wa khral*], à côté de Rangakha) menée par Huang en 1951 (2009).

Suzuki (2009a), de même que Lha mo skyid (2010), propose une sous-classification des dialectes parlés du tibétain au sein du groupe minyag qui consiste en deux sous-groupes : nord (représenté par Lhagang) et sud (représenté par Rangakha). Ces deux types sont inter-intelligibles dans une conversation courante, mais souvent pas intelligibles dans d'autres cas, en particulier lorsqu'il est question de la tradition locale. Pour ce qui est de sa formation, le dialecte de Rangakha serait apparu après le remplacement du minyag (qiangique) par le parler tibétain au XX<sup>e</sup> siècle. Parce que le tibétain n'a alors pas été transmis en tant que langue maternelle mais comme un langage du monde extérieur, il ne présente pas le caractère archaïque que l'on retrouve habituellement dans les dialectes tibétains du sous-groupe de Minyag, même s'il possède un système phonologique plus complexe que celui de Lhagang (Suzuki 2007). Ceci étant, les dialectes du groupe du Minyag Rabgang peuvent être divisés en deux types : ceux qui restent très marqués par la langue qiangique de Minyag et ceux qui en conservent au contraire peu la trace. On peut donc les nommer sous groupe innovant et sous-groupe archaïque. Ce dernier sous-groupe peut inclure les dialectes de Dartsendo et Lhagang, mais puisque celui de Dartsendo

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administrativement, Suzuki (2009a) propose de changer le nom en minyag. Plus précisément, il propose de renommer ce nom 'Minyag' comme 'Minyag Rabgang' pour empêcher une confusion avec la langue qiangique qui est elle-même déjà appelée 'minyag.' Voir aussi note 2.

<sup>2</sup> La définition de l'aire géographique de 'Minyag' est compliquée parce que le mot 'Minyag' est souvent polysémique et ambigu (Sonam Wangmo 2013a : 26-28). Il est plus clair d'utiliser l'expression 'Minyag Rabgang' pour désigner l'aire linguistique actuelle du groupe dialectal du Minyag de Khams (cf. Suzuki 2013).

<sup>3</sup> Pour ce qui concerne le terme 'tibétique' (*Tibetic* en anglais), voir Tournadre (2014).

<sup>4</sup> Ikeda (2006) offre un aperçu de l'ethnographie des gens de Minyag.

n'est plus parlé actuellement<sup>5</sup>, c'est le dialecte de Lhagang qui peut représenter le sous-groupe archaïque du groupe du Minyag.

S'intéresser à l'identité des Tibétains de Lhagang est aussi instructif pour notre recherche. La majorité des habitants se définissent comme *'brog pa* « pasteurs » même s'ils sont actuellement sédentaires. La langue parlée par des *'brog pas* est souvent considérée comme une variété de l'amdo nomadique, mais le cas de Lhagang n'est pas tout à fait correct<sup>6</sup>. La majorité des habitants de Lhagang se disent, en fait, comme un *'brog pa* et aussi Minyagpa (gens de Minyag). Parmi ces derniers, on peut également distinguer deux groupes : celui des « agriculteurs » (*zhing ba*) et celui des « pasteurs » (*'brog pa*). Cette différence en matière d'identité se retrouve sur le plan linguistique : alors que les premiers parlent une langue du sous-groupe de Rangakha (méridional ou innovatif), les seconds parlent une langue du sous-groupe de Lhagang (septentrional ou archaïque). On doit toutefois noter qu'une partie des sédentaires établis autour du monastère de Lhagang s'y sont installés à des époques très éloignées et parlent chacun un dialecte du khams, tandis que les autres se sont seulement sédentarisés suite à la politique gouvernementale de « la nouvelle construction rurale » lancée en 2004 (Sonam Wangmo 2013a : 29-30). Ceux-ci sont appelés à être hébergés dans de nouveaux villages pour nomades (Fig.5) et dans des maisons situées dans le sud-ouest du village de Lhagang (à la gauche du pont sur la Fig.1) qui sont en train d'être construits. La majorité d'entre eux parlent l'amdo mais avec d'importantes variétés régionales.

On peut donc se demander quels habitants de Lhagang transmettent la variété sédentaire. Notre hypothèse est que ce sont les descendants des treize familles dont la présence est avérée à Lhagang depuis 1930 --- qui sont appelées Lhagang Rawa bCugsum (*lha sgang ra ba bcu gsum*) comme décrites dans Sonam Wangmo (2013a : 29) ---, qui sont les plus susceptibles de parler cette langue. Même si ces familles étaient considérées comme nomades, elles étaient probablement locutrices du tibétain sédentaire de Lhagang.

On peut donc distinguer *au moins* deux variétés de tibétain parlées dans le village de Lhagang : le parler des nomades (l'amdo pastoraliste) d'une part, et le parler des sédentaires (le khams du Minyag Rabgang, qui est la langue maternelle du second auteur)

<sup>5</sup> Le dialecte de Dartsendo a été répertorié dans un document nommé *Xifan(guan) Yiyu* (*vocabulaire chinois-tibétain*) au XVI<sup>e</sup> puis au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Il est probablement parenté au dialecte moderne de Lhagang. Voir Suzuki (2013).

<sup>6</sup> Donc, il vaut mieux être plus prudent d'utiliser une expression *Khams nomadique* pour désigner une variété linguistique. Cf. Sonam Wangmo (2013a : 134).

d'autre part. C'est aux particularités linguistiques de ce dernier, peu connu, que cet article propose une introduction.



Fig.5 : Nouveau village des nomades près de Lhagang, en 2013. Photo : Hiroyuki Suzuki.

### 3. Caractères dialectaux de Lhagang : remarques linguistiques descriptives

Le dialecte de Lhagang possède une structure linguistique multistrate tibétaine. Il mêle des particularités semblables au Khams à d'autres semblables à l'Amdo, comme nous proposons de l'illustrer en évoquant les caractéristiques des correspondances phonétiques entre le dialecte de Lhagang et le tibétain écrit, que nous divisons en trois : initiales, rimes et tons<sup>7</sup>.

Nous distinguons ici deux variétés phonétiques, Lhagang-A et Lhagang-B, pour désigner le mode de prononciation plus nomadi-

---

<sup>7</sup> La description phonétique, sauf les marques du ton, suit la méthode de la description pandialectale constituée par les symboles phonétiques de l'API et plusieurs autres indispensables (voir Zhu 2010). Pour le ton, on utilise les signes ci-dessous qui peuvent être ajoutés avant un mot :

ˉ : haut    ˊ : montant    ˆ : montant-descendant    ˋ : descendant



que et son pendant plus sédentaire, tout en sachant que le dialecte de Lhagang a la particularité de permettre à ses locuteurs de fluctuer d'une forme à l'autre.

### 3-1. Initiales

Le caractère le plus remarquable du dialecte de Lhagang s'observe dans la composition des rétroflexes. Celles-ci peuvent conserver une trace de la préinitiale qui les fonde, par exemple :

<b>Lhagang-A</b>	<b>Lhagang-B</b>	<b>tibétain écrit</b>	<b>sens</b>
˘ <sup>k</sup> ʈaʔ	˘ <sup>h</sup> ʈaʔ	<i>khrag</i>	sang
ˆ <sup>p</sup> ʈaʔ	ˆ <sup>h</sup> ʈaʔ	<i>brag</i>	rocher
ˆ <sup>n</sup> ɖo	ˆ <sup>n</sup> ɖo	<i>'gro</i>	aller
ˆ <sup>m</sup> ɖɛ:	ˆ <sup>n</sup> ɖɛ:	<i>'bras</i>	riz

Les exemples de Lhagang-A maintiennent un mode de prononciation plus archaïque qui est plus proche à la forme du tibétain écrit, tandis que ceux de Lhagang-B sont similaires aux formes attestées dans beaucoup de dialectes du Khams<sup>8</sup>. On doit noter que Lhagang-A ne reflète pas le style de lecture du tibétain littéraire.

Puis, la conservation de la différence des préinitiales *m* et *'*, qui est attestée chez beaucoup de locuteurs, est aussi caractéristique, par exemple :

<b>Lhagang</b>	<b>tibétain écrit</b>	<b>sens</b>
ˆ <sup>m</sup> ts <sup>h</sup> o	<i>mtsho</i>	lac
ˆ <sup>n</sup> t <sup>h</sup> iʔ	<i>'thigs</i>	atteindre le but

On doit noter que tous les exemples avec une préinitiale *m* en tibétain écrit ne possèdent pas de prénasale bilabiale et convergent avec une prononciation homorganique. Cette différence n'est pas individuelle mais lexicale. Ce caractère est commun à Lhagang-A et à Lhagang-B. Cependant, cette différence au niveau de la prénasale peut se neutraliser et devenir une prénasale homorganique dans une conversation. Cf. le conte de la Section 4.

<sup>8</sup> Il existe cependant également un dialecte qui préserve la prononciation de *ra* *btags* comme un glide /r/ : sProsang (appartenant au groupe de Rongbrag, aussi appelé *patois des 24 villages*) dans l'aire linguistique du khams. Voir Suzuki (2009b).

D'autre part, quelques mots spécifiques dont l'initiale correspond à *b* en tibétain écrit possèdent une variation extraordinaire, par exemple :

<b>Lhagang-A</b>	<b>Lhagang-B</b>	<b>tibétain écrit</b>	<b>sens</b>
ˆwoʔ, ˆpoʔ	ˆpoʔ	<i>bod</i>	tibétain
ˆwu, ˆpu	ˆpu	<i>bu</i>	fil
mais :			
ˆ <sup>h</sup> wiy	ˆ <sup>h</sup> wiʔ <sup>9</sup>	<i>bud</i>	pousser

Chaque forme avec l'initiale /w/ correspond à celle de la plupart des dialectes de l'amdo, et elle apparaît de façon optionnelle dans la prononciation de Lhagang-A . Ce trait ne doit pas appartenir au groupe dialectal de Minyag Rabgang.

Une autre caractéristique du dialecte de Lhagang est la prononciation du phonème /l̥/. Ce dernier correspond à l'orthographe *lh* du tibétain écrit, que l'on retrouve notamment dans le mot Lhagang *lha sgang*. Dans ce dialecte, /l̥/ peut se prononcer comme une latérale sourde [l̥] ou une occlusive dentale avec une ouverture latérale [t̥]. Celle-ci devrait s'entendre une occlusive dentale aspirée. Bien sûr, ce phonème se distingue de /t/ ou /t<sup>h</sup>/, qui sont toujours occlusifs et articulés en dento-alvéolaire (plus arrière que la position articuloire de /l̥/). Ce phénomène phonétique est aussi attesté dans la langue rgyalrongique appelée sTau, parlée du centre du district de Daofu, au Nord-ouest de Lhagang. Bien qu'il n'y ait aucun contact de cette langue avec le dialecte de Lhagang, on peut supposer que ce trait commun possède un caractère régional. De plus, grâce à ce phénomène phonétique, on peut comprendre aisément pourquoi une translittération chinoise pour la première syllabe de Lhagang est /t<sup>h</sup>a/ comme Tagong. Le son [t̥], qui peut être compris comme [t<sup>h</sup>] par les locuteurs du chinois, correspond au *lh* en tibétain écrit.

### 3-2. Rimes

La rime consiste normalement en une voyelle suivie ou non d'une consonne finale dans le dialecte de Lhagang. La variation plutôt libre *a priori* entre la présence d'une finale et son absence est quelque peu

<sup>9</sup> Le caractère *b* dans ce mot correspond toujours à /w/.

problématique. D'abord, examinons des exemples avec une finale nasale :

<b>Lhagang-A</b>	<b>Lhagang-B</b>	<b>tibétain écrit</b>	<b>sens</b>
ᶿ <sup>h</sup> nam / ᶿ <sup>h</sup> nã	ᶿnə	<i>gnam</i>	ciel
ᶿṅī	ᶿṅi	<i>snying</i>	cœur
ᶿ <sup>h</sup> la ᶿ <sup>h</sup> gõ / ᶿ <sup>h</sup> la ᶿ <sup>h</sup> gõ	ᶿ <sup>h</sup> la ᶿ <sup>h</sup> gə / ᶿ <sup>h</sup> la ᶿ <sup>h</sup> gə <sup>10</sup>	<i>lha sgang</i>	Lhagang
mais :			
ᶿ <sup>n</sup> du	ᶿ <sup>n</sup> du <sup>11</sup>	<i>'don</i>	lire
ᶿ <sup>w</sup> lõ	ᶿ <sup>w</sup> lõ <sup>12</sup>	<i>rlung</i>	vent

Dans ces exemples aussi, la prononciation de Lhagang-A représente la variante nomadique tandis que celle de Lhagang-B correspond à la variante sédentaire. Mais, la forme de Lhagang-A aussi apparaît fréquemment dans une conversation.

Voici des exemples avec une finale consonantique :

<b>Lhagang-A</b>	<b>Lhagang-B</b>	<b>tibétain écrit</b>	<b>sens</b>
ᶿtoᶿ mu	ᶿtoʔ mu	<i>dog mo</i>	étroit
ᶿ <sup>h</sup> o zoᶿ	ᶿ <sup>h</sup> o zoʔ	<i>pho zog</i>	taureau
ᶿ <sup>h</sup> ap	ᶿ <sup>h</sup> aʔ	<i>khab</i>	aiguille

La forme de Lhagang-A préserve une finale avec une articulation orale comme en tibétain écrit (avec un changement de la manière articulatoire), tandis que celle de Lhagang-B substitue la consonne orale à la gutturale. Dans une conversation rapide, même une finale gutturale (?) peut être omise et cette chute peut causer un allongement de la voyelle précédente<sup>13</sup>.

### 3-3. Tons

Le système tonal du dialecte de Lhagang est assez simple, notamment puisqu'il distingue seulement un ton haut et un ton bas

<sup>10</sup> Des locuteurs utilisent /ᶿ<sup>h</sup>la ᶿ<sup>h</sup>gə/ plus fréquemment que /ᶿ<sup>h</sup>la ᶿ<sup>h</sup>gə/.

<sup>11</sup> Il manque une nasalité à la rime dans les deux manières de prononciation.

<sup>12</sup> La rime conserve une nasalité dans les deux manières de prononciation.

<sup>13</sup> Ce caractère dépend des locuteurs. La prononciation de Lhagang-B admet des variétés multiples.

dans les mots monosyllabiques. Les exemples polysyllabiques, toutefois, peuvent posséder quatre types de tons, comme dans beaucoup de dialectes khams. Mais la fonction phonologique du ton n'est pas évidente dans ces mots, hormis la hauteur (haute ou basse) de début de mot. Il est important que les variétés de Lhagang-A et de Lhagang-B (voir 3.1. et 3.2.) possèdent la distinction tonale à la même manière, bien que celle-là soit plus proche du caractère de l'amdo, dont la majorité n'a pas la distinction tonale, que celle-ci.

Afin de donner une description plus détaillée, nous appliquons ici le système à quatre tons à tous les mots. Bien que les mots monosyllabiques ne distinguent que deux tons haut et bas, ils peuvent montrer quatre types quand ils sont suffixés. Le rapport entre les quatre tons et la prononciation se manifeste comme suit :

catégorie tonale	marque	monosyllabe	dissyllabe
haut-niveau	-	S[55, 44, 53]	S[55]S[55], S[44]S[44]
haut-descendant	ˋ	S[55, 44, 53]	S[55]S[22], S[55]S[53]
bas-montant	ˊ	S[24]	S[24]S[55], S[24]S[44]
bas-descendant	ˋ	S[24]	S[24]S[53], S[24]S[22]

Les mots de plus de deux syllabes suivent également le système tonal du dissyllabe. On doit noter que les quatre tons apparaissent dans la prononciation appartenant au parler de Lhagang-A, plus proche de la variété pastorale, mentionné dans 3.1 et 3.2.

L'origine du ton du dialecte de Lhagang est quasiment commune à la majorité de dialectes du Khams, dans laquelle figurent quelques exemples exceptionnels :

Lhagang	tibétain écrit	sens
ˋluʔ	<i>lug</i>	mouton
ˋlen, ˋlē	<i>len</i>	tirer
mais :		
ˊluʔ	<i>lug</i>	année du mouton

Ces exemples devraient avoir un ton bas d'après la tonogénèse ordinaire, mais ils comportent en réalité tous des tons hauts hormis 'année du mouton.' Ce même phénomène est attesté dans d'autres dialectes de Minyag Rabgang, ce qui laisse penser que ce type d'exception est plutôt un caractère de l'ensemble du groupe de Minyag Rabgang.

#### 4. *Lha sgang et Lha dga'* : une analyse du texte parlé

Un conte oral portant sur l'origine du nom propre Lhagang, et qui est très connu localement, rapporte que ce toponyme est lié à une statue de Bodhisattva nommée Lhagang Jowo (Fig.6). En dehors de ce conte, il existe deux documents locaux écrits à ce sujet : *Yang gsang mkha' 'gro'i thugs kyi ti ka las/ lHa dga' ring mos gnas kyi dkar chag* et *Bal lHa sgang gi gNas bstod* (Sonam Wangmo 2013a : 32-51). Ces deux documents sont insérés dans Karma rGyal mtshan (2002 : 288-314).



Fig.6 : Lhagang Jowo, en 2012. Photo : Sonam Wangmo

Dans cette section, nous nous proposons de démontrer que le dialecte sédentaire de Lhagang est une variété du Kham, à partir de l'analyse linguistique d'une version courte de ce conte<sup>14</sup> que Sonam Wangmo (2013a) n'a pas traitée. Cette dernière a été recueillie auprès d'une narratrice d'une vingtaine d'années originaire du village de Lhagang. Son récit se divise en deux parties : une histoire (1-15) et une interprétation (16-23)<sup>15</sup>.

Reprenant la méthode de la linguistique descriptive, nous

<sup>14</sup> Il existe plusieurs versions du texte de ce conte. Sonam Wangmo (2013a : 41) offre une traduction anglaise de l'une d'entre elles, qui présente une petite différence avec celle choisie ici. Les variations de ce texte pourront faire l'objet d'un autre article.

<sup>15</sup> On peut noter que cette division se reflète dans le style de narration du texte, par exemple, la partie de l'histoire inclut quatre marques du 'hearsay' tandis que celle de l'interprétation n'en inclut aucune. Cela transparaît également du contenu de chacune de ces parties, qui portent respectivement sur l'origine de Lhagang Jowo et l'origine du toponyme Lhagang. Le style de la description est quasiment différent entre les deux.

proposons une description phonétique de Lhagang-B (voir section 3), qui reprend un étymon littéraire ou une correspondance phonétique en caractères tibétains, une glose linguistique<sup>16</sup> ainsi qu'une traduction interlinéaire. À la fin de l'analyse, une traduction complète en français est offerte.

(1)

'nə ma ʰna ʰna-la	ʰdza ʰza ʰkō dzo	ʰpo-la
ཉི་མ་གནང་གནང་ལ་	ལྷོ་བཟའ་ཀོང་ཇོ་	བོད་ལ་
auparavant-LOC	Princesse Wencheng	Tibet-LOC
ʰja la	ʰde tʃ	ʰkaʔ-la
ཡར་ལ་	གདན་དྲངས་	སྐབས་ལ་
dessus	accueillir	quand-LOC

'Il y a fort longtemps<sup>17</sup>, lorsque la Princesse Wencheng fut accueillie au Tibet,'

(2)

-tʰɔ ʰdza po-gə	ʰkʰo-la	ʰtəo wo
ཐང་ལྷོ་པོ་ལྷོ་	ལོ་ལ་	ཇོ་བོ་
empereur de Tang-ERG	3-LOC	Jowo
ʰtəiʔ	ʰzɿ-zə-reʔ	
ཅིག་	ལྷོ་བོ་ཟེ་རེད་	
un	donner-PRET-CPV	

'l'empereur de Tang<sup>19</sup> lui donna une statue de Bodhisattva (Jowo)'

<sup>16</sup> La liste des abréviations dans la glose est suivante :

2	2 <sup>ème</sup> personne	3	3 <sup>ème</sup> personne	ACH	achèvement
ASS	associatif	CONJ	conjonction	CPV	verbe copulatif
DEM	demande	DET	déterminatif	ERG	ergatif
GEN	génitif	HS	<i>hearsay</i>	INJ	interjection
INE	inessif	INT	intention-futur	LOC	locatif
NEG	négation	NML	nominalisateur	PRET	prétérit
STA	statif	TOP	topique		

La description de l'absolutif, qui ne possède aucune forme phonétique, est omise dans la glose.

<sup>17</sup> Selon les études générales de l'histoire aussi que la tradition parlée dans Lhagang, l'année de l'entrée au Tibet de Princesse Wencheng est 641 A.D. Cependant, Yamaguchi (1983 : 370-387) avance qu'elle est 640 A.D. sur la base d'une lecture approfondie des documents historiques.

<sup>18</sup> L'orthographe *zin* en tibétain littéraire est d'après Tshe ring Lha mo (2013 : 11).

<sup>19</sup> Son nom est connu comme Taizong.

(3)

'te	'tɕo wo-tə-na	' <sup>hi</sup> dza <sup>hi</sup> za 'kõ dzo-gə
དེ་	ཇོ་བོ་ཏེ་ན་	ཧྲུབ་ཐའ་གོང་ཚོ་གྲིས་
alors	Jowo-DEF-TOP	Princesse Wencheng-ERG
ཱ་la s <sup>h</sup> a	'ja la	`k <sup>hu</sup>
ལྷ་ས་	ཡར་ལ་	ཐུང་
Lhassa	dessus	emporter
' <sup>n</sup> do- <sup>hi</sup> go	` <sup>h</sup> sũ-zə-re?-sə re? <sup>20</sup>	
འགྲོ་དགོས་	བསམ་ཟིན་རེད་ཟེར་རེད་	
aller-INT	penser-PRET-CPV-HS	

'Alors, on dit que ce Jowo, Princesse Wencheng pensa l'emporter à Lhassa.'

(4)

'te	ཱ་la <sup>hi</sup> gə	` <sup>h</sup> tse?	` <sup>h</sup> ka?-la
དེ་	ལྷ་སྐང་	སློབས་	སྐབས་ལ་
alors	Lhagang	arriver	quand-LOC

'Quand elle arriva à Lhagang,'

(5)

'tɕo wo-gə	`k <sup>h</sup> a [a?-zə-re?-sə re?
ཇོ་བོ་གྲིས་	འགྲུགས་ <sup>21</sup> ་ཟིན་རེད་ཟེར་རེད་
Jowo-ERG	ouvrir sa bouche-PRET-CPV-HS

'on dit que le Jowo ouvrit la bouche et dit :'

(6)

<sup>-</sup> s <sup>h</sup> a tɕ <sup>h</sup> a	` <sup>h</sup> tɕi po	` <sup>h</sup> [a? mo	'tɕi?
ས་ཚ་	སྤྱིད་པོ་	སྐག་མོ་ <sup>22</sup>	ཅིག་
endroit	agréable	très	un

're?

<sup>20</sup> La marque du 'hearsay' (qui signifie littéralement 'on dit que') se prononce [sə re?] ou [zə re?], sans un ton distinctif.

<sup>21</sup> 'Ouvrir sa bouche' : est une expression dialectale, qui est aussi utilisée dans des variétés de l'amdo.

<sup>22</sup> L'orthographe *skrag mo* en tibétain littéraire est d'après Tshe ring Lha mo (2013 : 136).

ཟིན་

CPV

‘« c’est un endroit très agréable ! »’

(7)

ṽk <sup>h</sup> o	ʼta	ʼja la
ཁོ་	དྲི་	ཡར་ལ་
3	maintenant	dessus
ʼmə- <sup>n</sup> ḏo	ʰze:-zə-re?-sə re?	
མི་འགྲོ་	ཟེར་ཟེན་ཟིན་ཟེར་ཟིན་	
NEG-aller	dire-PRET-CPV-HS	

‘« Maintenant, je<sup>23</sup> ne vais plus là, à Lhassa ! » dit-il.’

(8)

ʼte	ʼ <sup>n</sup> dza <sup>n</sup> za ʼkō dzo-gə	ʼze:-na
དེ་	ཏུ་བཟུང་འགོ་དངོས་ཀྱིས་	ཟེར་ན་
alors	Princesse Wencheng-ERG	dire-CONJ

‘Alors, Princesse Wencheng dit :’

(9)

ṽtɕ <sup>h</sup> o?	ʼja la	ʼ <sup>n</sup> ḏo-go-re?	ʼmə ts <sup>h</sup> e
ཐོད་	ཡར་ལ་	འགྲོ་དགོས་ཟིན་	མི་ཚད་
2	dessus	aller-INT-CPV	non seulement

‘« Vous devez non seulement y aller, »’

(10)

ṽla s <sup>h</sup> a	ʼja la	ṽk <sup>h</sup> u
ལྷ་ས་	ཡར་ལ་	ལུང་
Lhassa	dessus	emporter
ʼ <sup>n</sup> ḏo- <sup>n</sup> go-re?	ʼtə <sup>n</sup> ḏa	ʰze:-zə-re?-sə re?
འགྲོ་དགོས་ཟིན་	དེ་ལྟར་	ཟེར་ཟེན་ཟིན་ཟེར་ཟིན་
aller-INT-CPV	comme ça	dire-PRET-CPV-HS

‘« mais en plus, c’est moi qui doit vous apporter à Lhassa. » dit-elle comme ça.’

<sup>23</sup> Le récit tibétain est énoncé à la troisième personne et peut être en style indirect libre.



(11)

´te	´tɕo wo -gə	´ze:na
དེ་	ཇོ་འོ་གེ་	ཟེ་ན་
alors	Jowo-ERG	dire-CONJ
'Alors, le Jowo dit :'		

(12)

ˉk <sup>h</sup> o-da	ˈ <sup>n</sup> ɖa ˈ <sup>n</sup> ɖa	´tɕi?	´te
ཁོ་དང་	འདྲ་འདྲ་	ཅིག་	དེ་
3-ASS	identique	un	cela
ˉ <sup>l</sup> a ˈ <sup>n</sup> gə	ˈ <sup>n</sup> dzɔ̃-nə	ˈ <sup>n</sup> zɑʔ-roʔ-fiə	
ལྷ་སྐང་	བཞེངས་ནི་	བཞག་འགས་འོ་	
Lhagang	modeler-NML	poser-DEM-INJ	

‘« Modelez une statue identique à moi-même et déposez-la à Lhagang, s’il vous plaît. »’

(13)

´te	ˉk <sup>h</sup> o	´ja la
དེ་	ཁོ་	ཡར་ལ་
alors	3	dessus
ˈ <sup>n</sup> ɖo-li:	´ze:	ˈ <sup>n</sup> kaʔ-la
འགྲོ་ལེས་	ཟེར་	སྐབས་ལ་
aller-INT	dire	quand-LOC
'Alors, « J’irai, » dit-il, ensuite’		

(14)

´te	ˈ <sup>n</sup> dzɑ ˈ <sup>n</sup> za ˈ <sup>n</sup> kɔ̃ dzo-gə	ˉʔa na
དེ་	ཏཱ་བཟའ་འོ་དང་ཇོ་འོ་གེ་	ཨ་ན་
alors	Princesse Wencheng-ERG	ici
ˉ <sup>l</sup> a s <sup>h</sup> a-gə	´tɕo wo	´ji ʒi ˈno ruw-da
ལྷ་ས་གྲི་	ཇོ་འོ་	ཡིད་བཞིན་ནོར་བུ་དང་
Lhasa-GEN	Jowo	Yibzhin Norbu-ASS
ˈ <sup>n</sup> ɖa ˈ <sup>n</sup> ɖa	´tɕi?	ˈ <sup>n</sup> dzɔ̃-nə ta
འདྲ་འདྲ་	ཅིག་	བཞེངས་ནི་ད་
identique	un	modeler-CONJ

‘après que la Princesse Wencheng eut modelé ici<sup>24</sup> une statue identique à ce Jowo Yibzhin Norbu de Lhassa<sup>25</sup>’

(15)

ʔa na	ʔa <sup>h</sup> ga <sup>h</sup> ʔtɕu x <sup>h</sup> ɔ̃-nə	ʰzaʔ-yə-reʔ
ཨ་ན་	ཨ་ག་ཅུ་མཛོ་ནེ་	བཞག་གི་རེད་
ici	Jokhang de Lhagang-INE	poser-STA-CPV

‘elle la posa ici, dans le Jokhang de Lhagang, où elle existe encore aujourd’hui.’

(16)

ʔte	ʔa <sup>h</sup> ga	ʰtseʔ
དེ་	ཨ་ག་	སླེབས་
alors	Lhagang	arriver
ʰkaʔ-la-tə	ʔtɕo wo-gə	ʰka <sup>h</sup> ʔaʔ-ji
སྐབས་ལ་དེ་	ཇོ་བོ་གྲིས་	ལ་གྲགས་ཡི་
quand-LOC-TOP	Jowo-ERG	ouvrir sa bouche-GEN
ʰdzɯ <sup>h</sup> ʰts <sup>h</sup> ɛ:-tə	ʰt <sup>h</sup> ɔ̃-la-nə	
རྒྱལ་ཚེན་དེ་	མཐོང་ལ་ནི་	
raison-DEF	voir-CONJ-TOP	

‘Alors, au regard de la raison pour laquelle le Jowo ouvrit la bouche quand il arriva à Lhagang,’

(17)

ʔte	ʔa <sup>h</sup> ga	ʰze:-nə-tə	ʔla
དེ་	ཨ་ག་གས་	ཟེར་ནི་དེ་	ཨ་
alors	Lhaga	dire-NML-TOP	déité
ʰga-we:	ʰs <sup>h</sup> a tɕ <sup>h</sup> a	ʔji-na	
དགའ་བའི་	ས་ཚེ་	ཡིན་ན་	
aimer-NML.GEN	endroit	CPV-CONJ	

‘le nom Lhaga est l’endroit aimé par le Bodhisattva,’

(18)

<sup>24</sup> Le mot *ici* désigne Lhagang.

<sup>25</sup> L’expression *ce Jowo à Lhassa* doit être interprétée comme : ce Jowo qui doit aller à Lhassa et y est de nos jours.

ṽla <sup>h</sup> ga	ʼze:	ʼmĩ ʰtaʔ-zə-reʔ
ལྷ་དགའ་	ཟེར་	མིང་རྒྱགས་ཟིན་རེད་
Lhaga	dire	nommer-PRET-CPV
'et on le nomma Lhaga.'		

(19)

ṽla <sup>h</sup> gõ	ʼma <sup>h</sup> tsa	ʼmĩ-tə
ལྷ་སྐང་	མ་ཅུ	མིང་དེ་
Lhagang	principalement	nom-DEF
ṽla <sup>h</sup> ga	ʰze:-reʔ	
ལྷ་དགའ་	ཟེར་རེད་	
Lhaga	dire-CPV	
'Le nom de Lhagang fut principalement Lhaga.'		

(20)

ʼte	ʼtʂ ts <sup>h</sup> oʔ	ʼmã bo
དེ་	དུས་ཚོད་	མང་པོ་
alors	temps	beaucoup
ṽp <sup>h</sup> a rə	ʰgɛ:-ts <sup>h</sup> a	ʰkaʔ-la
ཕ་རུ་	ཁྲལ་ཚར་	སྐྱབས་ལ་
là-bas	passer-ACH	quand-LOC
'Alors, après que beaucoup de temps se fut écoulé,'		

(21)

ʼte	ṽla <sup>h</sup> gõ	ʰze:-nə	ṽp <sup>h</sup> a rə
དེ་	ལྷ་སྐང་	ཟེར་ནི་	ཕ་རུ་
alors	Lhagang	dire-TOP	là-bas
ʼndzɯ <sup>h</sup> doʔ	ʰtʂe-zə-reʔ	ʼmə ts <sup>h</sup> eʔ	ʼma zə
འགྱུར་ལྗོད་གཤམ་	ཐེན་ཟེར་ཟེར་	མི་ཚད་	མ་གཞི་
changement	passer-PRET-CPV	non seulement	originellement
ṽla <sup>h</sup> ga	ʰze:-reʔ		
ལྷ་དགའ་	ཟེར་རེད་		
Lhaga	dire-CPV		

<sup>26</sup> 'Passer' ou 'expérier' correspond à un mot propre au dialecte de Lhagang (Minyag Rabgang).

‘le nom Lhagang passa par un changement et devint comme ça, et il s’était appelé Lhaga originellement.’

(22)

ṽla ལྷ	ṽ <sup>h</sup> ga-ji དགའ་ཡི་	ṽ <sup>h</sup> a tṽ <sup>h</sup> a ས་ཆ་
déité	aimer- GEN	endroit
ʽjiʽ-kə ཡིད་ཀྱིས་	ṽ <sup>h</sup> dzu <sup>n</sup> ts <sup>h</sup> ɛ:-te རྒྱལ་ཚོན་དེ་	ʽjiʽ-tṽɛ-tə ཡིན་ཀྱིན་དེ་
sens-ERG	raison-DEF	CPV-NML-DEF
ʽte དེ་	ṽla <sup>h</sup> ga ལྷ་དགའ་	ʽze:-reʽ-ta nə ཟེར་དེད་ནི་
alors	Lhaga	dire-CPV-CONJ

‘Avec la raison que cela signifie un endroit que le Bodhisattva aime, on l’appela Lhaga,’

(23)

ṽkə tsa p <sup>h</sup> a གི་ཙ་པ་ <sup>27</sup>	ṽla <sup>h</sup> gō ལྷ་གློ་	ʽze:-nə ཟེར་ནི་
plus tard	Lhagang	dire-NML
ʽmī མིང་	ṽ <sup>n</sup> dzu-zə-reʽ འགྱུར་ཟིན་པེད་	
nom	changer-PRET-CPV	

‘plus tard, le nom changea en Lhagang’

Traduction complète en français :

Il y a fort longtemps, lorsque la Princesse Wencheng fut accueillie au Tibet, l’empereur Tang Taizong lui donna une statue de Bodhisattva (Jowo). Alors, elle pensa d’emporter ce Jowo à Lhasa. Quand elle arriva à Lhagang, le Jowo ouvrit la bouche et dit : « c’est un endroit très agréable ! Désormais, je ne vais plus à Lhasa ! » Alors, la Princesse Wencheng dit : « Vous devez non seulement aller à Lhasa, mais en plus, c’est moi qui doit vous y apporter. » Puis, le Jowo lui demanda de créer une statue identique à lui-même et de la déposer à Lhagang. Il dit « J’irai à Lhasa », et

<sup>27</sup> ‘Plus tard’ est également un mot particulier au dialecte de Lhagang (Minyag Rabgang).

alors, après que la Princesse Wencheng eut modelé, ici à Lhagang, une statue identique au Jowo Yibzhin Norbu de Lhassa, et elle la posa dans le Jokhang de Lhagang où elle existe encore aujourd'hui.

Compte tenu de la raison pour laquelle le Jowo ouvrit la bouche quand il arriva à Lhagang, le nom appelé *Lha dga'* est l'endroit que le Bodhisattva (*lha*) préfère (*dga'*) et on le nomma *Lha dga'*. Le nom de *Lha sgang* fut principalement *Lha dga'*. Après que beaucoup de temps se fut écoulé, il prit la forme de « Lhagang », après d'être initialement appelé « Lhaga ». C'est parce que cela signifie « l'endroit que le Bodhisattva préfère » que l'appellation *Lha dga'* apparut. Plus tard, le nom changea en *Lha sgang*.

Dans le récit analysé ci-dessus, on s'aperçoit que le dialecte sédentaire de Lhagang ne possède des caractéristiques ni phonétique ni morphologique qui sont communes à la langue de l'amdo. En revanche, on y retrouve par exemple, la locution verbale /-zə-re?/, qui est utilisée uniquement dans quelques groupes dialectaux du khams comme Derge et Minyag<sup>28</sup> (Tshe ring Lha mo 2013 : 11). Autrement dit, ce matériel révèle l'existence de locuteurs d'un dialecte qui diffère de la langue amdo, et qui appartiendrait au groupe dialectal de Minyag Rabgang du khams à Lhagang.

Par ailleurs, ce conte relate la transformation du toponyme *Lha dga'* en *Lha sgang*. Mais cette information fournie par ce texte légendaire ne coïncide pas avec l'observation de Sonam Wangmo (2013a : 48) de la coexistence de ces deux orthographes pour désigner un même lieu actuel. Cet article ne propose aucune nouvelle idée d'une vraie histoire du toponyme, mais on se demande s'il y a quelque chose à découvrir à partir de l'aspect linguistique.

La différence la plus évidente entre *Lha dga'* et *Lha sgang* est l'existence de la nasale finale. Comme mentionnés dans la section 3, les traits linguistiques du dialecte de Lhagang relèvent de plusieurs strates (nomadique [l'amdo], sédentaire [Minyag Rabgang propre du khams ; Lhagang-B], et sédentaire avec un reflet nomadique [Lhagang-A]). Le fait que les deux formes *Lha dga'*, 'endroit préféré par Bodhisattva', et *Lha sgang* cohabitent est selon nous lié au caractère de la rime et à la possibilité de la chute de la finale nasale (cf. 3.2.). Si la prononciation de *lha sgang* est /ᵛla<sup>h</sup>gɔ̃/, la forme sans la nasalité doit devenir /ᵛla<sup>h</sup>gɔ/. Mais comme on l'observe dans le conte ci-dessus, les deux formes peuvent être associées : /ᵛla<sup>h</sup>gɔ/

<sup>28</sup> Tshe ring Lha mo (2013 : 11) ne spécifie pas l'endroit exact où on parle le dialecte appelé Minyag.

apparaissant dans la partie de l'histoire (4, 12, 15 ; 16, une exception) et /ʎa<sup>h</sup>gõ/ dans celle de l'interprétation (19, 21, 23). On peut donc suggérer que la première constitue plutôt une prononciation littérale et la seconde une prononciation ordinaire. De plus, on peut formuler l'hypothèse selon laquelle la forme plus archaïque est /ʎa<sup>h</sup>gaŋ/, qui est plus proche de celle de la langue littéraire *lha sgang*<sup>29</sup>. Ce type de prononciation semble se rapporter à la forme écrite *lha dga'* (litt. 'la déité aime,' prononcé /ʎa<sup>h</sup>ga/). Si cette hypothèse est révélatrice de l'évolution phonétique, on peut dire qu'il est possible que deux prononciations /ʎa<sup>h</sup>ga/ et /ʎa<sup>h</sup>gɔ/ se soient mélangées au cours du développement phonétique transmis du dialecte de Lhagang, de sorte que : \*/aŋ/ > /a/, ou \*/aŋ/ > /ã/-/õ/ > /ɔ/.

## 5. Conclusion

Cet article a éclairci la situation linguistique et révélé le caractère remarquable du dialecte de Lhagang, une variété appartenant au groupe dialectal de Minyag Rabgang du Khams. En outre, on a fourni une explication linguistique au sujet du nom de Lhagang qui est souvent appelé *Lha dga'*, *l'endroit préféré par le Bodhisattva*. On ne peut toutefois pas assurer la réalité historique de cette explication linguistique.

Le dialecte de Lhagang était peut-être autrefois utilisé sur une plus grande aire, mais il demeure à présent seulement usité dans une région limitée, où l'on parle en outre souvent le chinois. Durant la dizaine d'années qui vient de s'écouler, Lhagang s'est rapidement développé et est devenu un village qui attire de plus en plus de touristes (Sonam Wangmo 2013b). Cette évolution entrave la transmission de ce dialecte et accélère sa transformation. Il est ainsi probable que ce dialecte extrêmement particulier ne possédera plus de locuteurs dans une dizaine d'années, d'où notre intérêt pour l'enregistrement de son état linguistique actuel, avant qu'il ne fasse probablement l'expérience de davantage de changements et que les narrations autrefois transmises de génération en génération soient possiblement oubliées.

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<sup>29</sup> Dans le dialecte de Rangakha, une rime *ang* en tibétain écrit correspond à /ã/. Dans une variété nomadique (l'amdo) de Lhagang (nommée le dialecte de Gongrima), ce mot se prononce /ʎa<sup>h</sup>gaŋ/.

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## Compte-rendu

*Zangdok Palri – The Lotus Light Palace of Guru Rinpoche – Visions of the Buddhist Paradise in the Sacred Kingdom of Bhutan.* Edited by Supawan Pui Lamsam, Kesang Choden Tashi Wangchuck With contributions by Tulku Thondup, Dungchen Sangay Dorji, Lopen Kunzang Tengye, Pema Wangdi, Chotiwat Punnopatham, Chongmas Rajabhandarak, Tanika Pook Panyarachun. Zangdok Palri Series, Volume 1. Gatshel Publishing, Bangkok. First Edition 2012, Second Edition, 2013. ISBN 978-616-91289-0-8 i-xv, 376pp. Large format, 29cm x 37cm. Preface by Ashi Kesang Choden Tashi Wangchuck.

By Rob Mayer

**T**his massive and magnificent large-format volume is something of a work of art in itself, a beautifully fashioned artefact in which almost every detail of production has been lovingly crafted. Its contents are equally impressive. On the one hand, it contains numerous colour illustrations of considerable art-historical and aesthetic value, generous in scope and size and finely reproduced. On the other hand, it is also a work of excellent scholarship, containing articles by a number of expert authors, all of whom have followed the admirable guiding principle of presenting their best and deepest understanding in a manner accessible to the wider public. Just as the visual presentation is at all times meticulously and beautifully designed, so also the text is at all times learned but clear, never lazy in expression or patronising to the readers, as sometimes happens when experts write for non-specialist audiences. The artwork and text are very thoughtfully co-ordinated, so that written word and illustration mutually benefit one another in a highly effective way. The great size of the volume and its broad scope gives it something of the character of a reference work that can be consulted again and again, rather than absorbed in a single linear reading.

Ashi Kesang Choden Tashi Wangchuck's preface (pp. viii to xiii) gives an insider's account, full of rare and valuable insights, into the longstanding connection of Guru Rinpoche and his lineage with Bhutan. Stretching from the earliest times of Tibetan Buddhism, this connection continues through such figures as Pema Lingpa and Long-

chenpa, up to our own time, with the late Dilgo Khyentse Rinpoche, and the consecration of the Kurjey Zangdo Palri Lhakhang.

The opening section (pp. 3-91) is a book length essay entitled 'Zangdok Palri, the Pure Land of Guru Rinpoche'. It has been specially written for this volume by Tulku Thondup, one of the most learned and experienced contemporary authors on Nyingmapa, who is also particularly well known in the West for his many influential English language works. He opens his essay by describing Zangdok Palri as the manifestation of Guru Rinpoche's wisdom, which should be understood in terms of the Three Bodies of the Buddha. Guru Rinpoche is explained not only as a fully enlightened Buddha, but as also having manifested historically as one of the greatest sages of the Vajrayāna Buddhist world. In his detailed descriptions of Zangdok Palri and its symbolism, Tulku Thondup clarifies the inner understandings of Zangdok Palri: 'For highly realised adepts, Zangdok Palri is the natural reflection of their own enlightened nature and qualities—the path and the result of their own enlightenment and the unity of the three Buddha Bodies. Seeing the pure nature and qualities of the pure land...is the sight of the absolute presence of Guru Rinpoche as well as the enlightened nature and qualities of oneself'.

Pages 33 to 75 contain Tulku Thondup's translations of accounts of Zangdok Palri as recorded by famous lamas who have had visionary experiences of being transported there. There are eight such narratives, all superbly illustrated from murals and thangkas, which were in several instances specifically painted according to the relevant narratives themselves. These narratives span many centuries, from Ratna Lingpa in the 15th century, up to Dodrupchen Rinpoche in the present. Particularly impressive is the account and accompanying illustration of Chokgyur Dechen Lingpa's visionary journey to Zangdok Palri. These narratives, with their illustrations, are an extremely valuable resource for the devotee and the scholar alike.

In pages 75-81, Tulku Thondup explains how and why focusing on positive images in meditation and prayer can affect the mind: 'Your mind is who you are. Your life is the product of your mind'. Thus devotion to Guru Rinpoche is not about pleasing him to win favours, but solely about training the mind and transforming it: 'what you see and think, that you will become'. Describing how to visualise the Buddha Guru Rinpoche residing within Zangdok Palri, and meditate upon this image with devotion, he explains, 'it is important to realize that Guru Rinpoche is not another person, but the enlightened qualities of your own mind's nature reflecting in front of you as Guru Rinpoche—just like seeing your own face in a mirror.' With carefully chosen words and great clarity, Tulku Thondup then explains four stages of meditating upon Guru Rinpoche.

Finally (pages 83-87) Tulku Thondup explains the benefits of building Zangdok Palri monuments, and gives an analysis of the meanings of the Vajra Guru mantra.

After Tulku Thondup's essay comes the presentation of many of the finest Zangdok Palri murals and thangkas found in Bhutan. This is the largest single section of the book, filling 164 pages in all (pp. 92-255). It is organised according to location and collection, listing twelve different monasteries and temples, but there are also two further sections with images found in the private collections of Her Majesty the Royal Grandmother of Bhutan. The lavish illustrations in this section are beautifully and thoughtfully presented, alongside plentiful highly learned and informative explanatory text contributed by Dungchen Sangay Dorji, Lopen Kunzang Tengye, Kesang Choden Tashi Wangchuk, and Pema Wangdi. The presentations are detailed, in most cases with over ten of this huge book's very large format pages dedicated to each mural. Each mural can show distinctive individual details, representing as they do individual visions of Zangdok Palri. However, the underlying similarities are much greater than any differences, which can best be understood as variations on the same themes, such as the different Rakshasa realms, the Mu-le ocean, Zangdok Palri itself and the bridges that connect to it, the Lotus Light Palace, the enlightened beings inhabiting it, and so on. These 164 pages are surely the best and most comprehensive presentation of Zangdok Palri so far made in any publication, and form an invaluable resource to Tibetologists and other students of the rNying ma tradition.

The historian and art historian can also learn a great deal from them. What is striking in this regard is the continuous ongoing cycle of devotionally-motivated renewal that is integral to Bhutanese religious construction. Fires, earthquakes, and the destructive passage of time, invoke repeated renovations and re-buildings of temples, monasteries and sacred sites, motivated by devotion. A further consequence of such continual renewal is that comparatively few of the extant murals of Zangdok Palri are more than 100 or 200 years old, even in the most ancient sacred sites that have been associated with Padmasambhava for over 1,000 years.

(pp. 95-110) The first Zangdok Palri mural described is one from Old Kyichu Guru Lhakhang, in Kyichu, Paro. It is believed that this was one of the 108 'Taming Temples' built by Emperor Songtsen Gampo of Tibet, and it is also believed that Padmasambhava himself and his consort Yeshe Tsogyal visited this temple in the eighth and ninth centuries, and buried many Terma treasures there. This temple has therefore played a prominent role in Bhutanese religious life over many centuries. Although earlier constructions deteriorated over

time, various beautiful renovations and additions have been made to it over the centuries, most notably, and at the behest of the late H. H. Dilgo Khyentse Rinpoche, by Her majesty Ashi Kesang Choeden Wangchuck. What is now called the Old Guru Lhakhang was built in the first half of the 20th century. It is thought that its magnificently detailed mural of Zangdok Palri might follow the vision of the Treasure revealer Dudul Dorje (1627-1684), since it represents the form of the Dharma protector Ralchigma in a manner characteristic of his Treasures. The complete mural, and many of its individual details, are beautifully presented photographically, alongside several pages of learned explanatory text.

(pp. 111-122) The next Zangdok Palri mural to be presented is the one found in Dumtsek Lhakang in Paro. Construction of the Lhakhang is believed to have started in 1433, during the first of three visits to Bhutan by Thangtong Gyalpo, and was initially undertaken to avert harm from the Naga spirit inhabiting the Taktsang ridge. The Zangdok Palri mural is in a part of the temple constructed in 1821, by the 25th Je Khenpo. Since Thangtong Gyalpo himself visited Zangdok Palri in his meditations, his vision is represented in this mural, which is also guided by Kunkhyen Pema Karpo's Zangdok Palri prayer. As with all the other examples in this book, images of the complete mural, and many of its individual details, are beautifully presented, augmented by pages of learned textual explanations.

(pp. 123-136) Next is the mural of Zangdok Palri in the Central Tower of Paro Rinpung Dzong. While originating in the 15th century and previously held by a family lineage, in 1644 it was handed over to the Zhabdrung Rinpoche, who reconstructed it, and used it as a major administrative centre for the western part of Bhutan. Fire damage in 1906 required reconstruction, and the extant Zangdok Palri mural originates from after that date. As in the previous examples, the mural is beautifully presented in expertly co-ordinated illustration and text.

Paro Taktsang is one of Asia's most famous Buddhist pilgrimage sites, and one of Bhutan's most ancient and important. It has been closely associated with Padmasambhava and his student Lang Palgyi Senge for centuries, and is the site from which many Terma treasures have been recovered.

(pp. 137-148) The Guru Tsen-gye Lhakang at Taktsang Pelphug that had been there since the 17th century was devastated by fire in 1998, so that its current Zangdok Palri mural dates from the recent reconstruction. However, it was painted by one of Bhutan's greatest contemporary artists, Lhari Lopen Ugyen Lhundrub, and is very fine.

(pp. 149-158) The Zangdok Palri mural in the Old Zangdok Palri Lhakhang at Paro Taktsang was first completed in 1843, but de-

stroyed in the fire that gutted the temple in the mid twentieth century. The present murals therefore date from its restoration.

(pp. 159-171) Gangteng Sangnag Choling monastery in Wangdiphodrang has a splendid Zangdok Palri mural, which, as one might expect of this famous centre for the Pema Lingpa tradition, depicts Pema Lingpa's own vision of Guru Rinpoche's Pure Land. Here, Padmasambhava, the central deity, takes the rare form of Guru Raksha Thotrengtsal, the Wrathful King of the Rakshasas. Having suffered severe earthquake damage in 1714 and again in 1897, the monastery was most recently renovated on a magnificent scale between 2000 and 2008. The mural of Zangdok Palri was worked on by many master painters, including Tulku Thinley Wangchuk from Lhalung and Tulku Tenzin Sherab from Gangteng, following the directives of the Second Reincarnation Tenzin Lekpe Dondrup. It was further rendered in natural mineral paints by Lhari Lopen Kumbu of Gangteng.

(pp. 172-181) Tharpaling in the Chumey Valley, Bumthang, is one of Bhutan's most remarkable holy places. It has been a site sacred to Guru Rinpoche since ancient times, and his footprints are still visible in its rocks. Later, the great Kagyu masters Tsangpa Gyare and Onrey Dharma Singe (dbon ras dar ma seng nge) meditated there for prolonged periods. Most famously however, the great Longchen Rabjam lived at the Tharpaling Monastery for many years, and even wrote his famous Seven Treasures (mdzod bdun) while residing there. However, with the passing of many centuries, Tharpaling Monastery gradually deteriorated, until its restoration in 1914 by the first King of Bhutan, Gongsa Ugyan Wangchuk. The Zangdok Palri mural dates from this restoration in the early 20th century, and is said to have been executed by Lopen Ugyan from Lhalung.

(pp. 183-193) Also in Bumthang is the Guru Sampa Lhundrup Lhakhang, at Kurjey, another holy place of Guru Rinpoche, where his body imprint is believed to be preserved. It is said that Nyangral Nyima Ozer, Guru Chowang, Melong Dorje, Longchen Rabjam, and Dorje Lingpa, all spent time at this holy place. In more recent times, Gongsa Ugyan Wangchuk built a huge statue of Guru Rinpoche there, together with a two-story lhakhang to house it. The murals of Zangdok Palri and are said to have been transported there from Sinphu Gonpa in this period, the early 20th century, with some additions made by Lama Rinchen Dorje.

(pp. 194-pp 203) Thangbi Lhundrup Choling in Bumthang is also believed to be a site once visited by Guru Rinpoche, and was established as a holy site for Guru Rinpoche in the 15th century, by the 4th Shamar Tulku (1453-1524). In later centuries the 5th (1526-1583) and 8th Shamar Tulkus (1695-1732) added to and rebuilt the Lhakhang.

The present murals are believed to date from the first part of the 20th century, and to have been painted by Lopon Ugyen from Lhalung.

(pp. 204-215) Yungdrung Choling at Trongsa was the abode of Pema Lingpa himself (1450-1521), Bhutan's most famous saint and Treasure Revealer, and was originally built to house his bodily remains (sku gdung). The Zangdok Palri murals visible there date from a restoration conducted by Gongsa Ugyan Wangchuk following the great earthquake of 1897, and were painted by Lopen Monlam Rabzang.

(pp. 216-225) The next representation of Zangdok Palri is not a mural, but a remarkable and unique thangka that shows every stylistic and other sign of being extremely old, and might well date back to Pema Lingpa himself (1450-1521). It is found at Tamzhing Lhundrup Choling monastery, the premier pilgrimage site in Bhutan, a place initially associated with Padmasambhava and later also the place where Pema Lingpa lived, taught, and passed away. The monastery itself was constructed in 1501, when Pema Lingpa was 50 years old, and to this day it is where many of Pema Lingpa's terma objects and even his body relics are preserved. Details of the thangka correspond to visions of Zangdok Palri that Pema Lingpa had at the age of 32, in the Iron Ox year (1482), and might well have been painted by or for Pema Lingpa in his own lifetime.

(pp. 226-233) Another site associated with Padmasambhava is Tshelung Nay, and in its Lhakhang is a valuable mural of Zangdok Palri painted according to the particular vision of Sogdogpa Lodro Gyaltsen (1552-1624). The Lhakhang was built by the 32nd Je Khenpo, Tshultrim Gyaltsen (1802-1860), and when the Lhakhang was restored and renovated in the 1990's by Her Majesty the Queen Mother Ashi Kesang Choeden Wangchuck, the mural of Zangdok Palri was carefully preserved in its original state, but as a separate item, like a thangka, since it could no longer fit on the new wall.

There is a set of two particularly fine, highly detailed, and well-preserved thangkas of Zangdok Palri in the private collection of Her Majesty the Royal Grandmother of Bhutan. Both were passed on to her from her own mother, the Mayum Rani Choying Wangmo Dorji (1897-1994), who was the youngest daughter of Thutob Namgyal, the ninth Chogyal of Sikkim. It is believed that the thangkas originated in Tibet, but nothing more is known about their provenance. The first (pp. 234-243) is distinctive in the manner in which it presents the Dakinis of the Four Lineages. The second (pp. 244-255) is distinctive in the way it presents various Buddhas, deities, and their pure lands, above the Palace of Lotus Light.

The next section of the book (pp. 256-273) is Kunzang Tengye's account of Padmasambhava's visits to Bhutan and his activities there,

according to traditional sources. Among the most important of the traditional sources are historical texts and Treasure discoveries on the life of King Sindhu Raja, which describe his inviting of Padmasambhava to Bumthang in the 8th century, even before Padmasambhava first went to Tibet. An influential version of the life story of King Sindhu Raja is here attributed to the Treasure discoveries of the famous Ugyan Lingpa (1323-1360). From Bumthang, it is said Padmasambhava went on to visit many further locations in Bhutan. In all, it is said, Padmasambhava visited Bhutan three times, burying treasures, giving teachings and empowerments, making prophecies, and leaving his imprints and blessings in the rocks and soil.

As a consequence of Guru Rinpoche's visits and activities in Bhutan, there are now numerous sacred sites connected to him in various parts of the country, and the next two sections of the book are dedicated to these. First comes 40 pages (pp. 274-315) of remarkable photographs of Bhutan's major Padmasambhava sites, of various imprints of Guru Rinpoche's feet, hands and body upon rocks, of the Treasure doors behind which he buried his treasures, and so on. The next section is entirely text, describing fourteen of the Guru Rinpoche sites in detail, with their special characteristics and qualities (pp. 316-323).

The final section of the main body of this magnificent book (pp. 324-335) contains a prayer to be reborn in Zangdok Palri from Jigme Lingpa's Longchen Nyingthig Treasure. The Tibetan text is presented alongside Roman phonetics and an English translation, and the pages are beautifully ornamented.

The end-matter first presents a substantial glossary (pp. 336-363), which helps the book to be more accessible to readers less familiar with Tibetan Buddhism or Bhutan, followed by references and bibliography. The Editor's Note describes the circumstances of the writing of this book, explaining that only the section by Tulku Thondup was first written in English, and that the other sections were translated into English from Choekyi (chos skad, Religious Language). Brief bio-data of the contributors is given, along with their photographs, and acknowledgements.

This is a magnificent book, produced with endless loving care by a large team of eminent and talented people. While it is primarily intended for devotees of Guru Rinpoche, it also has a great deal to offer to scholars of various academic disciplines.



## Compte-rendu

**Blondeau, Anne-Marie et Anne Chayet, *L'épopée tibétaine de Gesar. Manuscrit bon-po Fonds A. David-Néel du musée national des Arts Asiatiques-Guimet, Suilly-la-Tour (Éditions Findakly), 2014. 254 pp. ISBN 978-2-86805-148-6. ISSN 1271-9595.***

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**T**wo fundamental publications by Rolf A. Stein – *L'épopée tibétaine de Gesar dans sa version lamaïque de Ling* (Paris, 1956) and *Recherches sur l'épopée et le barde au Tibet* (Paris, 1959) – firmly established Paris as the centre of Gesar studies. Almost twenty years later, this was continued by Mireille Helffer, *Les chants dans l'épopée tibétaine de Gesar d'après le livre de la course de cheval. Version chantée de Blo-bzañ bstan-'jin*, Genève – Paris (Librairie Droz), 1977.

In the meantime, Stein had by no means abandoned Gesar studies. Starting in January 1969, this reviewer had the privilege of participating as a young student for half a year in Stein's weekly seminar on the "Leningrad Gesar manuscript", a text originating in Amdo. A version of this text had already been translated by Matthias Hermanns (*Das National-Epos der Tibeter Gling könig Ge sar*, Regensburg, 1965). A close study of Hermanns' German translation showed that while it was not without merit, it would be useful to translate the Tibetan text again in a more philologically sophisticated form. Although such a translation does not seem to have been completed by the time Stein's Gesar seminar ended in 1972,<sup>1</sup> the Gesar epic continued to intrigue French Tibetologist, and in the 1990s a group of scholars, headed by Anne-Marie Blondeau and Anne Chayet and with the collaboration of Yontan Gyatso and Samten G. Karmay, studied a Gesar text, conserved in the Musée Guimet, to which the latter had drawn attention. The present volume is the result of this project.

The volume contains a facsimile reproduction and annotated translation of three chapters of the Gesar epic: "The chapter of long

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<sup>1</sup> For the somewhat complicated history of the study of the "Amdo version", cf. R.A. Stein, "L'épopée de Gesar dans sa version écrite de l'Amdo", Tadeusz Skorupski (ed.), *Indo-Tibetan Studies. Papers in honour and appreciation of Professor David L. Snellgrove's contribution to Indo-Tibetan Studies*, Buddhica Britannica Series continua II, Tring (The Institute of Buddhist Studies), 1990, pp. 293-304.



life", "The chapter of remedies", and "The chapter of the (conquest of) Hor". The three chapters form a single manuscript, known as the "Manuscrit Alexandra David-Néel", preserved in the Musée Guimet with the inventory number BG 54805. The author of the text is mentioned in the colophons under two names: dBang-chen Nyi-ma, of the gDong tribe and the rMa clan, or Lung-rig Nyi-ma Grags-pa (p. 6). Although the rMa clan was counted among the Hor tribes, its home area was located in the neighbouring district of Khyung-po. It is possible to determine the year of the final editing of the text (Earth-Pig, *sa phag*) as 1899. The author was what might be styled a 'devotee' of Gesar, having composed a ritual text invoking Gesar as the "expeller of the (enemy's) army" (*Ge-sar dmag-bzlog*) and established the corresponding annual ritual. Moreover, the clan castle contained a chapel consecrated to Gesar which contained a collection of masks of the hero of the epic and his thirty heroic warriors (*dpa' thul*), as well as an extensive collection of texts related to Gesar (p. 7).

The family of dBang-chen Nyi-ma were adherents of Bön, which at first sight is surprising, since *bon po* priests are generally depicted in the epic as evil sorcerers whom Gesar makes it his business to suppress. This is, however, not the case in the present version, where, on the contrary, Gesar is presented as "the restorer of Buddhism and Bön, without distinction" and as "the protector of *ban de* (Buddhist monks) as well as *bon po*" (p. 16). A revealing passage in the manuscript refers to "en Inde et au Zhang chung... le *bon* et le bouddhisme orthodoxes", in contrast to "des *ban de* hérétiques et des *bon po* hérétiques, qui sont hétérodoxes" (p. 93, *rGya gar dang Zhang chung la nang pa'i bon chos... phyi pa ban mu stegs dang bon mu stegs*). dBang-chen Nyi-ma can therefore be placed, as Blondeau and Chayet point out, in the context of *bon gsar*, "New Bön", an eclectic movement based on *gter ma* texts in which an attempt is made to render Bön compatible with Nyingma teachings, especially with regard to the figure of Padmasambhava – a figure which always takes centre stage in the Gesar epic (*ibid.*).

The book contains a detailed Index (pp. 217-234), as well as an extremely useful Glossary (pp. 187-215), covering verbal expressions and proper as well as common nouns. Many of the expressions listed and discussed – in many cases dialect terms from Kham and Amdo – cannot be found in available dictionaries.

It will come as no surprise, given the experience and competence of the authors, that their translation is reliable as well as readable. In the following I offer only a few remarks, all of which concern details.

— p. 31, l. 13 from top: The context is a song addressed to Gesar by the goddess Ma ne-ne gNam-sman dkar-mo. At a certain point in the

song, she exhorts Gesar to turn his body (*sku*), mind (*thugs*), and speech (*gsung*, in that order) to the body, mind and speech of the goddess, in the form of, respectively, her face (*zhal ras*), her thought (*sems nyid*), and the the 'religious song' she is singing to him (*zhi ba'i chos glu*). There is perfect parallelism between the three lines; hence it is – I suggest – an error to translate *sku zhal ras nyi mdangs bdag la gtod* by "En ce qui concerne votre corps, concentrez sur moi le soleil brillant de votre visage". It is only *sku* that refers to Gesar; *zhal ras nyi mdangs* refers to the goddess, just as *sems nyid rig pa'i dbang po* and *zhi ba'i chos glu dbyangs* in the following two lines. I therefore suggest the translation, "[As for your] body, fix it [i.e. your eyes] on me [who has] a face with the brilliance of the sun!"

— p. 39, n. 65: *pha le* is called a "Mot descriptif inconnu". In fact it is not entirely unknown, as it is listed by Rudolf Kaschewsky and Pema Tsering, *Die Eroberung der Burg von Sum-pa. Aus dem tibetischen Gesar-Epos*, Wiesbaden (Otto Harrassowitz), 1987, vol. II, p. 186: *kha rul dri pha le*, "mit stinkendem Maulgeruch (adverbial)". Actually, Kaschewsky does not really translate *pha le* at all, but in view of the text of the Guimet Gesar manuscript and its translation by Blondeau and Chayet (*sa skya pha le/ rdo skya tshubs se*, "la terre grisâtre pulvéru-lante, la pierre grisâtre poudreuse", p. 39), we may perhaps infer that *pha le* indicates that something is stirred up and diffused like a cloud, a mist, or an odour. The authors do not list Kaschewsky's excellent translation in their otherwise useful list of References (pp. 235-240).

— p. 207 *sgron (pa)*: the authors first refer to four meanings found in two standard Tibetan-Tibetan dictionaries: 1. "allumer un feu"; 2. "orner (hon.)"; 3. "offrir (hon.)"; 4. "parler (hon.)". They then add information provided by Samten G. Karmay: "toutes les activités du départ à cheval", as well as the meanings "chevaucher (hon.)" and "tuer". As the fascicles of the *Wörterbuch de tibetischen Schriftsprache*, published by the Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Munich, now appear at a regular pace, it is always useful to consult it. In Fasc. 14, published in 2011 and hence - presumably - available to the authors, *sgron* is listed on p. 499 with the following meanings: 1. "aussprechen, mitteilen" (corresponding to 4. above); 2. "niederlegen" with the example *sga sgron*, "satteln" (thus corresponding to Samten G. Karmay's explanation); 3. "darbringen, schenken" (corresponding to 3. above); 4. "einladen" (which could also be related to 3. above, cf. the common words *mgron*, "feast, banquet", and *mgron po*, "guest", but also "Reisender", *Wörterbuch*, Fasc. 12, p. 361). I mention these references to show how complex a

term may be; in the present case, two phrases in the Guimet manuscript constitute the point of departure for the entry in the Glossary. The first, *chibs kha sgron nas*, would seem to have the meaning of "applying the bit", cf. the explanation of Samten G. Karmay; to involve the meaning of "decorate", as the authors do, would seem to be unnecessary; in the other, *dpa' thul gyi sgron skabs*, *sgron* is taken to mean "kill". This sense of the word, of which the semantic background remains to be clarified, is stated by the authors to be frequent in the Chapter on Hor.

— p. 214 *yul sa*: this word, which occurs quite frequently, is translated – correctly – as "dieu du terroir". The authors point out that the term is not found in dictionaries, but both Yontan Gyatso and Samten G. Karmay attest to its existence with the above meaning in Amdo, and textual passages are also quoted. The term is certainly an ancient one, as it occurs regularly in an 11th-12th century manuscript published and studied by John V. Bellezza, *Death and Beyond in Ancient Tibet*, Beiträge zur Kultur- und Geistesgeschichte Asiens Nr. 177, Vienna (Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften), 2013, cf. the Index, p. 293, for numerous references.

It is a pity, although of no material consequence, that there are a few misprints in Sanskrit terms, thus: p. 16, l. 5: "*Jīna*" for *Jina*; p. 25, n. 1: "*nāmo ratna trayaya*" for *namo ratnatrayāya*; p. 237, bottom right: "*Vīmalakīrti*" for *Vimalakīrti*. On p. 57, line 6 from the top: "*Vajravārahī*" should probably be *-varāhī*, *varāha* being the correct spelling of "boar". Lokesh Chandra's *Tibetan-Sanskrit Dictionary*, Kyoto, 1976 (2nd ed.), vol. 1, p. 1265, however, has *-vārāhī*.

There will always be minor points to discuss – or even correct – in a translation of a text of this type. This in no ways diminishes the great value of this book, which for the first time presents a study and translation of a Gesar text as the fruit of a collaborative effort by Western and Tibetan scholars, and once more makes Paris the centre of Gesar studies.

