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Drakngak Lingpa's Pilgrimage Guides¹ and the Progressive Opening of the Hidden Land of Pemakö

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(University of Sydney)

Introduction

The 'hidden valleys' or 'hidden lands' (béyul, Wylie *sbas yul*) whose locations have been revealed and 'opened' throughout the centuries by successive Tibetan tertön ('treasure finders' or visionary lamas; *gter ston*) have been a topic of growing interest within Tibetan studies in recent years (Reinhard 1978; Diemberger 1990; Childs 1999). Like the terma ('concealed treasure'; *gter ma*) of teachings and sacred objects that were intended for future revelation, hidden lands were said to be concealed by Guru Padmasambhava in the eighth century as sanctuaries of peace and spiritual potency to be revealed in future times of political strife. Pemakö (*Padma bkod*; 'Array of the Lotus') is perhaps the most famous of such hidden lands, and has received particular attention from Western scholars for its alluring religious and geographical features (Sardar-Afkhami 1996, 2001; Baker 2004; Kingdon Ward 1926). Pemakö spans from Kongpo and Powo in the TAR, China, to Arunachal Pradesh, India, following the southward course of the Yarlung Tsangpo River as it leaves the Tibetan Plateau and flows through one of the planet's deepest gorges.² Tibetan

¹ This paper presents an English translation of three pilgrimage guides, or néyig (*gnas yig*; *gnas bshad*; *lam yig*): 1) *gNas mchog pre ta pur ri'i gnas yig shel dkar me long bzhugs so*// The Crystal Mirror Chronicle of the Supreme Sacred Realm of Pretapurī 2) *dGongs gsang zad med ye shes klong mdzod las; Dai wa ko ta'i gnas yig ma rig mun sel bzhugs*// The Chronicle of Devakoṭa That Clears Away the Darkness of Ignorance (from *The Treasure of the Inexhaustible Wisdom Expanse of Secret Enlightened Intention*) 3) *rTsa gsum dgongs pa kun 'dus las: Yang gsang pad shel gnas yig ma rig mun sel sgron me bzhugs*// The Chronicle of the Most Secret Pema Shelri Mountain: The Lamp Which Dispels the Darkness of Ignorance (from *The Unity of All Sublime Thought of the Three Roots*). I would like to acknowledge Lopon P. Ogyan Tenzin Rinpoche's help and encouragement in relation to the initial translation, and Geoffrey Samuel's assistance in revising it for publication.

² Pemakö is located at an altitude range of 2,000-3,500m (6,600-11,500ft) and spans 30,000 square miles. Pemakö is surrounded by high mountains (the tallest is Namcha Barwa in the north at 7,782m, or 25,531ft) and filled with some

Buddhists see the geographical layout of Pemakö as the body of the semi-wrathful wisdom Goddess Vajravārāhī, with her five chakras (energy centres in the subtle body; *rtsa 'khor*; Skt. *cakra*) marked by geomantic centres in the mountainous landscape.

The present paper presents a translation of a short collection of *néyig* ('pilgrimage guidebooks'; *gnas yig*) to Pemakö revealed by the tertön Dudjom Drakngak Lingpa (bDud 'joms drag sngags gling pa, ca. 1871-1929; hereafter Drakngak Lingpa), also known as Dudjom Namkhai Dorjé (bDud 'joms nam mkha'i rdo rje),³ likely during a period of political conflict in Eastern Tibet at the start of the twentieth century. The text is of special interest because it appears to illustrate a recent stage in the progressive opening of the hidden land of Pemakö along the lower Tsangpo River and up one of its tributaries, now known as the Yang Sang Chu ('Most Secret River'; *yang gsang chu*). This further opening effectively extended Pemakö beyond its limits as they seem to have been previously understood, and placed her most sacred sites – the Goddess' womb and secret chakras (*yang gsang gnas*) – on the Indian side of the Sino-Indian border where they have become accessible as pilgrimage sites to diasporic Tibetans. I have looked to a number of accounts by recent Western visitors for help in correlating the visionary landscape portrayed in the *néyig* and its geographical counterpart (Esler 2007; Levine 2011; Sanders 2014).

The first *néyig* of Pemakö were revealed in the mid-seventeenth century by the tertön Rigzin Jatsön Nyingpo (Rig 'dzin 'ja' tshon snying po, 1585-1656) at the time of Gushri Khan's Mongol invasion of Tibet (Sardar-Afkhami 2001; Baker 2004). Jatsön Nyingpo sent his disciple Rigzin Düdul Dorjé (Rig 'dzin bdud 'dul rdo rje) to open Pemakö for Tibetan pilgrims and to convert the local abo-

of the planet's most diverse forms of terrain, vegetation and wild animals. The Yarlung Tsangpo River, whose headwaters originate near Mount Kailash, flows into Pemakö through the Tsangpo Gorge after leaving the Tibetan plateau, and then becomes the Siang and Brahmaputra rivers as it runs through Arunachal Pradesh to the plains of Assam (Grothmann 2012: 22-23).

³ bDud joms drag sngags gling pa is also commonly known by his ordination name Ngag dbang dge legs. Like most Tibetan tertöns he had many Dharma names; in his short biography he is given more than six (sPrul sku padma rig 'dzin, 2013: 7, 8). There is some uncertainty about Drag sngags gling pa's dates, based on possible printing errors of his birth year in the biographies by sPrul sku padma rig 'dzin and the dates of the fourteenth Karmapa, whom the tertön is recorded in the biographies to have met. The year of his passing has also not been specified. A discussion between Lopon P. Ogyan Tanzin and sPrul sku padma rig 'dzin (who is the reincarnation of Drag sngags gling pa) resolved that the tertön's birth took place in a sheep year and his death at the age of fifty-eight. The dates given here are inferred on the basis of this information (see Cantwell 2015: 1, n. 1).

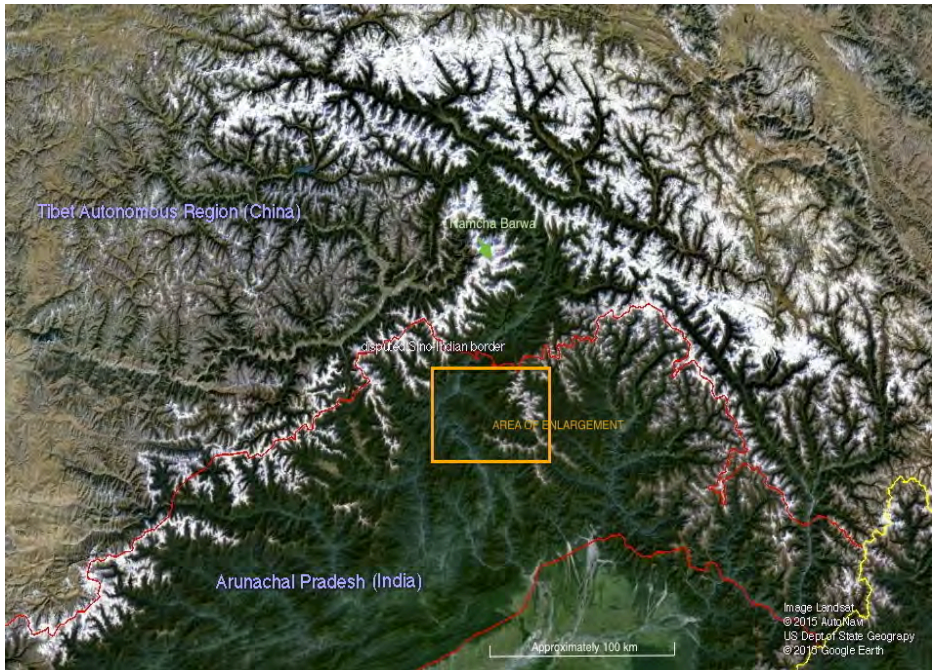
original population to Buddhism (Sardar-Afkhami 1999: 1-2). Following néyig descriptions and meditative visions, a series of later tertön were involved in the progressive conversion of the Pemakö region and the 'opening' of pilgrimage routes to successive chakras surrounding the course of the Tsangpo River. Thus Garwang Chimé Dorjé (Gar dbang 'chi med rdo rje, b.1763) is said to have reopened the head and throat chakras, and the Fifth Gampopa (sGam po pa, O rgyan 'gro 'dul gling pa, b.1757) is said to have opened the Goddess' heart chakra (Sardar-Afkhami 1996: 6, 8). As visions and accounts of the five chakras increased, however, inconsistencies between their various locations became common. As Sardar-Afkhami mentions, it seems that different lamas identified the chakras in reference to their immediate environment, depending on where they had settled in Pemakö, and efforts were not always made to conform to past visions of the chakras' locations (Sardar-Afkhami 1996: 8, n. 7).

The first decade of the twentieth century was a period of major political disturbance in Tibet, with the violence instigated by the Qing dynasty official Zhao Erfeng against Tibetan monasteries in 1905 and his subsequent invasion of Eastern and Central Tibet. Nearly two thousand Eastern Tibetans (Khampas) migrated to Pemakö around this time, many following tertön and their néyig prophecies to further open the hidden land (Grothmann 2012; Sardar-Afkhami 2001). These Khampas are now one of the main groups of inhabitants of Pemakö, along with people of the Adi, Mishmi and Memba tribes who are native inhabitants of the region (Grothmann 2012). It was likely under these circumstances, sometime in the early twentieth century, that the tertön of our present guidebooks migrated to Pemakö in search of the innermost womb and secret chakras of the Goddess Vajravārāhī.

The following translation comprises three different néyig describing salient portions of the Yang Sang (*yang gsang*) or 'Most Secret' region of Pemakö. These néyig were recorded by the treasure revealer Drakngak Lingpa through a process of rendering five cryptic syllables from his revealed terma. Drakngak Lingpa was born in Lhatsedrak, a sacred place of the Five Mañjuśrī Families in the Nangchen region of northern Kham. His principal guru was the first Drubwang Tsoknyi Rinpoche (Grub dbang tshogs gnyis rin po che, b.1828) whose pith instructions guided him to tantric realization. He also received teachings from Jamgon Kongtrul ('Jam mgon kong sprul, 1813-1899) who authenticated his realization and status as a treasure revealer (Cantwell 2015; sPrul sku padma rig 'dzin 2012).

In the néyig Drakngak Lingpa is prophesied by Guru Padmasambhava as an emanation of the renowned consort and disci-

ple of Yeshe Tsogyal, Atsarsalé (A tsar sa le).⁴ He is also celebrated in his hagiographies as the rebirth of Mahāsiddha Saraha as well as of Taksham Nuden Dorjé (sTag sham nus ldan rdo rje, 1655-1708),⁵ an earlier tertön who also revealed texts on Pemakö's innermost realms (sPrul sku padma rig 'dzin 2012; Baker 2004). By the power of Drakngak Lingpa's past prayers and connection with Guru Padmasambhava, he would be impelled to wander through Himalayan hidden lands, opening their maṇḍalas and receiving revelations, sometimes publicly (Cantwell 2015).



Two maps showing an overview of the whole Pemakö region (above), and the valley of the Yang Sang Chu river (the area covered in the néyig), a tributary off of the Upper Siang Valley in Arunachal Pradesh, India (below).

⁴ A' tsar sa le, also A rya sa le: the Nepali consort and disciple of Yeshe Tsogyal
⁵ A.k.a. sTag sham bsam gtan gling pa, an important seventeenth century tertön. Among sTag sham's revealed treasures were descriptive texts about Pemakö as well as the life story of Yeshe Tsogyal. He is also said to have revealed the *rTsa gsum yi dam dgongs 'dus* terma cycle that is connected with the third Chronicle in the following translation.



As mentioned above, these néyig and visions accompanying them have placed the two lower womb and secret chakras of Vajravārāhī on the Indian side of Pemakö, in the Yang Sang Chu region of the Upper Siang district in Arunachal Pradesh. The womb chakra is placed at Pema Drepung mountain near Devakoṭa in the Yang Sang Chu valley, and the secret chakra (“Kilaying Dzong”) at the confluence of the Yang Sang Chu and Siang rivers just south of Tuting. Devakoṭa has become a focal point for modern pilgrimages to the Yang Sang Chu region. It is “the gathering place of dakinis” surrounded like petals of a lotus by Pretapuri (with its Lake Dhanakoṣa), Pema Shelri and Potala mountains (Sanders 2014; Esler 2008). A single circumambulation around Devakoṭa is said to bring ten billion siddhis (Levine 2011).

It is interesting to see the néyig has further imbued the region with sanctity by placing in it several important holy sites that have long been identified at other places. Devakoṭa, Pretapurī, Lampāka and Lake Dhanakoṣa – all pilgrimage sites mentioned in the néyig – are among the 24 *pīṭha* or ‘seats’ of male and female tantric deities mentioned in scriptures of the Saṃvara and Hevajra tantra cycles (Sugiki 2009: 523-524). These *pīṭha* appear to have originally been Śakta sites that were later appropriated by Buddhist tantra; this is apparent in the *Cakrasaṃvaratantra* where they are discussed as actual locations that have been taken over by Buddhist deities (Samuel 2008; Davidson 1991). Devakoṭa’s original location is gen-

erally identified in the Dakshin Dinajpur district of present-day West Bengal; Pretapurī, Lampāka and Lake Dhanakoṣa (Padmasambhava's legendary birthplace in Oḍḍiyāna) also have long-standing geographical referents at other places in the landscapes of India, the Himālaya and Tibet. The location of these holy sites seems to have always been flexible (Sugiki 2009). After the demise of Buddhist tantra in India in the thirteenth century, Devakoṭa, for example, came to be identified at four other locations in Tibet depending on the religious, social and political dynamics of different times and places (Huber 2008: 109).

Potala Mountain and Māratika are yet two other important holy sites that have been relocated in Pemakö by the tertön, both on the pilgrimage route around Devakoṭa in the Yang Sang region. Potala Mountain is the legendary dwelling of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvāra, hypothesized by some to be Pothigai mountain in the Tirunelveli district of Tamil Nadu, India (Hikosaka 1998). The name Potala was of course also given by Tibetans to the Potala Palace of the Dalai Lamas in Lhasa. The present néyig guides pilgrims to Potala Mountain in the Abroka range southeast of Tuting. Māratika, the holy cave from the life story of Padmasambhava where he and Mandarava attained the siddhi of long life, is most commonly thought in recent times to be located at the Halase caves of Eastern Nepal.⁶ In the néyig, Māratika is one of four caves flanking Devakoṭa hill in the Yang Sang Chu valley.

A unique feature of Pemakö as a hidden land overall, and of Drakngak Lingpa as a tertön, is the apocalyptic prophecy that assigns Pemakö's womb chakra as the 'Deathless Extreme Secret Place' (*'Chi med yang gsang gnas*) from where the seeds of humanity will regenerate themselves after being extinguished at the end of the Dark Age. These seeds are said to be stored in a treasure chest under Padmasambhava's throne at the top of Devakoṭa hill (Esler 2008; Sanders 2015).⁷ Along with these néyig, Drakngak Lingpa revealed part of Padmasambhava's throne at the top of Devakoṭa.

⁶ The identification of Māratika in the néyig as one of the four "caves of transcendental yogic accomplishment" on Devakoṭa Mountain appears to be older than today's more popular identification of Māratika with the Halase caves in the Everest region of eastern Nepal. According to Katia Buffetrille, the narrative of Māratika in eastern Nepal only developed in the 1980s (Buffetrille 1994, 2012).

⁷ From the second Chronicle of Devakoṭa in the néyig: *gzhuḡs khri gter sgrom 'dzam gling snying nor yod* / "the throne. . . which safeguards a treasure chest, the heart jewel of this earth". Oral traditions of Pemakö prophecies state that from this location all classes of creatures will gather as seeds and regenerate themselves from the womb of the Goddess in a new cycle of time, after having become extinct at the end of a dark age (Sanders 2015: 9).

This throne is considered in some oral traditions to be Pemakö's most important terma (Levine 2011).

Drakngak Lingpa shared a close collaboration with the late Dudjom Rinpoche, 'Jigs bral ye shes rdo rje (1904-1987). It was at the invitation of Drakngak Lingpa that Dudjom Rinpoche first visited Pemakö in his late teens and bestowed the empowerments of the Rinchen Terdzö⁸ for his first time in Devakoṭa. Dudjom Rinpoche in turn prophesied the benefit that the treasures of Drakngak Lingpa would have for beings in future times (Esler 2008).

The translation that follows was carried out under the guidance of Lopon P. Ogyan Tanzin Rinpoche, a respected lama and scholar who was born in Pemakö to a family of ngakpas (*sngags pa*; tantric lay practitioner) descending from the tertön Pema Lingpa (*Padma gling pa*, 1450-1521), and who has visited the sites described in these néyig several times on pilgrimage. The original Tibetan néyig are written in four-lined verses, and as visionary pilgrimage guides to an earthly pure land the wording is at times cryptic. It was necessary to expand the English translation in order to translate the verses intelligibly, as well as to include Lopon P. Ogyan Tanzin Rinpoche's comments and interpretations that were given to clarify the passages and to assist people using the translation as a pilgrimage guidebook. Words in square brackets are Rinpoche's additions and are not in the original Tibetan text.

The Crystal Mirror Chronicle of the Supreme Sacred Realm of Pretapurī [within the Hidden Earthly Pure Land of Pemakö]

Prologue

Here are written the five secret symbols.

Eh ma!

From primordial unobstructed Dharmadhātu, unchanging and free of all concepts, the play of the sublime manifest intention miraculously appears as five secret symbols of the ḍākinīs. The time has now ripened to decipher their hidden meaning.

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⁸ *Rin chen gter mdzod*, a sixty-three volume collection of important treasures attributed to Guru Padmasambhava and his closest disciples, compiled by 'Jam mgon kong sprul with the assistance of 'Jam dbyangs mkhye brtse'i dbang po.

Pemakö's significance⁹

In the future, when human life begins its decline at the age of twenty years, when violence and degeneration, wars, famine and epidemics prevail, as a result of powerful vengeful aspirations made previously by enemies of the Dharma, armies at the four borders will stir and the beings of Tibet, the Land of Snows, will suffer a time of great sorrow and loss. However, due to previous blessings of the Buddhas Samantabhadra and Śākyamuni there will endure the hidden sacred realm of Pemakö, where the landscape is formed by the holy body of Vajravārāhī, Queen of the Ḍākinīs. Having attained there the accomplishment of the state beyond birth and death,¹⁰ the great Vidyādhara Padmasambhava raised the Victory Banner of Unceasing Dharma.

Throughout the five valleys, six regions and nine realms are laid out the five chakras of Vajravārāhī, and therein are hidden countless Dharma treasures¹¹ of Guru Padmasambhava, sealed with the protection of his blessings and prayers. Thus no hostile forces can destroy this hidden, holy land, a naturally perfected, self-arisen vajra fortress. It is a celestial realm of this earth, a hidden realm of the vidyādharas, the outer, inner, secret and most secret holy body of Vajravārāhī. How wondrous and miraculous is this land!

SAMAYA

⁹ The subtitles in this English translation are given to clarify the content of the néyig and are not in the Tibetan text.

¹⁰ This seems to allude to Padmasambhava's attainment of long-life siddhi at Māratika Cave, which as mentioned in the introduction has been relocated by the néyig to a cave on the side of Devakoṭa hill in Pemakö.

¹¹ The practice of revealing hidden religious treasures (*gter ma*) was carried out in India, according to Indian legendary material (Sardar-Afkhami 2001: 43, n. 54). In Tibet this practice became a fully-developed tradition of revelation whereby mystics underwent visionary searches for scriptures and sacred objects whose existence and concealment were attributed to Guru Padmasambhava. The revealers (*gter ston*) were prophetically appointed, and upon discovering a 'treasure' (*gter ma*) the revealer could recall entire teachings and prophecies received from Guru Padmasambhava in a past life. Among other purposes, revelation of these treasures served to demonstrate continuity with a past authentic source of the teachings (Thondup 1986; Gyatso 1991; Sardar-Afkhami 2001).

Essential explanation of Pemakö as the maṇḍala arrangement of the five chakras of the wisdom goddess Vajravārāhī¹²

Outwardly this sacred realm appears as the joyful land of Pemakö, while its nature is the maṇḍala arrangement of the Goddess Vajravārāhī's five chakras.¹³ The sow-faced snow peak protruding into the sky is the very face of Vajravārāhī, surrounded by clear manifestations of Cakrasaṃvara and his retinue. A long conch shell radiating rainbow lights marks the throat chakra of Vajravārāhī, where continual night fires burn in cremation grounds, which are the realms of Mahākāla and his seventy accompanying protector deities. Vajravārāhī's heart is marked with an auspicious knot and lies in a luminous land, where the waters of the rivers possess the five wisdoms and the site of an overhanging cliff is a maṇḍala of peaceful and wrathful deities. The navel chakra of Vajravārāhī lies in the place known as Pema Drepung [Rinchen Pung]¹⁴ and at its centre appears the Copper Coloured Mountain, the celestial abode of Guru Padmasambhava. This magical landscape, the very body of Vajravārāhī, how beautiful it is to behold! From the secret great bliss of Kīlaya, Dorjé Phurba manifests in the landscape of Kilaying Dzong where deadly insects

¹² The narrative of Pemakö as the maṇḍala arrangement of Vajravārāhī's five chakras became popular after the 17th century, particularly with the revelations of sTag sham nus ldan rdo rje (1655-1708) that described the Tsangpo River as her central channel and regions along the River's course as her chakras (Baker 2004: 31).

¹³ The following passage outlines the five chakras of Vajravārāhī – face (or head), throat, heart, navel and secret. A popular contemporary narrative identifies the upper three chakras in Southeastern Tibet (now the Tibet Autonomous Region [TAR], China), with the head at Kangri Karpo, the throat below Gyala Pelri and her two breasts the peaks of Namcha Barwa and Gyala Pelri. The present néyig and visions accompanying them have identified her two lower chakras in the upper Siang district of Arunachal Pradesh, India, with the womb chakra near Devakoṭa in the Yang Sang Chu valley, and the secret chakra ('Kilaying Dzong'; sometimes referred to locally as 'Kila Yangzom') at the confluence of the Yang Sang Chu and Siang rivers just south of Tuting.

¹⁴ This identification of Pema Drepung as Rinchen Pung was given by Lopon P. Ogyan Tenzin Rinpoche. The identification of the navel (or womb) chakra with Rinchen Pung agrees with the *sPo bo lo rgyus* and revelations of Kun bzang 'od zer gar dbang 'chi med rjo rje (b. 1763) (Sardar-Afkhami 1996). It differs, however, with the accounts of sTag sham nus ldan rdo rje (a previous incarnation of Drakngak Lingpa), sLe lung bshad pa'i rdo rje as well descriptions in the 'Luminous Web' of Rig 'dzin rdo rje thogs med that identify Rinchen Pung instead with Vajravārāhī's heart chakra. Kun bzang 'od zer was unusual in identifying the chakras not with precise locations, but with entire sections of the Brahmaputra gorge (Sardar-Afkhami 1996: 8). Ian Baker explains that the Vajravārāhī's five chakras generally refer to areas in Pemakö encompassing several pilgrimage sites (Baker 2004).

and snakes crawl within frightful cremation grounds. Harrowing cliffs and dreadful gorges, arid desert heights, snow mountains and forests are patterned throughout this land. Sublime and unsurpassable is this magical place of Pemakö, the utterly perfect outer, inner and secret pure realm of Vajravārahī.

The mountain outwardly appearing as Gyala Pelri is the abode of manifesting deities beyond number. Inwardly it is the thunderous mountain of Namcha Barwa, where the Five Vajrasattva Families and countless bodhisattvas abide.

In the secret pure land of eastern Pemakö dwell Vairocana and his retinue of peaceful and wrathful deities, spontaneously arisen and distinctly arranged in the landscape.

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**Particular physical characteristics of Pemakö, and
[Chimé]¹⁵ Yang Sang, the womb chakra of Vajravārahī
(Devakoṭa Mountain and Pretapurī)**

Inwardly, the upper end of the valley called Dremo Jong is steep and narrow, while its lower end is wide. The mountain peaks and valleys together form the petals of an open lotus, and the sound of the river's rushing waters can be heard constantly. Monkeys play as gods play and the calls of the birds are sweet songs of Dharma. Forests are thick with medicinal and richly scented trees and at all times rainbow lights appear. Crops are abundant beyond measure, with an array of sublime sweet and sour tastes. No hostile forces can destroy this fortress-like valley. It is the incomparable Enjoyment Body, Sambhogakāya, the outer, inner, secret and most secret supreme realm.

Brief description of Devakoṭa Mountain

Outwardly the garden-like place of Devakoṭa Mountain is the maṇḍala of Guhyasamāja, the gathering place of ḍākinīs of the Mother Tantra. In essence it is indistinguishable from Dhumātālā,

¹⁵ 'Chimé' ('deathless') is an oral comment from Lopon P. Ogyan Tenzin Rinpoche and not in the Tibetan text. This title seems to be connected to the prophecy of Pemakö's womb chakra being the 'Deathless Extreme Secret Place' (*Chimed yang gsang gnas*) from where the seeds of humanity will regenerate themselves after the end of a dark age.

[the great city of *ḍākinīs* in *Oḍḍiyāna*].¹⁶ Self-arisen buried treasure chests hold precious Dharma treasures of the three transcendent qualities. It is the unequalled pure realm of this very earth.

SAMAYA

Particular characteristics of Pretapurī¹⁷

The landscape of Pretapurī forms a fully opened lotus, and the nectar waters which flow through this holy land are luminous and possess the eight sublime qualities.¹⁸ The five lakes here are of the nature of the Five Buddha Families and their waters are the colour of clear, lapis blue. Wondrous and amazing are these waters, inseparable from the waters of Lake Dhanakoṣa in the pure realm of *Oḍḍiyāna*. At the heart of the island Citta, which lies in the centre of the Lake, is the miraculous Gandola Temple, one in nature with that of *Oḍḍiyāna* where uncountable Sambhogakāya deities gather.¹⁹ Upon seeing this place one's obscurations to knowledge will be cleared and negative karma accumulated over a thousand eons will be purified. Whoever completes thirteen circumambulations of Pretapurī will instantly reach the transcendent state where there is no discrimination between male and female, nor good and

¹⁶ According to Matthieu Ricard (in a personal communication with Toni Huber in 1992), *Dhumātālā* is identified as the Buddhafield of *Vajrayoginī*, with whom *Vajravārāhī* is interchangeable (Huber 1999: 267, ch.4, n. 21). *Dhumātālā* is another important tantric site relocated in *Pemakö* by the *néyig* that has an earlier geographical referent in another location. In this case, *Dhumātālā* is thought to have been in the Swat Valley of northwest Pakistan, a location identified with the tantric site of *Oḍḍiyāna* (Tucci 1971: 397 n.1, 399 n. 4; Huber 1999).

¹⁷ Pretapurī (local variants also Tretapuri, Titapori, Tsetapuri, Cittapuri) is one of the three abodes of the Three Kāyas (of the Lotus Family; *Padma'i rigs*) that are said to surround like petals the central hill of *Devakoṭa*: *Amitābha's* abode of *Pema Shelri* (*Dharmakāya*), *Avalokiteśvāra's* abode of *Potala* (*Sambhogakāya*) and *Padmasambhava's* abode of Pretapurī (*Nirmanakāya*).

¹⁸ *yan lag brgyad*; 'the eight branches' or 'the eight qualities': Pure water is said in Buddhist sūtras to possess eight qualities: crystal clarity, coolness, sweetness, lightness, softness, soothing to the stomach, free of impurities, clears the throat.

¹⁹ *Oḍḍiyāna* (also *Uḍḍiyāna* ; *o rgyan*, *u rgyan*) is held to be the birthplace of *Guru Padmasambhava*, as well as the place of origin of many *Vajrayāna* and *Dzogchen* teachings, and has thus placed an important role in the history and dissemination of Tibetan Buddhism. Many scholars seem to agree with Tucci's assertion that *Oḍḍiyāna* was located in the Swat Valley of Pakistan (Tucci 1940). However, the question of *Oḍḍiyāna's* actual location is quite complex, given that by the time of our sources it had evolved into a country of legend and myth rather than physical reality (Geoffrey Samuel, personal communication 2015).

evil. For whoever makes a single circumambulation of this earthly pure realm, the door to all lower rebirths will be closed. These and many other inconceivable qualities are to be gained in this pure land.

The earth here is filled with precious, sealed Dharma treasures and at all times rainbow lights appear in the sky. Those of pure view can see the faces of the deities that abide here and receive from them many auspicious prophecies. Whoever exerts oneself in Dharma practice in this holy land will attain the liberated rainbow body and by making offerings and aspirations all hindrances and obstacles of this life will be removed, the eight fears²⁰ will be pacified and the six fortunes²¹ will increase. The seed of a vidyādhara²² will be planted in the mindstream of anyone who settles in this sacred place. By the power of the lakes' clear and lustrous nectar-like waters, all sicknesses, harmful forces, obscurations and obstacles will be removed, providing one has not already been be-headed nor one's heart torn out. Except for those instances where previous karma has fully ripened, by the power of these waters one will be separated from all untimely death and gain the longevity of a hundred years. By a single drop of this water entering the mouth, without doubt one will be healed of all sicknesses and attain liberation. How wondrous are these liberating and purifying waters! Guru Padmasambhava himself declared,

"These wonders are true and undecieving. If they prove to be false I myself will be reborn immediately in hell. Only those of fortune will find their way to this hidden, sacred land. Those lacking sufficient merit will be unable to reach it. [It is Mahākāla's oath to drive countering forces from this pure realm]. Therefore, if you doubt the truth of these accounts [Mahākāla] will drink the blood of your heart. Protectors of this holy place, guard well this sacred land and its Dharma treasures! RAKSHA HUNG!"

²⁰ 'jigs pa brgyad; 'the eight fears': drowning, thieves, lions, snakes, fire, demons, captivity, elephants.

²¹ skal ba drug; 'the six fortunes': power and wealth, physical form, glory, reputation, wisdom, enthusiastic perseverance.

²² In Tibetan Buddhism a vidyādhara ('awareness holder'; rig 'dzin) is a wisdom being who abides in or 'holds' an enlightened state of pure awareness or 'rigpa'.

The discovery of Pretapurī and Devakoṭa Mountain and their significance

At the end of this five hundred year period of enduring Dharma,²³ when human life begins its decline after twenty years, due to the inventions of evil spirits a multitude of diseases, conflicts and famines will spread throughout the land of Tibet. An outbreak of war between the armies of Upper and Lower Tibet, the Hor and the Mongols, will flash and crack like thunder and the glorious doctrine of Dharma will decline like a setting sun behind mountain peaks. Untimely deaths will come unexpectedly and lead to agony in the hell of unceasing torment. When the evil age appears in these ways, [Pemakö], the most secret of all secret sacred places, will become a fortress-like haven providing vajra protection from all fears. Concerning the one who will discover this secret place and thereby open the door of liberation for sentient beings, [Guru Padmasambhava thus foretold]:

"The one now known as Aryasalé will be born in the future as the secretly named Dudjom, Destroyer of Evil, bearing a red birthmark. His birthplace will be that known as Lhatsedrak, home of the Five Manjushri Families, and he will be born to a bodhisattva father of a high, noble lineage. By the power of previous deep and profound prayers he will be impelled to travel as a mendicant throughout hidden sacred places. If Mara's obstacles do not deceive him, his karmic imprints will ripen and he will discover many major and minor hidden sacred places, revealing Dharma treasures. In this way such an unsurpassable liberator of beings will appear in the future. He will meet with twenty-five dākinīs born of good lineages, and by practicing with them he will be able to extend his life to seventy years. However, at this time he must beware of meeting a woman of an unpropitious lineage, which would create dangerous obstacles like crossing a narrow passage over an abyss. To avoid this danger, by relying on the combined practice of Vajrakīlaya and Amitāyus he will have protection like that of an iron fence and will overcome all onslaughts of obstructing forces. These words I speak are the infallible truth."

²³ According to Indian Buddhist cosmology, as in texts like the Abhidharmakośa, Śākyamuni Buddha appeared in the world when the average human life span was 100 years. In these texts the Buddha's teachings were foretold to remain for 5,000 years after his death, a period divided up into progressively less spiritual epochs of 500 years in which the human life span would decrease an average of five years each time (Sardar-Afkhami 2001: 49).

SAMAYA

Prophecy of times to come

In the East the Chinese tiger pouncing in the air, in the South an elephant moving westwards, in the West a peacock dancing, in the North a yellow bull leaping and running, and in the centre a tortoise groaning in pain, these are the signs that the time has come for people to make their way to the hidden land of Pemakö.²⁴

Migrating through the secret valley of Anulung, continuing alongside the Langchen River, they will arrive in Pemakö, the miraculous pure land of great joy. All throughout this pure land are forests and lofty mountain peaks. The soaring Pöngedenpa Mountain smells at its heights of incense and is covered in forests neither too dense nor too sparse. Utterly beautiful to behold is this land of Pemakö. During the day celestial birds sing melodious songs and in all directions rainbow lights appear. Mother *ḍākinīs* and sky-goers dance with delight, hosts of deities and wisdom beings assemble like clouds, and powerful Dharma protectors and guardians gather in a fury. In all four directions nectar falls continuously like a gentle rain. There are countless caves marked with signs of spiritual accomplishment, including the extraordinary secret cave of Guru Padmasambhava, which is the meeting place of mother *ḍākinīs*, inseparable from the Gandola Temple of *Oḍḍiyāna*. In the West is the cave known as Khading Nyidapuk, where Guru Padmasambhava engaged for seven months in the Red Garuda *sāḍhanā* that embodies all buddhas, thereby accomplishing many siddhis and becoming inseparable from the wisdom of *Jñāna Garuda*.

²⁴ Though it is not directly indicated in the *neyig*, we can infer that the *tertön*, Drakngag Lingpa, was part of a movement of Tibetans fleeing to Pemakö in the early 20th century, taking the invasion of the Younghusband expedition, the depredations of Zhao Erfeng and imperial China's western expansion onto the Tibetan Plateau as signs that the time was ripe to depart for the hidden land. The animals listed in this passage as analogies for countries involved in Tibet's political circumstances of the time could be, with speculation, interpreted as follows: China the tiger; Russia, or Mongolia, the yellow bull; India the elephant; and Britain the peacock. The tortoise groaning in pain in the centre is presumably Tibet. An example of a wave of Tibetan migrants to Pemakö at this time was a group of nearly two thousand eastern Tibetans who in 1902/03 followed *rjes drung 'jam pa byung gnas*, a *tertön* from Riwoche in Kham, in search of the 'innermost secret site' (*yang gsang gnas*) of Pemakö. With the encroaching invasion of the Kuomintang armies in nearby Powo, *rjes drung* returned to Riwoche and died there soon after, leaving his Tibetan followers behind in the Mishmi territory of Pemakö (Sardar-Afkhami 2001; Grothmann 2012).

The hidden treasures of Pretapurī

As a sign of having perfected the unobstructed samādhi of the Red Garuda deity, Guru Padmasambhava hid twenty-five Dharma treasures of Garuda activity here. Whoever does one circumambulation of this place will rise above all hindrances created by harmful nāga forces.

In the southeast is Rinchen Kundu Ling, the realm of Vajrasattva where a great cliff in the shape of a lion looks out to the sky. Here are hidden twenty-five various Dharma treasures related to wealth and architecture. Any sincere prayers made here are fulfilled.

In the northwest is Osel Lhalung, the dwelling place of the gods, known also as White Rock Tashi Dzong, a supreme hidden place which holds twenty-five Dharma treasures as well as all worldly needs and desires.

In the northeast the place known as Tumdrak Trekché is a great garden of trees and meadows, wherein a cave marked at its rear with a symbol indicates the hiding place of five treasures of black magic.

In the southwest is the place called Gawa Khyil, the Wheel of Bliss, where five treasures of art, medicine and architecture are hidden. In addition to these in the land below are deposits of gold, silver, copper, lead and minerals that can be effortlessly forged. Various precious stones can be found here, as well as five hidden sources of salt water. When the appropriate time has ripened all of these resources will be unearthed and put to use.

Guru Padmasambhava vowed to come again in manifold emanations of his body, speech, mind, qualities and activity. When favourable times and conditions unfold without obstruction, his emanations will gradually reveal these treasures for the good of sentient beings and create causes for glorious happiness and prosperity.

SAMAYA

Colophon

The tertön Dudjom Namkhai Dorjé rendered this chronicle from the five secret syllables, which are the spontaneous display of his vast wisdom awareness of the great empty expanse of Dharmadhātu.



**The Chronicle of Devakoṭa That Clears Away the Darkness
of Ignorance (from The Treasure of the Inexhaustible Wisdom
Expanse of Secret Enlightened Intention)²⁵**

Prologue

Here are written the five secret symbols.

The five secret symbols were spontaneously rendered from a vision of the unimpeded vajra continuum in the luminous space of awareness. The time has come to set forth their inner meaning. Please listen well oh fortunate ones!

SAMAYA

The original creation of the hidden pure land of Pemakö

In the beginning of the phenomenal universe of three thousand enduring worlds was primordial great emptiness, from which were born the four elements of earth, water, fire and air, arising one by one and existing in support of each other. From the four elements spontaneously emerged the four continents with its central Mount Meru. At the summit of the Mountain in the hands of the Universal Buddha is a begging bowl filled with a measureless ocean of sparkling nectar. In the centre of the ocean grows a celestial wish-fulfilling tree bearing an abundance of leaves, fruits and flowers. On the stamen of each flower is a Nirmāṇakāya realm and depending on the common merits and fortunate karma of beings throughout the world, the petals of the lotus flowers become pure lands on earth. The earthly sphere of Vajravārāhī's holy body is the maṇḍala of her five chakras containing outer, inner, secret and most secret realms. Being a pure land on this earth it is thus named Pemakö, the Sacred Formation of the Lotus.²⁶

In the past, Śākyamuni and other buddhas have blessed and expounded on this realm in the Four Tantras.²⁷ Outwardly it is

²⁵ *sGongs gsang zad med klong mdzod*: a terma cycle of Drakngak Lingpa.

²⁶ This description is similar to other accounts of earthly pure lands, or hidden lands, found in Buddhist cosmology of the Abhidharmakośa and Tibetan terma. Related mythologies of the hidden lands describe them as the 25 petals of a lotus that fills the begging bowl of Buddha Vairocana (Dilgo Khyentse 1999; Sardar-Afkhami 2001: 9).

²⁷ *rgyud bzhi*; 'the four classes of tantra': according the New Schools of Tibetan Buddhism (*gSar bsgyur*) they are *Kriya*, *Carya*, *Yoga*, *Anuttarayoga*. Hidden

called Pemakö, the realm of great bliss. Rocky gorges run steep and narrow like passing through the inside of a goat's horn. Jewel-shaped mountain ranges stretch across the landscape, while the pastures and forests are enveloped in rainbow lights. Various species of birds sing the Dharma with their sweet calls, and major and minor sacred sites located throughout the land are numerous beyond expression. Uncountable caves exist marked with signs of Guru Padmasambhava's yogic accomplishments, [and by his ordinance the land is infused with the presence of Dharma protectors].

In this secret land of Vajravārahī's five chakras, arisen from the Dharmadhātu, lotus flowers bloom even during the winter season. Simply being present here is sufficient to lead one to an auspicious death, and will establish in oneself the seed of the lasting joy of the Nirmāṇakāya.

This is the infallible truth proclaimed by Guru Padmasambhava. Therefore, oh fortunate ones, reflect on it within your hearts!

SAMAYA

Approaching the sacred Devakoṭa Mountain through the valley of Dremo Jong

In the rice valley called Dremo Jong,²⁸ the most secret land of great bliss, the passes and valleys of the mountains are arranged as an open lotus flower. The roar of the rivers sound a wrathful mantra, and like a canopy over the trees and forests is a constant veneer of rainbows. The rivers and streams flow with luminous nectar and in all parts of the valley fall cool, light showers from a thin cloud cover above. The medicinal herb named Ludu Dorjé²⁹ that grows

lands were especially expounded in the those tantras later classified in Tibet as the Mother Tantras (Sardar-Afkhami 1996).

²⁸ Presumably Dremo Jong (*'bras mo ljongs*) is a local and/or ancient name for the Yang Sang Chu valley. Sikkim has the same Tibetan name Dre-Jong (*'bras ljongs*), but is nowhere near an entrance route to the Devakoṭa of our present *néyig*.

²⁹ *Klu bdud rdo rje*, *Codonopsis ovata*, grows at altitudes between 2,000-4,200m. Having a light or dark flower and tuberous root, the herb is included in Tibetan pharmacopeia as a cure for leprosy and other ailments associated with nāgas, as well as joint stiffness and rheumatic pain. The herb is also said to possess minor sedative and psychoactive properties, and to be taken by yogins in order to enhance siddhis (Lopon P. Ögyan Tenzin Rinpoche, personal communication 2005; Huber 1999; Dowman 1997). In *Cult of Pure Crystal Mountain* Toni Huber discusses the use of Ludu Dorjé by Drukpa yogins in their tantric preparations at Mount Tsari in Southeast Tibet, particularly in the so-called rainbow-light pellet (*'ja' tshon ril bu*) that the Drukpa Kagyupa are famous for. Ludu Dorjé is said to grow on the slopes of Mount Tsari and serious tantric

here attests to the land's purity. One hundred major and one thousand minor treasures of precious gems, grains, medicines and architecture are concealed in this valley. No hostile forces can destroy this vajra fortress-like realm.

The significance and qualities of Devakoṭa Mountain³⁰

The clear-light realm of Devakoṭa Mountain is inseparable from Dhumātalā [in Oḍḍiyāna], the realm of deities and ḍākinīs of the Mother Tantra. It is the dwelling place of Cakrasaṃvara with his 725 accompanying deities, as well as Guhyasamāja and his retinue, where guardians and Dharma protectors as numerous as stars in the sky vigorously engage in Dharma activities. Fortunate ones who merely come to this place will experience spontaneous realization, but those devoid of merit will receive severe consequences for their wrong views. By practising meditation here one can attain perfect Buddhahood in this lifetime, or upon reaching the bardo can attain the Sambhogakāya, the Enjoyment Body of complete

practitioners on pilgrimage there rely on the taxonomy of ritual manuals and experienced lamas to find the correct herb, and then carefully ingest it for its powerful hallucinatory and bodily effects. Pilgrims and residents around Mount Tsari tell stories about the unusual effects that Ludu Dorje has on animals and humans who incidentally, or accidentally, ingest the herb (Huber 1999: 98-99).

³⁰ Devakoṭa, more correctly Devīkoṭa (Tib. *Lha mo mkhar* or *Lha mo rdzong*; 'Citadel of the Goddess'; also in Tibetan sources as Devīkoṭa and Devīkoṭī), was originally a holy site (*pīṭha*) located in West Bengal that was celebrated by Buddhist and non-Buddhist tantric practitioners as a seat of the goddess. As a *pīṭha* Devakoṭa is generally understood to be the location of a certain part of the goddess' body, sometimes corresponding to a part of the internal body of the yogin. Various Buddhist and non-Buddhist tantric systems identify the body part differently, however, and give differing explanations of its significance (Huber 2008; Sugiki 2009: 522 ff.). In the *Kālika Purāṇa*, for example, Devakota is an important *pīṭha* where the goddess Satī's two feet fell on the ground (Sircar 1973: 17). According to this néyig Devakoṭa is associated with Vajravārahī's womb chakra and is "the gathering place of ḍākinīs of the Mother Tantra". The location for Devakoṭa described in the present néyig corresponds to the circular hill near Mangkota village that is encircled anticlockwise by the Yang Sang Chu river, a tributary of the Siang running northwest towards Tuting in the Upper Siang district of Arunachal Pradesh. This location differs from various other celebrated Devakoṭa sites in Tibet and India. After the demise of Buddhist tantra in India from the thirteenth century, Tibetans came to identify Devakoṭa at four places in Tibet: Tsari, Kharchu, Phabongka and Tsadra Rinchen Drak. Tibetans also hypothesized four Indian locations for Devakoṭa, usually never having been to India and speculating on the basis of scriptural passages: Varendra in present-day Bengal, near Pāṭaliputra in Bihar, Devikottai near Pondicherry and Kāchari Hills to the east of Varendra (Huber 2008).

enlightenment. Beings like butchers who have committed heavy sins during their lifetimes, but make efforts to purify in this holy place, will be reborn to a stainless brahmin-like lineage. The door to all lower rebirths will be closed for whomever makes one complete circumambulation of Devakoṭa Mountain. The merit created here by prostrating, offering lights, performing rituals and so forth is equivalent to the merit created by performing these activities millions of times in other places. The fruit of a month of yogic practice in this earthly pure realm is equal to that of a year of yogic practice in an ordinary place. A single outer circumambulation of this holy place will bring ten billion siddhis, while making thirteen circumambulations in one day will lead directly to the transcendent state that is beyond the dualism of virtue and non-virtue.

It is Guru Padmasambhava's vow that all explained herein is the infallible truth.

SAMAYA

The outer four directions and eight sub-directions of this sacred place are marked as the abodes of Mañjuśrī, Chenrezig, Tārā, Vajrasattva, Heruka's eight deities, Hayagrīva and Troma. Each of these are surrounded by countless subsidiary sacred abodes of Vaiśravaṇa and other deities.

On the four sides of Devakoṭa Mountain are caves of transcendental yogic accomplishment, and at the four corners are the four charnel grounds and the four trees of vital life energy, wherein reside a ceaseless display of *ḍākas* and *ḍākinīs*.

In the northeast is the hidden bliss cave of Vajravārāhī, in which her heart chakra is marked by an auspicious knot of eternity. From the centre of the auspicious knot a red *sindhura*³¹ sub-

³¹ In Vajrayāna *sindhura*, literally "sediment from the banks of the Indus," refers to red earth mineral substances found at a Vajravārāhī (or Vajrayoginī) sacred site. Such red mineral substances are often seen as the menstrual blood of Vajravārāhī, equated with energy drops of the subtle-body that allow for blissful awakening in tantric practice (*byang sems dmar po*) (Huber 1999: 96). For example, Phodrang Kyomotso lake at the summit of Sherab Drillburi, a sacred mountain of Vajravārāhī near Mount Tsari, is also called the Ocean of Sindhura and the red substance suspended in its waters is regarded as Vajravārāhī's generative fluid and menstrual blood (Huber 1999: 96-97). This is also the case with the *sindhura* found in Vajravārāhī's hidden bliss cave on the northeastern side of Devakoṭa hill in Pemakö. As stated in the present passage of the néyig: "From the centre of the auspicious knot a red *sindhura* substance is exuded, the secret drop of red bodhicitta. To taste it is to taste the seed of buddhamind, which gives rise to the supreme wisdom of bliss and emptiness". Along with being cherished as a blessed substance, *sindhura* is sometimes used in goddess-related tantric rituals and divination procedures (Huber 1999: 96).

stance is exuded, the secret drop of red bodhicitta. To taste it is to taste the seed of buddhamind, which gives rise to the supreme wisdom of bliss and emptiness, pacifies all disease and causes life and youthfulness to increase.

In the Māratika Cave are hidden five treasures of instructions on realizing the deathless state. From the rock walls of this cave seeps luminous long-life nectar water with the wish-fulfilling powers of a full moon. To wash with this nectar water, drink it or taste it increases longevity and splendour.

At the peak of Devakoṭa Mountain sits the throne where Guru Padmasambhava eternally abides, and which safeguards a treasure chest, the heart jewel of this earth. It is filled with the Eight Life Supporting Jewels that bestow vitality, such as turquoise, as well as twenty-five naturally arising Dharma treasures.

The Vajra Body of Hayagrīva and Vajravārāhī in union dwells in a rock marked by the syllable LAM. Therein is hidden the profound secret sādhanā of Hayagrīva, called *The Unity of All Sublime Thought*. The exterior of this rock is marked with seven rope-like jutting lines which seal this secret treasure within. On the right end of the rock many seed syllables of BHRUM appear one on top of the other, indicating that within are hidden the outer, inner and secret sādhanās of peaceful and wrathful Mañjuśrī. Their guardian is [Mahākāla], holding a curved knife, who aids those of fortune in seeking this Dharma treasure. Those lacking merit who deny the sacredness of this place he will kill and release.

Devakoṭa Mountain is the wish-fulfilling island of the four activities where all needs and desires are spontaneously fulfilled. It is a wondrous land, inseparable from the Pure Land of Great Bliss, where rebirth can be easily cast aside by oneself and others. By the power of the truth of previous aspirations made by the buddhas, the seed of happy rebirths will be sown in those with heavy negative karma. Those who exert themselves in Dharma practice here will attain enlightenment in this lifetime. Those who form a connection to this place will gather extraordinary merit by expressing faith and reverence through their body, speech and mind. Those who build stupas, temples or who settle in this holy land are declared by Guru Padmasambhava to be his very own messengers. Have faith and make supplications in this earthly pure land and your fortune will become complete. Hold wrong views regarding its purity and you will immediately suffer obstacles. By disparaging this holy land one's seed of liberation will be consumed, while

Ordinary red earth or vermillion (made from cinnabar) is sometimes used as a substitute for *sindhura* from an actual holy site. *Sindhura* (or sindoor) is also the red powder placed in the hair parting of married Hindu women.

leading seven people away from this place displays the unmistakable sign of being an evil incarnation. Therefore, abandon wrong views and protect your mind of faith with the hook of mindfulness. Do not make the mistaken choice of misery over bliss!

SAMAYA

Dopo³² Pema Drepung Mountain

To the southeast of Devakoṭa Mountain a majestic snow peak soars in the sky. It is known by the people who dwell in the region as Pema Drepung, the Lotus Rice Heap, and it is the most secret of all secret holy places, the self-arisen primordial realm of the Five Buddha Families. The record of this holy mountain and its qualities is sealed in the place known as Lampāka. When the time is ripe to reveal this record its seal will be broken and many fortunate beings will journey to this pure realm.

It is Guru Padmasambhava's vow that this is the undeceptive truth.

SAMAYA

Colophon

This middle-length record of Devakoṭa Mountain naturally arose as a scroll in the precious heart cave of five lights, from the pristine mind of the five wisdoms of Dharmadhātu. The essence of the enlightened sphere of emptiness has been refined and written as five magically-arisen secret symbols, which hold vast meaning within. Guru Padmasambhava decreed Ekajāṭī as the chief wisdom protectress of this Dharma treasure. It is thus guarded by her at all times with great vigilance.

VAJRA SAMAYA

At the request of Kushab Rinpoche from Dzogchen Monastery in Tibet, who on the auspicious occasion of his pilgrimage to Pemakö saw the need to reveal this holy land, the Tertön Dudjom Namkhai Dorjé interpreted the secret meaning of the five self-arisen symbols from the vast space of enlightened awareness.

³² "Dopo" is a local vernacular addition to the name Pema Drepung and is not in the Tibetan text.

Here are written the secret, self-arisen symbols.



**The Chronicle of the Most Secret Dupo³³ Pema Shelri Mountain
[and Potala Mountain]: The Lamp Which Dispels the Darkness
of Ignorance (from The Unity of All Sublime Thought of the
Three Roots)³⁴**

Prologue

Here are written the five secret syllables.

Eh ma!

From the primordially stainless, uncompounded Dharma Body of Dharmakāya is born the illusory Enjoyment Body of the Sambhogakāya Buddha, which manifests unceasingly in a diversity of forms in order to bring sentient beings to the peace of liberation. I prostrate to the Three Supreme Kāyas, the Three Bodies of the Buddha.

SAMAYA

Prophecy of the suffering to come in Tibet

Guru Padmasambhava spoke the following prophecy:

"I, Padmasambhava, have attained the peerless Vajra Body which is beyond birth and death. I have gained mastery of the five disciplines and my knowledge does not waver nor fluctuate over the three times.

I have come during a time of great fortune, comparable to the god realms, when the complete holy Dharma of both sutra and tantra is flourishing. The land is filled with accomplished yogins and yoginīs, and beings abide happily in accord with both Dharma and temporal law. The noble deities and āryas in their delight raise high the Banner of Victory.

³³ In this case as well, "Dupo" is a local vernacular addition to the name Pema Shelri and not in the Tibetan text.

³⁴ *rTsa gsum yi dam dgongs 'dus* is a terma cycle of sTag sham nus ldan rdo rje, a seventeenth century tertön who was a previous incarnation of Drakngak Lingpa. That fact that the latter two Chronicles are attached to different terma cycles (see note 17) suggests the possibility that the three néyig presented here as a compilation may have first been recorded on separate occasions and not intended as a group.

All beings dwell in peace and all sorrow is subdued.

However, as the world sinks into a degenerate age and human life begins its decline at the age of twenty years, evil forces and vengeful spirits will be strengthened and like a storm their malevolent activities will destroy the Dharma. The land will be occupied by demonesses, and male and female spirits as numerous as stars will wander throughout the land creating disturbances. Disturbances from the North and South will rouse conflict and China, Tibet, Hor and Mongolia will each vie for territory. One nation like a peacock will flaunt its feathers, another like a tiger will let out a savage roar, another like a stubborn bull will rear its horns, and another like a black dog will viciously growl. The four mountains and six valleys will be shaken by this posturing of war. The four great mountains will groan and the four pillars will flee to the borders. In the four valleys there will be an outbreak of civil war and in the four gorges fires will blaze. The yellow swan on the great northern lake of bodhisattva practice will become disturbed. The turquoise dragon will come disguised as a richly blue coloured peacock, and like a talking parrot uttering empty words will speculate and decide on the Dharma of China, Tibet and the gods. The one known as Karmaka will wield the lasso of love. In place of the sun's natural warmth fierce red flames will scorch the land. When these chief omens unfold the livelihood and conduct of beings will decline like a running waterfall and the people of the world will undergo enormous suffering and struggles.

However, due to the virtuous aspirations made by the present king of Taktsang,³⁵ his retinue and his male and female subjects, those people with fortunate seeds of karma will find their way to four steep hidden valleys. Those of ill-fated karma will be left to suffer conflict. What misery beings will undergo when such a time appears!"

Here Guru Padmasambhava gazed silently at the sky, and continued,

"The profound Dharma called The Unity of All Sublime Thought of the Three Roots will benefit sentient beings in the future. It is hidden in front of the snowy mountain known as Nalung, below a boulder marked with step-like grooves and the paw print of an ogress. Here a [white marble rock] marked by a bliss wheel is the place where the dakinis gather to dance, a stage for their play of wisdom. Aryasalé,³⁶ present now among the citizens of Tibet, will bring about benefit for many beings in the future, but he will also encounter obstacles to his Dharma activities."

³⁵ *sPa gro stag tshang*: Paro Taktsang in western Bhutan.

³⁶ *A rya sa le*; also *A' tsar sa le*: the Nepali consort and disciple of Yeshe Tsogyal.

Having offered this prophecy and advice, Guru Padmasambhava exhorted his disciples to heed it from the depths of their hearts. He then entered into meditative absorption.

The causes of the Tibetans' suffering to come

Yeshe Tsogyal offered a maṇḍala of gold and turquoise to Guru Padmasambhava, and then appealed:

"Eh ma! How astonishing is all that you have said! Omniscient one of the three times, son of the Victorious Ones, Thötreng Tsal, please explain at which time and place in particular these events will occur, what conditions will lead to such an age of misery, and what counter methods can be relied on to ward off these evils? As to the one who will protect beings from these dangers, precisely when will he come and from where?"

Oh Great Saint and Guru, please answer our questions directly without concealing your knowledge from us."

Guru Padmasambhava replied:

"Alas! Listen well, Yeshe Tsogyal! The precise place will be the country of Tibet, and the precise time will be the year of the male iron monkey³⁷, during the age when human life begins its decline at the age of twenty years. As to the exact causes of the misery to come, one is the depletion of merit of the Tibetan people. Another is the previous evil aspirations and sorcery of malevolent forces, which will lead to the degeneration of Dharma and its followers. Many demons with powerful evil intent will gather and create conflict in the upper and lower parts of the country and as a result the nation will be divided into many small factions. The people will be paralyzed by doubt as to what should be done, and so will fail to engage in methods which can ward off these dangers. Although my ema-

³⁷ The male iron monkey year of this time period was 1920-21. Among several major political disturbances near that time, one that would have directly affected Pemakö and people moving towards the hidden land was Lhasa's annex of Powo (*spo bo; spu bo; spo yul*) after 1911. Powo is presently a southeastern region of the Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR) that verges on the northern part of Pemakö. It was virtually an independent kingdom from the thirteenth century when the Mongol-backed king of Tibet, Chos rgyal 'phags pa (1235-1280), empowered the local head lama of Powo with a royal proclamation and seal. When Powo's twenty-fifth king abdicated the throne to become a monk in the early twentieth century, it led to a series of conflicts and later a joint intervention by Lhasa and Qing military to usurp Powo's governance. When Chinese soldiers plundered Powo's wealth on their return to China in 1911 and further destabilized the region, Lhasa took the opportunity to seize control and Powo lost its independence (Samuel 1993: 77; Ronis 2011).

nations will speak of these coming evils and give instructions on how to avert them, the people will not believe or heed my warnings. Out of pride each person will blindly proclaim their own truth. Even though I myself will appear, it will be to no avail.

As to who will be the protector of beings, he by the name of Aryasalé is inseparable from me. Due to our common prayers he will come as my emanation, having the name Dudjom and auspiciously marked with five moles. He will be an emanation of the glorious Heruka, born in the area of Eastern Tibet called Chishung Lhatsé in the year of the sheep. He will not live in accord with the local people of this area and they will chastise and criticize him.

After he appears, inspectors from neighbouring countries will come on a reconnaissance [to Tibet], which will indicate that the time has come for all holy places and pure lands to come under Aryasalé's power. [His consort, by the name of Norbu, will be an emanation of Yeshe Tsogyal who abides at the Copper Coloured Mountain. She will assist Aryasalé in discovering the Dharma Treasure known as The Unity of All Sublime Thought of the Three Roots and in opening the door of the hidden earthly pure land of Pemakö, thereby upholding the holy Buddha Dharma]."

The formation of the [Dopo] Pema Shelri and Potala Mountains within the holy hidden land of Pemakö³⁸

Guru Padmasambhava then displayed the mudra of realization and gazing at the sky, and continued:

"Eh ma!

This phenomenal land, known conventionally as Pemakö, the innermost hidden land of the lotus, is a terrestrial Sukhavati, an earthly Pure Land of Great Bliss. As to its creation amidst the three thousand worlds of this universe, it originated within the centre of the perfumed waters in Vairocana's begging bowl, where grows the five-branched Wish-Fulfilling Tree of Bodhicitta. On its central branch is Mount Meru, while its surrounding four branches support the four continents of the four directions. The petals of the flower on the southern branch form the world of Dzambuling³⁹ and on its anthers sits Bodhgaya, the Vajra Seat where the thou-

³⁸ Pema Shelri and Potala mountains are known locally in Arunachal Pradesh as Pemashree and Riutala, or Eko Dumbing, respectively. Both are located in the Abroka Range south and southeast of Devakoṭa and the Yang Sang Chu valley.

³⁹ 'Dzam bu gling; Skt: *Jambudvīpa*: the human world in which we live; one of the four continents in Abhidharma cosmology that is trapezoidal in shape and

sand buddhas of this fortunate aeon manifest enlightenment.

On the northeastern petal exists the sacred mountainous land of [Chimé] Yang Sang, the most secret [deathless] pure realm, where lie the Lotus Crystal Mountain of Pema Shelri and Potala Mountain, [the mountain abodes of Amitabha and Chenrezig]. Being the unsurpassable perfectly pure realm on this earth it is thus named Pemakö, the Land of the Lotus.

By the blessings and aspirations of the Buddhas Samantabhadra, Śākyamuni and the Lotus-Born Padmasambhava, the truth of this earthly pure land is established and endlessly proclaimed, and prophesied by each of the thousand buddhas that will appear with the emerging and passing away of consecutive aeons. Seeing, hearing, recalling or reaching this supremely sacred land can purify a thousand aeons of negative karma and ensure higher rebirths. No hostile forces can destroy this mighty vajra-fortress. These words are the infallible truth, therefore oh fortunate ones, reflect on it within your hearts!"

SAMAYA

The discovery of the most secret pure realm and its revealer

The Ḍākinī Yeshe Tsogyal then asked [for clarification about the discovery of the most secret realm of Chimé Yang Sang in Pemakö and the one who will reveal it]:

"Eh ma! Victorious Guru Thötreng Tsal, please explain further regarding these prophecies you have made. Precisely when will this earthly pure land be discovered, and who will be its revealer, the one who leads sentient beings to liberation? What obstacles might he face to revealing this sacred land and what counter-forces can be used against them? What students, retinue and assistants will accompany him and how will they proceed in fulfilling this prophecy?

Please don't conceal your knowledge from us, but explain thoroughly about these times to come!"

Guru Padmasambhava thus replied:

"Eh ma! Listen carefully Lady of Karchen, Yeshe Tsogyal! Your questions are discerning. The revealer of this most secret hidden land and the

situated to the south of Mount Meru. It is so-called for the Jambubriksha or Jambu tree that is said to adorn it. The Jambu tree was presumed to be the rose-apple tree (*Eugenia jambolana*), though more recent scholarship suggests it is a variety of plum. According to legend, just one Jambu tree exists in this world and it is visible only to enlightened beings (Kongtrul 1995).

time of its discovery are as I have explained. He will abide in harmony with those of similar aspirations, but by necessity he will live apart from those with whom he is not in accord. Four assistants born in the years of the rooster, horse, mouse and ox will aid him in accomplishing his mission of revealing this earthly pure land. The consort who will accompany him in entering the hidden land will be the mind emanation of my present consort Kalasiddhi of Nepal. She will have the name Pema, and will be subdued yet impassioned with a mind of bodhicitta. Altogether, five dākinīs possessed of similar qualities will assist him in discovering various Dharma treasures.

Heeding all signs of auspiciousness, they will exert great effort and wield the armour of perseverance in order to accomplish the discovery of the hidden pure land. Along the journey four monks will appease land spirits and local deities with smoke and tormā ritual offerings, four tantric masters will make ransom offerings to repel malevolent spirits, and the five noble dākinīs will soothe conflicts with pleasing performances of song and dance. Twenty-five loyal henchmen will clear the route of obstacles, while fifty strong young men bearing weapons will defend against local tribes gathered in revolt against outsiders. From the surrounding borders they will proceed toward the centre of the hidden pure land, slowly and carefully like a tortoise, bringing all circumstances under their control with fearless conduct.

At this time the supreme emanation, the tertön himself will practise a non-conceptual meditation on the primordial expanse of Dharmadhātu, an inexpressible wisdom utterly free of all fixations, extremes and contrived activity. All gods, demons and untold variety of deities are indivisible from the empty nature of mind, the beginningless purity of Dharmadhātu, which encompasses the phenomenal appearances of the external universe and all that exists within it. This meditation is the unsurpassable method of subjugating all gods and demons. It is the joyful, vast, quintessential mind which attains the kingdom of Samantabhadra."

SAMAYA

The significance and qualities of [Dopo] Pema Shelri Mountain

The discovery of the most secret hidden pure land will entail profound activity, conducted carefully and discreetly. For essential instructions on how to proceed and the exact location of the hidden earthly pure realm the tertön Dudjom will look elsewhere to secret sources.

Of the outer, inner and secret realms of Vajravāraḥi's five chak-

ras, the secret realm is Kilaying Dzong,⁴⁰ Vajrakīlaya's Fortress. To its east are three mountains at the head of the valley, which are pure realms of the Three Kāyas, alongside the mountain of Devakoṭa, a maṇḍala of ḍākinīs. Traveling up through the Joyful Rice Valley of Drejong, which spans the lowlands between the mountains, one reaches a high mountain in a hidden land at the head of the valley. To its southeast is a great secret forest-garden, which leads further to a maṇḍala of ḍākinīs, the famous mountain known as [Dopo] Pema Shelri, which rises in the sky like an up-turned phurba dagger. Its three faces are spontaneous manifestations of the Three Kāyas, and when gazed upon from a distance this mighty peak, the abode of countless Dharmakāya deities, looks like a raised victory banner. The surrounding lands in the four directions of the mountain are a maṇḍala of the Four and Six Tantras,⁴¹ an extraordinary pure realm of variegated pure emanations.

To the south of Pema Shelri Mountain is the holy lake of Samantabhadra, the waters of which have the power to purify the four obscurations⁴² by washing, drinking or tasting them.

To the northeast of the mountain is the blood-red coloured lake of Ekajaṭī, shimmering like flames of a fire, a reservoir of wrathful activity that actualizes whatever is thought of.

To the east are numberless caves bearing signs and marks [of Guru Padmasambhava], as well as Wrathful Samantabhadra's Cave of Accomplishment of the Great Blissful Expanse, which induces strength, concentration, pure vision and realization.

[The land at the base of Pema Shelri Mountain] is filled with precious mundane treasures such as silver, gold, copper, iron, vermillion and [medicinal herbs], which will gradually be enjoyed in the future by fortunate beings.

⁴⁰ Kilaying Dzong (*K'i la dbyings rdzong*) is considered to be the vulva of the Goddess, located on the triangle of land at the confluence of the Yang Sang Chu and Siang rivers just below Tuting, Arunachal Pradesh. As for all five chakras, a consistent physical location of Vajravārahī's innermost secret chakra (*yang gsang gnas*) is not to be found at a fixed geographical point. Some texts say it lies in her heart chakra while others place it in the secret chakra of her vulva. These different perceptions may at least be partly due to the fact that in tantric practice the heart chakra opens only after the lower chakras have been activated (Baker 2004: 459). Many Tibetan Buddhists believe that Pemakö's *yang gsang gnas* is still yet to be discovered.

⁴¹ *rgyud sde bzhi drug*; 'the four and six tantras': According to the Old School of Tibetan Buddhism (*sNga bsgyur rnying ma*) the four classes of tantra are further classified as six when separated as outer and inner. The first three, *Kriya*, *Carya* and *Yoga* comprise the outer class, while *Mahāyoga*, *Anuyoga* and *Atiyoga* comprise the inner class.

⁴² *sgrib pa bzhi*; 'the four obscurations': karmic, emotional, cognitive, habitual.

In the four sub-directions are four mountains of Guru Padmasambhava, four holy rivers and four gardens, which together are like four magnificent gateways to the inner maṇḍala of Pema Shelri, the wish-fulfilling mountain that bestows inconceivable benefits.

Simply gazing at this sacred mountain purifies one thousand aeons of mental defilements, and a single clockwise circumambulation is equal in merit to one hundred circumambulations of the entire earth. The power of this innermost secret and unsurpassable realm inspires those of virtuous karma to engage in ardent Dharma practice, and all impure karma, wrong views and doubts are effortlessly overcome.

This is the infallible prophecy given by Guru Padmasambhava.

SAMAYA

The significance and qualities of Potala Mountain⁴³

To the west of Pema Shelri Mountain is the self-arisen, majestic Potala Mountain. When looked at from afar the rocky slopes of its snowy peak appear like a glorious armed warrior, and its lower alpine meadows like a stealthily moving tiger or cheetah. It is the mountain palace of the great Bodhisattva Jinasagara Avalokiteśvara, from whose right eye tears of immeasurable compassion fell to the earth and formed the clear emerald lake of Green Tārā. From the lake the waters flow down through the Yang Sang valley on the right side of Potala Mountain, and washing with, drinking or tasting these waters possessed of the eight qualities pacifies the eight and sixteen fears.

From Avalokiteśvara's left eye fell tears which form the lake of White Tārā. Its clear white waters are imbued with the blessings of the Ārya goddess and have the power to bestow longevity, dignity and splendour. The waters flow down towards Darping and through the Ati Valley, where those settled on its shores are blessed with long-life and happiness.

To the east of the Potala Mountain is the prosperous land of the double vajra and the auspicious knot, where countless deities of

⁴³ Potala, or Potalaka (*Bo ta la*; known in the Tuting region as Riwo Tala, Riutala and Eko Dumbing) is yet another important Indian holy site that has been identified in Pemakö by the tertön. Potala is the legendary dwelling of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara mentioned in the Avatamsaka, Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtras and the records of Xuangzang (Läänemets 2006). On the basis of these texts it has been hypothesized by Shu Hikosaka that ancient Potalaka is the real mountain of Pothigai, or Potiyil, in the Tirunelveli district of Tamil Nadu (Hikosaka 1998).

the Vajra Family dwell and where all disease, harmful forces and the eight fears are dispelled. In this sublime realm are the holy lake of Vajrasattva and the pacifying Vajra Cave, wherein are hidden treasures of pacifying architecture.

To the south of the Potala Mountain is the most excellent of all places, the sphere of the Precious Knot of Eternity, the joyful maṇḍala of countless deities of the Jewel Family. Here are found the holy lake of the Eight Herukas and the Jewel Cave, which holds all treasures of gold, silver, precious gems and increasing activity that actualizes all needs and desires.

To the west of the Potala Mountain is the blissful realm of ḍākinīs and countless deities of the Lotus Family. Here is the Great Blissful Lake and the Powerful Lotus Cave, where there are hidden treasures of controlling activity such as mastery of life-force and other spiritual powers.

To the north of the Potala Mountain is the realm of the wrathful yakṣa mantra, the dwelling place of numberless fierce deities of [the Karma Family] possessed of powerful skilful means. The Cave of Wrathful Accomplishment holds treasures of all wrathful methods of liberation, as well as the powerful secret tantra of black magic, called the Fire Garland. Whatever endeavours begun here are completed without obstacles due to the blessings of this land of great power and potential.

At the central peak of Potala Mountain Jinasagara Avalokiteśvara and all root and lineage lamas are gathered like billowing clouds. Around the middle of the mountain a multitude of wish-granting tantric deities dwell like a flurry of snow and rain. Around the base of the mountain ḍākas, ḍākinīs and Dharma protectors are assembled like stars in the night sky, and although unseen the roar of their compassionate voices can be heard. The waters flowing from the mountain are luminous nectar, and the rocky ridges glisten with drops of rainbow light. The [medicinal herb] known as Ludu Dorjé that grows on the mountain attests to the land's purity. Rainbow lights hover like a canopy over the forests and all species of birds pronounce the Dharma in their sweet songs. No hostile forces can destroy this secret holy mountain. By gazing at, hearing of, or reaching this sublime realm even those with negative karma like butchers will take higher rebirths in pure lineages and proceed unwaveringly towards liberation. Even animals that eat the grass and drink the waters of this pure land are able to leave footprints in stone and leave relics in their bodies after death. What need to speak of the miracles this pure land can display in humans? Reaching this pure land closes the door to lower rebirths, and simply taking seven steps towards it with the intention to arrive ensures that one will be reborn there in the next

life.

Tasting a drop of water or particle of dust of this sacred land purifies all evil karma and plants the seed of enlightenment in one's mindstream. Whoever guides seven people to this hidden sacred land proves oneself to be a messenger of Guru Padmasambhava himself. Those who clear paths to this hidden sacred realm, cultivate and develop the land or build temples here, regardless of their caste or gender, are decreed by Guru Padmasambhava to be his own manifestations.

A single circumambulation around the peak of the Potala Mountain is equal in merit to one billion recitations of the mantra of Amitābha. One circumambulation around the middle of the mountain is equal in merit to ten billion recitations of the mantra of Chenrezig. One circumambulation around the base of the mountain brings merit equal to infinite recitations of the mantra of Padmasambhava.

Potala Mountain is the very heart son of Amitābha, Chenrezig and Guru Padmasambhava, the unsurpassable, innermost secret hidden land of this earth. Therefore, oh fortunate ones, make aspiration prayers with faith and reflect in your hearts on this most holy hidden realm!

Those holding wrong views about this sacred realm will suffer immediate retribution from its guardian deity. As this is the infallible vow of Guru Padmasambhava, do not make the mistaken choice of misery over bliss!

SAMAYA

Colophon

For the benefit of future sentient beings this subsidiary chronicle of the holy mountain of Pema Shelri, along with *The Unity of All Sublime Thought of the Three Roots*, is hidden at the base of the great mountain in the place called Nalung. It will be given to the tertön known as Pema or Dudjom by the protector named Gangtsen, who [by ordinance from Guru Padmasambhava] fiercely guards this Dharma treasure and punishes all vow breakers and thieves.

VAJRA SAMAYA

GYA GYA GYA⁴⁴

⁴⁴ Being a terma (*gter ma*), or treasure text, the words are 'sealed' with 'GYA' (*rgya*, 'seal') to conceal its teachings outside of ordinary time and space until the prophesied time of its discovery (Sardar-Afkhami 2001: 65).

[The three doors of body, speech and mind in recording this chronicle are sealed with vajra secrecy.]

At the base of the great snow mountain in the place called Nalung, I, Dudjom, aided by my noble consort, Norbu, and ten further assistants, received the transmission of the original secret symbols. In the hidden garden of Khading Nyida Öpuk, the Luminous Cave of the Sun Moon Garuda, I began the rendering of their hidden meaning, and in the Mentang Cave of Great Bliss it was completed.⁴⁵

May it be virtuous!

Translated from the original Tibetan into English by Elizabeth McDougal (Tenzin Chozom) under the guidance of Lopon P. Ogyan Tenzin Rinpoche, at Uddiyana Dharmakaya Vihar, Sarnath, India, 2005.

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⁴⁵ At the time of writing I am unsure of the locations of 'Nalung', 'Khading Nyida Öpuk' and 'Mentang Cave.' I assume that 'Khading Nyida Öpuk' is the cave mentioned at the end of the third néyig where Dudjom Drakngak Lingpa recorded his revelation of this terma, and where Padmasambhava is said in the first néyig to have accomplished the Red Garuda sāghanā.

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ཨེ་ གནས་མཚོག་ཤི་ཏ་ཤུ་རིའི་གནས་ཡིག་ཤེལ་དཀར་མེ་ལོང་བཞུགས་སོེ

ཨེ་ ༡༢༣༥༧༩ ཨོ་མེ་ གདོད་ནས་མ་བཅོས་ཚོས་ཀྱི་དབྱིངས་ལེ་ མ་འགགས་མི་འགྲུར་
སྙན་གྲིས་གྲུབ་ལེ་ འགགས་མེད་རོལ་པའི་འཆར་སློལ་སེ་ རང་བྱུང་འཕྲུལ་གྱི་བདེ་རིས་སྤུ་
སྙན་གྲུབ་གཞི་ཡི་ཡིག་བྲིས་ལས་ལེ་ གདན་ལ་ཐབ་པའི་དུས་ལ་བབ་ལེ་ ས་མ་ཡུལ་ དེ་ནས་མ་
འོངས་ཉི་ཤུ་མཐའ་ལེ་ མེའི་སྤོད་པའི་སྙན་སྐྱབ་གྲུར་ཚེ་ སྤོན་ཚོ་བདུད་སྤེ་སྤོན་ལོག་མཐུས་ལེ་
མཐའ་བཞིའི་དམག་དཔུང་ཆེར་གཏོས་ནས་ལེ་ གངས་ཅན་འགོ་བསྐྱུང་བའི་ཚེ་ སྐལ་ལྷན་འགོ་
བའི་དོན་སྦྱར་དུ་ སྤོན་ཚོ་སངས་རྒྱུས་ཀྱི་བཟང་གིས་ལེ་ བྱིན་སྐབས་བདེན་སྤོབས་སྤྲས་པའི་
གནས་ལེ་ དེ་ནས་སྤོན་པ་ཤུགས་ཐུབ་དང་ལེ་ དོན་བཅུན་མོ་ལྷ་རཉི་ སྐྱ་ཡི་བཀོད་པས་བྱིན་གྲིས་
བརྒྱབ་སེ་ རིག་འཛིན་བསྐྱུང་གནས་གྲིས་ལེ་ མི་འདུབ་བསྐྱུན་པའི་རྒྱལ་མཚན་བཅུག་ལེ་ སྤེ་

འཛི་མེད་པའི་མངའ་བརྟེན་ནས་། འཛི་མེད་ཚེ་ཡི་མངའ་དབང་ཐོབ་། གཏེར་ཁ་བྱེད་སྤྲུག་བརྒྱ་
 སྐྱེས་། ལྗོངས་ལྷ་སྒྲིབ་དུག་ཞིང་ཁམས་དགུ་། འཁོར་ལོ་ལྷ་ལྷན་བཞོན་པ་རུ་། བྱིན་རྒྱབས་
 སྒྲོན་ལམ་རྒྱ་ཡིས་བཏབ་། ཉོར་བདུད་གང་གིས་མི་ཤིགས་པ་། རང་བྱུང་ལྷུན་གྲུབ་དོན་རྗེ་རྗེས་།
 ས་སྒྲོན་རྒྱུ་འཛིན་སྐྱེས་པའི་ཞིང་། རོ་མཚར་བཞོན་པ་ལྷུན་གྲིས་གྲུབ་། སྤྱི་ནང་གསང་བ་ཡང་
 གསང་ངོ་། ས་མ་ཡུ་། དེ་ནས་སྒྲིབ་པོ་བཏབ་གྲུལ་། སྤྱི་ལྷར་བདེ་ཆེན་བཞོན་། འཁོར་
 ལོ་ལྷ་ལྷན་དཀྱིལ་འཁོར་དལ་། གངས་རི་པག་ཞལ་གནས་འཕྲོང་འདུ་། བདེ་མཚོག་ལྷ་ཚོགས་
 བཞོན་པ་བཀྲ་། མགྲིན་པ་དུང་རིང་འཇའ་འོད་འབྱིལ་། དུར་ཁྲོམ་ལྷོད་མཚན་མོ་མེ་འབར་ནི་།
 དཔལ་མགོན་བདུན་ཅུ་བཞོན་པའི་ཞིང་། ལྷགས་ཀར་དཔལ་བེའུ་འོད་གྱི་ལུང་། ལྷ་པོ་ཡེ་ཤིས་ལྷ་
 དང་ལྷན་། བ་ལྷར་གྲུར་སུབ་ཞི་ཁྲོའི་དལ་། ལྷེ་བ་བརྒྱ་འབྲས་སྤྱངས་ནི་། དཔུས་སུ་ཟངས་
 མདོག་དཔལ་རིའི་དཀྱིབས་། བཞོན་པ་ལྷུན་གྲུབ་བལྟ་ན་སྤྲུག་། གསང་བ་བདེ་ཆེན་གྱི་ལ་
 དཀྱིངས་། རོ་རྗེ་ལྷར་པའི་བཞོན་པ་བཀྲ་། དུར་ཁྲོམ་ལྷོད་རབ་འཛིགས་བཞོན་པ་རུ་། འབྲུ་ཚར་
 དུག་སྤྲུལ་འཛིགས་པའི་ཞིང་། བྲག་གཡང་སྤྱི་གཡའ་རྩམ་པའི་ཚོང་། རྗེ་གངས་ནགས་ཚལ་བྲུ་བ་
 སྤྱེལ་། སྤྲུལ་པའི་ཞིང་མཚོག་ལྷ་ན་མེད་། བཞོན་པ་རབ་རྗེས་སྤྱི་ནང་གསང་། སྤྱི་ལྷར་རྒྱལ་
 དཔལ་གྱི་རི་། སྤྲུལ་སྤྲུའི་ལྷ་ཚོགས་ལྷེ་བ་འབྲུམ་། རང་ལྷར་གནས་ལྷགས་འབར་བའི་རི་།
 རོར་སེམས་རིགས་ལྷ་བྱང་རྒྱབ་སེམས་། ལྷེ་བ་འབྲུམ་སྤེལ་སོགས་བཞུགས་། གསང་བ་འབར་སྤྱིང་
 རྣམ་དག་བཞོན་། རྣམ་པར་སྤྱང་མཚན་ལ་སོགས་པ་། རྣམ་སྤྱང་ཞི་ཁྲོའི་བཞོན་པ་བཀྲ་།
 རང་བྱུང་ལྷུན་གྲིས་གྲུབ་པའོ་། ས་མ་ཡུ་། དེ་ནས་ནང་ལྷར་འབྲས་མོ་ལྗོངས་། ལུང་མདའ་
 དོགས་ལ་ལུང་ལུ་ཡངས་། ལ་ལུང་བརྒྱ་ཁ་བྱེད་དཀྱིབས་། ལྷ་སྤྱང་རུ་ལུའི་སྤྲུ་རྣམས་སྤྲོགས་།
 སྤྱིའུ་ཚེ་འཛོལ་ཡི་གས་། འདབ་ཆགས་གསུང་སྤྲོན་ཚེས་སྤྲུ་སྤྲོགས་། ལྷག་པར་འཇའ་འོད་བྲུ་བ་
 གཡོ་། སྤྲུན་སྤྲོས་ནགས་ཚལ་བྲུ་བ་སྤྱེལ་། མ་ཚོས་ལོ་ཉོག་གངས་ལས་འདས་། ཁ་མངར་
 ལྷུར་བའི་རོ་མཚོག་མང་། ཉོར་བདུད་གང་གིས་མི་ཤིགས་རྗེས་། ལོངས་སྤྲུའི་ཞིང་མཚོག་ལྷ་ན་
 མེད་། སྤྱི་ནང་གསང་བ་ཡང་གསང་ངོ་། སྤྱི་ལྷར་རྒྱལ་ལྷ་གྲོ་འཛི་ཚལ་། གསང་བ་འབྲུས་
 པའི་ཞིང་གི་དལ་། མ་རྒྱུད་མཁའ་འགྲོ་འདུ་བའི་ཞིང་། གསང་བ་རྒྱུ་མ་ཐལ་ནི་། རང་བྱུང་
 གཏེར་གྱི་སྤྲུལ་བྱ་ཡིས་། ས་འོག་རིན་ཆེན་གཏེར་གསུམ་བཀའ་། ས་སྒྲོན་ཞིང་མཚོག་ལྷ་ན་མེད་།

ས་མ་ཡུལ་། རང་ལྟར་ཕྱོད་པུ་རི་ནིལ་། ལ་ལུང་པ་སྐྱེ་བུ་ལྟེང་། རྒྱ་ལྷན་བདུད་ཅི་ལོད་ལྷན་འབར་།
 ལྷུ་མ་ཚོག་ཡམ་ལག་བརྒྱུད་དང་ལྷན་། རིགས་ལུ་ཀུན་ལྷན་སྐྱོ་མཚོ་ལྷུ་། བུ་རྒྱུར་མདངས་ལྷན་
 དྲངས་པའི་མཚོལ་། ཨོ་རྒྱུན་རྒྱ་ནག་འོ་འའི་མཚོལ་། ལ་མཚོན་ངོ་མཚར་མདུད་ལྷན་། དབུས་སྤུ་
 རྒྱུ་སྤྱིང་དབུས་ནིལ་། ཨོ་རྒྱུན་གཞུང་གཞུང་གཞུང་ལག་ཁར་། དབྱེར་མེད་ངོ་མཚར་ལྷན་དུ་འབྲལ་སལ་།
 ལོངས་སྤྱིའི་ལྷོ་ཚོགས་ཏིལ་གང་ལྷན་། མཇལ་བས་ཤེས་བྱའི་སྤྱིའི་པ་དགལ་། བསྐྱོར་བས་བསྐྱལ་
 སྤོང་སྤྱིའི་པ་ལྷན་། བཅུ་གསུམ་བསྐྱོར་ཚད་སྤུས་གྲུབ་ཚོལ་། བོ་མོ་ལས་དང་བཟང་དན་མེད་།
 ཡར་གྱི་ཟང་ཐལ་ཚེན་པོ་རུལ་། བྲོལ་བར་འགྱུར་བ་ཁོ་བོས་གདམས་། ལན་ཅིག་གནས་འབྲེལ་རེ་རེ་
 ཡིས་། དན་མོང་འཁོར་བའི་སྤྱོད་སྤྱོད་ཚོལ་། གཞན་ཡང་ཡོན་ཏན་བསམ་མི་ལྷན་། བཀའ་ཉལ་ས་
 ལྷུག་མཚོན་གྲངས་ལས་འདས་། ས་འོག་རིན་ཚེན་གཏེར་གྱིས་བཀའ་། རྟག་པར་འཇུག་ཚོན་བྱ་བ་
 གཤམ་། ལྷུག་ལྷན་དག་པས་ལྷ་ཞལ་མཇལ་། ཞལ་གཟིགས་ལུང་བསྐྱེད་གྲངས་མང་འབྱུང་།
 ལྷུག་བཙོན་སྤུས་བྱས་འོད་སྤྱུར་གྲོལ་། ལྷུག་མཚོད་སྤོན་ལམ་སྤུས་བཏབ་ཚོལ་། ཚོ་འདྲིར་འགལ་
 རྒྱུན་བར་ཚད་མེལ་། འཇིགས་བརྒྱུད་ཞིལ་འབྱོར་དུ་གཞུས་། འདྲིར་མོས་རིག་འཇིག་ས་བོན་
 ཐེབས་། བདུད་ཅི་ལོད་ལྷན་དྲངས་མའི་མཚོལ་། མགོ་བཙུད་སྤྱིང་རྣམས་མ་བཏོན་ནལ་། རང་
 གཏོན་སྤྱིག་སྤྱིའི་པ་མི་མཐུན་རྒྱུན་། ལས་གྱི་རྣམ་སྤྱིན་མ་གཏོགས་པལ་། ཚོ་ཟད་པ་ཡང་ལོ་བརྒྱུ་འཚོལ་
 རྒྱུ་ཐིག་ཟེལ་པ་རེ་རེ་ནིལ་། གང་གི་ཁུ་མོང་བ་རྣམས་། མོས་ཅིང་གྲོལ་བར་ཐེམ་མི་ཚོལ་། འགྲོ་
 འདྲིན་ལྷུས་ཚབ་ངོ་མཚར་ཚེལ་། མི་བསྐྱུ་མི་བསྐྱུ་བསྐྱུ་འི་དམལ་། བསྐྱུ་བར་འགྱུར་ནན་རག་གནལ་།
 ལྷུག་ལྷན་ལས་ཅན་མ་གཏོགས་པལ་། ལྷུག་མེད་རྣམས་ནི་བཟོད་མི་འགྱུར་། འདི་ལ་ཐོཚོས་སྤྱོད་སྤྱིང་
 ནལ་། བདུད་མགོན་ལྷོད་གྱིས་སྤྱིང་ལྷུག་ལོང་། གནས་གཏེར་བསྐྱུར་བར་གཏེར་དུ་གཏོང་།
 ལྷུག་པར་སྤྱུངས་ཅིག་རྟུ་རྒྱུལ་། དེ་ནས་ལུ་བརྒྱུ་ཉི་ཤུ་འི་མཐིལ་། བོད་ཡུལ་འབྱུང་པོའི་འབྲུལ་འཁོར་
 ལྷིས་། རང་མཚོན་སྤུ་གའི་མི་ཏོག་བཀའ་། སྤོད་སྤྱིང་ཉོར་མོག་དམག་དཔུང་རྣམས་། རབ་
 འབྲུགས་ཟིལ་གྱིར་གཤོལ་བའི་ཚོལ་། ལྷུག་བསྐྱེད་བསྐྱེད་པ་རུབ་རིར་གཤམ་། སྤྱོད་ཚད་དུས་མིན་འཚི་
 བས་གྲུམ་། ཤི་ཚད་མནར་མེད་དུལ་ལ་ལྷོད་། དེ་འབྲེལ་དུས་ངན་ཤར་བའི་ཚོལ་། རྗེ་འཇིགས་
 སྤོད་གྲོས་པའི་མཁམ་། གསང་བ་ཀུན་གྱི་ཡང་གསང་གནས་། སྤོལ་བྱེད་འགྲོ་འདྲིན་སྤྱིའི་པ་རྒྱུ་
 ད་ལྟའི་ཨོ་ཨ་ས་ལེ་འདྲིལ་། མ་འོངས་ལྷི་གཞུང་ལྷ་ཅི་ལྷུག་། འཇམ་དཔལ་རིགས་ལུ་གནས་གཞོལ་

དུལ་འཇམ་གསལ་བྱུང་རྒྱུ་ལོ་མཉམ་པའི་སྐུ་ལྷོ་འཇམ་ཚམ་གསལ་
 མཚན་བདུན་འཛོམས་མིང་ཅན་འབྱུང་། སྡོན་སྡོན་ཟབ་མོའི་མཐུ་ཡིས་བསྐྱུལ་། དེས་མེད་སྐྱེས་
 པའི་ཡུལ་ལ་འབྱུངས། བར་ཆད་བདུན་གྱི་མ་བསྐྱུ་ནུལ་། ལས་གྱི་འཕྲོ་སྐད་གཏེར་ལ་སྐྱོད་།
 སྐྱེས་ཡུལ་ཆེ་རྒྱུད་སྐོ་ཡང་འབྱུང་། འགོ་འབྲེན་སྐྱེས་བུ་སྐྱེ་མེད་འབྱུང་། རིགས་ལྷན་ཉེར་ལྷ་ལུའ་།
 ཐེབས་ནུལ་། རོན་བདུན་ཚོ་སྤྲུག་མཐའ་རུ་འཚོལ་། དེ་ཚོ་སྐྱེ་གཤམ་གྱི་བདུན་། བར་ཆད་འཕྲང་
 ལ་དོགས་ཚོན་དགོས་། ཚོ་སྐྱེར་ཁོ་བོ་འཚོལ་བ་ཡི་། བསྐྱེན་སྐྱུབ་གནད་གྱི་གཟེར་བུ་བསྐྱོར་།
 བར་ཆད་བགོགས་དཔྱད་གཤམ་ལས་རྒྱུལ་། མི་བསྐྱུ་ཁོ་བོའི་ཐོ་ཚིག་གོ་། ས་མ་ཡུལ་། དེ་ནས་
 མྱིང་པོ་བཤད་བྱ་བ་། ཤར་གྱི་རྒྱ་སྤྲུག་གནམ་ལ་མཚོངས་། ལྷོ་ཡི་སྐྱེར་ཆེན་རུབ་ལ་གཤམ་།
 རུབ་ནས་མ་བྱ་གར་འབྱུངས་ཤིང་། བྱང་ནས་བེ་སེར་མཚོང་རྒྱུད་རྒྱུག་། དཔུས་ནས་རུས་སྐུལ་།
 འབྱུར་སྐྱེ་མྱིར་། དེ་ཚོ་སྐྱེས་པའི་གནས་གཞི་འདིང་། གསལ་བ་ཨ་རུ་ལུང་གི་བརྒྱུད་། སྐྱེར་
 ཆེན་རྒྱུད་ཉེ་བའི་ཚར་། བདེ་ཆེན་ནམ་དག་སྐྱེན་གྱུབ་བཀོད་། རི་བོ་ཀུན་སྐྱེན་གྱི་ཤིང་ལྷེམ་།
 སྐྱོས་དང་ལྷན་པའི་རི་བོ་ཆེ་། ཉགས་རི་མི་ཆེ་མི་རྒྱུད་བར་། བལྟ་ན་སྐྱུག་པའི་རྒྱལ་དུ་ནི་། ཉག་
 པར་འཇམ་འོད་བྱ་བས་བསྐྱོར་། ཉེན་དུ་ལྷ་བྱུའི་གསུང་དབྱངས་ལེན་། མ་དང་མཁའ་འགྲོ་བྱོ་གར་
 འབྱུང་། རིག་འཛིན་སྐྱེ་ཚོགས་སྐྱིན་ལྟར་གཏིབས་། ཚོས་སྐྱོང་ལས་བྱེད་རེམས་ལྟར་འབྱུག་།
 སྤོགས་བཞི་བདུན་མིའི་རྒྱ་རྒྱུན་འབེབས་། བཀའ་ཉགས་སྐྱུབ་ལུག་གངས་ལས་འདས་། རྒྱུད་པར་
 ཨོ་རྒྱུན་གསལ་ལུག་དང་། མཚོགས་མཁའ་འགྲོ་བྱོ་ར་ཡོད་། ཨོ་རྒྱུན་གསྐྱོད་གཞུག་ལག་ཁང་།
 དབྱེར་མེད་དོ་མཚར་རྒྱུད་དུ་འཕགས་། དེ་རུབ་མཁའ་ལྱིང་ཉི་རྒྱ་སྤྲུག་། རྩོ་རྩོ་བསྐྱེད་འབྱུང་གནས་
 དས་། རྒྱུད་དམར་རྒྱུལ་བ་ཀུན་འདུས་གྱི་། རྒྱ་བདུན་སྐྱུབ་ནས་དངོས་གྱུབ་ཐོབ་། ཡེ་ཤེས་རྒྱུང་
 དང་དབྱེར་མེད་དུ་། ཉིང་འཛིན་གཤོ་མེད་གྱུབ་པའི་རྒྱགས་། རྒྱུད་གི་ལས་སྐྱུབ་ཉེར་ལྷ་སྐྱེས་།
 ལན་གཅིག་བསྐྱོར་བས་འོག་གཏོན་རིགས་། མ་ལུས་ཀུན་གྱི་གཤམ་ལས་རྒྱུལ་། ཤར་སྐྱོ་རིན་
 ཆེན་ཀུན་འདུས་སྐྱིང་། ས་སྐྱེར་སེང་གི་གནམ་མཚོངས་འདུལ་། བཟོ་རིགས་ཉོར་གཏེར་ཉེར་ལྷ་
 སྐྱེས་། གསོལ་བཀའ་སྐྱོན་ལམ་གང་བྱས་འབྱུབ་། རུབ་བྱུང་འོད་གསལ་ལྷ་ལུང་དུ་། ཀུན་
 འདུས་བཀའ་དཀར་བཀྱ་ཤིས་རྒྱོང་། སྐྱེས་ཡུལ་སྐྱེ་གཏེར་ཉེར་ལྷ་དང་། འཇིག་རྟེན་དགོས་པའི་ཡོ་
 བྱུད་སྐྱེས་། བྱུང་ཤར་གཏུ་མ་བྱུག་ཤིགས་བྱེད་ཚལ་། རྒྱ་གམ་འདྲ་བའི་བྱག་ལོགས་ལ་། མཐུ་
 དང་དན་སྐགས་རྣམ་ལུ་སྐྱེས་། ལྷོ་རུབ་དགའ་བ་ཁྲིལ་སྐྱོང་དུ་། བཟོ་རིགས་སྐྱེན་དཔྱད་རྣམ་ལུ་

སྐྱུ་མཚན་ཡང་གནས་དེའི་ལོགས་རྩོམ་ལུ་གསུང་དངུལ་ཟངས་ལྷགས་གཞུང་ཉིག་ཚེ།
 ཐབས་ལ་མཁས་པའི་ལྷ་བརྟུལ་ཚལ་ལ། འབད་མེད་རྩོམ་གསུང་ལོང་ལ། ལན་ཚུ་ཡི་གཏེར་
 ཁ་ལྟེ། དུས་ལ་བབས་ཚེ་རིམ་གྱིས་སྦྱོང་། རྩོད་པར་འབྱུང་གནས་གྱི། སྐྱུ་གསུང་ཐུགས་
 ཡོན་སྤོང་ལས་ལྟེ། སྐྱུ་པ་ཡང་སྐྱུ་ཉིང་སྐྱུ་འབྱུང་། དུས་བབ་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་མ་ཡོལ་ནེ།
 རིམ་གྱིས་འབྱུང་ནས་འགོ་དོན་སྦྱོང་། དེ་ནས་བདེ་དགའ་དཔལ་ལ་འབྱོར་། བསྐྱུ་བར་མི་འབྱུང་ས་
 མ་ཡུལ། ཞེས་པ་འདྲ་བདུན་འཛེམས་ནམ་མཁའི་རྩོམ་དབྱིངས་རིག་གསུང་བའི་མཁའ་མྱོང་ནས་བདེའ་བསྐྱུར་བའོ།

ཨོཾ དགོངས་གསུང་ཟད་མེད་ཡེ་ཤེས་སྦོང་མཛོད་ལས་ལུ།

སྐྱུ་མཚན་གོ་འཇིག་གནས་ཡིག་མ་རིག་ལུ་སེལ་བ་བཞུགས་ལུ།

ཨོཾ གཤམ་ལུ། དབྱིངས་རིག་འོད་གསལ་རྩོམ་ལུ་གྲུ་གྲུ་ལུ། མ་འགགས་ཐོལ་བྱུང་ནམས་གྱི་
 འཚར་སྐྱོལ་ལ། འཇར་བའི་བདེ་རིས་འབྱུ་ལྟེ་སྦྱིང་པོ་ལུ། གཏན་ལ་འབེབས་སོ་སྐྱུ་ལྟེ་སྐྱུ་ལ་
 གསོན་ལ། ས་མ་ཡུ་དེ་ཡང་སྦོང་གསུམ་མི་མཛེད་འཛིག་རྟེན་ཁམས་ལ། སྦོང་ཆེན་མཁའ་ལ་རྒྱུང་གི་
 དགྲིལ་འཁོར་བྱུལ། དེ་སྦྱིང་ས་རྒྱ་མེ་རྒྱུང་རིམ་བཞེན་ཆགས་ལ། གཅིག་གི་གཅིག་རྟེན་འབྱུང་བ་ཞེས་
 ལུ་གྲགས་ལ། སྦྱིང་བཞེན་རིམ་བཞེན་པོའི་རྩལ་དུ་གྲུལ། གངས་ཆེན་མཚོ་ཡི་ཕྱག་གི་རྒྱུང་བཟེན་མིེ།
 རྒྱ་ཁྱོན་མཐའ་ཡས་བདུན་མི་དངས་པའི་མཚོེ། དབྱུས་སུ་དཔག་བསམ་སྦྱོན་ཤིང་ལོ་འབྲས་མིེ།
 མེ་ཏོག་ཟེའུ་འབྱུ་མེ་རེའི་སྦྱིང་ཉིད་དེུ། སྐྱུ་སྐྱུ་འཛིན་གི་གཏོང་པ་མེ་རེའི་གྲུལ། སྐྱུ་མཐུན་བསོད་
 རམས་ལས་སྐྱུ་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་ལ། བསྐྱུ་འདབ་མ་ས་སྦོང་དག་པའི་ཞིང་། རྩོམ་བཅུན་མེའི་སྐྱུ་
 དབྱིངས་འཁོར་ལོ་ལྟེ། སྦྱིང་གསུང་བ་ཡང་གསུང་ཞིང་གི་དལ་། བསྐྱུ་གཏོང་ཞེས་གྲགས་པའི་
 མཚན་དུ་འདོགས་ལ། སྦོན་ཚེ་ཀུན་རྒྱ་གཞིགས་དང་ཐུབ་པ་ཡིས་ལ། སྦྱིང་གིས་བསྐྱུ་བས་ཅིང་སྦོན་པས་
 རྒྱུད་བཞེན་གསུངས་ལ། སྦྱི་ལྟེ་བདེ་ཆེན་པོ་གཏོང་པའི་ཞིང་། བྲག་དང་ཅོང་མོང་རྩོམ་ལུ་ལམ་འདྲེ།
 རི་རྩམས་ཐམས་ཅད་བ་སྐྱུ་གྲུལ་འགྲིགས་ལྟེ་ལ། ཐང་དང་ནགས་ཚལ་འཇའ་འོད་ལྷ་བས་བསྐྱོར་།
 བྱུ་རིགས་ཐམས་ཅད་སྦྱིང་པའི་ཚེས་སྐྱུ་སྦོམས་ལ། གནས་ཆེན་གནས་སྦྱིང་བཟོད་པའི་པ་མཐའ་ཡས་ལ།
 དགའ་རྟགས་སྐྱུ་མཚན་སྐྱུ་བ་སྐྱུ་གྲུངས་ལས་འདས་ལ། འཁོར་ལོ་སྐྱུ་ལུ་གསུང་བ་དབྱིངས་གྱི་

མཁའམ་ མེ་ཏོག་བརྒྱ་དགུན་ཡང་སྐྱེ་བའི་སེམས་ ཚོ་འཕེས་ཐོད་པ་པོར་ཚོག་ཞེས་གྲགས་པའི་མེམ་
 སྐྱེ་བ་སྐྱེ་ལ་སྐྱེ་འི་སེམས་ལོན་གཏན་བདེ་ཐོབ་མེད་ བསྐྱེ་བ་མེད་དོ་སྐྱེ་ལ་ལྷན་སྦྲིད་ལ་སོམས་སེམས་ ས་མ་ཡུལ་
 དེ་ནས་ཡང་གསང་བདེ་ཚེན་འབྲས་མོ་སྐྱོད་སེམས་ ལ་ལུང་ཐམས་ཅད་བརྒྱ་ཁ་བྱེད་བྱིབས་སེམས་ ལྷ་སྐྱེད་
 ཐམས་ཅད་ཅུ་ལྷའི་སྐྱེ་གསལ་སྐྱེ་སྐྱོད་གསལ་ ལྷིང་དང་ནགས་ཚལ་འཇམ་འོད་གུར་ཁྲིམ་སྐྱེད་ ལྷ་སྐྱེད་
 ཐམས་ཅད་བདུན་ཅི་འོད་སྐྱེད་འབར་ ལུང་ལྷང་རྣམས་ལ་ཀུན་བཟང་ཟིལ་པ་གཡོལ་ ལྷ་བདུན་དོ་
 རྗེ་དེས་པར་སྐྱེ་བའི་སེམས་ རིན་ཚེན་འབྲུ་སྐྱེད་བཟོ་རིགས་གཏོར་ཁ་རྣམས་ གཏོར་ཚེན་བརྒྱ་དང་
 གཏོར་སྐྱེད་སྐྱོད་ཅུ་ས་གཏམས་ རོར་བདུན་གང་གིས་མི་ཤིགས་རྗེ་རྗེ་རྗེ་ དེ་ལྟོ་འདི་འོད་
 གསལ་ལྷ་ཡི་ཞིང་ ལྷ་མ་ཐལ་མ་རྒྱུད་མཁའ་འགྲོའི་དལ་ བདེ་མཚོག་སྐྱེ་ཚོགས་བདུན་བརྒྱ་
 ཉེར་ལྷ་དང་ གསང་བ་འདུས་པ་ཞིང་གི་བཀོད་པ་བཀའ་ ཚོས་སྐྱོད་སྐྱེད་མ་ལས་བྱེད་སྐྱེད་ལྷ་རྒྱུ་
 འབྲུགས་ ལྷ་ལ་ལྷན་རྣམས་ལ་ཉམས་རྗོགས་ཤུགས་ཀྱིས་འཆར་ ལྷ་ལ་མེད་རྣམས་ལ་བཀའ་
 ཚད་དུག་པོ་འབབས་ ལྷ་བ་བཙོན་སྐྱེ་བུས་བུས་ཚོ་འདིར་མངོན་བྱུང་ཐོབ་ བར་དོ་ལོངས་སྐྱོད་
 རྗོགས་པའི་སྐྱེ་ལྷ་ལྷུ་འཕེས་ སྐྱིལ་ཅན་ཤན་པ་ཅི་སྐྱེད་ཡིན་ན་ཡང་ སྐྱིལ་སྐྱེད་སྐྱེ་བ་བཙོན་བུམ་ཟེའི་
 ལྷུ་སྐྱེ་ གནས་འབྲེལ་མེ་ཡིས་འཁོར་བའི་སྐྱེ་སྐྱོ་ཚོད་ ལྷུ་མ་ཚོད་སྐྱེད་གསལ་སྐྱེ་སྐྱེ་སྐྱེ་སྐྱེ་
 རྣམས་ གཞན་ལ་བརྒྱ་སྐྱོད་ཁྲི་འབྲུམ་སྐྱེ་དང་མ་རྒྱུད་སེམས་ གཞན་ལ་ལོ་སྐྱེ་བ་གནས་འདིར་རྒྱ་
 གཅིག་དགེ་ མཐའ་བསྐོར་རེ་ལ་མི་རྒྱུ་དུང་སྐྱེད་བརྒྱ་ བསྐོར་ཚད་བཅུ་གསུམ་ཡར་གྱི་ཟང་ཐལ་
 འགྲོ་ བསྐྱེ་བ་མེད་དོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ལོ་ ས་མ་ཡུལ་ གནས་འདིར་སྐྱི་ཡི་སྐྱོགས་བཞི་
 མཚམས་བརྒྱད་ལ་ འཇམ་དབྱེད་སྐྱེད་གཟིགས་སྐྱོལ་མ་དོ་རྗེ་ལེམས་ བཀའ་བརྒྱུད་སྐྱེད་པ་རྗེ་
 མགྲིན་ཁྲོས་མ་དང་ སོ་མེའི་རྗེ་གསལ་ལྷན་གནས་ཚེན་བརྒྱུད་དང་མི་ རྣམ་སྐྱེ་ལ་སོགས་གནས་
 ལྷན་གངས་མེད་བསྐོར་ རྣམ་གྱི་སྐྱོགས་བཞི་ཟང་ཐལ་སྐྱེ་བ་སྐྱེ་བ་ལེ་ མཚམས་བཞིར་དུར་ཁྲོད་
 བཞི་དང་རྒྱ་ལྷིང་བཞི་ དེར་གནས་དཔའ་པོ་མཁའ་འགྲོ་རྒྱུན་མི་ཚད་ བྱང་ཤར་གསང་བ་བདེ་
 ཚེན་དབྱིངས་སྐྱེ་བ་སྐྱེ་བ་ དོ་རྗེ་སྐྱེ་མོ་སྐྱེ་གསལ་ཀར་དཔལ་འཁྱེད་དུས་ གསང་བ་བྱང་རྒྱུབ་ལེམས་
 ཀྱིས་བོན་ལས་ འབྲུངས་པའི་བྱང་སེམས་དམར་པོ་སྐྱེ་རྒྱུ་ ལྷོད་བའི་བདེ་སྐྱོད་མཚོག་གི་ལོ་
 ཤེས་སྐྱེ་ ནད་གཏོན་ཀུན་ཞི་ཚད་པལ་ལང་ཚོ་རྒྱས་ མ་རྟེ་ཀར་ཚོ་བྲིད་རྣམ་ལྷ་སྐྱེས་
 བདུན་ཅི་འོད་སྐྱེད་ཞེས་སྐྱེ་གསལ་པ་ཡི་ ཚོ་རྒྱ་བ་ཡིད་བཞིན་དབང་གི་རྒྱུ་ ལྷུས་འབྲུང་ལྷོད་

བས་ཚེ་དཔལ་གཟི་བྱིན་བསྐྱེད་ཅེ་ འཕུ་ཚེ་པར་འབྲུང་གནས་བདག་ཉིད་ཀྱི་ བཞུགས་ཀྱི་གཏེར་
 ལྷོ་མ་འཛམ་གྱིད་སྲིད་ལོད་ཅེ་ རྒྱ་གཡུ་རྒྱ་གཏེར་ལོད་ལུ་ཚ་བརྒྱད་སྐུ་མེ་ འཕུ་ལྷུང་གཏེར་ཁ་
 ཉེར་ལྷུ་གཏེར་མ་པ་ཡི་ ཉེ་པལ་རྗོ་རྒྱ་ལམ་ཡི་ག་རྣམ་པ་ཅན་ཅེ་ ཉེ་མཐོན་གསང་སྐྱུ་བ་དཔོང་ས་
 པ་ཀུན་འདུས་ཀྱི་ ཟབ་མོ་གསང་བ་གཏེར་ཀྱི་རྒྱ་བདུན་བཟུ་ རིན་ཚེན་རྒྱུ་བརྟེན་གས་བྲག་གི་
 གཡམས་ལོ་གས་སུ་ འཛམ་དཔལ་ཞི་ལོ་ལྷི་ནང་གསང་སྐྱུ་བ་སྐུ་མེ་ གཏེར་ཀྱི་སྲུང་མ་གྱི་ལྷུ་གཟ་
 ལ་གཏེར་ རྣལ་ལྷན་གྲོགས་བྱེད་སྐལ་མེད་གདུག་པ་སྐྱོལ་ ལས་བཞི་ལྷན་གྲུབ་དགོས་འདོད་
 ལོར་བུའི་གྱིད་ འཕུ་གཞན་ཐོད་པ་ལོར་ཚོག་ལྷན་གྱིས་གྲུབ་ བདེ་ཚེན་ཞིང་དང་དཔྱེར་མེད་དོ་
 མཚར་ཆེ་ རྗོན་ཚོ་རྒྱལ་ཀུན་སྲོལ་ལམ་བདེན་མཐུ་ཡིས་ སྲིག་ཅན་སུ་ཡིན་བདེ་འགོ་ས་ལོན་
 ཐོབ་ སྐྱུ་བ་བརྟེན་སུས་བྱས་ཚེ་འདིར་མཛོན་སངས་རྒྱས་ གནས་འདིར་དད་ཅིང་གྲུས་པས་སྒོ་
 གསུམ་གྱིས་ འབྲེལ་པ་རེ་བཞག་བསོད་ནམས་ལྷུང་དུ་འཕགས་ མཚོད་ཉེན་ལྷ་ཁང་ས་གནད་
 སུས་མནན་རྣམས་ བད་འབྲུང་དེ་ཡི་ལོ་ཉེ་ཡིན་པར་ངེས་ དད་པས་གསོལ་བ་ཐོབ་མཚོན་རྣལ་
 ལྷན་ཡོངས་ ལོག་ལྷ་ཅན་ལ་བར་ཚད་འཕུལ་དུ་བྱུང་ གནས་དེར་ཁ་བཏང་ཐར་པའི་སྐུ་གུ་
 བཟེགས་ གནས་དེར་སྲིན་ནས་མི་བདུན་སྲིད་ཀྱིད་རྣམས་ སྲི་ཐིང་ནག་པོའི་སྐུ་ལ་པ་ཡིན་པར་
 ངེས་ སྲུང་གྲངས་མཚོན་ལ་དུན་རིག་ལྷགས་ཀུས་བརྒྱད་ བདེ་བ་སྐྱུ་བ་བསྐལ་འདམས་ཁ་མ་
 ལོར་ཅིག་ ས་མ་ལྷུ་ དེ་ཡི་ཤར་རྩོལ་གསང་བ་ཡང་གསང་གནས་ དུ་ལོ་བོ་པར་འབྲས་སྲུང་ས་
 ཞེས་སུ་གྲགས་ གངས་རི་དཀར་པོ་དབྱིངས་ཀྱི་མཁའ་ལ་མཐོང་ མ་བཞེངས་ལྷན་གྲུབ་རིགས་
 ལྷ་ཀུན་འབྲུང་ཞིང་ དེ་ཡི་གནས་ཡིག་ལམ་པ་ཀ་ལ་ཡོད་ དུས་ལ་བབ་ཚེ་གཏེར་གྱི་རྒྱ་མདུད་
 བཟོལ་ རྣལ་ལྷན་འགོ་བ་མང་པོ་ཞིང་དེར་བཟོད་ བསྐྱུ་བ་མེད་དོ་ཁོ་བོའི་ཐ་ཚོག་གོ་ ས་མ་
 ལྷུ་ ཞེས་གསུངས་གནས་ཡིག་འབྲིང་པོའི་རྣམ་པ་འདི་ འཕུ་ལྷུང་འོད་སྲིད་ཅིང་མཚོང་གི་བྲག་
 དབྱིངས་རིག་དྲངས་མ་ལྷུ་ཡི་ཤོག་བུ་ལ་ འཕུ་ལྷུང་འཕུལ་གྱི་བདེ་རིས་རྣམ་པས་བཏབ་
 དབྱིངས་ཀྱི་སྲུང་མ་ལོ་ཀ་རྗོ་ཉེར་གཏེར་ ཐུབ་པར་སྲུངས་ཤིག་བརྗོ་ས་མ་ལྷུ་ བདེ་ཐིམ་

༡༢༩ ཞེས་པ་འདི་འདྲེན་གས་ཚེན་སྐྱེ་ཞབས་རིན་པོ་ཚེས་འདི་ལྟར་དགོས་ཞེས་བཀའ་བསྐུལ་གྱི་ཤོར་ཕེབས་ཚོ་ཉེན་འབྲེལ་དུས་དབང་
 འཛོམས་སྐབས་བདུད་འཛོམས་ནས་མཁའ་ལོ་རྗོལ་དབྱིངས་རིག་གསང་བའི་མཁའ་གྲོང་ནས་བརྟེན་བསྐྱུར་བའོ་

། ཨོཾ མ་གསུམ་དགོངས་པ་ཀུན་འདུས་ལས་ལྷོང་གསང་པད་ཤེལ་གནས་ཡིག་མ་
རིག་སྐྱེན་སེལ་སྐྱོན་མི་བཟུགས་།

། ༡༢༩ ལོ་མཚན་ ཡེ་སྟོང་རྣམ་དག་ཚེས་དམིངས་འདུས་མ་བྱས་། སྟོང་པའི་རང་མདངས་
འོངས་སྐྱེ་སྐྱེ་མའི་གར་། སྐྱོ་ཚེས་མ་འགགས་སྐྱེལ་སྐྱེལི་འགོ་མང་འདུལ་། སྐྱེ་གསུམ་སྟོན་པ་
མཚོག་ལ་ལུག་འཚལ་འདུད་། ས་མ་ཡུ་། རྩོུའི་སྐྱེ་བཞེས་པར་ཀླུ་ཀུ་རངས་། སྐྱེ་འཚི་མི་མངའ་
རྩོུའི་སྐྱེ་མཚོག་བཞེས་། ཤེས་བྱ་ལྷ་མཁུན་འདས་དང་མ་འོངས་རྣམས་། གསལ་སྐྱེལ་མི་མངའ་
དུས་གསུམ་ས་ལེར་མཁུན་། ད་ལྟ་བུ་ལ་པ་ཡར་ལྷན་ལྷ་དང་མཉམ་། མདོ་སྐྱེས་དམ་ཚེས་མ་
ལུས་དར་ཞིང་རྒྱས་། ས་སྟོང་བྱུང་ཐོབ་པོ་མོས་ཡོངས་སུ་གང་། ལུགས་གཉིས་བྲིས་ས་ཀྱིས་འགོ་
བ་བདེ་ལ་བཀོད་། ཀུན་ཀྱང་དགའ་སྟོགས་མདོན་པར་རྒྱལ་མཚན་སྟོངས་། འགོ་ཀུན་བདེ་ལྷན་
སྐྱེག་བསྐྱེལ་ཀུན་བྱལ་ཡང་། མར་གྲིབ་བསྐྱེལ་རན་ཉི་ཤུའི་མར་གཤམ་ཚེ་། ཅག་པོ་ཁ་རྒྱས་རྒྱལ་
འགོང་རྒྱང་ལྷར་འཇུགས་། བུད་མེད་འདྲི་མོས་ས་སྟོང་ཡོངས་ལ་བྱེད་། གྲི་བོ་མོ་མོ་སྐྱར་ལྷར་
འཇུགས་པའི་དུས་། སྟོང་སྟོང་ཚེས་རྒྱན་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་རབ་དུ་དགུགས་། རྒྱ་འཇུང་བོད་འཇུང་རྟོར་
སོག་འཇུང་དུར་བཞི་། མ་བྱ་གར་འཇུང་སྐྱག་མོ་རར་ལ་འཇུང་། རྒྱང་པོ་རྩ་འཇུང་བྲིན་ག་རྒྱག་
ལ་འཇུང་། འཇུང་བཞི་སྐབས་ཀྱི་རྒྱ་བཞི་སྐང་དུག་གཡོ་། རི་བཞི་འཇུན་ནས་ཀ་བཞི་མཐའ་ལ་
འབྲུམས་། སྟོངས་བཞི་ནང་འཇུགས་རོང་བཞི་མི་དཔུང་འབར་། རང་པ་སེར་པོ་བྱང་ཆེན་མཚོ་ལ་
གཡོང་། གཡུ་འབྲུག་སྟོན་མོ་མ་བྱའི་འབྲུལ་པ་ཅན་། བེ་ཚོ་སྐྱེ་མཁའ་ཚེས་ཀྱི་སྟོ་དོགས་གཅོད་།
རྒྱ་གཅོད་བོད་གཅོད་ལྷ་ཡི་དོགས་རྣམས་གཅོད་། བཅུ་བའི་ཞགས་གཅོད་ཀུ་ཀུ་ཀུ་ཡིས་འཛིན་། ཉི་
མའི་གཟུར་གདུང་དམར་མོ་མོ་ཡིས་བྱེད་། དེ་ཡི་སྐབས་ཀྱིས་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་གནད་འགགས་འཇུག་།
འགོ་བའི་ལས་ནི་རྒྱ་རྒྱང་ཕུར་འབབ་འདྲ་། དེ་འདྲའི་དུས་ཤར་འཛེམ་སྐྱིང་འོ་མེ་བརྒྱལ་། ད་ལྟའི་སྐ་
གོ་སྐྱག་ཚང་གནས་མཚོག་འདིར་། འདུས་པའི་རྩེ་འབངས་པོ་མོའི་ཐུགས་བསྐྱེད་ཀྱིས་། སྐལ་ལྷན་
རྣམས་ནི་སྐྱེས་པའི་རོང་བཞི་འགྲིམ་། སྐལ་མེད་རྣམས་ནི་བདུད་ཀྱིས་ཉལ་ཤར་ཤོད་། དེ་འདྲའི་དུས་
ཤར་འགོ་ཀུན་གྱི་མ་རུད་། ཅེས་གསུངས་སྐྱེན་གཉིས་བར་སྐྱང་རིག་གཤམ་བཟུགས་། ད་ལྟའི་རྩ་
གསུམ་དགོངས་པ་ཀུན་འདུས་ཀྱི་། ཟབ་ཚེས་འདི་ཉིད་མ་འོངས་འགོ་བའི་དོན་། དུག་སྐྱང་སྐྱིན་མོ་

སྐྱུ་རྒྱུ་མའུ་གཤམ་དུ། རྣ་ལུང་སྐང་ར་ཚེན་པོ་འི་མདུན་ཞོལ་དུ། བྲོ་ར་དགའ་འབྲིལ་ཨ་མོ་ལེ་བ་
 ཁམ་སྤྱམ་མེ། ད་ལྟའི་རྗེ་འབངས་ཨ་མ་ལེ་ཁྲིད་མེ། དེ་ཚེ་འགྲོ་དོན་བར་ཚད་འབྲེལ་མམ་འབྲུང་མེ།
 དེ་དོན་སེམས་ལ་བྱུངས་ཤིག་རྗེ་འབངས་རྣམས་མེ། དེ་སྐྱད་གསུངས་ནས་མཉམ་པར་བཞག་པའི་
 སྐབས་མེ། མ་ཅིག་རྗེ་མོ་ཡི་ཤེས་མཚོ་རྒྱལ་མས་མེ། སྤུག་འཚལ་གསལ་གཡུའི་མཚལ་སྤུལ་ནས་ཀུང་
 མེ། ཨོམ་མེ། དུས་སུ་མཁྲིན་པའི་རྒྱལ་སྤྱེས་མོད་བྲིང་རྩལ་མེ། དེ་འདྲའི་དུས་སུ་གནས་དུས་འགྲུར་
 ལྟོག་རྣམས་མེ། ཡོངས་པའི་རྒྱ་རྒྱུན་བརྒྱུག་པའི་ཐབས་ལགས་སམ་མེ། འགྲོ་འབྲེན་སྐྱེས་བུ་ཕྱོགས་
 དུས་མི་གང་ལགས་མེ། སོ་སོར་མ་འབྲེས་རྗེ་བཅུན་ཚེན་པོ་ཡིས་མེ། ཚོགས་ཉུང་དོན་ཟབ་གཤམ་ཁྲུང་མེད་
 པ་ཞིག་མེ། མ་རྒྱ་བུ་རུ་ཚེན་པོས་གསུང་དུ་གསོལ་མེ། ཞེས་ཞུས་པས་མེ། གྱུ་ཨོམ་ཚོན་དང་ཡི་ཤེས་
 མཚོ་རྒྱལ་མེ། གནས་ནི་འཛམ་གླིང་བོད་གྱི་ཡུལ་ཁམས་འདི་མེ། དུས་ནི་ཉི་ཤུ་མར་གཤམ་སྐྱུགས་
 པོ་སྤུལ་མེ། རྒྱ་ནི་འགྲོ་བའི་བསོད་རྣམས་ཟད་པ་དང་མེ། སྤོན་ཚེ་བདུད་གྱི་སྤོན་ལོག་ཚོ་འཕྲུལ་ལས་མེ།
 གཚོ་བོས་གྲོས་ཉེས་འགྲོ་བའི་ཚོས་ཉེས་འགྲུར་མེ། སྤོན་ལོག་བདུད་སྤུལ་མང་པོ་སྤོད་སྤུང་འབྲུགས་མེ།
 དེ་ཡི་རྒྱུན་གྱི་འཛམ་གླིང་སེལ་བུ་འཕྲོར་མེ། བརྒྱུག་ཐབས་མི་སྤུལ་ཐེ་ཚོམ་དུ་བར་རྩུང་མེ། ད་སྤུལ་
 རྣམས་གྱི་གསུངས་ལ་བདེན་མེད་བཏང་མེ། བདེན་མེད་མི་རིང་རྒྱལ་གཏམ་མི་བཤུང་མེ། ད་ཉོད་
 དངོས་སུ་བྲོན་ཀུང་གོལ་མི་འགྲུར་མེ། དེ་ཚེ་སྐལ་ལྷན་འགྲོ་འབྲེན་སྐྱེས་བུ་ནི་མེ། བདག་དང་ཨ་མ་ལེ་
 གཉིས་མེད་སྤུལ་མེ། མདོ་ཁམས་ཟལ་མོ་སྤྱི་གཞུང་རྩ་ཅི་ཕྱོགས་མེ། རྣ་ལུག་ལོ་བ་སྤེལ་བ་རིགས་ལུས་
 བརྒྱུན་མེ། ཀུན་དང་མི་མཐུན་ཀུན་གྱི་གཤམ་པའི་བུ་མེ། ཉེ་རུ་ཀུང་པལ་བདུད་འཛམས་གར་གྱིད་བང་མེ།
 འབྲུང་ནས་མཐའ་མི་རེས་འབྲུང་རེས་བརྒྱུག་ཚེ་མེ། གནས་ཡུལ་ཞིང་ཁམས་ཀུན་ལ་རང་དབང་བརྒྱུར་མེ།
 མཐོང་འོད་སྤུལ་འཕྲུལ་མ་ཅི་མིང་དང་བཅས་མེ། སྤིན་མོ་སྐར་རྗེ་སྤྱེས་པའི་གཏེར་འདི་སྤྱོད་མེ། དེ་ཡི་
 སྐབས་ཀྱིས་སྤྱེས་ཡུལ་བརྒྱན་པ་སྤྱོད་མེ། དེ་སྐྱད་གསུངས་ནས་སྤྱི་གཞུང་མཚུབ་ནས་མཁམ་གཏུང་མེ།
 ཨོམ་མེ། གནས་གྱི་ཞུང་འཕགས་བདེ་ཚེན་བསྐྱབ་བཞོད་མེ། ཞིང་གི་ཞུང་འཕགས་ཡང་གསང་བསྐྱའི་
 ཁེབས་མེ། ས་སྤྱོད་རྣམ་དག་བདེ་ཚེན་ཞིང་དང་མཚུངས་མེ། སྤོང་གསུམ་མི་མཐེད་འཇིག་རྟེན་ཚེར་
 བུ་བཚོ་མེ། སྤོན་ཚེ་གངས་ཅན་རྣམ་སྤུང་མཚོ་ཡི་ནི་མེ། སྤུག་ན་ལྷུང་བ་བཟེད་སྤོས་རྩུས་བཀའ་བའི་
 དབུས་མེ། ལྷུང་རྩུབ་དཔག་བསམ་སྤོན་ཤིང་ཡལ་གཤམ་མེ། དབུས་སུ་རི་བོ་ཕྱོགས་བཞི་གླིང་བཞི་
 བུ་བཟོ་མེ། ལྟོ་ཡི་ཡལ་གཤམ་ཏོག་ལོ་འབྲས་ལེ་མེ། འཛམ་གླིང་གྲེ་བ་སྤུག་བརྒྱ་བཞོད་པ་གྲུབ་མེ། དེ་
 དབུས་མི་ཏོག་ཟུམ་འབྲུ་རྗེ་རྗེ་གདན་མེ། བརྒྱལ་བཟང་སངས་རྒྱས་སྤོང་གི་འདུལ་བའི་ཞིང་མེ། དེ་ཡི་

བྱང་པར་མི་ཉོག་ཟེའུ་འབྲུ་ལེ། ཡང་གསང་པར་ཤེལ་རི་བོ་ཉ་ལའི་ཞིང་། ས་སྤྱོད་ཞིང་ཁམས་
 རྣམ་དག་སྒྲུབ་མེད་། དེ་ཡི་སྐབས་ཀྱིས་བསྐྱབ་པོ་ད་ཞེས་སྐྱབས་། ཀུན་བཟང་ཤུག་ཐུབ་བསྐྱབ་འབྱུང་
 གནས་ཀྱི། ཤིན་ཏུ་བས་སྤོན་ལམ་བདེན་སྤོབས་ཡང་ཡང་བརྗོད་། བསྐྱལ་བཟང་སངས་རྒྱས་སྤོང་
 བྱོན་ལུང་ཡང་བསྐྱབ་། བསྐྱལ་པ་རེ་རེ་འདས་ཇེས་རེ་རེ་འཕེལ་། དེ་དུས་སངས་རྒྱས་སྤོང་བྱོན་
 དས་ལུང་བསྐྱབ་། འདི་འདྲའི་གནས་མཚོག་མཐོང་ཐོས་བྱོན་རེག་རྣམས་། བསྐྱལ་སྤོང་སྤྱི་བ་དག་
 སྤྱིར་མི་སྤོག་ཞིང་ཐོབ་། ཉོར་བདུད་མི་ཤིགས་རྗོང་ཇོང་བཅོན་ཡིན་། བསྐྱལ་བ་མེད་དོ་སྐྱལ་བྱོན་
 སྤོང་ལ་སོམས་། ས་མ་ཡུལ་། དེ་ནས་མཁའ་འགྲོ་ཡི་ཤེས་མཚོ་རྒྱལ་གྱིས་། ཨོ་མ་ཨོ་མ་རྒྱལ་
 སྤུས་ཐོད་ཐོང་ཅུལ་། དེ་འདྲའི་ས་སྤོང་ཞིང་ཁམས་རྣམ་དག་འདིར་། སྤོང་འབྱེད་དུས་དང་འགྲོ་
 འདྲེན་སྤྱིས་བྱ་གང་། སྤོགས་དང་འཁོར་སྤོབ་བསྤོད་ཚུལ་ཅི་ལྟར་བྱར་། བར་ཆད་རྒྱུན་འབྲུང་ཡོད་
 མེད་བརྗོག་ཐབས་རྣམས་། གསལ་ལ་མ་འདྲེས་སོ་སོར་གསུང་དུ་གསོལ་། ཞེས་ཞུས་། སྤོབ་
 དཔོན་གྱིས་། ཨོ་མ་ཨོ་མ་དང་ཡི་ཤེས་མཚོ་རྒྱལ་མེ། ཞུ་བའི་དོན་ཡིགས་བུ་མོ་མཁའ་ཚེན་བཟའ་།
 དུས་དང་འགྲོ་འདྲེན་སྤྱིས་བྱ་གོང་དང་མཚུངས་། མཐུན་པའི་སྤོགས་སྤོང་མི་མཐུན་གོགས་ལ་གཟུར་།
 སྤོགས་ནི་བྱ་རྒྱུ་ལྷི་བྱུང་བཞི་ཡི་སྤོང་། ད་ལྟའི་བལ་འབངས་ཀ་ལ་སི་རྩུ་ཡི། ཐུགས་ཀྱི་སྤྱལ་པ་
 བསྐྱའི་མིང་ཅན་ཚེ་སྤོང་ཇེ་བྱང་སེམས་ལྷན་ལ་ཞི་ཆགས་སྤྱལ་། དེ་དང་ཚོས་མཐུན་སྤོགས་མཚོག་ལྷ་
 ཡི་སྤོང་། དེ་ཚོ་ཀུན་གྱང་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་གཡོ་མེད་དང་། བརྩོན་འགྲུས་ཤུགས་བསྐྱེད་བཟོད་པའི་གོ་
 བགོས་ཏེ། དག་སྤོང་བཞི་ཡི་བསྐྱུར་དང་གཏོར་མས་བརྗོད་། ཐུགས་པ་བཞི་ཡི་སྤྱེད་གཏོར་རྒྱུན་
 སེལ་བུ། རིགས་ལྷན་ལྷ་ཡི་སྤྱེད་གོང་གིས་བརྗོད་། སྤྱིས་བྱ་བྲ་མ་ཉེར་ལུས་ལམ་དག་བསལ་།
 ལྷག་ཤར་གོ་མཚོན་ལྷན་པ་ལྷ་བཅུ་ཡིས་། སྤྱི་རོལ་རྒྱལ་བ་འཛོམས་པའི་རྗེས་སྐབས་བུ། མཐའ་
 རས་རུས་སྤལ་འགྲོས་ཀྱིས་དབུས་སུ་ཞུགས་། ཀུན་གྱང་སྤིད་པ་ལུབ་བསྐྱུས་སྤངས་སྐབས་དང་།
 དེ་སྐབས་རྗོང་གར་གྱི་དབང་སྤྱལ་ཉིད་། ཉོགས་མེད་སྤོས་བལ་ནམ་མཁའི་སྤོང་ཡངས་སུ། རིག་
 སྤོང་བརྗོད་མེད་སྤོང་འདས་མཐའ་དབུས་བུལ་། བྱར་མེད་བྱ་བུལ་ཡི་སྤོང་ཚེན་པའི་སྤོང་། ལྷ་ཡང་
 སེམས་ལ་འདྲེ་ཡང་རང་གི་སེམས་། ལྷ་འདྲེ་འབྲུམ་ཡང་རང་སེམས་དོ་བོར་གཅིག་། ཡི་སྤོང་
 བརྗོད་བ་ཚོས་དབྱིངས་སྤོང་དུ་རྒྱུས་། སྤང་སྤིད་ཞུབ་དགོངས་པའི་གཟེར་གྱི་གདབ་། སྤོང་བདེ་
 གུ་ཡངས་གཏོད་མའི་རྒྱལ་ས་བརྗོད་། འདི་ནི་ལྷ་འདྲེ་སྤྱི་ཚིངས་སྤོན་མེད་། དེ་དོན་གནད་དུ་
 བཅོལ་ཅིགས་མ་ཡུལ་། དེ་ནས་སྤོས་ནས་ཟབ་མོ་སྤོང་པའི་རྒྱུལ་། ལམ་བྱང་གལ་བྱང་སྤོང་བྱང་རྒྱར་

གསལ་ལྟར་། འཁོར་ལོ་ལྷ་ལྷན་ལྷི་ནང་གསང་བ་ཡིས་། གསང་བ་གྱི་ལ་དབྱིངས་རྫོང་དེར་གྱི་
 ལྷོགས་། ལུང་པ་ལྷ་གསུམ་སྐྱབས་གསུམ་མཁའ་འགྲོའི་དལ་། དབུས་གྱི་ལུང་པ་འབྲས་སྤོངས་དགའ་
 བའི་ཚལ་། དེ་ཡི་ལུང་བརྒྱུད་ཏིག་རི་སྐྱེས་པའི་སྤོངས་། དེ་ཡི་འཁོར་ལྷོ་གསང་ཆེན་དགའ་བའི་
 ཚལ་། དེ་བརྒྱུད་ལ་ལྷིན་ལུང་ལྷ་མཁའ་འགྲོའི་དལ་། དོ་བོ་བརྒྱ་ལེལ་རི་ཞེས་གྲགས་པའི་། རི་
 བོ་ལྷན་ཆགས་སྤུར་སོ་གྲོན་སྤོང་ལྟར་། ལྷན་གསུམ་དབང་ལྷན་སྐྱབས་གསུམ་ལྷན་གྱིས་བྱུང་། རྒྱུད་
 ཅས་བལྟས་ན་རྒྱལ་མཚན་འཛུགས་པ་འདྲ་། ཆོས་སྤྱི་ལྷ་ཚོགས་བྱེ་བ་འབྲམ་སྐྱེ་ན་མས་། བྲངས་
 མེད་ཏིལ་གང་སྤུར་བ་བཞིན་དུ་བཞུགས་། ལྷོགས་བཞི་ལུང་བཞི་རྒྱུད་སྤེ་བཞི་དུག་གི་། བཀོད་པ་
 རབ་བཀྲའོ་མཚར་བྱུང་འཕགས་ཞིང་། དེ་ཡི་སྤོ་ལྷོགས་ཀུན་བཟང་སྤྱ་མཚོ་ཡོད་། ལྷུས་འཕྱུང་
 ལྷོང་བས་ལས་གྱི་སྤྱི་བ་བཞི་དག་། དེ་ཡི་བྱང་འཁར་ཨེ་ཀཱ་ཇི་ཡི་། ལྷ་མཚོ་དམར་ནག་རྒྱ་མེའོད་
 མདོག་། དམོད་པ་ལྷིན་ལས་གང་བཅོལ་ཐོགས་མེད་འབྲུབ་། འཁར་ལྷོགས་ཀུན་བཟང་ཉི་ཤུ་ཀ་ཡི་
 རི་། སྐྱབས་སྤུག་བདེ་ཆེན་གྲོང་ཡངས་ཞེས་པ་ཡོད་། དེར་བཀོད་ཏིང་འཛིན་ཉམས་རྟོགས་ཤུགས་
 གྱིས་འཕེལ་། བཀའ་རྟོགས་སྤུག་མཚན་སྐྱབས་སྤུག་གངས་ལས་འདས་། གསེར་དུལ་ཟངས་
 ལྷགས་མཐིང་སྤངས་མཚལ་ལི་ཁྲི་། འཛིག་རྟེན་དགོས་བྱེད་རིན་ཆེན་གཏིར་གྱིས་བཀའ་། ལྷལ་
 ལྷན་སྐྱེས་བུ་རྣམས་གྱིས་རིམ་བཞིན་སྤོད་། རྟོགས་ལྷན་རི་བཞི་ལྷུས་ཆབ་ཆེན་པོ་བཞི་། སྤྱིད་ཚལ་
 བཞི་དང་སྤིང་བཞི་རྟ་བབ་རྒྱལ་། བཀོད་པ་རབ་བཀྲའ་དགོས་འདོད་ནོར་བུའི་སྤིང་། འདི་འདྲའི་
 གནས་མཚོག་པན་ཡོན་བསམ་ལས་འདས་། གནས་མཐེལ་རི་ཡིས་བསྐྱེད་སྤོང་སྤྱི་བ་པ་དག་།
 ལན་གཅིག་བསྐྱོར་བས་འཛོམས་སྤིང་གཡས་སུ་མི་། ལན་བརྒྱ་བསྐྱོར་དང་དབྱིར་མེད་བསྐྱེད་དམ་།
 གསང་བ་ཡང་གསང་སྤྱོད་གནས་མཚོག་འདིར་། ལྷལ་ལྷན་ལས་སྤོན་བཙོན་པ་སྤིང་ནས་བསྐྱེལ་།
 མ་དག་འེག་ལྷ་ཐོའོ་མ་རིང་དུ་སྤངས་། བསྐྱེད་མེད་དོ་པད་འབྱུང་ཐོའོ་གཡོ་། ས་མ་ལྷ་། དེ་
 ཡི་རྒྱབ་སྤོགས་རི་བོ་ཏེ་ལ་མི་། རི་བོ་ལྷན་ཆགས་བསྐྱེད་སྤུག་པ་ཡི་། རྫ་སྤངས་གངས་བརྒྱན་
 དཔལ་བོ་ཆེན་པོ་མི་། རྩབ་མོ་གཡོན་འདྲ་སྤིང་བཞི་སྤྱིད་ཚལ་གཡོ་། དེ་འོག་རྫ་སྤངས་སྤུག་ཐིགས་
 བསྐྱེད་དང་མཚུངས་། སྤུན་གཐིགས་རྒྱལ་བརྒྱ་མཚོའི་སོ་བྲང་མཚོག་། བྲང་རྒྱབ་སེམས་དཔལ་
 སྤུན་རས་གཐིགས་དབང་གིས་། སྤུགས་བསྐྱེད་སྤོན་ལམ་ལས་འབྱུངས་ལྷུས་ཆབ་མི་། སྤུན་ཆབ་
 གཡས་འབབ་སྤོལ་མ་སྤོན་མོ་ཡིས་། འཛིགས་བརྒྱུད་བཅུ་དུག་ཞི་བའི་ལྷུས་ཆབ་ཡིན་། ལྷོ་ལ་
 དུངས་པ་ཡན་ལག་བརྒྱུད་སྤུན་གྱི་། གཡས་སྤོགས་ཡང་གསང་ལུང་པའི་བརྒྱུད་ནས་འབབ་།


འབྲུག་འཕུང་མེད་བས་འཛིགས་བརྒྱན་བཅུ་དྲུག་ཞིང་། སྤྱན་རྒྱན་གཡོན་འབབ་སྐོལ་མ་དགར་མོ་ཡིས་ཤིང་།
 རྣམ་པར་ཚོ་སྦྱོན་འཕགས་མའི་འབྲུག་ཆབ་དགར་ཤིང་། གཡོན་སྐོགས་དར་བེད་སྐོགས་ལ་ནར་གྱིས་
 འབབ་ཤིང་། འབྲུག་འཕུང་མེད་བས་ཚོ་དཔལ་གཟི་བྱིན་བསྐྱེད་ཤིང་། དེ་ཡི་ལུང་བརྒྱན་ཨ་ཏི་ལུང་ཞེས་
 བྲགས་ཤིང་། དེ་བརྒྱན་གར་གནས་ཚོ་མིང་དཔལ་དང་ལྷན་ཤིང་། འཕར་དུ་སྤྲོ་ཚོགས་དོན་དཔལ་ལེུ་སྒྲིང་།
 དོན་དེ་རིགས་ཀྱི་སྤྲོ་ཚོགས་ཏིལ་གང་སྤྲུལ་ཤིང་། རྣམ་གཏོན་འཛིགས་བརྒྱན་ཞི་བའི་སྒྲིང་མཚོག་ཡིན་ཤིང་།
 དོར་སེམས་སྤྲོ་ཚོགས་མཚོ་བཞི་བྱེད་དོན་དེ་སྤྲུལ་ཤིང་། ཞི་བྱེད་སྤྲོ་ཚོགས་བཟོ་རིགས་གཏེར་ཁ་ཡོད་ཤིང་། སྤྲོ་སྐོགས་
 རིན་ཆེན་དཔལ་ལེུ་དགའ་འབྲེལ་སྐོར་ཤིང་། རིན་ཆེན་རིགས་ཀྱི་སྤྲོ་ཚོགས་ཏིལ་གང་སྤྲུལ་ཤིང་། བཀའ་
 བརྒྱན་སྤྲོ་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་འདུལ་རིན་ཆེན་སྤྲུལ་ཤིང་། རྒྱལ་བྱེད་གསེར་དུལ་རིན་ཆེན་ཚོར་དབྱིག་སོགས་ཤིང་།
 དགོས་འདོད་ཀྱི་འཕྲུང་ཚོར་བུའི་གཏེར་ཁ་ཡོད་ཤིང་། སྒྲིང་གི་སྒྲིང་མཚོག་རྒྱལ་བྱེད་དགའ་འབྲེལ་སྐོར་ཤིང་།
 རུབ་སྐོགས་དུ་སྐྱི་བའེ་བ་སྒྲིང་ཞེས་ནི་ཤིང་། བསྤྲོ་རིགས་ཀྱི་སྤྲོ་ཚོགས་ཏིལ་གང་སྤྲུལ་ཤིང་། བསྤྲོ་དབང་སྤྲུག་
 དབང་སྤྲུག་བའེ་བ་མཚོ་ཚོ་སྤྲུབ་ལ་སོགས་དབང་བསྤྲུག་གཏེར་ཁ་ཡོད་ཤིང་། བྱང་སྐོགས་གཏོད་སྦྱིན་
 དྲག་སྤྲུག་རབ་སྤྲོས་སྒྲིང་ཤིང་། དྲག་པོ་མཐུ་སྤྲུག་སྤྲོ་ཚོགས་ཏིལ་གང་སྤྲུལ་ཤིང་། དྲག་པོ་སྤྲུབ་སྤྲུག་དྲག་
 རུལ་མཐུ་སྤྲུག་སྤྲིང་ཤིང་། གཅིག་བརྒྱན་དན་སྤྲུགས་དྲག་སྤྲུབ་མེ་སྤོང་ཅན་ཤིང་། དྲག་པོ་ལས་ཚོགས་མ་
 ལུས་གཏེར་ཁ་ཡོད་ཤིང་། སྤོན་ལས་གང་བཅུ་མས་ཐོགས་མེད་སྤྲུན་བྱུང་བཀའ་སེམས་ཤིང་། དབུ་ཅི་སྤྲུན་
 གཟིགས་རྒྱལ་བརྒྱལ་མཚོ་དང་ཤིང་། རྩ་བརྒྱན་སྤྲོ་ཚོགས་སངས་རྒྱལ་བྱང་སེམས་ཚོགས་ཤིང་། རྣམ་མཁའ་འི་
 སྤྲོ་ཚོགས་གཏེར་ཁ་ཡོད་ཤིང་། རི་པོ་སྤྲོད་པ་ཡི་དམ་རྒྱུད་སྤྲོ་སྤྲུལ་ཤིང་། ཁ་བ་བུ་ལུག་
 འཕྲུང་བས་པ་ཇི་བཞིན་དུ་ཤིང་། མཐའ་བསྐོར་རྣམས་ལ་དཔའ་བོ་མཁའ་འགྲོ་དང་ཤིང་། ཚོས་སྤྲུང་ལས་བྱེད་
 སྤྲུང་སྤྲུང་འབྲུགས་བཞིན་བཞུགས་ཤིང་། དངོས་སུ་བསྤྲུས་ན་མིག་གིས་མི་མཐོང་བར་ཤིང་། རང་བཞིན་
 ཐུགས་རྗེའི་རར་སྤྲོད་རྒྱ་ལུ་ལུ་ཤིང་། གཡོན་བའི་རྒྱ་སྤྲུང་བདུད་ཅི་འོད་ལྷན་འབར་ཤིང་། ལུང་སྤྲུ་རྣམས་ལ་
 ཀུན་བཟང་ཟིལ་པ་གཡོ་ཤིང་། སྤྲུ་བདུད་དོན་དེ་སྤྲུལ་པར་སྤྲོ་བའི་སེམས་ཤིང་། ཤིང་དང་ནགས་ཚལ་འཇའ་འོད་
 ལུང་ཞིམ་སྤྲུབ་ཤིང་། ལྷ་རིགས་ཐམས་ཅད་གསུང་སྤྲོ་ཚོགས་སྤྲོ་སྤྲུགས་ཤིང་། རོར་བདུད་གང་གིས་མི་
 འཇོགས་སྤྲུས་པའི་ཞིང་ཤིང་། འདི་འདྲའི་གནས་མཚོག་མཐོང་ཐོས་དྲན་རིག་རྣམས་ཤིང་། སྤྲིག་སྤྲུན་འཇན་པ་
 ཅི་སྤྲུང་ཡིན་ལྷུང་ཀྱང་ཤིང་། སྤྲུང་དུ་གནས་འཕོས་བྲམ་ཟེའི་སྤྲུས་སྤྲུ་སྤྲུལ་ཤིང་། རིས་བཞིན་ཐར་པའི་ཐེས་
 སྤྲུས་གནས་དུ་སྤྲོད་ཤིང་། ཐར་བདུད་འགྲོ་རྣམས་ཚུ་འཕྲུང་རྣམས་ཤིང་། རོ་ལ་ཞབས་རྗེས་རོ་ལ་རིང་

བསྐྱེད་ལྟུང་ལྷོ་ དེ་འབྲོམ་འབྲོ་བ་གཞན་ལ་སྒྲོམ་ཅི་དགོས་ལ། གནས་འབྲེལ་རེ་ཡིས་འཁོར་བའི་སྐྱེ་
སྒྲོམ་ཚེད་ལ། དད་པས་གོམ་བདུན་བོར་ནས་ཤིན་ཡང་ལ། སྤྱི་མ་ཞིང་དེར་སྐྱེ་བར་ཐེ་མི་ཚོམ་ལ།
གནས་དེའི་ས་ཚུ་བལ་ཐེབས་པས་ཀྱང་ལ། ལས་ངན་སྦྱིབ་དག་བྱུང་ཚུབ་ས་བོན་ཐེབས་ལ། གནས་
དེར་མི་བདུན་སྐྱེ་བྱིད་ལམ་སྒྲོན་རྣམས་ལ། བད་འབྱུང་ང་ཡི་ཕོ་ཉ་ཡིན་པར་ངས་ལ། ལམ་འབྲུང་ས་
གནད་བཙུག་དང་གཏུག་ལག་ཁང་ལ། གང་གི་བཞེངས་སྐྱེ་བ་བྱེད་པའི་མི་རྣམས་ནི་ཕོ་མོ་བཟང་
ངན་མེད་པ་སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་ལྷོ་ སྐྱེ་བ་པ་ཡིན་པར་པད་འབྱུང་ཐ་ཚོག་གོ་ ཅུ་བསྐྱོར་རེ་ལ་ཨ་མི་རྟེ་ལ་
དུང་ལ། བར་བསྐྱོར་རེ་ལ་མ་རི་དུང་ལྷུང་བརྒྱུ་ མཐའ་བསྐྱོར་རེ་ལ་བཟོ་བྱ་ཏུ་ནི་ གོང་གི་དེ་
གཉིས་བརྒྱ་ཡིས་ཀར་མི་ཕོད་ལ། འོད་སྐྱེད་སྐྱེན་གཟུགས་པརྒྱ་འབྱུང་གནས་ཀྱི་ ལྷགས་ཀྱི་སྐྱེ་
མཚོག་རི་བོ་ཏ་ལ་ནི་ གསང་བ་ཡང་གསང་བ་སྐྱེད་གནས་མཚོག་ཡིན་ལ། དད་སྒྲོན་གསོལ་བ་
ཐོབ་དང་རིགས་ཀྱི་བུ་ བསྐྱེ་བ་མེད་དོ་སྐྱེ་ལ་ལྷན་སྦྱིང་ལ་སོམས་ལ། གནས་བདག་བསྐྱེད་མ་བཀའ་
གཉན་འབྲུ་སྐྱོག་ཆེ་ འོག་ལྷ་ཅན་ལ་བར་ཆད་འཕྲལ་དུ་འདུག་ལ། བདེ་བ་སྐྱེ་བ་བསྐྱེ་ལ་གང་མས་ལ་
མ་ཞོར་ཅིག་ བསྐྱེ་བ་མེད་དོ་པད་འབྱུང་ཐ་ཚོག་གོ་ ས་མ་ལྷོ་ ཞེས་གསུངས་མ་འོངས་འབྲོ་
བའི་དོན་ཆེད་དུ་ བཀའ་སྐྱེས་ན་ལུང་དཔལ་གྱི་མདུན་ཞེས་དུ་ ཅུ་གསུམ་དགོངས་པ་ཀུན་འདུས་
ཆ་རྒྱན་དུ་ གཏེར་དུ་སྐྱེས་ཏེ་གངས་བཙན་ཁྱེད་ལ་བཙོལ་ བསྐྱེད་མིང་ཅན་བདུད་འཛོམས་མ་ཚན་
ལ་སྒྲོན་ དམ་ཉམས་གཏེར་རྒྱན་རྣམས་ལ་ཆད་པ་གཅོད་ ལྷག་པར་སྐྱེད་ས་ཤིག་བཟོ་ས་མ་ལྷོ་
བརྒྱ་ཐེམ་ ཏཱ་ལྷོ་ ས་མ་ལྷོ་ རྒྱ་རྒྱ་ཀྱི་ ཞེས་པ་འདི་ཡང་རིགས་ལྷན་ནོར་བུའི་མིང་ཅན་དང་སྐྱེ་ལ་ལྷན་
བཅུ་བྱངས་བཙུག་ན་ལུང་གངས་རར་ཆེན་མོའི་མདུན་ཞེས་ནས་ཁོ་བོ་བདུད་འཛོམས་པས་སྐྱེན་དང་ས་ཏེ་སྐྱེས་ཚལ་ལའལ་མིང་ཉི་ལྔ་འོད་ལྷག་
ནས་དབུ་འཛུགས་ཏེ་མཐར་སྐྱེན་ཐང་ལྷག་པ་བདེ་བ་ཆེན་པོར་རྫོགས་པར་ཕབ་པའོ་ དགོའོ་ ཅུ་



Zamthang, epicentre of Zanskar's rock art heritage

By Martin Vernier¹

his paper intends to present the petroglyph site of Zamthang (*Zam thang*) located in the Lungnak (*Lung nag*) valley of Zanskar (*bZangs dkar*), Kargil district of Ladakh (*La d'wags*), Jammu and Kashmir, India. It will show that this site can be considered as the most important one from about 20 known rock art sites in Zanskar. The paper starts with a brief history of the awareness and knowledge of the country's rock art heritage and its main actors before concentrating on the history of that particular site documentation itself. The problems and prospects of rock art conservation and development in this area will also be briefly discussed. Subsequently, the paper attempts a full description of the site's setting, its content and the chronology of its survey and documentation. The current condition of the site as well as the prospects for its enhancement and protection will also be presented. A brief comparative overview of some of the major and most relevant elements of its content will be discussed and aim at defining a timeframe. To conclude, the neighbouring rock art sites as well as other linked historical remains will briefly be presented together with some geographical specifications with a view to highlight the anthropological potential of the area and the much-required interdisciplinary and systematic study.

History of the researches on Ladakh's rock art heritage and their main actors²

Since the so called opening, or rather one should speak of a re-opening, of Ladakh to the rest of the world in the 1970s, local Rock

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² This passage is attempted as a supplement to the synthesis on the same subject published in the RET by Bellezza and Bruneau and adds more informal actors, see Bruneau et Bellezza, 2013.

Art heritage has received scant attention compared to the more visible and attractive, rich and various historical sites of the country. If one considers the attention art historians, restorers, architects and other researchers have paid to the religious artistic, as well as architectural heritage, we must admit that Rock Art has not received the attention that its local richness and diversity deserves.

It is not the intention of this paper to present a historical view of Rock Art research in Ladakh. Rather the aim is to put into perspective the changes that have occurred during the past fifteen years or so through a short chronological summary of the research carried out.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century the first mention of stone carvings, representing animals and human beings, was made by Ujfalvy³, an Austro-Hungarian travelling in the footpath of Csoma de Körös, and K. Marx, a Moravian missionary posted in Leh⁴. Then, in the first years of the last century, A. H. Francke was the first not only to mention the petroglyphs but to copy, describe and list some of them⁵. By commenting the motifs he indexed, their locations and physical features, Francke provides us with the first scientifically oriented data sheets concerning the rock art of Ladakh. In the 1930s de Terra took some photographs of petroglyphs and, although limited to the major sites along the Indus, he gathered sufficient material to present a first attempt at a chronology scheme based on stylistic classification⁶. Giuseppe Tucci, the well-known Tibetologist pioneer and explorer also took some photographs during his tour in Ladakh in the 1930s but unfortunately thereafter only published one⁷.

When in the mid 1990s I started paying attention to this specific form of historical heritage I soon realized that little was available on the topic prior to the re-opening of Ladakh in 1974, except for Francke's data sheets and comments. In fact almost half a century had passed without any new references to Ladakhi rock art. In 1977, Snellgrove and Skorupski wrote an inset about Alchi's rock art site in their "Cultural Heritage of Ladakh"⁸, but apart from these scant resources, even less was available on Zanskar, the area that retains my interest during the first decade of my Himalayan work⁹. Although researchers such as Rohit Vohra had already published a booklet called "Rock Art in Ladakh" through which he presented his field

³ Ujfalvy, 1884, p. 248.

⁴ Marx, 1897.

⁵ Francke, 1902.

⁶ De Terra, 1940, p. 48.

⁷ Tucci, 1958, p. 294, fig. 8.

⁸ Snellgrove and Skorupski, 1982.

⁹ I visited Zanskar in 1987, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2003, 2008, 2009, 2011, 2014.

trips' results (1979, 80, 83 and 86), it mostly contains pictures and focuses mainly on religious motifs such as chorten (*mchod rten / stūpa*), Buddhist low-reliefs and inscriptions¹⁰. To my knowledge Zanskar rock art sites, and amongst them Zamthang in particular, were first visited in 1976 by the French anthropologist and explorer Michel Peissel. He mentioned them in 1979¹¹ and further qualified the various petroglyphs he encountered during his trips as being "the prehistoric art of the Minaro"¹². In 1982 Klodzinski and Gouazé had published some of Zamthang's engravings under the name Char¹³, taking the name of the nearby village. In the early 1990s, the site was again referred to by H. P. Francfort who published some photographs of the latter mentioned explorers in a paper dedicated to the Protohistoric carvings of Ladakh/Zanskar¹⁴. Indeed, although almost twenty-five years have elapsed, this first scientific article from Francfort et al. remains one of the main references on the topic for this specific area. One may understand better how much things have changed since that time when we appreciate that whilst Francfort wrote his article on the basis of some thirty motifs, our current database contains about twenty thousand of them.

The ASI (Archaeological Survey of India) had also conducted several survey tours in Ladakh and adjacent areas but to our knowledge no detailed publication of the Rock Art data collected by ASI was ever published¹⁵. So, until the 2000s, documents on rock art, and especially on those from Zanskar region, were very few and none of them gave a list of sites, nor their detailed content. Neither did they attempt to draw a map of their distribution.

Fortunately, in the last decade or so, things have changed and it seems that the local rock art heritage has finally attracted the attention it deserves from various researchers, scholars as well as from the authorities and local NGOs. In this regard, the re-opening of previously restricted areas of Ladakh to a wide tourist industry, and that of trekking in particular, has undeniably favoured the growing

¹⁰ Vohra, 2005.

¹¹ Peissel, 1979, p. 215.

¹² Peissel, 2002, p. 54-5.

¹³ Klodzinski and Gouazé, 1982.

¹⁴ Francfort et al., 1990.

¹⁵ With his team, R.S. Fonia, then director of Srinagar ASI's circle had conducted a systematic exploration of the Kargil district (including Zanskar area). In his reports from his field mission in 1988-89 and 1992-93 he mentions the presence of rock art in the region and lists several locations. In 1994-95 he explored the same way the Rupshu area, east of Zanskar, and mentions some rock art there as well. In 1998-99 the ASI conducted two different projects of rock art survey, one lead by Fonia and another one by B. R. Mani. The latter subsequently published two papers dedicated to rock art (Mani, 1998 and 2001).

awareness of the importance of this heritage. Trekkers, who have been criss-crossing these mountains over the last thirty years have been the unofficial rapporteurs to the academic and scientific community. Their openness and desire to share data collected during their field trips, providing researchers with valuable first-hand information, deserves to be mentioned. Pioneers of this trekking wave, such as O. Föllmi, P. Chabloz, X. Lecoultre and others have played an undeniable role, others who have followed, may be less famous but have consistently played, and still do, the role of rapporteurs while accomplishing their activities as trekking guides and tour leaders. Among them J-L. Taillefer, N. Eakins and C. Chabert deserve special mention for their dedication to the specific cause of rock art preservation.

Indeed, some remarkable individuals deliberately decided to take on and support the conservation and protection of Ladakhi Rock Art sites, dedicating their time and energy to try to save this precious heritage. As early as 1997, Rob Linrothe published an article in the defunct *Ladakh Melong* newspaper and tried to alert the public about the on-going destruction of ancient engraved rocks, especially at Alchi bridge's plateau¹⁶. This pioneering article deserves a special mention as it was also translated in to the Ladakhi language, a rare thing when it comes to the documentation of the country's cultural heritage.

The figure of Tashi Dawa, a Ladakhi teacher based in Leh, must be quoted along with that of S. Jamwal, Senior Superintendent of Police, once posted in Leh, who, during his tenure, spent lots of time and energy documenting and trying to save a number of Rock Art sites¹⁷. More recently, Viraf Mehta, an anthropologist and independent CSR consultant based in Delhi with a special interest in the exploration of Ladakh's terrain, culture and, more recently, its rock art, should also be mentioned¹⁸. Within the framework of this new dynamic of protection and awareness of the rock heritage in Ladakh, several key persons such as Meenakshi Dubey-Pathak, who helps to protect Karu rock art site in Central Ladakh, and whole teams of various NGOs, local as well as nationals and internationals, have to be cited here. Indeed for a decade, one NGO, the INTACH (Indian National Trust for Architecture and Cultural Heritage) has devoted time and energy trying to protect and list rock art sites throughout the country. Ms

¹⁶ *Ladags Melong*, Spring 1997, p. 20-3. In the same article a footnote reports the destruction of some engraved boulders at Kaltse bridge witnessed by Bettina Zeisler.

¹⁷ S. Jamwal was posted as SSP in Leh between January 2001 and October 2002.

¹⁸ V. Mehta has to be mentioned here for the attempts he made to bring together the various rather "freelance" actors of the Ladakhi Rock Art conservation scene.

Tara Sharma¹⁹ should be mentioned here for her willingness to cooperate and collaborate, as well as for the efficiency of her own team including those members recruited locally. Thanks to Ms Sharma, our team worked jointly with hers to spread leaflets in Hindi, Ladakhi and English, dedicated to specific rock art sites and targeting particular actors involved in their protection such as the BRO (Border Road Organisation). The publication of "Legacy of a Mountain People" by the Ladakhi based NIRLAC (Namgyal Institute for research on Ladakhi Art and Culture), which lists many rock art sites and gives details of their present state of conservation, constitutes an important step towards a wide scale local awareness of the matter²⁰. To finish with this non-exhaustive list, The Snow Leopard Conservancy-India Trust deserves mention here for the attention and practical actions it has been taking regarding the protection and enhancement of engraved rocks in Ladakh and Zanskar. Indeed, as part of their wider plans of "Home Stay" improvement initiative, this NGO, among others, is trying to find the best ways to protect this heritage by turning rock art sites into tourist-friendly attractions and include some of them within their sustainable tourism projects as elements of cultural tours. While we are considering here the various initiatives for rock art site protection, with a view to turning them into tourist attractions the village of Domkhar has to be mentioned and stands as an example of private initiative. The establishment of the "Domkhar Sanctuary Camp" and its adjoining "Rock Art Heritage Garden", (which were officially inaugurated by prominent local political figures and religious incarnate lamas), as well as the various related side-effects on the site and the issues it raises, would deserve an interesting paper on its own. The site located next to Murgi village, in the Nubra valley, the biggest rock art site so far listed in the whole area, is another example of protection with a preoccupation this time with the wider public in mind – not just tourists. This site has been proposed and accepted for national protection following a proposal submitted by the ASI / MAFIL in 2013.

It is only during this last decade that the study of the Ladakhi rock art corpus has been undertaken by professionals in a scientific and systematic manner. The leading figure in this enormous task is Dr

¹⁹ Tara Sharma had been project consultant from 2010 to 2013 for the Ladakh Community conservation grant project of INTACH, which looked at community engagement with heritage conservation projects, she was director of NIRLAC from 2000-2006 and then project consultant with NIRLAC from 2006-2008. She has organized and managed several workshops and collaborative projects for rock art conservation as well as the publication of information leaflets to be distributed locally.

²⁰ NIRLAC, 2008.

Laurianne Bruneau, a French archaeologist who, on the basis of the database made by myself and in collaboration with me has completed a PHD work on the topic.

The whole process started a decade ago (2006) when Dr Bruneau first approach the author to share with him her then going on research on Ladakhi petroglyphs. In 2007 they spent time doing fieldwork together, survey new sites, and started their collaboration. Dr Bruneau finally and very successfully defended her doctoral thesis at the beginning of the year 2010. This pioneering study is now waiting to be published and the collaborative work, which generated many publications on rock art, is still going on.

Unfortunately it must be admitted that this interest is due in large part to the accelerated disappearance of rock art sites throughout the country. Indeed the development and modernization of Ladakh during the past three decades has generated an increasing need for building material. As rock blocks are the basic element of modern local architecture, many of the most accessible areas that are dotted with large boulders have been exploited regardless of whether they bear historical and proto-historical engravings or not. It is only very recently that the magnitude of such damage has been recognised whether by various local authorities and actors of the patrimony conservation scene or by a number of international specialists.

Various plans to save and promote the Zamthang site are part of this recent awareness. It was this project, initiated and partly led by Puja Batra²¹, and through The Snow Leopard Conservancy-India Trust, that first moved me to re-work on the Zamthang rock art site and to publish my material. I hope it will benefit those who are responsible for the fate of this site and are trying to promote it as well as protect it. More broadly, I think the descriptive section might be useful to those who are studying rock art in the Indian Himalayas but cannot afford to or find it difficult to make a visit to such remote sites, even major ones like Zamthang.

I hope it will be of use to those who are responsible for the preservation of this site and are trying to promote it as well as protect it. I would include in this, the various NGOs and individuals listed above who are striving to have these sites recognised as part of the country's cultural heritage.

²¹ P. Batra holds a PhD in ecology. She was previously the interim deputy director of SLC-IT and is working nowadays as an independent consultant in wildlife conservation and sustainable development.

The site of Zamthang

I first visited the rock art site at Zamthang in 1996²², while camping nearby during a trekking tour in the Lungnak valley of southern Zanskar. The site is a natural stopping place, located as it is on one of the main tracks that cross the great Himalayan range linking Central Zanskar to the foothills of Himachal Pradesh. The site stands on the northern slopes of the Great Himalayan range, roughly in the middle of the inhabited valley, locally known as Lungnak or Tsarap. It is located opposite the village of Cha tse rab²³ (*bCa / bya tse rab*) and was, at that time, within three days walk from Padum, the historical capital of Zanskar. A new road, still under construction, has now reduced this approach to a single day's walk and the arrival of the road at Cha tse rab village, opposite Zamthang site, is planned for 2016.

The rock carvings are situated 3800 meters above sea level, on a triangular shaped flat alluvial terrace overlooking the Tsarap River (locally called Lungnak chu, *lung nag chu*), which runs West to East. It faces the village of Cha and is linked to it by a suspension bridge below the site. The contemporary local toponymy derives from the presence of that bridge (*zam pa* bridge, *thang* plateau), (Ill.1 and fig.1). It is of interest to note that an old willow birch suspension bridge was situated a few tens of meters upstream from the modern one in use today, until it collapsed in 2003, and that even earlier dry stone bridge piers are still visible on the left bank, next to those of the birch bridge. This site has clearly served as a crossing point for some many centuries due, no doubt, to the fact that, while close to a major confluence, the river narrows here.

As discussed below, this ideal location within the valley on flat, high ground scattered with boulders, accessed by ancient routes close to an ideal river crossing would mark out the Zamthang site as an ideal resting place down the ages, whether as a permanent or temporary shelter²⁴.

²² I visited Zamthang site in 1996, 1997, 1998, 2000, 2001, 2003, 2008, 2011 and 2014.

²³ Further down simply referred as Cha village.

²⁴ Indeed several small flat areas, almost encircled by engraved rocks, must have presented ideal resting places through the ages.



Fig.1 1.1, Sketch site plan of Zamthang, (Credits: M. Vernier, 1998)
1.2, Satellite image with indication of the engraved areas 2015 (from: <https://www.bing.com/maps/>, colour enhanced, 2015).



Ill.1 General view of Zamthang as seen from above Cha village (Credits: M. Vernier, 2014).

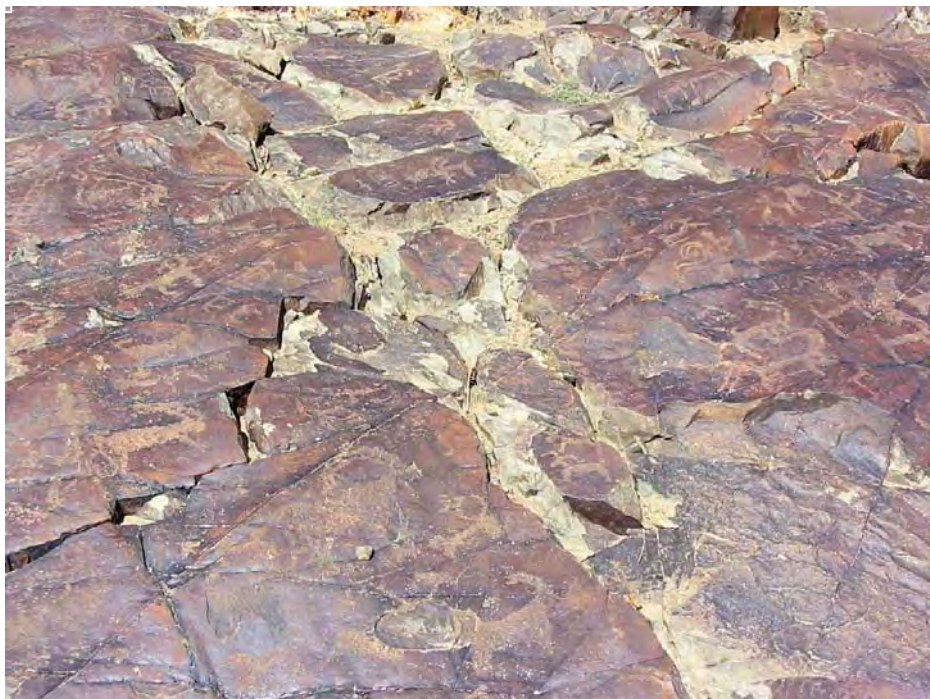
In fact, the Zamthang plateau is still a crossroads today. The plateau, being located on a major trans-Himalayan itinerary for centuries, comprises several traces of more recent man-made structures. It has been inhabited all year round for the past fifty years or so. One family has settled on the westernmost part of the plateau taking advantage of the small spring located on the heights of that part of the slope. This settlement is composed today of a rather large two storey farmhouse surrounded by an enclosed garden and few fields. The house also serves as an informal relay for caravans and travellers and a camping ground has been set up behind it, towards the south, to accommodate groups of trekkers. At the eastern end of the plateau there is a small windowless cubic building constructed by the local administration about twenty-five years ago as a “food storage godown”. Recently another more imposing single storey construction has been placed between these two buildings. This latest addition, due to its strong impact on the historical site, has been the subject of previous publications and notes by the author and his colleague L. Bruneau, and will be discussed in detail below²⁵. A rectangular animal enclosure made of dry stone masonry is located in front of the “Food storage godown”. A dry stonewall runs along the edge of the flat ground and extends from the Eastern end of the plateau to the

²⁵ Vernier, 2011; Vernier and Bruneau, 2013.

west of it for about fifty meters. Seven mane walls (*ma Ni*) and a chorten, are located on a line stretching straight from above the bridge to the westernmost part of the plateau and require mention to complete the list of these human built structures on the site.

Let us turn now our attention towards the engraved rocks. The petroglyph site stretches from the inside of the house's garden enclosure eastwards. The garden contains a few small engraved boulders, some of them partly broken, and extends, with most of the engraved rocks concentrated along the easternmost edge of the plateau, towards the bridge. The Eastern most part of the plateau ends in a large smooth slab outcrop covered with engravings, which constitutes its primary rock art component. One can therefore divide the site into three main zones: a Western and first zone (C on fig.1.1), located around the farmhouse and which extends a little towards East. A second and central zone (B), bordering the first one on its Eastern side and extending to the Eastern end of the plateau and a third one (A) located on the slope and constituted by the main slab and some subsidiary engraved stones located further down the slope toward the river, a little further upstream towards the old birch bridge and the ancient stone piers (fig.1.1 lower left). The first two zones are thus located on almost flat ground and on the southern side of the plateau. There, large boulders form a kind of natural fence between the flat area of the plateau and the mountain slope, the whole group overlooking the riverbed thirty to forty meters below. One can reasonably assume that the absence of rocks and therefore of engravings on the northern side of the plateau can be partly explained by the presence of the important mane walls. The steeper slope on that side of the plateau also explains the lack of engravings²⁶. The site, with a fairly large flat area set into the slope helps explain why most of the boulders are located on its southern part, at the foot of the slope where they naturally end their fall.

²⁶ Very few sites listed in our database are located on steep slopes, and those that are, count amongst the less significant ones.



III.2 The main slab covered with engravings (B4 section). (Credits: M. Vernier, 2004)

These dark brown reddish boulders vary with the engraved ones ranging from the size of a sheep to that of a car. They offer somewhat large flat areas, their surfaces being polished, soft, sometimes quite curved and coated with a thick, dark reddish desert varnish. The vast majority of the engraved stones are concentrated on the western end of the plateau, on the upper slope descending towards the river. Here lies Zamthang's epicentre, a large more or less square shaped slab of detritic stone measuring about seventeen meters across. The whole upper portion of which forms a continuous surface of a rather undulating aspect, streaked with cracks and entirely covered with engravings (III.2)

Survey of rock art at Zamthang

As previously mentioned, I first spent a rest day at the Zamthang site in 1996, during a tour in Upper Zanskar. Subsequently, in 1997, I stayed for a short period on the plateau itself to conduct a pre-study of its content. During both these stays I made numerous sketches of

some of the engravings, draft plans of the site and other neighbouring ones. I noted their location within the valley and took a few black and white pictures of the engraved blocks. In 1998 I spent four whole working days documenting the site. This survey of Zamthang site allowed me to assess my ability to conduct a proper documentation of a petroglyph site alone and with the limited resources at my disposal. I intended to use this documentation attempt as a test example to support an application for a research scholarship I was planning to submit the following year. This research project would focus on the survey and documentation of the rock art sites of Ladakh and Zanskar and was scheduled to last for two years. Most of my data of Zamthang dates back to this first period of fieldwork.

I had at my disposal very limited material that I had to carry from Padum, Zanskar's capital, three to four days downstream. These comprised loose paper sheets, notebooks, pencils, few carbon paper sheets, chalk and a chalk marker tape measure, a magnifying glass, and four rolls of black and white photographic film.

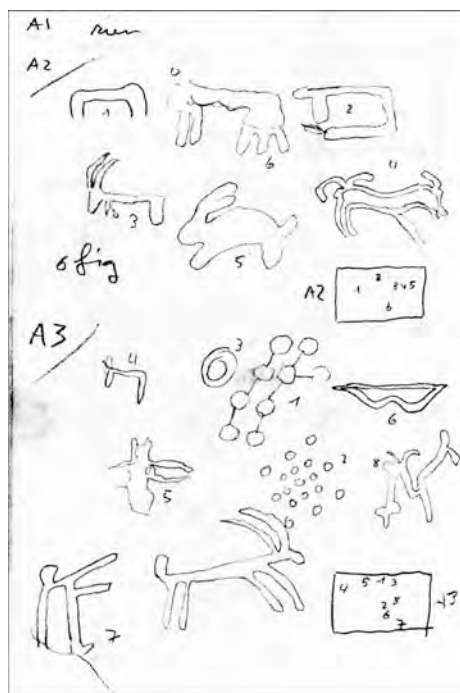
During this first working stay at Zamthang, I sketched a plan of the site using mainly my footsteps as a measuring unit, and pin-pointed all the engraved boulders.

In a second stage, all the engravings were counted and most of the easily identifiable motifs were drawn on paper (Ill.3). In addition, a photographic survey was conducted and completed by some on-site rubbings. In this regard, the carbon paper technique proved reliable and gave good results. It provided a very good rendition of the stone's texture but proved difficult to handle under trekking conditions (Ill.4). On the main slab, a grid was drawn with the means of a chalk marker tape measure. I divided the whole surface into 119 rectangles of 100 x 70 cm. Every single figure located within each rectangle was then counted and a vertical picture taken of the rectangle while the location of each and every design was recorded in a sketch.

All this work was accomplished as a first major archaeological work experience by the author and of course it reveals several gaps and deficiencies²⁷. A new observation of the handmade enlarged photographic prints I made some fifteen years after the first print, shows that a certain amount of figures were not recorded properly. In some cases, groups of figures, for instance, were counted as a single one, while others, faded and barely visible, were not noticed at the time of this first study. Moreover, most of the non-figurative or incomplete figures such as lines or lines segments, groups of impacts, hammered surfaces, palimpsest and overlapping figures have, in most instances, not been counted as part of the site content. To illustrate this with

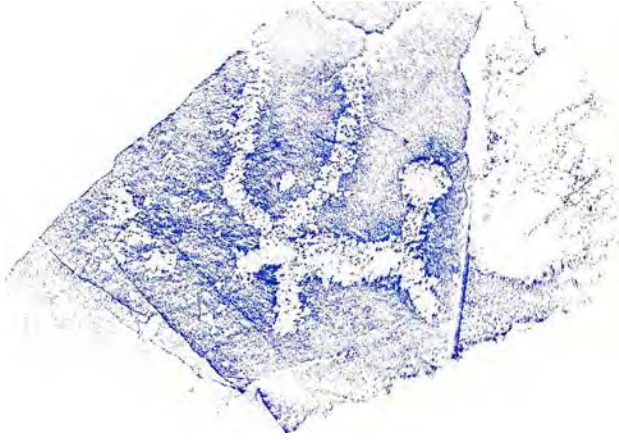
²⁷ The number of figures thus obtained, has to be treated with caution.

numbers: a new counting of the engravings from the main slab grid, made on the basis of digital photos taken during the 2004 visit, reveals 132 figures for section A (A1 to A17) of the grid, instead of the 75 initially counted (fig.2). Unfortunately, the same operation was not possible on the B and C sections of the grid, thus it was not possible to establish a more precise up to date content of the figures on that slab. Nevertheless we can reasonably assume that the total number of figures present on Zamthang site is well above a thousand instead of the 850 originally counted and the 892 entered into our database after a first recount based on the picture analysis²⁸.



III.3 A page from the author's sketchbook during 1998 survey of the main stone slab. (Credits: M. Vernier, 1998).

²⁸ The author rock art database includes 184 sites, out of which 117 have been systematically surveyed, and totals 12955 engravings. The whole, including the sites only superficially documented through photographic means, amounts to about 20,000 figures. Four supplementary years of fieldwork and new sites are still waiting to be entered in the system.



III.4 Carbon paper report showing a yak with ball shaped tail, not to scale. (Credits: M. Vernier 1998, digitization L. Bruneau)

Following this first survey of the site, complementary recording work was done in 2000 during a day's stay at the site and another one in 2004, using a digital camera for the first time. In 2004, a number of drawings were made of the second slab, located near the bridge, and a new and more precise plan of the whole site was executed. It was during the 2004 stay at the site, that the nearby site of Char, on the other side of the river and located above the eponymous village, was systematically surveyed. Its content proves to be similar to that of Zamthang, without the recent depredations of the latter.

A brief visit was made to the site in 2006, during which I noticed an increase in vandalism in the form of painted and engraved graffiti. Interestingly enough, these strongly indicated the growing impact of outsiders within the valley's social and economic life and its links with the tourist related economy. Indeed a stone on the site's edge was freshly engraved with an advertisement promoting nearby homestay facilities, while another stone, fully engraved with figures from various periods, had been painted over with the web address of an NGO locally involved in developing a private school in a village upstream. There was worse damage when I revisited the site in 2011. A large learning centre had been built by a local NGO, the "Himalayan astro-medicines & ecological development society," about twenty meters east of the farmhouse, with financial help from two French associations. Shockingly, these organisations had used the stones bearing petroglyphs as building materials for this new construction. This had resulted in the disappearance, among others, of the two mask designs, the only known ones so far from the entire Zanskar

region²⁹. At the time of writing this article, a project for safeguarding the site was still under discussion, with the Snow Leopard Conservancy-India Trust³⁰.

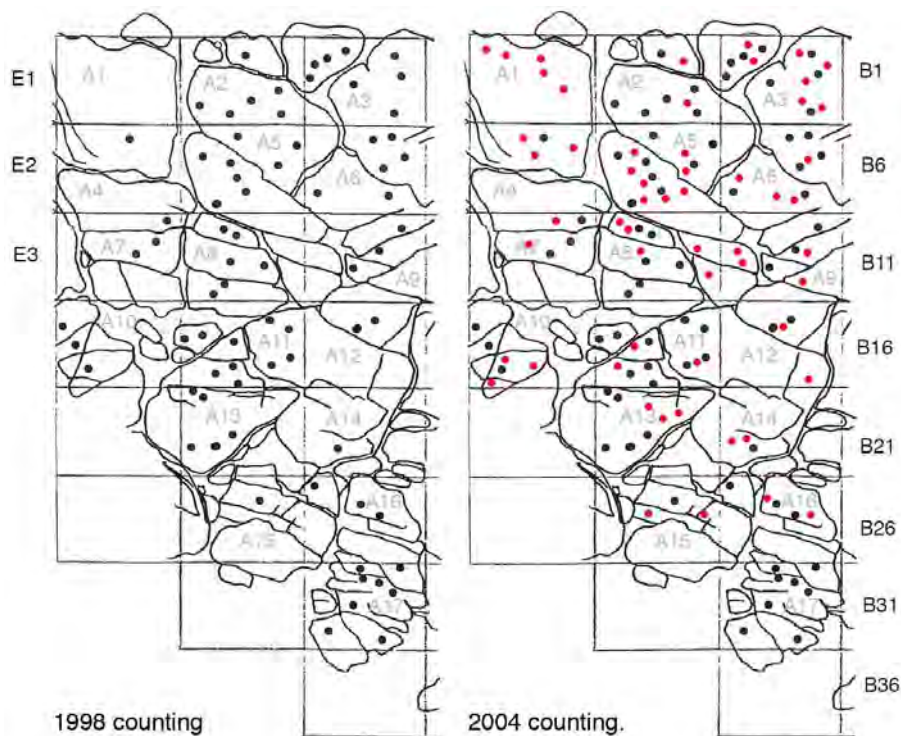


Fig. 2 Section "A" of the square plan of the main slab, first as reported in 1998 then its completion in 2004. (Credits: M. Vernier, 2014)

²⁹ I, jointly with my colleague Dr L. Bruneau, have twice published about the situation in Zamthang in 2011 and the issues it raises. Vernier and Bruneau, 2011 and 2013.

³⁰ Unfortunately, during my two visits to the site and Cha village in the summer of 2014 the project was still pending. I sincerely hope that this project, which involves the local village community, will come to fruition, and help to prevent any further attacks on the content of the site and protect it in a sustainable manner.

The types of engravings

Although the exact number of figures engraved at Zamthang is unfortunately not known to this day, its content deserves to be briefly reviewed. For this I will use here the assessment I made during 1998 survey, which was subsequently revised by my colleague Dr Bruneau while entering the site's content in the database. I remain, however, aware of the inaccuracies explained above, that the database still contains.

To start with, all motifs have been identified according to the figures they depict (ibex, chorten, circle, and so on), and this allows a first sorting of the whole into two main groups: identifiable or non-identifiable (Appendix.1). Identifiable figures have then again been sub-divided into five categories: zoomorphic, anthropomorphic, signs, architecture and inscriptions. Thereafter all identified motifs have been classified within their figure's category (for instance in the zoomorphic group: ibex, deer, yak and so on). Out of a total of 74 different figures listed for the entire Ladakhi rock art repertoire³¹, Zamthang includes 40. This gives the site an above average appearance when compared to other sites from Zanskar and even from the rest of Ladakh³². If we take the number of 892 figures for the entire site, these identified 40 different figures amounting to 571, leaving 321 unidentified ones. In case the identified figures are obviously part of a composition including several of them, the fact is mentioned. This is the case, for instance, when a herd of ibex or an adult ibex and its calf were represented, but also for more narrative scenes like hunting scenes involving a bow hunter an ibex and a dog, the most common scene found at Zamthang. In the case of such recurrent scenes, its title and number of elements has been specified (for example: hunting scene with one archer, one dog and one ibex or hunting scene with one archer on horseback and one yak).

During the survey of the site in 1998, as previously explained, I was still testing my methodology and thus only classified the engravings within the five different categories listed above. At that time I did not take any measurements, orientation of the figures or the in-

³¹ 74 different figures have been identified out of about 20'000 surveyed engravings.

³² For comparison, the largest surveyed site we have in our database counts 1731 motifs made of "only" 37 different figures. Neighbouring sites in Zanskar, even important ones like the site of Cha counts 14 different figures out of a total of 227 engravings, Pepul Thang 8 out of 32, Shi 6 out of 89 and Tanze 3 out of 16, thus clearly indicating the significant diversity of Zamthang's repertory. I would like to take the opportunity here to thank my colleague for allowing me to use our joint findings for my own purposes.

clination of the surface on which they were engraved. It is only from 2002 onwards, once I received the research funds I was applying for at the time of Zamthang's first survey³³, that my working method was made more complete by including a more systematic recording that included the size, orientation and inclination of each etched surface, the orientation of each figure, its size and identification as well as the darkness of its patina and its type of impacts (hammered or pecked). This protocol was more finely defined later on by the inputs of my colleague Dr Bruneau with whom I have since conducted several joint fieldworks.

Zoomorphic figures

The zoomorphic group is the most numerous one and totals 559 figures; of which 143 represent unidentified zoomorphic representations (unfinished and incomplete engravings, thus making it impossible to identify the animal, have been included in this category³⁴). The remaining 416 figures have been identified as belonging to 17 different species. Among these, the ibex, the emblematic figure of the Ladakhi rock art repertoire³⁵, is by far the most represented one occurring 195 times³⁶.

The ibex (*Capra ibex*) figure is, in most instances, clearly recognizable by its long backward curved horns, in some cases represented with their rings and tines. Other features of this animal that is sometimes represented as well include: a goatee, a short and up-raised tail, and in some cases the male's genitals (Ill.5, A).

³³ I was granted a two year research fund from the Italo-Swiss *Carlo Leone et Mariana Montandon Foundation*, they then funded the processing of data for another year and the publication of the results of this work (Vernier 2007).

³⁴ However it should be noted that whilst it is true that many zoomorphic figures may be unidentified at species level, they might be identified at a gender, genus or family level.

³⁵ Ibex figures accounts for 47 % of all the zoomorphic figures in our database.

³⁶ On the folk significance of the ibex in Ladakh and Zanskar see Dollfus, 1988. The ibex is indeed still present in traditions and in particular during the new-year (*Losar lo gsar*) celebrations. During my stay and work on the site in 1998 I documented several ibex figurines made out of tsampa and placed in Cha village's temple, just next to the petroglyph's site.



Ill.5 A: Ibex figure, B: deer, C: yak, (Z / ZMT 21.4 a-i). (Credits: M. Vernier, 2004, 2011)

The second animal species represented at Zamthang is the yak (*Bos grunniens*). In our identification process we did not differentiate between what might be domesticated yak, wild ones or hybrid specimens like dzos (*mdzo*). Actually, there are no demonstrable figures of domestic yaks (loaded, mounted or on lead) and the frequency of their representation as prey in the context of a hunting scene, tends to suggest they are wild. The horns' shape, which is one of the most characteristic features to distinguish dzos from yaks, is not applicable in the petroglyphs context as its depiction varies, regardless of the depiction of the rest of the body. Most of the time, the horns are represented as long and curved (sometimes even twice curved) and make the figure easily identifiable. Nevertheless some representations show the animal with rather straight horns inclined forwards, thus possibly identifying the figure as a dzo rather than a yak. Typical as well in these representations is the large hump on the back, a thick and bushy tail, sometimes raised up, both common features of the yak and its hybrid forms. Actually, the only physiognomic feature sometimes represented and which applies only to the yak is the representation of long hair on the front and rear legs, a feature that

gives the yak figure its typical outline, which the dzo does not possess. In Zamthang, out of 74 representations of yak related figures, 31 are clearly representing yaks and most certainly the wild sort. These representations bear stylistic features, such as a ball shaped tail, a stylistic trait considered emblematic of the Bronze Age in neighbouring areas (Ill.5, C, Ill.4, fig.4 right column). This will be discussed further, below.

The third most represented species is the “blue sheep“, also named Bharal or Naur (*Pseudois nayaur*) a species close to the Urial (*Ovis orientalis vignei*), the latter one having bigger horns but in the same shape as the bharal. In my census, since both species have massive short horns sweeping up and out, their representation in engravings is not distinctive enough to allow a dependable distinction and they have been counted together. Taken together, they account for 45 figures (Ill.6).



Ill.6 Bharal figure. (Credits: C. Chabert)

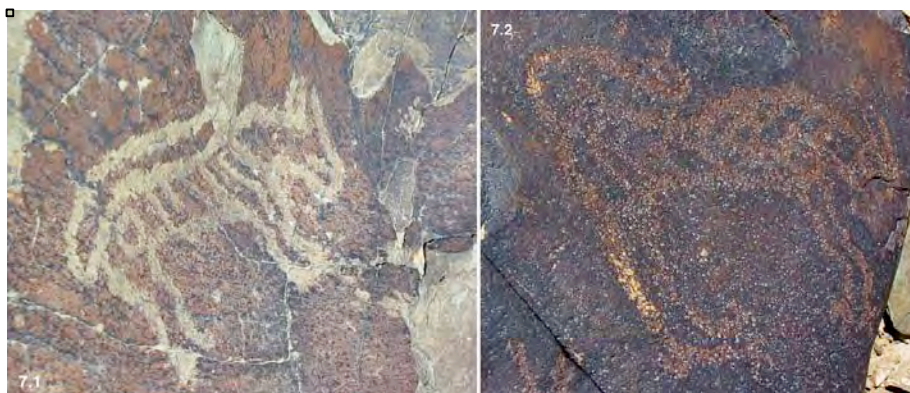
The 31 figures that have been recorded as “caprine animals” encompass the remaining representations of horned goat-like figures that are not identifiable with accuracy. These might be representations of the argali (*Ovis ammon*). The males of this species having two large corkscrew horns but the females, which also carry horns, having much smaller ones and less twisted they might be easily confused

with the blue sheep. Other figures might represent the Tibetan antelope (*btsod* / *Pantholops hodgsoni*), a species recognizable in the wild by its long straight horns but less easily identifiable in rock art representations. This group might also include wild goats and other horned mountain mammals locally known as *shapo* and *napo* and even more often as *ri-dwags*³⁷, all these terms being rather vague and unspecific. We could therefore also speak of about 76 (45 + 31) representations of “mountain hoofed wild animals” other than ibex and yak.

The site contains 18 representations of horses (*Equus caballus*) among which only 6 are not mounted by human figures. In the latter case, it is difficult to discern with certainty whether the engraved animal is a horse, and of which breed, a wild ass (*Equus kiang*) or a mule. Mounted or not, horses are sometimes difficult to determine. Although the depiction of their overall appearance helps, it is mainly the tail, long and straight which allows for correct identification. Straight and pointed ears as well as mane, when represented, provide further clues. Indeed, in few cases only the horses' riding-related gear, such as bridle and saddle have been represented at the Zamthang site, and several mounted horses might have been identified as unknown animals because they were not mounted and due to their lack of recognisable features.

Recognisable by their long and thick curling tail, felines represented at the site are of various types. Easily identifiable by their parallel and diagonally shaped stripes (in some cases horizontally V shaped stripes), tigers (*Panthera tigris*) amounts to 5, while snow leopards (*Panthera uncial*), with dots that either mark their fur or not, amounts to 10. Both species have large triangular ears, an open mouth and a tail with a curly end falling horizontally behind them or curved on to their backs (Ill.7).

³⁷ *ri dwags* is a generic term used in the local dialect for species in the mountains of Ladakh that include all hoofed wild animals such as ibex, Tibetan Argali sheep, Ladakhi Urial sheep bharal but also wild yak, Tibetan gazelle and Tibetan antelope. Due to the decreasing knowledge of nature among the young educated generation, many Ladakhis believe that *ri dwags* is a specific species and translate it as “deer” although there are no species of deer in Ladakh (I would like to thank here Rebecca Norman for sharing her sharp knowledge on Ladakhi language and for readily providing me with etymologic and linguistic clues).



Ill.7 Representation of felines
 7.1: Z / ZMT D. D3 a
 7.2: Z / ZMT 33 d. (Credits: M. Vernier, 2004, 2011)

Some of these figures are included in predation scenes and depict the feline hunting an ibex or a yak. The depiction of tigers at Zamthang, as elsewhere in Ladakh and Zanskar is indeed intriguing and questions the origin of such representations. Were there ever tigers in the area or did locals, who may have heard of them, represent them or did outsiders arriving from areas where tigers were to be found, draw them? The presence of deer, discussed below, at some point in the past, remains an open question, while there is very little chance that tigers ever inhabited Zanskar.

Dogs (*Canis lupus*), wolves (*Canis lupus himalayensis*) and foxes (*Vulpes ferrilata*) are more difficult to differentiate between. The ones associated with bow hunters are obviously dogs. They have in almost all cases their tail curled over the back, an anatomical feature specific to dogs. Nine such figures have been counted. Wolves have been identified in 8 cases. They have a long and rather thick tail hanging or slightly raised behind them, long triangular ears, sometimes an open mouth and are pictured hunting. As previously mentioned, there is still doubt over their identification. Foxes with short legs, long bushy tails and triangular ears have been counted 4 times. Birds are represented 6 times on the site and in various designs and styles. One representation stands apart from the rest: the figure of a bird, represented in profile with a hooked beak and a threefold crest on its head and a threefold tail (Ill.8)³⁸. This representation is unique to this site, and as far as I know, in the whole of Zanskar. Since this figure, which can be compared to “animal style” related images, and is asso-

³⁸ This figure has been published by Francfort, see Francfort et al., 1990. On the representation of birds in Ladakhi rock art see Vernier and Bruneau, in press.

ciated with an ibex, is an obvious recurrent feature, it will be discussed in more detail further on in the paper. Other bird figures are also represented: one in profile and two others as seen from the front with their wings spread open. None of them bears enough details to allow an identification of the species depicted.



Ill.8 Bird representation (Z / ZMT 48 b, c) depicted next to an ibex, a recurrent feature, a very similar one is known at Domkhar, lower Ladakh. (Credits: M. Vernier, 2008)

Zamthang counts 4 deer figures, the animal is represented in profile, and the V-shaped straight branching antlers appear as though seen head on, a common feature all over Ladakh (Ill.5 B). Some have a short tail. Although today there are no deer in Zanskar, their recurring representation in the Ladakh rock art repertoire suggests that deer once inhabited the area. Indeed and unlike the above mentioned case of the tiger, two species of deer are native from the Tibetan plateau: the white-lipped deer (*Cervus albirostris*) and the Tibetan red deer (*Cervus elaphus wallici*) while the Kashmir stag (*Cervus canadensis hanglu*), also called hangul deer, is still found in the Kishtwar valley, on the other side of the Umasi pass and very close to Zanskar indeed. It is conceivable that one of this species, all now highly endangered, once inhabited the Ladakh and Zanskar regions. The numerous 18th

and 19th centuries tales of hunting recounted by travellers, suggest that deer were no longer there³⁹.

To conclude I must mention the rather anecdotic presence of 2 flying insects (bee? wasp?), 2 hares (*Lepus* / *Lepus yarkandensis*) represented in such graphic detail that can leave no doubt about their existence. Finally a camel and an elephant have also been documented. While the former can still be found in the Nubra valley, north of the Indus, and its representation being attested there as well in the Indus valley itself around Leh, the latter has obviously never set foot in the Himalayas.

The petroglyph repertoire mainly depicts the local fauna and so provides us with a great deal of fascinating insight into its composition at the time, such as the deer for example. It also gives clues as to the relation between some animal species and humans: domestication of the dog, horse and camel. However, and somewhat surprisingly, a number of species that were very common in the area are scarcely represented. These include fox, hare, chukar partridge (*Alectoris chukar*), and lizards while other major species are simply missing (marmots, bears and fishes). Therefore, this corpus of zoomorphic figures cannot be regarded as an objective and representative inventory of the local wildlife at a given moment in the region's local history.

Among the unambiguous narratives involving animals depicted alone, most are concerned with the theme of predation. Examples of ibexes, caprine or yaks chased by wolves or feline are quite common. One features females nursing their young and another unique scene may depict a mating episode.

Graphic investigations

The ways of graphically representing animal figures present lots of variations. In a general manner, the images in our database, as per recognised international practice, have been divided into two groups: silhouette drawings and contour line drawings. This method of sorting engravings according to their graphical outlook is the most obvious and user-friendly way. However, at the Zamthang site, I used the engravings of animal figures to test another way of approaching the graphic evolution of the drawing method. Accordingly, this corpus has been divided into three groups instead (this is true only for some animal representations). This type of sorting shall be treated with caution, and as an experiment more than a strict demonstration, as the aim here is more focused on the nature of the drawing and the

³⁹ See Stockley 1928 and Ader 1899.

graphic vocabulary used to differentiate the various representations of a given animal species (fig.3). Moreover, these different groups sometimes overlap, thus rendering it more difficult to achieve a strict classification. Particular cases and hybrid examples are indeed numerous, and each group has its own graphic diversity of kinds. This attempt does not, of course, negate the “silhouette/outline” sorting method, and neither has it replaced it in my subsequent work. As it was used at the time of the site’s first survey, I thought it might be of interest to some readers to have it presented here. Furthermore, the fact is that at Zamthang, a way to represent animal figures (group 2) emerges from the more usual “silhouette/outline” duet and accounts for more than 10% of the total number of figures identified as representing animals.

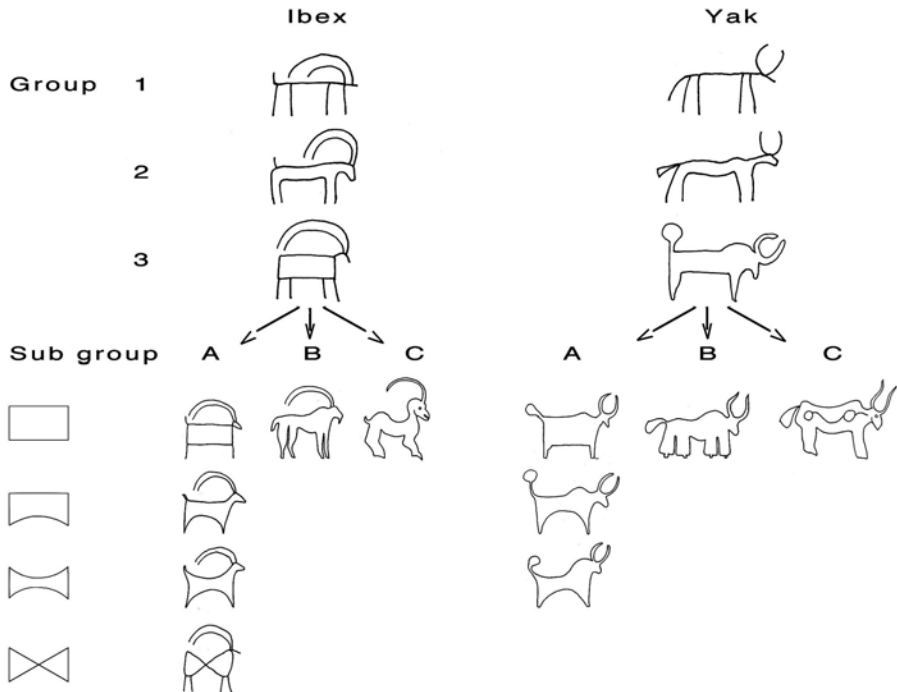


Fig. 3 Table of graphic/formal evolution for yak and ibex figures at Zamthang. (Credits: M. Vernier, 2014)

A first group (group 1) consists of figures designed through rectilinear and straight lines, almost devoid of curves, to signify the body. These amount to 51% of the identified animal figures. While working on my first rock art census (1994-96) I used to call these basically drawn figures, "baton" / stick style, as they appear straight and rigid and could well be re-made with segments of simple lines. In this group, figures are depicted with 2, 3 or 4 legs; the neck is not always represented, and the head is mostly depicted and simply reduced to a change of angle of the back line that comes at the end of it. The phallus is sometimes represented and oversized, whilst eyes are rarely depicted. The figures are static, almost schematic, and the criteria to differentiate the various species are highly stereotyped: one or two long curved lines on the back represent ibex horns (almost always oversized), semi-circular horns and round tails for yaks, straight falling tails for horses, and the tail curled over the back for dogs (fig.4.1).

The second group (2) is a hybrid one between the first and the third. This group has been separately recorded at the Zamthang site only, and amounts to 11% of the identified animal figures. In this type, two more or less parallel lines represent the figures. A main and longer line depicts the rearmost leg, the back and the head of the animal from front to rear. A second and shorter line depicts the inside rear leg, the line of the abdomen and the inside front leg. In this group, particular cases and hybrid examples are indeed numerous, but such figures have been counted in this category only when the drawing leaves an opening in between the rear legs and the front legs. Thus the contour of the animal's body is more precisely defined than in the first type of representation, but the figure is left open thereby keeping a certain level of abstraction. In these cases, the figure is always represented with 4 legs, whilst the head is depicted as outlined by the upper line or represented in silhouette, and with a flat surface rendering (fig.4.2). In some cases, the legs are folded and some curves introduced to represent the back hump of a yak or an ibex's chin. The movement is sometimes represented by an inclination of the legs. In a few cases the eye is marked. As it is specific to the depiction of four-legged animals, this drawing technique is mostly used at Zamthang for ibex and other caprines, sometimes for yak, horse and deer, and in one case for a feline, but never for dogs or smaller animals (hare, fox).



Fig. 4 4.1 Animal figure of linear (1) type.
 4.2 Animal figure of type 2 (parallel lines).
 4.3 Animal figure of the third sub-group (Credits: M. Vernier and C. Chabert)

The third group (3) comprises figures drawn with a contour line but, and this is where this classification differs from the “silhouette/outline” one, the interior of the figure is left plain, partly or completely hammered/pecked, or in some cases decorated with lines or circles. This group forms the most complex one and represents 37% of the identified animal figures (fig.4.3). It includes rather crude figures built up from a rectangle, some drawn on the same geometrical canvas but with very gracious curved lines in a very realistic manner to represent the silhouette of the animal. The widely used bi-

triangular style (surprisingly, a feature almost unseen at Zamthang) and the characteristic "animal style" method of representing animals form a part of this third group. Consequently this category has been divided into three sub groups: the geometrically based figures (A), the realistic (almost physiognomic) oriented figures (B) and the decorative or stylized/idealised decorative oriented figures (C), this latter group being a graphical stylized ornamentation of the previous one.

At the Zamthang site, these three sub groups (A, B, C) primarily apply to the ibex and yak representations, the ibex being the most obvious as well as the most represented one.

The first sub group (A) includes all the figures clearly constructed from a rectangular or even square starting shape. This rectangular shape is then broken down into multiple variations, through changing geometry, up to the bi-triangular shaped one (a rectangle whose lower long side is bent towards the interior of the figure, a rectangle whose both long sides are curved towards the interior of the figure (tending to join) and ultimately the resulting bi-triangular figure. Ibex figures are represented by each of these versions, plus a variety of intermediary shapes (fig.4 right).

The B, or second sub group includes the most realistic representations. They reflect a high sense of observation and a sharp knowledge of the various animal specificities. The designs portray very accurately the animals in their most characteristic postures. The arching of the back often anatomically close to that of the real animal, the differentiation between the front legs and the rear ones, and species-specific details such as ears, horns or tail shape, goatee, are examples of what is represented.

The third (C) group contains decorative figures - those in which the animal's appearance is exaggerated and stylized, with a view to giving the figure an ornamental appearance. Figures represented on the tip of the hooves or with an exaggerated curvaceous body are also assigned to this third category. The figures are always drawn in outline style, sometimes with decoration lines within the body (volutes, scrolls). These figures are akin to the "animal style" related ones, and will be discussed more in detail below (Ill.12).

Signs

Second in order of prevalence are the various signs and symbols engraved on the site. The total number of signs and symbols recorded by the author is 156, of which 103 have yet to be identified. The identified ones have been sorted into 18 different figures. Motifs such as moon crescents, circles or discs, suns, cross figures and other similar

non-figurative motifs have been classified as symbols because of their semantic potential. In fact, some figures that were not identifiable as zoomorphic or anthropomorphic representations have been quoted as unidentified signs as well, thus explaining the rather large number of these.

The most frequently represented signs on the site are "S" figures, numbering 9 in total. They are represented mostly in pairs, and their shapes vary in their degree of coiling. The second most frequently represented figures are the swastika signs, right or left rotatory, numbering 7 in total. These two main categories are followed by representations of segments of lines and circles, various geometrical figures (including "glasses" design and other such circles linked together by lines and disposed in a geometrical pattern), groups of dots, "8" shaped figures, scrolls, zigzag lines. Additionally, 1 cross, 1 wheel, 1 rather elaborate floral design and few depictions of religious Buddhist objects such as vajra, ghanta and religious banners complete the list of these diverse signs.

Signs are graphically represented in silhouette or in outline according to their shape. As implied by logic, circles, "8", vajra and ghanta designs are rendered in outline style whilst cross, line, "S" and other basic designs, are rendered in silhouette.

Although it is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss the potential symbolic meaning of these various signs or their possible use as ideograms or pictograms, thus implying some form of written code if not proto-writing, the issue deserves mention. In this regard, their study, based on a single site and focussing on 53 signs is insufficient. However, the few thousand of them recorded in our database definitely deserves a proper study⁴⁰, with the repetitive representation of specific signs in association with others or with some animal figure remaining deserving special analysis. We can only hope that a wider-scale and repeated publication of the Ladakhi petroglyphs' corpus will start the debate and shed light on this possible archaic form of communication.

The presence of signs among other figures strongly reinforces my belief that one should consider the various engravings as part of a whole and with a possible link to each other, rather than as isolated motifs.

⁴⁰ The list of all signs entries in the data base is as follow: "8" motifs, "S" motifs, banners designs, circle fragment, arc, circles, crosses, disc, fishbone design, floral designs, ghanta, glasses design, group of dots, line, moon crescent, point, quadrangle figure, scroll, suns, swastikas, vajra, wave/zigzag line, wheel.

Anthropomorphic

There are 60 representations of human beings found engraved at the Zamthang site. Among these, 30 represent archers, and 12, horse riders. 2 "hand prints", 2 "foot prints" and 2 masks design or "mascoïd" figures have been placed in this category as well. Thus, human figures amount to 60 out of a total of 571 identified designs, representing less than 10% of this corpus. Despite their relatively small number, these representations of human beings possess several, potentially important, information. Their interactions with animals (hunting, riding) inform us about their economy and capabilities, while their various attributes (bow, sword, mace, clothing, headgear) give us clues about their level of technological development. As they portray the people who most probably once lived there, human figures deserve serious questioning. However, it must be admitted that the ways of representing human beings through engravings at Zamthang site remains basic and varies little; this is only partly true for the rest of anthropomorphic figures all over Ladakh. No bi-triangular or strongly "V" shaped human figures are found at Zamthang, but we do note some with a rather mildly "V" shaped torso emphasizing the shoulders. Only a single figure clearly depicts a garment's shape. Anthropomorphic figures in Ladakh are usually constructed using simple lines, producing a rather schematic rendering. Nevertheless, a few figures show a certain degree of dynamic, even if slight, in the pose of the subject. It is interesting to note that the gender is very rarely expressed. As for the rest of Ladakh, no ithyphallic figure is seen, and very few possess what might be a representation of masculine genitals. When they do seem to appear, the disproportionality is such that it could be a mace hanging from a belt or sash, rather than a phallus. The fact that most figures are represented with weapons, hunting or mounted on horses tends to identify them principally as representations of masculine gender⁴¹.

Therefore, interesting information sources are frequently found in the various attributes held by the figures more than in the figure themselves. Bow and arrows are common and vary little in their representation, and they are obviously depicted as hunting devices only. Unlike at other sites, no fighting or war scenes are depicted at Zamthang. A series of composite attributes represented at the waist level as well as at the shoulder level of some figures, raise interesting questions; are they representing quivers? An object represented by a

⁴¹ Indeed representation of definite feminine figures are extraordinarily rare in Ladakhi rock art corpus, three scenes of childbirth are known and a few anthropomorphic figures are uncertain regarding their gender allocation. No sexual scene has been so far reported.

straight line linked to a disc shape is recurrent and might represent maces. These maces are, in a few cases, linked to some less identifiable attributes as part of a set itself linked to the figure at the waist or the shoulder level. Maces, as fighting and hunting weapons, are represented in Central Asian engravings and attributed there, although indirectly, to the Bronze Age⁴². Their relatively important number at Zamthang (8 to 10 representations were counted) is indeed exceptional for the region (Ill.9).



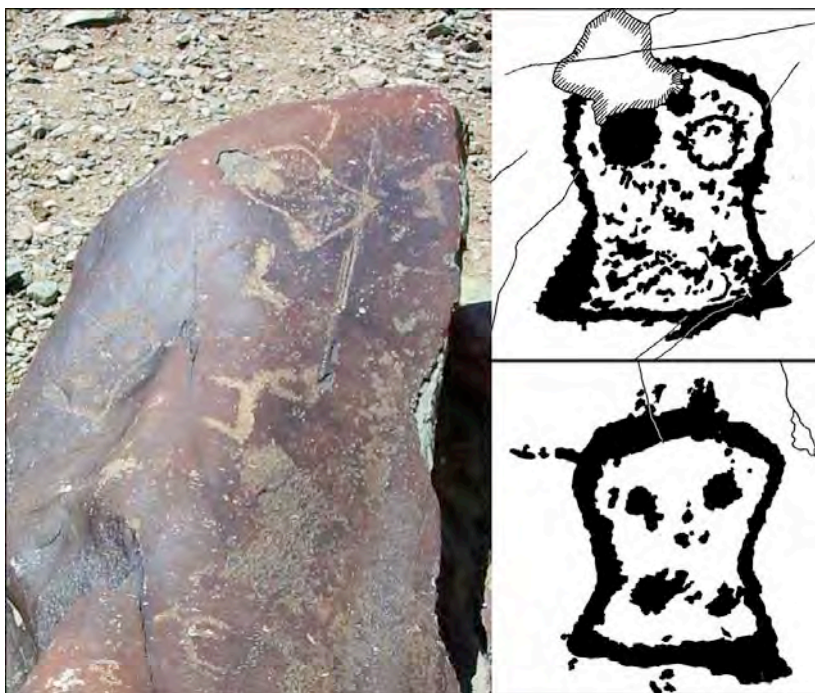
Ill.9 Anthropomorphic figure with mace of arm throwing arrow at an ibex (Z / ZMT 8 a-d). (Credits: M. Vernier, 2004).

Some anthropomorphic figures at the site bear what is obviously a headdress. At the neighbouring site of Cha, less than a kilometre northward, across the river, a nicely and rather large engraved anthropomorphic character is depicted with a triangular pointed hat and a mace at the waist. At Zamthang, the few characters with head-dresses are less obvious than that aforementioned one, but still sever-

⁴² Bruneau and Bellezza, 2013, p. 45.

al of them have a mushroom type of headdress which is clearly visible⁴³ (Ill.9).

Two mask designs, represented on a boulder at the western entrance of the site used to be a focal point for international rock art experts in Zamthang. The past tense has to be employed here because, as previously mentioned, a large building was built on the site in 2011 using some of the engraved stones as building materials. The two mask designs were among the rocks lost, incorporated into the walls.⁴⁴ The figures were of an uncommon type of mascoïd, showing a pronounced bell shape with eyes clearly apparent (Ill.10).



Ill.10 The two mask designs of Zamthang (Z / ZMT 76 m,n) picture and report on transparent plastic sheet. (Credits: M. Vernier, 1999, 2004)

⁴³ About mushroom head style characters in Ladakh see Bruneau, 2010; Kubarev, 2004, p. 75. About a possible origin of the mushroom shape headdresses, see Molodin and Cheremisin, 1997.

⁴⁴ This building, to be used as learning centre, was built on the site by the "Himalayan astro-medicines & ecological development society"» thanks to the financial help of two French associations and in collaboration with the local communities. What is even more disappointing is that this NGO had to move its centre to a different place during summer 2014, leaving the building redundant, meaning the destruction of some key motifs on the site lacked any purpose whatsoever.

One of them had two short lines on top of the figure and a longer line on the side level with the eyes, a recurrent feature in the representation of mask figures found mostly, as far as Ladakh is concerned, in the Nubra valley. Indeed, the presence of mask designs at Zamthang, according to the latest research, is unique in Zanskar and therefore highly significant. Out of more than a hundred such figures only six to seven are, as far as we know, located outside the Nubra Valley. Two are found along the Zanskar River, close to its junction with the Indus at Sumda Do Thang, some hundred and fifty kilometres downstream; another one over a hundred kilometres downstream in the lower Indus area at Kanutse; and two at Stagmo, a few kilometres upstream from Leh. One or two other possible mask designs cannot be identified with total certainty. The fact is that these two images were the only ones known for the whole Zanskar area⁴⁵. These mascoids have been published by Francfort et al. and formed important elements of his argument⁴⁶. According to him these masks refer to similar engraved images found in Central Asia and date from the Bronze Age (2500-300 BC). Most experts agree upon the links established by Francfort with the Okunevo culture⁴⁷.

Architecture

During my survey in 1998, a total of 25 chorten (stupa) representations were identified and counted. These architectural Buddhist symbols are of various types and shapes⁴⁸ and are, in some cases, linked to dedicatory inscriptions in Tibetan script. The variety of shapes in these representations matches the patina sequence and stretches from very basic "stair-like" modules, to the more contemporary and widely established Tibetan-style shape. In some instances, the more basic chorten-like structures represented could be ascribed to some kind of lhatho (*lha tho*) or other stylized shrines or altar⁴⁹. In this regard, a figure, which has not been classified in the architecture group, raises questions. The figure obviously represents a structure comparable to a religious structure such as a lhatho, and, in this case, is framed by a rider on one side and by an ibex on the other side⁵⁰.

Out of these 25 figures of chorten, 12 have been engraved on top of previous petroglyphs. This superimposition process is well attested throughout Ladakh and is generally interpreted as part of a con-

⁴⁸ On the various types of chorten and their specificities see Bruneau, 2010.

⁴⁹ About similar cases of such representations see Vernier, 2013, p. 91. For a photograph of these see Bellezza, 2012, fig. 12.

⁵⁰ A pre-buddhist structure of Bön faith origin is conceivable as well in this context.

juration process⁵¹. In the present case, this hypothesis seems to be confirmed by the fact that almost all the representations of chorten are located on the plateau itself and along the pathway, the main slab having been spared, and no such designs are found engraved on it. Several of these chorten figures engraved on the main boulders standing on the pathway have been over-engraved and redrawn, presumably several times over. Taking into account the protective function traditionally attributed to chorten in Ladakh and Zanskar, the location of these figures as well as their subsequent "reactivation" tends to confirm this exorcism-related function. At least two of these chorten-style figures have "eyes" in their domed summit part⁵². The superimposition of these motives over pre-existing engravings is in most cases corroborated by a much lighter patina thus rendering the chronological sequence very clear. However, while the religious connotation of these figures is obvious, it is difficult to date them with any accuracy because it is still unclear historically when Buddhism arrived in the Zanskar valleys.

Inscriptions

Thirteen engraved inscriptions have been counted on the site: the various contemporary painted graffiti have not been considered, neither were the stones and pebbles, engraved with mantric lettering, and stored on the mane walls along the path. The majority of these inscriptions are written in Tibetan characters, and only two are in Latin script: one name (Dorje), engraved on the main slab and another recent one (2006) has been engraved on a boulder next to the foot-path on the easternmost part of the site and reads: "CHA / STANZIN / THINLAJA / ZURKHING / JA PA" obviously promoting M Tenzin Thinla's house at Cha village, on the other side of the river!⁵³. Among the Tibetan inscriptions only one is located on the main slab and reads "*dge ouar bcu nang la ci?*"⁵⁴ This may well refer to the first

⁵¹ Similar conjuration process over ancient Rock Art is known worldwide. R.Q. Lewis reports such iconoclastic work made by the Spanish missionaries in Bolivia as part of their "Idol Eradication Policy" as late as following the second council of Lima in 1567. Lewis, 2014, p. 73.

⁵² About the "eyed" chorten in Ladakh, see Kimmet and Kozicz, 2012, p. 46.

⁵³ As V. Mehta rightly reminded me, advertising on rocks is a common phenomenon in Ladakh and the rest of India. In Ladakh, it is unfortunate that these coincide with some excellently located rock art sites. Irony aside, it is interesting to note that the use of stone as a writing medium is a thousand-years old tradition that endures in this Himalayan region, the engraving of "Mane-stone" being another historical derivative still widely in use.

⁵⁴ Interrogation mark (?) stands for undecipherable characters.

one of the ten Buddhist principles: "one should not kill any living being." This hypothesis is ascertained by the fact that it is engraved more or less in the middle of the engraved surface of the slab and is surrounded by many hunting scenes.

Another inscription is engraved on a large boulder located on the side of the main slab. It is nominal and reads: "*tshé ring brag??m*". A third inscription is located nearby, that one in cursive (U-med) Tibetan script and too faint to be deciphered: "*ge ??? la gya?*". Other inscriptions are located next to the footpath on rather prominently visible boulders. Denwood and Howard have published one of these inscriptions⁵⁵. This peculiar inscription is one of the most ancient testimonies to the presence of Tibetan army officers originating from Khotan (Xinjiang, China) in Ladakh in the 8th-9th centuries AD. Luckily enough, this inscription located next to the new building has been spared during its construction. Another rather long inscription has been engraved next to the design of an elaborate chorten figure and reads: "*stong ba'e / ngpol po khrom / g(gi)s bzhings / su gsol ba*". This dedicatory inscription is interesting in that its letter shapes correspond to van Schaik's square style⁵⁶. However, although van Schaik's palaeographical method is based on manuscripts and not engravings, the correlations are surprising and match very well the dates proposed by Denwood and Howard for the other inscription nearby, both graphs being very similar. This is especially true for the trapezoidal shape of the "ba" and the first part of the "ga", "sa" and "nga" also match the characteristics van Schaik describes. A rather clear inscription is located next to a group of chorten, but it has been so much redrawn and over-scratched that it is now undecipherable. Other inscriptions consist of scattered letters or groups of letters, one of them being a duo of "ka" and "a": the first and last letters of the Tibetan alphabet.

Patina

Examining the iconographic, and to a lesser extent the epigraphic content of the site, proves to be rich and varied in terms of both content and representation. Re-workings and redrawings are certainly occur, but their relatively minor frequency is more helpful in establishing a chronological sequence thanks to the variety of patina they provide, rather than seriously undermining the site's integrity.

⁵⁵ Denwood and Howard, 1990.

⁵⁶ See van Schaik, 2013.

The desert varnish/patina has been used as a means to estimate the age of the engravings or rather to establish a chronological sequence at the site, or even on a single boulder. One needs to bear in mind that the patina can also vary significantly on the surface of a single rock according to its orientation and inclination. Although it provides important relative information to gauge the physical characteristics of an engraving, it is not a reliable dating tool in itself. Since modern scientific tools that involve high tech equipment were out of the question when I first started my Himalayan investigations, I combined my observation of the patina with stylistic ones, subject matters, overlaps and the physical environment in general to propose a chronological sequence, that I confess is a rather broad sweep.

At the site, patina that has formed over the engravings range from very dark ones, almost matching the shade of the untouched surface (Ill 8, Ill.9), to very light ones that are the most recent. During my documentation work at the site in 1998, I used five different categories to sort the site's content into the following categories: very dark, dark, medium, light, fresh. These categories have been kept for our further surveys until today, and despite their relative imprecision, they help to sort the corpus into rough groups, and prove relevant once combined with stylistic groups. Most of the engravings at Zamthang are included in the dark and medium categories.

Dating the site

I have pointed out the presence of several remarkable motifs found at the Zamthang site. In some cases, similar motifs are present at sites in Central Asia, Western Tibet and Northern Pakistan, regions that are culturally linked. Some sites in these areas have been the object of thorough scientific archaeological investigations, including excavations, and propose, through stratigraphic evidences, a reliable chronology, and even a rather precise time frame for some of them. One can therefore cautiously attempt a stylistic connection between some of Zamthang's most remarkable motifs and similar ones present in some scientifically studied sites for which the cultural context has been roughly ascertained. These comparison methods, widely used in similar geographical and climatic constraining cases, have proved successful in their attempts to draft the various chronological periods of rock art sites⁵⁷. This attempt of mine to further deepen stylistic comparisons undertaken by Francfort, should be treated with all due caution.

⁵⁷ See Bellezza, 2008, 2001, 2002.

To start with, the undeniable stylistic similitudes of certain figures (themes and motifs) in Central Asian petroglyphs allow us to attribute some of Zamthang's engravings or engravings' features to the Bronze Age. In fact, the general body shapes (rather rectangular with realistic inputs such as the dorsal hump) of large representations of yaks and ibex are similar to representations of known Bronze Age sites in Central Asia⁵⁸. But as shapes and contours of figures are subject to a large degree of subjectivity and interpretation, and are thus more delicate to ascertain, it is more useful to concentrate on some of the more precise features and attributes. For instance, the ball-shaped tail of yaks, a feature frequently noted at Zamthang, and which is a stylistic trait recognised as from the Bronze Age in Central Asian rock art⁵⁹, is an obvious case. The mace, a stem ending in a disc shape and hung at the waist, is also well represented at Zamthang. The significance of this attribute although controversial in its significance, is also accepted as dating from the Bronze Age⁶⁰.

The mushroom-shaped headdresses represented in few cases at Zamthang and in addition on anthropomorphs carrying a mace, are as also representative of the Central Asian Bronze Age typical mark⁶¹. Another motif characteristic from the Bronze Age is the so-called "glasses" sign, two circles linked by a line (three such designs are found engraved at Kanutse site in the Lower Indus part of Ladakh). Zamthang has a similar motif, even though more elaborate, as it consists of nine circles disposed in two rows of four and linked with lines one to each other, with one of the row having an extra circle linked to it on one side. Similar so-called glasses signs have been noted from Tamgaly in Kazakhstan and attributed there to the Bronze Age⁶². The supposed stylistic, and possibly chronological, link established here with Tamgaly is even more intriguing, given that as the Kazakhstan site is known for its representations of mounted horses, represented with 'fake' ibex horns. It is worth noting the fact that the neighbouring site of Pepul, just a few hours walk downstream from Zamthang, has a large flat stone engraved with many ibex and some anthropomorphic figures and that, among the scenes engraved there, one finds what looks like an ibex represented with an anthropomorphic figure with raised arms standing on it and another similar

⁵⁸ For instance at Tamgaly, Oglakhty I and III, and Tepsej.

⁵⁹ See Bruneau, 2013, Bruneau et Bellezza, 2013, p. 60-1, Bruneau, forthcoming.

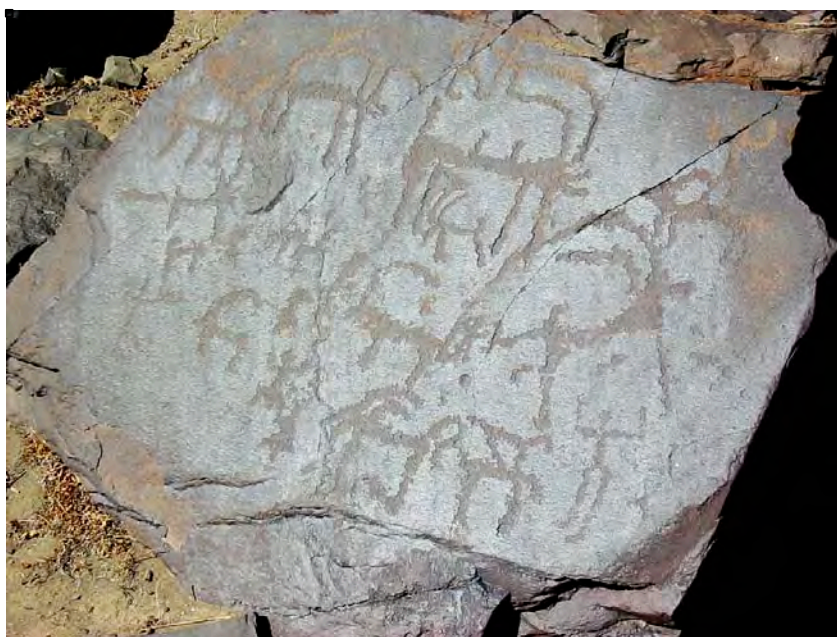
⁶⁰ For a systematic comparative analysis of these motifs between Ladakhi rock art and Central Asian one see Bruneau, forthcoming and Bruneau et al. 2011 for a preliminary study.

⁶¹ See Bruneau, 2010, Kubarev, 2004.

⁶² For images of these glasses types of designs see Mar'jasev, et al. 1998, Pl. 6.15; Martynov et al., 1992, photo 8, 24; drawing 20, 38, 44; p. 34-35.

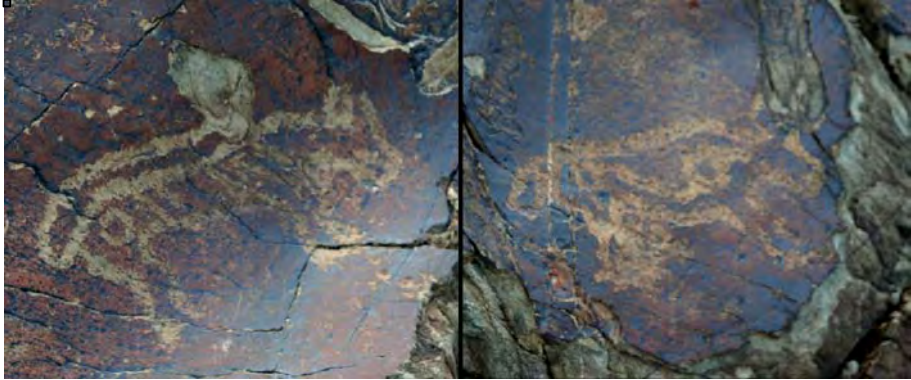
supposed ibex with a saddle on and an anthropomorphic figure with raised arms standing next to it (Ill.11). Although the connection appears tenuous, it is nonetheless intriguing to have these two different figures closely located and both, even though in different ways, proposing possible links with the famous Bronze Age site of Tamgaly.

We have previously discussed the two mascoïd figures and their attribution by Francfort to Central Asian Bronze Age. The fact that the few mascoïd designs that are known today in Ladakh, south of the Indus, while obviously connected to a same stylistic whole, bear very distinctive graphic features from those noted in the Nubra Valley. This might imply a local development of an external given model. The development of such a possible indigenous sub-style, tenuously connected to its supposed models of inspiration, implies that the time frame during which it was established might well be different from the period linked with the model it refers to⁶³. This stands true as well for the supposed "animal style" related figures that will be discussed below and should prompt us to remain cautious in extrapolations, although these might be tempting.



Ill.11 Pepul main stone slab (Z / PPT 5, a-r), depicting "mounted" and saddled ibex. (Credits: M. Vernier 2004)

⁶³ For an analysis of the mascoïd designs see Bruneau and Bellezza 2013.



Ill.12 Yak and tiger/feline figures representation related to the “animal style” (Z / ZMT D. D3 a, and Z / ZMT D. D3 b. (Credits: C. Chabert)

At the site, around twenty figures, including “s”, “8”, and scroll shapes, show some “animal style” or Central Asian steppe art typical features. To briefly describe these, we may highlight the fact that the zoomorphic figures are represented on the tips of their hooves, sometimes with the head twisting backwards, with all four or two legs shown flexed, the eyes clearly marked and the body drawn in a highly decorative and gracious curved outline style. Curled lines forming a kind of hook or a spiral on the shoulder and the thigh of the animal are recurrent themes. Decoration of the inner space of the figure with ornamental “S”, wavy and /or coiled lines or circles, parting lines on the hindquarters of the animals are also characteristic of this style.

Throughout Ladakh such images account for only a very small percentage and their repartition is even more intriguing⁶⁴. At the site, five animal figures are directly linkable to the animal style type, three of them being truly representative. They are located along the path, on the southern side of the site. An ibex figure is also represented on top of the hooves, with two flexed legs, a very arched back and a rounded fore-chest. A bird figure, standing next to the former, bears very similar features to another bird figure engraved at Domkhar site, in the lower Indus valley, some 150 kilometres downstream (Ill.8). It is represented as seen from the side with both the eye and the beak clearly marked. The two legs are depicted according to the style’s graphic convention. It also has a threefold crest and tail. These two figures were previously published by Francfort⁶⁵ and are the

⁶⁴ See Bruneau and Bellezza 2013.

⁶⁵ Francfort et al., 1990, p. 16; 1992, p. 154-55, Fig. 22.

most typical "animal style" related figures at Zamthang. A third one, much less visible, is located next to the previous ones and represents a deer, with its head twisted backwards. The general appearance fits well with convention the mouth and eyes are marked, the legs are folded, but the figure is clumsier and less graceful.

Two more figures, forming a predation scene, are located on the main slab and require mention here because of the decorative marks on their hindquarters. A tiger is represented behind a yak -both animals have a circle on the thigh, the yak has a second one on the shoulder linked to the one on the thigh by a wavy line⁶⁶. The tiger has six stripes represented in a diagonal manner with its tail raised over its back and following it in parallel on most of its length (III.7.1, 7.2).

Other figures potentially linkable to the animal style consist of "s", "8", scroll and volute designs. These decorative elements are present in Central Asian but also in Mongolian and south Siberian rock art, and have been dated from the Iron Age for these areas⁶⁷.

The presence of some "Animal Style" related images in Zamthang, even if they accounts for less than twenty in total, raises the issue of their origin, their date and their provenance. Were these artistic stylistic traits a distant echo resulting from a fascination with the great neighbouring cultures or were they the odd depiction by people who had arrived from such regions? In other words, were they directly or indirectly transmitted, and by what means: trade, military campaigns, intellectual, or religious links? Frequently quoted in the literature is a small metal piece in the shape of a bird and bearing clear steppic characteristics that was acquired in Leh⁶⁸. Even if its purchase in Leh is not at all a proof of its indigenous origin, it nevertheless points to the possibility that such small and easily transportable artefacts could have been seen in the region and serve as a model. Indeed, in his paper dealing with some of Zamthang's figures, Francfort, even though carefully mentioning that these are formal parallels only, made some comparisons with western Zhou China designs⁶⁹. This being said, and to relativize the debate a little, we must admit, when debating about these particular figures of the Ladakhi petroglyphs, that the representations of steppe inspired designs in Ladakh have not, given the current state of our knowledge, reached the level of development of those in Central Asia. No repre-

⁶⁶ Similar inner body decorations by means of circles on the shoulders and hips of animals are attested in Mongolian Xiongnu culture, the general shape of the body being in some extent similar as well. For a picture of such a decorated bronze figurine of an ibex see: *Mission archéologique française en Mongolie 2003*, p. 69.

⁶⁷ Francfort et al., 1990, p. 13-15; 1992, p. 150-153.

⁶⁸ Koenig 1984, p. 320; Francfort et al., 1990, p. 26, note 137.

⁶⁹ Francfort et al., 1990, fig. 10, 11.

sentations of mythical animals, or of animals with twisted hindquarters or stylised in circle have ever been found in Ladakh. Regarding the Zanskar area itself, we observe that the few representations found there do not reach the level of artistic mastery of those found at Domkhar site in lower Ladakh⁷⁰. This latter site stands out as an iconic repository of the animal style related representations for the whole of Ladakh. This tends to point to a scenario in which a degeneration of the original stylistic model happens over successive transmissions as well as in proportion to the remoteness from its original model.

As for the motifs that are regarded as being characteristic of the Bronze Age, as also the Animal-Style or Central Asian steppe art related figures found at Zamthang, show some original declinations, even if in this case these consist more in gaps and simplifications than in additions or formal variations. Whether this represents a bastardisation of an imported model, a local interpretation of an outside iconography, an identity quest through assimilation, or the result of the expression of few isolated travellers, these distinguishable indigenous traits might well characterise a sub-style specific to Ladakh.

Neighbouring sites

I have previously alluded to the several rock art sites close to Zamthang, as some of them bear motifs similar to those found at Zamthang. This is especially true for the nearest site of Cha (map 1). This site is located above the eponymous village, and constitutes a large slab outcropping the hill and divided in several contiguous surfaces. There, anthropomorphic figures with maces and swords, some headed with triangular shaped hats, echo some of Zamthang's most typical characters, and in many cases, even aesthetically surpass them. Ibexes and yaks figures engraved there are mainly variations of the A and B sub-group types of the group 3 discussed for the Zamthang repertory. This rather small site comprises 227 figures in total, out of which 17 are anthropomorphic figures (4 of them being horse-riders). Ibexes, yaks, dogs and various signs, constitute the balance. This site is exceptionally well preserved; almost all figures are of a very dark or dark patina, and of a very uniform type of design, with no later additional figures being engraved on the slab. As Zamthang can be seen from the Cha site, and reciprocally, their closeness leads me to take them as a coherent whole. To my view, a proper and systematic documentation of Zamthang site should indeed include Cha site as well and would prove very interesting.

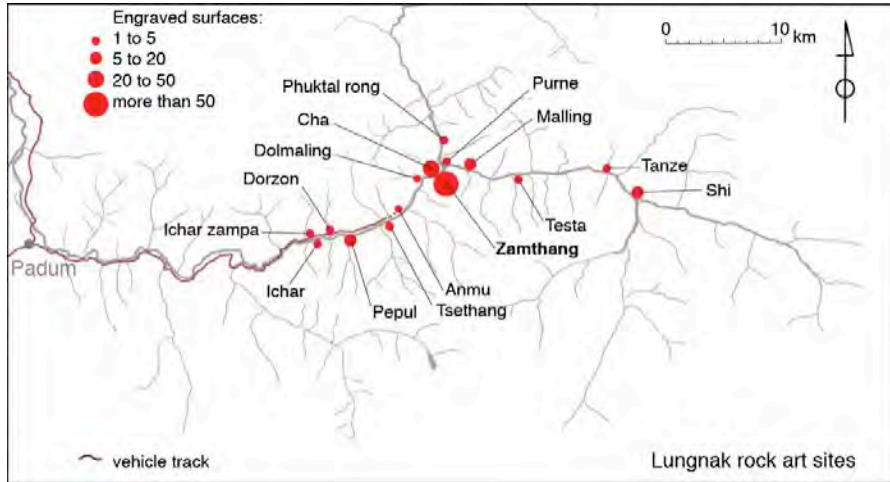
⁷⁰ On Domkhar site engravings see Bruneau Vernier 2007.

Next in order of vicinity, and previously mentioned, is Pepul (Pepula, Pepul Thang). This site is located on a small plateau overlooking the river some ten kilometres downstream towards Padum. Despite its relatively meagre 32 engravings, it deserves to be given due consideration as it includes the previously cited mounted ibexes and anthropomorphs with raised arms in connection with ibex. The other representations at Pepul are of another kind, executed with less precision and with a coarser tool. The rocks on which the engravings have been carved are also different, more angular and their surfaces much less smooth, which accounts for the type of images found here. Thus, the site's content can be divided into two distinct phases: a first one that includes representations of ibex, anthropomorphic, dogs, horses and a few signs, and a second set of engravings of a later phase which include chorten designs and few inscriptions in Tibetan script.

A single and very minor site is located a few kilometres further downstream from Pepul, on the opposite side of the river at a picturesque village called Ichar. The site consists of a few rather faded zoomorphic figures, mostly ibexes. The interesting aspect of Ichar lies more in the situation of the site than in its content. The engravings are located next to the site of the traditional bridge that spans the river, at a place where its banks narrows, definitely a recurring feature in Ladakh for rock art sites.

A single block engraved with a swastika, a flower design and a footprint deserves mention. The engraved boulder lay on the pathway, between Zamthang and Pepul, overlooking the riverbed above another ancient and contemporary bridge location. On the right bank of the river, between Cha and the village of Anmu, a few boulders are engraved, a single one being at first glance comparable to Cha-Zamthang group, it is engraved with a very dark ibex and stands next to the isolated Dolmaling nunnery.

Upstream from Zamthang, a few small groups of engraved rock are present along the two arms of the river and at their confluence. One engraved rock has been documented in the river gorge leading to Phuktal monastery (Phuktal Rong), about midway between Purne and the monastery, and consists of 4 ibexes and an indefinite motif.



Map 1: site counting plate (Credits M. Vernier 2015).

Two boulders have been found immediately upstream of the confluence next to Purne village. They show a few ibex and other indefinite and rather faded figures.

A small site is located in the upper Lungnak valley, a few kilometres upstream from its confluence, on the left bank, just before Malling hamlet. There, overlooking the gorge and, where again there is an old suspended bridge, on a small grassy plateau dotted with angular dark-grey blocks, are about fifteen engravings of various zoomorphic figures such as deer, ibex, horses and dogs and at least one anthropomorphic figure. The set is completed by a later addition of a chorten design and, quite intriguingly, what might well be a mask design. However this later motif looks very recently engraved and rather sketchy⁷¹.

On the same side of the riverbank, a few kilometres upstream, a few engravings are dispersed around Tanze village. This site includes 16 motifs, mainly ibex figures. A deer figure and two wavy designs have also been documented. Locals interpret these two figures as snake representation⁷².

A last neighbouring site is found at the level of the valley's uppermost main confluence, opposite the village of Shi. This site is the

⁷¹ Actually plenty of examples of later attempted copies of older motifs can be found all over Ladakh, especially on the sites located on all times tracks.

⁷² Snakes are not physically present in Zanskar (neither in upper Ladakh) but their heraldic figure is well attested in the local culture. The traditional peyrag head-dress (*pad rag*) for instance is said to represent a cobra head. Snakes, embodying water spirits (*klu / naga*), are often found engraved on *par shing* such as *tor par* in which case their representation is also reduced to a wavy line.

last one to be found before the pass that marks the westernmost limit and boundary between the Zanskar valleys and those of Himachal Pradesh. Located at an altitude of 4060 meters, it is also the highest one surveyed in Zanskar. This site comprises 89 figures among which 39 are ibex representations, a few chorten designs, and at least two anthropomorphic figures and also several geometrical designs including triangles, circles and some unidentified compartmentalized geometrical figures. Despite the relatively large number of engravings, taking into account its relative isolation and remoteness, the diversity and quality of the site's content proves poor.

On the right bank of the river, from Shi village level down to Zamthang, only a very few scattered rocks have been found with few clumsy ibex or chorten figures engraved on them, the whole not amounting to more than ten designs.

The distribution of the rock art sites in the Lungnak valley clearly presents a central group organized around Zamthang and constituted by the sites of Cha, Pepul, Purne and Maling. At least nowadays, Zamthang and Cha form the very nucleus of that area. The localisation of this central group of sites and their peripheral satellite-like sub-sites (Phuktal Rong, Ichar, Tanze, Shi, Dolmaling) is included with consistency in the surrounding geography. The group centres itself at the junction between the gorges leading to the Central Zanskar area on the east, those of the Tsarap River on the northeastern side and the Upper Lungnak valleys that open onto the alpine plains towards the southeast. Although located near this natural geographical crossroad, the Zamthang-Cha sites are relatively sheltered from it, tucked away as they are in a meander of the river. Furthermore, on the right bank, the Cha side opposite Zamthang, the large plateau and the gently rolling hills area that extends between Cha village itself and the confluence of the rivers less than two kilometres upstream, offers an unusually mild climate as well as a protected terrain in an otherwise harsh environment. However the terrain and climate may well have been quite different at the time the earliest motifs were engraved.

This vision of Zamthang as the epicentre of the upper Zanskar group matches the presence of what most probably is an ancient necropolis located in the very vicinity of the Cha site. This amazing discovery is due to the increasing possibilities afforded nowadays by the various geographical information programs providing images obtained from satellite imagery. Thanks to these systems the surroundings of these remote valleys can nowadays be explored in detail on a laptop or computer. These first computer-made investigations have been verified in the field during summer 2014 and have proven successful (Ill.13).



III. 13 Satellite image with highlight on the necropolis areas (from: <https://www.bing.com/maps/>, colour enhanced), an over sketched view of the funerary site, (Credits M. Vernier 2015).

Located on the gentle slope of the escarpment, a hundred metres above the village of Cha, this ancient burial ground is presently in a dilapidated state. However, on a square surface of about a hundred meters, some forty shallow basins are distributed. Each of these, rectangular in shape, measures about 7 by 5 meters externally and 1.2 by 2 meters internally. The centre of these small basins are situated less than a metre below the surrounding ground level and are filled with large stones, some of them still lying in an organized way. The side of these basins is bordered toward the slope by half buried and aligned large stones. There is little variance in the size and appearance of these structures, and none of them presents clear signs of subsequent excavation or signs of looting activities⁷³. If this site is indeed a necropolis, and so far the only one known in this part of Zanskar⁷⁴, its possible connection with the nearby major Rock Art sites is a truly exciting prospect, although until any confirmation or invalidation by means of proper excavation or trial trenching, this hypothesis remains, of course simply a hypothesis.

Nevertheless, the Zamthang-Cha group, whether completed or not by the presence of a necropolis, involves setting up a way to cross the river and thus questions the degree of technological skill and development of these Zamthang inhabitants.

Conclusion

As stated at the beginning of this paper, and as is confirmed as we reach the end of it, Zamthang emerges from the little-known Zanskar rock art group as the most important one from about 20 known rock art sites in the Zanskar region. This status is accorded on a quantitative as well as on a qualitative level, given that it includes over a thousand motives of various periods stretching from the early Bronze Age, if not earlier, to historical times. Besides this historical significance, the site can be viewed as the epicentre of the whole of the Lungnak rock art network. It has then to be considered together with major sites such as Murgi in Nubra valley, Domkhar zone in Lower

⁷³ I was nevertheless informed during my stay in the village that stories about gold artefacts findings on the site were still told by the elders. (Oral communication by Phalgon Rigzing, July 2nd 2014.)

⁷⁴ Necropolis or supposed ones, as they have not yet been investigated are known in central Zanskar in Tsazar (private communication by Q. Devers, August 2011) and lower Karcha (private communication by Phalgon Rigzing, July 2014). Howard reported a cist burial 2 days upstream Zamthang along the Tsarap River: see Howard 1999.

Ladakh and the Chilling group along the Zanskar River next to its confluence with the Indus.

The discussion about various figures and designs attested in more or less neighbouring Central Asian areas at dated periods shown some similarities but has also highlighted some questioning specificities. This is especially true with regards to the “animal style” related figures present in Zanskar. The persistence of some “Animal Style” related art, even though crossbred and reinterpreted, is attested in the Xiongnu culture of Mongolia up to a relatively late period⁷⁵. Similarly peripheral to the initial core of this specific style, the Zanskar area could well be the most southwest counterpart of such a rather late and adapted mode of subsistence.

Indeed, this rock art site network-like system in which Zamthang stands as the epicentre pushes us to wonder about the ways of exchange and circulation of the region and thus offers a promising research field in which archaeology and anthropology could fruitfully meet. The heavy climatic and geographic constraints of this particular milieu imply a high adaptive capacity and thus a developed sense of innovation and renewal. The graphic diversity and variety of accuracy in representing the animal life at Zamthang site echoes this level of development and supposes as well an intimate knowledge of the various animal species, their behaviour and particularities. Hunting with bow and arrows and horseback riding implies a material culture that might include, among other things, a familiarity with metallurgical manufacturing and therefore an economic and spatial management of the territory.

In this regard, the petroglyphs corpus of Zamthang forms a visual remnant, which questions a wide range of various aspects that remain to be defined. Through means of repeated hypotheses and investigations, the rough identification of rock art authors tend to slowly emerge. The specifications of the ancient populations of Ladakh and Zanskar still need, for the most part, to be discovered. For the time being their distant Central Asian neighbours stand as a comparison.

I hope that this presentation of the state of my knowledge of this site and neighbouring ones will motivate a systematic and multidisciplinary study, as Zamthang has not yet revealed its full potential in terms of the lessons it can teach us.

⁷⁵ Jettmar, 1965.

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my warmest thanks to all friends and colleagues without whom none of this work would have been possible. Firstly in Ladakh and Zanskar to those who made possible my various studies over the past decades and who accompanied me on sometimes very demanding trips in the field. Among them I am especially indebted to Ven. Tsering Tundup, Tonyot Dorje, Tsetan Spalzing, Tsewang Gombo and Lobsang Eshey.

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Finally I would also like to mention Anne Chayet to whom I am extremely grateful, for her availability, her wise comments and inspiring character. This modest article is dedicated to her memory.

Appendix 1

Zamthang, identification and figure counting:

		Identified + unidentified
Total zoomorphic figures	559	416 + 143
Total signs	156	51 + 105
Total anthropomorphic figures	66	
Total architectural motifs (stupa)	25	
Total inscriptions	13	
Total identified figures	571	
Total unidentified figures	321	
Miscellaneous unidentified		75
Unidentified zoomorphic		143
Unidentified signs		103

Particular:**Zoomorphic:**

lbex	195	
Yak (& dzog, bovine animals)	74	
(with ball tail)		31)
Wild sheep	45	
caprine animals	31	
Total representations of horses	18	
(Without rider on)		6)
Feline (leopards)	10	
Dogs	9	
Wolfs	8	
Birds	6	
Tiger (feline with striped coat)	5	
deers	4	
Foxes	4	
Hare	2	
Flying insects	2	
Camel	1	
Flattered animal coat	1	
Elephant	1	
Signs:		
"S" motifs	9	
Swastikas	7	
Circle fragment, arc	4	
Quadrangle figure	4	
Group of dots	3	

Circles	3	
Wave/zigzag line	3	
Vaira	3	
"8" motifs	2	
Scroll	2	
Suns	2	
Banners designs	2	
Crosses	1	
Wheel	1	
Floral designs	1	
Point	1	
Line	1	
Ghanta	1	
Anthropomorphic:		
Total representations of human beings	60	
Archers		30
Human figures		18
Riders on horses		12
Hands	2	
Foot	2	
Mascoid	2	
Inscriptions:		
Inscriptions in Tibetan	11	
In U-chen script		10
In U-med script		1
Inscription in latin	2	
Architecture:		
Stupa designs	25	
("eyed" Chorten		3)

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Tibetological Material in the *Journal of the West China Border Research Society*

Alex McKay

In addition to those journals in European languages that are entirely devoted to Tibetan Studies, there are a significant number of academic periodicals that regularly or occasionally include articles related to our field. Along with several others that have ceased publication, these are stored in major university libraries or are available on-line.¹ But as far as I can ascertain, the complete *Journal of the West China Border Research Society*, which was published at irregular intervals between 1922/23 and 1945, is not available in digital form.² As few libraries possess this rather eccentric publication,³ its obscurity tends to lead to its neglect by scholarship. Certainly many of the articles in the *JWCBR*S were not of academic standard, and some were amateurish in the extreme. But the *Journal* did publish articles by well-known pioneering scholars such as Joseph Rock (1884-1962), Alexandra David-Neel (1868-1969), and the anthropologist Li-an Chi who worked in this area in the 1940s, as well as many by missionary-scholars J.H. Edgar⁴ (1872-1936) and D.C. Graham

¹ The most notable of the defunct publications, *Kailash Journal of Himalayan Studies* (Kathmandu) is for example, one of the many relevant publications available at <http://www.digitalthimalaya.com>

² Sichuan University Museum now offers, at a cost of \$1,600 [sic], an “unabridged” photocopied reprint of the (complete set of?) the journals, published in 2014 in 10 volumes (weighing 40 pounds [approx. 16kgs]). This reprint has not been available to me.

³ Cautionary note: various state and university library catalogues in the USA, U.K., India, and Australia have been found in error in regard to actual holdings of this journal. I have not located an institution there or in Europe that actually has a complete set of the journal.

⁴ On James Huston Edgar (1872-1936), see, David Templeman, ‘J.H. Edgar an Australian Missionary in the Tibetan Marches’, *Lungta* 11, 1998, pp. 25-33; also see on both Edgar and Graham (see n.5), Jeff Kyong-McClain, ‘Missionary archaeology on Republican China’s Southwestern frontier’, *International Institute for Asian Studies (Leiden) Newsletter*, 65, Autumn 2013, p. 4.

(1884-1961).⁵ With the frontier regions on the interface of Tibetan and Chinese polities and cultures now attracting increasing scholarly focus, it may be of value to place on record Tibetological articles in the *JWCBRS* in order to alert researchers in the field to these potential sources. In what follows I have therefore, after outlining the history and character of the publication, listed articles contained in this journal which could be of some interest to Tibetologists researching the Sino-Tibetan frontier regions.⁶

The West China Border Research Society was formed on the 24th of March, 1922, at a gathering of interested parties in the Chengdu home of Dr W.R. Morse, who became the first President of the Society. Most of its founding members were missionaries, including Morse, who was one of the founders and a faculty member of the West China Union University, a Protestant institution founded in 1910.⁷ The first formal meeting of the Society was held in October 1922 in the home of A.J. Brace, who was elected as Secretary of the Society, and the first public meeting was held in January 1923 at the Union university. The original group of sixteen founders initially limited membership to 25 persons (all of whom were to be missionaries), but that restriction was lifted in 1931 and the Society had around 200 members by the mid-1930s. While remaining predominantly from the missionary community, that membership included several prominent European academics as well as Chinese notables such as Chang Kai-shek and Madame Chang, who were elected honorary members in 1935.

⁵ On D.C. Graham, see Harmut Walravens (ed.), *David Crockett Graham (1884-1961), as Zoological Collector and Anthropologist in China*, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden, 2007, which monograph reproduces several of Graham's *JWCBRS* articles; and see, Charles F. McKhann and Alan Waxman, 'David Crockett Graham: American Missionary and Scientist in Sichuan, 1911-1948', in Denise M. Glover, Stevan Harrell, Charles F. McKhann, and Margaret Byrne Swain, *Explorers and scientists in China's borderlands, 1880-1950*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2011, pp. 180-210; also see (no author cited), 'Encounter In Sichuan: David Crockett Graham, The West China Border Research Society, and Orientalism' at <http://www.edayfeeks.com/davidcrockettgraham.htm>

⁶ I have excluded scientific or botanical papers. While including some articles of little more than historiographical interest, I have also excluded some of the more outlandishly speculative pieces, such as those pertaining to Edgar's untenable theory - on the basis of the inclusion of *Mani* in the common Tibetan mantra *Om Mani Padme Om* - that Bön derived from Manichaeism; see, for example *JWCBRS* Volume 3: 1926-29, J.H. Edgar; 'A Note on the Bons or Black Lama Sect', pp. 152-53.

⁷ On which Jeff Kyong-McClain and Geng Jing, 'David Crockett Graham in Chinese Intellectual History', in Denise M. Glover, Stevan Harrell, Charles F. McKhann, and Margaret Byrne Swain, *Explorers and scientists in China's borderlands, 1880-1950*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2011, esp., p. 217.

The purpose of the Society was, according to the second article of its constitution; "to promote the study of the country, people, customs, and environment of West China, especially as they effect [*sic*] the non-Chinese." There was intended to be an emphasis on the exploration of the areas bordering western and southern Sichuan and members were initially expected to travel at least once in every three years into the tribal regions of southwest China and to report on whatever was their interest. But increasing "lawlessness and banditry" meant that by 1929 travel in these regions was increasingly difficult and the aims of the Society were altered to include "the study of all problems peculiar to the land and life of Western China, either Chinese or Aboriginal."⁸

The society defined 'research' as "investigation by exploring", with the collection and publication of empirical knowledge the stated goal. In an early address to the Society, Morse called for "careful, truthful, accurate observation along any lines which our natural abilities lead us", and considered that "no other mental requisite is necessary for carrying on our research on this almost unknown border" – an academic approach that was already becoming dated. Scholarship was, furthermore, held to be in accord with missionary ideals. "We are bound" Morse stated, "by the strong and subtle chain of honour. We are binding ourselves freely and voluntarily to study and work and sacrifice for the great cause of science, impelled to do so, it may be, by religious convictions." In keeping with the spirit and literary tendencies of the imperial age, Morse ended his address by exhorting the Society's members with a quotation from Rudyard Kipling's poem, 'The Explorer'; "..... Something hidden. Go and find it. Go and look behind the Ranges. Something lost behind the Ranges. Lost and waiting for you. Go!"

The regular publication of a journal dedicated to advancing knowledge of the field had become one of the markers of a professional organisation during the 19th century and it seems that from the first the Society intended an annual publication. The first volume of the *Journal of the West China Border Research Society* was dated 1922-23 and printed by the Canadian Methodist Mission Press. But the West China Border Research Society was not the first of its kind. There had been earlier groups of missionaries who had sought to place their enquiries into local society onto a more formal footing. The Chengtu Association, for example, had been organised in 1904 with similar aims and the West China Union University had established a series of

⁸ All quotations from the Foreword to the 1929 volume.

scholarly lectures in 1915.⁹ But the *JWCBRS* was the first journal of its kind; earlier articles on the region had published in wider outlets such as *The West China Missionary News* or the *Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*.

The *JWCBRS* was originally published on a bi-annual or tri-annual basis before becoming an annual publication in the 1930s. Its editors tended to be prominent contributors. J.H. Edgar, elected as an honorary member at the first meeting, was the main contributor to the first seven volumes of the journal and became President of the Society in 1932-33. His successor as editor was another frequent contributor David (D.C.) Graham, who had a Ph.D in anthropology from the University of Chicago and particular interest in the 'Ch'uan Miao' (Qiang) people. (The 1937 Journal is largely devoted to his studies of this group.)

It is clear that producing the journal was never easy. Its appearance was intermittent and the quality of paper on which it was printed steadily declined. Communication between editor and printer was also problematic for in 1935 it was noted that the type was being set in Shanghai by type-setters who knew no English. The situation worsened after the outbreak of war with Japan and with the increasing strength of the communist insurrection. In 1940 the editor pointed out that the journal's publication was greatly hindered by having "the printer in Shanghai, the editor in Chengtu, and the Japanese in between."

None-the-less, efforts were made to develop the *Journal* on professional lines. In 1931 the Society established links with the Harvard-Yenching Fund and in 1945 they received a subvention from the American State Department and (apparently a lesser sum), from the British Council. Given the political conditions in China by that time, those institutions presumably saw some political value in the journal's publication.

Efforts were also made to indigenise the journal. In 1935-36 S.C. Yang became the first Chinese President of the Society and in 1936 the *Journal* published its first article in Chinese. David Graham was joined as editor by Cheng Te-K'un in 1944 and Li An-che became President of the Society in 1944-45.

In its final years of publication the *JWCBRS* was divided into two separate volumes; with volume 'A' devoted to culture and volume 'B' devoted to the natural sciences. But it was not published in 1943, and as European missionaries were increasingly forced to withdraw from

⁹ The lecture series apparently continued into the 1940s, but the lectures were not necessarily published in the journal; this was the case, for example, with Alexandra David-Neel's 1938 lecture entitled 'Original Buddhism and Lamaism'.

the turbulent frontier realms the Journal ceased publication after its 1945 volumes.

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¹⁰ This consists of a proverb in verse form; it has been reproduced in Alex McKay (ed.), *Pilgrimage in Tibet*, Richmond, Curzon Press, 1998, pp. 15-16.

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Side, stench, remnant, plot, oath, and craftiness — the semantic ‘capacity’ of the OT *dku**

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he present paper has emerged as a result of a relentless struggle of the author with diverse occurrences of the syllable *dku* in Old Tibetan documents. It attempts to understand and to bring together conflicting information that has arisen from the analysis of frequently confusing, sometimes even completely obscure, passages. As efforts made by other scholars, who previously endeavoured to resolve the puzzle of the OT *dku*, have revealed¹, reducing its semantics to a common denominator — a single keyword — cannot be deemed an adequate approach. Moreover, when one additionally includes glosses from lexicographical works on Classical Tibetan in the corpus the situation around *dku* complicates intolerably. As a matter of fact, I was able to discern between thirteen (!) different and, to all appearances, mutually

* Passages quoted from Old Tibetan texts have been checked against their scanned versions available online via IDP. For the manuscripts that have not been scanned yet, I have used the transliterations published by OTDO. Otherwise, the source for the transliteration is given in brackets. Canonical texts have been transliterated after ACIP. The Tibetan script is transliterated according to the principles put forward in Hahn 1996: 1. No special signs have been used for transliteration of Old Tibetan texts; this concerns letters as well as punctuation marks. Accordingly, the so called ‘reversed *gi gu*’ is transliterated as a regular *gi gu*. The Old Tibetan orthography is strictly followed. No distinction is made between a single and a double *tsheg*. Punctuation marks other than *tsheg* and *śad* (transliterated as a space and a slash respectively) are not accounted for. For the sake of readability I have used hyphens between syllables of Tibetan proper nouns in translations as well as in the discussion. All passages were rendered by the author as literally as possible in the hope, however, that their comprehension has not been hampered by the chosen method of translation.

¹ Cf. the second part of the paper, where the results of earlier analyses are presented.

incompatible sememes attested in the available sources.² Since it did not seem probable that a syllable of a rather uncommon morphology (stem consonant *k-* prefixed with *d-*) would represent such a high number of etymons an effort was made to relate some of them to each other using Old as well as Classical Tibetan sources. The results are presented in the following.

The paper consists of three sections. In the first part, all attested occurrences of the syllable *dku* (bound and unbound) in OT documents are listed accompanied by text linguistic analyses of the respective passages. For the sake of convenience, the examples are numbered and referred to by their numbers in the course of the analysis. Furthermore, additional fragments from other OT texts are quoted in order to help to understand the syntax of the clauses or the historical facts narrated therein. The second section contains a detailed enumeration of formations with the syllable *dku-* that have been encountered in various works, mainly on Old and Classical Tibetan but also sporadically modern spoken dialects. A summary and the first attempt to bring some of the sememes together is additionally provided at the end of the second section. The concluding section aims at combining information gathered from the first two sections in order to acquire a more thorough picture of the semantics of the lexemes involved and the possible ways of their derivations. In consequence, I was able to distinguish between two etymons from which all attested formations could be proven to have derived. To wit:

dku^I *''to bend, to make crooked'';
dku^{II} *''to rise, ascend, go beyond''.

Table 4 at the end of the third section provides an overview of the OT lexical material that has been classified in accordance with the reconstructed etymons.

² These, together with their derivatives, can be found in the second section of the present paper.

1. *dku*(¹) and its derivatives in OT sources³*dku*¹ (N)

(1)

de 'i 'og du mthon myi 'briñ / (69) po rgyal btsan nus byas te // dku' ched po byas nas // kho na 'i sriñ mo mthon myi za yar steñ / dug bskur / (70) te btañ ba las // mo na dug 'thuñs nas // btsan nu bkum ba lagso // (PT 1287)

“Thereafter, Mthon-myi-’briñ-po-rgyal-btsan-nu, having served [as a councillor], did a great *dku*’. Then (*nas*), having sent his own sister Yar-steñ, a lady from the Mthon-myi-[clan], a poison, [he] let [her drink it]. Upon that, after she had [unknowingly] drunk the poison, [one] killed Btsan-nu.”

We gather from this passage that doing a great *dku*’ brought death to Mthon-myi-’briñ-po-rgyal-btsan-nu. It is not clear from the sentence whether poisoning should be understood as contained semantically in *dku*’ *ched po* or is it an independent action. One should notice, however, another occurrence of *dku*’ in connection with poison and poisoners, namely in (25).

(2)

de 'i 'og du moñ / (75) [kh]ri do re snañ tshab kyis byaste // 'dzañs kyi tshad ni / rtsañ bod kyi jo bo mar mun brlags te / (76) dku' ched po blod pa 'i tshe // deñ pho ña žig riñs par 'oñ ba sñam gis // pho ña 'i lan myur du / (77) bgyi 'tshal žes mchi nas // (PT 1287)

“Thereafter, Moñ-[kh]ri-do-re-snañ-tshab served [as a councillor]; as regards the measure of [his] wisdom, at the time when, having conquered Mar-mun, the lord of Rtsañ and Bod, [he] was planning a great *dku*’, since [he] thought that a messenger went fast those days, [he] said ‘I wish the answer is quickly given to the messenger.’”

³ Apart from its occurrences in the passages quoted below, the syllable *dku* is also attested in *dku yul* (PT 1039: 15). However, as the comparison with other similar phrases has yielded, it is a variant reading either of *dgu sul* (PT 1060, PT 1285) or *dgu śul* (PT 1286) - both apparently proper names. I have made one exception as concerns the examples quoted and discussed below. To wit, I have included one example from *Li yul luñ bstan pa* that is preserved only in the Tibetan Buddhist canon. The text has been edited and translated in Emmerick 1967. Another, earlier translation has been published in TLTD.1: 89-136. I decided to include the respective passage in the present paper for two reasons. First of all, it contains a hapax legomenon *dku dar* which resembles to a great extent two other OT compounds. Secondly, it is justified to date the composition of the text to the ninth or tenth century, i.e. to the period of the Old Tibetan language; for details see TLTD.1: 73-4 and Emmerick 1967: 1.

I cite additionally the following passages in order to elucidate the historical context of the above narration:

(2.1)

rgyal po 'di 'i riñ la // khyuñ po spuñ sad kyis / (199) rtsañ bod kyī rjo bo mar mun mgo bchad de // rtsañ bod khyim ñi gri // btsan po 'i pyag du pulte / zu tse glo ba ñe 'o // (PT 1287)

“During the life of this king (i.e. Gnam-ri-slon-mtshan), Khyuñ-po-spuñ-sad, having cut off the head [of] Mar-mun, the lord of Rtsañ and Bod, [and] having offered 20.000 houses [of] Rtsañ and Bod to the *btsan po*, was loyal.”

(22)

'uñ gi 'og du // (201) btsan po mched gñis la // moñ sñon po glo ba riñs pa / zu tse glo ba ñe bas dku' bel nas // btsan po mched (202) gñis kyī sku la ma dar par // moñ sñon po bkum ste // zu tse glo ba ñe 'o // (PT 1287)

“Thereafter, the disloyalty of Moñ-sñon-po to both, *btsan po* [Slon-mtshan and his] brother [Slon-kol], was *dku' bel* by the loyal Zu-tse. Then, having killed Moñ-sñon-po so that [he] could not triumph over any of the brothers, Zu-tse was loyal.”

Since Moñ-sñon-po had been killed by Zu-tse (22), Zu-tse ascribed to himself the conquest of Mar-mun's land (2.1) which had in reality been accomplished by Moñ-khri-do-re-snañ-tshab (2).⁴ By combining information from the above passages it occurs that, first, Moñ-khri-do-re-snañ-tshab and Moñ-sñon-po are one and the same person and, secondly, the *dku' ched po* that Moñ-khri-do-re-snañ-tshab was planning in (2) was apparently to defeat the *btsan po* (22). Once more (see above (1)) we see here a direct relationship between doing a great

⁴ This 'improvement' of the text to Zu-tse's advantage has already been noticed by Dotson (forthcoming, p. 334 n. 20). We learn from PT 1287: 79-94 that Khyuñ-po-spuñ-sad-zu-tse followed Moñ-khri-do-re-snañ-tshab to the office of a councillor only indirectly. The succession order is given there as: Moñ-khri-do-re-snañ-tshab, Mgar-khri-sgra-'dzi-rmun, Myañ-mañ-po-rje-žañ-snañ (death of Khri-slon-btsan ~ Gnam-ri-slon-mtshan; enthronement of Khri-sroñ-brtsan), Mgar-mañ-žam-sum-snañ, Khyuñ-po-spuñ-sad-zu-tse. Similarly, someone else's success is ascribed to Zu-tse in the following passage: *ziñ po rje srid brlag pa 'i blo la' / (203) gthogs te // zu tse glo ba ñe 'o // (PT 1287)*. “Belonging to the plan of destroying Ziñ-po-rje[s] dominion, Zu-tse was loyal.” As demonstrated below (see the comments to *dku rgyal* and *dku rgyal pa*), various persons are said to be involved in a plot against Ziñ-po-rje-khri-pañ-sum. Zu-tse, however, is not one of them. Neither did he participate in overthrowing Ziñ-po-rje-stag-skyā-bo, who is said to have been defeated by Ziñ-po-rje-khri-pañ-sum and Mñān-'dzi-zuñ-nag-po (PT 1287: 119-134). No other Ziñ-po-rje seems to be mentioned in the *Old Tibetan Chronicles*.

dku’ and the death of the person responsible for that. Furthermore, it appears from (2) and (22) that planning a *dku*’ was synonymous with being disloyal (*glo ba riñs pa*). The reading “disloyalty” for *glo ba riñs pa* is explained below in the notes on **dku*’*phel*.

(3)

(4r146) *ba brgo rpyi nas ni dku dañ d(r?)iñ kyi nas / kyis ñan kyi nas ma lags /* (ITJ 734)

“As for *bu brgo rpyi nas*, [his] *nas* of *ñan* is not good through *nas* of *dku* and *driñ*.”⁵

This passage is highly obscure. One can only state that *dku* is a noun and must be somehow semantically related to *driñ* (or *diñ*?) even though the meaning of the latter term remains unknown in this context. The same text, however, draws a parallel between *dku* (also spelled as *sku*), *ñan*, and *bla/rla* - all of which form the first constituents in compounds with the second element *khañ/gañ* (for details see Bialek, forthcoming a, s.v. *dku gañ*).

(4)

mgrin bzañs (197) *rgyal po ra ma na la / 'khañ ste // khyod ko bdag la mtho 'tsham mam / dku' byed pa 'dra ste / bslu bslu nas /* (198) *bdag de 'u* (read: ‘is?’) *bsad ches byas pa dañ //* (ITJ 737; trslr. after de Jong 1989: 119, ms. A)

“Mgrin-bzañs, being angry at king Ra-ma-na, said: ‘You seem to mock me or do *dku*’⁶; [you] were deceiving me. I have almost been killed.”

The same passage is rendered in the manuscript E as follows:

(4.1)

mgrin bzañ rgyal po la gsol pa // bdag la 'tho (198) *'tsham ba 'dra // bdag ni śi la thug ces gsol ba dañ //* (PT 981)

“Mgrin-bzañ said to the king: ‘You seem to mock me. I was almost dead.’”⁷

We can infer from (4) that *slu* denotes a more concrete action than *mtho*/*tho* ‘*tsham* and *dku*’ *byed* do (cf. the introductory function of *ste*

⁵ Cf. Thomas’ translation: “The son, Brgo-rpyi barley, being fetid or fragrant barley, fealty barley there is none.” (1957: 83).

⁶ Lit. “Being like someone who mocks me or does *dku* [...]”

⁷ Both passages are translated also in De Jong 1989: 29.

in *'dra ste*)⁸, although all three share some semantic traits denoting actions that have negative effects on the person targeted. The story preceding the above sentences tells of an agreement between Mgrin-bzañ(s) and king Ra-ma-na to help each other. However, when Mgrin-bzañ(s) starts fighting, the king abstains from any reaction. In consequence, Mgrin-bzañ(s) reproaches the king for not helping him and accuses Ra-ma-na of failing to keep his word. We can presume a close semantic relationship between *mtsho 'tsham*, *dku' byed*, and *slu*. The three are replaced in (4.1) by *'tho 'tsham*.

(5)

ma ñes par srog srid la dku (29) *dañ / gnod pa byed pa zig yod na / su la bab [kyañ r]uñ / dku'* (30) *ba dañ / phe'u pa'i ño khar myi dor bar / dku ba du gtogs pa / /* (31) *bka gyod la gdags par gnañ ba dañ /* (Žwa E; trslr. after Richardson 1985: 56-8)

“If there is a one doing *dku* and harm to [their] life or property without there being any offence [on their side], whoever it may be, it is allowed to charge (lit. bind to accusation) the one belonging to those doing *dku* without confronting [him] with (lit. throwing in the face of) those doing *dku* and *phe'u pa*.”

As the coordination in this passage demonstrates, *dku* must have shared some negative connotations with *gnod pa*, CT “²damage, harm, injury” (J: 311b). The second part of the sentence informs us that unsubstantiated *dku* and *gnod pa* resulted in an accusation. Interestingly, both could apparently be done against one’s life or property.

dku^{II} (V)

(6)

gser gyi ni doñ ral na (480) *g.yu 'i ni mda' chig ma / / ma 'phañs ni ša myi khums / 'phañs na ni ral yañ stoñs / / re na ni gthañ du na / re dku' ni* (481) *mtshul du dku' / /* (PT 1287)

“In a golden quiver, [there is] a sole turquoise arrow. Had [one] not shoot [it], a stag shall not be killed. Had [one] shot [it], the quiver would indeed become empty. [Your] hopes are dashed. [They] are dashed as *gthañ*. [Your] hopes *dku'*. [They] *dku'* to [your] nose.”

⁸ On the introductory function of the gerundial particle see Hahn 1996: 151-2, § 15.3, and Bialek, forthcoming a, s.v. *dgra zun*.

The last two verses possess paralleling structures. On these grounds, one can assume that *dku*, like *na*, is an intransitive verb with the subject *re*, i.e. “hope(s), wish(es)”.

For the proposed figurative reading of *re na* as “dashed hopes” compare Southern Mustang “*na* [...] with *sēmpa* to be disappointed, to be sad, to feel hurt” (CDTD.V: 706)⁹. The rendering of the last two verses of the quotation is only tentative since the exact meanings of *gthan* and *mtshul* remain uncertain.¹⁰ This part of the song sung by *btsan po* ‘Dus-sroñ seems to concern the dashed hopes of Mgar to dethrone the *btsan po* and take over his position. The use of the verb *na* would favour the reading *gdañ* Kyirong “to recover (h.)”, Shigatse “to heal (h.)” (CDTD.V: 607), instead of the attested *gthan*. The alternation *th ~ d* after the prefix *g-*, however, is not a common one. Moreover, *gdañ* belongs to the honorific register and would be incompatible with the discourse. Two other hypotheses are put forward without, however, drawing any final conclusions:

1. *gthan du* < **gtad du* “as a hold”, i.e. “[Your] hopes are dashed. [They] are dashed as a hold [for you].”
2. *gthan du* < **gtan du* “¹always, continually, for ever; ²entirely, completely” (J: 205b): “[Your] hopes are dashed. [They] are dashed for ever.”

The first reading, which interprets *gthan* as a noun, would form a better parallel to *mtshul* of the next verse.

(7)

*yul dbye mo yul drug na / dbye rje khar ba zig srin dbye srin yug mo'i
mchid nas srin* (8r326) *yul mye myi dku chu myi rlañ kyi yul du bkri
zes na /* (ITJ 734)

“In the land Dbye-mo-yul-drug, a demon Dbye-srin-yug-mo said [to] Khar-ba, the lord of Dbye: ‘[You] will be led to the land of demons, [to] the land where fire does not *dku* [and] water does not evaporate.’”

The phrase *mye myi dku chu myi rlañ kyi yul* is repeated in ITJ 734 eleven times with *dgu* and four times with *dku*. In all these cases, it functions as a proper name of a land of demons (*srin yul*). Additionally, we find the variation *srin yul mye myi rlañ chu myi rgum kyi yul* (6r239-40). This toponym appears to consist, in fact, of two clauses,

⁹ The draft (2013) of the *Comparative Dictionary of Tibetan Dialects* (CDTD) was put at author’s disposal in form of a pdf-file by late Prof. Bielmeier.

¹⁰ On problems with interpreting the latter verses see Denwood (1991: 135) and Dotson (forthcoming, p. 351 n. 20).

mye myi dku and *chu myi rlañ* in which *dku* and *rlañ* are predicates negated with *myi*, hence: “fire that does not *dku*, water that does not *rlañ*”. I suggest to connect *rlañ* with CT *rlañs* “vapour, steam” (J: 537a) and *lañ* “to rise, to get up; to arise” (J: 542b). As concerns the phrase **mye dku*, one can cite hereto Jirel *p^hōr* nCA “with *mē* for a fire to hiss and send off sparks” (CDTD.V: 801, cited s.v. ‘*phar* although with a question mark).

dku khyim

(8)

dku khyim sdañ ra / rma khyim phrañ ra byad khyim (15) *sre ga’i nañdu ku ru ru śog / ’bod ’bod* / (PT 1039)

“[One] calls: ‘Go *ku ru ru*_{Adv} to Sdañ-ra, the house of *dku*, [to] Phrañ-ra, the house of *rma*, [to] Sre-ga, the house of *byad*!’”

dku khyim, *rma khyim*, *byad khyim*, and *dug khyim* (in 1.7 of the same document) are analogously formed compounds. Therefore, we can presume a semantic relationship between *dku-*, *rma-*, *byad-*, and *dug-*. The latter two possess clearly negative connotations in OT texts. Furthermore, by analogy with the first constituents of the other compounds, we gather that *dku-* in *dku khyim* is a noun. The OT *dku khyim* attested in the above sentence should, in all probability, be treated separately from the CT *dku khyim* glossed in the second part of the paper under *dku*¹.

dku gañ

(9)

khri boms (95) *dku’ gañ pub nas / btsan po sroñ brtsan ston mo gsol bar byas te / / glo ba riñs pa / mgar yul zuñ* (96) *gis tshor nas / rañ gi mgo bchad de gum mo / /* (PT 1287)

“[He] built a *dku’ gañ* at Khri-boms. Thereafter, having arranged to hold (lit. give) a feast for *btsan po* Sroñ-brtsan, the one who had been disloyal died having cut off his own head after [he] had been noticed by Mgar-yul-zuñ.”

(10)

(322) *yul zuñ khri boms su mchis te / brtags na / / dku gañ pub par yul zuñ gis tshor nas / /* (PT 1287)

“When [Mgar]-yul-zuñ, having gone to Khri-boms, examined [the place], he (lit. Yul-zuñ) noticed that [one] had built a *dku’ gañ* [there].”

I propose to reconstruct *dku(‘) gañ* as **dku khañ* and the phrase *dku(‘) gañ pub* as **dku khañ phub*, lit. “to build a house/room of *dku*”.¹¹ Although no semantic relationship between *dku gañ* and *dku khyim* as discussed above could be discovered so far, their morphological parallelism is striking.

dku ‘gel

(11.0)

stag skya bo ‘i yul / yul yel rab sde bži dañ // (135) klum ya gsum // ziñ po rje khri pañ sum gyis / ‘dus so’ // (PT 1287)

“The land of [Ziñ-po-rje]-stag-skya-bo, four districts [of] the land Yel-rab and Klum-ya-gsum, was joined by Ziñ-po-rje-khri-pañ-sum.”

(11)

de ‘i dku’ ‘gel du mkhar (136) sdur bas bchad de / klum ya sum gyi smad // mñan ‘dzi zuñ gi bran du dñar to // (PT 1287)

“Having split (lit. cut off) [the land of Ziñ-po-rje-stag-skya-bo] with the castle Sdur-ba as its *dku’ ‘gel*, [Ziñ-po-rje-khri-pañ-sum] attached the lower part of Klum-ya-sum as serfs of Mñan-‘dzi-zuñ.”

In order to throw more light on the owner status of the castle Sdur-ba, the following additional passages are quoted:

(11.1)

(118) // mkhar pyiñ ba stag rtse na ni rgyal stag bu sña gzigs bžugs // ñen kar rñiñ pa ni ziñ po rje stag skya bo mchis // (119) sdur ba ‘i yu sna na ni // ziñ po rje khri pañ sum mchis // (PT 1287)

“In the castle Pyiñ-ba-stag-rtse resided Rgyal-stag-bu-sña-gzigs. As concerns the old Ñen-kar, Ziñ-po-rje-stag-skya-bo stayed [there]. In Yu-sna of Sdur-ba stayed Ziñ-po-rje-khri-pañ-sum.”

(11.2)

de nas gnam ri slon mtshan gyis pyag lcag gis // (191) dras te // myañ tseñ sku ‘i bya dga’r // mñan ‘dzi zuñ gi mkhar sdur ba dañ / bran khyim stoñ lña brgya’ stsalto / (PT 1287)

“Thereafter, Gnam-ri-slon-mtshan, having decided (lit. cut with a stroke), gave as a reward to (lit. of) Myañ-tseñ-sku the Mñan-‘dzi-zuñ’s castle Sdur-ba and one thousand five hundred households.”

¹¹ For details see Bialek, forthcoming a, s.v. *dku gañ*.

(11.3)

'uñ (312) nas // btsan po źa śha nas // źaň snaň glo ba 'driň yaň dag ches bka' stsal nas / źaň snaň (313) gi mkhar sdur ba yaň bsdigs so // 'uñ nas źaň snaň gi bran / pa tshab gyim po 'khuste / (314) źaň snaň brlag go // mkhar sdur ba yaň bśig go / (PT 1287; cf. PT 1288: 1-5)

“Thereafter, the *btsan po* ordered: ‘It is true that [Myaň-maň-po-rje]-źaň-snaň is disloyal.’ Then, [one] menaced Sdur-ba, the castle of Źaň-snaň. Afterwards, Pa-tshab-gyim-po, the subject of Źaň-snaň, having turned away [from his lord], overthrown Źaň-snaň. [He] destroyed also the castle Sdur-ba.”

First of all, one needs to notice that *sdur ba'i yu sna*, being the residence of Ziň-po-rje-khri-paň-sum (11.1), is not identical with Sdur-ba itself. The latter, taken chronologically, belonged to Mňan-'dzi-zuň-nag-po (11.2) from whom it was handed over to Myaň-tseň-sku (11.2) by Gnam-ri-slon-mtshan as Myaň's reward (*bya dga'*) for his participation in a revolt against Ziň-po-rje-khri-paň-sum (PT 1287: 133-4). Then, we learn that during the lifetime of Khri-sroň-brtsan (i.e. Gnam-ri-slon-mtshan's son), Myaň-maň-po-rje-źaň-snaň was in possession of Sdur-ba (11.3); thus it remained in the hands of the Myaň clan.¹² Now, going back to (11), we may state that, after defeating Ziň-po-rje-stag-skya-bo, Sdur-ba fell to the lot of Mňan-'dzi-zuň-nag-po. However, no mention is made in the OTC that the castle has ever belonged to Ziň-po-rje-stag-skya-bo. On the contrary, from (11.1) we learn that the latter resided in old Ñen-kar. If that was the case, the question arises: to what or to whom does *de* at the very beginning of (11) refer? *de* is an anaphoric pronoun referring back to something that precedes it (cf. J: 255, CDTD: 3864) and as such cannot, by definition, refer to Mňan-'dzi-zuň who is mentioned first in the second part of the current sentence.¹³ In our case it could only be the land (*yul*) of Ziň-po-rje-stag-skya-bo or the person of Ziň-po-rje-khri-paň-sum — the only potential referents mentioned in (11.0). Since, as we already know, it was Mňan-'dzi-zuň-nag-po who acquired the castle, *de* cannot refer to Ziň-po-rje-khri-paň-sum — Sdur-ba has never been in his possession. Thus, the only possibility left is that it refers to the subdued land; i.e. *de'i dku' 'gel du* = lit. “as a *dku' 'gel* of [the land of Ziň-po-rje-stag-skya-bo]”.

Scholars who previously analysed the passage have proposed the

¹² For a possible location of Sdur-ba and its assumed proximity to Yu-sna see Richardson 1998: 58.

¹³ Cf. also Denwood (1991: 135): “It is not certain however that *dku' 'gel* refers to *mÑan*.” The analysis takes for granted that neither the discourse nor the grammar of the passage are distorted. However, as has already been established for other fragments of the text, this does not have to be the case.

following renditions for *dku' 'gel*: “basse œuvre” (DTH: 134), “récompense” (Macdonald 1971: 234), “reward for rebellion” or “punishment for opposition” (Denwood 1991: 135), “prize” (Richardson 1998: 58), “lot for [one’s] intrigue” (Dotson, forthcoming, p. 275). These prove that, apart from Bacot’s translation which is hardly comprehensible to me, *dku' 'gel* was interpreted as a near-synonym of *bya dga'*.

Now, we shall juxtapose the first clause of the structure *dku'gel*_{TERM} [...] *bchad* with some other similar phrases that contain the same verb, cf.:

(11.4)

bran gyi sa (137) ris kyi nañ du // myañ nam to re khru gru dañ / smon to re tseñ sku spad kyañ // 'dzi zuñ gi bran du bchad do // (PT 1287)

“Within the territory of bondservants, one allotted also Myañ-nam-to-re-khru-gru and Smon-to-re-tseñ-sku, father and son, as bondservants of [Mñan]-'dzi-zuñ.”

(11.5)

(56) 'greñ ni btson du bzuiñ // dud ni mnaiñsu bchad nas / ba chos guñ dañ du gśegso / (PT 1287)

“[He] took men as captives [and] seized (lit. cut off) cattle as [his] property. Thereafter, [he] went to Ba-chos-guñ-dañ.”

I could trace two further clauses that attest to an additional, non-agentive, element in ergative, although they do not contain any complement in terminative:

(11.6)

bal mkhar dñul phrom gi sgo rtsig gis bcade (126) bźag pa la (PT 1040)

“Having cut off the door of Dñul-phrom (lit. “White silver”), the castle of Bal, by means of a wall, [he] left.”

(11.7)

(19) śul gis ni mdo bcad (PT 1051)

“[One] split the lower part of the valley with roads.”

However, our clause in (11) differs in one important detail from all quoted passages: it lacks a direct object. Assuming that the sentence is grammatically correct, we need to look for a potential object of the verb *bchad*. Since Ziñ-po-rje-khri-pañ-sum is the only possible subject (11.0), the land (*yul*) must be the object. Thus, by assembling information on the argument structure of *bc(h)ad* gained from (11.4) to

(11.7), we can now translate the clause *de 'i dku' 'gel du mkhar sdur bas bchad* as “[Ziñ-po-rje-khri-pañ-sum] split [the land of Ziñ-po-rje-stag-skya-bo] with the Sdur-ba castle as [its] (i.e. the land’s) *dku' 'gel*.”

dku rgyal

(12)

myañ tseñ cuñ dañ / pha spun po mu gseñ gñis ni dku (read: *dku rgyal*) *la // (195) gthogs ste / dku rgyal pa 'i nañ du yañ gthogs so //* (PT 1287)

“Both, Myañ-tseñ-cuñ and [his] paternal cousin [Myañ]-mu-gseñ, belonging to **dku rgyal*, belonged to (lit. into the middle of) *dku rgyal pa*.”

I propose to reconstruct **dku rgyal*, instead of the attested *dku* in line 194, on the basis of the structural similarity of the present sentence to the remaining ones. The sentences (13) and (14) contain the phrase *dku' rgyal la gthogs* and in (17) we find the expression *dku rgyal pa'i nañ du yañ gthogs*. These should be juxtaposed with the discussed *dku la gthogs*. Moreover, as explained in more detail below, neither Myañ-tseñ-cuñ nor [Myañ]-mu-gseñ belonged to any kind of *dku* (**dku la gthogs*). They were relatives of Myañ-smon-to-re-tseñ-sku who, among others, turned away from Ziñ-po-rje-khri-pañ-sum (PT 1287: 153-7).

(13)

dba's dbyi tshab kyi tsha bo // stag po rje myes snañ dañ / mañ po (196) *rje pu tshab gñis dku' rgyal la gthogs so //* (PT 1287)

“Both grandsons of Dba’s-dbyi-tshab, [Dba’s]-stag-po-rje-myes-snañ and [Dba’s]-mañ-po-rje-pu-tshab, belonged to *dku' rgyal*.”

(14)

(196) *tshes poñ nag señ gi nu bo na gu dku' rgyal la gthogs so' //* (PT 1287)

“Na-gu, the younger brother of Tshes-poñ-nag-señ, belonged to *dku' rgyal*.”

(15)

blon stag sgra klu khoñ / (32) gi bu tsha rgyud peld / dku rgyal gyi yi ge' (33) lag na 'chañ 'chañ ba žig rabs chad (34) dam bkyon bab na yañ / dñul gyi yi ge (35) blar myi bžes par / blon stag sgra klu khoñ / (36) dañ / zla goñ gi bu tsha rgyud gañ ñe ba gcig (37) dñul gyi yi ge chen po g.yuñ druñ du stsald (38) par gnañ ño // (Žol N; trslr. after

Richardson 1985: 20)

“Even if the descendants of councillor Stag-sgra-klu-khoñ, who hold in [their] hands the letter of *dku rgyal*, become extinct or *bkyon* falls [on them], it is granted that a great silver letter is given in perpetuity to the descendant of councillor Stag-sgra-klu-khoñ and Zla-goñ, who is [their] relative, so that the silver letter is not taken back to the authorities.”

(16)

spre’u gi lo’i dbyar / (2) *mtsan* (read: *btsan*) *po khri sde sroñ brtsan gyi riñ la* / (3) *dg’e* (sic!) *sloñ chos dañ chab srid kyi bka’ chen po la btags ste* / (4) *gser gyi bku rgyal man cad kyi thabs rtsal* (read: *stsal*) / (5) *jo mo mchims lta* (read: (b)za?) *legs mo brtsan la rtsogs* (read: *stogs*) *pa* / (6) *rjes ’bañs mañ mo zig thar par bkyel* (read: *bskyel*?) (Ldan.2 1-6; trslr. after Heller 1994: 13)

“In the summer of the monkey year, during the life of *btsan po* Khri-sde-sroñ-brtsan, many courtiers, monks who, having engaged in great decisions concerning (lit. of) religion and the state, were given ranks up to *bku rgyal* of golden [letter and] queen Legs-mo-brtsan, a lady from Mchims-[clan], among others, were brought to deliverance.”

None of the persons mentioned in connection with *dku rgyal* or *dku rgyal pa* (see below) is reported to have been engaged in fighting any kind of *dku* (cf. Table 1). The persons responsible for the fall of Ziñ-po-rje-khri-pañ-sum are stated to have been either Dba’s-pañs-to-re-dbyi-tshab, Myañ-smon-to-re-tseñ-sku, Mnon-pañ-sum-’dron-po, and Tshes-poñ-nag-señ (PT 1287: 153-7) or the same but without the latter (ibid., ll.233-7). Those belonging to *dku rgyal* (Myañ-tseñ-cuñ, Myañ-mu-gseñ, [Dba’s]-stag-po-rje-myes-snañ, [Dba’s]-mañ-po-rje-pu-tshab, [Tshes-poñ]-na-gu) are relatives of Myañ, Dba’s, and Tshes-poñ.¹⁴ They neither were “victorious” (~ *rgyal*) over a *dku* nor partici-

¹⁴ One could speculate why none of the descendants of Mnon-pañ-sum-’dron-po is listed among *dku rgyal pas*. One of the reasons could be that certain Mnon-snañ-grags revolted against the *btsan po* in 705/6 (ITJ 750: 151) and this could have brought disgrace on the whole line of Mnon, resulting in banishment and depriving the clan of its social position. This of course would once more support the hypothesis of a relatively late date of the composition of the OTC and of its anachronism; cf. hereto the above mentioned story of the defeat of Mar-mun. Although one could feel tempted to associate *dku rgyal* with the institution of *comitatus* as described by, e.g., Beckwith for some Central Asiatic societies (2009: 12ff.), one should emphasise once more that those who took part in the vow were not identical with those related to *dku rgyal*. The former group, however, does not seem to be referred to by any common name in the sources. Besides, there is no mention of any suicide after the death of Spu-rgyal-stag-bu (PT 1287: 163-4) nei-

pated in any kind of *dku*. In fact, none of the persons discussed in the present paragraph was ever mentioned in any connection with *dku* as analysed above, although one could say that *Dbā's-paṅs-to-re-dbyi-tshab*, *Myaṅ-smon-to-re-tseṅ-sku*, *Mnon-paṅ-sum-'dron-po*, and *Tshes-poṅ-nag-seṅ* plotted against *Ziṅ-po-rje-khri-paṅ-sum*. One could thus draw a conclusion that *dku* as it occurs in (1) and (2) could be planned only against a rightful or, as it is sometimes expressed in OT sources, true ruler (*rje bden*, PT 1287: 149). The word *dku* was not used in any other case of protest or revolt, for instance, against a ruler that was perceived as cruel and unjust.

Table 1

<i>bro stsal pa</i> (ll.173-4)	<i>bro la gtogs</i> (ll.177-8)	<i>bya dga'r stsal</i> (ll.191-4)	<i>dku la gthogs</i> (ll.194-5)	<i>dku rgyal la gthogs</i> (ll.195-6)	<i>dku rgyal pa</i> (ll.195)
Myaṅ-[smon-to-re]-tse[ṅ?]-sku Dbā's-[phaṅs-to-re]-dbyi-tshab		Myaṅ-tseṅ-sku Dbā's-dbyi-tshab			
	Myaṅ-tseṅ-cuṅ Myaṅ-mu-gseṅ		Myaṅ-tseṅ-cuṅ Mu-gseṅ		Myaṅ-tseṅ-cuṅ Mu-gseṅ
Dbā's-myes-snaṅ	Dbā's-myes-snaṅ			Stag-po-rje-myes-snaṅ	
Dbā's-pu-tshab	Dbā's-pu-tshab Tshes-poṅ-na-gu			Maṅ-po-rje-pu-tshab Na-gu	
Mnon-[paṅ-sum]-'dron-po Tshes-poṅ-nag-seṅ		Mnon-'dron-po Tshes-poṅ-nag-seṅ			

From (15) it can be inferred that the affiliation to *dku rgyal*, confirmed by the possession of a letter, was hereditary and should be transferred to a close (lit. near) relative (*bu tsha rgyud gaṅ ṅe ba*). From (12) - (14) we learn that paternal cousin (*pha spun po*), grandson (*tsha bo*), and younger brother (*nu bo*) could be considered close relatives.

(16) makes it clear that *dku* (here: *bku*) *rgyal* was not a closed group but could be accessed by those who contributed to the development

ther after that of any other ruler. A ritual suicide, beside the burial with the ruler, was, according to Beckwith (*ibid.*, p.150), the constitutional part of the comitatus institution. If that should be the case, we do not possess any textual evidence supporting the existence of comitatus in the Tibetan Empire.

of the state (government or religion), for instance, by clergymen (*dge sloñ*).

Due to the negative connotations of *dku* mentioned here as well as in the notes on (2) and (22), it seems also highly improbable that *dku rgyal* should be understood as “best among *dku* (*bas*)” or “ruler of *dku*”. In these interpretations one would expect the negative connotations to have likewise been transferred to *dku rgyal*. This, however, cannot be corroborated by the textual evidence. On the contrary, *dku rgyal* appears to have denoted a social group of great esteem.

dku rgyal pa

(17)

myañ tseñ cuñ dañ / pha spun po mu gseñ gñis ni dku (read: *dku rgyal*)
la // (195) gthogs ste / dku rgyal pa 'i nañ du yañ gthogs so // (PT 1287)

“Both, Myañ-tseñ-cuñ and [his] paternal cousin [Myañ]-mu-gseñ, belonging to **dku rgyal*, belonged to (lit. into the middle of) *dku rgyal pa*.”

dku rgyal pa is a derivative of the compound *dku rgyal* by means of the affiliation particle *-pa*, i.e. lit. “the one belonging to *dku rgyal*”.

dku rgyal gtsigs

(18)

(1) // *blon stag sgra klu khoñ / (2) dku rgyal gtsigs gnañ* (3) *ba'i mdo rdo riñs la yig [du]*¹⁵ (4) *bris pa' //* (Zol N; trslr. after Richardson 1985: 16)

“The text (*mdo*) of a *dku rgyal*-edict, that was issued (lit. granted) for councillor Stag-sgra-klu-khoñ, has been written in script on the stone pillar.”

dku rgyal gtsigs was obviously an edict (*gtsigs*) issued by a ruler that confirmed the affiliation to *dku rgyal* (< **dku rgyal gyi gtsigs*). Thus, *dku rgyal* was an officially recognised group from the upper social class that could be granted silver (15) or golden (16) charter (*yi ge*).

Compare other edicts (*gtsigs*) issued likewise for groups of people according to OT sources:

¹⁵ In reconstructing *du* I follow Li/Coblin (1987: 148) as against Richardson (1985: 16) who reads *gru* instead.

kar po'i gtsigs (Rkoñ 12; trslr. after Richardson 1985: 68) “edict of [Rkoñ]-kar-po”

myañ gi gtsigs (Žwa W 57; trslr. after Richardson 1985: 52) “edict of Myañ-[clan]”

dku sgyu

(19)

bod rgya gñis gañ gis sñar ñes (69) *pa la sdig ciñ // lan du dku sgyu ci byas kyañ* (70) *gtsigs bśig pa la ma gtogs so //* (ST Treaty W; trslr. after Richardson 1985: 126)

“Even though Chinese or Tibetans, whichever of these two, committed a sin against the first offender (lit. one who is offending first) or resorted to a *dku sgyu* in reprisal, whatever it may be, [they] are not responsible for (lit. are not involved in) the violation of the edict.”

The meaning of the otherwise lexicographically not attested *dku sgyu* is supported by its synonym *dku lto*. Interestingly, the latter compound is scarcely documented in canonical texts. In fact, only one occurrence of this variant could be discovered so far.¹⁶ One finds, however, the form *rku lto* twice.¹⁷ The latter variant of the compound attests to folk etymologisation of its first member that must have taken place after *dku-* had ceased to be used and understood. The early date of the translations in which *dku lto* occurs further supports the hypothesis of the archaic character of *dku-*. Moreover, the fact that *dku-* has been replaced in some sources by a syllable of a highly negative meaning, i.e. *rku* “to steal, to rob” (J: 16a), suggests similar semantic connotations of *dku-*. The latter observation is confirmed by the occurrence of *dku sgyu* here in one context with *sdig*.

dku' che

(20)

spuñ sad zu tse lte bu / tshor skyen la dku' che (101) *sñiñ 'dzañs* (PT)

¹⁶ Cf. *Mdzañs blun źes bya ba'i mdo* (H 347, mdo sde, sa 409v3).

¹⁷ In *Mdzañs blun źes bya ba'i mdo* (H 347, mdo sde, sa 338r4) and *Thabs mkhas pa chen po sañs rgyas drin lan bsab pa'i mdo* (H 361, mdo sde, a 159r1). All CT passages containing the relevant compound are translated in Bialek, forthcoming a, s.v. *dku sgyu*. It may be assumed that *dku lto* has found its way into later lexicographical sources only because *Mdzañs blun źes bya ba'i mdo* was scrutinised as one of the basic texts for Jäschke's corpus.

(1287)

“One like *Spuñ-sad-zu-tse* whose perception was keen and of great *dku’ [bo]*, [and whose] heart was wise.”

Compare hereto *dku’ bo che* in (28). I understand *la* as a particle coordinating two attributes, *skyen* “keen” and *dku’ che* “of great *dku’*”. It should be emphasised that *dku’ che*, here an exocentric compound (lit. “having great *dku’*”), is an attribute of *tshor* “perception”. This is made clear by the particle *la*, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, by the lack of any coordinating marker between *tshor skyen la dku’ che* and *sñiñ ‘dzañs*. As I argue in the third section of the paper, *dku’ che* is a compound < **dku bo che*.

dku dar

(21)

de nas mchis pa la rgya gar yul nas kyañ rgyal po dharma aśoka’i blon po yaśa žes bgyi ba la dku dar nas / blon po yaśa spad spun rje khol ‘khor yan chad rgyal po la mi dga’ ba bdun stoñ yul nas byuñ ste / nub phyogs śar phyogs su yul tshol (trslr. after Emmerick 1967: 18, ll.4-8)

“Then, as concerns (*la*) the one who has come, [he] did *dku dar* (lit. over) the councillor of king Dharmāśoka, the so-called Yaśa, even from the country of India. Therefore, seven thousand [people], up to councillor Yaśa, father and [his] children, [his retinue] of lords and subjects, who were unhappy about king [Sa-nu], having left (lit. gone out from) the country, searched for a [new] country in the east [and] west.”

Thus, we learn that *dku dar* could have negative consequences for those who were exposed to it (cf. the particle *la*). It obviously forced Yaśa to leave the country together with his subjects, although no direct contact or conflict between the councillor and Sa-nu seems to be alluded to.

Now, in order to elucidate the meaning and the valence of *dar* in the above passage some further sentences from OT sources should be cited:

(21.1)

(5) // ‘*bal ldoñ tsab dañ / lañ* (6) *myes zigs / blon po chen pho* (7) *byed byed pa las / glo ba riñs* (8) *nas* // // *btsan pho yab khri lde* (9) *gtsug rtsan gyi sku la dard te* / (10) *dguñ du gśeḡs so* // // (11) *btsan pho sras khri sroñ lde brtsan* (12) *gyi sku la ni dard du ñe* // (Žol S; trslr. after Richardson 1985: 6)

“Bal-ldoñ-tsab and Lañ-myēs-zigs, upon acting as great council-

lors, became disloyal. Thereafter, [they] triumphed over the *btsan pho*, the father Khri-lde-gtsug-rtsan; [he] died. [They] were [also] close to triumph over the *btsan po*, the son Khri-sroñ-lde-brtsan.”

(22)

'uñ gi 'og du // (201) *btsan po mched gñis la // moñ sñon po glo ba riñs pa / zu tse glo ba ñe bas dku' bel nas // btsan po mched* (202) *gñis kyi sku la ma dar par // moñ sñon po bkum ste // zu tse glo ba ñe 'o //* (PT 1287)

“Thereafter, the disloyalty of Moñ-sñon-po to both, *btsan po* [Slon-mtshan and his] brother [Slon-kol], was *dku bel* by the loyal Zu-tse. Then, having killed Moñ-sñon-po so that [he] could not triumph over any of the brothers, Zu-tse was loyal.”

dar seems to have been used to express domination over one's own ruler by unauthorised claimants to the throne.¹⁸ The honorific register is marked in (21.1) and (22) by the usage of the expression *btsan po*_{GEN} *sku*_{ALLAT} instead of the simple HUM_{ALLAT} of the passage (21). This can be compared with the well known custom of using more elaborate phrases with regard to *btsan pos*, cf.:

<i>btsan po</i> _{GEN}	<i>sku la</i>	<i>dar</i>
	<i>sñan du</i>	<i>gsol</i>
	<i>spyan</i>	<i>'dren</i>
	<i>ža sña nas</i>	<i>'tshal, etc.</i>
	<i>phyag du</i>	

Their meanings do not differ from those of their equivalents in the normal register. Moreover, the juxtaposition of the above quoted passages and the following schematic representation of their argument structures proves that *dku dar* is nearly synonymous with *dar* and should in all probability be understood as a verbal synonymic compound; cf.:

<i>dku dar:</i>	
HUM _{ALLAT}	<i>dku dar</i> (21)
<i>dar:</i>	
HUM _{GEN} <i>sku</i> _{ALLAT}	<i>dar</i> (21.1)
HUM _{GEN} <i>sku</i> _{ALLAT}	<i>dar</i> (22)

¹⁸ Cf. Tabo *tar* nCA “to become famous, to be popular”, Tholing, Ruthok, Gar, Gergye, Purang, Tshochen *tar* “to be prevalent”, Southern Mustang *tar* nCA “to spread, to become famous”, Lhasa *t^har* “to be prevalent”, Gertse *tar* “to be prevalent” (CDTD.V: 589).

Since *dar* is unanimously glossed as an ncA verb in modern dialects, the elements marked with ALLAT must be understood as its optional complements that do not belong to the argument structure of this verb. Thus, the question arises as to who/what is the subject in the above clauses. In (21.1) the only possible subjects of *dard* in both its occurrences are ‘Bal-ldoñ-tsab and Lañ-myes-zigs. Although the grammatical situation is slightly more complicated in (22), the context allows only one reading, i.e. Zu-tse killed Moñ-sñon-po in order to prevent him from doing *dar* to the *btsan po*. Thus, the final argument structure appears to have been:

HUM.1_{ABS} HUM.2_{ALLAT} *dar*_{ncA} “HUM.1 is prevalent over HUM.2”

The absolutive case of the subject, although not documented in any of the above clauses, is reconstructed on the basis of the dialectal data cited above that attest to *dar* as an ncA verb. I assume that this construction, which we encounter only in connection with *btsan pos*, had in this very context the idiomatic meaning *‘‘to triumph (over)’’ and was used as a form of euphemism to avoid the highly unwelcome image of a rightful ruler being defeated and killed.

As opposed to (21.1) and (22), (*dku dar* in (21) does not imply the death of Yaša. He is not even banished but decides himself to leave the country. The context makes it clear that it must be Sa-nu, sent by a Chinese king to look for a country for himself, from whom Yaša flees. However, if one decides to split *dku dar* and interpret *dku* as the subject of the verb *dar*, two problems arise. First of all, the highly marked structure of the intransitive clause *HUM_{ALLAT} *dku*_{ABS} *dar* ‘‘*dku* spreads over HUM’’¹⁹ needs an explanation which I would not be able to offer. Secondly, if *mchis pa* refers to Sa-nu or his arrival and *dku* should express a trait of his character or an action that forced Yaša to flee, then locating *dku* that far away from *mchis pa* in the clause and separating these two with two other quite long complements ([*rgya gar yul nas kyañ*] [*rgyal po dharma aśoka’i blon po yaša zes bgyi ba la*]) would be even more unusual. Thus, being unable to offer a reasonable solution to the above objections I maintain my assumption that *dku dar* is a verbal compound. This hypothesis is additionally supported by the existence of another verbal compound with *dku* as its first constituent, namely **dku ’phel* for which see below.

¹⁹ This reading was chosen by Emmerick, cf. his translation ‘‘his wiles extending’’ (1967: 19). Emmerick’s rendering of the respective sentence is based on an erroneous grammatical analysis and cannot be maintained.

**dku 'phel*

(22)

'uñ gi 'og du // (201) *btsan po mched gñis la* // *moñ sñon po glo ba riñs pa* / *zu tse glo ba ñe bas dku' bel nas* // *btsan po mched* (202) *gñis kyi sku la ma dar par* // *moñ sñon po bkum ste* // *zu tse glo ba ñe 'o* // (PT 1287)

"Thereafter, the disloyalty of Moñ-sñon-po to both, *btsan po* [Slon-mtshan and his] brother [Slon-kol], was *dku bel* by the loyal Zu-tse. Then, having killed Moñ-sñon-po so that [he] could not triumph over any of the brothers, Zu-tse was loyal."

(23)

(315) // 'uñ gi 'i 'og du // *khyuñ po spuñ sad zu tses* // *myañ žaň snañ btsan po la glo ba riñs pa* // *zu tses dku' bel te* // *žaň snañ bkum ste* // *zu tse* (316) *glo ba ñe 'o* // (PT 1287)

"Thereafter, Khyuñ-po-spuñ-sad-zu-tse, having *dku' bel* the disloyalty [of] Myañ-žaň-snañ to the *btsan po*, killed Žaň-snañ. Zu-tse was loyal."

(24)

'uñ gi 'og du // *btsan po* [khri?] *sroñ rtsan gyi riñ la* / (r2) *myañ žaň snañ glo ba riñs pa zu tses dku' pel te* // *btsan po'i sñan du gsol te* / *žaň snañ bkum nas zu tse* (r3) *glo ba ñe'o* // (ITJ 1375)

"Thereafter, during the lifetime of *btsan po* Khri-sroñ-rtshan, the disloyalty [of] Myañ-žaň-snañ was *dku' pel* by Zu-tse. Having reported [it] to the *btsan po*, [Zu-tse] killed Žaň-snañ. Then, Zu-tse was loyal."

One finds two variants of the respective formation in OT sources; namely, *dku' bel* (22 & 23) and *dku' pel* (24). Whereas the word internal *b-* of the former variant can be easily explained as resulting from voicing of a consonant between two vowels²⁰, the second variant seems to be the *lectio difficilior*. The text of ITJ 1375, from which *dku' pel* stems, contains neither spelling errors nor alternations between voiceless and voiced consonants. Thus, I argue that the formation should be reconstructed as **dku' phel*.²¹

Now, if we look for *'phel* in dictionaries we find two highly interesting details. First of all, the verb, CT "vb.n. to *spel ba*, opp. to *'grib pa*, ¹to increase, augment, multiply, enlarge; ²to improve, to grow bet-

²⁰ For further examples of word-internal voicing in OT compounds see Bialek (forthcoming a), chapter Compounding in Old Tibetan.

²¹ On a common deaspiration in second syllables of compounds see Bielmeier 1988a: 48 n. 19 for dialectal data and Bialek (forthcoming a), chapter Compounding in Old Tibetan, for OT examples.

ter” (J: 357a), is intransitive and non-controllable (CDTD.V: 810: ncA in all surveyed dialects). If we analyse the syntax of the above sentences, the following schemes emerge:

- (22) [HUM_{ALLAT}] X_{ABS} HUM_{ERG} *dku bel*
 (23) [HUM_{ERG}] X_{ABS} HUM_{ERG} *dku bel*
 (24) X_{ABS} HUM_{ERG} *dku ‘pel*

Leaving aside the bracketed elements²², the remaining parts of the clauses are identical. Firstly, it appears that **dku ‘phel*, being diachronically either a verbal compound or an incorporation, shall be treated synchronically as a one word.²³ Furthermore, we observe that the order of the arguments here is unusual; in unmarked transitive constructions, the word order is always S_{ERG} O_{ABS} V. However, all three passages have the reverse order of arguments. In conclusion, I assert that all three clauses are in fact intransitive; the verb **dku ‘phel*, in accordance with the argument structure of *‘phel*, requires one argument and that is a subject in absolutive. The remaining part, *zu tse_{ERG}*, is an optional complement.²⁴

²² It is contended that the bracketed elements in (22) and (23) resulted from misunderstanding of the text by the scribe. Neither of them can be properly fitted in the argument structures of the respective clauses. Taken at its face value, (23) would contain two (identical!) agentive arguments whereas in (22) *btsan po mched gñis la* came into being most probably through a confusion of the original **btsan po [...]* *gyi riñ la* (cf. (24)) with the phrase *btsan po mched gñis kyi sku la* occurring just one line below in the same sentence of (22). As the comparison of the three sentences demonstrates (see the schemes above), the other complements correspond closely to each other whereas the bracketed elements differ oddly (22 & 23) or are missing (24).

²³ The only alternative would be to interpret *‘phel* as a ditransitive verb with two arguments in absolutive (*moñ sion po / myañ zañ snañ [btsan po la] glo ba riñs pa & dku*) and one in ergative (*zu tse [glo ba riñs ba]s*). Although verbs with this argument structure did indeed exist in OT (e.g., verbs of giving), the order of the arguments in the above clauses (ABS - ERG - ABS) would be highly untypical. Besides, neither the reconstructed *‘phel* nor **bel* proposed, e.g. by Denwood (1991: 133), are attested as ditransitive verbs. **bel* could not have been a verb of speaking, as hypothesised by Denwood (ibid.), since OT ditransitive verbs of speaking consistently display the argument structure ‘X_{ERG} Y_{ALLAT} QUOT SAID’, i.e. “X SAID QUOT to Y”; cf., for instance: *bu spus* (read: *pus?*) *la ‘greñ nus tsam nas / ma la* QUOT (29) *žes zer to /* (PT 1287). “As soon as the boy was able to stand upright (lit. straighten up on [his] knees), [he] said to [his] mother: QUOT.”

²⁴ For an analogous intransitive structure with an ergative complement compare, e.g., (11.0) where the only legitimate argument of the INTR verb *‘dus* is *stag skya bo ‘i yul / yul yel rab sde bži dañ // klum ya gsum* in ABS, whereas *ziñ po rje khri pañ sum gyis* has to be treated as an optional complement in ERG. Another example that contains the verb *‘phel*, can be cited from PT 1290: (r1) [*kye legs ñes dbyar gyi yon*]_s // [*skyes dgu rims kyis*] *phyir žiñ rgyas la ‘phel* “Truly! Gifts of good and bad *dbyar* increase and multiply through droves of nine [classes of] beings.”

As concerns the subject of the verb **dku 'phel*, I assume that the head of the subject arguments in all three clauses is *glo ba riñs pa* and not *moñ sñon po* or *myañ źañ snañ*. This assertion is supported by the following example where in a phrase of the structure 'HUM_{ABS} *glo ba riñs pa*' the latter part, i.e. *glo ba riñs pa*, is clearly the head:

(24.1)

klu khoñ gis / 'bal (15) dañ / lañ glo ba riñs pa'i gtan (16) gtsigs // btsan pho sras khri sroñ (17) lde brtsan gyi sñan du gsold nas (Zol S; trslr. after Richardson 1985: 6-8)

"[Stag-sgra]-*klu-khoñ* handed over to *btsan pho*, the son Khri-sroñ-lde-brtsan, a proof (lit. a decree of surety) for the disloyalty [of] 'Bal and Lañ."

Translated literally the respective phrase would be "a proof of being disloyal [by] 'Bal and Lañ" — only "disloyalty" can be proven and not "'Bal and Lañ". Accordingly, it is assumed that in the examples (22) - (24) the phrase *glo ba riñs pa*, understood as a verbal noun, is the head of the pertinent phrases. Thus, the preliminary translation could be proposed as "The disloyalty of Moñ-sñon-po / Myañ-źañ-snañ was **dku phel* by Zu-tse."²⁵

Secondly, *'phel* is listed as a synonym of *dar*, cf. D: 849b, s.v. *'phel ba. dar* and *'phel* are also glossed in CDTD.V with the meanings "get spread" and "spread", among others (cf. the English index). According to CDTD.V: 589, *dar* is likewise an ncA verb in modern dialects. Apart from that, *rgya*, CT "to be wide, extent" (J: 106a), is also documented as an ncA verb in modern spoken Tibetan (cf. CDTD.V: 272). Even more interesting is the following juxtaposition of meanings shared by the three in the modern dialects (Table 2, prepared after the English index in CDTD.V):

"to ex- pand"	"to get spread"	"to in- crease"	"to spread"	"to swell"	"to thrive"
<i>rgya</i>		<i>rgya</i>	<i>rgya</i>	<i>rgya</i>	<i>rgya</i>
<i>dar</i>	<i>dar</i>	<i>'phel</i>	<i>dar</i>	<i>'phel</i>	<i>'phel</i>
	<i>'phel</i>		<i>'phel</i>		

As the following two examples demonstrate, the semantic proximity of these verbs can be observed already in OT: *rgyas la 'phel* (PT 1290:

²⁵ In addition, we can infer from the structure of (23) that it was the act of being disloyal that was directed against the *btsan po* (*btsan po la*) and not *dku 'pel* made by Zu-tse **to btsan po**. The semantics of *'phel*'s subjects encountered in OT documents is analysed in more detail in Bialek, forthcoming a, s.v. *dku 'pel*.

r1) and *dard cin rgyas* (ITJ 751: 36v1).²⁶

Curiously enough, we have now three OT formations consisting of the first member *dku* and whose second elements morphologically greatly resemble the near-synonym verbs just listed; to wit: *dku rgyal*, *dku dar*, and *dku ‘pel/bel*.

***dku ba*¹**

(25)

yab gnam (301) *ri slon mtshan dug bon te bkroñs so // sras sroñ brtsan sku g’zon ma phan te // gzod ma* (302) ***dku’ ba*** *dañ / dug pa rnam s rabs bchad do //* (PT 1287)

“Having given a poison to the father Gnam-ri-slön-mtshan, [one] killed [him]. The son Sroñ-brtsan of young body, not being ?effective?, destroyed first the lineages of *dku ba*’ and poisoners.”

(5)

ma ñes par srog srid la dku (29) *dañ gnod pa byed pa žig yod na / su la bab [kyañ r]uñ / dku’* (30) ***ba*** *dañ / phe’u pa’i no khar myi dor ba(r?) / dku ba du gtogs pa //* (31) *bka gyod la gdags par gnañ ba dañ /* (Žwa E; trslr. after Richardson 1985: 56-8)

“If there is a one doing *dku* and harm to [their] life or property without there being any offence [on their side], whoever it may be, it is allowed to charge (lit. bind to accusation) the one belonging to those doing *dku* without confronting [him] with (lit. throwing in the face of) those doing *dku* and *phe’u pa*.”

From these we can infer that *dku ba* belonged to one semantic field with, on the one hand, *dug pa* “poisoner” (25), and, on the other hand, with *phe’u pa* (5). The meaning of the latter remains unknown although it may be stated that both, *dku ba* and *phe’u pa*, were somehow involved in judicial issues.²⁷ (25) seems to suggest that *dku ba* were equally responsible for the death of Sroñ-brtsan’s father as the poisoners were. (5) makes it clear that *dku ba* is derived from the lexeme *dku* as it occurs in (1), (2), and (5).

²⁶ Compare hereto CT *spel rgyas par byed pa* “in Menge vermehren, allgemein machen, allgemein verbreiten” (Sch: 330b, s.v. *spel ba*).

²⁷ I remain sceptical about the etymological relationship between *phe’u pa* and *bel/‘pel* in *dku bel/‘pel* that has been proposed by Denwood (1991: 133). First of all, the derivation by means of the *-l* suffix in examples cited by Denwood (*rde’u ~ rdel*, *dre’u ~ drel*, *spre’u ~ spre*), as well as in all the other cases known to me, is exclusively nominal. No verb has been reported so far as derived by means of the suffix. Besides, as has been argued above, the second member of the formation *dku bel/‘pel* is interpreted in the present paper as going back to the verb **phel*.

dku ba^{II}

(26)

(a9) *śa chañ dañ / dku ba rnam pa lia bsruñ dgos so* (Tu 7; trslr. after Taube 1980: 74)

“[One] should beware meat, beer, and five kinds of fetid foods.”

Obviously, this *dku ba* is not identical with *dku ba*^I above. Occurring together with *śa* and *chañ*, it clearly belongs to the semantic field of foods, and so can be connected with the etymon *dku*^{II} as presented in the second part of the paper. It shares, however, one characteristic with many of the OT usages of the syllable *dku-*, namely, it is negatively valued and denotes objects that should be avoided.

Although not identified as such by Taube, a cursory check of canonical sources at RKTS proves that the manuscript Tu 7 is a fragment of ‘*Phags pa byañ chub sems dpa’ spyān ras gzigs dbaṅ phyug phyag stoṅ spyān stoṅ dañ ldan pa thogs pa mi mña’ ba’i thugs rje chen po’i sems rgya cher yoṅs su rdzogs pa zes bya ba’i gzuṅs* (H 654, rgyud, pa 392v3-454v5). The sentence in question occurs in fol.419v5-6 and differs from the one cited above with regard to the syllable *bsruñ* which in Lhasa canon is replaced by *sruñ*. Compare also the following passage from another canonical text:

(26.1)

śa dañ / chañ dañ / sgog pa la sogs pa dku ba’i zas rnams kun tu spañ bar bya’o / / (‘*Phags pa mi g.yo ba zes bya ba’i gzuṅs*, H 611, rgyud, pa 9v4; trslr. after ACIP)

“[One] should completely renounce meat, beer, garlic, and the like - foods that are fetid.”

dku babs

(27)

da myi rma bu mchiñ rgyal ‘di dku (27) babs ni dgu bgyis (PT 1039)“Now, this Myi-rma-bu-mchiñ-rgyal being *dku babs*, did *dgu*.”

The translation is only tentative. A preliminary explanation of the phrase *dku babs* will first be offered in the third part of the present paper. The reading **dku bgyis* instead of *dgu bgyis*, although theoretically supported by the existence of the analogously formed phrase *dku byed* (see (1, 4 & 5)), remains highly speculative.

dku bo

(28)

myi mañ gi rje / yul che 'i bdag (27) *byed byed pa las / rgyal po btsan ba dañ / blon po 'dzañs pa dku' bo che rnam s kyis / gchig* (28) *gis gchig brlag ste / 'bañs su bkug na /* (PT 1286)

“The lord of many people, upon functioning as a master of a great land, subdued (lit. gathered as subjects) mighty rulers and wise ministers of great *dku bo* who were destroying each other.”

dku' bo che “of great *dku bo*” can be juxtaposed with *dku' che* “of great *dku*” as attested in (20). Both function as attributes describing powerful people. It is apparent that *dku'*- and *dku' bo* were nouns that could be qualified with *che*. In this context, one should additionally mention the nominal phrase *dku' ched po* in (1) and (2).

dku zañs / dku chañ / dku lug

(29)

zañs dku zañs byad zañs ni btsugs dku chañ (18) *hug pa chañ ni btsos / dku lug sdañ lug byad lug ni bsad* (PT 1039)

“As regards a kettle, a kettle of *dku*, a kettle of *byad*, [one] put [them] down. As regards beer of *dku* [and] beer of *hug pa*, [one] brewed [them]. As regards a sheep of *dku*, a sheep of *sdañ*, [and] a sheep of *byad*, [one] killed [them].”

By complementing the above clauses with other passages from the same text we acquire the following scheme:

<i>dku zañs</i>	<i>dku chañ</i>	<i>dku lug</i>
<i>byad zañs</i>	<i>byad chañ</i>	<i>byad lug</i>
	<i>hug pa chañ</i>	
	<i>sdañ chañ</i>	<i>sdañ lug</i>

From this it occurs that *dku*- belonged to one semantic field with *byad*- and *sdañ*-.²⁸ The two latter morphemes possessed highly negative

²⁸ *hug pa* does not seem to match the other formations. First of all, *dku chañ*, *byad chañ*, and *sdañ chañ* are clearly disyllabic formations, with the first constituent truncated in case of *sdañ chañ*. Thus, one would rather expect **hug chañ*. Furthermore, *hug pa*, when mentioned in one context with *chañ*, calls to mind '*ug pa* "2L[adakh] also for *yug po* oats" (J: 499b) and '*ug ri* "kind of chang" (CDTD: 7574). I assume that, in consequence of folk etymologisation, the lexeme *hug pa* has replaced another less known one, that, however, better corresponded to the seman-

connotations in OT sources. Accordingly, the same might be assumed for *dku-* as used here.

khoñ dku

(30)

(12) *grog la khoñ dku myi byed de mo bzañ ño* (PT 1046b; trslr. after OTDO)

“Not doing *khoñ dku* to a friend, the lot is good.”

(31)

(132) *rogsla khoñ dku ma che zig dañ mo bzaño* (ITJ 740; trslr. after OTDO)

“Do not let [your] *khoñ dku* to be great towards [your] friend! The lot is good.”²⁹

In order to throw more light on the second example I should quote two further sentences from the same text:

(31.1)

myi nad phyugs nad myi 'oñ gis sñiñ lo mal (33) *dru phob sig dañ mo bzaño* (ITJ 740; trslr. after OTDO)

“Since the illness of a man [and] the illness of cattle do not come, throw *sñiñ lo* in [its] place! The lot is good.”

(31.2)

lha la phyag 'tshol cig / (162) dañ mo bzaño / (ITJ 740; trslr. after OTDO)

“Pay homage to deities! The lot is good.”

These prove that the sequence /*cig*/+*dañ* marks the imperative. This is made even more obvious by the verbs *phob* in (31.1) and *'tshol* in (31.2) that immediately precede the sequence and that are V4 stems of *'bebs* and *'tshal* respectively. To sum up, the first part of (31) should likewise be interpreted as a kind of command.

tics of *dku-*, *byad-*, and *sdañ-*. It might have been **hur-* for which compare *hur pa* “calamities” (Bellezza 2008: 276); *hur pa byed pa* “to harm life, to kill” (LZB: 285); *hur po* “¹quick, alert, dextrous (sic!), clever; ²hot, hasty, passionate” (D: 1329a); *hur 'dums* “[intention of] hostility” (Tucci 1950: 47).

²⁹ *khoñ dgu* attested in PT 1039: 31 could be a variant of the discussed compound. The context, however, remains unclear to me and for this reason I have refrained from including the passage here.

From (30) and (31) it appears that *khoñ dku* had strong negative connotations. It apparently denoted an attitude or an action that should not be undertaken towards one’s friend.

nañ dku

(32)

gtor pa tsam (127) *gyi ño myi la btab na / g.yon can nañ dku che dgra phywa la btab na / dgra myi thubs* (128) *bud med śa dag rgyo ste mo ñan* (ITJ 740; trslr. after OTDO)

“If thrown the side of a *gtor pa* for a man, the fornicator is of great *nañ dku*. If thrown for a *dgra phywa*, *dgra* is not *thubs*. Only shagging women; the lot is bad.”

Although the passage is to a great extent unintelligible to me, two things can be said about the compound *nañ dku*. To wit, together with *che*, “of great *nañ dku*”, it qualifies *g.yon can* “a fornicator” and as such it is bound to a bad lot. Apart from that, we observe its analogous morphology when compared with *khoñ dku*: both end with the syllable *-dku* and their first constituents are near-synonyms. We learn also that not doing or not being of great *khoñ dku* is positive while a great *nañ dku* is a negative value. To sum up, it occurs that *khoñ dku* and *nañ dku* were synonymous expressions.

2. *dku* and its derivatives in later lexicographical sources

Presented below are the attested meanings of *dku* and its derivatives grouped according to the assumed semantic links.

*dku*¹

“*kukṣi*” (Mvy: 4030); “¹udaram; ²kukṣiḥ; ³kaṭiḥ” (Negi.1: 105a); “*sūbege*; *sta zur dpyi mgo*; *lto ba ’am gsus pa’i miñ grañs*; *belge*; *gsaṅ gnas*; *dpyi mgo*” (SR: 1: 56.2, 4, 6); “*lus kyi dpyi mgo*; *lte ba nas dpyi mgo’i bar gyi cha śas*; *bud med kyi bu snod*; *pho ba’am gsus pa*” (BTC: 60a); “*dpyi mgo dañ*; *pho ba’am gsus pa dañ*; *bsam se’am bu snod bcas du mar ’jug ste*” (DSM: 17a); “the side of one’s body” (Cs: 66b); “¹uterus, womb; ²hip bone; ³stomach” (Gs: 22b); “*Seite, Hüfte; auch Bauch*” (WTS: 3: 172b-3a); “side” > “royal side” > the surrounding of the king, the court” > “nobleman” (Róna-Tas 1955: 264 n. 39)

dku ma: “ventre” (Desg: 23a)

dku skabs: “*gsus pa’i skabs mtshams te sta zur gyi thad*” (BTC: 60a)

dku skyob: “*ral gri; kaukṣeyakaḥ*” (Negi.1: 105a; *kaukṣa* “abdominal,

ventral", MW: 315a; *kaukṣeyaka* "being in a sheath, a sword", MW: 315a)

dku khyim: "sked pa nas dpyi 'go'i bar zer" (BRTD: 140a)

dku rgyal: "prince" (DTH: 139); "side of the king, courtier" (Róna-Tas 1955: 264)

dku rgyal pa: "prince" (DTH: 139)

dku lci: "lus la phru gu chags rkyen gyis dpyi mgo'i thad nas tshor ba'i lci ñams" (BTC: 60a)

dku mñe: "stan; ā sanam" (Negi.1: 105a); "(rñiñ) ¹me; ²stan" (BTC: 60a); "āsana, a rug to sit upon; a seat" (D: 53a)

dku lto: "gsus lto" (BTC: 60a); "stomach, abdomen" (Gs: 22b)

dku do: "trika" (Negi.1: 105b)

dku mtshams: "brother of whole blood; uterine brother" (R.1: 99b)

dku mtshuñs: "sodaraḥ" (Negi.1: 105b); "Bez. leiblicher Geschwister" (WTS.3: 174a)

dku^{II}

"mauvaise odeur" (Desg: 23a); "schlecht riechen, stinken" (WTS.3: 173a)

dku ba: "= dri ña ba; pūtiḥ" (Negi.1: 105b); "^{II}dri ma ñan pa" (BTC: 60b); "sweet scent" (Cs: 66b); "stench; putrid smell" (D: 53a); "⁴to smell" (Gs: 22b); "scharf" (Taube 1980: 147a); "offensive; [...] seems to refer mainly to a set of five malodorous plants (onions and the like) whose smell is regarded as offensive to the gods" (Denwood 1991: 132)

dku ma: "Geruch" (WTS.3: 174a)

dku dar: "having a bad odour" (TLTD.1: 100)

dri dku: "dri ma dku ba'i bsdus tshig" (BTC: 1325a)

dku^{III}

dku ba: "¹(tha mi dad pa) ¹lañ ba'am; ³(rñiñ) lhag pa dañ. lus pa" (BTC: 60b); "lhag ste" (DSM: 17b); "lhag pa dañ lus pa" (BYD: 15a); "²Rest" (WTS.3: 173b); "⁶arc. to be leftover" (Gs: 22b)

dku ste: "lhag ste" (DSM: 17b; cf. also s.v. *dgu ste*); "= lhag ste; de plus" (Desg: 23a); "= lhag ste, šeṣa; remaining; in excess" (D: 53a)³⁰

dku 'gel: "lhag 'phro" (DSM: 17b)

dku rgyal: "exaltation" (Richardson 1952: 29); "ennoblement" (Richardson 1985: 17); "promotion" (ibid., p. 160); "level" (Heller 1994: 13)

dku rgyal gtsigs: "the edict for the ennoblement" (Richardson 1985: 17)

³⁰ According to Mimaki (1992: 481), BDSN glosses *dkug ste* with *lhag ste*. *dkug* is obviously a misspelling for the original *dku*.

dku stabs: “mrīṣu; seküči” (SR.1: 56a); “supplément” (Desg: 23a)

**dku tshod*: “projet, intention” (Desg: 23b; s.v. *dgu tshod*)

**dku mtshan*: “prize” (J: 84b; s.v. *dgu mtshan*)

dku^{IV}

dku ba: “¹(tha mi dad pa) ²bab pa’am. lhuñ ba” (BTC: 60b); “⁴mchi ma ‘dzag pa” (DSM: 17a); “⁵to fall” (Gs: 22b); “³herabfallend, herabtropfend” (WTS.3: 174a)

mchi ma dku ba: “mig chu ‘dzags pa” (GC: 276a); “¹mchi ma ‘dzag pa’i don te. ²ñu bro ba’i miñ ste” (DSM: 185a)

mig chu dku ba: “mig gi mchi ma ‘dzag pa” (GC: 637b)

dku^V

“²Betrug, Gaunerei” (WTS.3: 173a); “artifice, cunning” (Li 1955: 62); “ruse, trap” (Róna-Tas 1955: 263 n. 39); “intrigue” (Richardson 1985: 59 n. 4); “opposition, rebellion, disaffection, plotting, intrigue, treason” (Denwood 1991: 136)

dku(⁷) *po*: “g.yo sgyu’am g.yo sgyu can” (BYD: 15b)

dku(⁷) *ba*¹: “intrigue” (Richardson 1985: 59 n. 4)

*dku ba*²: “g.yon can la ‘o” (BTK: 117 n. 5); “instigateur” (DTH: 147); “opponent, rebel, plotter” (Denwood 1991: 136)

dku ched po: “lkog g.yo chen po” (BYD: 15)

dku gañ: “g.yo sgyu khram gsum” (BYD: 15b); “Hinterhalt” (WTS.3: 173a); “piège” (DTH: 148); “treason” (Denwood 1991: 135); “trap” (ibid., p. 136); “ambush” (Zeisler 2004: 312); “a house of treachery” (Dotson, forthcoming, p. 272)

dku ‘gel: “bya dga’. dga’ rtags” (BDN: 30 n. 11); “récompense de la trahison” (Macdonald 1971: 234); “reward for rebellion, punishment for opposition” (Denwood 1991: 136); “prize” (Richardson 1998: 58); “lot for intrigue” (Dotson, forthcoming, p. 275)

dku rgyal: “lit. overcomer of intrigue” (Denwood 1991: 133); “aristocracy” (Dotson 2009b: 63); “aristocracy” (Dotson, forthcoming, p. 279); “best of the plotters” (ibid., p. 333 n. 16)

dku rgyal pa: “aristocracy” (Dotson, forthcoming, p. 279)

dku sgyu: “g.yo sgyu žes pa ste gna’ rabs kyi brda rñiñ” (BRTD: 140a); “craft, trick, stratagem (sic!)” (Li/Coblin 1987: 372); “deceitful stratagem or stratagem and deceit” (Denwood 1991: 136)

dku lto: “rdab dkrugs sam. dbyen sbyor phra ma” (BTC: 95a and BYD: 25a, s.v. *rku rdo*); “rdab dkrugs sam. dbyen sbyor phra ma” (DSM: 29b, s.v. *rku lto*); “contrivance, stratagem” (Cs: 66b); “List, Arglist, bes. wenn man unter gutem Schein Jemanden zu etwas bewegt was ihm Unglück bringt” (Jä: 9a); “malice, malicious arts” (LEU: 6)

dku dar: “harmed by opposition” (Denwood 1991: 132); “[his] wiles extending” (Emmerick 1967: 19)

**dku 'phel*: “g.yo sgyu'i lkog mna' ther 'don byas pa'i don te” (DSM: 18a, s.vv. *dku bel ba*, *dku 'bel*); “lkog g.yo ther 'don” (BYD: 15a, s.v. *dku 'pel*); “g.yo sgyu yis gnod pa dañ gžan ñes goñ źu” (BYD: 15b, s.v. *dku' bel*); “g.yo sgyu ther 'don dañ dmar rjen du bton pa'i don no” (BTK: 113 n. 12, s.v. *dku 'bel*); “g.yo sgyu ther 'don byas pa” (BNY: 138 n. 15, s.v. *dku 'bel*); “nuire par artifice, dénoncer” (DTH: 190, s.v. *dku 'bel*); “outwit” (TLTD.3: 113b)

dku byed: “to use ruses” (de Jong 1989: 64)

dku blod: “to hatch a plot” (Denwood 1991: 135)

dku^{VI}

“grade inférieur” (DTH: 190); “comitatus” (Walter 2009: 65 n. 68)

dku rgyal: “(inner) comitatus” (Walter 2009: 63 n. 62)

dku^{VII}

“mna' dañ dam tshig gam mthu stobs sam bka' rgya sogs kyi don la 'jug” (BDN: 43 n. 9); “'di nas (PT 1287: 194 - JB) mna' gan la go'o” (BTK: 113 n. 6)

dku la gtogs: “mna' 'brel du źugs” (DSM: 18a, s.v. *dku la thogs pa*)

dku rgyal: “mna' 'brel” (DSM: 17b); “mna' 'brel” (BNY: 57 n. 1)

dku rgyal pa; “mna' dañ dam tshig bžag pa las rgyal ba sogs kyi don” (BDN: 43 n. 10); “mna' chiñs bžag nas rgyal skugs pa'am rgyan 'jog pa la'o” (BTK: 113 n. 7)

dku rgyal ba: “mna' dañ dam tshig bžag pa las rgyal ba sogs kyi don” (BDN: 43 n. 10)

**dku 'phel*: “mna' dañ dam tshig bžag pa'i gsañ brtol pa'i don” (BDN: 43 n.13, s.v. *dku 'bel*); “dku' ni mna' dañ dam tshig gi don dañ bel ni bkog pa'am 'don pa'i don te. gsañ ba brtol ba'am gsañ ba'i 'char jus ther 'don byas pa'i don” (STK: 151 n. 12, s.v. *dku 'bel*)

dku^{VIII}

“³Schlaueit” (WTS.3: 173a)

dku bo: “schlau” (WTS.3: 174a)

dku^{IX}

“Bez. eines hohen Privilegs, das mit einer erblichen Würde verbunden ist” (WTS.3: 173a)

dku rgyal gtsigs: “Ernennungsurkunde zum *dku rgyal*” (WTS.3: 173b)

dku^X

dku 'gel: “basse œuvre” (DTH: 134)

dku^{XI}*dku bo*: “mthu bo” (BDN: 6 n. 6)*dku*^{XII}**dku thabs su*: “¹zol gyis sam brdzu ba; ²lkog tu” (DSM: 29b, s.v. *rku thabs su*)**dku bya*: “to keep secret, hide” (D: 76a, s.v. *rku bya*)*dku ma chen po*: “хранящий свои мысли при себе, скрытный; one who keeps his thoughts to himself” (R.1: 99b)**dku bsams*: “ñan g.yo lkog gśom” (DSM: 30a, s.v. *rku bsams*)*dku*^{XIII}

“dgu ste thams cad tshañ ba’am rdzogs pa’i don no” (BTK: 80 n. 11)

Although it seems improbable that all the attested meanings of *dku*(¹) and its derivatives should be somehow related to each other, it is even more improbable that there existed so many etymons with the form *dku*: the onset *dk-* is not very common in Tibetan and points rather to a derivational character of the morpheme. We should now have a closer look at the semantic composition of single etymons in order to discover potential links between them. It seems, in fact, that only first three from the above listed lexemes are amply corroborated by the lexicographical sources. The remaining ones either came into being in consequence of some morphonological changes or, it can be proven that, they have evolved from the basic ones.

There should be no doubts about the existence of the lexeme *dku*^I with the main meanings “¹hip; ²side”. Interestingly though, *dku* in this meaning does not seem to be documented in OT sources.

The core meaning of *dku*^{II} could be proposed to have been “malodorous, unpleasantly smelling, stinky” from which *dku ba* has been derived to denote plants of disagreeable smell as attested in the example (26) above.

dku^{III} appears to have been a verbal stem the original meaning of which can be assumed to have been “to rise, ascend, go beyond”.³¹ The meaning “to rise” could in fact be suggested for the verbal usage of *dku* in (6) and (7).³² Later, “to exceed, overflow; to be in excess” and further “to remain” might have developed from the basic mean-

³¹ The verb could have been related to the PTB stem **ku* “take up, lift, prop up”; cf. hereto Coblin 1986: 103 and STEDT (<http://stedt.berkeley.edu/~stedt/cgi/rootcanal.pl/etymon/2351;01.02.2015>).

³² *re dku’ ni mtshul du dku’* “[Your] hopes rise. [They] rise to [your] nose.”, as attested in (6) could be juxtaposed with the Eng. expression [*success, fame, fortune*] *went to one’s head*.

ings.³³ Similar scope of meanings is covered by *lhag* that is glossed as a synonym of *dku*^{III}; for *lhag* as a verb in modern Tibetan dialects see CDTD.V: 1359. The deverbal adjective *dku ba*, when used attributively in the sense of *"going beyond; exceeding", could have caused confusion with *dgu* in its meaning "2many" (J: 84a) that resulted in a folk etymology of *dgu tshod* (lit. "measure of going beyond, of exceeding")³⁴ and *dgu mtshan* (lit. "a token for going beyond, for exceeding").³⁵ The latter process explains also the occurrence of the etymon *dku*^{XIII} glossed, among others, as *rdzogs pa* "perfect, complete, blameless" (J: 469b) - meanings that come closer to *dku ba* *"exceeding" rather than to *dgu* "many".

The next lexeme, *dku*^{IV}, is attested, as a matter of fact, only in one particular collocation, namely in connection with tears. It is proposed to treat *dku*^{IV} as a figurative usage of *dku*^{III} with the semantic development along the following lines: "to rise" > "to flow out (spouting)"³⁶ (about tears) > "(of fluids) to fall down (like tears)".

The sememes listed under V to XI have resulted from various interpretations of the respective OT lexemes. All proposed meanings are in fact contextual. As it seems, there is no extant lexicographical tradition that would support the reconstructed meanings providing them with a direct link to similar lexemes attested in other than OT sources. Nevertheless, it does not mean that they are all ungrounded or incorrect. As I will try to demonstrate in the last section of the present paper, the meaning of *dku* as documented in OT texts has been preserved in some, at times morphologically distorted formations that are indeed found also in later lexicographical tradition. Furthermore, I will argue that the OT *dku* can be related historically to some of the above sememes.

dku^{XII} provides interesting examples of folk etymology. Three out

³³ One could put forward an hypothesis that would include the WT *sku* "body" (J: 21b) into one word family with the discussed *dku* as derived from the sense "to remain". Compare the parallel semantic development in case of *lus* "to be remaining or left" (J: 550a) and *lus* "body" (J: 549b) as well as the meanings "1dead body, corpse, carcass; 2body; 3residue, remains, sediment" combined in one lexeme *ro* (cf. J: 535b). In this connection one could also quote Ger. *Leib* and Eng. *life*, both going back to the PIE **lip-* "to remain, persevere, continue, live" (Klein 1966: 887b-8a). A distinct connotation of the verb *dku* with its main meaning "to go beyond, to exceed" as compared with the ordinary *lus* might have contributed to the marked usage of *sku* in the honorific register.

³⁴ In Desgodins' dictionary, *dgu tshod* follows immediately after the lemma *dku ste* and could, in fact, be a mere scribal error.

³⁵ Compare hereto also *dgu ste* glossed with "lhag ste zes pa'i don te" (DSM: 103a) and the grammaticalisation of *dgu* as in *dgu* "3(neg.+vb.+_) to do to excess" (Gs: 219b).

³⁶ This meaning is glossed by Jäschke under '*dzag pa* (463b), a lexeme that occurs as a synonym of *dku*^{IV} in the above list.

of four formations listed therein are documented with *rku*- syllable instead of the correct **dku*- and yet their semantics reveals the relationship with some of the OT lexemes. First of all, *rku* is documented with the meaning "to steal, to rob" unanimously already in OT texts (cf., for instance, the legal texts PT 1071 & PT 1072). I assume that it was notably the negative connotation of both *rku* and *dku* that brought them closer to each other in speakers' daily usage and resulted in replacing the latter by the former. Moreover, *dku*^{xii} appears to denote some kind of fraudulent action done in collusiveness. This might have provided the major stimulus for replacing the original **dku*- (whose meaning had already sunk into oblivion and the lexeme had ceased to be used as an independent morpheme) with the attested *rku*- that denotes an action which is likewise usually done secretly, although the latter sense does not belong to the core definition of *rku*. One notices additionally the semantic similarity between *dku ma chen po* glossed with *dku*- and, for instance, *rku bya*.

On the origins of *dku*^{xiii} see the discussion of *dku*ⁱⁱⁱ above.

3. Semantic analysis of OT *dku*-.

As opposed to Róna-Tas who assumed the existence of two homophones in OT, *dku* and *dku'* (1955: 263 n. 39), I do not recognise these as distinct on the basis of their orthography alone. Establishing whether there existed more than one lexeme with the form *dku*(') in OT is the purpose of the present section. However, as the juxtaposition below clearly demonstrates, the difference between *dku* and *dku'* was purely orthographic and could occur even within one text:

<i>dku gañ</i> (PT 1287: 322)	~ <i>dku' gañ</i> (PT 1287: 95)
<i>dku rgyal</i> (Žol N 32)	~ <i>dku' rgyal</i> (PT 1287: 196)
<i>dku ba</i> (Žwa E 30)	~ <i>dku' ba</i> (Žwa E 29-30)
<i>dku</i> [...] <i>byed</i> (Žwa W 28-9)	~ <i>dku' byed</i> (ITJ 737: 197)
<i>dku 'pel</i> (ITJ 1375: r2)	~ <i>dku' bel</i> (PT 1287: 201, 315)

On these grounds, I shall refrain from distinguishing between the orthographical variants *dku* and *dku'* in the following analysis. Furthermore, the above juxtaposition indicates clearly that other criteria have to be offered in order to clarify the semantics and etymology of the morpheme *dku* as attested in OT sources.

In the Table 3 below, I have grouped together all OT occurrences of the syllable *dku*- according to its place in a clause (NP, predicate) and the connotations of the particular phrase in which it appears (positive, negative, uncertain/neutral); the numbers given in brackets refer to the examples from the first part of the present paper.

Table 3

	NP	Predicate
Positive	<i>dku 'gel</i> (11) <i>dku rgyal</i> (12), (13), (14), (15), (16) <i>dku rgyal pa</i> (17) <i>dku rgyal gtsigs</i> (18) <i>dku che</i> (20)	<i>dku 'phel</i> (22), (23), (24)
Negative	<i>dku</i> (1), (2), (4), (5) <i>dku khyim</i> (8) <i>dku gañ</i> (9), (10) <i>dku sgyu</i> (19) <i>dku ba^I</i> (25), (5) <i>dku ba^{II}</i> (26) <i>dku zañs / chañ / lug</i> (29) <i>khoñ dku</i> (30), (31) <i>nañ dku</i> (32)	<i>dku dar</i> (21)
Uncertain / Neutral	<i>dku</i> (3) <i>dku bo</i> (28)	<i>dku</i> (6), (7) <i>dku babs</i> (27)

Starting with the most numerous group (i.e. negative-NP), I shall subsequently juxtapose its members with other lexemes and phrases with which they co-occur in OT sources and that have additionally been scrutinised in the notes of the first section. This approach shall provide us with a better understanding of the semantic field of the syllable *dku*-.

Thus, we learn that a (great) *dku* could be done (1)³⁷ or planned (2) but had always negative consequences for the agent. Planning a *dku* (2) could involve overthrowing a *btsan po* (22) and was equivalent to being disloyal (2 & 22). Furthermore, according to (4), doing a *dku* was understood as closely related to *mtho / 'tho 'tsham* (CT *tho 'tsham* “to scorn, scoff, jeer, sneer at, vex, insult, mock”, J: 236b) and *slu*, CT “to entice, allure, ensnare, beguile, seduce” (J: 586b). The context of (4) allows us to assume that doing a *dku* was intended as a kind of offence towards the person targeted. In (5) *dku* is coordinated with *gnod pa*, CT “damage, harm, injury” (J: 311b); unsubstantiated doing

³⁷ I was able to trace one more instance of *dku byed* in a canonical source, cf.: *blos 'dus byas thams cad gsoḅ gsog rdzun pa* (4) *bslu ba'i chos can dku byed pa / byis pa 'drid par yañ dag par ji lta ba bzin du rab tu śes te / de sñon pas kyañ sems can thams cad la sñiñ rje mñion du 'gyur ro / / (Sañs rgyas phal po che źes bya ba śin tu rgyas pa chen po'i mdo, H 94, phal chen, ga 134v3-4; trslr. after ACIP) “The mind, that does *dku* everything that is compounded, phenomena that are empty, false, [and] deceptive, knowing how to search into in order to cheat the child, actualises the compassion towards all sentient beings even more than before.” In Cleary's translation: “By means of the awareness [...], they know in truth that all that is conditional is void, unreal, delusive, deceptive, fooling the ignorant. They become all the more compassionate toward beings [...].” (1993: 737).*

of any of these was liable to criminal charges.³⁸ *dku* and *gnod pa* could be undertaken either against one’s life or property (5). From (8) and, more generally, from PT 1039, we gather that there existed a close semantic relationship between *dku-*, *rma-*, *byad-*, and *dug-*. *byad-* and *dug-* occur together with *dku-* also in other contexts, for which see below. Building a *dku gan*, if uncovered, brought death to the respective person (9 & 10). Furthermore, (9) describes someone who built a *dku gan* as being disloyal (*glo ba riñs pa*) - a connection we have already seen alluded to in (2) and (22). In (19), *dku sgyu* is coordinated with *sdig*, CT “sin, moral evil as a power; offence, trespass” (J: 293a). (25) establishes a link between *dku ba*¹, lit. “a one doing a *dku*”, and *dug pa* “poisoner”. *dku ba*¹ and *dug pa* denoted persons that were responsible for the death of Gnam-ri-slon-mtshan and for this very reason had to be killed together with their families. The same close relationship between *dku* and *dug* was already noticed in (1) where poisoning might be deemed to have resulted from making a *dku* (*byas nas*). In (5) *dku ba*¹ occurs together with *phe’u pa*; the meaning of the latter term, however, remains unknown. The same passage connects *dku ba*¹ with *dku* as it is attested in (1, 2 & 5). The juxtaposition of various compounds from PT 1039, some of which appear in (29), provides additional lexemes from the semantic field of *dku*, namely *byad-*, **hur-*, and *sdañ-*. The connection between *dku-* and *byad-* has already been established in (8). As demonstrated previously, *khoñ dku* (30 & 31) is a synonym of *nañ dku* (32). Both seem to have had strong negative connotations that can be assumed to have been transferred from *-dku* to the compounds since *khoñ-* and *nañ-* have neutral meanings.

To conclude this part of the exposition, *dku-* seems to have belonged to one semantic field with the following lexemes (listed alphabetically): *sgyu*, *dug*, *sdañ-*, *sdig*, *gnod pa*, *byad*, *rma-*, **hur-*. Additionally, *dku byed* can be deemed nearly synonymic or closely related to *sdig byed*, *mtho/’tho ’tsham*, and *slu*.

As can be easily observed, none of the basic etymons (I, II, III) listed in the second section seems to match the just sketched semantic field of the OT *dku*. However, lexemes and phrases recorded under *dku*^{XII} demonstrate a striking similarity to the semantics of our *dku*. There we find *dku/rku* explained by terms such as: *zol* “= *bslu ba khram pa*, cunning, false” (D: 1098b); *rdzu* “to give a deceptive representation” (J: 468b); *lkog* “secrecy” (J: 18b); *ñan g.yo* “= *khram pa* or *phram*, hypocrisy” (D: 350a), “Betrug, böse List, Trügerisches” (WTS.15: 13a).³⁹ From these, *slu* has already occurred in connection

³⁸ From (19) it occurs that *dku sgyu* was justified when done in reprisal.

³⁹ It is also worth mentioning in this context that, according to later Bon sources, *Gña’-khri-btsan-po* was confronted with the following evils and obstacles: *rku* (sic!), *sdañ*, *dgra*, *g.yag*, *dug*, *byad stems*, *sri*, and *gdon* (Haarh 1969: 320-1). Three of

with the OT *dku* whereas *g.yo* may be juxtaposed with the OT compound *dku sgyu*. In addition, I have found in canonical texts another compound, which, as far as I could ascertain, has not been glossed in any lexicographical work. To wit, the following passage contains the word *dku gsañ* that implies the notion of “secrecy” as encountered in the lexemes listed under *dku*^{XII}:

(33)

de'i tshe rgyal po sdig pa can des blon po lña brgya žig bkug nas dku (6)
gsañ gcig tu byas te / gsañ la btags nas / blon po de dag la 'di skad ces
bsgo'o / / (Thabs mkhas pa chen po sañs rgyas drin lan bsab pa'i mdo, H
361, mdo sde, a 296r5-6; trslr. after ACIP)

“At that time, king Sdig-pa-can gathered five hundred ministers. Thereafter, having done *dku gsañ* into one, initiated [them] into the secret (lit. bound to the secret)⁴⁰ [and] said to them.”

Two important conclusions may thus be drawn. First of all, the identity of *dku* and *rku* as proposed for the lexemes glossed under *dku*^{XII} is herewith confirmed.⁴¹ Secondly, it appears that the core meaning of *dku* that recurs in Old as well as Classical Tibetan sources was centred around the notion of *trickery, deceit*.

Now, as concerns potential cognates of OT *dku*, in WT we observe some regularity within word families one member of which has the onset *dk-* and the other *'kh-*, cf.:

<i>dkyu</i> “to run a race” (J: 11b)	~ <i>'khyu</i> “to run” (J: 60a)
<i>dkri</i> “to wind, to wind up” (J: 11b)	~ <i>'khri</i> “to wind, roll” (J: 61b)
<i>dkrug</i> “to stir, stir up, agitate” (J: 12a)	~ <i>'khrug</i> “to be disturbed” (J: 62a)
<i>dkrog</i> “ ¹ to stir, churn; ² to rouse, scare up; ³ to wag” (J: 12a)	~ <i>'khrög</i> “to roar, rush, buzz, hum” (J: 63b)
<i>dkrol</i> “ein Instrument spielen, mu-	~ <i>'khrol</i> “ ² to sound, resound” (J: 63b) ⁴²

the terms occur in the above list of words belonging to one semantic field with the OT *dku*, namely *sdañ*, *dug*, and *byad stems* (~ *byad*).

⁴⁰ I understand *gsañ la btags*, lit. “bound to a secret”, by analogy with *dam la 'dogs*, lit. “to bind to an oath”. It is worth noticing that it is the same text in which the compound *rku lto* ~ *dku lto* is found; see above the notes on *dku sgyu*.

⁴¹ As I tried to demonstrate in Bialek, forthcoming a (see s.v. *dku rgyal*), in the process of folk etymologisation *dku* has also happened to be replaced in OT by the syllable *sku*.

⁴² As regards *dkrol* ~ *'khrol*, Jäschke gives both meanings under *'khrol* (63b) and mentions *dkrol* as v2 and v3 of *'khrol* - a highly improbable and, in fact, unattested conjugation pattern. I assume that the conjugation came into being as a result of combining two distinct verbs, i.e. TR *dkrol* and INTR *'khrol*. The meaning “to release, set free” for the cognate *'grol* and *sgrol* might have been the original from which **to release a sound*” > *to make a sound*” developed as a consequence of semantic specialisation. At the same time a re-organisation of the verbs within the word family took place for *'khrol* is attested dialectally as a TR verb with the

siciren; bewegen” (Sch: 10b)

With the exception of the first example for which not enough evidence is available⁴³ in remaining cases the *dk-* verbs seem to be transitive (and controllable) equivalents of the respective intransitive (and non-controllable) *kh-* verbs.⁴⁴ Thus, following some previous authors⁴⁵ I propose to relate *dku* to the verb *'khu* glossed, among others, as: “log pa” (BDSN, after Mimaki 1992: 482), “že sdañ ba'am log pa” (Lcañ skya 2006: 266), “to offend, insult (= S[ans]kr[it] *droha* injury)” (J: 55b), “to vie with, contend; also wrathfully rebelling” (D: 187a), “¹vi. to hate; ²va. to oppose, to turn against; ³arc. stingy; ⁴arc. va. to cause to turn back; ⁵like, as good as” (Gs: 158b), “^{1,1}druhyati; ²dhroksyati; ¹¹droha - *groggs po la 'khu ba* (cf. *nañ/khoñ dku* above); ¹¹¹drohī - *groggs la 'khu ba*; drugdha; abhidrugdha; druh” (Negi.1: 428a)⁴⁶, Tabo nca “to take interest in, to get absorbed in” (CDTD.V: 109). In addition, its v2 stem, *'khus*, is attested with the meanings “ño ldog pa'am ño rgol byas pa'i don la 'jug ste” (DSM: 70a) and “va. to hide” (Gs: 159b).

The diversity of meanings glossed for *'khu(s)* proves that, on the one hand, there existed considerable uncertainty with regard to the semantics of the stem and, on the other hand, the stem has most probably a long history of semantic development. It is attested in the following OT passages:

following meanings: Balti, Nubra “to untie, to unknot, to loosen”, Dzongkha “to untie”, Nangchen “to untie, to undo (knot, belt, chains)”, Bathang “to untie, to undo”, Bayan “to break to pieces (grain)” (CDTD.V: 156).

⁴³ *dkyu* is attested in Nurla as a cA verb, cf. CDTD.V: 7. There is no evidence, however, for its counterpart, *'khyu*. It is possible that the latter form has been replaced by *'khyug* “to run” which occurs in modern dialects as an nca verb, cf. CDTD.V: 132.

⁴⁴ The existence of the verb pair *dkrum* Nurla cEA “to cut off (leaves of a tree)”, Leh cEA “to cut (hair), to trim (trees, bushes)”, Tabo cEA “to trim, to lop”, Dzongkha “to break” (CDTD.V: 10) and *'grum* “to pinch or nip off, to cut off, to prune, lop, clip” (J: 100a) as well as the reduplicated formations *khram khrum* “fragments; baked fragments” (D: 169b), “grob zerstückelt” (WTS.8: 103a), *khrum khrum* in *khrum khrum byed/brduñ* “to pound in a mortar” (D: 173a) and the noun *'khrums* “Ass, von Raubthieren zerrissenes Wild” (Sch: 65b) would point to another triple: *dkrum* ~ **khrum* ~ *'grum*. In Bialek (forthcoming a) I have reconstructed another series: TR *dkyel* ~ TR (but nc?) *'khyel* ~ INTR *'gyel* ~ TR *sgyel* (see s.v. *dkyel mkhas*). Furthermore, in the notes on (37) below, the pair INTR **khrun* and TR *sgrun* is mentioned. I am not aware of any deverbal derivation of nouns by means of the prefix *d-* as assumed by Denwood (1991: 136) and Dotson (forthcoming, p. 351 n. 19).

⁴⁵ Cf. Denwood 1991: 131; Dotson, forthcoming, p. 351 n. 19.

⁴⁶ Skt. *droha* is glossed with “injury, mischief, harm, perfidy, treachery, wrong, offence” (MW: 502c) and the verbal root *√druh* with “to hurt, seek to harm, be hostile to; to bear malice or hatred; to be a foe or rival” (MW: 502b).

(34)

'uñ nas 'dzi zuñ ma rañs ste // ziñ po rje khri pañ sum la ltas nas // nag po 'khu^{ste} / (134) skya bo bsad / dre 'u rgal (read: sgal) te bse' sga bchag go // (PT 1287)

"Thereafter, [Mñan]-'dzi-zuñ-[nag-po], discontented, looked towards Ziñ-po-rje-khri-pañ-sum. Then, Nag-po, having 'khus, killed [Ziñ-po-rje-stag]-skya-bo. The little mule, being overloaded, broke the varnished saddle."

(35)

'uñ nas / myañ dba's gñis ziñ po rje las 'khus te // btsan po spu rgyal (154) la glo ba ñe bar byas nas / mna' mtho' yañ cher bchad do // (PT 1287)

"Thereafter, both, Myañ and Dba's, having 'khus from (las) Ziñ-po-rje-[khri-pañ-sum], acted loyally for btsan po Spu-rgyal. Hence, [they] set greatly (?) also the time for a vow."

(36)

(299) // btsan po sroñ brtsan sgam po 'i riñ la // yab 'bañs ni 'khus / yum 'bañs ni log // (PT 1287)

"During the lifetime of btsan po Sroñ-brtsan-sgam-po, subjects of [his] father did 'khus, subjects of [his] mother turned away."

(12.3)

'uñ nas žañ snañ gi bran / pa tshab gyim po 'khu^{ste} / (314) žañ snañ brlag go // (PT 1287)

"Afterwards, Pa-tshab-gyim-po, the subject of Žañ-snañ, ing 'khus, overthrown Žañ-snañ."⁴⁷

By combining information from the above passages we acquire the following argument structure of 'khu:

HUM.1_{ABS} HUM.2_{DEL} 'khu "HUM.1 does 'khu from HUM.2"

From (36) we can infer that 'khu was semantically closely related to log, CT "1to return, to go back; 2to come back, to come again; 3to turn round, to be turned upside down, to tumble down" (J: 553a).

To sum up the preceding discussion, I propose to reconstruct the etymological meaning of the INTR 'khu as "to bend, to curve; to be crooked" and dku as its transitive counterpart "to bend; to make

⁴⁷ One more occurrence of 'khus is attested in PT 1288: 9. The passage, however, is incomplete and cannot be exploited for the needs of the present discussion.

crooked”.⁴⁸ As suggested above, their subsequent development is assumed to have been rather complicated and multidirectional.

To start with, the reconstructed meaning of *'khu* is still traceable in its OT attestations: *’to bend’ > ’to turn (away from)’ wherefrom the meaning *’to turn against’ and subsequently ’to oppose; to rebel’ might have developed. The dialectally attested ’to take interest in, to get absorbed in’ goes back to the original *’to bend’ in the figurative sense of ’to bend (one’s mind) to sth.; to incline (towards sth.)’.⁴⁹

dku as a verb, a transitive equivalent of *'khu*, does not seem to be attested in this form in any of the sources available to me. Furthermore, all meanings discussed so far in this section of the paper point to it as a nominal stem. Later lexicographical sources, however, evidence the existence of another verb of similar morphology and a meaning that corresponds exactly to the reconstructed meaning of *dku*, i.e. *dgu* ’to bend, to make crooked’ (J: 84b), ’dbyibs gug pa’ (GC: 145b, s.v. *dgu pa*), ’biegen’ (WTS.11: 312b)⁵⁰. According to CDTD.V: 196, it is most commonly used as a cEA verb in collocation with the noun *mgo* ’head’ to express ’to bow, to bend one’s head’.⁵¹ Apart from that, it is attested with the following meanings: Trangtse ’to bend down, to bow’, Man-Merak c ’to bow’, Nangchen nCA ’to

⁴⁸ Further cognates with the aspirated initial are assumed to include *khud* ’coat-lap, or any cloth serving in an emergency as a vessel’ (J: 41b; < *’a fold (in a cloth)’), cf. the etymology of Eng. *lap*: ’[t]he word originally denoted a fold or flap of a garment (compare with *lapel*), later specifically one that could be used as a pocket or pouch, or the front of a skirt when held up to carry something’, <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/lap?searchDictCode=all;10.02.2015>) as well as its derivatives *khud pa* ’eine Tasche, ein Beutel’ (Sch: 45a) and *khud ma* ’die Seite, Ecke’ (Sch: 45a). Compare also Gurung *kuu* ’bent over’ (Glover 1977: 130a); *ku-* in Kanauri *kuṭā* (?) ’bent, crooked’ (Bailey 1911: 336b); Lepcha *gü* ’vb. to have end suspended downwards, to project downwards as roof, to hang down as bamboo, to impend’ (MG: 54a; < *’to be crooked (downwards)’); maybe also in *kür-gü* ’the breast, the chest’, MG: 21b); Tangut *khu* ’crooked, hollow’ (<http://stedt.berkeley.edu/~stedt/cgi/rootcanal.pl/gnis? t=crooked;12.02.2015>).

⁴⁹ Goldstein cites another verb of similar semantics that has obviously undergone an analogous development, cf. *'gugs* ’va. to interest, to attract, to turn on (usu[ally] follows a word for ’mind’ such as *sems*) *mi mañ po'i sems 'gugs thub pa'i zlos gar* Plays that are able to interest many people’ (238a). Compare hereto also the etymology of Eng. *to incline*: ’fr[om] L[atin] *inclīnāre*, ’to cause to lean, to bend, bow, incline’ (Klein 1966: 782b).

⁵⁰ Worth noticing is that the only example provided in WTS (from *Baidūrya snon po* of Sde srid sañs rgyas rgya mtsho, 2: 336,5) attests, contrary to its given meaning, to a nominal usage of the lexeme *dgu ba*, cf. *dgu ba mdun yin* ’eine Senke ist vorne’ (ibid.).

⁵¹ This phrase is documented exclusively for WAT dialects and the verb *dgu*, in general, is glossed only for WAT, WIT, and Kham (Northern and Eastern) dialects.

bend", Bathang TBL "to lower (the head); with *k^hātsø?* (< *kha rtsod?* - JB) to make a row, to make a racket; with *dzurø?* (< ? - JB) to fight", Dartsedo cA "to bow" (ibid.). Additionally, one finds *dgu po* glossed as "gebogen, vorwärts geneigt, gebückt" (Sch: 84a) and in Ladakhi "crooked, stooped" (LEU: 47).

It is assumed that the form *dgu* has replaced the original **dku* under the influence of the following factors:

- Lexicalisation of the examined *dku* as a noun;
- Co-existence of other homophones of *dku* (see below);
- Blending of two distinct although historically related verbs **dku* and *'*gu* (on *'*gu* see below);
- Semantic similarity to '*gugs* (V2 *bkug*, V3 *dgug*, V4 *khug*) "¹to bend, to make crooked; ²to gather; ³to call, to summon, to send for; ⁴to draw back; to cause to return, to convey back" (J: 93b-94a).⁵²

The replacement of the syllable *dku* by *dgu* in consequence of folk etymologisation has already been mentioned above and will be addressed once more further below. However, in case of the reconstructed word family *dku* ~ '*khu* there exist certain lexemes that could point to yet another member of the family with the voiced stem consonant *g*-; compare namely: *gus* Tabo nCAD "to be devoted" (CTD.V: 164); *gus pa* "respect, reverence, devotion; respectful, devout" (J: 70a); '*gus* Ndzorge *ngu* "slope of the roof" (CTD: 1663); *rgus* Balti "slope" (CTD: 1752); *gud* "¹slope, declivity; ³loss, damage" (J: 69b); *rgud* "to decline, to sink, to get weak, frail" (J: 104); *mgu* in: *mgu ya* "ring" (CTD: 1558; < **mgu ya yo?*), *gser mgu* "gold ring" (CTD: 9082), *mgu lcags/zans* "meuble ou ustensile de ménage (?)"

⁵² In fact, it is more probable that the meanings glossed by Jäschke for '*gugs* have resulted from a blend of two verbs *dku* ~ *dgu*, perhaps also *'*gu*, and '*gugs*. I assume that his first and fourth meanings belonged originally to the stem *dku* ~ *dgu*. The identification of the stems might have additionally been facilitated by the existence of another group of lexemes that, on the one hand, morphologically resemble *dku* ~ *dgu* and '*khu* group but, on the other hand, share more semantic traits with '*gugs*, cf.: *khu gu* "an address" (Cs: 8b; < *"*a call, summons*"); *khu byug* "cuckoo" (J: 40b); *ku* "clamour" (J: 3b). Hereto belong probably also *kwa ye* and its clipped form *kye* as well as OT *khu* in phrases *khu(s)* '*debs* and *khu grags*. It is highly probable that this word family is of onomatopoeic origin and developed from imitating sounds made, e.g., by cuckoos. An analogical replacement of the OT *dkyel* with a voiceless stem consonant by the CT *dkyel* with a voiced stem consonant has been hypothesised in Bialek, forthcoming a, s.v. *dkyel mkhas*. The change is supposed to have taken place under the influence of two further cognates with voiced stem consonants, i.e. '*gyel* and *sgyel*.

(Desg: 194b).⁵³ The barely attested *sgu*, “bent” (D: 321b), and *sgu can* “kyog kyog sge sgu can” (GC: 183b), although most probably of later date, could also be included here. All these might have contributed to the hypothesised change **dku* > *dgu*.

Hence, it seems probable that there existed originally two stems **khu* and **gu* with meanings closely resembling Eng. *to bend*. The reconstructed verb **dku* was derived from **khu* by means of the prefix *d-*.⁵⁴ Only the latter hypothesis can explain the existence of the OT noun *dku*. *dgu* as a V3 < TR **'gu* (V4 **gus*) seems to be attested in *brag dbye chu dgu yan* (PT 1134: 289) “cleft rocks, curved rivers”⁵⁵ where it parallels *dbye*, V3 < *'byed*. The question whether there did ever exist a TR verb **'gu* (V3 *dgu*, V4 **gus*) must remain unanswered for the moment being.⁵⁶

The above exposition, that has thrown more light on the semantics of the whole word family, was necessary for a better understanding of the reconstructed semantic development of *dku*. To wit, an hypothesis is put forward according to which the OT noun *dku* was derived from the V1 stem of the TR verb **dku* “to bend”⁵⁷ by means of conversion to denote the act of bending, crooking. It subsequently acquired a figurative meaning **“trickery”* > “harmful deed; harm, injustice”⁵⁸;

⁵³ By analogy with the above mentioned collocation *sems 'gugs*, one could also venture the hypothesis that the CT *mgu* “to rejoice, to be glad, joyful, content” (J: 90a) came into being by a similar semantic change **MIND 'gu **“as for mind to bend” > *mgu* “to be satisfied” (CDTD.V: 211); cf. *yid mgu* “dankbar” (WTS.12: 349a) and Tabo nCA “with *sēm* to be satisfied” (CDTD.V: 211). Another semantic development of analogous course could have taken place in case of *dgye* “to bend, to be curving or crooked” (J: 88a) and *dgyes* “to rejoice, to be glad; to please, to be pleased, to choose” (J: 88a).

⁵⁴ Since the most commonly applied transitive marker is and was the prefix *s-* (see, e.g., Bielmeier 1988b: 18f.) one could hypothesise that *d-* derived controllable verbs from non-controllable ones. This would account for the semantic difference between *dkyu* and *'khyu* as well as between *dkyel* and *'khyel* tackled above.

⁵⁵ The passage is discussed in more detail in Bialek, forthcoming b.

⁵⁶ The postulated pair INTR **khu* vs. TR **gu* disagrees with Bielmeier’s pattern of morphological alternation (1988b: 19f.) according to which TR verbs possess aspirated voiceless whereas INTR, voiced initials.

⁵⁷ As a cursory view of the verbs with the onset *dk-* shows, their conjugation allows only for the suffix *-s* in V2 and V4. No other stem changes are attested.

⁵⁸ One can mention here once more the example *grogs la 'khu ba* given by Negi for *droha* and *drohi* (1: 428a, s.v. *'khu ba*) and juxtapose it with the OT *grogs la khoi dku myi byed* in (30). The meaning **“harm, injustice”* can also be reconstructed for *dgu-* in CT *dgu mig* < **dku mig*. According to Lin (2005: 106 n. 411), *dgu mig* and *dur mig* are technical terms in one of Tibetan divination systems. Both express negative results of a divination (ibid., pp. 60 and 107 n. 414). The negative connotation of *dgu-* can additionally be inferred from the morphological parallelism between *dgu mig* and *dur mig*. To wit, the morpheme *dur-* invariably represents in religious literature the lexeme *dur* “tomb, grave” (J: 253b), or one of its derivatives, and is thus connected to the notions of death and dying.

compare hereto the English idiomatic expression *to bend the rules* and the Middle English *crook* “deceit, guile, trickery” - a sense that has disappeared by the 17th century (<http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/crook?searchDictCode=all;09.02.2015>).⁵⁹

To summarise the results of our analysis, the following renderings of the ‘negative-NPs’ from the Table 3 are proposed:

<i>dku</i>	“ ¹ trickery; ² harm; injustice” ⁶⁰
<i>dku khyim</i>	“house of harm”; ~ <i>rma-</i> ~ <i>byad-</i>
<i>dku gañ</i>	“trickery-room” > “ambush”
<i>dku sgyu</i>	“trickery”
<i>dku ba</i>	“trickster”
<i>dku zañs</i>	“a kettle of harm”; ~ <i>byad-</i> ~ * <i>hur-</i> ~ <i>sdañ-</i>
<i>khoñ dku</i>	lit. “a harm of the interior” > “injustice”
<i>nañ dku</i>	“id.” ⁶¹

The reconstructed primary meaning **“a bending”* allows us to subsume another lexeme under the same etymon. To wit, I propose to

⁵⁹ The figurative extension of the meaning “bent, crooked” towards “false; deceitful” is attested in many languages, cf. Eng. *crooked*, Ger. *krumm* in *krumme Geschäfte*, Pol. *krzywda* < *krzywy* (Boryś 2005: 268a). The latter term possessed in Old Polish also the meanings “false; untrue; deceitful” (ibid.) that are not known anymore in modern language. It is likewise worth considering whether the root *rku* “to steal, to rob” (J: 16a) could not be included in this word family as well. Although the issue needs a far more detailed study and the inclusion of the TB material, that I would not be able to provide here, alternation between the prefixes *d-* and *r-* is attested, e.g., in *dkan* ~ *rkan* (CDTD: 96) or *gdañ* ~ *rdañ* (J: 265a). The primary meaning could be proposed to have been **“to let sth. disappear in a fold”*; compare hereto Ger. *entwenden*. However, it is likewise possible that, at some point, *dku* **“to bend”* and *rku* “to steal” happened to be confused on account of their phonetic convergence (cf. WAT and ÉAT pronunciation of *d-* and *r-* in CDTD) and/or obsolescence of *dku* in its original meaning. The problem of an hypothetical relationship between the examined word family and CT *dkyus* “²untruth, falsehood, lie” (J: 11b) and *khyu* “¹bent; not straight” (D: 195b) must remain unaddressed here. The latter two terms could be further related to a group of lexemes with palatalised stem consonants, cf.: *gcu* cEA “to twist, to screw” (CDTD.V: 343); *gcu/lcu ba* “screw” (J: 144b; < **“screwing one”*); *gcud* “crookedness, crooked” (CDTD: 2321); *gcud/lcud* “to turn, turn round, twist, twine, plait, braid” (J: 144b); *mchu* “¹lip; ²beak or bill of birds” (J: 165b; < **“crooked one”*); the meaning “lip” seems to be secondary, compare a similar semantic development in Ger. *Schnabel* and Pol. *dziub*); *’chu* “¹to be twisted, distorted, pf. *’chus*; ²curvature, crookedness, distortion; ³crooked, wry” (J: 170a); *’chus* “vi. to get twisted, to get sprained” (Gs: 385b).

⁶⁰ It cannot be excluded that *dku* **“trickery”*, when used in connection with *glo ba riñs pa* to describe actions undertaken against a *btsan po*, acquired a special meaning of “treachery”. However, a conclusive proof is missing and the passages examined in the first section do not allow for a more concrete definition of its semantics.

⁶¹ For *khoñ dku* and *nañ dku* compare, for instance, *khoñ khro* “wrath, anger” (J: 44b) and *nañ dbugs* “the inner breath (according to Tibetan medicine)” (Gs: 607a).

include in the discussed word family also lexemes listed under *dku*^I in the second section. The semantic development is assumed to have proceeded along the following lines: *‘a bending’ > ‘hip’⁶² > ‘side of one’s body’. The meaning ‘belly’ might have occurred as a result of generalisation from ‘a round (i.e. bent) part of one’s body’. It is tempting to quote in this connection another occurrence of *dgu* in OT:

(37)

lha ri gyañ dor gśeḡs na / [ri rab lhun po yañ (33) dgu’ dud dud / śiñ sdoñ po yañ bañ thañ thañ / chab lu ma yañ dño sil sil / gor pha boñ la stsogs pa yañ (34) mñed khruñ khruñ gis]_A pyag ’tshal lo / / (PT 1286)
 “When [he] came to Lha-ri-gyañ-do, Mount Meru bending [its] **slope**, tree-trunks stretching out [their] feet, river-springs tinkling [on their] banks, stones, rocks and the like dissolving [into] softness⁶³, paid homage [to him].”

As can be inferred from the translation, I assume that *dgu*’ stands here for the original **dku* in its figurative meaning ‘slope; shoulder (of a mountain)’ derived from ‘side’. This would make the only so far identified occurrence of this meaning of **dku* in OT sources.

The last lexeme listed in the Table 3 among the NPs with negative connotations is *dku ba*^{II}. I have already proposed to relate it to *dku*^{II} of the second section. It is obvious that this lexeme must be kept distinct from the reconstructed verb **dku* ‘to bend’. I will return to *dku ba*^{II} and its etymology once more further below.

The negative-Predicate division of the Table 3 contains only one member, i.e. *dku dar*. As I have already argued in the first section of the paper, there are reasons for analysing this compound together with two other OT formations, *dku rgyal* and **dku ’phel*. The closer examination of the OT occurrences of the verb *dar* has proven that it possessed highly negative connotations when used with a HUM complement. These connotations have been transferred to the compound *dku dar* found in a similar context.

Now, I shall discuss the three compounds which have already been brought together. In the first section of the paper, I attempted to prove that *dar*, *rgya*, and *’phel* are, first, near-synonymic nCA verbs,

⁶² Compare the origin of Eng. *hip* and Ger. *Hüfte* ‘fr[om] IE base **qeu-b-*, ‘to bend’ (Klein 1966: 731b) and “[z]u Wörtern für ‘sich biegen, beugen’ auf einer Grundlage (i[ndo]g[ermanisch]) **keu-* mit verschiedenen Auslauten” (Kluge: 429a, s.v. *Hüfte*).

⁶³ For this tentative rendering of the phrase *mñed khruñ khruñ* compare *mñed* Balti ‘soft, softness’ (CDTD: 3076) and *sgruñ* Kargil cEA ‘to mix in, to dissolve’, Tshangra cEA ‘to dissolve, to melt’, Sapi, Khalatse, Nurla cEA ‘to dissolve’, Leh cEA ‘to mix in’, Themchen cEA ‘to dissolve’ (CDTD.V: 305). I assume that *khruñ* is a V2 stem of an otherwise unattested INTR equivalent of *sgruñ*.

and, secondly, all form compounds with *dku-* as their first constituent. The resulting formations are attested in our sources as *dku dar*, *dku rgyal*, and *dku bel/ 'pel* respectively. The common semantic denominator of the simple verbs could be proposed as “to spread, to expand, to increase” (see Table 2). It can now be juxtaposed with the reconstructed meaning of *dku*^{III} * “to rise, ascend, go beyond” (see the second section above). Although not strictly synonymic with *dar*, *rgya*, and *'phel*, *dku* shared with them the notion of “exceeding given proportions/frames” as well as its grammatical features (see the examples (6 & 7)). It follows that *dku dar*, *dku rgyal*, and *dku 'pel* can be interpreted as verbal compounds formed from constituents that are closely related to each other with respect to their semantics. We know that verbs of similar meanings could be combined in WT by means of the converbial particle /*ciñ*/.⁶⁴ Thus, the underlying structures of the compounds can be reconstructed as: **dku žiñ dar*, **dku žiñ rgyas*, and **dku žiñ 'phel* respectively.

As concerns the semantics of the compounds, we observe some differences in their meanings and usage. First of all, *dku dar* and **dku 'phel* are clearly verbs whereas *dku rgyal* is a noun. As demonstrated above, *dar* took human beings as its subjects in OT whereas the subjects of *'phel* seem to have been more differentiated. In the latter case, a clear semantic analogy between the examined subject *glo ba riñs pa* and *gsañ* could be drawn.⁶⁵ Both denote things that are supposed to remain secret but nevertheless have been revealed. Here, the most adequate rendering of the verb **dku 'phel* would be “to come to light, to be disclosed/revealed”, a narrowing of the original “to spread, diffuse”. To sum up, I propose the following understanding of the semantics and the argument structures of the compounds *dku dar* and **dku 'phel*:

HUM.1_{ABS} HUM.2_{ALLAT} *dku dar*; lit. “HUM.1 spreads while it exceeds over HUM.2” > “HUM.1 prevails over HUM.2”

X_{ABS} HUM_{ERG} **dku 'phel*; lit. “X spreads while it exceeds through HUM”⁶⁶ > “X is revealed by HUM”

Now, with regard to *dku rgyal*, as I have demonstrated in Bialek, forthcoming a, s.v. *dku rgyal*, its second syllable should be reconstructed as *-*rgyas*. The change from *-*rgyas* to *-rgyal* is assumed to

⁶⁴ Cf. Hahn 1996: 154, § 15.6c.

⁶⁵ For details see Bialek, forthcoming a, s.v. *dku 'pel*.

⁶⁶ Compare hereto also the analogous expression *lhag par 'phel ba* glossed with “increases exceedingly” (IW). *lhag* has already been identified in the present paper as a near synonym of *dku*.

have been one of folk etymologisation.⁶⁷ Thus, the compound could be rendered literally as “spread while exceeding”, i.e. “famous, exceeding (ones)”, which is assumed to have undergone lexicalisation to “nobility”, since we already know that it denoted a social group formed firstly by descendants of persons who had made a significant contribution to the rise of the Tibetan Empire.⁶⁸ A member of this very group was called **dku rgyas pa*, i.e. “a nobleman”, whereas **dku rgyas gtsigs* denoted a letter that confirmed the affiliation to the nobility.

An additional hypothesis could be put forward concerning *dku*^{II} as discussed in the second section. To wit, I connect it tentatively to the same verb *dku* “to rise, ascend, go beyond” > *dku ba* (VA) “rising (as of (bad) smell)” > “odorous” > “(unpleasantly) smelling”.⁶⁹

Another lexeme from the division positive-NP, i.e. *dku che*, could be related to the already mentioned *dku* “¹trickery; ²harm; ³injustice”. First of all, I propose to reconstruct its underlying structure as **dku bo che* - a phrase attested, as a matter of fact, in (28). *dku bo* is assumed to have been a further derivative of the noun *dku*: “trickery” > *dku bo* “deceitfulness” (abstract formation?) > “cunning”.⁷⁰ Thus, *dku che* could be rendered as an adjective “cunning; shrewd”, lit. “of great cunning”, as in (28): “mighty rulers and wise ministers, who were shrewd”, or in (20): “whose perception was keen and shrewd”. This line of argumentation would also shift *dku bo* from uncertain-NP division in the Table 3 to the division positive-NP. At the same time, we observe a development towards a more positive connotation within the word-family of *dku* “to bend, to make crooked”.

With regard to *dku 'gel*, the last member of the positive-NP divi-

⁶⁷ For further examples of folk etymologisation in OT see Bialek, forthcoming a, chapter Compounding in Old Tibetan.

⁶⁸ Compare hereto also the etymology of Eng. *noble* “fr[om] L[atin] *nóbilis*, ‘well-known, famous, celebrated, renowned; of noble birth; excellent, superior’” (Klein 1966: 1051a).

⁶⁹ A comparable semantic development can be seen in case of *khyab ldan* glossed with “mi gtsaŋ dri chen” (GC: 85b). Similar to the discussed *dku*, *khyab*, lit. “to spread”, denotes another action of exceeding, although rather horizontally as opposed to a vertical movement of *dku*. One could speculate whether the PTB SMOKE could not be another member of the same word family. STEDT reconstructs its protoform as **kəw-n/t* although most language subgroups attest to the vowel *-u*; see <http://stedt.berkeley.edu/~stedt/cgi/rootcanal.pl/etymon/2361;19.02.2015>. According to the latter source, many TB languages also form compounds in which the first member is a word for FIRE, most commonly a cognate of WT *me* “fire”, and the second, a derivative of the PTB **kəw-n/t*. This construction could be compared with the OT phrase *mye dku* attested in (7) above.

⁷⁰ Compare hereto an evidently analogous semantic development of *khram* “lying, deceiving” (Gs: 141b), Western Drokpas “lie” (CDTD: 913) but Balti “cunning (noun), cleverness” (CDTD: 914) and *khram pa* “a liar” (J: 49b), “g.yo sgyu can” (BTC: 275b; cf. also the dialectal meanings glossed in CDTD: 916).

sion to be discussed here, it is another formation related to the verb *dku* "to rise, ascend, go beyond" according to DSM. The latter work defines the compound namely as *lhag 'phro* (17b), "sm. *lhag 'phros*" (Gs: 1181a); *lhag 'phros* "surplus, remnant, remainder, leftover" (Gs: 1181a). As I am arguing in Bialek forthcoming a, s.v. *dku 'gel*, the OT noun *'gel* can be translated as "a charge" in the sense of "a responsibility or duty assigned to someone" (<http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/charge>; 11.02.2015), cf. *'gel* "to load, to lay on a burden; to commission, to charge with, to make, appoint, constitute; ²to put, to place on or over" (J: 94b-5a); compare hereto Ger. *Auftrag*. I hypothesise that *'gel* in *dku 'gel* is identical with the just mentioned OT noun *'gel*. Assuming that *dku-* goes back to the verbal stem *dku*, the only possible analysis of the compound would be **dku ba'i 'gel* "'*gel* that exceeds, goes beyond". In accordance with the conclusions drawn in the first section of the present paper, where it was suggested that the castle *Sdur-ba* was given to *Mñan-'dzi-zuñ* additionally, I propose to interpret *dku 'gel* as "'a supplement, addition", i.e. an extra assigned to someone. It seems that a metonymic change has taken place in case of *'gel* from "'a responsibility assigned to someone" to "'a thing for which one is responsible, a thing in one's custody".

Having discovered a close semantic relationship between the verb *dku* "to rise, ascend, go beyond" on the one hand, and *dar, rgya*, and *'phel* on the other, I would like to propose an interpretation of the formation *dku babs* based on the parallelism between *dku* and *dar*. To wit, in lexicographical works one finds the formation *dar bab* glossed with "a person in the prime of life" (J: 251; < *dar la bab pa*) or *dar babs* "= *dar la babs pa* youthful" (D: 621a). Accordingly, the following tentative reconstruction can be put forward: **dku la babs*, lit. "having fallen on [the time of] being exceeding/excellent".

The only lexeme listed in the Table 3 which I am unable to explain is *dku* as occurring in (3). Any interpretation of this and other parallel passages remains speculative due to the unstable orthography and a seemingly distorted grammar of the text.

The following Table 4 recapitulates the preceding analyses of the OT *dkus* and presents the examined lexical material in a systematic way.

Table 4

Ety-mon	Meaning	Derivative	Meaning	OT Ex-ample	Lexicographical sources	
<i>dku</i> ^I **to bend, to make crooked” ~ OT <i>'khu</i> **to bend, curve; to be crooked”	¹ a bending, crooking	<i>dku</i>	¹ hip; ² side; ³ slope	(37)	<i>dku</i> ^I	
	² trickery, deceit	<i>dku</i>	trickery	(1) (2) (4) (5)	<i>dku</i> ^V - <i>dku</i> ^{XII}	
		<i>dku gañ</i>	ambush	(9) (10)		
		<i>dku sgyu</i>	trickery	(19)		
		<i>dku che</i>	shrewd	(20)		
		<i>dku ba</i>	trickster	(5) (25)		
	³ harm; injustice	<i>dku bo</i>	cunning (N)	(28)		
		<i>dku khyim</i>	house of injustice	(8)		
		<i>dku chañ</i>	beer of injustice	(29)		
		<i>dku zañs</i>	kettle of injustice	(29)		
		<i>dku lug</i>	sheep of injustice	(29)		
		<i>khoñ dku</i>	harm, injustice	(30) (31)		
	<i>dku</i> ^{II} **to rise, ascend, go beyond” ~ PTB <i>*ku</i>	¹ to rise	<i>dku</i>	to rise	(6) (7)	<i>dku</i> ^{III}
			<i>dku ba</i>	malodorous	(26)	<i>dku</i> ^{II}
		² to exceed	<i>dku 'gel</i>	addition	(11)	<i>dku</i> ^{III} / <i>dku</i> ^{XIII}
<i>*dku rgyas</i>			nobility	(12) (13) (14) (15) (16)		
<i>*dku rgyas pa</i>			nobleman	(17)		
<i>*dku rgyas gtsigs</i>			nobility edict	(18)		
<i>dku dar</i>			to prevail	(21)		
<i>*dku 'phel</i>			to be revealed	(22) (23) (24)		
<i>dku babs</i>	youthful	(27)				
³ to overflow	<i>dku</i>	to fall down		<i>dku</i> ^{IV}		

Abbreviations

- * form or meaning reconstructed by the author
- ?urgently? Translation uncertain
- ABS absolute
- ACIP Asian Classics Input Project (see Internet sources)

Adv	adverb
ALLAT	allative
AOH	Acta Orientalia Hungarica
BDN	Gña'-goñ-dkon-mchog-tshes-brtan, 1995 (see References)
BDSN	<i>Brda gsar rñiñ gi rnam par dbye ba</i> by Dbus-pa-blo-gsal (see MIMAKI 1992)
BNY	Bsod-nams-skyid, Dbañ-rgyal, (eds.) 2003 (see References)
BRTD	Duñ-dkar-blo-bzañ-'phrin-las, 2002 (see References)
BTC	Zhang Yisun, 1993 (see References)
BTK	Go-sul-grags-pa-'byuñ-gnas, 2001 (see References)
BYD	Rnam-rgyal-tshe-rin, 2001 (see References)
c	controllable verb
CDTD	Bielmeier et al. (see References)
Cs	Csoma, 1834 (see References)
CT	Classical Tibetan
D	Das, 2000 (see References)
DEL	delative
Desg	Desgodin, 1899 (see References)
DSM	Btsan-lha-ñag-dbañ-tshul-khrims, 1997 (see References)
DTH	Bacot, et al., 1940 (see References)
EAT	Eastern Amdo Tibetan
ERG	ergative
GC	Chos-kyi-grags-pa (see References)
GEN	genitive
Gs	Goldstein 2001 (see References)
HUM	human
ibid.	ibidem, Eng. <i>in the same place</i>
id.	idem, Eng. <i>the same</i>
IDP	International Dunhuang Project (see Internet sources)
INTR	intransitive
ITJ	IOL Tib J
IW	Ives Waldo <i>via</i> Nitārtha (see Internet sources)
J	Jäschke, 2003 (see References)
Jä	Jäschke, 1871 (see References)
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
l.	line
LEU	Hamid, 1998 (see References)
LZB	Tenzin, Pasar Tsultrim, et al., 2008 (see References)
MG	Mainwaring, G. B., Grünwedel, A., 1979 (see References)
ms.	manuscript
Mvy	Sasaki (ed.), 1965 (see References)

MW	Monier-Williams, 2002 (see References)
N	noun
nc	non-controllable verb
o	object
OT	Old Tibetan
OTC	<i>Old Tibetan Chronicles</i>
OTDO	Old Tibetan Documents Online (see Internet sources)
PIE	Proto-Indo-European
PT	Pelliot Tibétain
PTB	Proto-Tibeto-Burman
QUOT	quotation
R	Rerich, J.N., 1983-93 (see References)
Rkoñ	Rkoñ-po inscription
RKTS	Resources for Kanjur & Tanjur Studies (see Internet sources)
s	subject
Sch	Schmidt, 1841 (see References)
Skt.	Sanskrit
SR	Sumatiratna, 1959 (see References)
ST Treaty	W Sino-Tibetan Treaty inscription, West side
STEDT	Sino-Tibetan Etymological Dictionary and Thesaurus (see Internet sources)
TB	Tibeto-Burman
TLTD	Thomas, 1935-55 (see References)
TP	T'oung Pao
TR	transitive
trslr.	transliteration
V	verb
VA	verbal adjective
WAT	Western Archaic Tibetan
WIT	Western Innovative Tibetan
WT	Written Tibetan
WTS	<i>Wörterbuch der tibetischen Schriftsprache</i> (see References)
Zol N	Zol inscription, North side
Zwa E	Zwa'i-lha-khañ inscription, East side
Zwa W	Zwa'i-lha-khañ inscription, West side

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On some *rDzogs chen* aspects in a *gCod* Text from the *Bla ma dgongs 'dus*, a *gTer ma* collection discovered by Sangs rgyas gling pa (1341-1396)

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1. *gCod* and *rDzogs chen*

he doctrine of recision (*gcod*) started its successful circulation in Tibet during the eleventh century in the context of the Second Diffusion of Buddhism, mainly through the effort of Ma gcig lab sgron (1055-1149), the Tibetan yoginī who is considered its formulator or even its founder. Being mainly a practice-oriented meditational process, it takes a rather synthetic approach, drawing its origin both from *sūtra* and *tantra* traditions received from India.¹ The *gcod* practice spread among all schools of Tibetan Buddhism, each time taking on features peculiar to the context to which it was adapted. This process also took place in the *rnying ma* and *rdzogs chen* contexts. A line from the introduction to one of the most famous *gcod* practice text in the *rnying ma* school, 'The Resounding Laughter of the *Dākinīs*' (*mkha' 'gro gad rgyangs*), aptly shows how the *rdzogs chen* point of view is considered in relation to practices belonging to other classes of teachings:

As for the self-nature [of all], the Great Perfection, in order to get to the root of this unique state, although it transcends the [object/subject concept of] cutting and cutter, for those who [are fettered] to having concepts and [need] a path of engaging in [elaborate] yogic practice, I will expose the instructions for discarding the aggregates [as] food [offering].²

¹ Edou, Jérôme, *Machig Labdrön and the Foundations of Chöd*, pp. 25-38.

² *rang bzhin rdzogs pa chen po ni: nyag gcig rtsad nas gcod pa'i phyir: gcod bya gcod byed las 'das kyang: spros pa can gyi gang zag dang: brtul zhugs spyod pa lam slong phyir: phung po gzan bskyur man ngag:* ('Jigs med gling pa mkhyen brtse 'od zer, *gCod yul mkha' 'gro'i gad rgyangs*, p. 338). 'The Resounding Laughter of the *dākinīs*' (*mkha' 'gro gad rgyangs*), part of the *Klong chen sning thig* cycle and a mind treasure discovered by 'Jigs med gling pa (1730-1798), is among the better known writings

The earliest textual traces of an amalgamation of the *rdzogs chen* point of view (*lta ba*) with the *gcod* practice may be traced back to the fourteenth century.³ In the *bka' ma* lineage, there is a *gcod* cycle by Kun dga' 'bum pa (1332-1381), the throne holder of the Kaḥ thog monastery, himself a *gcod* and *zhi byed* specialist.⁴ Among *gter mas*, there are some *gcod* texts contained in the *Bla ma dgongs 'dus*, the famous collection rediscovered by Sangs rgyas gling pa (1341⁵-1396) and, other than these, are a *gcod* cycle by rDo rje gling pa (1346-1405)⁶ and some texts contained in the *dGongs pa zang thal* by rGod ldem can (1337-1409).⁷

The *gcod* texts contained in the *Bla ma dgongs 'dus* constitute a very interesting example of this process of integration of *rnying ma* and *rdzogs chen* aspects with the practice of Recision. In 'The Single Seat of the Central Practice: Clear Light, Essence of the Sky' (*dnagos gzhi'i nyams len gdan thog gcig ma 'od gsal nam mkha'i snying po*) in particular, the contrast between the *rdzogs chen* approach and the *tantric* practice of *gcod*, which is based on the *sūtra*-style principles affirmed in the *Prajñāpāramitā* literature, is less obvious than in the quote from 'Jigs

on *gcod*. The *rdzogs chen* appreciation of *gcod* as a somewhat accessory practice is made remarkably clear in this text; it is held to be a useful, albeit not indispensable *tantric* method. The initial verses state that this is a teaching for those who need a formal and elaborate style of practice, not being able to settle in the dimension beyond subject, object and action. In this respect, Tony Duff, for example, says: 'The teaching of view in Pacifier Chod [*gcod*] starts with the concept of a problem that needs to be cut and ends up with the fact of the direct experience of Prajnaparamita, whereas the teaching of view in Great Completion [*rdzogs chen*] bypasses concept all together and goes directly to the overarching expanse of that view' (Duff, Tony, *Longchen Nyingthig Chod, Sound of Dakini Laughter: Text by Jigmey Lingpa, Instructions by Dza Patrul, and Commentary by the Author*, p. xvi).

³ From the doctrinal perspective some concepts expressed in earlier texts, like the *bKa' tshoms chen mo* attributed to Ma gcig (see 'Jam mgon kong sprul blo gros mtha' yas (ed.), *gDams ngag mdzod*, vol. 14 (pha), pp. 7-17.), contain elements that can be assimilated, or at least read, in a *rdzogs chen* fashion. Here we make reference to texts by authors or *gter stons* belonging to the *rnying ma* school and containing various elements peculiar to the *gcod* practice. As of yet we have not found any definitive evidence of reputed *gcod* texts written or discovered by Nyang ral nyi ma 'od zer (1124-1192). We are currently undertaking a study on *rnying ma gcod*, some results of which have been presented at IATS XIII (Pansa, Margherita, and Sanders, Fabian, *A Trifling Anachronism, on gcod in the rnying ma Tradition*).

⁴ 'Jam dbyangs, ed., *Kaḥ thog kun dga' 'bum gyi bka' srol bka' ma'i gcod skor*.

⁵ The year 1340 is sometimes mentioned (Mei, Ching Hsuan, *The Development of 'Pho ba Liturgy in Medieval Tibet*, p. 113).

⁶ rDo rje gling pa, *gCod skor gter chen rdo rje rdzang pa'i gter chos*.

⁷ rGod kyi ldem 'phru chen, *dGongs pa zang thal*, vol. 4, pp. 515-588, and vol. 5, pp. 271-279. Many thanks to Katarina Turpeinen for pointing this out.

med gling pa and the term *rdzogs chen* does not appear at all, but its terminology and key-points are clearly distinguishable. The high level of integration between the three different points of view (*sūtra*, *tantra* and *rdzogs chen*) makes it difficult to categorize the text as a prevalent expression of the one or the other. All three aspects are intermingled, and a given perspective is emphasized as required to support the explanation and practice of a particular point.

2. The *gTer ston*

The *gter ston* Sangs rgyas gling pa lived and taught across the *rnying ma* and *bka' brgyud* schools and was among the first masters to incorporate some of the practices belonging to the new schools (*gsar ma*) in the ancient school via *gter ma* texts. He was an extremely important *gter ston* considered to be a *sprul sku* of Lha sras dam 'dzin rol pa ye shes rtsal, the son of king Khri srong lde'u btsan (ca. 742-800).⁸ Nevertheless, in his biographies⁹ we read that he was ordained in a *bka' brgyud* monastery and came into close contact with the highest hierarchies of this school, including personages like the Fourth Karma pa, Rol pa'i rdo rje (1340-1383), the Second Zhwa dmar pa, mKha' spyod dbang po (1350-1405) and Ta'i si tu Byang chub rgyal mtshan (1302-1373).¹⁰ He actually spent his life in Kong po, where the *bka' brgyud* was the prevalent school at that time, both in spiritual and temporal terms. In this school some of the most important commentators of the *gcod* practice had already appeared, in particular the Third Karma pa, Rang byung rdo rje (1284-1339).¹¹ It

⁸ The dharma king who invited the abbot to Tibet in order to spread the Buddhist teachings and later, on Śāntarakṣita's advice, Padmasambhava.

⁹ An interesting study on the two biographies contained in the *Bla ma dgongs 'dus* cycle (the *sPrul sku sangs rgyas gling pa'i gter 'byung chen mo* and the *gTer 'byung tshigs bcad ma*) and several more recent ones has been undertaken by Ching Hsuan Mei (Mei, Ching Hsuan, *The Development of 'Pho ba Liturgy in Medieval Tibet*, pp. 111-123).

¹⁰ *karma pa*, *zhwa dmar pa*, and *ta'i si tu* are the three highest authorities of the *karma bka' brgyud* school.

¹¹ Rang byung rdo rje, one of the first commentators of *gcod*, integrated teachings on *mahāmudrā* with *rdzogs chen*. Dharma seng ge, in his 'Ornament of Liberation: The Precious Garland of the Origin of Pacification and Recision' (*zhi byed dang gcod yul gyi chos 'byung rin po che'i phreng ba thar pa'i rgyan*), writes that the doctrine of Ma gcig combining *sūtra* and *tantra* was very widespread and was transmitted by her in particular to Khu bsgom chos kyi seng ge. He also says that the Second Karma pa, Karma pakṣi, transmitted it to gNam mtsho ba and to the Third Karma pa, Rang byung rdo rje (Dharma seng ge, *Zhi byed dang gcod yul gyi*

was a time of fertile doctrinal exchange and propagation when the influence of politically-based sectarian factions was relatively minor, at least from a doctrinal point of view. Rather than confining themselves to rigid systems, great masters strived to find analogies in various doctrines and similarities in methods, making a conscious effort to integrate various traditions. The doctrinal exchange between *rdzogs chen*, the summit of the *rnying ma* teachings, and *mahāmudrā*, the peak of the *bka' brgyud* school, was particularly fertile as the two approaches shared some core doctrinal points and terminology. According to his biographies, Sangs rgyas gling pa was definitely one of those masters. Accounts tell us that he left home when he was still a child due to the hostility of his step-father and, inspired by a prophecy, set out in search of the Fourth Karma pa, Rol pa'i rdo rje. When he reached Byang chub gling monastery, not far from Tsa ri,¹² he was ordained as a novice, and when Rol pa'i rdo rje returned from a pilgrimage to central Tibet he proclaimed that Sangs rgyas gling pa would become a guide for numberless beings and chose him as his spiritual heir. As it happens, the envious monks in the monastery harassed him so much that he had to leave as soon as Rol pa'i rdo rje left Tsa ri. He thus led a wandering life, meeting many masters and receiving many teachings. With regard to our present topic, his biography states that he received various cycles of *gcod* instructions, among which was the initiation ritual known as 'The Opening of the Door of the Sky' (*nam mkha' sgo byed*) at the mKha' gdong hermitage in Lang po. He then began roaming the charnel grounds practicing *thod rgal*.¹³ Later, in the outskirts of the village of Bu lung, after he set up his small tent in the centre of a meadow, a master passed by with his disciples, known as *gcod* madmen (*gcod smyon*). Sangs rgyas gling pa decided to join them, requesting some teachings on the practice of recision.¹⁴ After Sangs rgyas gling pa moved to the Lhun grub steng mountain valley in order to complete a retreat, one night bTsan rgod

chos 'byung rin po che'i phreng ba thar pa'i rgyan, pp. 545, 559-560 and Edou, Jérôme, *Machig Labdrön and the Foundations of Chöd*, pp. 89-92).

¹² An area southwest of Kong po. It draws its name from a homonymous sacred mountain of tremendous importance for the *bka' brgyud* tradition.

¹³ *sPrul sku sangs rgyas gling pa'i gter 'byung chen mo*, p. 33. It is interesting to note that Sangs rgyas gling pa received one of the most widespread *gcod* initiations and then, as is advisable for that practice, set out to live in cemeteries. Even in this setting, he concentrated on the highest and most secret practice of the *rdzogs chen* school. It occurs to us that this biographical fact emphasises the need for him to establish a solid experience of the state of *rdzogs chen* before embarking on more ritually articulated practices in view of being able to always maintain that state or point of view as the underpinning of any other practice.

¹⁴ *sPrul sku sangs rgyas gling pa'i gter 'byung chen mo*, pp. 35-36.

chen po, the *gter ma* guardian deity, appeared in front of him and gave him three rolls containing a list of concealed treasures, along with the prophecies and instructions necessary to unearth them. On 23 August 1364, Sangs rgyas gling pa extracted from the sPu ri cave the texts and esoteric instructions of the *Bla ma dgongs 'dus*, the most important *gter ma* cycle he ever discovered. He then studied, practiced and drew it into his own experience before bestowing it upon masters of various schools, including the Fourth Karma pa, Rol pa'i rdo rje, the Second Zhwa dmar pa, mKha' spyod dbang po, the Ta'i si tu Byang chub rgyal mtshan, and the great preceptor of Jo bstan, mKhan chen bsod nams bzang po¹⁵ of the *bka' brgyud* school, the *sa skya* master bSod nams rgyal mtshan (1312-1375), g.Yag sde paṅ chen (1299-1378) and the abbot of 'Bri gung mthil Chos kyi rgyal po (1335-1407), thus becoming the fountainhead of their transmission.¹⁶

3. The *Bla ma dgongs 'dus* Collection

The internal organisation of extensive collections of *gter mas* such as the *Bla ma dgongs 'dus*, which in different editions counts thirteen or more volumes, is not immediately clear. However, since it is possible to identify a rough categorisation, it may be interesting to give a short summary here.

The first volumes, except for two versions of the extensive biography of Sangs rgyas gling pa, concentrate on the practice of the three roots in their *rnying ma* formulation (*bla ma*, *yi dam* and *mkha' 'gro*). This is followed by instructions on the *vajra* body (*rdo rje lus*); a commentary on the root *mantra* of the collection and various practices related to the realisation of mundane goals; some visualisation practices of the peculiar deities of the cycle, particularly Hayagrīva, and texts on *tantric* ritual. Further volumes include some texts on the

¹⁵ A master in whose presence the Fifth Karma pa, bDe bzhin bshegs pa (1384-1415), was ordained (Roerich, George N., and Gedun Choepel, *The Blue Annals by Gö Lotsawa*, pp. 507-508).

¹⁶ bDud 'joms rin po che also states that when the Ming emperor 永樂 (Yongle, reign 1403-1424) invited the Fifth Karma pa, bDe bzhin bshegs pa, to Beijing, he asked him to take along, together with other extraordinary objects, an immaculate teaching of Padmasambhava, the realised one from O rgyan, and the Karma pa presented him with the *Bla ma dgongs 'dus* (Dudjom Rinpoche and Gyurme Dorje, *The Nyingma School of Tibetan Buddhism: Its Fundamentals and History*, p. 787). See Mei, Ching Hsuan, *The Development of 'Pho ba Liturgy in Medieval Tibet*, pp. 121-122, for different accounts of the transmission lineages.

application of the teachings to specific crafts such as maṇḍala painting, sacred dances (*'cham*) and cooking. Then there is the exposition of the root *tantra* and of the *tantras* of mind, body, speech,¹⁷ qualities and activities; then the secret *tantra* of *bla ma, yi dam* and *mkha' 'gro*; the exposition of vehicles and the instructions on the conceptual and non-conceptual generation phases. After that there is a section containing the initiations to specific practices like *gcod* and *gtum mo*; then prophecies on the future; an almanac and rituals with practical purposes like summoning rain and protection from various negative events. Another section centres around the deity Hayagrīva and various methods to realize the *ḍākinī*. Next are some texts devoted to the completion phase (*rdzogs rim*), broken down into more extensive textual groups. The first series is included in 'The Essential Instructions, Refinement of Gold' (*man ngag snying po gser gyi yang zhun*), followed by works like 'Mahāmudrā: The Secret Casket, Precious Treasure of the Mind, the Great Seal of Boundless Extension' (*phyag rgya chen po klong yangs mtha' bral thugs gter rin po che gsang ba'i sgrom bu*) and works on *gcod* collected in 'The Completion Phase: The Profound Recision of Demons, Principle of *Prajñāpāramitā*' (*rdzogs rim bdud kyi gcod yul zab mo shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i dgongs pa*). This latter section clearly expresses the common standpoint that *gcod* is a *tantric* method to realize the doctrinal viewpoint of *Prajñāpāramitā* literature. Next are a few texts on practices synthesising the generation and completion stages (*bksyed rdzogs zung brel*), grouped in 'The Net of Channels and Vajra Winds' (*rtsa rlung rdo rje'i drwa mig*) and in 'The Doctrine of the Path with the Fruit' (*lam 'bras bu dang bcas pa'i chos*); then various teachings on how to apply practice in the dream state, on joy and suffering, on the power and use of the syllables PHAṬ and HŪM, and on the transference of consciousness. Finally, the collection includes some practices considered to be particularly secret discussing the use of vital energy and the subtle body.

The *Bla ma dgongs 'dus*, then, contains a large section concerning *gcod*, consisting of thirteen texts in all plus the initiation, collectively grouped under the title 'The Completion Phase: The Profound Recision of Demons, Principle of *Prajñāpāramitā*' (*rdzogs rim bdud kyi gcod yul zab mo shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i dgongs pa*).¹⁸ These writings are one of the most ancient examples of *gcod* texts in the

¹⁷ The order in which these three fundamental aspects of beings' existence are enumerated in this text is rather unusual. In general an ascending order is used: body (*lus*), speech (*ngag*) and mind (*yiid*). The sequence here also reflects the way in which the offerings are extended to the higher, lower and intermediate guests.

¹⁸ These texts constitute part of the vols. 11 and 12 in the Gangtok edition.

rnying ma school of Tibetan Buddhism.¹⁹ Each section has an individual title, half of which explains the content and the other half containing a metaphor involving some aspect of ether or sky.²⁰

¹⁹ In the *rnying ma* school the introduction of the *gcod* doctrine and practice is mainly accredited to the teachings of Padmasambhava, who is considered to have authored and concealed them. For this reason in the *rnying ma* or ancient school, the most widespread *gcod* practices belong to the *gter ma* tradition. At times Ma gcig lab sgron is herself considered to be an emanation of Padmasambhava's consort Ye shes mtsho rgyal (Ye shes mtsho rgyal, Nus ldan rdo rje, *Ye shes shes mtsho rgyal gyi rnam thar* pp. 125-126).

²⁰ The term *nam mkha'* is a widely used in Tibetan literature, but can be problematic to translate due to its polysemy. First of all, in *mahāyāna* and *tantrayāna* Buddhism, it is the fifth element alongside earth, water, air and fire. As such, it is the container, the principle of extension and space wherein the possibility of manifestation of any phenomenon is contained. It is perennially immutable, equally pervading everything, it does not have a centre or a periphery and so on. Due to its pervasiveness, homogeneity and immutability it is often used as a symbol of emptiness, or of the ultimate condition, the state of Buddha, the nature of mind, the principle underlying any manifestation. When it has these meanings connected with elemental qualities, we believe it might be better translated as ether. The term also refers to space and sky, which should be considered its hypostases of sorts: they symbolise extension, indefinite profundity and height, but remain empirical and concrete. In space and in the sky no place is equal to another, all having their intrinsic qualities and qualifications. For example, rDo rje gdan (Vajrāsana) is understood to be very different from any other place, and from this descends the traditional science of geomancy, the practice of pilgrimage and so many aspects of the tantric lore. Here, on account of the other titles in the collection, we have translated the term as 'sky' to reflect the metaphoric aspects involved in this context. Nevertheless, it might be useful to keep the other alternatives in mind. In the *gcod* framework, one of the more commonly used initiations, of which the *Bla ma dgongs 'dus* contains a version, is called 'Opening of the Door of the Sky' (*nam mkha' sgo 'byed*). The two texts preceding and following our text bear the titles 'Preliminaries: Light on the Distinction [of saṃsāra and nirvāṇa], the Treasure of the Sky' (*sngon 'gro shan 'byed bye brag rnam gsäl nam mkha'i dkor mdzod*) and 'The Instructions on the Final Phase: The Nails Which Overcome the Mistake, the Flowers of the Sky' (*rjes kyi man ngag loṅ non gzer bu nam mkha'i me tog*). It is worth noting in this context that the practice of distinguishing saṃsāra and nirvāṇa (*'khor 'das ru shan*) referred to in the title of the preceding text is typically *rdzogs chen*. The texts dealing with the four demons of *gcod* are called 'Instructions on How to Completely Subdue Enemies: Self-Liberating the Four Demons upon Recognition, the Wind of the Sky' (*bdud bzhi'i dgra las rnam par rgyal bar byed pa'i man ngag bdud bzhi ngos 'dzin thugs phrad rang grol nam mkha'i rlung*), 'Recognising, Meeting and Self-Liberating the Four Demons: Rays of Light of the Sky' (*bdud bzhi ngos 'dzin thug 'phrad rang grol nam mkha'i 'od zer*) and 'The Meteoric Iron Which Dispels Obstacles [Caused by] the Demon Which Leads to the Wrong Path of Self-Complacency: The Lightning of the Sky' (*dga' brod gol sa bdud khyer gegs sel gnam lcags nam mkha'i thog chen*). See Sangs rgyas gling pa, *rDzogs rim bdud kyi gcod yul zab mo shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i dgongs pa las...*

4. A note on terminology

While examining the various aspects of the practice of *gcod*, particularly looking at how they appear and are discussed in 'The Single Seat of the Central Practice: Clear Light, Essence of the Sky' (*gdan thog gcig ma 'od gsal nam mkha'i snying po*) we will adopt the classical categorization of the Buddhist teachings common in the *rnying ma* school. In extreme synthesis, we define as *sūtra* class those exoteric teachings that are considered to have been expounded personally by Buddha Śākyamuni. In the context of the text surveyed, the elements we consider part of the *sūtra* class are related to the *mahāyāna* teachings in which emptiness is doctrinally central and the *pāramitās*, compassion and renunciation are prescribed as the path. *Tantra*, in turn, the internal teaching, is understood as the esoteric class of teachings, entered through the ritual of initiation; these teachings are considered by the tradition to have reached the present day through an unbroken transmission from master to disciple, after having been initially thought by a Buddha or other enlightened being to a human. They follow the path of transformation (*sgyur lam*) of confused vision or perception (*'khrul snang*) into a pure one (*dag snang*). Thus, the initiations, the offering of the *maṇḍala*, all the visualized processes of transformation and so on are defining elements which we will ascribe to the *tantra* class. Finally, *rdzogs chen* or *atiyoga* is taken as the rather metaphysical set of teachings, entered through direct introduction (*ngo sprod pa*) into the experience of the condition of *rdzogs chen*. Its path, aimed at stabilizing and perpetuating abidance in that state, is mostly that of self-liberation (*rang grol*), beyond the realm of effort and the attitudes of inclination towards or rejection of the objects of the dualistic mind. We will thus be prone to acknowledge as peculiar to the *rdzogs chen* view all those instructions in which it is crucial to recognize a state which is already perfect as it is, does not prescribe antidotes or amendments and in which the world of perceived phenomena is understood as the mere expression of one's own potentiality.

Although using a different terminology, the above classification seems congruent with a tripartition described in various *gcod* texts. One of the most ancient among them, in the *rnying ma* school, is contained in 'The Pearl Garland: The Wish-Fulfilling Jewel, Severance of Demons' (*bDud kyi gcod yul dgos 'dod kun 'byung rin po che mu tig gi phreng ba*) by the historiographer and *gcod* expert Kun dga' 'bum pa (1332-1381), who writes the following comment:

[... *gcod*], externally is similar to the *Prajñāpāramitā* teachings, since it contains the principles of the six *pāramitās*, emptiness and

compassion and has its origin in Yum chen mo. Internally it has the properties that distinguish *tantra* from the vehicle of characteristics (*mahāyāna*, *Prajñāpāramitā*), that is to say the deity practice, initiation, and the practice of the five *amṛtas* and the five kinds of meat. Secretly, *gcod* is similar to the supreme teaching (*bla med kyi dgongs*), since it certainly puts practitioners in a condition beyond effort and duality, acceptance and rejection and so on, whereas in the *Prajñāpāramitā* tradition absolute and conventional, renunciation and antidote are conceived of as alternative.²¹

Sangs rgyas gling pa, in another text on *gcod* belonging to the *Bla ma gdongs 'dus*, attributes to Padmasambhava²² himself another very similar and unmistakable explanation of how the *gcod* practice should to be understood:

[The *gcod* teaching] is explained externally as *Prajñāpāramitā*; internally it is applied as a method of the secret *mantra* and secretly, certain of the absence of dualism, it is given as introduction (*ngo sprod*).²³

5. The Text

'The Single Seat'²⁴ of the Central Practice: Clear Light, Essence of the

²¹ 'Jam dbyangs, ed., *Kah thog kun dga' 'bum gyi bka' srol bka' ma'i gcod skor*, pp. 109-111.

²² See note 19.

²³ Sangs rgyas gling pa, *rDzogs rim bdud kyi gcod yul zab mo shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i dgongs pa las: sngon 'gro shan 'byed bye brag rnam gsal nam mkha'i dkor mdzod*, p. 494.

²⁴ The formula *gdan* or *stan thog gcig ma* appears several times in *gcod* text titles. It indicates mainly that the practice contained is intended for a single session, yet it can refer to the efficacy and swiftness of the method itself which can bring about liberation—at least theoretically—in this single session. Examples of the use of this formula can be found in the titles of the most ancient *gcod* texts of the *rnying ma* school, both *bka' ma* and *gter ma*, mainly within extended doctrinal cycles. The *bka' ma* lineage includes a work by Kun dga' 'bum pa (see above) bearing the title 'Extending the Offering of the Aggregates According to the Deep Meaning Recision: The Stage of the Practice of the Single Seat' ('Jam dbyangs, ed., *Kah thog kun dga' 'bum gyi bka' srol bka' ma'i gcod skor*, pp. 611-692). Among the more ancient *gter mas*, other than the one discovered by Sangs rgyas gling pa under discussion here, is a text contained in the cycle on *gcod* by rDo rje gling pa (1346-1405) called 'The Single Seat of the Four Empowerments' (rDo rje gling pa, *gCod skor gter chen rdo rje gling pa'i gter chos*, pp. 169-190). Later works include a cycle of teachings belonging to the tradition of sMin grol gling, the *rnying ma* monastery founded by gTer bdag gling pa 'gyur med rdo rje (1646-1714), known under the short title 'The Single Seat of Recision' (*gcod yul stan thog gcig ma*),

Sky' (*dnegos gzhi'i nyams len gdan thog gcig ma 'od gsal nam mkha'i snying po*) is the largest among the works on *gcod* contained in the *Bla ma dgongs 'dus*. This text contains the description of initiations, both ritual and explicative, necessary for the attainment of its aims; a large section in which the master leads the disciple through the correct application of the practice, with explanations of the various doctrinal and experiential implications; and finally a short practice which the yogin should apply by himself with various instructions for progressing.

Far from simply describing a *sādhana*, this text is a wonderful example of the way in which, at the higher level of the *rnying ma* school, the *rdzogs chen* point of view constitutes the marrow, or the essence, the innermost spiritual experience in which practitioners should find themselves at all times. It is the underlying universal principle; though never mentioned here, it is always present. This principle may not necessarily be easily applied, and thus, while maintaining that point of view, a practitioner may apply teachings, instructions and practices belonging to the *sūtra* or *tantra* classes with the purpose of stabilising the *rdzogs chen* state. When this happens the formal structure of practices is not affected. In 'The Central Practice', for example, nearly all the distinctive ingredients peculiar to *gcod* are present:

- the 'savage lands' (*gnyan sa*), the correct locations for the practice, fearful places like cemeteries or water springs inhabited by demons and other wicked creatures or any

contained in 'Jam mgon kong sprul blo gros mtha' yas, ed., *Rin chen gter mdzod chen mo*, vol. 58, pp. 309-397. In the collection of *gter mas* by Klong gsal snying po (1625-1692), a *rnying ma* teacher who mainly lived at Kaḥ thog, is a text titled 'The Teachings of the Profound Recision Called the Centre of the Single Seat' (*Zab mo gcod kyi gdams pa gdan thog gcig ma'i dbu phyogs*). One of the better known collections of *sādhana*s on *gcod*, 'The Precious Garland from the Collection of Recision' (*gCod tshogs las rin po che'i phreng ba*), contains a *sādhana* text written by Karma chags med (1613-1678) entitled 'Instructions on Recision, in Addition to the *sādhana* of the Single Seat' (Rang byung rdo rje et al., *gCod tshogs rin chen phreng ba*, pp. 241-254) focuses on the visualisation of oneself as Ma gcig in the form of Khros ma nag mo. Even more recent are two practice texts contained in the cycle rediscovered as mind treasure (*dgongs gter*) by mDo mkhyen brtse ye shes rdo rje (1800-1866), 'The Self-Liberation from Concepts' (*'Dzin pa rang grol*), titled 'The Single Seat of Recision' (Ye shes rdo rje, *Pod gnyis pa: 'Dzin pa rang grol*, pp. 289-207) and 'The Intent of Ma gcig: The Practice Method on a Single Seat, Teaching on *gCod*' (Ye shes rdo rje, *Pod gnyis pa: 'Dzin pa rang grol*, pp. 135-182). Less frequent instances of this terminology can be found in *gcod* texts of the *dge lugs* and *bka' brgyud* schools. A study of this terminology is in progress and will soon be published.

- other places common people avoid and deem frightening;
- the god-demons (*lha 'dre*), unstable beings to which the ego attributes godly or demonic status depending on the relationship it has with them;
 - the ritual instruments, the *rkang gling* to summon the god-demons and the *damaru* with which they are tamed;
 - the practice of transference (*'pho ba*), which expels the consciousness, the basic support of the concept of individuality, so that it does not inhabit the body which is about to be offered to the various guests;
 - the maṇḍala offering to the *bla ma* and the deities of the merit field performed in the manner of the *gcod* tradition, i.e. with the various transformed parts of one's own body;
 - the offering of the body as food²⁵ after transforming it into abundant substances suitable to be offered and appreciated by the various guests, buddhas, bodhisattvas, lineage *bla mas*, *yi dams*, *ḍakas* and *ḍakiṅīs* and other high-ranking guests, then to the various beings of the six realms and, finally, to the various classes of demons and hostile spirits;
 - the doctrine of the four demons particular to *gcod*, explained together with other four more ancient demons (Skt. *catvāro mārāḥ*) referred to as 'outer demons' in *gcod*.²⁶

In comparison with the more frequent patterns of *gcod* practices, the elements missing in this text are the 'gift of *dharma*', in which the teachings are exposed to lower beings, and the figure of Ma gcig lab sgron, the Tibetan yoginī who formulated the practice.²⁷ In lieu of the 'gift of *dharma*', we find the so-called three aspects of 'recognition and certainty' (*ngo shes shing thag bcad*), which, as we shall see later, denote a *rdzogs chen* approach in terms of content and terminology. As for Ma gcig, her figure is totally absent as she is neither visualized in the context of the practice of *'pho ba* nor on the occasion of the offering of the body; she is not even mentioned in the merit field or in the lineage invocation. The colophon of this text, as is usual for *gter mas*, attributes the teaching to Padmasambhava himself, who is said to have taught it to Khri srong lde btsan (742-ca. 800) and to his

²⁵ In *gcod* texts this phase is known as *phung po gzan du bsgyur*, 'transforming the aggregates into food' or as *phung po gzan du bskyur*, 'getting rid of the aggregates as food'.

²⁶ The order in which they are explained is rather uncommon; it follows the order in which they arise rather than the outer/inner dichotomy.

²⁷ An interesting study of the role of Ma gcig in different *gcod* texts can be found in Gyatso, Janet, *Historical Development of the gCod Tradition*, pp. 338-339.

son, while Ye shes mtsho rgyal (eighth century), is said to have set it in writing and consequently hidden it in the sPu ri cave, a practice place in the area of mount Rin chen 'bar ba, in sPu bo, east of Kong po, from where the *gter ston* Sangs rgyas gling pa extracted it five or six centuries later. So the text is supposed to have been lying hidden in a cave since long before Ma gcig's life and her formulation of the *gcod* practice. The apparent anachronism of *gcod* in the *rnying ma*²⁸ context is a vast topic beyond the scope of this article. It might be interesting to note that the classical *gter ma* narrative seems to be one of the possible elements that allow for a teaching otherwise more likely to be considered *gsar ma* to be included in the *rnying ma* repertory, thus solving this rather substantial anachronism.

The text is divided into three parts. The first two focus on the master and the disciples who engage in the initiation rite and then perform a guided practice. The various components of the *gcod* practice are disseminated in the context of more extensive doctrinal instructions, which range across *sūtra*, *tantra* and *rdzogs chen* domains. The third part is addressed to the yogin who, after having mastered the instructions of his master, ventures alone into the realm of practice. Although this section contains a shorter *gcod* practice with the instructions to perform it, it also addresses solutions for problems the practitioner might encounter, providing a number of antidotes which were not necessary earlier, when the master was available. The more relevant parts for this paper are thus the first two.

5.1 The Initiations

The first part contains a general description of the qualities that the master granting the initiation and the disciple receiving it should possess, as well as of the time and place for receiving it and the number of participants.²⁹ The initiation begins with a description of preliminaries, where a *tantric* flavour can be clearly seen. For example, the master is meant to place the ritual implements in a maṇḍala pattern and then visualize the hosts of deities which are generated and absorbed (*bskyed bstim*) into the objects so as to

²⁸ Having been originated in the eleventh century by Ma gcig lab sgron, the *gcod* practice should logically be understood to be a *gsar ma* tradition. Nevertheless, it has been widely practiced in the *rnying ma* school for a remarkable number of centuries (Pansa, Margherita, and Sanders, Fabian, *A Trifling Anachronism, on gcod in the rnying ma Tradition*).

²⁹ Sangs rgyas gling pa, *dNgos gzhi nyams len gdan thog cig ma 'od gsal nam mkha'i snying po*, Gangtok edition pp. 537-543, Paro edition pp. 385-390).

consecrate them. As for the *gcod* elements appearing in this section, the main implements related to this practice, the *damaru* and the *rkang gling*, are consecrated by generating the deities Hayagrīva and Vajravārāhī and absorbing them into the ritual objects. Among the preliminaries the disciple should perform is the offering to the *bla ma* of his own body transformed into a maṇḍala.³⁰

The doctrine and language of *rdzogs chen* surfaces for the first time when the master, after a more ritual section, exhorts the disciples to maintain at all times the experience to which they have been introduced. The instructions he imparts are dense with *rdzogs chen* doctrine and terminology:

E Ma! Sons of noble family! Look! Look at your mind! Your mind, freed from constructs is *dharmakāya*, *dharmakāya* free from the limits of origination and cessation. Look! Look at your mind! Your luminous mind is the perfected *sambhogakāya*, non-composite *sambhogakāya*, spontaneously realised. Look! Look at your mind! Your conscious and empty mind is *nirmāṇakāya*, self-arisen and self-liberated *nirmāṇakāya*. Find yourself in your own condition, abandoned and relaxed, in a state free from adulteration and artifice, the three bodies of the Buddha! [...] [all] is that great *rtsal* energy of unceasing *rig pa* which manifests spontaneously in the vast expanse of the three bodies of the Buddha; it is to soar in the joyful dance [...]. In the condition in which there is no support for the mind,³¹ let go [of everything] in its own flow! When this is done, meet the true face [of reality];³² play the instruments, maintain that experience, abandon all phenomena unreservedly and do not indulge in any kind of thought: [thus] the sharpness (*ngar*) of *rig pa* is generated,³³ the senses are exalted. Trample upon uncertainty!³⁴

³⁰ Sangs rgyas gling pa, *dNgos gzhi nyams len gdan thog cig ma 'od gsal nam mkha'i snying po*, Gangtok edition pp. 544-549, Paro edition pp. 390-394.

³¹ The discursive mind is perceived in the same manner as other phenomena; it is as devoid of concreteness as the flow of thought it produces. The practitioner thus does not accord any base of concretisation to the movement of thought, he does not try to stop it or to repress it, allowing it to unravel spontaneously.

³² In this case we have chosen to translate literally the term *ngo sprad* as 'meeting the face'; nevertheless it should be kept in mind that this expression denotes the so-called 'direct introduction' in *rdzogs chen* language. The term refers to the act by which the master leads the disciple into the concrete inner experience of the state of *rig pa*.

³³ In the context of instant presence (*rig pa*), the word *ngar* literally refers to the capacity of *rig pa* to easily penetrate the essence of anything and delve into ultimate reality with no need of a conceptual intermediary.

³⁴ *e ma skal ldan rigs kyi bu: ltos shig rang gi sems la ltos: rang sems spros bral chos kyi sku: chos sku skye 'gags mtha' dang bral: ltos shig rang gi sems la ltos: rang sems 'od gsal longs spyod rdzogs: longs sku lhun grub 'dus ma byas: ltos shig rang gi sems la ltos:*

The real condition of the practitioner, if well examined, is in reality indistinguishable from the three dimensions of the Buddha. In a completely different fashion from the *tantric* or *sūtric* approach, it is stated here that this is already actual reality: there is nothing that needs to be changed. From the *rdzogs chen* point of view, among other factors, it is the very concept that there is something to modify that distances the *yogi* from the possibility of experiencing that state. This is a central concept that differentiates the *rdzogs chen* approach from others.

Another key *rdzogs chen* term appearing in this quote and elsewhere is the text is *rtsal*, often in combination with *rig pa*, denoting the potential energy of the essence of mind (*sems kyi ngo bo nus pa*) which manifests in a seemingly external way and produces all apparent perceptions by which the ordinary mind and its objects become manifest. The term *rig pa* designates a state of contemplative presence in which the *rdzogs chen* practitioner should constantly abide. Thus the *rtsal* energy of *rig pa* points to the spontaneous capacity of this presence to manifest any phenomenon as an apparent object of perception. If one finds oneself in the state of *rig pa*, anything that manifests is no longer perceived as external, but rather is experienced as a projection of this potentiality of the perceiver himself.³⁵

Among the many occurrences of the term, we find another similar example of *rtsal* further on in the text. The master guides the disciples through the practice of the 'pho ba of *gcod*³⁶ and then confers the symbolic initiation (*brda sprad*) in which no visualisation has to be carried out and the *rdzogs chen* terminology surfaces once again. The master says:

E MA! Sons of noble family, that essence of your mind, devoid of form or colour, does not come or go. [It] illuminates the ability to understand ornaments and aspects; [it] does not abide inwardly or

rang sems rig stong sprul pa'i sku: sprul sku rang shar rang la grol: sku gsum bcos slad bral ba'i ngang: 'bol le shigs se rang bab zhog: [...] sku gsum klong las rang shar ba'i: ma 'gag rig pa rtsal chen de: gar dga'i phyogs su 'phyo ru chug: [...] sems gtad med kyi ngang du phiyad kyis thongs shig byas pas ngo sprad: rol mo bsgrags: nyams skyong : suang ba thams cad rgya yan du btang zhing rtog pa'i sna mi bskiyil: rig pa ngar bskiyed: dbang po la gzing bstod: mi phod pa la thog rdzis btang bar bya'o: (Sangs rgyas gling pa, dNgos gzhi nyams len gdan thog cig ma 'od gsal nam mkha'i snying po, Gangtok edition pp. 558-559, Paro edition pp. 400-401).

³⁵ See Namkhai Norbu, *The Crystal and the Way of Light: Sutra, Tantra and Dzogchen*.

³⁶ Sangs rgyas gling pa, *dNgos gzhi nyams len gdan thog cig ma 'od gsal nam mkha'i snying po*, Gangtok edition pp. 561-565, Paro edition pp. 402-405.

outwardly, it is that unique manifesting energy (*rtsal*) which is pure from the beginning: just leave it as it is in that motionless state! Leave it in the unconstructed state, free from adulterations and change! E MA! This is the precious essence of the mind (*sems nyid*); understand its characteristics in that way!³⁷

Thus *rtsal* flows unceasingly and there is nothing to be done aside from recognising its play as the show of one's own mind's potentiality. In these instructions another key topic of *rdzogs chen* is discussed: the essence of the mind (*sems nyid*). This is the absolute, empty and in itself luminous reality from which any cognitive, discursive and rational activity of the ordinary mind (*sems*) descends. This aspect is experienced in its very absence of modifications and adulterations (*bcos bslad bzo med*), in its original state which is already perfect since the beginning and does not need any transformation.

This first part of the text ends with a description of the entrance into the practice and a lengthy discussion of the ways to identify suitable places for the *gcod* practice.³⁸

The second part contains a description of the practice guided by the master and has a preliminary part, a central part and a concluding phase.

5.2. Preliminaries

Here, the three doors³⁹ of the practitioner are made suitable for the practice explained in the central part.⁴⁰ In general, some terms often used in *gcod* context appear (e.g. *lha 'dre* or *zil gyis gnon*), but some of the exercises, three each for body and mind, progress in a way that seems to reflect the tripartite pattern in which the teachings are divided in the old school of Tibetan Buddhism: *sūtra*, *tantra* and *rdzogs chen*. Thus, for example, the mind is put in three different meditative states (*ting nge 'dzin*) in which one visualizes that god-

³⁷ *e ma skal ldan rigs kyi bu: khyod kyi sems kyi ngo bo de: dbyibs dang kha dog 'gro 'ong bral: rgyan dang rnam pa rig byed gsal: phyi dang nang gzhan gar mi gnas: gdod nas dag pa'i rtsal gcig po: g.yo med de ka'i ngang la zhog: bcos bslad bzo med ngang la zhog: e ma sems nyid rin po che: de ltar mtshan nyid shes par gyis: (Sangs rgyas gling pa, dNgos gzhi nyams len gdan thog cig ma 'od gsal nam mkha'i snying po, Gangtok edition pp. 566-567 Paro edition pp. 405-406).*

³⁸ *Sangs rgyas gling pa, dNgos gzhi nyams len gdan thog cig ma 'od gsal nam mkha'i snying po, Gangtok edition pp. 568-577, Paro edition pp. 407-413.*

³⁹ They are body (*lus*), speech (*ngag*) and mind (*nyid*).

⁴⁰ *Sangs rgyas gling pa, dNgos gzhi nyams len gdan thog cig ma 'od gsal nam mkha'i snying po, Gangtok edition pp. 578-599, Paro edition pp. 413-427.*

demons, the place and oneself are all 'overcome with splendour' (*zil gyis mnon*). God-demons are reduced to harmlessness by meditating on loving kindness, compassion and *bodhicitta*, which evokes a *sūtra* kind of approach. The place is neutralised imagining that it is pervaded with light up to the point in which nothing ordinary remains, where the more *tantric* approach of visualisation, transformation and sublimation can be observed. Finally, one dominates one's own self (*bdag nyid*), bringing the mind back to its own nature (*sems kyi rang bzhin*) which is reminiscent of a rather *rdzogs chen* approach.

5.3. Central Part

The first three topics of the central part consist of the so-called 'letting go into the crucial' (*gnad la bor*)⁴¹ and focus on the comprehension of one's own emptiness (in the aspects of one's own levels of existence of body speech and mind), the emptiness of god-demons and the emptiness of the creator of this dualism. The process by which the intrinsic emptiness of the first two is established consists in the analysis of their place of origin, the way of abiding and the places of cessation. Once the vacuity of these two is realised, the illusory nature of their creator follows automatically. Aside from the figures of speech in which the god-demons, a typical *gcod* term, become the epitome of the externally perceived world, the field of acceptance and rejection, or attachment and hatred, the method used to unmask the illusory nature of body, speech and mind is somewhat reminiscent of the *Prajñāpāramitā* literature. For example, this is the section relating to mind:

[Mind] does not abide where it is placed and thus rushes to all objects [of the senses], like form and the others, and when it rushes it is left free to do so wherever it goes, and thus, when it withdraws from it, it remains fluctuating [and] stupefied, thoughtless. In this way one pursues it, internally or externally, and carefully analyses first where it springs from, then where it abides and what it does, and finally where it goes and where it reaches. First of all it is not possible to establish inner outer, above or below, a cardinal or intermediate direction and say: 'it comes from here'. Secondly one cannot find a reliable base to affirm: 'it is here, it is like this, it is male, female or neutral, [it has this] form or colour', and it cannot be defined by saying: 'these are the aspects of its *modus operandi*, it has [such and

⁴¹ Sangs rgyas gling pa, *dNgos gzhi nyams len gdan thog cig ma 'od gsal nam mkha'i snying po*, Gangtok edition pp. 600-608, Paro edition pp. 427-433.

such] cognitive characteristics'. Finally, a stable base to establish 'it gets here' or 'here it ends' cannot be found. As soon as this analysis has been carried forth, its origin fades away more and more; it becomes more and more empty and one asks oneself: 'Does it not exist at all?' [The answer is that] it exists articulating a variety [of states ranging from] oblivion [to] complete reminiscence and [produces] insubstantial, random thoughts; having searched its origin in depth, as before one does not find [it], certain [of its inexistence], one is freed from taking the mind as concrete.⁴²

The second group of three aspects of the central part focuses on the accumulations of merit and wisdom (*bsod nam*s *dang ye shes kyi tshogs bsags pa*).⁴³ This section contains mainly *sūtra* and *gcod* terminology and contents: in this milieu the accumulation of merit is considered to be the cause of the realisation of the fruit–wisdom–and the deed which brings forth the most merit is doubtlessly the gift of what one cherishes the most: one's body. Thus the theoretical cause for the ritual offering of one's own body, characteristic of *gcod*, is put forward. The introductory section presents the purposes of doing so from a *sūtra* perspective and proves its point with a great variety of quotes from the *Prajñāpāramitāsamcayagāthā* with a view to link the *mahāyāna* doctrinal source to the *tantric* practice of *gcod*. The actual offering of the body, which is divided according to its beneficiaries and is tripartite, follows this introduction. One starts from above with buddhas, bodhisattvas, and so on, then below, offering to the beings residing on the earth's surface and possessing a material body. Finally, one summons the intermediate beings, the demons that roam

⁴² *de nas rang gi sems zhes bya ba mi sems dgu sems 'phro 'du zang zing mang po byed pa: mig rna ba sna lce lus kyis dbang po'i yul yul can rnam la rgyug cing: sems kyi 'dzin pa bcad nas dgag sgrub la sogs pa'i cho 'phrul du ma byed mkhan de: legs par brtag par bya ste: brtags thabs su ci yang yid la mi byed par rang babs su thed la bor nas bzhas pas: kho bzhas sar mi sdod cing gzugs sogs yul kun la rgyug par byed: de ltar rgyug pa'i dus gar rgyug rgyug du yan par btang bas: tshur 'khor nas ci yang mi sems par ha phyad de lding nge gnas: de bzhin du phyi ded nang ded byed cing: dang po gang nas byung: bar du gar sdod ci byed: mthar gar 'gro gang du song legs par brtags pas: dang po 'di nas byung zhes phyi nang steng 'og phyogs mtshams kyi ris ma chod: bar du 'dir gnas sa dbyibs kha dog pho mo ma ning 'di 'dra'o zhes gtad khung ma rnyed cing: kho'i byed tshul gyi rnam pa rig byed mtshan ma can 'di'o shes bstan du med: mthar 'dir song zhe'am: 'dir 'gags zhes khungs ma rnyed: ji ltar brtags pa tsam gyis: kho'i khungs je med je stong du song: ye mi 'dug gam zhe na: yang ni gya gyu bsam sems srang srang dang: mi dran dgu dran du ma byed 'dug: de'i khungs rtsad bcad pas gong bzhin ma rnyed pas: kho thag chod cing yid kyi mngon zhen dang bral bar 'gyur ro: (Sangs rgyas gling pa, dNgos gzhi nyams len gdan thog cig ma 'od gsal nam mkha'i snying po, Gangtok edition pp. 602-603, Paro edition pp. 429-430).*

⁴³ *Sangs rgyas gling pa, dNgos gzhi nyams len gdan thog cig ma 'od gsal nam mkha'i snying po, Gangtok edition pp. 608-636, Paro edition pp. 434-451.*

in a subtle atmospheric dimension. This part of the practice does not differ from standard *gcod sadhānā* procedures.

The last three aspects of the central part are collectively called 'recognition and certainty' (*ngo shes shing thag bcad*) and have a markedly *rdzogs chen* approach. Here some reflections culminating in the awareness of three key points are exposed, reflecting the tripartition of the aspect of the path in the *rdzogs chen* teachings: view, meditation and behaviour (*lta ba sgoms pa spyod pa*).⁴⁴ First of all, it is said that one's own real condition, described here as *rig pa* or mind of awakening (*byang chub kyi sems*), is buddhahood in its stainless aspect. It might seem to be wandering in *samsāra*, but this is nothing but an expression of it (*lta ba*). Then, secondly, external objects, inner thoughts and intermediate visions are all recognised as expressions of one's own *rtsal* energy and thus no antidote whatsoever needs to be applied to them (*sgom pa*). Finally, one becomes aware that all phenomena of *samsāra* and *nirvāṇa* can be traced back to the very essence of one's own mind; one transcends all concepts concerning a behaviour to be adopted and everything is then done without any effort, opening the mind to a blissful state (*spyod pa*). The last section clarifies these points with various explanations and further quotes from the *Prajñāpāramitā*, interpreting it from a *rdzogs chen* perspective. The following excerpts are particularly good examples:

For one's own condition to recognise itself by itself, one's own *rig pa*, the mind of enlightenment, need only look at what it is itself and nothing else. It does not exist as a circle, as a square [...] and so on; it is beyond all going, staying and coming, arising, abiding and ceasing. [Its] empty essence⁴⁵ therefore cannot be defined in any way; its own nature is luminous and limpid; the comprehension which produces aspects and variety is unobstructed. If one recognises it in this way, one's own essence is revealed by itself and thus adorns the meaning⁴⁶ of true reality which underlies [all] (*gnas lugs*) [...]. In this way one

⁴⁴ As is often seen throughout Tibetan Buddhism, the *rdzogs chen* corpus of teachings is categorised in a number of tripartitions, such as is base (*gzhi*), path (*lam*) and fruit ('*bras*), where the base further comprises essence (*ngo bo*), nature (*rang bzhin*) and energy (*thugs rje*), while the path can be divided into view (*lta ba*), meditation (*sgom pa*) and behaviour (*spyod pa*).

⁴⁵ In the technical language of *rdzogs chen*, the essence (*ngo bo*) mentioned here denotes the empty aspect of the base (*gzhi*) and is part of a triad of terms which describe it, together with nature (*rang bzhin*) and potentiality (*thugs rje*). For an explanation of the *rdzogs chen* concept of base and the problems it entails see various passages in Karmay, Samten Gyaltzen, *The Great Perfection (rdzogs chen): A Philosophical and Meditative Teaching in Tibetan Buddhism*.

⁴⁶ If we read, as in Paro, *rten* instead of *brgyan* one can translate this phrase as 'one is certain of the meaning'.

grasps the meaning of the essence of the mind and does not attribute any reality to a conceived object and a conceiving subject, transcending the limits of permanence and impermanence, and one is certain that all, saṃsāra and nirvāṇa, really are within oneself. Therefore, above, buddhahood does not have signs or causes, it really is the immaculate limpidity of one's own self-arising *rig pa*; below, there is no reason to wander in saṃsāra since [it] is precisely one's own pure *rig pa*. [...]

With regards to the method to stabilise the meaning of this certainty, whatever manifestations arise externally, all visions, [are] one's own vision, and emptiness [is] one's own emptiness; thus one should remain free from all limits of mental elaboration. By relaxing in this way, all manifestations arise as supports and thus phenomena are purified in their own condition. This being the case, whatever arises in one's vision is brought on the path without producing attachment or aversion, acceptance or refutation, and is integrated into experience as [explained] earlier. Thus, whatever thought or memory is produced or arises in one's own mind, it arises by itself and by itself is liberated as its own *rtsal* energy, so that mind and *rig pa*, mother and son indivisibly united, are liberated in the expanse of emptiness.

All discursive thoughts are purified in their own condition and are clearly established in the essence of the mind. Thus, once arisen, they are taken onto the path and whatever conduct of body, speech and mind one adopts, one proceeds utterly blissful. In the same way, whatever obscured thought emerges, be it desire, aversion, ignorance, arrogance or jealousy and so on, one looks at its essence and thus, self-liberated and pacified, one goes with a sense of immensity into the expanse of the essence of the mind and is purified by itself without leaving any trace.⁴⁷

⁴⁷ rang ngo rang gis shes par bya ba ni: rang gi rig pa byang chub kyi sems de kho na nyid la kho rang gis bltas pas: zlum po gru bzhi [...] la sogs par ma grub cing: byung gnas 'gro 'ong rtag chad thams cad las 'das pas: ngo bo stong pa cir yang ma grub pa: rang bzhin gsäl la dngas pa: rnam pa rigs byed kyi go ma 'gags pa ste: de ltar ngo shes pa ni rang ngo rang gis shes nas: gnas lugs kyi don brgyan la phebs pa'o: [...] de ltar sems nyid kyi don la bzung ba dang: 'dzin pa'i yul dang yul can du ma grub cing rtag pa dang chad pa'i mtha' las 'das: 'khor 'das thams cad rang thog tu thag chod pas: yar sangs la rgya rgyu med de sangs rgyas kyang rang gi rig pa rang shar dngas sang nge ba 'di ka: mar 'khor ba 'khyam rgyu med de: rang gi rig pa rang dag 'di ka: [...] de ltar thag chod pa'i don de brtan par byed pa'i thabs su: phyi snang ba la ci shar yang: snang ba thams cad rang snang: stong pa rang stong yin pas: spros pa'i mtha' thams cad dang bral bar bzhag: de ltar bzhag pas: snang ba thams cad grogs su shar nas snang ba rang sar dag: de ltar na snang ba la ci shar yang spang blang dgag sgrub med par thams cad lam du khyer zhing nyams su sngar ltar blangs pas: rang gi sems la dran yid ci shar ci grub kyang kho'i rang rtsal du rang shar rang la grol bas: sems rig ma bu dbyer med du 'dris shing stong nyid kyi klond du grol: 'gyu dran thams cad rang sar dag cing sems nyid la gsäl thebs pas: 'gyu dran gang shar lam du bsangs nas lus ngag yid gsum rnam spyod gang byas kyang

And further:

Recognising the external objective appearances as one's own spontaneous *rtsal* energy and ascertaining that one can separate from the antidote [...]: The method to purify the externally perceived object is to vividly put one's mind in the state of *rig pa*, *bodhicitta*, which appears in one's own clarity without being contaminated or adulterated by discursive thought; [the mind] does not enter into conceiving forms, sounds, flavours, smells, tactile sensations and other manifested objects. So, whatever appears is not taken for real; [...] the ego conceiving mind does not enter into in whatever appears or exists; whatever appears is not given any meaning and there is no attachment to it whatsoever. By this, the externally perceived objects are purified. In such a state, free from attachment, [whatever appears] manifests as a reflection in a mirror, the union of clarity and emptiness, and is recognised as an expression (*rtsal*) of the manifesting power (*rol*) of spontaneous primordial knowledge (*ye shes*). So one is certain that one can part from the antidote to accepting and rejecting concepts.

The method to purify the internally conceiving mind: Whatever concept, agitating memory or affliction arises in the mind, without reason grasping to it, is a flash that self-purifies and the conditions causing its movement do not interfere: *rig pa* is free from the stains of concepts. It is just as the essence of the sun cannot be cloaked by the darkest darkness; darkness does not even exist in the sun. When all memories and cognitions liberate in the expanse of total primordial knowledge, due to the insubstantiality of discursive thought, needless to say they are like the externally visible objects, [i.e.] the manifesting energy (*rtsal*) of *rig pa*, spontaneous primordial knowledge, and one is sure to be free from accepting or rejecting them.

Recognising the essence of the visions of clear light intermediate between internal and external and then liberating from the concepts of subject and object: In the moment in which certainty is obtained through habitual practice, one's own stainless *rig pa* is pure, unflickering; it is brilliant, without the veil of obscurations, limpid; it exerts in the continuum that knowledge of the self-arisen total manifesting potentiality of the essence of phenomena. Thus, in bliss there are no obstacles, in clarity there are no discursive thoughts, non-conceptuality does not become torpor, one does not latch on to anything. When in the continuum the extraordinary experience free

bde phyam kyis 'gro: de bzhin du 'dod chags zhe sdang gti mug nga rgyal phrag dog la sogs pa'i nyon mongs pa'i rtog pa ci langgs kyang: de'i ngo bo la bltas pas: sems nyid kyi klong du rang grol rang zhir phyam gyis song nas rjes med rang sar dag pa'o: (Sangs rgyas gling pa. dNgos gzhi nyams len gdan thog cig ma 'od gsal nam mkha'i snying po, Gangtok edition pp. 637-639, Paro edition pp. 451-452, Kathmandu edition pp. 637-639).

from adulterations emerges, one recognises that all that manifests externally is an expression of the internal, one understands and has certainty that all phenomena of saṃsāra and nirvāṇa are internally devoid of self-essence.[...] The outwardly manifesting objects and the recognition of the manifesting energy (*rtsal*) of inner self-risen primordial knowledge are non-dual, they are multiplicity in a single taste; therefore one is certain to transcend the support and the act of supporting on the antidote to accepting and rejecting.⁴⁸

And then:

All phenomena of saṃsāra and nirvāṇa are contained in the very condition of the essence of one's own mind, the nucleus of the *Prajñāpāramitā*, the teaching [of the Buddha]; once understood without effort, one is certain to go beyond the concepts of accepting and refusing in the state that surpasses the rational mind. One understands all outer manifestations as illusory portents of the internal mind and is certain that the imaginary emanations of the internal mind, all the gatherings of concepts, arise by themselves and by themselves liberate. The binomial internal/external is non-dual

⁴⁸ *phyi rol gyi yul snang rang byung rang rtsal du ngo shes pas: gnyen po dang bral bar thag bcad pa ni: [...] phyi bzung ba'i yul dag tshul ni: rig pa byang chub kyi sems 'di rnam par rtog pas ma bsalad ma bcas par rang gsal du snang ba kho rang gi steng du lam mer bzhaq pas: gzugs sgra dri ro reg bya la sogs yul snang la 'dzin pa ma zhugs pas: cir snang yang bden par mi 'dzin te: [...] snang zhing srid pa gang la yang: bdag 'dzin gyi blo ma zhugs par: ci ltar snang yang don ched du mi 'dzin cing: gang la'ang zhen pa med pas: phyi bzung ba'i yul dag pa ste: de ltar zhen pa med pa'i ngang nas gsal stong me long gi gzugs brnyan ltar snang zhing: rang 'byung ye shes rol pa'i rtsal du ngo shes pas na: rtog pa spang blang gi gnyen po dang bral bar thag chod pa'o: nang 'dzin pa'i sems dag tshul ni: sems la rnam par rtog pa dang: 'gyu byed kyi dran pa dang: nyon mongs pa gang skyes kyang: de rnam blos ma bzung bar: 'gyu ba rang sang du 'gro zhing: 'gyu byed kyi rkyen gyis mi gnod de: rig pa la rtog pa'i dri ma dang bral ba nyi ma'i snying po dang 'dra ba la mun pa'i smag gis ma gos pa ltar: nyi ma la mun pa'i ming med: dran rig thams cad ye shes chen po'i klong du grol tsa na: rnam rtog gi gdos med pa'i phyir: phyi rol du yul snang du gyur pa: rang byung ye shes rig pa'i rang rtsal yin pa ltar ci smos shing: spang blang dang bral bar thag chod pa'o: bar 'od gsal gyi snang ba rang ngo shes pas gzung 'dzin las grol ba ni: dkyus ltar nyams len gyis gtan la phebs pa'i dus ni: rang gi rig pa dri ma med par sa le: g.yo 'gul med par sang nge: sgrib g.yogs med par hrig ge ba: chos nyid rang byung rang rtsal chen po'i ye shes de rgyud la byas pas: bde ba la chags pa med pa: gsal ba la rtog pa med pa: mi rtog pa ha phyad du ma song zhing: gang la'ang zhen 'dzin dang bral ba'o: bcas ma dang bral ba'i nyams thun mong ma yin pa rgyud la 'char ba na: phyi'i snang ba thams cad nang gi gdangs yin par ngo shes te: nang du 'khor 'das kyi chos thams cad rang bzhin med par ngo shes pas gtan la phebs shing: [...] phyi rol gyi yul snang du gyur pa dang: nang rang byung ye shes kyi rang rtsal du ngo shes pa gnyis med du ma ro gcig tu gyur pas: spang blang gi gnyen po brtan bya rten byed las 'das par thag chod do: (Sangs rgyas gling pa, dNgos gzhi nyams len gdan thog cig ma 'od gsal nam mkha'i snying po, Gangtok edition pp. 639-642, Paro edition pp. 452-455, Kathmandu edition pp. 639-642).*

and by not making it dual one is certain that it is not separated. The *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdayasūtra* says: 'form is emptiness, emptiness is form, emptiness is none other than form, form is none other than emptiness'. Further, the *Prajñāpāramitāsaṃcayagāthā* says: 'The ether element is unlimited towards the east, towards the south, as well as towards the north and towards the west; although it exists everywhere, above, below, in the ten directions, it does not produce distinctions or multiplicity. The *tathatā* of the past, the *tathatā* of the future, the *tathatā* of the present, the *tathatā* of the *arhat*, the *tathatā* of all phenomena, the *tathatā* of all victorious ones: all these *tathatās* are phenomenal and there is no difference between them; the awakening of the Sugata, where no distinction exists among phenomena, is what any bodhisattva strives to obtain. [Therefore,] possessing skilful means, the bodhisattva applies the perfection of wisdom.⁴⁹ [...] Things being like that, external and internal, world and beings, *samsāra* and *nirvāṇa* and all other dualistic phenomena are contained in the very essence of one's own mind and, although they might fade into alterity, they transcend [the idea of] someone applying effort and an object of effort. In the [*Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā*], the Mother of the Victorious Ones, it is said: 'As for the mind, it is clear light' ([34], p. 5). So one obtains the full awareness that transcends effort, the true reality that underlies (*gshis kyi gnas lugs*) the essence of the mind and objects, limitless emptiness devoid of a self. From what has just been explained [it is clear that] there is no action that leads to the positive and no non-action that leads to the negative, [all] that is completely pure since the beginning and all concepts of accepting and rejecting, positive or negative behaviour, are transcended.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ The reference edition of the *sdud pa* (*Shes rab sna tshogs pa - sde dge par phud*, p. 18-19) reads: *shes rab pha 'dren pa'i shes rab med na thob bar 'gyur ma yin* instead of *shes rab pha rol phyin la sbyor*. Nevertheless we chose to read as in Sangs rgyas gling pa. *dNgos gzhi nyams len gdan thog cig ma 'od gsal nam mkha'i snying po*, since they conform to other editions of the text we consulted (*sDud pa tshigs su bcad pa – lha sa, snar thang, stag pho brang bris ma*).

⁵⁰ 'khor 'das kyi chos thams cad bka' shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i ngo bo rang gi sems nyid kyi steng du tshang zhing rtsol bral du shes shing blo 'das kyi ngang du spang blang gi 'dzin pa las 'das par thag bcad pa ni: phyi rol kyi snang ba thams cad: nang sems kyi cho 'phrul yin par ngo shes: nang sems kyi cho 'phrul rtoḡ tshogs thams cad rang las shar zhing grol bar thag chod: phyi nang gnyis po gnyis su med: gnyis su byar med so so ma yin par thag chod pa ste: shes rab snying po las: gzugs stong pa'o: stong pa nyid gzugs so: gzugs las kyang stong pa nyid gzhan ma yin no: stong pa nyid las kyang gzugs gzhan ma yin no: zhes byung zhiḡḡ: sdud pa las kyang: nam mkha'i kham na shar gyi phyogs dang lho phyogs dang: de bzhiḡḡ nub kyi phyogs dang byang phyogs pha mtha' yas: steng dang 'og dang phyogs bcu ji snyed rnam na'ang yod: tha dad gyur pa med cing bye brag gyur pa med: 'das pa'i de bzhiḡḡ nyid gang ma byon de bzhiḡḡ nyid: da lta de bzhiḡḡ nyid gang dgra bcom de bzhiḡḡ nyid: chos kun de bzhiḡḡ nyid gang rgyal ba'i de bzhiḡḡ nyid: chos kyi de bzhiḡḡ nyid 'di thams cad bye brag med: bde gshegs byang chub tha dad chos dang bral gyur pa: 'di ni byang chub sems dpa' gang zhiḡḡ thob 'dod pa: thabs dang ldan pas shes rab pha rol phyin la sbyor: [...] de ltar na phyi nang snod bcud

5.4. Concluding Phase

The first three aspects of the concluding phase concern the ways to get rid (*bskyur tshul*) of body, speech and mind, leaving behind any interest whatsoever in their activities. This is made possible by the experience of the states described above, the empty essence of oneself, of god-demons and the creator of the dualism self-other, from having accumulated merit through the offering of one's most cherished thing, the body, and from having understood that everything is nothing else than a mere expression of one's own *rtsal* energy. Thus any antidote to deluded states of mind, a typical element in other forms of practice, is not necessary anymore; no specific behaviour has to be applied and voice and mind are abandoned.

In the state in which the body, empty appearance, is [understood to be] similar to the reflection of the moon in water, whatever activity is accomplished is undertaken in the expanse [in which it is seen] as a dreamlike illusion. Even though thoughts like acceptance and refutation, positive and negative and others are emanated from the expression (*rtsal*) of the manifesting power (*rol*) free of obstacles, in order not to follow them, without establishing them as concrete, one has the sentinel of awareness and watchfulness and, understanding them as self-arisen and self-liberated, settles equanimously in the transcending state.⁵¹

Next are the so-called 'three methods to set aside' (*bzhag thabs gsum*).⁵² The first concerns the disassociation from wrong conduct in

'khor 'das la sogs pa'i gnyis chos thams cad rang gi sems nyid kyi steng du tshang zhing: gzhan gud na'ang rtsal bya rtsal byed las 'das shing: sems de ni sems ma mchis pa ste/ sems kyi rang bzhin ni 'od gsal ba lags sol zhes rgyal ba'i yum las gsungs pas: sems dngos po gshis kyi gnas lugs stong pa mtha' bral bdag med: bya rtsol las 'das par thag chod gding thob: da bskyar nas byas pas bzang du 'gro 'gyu'am: ma byas pas ngan du 'gro rgyu med de: gdod nas rnam par dag cing dge sdig gi byed spyod spang blang gi 'dzin pa thams cad las 'das pa'o: (Sangs rgyas gling pa, dNgos gzhi nyams len gdan thog cig ma 'od gsal nam mkha'i snying po, Gangtok edition pp. 642-645, Paro edition pp. 455-456).

⁵¹ *lus snang stong chu zla lta bu'i ngang nas spyod lam gang byed rmi lam sgyu ma lta bu'i klong nas spyod: ma 'gags rol pa'i rtsal las bzang ngan blang dor la sogs pa'i rtogs pa 'phro yang: de'i rjes phyir mi 'brang phyir a 'thas su mi bzhag par: dran shes bzhin gyi bya ra dang ldan pas rang shar rang grol du shes par bya ste: pha rol tu phyin pa'i ngang la mnyam par bzhag go: (Sangs rgyas gling pa, dNgos gzhi nyams len gdan thog cig ma 'od gsal nam mkha'i snying po, Gangtok edition p. 646, Paro edition p. 457).*

⁵² *Sangs rgyas gling pa, dNgos gzhi nyams len gdan thog cig ma 'od gsal nam mkha'i snying po, Gangtok edition pp. 645-655, Paro edition pp. 457-463.*

past lives and the adoption of a conduct and perseverance which motivates one to undertake the practice and turn one's back on mundane activities, useless chatter and distractions. In the same way, when carrying out the practice, it is necessary for the disciple to not focalise on the idea of a positive conduct and to leave aside all positive propositions, since this would drive him back to those fetters which he was trying to cut:

If you are tied up, whether it is a golden rope or a grass one, both are ropes...⁵³

Any thought or behaviour whatsoever, even if positive or concerning practice, only produces fetters like any other conduct or conceptualisation, like anything which in its nature is linked to the dualistic mind. Furthermore, these concepts and concerns frustrate progress in the practice, and the worn-out practitioner could fall into the danger of denigrating the master or the teaching, violating *samaya* and risking lowly rebirths. The third thing to set aside is the idea of effort and pride for overcoming difficulties: the practitioner need only *be* in the experience of the essence, which is identical regardless what conduct he might undertake. He must be extremely firm in realising the inexistence of an agent, an action and a recipient of the action, focusing on the only goal: enlightenment for the benefit of all sentient beings.

Finally, as a last triad of the conclusive parts of this section, are the so-called 'three practices'.⁵⁴ These consist in the integration, or taking onto the path,⁵⁵ of the three roots (*rtsa ba gsum*) of the *rnying ma tantras*—*bla ma*, *yi dam* and *ḍākinī*—then all beings in general and finally the god-demons. Here the god-demons are important participants, which is typical for the *gcod* symbolic imagery, yet the underlying view of integration, that is the dismissal of any concept of duality, is yet again a *rdzogs chen* topos.

As for the three roots, the text sets forward that the essential point is to not limit their presence and integration to the practice sessions. If this were the case, and the sessions were followed by intervals of

⁵³ *gal te bcings na: gser gyi thag pas bcings pa dang: dres ma'i thag pas bcings pa gnyis* (Sangs rgyas gling pa, *dNgos gzhi nyams len gdan thog cig ma 'od gsal nam mkha'i snying po*, Gangtok edition pp. 652, Paro edition p. 461).

⁵⁴ Sangs rgyas gling pa, *dNgos gzhi nyams len gdan thog cig ma 'od gsal nam mkha'i snying po*, Gangtok edition pp. 655-694, Paro edition pp. 463-488.

⁵⁵ *lam du khyer*, 'take onto the path', in this context denotes the practice of integration in all aspects of life of the state that ensues from the realisation of a wide variety of meditative techniques.

separation or absence, some discontinuities would arise in which one might easily fall prey to doubts, uncertainties, hope and fear. If they are completely integrated in a state that transcends union or separation and this condition continues in the intervals between the sessions as well, the practice of the *bla ma* will yield the blessing, the practice of the *yi dam* will yield *siddhis* and the practice of the *dākinī* will yield the enlightened activity. In order for this to happen it is necessary to understand that the *bla ma* is no different from the empty essence of one's own mind, the *yi dam* is none else than its luminous aspect and the *dākinī* is its dynamic dimension, free from any conceptual structure. With regards to the integration of the *bla ma*, the text explains:

Thus the *bla ma* [inasmuch as he is the] Buddha, *dharmakāya*, abides from the beginning in the expanse of the empty essence of the mind; the *bla ma* [inasmuch as he is] great bliss, perfect *sambhogakāya*, abides luminous from the beginning, free from obscurations, in the expanse of the clear nature of the mind; the *bla ma*, [inasmuch as he is] the body which emanates (*nirmāṇakāya*) all things, stays from beginningless time free from birth and cessation in the expanse of the unobstructed *rtsal* energy which makes the aspects of the mind known.

In this way one reaches the awareness which recognises with certainty that the *bla ma* [inasmuch as he is] the Lord of the three bodies, resides from the beginning in the expanse of the essence of one's own mind and thus, since there is no [alternation between states of] union and separation with regards to the *bla ma*, not even the sign of any hesitation; a simultaneous encounter takes place between the comprehension of the mind and the lord of the three bodies, the *bla ma*.⁵⁶

And then on the *yi dam*:

Even if in the vision of the yogin the aspects of the deities appear multifarious, [the *yi dam*] resides in the inseparability of *samaya* and primordial knowledge and is not at all realised in the external aspects

⁵⁶ *de ltar bla ma sangs rgyas chos kyi sku sems ngo bo stong pa'i klong na: ye gdod ma nas bzhugs shing: bla ma bde chen longs spyod rdzogs pa'i sku sems kyi rang bzhin gsal ba'i klong du ye nas gsal 'gri ba mi mnga' bar bzhugs: bla ma cir yang sprul pa'i sku: sems kyi rnam pa rig byed kyi rtsal: 'gag pa med pa'i klong du thog ma med pa nas skye 'gag med par bzhugs: de ltar bla ma sku gsum gyi bdag nyid rang gi sems nyid kyi klong du ye nas bzhugs par ngo shes thag chod gding thob nas: bla ma dang skad cig gi suga log phyi log tsam yang 'du 'bral med pas sems rtogs pa dang: bla ma sku gsum gyi bdag nyid dang mjal ba dang dus mnyam: (Sangs rgyas gling pa, dNgos gzhi nyams len gdan thog cig ma 'od gsal nam mkha'i snying po, Gangtok edition p. 658, Paro edition p. 465).*

which are attributed to it; thus, he who realizes the *yi dam* beyond all limits [which could be conceived in his regard], is [united] with that [deity] as the shadow to the body and therefore need not base himself on practices which alternate [presence and absence of the *yi dam*], constructing the *yi dam* mentally [so that the *yi dam* is only present during the practice]; the two kinds of *siddhis* are granted to that yogin in an uninterrupted flow, and therefore he recognises its meaning and beholds the countenance of all *yi dam* deities in a single instant.⁵⁷

Finally on the *ḍākinī*:

The *ḍākinī* is the messenger of the dance (*rol pa*) of the illusory manifestations of the *bla ma* and the *yi dam*, she does not arise from anything other than the manifesting dance of both, and the enlightened activity she accomplishes is produced in their sphere. Even if she goes, she goes right into that [sphere], therefore one reaches the awareness to recognize with certainty the coexistence of the yogin and the *ḍākinī* in a state free from separation and union.⁵⁸

The way to take all beings onto the path, i.e., to integrate them into one's own experience, is essentially based on classical *sūtra* style considerations: one generates compassion for the suffering of beings who in some past life have been one's loving parents, one ponders the value and rarity of human life and the need not to waste it and so on. In this way one's mind is tamed and well trained in compassion and loving kindness, it is devoted to enlightenment alone and engages only in beneficial actions.

As a final thought in this section it is said that to take the god-demons onto the path means to be able to recognise that they are no different from the *bla ma*, the *yi dam*, the *ḍākinī*, from one's own parents and from oneself, not different from any other transitory appearance.

⁵⁷ rnal 'byor pa'i snang ngo la lha'i rnam pa du mar snang yang dam tshig ye shes dbyer med du bzhugs shing: 'dzin ngos la cir yang ma grub pas: mtha' thams cad las 'das pa'i yi dam sgrub pa po rang nyid dang lus dang grib ma ltar bzhugs pas: blos byas res 'jag gi sgrub pa la ltos mi 'tshal zhing: dngos grub rnam gnyis rnal 'byor pa la rgyun chad med par stsol bar byed pas: de lta bu'i don ngos zin pas: yi dam kyi lha thams cad dus gcig la zhal mjal: (Sangs rgyas gling pa, dNgos gzhi nyams len gdan thog cig ma 'od gsal nam mkha'i snying po, Gangtok edition pp. 662-663 Paro edition p. 467).

⁵⁸ mkha' 'gro de ni: bla ma yi dam gyi cho 'phrul rol pa'i pho nya yin cing: gzhan yang gang nas kyang ma byung ste de gnyis kyi rol pa las byung: mādāz pa'i phrin las kyang khong gnyis kyi klong du byed: gshegs kyang de ltar gshegs pa'i phyir na: rnal 'byor pa dang mkha' 'gro lhan cig tu 'du bral med par bzhugs pa ngo shes: (Sangs rgyas gling pa, dNgos gzhi nyams len gdan thog cig ma 'od gsal nam mkha'i snying po, Gangtok edition p. 665, Paro edition p. 470).

In this context particular emphasis is given to the need to extend the condition of integration, or the condition in which one abides in the same state as the three roots — *bla ma*, *yi dam* and *dākinī* — beyond the particular form the discursive mind might attribute them, keeping this in the foreground throughout one's entire existence in the three states of wakefulness, deep sleep and dream.

There is no limit whatsoever; the god-demons of the *gcod* practice and their illusory displays share with *bla ma*, *yi dam* and *dākinī* the very same essence; they appear before the perceptive screen of the yogin according to similar processes (the *rtsal* energy for example) and nothing can ever be different from that playful manifestation. All appearances, all phenomena, never exceed being a circumstantial form of the potentiality of the base (*gzhi*), particularly in the form perceived by the individual (*rtsal*). As proposed earlier on, the typical *gcod* term *lha 'dre*, god-demons, is used as a figure of speech and becomes an epitome of the externally perceived world.

In truth the so-called gods and the so-called demons, the so called 'I' and the so called 'other' and so on, do not exist as dual phenomena and are primordially unborn and unceasing, inexpressible, unexplainable and unconceivable; nevertheless, when this is not understood and when one is not certain of that, [they] conventionally appear as I and other, gods and demons and so forth; they are impermanent, unstable and perishable, they appear to transform and be transforming according to circumstances, no less than the illusory images of dreams. For example, to take a fire steel and a flint with tinder and then strike [them] together is the condition from which fire emerges, and when this happens the possibility to burn occurs. In the same way the coincidence of the conditions [which are] the soaring of the *rtsal* energy of unceasing appearances with the six objects of the senses, the emergence of the forms and other fields [of perception], the lived experiences and *karmic* latencies, past and future, which are conformant with the causes [which have produced them] and the confusion of shared visions,⁵⁹ leads to the arising of many disordered mental activities, originating from the power of ignorance, like god-demons and other [dualities], I and other, subject and object. Being this way it follows that however great the powers and portents of god-demons may be, one is certain that they do not exceed the *rtsal* energy of the dance of essence (*ngo bo*), nature (*rang bzhin*) and potentiality (*thugs rje*). In the same way, since the *bla ma* as well abides in essence, nature and potentiality, which are the three dimensions *dharmakāya*, *saṃbhogakāya* and *nirmāṇakāya*, *bla ma* and god-demons

⁵⁹ Meaning the so-called 'karmic vision' (*las kyi snang*) which is shared with the beings existing in the same mode.

are non-dual.⁶⁰

And further:

Even though the god-demons display astonishing manifestations, they do not exceed the dimension in which there is no⁶¹ dualism between conventional truth and absolute truth. Even the *yi dam* deity in its apparent form, conventionally, appears vivid and beautiful, endowed with ornaments, emblems, complexion and knowable attributes, [while] in the aspect of graspability, at the absolute level, it exceeds the conception of characteristics and none [of its attributes] really exist; therefore the *yi dam* and god-demons are non-dual. No

⁶⁰ *de yang yang dag gi don la: lha zhes bya ba dang: 'dre zhes bya ba dang: bdag ces bya ba dang: gzhan zhes bya ba la sogs gnyis chos su grub pa med cing: ye gdod ma nas ma skyes mi 'gag smra bsam brjod med yin kyang: de ltar ma rtogs shing gtan la ma phebs pa'i tshé: kun rdzob tu bdag gzhan lha 'dre la sogs par snang zhing: rtag brtan ther du zug pa med cing: rmi lam sgyu ma gzugs brnyan tsam las: rkyen gyis bsgyur bya sgyur byed du snang ba ni: dper na: me cha dang spra ba me rdo gsum sprad nas brdab rkyen las me byung na bsreg byed kyi nus pa 'byung ba bzhin: snang cha ma 'gag pa'i rtsal yul drug la 'phyo ba dang: gzugs sogs kyi yul shar ba dang: myong ba rgyu mthun byed pa rgyu mthun gyi bag chags snga phyi dang: gzhan snang gi 'khrul rkyen rnams 'dzom pas ma rig pa'i shugs las lha 'dre la sogs pa bdag gzhan yul yul can gyi 'du 'phro zang zing du ma 'byung ba'i phyir: lha 'dre ji ltar stobs dang rdzu 'phrul che yang: ngo bo rang bzhin thugs rje rol pa'i rtsal las ma 'das par thag chod: de bzhin du bla ma yang chos sku longs sku sprul sku gsum ngo bo rang bzhin thugs rje nyid du bzhugs pas: bla ma dang lha 'dre gnyis su med: lha 'dres ji ltar cho 'phrul ston par byed kyang kun rdzob don dam gnyis med kyi klong las ma 'das: yi dam gyi lha yang snang ngor kun rdzob kyi char sku mdog phyag mtshan rgyan cha lugs rnam pa rig byed dang bcas pa bkra lam mer snang zhing: 'dzin ngor don dam pa'i char gang yang grub pa med cing: mtshan 'dzin las 'das pa'i phyir lha 'dre dang yi dam gnyis su med: lha 'dre ji ltar 'gyur ldog skyen yang: ma 'gag rnam par rol pa'i rtsal las ma 'das par thag chod: mkha' 'gro yang bla ma yi dam gyi thugs rje'i rtsal las ma 'gag pa'i rnam par rol pa las byung ba'i phyir: bla ma yi dam mkha' 'gro dang lha 'dre gnyis su med: lha 'dre ji ltar rang tshugs bzang ngan snang yang 'gro ba rigs drug: lam rgyud lnga: skyes gnas rnam pa bzhi'i sems can las ma 'das par thag chod: pha ma sems can rnams kyang 'gro ba rigs drug lam rgyud lnga skye gnas bzhi'i khong du gtogs pa'i phyir: pha ma 'gro drug dang lha 'dre gnyis su med: bdag dang lha 'dre gnyis ji ltar phan tshun du snang yang: bdag ma grub na lha 'dre ma grub: lha 'dre ma grub na bdag ma grub: der yang ma zad: bdag nyid dang lhan cig skyes pa'i lha zhes pa dang: mnyam por 'ong ba'i bdud gsum lus dang grib ma'am: sgog pa dang dri'i tshul du gnas pa'i phyir: bdag dang lha 'dre gnyis su med pa'o: (Sangs rgyas gling pa, dNgos gzhi nyams len gdan thog cig ma 'od gsal nam mkha'i snying po, Gangtok edition pp. 681-683, Paro edition pp. 480-481)*

⁶¹ It is interesting to note that here the Paro edition has *yod* in lieu of *med*; the readings are not mutually exclusive since what has been discussed in these pages may be considered both from the point of view in which conventional and absolute truth are distinct and from the point of view in which they are not. In this sense god-demons and the *yi dam* are identical as they possess an apparent form and an empty essence, a fact that does not change, regardless whether the dualism is considered conventionally existent. Obviously the conventional/absolute distinction can be posited only at the conventional level.

matter how fast the god-demons transform, one can be certain that they will not exceed the *rtsal* energy of the total, unobstructed dance (*rol pa*); also the *ḍākinī*, the *rtsal* energy of the potentiality of *bla ma* and *yi dam*, arises from the unobstructed manifesting dance; the *ḍākinī* and the god-demons are therefore non-dual.

Even though god-demons may appear as positive or negative on their own account, it is certain that they do not transcend the beings of the six realms, the five continuous paths⁶² and the four places of birth.⁶³ Since one's own parents and [all] beings are among the inhabitants of the six realms, those born in the four modes of birth and those who [traverse one of] the five paths, both our parents and the six [kinds of] beings are non-dual with god-demons.

Although the ego and god-demons appear to each other [as separate entities], if the ego does not exist the god-demons do not exist, and if the god-demons do not exist the ego does not exist. And that's not all: the ego itself, the so-called congenital deities and the individual demons stay [reciprocally] like the shadow with the body or like the smell with the garlic, therefore the ego and the god-demons are non-dual.⁶⁴

⁶² The five continuous paths (*lam rgyud lnga*) are the five domains in which sentient beings move. This classification corresponds to that of the 'six classes' but assigns some of the *asuras* or titans to the god realm and the human realm.

⁶³ The four places of birth (*skye gnas bzhi*) are uterine birth (*mngal nas skyes pa*) of humans, some animals and some *pretas*; birth from egg (*sgo nga las skyes pa*); birth from heat and moisture (*drod gsher las skyes pa*) of some animals, especially insects and supernatural birth (*rdzus te skye pa*) of gods, hell beings and some *pretas* and humans.

⁶⁴ *de yang yang dag gi don la: lha zhes bya ba dang: 'dre zhes bya ba dang: bdag ces bya ba dang: gzhan zhes bya ba la sogs gnyis chos su grub pa med cing: ye gdod ma nas ma skyes mi 'gag smra bsam brjod med yin kyang: de ltar ma rtogs shing gtan la ma phebs pa'i tshé: kun rdzob tu bdag gzhan lha 'dre la sogs par snang zhing: rtag brtan ther du zug pa med cing: rmi lam rgyu ma gzugs brnyan tsam las: rkyen gyis bsgyur bya sgyur byed du snang ba ni: dper na: me cha dang spra ba me rdo gsum sprad nas brdab rkyen las me byung na sred byed kyi nus pa 'byung ba bzhin: snang cha ma 'gag pa'i rtsal yul drug la 'phyo ba dang: gzugs sogs kyi yul shar ba dang: myong ba rgyu mthun byed pa rgyu mthun gyi bag chags snga phyi dang: gzhan snang gi 'khrul rkyen rnams 'dzom pas ma rig pa'i shugs las lha 'dre la sogs pa bdag gzhan yul yul can gyi 'du 'phro zang zing du ma 'byung ba'i phyir: lha 'dre ji ltar stobs dang rdzu 'phrul che yang: ngo bo rang bzhin thugs rje rol pa'i rtsal las ma 'das par thag chod: de bzhin du bla ma yang chos sku longs sku sprul sku gsum ngo bo rang bzhin thugs rje nyid du bzhugs pas: bla ma dang lha 'dre gnyis su med: lha 'dres ji ltar cho 'phrul ston par byed kyang kun rdzob don dam gnyis med kyi klong las ma 'das: yi dam gyi lha yang snang ngor kun rdzob kyi char sku mdog phyag mtshan rgyan cha lugs rnam pa rig byed dang bcas pa bkra lam mer snang zhing: 'dzin ngor don dam pa'i char gang yang grub pa med cing: mtshan 'dzin las 'das pa'i phyir lha 'dre dang yi dam gnyis su med: lha 'dre ji ltar 'gyur ldog skyen yang: ma 'gag rnam par rol pa'i rtsal las ma 'das par thag chod: mkha' 'gro yang bla ma yi dam gyi thugs rje'i rtsal ma 'gags pa'i rnam rol las byung ba'i phyir: mkha' 'gro dang lha 'dre gnyis su med: lha 'dre ji ltar rang tshugs bzang ngan snang yang 'gro ba rigs drug: lam*

5.5 *The Single Seat Practice*

The third part of the text endeavours to lead the yogin into a practice no longer composed by a series of limited sessions (*thun*) with a beginning and an end and interspersed with other daily activities; instead, the practice must become a continuous condition. The practice must be integrated in the yogin's experience to the point that it is present and spontaneously experienced in each instant of his life, regardless what activity he may be carrying out. This is called continuous yoga (*rgyun chags kyi rnal 'byor*): the text says that the yogin should practice the visualisations and the other parts of this section according to the instructions and become familiar with and assimilate them to the point that he will be able to apply its crucial points even outside of the individual sessions. One of the editions of this text uses the denomination 'Single Seat' (*gdan thog gcig ma*) to refer to this continuous yoga.

In this third part, the customary remarks on *samaya* — commitment — are elucidated. It is divided in three kinds, each related to one of the three aspects of the path according to *rdzogs chen*:⁶⁵ the view (*lta ba*), in which one has to avoid hope and fear; meditation (*sgom pa*), which consists in remaining unmovable whatever might happen or appear; and conduct (*spyod pa*), which prescribes to follow the disciplinary rules of the *śrāvakas* in general as well as the bodhisattva vows and the *samaya* of the *tantric* practitioner, in particular to abstain from performing practices aimed at pleasing the gods or damaging the demons, to maintain secrecy with regard to the time when the practice of *gcod* is performed and to remove one's traces.⁶⁶

rgyud lnga: skyes gnas rnam pa bzhi'i sems can las ma 'das par thag chod: pha ma sems can rnam kyang 'gro ba rigs drug lam rgyud lnga skye gnas bzhi'i khong du gtogs pa'i phyir: pha ma 'gro drug dang lha 'dre gnyis su med: bdag dang lha 'dre gnyis ji ltar phan thun du snang yang: bdag ma grub na lha 'dre ma grub: lha 'dre ma grub na bdag ma grub: der yang ma zad: bdag nyid dang lhan cig skyes pa'i lha zhes pa dang: mnyam por 'ong ba'i bdud gsum lus dang grib ma'am: sgog pa dang dri'i tshul du gnas pa'i phyir: bdag dang lha 'dre gnyis su med pa'o: (Sangs rgyas gling pa, dNgos gzhi nyams len gdan thog cig ma 'od gsal nam mkha'i snying po, Gangtok edition pp. 681-683, Paro edition pp. 480-481).

⁶⁵ See note 44.

⁶⁶ Sangs rgyas gling pa, *dNgos gzhi nyams len gdan thog cig ma 'od gsal nam mkha'i snying po*, Gangtok edition pp. 726-730, Paro edition pp. 509-513.

6. Conclusion

The rich heritage of *gcod* literature in the *rnying ma* school is certainly remarkable and relatively little researched. It does seem clear, however, that the vast majority of this literature strikingly reflects at least some of the patterns seen in Sangs rgyas gling pa's text 'The Single Seat of the Central Practice: Clear Light, Essence of the Sky'. It would be extremely interesting to thoroughly examine the various strategies that each of those corpora adopts in order to assimilate the *gcod* practice in the *rnying ma* context, both from a doctrinal and a historical point of view, comparing it to other similar processes that took place in Tibet during the early centuries of the second diffusion of Buddhism in that country. In the 'The Single Seat of the Central Practice: Clear Light, Essence of the Sky', we find an implementation of the strategy of proposing *gcod* as a *gter ma* teaching, thus asserting it as a practice transmitted by Padmasambhava himself and consequently establishing its status as a prominent *rnying ma* teaching. Nevertheless, as we have hinted at, there are other ways in which this problem has been tackled. On the other hand, from a doctrinal perspective, we have found that although never explicitly qualified as such, the *rdzogs chen* point of view and terminology imbue the entire text and underlie most of its doctrinal perspective. This suggests that the processes at work here had already reached a remarkable level of maturation in the fourteenth century.

The uncommon openness and ease that seems to characterize the adoption by the proponents of the ancient school of an apparently alien⁶⁷ doctrinal and practical corpus is certainly fostered by three main considerations. Firstly, it is understood that all Tibetan spiritual standpoints, including those examined here, are deeply rooted in the universally accepted common base of the *Prajñāparamitā* doctrines. Secondly, the tantric method, of which *gcod* is a paradigmatic example, is held in great esteem, being deemed to possess extraordinary power, efficacy and swiftness. Lastly, it is always possible to keep a clear and firm *rdzogs chen* outlook and presence in whatever practice or conduct one undertakes. A practitioner of *rdzogs chen* is thus ready to jump onboard the fastest and most direct vehicle available heading in the direction he/she wants to go.

We would go as far as to assert that the actual idea of integrating a variety of doctrines and practices apparently foreign to its history and transmission lineages into its own formula, which is designed to

⁶⁷ See note 28.

establish beings in the direct experience of enlightenment, really seems to be a natural implication of the very core of the *rdzogs chen* outlook. Whatever is useful is thus effortlessly applied in practice⁶⁸ without clinging to the rigid categorizations and prejudices that characterize the dualistic or ignorant mind, the creator of illusion.

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⁶⁸ The adoption of various practices from various heterogeneous teachings in the *rdzogs chen* curriculum entails that the traditional requirements of transmission, initiation, and commitments of each practice be strictly observed.

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The Lives of Bu ston Rin chen grub and the Date and Sources of His *Chos 'byung*, a Chronicle of Buddhism in India and Tibet *

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For David Seyfort Ruegg, who did so much to introduce us to the polymath Bu ston, his life and some of his works, and for the intrepid individuals of the Dpal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang, who continue to provide us with so many rare books that illuminate the depth and breadth of Tibet's rich literary culture.

Preliminaries: The Multiple Lives of Bu ston

To date, the principal source for the life of the great Bu ston Rin chen grub (1290-1364) was his biography by his disciple Sgra tshad pa Rin chen rgyal mtshan (1318-88), which was studied by D. Seyfort Ruegg now almost fifty years ago in the form of annotated translations and paraphrases of lengthy passages from this work; H. van den Bogaert's recent, more popular rendition is, it needs to be said, somewhat less useful for scholarly purposes and it is evident that he has not always correctly understood his text.¹ Sgra tshad pa's work actually consisted of two distinct parts. Sgra tshad pa wrote the first part in Sa skya monastery, in 1355, at the request of Chos kyi rgyal mtshan (1332-59), a scion of Sa skya monastery's Lha

* For the prequel to this paper, see my "Some Remarks on the Textual Transmission and Text of Bu ston Rin chen grub's *Chos 'byung*, a Chronicle of Buddhism in India and Tibet," *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines* no. 25 (Avril, 2013), 115-93. Sources that are cited more than thrice are given abbreviations and these can be found in the bibliography of the present paper.

¹ See, respectively, Seyfort Ruegg (1966) and a *Handful of Flowers. A brief biography of Buton Rinchen Drub*, tr. H. van den Bogaert (Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1996).

khang Residence and he composed the second part in 1366 in Bu ston's personal see of Ri phug Bde chen chos kyi pho brang that is located not far from Zhwa lu monastery where his master stayed for much of his life. Compared to other fourteenth century specimen of the genre, it is in several ways an unbalanced and rather disappointing work. Sgra tshad pa is by and large content with religious hyperbole of the kind that includes lengthy enumerations and interpretive descriptions of Bu ston's visions, all of which are detailed at the expense of surveys of other types of important historical events and the roles Bu ston played in these. This is not to say that these visions are mute and that they reveal nothing that would otherwise inform the historian of those ideas that were current during his lifetime and in which Bu ston played no insignificant roles. Of course they do, and they often contain details that are actually of crucial relevance to the subject, at times even to the extent that their misunderstanding could lead us far away from a more intimate familiarity with, if not Bu ston, then the milieu in which he breathed, lived and worked. But very little of the sort can be deduced from this biography. What Sgra tshad pa does offer his audience, therefore, are by and large minimalistic descriptions of Bu ston's relationships with his peers and his political activities. Some time ago, J. Gyatso drew attention to the circumstance that many Tibetan religious figures kept diaries that in turn formed critical sources for the composition of autobiographies and biographies.² We do not know when this habit began or when it became more or less widespread. Sgra tshad pa's fairly thin presentation leads us to conclude that either Bu ston himself never kept a diary of the day to day events of his life, or that it had for some reason not been accessible to Sgra tshad pa, or that the latter had consciously refrained from using it. The first seems to be the more likely scenario. It is equally puzzling that Sgra tshad pa often even seems to have been unclear about the precise dates for some of his master's main compositions, which is surprising as most of their colophons provide these in an unambiguous fashion.³ Given that he himself

² See her "Counting Crow's Teeth: Tibetans and Their Diaries," *Les habitants du Toit du monde*, eds. S. Karmay and Ph. Sagant (Paris: Société d'Ethnologie, 1997), 159-178.

³ Sgra tshad pa also lists, respectively, one letter (*spring yig*) and two replies to queries (*dris lan*) with some of their addressees, namely King Bsod nams lde, on whom see below, G.yag sde Paṅ chen Bsod nams dpal (1299-1378) and Rin chen ye shes. The first was written on July 3, 1339; the second probably refers to the letter in BU26, 245-6 and is undated, and the identification of the third is more problematic, the only available option is a series of replies that is found in BU26, 185-216. Dated to the first half of 1326, this important piece is cursorily discussed in section four of the present essay. Thereafter, Sgra tshad pa notes the compilation of the Zhwa lu Gser khang Tanjur and Bu ston's catalog, the latter of which,

composed two catalogs of Bu ston's oeuvre and that his master had handpicked him to succeed him as abbot of Zhwa lu monastery, we cannot conclude that he had been unable to gain access to these. In short, then, his work is undoubtedly one of the less satisfactory representatives of its genre, but it is [almost] the only source of information, and certainly the longest one, that we have for Bu ston's works and days *per se*. As I show below, Sgra tshad pa was not the only disciple of Bu ston to have written his master's biography. It is therefore a great pity that none of these other disciples considered it worth their while to do the required homework and sit down to write a biography worthy of their master! It is of course possible that their incapacity to do so may have been the result of the sheer weight that their master's voracious and curious intellect was able to exert on their creative impulses even long after his passing.

At the very outset of his narrative, Sgra tshad pa describes at some length his master's previous births that we could say culminated in the Kashmirian Śākyaśrībhadrā (1127-1225) — hereafter Śākyaśrī — who, as is well known, arrived in Tibet in 1204 at the invitation of Khro phu Lo tsā ba Byams pa'i dpal (1172-1236).⁴ Of course, Bu ston had very close ties with Khro phu monastery. As a young man, he had studied and taught there on numerous occasions⁵ and just prior to his retirement from his abbatial duties at

according to its colophon, was completed on June 12, 1335! All exact dates of the texts cited and individuals mentioned in this paper are calculated with the help of the *Tabellen* in D. Schuh, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der tibetischen Kalenderrechnung, Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*, Supplement Band 16 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1973).

⁴ For several biographies of Śākyaśrī and Khro phu Lo tsā ba, see D.P. Jackson, *Two Biographies of Śākyaśrībhadrā. The Eulogy of Khro phu Lo tsā ba and Its "Commentary" by Bsod nams dpal bzang po*, *Tibetan and Indo-Tibetan Studies*, vol. 2 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1990) and my review article in van der Kuijp (1994).

⁵ The most detailed, yet in many places still rather thin, study of the Khro phu Bka' brgyud pa sect so far is the one sketched in Rta tshag Tshe dbang rgyal po's 1446/47 survey of the Bka' brgyud pa school as a whole [minus the Shangs pa Bka' brgyud], the *Bka' brgyud rin po che'i lo rgyus phyogs gcig tu bsgrigs pa*, C[ultural] P[alace] of N[ationalities, Beijing] catalog no. 002448(6), fols. 185b-201b. For the C.P.N. manuscript of this work, usually known as the *Lho rong chos 'byung*, see my remarks in "Studies in Fourteenth Century Tibetan Cultural History III: The Oeuvre of Bla ma dam pa Bsod nams rgyal mtshan (1312-1375), Part One," *Berliner Indologische Studien* 7 (1993), 112, n. 4, and my "On the Fifteenth Century *Lho rong chos 'byung* by Rta tshag Tshe dbang rgyal and Its Importance for Tibetan Political and Religious History," *Aspects of Tibetan History*, eds. R. Vitali and Tashi Tsering, *Lungta* 14 (2001), 57-76. In the latter, I discuss *inter alia* its relationship to the recently printed edition, which omits much that is found towards the end of the above manuscript's narrative of the Khro phu tradition, see the *Lho rong chos 'byung*, ed. Gling dpon Padma skal bzang and Ma grong Mi 'gyur rdo rje (Lhasa: Bod ljongs bod yig dpe mnying dpe

Zhwa lu in 1355, he also functioned briefly as abbot of this smaller institution from *circa* 1353 to 1354, although his biographies do not specify the reasons for this. Khro phu monastery was the see of a branch of the Gnubs family and a relatively important center for Bka' brgyud pa school-related spiritual practices. The first entry of his "record of teachings studied" (*gsan yig*) — see Appendix One for an analysis of this work — relates the instructions he had received from a certain Rin po che Khro phu ba. Sgra tshad pa consistently refers to him as the unrivalled Sems dpa' chen po Rin po che Khro phu ba whose "name is difficult to utter" (*mtshan brjod par dka' ba*), and states that it was he who had foretold that Śākyaśrī would be reborn in the Tibetan area, albeit without mentioning the name of his Tibetan re-embodiment.⁶ Indeed, the period in question knows of a Sems dpa' chen po Khro phu ba (1229-98), who is the subject of a very interesting biography by a certain Mkhan chen Chos rgyal dpal bzang.⁷ There his name in religion is not explicitly given, but we learn that he was born in a family that was part of the Gnubs clan, that his father Mi bskyod rdo rje, the elder brother of Rdo rje bdud 'dul, had built the foundation of a/the large stūpa at Khro phu monastery at the age of fifty-eight, that his father had "excavated" a revelatory treasure text (*gter ma*),⁸ and that his father passed away at the age of

skrun khang, 1994), 328-37. The recent publication of yet another manuscript version of the *Lho rong chos 'byung* follows the latter; see *Bod kyi lo rgyus rnam thar phyogs bsgrigs*, ed. Dpal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang, vol. Na [= 12] (Xining: Mtsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2010), 519-34; the text is completed in vol. Pa [= 13]. The first two pages [2-3] of vol. Na are in fact fol. 1b and the first two lines of fol. 2b of the C.P.N. manuscript after which the text follows the printed version, and pp. 593-4 of vol. Na were taken from yet another manuscript. Other surveys of the Khro phu Bka' brgyud pa sect are found in 'Gos Lo tsā ba Gzhon nu dpal's (1392-1481) chronicle in 'GOS, 616-21 [Roerich 1979: 705-11] and Dpa' bo II Gtsug lag phreng ba's (1504-66) chronicle in DPA'p1, 857-9 [DPA', 842-3].

⁶ He is mentioned in Seyfort Ruegg (1966: 55 [see also 14, n. 1], 66-7).

⁷ For what follows, see the *Mnyam med sems dpa' chen po khro phu ba'i rnam thar yon tan phreng ba*, *Bod kyi lo rgyus rnam thar phyogs bsgrigs*, ed. Dpal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang, vol. Zu [= 82] (Xining: Mtsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2011), 343-347, 360, 362, 367 ff. The preamble of his biography gives a capsule survey of his ancestry.

⁸ Gu ru Bkra shis states in the early nineteenth century *Gu bkra chos 'byung*, ed. Rdo rje rgyal po (Beijing: Krung go'i bod kyi shes rig dpe skrun khang, 1998), 503, that his *gter ma* text was "the tantra of the one carrying a red spear (*mdung dmar can*)," a work that is associated with Gnyal pa Nyi ma shes rab (ca. 1100). This tantra is connected to or the source for the cycle of practices associated with a form of Vaiśravaṇa who is styled Rnam thos sras Mdung dmar rta can, for which see R. de Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *Oracles and Demons of Tibet* (Kathmandu: Pilgrims Book House, 1993), 69-70. D. Martin, "A Brief Political History of Tibet by Gu ru Bkra shis," *Tibetan History and Language. Studies Dedicated to Úray Géza on His Seventieth Birthday*, ed. E. Steinkellner, *Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und*

sixty-four in 1236. His mother was Ma gcig Bde skyid, the daughter of G.yas phyug Nyi ma rin chen, and nothing else is related about her. He himself became abbot of Khro phu in 1251 after Bla chen Bsod nams dbang phyug (1218-50), his cousin and the previous abbot, passed away at the age of thirty-two. Following this, Sa skya's Grand-Governor (*dpon chen*) Shākya bzang po requested that he also assume the abbacy of Brag ram monastery when Bo dong Rin chen rtse mo (1200-60), alias Bo dong the Cleft-Paleted (*sho re ba*), its abbot and one of his main teachers, had died at the age of sixty. Finally, noteworthy is that Sems dpa' chen po Khro phu ba is recorded to have done much to enlarge Khro phu monastery with funding that the Yuan Mongol courts in Dadu and Shangdu had released as a result of his excellent connections with the imperial family. Of course, Khro phu Lo tsā ba, too, was a scion of that branch of the Gnubs clan that founded and by and large controlled Khro phu monastery. He writes in his autobiography that his father's name was Nag po Jo 'phan (1149-99) and that his mother was Bsregs Gsal byed (1148-1215), the daughter of Bsregs Dpal gsum sgra.⁹ His father's nickname The Black (*nag po*) may refer to him being involved in black magic to the extent that, as 'Gos Lo tsā ba related,¹⁰ at one point the twenty year old Khro phu Lo tsā ba contracted a psycho-pathological disorder (*nad gzhi'i rtog pa*) because of his father's activities, and that these had resulted in him living a secluded life for three years. While he does disclose in his autobiography that he was prone to disease when he was in his early twenties, he does not suggest anywhere that his father's activities had something to do with it. But he does hint there that his father was prone to some unsavory practices.¹¹ At the same time, he provides no evidence that either parent played an important role in his life.

Khro phu Lo tsā ba states that, at the age of fifty-eight, which would be in 1230, he had built a stūpa at Khro phu to commemorate the passing of his teacher Śākyaśrībhadrā. To be sure, he makes no

Buddhismuskunde, Heft 26 (Wien: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien Universität Wien, 1991), 329-51, is a valuable survey of this monumental work.

⁹ For what follows, see the *Paṅ grub gsum gyi rnam thar dpag bsam 'khril shing* (xylograph) [= tbc.org W1KG13616], 3a, 5a-b, 72b, 74a [= *Khro lo chen pos mdzad pa'i rnam thar dpag bsam ljon shing* (manuscript) (tbc.org W1CZ1180), 3a, 5b, 83a, 86a].

¹⁰ 'GOS, 619; Roerich (1979: 709) equates *nad gzhi'i rtog pa*, with "the thought of leprosy." Gu ru Bkra shis suggests, in the *Gu bkra chos 'byung*, 503, that his father was [primarily] a practitioner of Rnying ma pa and not Bka' brgyud pa practises and suggests an alternate name for him, to wit, Ro zan Nag po.

¹¹ *Paṅ grub gsum gyi rnam thar dpag bsam 'khril shing*, 3a-5a [= *Khro lo chen pos mdzad pa'i rnam thar dpag bsam ljon shing*, 3a-5a] details his father's exploits.

explicit mention of having sired a son, never mind whether he had a wife or girlfriend. Indeed, either would have been unbecoming a supposedly celibate monk. Yet, the combined evidence from these sources that is tallied above makes it certain that Sems dpa' chen po Khro phu ba is none other than Khro phu ba Bsod noms seng ge, Khro phu Lo tsā ba's biological son. Indeed, *bsod noms seng ge* occurs embedded in the opening verse of Sems dpa' chen po Khro phu ba's biography, Rta tshag Tshe dbang rgyal notes him as Byang sems chen po Bsod noms seng ge, and this is also 'Gos Lo tsā ba's take on the matter.¹²

Of the sources that have something to say about the notion that Bu ston was Śākyaśrī's "re-birth" (*sku skye ba*), it is Bu ston's biography by his disciple Khyung po Lhas pa Gzhon nu bsod noms in which we find the explicit statement, right or wrong, that it was Sems dpa' chen po Khro phu ba who had initiated this connection.¹³ As we shall see below, Sgra tshad pa was considered to have been a re-embodiment of Dānaśīla, and this equation must be viewed as the almost logical consequence of Bu ston's spiritual identity with Śākyaśrī. Given Sems dpa' chen po Khro phu ba's salutary importance for the health and well-being of Khro phu monastery, it is quite remarkable that Bu ston makes no mention of him in his exceedingly thin description of the activities of Khro phu Lo tsā ba towards the end of his *Chos 'byung* proper.

In the bibliography of the works that he used for his 1865 study of Buddhism in Amdo, Brag dgon Zhabs drung Dkon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas (1801-after 1871) observes that Khro phu Bsod noms seng ge had written a study of Bu ston by way of a poetic narrative tale of his life that was written for spiritual edification (*rtogs brjod*,

¹² See, respectively, the *Mnyam med sems dpa' chen po khro phu ba'i rnam thar yon tan phreng ba*, 340: ... *mtha' yas bsod noms ... mi'i seng ge ...*, see the *Bka' brgyud rin po che'i lo rgyus phyogs gcig tu bsgrigs pa*, 189b [= *Lho rong chos 'byung*, 335], where he is said to have been born one year after his father's death, and 'GOS, 307 [= Roerich 1979: 345], which lists a Khro phu Rin po che Bsod noms seng ge between Bodong Rin [chen] rtse [mo] and Tshad ma'i skyes bu, that is, Byams pa mgon, one of Bu ston's primary teachers.

¹³ See van der Kuijp (1994: 604, n. 21) and his undated study of Bu ston's life, the *Thams cad mkhyen pa bu ston rin po che'i rnam par thar pa yon tan rin po che'i lhun po*, C.P.N. catalog no. 002772(2) [= [tbrc.org W26456](http://tbrc.org/W26456)], 3a-b; a brief biography of Khyung po Lhas pa is found in Ri phug sprul sku Blo gsal bstan skyong's (1804-after 1864) *circa* 1835 study of Zhwa lu monastery, in *ZHWA*, 77-8. Not found in his biography by Mkhan chen Chos rgyal dpal bzang, Dpa' bo II suggests that Khro phu Sems dpa' chen po himself was a *sku skye ba*—re-birth of Buddhaśrī (1140-after 1201), the second Indic scholar Khro phu Lo tsā ba had invited to Khro phu. For a bibliographical sketch of Buddhaśrī, see van der Kuijp (1994: 613).

**avadāna*).¹⁴ While this work may yet have to be recovered, it could very well have been the earliest literary source for "equating" him with Śākyaśrī, especially if this "Bsod nams seng ge" were indeed to refer to Khro phu Lo tsā ba's son. If so, then he would have composed it towards the very end of his life and then only on the occasion of his realization that Śākyaśrī and little Bu ston were spiritually identical — the "deep-structure" nature of the mechanism and motivation remain obscure. Although no other cognate literary instances come to mind that would support this contention, it does not seem *a priori* impossible that this *Rtogs brjod* might have focused precisely on the theme of this proposed affinity with Śākyaśrī, rather than being a study of Bu ston as such. Widely attested in titles of the fourteenth century and later developments of Tibetan biographical and autobiographical literature, the use of the expression *rtogs brjod* in the sense of a plain biography seems rather uncommon for this time. On the other hand, if it were a fullfledged biography, then the much more likely candidate for its authorship would be his namesake Khro phu Mkhan chen Bsod nams seng ge, a disciple of Bu ston, who was later an abbot of Khro phu monastery.¹⁵ Lastly, another possible identification of the putative author of this *Rtogs brjod* might be the Rin chen bsod nams seng ge whose *Ngo mtshar gtam gyi rol mo* in twenty-one verses is cited by Blo gsal bstan skyong as an additional, if somewhat uninformative, source on Bu ston's life.¹⁶ At first glance, he may be either of the two, or perhaps even Yang rtse pa Rin chen seng ge, another scholar active at Khro phu and a disciple of Khro phu Lo tsā ba's son, who figures as the third teacher in Bu ston's *gsan yig*. The probability for equating the said *Rtogs brjod* with this little text is not diminished by the fact that only the sixth verse, which has it that Dānaśīla had previously been one of his disciples, would point to the connection drawn between Śākyaśrī and Bu ston, since Dānaśīla was one of the nine men who had accompanied the former to Tibet in 1200. He apparently stayed on in Central Tibet and lived and taught there until the 1240s or perhaps even the 1250s, where *inter alia* Dar

¹⁴ See his *Yul mdo smad kyī ljongs su thub bstan rin po che ji ltar dar ba'i tshul gsal bar brjod pa deb ther rgya mtsho*, vol. 1 (New Delhi, 1974), 23 [= *Mdo smad chos 'byung*, ed. Smon lam rgya mtsho (Lanzhou: Kan su'u mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1982), 10]. This would be one of the earliest uses in Tibet of *rtogs brjod* designating something in the way of a biography of a human being, rather than of a bodhisattva or the historical Buddha unless, of course, Bu ston was regarded as a bodhisattva or a buddha, and...he was!

¹⁵ ZHWA, 97.

¹⁶ ZHWA, 367-71. In his edition of Tshal pa Kun dga' rdo rje's (1309-64) chronicle of Tibet, the late Dung dkar Dge bshes Blo bzang 'phrin las (1927-97) clearly identified the author of this work as Khro phu ba Bsod nams seng ge; see TSHAL, 383, n. 364.

ma [or: Chos kyi] rgyal mtshan (1227-1305), alias Bcom ldan {rig[s] pa'i} ral gri and Bcom ldan ral gri, had been one of his students.

It is hardly surprising that not one single text of the considerable literary corpus on Śākyaśrī's life, from the major and most authoritative study by Khro phu Lo tsā ba and the other relatively early biographies that I signaled in my paper to the one we find in Mang thos Klu sgrub rgya mtsho (1523-96),¹⁷ confirms that the Kashmirian master himself "occurred" in a sequence of ongoing embodiments. It is therefore transparent that such a series was either fully unknown to them, which is unconvincing, or that the authors of the later, post-fifteenth century studies of Śākyaśrī's lives considered it irrelevant or perhaps even suspect. Given the evidence that, during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the idea of the re-embodiment of important masters was gradually being brought into focus in the Rnying ma tradition and among certain sects of the Bka' gdams pa and Bka' brgyud pa schools,¹⁸ we can only interpret Khro phu Mkhan chen Bsod nams seng ge's and Khyung po Lhas pa's assertions of an intrinsic connection between Śākyaśrī and Bu ston as their attempt to construct such a series for the Khro phu sect of the Bka' brgyud pa, most likely with the aim of securing a measure of conti-

¹⁷ See the references in van der Kuijp (1994) and MANG, 153-60, 176-7, for the biographies of Śākyaśrī and Bu ston respectively. Mang thos began his important work in 1564, completed it two years later in 1566, and then substantially revised in 1587. In an entry for the year 1565 (*glang lo*) of his autobiography, we learn that by this time he had finished about one hundred folios of this treatise; see his *Rang gi nman par thar pa yul sna tshogs kyi bdud rtsi myong ba'i gdam du byas pa zol zog rāzun gyis ma bsad pa sgeg mo'i me long*, *The Slob bshad Tradition of the Sa skya Lam 'bras*, vol. III (Dehra Dun: Sa skya Centre, 1983), 443, 546.

¹⁸ For the Bka' gdams pa, in which we find one of the earliest instances of a Tibetan being the re-embodiment of a Tibetan and not of one or the other Indian master or Buddhist deity, see the brief remarks in my "The Dalai Lamas and the Origins of Reincarnate Lamas," *The Dalai Lamas: a Visual History*, ed. M. Brauen (Chicago: Serindia, 2005), 29. Of course, it would seem that Nyang ral Nyi ma 'od zer (1124-92) — on him, see below n. 114 — considered himself to be the re-embodiment of the Mighty One (*btsan po*) Khri srong lde btsan (r. ca.742-800). Karma pa II Karma Pak shi (1204/6-83) is usually said to have been the first embodiment of this kind in Tibet, but this was not the case. Although the Karma Bka' brgyud pa tradition holds that he was the immediate re-embodiment of Karma pa I Dus gsum mkhyen pa (1110-93), Mang thos writes that Karma Pak shi had himself stated that he was the reembodiment of Saraha, and not of Dus gsum mkhyen pa; see MANG, 171. To be sure, this requires further investigation. Attempts at making sense of the notion of embodiment are, for example, T. Wylie, "Reincarnation: A Political Innovation in Tibetan Buddhism," *Proceedings of the Csoma de Koros Symposium* ed. L. Ligeti (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1978) 579-86, and especially K.H. Everding, *Die Präexistenzen der Lcang skya Qutuqtus, Asiatische Forschungen*, Band 104 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1988), 182-6. Tibetan and Chinese scholars in the People's Republic of China have recently published a spate of papers on the subject.

nunity and stability for his monastery's abbatial succession and economic integrity. In this connection, it is important to stress that his family had no apparent heirs to succeed him by way of a progression of father-son (*yab sras*) or uncle-nephew (*khu dbon*) sequences, which would have kept the monastery and the estates attached to it in this family's purview and under its control. Since no re-embodiments of Bu ston are recorded to have held official positions at Khro phu or Zhwa lu, Bsod nams seng ge's and Khyung po Lhas pa's propositions seem to have had no lasting impact on their further developments.¹⁹

One of the reasons for Bu ston's appointment to Zhwa lu monastery's abbatial throne in 1320 by Sku zhang Grags pa rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po (?-after 1333)²⁰, a scion of the Lce family whose mem-

¹⁹ The history of Tibetan Buddhism is littered with onsets of reincarnate lines that for one reason or another never quite made it and simply fluttered out. This would seem to have befallen initially to the one of Rgod tshang pa Mgon po rdo rje (1189-1258), whom U rgyan pa Rin chen dpal (1230-1309) met in *circa* 1280; see Bsod nams 'od zer, *Grub chen u rgyan pa'i rnam par thar pa byin brlabs kyi chu rgyun* (Gangtok, 1976), 143. The biography of Karma pa III Rang byung rdo rje (1284-1339) notes that the re-embodiment of U rgyan pa was among the Karma pa's disciples; see TSHAL, 107. The biography of that re-embodiment, actually the account of how he was invited to and then feted at U rgyan pa's see of Sbu tra, as well as some notes on his pre-embodiments are found in *U rgyan sprul sku'i rnam par thar pa, Bod kyi lo rgyus rnam thar phyogs bsgrigs*, ed. Dpal brstegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang, vol. Dzi [= 49] (Xining: Mtsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2011), 411-21, but I have yet to come across his proper name in religion. The Tshal pa Bka' brgyud pa sect knows of Sangs rgyas 'bum, the abbot of Tshal Gung thang monastery from 1214 to 1219, who is called the "re-embodiment of Sgom bde [monastery]" in TSHAL, 133. While a thorough study of its occurrence is still outstanding, it appears that, at least in the post-fifteenth century Tibetan literature, the idea of successions of pre-embodiments is encapsulated by the expression *'khrungs rabs*.

²⁰ Note his name in religion that evidently is connected to the *vinaya*-line of Śākyaśrī, none of our sources elicit the year in which the Sku zhang passed away. R. Vitali, *Early Temples of Central Tibet* (London: Serindia Publications, 1990), 100-2, provides an accessible account of his activities. For the genealogy of his family, see G. Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, vol. II (Rome: La Libreria Dello Stato, 1949), 656-62, which is based on the *Chos grwa chen po dpal zhwa lu gser khang gi bdag po jo bo lce'i gdung rabs* by Bkra shis don grub; my thanks to Cyrus R. Stearns for long ago providing me with a copy of this text. This work is in turn based on a variety of sources including, no doubt, the introductory remarks of Zhwa lu Lo tsā ba Rin chen chos skyong bzang po's (1441-1528) biography of Rin chen mkhyen rab mchog grub (1433-97), *alias* Mkhjen rab Chos rje, of 1494, which also presents a genealogy of this family; see the *Zhwa lu sku zhang mkhyen rab[s] pa'i rnam thar*, C.P.N. catalog no. 004399(6), indigenous catalog number *'bras spungs nang*, 2b-11a. A synopsis of their genealogy is also found as an introduction to the biography of Rin chen bstan pa'i gsal byed (1658-96), a re-embodiment of 'Ba' ra ba Rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po (1310-91), for which see the *Chos rje 'ba' ra ba sprul sku rin chen bstan pa'i gsal byed kyi rnam thar mu tig 'phreng ba, Bka' brgyud gser phreng chen mo*, vol. III (Dehradun, 1970), 159-61. Finally, another genealogy of this family that was compiled by Rin chen dpal ldan

bers ruled over Zhwa lu and her estates as myriarchs for most of the time when Tibet was at least *de jure* part of the Mongol empire from 1240 to 1368, was no doubt due to the fact that he was among the best of the younger generation of scholars to have been ordained as a full monk by Bka' bzhi pa Grags pa gzhon nu (1257-1315) in 1312.²¹ This man had been appointed [or elected], in 1294, as abbot of the Tshogs community of monks, one of three [and later four] monastic communities that had their origin in Śākyaśrī's *vinaya* transmission,²² after which he also functioned as Zhwa lu's abbot upon the death of his predecessor Grags pa brtson 'grus. Earlier, the *vinaya* followed in Zhwa lu seems to have been a somewhat mixed affair, inasmuch as the transmission that issued from the one begun by Bla chen Dgongs pa rab gsal in the tenth century appears to have existed side by side with one that was associated with Abhayākara Gupta (ca.1065-ca.1125). Lce Shes rab 'byung gnas, who had built Zhwa lu's Gser khang temple in 1123, had received the latter's *vinaya* transmission while studying under him in Bodhgayā. However, beginning with Grags pa gzhon nu the *vinaya* lineage of Zhwa lu changed to the one that was initiated by Śākyaśrī, but it is difficult to assess what these changes or juxtaposed *vinaya* traditions in one institution might have really entailed, if anything. Blo gsal bstan skyong astutely connects this change to the political circumstances of the time. He first indicates that Sa skya Paṇḍita himself was ordained by Śākyaśrī in the temple of Rgyan gong Byang chub dge gnas, located in Zhwa lu's immediate vicinity, and that Tibet was under the control of Sa skya's 'Khon family. Of course, with his nephew Phyag na rdo rje (1239-67) being wedded to *inter alia* Manggala, a daughter of the Mongol prince of the blood Köten, and Mkha' 'gro 'bum of Zhwa lu's Lce family, the latter came to be related in matrimony to Sa skya's branch of the 'Khon family and therefore to the Mongol imperial house as well. The son he had with Mkha' 'gro 'bum was Dharmapalarakṣita

blo gros was published in *Jo bo lce yi gdung rabs, Bod kyi lo rgyus rnam thar phyogs bsgrigs*, ed. Dpal brstegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang, vol. Thi [= 40] (Xining: Mtsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2011), 341-54. His primary source consisted of the information provided him by a certain Mkhan chen Thams cad mkhyen pa. I wonder if this may refer to Bu ston, since the last Zhwa lu Sku zhang mentioned by him is Ye shes kun dga' and his three sons.

²¹ See Seyfort Ruegg (1966: 78), with an inadvertent omission of "Grags pa." The designation *shing stag* in ZHWA, 364 must be corrected to *shing rta*. What follows is based on ZHWA, 365-6.

²² See now the exhaustive study in J. Heimbels, "The Jo gdan tshogs sde bzhi: An Investigation into the History of the Four Monastic Communities in Śākyaśrībhadra's Vinaya Tradition," *Nepalica-Tibetica. Festgabe für Christoph Cüppers*, Band 1, ed. F.-K. Ehrhard and P. Maurer (Andiastr: International Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies GmbH, 2013), 188-241.

(1268-87), who himself married both a daughter of Ĵibik Temür, Kōten's son, with whom he had no children, and the Tibetan lady Jo mo Stag 'bum, with whom he had a son who, however, died in virtual infancy at the age four. With Dharmapālarakṣita's sudden passing in 1287, the 'Khon family found itself precariously tottering on the brink of extinction. New life was decisively breathed into his family when the Mongol court allowed Bdag chen Bzang po dpal (1262-1322/4), its last male descendant, to be recalled from his exile in south China and begin his committed and fecund effort to create male offspring at Sa skya. Mistakenly conflating two events, Blo gsal bstan skyong then writes that when Bzang po dpal and one of his many sons Ti shri (< Ch. *dishi*), Imperial Preceptor Kun dga' blo gros (1299-1327), were ordained as full monks in, respectively, 1313 and 1322, the question arose which *vinaya* ought to be followed. That this issue was raised at all might imply that either the integrity of the transmissions of the Bla chen and Abhayākaragupta was being questioned at that time in some circles, or, more likely, that it had become important and possibly a matter of prestige to reintroduce the *vinaya* affiliation of which Sa skya Paṇḍita and his nephew 'Phags pa Blo gros rgyal mtshan (1235-80), the first Imperial Preceptor at the Mongol court, so important for Tibetan-Mongol relations, and hence also the economic integrity of Zhwa lu, had been major exponents. We must of course not rule out the significance of the fact that the Sku zhang was after all related by marriage to both the 'Khon family and the Mongol imperial family. In any event, it was then decided in Zhwa lu that Śākyaśrī's tradition be adopted. But this was not all. Blo gsal bstan skyong proffers another reason for Bu ston's selection, one that devolves solely on the Sku zhang's dreams and premonitions and how he arrived at his decision.²³ Looking around Zhwa lu monastery after he had built several structures, restored those buildings that had fallen into disrepair, had a number of religious images made, and instituted regular ritual observances and endowments for the monastic community, the Sku zhang had no idea whom to appoint religious leader (*chos dpon*), that is, abbot, due to the absence in his eyes of anyone worthy of his efforts in or capable of raising Zhwa lu to a first-rate monastic establishment. An emanation (*rnam 'phrul*) of Vaiśravaṇa and a descendant of Činggis Qan, as Blo gsal bstan skyong somewhat hyperbolically insists, the Sku zhang petitioned the divine for inspiration. And...he was soon answered. Yellow colored, Mañjuśrī and Vaiśravaṇa appeared, respectively, as a fifteen year-old boy and as a man, riding a great lion. They told him in unison that he would find a suitable candidate in Khro phu, after

²³ ZHWA, 23-5.

which they disappeared. This is a slight variation from the accounts of Sgra tshad pa and Khyung po Lhas pa, another disciple-biographer of Bu ston.²⁴ Not stated by them, however, was that the Sku zhang still hesitated due to the deities' oracular vagueness and was troubled by the possibility of obstacles hindering him in realizing his goal. These factors induced him to look elsewhere for confirmation and this led him to dispatch an envoy (*gser yig pa*) to China to solicit further information from a clairvoyant Chinese astrologer (*rgya'i rtsis mkhan*) by the name of Kim ha shang (< Ch. ?*Jin heshang*, "gold monk"). The envoy told him about the Sku zhang's dilemma and requested him to draw a likeness of the person. A year and a half went by until the envoy returned to Zhwa lu with drawings of the face of the person the Sku zhang was looking for, the shape of his body, his age, ritual implements, etc. The Sku zhang had copies made and then dispatched a messenger to Khro phu to find someone who would fit the bill and, as it turned out, the drawing closely resembled Bu ston's particulars.²⁵ Thus Bu ston was found and was invited to come to Zhwa lu. He was then thirty years old but was already in the possession of a resume with which anyone would be satisfied. However, the wisdom of the Sku zhang's choice of Bu ston did not go unchallenged, and he encountered initial opposition from the clergy of Khro phu, who were loath to lose one their seminary's leading lights, as well as from the same in Zhwa lu. The troubled (*thugs 'khrugs*) Bu ston addressed the Sku zhang in a piece in verse titled *Chos kyi don grub, Realizing Religion's Aim*, in three chapters, in which he laid out his needs and his goals.²⁶ The contending parties having been appeased and Bu ston satisfied, the master was then able to proceed to pursue these during his abbacy of the monastery.

Absent from Khyung po Lhas pa's narrative, Sgra tshad pa's deliberations on Bu ston's pre-embodiments are singularly unsystematic and superficial in both structure and content, which may be indicative of the pristine and virginal nature of their formulation. He states that Bu ston pre-embodied himself numerous times in various forms and then suggests the following three prior to the master's

²⁴ See, respectively, Seyfort Ruegg (1966: 92-3) and Khyung po Lhas pa's undated study of Bu ston's life, the *Thams cad mkhyen pa bu ston rin po che'i rnam par thar pa yon tan rin po che'i lhun po*, 12b ff. To these we should add the reports in the other biographies of Bu ston that are mentioned below.

²⁵ For a highly stylized painting of Bu ston, see, for example, M.M.Rhie and R.A.F. Thurman [and photographs by J.B. Taylor], *Wisdom and Compassion: The Sacred Art of Tibet* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1991), 212-213.

²⁶ A portion of this work is cited in ZHWA, 25-6.

advent in the *Bhadrakalpa*-aeon as Śākyaśrī²⁷:

1. A merchant-disciple of Tathāgata Mtha' yas 'od (* Ananta-prabha)
2. A/The son of King Bsod nams me tog (*Pun̄yapuṣpa) and a disciple of Tathāgata Brtson 'grus mtha' yas (*Vīryakoṭi)
3. A south-Indian Paṇḍita
- [4. Śākyaśrī]

Upon Bu ston's passing, two competing traditions arose in connection with the identification of his subsequent, volitional re-embodiment. As is recorded in his biography, one of these was 'Jam dbyangs Grags pa rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po (1365-1448), Mkhan chen II of Zhwa lu.²⁸ But this supposition was short lived, and seems to have found very little subsequent support, or at least no support backed by any form of religious or political power that would have made it stick. The other was Grub chen Kun dga' blo gros rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po (1365-1443), a scion of the influential Shar kha ba family that ruled over Rgyal mkhar rtse and himself an erstwhile abbot of the monasteries of Rtse chen and Jo mo nang. Neither Sgra tshad pa nor Blo gsal bstan skyong mention the name of the individual who should be placed in the temporal interval between Śākyaśrī's death and Bu ston's birth. At the beginning of the rewarding study of his teacher Kun dga' blo gros rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po's life, Dkon mchog bzang po (1397-1476) suggests that Śākyaśrī was immediately preceded by a certain Lha rje Chos kyi byang chub and inserts a certain Chos sku 'od zer between Śākyaśrī and Bu ston, without giving any precise dates for him.²⁹ The great Kun dga' snying po (1575-1635), alias Tāranātha, the author of the history of Buddhism in the Myang river valley, stretching roughly from Rgyal mkhar rtse to Gzhis ka rtse, mentions him in connection with having founded a monastery or temple in Rgyang ro G.ye dmar that is located in this valley, and he also cites there what may have been an

²⁷ Seyfort Ruegg (1966: 49-56).

²⁸ For his biography, see ZHWA, 101-5.

²⁹ Titled *Dpal ldan bla ma dam pa'i rnam par thar pa dngos grub kyi rgya mtsho*, a beautifully calligraphied, but in some place rather corrupt, manuscript of this work in ninety-eight folios, was part of the holdings of the C.P.N. under catalog no. 002776(1). Ratnabhadrā, that is, Dkon mchog bzang po, wrote this work in 1456. Capsule biographies of both are given in A mes zhabs Ngag dbang kun dga' bsod nams' (1597-1659) 1636 study of the *Kālacakra* cycle, the *Dpal dus kyi 'khor lo'i zab pa dang rgya che ba'i dam pa'i chos byung ba'i tshul legs par bshad pa ngo mtshar dad pa'i shing rta*, *Collected Works*, ed. Si khron bod yig dpe rnying myur skyob 'tshol sgrig khang, vol. 25 (Lhasa: Bod ljongs dpe rnying dpe skrun khang, 2012), 180-5.

inscription at this institution in which this Lha rje-physician is mentioned.³⁰

Now there are some fundamental problems in connection with the dates of Chos sku 'od zer, *alias* Gser sdings pa, and his place within Bu ston's *'khrungs rabs*, the sequence of his re-embodiments. 'Gos Lo tsā ba records that his disciple Kun spangs pa Thugs rje brtson 'grus (?-1313) had written his biography,³¹ but this work has yet to turn up. Beginning with Bu ston, Chos sku 'od zer begins to figure rather prominently in the various pre-sixteenth century discussions of the transmission of the *Guhyasamāja* literature and, to a lesser extent, in the chronicles of the *Kālacakra* teachings as well.³² For one, Bu ston's study of the former cycle, the *Dpal gsang ba 'dus pa'i rgyud 'grel gyi bshad thabs kyi yan lag gsang ba'i sgo 'byed*, which he completed on November 22, 1348, deals with some aspects of his life in a biographical sketch devoted to his major disciple [and Bu ston's main master] 'Phags pa 'od yon tan rgya mtsho (1268-?), and we learn that he passed away when 'Phags pa was twenty-four years old.³³ Bu ston does not give any dates for 'Phags pa 'od, but he does state that he took his monk's vows shortly thereafter from Skyo ston Smon lam tshul khriims (1219-99) at Snar thang, of which he was its eighth abbot from 1285 to 1299. The year of 'Phags pa 'od's birth, namely 1268 (*sa pho 'brug*), is given in *Bya btang Padma gar dbang's* study of the transmission of the *Sha wa dbang phyug gi snyan rgyud*,

³⁰ *Myang yul stod smad bar gsum gyi ngo mtshar gtam gyi legs bshad mkhas pa'i 'jug ngogs*, ed. Lhag pa tshe ring (Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 1983), 68-9 [= *Ibid*, *Jo nang rje btsun tā ra nā tha'i gsung 'bum dpe bsdur ma*, vol. 44/45, Mes po'i shul bzhag 86, ed. Dpal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang (Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2008), 70].

³¹ 'GOS, 370 [Roerich 1979: 422]. For Kun spangs pa's biography by Byang sems Rgyal ba ye shes (1257-1320), see the notes in my "Apropos of Some Recently Recovered Texts Belonging to the *Lam 'bras* Teachings of the Sa skya pa and Ko brag pa," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 17 (1994), 190-3, and now also Byang sems Rgyal ba ye shes, *Dpal ldan dus kyi 'khor lo jo nang pa'i lugs kyi bla ma brgyud pa'i rnam thar*, ed. Bstan 'dzin phun tshogs (Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2004), 64-142. The biography does not record when Chos sku 'od zer passed away or that Kun spangs pa had written his biography.

³² For the latter, see the very brief mention of him in Mkhas grub Dge legs dpal bzang po's (1385-1438) *Dpal dus kyi 'khor lo'i 'grel chen dri ma med pa'i 'od kyi rgya cher bshad pa de kho na nyid snang bar byed pa*, *Collected Works*, vol. Kha (Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1981), 182, and in the somewhat more lengthy one in Stag tshang Lo tsā ba Shes rab rin chen's (1405-77) 1467 study, the *Dus 'khor spyi don bstan pa'i rgya mtsho* (New Delhi, 1973), 73.

³³ BU9, 83-7. The biography of 'Phags pa 'od is found in BU9, 83-99. The latter is also known as the *Gsang 'dus chos 'byung* or the *'Dus pa'i chos 'byung*. De Rossi Fili-beck (1994: 24) wrongly dated it to November 1 of that year. BYA, 28b-39b amounts to what is thus far the most lengthy account of Chos sku 'od zer's life.

which he completed in 1538³⁴; he does not provide the year in which he passed away, being content with stating that he lived for a long time. What the year of his birth does of course suggest is that Chos sku 'od zer may have died in 1292, two years after Bu ston was born. Glancing at the enormous number of texts, text-cycles and their teachings which, according to Bu ston's *gsan yig*,³⁵ the latter transmitted to 'Phags pa 'od, with whom Bu ston himself had studied in the 1320s and 1330s, we learn that his main teachers were Stag ston Spyil bu pa (or: Nag[s] phug pa) Shes rab 'od zer, *alias* 'Jam dbyangs gsar ma, and his own father Gser sdings pa Gzhon nu 'od zer. Bu ston does not mention him in his own survey of the *Kālacakra*, the *Dus 'khor chos 'byung rgyud sde'i zab mo sgo 'byed rin chen gces pa'i lde mig*, which he completed on April 30, 1329, but this may be attributable to the fact that he had not yet fully received 'Phags pa 'od's teachings.³⁶ Although they do mention Chos sku 'od zer, neither of the aforementioned histories of the *Kālacakra* teachings written by Mkhas grub and Stag tshang Lo tsā ba, nor Dkon mchog bzang po give his dates. Indeed, with the exception of the latter, none of these authors even so much as hint at the proposition that he was Bu ston's pre-embodiment. Of the literature that is presently available to me, the first recorded date of Chos sku 'od zer's birth is given by 'Gos Lo tsā ba, who writes that he was born in 1214 (*shing khyi*), one year after Śākyaśrī's departure (*gshegs*) from Central Tibet.³⁷ Earlier, he states at one point that he was Śākyaśrī's re-embodiment, but this is of course rather problematic, especially in view of the fact that in his opinion Śākyaśrī died in 1225.³⁸ On the other hand, his biography in *Bya btang*'s study states with greater precision that he was born when a solar eclipse took place in the intermediate autumn-month of the *shing pho khyi* year, that is, in the intermediate autumn-month of 1214 (*shing pho khyi 'i ston zla 'bring po'i nyi ma sgra can gyi[s] bzung ba*) and that he passed away aged seventy-eight on the twenty-ninth day of the third *hor*-month of the dragon-year, that is, on April 13, 1292,

³⁴ BYA, 39b.

³⁵ For his autobiography, see my "Apropos of Some Recently Recovered Texts Belonging to the *Lam 'bras* Teachings of the Sa skya pa and Ko brag pa," 186-7, and now also Byang sems Rgyal ba ye shes, *Dpal ldan dus kyi 'khor lo jo nang pa'i lugs kyi bla ma brgyud pa'i rnam thar*, 51-63.

³⁶ De Rossi Filibeck (1994: 17) wrongly dates it to April 1, 1329. A manuscript of this work is also included in Bo dong Paṅ chen Phyogs las rnam rgyal's (1373/5-1451) *De kho nyid kyi 'dus pa*, *Encyclopedia Tibetica. The Collected Works of Bo dong Paṅ chen Phyogs las rnam rgyal*, vol. 117 (New Delhi: The Tibet House, 1970), 569-642.

³⁷ 'GOS, 323 [Roerich 1979: 365]. The problems of fixing the years of Śākyaśrī's birth and death will be discussed in a forthcoming essay.

³⁸ 'GOS, 677 [Roerich 1979: 770].

and these years are then echoed in Dalai Lama V Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho's (1617-82) biography of Tshar chen Blo gsal rgya mtsho (1502-66).³⁹ To be sure, the dates given by 'Gos Lo tsā ba and Dalai Lama V neither tally with the year in which Śākyaśrī most probably passed away, namely in 1225 - the year 1214 is too early according to any of the numerous attested scenarios -, nor with the year in which Bu ston was born. Hence, if we really wish to press the issue, then we are only left with 1225 (*shing bya!*) as a possible year of his birth, and but handed an empty bag when it comes to the year in which he passed away. The most obvious solution to the problem *vis-à-vis* Dkon mchog bzang po would be that he had mistakenly opted for one of the two basic senses of *gshegs*, for it means "departed" in the dual sense of "left a place" or "died, passed away." Chos sku 'od zer's spiritual tie with Śākyaśrī did not begin with him, however. Bya btang suggests that the source for Chos kyi 'od zer being Śākyaśrī's re-embodiment was his embarrassed father, a monk with vows of celibacy, who, when Chos kyi 'od zer's mother and maternal uncle confronted him publicly with his son, had made this identification and happily told his audience the good news!⁴⁰

But there is yet an additional problem with triangulating Chos sku 'od zer's place in Bu ston's *'khrungs rabs*. Given the widespread flexibility with which various lines of re-embodiments are dealt with in post-fifteenth century Tibetan literature, it is hardly surprising that there are a number of fundamental inconsistencies in other proposed lines in which Bu ston figures. For one, Dalai Lama V offers the following succession up to Bu ston, one for which he is *inter alia* indebted to the *Bstod pa bkra shis mtshan bzang ma* and the *Tshigs bcad ma*, two earlier eulogies to Tshar chen by, respectively, Mkhyan brtse'i dbang phyug (1524-68) and 'Dar pa Rin cen [or: chen] dpal bzang po, where the former recounts some thirteen embodiments of Tshar chen⁴¹:

³⁹ BYA, 29b, 39a, and Dalai Lama V's 1676 *Rigs dang dkyil 'khor kun gyi khyab bdag rdo rje 'chang blo gsal rgya mtsho grags pa rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po'i rnam par thar pa slob bshad bstan pa'i nyi 'od*, *Sa skya Lam 'Bras Literature Series*, vol. 2 (Dehra Dun: Sakya Centre, 1983), 424-6 [= Lhasa xylograph, *Collected Works*, vol. 9 (Gangtok: Sikkim Research Institute, 1991-5), 396-8; *Collected Works*, ed. Ser gtsug nang bstan dpe nying 'tshol bsdu phyogs sgrig khang, vol. 12 (Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig dpe skrun khang, 2009), 283-4].

⁴⁰ BYA, 31a.

⁴¹ Dalai Lama V, *Rigs dang dkyil 'khor kun gyi khyab bdag rdo rje 'chang blo gsal rgya mtsho grags pa rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po'i rnam par thar pa slob bshad bstan pa'i nyi 'od*, 404 [= *Collected Works*, vol. 9, 376; *Collected Works*, vol. 12, 268]; Tshar chen's biography is also quoted in ZHWA, 10-11. In fact, as Blo gsal bstan skyong stated in ZHWA, 8, his work is by and large an exegesis of Dalai Lama V's *Dpal ldan zhwa lu pa'i bstan pa la bka' drin che ba'i dam pa rnams la gsol 'debs kyi tshigs su bcad pa*

1. Virūpa (born in India)
2. Stha bi ra [Sthavira] (born in *Uḍḍiyāna)
3. Mahāpaṇḍita Dharmapāla (born in India)
4. Gha ya dha ra (born in India)
5. Khyung po Rnal 'byor (?940-1140)
6. Śākyaśrī
7. Shangs pa Chos rje Sangs rgyas ston pa (1195-1266)
8. Mag Dge sdings pa Chos sku 'od zer
9. Bu ston

The inclusion of Sangs rgyas ston pa, an important exponent of the Shangs pa Bka' brgyud pa teachings founded by Khyung po Rnal 'byor, is rather puzzling. The available biographical literature — the library of the Cultural Palace of Nationalities contained an astonishing number of studies of the lives of Shangs pa masters, including many manuscripts concerning Sangs rgyas ston pa — neither suggest that he was a re-embodiment of Khyung po Rnal 'byor, the founding patriarch of this tradition, nor expressly give his dates, although they indicate that he was born in a hare-year (*yos bu*) and that he died aged seventy-one in a tiger-year (*stag*).⁴² We also learn⁴³ that he received his novitiate vows from a Tsa ri Ras pa at twelve and that, upon his ordination as a monk at the age of eighteen, he studied the cycle of Zhang 'tshal pa (*zhang 'tshal pa'i chos skor*) under a Lama Spang po⁴⁴, after which he requested teachings from Bla ma Khro phu ba and Bla ma Sa skya pa. The Zhang 'tshal pa cycle must refer to the teachings of Zhang G.yu brag Brtson 'grus grags pa (1121/3-93), who founded Tshal Gung thang monastery in 1175. Hence, he must have been born in one of the following hare-years:

padma rā ga'i 'phreng ba, for which see his *Collected Works*, Ser tsug nang bstan dpe rnying 'tshol bsdu phyogs sgrig khang, vol. 18 (Beijing: Krung go'i rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2009), 364-8

⁴² These years are taken from an account of his death in the *Sangs rgyas [b]ston pa'i rnam thar mya[ng] ngan 'das tshul*, *Shangs pa Bka' brgyud pa Texts*, vol. II (Sumra, 1977), 111 [= *Shangs pa bka' brgyud bla rabs kyi rnam thar*, ed. Bsod nams tshe brtan, *Gangs can rig mdzod*, vol. 28 (Lhasa: Bod ljongs bod rig dpe rnying dpe skrun khang, 1996), 263].

⁴³ For what follows, see the *Sangs rgyas ston pa'i rnam thar*, *Shangs pa Bka' brgyud pa Texts*, vol. II, 127-30 [= *Shangs pa bka' brgyud bla rabs kyi rnam thar*, ed. Bsod nams tshe brtan, 212-5].

⁴⁴ Tshal pa's account of the Tshal pa Bka' brgyud pa sect, in TSHAL, 126-49, does not mention an individual with this epithet. He is also not mentioned in the huge work on the Tshal pa Bka' brgyud pa sect *per se* in P.K. Sørensen and G. Hazod with Tsering Gyalbo, *Rulers on the Celestial Plain: Ecclesiastic and Secular Hegemony in Medieval Tibet, a Study of Tshal Gung-thang* (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2007).

1159, 1171, 1183, 1195, 1207, 1219 or 1231. The last two are eliminated because the so-called *Shri rnam 3 gyi gdams pa*, which figures among the texts that he had studied with Bla ma Khro phu ba, is listed in the *Man ngag brgya rtsa* collection of Khro phu Lo tsā ba, so that we can be sure that "Bla ma Khro phu ba" must refer to the latter. This rules out the possibility for him being born in either 1219 or 1231. Pending further study, we may therefore tentatively conclude that his dates are 1195 to 1266. To inject, as did Dalai Lama V, two individuals between Śākyaśrī and Bu ston is of course hardly acceptable on historical grounds — it may be an indication of an acceptance of co-existing embodiments which, however, is so far not attested for the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries —, but it would be interesting to make an attempt to ascertain the "metaphysical" reasons underlying it.⁴⁵ Whatever lies at the bottom of this — it is not necessarily predicable on sloppy analysis —, Dalai Lama V then completes the post-Bu ston *'khrungs rabs* up to his time:

- [9. Bu ston]
- 10. Yar klungs pa chen po Seng ge rgyal mtshan (1344-1400)
- 11. Pha rgod Bsod nams bzang po
- 12. Rnal 'byor Dbang mo⁴⁶
- [13. Tshar chen]

Blo gsal bstan skyong adds that some scholars had suggested that, when Bu ston was still alive, monks from the Zhang zhung area in Mnga' ris had identified him as a reembodiment of Lo tsā ba Rin chen bzang po (958-1055), and had sent him a letter to this effect. Bu ston then acknowledged this to have been the case, which means that, at least for Blo gsal bstan skyong, Rin chen bzang po should be

⁴⁵ The possibility of and an argument for multiple, simultaneous re-embodiments that have one single origin is briefly mentioned in Dalai Lama V's biography of his pre-embodiment Dalai Lama III Bsod nams rgya mtsho (1543-88), where he has it that one moon can have many simultaneous reflections in various bodies of water; see Dalai Lama V, *Rje btsun thams cad mkhyen pa bsod nams rgya mtsho'i rnam thar dngos grub rgya mtsho'i shing rta* (Dolanji: Tashi Dorje, 1982), 175-6 [= *Collected Works*, ed. Ser gtsug nang bstan dpe rnying 'tshol bsdu phyogs sgrig khang, vol. 11 (Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig dpe skrun khang, 2009), 128-9]. The metaphor of one moon and many reflections may have been taken from a passage in the *Avatamsakasūtra*, for which see the *Bka' 'gyur [dpe sdur ma]* ed. Krung go'i bod rig pa zhib 'jug lte gnas kyi bka' bstan dpe sdur khang, vol. 35 (Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2006), 822. My thanks go out to my student Ian MacCormack for this reference.

⁴⁶ Klong rdol Lama Ngag dbang blo bzang dpal bzang po (1719-95) glosses her as a disciple of Stag tshang Lo tsā ba in KLONG, 1212.

included in his *'khrungs rabs*.⁴⁷ Now Bu ston's miscellaneous works contain two letters that have to do with Zhang zhung,⁴⁸ of which the first is a letter addressed to the Buddhist community of Gu ge in Zhang zhung, and was written in response to a petition, the contents of which are not made explicit, that had been brought to him by the layman Bsam gtan bzang po. His own catalog of his oeuvre registers it as a letter addressed to the communities in Tho [or: Mtho] ling, Rin chen bzang po's see, and Mang nang in Zhang zhung.⁴⁹ Rin chen bzang po is mentioned twice therein, albeit without any reference to him being part of his *'khrungs rabs*. To be sure, Bu ston does call him a "re-embodiment" (*sprul sku*) in his *Chos 'byung*, but that is all.⁵⁰ The second is a letter addressed to the king of Zhang zhung, styled with unmitigated enthusiasm "Lord over all of Tibet's citizenry" (*bod 'bangs yongs kyi rje*), who is identified as "Puṇyaa(sic)". This letter is registered by Sgra tshad pa in his biography of Bu ston in entries that are explicitly placed between the years 1332 and 1344.⁵¹ There he observes that King Puṇyamalla⁵² had sent Bu ston a letter and presents "from India (sic)." To be sure, *puṇyamalla* renders Tibetan *bsod nams lde*, so that there is no room for doubting that both names refer to one and the same person. Bu ston's replies are dated July 3, 1339.

Bu ston was also "appropriated" by the Dge lugs pa intelligentsia of Amdo during the enormous surge of this school in that area during the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, one that gave rise to a veritable inflationary atmosphere of re-embodiment lines in which well known Central Tibetan figures of the past were placed in slots of well known Amdo masters of the present. Thus Bu ston was part of the on-going re-embodiment series of Shing bza' III Paṇḍita Blo bzang bstan pa'i dbang phyug tshul khriims phun tshogs dpal bzang po (1825-97), the fifty-eighth abbot of Sku 'bum monastery in Qinghai, whose line runs as follows⁵³:

⁴⁷ This is related in ZHWA, 11. No such an equivalence is met with in any of the relevant texts found in the *Collected Biographical Material About Lo chen Rin chen bzang po and His Subsequent Reembodiments* (New Delhi, 1977).

⁴⁸ BU26, 286-90, 333-4.

⁴⁹ BU26, 654.

⁵⁰ BU24, 741 [BUX, 82, Obermiller 1931: 137].

⁵¹ Seyfort Ruegg (1966: 114, 121).

⁵² For *Bsod nams lde/Puṇyamalla*, see R. Vitali, *The Kingdoms of Gu.ge Pu.hrang According to the Mnga' ris rgyal rabs by Gu ge Mkhan chen Ngag dbang grags pa* (Dharamsala: Tho ling gtsug lag khang lo gcig stong 'khor ba'i rjes dran mdzad sgo'i go sgrig tshogs chung, 1996), 122-3, 453 ff.

⁵³ See Gser tog Blo bzang tshul khriims rgya mtsho's (1845-1915) 1906 history of Sku 'bum monastery, the *Sku 'bum byams pa gling gi gdan rabs don ldan tshangs pa'i dbyangs snyan* (Xining: Mtsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1982), 101-2.

1. G.yu yi ne tso
2. 'Phags pa Gnas brtan Gser be'u
3. Slob dpon Ngag dbang grags pa
4. Lha bla ma Ye shes 'od (947-1019/24)
5. Bsod nams rgyan, the daughter of Ma gcig ?Lab sgron (1055-1149)
6. Mkhas grub Gdu bu pa
7. Śākyaśrībhadrā
8. Mnyam med Smre ba Brtson 'grus rgya mtsho
9. Shing mo bza' A chos
10. Grub chen Na kha pa Thar pa'i rgyal mtshan
11. Tshar chen Blo gsal rgya mtsho
12. Byams gling pa Blo bzang don grub
13. Rgyal Mkhan chen Skal bzang rab rgyas (1704-?)
14. Shing bza' Sgom chen pa
15. Rje Blo bzang dar rgyas rgya mtsho (1752/9-1824)

Lastly, let me add further complications to Bu ston's line of pre-embodiments and end wilfully on an ambivalent note. Klong rdol Lama writes of a succession in the form of a series of verses that is radically different from that of Dalai Lama V and the one he himself had written about later in his work, that is, one in which, for example Haribhadra (ca. 800) and a Vasubandhu occupy, respectively, the fourth and seventh places of his pre-embodiments.⁵⁴

Sgra tshad pa, too, was given a series of pre-embodiments, the first attestation of which I am aware is found in the introductory material of his biography by his disciple So ston Shākya dpal (1355-1432).⁵⁵ There we have a far more systematic treatment of his master's previous embodiments, one that for good reason runs parallel to that of Bu ston, than the one Sgra tshad pa had offered for Bu ston. Clearly, So ston's motivation for their parallel lives was not only to adduce evidence that Sgra tshad pa had been with Bu ston throughout ahistorical and quasi-historical time, but also, and perhaps more importantly, to buttress and legitimize Sgra tshad pa's special status among Bu ston's numerous disciples, as well as to eulogize him in a befitting fashion. One should also keep in mind that praising one's teacher often also implies a measure of self-praise! Closing the hermeneutical circle that seals their relationship, So ston

⁵⁴ KLONG, 1156-7; this is also quoted in ZHWA, 11-2 and Seyfort Ruegg (1966: 50-1, n. 1).

⁵⁵ A capsule study of his life is found in ZHWA, 123-39, which, as Blo gsal bstan skyong states, is based on Yi ge ma mo Slob dpon Hūṃkara's work. A manuscript of this biography in twenty-five folios reads his name Hūṃkara bi ja ya Rang byung rdo rje [= tbrc.org W27406].

writes that the disciples of, respectively, Śākyaśrī and Chos sku 'od zer, had been his pre-embodiments; the two disciples in question were⁵⁶:

Dānaśīla
Rong po Shes rab seng ge (1251-1315)

An expert in the Kālacakra, Rong po had just passed away when Bu ston arrived at his see in the late 1310s. This led him to study with Rong po's nephew Rdo rje rgyal mtshan.⁵⁷ We do not find a hint of this in Sgra tshad pa's own oeuvre or that Bu ston himself was aware of this curious connection and set of circumstances. Ultimately, Sgra tshad pa's line embodied itself in the A kya lineage of Sku 'bum monastery in Amdo, where the following *'khrungs rabs* is given⁵⁸:

1. Dgra bcom pa Dge 'dun bsrungs (*Arhat Saṅgharakṣita)
2. Zhang Rdo rje bdud 'dul
3. Dge ba'i 'byung gnas
4. Sras Zla ba'i dbang po
5. Nag mo khol pa
6. Sa yi snying po
7. Lo ston Dge 'dun
8. Lo tsā ba Rin chen rnam rgyal
9. Zhang zhung Chos dbang grags pa (1404-69)⁵⁹

As stated earlier, the almost arbitrary assimilation of significant religious figures of early Tibet into their own fold reached virtually epidemic, inflationary proportions among the Dge lugs pa establishments, especially but by no means exclusively of Amdo and Khams, with many curious inconsistencies, the schemata and interpenetra-

⁵⁶ See his narrative leading up to Sgra tshad pa's birth in the *Thugs sras lo tstsha ba chen po rin chen rnam par rgyal ba'i rnam par thar pa*, fols. 46 [missing is fol. 31]; *dbu can* manuscript, C.P.N. catalog no. 002834(3); indigenous catalog no. *phyi ra* 129, 5a-20b [= *Ibid.*, *Bod kyi lo rgyus rnam thar phyogs bsgrigs*, ed. Dpal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang, vol. Zhi [= 51] (Xining: Mtsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2010), 392-417]. This is also alluded to in ZHWA, 43-4.

⁵⁷ See Seyfort Ruegg (1966: 87), which passage So ston cites in *Thugs sras lo tstsha ba chen po rin chen rnam par rgyal ba'i rnam par thar pa*, 19a [= *Ibid.*, 415].

⁵⁸ See Gser tog Blo bzang tshul khriims rgya mtsho, *Sku 'bum byams pa gling gi gdan rabs don ldan tshangs pa'i dbyangs snyan*, 73.

⁵⁹ He also figures in the series of pre-embodiments of Dge 'dun zla ba grags pa (1734-1810) in a line which does *not* include Sgra tshad pa; see Bis pa 'Jam dbyangs grags pa *et al.*, *Bis mdo dgon chen bkra shis thos bsam chos 'khor gling gi gdan rabs dad pa'i chu bo gzhol ba'i 'bab stegs* (Xining: Mtsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1991), 405-10.

tions of which need urgent study.⁶⁰ Presumably, part of the rationale for this assimilation would seem to have been that the Dge lugs pa, being a relatively recent development within Tibetan Buddhism, had none of the direct links with India that the other earlier schools were able to claim and that, to some degree, ensured the legitimacy of their respective doctrinal entities. The fact that, perhaps beginning in the sixteenth century, the Dge lugs pa also referred to themselves as the "New Bka' gdams pa" may have stemmed from a similar kind of doctrinal insecurity. The spectacular rise of the Dge lugs pa in the Amdo region can probably be explained in part by their political and economic connections with a number of Mongol communities, in Amdo as well as in "Inner" and "Outer" Mongolia, not to mention with the late Ming and Qing courts. To be sure, that is certainly not the entire picture. There are still many questions that need to be asked. For example, why did the different communities in Amdo, Mongol, Tibetan, and hybrid-like Monguor, opted fundamentally [but not entirely exclusively] to support the Dge lugs pa tradition rather than, say, the Sa skya pa, one or the other Bka' brgyud pa sects, or the Rnying ma pa, to stay within the realm of Tibetan Buddhism. What would have been or were the advantages, real and perceived, for doing so? What, indeed, was so attractive about the Dge lugs tradition? How does religion economics fit in this picture? What were the sociological dimensions that seemingly played a crucial role in this surge? Verily, there is quite a bit to be done here!

Some of the defects found in Sgra tshad pa's work are to a limited extent remedied by seven other biographies of Bu ston that have only become available over the last few decades. The first two were written by two of his other disciples, one of whom was, as we have seen Khyung po Lhas pa, and both are located in a large collection of biographies of some of the principal scholars who had been active in Zhwa lu monastery. The other one was Mgon po dpal,⁶¹ who authored the *Chos rje'i rnam thar rin chen phreng ba* of which an eighteen-*folio dbu med* manuscript is located under C.P.N. catalog no. 002772(3) and is now available from tbr.org W26457. He completed

⁶⁰ A comprehensive but by no means complete listing of such lines, including some non-Dge lugs pa ones, is found in *Bod dang / bar khams / rgya sog bcas kyi bla sprul rnam kyi skye phreng deb gzhuung, Bod kyi gal che'i lo rgyus yig cha bdams bsgrigs*, ed. Ma grong Mi 'gyur rdo rje *Gangs can rig mdzod* 16 (Lhasa: Bod ljongs bod yig dpe rnying dpe skrun khang, 1991), 281-369. No doubt politically and historically motivated would be the inclusion of such Sa skya pa scholars as 'Phags pa in the line of pre-embodiments of the Lcang skya line, while he also figures as a pre-embodiment of the Dalai Lama line; for the former, see K.-H. Everding, *Die Präexistenzen der Lcang skya Qutuqtus*, 100 ff.

⁶¹ His biographical sketch is found in ZHWA, 73-5.

his brief work on the first *yar ngo* day of the *dbo* month of a *khyu mchog* year, that is, on February 14, 1401, in an unidentified place; his scribe was Grub pa dpal bzang po. The next two belong to the one transmitted by the Bo dong tradition. Thus, a biography of Bu ston is found in the undated history of the *Guhyasamāja* cycle of texts, possibly by Bo dong Pañ chen, and another one is included in the aforementioned study of Bya tang.⁶² The remaining three are, firstly, the one that forms a kind of preface in Yongs 'dzin Ye shes rgyal mtshan's (1713-93) catalog to the Bkra shis bsam gtan gling manuscript of Bu ston's collected oeuvre, for which see Appendix Two. The second of the triad is the one met with in Blo gsal bstan skyong's chronicle of Zhwa lu monastery.⁶³ And the third is found as an introduction to a manuscript of his collected works that was published some years ago in China.⁶⁴ Future research on his life should be based on these sources that are now readily available. A curious omission in all of these is that they fail to explain why Bu ston was called "Bu ston." This lacuna is convincingly filled by Mang thos and 'Brug chen V Padma dkar po (1525-92), whereby the former may have been the first to write⁶⁵:

*nyer gcig pa la yab dang lhan cig tu dbus gtsang gnyis su
grwa skor mdzad / dbus nas mkhas pa shākya gzhon nu
dang / kha rag byang gzhon / gtsang nas mkhas pa dpal
ldan seng ge dang / 'jam skya sogs lung rigs kyis btul bas
pha ston bu ston du grags /*

At twenty, he engaged in monastic examination rounds (*grwa skor*) in Dbus and Gtsang together with his father Brag ston Rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po. Since both defeated, by means of citing scriptural authority and reasoned debate, Mkhas pa Shākya gzhon nu and Kha rag Byang chub gzhon nu from Dbus and Mkhas pa Dpal ldan seng ge and 'Jam skya Nam mkha' bzang po etc. from Gtsang, they became re-

⁶² See Gsang 'dus lung rigs man ngag ston par byed pa'i bla ma tshad ma'i lo rgyus, *Encyclopedia Tibetica. The Collected Works of Bo dong Pañ chen Phyogs las rnam rgyal*, vol. 64 (New Delhi: The Tibet House, 1970) 490-577. Unfortunately, the relevant folios of BYA are not available to me at present.

⁶³ YE, 305-51, and ZHWA, 8-43.

⁶⁴ See *Collected Works*, vol. 1, *Phyag bris gces btus*, ed. Dpal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang, vol. 12 (Beijing: krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2008), 3-11. This biography was translated in Stein (2013: 389-95); for remarks on Stein's work, see below.

⁶⁵ The reference to the latter is given in Seyfort Ruegg (1966: 3, n. 3); for the passage quoted, see MANG, 177. 'Brug chen V completed his tract in 1575.

nowned as "the father as teacher" (*pha ston*) and "the son as teacher" (*bu ston*).

Khyung po Lhas pa states that he became known as "the great translator Bu ston" after he had completed his studies of Sanskrit with Thar pa Lo tsā ba Nyi ma rgyal mtshan (ca.1260-ca.1330) in the 1310s.⁶⁶

After years of fairly quiet and unobtrusive but insistent scholarship and meditative practice, Bu ston passed away in Zhwa lu at the age of seventy-four at daybreak of Sunday, July 1, of 1364. There occurs a poignant narrative in A mes zhabs' biography of Zhwa lu Lo tsā ba Chos skyong bzang po (1441-1528), himself a scion of Zhwa lu's local aristocracy, which we encounter in his chronicle of the Kālacakra cycle. In around 1520, Bco brgyad pa Chos rje 'Jam dbyangs asked the aging Zhwa lu Lo tsā ba to come to Zhwa lu and...⁶⁷:

*ri phug kyi chos khri khar phebs te / brgyad stong pa'i lung
sogs nyi ma mang po'i bar dge 'dun brgya phrag du ma'i
tshogs la gsungs shing / bu ston rin po che'i rnam thar gyi
lung yang gsungs / de nyin nam mkha' la 'ja' tshon shin tu
bkra ba / bzo dbyibs ngo mtshar ba sna tshogs pa ri mor bris
pa lta bu ches khyad par du 'phags pa byung zhing / bu
ston sku gshegs pa'i rnam thar gyi skabs su spyan chab
kyang mdzad /*

...he went to Ri phug's religious throne and stated, that is, gave the authorizations to read (*lung*) the *Aṣṭasāhasrikaprajñāpāramitāsūtra*, etc., to a host of hundreds of clerics. He also recited the authorization to read Bu ston's biography. On that day, there appeared in the sky a quite unique, extremely multi-colored rainbow as if painted in various wondrous designs. And, when he got to the account of Bu ston's passing, he even broke out in tears.

⁶⁶ *Thams cad mkhyen pa bu ston rin po che'i rnam par thar pa yon tan rin po che'i lhun po*, C.P.N. catalog no. 002772(2) [= tbrc.org W26456], 7a.

⁶⁷ See his *Dpal dus kyi 'khor lo'i zab pa dang rgya che ba'i dam pa'i chos byung ba'i tshul legs par bshad pa ngo mtshar dad pa'i shing rta*, 231.

I. On the Date of the *Chos 'byung's* Composition

According to the 1917-9 Lhasa [Zhol] xylograph of the *Chos 'byung*, its full title seems to have been *Bde bar gshegs pa'i bstan pa'i gsal byed chos kyi 'byung gnas gsung rab rin po che'i mdzod*, but there are some variations to this.⁶⁸ In my earlier essay, I made some bibliographical remarks on this work and indicated a few details pertaining to its printing history. To the first we can now add the new translation by L. Stein [?and Ngawang Zangpo].⁶⁹ Their new translation omits, as does the earlier one by E. Obermiller,⁷⁰ the very important third and

⁶⁸ BU24, 633. The title is given according to the title page of the Lhasa xylograph, which may very well be inaccurate. Indeed, Bu ston himself refers to the title of his text, in BU24, 700, 876, 917, 1051, 1054 [BUX, 51, 179, 211, 314, 317], as the *Chos kyi 'byung gnas gsung rab rin po che'i mdzod*. He titles it *Chos spyi'i byung tshul dang rnam bzhag bstan pa chos kyi 'byung gnas gsung rab rin po che'i mdzod* in his own incomplete catalog of his oeuvre in BU26, 646. The two catalogs of his writings by his disciple Sgra tshad pa refer to it as the *Chos kyi 'byung gnas rin po che'i mdzod* [BU28, 331] and as the *Chos spyi'i byung tshul gsung rab rin po che'i mdzod* [BU28, 334]. The listing of his collected writings by Klong rdol Lama, in which it occurs in volume Ka [= 1], titles it as the *Chos spyi 'byung tshul dang rnam bzhag bstan pa chos 'byung gsung rab rin po che'i mdzod*; see KLONG, 1289 [= MHTL, no. 13617]. His contemporary Yongs 'dzin Ye shes rgyal mtshan reproduces a title identical to the Lhasa xylograph in his 1779 catalog of a collection of Bu ston's oeuvre that was housed in Bkra shis bsam gtan gling monastery in Skyid grong; see YE, 352. However, in YE, 371, he refers to it as the *Chos kyi 'byung gnas gsung rab rin po che'i mdzod*, and characterizes it as a great catalog of the canon. And a version of the *Sba bzhed* refers to it as the *Gsung rab rin po che'i bang mdzod*; see *Une chronique ancienne de Bsam yas: Sba bzhed*, ed. R.A. Stein (Paris: Adrien-Maissonneuve, 1961), 54, and *Bashi*, ed. and tr. Tong Jinhua and Huang Bufan (Chengdu: Sichuan minzu chubanshe, 1990), 160, but this went unnoticed in their translation on p. 48.

⁶⁹ Stein (2013).

⁷⁰ Obermiller (1931) and (1932) as opposed to Guo Heqing, who translated this portion of the text in Guo (1986: 208-443), as did Pu Wencheng in Pu (2007: 186-231). For earlier scholarship on the *Chos 'byung*, see Vostrikov (1970: 140-2). Not mentioned is E. Obermiller, "Bu ston's History of Buddhism and the *Mañjuśrīmūlatantra*," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1935), 299-306. In the *Introduction* to Part I of Obermiller's translation, in Obermiller (1931: 4), Th. Stcherbatsky writes that the text of his translation was that of an "old xylograph edition" and that a copy of the Lhasa xylograph of his collected oeuvre "in 15 volumes" (*sic*) had not yet arrived in Leningrad. Obermiller (1932: 5) himself stated in his *Introduction* to Part II that he had access to the Lhasa xylograph of the text which, he writes, "contains a great number of mistakes in the proper names" and that he corrected these in light of the readings given in the *Sde dge* canon. A comparison of the folio numbers given by Obermiller in his translation of the section that deals with Tibet bears out the statement in Vostrikov (1970: 141, n. 405), that the "old blockprint" in question was the one from Bkra shis lhun po monastery. The latter is briefly described in Schuh (1981: 76, n. 25). Vostrikov's work was written in 1936 but only published in 1962 as *Tibetskaya Is-toritichiskaya Literatura, Bibliotheca Buddhica XXXII* (Moscow). He writes in

last section, Bu ston's catalog of translated scripture. A few preliminary observations may be made about this recent contribution. Firstly, it appears that Stein was solely responsible for the published translation. While both names appear on the front and inside cover, only she signed the *Translator's Foreword* and, in his *Translator's Introduction*, Ngawang Zangpo recommended this book as if it were owed to Stein alone: "I am delighted to recommend her work to all readers...". And, lastly, many footnotes are written in the first person singular. While Stein does not inform the reader what recension of the text she has translated, her translation is undoubtedly a labor of devotion and deserves our respect. But it is unfortunate that she did not think it worthwhile to identify the citations, the majority of which Obermiller had already identified, more often than not with precise canonical references. Obermiller's translation is, to be sure, a monumental piece of scholarship, one on which he labored under trying conditions, but it was certainly not flawless, as his junior colleague Vostrikov indicated in his somewhat intemperate criticism. The same can also be said of Stein's translation, which is also rather spotty in places and suggests that she and her colleague were not always in control of this specimen of indigenous Tibetan scholarship. Thus, the title *Mdo sde rgyan* [= {*Mahāyāna*}-*sūtrālaṅkāra*] becomes "*The Ornament of the Discourses*" rather than "*The Ornament of the [Mahayana] Discourses*", the enumeration *mngon sum* [/] *rjes dpag* is rendered "direct and inferential logic" rather than "immediate perception, inference", and the phrase *rnam nges kyi ṅi ka chos mchog* becomes "Dharmottara's Ascertainment of Dignāga's 'Compendium of Logic'" rather than "Dharmottara's 'Commentary on Dharmakīrti's Ascertainment [of the Valid Means of Cognition] (*Pramāṇa*)*viniścaya*'".⁷¹ At one point, Vostrikov took Obermiller to task for having misunderstood the somewhat technical piece Bu ston had written on Śākyaśrī's calculations of the passing of the historical Buddha and how long his doctrine would remain in the world.⁷² He corrected

Vostrikov (1970: 109, n. 337), that Bu ston's "astronomical works are not at our disposal", which would imply that the entire Lhasa xylograph of his collected works had not arrived in Leningrad by 1936.

⁷¹ BU24, 645, 665, 849 [BUX, 9, 24, 160] and Stein (2013: 16, 43, 248). A glance at Obermiller (1931: 17 [145, n. 133], 44, 1932: 151) would have settled these and the many other infelicitous issues.

⁷² BU24, 817- [BUX, 24, 137-8] and Obermiller (1932: 213-4) and Vostrikov (1970: 111-2, n. 341), who cites fols. 103b-4a of his edition of the *Chos 'byung*. This is fol. 93a of the Lhasa xylograph and fol. 84b of the Zhwa lu xylograph, that is, BUZH [see below n. 76], which virtually have identical readings. Vostrikov notes that the entire passage suggests that Śākyaśrī made four calculations, but as I hope to show elsewhere I believe he is here in error, since I think that the record provides evidence for only three of these.

Obermiller's translation, but now Stein has made the very same error that Obermiller had committed earlier!⁷³

In the prequel to this essay, we have seen that a number of essays have been devoted to the *Chos 'byung*. Ms. Li Zhiying, one of my students at Sichuan University, kindly drew my attention to a recent MA thesis and a doctoral dissertation that focused in one way or another on Bu ston's intellectual life. As far as the thesis is concerned, Ms. Sgrol ma tshering made a very useful study of Bu ston's life and works, especially with a view on his activities as a translator.⁷⁴ Hardly her fault, she was unable to evaluate Bu ston's undoubtable prowess as a scholar of Sanskrit, since, studying in Lhasa, she has had no direct dealings with that language and only appears to have studied some Sanskrit through the medium of traditional Tibetan Sanskrit studies which is not the same thing! This situation reflects the overall state of the study of Sanskrit in China, which, to be sure, is still in its beginnings; as far as I am aware, Sanskrit is taught in but a handful of institutions, but things are definitely improving. Again, a reflection of the difficulty of gaining access to basic source material is that she was evidently unaware of P. Verhagen's exhaustive surveys of Sanskrit studies in Tibet. And, again, she carries no blame for this. For her dissertation, Ms. Jinniao dabala conducted a comparative study of Bu ston's *Chos 'byung* and the Mongol text of Jimbadorji's *Bolur Toli* of 1834-1837.⁷⁵ Of course, I am not at all sure of how much one can take away or learn from such a comparison other than that, as is rather well known, much of post-sixteenth century Mongol Buddhist historiography is owed to the earlier Tibetan historians.

Since the *Chos 'byung* had an enormous influence on Buddhological scholarship and its perception of the development of Buddhism in India in particular, it will not be out of place to scrutinize its own "history" a little closer than has been done hithertofore. In the remainder of this paper, I shall first briefly examine the year in which Bu ston composed his work. My discussion is of necessity somewhat thin and succinct because of the paucity of exact information on this important, yet surprisingly controversial detail. I shall then deal with its transmission and spread in the Tibetan cultural area by way of a survey of the extant manuscripts and, above all, xylographs. This is followed by a survey of its reception by his fellow scholars

⁷³ Stein (2013: 214).

⁷⁴ See her *Bu ston Rin chen grub kyis sam bod lo tsā'i bya gzhag 'phel rim khrod bzhas pa'i mdzad pa la rags tsam dpyad pa*, Tibet University Masters thesis (Lhasa, 2012), pp. 96.

⁷⁵ See his *Bütön Čöyičung kiged Bolur Toli-yin Qaričayuluysen Sinjilel*, University of Inner Mongolia doctoral dissertation (Huhehot, 2012), pp. 116.

during the fourteenth century. The two appendices that conclude this paper provide, firstly, an analysis of the texts and textual cycles he had received from his teachers and, secondly, an overview of the various handwritten recensions of his collected oeuvre that were present in Central Tibet together with a brief and, undoubtedly, woefully incomplete listing of isolated xylograph "editions" of individual works therefrom.

In the prequel to this essay, we have seen that printing blocks for the text of the *Chos 'byung* were carved on at least four different occasions; these are the following:

1. Zhwa lu xylograph in 190 folios⁷⁶
2. Bkra shis lhun po xylograph in 244 folios
3. Sde dge xylograph in 203 folios
4. Lhasa xylograph in 212 folios

Of these, the colophons of the Lhasa and Sde dge xylographs do not offer anything in the way of its date of composition, nor do they signal the identity of the petitioner [or petitioners], if there ever were one, or the scribe.⁷⁷ The same applies to the manuscript of the *Chos 'byung* that is at my disposal.⁷⁸ This state of affairs is somewhat of an anomaly when compared to Bu ston's other major writings, which are almost invariably given explicit dates in addition to which they very often the name [or names] of the individual [or individuals] at whose request these were written is [or are] provided. Among the ones on exoteric Buddhist philosophy, we may count his commentaries on the *Abhidharmasamuccaya*, *Abhisamayālamkāra*, *Bodhicāryāvatāra*, *Pramāṇaviniścaya* and the *Vinayasūtra*. We should point out that the first two of these were also not formally petitioned. Of course, like the *Chos 'byung*, they are all treatises (*bstan bcos*, *śāstra*). While the precise range of the meaning and hermeneutics of a "treatise" in a Buddhist context still needs to be examined diachronically,

⁷⁶ My thanks go out to Dr. M. Sernesi who first informed me that that this xylograph can now be downloaded from the collecton of digital texts that the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin, Germany, has made available to the public. She also kindly sent me its PDF.

⁷⁷ BU24, 1054-5 [BUX, 317, Guo 1986: 451, Pu 2007: 233] and Schuh (1981: 75, no. 24), who has reproduced the author's colophon (*mdzaad/byas byang*) as well as the only partly legible print colophon (*par byang*) of the Zhwa lu xylograph.

⁷⁸ BUM; this same manuscript was also published in the *Bu ston gsung 'bum*, ed. Dpal brtsegs bod yig dpe nying zhib 'jug khang, vol. 24 (Beijing: Krung go'i bod kyi rig shes dpe skrun khang, 2008), 847-1414, and in the *Bod kyi lo rgyus rnam thar phyogs bsgrigs*, ed. Dpal brtsegs bod yig dpe nying zhib 'jug khang, vol. Ti [= 39] (Xining: Mtsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2011). My references are to the former.

we may note here a remark in the chronicle of Mkhas pa Lde'u.⁷⁹ There he writes, in an undoubtedly prescriptive vein, that their composition — here we must of course also include exegeses on tantric theory and practice — needs, firstly, to be based on insight into the subject-matter and, secondly, on a compassionate attitude. As for the latter, Mkhas pa Lde'u gives a two-fold analysis, of which the first is that an author should write a treatise on the basis of a general kind of compassion aimed at benefiting others, and the second, one that is more personal (*sgos*), involves writing such a work because one has been petitioned to do so by an individual [or individuals]. In this connection, there are two interesting passages in the history of Bla brang Bkra shis 'khyil monastery of 1800 by Dbal mang II Dkon mchog rgyal mtshan (1764-1853) that shed some light on what may potentially be an underlying causality that may give rise to the composition of treatises, although these should by no means be universalized.⁸⁰ The first one observes that Sde khri Blo bzang don grub (1673-1746), her third grand-abbot, was extremely learned in Indo-Tibetan history and that although he had wished to write a chronicle of sorts, he did not do so in the absence of a petitioner (*bskul mkhan*). Dbal mang II writes something similar about Rje Bsod nams dbang rgyal (1726-93), the monastery's fifteenth grand-abbot, whose *Nachlass* consisted of many unfinished texts that had all been waiting for a petitioner who, alas, was never found. In this connection, we may also refer to a passage in the autobiography of Dalai Lama V, where he evidently found it necessary to stipulate that he wrote a versified means for evoking Sarāsvatī without the beneficent presence of a petitioner (*bskul ba po med pa*).⁸¹ The idea of needing one to make a request for writing a work was of course never a truly well-established tradition. When we look into the colophons of the oeuvre of such early authors as Rngog Lo tsā ba or Sa skya Paṇḍita, we cannot help but notice that none of their available writings suggest that they were the result of a request. Hence, we can hardly maintain that a request was customary and had become part of a tradition. Indeed, it may be more appropriate to assert that writing

⁷⁹ See *Rgya bod kyi chos 'byung rgyas pa*, ed. Chab spel Tshe brtan phun tshogs (Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1987) 135.

⁸⁰ For these, see his *Mdo smad bstan pa'i 'byung gnas dpal ldan bkra shis 'khyil gyi gdan rabs rang bzhin dbyangs su brjod pa'i lha'i rnga bo che*, *Collected Works*, vol. 1 (New Delhi, 1974), 376, 454 [= *Bla brang bkra shis 'khyil gyi gdan rabs lha'i rnga chen* (Lanzhou: Kan su'u mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1987), 337, 415].

⁸¹ See the *Za hor gyi bande ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho'i 'di snang 'khrul pa'i rol rtsed rtogs brjod kyi tshul du bkod pa du kū la'i gos bzang*, vol. 1 (Ochghat: Tibetan Bonpo Monastic Community, 1983) 233 [= *Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho'i rnam thar*, *Stod cha* (Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1989), 237].

per request was a personal choice on the part of an author and that many, if not most, Tibetan authors, including Bu ston, appear to have reacted to such petitions.

To be sure, the apparent colophons of the Zhwa lu and Bkra shis lhun po xylographs of the *Chos 'byung* do have it that it was written in the water-dog year, that is, in 1322.⁸² But the authorship of these colophons cannot, I would argue, be traced back to Bu ston himself, for they occur *after* the dedicatory line: "May the great ocean of sam-saric suffering quickly dry up by means of this [work]!" (*'dis 'khor ba sdug bsngal gyi rgya mtsho chen po myur du skems par gyur cig*). This line is a kind of trademark of Bu ston and it occurs in much of his oeuvre — we also find it echoed in Sgra tshad pa's writings, obviously in emulation or under the influence of his teacher. Bu ston quite frequently *concludes* his treatises with this line and, when given, it is *preceded* by the colophon in which he gives such particulars as his name, the place and date of its composition, and the name of his scribe. Hence we must conclude that this line of the *Chos 'byung* either formed part of the printer's colophon and must therefore be a later addition to the text, or that it was added by a later unknown hand based as it is on an interpretation of certain remarks made in the text itself, or both. The Tibetan collection of the C.P.N. has at least two manuscripts of the *Chos 'byung* that might bear out these scenarios. The first is found under C.P.N. catalog no.002432 and consists of 347 folios with six lines per folio side; the upper center of the title page reads *'bras spungs nang 51*, indicating that it originally belonged to the library system of 'Bras spungs monastery, presumably the library of the Dga' ldan pho brang. A gloss after the dedicatory line on fol. 347a observes:

*// sangs rgyas kyi bstan pa sum stong bzhi brgya lnga bcu
rtsa lnga song chu // pho khyi lo dgong (sic) lo sum bcu rtsa
gsum bzhes pa'i dus su brtsams so / yang zhwa lu spar ma
zhig dang bstun nas dag par byas /*

We thus learn that the calculation of its alleged year of composition was evidently adapted from passages within the text itself, and that the text of the manuscript was also edited on the basis of the Zhwa lu

⁸² Vostrikov (1970: 141, n. 405). For the colophons of the Zhwa lu and Bkra shis lhun po xylographs, see Schuh (1981: 75-6, nos. 24-5). A xylograph of the latter may also be found in the library of the Bihar Research Society, Patna, for which see D.P. Jackson, *The 'Miscellaneous series' of Tibetan Texts in the Bihar Research Society, Patna, Tibetan and Indo-Tibetan Studies 2* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1989), 191, no. 1401. Other exemplars of this xylograph are found under catalog no. 4404 of the Beijing National Library and the C.P.N. catalog no. 002421.

xylograph. The same, albeit without reference to this xylograph, is met with in yet another *dbu med* manuscript of the text in 499 folios with five lines per folio side that is cataloged under C.P.N. no.002435. While the date of 1322 represents more or less the received view, there are therefore considerable grounds for doubting its veracity.

It has been often pointed out that Bu ston does mention the year 1322 in the text; there are in all four passages to this effect, the second of which reads with the interlinear note in << >>⁸³:

..chu pho khyi <<rnga chen>> lo la bla ma ti shri^a kun dga'
blo gros rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po bod du bsnyen rdzogs
la byon pa'i lo yan chad la sum stong bzhi brgya lnga bcu
rtsa lnga 'das / rtsa drug pa'i steng na yod...

^a BU24, *shri*.

...From the year that Bla ma Ti shrī [*< Ch. dishi, Imperial Preceptor*] Kun dga' blo gros rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po came to Tibet [from China] for complete ordination as a monk, in the water-male-dog <<grand-drum>> year [1322], three thousand four hundred and fifty-five years have passed since the passing of the Buddha. Now we are in the three thousand four hundred and fifty-sixth year.

This is really all it says and despite interpretations to this effect there is absolutely nothing in the text to suggest that Bu ston intended this year as the year in which he completed his work, or that it he finished it in 1323. All that we can infer from this and the other three passages is that he was in the process of writing the *Chos 'byung* in those years.⁸⁴ He reverts once more to the water-male-dog year in

⁸³ BU24, 817 [BUX, 137, Obermiller 1932: 106, Guo 1986: 120, Pu 2007: 84]. According to the Sa skya pa tradition, which Bu ston is following here, the Buddha's nirvana, that is, passing, took place in the year 2133 B.C.; see, for example, A. Macdonald, "Préambule à la lecture d'un *Rgya-bod yig-chañ*," *Journal asiatique* CCLI (1963), 66, 117, n. 52-3, 56; see also below.

⁸⁴ The year 1322 was Ye shes rgyal mtshan's opinion, for which see YE, 371, and Blo gsal bstan skyong even implicitly suggests that it was composed while he was teaching at Khro phu, for which see ZHWA, 23. For the sake of completeness, we must mention Tucci (1949: 141), who states that it was written in "the year *khrag skyug*...= 1347..." and he was followed by H.H.R. Hoffmann, "Tibetan Historiography and the Approach of Tibetans to History," *Journal of Asian History* 4 (1970) 173, albeit without any textual substantiation. Of course, *khrag skyug* is the poetic name for the water-pig year which would not be "1347", but rather 1323;

connection with some who, in his opinion quite erroneously, held that, in accordance with a *Kālacakra*-derived chronology, up to the year 1322 one thousand six hundred and thirteen years had passed since the birth of the Buddha, and that in his opinion, again with reference to the year 1322, two thousand one hundred and ninety-eight years had passed from the time when the Buddha had taught the basic [*Kālacakramūla*]tantra. Bu ston's biography by Sgra tshad pa even implies that the *Chos 'byung* was composed prior to the year 1320, and around the same time as his commentary on Haribhadra's *Sphuṭārthā* exegesis of the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* and two related works on *prajñāpāramitā*, his *Shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa grub pa'i rab tu byed pa lta ba'i ngan sel* and the *Lung gi snye ma'i skabs skabs su mkho ba'i zur 'debs mthong lam stong thun*. The first of these, subtitled *Lung gi snye ma*, was completed on May 21 or June 19, 1319.⁸⁵ The colophons of the remaining two do not specify their dates of composition, and all we can say at present is that the last one was clearly written after his commentary on Haribhadra.⁸⁶

1347 is *me phag*, that is, the *thams cad 'dul* year. Tucci has it that this is found in "the colophon added by the author [= Bu ston, vdK] himself", but nothing of the kind is met with in the colophons of either the Lhasa, Sde dge, Zhwa lu or Bkra shis lhun po editions. Earlier, G. Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, 104, but signals the first of these editions. P.K. Sørensen, *A Fourteenth Century Tibetan Historical Work. Rgyal rabs gsal ba'i me long* (Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 1986), 44, writes more persuasively [and correctly] in aggregate that Bu ston completed it in 1322 to 1323 — he notes in his *Tibetan Buddhist Historiography. The Mirror Illuminating the Royal Genealogies, Asiatische Forschungen* 128 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1994), 633, that there are "some versions with glosses up to 1326 A.D." — and, lastly, Seyfort Ruegg, "Notes on some Indian and Tibetan Reckonings of the Buddha's Nirvāṇa and the Duration of his Teaching." *The Dating of the Historical Buddha / Die Datierung des historischen Buddha*, Part 2, ed. H. Bechert (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1992), 275, states conservatively but more accurately that 1322 was "the year in which his *Chos 'byung* was nearing completion."

⁸⁵ The date of composition reads in BU18, 725: "...the first day of the intermediate spring-month of the earth-female-sheep year..." (*...sa mo lug gi lo dpyid zla 'bring po'i tshes gcig..*). The intermediate spring-month can be equated with either *dbo [zla ba]* (*phālguna*), or with *nag [zla ba]* (*caitra*), which would potentially shift the complex from the second to the third lunar month. The dating given by Bu ston follows the chronology of the Sa skya school, so that one will have to ascertain how it aligned this intermediate spring-month with these *Kālacakratāntra* designations. Schuh, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der tibetischen Kalenderrechnung*, 8, 114, observes that for Rje btsun Grags pa rgyal mtshan (1147-1216), the third Sa skya pa patriarch, the beginning of a new year coincided with a tiger-month, which is the equivalent of the final spring-month. However, there is as yet no such clarity with the determinations of 'Phags pa, the Sa skya pa school's fifth patriarch. For the moment, and pending further research into 'Phags pa's calendar[s], we are therefore forced to leave this date of Bu ston's work somewhat ambiguous.

⁸⁶ Seyfort Ruegg (1966: 87). They are contained, respectively, in BU19, 1-61 and

Although it would probably not be too far off the mark if we were to hold that he finished the major part of the text some time in or shortly after the year 1322, we can, on the other hand, be absolutely certain that the text that he calls his *Chos 'byung* must have been completed prior to April-June of 1326, for he refers to it in his reply to a series of questions posed to him anent his work by a Rin chen ye shes, which dates from that time. The reply is found in his *Gsung rab thor bu ba*, a collection of his miscellaneous writings that is contained in the twenty-sixth volume of the Lhasa Zhol print of his oeuvre. This reply will be discussed below.

II. Apropos of Xylographs and Manuscripts of the *Chos 'byung*

The text of the *Chos 'byung*, as do a number of other writings of Bu ston, of the Lhasa xylograph of his oeuvre — the same holds for the manuscript of the *Chos 'byung* that I have sporadically used — presents us with many text-historical problems, for it is filled with inter-linear notes, and potentially with such unmarked interpolations that force us to date the witnesses on which these are based to a much later period. Let us briefly take two examples, the first of which is a rather well known one, for MacDonald already translated and analyzed it.⁸⁷ It is taken from his survey of Buddhism in Tibet and the gloss occurs in Bu ston's very succinct survey of the fortunes of Tibet's imperial families in the Mnga' ris region anent Khri lde mgon po, the son of the imperial scion who was nicknamed Yum brtan, and thus the grandson of U 'dum btsan, alias Glang dar ma (d. 841)⁸⁸:

63-90. The first of these two works is written in a format used in debating manuals and appears to be the earliest attested text to do so in a systematic and comprehensive fashion. For a survey of this method, see T.J.F. Tillemans, "Formal and Semantic Aspects of Tibetan Buddhist Debate Logic," *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 17 (1989), 265-97, and also Shunzo Onoda, *Monastic Debate in Tibet. A Study on the History and Structures of Bsdus grwa Logic*, *Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde*, Heft 27 (Wien: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien Universität Wien, 1992) and the more recent Huang Chün Yuan, *A Record of a Tibetan Medieval Debate: History, Language, and Efficacy of Tibetan Buddhist Debate*, Harvard University doctoral dissertation (Cambridge, 2014) and the literature cited therein.

⁸⁷ See her "Préambule à la lecture d'un *Rgya-bod yig-chai*," 90, 137, n. 162. The identity of Ye shes mtsho who figures in the gloss remains wholly unknown.

⁸⁸ In BU24, 894, the gloss is placed after ... *khri lde mgon po /*, whereas it was placed after the end of the previous sentence ... *zhes grags te /* in BUx, 192. See also Szerb (1990: 52-53, n. 20). It is translated in Guo (1986: 180) as well as in Pu (2007: 122). Of the xylographs used by Szerb, the gloss is only found in the Lhasa xylograph as well as in BUm, 1202. To be sure, Yum brtan has a serious problem with his

*rgyal po gnya' khri btsan po nas tho tho ri snyan shal gyi
bar la lo drug brgya drug cu / de nas srong btsan sgam po
'khrungs pa'i bar la brgya lnga bcu / des nas byang gi ston
pas rgyal rabs dpag bsam ljon shing brtsams pa yan la lo
dgu brgya dang nyi rtsa gsum / de nas me pho khyi yan la
deb ther dmar po brtsams pa yan chad la stong bdun brgya
go bzhi song / de nas thams cad mkhyen pa ye shes mtshos
lcags pho 'brug man la brtsis pas stong brgyad rgya dgu
bcu go drug song 'dug gsungs so //*

As pointed out by Macdonald, the year of this gloss anent the All-knowing Ye shes mtsho's calculation of the Buddha's nirvana must have been 1438, so that, as she indicated, the year *lcag pho 'brug* [1460] needed to be corrected to *sa pho 'brug* [1438]. The other gloss is found in the catalog portion of the text, where we have an interpolated text between << >>⁸⁹:

*rang gi lta ba'i 'dod pa mdor bstan pa sgra tshad pa rin
rgyal gyis bsgyur pa ma rnyed <<'di'i rgya dpe rnyed nas
kun spangs chos grags dpal bzang pos bsgyur ba yod >> do
//*

The **Svadarśanamatoḍḍeśa* translation by Sgra tshad pa Rin chen rgyal mtshan was not obtained <<there is a translation by Kun spangs pa Chos grags dpal bzang po (1283-?63) after he had obtained its Indian-Sanskrit text>>.

Attributed to Yaśas, the text of this *Kālacakra*-oriented work is extant in the Peking and Snar thang Tanjur xylographs, as well as in the so-called Golden Tanjur *dbu can* manuscript, but not in the Sde dge and Co ne Tanjur xylographs. This work is not listed in Bu ston's catalog of the Zhwa lu Tanjur manuscript — it is dated the twenty-first day of the *snron*-month of the *na tshod ldan* year, that is, June 13, 1335 —, but it is registered, for example, in Mnga' ris Chos rje Phyogs las rnam rgyal's (1307-86) undated catalog of the Byang

"royal status" concerning which see now also G. Hazod, "The Yum brtan Lineage," in Tsering Gyalbo et al., *Civilization at the Foot of Mount Sham-po. The Royal House of Lha Bug pa can and the History of the G.ya' bzang* (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2000), 177-187.

⁸⁹ BU24, 1034 [BUX, 301]; the interlinear note was *not* translated in Guo (1986: 417) while Pu (2007: 220) has it. This note is not found in Zhwa lu xylograph and also not in BUZh, 191a, but BUM, 1386, does have it.

Ngam ring Tanjur manuscript.⁹⁰ The Newar scholar Mañjuśrī and Kun spangs pa — the latter expresses his debt of gratitude to Dpang Lo tsā ba Blo gros brtan pa (1276-1342) for his Sanskrit studies — translated this work in Sa skya monastery. Kun spangs pa later compared the translation with a Sanskrit manuscript at his own see of Bzang ldan and revised the earlier translation. Mañjuśrī is known to have been active in Central Tibet in the 1330s as he is recorded to have aided in the decorative inscriptions of Dol po pa Shes rab rgyal mtshan's (1292-1361/2) great stupa of Jo nang monastery that was completed in 1333.

The final part of the section on the development of Buddhism in Tibet is devoted to a list of the names of those Indic and Nepalese scholars of Sanskrit who were active in translation work, which is followed by a list of the names of the Tibetan translators. The penultimate name in the latter is Sgra tshad Rin rgyal. He should be identified as Sgra tshad pa Rin chen rgyal mtshan⁹¹ and the entry ought not be interpreted as an interpolation of Sgra tshad pa Rin [chen] rnam [rgyal]'s name!

As far as I can tell, Stein does not inform her reader which xylograph or manuscript of Bu ston's *Chos 'byung* she translated, but given that she observed that many glosses in her text were not found in the one used by Obermiller, I think we can safely assume that it was the Lhasa xylograph.⁹²

In the *Introduction* to his excellent edition of the *Chos 'byung*'s history of Buddhism in Tibet in which my late friend Helmut Krasser also played an important part, J. Szerb described no less than the above four xylographs and two additional manuscripts that he was able to use for his edition.⁹³ We may signal here one additional manuscript tucked away in an edition of the writings of Kaḥ thog Rig 'dzin, which consists of notes that summarize the *Chos 'byung*'s section on Tibet, *minus* the interlinear annotations found in the Lhasa print, up to the passage where Bu ston tries to establish the chronol-

⁹⁰ See his *Bstan 'gyur ro 'tshal gyi dkar chag dri med 'od kyi phreng ba*, Jo nang dpe tshogs, vol. 23, ed. Ngag dbang kun dga' 'jam dbyangs blo gros (Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skun khang, 2010), 14.

⁹¹ See the entry in the *Gangs ljongs skad gnyis smra ba du ma'i 'gyur byang blo gsal dga' skyed*, comp. Kan lho bod rigs rang skyong khul rtsom sgyur cu'u (Xining: Mtsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1983), 307-308.

⁹² See, for example, the first three references in Stein (2013: 10, 12, 24), which correlate precisely with BU24, 641, 642, 650 [BUX, 6, 7, 13]. The first two are absent in the corresponding translation in Obermiller (1931: 12, 14), but the third, the reference to "Mchims pa", is indeed found in Obermiller (1931: 25). All three are absent in BUZh, 4b, 5a, and 8b. On the other hand, while BUM, 10, 12 correspond to BU24, 641, 642, the reference to "Mchims pa" is absent in BUM, 23.

⁹³ Szerb (1990: XIII-XV).

ogy of the beginning of the "later propagation [of Buddhism]" (*phyi dar*).⁹⁴ However, its readings do not permit us to triangulate its filiation with the texts used in Szerb's edition. The unpaginated index to the enormous encyclopedia, the expanded version of the *De kho na nyid kyi bsdus pa* by Bo dong Paṅ chen, that is included in its first volume, indicates that the *Bstan pa spyi'i rnam par bzhag pa'i stod cha'i dkar chag*, a biography of the Buddha and a chronicle of Buddhism in India,⁹⁵ is in fact nothing but Bu ston's *Chos 'byung*. This is certainly not the case. A superficial comparison of the two reveals immediately that these are different texts and, indeed, from my admittedly thin acquaintance with Bo dong Paṅ chen's diction and argumentative style, I would be inclined to hold that it was authored by the great scholar himself. Nonetheless, there are certain indications that the author adopted bits and pieces from the *Chos 'byung*, which was without any doubt the most influential work of its kind during the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. The two manuscripts that were used by Szerb are essentially undatable and unlocalizable at the present state of our knowledge of Tibetan paleography and the sociology of knowledge in Tibet, both of which remain virtually undeveloped. We are but in a slightly better situation when it comes to the actual dates on which each of these four xylographs were prepared.

In his study of Bu ston's biography, Seyfort Ruegg added some information on the various editions and xylographs of his collected

⁹⁴ See his *Bu ston kha ches mdzad pa'i chos 'byung rin po che'i mdzod las / rig pa 'dzin pa tsho dbang nor bus nye bar btus pa'o*, *Collected Works*, vol. IV (Darjeeling, 1973), 539-52 [= *Collected Works*, Bar cha/vol. 2 (Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2006), 196-200]. There are at least two other, later works that have a direct bearing on the *Chos 'byung*, one of which may prove to be of some importance for its textual history. This is a series of memoranda (*brjed byang*) and notes on the text compiled by A kya Blo bzang bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan (1708-68), registered in M. Taube, *Tibetische Handschriften und Blockdrucke*, vol. III (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1966), 1049, no. 2852. The other is a eulogy to Dignāga which is based on the *Chos 'byung*'s biographical note on this scholar in BU24, 847-50 [BUX, 158-60, Obermiller 1932: 149-52] by the same A kya Blo bzang bstan rgyan [= bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan], for which see M. Taube, *Tibetische Handschriften und Blockdrucke*, vol. II (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1966), 412, no. 1203. To be sure, Bu ston's note on Dignāga is in part based on Dharmottara's introductory remarks in his *Pramāṇaviniśayaṭīka*, as well as on earlier Tibetan materials; see L.W.J. van der Kuijp and A. McKeown, *Bcom ldan ral gri (1227-1305) on Indian Buddhist Logic and Epistemology: His Commentary on Dignāga's Pramāṇasamuccaya*, *Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde*, Heft 80 (Wien: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien Universität Wien, 2013), lxiv-ix.

⁹⁵ For this work, see the *Encyclopedia Tibetica. The Collected Works of Bo dong Paṅ chen Phyogs las rnam rgyal*, vols. 11-2 (New Delhi: The Tibet House, 1970).

works (*bka' 'bum*),⁹⁶ and Szerb has given us a few notes on the editions of the *Chos 'byung* as such. Their remarks can now be somewhat supplemented and, where possible and necessary, corrected or made more precise. In brief, Tibetan xylographs of individual works confront us with essentially two possibilities when we question their origin: either they were prepared independently from a xylograph edition of the given scholar's collected works, if such a collection did exist in the first place, or they formed part of such an edition. To be sure, the printing of texts previously available only in handwritten form make them more "public", allow for their more widespread dissemination and consumption, and therefore, for being more readily available for critical inspection. What is at times lost sight of in a Tibetan context is that scholarly or polemic reaction to certain texts very often, but of course not always, go hand in hand with their recent printing. Examples of this would be the reaction against Stag tshang Lo tsā ba's work on the philosophical systems, the *Grub mtha' kun shes* [and autocommentary], by 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa'i rdo rje I Ngag dbang brtson 'grus (1648-1722) and Phur bu lcog Ngag dbang byams pa (1682-1762), which was made possible only by the fact that Dalai Lama V had taken a personal interest in this work and had financed its printing in 1666. The latter, in his turn, may have been influenced by one of his teachers, namely, Pañ chen I Lama Blo bzang chos kyi rgyal mtshan (1567-1662), whose critique of the *madhyamaka* position of that work [*contra* Tsong kha pa Blo bzang grags pa (1357-1419)] is among the earlier ones, albeit probably not the earliest, of its kind and was, significantly, written prior to its *second* printing in 1666.⁹⁷ Or, to take another example, Dbal mang II's critical appraisal of Rnying ma pa thought was made possible only through the fact that several collections of texts belonging to this school had been printed, projects that were funded by Blo gros rgya mtsho (1722-74) of the House of Sde dge and the seventh abbot of its royal monastery of Lhun grub steng, specifically a number of Klong chen

⁹⁶ Seyfort Ruegg (1966: 41-2, n. 3).

⁹⁷ See his *Sgra pa shes rab rin chen pa'i rtsod lan lung rigs seng ge'i nga ro, Miscellaneous Works of the First Pañ chen Blo bzang chos kyi rgyal mtshan* (Gemur, 1972), 373-462 [= *Collected Works*, vol. 4 (Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2009), 343-406], in which he rejects Stag tshang Lo tsā ba's "eighteen points" of criticism of Tsong kha pa's *madhyamaka* philosophy. The colophon does not date this work. For a discussion of some of Stag tshang Lo tsā ba's points, see H. Tauscher, "Controversies in Tibetan Madhyamaka Exegesis: Stag tshang Lo tsa ba's Critique of Tsong kha pa's Assertion of Validly Established Phenomena," *Asiatische Studien / Études Asiatiques* [Professor J. May Festschrift] XLVI.1 (1992), 411-36, and J.I. Cabezón, "On the *Sgra pa shes rab rin chen chen pa'i rtsod lan* of Pañ chen Blo bzang chos rgyan," *Asiatische Studien / Études Asiatiques* XLIX (1995), 643-69.

Rab 'byams' (1308-64) writings, and more or less independent monasteries such as Rdzogs chen in Khams.⁹⁸ And, lastly, there is evidence that the raucous and bitter rencounters that shook the Dge lugs pa world of Amdo and Central Tibet during the first half of this century, that, not without irony revolved around a renewed appraisal of the various types of *duḥkha*, *sāsrava*, the *upadānaskandhas*, in short samsara, had at least in part to do with the printing of Mchims 'Jam pa'i dbyangs' late thirteenth century *Abhidharmakośa* exegesis in Lhasa in 1893. Accordingly, it is therefore hardly accidental that the *Chos 'byung* was frequently made use of by scholars who did not have explicit ties with Zhwa lu monastery from the end of the fifteenth century onward — these would include Gser mdog Paṅ chen Shākya mchog ldan (1428-1507), Paṅ chen Bsod nams grags pa (1473-1554) and Dpa' bo II — must be understood by the fact that the Zhwa lu xylograph was in circulation at this time and was, therefore, more or less readily accessible. In Bu ston's case, the printing of his oeuvre in its entirety had to wait until the beginning of this century. We do know that he had already prepared a catalog for an edition of a handwritten *bka' 'bum* collection of his writings [an autograph edition?] not long before his passing. In this catalog, the *Chos 'byung* is registered at the very beginning of this collection, meaning that it must have constituted volume Ka [= 1] of his oeuvre,⁹⁹ even though the catalog itself does not provide any details about the number of volumes. Sgra tshad pa's writings, which were printed as a kind of appendix to those of Bu ston in the Lhasa edition of Bu ston's *bka' 'bum* of 1917-1919, contain two separate catalogs of editions of the *bka' 'bum* in which the arrangement of the texts in one of these exhibits marked departures from Bu ston's own catalog.¹⁰⁰ In the first, one that was evidently compiled shortly before Bu ston's death, the *Chos 'byung* is contained in volume Sha [= 27], the last volume, whereas in the second, a mere list without volume letter-indicators, the text is listed at the very beginning which probably indicates that it, too, formed volume Ka of that particular edition.

The vast Tibetan holdings of the C.P.N. contained, aside from the texts in a number of manuscript "editions" of Bu ston's collected works, *at least* the following "separate" manuscripts of the *Chos 'byung* in addition to the ones mentioned previously:

⁹⁸ See 'Gyur med kun bzang rnam rgyal blo gsal rgya mtsho, *Rgyal ba gnyis pa kun mkhyen ngag gi dbang po'i gsung rab las mdzod bdun ngal gso gsang tik rnam rmad byung 'phrul gyi phyi chos ji ltar bsgrub pa'i tshul las brtsams pa'i ngo mtshar gdam gyi gling bu skal bzang rna ba'i dga' ston [Mdzod bdun dkar chag]* (Gangtok, 1976).

⁹⁹ BU26, 646; for further details, see Appendix Two of this paper.

¹⁰⁰ For details, see Appendix Two.

1. C.P.N. catalog no. 002428, fols. 215 with 7 lines per folio-side; incomplete, it ends with *mi skye'i chos la bzod pa thob par...*
2. C.P.N. catalog no. 002429, fols. 245 with 7 lines per folio-side; incomplete, it ends with *bstan 'dzin skye bo'i thun mtshams...*
3. C.P.N. catalog no. 002430, indigenous catalog no. *nang* 92; fols. 355 with 5 lines per folio-side; incomplete colophon: *mkhas pa chen po tshad ma'i skyes bu'i gsung gi 'od zer las skyes pa khro phu ba...*
4. C.P.N. catalog no. 002431, fols. 222 with 8 lines per folio-side; it has two indigenous catalog nos.: *snag* 120 and *nang* 120.
5. C.P.N. catalog no. 002434, indigenous catalog no. Zu 100; fols. 368 with 7 lines per folio-side.

The catalog of the so-called 'Bras spungs collection of Tibetan texts also registers a good number of manuscripts of the *Chos 'byung*.¹⁰¹

While Szerb observed concerning the first of the above mentioned four different xylographs, namely the one from Zhwa lu, that "it cannot be later than approximately the middle of the 18th century," we are unable to follow him in his surmise that the catalog in which it is registered may have been authored by Stag lung brag pa Blo gros rgya mtsho whom he dates 1535 to 1618, which would argue that "roughly the second half of the 16th century must be included as a possible date for this edition." The first statement cannot be maintained if only because of the fact that the Lhasa xylograph of the collected oeuvres of Bu ston and Sgra tshad pa — for this xylograph see below — is mentioned in this work.¹⁰² In his introduction to this text, E. Gene Smith states that it "was probably compiled at the order of the then regent, Stag brag." The Stag brag regent who might have in fact ordered the compilation of this catalog of a very large, but by not any means complete, number of printing blocks available in Central Tibet was Ngag dbang gsung rab whose dates are approximately 1873 to 1952.¹⁰³

¹⁰¹ See *'Bras spungs dgon du bzhugs su gsol ba'i dpe rnying dkar chag*, Stod cha [1]-Smad cha [2], comp. Karma bde legs et al. (Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2004).

¹⁰² Szerb (1990, XIV-XV); DKAR, 219.

¹⁰³ DKAR, 172-3. Eimer (1992-3: 5) dates it "in die Zeit nach 1940." One of the very last entries of this catalog, DKAR, 242, is Dge 'dun chos 'phel's (1903-51) [*Dbu ma'i zab gnad snying por dril ba'i legs bshad*] *klu sgrub dgongs rgyan* of 1951, albeit *via* the notes taken by Rong pa Zla ba bzang po. Various editions of this work have been published to date; for a translation and study, see D.S. Lopez Jr., *The Madman's Middle Way. Reflections on Reality of the Tibetan Monk Gendun Chopel* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2006). For the Stag brag Regent, see, for example, M. Goldstein, *A History of Modern Tibet. The Demise of the Lamaist State* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), Index, 895-6.

In other words, then, we are obliged to look elsewhere for information on this xylograph, and the best starting point would of course be Blo gsal bstan skyong's history of Zhwa lu monastery. While it does not provide any details on the transmission of Bu ston's oeuvre as a whole, it does contain two very interesting notices, which inform us of projects that had been initiated to have at least several of his writings printed. The first of these is mentioned in the biography of 'Jam dbyangs Grags pa rgyal mtshan, Mkhan chen II of Zhwa lu, where we read that the *gong ma* Grags pa rgyal mtshan (1374-1432) of Sne'u gdong — he was the Phag mo gru scion and ruler of Dbus and, at least nominally, of Gtsang — had been a patron of the preparation of the printing blocks for some of Bu ston's texts.¹⁰⁴ Unfortunately, no specifics are indicated, but the internal evidence of this passage suggests that this probably took place towards the end of Grags pa rgyal mtshan's life. The second notice occurs in the biography of 'Khrul zhiq Tshul khriims rgyal mtshan (1399-1473), Mkhan chen IV, and is equally short on concrete information. The text states in part that at the age of seventy [= sixty-nine] he had conceived a plan to commit all of Bu ston's writings to the printing block. To this end, he dispatched Dka' bcu pa Don 'grub bkra shis as his envoy to find possible underwriters, notably from Lho ka, for this large-scale and undoubtedly very costly project. However, when the

¹⁰⁴ ZHWA, 101-5, specifically 102-3. It is rather interesting to observe that he is styled as the *ti shri* (Ch. *dishi*), "Imperial Preceptor," of Gong ma Dbang (Ch. *wang*) Grags pa rgyal mtshan. This is not an uncommon designation in post-Mongol period Tibet. Dalai Lama V makes a similar characterization in his autobiography; see the *Za hor gyi bande ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho'i 'di snang 'khrul pa'i rol rtsed rtogs brjod kyi tshul du bkod pa du kü la'i gos bzang*, vol. II (Dolanji: Tibetan Bonpo Monastic Centre, 1982), 277 [= *Ibid.*, Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi rigs dpe skrun khang 1991], 267]. There he makes a statement to the effect that Dalai Lama III Bsod nams rgya mtsho (1543-88) was the *ti shri* of the Phag mo gru, that is, of Ngag gi dbang phyug bkra shis grags pa rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po (1488-1564) and the Mongol *rgyal po* Altan Qan (1505-82). The name of the Phag mo gru ruler in question is given in Dalai Lama V's 1646 biography of Dalai Lama III, for which see the *Rje bstun thams cad mkhyen pa bsod nams rgya mtsho'i rnam thar dngos grub rgya mtsho'i shing rta*, *Biographies of the Third and Fourth Dalai Lamas of Tibet by the Fifth Dalai Lama* (Dolanji: Tibetan Bonpo Monastic Centre, 1982), 126. As far as I have been able to determine, Dalai Lama V does not style his precursor Bsod nams rgya mtsho as a *ti shri* in any context whatsoever in this work, and the fact that he does so in his autobiography may thus very well reflect a change in his perception of himself, the institution he quite literally embodied, and his newly acquired relations with the Manchu imperial family. To be noted is that Tibetan *gong ma*, here "the one on high", is an equivalent of "emperor" since Tibet's "Mongol period", and that, moreover, in this context, *dbang* is actually a short form of the Chinese title *guanding guoshi chanhua wang*, which the Ming court had bestowed on the Phag mo gru rulers since March 21, 1406, when the Yongle emperor (r. 1402-24) so appointed Grags pa rgyal mtshan.

blocks for but a few volumes had been carved, he fell seriously ill with an undisclosed ailment from which he apparently never fully recovered despite the numerous propitiations of Amitāyus that were made on his behalf.¹⁰⁵ In addition, to his dismay, the interest for this undertaking at Zhwa lu itself was rather lacklustre and thus, ultimately, nothing came of his plans. D. Schuh described a xylograph of the *Chos 'byung*, which J. Szerb correctly identified as having Zhwa lu monastery as its origin.¹⁰⁶ As noted in the colophon, this particular xylograph was prepared at the instigation of a Tshul khrims rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po, whom I would identify as none other than this Mkhan chen IV inasmuch as *dpal bzang po* (*śrībhādra*), often an "affix" to a name in religion indicating that the ordination procedures originated with Śākyaśrī, is frequently omitted from the individual's "core-name". Blo gsal bstan skyong's biography of Tshul khrims rgyal mtshan does not explicitly state that *dpal bzang po* was affixed to *tshul khrims rgyal mtshan*, the name he received during his ordination as a novice in 1408, after which he was ordained a monk. However, in both instances, the abbot (*mkhan po*, *upādhyāya*), the person presiding over the ceremonies, was Zhwa lu Mkhan chen II 'Jam dbyangs Grags pa rgyal mtshan [dpal bzang po].¹⁰⁷ We may conclude from this that the latter had given him *rgyal mtshan* as part of his monastic name during the first ordination — *tshul khrims* most likely had its origin in Rin chen tshul khrims, a master at Zhwa lu, under whom he studied during this time — to which was then added *dpal bzang po*, when he became a fullfledged monk. All of this means that the Zhwa lu xylograph of the *Chos 'byung* can be dated to the early 1470s. Inasmuch as it carries the marginal notation of "Ka", the anticipated printing project to have Bu ston's oeuvre printed had probably taken as its point of departure Bu ston's own arrangement of his writings by way of his aforementioned catalog. Indeed, this xylograph may even have been based on the autograph. Appendix Two registers a few additional Zhwa lu xylographs of other specimens of his writings. During a visit to Zhwa lu in September of 1982, I

¹⁰⁵ See ZHWA, 139-64, specifically 158-9. ZHWA, 158 reads: *dgung lo bdun cu bzhes pa'i tshe...bu ston bka' 'bum rags bsdus par du brko ba bzhed nas dka' bcu pa don 'grub bkra shis ming bkra'i khyad lho ka bzhi'i yon bdag rnam kyī sar 'bul sdud la mngags shing rje nyid kyī sde dpon sa sar bka' shog phyag mdud sogs stsal / po ti kha cig par du bzhengs grub mtshams su sku kham s cung zad mmyel...*

¹⁰⁶ Schuh (1981: 75, no. 24) and Yamaguchi (1970: 94-95, 345B-2558); Szerb (1990: XIV). The colophon states that the donor for the undertaking was a Dka' bcu pa Bslab gsum rgyan ldan Don 'grub rin chen. The C.P.N. houses at least three different exemplars of this xylograph: no. 001268 with an upper center notation of "?187" on the title page, no. 002420 with an upper center notation of "bras spungs nang 38", and no. 002421 without any notation.

¹⁰⁷ ZHWA, 140-141, 101. He is there stated to be a re-embodiment of Bu ston.

was told that a number of autographs of Bu ston's oeuvre had survived, although it was not possible to inspect these at the time. They must have been among a large pile of loose pages that I glanced upon in some dismay in one of the rooms near the main shrine room on the first floor. However, the printing blocks that were housed in the monastery were apparently all destroyed during the "cultural revolution".

The Bkra shis lhun po xylograph of the *Chos 'byung* in 244 folios is also registered in the "Stag brag" catalog. The title page of this exemplar has the marginal notation "Pa", which could suggest that it formed a part of an edition of his collected works. However, the portion of the catalog that lists the various collections of printing blocks housed at Bkra shis lhun po monastery does not refer to one for Bu ston's collected works as a whole. Schuh writes that its colophon reads the same as that of the Zhwa lu xylograph, and this may just indicate that it is but a virtual clone of the latter, something that is hardly surprising given the geographic proximity of these two institutions.¹⁰⁸ I do not know when the blocks for this xylograph were prepared, but they certainly postdate those of Zhwa lu.

Now it has been alleged in several places that the Sde dge xylograph of the *Chos 'byung* in 203 folios formed part of a printed edition of his collected writings, but this cannot be the case. There never existed a Sde dge print of his collected writings.¹⁰⁹ However, in addition to those for the *Chos 'byung*, the printing house at Sde dge did possess printing blocks for several other specimen of Bu ston's oeuvre. For one, his *Kālacakra* rituals were introduced by *Chos rgyal* Bstan pa tshe ring (1678-1738), Lhun grub steng's fifth abbot, while his son *Chos rgyal* Blo gros rgya mtsho (1723-84) figures in the colophon of a xylograph of one of his ritual works anent the *vajradhātumaṅḍala* as the sponsor of this xylograph, the blocks for which were also prepared at Lhun grub steng.¹¹⁰ One of the editions of the *Chos 'byung*

¹⁰⁸ Schuh (1981: 76, no.25).

¹⁰⁹ We need to exorcize a ghost here. A. Ferrari, *Mk'yen brtse's Guide to the Holy Places of Central Tibet, Serie Orientale Roma XVI* (Roma: Istituto Italiano Per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1958), 143, n. 427, maintains that there was a Sde dge xylograph of Bu ston's oeuvre in twenty-six volumes, and for this she cites Kanakura (1953: 1-86, nos. 5001-206)! She was then cited affirmatively in Szerb (1990: XIV, n. 23). The Tōhuko catalog lists the Lhasa xylograph of the writings of Bu ston (twenty-six volumes) and Sgra tshad pa (two volumes), and makes no mention whatsoever of any Sde dge xylograph. In fact, the catalog of the Sde dge Dgon chen printery, the *Sde dge par khang / Dege yinqing yuan* (Chengdu: Sichuan minzu chubanshe, 1983), but registers the *Chos 'byung* on p. 338, and Bu ston's eulogy to Kālacakra and his affiliated deities, the *Dpal dus kyi 'khor lo'i bstod pa 'dod don grub pa* [= BU5, 1-28], in 17 folios, on pp. 361-2.

¹¹⁰ Schuh (1981: 215-6, no. 225).

used for the present paper, namely BUx, is said by the editor to be based on this Sde dge xylograph. A comparison of its readings, and especially the lengthy glosses in its section on Tibet, with Szerb's critical edition shows that it cannot be based on the xylograph from Sde dge. Rather, it is but a copy of the Lhasa xylograph, for, in contradistinction to the text from Sde dge, BUx contains all the interlinear notes of the Lhasa xylograph. Yamaguchi Zuihō noted that the colophons of the *Chos 'byung's* Sde dge xylograph mention two individuals, both of whom can be dated.¹¹¹ These are Phun tshogs bstan pa (?-1766) *alias* Bla chen Kun dga' 'phrin las rgya mtsho, the sixth abbot of the Sde dge monastery of Lhun grub steng from 1739 to 1766, the underwriter of this xylograph, and Zhu chen Tshul khrims rin chen (1697-1774), its editor. So far, I have been unable to come up with additional sources to the circumstances of its printing. Zhu chen's autobiography does not include an entry where the particulars of this printing project might have been given, so that it cannot be dated with precision on this basis, and the same holds for the autobiography of Dpal ldan chos skyong (1701-59), together with Zhu chen's supplement.¹¹²

We are far better informed about the Lhasa xylograph of the text which, as already indicated, in fact forms part of a xylograph of his collected works that was prepared during the years 1917 to 1919.¹¹³ The thirteenth Dalai Lama composed a catalog and brief afterword to this edition in 1921 — the latter is also reproduced in his biography

¹¹¹ Yamaguchi (1970: 95-6, no. 345D-2560). An exemplar of this xylograph is also housed in the Beijing National Library under catalog no. 3015.

¹¹² See his *Chos smra ba'i bande tshul khrims rin chen du bod pa'i skye ba phal pa'i rkang 'thung dge sdig 'dres ma'i las kyi yal ga phan tshun du 'dzings par bde sdug gi lo 'dab dus kyi rgyal mos re mos su bsgyur ba*, *The Autobiography of Tshul khrims rin chen of Sde dge and Other of His Selected Writings* (New Delhi, 1971) 278-587. The reign of Bla chen Kun dga' 'phrin las rgya mtsho is dealt with on pp.506-?57 but no mention is made of the *Chos 'byung*. For some reason, Zhu chen races through the last eight years, from 1761 to 1768, devoting only some seven folios, or fourteen pages, to these, namely pp. 544-57. For Dpal ldan chos skyong, see the *Ngor mkhan chen dpal ldan chos skyong zhabs kyi rnam thar sna tshogs ljon pa stug po'i khri shing*, 4 vols. (Palampur: Tibetan Craft Community Tashijong, 1974), where vol. 4, pp. 288 ff. was completed by Zhu chen in 1762.

¹¹³ Seyfort Ruegg (1966: 41-2, n. 3) has said all that needs to be said. The Tibetan sources for this undertaking are BU, 28, 628-31, Phur lcog Thub bstan byams pa tshul khrims bstan 'dzin's biography of Dalai Lama XIII, the *Lhar bcas srid zhi'i gtsug rgyan 7 gong sa rgyal ba'i dbang po bka' drin mtshungs med sku phreng bcu gsum pa chen po'i rnam par thar pa rgya mtsho lta bu las mdo tsam brjod pa ngo mtshar rin po che'i phreng ba*, *Stod cha*, *The Collected Works of the Thirteenth Dalai Lama*, vol. 7 (New Delhi, 1981), 338-61, 401-5, and the biography of Shes rab rgya mtsho (1884-1968) by Skal bzang rgya mtsho, the *Rje btsun dam pa Pra dznya sa ra'i rnam par thar pa phun tshogs legs lam gyi rtse mo*, *Collected Works of Rje btsun Shes rab rgya mtsho* vol. 3 (Xining: Mtsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1984), 620.

— and we read there that in the absence of an earlier printed edition it was based on manuscripts that belonged to the seat of government (*gzhung sa*), that is, the Dga' ldan pho brang, and two handwritten exemplars from Zhwa lu. The story should be well known and thus does not need to be repeated here.

It is not clear how these four xylographs are related to each other. Given the information provided in the colophon of the Lhasa edition of his oeuvre, it seems quite likely that they do not constitute a monogenous series of texts, that is, that the three later xylographs all go back to the same ancestor, presumably the Zhwa lu xylograph. In fact, it is quite likely that they are polygenous, that is to say, they fall into two or more lines of descent from a common ancestor, ultimately perhaps from Bu ston's autograph or some edited version that Sgra tshad pa had prepared for one of his "editions" of Bu ston's collected writings. The variant readings in Szerb's edition do not allow for a clearcut decision on the genealogical relationships among these xylographs.

III. The Overt Tibetan Sources of the *Chos 'byung*

A superficial comparison of the section on the development of Buddhism in Tibet in the *Chos 'byung* with the cognate sections of such earlier chronicles as the ones by Nyang ral Nyi ma 'od zer and Ne'u/Sne'u/Nel Paṇḍita Grags pa smon lam blo gros of 1283¹¹⁴ —

¹¹⁴ Nyang ral's dates are not entirely controversial. I follow here the notice in his biography by Myang / Nyang Rig 'dzin Lhun grub 'od zer (?-?), *Mnga' bdag myang Nyi ma 'od zer gyi rnam thar gsal ba'i me long, Mnga' bdag bla ma brgyud pa'i rnam thar, Indo-Tibetan Buddhist Literature Series*, vol. 122 (Rewalsar: Zigar Drukpa Kargyud Institute, 1985), 158. The issue of his dates is also discussed in the *Introduction* of D.A. Hirshberg, *Delivering the Lotus-Born: Historiography in the Tibetan Renaissance*, Harvard University doctoral dissertation (Cambridge, 2012), as is the question of the authorship of the chronicle that is attributed to him. Before a final verdict is reached, I assume here that he was indeed its author. The best study of Ne'u Paṇḍita's chronicle is H. Uebach, tr., *Nel pa Paṇḍita's Chronik Me tog phreng ba...*, *Studia Tibetica. Quellen und Studien zur tibetischen Lexicographie*, Band 1 (Munich: Kommission für Zentralasiatische Studien, Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1987). Bu ston makes no mention of this work, although it seems hardly likely that he was not acquainted with it, given his excellent knowledge of the various traditions of Gsang phu ne'u thog monastery where this author was active. Nonetheless, we cannot assume that he was familiar with it. By the same token, we may also not assume that he was acquainted with the chronicle of U rgyan pa, the *Rgyal po rab[s] kyi phreng ba* of 1278, of which I located a manuscript under C.P.N. catalog no. 002898. However, from his record of teachings studied (*gsan yig*), we know that he was privy to several of his writings on the *Bsnyen grub* teachings.

we should most likely also have to include here the ones by *Lde'u Jo sras, Mkhas pa Lde'u and Bcom ldan ral gri — forces the conclusion, that the measure of its relative popularity and influence cannot have been due to this rather thin section of the text. Indeed, Nyang ral and Mkhas pa Lde'u go far beyond Bu ston in terms of detail and scope in virtually every case. But we must ask the question: What about the sections of the *Chos 'byung* that have to do with hermeneutics and Indian Buddhism? While Nyang ral and Ne'u Paṇḍita are insignificant in this regard, the second Sa skya pa patriarch, Master (*slob dpon*) Bsod nams rtse mo's (1142-82) work on Buddhist history,¹¹⁵ not to mention the one by Mkhas pa Lde'u, contains a great deal that is reflected in Bu ston some one hundred and sixty and seventy years later. As just indicated, the texts of Nyang ral and Mkhas pa Lde'u go in many, but not all, respects well beyond the *Chos 'byung*, and I am not even considering here their signal use of tantric literature, both Rnying ma and Gsar ma, which is singularly absent from Bu ston's text. Sometimes they provide details that serve to underscore their obvious antecedence to Bu ston, and at times they offer invaluable indications about the kind of sources Bu ston must have been working with, sources that have thusfar not yet been recovered from their hiding places.

As far as I am aware, Szerb was the first to address, albeit not systematically, the issue of the *Chos 'byung*'s Tibetan bibliography, that is, the sources which Bu ston employed while writing his work, whereby he was able to offer some circumstantial evidence that Bu ston either used sources similar to the ones employed by Bsod nams rtse mo and Nyang ral, or that he had in fact used these two texts themselves.¹¹⁶ The question concerning the textual sources of the *Chos 'byung* is something that must be raised for, obviously, it was not written in an historical vacuum, and because it enjoyed, and continues to do so, a great reputation and has profoundly influenced our perceptions of especially the history of Indian Buddhism. The legitimacy of this question is, to be sure, of necessity preconditioned and accentuated by the recent availability of several earlier historical

¹¹⁵ See his *Chos la 'jug pa'i sgo*, SSBB3, no. 17, 318/3-45/3; this work is now translated in Chr. Wilkinson, *Sonam Tsemo. Admission at Dharma's Gate, Sakya Kongma Series*, vol. 3 (Concord: Suvarna Publishing, 2014). I should like to thank Mr. Wilkinson for kindly providing me with his valuable book.

¹¹⁶ See his "Two Notes on the Sources of the *Chos-'byung* of Bu-ston Rin-chen-grub," *Reflections on Tibetan Culture. Essays in Memory of Turrell V. Wylie*, ed. L. Epstein and R.F. Sherburne (Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1990), 143-8, where he draws attention to parallels between the *Chos 'byung*, the *Chos la 'jug pa'i sgo*, and the chronicle that is attributed to Nyang ral. He also corrected one of the points made there in Szerb (1990: 15, n. 3).

works that present us with an opportunity, although still by no means an ideal one, for many sources are still lacking, to assess more transparently the significance of this work in terms of what its original contributions were, if any, and what Bu ston adapted or borrowed from the writings of his earlier Tibetan colleagues. In what follows, I will make an attempt to bring into focus some aspects of the textual background of the *Chos 'byung* and its subsequent reception, whereby I shall deal here only with the information given about these by Bu ston himself and by the relevant annotations in the Lhasa xylograph of the text. The ensuing is therefore a kind of prolegomenon for future, more analytic than expository studies in the *Chos 'byung* in which special attention will have to be paid to its architecture, which shows many parallels with the earlier works of its genre, and to the specific features of its contents.

We may as well begin by pointing out that he himself relates that he was familiar with the following five *chos 'byung*-chronicles¹¹⁷:

1. Phya pa Chos kyi seng ge (1109-69)¹¹⁸
2. Gtsang nag pa [Brtsen 'grus seng ge (?-after 1195)]
3. Khro phu Lo tsā ba Byams pa'i dpal
4. Chag Lo tsā ba Chos rje dpal (1197-1264)
5. Mkhan po Mchims [?'Nam mkha' grags (1210-85)]

Now with the exception of the first, the other four men are referred to in the Lhasa xylograph of the *Chos 'byung* as well as in the inter-linear notes which, of course, were not necessarily authored by Bu ston himself, and should for this reason not be unreservedly ascribed to him. The text of the *Chos 'byung* also mentions by name other Tibetans who are not included among these four, and it will be useful to tabulate these as well, if only because these do provide us with an insight into its literary background, and possibly into Bu ston's own workshop. The identifications of the persons behind Bu ston's own anonymous *kha cig / la la*, "some", are marked by an "*" — the first reference to Gtsang nag pa is an exception, inasmuch as his name

¹¹⁷ BU26, 192.

¹¹⁸ For the writings by Phywa pa or Phya pa that are now available, see the *Bka' gdams gsung 'bum phyogs bsgribs*, ed. Dpal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang, vols. 6-9 (Chengdu: Si khron dpe skrun tshogs pa / Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2006). See also H. Tauscher, "Remarks on Phya pa Chos kyi seng ge and his Madhyamaka Treatises," *The Tibet Journal* XXXIV-XXXV (2009-2010) [*The Earth-Ox Papers*, ed. R. Vitali], 1-35, and P. Hugon, "Phya pa Chos kyi seng ge on Argumentation by Consequence (*thal 'gyur*): The Nature, Function, and Form of Consequence Statements," *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 41 (2013), 617-702, and the literature cited there.

was inserted in a passage which did not read "some"; those entries in the translations of Obermiller that are marked by an "#" indicate that they are not found in the translations themselves.

1. *Lo tsā ba Rin chen bzang po*

The text of the *Chos 'byung* proper, that is, the text without the catalog, contains but one entry for Lo tsā ba Rin chen bzang po and his writings, but the entry in question was radically misunderstood by Obermiller.¹¹⁹ There the great translator is styled *sprul sku*, "re-embodiment", which he took to mean that Rin chen bzang po was an "incarnation [of Atiśa (982-1054)]"! The text Bu ston referred to, namely his *Sngags log sun 'byin, Refutation of Spurious Mantric [Literature]*, which has yet to surface, is also mentioned by him in his catalog¹²⁰ regarding a problem with the authenticity of the *Dpal gsang ba 'dus pa'i bshad rgyud gnyis su med pa mnyam pa nyid rnam par rgyal ba* (**Śrīgūhyasamājavākyatantrādvayasamatavijaya*) in the translation by [Mar pa] Chos kyi blo gros [and Jñānagarbha].¹²¹ Aside from Lo tsā ba Rin chen bzang po's study of allegedly spurious tantras, Bu ston

¹¹⁹ BU24, 741 [BUX, 82, Obermiller 1931: 137]; see also Chr. Luczanits, "The Sources for Bu ston's Introduction to the Acts of the Buddha," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens* XXXVII (1993), 105. For his extant writings, including his *Rab gnas kyi sdom* [= ?*Rab tu gnas pa*], which is mentioned in BU24, 1049 [BUX, 313, Guo 1986: 445, Pu 2007: 230], see now *Bka' gdams gsung 'bum phyogs bsgrigs*, ed. Dpal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang, vol. 1 (Chengdū: Si khron dpe skrun tshogs pa / Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2006), 1-78.

¹²⁰ BU24, 1049 [BUX, 313, Guo 1986: 445, Pu 2007: 230], calls it an extensive work. Elsewhere, in BU24, 985 [BUX, 262, Guo 1986: 323, Pu 2007: 188], Bu ston signals that Lo tsā ba Rin chen bzang po had said therein, that "Since these aforementioned **cāryatantra*-s have aspects of both **cārya* and *yogatantra*-s, they are tantras belonging to both classes." This would indicate that it was not solely devoted to a refutation of spurious tantras. Indirect references to this work are made in BU24, 906, 990 [BUX, 202, 266, Obermiller 1932: 214, Guo 1986: 191, 333, Pu 2007: 129, 192]. The earliest reference to this work so far seems to be a passage Sa skya Paṇḍita's *Sdom gsum rab tu dbye ba*, SSBB5, no. 24, 319/2/4-5 [= J.D. Rhoton, tr., *A Clear Differentiation of the Three Codes*, 175], although Chag Lo tsā ba appears to refer to it as well in the undated **Sngags log sun 'byin shes rab ral gri, Sngags log sun 'byin gyi skor* (Thimphu: Kunsang Topgyel and Mani Dorji, 1979), 17, that is probably wrongly attributed to him. For additional notes on Chag Lo tsā ba's work, see below.

¹²¹ BU24, 986 [BUX, 263, Guo 1986: 325, Pu 2007: 189]; see also briefly, Roerich (1979: 417, n. 4) and Y. Imaeda, "Mise au point concernant les éditions chinoises du Kanjur et du Tanjur tibétains," *Essais sur l'art du Tibet*, ed. A. MacDonald and Y. Imaeda (Paris: Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient, 1977), 30-1. See also the more detailed remarks in Zhu chen's undated *Rgyal po chen po rnam thos sras las brtsams pa'i bka' 'lung gi dri ba'i bka' lan mtsho byung lus phra'i glu dbyangs, Collected Works*, vol. 4 (New Delhi, 1972), 251 ff.

mentions but one other title of an indigenous Tibetan work in the text of the *Chos 'byung* proper, namely, the *Rba bzhed* [= *Sba bzhed*].¹²² He cites and not merely refers to additional indigenous Tibetan works in his catalogue of translated scripture, which also includes a number of works written by Tibetans during the imperial period. A number of what can only be called the Lo tsā ba's minor writings were recently published in Chengdu.¹²³

2. *Gtsang nag pa*¹²⁴

We have two entries for him.¹²⁵ The first occurs in a curious place insofar as Bu ston does not explicitly relate here a point of view proposed by someone else. This he usually does by prefixing someone else's position by *kha cig*. And here he has simply written ... *gsung*, "it is said".¹²⁶ The Tibetan library of the Cultural Palace of Nationalities

¹²² See my "Some Remarks on the textual Transmission and Text of Bu ston Rin chen grub's *Chos 'byung*, a Chronicle of Buddhism in India and Tibet," 159, 164.

¹²³ See *Bka' gdams gsung 'bum phyogs bsgrigs*, ed. Dpal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang, vol. 1 (Chengdu: Si khron dpe skrun tshogs pa / Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2006).

¹²⁴ For him, see my now dated "An Introduction to Gtsang nag pa's *Tshad ma rnam par nges pa'i ti ka legs bshad bsdu pa*," *An Ancient Commentary on Dharmakīrti's Pramānaviśāyā*, *Ōtani University Collection No. 13971, Ōtani University Tibetan Works Series*, volume II (Kyoto: Rinsen Book Co., 1989), 1-33, and P. Hugon, "Gtsang nag pa on Similar/Dissimilar Instances and Examples," *The Role of the Example (dṛṣṭānta) in Classical Indian Logic*, ed. Katsura, Shoryu and E. Steinkellner, *Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde*, Heft 58 (Wien: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien Universität Wien, 2004), 53-90, and P. Hugon, *Trésors du raisonnement. Sa skya Paṇḍita et ses prédécesseurs tibétains sur les modes de fonctionnement de la pensée et le fondement de l'inférence. Édition et traduction annotée du quatrième chapitre et d'une section du dixième chapitre du Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter*, 2 vols., *Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde*, Heft 69, 1-2 (Wien: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien Universität Wien, 2008). A number of his works have now been published in the *Bka' gdams gsung 'bum phyogs bsgrigs*, ed. Dpal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang, vol. 13 (Chengdu: Si khron dpe skrun tshogs pa / Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2006), 1-742. In addition to these works and the one mentioned below, we now have available one further tract by him. This one is titled [B]rtsod pa'i de nyid, *The Nature of Disputation*. It is also signed by a Brtson 'grus seng ge, and I suppose that he is none other than Gtsang nag pa. It is housed in the Cultural Palace of Nationalities where it is cataloged under no. 004900(7) and consists of four folios.

¹²⁵ BU24, 684*, 904 [BUX, 38-9*, 200, Obermiller 1931: 69#, 1932: 212, Guo 1986: 35#, 189, Pu 2007: 27, 128, Szerb 1990: 83]. The translation in Pu (2007: 27) does not countenance this as a gloss.

¹²⁶ The passage reads with << >> being the annotation: "It is said <<by Gtsang nag pa>> that the teacher needs to be tolerant of wrong doing by his entourage..." (*'khor << gtsang nag pa >> gyis log sgrub bzod pa dgos gsung ste..*).

has a twenty-one folio *dbu med* manuscript — folio 3 is missing — under catalog no. 004343(7), which is titled *Chos 'byung kun dga' snying po*. Its title page elicits two indigenous catalog numbers: in red, *phyi la 189*; in black *nga 414*.¹²⁷ Its terse colophon reads:

*chos 'byung kun dag (sic) snying po zhes bya ba dge' slong
brtson 'grus seng ges sbyar ba rdzogs shyo //*

Its colophon stipulates that its author was Brtson 'grus seng ge, who may be identified as Gtsang nag pa, the logician. This possibility gains in strength by the fact that its diction is clearly inspired by the Tibetan terminology of logical texts — it uses, for instance, on the very first page the triad of definiens (*mtshan nyid*), definiendum (*mtshon bya*) and definitional instance (*mtshon gzhi*), the lengthy discussion of which is an outstanding feature of his recently published *Pramāṇaviniścaya* commentary.¹²⁸ In other words, it mainly has to do with hermeneutics, and falls in the same generic category as Bsod nams rtse mo's work.

The second reference has to do with him not accepting an intermediate phase in the development (*bar dar*) of Buddhism in Tibet. To be sure, Bu ston but marshalls his statement "the way in which the later propagation of the Teaching took place" (*bstan pa phyi ma dar ba'i tshul ni*) in support of his claim against Bcom ldan ral gri's tripartite division of the spread of Buddhism in Tibet, for which see below.

3. *Khro phu Lo tsā ba*

Of a total of three entries,¹²⁹ the first occurs in Bu ston's reflection on the Buddha-Word (*bka'*). The remaining two references relate to his assessment of the period of time during which the Buddha taught texts classified as belonging to the intermediate cycle of the Buddha-Word (*bka' bar pa*), to which he assigns a thirty-year period. In conjunction with this cycle, Bu ston also refers to him in connection

¹²⁷ See the *Bod kyi lo rgyus rnam thar phyogs bsgrigs*, ed. Dpal brtsegs bod yig dpe nmying zhib 'jug khang, vol. Da [= 11] (Xining: Mtsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2010), 297-338.

¹²⁸ On this topic, its background, and the reflections of Gtsang nag pa's teacher Phya pa, see P. Hugon, "The Origin of the Theory of Definition and Its Place in Phya pa Chos kyi seng ge's Philosophical System," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 32/1-2 (2009 [2010]), 319-68.

¹²⁹ BU24, 663*, 772-4, 910-1 [BUX, 22*, 104-6, 205, Obermiller 1931: 41#, 1932: 48, 51-2, 222, Szerb 1990: 102-3]. Henceforth, I will no longer give references to Guo (1986) or Pu (2007), since these do not add substantially to my narrative.

with a detail about an interpretation of the history of the compilation of the *Prajñāpāramitāsūtra* literature. Obermiller's rendition of Bu ston's citation of an observation that was apparently made by a 'Bum phrag gsum pa (*Trilakṣa)¹³⁰ via Khro phu Lo tsā ba and Chag Lo tsā

¹³⁰ 'Bum phrag gsum pa (late 11th to early 12th c.) was an Indian *paṇḍita* whose actual name was Sthirapāla or Sthirapālaśrībhadrā. He is allegedly noted by Nyang ral as one of Rngog Lo tsā ba's masters of Buddhist logic and epistemology, specifically anent Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇaviniścaya*; see his *Chos 'byung me tog snying po sbrang rtsi'i bcud*, ed. Nyan shul Mkhyen rab 'od gsal, Gangs can rigs mdzod 5 (Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 1988), 471, 482. In what may be called Bu ston's *Mkhan po gdan sa pa la snyan skul gyi yi ge*, an undated admonition to Sgra tshad pa as abbot of Zhwa lu (*mkhan po gdan sa pa*) at BU26, 313-4, we read that he and Rngog Lo tsā ba had founded a seminary of textual studies (*bshad grwa*) at Zhwa lu. According to ZHWA, 359, this institution was especially designed for the study of the *Abhidharma-samuccaya*; Zhwa lu was also the place where his ritual conch shell was preserved and he is also associated with Bodong E monastery in Dbus. Dpa' bo II has some interesting things to say about him in his chronicle at DPA'1, 509 [DPA', 511-2]. Another institution with which he was affiliated was monastery in eastern Gtsang. Tāranātha observes that he functioned as the abbot of Gnas snying [read: rnying]; see his *Myang yul stod smad bar gsum gyi ngo mtshar gdam gyi legs bshad mkhas pa'i 'jug ngogs*, ed. Lhag pa tshe ring, 88 [= *Ibid*, *Jo nang rje btsun tā ra nā tha'i gsung 'bum dpe bsdur ma*, 85]. Mnyam nyid rin chen does mention him as having visited Gnas rnying in his ?1522 *Gnas rnying chos 'byung*, but does not state that he was its erstwhile abbot; see his *Skyes bu dam pa rnam kyī rnam par thar pa rin po che'i gter mdzod* [xylograph] [= tbrc.org W1KG9256], 12b. Sde srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho gives a brief synopsis of the abbatial succession of this monastery and its affiliated colleges in his survey of Dge lugs pa monasteries of 1698, but fails to mention him in this connection; see the *Dga' ldan chos 'byung baidū rya ser po*, ed. Rdo rje rgyal po (Beijing: Zhongguo zangxue chubanshe, 1989), 247-9. While MHTL does not register a commentary on *prajñāpāramitā* / *Abhisamayālamkāra* philosophy by him, evidence of his association with it is found in Bu ston's own lineage of transmission at BU26, 32. As far as I have been able to determine, he is not quoted by Bu ston in his *Lung gi snye ma* exegesis of the *Abhisamayālamkāra*. However, other authors do. A case in point is Gser mdog Pañ chen in his *Abhisamayālamkāra* commentaries; see, for instance, his *Shes rab kyī pha rol tu phyin pa'i man ngag gi bstan bcos mngon par rtogs pa'i rgyan 'grel pa dang bcas pa'i dka' ba'i gnas rnam rnam par bshad nas rang gzhan gyi grub pa'i mtha' rnam par dbye ba lung rigs kyī rol mtsho*, *Collected Works*, vol. 1 (Thimphu, 1975), 18. The first of three Tibetans with the same nickname of "'Bum phrag gsum pa" was Byams pa chos grub (1433-1504), who apparently came to be styled in this way owing to the well nigh incredible fact that he had committed to memory the entire *Śatasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitāsūtra* within the space of one month — see his capsule biography-in-verse by Mang thos in the *Dpal 'bum phrag gsum pa'i rnam thar yid kyī gdung sel snyan pa'i nga ro*, *Bod kyī lo rgyus rnam thar phyogs bsgrigs*, ed. Dpal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang, vol. Li [= 56] (Xining: Mtsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2011), 353-65, as well as MANG, 233-6, and Ichijō Ogawa's introduction to his *Legs par bshad pa nyi ma'i 'od zer*, *Ōtani University Collection no. 13971*, *Ōtani University Tibetan Works Series*, vol. VI (Kyoto: Rinsen Book Co., 1991), 3. The second one was Pañ chen 'Bum phrag gsum pa Rin chen chos kyī dbang po (?16th cent.) who is recorded in ZHWA, 241. And the third was 'Bum phrag gsum

ba, namely *sdud pa pos de ltar sdud mi nus pa'i skyon med de sangs rgyas nyid kyi byin rlabs sam rnam 'phrul yin pas so* [//] is defective. For his "...for this is a miracle produced by the blessing of the Buddha himself.", we should read: "for it was either due to a blessing of the Buddha himself or due to a miracle of the Buddha." The last reference to Khro phu Lo tsā ba signals that in his view the Buddha taught the third and last cycle of the doctrine, namely the one that is primarily concerned with *yogācāra* doctrine, for some twelve years. Concerning this particular passage, which includes views on this issue proposed by others as well, Bu ston remarks rather dryly: "I have not seen clear sources for these determinations of the duration of the three cycles." (*dus kyi nges pa 'di rnams kyi khungs gsal ba kho bos ma mthong ngo* //). The last entry simply provides a few details about him having invited three paṇḍitas, Śrījagatamitrānanda, alias Mi-trayogin, Buddhaśrījñāna and Śākyaśrī, and his activities as a translator. In the absence of anything textual, it seems probable that the years he assigned for the duration of the third cycle may have been derived from the oral teachings he had received from these three men. Such chronological details are not noted either by Bsod nams rtse mo, or by Nyang ral. However, we do encounter them in the chronicles by Lde'u Jo sras and Mkhas pa Lde'u.¹³¹ Both have it, the latter it seems simply taking over the relevant passages of the former, that the first cycle, the one of primarily Nikāya-Buddhist teachings, lasted for seven years and two months, the second, one consisting mainly of *madhyamaka* precepts, for twenty-eight to thirty years, from the Buddha aged forty-two [= forty-one] to seventy [= sixty-nine], and the third one for the last ten to twelve years of the Buddha's life. This scenario closely approaches the one proffered by Mchims Nam mkha' grags, for which see below *ad* no. 6. Of considerable interest is that we also find something of this kind in Rgyal sras Thugs mchog rtsal's history of 1522.¹³² There we read the fol-

pa Dge 'dun rgya mtsho, the "confessor" during the ordination of 'Jam mgon Bstan 'dzin dbang po (1639-90) of Sa skya's Rtse gdong Residence in 1659, for which see Sngags 'chang Kun dga' blo gros' (1729-83) study of the history of Sa skya monastery and its affiliates in his *Sa skya'i gdung rabs ngo mtshar bang mdzod kyi kha skong*, ed. Rdo rje rgyal po (Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1991), 123, 129, 131, 136. The published manuscript of Sngags 'chang's work was apparently incomplete and lacked the final page[s].

¹³¹ See, respectively, *Lde'u chos 'byung*, ed. Chos 'dzoms (Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 1987), 38, and *Rgya bod kyi chos 'byung rgyas pa*, 89.

¹³² See the *Chos 'byung rin po che'i gter mdzod bstan pa gsal bar byed pa'i nyi 'od*, vol. 1 (Gangtok, 1976), 224-36 [= *Ibid.*, *Gangs can rig mdzod*, vol. 17, ed. Bsod nams rtse mo and Rta mgrin tshe dbang (Lhasa: Bod ljongs bod yig dpe rnying dpe skrun khang, 1991), 109-15]. For this work and its date, see my "On the Authorship and Date of the Ecclesiastic Chronicle *Chos 'byung rin po che'i gter mdzod bstan pa gsal*

lowing painfully precisely documented periods of time during which the Buddha apparently promulgated these three cycles: he was engaged in the first cycle from the age of thirty-five [= thirty-four], the eighth day of the intermediate autumn month of the earth-female-pig year to the age of forty-two [= forty-one], to the twenty-ninth day of the first autumn month of a horse-year, that is, for a period of seven years and nine days; in the second cycle from the age of forty-one [= forty], the first day of the intermediate autumn month of a horse-year, to the age of seventy-three [= seventy-two], to the fourteenth day of the intermediate autumn month of an ox-year, that is, for thirty-one years and thirteen days; in the third cycle from the age of seventy-two, the fifteenth day of the intermediate autumn month, to the age of eighty [= seventy-nine], to the fifteenth day of the intermediate summer month of a monkey-year, in all for nine years and three months. Rgyal sras gives no sources for these details, but he does point out that Khro phu Lo tsā ba had maintained that the second cycle had lasted thirty years and that the third cycle had lasted for twelve years, which is something that is not found in the *Chos 'byung*. The sources for these calculations still need to be determined, but we probably have to take into account the way [or: ways] in which a kind reverse engineering of dates was [or: were] performed by using the calculus provided by especially the first chapter of the *Laghukālacakratantra* and its *Vimalaprabhā* commentary.

bar byed pa'i nyi 'od," Tibet Studien. Festschrift für Dieter Schuh zum 65. Geburtstag, ed. P. Maurer and P. Schwieger (Bonn: Bier'sche Verlagsanstalt, 2007), 127-48. The very same set of datings of these three cycles, albeit only in terms of years, is found in Klong chen pa's *Grub mtha' rin po che'i mdzod, Mdzod bdun* [Sde dge xylograph], vol. Cha (Gangtok, 1983), 124-6 [= R. Barron, tr., *The Precious Treasury of Philosophical Systems* (Junction City: Padma Publishing, 2007), 15-6]. Yar lung Jo bo Shākya rin chen sde's chronicle of 1376 contains, in YAR, 14 [YAR1, 16], various options about the duration of the three cycles, which appear to have been lifted in part from the *Chos 'byung*. For the first, it has six or seven years and for the second, thirty-one, twenty-seven, or thirty years. For the third cycle, it has the alternatives of ten, twelve, seven and twenty-six or twenty-eight years. Only the text of YAR has three interlinear notes correlating some of these years for the third cycle with some names, which were inadequately numbered by the editor or printer. In his translation, Tang Chi'an connects the ten years with Mchims *Nam mkha' grags, the twelve years with Khro phu Lo tsā ba, and the seven year period with Chag Lo tsā ba, which is confirmed by the corresponding passage on fol. 10b of the manuscript of Yar lung Jo bo's text under C.P.N. catalog no. 002446(2); see his *Yalong zunzhe jiaofa shi* (Lhasa: Xizang renmin chubanshe, 1989), 15.

4. *Sa skya Paṇḍita*¹³³

The first of the two references to him is found in the *Chos 'byung's* section on Buddhist chronology where Bu ston refers to Sa skya Paṇḍita's biography of his uncle Rje btsun Grags pa rgyal mtshan which, as is well known, he adapted from the cognate text of his other uncle Bsod nams rtse mo.¹³⁴ I cannot enter into a discussion of the vicissitudes of these rather peculiar calendrical calculations of these later Tibetan texts wherein the Buddha's death is placed in the year 2133 B.C., one that seems to be based on a work titled *Lugs chen po*. The same holds for their consequences for the Sa skya school, and the rather interesting fact that they go quite counter to the ones proposed by Śākyaśrī, Sa skya Paṇḍita's own master! Suffice it to say that these were hotly contested in many quarters.¹³⁵ The second reference has to do with him and Klu mes [?Dbang phyug grags] having made some judgements on several spurious sutras, specifically the "*Ko'u shi ka, Blo gros bzang mo chung ba, Ljon shing gi mdo* etc." The first two [plus one other one] are mentioned in his *Sdom gsum rab tu dbye ba*, and its annotated version adds an additional one.¹³⁶

¹³³ BU24, 816-8 [BUX, 136-8, 227, Obermiller 1932: 106-7].

¹³⁴ See, respectively, SSBB5, no 17, 147/2/3-3/2, and SSBB2, no. 17, 314/4/5-5/1/4; a recent translation of the relevant passage is found in Chr. Wilkinson, tr., *Sonam Tsemo. Admission at Dharma's Gate*, 148 ff.

¹³⁵ For critiques of this rather strange position, see, for example, Grwa phug pa Lhun grub rgya mtsho's 1447 study of Kālacakra astronomy, the *Rtsis gzhung pad dkar zhal lung*, ed. Yum pa (Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2002), 7-10, and Dga' ldan khri pa XIV Rin chen 'od zer's (1453-1540) 1517 study of Buddhist chronology (*bstan rtsis*) in his *Bstan rtsis gsal ba'i sgron me* [= tbrc.org W2CZ7895], 12a ff.

¹³⁶ SSBB5, no. 24, 317/4/6-8/1/1; the other one is the *De bzhin 'phags pa shig can*. The text with the annotations adds the *Sdong po rgyan*; see *Sdom pa gsum gyi rab tu dbye ba'i bstan bcos. Sdom gsum rang mchan 'khrul med* (New Delhi, 1987), 144. For a discussion of the authenticity of the latter, see D.P. Jackson, "Several Works of Unusual Provenance Ascribed to Sa skya Paṇḍita," *Tibetan History and Language. Studies dedicated to Uray Géza on His Seventieth Birthday*, ed. E. Steinkellner, *Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde*, Heft 26 (Wien: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien Universität Wien, 1991), 242-9. The only other place that I know of where he addresses the question of spurious "canonical" texts is the *Chag Lo tsā ba'i zhus lan*, SSBB5, no. 94, 411/3/1-3. Sutras are not mentioned therein, however.

5. *Chag Lo tsā ba*¹³⁷

For him, the *Chos 'byung* has a total of four entries,¹³⁸ the first three of which have to do with a determination of the number of years in which the Buddha proclaimed the three cycles of his doctrine. According to *Chag Lo tsā ba*, these lasted respectively six years and ten months, twenty-seven years, and seven or nine years. Again, though unlikely, this information may also have been based on an oral tradition current in some quarters in Nepal and India. In the fourth entry, we find him objecting to an eleventh century conceptualisation of these three cycles by Sajjana, who apparently had attempted to accommodate the so-called *pratyekabuddha* within this triad. The last entry has it that he rendered into Tibetan a version of the *Sar-*

¹³⁷ On him, see G. Roerich, tr., *Biography of Dharmasvāmin (Chag Lo tsa-ba Chos rje-dpal). A Tibetan Monk Pilgrim* (Patna: K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute, 1959) and C.T Zongtse, *The Biography of Chag Lo-tsa-ba Chos rje dpal (Dharmasvāmin)* (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1981), which includes a corrected listing of his translations of Sanskrit texts on pp. 12-5. As far as I am aware, only three works attributed to him have so far come down to us. The first is his open letter in which he argued against spurious Rnying ma and Gsar ma tantric literature which may have borne the title of **Sngags log sun 'byin shes rab ral gri*. The title is derived from a passage in the *Sngags log sun 'byin gyi skor* (Thimphu: Kunsang Topgyel and Mani Dorji, 1979), 2, for the published version does not have a title page for this work, and no title is mentioned in the colophon; see also D. Martin, *Unearthing Bon Treasures. Life and Contested Legacy of a Tibetan Scripture Revealer with a General Bibliography of Bon* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 111 ff. Its printing blocks were/are located in Dga' ldan chos 'khor gling monastery in A mchog; see the catalog of her printery in R.O. Meisezahl, "Der Katalog der Klosterdruckerei A mchog dga' ldan chos 'khor gling in Ch'ing hai (Nordwest-China)," *Oriens* 29-30 (1986), 314, 324, nos. 81-5. K. Raudsepp, "The Dating and Authorship Problems in the *Sngags log sun 'byin* Attributed to Chag Lo tsā ba Chos rje dpal," *Contemporary Visions in Tibetan Studies. The First International Seminar of Young Tibetologists, London, September 2007*, ed. B. Dotson et al. (Chicago: Serindia Publications, 2009), 281-97, has argued for holding that this work was probably *not* written by him, but, in my opinion, this remains unsettled. The second is his *Chag lo'i zhu ba*, SSBB5, no. 93, 408/1/6-9/1/1, a series of questions posed to Sa skya Paṇḍita anent his *Sdom gsum rab tu dbye ba*. This work is translated in J.D. Rhoton, tr., *A Clear Differentiation of the Three Codes* (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2002), 205-23. And the third is his *Rnam par 'joms pa'i mngon rtogs bsdus pa*, of which a three-folio *dbu med* manuscript is housed in the Tibetan library of the C.P.N. under catalog no. 005129(10); its colophon reads on fol. 3b: "The text was put together by Chag Lo tsha ba in accordance with the oral instruction of Paṇḍita Ānanda." (*pan di ta a nan ta'i zhal gyi man ngag bzhin chag lo tsha bas bkod pa'o //*). Bu ston's record of teachings received, for which see Appendix One, has preserved a great deal of information on the Chag Lo tsā ba's activities as a writer, about which we are barely informed in his biography.

¹³⁸ BU24, 770, 772-4, 776 [BUX. 103-7, 178, 205; Obermiller 1932: 46, 48, 51-2, 55, 223; Szerb 1990: 105].

vadurgatipariśodhanatantra and corrected earlier translations.¹³⁹ Now Chag Lo tsā ba was affiliated with Lte'u/Te'u ra monastery located in the Gnyal district in southern Central Tibet. Both versions of Mang thos' *Bstan rtsis* quote a Te'u ra pa¹⁴⁰ in the body of the text to the effect that he had maintained that, when the Buddha reached the age of thirty-eight [= thirty-seven], he was given the Rgyal byed (*Jetavana) grove in Mnyam yod (*Śrāvasti) by his patron Mgon med zas sbyin (*Anāthapiṇḍada). They also contain three interlinear notes that refer to this very same Te'u ra pa,¹⁴¹ where the first one indicates that it was taken from his history of the *Kālacakra* teachings. Chag Lo tsā ba was among Te'u ra monastery's most famous sons, but he is not known to have written such a work and it is for this reason that I would be disinclined to identify him with this Te'u ra pa. As far as I am aware, the Tibetan tradition knows of three different men who are called Chag Lo tsā ba. The first was Chos rje dpal's uncle Chag Dgra bcom (1153-1216), the second was Chos rje dpal himself, and the third was Chag Lo tsā ba Rin chen chos kyi rgyal po (1447-?).¹⁴² Mang thos' work on Buddhist chronology contains three

¹³⁹ The text reads here: "*Tantra of Nine Hairknots (gtsug tor, uṣṇīṣa)*" (*gtsug tor dgu'i rgyud*) so that E. Obermiller's remark that this refers to "the 9 *Uṣṇīṣa-tantras*" is incorrect; see also Roerich, *Biography of Dharmasvāmin (Chag Lo tsa-ba Chos rje-dpal)*. *A Tibetan Monk Pilgrim*, 42, 109, and Zongtse, *The Biography of Chag Lo-tsa-ba Chos rje dpal (Dharmasvāmin)*, 207. As we read in one of Bu ston's analyses of the *Yogatantra-s*, it is simply a way of designating a particular version of the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra*; see his *Rnal 'byor rgyud kyi rgya mtshor 'jug pa'i gru gzings*, in BU11, 80, which he completed on November 24, 1341. For the text of this tantra, see T. Skorupski, ed. and tr., *The Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra. Elimination of All Evil Destinies*, (New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1983), under "Version B", and the very preliminary survey in my "Notes Apropos of the Transmission of the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra* in Tibet," *Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik* 16/17 (1992), 109-25, where the problem with the authenticity of Ānandagarbha's (?early 8thc.) exegesis of this work is also noted.

¹⁴⁰ MANG, 18.

¹⁴¹ MANG, 14.

¹⁴² See, for example, Tshe tan Zhabs drung, *Bstan rtsis kun las btus pa* (Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1982), 219, and D. Martin with Y. Bentor, *Tibetan Histories, A Bibliography of Tibetan-Language Historical Works* (London: Serindia Publications, 1997), 74-5, no. 133. No dates for his passing are given. In some sources he is even noted as the fourth Chag Lo tsā ba; see, for instance, Dngos grub rgya mtsho, *Tha snyad rig gnas lnga ji ltar byung ba'i tshul gsal bar byed pa blo gsal mgrin rgyan legs bshad nor bu'i phreng ba* in *Bstan rtsis gsal ba'i nyin byed, Tha snyad rig gnas lnga'i byung tshul, Gangs can rig mdzod* 4, ed. Nor brang O rgyan (Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1988), 313. This is an oversight. Dpa' bo II consistently refers to him as the third Chag Lo tsā ba and also knew and used his history of the *Kālacakra*, for which see DPA'1 502-3, DPA'2, 680 [DPA', 505, 1501]. He figures severally in the oeuvre of Zhwa dmar IV Chos grags ye shes (1453-1524), for which see, for example, the series of his replies to Chag Lo tsā ba III's queries in his *Collected Works*, vol. 6, ed. Yangs can dgon ris med dpe nying

interlinear citations that are allegedly taken from the latter's undated *Kālacakra* chronicle. These are indeed worth citing in full, even if a portion of the second and the third are not found in the only witness of Rin chen chos kyi rgyal po's work that is available to me, one that was written in three different hands. The first of these reads in the diction that is found in the manuscript copy that was recently published:

Citation One¹⁴³

*nga gcig pa la bya rgod phung po'i ri la sher phyin dang de
bzhin gshegs pa'i snying rje chen po bstan pa gsungs / lo
de'i mchu zla'i tshes gcig nas nya'i bar la mnyan yod du
cho 'phrul chen po bstan pas mu stegs ston pa drug btul /
de nas sum cu rtsa gsum du gshegs te yum bden pa la bkod
/ sum cu rtsa gsum nas brtsams te 'dod gzugs kyi lha
rnams dang lhan cig lha gnas gong ma gong mar byon nas
dam tshig gsum bkod pa'i rgyud gsungs / dbyu gi zla'i
nyer gnyis la grong khyer gsal ldan du lha las babs / lhas
byin gyis dge 'dun 'khor lo'i dbyen byas pa mchog zung gis
bzlums / ko'u shambhir gdengs can gyi kun dga' ra bar
rgyal po shar pa yang dag pa'i lam la bkod...*

In his fifty-first [= fiftieth] year, he pronounced the *Prajñāpāramitāsūtras* and the *Tathāgatamahākaraṇīkā-nirdeśasūtra* on Mount Bya rgod phung po (*Gr̥dhra-kūṭa), and manifested a wonder (*cho 'phrul*) up to the fifteenth day of its first month (*mchu zla*, **māgha*). Thereafter, he established the *Yum* [= *Prajñāpāramitāsūtras*] in truth in the thirty-three heavenly realms. Gradually coming up to 'Og min (*Akaniṣṭha) heaven, he pronounced the *Trisamayavyūharājantra*. On the twenty-second day of the ninth month (*dbyug = tha skar*, **āṣvina*), he descended from the gods (*lha las babs*) in the town of Gsal ldan [*Kāśī]. The Supreme Pair (*mchog zung*) [= Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana] subdued the discord created by Lhas byin (*Devadatta).

myur skyob khang (Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2009), 394-413.

¹⁴³ See the *Dpal dus kyi 'khor lo'i brgyud pa rin po che'i rtogs pa brjod pa dpag bsam gyi snye ma*, *Bod kyi lo rgyus rnam thar phyogs bsgrigs*, ed. Dpal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang, vol. Dza [= 19] (Xining: Mtsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2011), 33-4; see also the citations in MANG, 22-3. I dispense with giving the variant readings for this and the next two passages.

In the Gangs can (*Himavat) Kun dga' ra ba (*Ārāma) in Ko'u shambhi (*Kauśambhī), King Shar pa (*Udayana) was established on the authentic path... .

Citation Two¹⁴⁴

don drug pa la bya rgod phung po'i rir dam chos padma dkar po gsungs / de nas lcang lo can du phyag na rdo rje la bde chen ral gcig gi rgyud gsungs / brgyad cu pa [35] la...

He pronounced the *Saddharmapuṇḍarikasūtra* in his seventy-sixth [= seventy-fifth] year on Mount Bya rgod phung po'i ri (*Gṛdhrakūṭa). He then stated the [*Bhagavan*] *mahāsukha-ekajaṭatantra* to Phyag na rdo rje (*Vajrapāṇi) in Lcang lo can (*Adakavati). In his eightieth [= seventy-ninth] year,...

Mang thos' text then has:

...sngon drang srong gis 'bras so ba'i char phab pas 'bras spungs su grags pa / lhas brtsigs pa shrī dha nya ka ṭa ga ste dpal so ba'i phung po'am / 'bras spungs kyi mchod rten phyed mtsho'i nang du nub par zla ba bzang pos zhus pa'i ngor dus 'khor rtsa rgyud / kye rdor 'bum phrag lnga pa sogs dang / mdo dgongs 'grel / lang gshegs / myang 'das chen po sogs gsungs...

Mang thos' text then has:

...he pronounced the *Kālacakramūlatantra* at the request of Zla ba bzang po (*Sucandra) at the Śrī-Dhānyakaṭaka - built by the gods, known as 'Bras spungs because earlier a seer had let down a rain of rice grains -, that is, the Dpal so ba'i phung po or 'Bras spungs stupa, half-submerged in a lake, the *Hevajra-tantra* in five hundred thousand quatrains, etc. and the *Saṅdhinirmocanasūtra*, the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*, the *Mahā-parinirvāṇasūtra* etc....

¹⁴⁴ See the *Dpal dus kyi 'khor lo'i brgyud pa rin po che'i rtogs pa brjod pa dpag bsam gyi snye ma*, 34-35, up to *brgyad cu la!*; the remainder are the citations found in in MANG, 22-3.

Citation Three¹⁴⁵

*de yang dgongs 'grel yangs pa can dang / lang gshegs
sngon srin pos bzung ba lang ka'i yul dang / myang 'das
rtswa mchog tu gsungs...*

Moreover, he pronounced the *Saṅdhinirmocanasūtra* in Yangs pa can (*Vaiśālī), the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* in Laṅka that had earlier been seized by a demon [= Rāvaṇa], and the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* in Rtswa mchog (*Kuśī-nagarī).

6. *Mchims [Nam mkha' grags]*¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁵ MANG, 22-3.

¹⁴⁶ His dates are taken from his undated biography by his disciple Skyo ston Smon lam tshul khriims, which states in SKYO, 3a, that he was born in 1210 (*lcags pho rta'i lo mgo la bde bar bltums*), whereafter it affirms, in SKYO, 47a, that he passed away on the fourteenth day of the *smal po* [= eleventh] month of the [wood-hen] year, that is, probably on November 12, 1285. These dates are also confirmed the *Dpal snar thang chos sde'i lo rgyus* (Lhasa: Xizang renmin chubanshe, 1983), 39-40, which is partly based on documents from Snar thang itself that now lies in ravished ruins. The listing of his considerable oeuvre in SKYO, 37a-9, mentions indeed a *Chos 'byung* in SKYO, 39a, and the catalog of the C.P.N. lists an *dbu med* manuscript in thirty-three folios of a so-called *Mchims chos 'byung* under no. 004399(7). However, its actual title is the *De 4n gshegs pa bdun gyi mchod pa ji ltar bsgrub pa'i tshul*; it bears the indigenous marking of 'bras spungs nang 12. This work does contain some historical information on the development of the ritual that focuses on the seven Tathāgatha-s, but nothing of the kind that Bu ston predicates of him; for further remarks, see my *The Kālacakra and the Patronage of Tibetan Buddhism by the Mongol Imperial Family*, The Central Eurasian Studies Lectures 4, ed. F. Venturi (Bloomington: Department of Central Eurasian Studies, Indiana University, 2004), 4-8. It is now published among many other of his works in the *Bka' gdams gsung 'bum phyogs bsgrigs*, ed. Dpal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang, vol. 13 (Chengdu: Si khron dpe skrun tshogs pa / Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2009) as well as in the *Bka' gdams gsung 'bum phyogs bsgrigs*, ed. Dpal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang, vol. 47 (Chengdu: Si khron dpe skrun tshogs pa / Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2006), 167-452, vol. 48, and vol. 49, 3-262. Bu ston's record of teachings received, in BU26, 137-8, informs us that Mchims had also composed a work anent the Sixteen Elders entitled *Gnas brtan bcu drug gi gsol 'debs kyi cho ga* — see also SKYO 39a —, the transmission for which he had obtained from 'Phags pa 'od yon tan rgya mtsho. The history of the Bka' gdams pa school by Las chen Kun dga' rgyal mtshan (1432-1506) of 1494 [with subsequent additions by Dalai Lama V] in *Bka' gdams chos 'byung gsal ba'i sgron me*, vol. II (New Delhi, 1972), 162-74 [= *Bka' gdams chos 'byung gsal ba'i sgron me*, ed. Mig dmar rgyal mtshan (Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 2003), 514-21], gives a very interesting account of the origin of the cult around the Sixteen Elders, initially propagated in Snar thang in particular, which, the Las chen affirms, was especially based on

Mchims' writings. In this connection, he mentions his *Gnas brtan gyi sgrub yig rgyas pa* and *Phyag mchod pa*. The former is probably the same work referred to as the *Sgrub yig* by Zhu chen Tshul khrim rin chen in his study of the history of this cult of 1774; see his *Ston mchog nyi ma'i rtsa lag bstan skyong gnas brtan bcu drug zhabs 'bring dharma ta la mi bdag ha shang bka' sdod rgyal chen bcas pa'i rtogs pa brjod pa bstan pa'i pad tshal rgyas pa'i nyin byed, The Autobiography of Tshul khrim rin chen of Sde dge and Other of His Selected Writings* (New Delhi, 1971), 259. 'Phags pa Blo gros rgyal mtshan may have received from Mchims the transmission of an evocation-offering ritual anent the Elders; see his **Lung dang brgyud pa sna tshogs thob pa'i gsan yig*, SSBB7, no. 315, 288/1/2. He also wrote a very brief eulogy to these sixteen, for which see his *Gnas brtan bcu drug la bstod pa*, SSBB7, no. 202, 170/1/3-5. The cult appears to have been introduced into Snar thang monastery in the eleventh century by Klu mes 'Brom chung on the basis of Chinese documents, and this scion of the Klu mes clan had some eighteen thangkas painted, one each of the Buddha, Dharmatāla and the Sixteen Elders, which were housed in Yer pa Ri ba (read ?Ra ba, ?Ri pa) at the time of his writing. They were still there in the beginning of this century, for which see Kaḥ thog Si tu Chos kyi rgya mtsho (1880-1925) in his entry for the Gnas bcu Khang of Yer pa in his well known travelog — see *An Account of a Pilgrimage to Central Tibet During the Years 1918-1920* (Tashijong: The Sungrab Nyamso Gyunphel Parkhang Tibetan Craft Community, 1972), 138 [= *Kaḥ thog si tu'i dbus gtsang gnas yig, Gangs can rig mdzod*, vol. 33, ed. Bsod nams tshe brtan (Lhasa: Bod ljongs bod yig dpe rnying dpe skrun khang, 1999), 99-100] — and Zhi ba'i snying po, *Sgrub pa'i gnas mchog yer pa'i dkar chag dad pa'i sa bon, Tibetan Guides to Places of Pilgrimage* (Dharamsala, 1985), 89-90. This passage is also quoted in E. de Rossi Filibeck, "Names of Known and Less Known Places in Yer Pa," *Tibetan and Buddhist Studies*, ed. L. Ligeti (Budapest: Akademiai Kiadó, 1984), 244-5. One cannot follow her reading that "the images of the sixteen Arhats" were "donated by a king of China." The reconstruction of "*Klume" from a Chinese expression quoted in S. Lévi and É. Chavannes, "Les seize Arhat protecteurs de la loi," *Journal asiatique* VIII (1916), 283, can now be corrected to "Klu mes". The very important and, to my knowledge, so far the most exhaustive study of this cult, is Yongs 'dzin Ye shes rgyal mtshan, *Thub pa'i dbang po 'phags pa gnas brtan bcu drug 'khor dang bcas pa'i rtogs pa brjod pa rgyal bstan rin po che'i mdzes rgyan phul byung gser gyi phreng ba* of 1783 which occupies volume 11 of his *Collected Works* (New Delhi, 1975); for the most important historical notes on the origin and propagation of this cult in Tibet in the text, see pp. 101-4, 344, 366-7, 407-11, 429-31, and 583-8. Another series of biographies of these Sixteen Elders was authored by Paṅ chen Lama III/VI Dpal ldan ye shes (1738-80), of which a handy annotated version may be found in *Gangs ljongs mkhas dbang rim byon gyi rtsom yig gser gyi sgram bu*, vol. 2, ed. Blo bzang chos grags and Bsod nams rtse mo (Xining: Qinghai minzu chubanshe, 1989), 1274-95. An earlier series of biographies was written by Cog gra Snyan grags dpal bzang (1617-80) in a work entitled *Rgyal ba'i bstan skyong 'phags pa'i gnas brtan bcu drug gi rtogs pa brjod pa dzambu'i snye ma*; see *The Biography of Cog-gra Snyan-grags dpal-bzang mi-pham phun-tshogs shes-rab* (Darjeeling, 1984), 525-80. In addition to the text by Mchims, Cog gra explicitly notes two other works on pp. 579-80. The first is Byams gling Paṅ chen Bsod nams mam rgyal (1400-75), *Mchod chog byin brlabs sprin phung*. This is most probably his *Gnas brtan bcu drug gi phyag mchod kyi cho ga rgyas pa* of 1470. The other is 'Brug chen V Dpag bsam dbang po's (1593-1653) *Gnas brtan gyi cho ga*. For additional secondary literature, see Tucci (1949: 555-70), Hakuyū Hadano, "The Influence of the Sixteen Arhats in Tibet [in Japanese]," *Bunka* 19 (1955), 39-52, P. Demiéville, "Appendice

There are seven entries¹⁴⁷ in all for him of which the first two have to do with hermeneutic issues, a characterization of the Buddha-Word — one to which Bu ston takes exception — and a gloss on pedagogy and the methods of instruction. The third entry signals his statement on a piece of scholasticism that deals with the length of time during which the historical Buddha had accumulated merit in his previous lives. The fourth, fifth and sixth notices register his views on the number of years the Buddha proclaimed each of the three cycles of his pronouncements, namely respectively, seven, twenty-seven, and ten years. We find the last two also noted by Rgyal sras. It is not known whether he had studied with a *paṇḍita* so that I cannot postulate here that these entries are based on some oral tradition, which would have been transmitted to him by a non-Tibetan teacher. Of course, it is quite possible that these ultimately had their origin in such a tradition. The last entry relates to his calculation of the number of years that has elapsed since Buddhism was first promulgated and, thus, by implication, the period of time it will last until the "end time". This calculation, allegedly done in accordance with an earlier one that is attributed to Atiśa, was made in the year 1257 and is quoted in many later sources.

7. *Bcom ldan ral gri*

Bcom ldan ral gri is mentioned twice in the main body of the *Chos 'byung*.¹⁴⁸ Both have to do with his views on the historical development of Buddhism in Tibet. In the first, Bu ston associates him with one of a number of different opinions that have to do with the development of the early Tibetan lineages along which monastic regulations, the *vinaya*, were passed on. He states there that Bcom ldan ral

sur 'Damoduoluo' (Dharmatrā[ta])," in Jao Tsongyi, *Peintures monochromes de Dunhuang (Dunhuang baihua)*, Fasc.1, *Mémoires Archéologiques XIII* (Paris: Publications de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient, 1978), 43-9, L.S. Dargyab, *Die Sādhana der Sammlung Snar-thang brgya-rtsa, Ikonographie und Symbolik des Tibetischen Buddhismus*, Teil D, ed. K. Sagaster (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1986), 13-4, J. Tate, "The Sixteen Arhats in Tibetan Painting," *Oriental Art XXXV* (1988-1989), 196-206, Rhie and Thurman, *Wisdom and Compassion. The Sacred Art of Tibet*, 102-19, and of course the marvelous archive of the Himalayan Art Resources at himalayanart.org. For several Bon po texts anent these, see the collection under the heading of 'Phags pa'i gnas brten(!) gyi mchod pa mdo sde me tog 'phreng ba, *Texts of the New Bon Tradition* (Dolanji: Tibetan Bonpo Monastic Community), 1985, 1-213.

¹⁴⁷ BU24, 650*, 685, 770, 772, 774, 816 [BUX, 13*, 39, 76, 103-104, 106, 137, Obermiller 1931: 25, 71, 126; 1932: 46, 48, 52, 106].

¹⁴⁸ BU24, 903-4 [BUX, 199-200, Obermiller 1932: 211-2, Szerb 1980: 81-3].

gri had alleged that a group of ten men from Dbus and Gtsang received their vows from Grum Ye shes rgyal mtshan, the ordinand (*mkhan bu*) of Bla chen Dgongs pa rab gsal. And he comments that this opinion, and the others as well, should be looked into. Bu ston's source for this statement is unknown. So far, Bcom ldan ral gri's professed treatises of the *vinaya* have yet to be discovered,¹⁴⁹ and we find nothing of the kind in either the *Bstan pa rgyan gyi me tog*, his brief chronicle of Buddhism in India and Tibet, which he wrote in 1264 while he was still a relatively young man, or in his undated catalog of Buddhist scripture of most probably the 1270s.¹⁵⁰ The other mention of him by Bu ston concerns his introduction of a tripartite division into the spread of Buddhism in Tibet instead of what is at least now the more widely accepted bipartite model of an early and a later spread with a hiatus after the alleged persecution of Buddhist institutions by emperor U 'dum btsan, alias Glang dar ma, in circa 840. This we find in both of the aforementioned works.¹⁵¹ Thus he writes in his chronicle:

*gnyis pa bar dar ni / bkra shis mgon gyi sras / lha bla ma ye
shes 'od kyis mtho lding bzhengs te / paṇḍi ta dharma pa la
spyang drangs nas / ratna pa la sogs nyi shu rtsa gcig kha
cher chos slob tu bcug go / de'i tsha bo lha ldes / paṇḍi ta
sub ha shrī spyang drangs so / de'i sras zhi ba 'od dang /
byang chub 'od do // des jo bo rje spyang drangs so // de'i
tshe paṇḍi ta pra ta ka ra barma dang / padma ka ra barma
dang / lo tsa ba rin chen bzang po / shākya blo gros / dge ba
blo gros sogs kyis rgyud sde bzhi bsgyur ro // de gnyis kyi
gcung po mdo sdes kyang kha che dznyā [95] na shrī spyang
drangs so // de'i sras rtse ldes kyang sun a ma shrī spyang
drangs so // de'i pha spun dbang ldes kyang / rngog lo'i
'gyur gyi yon bdag mdzad do //
gsum pa phyi dar ni / rgyal pos byas pa ma yin te / paṇḍi ta
smri ti sogs dang / lo tsa ba 'brog mi mgos / rngog zangs*

¹⁴⁹ See *Slob dpon bcom ldan ral gri nyid kyis bstan bcos brtsams pa'i dkar chag, Bka' gdams gsung 'bum phyogs bsgribs*, ed. Dpal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang, vol. 51 (Chengdu: Si khron dpe skrun tshogs pa / Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2007), 38-9.

¹⁵⁰ For these, see his *Gsung 'bum*, vol. 1 (Kathmandu: Sa skya rgyal yongs gsung rab slob nyer khang, 2007), 57-101, and also K.R. Schaeffer and L.W. J van der Kuijp, *An Early Tibetan Survey of Buddhist Literature: The Bstan pa rgyas pa rgyan gyi nyi 'od of Bcom ldan ral gri*, *Harvard Oriental Series*, vol. 64 (Cambridge: The Department of Indian and Sanskrit Studies, Harvard University, 2009).

¹⁵¹ For these, see his *Gsung 'bum*, vol. 1, 94-5, and Schaeffer and van der Kuijp, *An Early Tibetan Survey of Buddhist Literature: The Bstan pa rgyas pa rgyan gyi nyi 'od of Bcom ldan ral gri*, 194.

*dkar / gnyan / khyung po / sa [read: pa] tshab / mal g.yo la
sogs pas 'gyur du ma mdzad do //*

Second, the intermediate spread: Lha Bla ma Ye shes 'od, the son of Bkra shis mgon, had Mtho lding¹⁵² constructed and, having invited Paṇḍita Dharmapāla, he dispatched twenty-one men such as Ratnapāla etc. to Kashmir to study Buddhism. His grandson Lha lde invited Paṇḍita Subhaśrī. His sons were Zhi ba 'od (1016-1111) and Byang chub 'od (984-1078). They invited Jo bo rje Atiśa. At that time, Paṇḍita Prabhakaravarma, Padmakaravarma, Lo tsā ba Rin chen bzang po, Shākya blo gros, Dge ba blo gros etc. translated the four genres of tantric literature. The younger brother of those two, too, invited the Kashmirian Jñānaśrī. His son Rtse lde, too, invited Su ma śrī. His father's relation Dbang lde, too, acted as the financial sponsor of Rngog Lo tsā ba's translations.

Third, the later spread was not initiated by a king; Paṇḍita Smṛtijñānakīrti etc. and Lo tsā ba 'Brog mi, 'Gos, Rngog, Zangs dkar, Gnyan, Khyung pa, Pa tshab and Mal g.yo etc. effected many translations.

But he stated things rather differently in his catalog:

*... da ni bstan pa bar dar bshad te / lo tsha ba' rin chen
bzang po'i gong du paṇḍi ta smri ti byon te dbus rtsang
[gtsang] na bdag byed pa med pas / 'kham su byon te 'dan
glong thang du bzhugs nas ... de ltar dang po dang bar pa
gnyis rgyal pos dar bar byas so //*

... now the intermediate spread: Paṇḍita Smṛtijñānakīrti arrived prior to Lo tsā ba Rin chen bzang po; since Dbus and Gtsang had no leadership, he went to Khams and stayed in Klong thang in Ldan ma ... so, the first and the intermediate spread were initiated by a king [or: kings].

¹⁵² For a study of this institution, see R. Vitali, *Records of Tho.ling. A Literary and Visual Reconstruction of the "Mother" Monastery in Gu.ge* (Daramshala: High Asia, 1999). See now also Blo bzang bstan 'dzin rnam rgyal, *Mtho gling mkhan brgyud, Bod kyi lo rgyus rnam thar phyogs bsrigs*, ed. Dpal brstegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang, vol. Pi [= 43] (Xining: Mtsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2011), 107-14.

And he basically stretches his idea of the intermediate spread up to and including the era of Atiśa and the translations with which he was involved up to his passing in 1054. Significant is the idea that is expressed in both works, which is namely, that the later spread (*phyi dar*) was not initiated by a king (*rgyal po byas pa ma yin*). It also becomes apparent that, written in his late thirties, Bcom ldan ral gri's chronicle does not attest to the kind of maturity of thought that we feel present when reading Bu ston's *Chos 'byung*, even though that work was written when the author was some seven or so years younger than his senior counterpart. Indeed, the passage that I quoted from his chronicle, while absolutely not representative of his work as a whole, is rambling, unsystematic, and somewhat ill considered.

Bu ston's reference to Bcom ldan ral gri's position is somewhat different from these two passages. According to him, Bcom ldan ral gri's criterion for inserting an intermediate spread into the historical narrative was because he had stated:¹⁵³

*rigs ral na re / mi bcu nas lo tsha^a ba rin bzang ma byon bar
du /^b bshad nyan med pas bstan pa'i gzugs brnyan yin / de
nas rgyal pos sbyin bdag byas nas /^b lo paṅ gyis chos bsg-
yur ba ni^c bstan pa bar dar yin / de nas rgyal pos ma byas
par /^b rngog la sogs pas 'gyur mdzad pa bstan pa phyi dar
yin zer ba / mi 'thad^d de /*

^a BU24, BUX : *tsā*.

^c BU24, BUX: adds /.

^b BU24, BUX: omit.

^d BUzh: *thad*.

Rigs ral suggested that since there were no studies (*bshad nyan*) of Buddhism from the ten men¹⁵⁴ up to the era of Lo tsā ba Rin chen bzang po, the period involved a semblance of the Teaching; then, with a king having acted as a sponsor, the translation of religious texts by translators and Indian Paṅḍita-scholars involved the Teaching's intermediate spread; then with a king not having acted as sponsor, the act of translating by Rngog etc. involved the Teaching's later spread. This is incorrect,

Bu ston argues that this is problematic on several counts. In the first place, Bcom ldan ral gri acknowledged that there was a "pure vow" on

¹⁵³ BU24, 903-4 [BUX, 199-200, Obermiller 1932: 211-2, Szerb 1980: 81-3], BUzh, 122b.

¹⁵⁴ Obermiller (1932: 211) has here "6 men."

the part of the monks, so that to suggest that during the period in question there was only "a semblance of the Teaching" is self-contradictory and, in addition, that there were no "studies" being undertaken by the clergy was not proven. The binome *bshad nyan* that I rendered by "studies" literally means "explaining (*bshad*) and listening" (*nyan*). It is true that, at least for the later period, the conferral of monastic vows includes the recitation of and instruction in several texts belonging to the canon law of the *vinaya*. And we can presume with Bu ston that this also held for the period in question, so that *bshad nyan* did in fact occur. But it is harder to swallow that this was indeed Bcom ldan ral gri's position! Secondly, for Bu ston there was no intermediate spread and for him the so-called later spread essentially begins with the revival of interest in Buddhism under the aegis of Lha bla ma Ye shes 'od.¹⁵⁵

Bu ston mentions Bcom ldan ral gri twice in his catalog of Buddhist scripture.¹⁵⁶ In the first, he refers to him in connection with the *Gshin rje khro bo rnam par rgyal ba sra khog snang rtsa ba'i rgyud* and its supplementary texts the *Rgyud phyi ma*, and its [*Rgyud*] *phyi ma'i phyi ma*. In contradistinction to some unnamed ones who had alleged that these were not authentic Indic texts but rather written by Tibetans, Bcom ldan ral gri had apparently maintained that much of the wording in these texts is cited in reliable and authentic Indic tantric commentaries (*'grel tik*).¹⁵⁷ Bu ston dryly suggests that this is a site for inquiry. All too brief, the second reference is to his defense of at least one tantra of the Rnying ma school, namely, the *Guhyagarbhatantra*. Bcom ldan ral gri is known for having signaled the existence of a Sanskrit manuscript of this work in the libraries of Bsam yas monastery and he even wrote a colophon to its translation and a work on the *Guhyagarbhatantra* itself.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁵ For him and his biography, see my forthcoming "A Fifteenth Century Biography of Lha bla ma Ye shes 'od (947-1019/24): Part One: Its Prolegomenon and Prophecies," which has been "in press" in China for some five years!

¹⁵⁶ BU24, 985, 990 [BUX, 262, 266; BUZH, 157b, 160a].

¹⁵⁷ Bu ston's source for this was presumably Bcom ldan ral gri's yet to be retrieved analysis of tantric literature, to which he refers his reader in his catalog; see Schaeffer and van der Kuijp, *An Early Tibetan Survey of Buddhist Literature: The Bstan pa rgyas pa rgyan gyi nyi 'od of Bcom ldan ral gri*, 257, 262.

¹⁵⁸ See the *Gsang ba snying po'i mdzad byang*, *Bka' gdams gsung 'bum phyogs bsgrigs*, ed. Dpal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang, vol. 56 (Chengdu: Si khron dpe skrun tshogs pa / Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2006), 555; this is a xylograph of the translator's note (*mdzad byang*) that was written by Bcom ldan ral gri. He wrote a larger piece on this tantra, which has not [yet] been accessible. An edition of his oeuvre contains a work that consists of a collage of a variety of his remarks on this tantra as quoted by later authors; see the **Gsang snying sgrub pa rgyan gyi me tog*, *Collected Works*, ed. Khams sprul Bsod nams don grub, vol. 10 (Lhasa, 2006), 142-79; [= tbrc.org W00EGS1017426].

8. *Rgyang ro ba*

Two natives of Rgyang ro in Gtsang may come into question here, if at all, namely Dar ma mgon and Byang chub 'bum, but my hunch is that ours is the latter. We have two entries for him,¹⁵⁹ where in the first Rgyang ro ba apparently noted that the "immeasurable aeons", during which time the historical Buddha accumulated the merit necessary for the attainment of Buddhahood, began with the path of application (*sbyor lam*, *prayogamārga*), the second of the five paths leading to Buddhahood. For this he based himself on a passage from the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* and the commentary. But Bu ston did not assent to this opinion. The interlinear note of the second and last reference implies that Rgyang ro ba dismissed the view that Buddha's First Act consisted of his descent from Tuṣita, and it is interesting to note that the *Chos 'byung* therefore suggests that he went explicitly against the position taken by his teacher Bcom ldan ral gri.

The latter was involved in the compilation of what came to be known as the Snar thang Bka' and Bstan'gyur-s under the patronage of the Mongol court *via* Mchims 'Jam pa'i dbyangs. In its description of Snar thang monastery, the travelog of Kaḥ thog Si tu indicates that a manuscript of the Bka' 'gyur text prepared by Bcom ldan ral gri, Dbus pa Blo gsal, and Rgyang ro Byang chub 'bum, was housed in Zhwa lu, to which was later added Thar pa Lo tsā ba Nyi ma rgyal mtshan's translation of some thirteen sutras and Bu ston's rendition of the authenticated *Guhyasamājadvayavijaya*.¹⁶⁰ Unfortunately, he does not mention the other noteworthy collections of manuscripts that he must have seen while in Zhwa lu and its affiliated temples; we may add that the vast majority of this monastery's library holdings are no more. For this reason, there is very little room for doubting that the *Chos 'byung*'s *rgyang ro* points to Byang chub 'bum. The Tibetan library of the Cultural Palace of Nationalities has an *dbu med* manuscript in eighty-one folios of a catalog of the Bstan 'gyur that was "erected" by Mchims 'Jam pa'i dbyangs. The text is entitled *Bstan bcos kyi dkar chag*, was written by Dbus pa Blo gsal, and is now available at tbr.org/W2CZ7507. The introductory matter reads:

*thams cad mkhyen pa 'jig rten gyi sgron
ma dam pa dpal śākya seng ge la phyag
'tshal lo //*

¹⁵⁹ BU24, 730*, 738* [BUX, 74*, 80*, Obermiller 1931: 123#, 134#].

¹⁶⁰ *An Account of a Pilgrimage to Central Tibet During the Years 1918-1920*, 406 [= *Kaḥ thog si tu*'i *dbus gtsang gnas yig*, 294].

Fol. 2b: ...'chad pa dang rtsod pa dang rtsom pa'i yon tan
rin po che'i tshogs bsam gyis mi khyab pa / legs par bshad
pa'i dga' ston rgya chen po gyed par mdzad cing / skye dgu
rnams kyi phan bde sgrub pa la brtson pa ldan bcas pa'i
ston pa yongs su rdzogs pa'i mkhas pa chen po 'jam pa'i
dbyangs kyis : bde bar gshegs pa'i bka' dang bstan bcos dri
ma med pa 'gyur ro cog tu grags pa rnams nye bar bzhengs
pa las bstan bcos rnam kyi rim pa ni dkar chag tu bri bar
bya'o //

The actual listing of texts can be schematized as follows:

1. *Bstod pa'i skor*; vols. Ka-Ga, fols. 3a-10a.
2. *Dpal kya'i rdo rje'i skor*; vols. Ka-Ca, fols. 10a-13a.
3. *Dpal 'khor lo sdom pa'i skor*; vols. Cha-Ta, fols. 13a-15b.
4. *Dpal sgyu 'phrul chen mo la swo[gs] pa'i skor*; vols. Ta-Tha, fols. 15b-16b.
5. *Dpal gsang ba 'dus pa la swo[gs] pa'i skor*; vols. Ta [read: Tha]-'A, fols. 16b-21b.
6. *Dpal dus kyi 'khor lo la sogs pa'i skor*; vols. Ya-Sa, fols. 21b-23b.
7. *Rnal 'byor gyi rgyud kyi skor*; vols. Ha-Ci, fols. 24a-25a.
8. *Spyod pa'i rgyud dang bya ba'i rgyud kyi skor*; vols. Ci-Ji, fols. 25a-30a.
9. *Lha so so'i mngon par rtogs pa'i skor*; vol. Nyi, fols. 30a-32a.
10. *Gsang sngags kyi lam gyi rim pa'i skor*; vols. Ti-Di, fols. 32a-38a.
11. *Theg chen gyi mdo sde rin po che'i skor*; vols. Ka-Zha, fols. 38a-42a.
12. *Theg pa chen po dbu ma'i skor*; vols. Za-Gi, fols. 42a-44b.
13. *Theg pa chen po sems tsam gyi skor*; vols. Ngi-Tsi, fols. 44b-47a.
14. *Theg pa chung ngu'i skor*; vols. Tshi-Thu, fols. 47a-49b.
15. *Byang chub sems dpa'i lam rim gyi skor*; vols. Du-Bu, fols. 49b-55a.
16. *Tshad ma'i skor*; vols. Mu-Ke, fols. 55a-58a.
17. *Bso [read: Gso] dpyad dang sgra la swo[gs] pa'i skor*; vols. Khe-Je, fols. 58a-59a.
18. *Smon lam dang bkra shis la swo[gs] pa'i skor*; vol. Je, fols. 59a-61b.
19. *Shin du dkon pa'i dpe phyis brtson pa mchog gis rnyed nas bris pa*; vols. Ni-Tsi, Nye-The, fols. 61ba-69a.
20. *Bod kyi mkhan po mkhas pa rnams kyis mdzad pa'i dpe dkon pa bris pa*; vol. De, fols. 69a-70a.
21. *Slar yang dpe dkon pa rnams rnyed nas bris pa*; vols. Ne-Phe, fols. 70a-79a.

And the concluding colophon reads:

Fol. 59a-b: *shākya'i dge slong 'jam pa'i dbyangs kyi thugs kyi dgongs pa ji lta bar : de nyid kyi zhabs kyi rdul spyi bos len pa dbus pa blo gsal rtsod pa'i seng ge dang / rkyang ro'i btsun pa byang chub 'bum la swo[gs] pas rkyen dam par bgyis te / bla [ma]'i dkar chag chen po nyid gzhir byas nas rnam par dag par bzhengs shing : rab tu gnas pa bzang po dang : de dag [g]i dga' ston rgya chen po dang bcas pa legs par grub pa'i rjes la : dpal snar thang gi chos gra chen por dbu pa blo [59b] gsal gyis dkar chag tu bkod nas phyag tu phul ba'o // de ltar thams cad sdoms pas rgya gar gyi bstan bcos dri ma med pa stong phrag 2 dang : bcu phrag phyed dang 2 kyis brgyan pa bzhugs[s]o // 'di dag las gzhan dpe phyi dkon pa rnyed na phyis bri dgos pas da dung bsnan du yod do // bkra shis dang bde legs chen pos phyogs dus thams cad du khyab par gyur cig / dge'o //*

It turn out that Rgyang ro was responsible for the titles and/or manuscripts of the ones listed in the twenty-first chapter. And the "large catalog of the Lama" (*bla ma'i dkar chag chen po*) which Dbus pa Blo gsal took as his point of departure for his work most probably refers to the one by his teacher Bcom ldan ral gri, for which see above. Furthermore, there is no question that Bu ston used Dbus pa Blo gsal's catalog for his own catalog that he appended to the *Chos 'byung*. There he refers to it as the *Snar thang gi bstan bcos 'gyur ro cog gi dkar chag*.¹⁶¹

Of further interest is that the C.P.N. catalog no. 2376(2) lists an eighty-folio manuscript of the *Lhan/Ldan dkar ma* catalog titled *Dkar chab* [read: *chag*] *ldan dkar ma*; its indigenous catalog number is *phyi la 344*. On fol. 80a, we read that this "old manuscript of yore" (*sngon gyi dpe rnying*) had belonged to none other than Rgyang ro. And lastly, Sog bzlog pa Blo gros rgyal mtshan (1552-1624) devoted a not insignificant section in the supplement of 1605 to his 1604 celebrated defense of Rnying ma pa lore and literature to a study of a few scattered folios (*shog 'khyar 'ga'*) of Rgyang ro's treatise on what the latter considered to be authentic and inauthentic translations/works that had found their way into Tibetan intellectual communities.¹⁶² Rgyang ro's work includes references to several of his teacher Bcom ldan ral

¹⁶¹ BU24, 1050 [BUX, 314, BUZh, 188b].

¹⁶² See his *Gsang sngags snga 'gyur la bod du rtsod pa snga phyir byung ba rnams kyi lan du brjod pa nges pa don gyi 'brug sgra*, *Collected Works*, vol. 1 (New Delhi, 1975), 544-608 [= ed. Padma tshul khriims, Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1997-8), 284-340].

gri's comments on some controversial texts as well as to his reservations about a number of works that can be found in the twenty-ninth chapter of the latter's catalog and in Bcom ldan ral gri's earlier work to which he refers at the end of that particular chapter.¹⁶³

9. *Lho pa*¹⁶⁴

The single entry is found in Bu ston's discussion of the nature and typology of a *bstan bcos*-treatise. Lho pa apparently was inclined to categorise "pedantic-formalistic" (*thos pa lhur len*) and "sophistic-polemical" (*rtsod pa lhur len*) texts as belonging to the class of superior treatises, a position with which Bu ston disagreed, basing himself on a passage from the *Yogācārabhūmi*.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶³ See Schaeffer and van der Kuijp, *An Early Tibetan Survey of Buddhist Literature: The Bstan pa rgyas pa rgyan gyi nyi 'od of Bcom ldan ral gri*, 255-62. Bcom ldan ral gri figures implicitly, by way of an added gloss, and explicitly in the *Gsang sngags snga 'gyur la bod du rtsod pa snga phyir byung ba rnams kyi lan du brjod pa nges pa don gyi 'brug sgra*, 570-2, 576, 583 [= ed. Padma tshul khriims, 310-1, 315, 322].

¹⁶⁴ BU24, 664* [BUX, 24*, Obermiller 1931: 43#]. From the entries of his record of teachings received, there are several possibilities for the identity of this Lho pa, "the Southerner". He may perhaps be identified as Lho pa Grub seng, a teacher of Bsod nams mgon, alias Tshad ma'i skyes bu, one of Bu ston's own masters. Other Lho pa-s in his record of teachings received — see below Appendix One —, who needs to be distinguished from Grub[?] pa seng[ge], include Lho pa Thams cad mkhyen pa and Lho pa Chos ldan.

¹⁶⁵ See the *Yogācārabhūmi*'s *Viniścayasamgrahanī* section in *Bstan 'gyur [dpe sdur ma]*, ed. Krung go'i bod rig pa zhib 'jug lte gnas kyi bka' bstan dpe sdur khang, vol. 74 (Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 1997), 477; this very same passage is paraphrased by, for example, Mkhas pa Lde'u in *Rgya bod kyi chos 'byung rgyas pa*, ed. Chab spel Tshe brtan phun tshogs, 129, as well as by Klong chen pa in his *Grub mtha' rin po che'i mdzod*, 142-3 [Barron, tr., *The Precious Treasury of Philosophical Systems*, 38-9]. As illustrations of treatises that embody these two characteristics, the text gives the arcane/obscurantist diction (*gsang tshig*) of Brahmins and treatises on logic and epistemology (*gtan tshigs kyi bstan bcos*) of non-Buddhists. We often come across the term *gsang tshig* in connection with descriptions of non-Buddhist traditions. For example, Bu ston used it in relation to Sāṃkhya doctrines — see BU24, 851 [BUX, 161, Obermiller 1932: 153] —, Dbus pa Blo gsal employed it in his survey of *Vaiśṇava* thought; see the text of his doxography in Mimaki Katsumi, *Blo gsal grub mtha'* (Kyoto: Zinbun Kagaku Kenkyusyo-Université de Kyoto, 1982), 47b. In his discussion of the Mimāṃsa school (*spyod pa pa*), and, in a similar vein, in his analysis of vedic thought, Klong chen pa used it *inter alia* as the name of a Veda; see his *Theg pa chen po'i man ngag gi bstan bcos yid bzhin rin po che'i mdzod kyi 'grel pa padma dkar po, Mdzod bdun* [Sde dge xylograph], vol. Ka (Gangtok, 1983), 384-7, 390. However, the term *gsang tshig* is not only reserved for non-Buddhist philosophical traditions. Thus, Sa skya Paṇḍita employed it in a positive sense in connection with the two stages (*rim gnyis*) of Buddhist tantric realisation in his *Sdom gsum rab tu dbye ba*; see

There occur two names of individuals in the *Chos 'byung* that could not be identified; these are:

10. *Mkha' rag pa*

The first of two entries¹⁶⁶ draws attention to a rather interesting view, namely that, whereas all the sutras are provisional (*drang don*) for a Buddha, they are "ultimate" (*nges don*) for his disciples. Bu ston rejects this position aside in utter disdain without, however, sharing his reasons with his readers. The second passage is concerned with a query whether or not the paths of accumulation (*tshogs lam*, *sambharāmaṅga*) and application, being not emotively tainted (*zag med*, *anāsrava*), belong to the actual fourth noble truth, namely the path to liberation from samsara as such. *Mkha' rag pa*, apparently, considered this to be not the case and gives several reasons which evidently met with Bu ston's approval. *Mkha' rag pa* may perhaps be, or is probably, a scribal error or a "carvo" for *Kha rag pa*, the name of a major Bka' gdams pa exponent of the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth century, whose "trilogy" (*skor gsum*) was widely studied.

11. *Ston phur*¹⁶⁷

In the single entry for this man we learn that this *vinaya* specialist suggested that the *Vinayaśūdraka* held that the Buddha passed away

SSBB5, no. 24, 297/3/2 [= J.D. Rhoton, tr., *A Clear Differentiation of the Three Codes*, 40]. But 'Jigs med 'bangs used it in a patently negative sense in his synopsis of several problematic issues in Sautrāntika thought in his biography of Bo dong Paṅ chen of 1453; see the *Dpal ldan bla ma dam pa thams cad mkhyen pa bo dong phyogs las rnam par rgyal ba'i zhabs kyi rnam par thar pa ngo gyi mtshar dga' ston* (Chengdu: Sichuan minzu chubanshe, 1990), 210. Lastly, it is evidently used in connection with speculative logic (*rtog ge*, *tarka*) in the biography of the Amdo Dge lugs pa scholar Zhwa dmar Dge 'dun bstan 'dzin rgya mtsho (1852-1912), where we read: "...he understood all the arcane terminology of treatises on epistemology (*blo [rigs]*) and logic (*rtags [rigs]*) etc..." (*...blo rtags sogs rtog ge'i gsang tshig ma lus pa thugs su chud...*); see Dge bshes Grags pa rgya mtsho, *Rje zhwa dmar dge 'dun bstan 'dzin rgya mtsho'i rnam thar* (Xining: Mtsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1990), 73. See also S.G. Karmay, *The Great Perfection: A Philosophical and Meditative Teaching of Tibetan Buddhism* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1988), 153, note 73, in connection with Rong zom Chos kyi bzang po (11th c.) and the expression 'jig rten gyi gsang tshig.

¹⁶⁶ BU24, 655*, 725* [BUX, 17*, 70*, Obermiller 1931: 30#, 118#].

¹⁶⁷ BU24, 787* [BUX, 115*, Obermiller 1932: 70#].

aged eighty-four. Bu ston dismisses this view by a quotation from this very text in which it is clearly stated that the Buddha passed away at the age of eighty.¹⁶⁸

It will be fairly obvious from the foregoing, as well as from the annotations to the *Chos 'byung*, that Bu ston [and his interpreters] were working with a considerable arsenal of Tibetan sources. At the same time, it is equally evident that his bibliographic remarks in his reply to Rin chen ye shes are rather incomplete, for he does not register anywhere the chronicles of Nyang ral and Ne'u Paṇḍita, or any of the other ones of which we are certain that they predate him as well. This fact allows for the conjecture that he had not by any means been in the position to inspect every single Tibetan chronicle that was potentially available, something for which we can of course hardly fault him.¹⁶⁹ However, he is also silent about Bsod nams rtse mo's work with which, however, as one with close affiliations with Sa skya and Sa skya pa doctrine, we can assume he was familiar.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁸ *Bka' 'gyur [dpe sdur ma]* ed. Krung go'i bod rig pa zhib 'jug lte gnas kyi bka' bstan dpe sdur khang, vol. 11 (Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2006), 596.

¹⁶⁹ His record of teachings received also registers what could be a hitherto unknown history of Buddhism by a certain Bla ma Bsod nams dbang po, one of his teachers, which, nonetheless, is nowhere expressly cited by him; see BU26, 40. There are numerous other histories and chronicles predating Bu ston that have not yet been considered in this paper, and that are either yet to be retrieved, if they be still extant, or that are not mentioned by Bu ston. A virtually exhaustive, annotated list of these is Martin and Bentor, *Tibetan Histories, A Bibliography of Tibetan-Language Historical Works*, and its long *addenda et corrigenda* supplement that is available on-line. We may possibly add a history of Buddhism written by Zhogs ston Mtshe ma, which is registered in Brag dgon Zhabs drung's bibliography *Yul mdo smad kyi ljongs su thub bstan rin po che ji ltar dar ba'i tshul gsal bar brjod pa deb ther rgya mtsho*, vol. 1, 7 [= *Mdo smad chos 'byung*, ed. Smon lam rgya mtsho, 3]. It is also listed under MHTL, no. 10830, which reads "Zhog mtsho ma" and adds that he was a disciple of Sangs rgyas dbon ston (1138-1210). Also known as Dbon ston Rin po che and Gzhon nu 'byung gnas, the latter was the second abbot of Rin chen sgang monastery in Rgya ma, an institution that was famed for being a repository of the instructions of Bka' gdams pa "oral precepts" (*man ngag*). That MHTL's additional note, namely that the author of this history was a student of Sangs rgyas dbon ston, may be correct, is confirmed by Las chen study of Bka' gdams pa history where, at the end of Sangs rgyas dbon ston's capsule biography, we read that Zhog[s]su ston pa [M]tshe ma was indeed one of his disciples; see the *Bka' gdams chos 'byung gsal ba'i sgron me*, vol. I (New Delhi, 1972), 413 [= *Bka' gdams chos 'byung gsal ba'i sgron me*, ed. Mig dmar rgyal mtshan, 277].

¹⁷⁰ His record of teachings received mentions the following works of Bsod nams rtse mo for which he obtained the *lung*:

1. BU26, 9: SSBB2, no. 20.
2. BU26, 9: SSBB2, no. 26.
3. BU26, 15-6: SSBB2, no.?.

IV. The Reception of the *Chos 'byung*

For an initial disclosure of the way in which the *Chos 'byung* was received, we can first stay within the confines of Bu ston's oeuvre, for it is already there that we come across his very own assessment of the text and its reception in response to one of his critics, namely, the aforementioned Rin chen ye shes. The work in which this is found bears no title and is not identified as a separate text in either the catalog edited by *inter alia* Kanakura, or in the table of contents of the twenty-sixth volume of his collected oeuvre in which it is contained among Bu ston's miscellaneous works (*gsung thor bu*).¹⁷¹ Indeed, both sequentially register works that consist of Bu ston's replies to Chos dpal mgon po, Chos kyī dkon mchog mdzod 'dzin and Spyi bo lhas pa. However, the one written in response to the second one commences only in BU26, 216, that is, on fol. 37a, and not on fol. 22a as in Kanakura, or on p. 185 as in the table of contents of BU26. The reply to the queries by Chos kyī dkon mchog mdzod 'dzin extends in fact from BU26, 216 to 236, that is, from fols. 37b to 47b of the text. Bu ston's biography registers but one person with the name Rin chen ye shes, namely presumably the same person who is connected to this particular set of queries. The text in BU24, 186, incorporates his name in the third opening verse of his reply, and states: "..., requested/respectfully stated by Bu ston before the one who is Lama Rin chen ye shes." (*bla ma rin chen ye shes pa'i spyān sngar / bu ston gyis zhu ba..*). While we do come across first-person personal pronouns, the phrase *bu ston gyis zhu ba* is nonetheless a bit curious. Fortunately, Blo gsal bstan skyong's history of Zhwa lu has an interlineary note anent a Lama Rin chen ye shes,¹⁷² which reads somewhat ambiguously that he had apparently undergone two phases in his intellectual development. Only the second and last phase is explicitly mentioned, namely that he was indebted to Bu ston for his understanding of *madhyamaka*, central way philosophy. Moreover, the note also records that he had been previously "protected" by Dol po pa, one of Bu ston's main "intellectual rivals" for the interpretation of the *Kālacakra* literature and the development of Indian Buddhism *per se*, and that he had petitioned the latter for "general analyses of the tantric literary corpora" (*rgyud sde spyi rnams*). In connection with the origins of the term *gzhan stong*, Tāranātha writes that a "reply to a query" (*dris lan*) by Bu ston apparently noted that it was part and

4. BU26, 133: SSB2, nos. 30, 33; probably also nos. 31 and 32.

5. BU26, 137: SSB2 no. 36.

¹⁷¹ Kanakura (1953: 74-5).

¹⁷² ZHWA, 97.

parcel of the philosophical system of a Rin chen ye shes from Rta nag, and that it was subsequently adopted by Dol po pa.¹⁷³ Tāranātha suggests that this ought to be looked into. And I can only concur, since I have not encountered any such a statement in any of Bu ston's *dris lan* texts and, indeed, as far as I am aware, he nowhere mentions Dol po pa in any of his writings. Kun dga' grol mchog (1507-66) recognizes this Rta nag pa in the context of the lineage of transmission of Spo/Po to ba Rin chen gsal's (1027/31-1105) *Dpe chos* collection.¹⁷⁴ However, we do have now available to us a large commentary on the *Uttaratantra* that was written by a Rin chen ye shes who may just have been the very same Rin chen ye shes who had responded to Bu ston's *Chos 'byung*.¹⁷⁵ Unfortunately, none of the questions Rin chen ye shes asked of Bu ston are really addressed in this work. His questions solely revolved around issues relating to statements Bu ston made concerning sources, doctrine, exegesis and the classification and authentication of canonical texts.

At the outset of his reply, Bu ston relates the following about his *Chos 'byung*'s genesis and the initial reaction it had apparently engendered among his contemporaries¹⁷⁶:

*skabs kyi zhu don / bde bar gshegs pa'i bstan pa rin po che'i
byung tshul / bod kyi bla ma mkhas pa chen po rnams kyi
mdzad pa'i phyag bris kyi yi ge mang du gda' ba la brten
nas bdag cag gis kyang khong rnams kyi mdzad pa'i legs
bshad kyi cha gzhir bzhag ste / mdo rgyud dang / rgya gar
gyis mkhas grub rnams kyi mdzad pa'i bstan bcos la brten
nas chos 'byung zhig sug bris su bgyis pa de / sngar mkhas
par rlom pa re re gnyis gnyis kyi bltas kyang / phrag dog
gi chang gis yid myos shing / phyogs 'dzin gyi ling tog gis
mig bsgribs / legs nyes kyi cha gsal bar ma mthong ste /*

¹⁷³ See his *Khrid brgya'i brgyud pa'i lo rgyus*, *Gdams ngag mdzod*, ed. Kong sprul Blo gros mtha' yas, vol. 18 (Paro, 1981), 84. In his undated work on the philosophical systems Stag tshang Lo tsā ba mentions a Rta nag Rin [chen] ye [shes] in connection with him being an exponent of the "extrinsic-emptiness" (*gzhan stong*) point of view; see his *Grub mtha' kun shes nas mtha' bral sgrub pa zhes bya ba'i bstan bcos rnam par bshad pa legs bshad kyi rgya mtsho*, *Gsung 'bum*, vol. 1, Mes po'i shul bzhag 29, ed. Rgyal mo 'brug pa (Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2007), 260.

¹⁷⁴ *Khrid brgya'i brgyud 'debs brjod bde brgyud pa'i mtshan sdom cung zad gsal bar bkod pa*, *Gdams ngag mdzod*, ed. Kong sprul Blo gros mtha' yas, vol. 18 (Paro, 1981), 9.

¹⁷⁵ See his *Rgyud bla ma'i 'grel pa mdo dang sbyar ba nges pa'i don gyi snang ba*, *Bka' gdams gsung 'bum phyogs bsgrigs*, ed. Dpal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang, vol. 20 (Chengdu: Si khron dpe skrun tshogs pa / Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2006), 23-446.

¹⁷⁶ BU26, 186-7.

*legs pa la nyes par mthong ba'i 'khrul shes skyes pa re re
tsam yod pa 'dra bar gda' zhing / gzu bor [187] gnas pa re
re tsam gis kyang phyogs re tsam blta ba ma gtogs pa /
bstan bcos chen po rnam dang sbyar nas zhu thug tu
mdzad nas lta ba grub pa mang po mi gda' zhing / de stobs
kyis bdag gi yid kyang /*

*rkang 'thung phreng ba yis //
mtshan pa ['i] gsung rab chu gter che //
rnam dpyod srub shing gis bsrubs pas //
legs byas yongs 'du'i shing 'di 'khrungs //*

*bstan pa'i mtho ris mdzes byed 'di //
phrag dog las kyi sar skyes shing //
rnam dpyod mngon shes bral ba'i mis //
mthong bar nus pa ma yin no //*

snyam ste..

The context of your queries was my work on the way in which the precious Teaching of the Sugata/Buddha originated. Taking as my point of departure what is contained in many existing handwritten documents (*phyag bris kyi yi ge*) that were composed by greatly learned Tibetan lamas, I adopted as essential those well-phrased portions that were written by them and wrote out (*sug bris*) a history of Buddhism on the basis of the sutras, tantras and the treatises written by Indian scholars and spiritually realized ones. Although it was looked at earlier by a few (*re re gnyis gnyis*) who boasted of scholarship, they became crazed with the *chang*-beer of envy, their eyes being obscured with the pellicle of prejudice, and did not clearly see those aspects that were good and those that were bad; there were some in whom was born the mistaken cognition consisting of seeing the good as bad; and also a few upright ones, aside from having glanced at but a few aspects of the subject-matter, complained (*zhu thug tu mdzad*) to me in conjunction with great treatises, and had not many concrete opinions (*lta ba grub pa*). On that account, I thought to myself:

This well-made wish-fulfilling tree of a text
was born,

By having stirred with the twirling stick of my
discernment,
The grand ocean of Buddha's scripture,
adorned
With the garland of the *mtha' drug* tree.¹⁷⁷

This ornament of the Teaching's firmament,
Cannot be seen,
By persons born in the soil of envious deeds,
Bereft of discernment and insight.

Hence, it is obvious that the *Chos 'byung* had not been well received as Bu ston, and we, might have expected, but unfortunately, he does not let us in on the identity of these critics. What may be important to consider is that this reply is so far the first that I have encountered in which an author tells his reader that he had sent copies of his just completed work to his colleagues for comments and criticism. And we can be sure that this was not the only instance of such a course of action taken by a Tibetan scholar.

In all, Bu ston comments on the following points raised directly or indirectly by Rin chen ye shes' letter with which, as he writes, he was delighted and perhaps also flattered; the letter was clearly the result of a rather meticulous reading of his work:

1. The classification and characterization of the *Sūtrasamuccaya* attributed to Nāgārjuna and Śāntideva's *Śikṣamuccaya* within Buddhist Mahāyāna literature as a whole.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁷ This expression preeminently refers to the six hermeneutic devices, three pairs, by means of which especially tantric texts, in Bu ston's case the *Guhyasamājatantra* in particular, are explicated; for Bu ston, see for example his *Sgron gsal gyi rgya cher 'grel pa mtha' drug gsal ba'i bsdus don* and *Gsang 'dus 'grel pa sgron gsal gyi bshad sbyar mtha' drug rab tu gsal bar byed pa* in BU9, 109-39 and 141-681; the latter is a commentary on Candrakīrti II's famous *Pradīpodyotana* exegesis of the *Guhyasamājatantra*, whereas the former appears to be its topical outline (*sa bcad*). For some general remarks on these, see É. Steinkellner, "Remarks on Tantristic Hermeneutics," *Proceedings of the Csoma de Körös Memorial Symposium*, ed. L. Ligeti (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1978), 445-58, and M. Broido, "bshad thabs: Some Tibetan Methods of Explaining the Tantras," *Contributions on Tibetan and Buddhist Religion and Philosophy*, vol. 2, ed. E. Steinkellner and H. Tauscher, *Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde*, Heft 11 (Wien: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien Universität Wien, 1983), 15-45, and especially P. Arènes, "Herméneutique des Tantra : les 'Six extrêmes (ou possibilités alternatives)' (*saṅkoṭi; mtha' drug*). A propos d'un exemple de prégnance des modèles exégétiques des *sūtra*," *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines* 1 (2002), 4-44, and the literature cited therein.

¹⁷⁸ BU26, 187-92; see BU24, 672 [BUX, 29, Obermiller 1931: 53].

2. The intent of the five similes of *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra*, I: 2.¹⁷⁹
3. The interpretation of *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra*, XVIII: 39a-b, in connection with the two types of accumulation (*tshogs pa*, *sambhara*) and the bodhisattva stages.¹⁸⁰ Problems of interpreting these can also be traced back to India or, more specifically, Kashmir, as witnessed in the canonical *Sūtrālaṃkāradīślokadvayavyākhyāna* by Parahitabhadrā, one of Rngog Lo tsā ba Blo ldan shes rab's (ca.1059-ca.1109) masters.
4. On the defining and distinguishing features of the last two cycles in which the Buddha-Word was promulgated; an aside to Rin chen ye shes' letter (*yi ge logs shig pa*).¹⁸¹
5. The decline of Buddhism in which Rin chen ye shes alleged that Bu ston accepted the questionable oral tradition (*zer sgros*) concerning the view of Chos [kyi] bshes [gnyen] [*Dharmamitra].¹⁸² Immediately following this and possibly

¹⁷⁹ BU26, 192-200; see BU24, 672 [BUX, 29-30, Obermiller 1931: 53].

¹⁸⁰ BU26, 200-1; see BU24, 719 [BUX, 66, Obermiller 1931: 110].

¹⁸¹ BU26, 201-13; see BU24, 766-76 [BUX, 100-8, Obermiller 1932: 41-56].

¹⁸² BU26, 213-4; Bu-ston discusses the decline of Buddhism at BU24, 867-76 [BUX, 173-9, Obermiller 1932: 171-80], but I have failed to discern any reference to an oral tradition anent Chos bshes in this passage. To be sure, he refers to his *Abhisamyālaṃkāraṭīkā* where the account of Buddhism's decline parallels the one given by him in the way of a long quotation from the *Candragarbhaparipcchā* cited immediately before this reference. In his reply, Bu ston also indicates a calculation of the date of the Buddha's birth to an ox-year, which apparently some treatises on chronology associated with a Jo bo rje, a common nickname for Atiśa. However, an interlinear note reads here: "This claim was made by Jo bo chen po Tshul khriṃs, who appeared in Stod lung, Jo bo rje appears to be not Jo bo rje Atiśa." And he writes that this calculation was accepted by many Bka' gdams pa writers such as Mkhan chen Mchims pa [?Nam mkha' grags] and Bcom ldan ral gri. None of Nam mkha' grags' historical writings have been retrieved so far. Bu ston quite clearly writes, at BU24, 816 [BUX, 136, Obermiller 1932: 105], that a Jo bo Rje — Obermiller glosses it by "Atiśa" — calculated the year of the Buddha's birth to have been that of the wood-female-ox year. Other early writers who mention the tradition of Jo bo rje or Jo bo chen po rje in this context without explicitly associating him with Atiśa include Tshal pa [TSHAL, 6; TSHAL1, 4a], Yar lung pa [YAR, 13; YAR1, 15], and Mkhas grub, *Dpal dus kyi 'khor lo'i 'grel chen dri ma med pa'i 'od kyi rgya cher bshad pa de kho na nyid kyi snang bar byed pa*, *Collected Works* [Lhasa xylograph], 141, and, lastly, the brief work on the chronology of the Buddha's life of 1440 by Byang bdag Rnam rgyal grags bzang (1395-1475) in his *Thub pa'i dbang po'i bstan rtsis* [or: *Bstan rtsis yid bzhin gyi nor bu*], undated Ngam ring xylograph in 20 folios, C.P.N. 004719(2), 5a; see also Macdonald, "Préambule à la lecture d'un *Rgya-bod yig-chañ*," 118-20, n. 55), Vostrikov (1970: 121-2). Aside from Bu ston, all the above references speak of "the system of Jo bo rje" or "Jo bo chen po rje", preserving thereby a measure of ambiguity. The earliest reference

in response to another query by Rin chen ye shes, Bu ston abruptly notes that his catalog does indeed include the *Dpal rnyog pa med pa'i rgyud* [Śrī] under the rubric of the *Mahāyogatantra*-s.¹⁸³

6. On the nature and authorship of the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṅgīti* commentaries attributed to Avalokiteśvara and Dus 'khor ba.¹⁸⁴

that I have come across is the one in the study of the chronological sections of the *Kālacakratāntra* and its associated literature by Grwa phug pa — see *Rtsis gzhung pad dkar zhal lung*, ed. Yum pa, 7 —, which in turn is based on a chronological survey of 1340 by Dbus pa Blo gsal. His view is that Jo bo chen po Tshul khrims 'bar made a calculation in the earth-male-dragon year, in 1028, some three thousand one hundred and sixty-four years had passed since the passing of the Buddha, whereas Atiśa, that is, Jo bo chen po Rje, did the same in the iron-female-hare year, in 1040. However, other authors do not admit of this distinction. See, for instance, Dga' ldan Khri pa XIV's *Bstan rtsis gsal ba'i sgron me*, 11a ff. The C.P.N. houses an *dbu can* manuscript of a chronicle of the *Kālacakra* transmissions in thirty-five folios under catalog no. 002795(4) — the indigenous catalog number is *phyi ra* 131. The text is entitled the *Dpal dus kyi 'khor lo'i chos 'byung nor bu'i phreng ba* and was written at an unspecified date, but not earlier than the middle of the sixteenth century, by a certain Ngag dbang rgyal sras lhaq bsam dag pa. On fol. 32a, it attributes the identification of Jo bo Rje as Stod lungs pa Jo bo Tshul khrims dar to 'Gos Lo tsā ba. And, indeed, this is evidenced in 'Gos Lo tsā ba's own 1442-3 *Rtsis la 'khrul pa sel ba* [Pho brang Rgyal bzangs smon mkhar xylograph of 1466], 20b. Furthermore, Lo chen Chos dpal [*Dharmashrī] (1654-1717) makes a clearcut distinction between the two Jo bo-s in his *Rtsis kyi man ngag nyin byed snang ba'i rnam 'grel gser gyi shing rta* (Lhasa: Xizang minzu chubanshe, 1983), 75; he writes: "Twelve years thereafter [after the chronological calculation of Lha Bla ma and his sons], Stod lung pa Jo bo Tshul khrims 'bar made a chronological calculation in the earth-dragon year [1028]."

¹⁸³ BU24, 989 [BUX, 265].

¹⁸⁴ BU26, 214-5; I have not been able to find any reference to the former in the *Chos 'byung*. Bu ston's catalog lists a good number of *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṅgīti* commentaries and other works related to this text in accordance with their different tantric classifications in BU24, 1003-6 [BUX, 276-9] for those that have to do with the *Yogatantra*-s, and BU24, 1033-4 [BUX, 300-1] for those that have to do with the *Kālacakra* cycles *per se*. No mention is made of such a work by Avalokiteśvara, but the *Kālacakra*-rubric of his catalog of the *Zhwa lu bstan 'gyur* registers in BU26, 423, a **Nāmasaṅgīti-abhisamaya* written by Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara. In his reply, Bu ston points out that, whatever text he may have had in mind, it contained many mistakes in the translation of alleged Sanskrit terms and in its exegesis, which flatly went in the face of other standard, non-controversial tantric texts. Moreover, he harshly avers that it was neither written by an Indian, nor by a Tibetan scholar but rather by an "impertinent Tibetan fool" (*bod mi blun po spyi [b]rtol can*). The same applies, in his opinion, to the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṅgīti* commentary that is ascribed to Dus 'khor ba [*Kālacakra(pāda)]. BU26, 423, enumerates three commentaries under the entry for the *Kālacakra* cycle that, in his view, "originally appear to be Tibetan texts," and the one ascribed to **Kālacakrapāda* is among these. He concludes by saying that he had to include these in his catalog

In the course of his comments, Bu ston sometimes commends Rin chen ye shes for the acuity and perspicacity of his observations. At other times, however, he hardly pulls his punches when he criticizes him for some of his comments, and at one point we even find him apologetically begging his addressee for forbearance with his thunderous diction.

Now the first point with which Rin chen ye shes apparently felt uncomfortable was Bu ston's categorization of certain texts under the last two of the three cycles in which the authoritative Buddha-Word was promulgated¹⁸⁵ and, having done so, specifically with his seemingly categorical remarks about the nature of the *Mdo btus* (*Sūtrasamuccaya*) and the *Bslab btus* (*Śikṣamuccaya*). The *Chos 'byung* deals with these three cycles on two occasions; once in the first portion of the text, in the discussion of a typology of treatises, and once in the second portion, in the passage concerned with the eleventh Act of the Buddha. In connection with what Bu ston had written in the first of these, Rin chen ye shes had supposed that:¹⁸⁶

*bslab btus sam mdo btus ni byang sems kyi bslab pa nyams
sus len tshul mdo sde sna tshogs las btus nas bstan pa yin
gyi / bka' bar pa kho na'i spyod pa'i cha gsal byed yin pa'i
nges pa med pa...*

The *Bslab btus* or /and *Mdo btus* are texts that demonstrate the way in which the training of a Bodhisattva is taken to heart on the basis of a summary from various sutras, but there is no certainty that they but clarify the practical aspect of only sutras belonging to the cycle of the intermediate authoritative word...

Bu ston's lengthy and complex reply, though important for other reasons, especially doctrinal ones, need not detain us here, for it would carry us too far away from the subject of this paper. I should note, however, that he did write in his *Chos 'byung*, towards the end

by virtue of the fact that earlier catalogs had them as well (*'on kyang de dag sngar ci rigs su chud gda' bas bcug bdog go //*), which is puzzling because the text ascribed to Avalokiteśvara is *not* listed in the entire *Chos 'byung*! Finally, he makes a number of pronouncements on the authenticity of various *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṅgīti* commentaries in his reply to a certain Chos dpal mgon po, for which see BU26, 173.

¹⁸⁵ For the entire passage in which he judges treatises belonging to all three cycles to fall either on the philosophical or the practical side of things or both, see BU24, 669-76 [BUX, 27-32, Obermiller 1931: 49-57].

¹⁸⁶ BU26, 187.

of his survey of treatises, which he assigns to the intermediate cycle, that the *Bslab btus* and the *Mdo btus* are texts that deal with aspects of spiritual praxis. But, as he points out in his reply (in good scholastic fashion), he did not say that they do so exclusively. At the very end of his reply to this particular query, he writes that various other Tibetan chronicles of Buddhism had also considered the *Bslab btus* in terms of (mainly) exemplifying spiritual praxis:¹⁸⁷

*des na...bslab btus la sogs pa yang spyod pa'i cha gtso che
bar ston pa la dgongs nas bod kyi mkhas pa phwya gtsang
dang / khro phu lo tsā ba dang / chag lo tsā ba dang /
mkhan po mchims kyis mdzad pa'i chos 'byung la sogs par
spyod phyogs su gsungs pa'i phyir spyod phyogs su mi 'gal
le [read: lo] //*

Therefore...your reservations do not contradict my subsumption of these texts under the rubric of praxis because, intending that also the *Bslab btus*, etc., primarily demonstrate aspects of spiritual praxis, they were mentioned under the rubric of praxis in such texts as the chronicles (*chos 'byung*) written by the Tibetan scholars Phywa, Gtsang, Khro phu Lo tsā ba, Chag Lo tsā ba and Mkhan po Mchims.

As far as I have been able to ascertain, the *Chos 'byung* is referred to only once in Sgra tshad pa's oeuvre, namely in an undated series of replies to a number of queries posed by a certain Rgyal ba Yon tan 'od.¹⁸⁸ The latter had sent an open letter to various central Tibetan

¹⁸⁷ Mkhas grub considered these two plus Śāntideva's *Bodhicaryāvatāra* as texts of the intermediate cycle that give equal weight to matters of doctrine and praxis; see his *Introduction to the Buddhist Tantric Systems*, trs. F. Lessing and A. Wayman (New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1978), 92-3. This is also reproduced in an anonymous chronicle of Buddhism in India and Tibet, which is very much based on the work of Mkhas grub; see the *Rgya gar du bstan pa dang bstan 'dzin ji ltar byon pa pa'i tshul* (Gangtok, 1979), 168.

¹⁸⁸ See his *Dris lan lung gi dgongs pa ma nor ba* in BU28, 614. It is dated to the first day of the first half of the second month of the winter season of the iron-male-dog year, which would be either November 19 or December 19, 1370, depending on whether the second winter-month is to be equated with the eleventh or the twelfth month. The use of "winter season", a designation used in accordance with the calendar of the *vinaya*, is not surprising in view of the focus of Rgyal ba Yon tan 'od's queries. Bu ston points out in his huge commentary on Gunaprabha's *Vinayasūtra* that the winter season extends from the sixteenth day of the final autumn month to the fifteenth day of the first spring-month; see his *'Dul ba mdo'i rnam par 'byed pa 'dul ba rgya mtsho'i snying po rab tu gsal bar byed pa* in BU21, 206; he completed this large treatise on the fifteenth day of the first

scholars anent the *vinaya*, in which he had asked *inter alia*: "Who had been the initiating abbot (*upādhyāya*) of Gtsang Rab gsal according to the view of Bu ston's *Grand (chen mo) Chos 'byung?*" Now, according to Bu ston,¹⁸⁹ Gtsang Rab gsal was the first in the triumvirate of 'Dzad pa/Jad pa G.yel mi Gtsang Rab gsal, Bo dong pa G.yo Dge 'byung and Stod lung pa Dmar Shākya mu ni. These are traditionally held to have been responsible for the continuation of the *vinaya* pre-

spring-month, at the end of the fourth month of the winter season of the earth-male-monkey year, that is, on February 12 or March 17, 1356. For a more detailed analysis of the *vinaya* calendar, we also have his *Rdzogs dus go ba'i cho ga brjod pa* in BU26, 257-263 — this title was oddly translated as "A method to know one's dying hour" in Kanakura (1953: 75), which was then dutifully reproduced in the *Preface* to BU26. Of course, the title renders *An Explanation of the Method for Understanding the Time of Ordination*, where I take *rdzogs dus* to be a short form for *bsnyen par rdzogs pa'i dus*. Bu ston's reply to a question posed to him by Tshal pa covers in part, and much more succinctly, the same territory; see below note 96. BU26, 263-5, which both Kanakura (1953: 75) and the *Preface* include in the *Rdzogs dus go ba'i cho ga brjod*, contains yet another little work on chronology, this time one which takes *Abhidharmakośa* as its point of departure; it, too, is not dated.

¹⁸⁹ See the '*Dul ba spyi'i rnam par gzhag pa 'dul ba rin po che'i mdzes rgyan*, in BU21, 126. Bu ston completed this work on the tenth day of 'gro zhun month of a gser 'phyang year, that is, on July 27, 1357. It contains some precious information on the early Tibetan *vinaya* literature, a great deal of which has become available in the *Bka' gdams gsung 'bum phyogs bsgrigs* series. Thus an interlinear note at BU21, 127 suggests that he quoted from an "old document" in connection with the ordination of the "ten men from Dbus and Gtsang" by Bla chen Dgongs pa rab gsal, Grum Ye shes rgyal mtshan and Sgro Mañjushrī. On the same page, he himself notes that Gtsang nag pa had maintained that the last two should be Gtsang Rab gsal and G.yo Dge 'byung, and for further details he refers the reader to their biographies by none other than Gtsang nag pa! This is of course not the position he had taken in his *Chos 'byung*, for which see BU24, 896 [BUX, 194, Obermiller 1932: 202, Szerb 1990: 60]. Three interlinear notes at BU21, 128, identify the individuals behind Bu ston's uninformative "one [or: someone]" by a Zul, a Ne'u, and a Bar pa. The first most probably refers to Zul phu ba 'Dul 'dzin Brtson 'grus grags (1100-74), the author of an important biography of Atiśa and an expert in the *vinaya* literature. The second might be Ne'u Pañḍita Grags pa smon lam blo gros, but I cannot even hazard a guess as to who Bar pa might be. The three held, respectively, that the disciple of Jinamitra was Dharmapāla whose disciple was a certain Bram ze 'Dul dzin — Bu ston comments: "This appears to be untrue." —, that Seng ge gdong can (*Siṃhamukhā) explained [the *vinaya*] to Dānaśīla, and thence in unbroken succession to Jinamitra, Lo tsā ba Klu'i rgyal mtshan, G.yo Dge 'byung etc. — none of this can be retrieved from history —, and lastly that even though Seng ge'i gdong pa can explained the *vinaya* to Mal po 'Dul 'dzin pa, there is no mistake of having shortened the lineage because the Arhat Seng ge'i gdong pa can lived for a long time." Finally, Pañ chen Bsod nams grags pa appears to refer to Bu ston's work under an alternative title as the '*Dul ba'i chos 'byung*; see his 1550 *Dam pa'i chos 'dul ba'i chos 'byung dad pa'i 'bab stegs* (Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1973), 62 [= *Collected Works*, vol. 11 (Mundgod, 1982-90), 387].

cepts and, hence, for the initial preservation of institutionalized Buddhism, after it had been virtually obliterated from Central Tibet during the era of emperor U 'dum btsan in part undoubtedly because of the excessive zeal with which Khri srong lde btsan and especially emperor alias Ral pa can, took measures firmly to install the foreign creed that was Buddhism. The reply given by Sgra tshad pa is that, while it is true that the *Chos 'byung* itself is unclear on this issue, it is fairly commonplace (*grags tshod*) to hold that Dānaśīla, who had come to Tibet in the reign of Ral pa can, was their initiating abbot. However, he does add that others had identified Gtsang Rab gsal's abbot as belonging to the abbot-lineage (*mkhan brgyud*) of Jinamitra or, alternatively, that he stood in the lineage of Śāntarakṣita, *via* his ordinand Dba' / Sba Rakṣita [= Sba Ratna], whence the precepts were passed to Li Ye shes rin chen and thence to an unnamed *mkhan bu* of the latter. Bu ston reverts to a brief survey of several opinions held about the various *vinaya* transmissions that issued from Dgongs pa rab gsal, specifically the ten men from Dbus and Gtsang at the end of the *Chos 'byung*'s discussion of the same.¹⁹⁰ While he does not specify the identity of the individual behind his "someone" (*kha cig*) who held the first of these, the second one is derived from a testatory document (*bka' chems kyi yi ge*), the third from Bcom ldan ral gri — see above under no. 7 —, the fourth from a claim made by presumably G.yo Dge 'byung and others, and the last again from "someone". I must add that Bu ston's general survey of the *vinaya*, its literature and principal exponents, equally fails to specify the particulars of Gtsang Rab gsal's *vinaya* background, and merely has it that his associate G.yo Dge 'byung was given his monk's vows by Li Ye shes rin chen.

To be sure, the question posed by Rgyal ba Yon tan 'od was not in the least a trivial one, inasmuch as, in the first place, this was a major line of transmission of the *vinaya* precepts in Tibet and because, indeed, the authenticity and, ultimately, the spiritual efficacy of such a line of transmission depends exclusively on its putative uninterruptedness and, therefore, on the possibility to trace it back to the time of the historical Buddha himself. To my knowledge, though I stand to be corrected when the early *vinaya* treatises of the Bka' gdams pa tradition have been scrutinized, the earliest sources do not appear to shed any significant light on this issue. While the triumvirate is mentioned by Bsod nams rtse mo, Nyang ral, *Lde'u Jo sras, Mkhas pa Lde'u and Ne'u Paṇḍita, they specify neither the *vinaya* tradition(s) to which they belonged, nor the *mkhan po*-s in question. The first available source, and I am sure there are earlier ones, to

¹⁹⁰ BU24, 903-4 [BUX, 199-200, Obermiller 1932: 211-2, Szerb 1980: 81-3].

To date, some three histories of the transmission of the *vinaya* in Tibet have been published, the first two of which belong to the first half of the sixteenth century. They are chapter three of the third section of Dpa' bo II's history and the aforementioned monograph of Paṅ chen Bsod nams grags pa. The study of the latter adds very little that is not found in the other earlier sources, and the same thing must be said of the third and last history of the *vinaya* by Ye shes rgyal mtshan.¹⁹³ As for Dpa' bo II, he was primarily concerned with establishing a credible historical basis for the disciple Bla chen Dgongs pa rab gsal, whose activities became a nexus for the proliferation of various *vinaya* traditions, and also has very little to say about these three.¹⁹⁴

No doubt owing to Bu ston's prestige as a scholar and diplomat — towards the end of his life, he often functioned in the latter capacity in connection with the divisive power struggles that went on among the various Central Tibetan myriarchies and within Sa skya herself — the *Chos 'byung* was very quickly propelled into prominence, and was already known as the "*Chos 'byung* of the one from Zhwa lu" by

sngon mi rigs chubanshe, 1992), 489-513, and now also Gur mgon tshe ring, "Bla chen Dgongs pa rab gsal gyi 'khrungs gzhis skor la bskyar du dpyad pa," *Krung go'i bod rig pa* 1 (2015), 49-57, which, however, does not add much substantive to what has been published previously on him, and N. Willock, "Thu'u bkwan's Literary Adaptations of the Life of Dgongs pa rab gsal," *Revue d'Études Tibétaines* [*Trails of the Tibetan Tradition, Papers for E. Sperling*, ed. R. Vitali] no. 31 (Février, 2015), 577-91.

¹⁹³ See his *Rgyal ba'i bstan pa nang mdzod dam pa'i chos 'dul ba'i byung tshul brjod pa rgyal bstan rin po che'i gsal byed nyin mor byed pa'i snang ba*, *Collected Works*, vol. 6 (New Delhi: The Tibet House, 1975), 1-307, which was written in 1789.

¹⁹⁴ DPA'1, 464-9 [DPA', 467-71] cites three scenarios all of which are intent on only Dgongs pa rab gsal and do not in the least enter into a discussion of the background of these three men who were his preceptors. The three accounts to which it refers are the ones given by the apparently no longer extant *Lo rgyus chen mo* of Khu ston Brtson 'grus g.yung drung (1011-1075) at DPA'1, 464-5 [DPA', 467-8], the one by 'Gos Lo tsā ba at DPA'1 465-8 [DPA', 468-70], which he states that it appears to have been based on a document written by a *Dpon Bi ci*, and by the chronicle on early Tibet allegedly by Bla ma dam pa Bsod nam rgyal mtshan (1312-75) in DPA'1, 468-9 [DPA', 470-1]. He does not comment on the first two, but he takes to task the last one for reasons with which one cannot readily disagree — the passage in question is found in the *Rgyal rabs gsal ba'i me long* (Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2002), 240-3 [Sørensen, *Tibetan Buddhist Historiography. The Mirror Illuminating the Royal Genealogies*, 444-51]. After the preliminary remarks on these three sources, Dpa' bo II affirms the position taken by both Bu ston and Karma pa III Rang 'byung rdo rje (1284-1339). For another discussion of these and related issues, see Kaḥ thog Rig 'dzin's *Rgyal ba'i bstan pa rin po che byang phyogs su 'byung ba'i rtsa lag bod rje lha btsan po'i gdung rabs tshig nyung don gsal yid kyi me long*, *Bod kyi lo rgyus deb ther khag lnga, Gangs can rig mdzod* 9 (Lhasa: Bod ljongs dpe nyung dpe skrun khang, 1990), 77 ff. [= *Collected Works*, Smad cha (vol. 3) (Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2006), 56 ff.].

the end of the first half of the fourteenth century. In fact, it is quoted by Tshal pa, possibly by Bla ma dam pa Bsod nams rgyal mtshan, and by Yar lung Jo bo on several occasions, not least because at least the last two had been his disciples,¹⁹⁵ and, as I pointed out earlier, Gnyag phu ba Bsod nams bzang po (1341-1433) even wrote a summary of it in 1378.¹⁹⁶ I believe we can assume that Tshal pa, too, considered himself a disciple of Bu ston, although he did ask him for advice on a chronological matter in a letter that is addressed to Tshal pa chen po Dge [ba'i] blo [gros] that is contained in Bu ston's miscellaneous writings.¹⁹⁷ Of course, Dge ba'i blo gros is Tshal pa's name in religion which he received upon his ordination after Ta'i si tu Byang chub rgyal mtshan (1302-64) had forced him to relinquish his position as myriarch (*khri dpon*) of Tshal myriarchy (*khri skor*) in the 1350s. The reply to Tshal pa's query is undated, but Bu ston does refer to information passed to him the previous year (*na ning*) by the Kashmirian scholar Sumanaśrī. Bu ston apparently met the latter in 1357,¹⁹⁸ so that this reply would have been drafted sometime in 1358. Yar lung Jo bo refers to the text as the "Great *Chos 'byung*."¹⁹⁹ We gather from a passage in his chronicle that Yar lung Jo bo seems to have been a student of Bu ston for, after mentioning the *Chos 'byung* of "...the all-knowing Bu ston," he refers to "a statement made by my all-knowing lama" regarding the inacceptability of postulating an intermediate phase of the development of Buddhism in Tibet. Of course, Bu ston had many more disciples who were to become in-

¹⁹⁵ For Tshal pa, see TSHAL, 33 [TSHAL1, 15b]. TSHAL1 indicates that this reference is an interlineary note by placing a "(" bracket, if only at the beginning. The passage is found in Szerb (1990: 3-4). For possibly Bla ma dam pa, see *Rgyal rabs gsal ba'i me long*, 11, 54-5 [= Sorenson, *Tibetan Buddhist Historiography. The Mirror Illuminating the Royal Genealogies*, 57, 138]; for Yar lung Jo bo, see below.

¹⁹⁶ See my "Some Remarks on the Textual Transmission and Text of Bu ston Rin chen grub's *Chos 'byung*, a Chronicle of Buddhism in India and Tibet," 112.

¹⁹⁷ BU26, 256-7; both Kanakura (1953: 75, no. 1500-16) and the table of contents of the larger work in BU26 state that his reply covers BU26, 253-7, but this is not the case, for BU26, 256, reads: "A summary reply to what was asked by Dkon mchog dpal, the abbot of Chu mig ring mo in Gtsang." The first is listed in Sgra tshad pa's *Bka' 'bum gyi dkar chag rin chen lde mig*, at BU28, 331, as *Tshal pa chen po dge blos 'dul ba'i dus tshigs ngos 'dzin dris lan*, and for reasons that remain unknown, the second reply addressed to Dkon mchog dpal is not. Hence, BU26, 253-7, contains two little texts in all.

¹⁹⁸ Seyfort Ruegg (1966: 149).

¹⁹⁹ For what follows, see YAR, 39, 89, 184 [YAR 1, 41, 89, 174]. The first and the last refer, respectively, to the text of Szerb (1990: 2-3, 55-56). None of these are direct quotations, however. An interlinear note in YAR, 16, suggests that the passage of the *Mahākaraṇapūṇḍarikasūtra* is taken from the *Chos 'byung chen mo* [of Bu ston]; YAR1, 18, does not countenance it as a note, and includes it in the main body of the text. The passage in question is found in BU24, 819 [BUX, 139, Obermiller 1932: 109].

fluent in one way or another. In fact, most of the men who are now primarily known as disciples of Dol po pa had been students of Bu ston prior to them going over to Dol po pa. Finally, I may note here that, according to his record of teachings received, Tsong kha pa received the transmission of the *Chos 'byung* from Lama Chos kyi dpal [ba].²⁰⁰ At least two disciples of Bu ston had "Chos kyi dpal" as part of their names, and both had been teachers of Tsong kha pa. These were Lo tsā ba Drung Chos kyi dpal bzang po and 'Jam dbyangs Chos kyi dpal ba (1316-97), the first of whom was especially known for his *vinaya* studies, the second for his expertise in the *Kālacakra-tantra*.²⁰¹ Blo gsal bstan skyong cites Tsong kha pa's biography of the Phag mo gru scion and yogi Grags pa byang chub (1356-86), where he is referred to as Mkhan chen Dharma shrī bhadrā, that is, Chos kyi dpal bzang po.²⁰² Given that Tsong kha pa refers to him Chos kyi dpal, I assume that he had received the oral transmission of the *Chos 'byung*, and other writings of Bu ston, from the one whose name is prefixed by 'Jam dbyangs.

'Gos Lo tsā ba, Dpa' bo II, Paṅ chen Bsod nams grags pa and Dalai Lama V, to name but a few important historians, made signal use of the *Chos 'byung*, and especially the second quite frequently reverts to the text, albeit often in a critical fashion, in his discussion of the political and religious history of the Tibetan empire.

A final word: The primary importance of the *Chos 'byung* arguably resides in its elaborate exposition of Buddhist hermeneutics that comprises the first part, the catalog of translated scripture, and the various notices and short biographies of a number of Indian Buddhist intellectual glitterati for which, as we now become increasingly familiar with the contributions of the early Bka' gdams pa masters, he will have used a number of earlier accounts. These were areas in which Bu ston the historian excelled. Quite disappointing, on the other hand, is his survey of Buddhism in Tibet, which to all intents and purposes is a rather anemic account that tells us very little indeed and contrasts quite sharply with the elaborate history of the period in Dpa' bo II's treatise or even with the relevant sections of the chronicles of Nyang ral, Lde'u Jo sras, and Mkhas pa Lde'u. It is still quite surprising that despite his exposure to Rnying ma thought and practice as a youth, he resisted citing any works, let alone having a

²⁰⁰ See the *Rje rin po che blo bzang grags pa'i dpal gyi gsan yig*, *Collected Works* [Bkra shis lhun po xylograph], vol. 1 (New Delhi, 1976), 240.

²⁰¹ ZHWA, 71-3, 80-4.

²⁰² See the *Byang chub sems dpa' chen po grags pa byang chub dpal bzang po'i rtogs pa brjod pa'i snyan dngags byin rlabs kyi lhun po*, *Collected Works* [Bkra shis lhun po xylograph], vol. 2 (New Delhi, 1976), 305.

discussion, of the Rnying ma tradition in the main body of his *Chos 'byung*. The same holds for the *Chos 'byung*'s catalog with its famous disclaimer in which he justifies his exclusion of Rnying ma literature with a quotation from Haribhadra's *Abhisamayālamkāraloka* concerning the question of what amounts to "the word of the Buddha" (*bud-dhavacana*) and another verse, the origin of which, if it is a quotation, I have not been able to identify.²⁰³ This passage of the *Chos 'byung* also drew the attention of Sog bzlog pa who quotes it in his attempt to show that Bu ston did not *really* deny or negate (*dgag*) the Rnying ma tradition.²⁰⁴ In support of his tenuous and somewhat unconvincing argument, he cites one of Bu ston's two studies of tantric literature of 1339 in which Bu ston had spoken somewhat positively of the [Rnying ma] Phur pa/bu (Kilāya) practice — this practice was part of the Sa skya school's legacy as well — as well as a reply to a certain 'Dul 'dzin Rnal 'byor pa Byang chub seng ge who had, at one time, posed the question as to what limits are there when giving someone tantric initiations and empowerments who is not entirely qualified to receive them. Sog bzlog pa evidently was of the opinion that Bu ston was its author, but he may very well have been wrong. In the first place, no such response is neither found in the Lhasa Zhol xylograph edition of Bu ston's collected works, nor in the manuscript edition of the same, which, to be sure, are the only editions of his collected oeuvre that are now available to us, nor, perhaps more importantly, in the catalogs of the various editions of his writings. On the other hand, the very same queries of this Byang chub seng ge and this very same work is found in all the available editions of the oeuvre of Rje btsun Grags pa rgyal mtshan, the third patriarch of the Sa skya pa school.²⁰⁵ The key-passage in connection with tantric practice runs as

²⁰³ BU24, 990 [BUX, 266, BUZH, 160a]; it is partly translated in Roerich (1979: 102, n. 1). For the first, see Wogihara Unrai's edition of the Sanskrit text of the *Abhisamayālamkāraloka Prajñāpāramitāvākyā*, Part One (Tokyo: The Toyo Bunko, 1932-35), 402.

²⁰⁴ See the *Gsang sngags snga 'gyur la bod du rtsod pa snga phyir byung ba rnam kyī lan du brjod pa nges pa don gyi 'brug sgra*, 489-93 [= ed. Padma tshul khriims, 231-5].

²⁰⁵ See, respectively, the *Rnal 'byor byang chub seng ge'i zhu ba* and *Rnal 'byor byang chub seng ge'i dris lan*, *Sa skya gong ma lnga'i gsung 'bum dpe bsdur ma las grags pa rgyal mtshan gyi gsung pod gnyis pa*, ed. Dpal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang, vol. 2, Mes po'i shul bzhag 11 (Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2007), 526-7 and 527-35. The quotation that follows is taken from p. 530. The second part of this work is cited *in toto* in Zhwa dmar IV's 1508 response to a query by a certain scholar from Zangs chen by the name of Skal bzang chos kyī rgya mtsho'i sde, who had asked him about the connection between Nāropa (d. 1040) and Mar pa Lo tsā ba Chos kyī blo gros, for which see his *Zangs chen mkhan po skal bzang ba'i dris lan*, *Collected Works*, ed. Yangs can dgon ris med dpe rnying myur skyob khang, vol. 6 (Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2009), 471-6. I intend to return to the latter on a separate occasion.

follows:

*yang gsang sngags snga 'gyur rnying ma ba [read: pa]
'ga' zhig gis spyod pas [read: pa'i?]'gsang ba phyogs thams
cad du sgrogs pa la nyes pa med par byed pa 'di yang rang
gi gzhung dang yang 'gal bas 'di yang dag pa ma yin te /
gsang ba snying po las /*

*dbang rnams bskur bar ma byas zhing //
bla ma mnyes par ma byas par //
mnyan pa la sogs brtson pa ni //
'bras bu med cing brlag par 'gyur //*

*zhes gsungs la / de la sogs pa snga 'gyur gyi bka' dang
bstan bcos du ma las ma smin pa la gsang ba mi bsgrags
par gsung so //*

Further, since the fact that some Rnying ma pa, the school of the early translation of secret spells, act with impunity when proclaiming in all directions the secrets of practice, too, runs counter to their own textual tradition, this is not correct; it is said in the *Guhyagarbhatantra* that:

When one has not been given the empowerments and,
When one has not pleased the *guru-teacher,
Making efforts to listen [= study], etc.,
Will be fruitless and harmful.

and it is said in many Pronouncements (*bka'*) and treatises of the old translations' school such as that one that one should not proclaim what is secret to one who is spiritually immature.

With significant differences, the *Guhyagarbhatantra* verse is found in the twenty-first chapter of the text:²⁰⁶

*slob dpon mnyes par ma byas shing //
dbang rnams thob par ma byas par //
nyan pa la sogs rtsom pa^a rnams //*

²⁰⁶ See the searchable *Bka' 'gyur [dpe sdur ma]*, ed. Krung go'i bod rig pa zhib 'jug lte gnas kyi bka' bstan dpe sdur khang, vol. 102 (Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2006), 583 [= tbr.org W1PD96682.102].

'bras bu med cing brlaḡ par 'gyur //

^a The Yongle and Peking xylographs have the variant reading *brtsom pa'i*.

When one has not pleased the **acārya*-teacher and,
When one has not obtained the empowerments,
Those embarking on hearing [= studying], etc.
Will be without result and will be harmed.

It is not entirely clear to me how this verse supports his argument and this is hardly the tantra's fault! Rong zom Chos kyi bzang po (11th c.) was the first to defend the *Guhyaḡarbhatantra* against its unnamed critics,²⁰⁷ but it remained one of the controversial Rnying ma pa tantras *par excellence*, even if Śāyakaśrī's discovery of a Sanskrit manuscript of this work in Bsam yas monastery should have dispelled part of the critique that was leveled against the authenticity of its Tibetan text, namely that there was no original Sanskrit text that corresponded to the Tibetan translation[s]. The fact of the existence of its Sanskrit counterpart was again underscored by Bcom ldan ral gri more than half a century later, and then again in the fourteenth century by G.yung ston Rdo rje dpal (1287-1365) and 'Bri gung Lo tsā ba Nor bu dpal ye shes (1313-87), alias Maṅikaśrījñāna. Nonetheless, this did not prevent later critics of the literary and doctrinal foundations of the Rnying ma pa to continue casting their aspersions on its doctrinal integrity. Even if this part of the reply to Byang chub seng ge were indeed penned by Bu ston, one has to wonder why Sog bzlog pa thought that this remark could be used in support of a contention that Bu ston was not inclined to be anti-Rnying ma pa. What is more, that virtual identical verses are found in several non-Rnying ma pa tantras as well²⁰⁸ would indicate that the sentiment expressed by the *Guhyaḡarbhatantra* verse was by no means Rnying ma pa-specific. The fact that the author, if he were Bu ston, quotes from

²⁰⁷ See Dorji Wangchuk, "An Eleventh-century Defence of the Authenticity of the *Guhyaḡarbha Tantra*," *The Many Canons of Tibetan Buddhism*, ed. H. Eimer et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 265-91.

²⁰⁸ Virtual identical verses are found in the *Mkha' 'gro ma thams cad kyi thugs gnyis su med pa'i ye shes bsam gyis mi khyab pa phag mo mngon par 'byung ba'i rgyud* and the *Dpal nyi ma'i 'khor lo'i rgyud kyi rgyal po*; see the *Bka' 'gyur [dpe sdur ma]*, ed. Krung go'i bod rig pa zhib 'jug lte gnas kyi bka' bstan dpe sdur khang, vol. 79 (Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2006), 195: *slob dpon mnyes par ma byas shing // dbang rnam s thob par ma byas na // nyan pa la sogs rtsom pa ni // 'bras bu med cing brlaḡ par 'gyur //*; 671: *bla ma mnyes par ma byas shing // dbang rnam s thob par ma byas par // nyan pa la sogs byed pa ni // 'bras bu med cing brlaḡ par 'gyur //* [= tbrc.org W1PD96682.79].

this tantra is perhaps indicative of a positive attitude towards it. Yet, perhaps more telling is the fact that Bu ston nowhere lists the Tibetan translation of the *Guhyaḡarbhataṅtra* in his oeuvre. G.yung ston had apparently presented him with a Sanskrit manuscript of this work and a request that he translate it [anew], which was accompanied with a gift, a so-called "golden flower" (*gser gyi me tog*), as an incentive towards the fulfillment of his request. Bu ston is not known to have followed up on this. And of course Sog bzlog pa does not forget to mention the presence of the titles of several Rnying ma pa religious texts in Rje btsun's and his great-nephew 'Phags pa's catalogs of tantric literature²⁰⁹ which, again, are quite absent from Bu ston's cognate work!

There is, however, a serious problem with Byang chub seng ge and these two works, his queries and the reply. For one, he is not mentioned in the incomplete listing of Rje btsun's closest students that A mes zhabs has added to his biography of Rje btsun in his work on Sa skya monastery. What is more, these two tracts are neither registered in Ngor chen's record of teaching received nor in his separate catalog of Rje btsun's oeuvre, nor in the edition of Rje btsun's writings that is listed in the record of teachings that were received by Dalai Lama V and in which he has done a lot of weeding by comparing the respective entries of Rje btsun's writings in earlier *gsan yig*-treatises!²¹⁰ And finally, A mes zhabs' own 1644 records of the teachings he had received anent the writings of the five Sa skya pa patriarchs from Mkhan chen Ngag dbang chos grags (1572-1641) and from his elder relative Mthu stobs dbang phyug (1588-1637) also

²⁰⁹ See, respectively, the somewhat mistitled *Kye rdor rgyud 'bum gyi dkar chag*, *Sa skya gong ma lnga'i gsung 'bum dpe bsdur ma las grags pa rgyal mtshan gyi gsung pod gnyis pa*, ed. Dpal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang, vol. 2, Mes po'i shul bzhag 11 (Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2007), 522, and the *Rgyud sde'i dkar chag*, *Sa skya gong ma lnga'i gsung 'bum dpe bsdur ma las 'gro mgon chos rgyal 'phags pa'i gsung pod gsum pa*, ed. Dpal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang, vol. 3, Mes po'i shul bzhag 21 (Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2007), 510.

²¹⁰ See, respectively, his *Sa skya'i gdung rabs ngo mtshar bang mdzod*, ed. Rdo rje rgyal po (Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1986), 83-4, NGOR, 59/3-61/4, and the *Rje btsun sa skya pa'i bka' 'bum gyi dkar chag*, *Collected Works*, ed. Dpal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang, vol. 7, E vam bka' 'bum 7/20, Mes po'i shul bzhag 138 (Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2010), 310-3, and the *Dam pa'i chos kyi gsan yig ganga'i chu rgyun* of 1670, for which see the Lhasa xylograph of his *Collected Works*, vol. Kha (Gangtok: Sikkim Research Institute, 1991-5), 107-118 [= *Collected Works*, ed. Ser gtsug nang bstan dpe rnying 'tshol bsdu phyogs sgrig khang, vol. 2 (Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2009), 73-81].

do not register these two little tracts.²¹¹ We thus have a bit of a problem that awaits a solution!

The fact that Bu ston perfunctorily mentions Padmasambhava as a magus and thaumaturge in his discussion of the era of Khri srong lde btsan, stands in sharp contrast with the Padmasambhava who was to become one of Tibet's principal culture heroes, and is again symptomatic of his surprisingly strong sectarian bias.²¹² He continued this sectarian resistance in his catalog of the Zhwa lu Tanjur and, again, this also stands in such stark contrast with the two Tanjur catalogs that were compiled by his senior contemporary Karma pa III, both of which list a good sampling of Rnying ma pa-specific works.²¹³ But it was Bu ston's catalogs of his *Chos 'byung*, of a collection of tantric literature (*rgyud 'bum*),²¹⁴ and of the Zhwa lu Tanjur that set the tone for the later Tanjur collections for which the first printing blocks were carved as late as the eighteenth century and probably for most, but definitely not for all, manuscript Tanjurs as well. The same holds for his surveys of tantric literature which, again, stands in such obvious contrast to the ones by the Rnying ma pa philosopher Klong chen pa or the Bka' brgyud pa writer 'Ba' ra ba Rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po (1310-91), whose oeuvre has yet to receive the attention it assuredly deserves!²¹⁵

²¹¹ See his *Mkhan chen 'jam pa'i dbyangs ngag dbang chos grags pas rjes su bzung ba'i tshul gyi sarga* and *Rigs ldan 'jam pa'i dbyangs grub mchog mthu stobs dbang phyug mched kyis rjes su bzung ba'i tshul gyi sarga*, *Collected Works*, ed. Si khron bod yig dpe rnying myur skyob 'tshal sgrig khang, vol. 2 (Lhasa: Bod ljongs dpe mnying dpe skrun khang, 2012), 142-5 and 171-5.

²¹² BU24, 884-5 [BUX, 185-7, Obermiller 1932: 189-90]. Padmasambhava makes there a sudden appearance as a magus and thaumaturge, and then makes an equally sudden disappearance.

²¹³ See, respectively, *Rje rang byung rdo rje'i thugs dam bstan 'gyur gyi dkar chag*, *Collected Works*, vol. Nga (Lhasa, 2006), 545-548 – the texts listed are characterized as "the meditation objects of Chos rje Rang byung rdo rje" (*chos rje rang byung rdo rje'i thugs dam*), and *Bstan bcos 'gyur ro 'tshal gyi dkar chag*, *Collected Works*, vol. Nga (Lhasa, 2006), 652-657, which follows the rubric of the *bla med/niruttara* yogatantras, but precedes the one for the yogatantras.

²¹⁴ See H. Eimer, *Der Tantra-Katalog des Bu ston im Vergleich mit der Abteilung Tantra des tibetischen Kanjur*, *Indica et Tibetica* 17 (Bonn: Indica et Tibetica Verlag, 1989).

²¹⁵ See, respectively, the *Grub mtha' rin po che'i mdzod*, 326-9, 338-9, 341, 343-4, 344-5, 369-72 [= Barron, tr., *The Precious Treasury of Philosophical Systems*, 276-9, 293-4, 296-7, 299-300, 301-2, 333-6] and several of 'Ba' ra ba's writings in, for example, his *Collected Works*, vols. 3 and 4 (Dehradun, 1970).

Appendix One

The *Gsan yig* of Bu ston

Contained in BU26, 1-142, and consisting of 71 folios, Bu ston's record of the teachings and works he had studied is a rather important document not only in terms of being a serious supplement to the all too often laconic descriptions of his intellectual development by his biographers, but also because it provides valuable bibliographical information on some key writings of the thirteenth century.²¹⁶ Generally speaking, compared to the fourteenth century, we are relatively better off in terms of the actual published corpus of Tibetan works that date from the preceding centuries. Unfortunately, however, this is still not saying very much, as we still very much grope in the dark where the bibliographic specifics of thirteenth century Tibetan literature are concerned. The Lhasa xylograph of this record is entitled *Bla ma dam pa rnam kyis rjes su bzung ba'i tshul bka' drin rjes su dran par byed pa*. Ye shes rgyal mtshan's catalog lists it as part of volume Za [= 22] of the edition of his oeuvre to which he had access and suggests that it comprised 75 folios.²¹⁷ Undated, it was doubtlessly written during the last years of his life, insofar as it mentions the Kashmirian *paṇḍita* Sumanaśrī whom he met in 1357.²¹⁸ The text itself is divided into twenty-five sections that correspond to an enumeration of his twenty-five teachers, apparently organized in a chronological order, and some of these sections are further subdivided in accordance with the particular texts or textual cycles studied. It is not just a bare listing of various lineages of transmission, however. Sometimes, Bu ston explicitly signals the translations used in the course of his studies and also makes remarks on other textual details.²¹⁹ Judging from the Tibetan sources he cites in the *Chos*

²¹⁶ An almost complete survey of this work is now also available on-line from D. Martin's wondrously fecund pen; see his *Tiblical*.

²¹⁷ YE, 367.

²¹⁸ For Sumanaśrī, see also *Sgra tshad pa* in BU28, 563. Another non-Tibetan with whom he had studied was Vibhūtidāpa, who figures as number 17 of the listing below. He is also mentioned in his biography by *Sgra tshad pa*, where Seyfort Ruegg (1966: 89, n. 2) suggests that we read "Vibhūtipāda", and thereby provides a basis for identifying him with Vibhūticandra, a prominent member of Śākyaśrī's entourage. However, it is obvious that this cannot be the case for chronological reasons.

²¹⁹ See, for instance, BU26, 95, where Bu ston comments on the various *Guhyasamājatantra* exegeses. At BU26, 120, he informs his readers of a rumor that a large commentary on Buddhagupta's *Yogāvātara* was extant in the eastern part of India. Although Buddhagupta refers to this work in his **Bhoṭasvāmidāsalekha* — see

'byung and elsewhere, we can be certain that this record only itemizes a very incomplete set of texts he had studied. It, too, contains a number of interlinear annotations of unknown origin, and at least two of these were assuredly entered well after Bu ston's death.²²⁰ The text lets itself be outlined as follows:

1. Rin po che Khro phu ba	2-3
2. Tshul khrim bzang po	3-8
3. Bla ma Yang rtse pa Rin chen seng ge	8-31
a. <i>bde mchog gi skabs</i>	8-10
b. <i>bde chen ral gcig gi skor rnams</i>	10-15
1. <i>chos skor</i>	11-15
2. <i>smin par byed pa dbang gi skor</i>	11
3. <i>bskyed pa'i rim pa'i skor</i>	11
4. <i>rdzogs rim gyi skor</i>	12-13
5. <i>de dag gi bstan srung chos skyong gi skor</i>	13-14
6. <i>ral gcig gi yum gyi skor</i>	14-15
c. <i>gshin rje gshed kyi skabs</i>	15-17
d. <i>phyag na rdo rje gos sngon can gyi skabs</i>	17-19
e. <i>sgrol ma'i skabs</i>	19-20
f. <i>phag mo'i skabs</i>	20-21
g. <i>ngan song sbyong ba'i skabs</i>	21-22
h. <i>rdo rje rnam 'joms kyi skabs</i>	22
i. <i>tshe dpag med kyi skabs</i>	22-23

S. Dietz, *Die buddhistische Briefliteratur Indiens, Asiatische Forschungen Band 84* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1984), 365, n. 26 — it does not seem to be extant. Apropos of Buddhagupta's *lekha*, R.A. Stein, "Tibetica Antiqua, I: Les deux vocabulaires des traductions indo-tibétaine et sino-tibétaine dans les manuscrits des Touen-Houang," *Bulletin de l'École Française d'extrême orient* (1981), 257-8, n. 64, states that: "ce texte doit être <apocryphe> (vers 850 ou après)." He has it in his "Tibetica Antiqua, IV: La tradition relative au début du bouddhisme au Tibet," *Bulletin de l'École Française d'extrême orient* LXXV (1986), 185, n. 39, that it was written "entre 850 et 1000(?)", and that Bu ston reproduced it *in toto* in his large work on the *Yogatantra* literature; see his *Rnal 'byor rgyud kyi rgya mtshor 'jug pa'i gru gzings*, BU11, 136-8, a work that he completed on the fifteenth day of the month *mgo can* (= *mgo*, **mārgaśr̥ṣa*), that is, probably on November 14, 1342. A somewhat annotated version of Buddhagupta's work was also published in the *Legs rtsom snying bsdus*, ed. Phur kho (Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1991), 135-145.

²²⁰ Two obvious cases in point are the passages in BU26, 83 and 99, where reference is made, respectively, to an autograph of Bu ston's spiritual son (*thugs sras*), that is, Sgra tshad pa, and to the passage in Ngor chen's record of teachings received in NGOR, 47/1/2-3. The anonymous author of the latter gloss disagrees with Ngor chen's assessment.

j. [<i>de rnams</i>] <i>na ro pa'i skabs</i>	23-24
k. <i>phyag rgya chen po'i skabs</i>	24
l. <i>'jam dbyangs kyi skabs</i>	24-25
m. no special entry	25-26
n. <i>man ngag brgya rtsa 'bring po'i skor</i>	26-29
o. no special entry	29-31
4. Bla ma Rnam snang pa Yon tan rgya mtsho	31-32
5. Mkhan chen Rin chen seng ge	32
6. Slob dpon chen po Tshad ma'i skeyes bu Bsod nams mgon ²²¹	
a. <i>lung mdo sde'i sde snod skabs</i>	32-36
b. <i>lung 'dul ba sde snod kyi skabs</i>	36-37
c. <i>lung ma mo'i skabs te / sde snod gsum gyi skabs</i>	37-38
d. <i>dbu ma'i skabs</i>	38
e. <i>rigs pa dbu tshad gnyis kyi skabs</i>	38-39
f. <i>man ngag brgya rtsa'i rnam grangs / man ngag gi skabs</i>	41-54
7. Slob dpon Don grub dpal	54
8. Bla ma Brag ston Bsod nams rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po	54-55
9. Mkhan po Bka' bzhi pa Dkon mchog gzhon nu	55-56
10. Bla ma 'Jam dbyangs skya bo Nam mkha' dpal	56
11. Ti shrī chen po Kun dga' blo gros rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po	56-57
12. Mkhan chen Bka' bzhi pa Grags pa gzhon nu	57-58
13. Mkhan chen Bsod nams grags pa	58-60
a. <i>theg pa thun mong pa bstan pa'i snying po 'dul ba'i skabs</i>	
b. <i>theg pa chen po mtshan nyid kyi dam pa'i chos kyi snying po'i skabs</i>	58-59
c. <i>theg pa chen po gsang sngags kyi lam nyams su blang ba'i skabs</i>	59-60
14. Mkhan chen Thar pa Lo tsā ba Nyi ma rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po	60-67
a. <i>dpal dus kyi 'khor lo'i skabs</i>	60-62
b. <i>dgyes rdor gyi skabs</i>	62-63
c. <i>bde mchog gi skabs</i>	63-64
d. <i>gdan bzhi'i skabs</i>	64

²²¹ For some notes on him, see my "Fourteenth Century Tibetan Cultural History VI: The Transmission of Indian Buddhist *pramāṇavāda* According to Early Tibetan *gsan yig-s*," *Asiatische Studien / Études Asiatiques* XLIX (1995), 936-7.

e. <i>gshin rje gshed kyi skabs</i>	64
f. <i>rdo rje theg pa sngags kyi skabs</i>	64-66
g. no special entry	66-67
15. Bla ma dam pa Dpal ldan seng ge	67-83
a. <i>lam skor dgu'i skabs</i>	67-69
b. <i>kye rdo rje'i skabs</i>	69-70
c. <i>bde mchog gi skabs</i>	70-74
d. no separate entry	74-83
16. Bla ma dam pa Rdo rje rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po	83-85
17. Rnal 'byor gyi dbang phyug Vibhutidapa	85
18. Mkhas btsun Gzhon nu grub	85-86
19. Slob dpon Bkra shis bzang po	86
20. Grub pa brnyes pa'i dbang phyug Mnga' ris pa Sangs rgyas ye shes	86-87
21. Dpal ldan bla ma dam pa Kun mkhyen 'Phags pa 'od yon tan rgya mtsho	87-140
a. <i>dpal dus kyi 'khor lo'i skabs</i> ²²²	87-93
b. <i>gsang 'dus 'phags lugs kyi skor</i>	93-100
c. <i>dpal gsang ba 'dus pa [ye shes zhabs kyi lugs] kyi skor</i>	101
d. <i>gshin rje gshed kyi skor / de ltar pha rgyud kyi skor</i>	101-102
e. <i>bde mchog gi skor</i>	102-107
f. <i>kye rdo rje'i skabs</i>	107-111
g. <i>ma rgyud kyi skabs</i>	111-114
h. <i>sgrol ma'i skabs</i>	114-118
i. <i>rnal 'byor bla med kyi skor</i>	118-119
j. <i>yo ga smad lugs kyi skor</i>	119-123
k. <i>yo ga stod lugs kyi skor</i>	123-125
l. <i>rnal 'byor rgyud kyi skor</i>	125-129
m. <i>spyod rgyud kyi skor</i>	129
n. <i>gtsug tor gyi skor</i>	129-131
o. <i>tshe dpag med kyi skor</i>	131-132
p. <i>rnam 'joms kyi skor</i>	132-133
q. <i>rta mgrin gyi skor</i>	133-135
r. <i>gzungs sna tshogs kyi skor</i>	135-137
s. <i>mi g.yo ba'i skor</i>	137
t. <i>sgrol ma dang gnas brtan bcu drug gi skor</i>	137-138
u. <i>sgrub thabs brgya rtsa'i skor</i>	138
v. <i>kha 'bar gtor chen sogs kyi skor</i>	138-139

²²² This section contains a great deal more besides *Kālacakratantra* literature.

<i>w. mdo sna tshogs kyi skor</i>	139
[x. <i>chab gtor di pad ma</i>]	139-140
22. Bla ma Ti shrī Kun dga' rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po	140
23. 'Jam pa'i dbyangs Don yod rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po	140
24. 'Gro ba'i bla ma Bsod nams rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po	140-141
25. Kha che'i paṅḍi ta Sumanaśrī	141-142

From this tabulation, we can conclude that his five main teachers were:

1. Thar pa Lo tsā ba Nyi ma rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po
2. Dpal ldan seng ge
3. Yang rtse pa Rin chen seng ge
4. Tshad ma'i skyes bu Bsod nams mgon
5. 'Phags pa 'od yon tan rgya mtsho

I cannot go into the details of the doctrinal consequences that are involved with Bu ston's connections with these five men. Needless to say, this is something that will have to be done upon a consideration of his philosophical points of view, both esoteric and exoteric, and an examination of their writings, or fragments thereof, as they may become available. Needless to say, these are not the concern of the present paper. It is perhaps somewhat surprising that Sgra tshad pa's biography of Bu ston, instead of noting 'Phags pa 'od yon tan rgya mtsho by his full name, simply refers to him by his epithet of "Lama 'Phags pa", despite the fact that Bu ston devotes a little less than half of his record to a survey of the teachings he had received from him, and that, as we can infer from this fact, he must have had a profound effect on his spiritual development.²²³ Maybe "Lama 'Phags pa" was

²²³ The preliminaries to and his meeting with Bu ston are given in Seyfort Ruegg (1966: 97-9, 109). There are a number of differences between this account and the longer version in 'Gos Lo tsā ba's 'GOS, 370-2 [Roerich 1979: 422-5], from which we can infer that the latter must have working from another source, possibly a study of his life. Actually, a brief synopsis of his life story together with a quasi record of teachings he received is found in Bu ston's history of the *Guhyasamāja* cycle, in BU9, 83-99. Roerich (1979: 424-5, n. 5), quotes from another work of Bu ston concerning the practice of the *Guhyasamāja*, namely his undated *Rim lnga'i dmar khrid* in BU10, 65-6, in which he relates a telling account of 'Phags pa 'od's attitude toward these arcane teachings and something remarkably autobiographical as well. Bu ston does specify, however, that due to the persistent insistence of Bla ma dam pa he finally acquiesced to write these teachings down for him. Unfortunately, the available biographies of Bla ma dam pa do not shed any concrete light on when he might have requested this work from him. DKAR, 219, registers the printing blocks for two of 'Phags pa 'od's writings on Bde mchog/ Cakrasamvara that were located in Shab stod Lhun po rtse; these are his

sufficiently unambiguous to everyone in the fourteenth century and that caused Sgra tshad pa to feel secure in the knowledge that he would not be confounded with 'Phags pa Blo gros rgyal mtshan, who is also on occasion referred to as "Lama 'Phags pa".

*

Appendix Two

Some Handwritten Editions of Bu ston's Collected Writings and Xylographs of Individual Texts

Quoting from Ngor chen Kun dga' bzang po's biography by Gu ge Paṅ chen Grags pa rgyal mtshan (1415-86), Seyfort Ruegg notes that Ngor chen had received the authority (*lung*) for reading an edition of Bu ston's collected writings that "consisted of thirty volumes." The passage in question reads:²²⁴

...sgra'i tik chen ma gtogs chos rje bu ston gyi bka' 'bum
pu sti sum cu tsam gyi lung yongs su rdzogs par gsan no //

...from Bkra shis rin chen he heard at the age of *circa* twenty-seven the entire textual transmission of some thirty volumes of Chos rje Bu ston's collected writings with the exception of the grand commentary on Sanskrit grammar.

The "grand commentary" (*sgra'i tik chen*) is most certainly Bu ston's extensive exegesis of Durgasiṃha's *Kātantravṛtti* that he may have completed around the mid 1340s.²²⁵ In the concluding remarks, Bu ston gives a poignant indication of the social and political realities of the times in which he wrote this work, that is, of a Tibet that was still under Mongol occupation. He apologizes for any problems that his learned colleagues may encounter in his work and, asking for forbearance, writes that these are owed to his own feeble intellect and the feelings of insecurity and unrest that were caused by "the Mongol harm" (*hor gyi gnod pas*).

It is curious that this transmission is not registered in the entries of Ngor chen's own record of the teachings that he had received from

Bde mchog lha drug cu rtsa gnyis kyi sgrub thabs 'dod 'jo and the *Dkyil 'khor du dbang bskur ba'i cho ga 'dod 'jo*. It is not known whether they are still extant.

²²⁴ Seyfort Ruegg (1966: 41-2, n. 3).

²²⁵ BU25; see also P.C. Verhagen, *A History of Sanskrit Grammatical Literature in Tibet, Volume Two. Assimilation into Indigenous Scholarship* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 81-9.

Bkra shis rin chen.²²⁶ Ngor chen's biography stipulates that Bkra shis rin chen was a master affiliated with Zhwa lu, but does not indicate where he had studied with him.²²⁷ Describing Ngor Ewaṃ chos ldan monastery, Kaḥ thog Si tu writes in his travelog that its Thar rtse Bla brang had an edition of Bu ston's collected oeuvre in an unspecified number of volumes.²²⁸ Kaḥ thog Si tu visited Ngor monastery towards the end of 1919, making it perhaps unlikely that this collection would refer to the Lhasa xylograph of Bu ston's oeuvre. Moreover, A mes zhabs states in his biography of Mus chen Sangs rgyas rgyal mtshan (1542-1618) that Shar chen Ye shes rgyal mtshan (?-1406)²²⁹ had also "erected" (*bzhengs*) an edition of Bu ston's oeuvre in an unspecified number of volumes.²³⁰ Like the vast majority of Tibetan Buddhist monasteries, Ngor monastery was reduced to rubble during the "Cultural Revolution" and her treasures and artifacts are irretrievably lost if they were not pilfered by one or other Chinese or Tibetan Red Guard to end up in a private collection of a PRC art collector or in the art market of Hong Kong.

There also existed other early editions of his complete writings in Stag lung monastery and, presumably, in Dpal 'khor chos sde in Rgyal mkhar rtse. The former was apparently executed at the behest of Stag lung Lo tsā ba Shākya bzang po (1322-1404), who himself had been a disciple of Bu ston.²³¹ The latter was prepared in 1432 by Nang chen Rab 'byor bzang po, the younger half-brother of Rgyal mkhar rtse's governor Si tu Rab brtan kun bzang 'phags (1389-1442), and was probably motivated by the fact that he was a collateral nephew of Grub chen Kun dga' blo gros who, as we have seen, was after all considered to be a re-embodiment of Bu ston himself.²³² Fi-

²²⁶ NGOR, 102/3-107/4.

²²⁷ See the *Rdo rje 'chang kun dga' bzang po'i rnam par thar pa legs bshad chu bo 'dus pa'i rgya mtsho*, *Sa skya Lam 'bras Literature Series*, vol. 1 (Dehra Dun, 1983), 507.

²²⁸ *An Account of a Pilgrimage to Central Tibet During the Years 1918-1920*, 427 [Kaḥ thog si tu 'i dbus gtsang gnas yig, 310].

²²⁹ Shar chen was of course also one of Ngor chen's main teachers as indicated in NGOR, 45/3-65/4.

²³⁰ See his *Mkhyen brtse nus pa'i mnga bdag rgyal ba sras dang slob mar bcas pa'i spyi gzugs dam pa dus gsum sgrub med du gzigs pa'i rje btsun mus pa chen po sangs rgyas rgyal mtshan gyi rnam par thar pa byin rlabs kyi char 'bebs ngo mtshar sarga gsum pa* (Dehra Dun: Sakya Centre, 1974), 491.

²³¹ As registered in *Stag lung pa Ngag dbang rnam rgyal* (1571-1626), *Chos 'byung ngo mtshar rgya mtsho*, vol. 1 (Tashijong, 1972), 484 [= ed. Thar gling Byams pa tshe ring, *Gangs can rig mdzod*, vol. 22 (Lhasa: Bod ljongs bod yig dpe rnying dpe skrun khang, 1992), 343]. Bu ston officiated as "abbot" during his ordination in 1345.

²³² Wrongly attributed to Bo dong Paṅ chen, see Si tu's biography in *Dharma rā dza'i rnam thar dad pa'i lo thog rgyas byed dngos grub kyi char 'bebs* (Dharamsala: Library

nally, as related by Rin chen dpal in his biography of Rin chen phun tshogs chos kyi rgyal po (1509-57), this seventeenth abbot of 'Bri gung monastery consecrated (*rab gnas*) a new manuscript edition of Bu ston's collected writings.²³³

Four catalogs of the Lhasa xylograph of Bu ston's collected writings have been published to date. The first two are the comprehensive, albeit not always accurate, ones that were published by Kanakura and De Rossi Filibeck, to which I have already had occasion to refer severally.²³⁴ The third is the bare listing compiled by a consortium of Tibetan scholars, which is useful for quick reference and the fourth is provided in Stein's translation of a portion of the *Chos 'byung*.²³⁵ In addition, we now have in all five indigenous catalogs for various "editions" of his oeuvre: one by Bu ston himself, two by Sgra tshad pa, and one each by Ye shes rgyal mtshan and the Klong rdol Lama.

I. The Catalog of Bu ston²³⁶

This catalog of his oeuvre, the first of its kind, was very probably compiled not long before he passed away, although there is sufficient evidence that the text, as we have it now, did not flow from Bu ston's pen alone. It is not registered in his biographies and is oddly incomplete. In addition, inasmuch as Bu ston fails to record the number of volumes, it may also not be based on an actual autograph edition of his collected oeuvre. The catalog commences with his *Chos 'byung* and, oddly, two catalogs of the Tanjur, the first of which is the one that was undoubtedly compiled by Bu ston himself. The second, however, is subtitled *Yid bzhin gyi nor bu'i za ma tog*, which therefore very much resembles the title of the one that was wrongly attributed to Sgra tshad pa.²³⁷ At the end of the text, there are two notes on the lack of comprehensiveness of the included items, the first one of which was most likely written by Bu ston himself. Even though no

of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1978), 461-2 [= *Rab brtan kun bzang 'phags kyi rnam thar* (Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1987), 227].

²³³ Rin chen dpal, *Rje btsun rin chen phun tshogs kyi rnam thar smad cha dad pa'i gdung ba sel byed* (Bir: The Bir Tibetan Society, 1985), 286.

²³⁴ Kanakura (1953: 1-78) and De Rossi Filibeck (1994: 15-46).

²³⁵ See, respectively, the "Bu ston Lo tsā ba Rin chen grub kyi gsung 'bum dkar chag," *Bod ljongs zhib 'jug* 1 (1983), 122-36, and Stein (2013: 397-410) where the titles are translated into English. It should be reiterated that Stein's English renditions of these do not always meet with agreeable success.

²³⁶ BU26, 645-56.

²³⁷ BU28, 343-574. For this catalog, see my "Fourteenth Century Tibetan Cultural History 1: Ta'i si tu Byang chub rgyal mtshan as a Man of Religion," *Indo-Iranian Journal* 37 (1994), 139-49.

reasons are given for it, it observes that the following texts were not included in the present catalog (*da dkar chag la ma thebs pa la*):

1. *Dpal gsang 'dus rdzogs rim rim lnga'i dmar khrid kyi man ngag yid bzhin nor bu rin po che'i za ma tog*
2. *Gdan bzhi'i stang stabs bco brgyad*
3. *Nag po pa la dgos pa'i zin bris*
4. *Dpal mchog gi rdo rje sgrub pa*
5. *Sems nyid ngal bso'i* [read: *gso'i*] *rtsa ba tshigs bcad re re'i steng du rgyud sde'i lung sbyar ba*

But no reasons for their absence are given. Evidently not written by Bu ston himself, the second note and the last passage of the catalog adds additional literary pieces that were not included in the catalog.

II. The Catalogs of Sgra tshad pa

A. Catalog One²³⁸

This catalog bears the title *Bka' 'bum gyi dkar chag rin chen lde mig* — *rin chen* is a possible allusion to Bu ston's name —, and is dated to the fifteenth day of the final spring lunar month, that is, probably May 22, 1364; its scribe was a certain Dpal [m]chog don grub. It was therefore compiled shortly before Bu ston's passing, which took place on July 1 of that year, and may predate Bu ston's own catalog. The edition of his writings on which this work is based evidently comprised twenty-seven volumes, since the volumes are "numbered" from Ka to Sha.

B. Catalog Two²³⁹

This work has virtually the very same arrangement of texts found in Bu ston's own catalog. However, not only is this listing more complete, but it also departs several times from the titles found in it. Unlike Sgra tshad pa's other catalog, this one is undated, has no distinguishing marks that would otherwise allow for an approximate dating, and does not furnish any indication of the number of volumes. At the very outset it includes the *Sbyor ba brgya pa'i mchan bu* in the rubric of "medicine" (*gso ba rig pa*), which is omitted in the main body

²³⁸ BU28, 319-32.

²³⁹ See BU28, 333-41.

of Bu ston's catalog.

Nothing in either catalog suggests that these were based on editions of Bu ston's oeuvre that Sgra tshad pa himself had compiled or had caused to have prepared. His biography by his disciple So ston does mention a set of thirty-three volumes, and it appears that this is the same collection concerning which So ston states that it was a reliable [and critical] edition of the texts, and that its editors (*zhu dag pa*) were scholars.²⁴⁰ After its consecration, which was accompanied by many wondrous signs, the collection was placed in Bu ston's private quarters (*gzim khang*) in Ri phug. This would possibly be the very same edition mentioned by Mang thos and Stag sgang Ngag dbang blo gros, alias Gu ru Bkra shis, who, too, refers to a thirty-three volume edition in his enormous history of the Rnying ma school written between 1807 and 1813.²⁴¹

²⁴⁰ See *Thugs sras lo tstsha ba chen po rin chen rnam par rgyal ba'i rnam par thar pa*, 37a [= *Ibid.*, 441].

²⁴¹ See, respectively, MANG, 177, and *Bstan pa'i snying po gsang chen snga 'gyur nges don zab mo'i chos kyi 'byung ba gsal bar byed pa'i legs bshad mkhas pa dga' byed ngo mtshar gtam gyi rol mtsho*, vol. 4 (Paro, 1979), 444 [= *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung*, ed. Rdo rje rgyal po (Beijing: Krung go'i bod kyi shes rig dpe skrun khang, 1990), 973; *Rnying ma'i chos 'byung*, ed. O rgyan chos phel, vol. 2 (Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1992), 745] where, however, no indication is given concerning the whereabouts of this set. We should mention here that O rgyan chos phel wrongly identified the author of this work as Nyi sprul drug pa Thub bstan 'od gsal bstan pa'i nyi ma, alias O rgyan mchog grub; the "Nyi" in *nyi sprul drug pa*, the "sixth re-embodiment of Nyi" refers here to Gter ston chen po Nyi ma grags pa (1647-1710). This man was responsible for writing the verses at the occasion of Thub bstan ngag dbang rnam rgyal and Grub chen Zla ba rdo rje bzang po committing the text to the printing blocks from 1923 to 1931. We might add that the texts of Rdo rje rgyal po and O rgyan chos phel are explicitly based on this xylograph edition from Sring rdzong 'od gsal sgrub sde. As signalled in Martin, "A Brief Political History of Tibet by Gu ru Bkra shis," 330, two of Gu ru bkra shis' masters were Padma theg mchog bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan (1712-?), a reemodiment of Gter ston Nyi ma grags pa, and Rdzogs chen Dbon Rin po che. The latter may be identified as Dbon 'Gyur med padma kun grol rnam rgyal (1706-73/4), who was born in the "nephew-line" (*dbon brgyud*) of Grub dbang Nam mkha' 'od gsal. As is registered in vol. 4, 463 [= ed. Rdo rje rgyal po, 981; O rgyan chos phel, 759], another one of Gu ru Bkra shis' masters was Tshe dbang kun khyab, who must be identified as 'Be Lo Karma Tshe dbang kun khyab, alias Zur mang Tshe dbang kun khyab, one of Si tu Paṅ chen Chos kyi 'byung gnas' (1699/1700-74) more illustrious disciples.

III. The Catalog of Yongs 'dzin Ye shes rgyal mtshan²⁴²

Like Sgra tshad pa's first catalog, Ye shes rgyal mtshan's catalog is also based on a manuscript "edition" of Bu ston's writings in twenty-seven volumes that was housed in Bkra shis bsam gtan gling, the main monastery in Skyid grong, which he himself had founded in 1756.²⁴³ It is to his credit that he had the foresight to include the number of folios of each text — this may facilitate the precise identification of one of the many sets of handwritten manuscripts editions of Bu ston's collected oeuvre in the C.P.N. —, and he notes that the manuscript copy of the *Chos 'byung* consisted of 190 folios, meaning that that it was written on somewhat oversized paper with probably more than the usual number of lines per folio. Of particular interest is his survey of several different collections of Bu ston's writings appended to the actual catalog itself. He writes:²⁴⁴

*thams cad mkhyen pa bu ston rin po che'i gsung rtsom 'di
rnams la glegs bam gyi grangs sna tshogs snang ste / bu
ston thams cad mkhyen pa rang nyid kyis sku tshe de la
bstan pa la bya ba mdzad phyir dpyad pa gsum gyis rnam
par dag pa'i gsung rtsom 'di ltar yod kyi dkar chag cig
zhing gshegs khar mdzad pa'dug kyang / de la glegs bam
gyi grangs 'di tsam byed ma gsungs / thugs sras zha lu'i
gdan sa pa dang / sbyin bdag chen mo sku zhang yon
mchod rnams kyis gsung rtsom gang yod khyon gcig tu
bsdoms pa la glegs bam nyi shu rtsa drug tu byas / zang*

²⁴² See YE, 352-75. The biography of Ye shes rgyal mtshan by Dalai Lama VIII 'Jam dpal rgya mtsho (1758-1804) does not register it in the entries for the year 1779; see the *Dpal ldan bla ma dam pa rigs dang dkyil 'khor rgya mtsho'i mnga' bdag 'drin gsum ldan yongs 'dzin pañ ñi ta chen po rje btsun ye shes rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po'i sku gsung thugs kyi rtags par brjed pa thub bstan padmo 'byed pa'i nyin byed* (New Delhi, 1969), 189-92.

²⁴³ For a sketch of Ye shes rgyal mtshan's life, the foundation of this monastery and its archive, see D. Schuh, *Das Archiv des Klosters bKra-šis-bsam-gtan-glin von sKyid-groñ, 1. Teil, Urkunden zur Klosterordnung, grundlegende Rechtsdokumente und demographisch bedeutsame Dokumente, Findbücher, Monumenta Tibetica Historica, Abteilung III, Band 6* (Bonn: VGH Wissenschaftsverlag GmbH, 1988), 17-29. For the history of Bkra shis bsam gtan gling as such, Schuh used the notes in his biography by his disciple Dalai Lama VIII, but not Ye shes rgyal mtshan's own chronicle of the monastery, which he wrote in 1768; for the latter, see the *Bkra shis bsam gtan gling gi bka' bstan rin po che'i dkar chag thub bstan gsal byed, Collected Works*, vol. 16 (New Delhi: The Tibet House, 1974), 504-25. That said, through his incisive and unprecedented study of the relevant Tibetan archival material, Schuh was able to assess much of this monastery's social history and at the same time shed light on important aspects of Tibetan demographic history.

²⁴⁴ YE, 368.

*zang ne ring gi gtsug lag khang na bu ston thams cad
mkhyen pa'i gsung gang yod tshar gcig bzhugs pa la pod
rer shog grangs sum brgya re byas pa'i glegs bam sum cu
bzhugs / bkra shis bsam gtan gling du bu ston rin po che'i
gsung rtsom gang yod tshar gcig bzhugs pa 'di la pod re la
shog bu mda' tshad ma lnga brgya re byas pa'i glegs bam
nyi shu rtsa gnyis bzhugs /*

Thus, it appears that at least three different sets in various numbers of volumes were extant in Gtsang, the first of which was the one in Zhwa lu in twenty-six (?sic) volumes that had been compiled by Sgra tshad pa under the patronage of Zhwa lu myriarchy's ruler, Sku zhang Kun dga' don grub. The temple of Zang zang Ne ring also had one in thirty volumes with each volume comprising 300 folios²⁴⁵ and a third set in twenty-two volumes with 500 folios per volume was housed in Bkra shis bsam gtan gling.

IV. The Catalog of the Klong rdol Lama²⁴⁶

Klong rdol Lama lists a collection of Bu ston's oeuvre in seventeen volumes that was housed at Zhwa lu monastery, whereby the first

²⁴⁵ This place may perhaps be identified as the monastery of Ne rings founded by Bde legs rgyal mtshan (1215-81) in 1259; see 'GOS, 600 [Roerich 1979: 688].

²⁴⁶ Klong rdol Lama's biography was written by Rta tshag Rje drung Ye shes blo bzang bstan pa'i mgon po (?-1810); see the *Rje btsun bla ma dam pa kun spangs sems dpa' chen po grub pa'i dbang phyug ngag dbang blo bzang dpal bzang po'i rnam thar mos gus rin chen 'dren pa'i shing rta rgyal sras spyod pa'i rgyan* (New Delhi, 1970). It was penned over a period of two years, from 1795 to 1797, and the author held the title of "Regent" from 1791 to 1810, for which see L. Petech, "The Dalai-lamas and regents of Tibet: a chronological study," *Selected Papers on Asian History, Serie Orientale Roma LX* (Roma: Istituto Italiano Per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1988), 139-40. The only occasions where the *Chos 'byung* is registered in the biography are on pp. 42 and 134. In the first entry, we read that the young Klong rdol Lama had studied it with 'Jam dpal chos mchog of Ri phug — he is probably the same as 'Jam mgon Dpal ldan chos mchog who figures briefly in ZHWA, 433-4 — at the age of thirty; the second one has it that he once again read this work at an advanced age under 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa'i rdo rje II Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po (1728-91) in 1785 in the course of one of the latter's trips to Central Tibet from his see of Bkra shis 'khyil in Amdo. This meeting is also noted in the biography of Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po for which, see Gung thang Dkon mchog bstan pa'i sgron me's (1762-1823) *Dus gsum rgyal ba'i spyi gzugs rje btsun dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po'i zhal snga nas kyi rnam par thar pa rgyal sras rgya mtsho'i 'jug ngogs, The Collected Works of Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po*, vol. 1 (New Delhi, 1971) 365, 374, 407. The Klong rdol Lama's catalog of Bu ston's collected works is not mentioned in the biography *per se*, although it does refer to the larger catalog in which it is listed on pp.193 ff.

volume consists of his *Chos 'byung* and his catalog of translated scripture, which the Klong rdol Lama lists as a separate treatise with the title *Bod du bka' dang bstan bcos 'gyur ro cog gi dkar chag chen mo*.²⁴⁷ Pace the regretted J. Szerb, the Klong rdol Lama's phrase "complete oeuvre" (*gsung 'bum tshang ma*) does of course not necessarily indicate that he was describing a printed edition of Bu ston's collected works.²⁴⁸

Lastly, with the exception of the Sde dge printing blocks indicated above in n. 109, I should like to draw attention to a select number of additional printing blocks for some of Bu ston's writings that were or are, whatever may presently be the case, available in a variety of different places. The following list, admittedly most likely desperately incomplete, may serve to form an initial idea of the "sociology" and geographical distribution of those parts of his oeuvre.

1. *Rgyud sde spyi'i rnam bzhag bsdus pa*, 108 folios, located in A mchog Dga' ldan chos 'khor gling, Amdo.²⁴⁹
2. *Phar phyin gyi 'grel pa lung gi snye ma*, 501 folios, the next two are located in Bde chen lhun grub gling, Aginsk.²⁵⁰
3. *Las brgya rtsa gcig gi rnam bshad cho ga'i gsal byed*, ?180 folios.
4. *Dus 'khor bshad thabs yan lag nges pa'i don gyi snye ma*, 77 folios, located in Sne'u gdong rtse tshogs.²⁵¹
5. *Dus 'khor chos 'byung*, 48 folios, the next six are located in Zhwa lu.²⁵²
6. *Bde mchog chos 'byung*, 52 folios.
7. *Dus 'khor mngon rtogs*, 27 folios.
8. *Phyag rdor 'chi bdag 'joms pa'i dkyil 'khor cho ga*, 23 folios.
9. *'Dul ba'i 'grel pa*, 252 folios.
10. *'Dul ba'i las chog gi 'grel pa* 102 folios.
11. *Las chog*, 97 folios, located in Bkra shis lhun po.²⁵³
12. *De bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po'i rgyan*, 74 folios, located in 'Bras spungs.²⁵⁴



²⁴⁷ KLONG, 1289 [= MHTL, no.136174].

²⁴⁸ Szerb (1990: XIV, n. 24).

²⁴⁹ Meisezahl, "Der Katalog der Klosterdruckerei A mchog dga' ldan chos 'khor gling in Ch'ing hai (Nordwest-China)," 316, 327, no.115; see BU14, 843-1013.

²⁵⁰ G. Bethlenfalvy, "A Tibetan Catalogue of the Blocks of the Lamaist Printing House in Aginsk," *Acta Orientalia Hungarica* XXV (1972), 59, no.125, 60, no.175; see, respectively, BU18, and BU21, 731-980.

²⁵¹ DKAR, 210; BU18,

²⁵² DKAR, 219; BU18,

²⁵³ DKAR, 224; BU21, 731-980.

²⁵⁴ Eimer (1992-3: 30, no. 246); BU20, 1-78.

Bibliographical Abbreviations

- BU Bu ston Rin chen grub. *The Collected Works of Bu ston* [and Sgra tshad pa] (Lhasa xylograph). 1965-71. Parts 1-28. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture.
- BU24 *Ibid.* [Bde bar gshegs pa'i bstan pa'i gsal byed] *Chos kyi 'byung gnas gsung rab rin po che'i mdzod*. Pp. 633-1056.
- BUM *Ibid.* [Bde bar gshegs pa'i bstan pa'i gsal byed] *Chos kyi 'byung gnas gsung rab rin po che'i mdzod*. 2011. *Bod kyi lo rgyus rnam thar phyogs bsgribs*. Ed. Dpal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang. Vol. Ti [= 39]. Xining: Mtsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang. *dbu med* manuscript. tbrc.org W1PD45496. Pp. 853-1042.
- BUX *Ibid.* *Bu ston chos 'byung* [allegedly based on the Sde dge xylograph]. 1988. Ed. Rdo rje rgyal po. Beijing: Krung go'i bod kyi rig shes dpe skrun khang.
- BUZh *Ibid.*, Zhwa lu xylograph. Fols. 190.
- BYA Bya btang Padma gar dbang. *Zab chos sbas pa mig 'byed kyi chos bskor las pan che sha wa dbang phyug gi snyan rgyud rdo rje sum gyi bla ma rgyud pa'i rnam thar dad pa'i rnga chen*. *dbu chen* manuscript. Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project Reel no. L 451/6; Running no. L 4703, fols. ?.
- DKAR *Gangs can gyi ljongs su bka' dang bstan bcos sogs kyi glegs bam spar gzhi ji ltar yod pa rnam nas dkar chag spar thor phyogs tsam du bkod pa phan bde'i pad tshal 'byed pa'i nyin byed*. 1970. *Three Karchacks*. New Delhi. 169-243.
- DPA' Dpa' bo Gtsug lag phreng ba. 1986. *Chos 'byung mkhas pa'i dga' ston*. 2 vols. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang.
- DPA'1, 2 *Ibid.* Xylograph. 1980. 2 vols. New Delhi.
- 'GOS 'Gos Lo tsā ba Gzhon nu dpal. 1976. *Deb gter sngon po/The Blue Annals*. Repr. L. Chandra. New Delhi: In-

ternational Academy of Indian Culture.

- KLONG Klong rdol bla ma Ngag dbang blo bzang. 1973. *Bka' gdams pa dang dge lugs bla ma rag[s] rim gyi gsung 'bum mtshan tho. Collected Works of Longdol Lama. Part 2.* New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture. Pp. 1289-96.
- MANG Mang thos Klu sgrub rgya mtsho. 1987. Ed. Nor brang O rgyan. *Bstan rtsis gsal ba'i nyin byed. Gangs can rig mdzod 4.* Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi rigs dpe skrun khang. Pp. 29-280.
- MHTL *Materials for a History of Tibetan Literature.* 1963. Ed. L. Chandra. Part 3. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture.
- NGOR Ngor chen Kun dga' bzang po. 1968. *Thob yig rgya mtsho.* SSBB9, no. 36. 44/4-108/2.
- SKYO Skyo ston Smon lam tshul khriims. *Mchims nams mkha' grags pa'i rnam thar. dbu chen* manuscript. tbrc.org W2CZ7888. Folios 50.
- SSBB *Sa skya pa'i bka' 'bum.* 1968-69. Vols. 1-15. Comp. Bsod nams rgya mtsho. Tokyo: The Toyo Bunko.
- TSHAL Tshal pa Kun dga' rdo rje. 1981. *Deb ther dmar po.* Ed. and ann. Dung dkar Blo bzang 'phrin las. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang.
- TSHAL1 *Ibid. Deb ther dmar po.* 1961. Gangtok: Namgyal Institute of Tibetology.
- YAR Yar lung Jo bo Shākya rin chen sde. 1988. *Yar lung jo bo'i chos 'byung.* Ed. Dbyangs can [Iha mo]. Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang.
- YAR1 *Ibid.* 1988. *Yar lung chos 'byung.* Ed. Ngag dbang. Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang.
- YE Yongs 'dzin Ye shes rgyal mtshan. 1975. *Thams cad mkhyen pa bu ston rin chen grub kyi gsung 'bum gyi dkar chag bstan pa rin po che'i mdzes rgyan phul byung gser gyi*

phreng ba. Collected Works. Vol. 5. New Delhi. Pp. 262-375.

ZHWA Ri phug Sprul sku Blo gsal bstan skyong. 1971. *Dpal ldan zhwa lu pa'i bstan pa la bka' drin che ba'i skyes bu dam pa rnam kyī rnam thar lo rgyus ngo mtshar dad pa'i 'jug ngogs [History of Zhwa lu].* Leh.

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A Tibetan Grammatical Construction: verb + *na go*

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While much in Classical Tibetan grammar remains insufficiently understood,¹ as more literature is carefully read, further facts emerge, however incrementally, to refine our knowledge. In my own very limited reading, restricted to translations of Buddhist literature, I have recently come across a phenomenon that has so far passed almost unnoticed, namely the construction of verb + *na go*. Although relatively rare, the grammatical morpheme *go* itself has been remarked. The *Wörterbuch der tibetischen Schriftsprache* tells us (Maurer et al. 2005–: 214, s.v. *go*³) that this *go* is a “Suffix mit emphatischer Funktion”, suggests comparing *ko*, and states that *go* is “a topic marker similar to *ni*”, citing a remark of Takeuchi (1985: 139).² The *Wörterbuch* (Maurer et al. 2005–: 113, s.v. *ko*²) speaks of the above-mentioned *ko* itself as a “Partikel nach Pronomina und Nomina, mit emphatischer Bedeutung: ‘eben’ ‘gerade’ ‘da’ ‘hier’”.³ Regarding *go*, Takeuchi’s original

¹ This leaves aside for the moment the fact that at some point we must more actively acknowledge the multiplicity of what usually falls, without discrimination, under the general umbrella of ‘Classical Tibetan’. I received valuable advice and references from (in alphabetical order) Nathan Hill, Harunaga Isaacson, Berthe Jansen, Seishi Karashima, Charles Ramble, Akira Saitō, Lambert Schmithausen, Johannes Schneider, and Peter Verhagen, all of whom I thank, and none of whom are responsible for errors. Proper translations of the examples cited below would require careful study of the source texts, which I have not undertaken. Therefore, it is virtually certain that refinements in the translations will be required.

² Explaining such elements is, to be sure, not the main function of the *Wörterbuch*. As Helga Uebach wrote in the first fascicule, p. xiv: “Partikeln im Sinne grammatischer Funktionswörter, Partikeln zur Wortbildung u. dgl. finden ohne Belegstellenkontext Erwähnung.”

³ In Btsan lha Ngag dbang tshul khrims 1997: 7, s.v. *ko*, we read: “*ko: ni sgra dang mtshungs pa’i phrad cig ste | brda yig blo gsal mgrin rgyan las | ko ni tshig phrad ni zhes pa’i brda rnying.*” The definition seems to be cited here from a work of the Alashan Mongol scholar Ngag dbang bstan dar (1759–ca. 1840), alias Bstan dar lha rams pa, his *Gangs can gyi brda’ gsar rnying las brtsams pa’i brda’ yig blo gsal*

statement, offered in discussing a short passage from the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* (PT 1287, l. 208) translated from the Chinese *Shiji* 史記, reads as follows (here and below I transcribe all Tibetan in the so-called Wylie system):

As for a clever man (Myi 'dzangs-pa go): This clause has not been correctly understood by previous scholars, who have understood *go* to be the stem of the verb *go-ba*, “to understand.” In the present context that is impossible both from the point of view of grammar and from that of content. Here *go* must be a variant of the grammatical particle *ko*, a topic marker similar to *ni*. The entire clause thus means “as for a clever man,” which corresponds well to the expression found in the Chinese version [夫賢士之處世也]. One problem which remains is the phonetic identification of *go* and *ko*. In old Tibetan texts the mixing up of the aspirated and unaspirated voiceless stops and affricates is very common. While the interchange of voiced and voiceless stops is much less common, some instances do exist. ... Therefore, it is possible that in the present instant *go* and *ko* have been interchanged.

While it is not my goal here to address the question whether *go* is indeed a variant of *ko*, or vice-versa (though the more one reads a variety of Tibetan texts the more one's tolerance for spelling variation grows), we will see that there are advantages to treating the two together, at least provisionally.⁴ Be that as it may, the function of *go* in which I am here most interested appears not to be—or at least not to be entirely—covered by Takeuchi's discussion or that in the *Wörterbuch*, since the specific usage upon which I will focus most of my attention is that of verb + *na go* (which also appears as *na ko*, suggesting that the two are indeed equivalent, at least to many scribes). Whether verb + *na go* is to be considered a sub-case of the syntax of *go* in general is a question best left to linguists.

mgrin rgyan. Leonard van der Kuijp, however, writes to me that he has not found the reference to Bstan dar Lha rams pa's text in *Bstan dar lha rams pa'i gsung 'bum*, ed. Ser gtsug nang bstan dpe rnying 'tshol bsdu phyogs sgrig khang (Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 2008), 622–679. But van der Kuijp further informs me of Rnam rgyal tshe ring's *Bod yig brda rnying tshig mdzod* (Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2001): 8, where, s.v. *ko*, we find *ni sgra'i 'jug tshal dang 'dra ba'i phrad cig*.

⁴ As Charles Ramble suggests to me, it is possible that there are phonological reasons for the difference after consonants, such that *k* follows *-d* and *-s*, and *g* follows *-g* and *-n*, but both forms appear after *na*.

To begin with the statements above, it is important to note at the outset that the central usage discussed below is connected not with pronouns or nouns, but with grammatical morphemes, and, as far as I see now, is limited to placement following the ‘case particle’ *na*. Another usage sees *ko/go* following directly after a verb, which however is not remarked upon in the *Wörterbuch*. I say that reference to the case of verb + *na go* is ‘not entirely’ covered since the *Wörterbuch* does cite one example of this usage, from the *Mahārājakanīṣkalakha*, discussed below.⁵

I begin by introducing the passages that initially drew my attention to the construction verb + *na go*, two examples found in a Buddhist treatise, the *Vimśikā* of Vasubandhu and its auto-commentary, which I have recently edited in both Sanskrit and Tibetan. In this text one example occurs in verse, another in prose. The first reads:

- [1] *gal te de yi las kyis der* ||
'byung ba dag ni 'byung ba dang ||
de bzhin 'gyur bar 'dod na go ||
rnam par shes par cis mi 'dod || [6]

This corresponds to the following (my translation is from the Sanskrit):

yadi tatkarmabhis tatra bhūtānāṃ sambhavas tathā |
iṣyate pariṇāmaś ca kiṃ vijñānasya neṣyate ||

If you accept that gross material elements arise there
in this fashion through the karmic deeds of those [beings],
and [you accept their] transformation,
why do you not accept [the transformation] of cognition?

It is obvious here that *gal te ... 'dod na go* corresponds to the Sanskrit *yadi ... iṣyate*.⁶ The second passage reads (in my numbering XV [H]):

⁵ I should note quite clearly that as a specialist in Indian Buddhist literature I mine Tibetan translations of Indic texts, rather than grazing in the fields of pure Tibetan. I leave it to my proper Tibetanist colleagues to offer observations on the grammar of “real Tibetan.” In addition, I have avoided referring to tantric literature, even as translated from Sanskrit, because I do not understand it well enough to cite it with confidence. There do appear, however, to be a number of probably relevant examples in this corpus.

⁶ In the version of the verse embedded in the Tibetan translation of the commentary, we find instead of the verb ‘*dod* rather ‘*dug*; I do not understand this well.

- [2] *gal te mtshan nyid tha dad pa nyid kyis rdzas gzhan kho nar rtog gi
gzhan du ma yin na go | chu'i skye bo phra mo rnams kyang chen
po dag dang gzugs mtshungs pas mig gis mi sod par mi 'gyur ro | |*

This corresponds to the following (my translation of the Sanskrit):

*sūkṣmāṇāṅ codakajantūnāṅ sthūlaiḥ samānarūpāṅām anīkṣaṇām
na syāt | yadi la(kṣaṇabhe)dād eva dravyāntaratvaṅ kalpyate ,
nānyathā.*

And, if you were to imagine [the two] to have a difference in substance purely because of a distinction in characteristic feature, not otherwise, microscopic aquatic creatures, having forms like macroscopic [creatures], would not be invisible.

What drew my attention to these passages is the grammatical function of *go*, which was unclear to me.⁷ Most of the examples I know of the construction verb + *na go* are, in fact, in verse. Nevertheless, the appearance in the *Vimśikā* in prose does prove—as will further examples cited below—that *go* is not to be accounted for as a metrical filler or other artifact of the verse form, despite its seeming predominance in verse.

Continuing, then, with our review of previous scholarship, the above mentioned passage from the *Mahārajakanīṣkalekha* (ed. and trans. Hahn 1999: 40–41, verse 69), for which we have no extant Sanskrit, reads as follows:

- [3] *sngon chad bgyis pa'i sug las kyis | |
'di ltar 'ben du gyur pa la | |
khyod nyid gnod pa mdzad na go | |
su la skyabs su mchi ba gsungs | |*

When even someone in your position harms those
who have become a target
because of deeds committed in the past,
tell me, in whom will they take refuge?

Hahn comments (1999: 234) that *go* is an “emphatic particle, used after pronouns and case particles.” In his translation, however, it would appear that Hahn made no effort to express any emphasis added to the verbal expression (his “even” seems to represent the

⁷ When the sub-commentary of Vinītadeva to the *Vimśikā* quotes the expression from the prose (Derge 4065, *sems tsam, shi*, 189b1), it does not help in this regard: *gzhan du ni ma yin na go zhes bya ba la 'dis ni yul tha dad pa la sogs pa ston to.*

nyid of *khyod nyid*).

Although *ko* has been noted as an emphatic particle (better: grammatical morpheme) at least since the grammar of Bacot (1948: 13), for whom it is a “Particule emphatique du pronom démonstratif,” *go* has not fared so well. To my knowledge, however, at least one earlier scholar has noticed the peculiar usage of *go*, that being David Roy Shackleton Bailey. In his edition and study of the *Śatapañcāśatka* of Māṛṇceṭa we find (1951: verse 106):

[4] *phan 'dogs bgyid slad pha ma dag* | |
 gal te bla mar 'tshal na go | |
 khyod ni lhag par phan 'dogs pas | |
 bla ma ñid gyur smos ci 'tshal | |

gurutvam upakāritvān mātāpitror yadīṣyate |
kedānīm astu gurutā tvayy atyantopakāriṇi | |

Shackleton Bailey translates (from the Sanskrit):

If father and mother are acknowledged to be venerable because they are benefactors, what dignity should then be yours whose beneficence has no limit?

Here again *gal te ... 'tshal na go* translates *yadīṣyate*. In his remarks on an earlier occurrence of *go*, after the word *kyis* in verse 6 of the same text, Shackleton Bailey noted (1951: 153, to 6c) that “*go* (or *ko*) seems to be a particle unknown to dictionaries. Usually, as here, it introduces a question: cp. vv. 106, 136, 139 of this poem.” Stanza 106 I have just cited above. In 136d we find [5] *de la lan go ci zhig lon*, corresponding to Sanskrit *tava kā tasya niṣkṛtiḥ*, translated by Shackleton Bailey “how should there be any requital thereof?” In 139d we find [6] *gzhan go ci zhig mchis lags kye*, corresponding, as Shackleton Bailey specifically notes (1951: 140n7), to *kim anyat karaṇīyam bhavet*, words which do not appear in this order in the verse. In his note to verse 6, Shackleton Bailey went on to refer briefly to a number of other examples, which I cite more fully than did he.

To begin, in the *Lalitavistara* we find a verse which reads:⁸

[7] *'di yi zhal ni mthong mod kyi* | |
 spyi gtsug 'phags pa bltar mi snang | |
 yi ge'i shes rab mthar phyin na | |

⁸ X.8; Foucaux 1847: 114.9–11; Derge Kanjur 95, *mdo sde, kha* 67a3–4; Hokazono 1995: 528; my translation from Tibetan.

bdag gis 'di go ji ltar bslab | |

vaktraṁ cāśya na paśyāmi mūrdhānaṁ tasya naiva ca |
śikṣayiṣye katharṁ hy enaṁ lipiprajñāya pāraḡarṁ | |

Although one may see his face,⁹
the crown of his head is so noble that it is invisible.
Given that he has attained ultimate knowledge of scripts,
how could I instruct [such a one as] this?

Here line d of the Tibetan corresponds to c of the Sanskrit. One could argue—although Shackelton Bailey does not—that *go* is here meant to represent *hi*. If so, however, this is not a widespread phenomenon, despite the ubiquity of the Sanskrit particle; the absence of parallel examples may thus allow us to conclude with confidence that *go* is not to be equated with *hi*, or for that matter, with any specific Sanskrit term.¹⁰

Shackelton Bailey continued with an example from the Mūla-sarvastivāda Vinaya, in which we find the following sentence in prose: [8] *bdag ... rang gi bsod nams kyi 'bras bu la gnas pa go ci'i phyir sbyin pa dag mi gtang*, to which corresponds in the Nagarāvā-lambikāvādāna of the *Dīvyāvādāna: aham ... svapūṇyaphale vyavasthitaḥ kasmād dānāni na dadāmi*.¹¹ Also from the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* of the same Vinaya, we find another verse:¹²

[9] *gal te kun na chu yod na | |*
khron pa'i chus ko ci zhig bya | |
'dir ni sred pa'i rtsa bcad nas | |
gang shig yongs su brtsal bar spyod | |

If there is water everywhere,
what need is there for water from a well?

⁹ Note that the Sanskrit text is negated: one does *not* see his face.

¹⁰ An additional consideration: in Sanskrit *hi* evidently links with *katham* (*ji ltar*), which we might understand as something like 'how on earth' (of course not!). However, it is not clear that in Tibetan *go* should be taken as most closely bound with *ji ltar*, rather than with 'di. If *go* should be attached to *ji ltar* we might understand something like "how could I possibly instruct".

¹¹ *Derge Kanjur 1, 'dul ba, kha, 164b7; Cowell and Neil 1886: 83.17.*

¹² *Derge Kanjur 1, 'dul ba, kha, 133b7–134a1; Yao 2013: 101, 254; my translation.* This example of Shackleton Bailey must have been known to Hahn 1996: 38, who quotes the half verse (without any reference), following the statement: "ko und go werden gelegentlich auch nach Nomina, nach Kasus- und Gerundialpartikeln in leicht verstärkender Funktion ... gebraucht, wobei nich selten auf ko bzw. go ein Fragesatz folgt." The same is cited in the *Wörterbuch* (Maurer et al. 2005–: 113: ko²), with reference to its source in the Kanjur.

Having cut off the roots of thirst/desire,¹³
for what should one proceed [further] to search?

It is interesting to note that ‘the same’ verse appears elsewhere, articulated, however, slightly differently. Indeed, about 100 pages earlier in the same Vinaya text we find (Derge Kanjur 1, ‘dul ba, kha, 29a3–4):

[9a] gal te kun na chu yod na ||
khron pa’i chus ni ci zhig bya ||
sred pa’i rtsa ba bcad nas ni ||
su zhig spyod pa tshol bar byed ||

Here in place of *ko* we find *ni*. This verse is, moreover, found in a number of other places, including in the *Udānavarga* (Zongtse and Dietz 1990: XVII.9), where it takes on yet another form:

[9b] ‘di ltar kun na chu yod pas ||
su zhig tshol zhing rgyu byed de ||
khron pa’i chu lta ci zhig dgos ||
sred pa rtsa nas gcad par gyis ||

It might be that the use of *lta* here corresponds to the hypothesis of Hahn (1994: 290) that *lta* occurs in interrogative sentences, adding “a shadow of indefiniteness” to the preceding noun, to which it belongs: “something like water from a well.” Much less likely is that we should take *lta ci* as a unit conveying something like: ‘there is no need to mention,’ argued against both on grounds of parallelism with other versions of the line and in terms of stress, since it is the first element of a combination which should take stress, and here we have *khron pa’i chú lta cí zhig dgos*.

We should note that there are variants in the Sanskrit versions of this verse as well (see Hiraoka 2007: 132–133),¹⁴ but in the *Udānavarga* we read (Bernhard 1965):

kiṃ kuryād udapānena yatrāpaḥ sarvato bhavet |
tṛṣṇāyā mūlam uddhṛtya kasya paryeṣaṇām caret ||

Another prose passage cited by Shackleton Bailey appears in the

¹³ There is an evident pun on **tṛṣṇā*; I thank Berthe Jansen for pointing this out to me.

¹⁴ The variations are no doubt also in part due to differences in sectarian transmissions of the verse (or verse complex); this makes comparison between different instances difficult.

Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, where [10] 'bar ba 'di lta go ci zhig ces renders *kim etad ādīptam nāmeti*.¹⁵ It is possible here too that *lta* has some indefinite meaning, and much less likely that *go* has been imposed within the otherwise bound expression *lta ci*.

Finally, Shackleton Bailey refers to a verse in the *Lalitavistara* which, he acknowledges, has—despite his suggestion that *go* “usually ... introduces a question”—no following question.¹⁶

[11] 'di ni mngon par byung bar gyur na go | |
 rgyal po'i pho brang 'di kun nyams mi dga' | |
 rgyal po'i rigs rgyud yun ring gnas pa yang | |
 rgyal po'i rigs dang rgyud ni chad par 'gyur | |

etasya nirgatasya rājakulaṃ sarvīmāṃ nirabhīramyam |
ucchinnaś ca bhavēyā pāṛthivavāṃśāś ciranubaddhaḥ

If [the prince, Siddhārtha] were to depart,
 all of this royal house would be distressed.
 The royal lineage, although it has lasted long,
 the family and line of the king would be cut off.

We encounter here again the combination in which we are interested, verb + *na go*. At least one way of reading it here is as a strongly undesired circumstance: if—heaven forbid!—[the prince] were actually to leave [the palace]

We began with a look at several attempts to categorize *ko/go*, which share the claim that these grammatical morphemes (or this grammatical morpheme, if we accept that the two forms are realizations of the same underlying form) follow pronouns or nouns, case particles, or introduce a question. Examples of such usages can certainly be found, for example in the translation of Āryadeva's *Catuhśataka*, even examples in which *ko* both follows a pronoun and introduces a question.¹⁷

[12] khyod la gus bzhin rtag par ni | |
 mo dang lhan cig phrad pa med | |
 'di nga'i gzhan gyi ma yin zhes | |

¹⁵ Derge Kanjur 113, *mdo sde, ja* 29b7; Kern and Nanjio 1908–1912: 73.10.

¹⁶ XV.20; Foucaux 1847: 178.9–11; Derge Kanjur 95, *mdo sde, kha* 100b5–6, Lefmann 1902: 202.7–8; my translation from Tibetan. It is a bit artificial to quote this verse cut out of its narrative context, but since my focus here is on *na go* rather than the overall logic or poetics of the *Lalitavistara*, this seems permissible.

¹⁷ ed. and trans. Lang 1986: III.11, pp. 40 (my trans.); V.23, pp. 62–63.

yongs 'dzin 'di ko ci zhig yin | |¹⁸

You cannot have sex with a woman constantly, no matter how much she admires you. [Still you] say: 'She is mine; she is not someone else's'—what need is there of this possessiveness?

- [13] *gang la kun tshe sems dbang ni* | |
nyid las skye ba yod gyur pa | |
de ko rgyu cis 'jig rten ni | |
kun gyi mnga' bdag 'gyur ma yin | |

Why shouldn't a certain [bodhisattva], who always is born precisely because of his control over mind, become a ruler of the entire world?

Two further examples from the same text also connect *ko/go* with a question, although in the second case not directly:¹⁹

- [14] *skye ba dran pa yod pa'i phyir* | |
gal te khyod kyi bdag rtag na | |
sngon byas pa yi rma mthong nas | |
khyod kyi lus ko cis mi rtag | |²⁰

If you [claim that] the self is permanent because of the memory of [its past] births, why do you [claim that] the body is impermanent, having seen a wound previously incurred?

- [15] *mi rtag nyid gar stobs chung der* | |
gnas pa stobs chung ma yin na | |
phyi nas de dag nges par go | |
bzlog par ci yis mthong bar 'gyur | |

¹⁸ According to Lang 1986: 40n, CD read *ko* while NP read *go* here. The translation of Lang 1986: 41 reads: "You cannot have sexual intercourse constantly [day and night] in accordance with your fondness [for sensual pleasure]. To say 'She is mine; she is not someone else's'—what is the use of this possessiveness?" For a translation of the commentary see Ueda 1994: 45. I am not sure I have understood the verse correctly.

¹⁹ ed. and trans. Lang 1986: X.7, pp. 96 (my trans.); XI.21, pp. 108–109.

²⁰ According to Lang 1986: 96n, CD read *lus ko* while NP read *bdag go* here. Lang 1986: 97 translates: "If you [claim that] the self is permanent because of the memory of [its past] births, [we reply:] How can you [claim that] the body is impermanent when you see a scar previously incurred?"

In that case when impermanence is instable, if duration were stable, how would these two later be seen to reverse [their positions]?

The grammatical morpheme *ko/go* also appears in this text following a case particle:²¹

[16] *las ni 'bad pas byed 'gyur zhing | |*
byas zin 'bad pa med par 'jig | |
*de ltar gyur kyang khyod la go | |*²²
las la chags bral 'ga' yod min | |

yatnataḥ kriyate karma kṛtam naśyaty ayatnataḥ |
virāgo 'sti na te kaścid evaṃ saty api karmaṇi | |

Action is undertaken with effort; the result is destroyed effortlessly. Even though this is true, you haven't any aversion to action!

In this last case, at least according to the Tibetan it might be better to understand: 'For *you* there is not the slightest aversion to action.'

While all of this, then, seems relatively straight-ahead, even if it remains unclear just what *ko/go* contributes in each and every case, there is yet more to the story. Akira Saitō's careful edition and translation of Buddhapālita's *Mūlamadhyamakavṛtti* contains a number of examples of *ko* directly following a verb, *ko* in this case, according to Saitō (1984: xix), being an "ending particle for emphasis." However, there is something very interesting about the uses Saitō has collected (see Saitō 1989, 2013), namely, that they seem to be connected with a particular formulaic usage with metaphorical expressions. Saitō catalogued more than thirty of these, which almost without exception have the form *bshad pa | ci khyod ... 'am | khyod ... [verb] ko | |*. Thanks to the recent publication of fragments of a Sanskrit manuscript of Buddhapālita's text, it has been possible to identify the Sanskrit underlying this formula, namely: *ucyate | kim idaṃ ... [verb] | yas tvam ... [verb]*. For Saitō (2013: 1180):

The complex sentence is composed of both principal clause and subordinate one. Having a fixed form, i.e., *kim idaṃ bhavān ...*, the principal clause is an ironic interrogation directed to the opponent in which the interrogative

²¹ Ed. and trans. (of Skt.) Lang 1986: VII.12, pp. 72–73.

²² According to Lang 1986: 72n, CD read *ko* while NP read *go*.

particle “*kim*” is used as making a negative answer to be expected. The subordinate clause beginning with *yas tvam* ... shows the reason for the ironic question as expressed by the preceding principal clause.

Be this as it may—and I do not challenge Saitō’s understanding of the Sanskrit here—I do not think that this analysis correctly describes what is happening in the Tibetan translation. The first example in the text for which we have a corresponding Sanskrit version comes in the commentary to *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* II.14, as cited by Saitō:²³

[17] *smras pa | re zhig ma song ba yod do || bshad pa | ci khyod
bu ma btsas par 'chi ba'i mya ngan byed dam | khyod song ba
med par ma song ba la rtog go |*²⁴

*āha | kim idaṃ bhavān ajātaputramaraṇāt saṃtapyate | yas
tvam asati gate agatāṃ kalpayasi |*

Saitō’s translation from Sanskrit reads (2013: 1173):

[The opponent] objects: First, there exists that which has not yet been gone over (*agata*).
[Buddhapālita] answers: Are you now suffering from the death [of your son] though he has not yet been born because you imagine ‘that which has not yet been gone over, i.e., traversed’ when there does not exist ‘that which has already been gone over’ (*gata*)?

Saitō’s translation from Tibetan, however, understands the text as follows (1984: I.41):

Objection: There certainly exists that which has not yet been gone over.
Answer: Although you have not begotten a son, are you distressed about his death? You are imagining that which has not yet been gone over, though that which has already been gone over does not exist.

I believe that the latter translation—which might benefit from an exclamation point at the very end—captures the required sense, at least of the Tibetan text. In fact, most of Buddhapālita’s examples are

²³ Saitō refers to D *tsa* 171b5; P *tsa* 193b2–3.

²⁴ Saitō 1984: II.41; 2013: 1173–1174. Saitō (1984: xx) has observed that it is likely that this *go* should be *ko*, but that it is influenced by the preceding *rtog*.

quite colorful and memorable; they are clearly intended as powerful rhetorical flourishes, and the final emphasis is an added ironic push showing the unreasonableness of the opponent's position. Although many nice examples could be cited, I limit myself to one further instance:²⁵

[18] *smras pa | phrad pa med kyang sla ste re zhig gcig pa nyid kyi
snga rol na gzhan du 'gyur ba'i dngos po gang yin pa de ni
phrad pa po ste re zhig yod do || bshad pa | ci khyod ma ning
la phrag dog za 'am | khyod phrad pa med par phrad pa po yod
pa nyid du 'dod ko ||*

Objection: Even if those which have already combined do not exist, it does not matter. Those things which have been different before they become identical are “combiners”, and they certainly exist.

Answer: Do you envy an eunuch? Although there is no combination, you regard a combiner as existent.

Saitō's translation chooses one aspect of the vocabulary here, the philosophical, although he obviously also understood that the text is being more than a bit sarcastic. The reference to 'combination' is to be understood in the example (also) as sexual combination, playing on the wide semantic range of **samyoga*. Buddhapālita is saying to the opponent: A eunuch can't have sex, but you maintain that there is someone having sex without having sex! The point grammatically stressed here, and in all of Buddhapālita's examples, as far as I can see, is that the opponent is confronted with a statement: you (*khyod/ tvam*) maintain / assert / hold a completely ridiculous and untenable view! The mark of exclamation is the final *ko*. It is important to note, however, that—again, as far as I have seen—this construction seems to appear *only* in this particular text, something which, if correct, certainly requires explanation.

The formula noted by Saitō is of interest to us from a grammatical point of view among other things for the fact that *ko/go* directly follows a verb, rather than a pronoun or case particle, for instance, thus broadening the range of application of this 'emphatic' grammatical morpheme. In addition to the examples collected above by previous scholars, however, who were almost exclusively interested in *ko/go* alone, focusing on the formula verb + *na go* I have been able to locate a number of examples of what seems to me to be a previously unnoticed pattern. Numerically speaking most examples

²⁵ Saitō 1984: 196; 2013: 1178; D 223b5–6; P 253a4, ad MMK XIV.8.

are in verse, but some appear in prose as well.

Our first example is found in the *Prajñādaṇḍa* (Hahn 2011: verse 201):

- [19] *sbyin dang spyod pas stong pa yi* | |
nor des nor bdag yin na go | |
nor de nyid kyis bdag kyang ni | |
nor gyi bdag po cis ma yin | |

Hahn translates:²⁶

If it is true that one can be rich through wealth
that is neither donated nor enjoyed,
why do we not become extremely rich
by not donating wealth we do not have?

The Tibetan text may be difficult to fully understand on its own terms,²⁷ but we do notice that *na go* appears to emphasize the condition: “If one is a rich person” In fact, this seems to be a more wide-spread pattern. In the *Udānavarga* (XIV.7 = Skt. XIV.7ab, XIV.6ef; my translation from Tibetan), again, we find:

- [20] *mkhas pas brtags shing gsungs pa'i tshig* | |
spyod yul ston par byed pa yi | |
chos 'di rnam par shes na go | |
khyed cag ci phyir byed mi 'gyur | |

paṇḍitabhā parāmrṣṭā vāg yā gocarabhāṣiṇī |
yuṣmākaṃ nu kathāṃ na syād imaṃ dharmāṃ vijānatām | |

While words investigated and spoken by a wise person
are taught as the domain of practice,
if you [really] know this teaching,
why don't you actualize [lit. do] it?

In the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* VIII.54, we have (Bhattacharya 1960; my translation from Tibetan):

²⁶ Hahn 2007: 206: “Falls es möglichen wäre, reich zu werden durch Besitz, / den man weder durch Genießen / noch durch Geben nutzt, / warum werden wir dann nicht durch diesen Reichtum / ebenso Besitzer großen Reichtums?”

²⁷ Hahn points to the Sanskrit original as: *dānopabhogaśūnyena dhanena dhanino yadi* | *bhavamah kiṃ na tenaiva dhanena dhanino vāyam* | |. The relation between this and the Tibetan, however, is not completely clear to me.

- [21] *bdag ni sha 'di la dga' zhes* | |
reg dang blta bar 'dod na ko | |
sems med pa yi rang bzhin gyi | |
sha ni khyod ko ji ltar 'dod | |

māmsapriyo 'ham asyeti draṣṭum spraṣṭum ca vāñchasi |
acetanam svabhāvena māmsam tvam katham icchasi | |

If, thinking 'I enjoy this flesh',
 you [really] desire to touch it and gaze upon it,
 how is it that you can possibly desire flesh,
 which by its nature is free of consciousness?

We notice in this verse the use of *ko* in *d* as well, which I have understood with the following question word. Here, as in other instances, I think that it is likely that the *na go* after the verb suggests something akin to 'really', emphasizing the pregnancy of the verbal notion. In the present case, this implies that one does not merely desire, but deeply and ardently desires. However, this cannot be everywhere the case. In the *Suvarṇavarṇāvadāna* we find:²⁸

- [22] *bde ba kun dang rnam bral ba* | |
shin tu mi sdug gyur pa 'di | |
dman pa ci tsam mthong na go | |
sems ldan snying rje cis mi skye | |

imam atyantavirasam sarvasaukhyavivarjitam |
dinam yācantam alokya kṛpotpannā na cetasi | |

If you merely see this poor one,
 deprived of all happiness,
 in extreme suffering,
 being mindful, how can compassion not arise?

Here it is possible that the notion the translator attempted to convey is that mere seeing should be enough to motivate compassion. But that idea is conveyed already by *ci tsam*, I think. The exact force of *na go*, then, remains unclear to me.

Sometimes it seems that indeed it is, however, the conditionality (that is, the force of *na*, rather than the force of the verbal root) that is being emphasized. We have already seen several examples of verb +

²⁸ §89.2; Rajapatirana 1974: 87; Derge Tanjur 4144, 'dul ba, su 209b4–5; my translation from Tibetan.

na go from the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya. In the *Kauśāmbakavastu* of that same collection, we read:²⁹

- [23] *tshig mi mthun la phyogs nyams*³⁰ *yangs* | |
'di gtso min zhes sems byed pa | |
dge 'dun dbye bar 'gyur na go | |
mthu chung cung zad cis mi bsam | |

*prthakchabdās samajavā nedarī śreṣṭham iti manyatām** <| >
*sanghe hi bhidyamāne hi nābalaṁ kiñci manyatām** <| | >

If, being lenient in the face of disagreement,
 thinking 'this is not the most import point,'
 there would be [the danger of] a split in the monastic
 community
 how could one not consider the matter a mere trifle?

As illustrated above, sometimes a verse appears in several forms, only one of which might exhibit the pattern in which we are interested. In Kamalāsīla's *Bhāvanākrama* I, we find a citation of the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* II.175:³¹

- [24] *blo yis rnam par gzhigs na go* | |
ngo bo nyid ni gzung du med | |
de phyir de dag brjod med cing | |
ngo bo nyid kyang med par bshad | |

buddhyā vivecyamānānāṁ svabhāvo nāvadhāryate |
tasmād anabhilāpyās te niḥsvabhāvāś ca deśitāḥ | |

If/when [= whenever?] the mind examines [things],

²⁹ Derge Kanjur 1, 'dul ba ga 128b6, Clarke 2014: 282v5 = Dutt 1939–1959: III/2, 182.13–14; my translation is from Tibetan; I thank Berthe Jansen for her remarks. There are a number of versions of this verse, for instance in the *Udānavarga* XIV.5; see Dietz 1998: 10. The Sanskrit is quite hard to understand in the form found in the Vinaya manuscript. At the very least, in the Sanskrit the repetition of *hi* is not good, but a glance at the parallels (cited by Dietz 1998: 10) demonstrates that what must have been a locative in °*amhi* or something similar became °*e hi*; this same observation is offered mutatis mutandis by Bernhard 1965: 208n3. My interpretation of this Tibetan text differs from that of Dietz (1998: 10n8): "Having distinct words but similar intentions—one should not consider this to be good! But when a community is being split, one should not consider anything minor."

³⁰ Both Derge and Peking (1030, 'dul ba, nge 124a4) read *nyams*, but I wonder whether the Sanskrit *sama*° could not suggest *mnyam*.

³¹ Derge Tanjur 3915, *dbu ma, ki* 30b2; Skt. in Nanjio 1923: 116.9–11; my translation from Tibetan.

their intrinsic nature is beyond its grasp;
therefore, we teach that those [things] too,
being inexpressible, lack intrinsic nature.

In the *sūtra* itself, however, we find this verse as follows (Derge Kanjur 106, *mdo sde*, ca 101b3):

[24a] *blo yis rnam par gzhiḡs na yang* | |
gang phyir rang bzhin mi rig ste | |
de phyir de dag brjod du med | |
ngo bo nyid kyang med par bstan | |

When the same verse is quoted elsewhere (*Vṛtti ad Madhyamakā-lanīkāra* 61; Ichigō 1985: 174), moreover, we find further variation:

[24b] *blo yis rnam par gzhiḡs na ni* | |
ngo bo nyid ni gzung du med | |
de phyir de dag brjod med dang | |
ngo bo nyid kyang med par bshad | |

The flexibility we see here exemplifies something of the indeterminacy of the application of the formula *na go*, since obviously not all translators or redactors felt the need to deploy it. We do not know enough about the fine-grained history of the translation and revision of Buddhist works in Tibet to know whether a given translator or revisor may have had before him a version with the *na go* formula which he then, perhaps, emended, or whether on the contrary the opposite process might have taken place, that is, the deployment of *na go* was felt preferable in a verse in which it was originally not found, or why such a change might have been motivated in either direction. However, to be sure, the almost literal parallelism between verses such as those cited in [24] suggest—if they do not indeed prove—that one or the other of these processes must have taken place.

Returning to the question of *ko/go*, another verse is found in the *Catuhśataka*.³²

[25] *gang gi phyogs 'ga' rgyu yin zhiḡ* | |
phyogs 'ga' rgyu ma yin des na | |
de ni sna tshogs 'gyur na go | |³³
sna tshogs rtag par mi rigs so | |

³² verse IX.12; D 3865 *dbu ma, ya* 152a7; ed. and trans. Lang 1986: 90–91.

³³ According to Lang (1986: 90n), CD read *ko* and NP *go*.

An [atom] that has some part which is a cause and some part which is not a cause would be, consequently, a manifold (*citra*) [atom]. It is not possible for a manifold thing to be permanent.

The editor Lang apparently understood *na go* to have no special force here. However, it may be that we should understand it as emphasizing conditionality, and translate something closer to: “If [you would maintain that an atom] that has some part (side) which is a cause and some part (side) which is not a cause would be, consequently, manifold, [we would reply that] it is not reasonable to hold that a manifold thing is permanent.”³⁴

What may be a similar example is found in the *Madhyamakā-lanīkāra*, in which verse 31 (ed. and trans. Ichigo 1989: 200–201) reads:

[26] *ri mo'i gzhi rnams mthong ba'i tsho* | |
de la de bzhin sems mang po | |
ci ste cig ca'i tshul gyis su | |
'byung bar 'gyur bar 'dod na go | |

If (the author) agreed (with the opponent, i.e. the Sautrāntika who holds) that (many of the same kinds of perceptions) occur at the same time, then when you look at a multicolored carpet, (there would) occur at the same time as many perceptions (as there are colors in the colored carpet).

Here according to Ichigō's edition (1989: 200n6), in all editions the Tanjur version of the verse-only text reads *na ko*, while the version in which the verses are embedded in the commentary spells *na go*, demonstrating once again (as do, for instance, the variants cited by Lang for the *Catuhśataka*) the apparent near interchangeability of *ko* and *go*, at least in this sort of environment.

As a final verse example, in Prajñāvarman's commentary to Udbhaṭasiddhasvāmin's *Viśeṣastava* (verse 64A; ed. Schneider 1993: 250), we find him quoting the following:³⁵

³⁴ Vaidya (1923: 136) translated: “Si une partie (d'une chose) devient cause alors que l'autre ne le devient pas, alors les deux parties étant différentes elles resteront à deux places différentes ; comment la permanence pourrait-elle être raisonnable?”

³⁵ Trans. Schneider 1993: 251: “Wenn man (schon) dadurch im Himmel (wiedergeboren) wird, / daß man einen Blutsumpf geschaffen hat, / nachdem man Opferpfosten errichtet und Vieh getötet hat, / wodurch wird (man dann wohl) in der Höller (wiedergeboren)? (So) sprach (er).”

What is evidently the Sanskrit original behind this Tibetan is transmitted in

- [27] *mchod sdong btsugs te phyugs bsad nas* | |
khrag gi 'dam ni byas gyur pa | |
des kyang mtho ris 'gyur na go | |
dmyal bar gang gis 'gyur ba gsungs | |

If even one who cut a sacrificial post, killed cattle,
 and built [a shrine] with the bloody clay
 would go to heaven,
 tell me, then, by what [action] would one go to hell?

To round off our brief survey, it is important to note that the construction does appear also in prose, of which we saw one example at the outset in the *Vimśikāvṛtti*. Other instances, while not common, may be found for example in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*.³⁶ I refer to the following selective examples:³⁷

various forms, of which the closest may be that found in the *Syādvādamañjari* 65 of Malliṣena (cited by Bhattacharya 2011: 216): *yūpaṃ chitvā paśuṃ hatvā kṛtvā rudhirakardamam | yady evaṃ gamyate svarge narake kena gamyate* | |. In some versions of the *Pañcatantra* (III.107, cited by Speyer [1896: §223]) we find: *vṛkṣāṃś chittvā paśuṃ hatvā kṛtvā rudhirakardamam | yady evaṃ gamyate svargaṃ narakam kena gamyate* | |. The verse may be familiar to students since it appears also in Gonda's popular *Grammar* (§XVIII).

³⁶ It of course also appears elsewhere, and my quotations here too are selective (although random!). Just to give a hint, one might notice the *Tattoāvātārvṛtti* of Śṛigupta (D 3892, *dbu ma, ha* 40b5) where we find [28]: *'on te bden na go* | | (I believe this corresponds to a portion of verse 5 as numbered by Ejima [1980: 219]). In the *Śokavinodana* (D 4177, *spring yig, nge* 33a4) of unknown authorship we find [29]: *gzhan ni su yang min na go* | |. And in the *Pramāṇasamuccaya* (D 4203, *tshad ma, ce* 113a5–6) we have [30]: *chos yin par yang 'dod na go* | |.

It is worth mentioning here that some instances which may at first glance seem like they involve the construction verb + *na go* probably do not. A single example may suffice. The *Mahāyānapathasādhanaṅgraha* attributed to Atiśa (Sherburne 2000: 458–459, verse 57; Derge Tanjur 3954, *dbu ma, khi* 302b3; my translation) contains the following:

- [31] *shin tu bsdus na go mi 'gyur* | | *shin tu spros na gzhung mangs 'gyur* | |
blo dang ldan pas legs dpyad na | | *go ba'i ched du bdag gis gdams* | |

If [my presentation] were extremely condensed, there would be no understanding;

if I were prolix, the work would become [too] extensive.

If an intelligent person were to examine it well,

I expound it for the sake of his understanding.

Here the expression is evidently not verb + *na go* but verb + *na + go mi 'gyur*, the latter a compound verbal expression.

³⁷ This is repeated also in the *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā* (Derge Tanjur 4092, *mgon po, gu* 145a7 = Wogihara 1936: 158.8), as are many of the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* examples; I do not note these citations further. As one example from the

- [33] *gal te so so'i skye bo'i skal ba mnyam pa nyid ces bya ba'i rdzas
zhig yod na go so so'i skye bo nyid kyis ci zhig bya ste |*

*yadi prthagjanasabhāgatā nāma dravyam asti kiṃ punaḥ
prthagjanatvena* (Derge Tanjur 4090, *mgon po, ku* 74a6–7 =
Pradhan 1975: 67.25).

Here it seems to be a matter of a straight rendering of *yadi* with *gal te*
... *na go*.

- [34] *yang bdag po'i 'bras bu yang med na go ji ltar na 'dus ma byas
byed rgyu'i rgyu yin zhe na |*

athāsaty adhipatiphale katham asaṃskṛtam kāraṇahetuḥ (Derge
Tanjur 4090, *mgon po, ku* 93b3 = Pradhan 1975: 91.12–13).

In this case, we have a Sanskrit locative absolute *asaty adhipatiphale*
rendered with *na go*.

- [35] *gal te bsam gtan gnyis pa la sogs pa la brten nas nges pa la 'jug na
go ji ltar te |*

atha dvitīyādīdhyānasamniḥśrayeṇa niyāmāvakrāntau katham
(Derge Tanjur 4090, *mgon po, ku* 107a7 = Pradhan 1975:
108.21).

Here again we have a locative construction *niyāmāvakrāntau*.³⁸

- [36] *gal te yang rten cing 'brel par 'byung ba yan lag bcu gnyis kho
na yin na de lta na go | ma rig pa'i rgyu ma bstan pa'i phyir
'khor ba thog ma can du yang 'gyur la | rga shi'i 'bras bu ma
bstan pa'i phyir mtha' dang ldan par yang 'gyur ba'am |*

*yadi khalu dvādaśāṅga eva pratīyasamutpāda evaṃ saty
avidyāyā anupadiṣṭahetukatvād ādimān saṃsārah prāpnoti
jarāmaraṇasya cānupadiṣṭaphalatvād antavān* (Derge Tanjur

Abhidharmakośavyākhyā which does not repeat material from the root text, we
might cite (Derge Tanjur 4092, *mgon po, gu* 32b5–6 =Wogihara 1936: 37.7–10) [32]:
*gal te 'du shes yongs su gcod pa'i bdag nyid yin na go de dang mtsungs par ldan na
mtshan ma la 'dzin pas rnam par shes pa'i tshogs lnga rnam par rtog pa can du 'gyur ro
zhe na mi 'gyur te | rnam par shes pa lnga dang mtsungs par ldan pa'i 'du shes ni gsal
ba ma yin no ||*, translating *yadi paricchedātmikā samjñā tatsaṃprayoge nimittam
udgrhṇantī pañcāpi vijñānakāyā vikalpakāḥ syuḥ | na syuḥ | na hi pañcavijñāna-
saṃprayoginī samjñā paṭvī |*

³⁸ Prof. Schmithausen wonders whether here *go* should not be connected with *ji ltar*.

4090, *mgon po*, ku 126b2–3 = Pradhan 1975: 134.20–22).

Here we have a *yadi* construction, which is rendered however with plain *gal te ... na*, followed by a locative construction in which *evam sati* is rendered with *de lta na go*.

[37] *gal te de lta na go 'di la yang de bzhin du lam la snyoms par
zhugs pas rnam par rig byed ma yin pa med bzhin du gang zhig
thob pa'i phyir langs na yang log pa'i ngag la sogs pa dag la ni
mi 'jug la | yang dag pa'i ngag la sogs pa dag la ni 'jug par
'gyur ba de lta bu'i bsam pa dang lus thob par 'gyur te |*

*yady evam ihāpy evaṃ kiṃ na grhyate mārgasamāpanno vināpy
aviññāptyā tadrūpam āśayaṃ ca āśrayaṃ ca pratilabhate yasyāḥ
pratilambhād vyutthito 'pi na punar mithyāvāgādiṣu pravartate
samyagvāgādiṣu ca pravartate* (Derge Tanjur 4090, *mgon po*,
ku 171b3–4 = Pradhan 1975: 198.22–23).

In this example we have an apparent combination of these constructions, *yadi evam* being rendered with *gal te de lta na go*.

In some of the examples cited in this short survey, *na go* indicates an objection, but the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, for instance, as is typical for such polemical works, is full of objections, and only a very few examples are marked with the verb + *na go* construction. In contrast, it is worth noting that, to my knowledge, the *prasaṅgas* which pepper Madhyamaka texts—in which an opponent is challenged “if you believe ~, then [some unacceptable conclusion must follow]”—are never articulated with the verb + *na go* construction. This absence suggests that verb + *na go* was not—at least for most Tibetan translators or translation teams—the construction of choice for a strong conditional in which the speaker does not accept the condition, despite the way in which we might choose to understand a few of our examples. The same might be said, *mutatis mutandis*, of the usage of verb + *ko* found in Buddhapālita's work. In other words, a broader survey of the overall use of—and failure to make use of—verb + *na go*, and more generally speaking the use of *ko/go* broadly, does not allow us to draw general conclusions about the nuance intended to be conveyed, despite what isolated examples might—taken on their own—seem to suggest. Additionally, in this context it may not be otiose to note that I have searched for, but failed to find, any pattern of usage among Tibetan translators to whom particular translations are attributed (and which might then point to regional or dialectal usages). Especially when we recall the examples of closely parallel verses which, alongside the verb + *na go* construction, do not

deploy it, the question of why such constructions may appear remains without a clear answer.

A final rapid note may be added referring to the pair of grammatical morphemes remarked upon by Hahn (1994: 292–293) as ‘something really new,’ namely *ke/ge*. He was able to cite just two examples from the *Jātakamālā* of Āryaśūra and one from Harṣadeva’s *Nāgānanda*, in all three cases directly following a verb. According to Hahn (1994: 293), “the three examples clearly show that *ke/ge* is used to put emphasis on a question,” but he does not offer any comparative speculations with *ko/go*. Further investigation of possible relations between these pairs of morphemes—which at least *prima facie* appear rather similar—remains a task for the future.³⁹

To sum up, in the central usage we have examined here, *go* (or *ko*) is significantly found together with *na* used, with or without *gal te*, in the sense of ‘if’, the force of the *go* on the whole remaining, however, not easy—and indeed, often impossible—to determine. Context sometimes suggests that the translators might have wished to emphasize the strong provisional nature of a given situation, but this is very difficult to tease out, and there are many examples where this can hardly be the case. As is so very often the case, we must expect only that further research may yield further clues to help unravel the remaining obscurities.

‘Additional Note’ by Charles Ramble.

As far as I know, *ko/go* does not exist in Central Tibetan, but it does feature in the South Mustang Tibetan (SMT) dialect. In some constructions it is more like a definite article than anything else:

[38] *yak-go shi-a-nak* | *ta-go ma-shi-ak*; the yak died, [but] the horse didn’t die.

With possessive pronouns, however, the *go* would be closer to literary or Central Tibetan *ni*, or perhaps *de ni*:

[39] *khö yak-go shi-a-nak* | *ngi yak-go ma-shi-ak*: **his** yak died, [but]

³⁹ In a perhaps related fashion, Peter Verhagen shares with me the following speculation: “in some form or manner this *na go* particle cluster is related to *kho na*. I am not saying it is a simple inversion without change of semantics and function. It seems likely (to me anyway; Hahn has argued the same) that the *-ko/-go* particle historically can be traced to the pronoun *kho* (‘he/she/it’), and this pronoun is obviously also the basis for the composite particle / adverb (?) *kho na*, ‘only, merely’.”

my yak didn't die.

As for verb + *na go*, is it possible that there is a difference in affect between this and verb + *na ni*? In Tibetan, the protasis of conditional clauses usually ends with *na*. SMT, however, frequently adds another particle after the *na*: *ka* or *tak*, which indicate respectively whether the apodosis – the outcome if the condition is fulfilled – would be a good or a bad thing.

[40] verb + *na ka* = the thing that would happen is good

[41] verb + *na tak* = the thing that would happen is bad

It seems to me that in all the examples of verb + *na go* cited above, the apodosis *either* contains a negative of some sort, *or*, if it does not, something bad would have happened (e.g., one would have gone to hell). In several examples the *na go* is followed by a rhetorical question, but in these cases I get the impression that expected answer to the question is pessimistic or disapproving.

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