


A Yak, Na rak and Potalaka: Folios of the So-Called “*Gyalpo Kachem*” in US Museum Collections

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his article presents the results of an investigation into manuscript exemplars of some important early Tibetan literary traditions, among others the famous *Maṇi bka' 'bum*. This multi-volume treasure (*gter ma*) work includes the biography of Emperor Khri srong brtsan (d. 649), also known as Srong btsan sgam po.¹ In addition, the *Maṇi bka' 'bum* contains rituals and advice devised by the ruler, and so it is traditionally split into three parts, the *sūtra* (*mdo skor*), *sāadhanā* (*sgrub skor*), and advice sections (*zhal gdams*). The advice section, attributed to the revelation of Nyang ral Nyi ma 'od zer (1124–1192), includes instructions for Avalokiteśvara-based practices taught by that deity's worldly emanation (*sprul pa*), Srong btsan sgam po himself.² Nyang ral plays a role later on in our article and had a special devotion to Avalokiteśvara, the bodhisattva of compassion who was increasingly seen as the patron deity of Tibet.³ As a whole,

¹ On traditional Tibetan Buddhist histories and their depictions of Srong btsan sgam po, see most importantly the magisterial Sørensen 1994. Per Sørensen uses the Delhi two-volume edition the *Maṇi bka' 'bum* (1975), reproduced from a print of the no longer extant Spungs thang (Punakha) blocks. In this article, I have also incorporated the Sde dge xylograph edition (2000) into my analysis. However, many more exemplars of the *Maṇi bka' 'bum* could be incorporated into this comparative exercise in the future—for example those captured in the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project microfilms and especially the so-called “Royal Print,” on which see Ehrhard 2013.

² Matthew T. Kapstein's chapter on this *gter ma* master work offers an excellent introduction to its relation to Nyang ral (Kapstein 2000: 141–162). See Ehrhard 2000: 207 on the role that Grub thob Dngos grub played in the treasure-text revelation, according to later tradition. Bradford L. Phillips (2004) analyses the *Maṇi bka' 'bum*, and later *Maṇi bka' 'bum chen mo* by Gu ru Chos dbang, in relation to the *om maṇi padme hūṃ* chant's move from apotropaic *dhāraṇī* through tantric mantra to “post-tantric” prayer. His work is especially useful for linking the biography of Nyang ral himself with themes in the *Maṇi bka' 'bum* and other works attributed to him (on which see Doney 2014: 8–22 and Hirshberg 2016).

³ Phillips (2004: 196) claims that Nyang ral “prizes a simplified deity cult over even the most refined of esoteric contemplative techniques,” because “the links between the prophetic authority of the king, dissemination of the Dharma, the will of the

the *Maṇi bka' 'bum* was able to ride the crest of a growing wave of devotion to Avalokiteśvara,⁴ and in turn, cemented Tibet's unique relationship with this bodhisattva and his mantra *oṃ maṇi padme hūṃ* in the person of Srong btsan sgam po.

The life story and teachings of Srong btsan sgam po eventually became hugely popular in Tibet, including within the flourishing genre of historiography. As is well known, passages corresponding to parts of the *Maṇi bka' 'bum* can be found in the *Bka' chems ka khol ma* attributed to the revelation of Atiśa Dīpaṃkara Śrījñāna (982–1054), in the *Me tog snying po* and *Mes dbon gsum gyi rnam thar* (henceforth *MTN* and *MBNT*), both religious histories attributed to Nyang ral, the *Rgyal rabs gsal ba'i me long* (henceforth *GLR*) attributed to Bla ma dam pa Bsod nams rgyal mtshan (1312–1375), and the *Mkhas pa'i dga' ston* (henceforth *KGT*) attributed to Dpa' bo Gtsug lag phreng ba (1504–1566), among other works.⁵

Manuscript folios held in museums in Brooklyn, Newark, and Los Angeles also contain text corresponding to *inter alia* parts of the *Maṇi bka' 'bum*. They were kindly donated by the Zimmerman family at some point during the late 20th century.⁶ These have not been closely

deity, and the divinely ordained dominion are clearly established" in the *Maṇi bka' 'bum* (Phillips 2004: 204)

⁴ Sam van Schaik (2006) has shown that Avalokiteśvara practice was well under way in the 10th century, at least at the fringes of Tibetan cultural hegemony, and so "the composition of Avalokiteśvara material in the 11th and 12th centuries occurred in a culture in which Avalokiteśvara was already a significant presence at the popular level of Buddhist practice and devotion" (Ibid: 69).

⁵ See Davidson 2003 and Warner 2011 on the *Bka' chems ka khol ma*, which largely corresponds to the biographical portion of the *Maṇi bka' 'bum*. For reasons that will become clear below, the *Bka' chems ka khol ma* does not play any part in this article. The *magnum opus* religious history titled the *Me tog snying po* (*MTN*) narrates the history of the Dharma, from the teachings of the historical Buddha right up to Nyang ral's own times, including a long section on Srong btsan sgam po. I rely primarily on the manuscript published in 1985 by R.O. Meisezahl. The biographical anthology, *MBNT*, consists of three biographies devoted to Tibet's imperial Dharma-kings, Srong btsan sgam po, Khri srong lde btsan, and Khri gtsug lde btsan (Ral pa can; d. 841), and is only extant in one *dbu med* manuscript exemplar at present, published in 1980. The *GLR* is the history of which Sørensen (1994) made a study and translation. I use the 18th-century Sde dge xylograph edition, as he does (Sørensen 1994: 36–37). The *KGT* is also a monumental history of a similar size to the *MTN* but greater in scope, since it was composed in the 16th century and includes accounts of the major Tibetan Buddhist traditions up until that point in history. I shall draw data from section *ja*, published in 1962 by Lokesh Chandra as *Mkhas pa'i dga' ston*, Part 4.

⁶ Perhaps they were donated in the early 1980s, given the *sigla* "1984 84," "M.84" and "84" that begin the reference for each Newark, Los Angeles County Museum of Art (LACMA), and Brooklyn folio respectively (see below), and the fact that the LACMA folios were only included in the second edition of Pratapaditya Pal's catalog (Pal 1990), but not his first, which was published in 1983 (Pal 1983).

compared with the literary tradition on Srong btsan sgam po before, but have acquired the tentative title of “*Gyalpo Kachem*” folios (see below), suggesting that they were believed to form part of the treasure testament (*bka’ chems*) of this king (*rgyal po*). In this article, I shall problematize this ascription by identifying the text in those folios to which I have access with its closest correspondence among the Tibetan works mentioned above. I shall thereby show that one folio contains text from another tradition, that of the *Na rak dong sprugs* (“Churner of the Depths of Hell”), which does not have any obvious link with the *Maṇi bka’ ’bum* or a single “*Gyalpo Kachem*.” In conclusion, I shall indicate some intriguing links between the content of these folios and Nyang ral. These connections suggest that the folios were once part of an anthology of teachings, prayers, and narratives, much but not all of which is loosely focused on Avalokiteśvara and Srong btsan sgam po, but linked through traditional attribution of the original works in the anthology to this 12th-century treasure revealer.

1. *The Folios*

The beautifully illustrated folios that form the basis for this article were donated by Jack and Muriel Zimmerman to the Brooklyn and Newark Museums (figures 1 and 2) and the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (LACMA).⁷ These pages share striking similarities that suggest that they all come from the same manuscript, or at least were all created by the same group of scribes, artists and editors. Every folio is stained blue-black,⁸ and each page contains seven lines of text written on it in a gold-colored script, flanked by two illustrations. A label below each illustration identifies the figure, and above, a mantra; unfortunately, both are always only partially legible.⁹ The same holds true for the folio numbers usually visible but not wholly intelligible on the left-hand side of each *recto* page (for an example, see Fig. 2).

⁷ See the catalogs of Reynolds *et al.* (1986: 150n2) and Pal (1990: 268–270).

⁸ Probably using a mixture of animal brains, yak-hide glue, and soot, which is then burnished (see Canary 2014 on this technique).

⁹ The buddhas on the visible side of the Brooklyn Museum folio (Fig. 1) appear to be Vajraprabhā (Rdo rje’[i] ’o[d]) on the left and “gc(ag?) gi dkyil ’(o)d” on the right. The visible side of the pictured Newark Museum folio (Fig. 2) corresponds to what Reynolds *et al.* (1986: 149) call the “reverse” of folio 1984 84.396 B. The inscription beneath the buddha on the left seems to read: “...kyi...mtsho...” The Buddha Prabhāṣī (“Od ky[i] dpal) is identifiable on the right.

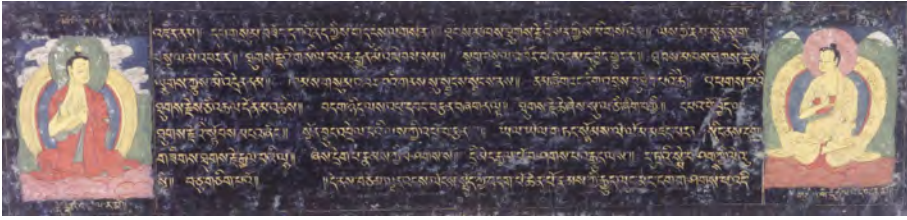


Fig. 1 — Folio from the so-called “Gyalpo Kachem”; Tibet; ink, color and gold on paper, h. 6 7/8 x 22 1/8 in. (17.5 x 55.6 cm); Brooklyn Museum, 84.207.1 verso; Gift of Jack and Muriel Zimmerman

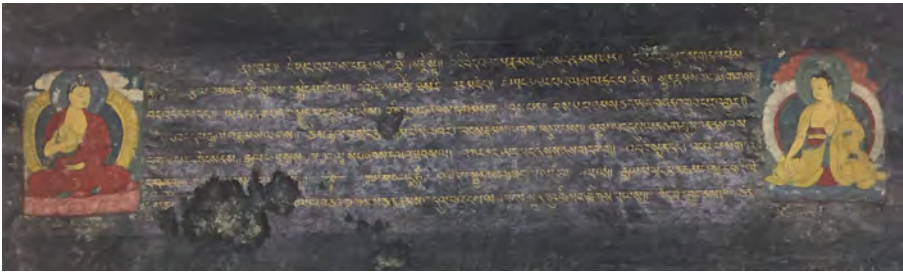


Fig. 2 — Folio from the so-called “Gyalpo Kachem”; ink, color and gold on paper, h. 6 7/8 x 22 1/8 in. (17.5 x 55.6 cm); Newark Museum, 1984 84.396 B recto; Gift of Jack and Muriel Zimmerman

The illustrations on the Newark and Brooklyn folios depict seated buddhas with golden skin and black hair, wearing red, gold, or yellow robes and surrounded by variously colored halos and nimbuses as well as stylized landscapes.¹⁰ It remains unclear which particular set of buddhas, if any, is represented here.¹¹ The figures on the LACMA folios include both these somewhat somber buddhas and more varied and animated *mahāsiddhas* (*grub thob chen po*) or “great accomplished ones,” including monks and ascetics depicted in lively poses against similar minimalistic landscapes to the buddhas above.¹² Pratapaditya Pal states that two of the labels clearly refer to *mahāsiddhas* Bha ga na and Sgra mkhan zhabs, but that their iconographic features are extremely simplified.¹³

¹⁰ See the Newark Museum catalog (Reynolds *et al.* 1986: 148–150) for more details.

¹¹ Valrae Reynolds, Amy Heller, and Janet Gyatso suggest that the buddhas may represent the Thirty-Five Buddhas of Confession or the Thousand Buddhas of the Good Aeon (Reynolds *et al.* 1986: 150n3). However, Heller has more recently stated that this cannot be established firmly without a complete set of illustrations and accompanying inscriptions (Heller, private communication, June 19, 2017).

¹² The LACMA catalog also notes difference in the colors used to depict the buddhas and *mahāsiddhas* respectively: “The Buddhas are given green or blue aureoles with white or yellow flame borders. The aureoles of the mahasiddhas are uniformly red. [...] All Buddhas have yellow complexions, but the mahasiddhas are given skins of pink or brown” (Pal 1990: 268).

¹³ Pal 1990: 268.

All of the exemplars are now ascribed dates between the 15th and 17th centuries and referred to as "*Gyalpo Kachem*" folios in print and online. This date and title were apparently introduced in the Newark Museum catalog and followed in the LACMA catalog and online on the websites of the Brooklyn, Newark, and LACMA collections. Pal dates this manuscript very early, to *circa* 1500, and states that the folios form part of "a manuscript that has been tentatively identified as *Gyalpo Kachem* (Will and testament of the king)," further implying that he means by this the *Bka' chems ka khol ma* when he says that it was buried by Srong btsan sgam po and recovered by Atiśa.¹⁴ Although he does not mention the Brooklyn folios, Pal is aware of the Newark folios and refers readers to Reynolds *et al.* for more information. The Newark catalog entry dates the manuscript to the 15th century, so also very early,¹⁵ and this catalog is actually a little contradictory or at least unclear in its identification of the folio with a particular work. It first tentatively suggests that this is the *Rgyal po bka' chems* revealed by Atiśa in the 11th century, which is the judgement paraphrased in Pal.¹⁶ However, it then goes on to say: "The *Gyalpo Kachem* may be one of the many sections of the large series of texts called the *Mani k'abum*."¹⁷ The Brooklyn Museum web pages for these folios date them to the 16th–17th century but follow the Newark catalog in describing them as containing confessional buddhas and the "*Gyalpo Kachem*."¹⁸

Some of the folios are partially reproduced in the catalogs of the Newark Museum and LACMA, and /or online, but often only one side of each folio and not in a high enough resolution to be able to read the text properly. However, it has been possible through the kindness of Joan Cummins (Brooklyn), Bindu Gude (LACMA), and Elena Pakhoutova (Rubin Museum of Art) to acquire photographs of both

¹⁴ Pal 1990: 268.

¹⁵ Reynolds *et al.* 1986: 148. Amy Heller has more recently suggested dating the manuscript to the late 15th or early 16th century, following Pal (Heller, private conversation, June 19, 2017). The website of the Himalayan Art Resources dates these folios to between 1500–1599 CE (<https://www.himalayanart.org/items/86937>. Accessed May 26, 2020), but I will make no further conclusions on the dating of these folios in this article.

¹⁶ Pal 1990: 268. The Newark catalog states: "A preliminary investigation leads to the tentative identification of the manuscript as the *Gyalpo Kachem* ('Will and Testament of the King'), a *terma* text which, according to tradition, was written by Songtsen Gampo in the seventh century and found by Atisha in the eleventh century" (Reynolds *et al.* 1986: 148).

¹⁷ *Ibid.*: 150n2.

¹⁸ See, for example, the page displaying Brooklyn Folio 84.207.1 (<https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/112012>. Accessed May 26, 2020).

sides of some of these folios. This has allowed me to transliterate the texts for the first time (see the Appendices).¹⁹

No translation has been attempted here, due to space constraints and the greater importance of an accurate transliteration and comparison of the text at present. None of the folios contains a colophon, and their source texts are ultimately various works. However, the above similarities in style suggest that they all form part of one manuscript, and their content is not so different that it rules out a single anthology of different Rnying ma Buddhist works.

In this article, where possible an identification has been made with corresponding text in published editions of the works reflected on the pages of these precious folios. As will be seen, the *Bka' chems ka khol ma* biography of Srong btsan sgam po as Avalokiteśvara plays no role in what follows. This is because the folios below mostly cover teachings and ritual practices rather than narrative and, where they do recount the life story of the bodhisattva-king, they do not resemble the corresponding text of the *Bka' chems ka khol ma* as closely as they resemble other witnesses from different sources. In contrast, the advice (*zhal gdams*) section of the *Maṇi bka' 'bum* has proved useful. I have compared the folios with the Delhi (1975) and Sde dge xylograph (2000) editions of the *Maṇi bka' 'bum*, and marginally favor the latter as the closest parallel to the folios' text among the exemplars available to me. Where a text is not found in those editions, I have used the closest correlate among other works at my disposal. These include not only parts of the *MBNT* biographical work and the *MTN*, *KGT*, and *GLR* histories related to the life of Srong btsan sgam po but also, surprisingly, the main *tantra* of the *Na rak dong sprugs* cycle, known as the *Dri med bshags rgyud*. By drawing attention to these correspondences, I do not mean to suggest that the folios contain copies of these exemplars, or even necessarily the works of which the exemplars are themselves copies. After describing the content and affiliations of each folio in turn, in the *Discussion* section I assess what kind of manuscript(s) or work(s) these folios could partially represent.

¹⁹ Where my transliteration of Tibetan does not follow the standard modified Wylie system, it accords with the more rigorous codicological system adopted by editors of the Old Tibetan Documents Online portal (see under "Editorial Policy" at <https://otdo.aa-ken.jp/>. Accessed May 26, 2020). Where a substantial portion of text is obscured by dirt or wear, etc., I indicate the extent of this obscuration on each line with the note "[± x syllables (obscured)]." I have not been so thorough in noting the many codicological aspects of the comparative material since these are secondary to the use to which I am putting these materials, namely finding the folios' main affiliations in wider Tibetan literature.

2. The Newark Folios

The Newark Museum holds two so-called “Gyalpo Kachem” folios. They are distinguished from each other as Folio 1984 84.396 A and Folio 1984 84.396 B (here, Folio A and Folio B for short).²⁰

Folio A consists of almost the whole of an aspirational prayer (*smon lam*) to be reborn on Mount Potalaka, the celestial home of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara. Folio A is missing the beginning and end of the prayer (see its transliteration in Appendix 1), which were presumably found on the preceding and following folios of the original manuscript. This prayer is found complete in the Sde dge (2000) and Delhi (1975) xylograph editions of the *Maṇi bka’ ’bum*, and these two editions are virtually identical to each other here.²¹ They also both stand very close to the readings in Newark Folio A, with the Sde dge edition bearing slightly more resemblance to it in minor orthographic choices (again, see Appendix 1). However, Folio A omits some iterations of the *om ma ṇi padme hūṃ* mantra given in both the Sde dge and Delhi editions. Also, Folio A (*recto* l. 2) gives “gzugs snang bye brag ji snyed kun” where the Sde dge and Delhi editions both read: “gzugs kyi bye brag ji snyed pa.” More importantly, the Sde dge (2000) and Delhi (1975) editions include nine *rkang pa* (lines of poetry) that are missing on the *verso* of Folio A.²² Such a divergence, if it were to be identified as an indicative error, could help to further narrow down the list of possible sources for this text in future.

Folio B contains two distinct passages: first the end of a set of teachings by Srong btsan sgam po also covered in two of the LACMA folios (below), and second a narrative found in some historiographical sources in the chapter relating his birth, but tellingly not in the biography section (*lo rgyus chen mo*) of the *Maṇi bka’ ’bum*. The Newark catalog states that “folio B includes a narrative on the death of

²⁰ The *versos* of A and B (B on top of A) are visible on the Newark Museum Collection website (<http://gallery.newarkmuseum.org/media/view/Objects/3174432/308570?t:state:flow=c2e13d45-4227-4824-ada9-6c5ea7e3e1af>). Accessed May 26, 2020) but seemingly there exists no stable URL for an entry on these folios.

²¹ Based on this comparison, I found the Delhi edition either identical to the Sde dge edition or to resemble the so-called “Gyalpo Kachem” folios slightly less closely than the Sde dge edition, so I have favored the latter here and placed it in a column next to Newark Folio A. The prayer also exists in a stand-alone edition, *Ri po ta lar skye ba’i smon lam* (1970), a xylographic print from blocks preserved at Dgon steng bshad sgrub chos gling Monastery in Solu, eastern Nepal (Phillips 2004: 273n77).

²² Sde dge (2000 vol. 2: 72.3–4; *wan* 36b3–4) and Delhi (1975 vol. 2: 99.4–5; *wan* part I, 50a4–5) give exactly the same reading of this added section: “*sphyan ras gzigs kyi zhabs drung du // skye shi med pa’i sku brnyes nas // chos kyi bdud rtsi ’thung bar shog // om maṇi padme hūṃ | bdag gis smon lam ’di btab pas // ’gro ba rigs drug sems can rnams // so so’i sdig sgrub kun byang nas // sdug bsngal ma lus zhi gyur te // byang chub lam la rab zhugs nas //*.”

Songtsen Gampo and his merging with Avalokiteshvara.”²³ In fact, it begins with one of his speeches that is found at that point in only *some* versions of his life story. In Appendix 2, I have not given a version of the *Maṇi bka' 'bum* in the column to the right of Folio B *recto* because the *Maṇi bka' 'bum* is not the closest available correlate.²⁴ The *GLR* stands closer to Folio B *recto*, to judge from the 18th-century Sde dge xylograph edition.²⁵ Yet, this history agrees in a number of places with the *Maṇi bka' 'bum* against Folio B, whereas the *KGT* history resembles Folio B *recto* even closer, though not entirely. Of especial note is the fact that the *KGT* and Folio B both omit mention until later of the prince, to whom the speech is addressed in the *Maṇi bka' 'bum* and *GLR*. In Folio B, this speech is addressed to the attendant subjects (*'khor 'bangs*). Thus, I have included the *KGT* in the column to the right of Folio B in Appendix 2, for comparison, but it will be clear that it is not a perfect match.

The narrative on Folio B then switches (at *recto* l. 6) to relate the birth of Srong btsan sgam po, emanated from Avalokiteśvara in order to tame the beings of Tibet, and goes on to describe his father (one assumes Gnam ri slon mtshan, but no name is given) traveling north in order to hunt yak. (See the transliteration in Appendix 2, together with comparative material from other sources that correspond to the text.) Here, Folio B only partially and roughly resembles the beginning of chapter nine of the *Maṇi bka' 'bum* account of his life, which differs especially in describing four light rays emanating from Avalokiteśvara and traveling to Nepal, China and two places in Tibet, whereas Folio B only recounts his emanation based on the three types of awareness that beings on different spiritual levels had of the event. The *Maṇi bka' 'bum* and other allied accounts also lack the description of his father's fateful yak hunting trip.²⁶ The *MTN* history attributed to Nyang ral contains both of these elements, and so stands closer to the narrative of Folio B, but for two small and one very large section of extra text included in the *MTN* narrative.²⁷ The closest resemblance is found

²³ Reynolds *et al.* 1986: 150n3.

²⁴ The Delhi (1975) and Sde dge (2000) editions of the *Maṇi bka' 'bum*, which are once again almost identical to each other, show the *Maṇi bka' 'bum* to differ in orthography from Folio B *recto* and omit some text found in the latter. However, I have provided both of these witnesses in Appendix 2 after the more closely corresponding witnesses.

²⁵ *GLR* (Sde dge 76b6–77a3); translated in Sørensen 1994: 329–330.

²⁶ See, for example, the Delhi edition (1975 vol. 1: 201.2–3; ^e part I, 101a2–3.) and the other sources compared in footnotes to Sørensen 1994: 159–161.

²⁷ The *MTN* (177a2–180a2) account is transliterated in Appendix 2. The first section of extra text (177a2–180a2) describes how the miraculous bodily signs, actions and speech of the newly born Srong btsan sgam po show him to be an emanation destined to be the lord of the black-headed men—a fact which his father recognizes. The second major inclusion, marked with ellipses in Appendix 2, runs

with the *MBNT*, which lacks the larger of the two sections of extra text in the *MTN*, so this witness has been placed in the right-hand column directly next to Folio B in Appendix 2. However, even this does not perfectly correspond to Folio B.²⁸ See the *Discussion* section of this article for more detail on this important folio.

3. The Brooklyn Folios

The Brooklyn folios are numbered 84.207.1 and 84.207.2 but have received no published catalog entry yet (I shall here refer to them as Folios 1 and 2). Folio 1,²⁹ the *verso* of which is reproduced on the Himalayan Art Resources (HAR) website,³⁰ does not correspond to any works concerning Srong btsan sgam po. However, it strongly resembles part of a work of the *Na rak dong sprugs* genre contained in the Gting skyes *Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum* and *Rnying ma bka' ma rgyas pa*, which is known as the *Dri med bshags rgyud*.³¹ As can be seen from the side-by-side transliteration in Appendix 3, Folio 1 closely corresponds

from 178a5 to 179a5 and continues the narrative of the young Srong btsan sgam po, after which it recounts the events covered in Folio B. Jampa L. Panglung, who first identified and insightfully compared the hunt narrative in the *MTN* and *MBNT*, gives a good precis of the long extra text: “Srong-btsan sgam-po [...] soon after his birth had gone into retreat for twelve years and then remembers the promise he had given to the Bodhisattva to tame the black-headed Tibetans. Therefore, he asks his parents to be installed on the throne. On the occasion of his accession to the throne rays of light emanate from his body” (Panglung 1992: 666).

²⁸ *MBNT* (53.6–55.4; 27a6–28a4) sometimes confuses reference to the prince (*rgyal bu*) with the king (*rgyal po*), which Folio B does not. In this and other ways, Folio B has “better readings,” i.e., less apparent mistakes, as can be seen when the hunt section is compared with the *MBNT* and exemplars of the *MTN* in Panglung’s (1992: 666–667) diplomatic edition of the manuscript published in 1985. However, this of course does not mean that Folio B retains older readings than those witnesses since fewer “mistakes” could be evidence of hypercorrection. Lastly, *MBNT* (54.3–4; 27b3–4) includes a little extra detail concerning Srong btsan sgam po’s magical appearance as a child, also found in the *MTN* (177a2–180a2) among its longer additions, but not included in Folio B at the end of *verso* l. 2 or beginning of l. 3.

²⁹ *Buddhas of Confession: Folio from a Gyalpo Kachem Manuscript*, 16th–17th century. Ink, color, and gold on paper, 6 7/8 x 22 1/8 in (17.5 x 55.6 cm). Brooklyn Museum, Gift of Muriel and Jack Zimmerman, [accession no.] 84.207.1 (<https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/112012>. Accessed May 26, 2020).

³⁰ Manuscript Pages: Illuminated Pages (item no. 86937). Tibet, 1500–1599, 17.46 x 55.88 cm (6.88 x 22 in), paper, Brooklyn Museum of Art, acc. #BMA 84.207.1, gift of Muriel and Jack Zimmerman. <https://www.himalayanart.org/items/86937>. Accessed May 26, 2020.

³¹ The full title is *Dam tshig thams cad kyi nyams chag skong ba'i lung lnga bshags pa thams cad kyi rgyud dri ma med pa'i rgyal po*. This work, the main *tantra* of the *Na rak dong sprugs* cycle, is discussed in Kapstein 2010; Kapstein 2016: 201–218. My thanks go to Matthew T. Kapstein for alerting me to these discussions.

to the end of chapter eleven of the *Dri med bshags rgyud* as found in the Gting skyes *Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum* (vol. *dza*, 251a1–251b5) but also, at some points, to orthography of the *Rnying ma bka' ma rgyas pa* (vol. *pa*, 51b2–52b2) witness. The main difference, which precludes me using the latter as the closest comparable exemplar, is a single *rkang pa* (line of poetry) added to the *Rnying ma bka' ma rgyas pa* (vol. *pa*, 51b5) but not found in either of the other two witnesses: “*sdig pa'i las rnams byams mgon khyed la bshags //*.” Generally, though, their readings all stand very close to each other. Brooklyn Folio 1 and Newark Folio B, introduced above, are the most important witnesses for problematizing the ascription of these folios to a single “*Gyalpo Kachem*” (see the following *Discussion* section).

Brooklyn Folio 2,³² the *recto* of which is reproduced on the Himalayan Art Resources (HAR) website,³³ returns us to the same context as the *Maṇi bka' 'bum*. It accords with the “profound oral instructions” occurring within the “small cycle of oral instructions of profound points” that Srong btsan sgam po delivers to his family (including his queens by marriage) in the *Maṇi bka' 'bum*, but at an earlier point in the teachings than those covered in Newark Folio B above and some of the LACMA folios below. The transliteration of Folio 2 in Appendix 4 is set in comparison with the corresponding part of the Sde dge (2000) edition of the *Maṇi bka' 'bum*, to which it most closely corresponds. Here, Srong btsan sgam po speaks to two of his queens, ladies from Zhang zhung and Ru yong respectively, who are missing in the Delhi (1975) xylograph edition of this speech.³⁴ This discrepancy may be explained once further exemplars of the *Maṇi bka' 'bum* can be compared, but suggests a parting of the ways at some point in the transmission of these teachings that could help establish recensional differences in the future.

³² *Buddhas of Confession: Folio from a Gyalpo Kachem Manuscript*, 16th–17th century. Ink, color, and gold on paper, 6 7/8 x 22 1/8 in (17.5 x 55.6 cm). Brooklyn Museum, Gift of Muriel and Jack Zimmerman, 84.207.2. (<https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/112013>. Accessed May 26, 2020).

³³ Manuscript Pages: Illuminated Pages (item no. 86938). Tibet, 1500–1599, 17.46 x 55.88 cm (6.88 x 22 in), paper, Brooklyn Museum of Art, acc. #BMA 84.207.2, gift of Muriel and Jack Zimmerman. <https://www.himalayanart.org/items/86938>. Accessed May 26, 2020.

³⁴ Folio 2a.3 ends the king's advice to Queen (*jo mo*) Zhang zhung za 'Chi ba, which should follow the advice that he gives to his father, mother and Nepalese and Chinese queens as it does in the Sde dge edition. In contrast, the Delhi edition passes from Srong btsan sgam po's advice to his Chinese queen to his advice to his son, Prince Gung srong gung btsan. Compare the Sde dge (2000: 397.2–398.4; *wam* 199a2–199b4) and Delhi (1975 vol. 2: 11.2; *wam* part I, 6a2) editions.

4. The LACMA Folios

The LACMA folios are referred to online as M.84.171.5, M.84.171.6, M.84.171.7, M.84.272.3, and M.84.272.4.³⁵ The text of Folio M.84.272.3 is too faint and obscured to transcribe reliably at this stage,³⁶ and close-up images of both sides of folio M.84.272.4 have not yet become available.³⁷ Thus, they will be left out of this article, and the others will be referred to as Folios 5, 6, and 7.

Folio 5 recounts a speech of Srong btsan sgam po that, in the *Maṇi bka' 'bum*, is given in response to the request of his son, Gung srong gung btsan. It is found in a number of other sources, including the *GLR* and *KGT* histories, whose witnesses are provided in Appendix 5. The *recto* has a large area of dirt/discoloration on the page, making a number of characters illegible.

Per Sørensen identifies this text in the *GLR* with the *Gab pa mngon phyung*, “Revelation of the Hidden,” which probably circulated as an independent early Tibetan Buddhist teaching before being incorporated into the *Maṇi bka' 'bum* and attributed to Srong btsan sgam po.³⁸ However, the text in Folio 5 stands closer to the *GLR* account than to the *Maṇi bka' 'bum*, or the *KGT* (in which it is also found). The folio text lacks a number of the *rkang pa* (lines of poetry) given in corresponding passages of the *Maṇi bka' 'bum*, *GLR*, and *KGT* but at one point the *Maṇi bka' 'bum* omits one *rkang pa* found in Folio 5, *GLR*, and *KGT*: “*gsal sgrib gnyis su ngas ma mthong //*” (and variants).³⁹ Of the two latter witnesses, *GLR* agrees with Folio 5 more often in orthography and other minor details, so I have placed *GLR* next to Folio 5 in Appendix 5.

³⁵ Central Tibet, circa 1500; Manuscripts; Opaque watercolor and gold on paper. Image: 3 1/4 x 3 in. (8.26 x 7.62 cm); Sheet: 7 x 22 in. (17.78 x 55.88 cm); Anonymous gift. See Pal 1990: 268–270 (<http://collections.lacma.org/search/site/gyalpo%2520kachem>. Accessed May 26, 2020).

³⁶ An image of the *recto* is provided online (<http://collections.lacma.org/node/170486>. Accessed May 26, 2020) and, from what is legible, it appears to comprise teachings on *dharmatā* and *sūnyatā* beyond the 84,000 *kleśas* (*nyon mongs pa brgyad khri bzhi stong*) rather than narrative. The *verso* contains the mantra *om maṇi padme hūṃ* and so is probably situated within the same context as the *Maṇi bka' 'bum*.

³⁷ An image of the *recto* of folio M.84.272.4 is online (<http://collections.lacma.org/node/170462>. Accessed May 26, 2020) and seems to contain teachings concerning *bodhicitta*, the guru’s advice (*bla ma'i gdams ngag*) and the six limbs of the Great Compassionate One’s (Avalokiteśvara) means of teaching (*thugs rje chen po bshad thabs yan lag drug go /*), once again fitting into the same genre as the *Maṇi bka' 'bum*.

³⁸ See Sørensen 1994: 315n961; 316n966; 585–586.

³⁹ Compare LACMA Folio 5, *recto* l. 5 with *GLR* (Sde dge edition, 74a2), *KGT* (*ja* 50b3), and the *Maṇi bka' 'bum* (1975 vol. 2: 644.6; *wam* part II, 13b6).

Folio 6 continues the same advice after a break. It ends the *Gab pa mngon phyung* speech proper, although *verso* l. 7 ends “*ces rgyal pos dgongs pa*” and so lacks the full identification of the teaching as the *Rgyal po dgongs pa mngon phyung*, a secondary title of the *Gab pa mngon phyung*.⁴⁰ The text found in the *Maṇi bka' 'bum* corresponding to the missing text between LACMA Folios 5 and 6 consists of about one folio's worth. Whether this missing folio is still extant, or was discarded since it was not illuminated, is a matter for further research or speculation. Newark Folio B *recto* contains the end of the wider set of *Gab pa mngon phyung*-related teachings and is separated from Folio 6 by about two folios' worth of text, which is also now missing. The *Maṇi bka' 'bum* stands closer to Folio 6 than the *GLR* or *KGT*, in contrast to the situation in Folio 5, so I have chosen to place the former in the column next to Folio 6 in Appendix 6.⁴¹

Finally, in Folio 7, the Nang blon Sna chen po asks for and receives advice from Srong btsan sgam po (*recto* l. 4–5). This resembles an earlier part of the advice section of the *Maṇi bka' 'bum* to that just discussed, taking place only ten folios after the advice given in Brooklyn Folio B (approximating based on the Sde dge edition). See the transliteration in Appendix 7.

At first glance, these folios could all conceivably quote from the advice section of the *Maṇi bka' 'bum*. However, the crucial witness of Newark Folio B indicates that they are not simply partial copies of either the *Maṇi bka' 'bum* or another single “*Gyalpo Kachem*” work already known to scholars. As such, these folios may offer variant readings for the underlying *Gab pa mngon phyung* teachings and/or advice attributed to Srong btsan sgam po, on which the *Maṇi bka' 'bum*, *GLR*, and *KGT* are based. Moreover, some of these divergences could still help to ascertain which recension or work their text most closely corresponds to, if they are identified as indicative errors in the future. From what can be seen online of folios M.84.272.3 and M.84.272.4, they also appear to contain religious advice focused on Avalokiteśvara, but their exact affiliations remain to be identified.

5. Discussion

In this section, I shall not deal with the folios in the same order as above but rather explicate their relations with each other and how they

⁴⁰ See Sørensen 1994: 585, 586n6 on the various titles of this teaching and parts of the *Gab pa mngon phyung*-related speeches in *GLR* and other sources.

⁴¹ The differences are only slight here, but the *GLR* and to a lesser extent *KGT* add some words not found in Folio 6 or the *Maṇi bka' 'bum*. The latter agrees with the folio in some of its choices of words too.

may have looked as part of a single manuscript.

None of the text in any of the folios extant at present could be said to constitute part of a complete biography of Srong btsan sgam po akin to the *Bka' chems ka khol ma* or the *Lo rgyus chen mo* section of *Maṅi bka' 'bum*. The narrative in Newark Folio B (discussed in more detail below) does recount his birth and could conceivably have carried on to provide his complete life story, but its placement *after* the teachings of Srong btsan sgam po make this unlikely.

Thus, we begin with the second volume of the *Maṅi bka' 'bum* and especially the advice section. Newark Folio A comprises almost the whole of a prayer to be reborn on Avalokiteśvara's Mount Potalaka, which most resembles the Sde dge (2000) xylograph edition of the *Maṅi bka' 'bum*. The latter work places this prayer early on in its second volume, but it is unclear where it is placed in the hypothetical Zimmerman manuscript—if such a single entity ever existed. Interestingly, the *Maṅi bka' 'bum* attributes this prayer to the revelation of Nyang ral, but Folio A *verso* l. 7 ends just before this point in the corresponding text.⁴²

Brooklyn Folio 2 consists of part of a speech by Srong btsan sgam po, also occurring in the advice section of the *Maṅi bka' 'bum*. However, Folio 2 lacks the more explicit markers of being incorporated into a *Maṅi bka' 'bum*, such as the Avalokiteśvara mantra and praise: “*Oṃ ma ṅi padme hūṃ | thugs rje chen po la phyags 'tshal lo ||*.”⁴³ Also note that none of the folios contain *gter shads*, the symbols resembling the division sign obelus, ÷, replacing regular vertical *shad* at the end of each *rkang pa* (line of poetry or prose) in works designated as treasure-texts. While these *gter shads* are not always used in such cases, their absence here may indicate that the work being copied onto these folios was not considered a treasure-text such as the term “*Gyalpo Kachem*” would suggest.

LACMA Folio 7 takes up the teachings of Srong btsan sgam po only ten folios after the advice given in Brooklyn Folio B (as measured by the corresponding text in the Sde dge edition). Here, the Nang blon Sna chen po asks for and receives advice from the king (*recto* l. 4f.). In the *Maṅi bka' 'bum*, this advice precedes the more popular *Gab pa mngon phyung* section by 42 folios in the Sde dge edition, and if all of the advice in between were covered in this hypothetical “*Gyalpo Kachem*” work (not to mention the 335 folios between the prayer to be reborn on Mount Potalaka and LACMA Folio 7), it would be a substantial undertaking. Such a work would cost a great deal in both

⁴² It is identified as Nyang ral's treasure-text discovery in the *Maṅi bka' 'bum* editions published at Sde dge (2000 vol. 2: 72.5; *wam* 36b5) and Delhi (1975 vol. 2: 99.6; *wam* part I, 50a6): “*mnga' bdag myang gi gter ma'o l'*”.

⁴³ See, for example, the *Maṅi bka' 'bum* (2000: 397.4; *wam* 199a4).

materials and manpower, even if the artisans were only illustrating every other folio. Such an undertaking is not impossible, but more likely the folios I have discussed above come from towards the end of a hypothetical Zimmerman manuscript. This would then make it even less likely that a complete life story of Srong btsan sgam po followed the teachings after Newark Folio B.

LACMA Folio 5 recounts the advice of Srong btsan sgam po that ultimately comes from that *Gab pa mngon phyung*. LACMA Folio 6 continues the same teachings after a one folio break of probably now missing text. As I mentioned above, the same speech in the *GLR* is identified by Sørensen with the *Gab pa mngon phyung*, which may have circulated independently and then become associated with the advice of Srong btsan sgam po. Sørensen states:

[t]his very lengthy versified exposé offered by the king and couched in a religious-philosophical diction of indubitable rDzogs-chen provenience is found almost uniformly transmitted in the other versions [of the Srong btsan sgam po *vita*]. The locus classicus is MNKB WAM (G) 12a6–14a6.⁴⁴

The mention of “the king’s thought/intent” (*rgyal po dgongs pa*) at the end of Folio 6, *verso* l. 7, shows that the teaching is identified in this manuscript by its secondary title, *Rgyal po dgongs pa mngon phyung*, though not necessarily by that title alone, and that the teaching is also attributed to King Srong btsan sgam po rather than described as a free-floating work. In the latter aspect, Folio 6 corroborates the evidence of Newark Folio B, whose *recto* attributes a later speech continuing the same the set of teachings to the king.

Newark Folio B begins with a speech by Srong btsan sgam po that is related to the *Gab pa mngon phyung*, is usually found together with it, and perhaps stems from the same milieu.⁴⁵ The gap between the two speeches, in other words, the text missing between LACMA Folio 6 and Folio B, amounts to around two folios’ worth. Like the *Gab pa mngon phyung*, this teaching was once probably an independently circulating work that was incorporated into the advice (*zhal gdams*) section of the *Mani bka’ ’bum* and biography of Srong btsan sgam po in the *GLR* and *KGT*. The fortunate inclusion of the end of the speech, which names the speaker as Srong btsan sgam po before recounting his and/or his son’s burial of treasure (*gter*) in Lhasa, allows us to identify this text as an adaptation of the original work, now ascribed to Srong btsan sgam po, rather than the independently circulating teaching itself.

⁴⁴ Sørensen 1994: 316n966.

⁴⁵ See Sørensen 1994: 327n1023, 587–588.

In Appendix 2, I have not given a version of the *Maṇi bka' 'bum* in the column to the right of Folio B *recto*, and it is unlikely that the *Maṇi bka' 'bum* is the source of this text. The 14th-century *KGT* resembles Folio B *recto* most closely, though not entirely. Yet, of especial note is the fact that the *KGT* and Folio B both omit mention until later of the prince, to whom the speech is addressed in the *Maṇi bka' 'bum* (and *GLR* history). In the *Maṇi bka' 'bum*, the *Gab pa mngon phyung* and following related advice is given in response to the request of his son, Gung srong gung btsan. In Folio B, this speech is addressed to the attendant subjects (*'khor 'bangs*). Perhaps Folio B is copied from the independently circulating early teaching that Sørensen hypothesizes, but in a version that has adapted the teaching in a slightly different context than the early sources that likewise attributed it to Srong btsan sgam po.

The *recto* of Folio B then moves quite suddenly from teaching to narrative. This shift is marked by the Avalokiteśvara mantra and praise (*recto* l. 6: "om maṇi padme hūṃ // 'gon pa spyan ras gzigs la phyag (tsha)l lo //"), but not a chapter title. The text then goes on to name its source in a general way as the "history of King Srong rtsan rgam po, the great being" (*recto* ll. 6–7: "rgyal po srong rtsan rgam po sku che ba'i lo (7) r(g)yus na //"). In the narrative portion, Folio B most resembles the *MBNT* and slightly less closely the *MTN*, both of which have been attributed to Nyang ral (though the latter holds more claim to be connected with him).⁴⁶ However, the shift from this teaching, which occurs at one of Srong btsan sgam po's last moments on earth, to the moment of his emanational birth is quite surprising. Such a non-chronological ordering of the text suggests that the hypothetical manuscript from which these folios come constituted more of an anthology of important advice, events, and prayers related to Srong btsan sgam po as Avalokiteśvara, instead of a single "Gyalpo Kachem."

Putting this speculation aside, the hunting narrative itself is of some antiquity but lacks a definite source, like the teaching that precedes it on Folio B. Jampa L. Panglung has already drawn scholarly attention to the similarity of corresponding narratives in the *MTN* and *MBNT* and noted that the sources differ not only in the extent of the extra text before the hunt vignette in the former but also in the placement of their narratives. He states that in the *MBNT*:

the interpolation is found in a slightly earlier position when Srong-btsan sgam-po is in retreat. After the interpolation of the narrative, the account continues with Song-btsan sgam-po who remembers his promise [to tame the black-headed Tibetans] and feels that now his

⁴⁶ On the probable misattribution of at least the latter parts of the *MTN* and all of *MBNT* to Nyang ral, see Doney 2013 and Hirshberg 2016: 141–201.

father is dead, it would be the right time to be enthroned etc. The story continues like in the Chos-'byung [MTN].⁴⁷

The presence of the same ordering of the episodes in both Folio B and the MBNT, but with no indication that this is a copy of the MBNT (even the counter-evidence that the folio shifts to this episode after quoting the *Gab pa mngon phyung*-related teaching), indicates that either the compiler of this anthology had MBNT or its source to hand, and/or the compiler of the MTN or its source changed the order of these episodes.

Brooklyn Folio 1 comprises part of the *Dri med bshags rgyud*, a popular Rnying ma confessional text also found in the Gting skyes *Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum* and *Rnying ma bka' ma rgyas pa*. Uniquely among our folios, Folio 1 retains the chapter breaks, chapter numbering and short title of its source (*verso* ll. 6–7 reads: “*dri med rgyal po bshags pa'i rgyud las // ru tra'i sme bshags kyi le'u s(t)e // bcu gcig pa'o //*”). However, this chapter title gives no sense that this work is being incorporated into a larger manuscript (information which I assume is found in a later folio, not available to me). The other folios do not even give any indication of being broken up into separate chapters. To briefly review the evidence in this regard, the prayer to be reborn on Mount Potalaka in Newark Folio A unfortunately comes to the end of the *verso* just before the corresponding work in other exemplars ends, so we do not now know whether it marked the end of the manuscript, or if it carried on quoting another work or with an addendum or continuation to the extant *Ri po ta lar skye ba'i smon lam*. LACMA Folio 6 contains the final part of the *Gab pa mngon phyung* proper and ends with a tantalizing first half of the secondary title—so the missing next folio may have contained a chapter break. However, Newark Folio B shifts from quoting Srong btsan sgam po's teachings (given in other sources at the end of his life) to recounting his birth, without showing concern for the chronological order of these events and without providing a chapter number or short title of the work as a whole. Nonetheless, it does vaguely identify the source of the next vignette, “the history of King Srong btsan sgam po, the great being.”⁴⁸

Returning to the *Dri med bshags rgyud*, how does it relate to the *Mañi bka' 'bum*? The only connector that stands out is Nyang ral. He revealed part of the latter work and is also said to have produced a commentary to the *Dri med bshags rgyud*, extant in a couple of exemplars.⁴⁹ Such a

⁴⁷ Panglung 1992: 666.

⁴⁸ Newark Folio B, *recto* ll. 6–7.

⁴⁹ This commentary is titled the *Dri med rgyal po bshags pa'i rgyud kyi 'grel pa don gsal sgron me*. It is included in the *Bka' brgyad bder gshegs 'dus pa'i chos skor* xylograph edition published in Gangtok (1978 vol. 4: 645–677), and also exists in an undated

link remains to be investigated. If the connection proves accurate, it would suggest that this hypothetical Zimmerman manuscript (if it is singular) does not merely reproduce a "Gyalpo Kachem." Instead, it may be a collection of some works attributed to Nyang ral, focusing only in part on Avalokiteśvara and his emanation, Srong btsan sgam po.

6. Conclusion

The *Maṇi bka' 'bum* fills out our picture of some Tibetan Buddhists' relationship with the imperial period in the early centuries of the second millennium C.E. Behind this work, though, is a complex web of historiographical and devotional descriptions of the royal acts, divine nature and religious rituals and teachings of Srong btsan sgam po. Some of the exquisitely illustrated folios discussed above may reflect this nexus of texts, and so to some extent deserve the title "Gyalpo Kachem" that was first given to the Newark exemplars.

Yet, the text of the LACMA exemplars could be based on a number of sources that recount the advice of Srong btsan sgam po, and Newark Folio B only loosely follows the *Maṇi bka' 'bum* in describing the emanation-birth of this bodhisattva-king. More of a mystery is the inclusion in this so-called "Gyalpo Kachem" of the main *tantra* of the *Na rak dong sprugs* cycle, the *Dri med bshags rgyud*. This work is not part of any single "Gyalpo Kachem" or published *Maṇi bka' 'bum* of which I am aware. Yet, it is a popular Rnying ma rite that is connected to *inter alia* Nyang ral through his attributed compilation of a commentary on it.

If Nyang ral is the common denominator here, the "advice" (*zhal gdams*) section of the *Maṇi bka' 'bum* may still have formed an important part of this collection, since it has been traditionally ascribed to his discovery as a treasure-text. The *Gab pa mngon phyung* teaching, as ascribed to the speech of Srong btsan sgam po, is actually traditionally held to have been revealed by Nyang ral's disciple, but there were strong links between the two.⁵⁰ The prayer to be reborn on

dbu med manuscript held by the Buddhist Digital Resource Center under the resource ID W4CZ302357 (my thanks to Benjamin Bogin for pointing out this manuscript). Another work attributed to Nyang ral with a similar title to the *Dri med bshags rgyud* is the *Zhi khro na rak don sprugs mal 'byor gyi spyi khrus 'gyod tshangs kyi cho ga dri med bshags rgyud* (see Phillips 2004: 126n70). These sources have yet to be properly explored.

⁵⁰ Sørensen (1994: 17n39) notes that early sources, including the *KGT* (*ja* 148b6–149a1), recount the transmission of the *Gab pa mngon phyung* through Zhiq po Bdud rtsi (Sørensen gives his dates as 1149–1199), "a famous pupil of Nyang-ral Nyi-ma 'od-zer and a colleague of IHa-rje dGe-ba-'bum, himself a prominent MNKB [*Maṇi bka' 'bum*] text-transmitter, and a key figure in the dissemination of rDzogs-chen

Mount Potalaka contained in Newark Folio A would especially warrant inclusion in such a collection, since it is found directly referred to as the *gter ma* of Nyang ral in the *Mani bka' 'bum* itself. The tale of Srong btsan sgam po's birth and the yak hunt of his father are now found in two historiographical works traditionally attributed to Nyang ral. However, this is a weak basis for concluding that the vignette was included *because* it was ascribed to Nyang ral, since the fact that it concerns Srong btsan sgam po is a more immediate ground for its inclusion after the teachings of that king (though we could ask why *this* particular version was chosen, and why it follows rather than precedes his advice).

Nonetheless, I conclude that these folios may be fragments of an anthology of teachings, prayers and narratives linked through traditional attribution of the original works to Nyang ral, either his composition or discovery as treasure-text. This conclusion is meant not so much to identify these folios with part of a newly revealed work by Nyang ral, as it is to place it (as Sørensen says of the *Gab pa mngon phyung*) within a Rnying ma literary milieu, though with a general emphasis on devotion to Avalokiteśvara.

These folios (and those at LACMA awaiting close-up photography) need to be investigated in further detail. However, it is hoped that the transliteration of the text on these folios, and my assessment of their affiliations, will aid future researchers to incorporate their witness into the rich matrix of the literary tradition on Srong btsan sgam po and the Tibetan imperial period.

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Appendix 1. Newark Folio A

Newark folio 1984 84.396
A recto:

(1) \$\$ / (space) / sk(y)abs
su (?ch(i) / (b)de ba can
gy(i) gnas mchog na //
sp(y)an ras gzigs kyi zhing
khams der / phyi nang
med par (g)zhal yas khang
// (2) 'jig rten (khang) [± 4
syllables obscured] / ri bo
ta lar skye bar shog /
gzugs snang bye brag ji
snyed kun // spyan ras
gzigs kyi skur snang bas
// phu(ng)
(3) po sha khrag ming yang
med / ri bo ta la(r s)ky(e)
[± 1 syllable] shog / sgra ru
grags pa (j)i snyed kun / yi
ge drug pa rdo rje'i sgra //
khro tshig nga ro'i ming
yang med // ri bo ta
(4) lar skyes bar shog /
sems kyi dran rtogs ji
sny(ed) (pa?) // (r)ang rig
ye shes 'od gsal ba // dug
lnga nmam rtog ming yang
med / ri bo ta lar skye bar
shog /
(5) 'od snang bye brag ji
snyed pa // chos kyi nyi
ma rgyun (chad?) (m)ed
// nyin dang mtshan mo'i
m(o'i?) *perhaps rubbed out*
ming yang med / ri bo ta
lar skye bar shog / 'byung
ba'i bye brag ji snye(d) pa
/
(6) ye shes lnga'i 'od zer las
// 'byung ba lnga'i ming
yang med // ri bo ta lar
skyes bar shog / s(k)y(e)
shi'i bye brag ji snyed pa
// pad ma'i nang nas
rdzus skyes pas //
(7) skye ba nmam bzhi'i
ming yang med // ri bo ta
lar skye bar shog / (z)as
kyi b(ye) brag ji snyed kun
// 'chi med bdud rtsi'i
(z)as za bas // phung po
kha zas ming yang med
//.

Mañi bka' 'bum (2000: vol. 2,
71.1-5; wañi 36r1-5):

spyān ras gzigs la skabs su
mchi // bde ba can gyi
gnas mchog tu // spyān
ras gzigs (2) kyi zhing
khams su / phyi nang med
pa'i gzhal yas khang // 'jig
rten khang khyim ming
dang med / ri po ta lar
skye bar shog / ^oM ma
Ni pad+me h'uM /gzugs
kyi bye brag ji snyed pa //
spyān ras gzigs gyi skur
snang med // phung po
sha khrag ming yang med
// ri po ta lar skye bar
shog / ^oM ma Ni
pad+me h'uM / (3) sgra ru
grag pa ji snyed pa // yi ge
drug pa rdo rje'i sgra //
khro tshig nga ro'i ming
yang med // ri po ta lar
skye bar shog / ^oM ma
Ni pad+me h'uM / sems
kyi dran rtog ji snyed pa
// rang rig ye shes 'od gsal
bas // dug lnga nmam rtog
ming yang med // ri po ta
lar skye bar shog / ^oM
ma Ni pad+me h'uM / 'od
kyi snang ba ji snyed (4) pa
// chos kyi snang ba
rgyun mi 'chad // nyin
dang mtshan mo'i ming
yang med // ri po ta lar
skye bar shog / ^oM ma
Ni pad+me h'uM / 'byung
ba'i bye brag ji snyed pa //
ye shes lnga yi 'od zer las
// 'byung ba lnga yi ming
yang med // ri po ta lar
skye bar shog / ^oM ma
Ni pad+me h'uM / skye
shi'i bye brag ji snyed pa
// pad+ma'i steng (5) du
rdzus skyes pas // skye ba
nmam bzhi'i ming yang
med // ri po ta lar skye bar
shog / ^oM ma Ni
pad+me h'uM / zas kyi
bye brag ji snyed pa // 'chi
med bdud rtsi'i zas za bas
// phung po kham zas
ming yang med //.

Mañi bka' 'bum (1975: vol. 2,
97.3-98.3; wañi part I, 49r3-
49v3):

spyān (4) ras gzigs la skabs
su mchi // bde ba can gyi
gnas mchog tu // spyān
ras gzigs kyi zhing khams
su / phyi nang med pa'i
gzhal yas khang // 'jig
rten khang khyim ming
yang med / ri po ta la (5)
ru skye bar shog / ^oM ma
Ni pad+me h'uM / gzugs
kyi bye brag ji snyed pa //
spyān ras gzigs kyi skur
snang bas // phung po sha
khrag ming yang med //
ri po ta la ru skye bar shog
/ ^oM ma Ni pad+me
h'uM / sgra ru brag (6) pa
ji snyed pa // yi ge drug
pa rdo rje'i sgra // khro
tshig nga ro'i ming yang
med // ri po ta la ru skye
bar shog / ^oM ma Ni
pad+me h'uM / sems kyi
dran rtog ji snyed pa //
rang rig ye shes 'od gsal
bas // dug lnga nmam
(49v1) rtog ming yang med
// ri po ta la ru skye bar
shog / ^oM ma Ni
pad+me h'uM / 'od kyi
snang ba ji snyed pa //
chos kyi snang ba rgyun
mi 'chad // nyin dang?
mtshan mo'i ming yang
med // ri po ta la ru skye
bar shog / ^oM ma Ni (2)
pad+me h'uM / 'byung
ba'i bye brag ji snyed pa //
ye shes lnga yi 'od zer las
// 'byung ba lnga yi ming
yang med // ri po ta la ru
skye bar shog / ^oM ma
Ni pad+me h'uM / skye
shi'i bye brag ji snyed pa
// pad+ma'i steng du
rdzus skyes (3) pas // skye
ba nmam bzhi'i ming yang
med // ri po ta la ru skye
bar shog / ^oM ma Ni
pad+me h'uM / zas kyi
bye brag ji snyed pa // 'chi
med bdud rtsi'i zas za bas
// phung po kham zas
ming yang med //.

Newark folio 1984 84.396 A
verso:

(1) ri bo ta lar shog / skom gyi
bye brag ji snyed kun // bde
chen rgyun g/kyi chu
'(thung)s pas // 'jig rten
sko(m) gyi ming yang med
// ri bo ta lar skye bar shog /
gos kyi bye

(2) b(r)ag ji snyed kun //
mnyam pa ris med gos g(y)on
pas // 'jig rten go(s) kyi ming
yang med // ri bo ta lar ske
bar shog / zhon ba'i bye brag
ji snyed kun // brtson

(3) ('g(r)us myur ba'i rta
zhon pas // 'jig rten rta'i
ming yang med // ri bo ta lar
skye bar shog / grogs kyi bye
brag ji snyed pa // thabs
dang shes rab gnyis med
(pas

(4) skyes pa bud m(e)d yang
med // ri bo ta lar skye ba(r)
shog / 'khor gyi bye brag ji
snye(d) kun // rang rig rang
shar rang grol bas // rgyal po
blon po'i ming yang

(5) med // ri bo ta lar skye
bar shog / nor rdzas bye brag
ji snyed kun // ting 'dzin yon
by(e)d mdzad med pas // 'jig
rten nor gyi ming yang med
// ri bo ta lar

(6) skye bar shog / mgon po
sryan ras gzigs dbang
khy(o)d // dang po byang
chub mchog tu sems bsky(e)d
nas // lam l(nga) sa bcu
bs(gr)od byas nas // pha rol

(7) ph(yin) pa bcu rdzogs pa
// '(gro) ba'i don du bzh(u)gs
nas // bdag n(i) 'chi ba'i dus
kyi (tsh)e // ri bo ta lar skyes
(added below: na) kyang //
khams gsum 'khor ba stongs
par.

Mañi bka' 'bum (2000: vol. 2,
71.5–72.4; *wam* 36a5–36b4):

ri po ta lar skye bar shog /
^oM ma Ni pad+me h'uM /
skom gyi bye brag ji snyed pa
// bde chen rgyun gyi chu
'thungs (6) pas // 'jig rten
skom gyi ming yang med //
ri po ta lar skye bar shog /
^oM ma Ni pad+me h'uM /
gos kyi bye brag ji snyed pa
// mnyam pa ris med gos
gyon pas // 'jig rten gos kyi
ming yang med // ri po ta lar
skye bar shog / ^oM ma Ni
pad+me h'uM / bzhon pa'i
bye brag ji snyed pa // brtson
'grus myur ba'i rta zhon pas
// (36v1) 'jig rten rta yi ming
yang med // ri po ta lar skye
bar shog / ^oM ma Ni
pad+me h'uM / grogs kyi
bye brag ji snyed pa // thabs
dang shes rab gnyis med pas
// skyes pa bud med ming
yang med // ri po ta lar skye
bar shog / ^oM ma Ni
pad+me h'uM / 'khor gyi bye
brag ji snyed pa // rang rig
rang shar rang grol bas //
rgyal po (2) blon po'i ming
yang med // ri po ta lar skye
bar shog / ^oM ma Ni
pad+me h'uM / nor r(dz)as
bye brag ji snyed pa // ting
'dzin longs spyod 'dzad med
pas // 'jig rten 'dod yon ming
yang med // ri po ta lar skye
bar shog / ^oM ma Ni
pad+me h'uM / mgon po
sryan ras gzigs dbang khyod
// dang po byang chub thugs
(3) bskyed nas // lam lnga sa
bcu bgrod byas shing // pha
rol phyin pa bcu rdzogs te //
'gro ba'i don du sku bzhugs
pa // bdag ni 'chi ba'i dus kyi
tshe // ri po ta lar skye bar
shog / ^oM ma Ni pad+me
h'uM / ri po ta lar skyes nas
kyang // sryan ras gzigs kyi
zhabs drung du // skye shi
med pa'i sku brnyes nas //
(4) chos kyi bdud rtsi 'thung
bar shog / ^oM ma Ni
pad+me h'uM / bdag gis
smon lam 'di btab pas // 'gro
ba rigs drug sems can mams
// so so'i sdig sgrib kun
byang nas // sdug bsngal ma
lus zhi gyur te // byang chub
lam la rab zhugs nas //
khams gsum 'khor ba stong
par shog / .

Mañi bka' 'bum (1975: vol. 2,
98.3–99.5; *wam* part I, 49b3–
50a5):

ri po ta la ru skye bar (4) shog
/ ^oM ma Ni pad+me h'uM /
skom gyi bye brag ji snyed pa
// bde chen rgyun gyi chu
'thungs pas // 'jig rten skom
gyi ming yang med // ri po
ta la ru skye bar shog / ^oM
ma Ni pad+me h'uM / gos
kyi bye brag ji snyed pa // (5)
mnyam pa ri+s med gos gyon
pas // 'jig rten gos kyi ming
yang med // ri po ta la ru
skye bar shog / ^oM ma Ni
pad+me h'uM / bzhon pa'i
bye brag ji snyed pa // brtson
'grus myur ba'i rta zhon pas
// 'jig rten rta yi (6) ming
yang med // ri po ta la ru
skye bar shog / ^oM ma Ni
pad+me h'uM / grogs kyi
bye brag ji snyed pa // thabs
dang shes rab gnyis med pas
// skyes pa bud med ming
yang med // ri po ta la ru
skye bar shog / (50r1) \$ \$ /
(space) / ^oM ma Ni pad+me
h'uM / 'khor gyi bye brag ji
snyed pa // rang rig rang
shar rang grol bas // rgyal po
blon po'i ming yang med //
ri po ta la ru skye bar shog /
^oM ma Ni pad+me h'uM /
nor rdzas bye brag ji snyed (2)
pa // ting 'dzin longs spyod
'dzad med pas // 'jig rten
'dod yon ming yang med //
ri po ta la ru skye bar shog /
^oM ma Ni pad+me h'uM /
mgon po sryan ras gzigs
dbang khyod // dang po
byang chub thugs bskyed nas
// (3) lam lnga sa bcu bgrod
byas shing // pha rol phyin
pa bcu rdzogs te // 'gro ba'i
don du sku bzhugs pa //
bdag ni 'chi ba'i dus kyi tshe
// ri po ta la ru skye bar shog
/ ^oM ma Ni pad+me h'uM /
ri po ta la ru skyes nas kyang
// (4) sryan ras gzigs kyi
zhabs drung du // skye shi
med pa'i sku brnyes nas //
chos kyi bdud rtsi 'thung bar
shog / ^oM ma Ni pad+me
h'uM / bdag gis smon lam 'di
btab pas // 'gro ba rigs drug
sems can mams // (5) so so'i
sdig sgrib kun byang nas //
sdug bsngal ma lus zhi gyur
te // byang chub lam la rab
zhugs nas // khams gsum
'khor ba stongs par shog / .

Appendix 2. Newark Folio B

Newark folio 1984 84.396 B *recto*:

(1) \$\$ / (space) / nas thar // de yang 'phags pa rnams kyi thugs rje ste // (nga'i) bod '(bang)s rnams kyi bs(o)d nams yin // de (ph)yir (nga'i?) skyabs gnas pho mo (2) [± 2 syllables obscured] rtsol (ba) ma zhan snying stobs bskyed mdzod la // nga'i lha sa mthong thos (re?) par mdzod // de yang mthar pa'i lam la tshung pa min // skyon rnams gang zhig gs(al?) (3) bar 'd(o)d pa dang // yon tan gang zhig sgrub par bya(d?) pa yis / nga'i lha sar zhabs tog mos gu(s) byas pa na // bsam pa thams cad yid bzhin 'grub par 'gyur // (4) [± 2 syllables] 'dod pa rgyal ba rnams la zhus // ces rgyal po srong rts(an) (sg)am pos 'khor 'bangs rnams la bka' stsal pas // lha sa yang dus lan cig chus nyen nas bs(o) (5) dgos par dgongs nas // rgyal bu lha sras (k)yis kyang lha sar zhabs tog bya thams la / bkor nor yang mang du s(b)as nas gdag go // 'di'i sman dang / 'd(i?)i phy(i) mo g(te?)r (6) du bzhugs s(u?) g- [± 4 syllables] (^)i (th?)i // @ // ^oM ma Ni padm(e) h'uM // 'gon pa spyen ras gzigs la phyag (tsha)l lo // rgyal po srong rtsan rgam po sku che ba'i lo (7) r(g?)yus na // [± 5 syllables] (pa?) lo kha ba can gy(i) sems can rnams 'dul ba'i dus la bab par sp(yan) zur gyi gzigs pa las // 'od zer byung nas kha ba can.

KGT (ja 52b2-4):

'gro ba phal cher 'khor ba'i gnas las 'thar // de yang 'phags pa rnams kyi thugs rje ste // nga yi bod 'bangs rnams kyi bsod nams yin // de phyir nga yi skyabs gnas pho (3) mo rnams // rtsol ba ma zhan snying stobs skyed mdzod la // nga yi ra sa mthong thos reg par mdzod // de yang thar pa'i lam la 'tshud pa yin // skyon rnams sel zhing yon tan sgrub 'dod na // nga yi ra sar zhabs tog mos pa gyis // bsam pa thams cad yid bzhin 'grub par 'gyur // ji ltar 'dod pa rgyal ba rnams la (4) zhus // zhes bka' bstsal zhing / nga'i lha sa'i gnas 'di chus nyen nas gso dgos ba'i skabs cig 'ong bas de'i cha rkyen rnams gter du spos shig gsung ste lha sras kysis kyang zhabs tog bya thabs dang dkor nor mang po dus de nyid tu gter du spas ste.

MBNT 53.6-54.1 (27a6-27b1):

^arya pha lo kha ba can gyi sems can rnams 'dul ba'i dus (27v1) la bab par spyen zur gyis gzigs pa las / sku la 'od zer byung nas kha ba can.

GLR (Sde dge 76b6–77a3):

'gro ba phal cher 'khor ba'i gnas nas thar // de yang 'phags pa rnams kyi thugs rje ste // nga'i bod 'bangs (77r1) rnams kyi bsod nams yin // de phyir nga yi skyabs gnas pho mo rnams // rtsol ba ma zhed snying stobs bskyed mdzod la // nga yi lha sa mthong thos reg par mdzod // de yang thar ba'i lam la btsud ba yin // skyon rnams thams cad sel bar 'dod pa dang // yon tan gang zhig (2) bsgrub par 'dod pa yi // nga'i lha sa zhabs tog mos byas pas // bsam pa thams cad yid bzhin 'grub par 'gyur // ji ltar 'dod pa rgyal ba rnams la zhus // zhes yab rgyal po chen pos lha sras la bka' stsal pa / lha sras chen po pa / dus lan cig lha sa la chus nyen nas // gso (3) dgos pa yod par 'dug pas / de'i zhig gsos kyi thebs la / gser dngul la sogs dkor nor rnams gter du sbos shig gsungs pa dang //.

Mañi bka' 'bum (2000: vol. 2, 491.5–92.1; *wam* 246a5–46b1):

'khor ba'i gnas las thar // de yang 'phags pa rnams kyi thugs rje ste // nga yi bod 'bangs rnams kyi bsod nams yin // de phyir nga yi gdul bya pho mo kun // rtsol ba ma zhan snying stobs bskyed mdzod la // nga yi ra sa mthong thos reg par mdzod // skyon (6) rnams gang zhig gsel bar 'dod pa dang // yon tan gang zhig bsgrub par 'dod pa yis // nga yi ra sa'i zhabs tog mos byas na // bsam pa thams cad yid bzhin 'grub par 'gyur // ji ltar 'dod pa rgyal ba rnams la zhus // zhes sras la bka' stsal pas / sras kyi kyang ra sa (246r1) dus lan cig chus nyen nas gso dgos par dgongs te zhabs tog bya thabs dang bkor nor yang mang du sbas so // 'di'i phyi mo rnams gter du bzhugs su gsol nas yod do // 'di'i skor rnams gnod sbyin na ga ku be ra'i brla g.yas pa nas /.

Mañi bka' 'bum (1975: vol. 2, 650.5–51.2; *wam* part II, 16b5–17a2):

'khor ba'i gnas las thar // de yang 'phags pa rnams kyi thugs rje ste // nga yi bod 'bangs rnams kyi bsod nams yin // de phyir nga yi gdul bya pho mo kun // rtsol ba ma zhan snying stobs bskyed mdzod (6) la // nga yi ra sa mthong thos reg par mdzod // skyon rnams gang zhig gsel bar 'dod pa dang // yon tan gang zhig bsgrub par 'dod pa yis // nga yi ra sa'i zhabs tog mos byas na // bsam pa thams cad yid bzhin 'grub par (17r1) 'gyur // ji ltar 'dod pa rgyal ba rnams la zhus // zhes sras la bka' stsal pas / sras kyi kyang / ra sa dus lan cig chus nyen nas gso dgos par dgongs te zhabs tog bya thabs dang bkor nor yang mang du sbas (2) so // 'di'i phyi mo rnams gter du bzhugs su gsol nas yod do // 'di'i skor rnams gnod sbyin na ga ku bai ra'i brla g.yas pa nas /.

Newark folio 1984 84.396 B verso:

(1) (du?) song ngo // de la snang
 ba gsum byung te // sangs rgyas
 (r)nam(s) [± 6 syllables obscured]
 ba can du sems can 'dul du
 (bzh)u(d?) par gzigs // ba(r)
 snang gi g(n)od sbyin (r)nams (2)
 (gyi?)s 'od zer du ma m(th)ong /
 yab r(g)yal pos btsun (mo')i lhums
 su zhugs par gzigs so // de nas zla
 ba dgu nas rgyal bu bltam pa'i
 dbu' las ^a mi de ba bzh(u)gs pa
 (3) cag byung bas // 'jig rten pas
 rgyal bu 'go gnyis pas cig yod do
 zer ba(r) dgongs nas // ya(ng)
 (r)gyal pos ^a mi de ba dar le
 brgan cig gis skris so // (4) blo(n?)
 p(o?) ^a nu ra'i bu mi chung gis
 kyang ^a mi de ba'i padma
 mthong ngo // 'gar sr(o?)ng btsan
 yul bzung gis bzer ba bcu'i thod
 g(o)n pa mthong ngo // d(e) la
 grong khyer (b)as (5) rgyal bu mgo
 gnyis pa yod do // 'go bcu pa yod
 de zhes grags so // des rgyal (b)u
 'tshams cad nas pho brang gzhugs
 so // de nas yab rgyal po ngon pa
 la (6) dga' bas byang gangs la rong
 (d?)u pho brang b(ca?) te sngon
 bya ra byed pa dang // nang cig
 thad cig nas // (n)e gu sran ma
 tsam cig byung ba gzigs / nang pa
 gnyis pa la bya (7) rol (tsa)g /
 gsum pa la ra ma tsam / bzh(i) pa
 la 'b(r?)i po cig 'dug / lnga pa la
 bye 'u ?tsa(m) (c)ig skyes nas de la
 (kh)yi dang skye sbrel kyang
 khy(i?)s ma bsad do // d(e?)r cher
 skyes pa.

MBNT 54.1–55.4 (27b1–28a4):

du song ngo // de la snang ba
 gsum byung ste / sangs rgyas
 rnam kyis thugs (2) rje chen pos
 kha ba can gyi sems can 'dul du
 bzhugs par gzigs / bar snang gi
 gnod sbyin rnam kyis 'od zer du
 ma mthong / yab rgyal pos btsun
 (3) mo'i lhums su rgyal po bzhugs
 par mthong ngo // de nas zla ba
 dgu na rgyal bu bltam pas /
 phyags zhabs la 'khor lo'i mtshan
 mnga' ba / (4) dbu la ^a mi de ba
 bzhugs pa / mtshan dpe dang
 ldan pa cig bltams nas / mtshan
 yang khri lde srong btsan du btags
 so / 'jig rten pas rgyal bu (5) mgo
 gnyis pa cig yod do zer bar dogs
 nas // yab rgyal pos ^a mi ta ba
 dar le rgan cig gis bkris so // blon
 po ^a nu ra mi chung gos (6) ^a mi
 de ba'i pad ma mthong ngo / 'gar
 bsrong btsan yul gzung kyis
 mdzer pa bcu'i thod gon par
 mthong ngo // de la grong khyer
 ba rnam (28r1) rgyal bu mgo
 gnyis pa cig yod do // mgo bcu pa
 yod de zhes grags so // rgyal po
 mtshams bcad nas pho brang
 gzhugs so // de nas (2) yab rgyal
 po sngon la rga' bas byang gangs
 la rong du pho brang bcas te sngon
 bya ra byed pa dang // nang cig
 thang mtha' cig na na gu sran ma
 tsam cig byung ba gzigs (3) nang
 ma gnyis pa la bya rog tsam /
 gsum pa la ra tsam / bzhi pa la
 'bring mo tsam 'dug / lngas la
 be'u cig skyes nas / de la khyi
 dang skye sbrel kyang khyis (4)
 ma bsad do // der cher skyes pa
 dang na le bong zan du gyur te /.

MTN (177a2–180a2; Table 119.2.2–21.2):

de'i tshe ri bo spo ta la nas 'phags pa spyan spyan ras gzigs kyis kha ba (3) can gyi sems can 'dul ba'i dus la bab par mkhyen nas spyan zur gyis gzigs pa las 'od zer byung nas bod kha ba (4) can du song ngo / de la snang pa gsum du byung ste / sangs rgyas rnam kyis 'phags pa bzang po kha ba can gyi sems can 'dul du bzhud (5) par gzigs so / bar snang gi gnod sbyin rnam kyis 'od zer du mthong / yab rgyal pos btsun mo'i lhums su rgyal bu zhugs (6) par mthong / de yang yum gyi sku lus bde ba dang / yangs pa dang / mdogs dang / spyags dang ldan pa dang / byams pa dang / snying rje (177v1) dang / dga' ba dang / btang snyoms chen po skyes pa dang / thugs la rtog pa med pa dang ldan par gnas par gyur te / (2) de nas zla ba dgu ngo dang bcu nas / rgyal bu / me mo (glang *above the line*) zla ba gsum pa la na tsha med par sku bltams / phyags zhabs 'khor lo'i (3) mtshan ldan ba / dbu bkra 'thon 'thing g.yas su 'khyil ba / so dung so 'khor bar yod pa / skyes ma thag tu smra shes pa / (4) yab dang yum la phyags byed pa / dbu la ^a mi de ba'i dbu bzhugs pa / mtshan dang dpe byed dang ldan pa zhig gda' / mtshan (5) ma srog btsan sgam po bya bar btags so / sang nangs par nyi ma shar ba dang / rgyal bu de'i zhal nas / rje yab yum (6) lags / mgo nag kun gyi rje / sems can yongs kyi dpal / 'gro ba yongs kyi mgon rje chen po yab yum rgyal sa na thugs (178r1) bde bar bzhugs sam / rgyu bul zhes phyag mdzad do skad do / yab kyi kyang sprul pa yin par shes nas / de 'jig rten (2) khams pa rnam kyis rgyal bu mgo gnyis pa zer gyis dgos nas / yab gyis ^a mi de ba dar leb rgan gyis gris so / blon po (3) ^a nu mi chung gis gyang / ^a mi de ba'i bdan gyi padma mthong ngo / 'gar stong rtsa yongs bzungs gyis / mdzes pa'i zhal bcu'i (4) thod gon par mthong ngo / de la grong khyer ba yang rgyal bu mgo gnyis pa zhig yod do / 'ga' re na re / mgo bcu gcig yod do zhes zer ro / (5) de nas rgyal bu 'tshams bcad nas pho brang bzhugs so / de nas lo bcu gnyis lon pa dang / ... (*long inclusion until 179r5*) de nas yab rgyal po sngon la dgas pas / byang gangs la rong du pho brang bcas te / sngon gyi bya (6) ra byed pa nas nang cig thang mtha' cig na na gu sran ma tsam gcig byung pa gzigs / nang ma gnyis pa la bya rog (180r1) tsam / gsum pa dang bzhi pa la g.yak tsam / nub lnga pa la bue'u gcig skyes nas / de la khyi dang skye sbrel (2) gyin ma bsod do / der cher skyes nas 'brong na le bong zan du gyur nas /.

Appendix 3. Brooklyn Folio 1

Brooklyn folio 84.207.1
recto:

(1) na bsam 'das brjod mi lang // khams gsum bgrangs shing skye shi'i kha brgyud kyang // byas pa'i las rnam don m(ed?) chu(d) (2) re zos // skye ba grangs med ji snyed de tsam la // skye ba tshe cig kho na tsam gyis las // bla med byang chub don du rab s(p?)yad na // nga tsam byas pa'i las la (3) (?)n y(o?)d (p?)as // gang gi don gyi mya na(r?) 'das zin na // las kyi dbang brtsan nyon mongs stobs che bas // sha khrag dra ba'i lus blangs 'khor bar (4) 'khyams // sdug bsngal b(z)od dka' srid pa'i brtsan dar chud // mi zad drag po'i sd(u)g bsngal 'di lta bu // nyes byas thams cad ra(ng?) (?)las (5) (l)as byung // thugs rje chen pos las ngan rgyun gcad de // nyon mongs las kyi rlung 'd(i?)zlog t(u)gsol // ma rig log pa'i las kyi (d)bang (6) brtsan pas // mi shes mun pa'i nang du brtan 'khyams na // ye shes sgron ma'i zer gyis mi gtong ngam // nyes byas las kyi rnam smin mi bzod (7) na // (?)e (?)e(n?) (p)o'i (?)ph(?) las mi mdzad dam // phyin ci log gi g.yang sar lhung lags na // thugs r(j)es myur 'gyogs phyag gis mi.

Dri med bshags rgyud
(*Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum*
vol. *dza*, 251a1-7):

las 'phro bsags na bsam 'das brjod (2) mi lang // khams gsum bgrangs shing skye shi kha brgyud kyang // byas pa'i las rnam don med chud re zos // skye ba grangs med ji snyed de tsam la // skye ba gcig gcig kho na tsam gyi las // (3) bla med byang chub don du rab spyad na // de tsam byas pa'i las la don yod pas // don gyi yong ye mya ngan 'das zin na // las kyi dbang brtsan nyon mongs stobs che bas // sha khrag dra ba'i lus (4) blangs 'khor bar 'khyams // sdug bsngal bzod dka' srid pa'i brtsan rar chud // mi bzod drag pa'i sdug bsngal 'di lta bu // nyes byas thams cad rang gi las la byung // thugs (5) rje chen pos las kyi rgyun chad de // nyon mongs las kyi rlung ni ldog tu gsol // ma rig log pa'i las kyi dbang brtsan nas // mi shes mun pa'i nang du gtan 'khyams na // ye shes sgron (6) me'i zer gyis mi gtong ngam // nyes byas las kyi rnam smin mi bzod na // thugs rje chen po'i 'phrin las mi mdzad dam // phyin ci log gi g.yang sar lhung lags na // thugs rjes (7) myur 'gyogs phyag gis mi.

Dri med bshags rgyud
(*Rnying ma bka' ma rgyas*
pa vol. *pa*, 51b2-52a2):

las 'phro bsags na bsam 'das brjod mi lang // khams gsum bgrangs shing skye shi'i kha brgyud kyang // byas pa'i las rnam don med chud re zos // skye ba grangs (3) med ji snyed de tsam gyi // skye ba gcig gcig kho na tsam gyi las // bla med byang chub don du rab spyad na // de tsam byas pa'i las la don rab yod pas // don gyi yang ye mya (4) ngan 'das zin na // las kyi dbang brtsan nyon mongs stobs che bas // sha khrag 'dus pa'i lus blangs 'khor bar 'khyams // sdug bsngal bzod dka' srid pa'i btson (5) rar tshud // mi bzod drag po'i sdug bsngal 'di lta bu // nyes byas thams cad rang gi las las byung // sdig pa'i las rnam byams mgon khyed la bshags // (6) thugs rje chen pos las ngan rgyun bcad de // nyon mongs las kyi rlung 'di bzlog tu gsol // ma rig log pa'i las kyi dbang brtsan pas // mi shes mun pa'i nang du (52r1) gtan 'khyams na // ye shes sgron me'i zer gyis mi stongs sam // nyes byas las kyi rnam smin mi bzod na // thugs rje chen pos 'phrin las mi (2) mdzad dam // phyin ci log gi g.yang sar lhung lags na // thugs rje myur 'gyogs phyag gis mi.

Brooklyn folio 84.207.1
verso:

(1) 'dzin nam // dug gsum
bzod dka'i nad kyis
gdungs lags na // thabs
mkhas thugs rje'i (i) s(?)n
kyis mi gso 'a(m?) // las
kyi rnam smin sdug (2) bsngal
me 'bar na // thugs rje'i
gsil ba'i chu rgyun mi
'phebs sam // sdug bsngal
'khor ba'i 'dam du bying
gyur na // thabs mkhas
thugs rjes (3) lcags kyus
mi 'dren nam // khams
gsum 'khor ba'i gnas su
sbyangs sbyangs nas //
nam zhig rang rig 'bras
bu thob pa'i tshé // 'phags
pa'i (4) thugs rjes ci
'tshal don ma 'ches //
bdag nyid las 'phro dbang
brtsan bzhag na lta //
thugs rje che zhes su la
ci zhig bgyi // dpa' bo
(kh)yod (la) (5) thugs
rje'i stobs mnga' zhing
// sngon byung 'brel
ba'i las kyi 'phro brtsan
(na?) // yal yol gtang
snyoms le lo ma m(dz)ad
par // snying nas dag (6)
gzigs thugs rje rgyal
ba'i lha // zhes dregs
pa can rnams kyi bshags
so // dri med rgyal po
bshags pa'i rgyud las //
ru tra'i smre bshags ste
(7) le'u bcu gcig pa'o //
(space) // de nas bcom
ldan 'das longs spyod
kyi bdag po rnam kyi //
rgyud lung man ngag gi
bshags pa 'di gsungs pa
'di.

Dri med bshags rgyud
(*Rnying ma'i rgyud 'bum*
vol. dza, 251a7–251b5):

'dzin nam // dug gsum
bzod ka nad kyis
gdungs lags na // thabs
mkhas thugs rje'i sman
gyi mi gso'am // las
kyi rnam smin sdug
bsngal che (251v1) 'bar
na // thugs rje'i gsil
ba'i char rgyun mi 'bebs
bsam // sdug bsngal
'khor ba'i 'dam du bying
gyur na // thabs mkhas
thugs rje'i lcags kyus
mi 'dren nam // khams
gsum (2) 'khor ba'i gnas
su sbyangs byas nas //
nam zhig rang gis 'bras
bu thob pa'i tshé // 'phags
pa'i thugs rje'i ci 'tshal
don ma mchis // bdag
nyid las 'phro dbang
brtsan bzhag na (3) lta
// thugs rje che zhes su
la ci zhig bgyi // dpa' bo
khyod la thugs rjes stobs
mnga' zhing // sngon
byung 'brel ba'i las kyi
'phro brtsan na // yal
yol btang snyoms le lo
(4) ma mdzad par //
snying nas da gzigs
thugs rje rgyal ba'i lha
// zhes dregs pa can
rnams kyi bshags so //
dri med rgyal po bshags
pa'i rgyud las // ru tra'i
smre bshags ste (5) le'u
bcu gcig pa'o // (space)
// de nas bcom ldan
'das longs spyod kyi
bdag po rnam kyi //
rgyud lung man ngag
gi bshags pa 'di gsungs
so //.

Dri med bshags rgyud
(*Rnying ma bka' ma rgyas*
pa vol. pa, 52a2–52b2):

'dzin nam // dug gsum
bzod dka'i nad kyis
gdungs lags na // thabs
(3) mkhas thugs rje'i
sman gyis mi gso'am //
las kyi rnam smin sdug
bsngal me 'bar na // thugs
rje'i gsil ba'i chu rgyun
mi 'bebs sam // sdug
bsngal 'khor ba'i 'dam
du (4) byings gyur na //
thabs mkhas thugs rje'i
lcags kyus mi 'dren nam
// khams gsum 'khor
ba'i gnas su sbyangs
sbyangs nas // nam
zhig rang gis 'bras bu
thob pa'i tshé // (5) 'phags
pa'i thugs rje'i ci 'tshal
don ma mchis // bdag
nyid las 'phro'i dbang
brtsan bzhag na lta //
thugs rje che zhes su la
ci zhig bgyi // dpa' bo
khyod la thugs rje'i (6)
stobs mnga' zhing //
sngon byung 'brel ba'i
las kyi 'phro brtsan na
// yal yol btang snyoms
le lo ma mdzad par //
snying nas da gzigs
thugs rje rgyal ba'i lha
// zhes dregs (52v1) pa
can rnams kyis bshags
so // dri med rgyal po
bshags pa'i rgyud las //
r'u tra'i smre bshags
ste le'u bcu gcig pa'o //
(space) // de nas bcom
ldan 'das longs spyod
(2) kyi bdag po chen po
rnam kyi // rgyud lung
man ngag gi bshags pa
'di gsungs so //.

Appendix 4. Newark Folio 2

Brooklyn folio 84.207.2 recto:

(1) / sems nyid stong pa nyid skye ba med chos sku yin no // zhang zhung za sems la dngos po dang mtshan ma ma grub pas / 'chi ba'i dus su (2) rig (pa *below line*) rten med du thong la stong par yal du chug / thugs yal ba dang / rig pa dang stong pa chos skur sangs nas / 'byung ba'i lus la blang rgyu med / bar de/o (3) med par sangs rgyas so // ces gdams so // jo mo zhang zhung za 'chi ba la drod pa skong nas sangs rgyas so // 'da' (ka) 'chi drong kyi gdams pa // ^i+' th'i // (4) thugs rje chen po'i sprul pa rgyal po srong brtsan rgam po la / jo mo ru yong za rgyal brtsun gyi gser gyi rgyan bkrol nas man Dal byas / rdzas dang yo (byed?) (5) thams cad mchod ston du 'phul nas // phyag dang bskor ba byas te zhus pa / ^e ma ho / rje lags / 'jig rten gyi bya ba thams cad don med pa / sdug bsngal (6) gyi lo ma / ngan song du skye ba'i sa bon du bda' bas / bdag la thugs rje chen po'i gsang sngags kyi don tshig cig gis sangs rgya ba'i gdam ngag cig zhu 'tshal (7) ces zhus pas / sprul pa rgyal pos gdams pa / ru yong za nyon cig skye med chos kyi sku cig ma thob na / gzugs byad legs kyang ma sdod.

Mani bka' 'bum (2000: 397.2–6; *wam* 199a2–6):

sems nyid stong pa nyid skye ba med chos sku yin no // zhang zhung bza' sems la dngos po dang mtshan mar ma grub pas (3) 'chi ba'i dus su rig rten med du stong par yal du chug // dbugs yal ba dang rig pa stong pa chos kyi skur yal nas 'byung ba'i lus la blang rgyu med par med par sangs rgya'o zhes gdams pas // zhang zhung bza' 'chi ba la brod pa skyes nas sangs rgyas so // 'da' kha 'chi brong kyi gdams pa // ^i+thi // // (4) ^oM ma Ni pad+me h'uM / thugs rje chen po la phyags 'tshal lo // jo bo thugs rje chen po'i sprul pa rgyal po srong btsan sgam po la / jo mo ru yongs bza' rgyal btsun gyis rang gi gser rngul gyi rgyan bkrol nas man+Dal byas / yo byas thams cad mchod pa'i rten du phul te phyag dang bskor ba (5) byas te zhus pa / ^e ma ho / rje lha gcig lags / 'jig rten gyi bya ba thams cad byas pa don med pas sdug bsngal gyi lo ma ngan 'gror skye ba'i sa bon du bda' bas / bdag la thugs rje chen po'i sngags kyi don tshig cig gis sangs rgya ba cig zhu 'tshal zhes gsol (6) pas / sprul pa'i rgyal pos bka' stsal pa / ru yongs bza' nyon cig // skye med chos kyi sku cig ma thob na // gzugs byad legs kyang mi sdod.

Brooklyn folio 84.207.2 verso:

(1) (rga?)s nas ('ch?)i pa yin /
 mtshan dang dpe? 'byad ldan pa'i
 sku cig ma thob na / rin chen gser
 g.yus brgyan yang bral nas 'byor
 ba yin / dad pa skyes (2) nas
 gdams pa? zhus pa lag+s pas /
 nyon cig rgyal mo brtsun / lus
 skad cig gis thugs rje chen po'i
 skur bsgoms cig / lus la ched du
 mi 'dzin pa (3) th(u)gs rje chen po'i
 sku // ^oM ma Ni pad+me h'uM
 // ces pa rdo rje'i bzlas pa shub
 pur bzlos cig / ngag la ched du mi
 'dzin rgyal ba'i gsung / sems
 rnam(s?) (4) rt(o?)g gi rjes su mi
 'br(e?)ng bar rtog med kyi dang la
 ma nyam pa (?) zhog cig / sems mi
 ched du mi 'dzin rgyal ba'i thugs
 / 'dzin med gsum dang ldan pa (5)
 de snyen po yin / lus lhar gsal /
 (ng?)ag sngags su gsal ba / sems
 chos nyid du gsal ba / gsal ba
 gsum dang ldan pa de sgrub pa
 yin / (6) '(?) sems su (sh?)es /
 (ng?)ag r(l)ung du shes / s(e)ms
 stong par shes / shes pa gsum
 dang ldan pa d(e) sgrub pa chen
 po yin pas / lus lha dang mi
 '(bra?)l (7) ba de lha nyid rang
 nyid yin / rang nyid lha yin /
 ngag? sngags dang mi 'bral te /
 rlung nyid s(nga?)gs yin / sems
 chos nyid dang mi 'bral te / sems.

Mani bka' 'bum (2000: 397.6–398.4;
wam 199a6–199b4):

rgas nas 'gro // mtshan dang dpe
 byad ldan pa'i sku cig ma thob na
 // rin chen gser g.yus brgyan
 yang bral nas 'bor // dad (199v1)
 pa skyes nas gdams pa zhu ba legs
 pas nyon cig rgyal mo btsun / lus
 skad cig la thugs rje chen po'i skur
 sgoms shig / lus la ched du mi
 'dzin pa rgyal po'i sku / ngag
 ^oM ma Ni pad+me h'uM / rdo
 rje'i bzlas pa shub bur zlos shig /
 ngag la ched du mi 'dzin pa rgyal
 ba'i gsung (2) yid rtog pa'i rjes su
 mi 'brang bar rtog med kyi dang la
 ma mnyam par zhog cig / sems la
 ched du mi 'dzin pa rgyal ba'i
 thugs / 'dzin med gsum dang ldan
 pa de bsnyen pa yin / lus lhar gsal
 ba / ngag sngags su gsal ba / yid
 chos nyid du gsal ba gsal (3) ba
 gsum ldan pa de sgrub pa yin / lus
 lhar shes / ngag sngags dang
 rlung du shes / sems stong par
 shes / shes pa gsum ldan de sgrub
 pa chen po yin / lus lha dang mi
 'bral te lha nyid rang nyid rang yin
 rang nyid lha yin / ngag sngags
 dang mi 'bral te / rlung nyid
 sngags (4) yin sngags nyid rlung
 yin / sems chos nyid dang mi 'bral
 te chos nyid sems yin.

Appendix 5. Newark Folio 5

LACMA folio M.84.171.5 *recto*:

(1) ngan med pa'i rgyu la ltos //
 pho mo med pa'i yid la (*possibly
 something is rubbed out here*) ltos //
 gnyis 'dzin bral ba'i don la ltos //
 don zhes bya ba blo la 'das // 'das
 pa'i (2) rjes su ma 'br(e?)l bar //
 blo tshig bral ba'i ngang la ltos //
 ltas pas mthong ba'i yul med kyis
 // ma bltas bzhag pas chos nyid
 mthong / ma bsgrubs bzhag pas
 (3) sems ny(i)d 'grub // bzung
 rlod pas rang sar grol // de ltar
 mthong ba'i gang zag la // 'khor
 'das gnyis su ngas ma mthong //
 dge sdig gnyis su ngas ma mthong
 // (4) (bza?)ng ngan ba gnyis su
 ngas ma mthong // rtag chad
 gnyis su ngas ma mthong // pho
 mo gnyis su ngas ma mthong //
 bde sdug gnyis su ngas ma
 mthong // nye ring gnyis+u ngas
 (5) ma mthong // thon dman
 gnyis su ngas ma mthong // gsal
 sgrib gnyis su ngas ma mthong //
 mthong ba med pa'i ngang nyid
 las // sna tshogs shar ba rang nyid
 yin // sna (6) tshogs 'dzin pa bral
 bar zhog / sna tshogs spang blang
 (*possibly something is rubbed out
 here*) med par zhog // sna tshogs
 'dzin bral chos sku yin ma 'gags
 gsal ba long (sic) sku yin // sna
 tshogs (7) grol ba bsprul sku yin
 // rtog pa med pa chos sku yin //
 chos nyid 'dod pa mtha' ma la yin
 // blo las 'das pa de nyid yin //
 'dod pa bral na don dang phrad
 //.

GLR (Sde dge 74a6–74b4):

bzang ngan med pa'i yul la ltos //
 phyi nang med pa'i sems la ltos //
 pho mo med pa'i sems la ltos //
 gnyis 'dzin bral ba'i don la ltos //
 don zhes bya ba blo las 'das //
 'das pa'i rjes su ma 'brang bar //
 blo tshig bral ba'i ngang la ltos //
 bltas pas mthong ba'i yul (74v1)
 med kyis // ma bltas bzhag pas
 chos nyid mthong // ma bsgrubs
 bzhag pas sems nyid grub // ma
 bzung ma glod rang sar grol // de
 ltar mthong ba'i gang zag la //
 'khor 'das gnyis su ngas ma
 mthong // dge sdig gnyis su ngas
 ma mthong // bzang ngan gnyis
 su ngas ma (2) mthong // rtag
 chad gnyis su ngas ma mthong //
 pho mo gnyis su ngas ma mthong
 // bde sdug gnyis su ngas ma
 mthong // yin min gnyis su ngas
 ma mthong // nye ring gnyis su
 ngas ma mthong // mthon dman
 gnyis su ngas ma mthong // gsal
 grib gnyis su ngas ma mthong //
 mthong ba (3) med pa'i ngang
 nyid nas // sna tshogs shar ba
 rang nyid yin // sna tshogs 'gag
 pa med par zhog // sna tshogs
 'dzin pa med par zhog // sna
 tshogs spang blang med par zhog
 // sna tshogs 'dzin bral chos sku
 yin // ma 'gags gsal ba longs sku
 yin // sna tshogs bral ba sprul sku
 yin // (4) tha mal rtog med chos
 sku yin // chos nyid 'dod pa tha
 mal yin // blo las 'das pa de nyid
 yin // 'dod pa bral na don dang
 bral //.

Maṅi bka' 'bum (1975: vol. 2, 644.3–645.2; *wam* part II, 13b3–14a2):

bzang ngan med pa'i rgyu la ltos // phyi nang med pa'i sems la ltos //
 pho mo med pa'i yid la ltos // gnyis 'dzin bral ba'i don la ltos // don
 zhes bya ba blo las 'das // 'das pa'i rjes su ma 'brang bar // (4) blo tshig
 bral ba'i don la ltos // ltas pas mthong ba'i yul med kyi // ma bltas bzhag
 pas chos nyid mthong // ma bsgrubs bzhag pas sems nyid 'grub // ma
 bzung glod pas rang sar grol // de ltar mthong ba'i gang zag la // 'khor
 (5) 'das gnyis su ngas ma mthong // dge sdig gnyis su ngas ma mthong
 // bzang ngan gnyis su ngas ma mthong // rtag chad gnyis su ngas ma
 mthong // pho mo gnyis su ngas ma mthong // bde sdug gnyis su ngas
 ma mthong // yin min (6) gnyis su ngas ma mthong // nye ring gnyis su
 ngas ma mthong // mtho dma' gnyis su ngas ma mthong // mthong ba
 med pa'i ngang nyid las // sna tshogs shar ba'i rang bzhin la // sna
 tshogs (14r1) 'gag pa med par zhog/sna tshogs 'dzin pa bral bar zhog
 /sna tshogs spang blang med par zhog // sna tshogs 'dzin bral chos sku
 yin // ma 'gags gsal ba longs sku yin // sna tshogs grol ba sprul sku yin
 // (2) tha ma la rtog med chos nyid yin // chos nyid 'dod pa tha ma la
 yin // blo las 'das pa de nyid yin // 'dod pa bral na don dang phrad //.

KGT (*ja* 50b1–4):

bzang ngan med ba'i dbyings la ltos // phyi nang med pa'i sems la ltos
 // pho mo med pa'i rgyud la ltos // gnyis 'dzin bral ba'i don la ltos //
 don zhes bya ba blo las 'das // 'das pa'i rjes su ma 'brang (2) bar // brjod
 tshig bral ba'i ngang la ltos // bltas pas mthong ba'i yul med kyi // ma
 bltas bzhag pas chos nyid mthong // ma sgrubs bzhag pas sems nyid
 'grub // ma bzung glod pas rang sar grol // de ltar mthong ba'i gang zag
 la // 'khor 'das gnyis su ngas ma mthong // (3) dge sdig bzang ngan rtag
 chad dang // pho mo bde sdug yin min dang // nye ring mtho dman
 gnyis ma mthong // gsal 'grib gnyis su ngas ma mthong // mthong ba
 med pa'i ngang nyid nas // sna tshogs shar ba rang nyid yin // sna
 tshogs 'gag pa med par zhog // 'dzin med spang blang med par (4) zhog
 /sna tshogs 'dzin bral chos sku yin // ma 'gags gsal ba longs sku yin //
 sna tshogs grol ba sprul sku yin // tha mal rtog med chos sku yin // chos
 nyid 'dod pa tha mal yin // blo las 'das pa de nyid yin // 'dod pa bral na
 don dang phrad //.

LACMA folio M.84.171.5 verso:

(1) gnyis 'dzin grol na gnas su
rt(o?)l // spang b(l)ang med na
dngos grub thob // 'gro don byed
na phrin las rdzogs // blo thag
chod na 'gro sar phyin / phyin pa
med na rt(o)l ba (2) yin // de lta
bu'i gang zag la // rig pa thams
cad rang rig yin // shes pa thams
cad rang shes yin // grol ba thams
cad rang grol yin // gsal ba thams
(3) cad rang gsal yin // stong pa
thams cad rang stong yin // 'dug
pa thams cad rang 'dug yin //
gnas pa thams cad rang gnas yin
// bde ba thams cad rang (4) bd(e)
yin // sdug pa thams cad rang
sdug yin // thams cad rang gi
snang ba yin // sgom rgyu med
pas bsam du med // rgyud la
sbyar du med de yengs su med //
(5) bzhag rgyu med de btang rgyu
med // brjo(?)d du med de nor
rgyu med // ye shes la yang
rgyun chad med // ting nge 'dzin
la 'thun tshams med // dmigs pa
la ni btang (6) zung med // rnam
rtog la ni bzung ngan med // yid
kyi yul la phyi nang med // dngos
po med pas pho mo med // re
dogs med pas skyon dang bral //
'dod pa (7) med pas thob pa med
// rtsol ba med pas lam skyon
sangs // 'bras bu la (r)e 'khan med
pas // sangs rgyas kyi 'dod pa
zhig / bsam brjod blo las.

GLR (Sde dge 74b4–75a2):

gnyis 'dzin grol na gnas su rtogs
// spang blang med na dngos
grub thob // 'gro don byed na
'phrin las rdzogs // blo thag chod
na 'gro sar phyin // phyin (5) nga
med na brtol pa yin // de lta bu yi
gang zag la // rig pa thams cad
rang rig yin // shes pa thams cad
rang shes yin // grol ba thams cad
rang grol yin // gsal ba thams cad
rang gsal yin // stong pa thams
cad rang stong yin // 'dug pa
thams cad rang 'dug yin // gnas
(6) pa thams cad rang gnas yin //
bde ba thams cad rang bde yin //
sdug bsngal thams cad rang sdug
yin // thams cad rang rig rang
snang yin // sgom du med pas
bsam du med // rgyud la byar
med yengs su med // bzhag rgyu
med de btang rgyu med // brjed
rgyu med de nor rgyu med // ye
(75r1) shes de la rgyun chad med
// ting nge 'dzin la thun mtshams
med // dmigs pa la yang btang
bzung med // rnam rtog la yang
bzung ngan med // yid yul la
yang phyi nang med // dngos
med la yang phyi nang med // re
dogs spangs na skyon dang bral
// 'dod pa med pas thob (2) pa
med // rtsol ba med pas skyon
rnams sangs // 'bras bu la re
mkhan med pas sangs rgyas kyi
dgongs pa zhig // bsam brjod blo
las 'das pas smra ba'i ngag dang
bral //.

Mañi bka' 'bum (1975: vol. 2, 645.2–646.1; *wam* part II, 14a2–14b1):

gnyis 'dzin grol na gnas su rtol // spang blang med na dngos grub thob // 'gro don byed na phrin las (3) rdzogs // blo thag chod na 'gro sar phyin // phyin pa med na rtol ba yin // de lta bu yi gang zag la // rig pa thams cad rang rig yin // shes pa thams cad rang shes yin // grol ba thams cad rang grol yin // gsal ba thams cad rang (4) gsal yin // stong pa thams cad rang stong yin // 'dug pa thams cad rang 'dug yin // gnas pa thams cad rang gnas yin // bde ba thams cad rang bde yin // sdug bsngal thams cad rang sdug yin // thams cad rang gi rang snang (5) yin // sgom rgyu med de bsam rgyu med // rgyud la sbyar med yengs su med // bzhag rgyu med de btang du med // brjed rgyu med de nor rgyu med // ye shes la ni rgyun chad med // ting nge 'dzin la thun mtshams med // dmigs (pa?) la ni btang bzung (6) med // rnam rtog la yang bzang ngan med // yid kyi yul la phyi nang med // dngos po med la pho mo med // re dogs bral bas skyon rnam bral // 'dod pa med pas thob pa med // rtsol ba med pas lam skyon sangs // 'bras bu la re (14v1) pa med pas sangs rgyas kyi 'dod pa zhig / bsam brjed blo las 'das pas smra ba'i ngag dang bral lo/.

KGT (*ja* 50b4–51a1):

gnyis 'dzin grol na gnas su (5) gtol // spang blang med na dngos grub thob // 'gro don byed na 'phrin las rdzogs // blo thag chod na 'gro sar phyin // phyin sa med na gtol ba yin // de lta bu yi gang zag la // rig pa thams cad rang rig yin // shes pa thams cad rang gsal yin // grol ba thams cad rang grol yin // (6) gsal ba thams cad rang gsal yin // stong pa thams cad rang stong yin // 'dug pa thams cad rang 'dug yin // gnas pa thams cad rang gnas yin // bde ba thams cad rang bde yin // sdug bsngal thams cad rang sdug yin // thams cad rang rig rang snang yin // sgom du med (7) pas bsam du med // rgyud la byar med yongs su med // bzhag rgyu med ste btang rgyu med // brjed rgyu med ste nor rgyu med // ye shes de la rgyun chad med // ting nge 'dzin la thun mtshams med // dmigs pa la yang btang bzung med // rnam par rtog pa bzang ngan med // yid kyi (51r1) yul la phyi nang med // dngos po med la pho mo med // re dogs spangs pas skyon dang bral // 'dod pa med pas thob pa med // rtsol ba med par skyon rnam spangs // 'bras bu la re pa med pas sangs rgyas kyi 'dod pa zhig / (*shad* in the middle) bsam brjed blo las 'das pas smra ba'i ngag dang bral /.

Appendix 6. Newark Folio 6

LACMA folio M.84.171.6 recto:

(1) \$\$ / (space) / ye shes nang nas
 shar b(?)l // [\pm 3 syllables
 obscured] (?)og? rang grol zer ba
 yin no // yin min blo las 'das pa la
 // dgag sgrub bral ba zer ba yin
 no // 'bad (2) rtsol ngos (z?)in pa
 la // chos nyid (?)o [\pm 7 syllables
 obscured] skye ba med pa la //
 'bras bu rang shar zer ba yin no //
 go ba dang rtogs pa dus mnyam
 // shes pa (3) dang grol ba dus
 mnyam // [\pm 8 syllables] ('b(y?)ar
 ba dang reg (second *reg*, scrubbed
 out?) pa dus mnyam / br(l?)an pa
 dang gsher pa dus mnyam+o //
 de ltar shes pa'i (4) gang zag gis //
 lta ba la [\pm 9 syllables] pa la gsal
 'grib med kyis nyi ma khur //
 spyod pa la thogs sdugs med kyis
 rlung la (5) zhon // 'bras bu la
 blang [\pm 8 syllables] (?)tar rtogs
 pa'i gang zag la // lta ba la lta
 rgyu gda' y(e) // sgom pa la sgom
 rgyu gda' ye // (6) spyod pa la
 spyod rgyu gda' ye [\pm 8 syllables]
 // rig pa shes thog du skyol //
 mtshan ma rang grol du thong //
 phyi nang gi 'dzin pa shig / bzang
 ngan (7) gyi blang dor sbongs //
 chags zhen gy(i?) [\pm 2 syllables]
 khr(o?)l // bzang 'dod kyi nga
 rgyal chog // 'dren sems kyi phra
 dog shol // zhe sdang gi me? chen
 gsod / gti.

Mani bka' 'bum (1975: vol. 2, 647.4–
 648.3; *wam* part II, 15a4–15b3):

ye shes nang nas shar ba la rnam
 rtog rang grol zer ba yin no // yin
 min blo las 'das pa la dgag sgrub
 dang bral ba zer ba (5) yin no //
 'bad rtsol ngos zin pa la chos nyid
 glong rdol zer ba yin no // lhun
 grub skye ba med pa la 'bras bu
 rang shar zer ba yin no // lhun
 grub skye ba med pa la 'bras bu
 rang shar zer ba yin no // de ltar
 go ba dang rtogs pa dus mnyam /
 shes pa dang grol ba dus mnyam
 / gsal ba dang mthong (6) ba dus
 mnyam / 'byar ba dang reg pa dus
 mnyam / rlan pa dang gsher ba
 dus mnyam mo / de ltar shes pa'i
 gang zag gis / lta ba la phyogs ris
 med kyis nam mkha' gyon / sgom
 pa la gsal 'grib med kyis nyi ma
 'khur / (15v1) spyod pa la thogs
 rdugs med kyis rlung la zhon /
 'bras bu la blang dor med kyis gser
 gling du sdod / de ltar rtogs pa'i
 gang zag la / lta ba la lta rgyu gda'
 ye / sgom pa la sgom rgyu gda' ye
 / spyod pa la spyod rgyu gda' ye
 / 'bras bu la (2) sgrub rgyu gda' ye
 / rig pa gshis thog tu skyol /
 mthsan ma rang grol du thong /
 phyi nang gi 'dzin pa shig / bzang
 ngan gyi blang dor spongs / chags
 zhen gyi 'dzin pa khrol / bzang
 'dod kyi nga rgyal chog 'gran sems
 kyi phrag dog (3) bshol / zhe
 sdang gi me chen sod / gti.

GLR (Sde dge 75b3–76a1):

ye shes nang nas shar ba la (4) rnam rtog rang grol zer ba yin no // yin min blo las 'das pa la dgag sgrub bral ba zer ba yin no // 'bad rtsol ngos zin pa la chos nyid klong rdolzer ba yin no // lhun grub skye ba med pa la 'bras bu rang shar zer ba yin no // 'o de ltar du go ba dang rtogs pa dus mnyam / shes pa dang grol ba dus (5) mnyam / gsal ba dang mthong ba dus mnyam / 'byar dang reg pa dus mnyam / brlan pa dang gsher ba dus mnyam / 'o de ltar shes pa'i gang zag gis / lta ba la phyogs ris med kyis nam mkha' gon / sgom pa la gsal 'grib med kyis nyi ma khur / spyod pa la thog brdug med kyis rlung la (6) zhon / 'bras bu la blang dor med kyis gser gling ltos / de ltar rtogs pa'i rnal 'byor la / lta ba la lta rgyu gda' ye / bsgom pa la bsgom rgyu gda' ye / spyod pa la spyod rgyu gda' ye / 'bras bu la bsgrub rgyu gda' ye / des na rig pa gshis thog tu sgyel / mtshan ma rang grol du thong / (76v1) phyi nang gi 'dzin pa shigs // bzang ngan gyi blang dor spongs / chags zhen gyi 'dzin pa khrol / bzang 'dod kyi nga rgyal thong / gran sems kyi dra dog khrol / zhe sdang gi me chen gsod / gti.

KGT (*ja* 51b2–5):

ye shes nang nas shar ba la mam rtog rang grol zer ba yin no // yin min blo las 'das pa la dgag sgrub bral ba zer ba yin no // 'bad rtsol med par zin pa la chos nyid klong rdolzer ba yin no // lhun grub skye ba med (3) pa la 'bras bu rang shar zer ba yin no // de ltar go ba dang rtogs pa dus mnyam shes pa dang grol ba dus mnyam gsal ba dang mthong ba dus mnyam 'byar ba dang reg pa dus mnyam brlan pa dang gsher ba dus mnyam / 'o de ltar shes pa'i gang zag gis lta ba la phyogs ris med kyis na mkha' (4) gon / sgom pa la gsal 'grib med kyis nyi zla khur / spyod pa la thogs brdugs med kyis rlung la zhon / 'bras bu la blang dor med kyis gser gling ltos / de ltar rtogs pa'i gang zag gis lta ba la blta rgyu gda' ye / sgom pa la sgom rgyu gda' ye spyod pa la spyod rgyu gda' ye 'bras bu la sgrub rgyu (5) gda' ye / rig pa gshis thog du skyol mthsan ma rang grol du thong phyi nang gi 'dzin pa shig bzang ngan gyi blang dor spongs chags zhen gyi 'dzin pa khrol bzang 'dod kyi nga rgyal chog 'gran sems kyi phra dog shol zhe sdang gi me chen sod gti.

LACMA folio M.84.171.6 verso:

(1) mug gi ma rig pa gsel // byar
 med du gzhag gnyis 'dzin gyi blo
 nam mkha'i dbyings su rgyas thob
 // don la sgom rgyu med kyis rig
 pa rang sar zhog / (2) de lta bu'i
 gang zag gis // bskyed rims
 bsgoms na snang srid lhar 'gyur
 // rdzogs rims dran gnyis 'dzin
 mtshan ma shig // zung 'brel 'dod
 na bar snang (3) 'ja' mtshon ltos //
 don go mthong na tha ma la chos
 med(+e/o?) // ma mthong bla ma
 bka' rgyu(d) st(e?)n // chos spyod
 byed na rang 'dod zhen pa spongs
 // mi 'jigs go cha (4) 'dod na sgo
 gsum lha ru bsgyur // gzhan don
 byed na 'gro la phan sems bskyed
 // rang don sgrub na 'du 'dzi
 g.yeng ba spongs // dgra dgyegs
 'dul na rtsa bral (5) snying rje
 skyed // phyi mi bde 'bras 'dod
 na / da lta dka' ba spyad // 'gro
 ba dbang? (d)u (?)d na bdag pas
 gzhan ces gyis // skyed dang
 snyoms las che na / mi (6) rtag 'chi
 ba sgoms // chags zhen 'dzin pa
 byung na rmi lam sgyu mar ltos
 // bar chad (b?)dud (k)iyis bred na
 rang sems bstan la phob // chos
 bzhin byed na chos min bu (7) ba
 spongs // (nga dang?) grogs
 kyang de las med // nga dang
 bral kyang de las med / sangs
 rgyas ngag dang 'byal kyang de
 las med do // ces rgyal pos
 dgongs pa.

Mani bka' 'bum (1975: vol. 2, 648.3–
 649.2; *wam* part II, 15b3–16a2):

mug gi ma rig pa sangs / byar
 med kyi ngang la yengs med tu
 zhog / gnyis 'dzin gyi blo nam
 mkha'i dbyings su rgyas thob /
 don la sgom rgyu med kyis rig pa
 rang sar zhog / de lta bu'i gang
 zag (4) gis / bskyed rim sgom na
 snang srid lha ru bsgyur //
 rdzogs rim dran na gnyis 'dzin
 mtshan ma bshig / zung 'brel 'dod
 na bar snang 'ja' tshon ltos // don
 go mthong na tha mal chos med
 sdod // ma mthong lta bar 'dod
 na bla ma bka' rgyud (5) bsten //
 chos spyod byed na rang 'dod
 zhen pa spongs // mi 'jigs go cha
 'dod na sgo gsum lha ru bsgyur //
 gzhan don byed na 'gro la phan
 sems bskyed // rang don sgrub na
 'du 'dzi g.yeng ba spongs // dgra
 bgegs 'dul na rtsa bral snying (6)
 rje bskyed // phyi ma bde 'bras
 'dod na da lta dka' ba chod // 'gro
 ba dbang du bsdud na bdag pas
 gzhan gces gyis // sgyid soms
 ngang la las na mi rtag 'chi ba
 bsgoms // chags zhen 'dzin pa
 byung na rmi lam sgyu ma ltos //
 bar chad bdud (16r1) \$\$ / (space)
 / kyis bred na rang sems gtan la
 phob // chos bzhin byed na chos
 min thams cad spongs // nga
 dang bral yang de las med //
 sangs rgyas gzhan dang mjal yang
 de las med // zhes rgyal pos (2)
 dgongs pa mngon du phyung bas
 /.

GLR (Sde dge 76a1–5):

mug gi ma rig pa sangs / byar med kyi ngang la yengs med du zhog / gnyis (2) 'dzin gyi blo ni nam mkha'i dbyings su rgyas thob / don la bsgom rgyu med kyis rang sar zhog / 'o de lta bu'i gang zag gis bskyed rim bsgom na yi dam lha ru 'gyur / rdzogs rim dran na gzung 'dzin mtshan ma zhig / zung 'bral 'dod na bar snang 'ja' tshon ltos / don go mthong na tha mal chos mi ltos / (3) ma mthong bar du bka' brgyud bla ma bsten // chos spyod byed na rang 'dod zhen pa spongs // mi 'jigs go cha 'dod na sgo gsum lha ru bsgyur / gzhan don byed na 'gro la phan sems bskyed // rang don bsgrubs na 'du 'dzi g.yeng ba spongs // dgra bgegs 'dul na rtsa bral snying rje bskyed // phyi ma (4) bde 'bras 'dod na da lta dka' ba spyod // 'gro ba dbang du sdud na bdag pas gzhan gces gyis // snyom las dran na 'chi ba mi rtag bsgom // chags zhen 'dzin pa byung na rmi lam sgyu ma bsgom // bar chad bdud kyis bred na rang sems gtan la phob // chos bzhin byed na chos min thams (5) cad spong / nga dang 'grogs kyang de las med // sangs rgyas gzhan dang mjal yang de bas med // ces chos skyong ba'i rgyal pos dgongs pa mngon du phyung pa dang //.

KGT (ja 51b5–52a2):

mug gi mun pa sol / byar med kyi ngang la yengs (6) med tu zhog / gnyis 'dzin gyi blo na mkha'i dbyings su rgyas thob / don la sgom rgyu med kyis rig pa rnag sar zhog / 'o de lta bu'i gang zag gis skyed rim bsgoms na snang srid lha ru 'gyur / rdzogs rim dran na gnyis 'dzin mtshan ma zhig / zung 'brel 'dod na bar snang 'ja' tshon ltos / don go (7) mthong na tha mal chos med sdod // ma mthong bar du bla na bka' rgyud bsten // chos spyod byed na rang 'dod zhen pa spongs // mi 'jigs go cha 'dod na sgo gsum lha ru bsgyur // gzhan don byed na 'gro la phan sems skyed // rang don sgrub na 'du 'dzi g.yeng ba spongs // dgra bgegs (52r1) 'dul na rtsa bral snying rje skyed // phi ma bde 'bras 'dod na da lta dka' ba chod // 'gro ba dbang dus dud na bdag pas gzhan gces gyis // snyom las le lo dran na 'chi ba mi rtag sgoms // chags zhen 'dzin pa byung na rmi lam sgyu mar sbyongs // bar chad bdud kyis bred na rang sems gtan la phob // lha (2) chos tshul bzhin byed na chos min thams cad spongs // nga dang yun du 'grogs kyang de las med // sangs rgyas gzhan dang mjal yang de las med // ces chos kyi rgyal pos thugs kyi brnag pa gab pa mngon du phyung ba dang.

Appendix 7. Newark Folio 7

LACMA folio M84.171.7 recto:

(1) \$\$ (space) – rje chen po'i sprul pa chos skyong ba'i rgyal po srong brtsan rgam po la / nang blon sna chen pos gser dngul skyogs gang phul nas (2) phyag btsal bskor ba byas te zhus pa / ^e ma ho // mnga' bdag chen po lags / byang chub sems dpa'i sprul pa'i sku / bdag na s(o?) rgas / shes (3) pa rmongs / chos ma mthos 'khor ba'i las ka la mi tshe yangs ma lam du zad pas / da/nga rgan po 'chi ka ma'i chos / skye shi rtsad nas gcod pa thug+s (4) rje chen po'i gdams pa tshig gsum zhu 'tshal ces zhus pas / chos skyong ba'i rgyal pos gdams pa / gnang ba zhang blon rgan po nyon cig / (5) rig pa byang chub kyi sems 'di la / sngon thog ma med pa nas rgas shing rgud pa med par gnas / da ltar gyi 'byung ba rgas pas / sems la phan (6) ma rtags / gnod pa ma skyal / chos nyid byang chub sems kyi sku la gsal sgrib med / sems mi gsal ba ni sems kyi rten / 'byung ba s(gra?) (7) chag pa yin / 'byung ba'i rten lus sems ma bcos rang sar zhog / chos nyid yang dag pa'i don bstan zhing bshad du med / chos la thos.

Maṇi bka' 'bum (2000: 407.5–408.2; *wam*, 204a5–204b2):

thugs rje chen po'i sprul pa chos skyong ba'i rgyal po srong btsan sgam po la nang gi blon po sna chen pos gser dngul skyogs gang phul te / phyag dang bskor ba byas nas / ^e ma ho mnga' bdag (6) chen po lags / byang chub sems dpa' bdag na so rgas / shes pa rmongs / chos ma thos / 'khor ba'i las ka la mi tshe zad pas / rgan po 'chi kha ma'i chos skye shi rtsad nas gcod pa / thugs rje chen po'i gdams pa tshig gsum zhu 'tshal zhes gsol pas / chos skyong ba'i (204v1) (r)gyal pos bka' gtsal pa / zhang blon rgan po nyon cig / rig pa byang chub kyi sems la / sngon thog ma med pa nas da lta yan chad la rgas shing rgud pa m(e)d par gnas / da lta'i 'byung ba rgas pas sems la phan ma btags / gnod pa ma bskyal / chos nyid byang chub kyi sems chos kyi sku la (2) gsal sgrib med / sems gsal bas sems kyi rten 'byung bchags pa yin / 'byung ba'i rten lus sems ma bcos rang sar zhog / chos nyid yang dag pa'i don bstan zhing bshad du med pas chos la thos pa.

LACMA folio M84.171.7 *verso*:

(1) bsam byar med / 'khor ba spang mi dgos / 'chi kar gdams pa 'di nyams su long cig / skye shig g(ts?)ang nas bcod pa thugs rje chen po'i (2) gdams pa tshig gsum la / lus lhar gsal / d/ngag sngags su gsal / sems chos nyid du gsal ba'o // dang po lus lhar gsal ba ni / (3) thugs rje chen por skad cid dran rdzogs ky(i)s bsgoms la / sgom pa'i mkhan po rang sems yin pas / gsal mi gsal med par ngo bstong pa (4) ^om ma Ni padm+e h'uM // ces pas grag stong rang sgra las stong pa'i ngad? du thim / (space) sems ni stong gsal chos nyid rang 'byung ngad? la zhog / zab mo lha (5) sgom pa'i gdams pa gsum / lta ba stong gsal ma bcos mtha' dang bral / sgom pa st(o)ng gsal bying dgod tha dang bral / spyod pa byar med chags (6) sdad? sk(y)on dang bral / 'di ltar nyams su long // rgas kar thugs rje chen por 'gyur skye shi rtsad nas bcod / 'kh(o)r bar kye dogs med / rgas nas chos (7) med mchi stong log yin / rgas kar chos dang 'phrad na pho rgod mdo can yin / nang blon chen po'i thugs la de ltar zhog ces gdams(o?) //.

Mani bka' 'bum (2000: 408.2–6; *wam* 204b2–204b6):

byar m(e)d / 'khor ba spang mi dgos / 'chi khar gdams pa (3) 'di nyams su long mdzod / skye shi rtsad nas gcod pa'i thugs rje chen po'i gdams pa tshig gsum la / lus lhar gsal ba / d/ngag sngags su gsal ba / yid chos nyid du gsal ba'o // lus lhar gsal ba ni thugs rje chen po skad cig dran rdzogs su bsgoms / gsal (4) dang mi gsal med / snang la rang bzhin med / ngo bo stong pa / ngag ^om ma Ni padm+e h'uM zhes grag kyang stong pa'i ngang las byung nas stong pa'i ngang du thim / yid ni stong gsal chos nyid rang byung ngang la zhog / (z)ab mo s(k)yod lha sgom spyod pa gsum la / lta ba bcos stong gsal (5) mtha' dang bral / s(g)om pa stong gsal bying rgod dang bral / spyod pa bya bral byed spyod skyon dang bral / 'di ltar nyams su long / rgas khar thugs rje chen por 'gyur ro // skye (sh)i rtsad (n)as gcod 'khor bar skye dogs med / rgas nas chos med mdo med stong log yin // rgas (6) khar chos dang phrad na mdo can pho rgad yin // zhang blon chen po'i thugs la de ltar zhog / ces gdams so // ^i+th+i // (space) .

