

Origination, Transmission, and Reception of the Phur-pa Cycle

A Study of the rDo-rje-phur-pa Cycle of Tantric Teachings in Tibet with
Special Reference to Sog-bzlog-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan's (1552–1624) *Phur
pa'i lo rgyus*

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This work is the first attempt trying to provide a systematic and comprehensive study regarding the origination, transmission, and reception of the rDo-rje-phur-pa teachings of the Tantric Buddhism in Tibet. Influenced by the long tradition of the India-Tibetan studies in Hamburg, philological-historical tools and skills are employed in this work, which means it focuses on the text-critical analysis of the text I am based on. In the historical transmission aspect, I have collected and analyzed all the related sources I could find, and the results are merely a logical arrangement and description of these sources. What is lack in this study for a more complete work is the interpretation of the philosophy and practice of the rDo-rje-phur-pa teachings. I only devote one chapter to the rDo-rje-phur-pa soteriology based on the exegesis of Mi-pham rGya-mtsho (1846–1912). What could be done in further research is to gather and examine different kinds of exegesis of the rDo-rje-phur-pa philosophy and practice.

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Part I

Introduction

Chapter 1

A General Introduction

1.1 Introduction to the Term *rDo rje phur pa*

The term *rdo rje phur pa*, in a broad sense, has three layers of meaning.¹ The basic meaning is a ritual implement used by certain Tantric practitioners or as an attribute of some deities. In this case, the simplified form *phur pa* is more often used. It can also refer to the wrathful deity of Tantric Buddhism who also bears the name rDo-rje-gzhon-nu (*vajrakumāra*). The third meaning is a cycle of teachings that belongs to the *sādhana* section (*sgrub sde*) of the Mahāyoga system according to the rNying-ma Tantric tradition, although we may find the rDo-rje-phur-pa doctrine explained in the light of, for example, the Great Perfection (*rdzogs chen*). The three meanings are interrelated. For instance, the Phur-pa implement is considered to be the materialized presence of the deity and the deity is the embodiment of the implement. The cycle of Phur-pa teachings usually includes instruction on how to use the implement and visualize the deity.

There are some instances in which *phur pa* can be replaced with *phur bu* or *phur ba*. The term *phur bu* (*kīlaka*), a diminutive form of *phur pa*, is limited to describing the ritual implement. In early scholarly works that deal with the implement, *phur bu* is preferred. Samten

¹ As this study discusses *rdo rje phur pa* or *phur pa* from various aspects, not only as a term but also as specialized Tantric teachings and deities, it is necessary to distinguish them regarding the format. I write “Phur-pa” or “rDo-rje-phur-pa,” capitalized, romanized, and hyphenated when I refer to the pertinent Tantric system or tradition, Tantric cycle, Tantric philosophy or theory or practice, and the like. However, I write *phur pa* or *rdo rje phur pa*, in low case, italicized, and not hyphenated, when I treat it as a term (also put in parentheses as foreign terms) and as an object or implement. When *rdo rje phur pa* or *phur pa* occurs within work titles, it is italicized but not hyphenated, and the first basic script (*ming gzhi*) is capitalized when it occurs as the first word of the title.

Karmay observes that *phur pa* and *phur bu* are used so freely that no differentiation is made in later texts.¹ In the A-mdo area, *pa* is very often written as *ba*, so *phur ba* has almost no distinction from *phur pa*, but is seldom used nowadays.²

F. A. Bischoff analyses these forms from the aspect of etymology and suggests that etymologically both forms, *phur pa* and *phur bu*, appear to proceed from the verbs *'phur ba* and *phur ba*. *'Phur ba* means “to scratch,” and *phur ba* has two meanings: one is the same with *'phur ba*, and the other is “to emboss.” Therefore, he explains that *phur bu* means “scratcher” or “embossing needle,” and *phur pa*, “the one who scratches.” He further indicates that the form *phur pa* must have puzzled many generations of copyists, since time and again one encounters the form *phur ba*. He provides an example: Regarding the title *rDo rje phur pa rtsa ba'i rgyud kyi dum bu*, Hermann Beckh comments that the Berlin *bKa'gyur* manuscript reads *phur ba* and it can only be *phur ba* or *phur bu*.³

The word *phur pa* is usually translated as “dagger,” “peg,” or “spike.” Prior to the use of *phur pa* as a Buddhist ritual implement, it was perhaps used as tent pegs. As a ritual implement, the *phur pa* has various appearances and can be fashioned from different materials. Usually, it is made of brass, copper, wood, bone, or even ivory. It consists of two parts. The lower part is a three-edged blade, tapering to a point, which is considered to be the distinguishing feature of the *phur pa*. The upper part, which serves as the hilt or handle, has three components, the lowest of which bears the decorative design such a knot, a head of a deity or an animal, and so forth. The central part of the hilt, where the *phur pa* is grasped, varies in the design and can be, for example, a *vajra*, a lotus petal, rings, an octagonal shaft, a series of heads, the anthropomorphic body of a deity, or even plain. The top of the *phur pa* is a head or the heads of deities—such as Hayagrīva, Mahākāla, and Vajrakīla—on all except the very simplest *phur pa*.⁴ The *phur pa* is used in the rites of securing the boundaries of a sacred place, subduing evil spirits and enemies, controlling the weather and so forth. In Tantric deity practices, the Phur-pa ritual can help practitioners to achieve their soteriological goal of Buddhahood.⁵

¹ See KARMAY 1998e: 136. This view can also be found in BISCHOFF & HARTMAN 1971: 14.

² For a discussion about the distinction of *phur pa*, *phur bu*, and *phur ba*, see CANTWELL & MAYER 2004: 139 & 2008a: 247, fn.2.

³ See BISCHOFF & HARTMAN 1971: 14. The meanings of the verbs he provides are from Chandra Das' *Tibetan-English Dictionary*.

⁴ For a general description of the Phur-pa, see MEREDITH 1967: 138. For different types of Phur-pa, see HUNTINGTON 1975.

⁵ For the usages of the Phur-pa, see CANTWELL & MAYER 2008a: 250–254 and HUNTINGTON 1975: 4.

I.1.1 The Sanskrit Equivalent of the Term *rDo rje phur pa*: *Vajrakīla* or *Vajrakīlaya*?

The Sanskrit equivalent of the term *rdo rje phur pa* has been discussed by scholars. These discussions center around *vajrakīla* or *vajrakīlaya* and debate which one of the two is more original and authentic. The root of the terms *vajrakīla* and *vajrakīlaya* is the verb *kīl*, meaning “to bind, fasten, stake, or pin.” *Kīlaya* could be the second person singular causative imperative, which frequently occurs in Sanskrit *mantras*, sometimes after the word *vajra*, which is more likely meant in the vocative case. If there is the string *vajra + kīlaya*, it is always possible to read it not as two words, vocative followed by imperative, but as one word, an imperative *vajrakīlaya*. The dative singular form of the noun *vajrakīla*, which is *vajrakīlāya*, has not yet been attested in Sanskrit Tantric texts.¹

Bischoff points out that the Sanskrit term for the magical dagger is *kīla* and quotes a Chinese transliteration of a *mantra* suggesting *kīlāya* is the dative singular of the classical Sanskrit *kīla*.² However, the standard singular dative form of the noun *kīla* should be *kīlāya*. He also states that although the form *kīlaya* (with or without the long *i* and *a*) seems to be the most usual rendition he could not find it in the dictionaries.³ Martin Boord, who prefers *Vajrakīla*, explains why Tibetans assert the Sanskrit form of *phur pa* is *kīlaya*, while all dictionaries and Sanskrit works agree the word to be *kīla* (or *kīlaka*). It is probably because of the indiscriminate use by Tibetans of the dative singular *kīlāya*. This form would have been familiar to them in the simple salutation *namo vajrakīlāya* from which it could easily be assumed by those unfamiliar with the technicalities of Sanskrit that the name of the deity is *Vajrakīlāya* rather than *Vajrakīla*.⁴

As Robert Mayer has indicated, although the Tibetan tradition has, from the earliest Dunhuang documents until modern times, consistently understood the deity’s correct Sanskrit name to be *Vajrakīlaya*, modern scholars argue that Tibetans erroneously use the dative form *vajrakīlāya* in place of the “correct” nominative, *vajrakīla*. However, he strongly refutes this argument and insists that *vajrakīlaya* is the correct form. He presents two reasons to support his opinion. First, he found that in the great majority of instances, Tibetans render the

¹ Many thanks to Prof. Harunaga Isaacson for providing me with the above information.

² See BISCHOFF & HARTMAN 1971: 15.

³ See BISCHOFF & HARTMAN 1971: 16.

⁴ See BOORD 1993: 5.

name as *vajrakīlaya* not the dative form *vajrakīlāya*. Second, he found that Sa-skyapaṇḍita Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan (1182–1251, hence forth Sa-paṇ) consistently rendered the name as *Vajrakīlaya* and in other early Sa-skya masters' works it is also like this.¹ Taking these findings into consideration, *vajrakīlaya* seems to be a more authentic Sanskrit equivalent of the term *rdo rje phur pa*. In this study, I will use the Tibetan word *rdo rje phur pa* or just *phur pa*.

1.1.2 The Origin of rDo-rje-phur-pa

Concerning the origin of the rDo-rje-phur-pa, there are two different opinions. Early scholars, such as Georgette Meredith, J. John C. Huntington, R. A. Stein, and Keith Dowman agree that the rDo-rje-phur-pa is indigenous to Tibet, while some recent scholars, such as Marin Boord and Robert Mayer, suggest the Phur-pa originated in India.² In the following paragraphs I will examine their opinions one by one.

Meredith states that the term *kīla*, or *vajrakīla*, does not seem to be mentioned in Indian Tantric literature and no object that fits its description appears in Indian Buddhist art. She holds the opinion that the Buddhist rDo-rje-phur-pa is derived from a similar implement which already existed in the Bon tradition. Specifically, she suggests that those deities who carry the Phur-bu are the ones who have been incorporated into “Lamaism” directly from the Bon religion, and several Bon deities associated with the Phur-pa recruited by Padmasambhava and his followers prove the existence and the magical use of the Phur-bu before the advent of Buddhism in Tibet.³ Huntington shares this view. He states that the rDo-rje-phur-pa deity may have pre-existed the advent of Buddhism in Tibet and that he was assimilated into the Buddhist pantheon at an early date. The deity was probably brought over or “converted” from the Bon religion and “Buddhicized” by the addition of the term *vajra* to his name.⁴ R. A. Stein thinks the actual form and shape of the *phur pa* implement seems to be purely Tibetan. Although he concedes some kind of *kīla* was known in India, he claims that he cannot establish that the Indians ever knew it in the form used in Tibet.⁵ Dowman suggests that the

¹ See MAYER 1996: 165, fn.1. For more about his discussion on this issue, see CANTWELL & MAYER 2004: 139, 2008a: fn.1 on 247, and 2013b: 38.

² There is another view that has the rDo-rje-phur-pa originating in Mesopotamia, see HUMMEL 1997: 25 and MARCOTTY 1987: 12.

³ See MEREDITH 1967: 246, 247, and 250.

⁴ See HUNTINGTON 1975: 3.

⁵ R. A. Stein's opinion about the origin of the rDo-rje-phur-pa is in his article “La guele du Makra” (1977) which

Bon tradition has an independent and “pre-Buddhist” use of the Phur-pa implement.¹ However, Siegbert Hummel disapproves of Meredith’s claim that the Phur-pa implement cannot be found in Indian Tantric literature and is the invention of the Bon tradition. He suggests that the word *vajrakīla* is a later construction of Tibetan Buddhists and assumes that the *phur pa* implement and the Phur-pa deity both came from the rNying-ma tradition to the Bon tradition.²

Per Kværne seems to be the first to have doubted the Phur-pa’s Tibetan origin and says that there is no evidence dating from the pre-Buddhist period to prove the existence of the Phur-pa in Tibet before the arrival of Padmasambhava. Though he does not explicitly express the Indian origin of the rDo-rje-phur-pa, he lists a few references that point to its existence in India.³ Later, Cantwell and Mayer published many articles trying to prove that not only was the *kīla* as a ritual implement known and used in India, but also that the Tibetan *phur pa* implement is of Indian provenance.⁴ They do admit that the *phur pa* in India is a subsidiary ritual element within other Tantric cycles, while in Tibet it enjoys huge popularity as an independent Tantric cycle. No Tantric scriptures that are dedicated to Phur-pa as the main deity have been found in India. Martin Boord agrees on the Phur-pa’s Indian origin. He traces the root of the Phur-pa mythology back to the *Rgveda* and devotes one chapter in his book to clarifying the cultural milieu out of which the Phur-pa deity arose.⁵ The scholars who support the Phur-pa’s Indian origin provide much solid literary and archeological evidence, which makes their point of view more convincing.

1.2 Previous Studies

1.2.1 Introductory Remarks

The rDo-rje-phur-pa has drawn scholars’ attention since the late nineteenth century. There are some references to it in the works that first introduced Tibetan Buddhism to the West.

I have not seen. The foregoing is from MAYER 1991: 163.

¹ See DOWMAN 1996: 302.

² See HUMMEL 1973: 23.

³ See KVÆERNE 1976: 141.

⁴ Although almost every article or book about the Phur-pa teachings or transmissions that they have published emphasises its Indian origin, two articles published in 1990 and 1991 are especially relevant, see 1.2.3.6, p. 15

⁵ See BOORD 1993: 39–70.

Emile de Schlagintweit discusses a woodblock design of *phur pa* printed on a paper charm in 1881, which seems to be the first mention of *phur pa* in western scholarship, although it is not a dagger.¹ L. Austine Waddell refers to the “Vajra phurba” several times in his *The Buddhism of Tibet*, either as the tutelary demon of the Sa-skyā and rNying-ma school, or as a weapon.² The Phur-pa is considered to be a form of the deity Hayagrīva (*rta mgrin*) not only by Albert Grünwedel but also in two books on Tibetan Buddhism in general.³ Giuseppe Tucci, in his famous *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, describes Phur-pa as “the magic nail, *kīla*, with which the exorcist nails to a given surface the hostile forces, after having vanquished them and rendered them harmless by virtue of the *mantra* (magic formula).”⁴ Nebesky-Wojowitz provides many instances where the Phur-pa appears as the instrument of a deity.⁵ Stephen Beyer lists rDo-rje-phur-pa as one of the five fierce patrons of the Five Buddha families and also as a deity of the Eight Sādhanas.⁶ Meredith provides an overview of the early studies on the *phur pa* implement and related cult and teachings, in which she mentions two articles written by Sarat Chandra Das and Siegbert Hummel. She also points out the references to the *phur pa* implement in most cases in other secondary studies including the work by Schlagintweit, Grünwedel, and Giuseppe Tucci, and two of the best-known reference books on Tibetan religious art.⁷ Although there are many secondary studies mention Phur-pa or rDo-rje-phur-pa, in the following I will focus on monographs and articles that exclusively deal with it.

1.2.2 Monographs on the Study of rDo-rje-phur-pa

1.2.2.1 John C. Huntington (1975)

The book, *The Phur-pa: Tibetan Ritual Daggers*, written by Huntington provides a systematic iconographical and stylistic study on the *phur pa* implements and classifies them into four categories—namely the Tibetan *phur pa*, the Nepalese *phur pa*, the Chinese *phur pa*, and the

¹ As I have not seen Schlagintweit’s article titled “Le Bouddhisme au Tibet” (1881) and this information is from the article of Georgette Meredith (see MEREDITH 1967: 236), it is not sure if the *phur pa* refers to the deity or the implement.

² See WADDELL 1895: 70, 72, 266, 363, and 483.

³ See GRÜNWEDEL 1900: 164–165, GORDON 1959: 16, and GETTY 1966: 163.

⁴ See TUCCI 1949: 588.

⁵ See, for example, NEBESKY-WOJOWITZ 1996: 18.

⁶ See BEYER 2001: 43–45.

⁷ For details, see MEREDITH 1957: 236–237.

Bon po phur pa—among which the Tibetan *phur pa* is the largest category. He classifies the Tibetan *phur pa* into seven categories, which include more than twenty subtypes and several unique versions of the implement. Each type is illustrated with actual Phur-pa figures, and each figure is described detailing its material, technique, length, region of origin, and date. He also adds an explanation following the basic description. In the Nepalese *phur pa* section, Huntington found that all the Nepalese *phur pa* he came across were in the forms of Viśvarūpasamvara and his female counterpart, Pāpagāndevī. Thus he made two categories of the Nepalese *phur pa* correlating to the two deities depicted in the handle. Besides this, he also lists a type of generalized Nepalese *phur pa* with *vajra* and peacock feathers as the termination of the hilt. The last category of the Nepalese *phur pa* is a Śīva-emanated *phur pa* which has Śīva as its principle deity. He thinks this shows the unity of Buddhism and Śaivism in Nepal.

As for the Chinese *phur pa*, Huntington presents only one example from northern China, which has some characteristics that seem to be non-Tibetan. The *bon po phur pa* listed in this book belonged to Bon priests and is different from any of the Buddhist *phur pa* although it shares some fundamental similarities. Before his iconographical introduction to the *phur pa* implement, Huntington also discusses the nomenclature of the term *phur pa*, the use of the *phur pa* implement, Padmasambhava's connection with the rDo-rje-phur-pa teachings, and its position in the rNying-ma and Bon traditions. In a review of Huntington's work, Per Kværne points out several mistakes regarding some opinions advanced by Huntington and the explanations of the Tibetan names of deities. However, he still speaks highly of this work regarding its valuable contribution to the study of Tibetan art and iconography.¹

1.2.2.2 Thomas Marcotty (1987)

The book, *Dagger Blessing: The Tibetan Phurpa Cult: Reflections and Materials*, is the outcome of Marcotty's sojourns in the Himalayan region and studies with rDo-rje-phur-pa practitioners who were living in Switzerland and other European countries. This book covers a wide range of themes on the rDo-rje-phur-pa including its origin, categories, iconography, and effects. He suggests that the origin of the *phur pa* implement has no relation to Buddhism, and that the Phur-pa cult and Mahāyana Buddhism coexist by mere coincidence in the same region. Believing that the primary purpose of the Phur-pa practice is to turn unhappy people into happy ones, not in a life after death but here and now, Marcotty introduces the cult

¹ See KVÆRNE 1976: 141–143.

of rDo-rje-phur-pa from the aspect of practitioners, the use of *mantras*, the function of gestures, the rules of peaceful coexistence, the phases of exorcism rituals, and auspicious times and places. At the end of the book, he provides translations of four Tibetan texts that are a table of contents of a manual for Phur-pa priests, two treasure texts discovered by Ratnagling-pa (1403–1475), and excerpts from the root Tantric scripture of the rDo-rje-phur-pa.¹

In her review, Cantwell points out this book's two defects. First, the research is poor or partial because Marcotty did not investigate the broader context of the rNying-ma teaching lineages. Second, his perspective is highly dubious and sometimes self-contradicting. Cantwell further refutes his idea about Buddhism and the Phur-pa having different historical origin and insists that the rDo-rje-phur-pa Tantric scriptures preserved by the rNying-ma-pa go back to Sanskrit origin. Having listed other shortcomings of this book, Cantwell evaluates it as “disappointing” and wonders why he published a book at such a provisional stage of research.²

1.2.2.3 Robert Mayer (1996)

Mayer's book, *A Scripture of the Ancient Tantra Canon: The Phur-pa bcu-gnyis*, published in 1996, is a critical study of a Phur-pa scripture, the *Phur pa bcu gnyis*, included in the *rNying ma rgyud 'bum*.³ He provides a critical edition of this scripture (only the first three and the final chapters) based on five versions.⁴ In the section that precedes the critical edition, he first presents summaries of the translations of all the chapters, although he translated the whole scripture of twenty-four chapters. He then surveys the history of the *rNying ma rgyud 'bum* editions, and a provisional stemma of the five versions of the *Phur pa bcu gnyis* is included at the end.

Apart from the critical edition and translation, the study is divided into three chapters. The first chapter deals with the canonicity and authenticity of rNying-ma-pa texts in general. In the second chapter, he argues that the Tibetan gTer-ma tradition, to which the Phur-pa scripture belongs, is primarily a Tibetan elaboration of the Buddhist system. It was

¹ These were translated respectively by dGe-bshes Blo-ldan-shes-rab-dar-rgyas, Amy Heller, Ime Nyomba Nat-sok Kune Zakhan, and Amy Heller.

² See CANTWELL 1989: 63.

³ For a review of this book, see BLEZER 1999.

⁴ The five versions are the sDe-dge xylographic edition, the Kathmandu Manuscript held in the National Archives, the mTshams-brag Manuscript preserved in the National Library in Thimphu, the Thimphu reprint of the gTing-skyes dGon-pa-byang Monastery, and the Waddell Manuscript preserved in the Indian Office Library in London.

already well attested in Indian and Chinese literature many centuries before the introduction of Buddhism to Tibet—indicating that it was not a syncretic development derivative of the indigenous Tibetan religion, nor a Buddhist invention entirely unique to Tibet. The third chapter is a discussion of the origin of the *Phur pa bcu gnyis* with the aim of showing to the extent to which the scripture is Indic, and the extent to which it is Tibetan. He finds out that ninety percent of its contents are indistinguishable from the type of materials found in attestable Indic texts, and there is no absolutely conclusive evidence of indigenous Tibetan material but rather it seems to be a Tibetan reformulation of the Indic materials.

1.2.2.4 Cathy Cantwell and Robert Mayer (2007, 2008)

This section will introduce two monographs on the rDo-rje-phur-pa written by Cantwell and Mayer. The first monograph, *The Kīlaya Nirvāṇa Tantra and the Vajra Wrath Tantra: Two Texts from the Ancient Tantra Collection*, published in 2007, is a study of two Tantric scriptures related to the rDo-rje-phur-pa in the *rNying ma rgyud 'bum*. In the first part, Cantwell and Mayer provide a general introduction to the *rNying ma rgyud 'bum* and the two Phur-pa Tantric scriptures. The reason for the choice of these two Tantric scriptures, namely the *rDo rje phur bu mya ngan las 'das pa'i rgyud chen po* and the *rDo rje khros pa*, is their comparatively early indigenous Tibetan compilation, though they are heavily dependent upon Indic materials. Cantwell and Mayer also discuss the textual criticism of the *rNying ma rgyud 'bum* tradition. The second part is a summary of the two Tantric scriptures. In the third part, they provide extant versions of the texts, the stemmatic relations between the extant versions, and critical editions of the two texts.

The second monograph, *Early Tibetan Documents on Phur pa from Dunhuang*, is dedicated to Dunhuang Phur-pa materials based on a project to decipher, transcribe, and translate the Dunhuang archaeological legacy concerning Phur-pa, including both the Phur-pa texts and related Phur-pa materials. Before examining the Dunhuang Phur-pa texts, Cantwell and Mayer provide a general introduction, an investigation into the reasons for the Phur-pa's prominence in Tibet, and a survey of the Dunhuang Phur-pa corpus. In their investigation into the Phur-pa's prominence in Tibet, they give nine hypotheses from the aspects of cultural affinities and social conditions. In the survey of the Dunhuang Phur-pa corpus, they classify the texts into two categories. One is for practical magic usages, the other is for Tantric deity practices focused on enlightenment.

The main part of the book is a study of each of the Dunhuang Phur-pa manuscripts. Each manuscript is totally or partially transliterated, and some are translated and commented. It is worthy mentioning that the PT 44, which is said to be possibly the oldest document in existence referring to Padmasambhava, is translated and studied again after the pioneering work of Bischoff and Hartman.¹

1.2.2.5 Martin Boord (1993, 2002, 2010, 2013, 2015, 2017)

Martin Boord is a prolific scholar specializing in the Northern Treasure tradition of Phur-pa (*byang gter phur pa*). So far, he has published five monographs on this topic. The one published in 2013 is almost a repetition of the one published in 1993 with the addition of two further collections of the Byang-gter-phur-pa. I have not seen yet the two published in 2015 and 2017, and therefore I will only introduce the three books published in 1993, 2002, and 2010.

The first book, *The Cult of the Deity Vajrakīla*, surveys the cult of the wrathful deity rDo-rje-phur-pa as represented by the literature and living tradition of the Northern Treasures school of Tibetan Buddhism.² It is divided into three parts. The first part traces the origin and development of the Northern Treasures tradition. The second part examines the following three topics: the origin of the *kīla* and its Buddhist assimilation, the iconographic details of the Phur-pa deities, and the traditional history of the rDo-rje-phur-pa. In the third part, Boord examines two root Tantric scriptures of the Byang-gter-phur-pa revealed by Rig-'dzin-rgod-l-dem-can, summarizing and assessing their contents. He also introduces other texts which are centered on the empowerment rites, the meditation for the performance of the black deity, the attainment of unsurpassed enlightenment, controlling mischievous spirits, the violent rituals to destroy all enemies and obstructers, the longevity ritual, and meditations to accompany the preparations of miniature *stūpas* (*tsha tsha*). The contents of the three Byang-gter-phur-pa collections are listed as appendices. He also provides a critical edition of the *rDo rje phur pa spu gri nag po rab tu gsang ba'i rgyud* in the appendix. Erberto Lo Bue thinks this book may be regarded as the first dealing systematically with the Phur-pa: “starting from a detailed analysis of the traditional teachings known as Northern Treasures, Boord places the *kīla* tradition within its historical, cultural, religious, ritual and iconographic context, and discusses

¹ Cantwell and Mayer also published four articles related to the Dunhuang Phur-pa manuscript, see MAYER 2004, and CANTWELL & MAYER 2008a, 2008b, and 2010.

² For two reviews of this book, see BUE 1995, and CANTWELL 1996.

it in evolutionary terms.”¹

The second book, *A Bolt of Lightning from the Blue*, is a translation and study of the *Phur ’grel ’bum nag*, a commentary on the rDo-rje-phur-pa teachings. In the section preceding the translation, Martin Boord discusses the characteristics of this text, its Indian origin, the arrangement of the text, subsequent spread of the doctrines, and its doctrinal themes. He also provides a translation of the *Phur pa rtsa ba’i dum bu* and the *Phur pa spu gri na po’i rgyud*. The third book, *A Roll of Thunder from the Void*, incorporates eight texts related to the Byang-gter-phur-pa. Boord presents both the translation and the original Tibetan, hoping it will be of practical value for meditators.

1.2.3 Articles on rDo-rje-phur-pa

1.2.3.1 Sarat Chandra Das (1896)

The first scholar who wrote an article devoted to the Phur-pa seems to be Chandra Das.² In this article, he classifies the Phur-pa into two kinds namely metaphysical and ordinary. The metaphysical Phur-pa, according to Chandra Das, can be compared with all intellectual accomplishments. For instance, the Phur-pa of knowledge destroys ignorance which is the prime cause of sin. The ordinary Phur-pa is categorized into four kinds based on their functions, namely peace (*zhi ba*), abundance (*rgyas pa*), power (*dbang*) and fearfulness (*drag pa*). He describes their appearance and power respectively. Despite the obvious shortcomings of this article, such as no sources being provided, Meredith states that none of Chandra Das’ descriptions fit any of the examples seen by her.³

1.2.3.2 Siegbert Hummel (1952)

In the article published in 1952, “Der Lamaistische Ritualdolch (Phur-bu) und die altvorderorientalischen ‘Nagelmenschen’,”⁴ Hummel first describes the iconographical features of the Phur-pa, and mentions that, although the deity most often represented on the handle is Hayagrīva, other gods, such as Mahākāla and Vajrakīla, are also represented. Then he

¹ See BUE 1995: 321.

² See DAS 1896.

³ For her other comments on this article, see MEREDITH 1967: 237.

⁴ There is an English translation of this article by G. Vogliotti, see VOGLIOTTI 1997.

concludes that the Phur-pa is meant to be the materialized presence of a deity. He also speculates about its origin in the west of Tibet. From the correspondences in shape and function between the Phur-pa and the both Sumerian and Hittite dirk figures, Hummel draws the conclusion that the Phur-pa derives from the old Middle Eastern dirk deities. He further surmises that the Phur-pa could have a phallic origin.

1.2.3.3 Georgette Meredith (1967)

Georgette Meredith's article, "The *Phurbu*: The Use and Symbolism of the Tibetan Magic Dagger," published in 1967, deals mainly with the actual Phur-pa implement with regard to its appearance, related deities, usage, and cultural concept behind it. She first gives a detailed description of the Phur-pa based on the collection of the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago. She divides the Phur-pa into blade, lower hilt, central hilt, and upper hilt. For each part, she not only presents its typical designs and related deities but also digs out its genesis or relation to other religions or cultures.

She also observes that the deities who carry the Phur-pa are incorporated into Lamaism directly from the Bon religion. This is why Hayagrīva, a deity imported from India, does not have a Phur-pa as an attribute, despite the fact that Phur-pa is often considered to be a manifestation of this deity. From her analysis of the use of Phur-pa, she concludes that the Phur-pa itself is the result of the superimposition of a Buddhist magical implement on an implement already in use in Tibet that had much the same power.

Having examined the Phur-pa's elements in the Na-khi tradition, Bon art, and pre-Buddhist Tibetan mythology, Meredith suggests that the four main attributes of the Phur-pa—the horse, Garuḍa, Nāga, and thunderbolt—are derived from a common source and found their way into Tibet and India separately. With the introduction of Buddhism, these concepts and symbols were reintroduced into Tibet, where the forms that had developed independently but in parallel ways were superimposed one on the other, both conceptually and symbolically.

1.2.3.4 F. A. Bischoff & Charles Hartman (1971)

Bischoff and Hartman's study on the Dunhuang manuscript PT 44, which is considered by Tucci to be a strong evidence of the historicity of Padmasambhava, provides both a transliteration and a translation of the manuscript. Its theme is the summoning of the *Vidyottamatantra*

(*Phur bu'i 'bum sde*) from Nālandā to the Asura cave at Yang-led-shod in Nepal. At the beginning of the article, they assume that this manuscript is an early version of some (possibly even canonical) rNying-ma-pa text, and the *Phur bu'i 'bum sde* is contained somewhere in the *Rin chen gter mdzod*, which, however is not included. They also analyze the Sanskrit, Tibetan and Mongolian terms that designate the magical dagger.

1.2.3.5 R. A. Stein (1978)

As the article “A Propos des Documents Anciens Relatifs au Phur-bu (Kīla)” by R. A. Stein, published in 1978, is in French, I use Mayer’s comments on it for the following introduction.¹ In this article, Stein makes a wide-ranging analysis of ancient texts concerning the Phur-pa, including two Dunhuang texts (PT 44 and PT 349), as well as various materials from the later canonical collections of the *bKa' 'gyur*, *bsTan 'gyur*, and the *rNying ma'i rgyud 'bum*. What remains valid is his important identification of a strong connection between the Phur-pa materials and the *Guhyasamāja* tradition; and also the importance of the occurrence of the shared identity of the forms Vajrakīla and Amṛtakuṇḍalin.² What has become more questionable, however, are some of Stein’s minutiae in historical and textual data.

1.2.3.6 Cathy Cantwell and Robert Mayer (1990, 1991, 2013)

Cantwell and Mayer have for decades devoted themselves to the study of the rDo-rje-phur-pa. They have published numerous articles in addition to the four listed above, which are incorporated in one of their monographs. In an article published in 1991, titled “Observations on the Tibetan Phur-pa and Indian Kīlas,”³ Mayer challenges the consensus that the Phur-pa is of autochthonous Tibetan provenance. He also posits that not only was the *kīla* known and used in India in some form or another, but that characteristic form that we now call the “Tibetan-style” Phur-pa might also be of surprisingly orthodox Indian provenance. He uses a myth and an important Vedic ritual implement, the *yūpa*, to justify the Phur-pa’s India origin. To be more specific, the myth is an account of creation in which Indra slays the serpent Vṛta, thus allowing the world to come into existence. It introduces the crucial notion of the *kīla* as

¹ For the following introduction, see MAYER 2004: 129–132.

² Mayer believes that Steins’ article was the first to remark that the deity rDo-rje-phur-pa and the deity Amṛtakuṇḍalin often and on significant occasions share a merged identity, see MAYER 2004: 130.

³ An incomplete and primitive presentation of this paper was published in 1990, see MAYER 1990.

the cosmic mountain Meru (also called Indrakīla).¹

The modern Tibetan Phur-pa is associated with the mountain Meru (or Mandara), both in liturgy and also sometimes in iconography. The *yūpa* is the derivation of the Phur-pa both in iconography and functions. The eight-faceted shaft and the knotted rope are standard features of the Tibetan Phur-pa. The two ritual meanings of the *yūpa*, namely the pathway to the gods and the marker of sacred boundaries, correspond to the two functions of the Phur-pa. In the end, Mayer concludes that the Tibetan Phur-pa, both in its iconographical forms as well as in its ritual meanings, appears to very accurately embody all the essential aspects of both the *indrakīla* and the *yūpa*, which could suggest an Indian rather than Tibetan origin.

Another two articles, both published in 2013, are dedicated to a comparison study of the *Ka ba nag po*, a famous Bon Phur-pa Tantric scripture, and the rNying-ma-phur-pa texts. In the article, titled “Neither the Same nor Different: The Bon *Ka ba nag po* in Relation to Rnying ma Phur pa Text,” Cantwell and Mayer first point out the difficulty in assessing the recensional history of this Tantric scripture. Due to methodological constraints, they adopt a perspective more literary than historical, relying on the received contents of the text. They then use Schäfer’s threefold analytic structure of lemmata, microform, and macro form to expose the underlying logic of the composition of early Tibetan Phur-pa Tantric scriptures. They find that at the level of lemmata the *Ka ba nag po* asserts its Bon identity and its sectarian difference from the rNying-ma-pa. Less differentiation is effected at larger composite levels of microforms and macro forms.

In the other article, “The Bon *Ka ba nag po* and the Rnying ma Phur pa tradition,” they explore some of the still puzzling complexities of the origin of the Bon-po-phur-pa, of how it is in some respects quite distinct from Buddhist Phur-pa but, in other respects, dependent upon it. They discuss this from three interconnected strands of evidence: the external historical circumstances, the contents of the early Buddhist Phur-pa texts in general, and the contents of the early Bon-po-phur-pa texts. After the analysis, they assume that the *Ka ba nag po* was authored with an exceptionally complete understanding of the ritual, doctrinal, and contemplative principles of the existing Tibetan Phur-pa tradition, laboriously recreating the entire system anew, using numerous indigenous building blocks.

From the above review of the previous studies on the rDo-rje-phur-pa, it can be seen that the early studies are devoted mostly to the *phur pa* being an instrument, focusing on its

¹ In PT 44, the Phur-pa is called *ki la ya ri rab*, which is further evidence supporting the above notion. For the record of *ki la ya ri rab* in other Tibetan sources, see CANTWELL & MAYER 2008: 55.

shape, material, usage, origin, presented deity, and so forth. Then, scholars slowly started to pay attention to its religious and cultural signification. Recent studies show a tendency among scholars to study the related texts, such as the Dunhuang manuscripts, the Northern Treasures texts, and the *rNying ma rgyud 'bum*. Despite the various studies on the rDo-rje-phur-pa, a systematic and comprehensive study on its transmission is still a desideratum.

1.3 Tibetan Sources on the Transmission of the rDo-rje-phur-pa Cycle

The present study is centered on the transmission history of the rDo-rje-phur-pa cycle and makes use of sources that provide any information regarding it. To give an overall impression of the sources, they are divided into five categories, namely sources about the general history of the rDo-rje-phur-pa cycle, sources specific to a particular transmission, sections in historical works, sections in explanatory texts, and records of teachings received (*thob yib/gsan yig*). In the following, I will introduce its text by summarizing their key content.

1.3.1 Sources on General Transmission

The first text is the PT 44, which is probably the earliest historical account of the history of the rDo-rje-phur-pa cycle.¹ It tells the story of Padmasambhava and his disciples taking the *Phur bu'i 'bum sde* from Nālandā to the Asura cave in Nepal, during which time he tamed the four *bse* goddesses and made them protectresses of the teachings. Then he gave back the *Phur bu'i 'bum sde* and practiced with other masters in the Asura Cave. As a result, they saw the deity Vajrakumāra and obtained miraculous powers. The text also records the first bestowing of the Phur-pa teachings by Padmasambhava and lists the recipients' names. The rest of this text deals with the practice and meditation ritual of the rDo-rje-phur-pa. Cantwell and Mayer suggest that PT 44 closely resembles later historical texts on the Phur-pa (*phur pa lo rgyus*), presenting its history, lineage, doctrine, and the fruits of successful practice.²

The next historical source is the *Phur pa lo rgyus* written by Sog-bzlog-pa Blo-gros-

¹ For an overview of scholars' studies on the PT 44, see CANTWELL & MAYER 2008: 41. For three English translations of PT 44, see BISCHOFF & HARTMAN 1971: 21–26, KAPSTEIN 2000: 157–159, and CANTWELL & MAYER 2008b: 56–67, and for a Chinese translation, see LUO 2007.

² See CANTWELL & MAYER 2008: 35.

rgyal-tshan (1552–1624) in 1609.¹ This text, which is the longest and most comprehensive historical account of the rDo-rje-phur-pa cycle, records its lineage from its transmission by the Buddhas in the celestial realm to the time of the author. It focuses mainly on its transmissions in the rNying-ma school but also introduces its early transmission in the Sa-skyā school. As this text is the basis of the present study, a critical edition and an annotated translation are provided.

gTsang-mkhan-chen 'Jam-dbyangs-dpal-ldan-rgya-mtsho (1610–1684) composed two texts, *Phur pa chos 'byung* and *Phur pa chos 'byung bsdus pa*, a longer one and a shorter one.² The longer one, as the title indicates, not only includes the transmission history of the rDo-rje-phur-pa but also the discourse on the Phur-pa Tantric scriptures. The shorter one excludes the discourse on the Phur-pa Tantric scriptures and focuses on the historical part. In both texts, the historical part, starting from the origin of the rDo-rje-phur-pa cycle, covers its main traditions until the time of the author but is not as detailed as Sog-bzlog-pa's *Phur pa lo rgyus*.

The *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung* reports two historical accounts associated with the Phur-pa composed by gTer-bdag-gling-pa, one is the *Phur pa'i chos 'byung ngo mtshar rgya mtsho'i rba rlabs*; the other is the *Phur 'grel 'bum nag*.³ However, neither is thought to be extant. A treasure text, *rDo rje phur pa lo rgyus ngo mtshar snang ba*, was first composed and concealed by Lo-tsā-ba Vairocana, and later copied by Las-rab-gling-pa (1859–1926) at the Kaḥ-thog Monastery. It does not cover the entire transmission history of the rDo-rje-phur-pa but focuses only on its spread in the Akaniṣṭha realm and the human realm. Concerning the spread in the human realm, the text records Padmasambhava's obtainment of the teachings from rDo-rje-'dzin-pa and his first proclamation of them in Tibet. There is also a story about how Padmasambhava was requested to give the teachings: Ye-she-mtsho-rgyal refused requests for the Phur-pa teachings three times from three different beings and permitted them to receive the teachings not from herself but rather from Padmasambhava. Another text, called the *Phur pa che mchog lo rgyus*, which is very concise (only three folios) and belongs to the Northern Treasures, focuses on the scorpion story, which I will discuss in 2.1.3, p. 32.

¹ For a comprehensive study of the life of Sog-zlog-pa, see GENTRY 2016.

² For the different editions of the two texts, see MARTIN 1997: no. 227.

³ See the *Gur bkra'i chos 'byung* (p. 1047.17–19). This gTer-bdag-gling-pa could be gTer-bdag-gling-pa 'Gyur-med-rdo-rje (1646–1714), the founder of the sMin-grol-gling Monastery.

1.3.2 Sources Specific to Particular Transmissions

The *Yang gsang spu gri'i byung tshul*, written by A-mes-zhabs Ngag-dbang-kun-dga'-bsod-nams (1597–1659), records briefly how the Phur-pa-yang-gsang-spu-gri cycle was first concealed by Padmasambhava and later revealed by Guru Chos-kyi-dbang-phyug. It also mentions different cycles of the bKa'-brgyad treasures and the emergence of nine *mandalas* during the time of bestowing the initiation of bKa'-brgyad-yongs-rdzogs.

The *Byang gter phur pa dbang gi lo rgyus*, written by 'Phrin-las-bdud-'joms (1725–1789), deals with the history of the Byang-gter-phur-pa.¹ The beginning of the text introduces the transmission of the Mahāyoga teachings through the three lineages. Concerning the sGrub-sde section of the Mahāyoga, the text tells the story of the distribution of the eight caskets of the bKa'-brgyad, during which Padmasambhava received the casket of the Phur-pa teachings. After the general introduction, the text concentrates on the transmission of the Phur-pa teachings, including Padmasambhava and his two friends' requesting the Phur-pa teachings from Prabhasthi, their practice in Yang-le-shod, Padmasambhava's arrival in Tibet, the transmission of the teachings in Tibet, and the contest between Lang-lab Byang-chub-rdo-rje and Rwa Lo-tsā-ba (1016–1128/1198). Following that, the remainder of the text is the speech of Padmasambhava to the king, which tells how Padmasambhava hid many kinds of Phur-pa implements and Phur-pa teachings in different places in Tibet. A Tantric scripture, the *rTsa rgyud rang byung rang shar*, is cited to prophesy the revelation of the Byang-gter-phur-pa by Rig-'dzin-rgod-ldem-can. Then, after a brief introduction to Rig-'dzin-rgod-ldem-can and his discovery of the Byang-gter-phur-pa cycle, the text describes the transmission of the treasure teachings to Rig-'dzin Pad-ma-gsang-sngags. The author identifies three traditions of the Byang-gter-phur-pa, namely Phur-pa-lha-khrag, Phur-pa-lha-nag, and Phur-pa-lha-'dus. In the end, it discusses five topics related to the Phur-pa empowerment.

The *Phur pa rgyud lugs las chos 'byung ngo mtshar snang byed*, written by 'Jigs-med-gling-pa (1730–1798), divides the transmission of the Phur-pa-rgyud-lugs into the previous Tantric transmission (*rgyud keyi lugs*) and the later instructive transmission (*man ngag gi lugs*). His focus is on the latter, in which the transmission of the rDo-rje-phur-pa teachings from Ye-shes-mtsho-rgyal to the four disciples of Lang-lab is introduced. The text also adds some description of lCam-lugs, Phur-pa-lha-nag, and Phur-pa-lha-khra. The *bDud 'joms gnam lcags*

¹ 'Phrin-las-bdud-'joms was a student of Rig-'dzin-tshe-dbang-nor-bu and the teacher of Chos-kyi-dbang-phyug, see BOORD 1993: 10. This text has been used by Martin Boord for his study of the history of the rDo-rje-phur-pa cycle and many parts have been loosely translated by him, see BOORD 1993: 95–125.

spu gri lo rgyus by bDud-'joms 'Jigs-bral-ye-shes-rdo-rje (1904–1987) is divided into two parts. The first part deals with the transmission of the rDo-rje-phur-pa cycle in general, from its origin to its flourishing in Tibet. The second part is devoted to the revelation of the gNam-lcags-spu-gri cycle revealed by bDud-'joms-gling-pa (1835–1904).

1.3.3 Passages in Historical Works

In addition to the above historical works that are devoted to the general transmission or a particular transmission of the rDo-rje-phur-pa cycle, there are passages in some historical works dealing with its transmission. The *Nyang ral chos 'byung* is probably the first historical work that introduces the nine transmissions of the rDo-rje-phur-pa cycle.¹ The *Deb ther sngon po* does not have a section specific to the rDo-rje-phur-pa cycle, but mentions its transmission in the accounts of other teachings or masters. In the *mKhas pa'i dga' ston*, there is a record of Padmasambhava receiving the Phur-pa teachings from Prabhahasti, the accomplishments of the three masters following the Phur-pa practices, and Padmasambhava's taming of the four *bse* goddesses. It goes on to tell the story of the Phur-pa-lcam-lugs and mentions that many Phur-pa *siddhas* from various clans existed. Before the arising of the new translation tradition, Yang-dag and Phur-pa protected the life essence of deities and the teaching guardians in Tibet.²

The *Nor bu'i phreng ba* places the transmission of the rDo-rje-phur-pa cycle twice as the fifth of the Eight Sādhanas. The first time, the text tells of the way in which the teachings of the Phur-pa descended to the human realm and how they were received by Padmasambhava. An account of the early life of Padmasambhava is also provided. It then states that Padmasambhava went to Nālanda to take the Phur-pa scriptures and obtained the accomplishments of the Phur-pa, together with Vimālamitra and Śīlamanju.³ The second time, the text focuses mainly on the transmission of the Phur-pa teachings in Tibet, in which a short biography of Ye-shes-mtsho-rgyal is added. It provides some new transmissions that were not provided by other sources, such as the Phur-pa-lha-nag-jo-mo-lugs, rTsa-thung-gdams-ngag-can-gyi-lugs, and so forth.⁴

¹ See the *Nyang ral chos 'byung* (p. 485.4–15).

² See the *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* (pp. 308.27–309.17).

³ See the *Nor bu'i phreng ba* (pp. 185.6–193.1).

⁴ See *ibid.* (pp. 304.1–307.2).

In the *mTha'gru'i rgyan* by 'Jigs-med-gling-pa (1730–1798), there is a part devoted to the rDo-rje-phur-pa cycle that introduces eight sub-traditions of the Phur-pa and tells the story of 'Dar-phyar-ru-ba, a Phur-pa *siddha* of the gTer ma transmission.¹ It also briefly mentions the Phur-pa transmission in the context of the Eight Sādhanas in the bKa'-ma and gTer-ma transmissions.²

The *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung* devotes a very long section to the history of the rDo-rje-phur-pa cycle. It covers almost every sub-tradition of the cycle and introduces each in detail. Some parts may be based on the *Phur pa 'bum nga*, the *Deb ther sgnon po*, Sog-bzlog-pa's *Phur pa lo rgyus*, and 'Jigs-med-gling-pa's *Phur pa rgyud lugs chos 'byung*, and the *mTha'gru'i rgyan*.

In the *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* there is a chapter dealing with the transmission of the rDo-rje-phur-pa cycle that is almost identical to that in the *mTha'gru'i rgyan*.³ Moreover, the transmission of the Phur-pa is briefly mentioned within the Eight Sādhanas, from the aspect of both the bKa'-ma and gTer-ma transmissions.⁴ In the *Bod sog chos 'byung* (pp. 509.17–510.13) by the fifth Shing-bza' sKal-bzang-chos-kyi-rgyal-mtshan (1928–1998), there is a concise introduction to some sub-traditions of the rDo-rje-phur-pa cycle.

1.3.4 Other Kinds of Literature

The explanatory texts of the rDo-rje-phur-pa cycle also provide some brief information regarding its transmission, for instance, the *Phur 'grel 'bum nag* ascribed to Padmasambhava, Vimalamitra and Śīlamanju, the *Phur pa sgrub thabs rnam bshad* by A-mes-zhabs Ngag-dbang-kun-dga'-bsod-nams, and the *Phur pa'i rnam bshad* by Mag-gsar-kun-bzang sTob-ldan-dbang-po (1781–1828). In the records of teachings received, such as the *A mes zhabs thob yig*, *Gangā'i chu rgyun*, and *Kong sprul gsan yig*, various Phur-pa transmissions are mentioned.

¹ See the *mTha'gru'i rgyan* (pp. 294.7–300.1).

² See *ibid.* (pp. 119.9–122.5 & p. 123.4–5).

³ See the *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* (pp. 376.8–384.9, for the translation, see DORJE & KAPSTEIN 2002: 711–716).

⁴ See *ibid.* (pp. 92.10–94.6, for the translation, see DORJE & KAPSTEIN 2002: 481–483).

Chapter 2

Tibetan Accounts of the Origination and Early Transmission of the rDo-rje-phur-pa Cycle

It is widely accepted that Padmasambhava was the introducer of the scriptures and teachings of rDo-rje-phur-pa to Tibet. PT 44 attributes to him not only the redaction and ordering of the Phur-pa Tantric scriptures but also the transmission of its practice lineages in Tibet and the appointment of its protective deities at Yang-le-shod in Nepal.¹ Padmasambhava is the key figure in the transmission of rDo-rje-phu-pa and can be seen as the originator of all the Phur-pa lineages of Tibetan Tantric Buddhism. The ways in which he received the teachings of Phur-pa and then spread them in Tibet will be the two main focuses of this chapter. The purpose of this chapter is neither to establish the historical facts of the origination of rDo-rje-phur-pa teachings nor to distinguish the historical materials from the legends, but rather to investigate the narratives or the concepts relating to how Padmasambhava received and brought the Phur-pa teachings to Tibet.

Relating the transmission of the rDo-rje-phur-pa cycle in the scheme of the ten descents of the Tantric teachings (*gsang sngags 'gyur bcu* or *gsang sngags kyi babs lugs bcu*) to Tibet, which is brought up in the *lDe'u chos 'byung*, one hundred and one activities of Phur-pa-zil-gnon were established by Padmasambhava based on Vajrakumāra, in the first descent, as one

¹ See CANTWELL & MAYER 2013: 39.

of the four branch activities (*yan lag 'phrin las bzhi*).¹ In the eighth descent, when Vimalamitra was invited to Tibet, five *sādhana*s—bDud-rtsi, Phur-pa, Padma-dbang-chen, Yang-dag and gShin-rje—appeared in Tibet.²

2.1 Narrative of Padmasambhava Obtaining the rDo-rje-phur-pa Teachings

There are various versions of the story of Pamasambhava obtaining these teachings. These versions can be divided into two categories in general. The first is the independent transmission of rDo-rje-phur-pa in the bKa'-ma tradition. The second is together with the gTer-ma transmission of the eight *sādhana*, of which rDo-rje-phur-pa is an integral part.

2.1.1 Independent Transmissions in the bKa'-ma Tradition

It is said that all the teachings of the three inner Tantric scriptures of the rNyin-ma school are transmitted through three stages (*bstan pa'i bab lugs chen mo gsum*), namely the mind transmission of the Buddhas (*rgyal ba dgongs pa'i brgyud pa*), the symbolic transmission of the Vidyādhara (*rig 'dzin rig pa'i brgyud pa*) and the oral transmission of human beings (*gang zag snyan khung gi brgyud pa*).³

In the case of the rDo-rje-phur-pa teachings, according to Sog-bzlog-pa's *Phur pa lo rgyus*, in the first stage, the Primordial Buddha Samantabhadra proclaimed the rDo-rje-phur-pa Tantric scriptures, such as the *Vidyottama la 'bum sde*, in the Akaṅkṣṭha realm. Before the teachings were transmitted to the next stage, the Buddha himself, Vajrasattva, Vajrapāṇi, *ḍāk-inī*s, a Brahmin called Mi-thod-can and so forth codified the rDo-rje-phur-pa Tantric scriptures.⁴

¹ See the *lDe'u chos 'byung* (p. 303.16–17). There is also a scheme of the seven descents and four processes of the Tantric teachings (*gsang sngags byung tshul babs bdun tshul bzhi*). The earliest account of this scheme is by Rong-zom-pa, the original text does not exist, but is mentioned in later historical sources such as the *Nor bu'i phreng ba* (p. 289.6–291.5). For accounts of the seven-descent scheme, see the *Nyang ral chos 'byung* (p. 435.4–11), *Klong chen chos 'byung* (p. 267.1–380.15), *Nor bu'i phreng ba* (p. 270.5–291.5) and *Zhe chen chos 'byung* (p. 74.11–76.11). For a study of the seven-descent scheme of the Tantric teachings see GERMANO 2002: 225–263.

² See the *lDe'u chos 'byung* (p. 318.16–17). The *Nor bu'i phreng ba* (p. 286.4) associates the five *sādhana*s with Prajñavarman in the seventh descent.

³ See the *rDzogs chen chos 'byung* (p. 35.9–14).

⁴ See the *Phur pa lo rgyus* (§2, p. 270, for the translation, see 10.2, p. 186). For some similar narratives, see the

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In the second stage, in the world of *dākinīs*, rDo-rje-phur-pa teachings were taught by Samantabhadra to the five Buddha Families (*padma, vajra, ratna, karma, and buddha*), Vajrakumāra and Vajrapāṇi who together taught them to the Four Buddha Families from whom Padmasambhava received the teachings.¹

In the third stage, in the world of human beings, it is Vajrasattva who transmitted the teachings to dGa’rab-rdo-rje (i. e. Prahevajra). Afterward the the teachings were taught successively to bZhad-pa’i-rdo-rje who is the emanation of Vipāśyīn Buddha, the King Urushane, the dragon’s daughter rGya-mtsho-ma and the King Indrabhūti/Indrabodhi. Then the King Indrabhūti/Indrabodhi taught [them] to the three Ācāryas *Dhanasaṃskṛta (Dhanasangtrita), Dhanaupaya, and Blo-ldan-mchog-sred. *Dhanasaṃskṛta taught [them] to the three Ācāryas Padmasambhava, Vimalamitra, and Nepalese Śīlamañju.²

In addition to the above transmission of rDo-rje-phur-pa, Sog-bzlog-pa provides another transmission through the King Tsa/Dza in which Padmasambhava is not mentioned. From King Tsa/Dza, who got the teachings from Vajrasattva, the teachings were transmitted through the princess Gomadevī, prince Śakrapuri then flourished in India, Nepal and Tibet.³

King Tsa/Dza is said to be the first human to receive the Tantric teachings and he inaugurated the third lineage of the three transmissions.⁴ He is sometimes identified with the King Indrabhūti by rNying-ma scholars. Indrabhūti is a key figure in the early transmission of the Vajrayāna teachings and he is said to have received all the eighteen Mahāyoga Tantric scriptures, including the rDo-rje-phur-pa cycle.⁵ As pointed out by Dalton, the rNying-ma

Phur pa chos ’byung (p. 74.2–4), *Phur pa chos ’byung bsdu pa* (p. 162.3–4) and *gNam lcags spu gri lo rgyus* (p. 14.2–3).

¹ See the *Phur pa lo rgyus* (§2, p. 271, for the translation, see 10.2, p. 187). For a similar narrative, see *gNam lcags spu gri lo rgyus* (p. 14.3–4).

² See the *Phur pa lo rgyus* (§2, p. 271, for the translation, see 10.2, p. 187). For some similar narratives, see *Phur pa chos ’byung* (p. 74.4–8), *Phur pa chos ’byung sdu pa* (pp. 162.5–163.2) and *gNam lcags spu gri lo rgyus* (p. 14.4–6).

³ See the *Phur pa lo rgyus* (§2, p. 271, for the translation, see 10.2, p. 188). For some similar narratives, see the *Phur pa chos ’byung* (p. 74.8–10), *Phur pa chos ’byung sdu pa* (p. 163.2–3), and *gNam lcags spu gri* (p. 15.2). Namdrol also states that King Dza initiated the third transmission which is the oral transmission of individuals in the whole transmission procedure of the rDo-rje-phur-pa Tantric scriptures, see NAMDROL 1995: 23.

⁴ See DALTON 2002: 66.

⁵ Many scholars agree that there are more than one person designated as Indrabhūti. For example, Keith Dowman lists three persons called Indrabhūtis among whom the first one revealed the Tantric scriptures of rDo-rje-phur-pa and transmitted them to Dhanarakṣita who then to Pdamsambhava, while the second obtained the *Anuttarayogatantra* which fell upon his palace and Kukkuripa explained the texts to him, see DOWMAN 1985:

scholars preferred the name King Tsa/Dza.¹ Karmay suggests that the story of Indrabhūti is probably the original source of the legend of King Tsa/Dza.²

In the *Phur rtsa 'grel pa*, Kong-sprul provides a different transmission through the three stages. The first stage starts from Samantabhadra who took the form of the five Buddha families and taught the Phur-pa teachings to fulfilled Bodhisattvas such as those in his retinue Vajrasattva, Avalokiteśvara, Mañjuśrī, Vajrapāṇi and so on. In the second stage, the lords of the three families, namely the Avalokiteśvara, Mañjuśrī and Vajrapāṇi taught the doctrines to gods, *nagas* and *yakṣas*. Subsequently, the doctrines were taught to King Tsa/Dza of Uḍḍiyāna from whom they were transmitted to the three masters Padmasambhava, Vimalamitra and Śīlamñju.³ Of three lineages of rDo-rje-phur-pa provided Khenpo Namdrol, the first two are very similar to Kong-sprul's. The third lineage is from King Tsa/Dza then through King Kukkurāja, King Indrabodhi, Siṃharāja and Gomadevī. Each of them had thousands of disciples who obtained accomplishments of Phur-pa.⁴

mKhyen-rab-rgya-mtsho presents another transmission through which Padmasambhava obtained the Phur-pa teachings of Phur-pa. This transmission is not divided into three stages but includes King Tsa/Dza. It too originates from Samantabhadra, who in the form of Dharmakāya, empowered the five Buddhas Families and Karmāheruka. They caused the gSang-ba'i-bdag-po emerge as the Nirmaṇakāya, who in turn entrusted the Phur-pa teachings to the fortunate King Tsa/Dza. Then the teachings were transmitted in sequence through Uparāja, Prabhasthi and Dhanasaṃskṛta. Padmasambhava received the teachings from the last three.⁵

The aforementioned transmissions show the different ways the Phur-pa teachings descended to the human world. In most of them, Padmasambhava is mentioned and obtained the Phur-pa teachings either as a *vidyādhara* or a human. From Kong-sprul's point of view, Padmasambhava is actually Vajrakumāra himself and manifests seeing the Phur-pa deities and receiving the entire Phur-pa teachings from Prabhasthi for the sake of sentient beings.⁶ Sim-

232–234.

¹ See DALTON 2002: 54–55. For the King Dza myth in the *dGongs pa 'dus pa'i mdo*, see *ibid.*: 52–66.

² For the story of King Tsa/Dza both in gSar-ma and rNying-ma traditions, see KARMAY 1998c: 79–89.

³ See the *Phur pa rtsa ba'i 'grel pa* (p. 42.3–43.4).

⁴ See NAMDROL 1999: 19–26.

⁵ See the *Nor bu'i phreng ba* (p. 185.6–186.2).

⁶ See the *Phur pa rtsa ba'i 'grel pa* (p. 50.2–5).

ilarly, Khenpo Namdrol believes that Padmasambhava is originally and primordially enlightened, indivisible from rDo-rje-phur-pa, but for the benefit of sentient beings, he went through the motions of practicing rDo-rje-phur-pa, receiving the teachings of its Tantric scriptures and so on. In this way, he received the entire transmission of rDo-rje-phur-pa directly from the deity.¹

Another way Padmasambhava is reported to have received the Phur-pa teachings is from Prabhahasti, who according to the bKa'-ma tradition of the eight Sādhana is the recipient of the Phur-pa cycle.² Many historical sources record that Padmasambhava obtained the Phur-pa teachings from Prabhahasti twice. The first time is in the context of Padmasambhava's early life. Padmasambhava was the son of a King in Uḍḍiyāna called Manusita.³ One day he killed the son of another King by accident and was banished.⁴ During his escape, he came across two men who were on their way to receive teachings from the Upadhyaya of Za-hor. Regretting his previous behavior, he joined them to look for teachings. On their way, they met the Ācārya Śākyabodhi from whom they received the discipline of the novice and were given the names Śākyaprabha, Śākyamitra and Śākyaseng-ge.⁵

On their way to Za-hor, they met Ācārya Prabhahasti who bestowed upon them the yoga initiations. Two of them were satisfied and left while Śākyaseng-ge in order to passing a test, learn all the yoga teachings and received the initiations of *Māyājāla* and all the teachings

¹ See NAMDROL 1999: 24.

² This view has been accepted in many sources, for example, the *Vaiḍūrya g.ya'sel* (p. 1033.6), *mTha gru'i rgyan* (p. 121.1–2), *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung* (p. 107.7–8, for the translation, see DORJE & KAPSTEIN 2002: 481.), *rDzogs chen chos 'byung* (p. 49.12), *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* (p. 92.10–11), and NAMDROL 1999: 24. Some of them even specify that Padmasambhava received the Phur-pa teachings from Prabhahasti eighteen times. However the *mKhas pa'i dga'ston* (p. 308.29) refers once to a historical work of Phur-pa that holds the same opinion as the aforementioned sources, but in another place (p. 306.30) it states that Padmasambhava learned the Phur-pa teachings from Śākyadeva.

³ In the *Zangs gling ma* (p. 4.2 and 11.9, for the translation, see KUNSANG 2004: 31 and 36.), *Klong chen chos 'byung* (p. 233.2), *Nor bu'i phreng ba* (186.2–3), *mKhas pa'i dga'ston* (p. 306.15) and *bSam yas chos 'byung* (p. 58.22), the king's name is Indrabodhi.

⁴ According to the *Zangs gling ma* (p. 12.1–2, for the translation, see KUNSANG 2004: 37), *Klong chen chos 'byung* (p. 238.1–2), *mKhas pa'i dga'ston* (p. 306.19), and the *bSam yas chos 'byung* (p. 59.20–21), he killed the son of the most influential minister.

⁵ The *Byang gter phur pa lo rgyus* (p. 183.6) also records that the teacher who ordained the three was Śākyabodhi. Boord suggests Śākyabodhi is most likely Prabhahasti, see BOORD 1993: 103. However, this is not so likely because right after Śākyabodhi, Prabhahasti appears as a different person whom they met on their way to Za-hor in the east of India, see the *Byang gter phur pa lo rgyus* (p. 184.1). The *Nor bu'i phreng ba* (p. 189.1–2) only records that Padmasambhava was ordained and named Śākyaseng-ge by Śākyabodhi. But in the *mKhas pa'i dga'ston* (p. 306.24) it is Prabhahasti who ordained Padmasambhava and named him Śākyaseng-ge.

related to the *Phur pa 'bum sde*. Thus, he attained many accomplishments such the command over life span and so forth.¹

mKhyen-rab-rgya-mtsho calls these three, who were the disciples of Prabhahasti, *śākya* friends (*shākya mched gsum*) and points out that Śākyamitra is Vimalamitra, Śākyaprabha is Sangs-rgyas-gsang-ba, and Śākyasiṃha is Padmasambhava.² In the *Byang gter phur pa lo rgyus* the two friends of Padmasambhava are Śākyamitra and Shākya-bshes-gnyen who are considered to be Vimalamitra and Śīlamañju.³

For Padmasambhava's meeting with Prabhahasti, some sources provide a slightly different account. In Padmasambhava's escape, he first met two monks, Śākyamaitri and Śākyabshes-gnyen, who were on their way to request teachings from Prabhahasti and suggested that Padmasambhava ask for teachings from Prabhahasti in Brag-dmar-bya-khung. Padmasambhava met Prabhahasti who ordained him and named him Śākyaseng-ge.⁴ Then Padmasambhava went to see Prabhahasti again after his journey in several charnel grounds in order to receive all the Phur-pa teachings from him. Thus, Padmasambhava had a vision of the Phur-pa deities.⁵

The second time Padmasambhava received the rDo-rje-phur-pa teachings from Prabhahasti occurs as part of the background of the famous Yang-le-shod story. In order to accomplish the *vidyādhara* on Mahāmudra, Padmasambhava practised Yang-dag-grub-pa-mar-me-

¹ The above narrative about the early life of Padmasambhava is based on the pertinent records in the *Phur pa lo rgyus* (§4.1 & §4.2, pp. 272–275, for the translation, see 10.4.1 & 10.4.2, pp. 189–191). For a similar narrative, see the *Byang gter phur pa lo rgyus* (pp. 183.4–184.4). For other sources that record this part of Padmasambhava's early life, see the *Zangs gling ma* (pp. 3.1–21.8, for the translation, see KUNSANG 2004: 31–44), *Klong chen chos 'byung* (pp. 232.17–242.13), *Nor bu'i phreng ba* (pp. 186.2–189.2) and *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* (p. 306.15–24), and *bSam yas chos 'byung* (pp. 58.20–62.7).

² See the *Nor bu'i phreng ba* (p. 197.3–4)

³ See the *Byang gter phur pa lo rgyus* (p. 184.4).

⁴ See the *Zangs gling ma* (pp. 17.5–15, for the translation, see KUNSANG 2004: 41–42). For some similar narratives, see the *Klong chen chos 'byung* (p. 240.8–14) and *bSam yas chos 'byung* (p. 60.16) in which Padmasambhava joined the two monks, Śākyamitra and Śākyabshes-gnyen, to visit Prabhahasti. The *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* (p. 80.8–14, for the translation, see DORJE & KAPSTEIN 2002: 469–470) also mentions Padmasambhava's meeting with Prabhahasti and receiving an ordination and name Śākyaseng-ge from the latter. It does not record other two friends and Padmasambhava's acquisition of the rDo-rje-phur-pa teachings from Prabhahasti, while mentions he obtained the teachings of the eight Sādhanas in general.

⁵ See the *Zangs gling ma* (p. 20.8–9, for the translation, see KUNSANG 2004: 42–43). For a similar narrative, see the *Klong chen chos 'byung* (p. 242.2–4) and *bSam yas chos 'byung* (p. 61.13–14). But in the *Klong chen chos 'byung* it is said that it was from Sog-skyadhe-ba and not Prabhahasti that Padmasambhava received the Phur-pa teachings and had a vision of the Phur-pa deities.

dgu using Śākyadeva as his *mudra* and support in Yang-le-shod. At that time, inauspicious things occurred that were obstacles to his striving for awakening. He prepared offerings and made an invocation to the deities. Then a sound appeared in the sky telling him to request the rDo-rje-phur-pa scriptures from Nālandā in India. To this end, Padmasambhava sent two Nepalese disciples carrying gold as offerings to the *paṇḍitas*. The *paṇḍitas* told the two disciples that Prabhahasti had the teachings of rDo-rje-phur-pa, which were remedy against these obstacles. They met Prabhahasti, who agreed to send two-person's load of texts from out of the one hundred thousand cycles of rDo-rje-phur-pa teachings. After the texts arrived in Yang-le-shod, all the obstacles disappeared. Impressed by the power of the rDo-rje-phur-pa teachings, Padmasambhava decided to spread them and composed a *sādhana* combining Yang-dag and Phur-pa based on Tantric scriptures, *Heruka gal po* and *Vidyottama 'bum sde*. He practiced the *sādhana* and attained the accomplishments of Mahāmudra.¹

PT 44 also briefly records that Padmasambhava went together with two messengers to request the *Phur pa 'bum sde* from Nālandā to Yang-le-shod and even names the two messengers as Shag-kya-yur and I-so.² In the *Zangs gling ma* and *bKa' thang sde lnga*, the two messengers are identified as Ji-la-ji-sa and Kun-la-kun-sa.³ And the *Nor bu'i phreng ba* states

¹ See the *Zangs gling ma* (pp. 29.16–31.17, for the translation, see KUNSANG 2004: 52–54) and *Klong chen chos 'byung* (p. 246.13–248.5). Through the comparison of the aforementioned parts in the *Zangs gling ma* and *Klong chen chos 'byung*, it is clear that many details correspond and therefore this part of the *Klong chen chos 'byung* might rely on the *Zangs gling ma*. Similar narratives can be found in the *bKa' thang sde lnga* (pp. 13.16–14.10), *Nor bu'i phreng ba* (pp. 190.5–191.3), *Phur pa lo rgyus* (§4.3, pp. 275–277, for the translation, see 10.4.3, pp. 275–277), *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* (p. 307.13–20), *Phur pa chos 'byung* (p. 75.11–23), *Phur pa chos 'byung bsdu pa* (p. 166.5–168.1), *mTha' gru'i rgyan* (pp. 119.21–120.10), and *Byang gter phur pa lo rgyus* (pp. 185.3–186.2). There are discrepancies among the sources. First, the *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* does not specify Padmasambhava's practice of Yang-dag-mar-me-dgu, while the *mTha' gru'i rgyan* mentions his practice is Yang-dag-zla-gam-dgu-ba. Second, except the *Zangs gling ma*, *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* and *mTha' gru'i rgyan*, other sources do not mention that Padmasambhava used Śākyadeva as his consort and support. Third, in the *bKa' thang sde lnga*, *Nor bu'i phreng ba*, *Phur pa chos 'byung*, *Phur pa chos 'byung bsdu pa*, *mTha' gru'i rgyan*, and *Byang gter phur pa lo rgyus*, it is not from Prabhahasti that the two Nepalese men obtained the scriptures but from the *paṇḍitas*. Fourth, what Padmasambhava composed is also not identical and no composition is mentioned in the *bKa' thang sde lnga*, *mKhas pa'i dga' ston*, *Nor bu'i phreng ba*, *mTha' gru'i rgyan* and *Byang gter phur pa lo rgyus*. Fifth, the *mTha' gru'i rgyan* also records that after the hindrances disappeared in Yang-le-shod, Padmasambhava engaged in a practice combining Yang-dag and Phur-pa, then twelve goddesses offered their life essence and were bound by the *samaya*.

² See BISCHOFF & HARTMAN 1971: 18, 21.

³ Kun-la-kun-sa is written as Kun-la-kun-sa-zhi in the *bKa' thang sde lnga*, see the *bKa' thang sde lnga* (p. 14.4–6): *shing kun bal po ji la ji sa dang || mtshan brag bal mo kun la kun sa zhi || pho mo gnyis la gser phye bre gang brdzangs ||* and *Zangs gling ma* (p. 30.14–16): *thugs kyi slob ma bal po ji la ji sa dang | kun la kun sa gyis la gser bye brag gang spyan gzigs su bskur nas |*. The *bKa' thang sde lnga* indicates that the two messengers are one

the two messengers were Bal-po Kun-zhi and Bal-mo Byi-la-byi-sa. 'Jigs-med-gling-pa refers to a historical text of Phur-pa saying that the two were Bal-po Śīlamañju and Bal-po Kun-zhi.¹

The *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung* and *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* tell the Yang-le-shod story differently. Hindrances arose when Padmasambhava aimed to realize the accomplishments of Mahāmudra. Then he practiced relying on the *Bi to ta 'bum sde*, consequently Vajrakumāra manifested and conquered all the hindrances. He bound twelve goddesses and four Sa-bdag-ma under the *samaya*. Additionally, he received the Phur-pa Tantric scriptures eighteen times from Prabhastī and became the master of all the Phur-pa teachings.²

The *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* also provides another version of the Yang-le-shod story. When Padmasambhava was practicing Yang-dag with his consort Śākyadeva in Yang-le-shod, obstacles appeared. So he sent messengers to India to acquire scriptures from his previous teachers. They sent him the Phur-pa Tantric scriptures and as a result, all the obstacles disappeared. Although the teaching of Yang-dag can bring great accomplishments, it is like a merchant who has a lot of hindrances, and Phur-pa, like his indispensable escort, is helpful to him. Having realized this, Padmasambhava composed *sādhanas* combining Yang-dag and Phur-pa and also bound all the mundane spirits, including the sixteen protectors of Phur-pa. With the help of the miraculous powers of Phur-pa, Padmasambhava made water flow from a dry riverbed, diverted a wide river underground, and annihilated the extreme deities who caused harm to Buddhist teachings.³

2.1.2 Transmitted as one of the Eight Sādhanas in the gTer-ma Tradition

As the rDo-rje-phur-pa cycle is one of the eight Sādhanas of the Mahāyoga system, its transmission is closely related to the eight Sādhanas. There are many different narratives of the transmission of the eight Sādhanas, leading to inconsistencies in the description of the rDo-rje-phur-pa transmission. This section will examine the different narratives related to the rDo-rje-phur-pa transmission in the eight Sādhanas.

The *Dākinī* Las-kyi-dbang-mo obtained the five general Tantric scriptures and ten spe-

Nepalese man and one Nepalese woman, and they are a couple, while the *Zangs gling ma* only emphasises that Ji-la-ji-sa is a Nepalese man.

¹ See the *Nor bu'i phreng ba* (pp. 190.6–191.1) and *mTha' gru'i rgyan* (p. 120.4).

² See the *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung* (p. 109.2–10) and *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* (pp. 92.10–93.4), for the translation, see DORJE & KAPSTEIN 2002: 481). The narratives in the two records are almost identical to each other.

³ See the *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* (p. 83.4–84.5, for the translation, see DORJE & KAPSTEIN: 472).

cial Tantric scriptures on the eight Sādhanas and the related oral transmission from the Bodhisattva Vajradharma. She put each of the eight cycles of Sādhanas into eight different caskets made of precious jewels and concealed them within the body of the Śāṅkarakūṭa stupa in the Śītavana charnel ground (*gsil ba'i tshal*). When the eight Vidyādhara assembled around the stupa, Mahākarmendrāṇi brought forth the caskets and distributed one casket to each Vidyādhara. However the distribution of the eight caskets varies in different accounts, some state that the rDo-rje-phur-pa cycle was entrusted to Prabhahasti and some say to Padmasambhava.¹

It is also noteworthy that in some sources there is a ninth casket, containing the treasure of bKa'-brgyad-bde-gshegs-'dus-pa which subsumes all the aforementioned cycles and it is Padmasambhava who managed to open this casket. This enables him to surpass other masters and become more prestigious. However, Nyang-ral's *bDe 'dus bka' mgo* and *bDe 'dus byung tshul* do not specify who the opener of the ninth casket was but only that the casket was opened after the eight *vidyādhara*s complete the meditation and offering to the Ma-mos and *dākinīs*, which greatly differs from the later sources.²

In the *Phur pa lo rgyus*, Sog-bzlog-pa records a lineage of Phur-pa that looks like the gTer-ma transmission. It originated from Samantabhadra and then transmitted sequentially to Vajrakumāra, a Brahmin called Mi-thod-can, and Ḍākinī Las-kyi-dbang-mo-che who concealed them as treasures under the Śāṅkarakūṭa stupa. Śrīsiṅha revealed these teachings and taught them to Prabhahasti who gave them to the princess Upadāna from whom Padmasambhava finally obtained the teachings.³ However, gTsang-mkhan-chen's record is slightly different. After the Brahmin entrusted the rDo-rje-phur-pa teachings to the Ḍākinī Las-kyi-dbang-

¹ The sources that support it being Padmasambhava are the *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* (p. 314.3), *Vaidūrya g.ya' sel* (p. 1038.6), and *Gu bkra' chos 'byung* (p. 107.21). The source that supports it being Prabhahasti is Guru Chos-dbang's *Yongs rdzogs khog 'bugs* (p. 306.1): *'phrin las kyī rig 'dzin pra ha ti*, where Phur-pa is not explicitly mentioned, however. The above listed sources are from the presentation in the IATS conference (Bergen 2016) by Guy Grizman. In a comparative study of the bKa'-brgyad narrative in Nyang-ral's *bDe 'dus bka' mgo* (p. 503.4 & 504.4), Ju Mi-pham's *bKa' brgyad rnam bshad* (p. 526.2), and *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* (p. 93.19), all three narratives all attributes the rDo-rje-phur-pa cycle to Padmasambhava, see GRIZMAN 2014. In the *bKa' brgyad rnam bshad* (p. 526.5), Mi-pham offers a narrative of other chronicles which states that it is Prabhahasti who received the Phur-pa casket. Other sources which support Padmasambhava obtaining the Phur-pa casket are the *bDe 'dus byung tshul* (p. 255.3), *mTha' gru'i rgyan* (p. 123.4–5), and *Byang gter phur pa lo rgyus* (p. 182.3).

² For the sources that record Padmasambhava opening the ninth casket, see for example the *mKhas pa dga' ston* (p. 314.5–6), *Gu bkra' chos 'byung* (p. 108.7–8), *bKa' brgyad rnam bshad* (p. 527.2–3), and *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* (p. 94.4–6).

³ See the *Phur pa lo rgyus* (§2, p. 271, for the translation, see 10.2, p. 188). For a similar narrative, see the *gNam lcags spu gri lo rgyus* (p. 15.2–3) where, however, it does not mention that the teachings were concealed as treasures.

po who buried them under the Śaṅkarakūṭa stupa. Śrīsiṃha discovered and transmitted them to Prabhahasti who taught them to Padmasambhava. He also adds that in actuality Padmasambhava received the Phur-pa teachings directly from Vajrasattva.¹

2.1.3 The Story of the Scorpion

In addition to the aforementioned transmissions, there is another story about Padmasambhava's receiving of the Phur-pa teachings from a scorpion. It was when Padmasambhava went to the charnel ground near Rājgir following the suggestion of Vajrapāṇi who prophesied that Padmasambhava would attain accomplishments there. In the charnel ground, he met a scorpion with nine heads, eighteen pincers, and three eyes on each head. The scorpion revealed the Phur-pa texts from a triangular-shaped stone box. As soon as Padmasambhava read the texts he understood them, and was given the title of "scorpion guru."² In the wrathful form of Padmasambhava, known as Guru-drag-po or Padma-drag-po, he is represented as holding a scorpion in his left hand. Beer further comments that as an emblem of the wrathful Phur-pa, the scorpion took a strong symbolic meaning in the early development of the rNying-ma school.³

Sog-bzlog-pa puts the story of the scorpion, not in the Sītavana charnel ground, but in Yang-le-shod after Padmasambhava, Vimalamitra and Sīlamañju practiced Phur-pa and gained accomplishments. According to Sog-bzlog-pa the gods transformed as demons to test them. All of sudden a gigantic iron scorpion started to cause harm. Padmasambhava disguised himself as a pig and set out to devour the scorpion. Then he perceived Bhagavan Vajrakumāra in a majestic form like Mount Sumeru. As such, he passed the test and obtained the unhindered power with regard to the wrathful activities from the scorpion.⁴

In the Byang-gter-phur-pa tradition, there is also a story involving a scorpion but where

¹ See the *Phur pa chos 'byung* (p. 74.10–13) and *Phur pa chos 'byung bsdu pa* (pp. 163.4–164.1): (based on *Phur pa chos 'byung* though there are slightly differences in *Phur pa chos 'byung bsdu pa*) *yang bram ze mi thod kyis | mkha' gro ma las kyis dang mo gtad | des mchod rten bde byed brtsegs par gter du sbas | de shri sing has 'thon | de nas slob dpon pra hi te la bshad | de nas slob dpon padma la brgyud do || yang dag na rig 'dzin chen po padma 'byung gnas kyis rdo rje sems dpa' dngos las gsang cing |*.

² See the *bKa' thang gser phreng* (pp. 218.13–219.3), also see EVANS-WENTZ 2000: 181–182 and BEER 1999: 278.

³ See BEER 1999: 278.

⁴ See the *Phur pa lo rgyus* (§5, p. 277, for the translation, see 10.5, p. 194). For some similar narratives, see the *Phur pa chos 'byung* (p. 75.25–28) and *Phur pa chos 'byung bsdu pa* (p. 168.2–4).

the scorpion is related the Che-mchog cycle of the Byang-gter-phur-pa tradition.¹ It is said that Padmasambhava went to ask for teachings from Dhanasaṃskṛta, who ordered his subjects and disciples to go to an island in a lake in order to engage in the practice of nectar medicine. As they stayed there, the local spirits were angered and they caused hindrances to their practice. As such they could not achieve accomplishments and had to look for teachings in order to stop the hindrances. They traveled to the Śitavana charnel ground where they saw an iron scorpion with nine heads teaching dharma to himself. Then, Padmasambhava discovered a maroon leather casket which contained the instructions to the root Tantric scriptures but which none of them could understand. Padmasambhava suggested to ask the iron scorpion, so they prepared a jewel throne for him, invited him, circled him, presented him with offerings and prayed to him. Instantly the scorpion transformed himself into Bhagavan Vajrakumāra, with nine head and eighteen hands uttering “*kilaya hūṃ pad.*” The transformed scorpion then taught the *Vidyottama la ’bum sde* of the outer Tantric scriptures and other texts. After listening to all the teachings, Dhanasaṃskṛta and Padmasambhava pondered over them and took them to heart. They stabbed Phur-pa into the lake and subdued all the vicious gods and demons. They attained two kinds of accomplishments of Phur-pa.²

2.2 The Early Transmissions of the rDo-rje-phur-pa Cycle in India, Uḍḍiyāna, and Nepal

When the scriptures of Phur-pa arrived in Yang-le-shod, all the obstacles were annihilated; There the three masters Padmasambhava, Vimalamitra, and Śīlamañju engaged in the practice of rDo-rje-phur-pa and attained accomplishments. Then Padmasambhava compiled twenty scriptures dealing with the “lower” Phur-pa (*phur smad nyi shu*). The twenty scriptures are classified into four categories by their theme and each includes five scriptures. The five categories are *tantra*, view, activity and *sādhana*. Padmasambhava even went to Nālandā to present the twenty scriptures to the five hundred *paṇḍitas* who tied the treatises on the top of banners to show their respect. Thereafter, the three masters, after having consulted the whole *Vidyottama la ’bum sde*, composed further treatises on the thirty-two Tantric scriptures such as *rDo rje phur pa gsang ba’i rgyud* by classifying them into commentaries, *sādhanas*, *ṭīkāś*

¹ See BOORD 1993: III.

² See the *Phur pa che mchog lo rgyus* (p. 592–596), also see BOORD 1993: III–II4.

and so on.¹

In the PT 44, Padmasambhava not only sent two messengers to Nālandā to invite the *Phur pa 'bum sde*, he also went there himself. When he returned to Yang-led-shod with the *Phur pa 'bum sde*, he practiced all the classes of yoga. Then he taught every instruction of Phur-pa from the *Phur pa 'bum sde*, and then escorted the *Phur pa 'bum sde* back to Nālandā. Later he practiced in the Asura Cave together with the Nepalese Ser-po, In-tra-shu-gu-tu and Prabhase (=Prabhahasti), and they all acquired the accomplishments of Phur-pa. However, the text lists those who got the accomplishments as being Padmasambhava, Shri-ri-'gugs-ta and Ser-po which is inconsistent with the above practitioners.² dPa'-bo gTsong-lag-phreng-ba refers to a historical work of Phur-pa indicating that the three masters were Padmasambhava, Vimalamitra and Śīlamāñju, who practiced in the Asura cave and obtained the accomplishments.³

Before the rDo-rje-phur-pa teachings were taken to Tibet, they had already spread in India, Uḍḍiyāna, and Nepal. Vimalamitra transmitted the teachings to his consort Dam-pa, and together they gave the teachings to the Indian King Indrabhūti. In this way the teachings were spread in India. Padmasambhava taught the doctrines to a Nepalese woman Śākyadevī, and together they taught them to the King of Uḍḍiyāna, called Dharmakoṣa, thus causing the teachings to flourish in Uḍḍiyāna. Also, Śīlamāñju taught the Phur-pa teachings to Śanti, a prostitute, who taught them to the prince of Nepal, called Guṇapatala, who spread the teachings in Nepal.⁴

¹ See the *Phur pa lo rgyus* (§5, p. 277, 279, for the translation, see 10.5, p. 193, 195). For some similar narratives, see the *Phur pa chos 'byung* (p. 75. 23–25, 76. 13–17), *Phur pa chos 'byung bsdus pa* (p. 168.1–2, 170.1–4), and *Byang gter phur pa lo rgyus* (p. 186.5–6). The *Byang gter phur pa lo rgyus* (pp. 184.5–185.3) places the practice of the three masters in Yang-le-shod before the request of the Phur-pa scriptures to Yang-le-shod.

² The PT 44 does not clearly tell where Padmasambhava escorted the *Phur pa 'bum sde* back to, simply saying “*'bum sde | yang slar bskyal nas |*.” Since it says “escorted back (*slar bskyal*),” it is most likely Nālandā where the text came from, see BISCHOFF & HARTMAN 1971: 22. Kapstein renders it such that the text was returned to Nepal, probably due to the statements that follow to the effect that Padmasambhava practiced in the Asura Cave, which is located in Yang-le-shod in Nepal, see KAPSTEIN 2002: 158. Cantwell and Mayer do not specify the place, see CANTWELL & MAYER 2008a: 60.

³ See the *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* (pp. 308.30–309.1).

⁴ See the *Phur pa lo rgyus* (§5, p. 279, for the translation, see 10.5, p. 196), *Phur pa chos 'byung* (p. 76.18–22) and *Phur pa chos 'byung bsdus pa* (p. 170.4–171.1), also see BOORD 1993: 7–8; BOORD 2002: xxvii.

2.3 The Early Transmissions of the rDo-rje-phur-pa Cycle in Tibet

2.3.1 The Transmissions from Padmasambhava

The rDo-rje-phur-pa teachings first spread to Tibet when Padmasambhava was invited there by King Khri-srong-lde'u-btsan, for the purpose of dealing with the difficulties during the construction of bSam-yas. The King sent messengers carrying gold to invite Padmasambhava from India, but there are many different opinions regarding their number. The most widely accepted is three messengers, namely sNa-nam rDo-rje-bdud-'joms, mChims Śākyaprabha, and Shud-bu dPal-gyi-seng-ge.¹ The *Klong chen chos 'byung* accepts three messengers but only names sBa gSal-s nang.² In the *bKa' thang sde lnga* (p. 361.1–2), the three messengers are the sKa-ba-dpal-brtsegs, sNa-nam rDo-rje-bdud-'joms, and Cog-ro Klu-yi-rgyal-mtshan.³

In terms of texts asserting a fourth on top of the most widely accepted three, the *Phur pa 'bum nag* adds gNyags Jñānakumāra, the *Klong chen chos 'byung* cites a source to the effect that the fourth messenger is sNubs Nam-mkha'i-snying-po, and the *Nor bu'i phreng ba* adds rBa-mi-khri-gzher.⁴

There are also some who assert five messengers, namely sNa-nam rDo-rje-bud-'joms, lCe Jñānasiddhi, mChims Śākyaprabha, Brang-ti Jayarakṣita and Shud-bu dPal-gyi-seng-ge.⁵ Another set of five messengers refers to the five ministers, but only explicitly names sNa-nam rDo-rje-bdud-'joms and Shud-pu dPal-gyi-seng-ge.⁶ Another set of five messengers are sBas-

¹ See, for example, the *lDe'u chos 'byung* (p. 322.16–17), *Phur pa lo rgyus* (§6.1, p. 282; §10, p. 290, for the translation, see 10.6.1, p. 199; 10.10, p. 208), *Phur pa chos 'byung* (p. 77.10–11), *Phur pa chos 'byun bsdus pa* (p. 172.5), *Myang yul chos 'byung* (p.129.19–p. 130.2), *Bod sog chos 'byung* (p. 510.20) and *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* (p. 377.2), also see DORJE & KAPSTEIN 2002: 710.

² *Klong chen chos 'byung* (p. 230.20–21).

³ Also see the *bSam yas chos 'byung* (p. 10. 13–14).

⁴ See the *Phur pa 'bum nag* (A: p. 235.6–p. 236.1; B: p.17.2), *Klong chen chos 'byung* (p. 249.2), and *Nor bu'i phreng ba* (p. 242.6).

⁵ This is stated by Tāranātha in the annotation to sNa-nam through citing from sBa gSal-s nang and Seng-gong-lha-lung, see *Myang yul chos 'byung* (p. 130.6–9): *sba gsal snang dang | seng gong lha lung gnyis las | g.yog sna snam rdo rje bdud 'joms | lce dznyā siddhi | mchims shākya pra bhā | brang ti dza ya rakṣi ta | shud phu dpal gyi seng ge dang lnga btang bas slob dpon gyi mngon par shes pas mkhyen te mang yul gung thang du byon pa dang mjal nas rim gyi spyān drangs so gsungs |*. Also see *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* (p. 169.15–17).

⁶ See the *lHo brag rje btsun rnam thar* (A: p. 861.3–5; B: p. 646.4): *sna nam rdo rje bdud 'joms | shud phu dpal gyi seng ge chos blon lnga brdzangs te | slob dpon padma gdan drangs |*.

mang-po-rje gSal-snang and Seng-mgo-lha-lung together with three servants.¹

On his way to Tibet, Padmasambhava overcame many hindrances caused by the local spirits. Right after he arrived in Tibet, he carried out the earth taming liturgy of bSam-yas, after which bSam-yas was fully completed and Padmasambhava performed consecration for it. Thereafter, Padmasambhava gave the first transmission of the rDo-rje-phur-pa teachings in Tibet. The King, Jo-mo mKhar-chen-bza', and the three messengers received its empowerment and as a result there formed five systems of rGyal-po-lugs, sNa-nam-lugs, Shud-bu'i-lugs, mChims-lugs, and Jo-mo-lugs. Later, Padmasambhava also bestowed the teachings of Phur-pa to Rong-ban and 'Khon Klu'i-dbang-po, the Rong-zom-lugs and 'Khon-lugs also arose.² It is also said that Padmasambhava taught the *Phur pa 'bum sde* to the Khri-srong-lde'u-btsan and some fortunate subjects after the king decided to introduce Buddhism to Tibet.³

The first recipients of the Phur-pa teachings in Tibet recorded in PT 44 are quite different from the above, including Ba-bor Be-ro-ca (Pa-gor Vairocana), Kha-rce[rtse] Nya-ma-si-ga, Dre Ta-tha-ga-ta, 'Bu-na-a-nas, mChims Śag-kya, sNa-nam Zhang rDo-rje-gnyan, Byin Ye-shes-brtsegs[brcegs], gNyan rNyi-ba-btsan[bcan]-ba-dpal, and lDe-sman-rgyal-mtshan[mchan].⁴

¹ See the *Klong chen chos 'byung* (p. 248.17–19).

² See the *Phur pa lo rgyus* (§7, p. 287, for the translation, see 10.6.1, p. 199), *Phur pa chos 'byung* (p. 78.14–18) and *Phur pa chos 'byung bsdu pa* (p. 176.1–3). *Byang gter phur pa lo rgyus* (p. 188.4–6) also lists the above traditions adding the lCam-lugs from lCog-ro-bza'. According to the *Phur pa rtsa ba'i 'grel pa* (p. 51.1–2), the rGyal-po-lugs, Jo-mo-lugs and lCam-lugs are considered to be the main traditions. Other bKa'-ma traditions derive from them.

³ See the *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* (p. 130.6–7, for the translation, see DORJE & KAPSTEIN 2002: 517.)

⁴ See BISCHOFF & HARTMAN 1971: 23, KAPSTEIN 2000: 158, and CANTWELL & MAYER 2008b: 61–62. Ba-bor Ba-ro-ca might be Ba-gor Vairocana, who is said to have learned the Phur-pa teachings from Śrīsiṃha in India, see KARMAY 2007: 25. sNa-nam Zhang rDo-rje-gnyan is rendered differently by scholars due to the confusing separations in the original text which reads *sna nam zhang rdo | rje gnyan la mchis* |. Bischoff and Hartman renders it to be one person called rDo-rje-gnyan, who is the *zhang* (uncle) of sNa-nam, see BISCHOFF & HARTMAN 1971: 23. Kapstein and Cantwell & Mayer also take it as one person and do not analysis his name, see KAPSTEIN 2000: 158 and CANTWELL & MAYER 2008: 62. However, Luo separates it into two parts. The first part refers to Zhang-rdo-rje from the sNa-nam clan and the second part refers to the gNyan clan, see LUO 2007: 662. In addition to the above recipients, another person also performed the accomplishments of Phur-pa, see the PT 44: *mkhan po 'bum tang kyis | kyis brag la nye bdang/btang bas | thebs* ||. Scholars have different understandings of the phrase “mkhan po 'bum tang kyis.” Bischoff & Hartman take “'bum tang kyis” as the mKhan-po's name, similarly, Luo only takes “'bum tang” as his name, see BISCHOFF & HARTMAN 1971: 23 and LUO 2007: 662. However, Kapstein and Cantwell & Mayer render “'bum tang” as a place name to qualify the following “rock” (*brag*), see KAPSTEIN 2000: 159 and CANTWELL & MAYER 2008: 62. Further in depth study would be required in the future to accurately identify them all.

2.3.2 The Transmissions from Vimalamitra

It has been accepted in many sources that the Phur-pa teachings transmitted from Vimalamitra are the cycles of Phur-pa-phun-sum-tshogs-pa and Phur-pa-gsham-sngon-can. Nyang-ral records that Vimalamitra was first invited by Khri-srong-lde'u-btsan and later again by rMarin-chen-mchog during the time of Ral-pa-can. However, the *lDe'u chos 'byung* states that Khri-srong-lde'u-btsan sent gNon Klu'i-dbang-po to invite Vimalamitra but he only arrived in Tibet during the time of Ral-pa-can.¹

gTsang-mkhan-chen states that the two cycles that are summarised from the *Phur pa gsang ba'i rgyud*, were transmitted by Vimalamitra.² Other sources indicate otherwise, namely that the cycle of Phur-pa-phun-sum-tshogs-pa is based on the *Phur pa gsang ba'i rgyud* while the cycle of Phur-pa-gsham-sngon-can is abridged from the *gSang ba'i rgyud drug* and *Kīlayatantra bcu gnyis*.³ Later, Vimalamitra taught these two cycles to gNyags Jñākumāra, which is known as gNyags-lugs who then transmitted them to his disciples. Shing-bza' V sKalbzang-chos-kyi-rgyal-mtshan (1925–1998) states that the cycle of Phur-pa-gsham-sngon, which is based on the *Phur pa gsang ba'i rgyud*, still existed during his time.⁴ The details concerning the transmission of the two cycles will be presented in chapter four.

This chapter has dealt with the narratives regarding the origination of the rDo-rje-phur-pa teachings from two aspects, namely Padmasambhava's obtainment of the teachings and the early spread of them in Tibet. With respect to the first, the narratives are found in both the bKa'-ma and gTer-ma tradition. With respect to the second, although the first propagation

¹ See the *Nyang ral chos 'byung* (p. 328.11–12, 422.17) and *lDe'u chos 'byung* (p. 301.10–12).

² See the *Phur pa chos 'byung* (p. 84.24–25) and *Phur pa chos 'byung bsdu pa* (p. 189.1–2).

³ See the *Phur pa lo rgyus* (§19.1, p. 308, for the translation, see 10.19.1, p. 226), *mTha' gru'i rgyan* (p. 296.9–11), *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung* (p. 342.7), and *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* (p. 379.6–9, for the translation, see DORJE & KAPSTEIN 2002: 712). In Dorje and Kapstein's translation, the cycle of Phur-pa-phun-sum-tshogs-pa is based on the *Phur pa gsang ba'i rgyud* and *gSang ba'i rgyud drug* while the cycle of Phur-pa-gsham-sngon-can is abridged from the *Kīlayatantra bcu gnyis*. They further explains that the *Phur pa phun sum tshogs pa* is a means for attainment derived from the *Phur pa gsang ba'i rgyud* and the cycle of bShams-sngon-can is another tradition derived from the *Kīlayatantra bcu gnyis*. Together with the *gSang ba'i rgyud drug* they were passed down in the lineage of gNyags Jñākumāra, see DORJE & KAPSTEIN 2002: note 704. Their explanation is inconsistent with their translation. It seems that they render the *gSang ba'i rgyud drug* and *Phur pa gsang ba'i rgyud* as group. However, based on the Tibetan text, the *gSang ba'i rgyud drug* should go together with the *Kīlayatantra bcu gnyis*, see the *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* (p. 379.6–9): *yang phur pa gsang ba'i rgyud la brten pa phun sum tshogs pa dang | gsang ba'i rgyud drug dang | ki la ya tantra bcu gnyis nas bsdu pa gsham sngon can gyi skor gnyags las brgyud tshul sngar bshad zin to ||* (The version they based on is almost identical with this one, except *ki* is written as *kī*).

⁴ See the *Bod sog chos 'byung* (p. 510.12–13).

of the rDo-rje-phur-pa teachings in Tibet by Padmasambhava initiates most of its subsequent transmissions and popularity, there are also some transmissions derived from Vimalamitra. In chapter four I will take a deeper look into these subsequent transmissions. What needs to be clarified is that this chapter does not intend to recover the “real” origination of the rDo-rje-phur-pa teachings but rather to survey how the Tibetan sources describe it.

Chapter 3

The Controversy over the Authenticity of the rDo-rje-phur-pa Scriptures

According to the rNying-ma scholars, the Phur-pa teachings were first introduced to Nepal and Tibet by Padmasambhava. Shākya-mchog-ldan states that the early commentators did not question its authenticity.¹ Tibetan scholars started to discuss the authenticity of the rDo-rje-phur-pa scriptures when Pho-brang Zhi-ba-'od (1016–1111) issued an ordinance in which he claimed that several rDo-rje-phur-pa scriptures were adulterated. The key point under discussion was whether the Phur-pa Tantric scriptures were translated from Sanskrit or just composed by Tibetans. Those who were against the rNying-ma tradition—such as Pho-brang Zhi-ba-'od, Khug-pa-lhas-btsas (eleventh century), and Chag-lo-tsa-ba Chos-rje-dpal (1197–1263/4)—insist all the Phur-pa Tantric scriptures prevailed in Tibet were composed by Tibetans, and thus should be considered to be adulterated. When Sa-skya-paṇḍita Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan discovered a Sanskrit rDo-rje-phur-pa text that belonged to Padmasambhava in Shangs-sreg-zhing and translated it, those who opposed it remained silent.² Bu-ston refers to his teachers' statement that the Sanskrit text of the *Phur pa rtsa ba'i dum bu* once appeared

¹ See the *'Bul ba'i mol mchid* (p. 585.6): *sngon gyi 'chad pa po de dag gis phur pa'i rgyud la rtsod pa ma mdzad cing* |.

² See the *Deb ther sngon po* (p. 136.2–4, for the translation, see ROERICH 1995: 103): *dus phyis chos rje sa skya pas shangs sreg zhing nas slob dpon padma dngos kyi phyag dpe'i rgya dpe rnyed nas 'gyur mdzad pas thams cad kha rog ste 'dug go* |. Shangs-sreg-zhing is a hermitage in the Shangs region. For its relation to the Sreg lineage, see SMITH 1970: fn. 16 on 8 & 2001: endnote 807 on 329.

in Nepal.¹

Later scholars who were in favor of the rNying-ma tradition, such as Shākya-mchog-ldan (1428–1507) and dPa’-bo gTsug-lag-phreng-ba (1504–1566), tried to defend the authenticity of the rDo-rje-phur-pa scriptures by reiterating the above-mentioned statement and applying polemic strategies. Even the dGe-lugs scholar Sum-pa-mkhan-po Ye-shes-dpal’byor (1702–1788) cites the statement of Sa-paṅ’s discovery of the Sanskrit text to prove the authenticity of the rDo-rje-phur-pa cycle. He also adds that the Phur-pa teachings are less cherished by the later rNying-ma scholars.²

Dil-mgo-mkhyen-brtse bKra-shis-dpal’byor (1910–1991), a modern rNying-ma scholar, noticed ’Gos-lo-tsā-ba and Chag-lo-tsā-ba’s criticism of the *mantras* from the earlier translation. He also maintains that ’Brog-mi-lo-tsā-ba saw the eight syllables of the Rulu *mantra* above a gate in Bodhgaya, and that the Yang-dag and Phur-pa Tantric scriptures belonged to *paṇḍitas*.³ Smith mentions that Kha-che-paṅ-chen (i. e. Śākyaśrībhadra, 1127/1145–1225), a Kashmiri scholar, asserted that the contemplative methods based on rDo-rje-phur-pa as tutelary deity existed in India.⁴ Although the authenticity issue of the rDo-rje-phur-pa is an integral part of that of the entire rNying-ma Tantric canon, this chapter will only focus on the rDo-rje-phur-pa cycle. The following will examine materials that have discussed the authenticity issue of the rDo-rje-phur-pa scriptures chronologically.

¹ See the *Bu ston chos ’byung* (p. 266.12–14): *kho bo’i bla ma skad gnyis smra ba nyi ma’i mtshan can dang rigs ral la sogs pa | bsam yas nas rgya dpe rnyed pa’i phyir dang | phur pa rtsa ba’i dum bu’i rgya dpe bal por yang snang bas rgyud yang dag go zhes gsung ngo ||*.

² See the *Chos ’byung dpag bsam* (p. 769.3–11): *...phur pa rtsa ba’i rgyud bal bor yang snang zer ba dang yang dus phyis sa skya bas shangs sreg zhing nas padma’i rgya dpe phur ba rnyed de ’grel ba’i ’phro bsgyur |...phyi ma dag gis phyis kyi rnying ma la thugs rtsis chung la*.

³ See the *gTams tshogs phyogs bsdu skor* (p. 179b.3–5): *gsang sngags snga ’gyur gyi phyogs la lo tsā ba ’gos dang chag sogs kha cig gis the tshom du mdzad pa na | ’brog mi lo chen gyis rdo rje gdan gyi sgor gong du ru lu ’bru brgyad kyi sngags bris pa dang | paṇḍi ta ’ga’ zbig gi phyag dpe’i gseb tu yang phur rgyud kyi dum bu ’dra gzigs kyang man ngag ma gsan gsungs te*. Compare with SMITH 2001: 238 where Smith states that ’Brog-mi-lo-tsā-ba had seen the eight-syllable *mantra* of rDo-rje-phur-pa above one of the portals at Bodhgaya. But in an early version of his article, he does not specify the eight-syllable *mantra* is the *mantra* of rDo-rje-phur-pa, see SMITH 1970: 8. In the two articles Smith does not provide the Tibetan sources he referred to. As Dil-mgo-mkhyen-brtse bKra-shis-dpal’byor is a recent scholar, there should be some sources he relied on. However, due to time limitation, the early sources, which mentioned ’Brog-mi-lo-tsā-ba saw the Phur-pa *mantras* and texts, has not been found.

⁴ See SMITH 1970: 8 & 2001: 238. Smith does not give the Tibetan sources he referred to. So far, no records about Kha-che-paṅ-chen’s assertion has been found in Tibetan sources.

3.1 The *bKa' shog* of Pho-brang Zhi-ba-'od

Before the time of Pho-brang Zhi-ba-'od, Lha-bla-ma Ye-shes-'od, who was a king of the Guge kingdom, had already issued an ordinance (*bka' shog*) forbidding practices related to *sbyor*, *sgrol*, and *tsbogs*. In this ordinance, the rDo-rje-phur-pa Tantric scriptures are not mentioned.¹ Due to this ordinance, a campaign was carried out by the king's grand-nephews Byang-chub-'od and Zhi-ba-'od as well as other gSar-ma translators—such as 'Gos Khug-pa-lhas-btsas—to criticize the perverse practices. One of the most important early sources that discusses the authenticity of the Phur-pa scriptures is the ordinance of Pho-brang Zhi-ba-'od.² Pho-brang Zhi-ba-'od was the first person in the Tibetan royal family to become a translator.³ He became well known for the ordinance he issued in 1092.

The original ordinance, which is not available so far, is cited completely by Sog-bzlog-pa in his *Nges don 'brug sgrag*.⁴ There are also many references to this ordinance throughout history. The earliest source which refers to it is probably the *sDom gsum rab dbye* of Sa-skya-paṇḍita Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan, who mentions a *sNgags log sun 'byin* written by Zhi-ba-'od.⁵ Bu-ston also mentions that Zhi-ba-'od composed a *sNgags log sun 'byin*.⁶ Later, 'Bri-gung dPal-'dzin (fourteenth century), rGyang-ro Byang-chub-'bum (early fourteenth century), Shākya-mchog-lDan, and Sum-pa Ye-shes-dpal-'byor all make references to this ordinance.⁷

The purpose of the ordinance was to warn Buddhist practitioners and monks not to follow the adulterated Tantric scriptures and *sādhanas*, as they were possibly a path leading to lower rebirth.⁸ Karmay has edited and translated this ordinance based on that cited by So-

¹ For a study and translation of this text, see KARMAY 1998a: 3–16.

² For the date of this ordinance, see KARMAY 1998b: 29–30.

³ For the texts translated by him and under his order and patronage, see *ibid.*: 19–27.

⁴ Two versions of the *Nges don 'brug sgrag* have been found. One (A) is published by Si-khron-mi-rigs-dpe-skrun-khang separately. The other (B) is included in the *Sog bzlog pa gsung 'bum*. The ordinance of Pho-brang Zhi-ba-'od is in A (pp. 204.16–209.12) and B (pp. 462.3–467.3).

⁵ See the *sDom gsum rab dbye* (p. 90.5–6): *de yi slob ma zhi ba 'od || des kyang sngags log sun 'byin pa || zhes bya'i bstan bcos mdzad ces zer ||*.

⁶ See the *Bu ston chos 'byung* (p. 313. 6–7): *gzhan yang lha bla ma ye shes 'od dang | pho brang zhi ba 'od gnyis kyis sngags log sun 'byin pa dang |*.

⁷ For details of the references, see KARMAY 1998b: 27–28.

⁸ See the *Nges don 'brug sgra* (A: p.209.9; B: p. 467.2): *'khor ba(1) ngan song gi lam yin no ||. 1. ba] B, ba dang A.*

bzlog-pa.¹ Karmay divides this ordinance into three parts. The Phur-pa scriptures are mentioned in the first part, in which Zhi-ba-'od treats them as forgeries claiming to be the word of the Buddha, pretending to have an Indian name but in fact being composed by Tibetans.² The texts mentioned include (1) The long and short versions of the *Mya ngan las 'das pa*; (2) the *Khu byug rol pa*;³ (3) the *Ki la ya'i tantra* which is the exposition *tantra (bshad rgyud)* of *Khu byug rol pa*; (4) the *dGongs pa lung ston*; (5) the *gSang ba gter sbas*; (6) the *rDo rje gsal bkod*; (7) the *Ki la ya tantra chung ngu*; (8) the *Byi to'i rgyud du gsol ba*; (9) the *sTag mo kha gdangs*; (10) the *Phag mo kha gdangs*; (11) the *gSang phur kha gdangs*; (12) the *Tshub nag rol pa*;⁴ (13) the *Zhe sdang sems su dag pa'i rgyud*; (14) the *gSang sngags drug gi rgyud dang 'grel ba dang cho gar bcas pa*. (15) the *'Phros pa man nag gi rgyud lnga*. (16) the *Chags rgyud*; (17) the *gShin rje'i bsnysel rnams*; (18) the six king-like Tantric scriptures (*rgyud kyi rgyal po drug*) such as the *dPal khro bo'i rgyud* composed by gNubs-chen Sangs-rgyas-ye-shes-rin-po-che (henceforth gNubs-chen).⁵ It is evident that Pho-brang Zhi-ba-'od treated the Phur-pa scriptures mentioned in his ordinance as products of Tibet and he strongly disapproves of the practice of following these texts.

In the *Nges don 'brug sgra*, Sog-bzlog-pa again alludes to the Tantric scriptures that the ordinance of Zhi-ba-'od maintains were composed by Tibetans. Among them, the Phur-pa Tantric scriptures are almost identical with the aforementioned list, with slight differences in titles and separation of titles, and several scriptures are omitted and one is added.⁶ Due to the lack of author's names and the abbreviation of the titles, it is difficult to identify these texts. According to Karmay's study, none of the texts numbered 1–17 correspond to the Phur-pa Tantric scriptures in the *rNying ma rgyud 'bum* (see, for example, Tk. vol. 27, 28, and 29)

¹ KARMAY 1998b: pp. 17–40. Snellgrove also discussed this ordinance, see SNELLGROVE 1987: 474–475.

² See the *Nges don 'bru sgra* (p. 205.1–3): *sangs rgyas kyi bka' ltar bcos pa'i rgyud dang | 'grel ba dang | sgrub thabs snga phyir bod du rgya gar ma'i ming brtags shing bod kyis byas pa ni 'di dag sde |*.

³ The Tibetan reading is: *phur pa'i rgyud la khu byug rol pa] B, phur pa'i rgyud dang khu byug rol pa A*.

⁴ The Tibetan reading is: *tshub nag rol pa] B, tshubs nag rol ba A*.

⁵ The Phur-pa scriptures listed above are an unsettled separation of titles based mainly on Karmay's rendering, see KARMAY 1998b: 33.

⁶ See the *Nges don 'brug sgra* (A: p. 307.6–16; B: pp. 567.6–568.3): *yang spu brangs kyi lo tsā ba lha pho brang zhi ba 'od na re [...yang dpal 'bar khro bo'i rgyal po la sogs pa'i rgyud drug dang | bdud rtsi bam po brgyad pa la sogs pa gnubs sangs rgyas ye shes kyis byas so ||...|| yang phur ba'i rtsa rgyud khu byug rol pa dang bshad rgyud ki la ya'i rgyud che chung dang dgons pa lung ston dang gsang ba gter sbas dang rdo rje gsang ba bkod pa dang ki la ya bi ro'i rgyud dang sta mo kha gdangs dang seng ge kha gdangs dang phag mo kha gdangs dang gsang phur kha gdangs dang tshub nag rol ba dang zhe sdang yongs su dag pa'i rgyud dang | 'phros pa man ngag gi rgyud lnga dang [...bod kyis byas so ||*.

except no. 13, *Zhe sdang sems su dag pa'i rgyud* which is probably the *Zhe sdang yongs su dag pa'i rgyud kyi rgyal po* (op. cit., vol. 27, pp. 285–322).¹

3.2 The *sNgags log sun 'byin* Attributed to 'Gos Khug-pa-lhas-btsas

'Gos-lo-tsā-ba Khug-pa-lhas-btsas (henceforth 'Gos Khug-pa-lhas-btsas) was a famous translator contemporary with Zur-po-che Śākya-'byung-gnas (1002–1062). During his lifetime, he made several trips to India and studied with seventy-two different teachers there. He was a vital figure in the transmission of the *Guhyasamāja*. Whether the *sNgags log sun 'byin* was written by 'Gos Khug-pa-lhas-btsas remains unclear. From its opening line and concluding passages, it is hard to ascertain for sure that he composed it. Sog-bzlog-pa agrees with some scholars that the pamphlet does not seem to be by 'Gos Khug-pa-lhas-btsas. He states that if they were indeed by Lhas-btsas, they should then be understood to be of intended meaning (*dgongs pa can*).² Dorji Wangchuk suggests the references to Lhas-btsas as the author in the opening line and the colophon-like concluding passages seem suspect and are likely to be later insertions.³

Sog-bzlog-pa also mentions there were three propaganda pamphlets (*'byams yig*) attributed to Lhas-btsas, namely an extensive (*rgyas*) one, a medium (*'bring*) one, and a short (*bsdus*) one. When he wrote the *Nges don 'brug sgra*, he only saw two of them and believes that the third does not exist at all.⁴ In the *sNgags log sun 'byin* attributed to 'Gos Khug-pa-lhas-

¹ See KARMAY 1998b: fn. 89 on 33.

² See the *Nges don 'brug sgra* (A: p. 229.13–20; B: p. 487.4–6): *de'i phyir bka' shog 'di la mkhas pa kha cig gis | brjod bya bzang po gcig kyang mi snang la | rjod byed kun kyang grong tshig kho na snang || de phyir 'gos kyis mdzad pa'ng min pa 'dra | zhes gsungs pa bzhin du snang | gal te mdzad du zin na yang | mkhas pa rnams kyis shes rab kyis chos la dpyad par bya ba'i phyir | zhes gsungs pas | skeyes bu shes rab can rnams kyi ni dgongs pa can gyi gsung yin pa nyid du nges so ||*.

³ The opening line of the *sNgags log sun 'byin skor* (p. 18.2–3) reads: *gsang sngags mtha' dag la mkhas pa | mkhas pa'i dbang phyug 'gos khug pa lhas btsa kyi gdams pa |* and the concluding passage (op. cit. p. 25.3–4) reads: *brtse ba'i dbang gis lo tstsha ba mkhas pa chen po 'gos khug pa lhas btsas kyi sngags pa dang rab byung chos nor ba la zhugs pa rnams la phan pa'i phyir du 'di bsgyur ba yin no ||*. For a discussion about the reference to this *sNgags log sun 'byin* and its authorship, see WANGCHUK 2002: pp. 275–276.

⁴ See the *Nges don 'brug sgra* (A: p. 217.13–16; B: p. 475.4–5): *da ni lo tsā ba chen po 'gos lhas btsas kyis mdzad do zhes pa'i 'byams yig la rgyas bsdus gsum yod par grags kyang | da ltag gnyis mthong ba 'di las lhag pa'i brjod bya zbig logs su me pa'i phyir mi bden pa 'dra la |*. Which two of the pamphlets were available to Sog-bzlog-pa is unclear.

btsas, it is stated that the *Kī la ya bcu gnyis* along with many other Tantric scriptures composed by gNubs-chen, were fallacious teachings full of errors.¹ In his response to one of the three pamphlets attributed to 'Gos Khug-pa-lhas-btsas, Sog-bzlog-pa quotes the above statement, however, the Tantric scriptures are slightly different.² In the same response, Sog-bzlog-pa quotes another statement of 'Gos Khug-pa-lhas-btsas saying that Tibetans composed many fallacious teachings based on the *Kī la ya bcu gnyis*, which was composed by gNubs-chen. None of these teachings were based on Sanskrit texts and were proved to be errant by means of interviewing *paṇḍitas*.³ In the *Nges don 'brug sgra*, Sog-bzlog-pa again cites 'Gos Khug-pa-lha-bstas' discourse that lists many Tantric scriptures composed by gNub-chen, and treats them to be errant and fabricated by Tibetans.⁴ As can be seen from the above discussion, 'Gos Khug-pa-lhas-btsas, if he was the author of the *sNgags log sun 'byin*, took the Phur-pa Tantric scriptures—at least the *Kī la ya bcu gnyis*—to be false teachings authored by Tibetans.

3.3 The *sNgags log sun 'byin* Attributed to Chag-lo-tsā-ba Chos-rje-dpal

There is a text titled *sNgags log sun 'byin* attributed to Chag-lo-tsā-ba Chos-rje-dpal (henceforth Chag-lo-tsā-ba), but dPa'-bo gTsong-lag-phreng-ba was skeptical about this attribution

¹ See the *sNgags log sun 'byin skor* (pp. 22.6–24.1): *de [sangs rgyas rin po che] byas pa'i chos sku'i rgyud rdo rje thod | gsung gi rgyud rta mchog rol pa | thugs kyi rgyud pundi ri ka yang zer | ran tra mi rgyud dang | yon tan rin chen skul ba'i rgyud dang 'phrin las kyi rgyud krama khra le dang | phur pa ki la ya bcu gnyis kyis rgyud dang ma mo 'dus pa'i rgyud dang | bdud rtsi nag po brgyad pa'i rgyud dang | de rnams sgrub lung rgyud lnga zer ro || kha skong gi rgyud la | chos nyid zhi ba'i lha rgyud |...de thams cad chos log dri ma can yin no ||*.

² See the *Nges don 'brug sgra* (A: pp. 225.10–226.4; B: pp. 483.4–484.2). According to Wangchuk, owing to the structure of the text as found in the *Nges don 'brug sgra*, it is quite improbable that Sog-bzlog-pa combined the two pamphlets that were available to him and cited them together, and it is more likely that he choose the larger one of the two, see WANGCHUK 2002: fn. 50 on 276.

³ See the *Nges don 'brug sgra* (A: p. 224.9–13; B: p. 482.4–5): *gnubs sangs rgyas ye shes rin po ches kī la ya bcu gnyis kyis rgyud brtsams || de la brten nas bod rnams kyis chos log dri ma can bsam gyis mi khyab pa byas so || de dag thams cad rgya gar na med cing paṇḍi ta mang po la dris pas chos nor ba yin gsungs | zhes pa yang*. However, this statement is not found in the extant *sNgags log sun 'byin* attributed to 'Gos Khug-pa-lhas-btsas. Therefore, it is possible that the one Sog-bzlog-pa quoted and responded to is different from the extant one.

⁴ See the *Nges don 'brug sgra* (A: pp. 308.19–309.10; B: pp. 569.5–570.2): *yang gnubs sangs rgyas ye shes rin po ches kī la ya bcu gnyis kyis rgyud dang... phrin las kyi rgyud karma mā le dang lnga brtsams so || yang de nyid kyis..la sogs pa brtsams pa nyi bod kyis rang bzor byas pa'i chos log dri ma can yin no || zhe zer ro ||*. This citation is quite similar to the one cited in fn.2 on p. 44, but the Tantric scriptures are not identical.

and referred to this work as “supposedly composed by Chag-lo-tsā-ba.”¹ Chag-lo-tsā-ba was also one of the polemicists who were against the followers of the rNying-ma school. He visited Bodhgaya and was a disciple of Nyang-ral Nyi-ma-'od-zer. Chag-lo-tsā-ba's attitude towards the Phur-pa teachings is ambiguous. He first points out that all the rNying-ma Tantric doctrines were made up by Tibetans (*bod kyi byas*), not taught by the Buddha (*sangs rgyas kyi ma gsungs*), and were non-existent in India (*rgya gar na med*), with the exception of the so-called three compendia (*'dus pa gsum*), namely rDo-rje-gzhon-nu as the deity, the rDo-rje-phur-pa teachings as the *mantras*, and the Eight Sādhanas—which originated from rDo-rje-'chang and were Padmasambhava's personal practice.² Although Chag-lo-tsā-ba criticizes all the rNying-ma Tantric scriptures for their non-authenticity, he excludes the Phur-pa teachings from them.

However, he then rejects the authenticity of the Phur-pa Tantric scriptures, stating that three persons called So-zur-gnubs, who were possessed by the “king spirits” (*rgyal po*), composed the Phur-pa Tantric scriptures, for instance the *Ki la ya bcu gnyis*, after having mixed the scriptural traditions of non-Buddhist, Buddhist “upper” and “lower” *sādhanas*, Tantric scriptures regarding worldly devils, and the scriptural tradition of Bon-po together, then named them in accordance with *dharmas*.³ He also rejects the narrative of Padmasambhava obtaining the Phur-pa Tantric scriptures at Yang-le-shod.⁴ The reason for Chag-lo-tsā-ba's rejecting all the rNying-ma Tantric scriptures except the three compendia is perhaps that the three compendia were accepted by his tradition and he could probably not reject them.

This view in the *sNgags log sun 'byin* has been referred to and cited by some scholars; for example, dPa'-bo gTsug-lag-'phreng-ba cites and rephrases most of the *sNgags log sun 'byin*

¹ See the *Log rtog rnam sbyong* (p. 126.1): *yang chag lo tsā ba chos rje dpal gyis byas zer ba na*. For a study of the authorship of this work, see RAUDSEPP 2009.

² See the *sNgags log sun 'byin skor* (p. 6.3–5): *spyir bod kyi byas shing sangs rgyas kyi ma gsungs la | rgya gar na med par gsang sngags rnying mar ming btags pa rnam so || de'i nang nas lha rdo rje gzhon nus gsang sngags ki la ya'i chos brtsams 'dus pa yang dag pa yin | yang sgrub pa che bgyad 'dus pa gsum ni rdo rje chang gi phyag na rdo rje la bstan te | li byi nas bgyud do || gu ru padma'i thugs dam yin te |*, cf. the *Log rtog rnam sbyong* (p. 126.11–14).

³ See the *sNyags log sun 'byin skor* (p. 7.1–3): *so zur snubs gsum gyi khongs su rgyal po zbugs te | phyi rol pa'i gzhung lugs dang | nang pa'i sgrubs thabs gong 'og dang | jigs rten pa'i dregs byed rnam kyi rgyud bon po'i gzhung lugs rnam bsres nas ming chos dang mthun par btags nas | ki la ya bcu gnyis bya ba la sogs pa phur rgyud dpag tu med pa brtsams |*, cf. the *Log rtog rnam sbyong* (p. 126.16–19). The So-zur-gnubs refers to So Ye-ses-dbang-phyug, Zur Śākya-'byung-gnas, and gNubs-chen.

⁴ See *sNgags log sun 'byin skor* (p. 7.4–5): *padma 'byung gnas yang le shod du bsdad pa la rgya gar nas mi bdun gyis thig tshad bskur byung ba de yin zer nas rdzun byas te 'di rnam la yang dag cig kyang me do ||*, cf. the *Log rtog rnam sbyong* (p. 126.19–20).

in his *Log rtog rnam sbyong*.¹ Sum-pa-mkhan-po briefly refers to Chag-lo-tsā-ba's view in his *Chos 'byung dpag bsam*.²

3.4 Bu-ston Rin-chen-grub's Position

Bu-ston Rin-chen-grub (1290–1364, henceforth Bu-ston) states that *mantras* from the earlier translation were considered impure by Lo-tsā-ba Rin-chen-bzang-po, Lha-bla-ma Ye-shes-'od, Pho-brang Zhi-ba-'od, 'Gos Khug-pa-lhas-btsas and so forth. Nonetheless, his teachers—Thar-pa-lo-tsā-ba Nyi-ma'i-mtshan-can, bCom-ldan Rig-pa'i-ral-gri as well as others—maintained that they were real Tantric scriptures because the original Indian text had been found in bSam-yas, and part of the Sanskrit rDo-rje-phur-pa root scripture had been discovered in Nepal.³ When Bu-ston compiled the Tibetan Buddhist canon, he excluded the rNying-ma Tantric scriptures because he could not find their Indian originals.⁴ Nonetheless, he included the *rDo rje phur ba rtsa ba'i dum bu* translated by Sa-skya-panḍita in his *rGyud 'bum gyi dkar chag*.⁵

According to Sog-bzlog-pa's *Nges don 'brug sgra*, Bu-ston considers the cycle of the Phur-ba as belonging to the Amoghasiddhi family (*don yod grub pa'i rigs*) and maintains that because the rNying-ma people treat the Phur-pa deity as the *karma* deity (*phrin las kyī lha*), it is related to the *karma* family (*las kyī rigs*).⁶ Sog-bzlog-pa then states that if the rNying-ma

¹ See the *Log rtog rnam sbyong* (p. 126.1–130.10).

² See the *Chos 'byung dpag bsam* (p. 756.12–16): *chag los kyang | bod kyī so zur snub gsum gyi snying la rgyal 'gong zhugs nas phur bu'i rgyud ki la ya bcu gnyis dang grub pa bka' brgyad dang padma dbang chen rta mcho rol ba dang dkar ma li dang zhi khros 'dus pa dang khog snang gshin rje dang ma mo'i rgyud lung dang sgyu 'phrul brgyad bcu sogs brtsams |*.

³ See the *Bu ston chos 'byung* (p. 266.10–14): *snga 'gyur gsang sngags rnying ma ni | lo tsā ba chen po rin chen bzang po dang lha bla ma ye shes 'od dang pho brang zhi ba 'od dang 'gos khug pa lhas btsas la sogs pa rnams yang dag pa ma yin par smra la | kho bo'i bla ma skad gnyis smra ba nyi ma'i mtshan can dang rigs ral la sogs pa | bsam yas nas rgya dpe rnyed pa'i phyir dang | phur pa rtsa ba'i dum bu'i rgya dpe bal por yang snang bas rgyud yang dag go zhes gsung ngo ||*. The original Indian text refers to the **Guhyagarbhatantra*, see SCHAEFFER & VAN DER KUIJP 2009: 48. This paragraph is cited in the *Nges don 'brug sgra* (pp. 231.21–232.6), but does not mention the Sanskrit rDo-rje-phur-pa root scripture, only mentions that many Sanskrit texts appeared in Nepal. Roerich translated this part in his translation of the *Deb ther sngon po*, see ROERICH 1995: fn. 1 on 102.

⁴ See SMITH 1970: 7 & 2001: 238.

⁵ See the *rGyud 'bum gyi dkar chag* (p. 373.4).

⁶ See the *Nges don 'brug sgra* (A: p. 233.14–17; B: p. 491.4): *rgyud sde spyi rnam du | de ltar phur pa don yod grub pa'i rigs yin pa dang | rnying ma ba rnams phur pa phrin las kyī lha zer bas las kyī rigs su byas so || zhes gsungs te |*.

teachings are corrupt, there is no value in taking the claim that the Phur-pa belongs to the *karma* deity as evidence.¹

Through examining the above sources, it is evident that Bu-ston's attitude towards the Phur-pa is ambiguous. On the one hand, he believes that a Sanskrit version of the *rDo rje Phur pa rtsa ba'i dum bu* once existed in Nepal and included it in his *rGyud 'bum gyi dkar chag*. On the other hand, he excludes the rNying-ma Tantric scriptures from the Tibetan Buddhist canon.

3.5 Shākya-mchog-ldan's Defense

Shākya-mchog-ldan was a famous scholar of the Sa-skya school. In his *'Bul ba'i mol mchid*, a response to the inquiry of mKha'-spyod-dbang-po (1350–1405), he explains his opinion on the authenticity of the rNying-ma doctrine and explicitly mentions the rDo-rje-phur-pa cycle.² This part has also been cited verbatim in the *bDud 'joms chos 'byung*, therefore the following citation is from the translation of *bDud 'joms chos 'byung*:³

In general, if you presume to consider the rNying-ma doctrine to be not authentic, it follows that you must consider everything translated before the time of the great translator Rin-chen-bzang-po to be not authentic, including the texts of the Tripiṭaka, and the Kriyā, Caryā, and Yoga tantras which were translated by sKa-ba-dpal-brtsegs, Cog-ro-klu'i-rgyal-mtshan and Zhang Ye-shes-sde. In particular, if you presume to consider the rNying-ma Unsurpassed tantras (*bla med kyi rgyud*) of the way of secret *mantra* to be not authentic, you must also consider the *Glorious Guhyasamāja* (*dPal gsang 'dus pa*), the *Hidden Point of the Moon* (*Zla gsang thig le*), and the *Buddhasamāyoga* (*Sangs rgyas mnyam sbyor*) to be not authentic, for those three are foremost among the so-called *Eighteen Tantrapiṭaka* (*tantra sde bco brgyad*) of the rNying-ma tradition, and because the great figures of the past taught that by relying on those three roots that the so-called rNying-ma tradition arose in Tibet. In particular, too, even if you consider

¹ See the *Nges don 'brug sgra* (A: p. 233.17–18; B: p. 491.4–5): *rnying ma chos log yin na des phur pa phrin las kyi lha zer ba de dpang du mdzad ci dgos* |.

² See the *'Bul ba'i mol mchid* (pp. 565.6–566.5).

³ See the *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* (p. 576.3–577.2, for the translation, see DORJE & KAPSTEIN) 2002: 893. Sog-bzlog-pa also cites this part in his *Nges don 'brug sgra* (p. 252.8–19).

[merely] the *Yang dag* and *Vajrakīla* tantras to be not authentic, those tantras have been proven genuine by [the existence of] Sanskrit texts, the fact that they were translated by proven translators, and so forth. Especially, the great men who included various others that are known as rNying-ma tantras in the *Catalogues of the Collected Tantras* (*rGyud 'bum gyi dkar chag*) have also proven that the *Yang dag* and *Vajrakīla* tantras are indubitable. This is claimed, for example, in the doctrinal histories of [bCom-ldan Rig-pa'i]-ral-gri and Bu-ston Rin-chen-grub.¹

Shākya-mchog-ldan defends the authenticity of the rDo-rje-phur-pa Tantric scriptures through three steps. First, he argues that the rNying-ma Tantric doctrine is authentic because if it is not, then all the texts translated before Rin-chen-bzang-po are also inauthentic. Second, the rNying-na Tantric scriptures are authentic, because if they are not, then the three foremost Tantric scriptures of the Eighteen Mahāyoga Tantric scriptures are not authentic, as it is based on those three that the rNying-ma tradition arose in Tibet. In the end, he argues that the Phur-pa Tantric scriptures are authentic because the existence of the Sanskrit text has been proven and they are included in the *rNying ma rgyud 'bum*. Shākya-mchog-ldan mentions once more in the *mKhas 'jug rnam bshad* that some Tantric scriptures, such as the twenty-second chapter of the **Guhyagarbha* and the *Phur pa rtsa ba'i dum bu* were translated from Sanskrit.²

3.6 dPa'-bo gTsong-lag-phreng-ba's Defense

dPa'-bo gTsong-lag-phreng-ba, a famous scholar of the Karma-bka'-brgyud school, discussed the authenticity issue of the rNying-ma Tantric scriptures in the *Log rtog rnam sbyong*, commenting on two polemical works. The first is the *sNgags log sun 'byin* by 'Gos Khug-pa-lhas-btsas which maintains that gNubs-chen, who was originally from India, composed many Tantric scriptures including the *Phur pa kī la ya bcu gnyis*. Based on these, the Tibetans then wrote endless cycles of teachings relating to the Mind Section (*sems phyogs*), Phur-pa, Ma-mo,

¹ The claim that the Yang-dag and rDo-rje-phur-pa Tantric scriptures are indubitable is not found in bCom-ldan Rig-pa'i-ral-gri's historical text the *bsTan pa rgyas pa brgyan kyī nyi 'od* (also known as *bsTan pa rgyas pa rgyan gyi me tog*). For a study and critical edition of this text, see SCHAEFFER & VAN DER KUIJP 2009.

² See the *mKhas 'jug rnam bshad* (pp. 88.6–89.1): *phyis lo tsā ba chen po rnam kyis rgya dpe nyid las bsgyur ba'i khyad par gyis 'byed la | gsang ba snying po le'u nyi shu rtsa gnyis pa dang | phur pa rtsa ba'i dum bu sogs kha cig rgya dpe nyid las 'gyur ba dang |*.

Padma-dbang-chen, and so forth.¹ dPa'-bo gTsong-lag-phreng-ba also expresses another opinion, which is that the people who are in doubt about the authenticity of the above Tantric scriptures will be told by *paṇḍitas* that these scriptures are not of Indian origin. In response to this, he expresses his thoughts regarding the relationship between authenticity and Indian provenance: The teachings without Indian origination are not necessarily inauthentic.²

The second is the *sNgags log sun 'byin* attributed to Chag-lo-tsā-ba, which dPa'-bo gTsong-lag-phreng-ba cites almost in its entirety. The main point in dPa'-bo gTsong-lag-phreng-ba's response to the criticism connected with the authenticity of the rDo-rje-phur-pa teachings seems to be pointing out the contradiction in claiming on the one hand that the rDo-rje-phur-pa-teachings are authentic, and on the other hand, that all rNying ma Tantric doctrines are made up by Tibetans, not taught by the Buddha, and non-existent in India.³

If the above does not explicitly show dPa'-bo gTsong-lag-phreng-ba's supportive attitude towards the Phur-pa Tantric scriptures, the following record will be more straightforward. In the *mKhas pa'i dga' ston*, he states that Sa-paṇ found a portion of the Sanskrit Phur-pa root scripture in Shangs-sreg-zhing that belonged to Padmasambhava and translated it, and Thar-lo-tsā-ba says a Sanskrit text was seen in Nepal.⁴ dPa'-bo gTsong-lag-phreng-ba also states that Shākya-mchog-ldan, who knew the hidden meaning of the *sDom gsum rab dbye*, explained that although Sa-paṇ thought the rNying-ma teachings were wrong, he did not express it explicitly for the sake of not contradicting his Phur-pa practice.⁵ This indicates that Sa-paṇ also

¹ See the *Log rtog rnam sbyong* (p. 124.7–18): *snubs sangs rgyas rin po ches rgya gar la khungs phyung nas rmad byung sogs sems phyogs bcu gsum byas | phur pa kī la ya bcu gnyis kyi rgyud dang |...de thams cad snubs sangs rgyas rin po che byas pa yin la de dag la rten nas sems phyogs dang ma mo dang phur pa dang padma dbang chen gyi skor mtha' yas pa bod kyi brtsams so ||*. For the pertinent narrative, see the *sNgags log sun 'byin* (p. 21.6–22.5).

² See the *Log rtog rnam sbyong* (pp. 124.19–125.1): *yang dag la the tshom za zer yang de thams cad paṇḍi ta dris pas rgya gar na med zer ro || zhes pa la'ng brtag par bya ste |...rgya gar na med pa tsam gyis kyang chos yang dag ma yin par mi 'gyur te |*.

³ See the *Log rtog rnam sbyong* (p. 130.11–22)

⁴ See the *mKhas pa dga' ston* (p. 540.6–8): *phur pa rtsa ba'i dum bu shangs sreg zhing nas slob dpon padma'i rgya dpe dngos rnyed nas sa skya paṇḍi tas bgyur zhing thar los bal por yang rgya dpe zbig gzigs par gsungs so ||*. It is possible that Thar-lo refers to the Thar-pa-lo-tsā-ba Nyi-ma-rgyal-mtshan (13th C) and the Sanskrit text is related to the Phur-pa cycle, because the *Bu ston chos 'byung* (p. 266.12–14) also records that Thar-pa-lo-tsā-ba and bCom-ldan Rig-pa'i-ral-gri reported there was a portion of the Sanskrit Phur-pa root Tantric scripture in Nepal. Thar-lo-tsā-ba and gTsong-lag-phreng-ba are listed as the figures who are in favor of the rNying-ma Tantric scriptures in the *Thu'i bkwan grub mtha'* (p. 74.10–14, for the translation, see *Lhundub sopa* 2009: 90): *lo tsā ba rong zom chos bzang |...bcom ldan ral gri | thar lo nyi ma rgyal mtshan |...dpa' bo gtsug lag phreng ba ...chos rnam dag tu 'chad |*.

⁵ See the *Log rtog rnam sbyong* (p. 166.12–14): *rje sa paṇ rnying ma chos log tu thugs la shar yang phur pa'i cho*

thought it is contradictory to deny the authenticity of the entire canon of the rNying-ma teachings but accept the Phur-pa teachings.

By examining the views of the scholars above, it is apparent that in the beginning Pho-brang Zhi-ba-'od and some *gsar ma* scholars were suspicious about the authenticity of rDo-rje-phur-pa by claiming the scriptures were fabricated by Tibetans. However, the rNying-ma scholars started to refute this kind of opinion after Sa-skya-paṇḍita discovered the Sanskrit Phur-pa scripture. And even some Non-rnying-ma scholars, such as dPa'-bo gTsug-lag-phreng-ba and Sum-pa-mkhan-po Ye-shes-dpao-'byor tried to defend the authenticity of the rDo-rje-phur-pa scriptures.

ga gtong ba sogs dang 'gal ba spang phyir gsal por ma gsungs tsam du snang ba paṇ chen shak mchog pas rab dbye'i sbs don dgong nas 'di drangs pa yin par snang bas.

Chapter 4

Sub-Traditions of the bKa'-ma Transmission in the rNying-ma School

The cycle of rDo-rje-phur-pa teachings gave rise to many sub-traditions (*lugs*) after Padmasambhava and Vimalamitra brought it to Tibet. All the sub-traditions that were transmitted orally from masters to disciples are classified as the bKa'-ma tradition, which is in contrast to the gTer-ma tradition. The earliest source that reports different kinds of the rDo-rje-phur-pa sub-traditions is probably the *Nyang ral chos 'byung*.¹ The *Deb ther sngon po* also mentions that after Padmasambhava transmitted the Phur-pa teachings to Ye-shes-mtsho-rgyal and Atsar-sa-le, various traditions appeared and these teachings flourished widely.² The Sa-skya scholar A-mes-zhabs (1597–1659) states that there are many kinds of Phur-pa traditions but they can all be subsumed into eighteen great traditions (*lugs srol chen po bco brgyad*). He does not specify what the eighteen traditions are but indicates that by further summarising they can be subsumed into four, namely Sa-lugs, Khyi-nag-kyang-'gyel-gyi-lugs, Jo-mo-lugs, and Lang-lab-byang-chub-rdo-rje-lugs.³ The texts, which deal with the history of the rDo-

¹ See the *Nyang ral chos 'byung* (p. 485.). Although the PT 44, which is chronologically prior to the *Nyang ral chos 'byung*, reports the early transmission of the Phur-pa teachings, it does not explicitly mention the sub-traditions of Phur-pa.

² See the *Deb ther sngon po* (p. 138.14–15, for translation see ROERICH 1995: 106): *phur pa ni padma jo mo dang 'bre a tsar sa le la tsal bas | de nas brgyud de lugs sna tshogs su gyur cing shin tu tar ro ||*.

³ See the *Phur pa sgrub thabs rnam bshad* (p. 16.17–21): *rdo rje phur pa'i lam gyi rnam par gzbag pa du ma zbig yog pa rnams lugs srol chen po bco brgyad du 'du zhing | de yang bsdu na bzhir 'dus te | ...sa lugs su grags pa dang | gzhan yang khyi nag kyang 'gyel gyi lugs | phur pa jo mo lugs | lang lab byang chub rdo rje las brgyud pa'i lugs rnams su yod pa las |*.

rje-phur-pa teachings, arrange their accounts based on these sub-traditions. Thus in order to have a comprehensive and systematic knowledge of the Phur-pa transmission in the bKa'-ma tradition of the rNying-ma school, these sub-traditions needs to be carefully studied. This chapter will make a survey of the origin and development of twenty-one sub-traditions of the rDo-rje-phur-pa teachings.

4.1 rGyal-po-lugs

The first sub-tradition is rGyal-po-lugs, which is named after King Khri-srong-lde'u-btsan (742–797; r. 755–794). Thus far the earliest record of this tradition is found in the *Nyang ral chos 'byung*, where it is referred to as Phur-pa-rnam-gsum-rgyal-po-skor rather than rGyal-po-lugs.¹ From the very brief record it is not clear from whom Khri-srong-lde'u-btsan received the teachings. One possibility is that he received them from Padmasambhava who combined the thought of Śilamañju and Vimalamitra. Another possibility would be that all three masters namely Padmasambhava, Śilamañju and Vimalamitra gave the teachings to the King after having reached an agreement.

A more detailed description of the rGyal-po-lugs can be found in many texts, for instance the *Phur pa lo rgyus* states that after the construction of bSam-yas, Padmasambhava bestowed the Phur-pa teachings to Khri-srong-lde'u-btsan, Jo-mo mKhar-chen-bza' and the three people who went to invite Padmasambhava, namely sNa-nam, Shu-bu, and mChims. This led to the appearance of rGyal-po-lugs, Jo-mo-lugs, sNa-nam-lugs, Shud-bu-lugs, and mChims-lugs.² According to Khenpo Namdrol, the Phur-pa-rgyal-po-lugs was revealed by

¹ See the *Nyang ral chos 'byung* (p. 485.11–13): *rje padma | bal po shī la manydzu | bi ma la gsum gyi dgongs pa bsdebs nas | rgyal po khri srong lde'u btsan la gnang bas | phur pa rnam gsum rgyal po skor du grags |* mKhyen-rab-rgya-mtsho also records a Phur-pa tradition called rNam-gsum-skor, which is the mind transmission of the three masters in Yang-le-shod, (namely Padmasambhava, Vimalamitra, and Śilamañju, not explicitly here, find in other places of the text), see *Nor bu'i phreng ba* (p. 304.2): *yang le shod du slob dpon gsum gyi dgong pa bskur ba ni | rnam gsum skor ro ||*

² See the *Phur pa lo rgyus* (§7, p. 287): *bsam yas 'byongs nas rgyal po dang | jo mo mkhar chen bza' dang | spyan 'dren mi gsum gyis rdo rje phur pa'i dbang nos | rgyu dang sgrub thabs nyan te | phur pa rgyal po lugs su grags pa dang | sna nam lugs | shud bu'i lugs | mchims lugs | jo mo lugs lnga ru byung |* For similar narratives, see the *Myang yul chos 'byung* (pp.129.19–130.2), *Phur pa chos 'byung* (p. 78.13–7) and *Phur pa chos 'byung bsdu pa*. The *mTha' gru'i rgyan*, *Gu bkra's chos 'byung* (p. 321.21–3), *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* (p. 376.16–p. 377.3, for the translation, see DORJE & KAPSTEIN 2002: 710), and *Bod sog chos 'byung* (p. 509.19–20). Although some sources only list some of the five sub-traditions, but they all record that Padmasambhava gave the Phur-pa teachings to King Khri-srong-lde'u-btsan, Jo-mo mKhar-chen-bza' and the three people who went to invite Padmasambhava.

'Jigs-med-gling-pa (1730–1798).¹

The Fifth Dalai Lama lists a Phur-pa transmission he received called Phur-pa-padma-rgyal-po-lugs. It originates from dPal O-rgyan-chen-po, namely Padamasambhava who taught the teachings to sNa-nam rDo-rje-bdud-'joms, Shud-bu dPal-gyi-seng-ge and mChims Śākyaprabha. sNa-nam passed them on to three people namely Byi Ye-shes-brtsegs, sNying-ban Se-ba-dpal and rTse-ban rGyal-ba-btsan. Byi Ye-shes-brtsegs transmitted it to seven people who transmitted it to Ngab-thung Byang-chub-rgyal-mtshang. Then this tradition was transmitted through bDud-rtsi-'bar, Bla-chen Byang-chub-rgyal-mtshan, rGya dBang-phyug-'phags, rGya Chos-kyi-gzi-brjid, 'Gos dNgos-grub-rgyal-mtshan, 'Gos dNgos-grub-mgon, Bla-ma Shākyar-rgyal-mtshan, Bla-ma-dpal-bzang-pa, sNgo-thel-ba rDo-rje-rgyal-mtshan, gNyal-pa bDe-legs-pa, Gra 'Jam-dbyangs-bshes-gnyen, Ar dGe-ba Chos-dpal-rgyal-mtshan, Phyam-dgon-pa bSam-gtan-bzang-po, Rig-'dzin Ratna-gling-pa, two brothers who were the heart-son and emanation of Ratna-ling-pa, rJe Ngag-dbang-nor-bu, Rig-'dzin Nor-bu-yongs-grags, gTsug-rgyan Nor-bu-dbang-rgyal, sPrul-sku Tshul-khrims-rdo-rje, Gar-dbang Tshul-khrims-rgyal-mtshan, Chos-rgyal gTer-bdag-gling-pa and finally to the Fifth Dalai Lama.² However, since King Khri-srong-lde'u-bstan is not listed in the transmission lineage, it seems likely that this Phur-pa-padma-rgyal-po-lugs is not the same as the rGyal-po-lugs but rather a different Phur-pa transmission that the Fifth Dalai Lama inherited.

¹ See NAMDROL 1999: 25.

² See the *Gangā'i chu rgyun* (vol. 4, p. 434.7–13). Many Phur-pa traditions received by the Fifth Dalai Lama have the same lineage from 'Gos dNgos-gru-mgon. To avoid repetition, only the lineage prior to 'Gos dNgos-gru-mgon is listed and the phrase “man 'dra” (below is the same) is used to indicate the following lineage is the same as above. Kong-sprul's *gsan yig* also records the transmission of Phur-pa-padma-rgyal-po-lugs, which is almost identical with that in the *Gangā'i chu rgyun*, except some differences in spelling, see *Kong sprul gsan yig* (p. 123.19–25).

4.2 Jo-mo-lugs

4.2.1 mKhar-chen-bza' Ye-shes-mtsho-rgyal

This sub-tradition is named after mKhar-chen-bza' Ye-shes-mtsho-rgyal,¹ who is mentioned by many historical sources to be one of the queens of Khri-srong-lde'u-btsan.² According to the *rGyal rabs gsal ba'i me long*, Ye-shes-mtsho-rgyal was one of Khri-srong-lde'u-bstan's five consorts and was offered to Padmasambhava as a fee for an empowerment.³ Nyang-ral does not mention her connection with the King but states she was the daughter of mKhar-chen dPal-gyi-dbang-phyug who, at the age of sixteen, was taken by Padmasambhava to mChims-phu-bre-gu-dge'u as a consort, where they meditated on profound *mantras*.⁴ The *Padma bka' thang* introduces her briefly by providing her parents' names and mentioning her meet with Padmasambhava.⁵ From the point of view of Gyatso, Guru Chos-dbang (1212–1270) enhanced her status by converting the already-current phrase “lord and subjects” (*rje 'bangs*) to a new compound “lord, subject and friend” (*rje-'bangs'grogs-gusm*) which refers to Khri-srong-lde'u-btsan, Pa-gor Vairocana and Ye-shes-mtsho-rgyal.⁶ Kong-sprul also applies the term “friend” (*grogs*) to Ye-shes-mtsho-rgyal.⁷

There is a discrepancy in identifying Ye-shes-mtsho-rgyal's brother. Some sources main-

¹ Gyatso studied Ye-shes-mtsho-rgyal's life story based on her biographical sources in larger works. She also researched the relationship of three independent biographies of Ye-shes-mtsho-rgyal to illustrate the hagiographical development, see GYATSO 2006.

² See the *sBa bzbed* (p. 54.7–8): *jo mo lnga khab du bzhes pa la | mchims bza' lha mo btsan dang | mkhar chen bza' mtsho rgyal bnyis sgrub pa mdzad pas phyag ris med do | lDe'u chos 'byung* (p. 358.13–17): *srid ma zin pa'i jo mo bryad la | ljang mo khri btsun snyen stengs snyen ma lod || 'bro bza' ma khang gsing ma lod || tshe spong bza' khrim ma gung rgyal || 'bro btsun khri mo legs | mkhar chen bza' mtsho rgyal | zhang zhung bza' lngo bzhes lig tig sman | 'chims bza' dang bryad bang sor brtsigs so |; Bka' thang sde lnga* (pp. 232.22–p. 233.2): *e ma sems can nyes skyob legs 'dzud btsun mo lnga | mchims bza' ma nyi lha mo btsun || mkhar chen bza' ste mtsho rgyal gnyis || 'bro bza' byang chub ma dang gsum || btsun mo tshe bza' me tog sgron || btsun mo pho gyong rgyal mo btsun ||.*

³ See SØRENSEN 1994: fn.1200 on 369 and fn. 1229–30 on 373. The *Phur pa lo rgyus* (§9, p. 288) also mentions that King Khri-srong-lde'u-btsan offered her to Padmasambhava to be his consort.

⁴ See the *Zangs gling ma* (p. 113.7–12): *slob dpon padma 'byung gnas kyis mkhar chen dpal gyi dbang phyug gi bu mo | mkhar chen bza' mtsho rgyal zhe bya ba | ye shes kyis mkha' 'gro ma'i rigs can | lo bcu drug lon pa lha'i bu mo lta bu zbig yod pa de | bsgrub rten gyi phyag rgya mor khrid nas | mchims phu bre gu dge'u ru | mkha' 'gro ma'i tshogs khang du gsang sngags zab mo'i dgongs pa la bzbug so |.*

⁵ See the *Padma bka' thang* (p. 705.1–13).

⁶ See GYATSO 2006: 5, who also thinks Guru Chos-dbang is probably the first author of a full-length life story of Ye-shes-mtsho-rgyal.

⁷ See the *gTer ston lo rgyus* (p. 42.12).

tain that dPal-gyi-dbang-phyug is her brother, whereas in *Zangs gling ma* he is considered to be her father.¹ Jigs-med-gling-pa maintains that treat dPal-gyi-gzhon-nu is her brother.² Guru bKra-shis is not consistent in identifying Ye-shes-mtsho-rgyal's brother. In one place he maintains mKhar-chen dPal-gyi-dbang-phyug is her brother, while in another place he quotes a previous historical account which takes dPal-gyi-gzhon-nu to be her brother.³ dPal-gyi-dbang-phyug, as the heart-son of Padmasambhava, could liberate whatever has been raised by just brandishing the symbolic Phur-pa (*phyag gi phur pa*) and gained accomplishment through Phur-pa.⁴

4.2.2 Ye-shes-mtsho-rgyal's Phur-pa Lineage

As has been stated above, the Jo-mo-lugs arose together with other four sub-traditions when Padmasambhava bestowed the Phur-pa teachings on five people. Nyang-ral mentions that the Jo-mo-lugs started when Padmasambhava transmitted the teachings to mKhar-chen-bza' Ye-shes-mtsho-rgyal, but he does not specify five people received the teachings together from Padmasambhava.⁵ The *lDe'u chos 'byung* also reports Padmasambhava gave the initiation to Ye-shes-mtsho-rgyal together with the King and three messengers in the front house of Ma-sa-gong-gi-pho-brang. The initiation here is not specifically mentioned to be of Phur-pa.⁶ In the *bKa' thang sde lnga* she is listed as one of the three recipients of Phur-pa teachings from Padmasambhava in sPa-gro-stag-tshang, the other two are King Khri-srong-lde'u-btsan and Kumāra.⁷

¹ See the *Zangs gling ma* (p.113.7–8). For the sources which record that dPal-gyi-dbang-phyug was her brother, see the *Phur pa lo rgyus* (§13, p. 295), *gTer ston lo rgyus* (p. 44.11), *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* (p. 377. 17–8, for the translation, see DORJE & KAPSTEIN 2002: 711), and *rNying ma chos 'byung* (p. 244.5–6).

² See the *Phur pa rgyud lugs chos 'byung* (p. 8.2): *jo mos rang gi ming po dpal gyi gzhon nu la bshad |*.

³ *Gu brka'i chos 'byung* (p. 322.18–19 and 325.18–20): *jo mos rang gi ming mkhar chen dpal gyi dbang phyug la bshad nas rim par dar ro || and skabs 'dir ma 'dra ba | mtsho rgyal rang gi ming po dpal gyi gzhon nu |... 'dir chos 'byung sngon ma ltar te |*.

⁴ See the *gTer ston lo rgyus* (p. 44.11–13): *gu ru rin po che rjes su bzung ba'i thugs sras su gyur | phyag gi phur pa gdengs pa tsam gyis gzas pa po ji tsam yang bsgral bar byed nus | ...rdo rje phur pa las dngos grub brnyes tshul ma...|*. For a very similar narrative, see the *rNying ma chos 'byung* (p. 244.6–9)

⁵ *Nyang ral chos 'byung* (p. 485.7–8): *rje padmas... | mkhar chen bza' la brgyud pa la jo mo lugs su grags |*.

⁶ *lDe'u chos 'byung* (p. 328.15–17): *de nas mnga' bdag | spyan 'dren mi gsum | jo mo mkhar chen bza' mtsho rgyal dang lnga la | ma sa gong gi pho brang gi khang du dbang bskur mdzad nas |*.

⁷ See the *bKa' thang sde lnga* (p. 128.17–22): *rang rig rtsal gyi dbang bskur thob pa ni | slob dpon chen po padma 'byung gnas kyis || spa gro stag tshang seng ge'i bsam grub tu || phur pa e khram dkyil 'khor zhal phyé nas || rgyal po chen po khri srong lde'u btsan dang | ku mā ra dang mkhar chen mtsho rgyal la | dregs pa tshar gcod phur ba'i*

A slightly detailed record of Ye-shes-mtsho-rgyal obtaining the Phur-pa teachings is in the *Phur pa lo rgyus*. When Padmasambhava was about to leave, Ye-shes-mtsho-rgyal made four request of teachings that are in accordance with her characteristics and demands as a woman.¹ Upon her request, Padmasambhava gave her the *Phur pa rtsa ba'i dum bu*, which is the supreme instructions concerning the “higher” and “lower” activities.² Afterward, she established the Phur-pa *maṅḍala* in the cave of Mon-kha-ne-rings Seng-ge-rdzong and practiced there. As a result, all the Phur-pa deities smiled in twenty-one days, light emanated and the Phur-pa deities started to dance. She attained many miraculous power of Phur-pa. Sog-bzlog-pa refers to her transmission of Phur-pa as mKhar-chen-bza'-dre-'dul-gyi-brgyud-pa, meaning the lineage of mKhar-chen-bza' taming the demons.³

'Jigs-med-gling-pa presents a similar account to that in the *Phur pa lo rgyus*, which does not mention the four requests of Ye-shes-mtsho-rgyal, but adds another text called *rDo rje khros pa rtsa bshad* to the *Phur pa rtsa dum*, which were explained and bestowed by Padamasambhava to Ye-shes-mtsho-rgyal.⁴ It is recorded in the *rNying ma chos 'byung* that after Ye-shes-mtsho-rgyal met Padmasambhava, as the flowers fell down on the Phur-pa *maṅḍala*, she had visions of the Phur-pa deities, obtained the accomplishments and subdued the devouring spirits of her ancestors.⁵

The *Phur pa 'bum nag* places Ye-shes-mtsho-rgyal's obtainment of the Phur-pa teach-

dbang bskur nas || rdo rje phur pa'i dam chos dar bar mdzad ||. The Kumāra could be Nyags Jñānakumāra.

¹ In one of the request she describes herself to be a woman with inferior mind (*bud med blo dman*). The phrase “woman with inferior mind” that qualifies Ye-shes-mtsho-rgyal also appears in the *Padma bka' thang* (p. 536.1): *blo dman bud med ye shes 'tsho rgyal gyis |*. When Ye-shes-mtsho-rgyal requested teachings from Padmasambhava, Ye-shes-mtsho-rgyal described herself and Ngam-'bre-gsal-le to be *bud med kyi lus 'di blo dman* which literally means “woman's body with inferior mind,” see the *Phur pa 'bum nag* (A: p. 243.2–4; B: p. 21.5–6, for the translation, see BOORD 2002: 125) and *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung* (p. 322.12).

² See the *Phur pa lo rgyus* (§II, p. 292): *nyung la 'dus pa phur pa rtsa ba'i dum bu stod las byang chub sgrub pa | smad las dmod pa lam du khyer ba man ngag mchog tu gyur pa 'di gnang ngo ||*.

³ See the *Phur pa lo rgyus* (§13, p. 294). For some similar but concise narratives, see the *mTha' gru'i rgyan* (pp. 294.17–295.7), *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* (p. 377.3–9, for the translation, see DORJE & KAPSTEIN 2002: 710), and *Bod sog chos 'byung* (pp. 509.23–510.2). However, the Phur-pa teachings bestowed on Ye-shes-mtsho-rgyal recorded in the three sources are the same with these in the *Phur pa lo rgyus*. Only the *mTha' gru'i rgyan* and *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* mention the mKhar-chen-bza'-dre-'dul-gyi-brgyud-pa.

⁴ See the *Phur pa rgyud lugs chos 'byung* (p. 7.5–6): *slob dpon chen po gshogs khar nyung la 'dus pa phur pa rtsa dum gyi don rdo rje khros pa rtsa bshad gnyis kyis bkral nas mkhar chen bza' la bstan | jo mos mon kha seng ge rdzong du dkyil 'khor rnam pa gsum la brien nas bsgrubs pas bdun gsum nas phur pa thams cad bzhad cing |*.

⁵ See the *rNying ma chos 'byung* (vol. 1, p. 239.11–14): *me tog phu pa'i dkyil 'khot la phog pas pha mes kyis za 'dre btul*.

ings subsequent to the story of the lCam-lugs, which will be told below. Ye-shes-mtsho-rgyal also made four requests of teachings from Padmasambhava for herself and Ngam-'bre-sa-le. Then Padmasambhava taught her the eight Sādhanas and the entire Phur-pa root Tantric scriptures, and ordered her to give them to Nam-'bre-sa-le.¹

After Ye-shes-mtsho-rgyal received the Phur-pa teachings, King Khri-srong-lde'u-btsan doubted her abilities and challenged her by letting her travel to various places to retrieve some valuable staff like his family's lost treasures and so forth.² For the transmission of the Jo-mo-lugs, many sources state that Ye-shes-mtsho-rgyal transmitted it to his brother dPal-gyi-dbang-phyug, then it spread widely.³ Some sources briefly mention that her descendants hold this transmission.⁴

Sog-bzlog-pa enumerates a one-to-one transmission from Ye-shes-mtsho-rgyal to Lang-lab called Man-ngag-drug-pa, starting with Jo-mo Ye-shes-mtsho-rgyal and continuing sequentially through mKhar-chen dPal-gyi-dbang-phyug, La-byi Ye-shes-brtsegs, lCe-ston Yontan-rgya-mtsho, lCam-me-dpal-sgron, Ngam-'bre Klu'i-rgyal-mtshan and finally to Lang-lab Byang-chub-rdo-rje.⁵

In the *Nor bu'i phreng ba* it mentions that Ye-shes-mtsho-rgyal taught the Phur-pa-lha-nag-jo-mo-lugs to A-tsar-sa-le who transmitted it to Lang-lab Byang-chub-rdo-rje.⁶ After Lang-lab, the Man-ngag-drug-pa transmission continues through sNa-nam Shes-rab-tshul-khrims, rGya-ston-sangs-rgyas, rGya-thung Shes-rab-rgyal-mtshan, dGonston rDo-rje-rgyal-mtshan, Myang Dar-ma-seng-ge, gNubs Shes-rab-ye-shes, gNubs bDud-rtsi-'od Se-mig-pa, Phur-grags, Jo-lcam, Jo-btsun-grub-ye, Phu-ri-jo-ston, Se-mig-pa, Shes-rab-rdo-rje, Tshé-brtan-dpal-bzang, sNgags-chang-shes-rin-pa, bSod-nams-rdo-rje, dKon-mchog-bzang-po,

¹ See the *Phur pa 'bum nag* (A: p. 243.1–5; B: pp. 21.4–22.1, for the translation, see BOORD 2002: 125). An almost identical record is found in the *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung* (p. 322.10–18), which adds the “higher” and “lower” activities to the aforementioned teachings, but does not mention that Padmasambhava ordered Ye-shes-mtsho-rgyal to give the teachings to Ngam-'bre-sa-le.

² See the *Phur pa lo rgyus* (§9, p. 289–p. 289, for the translation, see 10.9, p. 206.) For a similar record, see the *lDe'u chos 'byung* (pp. 328.20–329.21), the context of which is not specified to the Phur-pa teachings.

³ See the *mTha' gru'i rgyan* (p. 295.6–7), *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung* (p. 322.18–19) *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* (p. 377.17–18), and *Bod sog chos 'byung* (p. 510.1–2).

⁴ See the *Phur pa lo rgyus* (§13, p. 295) and *Phur pa rgyud lugs chos 'byung* (p. 8.1).

⁵ See the *Phur pa lo rgyus* (§13, p. 295). For another transmission from Ye-shes-mtsho-rgyal to Lang-lab Byang-chub-rdo-rje, see 4.14, p. 85.

⁶ See the *Nor bu'i phreng ba* (pp. 305.6–306.1): [*ye shes mtsho rgyal*] *phur pa lha nag jo mo lugs kyi gdams pa | a tsar sa le la bshad de* |.

mKhan-chen-shes-rab-rje, sNgags-'chang-kun-dga'-dar-po, 'Jam-dbyangs-kun-bzang, Grags-pa-dpal-'byor, rGyal-mtshan-dpal-bzang, and finally to Bla-chen-chos-kyi-rgyal-po from whom Sog-blzo-pa learnt its empowerment and instructions.¹

Moreover, Lang-lab transmitted the Jo-mo-lugs to his students, among which sPrang-phur-bu-mgo composed many *sādhana*s related to it and bestowed its teachings to different student. Each student of sPrang-phur-bu-mgo claimed that Jo-mo-lugs belonged to himself.²

4.3 lCam-lugs

This sub-tradition is named after Cog-ro-bza', also known as lCam mChod-gnas-ma or Cog-ro-bza' dPal-gyi-mchod-gnas-ma.³ Nyang-ral only mentions Phur-pa-lcam-lugs very briefly, indicating it is from lCam mChod-gnas-ma.⁴ Many sources record that despite meeting with Padmasambhava in person, Cog-ro-bza' was not able to receive Phur-pa the initiation directly from him.

There is a detailed story about how she failed to get initiations from Padmasambhava in the *Phur pa 'bum nag* and *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung*. When Padmasambhava was about to leave, Ngam-'gre-sa-le, Co-ro-g-bza' and Jo-mo Ye-shes-mtsho-rgyal asked him for initiations. Padmasambhava established three gnosis-*maṇḍalas* (*ye shes kyi dkyil 'khor*) and then asked them from whom do they want to receive initiation, himself or the deity. Ngam-'gre-sa-le and Ye-shes-mtsho-rgyal said they wanted to get it from the *guru*, namely Padmasambhava but Cog-ro-g-bza' said she wanted to receive it from the deity. Then Padmasambhava absorbed the three deities of the *maṇḍalas* into his heart. As such Cog-ro-bza' did not receive the initiations, while the other two acquired the entire four initiations from Padmasambhava. So far, the account of the story is almost the identical in the *Phur pa 'bum nag* and *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung*.

However the *Phur pa 'bum nag* suggests when the Phur-pa teachings were explained to Cog-ro-bza' in accordance with the Bon tradition, many auspicious signs appeared and the lCam-lugs came to be known. Here the text does not mention who explained the Phur-pa teachings to Cog-ro-bza'. It could be either Padmasambhava or Ye-shes-mtsho-rgyal, since the

¹ See the *Phur pa lo rgyus* (§13, p. 295). rGya-thung Shes-rab-rgyal-mtshan is also written as rGya-rtsags Shes-rab-rgyal-mtshan in the following narrative of the *Phur pa lo rgyus* (§24.4, p. 334).

² See the *Phur pa lo rgyus* (§23.3 p. 325).

³ Cog-ro is also written as lCog-ro in the *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* (p. 309.11).

⁴ See the *Nyang ral chos 'byung* (p.485.8–9): *lcam mchod gnas ma'i lugs la phur pa lcam lugs su grags* |.

text places Ye-shes-mtsho-rgyal's receipt of the Phur-pa teachings after the story of lCam-lugs, it is more likely that it is Padmasambhava who gave the teachings to Cog-ro-bza'. The *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung*, although cites the statement that the Phur-pa teachings were explained to Cog-ro-bza' in accordance with the Bon tradition, records that it was Jo-mo Ye-shes-mtsho-rgyal who later gave the Phur-pa teachings to Cog-ro-bza', thereby initiating the lCam-lugs.¹

A concise version of this story is also recorded in some sources, which does not mention that the Phur-pa teachings were in accordance with the Bon tradition and suggests that the lCam-lugs arose when Ye-shes-mtsho-rgyal bestowed the Phur-pa initiation to Cog-ro-bza'.²

There is another story about the emergence of the lCam-lugs, which took place subsequent to the arrival of the Phur-pa scriptures in Yang-le-shod. After having bestowed the Phur-pa teachings on King Khri-srong-lde'u-btsan in bSam-yas, Padmasambhava transformed into a *maṇḍala* in the sky in front of the three ladies, namely Ye-shes-mtsho-rgyal, Cog-ro-bza' mChod-gnas-ma, and A-tsar-sa-le and asked them from whom do they want to receive teachings, himself or the deity. Their answers are the same as above. But in this story, Padmasambhava taught Cog-ro-bza' in a not profound manner, thus the lCam-lugs related to Phur-pa, Yang-dag, bDud-rtsi, and so forth were known. Padmasambhava also bestowed the Tantric scriptures and instructions, which were concentrated as quintessence, to Ye-shes-mtsho-rgyal and asked her to give them to A-tsar-sa-le.³

A wrathful *mantra* called gZa'-gdong-dmar-nag is from lCam-lugs. And the magical powers of gNubs-chen and Mi-la-ras-pa are also associated with lCam-lugs.⁴ gTshang-mkhan-

¹ See the *Phur pa 'bum nag* (A: pp. 241.5–242.6; B: p. 20.5–21.4) and *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung* (p. 322.21–22).

² See the *Phur pa lo rgyus* (§8, p. 288), *Phur pa chos 'byung* (p. 78.19–21), *Phur pa chos 'byung bsdu pa* (p. 176.3–5), *Phur pa rgyud lugs chos 'byung* (p. 11.1–2), *mTha' gru'i rgyan* (p. 295.8–11), and *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* (p. 377.18–378.3, for the translation, see DORJE & KAPSTEIN 2002: 711–2). The *Phur pa lo rgyus*, *Phur pa chos 'byung* (p. 78.19–21), and *Phur pa chos 'byung bsdu pa* (p. 176.3–5) specify that the teachings bestowed upon Cog-ro-bza' is the nine profound instructions (*man ngag zab dgu*). The *Bod sog chos 'byung* does not tell the story only states that the lCam-lugs came to be known when Ye-shes-mtsho-rgyal transmitter the Phur-pa teachings to Cog-ro-bza'.

³ See the *mKhas pa'i ga' ston* (p. 309.9–12). A similar narrative is found in the *mTha' gru'i rgyan* (p. 121.7–13), which does not record Padmasambhava taught Cog-ro-bza' in a not profound manner, but states that the not profound lCam-lugs related to Yang-dag, Phur-pa and bDud-rtsi came to be known (*yang phur bdud rtsi gsum lcam lugs mi zab par grags*) and because Padmasambhava bestowed the Tantric scriptures and instructions, which were concentrated as quintessence, to Ye-shes-mtsho-rgyal and asked her to give them to A-tsar-sa-le, the Jo-mo-lugs was profound. It seems that *mTha' gru'i rgyan* treats the lCam-lugs to be not profound in contrast to the profound Jo-mo-lugs. Although there are some differences in the two records, it is still possible that the *mTha' gru'i rgyan* referred to the *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* for this part.

⁴ See the *Phur pa lo rgyus* (§8, p. 288).

chen states that the wrathful *mantra*, gZa'-gdong-dmar-nag which belongs to Mi-la-ras-pa, is related to the lCam-lugs.¹

The lCam-lugs is also called lCags-lugs or So-lugs by the Fifth Dalai Lama. The Fifth Dalai Lama lists the lCags-lugs lineage he received starting from Padmasambhava through lCam dPal-gyi-mchod-gnas-ma, So Yes-shes-dbang-phyug, Kalpo, dBang-phyug-gtsug-gtor, So rgyal-po, So Rwa-dza-'bar, So chos-seng, So Dar-ma-snying-po, So Dar-ma-seng-ge, Slob-dpon A-seng, Dar-ma-brtson-'grus, gZi-brjid, 'Gos dNgos-grub-rgyal-mtshan to 'Gos dNgos-grub-mgon. From 'Gos dNgos-grub-mgon to the Fifth Dalai Lama himself, the transmission is the same as that of the Phur-pa-padma-rgyal-po-lugs.²

4.4 sNa-nam-lugs

The sub-tradition sNa-nam-lugs is named after a person who has “sna nam” in his name.³ There are three positions regarding the identity of sNa-nam. The first and most commonly accepted is sNa-nam bDud-'joms-rdo-rje, who according to Kong-sprul, was from a minister family in gTsang-rong, held the position of religious minister for Khri-srong-lde'u-btsan at a young age, and became a *siddha* through the Phur-pa practice. However, Kong-sprul does not apply sNa-nam rDo-rje-bdud-'joms to sNa-nam-lugs.⁴ He is also included in a list of translators by Bu-ston.⁵

Nyang-ral states that sNa-nam-lugs came to be known after Padmasambhava transmitted the teachings to sNa-nam rDo-rje-bdud-'joms.⁶ As has been discussed above, sNa-nam-lugs emerged together with another four sub-traditions namely the rGyal-po-lugs, Jo-mo-lugs, Shud-bu-lugs and mChims-lugs, when Padmasambhava bestowed the Phur-pa teachings on

¹ See the *Phur pa chos 'byung* (p. 78.21–22): *rje btsun mi la'i drag sngags gza' gdong dmar nag yang 'di'i chos skor yin par grags* | and *Phur pa chos 'byung 'dus pa* (p. 176.5–6): *rje btsun mi lar mthu drag sngags gza' gdong dmar nag yang 'di'i chos skor yin par grags* |.

² See the *Gangā'i chu rgyun* (vol. 4, p. 434.16). Kong-sprul also provides an almost identical lineage but refers to this lineage as lCag-lugs, see the *Kong sprul gyan yig* (pp. 123.25–124.1).

³ sNa-nam is also written as sna-snam or rna-snam.

⁴ See the *gTer ston lo rgyus* (p. 43.4–6): *sna nam rdo rje bdud mjoms ni | gtsang rong gi phyogs zhang blon sna nam gyi rigs su 'khrungs | gzbon dus chos rgyal kbri srong chos blon mdzad | ... rdo rje phur pa'i sgo nas grub pa brnyes pa zbig ste* |.

⁵ See the *Bu ston chos 'byung* (p. 208.6).

⁶ *Nyang ral chos 'byung* (p. 485.5–6): *rje pad mas |... sna nam rdo rje bdud 'joms la brgyud pas sna nam lugs su grags* |.

King Khri-srong-lde'u-btsan, Jo-mo Ye-shes-mtsho-rgyal, Shud-bu dPal-gyi-seng-ge, mChims Śākyaprabha and sNa-nam rDo-rje-bdud-'joms. sNa-nam rDo-rje-bdud-'joms was also in the group of eighteen close disciples who practiced Phur-pa teachings with Padmasambhava in Seng-ge-rdzong.¹ sNa-nam rDo-rje-bdud-'joms is also said to have gained accomplishments through Phur-pa.² He spread the Phur-pa teachings in g'Tsang.³ The *Bod sog chos 'byung* records that after sNa-nam rDo-rje-bdud-'joms, the sNa-nam-lugs was passed on to mKhar-chen dPal-gyi-dang-phyug, Dom A-tsa-ra, Kra rDo-rje-gzhong-nu, Zhang Yon-tan-grags, Rong-ban-yon-tan, Rong-ban-tshul-khrims, and finally to Rong-zom-pa.⁴

The sources listed above all agree that sNa-nam got the Phur-pa teachings from Padmasambhava. However, in the *Ngo mtshar snang ba*, it is said that at the time when Padmasambhava and Ye-shes-mtsho-rgyal depended on the three types of *maṇḍala* of Vajrakumāra and became accomplished through practices in Seng-ge-rdzong, sNa-nam rDo-rje-bdud-'joms asked Ye-shes-mtsho-rgyal for the Phur-pa teachings.⁵

the Fifth Dalai Lama lists the sNa-nam-lugs he received starting from Slob-dpon-chen-po, through sBa-ston-lha-'bar, 'Gos Zla-'bar, 'Gos 'Bum-grags, 'Gos dNgos-grub-rgyal-mtshan, gCung-po to 'Gos dNgos-grub-mgon. From 'Gos dNgos-grub-mgon to the Fifth Dalai Lama himself, the transmission is the same as that of the Phur-pa-padma-rgyal-po-lugs.⁶

The second position regarding sNa-nam's identity, held by Kong-sprul Blo-gros-mhta'-yas is that sNa-nam refers to sNa-nam Ye-shes-sde, also known as Bande Ye-shes-sde. Sna-nam Ye-shes-sde, also known as Zhang-gi-bande Ye-shes-sde, is placed together with another two

¹ See the *Phur pa chos 'byung* (p.79.2–7): *de bzhin du seng ge rdzong gsang phug chen mor slob dpon chen po padma 'byung gnas | jo mo mkhar chen bza' mtsho rgyal | gnuubs nam mkha'i snying po | sna nam rdo rje bdud 'joms | ngam lam rgyal ba mchog dbyangs | lang 'gro don mchog 'byung gnas la sogs thugs nye bar'i 'khor bco brgyad dang bcas | rdo rje phur pa'i dkyil 'khor zhal phye nas zhag nyi shu sgrub pa mdzad pas |*

² See the *rNying ma chos 'byung* (p. 242.16–17).

³ See the *Phur pa lo rgyus* (§10, p. 290): *sna nam gyis gtsang du spel |*

⁴ See the *Bod sog chos 'byung* (p. 510.4–7). This transmission is similar to the long lineage of the Phur-pa teachings transmitted from Padmasambhava to Rong-ban Yon-tan-rin-chen, see 4.7, p. 66. Apart from some differences on the spellings, the main difference lies in the person subsequent to mKhar-chen dPal-gyi-dbang-phyug, one is Dom A-tsa-ra, the other is Ācarya dPal-me-tog. It is also possible that they are just two names of a same person.

⁵ See the *Ngo mtshar snang ba* (p. 327.1–3): *...phur pa'i bka' ba bla ma jo mo ye shes mtsho rgyal nyi mon khar ne ring seng ge rdzong du byon nas dpal rdo rje gzhon nu'i dkyil 'khor rnam pa gsum la brten nas bsgrubs pas grub pa | de yi dus su sna nam gyi sngags pa rdo rje bdud 'joms kyis jo mo ye shes mtsho rgyal la phur pa'i gdams pa rnam zhus nas...*

⁶ See the *Gangā'i chu rgyun* (vol. 4, p. 434.14–16). The Slob-dpon-chen-po here should refer to sNa-nam rDo-rje-bdud-'joms instead of Padmasambhava.

translators, namely sKa-ba dPal-brtsegs and Cog-ro Klu'i-rgyal-mtshan, which is referred to sKa-cog-zhang-gsum. When the Phur-pa teachings became extensive, sNa-nam-lugs became prosperous and auspicious. At the time of Kong-sprul, there were all kinds of writings based on the extensive, medium and brief *dhāti*.¹

The third position, found in the *Phur pa rgyud lugs chos 'byung* and *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung*, identifies sNa-nam as being sNa-nam Shes-rab-tshul-khrims, who was a disciple of Lang-lab, and links him to the sNa-nam-lugs, which is also referred to as sNa-nam-gdams-ngag-can-kyi-lugs. Regarding sNa-nam Shes-rab-tshul-khrims, 'Jigs-med-gling-pa states that he was quite intelligent and grasped the quintessence of his teacher's, namely Lang-lab's intention. His teacher taught him all the instructions in person and as a result the so-called sNa-nam-gdams-ngag-can-gyi-lugs, which captured the essence and key point of the instructions, came to be known. He also wrote texts which are amenable to examinations.² In *Nor bu'i phreng ba* the tradition given to sNa-nam Shes-rab-tshul-khrims is called rTsa-thung-gdams-ngag-can-gyi-lugs.³

'Jigs-med-gling-pa and Guru bKra-shis both agree that sNa-nam Shes-rab-tshul-khrims has two sub-traditions. One is based on the intensive and medium *dhāti*.⁴ The other is the

¹ See the *gTer ston lo rgyus* (p. 44.5–9): *sna nam ye shes ni | ska cog zhang gsum du grags pa'i nang gses zhang gi bande ye shes sde yin par bzbed de |... 'di nyid phur ba'i bka' babs chen por gyur pas bar skabs su phur pa sna nam lugs zhes dar rgyas bzang por byung bar mngon cing da lta'ang dha ti rgyas 'bring bsdu gsum la brten pa'i yig sna ci rigs yod par snang ngo ||*. For the explanation of *dhāti*, see fn. 4, p. 62.

² See the *Phur pa rgyud lugs chos 'byung* (p. 10.4–5): *sna nam lugs ni | khong shes rab che | bla ma'i thugs kyis kyang zin pas | gdams ngag thams cad zhal nas gsungs bas sgros zin cing gnad la 'phog pa'i sna nam gdams ngag can gyi lugs zhes grags te | yig cha mdzad pa'ang shin tu dpyad bzod |*. For a similar narrative, see the *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung* (p. 327.11–15): *sna nam shes rab tshul khrims | khong shes rab che | bla ma'i thugs kyis zin pas | gdams ngag thams cad zhal nas gsungs pas gsung sgros zin cing gnad la 'phog pa'i sna nam gdams ngag can zhes grags | 'phrin las dang lag len man ngag tu dril nas gnang | man ngag 'phrin las bzhi'i don 'di la gnang ba rnam shin tu zab par byed de | yig cha mdzad pa'ang shin tu dpyad gzod par grags so |*. Although the narrative in the *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung* is longer than that in the *Phur pa rgyud lugs chos 'byung*, most of the two narratives are almost identical. Thus, the *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung* may have referred to the *Phur pa rgyud lugs chos 'byung* for this part.

³ See the *Nor bu'i phreng ba* (p. 306.2–3): *sna nam shes rab tshul khrims ni blo rno bas | rtsa thung gdams ngag can gyi lugs gnang zhing | de las rim par rgyud do ||*.

⁴ In the *Phur pa 'bum nag*, *dhāti* is related to the outer *sādhana* (*phyi sgrub*), which is one of three *sādhana*s regarding the practice of goddesses and *ḍākinīs*. The other two are inner and secret *sādhana*, see the *Phur pa 'bum nag* (C: p. 197.14–15): *gnyis pa ma mo mkha' gro'i sgrub pa la gsum sde | phyi sgrub dha ti | nang sgrub 'dus pa | gsang sgrub bsdu yig go |..* As the term *dhāti* is associated with the practice of goddesses and *ḍākinīs*, it could be a short form of Dhātviśvarī (*dbyings kyi dbang phyug ma*), who is the consort of Buddha Vairocana. In one of 'Jigs-med-gling-pa's secret autobiographies *Chu zla'i gar mkhan* (A: p. 54.2; B: p. 56.5), the term “*dbyings phyug*,” which is the abbreviation of *dbying kyi dbang phyug ma*, is added before Ekajaṭī (*ral gcig ma*). For 'Jig-med-gling-pa's meditation on Ekajaṭī, who acted as the consort of rDo-rje-phur-pa, see GYATSO (1998): 86. There is also

Rin-chen-'phreng-ba'i-lugs which is based on oral instructions that have been transmitted through hearing.¹

The teachings of sNa-nam Shes-rab-tshul-khrims were transmitted in sequence through rGya-ston-sangs-rgyas, Shes-rab-rgyal-mtshan, dGon-ston rDo-rje-rgyal-mtshan and Myang Dar-ma-seng-ge. Among them dGon-ston rDo-rje-rgyal-mtshan met the descendants of sNa-nam, Shud-bu and mChims and requested teachings from them. It is said that nobody was more expert in Phur-pa than dGon-ston rDo-rje-rgyal-mtshan.²

4.5 Shud-bu-lugs

Shud-bu-lugs is named after Shud-bu dPal-gyi-seng-ge, also known as 'Bring-po Khri-'gri-thog-btsan, mNga'-bdag Khri-'bring-thog-btsan, Shud-bu Khong-lab/slebs and Khri-'bring-khang-btsan.³ In the *dBa' bzbed* it is recorded that Shud-po-khong-slebs was one of the six translators who were the sons and nephews of the maternal ministers (*zhang blon*) and were able to learn the language of India after the construction of bSam-yes.⁴ The *lDe'u chos 'byung* also states that Shud-po-khong-slebs was one of the three great (*che gsum*) translators.⁵ The *lDe'u chos 'byung* states that Shud-bu Khri-'bring-khong-btsan was a minister together with

an expression “*ma dbyings phyug bde chen 'tsho rgyal*” in the *Chu zla'i gar mkhan* (A: p. 54.5; B: p. 57.1). The two expressions, namely *dbyings phyug ekajaṭī* and *ma dbyings phyug bde chen 'tsho rgyal*, seem to indicate that Dhātviśvarī (*dbyings phyug* or *ma dbyings phyug*) functions more as an attribute of Ekajaṭī and bDe-chen-'tsho-rgyal (i. e. Ye-shes-'tsho-rgyal). Therefore the term “*dhaiti*” is used here in a broader sense to refer to goddesses or female deities that are related to rDo-rje-phur-pa, not a specific deity.

¹ See the *Phur pa rgyud lugs chos 'byung* (p. 10.6): *spyir sna nam la lugs gnyis yod de | dha ti rgyas 'bring la brten pa kyī skor dang | zhal gdams rna brgyud la brten pa rin chen phreng ba'i lugs so ||* and *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung* (p. 327.15–16): *spyir sna nam la lugs gnyis yod de | dha ti rgyas 'bring la brten pa'i skor dang | zhal gdams rnal brgyud la brten pa'i rin chen phreng ba'i lugs so ||*. The significant variant of the two accounts is in *rna bryud* (transmission through hearing) and *rnal brgyud* (unadulterated or real transmission), both could qualify the *zhal dams* (oral instructions), but *rna brgyud* fits the *zhal gdams* much better.

² See the *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung* (p. 327.15–20). The transmission from sNa-nam Shes-rab-tshul-khrims to Myang Dar-ma-seng-ge is identical with that of the Man-ngag-drug-pa transmission of the Jo-mo-lugs, see the *Phur pa lo rgyus* (§13, p. 295), also see 4.2.2, p. 57. The Shes-rab-rgyal-mtshan should refer to rGya-thung Shes-rab-rgyal-mtshan or rGya-rtsags Shes-rab-rgyal-mtshan in the *Phur pa lo rgyus*, see fn. 1, p. 58.

³ Shud-bu is also written as Shud-pu or Shud-phu. For his various names, see the *lHo brag rje btsun rnam thar* (A: p. 860.18–20; B: p. 646: 2–3) and *gTer ston lo rgyus* (p. 45.12).

⁴ See WANGDU & DIEMBERGER 2000: 69–70).

⁵ See the *lDe'u chos 'byung* (p. 286.5): *lo tsā ba bai ro tsa na'i ring la che gsum | zhang se btsan lha na | rba ratna | shud pu khong slebs so |*.

sNa-nam rGyal-mtshan-lha-snang and lDe-sman Gur-bzher-lde-chung.¹ Shud-bu dPal-gyi-seng-ge is listed as one of the nine disciples of gNyags Jñānakumāra by Nyang-ral.²

According to the *lHo brag rje btsun rnam thar*, Shud-bu dPal-gyi-seng-ge served alongside sNa-nam rDo-rje-bdud-'joms as one of the five religious ministers (*chos blon*), who were sent to invite Padmasambhava.³ He became skilful as a translator, translating the instructions of Ma-mo, gShin-rje and Phur-pa (*ma gshin phur gsum*) and many other rNying-ma teachings. He was one of the eight great Tibetan scholars. He attained accomplishments through rDo-rje-phur-pa and Ma-mo, showing signs of his accomplishment in Phur-pa, such as cutting off a river by stabbing a Phur-pa into it and splitting a rock by piercing it with a Phur-pa.⁴

The *Nyang ral chos 'byung* does not mention Shud-bu-lugs but applies Phur-pa-rtsa-thung to mKhar-chen dPal-gyi-dbang-phyug and Shud-bu dPal-gyi-seng-ge.⁵ As has been stated above, Shud-bu-lugs came to be known together with another four sub-traditions when Padmasambhava taught them the Phur-pa teachings. He later spread the Phur-pa teachings in lHo-brag.⁶

It seems that the Shud-bu-lugs is mainly transmitted within the Shud-bu clan. Nam-mkha'-rgyal-mtshan introduces all the accomplished masters in the Shud-bu clan from the earliest, Shud-bu dPal-gyi-gyi-seng-ge, down to Slob-bsod Ab-bsod-bzang-po in the *lHo brag rje btsun rnam thar*. Since many of them obtained the accomplishments of rdo-rje-phur-pa, there is no need to list all here. For a family tree detailing which members obtained these accomplishments, see Appendix 2. Gu-ru-bkra-shis only mentions three descendants who obtained the accomplishments of Phur-pa, namely Shu-bu Mes-tshab-rgyal-po, Shud-bu Khri-

¹ See the *lDe'u chos 'byung* (p. 339.12–14).

² See the *Nyang ral chos 'byung* (p. 482.20).

³ See the *lHo brag rje btsun rnam thar* (A: p. 861.3–5; B: p. 646.4): *sna nam rdo rje bud 'joms | shud phu dpal gyi seng ge chos blon lnga brdzangs te |*.

⁴ See the *lHo brag rje btsun rnam thar* (A: p. 861.19–862.4; B: p. 646.7–647.1). For a similar but concise narrative see the *gTer ston lo rgyus* (p. 45.10–46.3) and *rNying ma chos 'byung* (p. 245.13–16). Kong-sprul himself also claimed that the life story of the descendants of Shud-bu dPal-gyi-seng-ge are recorded in a biography by written Shud-bu-pa gSang-bdag Las-kyi-rdo-rje, see the *gTer ston lo rgyus* (p. 45.22): *'di'i gdung rabs zhib par lho brag shud bu pa gsang bdag las kyi rdo rje'i rnam thar du gsal |* gSang-bdag Las-kyi-rdo-rje is actually Nam-mkha'-rgyal-mtshan (1326–1401), also known as gSang-bdag Nam-mkha'-rgyal-mtshan and gSang-'dzin Las-kyi-rdo-rje. It is very possible that the biography Kong-sprul mentions is the *lHo brag rje btsun rnam thar*.

⁵ See the *Nyang ral chos 'byung* (p. 485.9–10): *mkhar chen dpal gyi dbang phyug dang | shud pu dpal gyi seng ge la phur pa rtsa thung du grags |*.

⁶ See the *Phur pa lo rgyus* (§10, p. 290).

thu-can-gnyis and Nam-mkha'-rgyal-mtshan.¹

4.6 mChims-lugs

This tradition is named after mChims Śākyaprabha who was one of the three messengers who went to invite Padmasambhava. The *dBa' bzbed* records a translator called Śākyaprabha as being the son of mChims A-nu.² He is mentioned in the PT 44 as one of the recipients of the Phur-pa teachings from Padmasambhava.

Nyang-ral states that mChims Śākyaprabha received the Phur-pa teachings from Padmasambhava, so it is called mChims-lugs.³ As has been stated above, some sources state that mChims-lugs came to be known together with another four sub-traditions when Padmasambhava taught them the Phur-pa teachings. Later, mChims Śākyaprabha spread it in the upper part of mChims in Kong-yul.⁴

4.7 Rong-zom-lugs/Rong-lugs

This Phur-pa tradition bears two names: Rong-zom-lugs and Rong-lugs. The Rong-zom-lugs is named after Rong-zom Chos-kyi-bzang-po, just as the name suggests. However, for Rong-lugs, it is difficult to tell which one Rong is referred to, since it could be either Rong-ban Yon-tan-rin-chen, Rong-ban Rin-chen-tshul-khriims, Rong-zom-pa or anyone in this family who has *rong* in his name and accomplished the Phur-pa practice.

Regarding the Phur-pa transmission from Padmasambhava to Rong-ban Yon-tan-rin-chen, Rong-zom-pa's grandfather and also known as Rong-ban dPal-gyi-rin-chen, there are two kinds of lineage: the short lineage (*nye rgyud*) and the long lineage (*ring rgyud*). The difference between the two lineages relates to whether Rong-ban Yon-tan-rin-chen met Pad-

¹ See the *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung* (p. 337.5–20).

² See WANGDU & DIEMBERGER 2000: 69, fn. 237. The *rGyal rab gsal ba'i me long* also records a person called Śākyā Bre-ba as the son of A-nu of the mChims clan. mChims Śākyaprabha is also included a list of translators by Bu-ston, see the *Bu ston chos 'byung* (p. 208.6). For his records in other sources, see SØRENSEN 1994: fn. 1204 on 370.s

³ See the *Nyang ral chos 'byung*: (p.485.4–5): *rje pad mas mchims shākya pra ba la brgyud pa | phur pa mchims lugs su grags so* |.

⁴ See the *Phur pa lo rgyus* (SIO, p. 290): *mchims kyis kong yul mchims kyi steng du spel lo* ||.

masambhava personally or not.¹ The short lineage is that Rong-ban Yon-tan-rin-chen received the Phur-pa teachings directly from Padmasambhava, lived for three hundred years, and transmitted the teachings to his son Rong-ban Rin-chen-tshul-khrims, who lived for one hundred and fifty years and transmitted it to his son Rong-zom.

The long lineage, starting from Padmasambhava, traces through sNa-nam rDo-rje-bdud-'joms, mKhar-chen dPal-gyi-dbang-phyug, Ācarya dPal-me-tog,² sGro rDo-rje-gzhon-nu,³ and Zhang-phung Yon-tan-grags sequentially, before being transmitted to Rong-ban Yon-tan-rin-chen. In the *Deb ther sngon po* and *bDud 'joms chos 'byung*, the same list is provided but not restricted to the Phur-pa teachings, referring to the instructions of Padmasambhava in general.⁴ Jo-nang Kun-dga'-grol-mchog (1507–65) presents the same lineage as not only applying it to the Phur-pa teachings but also to the Ma-mo and gShin-rje teachings (*ma gshin phur pa'i gdam pa*).⁵

The *Bod sog chos 'byung* records a lineage of sNa-nam-lugs, which was passed on to Rong-zom-pa.⁶ This might explain why in Guru bKra-shis' view, the Rong-zom-lugs or Rong-lugs related to the Phur-pa teachings is not different from sNa-nam-lugs.⁷

Sog-bzlog-pa provides a biography of Rong-zom-pa in the *Phur pa lo rgyus* which, according to Almogi's research, employs the *Deb ther sngon po* as his main source, however does not reproduce it precisely.⁸ At the end of the biography, Sog-bzlog-pa mentions that Rong-

¹ See the *Phur pa chos 'byung* (p. 83.17–23), *Phur pa chos 'byung bsdu pa* (p. 185.4–5), *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung* (p. 338. 22–25), and *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* (p. 378.5–10, for the translation, see DORJE & KAPSTEIN 2002: p.712). Sog-bzlog-pa also presents these two kinds of lineage but not using the term *nye rgyud* and *ring rgyud*, see the *Phur pa lo rgyus* (§16.1, p. 297).

² Ācarya dPal-me-tog is written as *don ā cārya dpal gyi me tog* in the *Phur pa lo rgyus* (§16.1, p. 297).

³ sGro is written as *sgrog* in the *Phur pa lo rgyus* (§16.1, p. 297).

⁴ See the *Deb ther sngon po* (p. 211.4–8, for the translation, see ROERICH 1995: 166–167) and *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* (pp. 370.19–371.4, for the translation, see DORJE & KAPSTEIN 2002: 706). In the *Deb ther sngon po*, there is no separation line (*bzhad*) between *dom a tsa ra dpal me tog* and *sgro rdo rje gzhon nu*. In Roerich's translation, he divides them as *dom a tsa ra dpal me tog sgro* and *rdo rje gzhon nu*.

⁵ See the *rTogs brjod* (A: p. 147.1–3; B: p. 6. 1–2): *ma gshin phur pa'i gdams pa kun kyang | slob dpon padma | sna nam' rdo rje bdud 'joms | mkhar chen dpal gyi dbang phyug | dom a tsa ra dpal gyi me tog | sgro rdo rje gzhon nu | zhang zhung yon tan grags | rong ban yon tan rin chen | rong ban rin chen tshul khrims | rang gi yab las gsan pa yin | . i. sna nam] B, rnam snang A.*

⁶ See the *Bod sog chos 'byung* (p. 510.4–7) and 4.4 on p. 61.

⁷ See the *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung* (p. 338.22). bDud-'joms-rin-po-che also has the same view, see the *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* (p. 378.3–5, for the translation, see DORJE & KAPSTEIN: 712).

⁸ The major events of Rong-zom-pa's life story and their sequence are almost identical in the two texts. For the pertinent sections, see the *Phur pa lo rgyus* (§16.2, pp. 298–303) and the *Deb ther sngon po* (pp. 203.2–212.1, for

zom-pa's accomplishments were achieved by means of Phur-pa practices and he wrote some treatises about the Phur-pa.¹

The Phur-pa teachings of Rong-zom-lugs or Rong-lugs were transmitted both genealogically and spiritually. Within his family, Rong-ban Yon-tan-rin-chen was first to obtain the teachings. He then pass it on to his son Rong-ban Rin-chen-tshul-khrims, after whom the Phur-pa were widely spread in the family. Rin-chen-tshul-krim had two sons, Rong-zom-pa and sGom-chen-chos-'phags, who in turn had many descendants.² Rong-zom-pa passed the lineage to his two sons, gZi-brjid-'bar and 'Bum-'bar, and everyone in their subsequent lineage attained accomplishments through the Phur-pa practice.³ The sixth generation descendant of Rong-zom-pa called 'Bum-rgod⁴ was sponsored by Nam-mkha-rgyal-po, the head monk (*zhal ngo*) of Rin-spungs-pa, and had many disciples. After 'Bum-rgod passed away, his chief disciple, Thang-khrom bKa'-bzhi-pa,⁵ was invited to the dGon-pa-dkar-po where the remains of Rong-zom-pa were kept. There, he transmitted the cycle of Phur-pa teachings to the Tantric disciples, who were descendants of gNyags and as a result the family line of Rong-zom did not cease up until the time of Sog-zlog-pa.⁶

The spiritual lineage of the Phur-pa teachings after Rong-zom-pa proceeded successively through Yol dGe-bsnyen rDo-rje-dbang-phyug, Yol-lcags-grub-thob, rGya-ston sTong-'bar, rNal-'byor-gzhung-pa, Pha-rrog mDo-sde-mgon-po, Yol-lcags Sangs-rgyas-nyi-'bum, Don-'grub-gzhon-nu, dPyal 'Phags-pa-dpal, dPyal Kun-dga'-dpal Nyi-ma, dPyal Kun-mkhyen-chos-rgyal, mKhan-po rGyal-mchog-pa, Gu-ge Paṅ-chen, Grub chen dPal-'byor-ba, Lo-chen bSod-nams-rgya-mtsho, Chag-lo Rin-chen-chos-rgyal, Bla-ma-dam-pa rDo-rje-seng-ge, and finally to Sog-bzlog-pa.⁷ gTshang-mkhan-chen only lists the transmission up to dPyal Kun-mkhyen-chos-rgyal, but mentions that the empowerment and reading transmissions still

the translation, see ROERICH 1995: 160–167). For a general introduction to the sections in the *Phur pa lo rgyus* and how did Sog-bzlog-pa refer to the *Deb ther sngon po*, see ALMOGI 2002: 71–72.

¹ No text related Phur-pa is found in the three-volume collection of Rong-zom.

² About Rong-zom-pa's family lineage, see ALMOGI 1997: Appendix F.

³ See the *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* (pp. 375.18–376.1, for the translation, see DORJE & KAPSTEIN 2002: 709).

⁴ Also written 'bum dgod.

⁵ bKa'-bzhi-pa is a title or degree of a person who is adept in the four precepts i.e Madhyamaka, Prajñāmitra, Vinaya and Abhidharmakoṣa.

⁶ See the *Phur pa lo rgyus* (§16.3, p. 304).

⁷ See the *Phur pa lo rgyus* (§16.4, p. 305).

continued during his days.¹

4.8 dPyal-lugs

This sub-tradition of the Phur-pa teachings originates from the dPyal family. In the spiritual lineage of Rong-zom-lugs, dPyal 'Phags-pa received the Phur-pa teachings from gZhon-nu-don-grub and passed it on to dPyal Kun-dga'-dpal Nyi-ma, from whom dPyal Kun-mkhyen-mchos-rgyal received the tradition. According to Guru bKra-shis, it is only from dPyal Kun-mkhyen-chos-rgyal that this Phur-pa transmission started to be called dPyal-lugs.² Guru bKra-shis also states that the transmission of dPyal-lugs is the same with the spiritual lineage of Rong-zom-lugs after dPyal 'Phags-pa and it combines the spiritual lineage of Rong-zom-lugs and the Jo-mo-lugs.³ Although Sog-bzlog-pa and gTsang-mkhan-chen also record the spiritual lineage of Rong-zom-lugs after dPyal 'Phags-pa, they do not refer it as dPyal-lugs.

The family lineage of dPyal can be traced back to Khri-srong-lde'u-btsan's minister who had three sons, who the King used to call dKar, Nag, and Khra. Most of the dPyal early masters were followers of the Old school (*rnying ma*). From dPyal 'Byung-gnas-rgyal-mtshan they switched to the New school (*gsar ma*) and all the family members were learned in the Phur-pa teachings and obtained accomplishments.⁴

The monastery of dPyal is called dPal Byang-chub-thar-pa-gling which was built by dPyal Chos-kyi-bzang-po (b. 12th Century), also known as dPyal-lo-tsa-ba and changed its affiliation to the dGe-lugs school. Guru bKra-shis comments that, during his time, there were *sādhana* offerings (*sgrub mchod*) belonging to the dPyal tradition, such as rGyas-pa-rtsa-'chams still in existence.⁵

¹ See the *Phur pa chos 'byung* (p. 83.18–25) and *Phur pa chos 'byung bsdu pa* (pp. 185.5–186.5). Don-'grub-gzhon-nu is written as gZhon-nu-don-grub in the *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung* (p. 339.9).

² See the *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung* (p. 339.15–16).

³ See the *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung* (p. 339.9–10).

⁴ See the *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung* (p. 339.10–19). For a more detailed family lineage of dPyal, see the *Deb ther sngon po* (pp. 476–9, for the translation, see ROERICH 1995: 395–6).

⁵ See the *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung* (p. 339.16–19).

4.9 Phur-pa-lha-nag

The Phur-pa-lha-nag is not named after a person but rather the color of the deities.¹ According to Sog-bzlog-pa, until the time of Padmasambhava and his consort Ye-shes-mtsho-rgyal, the color of the rDo-rje-phur-pa deities remained the same, but from the time of 'Bre A-tsa-ra Nu-ru the color started to change. Sog-bzlog-pa further states that 'Bre A-tsa-ra Nu-ru was a Phur-pa *siddha* who obtained the *vidyādhara* on life-span (*tshe'i rig 'dzin*) and lived until his time, therefore Lang-lab Byang-chub-rdo-rje met and requested the Phur-pa teachings from him.² Sog-bzlog-pa does not clearly indicate whether 'Bre A-tsa-ra Nu-ru received the Phur-pa teachings directly from Padmasambhava and Ye-shes-mtsho-rgyal, or not, but he cites some traders from Nepal that 'Bre A-tsa-ra Nur-ru was the disciple of Ye-shes-mtsho-rgyal and obtained the *vidyādhara* on life-span (*tshe'i rig 'dzin*).³

However, in the *Deb ther sngon po* it is 'Bre A-tsa-ra Sa-le together with Ye-shes-mtsho-rgyal who obtained the Phur-pa teachings from Padmasambhava.⁴ 'Gos gZhon-nu-dpal also lists 'Bre A-tsar Sa-le right after Padmasambhava and Ye-shes-mtsho-rgyal (*padma yab yum*) and before Lang-lab Byang-chub-rdo-rje in the transmission of rDo-rje-phur-pa.⁵ Sog-bzlog-pa noticed this divergence and pointed it out in the *Phur pa lo rgyus*, stating that 'Bre A-tsa-ra Nu-ru being regarded as 'Bre A-tsar-sa-le in some accounts is highly dubious; they did not realize there were five generations between Ye-shes-mtsho-rgyal and Lang-lab.⁶ However, the *Nor bu'i phreng ba* records that A-tsar-sa-le reached the age of three hundred, which bridges

¹ It is also called Phu-nag in the *mTha' gru'i rgyan* (p. 295.18). However, in another two versions of the *mTha' gru'i rgyan* included in the *Jigs gling gsum 'bum*, it is still called Phur-pa-lha-nag (A: vol.3, p. 311.1; B: vol.3, p. 311.1)

² See the *Phur pa lo rgyus* (§17.1, p. 305): *'di ni phur pa'i sgo nas grub pa thob ste tshe'i rig 'dzin brnyes pas ding sang gi bar du 'das grongs med par bzhugs pa yin la | lang lab byang chub rdo rjes grub pa thob tshar ba'i rjes su'ang 'di dang mjal nas |*.

³ See the *Phur pa lo rgyus* (§17.1, p. 306), *Phur pa chos 'byung* (p. 84.8), and *Phur pa chos 'byung bsdus pa* (p. 187.3).

⁴ See the *Deb ther sngon po* (p. 138.14–5): *phur pa ni pamas jo mo dang 'bre a tsar sa le la stsal bas | de nas brgyud de lugs sna tshogs su gyur cing shin tu dar ro ||*. For the translation, see ROERICH 1995: 106.

⁵ See the *Deb ther sngon po* (p. 197.8–9, for the translation, see ROERICH 1995: 156).

⁶ See the *Phur pa lo rgyus* (§17.1, p. 305): *lo rgyus la lar | ngam 'bre a tsa ra sa le yin par byas 'dug pa ni ma nges pa chen po ste | mtsho rgyal dang lang lab kyi bar na mi rabs lnga yod pa ma go ba yin la |*. The Ngam-'bre A-tsar-sa-le in the *Phur pa lo rgyus* is written as 'Bre A-tsar-sa-le in other sources. For consistency, 'Bre A-tsar-sa-le is used in this thesis.

the time gap between Ye-shes-mtsho-rgyal and Lang-lab.¹

Further evidence which seems to be able to prove the longevity of 'Bre A-tsa-ra Nu-ru is 'Phags-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan (1235–1280) sent Glo-bo Lo-tsā-ba Shes-rab-rin-chen to Sil-ba-tshal in order to receive the initiation of the wrathful liberation of “lower activities” (*smad las drag po sgrol ba'i dbang*) from him. 'Phags-pa then received the initiation when Glo-bo Lo-tsā-ba returned to Tibet. This story was recorded in many sources.²

Debates regarding the transmission lineage between Padmasambhava (with Ye-shes-mtsho-rgyal) and Lang-lab continued even after Sog-blzog-pa. g'Tsang-mkhan-chen's view is in consistent with Sog-bzlog-pa, choosing A-tsa-ra Nu-ru to be the one between Padmasambhava and Lang-lab.³ 'Jigs-med-gling-pa suggests that if 'Bre A-tsa-ra Sa-le was indeed the link between those two then, due to the long timespan between 'Bre A-tsa-ra Sa-le and Lang-lab, the lineage cannot be direct. On the other hand, 'Bre A-tsa-ra Nu-ru was said to have achieved the accomplishments of longevity. He therefore concludes that although 'Bre A-tsa-ra Sa-le and 'Bre A-tsa-ra Nu-ru are referred to by different names, there are few contradictions between them.⁴

Guru bKra-shis cites 'Jigs-med-gling-pa's account but express a more definite attitude, saying there are no contradictions between 'Bre A-tsa-ra Sa-le and 'Bre A-tsa-ra Nu-ru.⁵ The pertinent account in the *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* is almost identical with that in the *mTha'gru'i rgyan*.⁶ Despite 'Jigs-med-gling-pa, Guru bKra-shis, and bDud-'joms-rin-po-che suggesting that 'Bre A-tsa-ra Nu-ru and 'Bre A-tsa-ra Sa-le are the same person under different names and providing the story about 'Phags-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan's search of 'Bre A-tsa-ra Nu-ru, they still choose 'Bre A-tsa-ra Sa-le to be the person who received the Phur-pa-lha-nag

¹ See the *Nor bu'i phreng ba* (pp. 305.6–306.1): [*ye shes mtsho rgyal*] *phur pa lha nag jo mo lugs kyi gdams pa | a tsar sa le la bshad de | lo gsum bryga thobs | des lang lab byang chub rdo rje la bshad | de la thugs zin gyi sras bzhi byung ste* |.

² See the *Phur pa lo rgyus* (§17.1, p. 306), *Phur pa chos 'byung* (p. 84.5–14), *Phur pa chos 'byung bsdus pa* (pp. 187.1–188.1), *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung* (p. 341.23–342.2), *mTha'gru'i rgyan* (p. 295.2–6), and *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* (p. 378.17–379.3, for the translation, see DORJE & KAPSTEIN 2002: 712).

³ See the *Phur pa chos 'byung* (p. 84.2–4) and *Phur pa chos 'byung bsdus pa* (pp. 186.5–6).

⁴ See the *mTha'gru'i rgyan* (pp. 295.20–296.2): *'di la 'bre a tsa ra sa le byes na lang lab gyi bar dang de ngvis phyi thag ring bas brgyud pa liag mi 'phrod | 'bre a tsa ra nu ru zhes bya bas tshe'i grub pa thob pa yin zhes zer ba'ang 'dug ste | ming gi khyad par du byas kyang 'gal ba ni chung mod* |.

⁵ See the *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung* (p. 341.23): *ming gi khyad par du byas kyang 'ga ba ni med mod | ces kun mkhyen 'jigs med gling pas gsungs so*

⁶ See the *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* (p. 378.13–7, for the translation, see DORJE & KAPSTEIN 2002: 712).

teachings from Padmasambhava and Ye-shes-mtsho-rgyal and transmitted them to Lang-lab.¹

Although the sources listed above have different opinions regarding the inheritor of Padmasambhava and Ye-shes-mtsho-rgyal, they all agree that the lHa-nag tradition was gradually transmitted from Lang-lab to Ya-'brog-pa Gu-rub-yang-dag, whereas in the *Phur pa rgyud lugs* it was transmitted to him from Lag-lhag Byang-chub-rdo-rje.² Lag-lhag Byang-chub-rdo-rje also appears in other contexts in the *Phur pa rgyud lugs chos 'byung* for instance, receiving the Jo-mo-lugs of Phur-pa teachings from 'Bre-le, conflict with his paternal relatives and his victory over the Yamantaka adept Rwa Lo-tsā-ba rDo-rje-grags (1016–1128/1198, henceforth Rwa Lo-tsā-ba). He also had four disciples, namely Nyang Ber-sngon-can, Kyi Gyang-'gyel, sKrang Phur-bu'i-mgo, and sNa-nam Shes-rab-tshul-khrims.³ Such narratives seem to correlate with the story of Lang-lab Byang-chub-rdo-rje. And the account of Lang-lab Byang-chub-rdo-rje in the *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung* is almost identical to that of Lag-lhag in the *Phur pa rgyud lugs chos 'byung*.⁴ Moreover, the name Lag-lha sounds similar with Lang-lab. Therefore, it is highly likely that Lag-lhag and Lang-lab are the same person.

Many sources record that the lHa-nag tradition of Phur-pa started appearing when Ya-'brog-pa Gu-rub-yang-dag changed all the deities black, relying upon the *Phur pa mya ngan las 'das pa'i rgyud*.⁵ Sog-bzlog-pa also presents the lineage before Gu-rub-yang-dag which originates from Padmasambhava and Ye-shes-mtsho-rgyal, then transmitted sequentially through A-tsa-ra Nu-ru, Lang-lab, sNa-nam Tshul-khrims-shes-rab, Khyung-po-'chal-

¹ See the *mTha' gru'i rgyan* (pp. 295.18), *Phur pa rgyud lugs chos 'byung* (p. 11.3), *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung* (p. 341.15), and *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* (p. 378.10–11, for the translation see DORJE & KAPSTEIN 2002: 712).

² See the *Phur pa rgyud lugs chos 'byung* (p. 11.2–3): *phur pa lha nag ni | o rgyan yab yum nas 'dre a tsārya sa le | lag lhag nas rim par yar 'brog pa gu rub yang dag ||*. Gu-rub-yang-dag is written as Phu-rub-yang in the *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung* (p. 341.16).

³ See the *Phur pa rgyud lugs chos 'byung* (pp. 8.2–9.3).

⁴ See the *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung* (pp. 325.23–326.12), which may have referred to the *Phur pa rgyud lugs chos 'byung* for this part. For more information about Lang-lab Byang-chub-rdo-rje, see Lang-lab-lugs below, add page numer.

⁵ See the *Deb ther sngon po* (p. 197.11–2, for the translation, see ROERICH 1995: 156), *Phur pa lo rgyus* (§17.1, p. 305), *Phur pa chos 'byung* (p. 84.14–15), *Phur pa chos 'byung bsdu pa* (p. 188.1–2), *Phur pa rgyud lugs chos 'byung* (p. 11.3), *mTha' gru'i rgyan*, *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung* (p. 341.16–7), and *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* (p. 378.11–12), and *Bod sog chos 'byung* (p. 510.7–10). According to 'Jigs-med-gling-pa, the *Phur pa mya ngan las 'das pa'i rgyud* is about the completion stage (*rdzogs rim*), see the *Phur pa rgyud lugs chos 'byung* (p. 11.3): *'dis rdzogs rim gtso bor 'don pa phur pa myang 'das kyi rgyud chen po la brten nas lha thams cad nag por mdzad pas lha nag tu grags la |*. It is probably related to the *rDo rje phur bu chos thams cad mya ngan las 'das pa'i rgyud*, which is included in the *rNying ma rgyud 'bum* (Tk. 373). Ya-'brog-pa is also written as Yar-'brog-pa. For consistency, the former is used here.

chen, 'Chal-chung, Blo-gros-rgyal-tmshan, and then to Gu-rub-yang-dag.

From Gu-rub-yang-dag appeared two lines of lineage. The first is transmitted through 'Gos-ston-byang-'bar, Khyung-po-seng-ge, Khyung-po-khro-bo, gNyal-ston-grags, sKyi Chos-kyi-seng-ge, rGya Ye-shes-kyi-mgon-po, and dPal-ldan rDo-rje-rgyal-mtshan, Bla-ma Tshul-rgyal-ba, Ri-gdongs-pa Shes-rab-rgyal-mtshan, Slob-dpon bSod-nams-bzang-po, Slob-dpon bKra-shis-rgya-mtsho, mNyam-med gZhon-nu-dpal, Sems-dpa'-chen-po Nam-mkha', Bla-ma-chen-po rDo-rje-rgyal-po, Bla-ma rDo-rje-seng-ge, and finally to Sog-zlog-pa.¹

'Gos gZhon-nu-dpal provides a similar transmission lineage list starting from A-tsa-ra Sa-le and ending with bKra-shis-rgya-mtsho, but does not specify whether it relates to rDo-rje-phur-pa, let alone the lHa-nag-lugs. However, this list follows right after mentioning that 'Gos gZhon-nu-dpal himself obtained the initiation of Phur-pa-lha-nag-ma together with a textbook composed by rDo-rje-rgyal-mtshan and some smaller texts, for instance the *bShad 'bum rdo rje don gsal*, from bDag-gnyid-chen-po bKra-shis-rgya-mtsho-ba.²

The list is as follows: 'Bre A-tsa-ra Sa-le, Lang-lab Byang-chub-rdo-rje, sNan-nam Tshul-khrims-shes-rab, Khyung-po-'chal-chen, 'Chal-chung, Blo-gros-rgyal-tmshan, Ya-'brog-pa Gu-rub-yang-dag, 'Gos-ston-byang-'bar, Khyung-po Seng-ge, Khyung-po Khro-bo, gNyal-ston-grags, sKyi Chos-kyi-seng-ge, rGya Ye-shes-kyi-mgon-po, dPal-ldan rDo-rje-rgyal-mtshan, Bla-ma Tshul-rgyal-ba Ri-gdong-ba Shes-rab-rgyal-mtshan, Slob-dpon bSod-nams-bzang-po, and to Slob-dpon bKra-shis-rgya-mtsho.³ Compared with 'Gos gZhon-nu-dpal's list, Sog-zlog-pa's is almost identical with it apart from 'Bre A-tsa-ra Sa-le whom he insists to be 'Bre A-tsa-ra Nu-ru and adding four people after Slob-dpon bKra-shis-rgya-mtsho. Thus, it is possible that Sog-zlog-pa referred to 'Gos gZhon-nu-dpal's *Deb ther sngon po* when composing the transmission lineage of the Phur-pa-lha-nag tradition, since he already employed Rong-zom-pa's biography from the *Deb ther sngon po*.

¹ See the *Phur pa lo rgyus* (§17.2, p. 306–307).

² See the *Deb ther sngon po* (p. 197.6–8, for the translation, see ROERICH 1995: 156). The account of 'Gos gZhon-nu-dpal's receipt of the Phur-pa-lha-nag-ma is also found in the *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* (p.348.9–12, for the translation, see DORJE & KAPSTEIN 2002: 687), which also adds that bKra-shis-rgya-mtsho was the disciple of Zhang-mkhar-ba bSod-nams-bzang-po. A-mes-zhabs also mentions that the *bShad 'bum rdo rje don gsal* written by rDo-rje-rgyal-mtshan is related to Phur-pa-sna-nam-lugs, see the *Phur pa sgrub thabs rnam bshad*, (p. 428.17–8): *gsang sngags 'dzin pa dpal ldan rdo rje rgyal mtshan gyis mdzad pa'i phur pa sna nam lugs su grags pa'i rmad du byung ba'i bshad 'bum rdo rje don gsal* |. rDo-rje-rgyal-mtshan was the nephew of rGya Ye-shes-mgon-po, see the *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* (p.348.1, for the translation see DORJE & KAPSTEIN 2002: 687). He not only wrote the *bShad 'bum rdo rje gsal*, which is just one of the many kinds of exegetical literature, but also composed manuals about the initiation and *sādhana* of Phur-pa, see the *Phur pa lo rgyus* (§17.2, p. 307).

³ See the *Deb ther sngon po* (p. 197.8–17, for the translation, see ROERICH 1995: 156).

The second, according to Sog-zlog-pa and gTsang-mkhan-chen, was transmitted from Gu-rub-yang-dag to rTse-sgang-pa and sNye-mdo-ba.¹ However, the *Deb ther sngon po* mentions that Rog Shes-rab-bla-ma (1090–1173) received the Phur-pa teachings of rTse-sgang-pa and sNye-mdo-ba from Gu-rub-yang-dag.² This indicates that Gu-rub-yang-dag had the Phur-pa teachings of rTse-sgang-pa and sNye-mdo-ba, which contradicts the record of Sog-bzlog-pa and gTsang-mkhan-chen that Gu-rub-yang-dag gave rTse-sgang-pa and sNye-mdo-ba the Phur-pa teachings. One way to explain the contradiction is that Gu-rub-yang-dag not only bestowed his Phur-pa teachings to rTse-sgang-pa and sNye-mdo-ba, but also receives their teachings from the two. However, this assumption still needs more sources to support. sNye-mdo-ba in the two narratives should refer to one person. There is one master of the Zhi-byed school, called sNye-mdo-ba Thams-cad-mkhyen-pa (1216–1277), in the transmission of the Phur-pa-ro-g-lugs. It is not sure if the sNye-mdo-ba in the two narratives is the same person with sNye-mdo-ba Thams-cad-mkhyen-pa (1216–1277). If following the narrative in the *Deb ther sngon po*, sNye-mdo-ba must be prior to or at least a contemporary with Rog Shes-rab-bla-ma. This contradicts the dates of sNye-mdo-ba Thams-cad-mkhyen-pa. If following the narrative of Sog-bzlog-pa and gTsang-mkhan-chen, it maybe possible that sNye-mdo-ba is sNye-mdo-ba Thams-cad-mkhyen-pa. Since Gu-rub-yang-dag was the teacher of Rog Shes-rab-bla-ma, he must be alive before 1173, which leading to the effect sNye-mdo-ba's date could overlap with that of sNye-mdo-ba Thams-cad-mkhyen-pa.³

4.10 Phur-pa-lha-khra

The sub-tradition Phur-pa-lha-khra, meaning colourful-deity, is the opposite of Phur-pa-lha-nag-lugs. 'Jigs-med-gling-pa, Guru bKra-shis, and bDud-'joms-rin-po-che both list lHa-nag and lHa-khra in together with rGyal-po-lugs, Jo-mo-lugs, lCam-lugs and sNa-nam or Rong-

¹ See the *Phur pa lo rgyus* (§17.2, p. 306–307), *Phur pa chos 'byung* (p. 84.16), and *Phur pa chos 'byung bsdu pa* (p. 188.2–3).

² See the *Deb ther sngon po* (p. 197.18–9, for the translation, see ROERICH 1995: 156). However, in the translation, Rog Shes-rab-bla-ma is written as Ngog Shes-rab-bla-ma, which could be a mistake, because it further states that his son was bKra-shis-grags-pa, which fits Rog Shes-ba-bla-ma. Rog Shes-rab-bla-ma and his brother were the main figures in the transmission of the Phur-pa-ro-g-lugs, for details, see 6.5.1, pp. 139–142.

³ For more information about sNye-mdo-ba Thams-cad-mkhyen-pa, see 6.5.1, p. 141.

lugs which were taught directly from Padmasambhava.¹

Not many sources record the origin and transmission of the Phur-pa-lha-khar tradition. 'Jig-med-gling-pa and Guru bKra-shis records that after Gu-rub-yang-dag made the Phur-pa deities black, most deities were still colorful, which is in conformity with the Tantric scriptures. He transmitted the teachings of the colorful deities to Grub-thob sKor-chung, then through rGya-ston-jo-gdong, rGya-chos-bkra, and to rGya-lam-grags. Therefore this tradition also came to be known as Bla-ma-rgya'i-lugs.² Guru bKra-shis composed the *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung* from 1807–1813,³ which is later than the time of 'Jigs-med-gling-pa (1729–1798). It could be possible that Guru bKra-shis referred to 'Jigs-med-gling-pa's *Phur pa rgyud lugs chos 'byung* when he composed the *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung*.

4.II gNyags-lugs

4.II.1 The Life Story of gNyags Jñānakumāra

gNyags-lugs is named after gNyags Jñānakumāra, also known as gNyags Lo-tsā-ba Ye-shes-gzhon-nu, an eighth-century translator. gNyags is listed among the four messengers who went to invite Padmasambhava by some sources and bDud-'joms-rin-po-che states gNyags obtained the signs of accomplishment primarily through Phur-pa.⁴

The biography of gNyags can be found in many texts, such as the *Klong chen chos 'byung*, *mDo dbang rnam thar*, *rDzogs chen chos 'byung*, and *bDud 'joms chos 'byung*, but they do not emphasize Phur-pa teachings in his life story.⁵ Sog-bzlog-pa's *Phur pa lo rgyus* provides

¹ See the *mTha' gru'i rgyan* (p. 294.11–12), *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung* (p. 321.19), and *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* (p. 376.13–14, for the translation, see DORJE & KAPSTEIN 2002: 710). It is worth noting that the narratives in the three texts are very much similar. It is possible that Guru bKra-shis referred to the *mTha' gru'i rgyan* when composing this part. The highly similarity between the *mTha' gru'i rgyan* and *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* has been mentioned in chapter one.

² See the *Phur pa rgyud lugs chos 'byung* (p. 11.4) and *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung* (p. 341.17–19). The pertinent narrative in the two texts are almost identical with each other. Guru bkra-shis may have referred to the *Phur pa rgyud lugs chos 'byung* when writing this part.

³ MARTIN 1991: 330–1.

⁴ See the *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* (p. 226.13–15, for the translation, see DORJE & KAPSTEIN 2002: p. 601).

⁵ See the *Klong chen chos 'byung* (pp. 392.5–393.18), *mDo dbang rnam thar* (pp. 148.4–152.4), *rDzog chen chos 'byung* (p. 144–7), and *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* (pp. 225–31, for the translation, see DORJE & KAPSTEIN 2002: pp. 601–5).

a very detailed story about gNyags and his connection with Phur-pa.¹ gNyags Jñānakumāra received the rDo-rje-phur-pa instructions from Vimalamitra when they met at the funeral of the older prince Mu-ne-btsan-po. Vimalamitra taught him the teachings related to the Phur-pa-phum-sum-tshogs-pa and gSham-sngon-ma-bu after gNyags told him about his miserable life as a result of his enemies.² Before he met Vimalamitra, gNyags was escaping from his three enemies: gNyags dGe-la-ston, mChims Bya-rog and 'Bro-sras-chung. When gNyags lived in Ya-'brog-sgang, his paternal sibling gNyags dGe-la-ston slandered him as being an evil guy who knew the non-Buddhist black magic. Since dGe-la-ston plotted to kill gNyags, he had to run away with his servant. On his way to the upper part of mChims-yul, they drove some goats in an empty valley, thinking them to have no owner, but it turned out they were owned by mChims-bya-rog. Even though they paid him back sevenfold, mChims-bya-rog was not satisfied and chased them with a hammer, such that gNyags had to flee again. When they traveled to central Tibet, their galloping horse terrified a deer belonging to 'Bro-sras-chung, causing it to run away in fright and was lost. They had to escape once more because 'Bro-sras-chung wanted to kill them.

gNyags, together with Vimalamitra, engaged in the Phur-pa practices in the cave of gYar-chu-sna in lHo-brag, relying on twenty-one rosewood *phur pa* implement (*seng ldeng phur pa*), and many wholesome signs appeared, such as the rattling of Phur-pa. As a result, gNyags attained the superpower of Phur-pa, such as the ability to stab a *phur pa* implement into gTsang-po river cutting off the water and causing the river bed and sides to churn up.³ Despite having mastered the superpowers of Phur-pa, he was not able to take revenge on his three enemies. Vimalamitra told him that only when he met someone who fulfills the accomplishments of Phur-pa could he have his revenge. After that, he went in search of this person and met a blacksmith called Sog-po who could swallow black needles.⁴ gNyags persuaded him to

¹ See the *Phur pa lo rgyus* (§19.2–§19.7, pp. 309–315, for the translation, see 10.19.2–10.19.7, pp. 226–231). A concise version of this story is in the *Phur pa chos 'byung* (pp. 84.24–85.16) and *Phur pa chos 'byung bsdu pa* (pp. 189.1–191.2).

² gTsang-mkhan-chen mentions the Vimalamitra bestowed on gNyags the Phur-pa-phu-sum-tshogs-pa and gSham-sngon-can-ma-bu, see the *Phur pa chos 'byung* (p. 85.9–10) and *Phur pa chos 'byung bsdu pa* (p. 190.4). The gSham-sngon-ma-bu or gSham-sngon-can-ma-bu should relate to the cycle of Phur-pa-gsham-sngon-can.

³ For a similar narrative about his superpowers of Phur-pa, see the *Phur pa 'bum nag* (A, p. 22.5–6; B, p. 244.6–245.1): *gnyags kyis¹ ya gtsang gi gtsang po² la phur pa btab pas³ chu chad gram pa skya skrog song* |. 1. kyis] B, kyi A. 2. gi gtsang po] B, skyi gtsang A. 3. pas] B, pas A. 4. skrog] B, krog A.

⁴ Sog-po dPal-gyi-ye-shes was one of the four masters of the reading transmissions and oral instructions (*lung dang man ngag gi bdag po bzhi*) and the root master of gNubs-chen Sangs-rgyas-ye-shes, see the *lDe'u chos 'byung*

study Dharma with him and provided the necessities for this. He was taught Dharma, became a monk and was given the name lHa dPal-gyi-ye-shes. He possessed some features of Phur-pa such as upturned eyeballs, triangular nose and so forth. It is stated that Sog-po helped gNyags take revenge on his three enemies and even freed gNyags from prison.¹

However, according to gTsang-mkhan-chen, gNyags first took revenge on mChims Bya-rog, after having attained the accomplishments through relying on twenty-one rosewood Phur-pa in mKhar-chu'i-brag-phug in lHo-brag.² He, along with Sog-po dPal-gyi-ye-shes and 'O-bran dPal-gyi-zhong-nu, took revenge on the other two enemies gNyags dGe-la-ston and 'Gro-sras-chung.³ In the *lDe'u chos 'byung*, gNyags' three enemies were conquered by his three disciples, namely 'Dzeng-u-pa-de gSal-rab-rin-chen, Thang-bzang dPal-gyi-rdo-rje and Tshur-nag Ye-shes-dpal respectively.⁴

4.II.2 gNyags Jñānakumāra's Phur-pa Transmission

It is recorded that gNyags Jñānakumāra's Phur-pa teachings were transmitted in Khams, Lho-brag, and mNga'-ris by his eight glorious disciples (*dpal gyi slob ma brgyad*) and also flourished among his descendants.⁵ It has been accepted that gNyags had eight glorious disciples, but the disciples included vary. In the *Phur pa lo rgyus*, they are sNyan Ācārya dPal-dbyangs, 'Brog-mi dPal-gyi-ye-shes, mKhar-chen dPal-gyi-dbang-phyug, Thags-bzang dPal-gyi-rdo-rje, Gra dPal-gyi-snying-po, Zla-lcogs dPal-gyi-seng-ge, Dar-rje dPal-gyi-grags-pa, and Lha-lung dPal-gyi-rdo-rje. From these disciples, countless traditions of Phur-pa teachings spread in Khams, Lho-brag and mNga'-ris. Sog-bzlo-pa also mentions that 'O-bran dPal-gyi-gzhon-nu, Sog-po dPal-gyi-ye-shes and the descendants of the gNyags clan do not belong to the eight glorious disciples.⁶

(p. 305.7 and p. 304.9).

¹ See the *Phur pa lo rgyus*, §19 pp. 308–315.

² In the *Phur pa lo rgyus*, it is said that gNyags and Vimalamitra practiced on Phur-pa in the cave of g.Yar-chu-sna in lHo-brag and many signs appeared. From gTsang-mkhan-chen's narrative, it is not sure whether it is gNyags alone or together with Vimalamitra that engaged in the practice of Phur-pa.

³ See the *Phur pa chos 'byung* (p. 85.10–14) and *Phur pa chos 'byung bsdu pa* (pp. 190.4–191.1).

⁴ See the *lDe'u chos 'byung* (p. 305.4–6).

⁵ See the *Phur pa chos 'byung* (p. 85. 14–15): *de rjes dpal gyi slob ma brgyad las khams dang | lho brag dang mnga' ris rnam su dar zhing snyags kyi dbon brgyud rnam la dar zhing 'phrin las che'o*, also see *Phur pa chos 'byung bsdu pa* (p. 191.1–2).

⁶ See the *Phur pa lo rgyus*, §19.8 pp. 315–315.

The *Klong chen chos 'byung* does not give a full list of eight disciples, instead presenting a list of four glorious disciples (*dpal gyi bu bzhi*): Sog-po dPal-gyi-ye-shes, Grwa dPal-gyis-snying-po, Thag-bzang dPal-gyi-rdo-rje, and 'O-bran dPal-gyi-gzhon-nu.¹ It is also remarked that some accounts assert eight disciples, such as gNyan Ācārya dPal-dbyangs and mTshur Nag-po Ye-shes-dpal.²

'Jigs-med-gling-pa states the principle disciples of gNyangs were lead by eight glorious ones who were preceptors of Phur-pa. He lists many disciples of gNyags, but only seven of them have *dpal* in their names: Sog-po dPal-gyi-ye-shes, dGra dPal-gyi-snying-po, lHa-lung dPal-gyi-rdo-rje, 'O-bran dPal-gyi-gzhon-nu, sNyan dPal-dbyangs, 'Tshur-nag-ye-shes-dpal and Thang-bzang dPal-gyi-rdo-rje.³

The *rDzog chen chos 'byung* and *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* also list the eight disciples and divide them into two groups of former four (*snga ma bzhi*) and later four (*phyi ma bzhi*). The former four are Sog-po dPal-gyi-ye-shes, 'O-bran dPal-gyi-gzhon-nu, gNyan-chen dPal-dbyangs, and Thag-bzang dPal-gyi-rdo rje. The later four are Lam-mchod dPal-gyi-rdo-rje, Dar-rje dPal-gyi-grags-pa, dGra dPal-gyi-snying-po, lHa dPal-gyi-rdo-rje.⁴ bDud-'joms Rin-po-che specifically calls them the eight glorious adepts of Phur-pa (*phur pa mkhan po dag dpal brgyad*).⁵

The *Nyang ral chos 'byung* records gNyags' nine glorious disciples (*slob ma dpal chen dgu*): mKhar-chen dPal-gyi-dbang-phyug, Sog-po dPal-gyi-ye-shes, Shud-pu dPal-gyi-seng-ge, gNyan-chen A-tsa-ra dPal-dbyangs, 'O-bran dPal-gyi-gzhon-nu, [rLangs]-chen dPal-gyi-seng-ge, Bran-ka dPal-gyi-yon-tan, Dar-rje dPal-gyi-grags-pa and Cog-ro dPal-gyi-dbang-phyug.⁶

¹ See *Klong chen chos 'byung* (p. 393.7–10).

² *Klong chen chos 'byung* (p. 393.9–10): *kha cig dpal gyi bu rgyad du 'dod de | gnyang atsarya dpal dbyangs | mtshur nag po ye shes dpal la sogs pa'o ||*.

³ See the *mTha' gru'i rgyan* (p. 213.15–18).

⁴ See the *rDzogs chen chos 'byung* (pp. 146.13–15) and *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* (pp. 231.9–13, for the translation, see DORJE & KAPSTEIN 2002: p. 605).

⁵ See *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* (pp. 231.8–9): *de la slob ma'i gtso bo ni phur pa mkhan po dag dpal brgyad du 'dren par bye de |*. In the *mTha' gru'i rgyan* (p. 213.15), there is an almost identical narrative: *de la slob ma'i gtso bo ni phur pa mkhan po dga dpal brgyad du 'dren pa yod de*

⁶ See the *Nyang ral chos 'byung* (pp. 482.18–483.2) which lists the nine glorious disciples of Zhang Jñānakumāra. However in the same text (p. 436.20–21) it is recorded that gNyags Jñānakumāra had nine glorious disciples. And the most of the nine disciples coincide with these in other lists of gNyags Jñānakumāra's glorious disciples. Thus, it can be assumed that Zhang Jñānakumāra and gNyags Jñānakumāra refer to the same person. rLangs-chen dPal-gyi-seng-ge, written as Glang dPal-gyi-seng-ge in the *lDe'u cho 'byung* (p. 288.15–16) was one of the six persons who went to India to request the Yang-dag teachings from Hūṃkara during the fourth descent of the Tantric

There exists a collection of treasure texts revealed by Dil-mgo-mkhyen-brtse-rin-po-che which are about the Phur-pa rituals following the gNyags-lugs revealed by Dil-mgo-mkhyen-brtse-rin-po-che.¹

4.12 'O-bran-lugs

This tradition centers around 'O-bran dPal-gyi-gzhon-nu, who in the *lDe'u chos 'byung* is described as one who had mastery over liberation.² He was the disciple of gNyags Jñānakumāra and became liberated, after having practiced Phur-pa with gNyags and Sog-po dPal-gyi-yeshes.³

In Kong-sprul's record 'O-bran-lugs already existed during the time of 'O-bran-dbang-phyug who was the father of 'O-bran dPal-gyi-gzhon-nu and the disciple of Padmasambhava. But it does not exclusively refer to Phur-pa but many oral transmission of the wrathful guru (*gur drag*) and most of the empowerment and reading transmissions were uninterrupted until the time of Kong-sprul.⁴

Nyang-ral maintains that Vimlamitra gave the Phur-pa-sham-sngon-can to gNyags, who subsequently gave it to 'O-bran dPal-gyi-gzhon-nu, at which point it became called the mDo-lugs-lu-gu-brgyud.⁵ Sog-zlog-pa states that in some historical accounts 'O-bran dPal-gyi-gzhon-nu is taken as the one who rescued gNyags' elder brother bShes-gnyen lHa-mtsho-btson, leading to gNyags transmitting him the Phur-pa-phun-sum-tshogs-pa and gSham-sngon-can. Sog-bzlog-pa disapproves of this kind of narrative, stating that according to some reasonable sources it was not that 'O-bran rescued bShe-gnyen lHa-mtsho-btson but rather

teachings.

¹ See the *gNyags lugs phur ba'i 'don cha* which includes nine treasure texts related to topics, such as prayer (*gsol 'debs*), expiation (*bskang ba*), visualised recitation (*bzlas dmigs*), Torma offering and so forth.

² See the *lDe'u chos 'byung* (p. 305.8–9): *sgrol ba la mnga' brnyes pa ni 'o bran dpal gyi gzhon nu'o* |.

³ See the *Phur pa lo rgyus* (§19.6, p. 313): *de dang mthun pa 'o bran dpal gyi gzhon nu la yang 'dug pas | sngar gyi slob ma yang yin pas gnyis ka kbrid de 'ongs | de nas dpon slob gsum gyis bsgrub pa byas nas bsgral* |. The *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* (pp. , for the translation, see DORJE & KAPSTEIN 2002: 604) also records the three practice Phur-pa together.

⁴ See the *gTer ston lo rgyus* (p. 47.4–7): *'o bran dpal gyi dbang phyug ni |...slob dpon padma'i thugs sras te |... 'o bran lugs gur drag bka' ma sogs chos tshul mang du yod la phal cher deng sang yang dbang lung gi rgyun ma chad par snang zhing...* For a similar narrative, see the *rNying ma chos 'byung* (p. 247.8–12).

⁵ See the *Nyang ral chos 'byung* (p. 485.15): *bi ma las dznyā na la gtad pa | des 'o bran dpal gyi gzhon nu la gnang | 'o bran gyis phur pa sham sngon can | mdo lugs lu gu brgyud du grags* |.

that Sog-po dPal-gyi-ye-shes rescued gNyags who was being held in captive.¹ Sog-bzlog-pa claims that the Phur-pa-phun-sum-tshogs-pa and gSham-sngon-can were not only given to 'O-bran but also to other disciples of gNyags.² He also received the two cycles from his teacher Yongs-'dzin-dam-pa rDo-rje-seng-ge.³

The Phur-pa tradition of 'O-bran dPal-gyi-gzhon-nu came to be known as gSer-mgo-can from the time of his son 'O-bran Pad-'byung. It was exclusively a one-to-one transmission and could not be given without a gold offering. 'O-bran Pad-'byung was born five or six months after his father's death and when he grew up, hearing that gNubs-ston Padma-dbang-rgyal has the reading transmission of Phur pa, offered him gold and some other offerings and got the transmission.⁴

'O-bran Pad-'byung gave the Phur-pa teachings to his son Blo-gros-dbang-phyug but died before he could finish the teaching. His son had to finish learning them from gNyags Padma rGyal-po, who was the son of gNyags Pad-'byung, the disciple of sNub-ston Padma-dbang-rgyal. As such, Blo-gros-dbang-phyug held two lineages, one from his father the other from gNyags Padma rGyal-po. From Blo-gros-dbang-phyug, the lineage was transmitted within the family until sPrul-sku Ri-rab-dam-pa. From Ri-rab-dam-pa the family lineage was transmitted outside the family members, for example, Rin-po-che Don-grub-dpal-'byor received it from Ri-rab-dam-pa.⁵ Guru Bkra-shis also provides a similar account regarding Blo-gros-dbang-phyug receiving the Phur-pa teachings, and states that this family lineage of Phur-pa still existed during his time.⁶

¹ See the *Phur pa lo rgyus* (§19.7, pp. 314–315).

² See the *Phur pa lo rgyus* (§19.7, p. 315): *phur pa phun sum tshogs pa gsham sngon dang bcas pa'i chos skor kyang | 'o bran kho na la yod pa las | gzhan la ma grags pa ma yin te |*.

³ See the *Phur pa lo rgyus* (§20, p. 316).

⁴ See the *Phur pa lo rgyus* (§20, 315): *'o bran dpal gyi gzhon nu sku 'das nas zla ba lnga drug nas | sras 'o bran pad 'byung 'khrungs |...gye re gnyen rtse'i ri khrod na gnubs ston padma dbang rgyal la bzbugs zer | de ma thag byon nas | gser srang bco brgyad kyis sna drangs pa'i 'bul ba mang po byas nas lo gnyis la rdzogs par zhus | chig brgyud bka' rgya dang | gser gyi 'bul ba med par mi ster bas | 'o bran gyi phur pa gser mgo can du grags shing |*. Similar accounts see *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung* (p.342. 11–16).

⁵ See the *Phur pa lo rgyus* (§20, p. 316): *de nas sras blo gros dbang phyug gis rang gi yab 'o bran pad 'byung la yang gsan | chos 'phro cung zad ma rdzogs pa la yab gshags pas gnubs kyi slob ma gnyags pad 'byung gi sras | gnyags padma rgyal po la rdzogs par gsan te | brgyud pa gnyis ldan du byed do || de nas sprul sku ri rab dam pa'i bar du 'o bran gyi gdung brgyud rnam la brgyud cing |*.

⁶ See the *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung* (p. 342.18–21).

4.13 gNubs-lugs

4.13.1 The Life of gNubs-chen Sangs-rgyas-ye-shes

This sub-tradition is named after gNubs-chen Sangs-rgyas-ye-shes, also known as gNubs Sangs-rgyas-rin-po-che, gNubs sGregs-pa Sangs-rgyas and gNubs-kyi-bang-chung Sangs-rgyas.¹ He was well-known as the author of two works, the *mDo 'grel chen mun pa'i cho ga* and *bSam gtan mig sgron*.²

Since he was a pivotal figure in the history of the rNying-ma school, Tibetan historians started to document him from a very early time. A few narratives about him can be found in the *Nyang ral chos 'byung* and *lDe'u chos 'byung*, but they are scattered and brief. However, there is a biography which is claimed to be his autobiography, titled *Sangs rgyas ye shes rin po che'i lo rgyus gnubs kyi bka' shog chen po* (henceforth abbreviated as *bKa' shog chen mo*).³ What is confirmed by most of these biographies is that he was born in a place called sGrags, to gSal-ba'i-dbang-phyug (father) and mChims-mo bKra-shis-'tsho (mother). However, in the *lDe'u chos 'byung* his father is said to be sNubs-ni-gu, his mother to be Yo-za-lcam-me and his son to be Khri-sum-rdo-rje.⁴

Regarding his age, all sources agree that he lived for more than one hundred years, but opinions diverge with respect to exactly how long he lived for. The different positions include one hundred and eleven,⁵ one hundred and thirteen,⁶ one hundred and twenty,⁷ and one hundred and thirty.⁸ Padma-'phrin-las, on the one hand, quotes some histories which state

¹ In some sources, *gnubs* is written as *snuvs*.

² The *mDo 'grel chen mun pa'i cho ga* is a commentary on the *mDo dgongs pa 'dus pa*, a key Anuyoga Tantric scripture. For a study on the structure of the *bSam gtan mig sgron*, see DALTON & VAN SCHAİK 2003.

³ According to Dalton, this text could not have been compiled prior to the 11th century. For an introduction to it, see DALTON 2014: 145–162. Apart from it, the *Klong chen chos 'byung* (pp. 395–406), *mDo dbang rnam thar* (pp. 160–76), *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung* (pp. 246–9), and *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* (pp. 233–241, for the translation, see DORJE & KAPSTEIN 2002: pp. 608–614) all provide a very detailed biography of him. Dalton mentions that gNubs' biography in the *mDo dbang rnam thar* is largely based on the *bKa' shog chen mo*, see DALTON 2014: fn. 2 on 145.

⁴ See *lDe'u chos 'byung* (p. 304.6–8): *snuvs sangs rgyas rin po che de yang sgrags kyi chos 'da' na | pha snuvs ni gu | ma yo za lcam me | bu khri sum rdo rje | chos byes pa'i mtshan sangs rgyas ye shes rin po che'o ||*

⁵ See the *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* (p. 241.4)

⁶ See the *Nyang ral chos 'byung* (p. 342. 9–10) and *Deb ther sngon po* (p. 137.8)

⁷ See the *Klong chen chos 'byung* (p. 406.6)

⁸ See the *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung* (p. 246.7)

that gNubs reached one hundred and thirteen, but on the other hand, maintains that gNubs himself said that he lived to one hundred and thirty leading to the effect that he was present from the reign of Khri-srong-lde'u-btsan until that of dPal-'khor-btsan.¹

Moreover, the difference of opinion regarding dating his birth and death is already present in the primary sources.² Many scholars have discussed gNubs' date, but reaching some consensus seems difficult. The earliest date of his birth is proposed by Gunther and Snellgrove to be 722 CE and makes his death to be 884 CE. Snellgrove further remarks that gNubs Sangs-rgyas-ye-shes outlived the "persecution" caused by Glang-dar-ma visiting Nepal, India and Gilgit, and ensured the continuation of his teachings through the media of four favourite disciples.³

Meanwhile, Germano suggests gNubs Sangs-rgyas-ye-shes' dates between mid-9th and mid-10th century, emphasizing that his associations with earlier figures were fabrication in order to link him to the glorious days of the empire.⁴ Vitali proposes his birth year to be 844 AD, the male mouse year (*shing pho byi lo*), based on his biography in the *mDo dbang rnam thar*. Esler agrees with Vitali adding that gNubs-chen was associated with the second revolt during the reign of dPal-'khor-btsan (r. 893–910 AD), which seems to support his proposal.⁵

Karmay dates him to the late 10th century, based on a record in the *Deb ther sngon po* where 'Gos-lo-tsā-ba gZhon-nu-dpal states that gNubs Sangs-rgyas-ye-shes was born during the reign of King Ral-pa-can (r. 817–839/814–836) and lived until the time of King bKra-shis brtsegs-pa-dpal (ca. early tenth century). 'Gos-lo-tsā-ba further states that there was only one master between gNubs and Zur-po-che Shākya-'byung-gnas (ca. early 11th century).⁶ Additionally, Karmay supports his suggestion by pointing out that Mi-la-ras-pa (1040–1123) learned magic spells from lHa-rje-hūṃ-chung, who was great grandson of gNubs Sangs-rgyas

¹ Padma-'phrin-las, *mDo dbang rnam thar* (p. 173.3–4): *de yang lo rgyus 'ga' zbig tu gnubs chen dgong lo brgya dang bcu gsum bzbuggs par bhsad kyang | nyid gyi gsung las | gnubs kyī ban chung sangs rgyas ngas lo ni brgya dang sum cu lon || zhes gsung pa btsan bar 'dug cing | rgyu mtshan mgna bdag khri srong gi dus nas dpal 'khor btsan gyi bar du bzbuggs pa'i lo rgyus snang se* |. For a similar narrative, see THONDUP 1984: 153

² For the different opinions on the date of gNubs-chen in primary sources, see ESLER 2014: 17–22

³ See GUENTHER 1983: 352 and SNELLGROVE 1987: 464

⁴ See GERMANO 2002: 253.

⁵ See VITALI 1996: 546–547 and ESLER 2014:21.

⁶ See KARMAY 1998d: fn. 2 on 94, also see the *Deb ther sngon po* (p. 141.5–8 and 142.16–17, for the translation, see ROERICH 1995: 108–109).

ye-shes.¹

Concerning his disciples and offspring, Nyang-ral records that gNubs-chen Sangs-rgyas-ye-shes had six biological sons: four died in a revolt, one was lost to the enemy and one became shameless.² However, some later sources record that gNubs-chen had five sons or disciples, namely dPa-gor Blon-chen-'phags-pa, Sru'i-ston-pa Legs-pa'i-sgron-me, Dan/Ngan Yon-tan-mchog, So Ye-shes-dbang-phyug, and the supreme son (*sras kyi dam pa*) Khug-lung-pa Yon-tan-rgya-mtsho,³ who had two sons namely Ye-shes-rgya-mtsho and Padma-dbang-rgyal. Ye-shes-rgya-mtsho had one son called lHa-rje-hūṃ-chung. A common disciple of Yon-tan-rgya-mtsho and lHa-rje-hūṃ-chung, called Nyang Shes-rab-mchog, had a vision of the Phur-pa *maṅḍala* when he meditated on the rock of Ha'o-sgol.⁴

4.13.2 His Transmission

gNubs-chen Sangs-rgyas-ye-shes plays an important role in the transmission of the earlier translated teachings, which first fell to gNyang Jñānakumāra, then to gNubs-chen during the intermediate period and finally fell to Zur.⁵ He is also said to hold the teachings of Mahāyoga, Anuyoga and the mind section (*sems sde*) of Atiyoga.⁶ Nyang-ral treats gNubs-chen Sangs-rgyas-ye-shes to be one of the twenty five disciples who had been initiated into the eight Sād-

¹ There is confusion about from whom lHa-rje-hūṃ-chung or lHa-rje-gnubs-chung, Mi-la-ras-pa learned the magic spells, see KARMAY 2007: 101, fn. 91. lHa-rje-gnubs-chung could be Khu-lung-pa Yon-tan-rgya-mtsho. For his connection with gNubs-chen Sangs-rgyas-ye-shes, see fn. 3, p. 82

² *Nyang ral chos 'byung* (p. 447.12–13): *de'i dus su snubs sangs rgyas ye shes la sras drug yod pa las bzhi khengs log gis bkrongs | gcig zla yar | gcig khrel med du shar |*.

³ See the *Deb ther sngon po* (p. 141.9–15, for the translation, see ROERICH 1995: 109), *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung* (p. 250.4–7) *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* (p. 240.2–7, for the translation, see DORJE & KAPSTEIN 2002: 613). Although all the sources agree there are five *sras* of gNub-chen Sangs-rgyas-ye-shes, the *sras* could mean either biological son or spiritual son, namely disciple. In the *Deb ther sngon po* four of them are described as *thugs zin gyi sras* and one as *sras kyi dam pa* (supreme son). In Roerich's translation, the five were rendered as gNubs-chen's five disciples, while in *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* (p. 242.3–6) it is recorded that when Yon-tan-rgya-mtsho met gNubs-chen, the latter realised the former was his descendant. Karmay agrees with the biological connection but Esler not, see KARMAY 2007: 101, fn. 91 and ESLER 2014: 17.

⁴ For some further introductions to the offspring of gNubs-chen Sangs-rgyas-ye-shes, see the *Deb ther sngon po* (p. 141.18–142.17, for the translation, see ROERICH 1995: 109), *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung* (p. 250.7–12), and *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* (p. 243–245, for the translation, see DORJE & KAPSTEIN: 614–616).

⁵ See the *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung* (p. 242.10–13) and *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* (p. 225.7–9, for the translation, see DORJE & KAPSTEIN 2002: 599).

⁶ See THONDUP 2002: 26, 29, and 31.

hanaby Padmasambhava.¹ This statement is refuted by Esler, who argues that his discipleship under Padmasambhava might be seen as an ideal, in the sense that he studied under gNyags Jñānakumāra, one of Padmasambhava's closest disciples. He also proposes that statements to the effect that gNubs was ordained by Śāntarakṣita should probably be interpreted as indicating that he was ordained in the monastic lineage established by the latter.² The *bKa' shog chen mo* states that gNubs-chen met Padmasambhava on the border between India and Nepal and received many teachings from the latter including six sets of *sādhanas* based on Phur-pa.³

According to the *lDe'u chos 'byung*, gNubs Sangs-rgyas-rin-po-che is the main figure in the tenth descent of the Tantric teachings. His root teacher (*rtsa ba'i bla ma*) was Sog-po dPal-gyi-ye-shes.⁴ However, being unsatisfied with him, he went to study with gNyags Jñānakumāra and at the age of fifty-four, again dissatisfied with with gNyags, he went to receive teachings from the Nepalese Vasudhara.⁵ From Vasudhara he learned that in India there was a six-hundred-year-old Ācārya called gSal-le. In Bru-shar he met the Dharma king and Lo-tsā-ba Che-rtan-skyes and, having learned the teachings of the Lo-tsā-ba, he translated the *mDo dgongs pa 'dus pa* from Bru-sha language and took it to Tibet.⁶ However, according to Nyang-ral, it was Lo-tsā-ba Che-btsan-skyes who translated the *mDo dgongs pa 'dus pa* after having met four scholars from mDo-khams, then gNubs-chen Sangs-rgyas-ye-shes understood it af-

¹ For the narrative about King Khri-srong-lde'u-btsan and twenty five disciples obtaining initiations from Padmasambhava, see the *Nyang ral chos 'byung* (p. 341.16–342.3).

² See ESLER 2014: 21.

³ See the *bKa' shog chen mo* (pp. 711.4–712.3): *de nas rgya gar bal yul ru mtshams su || slob dpon padma rgyal po'i spyang sngag mchis || slob dpon padma 'byung gnas kyis | rgya gar bal yul ru mtshams kyis || rdo rje rtse ldan dgra 'dun brag phug tu ||...phur pa kun gyi gzhir gyur pa'i | sgrub thabs rtsa ba sde drug dang ||...gnang.*

⁴ The *mDo dbang rnam thar* (p. 163.1–2) records that he received the Mind and Instruction sections (*man ngag sems phyogs*) from Sog-po dPal-gyi-ye-shes and in the *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung* (p. 249.3–4) he is said to have received the Mind section (*sems phyogs*) and magical display (*sgyu 'phrul*) from Sog-po dPal-gyi-ye-shes.

⁵ In the *bKa' shog chen mo* (p.175.3–4) and *mDo dbang rnam thar* (pp. 163.6–164.1), it is stated that gNyags taught him some instructions, and according to the *Klong chen chos 'byung* (p. 395.18), he was one of gNyags' best disciples.

⁶ See the *lDe'u chos 'byung* (p. 304.5–20): *de'i rtsa ba'i bla ma sog po dpal gyi ye shes yin te | des kyang ma tshims nas | snyag dznya na ku ma ra nyi laa thug go || des kyang ma tshims nas lo lnga bcu nga bzhi lon nas | bal po ba su ta ra la zhus pa | bal po ba su tara'i zhal nas | rgya gar na a tsa ra gsal le bya ba lo drug bryga lon pa gcig yod | der song la chos zhus gsungs nas |...bru shar byon pas yul der chos srid byed pa dang mjal nas | lo tsā ba che rtsan skyes kyis zhal mthong skad | gsung yang thos nas bru sha nas dgons 'dus bsgyur nas bod du spyang drangs |.* As suggested by Germano that although Bru-shar in general refers to Gilgit, in this specified context it refers to a valley which is connected to the Swat valley, see GERMANO 2002: fn. 80 on p. 542.

ter having consulted Dharmarakṣita and Dharmabodhi.¹ 'Gos-lo-tṣā-ba agrees with Nyang-ral in maintaining that gNubs-chen attended on many learned men residing in India, Nepal, Gilgit and elsewhere, and mastered the *mDo dgongs pa 'dus pa* which was translated by his teacher Che-btsan-skyes, the translator of Bru-sha.²

Although gNub-schen Sang-rgyas-ye-shes is said to have received various kinds of teachings, there is no detailed account about his Phur-pa transmission. As has been pointed out above, he received some Phur-pa teachings from Padmasambhava, however, it is still questionable whether he could meet Padmasambhava or not. In the *mDo dbang rnam thar* (p. 163.4), he is recorded to have stabbed a Phur-pa into a rock, which is considered to be his accomplishments.³ He is also said to be the disciple of gNyags Jñānakumāra and Sog-po dPal-gyi-ye-shes, both held the Phur-pa transmission. Sog-bzlog-pa speaks of Phur-pa-gnubs-lugs briefly when listing the titles of some *sādhana*s and also mentions that 'Brog-mi Ral-pa-can transmitted the Phur-pa teachings to Sang-rgyas-ye-shes-rin-po-che who was a fully ordained monk.⁴ Tarthang Tulku also indicates that gNubs could shatter rocks with a touch of his Phur-pa. After his death, his disciples continued to transmit his Tantric teachings, especially the practice of the Phur-pa *sādhana*s.⁵ gNubs-chen is said to have composed a Phur-pa Tantric scripture, the *Kī la ya bcu gnyis*. This is used by 'Gos Khug-pa-lhas-btsas and Chag Lo-tṣā-ba to criticise the authenticity of the rNying-ma Tantric teachings by claiming that the early rNying-ma Tantric scriptures were composed by Tibetan and had no Indian origin.⁶

¹ *Nyang ral chos 'byung* (p. 487.21–488.2): *bod du lo tsā ba che btsan skyes kyis mdo khams mkhas pa bzhi la gtud nas bsgyur ro | de rjes nas dharma rakṣi ta dang dharma boddhi gnyis la lo tsā ba snubs sangs rgyas ye shes rin po ches zhus te gtan la phab |*.

² See the *Deb ther sngon po* (p. 137.2–6, for the translation, see ROERICH 1995: 104. The note Roerich gives says *mDo dgongs pa 'dus pa* is in vol. 10 (Tha) of the *rNying ma rgyud 'bum* and according to the index compiled by 'Jigs-med-gling-pa entitled *sNga 'gyur rgyud 'bum rin po che'i rtogs pa brjod pa 'dzam gling mtha gru khyab pa'i rgyan*, fol. 231b, the *Sangs rgyas thams cad kyī dgongs pa 'dus pa'i mdo* in 75 chapters was translated from Sanskrit by the Indian upādhyāya Dharmabodhi, Dānarakṣita and the Lo-tṣā-ba Che-btsan-skyes at Bru-sha. The transmission of *mDo dgongs pa 'dus pa* is recorded in *Deb ther sngon po* (pp. 200.17–202.12, for the translation, see ROERICH 1995: 158–60). However, the *mDo dgongs 'dus pa* is in vol. 11 of the *rNying ma rgyud 'bum* (Tk. 187).

³ Sum-pa-mkhan-po also records that gNubs Sangs-rgyas-ye-shes stabbed a Phur-pa into a rock, see the *Chos 'byung dpag bsam* (p. 747.6).

⁴ See the *Phur pa lo rgyus* (§24.4, p. 334 & §19.8, p. 315): *de tsho'i nang nas 'brog mi ral pa can gyis sangs rgyas ye shes rin po che rten dge slong la brgyud pas 'phrin las che bar grags shing |*.

⁵ TARTHANG 1975: 46–7.

⁶ For detail of their criticism, see 3.2, p. 44 and 3.3, p. 45.

4.14 Lang-lab-lugs

This sub-tradition is named after Lang-lab Byang-chub-rdo-rje, who had two lineages of Phur-pa teachings, both can be traced back to Ye-shes-mtsho-rgyal. The first lineage is a one-to-one transmission called Man-ngag-drug-pa, which has been stated in the section of Jo-mo-lugs.¹ The second lineage, also starting from Ye-shes-mtsho-rgyal, was sequentially passed on to Mi-nub rGyal-ba'i-snying-po, then to his student Lo dPal-gyi-blo-gros, then to his student Ngam-'bre Klu'i-rgyal-mtshan, who passed it to his son Ngam-'bre Sa-le Shes-rab-dbang-phyug, and then finally to Lang-lab Byang-chub-rdo-rje.² The *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung* mentions an earlier historical account, which records a different transmission of rDo-rje-phur-pa from dPal-gyi-gzhon-nu, Ye-shes-mtsho-rgyal's brother, then through Lo dPal-gyi-blo-gros, Me-nu, 'Bre Shes-rab, 'Bre Sa-le, and finally to Lang-lab Byang-chub-rdo-rje.³ Lang-lab is also in the transmission of the Phur-pa-lha-nag tradition.

There are many sources recording the biography of Lang-lab, mainly focusing on his miserable life when he was young and his contest with Rwa Lo-tsā-ba (1016–1128). Lang-lab's father died when he was young and his paternal uncles did not live up to the promise they made to his parents, giving Lang-lab and his mother only a small field and a tiny house. Ngam-'bre-sa-le could not bear this injustice and taught Lang-lab the rDo-rje-phur-pa teachings. After having practiced the teachings, Lang-lab had the ability to punish his enemies.

Then, at that time, Rwa-lo-tsā-ba was a very powerful Yāmantaka adept. It is said he had killed thirteen Bodhisattvas including the son of Mar-pa Lo-tsā-ba (1012–1097), namely Dar-ma-mdo sde. All the noblemen in Tibet showed their respect to him and made offerings. Once Rwa-lo-tsā-ba went to 'Khor-re to teach Dharmas where Lang-lab was a shepherd. Lang-lab did not pay homage to Rwa-lo-tsā-ba, who was greatly offended by this. People told Rwa-lo-tsā-ba that Lang-lab was an expert in rDo-rje-phur-pa, so once, after a teaching ses-

¹ See 4.2.2, p. 57.

² See the *Phur pa lo rgyus* (§22.5–§22.9, p. 321–323), *Phur pa chos 'byung* (p. 80.26–81.12), *Phur pa chos 'byung bsdu pa* (pp. 181.4–183.1), and *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung* (p. 324.14–325.18).

³ See the *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung* (p. 325.18–20): *skabs 'dir mi 'dra ba | mtsho rgyal rang gi ming po dpal gyi gzhon nu | des lo dpal gyi blo gros des me nu | des 'bre shes rab | des 'bre sa le | des lang lab zer ba snang yang 'dir chos 'byung sngon ma ltar |*. An almost identical transmission is found in the *Phur pa rgyud lugs chos 'byung* (p. 8.2): *jo mos rang gi ming po dpal gyi gzhon nu la bshad | des lo rgyal ba'i blo gros | des me nu rgyal ba'i snying po | de 'bre shes rab | des 'bre sa le | des lag lhag rdo rje byang chub la bshad...* It is possible that the earlier historical account that the *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung* mentions is the *Phur pa rgyud lugs chos 'byung* and the former may have referred to the latter for this part. This also supports the assumption that Lag-lhag rDo-rje-byang-chug and Lang-lab Byang-chub-rdo-rje refer to the same person.

sion, Rwa Lo-tṣā-ba transformed himself into the body of Vajrabhairava and tried three times to summon Lang-lab to the Liṅga. At that time, Lang-lab was simply looking after the sheep. During the first summoning, a shower of rosewood *phur pa* implement came down from the sky harming the monks around. During the second summoning, the Iron Phur-pa fell down like rain. During the last summoning, the whole sky was filled with fire and loud sound. A Vajrakumāra appeared, rolling a Phur-pa and made the sound “*bum pad.*” When the Phur-pa was about to hit Rwa-lo-tṣā-ba, he was terrified. He apologised to Lang-lab, and promised to venerate him, at which point all the manifestations disappeared. Rwa-lo-tṣā-ba prostrated to Lang-lab and made many offerings. From that moment, the saying “Yamantaka adepts are ineffective when confronted with Phur-pa adepts” became widely known.¹

His four best disciples who received his rDo-rje-phur-pa teachings were sNa-nam Shes-rab-tshul-khrims from 'Khor-re-rgyal-thang, sKyī-nag-gyang-'gyel from Mong-rgu, sPrangs-phu-ru-mgo from Rong and Nyang-nag dBang-gi-shes-rab from 'Od-yug-rol-po. sMin-gling-mkhan-chen III Rin chen rnam rgyal (1694–1758) wrote a text about the initiation rituals of the Phur-pa-lang-lab-lugs.²

4.15 gTsang/rTsang-lugs

The gTsang-lugs is explicitly indicated in the *Phur pa 'bum nag* and originated from sNa-nam Shes-rab-tshul-khrims despite being named after his disciple gTsang-ston Rin-chen-blo-gros, to whom he explained the *rNam gsum srog gi 'khor lo*. gTsang-ston Rin-chen-blo-gros established a shrine of Phur-pa, after which then Phur-pa-gtsang-lugs was known. sNa-nam Shes-rab-tshul-khrims had many disciples, but only four disciples and two sons were close to him. sNa-nam Shes-rab-tshul-khrims explained the *Dhati* to his disciple Ya-'theng,³ the *'Dus pa* to So-ring, the *bTu yig* to Zur-chung Shes-rab-grags; to his two sons he taught all these teachings. He bestowed teachings to rGya-ston-sangs-rgyas, who gave the teachings to gTsang-ston Rin-chen-blo-gros. After gTsang-ston Rin-chen-blo-gros, the spiritual lineage of sNa-

¹ See the *Phur pa lo rgyus* (§21.1, pp. 316–318), *Phur pa chos 'byung* (p. 81.12–28), *Phur pa chos 'byung bsdu pa* (pp. 183.1–185.1), *Phur pa rgyud lugs chos 'byung* (pp. 8.2–9.3), *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung* (pp. 325.18–327.3), and *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* (pp. 379.11–381.3).

² This text, titled *dPal rdo rje phur pa'i dbang gi cho ga jo bo lang lab kyi lugs*, is included in the *Kaḥ thog bka' ma* (A, vol. 10, pp. 651–676; B, vol. 10, pp. 653–678; C, vol. 11, pp. 641–666) and *dPal yul bka' ma* (vol. 12, pp. 653–679).

³ For *dhati*, see fn. 4, p. 62.

nam Shes-rab-tshul-khrims continued in sequentially through gTsang-ston Tshul-khrims, gTsang-ston Ye-shes-rin-chen, gTsang-ston 'Od-zer, 'Ba'-ra-rgyal-mtshan, gTsang-ston dBang-so, 'Jam-dpal, dGra-'dul, Slob-dpon Grags-pa, gTsang-ston Shes-rab-seng-ge, and finally to 'Bro-ston.¹

In addition to the gTsang-lugs, some sources also consider sNa-nam Shes-rab-tshul-khrim to be the originator of the sNa-nam-lugs, which was given to him by Lang-lab Byang-chub-rdo-rje, whose lineage can be traced back to Ye-shes-mtsho-rgyal.² According to Sog-zlog-pa, sNa-nam Shes-rab-tshul-khrims is also in the transmission of Jo-mo-lugs and he passed it on to rGya-ston-sangs-rgyas, who composed many *sādhana*s on the *Phur pa rtsa dum* in the Shangs region after having concealed other commentaries on the Phur-pa Tantric scriptures. rGya-ston-sangs-rgyas' disciple rGya-rtags Shes-rab-rgyal-mtshan also composed many *sādhana*s based on the *Phur pa rtsa dum*.³

4.16 sKyi-lugs

This tradition is named after sKyi-ban Byang-chub-rin-chen, also known as sKyi Gyang-'gyel and sKyi-nag Gyang-'gyel, who came from Mong-dgu/rgu.⁴ *Nyang ral chos 'byung* briefly mentions that sKyi-lugs came to be known after Lang-lab Byang-chub-rdo-rje transmitted the Phur-pa teachings to sKyi-nag Gyang-'gyel.⁵ A-mye-zhabs only names the Khyi-nag-gyang-'gyel-gyi-lugs along with Sa-lugs, Jo-mo-lugs, and Lang-lab-byang-chub-rdo-rje-brgyud-pa'i lugs.⁶

The biography of sKyi-ban Byang-chub-rin-chen can be found in some sources. It is recorded that sKyi-ban Byang-chub-rin-chen was robbed of his house and wealth by his paternal siblings, which led him to ask for the Phur-pa teachings from Lang-lab Byang-chub. Through his acquired power of rDo-rje-phur-pa, he killed his paternal siblings and their cattle and also caused a wall to collapse by stabbing a Phur-pa into it. Thereupon, he received

¹ See the *Phur pa 'bum nag* (A: p. 248.6–249.6; B: 25.3–6), also see BOORD 2002: 128–129.

² For details of the sNa-nam-lugs, see 4.4, p. 62.

³ See 4.2.2, p. 57 and the *Phur pa lo rgyus* (§24.4, p. 334).

⁴ There are different spellings of his name: Kyi Gyang-'gyel, Kyi Gyang-'gyel, Kyi Gyang-sgyel, sKyi Gyang-sgyel, sKyi Gyang-bsgyel, Khyi-nag Gyang-'gyel, and Kyi-nag Gyen-'gyel.

⁵ See the *Nyang ral chos 'byung* (p. 485.10–11): *lang lab kyis kyi nag gyen 'gyel la brgyud pa phur pa kyi lugs su grags*.

⁶ See the *Phur pa sgrub thabs rnam bshad* (p.16.20–1)

the name sKyi Gyang-'gyel, meaning a person from sKyi clan who tore down the wall.¹ The *Phur pa rgyud lugs chos 'byung* further describes how his enemies were sunning themselves beside the when he caused it to collapse by stabbing Phur-pa into it and thus killing them.² In the *Phur pa lo rgyus* it mentions that sKyi-ban Byang-chun-rin-chen's teachings were spread by two of his disciples, namely sGom-che mu-ne from Khams-pa-stong-gsum and bTsun-pa-shes-rab-'od from Thag-gdong-dkar. Because of their power, the so-called sKyi-phur came into existence. By the time of Sog-bzlog-pa, he was only able to see some fragments of the instructions and could not obtain them in their entirety.³

The *Phur pa rgyud lugs chos 'byung* and *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung* describe the Phur-pa tradition related to sKyi Gyang-'gyel as the Nor-bu-lugs (or Nor-bu'i-lugs). They describe how, since sKyi Gyang-'gyel was old and dull the instructions were given to him in an unshuffled/unmixed way, which then came to be known as the Nor-bu-lugs.⁴ Despite being scarce in conceptual constructions he practiced one-pointedly, and therefore signs of fulfilled power were clear.⁵ However, in the *Phur pa 'bum nag* Nor-bu-lugs is related to sPrang-phur-bu-mgo, which will be elaborated upon below.

4.17 sPrang-lugs

This tradition is named after sPrang Phur-bu-mgo, Lang-lab's disciple.⁶ According to Sog-bzlog-pa, sPrang-phur-bu-mgo already knew some rDo-rje-phur-pa instructions before he

¹ See the *Phur pa lo rgyus* (§14, p. 296), *mTha' gru'i rgyan* (pp. 297.17–298.4), *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung* (pp. 327.21–328.5), and *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* (p. 381.7–15, for the translation, see DORJE & KAPSTEIN 2002: 714.).

² See the *Phur pa rgyud lugs chos 'byung* (p. 10.4).

³ See the *Phur pa lo rgyus* (§14 p. 296). For an almost identical narrative, see the *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung* (p. 328.7–10).

⁴ See the *Phur pa rgyud lugs chos 'byung* (p. 10.3): *kyi gyang 'gyel ni | rgan po blo brtul ba yin as ma 'khrugs par bshad pas nor bu'i lugs su grags |*. The narrative in the *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung* (p. 328.6) is slightly different: *'di blo brtul bas ma 'khrul bar bshad pas nor bu lugs su grags pa |*. The translation is “the instructions were given to him in a non-mistaken way.” Here, *ma 'krugs pa* makes more sense. Normally the teachings are given in a mixed/shuffled style, which means not straightforward and the disciples have to figure out the sequence. Since sKyi Gyang-'gyel was old and dull it was difficult for him to discover the sequence by himself and so the instructions given to him were arranged in order.

⁵ See the *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung* (p. 328.6–7): *kho rtog pa nyung bas phur tshugs su bsgrubs pas nub mthu tshad du phyin pa'i mngon rtags gsal ba yin no ||*.

⁶ His name is also written as sPrangs Phur-bu-go, sPrang Phur-ru-mgo, sPrang phur-mgo, and sKrans Phur-bu-mgo.

met Lang-lab and had many students. Upon learning that Lang-lab Byang-chub-rdo-rje possessed the Jo-mo-lugs of Phur-pa, he and his students went to 'Khor-re carrying a huge number of offerings. He gave the offerings and showed respect to Lang-lab, in return for which Lang-lab bestowed the teachings of Jo-mo-lugs on him. sPrang Phur-bu-mgo composed many *sādhānas* by extracting materials from outer Tantric scriptures. These *sādhānas* are said to be the personal practice of Ye-shes-mtsho-rgyal.¹

The term sPrang-lugs is only found in the *Phur pa 'bum nag* so far and also named as *Nor bu lugs*. It is stated that sPrang-phur-bu-mgo had little knowledge but paid great reverence to Lang-lab, then he was given the Nor-bu-lugs, which is about binding by thirteen lists related to the “higher activities” in the manner of *nor bu lugs*, leading by six taming Phur-pa related to the “lower activities” and practices through three female vow-holders. Therefore the power appeared which was auspicious. According to the annotation, the Nor-bu-lugs is also called '*Dus pa bzhi skor*.²

Apart from the sPrang-lugs or Nor-bu-lugs, the sKrang-mchan-ṭik-can-gyi-lugs is also applied to sPrang Phur-bu-mgo by 'Jigs-med-gling-pa. It is stated that Lang-lab, having seen sPrang-phur-bu-mgo possessing the signs of practicing Phur-pa, such as a knot on his head, gave him the main text, which he had annotated with instructions. Therefore it is called sKrang-mchan-ṭik-can-gyi-lugs.³ The *ṭik* of the sKrang-mchan-ṭik-can-gyi-lugs could be a corrupted form of *ṭikā*, a synonym of *mchan*, meaning commentary and annotation. Thus the meaning of sKrang-mchan-ṭik-can-gyi-lugs is the sKrang's (=sPrang) tradition with annotation, which corresponds to the way how it was obtained by sPrang Phur-bu-mgo.

¹ See the *Phur pa lo rgyus* (§23.3, p. 324). The story of sPrang-phur-bu-mgo making offerings to Lang-lab and receiving the Phur-pa teachings from him can also be found in the *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung* (p. 328.12–16).

² See the *Phur pa 'bum nag* (A: p. 24.4–5, B: p. 247.5–6): *yang sprang phur bu mgo bya ba zhabz tog che la shes rab chung ba gcig byung ste | de la phur pa nor bu lugs bya ba | 'dus pa bzhi skor yang zer | mchan |¹ stod kyi las tho bcu gsum gyis² nor bu lugs su 'ching pa | smad kyi bzad³ pa'i phur pa drug gis⁴ 'dren pa | dam can mo gsum gyi⁵ sgrub pa rnams gnang bas | mthu byung bkra yang shis | phur pa sprang lugs bya bar grags so ||. 1. 'dus pa bzhi skor yang zer | mchan] A, om. B; 2. gyis] A, gyi B; 3. bzad] B, bsad A; 4. gis] B, gi A; 5. gyi] B, gyis A. For the translation, see BOORD 2002: 128.*

³ See the *Phur pa rgyud lugs chos 'byung* (p. 10.3): *kho mgo ba rgya mdud la sogs phur pa bsgrubs pa'i mtshan dang ldan par gzigs nas | dkyus la gdams ngag mchan tu btab nas gnang bas | skrang mtshan ṭik can gyi lugs zhes grags |* Guru bKra-shis cites an almost identical narrative in the *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung* (p. 328.18–9): *khos mgo rgya mdud la sogs phur pa bsgrubs pa'i mtshan dang ldan par gzigs nas | dkyus la gdams ngag mchan du btab nas gtad pas | skrang mchan ṭik can gyi lugs su grags zhes byung ngo ||*. Here *khos* with ergative should refer to the teacher, Lang-lab Byang-chub-rdo-rje and the object, sPrang Phur-bu-mgo should be supplied.

4.18 Yig-chung-can-gyi-lugs

This tradition is related to Nyang-nag dBang-gi-shes-rab, also known Nyang Ber-sngon-can, who was the disciple of Lang-lab Byang-chub-rdo-rje. It is not named after a person but the manner of its transmission, which is in small or short texts, namely opuscula. Sog-bzlog-pa's *Phur pa lo rgyus* provides a very detailed biography about Nyang-nag. In brief, he invited Lang-lab and his wife to the upper part of 'O-g.yu-rol-pa, but at a time when they were bereft of food and wealth. When Lang-lab went to lDong-kha-smad-na-ma to look for some provisions and did not return for nine months, his wife was sad and asked Nyang-nag to open Lang-lab's bag, which has texts in it. He opened the bag and received the mind transmission (*dgongs brgyud*) from the text without initiation, which resulted in many inauspicious things. Nyang-nag, wishing to remedy this through confession, sent people to invite and make torma offerings to Lang-lab, promising to give him all his wealth upon his arrival, at which point all the inauspicious signs stopped. Upon Lang-lab's arrival, Nyang-nag told him about having received the mind transmission without initiation and as such Lang-lab bestowed the initiation of Dharma to him and his two sons.

The elder one was called gNang-nge, born by Nyang-nag's previous wife and Lang-lab found him to be a proper recipient of Tantric teachings and named him Shākya-rgyal-mtshan. In order to get the transmissions of their father, the two brothers fought for the scriptures. At the brink of passing away, Nyang-nag told his younger son, Tshul-le where the scriptures were kept. This was overheard by Shākya-rgyal-mtshan, who then he took the scriptures and ran away to one of his father's disciples, gNang-hūṃ-ka-ra. gNang-hūṃ-ka-ra persuaded him to go back and share the scriptures with his brother. He followed gNang-hūṃ-ka-ra's suggestion then went back. Harmony between them having been restored with gNang-hūṃ-ka-ra's help, they meditated and practiced in retreat together and many signs arose for them.¹

Although Sog-bzlog-pa records a detailed biography of Nyang-nag, he does not name his Phur-pa transmission as the Phur-pa-yig-chung-can-kyi-lugs. The *Phur pa 'bum nag* is probably the earliest source to introduce the term Yig-chung-can-gyi-lugs in reference to the tradition transmitted to Nyang-nag from Lang-lab and provides a story about it. Lang-lab and his wife went to dBus due to a famine in gTsang. Nyang-nag went there and offered

¹ For the biography of Nyang-nag and his two sons, see the *Phur pa lo rgyus* (§23.4, pp. 326–329, for the translation, see 10.23.4, pp. 241–244). The *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung* also has a pertinent account about Nyang-nag and his two sons to that in the *Phur pa lo rgyus*, which could be heavily based on the latter, since the phrasing and sentence structure are highly consistent with each other, see the *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung* (pp. 328.20–330.21).

food and clothes to them. In return for his kindness, Lang-lab gave Nyang-nag instructions. However, Nyang-nag stole texts from Lang-lab's wife by deluding her. Lang-lab was angry about it, but only blamed the poverty of his wife for this.¹ Therefore, Lang-lab did not treat her as his wife and left her after having loaded a mule with texts. Thereafter, his wife coughed blood and died. Nyang-nag, being scared of this, thought he could die at any moment. He offered all his wealth to Lang-lab, thus did not die. As such, Lang-lab did not permit to have a meet with Nyang-nag, wrote some opuscula and gave to him. As such the tradition called Yig-chung-can came to be known.²

mKhyen-rab-rgya-mtsho only mentions that Lang-lab bestowed the Yig-chung-can-gyi-lugs upon Nyang-nag.³ 'Jigs-med-gling-pa introduces the Yig-chung-can-gyi-lugs by telling the story of how Nyang-nag received it from his teacher Lang-lab. Inasmuch Nyang-nag was friendly with Lang-lab's wife, who then allowed him to take Lang-lab's *Phur pa rtsa dum* as his personal practice. Lang-lab, after knowing that Nyang-nag broke the bottom of his book container, stole the texts and copied them, said: "I do not want you, who is a samāyabreaker and a teaching-stealer to accompany me!" Following this, Nyang-nag was affected with a serious illness and Lang-lab did not accept his confession, even with the help of a mediator. Upon repeatedly requesting, Lang-lab said: "Now then, build a retreat place on the other side of a remote mountain! Offer one hundred carcasses! Confess by offering one hundred armors!" Having followed Lang-lab's instruction, he was cured of his illness. He asked for instructions again, but Lang-lab said he could not meet him. Instead, Lang-lab wrote some opuscula and gave them to him, leading to an exchange of many questions and answers. Due to this, the system came to be called Yig-chung-can-kyi-lugs.⁴

There are two key differences between the three stories about Nyang-nag. The first is whether Nyang-nag received the teachings from Lang-lab in person or not. In the *Phur pa lo*

¹ Here Lang-lab did not blame Nyang-nag for stealing the text, but ascribe the reason to the poverty to his wife.

² See the *Phur pa 'bum nag* (A: pp. 245.6–246.3; B: p. 23.3–6). Note that here this tradition is called Yi-chung-can rather than Yig-chung-can-kyi-lugs. Following this story, the text lists various kinds of teachings which are given to Nyang-nag by Lang-lab, see the *Phur pa 'bum nag* (A: p. 246.3–6; B: pp. 23.6–24.1). For the translation, see BOORD 2002: 126–127.

³ See the *Nor bu'i phreng ba* (p. 306.1): *des lang lab byang chub rdo rje la bshad | de la thugs zin gyi sras bzhi byung ste | 'u yug gi myang ber sngon can la | yig chung can gyis lugs gnang |*.

⁴ See the *Phur pa rgyud lugs chos 'byung* (pp. 9.3–10.1). The *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung* (p. 329.6–10) tells the same story by citing a historical source, which does not use the term Yig-chung-can-kyi-lugs but Yig-chung-can. Through comparison, the two narratives are very similar with each other. It is possible that the historical source cited by the *Gu bka'i chos 'byung* refers to the *Phur pa rgyud lugs chos 'byung*.

rgyus, Nyang-nag did meet Lang-lab and received teachings from him, but according to the *Phur pa 'bum nag* and *Phur pa rgyud lugs chos 'byung*, Lang-lab refused to meet Nyang-nag and only bestowed him teachings through sending opuscula. The second is whether Lang-lab's wife allowed Nyang-nag to open Lang-lab's book container/bag, or Nyang-nag stole the texts. Both the *Phur pa 'bum nag* and *Phur pa rgyud lugs chos 'byung* agree Nyang-nag stole the texts from the book container, which was in the care of Lang-lab's wife.¹ This leads to the effect that Lang-lab refused to meet Nyang-nag. However in Sog-bzlog-pa's narrative, Lang-lab's wife allowed Nyang-nag to open Lang-lab's seal in order to take the texts in the bag. Sog-bzlog-pa also disagrees with a saying that Skyi-ban Byang-chub-rin-chen, sPrang-phur-bu-sgo and sNa-nam Shes-rab-tshul-khrims claimed that Nyang-nag stole the texts.²

4.19 Phur-pa-rgyud-lugs

Phur-pa-rgyud-lugs, literally meaning the Phur-pa Tantric tradition, came to be known due to 'Jigs-med-gling-pa's composition, called the *Phur pa rgyud lugs*, which is a compendium of the extant rDo-rje-phur-pa texts, completed by 1783, when he gave the transmission of it at the Sa-skya monastery.³ 'Jigs-med-gling-pa received the teachings of Yang-dag and Phur-pa from Thang-'brog.⁴

'Jigs-med-gling-pa himself states that the structure of the Tantric scriptures related to the Phur-pa-rgyud-lugs corresponds to the instruction of sNa-nam-lugs.⁵ In the interlinear annotations of 'Jigs-med-gling-pa's autobiography, it is stated that rLangs-chen dPal-gyi-seng-ge gave him the initiation into the meaning of the Phur-pa-rgyud-lugs tradition, but at that time the seal had not been lifted.⁶ Guru bKra-shis' narrative is different from 'Jigs-med-gling-

¹ The *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung* (p. 330.4) also cites a saying, which claims that Nyang-nag stole the teachings.

² See the *Phur pa lo rgyus* (§23.4, p. 328).

³ See the *Yongs 'du'i snyem ma* (p. 319.4), also see van SCHAIK 2000: 5, fn. 22. For the texts related to the Phur-pa-rgyud-lugs, see 'Jigs med gsung 'bum (A: vol. 6, pp.1–513; B: vol. 6, pp. 1–604).

⁴ See 'Jigs gling thob yig (A: p. 885.4; B: p. 875.4): *chos rje gling pa'i yang phur | khros nag skor | gur drag | rtsa gsum dril sgrub | bla ma rig 'dzin gyi gnas lung | phyag rdor seng sgrog | chos bdag bam chad sl bsogs phal che | gter ston | nam rdor | chos 'phel | thang 'brog des bdag |*.

⁵ See the *Phur pa rgyud lugs chos 'byung* (p. 10.5–6): *rgyud lugs 'di'ang rgyud kyi khog phub | man ngag sna nam lugs dang bstun pas gzhan la med'i pa'i gdams ngag go ||*.

⁶ See the *Chu zla'i gar mkhan* (A: p. 53.4; B: p. 56.2): *'di rlangs dpal seng dngos kyi phur ba rgyud lugs kyi don dbang bskur ba yin kyang | de dus bka' rgya ma grol zhing...* For the translation, see GYATSO 1988: 46–47. For rLangs-chen dPal-gyi-seng-ge, see fn. 6 on p. 78.

pa's autobiography. In 'Jigs-med-gling-pa's gnosis-vision, rLangs-chen dPal-gyi-seng-ge bestowed the entire initiation of the rDo-rje-phur-pa on him in the east of a cave in sPa-gro-stag-tshang. And when he got all the blessing signs of deities and masters, he composed new teachings based on the *Phur pa rdo rje bkod pa rnal 'byor chen po'i rgyud* and *rDo rje khros pa sogs kyi rgyud*. The new teachings is called rDo-rje-phur-pa-rgyud-lugs, which is in accordance with the rGyal-po-lugs and is the essence of the bKa'-ma teachings. It is also counted among the earlier translated bKa'-ma teachings.¹ bDud-'joms-rin-po-che suggests that the *Phur pa rgyud lugs* is a new redaction of the transmitted precepts related to rDo-rje-phur-pa based on the initiation, which had been conferred on 'Jigs-med-gling-pa by rLangs-chen dPal-gyi-seng-ge in an emanational *maṇḍala*, together with the instructions that followed.²

4.20 sTod-lugs

As far as I am able to ascertain, this tradition is first recorded in the Fifth Dalai Lama's *thob yig*. There is no mentioning regarding who this tradition is named after, merely providing a list of names under the heading of rDo-rje-phur-pa-stod-lugs-kyi-rgyud-pa. This tradition starts from Ye-shes-mtsho-rgyal, passing sequentially through mKhar-chen dPal-gyi-dbang-phyug, La-byi Ye-shes-brtsegs, Mi-nub rGyal-ba'i-snying-po, Lo dPal-gyi-blo-gros, lCe-ston bZang-po, lCe-mo dPal-sgron, Ngam-'bre Klu-rgyal-mtshan, Ngam-'bre Sras-'tsho, Lang-lab Byang-chub-rdo-rje, sNa-nam Shes-rab-tshul-khrims and Nyang dBang-phyug-shes-rab, sNa-nam-gyi-rgya-ston-sangs-rgyas, rGya-thung Shes-rab-rgyal-mtshan, dGe-bshes sMan-ston, Nyang Dar-ma-ye-shes, rGya-ston Yon-tan, Ra-ston Grub-pa-rdo-rje, 'Gos dNgos-grub-rgyal-mtshan, Sras-gcung-po, and finally to 'Gos dNgos-'grub-mgon.³ From 'Gos dNgos-'grub-mgon to the Fifth Dalai Lama, the transmission is the same as that of the Phur-pa-padma-rgyal-po-lugs.⁴

¹ See the *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung* (345.8–15): *phyi nas bdag nyid chen po 'jigs med gling pa'i ye shes kyi gzigs mor spa gro stag tshang yin rgyu ba'i phug pa kha shar lhor bstan pa zbig tu rlang dpal seng ges dkar chas zbugs kyis rdo rje phur pa'i dbang bskur rdzogs par byin pa sogs lha dang bla ma'i byin rlabs kyi mtshan ma mang du thob pa'i tsho | phur pa rdo rje bkod pa rnal 'byor chen po'i rgyud dang | rdo rje khros pa sogs kyi rgyud don bzhin bka' bsdu gsar du byas nas | phur pa rgyal po lugs dang rjes su mthun pa'i rdo rje phur pa rgyud lugs su grags pa rin 'dzin chen po 'jigs med gling pa'i mkhyen dpyod kyi chu gter las thon pa'i gdams skor zab mo 'di yang chos kyi ngo bo bka' ma yin pas snga 'gyur bka' ma'i gras su bgrang bar 'os pa yin no ||.*

² See the *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* (p. 513.9–11, for the translation, see DORJE & KAPSTEIN 2002: 839).

³ See the *Gangā'i chu rgyun* (vol. 4, pp.434.20–435.5).

⁴ See 4.1, p. 53.

In Kong-spru's *gsan yig*, there is also a transmission of Phur-pa-stod-lugs. It also originates from mKhar-chen-bza' Ye-shes-mtsho-rgyal, then passing through mKhar-chen dPal-gyi-dbang-phyug, La-bying Ye-shes-brtegs, Mi-nu-rgyal-ba'i-snying-po, Lo dPal-gyi-blo-gros, lCes-ston bZang-po, lCe-mo dPal-sgron, Ngam-'bre Klu'i-rgya-mtshan, Ngam-'bre Sras-mtsho, Langlab-byang-rdor, sNan-nam-shes-tshul, rGya-ston-pa Sangs-rgyas, rGya-thung Sher-rgyal, dGe-bshes sMon-ston, Nyang-dar-ma Ye-shes, rGya-ston Yon-tan, Ra-ston Grub-pa-rdo-rje, 'Gos dNgos-grub-rgyal-mtshan, and finally to 'Gos dNgos-grub-mgon.¹ The two lists are consistent with each other in the beginning until to sNa-nam Shes-rab-tshul-khrims, after whom the transmissions are quite different, but still have some common people, such as rGya-ston Yon-tan, 'Gos dNgos-grub-rgyal-mtshan, and 'Gos dNgos-'grub-mgon.

4.21 The Phur-pa Teachings Transmitted by Other rNying-ma Masters

Apart from the above elaborated sub-traditions of rDo-rje-phur-pa in the rNying-ma school, there are many rNying-ma scholars who have received and transmitted the Phur-pa teachings but do not belong these sub-traditions. This also shows the prevalence of the Phur-pa teachings in the rNying-ma school. The following will list some rNying-ma masters and their connections to Phur-pa chronologically. Rwa Lo-tsā-ba was not only an adept in Yamāntaka but witnessed his father, Rwa-ston dKon-mchog-rdo-rje, who was a rNying-ma Tantric adept, performing the rituals of Yang-dag and Phur-pa. As such he knew the dance, chanting, and music of the Yang-dag and Phur-pa practices. At the age of nine, his father bestowed upon him the initiations of Yang-dag and Phur-pa. He studied their Tantric commentaries, and was entrusted all his fathers' texts, thus becoming an expert in both.²

rNgon-ston rDo-rje-gzhon-nu (11th century) was from a family lineage that can be traced back to a disciple of Padmasabhava and in which the Phur-pa *siddhas* appeared un-

¹ See the *Kong sprul gsan yig* (p. 124.1–6). The list stops at 'Gos dNgos-grub-rtyal-mtshan and says the following is like what has been stated above, which adds 'Gos dNgos-grub-mgon after 'Gos dNgo-grub-rtyal-mtshan, see *ibid.* (p. 123.11–12). The transmission from 'Gos dNgos-grub-mgon to Kong-sprul is listed in the previous part of the *gsan yig* (p. 103.19–27).

² See the *Rwa lo rnam thar* (pp. 7.19–8.2; 8.15–9.1). For a study of the life story of Rwa-lo-tsā-ba based on the *rwa lo rnam thar*, see DAVIDSON 2005:129–141.

interruptedly.¹

'Dzeng Dharmabodhi (1052–1168), also known as dPa'-bo 'Dzeng-chung-ba, attained the accomplishment of the Phur-bu-ur-nan-gyi-lugs at the age of sixty seven, then he had a vision of rDo-rje-gzhon-nu. In sKyī-khung, he engaged in ascetic practices of reciting the Phur-pa *mantras*, and as a result mundane and demons obeyed his order.²

lCe-ston rGya-nag (1094–1150), also known as Shākya-seng-ge, was the disciple of sGro-phug-pa and studied the Phur-pa-rtsa-ba-sor-bzhag-lugs from sGro-dar-seng-ge. He also studied other Phur-pa traditions like the sKyī-lugs from Dam-pa-spor-mang.³

Rog Shākya-'byung-gnas bestowed bZang-sgom Shes-rab-rgyal-po, the disciple of lHa-rje Zur-po-che Shākya-'byung-gnas (1002–1062) who sent him to learn from the former, the empowerment of six-two *maṇḍalas* including the one combining Yang-dag and Phur-pa. Later the sinstructions were secretly offered to Zur-po-che.⁴

rTa-ston-jo-'bum learned the Phur-pa teachings from Nang-ston-mgon-por. His son rTa-ston-jo-yes, the chief disciple of Zhiḡ-po-bdud-rtsi (1149–1199), learned the Phur-pa teachings from Nang-ston-jo-'khyams and practiced in Chu-bo-ri.⁵

Klong-chen-rab-'byams-pa (1308–1364), also known as Dri-med-'od-zer, received the Phur-pa teachings from his father.⁶ mKhas-grub Ye-shes-rgyal-mtshan (1395–1458), the disciple of Byang-chub-rgyal-mtshan (1302–1364), composed a commentary on Phur-pa.⁷

¹ See the *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* (p. 369.28–30), also see VAN DER KUIJP 1983: note. 77 on 269 and KRAMER 2007: 33.

² See the *Deb ther sngon po* (p. 221.14–16 and 229.2–3, for the translation, see ROERICH 1995: 176 and 183). For a detailed biography about him, see the *Deb ther sngon po* (pp. 221.13–233.7, for the translation, see ROERICH 1995: 175–187) His ascetic practices in sKyī-khung is also recorded in the *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* (p. 162.8–9, for the translation, see DORJE & KAPSTEIN 2002: 548).

³ See the *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* (p. 296.18–297.1, for the translation, see DORJE & KAPSTEIN 2002: 651).

⁴ *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* (p. 250.12–18), also see DORJE & KAPSTEIN 2002: 620–621.

⁵ See the *Deb ther sngon po* (p. 181.14–15 and 183. 14–15, for the translation, see ROERICH 1995: 142 and 144). For a similar narrative, see the *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* (p. 307.10–12 and 308.12–13, for the translation, see DORJE & KAPSTEIN 2002: 657), where rTa-son-jo-yes is written as rTa-ston-jo-ye.

⁶ See the *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* (p. 194.9–10, for the translation, see DORJE & KAPSTEIN 2002: 575).

⁷ See the *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* (p. 360.5, for the translation, see DORJE & KAPSTEIN 2002: 697).

Chapter 5

Sub-Traditions of the gTer-ma Transmission in the rNying-ma School

The cycle of rDo-rje-phur-pa teachings is not only transmitted in the bKa'-ma tradition but also in the gTer-ma tradition. After Padmasambhava's first transmission of Phur-pa teachings in Tibet, most of them were buried as treasures and there are large numbers of Phur-pa treasures which were revealed later by the emanations of the king and his subjects.¹ As is well known, the cycle of rDo-rje-phur-pa is a component of the bKa'-brgyad system in Mahāyoga. There also exists many cycles of Phur-pa teachings transmitted individually in the gTer-ma tradition. Thus, this chapter will present an overview of the rDo-rje-phur-pa cycle in two parts. In the first part I intend to discuss the nine traditions of the bKa'-brgyad cycles (*bka' brgyad lugs srol chen po dgu*), which will invariably contain the cycle of Phur-pa.² The second part is about the individual Phur-pa cycles revealed by various treasure revealers (*gter ston*). Due to

¹ See the *Phur pa rtsa ba'i 'grel pa* (p. 51.1–2).

² bDud-'joms-rin-po-che speaks of the nine revealed cycles of the Eight Pronouncements (bKa'-brgyad), see the *bDe sgrub snying po* (pp. 90.3–91.3): *de'ang sgrub pa chen po bka' brgyad kyi chos sde las snying dang 'dra ba nyang gi bde gshegs 'dus pa | snying khrag dang 'dra ba chos dbang gsang ba yongs rdzogs | dwangs ma dang 'dra ba byang gter rang byung rang shar | srog dang 'dra ba padma gling pa'i thugs kyi me long | lus dang 'dra ba bsam gtan bde chen gling pa'i yang gsang dregs 'dul te thugs gter chen po lnga dang | rdo rje gling pa'i gsang rdzogs drag sngags 'dus pa | 'ja' tshon hūm nag me 'bar gyi dangos grub snying po | klong gsal snying po'i bde gshegs yongs 'dus | padma 'od gsal mdo sngags gling pa'i khrag 'thung bde gshegs 'dus pa bcas gter byon bka' srol rim pa dgu'i byin rlabs kyi chu bo gcig tu 'dres pa'i lugs su snying por dril te nyams su len par 'dos pas |* The three traditions of the nine, namely bKa'-brgyad-bde'-gshegs-'dus-pa revealed by Nyang-ral Nyi-ma-'od-zer, the bKa'-brgyad-gsang-ba-yongs-rdzogs revealed by Guru Chos-kyi-dbang-phyug and the bKa'-brgyad-yang-gsang-thugs-kyi-me-long revealed by Padma-gling-pa are also referred to as the bKa'-brgyad-rnam-gsum.

the intensive transmissions of the rDo-rje-phur-pa teachings in gTer-ma tradition, this chapter will mainly focus on the important treasure revealers, for instance the five Treasure-revealer Kings (*gter ston rgyal po lnga*), the three Supreme Emanations (*mchog gi sprul sku rnam gsum*), and the nine Gling-pas (*gling pa dgu*).¹

5.1 The rDo-rje-phur-pa Transmission within the sGrub-pa-bka'-brgyad

5.1.1 The Cycle of bKa'-brgyad-bde-gshegs-'dus-pa

The cycle of bKa'-brgyad-bde-gshegs-'dus-pa was revealed by Nyang-ral Nyi-ma-'od-zer (1124–1192) who was the first of the five Treasure-revealer Kings (*gter ston rgyal po lnga*) and three Supreme Emanations (*mchog gi sprul sku rnam gsum*).² This cycle is the Earth-Treasure (*sa gter*) cycle.³ In the preface of the *bDe 'dus chos skor* (A) which was reproduced from the the Kaḥ-thog blocks from the library of bDud-'joms-rin-po-che, it is stated that this cycle was transmitted through the descendants of Nyang-ral at sMra-bo-cog in eastern lHo-brag, which later died out and fused with the revelations of Guru Chos-kyi-dbang-phyug.

The cycle of bKa'-brgyad-bde-gshegs-'dus-pa is the first and largest of the nine bKa'-brgyad Traditions. Many great masters followed this cycle, for instance, Kaḥ-thog-pa bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan (1466–1540) received it from Kun-bzang-dpal.⁴ 'Jigs-med-gling-pa re-

¹ The five Treasure-revealer Kings refers to the five treasure revealers who are the emanations of the King Khri-srong-lde'u-btsan. They are Nyang-ral Nyi-ma-'od-zer, Guru Chos-kyi-dbang-phyug, rDo-rje-gling-pa, O-rgyan-gling-pa and 'Jams-dbyang mKhyen-rtse-dbang-po. The the three Supreme Emanations refers to Nyang-ral Nyi-ma-'od-zer, Guru Chos-kyi-dbang-phyug and Rig-'dzin rGod-ldem-can. The nine Gling-pa refers to the nine treasure revealers with "gling-pa" as components of their names. They are dBus-su Sangs-rgyas-gling-pa from the centre, Shar-du rDo-rje-gling-pa from the east, lHor Ratna-gling-pa from the south, Nub-tu Padma-gling-pa from the west, Byang-du Karma-gling-pa from the north, Shar-lhor O-rgyan-gling-pa from the south-east, De-bzhin bSam-gtan-gling-pa, Zhig-po-gling-pa and Kun-skyong-gling-pa: see *Chos rnam kun btus* (vol. 2, p. 1972).

² For the life of Nyang-ral, see the *Nyang ral rnam thar, gTer ston lo rgyus* (pp. 67.12–70.14), and *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* (p. 422.15–427.17). For some secondary sources, see NEUMAIER-DARGYAY 1998: 97–103, DORJE & KAPSTEIN 2002: 755–759. For a study of Nyang-ral's bKa'-brgyad-bde-gshegs-'dus-pa from the aspect of subjugating the demons, see SAMPHEL 2008: 255–270.

³ This cycle in together with bKa'-brgyad-gsang-ba-yongs-rdzogs of Guru Chos-kyi-dbang-phyug and bKa'-brgyad-rang-byung-rang-shar of Rig-'dzin rGod-ldem-can are Earth-Treasure. See PADMAKARA 2011: 115, end-note 21.

⁴ See EHRHARD 2003: 16.

ceived the transmission of bKa'-brgyad-bde-gshegs-'dus-pa that was combined with two other traditions of the bKa'-ma transmission of bKa'-brgyad by mNga'-ris-paṅ-chen Padma-dbang-rgyal (1487–1542).¹ The transmission of this cycle received by Nor-bu-bde-chen (b. 1617) from O-rgyan-dpal-bzang (1644–1699) is recorded in *mDo chen thob yig*. Padma-rgya-mtsho, who is the great-grandson of Nor-bu-bde-chen, received the teachings of this cycle from Kham-lung-pa Padma-dbang-gyi-rgyal-po (1657–1731).² bDud-'joms-rin-po-che also composed an instruction called *bDe sgrub snying po* on the essential practice of the bKa'-brgyad-bde-gshegs-'dus-pa.

The extensive transmission of this cycle can be seen partly from the numerous collections of its teachings.³ There is a collection of the rituals of this cycle performed at the sMin-grol-gling monastery.⁴ The *Rin chen gter mdzod* contains twenty four texts apropos of this cycle.⁵

5.1.2 The Cycle of bKa'-brgyad-gsang-ba-yongs-rdzogs

Guru Chos-kyi-dbang-phyug (1212–1270) was the second of the five Treasure-revealer Kings and three Supreme Emanations. He studied the four great volumes of the Phur-pa cycle when just four years old. In his tenth year, he performed the ritual services to Yamantaka and Phur-pa.⁶ He was a prolific treasure revealer who is said to have revealed eighteen Earth Treasures (*sa*

¹ See the *Jigs gling thob yig* (A: p. 880.1; B: 870.1), also see VAN SCHAİK 2000: 15–16. An explanation of the bKa'-brgyad-bde-gshegs-'dus-pa written by mNga'-ris-paṅ-chen Padma-dbang-rgyal is included in the *bDe 'dus chos skor* (vol.1, pp. 165–228).

² See the *mDo chen thob yig* (p. 191.1–231.5; 446.3–448.2), also see EHRHARD 2008: 109; 113. Nor-bu-bde-chen was a great Buddhist from the Gur family and belongs to the mDo-chen bKa'-brgyud lineage which is a sub-branch of the 'Brug-pa bKa'-brgyud school. For the introduction of mDo-chen bKa'-brgyud and Gur family, see EHRHARD 2008: 24–31.

³ BDRC provides nineteen entries regarding the collections of this cycle.

⁴ See *bDe 'dus smin gling lugs*. try to say more about this text. not very helpful. sth about smin-gling monastery tradition ,see cathy 2016: fn. 3

⁵ See the *Rin chen gter mdzod* (TT vol. 14: no. 13–34; vol. 33: no. 25; vol. 41: no. 18)

⁶ See the *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* (p. 430.7–9), also see DORJE & KAPSTEIN 2002: 762. For some records about his life story, see the *Chos dbang rang rnam dang zhal gdams*, *Chos dbang maṅi bka' 'bum*, *Nor bu'i phreng ba* (pp. 442.5–452. 6), *Gu bkra chos 'byung* (pp. 386–393.17), *gTer ston lo rgyus* (p. 72.16–75.21), *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* (pp. 428–442.5). For some secondary sources, see NEUMAIER-DARGYAY 1998: 103–119 and DORJE & KAPSTEIN 2002: 760–770.

gter) and one Mind Treasure (*thugs gter*).¹ The *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* states that he received the empowerment of gSang-ba-yongs-rdzogs from Padmasambhava in a mountain of Chmara Island (*cāmaradvīpa; rnga yab gling*) after having been taken there by two girls.² He started to understand the meaning of the bKa'-brgyad-gsang-ba-yongs-rdzogs and translate it into Tibetan only after Jo-mo-smān-po (1248–1283) unravelled the knots of his energy channels.³

A four-volume collection about the bKa'-rgyad-gsang-ba-yongs-rdzogs cycle is reproduced from a rare but incomplete manuscripts from the mTshams-brag Monastery in Bhutan.⁴ According to this collection's preface there probably exists a six-volume block print in the Gaje monastery affiliated with Kaḥ-thog, which is the largest collection known as the Kaḥ-thog redaction but has not been found yet.⁵ Nine texts about this cycle can be found in the *Rin chen gter mdzod*.⁶

As for the transmission of this cycle, 'Jigs-med-gling-pa received the teachings of bKa'-brgyad-gsang-ba-yongs-'dus from lCags-zam-rin-po-che.⁷ And the Fifth Dalai Lama composed many texts on the instructions, empowerments, fire offerings and so forth of the bKa'-brgyad-gsang-ba-yongs-drzogs.⁸

5.1.3 The Cycle of bKa'-brgyad-drag-po-rang-byung-rang-shar

The Cycle of bKa'-brgyad-drag-po-rang-byung-rang-shar was revealed by Rig-'dzin rGod-ldem-can (1337–1408) also known as dNgos-grub-rgyal-mtshan, who is considered to be the incarnation of sNa-nam rDo-rje-bdud-'joms and listed as the third of the three Supreme Em-

¹ For the nineteen cycles, see the *gTer ston lo rgyus* (pp. 74.4–8), *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* (p. 433.3–14, for the translation, see DORJE & KAPSTEIN 2002: 764).

² See the *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* (p. 435.18–436.1, for the translation, see DORJE & KAPSTEIN 2002: 765).

³ See *ibid.* (p. 444.13–15, for the translation, see DORJE & KAPSTEIN 2002: 773).

⁴ It was published in Paro in 1970 and now available in BDRC with work-no. W23819.

⁵ BDRC also provides another three collections of manuscripts about the cycle of bKa'-brgyad-gsang-ba-yongs-rdzogs with the work-no. W2PD17481, W8LS19754, and W2PD19491.

⁶ See the *Rin chen gter mdzod* (TT vol 15: no. 1–6; vol 30: no. 26; vol. 33: no. 24; vol. 41: no. 43). Note that text no. 43 in vol. 41 relates to two bKa'-brgyad cycles, one is the bKa'-rgyad-gsang-ba-yongs-rdzogs, the other is the bKa'-brgyad-drag-po-rang-byung-rang-shar revealed by Rig-'dzin-rgod-ldem-can.

⁷ See the *'Jigs gling thob yig* (A: p. 883.2; B: 873.2, for the translation, see VAN SCHAIK: 18). The cycle of bKa'-brgyad-gsang-ba-yongs-'dus could be the combination of the bKa'-brgyad-gsang-ba-yongs-rdzogs and bKa'-'dus-phyi-ma-rig-'dzin-yongs-'dus.

⁸ The texts on the bKa'-brgyad-gsang-ba-yongs-rdzogs by the Fifth Dalai Lama can be found in the *lNga pa'i gsung 'bum* (vol. 25).

anations. He was also the initiator of the Northern Treasures (*byang gter*) tradition.

rGod-ldem-can was born in a household of sNa-mo-lung, in the Tho-yor-nag-po area near Ri-bo-bkra-bzang. His primary name was dNgos-grub-rgyal-mtshan but was also known as rGod-kyi-ldem-'phru-can or rGod-ldem-can due to three vulture feathers having grown from the crown of his head at the age of twelve and five at the age of twenty-four.¹ His father Slob-dpon bDud-'dul, belonged to an unbroken lineage of accomplished masters of the rDo-rje-phur-pa cycle, descended from the Gur-ser-rgyal-po of Hor, and was an expert at the Phur-bu-ze'u-smug-gu, an early cycle of the rDo-rje-phur-pa.² From his father, Rig-'dzin-rgod-ldem learned the rDo-rje-phur-pa practices and became skilled in accomplishing them.

In 1366 he revealed many treasures from five separate compartments of a chest at the cave of Zang-zang-lha-brag in northwestern Tibet. The five compartments represent the four directions plus the centre. From the golden compartment of the south, he discovered the cycle of bKa'-brgyad-rang-byung-rang-shar and gSang-grub-sgra-po-rtsal.³

There is an incomplete collection about this cycle available, called *Rang byung rang shar kyi skor*.⁴ The preface of this collection states that no complete set of the bKa'-brgyad-rang-po-rang-byung-rang-shar cycle has been found. Some texts of this cycle can also be found in the *Rin chen gter mdzod*.⁵

In the following section some examples regarding the transmission of this cycle will be presented. The Fifth Dalai Lama lists a lineage regarding the empowerment and scriptural transmission of the bKa'-brgyad-rang-po-rang-byung-rang-shar starting from Kung-

¹ For the life story of rGod-ldem-can, see his direct disciple Nyi-ma-bzang-po's *rGod ldem can kyi rnam thar*, the *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung* (pp. 483.4–489.9), *gTer ston lo rgyus* (p. 145.17–147.9), and *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* (pp. 451.2–454.10). Schwieger provides an outline of rGod-ldem-can's life based on four short biographies, see SCHWIEGER 1985: xxx–xxxviii. Everding's brief introduction to him is based on the *rGod ldem can kyi rnam thar*, see EVERDING 2000: 226–233. For other secondary sources, see BOORD 1993: 21–23, NEUMAIER-DARGYAY 1998: 129–132, DORJE & KAPSTEIN 2002: 780–783, and SOLMSDORF 2014: 12–20.

² The sources listed in the previous footnote all record that his father was an expert in Phur-pa. Only Boord specifies what kind of Phur-pa he was good at, see BOORD 1993: 24. Boord does not provide the Tibetan sources. Thus far, I have found no primary sources mentioning the Phur-bu-ze'u-smug-gu.

³ The miraculous story about his discovery of these treasures have many versions. His revelation of bKa'-brgyad-rang-byung-rang-shar is not mentioned in the introduction of him in *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung*, *gTer ston lo rgyus*, *bDud 'joms chos 'byung*. Following the tradition of rDo-rje-brag, this cycle was from the southern compartment and reached/filled two large volumes, see the preface of *Zang thal chos skor*, also see SCHWIEGER 1985: xxxv, BOORD 1993: 26.

⁴ This collection is based on the manuscript from the Hemis Monastery in Ladakh.

⁵ See the *Rin chen gter mdzod* (TT vol. 15: no. 7–14; vol. 19: no. 14–15, vol. 41: no. 43; vol. 46: no. 22–23; vol. 50: no. 47–49).

zang-che-mchog Heruka to himself.¹ Rig-'dzin dGar-dbang-rdo-rje once received the instructions on this cycle from Bla-ma bSod-nams-rgya-mtsho (17th C).² Nor-bu-bde-chen received the teachings of this cycle from the Third Yol-mo-ma-sprul-sku bsTan-'dzin-nor-bu (1598–1644). rGyal-sras-seng-ge(d. 1752), the grandson of Nor-bu-bde-chen, also received the transmission of this cycle from Kham-lung-pa Padma-dbang-gi-rgyal-po.³ Padma-ma-'phrin-las (1641–1718), who is the second throne-holder of the rDo-rje-brag monastery, composed a text about the initiation method of bKa'-brgyad-rang-byung-rang-shar.⁴ Bra-dkar rTa-so-sprul-sku Chos-kyi-dbang-phyug (1775–1837) composed an oral instruction on the recitation manual of the *Byang gter bka' brgyad rang byung dril sgrub* and a supplementary to the former.⁵

5.1.4 The Cycle of bKa'-brgyad-yang-gsang-thugs-kyi-me-long

The Cycle of bKa'-brgyad-yang-gsang-thugs-kyi-me-long was revealed by Padma-gling-pa (1450–1521) behind the rTse-lung-lha-khang in Bum-thang.⁶ The whole tenth volume of the *Pad gling gter chos* is dedicated to the cycle of bKa'-brgyad-yang-gsang-thugs-kyi-me-long.⁷ Three texts of this cycle can be found in the *Rin chen gter mdzod* (TT vol. 15: no. 32–34). There is also a collection about the practice of bKa'-brgyad-yang-gsang-thugs-kyi-me-long called the *bKa' brgyad me long sgrub skor*, which is reproduced from the manuscripts reflecting the Bhutanese tradition. The Cycle of bKa'-brgyad-thugs-kyi-me-long together with two other cycles revealed by Padma-gling-pa, namely the Phur-pa-yang-gsang-srog-gi-spu-gri and bDud-rtsi-smān-sgrub is collectively referred to as the bKa'-phur-smān-gsum.⁸

Padma-gling-pa is listed as the fourth of the Five Treasure-revealer kings and the fourth of the nine Gling-pa. Born in Bum-thang, his father was Don-grub-bzang-po from the Myos family and his mother was Gron-med-dpal-'dzom. At the age of twenty-seven, in a vision of

¹ See the *Gangā'i chu rgyun* (vol. 3, p. 219.5–13).

² See SOLMSDORF 2014: 89–90.

³ See the *mDo chen thob yig* (p. 76.1–82.6; 359.1–365.5), also see EHRHARD 2008: 106, III.

⁴ A text (*dbu med* manuscript) titled with the *bKa' brgyad drag po rang byung rang shar gyi dbang gi cho ga rig 'dzin dgongs rgyan* (BDRC-W8LS19867).

⁵ The two texts are included in the *Bra dkar chos dbang gsung 'bum* (vol. 7: pp. 498–538; 538–542).

⁶ See *Gangā'i chu rgyun* (vol. 4, p. 47.11–12): *gter ston padma gling pas bum thang rtse lung lha khang gi rgyab nas spyān drangs pa'i bka' brgyad thugs kyī me long gi skor* |.

⁷ Three texts in vol. 19 of the *Pad gling gter chos* are also related to this cycle.

⁸ The *sMin gling mkhan brgyud rnam thar* (p. 25. 2–3): *bka' brgyad thugs kyī me long | phur pa yang gsang srog gi spu gri | bdud rtsi sman sgrub kyī skor te bka' phur sman gsum* |.

Padmasambhava he was given by him the inventory of one hundred and eight great treasures. Accordingly, in the same year he unearthed his first treasure, related to the rDzogs-chen-klong-gsal-gyi-skor-rnams.¹ Although Padma-gling-pa could not discover all one hundred and eight treasures in his lifetime, his sons, disciples and incarnations continued his career and discovered many treasures.²

5.1.5 The Cycle of bKa'-brgyad-yang-gsang-dregs-pa-kun-'dul

The Cycle of bKa'-brgyad-yang-gsang-dregs-pa-kun-'dul was revealed by Long-po bSam-gtan bDe-chen-gling-pa (b. 15/16 C) from Byang-smad Jo-bo-brag-dkar.³ He was born in Long-po-'jim-gar and was also known as Kong-po Nyang-kha-bde-chen-gling-pa.⁴

Five texts of the cycle of bKa'-brgyad-yang-gsang-dregs-pa-kun-'dul can be found in the *Rin 'dzin gter mdzod* (TT vol. 15: no. 35–38; vol. 62: no. 68).⁵ From the colophon of no. 38, we know that the text was discovered by 'Jam-dbyangs mKhyen-brtse'i-dbang-po as re-revealed treasures (*yang gter*).⁶ Further more, Kong-sprul Blo-gros-mtha'-yas states that he himself received the Tantric scriptures, transmissions, and instructions of the bKa'-brgyad-dregs-'dul in the form of re-revealed treasures.⁷

¹ For the life of Padma-gling-pa, see *Pad gling rang rnam, Nor bu'i phreng ba* (pp. 491.4–502.5), *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung* (pp. 438.6–440.13), *gTer ston lo rgyus* (pp. 108.1–110.6), *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* (pp. 466–470). For some secondary sources, see NEUMAIER-DARGYAYG 1998: 147–151, DORJE & KAPSTEIN 2002: 796–799.

² About the reincarnations of Padma-gling-pa, see HARDING 2003: 138–141.

³ *gTer ston lo rgyus* (p. 113.14–17): *kong po nyang kha bde chen gling du grags pa'ang dang po 'dis btab par gsal | byang smad jo bo brag dkar nas rtsa gsum zab mo kun 'dus kyi skor dang | gzhan yang bka' brgyad lugs srol chen po dgu'i ya gal du bgrangs pa'i dregs pa kun 'dul gyi skro |...spyang drangs na'ang bar....* A-myes-zhabs also mentions a bDe-chen-gling-pa who revealed a treasure called bKa'-brgyad-khro-'bar-ma, see *Yang gsang spu gri'i byung tshul* (p. 3.2): *gzhan yang sprul sku bde chen gling pas gter nas spyang drangs pa'i bka' brgyad khro 'bar ma dang |*.

⁴ For the life of bSam-gtan bDe-chen-gling-pa, see *Gu bkra chos 'byung* (p. 446.16–25), *gTer ston lo rgyus* (p. 113.9–114.1).

⁵ The texts no. 35–38 can also be seen in the *mKhyen brtse'i bka' babs* (vol. 9: pp. 599–600; 601–618; 619–622; 623–644.).

⁶ The colophon of no. 38 (TT vol. 15, p. 658): *'di'ang gter ston grub thob yongs kyi 'khor los sgyur ba mchog gi rig 'dzin chen po padma 'od gsal mdo sngags gling pa la gu ru rin po ches byin gyis brlabs shing smu gnag dbang gi mkha' 'gros long po bsam gtan gling pa'i yang gter gyi shog ser mngon sum du phul ba las brda' bsgyur ba mdzad cing yig chung sa bcas sogs bkas gnang ba ltar rje nyid kyi rdo jre'i bka' slob padma gar dbang rtsal gyis zhus pa dge legs 'phel |*. Note the Pama-'od-gsal mDo-sngags-gling-pa is the treasure revealer name of 'Jam-dbyangs mKhyen-brtse-dbang-po (1820–1892). Four texts about bKa'-brgyad-yang-gsang-dregs-pa-kun-'dul can be found in *mKhyen brtse'i bka' babs* (vol. 9, pp. 599–644).

⁷ See the *gTer ston lo rgyus* (p. 113.): *physis 'dir rje bla mar bka' brgyad dregs 'dul gyi brgyud lung man ngag yang*

The text no. 68 in vol. 62 of the *Rin chen gter mdzod* is not only about the cycle of bKa'-brgyad-yang-gsang-dregs-pa-kun-'dul but also the cycle of Dam-chos-rdzogs-pa-chen-po-sde-gsum. According to the Tsadra catalogue it was revealed by bSam-gtan bDe-chen-gling-pa and mChog-gyur-gling-pa.¹

5.1.6 The Cycle of bKa'-brgyad-gsang-rdzogs-drag-sngags-'dus-pa

The bKa'-brgyad cycle revealed by rDo-rje-gling-pa (1346–1405) bears the popular name of bKa'-brgyad-gsang-rdzogs-drag-sngags-'dus-pa, used by bDud-'joms-rin-po-che.² However, in the *Rin chen gter mdzod*, rDo-rje-gling-pa's treasure related to the bKa'-brgyad cycle is called Bla-ma-bka'-brgyad-'dus-pa-rin-chen-gter-spungs which includes four texts.³ One of the four texts, the *Bla ma bka' brgyad las byang*, was revealed by him in 1373 at the cave called Brag-logs-rta-mgrin.⁴ Also two texts related to the Bla-ma-bka'-brgyad-'dus-pa can be found in the *rDo gling gter chos* (vol. 3: pp. 215–227, pp. 229–244).

rDo-rje-gling-pa, born at Grwa-nang-dben-rtsa in dBus, is one of the five Treasure-revealer Kings and nine Gling-pas.⁵ His father was called bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan and mother was dKar-mo-rgyan. His treasures were famous throughout Tibet, but extremely rare.⁶

5.1.7 The Cycle of bKa'-brgyad-dngos-grub-snying-po

The cycle of bKa'-brgyad-dngos-grub-snying-po was revealed by Rig-'dzin 'Ja'-tshon-snying-po (1585–1656), also known as Las-'phro-gling-pa and Hūṃ-nag-me-'bar. He was born in lBa/Wa-ru-gnam-tshal in Kong-po to his father called Chos-skyong-mgon-po, and mother

gter du babs pa kho bos kyang skal bzang du thob bo ||. The venerable master (*rje bla ma*) here very probably refers to 'Jam-dbyangs Mkhjen-brtse'i-dbang-po.

¹ This text is also included in the *mChog gling gter gsar* (vol. 23: pp. 313–314).

² See fn. 2, p. 97 where this title appears in together with other eight bKa'-brgyad traditions.

³ See *Rin chen gter mdzod* (TT vol. 7: no. 14–17).

⁴ See the *Bla ma bka' brgyad las byang* (pp. 316.4–5): *gter ston rdo rje gling pa bdag gis chu mo glang gi lo smin drug zla ba'i tshes bcu la gnam lcags 'bar ba'i brag logs rta mgrin phur pa o rgyan mkha' 'gro'i gsang mdzod chen mo nas gdan drangs pa'o* ||.

⁵ For the life of rDo-rje-gling-pa, see the *Nor bu'i phreng ba* (pp. 458.4–484.3), *Gu bkra chos 'byung* (pp. 427.12–430.7), *gTer ston lo rgyus* (pp. 101.16–104.5), and *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* (pp. 460.7–464.2). For some secondary sources, see NEUMAIER-DARGYAY 1998: 139–144 and DORJE & KAPSTEIN 2002: 789–792.

⁶ See the *rDo gling gter chos*: preface.

Nam-langs-bu-khrid.¹ The bKa'-brgyad-dngos-grub-snying-po belongs to a large cycle called Tshe-sgrub-gnam-lcags-rdo-rje-dngos-grub-kun-'dus that was revealed in lJon-pa-lung in the east.² Two texts apropos of the bKa'-brgyad-dngos-grub-snying-po can be found in the *Rin chen gter mdzod* (TT vol. 16: no. 1–2). In addition to the text no.1, the *'Ja' tshon pod drug* includes another text related to the cycle.³ His student, namely sNa-tshogs-rang-grol (b. 1608), composed a text concerning the instructions of conferring the initiation of the bKa'-brgyad-dngos-grub-snying-po.⁴

5.1.8 The Cycle of bKa'-brgyad-bde-gshegs-yongs-'dus

The cycle of bKa'-brgyad-bde-gshegs-yongs-'dus was revealed by Rig-'dzin Klong-gsal-snying-po (1625–1692), also known as Kaḥ-thog-pa Byang-chub-rgya-mtsho.⁵ His father was a *mantra*-adept called Kun-dga'-don-grub and his mother was dKon-mchog-sgron-ma. In 1656, he and his teacher bDud-'dul-rdo-rje founded a new monastery on the site of Kaḥ-thog Monastery, which had fallen into decay during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.⁶ Four texts related to the bKa'-brgyad-bde-gshegs-yongs-'dus can be found in *Rin chen gter mdzod*.⁷

¹ For the life of Rig-'dzin 'Ja'-tshon-snying-po, see the *'Ja' tshon rang rnam*, *'Ja' tshon rnam thar nyung ngu*, *sKu tshe 'jug gi rnam thar*, and *Gu bkra chos 'byung* (pp. 442.15–446.15), *gTer ston lo rgyus* (pp. 110.7–113.8), and *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* (pp. 478.6–482.16, for the translation, see DORJE & KAPSTEIN 2002: 809–812). For some secondary sources see NEUMAIER-DARGYAY 1998: 160–163.

² The colophon of the *bKa' brgyad dngos grub* (TT vol. 16, no. 1, p. 13.6–14.1) reads: *gu ru padma'i thugs kyi 'od zer las sprul pa sngags 'chang hūm nag me 'bar gyis shar ljon pa lung gi gnas sgo nas gdan drangs pa'o* |. The colophon tells us that Hūm-nag-me-'bar, which is the secret name of 'Ja'-tshon-snying-po, revealed this treasure in the entrance of lJon-pa-lung. According to the *gTer ston lo rgyus* (p. 111.12) and *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* (p. 480. 7–8), which read *de nas rim par gong po bu chu dang | byang 'phreng mdzes zhes ljon pa lung gi gnas sgo dang | snye mo lha ri |...zab gter mang po spyang drangs* |, the name of the entrance was Byang-'phreng-mdzes. Neumaier-Dargyay takes the lJon-pa-lung as a monastery located in sNye-mo-lha-ri. However, both texts list sNye-mo-lha-ri after lJon-pa-lung connected with *dang*, which indicates it is another place. It is hard to identify the exact location of lJon-pa-lung, but it is located in the Kong-po area in the southeast of Lhasa, see BDRC-G00JR3005

³ The first text, titled with *Tshe sgrub gnam lcags rdo rje dngos grub kun 'dus las bde gshegs sgrub pa bka' brgyad dngos sgrub snying po* (vol. 2, pp. 201–218) is the same as that mentioned in the *Rin chen gter mdzod*. The second text (vol.2, pp. 219–232) is titled with *Tshe sgrub gnam lcags rdo rje dngos grub kun 'dus las mgyog dbang*.

⁴ The title of the text is *Tshe sgrub gnam lcags rdo rje'i cha rkyen du gyur pa bka' brgyad dngos grub snying po'i dbang chog*, included in the *sNa tshogs rang grol gsung 'bum* (vol. 6, pp. 85–158).

⁵ For the life of Rig-'dzin Klong-gsal-snying-po, see *Klong snying rnam thar bsdud*, *Gu bkra chos 'byung* (pp. 571.5–572.3), *gTer ston lo rgyus* (p. 173.12–176.3), and *Kaḥ thog lo rgyus* (pp. 88.8–90.10).

⁶ See SMITH 2001: 18

⁷ See *Rin chen gter mdzod* (TT vol. 16: no. 3–6).

The whole of the volume seven of the *Klong snying zab gter* is about the practice of the bKa'-brgyad-bde-gshegs-yongs-'dus. There is also a collection, namely *bDe yongs chos skor*, which contains thirty-six texts focusing on the practice of bKa'-brgyad-bde-gshegs-yongs-'dus.¹

5.1.9 The Cycle of bKa'-brgyad-khrag-'thung-bde-gshegs-'dus-pa

The cycle of bKa'-brgyad-khra-'thung-bde-gshegs-'dus-pa was revealed by 'Jam-dbyangs mKhyen-rtse'i-dbang-po (1820–1892), also known as Padma-'od-gsal mDo-sngags-gling-pa, who is the fifth of the five Treasure-revealer Kings. He was one of the most renowned masters in the nineteenth century and the initiator of the ecumenical movement (*ris med*).² He was born in the village called Dil-mgo in sDe-dge. His father, Rin-chen-dbang-rgyal, belonged to the gNyo family and his mother, bSod-nams-'tsho, was a Mongolian princess. When he fell ill at the age of eight, Padmasambhava and Ye-shes-mtsho-rgyal revealed to him, powering and consecrating him in the *maṇḍala* of rDo-rje-phur-pa.

The Cycle of bKa'-brgyad-khrag-'thung-bde-gshegs-'dus-pa belongs to a Mind Treasure (*dgongs gter*) called Grub-thob-chen-po-thugs-thig. In the *Rin chen gter mdzod* there are twelve texts apropos of this cycle.³ Thirteen texts related to this cycle are also included in the *mKhyen brtse'i bka' babs*.⁴

5.1.10 The Cycle of Bla-ma-bka'-brgyad-yongs-'dus

This cycle is an Earth Treasure (*sa gter*) revealed by mNga'-ris-pan-chen Padma-dbang-rgyal (1487–1542), not included in the above listed nine traditions of bKa'-brgyad. Padma-dbang-rgyal, also known as rDo-rje-ye-shes-rol-pa was born in Mustang, Nepal. His father is called

¹ The *bDe yongs chos skor* is reproduced from a manuscript from the library of the late Kaḥ-thog dBon-sprul-rin-po-che.

² Many biographies of 'Jam-dbyang Mkhendrtse'i-dbang-po are available nowadays. I will only mention the ones composed by people who were close to him. His contemporary and collaborator in the Ris-med movement, Kong-sprul Blo-gros-mtha'-yas (1813–1899), composed two biographies, the *mKhyen brtse'i rnam thar nyung bs-dus* and *U dumwa ra'i dga' tshal*. Another short biography, also composed by Kong-sprul is included in the *gTer ston brgya brtse* (pp. 212.3–221.22). Ju-mi-pham rNam-rgyal-rgya-mtsho (1846–1912), disciple of 'Jam-dbyangs-mkhyen-brtse, contributed one eulogy for him entitled *mKhyen brtse la bsngags pa*. For some secondary sources, see NEUMAIER-DARGYAY 1998: 197–209, DORJE & KAPSTEIN 2002: 849–858, and AKESTER 2012 which is a translation of the latter biography listed above written by Kong-sprul.

³ See the *Rin chen gter mdzod* (TT vol. 16: no. 12–23).

⁴ See the *mKhyen brtse'i bka' babs* (vol. 15 pp. 275–672), many are identical to those in the *Rin chen gter mdzod*.

'Jam-dbyangs Rin-chen-rgyal-mtshan and his mother Khrom-pa-rgyan. He once performed the great *sādhana*s concerning the bKa'-brgyad-bde-gshegs-'dus-pa in the middle chamber of bSam-yas temple. He received the the teachings of the bKa'-brgyad-bde-gshegs-'dus-pa twenty-five times. Only during the last of these he received reliable and authentic teachings from Nam-mkha'i-rnal-'byor, who was a great *siddha* from the rJe'u family at the lHo-brag-dgon-dkar monastery.¹

So far, I have found four narratives regarding the discovery of this cycle by Padma-dbang-rgyal. The first is in the *Gangā'i chu rgyun* which is the record of teachings received of the Fifth Dalai Lama. It is recorded that Paṅ-chen Padma-dbang-rgyal and his brother Legs-ldan-rdo-rje Gro-bo-lod discovered the cycle of bKa'-'dus-phyi-ma, which is also called Bla-ma-bka'-brgyad-yongs-'dus. This is the instruction for the ripen an liberation related to the *gSol 'debs lde'u bdun pa*.² The second narrative is in the *bDud rtsi'i bum bzang* written by Brag-dkar-ba Chos-kyi-dbang-phyug (1775–1837). It is similar with the above *Gangā'i chu rgyun* regarding the treasure cycle. However, it does not include the brother of Padma-dbang-rgyal but gives the place of the treasure which is bSam-yas.³

The third narrative and fourth narrative are in the *gTer ston lo rgyus* (pp. 157.21–158.2) of Kong-sprul and the *bDud 'joms chos 'byung*. The two narratives agree on one cycle called bKa'-'dus-phyi-ma-rig-'dzin-yongs-'dus which is the *sādhana* related to the *gSol 'debs lde'u bdun pa*. Besides, they provide the time of the discovery which is when Padma-dbang-chen was forty seven years old (1532).⁴

¹ The above introduction about him is from the *gTer ston lo rgyus* (p. 156–157). For his biography see the *mDo dbang rnam thar* (p. 304.5–335.2), *gTer ston lo rgyus* (p. 156.7–158.13), *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* (p. 474.6–478.5, for the translation, see DORJE & KAPSTEIN 2002: 805–808). For the secondary source, see NEUMAIER-DARGYAY 1998: 156–160.

² See the *Gangā'i chu rgyun* (vol. 4, pp. 134.18–135.3): *paṅ chen padma dbang rgyal ye shes rol pa rtsal dang gcung legs ldan rdo rje gro bo lod gnyis kyis...dkyil 'khor nas spyang drang pa'i bka' 'dus phyi ma'i skor ram | bla ma bka' brgyad yongs 'dus su grags pa gsol 'debs le'u bdun pa'i smin grol gdams pa rmad du byung ba'i skor la |*.

³ See the *bDud rtsi'i bum bzang* (pp. 305.6–306.3): *mnga' ri paṅ chen padma dbang rgyal rdo rje ye shes rol pa rtsal gyis dpal bsam yas zan yang mi 'gyur lhun gyis grub pa'i gtsug lag khang gi dbu rtse steng khang rdo rje dbyings kyi pho brang gi rten gtso rnam par mdzad mi bzhi rgyab sprod kyi gsang sgrom snying mdzod ba gam smug po mun pa'i dkyil 'khor nas spyang drang pa'i bla ma bka' brgyad yongs 'dus sam | bka' 'dus phyi ma'i skor zhes grags pa gsol 'debs le'u bdun ma'i dbang sgrub rdzogs rim sogs smin grol gyi gdams pa rmad du 'byung ba'i skor thob la dbang lung gnyis las |*.

⁴ See the *gTer ston lo rgyus* (pp. 157.21–158.2): *khyad par zab gter bzhes tshul ni dgung lo zhe drug par bsam yas steng khang gi rnam snang mi bzhi rgyab sprod kyi gsang sgrom nas bka' 'dus phyi ma rig 'dzin yongs 'dus kyi chos skor gsol 'debs le'u bdun ma'i sgrub thabs gter nas bzhes shing*, and the *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* (pp. 477.5–9): *dgung lo zhe drug par bsam yas steng khang gi rnam snang mi bzhi rgyab sprod kyi gsang sgrom nas bka' 'dus*

As can be seen from the above analysis, the four narratives record a treasure cycle which is the later teachings (*bka' 'dus phyi ma*) and is related to the *gSol 'debs le'u bdun ma*, but are different on its name. The first two name it Bla-ma-bka'-brgyad-yongs-'dus or bKa'-'dus-phyi-ma, the last two name it Rig-'dzin-yongs-'dus.¹ There is also a text called *Bla ma bka' brgyad rig 'dzin yongs 'dus las 'chi med tshé'i sgrub pa yang tig snying po*.² Therefore it seems the Bla-ma-bka'-brgyad-yongs-'dus, Rig-'dzin-yongs-'dus, bKa'-'dus-phyi-ma, and Bla-ma-bka'-brgyad-rig-'dzin-yongs-'dus all refer to the treasure cycle revealed by Padma-dbang-chen.³ However the Tsadra Catalogue of the *Rin chen gter mdzod* puts the Bla-ma-rig-'dzin-yongs-'dus as the sub-cycle of the Bla-ma bka'-brgyad-yongs-'dus.

This cycle is corresponding to the five central chapters of the seven-chapter *gSol 'debs le'u bdun ma* excluding the first and seventh chapters.⁴ The practice related to Bla-ma-bka'-brgyad-rig-'dzin-yongs-'dus is a wrathful practice focusing on the blue deity dPal-chen-'dus-pa.⁵ As for its transmission, 'Jigs-med-gling-pa received the cycle of bKa'-'dus-phyi-ma-rig-'dzin-yongs-'dus from lCags-zam-rin-po-che.⁶ Nor-bu-bde-chen received the cycle of bKa'-brgyad-rig-'dzin-yongs-'dus directly from Kun-bzang-klong-yangs and 'Phyong-rgyas-ras-chen (seventeenth century).⁷ In *Rin chen gter mdzod* three texts about this cycle are included.⁸ There are also two anthologies of this treasure cycle, titled with *bKa' brgyad yongs*

phyi ma rig 'dzin yongs 'dus kyi chos skor gsol 'debs le'u bdun ma'i sgrub thabs gter nas bzhes shing phal cher gtan la phabs pa da lda'ang dar rgyas ches |

¹ This cycle is also called Rig-'dzin-yongs-'dus or just Yongs-'dus by Kong-sprul, see the *sNying gi bdud rtsi* (p. 618.3; 632.6): *phyis su mnga' ris pañ chen sku mched kyi gter byon rig 'dzin yongs 'dus chos skor gsol 'debs le'u bdun ma'i sgrub skor dngos yin yang |; yongs 'dus ni dpe tsam yang ma mthong ba mang zhing*.

² See the *Tshé sgrub kun 'dus* (vol. 4, pp. 677–679).

³ Peter Schwieger points out the Rig-'dzin-yongs-'dus is another name of Bla-ma-bka'-brgyad-rig-'dzin-yongs-'dus, see SCHWIEGER 1990: 144.

⁴ See EHRHARD 2015: 161 and SCHWIEGER 1990: 144. *gSol 'debs le'u bdun ma* is a prayer devoted to Padmasambhava revealed by bZang-po-grags-pa (b. 14th C). For a brief introduction to the *gSol 'debs le'u bdun ma*, see EHRHARD 2015: ft. 3, 140. For its later reception and further literary development, see SCHWIEGER 1988: 30–42. For the translation of *gSol 'debs le'u bdun ma*, see ZANGPO 2002: 275–294.

⁵ The dPal-chen-'dus-pa is also a practice that involves a congregation of four wrathful deities in the treasure Klong-chen-snying-thig. More information about dPal-chen-'dus-pa, see 5.2.10, p. 116.

⁶ See the *'Jigs gling thob yig* (A: p. 882.5–6; B: p. 872.5–6, for the translation, see VAN SCHAİK 2000: 18).

⁷ See the *mDo chen thob yig* (p. 61.1–66.3, 459.3–460.4) where the lineage is listed, also see EHRHARD 2008: 106, III. 'Phyong-rgyas-ras-chen is a disciple of lHa-btsun Nam-mkha'-'jigs-med (1597–1653).

⁸ See the *Rin chen gter mdzod* (TT vol. 4: no. 36–37; vol. 49: no. 60).

'dus chos skor.¹

5.2 The Individual Cycles of the rDo-rje-phur-pa

5.2.1 The Phur-pa-yang-gsang-spu-gri Cycle

The individual Phur-pa cycle revealed by Guru Chos-dbang is called Phur-pa-yang-gsang-spu-gri, which was first concealed by Padmasambhava in gNam-skas-brag in the south.² There exists twenty three items of extremely profound pieces of work in the cycle of Phur-pa-yang-gsang-spu-gri out of which the *Phur pa rtsa ba'i dum bu* is the principle.³ Some texts related to the cycle of Phur-pa-yang-gsang-spu-gri can be found in the *Rin chen gter mdzod*.⁴ bTer-chen-gling-pa, also known as 'Gyur-med-rdo-rje (1646–1714) even revealed a text about the refuge practice (*skyabs 'gro*), *bodhicitta* generation and *gtor ma* offering related to the cycle of Phur-pa-yang-gsang-spu-gri. Zhig-po-gling-pa (1829–1870) received the empowerment of the cycle of Phur-pa-yang-gsang-spu-gri and Phur-pa-'khon-lugs from 'Jam-dbyangs mKhyen-brtse'i-dbang-po.

5.2.2 The Byang-gter-phur-pa Cycles

The Byang-gter-phur-pa cycles were unearthed by Rig-'dzin rGod-ldem-can in together with many other treasures when he discovered the five separated compartments. Most of the Phur-pa teachings were taken from the black iron compartment of the north. He also took out three Phur-pa wrapped in maroon silk and the Atiyoga texts regarding the rDo-rje-phur-pa from the maroon central compartment. From the northern compartment, many texts of Phur-pa were taken out.⁵

¹ The two anthologies, with the BDRC number W23199 and W27871, are written in *dbu med* and reproduced from a manuscript from the library of sPrul-sku Tshe-dbang.

² See the *Yang gsang spu gri'i byung tshul* (p. 4-5; p. 5.4-5): *lho gter nas gu ru chos dbang gi spyen drangs pa'i phur pa yang gsang spu gri'i skor dang* | *'dir skabs su babs pa phur pa yang gsang bla med kyi bskor rnams byung ba'i tshul ni* | *'dir smras pa* | *grub pa'i dbang phyug padma 'byung gnas kyis* || *yang gsang spu gri'i chos bskor zab mo di* || *lho phyogs gnam skas brag la gter du sbas* || *dus phyis gu ru chos kyi dbang phyug gis* || *gter nas spyen drangs 'phrin las dar rgyas spel* ||.

³ *Yang gsang spu gri'i byung tshul* (p. 5.6–6.1): *yang gsang spu gri'i chos skor 'di nyid la* || *phur pa rtsa ba'i dum bu gtsor gyur pa'i* || *zab las ches zab chos sna'i rkang grangs ni* || *lnga phrag bzhi dang gsum gyi lhag pa bzbugs* ||.

⁴ See the *Rin chen gter mdzod* (TT vol. 31, no. 7–8, 10–25).

⁵ For the discovery of the five compartments, see 5.1.3, p. 101.

The rDo-rje-brag tradition of Northern Treasures recognizes three cycles of rDo-rje-phur-pa, known as Byang-gter-phur-pa-lugs-gsum, which is composed of the largest Che-mchog cycle, the medium sPu-gri cycle, and the most concise Drag-sngags cycle.¹ According to the study of Boord, the Byang-gter-phur-pa teachings include rites pertaining both to the black deity of the Drag-sngags cycle and multicoloured deity of the Che-mchog cycle. And these various traditions were united into one by Rig-'dzin Padma-'phrin-las.²

The Byang-gter-phur-pa literature is said to be grouped into five sets according to the *Che mchog gi them byang*.³ BDRC provides seven collections of the Byang-gter-phur-pa.⁴ Four of them have been introduced by Martin Boord.⁵ Most of them are treasure texts revealed by Rig-'dzin rGod-ldem-can and some were written by later masters. Four texts related to the Byang-gter-phur-pa cycle are included in the *Rin chen gter mdzod*, three of which are related to the Phur-pa-spu-gri.⁶

Later masters such as the Fifth Dalai Lama, Padma-'phrin-las (1641–1717) and 'Phrin-las-bdud-'joms (18th C) composed a number of texts related to the Byang-gter-phur-pa cycles.⁷ Padma-'phrin-las (1641–1717) contributed a lot to Byang-gter-phur-pa. He was the fourth reincarnation of Rig-'dzin rGod-ldem-can and the throne holder of rDo-rje-brag monastery.⁸ Nor-bu-bde-ba received the rDo-rje-phur-pa cycle of Rig-'dzin-rgod-ldem-can from his father Nam-mkha'-seng-ge.⁹ Mi-pham Chos-kyi-dbang-phyug (1775–1837) composed a text called *sPu gri bsnyen sgrub* about the instructions on the *sevāsādhana* (*bsnyen sgrub*) of the Byang-gter-phur-pa-spu-gri.

¹ See the *Phur pa dril sgrub* (preface). The *Phur pa dril sgrub* arranged by Padma-'phrin-las is related to the three cycles. According to Boord, the Che-mchog cycle is unique to Byang-gter, the other two cycles are common in all Phur-pa traditions, see BOORD 1993: fn. 30 on 8.

² See BOORD 1993: 144.

³ For an overview of the five sets, see the *Che mchog gi them byang* (p. 2.1–3), also see BOORD 1993: 14–18.

⁴ The work numbers of the seven collections are W27295, W28215, W1KG3566, W8LS31310, W22113, W23775 and W27523.

⁵ For an introduction to the four collections and a survey of their topics, see BOORD 2013: 12–14. Some texts related to the Byang-gter-phur-pa are included in the *Phur pa phyogs bsgrigs*. For a comparison of these texts in the *Phur pa phyogs bsgrigs* with that in the four collections of Byang-gter-phur-pa, see BOORD 2013: 344–347.

⁶ See the *Rin chen gter mdzod* (TT, vol. 31: no. 26–28, vol. 54: no. 34).

⁷ Some of these texts are included in the *Byang gter phur pa'i skor*. Eight texts related to Byang-gter-phur-pa written by Padma-'phrin-las has been translated by Boord, see BOORD 2010. For the date of 'Phrin-las-bdud-'joms, see BOORD 1993: 10.

⁸ For the introduction of Padma-'phrin-las, see BOORD 2010: xxiv–xxvi.

⁹ See the *mDo chen thob yig* (pp. 138.3–141.6). Also see EHRHARD 2008: 107.

5.2.3 The Phur-pa-thugs-kyi-nying-khu Cycle

Sangs-rgyas-gling-pa (1340–1396), also known as Sangs-rgyas-bzang-po, one of the nine Gling-pa, was a treasure revealer and famous for excavating and transmitting the *bKa' 'dus bar ba bla ma dgongs pa 'dus pa* in 1364. He was born in Kong-po. His father, called sTag-lung-smyon-pa, came from mDo-khams and his mother Aḥ-hūṃ-rgyan was from Brag-gsum in Kong-po. At one time he was close to the Fourth Kar-ma-pa Rol-p'i-rdo-rje and received some of his personal belongings.¹

His treasure-discovery career commenced from 1364 and lasted three years until 1367. Among all the treasure he revealed the most well-known is the *bKa'-'dus-bar-ba-bla-ma-dgongs-pa-'dus-pa* cycle, which has been transmitted through both a family lineage (*gdung brgyud*) and a spiritual lineage (*chos brgyud*).² He also revealed the Phur-sgrub-thugs-kyi-nying-khu cycle and with another treasure-revealer, Dri-med-lhun-po, the O-rgyan-gyi-las-phur-gdengs-chog.³ Four texts of the Phur-pa-thugs-kyi-nying-khu cycle are included in the *Rin chen gter mdzod* (TT vol. 31, no. 29–32). dKon-mchog-bstan-'dzin Chos-kyi-blo-gros (1801–1859) composed several texts related to this cycle.⁴

5.2.4 The Phur-pa-yang-gsang-bla-med Cycle

Ratna-gling-pa (1403–1478), also known as Zhig-po-gling-pa and 'Gro-'dul-gling-pa, was born in Gru-shul in Lho-brag.⁵ Through his vision of Padmasambhava, he was instructed to an inventory of treasures. When he was thirty, he revealed his first treasure related to the rTsa-gsum-sgrub in Khyung-chen-brag. Subsequently, he discovered twenty-five treasures in total, among which there is one cycle regarding Phur-pa-yang-gsang-bla-med. Khenpo Namdrol

¹ For biographies of Sangs-rgyas-gling-pa, see *gTer 'byung chen mo*, *gTer 'byung tshig bcad ma* (a condensed version of the *gTer 'byung chen mo*), *Nor bu'i phreng ba* (pp. 452.6–458.4), *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung* (pp. 430.8–438.5), *gTer ston lo rgyus* (pp. 104.6–107), and *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* (p. 454.11–460.6, for the translation, see DORJE & KAPSTEIN 2002: 784–788). For some secondary sources see NEUMAIER-DARGYAY 1998 : 132–139 and MEI 2012: 196–206.

² For details regarding the transmission of *Bla ma dgongs pa 'dus pa*, see MEI 2012: 209–211.

³ See the *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* (p. 456.12; 457.7–9).

⁴ These texts are included in the *Nus ldan rdo rje gsung 'bum* (vol. 8).

⁵ For the life of Ratna-gling-pa, see *Ratna rnam thar rgyas pa*, *Ratna rnam thar 'bring po*, *Ratna rnam thar nyung ngu Nor bu'i phreng ba* (pp. 484.3–491.4), *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung* (pp. 450.18–456.12), *gTer ston lo rgyus* (pp. 151.10–152.18), *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* (pp. 464.3–466.14). There is even a collection *Ratna gling pa'i rnam thar skor* which includes four biographies of Ratna-gling-pa. For some secondary sources see DORJE & KAPSTEIN 2002: 793–795, NEUMAIER-DARGYAY 1998 : 144–147.

believes that the rDo-rje-phur-pa treasures Ratna-gling-pa revealed were buried by Ye-shes-mtsho-rgyal.¹ Eleven texts related to the Phur-pa-yang-gsang-bla-med and two texts related to other topics of Phur-pa can be found in the *Rin chen gter mdzod*.² The transmission of the Phur-pa cycle, from the discover to 'Jig-med-gling-pa, is recorded in the *'Jigs gling thob yig*.³

5.2.5 The Phur-pa-yang-gsang-srog-gi-spu-gri Cycle

The Phur-pa-yang-gsang-srog-gi-spu-gri cycle is one of the major treasures listed by Kong-sprul Blo-gros-mtha'-yas as being revealed by Padm-gling-pa (1450–1521) from Seng-gdong-brag in lHo-brag-sman-mdo.⁴ Three treasure texts apropos of the Phur-pa-yang-gsang-srog-gi-spu-gri are included in the *Rin chen gter mdzod* (TT vol. 31: no. 40–42). Numerous texts about this cycle can also be found in the *Pad gling gter chos*.⁵

Cantwell suggests that there are clear continuities between Padma-gling-pa's Phur-pa-yang-gsang-srog-gi-spu-gri and Guru Chos-dbang's Phur-pa-yang-gsang-spu-gri, not only because of the similarity of the titles but also due to bDud-'joms-rin-po-che's comment that Guru Chos-dbang's lineage passed through Padma-gling-pa is mixed with Padma-gling-pa's Phur-pa transmission.⁶ At the age of forty nine, bDud-'joms-rin-po-che composed a *sādhana* titled *dPal rdo rje phur pa yang gsang srog gi spu gri'i las byang phrin las rnam par rol pa'i rgyan* as well as many other texts related to the Phur-pa-yang-gsang-srog-gi-spu-gri at the request of Ngag-dbang-chos-kyi-rgyal-mtshan, who was the tenth speech emanation of Padma-gling-pa.⁷

¹ See NAMDROL 1999: 25.

² See the *Rin chen gter mdzod* (TT vol. 31: no. 33–39; vol. 40: no. 43; vol. 42: no. 67; vol. 48: no. 8; vol. 53: no. 31).

³ See the *'Jigs gling thob yig* (A: p. 884.2–3; B: p. 874.2–3), also see VAN SCHAİK 2000: 18. The lineage is as follows: From Ratna-gling-pa through dBang-chen-bzang-po, rDo-rje-rgyal-mtshan, Nam-mkha'-grags-pa, Tshe-bdag-rdo-rje, bDud-'joms, Kun-dga', Jam-dpal, Ngag-dbang-grub-pa, dGe-slong rNam-rgyal, to 'Jigs-med-gling-pa. Note that Lung-rigs-kun-dga' and 'Jam-dpal-rgya-mtsho are the same person.

⁴ For various cycles of Pama-gling-pa's treasures, see the *gTer ston lo rgyus* (pp. 108.15–20).

⁵ The entire volume sixteen is dedicated to Phur-pa-yang-gsang-srog-gi-spu-gri. One treasure text in vol. 19 (pp. 835–863) is also related to this cycle.

⁶ See CANTWELL 2016: 184. bDud-'joms-rin-po-che's comment is in *bDud 'joms gsung 'bum* (vol. 19, p. 551).

⁷ See DONGYAL: 200–201. There are eleven related texts included in the *bDud 'joms gsung 'bum* (vol. 6) covering up many subjects, such as practice manual (*las byang*), liturgical procedure (*khog dbub*), recitation manual (*bsnyen yig*) and so forth. About why and how bDud-'joms-rin-po-che contributed so many works to this cycle, see CANTWELL 2016: 184–187.

5.2.6 The Phur-pa-gnam-lcags-spu-gri Cycle

bDud-'dul-rdo-rje (1615–1672), also known as bDud-'dul Nus-ldan-rdo-rje was born in dNgul-phu-nang in sDe-dge. His father, Klu-sgrub, belonged to the gLing family and his mother was Bo-mu-lu. He achieved accomplishments through meditations on Phur-pa according to Ratna-gling-pa's Phur-pa-yang-gsang-bla-med. His first revelation was the cycle of Dam-chos-dongs-pa-yongs-'dus at the age of twenty-eight, which he treated as the foremost treasure.¹

In his biography by Kun-bzang Padma-blo-ldan, bDud-'dul-rdo-rje is said to have revealed four major cycles, namely the Dam-chos-dongs-pa-yongs-'dus, Dam-chos-sprul-sku-snying-thig, Zab-don-gsang-ba-snying-thig, and Tshe-yang-phur-gsum.² When he was thirty-one and living at Shel-gyi-yang-sgrom in sPu-ri, he discovered the cycle of sNying-thig-tshe-yang-phur-gsum together with the cycle of its protectress Ekajātī.³ The cycle of sNying-thig-tshe-yang-phur-gsum combines three deities namely the Tshe-dpag-med (*amitāyus*), Yang-dag and Phur-pa.

The whole volume six of the *bDud 'dul gter chos* is devoted to the cycle of Tshe-yang-phur-gsum. From the title of the last text in this volume *Yang gsang mkha' 'gro'i snying kbrag las snying thig tshe yang phur gsum kyi phur pa gnam lcags spu gri'i dbang chu mdzes rgyan nor bu rgya mtsho*, it can be seen that the cycle of sNying-thig-tshe-yang-phur-gsum is part of a larger cycle, called Yang-gsang-mkha'-'gro'i-snying-krag. The Phur-pa cycle is called Phur-pa-gnam-cags-spu-gri. Two treasure texts concerning the Phur-pa-gnam-lcags-spu-gri cycle can be found in the *Rin chen gter mdzod* (TT vol. 32: no. 1–2).

There are also two anthologies about bDud-'dul-rdo-rje's Phur-pa treasure. One is called *bDud 'dul phur pa gnam lcags spu gri*, reproduced from an old and very rare manuscript of this teachings relating to the rDo-rje-phur-pa deities as they were used at Kaḥ-thog. In addition to the cycle of Tshe-yang-phur-gsum, this anthology also contains texts related to the other three major cycles revealed by bDud-'dul-rdo-rje.⁴ Another is the *sNying thig tshe yang*

¹ For the life of bDud-'dul-rdo-rje, see *Dad pa'i mchod sdong*, *bDud 'dul rnam thar mdor bsdus*, *Gur brka chos 'byung* (p. 566.4–570.20), *gTer ston lo rgyus* (170.11–173.11), *Kaḥ thog lo rgyus* (p. 86.12–88.7) and *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* (pp.483–488, for the translation, see DORJE & KAPSTEIN 2002: 813–817). For some secondary sources, see NEUMAIER-DARGYAY 1998: 163–166.

² For an account of how these four major cycles were revealed, see *Dad pa'i mchod sdong* (pp. 21.6–31.2) and RONNIS 2006: 174–175 which is based on the former.

³ See the *Dad pa'i mchod sdong* (pp. 30.6–31.1), *gTer ston lo rgyus* (p. 171.17–18). *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* (pp.485.7–9).

⁴ This anthology was published by B. Jamyang Norbu in New Delhi in 1971.

phur gsum gyi glegs bam reproduced from a set of eastern Tibetan prints preserved in the library of bDud-'joms-rin-po-che.¹ For the transmission of the Tshe-yang-phur-gsum cycle, Nor-bu-bde-chen received it from O-rgyan-dpal-bzang.² According to the records of Brag-dkar-ba Chos-kyi-dbang-phyug, there are two lineages, namely the long one and short one of the Tshe-yang-phur-gsum cycle regarding its empowerment and scriptural tradition (*lung*). Brag-dkar-ba Chos-kyi-dbang-phyug was in the short lineage.³

5.2.7 The rDo-rje-gzhon-nu-thugs-kyi-thig-le Cycle

Chos-rje-gling-pa (1682–1720), also known as O-rgyan-ro-g-rje-gling-pa and 'Dzam-gling-rdo-rje, was recognized as the twelfth incarnation of rGyal-sras-lha-rje. He was born at Klu-mkhar-dong in Dwags-po.⁴ His discovery of treasures started at the age of twenty five. His numerous revelations including the cycle of Phur-pa and Yang-dag were transmitted to 'Jigs-med-gling-pa.⁵ The Phur-pa cycle revealed by Chos-rje-gling-pa is referred to as either rDo-rje-gzhon-nu-thugs-kyi-thig-le or rDo-rje-phur-pa-thugs-kyi-thig-le. A collection of the texts on the practice of Phur-pa-thugs-kyi-thig-le is included in the *rDo rje phur pa'i sgrub chog*.⁶ Eight texts apropos of the rDo-rje-gzhon-nu-thugs-kyi-thig-le cycle are contained in the *Rin chen gter mdzod* collection.⁷

His intimate spiritual son Rwa-ston sTobs-ldan-rdo-rje, also known as Padma Tshe-dbang-rtsal, discovered Phur-pa treasures in 'On-phu-stag-tshang which were said to have been concealed by rLangs-chen dPal-gyi-seng-ge, one of the twenty-five disciples of Pad-masambhava.⁸ Therefore his cycle of Phur-pa is named sTag-tshang-phur-pa or Rwa-ston-

¹ It is published by Sanje Dorje in New Delhi in 1973.

² See the *mDo chen thob yig* (pp. 26.6–28.5, 596.1–598.3), also see EHRHARD 2008: 105 and 118.

³ See the *bDud rtsi'i bum bzang* (pp. 879.2–881.4).

⁴ For the life of Chos-rje-gling-pa, see his two autobiographies namely *Chos gling rtogs brjod* and *'Dzam gling rnam thar*, also see some short biographies in the *rNying ma'i skyes mchog rnam thar* (pp. 321.3–327.6) and *gTer ston lo rgyus* (pp. 91.5–93.13).

⁵ See the *'Jigs gling thob yig* (A: p. 885.4; B: p. 875.4), also see VAN SCHAİK 2000: 20.

⁶ The *rDo rje phur pa'i sgrub chog* also contains the Phur-pa treasures of rDo-rje-thogs-med (1746–1796/7).

⁷ See the *Rin chen gter mdzod* (TT vol. 32, no. 3-10).

⁸ See the *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung* (p. 582.14–15): *...rang skal gter chos 'on phu stag tshang nas rdo rje phur pa'i chos skor rgyas pa zhig spyang drang nas chos bdag rnam la rim par spel bas deng sang yang dar rgyas che |. gTer ston lo rgyus* (p. 186.21). For a brief introduction to Rwa-ston sTobs-ldan-rdo-rje, see RICARD: note 41 on p. xxviii. 'On-phu-stag-tshang, one of the thirteen sTag-tshang (Tiger Dens) located near bSam-yas, is a place where Padmasambhava gave Phur-pa teachings to Ye-shes-mtsho-rgyal. For 'On-phu-stag-tshang, see FERRARI

phur-pa.¹ In 'Jigs-med-gling-pa's autobiography, it is recorded that 'Jigs-med-gling-pa dreamt the reincarnation of rLangs-chen dPal-seng, namely Padma Tshe-dbang-rtsal gave him the initiation into his sTag-tshang-phur-pa.² According to the *'Jigs gling thob yig*, 'Jigs-med-gling-pa received the teachings of Rwa-ston-phur-pa from Rwa-ston sTobs-ldan-rdo-rje himself.³ The sTag-tshang-phur-pa cycle formed the basis of 'Jigs-med-gling-pa's writings on rDo-rje-phur-pa.⁴

5.2.8 The Phur-pa-spu-gri-reg-gcod Cycle

mNga'-ris-gter-ston Gar-dbang-rdo-rje (1640–1685), also known as Padma Gar-dbang-rtsal and Gar-dbang Zla-ba-rgyal-mtshan was born at Nub-ri-g.yam in Gung-thang. He was recognised as the incarnation of Rig-'dzin-rgod-ldem-can.⁵ He received the empowerments and reading transmissions of rDo-rje-phur-pa from his grandfather who was a *mantra* holder.⁶ He also requested the empowerments of Kye-rdo-rje and Phur-pa from Me-srong-gnas who was a head discipline monk (*zhal ngo*).⁷

His treasure cycle regarding the Phur-pa, called Phur-pa-spu-gri-reg-gcod, was one of

1958: 47 & 118, n. 192.

¹ The treasure texts apropos of sTag-tshang-phur-pa can be found in the *Rin chen gter mdzod* (TT vol. 31, no. 6; vol. 32, no. 11–13).

² See *Chu zla'i gar mkhan* (A: p. 53.3–5; B: p. 56.2–3): *de tshes rlang chen dpal seng gi | yang srid padma tshes dbang rtsal mjal te rang gter (gtar B) stag tshang gi | rdo rje phur pa'i dbang bskur rmis* ||, also see GYATSO 1988: 46–47.

³ *Jigs gling thob yig* (A: p. 885.4–5; B: p. 875.4–5): *ra ston phur pa dang | thugs mchog rdo rje'i gter chos | rje theg gling gi gter chos rnam dngos las thos* |, also see VAN SCHAİK 2000: 20. The date of Rwa-ston sTobs-ldan-rdo-rje was given by van Schaik to be mid 17th–late 17th Century, see *ibid.*: note. 127 on p. 132. This date is in contradiction with 'Jigs-med-gling-pa's own statement that he received teachings from sTobs-ldan-rdo-rje, while 'Jigs-med-gling-pa was born in 1729/30. If the statement of 'Jigs-med-gling-pa is reliable, sTobs-ldan-rdo-rje was still alive at least after 1729/30.

⁴ See GYATSO 1998: 80. For the Phur-pa texts of 'Jigs-med-gling-pa, see vol. 6 of the *'Jigs gling gsung 'bum*.

⁵ For details about Nub-ri-g.yam SOLMSDORF 2014: fn. 43, p. 35.

⁶ See *ibid.*: 41 and 106.

⁷ For more details about his meeting with Me-srong-gnas see *ibid.*: p. 64, fn. 110; 129. The main sources for the life of Gar-dbang-rdo-rje are the three autobiographies namely outer-, inner-, and secret-biographies (*phyi nang gsang sum gyi rnam thar*). Regarding the different versions of the three autobiographies preserved in NGMPP and those scanned by BDRC, see SOLMSDORF 2014: 219–224. A Short biography of him is included in the *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung* (pp. 580–581), Ngag-dbang bsTan-'dzin-dbang-phyug's *Byin rlabs gter mts'ho* (1869–1940) (pp. 105.3–120.4) and *gTer ston brgya rtsa* (p. 178.18–180.2). The former two are clearly based on the outer autobiography of Gar-dbang-rdo-rje, see SOLMSDORF 2014: p. 35, fn. 43.

his five treasure cycles and was discovered in his third treasure revealing.¹ Two collected works apropos of Gar-dbang-rdo-rje's rDo-rje-phur-pa-spu-gri-reg-gcod are available.² Six manuscripts regarding this cycle are preserved in NGMPP.³ Nor-bu-bde-ba received the transmission of Phur-pa-spu-gri-reg-gcod directly from Gar-dbang-rdo-rje.⁴

5.2.9 The Gu-ru-drag-po-dmar-nag-khro-rol-phur-bu Cycle

Rig-'dzin-chen-po Rol-pa'i-rdo-rje (?–1719), also known as dKon-mchog-lhun-grub, was born in a place near Zur-mang-dgon.⁵ His father was Tshe-ring-rdo-rje and his mother mother Yum-lha-mo.⁶ Little is known about his revelation of the Phur-pa cycle. Two texts of this cycle are included in the *Rin chen gter mdzod*. The first was revealed by Rol-pa'i-rdo-rje and the second was revealed in together with Kaḥ-thog-rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang-nor-bu (1698–1755).⁷

5.2.10 The Phur-pa-bdud-dpung-zil-gnon

The cycle of Phur-pa-bdud-dpung-zil-gnon is part of a larger cycle called dPal-chen-'dus-pa. The dPal-chen-'dus-pa deals with the practice of four wrathful vidyādhara sādhanas of the mind-treasure Klong-chen-snying-thig, namely 'Jam-dpal-gshin-rje-'chi-bdag-zil-gnon, rTā-mgrin-khams-gsum-rol-pa, Yang-dag-sangs-rgyas-mnyam-sbyor and Phur-pa-bdud-dpung-zil-gnon.⁸ 'Jigs-med-gling-pa revealed the Klong-chen-snying-thig in 1757 and since then this

¹ For the catalogue of Gar-dbang-rdo-rje's treasure-teachings, see *solmsdorf* 2014: pp. 225–255. About the discovery of Phur-pa-spu-gri-reg-gcod, see *ibid.*: 48–49, 124. Another four cycles are Zab-tig-chos-dbyings-rang-gsal, rDor-sems-thugs-kyi-me-long and Thugs-rje-chen-po-rtsa-gsum-snying-thig

² The *rDo rje phur pa spu gri reg gcod skor: Collected Texts from the Vajrakīla Revelations of Gar-dbang-rdo-rje* (BDRC-Number: W23753) reproduced from rare manuscripts from the collection of Kyirong Lama Kunsang preserved in the Library of Tibetan Works and Archives. The *rDo rje phur pa spu gri reg gcod: a cycle of buddhist practice concerned with a revealed form of Vajrakīla* (BDRC-Number: WiKG10771) reproduced from handwritten manuscript in *dbu med* from the library of sPrul-sku-tshe-dbang.

³ For details of these manuscripts, see SOMLSDORF 2014: 241–242.

⁴ See the *mDo chen thob yig* (587.1–592.4).

⁵ This place of birth is recorded in the *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung* (p. 575.6), while the *gTer ston lo rgyus* (p. 188. 19–20) records it as Phran-ru-nang at Ke-rong-lung in mDo-khams-lho-rgyud. As Zur-mang-dgon is also in Khams, it is possible the two records refer to the same place described differently.

⁶ For biographies of Rol-pa'i-rdo-rje, see *Rol pa'i rnam thar*, *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung* (p. 575.6–576.6), and *gTer ston lo rgyus* (pp. 188.19–191.13).

⁷ See the *Rin chen gter mdzod* (TT vol. 13: no. 59–60).

⁸ For the detailed narrative about his discovery of the Klong-chen-snying-thig, see GOODMAN 1992: 138–146 and THONDUP 2002: 122–123.

treasure was wide spread in the rNying-ma tradition. One treasure text, entitled *dPal chen bka' 'dus rgya mtsbo las phur pa bdud dpung zil gnon* is included in the *'jigs gling gsum 'bum*.¹

Later scholars contributed many works to this cycle, for instance 'Jigs-med-bstan-pa'i-nyi-ma (1865–1926) wrote a text titled *Phur pa zil gnon zin bris*.² bDud-'joms-drag-sngags-gling-pa (1871–1936) wrote many liturgical texts about this cycle.³ bDud-'joms-'jigs-bral-yeshe also composed a text about the framework of the practice on this cycle.⁴

5.2.II 'Jam-dbyangs mKhyen-brtse'i-dbang-po's Three Phur-pa Cycles

'Jam-dbyangs mKhyen-brtse'i-dbang-po (1820–1892), also known as Pamda-'od-gsal mDo-sngags-gling-pa, revealed three Phur-pa cycles, namely Phrin-las-phur-pa'i-gnad-tig, Yang-phur-sbrag-ma'i-zab-tig and Yang-dag-zhi-khro-phur-gsum. The three cycles are part of the oral transmission (*snyan brgyud*) that is one of the Seven Transmissions (*bka' babs bdun*) of his entire teachings.⁵ The last one of the three belongs to the cycle of Kun-bzang-thugs-gter which was originally a treasure of Byang-chub-gling-pa (14th C).⁶

Fifteen treasure texts related to the Phrin-las-phur-pa'i-gnad-tig can be found in the *Rin chen gter mdzod* and twenty in the *mKhyen brtse'i bka' babs*.⁷ The cycle of Yang-phur-sbrag-ma'i-zab-tig, also known as mKhyen-brtse-yang-phur, relates to the practice of Yang-dag and Phur-pa.⁸ The text *sNyan brgyud yang phur sbrags ma'i zab tig gi rdzogs rim gud sbas* (*Rin chen gter mdzod*, vol. 27: no. 34, pp. 715–718) according to the catalogue of Tsadra

¹ See 'Jigs-gling-gusng-'bum (B: vol. 7, pp. 535–547). This treasure has also been included in some other anthologies, for instance the *Klong chen snying thig gi 'don cha* (pp. 503–520) and *Ngag dbang dpal bzang gsung 'bum* (vol. 3, pp. 181–218).

² This text titled is included in *'jigs bstan gsung 'bum* (vol. 4, pp. 291–308).

³ These texts, included in the *bDud 'joms drag sngags gter chos* (vol. 5 and 6), cover various topics, such as descent of blessings (*byin 'bebs*), medicine offering (*sman mchod*), daily practices (*rgyun khyer*), and so forth.

⁴ This text titles *Phur pa zil gnon sgrub khog* is included in the *bDud 'joms gsung 'bum* (vol. 23, pp. 425–489).

⁵ The seven transmissions are: Canonical Transmission (*bka' ma*), Earth Treasures (*sa gter*), Rediscovered Treasures (*yang gter*), Mind Treasures (*dgongs gter*), Recollected Treasures (*rjes dran gter*), Pure Vision (*dag gsang*) and Oral Lineage (*snyan brgyud*). For more about the seven transmissions, DOCTOR 2005: 85.

⁶ Two treasure texts about Yang-dag-zhi-khro-phur-gsum are included in the *Rin chen gter mdzod* (TT vol. 27: no. 19, 21) which the Tsadra Catalogue says were revealed by both Byang-chub-gling-pa and 'Jam-dbyangs mKhyen-brtse-dbang-po. Two texts have also been found in the *mKhyen brtse'i bka' babs* (vol. 11: pp. 167–206; 217–302.).

⁷ See the *Rin chen gter mdzod* (TT vol. 32, no. 14–28) and *mKhyen brtse'i bka' babs* (vol. 20, pp. 67–432)

⁸ Eight texts related to it are included in the *Rin chen gter mdzod* (TT vol. 27: no. 33–40) and nine texts in the *mKhyen brtse'i bka' babs* (vol. 19: pp. 333–736).

was revealed not only by 'Jam-dbyangs mKhyen-brtse-dbang-po but also by his reincarnation 'Jam-dbyangs mKhyen-brtse-chos-kyi-blo-gros (1893–1959). This text is also included in both *mKhyen brtse'i bka' babs* (vol. 19: pp. 393–416) and *mKhyen brtse-blo-gros gsung 'bum* (vol. 10: pp. 7–12).

5.2.12 The Zab-bdun-phur-pa Cycle

mChog-gyur bDe-chen-gling-pa (1829–1870), also known as Nor-bu-bstan-'dzin and Zhig-pogling-pa, was born in sGom-sde-grwa-nang in Yer-stod which is the south of mDo-khams. His father Padma-dbang-phyug was a *mantra* adept from the family of A-lcags-'gru; His mother was Tshe-ring-g.yang-mtsho. His revelation career commenced after he met Padmasambhava, who appeared as a yogin, in person at the age of eleven. Padmasambhava prophesied that he will be a noble man in the world. When he was twenty-five, he visited Si-tu Padma-nyin-byed-dbang-po (1774–1853) with the offering of the *Phur pa dbang chen bzhad pa* and other gifts. He met 'Jam-dbyangs-mkhyen-brtse-dbang-po in 1853 who then bestowed on him the cycle of the Phur-pa-yang-gsang-spu-gri and the initiation of Phur-pa according to the 'Khon tradition.¹

The whole teachings which were handed down to him were systematized into the Seven Transmissions. The second of the seven transmissions is the Earth Treasures.² In the brief biography of mChog-gyur-gling-pa by 'Jam-dbyangs-mkhyen-brtse'i-dbang-po, it is stated that his complete Earth Treasures were categorized into thirty-seven separate revelations but it is difficult for them to be explained in detail because in general some were concealed with secrecy and some were concealed as the Rediscovered Treasure.³ The sixth of the thirty-seven Earth Treasures, which was revealed in Karma'i-dam-can-brag in 1856, focuses on the ritual of the seven deities.⁴ The fifth of the seven deities is Zab-bdun-phur-pa and consists of two branches,

¹ See the *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* (p. 516.11–13 & 517.14–15, also see DORJE & KAPSTEIN 2002: 842 and 843). *Phur pa dbang chen bzhad pa* is not available nowadays based on my limited research. For the primary biographical sources of mChog-gyur-gling-pa see DOCTOR 2005: 76–83. For some secondary sources, see NEUMAIER-DARGYAY 1998: 190–197.

² For more information about the Earth Treasure of mChog-gyur bDe-chen-gling-pa, see DOCTOR 2005: 86–95.

³ See the *bsKul ba'i dri bzhon* (p. 25.5–6): *snga phyir sa gter gyi gter kha sum chu rtsa bdun tsam phyung tshul ni spyir 'ga' zbig gsang rgya'i bab dang la la yang gter du'ang sbas pa sogs zhib par 'chad dka'* |.

⁴ *mChog gling rang rnam* (p. 182.4): *nyer brgyad me 'brug lo sa ga bzla ba'i tshes bco lngar 'og min karma'i dam can brag nas zab bdun chos skor gsang gter du thon* |. For more information on Zab-bdun-chos-skor see DOCTOR

namely Zab-bdun-mngon-spyod-phur-pa and Yang-gsang-thugs-kyi-phur-gcig. The seventeenth and eighteenth volume of the *mChog gling gter gsar* contain many texts about these two branches.¹ Eight texts apropos of the Yang-gsang-thugs-kyi-phur-gcig can be found in the *Rin chen gter mdzod* (TT vol. 32, no. 29–32, 34–37). According to Andreas Doctor, Zab-bdun-phur-pa has become one of the most widely spread practiced cycle among mChog-gyur-gling-pa's Treasures, especially in the Rum-thek monastery of Karma bKa'-brgyud in Sikkim and bKa'-snying-bshad-sgrub-gling (Ka-Nying Shedrub Ling) of both Snying-ma and bKa'-brgyud traditions.²

The twenty-fifth Earth Treasure is the cycle of gSang-thig-snying-po revealed in Tsā-dra-rin-chen-brag.³ This cycle focuses on the practice of the three deities which are rDo-rje-sems-dpa', Yang-dag and rDo-rje-phur-pa.⁴ The texts related to Phur-pa from the cycle of gSang-thig-snying-po usually have *gsang thig snying po las rdo rje gzhon nu* or *gSang thig phur ba* in their titles.⁵ The twenty-seventh Earth treasure is a series of short rituals titled *Bod khams bde thabs chos bcu yi bstan pa srung ba'i skro bzhi* for the four protectors namely gShin-rje, rTa-mgrin, Phur-pa and mGon-po.⁶

There are three cycles of rDo-rje-phur-pa revealed by mChog-gyur-gling-pa that correspond to respectively to Mahāyoga, Anuyoga and Atiyoga, which are the Zab-bdun-phur-pa, Lung-lugs-thugs-kyi-phur-gcig, and rDo-rje-gzhon-nu-phyag-rgya-gcig-pa.⁷

2005: 88.

¹ The texts has been introduced by Doctor one by one, see DOCTOR 2005: Appendix B. He also translated the *Yang gsang thugs kyi phur gcig las las byang phrin las 'dus pa* (*mChong gling gter gsar*, vol. 17: pp. 213–221) and a commentary on it titled *Yang gsang thugs kyi phur gcig gi lha khrid gsal bar bkod pa rig pa 'dzin pa'i shal lung* (*ibid.*: vol. 18: 187–232) written by Tsha-ba-bhan-dhe Karma-rin-chen-rnam-rgyal (b. 19th C), see DOCTOR 2005: 110–125 and 126–175.

² See DOCTOR 2005: 105 and endnote 328.

³ Tsā-dra-rin-chen-brag is the upper retreat centre at dPal-spung monastery.

⁴ Because of the three deities, this cycle is also called gSang-snying-skor-gsum. More information about it, see DOCTOR 2005: 91.

⁵ These texts can also be found in the *mChog gling gter chos* (vol. 30). The *Rin chen gter mdzod* (TT vol. 32, no. 39–41) includes three texts related to this cycle.

⁶ This text is included in the *mChog gling gter chos* (vol. 30, pp. 243–294.).

⁷ See DOCTOR 2005: 105 and endnote 326. Three texts related to Lung-lugs-thugs-kyi-phur-gcig (vol. 20, pp. 275–293; pp. 295–307; pp. 309–321) and thirteen texts related to rDo-rje-gzhon-nu-phyag-rgya-gcig-pa (vol. 30, pp. 35–157) are included in the *mChog gling gter gsar*.

5.2.13 bSod-rgyal Las-rab-gling-pa's Three Phur-pa Cycles

bSod-rgyal Las-rab-gling-pa Phrin-las-mtha'-yas-rtsal (1856–1926), also known as Padma-bde-chen Rang-gro-rtsal was born in upper Nyag-rong in Kham. His father was Zhi-po-dar-rgyas and his mother was O-rgyan-sgrol-ma. He was the thirteen Dalai Lama's teacher and a Phur-pa adept.¹ According to mKhan-po 'Jigs-med-phun-tshogs-'byung-gnas, he had three main rDo-rje-phur-pa treasures: the Phur-pa-yang-gsang-khros-pa which is very long; the Phur-pa-yang-snying-spu-gri which is of medium length; and the Phur-pa-yang-zab-snying-po, which is the most concise.² The treasure texts about the three cycles can be found in the *Las rab gter chos*.³

In 1874 in 'Bru-khog he received prophetic guides for two treasures, one is Phur-pa-yang-gsang-khros-pa, the other is Phur-pa-yang-snying-spu-gri.⁴ A few days later, when he was in Kaḥ-thog-rdo-rje-gdan, he extracted a small parchment that was the key to the teachings of Phur-pa-yang-gsang-khros-pa from the arm of a chair. The secret script on the parchment reminded him that he had received the teachings from Padmasambhava in his previous life. He practiced Phur-pa-yang-gsang-khros-pa for five years and wrote associated liturgies, rituals, and *mantras* of the practice.⁵

In 1895 when he stayed with Kong-sprul, they revealed the treasure of Phur-pa-yang-snying-spu-gri in the rDzong-gshod Palace (*rdzong shod bde gshegs 'dus pa'i pho brang*) together.⁶ bSod-rgyal Las-rab-gling-pa offered the complete cycle of Yang-snying-spu-gri to the thirteenth Dalai Lama in 1898, who is said to be the heir of this cycle.⁷ Phur-pa-yang-snying-

¹ For the life of Las-rab-gling-pa, the main source is an esoteric biography composed by his student sPrul-sku Tshul-khrims-bzang-po (1884–1957). A short biography is included in the *rDzogs chen chos 'byung* (pp. 643–644). There is also a comprehensive English biography about him called *Fearless in Tibet: The Life of the Mystic Tertön Sogyal*, which is based primarily on the biography written by Tshul-khrims-bzang-po.

² This is from his teachings in Roqueredonde, France on August 27, 1993. And also see PISTONO 2014: note for p. 133 on p. 294 (based on a digital version).

³ Four texts about Phur-pa-yang-gsang-khros-pa are respectively in vol. 10 (pp. 225–316), vol. 11 (pp. 99–126; 465–470) and vol. 12 (pp. 323–328). Almost the whole vol. 14 is contributed to Phur-pa-yang-snying-spu-gri. Two texts in vol. 13 (pp. 441–446; 447–462) are also about this cycle. Many texts in vol. 13 are about Phur-pa-yang-zab-snying-po.

⁴ 'Bru-khog is in a valley in lDan-kho-rdzong.

⁵ For details about his discovery and practice of Phur-pa-yang-gsang-khros-pa, see PISTONO 2014: 41–46.

⁶ For details about the discovery of this cycle, see PISTONO 2014: 121–128.

⁷ See PISTONO 2014: 138–139. For the prediction that the thirteenth Dalai Lama is destined to receive this cycle, see *ibid.*: 126–128.

spu-gri is also one of the main practices of the fourteenth Dalai Lama who received the empowerment and practice of it in 2000 from Las-rab-gling-pa.¹

Las-rab-gling-pa showed the golden scroll of Phur-pa-yang-zab-snying-po to the thirteenth Dalai Lama in Lhasa in 1896.² Khenpo Namdrol believes that the rDo-rje-phur-pa treasures discovered by gTer-ston Las-rab-gling-pa belong to the sNa-nam-lugs. In fact, they were buried by sNa-nam rDo-rje-bdud-'joms, who later reincarnated as Las-rab-gling-pa and rediscovered them.³

5.2.14 The Phur-pa-yang-gsang-bcud-dril Cycle

Phur-pa-yang-gsang-bcud-dril was the treasure of Zil-gnon Nam-mkha'-rdo-rje (b. 19th C).⁴ The Fifteenth Kar-ma-pa mKha'-khyab-rdo-rje (1871–1922) composed five texts about the long life practice and torma empowerment related to the Phur-pa-yang-gsang-bcud-dril cycle at the request of Zil-gnon Nam-mkha'-rdo-rje.⁵ bDud-'joms-rin-po-che also wrote many texts on the practice of this cycle.⁶ In 1983, bDud-'joms-rin-po-che gave empowerments of the cycle of Phur-pa-yang-gsang-bcud-dril in Los Angeles.⁷

5.2.15 The Phur-pa-bdud-'joms-gnam-lcags-spu-gri Cycle

The Phur-pa-bdud-'joms-gnam-lcags-spu-gri belongs to a larger cycle called Zab-gsang-mkha'-'gro-snying-thig, which was revealed by bDud-'joms-gling-pa (1835–1904) in 1862 in Eastern Tibet.⁸ bDud-'joms-gling-pa, considered to be the reincarnation of bDud-'dul-rdo-rje, was a prominent rNying-ma master and a treasure revealer.⁹ He has four major trea-

¹ See PISTONO 2014: xii.

² See *ibid.*: 133.

³ See NAMDROL 1999: 25.

⁴ See DONGYAL 2008: 159.

⁵ The five texts are included in the *mKha' khyab bka' 'bum* (vol. 3: pp. 203–258, 259–458, 459–506, 507–532, 533–550).

⁶ The texts are included in the *bDud 'joms gsung 'bum* (vol. 14).

⁷ See DONGYAL 2008: 159.

⁸ It is said the name of this cycle is derived from the Phur-pa-gnam-lcags-spu-gri revealed by bDdu-'dul-rdo-rje, see 5.2.6, p. 113. To distinguish between them, the *bdud 'joms* is added. For more details on its revelation, see DROLMA 2011: 85 and 131.

⁹ The main sources for his life story are his three autobiographies, one long and two short secret autobiographies. The three have been translated by Chönyi Drolma, see DROLMA 2011. For some secondary sources, see

sure cycles which are Mahātiyoga'i-zab-chos-dgongs-pa-klong-rdol, Dag-s nang-ye-shes-drwa-ba, Chos-nyid-nam-mkha'i-klong-mdzod and Zab-gsang-mkha-'gro-snying-thig. The first three are mind treasure (*dgongs gter*) and the last one is an earth treasure (*sa gter*).

The practice on the Phur-pa-bdud-'joms-gnam-lcags-spu-gri is called Thugs-sgrub-gsang-ba'i-rgya-cha.¹ It is said that bDud-'joms-rin-po-che arranged the Phur-pa-bdud-'joms-gnam-lcags-spu-gri practice based on the materials related to the Thugs-sgrub-gsang-ba'i-rgya-cha. bDud-'joms-rin-po-che also composed various kinds of texts related to this cycle including ritual manuals, commentaries, and a history.²

5.2.16 The Phur-pa-spu-gri-reg-phung Cycle

bDud-'joms-rin-po-che 'Jigs-bral-ye-shes-rdo-rje (1904–1987), the reincarnation of bDud-'joms-gling-pa, had his own revelation about Phur-pa called Phur-pa-spu-gri-reg-phung, which is a mind treasure.³ He transcribed the cycle of Phur-pa-spu-gri-reg-phung in 1948. However, it was conferred to him by Ye-shes-mtsho-rgyal in a dream in 1937 while practicing the preparation of *dharmā* nectar medicine according to the teachings of Phur-pa-gnam-lcags-spu-gri in sPa-gro-stag-tshang. During his retreat there, he also discovered an eighteen-inch meteoric Phur-pa.⁴ One time he received the teachings based on rDo-rje-phur-pa-rgyud-lugs from 'Gyur-med-phan-bde-'od-zer (b. nineteenth/twentieth century)⁵

In Bhum-thang, he edited the rDo-rje-phur-pa teachings of Padma-gling-pa at the request of Padma-'od-zer 'Gyur-med-rdo-rje (1930–1955), who was the tenth incarnation of Padma-gling-pa, and made wood blocks to print it.⁶ Many texts related to Phur-pa-spu-gri-reg-phung can be found in the *bDud 'joms gsung 'bum*.⁷ The Phur-pa-bdud-'joms-gnam-

BRADBURN 1995: 354.

¹ The vol. five of the *bDud gling gter chos* is devoted to this practice.

² Vols ten and eleven of the *bDud 'joms gsung 'bum* are devoted to the Phur-pa-gnam-lcags-spu-gri cycle. Some texts in vol. 23 also contribute to this cycle. The text about the history of this cycle is titled *gNam lcags lo rgyus*.

³ A comprehensive biography of bDud-'joms-rin-po-che was written by his disciple Tshe-dbang-don-rgyal based on bDud-'joms-rin-po-che's spontaneous narrative to him. Tshe-dbang-don-rgyal himself translated it into English.

⁴ For details about his discovery of this treasure, see DONGYAL 2008: 184–188. Here the Phur-pa-gnam-lcags-spu-gri should refer to bDud-'joms-gling-pa's treasure.

⁵ See *ibid.*: 88.

⁶ See *ibid.*: 104. For his texts about Padma-gling-pa's Phur-pa-yang-gsang-srog-gi-spu-gri, see 7, p. 112.

⁷ Twelve texts are in vol. 15, one in vol. 17, two in vol. 22 and two in vol. 24. Among these texts, some are

lcags-spu-gri and Phur-pa-spu-gri-reg-phung are considered to be the two major Phur-pa cycles of the bDud-'jomg-gter-gsar.¹

5.2.17 The Phur-pa-mgul-khug-ma Cycle

'Jigs-med-phun-tshogs-'byung-gnas (1933–2004), one of the two incarnations of bSod-rgyal Las-rab-gling-pa, was born in mGo-log in Amdo.² In 1990, on his way to meet the fourteenth Dalai Lama, he discovered the cycle of Phur-pa-mgul-khug-ma in Yang-le-shod and bestowed its empowerment to the fourteenth Dalai Lama. In the *'Jigs med phun tshogs gsung 'bum*, there are nine treasure texts related to this cycle.³ There is a text or a collection of texts related to the abbreviated daily Phur-pa practice of this cycle.⁴ Khenpo Namdrol suggests this cycle belongs to the sNa-nam-lugs of the Phur-pa teachings.⁵

5.2.18 The Bla-phur-thugs-kyi-thig-le Cycle

bKa'-gyur-rin-po-che Klong-chen-ye-shes-rdo-rje (1897–1975) was born at Khrul-dug-rim in Ri-bo-che in Khams. He was ordained in a rNying-ma monastery in Ri-wo-che. Since he gave the oral transmission of the bKa'-gyur thirty-three times, he was known as bKa'-gyur-rin-po-che. He belonged not only to the rNying-ma tradition but also to the sTag-lung-bka'-gyur.⁶ At dPa-gro-stag-tshang in Bhutan, he discovered the treasure cycle of Bla-phur-thugs-kyi-thig-le along with his teacher 'Je-drung-phrin-las Byams-pa-'byung-gnas.⁷ bDud-'joms-rin-po-che composed many commentaries on this cycle.⁸ Dil-mgo-mkhyen-rtse-rin-po-che

treasure texts and some are commentaries. In addition, seventeen texts about this cycle are included in *Phur pa phyogs sgrigs* (vol. 38).

¹ The bDud-'joms-gter-gsar refers to a combined collections regarding the treasures revealed by bDud-'joms-gling-pa and bDud-'joms-rin-po-che.

² For the life of 'Jigs-med-phun-tshogs-'byung-gnas, see the *Dad pa'i sos sman*. For some secondary sources, see, for example, SUODAJIE 2001, for the translation, see VERSLUYS 2001.

³ See *'Jigs med phun tshogs gsung 'bum* (vol. 1: pp. 167–185).

⁴ This text or a collection of texts, titled *The Sole Kilaya of the Sacred Bond of the Heart* has not been seen by me.

⁵ See NAMDROL 1999: 25.

⁶ For a biography of Klong-chen-ye-shes-rdo-rje, see the *rDzogs chen rig 'dzin rnam thar* (vol.2: pp. 286.3–293.1). For some secondary sources, see BARON 2005: 447–449).

⁷ See the *rDzogs chen rig 'dzin rnam thar* (vol.2: p. 286.2 and 288.4–5), also see BARON 2005: 447, 448.

⁸ See the *Phur pa phyogs bsgrigs* (vol. 38) where sixteen texts are included.

also composed several commentaries on this cycle.¹

¹ See the *Dil mgo gsung 'bum* (vol. 10), where eight texts are included, also see *Phur pa phyogs bsgrigs* (vol. 39), where five texts are included.

Chapter 6

The rDo-rje-phur-pa Transmission in the Non-rNying-ma Schools

Despite the fact that the cycle of rDo-rje-phur-pa teachings and practices was first received and developed in the rNying-ma school, the Sa-skyā school also played an important role in its transmission. It is well known that the practices of rDo-rje-phur-pa began flourishing in the Sa-skyā school after 'Khon Klu'i-dbang-po obtained these teachings directly from Padmasambhava. In fact, these teachings became so popular within the Sa-skyā school that they acquired the name Sa-phur and 'Khon-lugs. Moreover Smith points out their significance in the Sa-skyā school in that some of the most sacred and treasured ancestral rituals and practices of the Sa-skyā school are centred around Kīla as *heruka*.¹ And before the time of dKon-mchog-rgyal-po, most of the 'Khon family members made Phur-pa as the principal deity.²

Subsequently the bKa'-brgyud and dGe-lugs school also accepted some of the rDo-rje-phur-pa teachings, and as noted by Doctor, gradually adopted Phur-pa deity into their pantheon. The bKa'-brgyud school has had a longer, though perhaps less official, affiliation with the rDo-rje-phur-pa practice through the frequent overlap of masters in the bKa'-brgyud and rNying-ma schools. As for the dGe-lugs school, it was the Fifth Dalai Lama's interest in the treasures of Rig-'dzin-rgod-ldem that paved the way for the rDo-rje-phur-pa practice to be included in the rituals of that school.³ Both the thirteenth and fourteenth Dalai Lama

¹ See SMITH 1970: fn. 17, 8–9 and 2001: 238–239.

² See the *Chos 'byung dpag bsam* (p. 769.10–11): *sa skyā'i dkon mchog rgyal bo ma byong gong gi 'khon phal cher gyis phur ba gts'o bor byed kyang*.

³ See DOCTOR 2005: p. 222, en. 325. For the Fifth Dalai Lama interest in Byang-gter, see BOORD 1993: 9, 29–30.

have treasured rDo-rje-phur-pa as their deity. In this chapter, I will set forth a brief survey of the rDo-rje-phur-pa transmission in the Sa-skya, bKa'-brgyud, dGe-lugs and Bon schools

6.1 'Khon-lugs or Sa-phur

The transmission of rDo-rje-phur-pa in the Sa-skya school, known as 'Khon-lugs or Sa-phur, has been recorded in Sog-zlog-pa's *Phur pa lo rgyus*. All the family lineage holders from 'Khon Klu'i-dbang-po-srung-ba to Chos-rgyal-'phags-pa have practiced Phur-pa and attained accomplishment through it.¹ In the following I will arrange the rDo-rje-phur-pa transmission in the Sa-skya school into two three sections: the transmission in the early 'Khon family, of the five patriarchs, and subsequent to the patriarchs.

6.1.1 The Phur-pa Transmission in the Early 'Khon Family

'Khon Klu'i-dbang-po-srung-pa, the ancestor of 'Khon family, who was one of the three young translators (*lo tsā ba gzhon gsum*) among the seven men to be tested (*sad mi mi bdun*), received the teachings of Phur-pa and Yang-dag in person from Padmasambhava. He practiced them in Brag-yer-pa and attained accomplishments.² Klu'i-dbang-po also received the practice of the *dharma* protectors dKar-mo-nyi-zla and sTong-gi-thod-'phreng-can who are specific protectors of rDo-rje-phur-pa. Since then, the two deities have been the important meditation deity for the members of the 'Khon lineage.³ His younger brother rDo-rje-rin-chen, belonging to the eight main figures of the *maṇḍala* (*dkyil 'khor gyi gtso bo brgyad*), received the teachings from both Padmasambhava and his elder brother.⁴

rDo-rje-rin-chen had seven sons, collectively called 'Bro-tsha-spun-bdun. Among the seven brothers, the second youngest, Shes-rab-yon-tan had two sons, namely Tshul-khrims-rgyal-po and Khab-po-stag-thog. From them, the 'Khon family started to flourish. Three sons

¹ See the *Phur pa lo rgyus* (§18, p. 307, for the translation, see 10.18, pp. 224–225). Note that Sog-bzlog-pa also received the initiation of Sa-phur from Bla-chen Chos-kyi-rgyal-po.

² See the *rGya bod yig tshang* (A: p. 309.1–3; B: p. 161.15–17, for the translation, see SMITH 2001: 105). Brag-yer-pa, also known as Yer-brag, is located in the northeast of Lhasa. It now belongs to the sTag-rtse district of Lhasa. For a more extensive introduction to Yer-brag, see RICHARDSON 1985: 143.

³ See STEARNS 2001: n. 104, 230.

⁴ See the *rGya bod yig tshang* (A: 309.4–6 ; B: pp. 161.17–162.1), also see SMITH 2001: 105. Note in A the description “eight main figures of the maṇḍala” is missing.

were born to Tshul-khrims-rgyal-po. The eldest of the three sons was called gTsong-tor-shes-rab who had seven sons.¹ The fifth of the seven sons was called dGe-skyabs. dGe-skyabs had two sons, the elder one was dGe-mthong who has seen the *maṅḍala* after having practiced it.²

dGe-mthong’s only son ’Khon-sTon-bal-po practiced at Yang-dag and Phur-pa and obtained the accomplishments of rDo-rje-phur-pa. ’Khon-ston-bal-po had two sons, the elder one, namely Shākya-blo-gros had a son named ’Khon-roḡ Shes-rab-tshul-khrims who obtained the accomplishments of the rDo-rje-phur-pa. Until ’Khon-roḡ Shes-rab-tshul-khrims, the members of ’Khon family successively made Yang-dag and Phur-pa the foundation of their personal practice and achieved the requisite accomplishments.³ Moreover, all the Tantric practitioners in the ’Khon family became adepts of Yang-dag and Phur-pa, down to ’Khon-roḡ Shes-rab-tshul-khrims.⁴

’Khon-roḡ Shes-rab-tshul-khrims asked his younger brother ’Khon dKon-mchog-rgyal-po (1034–1102) to give up the rNying-ma teachings, to bury their related scriptures, *stupas*, Tantric implements and go learn new Tantric scriptures from ’Broḡ-mi-lo-tṣā-ba. ’Khon-roḡ buried them as treasures but unwholesome signs appeared. Therefore, ’Khon-roḡ unearthed a brief cycle of visualization of Phur-pa (*phur pa’i mngon rtogs*), one text of Yang-dag, one text about Torma rituals to guardian spirits (*bsrung ma’i gtor chog*), two pairs of rosewood Phur-pa (*seng ldeng phur pa*), and cycles of *sādhana*s which were personally revealed to him by dKar-mo-nyi-zla. He then gave them to ’Khon dKon-mchog-rgyal-po.⁵

¹ The lineage from Shes-rab-yan-tan to gTsong-tor-shes-rab is not always in consistent. In some sources, gTsong-tor-she-rab is taken as the son of Shes-rab-yan-tan, see the *Phur pa lo rgyus* (§18, p. 307). In the *mKhas pa’i mgul rgyan* (p. 207.9–10) and *Sa skya gdung rabs* (pp. 14.21–15.3) between Shes-rab-yan-tan and gTsong-tor-shes-rab there were two generations, namely Yon-tan-’byung-gnas and Tshul-khrims-rgyal-po, which means gTsong-tor-shes-rab was the great grandson of Shes-rab-yan-tan.

² See the *mKhas pa’i mgul rgyan* (p. 207.11–12).

³ See the *rGya bod yig tshang* (A: 309.11–312.3; B: p. 162.3–163.15), also see SMITH 2001: 105–106. Note “until ’Khon-roḡ Shes-rab-tshul-khrims” is based on A, which reads “*de yan chad*” while in B it reads “*de man chad*” that is the opposite way. Cf. *Sa skya gdung rabs* (p. 15.16–20): *de ltar shes rab tshul khrims yan rnam kyis...yang dag dang phur pa la thugs dam gyi mthil mdzad pas grub pa brnyes* |. Also see the *Phur pa lo rgyus* (§18, p. 307): *’di yan chad du phur pa’i grub pa thob pa sha stag byon no* ||.

⁴ See the *mKhas pa’i mgul rgyan* (p. 207.11–14): *’di la sras gnyis las gcen ’khon roḡ shes rab tshul khrims ’di yan gyis yang phur sogs la mnga brnyes pa’i sngags ’chang sha stag yin la* |; *Gu bkra’i chos ’byung* (p. 337.23–24): *de yang ’khon roḡ shes rab tshul khrims yan chad rdo rje phur pa’i grub thog sha stag yin te* |.

⁵ See the *Phur pa lo rgyus* (§18, p. 308). For two similar stories, see the *rGya bod yig tshang* (A: pp. 312.16–313.9; B: p. 164.6–16, for the translation, see SMITH 2001: 107) and *Thu’u bkwan grub mtha’* (p. 177.3–14, for the translation, see LHUNDUB SOPA 2009: 170.) The treasures ’Khon-roḡ Shes-rab-tshul-khrims revealed are different in these texts. In the *rGya bod yig tshang*, the treasures are texts on rDo-rje-phur-pa teachings, texts

In the *Sa skya gdung rabs*, the narrative is slightly different. Following his brother's suggestion, dKon-mchog-rgyal-po attempted to bury the statues, *stupas* and scriptures, but since the protectors of Yang-dag and Phur-pa were too strong, he could not bury them. Thus his descendants practiced Yang-dag and Phur-pa. They made offerings to the protector dKar-mo-nyi-zla-lcam-sring on regular occasions.¹

Besides, Kong-sprul introduces the Phur-pa-'khon-lugs very briefly: 'Khon Klu'i-dbang-po got the doctrines of Yang-dag and Phur-pa from Padmasambhava. Then they were uninterruptedly transmitted to 'Khon dKon-mchog-rgyal-po, who thought the teachings are not going to benefit sentient beings then decided to bury them. This made the protecting deities angry and he has to dig them out. Therefore, the teachings of Yang-dag and Phur-pa were able to be transmitted to the five Sa-skya patriarchs even until nowadays.²

6.1.2 The rDo-rje-phur-pa Transmission of the Five Patriarchs

It is not easy to find detailed records on the five patriarchs' reception and transmission of rDo-rje-phur-pa. Some brief records state, subsequent to dKon-mchog-rgyal-po, the Phur-pa teachings were transmitted through the five patriarchs.³ dPa'-bo gTsug-lag-'phreng-ba states that Sa-skyapa treated Phur-pa as the main deity in the oral transmission.⁴ Gu-ru-bkra-shis also emphasised that although subsequent to dKon-mchog-rgyal-po, the Sa-skyapa school turned to the new-translation tradition, dKon-mchog-rgyal-po still transmitted Phur-pa and Yang-dag to brTse-ba-chen-po Sa-chen Kun-dga'-snying-po (1092–1158), whose sons bSod-nams-rtse-mo and Grag-spa-rgyal-mtshan composed some manuals on Phur-pa. Sa-paṅ

on tormas rituals, two pairs of Seng-ldeng-phur-pa-bco-lnga-pa and dKar-mo-nyi-zla manifested themselves to 'Khon-roḡ. In *Thu'u bkwan grub mtha'*, the treasures are texts on rDo-rje-phur-pa teachings and texts on the tormas rituals of the dKar-mo-nyi-zla brother and sister. The deity dKar-mo-nyi-zla-lcam-dral or dKar-mo-nyi-zla-lcam-sring is taken as the protector of the doctrines by Sa-skyapa school, see the *rGya bod yig tshang* (A: p. 312.3–4; B: p. 163.16–17) and SMITH 2001: 106. For a description of this kind of deity, see NEBESKY-WOJKOWITZ 1996: 87.

¹ See *Sa skya gdung rabs* (p.18.17–20).

² See the *Phur pa rtsa ba'i 'grel pa* (p. 51.2–6).

³ See the *Phur pa lo rgyus* (§18, p. 308): 'di'i sras sa skya pa chen po yin la | de nas rje btsun sku mched sa skya paṅdi ta | 'phags pa rin po che nas rim par brgyud nas ding sang gi bar du dar rgyas che la |, for translation see §18, p. 308.

⁴ *mKhas pa dga' ston* (p. 281.30–31): *dpal ldan sa skya pa na rim gyi yi dam gyi gtso bo phur pa bka' ma la mdzad pa sogs....*

translated the *Phur pa rtsa dum*,¹ Phags-pa revived the tradition of the initiation of liberation associated with “lower activities” and so forth. As a result of such activities the transmission of Yang-dag and Phur-pa flourished.²

In the *Phur pa sgrub thabs rnam bshad*, A-mes-zhabs mentions that Sa-chen Kundga'-snying-po composed the *Yang phur thun mong ba'i sgrub thabs* and *Las byang*. He also mentions that Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan wrote the *Phur pa'i tho yig*.³ Five texts related to rDo-rje-phur-pa composed by Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan can be found in the *Sa skya bka' 'bum*, which are the *rDo rje phur pa'i mngon par rtogs pa* (vol. 8, pp. 709–734), *Phur pa'i las byang* (vol. 8, pp. 734–768), *rDo rje phur pa'i sgrub skor* (vol. 8, pp. 769–776.3), *mChod gtor bsodus pa* (vol. 8, p. 776.3–782.1), and *rDo rje phur pa'i sgrub thabs* (vol. 8, pp. 782.2–800). One text written by 'Phags-pa titled *rDo rje phur pa'i gtor chog* is included in the *Sa skya bka' 'bum gsar rnyed* (vol. 3, pp. 725–730).

6.1.3 The rDo-rje-phur-pa Transmission subsequent to the Five Patriarchs

As stated by bDud-'joms-rin-po-che, Yang-dag and Phur-pa were both adopted as vital meditational deities of Sa-skya school. Their teachings were protected by Sa-skya masters, who revered them for their purity.⁴ There were numerous Sa-skya masters who are said to have received the Phur-pa teachings after the five patriarchs. Even today, rDo-rje-phur-pa is still practiced and transmitted in the Sa-skya school. What follows is a list of the Phur-pa transmission of several famous Sa-skya masters.

Bla-ma-dam-pa bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan (1312–1375) attained the signs of accomplishment through rDo-rje-phur-pa and composed a recension of it called *rDo rje phur pa'i yig cha*.⁵ dPa-ldan-tshul-khrims conferred the empowerment of rDo-rje-phur-pa and related

¹ For the record of Sa-pan's discovery of the sanskrit *Phur pa rtsa dum*, which is a section of the *Phur pa rtsa ba'i rgyud* in Shangs-sreg-zhing, and his translation of it, see the *Deb ther sgnon po* (p. 136.2–4), *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* (p. 272.23–24) and *Phur pa gleng gzhi* (p. 84.20–21). Shangs-sreg-zhing is a hermitage located in the Shangs valley, in g.Yas-ru in g.Tsang.

² See the *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung* (pp. 337.25–338): 'khon dkon mchog rgyal po nas gsar mar 'gyur mod | 'on kyang yang phur gnyis sras brtse ba chen po la gnang | de sras rtse mo dang | grags rgyal gyis kyang phur pa'i yig chag 'ga' yang mdzad | sa pan gyis phur pa rtsa dum bsgyur ba dang | chos rgyal 'phags pas smad las srol dbang gi rgyun gso ba sogs mdzad pas | slar je rgyas su yong ngo ||.

³ See the *Phur pa sgrub thabs rnam bshad* (p. .19–21). However none of these texts are included in the *Sa skya bka' 'bum*.

⁴ See the *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* (p. 611.8–13, for the translation, see DORJE & KAPSTEIN 2002: 922).

⁵ See the *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* (p. 611.13–14, for the translation, see DORJE & KAPSTEIN 2002: 922).

teachings, as well as the *Phur pa drag po'i rjes gnang*, to Ngor-chen Kun-dga'-bzang-po (1382–1456). Together with that, he also bestowed the permission (*rjes gnang*) of the special protectors of Phur-pa (*phur srung*), dKar-mo-nyi-zla and bDud-rgyal-thod-phreng-can (or sTong-gi-thod-phreng-ba).¹ Sangs-rgyas-rin-chen (1350–1431) bestowed the wrathful initiation (*drag po'i rjes gnang*) of Phur-pa-sa-lugs together with many other teachings in 1419.² Shākya-mchog-ldan (1428–1507) requested the empowerment of Phur-pa-sa-lugs from bDag-chen Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan (1444–1495), who was the twenty-first throne holder of the Sa-skyā school. The latter consented to give but the former did not happen to receive it.³

As pointed out by Heimbel, Ngor Monastery engaged in almost no rNying-ma practices with the exception of the late nineteenth-century abbot of Khang-gsar-bla-brang, who avidly practiced rDo-rje-phur-pa.⁴ When the twenty-fourth throne-holder of the Sa-skyā school, namely bSod-nam-dbang-po (1559–1621), visited Ngor monastery, the twelfth abbot of Ngor monastery namely dKon-mchog-dpal-ldan (1526–1590) bestowed him the teachings of Vajrāvāli and so on. In return, bSod-nam-dbang-po conferred the empowerment of rDo-rje-phur-pa and related *Drag po sgrol dbang* on the monastic community of Ngor.⁵

A-mes-zhabs (1597–1659) is a significant figure in the transmission of rDo-rje-phur-pa in the Sa-skyā-school. He composed many texts on rDo-rje-phur-pa such as *sādhana* commentaries and ritual dance manuals (*'cham dpe*), and so on.⁶ Among them the two commentaries on *sādhana* and exorcist rites (*gtor bzlog*) respectively are also included in an anthology called *'Khon lugs phur pa'i rnam bshad 'chams yig brjed byang*, which is reproduced from the manuscript copies of the ancient Sa-skyā xylographic prints.⁷

In his *thob yig* A-mes-zhabs provides two lineages regarding the empowerment of Vajrakumāra that have the same origin and were all descended to himself. The first lin-

¹ See the *Thob yig rgya mtsho* (267.5–269.2). For differences on the teachings that dPal-ldan-tshul-khrims conferred to Ngor-chen Kun-dga'-bzang-po, see HEIMBEL 2017: 151.

² See the *Deb ther sngon po* (p. 193.9–13, for the translation, see ROERICH 1995: 152).

³ See the *Shākya mchog ldan rnam thar* (p. 114.2): *phyis yang yang rdo rje phur pa sa skya pa'i lugs kyi dbang zbig gi gsol btab mdzad cing gnang ba zhal gyis bzhes kyang gsan pa zbig ma byung la* |.

⁴ See HEIMBEL 2017: 151–152

⁵ See HEIMBEL 2017: n. 444 on 152. This meeting is dated to 1587 by Heimbel.

⁶ These texts can be found in the *A mes zhabs gsung 'bum* (A: vol. 12, 13).

⁷ The original block prints are from Mustang in northern Nepal. Another text written by sNgags-'chang-chen-po Kun-dga'-rin-chen, titled *rDo rje phur bu dngos grub char 'bebs kyi 'chams kyi brjed byang sngags ba 'gyur thub* is also included in this anthology.

eage is related to the empowerment into the coloured sand *maṇḍala* of Vajrakumāra of the Sa-skyā school's male teachings (*rje btsun sa skyā pa'i yab chos lhad med rdo rje gzhon nu'i rdul tshon gyi dkyil 'khor cheng por dbang bka'*). The lineage goes as follows: Chos-ku Kun-tu-bzang-po, Longs-sku rDo-rje-sems-dpa', sPrul-sku Padma-'byung-gnas, 'Khon Klu'i-dbang-po, 'Khon rDo-rje-rin-chen, 'Khon Shes-rab-yon-tan, 'Khon rDo-rje-gtsug-tor, 'Khon dGe-skyabs, 'Khon dGe-mthong, 'Khon-ston Bal-po, 'Khon Shākya-blo-gros, 'Khon Shes-rab-tshul-khrims, 'Khon dKon-mchog-rgyal-po, Bla-ma Sa-skyā-pa-chen-po, Slob-dpon bSod-nams-rtse-mo, rJe-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, Chos-rje Sa-paṅ, Chos-rgyal 'Phags-pa, Kha-'ub-pa 'Od-lan-dpal, Bu-lung-pa Kun-dga'-rdo-rje, Lo-tsā-ba mChog-lan-legs-pa'i-blo-gros, dGa'-ldan-pa Kun-bsod, Gan-pa Rin-rgyal (b. 12 C), Bla-ma-dam-pa bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan (1312–1375), Bla-chen-kun-rgyal, Theg-chen-kun-bras, 'Jam-dbyangs Nam-mkha'-rgyal-mtshan, bDag-chen rGya-dkar Shes-rab-rgyal-mtshan, Sa-lo 'Jam-pa'i-rdo-rje (1485–1533, 22nd Sa-skyā throne holder), sNgags-'chang Chos-kyi-rgyal-po (1563–1617, 25 Sa-skyā throne holder), Grub-mchog bSod-nams-dbang-po, and down to A-mes-zhabs Ngag-dbang-kun-dga'-bsod-nams.

From Bla-ma-dam-pa listed above, the lineage went through Bla-ma dPal-lan-tshul-khrims (1333–1399), rDo-rje-'chang Kun-dga'-bzang-po (i. e. Ngor-chen, 1382–1456), Paṇḍita Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (1486–?), Chos-rje Glo-bo-mkhan-chen bSod-nams-lhun-grub (1456/1441–1532/1525), Sa-lo 'Jam-pa'i-rdo-rje, and down to A-mes-zhabs. Also from Sa-paṅ listed above, the lineage went through Glo-bo-lo-tsā-ba, 'Phags-pa, dGa'-ldan-pa Kun-bsod then is the same as the first lineage.¹

The second lineage is related to the empowerment into the higher activities of accomplishing enlightenment of the coloured sand *maṇḍala* of Vajrakumāra (*rdo rje gzhon nu'i rdul tshon gyi dkyil 'khor chen por stod las byang chub sgrub pa'i dbang bskur ba*). A-mes-zhabs uses the secret names of these masters but also provides their common names in the annotation. For convenience, only their common names will be used and are as follows.

The lineage started from dPal-chos-sku Kun-tu-bzang-po and was then transmitted through Longs-sku rDo-rje-sems-dpa', sPrul-sku Padma-'byung-gnas, 'Khon Klu'i-dbang-po, rDo-rje-rin-chen, Shes-rab-yon-tan, rDo-rje-gtsug-tor, dGe-skyabs, dGe-mthong, Bal-po, Shākya-blo-gros, Shes-rab-tshul-khrims, dKon-mchog-rgyal-po, Sa-skyā-pa-chen-po, Kun-dga'-snying-po, Slob-dpon bSod-nams-rtse-mo, rJe-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, Sa-

¹ For the above lineage, see the *A mes zhabs thob yig* (A) (pp. 564.1–565.2).

skya-panḍita Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzang-po, 'Phags-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzang-po, Kha'u-pa 'Od-ldan-dpal, Bu-lung-ba Kun-rdo-rje, Lo-tsā-ba mChog-ldan-legs-blo, dGa'-ldan-pa Kun-dga'-bsod-nams, Gan-pa Rin-chen-rgyal-mtshan, Bla-ma-dam-pa bSod-nams-rgyal-mtshan dPal-bzang-po, Bla-ma dPal-ldan-tshul-khrims, rDo-rje-'chang Kun-dga'-bzang-po, Paṇḍita Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan, mKhan-chen bSod-nams-lhun-grub Legs-pa'i-'byung-gnas rGyal-mtshan dPal-bzang-po, Sa-skya-lo-tsā-ba 'Jam-pa'i-dbyangs (i.e. Sa-lo 'Jam-pa'i-rdo-rje), Ngag-dbang Kun-dga'-rin-chen bKra-shis-grags-pa rGyal-mtshan-dpal-bzang-po (1517–1584, 23rd Sa-skya throne holder), sNgags-'chang-chen-po Grags-pa-blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan dPal-bzang-po, Ta-ma-ma Shākya U-sa-ka Paṇḍita Wa-gindra Ā-nanda Uṇya Kirti Dhā-dza Shrī-bhadra,¹ and down to A-mes-zhabs.

From Bla-ma-dam-pa the lineage was also transmitted through Bla-ma-chen-po Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan, Theg-chen-chos-kyi-rgyal-po Kun-dga'-bkra-shis-rgyal-mtshan dPal-bzang-po, 'Jam-dbyangs Nam-mkha'-rgyal-mtshan dPal-bzang-po, 'Khor-lo'i-mgon-po Shes-rab-rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzang-po, Sa-skya-lo-tsā-ba, and then resumes as above. From rJe-btsun-pa the lineage was also transmitted through Gan-pa sTon-dar, Gan-pa Chos-rgyal, Gan-pa dBang-rin, Gan-pa Rin-rgyal, Chos-rje Bla-ma-dam-pa then it resumes as above. From Gan-pa-ston, it was transmitted through Gan-pa Chos-rgyal, Gan-pa Chos-rin, Gan-pa Rin-rgyal, then it resumes as above. From 'Khon-ston dKon-mchog-rgyal-po it was transmitted from Glo-bo rDo-rje-srin-po, Glo-bo rDo-rje-'dzin, Glo-bo-lo-tsā-ba Shes-rab-rin-chen, and to Bla-chen-'phags-pa, and then resumes as above.²

In addition to the above listed two major lineages, he also obtained the *Phur pa rtsa 'dum gyi rgyud* translated by Sa-pan, *dKyil mchog las rim* written by Padmasambhava and translated by gNyags Jñānakumāra, *sGrub thabs bklags pas don grub*, *sGrub thabs* written pa Sa-chen, and *Phur pa'i sgrub thabs tshigs bcad ma* written by rJe-btsun Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan.³

In the *Phur pa sgrub thabs rnam bshad*, A-mes-zhabs also listed the following texts on the practice of rDo-rje-phur-pa written by Sa-skya masters: *sGrub thabs rgyas 'bring bsdus*

¹ Here the common name is not provided only the secret name. Although it is a sanskrit name, I still use the Wylie convention to transliterate the Tibetan. It still needs some study to identify this person.

² See the *A mes zhabs thob yig* (B) (pp. 624.4–626.4). It is noteworthy that BDRC lists two entries regarding the two lineages of the empowerment of Vajrakumāra corresponding to the two lineages listed above. Although none of them is identical to the lineage I listed, most of the lineage holders are quite consistent with ones above, see BDRC-L1RKL41 and BDRC-L1RKL361.

³ See the *A mes zhabs thob yig* (p. 565.2–3).

gsum and *dKyil 'khor gyi cho ga rtogs par sla ba sogs* by Bla-ma-dam-pa bSos-nams-rgyal-mtshan (1312–1375); *sGrub thabs* and *Phur pa lugs srol mang po'i man ngag zab bsdu nyer mkho rnams phyogs gcig tu bsgrigs par mdzad pa'i yig cha* by bDag-chen-rgya-gar-ba Shes-rab-rgyal-mtshan (1436–1494); *sGrub thabs bsnyen sgrub gsal byed, dKyil chog rin chen do shal* and *Rin chen rtse'i gnyer pa'i dris lan* by Sa-skya-lo-tsā-ba 'Jam-pa'i-dbangs Kun-dga'-bsod-nams (1485–1533); *sGrub thabs bsnyen sgrub gsal byed kyi mchan bu yid bzhin gyi nor bu, dKyil 'khor gyi cho ga yid 'ongs blo gros kha 'byed, sTod las dang smad las kyi dbang dang rjes gang gi yig cha* and *sTong ra chos rje kun dga' legs grub kyi dris lan* by Sa-skya-pa sNgags-'chang Kun-dga'-rin-chen (1517–1584); *sGrub thabs kyi yi ge chung ngu* by 'Jam-dbyangs bSod-nams-dbang-po (1559–1621); *sGrub thabs 'bring po gzhan phan bdud rtsi'i chu rgyun* by Sa-skya-pa sNgags-'chang Grags-pa-blo-gros (1563–1617).²

According to Jackson the famous Sa-skya master sDe-gzhungs-rin-po-che (1906–1987) once requested Ngag-dbang-kun-dga'-rin-chen (1902–1950) of sGrol-ma-pho-brang to give the rDo-rje-phur-pa initiation of 'Khon tradition and he received the fullest form in 1949. In the same time, Ngag-dbang-kun-dga'-rin-chen also bestowed the Phur-pa empowerment of the “upper activity” and “lower activity.” Then sDe-gzhungs-rin-po-che received from him an exposition of the rDo-rje-phur-pa commentary written by A-mes-zhab namely *Phur pa'i stod smad rnam bshad* and *Phur chung rnam bshad bdud rtsi snying thig*.³

Jackson also mentions that when sDe-gzhung-rin-po-che transmitted it to the Forty First Sa-skya throne holder Ngag-dbang-kun-dga' (1945–), he was the last known possessor of the text-transmission for the *Phur pa sgrub thabs rnam bshad* of A-mes-zhabs.⁴ Ngag-dbang Kun-dga' also received the initiations on Phur-pa-'khon-lugs at the age of four from his father. He also learned the oral transmission of the Phur-pa and practiced it according to the 'Khon tradition. From the age of ten, he taught the empowerments and transmission of rDo-rje-phur-pa based on the 'Khon tradition. He also gave the initiation of rDo-rje-phur-pa of the 'Khon tradition at Sa-ngor-chos-tshogs Center in Sikkim in 1999.⁵

¹ It is possible that A-mes-zhabs' *rDo rje phur pa'i dkyil chog yid 'ong blo gros kha 'byed las rin chen do shal du zhal 'phangs pa rnams phyogs gcig tu bsdebs pa blo dman rnams kyis rtogs par sla ba yid kyi mun sel* in *A mes zhabs gsung 'bum* (A: vol. 13, pp. 52–113; B: vol. 9, pp. 65–232) is based on this text.

² See *Phur pa sgrub thabs rnam bshad* (p. 428.1–13). It is not sure whether these texts are still extant.

³ See JACKSON 2003: 163.

⁴ See *ibid.*: note. 628 on 627.

⁵ See YAMAMOTO 2006: 46–47 and 53.

6.1.4 rTse-lugs-phur-pa

This tradition of Phur-pa is related to the rTse-gdong monastery, also called rTse-gdong-chu-sde gSang-che-smra-ba'i-gling that is a famous Sa-skya monastery established by Nam-mkha'-bkra-shis dPal-bzang-po.¹ It is located in rNam-gling-rdzong in the north east of gZhis-ka-rtse.

There are not many texts related to the Phur-pa tradition in the rTse-gdong monastery, and only two texts regarding the chanting notations is included in the *rTse gdong dbyangs yig*.² Other fragmentary records about rTse-gdong-phur-pa can be found in the works of the Fifth Dalai Lama. For instance, in the biography of Nyang-ston Khrag-tshang-pa Blo-gros-mchog-gi-rdo-rje (1595–1371, hence forth Nyang-ston), one of the teachers of the Fifth Dalai Lama, Nyang-ston received the rTse-lugs-phur-pa teachings was supposed to be bestowed by the father and son that who were close to him, so Nyang-ston-khrag-tshang-pa received many rare types of teachings, such as the Phur-pa'i-las-byang-'prhin-las-rgya-mtsho. He also received from Gong-dkar-dkon-gnyer-bla-ma Bar-khang-pa and Chos-rje-'grel-lnga-pa the Phur-pa'i-rtsa-'chams.³

6.2 The rDo-rje-phur-pa Transmission in the bKa'-brgyud School

Not like the rNying-ma and Sa-skya school, the bKa'-brgyud does not have their own traditions of the rDo-rje-phur-pa cycle, there are still some masters who are recorded to receive them. In the following, I will present chronologically the obtainment and spread of the rDo-rje-phur-pa teachings by some bKa'-brgyud masters.

Gya-ba Gangs-pa, also known as Gangs-dkar Rin-chen-'od-zer (1175–1249) was a lineage holder of the Phur-pa-lha-nag tradition but was not content with the teachings, he went to visit the First Karma-pa Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa (1175–1249) during the latter's stay at Jo-mo-gangs. He received teachings, practiced there, and hence he came to be known as Gangs-dkar-

¹ The year of the establishment of rTse-gdong monastery is not consistent, 1429 and 1489 are both recorded in the *rTse gdong lo rgyus* (p. 32, 171)

² The two texts are titled with the *'Dir dpal chen rdo rje phur pa'i dbyangs yig dang rol debz gu ru drag dmar gyi dbyangs rol bcas* and *therDo rje phur pa'i dbyangs yig tshangs pa'i dbyangs kyi nga ro 'dod gu'i char 'bebs*.

³ See the *Nyang ston rnam thar* (p. 223,3–6).

ba.¹

Grub-thob O-rgyan-pa (1229/30–1309) received the teachings of Ma-mo and Phur-pa when he was young, which he also granted to the Third Karma-pa Rang-byung-rdo-rje (1284–1339) when the latter was five years old.² The Third Karma-pa Rang-byung-rdo-rje also received the teachings of Phur-pa-rtsa-thung and the root Tantric scripture of Phur-pa which are transmitted in the Kaḥ-thog tradition.³ In addition, he acquired the bKa'-brgyad *sādhana*s, including the complete empowerment of Phur-pa, from sNye-mdo-ba Kun-dga'-don-grub (d. 13–14 century).⁴

mKhas-btsun-'jag-chen rGyal-mtshan-'bum (1261–1334), a master of the Shangs-pa-bka'-brgyud school, is stated to have requested the *sādhana* of the empowerment of rDo-rje-phur-pa from Bla-ma-mang-mkhar-ba Rin-chen-dgon.⁵ rGyal-ba-g.yung, also known as g.Yung-ston-rdo-rje-dpal (1284–1365), the teacher of the Fourth Karma-pa Rol-pa'i-rdo-rje (1340–1383), received the Phur-pa teachings in which the root Tantric scripture is retained. He also received the initiation of the uninterrupted lineage of having the vision of Phur-pa-lha-nag-ma.⁶

Another well known bKa'-brgyud master who has received and taught the rDo-rje-phur-pa teachings is the famous 'Gos-lo-tsā-ba gZhon-nu-dpal (1392–1481). He was a great scholar who studied and taught numerous teachings belonging to the various traditions, which is reflected in his *Deb ther sngon po* and his biography. He received many rNying-ma teachings, such as those belonging to the mDo-rgyud-sems-gsum scheme. In particular, he also received and transmitted the rDo-rje-phur-pa teachings of the rNying-ma and Sa-skya schools. For instance, in his biography he is said to have received the teachings of Phur-pa-lha-nag and the *Phur pa rtsa thung gi bshad 'bum rdo rje don gsal rnam dag spar khab kyi 'grel*

¹ See the *bKa' brgyud gser phreng* (vol. 1, pp. 125.1–3).

² See the *Deb ther sngon po* (p. 817.10–12 and 580.17–19, for the translation, see ROERICH 1995: 697–698 and 489). The *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* (p. 464.11) also records that O-rgyan-pa understood all the teachings of his ancestor including Ma-mo and Phur-pa. What can be known from the *bKa' brgyud gser phreng* (p. 249.1) is that the Third Karma-pa received many teachings including Phur-pa and Ma-mo from O-rgyan-pa before seven, which is in consistent with the records in the *Deb ther sngon po*.

³ See the *bKa' brgyud gser phreng* (vol. 1, p. 252.6–7 and 256.2–3).

⁴ See the *bKa' brgyud gser phreng* (vol. 1, p. 256.2–3).

⁵ See the *Shangs pa bla rabs rnam thar* (p. 318.8). For a short biography of mKhas-btsun-'jag-chen rGyal-mtshan-'bum, see the *Deb ther sngon po* (p. 875, for the translation, see ROERICH 1995: 748–749).

⁶ See the *bKa' brgyud gser phreng* (vol. 1, p. 322.22 and 342.2–3).

ba, written by dPal-ldan-rdo-rje-rgyal-mtshan from rDo-rje-'dzin-pa bKra-shis-bzang-po.¹

Sangs-rgyas-rin-chen-dpal-bzang-po, the son of rTa-nag-sgol-ma-ba bSam-'grub-rdo-rje, granted 'Gos-lo gZhon-nu-dpal the empowerment of the rDo-rje-phur-pa tradition.² 'Gos-lo also learned the Phur-pa-'khon-lugs from sGrol-chen Sangs-rgyas-rin-chen.³ From bKra-shis-rgya-mtsho, a disciple of Zhang-mkhar-ba bSod-nams-bzang-po, 'Gos-lo gZhon-nu-dpal received the teachings of Phur-pa-lha-nag.⁴ The Fourth Zhwa-dmar-pa Chos-grags-ye-shes (1453–1524) received from 'Gos gZhon-nu-dpal the initiation of Phur-pa according to the Sa-skya tradition.⁵

Karma-phrin-las Phyogs-las-rnam-rgyal (1456–1539), the master of the Dwags-po-bka'-brgyud school, requested the teachings of Phur-pa from the throne holder of the Gangs-dkar-rdo-rje-gdan monastery.⁶ As for tradition of the Zab-bdun-phur-pa cycle revealed by mChog-gyur bDe-chen-gling-pa, it was practiced in the mTshur-phu monastery and is still nowadays practiced in the Karma-bka'-brgyud monastery in Sikkim.⁷ The Fifteenth Karma-pa mKha'-khyab-rdo-rje(1870/1–1921/2) wrote five texts on rDo-rje-phur-pa in accordance with the cycle of the Phur-pa-yang-gsang-bcud-dril.⁸

¹ See the 'Gos lo'i rnam thar (p. 45.2–3): *de khong la phur pa lha nag dang | gsang ldan gyi dbag | phur pa rtsa thung gi bshad 'bum rdo rje don gsal rnam dag spar khab kyi 'grel ba dpal ldan rdo rje rgyal mtshan gyi mdzad pa rnam sgan |.*

² See *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* (p. 329.16–18). In the translation by Dorje and Kapstein the empowerment of Phur-pa is restricted to that of 'Khon-lugs (*phur pa 'khon lugs kyi dbang drag po rjes gnang dang bcas pa*), see DORJE & KAPSTEIN 2002: 673. The reason for the difference probably lies in the usage of different Tibetan texts.

³ See the *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* (p. 331.12, for the translation, see DORJE & KAPSTEIN 2002: 674.

⁴ *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* (p.348.9–12), also see DORJE & KAPSTEIN 2002: 687.

⁵ See *ibid.* (p. 172.14–15): *sa lugs kyi rdo rje phur pa'i dbang | drag po srol dbang dang bcas pa gnang ba'i phyags phyir bdag gi zhus pa'i sta gon gyi dgong mo |.* For a similar narrative, see the *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* (pp. 333.19–334.2, for the translation, see DORJE & KAPSTEIN 2002: 676) where the Phur-pa teachings are not specified to be of the Sa-skya tradition.

⁶ See the *bKa' brgyud gser phreng* (vol. 1, p. 637.12): *gangs dkar rdo rje gdan pa las phur dang gur zhal skor sogs dang |...rnam zhus |.* Gangs-dkar-rdo-rje-gdan, also called Gong-dkar-chos-sde, is a Sa-skya monastery founded in 1447 by Kun-dga'-rnam-rgyal (1432–1496). It is located in the Gong-dkar county, south of Lhasa.

⁷ See DOCTOR 2005: n. 328 on 222. For an introduction to the Zab-dun-phur-pa cycle, see 5.2.12, p. 118.

⁸ For more information, see p. 121.

6.3 The rDo-rje-phur-pa Transmission in the dGe-lugs School

Although the practices of rDo-rje-phur-pa in the dGe-lugs School is not as popular as that in the rNying-ma and Sa-skya school, there were a few important masters, who received the teachings of rDo-rje-phur-pa, such as 'Jam-dbyangs-chos-rje bKra-shis-dpal-ldan (1397–1449) and the Fifth Dalai Lama. The following will list some famous dGe-lugs scholars who are said to have practice the rDo-rje-phur-pa.

The founder of the Se-ra Monastery, Byams-chen-chos-rje Shākya-ye-shes (1354–1435), once made a *sādhana* ritual of rDo-rje-phur-pa, following which the Phur-pa blazed in the sky.¹ There is still a Phur-pa offered in Se-ra Byes-grwa-tshang and every year, on the twenty-seventh day of the twelfth month of the Tibetan calendar there is a festival, during which the Phur-pa in Bye-grwa-tshang is displayed. This festival already existed during the time of the Fifth Dalai Lama and was celebrated on the same day.² The reliquary where the Phur-pa is kept shows the figures of Padmasambhava, 'Dar-phyar-ru-ba, and Sa-skyapaṇḍita.³ The Phur-pa on display is said to be owned originally by 'Dar-phyar-ru-ba, who met Padmasambhava in person and went to practice in Yer-pa following the latter's instruction. There Padmasambhava taught him the Phur-pa teachings and he even discovered a Phur-pa which was among the Phur-pa treasures concealed by Padmasambhava with the cycle of rTa-mgrin. He later helped Sa-skyapaṇḍita defeat the extremist 'Phrog-byed-dga'-bo by the power of Phur-pa.⁴

'Jam-dbyangs-chos-rje bKra-shis-dpal-ldan (1397–1449), the founder of the 'Bras-spungs monastery, performed the rDo-rje-phur-pa practices and had signs of accomplishment.⁵ Zur-chen Chos-dbyings-rang-grol (1604–1669) bestowed upon the Fifth Dalai Lama the guidance about the three traditions of Phur-pa (*phur pa lugs gsum*) along with the three tradition of the eight Sādhana (*bka' brgyad lugs gsum*).⁶ the Fifth Dalai Lama *gSan yig* records many Phur-pa traditions he received, for instance, Phur-pa-pad-ma-rgyal-po-lugs, Phur-pa-sna-nam-lugs, Phur-pa-lcam-lugs, Phur-pa-stod-lugs, Phur-pa-gsang-sgrub-

¹ See the *Ser byes chos 'byung* (vol. 1, p. 199.4–5).

² For an introduction to the Phur-pa tradition in Se-ra Byes-grwa-tshang, see the *Tsong kha pa'i rnam thar* (p. 459.1–460.8). For two Tibetan sources introducing this festival, see MARTIN 1997: 204.

³ See DORJE & KAPSTEIN 2002: note. 916.

⁴ See the *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* (p. 382.7–384.9, for the translation, see DORJE & KAPSTEIN 2002: 714–716).

⁵ See the *Tsong kha pa'i rnam thar* (p. 447.10–12).

⁶ See the *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* (pp. 343.4–5, for the translation, see DORJE & KAPSTEIN 2002: 683).

kyi-rgyud-lugs, and Phur-pa-sa-lugs. He also received the *Phur pa bcu gnyis*.¹ The Fifth Dalai Lama had several visions of the Phur-pa deity in his lifetime and in 1652 he performed a ritual of Phur-pa in dGa'-ldan-pho-brang.² He even prepared an elaborate choreography for the entire rDo-rje-phur-pa *sādhana*.³

6.4 The rDo-rje-phur-pa Transmission in the Bon Tradition

The worship of Phur-pa does not only exist in Tibetan Buddhism but also in the Bon tradition. Phur-pa is treated as one of the five wrathful divinities in the Bon pantheon.⁴ The origin and the diverse transmission of Phur-pa in the Bon tradition is very complicated and far beyond the scope of the present study, as such I will not go into many details. Nevertheless, due to its significance and popularity, a brief introduction is appropriate. So far, the *Ka ba nag po man ngag rtsa ba'i rgyud* is considered to be the earliest Phur-pa Tantric scripture, discovered by Khu-tsha-zla-'od in the eleventh century according to the Bon tradition whereas Buddhist sources put its discovery in the twelfth century.⁵

Karmay also suggests that the Bon-po-phur-pa tradition was taken from Buddhism, which was first introduced by Khu-tsha-zla-'od.⁶ Nowadays, based on a study by Jardins, there exists at least nine Phur-pa transmissions in the contemporary Bon tradition.⁷ The nine transmissions are: (1) Phur-pa-rgyud-dgu-'grel-bcu transmitted by sTag-la-me-'bar, (2) Phur-pa-nag-po discovered by Khu-tsha-zla-'od.⁸ (3) sNyan-rgyud-phur-pa associated with dBal-'bar-stag-slag-can, also known as bsTan-'dzin-dbang-rgyal, (4) sTag-la-phur-shams-thabs discovered by Kun-grol-grags-pa, (5) bDe-gling-phur-pa discovered by bDe-chen-gling-pa (1833–1893).⁹

¹ See the *Gangā'i chu rgyun* (vol. 4, pp. 432–437). It will be very interesting to make a study on different Phur-pa traditions the Fifth Dalai Lama has received. For time being, only some names of these traditions are provided.

² For more details, see KARMAY 1988: 33, 66, and 67.

³ For the text and translation of this choreography, see NEBESKY-WOJKOWITZ 1976.

⁴ See KARMAY 1998e: 134

⁵ See KARMAY 1998e: 136 and CANTWELL & MAYER 2013: 37. Khu-tsha-zla-'od is not only a treasure revealer of Bon tradition but also Buddhism. For a discussion on the date of Khu-tsha-zla-'od, see KAPSTEIN 2009: 107. For an introduction to him, see CANTWELL & MAYER 2010: 88–91 and CANTWELL & MAYER 2013: 41–44. For a comparison of *Ka ba nag po* and *Phur pa mya ngan las 'das pa'i rgyud*, see CANTWELL & MAYER 2013: 37.

⁶ See KARMAY 1998e: 136.

⁷ See JARDINS 2012: 170–173 for the following list.

⁸ For a study of the Phur-pa-nag-po transmission of the Bon tradition, see JARDINS 2012.

⁹ bDe-chen-gling-pa discovered, transmitted and composed many works related to the cycle of dBal-phur-nag-

(6) sKu-gsum-drag-phur discovered by gSang-sngags-gling-pa, (7) gDugs-phur or Dran-pa-drag-phur received by gTer-chen-bya-btan Tshe-dbang-'gyur-med, (8) dGe-khod-phur-pa. (9) Me-ri-phur. The first three belong to the Old Treasure Transmission (*gter snying*) and the remaining six belong to the New Treasure Transmission (*gter gsar*).

6.5 Other schools

Apart from the rDo-rje-phur-pa transmissions in the rNying-ma, Sa-skya, bKa'-brgyud, dGe-lugs schools and Bon tradition, there are also some masters belonging to small sects who are also said to have received and taught the teachings of Phur-pa. Gra-pa-mngon-shes (1012–1090), who is known for discovering the treasures related to four medical Tantric scriptures (*rgyud bzhi*), received the a scripture about the Phur-pa cycle, which was of four arrow-lengths before the age of nine.¹ g.Yu-thog-gsar-ma Yon-tan-mgon-po (1126–1202), who was an important figure in the transmission of the four medial Tantric scriptures, is said to have received rDo-rje-phur-pa teachings.² The Kashmiri scholar Śākyaśrībhadrā (1127–1225), also known as Kha-che-pan-chen, received the Phur-pa teachings from Padmasambhava himself.³

6.5.1 Phur-pa-ro-g-lugs

The most well-known tradition outside the major schools is probably the Phur-pa-ro-g-lugs, which is named after the Rog family and mainly transmitted within the Zhi-byed school. This tradition originated from Rog Shes-rab-bla-ma (1090–1173), but started to be known as Phur-pa-ro-g-lugs from the time of Dus-gusm-mkhyen-pa (1252–1322). The *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung* devotes some passages to the transmission of the Phur-pa-ro-g-lugs and the *Deb ther sngon po* provides biographies about some important members of the Zhi-byed-school. It can be noted that many narratives in the *Gur bkra'i chos 'byung* is very similar to those in the *Deb ther sngon po*. Therefore, it is possible that Gu-ru-bkra-shis choose some accounts related to Phur-pa from the *Deb ther mngon po* and rearranged them. The following introduction to

po. For these texts and the lineages of dBal-phur-nag-po, see ACHARD 2004.

¹ See the *mKhas pa dga'ston* (p. 325.26–27).

² See the *g.Yu thog gsar ma'i rnam thar* (p. 332).

³ See the *mKhas pa'i dga'ston* (p. 280.30–31.) and *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* (p. 610.2–3, for the translation, see DORJE & KAPSTEIN 2002: 921.

the transmission of the Phur-pa-rogs-lugs are mainly based on the two works.

The first important figure in the Phur-pa-rogs-lugs is Rog Shes-rab-bla-ma, who was the twenty-fourth generation of Rog-ban Nam-mkha'-ye-shes and the disciple of Gu-rub-yang-dag and dPal lHa-ri-ba. He practised meditation on rDo-rje-phur-pa, and was successful in the rite of reanimating the corpse (*bam sgrub*). He received the rDo-rje-phur-pa system of rTse-sgang-pa and sNye-mdo-ba from Gu-rub-yang-dag and it was transmitted through his son bKra-shis-grag-pa and got widespread among his descendants.¹ The *Nor bu'i phreng ba* (p. 371.5) also records that Shes-rab-bla-ma received the Phur-pa-rogs-lugs from Gu-rub-yang-dag and transmitted it to his son Rog bKra-shis-grags-pa (1138–1186), who then gave it to his sons and it flourished among them.² Guru bKra-shis briefly mentions that Rog Shes-rab-bla-ma, as the twenty-fourth generation of Rog-ban Nam-mkha'-ye-shes, had accomplished Phur-pa.³

Rog Shes-rab-bla-ma's son, bKra-shis-grags-pa (1138–1186), had the ability of propitiating the rDo-rje-phur-pa deities at a very young age. Three sons were born to him. The eldest one, Shes-rab-'od (1166–1244), practiced Phur-pa between the age of ten and thirteen and had the vision of the entire Phur-pa image. He said: "I have completed the propitiation of the rDo-rje-phur-pa deities, therefore my body is like a solid piece of iron. Even if I am surrounded by one thousand demons, they cannot hurt my retainers let alone myself."⁴ He also obtained the teachings of Phur-pa-skyi-lugs from Lang-ston-jo-pad.⁵

The middle brother, Chos-rje Zhig-po (1171–1245), was trained by Rog-ston-brtsan-po and was learned in the *mantras* from the earlier translation.⁶ He occupied the chair of the abbot of Glang-'khor monastery from the age of forty until his death.⁷ The youngest brother, mKhas-pa sMra-ba'i-seng-ge (1186–1247) is not mentioned in the *Gur bkra'i chos*

¹ See the *Deb ther sngon po* (p. 1093.3–7 and 197.17–8, for the translation, see ROERICH 1995: 939 and 156).

² See the *Nor bu'i phreng ba* (p. 371.5–6).

³ See the *Gur bkra'i chos 'byung* (p. 339.20–22).

⁴ See the *Deb ther sngon po* (p. 1093.8–12 and pp. 1093.18–1094.6, for the translation, see ROERICH 1995: 939–940). For some similar narratives, see the *Gur bkra'i chos 'byung* (p. 340.1–4) and *Pha dam pa'i rnam thar* (p. 213.3–6).

⁵ See the *Deb ther sngon po* (pp. 1095.7–8, for the translation, see ROERICH 1995: 941. For a detailed biography of him, see the *Deb ther sngon po* (pp. 1093.13–1103.4, for the translation, see ROERICH 1995: 939–949).

⁶ See the *Gur bkra'i chos 'byung* (p. 340.12).

⁷ See the *Deb ther sngon po* (p. 1108.5, for the translation, see ROERICH 1995: 954). For a biography about him, see the *Deb ther sngon po* (pp. 1103.4–1109.7, for the translation, see ROERICH 1995: 949–955). The Glang-'khor monastery, founded by Pha-dam-pa Sang-rgyas in 1097, is located in the west of Ding-ri-rdzong.

'byung. There is a short biography about him in the *Deb ther sngon po*, which does not mention his connections to Phur-pa.¹

According to the *Deb ther sngon po*, the three brothers had countless disciples, but the two who continued the family lineage were sNye-mdo-ba Thams-cad-mkhyen-pa (1216–1277) and 'Khrul-zhig-rin-po-che (1223–1303), although the latter was not from the Rog family.² sNye-mdo-ba Thams-cad-mkhyen-pa, also known as bSod-nams-dpal, was the eldest son of sMra-ba'i-seng-ge was (1216–1277), also known as bSod-nams-dpal. The *Deb ther sngon po* does not have any record of his learning and practices on Phur-pa, but there is a text written by him included in the *Kaḥ thog bka' ma*.³ His eldest son Kun-dga'-bzang-po (1258–1316) had a clear vision of rDo-rje-phur-pa at the age of fourteen and fifteen when he was in a retreat.⁴

'Khrul-zhig-rin-po-che, also known as Darma Seng-ge, was the son of bDe-gshegs-chen-po-shes-rab-'od and Byang-chub-sgron. His father bestowed upon him the higher activities of Phur-pa. He also studied the rituals of poisoned black Phur-pa (*dug phur nag po*) and became proficient in the system of Phur-pa.⁵

Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa (1252–1322) was the third son of 'Khrul-zhig-rin-po-che and Jo-'bu-rgyan. As has been stated above, it was from his time that this Phur-pa tradition started to be called Rog-lugs.⁶ Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa's grandson Rin-po-che Chos-rgyal-ba (1340–1409), mastered the rDo-rje-phur-pa teachings by heart from the age of nine. He also studied

¹ See the *Deb ther sngon po* (p. 1109.18–1113.19, for the translation, see ROERICH 1995: 955–958). His primary name was brTson-grus-seng-ge and his secret name was 'Jigs-med-rtsal. However, he probably had another name, 'Dag-'byar-pa, because the *Deb ther sngon po* (p. 1103.4–1109.17, for the translation, see ROERICH 1995: 955) states that after Chos rje Zhig-po passed away in 1245, dBon-po Shes-rab-dbang-pa became the abbot of the Glang-'khor monastery, but passed away within one year. Then Chos-rje Zhig-po's younger brother, 'Dag-'byar-pa was nominated as the abbot, but passed away within one year. This fits the date of sMra-ba'i-seng-ge.

² See the *Deb ther sngon po* (p. 1113.16–19). For an almost identical narrative, see the *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung* (p. 340.21–23). Whether sNye-md-ba Thams-cad-mkhyen-pa is the same person with sNye-mdo-ba, who was also related to the Phur-pa teachings, or not, see 4.9, p. 73.

³ The text, titled *dPal rdo rje phur pa'i ṅi ka nyi ma 'od zer* is not only included in the *Kaḥ thog bka' ma* (A, vol. 9, pp. 185–451; B, vol. 11, pp. 185–451; C, vol. 12, pp. 161–400), but also in the *dPal yul ba' ma* (vol. 13, pp. 183–451).

⁴ For sNye-mdo-ba's biography, see the *Deb ther sngon po* (1126.18–1128.18, for the translation, see ROERICH 1995: 970–972). For more information about Kun-dga'-bzang-po, see the *Deb ther sngon po* (1128.18–1130.19, for the translation, see ROERICH 1995: 972–974).

⁵ See the *Deb ther sngon po* (p. 1115.9 and 1115.13–14, for the translation, see ROERICH 1995: 960), *Gur bkra'i chos 'byung* (p. 341.2 and 341.5–6.). For more information about him, see the *Deb ther sngon po* (p. 1114.1–1119.5, for the translation, see ROERICH 1995: 958–963).

⁶ See the *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung* (p. 341.11–12) For a brief introduction to Dus-gsum-khyen-pa, see the *Deb ther sngon po* (p. 1119.12–1120.5, for the translation, see ROERICH 1995: 964).

the Phur-pa Tantric scripture together with its subdivisions (*sa gzhung*), commentaries (*tīkā*), structures (*khog dbub*), annotations (*mchan*), and wording (*gsung sgros*).¹ During his propitiation of rDo-rje-phur-pa, he saw a red light as big as a butter lamp, emanating from a Phur-pa for many days. It is also said that two deities of his previous masters, namely bDe-khros and rDo-rje-phur-pa, showed great powers during his initiation rites. His grandson, Bla-ma Kundga’rdo-rje (b. 1414) also transmitted the teachings of Phur-pa-rogs-lugs.²

The above is about the transmission of Phur-pa-rogs-lugs until to the time of ’Gos gZhon-nu-dpal. Its transmission succeeds ’Gos gZhon-nu-dpal is not recorded in the *Gu bkra’i chos ’byung*, which only reports that sMin-gling-lo-chen Dharmasrī (1654–1717/8) taught and spread the initiation and reading transmission of Phur-pa-rogs-lugs, and also wrote many texts about it.³

¹ See the *Deb ther sngon po* (p. 1121.4–6, for the translation, see ROERICH 1995: 965).

² See the *Deb ther sngon po* (p. 1121.4–6, 1124.4–6, 1124.16–7 and 1126.12–14, for the translation, see ROERICH 1995: 965, 968, 969, and 970). For a detailed biography of Rin-po-che Chos-rgyal-ba (1340–1409), see the *Deb ther sngon po* (pp. 1120.18–1126.3, for the translation, see ROERICH 1995: 965–969).

³ See the *Gur bkra’i chos ’byung* (p. 341.12–13). In the *Kaḥ thog bka’ ma* (A), there are five texts written by Dharmasrī related to the Phur-pa-rogs-lugs, which are *Rog lugs kyi phur pa’i brgyud ’debs* (vol. 9, pp. 453–456), *rDo rje phur bu rog lug kyi sgrub thabs las byang dngos grub char ’bebs* (vol. 9, pp. 457–538), *Rog phur stod las kyi sgrub khog bde chen bdud rtsi’i bcud len* (vol. 9, pp. 539–596), *Rog phur smad las kyi sgrub khog gdug can mthar byed rdo rje ’bar ba’i ’khrul ’khor* (vol. 9, pp. 597–640), and *Rog phur gyi dbang chog bde chen mchog ster* (vol. 9, pp. 641–668). The five texts are also included in the *Kaḥ thog bka’ ma* (B: vol. 11; C: vol. 12) and *dPal yul ba’ ma* (vol. 13).

Chapter 7

An Overview of the Literature of the rDo-rje-phur-pa Cycle

In this chapter, I will examine the literature of the rDo-rje-phur-pa cycle. Scholars have noticed that the amount of extant Phur-pa literature is vast covering a variety of genres such as Tantric scriptures, practice manual (*sgrub thabs*), commentary (*'grel*) and so forth, the core of which are the Tantric scriptures of Phur-pa. Although the Phur-pa Tantric scriptures are said to have originated from India, no Sanskrit Phur-pa scripture has been found so far. Only a Phur-pa scripture in Tibetan is included in the *bsTan 'byur* and titled *Phur pa rtsa rgyud kyi dum bu* (D 0439; P 0078) translated by Sa-paṅ. As pointed by Cantwell and Mayer, the Bhutanese *rNying ma'i rgyud 'bum* editions comprise roughly seventy Phur-pa scriptures.¹ Many Phur-pa Tantric scriptures are included in the *Phur pa phyogs bsgrigs*. Three Byang-ger-phur-pa Tantric scriptures are included in the Byang-ger-phur-pa collection.² However, this chapter does not intend to introduce the extant Phur-pa Tantric scriptures but to trace the concept of the overall description or classification of the Phur-pa Tantric scriptures. As for the non-scriptural Phur-pa literature, it is impractical to survey the vast amount of Phur-pa literature in its entirety, I will take the forty-five-volume anthology called the *Phur pa phyogs bsgrigs* as an example.

¹ See CANTWELL & MAYER 2008b: 277.

² The three Byang-ger-phur-pa Tantric scriptures are the *rDo rje phur pa thugs gsang ba sku'i rgyud*, *dPal rdo rje phur pa spu gri nag po rab tu gsang ba'i rgyud*, and the *Phur pa'i me lce'i 'phreng ba'i lde'u nyi shu pa khol du byung ba*. For an introduction to the contents of the first two and a critical edition to the first, see BOORD 1993: 129–142 and 238–251.

7.1 The Phur-pa Tantric Scriptures

7.1.1 The Phur-pa Tantric Scriptures in the Eighteen Mahāyoga System

The rDo-rje-phur-pa cycle is a component of the Mahāyoga system, included in both the Tantric section (*rgyud sde*) and the *sādhana* section (*sgrub sde*). The Tantric section has been pointed out by Almogi, what is referred as the eighteen Mahāyoga Tantric Cycles represents a mere notion rather than actually list that existed in a standardized form.¹ Almogi collects various lists found in Tibetan sources and categorises them into two groups based on the categorization of the eighteen cycles. This section will survey the position of the Phur-pa Tantric scriptures in the eighteen Mahāyoga scheme and, for the sake of clarity, the classification of the two groups by Almogi will be applied here.

The first group includes lists found in the following works: *lDe'u chos 'byung*, *Klong chen chos 'byung*, *rGyab chos spar khab*, *rTsod bzlog*, *Nor bu'i phreng ba*, and *Chos 'byung dgag pa*. The second group includes lists found in the following works: *Rin chen 'bar gur* (a commentary of **Guhyagarbhatantra*), *sNgags kyi spyi don*, *Padma bka' thang*, *mKhas pa'i dga' ston*, *Vaidūrya g.ya' sel*, and *Lo rgyus mu tig phreng ba*.

Before examining the rDo-rje-phur-pa cycle in the two groups of lists, some earlier sources mention the scriptures of the Phur-pa cycle outside the eighteen Mahāyoga scheme. The commentary to *Thabs kyi zhags pa*, a version of which was found in Dunhuang and thus can be dated to as early as the tenth century mentioning two Phur-pa scriptures, namely the *Kī la ya bcu gnyis kyi rgyud pnyi ma* and the *Kī la ya bcu gnyis kyi tantra*.² The former is also found in the lists of the first group, except for the list found in the *rTsod bzlog*.³

Nyang-ral Nyi-ma-'od-zer, in his *Nyang ral chos 'byung*, mentions twenty-six Tantric scriptures which he claimed belonging to the eighteen Mahāyoga scriptures and among them the *Phur pa 'phrin las kyi rgyud bi to ta ma la 'bum sde* is listed. An almost identical passage is also found in his *Zangs gling pa*.⁴ In the *gSang sngags bka'i lde mig*, a gTer-ma text belonging to the bKa'-brgyad-bde-gshegs-'dus-pa cycle, Nyang-ral provides two separate lists of Mahāyoga and Anuyoga. The Mahāyoga list is classified into three categories, namely six Tantric scrip-

¹ See ALMOGI 2014: 47.

² See CANTWELL & MAYER 2012: 84.

³ See ALMOGI 2014: 67.

⁴ See the *Nyang ral chos 'byung* (p. 307.8–9), *Zangs gling ma* (p. 60.14), and ALMOGI 2014: 102.

tures of the practice tradition (*bsgrub lugs kyi rgyud drug*), eighteen Tantric scriptures (*tantra sde bcwo brgyad*), and six secret sections (*gsang ba sde drug*). In the six Tantric scriptures of the practice tradition, the *Phur pa 'phrin las kyi bsgrub pa'i rgyud sde* is listed as the fifth and under which three Tantric scriptures related to *rgyud*, *lung* and *man ngags* are included within it. They are the *Byi to ta ma la 'bum ste ki la ya bcu gnyis kyi tantra*, *lTa ba byi to*, and *rDo rje khros pa*. In the Anuyoga list, there is a category called twelve specific Tantric scriptures (*dgos [sgos] rgyud bcu gnyis*) where the *Ki la ya bcu gnyis* is included.¹

The lists in the first group all arrange the eighteen cycles in five sections, which are the five root Tantric scriptures (*gzhi 'am rtsa ba 'gyur pa'i rgyud*), the five practice-oriented Tantric scriptures (*sgrub pa'i lag len ston pa'i rgyud*), the five general ancillary Tantric scriptures (*spyi'i yan lag tu 'gyur pa'i rgyud*), the two subsequent-like Tantric scriptures (*rgyud phyi ma lta bu*), and the one synopsis-like Tantric scripture (*bsdus don lta bu'i rgyud*) or primary Tantric scripture (*rtsa ba rgyud chen po*).² Among the first group, the lists of the eighteen Mahāyoga Tantric Cycle in the *lDe'u chos 'byung* and *Klong chen chos 'byung* are quite similar.³ In the practice-related Tantric scripture section, the *'Phrin las kyi phur pa byi dor rol pa* is included,⁴ under which there are five Tantric scriptures: the *Phur pa byang chub sems 'byung ba'i rgyud*, *dKyil 'khor chen po lnga'i rim pa rnam par phye ba rtsa ba'i rgyud*, *rGyud phyi ma ki la ya bcu gnyis kyi rgyud*, *bShad rgyud ma mo rol pa dur khrod rgyan gyi rgyud*, and *Ma mthun pas na mya ngan las 'das pa'i rgyud*.⁵ Ratna-gling-pa's *rTsod bzlog* only provides the lists of the eighteen cycles without the titles related to each cycle. The cycle of rDo-rje-phur-pa, belonging to the section of practice-oriented Tantric scriptures, is titled *Byi to ta ma la ki la ya bcu gnyis kyi rgyud* and comprises five Tantric scriptures.⁶

¹ See the *gSang sngags bka'i lde mig* (p. 343.1, 344.3–4, and 345.3), also see ALMOGI 2014: 98–100. Note that in the *Nor bu'i phreng ba* (p. 255. 6) Phur-pa is one of the seven categories of Anuyoga.

² There are discrepancies regarding the name of each section in different sources, the presented names here are based on the *lDe'u chos 'byung*, also see ALMOGI 2014: 55.

³ For the detailed differences between the two, see ALMOGI 2014: 56.

⁴ The term *byi dor* is written as *byi to* in the *Klong chen chos 'byung* (p. 339.16–17).

⁵ See the *lDe'u chos 'byung* (p. 123.3–4; p. 124.14–17) and *Klong chen chos 'byung* (p. 339.16–17 and 341.7–11), also see the transliteration and comparison in ALMOGI 2014: 72, 76, 83–84. In the title of the last Tantric scripture *ma mthun* is reading as *cha mthun* in the *Klong chen chos 'byung*. The *Phur pa byang chub sems 'byung ba'i rgyud* is said to be composed by Padmasambhava, see the *Nor bu'i phreng ba* (p. 224.5–6): *slob dpon de...| gsang ba snying po dang |...phur pa byang chub kyi sems 'byung ba'i rgyud dang | sgyu 'phrul dra ba la sogs pa'i sgrub thabs 'grel ba mang du mdzad do ||*.

⁶ See *rTsod bzlog* (vol. 116, pp. 103.5).

Other lists in the first group follow the same five-section scheme but include more Tantric scriptures. In the category of the practice-oriented Tantric scriptures section, the cycle of Phur-pa is titled *Phur pa phrin las kyi sgrub pa lag len gsal bar bstan pa spyi'i rgyud*, also known as *Byi to ta ma la rol pa*. In this cycle, nine Tantric scriptures are included: *rTsa ba'i rgyud*, *Byang chub sems 'byung ba dkyil 'khor lnga'i rim par phye ba*, *rGyud phyi ma kī la ya bcu gnyis kyi rgyud*, *bShad rgyud ma mo rol pa dur khrod rgyan gyi rgyud*, *Mya ngan las 'das pa'i rgyud*, *Cha mthun pa khu byug rol pa rtsa ba'i rgyud*, *rGyud phyi ma*, *gSang rgyud chen po rtsa ba'i rgyud* and *rGyud phyi ma*.¹

The second group, which is different from the first group both in scheme and content, organizes the eighteen Mahāyoga cycles into six sections namely *sku*, *gsung*, *thugs*, *yon tan*, *'phrin las*, and *spyi*, and each section includes three titles. The first title of the three can be seen as the *mūlatantra* and the other two are regarded as their “offshoots.”² The cycle of Phur-pa is always included in the section of activity (*'phrin las*). Among the second group, the lists in *Rin chen bar 'gur*, *mKhas pa'i dga' ston*, *Vaidūrya g.ya' sel* and *mTha' gru'i rgyan* are identical and the Phur-pa cycle is titled *Kī la ya yig 'bru bcu gnyis kyi rgyud*.³ In other lists of the second group, the Phur-pa cycle is variously called *Phrin las kyi thugs rgyud ta ma la 'bum sde* in the *sNgags kyi spyi don*, *Kī la bzhi bcu rtsa gnyis tantra* in the *Padma bka' thang*, and *Kī la ya bcuis kyi rgyud* in the *Lo rgyus mu tig phreng ba*.⁴

The *Nor bu'i phreng ba* also provides a very similar description of the eighteen Māhayoga Tantric scriptures as that of the *Padma bka' thang*. The Phur-pa cycle is referred to as the *Kī la ya bzhi bcu rtsa gnyis tan tra*, while in another mention the Phur-pa cycle is referred to as the *Kī la ya bcu gnyis kyi tan tra* in the three Tantric scriptures of activity.⁵

7.1.2 The Classification of the Scriptures of the rDo-rje-phur-pa Cycle

In the following section, I will examine records dealing with the classification of the rDo-rje-phur-pa scriptures in order to present how the Phur-pa Tantric scriptures are described in

¹ See *rGyab chos spar khab* (pp. 614.6–615.2), *Nor bu'i phreng ba* (p. 142.3–4) and *Chos 'byung dgag pa* (pp. 266.5–267.1).

² See ALMOGI 2014: 61.

³ See the *Rin chen bar 'gur* (p. 630.1), *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* (p. 311.10), *Vaidūrya g.ya' sel* (p. 1025.6), and *mTha' gru'i rgyan* (p. 112.5–6), also see ALMOGI 2014: 92.

⁴ See *sNgags kyi spyi don* (p. 356.1), *Padma bka' thang* (pp. 201.11–12), and *Lo rgyus mu tig phreng ba* (pp. 14.7).

⁵ See *Nor bu'i phreng ba* (pp. 53.2–54.2 and p. 254.1–5).

different sources. From the following, it is evident that different authors have attempted to find a system or order in the arrangement of Phur-pa scriptures. However it should be pointed out that in some cases, it is not possible to tell whether certain statements regarding Tantric scriptures allude to titles of specific Tantric scriptures or simply a rough description of a group of scriptures.

In the *Phur pa lo rgyus*, Sog-bzlog-pa states that the scriptures of rDo-rje-phur-pa as a whole were compiled as the Twenty lower phur-pa (*Phur smad nyi shu*). The scriptures dealing with the five Tantric scriptures are the *Lung kilaya bcu gnyis*, *lCags zer nag po*, *'Bum bskos chen po*, *Nam mkha' mdzod* and *Rig pa mchog*. The scriptures dealing with the five views are *lTa ba byi to*, *Bla ma chen po*, *Mya ngan las 'da' ka ma*, *Ye shes nyi zer* and *Nam mkha' rol pa'i rgyal-po*. The scriptures dealing with the five activities are the *rDo rje gzhon nu*, *Las brgya rtsa brgyad pa*, *Sras mchog sked tra*, *Las kha tshar* and *Las gsang ba*. The scriptures dealing the five *sādhana*s are the *Phun sum tshogs pa*, *Thugs gsang ba*, *gZe ma nag po*, *Thugs kyi rnag pa* and *Las kyi bkol byang*. As reported by Mi-pham in the legend of the eight *Sādhana* caskets, the casket from which the teachings of Phur-pa came out include Tantric scriptures related to the Phur-pa-'phrin-las, such as the *Bid to ta ma la kī la ya'i rgyud*, *Kī la ya bcu gnyis kyi rgyud*, *rNal 'byor ma dam pa gsang chen gyi rgyud* and so on.¹

Table 7.1: The Classification of Phur-pa Scriptures in the *Phur pa lo rgyus* (§5, p. 277).

<i>rGyud lnga</i>	<i>Lung kilaya bcu gnyis kyi tantra</i>	5
	<i>lCags zer nag po'i tantra</i>	
	<i>'Bum bskos chen po'i tantra</i>	
	<i>Nam mkha' mdzod kyi tantra</i>	
	<i>Rig pa mchog gi tantra</i>	
<i>lTa ba lnga</i>	<i>lTa' ba byi to</i>	5
	<i>Bla ma chen po</i>	

¹ See the *bKa' brgyad rnam bshad* (A: pp. 527.6–528.1): *phur pa phrin las kyi rgyud la | bid to ta ma rig pa mchog la kī la ya'i rgyud | kī la ya bcu gnyis kyi rgyud | rnal 'byor ma dam pa gsang chen gyi rgyud la sogs pa rab tu mang po dang |*.

	<i>Mya ngan las 'da' ka ma</i>	
	<i>Ye shes nyi zer</i>	
	<i>Nam mkha' rol pa'i rgyal-po</i>	
<i>'Phrin las lnga</i>	<i>rDo rje gzhon nu</i>	5
	<i>Las brgya rtsa brgyad pa</i>	
	<i>Sras mchog sked tra</i>	
	<i>Las kha tshar</i>	
	<i>Las gsang ba</i>	
<i>sGrub pa lnga</i>	<i>Phun sum tshogs pa</i>	5
	<i>Thugs gsang ba</i>	
	<i>gZe ma nag po</i>	
	<i>Thugs kyi rmag pa</i>	
	<i>Las kyi bkol byang</i>	

The *Klong chen chos 'byung* introduces the cycle of rDo-rje-phur-pa in a scheme of Eight Sādhana.¹ For the Sādhana cycle of the Phrin-las-phur-pa, although there are many traditions related to the Tantric scriptures, empowerment and instructions which are derived from the *Byi to ta ma la rtsa ba'i rgyud chen mo*, only four kinds of scriptures assembled from those traditions are well known in Tibet, namely the cycle of the secret Phur-pa (*phur pa gsang skor*), the Sūtra cycle (*mdo skor*), the Āgama cycle (*lung skor*) and the principle cycle (*rtsa ba'i skor*).²

Based on the first cycle, there are Tantric scriptures of the secret rDo-rje-phur-pa (*rdo rje phur pa gsang ba'i rgyud*), the Tantric scriptures of secret *maṇḍala* (*'khor lo gsang rgyud*), Tantric scriptures of secret Padma (*padma gsang rgyud*), and Tantric scriptures of secret activities (*'phrin las gsang rgyud*). In the Tantric scriptures of the secret rDo-rje-phur-pa, there are the primary Tantric scriptures (*rtsa ba'i rgyud*) as the first realization, the explanatory Tantric scriptures (*bshad pa'i rgyud*) as the intermediate realization, and the subsequent Tantric scrip-

¹ See the *Klong chen chos 'byung* (pp. 333.20–334).

² It seems the Sūtra cycle and Āgama cycle are corresponding to the Anuyoga system from two aspects. The Sūtra cycle is included in the mDo-rgyud-sems-gsum scheme and the Āgama cycle is included in the rGyud-lung-man-ngag scheme.

tures (*rgyud phyi ma*) as the final realization, and moreover there are the primary Tantric scriptures (*rtsa rgyud*), *Mya ngan las 'das pa*,¹ twelve subsequent Tantric scriptures (*rgyud phyi ma*) and the medium and small version of the *'Byung ba chen po* of this cycle.

In the *mdo skor*, there are subsequent primary Tantric scriptures (*rtsa ba'i rgyud phyi ma*), *dGongs pa lung bstan*, *rDo rje me lce 'phreng ba*, and two *Drag po gsang gter gyi rgyud*. In the *lung skor*, there are the *Dur khrod khu byug rol pa rtsa ba'i rgyud* and its subsequent Tantric scriptures.

In the principle cycle, there are primary Tantric scriptures (*rtsa ba'i rgyud*), mind Tantric scriptures (*dgongs rgyud*), great mind Tantric scriptures (*dGongs rgyud chen mo*), subsequent Tantric scriptures (*rgyud phyi ma*), sub-subsequent Tantric scriptures (*phyi ma'i phyi ma*), perfect view Tantric scriptures (*lta ba rdzod rgyud*), view-conduct Tantric scriptures (*lta ba spyod pa'i rgyud*), *rNal 'byor dam pa gsang chen gyi rgyud*, *bsKal pa dum bu'i rgyud*, *bCu gnyis chung ba che 'bring chung gsum*, *rDo rje khros pa rtsa ba'i rgyud*, *Dri med 'od ldan bshad pa'i rgyud*, *Phur pa dbang gi rgyud*, *'Phrin las kyi rgyud*, *gTör ma'i rgyud*, *Dam tshig rgyud*, *Khro bo bcu'i rgyud*, *Dam can sde gsum gyi rgyud*, and *rGyud bu chung bcu gsum*. Based on the above mentioned Tantric scriptures, numerous *sādhana*s, rituals, and instructions appeared.

¹ For the primary Tantric scriptures and *Mya ngan las 'das pa*, the Tibetan reads: *rtsa rgyud mya nga las 'das pa*. As there is no separation in the reading, it could be taken as one.

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Table 7.2: The Classification of Phur-pa Scriptures in the *Klong chen chos 'byung* (pp. 333.20–334).

		<i>rTsa ba'i rgyud (rtogs pa dang po)</i>
		<i>bShad pa'i rgyud (rtogs pa bar pa)</i>
<i>Phur pa gsang skor</i>	<i>rDo rje phur pa gsang ba'i rgyud</i>	<i>rGyud phyi ma (rtogs pa mtha' ma)</i>
		<i>rTsa rgyud</i>
		<i>Mya ngan las 'das pa</i>
		<i>rGyud phyi ma (12)</i>
		<i>'Byung ba chen po 'bring po dang chung ba</i>
		<i>'Khor lo gsang rgyud</i>
	<i>Padma gsang rgyud</i>	
	<i>Phrin las gsang rgyud</i>	
<i>mDo skor</i>		<i>rTsa ba'i rgyud phyi ma</i>
		<i>dGongs pa lung bstan</i>
		<i>rDo rje me lce 'phreng ba</i>
		<i>Drag po gsang gter gyi rgyud</i>
<i>Lung skor</i>		<i>Dur khrod khu byug rol pa rtsa ba'i rgyud</i>
		<i>De'i phyi ma</i>
<i>rTsa ba'i skor</i>		<i>rTsa ba'i rgyud</i>
		<i>dGongs rgyud</i>
		<i>dGongs rgyud chen mo</i>
		<i>rGyud phyi ma</i>
		<i>Phyi ma'i phyi ma</i>
		<i>lTa ba rdzoḍ rgyud</i>
		<i>lTa ba spyod pa'i rgyud</i>
		<i>rNal 'byor dam pa gsang chen gyi rgyud</i>
		<i>bsKal pa dum bu'i rgyud</i>
		<i>bCu gnyis chung ba che 'bring chung gsum</i>
	<i>rDo rje khros pa rtsa ba'i rgyud</i>	

Dri med 'od ldan bshad pa'i rgyud

Phur pa dbang gi rgyud

'Phrin las kyi rgyud

gTor ma'i rgyud

Dam tshig rgyud

Khro bo bcu'i rgyud

Dam can sde gsum gyi rgyud

rGyud bu chung bcu gsum

The *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* and *Vaidūrya g.ya' sel* both provide an almost identical narrative of the Phur-pa Tantric scriptures in which the scriptures are classified into the common Tantric scriptures and specific Tantric scriptures.¹ The common scriptures include the *Byi to ta ma la 'bum sde*, the yogatantric scriptures such as the *rNal 'byor dam pa gsang chen*, the yoginītantric scriptures (*mo/ma rgyud*) such as the *Kyi la ya bcu gnyis* and the scriptures of both (*gNyi ga'i/gNyi ka'i rgyud*).² The specific Phur-pa Tantric scriptures are categorised into the Yoginītantric scriptures and the Yogatantric scriptures.

The Yoginītantric scriptures include the four pinnacle-like Tantric scriptures (*rtse mo*) regarding varja (*rdo rje*), gnosis (*ye shes*), Buddha (*sangs rgyas*) and yoga (*rnal 'byor*). The Yoginītantra scriptures also include the branch-like Tantric scriptures (*yan lag*) such as the *Zlog phur bcu gnyis [kyi rgyud]*, *'Phrin las rnam bzhi[i rgyud]* and *Srung ma bcu gnyis kyi rgyud*.

The Yogatantric scriptures are comprised of the five Tantric scriptures regarding the body, speech, mind, quality and activity, the three kernel-like Tantric scriptures (*snying po'i rgyud*), the ten branch-like Tantric scripture of ten wrathful deities (*yan lag khro bo bcu'i*

¹ See the *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* (p. 313.7–12) and *Vaidūrya g.ya' sel* (vol. 1, p. 1036.3–5).

² The punctuation of this sentence in the two records are inconsistent, making it difficult to understand. If referring to the similar narrative in the *dPag bsam ljon bzang*, the common Tantric scriptures should include the *Byi to ta ma la 'bum sde*, the yogatantric scriptures, the yoginītantric scriptures, and the tantric scriptures of both. The Yogatantric scriptures could also be the *rNal 'byor dam pa*. And the *gsang chen* goes together with the *mo/ma rgyud* which makes it the secret Yoginītantric scriptures (*gsang chen ma/mo rgyud*). In the *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* it reads: *phur pa'i rgyud la byi to ta ma la 'bum sde pha rgyud rnal 'byor dam pa gsang chen mo rgyud ki la ya bcu gnyis gnyi ga'i rgyud de phur pa'i spyi rgyud dang*. In the *Vaidūrya g.ya' sel* it reads: *phur pa'i rgyud la byi to ta ma la | 'bum sde pha rgyud rnal 'byor dam pa | gsang chen ma rgyud ki la ya bcu gnyis gnyis ka'i rgyud de phur pa'i spyi rgyud dang |*.

rgyud), the four leaf-like Tantric scriptures (*lo ma'i rgyud*), the ten blossom-like Tantric scriptures (*me tog gi rgyud*), the four fruit-like Tantric scriptures (*'bras bu'i rgyud*), and the five incomplete supplementary Tantric scriptures (*ma tshang kha skong gi rgyud*). All the Phur-pa Tantric scriptures of activity can be subsumed under the three primary Tantric scriptures (*rTsa ba'i rgyud*) and their countless branch Tantric scriptures (*yan lag gi rgyud*).

Table 7.3: The Classification of Phur-pa Scriptures in the *mKhas pa'i dga'ston* (p. 313.7–12) and *Vaidūrya g.ya'sel* (vol. 1, p. 1036.3–5)

<i>sPyi rgyud</i>		<i>Byi do ta ma la 'bum sde</i>	
		<i>Pha rgyud rnal 'byor dam pa gsang chen</i>	
		<i>Ma/Mo rgyud Kyi la ya bcu gnyis</i>	
		<i>gNyas ga'i/gNyas ka'i rgyud</i>	
<i>Bye brag [gi rgyud]</i>			<i>rDo rje [rtse mo'i rgyud]</i>
		<i>rTse mo bzhi</i>	<i>Ye shes [rtse mo'i rgyud]</i>
	<i>Ma rgyud</i>		<i>Sangs rgyas [rtse mo'i rgyud]</i>
			<i>rNal 'byor [rtse mo'i rgyud]</i>
			<i>Zlog phur bcu gnyis [kyi rgyud]</i>
		<i>Yan lag</i>	<i>'Phrin las rnam bzhi['i rgyud]</i>
			<i>Srung ma bcu gnyis kyi rgyud</i>
		<i>sKu['i rgyud]</i>	1
		<i>gSung [gi rgyud]</i>	1
		<i>Thugs [kyi rgyud]</i>	1
		<i>Yon tan [kyi rgyud]</i>	1
	<i>Pha rgyud</i>	<i>'Phrin las [kyi rgyud]</i>	1
		<i>sNying po'i rgyud</i>	3
		<i>Yan lag khro bo bcu'i rgyud</i>	10
	<i>Lo ma'i rgyud</i>	4	
	<i>Me tog gi rgyud</i>	10	
	<i>'Bras bu'i rgyud</i>	4	
	<i>Ma tshang kha skong gi rgyud</i>	5	

In the *dPag bsam ljon bzang* the classification of the Tantric scriptures of the rDo-rje-phur-pa cycle is quite similar with that found in the *mKhas pa'i dga'ston*. The rDo-rje-phur-pa is one of the five super-mundane cycles (*'jig rten las 'das pa'i lnga*) in the eight *sādhana* teachings. The Phur-pa representing the activities is comprised of the common Tantric scriptures including the *Bi totta ma la*, the Yoginītantric scriptures (*Ma rgyud*), the Yogatantric scriptures (*pha rgyud*), and the Tantric scriptures of both (*gnyis ka'i rgyud*).

Specifically, the *Bi totta ma la* is comprised of the three primary Tantric scriptures (*rtsa ba'i rgyud*), the ten explanatory Tantric scriptures (*bshad rgyud*), the ten instructional Tantric scriptures (*man ngag gi [rgyud]*), the three leaf-like Tantric scriptures (*lo ma lta bu'i [rgyud]*), the five kernel-like Tantric scriptures (*snying po lta bu'i [rgyud]*), the four fruit-like Tantric scriptures (*'bras bu'i [rgyud]*) and the *mTshon cha spungs pa'i rgyud*—totaling thirty-six Tantric scriptures.

The Yoginītantric Phur-pa scriptures (*phur ba ma rgyud*) are comprised of the four pinnacle-like Tantric scriptures (*rtse mo'i [rgyud]*), the twelve branch-like reversed Phur-pa Tantric scriptures (*yan lag bzlog phur [gyi rgyud]*), the four activity Tantric scriptures (*'Phrin las bzhi'i [rgyud]*), and the twelve protectresses Tantric scriptures (*Srung ma bcu gnyis kyi rgyud*).

The Yogatantric Phur-pa scriptures (*Phur ba pha rgyud*) are comprised of the five Tantric scriptures of the body, speech, mind, qualities, and activities, the three kernel-like Tantric scriptures (*snying po'i rgyud*), the ten wrathful branch Tantric scriptures (*yan lag kbro bo bcu'i [rgyud]*), the four leaf-like Tantric scriptures (*lo ma'i [rgyud]*), the ten blossom-like Tantric scriptures (*me tog gi [rgyud]*), the four fruit-like Tantric scriptures (*'bras bu'i [rgyud]*), and the five supplementary Tantric scriptures (*Kha skong gi [rgyud]*). All the above categories of Phur-pa Tantric scriptures can be subsumed under the three primary Tantric scriptures (*rtsa rgyud*), and a number of secondary Tantric scriptures (*yan lag gi rgyud*).¹

¹ See the *dPag bsam ljon bzang* (p. 742.18–743.8).

Table 7.4: The Classification of Phur-pa Scriptures in the *dPag bsam ljon bzang* (pp. 742.18–743.8)

<i>sPyi rgyud</i>	<i>Bi do tta ma la</i>			
	<i>Pha rgyud</i>			
	<i>Ma rgyud</i>			
	<i>gNyas ka'i rgyud</i>			
<i>Bye brag [gi rgyud]</i>	<i>Bi do tta ma la</i>	<i>rTsa rgyud</i>	3	36
		<i>bShad rgyud</i>	10	
		<i>Man ngag gi [rgyud]</i>	10	
		<i>Lo ma lta bu'i rgyud</i>	3	
		<i>sNying po lta bu'i rgyud</i>	5	
		<i>'Bras bu'i rgyud</i>	4	
		<i>mTshon cha spungs pa'i rgyud</i>	1	
	<i>Ma rgyud</i>	<i>rTse mo[i rgyud]</i>	4	41
		<i>Yan lag bzlog phur [gyi rgyud]</i>	12	
		<i>'Phrin las [kyi rgyud]</i>	4	
		<i>Srung ma [kyi rgyud]</i>	12	
		<i>sKu'i [rgyud]</i>	1	
		<i>gSung gi [rgyud]</i>	1	
<i>Pha rgyud</i>	<i>Thugs kyi [rgyud]</i>	1	41	
	<i>Yon tan kyi [rgyud]</i>	1		
	<i>'Phrin las kyi [rgyud]</i>	1		
	<i>sNying po'i [rgyud]</i>	3		
	<i>Yan lag khro bo bcu'i [rgyud]</i>	10		
	<i>Lo ma'i [rgyud]</i>	4		

	<i>Me tog gi [rgyud]</i>	10
	<i>'Bras bu'i [rgyud]</i>	4
	<i>Kha skong gi [rgyud]</i>	5

The common feature found in the *mKhas pa'i dga' ston*, *Vaidūrya g.ya' sel* and the *dPag sam chos 'byung* in their description of the Phur-pa Tantric scriptures is the classification of the entire Tantric scriptures and specific Tantric scriptures into the common Tantric scriptures and specific Tantric scriptures. The scriptures included in those two categories are very similar with the exception of the omission of the *Bi to ta ma la 'bum sde* category in the *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* and *Vaidūrya g.ya' sel*.

In the *bKa' thang sde lnga* revealed by O-rgyan-gling-pa there is a description of the Tantric scriptures of the rDo-rje-phur-pa cycle and a very similar narrative is also found in the *Nor bu'i phreng ba*, albeit with some discrepancies.¹ The following is a recapitulation of the narrative found in the *bKa' thang sde lnga* and its divergence from the narrative of the *Nor bu'i phreng ba* when relevant.

Within the Tantric scriptures of rDo-rje-gzho-nu-'phrin-las, the main Tantric scriptures are the *Byi to ta ma la 'bum sde'i rgyud*, *Phur pa pha'i rgyud*, *Dam pa gsang chen phur pa ma'i rgyud*, *Kī lā ya bcu gnyis gnyis ka'i rgyud*, *rDo rje rtse mo'i rgyud*, *Sangs rgyas rtse mo'i rgyud*, and *rNal 'byor rtse mo'i rgyud*.² The branch-like Tantric scriptures are the *Zlog phur bcu gnyis kyi rgyud*, *'Phrin las rnam bzhi'i rgyud*, and *Sprung ma bcu gnyis kyi rgyud*.

The *Byi to ta ma la'i rgyud* includes the five primary Tantric scriptures (*rtsa ba'i rgyud*), the three kernel-like Tantric scriptures (*snying po'i rgyud*), the ten branch-like Tantric scriptures (*yan lag gi rgyud*), the four leaf-like Tantric scriptures (*lo ma'i rgyud*), the ten blossom-like Tantric scriptures (*me tog gi rgyud*), the four fruit-like Tantric scriptures (*'bras bu'i rgyud*), and the five incomplete supplementary Tantric scriptures (*ma tshang ba'i kha skong ba'i rgyud*).

¹ In the *Nor bu'i phreng ba*, the general classification of the Phur-pa Tantric scriptures appeared twice. The first is followed with a detailed list which will be presented below. The second is only the general classification, see *Nor bu'i phreng ba* (pp. 433.4–434.1).

² In the *Nor bu'i phreng ba* (pp. 59.6–60.1), there is no punctuation mark between *Byi to ta ma la 'bum sde* and *phur pa pha'i rgyud*. And the title of the *Phur pa ma'i rgyud* is written as *rNal 'byor ma gsang chen phur pa ma'i rgyud*.

Then the text starts to list the Phur-pa Tantric scriptures that are subsumed into these categories. The five primary Tantric scriptures are the *Ye shes 'khor lo sku'i rgyud*, *Padma gsang ba gsung gi rgyud*, *rNam dag rdo rje thugs kyi rgyud*, *Rin po che 'bar ba yon tan gyi rgyud* and *Ral gri 'bar ba 'phrin las kyi rgyud*. The three kernel-like Tantric scriptures are the *Mya ngan 'das pa'i rgyud*, *Sangs rgyas 'dus pa'i rgyud*, and *Rin chen phung po'i rgyud*. The ten branch-like Tantric scriptures are the *Hūṃ kā ra ser ba dbab pa'i rgyud*, *rNam par rgyal ba dbang bskur ba'i rgyud*, *dByug pa sngon po sbyin sreg gi rgyud*, *gShin rje gshed po las la gzud pa'i rgyud*, *Mi g.yo mgon po zlog pa'i rgyab rten gyi rgyud*, *rTa mgrin nā ga klu 'dul ba'i rgyud*, *'Dod pa'i rgyal po pho mo dgug pa'i rgyud*, *bDud rtsi 'khyil pa bdud rtsi sgrub pa'i rgyud*, *Khams gsum rnam rgyal 'chong drug las la gdags pa'i rgyud*, and *Tobs po che ser ba gcod pa'i rgyud*.¹

The four leaf-like Tantric scriptures are the *rNal 'byor bla ma'i rgyud*, *Bla ma med pa'i rgyud*, *Bla ma'i bla ma'i rgyud*, and *Jig rten snang byed kyi rgyud*. The ten blossoms-like Tantric scriptures are the *'Khor lo gsar pa'i rgyud*, *Jig rten rab snang gi rgyud*, *rDo rje phreng ba'i rgyud*, *rDo rje bkod pa'i rgyud*, *gSang ba srog len gyi rgyud*, *Ye shes rtse mo'i rgyud*, *Mya ngan 'das pa phyi ma'i rgyud*, *Sangs rgyas gsang ba'i rgyud*, *rDo rje gsang ba'i rgyud*, and *Dur khrod khu byug rol pa'i rgyud*.

The four fruit-like Tantric scriptures are the *sBas pa ma mo drug brtse kyi rgyud*, *bSe rgyud dmar mo'i rgyud*, *Shwa na dmar nag gi rgyud*, and *rTsa ba 'bum pa'i rgyud*. The five incomplete supplementary Tantric scriptures are the *gSang ba gter gyi rgyud*, *Gab pa gter gyi rgyud*, *lTa ba gter gyi rgyud*, *'Phrin las gter gyi rgyud*, and *Man ngag gter gyi rgyud*. In the end, the *Kī lā ya bcu gnyis kyi rgyud* includes the *Kī lā ya dgongs pa'i rgyud*, *Phyi ma rdzogs pa'i rgyud*, and *Phyi ma'i phyi ma 'phrin las kyi rgyud*.²

¹ Note that the *Nor bu'i phreng ba* (p. 60.6) does not provide all the ten branch-like Tantric scriptures, only take the deity rNam-par-rgyal-ba as an example saying for each of the ten wrathful deities, there is a Tantric scripture: *yan lag gi rgyud bcu ni | rnam par rgyal ba la sogs pa khro bo bcu re re la rgyud re re gsungs so ||*.

² See the *bKa' thang sde lnga* (pp. 169.5–170.12) and *Nor bu'i phreng ba* (pp. 59.6–61.5).

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Table 7.5: The Classification of Phur-pa Scriptures in the *bKa' thang sde lnga* (pp. 169.5–170.12) and *Nor bu'i phreng ba* (pp. 59.6–61.5).

<i>Byi to ta ma la 'bum sde'i rgyud</i>	<i>rTsa'i rgyud</i> 5	<i>Ye shes 'khor lo sku'i rgyud</i>
		<i>Padma gsang ba gsung gi rgyud</i>
		<i>rNam dag rdo rje thugs kyi rgyud</i>
		<i>Rin po che 'bar ba yon tan gyi rgyud</i>
		<i>Ral gri 'bar ba 'phrin las kyi rgyud</i>
	<i>sNying po'i rgyud</i> 3	<i>Mya ngan 'das pa'i rgyud</i>
		<i>Sangs rgyas 'dus pa'i rgyud</i>
		<i>Rin cen phung po'i rgyud</i>
	<i>Yan lag gi rgyud</i> 10	<i>Hūṃ kā ra ser ba dbab pa'i rgyud</i>
		<i>rNam par rgyal ba dbang bskur ba'i rgyud</i>
		<i>dByug pa sngon po sbyin sreg gi rgyud</i>
		<i>gShin rje gshed po las la gzud pa'i rgyud</i>
		<i>Mi g.yo mgon po zlog pa'i rgyab rten gyi rgyud</i>
		<i>rTa mgrin nā ga klu 'dul ba'i rgyud</i>
		<i>'Dod pa'i rgyal po pho mo dgug pa'i rgyud</i>
		<i>bDud rtsi 'khyil pa bdud rtsi sgrub pa'i rgyud</i>
		<i>Khams gsum rnam rgyal 'chong drug las la gdags pa'i rgyud</i>
		<i>sTobs po che ser ba gcod pa'i rgyud</i>
	<i>Lo ma'i rgyud</i> 4	<i>rNal 'byor bla ma'i rgyud</i>
<i>Bla ma med pa'i rgyud</i>		
<i>Bla ma'i bla ma'i rgyud</i>		
<i>'Jig rten snang byed kyi rgyud</i>		
<i>Me tog gi rgyud</i> 10	<i>'Khor lo gsar pa'i rgyud</i>	
	<i>'Jig rten rab snang gi rgyud</i>	
	<i>rDo rje phreng ba'i rgyud</i>	
	<i>rDo rje bkod pa'i rgyud</i>	
	<i>gSang ba srog len gyi rgyud</i>	

		<i>Ye shes rtse mo'i rgyud</i>
		<i>Mya ngan 'das pa phyi ma'i rgyud</i>
		<i>Sangs rgyas gsang ba'i rgyud</i>
		<i>rDo rje gsang ba'i rgyud</i>
		<i>Dur khrod khu byug rol pa'i rgyud</i>
		<i>sBas pa ma mo drug brtse kyi rgyud</i>
	'Bras bu'i rgyud 4	<i>bSe rgyud dmar mo'i rgyud</i>
		<i>Shwa na dmar nag gi rgyud</i>
		<i>rTsa ba 'bum pa'i rgyud</i>
		<i>gSang ba gter gyi rgyud</i>
	Kha skong ba'i rgyud 5	<i>Gab pa gter gyi rgyud</i>
		<i>lTa ba gter gyi rgyud</i>
		<i>'Phrin las gter gyi rgyud</i>
		<i>Man ngag gter gyi rgyud</i>
<i>Phur pa pha'i rgyud</i>		
<i>Dam pa gsang chen phur pa ma'i rgyud</i>		
	<i>Ki lā ya bcu gnyis gnyis ka'i rgyud 3</i>	<i>Ki lā ya dgongs pa'i rgyud</i>
		<i>Phyi ma rdzogs pa'i rgyud</i>
		<i>Phyi ma'i phyi ma 'phrin las kyi rgyud</i>
<i>rDo rje rtse mo'i rgyud</i>		
<i>Sangs rgyas rtse mo'i rgyud</i>		
<i>rNal 'byor rtse mo'i rgyud</i>		

In Kong-sprul's *Phur pa rtsa ba 'grel pa*, the Phur-pa Tantric scriptures are described as follows. According to the tradition of Lang-lab, there are thirty-seven major Phur-pa Tantric scriptures and sixteen minor Tantric scriptures. The thirty-seven major Tantric scriptures can be divided into the three root-like Tantric scriptures (*rtsa ba lta bu'i rgyud*), the five explanatory Tantric scriptures (*bshad pa'i rgyud*), the three related Tantric scriptures (*cha mthun ba'i rgyud*), the two subsequent Tantric scriptures (*rgyud phyi ma*), the six secret sub-subsequent

Tantric scriptures (*phyi ma'i phyi ma gsang ba sde*), the five Tantric scriptures that mainly teach the *utpannakrama* (*bskyed rim gtso bor ston pa'i rgyud*), the five Tantric scriptures that mainly teach the *sampannakrama* (*rdzogs rim gtso bor ston pa'i rgyud*), the five transcending Tantric scriptures (*la bzla ba'i rgyud*), the two wrathful-deity exorcised Tantric scriptures: *drag po rme [rmas] thabs kyi rgyud* and the *Phrin las gtso bor ston pa 'bum skos*.¹ Kong-sprul further states that in the eighteen Mahāyoga Tantric scriptures, the cycle of rDo-rje-phur-pa belongs to the category of the enlightened activities (*'phrin las*). The Tantric scriptures, statements, and instructions (*rgyud lung man ngag*) all descended to Padmasambhava, who is the Vajrakumāra himself.²

¹ See the *Phur pa rtsa ba 'grel pa* (p. 49.4–6).

² See the *Phur pa rtsa ba 'grel pa* (pp. 49.4–50.2)

Table 7.6: The Classification of Phur-pa Scriptures in the *Phur pa rtsa ba 'grel pa* (pp. 9.4–50.2).

<i>rTsa ba lta bu'i rgyud</i>	3	37
<i>bShad pa'i rgyud</i>	5	
<i>Cha mthun ba'i rgyud</i>	3	
<i>rGyud phyi ma</i>	2	
<i>Phyi ma'i phyi ma gsang ba sde</i>	6	
<i>bsKyed rim gtso bor ston pa'i rgyud</i>	5	
<i>rDzogs rim gtso bor ston pa'i rgyud</i>	5	
<i>La bzla ba'i rgyud</i>	5	
<i>Drag po rme [rmas] thabs kyi rgyud</i>	2	
<i>Phrin las gtso bor ston pa 'bum skos</i>	1	

There are some sources that do not provide a description of the rDo-rje-phur-pa scriptures but cite some Tantric scriptures of Phur-pa. For example, the *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung* cites the *Phur pa rnal 'byor chen po'i rgyud phyi ma* and refers to the *Phur pa rdo rje bkod pa rnal 'byor chen po'i rgyud* and *rDo rje khros pa*.¹

7.2 The Non-Scriptural Literature of the rDo-rje-phur-pa Cycle

The non-scriptural Phur-pa literature, that is, those works dealing with the Phur-pa cycle composed by scholars as opposed to those scripture that are said to be the word of the Buddha (*buddhavacana*; *sangs rgyas kyi bka'gsung*), includes various kinds of literature genre. In the *Zangs gling ma* it is recorded that Padmasambhava composed many activity-related Phur-pa

¹ See the *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung* (p. 345.6 and 11–12).

*sādhana*s based on the *Phur pa rol pa rtsa ba'i rgyud* and *Kī la ya bcu gnyis kyī rgyud*.¹

In the follow paragraphs, I will discuss the genres found in the non-scriptural Phur-pa literature. Due to the vast quantity of the non-scriptural Phur-pa literature, the following introduction will be limited to the forty-five-volume anthology *Phur pa phyogs bsgrigs*. For each genre, I will provide three examples in *Phur pa phyogs bsgrigs*.

(1) The first genre is the commentary (*'grel pa*).² (2) The next is the practice manual (*sādhana*; *sgrub thabs*;) that contains guidelines for the performance of rituals; it is the type of texts that has the practical importance for Tantric practitioners, who have received the permission and empowerment to practice a specific Tantric scripture.³ (3) The next genre is the oral instruction (*upadeśa*; *man ngag*) which refers to speech that offers instruction for the practice.⁴ (4) The next genre is the manual of ritual activities (*las byang*) which instructs how to perform a ritual. *Las byang* can be classified into “upper activities” *stod las* and “lower activities” *smad las*. The “upper activities” are soteriological in nature and designate spiritual rituals that aim to attain enlightenment and liberation. On the other hand, the “lower activities,” which are apotropaic in nature, include more practical rituals to avert evil influences, such as the “four activities” namely pacification (*zhi*), enrichment (*rgyas*), domination (*dbang*) and subjugation (*drag*).⁵ It should be clear that my translation of *stod las* and *smad las* does not intend to suggest that one is “higher” or “lower.” There should be some criteria to

¹ See the *Zangs gling ma*(pp. 115,16–116.1): *phur pa rol pa rtsa ba'i rgyud dang kī la ya bcu gnyis kyī rgyud la brten nas | phur ba phrin las kyī sgrub thabs rnams mdzad do* |, also see KUNZANG 2004: 124.

² See, for example, the *rDo rje phur pa'i 'grel chen bdud rtsi dri ma med pa* (vol. 9, pp. 1–140); *dPal rdo rje phur pa rtsa ba'i rgyud kyī dum bu'i 'grel pa snying po bsdus pa dpal chen dgyes pa'i zhal lung* (vol. 22, pp. 9–208); *Phur pa'i byin 'bebs bka' gter chu bo kun 'dus byin rlabs dngos grub kyī rgya mtsho'i 'grel ba legs bshad ngo mtshar rgya mtsho mi zad gter gyi 'byung gnas* (vol. 42, pp. 491–554).

³ See, for example, the *rDo rje phur pa spu gri reg gcod kyī sngags kyī sgrub thabs* (vol. 21, pp. 611–618); *rDo rje phur pa'i sras mchog gi sgrub thabs shin tu gnyan pa* (vol. 27, pp. 19–24); *rDo rje phur pa'i srung ma sho na'i sgrub thabs* (vol. 27, pp. 147–152). For the definition of this genre, see COZORT 1996: 332.

⁴ See, for example, *bCom ldan 'das rdo rje phur pa rgyud lugs kyī smad las dam nye bar bsnyen pa'i man ngag ma mo mkha' 'gro'i zhal lung zhes bya ba gsang ba'i rgya can* (vol. 8, pp. 495–506); *dPal rdo rje phur bu'i phrin las dgra bgegs srol ba'i man ngag rdo rje'i me char* (vol. 10, pp. 143–156); *rDo rje phur pa skyed la bcang ba'i man ngag* (vol. 13, pp. 313–320).

⁵ The *las byang* is an abbreviation of the term *phrin las kyī byang bu* meaning the direction of activities and here referring to the rituals. For the *las byang* literature related to Phur-pa, see, for example, the *dPal phur bu rog lugs kyī sgrub thabs las byang dngos grub char 'bebs* (vol. 5, pp. 453–524); *bCom ldan 'das rdo rje phur pa rgyud lugs kyī bsnyen pa'i las byang bkol ba'i dum bu* (vol. 8, pp. 121–164); *Phur pa yang gsang srog gi spu gri'i las byang nor bu'i phreng ba* (vol. 10, pp. 27–68). For the *stod las* and *smad las* literature, see for example, the *Phur pa rgyud lugs las stod las byang chub sgrub pa'i spyi chings drwa ba sdom pa* (vol. 8, pp. 15–26); *dPal chen rdo rje phur pa'i smad las drag po srol ba'i rjes su gnang ba'i yi ge bdud bzhi'i g.yul 'joms* (vol. 23, pp. 225–276).

distinguish the *stod las* and *smad las*. Whether the temporal sequence is fixed or the hierarchy of the deities involved differs is not decisive. However, the precedence of the soteriological goal could be a criterion to differentiate them. “The upper activities” are directly associated with the attainment of Buddhahood whereas the “lower activities” are only indirectly associated with the attainment of Buddhahood.¹ For example, the *stod las byang chub sgrub pa* is often found in Tibetan sources, while *smad las* usually goes together with specific rituals such as “liberating the enemies and obstructers” (*dgra bgegs sgrol ba*), “exorcism with torma” (*gtor bzlog*) and so on.

(5) The next genre is the “lineage prayer” (*brgyud ’debs* or *brgyud pa’i gsol ’debs*) which is prayers or eulogies addressing the lineages of the transmission.² (6) The next genre is the “recitation manual” (*bsnyen yig*) which gives practitioners the instruction to conduct the personal retreat.³ (7) The next genre is the “ritual practice framework” (*sgrub khog*) which describes the framework of rituals needed for a major practice session and also elaborate on important features of the rites.⁴ (8) The next genre is the “torma offering” (*gtor ’bul*).⁵ (9) The next genre is the “exorcism with torma” (*gtor zlog* or *gtor bzlog*). It is a ritual to exorcise demons through the use of the torma ritual.⁶ (10) The next genre is the “empowerment ritual” (*dbang chog*). It is intended to instruct the rituals during the empowerment session.⁷ (11) The next genre is the “maṇḍala ritual” (*dkyil chog*) which is the guidelines on practicing the *maṇḍalas*

¹ As Cantwell and Mayer explain, *smad las* adopts ostensibly worldly magical rituals, renders them considerably more sophisticated and elaborate and in the process very comprehensively turns them toward Buddhist soteriological goals embodying the highest Mahāyoga view. In contrast, *stod las* constitutes more direct, less meditated approaches to ultimate reality, typically through deity meditation. See CANTWELL & MAYER 2008a: 248–249.

² See, for example, the *mTsho rgyal snyan brgyud phur pa’i brgyud ’debs* (vol. 5, pp. 345–346); *Rog lugs kyi phur pa’i brgyud ’debs* (vol. 6, pp. 449–452); *Phur pa yang gsang spu gri’i brgyud ’debs* (vol. 10, pp. 23–24).

³ See, for example, *rDo rje phur pa yang gsang spu gri’i bsnyen yig rin chen snye ma* (vol. 6, pp. 641–674).

⁴ For the definition of *sgrub khog*, see CANTWELL 2015: 90. For the text, see for example, *Rog phur smad las kyi sgrub khog gdug can mthar byed rdo rje ’bar ba’i ’khrul ’khor* (vol. 5, pp. 575–614).

⁵ See, for example, the *Phur pa’i gtor ’bul bar chad kun sel dang phur srung gi gsol mchod snying po* (vol. 8, pp. 781–782); *Zab gsang rdo rje phur pa’i bka’ srung dam can rnams kyi gtor ’bul gyi phrin las* (vol. 25, pp. 249–260).

⁶ See, for example, the *Phur pa’i gtor bzlog gi smad las thun gnyis pa gter gzhung dug phur dang sbrel lugs* (vol. 16, pp. 461–468); *dPal chen rdo rje gzhon nu’i smad las gtor zlog gi lag len gsal bar bkod pa rdo rje gnam lcags ’khrul ’khor* (vol. 23, pp. 395–444).

⁷ See, for example, *Rog phur gyi dbang chog bde chen mchog ster* (vol. 6, pp. 615–640); *bCom ldan ’das rdo rje phur pa rgyud lugs las dbang chog dngos grub rgya mtsho’i ’jug ngogs* (vol. 8, pp. 211–348); *rDo rje phur pa spu gri reg gcod kyi dbang chog* (vol. 21, pp. 543–566).

of the deity.¹ (12) The next genre is the “longevity ritual” (*tshe sgrub*). It is an instruction on how to practice the ritual to achieve longevity.² (13) The next genre is the “summoning the life-energy ritual” (*tshe ’gugs*) which involves the practice on gathering of summoning the life-energy from deities, sages, animate beings and inanimate substances to achieve longevity.³ (14) The next genre is the “daily practice” (*rgyun khyer*) which deals with daily meditation or offerings.⁴ (15) The next genre is the “fire offering” (*sbyin sreg*) concerning a ritual practice of burning offerings in fire.⁵ (16) The next genre is the “knife-taming ritual” (*gri ’dul cho ga*) which is a ritual practice intended to free the community from the threat and danger entailed when someone dies in such a manner.⁶

(17) The next genre is the “recitation and visualisation” (*bzlas dmigs* or *dmigs bzlas*). It is a kind of practice of visualising the deity and reciting the *mantra*.⁷ (18) The next genre is “the expulsion of evil spirits” (*bka’ bsgo*). According to Ricard, it is an injunction or command given by the teacher to all the negative forces not to harm the person who has requested this protection.⁸ It is also used by Bla-ma and Tantric practitioners to exhort the deity to be propitious to some one.⁹ (19) The next genre is the “eulogy” (*bstod pa*) which is a speech or writing to express one’s respect or gratitude to the Buddha, Bodhisattvas, deities or teachers.¹⁰ (20) The next genre is the “invocation” (*bskul ba*) which is a ritual chant to gods or

¹ See, for example, the *Dam pa’i phur nag dkyil chog dngos grub dpal ster* (vol. 29, pp. 391–406).

² See, for example, the *Phur pa rgyud lugs las tshe sgrub nyi zla’i za ma tog* (vol. 8, pp. 189–198); *sNyan brgyud phur pa’i tshe sgrub kyi dmigs bzlas* (vol. 11, pp. 729–730); *rDo rje phur pa’i tshe sgrub* (vol. 13, pp. 43–60).

³ See, for example, the *rDo rje phur pa’i tshe ’gugs pa’i sbyor ba* (vol. 10, pp. 571–574); *dPal chen rdo rje phur pa’i tshe ’gugs kyi phrin las dwangs ma bcud bsdu* (vol. 23, pp. 167–174); *rDo rje phur pa’i tshe ’gugs glog gi zhags pa* (vol. 25, pp. 229–236).

⁴ See, for example, the *Phur pa’i rgyun khyer* (vol. 10, pp. 75–78); *Ratna’i phur pa yang gsang bla med rdo rje phur pa’i gsang sgrub dang skong zlog rgyun khyer bsdu pa* (vol. 15, pp. 571–600); *Phur pa spu gri reg phung gi rgyun khyer* (vol. 38, pp. 231–234).

⁵ See, for example, *bCom ldan ’das rdo rje phur pa rgyud lugs kyi zhi ba’i sbyin sreg bdud rtsi’i thigs pa* (vol. 8, pp. 599–616); *rDo rje phur pa’i sbyin sreg gi cho ga* (vol. 13, pp. 45–52); *dPal rdo rje phur bu bdud ’joms gnam lcags spu gri’i sbyin sreg gi cho ga phrin las lhun gyis grub pa’i dga’ ston* (vol. 36, pp. 361–388).

⁶ See, for example, *Zab bdun mngon spyod phur pa las gri ’dul gyi cho ga* (vol. 11, pp. 453–474). For the definition of this genre, see MARTIN 2001: n. 26, 191.

⁷ See, for example, the *sNyan brgyud phur pa’i tshe sgrub kyi dmigs bzlas* (vol. 11, pp. 729–730); *Phur pa’i tshe sgrub kyi bzlas dmigs* (vol. 39, pp. 715–716).

⁸ See Ricard 2001: p. 539, n. 80.

⁹ See DAS 1902: 62. Note that Phur-pa is used in this rite. For the texts of this genre, see for example, the *rDo rje phur pa’i bka’ bsgo* (vol. 14, pp. 29–36); *Phur pa’i sgo nas bka’ bsgo bya ba’i tshul* (vol. 37, pp. 15–18).

¹⁰ See, for example, *rDo rje phur pa’i bstod pa dad bskul gyi rim pa rnam* (vol. 12, pp. 97–118); *Phur pa yang*

deities to request blessings or protection.¹ (21) The next genre is the “specific request” (*sgos bskul*).² (22) The next genre is the “prayer” (*smon lam*) which is a wish or request for some blessing or for the destruction of one’s enemies.³ (23) The next genre is the “invocation and offering” (*gsol mchod*). It is a ritual to seek blessings through offering to the deities.⁴ (24) The next genre is the “medicine offering” (*smān mchod*).⁵ (25) The next genre is the “propitiation ritual” (*bskang gso*) which is to propitiate and please the deities and to compensate for any fault.⁶ (26) The next genre is the “consecration ritual” (*rab gnas*) which is to invite the presence of the Buddha or deities to abide in sacred objects, such as a *stūpa* or an image.⁷ (27) The next genre is the “offering rites” (*mchod pa*) which is to make offerings to the sacred or powerful beings in order to honor, venerate and please them.⁸ (28) The next genre is the “question and answer” (*zhus lan*). It is a type of religious text replying to questions.⁹ (29) The next genre is the “preliminary rituals” or “rituals of preparation” (*sta gon cho ga*). It refers to the ritual that precedes the main part of the ritual (*dngos gzhi*) and usually includes four kinds

gsang don gyi snying po las gzhal yas don gyi bstod pa yid bzhi nor bu (vol. 15, pp. 221–228); *Bla phur thugs kyī thig le las lha tshogs bstod pa zur bkol* (vol. 38, pp. 47–48).

¹ There is also a genre called *bStod-bskul* which is a combination of the eulogy and invocation. For the text, see for example, the *rDo rje phur pa'i bstod bskul* (vol. 13, pp. 255–270); *rDo rje phur pa spu gri reg gcod kyī rdo rje khros pa'i bstod bskul* (vol. 21, pp. 645–650); *Zab gsang rdo rje phur pa'i yang snying las drag po'i bstod bskul myur mgyogs glog zhags* (vol. 25, pp. 339–354).

² See, for example, the *Phur pa rgyud lugs las sgrub pa'i dus kyī nyu le skrod pa'i pho nya sgos bskul* (vol. 8, pp. 205–210); *dPal rdo rje phur pa'i bsrung ma'i bskul te dam can sgos bskul* (vol. 13, pp. 235–242).

³ See, for example, the *Phur pa'i bsgrub khog mtha' rgyas mar me'i smon lam* (vol. 19, pp. 229–240); *rDo rje phur bu'i lam rim dang sbyar ba'i smon lam gyī rnam bshad mdor bsdu zab don rgya mtsho'i dga' ston* (vol. 37, pp. 489–500).

⁴ See, for example, the *Phur pa'i gtor 'bul bar chad kun sel dang phur srung gi gsol mchod snying po* (vol. 8, pp. 781–782); *Phur srung gi gsol mchod rgyun khyer* (vol. 11, pp. 109–110); *dPal gyī phur srung gsol mchod phrin las myur mgyogs* (vol. 27, pp. 125–138).

⁵ See, for example, the *Phur pa yang gsang bla med kyī smān mchod* (vol. 15, pp. 115–116); *Phur pa'i brgyud pa'i smān mchod* (vol. 26, pp. 687–688); *Bla phur smān mchod* (vol. 38, pp. 35–36).

⁶ See, for example, the *'Khon lugs rdo rje phur pa'i sgrub mchod skabs kyī bskang gso'i dbyangs yig* (vol. 17, pp. 745–786).

⁷ See, for example, the *dPal chen rdo rje phur pa'i rab gnas kyī cho ga byin rlabs 'dod dgu'i char* (vol. 18, pp. 447–652).

⁸ See, for example, the *Phur srung mchod pa'i rim pa dang gzhi bdag gtor ma* (vol. 9, pp. 583–586); *Bla ma phur pa dbyer med kyī sgrub thabs las phur srung dam can mchod pa'i las rim* (vol. 21, pp. 43–64); *dPal chen phur bu'i tshogs kyī mchod pa dang 'brel ba'i bskang ba* (vol. 38, pp. 237–238). For the definition of this genre, see MAKRAŃSKY 1996: 313.

⁹ See, for example, the *Phur pa yang gsang bla med don gyī snying po yang gsang thugs kyī zhus lan gsal ba'i sgron me* (vol. 16, pp. 105–130); *rDo rje phur pa spu gri reg gcod kyī zhus lan* (vol. 21, pp. 567–592).

of preliminaries: the earth goddess preliminary ritual (*sa yi lha mo sta gon*), *maṇḍala* preliminary ritual (*dkyil 'khor gyi sta gon*), vase preliminary ritual (*bum pa sta gon*), and the disciple preliminary ritual (*slob ma sta gon*).¹ (30) The next genre is the “stages of the path” (*lam rim*) which presents the path to the enlightenment.² (31) The next genre is the “sorcery practice” (*zor las*).³

¹ See, for example, the *rDo rje phur pa spu gri reg gcod kyi sta gon cho ga* (vol. 21, pp. 523–530). For the introduction of the four preliminary rituals, see CABEZÓN 2010: 15–16.

² See, for example, the *Rig pa ye shes kyi phur pa'i lam rim sangs rgyas myur lam* (vol. 26, pp. 593–614). *rDo rje phur bu'i lam rim dang sbyar ba'i smon lam gyi rnam bshad mdor bsdus zab don rgya mtsho'i dga' ston* (vol. 37, pp. 489–500).

³ See, for example, the *bCom ldan 'das rdo rje phur pa rgyud lugs las zor las gnam lcags 'bar ba* (vol. 8, pp. 507–586); *rDo rje phur pa'i zor las kyi drag bskul gnam lcags spu gri* (vol. 21, pp. 287–300); *rDo rje phur pa'i zor las dus kyi me dpung* (vol. 31, pp. 341–346).

Chapter 8

The rDo-rje-phur-pa Soteriology

The aim of the rDo-rje-phur-pa practice like other tantric practices is to gain salvation, the highest goal of which is Buddhahood. The discipline needed to gain salvation differs according to the varying characteristics of practitioners, the tools employed, the occasion of practice, and so forth. Correspondingly different methods and tools should be employed. As such, there exist hundreds of Tibetan texts dealing with the rDo-rje-phur-pa practice, however this chapter will take Mi-pham-rgya-mtsho's (1846–1912, henceforth Mi-pham) *bKa' brgyad rnam bshad* as an example.

Mi-pham-rgya-mtsho was one of the most prolific Tibetan writers of the nineteenth century and one of the most important rNying-ma scholars in the non-sectarian movement (*ris med*). Among his numerous works, two include “essence” (*snying po*) in their title: the *'Od gsal snying po* devoted to the Tantric section of Mahāyoga represented by the **Guhyagarbhatantra*,¹ and the *dNgos grub snying po* (the ornament title of the *bKa' brgyad rnam bshad*), which is a well organised scholarly work and follows the tradition of Nyang-ral's *bKa' brgyad bde gshegs 'dus pa*.²

In the colophon, it is stated that Mi-pham once received the empowerments of the bKa'-brgyad-bde-gshegs-'dus-pa cycle from his teacher 'Jam-dbyangs mKhyen-brtse-dbang-

¹ The full title of the *'Od gsal snying po* is the *gSang 'grel phyogs bcu'i mun sel gyi spyi don*, completed in 1885. Two English translations are available at the moment: One is translated by the Dharmachakra Translation Committee, published in 2009, and the other is translated by Lama Conam and Sangye Khandro, published in 2010. A Chinese translation is available by Shen Weirong together with Tan Xiyong's explanation, published in 2010.

² According to Yang Jie, the major content of the *bKa' brgyad rnam bshad* is based on several Nyang-ral's commentaries on the *bKa' brgyad bde gshegs 'dus pa* but adding his own and his teacher 'Jam-dbyangs mKhyen-brtse-dbang-po's opinion, see YANG 2015: 100.

po, who also bestowed Mi-pham his own transmission of the Eight Sādhanas, including the initiations, explanations, and direct instructions of the practice of the body, speech, mind, qualities, and activities. Mi-pham even received the scriptural transmissions of nine volumes of the *bKa' brgyad rnam bshad* from Kong-sprul Blo-gros-mtha'-yas. Upon being requested by 'Jam-dbyangs mKhyen-brtse-dbang-po, Mi-pham intended to write an exegesis on the Eight Sādhanas but could only managed to start the composition after the death of the former in 1892.¹

In this chapter, I will introduce the rDo-rje-phur-pa soteriology in brief based on Mi-pham's exegesis in the *bKa' brgyad rnam bshad*, which is listed as the fifth of the Eight Sādhanas. An outline on Mi-pham's exegesis is appended afterward. There are several versions of the *bKa' brgyad rnam bshad* available. I refer to three versions including a digital print, a block print, and an *dbu med* manuscript.²

8.1 The rDo-rje-phur-pa Soteriology according to the *bKa' brgyad rnam bshad*

Mi-pham starts this section by stating that the rDo-rje-phur-pa practice can be subsumed under the intention of four kinds of piercing through (*thal 'byin rnam pa bzhi'i dgongs pa*). This he explains from four hermeneutical aspects, collated into the four characteristics of Phur-pa (*phur pa'i mtshan nyid rnam bzhi*), the four types of individuals who practice Phur-pa (*phur pa sgrub pa'i gang zag*), the four practice substances of Phur-pa (*phur pa'i sgrub rdzas bzhi*), and the four practice methods (*sgrub lugs chen po bzhi*).³ These four aspects are the indispensable components of the rDo-rje-phur-pa soteriological system.

He continues by interpreting each hermeneutical aspect in detail. The first is the four characteristics of Phur-pa, namely the cognitive-gnostic Phur-pa (*rig pa ye shes kyi phur pa*), the secret *bodhicitta* Phur-pa (*gsang ba byang chub sems kyi phur pa*), the immeasurable com-

¹ See the *bKa' brgyad rnam bshad* (A: p. 693.3–696.6; B: 200.4–204.4; C: pp. 266.1–271.4).

² For convenience, I apply the sigla A, B, and C to the digital print, the block print, and the manuscript respectively. The whole *bKa' brgyad rnam bshad* has been translated into Chinese by Yang, see YANG 2015: 98–184.

³ See the *bKa' brgyad rnam bshad* (A: pp. 633.6–634.2; B: p. 134.2–4; C: p. 176.2–4): *lnga pa phur pa phrin las kyi sgrub pa thams cad thal 'byin rnam pa bzhi'i dgongs par 'dus pa'i tshul bshad pas | phur pa'i mtshan nyid rnam bzhis don gyi la shan phye nas bshad pa dang | phur pa sgrub pa'i gang zag de'i snod kyi rim pa dang sbyar nas mthar dbyung bar bshad pa dang | phur pa'i sgrub rdzas bzhi so so'i sgrub gzhung bzung nas bshad pa dang | sgrub lugs chen po bzhis phur pa'i gting phyung te bshad pa bzhi las...|.*

passionate Phur-pa (*tshad med snying rje'i phur pa*), and the conditioned material Phur-pa (*'dus byas rdzas kyī phur pa*). Under the first, the cognitive-gnostic Phur-pa, there are the realm Phur-pa (*dbyings kyī phur pa*), the gnostic Phur-pa (*ye shes kyī phur pa*), and the non-dual Phur-pa (*gnyis su med pa'i phur pa*). These three kinds of the cognitive-gnostic Phur-pa are explained in terms of their nature (*ngo bo*), etymology (*nges tshig*), object (*yul*), methods (*thabs*), qualities (*yon tan*), faults of not striking (*ma gdab pa'i skyon*), results of striking (*thebs pa'i 'bras bu*), and so forth. Mi-phan also adds that for further explanation of the cognitive-gnosis Phur-pa, one can refer to the *gSang sngags bka' yi tha ram*.¹

The essence of the secret *bodhicitta* Phur-pa is the gnosis of the great innate bliss (*bde ba chen po lhan cig skyes pa'i ye shes*), guided by the melting bliss due to the power of the union of the male and female consort. Through this, the impure wind-consciousness (*rlung sems*) decline into the realm by “sealing” the channels, breathes and drops. Consequently, pure gnosis arises and one attains the powerful enjoyment-body (*samboghakāya*) of the *maṇḍala* of the male and female deities.²

The immeasurable compassionate Phur-pa is not abandoning the sentient beings due to great compassion. This is offered to the six types of sentient beings and thereby, holding them with the rope of compassion, liberates them from abiding in the *samsara* and caused them to attain the emanation body (*nirmāṇakāya*).³

The conditioned material Phur-pa is the symbolic *mūdra* with support (*mtshan ma rtags kyī phyang rgya rten dang bcas*). The generation stage (*utpattikrama*) is also included within it.⁴ It can be divided into three, namely the body-*mudrā* Phur-pa (*sku phyang rgya'i*

¹ See the *bKa' brgyad rnam bshad* (A: p. 634.3–4; B: p. 134.6–135.1; C: pp. 176.6–177.1): *de re re la'ang ngo bo nges tshig yul thabs yon tan gdab pa'i skyon | thebs pa'i 'bras bu sog's kyī sgo nas rgyas par 'chad pa'i tshul ni gsang sngags bka' yi tha ram du shes par bya'o ||*. The *gSang sngags bka' yi tha ram* is a treasure text in the cycle of Nyang-ral's *bKa' brgyad-bde-gshegs-'dus-pa*.

² See the *bKa' brgyad rnam bshad* (A: pp. 634.6–635.1; B: p. 135.3–5; C: p. 177.4–6): *gnyis pa byang chub sems kyī phur pa ni yab yum mnyam par sbyor ba'i stobs kyī zhu bdes drang ba'i bde ba chen po lhan cig skyes pa'i ye shes ni de'i ngo bo yin la | des rtsa rlung thig le'i grong khyer la rgyas btab pas ma dag pa'i rlung sems dbyings su nub nas dag pa'i ye shes mngon du 'char ba byed cing lha dang lha mo'i dkyil 'khor gyi dbang phyang long's sku thob par byed do ||*.

³ See the *bKa' brgyad rnam bshad* (A: p. 635.1–3; B: p. 135.5–6; C: pp. 177.6–178.2): *gsum pa tshad med snying rje'i phur pa ni snying rje chen pos sems can yongs su mi gtong pa yin pa | des yul rigs drug gi sems can rnam's la btab pas thugs rje'i dpyang thag gis zin nas 'khor ba'i gnas nas sgrol zhing sprul pa'i sku thob par byed do ||*

⁴ See the *bKa' brgyad rnam bshad* (A: p. 635.3; B: pp. 135.6–136.1; C: p. 178.2): *bzhi pa 'dus byas rdzas kyī phur pa ni mtshan ma rtags [C, rtag AB] kyī phyang rgya rten dang bcas de 'di'i khongs su bskyed rim kyang 'du'o*. Rong-zom-pa states that the *mudrās* are of two types, namely those with signs (*mtshan dang bcas pa*) and those without signs (*mtshan ma med pa*). The Mahamudra is the signless *mūdra* and all the other *mūdras* are of

phur pa), the four-activities Phur-pa (*'phrin las bzhi'i phur pa*), and the supreme-son Phur-pa (*sras mchog phur pa*).

For the first one of these, the body-*mudrā* Phur-pa, there are the spontaneous Phur-pa (*rang bzhin gyi phur pa*) and the *samādhi* Phur-pa (*ting nge 'dzin gyi phur pa*). The spontaneous Phur-pa is the *maṇḍala* of deities who stay in the *akaniṣṭha* realm by nature with the support and supported. It is the object upon which the yogis meditate and practice.¹ The *samādhi* Phur-pa is to “seal” ordinary discursive thought through the *samādhi*, which is of visualizing the Phur-pa deities and then practicing by means of the four branches of recitation and practice. Afterward the generation stage causes all the existence to appear as Phur-pa deities, therefore all the accomplishments are achieved.²

Then Mi-pham discusses that the spontaneous Phur-pa and the *samādhi* Phur-pa are designated as the conditioned material Phur-pa: Having established the conditioned material Phur-pa, which is numerically equal to the Phur-pa deities, in the *maṇḍala* and taking it as the support of the visualization, one practices by not differentiating the *samaya maṇḍala*, which is manifested by the *samādhi*, and the spontaneous *maṇḍala*. Therefore, the spontaneous Phur-pa and *samādhi* Phur-pa are designated as the conditioned material Phur-pa.³

The four-activities Phur-pa has four kinds of enlightened activities. Taking it as support, by means of the deity, *mantra*, and *samādhi*, one engage in the four activities completely after having stabbed the Phur-pa upon any object.⁴

Mi-pham then lists eleven characteristics of the four-activities Phur-pa, which is also

signs, see ALMOGI 2009: 89–90. The conditioned material Phur-pa belongs to the *mūdra* with signs. The *rtags*, having a similar meaning with *mtshan ma*, could be taken as emphasizing *mtshan ma*.

¹ See the *bKa' brgyad rnam bshad* (A: p. 635.4–5; B: p. 136.1–3; C: p. 176.3–6): *dang po la rang bzhin gyi phur pa zhes bya ba ni | 'og min gyi zhing na rang bzhin gyis bzhuḡs pa'i phrin las kyi lha tshogs rten dang brten par bcas pa'i dkyil 'khor te | de ni rnal 'byor pas bsgom par bya ba dang bsgrub par bya ba'i yul yin no ||*. In this context, the support refers to the *maṇḍala* and the supported is the deities.

² See the *bKa' brgyad rnam bshad* (A: p. 635.5–6; B: p. 136.3–4; C: pp. 178.5–179.1): *gnyis pa ting nge 'dzin gyi phur pa ni | phur pa'i lha rnam gsar ba'i ting nge 'dzin gyis tha mal pa'i rnam rtog la rgyas ttab nas bsnyen sgrub yan lag bzhi'i tshul gyis sgrub pas bskyed rim snang srid phur bu'i lha tshogs su shar bas dngos grub thams cad 'grub bo ||*.

³ See the *bKa' brgyad rnam bshad* (A: pp. 635.6–636.2; B: pp. 136.3–6; C: pp. 179.1–3): *ting 'dzin dang rang bzhin gyi phur pa 'di gnyis la 'dus byas rdzas kyi phur par ci la btags snyam na 'dus byas rdzas kyi phur pa lha grangs dang mnyam pa dal du bkod nas de la dmigs rten byas te | ting 'dzin gyis sprul pa dam tshig gi dkyil 'khor de rang bzhin gyi dkyil 'khor dang dbyer med par sgrub pas na de skad du btags so ||*

⁴ See the *bKa' brgyad rnam bshad* (A: p. 636.2–3; B: p. 136.6–137.1; C: p. 179.3–5): *gnyis pa las bzhi'i phur pa ni phrin las rnam pa bzhi'i phur pa tshad ldan 'du byas la rten du byas te lha sngags ting nge 'dzin gyi sgo nas yul gang la ttab pa tsam gyis phrin las bzhi mthar phyin par byed pa'o ||*

classified into four types. The first of the four types is the pacifying Phur-pa. It is made of silver or wood or anything white in color, has a round tip and is eight finger-widths in length. One stabs the Phur-pa on the object, such as the eight fears, by means of visualizing the peaceful deity at its top, reciting the *mantra* that can change the direction, such as *śīntaṃ*, and symbolising the peaceful *samādhi*, such as visualizing the emission and gathering of white rays. Consequently, one pacifies all the disharmonious elements.¹ The second type is for the amplification. This kind of Phur-pa is made of golden materials like gold and has a square shape. It is six finger-widths in length. Taking it as a support, in terms of the amplification, one can visualize the deities, *mantra*, *samādhi*, and so forth.² The second type is for the domination. This kind of Phur-pa is made of red material such as bronze, is crescent in shape and is six finger-widths in length. Take it as the support, the activities of the domination will be done.³ The wrathful Phur-pa is made of black material such as iron, has a triangular tip, and is eight or twelve finger-widths in length. One can perform the wrathful activities with it.⁴

The third of the conditioned material Phur-pa is the blessed supreme-son Phur-pa which includes four types of the supreme son (*sras mchog rigs bzhi*).⁵ In short, the blessed supreme-son Phur-pa can be a Phur-pa which has a three-faced upper part. Under the throat is the knot, then downwards is the shape of eight rhubarb leaves or the shape of *vajra*, a knot, and a triangular tip from the mouth of the *makara* in sequence. Some people say it has a knot-shaped tip.⁶

¹ See the *bKa' brgyad rnam bshad* (A: p. 636.3–5; B: p. 137.2–4; C: 179.5–180.2): *zhi ba'i phur pa'i rgyu ni dngul lam shing sogs kha dog dkar po can la mdog dkar po phur pa'i dbal dbyibs zlum po tshad sor brgyad pa can byas la der zhi ba'i lha dmigs shing shintaṃ [AB, shintaṃ C] kyi sngags kha sgyur can bzla ba dang | 'od zer dkar po'i phro 'du sogs zhi ba'i ting nge 'dzin gsal ba'i sgo nas yul jiigs brgyad sogs la btab pas mi mthun pa'i phyogs de dag zhi bar byed pa'o ||*

² See the *bKa' brgyad rnam bshad* (A: p. 636.5–6; B: p. 137.4–5; C: p. 180.2–3): *rgyas par gser sogs kyi rgyu las mdog ser po dbyibs gru bzhi sor drug pa'i tshad can gyi phur bu rten du byas nas lha sngags ting 'dzin sogs rgyas pa'i skabs kyi dmigs gsal bzhin du bya'o ||*

³ See the *bKa' brgyad rnam bshad* (A: p. 636.5–6; B: p. 180.3–4; C: p. 137.4–5): *dbang la zangs sogs dmar po'i rgyu las mdog dmar zhing dbyibs zla gam sor bcu pa'i tshad can gyi phur bu la brten te dang gi las bya'o ||*

⁴ See the *bKa' brgyad rnam bshad* (A: pp. 636.6–637.1; B: pp. 137.6–138.1; C: p. 180.4–5): *drag po'i phur pa rgyu lcags sogs nag po'i rgyu las mdog nag cing dbyibs gru gsum pa'i dbal can tshad sor brgyad dam bcu gnyis pa rten du byas te drag po'i las sgrub par bya ba yin no ||*

⁵ The four types of supreme son are the deities of Phur-pa which should be visualised by the practitioners in the four directions of a wheel at the base of the *maṇḍala*, see *Namdrol* 1999: 55–56.

⁶ See the *bKa' brgyad rnam bshad* (A: p. 637.1–3; B: p. 138.1–2; C: p. 180.5–181.1): *gsum pa byin rlabs sras mchog gi phur pa ni sras mchog rigs bzhi'am bsdu na gcig gis kyang rung ste | stod zhal gsum mgrin 'og rgya mdud de 'og lcum zhog brgyad dam rdo rje dbyibs | de 'og rgya mdud 'og ma | de 'og chu srin gyi kha nas byung ba'i dbal*

Then Mi-pham states that one should have three kinds of knowledge with respect to the supreme-son Phur-pa. First, one should know the supreme son as the deities, which means to know the middle part of the eight leaves of rhubarb as the Vajrakumāra, the centre of the upper knot as the upper and lower wrathful deities, the four edges and eight sides of the Phur-pa as the ten wrathful deities of the cardinal and secondary directions, either in their actual forms or in the form of the *hūṃ* syllable, and the surface of the lower knot as the essence of the deities of the four gates.¹ Second, one should know that the supreme son lives in the immeasurable celestial mansion. This means that when the inner part of the Phur-pa is transformed into the immeasurable celestial mansion one should visualize the deities rolling the rDo-rje-ri-rab-phur-pa and abiding.² Third, one should know that the supreme-son Phur-pa itself compromises four logical positions, namely to be supreme but not son, to be son but not supreme, to be neither son nor supreme, and to be both son and supreme. The last of the four is supreme and has the three *maṇḍala* completely.³

Then Mi-pham starts the second hermeneutical aspect, the four types of individual who practice Phur-pa, which also has four points. First, the cognitive-gnostic Phur-pa causes the sky-like individuals (*nam mkha' lta bu'i gang zag*) to reach the ultimate state. The reason for this is that those who have a spacious mind, sharp intelligence to the great knowledge, and the equal discipline (*mnyam pa'i brtul zhugs*), through conferring upon them the empowerment of skilful gnosis and showing them the essence of the cognitive-gnostic Phur-pa, will vividly comprehend and reach the ultimate state after having stabbed the Phur-pa.⁴

grub gsum pa can nam | rtser rgya mdud can du'ang gsung ste |

¹ See the *bKa' brgyad rnam bshad* (A: pp. 637.5–638.2; B: pp. 138.5–139.1; C: pp. 181.5–182.1): *dang po sras mchog lhar shes pa ni lcum zhog gi dbus su dpal rdo rje gzhon nu | rgya mdud gong 'og gi dbus su steng 'og gi khro bo dang | zur bzhi logs [C, log AB] brgyad la phyogs mtshams kyi khro bo bcu sku dangos sam hūṃ yig gi tshul du bzhuḡs pa | rgya mdud 'og ma'i logs [C, log AB] la sgo ma bzhi bzhuḡs pa'i lha'i rang bzhin du shes pa'o ||*. Note that the four edges and eight sides of the Phur-pa do not match the ten wrathful deities.

² See the *bKa' brgyad rnam bshad* (A: p. 638.2; B: p. 139.1–2; C: p. 182.1–2): *gnyis pa sras mchog gzhal yas khang du shes pa ni | phur pa'i nang gzhal yas khang du gyur pa na lha rnams rdo rje ri rab kyi phur pa 'dril zhing bzhuḡs par gsal ba'o*.

³ See the *bKa' brgyad rnam bshad* (A: p. 638.2–3; B: p. 139.2–4; C: p. 182.2–5): *gsum pa sras mchog nyid du shes pa la mu bzhi ste | mchog yin la sras ma yin pa | sras yin la mchog ma yin pa | sras dang mchog gnyis ka ma yin pa | sras dang mchog gnyis ka yin pa bzhi yod pa las 'di ni sras kyang yin la mchog kyang yin te gts'o bo'i sras yin la 'khor rnams kyi mchog yin pa'i phyir ro ||*.

⁴ See the *bKa' brgyad rnam bshad* (A: 638.4–5; B: 139.3–6; C: pp. 182.5–183.2): *rig pa ye shes kyi phur pa ni nam mkha' lta bu'i gang zag gis mthar dbyung bar byed de | gang zhe na blo yangs shing shes rab che la dbang po rno ba'i gang zag gang zhib mnyam pa'i brtul zhugs dang ldan pa de la rig pa rtsal gyi dbang bskur te rang rig ye shes kyi phur pa'i ngo bor stan pas lhang gis rtogs nas phur pa theb ste mthar phyin par nus so ||*.

Second, to the *kālāntaka*-like individuals, who have many attachments but are diligent, through bestowing upon them the consort endowed with auspiciousness and conferring upon them the meaning of non-dual great bliss of the superior *bodhicitta* Phur-pa, they will vividly comprehend and reach the ultimate state after having stabbed the Phur-pa.¹

Third, the immeasurable compassionate Phur-pa that causes the mountain-like individuals to reach the ultimate state is as follows. Those individuals, who are happy about the benefits of others and enthusiastic due to their stable faith and sympathy, through training their mind with the four immeasurables, generating the *bodhicitta* in the unsurpassable enlightenment, bestowing upon them the mantric empowerment, holding the promises of the four immeasurables, and teaching them the instructions of activity. As a result, they vividly comprehend and reach the ultimate state through stabbing the Phur-pa.² Mi-pham also provides an explanation of other works: The immeasurable compassionate Phur-pa is also called bsKyed-rim-srid-pa-phur-pa. When using this name, it is the individuals who have arrogance and mountain-like stable mind that will achieve the ultimate stage by practicing this Phur-pa.³

Fourth, the sandalwood-like individuals will reach the ultimate state by relying on the symbolic material Phur-pa (*mtshan ma rdzas kyī phur pa*).⁴ Mi-pham also comments that the Phur-pa causes individuals to reach the ultimate is the same with that the individuals causes the Phur-pa to reach the ultimate stage.⁵ Besides the four kinds of individuals listed above, Mi-

¹ See the *bKa' brgyad rnam bshad* (A: pp. 638.5–639.2; B: 139.6–140.2; C: p. 183.2–4): *gnyis pa 'dod chags che zhing brtson 'grus dang ldan pa'i gang zag bya ka lanta ka lta bu la | yum bkra shis mtshan dang ldan pa gtad la | gsang sber gyi [C, gyis AB] dbang bskur nas | lbag pa'i byang chub sems kyī phur pa gnyis su med pa bde ba chen po'i don bstan pas lhang gis rtogs pa dang phur pa thebs te mthar phyin par 'gyur ro ||*

² See the *bKa' brgyad rnam bshad* (A: p. 639.1–3; B: p. 140.2–4; C: p. 183.5–184.1): *gang zag dad pa dang snying rje brtan pos gzhan don dang spros pa la dga' ba de la | rang gzhan gyi don du tshad med pa bzhis blo sbyong te bla na med pa'i byang chub du sems bskyed du bcug la sngags kyī dbang bskur nas | tshad med bzhi'i dam bca' bzung zhing las kyī man ngag bstan pas lhang gis rgos pa dang phur pa thebs te mthar phyin par 'gyur ro ||* The four immeasurables (*tshad med bzhi*) refer to the attitude of Mahāyāna Buddhists towards others, they are the immeasurable kindness (*byams pa tshad med*), the immeasurable compassion (*snying rje tshad med*), the immeasurable joy (*dga' ba tshad med*), and the immeasurable equanimity (*btang snyoms tshad med*).

³ See the *bKa' brgyad rnam bshad* (A: p. 639.3–4; B: p. 140.4–5; C: p. 184.1–3): *tshad med snying rje'i phur pa 'di'i tshad du gzhang gzhan na | bskyed rim srid pa phur bu zhes gsungs pa ltar na | gang zag nga rgyal che zhing sems brtan pa ri bo lta bus bskyed rim srid pa phur bu nyams su blang nas mthar dbyung bar gsung so ||*

⁴ See the *bKa' brgya rnam bshad* (A: p. 639.4; B: p. 140.5–6; C: p. 184.3–4): *bzhi pa mtshan ma rdzas kyī phur pa la brten nas tsan dan lta bu'i gang zag mthar dbyung ba ste |* Here the sybolic-material Phur-pa is just another name of the conditioned material Phur-pa.

⁵ See the *bKa' brgyad rnam bshad* (A: p. 639.4–5; B: 140.6; C: p. 184.4–5): *'di rnams la gang zag gis phur pa'i don de mthar dbyung ba dang | phur pa des gang zag de mthar dbyung ba gnyis don la 'dra bas sbyar lugs ji ltar byas kyang rung ngo ||*

pham also adds another kind of individuals who are harmful and vicious. They should turn their mind towards the protection of teachings, then conferring them empowerments and teaching them the recitation *mantra*, practice and application of the Phur-pa. If they realize all phenomena as the *maṇḍala* of Phur-pa, they will reach the ultimate state by stabbing the Phur-pa.¹

Next, Mi-pham starts the third hermeneutical aspect, namely the four practice substances of Phur-pa, which also includes four points. For the cognitive-gnostic Phur-pa, one practices the deity by means of the peg, glass and flower. For the *bodhicitta* Phur-pa, one practices through the emission and gathering of the skull cup, *vajra* and *padma*. The immeasurable compassionate Phur-pa should be practiced by relying on the activity Phur-pa, deity, *mantra*, *samādhi*, and the sentient beings that are taken as the objects. The conditioned material Phur-pa should be practiced by relying on the Phur-pa and white mustard seed at the time of recitation, at the time of practice in the *maṇḍala* and *liṅga*, the crushing, and at the time of completed activities by burning and throwing (*mnan bsreg 'phang gsum*).²

The last hermeneutical aspect that Mi-pham provided, namely by means of the four main *sādhana*s, one can reach the pith of Phur-pa. One will reach the pith of view through practicing the cognitive-gnostic Phur-pa as the spontaneous *maṇḍala*.³ One will abandon conduct through practicing the *bodhicitta* Phur-pa as the non-duality *maṇḍala* of bliss and emptiness.⁴ One will accomplish practical application through practicing the immeasurable compassionate Phur-pa as the *samādhi maṇḍala*.⁵ (4) One will completely per-

¹ See the *bKa' brgyad rnam bshad* (A: p. 639.5–6; B: pp. 140.6–141.2; C: pp. 184.5–185.1): *gang zag gang zbig zbe sdang bas gdug pa dang gnag pa che la bstan pa srung bar blo phyogs pa de la dbang bskur nas rdo rje phur pa'i bsnyen sgrub las sbyor dang bcas pa'i sngags pas snang srid phur bu'i dkyil 'khor du lhang gis rtogs na phur pa thebs te mithar phyin par byed do ||*.

² See the *bKa' brgyad rnam bshad* (A: p. 640.1–3; B: p. 141.2–5; C: p. 185.1–3): *rig pa ye shes kyi phur pa ni | lha phur dang shel lam me long la rten byas te sgrub | byang chub sems kyi phur pa sgrub pa'i snod thod pa dang rdo rje dang padma'i 'du 'phro las bsgrub | tshad med snying rje'i phur pa las kyi phur pa dang lha sngags ting nge 'dzin dang yul sems can la rten byas te sgrub | 'dus byas rdzas kyi phur pa ni bsnyen pa'i dus su phur pa dang nyungs kar | sgrub pa'i dus su 'khor lo dang ling ga | las rdzogs [AC, ldogs B] pa'i dus su mnan bsreg 'phang gsum la brten te sgrub par bya ba'o ||*

³ See the *bKa' brgyad rnam bshad* (A: p. 640.3–4; B: p. 141.5–6; C: p. 185.4–5): *rig pa ye shes kyi phur pa rang bzbin gyi dkyil 'khor du bsgrub la lta ba'i gting phyung te bshad |*.

⁴ See the *bKa' brgyad rnam bshad* (A: p. 640.4; B: p. 141.6; C: p. 185.5): *byang chub sems kyi phur pa bde stong gnyis su med pa'i dkyil 'khor du bsgrub la spyod la dor te bshad*

⁵ See the *bKa' brgyad rnam bshad* (A: p. 640.4–5; B: pp. 141.6–142.1; C: p. 185.5–6): *tshad med snying rje'i phur pa ting nge 'dzin gyi dkyil 'khor du bsgrubs te sgom pas nyams su blangs [C, AB] te bshad*.

fect the enlightened activity through practising the conditioned material Phur-pa as the image *maṇḍala* (*gzugs brnyan gyi dkyil 'khor*).¹ In the end, he adds an explanation of the rDo-rje-phur-pa soteriology from the treasure tradition of 'Jam-dbyangs mKhyen-rtse-dbang-po.

8.2 Outline of the rDo-rje-phur-pa Section in the *bKa' brgyad rnam bshad*

1 Phur-pa'i-mtshan-nyid

- (a) Rig-pa-ye-shes-kyi-phur-pa
 - i dByings-kyi-phur-pa
 - ii Ye-shes-kyi-phur-pa
 - iii gNyas-su-med-pa'i-phur-pa
- (b) gSang-ba-byang-chub-sems-kyi-phur-pa
- (c) mTshan-med-snying-rje'i-phur-pa
- (d) 'Dus-byas-rdzas-kyi-phur-pa
 - i sKu-phya-rgya'i-phur-pa
 - (1) Rang-bzhin-gyi-phur-pa
 - (2) Ting-nge-'dzin-gyi-phur-pa
 - ii Phrin-las-bzhi'i-phur-pa
 - (1) Zhi-ba'i-phur-pa
 - (2) rGyas-pa'i-phur-pa
 - (3) dBang-gi-phur-pa
 - (4) Drag-po'i-phur-pa
 - iii Sras-mchog-gi-phur-pa
 - (1) Sras-mchog-ltar-shes-pa
 - (2) Sras-mchog-gzhal-yas-khang-du-shes-pa
 - (3) Sras-mchog-nyid-du-shes-pa

¹ See the *bKa' brgyad rnam bshad* (A: p. 640.5; B: p. 142.1; C: pp. 185.6–186.1): *'dus byas rdzas kyi phur pa gzugs brnyan gyi dkyil 'khor du bsgrub te phrin las yongs su rdzogs par bshad pa'o* ||.

- (A) mChog-yin-la-sras-ma-yin
- (B) Sras-yin-la-mchog-ma-yin
- (C) Sras-dang-mchog-gnyis-ma-yin
- (D) Sras-dang-mchog-gnyis-ka-yin

2 Phur-pa'i-sgrub-pa'i-gang-zag

- (a) Nam-mkha'-lta-bu'i-gang-zag
- (b) Kalandaka-lta-bu'i-gang-zag
- (c) Ri-bo-lta-bu'i-gang-zag
- (d) Tsan-dan-lta-bu'i-gang-zag

3 Phur-pa'i-sgrub-rdzas

- (a) *phur pa*, mirror and flower
- (b) skull cup, *vajra*, and *padma*
- (c) *phur pa*, deity, *mantra*, *samādhi*, and sentient beings
- (d) *phur pa* and white mustard seeds; *maṇḍala* and *liṅga*; crushing, burning, and throwing away

4 Phur-pa'i-sgrub-lugs-chen-po

- (a) practice the cognitive-gnostic Phur-pa as the spontaneous *maṇḍala*
- (b) practice the *bodhicitta* Phur-pa as the non-duality *maṇḍala* of bliss and emptiness.
- (c) practice the immeasurable compassionate Phur-pa as the *samādhi maṇḍala*
- (d) practice the conditioned material Phur-pa as the image *maṇḍala*

Chapter 9

Sources for the Critical Edition of the *Phur pa lo rgyus*

9.1 A Brief Description of Extant Manuscripts and Editions

So far, I have found ten versions of Sog-bzlog-pa's *Phur pa lo rgyus*, but only nine are available. Four of them are from four different versions of the *rNying ma bka' ma*, which are the *bDud 'joms bka' ma*, *Kaḥ thog bka' ma* (A and B), and the *dPal yul bka' ma*. In general, the four versions are identical to each other in content. To be more specific, the two versions in the *Kaḥ thog bka' ma* (A and B) are just copies of the version in the *bDud 'joms bka' ma*. Their format, pagination (both in the folio number and the page number), and even their script style are identical. The version in the *dPal yul bka' ma* is a xylographic edition. Although its script style is different from that in the *bDud 'joms bka' ma*, its layout and folio numbering still follow the latter. There was a xylographic edition of the pre-1959 *dPal yul bka' ma*, but the block print did not survive. One set of the xylographic edition is said to have survived, upon which the present and new *dPal yul bka' ma* is based. The *Phur pa lo rgyus* is probably not in the old xylographic edition but has been added to the new xylographic edition and is based on the *bDud 'joms bka' ma*.¹ In the version of the *dPal yul bka' ma*, there are a few minute variations from the *bDud 'jom bka' ma* probably due to negligence in carving the wood block.

The version that is not available is recorded in a catalog called *Lo rgyus dpe tho*, bearing

¹ It is not certain whether the *Phur pa lo rgyus* is in the old xylographic edition or not. There is a catalog of the old *dPal yul bka' ma* written by the previous Rog-mgo-mchog-sprul, which needs to be examined to see if the text is included in it. Due to time constraints, I have not read through the entire catalog.

the number 1190. Only the author, Nam-mkha'-spyod-pa, and the title, *rDo rje phur pa'i lo rgyus chos 'byung*, are provided.¹ This being the case, only six versions are consulted in the critical edition, and sigla A to F are employed to denote them. There is no logic or meaning behind the sequence of the sigla. The following is a brief introduction to each of the six versions used in the critical edition.

A is included in the first volume of the *So bzlog pa gsung 'bum*, which contains two volumes and has been reproduced from a unique but incomplete dBu-can manuscript from the library of bDud-'joms Rin-po-che (1904–1987). The text is in good condition and the script is clear. It consists of six lines per folio (first folio verso four lines, second folio recto five lines). According to the catalog of the Library of Congress, the page measurements are 28×38 cm. Two copies of this text are preserved in the Library of Tibetan Works and Archives in Dharamsala, India, see the *Catalogue of the Library of Tibetan Works and Archives* CLTWA, vol. 1, no. 148 & vol. 2, no. 170.²

B is an dBu-med manuscript included in the twenty-second volume of the *Kīlaya'i chos skor phyogs bsgrigs*, which has forty-five volumes. The script in B is not as clear as other two manuscripts (A and F) and is in some cases quite obscure even illegible. Abbreviation (*skung yig*) is quite common in B. It consists of five lines per folio (first folio verso and second folio recto four lines).

C is an dBu-can manuscript in the eighth volume of the *bDud 'joms bka' ma*. This edition is neatly printed and no abbreviation is found. Due to having been edited by bDud-'joms-rin-po-che, this edition follows the orthographical rules better than the other two manuscripts (B and F). It consists of six lines per folio (first folio verso from the fourth line).

D is included in the *rDo rje phur pa'i chos 'byung dang rgyud 'grel phyogs bsgrigs*. It is the unique among these version in that it is printed in modern books forms in dBu-can. Redaction has been made in round bracket following the word or phrase which need to be edited.

E is a modern print version in dBu-can and is included in the one hundred and twenty-ninth volume of the *Kaḥ thog bka' ma* (C), which was compiled by mKhan-po Munsel (1916–1993). The layout and printing is of reasonable quality. It consists of six lines per folio (first folio verso and second folio recto five lines)

¹ Note that Nam-mkha'-spyod-pa is another name for Sog-bzlog-pa.

² For a mention of the two copies, see MARTIN 1997: no. 201.

F is an dBu-med manuscript included in the ninth volume of the *Bka' ma: The Redaction of Rdzogs-chen Rgyal-sras Gzhan-phan-mtha' yas*, reproduced from bDud-'joms Rin-poche's original Tibetan manuscript collection. This volume contains texts relating to the Phurpa transmission that passed through Rong-zom Chos-kyi-bzang-po. Compared to B, F has clearer script, even though some parts are obscure. There is also abbreviation in this version. It consists of six lines per folio.

9.2 Some Observations on the Stemmatic Relationship of the Editions

Due to the complexity of the versions and the limited information available, there is no firm basis for determining the chronological order or stemmatic relationship of the six versions. One should not take for granted that the modern printed version is a later version as it could well be based on an earlier manuscript or xylographic edition. However, I would like to present some observations gleaned from a statistical analysis of variants of the different versions.

C and F agree on the same reading most frequently, which indicates that they may have the same origin.¹ D and E agree on the same reading second most frequently, which means D and E could have the same origin.² In contrast, A, B, and F agree on the same reading very seldom, nor do any two of them. It can therefore be assumed that A, B, and F have different origins.³ The group DE is a bit ambiguous and shows almost equal closeness to A, B, and C.⁴ Between D and E, B is a bit closer to E than D.⁵ The group CF goes together with D more often than E.⁶

¹ C and F agree on the same reading around 3279 times.

² D and E agree on the same reading around 3093 times.

³ A, B, and F agree on the same reading only around 418 times. The number for BF, AB, and AF are around 1109, 1856, and 1887 respectively.

⁴ The times for ADE, BDE and CDE are around 1914, 1948, and 1987 respectively.

⁵ There are around 2914 times for BE, but only 2303 times for BD.

⁶ There are around 1989 times for CDF, but only around 1596 times for CEF.

9.3 The Methodology and Abbreviations Employed in the Critical Edition

A positive apparatus has been followed in the critical edition. I have attempted to record all the variants. Those variants I regard as significant for textual criticism are reproduced in the footnotes (in Arabic numerals, starting anew in each page) and less significant one in endnotes (in Arabic numerals with square brackets). The variants I regarded as less significant, which do not influence the context, are those with orthographical abbreviations (*skung yig*), confusion between *pa* and *ba*, orthographical connections (*sandhi*), punctuation, and so forth. The numbers used to segment the text are mine. The page numbers of each version are given in raised angled brackets (for instance, ^{A120} represents page number 120 of A). As the texts only have a few interlinear and marginal annotations, these were in curly brackets in smaller font after the text that is to be annotated. I have not recorded scribal peculiarities (such as placing the post-postscript *s* below the preceding letter, commonly employed to save space), the *yig mgo* or *dbu khyud* (marks the beginning of a text), and the *sbrul shad* (separates topics and sub-topics). Likewise, no distinction is made between the common *shad* and the *rin chen spung shad* (commonly used for the first *shad* in a line when it occurs after only one syllable, see Et62.2).

As the manuscript in dBu-med has different punctuation conventions from the version in dBu-can, it is necessary to clarify the punctuation transliteration rules for the former. Graphically there is no classification of the single *shad* and the double *shad* in *dbu med*, but there is a distinction between a short and a long stroke, namely the *tsheg* and the *shad*. From the functional perspective, the *shad* in *dbu med* is quantitatively equal to the double *shad* in *dbu can*. The *tsheg* (in B found with three or four vertical dots afterward) followed by a space in *dbu med* is equal to the single *shad* in *dbu can*. Another difference between the *dbu med* and *dbu can* script is that the *shad* in *dbu can* never follows the *tsheg* except in the case of *nga*, but in *dbu med* the *shad* always follows the *tsheg* and is doubled when following *nga*.

Considering these differences, the rules of transliterating B are as follows: a. Three or four vertical dots preceded by one or two *tsheg* (in the case of *nga*) and followed by a space is transliterated as the single *shad*. b. One *shad* preceded by one or two *tsheg* and followed by space is transliterated as the double *shad*. The rules of transliterating F are as follows: a. One or two *tsheg* followed by space is transliterated as the single *shad*. b. One *shad* preceded by one or two *tsheg* and followed by space is transliterated as the double *shad*.

The following abbreviations are used in the critical edition:

conj.: conjecture

emend.: emendation

ins.: insert

obs.: obscure

om.: omit

Sigla in Apparatus:

A: *Blo gros rgyal mtsban gyi gsung 'bum*, vol. 1. New Delhi: Sanjie Dorjie, 1975 [BDRC-W8870; LWTA-No.148 vol.1, No.170 vol.2], pp. 111–201.

B: *dPal chen kīlaya'i chos skor phyogs bsgriqs*, vol. 22. Chengdu: Bod-kyi-shes-rig-zhib-'jug-khang, 2002 [BDRC-W24051], pp. 209–330.

C: *bDud 'joms bka' ma*, vol. 8. Kalimpong: Dujung Lama, 1982–1987 [BDRC-W19229], pp. 8–116.

D: *dPal phur pa'i chos 'byung dang rgyud 'grel phyogs bsgriqs*. Beijing: Mi-rigs-dpe-skrun-khang, 2006 [BDRC-WooKGo8442], pp. 1–46.

E: *Kaḥ thog bka' ma* (C), vol. 129. Chengdu: Si-khron-dpe-skrun-tshogs-pa & Si-khron-mi-rigs-dpe-skrun-khang, 2009 [BDRC-WiPD100944], pp. 161–272.

F: *bKa' ma: The Redaction of Rdzogs-chen Rgyal-sras Gzhan-phan mtha'-yas*, vol. 9, Ngagyur Nyingmay Sungrab Series, vol. 15. Gangtok: Sonam Kazi, 1969, pp. 136–254.

Part II

Annotated Translation and Critical Edition

Chapter 10

Annotated Translation

10.1 Homage

[This text] titled *The History of the Glorious rDo-rje-phur-pa [Teachings]: Waves of the Amazing Ocean* pays obeisance to [my] guru and Śrīvajrakumāra.

Having prostrated repeatedly by my mind with respect,
to the ocean-like *vidyādhāras*, *gurus*, the Victorious one together with his children,
tutelary deities, and *ḍākas* or *ḍākinīs*,
The story of the utterly secret teachings will be proclaimed.¹

10.2 The Flourish of the rDo-rje-phur-pa Scriptures in the Celestial World

To begin with, the excellent teacher, [namely] the primordial Buddha (*ādibuddha*) Samantabhadra, in the excellent time, [namely] the fourth dimension of time [which is characterised by] equality, in the excellent place, [namely] the Akaniṣṭha realm [which is characterized by] the pure domain of Dharmadhātu, having manifested in the form of female and male [aspects]

¹ Here the term *rgya mtsho la* can be rendered either as an adjective “ocean like” to qualify all the objects or as an adverbial phrase of place where all the objects stay. The phrase *bdag yid gus pas* can be understood as “I prostrate with respectful mind” which makes *bdag* as the subject and *yid gus pa* as an adverbial phrase of manner. Or *bdag yid* is taken together as “my mind” thus it can be translated as “prostrate by my mind with respect.”

of Vajrakumāra [in] the root *maṇḍala* of the main deity [who is] an unceasing magical manifestation while not deviating from the great mind [which is characterised] by non-arising [and which is] free from extremes,¹ having emanated vividly from the non-dual union of method (*upāya*) and knowledge (*prajñā*) [in] the *maṇḍala* of the excellent retinue, [namely] the animal-headed divinities [who are] the wrathful deities in ten directions and [in] the *maṇḍala* of the son of Phur-pa,² taught the excellent teaching, [namely] the entire Tantric scriptures of 'Phrin-las-phur-pa such as the *Vidyottama la 'bum sde*.

These Tantric scriptures were even completely recited by the teacher himself, Vajrasattva, Vajrapāni, *ḍākinīs*, a Brahman called Mi'i-thod-pa-can, and so forth. If one thinks [as follows]: “How [is it] reasonable [for the teachings] to be initially recited by the retinue, but unreasonable [for the teachings] to be recited by the teacher himself?” This question is [clarified by the scriptural statement] “thus I have explained at one time” (*'di skad bdag gis bshad pa'i dus gcig na*) and [that which comes] from the commentary on the *Guhyasamāja* [which is] the *gSang ba grub pa* written by Ācārya mTsho-skyes-rdo-rje (Padmavajra):³

Some Ācāryas claimed as follows,
The reciter of the *Guhyasamāja*,
is the splendid hero lord of the world.⁴
I alone mentioned,⁵

¹ The root *maṇḍala* of the main deity (*bdag nyid rtsa ba'i dkyil 'khor*) is one of the three *maṇḍalas* in the Anuyoga system. The other two are the *maṇḍala* of the wrathful deities of the ten directions (*phyogs bcu'i khro bo bcu'i dkyil 'khor*) and the *maṇḍala* of the son of Phur-pa (*phur pa sras kyi dkyil 'khor*).

² The “animal-headed divinities” is based on the reading *phra thabs* that has the same meaning with *phra man* or *phra men*. They are a kind of beings with the bodies of gods and the heads of either birds or carnivorous animals, see NAMDROL 1999: 56 and note 96 on 84. Here the two kinds of *maṇḍala* should refer to the two of the three *maṇḍalas* mentioned above, although with some differences.

³ The *gSang ba grub pa* refers to the *rGyud ma lus pa'i don nges par skul bar byed pa dpal gsang ba grub pa* (*Guhyasiddhi*. D 2217; P 3061) written by Padmavajra. Padmavajra here might be a different person from Saroruhavajra, also known as Padmavarja in the Hevajra lineage, see GERLOFF 2017: fn. 340 on 712.

⁴ Here the Tibetan translation does not correspond to the Sanskrit text syntactically. If we follow the Tibetan reading *dpal ldan 'dus pa mdangs can gyi*, the phrase *mdangs can gyi* is part of the title of the Tantric scripture. However, in the Sanskrit text, *mahādyutim* qualifies the *saṃgītikāṛakam*. What needs to be noticed that in the sDe-dge and Peking edition of the *gSang ba grub pa*, this part reads *dpal ldan 'dus par mdangs chen gyi*, making the phrase *mdangs chen gyi* (perfectly corresponds to the Sanskrit *mahādyutim*) separated from *dpal ldan 'dus pa*. The *mdangs chen gyi*, according to the syntax, seems to qualify either the noun *rgyud* or the phrase *rgyud kyi sdud par byed pa po*, however in the Sanskrit text, it is an attributive of *saṃgītikāṛakam*, namely, the reciter of the *Guhyasamāja*.

⁵ The “I” here refers to Padmavajra, the author of this commentary. In the Sanskrit origin, it is “we” (*vayam*)

By the kindness of [my] teacher's instruction,
there is no one else who is the reciter of the *Gubhyasamāja*.
the reciter [of] this Tantric scripture is Cittavajra/Hṛdvajra (Thugs-rdo-rje)."¹

[It] is evident in so far as [it] occurs in the Indian commentary.

Then [the scriptures of rDo-rje-phur-pa] flourished successively in the world of *dākinīs* and human beings. The teacher Samantabhadra [taught the teachings to] the Five Buddha Families, Vajrakumāra and Vajrapāni [in together]. The above all [taught them] to the Four Buddha Families, from whom Padmasambhava received [the teachings].²

Further more, Vajrasattva transmitted [them] to Prahevajra (*dga'rab rdo rje*). [Then the teachings were successively taught] to bZhad-pa'i-rdo rje [who is] the emanation of Vipaśyīn Buddha, the King Urushane, the dragon's daughter rGya-mtsho-ma, and the King Indrabhūti. [Then] the King Indrabhūti taught [them] to the three Ācāryas Dhana-sang-tri-ta, Dhana-upaya and Blo-ldan-mchog-sred. Dhana-sang-tri-ta taught [them] to the three Ācāryas Padmasambhava, Vimalamitra, and Nepalese Śīlamañju.

Moreover, a transmission did exist through the scripture rain [which was] brought down as the *siddhis* by Vajrasattva to King Dza.³ As stated [as follows]:

I, after having vanished from here,
in one hundred and twelve years.
Through the influential transformative power [that is],
in conformity with the compassion,
the text will appear to the king called Dza.⁴

who mentioned the following.

¹ A critical edition of the Sanskrit *Gubhyasiddhi* has been made by Prof. Samdhong Rinpoche and Prof. Vrajvallabh Dwivedi. The corresponding part, verses 3–5a of the second chapter, reads: *ācāryā bahavaḥ prāḥus tantr̥e saṃgītīkārakam | lokaśaṃ nāyakaṃ vīraṃ śrīsamāje mahād̥yutim || (3) vāyaṃ tu kevalaṃ brūmo gurupā-daprasādāt | abhāvaḥ śrīsamājasya anyasaṃgītīkārakāḥ || (4) sraṣṭā tantrasya hṛdvajro vaktā sa eva deśakāḥ | (5a)*. By comparing the Tibetan translation with the Sanskrit text, it turns out that they do not always correspond with each other indicating that the Tibetan translator based on another version of the Sanskrit text other than the versions available to us today.

² This translation is based on the reading *de dag gis rgyal ba rigs bzhi* or *de dag ni rgyal ba rigs bzhi* which makes the above mentioned ones as the subject and the four Buddha families as the indirect object. If following the reading *de dag gi rig bzhi*, the translation will be “The teacher Samantabhadra [taught the teachings] to the five Buddha families, Vajrakumāra, Vajrapāni and their Four Buddha Families. From them all Padmasambhava received [the teachings].”

³ For King Dza's position in the transmission of the rDo-rje-phur-pa scriptures, see 2.1.1, pp. 25–26.

⁴ For a similar verse, see the *rNal 'byor gru gzings* (p. 117.4–5): *nga ni 'di nas mi snang nas | lo ni brgya dang bcu*

[The teachings of rDo-rje-phur-pa], having been transmitted sequentially through King Dza, princess Go-ma-de-wī, and Prince Sha-kra-puri, flourished in India, Nepal and Tibet the three [regions].

Furthermore, Samantabhadra entrusted [the teachings] to Vajrakumāra who entrusted [them] to the Brahman Mi-thod-can who entrusted [them] to *ḍākinī* Las-kyi-dbang-mo-che who concealed [these teachings] under the *stūpa* *Śaṅkarakūṭa (*mchod rten bde byed brtsegs pa*) as treasures. Śrīsiṃha revealed those teachings and transmitted [them] to Prabhahasti, the Upādhyāya of Za-hor, who transmitted [them] to the princess Upadāna who transmitted [them] to Ācārya Padmasambhava. [It] is said like this. There are also indeed many other transmissions, nonetheless here [I] write down merely what has been exactly heard by those [of] little learning like myself.

10.3 Padmasambhava Disseminated the rDo-rje-phur-pa Teachings

Now the second Buddha arrived in the human world. If [I] were to tell briefly the greatness of the Ācārya called Padmasambhava. The *Māyājāla* (*'Jam dpal sgyu 'phrul drwa ba*) states [as follows]:

Arisen from the lotus of the Buddha, he is glorious,
wearing the treasury of the omniscient's gnosis.
Bearing every sort of illusion, he is the king,
and as the holder of the incarnation of the Buddhas, he is exalted.¹

According to one aspect of the exegesis system of the content, in general, as prophesied [by] both scriptures and persons, even though this great Ācārya was born miraculously

gnyis nas | bstan pa'i snying po dam pa zbig | lha gnas sum du grags pa de | 'dzam gling shar lho'i phyogs mtshams na | dpal zhes bya ba'i ri bo la | thugs rjes mthun pa'i byin rlabs kyis | rgyal po tsa zhes bya ba la | la na rdo rjes gnang ba byed | mi la skal ldan dam pa rnams |, also see KARMAY 1998c: fn.16 on 80.

¹ Although this citation is said being from the *Māyājāla*, it is found in the *'Jam dpal ye shes sems dpa'i don dam pa'i mtshan yang dag par brjod pa* (D 360; P 0002) that is the Tibetan translation of the *Mañjuśrīnāmsamgīti*. The *Mañjuśrīnāmsamgīti* is often considered as belonging to the *Māyājāla*. The pertinent verse in the *Mañjuśrīnāmsamgīti* (Ronald Davidson's version): *buddhapadmabhavaḥ śrīmāṇḥ sarvajñājanākośadhṛk* (110 pāda cd) || *viśvamāyādharo rājā buddhavidyādharo mahā* | 111 (pāda ab), see DAVIDSON 1981: 57. The translation here is also from DAVIDSON 1981: 32.

from the lotus, for the sake of disseminating the teachings of rDo-rje-phur-pa which is connected with the activities of Buddha, [he] took the birth in the womb. The reason for that is the sentient beings [who are] born from the womb are not going to be tamed by [those who are] miraculous-born.¹ Because even the Buddhas need to demonstrate the manner of appropriating the womb, the Ācārya also showed the way of having entered the womb.

In India and Tibet, the Phur-pa flourished better than other teachings of the Ācārya. This is because of the indescribable varieties of obtaining the liberation and attaining the *siddhi* by means of the teachings.

10.4 The Early Life of Padmasambhava

10.4.1 Killed the Prince with a Pebble

Moreover, in a place [called] Uḍḍiyāna,² [Padmasambhava] was called Dānarakṣita, who is the son of the ruling monarch named Manusita.³ [The one who is called] Śāntarakṣita was endowed with the mark of the lotus family insofar as he had a fair complexion with reddish tint.⁴ [He] was perfect in all kinds of arts. [He had] a head and waist [which were marked with] knots, a contractive upper body [with] cutting edge,⁵ [and] a triangular lower body. His mouth and eyes were semi-circle, and hair was brownish. The ugly one [who] was endowed with the characters of Phur-pa was born.

When he grew up, for the local king [who] was devoid of sons, a son appeared one day. One meat fly was nibbling on [the prince's] head [who] was lying down under the cool shade of a fruit tree in that garden. Thereupon fearing that the prince might die, Dānarakṣita threw a pebble. Then the pebble together with the meat fly struck [the prince's] forehead. Consequently the prince died. With regard to this, [some] maintained the minister's son was

¹ There are four kinds of birth in Buddhism, namely born from the egg like birds (*aṅḍaja; skong skyes*; Chin. 卵生), born from the womb like most mammals (*jarāyujā; mngal skyes*; Chin. 胎生), born from heat and moisture like insects (*saṃsvedajā; drod gsher las skyes*; Chin. 湿生), and miraculously born like celestial beings (*upapāduka; rdzus skyes*; Chin. 化生).

² Uḍḍiyāna is a small kingdom in the north of Peshawar along the Swat river in present-day Pakistan. For more information about the identification and location of Uḍḍiyāna, see SANDERSON 2007: 265–269.

³ For other records of Padmasambhava's early life and the differences between them, see 2.1.1, pp. 27–28.

⁴ In this text, Padmasambhava's epithet in his early life is not always consistent. Dānarakṣita and Śāntarakṣita can both refer to Padmasambhava.

⁵ Here the “contractive” is rendered from *bcum* and “cutting edge” from *bzhogs*.

killed by the hit [of] a trident. [It] was the case in the story of the miraculous-born, whereas [it] is not tenable here.

Then people said: “You killed the prince.” As soon as [he] said: “I didn’t hit out of evil attention. There was a meat fly gnawing at the prince’s head.¹ The meat fly was hit, then [it] hit [his head] the together with the pebble. As a result he died.” People took a look and [found out it] was like that. Thereupon because of the severe legal system, the gravest criminal would be killed, the middle one would be expelled, the last was required to pay each innermost family member [of the victim] one hundred *khal* barley flour at the time approaching new year. In so far as the king’s son was killed [by] him this time, a severe punishment would ensue. Because he did not hit out of maliciousness, it is logical [for him] to be expelled. Having come to a consensus [after] the discussion, [they] expelled [him].

Then he went to the cemetery So-sa-gling in India carrying five arrows and a bow. Because [he] did not have any other provisions, [he] ate cooked rice [offered to] the corpse as [his] food and wore corpse wrapping cloth as [his] clothes. Whoever male appeared, [he] bound [them] and released [them]. Whoever female appeared, [he] used [them] and released [them]. Therefore [he] was known in all the village, that there appeared a demon called Śantarakṣita in the cemetery. At that time the king of that place named ’Thab-par-dga’-ba got angry and commanded: “If he is not killed, the land will be ruined. Therefore kill (him)!” Then [he] prepared an army. Then the son of this king [called] Indrarāja, who was brave and disciplined, decided to obstruct [Śantarakṣita] in the narrow crossroad of the cemetery at one side of this region. The king with the army skimmed the entire valley [and] the cemetery.² Then Śantarakṣita ran away and in the crossroad of this cemetery encountered with Indrarāja [who] was waiting for [him]. Śantarakṣita shot an arrow at him. Having hit Indrarāja’s heart, [Śantarakṣita] killed him.

10.4.2 Life after the Escape

Then [he] escaped. As [he] was fleeing, after a while, [he] came across two men on the road. Then [he] asked: “Where are you two going?” [They] said [they] were going to receive teachings from an Upādhyāya from Za-hor. Thereupon, having regretted about his previous deeds,

¹ Here the *zking* is a connection between the verbs *za* (eat) and *mchis* (exist or there be), which makes the two verbs happening at the same time.

² The “skimmed” is extended from the basic meaning of the verb *bshus pa* meaning “peel” or “scratch.”

[he] set out for the Dharma accompanied by the [two] companions. Then on the road, they met Ācārya Śākyabodhi, so the three took the renunciation and received the discipline of the novice. They were named Śākyabraha, Śākyamitra and Śākyaseng-ge. Thereafter having gone to Za-hor, they met Ācārya Prahasti.

After having offered the golden *maṇḍala*, the two friends asked for teachings. Thereupon [Prahasti] gave these three the initiation of yoga completely. The secret names Las-kyi-rdo-rje and Chos-rab-rdo-rje were [given to them]. The secret name Sems-dpa'-rdo-rje was given to Śākyaseng-ge. Having explained the *Tathāsaṃgrahatantra* according to the three classes of characteristics,¹ Prahasti asked: “Are you satisfied?” Śākyabraha replied: “Satisfied”, then left. The other two said: “Not satisfied”. Thereupon having explained [it] once according to the three outer classes of *tantra*,² the Ācārya asked: “Satisfied?” Śākyamitra said: “Satisfied,” then left. Because Shākyaseng-ge have killed people and has no place [to go], he said: “Not satisfied.” Thereupon the Ācārya showed the deities of yoga clearly in his palm, then asked: “Do [you] want to get the initiation from the deities or from me?” Thereupon [he] said: “[I] want to receive [it] from the Ācārya.” Ācārya said:

In so far as [I] am the knowledge son of the lord family (*rigs dbang*), the *maṇḍala* of the Victorious one will emanate from me.

I am the *maṇḍala* of mind.

Insofar as everything arises from me,
listen as I will teach.

Then Shākyaseng-ge learned all the teachings of *yoga* completely. Thereafter, [the Ācārya] fully bestowed the initiation of the *Māyājāla* [that is of] highest esoteric. Thereafter, all the teachings of *Phur pa 'bum sde* were taught [to him] in its entirety. Then, [he] realised the non-dual gnosis (*advayajñānam; gnyis su med pa'i ye shes*) [and] obtained the *vidyādhara* over lifespan (*tshe la dbang ba'i rig 'dzin*). Then [he] summoned the daughter of the Za-hor king named Me-tog Mandāra[vā] as the object of practice. Thereupon, [he] obtained the *vidyādhara* over maturity (*rnam par smin pa'i rig 'dzin*) after having practiced in the cave Maratika of the mountain *Gomahatishaga in the west.

¹ The *Tathāsaṃgrahatantra* may refer to the *Sarvatathāgatattvasaṃgraha* (D 0479; P 0112). The three classes of characteristics (*mtshan nyid sde gsum*) are Śrāvaka (*nyan thos*), Pratyekabuddha (*rang rgyal*), and Bodhisattva (byang-chub-sems-dpa').

² The three outer classes of *mantra* (*sngags phyi pa sde gsum*) refers to the Kriyātantra, Caryatantra, and Yogatantra.

10.4.3 Invitation of the Texts of the rDo-rje-phur-pa Cycle

And then after having thought “[I] am [no longer] afraid of being killed,” [Padmasambhava] went to India. He was recognized to be the murderer,¹ who previously killed prince Indrarāja. The king together with his attendants burnt the Ācārya and his consort in the fire of sandalwood. As the smoke ceased seven days later, [they] looked and saw the Ācārya and [his] consort staying on the lotus stem [which] has arisen in the middle of the pond. [They] were amazed [and] confessed their faults. Even though they requested Ācārya [and his consort] to stay as [their] object of worship, they didn’t permit. “Make sure the doctrine of the Buddha get flourished in India. If [you] not do in this way, you will turn out to ruin [yourself],” having said [this], [they] went to Uḍḍhiyāna.

In that place [people] said the previous murderer appeared again. Everyone of that place, having gathered a load of wood, burnt [the Ācārya and his consort] in the midst of a huge pyre. Thereupon, however, they were not burnt. Like before, having seen them staying in the center of a lotus stem [which] has arisen from the middle of the pond, all were amazed and the faith arose [in them]. Thereupon [they] confessed [their] previous faults. [The Ācārya] caused the doctrine of Dharma to flourish in Uḍḍhiyāna. Then the Ācārya thought: “[I am the one who] is free from the attributes of *samsāra* [like] death and birth, [I am the one who] has obtained the unforgettable *mantra*, [I am the one who] has attained the *vidyādhara* over lifespan and maturity. Now [I] need to accomplish the *vidyādhara* on Mahāmudra.”

He went to Nepal. In the cave of Yang-le-shod, he engaged in a practice of Yang-dag-mar-me-dgu.² Upon doing that, a dragon of that place called Gyong-po and all gods and demons created obstacles. For three years rain didn’t fall from the sky. Plants on the earth, forests and crops all dried up. All the big rivers and small rivers broke off.³ When the bad time came, the Ācārya’s thought: “This is nobody’s fault but an obstacle towards my striving for awakening.” Having thought [this], he prepared offering and made an invocation to the deity, then a sound emerged from the sky: “There is no other means to conquer this obstacle.

¹ Here the “murderer” is translated from the term *mi thong po* that is probably related to *thong mi ba*, meaning “executioner” and “murder,” see the *Tsbig mdzod chen mo* (p. 1194).

² The Yang-dag-mar-me-dgu is a treasure cycle of Yang-dag revealed by Rog-ban Shes-rab’od (1166–1244), see the *gTer ston lo rgyus* (p. 222.6–7): *rog ban shes rab ’od kyis yang dag gi sgrub skor lha lnga bcu nga brgyad pa dang | yang dag mar me dgu pa sogs mang zbig spyen drangs par bshad do ||*.

³ Both the *chu bran* and *chu phran* can mean small rivers.

Invite Tantric scriptures of rDo-rje-phur-pa from the temple of Śrī Nālanda in India!”

Then having sent one-litre gold through two Nepalese men, [they] offered [the gold] to five hundred *paṇḍitas*. Having been told the story, the *paṇḍitas* sent two-person’s load of texts [through the two Nepalese] from among around one hundred thousand cycles of the rDo-rje-phur-pa teachings. As soon as the texts arrived in Yang-le-shod, the obstacles of the gods and demons spontaneously subsided. Thunder roared, lightning flashed, and rain fell timely.¹ All the plants, forests, and crops became very flourished. “At that time, because the rDo-rje-phur-pa teachings [are] very auspicious and of swift transformative power, [I] should spread [them] in all directions,” after having considered this, he composed treatises [that] elucidated the intent of these Tantric scriptures by classifying [them] into four, namely the *lTa ba byi to*, [the scriptures dealing with] the meditation [such as] the *Phun sum tshogs pa*, [the scriptures dealing with] activity [such as] the *rDo rje gzhon nu*, and [the scriptures dealing with] the striking [such as] the *Las kha tshar*.²

10.5 The Teachings Spread in India, Uḍḍhiyāna, and Nepal

At that time, the three Ācāryas Padmasambhava, Vimalamitra and Nepalese Śilamañju practiced rDo-rje-phur-pa in Yang-le-shod, thereafter the signs [of accomplishments] emerged. The manner of this practice will be explained below. At that point of time, having thought about whether the authoritative scriptures have reached the [perfect] standard, [Padmasambhava] saw the signs directly. In the meantime, the scriptures were compiled as the *Twenty lower phur-pa* (*Phur smad nyi shu*).³ The five [scriptures dealing with] the Tantric scriptures [are] *Lung kilaya bcu gnyis kyi tantra*, *lCags zer nag po’i tantra*, *’Bum bskos chen po’i tantra*, *Nam mkha’ mdzod kyi tantra* and *Rig pa mchog gi tantra*. The five [scriptures dealing with] the view [are] *lTa ba byi to*, *Bla ma chen po*, *Mya ngan las ’da’ ka ma*, *Ye shes nyi zer* and *Nam mkha’ rol pa’i rgyal-po*. The five [scriptures dealing with] the activity are *rDo rje gzhon nu*, *Las brgya rtsa brgyad pa*, *Sras mchog sked tra*, *Las kha tshar* and *Las gsang ba*. The five

¹ The “timely” is translated from *dus kyi*.

² Here the classification is a concise version of the classification of twenty Phur-pa scriptures below (p. 194), but not the same as the latter. The *lTa ba byi to* is included in the category of views. The *Phun sum tshogs pa* is in the category of *sādhana*s, which is similar to meditation here. The *rDo rje gzhon nu* and *Las kha tshar* are in the category of the activity.

³ In the following, the *Twenty one lower phur pa* (*Phur smad nyi shu rtsa gcig*) from the earlier translation is mentioned, see section 10.5, p. 196.

scriptures dealing] the *sādhana* [are] *Phun sum tshogs pa*, *Thugs gsang ba*, *gZe ma nag po*, *Thugs kyi rnag pa* and *Las kyi bkol byang*.

At that time [the manner in which] the gods transformed as demons and tested [Padmasambhava] is as follows: A terrifying black iron scorpion caused harm all of sudden.¹ For the sake of [this], Ācārya disguised himself as a pig and set out to devour [the scorpion], then he perceived the scorpion [as] the Bhagavan Vajrakumāra in a majestic form such Mount Sumeru. [He, thus having passed the test,] obtained the unhindered power with regard to the wrathful activities [from the scorpion]. At that time, [Ācārya] by rolled the recitation Phur-pa (*bsnyen phur*) and sang the following hymn, which has “No one is greater and more powerful than me (*nga che nga btsan*).” [as its content]:²

The Phur-pa deity Dīptacakra is,³
 dark, naked, and with tangled hair.
 In the wrathful big upper body,
 [There are] three faces and six arms.
 Under the navel is the blades of Phur-pa.
 The wrathful Phur-pa,
 is like the petals of the blue lotus.
 [He is decorated with] radiant garlands [and] assembled light.
 If wield the [Phur-pa] even the gods will be destroyed,
 needless to say the harmful beings.⁴

¹ Here the Tibetan *mtho mtshams su*, which is a dative construction, is rendered as “to cause harm.” It seems to have some possible orthographical variants: *tho 'tsham pa=tho 'tshams pa=tho btsam pa=tho btsams pa=mtho 'tsham pa=mtho 'tshams pa=mtho mtsham pa=mtho btsam pa=mtho brtsam pa*. They have two meanings the first is “to challenge,” “to compete with”; the second is “to harm others mentally or physically” which can extended as “to scorn,” “to mock” and “to hurt,” “to cause harm,” see JÄSCHKE: 236, *brDa dkröl* (p. 300 and 309), *Tshig mdzod chen mo* (p. 1189 and 1218) and *bDag yig gсар bsgrigs* (p. 338 and 348). According to the *Dag yig gсар bsgrigs* (p. 338), *tho 'tshams* is an archaic word for causing harm or scorn (*gnod 'tsho dang brnyas bcos byed pa'i brda rnying*). The basic form could be *tho 'tsham pa* or *mtho 'tsham pa*. The *btsam pa*, *btsams pa* and *'tshams pa* are the different tenses deriving from both the transitive and intransitive meaning of *'tsham pa*, see the *Tshig mdzod chen mo* (p. 2324). The other two variants in the critical edition which cannot be verified in the dictionaries are *tho mtshams su* and *tho 'tshams su*, see fn. 18, p. 277.

² The saying *Nga che nga btsan* is the self aggrandizement of Padmasambhava indicating that his greatness is incomparable.

³ The deity Dīptacakra also appears in the PT 349, but of red colour. For a discussion of the name and gender ambiguities of Dīptacakra, see CANTWELL & MAYER 2008: 152–154.

⁴ Cantwell and Mayer transliterated and translated three parallel sources of this verse, see CANTWELL & MAYER

Then [Ācārya] set out to show the treatises [related to Phur-pa] to the five hundred *paṇḍitas*.

While he slept in a mountain [called] Chu-mig-byang-chub [which was located] in the border between India and Nepal, the thought of dying occurred in his dream. At that time, having searched with hands, [he] got an entity of a living being from his heart. [He] held it in his palm, sealed it with the *vajra* [that was his] hand emblem, and kept it. The next morning when [he] looked at [it], then there were four very beautiful girls. “Who are you?” he asked. Thereupon they responded: “At the time when Bhagavan Śrī Heruka killed the malignant men and united [with] women, he was bound by *samaya*. [We are] four goddesses (*mātrkās*; *ma mo bzhi*) [who] have been empowered to the life faculty of sentient beings.¹ On account of the Heruka’s *samaya*, [we] came here. The Ācārya should also empower us.” The Ācārya thought: “If I, although as a *vidyādhara* over life-span [who] has obtained the empowerment before have the feeling [that I] am going to die, still bestow the empowerment, I might kill all the sentient beings.” Having thought about [it, he] said: “Take command over the life sources of [those who] cause obstacles for studying or explaining or practicing rDo-rje-phur-pa.” Thereafter [he] discussed with the four bSe-mo [goddesses], then compiled the *bSe lung gsang ba’i yang gter*.²

2008: 155 and 164–165. There is also a similar narrative applying to the Phur-pa deity in general rather than specifically to Dīptacakra in A-mes-zhabs’ *rDo rje gzhon nu gtor bzlog* (p. 688.1–5): *de lta bu’i sras mchog bdzra ki la ya phur bu’i las byed pa’i lha sku mdog mthing nag gcer bu ral pa ’bar ba’i rnam can | sku stod khro bo chen po la | zhal gsum pa phyag kyang drug pa ste | dbu rgyan la rdo rje kbrag ’thung la sogs pa rigs lnga’i sangs rgyas yongs su rdzogs pas brgyan zhing | sku’i lte ba man chad kyi cha | utpala sngon po’i ’dab ma ’dra ba lnga la ye shes kyi me ’bar ba’i ’phreng ba kbrigs pa’i ’od can | drag po las kyi phur par gyur pas rnam pa lcags kyi phur pa zur gsum pa’i rnam pa can te | de nyid btub na tshangs pa la sogs pa’i lha mthu chen rnams kyang brlag par ’gyur na | rnal ’byor pa la gnod par byed pa’i dgra bgegs rnams la phur pa ’di nyid btub na dgra bgegs rnam brlag par ’gyur ba smo ci dgos zhes pa’i don can gyi tshig brjod cing don dran pa ni phur pa sras mchog tu gsal ba yin la |*

¹ The four goddesses is called bSe-mo-bzhi in the following. In the PT 44 *bse’i lha mo bzhi zbig* is recorded but in a different context. When Padmasambhava was on his way from Yang-le-shod to Nālanda, a tetra-demoness of bSe killed all the men by stealing all their breath. Then he did the same to her and put her breath in his hat. Later in Nālanda the breath turned into a beautiful woman who took the vow of being the guardian of Phur-pa. Padmasambhava conferred on her the empowerment, see BISCHOFF & HARTMAN 1971: 18 (2b) and 21. Here the *bzhi zbig* is taken as one demoness. However it is rendered as a tetrad of goddesses by Kapstein and as a group of four *bse* goddesses by Cantwell & Mayer, see KAPSTEIN 2000: 158 and CANTWELL & MAYER 2008a: 58. For a type of gods named *bse*, see NEBESKY-WOJKOWITZ 1996: 310. The four bSe-mo goddesses as a group, also called Sa-bdag-bse-mo is one of the three groups of the Phur-pa protectresses. The other two are the four Śvāna sisters and the four bDag-nyid-chen-mo Rematī sisters, see the *Phud skong cho ga* (pp. 433.6–434.1): *shwa na ma mched bzhi | bdag nyid chen mo re ma ti mched bzhi | sa bdag bse mo mched bzhi |....la sogs te phur srung dam can rnams...|*. The three groups of protectresses with other spirits, who guarded the doctrines, stayed in the charnel ground of rDo-rje-rol-pa, see the *bDe ’dus gtor blzog* (pp. 636.1–3). For the names of the four Śvāna sisters and their appearance, see CANTWELL & MAYER 2008: 45–46.

² The bSe-mo is another name of the four goddesses. The translation “compiled the *bSe lung gsang ba’i yang*

As such by carrying the *Twenty-one Lower Phur-pa* [scriptures] from the earlier translation, the Ācārya went to the temple of Śrī Nālanda and displayed them before the five hundred *paṇḍitas*. Because the treatises [were] extremely good, [the *paṇḍitas*] tied them up on the top of banners [to show their respect]. The *paṇḍitas* also showed their respect to Ācārya. Thereafter the three learned one, [namely Padmasambhava, Vimalamitra and Śīlamañjuśrī] discussed, then consulted the whole *Vidyottama la 'bum sde*. Afterward they composed more [treatises] by classifying [them] into commentaries, *sādhanas*, *tīkas*, and so forth of the thirty-two Tantric scriptures such as *rDo rje phur pa gsang ba'i rgyud*.¹ At that time in the evening, the four Śvāna sisters (*shwa na ma mched bzhi*) offered [their] life essence (*srog snying*). At midnight the four bDag-nyid-ma sisters (*bdag nyid ma mched bzhi*) offered [their] life essence.²

Then how did [the teachings] flourish? Vimalamitra taught [them] to [his] consort

gter" is based on *bse lung gsang ba'i yang gter mdzad de*, which however could be understand as "made re-concealed treasure related to the bSe-lung-gsang-ba."

¹ Based on the syntax of the Tibetan text, there is another understanding of this sentence which applying "the thirty-two Tantric scriptures such as *rDo rje phur pa gsang ba'i rgyud*" only to commentaries not to *sādhanas* and *tīkas*. The translation would be: Afterward, they composed more [treatises] by classifying [them] into commentaries on the thirty-two Tantric scriptures, such as *rDo rje phur pa gsang ba'i rgyud*, *sādhanas*, *tīkas*, and so forth.

² Here the account of the two groups of goddesses should follow the four bSe-mo goddesses above. The three groups of goddesses offered their life essence to Padmasambhava and were bound by the *samaya* in different times of a day. Similarly, in the *Zangs gling ma* (p. 32.1–6, for the translation, see KUNZANG 2004: 53), *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* (p. 307.18–22), and *Nor bu'i 'phreng ba* (p. 191.3–5), it is recorded that the four Śvāna sisters, four Rematī sisters (also called bDag-nyid-chen-mo), and four Sa-bdag-ma (also called bSe-mo) offered their life essence at twilight, midnight, and daybreak in turn and became the protectresses of rDo-rje-phur-pa. The last two sources also record that apart from the three groups of goddesses, the bSe, lCags, and Dung also gave their life essence to Padmasambhava, were bound by the *samaya*, and appointed as protectresses of rDo-rje-phur-pa. The *Phur pa 'bum nag* (A: p. 233.1–234.4; B: p. 15.3–16.3, for the translation, see BOORD 2002: 119–120) provides a slightly different account. The three groups of goddesses are bSe'i-lha-mo, bDag-nyid-chen-mo, and Śvānmukhā, and they came to offer their life essence to Padmasambhava and were appointed as the protectresses of Phur-pa at twilight, midnight, and daybreak in turn. Another kind of spirit called Ging also did the same. It further comments that the bSe'i-lha-mo are worldly goddesses, bDag-nyi-chen-mo are between worldly and beyond the world, and Śvānmukhā are beyond the world. Also, in bDud-'joms-rin-po-che's *gNam lcags lo rgyus* (p. 30.2–6) it is recorded that when Padmasambhava established the rDo-rje-phur-pa *maṇḍala* in Yang-le-shod, the four Śvāna sisters, the four Rematī sisters, and four Ging arrived at twilight, midnight and daybreak in turn. They offered their life essence, were bound by the *samaya*, and given the syllables related to their life forces, also see CANTWELL & MAYER 2008: 46–47. In the *Klong chen chos 'byung* (p. 248.5–8) the spirits who offered their life essence and were bound by the *samaya* are the four Sho-nam sisters, and the bSe, Dung, and lCags. The *mTha' gru'i rgyan* (p. 120.8–9) just mentions that twelve goddesses offered their life essence to Padmasambhava and were bound by the *samaya*, but does not specify who were the twelve goddesses.

Dam-pa.¹ These two taught [them] to the Indian king Indrabhūti. Thereafter [the teachings] spread and developed in India. Ācārya Padmasambhava gave [the teachings] to Nepalese Śākyadeva. These two gave [them] to the Uḍḍhiyāna King Dharmakoṣa. Thereafter [the teachings] spread and developed in Uḍḍhiyāna. Nepalese Śīlamañju taught [the teachings] to a prostitute Śānti who gave [them] to the Nepalese King Gunatala. Thereafter [the teachings] spread and developed in Nepal.

10.6 Padmasambhava’s Journey to Tibet

10.6.1 The invitation of Padmasambhava by the King

Now how did [the teachings] arise in Tibet. The Tibetan King Khri-srong lde’u-btsan, [who is] the emanation of Mañjuśrī, intended to establish the Buddha’s doctrine in Tibet, then Ācārya Bodhisattva, [who was] invited to tame the earth for constructing the Thugs-damgyi-lha-khang [of] bSam-yas, carried out the earth taming.² Then the upheaval [of] Tibetan gods and demons arose. Those which were constructed by humans at daytime were destroyed at night by gods and demons. The mountain stones were taken back to mountains and the valley stones were taken back to the valleys. [It] was not allowed to build thus the king was depressed. “Oh, [is it because] the Ācārya [Śāntarakṣita] is powerless or my hindrance is too big or the Tibetan people [are possessed with] little beneficial sources? What are the causes for these?” he asked. The Ācārya [Śāntarakṣita] said: “[It] is not [because] the power of my *samādhi* is small, [it] is [because my] compassion is so strong that non-humans are not to going to be tamed. There exists an Ācārya called Padmasambhava from Uḍḍhiyāna, [who] has obtained the *siddhis* of rDo-rje-phur-pa. If [he] is invited, the obstacles will come to cessation.” [The king] said: “Will [it] be impossible to invite him?” The Ācārya [Śāntarakṣita] said: “We were brothers in previous lives, thus he will come on account of the power of [our] karma and aspirational wishes.”³

“How is it?” [the King] asked. The Ācārya [Śāntarakṣita] said [as follows]. In general,

¹ Here the *dam pa* can either be the name of the consort or just an attribute to qualify the consort, meaning “good.”

² Here the Ācārya Bodhisattva should refer to Śāntarakṣita (725–788).

³ Here the “we” (*rang re*) refers to the partners of the dialogue namely Śāntarakṣita and the King Khri-srong-lde’u-btsan not Śāntarakṣita and Padmasambhava. The reading *las dang smon lam gyi dbang* can also be rendered as “the activity and the power of [our] aspirational wishes.”

the ways all the Buddhas benefit the sentient beings are inconceivable. In particular, the Ārya Avalokiteṣvara placed all sentient beings on the stage of the Buddha three times after having rescued them from the *saṃsāra*. Then [he] thought: “Are there no sentient beings in *saṃsāra* now?” As [he] observed, [he saw that] the sentient beings increased even more and [their] *kleṣa* became grosser than before. Thereupon [his] compassion arose once again and cried. [He] sprinkled two drops of tears then said: “May, by means of these two [tears], the great benefit of sentient beings come about in the future!” The two drops of tears, having reached the heaven of the thirty-three (*trayastrimśat*), took the form of the daughters of the goddess, namely Gangāma and Junior Gangāma the two. When these two grew up, at the time of observing the god’s regulations (*lha’i khrims*), the Junior Gangāma stole flowers from [the other] Gangāma’s garden, as a result she transgressed the regulations of the gods. Therefore [she] died and was reborn in the next life as a poultry woman named bDe-mchog in the human realm. [She] collected excess wages and excess food from raising the poultry. [She] built a *stūpa* called Bya-rung-kha-sho. She died just at the time when the main beam was built on the bulge. [She] was even enlightened to be a *samaya* deity called Pramoha.

She had four sons, namely a monk A-ba-kha-du, a horse breeder, a swineherd, and a dog breeder. The four sons fulfilled and completed the rest of the *stūpa* in its entirety. When the consecration was finished, each of the sons made an aspiration. The elder son made the aspiration [as follows]: “Depending on our positive virtues [by constructing the *stūpa*], may I be born as a great king in my next life.” His younger brother [prayed]: “May I be born as a powerful *mantra*-adept to protect the doctrines.” His brother [prayed]: “May I be born as an Upādhyāya Bodhisattva.” His brother [prayed]: “May I be born as one [who] will accomplish the deeds of my three brothers.” [This is how] the aspiration was made. At that time the older son was the king. His younger brother was the Ācārya Padmasambhava. His younger brother was me.¹ My younger brother was sBa-mi-khri-bzher of Yar-lung.²

Thereafter the king dispatched sNa-nam rDo-rje-bdud-’joms, mChims Śākyaprabha, and Shud-bu dPal-gyi-seng-ge together with horses carrying a great deal of gold powder to invite Ācārya. At that time when Ācārya Padmasambhava was staying in the temple of Dāhula in India turning the wheel of dharma of Tantric scriptures (*rgyud*), scriptural transmission

¹ This is still the speech of Śāntarakṣita and the “me” should refer to him.

² sBa-mi-khri-bzher, also known as sBa dPal-dbyangs and sBa Ratna, was one of the seven men of trial (*sad mi mi bdun*). For other records of him, see SMITH 1991: endnote 277 on 295 and SØRENSEN 1994: fn. 1203 on 369.

(*lung*), and instructions (*man ngag*) to one thousand and five hundred *paṇḍitas*,¹ he knew [it] through his clairvoyance (*abhijñā; mngon par mkhyen pa*). [He] said to the *paṇḍitas* : “In three months [I] see that I am going [to Tibet] as the resident monk of the Tibetan king, therefore I have to finish these teachings soon.”

Having said that, as the teaching finished, one day after three months, the three Tibetan messengers arrived. [They] offered eighteen-palm gold and many gold powder. [They] presented the request of the king, then [Padmasambhava] consented saying: “[I am] going to Tibet because there are connections of [our] previous aspirational wishes.” Then Ācārya and the three Tibetan left from the temple of Dāhula and gradually arrived in Nepal. In the *Lang lab kyī lo rgyus* [it] is stated that the messengers [who] were dispatched carrying gold powder to invited Ācārya were Lo-tṣā-ba Brang-ti-dza-ya-rakṣi from sTag-tshal and lCe-ku-ku-ra-tsa from Mang-yul.

10.6.2 Padmasambhava’s Miraculous Power on His Way to bSam-yas

Then [they] gradually arrived in a place called Mang-yul. At that time, there were no more than seven families in Mang-yul. [Padmasambhava] gave instructions to three old women and within second [they] were liberated. At that time, the Tibetan gods and demons caused dusk [to occur already] from noon onwards. However, [Padmasambhava] instantly drew the sun [back] through the *mudra* of the iron hook and did not let the sun up for seven days by suppressing the sun. By [this Padmasambhava] built a temple in a town [called] Khrong-ze’i-gong-kha as an antidote against these gods and demons. In this regard, at that time [it] was called Mun-pa-lha-khang.

At that point, there was a wrathful spring [that] nobody could even touch. Its dragon was tamed [by Padmasambhava] and the water was brought to the field. Avalokiteśvara was requested to stay in the temple. On the top of a mountain, as the antidote against those [who] followed the Nepalese gods and demons, a stone *stūpa* was built. [Padmasambhava] put the *phur pa* implement in a way that [it] penetrated down [to its] three-way intersection.² Having

¹ Here the *rgyud lung man ngag* corresponds to the three inner Tantras, namely the Mahāyoga, Anuyoga, and Atiyoga. The number of the *paṇḍitas* could also be five hundred, if following the variant *lnga brgya*.

² Here the three-way intersection is from the Tibetan *gsum rdo* which is perhaps a variant of *gsum mdo*. The three-way intersection of the *phur pa* implement is usually on the junction part of the forepart and the hilt. This sentence describes that Padmasambhava penetrated the *phur pa* implement to a depth reaching the middle of Phur-pa

seen a place above where the wind was coming out from a hole, would be harmful to Tibet, [Padmasambhava] built a temple [which] is Mang-yul-byams-sprin. Thereafter, [he] went up and requested food when [he was] not weak.¹ There the gods and demons were unable to vanquish the Ācārya. The retinue [of demons] became mad so they were called sMyon-thang. In order to tame them [Padmasambhava] built one hundred and eight *stūpas*.

And then he went to Gu-ge in Zhang-zhung. There the local spirit the war-deity [called] Mu-tsa-med could not bear [his coming]. During their fight against each other, the mountain was about to quash Ācārya and his retinues. Therefore Ācārya and his retinues fled into the sky. When the war-deity Ma-tsa-med became so scared and fled, [Padmasambhava] brandished his emblem *vajra*, therefore she went to [his] presence and offered [her] life source. [She] promised into servitude and was bound by the *samaya*.

Then [Padmasambhava] went to lHa-yul-gung-thang. Twenty-one dGe-bsnyen showed [their] magical image, then the thunderbolt was brought down [on them] and turned into the rain of flowers. Thereupon the twenty-one dGe-bsnyen were brought under control and appointed to be the guardians of doctrines.²

Then on the way to Kha-la'i-rong of Mang-yul, the twelve bsTan-ma brought down twelve thunderbolts at once. [Padmasambhava] took [the thunderbolts] to the top of his threatening *mudra* (*sdigs mdzub*), and [they] circled over [his] head. Thereafter [they] turned into twelve pieces of charcoal and became completely dark. Therefore the twelve bsTan-ma were so scared that they offered their life essence and were bound by the *samaya*.³

At that time, the deity gTso-mo-gangs-dkar-ma She'u-bza' fled and ran into [a lake called] dPal-mo-lha-mtsho.⁴ The Ācārya, having taken a handful of water from the lake, concentrated [on it]. As a result when the vapour emerged instantly in the water in his palm [making sound] “chil,” the vapour even emerged [in] the lake [making sound] “phyur.”⁵ As

¹ The phrase “requested food when [he was] not weak” is translated from *ma chung gi bar du gro gsol*.

² For a list and primary introduction to the twenty-one dGe-bsnyen, see NEBESKY-WOJKOWITZ 1996: 222–223

³ According to Nebesky-Wojkowitz, brTan-ma should be the original spelling of bsTan-ma that is abbreviated from bsTan-srung-ma which indicates their function as the female guardians of the doctrine, see NEBESKY-WOJKOWITZ 1996: 181–182. For the enumeration of the twelve bsTan-ma in different sources, see *ibid.*: 181–190.

⁴ This deity could be one of the twelve bsTan-ma. In the following, she is said to be the head of the bsTan-ma, but the number twelve is not mentioned. In the lists of the twelve bsTan-ma of various sources by Nebesky-wojkowitz, one deity is called Gangs-dkar-sha-med alias rDo-rje-spyan-gcig-ma or lHa-bu-gangs-dkar-ma (secret name) who could possibly be the same deity with the gTso-mo-gangs-dkar-ma here.

⁵ Here the *chil* and *phyur* are the onomatopoeia which imitate the sound of boiling water. *chil chil* is verified in the dictionary to describe the state of water boiling, heavy rain falling and waves surging, see the *Tshig mdzod*

the water in his palm boiled, the water in the lake also boiled, therefore she could not withstand. When her fear arose regarding the lake, [she] became a skeleton after bone and flesh were separated. At that time [Pamsambhava] squeezed one [of her] eyes after having flung his hand implement *vajra* [to it]. Then as she was afraid, she offered her life source, composed *sadhanas* [and]classified [them] into three cycles of *sādhana*s, [namely] *dKar mo cig sgrub*, *sTag mo nu 'dzag* and *gNam sman mched lnga*. Earlier [she] was the chief of the female deities, later on [Padmasambhava] positioned [others] equal to her.¹

Then the deity of gTsang worshiped [gTso-mo-gangs-dkar-ma] in lHa-phug and made [himself] as an attendant [of her]. Because he had faith in Dharma, he did not confront with Ācārya.² When three tigers appeared in a cave, [Padmasambhava] whirled his *vajra*, and [the three tigers] fled into [another] cave. In the meantime, [he] went following [their] trace. Therefore when [they] turned into a strong wind, [he] struck the Phur-pa [on them]. Consequently gSang-btsan offered his life essence by showing his true appearance.³ That cave is still called sTag-phug nowadays. In these areas, all the gods and demons were bound by the *samaya* as if strung to a rope, therefore the river was called sTār-chu. And because [there was] a gathering of gods and demons, the place's name was Khrom-pa.

And then [Padmasambhava] went down from Cums-pa-sbugs, [he] turned a lady of a cave into an *upāsika*. [He] then traveled by [following] the southern border (*tshur tha nas*) of the Northern route.⁴ [He] consecrated the Grom-pa-lha-khang from the entrance of sTag-po-sdings. It is said from then on [this place] came to be known as Grom-pa-rgyang.⁵ Then gradually [he] went down from Byang-phyi-khong. He tamed the magical manifestation of gods and demons [which] appeared at the mountain pass of 'Od-yug-gro-mo-'phrod.

chen mo, p. 795.

¹ From the syntax it is not clear who positioned others equal to her. It could be either Padmasambhava or other female deities or gTso-mo-gangs-dkar-ma herself. However in the context that she was defeated by Padmasambhava, it is more likely Padmasambhava put others equal to her.

² For this sentence, there are two opposite readings. One is the deity had faith in dharma, so he did not challenge Padmasambhava. The other is the deity had no faith in Dharma, so he challenged Pamsambhava. Based on the following story, there is no record of the deity striving with Padmasambhava. The first reading makes more sense.

³ The gSang-btsan should refer to the deity of gTsang (*gtsang lha*).

⁴ Usually *tshur* and *tha nas* are adverb. But here *tshur tha* seems to be used as a noun showing the route Padmasambhava followed. According to the context, a hypothetical understanding of *byang lam tshur tha nas* could be “Southern border (literally means border in this side) of the Northern route or route of the Northern region.”

⁵ The Grom-pa-rgyang, with the full title Ru-lag Grom-pa-rgyang Dri-med-rnam-dag-lha-khang, is a monastery founded by Srong-btsan-sgam-po. It is located in lHa-rtse-rdzong in gZhis-ka-rtse. For more information about it, see BDRC-G2GS1265.

Then he went to 'Dam-snying-drung-ngos. The Thang-lha brought down the thunderbolt like rains, when [Padmasambhava] stayed between gNam-mtsho and Thang-lha by pitching a white yak-hair tent. As Ācārya meditated on the white tent to be the form of the *vajra* chamber, [the demon] Thog-dred went into the lake. The lake boiled, thereupon the creatures in the water died. There [he] put those dead creatures on [the stage of] awakening by performing the ritual of purifying the lower existence.¹ Then having folded the white yak-hair tent, [the Ācārya] looked at the snow of Thang-lha mountain.² After [he] meditated upon one [syllable] “ram” on the top of the snow, the snow started melting then ceased.³ [The snow mountain] became a rock [mountain] in the way [it looked like] copper. Being scared, [Thog-dred] offered [his] life essence by showing [his] true appearance and was bound by the *samaya*. The Ācārya composed *sadhana*s about him. Thereafter Thang-lha said: “I am the leader of all the gods and demons.” [Padmasambhava] said: “Well then, you fetch all the gods and demons!” Therefore he came gathering most of the gods and demons. Thereupon [Padmasambhava] seized their life essence and bound [them] to the *samaya*.

Then in gNam-gyi-shug-sdong, Padmasambhava practiced the *sādhana* of Dregs-pagnad-'bebs for three days.⁴ At dusk when there appeared a forceful sound like the collapsing of the mount Sumera, the four Generals of Thang-lha in together with their entourage arrived. Thereafter the Ācārya said: “It is good if you have that extent of sound and magical power. Among you, there are twenty-one thousand male demons and among them there are twenty-one [with] great ferocious power. Fetch them and come to my presence now! If [you] don't come, I will have all your life essence. Therefore I can extract all [your] heart.” As such all [the gods and demons] were terrified and stood [there] trembling [making the sound] “’phril ’phril.” Then in a moment, he brought twenty-beings under the control [including] four beings who have the power over bDud plus dMag-dpon rNam-rol to five, the four powerful ones from the east plus dMag-dpon Khyab-'jug to five, the four beings who have power over gNyan plus Klu-rje-thod-dkar to five, the four beings who have power over

¹ The ritual of purifying the lower existence (*ngan song sbyong ba'i cho ga*) is to make the lower existence to be Bodhisattvas.

² Here the “folded” is based on the *ltab* which is not the reading but a conjecture. If following the reading *btab*, the translation would be “he struck [Phur-pa] to the white yak-hair tent.”

³ The syllable “ram” is the seed *mantra* of the fire.

⁴ The *Padma bka' thang* (p. 364.17) records a place called gNam-gyi-shug-sdong-glang-sgrom where Padmasambhava also passed through on his way to Tibet, also see RIKEY 2011: 136 and 138.

bTsan plus Yum-shud-dmar-po to five, and the black Dākki [who is] the right hand of them.¹ [He] appointed them as Ging [who] would liberate the *samaya*-breaker.² [They] were named Lha'i-dge-bsnyen and committed to fulfill the wishes of the yogis [who] practice Phur-pa and to increase the prosperity and lifespan.

Then from the mountain pass of upper 'Phan-yul, [the Ācārya] returned to sTod-lung.³ Upon being requested to teach Dharma in sTod-lung-gzhong-pa, there was no water. Thus [he] pierced the Katwaṅga in the sand, consequently seven sources of the river appeared. Now [it] is known as gZhong-pa-lha-chu.⁴ Moreover, in the region of sTod-lung, [he] bound bTsan, bDud and The'u-rang by the *samaya*.⁵ Then [he] went to Lha-sa-gram-thang and stayed [there] for one day. There because [his] riding horse had no grass, [he] turned the sandy area in Lha-sa into the meadow within one moment, and the grass appeared for the horse. Nowadays, the meadow is still there.⁶

¹ The gNyan is a class of gods, who are closely related to *sa bdag* and *klu*, and are spirits of evil nature, see NEBESKY-WOJKOWITZ 1996: 288–289. For the introduction of the bDud and bTsan, see fn. 5, p. 203.

² Ging is a type of evil spirits originally from the Bon pantheon, see TUCCI 1949: 617 and NEBESKY-WOJKOWITZ 1976: 81. It has many subdivisions, for example, *ging pho*, *ging mo*, *nam ging*, *sa ging*, and so forth, see NEBESKY-WOJKOWITZ 1976: 81. *Ging* is also used as the appellation of deities often called *dpa' bo*, sometimes of those known as *pho nya* and *las mkhan*, see NEBESKY-WOJKOWITZ 1996: 278. For the various divisions of *ging*, see *ibid.*: 278–279. For the two types of *ging* in the dance of the Maṅi-ril-sgrub festival, see KOHN 2001: 193–194 and 228–230. Beyer assumes that the etymology of *ging* might derive from the Sanskrit *kimkara* meaning servant because sometimes it is written as *gingkara* in Tibetan, see BEYER 2001: 50–51.

³ 'Phan-yul, also known as 'Phan-po, is a valley in the region of the 'Phan-yul-ngan-chu river in the north of Lhasa. sTod-lung is a region in the region of the sTod-lung-chu river in the north-west of Lhasa.

⁴ gZhong-pa-lha-chu is in sKyor-mo-lung in the west of Lhasa.

⁵ The bTsan, bDud, and The'u-rang are three different types of spirits which are included in the lists of the most important Tibetan spirits made by Bell, see BELL 2013: 9–13. In this list, the bTsan, translated as imperial spirits, refers to war-like and wrathful Tibetan deities. They are red in colour and are generally believed to be the spirits of past monks who have rejected their Buddhist vows, see *ibid.*: 9. It is one of the most important classes of Tibetan demoniacal deities. For a description of the appearance and various types of bTsan, see NEBESKY-WOJKOWITZ 1996: 175–176. The bDud is translated as hindering spirits which are malevolent with black colour in general and create hindrances particularly to prevent the completion of ritual or success on the path to enlightenment, see BELL 2013: 10. According to Nebesky-Wojowitz, the bDud are another class of pre-Buddhist deities who occupy today an important place in the pantheon of Tibetan Buddhism, see NEBESKY-WOJKOWITZ 1996: 273. For different types of the bDud in the Bon tradition and Buddhist, see *ibid.*: 275–277. The The'u-rang, translated as sky spirits that refers to ancient Tibetan spirits of an ambivalent nature that are primarily associated with the sky. They are also harmful and cause death and disease, see *ibid.*: 11. The *Tshig mdzod chen mo* (p. 1187) explains that The'u-rang is a kind of hungry ghosts (*yi dwags*) that can fly. For a brief introduction to the different groups of The'u-rang, see NEBESKY-WOJKOWITZ 1996: 282–283.

⁶ The versions provide three different forms for the “meadow”: *ne'u seng*, *ne'u sing* and *ne'u gsing*. And *ne'u sing* and *ne'u gsing* are verified in the *Tshig mdzod chen mo* and *Dag yig gсар bsgrigs*.

10.6.3 Completion of the Construction of bSam-yas

Then when [Padmasambhava] crossed sKyi-chu and went to the pass of Ba-Lam-klags,¹ the external ministers reported to the king: “The Ācārya has arrived.” Thereupon, the king thought: “Although I am the emperor of Tibet, the Ācārya is the son of the king [of] Uḍḍiyana. [He] is [the one who] talks with the Buddhas just like human beings talking [to each other]. [He] is [the one who is endowed with] limitless virtues, such as bringing non-human beings into servitude. Therefore [I] must go to welcome him.”² Then [he] put a hat on his head and shoes on feet. Having put on the upper garment, [he] wore the cloak without tying [it with] a belt in a loose-and-hanging fashion and then left.³ At this point, the Ācārya said: “The signs are not good. One day in the upper region, the political system would turn to the extent of a hat, in the lower region the political system would remain to the extent of shoes. In the middle here [the political system] itself will be split up into pieces.⁴ Oh, pity sentient beings!” At that time there occurred some internal discord sporadically.⁵ The Ācārya slightly bent [his] head to the king.⁶ Thereupon, half of the king’s clothes became black because of being burned by the fire. [The king’s] stick broken into three pieces.⁷

Thereupon the king thought: “The Ācārya is superior [in] magical manifestation and qualities [compared with me]. Nonetheless, in so far as I being the king of four horns in Tibet, would there be response to [my] prostration?” Thereupon, having put the four continents

¹ sKyi-chu, also known as Lhasa river, runs through the Lhasa valley and is the northern tributary of Yar-klungs-gtsang-po river. Ba-lam-klags is the village of dBa’-gsal-snang located in a place called Ba-lam which is on the bank of the sKyi-chu river between Tshal-tung-thang and La-mo and it belongs to sTa-rtse-rdzong, east of Lhasa, see WANGDU & DIEMBERGER 2000: fn. 90 on 41. For the record of this place and its orthographical variants, such as Ba-lam-glag or Ba-lam-rlag in various sources, see *ibid.*: fn. 90 on 41. Another variant Ba-lam-rlags is found in the *sBa bzbed zhabs btags ma* (p. 8.15).

² One variant of the *gsu ba* (“welcome”) is *gsungs ba*. If this variant is chosen, it will render the content before “I must go” to be the speech of the king and “I must go” alone is the thought of the king.

³ The “in a loose-and-hanging fashion” is translated from *g.yang lugs* literally meaning “draping a coat or cloak on the shoulder without tying any belt.”

⁴ The “itself will be split up” is based on the reading *rang kha* which is treated separately. The *rang* could refer to the political system itself and the *kha* is taken as *kha thor* meaning “scatter” or “split up.”

⁵ The “internal discord” is translated from the reading *phyag snyeg*, which is not easy to understand. It could be a corrupted form or variant of the *chags nyes*, which is probably an abbreviation of *gyod chags* and *nyams nyes*, see the *Tshig mdzod chen mo* (p. 1889) under the entry *byur god*.

⁶ The “bent [his] head” is translated from *dbu dud mdzad pa* which is a conjecture based on the readings. The readings *dbu dang mdzad pa*, *dbu deng dzad pa*, and *dbu dun mdzad pa* are difficult to be explained to fit the context.

⁷ The *phyag khar* and *phyag mkhar* can both refer to a stick.

and all the subcontinents in the nail of his ring finger, the Ācārya demonstrated [them]. And [he] sang the hymns [which has] “No one is greater and more powerful than me.” [as its content]. Thereupon the king made a prostration [to him]. Then [Padmasambhava] tamed the earth of bSam-yas and built [the temple]. During the day humans constructed [it] and at night gods and demons constructed [it]. Then [bSam-yas] was properly completed. [Padmasambhava] did the consecration [and] empowerment. The king and his subjects celebrated for thirteen years.

10.7 The First Transmission of the Phur-pa Teachings in Tibet

After having completed bSam-yas, the King, Jo-mo mKhar-chen-bza’ and the three messengers received the empowerment of rDo-rje-phur-pa. Having received the Tantric scriptures and *sādhana*s, five [transmissions] arose, namely the so-called rGyal-po’i-lugs, sNa-nam-lugs, Shub-bu-lugs, ’Chims-lugs, and Jo-mo-lugs. Later, because [the transmission] was given to Rong-ban, Rong-zom-lugs came into existence. Because [it] was given to ’Khon, the ’Khongyi-lugs, [which] is known as Sa-phur nowadays, came into existence.

10.8 lCams-lugs

And although Cog-ro-bza’ met the Ācārya in person, [she] asked for the initiation from the deity. Because the deity was absorbed into the heart of the Ācārya, her fortune [for] the empowerment was ruined.¹ Later, because the Jo-mo Ye-shes-mtsho-rgyal was compassionate, [she] bestowed [Cog-ro-bza’] many profound instructions, thereupon this is the emergence of the so-called Phur-pa-lcam-lugs.² The wrathful *mantra* called gZa’-gdong-dmar-nag, that arose from these instructions, came to be known. Further more, the magical powers of gNubs-chen Sangs-rgyas-ye-shes and the reverend Mi-la were [associated with] the cycle of instructions of lCam-lugs.³ The reading transmission still exists nowadays.

¹ The “absorbed” is translated from the *’dus pa*, an intransitive verb. If another reading *bsdus pa* is taken, because it is a transitive verb, the translation will be “the Ācārya gathered the deities [purposely] in his heart.”

² The “many profound instructions” is translated from the *man ngag zab dgu* in which the *dgu* is not a number but means “many.”

³ The connections between lHa-rje-hūṃ-chung, who is said to be the great grandson of gNubs-chen Sangs-rgyas-ye-shes, and Mi-la-ras-pa, see p. 81.

10.9 The King Challenged Jo-mo Ye-shes-mtsho-rgyal

Then at the time when the Ācārya was giving the extensive Buddhist and non-Buddhist teachings in the red-rock cave (*brag dmar*) of bSam-yas, [he] saw mKhar-chen-bza' to be the emanation of Lha-mo Lasya (or Lasyema). The king too offered [mKhar-chen-bza' to Padmasambhava] as [his] consort. Thereupon the Ācārya said to Jo-mo: “[I] am going to show the Akaniṣṭha realm to you.” Having said [this], the Ācārya and [mKhar-chen-bza'] these two disappeared like a rainbow. In the morning after three days, they returned. The king said to Ye-shes-mtsho-rgyal: “Did you see the Akaniṣṭha realm?” [She replied:] “I saw Samantabhadra’s realm and endless realms, [which] belong to Vajrasattva, Śākyamuni, Mañjuśrī, Avalokiteśvara, and Vajrapāni, [with] inconceivable wheel-adornments [that] have been shown.” The King said: “It is not true. The Ācārya cannot engage in the Akaniṣṭha realm. If he could, [he] would not attach to the form aggregates (*rūpaskandha; gzugs kyi phung po*). He is still attached to the form aggregate.” Then Ye-shes-mtsho-rgyal said: “The shapes of all the fields [which] I have seen are in such and such forms. These are not lies!”

[The king] said: “Well then if these were true, previously when my mother Gyim-shang-kong-jo¹ was entrusted to bDe-spyod rgyal-po, she had lost a magical mirror, [which] has the size of a leather armor, in the hand of Ge-sar King [and] is [still there]. Let Ācārya get it back!” As soon as Jo-mo said this to the Ācārya, he disappeared into the light. The crystal rosaries of the king didn’t not count completely [to] one hundred and eight. And the Ācārya got [the remaining pieces] by taking [them] from the Ge-sar King’s treasury then [they] appeared. Jo-mo offered these to the king.

Again the king said: “Well then in the thirty-three heaven, there were Garuda’s eggs. [You should] let him bring this!” As soon as Jo-mo said, what was taken by Ācārya was given to the king by Jo-mo. Then the king said: “At the bottom of the ocean, there is a wish-fulfilling jewelry in the hand of mDzes-ldan-ma, the daughter of the Naga king, gTsug-na-rin-chen. Let him bring this jewelry!” As soon as Jo-mo said this, the Ācārya brought [it] and Jo-mo offered [it] to the king. Once again the king said: “In the sky, there is the tail of the Kham-pa bee. Let the Ācārya bring this!” Like before, [he] immediately got it. Again the king said: “In China [which is the land] of [my maternal] uncle, formerly there are the measurement of barley of the auspicious aeons (*badrakalpa; bskal pa bzang po*) and the volume measurement of the time

¹ Gyim-shang-kong-jo (金城公主, ca. 693–681) was the foster daughter of the Emperor Zhongzong of Tang and married king Khri-lde-gtsug-btsan (704–755).

[when the average] age [of human] is ten.” Again [he] brought this instantly. Once more the king said: “In Bodhgaya under the earth between the thrones of [the statue of] the Buddha Śākyamuni and the undefiled body, there are pieces of jewels called gNam-chag-pa’i-dum-bu and Sa-ral-ba’i-ras-ma. Let the Ācārya bring them!” As soon as Jo-mo said to the Ācārya, [he] brought it and offered to the king.

Thereupon the king said: “The source of Ācārya’s miraculous power has been examined and is inexhaustible. This Ācārya is [the one who] has attained the power over things and his own mind, and supersedes the Buddha of three times.” Out of the faith [the king] touched [Ācārya’s] feet with his head.¹ At that time, [the Ācārya told] the way how did the king and his subjects took birth of their previous life and the reasons of this:²

You, the minister Khri-bzang-yab-lhag,
 in the previous life,
 [had] a sign of taking [birth] as a fish body.
 Now in your left armpit there is a fish fin.

[He] said this, thus everybody was convinced. At that moment [Padmasambhava] prophesied the way one’s own concepts move like this, the changes of future time, and so forth, insofar as [he] saw past, present and future clearly without any obstruction.

10.10 The Practice of Phur-pa and the Slander from Ministers

At that time, Lo-tsā-ba Brang-sti-dza-ya-rakṣita and lCe-ku-ku-rā-dza acted as translators translated many texts.³ [Padmasambhava] gave the rDo-rje-phur-pa teachings to mKhar-chen

¹ The story of the king challenging Jo-mo Ye-shes-mtsho-rgyal six times can also be found in tge *lDe’u chos ’byung* (pp. 328.20–329.21), where only the first three challenges are mentioned. Through comparing the two records, although there are many differences in wording and phrasing, the key information, such as what kind of jewel and where did Padmasambhava retrieve those jewels, is in consistency.

² The “the king and his subjects took birth” is from the readings of *rnam sngas ma’i skye ba ji ltar blangs pa’i tshul*, in which the king and his subjects function as the subject. However, the variant *rnam kyi* changes the logical subject of this sentence to “the birth of the previous life of the king and his subjects. So this sentence can be rendered as: At that time, [the Ācārya] told the way how the birth of the previous lives of the King and his subjects was carried out and its reasons.

³ These two persons are recorded as two messengers who were sent to invite Padmasambhava in the *Lang lab kyi lo rgyus*, see 10.6.1, p. 199. These two together with mKhan-po Padma-thod-phreng from Uḍḍiyāna are said to have translated the eighty-second chapter of the *Phur pa gsang ba’i dgongs rgyud chen po*, see *Phur pa chos ’byung* (p. 86.19–21). Brang-sti-dza-ya-rakṣita could be Jayarakṣita, whose translation is included in the *bka’ gyur*

dPal-gyi-dbang-phyug who comprehended the meaning of the Tantric scriptures thoroughly.¹ The three inviters extensively spread the expositions of the [rDo-rje-phur-pa] Tantric scriptures.

At that time in bSam-yas-'chims-phyu when the Ācārya Padmasambhava and gNyags Jñanakumāra, [who] acted as his translator, along with the king and twenty five disciples, conducted intensive practices, Dar-bza'-byang-chub proclaimed deprecation during the practice then said: “[You] should offer the water.”² Thereupon the ministers reported to the king [about this]. In particular Ngan-lam rTag-ra-klu-gong talked many bad things about the Ācārya, therefore [he] became dumb.³ As for Dar-bza'-byang-chub everybody saw that she was led underneath the earth alive by the earth goddess (*sa'i lha mo brtan ma*) [who] was riding on a yellow-mottled pig and hooked Dar-bza' by [his] tongue through the iron hook holding in [her] hand.⁴ The ministers did not dare to offer the water to the Ācārya. [As a result] the doctrine barely did not cease.

Thereupon the Ācārya was great in magical manifestation and power, those Tibetan ministers [who] were averse to the teachings were totally scared. [They] offered a plead to the King regarding the Ācārya's leave for India later. Because the wicked ministers were powerful, even the King had to obey and agreed. Upon reporting to Ācārya, [Ācārya] said: “Is it fine [for] me to leave for India? However insofar as [I] was not able to propagate completely the ancient Tantric teachings, [I] am not happy. There are many things [to do] such as to cover the entire Tibetan mountains with forests, to channel the gTsang-po river, to turn all the deserts into pastures, and to turn remote areas and northern steppes into fields.⁵ [These] could not be contained in the merits of the sentient beings [in Tibet]. What a pity for Tibetans!”

By rolling the recitation Phur-pa (*bsnyen phur*) towards the sand surrounding bSam-

(D. 483; P. 116) One text titled *rTa mchog rol pa'i rgyud chen po* included in the *rNying ma rgyud 'bumg* (Tk. 295) is translated by lCe-ku-ku-rā-dza.

¹ For the identity of mKhar-chen dPal-gyi-dbang-phyug, see 4.2.1, p. 54.

² The water here could also be alcohol, because *chab* is also an honorific form of alcohol in Bhutan.

³ rTag-ra-klu-gong, also written as sTag/Tā-ra-klu-gong, sTag-ra-klu-khong, was a minister during the reign of Khri-srong-lde'u-btsan. Ngan-lam, also written as Ngam, is a place name and used to in reference to his clan. For his records, see SØRENSON 1994: fn. 1181 on 365.

⁴ Here the description of Sa'i-lha-mo-brtan-ma, who is riding on a pig corresponds to Mārīcī (*'od zer can ma*).

⁵ The “channel the gTsang-po river” is based on *gtsang po sbubs su 'jug pa*. The *sbubs* here is used as a noun from the word *sbubs ma* meaning “tube” or “channel.”

yas, [the sand] turned to meadow lushly.¹ As [he] circumambulated around the wall of the temple, wherever [he] put [his] feet a willow arose. Then he bestowed upon the king one hundred and eight wrathful *mantras* for protecting the doctrine and one hundred and twenty [wrathful *mantras*] for benefiting. Having accumulated all the wealth of Jambudvīpa and entrusted to rGyal-po-pe-dkar, [Padmasambhava] appointed him to be the protector of bSam-yas.²

10.11 The Departure of Padmasambhava

Then at the juncture of the Ācārya's departure, Jo-mo Ye-shes-mtsho-rgyal asked: "I, [as] a woman with inferior mind, [would like to] request a bit teachings [one can] easily be trained. Because [my] defilements are gross, [I] request a teaching that would destroy [my] defilements. Because life is short, [I] request a teaching that is close [to] accomplishments. Because [I have] many enemies, [I] request a teaching that is powerful." [In this way she] made four requests.³ Summing up [the teachings] in a little, Ācārya gave [her] the *Phur pa rtsa ba'i dum*

¹ The recitation Phur-pa is a type of Phur-pa used for recitation in the ritual. Here the *sngo zbur gyis* or *sngo shur gyis* is an adverb showing the manner the sand turned into meadow. Thus I tentatively translate it as "lushly."

² Pe-dkar, more often spelt as Pe-har, is considered as the leader of a larger group of spirits called rGyal-po-sku-lnga or shortly rGyal-lnga and sKu-lnga. According to the pantheon system of dGe-lugs-pa, rGyal-po-pe-har occupies the main place in the so-called worldly protective deities (*jig rten pa'i srung ma*). However, in the rNying-ma school, the group of rGyal-po-sku-lnga led by Pe-har is listed in the fifth place of the nine classifications of the protective deities, see NEBESKY-WOJKOWITZ 1996: 94. The cult of Pe-har already existed in the eighth century in bSam-yas, first starting from the rNying-ma school, then transferring to Sa-skya school and various bKa'-brgyud sub-sects, and finally being adopted into dGe-lugs school. Pe-har is believed to have stayed in bSam-yas before he moved to gNas-chung monastery not far from 'Bre-dpung monastery during the time of the Fifth Dalai lama and became the state guardian deity of Tibet. The term *pe har* is originated etymologically from the Sanskrit word *vihāra*, meaning "monastery," see KARMAY 1998f: 359–361 and BELL 2013: 31. For how Pe-har was accepted in Tibet and moved to the gNas-chung monastery, see NEBESKY-WOJKOWITZ 1996: 97–106 and BELL 2013: 36–66. For the different spellings of Pe-har, see NEBESKY-WOJKOWITZ 1996: 96 and BELL 2013: 30–31. For the various epithets of rGyal-po-pe-har, see NEBESKY-WOJKOWITZ 1996: 96–97 and BELL 2013: 31–32. For records of dPe-har in the literature by the Fifth Dalai Lama, and scholars before and after him, see LIN 2010.

³ The four requests of Ye-shes-mtsho-rgyal are in accordance with her characteristics or demands. In the *Phur pa 'bum nag*, she is also recorded to have made four requests to Padmasambhava for herself and Ngam-'bre-sa-le, which are quite similar to the four requests here, see the *Phur pa 'bum nag* (A: p. 243.1–4; B: pp. 21.5–6): *dbang chos zhu ba'i skabs su mkhar chen bzas zhus¹ don bzhi zhus pa ni | dngos cag bud med kyi lus 'di blo dman pas tshig² nyung la don du 'gril³ ba zbig zhu | dngos cag bud med kyi lus 'di nyon mongs pa che bas nyon mongs pa 'dul ba zbig zhu | dngos cag bud med kyi lus 'di bya ba che bas | grub thag nye ba'i chos gcig zhu | dngos cag bud med kyi lus 'di kha⁴ nyen pas mthu che ba'i chos zbig zhus | zhes zus pas | . i. zhus] A, zhu B. 2. tshig] A, tshig tu B. 3. 'gril] B, 'dril A. 4. kha] B, khas A. For an almost identical account, see the *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung* (p. 322.*

bu, [which is] the supreme instruction [concerning] the “higher” activity [that is] the practice for enlightenment and lower activity [that is] taking the curse as the [spiritual] path.

Then the Ācārya told the king: “Apparently now the time has come for me to leave in order to suppressing the demons. I am [the one who] has obtained the *vidyādhara* over lifespan. If the king is also interested in the accomplishment of longevity, please drink the water of life!” Having said [this], [he] gave [the king] a vase of *amṛta*. Regarding this, the king thought: “It might be something like [that] being displeased with the Ācārya’s setting out to go, the lord of Nepal in south has sent the poison.” As soon as [the king] poured [the water] down from the side of [his] fur cloak, a water source suddenly appeared on earth . So nowadays [it] is called Chu-rje-ne’u-sing.

Then as Padmasambhava was leaving, the king could not bear and asked: “Even though the political system disintegrates, please stay as long as I am alive !” [Padmasambhava] did not agree to stay in bSam-yas permanently. For the sake of fortunate beings in the future, having constructed ocean-like *maṅḍalas* [regarding] Tantric section in the meditation places in Tibet, [Padmasambhava] engaged in practice and empowered [them]. In the meantime, [he] visited all the places [including] the nine regions of Tibet and Khams (*bod khams gling dgu*), and made [them] to become auspicious and magnificent. Meanwhile, as the trainees of Tibet are incomplete, [he] also established hermitages in snow mountains, rocky mountains, and islands for the sake of their benefits. The Ācārya said: “For the sake of the king and [his] subjects, [I] will come from time to time. [You] have to receive my entire teachings from Ācārya Vimalamitra [who] should be invited from India.” Having said [these], he left [with] Jo-mo Ye-shes-mtsho-rgyal [who was] serving as attendant. Then he went to some meditation places and pursued [his] practices. Then [he] left the prints of his body, hand, and foot in cliffs.

In particular with regard to the handprints left in the four great seas, [he] empowered [in such a way that] they will remain as long as the water does not dry up. [He did come to] the consecration of bSam-yas, teach the king and [his] subjects occasionally, and remove the leprosy of the queen dMar-rgyan-bza’. After the king passed away, [his] son Mu-ne-btsan-po was assassinated by [his] mother with poison. When the military forces, from the border such as China, Mongolia, Ge-sar and Khrom, almost ruined Tibet, Mu-khri-btsan-po was

young, ruled the kingdom for three years and brought benefits for Tibetans.¹ Finally, [Mukhri-btsan-po] entrusted the kingdom to the prince. Then [he] did not listen to anybody [who] objected [him]. Padmasambhava left for the Cāmara Island in Southwest to subjugate the demons.

10.12 Duration of Stay in Tibet

If asking how long did [Padmasambhava] stay in Tibet in this way? As what has been told in the *sBa bzbed*:

“[He] stayed for three months until the earth-taming of bSam-yas, and so forth. In the view of evil ministers, [it is] as if [he] went to India thereafter. [Actually he] stayed in the remote areas of Tibet. [If] counted each pass of six months [as one] year and every fifteen days as one month, in terms of an Indian counting tradition like *rGyal po lo chos*, [he] remained one hundred and eleven years. [If counted] the whole year, [he] remained fifty-five years and six months. Those people, [who] do not understand this [way of counting] and have not get the comprehension of the history, claimed: “According to the treasure text of Nyangral [which] is the handwriting of Vairocana, Ācārya Padmasambhava stayed in Tibet for one hundred and eleven years. [He] stayed as the king’s resident monk for one hundred years and at meditation places for eleven years.”

[It] is true [that] the king [Khri-srong-lde’u-brtsan] lived for sixty-eight years. If like this, [according to] their tradition there is no time for completing the aforementioned activities in nineteen years. The manner of how these activities were carried out [can] be known insofar as most [of their effects] are still evident until nowadays. All the *paṇḍitas* and *siddhas* from India [and] Tibet maintained that in general even the noble beings [who] live in the tenth stage cannot conceive the qualities, activities, and manners [that] the Ācārya tamed the trainees, and even the Buddhas taught [them] for one-hundred aeons, completion would not be in sight.

¹ Mu-ne-btsan-po and Mu-khri-btsan-po were sons of Khri-srong-lde’u-btsan.

10.13 Jo-mo-lugs

Although the Ācārya [had] many disciples [regarding the transmission] of Phur-pa, the supreme [person] to [whom] the teachings have descended was Jo-mo Ye-shes-mTsho-rgyal. In the cave of Mon-kha-ne-rings Seng-ge-rdzong, she initiated the *maṅḍala* of Phur-pa and practiced.¹ As a result, in twenty-one days all the Phur-pa [deities] smiled. The light emanated and [the Phur-pa deities] started to dance. Thereupon Jo-mo Ye-shes-mtsho-rgyal thought:

If [you] accomplish Ma-mo, [you have to] throw blood sorcery [on them].
If [you] accomplish Yamantaka, [you have to] turn the wheel.
If [you] accomplish male dancing skeletons (*ging pho*), [you have to] incite
[them] to activities.
If [you] accomplish Phur-pa, [you have to] pierce them.

Then [she] thought: “For me there is no competitive enemy. On whom [shall I] stab [the Phur-pa]?” After having whirled the recitation Phur-pa, [she] thought: “Although I have no enemies, I will pierce [Phur pa] on the hungry ghosts who cut the life force of [my] ancestors.”

The recitation Phur-pa got free from [her] hand and started flying in the air. Then [her Phur-pa] descended in a pile of barberries, where the hungry ghosts were residing, in the upper part of the house of [her] hometown. The pile of barberries was completely burnt and these hungry ghosts were killed. The Phur-pa [transmission] was hold by [her] descendants. Just by lifting up [the Phur-pa] many gods and demons were tamed. Therefore a lineage called mKhar-chen-bza tames the eating demons (*mkhar chen bza’ dre ’dul gyi brgyud pa*) appeared unbrokenly.² The Jo-mo, having perfected the skills of liberation, was capable of reviving even a dead person [who] was killed by the weapon.

Then how was [the tradition of Ye-shes-mtsho-rgyal] transmitted? Jo-mo taught [it] to her own younger brother mKhar-chen dPal-gyi-dbang-phyug. [Then the teachings were successively] taught to La-byi Ye-shes-brtsegs, lCe-ston Yon-tan-rgya-mtsho, lCam-me-dpal-sgron, Ngam-’bre Klu’i-rgyal-mtshan, and to Lang-lab Byang-chub-rdo-rje on the other side

¹ Mon-kha-ne-rings, more often written as Mon-kha-ne’u-ring, is a place situated in the east of Bum-thang district in Bhutan,

² For another mention of the lineage, see the *Phur pa rgyud lugs chos ’byung* (p. 8.1): *phur pa de jo mo’i dpon brgyud rnams gyis gdengs pas chos pa byung bas mkhar chen ’dre ’dul gyi brgyud par grags*.

of rMa-chu, this side of sKye-chu, in the mountain Bye-ma-yug-mo-sgang. Until Lang-lab [this] is only a one-to-one transmission named Phur-pa-man-ngag-drug-pa.

Then Lang-lab [bestowed] the transmission [to] sNa-nam Shes-rab-tshul-khrims.¹ Although Myang-nag dBang-gyi-shes-rab is known as a teaching thief, it is just a sectarian account of different masters of that time.² The story of the teachings transmitted to Myang-nag will be explained below. Then Sna-nam Shes-rab-tshul-khrims taught [the Jo-mo-lugs] to rGya-ston-sangs-rgyas, who taught [it] to rGya-thung Shes-rab-rgyal-mtshan at Gur-zhogs-khams-pa valley in Shang. Shes-rab-rtyal-mtshan taught [it] to dGon-ston rDo-rje-rgyal-mtshan at the cave of Nag-po-rmu.

dGon-ston rDo-rje-rgyal-mtshan requested [the teachings] even through meeting the descendants of the three, [namely] sNa-nam, Shud-bu and mChims. It is said no one was more skilful on Phur-pa than him. He taught [it] to Myang Dar-ma-seng-ge. [Then Jo-mo-lugs was transmitted successively] to gNubs Shes-rab-ye-shes, his own son gNubs bDud-rtsi-'od, his son Phur-grags, his son Jo-lcam, Jo-btsun-grub-ye, Se-mig-pa, Phu-ri-jo-ston, Shes-rab-rdo-jre, Tshe-brtan-dpal-bzang, sNgags-'chang-shes-rin-pa, bSod-nams-rdo-rje, [his] brother dKon-mchog-bzang-po, mKhan-chen-shes-rab-rje, sNgags-'chang Kun-dga'-dar-po, 'Jam-dbyangs-kun-bzang, Grags-pa-dpal-'byor, rGyal-mtshan-dpal-bzang, and [finally to] Bla-chen-chos-kyi-rgyal-po, from whom, I received the empowerments and cycles of instructions of Man-ngag-drug-pa.³

10.14 sKyi-lugs

Moreover, a student of Lang-lab called sKyi-ban Byang-chub-rin-chen appeared. To begin with, because [he] was being robbed of house and wealth by [his] paternal siblings, [he] asked for the Phur-pa teachings from Lang-lab and practiced [it]. [He] killed the men and cattle of nine villages of [his] paternal siblings including the watchdog. In the end, [he] was not satisfied with the death [of] these enemies, and as [he] saw the wall of [their] house, said: “My

¹ sNa-nam Shes-rab-tshul-khrims was one of the four major disciples of Lang-lab, see 10.23.1, p. 239.

² Here the “sectarian” is translated from *chags sdang* that literally means “attachments and aversions.” This sentence indicates that because of the attachments to their own teachings and aversions toward others’, the masters of that time backbitten Myang-nag dBang-gyi-shes-rab to be a teaching-thief. For Sog-bzlog-pa’s discussion of whether Myang-nag dBang-gyi-shes-rab stole the teachings or not, see 10.23.4, p. 241. For some other records about it, see 4.18, p. 90–92.

³ Here “I” refers to Sog-bzlog-pa.

heart aches.” Then [he] rolled the Phur-pa, even the entire wall collapsed from the bottom. Thereupon [his] name was known as sKyi-gyang-'gyel.

[His transmissions] spread through two of his disciples, namely sGom-che-mu-ne from Khams-pa-stong-gsum and bTsun-pa-shes-rab-'od from Thag-gdong-dkar. [Because of their] great power, the so-called sKyi-phur came into emerged. Nowadays except for [some] fragmentary cycles of the instructions, I have not obtained the entire instructions. According to what has been stated in the old materials [it is said] that the disciple of Thag-btsun-shes-rab-'od is lHa-rje-gnubs-chung.¹ In this case, I wonder if sKyi-lugs contains the dark-red-face Rahula (*gza'gdong dmar nag*) practice.

10.15 The rDo-rje-phur-pa Masters of the New Tantric Traditions

In general among the family lineage of the big clans such rLangs, rNgo, 'Khon, Rog, gNubs, So, Zur, mGos, dPang, rGyus, 'O-bran, and so forth, the accomplished ones of rDo-rje-phur-pa are extremely many in Tibet and beyond description. Before the arising of *mantras* of the new translation tradition, Yang-dag and Phur-pa protected the life essence (*srog rtsa*) of deities and teaching guardians in Tibet. Other than the predominant family lineages of those *mantra*-adepts [who] were blessed [by their] transmissions, the great persons of new schools also appeared. As for the manner how did the masters of the teachings [of] Sa-skyapa, Khrophu-pa, Pha-mo-grub-pa and so forth as such arose, [one] should read the biographies of their family lineage. I cannot express [it] because of [my] little knowledge.²

¹ For lHa-rje-gnubs-chung, see fn. 1, p. 82.

² A very similar narrative is found in the *mKhas pa'i dga'ston* (p. 309.13–16): *mdor rlangs | rngog | 'khon | rog | mgos | dbang so zur | snubs | rgyus | 'o bran la sogs pa'i gdung rigs las rdo rje phur pa grub pa ni bod yul du shin tu mang bas gsar ma rnams ma dar gyi bar du bod du yi dam dang bstan srung gi srog rtsa yang phur gyis bzung ba yin la brgyud pa byin gyis rlob par nus pa'i sngags 'chang de rnams kyi gdung rigs shas che ba las gsar ma'i skyes chen rnams kyang byon pa yin no ||*. Sog-bzlog-pa may have referred to it when he composed this part. The *mTha'gru'i rgyan* (p. 121.15–16) also states that Yang-dag and Phur-pa protected the life of the deities and teachings guardians in Tibet before the arising of the new translation tradition, but does not list the family clans. The *Phur pa rgyud lugs chos 'byung* (p. 11.5) provides some family clans in which the Phur-pa teachings were transmitted, including Khyung-po, 'Gos, Ram, dPyal, So, Zur, gNubs, Gur, Rog, Rong-lugs, and so forth. The *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung* (p. 342.22–345.5) states that Yang-dag and Phur-pa were the only common deities in Tibet before the arising of the new translation tradition and lists similar family clans to those in the *Phur pa rgyud lugs chos 'byung*, in which the rDo-rje-phur-pa was practiced and makes an introduction to each clan. The family clans are Khyung-po, 'Gos, Sang, rLang, rNgog, Ram, So, Zur, gNubs, Gur, Rong-lugs, and so forth.

10.16 Rong-zom-lugs/Rong-lugs

10.16.1 Transmission before Rong-zom-pa

Now the account of Rong-zom-lugs [which is] known as my own tradition should be narrated in brief. To begin with, the manner in which the Phur-pa teachings were transmitted to Rong-zom-pa is [as follows]: Ācārya Padmasambhava, sNa-nam rDo-rje-bdud-'joms, mKhar-chen-dpal-kyi-dbang-phyugs, Don Ācārya dPal-gyi-me-tog, sGro-rdo-rje-gzhon-nu, Zhang-zhung Yon-tan-grags, Rong-ban Yon-tan-rin-chen and Rong-ban Rin-chen-tshul-khrims.¹ From the transmission, according to some [sources], Rong-ban Yon-tan-rin-chen met Ācārya Padmasambhava in person. He lived for three hundred years in human world. In the end without abandoning [his] body, [he] went to [the land of] *ḍakīni*.

10.16.2 Rong-zom-pa

His son Rong-ban Rin-chen-tshul-khrims lived [in the human world] for one hundred and fifty years. The son of Rin-chen-tshul-khrims is Rong-zom. It is said he lived in the human world for one hundred and nineteen years. In the manner of not becoming old, [he] passed away. At any rate [this] is a lineage where the accomplished ones never ceased. As for his birthplace, [he was] born in sNar-lung of Rong in the land of lower gTsang in Ru-lags of the four horns (*ru bzhi*) of Tibet.²

From a very young age, [he] was knowledgeable of all [fields of] knowledge such as Sanskrit grammar, logic epistemology (*pramāṇam; tshad ma*), and so forth. Insofar as he vanquished other [opponents] through logical argumentation (*vastubalapravṛttānumāna; dngos po stobs shugs kyi rigs pa*) some said, [he] was the rebirth of Paṇḍita Smṛtijñānakīrti. Some said [he] was the rebirth of Paṇḍita Phra-la-ring-mo.³ Later having met Atiśa in Rong-yul-lha with [whom he] debated, Atiśa could not vanquish Rong-zom-pa. Thereupon Atiśa said: “You are the rebirth of an Indian Ācārya Nag-po-zhabs-chen sPyod-pa-ba. How can I debate

¹ The same list can be found in the *Deb ther sngon po* (p. 211.4–8, for the translation, see ROERICH 1995: 166–167).

² For an introduction to biographical sources of Rong-zom-pa, see ALMOGI 2002: 68–75.

³ Smṛtijñānakīrti and Phra-la-ring-mo were Indian scholars. As they both have traveled to Khams, Smṛtijñānakīrti sometimes was confused with Phra-la-ring-mo, see SMITH 2001: note 599, p. 315. For the introduction of Smṛtijñānakīrti, see *ibid.*: 192. Rom-zong-pa is said to be the reincarnation of both masters, see the *Deb ther sngon po* (p. 203.4–13), for the translation, see ROERICH 1995: 160–161.

with you on Dharma discourse?”¹ Insofar as [he] was unhindered in amazing activities and magical manifestations, [he] was also known to be the emanation of Buddha Śākyamuni. The majority [of people] unanimously praised [him] saying [he] was the emanation of the Ārya Mañjuśrī.

[He] studied logic epistemology at the age of eleven. Before thirteen, he finished [his] study and became the best-learned man. [He] was not even confused about all the knowledge [which] he has learned.² He even knew the difficult subjects after having studied once. The master himself said: “I am not of little learning [insofar as] there is no teachings [which] I have not studied. I am also not of big learning [insofar as] I do not need to [study] all the teachings more than once.”

In general the sublime being [namely Rong-zom-pa] was endowed with vast, profound, [and] stainless cognitive capacity. Therefore, he understood the *sūtra*, *tantra*, and *śāstra* belonging to Indian teachings, [that he] has not seen before, by just perceiving [them] once or twice. He understood [both] words and meanings completely and he had obtained the magic formula of not-forgetful (*asaṃpramoṣadbhāraṇī; mi brjed pa'i gzungs*).

Moreover, he even became learned in all subtle subjects of knowledge, such as the worldly *śāstra* [composed] by Tsa-na-ka (*cāṇakya*) and so on,³ logic epistemology, Sanskrit grammar, poetry, other three Vedic treatises, and investigation of earth. Insofar as he was endowed with great compassion, he repeatedly made benefit, through unmistakable instructions, to people [who] believe in Dharma, dharmic individuals, and those [who] wish to fulfill activities and accomplishments of those [who] entered into Vajrayāna. [He] was endowed with clairvoyance and skilled in the time and measurement of taming sentient beings. For the sake of placing the ordinary sentient beings and those, [whose] mind has been transformed by Dharma in this and next life in well being, he composed many treatises. He was never tired of benefiting [them] in this way.

Also to ordinary people whose mind has not been transformed by Dharma, by avoiding avarice and malicious thought, he considered [them] as the objects of compassion and placed [them] in peace and happiness. He cherished [his non-Tāntric] precepts and [Tāntric]

¹ Ācārya Nag-po-zhabs-chen sPyod-pa-ba, also called Kṛṣṇapāda or Balīmācārya, was the teacher of Atiśa, see the *Deb ther sngon po* (vol. 1, p. 299.3–4, for the translation, see ROERICH 1995: 243). More information about him, see ALMOGI 1997: 80.

² Some readings add negative to the verb “learned” which make translation as “He was not even confused about all the knowledge [that] he has not learned.

³ One text about state polity written by Cāṇakya is included in the *bsTan 'gyur* (D 4334).

commitments as [his] life source. He also brought others to do the same. While composing [texts], he did not make efforts of gathering and reading books, and so forth. And yet he was able to manifest his confidence of not being hindered with regard to the infinite Dharma.

Regarding the treatises [he] has composed, [they] do not contradict scriptural authority and logical reasoning, and were free from fallacies [in] words and meanings, therefore no other scholars were able to refute [him]. [He] also knew the Sanskrit grammar and Sanskrit language without even studying. As a boy, [he] was happy to [encounter] any Ācārya whoever appeared, then was skilled in their language. Upon looking at the *Byi to'i po ti*,¹ [his] latent tendencies (*vāsanā*; *bag chags*) regarding the equivalent term (*skad dod*) were as if awakened. He even knew the language and signs of animals. Insofar as there was no mistakes and full of empowerments in the Tantric works he composed, when those individuals, who appeared in his student lineage, practiced [exactly] following what is in the text [even] without having obtained the reading transmission, there were no [cases that] that empowerments and accomplishments did not arise.

The great translators came to be revered by many scholars from the four horns of Tibet at that time. Go-rub Lo-tsā-ba, [who] was learned in infinitive Dharma with the name dGe-slong Chos-kyi-shes-rab, first deprecated [him] by saying “A person born in Tibet from the beginning has composed many treatises.” Later, however, after having seen the volume [of] the *Theg pa chen po'i tshul la 'jug pa* composed by Rong-zom-pa, great devotion arose [in him].² [He] pleased [Rong-zom-pa] with many offerings then confessed and requested: “Please accept me [as a disciple],” [Rong-zom-pa] consented. Upon requesting a lot of teachings, such as *'Jam dpal gsang rgyud*, Rong-zom-pa consented. Moreover, many translators, such as Mar-pa Chos-kyi-dbang-phyug (1042–1136), and many intelligent people [who] were known to be scholars showed [their] respect and received teachings. Also all the disciple lineages, of those [who] received [teachings from Rong-zom-pa], had fully devoted [to him] and considered him as [their] eminent master.

During the time of [giving the explanation of] the *gSang rgyud*, Rong-zom-pa said: “If we had the Indian manuscript now, it would [read] as such. Because [we] do not have the Sanskrit manuscript, [we] cannot amend.” Go-rub Lo-tsā-ba kept this in mind. Later, as he

¹ The term *byi to'i po ti* has four different writings in my critical edition. In the *Deb ther sngon po* (p. 205.15), it is written as *bi brta'i pu ti* and Roerich renders it as Vivarta script (Vartula) in his translation, see ROERICH 1995: 162.

² For an introduction to the *Theg pa chen po'i tshul la 'jug pa*, see ALMOGI 1997: 162–169.

received [explanations] from Paṇḍita called Jo-bo Kṛṣṇa-pa to whom the Sanskrit manuscript appeared, he became extremely devoted after [he realized they] were as what Rong-pa-chen-po [i. e. Rong-zom-pa] has told. It is said that the [Sanskrit] text that came from Kṛṣṇa-pa was offered to Rong-pa, then [Go-rub Lo-tṣā-ba] received [it] once again.

More over having relied on a lot of *paṇḍitas*, such as Paṇḍita Mañjuśrīvarman, Mañjuśrījñāna, Upāyaśrīmitra, Buddhākarabhadra, Dinākaricandra, Parameśvara, and Amoghavajra, Rong-pa also acted [as] their translator. By [acting as their translator], he translated many [scriptures] such as the *rDo rje 'jigs byed, gShin rje dgra rgyud, 'Jam dpal sngags don, bDe mchog rtsa rgyud*. Because the translations were very good, [he] benefited greatly. Also, all the *paṇḍitas* said: “Oh Dharmabhadra! You composed a lot of teachings and saved people. Let alone your other qualities! [Those people] in India [who] not even know one-third of [your] system of Sanskrit grammar and logic epistemology, they composed a lot of works. Why don't you compose?” Although [he] was endowed with perfect qualities as such and was free from the faults, such as self praise, even other religious traditions and conducts [were] inferior, he would never make any statements that would deprecate others unless it was [really] meaningful. [He] had no hindrances with regard to magical power and signs of accomplishment, such as going through the cliff, flying in the sky, and piercing a Phur-pa [implement] on the rocks. In lower Myang [he] received the rNying-ma *mantras* from 'Gar-ston Tshul-khrims-bzang-po. [He] was at the age of twelve that time

At the age of thirteen, [he] also received [teachings] from mKhas-pa mDo-ston Sengge-rgyal-mtshan. [He] dreamt in dream eating [a course] in which the *gSang ba snying po* (**Guhyaḡarbhā*) serving [as] food and *Sangs rgyas mnyam sbyor* (*Buddhasamāyoga*) serving [as] vegetables. He reported [this] to [his] teacher. Thereupon, the teacher said: “This is extremely auspicious. [This] is a sign to understand these scriptures. To these two you compose a commentary for each.” He did compose the commentaries.¹ It is good [that] these texts appeared in Tibet.

The treatises [he] composed later are [as follows]. He composed three important guiding instructions for the sake of relying on three [kinds] of trainings.² For the sake of gener-

¹ The commentary to the *gSang ba snying po* is the *sGyu 'phrul gsang ba snying po'i rtsa rgyud tshul bzhi yan lag bco lngas bkral ba dkon cog 'grel*, more widely known as the *dKon cog 'grel*. The commentary to the *Sangs rgyas mnyam sbyor* is the *Sangs rgyas thams cad dang mnyam par sbyor ba mkha' 'gro ma sgyu ma bde ba'i mchog ces bya ba'i rgyud kyi dka' 'grel*. For a general introduction to the two texts, see ALMOGI 1997: 132–140 and 206–213.

² The three kinds of trainings are the ethical-spiritual discipline (*śīla; tshul khrims*), contemplation (*samādhi;*

ating the training of higher ethical-spiritual discipline in the continuum, he composed the *Dam tshig mdo rgyas*. For the sake of generating the training of supreme *samādhi* in the continuum, he composed *'Grel pa tshul bzhi yan lag bco lnga pa*.¹ In order to generate the higher training of intelligence in the continuum, he composed *rDzogs pa chen po lta bsgom man ngag*. Moreover he also composed commentaries on the *Ngan song sbyong rgyud*, *sMra sgo*, and the like.² He also composed many other treatises.

At that time, scholars of four horns of Tibet, such as Shab-kyi Yang-khye-bla-ma, Marpa-do-pa, 'O-yug-pa mDa'-bsam-gtan, mDo'i-khyung-po Hūṃ-snying-po, Se-khrom rGya-mtsho-'bar, mTshams-ston-go-cha, dPang-ka-dar-chung, 'Gos lHas-btsas, rGya-rgyal-tshul-khrims, and so forth, sought to debate [with him]. They said: “It is inappropriate for someone born in Tibet to compose so much treatises.” [Saying that] they came to [his] presence to criticize [him]. Only by discussion, Rong-zom-pa destroyed [their] confidence to debate with him. Having seen [his] every treatise, [they] became very much devoted [to him]. All of them asked for teachings [from him]. [They] served him and held [him] to be the permanent refuge.

In this way Rong-zom-pa, [who] was endowed with wholesome conducts naturally just from [his] birth, was great [in] enlightened intelligence spontaneously. [His] concern of worldly traditions was also particularly great. All contemporary scholars praised him openly. He was skilled in all the external and internal fields of knowledge. Particularly, he was not confused in Sanskrit grammar and logic epistemology. Even in Tibetan language, [he] was able to show even the very subtle meanings of words better than others by [using] “this term applies to these meanings.” [He] understood and was learned in all the words and meaning of the *sūtras*, *tantras* and *śāstras* in [their] translation to Tibetan. [He] was also even expert in worldly livelihood, such as farming, animal husbandry, dairy-farming, thus he also composed treatises on how to accomplish these. Also, the gods and demons of Tibet asked for teachings, paid respect [to him] and followed [his] advice. [His] views turned out to be excellent. [He] became the lord of all Dharmas and *śāstras*.

[He] also possessed all the teachings [that have been transmitted through] Pad-

ting 'dzin), and intelligence (*prajñā*; *shes rab*).

¹ The *'Grel pa tshul bzhi yan lag bco lnga pa* is the commentary on the *Guhyagarbha*, see fn. 1 on p. 218.

² In the works of Rong-zom-pa listed by Rong-pa Me-dpung, there are the selected writings on long-life ceremony based on the *Ngan song sbyong rgyud*, see ALMOGI 1997: 244. The commentary on the *sMra sgo* should be the *sMra sgo mtshon cha'i 'grel pa*, for its introduction, see ALMOGI 1997: 221–225.

masambhava. Also the teachings [transmitted through] Vairocana [are as follows]. [Vairocana] transmitted [it] to g.Yu-sgra-snying-po.¹ [Then it was transmitted in sequence] through Bla-chen dGongs-pa-rab-gsal (953–1035),² Grum-shing-slag-can, gNubs-dpal-ldan, Ya-si-bon-ston, and Rong-zom. [He] also had a transmission of the Mind Class (*sems phyogs*). And [he] became the lord of the teachings.

[Rong-zom-pa] was even the holder of the instructions of A-ro Ye-shes-'byung-gnas [who was] an emanation body born in lDan-klong-thang-sgron-ma.³ A-ro Ye-shes-'byung-nas had the teachings of seven Indian lineages and seven Chinese Hwa-shang lineages.⁴ Rong-zom learned from two direct disciples of A-ro, [namely] Cog-ro Zangs-dkar-mdzod and Khams-pa Ya-zi-bon-ston. [The teachings that] has been transmitted] through them are called rDzogs-chen-khams-lugs. Also [the teachings] transmitted by Vimalamitra were passed through Myang Ding-'dzin-bzang-po, rMa-rin-chen-mchog, and gNyags Jñānakumāra. From both gNyags Jñānakumāra and rMa-rin-chen-mchog, [the teachings] were transmitted gradually to Khu-byang-chub-'od and Khyung-po-dbyig-'od. Then Rong-zom possessed [the teachings]. In short, one cannot express the knowledge and qualities of this person. No other scholars in Tibet, the range of snow, appeared equal to him. In general Rong-zom-pa is the incarnation of the Buddha. Yet the spiritual accomplishments [he] achieved were by means of Phur-pa. Thus he also composed many treatises on Phur-pa.

10.16.3 Family Lineage

Also with regard to [his] lineage, the accomplished ones appeared without interruption. Also of both biological lineage and spiritual lineage, [as for his] family lineage, the first was Rong-ban dPal-gyi-rin-po-che, [also called] Yon-tan-rin-chen. His son was Rong-ban Rin-chen-tshul-khrims whose two sons were Rong-zom Chos-kyi-bzang-po and sGom-chen-chos-

¹ g.Yu-sgra-snying-po was a prince in Tsha-ba-rong of rGyal-rong. Vairocana met him there and believed him to be the rebirth of his friend Legs-grub. Vairocana taught g.Yu-sgra-snying-po all his teachings. For more detail about the meet and conversation of the two, see KARMAY 2007: p.27-28.

² dGongs-pa-rab-gsal was an important figure in the revival of the Vinaya tradition through the lower Khams region in the beginning of the later propagation of the doctrine (*bstan pa phyi dar*).

³ lDan-klong-thang-sgron-ma, also written as 'Dan-klong-thang-sgron or lDan-klong-thang-sgron, is located in the north west of Khams. For more information about this place, see THIESEN 2009: fn. 38 on 36.

⁴ A-ro-ye-shes from Khams was an important figure in the transmission of the Mind Class of the rDzogs-chen system, known as Khams-lugs. For a study of his life and his transmission related to the rDzogs-chen-system, see THIESEN 2009: 26–51 and 81–88.

'phags.

The two sons of Chos-bzang were gZi-brjid-'bar and 'Bum-'bar. The two sons of gZig-brjid-'bar were sTon-dar and sTon-skyabs. sTon-dar's son was sTon-seng whose son was Jo-sras-ra-spe whose son was 'Bum-dpal. sTon-skyabs's son was Jo-sras-'od-zer whose son was Slob-dpon 'Bum-bstan. 'Bum-bar, the second son of Chos-bzang, had sons [called] Chos-kyi-rgyal-mtshan, Jo-rtsegs, Jo-bzang, and so forth.¹ The son of Chos-kyi-rgyal-mtshan was Ru Ānandavajra,² namely Rong-pa-kun-dga'. The son of Rong-pa-kun-dga' was Slob-dpon Me-dpung whose two sons were Chos-kyi-gshes-gnyen and Chos-bzhad. The son of Rong-ban Jo-bzang was Slob-dpon Jo-bkra whose two sons were Dar-bzang and rDo-rje-brtan. The son of Dar-bzang was Slob-dpon Ser-'od. The son of Jo-brtan (i. e. rDo-rje-brtan) was Nyi-ma-seng-ge whose two sons were 'Od-zer-'bum and 'Bum-rgod. The son of Rong sGom-chos-'phags was Slob-dpon sTong-g.yung whose son was Jo-sras-lha-srung whose son was Slob-dpon Byams-chos-pa-chen-po Dar-ma-brtan.

Even nowadays the lineages of Rong-zom has not ceased. Nonetheless at the time of 'Bum-rgod, the monastic protector of Rin-spungs-pa, [called] Nam-mkha'-rgyal-po, sponsored ['Bum-rgod]. Many disciples appeared. Among them the best was the Thang-khrom bKa'-bzhi-pa.³ After 'Bum-rgod passed away, he was invited to the dGon-pa-dkar-po [where] the remains of Rong-zom-pa [were placed]. He taught the cycle of Phur-pa teachings to Tantric disciples [who were] the descendants of gNyags.⁴

10.16.4 Spiritual Lineage

Second the spiritual genealogy [is as follows]. In general all the scholars and accomplished ones at that time who met [Rong-zom-pa] and received teachings from him were inconceivable. In particular, there were seventeen great translators such like Lo-tsā-ba Mar-pa (1002/1012–1097/1100), Lo-tsā-ba rJe-'gos. There were also thirty five great accomplished ones such as g.Yag rDo-rje-'dzin-pa. There were one hundred eighty practitioners who were spiritual accomplished such as rJe mKhon-bu-ba [who was] the younger brother of Ma-cig-zha-ma

¹ Here “and so forth” is translated from the reading *sogs kha yar*.

² The reading for Ānandavajra is the same in the *Deb ther sngon po* (p. 210.3–4) and *Phur pa lo rgyus*, which is *ā nanda badzra*. Roerich renders it as Ānandavajra, see ROERICH 1995: 166.

³ bKa'-bzhi-pa is a title of degree referring to a person who is adept in the four precepts, namely Madhyāmaka, Prajñāmitra, Vinaya, and Abhidharmakośa

⁴ gNyags should refer to gNyags Jñānakumāra.

(1062–1149).¹ There were five hundred teachers [who were] parasol holders (*gdugs thogs pa*), such as Yol dGe-bsnyen rDo-rje-dbang-phyug and Yang-khyed-bla-ma, who were countless and inexpressible.² Among these, how Phur-pa was transmitted [is as follows]. Rong-zom-pa [transmitted it to] Yol dGe-bsnyen rDo-rje-dbang-phyug. [Then it was transmitted in turn through] Yol-lcags-grub-thob, rGya-ston-stong-'bar, rNal-'byor-gzhungs-pa, Pho-rog mDo-sde-mgon, Yol-lcags Sangs-rgyas-nyi-'bum, Don-'grub-gzhon-nu, dPyal 'Phags-pa-dpal, dPyal Kun-dga'-nyi-ma, dPyal Kun-mkhyen-chos-rgyal, mKhan-po rGyal-mchog-pa, Grub-chen-dpal-'byor, Lo-chen bSod-nams-rgya-mtsho, Chag-lo Rin-chen-chos-rgyal (b. 1447), and Bla-ma-dam-pa rDo-rje-seng-ge. From Bla-ma-dam-pa rDo-rje-seng-ge, I received the entire empowerment and reading transmission of the Rong-zom transmission.

10.17 Phur-pa-lha-nag

10.17.1 Origin

Further more, [as for] what is known as Phur-pa-lha-nag, [the colour of the deities] was in common with general [transmission] until Padmasambhava and his consort. Then [it changed from] 'Bre A-tsa-ra Nu-ru [who] has achieved the spiritual accomplishment through Phur-pa. He also obtained the *vidyādhara* of lifespan through the method of Phur-pa, thereupon he lives until these days without death. And Lang-lab Byang-chub-rdo-rje met him even after having already achieved accomplishments. Then [Lang-lab] edited [the texts] of the cycles of rDo-rje-phur-pa [which he] previously requested and received [from A-tsa-ra Nu-ru] once.

[But] in some accounts, [people] regard ['Bre A-tsa-ra Nu-ru] as Ngam-'bre A-tsa-ra Sa-le [which] is extreme dubious. [They] did not realize that there were five generations between [Ye-shes] mTsho-rgyal and Lang-lab. In an account of gTer-ma, [one can] see [it] is stated that Lang-lab as a seven-year old boy met Ācarya [Padmasambhava] shortly before [Padmasambhava] went to southwest. [This] is nothing but questionable fabrication.

Later 'Gro-ba'i-mgon-po Chos-rgyal-phags-pa, wishing to receive the initiation regard-

¹ Ma-cig-zha-ma was a female teacher of Lam-'bras, for more information about her see MARTIN 1997: 26 and MARTIN 2001: 251.

² Yang-khyed-bla-ma was one of the so-called four pillars (*bka' ba bzhi*) who were the four students of Zur-chung Shes-rab-grags-pa. Yang-khyed-bla-ma was called mDo'i-ka-ba that means he was an expert in scriptures. For a short biography of him, see the *rDzogs chen chos 'byung* (pp. 182.14–183.10).

ing the wrathful liberation [of] “lower” activities, searched but did not obtain. [He said] to his retinue: “If there is one [who] has obtained such initiation then bring [him to me] even if [he] is a poor guy. I will request [it] from him.” [His retinue] searched but did not find. Later on, according to the hearsay of traders from Nepal, the entire teachings of Phur-pa exists in the disciple of Jo-mo mTsho-rgyal-ye-shes named A-tsar Nu-ru [who] has achieved the *vidyādhara* over lifespan and [he] is giving teachings in Nepal. In other accounts, it is said to be the Nepalese Paṇḍita Ratnaśrī.¹ Thereupon considering [it] as [his] big responsibility for the doctrines, Chos-rgyal-phags-pa said: “Well, is he in Nepal?”² [The traders replied]: “No. [He] is carrying out beneficial activities for *ḍākinīs* in places, such as bSil-ba-tshal. It seems that [he] taught a bit of teachings to worthy trainees by coming [to Nepal] from time to time.” Then Chos-rgyal-phags-pa said: “Well then, if he comes to Kathmandu, tell me!” And [he] gave many presents [to them].

Then as some years passed by, news from Nepal came. Thereafter 'Phags-pa-rin-po-chen could not go there because of getting distracted by celestial and worldly busy activities. Delivered by Glo-bo Lo-tsā-ba Shes-rab-rin-chen, he dispatched many objects like gold [to A-tsa-ra Nu-ru]. Then when the Lo-tsā-ba returned to Tibet, 'Phags-pa-rin-chen received the empowerment of the wrathful liberation. [The continuation of the teaching which] has not ceased until today is thanks to A-tsa-ra Nu-ru and 'Phags-pa-rin-po-che.

10.17.2 Lineage

The transmission of lHag-nag arose through Ya-'brog-pa Go-rub-yang-dag [who] made all the deities black by relying on the *rGyud mya ngan las 'das pa*. Nonetheless, the transmission that precedes him is [as follows]: A-tsa-ra Nu-ru, Lang-lab, sNa-nam Tshul-khrims-shes-rab, Khyung-po-'chal-chen, 'Chal-chung, Blo-gros-rgyal-tmshan, and Go-rub-yang-dag. [Then it was transmitted through] 'Gos-ston-byang-'bar, Khyung-po-seng-ge, Khyung-po-khro-bo, gNyal-ston-grags, sKyi Chos-kyi-seng-ge, rGya Ye-shes-kyi-mgon-po, and dPal-ldan rDo-rje-rgyal-mtshan. dPal-ldan rDo-rje-rgyal-mtshan composed many kinds of literature, such as the

¹ The sentence “in other accounts to Ratnaśrī” is placed as an annotation in all the versions.

² The “thereupon” is translated from *der* that can also function as the indirect object of the following speech, meaning “[said] to the traders.” The “it” is supplied to make this sentence more reasonable and refers to Phags-pa’s wish to get the rDo-rje-phur-pa teachings.

bShad 'bum rdo rje don gsal,¹ [manuals of] initiation rituals and [manuals of] *sādhana* cycles.

[Then it was transmitted in sequence through] Bla-ma-tshul-rgyal-ba, Ri-gdongs-pa Shes-rab-rgyal-mtshan, Slob-dpon bSod-nams-bzang-po, Slob-dpon bKra-shis-rgya-mtsho,² mNyam-med-gzhon-nu-dpal, [the one who] has the name Sems-dpa'-chen-po-nam-mkha', Bla-ma-chen-po rDo-rje-rgyal-po, and Bla-ma rDo-rje-seng-ge. From Bla-ma rDo-rje-seng-ge I received [this transmission]. Moreover, the Phur-pa-lha-nag [that] was transmitted through Go-rub, then came to rTse-ba-sgang-pa and sNye-mdo-ba.³ Then the activities [related to this Phur-pa tradition] happened to be extensive.

10.18 Sa-skya-lugs

What is known as Sa-phur [that] has been practiced by glorious Sa-skya followers [who] are the lords of doctrine until now is [as follows]. First, 'Khon Klu-dbang-bsrung-pa received [the rDo-rje-phur pa teachings] in person from Ācārya Padmasambhava. Then after having practiced, he achieved accomplishments. His younger brother 'Khon rDo-rje-rin-chen is [the one] who obtained accomplishments after having relied on Phur-pa.⁴ His son was Shes-rab-yon-tan, from whom the sons in turn were gTsug-tor-shes-rab, dGe-skyabs, dGe-mthong, Bal-po, Śākya-blo-gros, 'Khon-rog Shes-rab-tshul-khrims.⁵ 'Khon-rog Shes-rab-tshul-khrims

¹ 'Gos gZhon-nu-dpal have learned the *bShad 'bum rdo rje don gsal* and the initiation of Phur-pa lHa-nga-ma from bDag-nyid-chen-po Grags-bshis-rgya-mtsho who was the disciple of Śāk-'bum-pa, see the *Deb ther sngon po* (p. 197.6–8): *gzhan yang bdag nyid chen po 'di la phur pa lha nag ma'i dbang rdo rje rgyal mtshan pa'i yig cha'i steng nas zhus shing | bshad 'bum rdo rje don gsal la sogs pa'i kbrid 'ga' zbig kyang thob |*, for the translation, see ROERICH 1995: 156.

² This transmission until Slob-dpon bKra-shis-rgya-mtsho is almost identical with the spiritual lineage of Shāk-'bum-pa in *Deb ther sngon po* (p. 197.9–17), for the translation, see ROERICH 1995: 156. The difference is that the lineage in the *Deb ther sngon po* replaces A-tsa-ra Nu-ru with 'Bre A-tsa-ra Sa-le and does not include 'Gos-yang-dag in the list. 'Gos-yang-dag could also be another name of Go-rub-yang-dag because the reading in version D does not have the stroke (*shad*) between *go rub yang dag* and *'gos yang dag*.

³ In the *Deb ther sngon po* (p. 197.18–19, for the translation, see ROERICH 1995: 156), it is recorded that Rog Shes-rab-bla-ma received the rDo-rje-phur-pa teachings of rTse-sgang-pa and sNye-mdo-ba from Gu-rub.

⁴ About the kinship between rDo-re-rin-chen and 'Khon Klu-dbang-bsrung-pa there is a discrepancy. For more details, see SMITH 2002: n. 286.

⁵ According to a translation of the Sa-skya part of *rGya-bod-yig-tshang* by E. Gene Smith who based on the manuscript preserved in University of Washington, Shes-rab-yon-tan was one of the seven sons of 'Khon rDo-rje-rin-chen and had two sons called Tshul-khrims-rgyal-po and Khab-po-stag-thog. Tshul-khrims-rgyal-po had three sons one of them was gTsug-tor-shes-rab. The two sons of gTsug-tor-shes-rab were dGe-skyabs and dGe-mthong. The single son of dGe-mthong was mKhon-ston-bal-po who laboured in the propitiation of Yang-phur. He had a son called Śākya Blo-gros whose eldest son was mKhon-rog Shes-rab-tshul-khrims. He achieved

[who was able to] command gods and demons as [his] servants, [had] visions of many deities, [and] could demonstrate a lot of unimpeded miraculous activities, such as riding on drums and going into the sky. Until him, all [the people of this lineage] got the accomplishment of Phur-pa.

The younger brother of 'Khon-roḡ was 'Khon dKon-mchog-rgyal-po. dKon-mchog-rgyal-po went for a performance in a big festival [in] Gro-bo-lung.¹ Some Tantric practitioners impressed the crowd by performing the dance of twenty eight Īśvaras. As [he] narrated the story to his elder brother, [the elder brother said]: “Because now the time of disordered Tantric scriptures has come, no *siddhas* will appear. Bury all the scriptures, *stūpas*, Tantric implements, [which] we have, as treasures. I am old, since you are young, [go to] receive the new Tantric scriptures from 'Broḡ-mi Lo-tṣā-ba in Mang-dkar and come!”² Having said [this, he] buried all the ancient [Tantric scriptures] as treasures. Thereupon, the magical power of Dharma protectors was great. As a result ['Khon-roḡ] had to unearth a brief cycle of visualisation of Phur-pa (*phur pa'i mngon rtogs*), one text of Yang-dag, [one text about] *gtor ma* rituals of guardian spirits, two pairs of rosewood Phur-pa, cycles of *sādhana*s [that] were personally revealed to 'Khon-roḡ by dKar-mo-nyi-zla, then gave [them] to [his] younger brother, [namely dKon-mchog-rgyal-po].³

The son of dKon-mchog-rgyal-po was Sa-skyachen-po. Then having transmitted through rJe-btsun [Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan], his brother bSod-nams-rtse-mo, Sa-skyapaṇḍita, and 'Phags-pa Rin-po-che successively, [the rDo-rje-phur-pa teachings] flourished a lot until nowadays. I also received the initiation and some cycles of Sa-phur [which are] on the basis of the manuals of lDong-ston from Bla-chen Chos-kyi-rgyal-po.⁴

the propitiation of rDo-rje-phur-pa. mKhon-ston-bal-po. The mKhon family made Yang-phur as their central tutelary deities and achieved the requisite propitiation, see SMITH 2002: 105–106.

¹ Gro-bo-lung is a valley in lHo-brag.

² Mang-dkar, also written as Mang-kar, Mang-'khar, Mang-'gar, Mang-gar and Mang-mkhar, is the name of a valley located in Lha-rtse-rdzong where 'Broḡ-mi Lo-tṣā-ba established the Mu-gu-lung Monastery in 1003. For more details about Mang-dkar, see STEARNS 2001: 91 and 105, DOTSON 2003: 182, and DAVIDSON 2005: 174–178.

³ dKar-mo-nyi-zla is a kind of protectors of the rDo-rje-phur-pa teachings.

⁴ The lDong-ston here could be lDon-ston Shes-rab-dpal (b. thirteenth century) who was the student of Sa-pan and teacher of 'Phags-pa, see BDRC-P3176.

10.19 gNyags-lugs

10.19.1 Origin and Transmission

[The cycle of] of Phun-sum-tshogs-pa, which has been extracted from all kinds of the *gSang ba'i rgyud* that is based on the Phur-pa [teachings] and the cycle of gSham-sngon-gyi-bskor [that] was compiled from the *Kīlaya'i tantra bcu gnyis*, are well-known. The method of striving for the attainment of *bodhi* based on the “higher” activities [of] Yang-dag and the procedure of liberating enemies and obstacles based on the “lower” activities of Sras-mchog-phur-pa were first carried out three times by Padmasambhava in Yang-le-shod in Nepal.

Because the time of flourish of [the teachings], [which is] during the time [when] the Ācārya Padmasambhava carried [the teachings and] came to Tibet, has not come, [the teachings] were hidden as treasures in the place of Byang-gyi-bya-mang-mtsho.¹ Later on, the treasure revealer Byang-chub-gling-pa dPal-rgyal-mtshan revealed those teachings from the treasures. The reading transmission [of those teachings] still exists nowadays.

The manner in which [it] was transmitted and propagated by Paṅ-chen Vimalamitra is [as follows]. After the King Khri-srong-lde'u-btsan, who was the protector of Dharma [in] Tibet, passed away, the queen dMar-rgyan-bza' Me-tog-sgron was powerful and bad in behavior. Thereupon, when she was hostile towards all the Tantric translators and jeopardized them, the sKa-cog-zhang-gsum, Vairocana, gNyags Lo-tsā-ba, and others could not stay in bSam-yas but stayed in the remote area and border land.²

10.19.2 The First Enemy

Especially, when gNyags Jñānakumāra dwelled in Yar-'brog-sgang, his paternal cousin gNyags dGe-la-ston proclaimed to all the local people that he was a very evil one [who] knew the non-Buddhist black magic. Having stolen a pair of *bhaṇḍa* [that] was lacquered red by the cream of lacquer tree, [he] dragged the Bhaṇḍa with the tip of a knife and showed [it] to people.³ He proclaimed the accusation: “This is the deceit he did.” As he plotted to assassinate the

¹ Some versions record the phrase *byang gi bya mang mtsho* as *byang gi bya mang po*.

² The sKa-cog-zhang-gsum refers to three translators, namely Lo-chen sKa-ba-dpal-brtsegs, Lo-chen Cog-ro-klu'i-rgyal-mtshan, and Lo-chen Zhang sNa-nam-sde. gNyags Lo-tsā-ba should refer to gNyags Jñānakumāra.

³ The term *bhaṇḍa* is rendered from *bhandha*, *ban da*, or *banda* in the versions. In MW, one meaning of the term *bhaṇḍa* is “untensil” and “implement.”

Ācārya [gNyags Jñānakumāra] and destroy the hermitage, the Ācārya noticed it. Then in the place where Ācārya meditated, the jewels were scattered and put [there], so all the people said: “[You] confused the trace where Ācārya meditated [with] jewels. Your accusation is not true.” Afterward he said: “If [it] is not true, this is [it].” And again, [he] dragged the *bhaṇḍa* through the tip of a knife and showed [it].

10.19.3 The Second Enemy

Therefore, the Ācārya [could not dare to] stay there then [he] went to the upper [region] of mChim-yul in Kong-po taking a servant named Glal-mi-da-'og-btsan. As [he went there], in an empty valley, there were seven female goats. The Ācārya said: “[Let us] drive all the goats.” The servant said: “What [can one] do with all these goats? The goats have [their] owners.” Then the Ācārya said: “How could the goats in the empty valley have owners? [Let us] drive [them]!” Then they went. [Actually] the goats were mChims Bya-rog's. After having seen this, he accused [them] of stealing [the goats]. [mChims Bya-rog] said: “[I] want sevenfold [compensation].” As [they] paid the sevenfold [compensation] for the goats, [mChims Bya-rog] did not accept [it] and destroyed [the Ācārya's] retreat place. [He] pursued [them] by carrying iron hammers. Thereupon, the Ācārya ran away. They went into a temple. It is said [that] as [the Ācārya] closed the door, a big iron hammer, [which] was fastened onto the door's upper hinge, hit the head of the little monk.¹ Not being able to settle there too, [the Ācārya] went to central Tibet.

10.19.4 The Third Enemy

As the Ācārya came from below riding a horse, 'Bro-sras-chung came from above pursuing a deer and met [him]. Thereafter, [the Ācārya's] horse galloped, the deer got lost. [The Ācārya] came back. 'Bro-sras-chung thought: “Due to this monk gNyags [Jñānakumāra],² my deer is lost. Even if the horse galloped and hit [my deer], [I] will look for [him].” He pursued and proceeded to assassinate [gNyags Jñānakumāra]. By running away, [gNyags Jñānakumāra] barely [managed to] escape.

¹ It is not clear whom does “the little monk” refer to, gNyags Jñānakumāra or his servant.

² The reading *nyams ban* is hard to explain. It might be a spelling mistake of *gnyags ban*, based on this, I translated it as “monk gNyags.”

10.19.5 Receiving Teachings from Vimalamitra

At that time, the queen dMar-rgyan-bza' poisoned and assassinated the elder prince Mu-ne-btsan-po. As the leader of the final rites for this dead prince, Ācārya Vimalamitra was invited from China. Thereupon [gNyags] went to his presence then offered one full knuckle of gold dust.¹ Vimalamitra said: "Are the Lo-tsā-ba and [his] attendants fine?"

[Although I tried] to be well in Yar-'brog-sgang,
dGe-la-ston did not let [me].

[Although I wanted] to be well in the upper [region] of mChims-yul,
Bya-rog-smyal-ba did not let [me].

[Although I wanted] to be well in central Tibet,
'Bros-sras-chung did not let [me].

gNyags offered the song. Out of fear [that] the doctrine would cease, Vimalamitra extracted from his heart [the cycles of] Phur-pa-phum-sum-tshogs-pa and gSham-sngon-ma-bu, and gave [them to gNyags].

In the cave of gYar-chu-sna in lHo-brag, by relying on twenty-one Seng-ldeng-phur-pa, Vimalamitra and gNyags practiced Phur-pa then the wholesome signs, such as Phur-pa rattling, appeared. As a result, when gNyags first of all rolled Phur-pa saying: "for Bya-rog (crow)," then all the crows of the world gathered. "No no, it is for mChims-bya-rog," [he] said. In the upper [region] of mChims-yul, one pair of crows appeared. Thereupon, gNyags became wrathful. As he was about to pierce one crow, the crow died on the spot (*tshub ling gis*).² Then, Vimalamitra said: "Now revive and free it." gNyags was not able to [do it]. Thereupon, Vimalamitra put some sand [on it], revived it and set it free. Afterward [Vimalamitra] said: "In the future don't do like this. [It] will be unwholesome." Thereafter [Vimalamitra] bestowed [upon him] the rites of sending the consciousness of a decease to higher rebirth (*gnas lung gi cho ga*).

Then [gNyags] applied the Phur-pa [implement] to mChims lHa-than-tsho [who] appeared in the form of a white yak and liberated him.³ mChims Bya-rog was also liberated there. By stabbing [Phur-pa] to higher Bla-spyang, the higher Bla-spyang withered. By stabbing

¹ The term "on full knuckle" is translated from the reading *long mo*.

² Here the adverbial phrase *tshub ling gis*, qualifying the way the crow died, is translated as "on the spot."

³ mChims lHa-than-tsho is one of the nine spirits called gNyan-lha who are named after mountains. For a list of the nine gNyan-lha, see SUN 2009: 9–10.

[Phur-pa] to the middle Bla-spyang, the middle Bla-spyang withered. By stabbing [Phur-pa] to the lower Bla-spyang, the lowered Bla-spyang withered.¹ Upon piercing [Phur-pa] on servants, riding horses, guard dogs, and as far as relatives, their genealogy was cut off. Demons or one kind of enemy was tamed at that time. When Ācārya gNyags pierced [the *phur pa* implement] on one kind of demon [that is] his paternal cousin gNyags dGe-la-ston, compassion arose [in] him. [He] did not hit [him] at all because he happened to [find himself] in the sphere of reality. [Vimalamitra] said: “If you obtain one [who] fulfills the features of Phur-pa, [the Phur-pa] will work.”

10.19.6 Meet with Sog-po dPal-gyi-ye-shes

Thereafter he went to search [this person]. At that time the blacksmith was called Sog-po. He met a big Sog-po, [who] was carrying a carcass and a bundle of wood and leading a goat. [He asked]: “Who are you?” The big Sog-po replied: “My clan is Khang and my name is sTag-sbyin.” As [gNyags] went to follow him, [gNyags saw] that he was doing [the work of] smith. There he swallowed two black needles [that were] in forging. Faith arose [in] gNyags and [he] asked: “Are you able [to practice] Dharma?” He replied: “When told, [I] could.”

Next morning, another monk came to the smithy [who was] acupunctured by the tong and said “a tsha.”² [gNyags] ridiculed: “Last night, there was a monk swallowing even needles. What is wrong [that] you are saying ‘a tsha’?” In the meantime, having given his wife a present, [gNyags] was ensured to have a talk with [her] husband. Then [he] said to Sog-po: “[Do you want to] practice Dharma.” “[I] will ask my wife.” Upon asking, [his] wife said: “Where is the manner of not practicing Dharma?³ Dharma cannot be acquired even by ten thousand taels of butter.” Thereupon as [Sog-po] said: “I have no property to enter the door of Dharma.” Ācārya [gNyags] took out the property and bestowed Dharma [upon him]. Supreme devotion arose [in] Sog-po and [he] became a monk. [He] was given the name lHa dPal-gyi-ye-shes. [He] was characterised by the attributes of *phur bu* [implement, such as] turned-upwards eyeballs, triangular nose, hair rolled up in knot, crescent tongue, octagonal upper body, and triangular lower body. He became one [who] had no impediments

¹ Here the Bla-spyang could be a kind of spirit and maybe related to wolf. No further information has been found about it.

² Here the “acupuncturate” is translated from the verb *khab tsag brgyab* that is probably related to the noun *khab btsa*’ meaning “acupuncture.” Here the term *a tsha* is an onomatopoeia to express pain caused by the tong.

³ Here the “manner” is translated from *tsug*.

in anything.

There was also 'O-bran dPal-gyi-gzhon-nu [who] was in accordance with this and was the previous disciple of [gNyags]. [gNyags] came leading the both. Then the master and disciples, the three, practiced and [gNyags dGe-la-ston] was liberated.¹

10.19.7 Revenge by Sog-po dPal-gyi-ye-shes

Once again lHa dPal-ye reached gNyags dGe-la-ston. Then he took out the dead's heart and offered it to Ācārya [gNyags].

[One should] not commit any unwholesome deeds.

[One should] engage in wholesome activities.

[One should] tame one's mind completely.

May all sentient beings be happy.

May all be free from any harm.

Having expressed this deliberately, [gNyags] made lHa-bya-rmangs into an iron hawk and liberated it. By piercing Phur-pa on three [kinds of] higher, middle, and lower Bla-spyang, they all dried up. Servants, riding horses, guard dogs and up until hostile relatives were liberated. The demons were tamed at this place.²

For this account, in some histories, it is said that during the time when the three personal enemies arose against gNyags Jñānakumāra, 'O-bran dPal-gyi-gzhon-nu offered wealth, land, and so forth [to him]. He won the trust of gNyags through his ascetic practices and heroic deeds. [gNyags Jñānakumāra's] two paternal cousins, [namely] gNyags dGe-la-ston and gNyags 'Phags-pa sMyug-zhu-can, having imprisoned [gNyags'] elder brother bShes-gnyen lHa-mtsho-btson, appointed two persons as prison guards. 'O-bran stole [him] then gave him back to the Ācārya. [The Ācārya] was pleased and thus gave him two [kinds of] teachings, namely] the Phur-pa-phun-sum-tshogs-pa and gSham-sngon-can. It is possible [as such], however according to reasonable historical accounts, [in] the neighbouring village

¹ The three should refer to gNyags Jñānakumāra, Sog-po dPal-gyi-ye-shes, and 'O-bran dPal-gyi-gzhon-nu. I also apply gNyags dGe-la-ston because according to the context, Vilmamitra told gNyags Jñānakumāra that gNyags dGe-la-ston can only be liberated by obtaining a Phur-pa adept. Sog-po dPal-gyi-ye-shes what the "Phur-pa adept" refers to.

² A similar narrative that gNyags Jñānakumāra liberated Bla-spyang, individuals, and other creatures, is also found above (10.19.5, p. 229).

called Ngam-ra [where] the captivity was, [people of] Ngam-ra and gNyags's paternal cousin were in enmity. Thereupon, as long as Khri-srong-lde'u-btsan lived, [Ngam-ra people] were not able to challenge gNyags [family]. Later when the queen sabotaged the prince and Lo-tṣā-bas, gNyags Jñānakumara was held in captive. Sog-po dPal-ye, having assassinated the two prison guards without even considering his own life, freed Ācārya from prison. Subsequently, the statement [that] the elder brother lHa-mtsho was put in captive, and the releaser was 'O-bran dPal-gyi-gzhon-nu, is wrong.

Also about the cycle of teachings of *Phur pa phun sum tshogs pa* and *gSham sngon*, it is not [that] 'O-bran alone had them and [they were] unknown to others.

10.19.8 Eight Glorious Disciples

It became apparent in the old textual sources dealing with the history of Phur-pa [that] there were eight persons [who] were the eight glorious disciples of gNyags. The eight glorious disciples are sNyan Ācārya dPal-dbyangs, 'Brog-mi dPal-gyi-ye-shes, mKhar-chen dPal-gyi-dbang-phyug, Thags-bzang dPal-gyi-rdo-rje, Gra dPal-gyi-snying-po, Zla-lcogs dPal-gyi-sengge, Dar-rje dPal-gyi-grags-pa, and Lha-lung dPal-gyi-rdo-rje.¹ It is said [that] from these disciples countless [traditions of Phur-pa] spread in Khams, Lho-brag, and mNga'-ris. It is well known [that] of these [traditions], 'Brog-mi Ral-pa-can transmitted [the Phur-pa teachings] to [gNubs] Sang-rgyas-ye-shes Rin-po-che [whose] physical mode of life was a fully ordained monk thus the beneficial activities were widely spread.² These are the main lineages of disciples. The flourish of family lineages was great as well. The supreme disciples [who] are not included in these [eight glorious disciples] are 'O-bran, Sog-po dPal-ye, and the descendants of the gNyags clan. [Their] beneficial activities [were] vast and without interruption. Especially the accomplished ones appeared without interruption.

¹ The two 'Brog-mi namely 'Brog-mi dPal-gyi-ye-shes and 'Brog-mi Ral-pa-can below were in the transmission of Ma-mo teachings, see the *Nyang ral chos 'byung* (p. 490.10) and *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* (p. 314.21). 'Brog-mi dPal-gyi-ye-shes once received the empowerment from Padmasambhava.

² Here 'Brog-mi Ral-pa-can could refer to Lo-tṣā-ba 'Brog-mi Phrag-gi-ral-pa-can who is recorded in the *Nyang ral chos 'byung* (p. 490.10).

10.20 'O-bran-lugs

Among these [transmissions], what I have received, [namely] the reading transmission (*lung rgyun*), initiation, and what are related to these, [which] are barely not broken, [are as follows].¹ Five or six months after 'O-bran dPal-gyi-gzhon-nu passed away, his son 'O-bran Pad-'byung was born. When ['O-bran Pad-'byung] grew up, after having studied the texts of his forefathers, [he] became devoted. Long time has passed since [he] searched for the reading transmission, [which] was said to be remained with gNubs-ston Padma-dbang-rgyal [who was] in the mountain hermitage of Gye-re-gnyen-rtse. ['O-bran Pad-'byung] immediately approached [him]. Then [he] received the [transmission] completely for two years, after having offered many [things] exemplified the by eighteen taels of gold. The Phur-pa [tradition] of 'O-bran came to be known as gSer-mgo-can, because [it] was exclusively a one-to-one transmission, top secret, and would not be given without offering gold. Furthermore, one [can] trace the transmission, such as the cycle of gShin-rje-gshed-'thob-rgya-can and mDo-sgyu-sems-gsum to the gNubs clan.

Then Blo-gro-dbang-phyug learned from his father 'O-bran Pad-'byung. When the continuation of Dharma was a little bit not perfect, his father passed away. [He] studied completely in the presence of gNyags Pad-ma-rgyal-po [who] was the son of gNyags Pad-'byung, the disciple of gNubs.² Thus [he] had two lineages. Then until sPrul-sku Ri-rab-dam-pa, [the lineage] was transmitted in the descendants of 'O-bran. Ri-rab-dam-pa gave the teachings to Rin-po-che Don-grub-dpal-'byor. Thereafter, [it] was transmitted successively. My master Dam-pa-rdo-rje-seng-ge, out of compassion, gave me [the teachings] of Phur-pa-phun-sum-tshogs-pa together with the [the teachings of] Shams-sngon.

¹ The “these [transmissions]” refer to the Phur-pa transmissions of gNyags Jñānakumāra’s many disciples mentioned above.

² Here the “gNubs” should refer to gNubs-ston Padma-dbang-rgyal, see the *Gu bkra'i chos 'byung* (p. 342.18–19): *chos 'pro cung zad ma rdzogs pa la yab gshegs pas gnubs kyi bla mar gnyags pad 'byung gi sras | gnyags padma rgyal po las rdzogs par gsan te brgyud pa gnyis ldan du byed do ||*.

10.21 Lang-lab-lugs

10.21.1 The Early life of Lang-lab Byang-chu-rdo-rje and Contest with Rwa Lo-tsā-ba rDo-rje-grags

Now how did the special teachings of Jo-bo Lang-lab, [which] were unknown to other Phur-pa [practitioners], arise? From Ngam-'bre Sa-le, the teacher of Lang-lab, upwards, [it] has been explained above. The parents of Jo-bo Lang-lab died when he was young. His siblings did not listen to their parents' last words. Lang-lab's mother did not give her son anything but a small bamboo house and a small field.¹ Ngam-'bre-sa-le could not bear [the injustice], so he gave [him] the instructions of excellent Phur-pa. Having practiced it Lang-lab was able to punish all [his] enemies.

Although his reputation spread in all directions, [he] remained poor because of his little result of the donation. As [he] was working as a shepherd in 'Khor-re, at that time all of the upper class Tibetan, *gurus*, *ācāryas*, and *dge shes* had to offer prostration, respect, and service to dGe-bshes Rwa Lo-tsā-ba rDo-rje-grags, because [he] had great merits and was powerful. If [this] was not done, he could instantly liberate them through the *samādhi* of Yamantaka (*gshin rje*). He liberated thirteen *bodhisattvas* [who] have attained a certain level (*bhūmi; sa*), such as Dar-ma-mdo-sde [who was] the son of Mar-pa [Lo-tsā-ba] because they did not show respect to him. He also liberated many people such as thirteen *lo tsā bas* [who were] at the same level to himself including gNyan Lo-tsā-ba Dar-ma-grags.

At that time [when Rwa Lo-tsā-ba], being surrounded by ten thousand monks, went to 'Khor-re to teach Dharma. The ruler of 'Khor-re, and so forth supported [his] religious estates (*chos gzhis*) for four months. At that time, Lang-lab did not prostrate before Rwa Lo-tsā-ba. Thereupon, [Rwa Lo-tsā-ba] thought: “[He] must be an ignorant person.” Thereafter people said: “He is very powerful and an expert in Phur-pa [practice]. Moreover, because of little merits, now [he] has to be a shepherd of others.” [Rwa Lo-tsā-ba] said: “It is likely that he did not prostrate towards me because of being swollen with his arrogance. He has no more than the time of this evening. [He has to] wait.” As the teaching session was over, [Rwa Lo-tsā-ba] prepared for four practices of the killing of Vajrabhairava (*rdo rje 'jigs byed*). In particular, at the time of fire offering, Rwa Lo-tsā-ba having transformed into

¹ The “small bamboo house” is translated from the phrase *khang pa smig gu*, in which, *smig* could relate to *smig ma*, meaning “bamboo” and *gu* can be taken as a diminutive.

the body of Vajrabhairava and placed and did a declaration of truth three times to summon Lang-lab into a Liṅga.¹ At that time, Lang-lab was not doing anything else other than looking after the sheep. During the first time of summoning, the rTsang-phur, [which] were put surrounding the *maṅḍala*, were pulled out and came down as rain. Therefore, the monks nearby were harmed. During the second time of [summoning], the iron Phur-pa of Za-gsoḍ and ten wrathful ones came down as rain; the retinues had to run into the house.² During the third [summoning], the sky was filled with fire and sound.

Thereupon, when [people] looked up, [they saw] Vajrakumāra [who] was as big as a single mountain [and made of] burning iron.³ [His] upper body was [in the shape of] a wrathful [deity] and the lower part was [in the shape of] Phur-pa. In [his] heart there was a Phur-pa rolling wrathfully and making the sound “hūṃ phaḍ.” [The Phur-pa] was about to fall on the top of Rwa Lo-tsā-ba. [The Phur-pa was making the sound] “za za rṅam rṅam mcha’ mcha’,” so [Rwa Lo-tsā-ba] was terrified very much. Right then, [he] asked for forgiveness and promised to show his respect to Lang-lab. The magical display disappeared. Then, at that night, [Rwa Lo-tsā-ba] invited Lang-lab, prostrated, paid homage, and made one hundred good offerings [to him]. At that time, people said: “Yamantaka adepts are ineffective [when confronted] with Phur-pa [adepts].” This saying is still widely well known.

10.21.2 Four Disciples

No Phur-pa adept [who was] superior to Ācārya Lang-lab as this has ever appeared in the land of Tibet. A quite few disciples appeared to him however the most excellent were four, [namely] sNa-nam Shes-rab-ye-shes from ’Khor-re-rgyal-thang, sKyi-nag-yang-gyel from Mong-rgu, sPrang-phu-ru-mgo from Rong and Nyang-nag dBang-gi-shes-rab from ’Od-yug-rol-po. It is said that Nyang-nag stole the teachings, [but] he had no initiations and instructions. This is the speech of attachment and aversion. [His] story will be explained below. In this way the teachings of Phur-pa-phun-sum-tshogs-pa, [which are endowed with] beneficial power and magical manifestation, appeared from the very beginning until to my master with uninterrupted signs of beneficial power.

¹ The “declaration of truth” is translated from *bden brdar*.

² The Za-gsoḍ, according to the context, is possibly a kind of spirit or deity.

³ The “solitary” is translated from the reading *do chad*, which is possibly related to the term *do chad*, see the *Tshig mdzod chen mo* (p. 1311).

10.22 Masters and Their Miraculous Power of the rDo-rje-phur-pa Practice

10.22.1 Padmasambhava

When many people died, and some were at the verge of dying [after] the fire broke out in the sandalwood forest in India, for many days the fire did not extinguish and was close to burn down the entire forest, Ācārya Padmasambhava pierced an eight-finger breadth Phur-pa made of Khādiraka [into the fire], so the fire went out and the forest grew more prosperously than before. [He] revived those beings [who] have died and [who] were about to die. It is said [the *phur pa* implement] was applied to the sandalwood forest but it was [actually] applied to the fire. The hermitage of Ācārya [Padmasambhava] was the cave Yang-le-shod in Nepal. His secret name was bDe-ba'i-myu-gu.

10.22.2 Vimalamitra

Ācārya Vimalamitra went to to the Ganges. As he practiced on the shore of Ganges, the direction of the rays of his *mantra* could not be borne by a great *nāga* of Ganges. As a result, [the *nāga*] lifted the big external ocean to space. Moreover, [he] brought down fierce hail upon the Ācārya. When [the *nāga*] made the river Ganges overflow, so the valley could not contain [it], Vimalamitra applied an eight finger-breadth Phur-pa. Thereupon, the Ganges split up and down, and a road appeared in the middle so that one could go. It is said [that the *phur pa* implement] was applied to the Ganges, but it was not applied to the water but to the *nāga*.

10.22.3 Śīlamañju

The Nepalese Śīlamañju applied [the *phur pa* implement] to [a] white stone of [a] *maṇḍala*. A malicious rock demoness [who] was residing in the white stone of that *maṇḍala* caused hindrances in the vision of the Ācārya. As he rolled the *phur pa* [implement], the white stone of the *maṇḍala* crumbled into lentils. [As for] this, it is said [that the *phur pa* implement] was applied to the white stone, however [it] was applied to the rock demoness.

In some other accounts, at the time when Buddhists and non-Buddhists were not in harmony, the king stated: “You have to debate for three days. [We] will support whoever wins and whoever is more powerful in magical manifestations.” Thereupon, at the debate

the Ācārya [Śīlamañju] stated,

All the expression remains in the limitation of the term.
Without seeing the reality, how will [one] be liberated?
What is the use of the nonsense [of] non-Buddhists?
[Let me] erect the great victory banner of Dharma.

Then he [rolled] the *phur pa* [implement]. Consequently, the big rock, [which] was [made] of white stones behind a big city called Maṇḍala, crumbled. All the cities of non-Buddhists were destroyed. Some non-Buddhists died vomiting blood. Some committed suicide. [For] some, [their] eyeballs fell out. So all [non-Buddhist] were vanquished. The doctrines of Buddhist were spread. It is said [that] the white stone was cut off by power.

10.22.4 Jo-mo Ye-shes-mtsho-rgyal

The spread [of Phur-pa teachings] in Tibet [is as follows]. When Jo-mo mKhar-chen-bza' mTsho-rgyal made [her] hermitage at 'O-yug mKhar-ba-sna, she applied [the *phur pa* implement] on the wolf-like northern desert. Moreover, many traders of Yar-ldong-ston came from the north. The rGyal-po-shel-ging was acting as a merchant or the god of wealth.¹ The rGyal-po-[shel-ging became] furious. The fourteen northern wolves killed horses and donkeys [during the time] of sleep. In the end, they came to eat human beings. The traders recognized [the killers] to be in the guise of gods and demons. [The traders] asked: “Who is the most powerful one in this place?” Thereupon, it is said [that] Jo-mo was staying in mKhar-ba-sna. So [they] went to [the presence of] Jo-mo then made a request. Having realized [that] they were the donors of worshiping the doctrines, then Jo-mo said: “Bring the soil of the foot prints of these wolves!”² Therefore, [they] took the soil of the footprints on the sand and offered [to her]. Thereupon, Jo-mo, having made fourteen figurines out of the soil of the footprints and the barley powder, then applied the *phur pa* [implement on them]. In the end the real fourteen wolves rolled *bril li li* to the back side of mKhar-ba-sna and fell down.³ It is said [that the *phur pa* implement] was applied to wolves but [it] was applied to

¹ The rGyal-po-shel-ging could be one kind of the evil spirit called Ging. Nebesky-wojkowitz mentions a spirit called Shel-ging-dkar-po, see NEBESKY-WOJOWITZ 1976: 99.

² The imperative “bring” is translated from the reading *khyer shog*. The other reading *khyer la shog*, which can be taken as “carry and come,” is also get along with the context.

³ The *bril li li* seems to be an onomatopoeia to imitate the sound the wolves rolled down. It could be a variant of the term *kyil li li*.

the king Shel-ging. The secret name of Jo-mo is Be'u-Shānting-rtsal.

10.22.5 Mi-nub rGyal-ba'i-snying-po

The disciple of Jo-mo Ye-shes-mtsho-rgyal was Mi-nub-rgyal-ba'i-snying-po.¹ He made seven [offerings] each worth ten thousand kinds of valuables to Jo-mo [who has] a few properties. Jo-mo taught on the top of a silk quilt.² Mi-nub rGyal-ba'i-snying-po wrote with gold [ink] in black paper and make it into a book. His hermitage was [in] 'U-sha'i-rong in Gar-sha-mkha'-gro-gling.³ His secret name was Me-dpung-rtsal. He applied [the *phur pa* implement] to a crow. As [he] washed his hair by keeping his rosary on the clothes, the crow carried it away. Thereupon through consideration, [he] realized [it] was an obstacle created by a crow [which] was a manifestation of demon [called] Nag-po-skrag-med. [He] applied the *phur pa* [implement] on the shadow of the crow thus the crow fell to the earth and died. It is said [that the *phur pa* implement] was applied to the crow but [it] was applied to the demon.

10.22.6 Lo dPal-gyi-blo-bros

The disciple [of Mi-nub rGyal-ba'i-snying-po] was Lo dPal-gyi-blo-bros. His hermitage was [in] the cave sTag-tshang-seng-ge in sPa-gro.⁴ [His] secret name was rDo-rje-grags-pa-rtsal. [He] applied the [*phur pa* implement] to the military force of Mon. Further more when [his] Ācārya [Lo dPal-gyi-blo-bros] was residing in Mon [his] hermitage was destroyed by the military forces. [He] was robbed. Then carrying with him the root [Tantric scriptures] and commentaries of *dGongs rgyud*, [he] went to sPa-gro-stag-tshang.

By doing the recitation and meditation, he had the vision of rDo-rje-gzhon-nu. Having focused on the southern bamboo house, he applied the *phur pa* [implement on it]. In reality, the *phur pa* [implement] appeared *gcur gcur* in the bamboo house then pierced through the

¹ The *Gangā'i chu rgyun* (vol. 4, p. 434.21) mentions that Mi-nub-rgyal-ba'i-snying-po has transmitted the Phur-pa-stod-lugs.

² Here the quilt is a tentative translation from *beg tshe* which might be a loan word from a Chinese term *beizi* due to their phonetic similarity.

³ Gar-sha/zha/zhwa-mkha'-gro-gling is known as Lahaul nowadays in the State of Himachal Pradesh in north-east India.

⁴ The sTag-tshang-seng-ge, located in the sPa-gro district of Bhutan, is said to be one of the eight secret places blessed by Padmasambhava.

heart of every Mon-pa continuously, and they were liberated.¹ It is said [the *phur pa* implement] was applied to the southern bamboo house. However [it] was applied to the Mon-pa.

10.22.7 Ngam-'bre Klu'i-rgyal-mtshan

The disciple of Lo dPal-gyi-blo-gro was Ngam-'bre Klu'i-rgyal-mtshan. [His] hermitage was [in] sTod-srin-mo-ri'i-co [in] Nyang-stod. [His] secret name was bDud-'dul-grags-pa-rtsal. [He] applied [the *phur pa* implement] upon the enemies but [it] worked against evil spirits. Moreover, Ācārya [Ngam-'bre Klu'i-rgyal-mtshan] accomplished the Phur-pa [practice], therefore [it] works against both enemies and evil spirits automatically. [It also] works against the five poisonous intellectual-emotional defilements (*kleśa; nyon mongs pa*). [His] views and understanding became supreme. Having liberated all the obstacles, enemies, and evil spirits, he passed away at the age of ninety nine. Having been cremated, no bones or anything else left. The full four finger-width statue of Vajrakumāra [who] has three faces, and six arms and an embossed kīlaya appeared as the signs of achieving the *vidyādhara* of Mahāmudra.

10.22.8 Ngam-'bre Sa-le-shes-rab-dbang-phyug

The son of Ngam-'bre Klu'i-rgyal-mtshan was Ngam-'bre Sa-le-shes-rab-dbang-phyug. Having made great offerings to the master, he received [teachings] on the shore of river rMa-gtsang. [His] hermitage was same as his father. [His] secret name was bGegs-rgis-'joms-pa-rtsal. [He] applied [the *phur pa* implement] on evil spirits. Moreover, as he was residing in Srin-mo-ri to practice, one evening a big light appeared. Having stabbed the *phur pa* [implement] on this light, as a result, a white person appeared at dawn and said: “I am not going to harm the retinue of masters. [Please] take out the *phur pa* [implement] from me!” Thereupon, after having forced the white person to take the oath, Ngam-'bre Sa-le extracted the *phur pa* [implement]. It is said [that the *phur pa* implement] was applied to the light, however [it] was applied to the king. This master was the one [who] had command over accomplishments, such as walking in space, not sinking in the water, and so forth.

¹ The term *gcur gcur* could be an onomatopoeia.

10.22.9 Lang-lab Byang-chub-rdo-rje

The disciple of Ngam-'bre Sa-le-shes-rab-dbang-phyug was Lang-lab Byang-chub-rdo-rje. He received [the teachings] in Ma-yug-mo [which is located between] the other bank of rMa-chu [and] this bank of sKyi-chu. Later, he offered one statue of Mañjuśrī, [which was] made of eighty taels of gold. Starting with the statue, [he] offered seven kinds of wealth. [His] hermitage was [in] rDo-rje-rtse-'dus in 'Khor-re. [His] secret name was 'Phrin-las-mthar-phyin-rtsal. In general, Lang-lab applied [the *phur pa* implement] to all the enemies and evil spirits. In particular, [he] applied [the *phur pa* implement] to the thieves, [because] his wealth was lost to the thieves. So [he] applied the *phur pa* implement to the thieves' footprints. [One thief], called 'Bre-grags-po, died within three days. The survivors brought back the wealth. As the Ācārya practiced, the *phur pa* [implement] increased in number and jumped, [then] fire, smoke, and so forth appeared. As an iron *phur pa* implement was struck on the surface of the cliff, the cattle herd and wood collector played [it], such as grasping, hanging, and brandishing it [with] hands. Before Lang-lab, the Phur-pa [teachings] were transmitted one by one.

10.23 Four Supreme Disciples of Lang-lab

10.23.1 sNa-nam Shes-rab-tshul-khrims

From Lang-lab, many disciples appeared just like what has been indicated before. Among the four supreme disciples, sNa-nam Shes-tshul was taken as the heart disciple. [He] was given the summarized instruction of enlightened activities and traditions. The great commentaries of Tantric scriptures were not bestowed [upon him] but part of the root Tantric scripture [titled] *rDo rje khros pa*, which is said to be the outer part of the outer Tantric scripture. The meaning of the four activities of oral instructions [that] have been taught were extremely profound.

10.23.2 sKyi Gyang-'gyel

After [his] cattle, house, and fields have been ravished by local people, on [which] sKyi Gyang-'gyel relied, [he] went to the presence of Lang-lab and asked for instructions. After having served the deities for nine months, [Lang-lab] said: “Practice on the lacquer, iron, and glass

for two months! After achieving the truth, you can come. ” After having practiced like this, sKyigyang-gyel went to Lus-drod-tshad. Thereafter many people came in front of a wall at daytime then all enemies appeared. He pulled out the *phur pa* implement from upper corner and stabbed it into the wall. Beneath the dense collapsed wall all the people died. Thereupon [he] was known as sKyinaggyang-gyel. It is said [the *phur pa* implement] works on the wall but [it] works on the enemies. Then [he] was given all the Tantric commentaries because of his profound wisdom.

10.23.3 sPrang Phur-bu-mgo

sPrang Phur-bu-mgo knew a lot Phur-pa [teachings] from before and had many disciples. Everybody unanimously said [that] Jo-bo Lang-lab possessed the Phur-pa [teachings which were the] personal practice of Jo-mo mKhar-chen-bza'. [sPrang Phur-bu-mgo] went to 'Khor-re by carrying six donkey-loads of barley, six carcasses of meat, a bottle of oil, and a sack of alcohol.¹ There the Lang-lab couple did not have a son. [They] had nothing but very rare possessions. They sold the door frame and the timber of their house, so that [they could buy something to] eat. sPrang-phur-bu-mgo chased the donkey-loads, he had to stuff [them] into the house because there was no gate.

At the same time, Lang-lab asked: “This is not the guest house [for] lords and *mantrikas*. Is the door not valuable?” sPrang replied: “It is not [valuable]. At this moment there is [one who] asks the kindness of bestowing the teachings.” Then [he] gave [Lang-lab] loads of barley [and] paid homage to him. Many [teachings which] were in agreement with advice were bestowed upon [sPrang Phur-bu-mgo]. That night he lifted butter lamps, then offered alcohol and meat. After having offered the barley, [he] requested the Phur-pa-jo-mo-lugs. Well after half month, [Lang-lab] taught and granted what should be known [to sPrang Phur-bu-mgo]. [He] also granted the profound meaning of practice on a single deity.

Then sPrang-phur-bu-mgo gathered many students in the valley. He himself knew many general outer Tantric scriptures of Phur-pa.² Collecting [materials] from those [Tantric scriptures], [he] composed a lot of *sādhana*s. It is said [that] these *sādhana*s were the personal practice of Jo-mo mKhar-chen-bza', [which] arose from the hand of Lang-lab Byang-chub-

¹ 'Khor-re is the retreat place of Lang-lab, see §22.9, p. 323.

² A variant *spyi rgyud* (general Tantric scriptures) of the *phyi rgyud* (outer Tantric scriptures) also fits the context here.

rdo-rje. Lang-lab taught many different [versions of the *Phur pa rtsa dum*] to [his] students respectively. Because the cycle of teachings of the *Phur pa rtsa dum* began to degenerate [and had] many differences separately.¹ The disciples of sPrang even said: “This Jo-mo tradition is mine.” They were not satisfied with each other. At that moment many different *sādhana*s of Jo-mo-lugs appeared. [This] is what has been recorded in historical accounts. I have not seen the texts written by sPrang-phur-bu-mgo. Therefore I cannot elaborate [its] properness or improperness.

10.23.4 Nyang-nag dBang-gi-shes-rab

Now the account of Nyang-nag dBang-gi-shes-rab, the fourth disciple [of Lang-lab], will be told. Moreover when the Lang-lab couple were bereft of food and wealth, Nyang-nag invited them to the upper part of ’O-yug-rol-po and served them.² Then as three years elapsed, having left behind [his] wife there, the Ācārya went to search for some property in lDong-kha-smad-na-ma and did not return for nine months.

Thereupon Jo-mo was sad and desperate. One morning Jo-mo summoned Nyang-nag and said: “You have not been more alienated [to anyone else] than to this Ācārya, therefore if you want the teachings, I will give [it to you]. Read out [the instructions] I will be happy. Well then open this black bag!” Having broken Lang-lab’s seal [made of] lacquer, [Nyang-nag] opened the bag. Because [Nyang-nag] wrote down the mind transmission (*dgongs brgyud*) without getting initiation, inauspicious things occurred to Nyang-nag, for instance, many cattle he owned got the disease, most of them died. [A disease called] rDsug happened to horses.³ Thereupon, he ceased from writing instructions. [He] went to the high place in the direction [where] the Ācārya went. [He] confessed after having displayed many *gtor mas*. [He] promised to invite the Ācārya after having offered half of his wealth.⁴ Thereupon the cattle disease and all inauspiciousness ceased. He sent [people] to invite Ācārya Lang-lab.

¹ Here “began to degenerate” is translated from the phrase *’chal mgo zug* that could be interpreted as *’chal ba’i mgo zug*. The verb *’chal ba* can mean “to degenerate” or “to dissipate.” I take *mgo zug* as a verb meaning “to begin.”

² ’O-yug or ’Od-yug is perhaps another form of ’U-yug which is valley of ’U-yu-ma-chu river flowing through rNam-gling-rdzong in gTsang, see GENTRY 2010: note 33 on 158. For a mention of ’U-yug, see FERRARI 1958: 69.

³ Here I renders the term *rtsug* or *tsug* to be a kind of disease according to the context. However, I have not found further examples to support my assumption.

⁴ Here “promised” is translated from the verb *byas pa*.

As the Ācārya arrived, [he] reported stories like how did the lady already teach him before. Therefore, the Ācārya said: “Aha! The wicked hands have stolen into the divine bag.” Thereafter, having offered the wealth [which he had] promised earlier, [he] then said: “[I] wish to get the teachings.” The Ācārya said: “Well first you father and sons have to ensure you have received one empowerment in advance.” Then [the Ācārya] bestowed the empowerment of Dharma completely to the three, namely father [Nyang-nag dBang-gi-shes-rab] and two sons. In this way [he] gave the inner, outer and secret empowerment.

Thereafter, because the elder son of [Nyang nag] was the previous son [of his former wife], [his] father and step mother disliked [him] so [he] had less power. The younger son was the favorite, and his name was Tshul-le. The elder one was called gNang-nge. Having seen the elder one intelligent and [as] a proper recipient of Tantric teachings, Lang-lab changed [his] name known as Shākya-rgyal-mtshan.

Then Ācārya Lang-lab said: “It is evident that we old couple are not going to take care of the wealth. You father and son [can have] the treasury and what [I] only ask for [is that] so long as two of us live we do not suffer.” Then Nyang-nag dBang-gi-shes-rab did not feel good and thought: “If this special Ācārya has a descendent, [that] would benefit doctrines and sentient beings. Also, there should a place [where my] own offsprings could offer their reverence and worship.” He explained the reasons to the old wife [who] has reached the age of fifty: “I have the following thought. It appears [we] also need an owner of these wealth. Therefore would [it] be fine if [your husband] takes [another] wife?” The wife replied: “This is extremely good.” Then [he] asked the Ācārya [who] said: “No way.”

Then [Nyang-nag dBang-gi-shes-rab] explained in great detail the above reasons and said his wife has already given [the permission]. [The Ācārya] asked: “Does she not have any displeasure?” [He] replied: “Your wife is pleased.” “Well, then it is fine to do it,” [The Ācārya] said. There a lady of ‘O-phya-bza’ clan was taken and offered as the wife, then two sons appeared.¹ The elder one was called Graggs-chung. The younger one was named Graggs-pa-dbang-phyug.

At that time Nyang-nag dBang-gi-shes-rab understood all doctrines. He himself was also supreme in the service of Ācārya Lang-lab and [his] wife. Thereafter at one time, Nyang-nag was preparing many paper. The Ācārya said: “What are you going to write?” [He] said:

¹ Here the variant of *jo mo la* (as the wife), *jo bo la*, can also function as the indirect object. Then the sentence can be translated: “There a lady of ‘O-phya-bza’ was taken and offered to the noble man [Lang-lab].” And there is a case in this text that the term *jo bo lang lab* used as the epithet of Lang-lag.

“[I] am going to copy Tantric commentaries.” Therefore the Ācārya said: “I am like the sun on the brink of setting. [You] are the lord of the teachings. Better preserve the [teachings] without copying the Bla-dpe.” [Nyang-nag said:] “But [your] two sons need the Bla-dpe.” Lang-lab replied: “There is no certainty [that my] two sons would be suitable recipients of the Tantric teachings and would be perfect. If they happened to be like this, it would be fine to give [them] the teachings at that time.” [The Ācārya] gave [him] a volume of Bla-dpe called *bSe glegs can* [with] a wood cover of *dGongs rgyud* upon [which] the four goddesses of bSe (*bse'i lha mo bzhi*) were painted.¹

Everybody said: “The family lineage [of] Lang-lab Byang-chub-rdo-rje ceased in Nyang-ro-'khor-re.² Yet two sons were born in 'O-yug-phu [which] is very amazing.”³ Later on, both sons did not become Dharma practitioners. They became two wealthy persons. Grags-chung had two sons of [whom] the elder one was called Yon-bdag-ldeng-rtse. He commissioned [the making] of many texts. Although it is like this, according to the account that Jo-mo broke the seal [made of] lacquer, sNa-nam, sKyi-nag and sPrang the three said Nyang-nag stolen the teachings. Later Nyang-nag became the chief disciple.

Among the many stories of blessings and amazing powers, the retreat place of [Nyang-nag dBang-gi-shes-rab] was at the cave of sNyam-bzang in the back of 'O-yug-sgo-mo. Some said it was [in] the cave of sNyam-ma-sNyam. [His] secret name [was] rDo-rje gShog-rgod-rtsal. [He] practiced sNyam-bzang-phur-pa, so the Phur-pa flew in the sky. Light and sound appeared. [He] vanquished all the enemies and hindrances. Having lived up to eighty-five, at the verge of dying, he gave testament to [his] son Tshul-le: “Shākya-rgyal-mtshan knows all the instructions. He will take away all the scriptures. On the top of the pillar in the lower floor, there is a volume with lacquer cover. Son, [you] should take care of it and hide it!” Then Shākya-rgyal-mtshan knew that it was in the lower floor. Being desperate, [he] ran away taking the volume with the lacquer cover. He went to the place called sNye-phu'i-gnas where the disciple of his father called gNang-hūṃ-ka-ra stayed. He said: “[My] father is on the brink of dying. He gave testament to Tshul-le. [I] am desperate.” gNang-hūṃ-ka-ra was shocked and said. “If the Ācārya is about to die, [you] would cause degeneration of *samāya* by running away after having taken the volume. Thus tomorrow morning we two should

¹ For bSe'i-lha-mo-bzhi, also known as bSe-mo-bzhi, see fn. 1, p. 195.

² 'Khor-re is the place where Lang-lab working as shepherd and his hermitage, see 10.21.1, p. 233 & 10.22.9, 239. For Nyang-ro see 10.24.5, p. 249.

³ 'O-yug-phu, literally means the upper of 'O-yug. For 'O-yug, see fn. 2, p. 241.

go back. [You] should also share the teachings with your younger brother. ” Next morning when [they] went, [Śākya rGyal-mtshan’s] father already passed away. Then gNang-hūṃ-kara made harmony [between] the two brothers.

Then after some time [the elder brother Śākya rGyal-mtshan] made many confessions. [He] organized many feast offerings (*gaṇacakra*; *tshogs gi ’khor lo*). Then in the retreat place, the two brothers did recitation and meditation, thereupon many signs and symbols arose. One evening the butter lamp was dim, and many melodies sounded. Śākya rGyal-mtshan’s eyes were not clear then said to Tshul-le: “Prepare the butter lamp!” Tshul-le went to prepare the butter lamp and he heard many melodies. He saw that the Phur-pa deities were placed in the *maṇḍala* as if [they] have entered the dancing courtyard [with] crown swinging disorderly and sparks flickering. He told [his] elder brother this display. [The elder brother] said: “Fine.” The two brothers, carrying a big black copper cauldron and holding in their hands a bamboo walking stick with a silver head, stabbed it in the earth, made eulogy, and attained accomplishments.

10.24 The Phur-pa Transmission after Nyang-nag dBang-gi-shes-rab

10.24.1 Śākya rGyal-mtshan

After a long time when Ācārya Śākya rGyal-mtshan became the leader of many traders, [he] went to lDong-kha. Twenty-one horsemen of ’Dar-nag-po ransacked all the traders. Having gone to sTing-res, [Śākya rGyal-mtshan] observed then saw [them] distributing the booty. Having taken off the blue cloak and summoned the gods and *nagas*, [he] beat [the horsemen]. An old man appeared in [his] front then said: “This place belongs to the earth demon [and] rock demon. Do not do like that. [They] only want fierce things. [They] only want inappropriate things.”

That evening around the time when people slept, the roar of wailing emerged, then three horsemen came.¹ It is said [that] next morning because they heard people said the horse of Ācārya [Śākya rGyal-mtshan] made a kick to the son of [a] merchant, then [the son] was

¹ “The roar” is translated from the term *dir ba* that is likely connected with *dir dir*, an onomatopoeia of thundering or humming. The term *dir ba* could also be the variant of *ldir ba*, meaning roar.

about to die. Thereupon, the Ācārya together with his retinue fled in the evening and went away. Later within a year, nineteen horsemen died. The two [brothers, namely Śākya rGyal-mtshan and Tshul-le] went to where Ācārya [Lang-lab] was and became [his] attendance. There Nyang-nag dBang-gi-shes-rab was known as Ber-sngon-can everywhere.

10.24.2 Slob-dpon Drag-po

The disciple of Śākya rGyal-mtshan was Slob-dpon Drag-po from lHan. [His] retreat place was at sTag-lung-grog-po in lHan. His secret name was rDo-rje-bde-chen-rtsal. [Who has been] hit [by the *phur pa* implement] was [his] uncle, Nyang-nag. Moreover, [Drag-po] was born in 'Grog in the area of gNubs-yul-rong. [He] was impartial to many people. At a young age, his parents died. [His] uncle Nyang-nag made [him] poor by robbing all the wealth of those monks [who] were very rich.¹ At that time [Drag-po] met the Ācārya Śākya rGyal-mtshan. From eighteen to thirty years old, [he] worked as the teacher's cowherd. The teacher, [Śākya rGyal-mtshan], realized [that he was] a proper recipient of Tantric teachings. Because of [his] great intellect, [he] was given all the instructions for the value [of] feeding the cattle. [He] also reached the highest degree of being expert in all the practices.

Thereafter, the teacher said: “Now I reach the age of eighty-five. [I] am on the brink of dying. [You should] copy the commentaries of the Tantric scriptures.” Thereupon, because Ācārya Drag-po had a little bit of wealth in his place then asked if [he can] copy there. [The Ācārya Śākya-rgyal-mtshan] said: “[It] is good. However, here [my] two sons would be jealous.” Thereupon [he] gave [Drag-po] all the texts. At the time of copying [the texts] there, the elder son of Ācārya [Śākya-rgyal-mtshan] called Chos-tshul came and said: “Oh, master Drag-po, my father already passed away and does not exist. The volume with lacquer cover is not there. Whoever has the volume will be responsible [for the teachings].”² In addition to the sadness and shock after Ācārya [Shākya-rgyal-mtshan] passed away, Drag-po disliked the repeated [words] of whoever has the volume with lacquer cover will be responsible [for the teachings]. [He] did not dare to say “I have this volume.” In this way Bla-dpe remained with Ācārya Drag-po.

Around that time all those people [whose] wealth has been robbed [by] the uncle of

¹ The reading *gi ris* following *nyang nag* is taken as the ergative.

² Here the “responsible” is translated from the reading *mgo bskyel ba* that can mean “conduct as the head” literally.

Ācārya Drag-po remarked: “Is [he] again arrogant because of the power of Nyang-nag Ber-sngon-can? You should be careful.¹ Be careful about whatever you can!” Then the Ācārya went to lHan. A woman had some abilities [of being] support and [to be] relied on. So [he] stayed with her in lHan. Then [he] made sTag-lung-grogs-po as the retreat place and practiced. Therefore many signs appeared. The belligerent uncle of [Ācārya Drag-po], [who] did not want to reconcile with all the people, said “Within one month Ācārya Drag-po will be killed by wrathful power.”² Thirteen monks from [Nyang-nag] stayed in the cave [that is] in the origin of g.Yas-ru-gtsang-po then practiced sorcery.³ The Ācārya also performed wrathful practices at sTag-lung-grogs-po. Consequently, within three months the thirteen monks [from] Nyang-nag all died after having caught pneumonia.

Later on, in 'Grog-lung-pa there was a big festival. At that time, Ācārya Drag-po, wearing a big black copper cauldron, riding a mule and being surrounded by many retainues, went to the festival. All the aunts [of] Zhang [clan] threw soil [upon Ācārya Drag-po] and said: “Here comes a revenger [of] Zhang [clan] and is eek scary.”⁴ All [the people] [in the market] said [to the aunts]: “The scary are you. First, [you] robbed [our] field. Second, instead of reconciling [you] practiced black sorcery. In the end, the thirteen monks got bereft of [their] life source and got ruined. The scary are you!” [They] proclaimed mocking statement. There were no cycles of mind-to-mind transmission [that] were not known to the Ācārya Drag-po. Because [he] was great in power and fortune, all the scholars and monks from dBus-gtsang paid their homage. [He] was the contemporary of Mar-pa Lo-tṣā-ba (1012–1097).

¹ The verb “be careful” is translated from *zo* which is probably related to *gzobs*, the imperative of the verb *gzob*.

² The reading chosen for “killed” is *bkrongs kyi btang*. The *bkrongs* could be either the perfect form of *dgrong ba*, the honorific of “kill,” see the *Tshig mdzod chen mo* (p. 467), or the perfect form of *'grong ba*, the honorific of “to be killed,” see JÄSCHKE: 102. The *btang* can be taken as periphrastic verb or model verb. In together, I render it as “will be killed.”

³ g.Yas-ru-gtsang-po originates from the north of Himalayas, passing through gTing-skyes-rdzong then flows into Bum-chu in Ting-ri-rdzong.

⁴ The *aunts* is translated from the term *ne mo* that is probably a variant of *ne ne mo* meaning the sister of one’s father. The “evil revenger” is translated from the term *mi thong po* that already occurred above (fn. 1, p. 192) where it is rendered as “executioner.” However, in this context, the term *mi thong po* is more likely related to *thong myi*. The *Tshig mdzod chen mo* (p. 1194) explains *thong myi* as “evil revenger.”

⁵ “The scary” in this sentence and the “eek scary” in the previous are translated from *'a tsi* which are rendered as the onomatopoeia to express fear.

10.24.3 sNa-nam 'Bro-ban

At that time an enemy appeared against sNa-nam 'Bro-ban [who] was the elder one of the two sons of sNa-nam Shes-rab-tshul-khrims. For the sake of averting the power of the enemy, [sNa-nam 'Bro-ban] invited Jo-bo-stag-ram of gNubs-zam-nag-stod-pa.¹ Once sNa-nam 'Bro-ban and gNubs sTag-ram met on a bridge. sNa-nam 'Bro-ban paid obeisance to sTag-ram and said: “Oh dGe-shes! This man did all kinds of inappropriate things to me. Considering your commitment and please not be the protection of him.”² gNubs sTag-ram said: “[You] are swollen with the short Phur-pa (*phur thung*) of Lang-lab Byang-chub-rdo-rje. I will avert your power. Try whatever you can!” sNa-nam got mad then hit the black cloth saying: “They made a false accusation against me.”³ Then [they] fixed a time. Both of them entered a cave. In three months gNubs sTag-ram died by vomiting blood. “[When confronted] with Phur-pa [adepts], Yamantaka adepts are exhausted,” [this saying] was also known at that time.⁴ Thereupon after having brewed many beer sNa-nam 'Bro-ban invited all the monks from Nyang-ro [who] are said knowing Phur-pa [and] made a feast gathering.⁵ [They] offered enormous gratitude. Among the group the [following] song has been sung.

The bow of Vajrakumāra,
is sealed [with] the wheel and stretched with the string.
The arrow sticks of the ten wrathful male [Phur-pa] deities,
are adorned with the feather of the ten female wrathful deities,
are inserted [with] the tip of the supreme son *phur pa* [implement],

¹ Here the phrase *gnubs zam nag stod pa* is understood as a place referring to where Jo-bo-stag-ram came from. However, when following another reading *gnubs zam nag stod pas jo bo stag ram spyan drangs so*, it has to be taken as a person, which means gNubs Zam-nag-stod-pa invited Jo-bo-stag-ram. In the following, Jo-b-stag-ram has another epithet gNubs sTag-ram. As the Tibetan has the tradition to name a person after a place, it is more likely the term *gnubs zam nag stod pa* is a place name.

² The variant of *bsrung ba mi mdzad pa* (not be the protection) is *bsrung ba mdzad pa* (be the protection). If the latter is taken, this sentence will have an opposite meaning: Considering your commitment and please be the protection of this one.

³ The “false accusation” is translated from *ma nyes kha yog* or *ma nyes khag g.yogs* or *ma nyes kha g.yogs* which can be understood as *ma nyes par nyes so zhes khag dkri ba*, meaning “to accuse the blameless as blame worthy,” see the *Tshig mdzod chen mo* (under *kha yog*, p. 210). Here the readings *ma nyes ma yo'o* and *ma nyes la yo de*, which have phonetic similarities with the aforementioned phrases, are perhaps the corrupted form or scribal error of them.

⁴ This saying has appeared above, see §21.1, p. 318.

⁵ For Nyang-ro, see 10.24.5, p. 249.

are wound by the three protecting deities.¹

are quenched by lacquer, iron and glass.

As for flinging, [they] were flung to the direction of black copper cauldron.

[As for] shooting, [they] shot Jo-bo-stag-ram.

The intensity of the arrows is not small [but rather] big.

It is said [that] from then because [the Phur-pa teachings] spread too much; The *Phur pa rtsa dum* got too much spoiled [and] decayed as far as in the region of Nyang-ro. However, [this] is unknown to us.

10.24.4 The Composition of the Phur-pa *Sādhana*s

In this way when [Phur-pa teaching] decayed and ceased, one disciple of sNa-nam Shes-tshul called rGya-ston-sang-rgyas composed many *sādhana*s based on *Phur pa rtsa dum* in the Shangs region after having concealed other commentaries of Phur-pa Tantric scriptures.² It is said [that] when [the *sādhana*s were] viewed by [those who] possess the teachings of Jo-mo mKhar-chen-bza', even the mixed parts have not been adulterated.³ [Those who] do not have the instructions did not know [whether they were] mixed or contaminated.

The disciple of rGya-ston-sang-rgyas [called] rGya-rtags-shes-rab-rgyal-mtshan also composed many main texts of *sādhana*s of the *Phur pa rtsa dum*.⁴ Shangs-pa-dgon-ston also composed [*sādhana*s]. His disciple sGro-ston-dar-gtsus also composed many *sādhana*s. Some [texts] were mingled with the secret cycle (*gsang skor*), some were mingled with the Sutric cycle (*mdo skor*).⁵

It is said the titles of the *sādhana*s [composed by] these people were labeled [by] many synonyms, such as the *Man ngag drug pa*, *Man ngag gsum pa*, *rMa'i khug chos*, *bSkyed pa*

¹ In the rNying-ma tradition, there is a trinity of three deities called Ma-gza'-dam-gsum that includes Ma-mo, gZa'-chen, and Dam-can rDo-rje-legs-pa, see NEBESKY-WOJKOWITZ 1996: 94 and 154. Here the Dam-can-rnam-gsum could refer to the three deities.

² Shangs is the Shangs-chu river valley in rNam-gling-rdzongs in gTsang.

³ The “have not been mixed” is translated from *bsres kyang ma 'dres*. The *bsres* is the past participle of *sre ba* meaning “mix” or “mingle” but here is used as a noun referring to the mixed parts in the *sādhana*s. The term *ma 'dres ba* can mean pure or unadulterated, see JÄSCHKE: 284 (under the entry *'dre ba*).

⁴ rGya-ston-sang-rgyas received Jo-mo-lugs from sNa-nams Shes-rab-tshul-khrims, see §24.4, p. 334.

⁵ Here from the Tibetan reading, it is not clear if the “some texts” only refer to the *sādhana*s of sGro-ston-dar-rtusg or also include the texts of rGya-rtags-shes-rab-rgyal-mtshan and Shangs-pa-dgon-ston.

sku'i them yig, *Las bzhi'i 'phyong drug*,¹ *Phur pa gnubs lugs dMe phur nag po*, *Phur pa 'dul bzhi*, and so forth. At that time all the venerable teachers said: “Mine is the personal practice of Jo-mo mKhar-chen-bza'. Others are not.” It is said [that they were] not content with each other.

In general, sPrang-phu-ru-mgo first composed many texts of *sādhana*s. Thereafter, rGya-ston-sangs-rgyas and so forth composed many treatises in the Shangs region. In the end, some intelligent people hoping [themselves] to be famous composed many [treatises].² All the treatises were titled *Phur pa rtsa dum*, thus [there were] innumerable different [versions of the *Phur pa rtsa dum*]. If the one who has received the precepts, transmission, and instructions, which were unbroken, uncontaminated teachings, and instructions, viewed [these treatises], would know [they were] nonsense. It is said among all the teachings translated into Tibetan, the *Phur pa rtsa dum* was the highly distorted. It is said [that the one who] had the uncontaminated *Phur pa rtsa dum* was Ācārya Drag-po.

As for me, it is the case [that] the quintessential instructions of Jo-mo mKhar-chen-bza', [which is] the speciality of Lang-lab's [teachings] were not known to the [teachers] above. Only good persons appeared in the above transmissions. Therefore, [I] do not think [that] their own main texts of *sādhana*s have the flaw of corruption. Moreover, it is true [that] there were some [cases that] some *sādhana*s are not complete [with regard to the three stages of practice, namely] preparation part, main part, and concluding part, not elucidated, mistaken, and so forth. Nowadays, there is nobody [who] practices [these teachings that] has ceased. Thus, there is no need to write [here] in detail.

10.24.5 lCe-ston Śākya-rgyal-mtshan

Although there were many disciples of Ācārya Drag-po, there were two [who] happened to be his heart-sons, [namely] Se-ston-khri-rgyal from Nyang-ro-rgyan-mkhar and lCe-ston Shākya-rgyal-mtshan from Nyang-stod.³ Among them lCe-ston Śākya-rgyal-mtshan was a

¹ The term *'phyong* more often used in the Bon literature, has a meaning similar to “chapter,” and can mean a kind of section supplemented in the Tantric scripture, see WANGCHUK 2002: fn. 71 on 286.

² The reading *legs su re bas* that is translated as “hoping [themselves] to be famous,” can also be understood as “hoping [the Phur-pa transmission] to be better.”

³ Nyang-ro and Nyang-stod should be related to Nyang/Myang) area of the Myang-chu river that flows from gZhis-ka-rtse to Khang-dmar-rdzong passing through rGyal-rtse-rdzong in gTsang. Nyang-ro is listed as one of the ten thousand-household district (*stong sde*) in Ru-lag in the *mKhas pa'i dga' tson* (p. 102.3–4). Tucci states Nyang-ro in gTsang is in connection with the early Tibetan kings such as gNya'-khri-brtsan-po, see TUCCI 1980:

great teacher. Thus [he] was surrounded by many retinues and went around with canopies [that] flied up. After having seen Ācārya Drag-po, he was pleased very much by [his knowledge] and was even bestowed all the Tantric commentaries. The teacher [lCe-ston Shākya-rgyal-mtshan] was very charismatic, [but] did not learn and was not skilled [in] practice. [However, he] was skilled in the explanation of Tantric commentaries. Later, when he went [with] the thought of obtaining practice and instructions, Ācārya Drag-po died and was no longer there. [He] invited sKyi-gu, the consort of Ācārya Drag-po, to [his] place. Thereupon, there were just enough participants [for] the melody. [There are] no [people] to hold the transmission of the quintessential instructions of [Phur-pa].

10.24.6 sKye-chung-pa Shes-rab

The disciple of lCe-ston called sKye-chung-pa Shes-rab, [who] was an intelligent person, modified the mind-transmission (*dgongs rgyud*) then propagated [it] a lot in La-stod. It is said [that he] corrected [the transmission] based on Tantric scriptures although [he] removed what has been stained.¹ Therefore, there were two mind transmissions. After having mingled [them] with other Tantric commentaries, lCe-ston explained a lot without having quintessential instructions.

10.24.7 Se-ston-khri-rgyal

The student [who] held the spiritual transmission of Ācārya Drag-po was only Se-ston-khri-rgyal. [He] was expert in all the Tantric commentaries and quintessential instructions. [His] retreat place was [in] the cave Ngo-dmar in rGyan-mkhar.² [His] secret name was rDo-rje-gter-sgrub-rtsal. [He] was excellent in signs and symbols of accomplishment. [He] applied the *phur pa* [implement] to enemies and obstacles.

223 and 226. Nyang-stod could also be a larger area in upper Nyang that is in the upstream region of Nyang-chu, or a small town nowadays called Nyang-stod-rdzong in rGyal-rtse.

¹ The phrase “removed what has been stained” is translated from *’go ba bya spos*.

² rGyan-mkhar is mentioned above as Nyang-ro-rgyan-mkhar, see 10.24.5, p. 249. For a mention of rGyang-mkhar-ngo-dmar, see the *’Phags pa gsan yig* (p. 797.4).

10.24.8 lHa-rje Phur-ston-ring-mo

Se-ston-khri-rgyal's disciple was lHa-rje Phur-ston-ring-mo [who] did many *guru*-pleasing [activities] through service. [He] obtained the instructions without any remainder. Also at a young age, [he] received root texts twice from Ācārya Drag-po. [His] retreat place [was] in Khra-ri'i-rdo-rje-gnam-rdzong. [His] secret name was rDo-rje-las-rab-rtsal. [He] applied [the *phur pa* implement] to the enemies and obstacles. A lot of signs appeared. [He] made abundant of good activities, for instance, making [the scriptures of] Sūtras such as the *Sras yum bcu bdun* [of] the *Prajñāpāramitāsūtras*.¹

The north of rGyal-gyi-rtsubs-ri in La-stod [was] the so-called Khra-ri-gnam-rdzong,² a bit far [by] walking from [it] was a cliff [looks] like a lion jumping into the sky.³ On top of the cliff, there was a fortress [looks] like floating in the sky, [which is] La-stod-zur-tsho.⁴ [He] practiced there then obtained signs and symbols [of realization].

10.24.9 rGya-ston Nam-mkha'-rgyal-po

rGya-ston Nam-mkha'-rgyal-po, the disciple of lHa-rje Phur-ston-ring-mo, pleased [this] teacher at Khra-ri-gnam-rdzong, then [he] received the entire instructions but did not get the empowerment. Later on, his elder brother received [teachings] from sMyos-ston Nyi-ma-rdo-rje [who] was the heart son of lHa-rje-phur.⁵ In the retreat place dBang-ldeng-dgon-

¹ The *Sras yum bcu bdun*, also known as *Sher phyin yum sras bcu bdun*, is listed in the *'Phang thang ma* as the last of the *Prajñāpāramitāsūtra* that is corpus of Sūtras, see VAN DER KUIJP 1990: 117.

² Only based on the reading *khra ri gnam rdzong bya ba de la stod rgyal gyi rtsibs ri'i byang nas* |, it is not easy to figure out the relation of these places. The next sentence gives us another place called La-stod-zur-tsho that confines all the places in a larger area called La-stod. Also the rGyal-gyi-rtsubs-ri is possible another name of the monastery rTsiib-ri-dgon or rGyal-gi-shrī-dgon in La-stod, see BDRC-[G712]. Thus, the relation of the above places can be rendered as Khra-ri-gnam-rdzong is to the north of the monastery rGyal-gyi-rtsubs-ri in La-stod

³ The phrase “a bit far” is based on *rgyang tsam* that, according to the *Tshig mdzod chen mo*, is a synonym of *tha gi* (p. 1132) or *the gi zad* (p. 1178).

⁴ Zur-tsho, located in south of La-stod (*lha stod lho*), is an important place in the early Tibetan printing history, where many patrons and craftsmen contributed to the printing of the texts such as Mi-la-ras-pa's biographies and songs, see for example DAWA 2016: 203. The “fortress” is translated from the *rdzong bar*, which is recorded in all versions, could be a variant of *rdzong mkhar*.

⁵ lHa-rje-phur is the abbreviation of lHa-rje Phur-ston-ring-mo. Because the subject and object of this sentence are not clearly marked, it can also be taken as “Later on [he] received [teachings] from his own elder brother named sMyos-ston Nyi-ma-rdo-rje [who was] the heart-son of lHa-rje-phur.” or “Later on his own elder brother named sMyos-ston Nyi-ma-rdo-rje received [teachings] from the heart-son of lHa-rje Phur-ston-ring-mo.” But from the following context, sMyos-ston Nyi-ma-rdo-rje is another person not the brother of rGya-ston Nam-

pa in Ding-ri-brag-nye, Ācārya sMyos and two rGya-ston [brothers] practiced then perfected the signs and symbols [of realization].¹ Both secret names were the same, [namely] rDo-rje-drag-po-rtsal. [Their *phur pa* implements] were applied to both enemies and obstructions. Although both [rGya-ston brothers] met lHa-rje-phur similarly, the most important ones [with regard to] the transmission of empowerment were said to be lHa-rje sMyos-tson Nyi-ma-rdo-rje [and] rGya-ston Nam-mkha'-rgyal-po.²

10.24.10 Nyi-ma-rgyal-mtshan-pa

The disciples of Nam-mkha'-rgyal-po [were his] two sons. Among [whom he] bestowed all the Tantric commentaries [and] instructions upon the younger one Nyi-ma-rgyal-mtshan-pa. From a very young age, [Nyi-ma-rgyal-mtshan-pa], as a servant at the feet of his father, learned many practices. Therefore, [he] became extremely expert in rituals and melodies. [His] father put him in meditation and recitation retreat thus [he] obtained many signs and symbols [of realization]. [He] applied [*phur pa* implement] to both enemies and obstructions [and] came to be known as a powerful *siddha*.

10.24.11 Nyang-ban-shu-mang Lung-pa-chen-po

Nyang-ban-shu-mang Lung-pa-chen-po, the disciple of Nyi-ma-rgyal-mtshan-pa, received the empowerment, Tantric commentaries, and quintessential instructions from this teacher completely. [His] retreat place was [in] Rong-rgyan-mkhar-gyi-thog-phug. [His] secret name was rDo-rje-dbang-'dus-rtsal. [He] applied [the *phur pa* implement] to both enemies and obstructions.

10.24.12 'Dzam-gling-panḍita Nag-po

His disciple 'Dzam-gling-panḍita Nag-po [was] a very powerful person and became the lord of three fortresses, such as Bya-chos-mkhar-po-che in Nyang-stod. In Rong [area] he built a tem-

mkha'-rgyal-po. The two possibilities can be excluded.

¹ Ding-ri is in the southwest of Tibet in La-stod, now set as a county under gZhis-ka-rtse.

² The variant of the phrase *dbang brgyud* (transmission of empowerment) is *dbang rgyud*, meaning “empowerment and Tantric scriptures” that also fits the context here.

ple in sMu-bsam-gling. [His] retreat place was [in] Mon-mo-gtsug-rum.¹ [His] secret name was rDo-rje-'dus-pa-rtsal. [He] possessed qualities, such as commanding gods and demons as [his] servants.

10.24.13 Shangs rDo-rje-gling-pa Bla-chen rDo-rje-rin-chen

His disciple was Shangs rDo-rje-gling-pa Bla-chen rDo-rje-rin-chen [who] possessed many qualities of learning, discipline, and nobility. [His] body emitted the fragrance of ethical-spiritual discipline. After having invited Bla-ma 'Dzam-gling to his own monastery, [he] received empowerment [and] instructions. [His] retreat place was [in] rGod-tshang-brag.² [He] applied [the *phur pa* implement] to both enemies and obstructions.

10.24.14 Chu-bar Nyi-phug-pa-chen-po

His disciple was Chu-bar Nyi-phug-pa-chen-po [whose] retreat place was in Bres-phu-bsam-gtan-phug.³ [His] secret name was rDo-rje-thog-'bebs-rtsal. [He] applied [the *phur pa* implement] to the enemy, namely [his] paternal sibling and the king spirits.⁴

10.24.15 gSang-sngags-rdo-rje

His disciple was gSang-sngags-rdo-rje [who] was a teacher in Nya-ri-ban-gron [in] gTsang. Among the *māntrikas* of a later time, [he] was great both [in] knowledge and power. [He]

¹ For a mention of Mon-mo-gtsug-rum and Mon-mo'i-gtsug-rum by the Fifth Dāla'i-bla-ma, see the *Du kū la'i gos bzang* (p. 218.5) and *Gangā'i chu rgyun* (vol. 3, p. 2.9).

² rGod-tshang-brag is perhaps related to rGod-tshang, the retreat place of bKa'-brgyud-pa in general and rGod-tshang-pa mGon-pa-rdo-rje (1189–1258) in particular, see FERRARI 1958: 66. rGod-tshang is located in the mountain called rTsib-ri (or rTsibs-ri) which is in the west of She-dkar-rdzong in Ting-ri county in gTsang. There is also a monastery called rGod-tshang-mgon-pa on the southern side of rTsib-ri, see FERRARI 1958: 154 and BUF-FETRILLE 2013: 43, 50. Another retreat place related to rGod-tshang-pa usually known as the rGod-tshang Cave is on the edge of the mountain above the Hemis Monastery.

³ Here bSam-gtan-phug is likely to be the hermitage of Mus-chen dKon-mchog-rgyal-mtshan (1388–1469/1470) located in the Mus valley on the northern bank of gTsang-po river not far from gZhis-ka-rtse, see FERRARI 1958: 68.

⁴ The king spirits (*rgyal po*) are believed to be spirits of kings or monks who failed their vow, see SAMUEL 1993: 162. The aforementioned rGyal-po-dpe-dkar (p. 209) is recorded in one text cited by Nebesky-wojkowitz as the chief of all the king spirits who are divided into two groups, namely great kings (*rgyal chen*) and small kings (*rgyal phran*). And each group has three hundred and sixty numbers, see NEBESKY-WOJKOWITZ 1996: 96.

was prophesied by Ācārya Padmasambhava to be the rebirth of mChims rDo-rje-spre'u-chung.¹ There were many omens for the benefit of Tibet. Materially supported by the descendants of the Dharma king of Mnga'ris-dzong-kha, [he] also [had] some accomplishments. When [he] cast the session ritual cake (*thun gtor*) every evening during the worship ceremony of the rDzong-kha king, his fame regarding the power, such as establishing common perception [that is accepted by] all the sentient beings in person, appeared at night. In rDzong-kha [he had] the visions of many deities. He practiced Phur-pa [for] seven days in the retreat place of sGro-phug at a young age then had the real vision of rDo-rje-gzhon-nu.² [He] applied *the phur pa implement* to both enemies and obstructions.

Concerning him, our holy master, the great Īśvara of *siddhas*, received [teachings] at the temple in Mang-yul-skyi-grong [where the statue] of 'Phags-pa Wa-ti stayed, [who was] equal to Avalokiteśvara.³ He was born in the male water horse year in a place quite close to the Tangut kingdom (Mi-nyag-'ga' or Mi-nyag-mkhar). When [he] reached the age of eighteen, all [his] family members and neighbors died through the disaster of earthquake, therefore, [he] was so depressed that went to dBus-gtsang to [pursue] Dharma. Thereafter, Gong-ma Grags-pa-'byung-gnas-pa invited dMar-ston rGyal-mtshan-'od-gsal (b. fifteenth century) to Yar-klungs-btsan-thang.⁴ When the Dharma wheel known as bTsan-thang-dbang-mo-che was turned, [he] met [dMar-ston-rgyal-mtshan-'od-gsal] and received the initiations and teachings of the new Mantric translation tradition and the reading transmission of the *rGyud 'bum*.

From master 'Gos Lo-tsā-ba [gZhon-nu-dpal], he received the teachings of the Six-

¹ mChims rDo-rje-spre'u-chung, also written as mChims rDo-rje-sprel-chung or mChims rDo-rje-spre-chung, was one of four ministers from the mChims clan that was famous during the dynastic period, see SØRENSEN 1994: fn. 1306 on 388.

² sGro-phug is likely to be the sGro-phu-lha-khang in Nya-ri of gZhis-ka-rtse, built by Zur-chen Śākya Seng-ge (1074–1134).

³ The temple where the statue of 'Phags-pa-wa-ti (or Āryavati) stayed, known as 'Phags-pa-wa-ti-lha-khang, is located in sKyi-grong in Mang-yul, near the present boarder of Nepal and Tibet. The statue of 'Phags-pa-wa-ti is one of the four sandalwood statues of the four Avalokiteśvara brothers (*'phags pa mched bzhi*). For the scheme of the four Avalokiteśvara brothers, sometimes three or five, see EHRHARD 2004: 57–74. A pilgrimage guide to this statue in sKyi-grong written by Brag-dkar-rta-so-sprul-sku Chos-kyi-dbang-phyug (1775–1837) has been studied by Ehrhard (2004).

⁴ dMar-ston rGyal-mtshan-'od-gsal was a master in the transmission of Yang-dag-mar-me-dgu of the Sa-skyia tradition and was a teacher of 'Gos Lo-tsā-ba gZhon-nu-dpa, see BDRC-P464. The Yar-klungs-btsan-thang is probably related to the bTsan-thang-sgo-bzhi Temple near rTsed-thang in lHo-kha district. For other sources which mention Yar-klungs-btsan-thang, see *bKa' thang sde lnga* (p. 145.3) and *Deb ther sngon po* (vol. 2, p. 944.6).

phased Yoga (*ṣaḍāṅgayoga*; *sbyor drug*).¹ Then when [he] mediated [for] six months, [he] fulfilled all qualities. Thus the master was very pleased. [He] said: “You are the one [whose] habitual tendencies (*vāsanā*; *bag chags*) have been removed for Dharma.” At that time [gSang-sngags-rdo-rje] met [’Gos Lo-tṣā-ba] when [the latter] conferred the teachings of rDo-rje-zam-pa.² Thus [his] devotion to the cycle of the rNying-ma teachings arose to such an extent [that] the tears were shed. A thought occurred [to him that he] must be the one [who] has obtained all the teachings.”

[gSang-sngags-rdo-rje] asked: “Who has [the teachings]?” [Some people] said: “In [a place] called Na-zhogs-thar-pa-gling [in] dBu-ru, there was [a person called] Sangs-rgyas-dbon-po (b. fifteenth century).” [He] went there and received most of the bKa’-ma [and] gTer-ma [traditions of] the Great Perfection.³ In ’Bri-gung [he] received the entire cycle of ’Bri-gung [teachings] from Chos-rje Kun-dga’-rin-chen (1475–1527).⁴ In the presence of Chos-rje, he responded to many criticisms against [a text regarding] the “single intention” (*dgongs gcig*) [that was] written by one called bKa’-bcu-pa bsTan-gsal from gSang-phu-ba.⁵ [By which] both Chos-rje and bKa’-bcu-pa were very pleased. bKa’-bcu-pa said: “Though you Khams-pa is very intelligent like this. If [you] study [all] the categories, [you] will become a person like Sa-skya-pañḍita.” Thereupon Ban-dgar-pa ’Jam-dpal-bzang-po (b. fifteenth century) went to ’Bri-gung from whom [gSang-sngags-rdo-rje] received the cycle of teachings of Paṅ-chen Nags-rin (i. e. Vanaratna, 1384–1468).⁶ ’Bri-dgung-chos-rje said: “You are expected

¹ The Six-phased Yoga is a series of practice classified to the Completion Stage (*utpannakrama*; *rdzogs rim*) of the Kālacakra system. For a list of several studies on the Six-branched Yoga, see GENTRY 2016: fn. 95 on 203.

² The rDo-rje-zam-pa teachings belong to the Klong-sde section of the Great Perfection system. For its transmission from Vairocana to Śākya rGyal-po-pa from whom ’Gos Lo-tṣā-ba gZhon-nu-dpal also obtained the teachings, see the *Deb ther sngon po* (vol. 1, pp. 217.16–238.6, for the translation, see ROERICH 1995: 172–191). For an introduction to the corpus of rDo-rje-zam-pa and its transmission legendary, see ANSPAL 2005: 129–138. For a translation and study of the basic text of rDo-rje-zam-pa namely the *rNa rgyud rdo rje zam pa*, see ANSPAL 2005: 138–148.

³ According to the information provided by BDRC (P465), Sangs-rgyas-dbon-po taught the bKa’-ma and gTer-ma tradition of the Great Perfection in dBu-ra-na-zhogs-thar-pa-gling. The record in BDRC, though no reference is given, is quite similar to the record here, except a tiny difference in the place name.

⁴ Chos-rje Kun-dga’-rin-chen, also known as Rin-chen-lhun-po, was the sixteenth throne holder of ’Bri-gung-bka’-rgyud school. More information about him, see BDRC-P466.

⁵ The dGongs-gcig is a profound philosophical compendium originated from ’Jigs-rten-gsum-mgon (1143–1217), the founder of ’Bri-gung-bka’-brgyud school and set up by his student dBon Shes-rab-’byung-gnas (1187–1241). bKa’-bcu-pa is a title of monk scholars who has observed the ten commandments of Buddha.

⁶ Ban-dgar-pa ’Jam-dpal-bzang-po, a master of the Kaṃ-tshang-bka’-brgyud school, taught the teachings of Nags-kyi-rin-chen to Mi-nyag rDo-rje-seng-ge (b. 1462), more information about him see BDRC-P467. Paṅ-

to be a Dharma holder of the bKa'-brgyud [school], go to sTag-lung!" [He] was dispatched [to sTag-lung] with the official authorization.¹ From sTag-lung Ngag-dbang-grags-pa (1418–1496), [he] did not receive any bKa'-brgyud [teachings] other than the teachings of Bo-dong-pa.² [He] stayed [there] for four years and was esteemed. When [he] returned to 'Bri-gung later, Cho-rje already passed away.

[He] went to Myang-long to raise fund for constructing the memorial support [for] dPon-po-kun-rin. Then [he] went to Yar-klungs. [He] received the Sūtric Initiation (*mdo dbang*) and the Mind Section [of rDzogs-chen] from 'On-mthing-ma-ba sNags-chang g.Yu-'brug-rdo-rje.³ Later in sPa-spro-stag-tshang, [he] received the reading transmission of the *rGyud 'bum* and many cycles of bKa'-ma teachings from Kaḥ-thog-pa Ye-shes-'bum-pa.⁴ After having composed a response to Ratna-gling-pa (1403–1478), [he] carried and offered it to Ratna-gling-pa in Lho-brag-shar. [He] obtained all the treasure teachings of Ratna-gling-pa and even the monastic retreat teachings and some bKa'-ma teachings of Phur-pa.

Afterward [he] went to La-stod-byang. From rGyal-mkhar-se-ston-pa, [he] received whatever was presented to him, for instance, the cycle of Zhi-khro-phur-gsum,⁵ the *Ma mo*

chen Nags-rin was a Bengali scholar and arrived in Tibet in 1426. One of his disciples was 'Gos gZhon-nu-dpal who contributed a biography of him in the *Deb ther sngon po* (pp. 933.12–940.2, for the translation, see ROERICH 1995: 797–805). More information about Vanaratna, see BDRC-P207.

¹ The sTag-lung here should refer to the sTag-lung-dgon-chen, the main monastery of the sTag-lung-bka'-brgyud school. It is located in lHun-grub-rdzong, north of Lhasa and was built by sTag-lung-thang-pa bKra-shis-dpal (1142–1209/10). More information about his monastery, see BDRC-G67.

² sTag-lung Ngag-dbang-grags-pa was the twelfth throne holder of sTag-lung-bka'-brgyud school. The *sTag lung chos 'byung* (p. 421.16–459.1) contributes a long biography of him. More information about him, see BDRC-P452. The Bo-dong-pa or Bo-dong-tradition goes back to Bo-dong Rin-chen-rtse-mo (b. 12 century) but was found as a unique tradition by Bo-dong Phyogs-las-rnam-rgyal (1376–1451). Its main seat is Bo-dong-e-dgon-pa. More about the Bo-dong-tradition and the destruction of its monasteries, see SUDBURY 2008: 199–213.

³ The Sūtra Initiation refers to the initiations of the *dGongs pa 'dus pa'i mdo* that is taken as the root Tantric scripture of Anuyoga. For the ritual structure of the Sūtra Initiation and its changes during the fourteenth and fifteenth century, see DALTON 2016: 65–77. g.Yu-'brug-rdo-rje was a master of the mDo-dbang and Sems-phyogs traditions, see BDRC-P468.

⁴ Here the Kaḥ-thog-pa Ye-shes-'bum-pa should refer to bZhag-bla Ye-shes-'bum-pa who, according to the study of Ehrhard, was the first Kaḥ-thog scholar who directed his steps to the Himalayan border regions and arrived in Sikkim and Bhutan to the end of the fifteenth century, see EHRHARD 2003: 9–12

⁵ The Zhi-khro-phur-gsum could refer to either the Yang-dag-zhi-khro-phur-gsum, namely the peaceful and wrathful deities of the Yang-dag, and the rDo-rje-phur-pa cycle, or the sGyu-'phrul-zhi-khro-phur-gsum, namely the peaceful and wrathful deities of gSang-ba-snying-po, and the rDo-rje-phur-pa cycle. The latter was devised by Kaḥ-thog-pa Dam-pa-bde-gshegs (1122–1192) and also called Kaḥ-thog-zhi-khro-phur-gsum. For more information about the Kaḥ-thog-zhi-khro-phur-gsum, see BDRC-T003JR4624.

rgyud lung including the Ma-mo-lho-'grims, Ma-mo-byang-'grims, sGang-shar, and so forth,¹ Tshe-bdag-pad-lugs,² Ur-mo,³ Kha-thun,⁴ six-face Yamantaka, and red Yamantaka. [He] obtained the initiation and reading transmission of around two hundred and fifty texts. The teacher [rGyal-mkhar-se-ston-pa] gave [him] food, clothing and teachings. He said: "There is no teacher [who] is better than this one particularly with regard to the great responsibility for the doctrines." When told the story, [he] shed tears.

Then he went to visit Nepal, Gar-zha, Nagarakoṭa, and so forth.⁵ In La-stod-lho from a *mantra* holder (*sngags 'chang*), Nam-bkras-pa, [gSang-sngags-rdo-rje] received many teachings, such as seven different bKa'-ma [and] gTer-ma [teachings of the] bKa'-brgyad [system], most cycles of A-ro's rDzog-chen [tradition], the three cycles of Kha-rag,⁶ the Phyag-rgya-

¹ The *Ma mo rgyud lung* could be one of the eighteen Mahāyoga Tantric cycles. The Ma-mo-lho-'grims, Ma-mo-byang-'grims, and Ma-mo-sgang-shar could be particular rituals related to the cycle of Ma-mo-rgyud-lung. There are four texts dealing with the Ma-mo-sgang-shar in the *Rin chen gter mdzod* (TT vol. 32, no. 42–45).

² Tshe-bdag-pad-lugs is a transmission related to 'Jam-dpal-gshin-rje'i-gshed-tshe-bdag-nag-po

³ Here the Ur-mo is likely to be gNam-lcags-ur-mo which probably refers to something made of iron, see for example the *Phur pa 'bum nag* (A: p. 323.2 and p. 533.1): *gnam lcags ur mo'i gzer skye med ston pa* |, and *gnam lcags ur mo sa la gdab mi bya* |. In this context it should refer a kind of practice or ritual that could enable the practitioner to have the ability to control the gNam-lcags-ur-mo.

⁴ The Kha-thun could be of a shortened form of gShin-rje-kha-thun-nag-po, a cycle of teachings regarding with the gShin-rje deity among the Eight Sādhanas.

⁵ Gar-zha, also spelt as Gar-zhwa or Gar-sha or written in full as Gar-zha-mkha-'gro-gling, is a pilgrimage centre located in the Indian state of Himachal Pradesh and is known as Lahoul nowadays. As for Nagarakoṭa, in some readings, it is written separately as Nagara and Koṭa. It is possible that Nagarakoṭa is related to Nagarkot that is written as Nagarkete in the itinerary of O-rgyan-pa Rin-chen-dpal (1230–1293) to Uḍḍiyāna and is recorded as a great town in Jalandhara, see TUCCI 1940: 43. In sTag-tshang-ras-pa Ngag-dbang-rgya-mtsho (1576–1651)'s report on his pilgrimage that follows the trace of O-rgyan-pa, Dsalandhara was also called Nagarkoṭ by Tibetans and Kaṅkarkoṭ by Indians, see TUCCI 1940: 66.

⁶ The three cycles of Kha-rag (*kha rag skor gsum*) refers to the tradition devised Kha-rag-sgom-chung dBang-phyug-blo-gros (b. 11 century). According to the *Thu'i bkwan grub mtha'* (p. 99.11–16, for the translation, see LHUNDUB SOPA 2009: 110), the Kha-rag-skor-gsum constitutes the Mind Section (*sems phyogs*) of the rDzogs-chen system transmitted from A-ro Ye-shes-'byung-gnas to sBa-sgom-pa-chen-po, the instructions of Mind Training (*blo sbyongs*) of Atīśa who received them from rNal-'byor-ba and dGon-pa-ba, and the combination of the above two teachings named Byang-chub-sems-sbyong. As pointed out by Sørensen, the description of the Kha-rag-sgom-chung differs somehow from the actual content of the three cycles, and he provides a different list from the above mentioned one, see SØRENSEN 2002: 244. For a general introduction to Kha-rag-sgom-chung dBang-phyug-blo-gros' life story, see SØRENSEN 2002: 242–245, in which a hypothesis of his dates ca. 1140/45–1115/20 is provided. sBa-sgom-pa-chen-po was the teacher of Kha-rag-sgom-chung, see the *Deb ther sngon po* (vol. 2, p. 1164.17, for the translation, see ROERICH 1995: 1001).

brda-rtsa, the three cycles of Doha (*do ha skor gsum*),¹ the Grub-snying,² the cycle of Non-mentation (*amaṇasikāra; yid la mi byed pa*),³ the cycle of teachings of 'Jam-dbyangs-rdo-rje [among] the collection of Doha.⁴

Then [gSang-sngags-rdo-rje] went to Yar-klungs. From Khru-s-khang Lo-tṣā-ba (1424–1482), [he] received the cycle of teachings of Seven Maṇḍalas (*dkyil bdun*) of the rNgog [tradition].⁵ From Chag-lo Rin-chen-chos-rgyal (b. 1447) [he received] the whole cycle of teachings of sTe'u-ra-ba and from Chos-rje Nam-bkras-pa [he] received many cycles of teachings of bKa'-gdams [school].⁶ [He obtained] all the cycle of teachings of Karma-pa from the fourth Zhwa-dmar-pa (1453–1524). In Yab [he received] the cycle of teachings of the Zhi-byed [school] from Byang-sems-chen-po. From gTsang-smyon (1452–1507), [he received] many [teachings], such as the oral transmission of Ras-chung-pa (1084–1161).⁷ From Zing-pa-stag-mgor Sangs-rgyas-rgyal-mtshan-pa, [he received] the cycle of teachings of Kun-mkhyen Klong-chen-pa. From Dol-pa sGrub-chen-ma (b. fifteenth century), [he received] the entire cycle of teachings of Sang-rgyas-gling-pa (1340–1396), [like] the *gCod yul* and *Bla dgongs 'dus*.

¹ The three cycles of Doha, composed by Saraha, refer to the cycles of songs of realization for the king, queen, and subject.

² The Grub-snying or sGrub-snying and the aforementioned Phrag-rgya-brda-rtsa are listed by rTse-le sNa-tshogs-rang-grol (b. 1608) as two of many cycles of the Mahāmudrā teachings in the *Phyag rgya gsal byed* (p. 500.3–4): *lam zab phyag chen gyi rigs gyur la | lhan cig skyes sbyor | yi ge bzhi pa | ganggā ma | yi ge med pa | brda rtsa dang sgrub snying gi skor* |. Cyrus Stearns points out that the symbolic cycle of Mahāmudrā (*phyag rgya chen po'i brda'i skor*), that is connected with Pha-dam-pa-sangs-rygas (b. 11 century), was received by Thang-stong-rgyal-po (1385–1464 or 1361–1485), see STEARNS 2007: note. 462 on 511.

³ As pointed out by Higgins, the cycle of Non-mentation refers to a cycle of texts, which are related to Saraha's Doha, attributed to his commentator Maitrīpa (986–1063). For a translation of a collection of texts on the Non-mentation by Maitrīpa and Chos-grags-rgya-mtsho, see MATHES 2015: 41–318.

⁴ In an anthology called *Saraha'i rdo rje gsungs*, a text titled *gSung gi mdzod 'jam dbyangs rdo rje'i glu* (vol. 1, pp. 123–138) is included.

⁵ Khru-s-khang Lo-tṣā-ba bSod-nams-rgya-mtsho was the student of 'Gos Lo-tṣā-ba gZhon-nu-dpal. More information about him, see BDRC-P208. The Seven Maṇḍalas of rNgog is a kind of rituals and explanations regarding the Seven Maṇḍalas transmitted by rNgo-ston Chos-sku-rdo-rje (1036–1097) from Mar-pa Lo-tṣā-ba Chos-kyi-blo-gros (b. 11 century). For more information about the Seven Maṇḍalas of the rNgog tradition, see BDRC-T1461

⁶ Chag-lo Rin-chen-chos-rgyal took the chair of the sTe'u-ra Monastery from 1460 to at least 1476, see the *Deb ther sngon po* (p. 1233.2–4, for the translation, see ROERICH 1996: 1060). Here the sTe'u-ra-ba should refer to the tradition or teachings of the sTe'u-ra Monastery (also written as rTi'u-ra, sTe'u-ra, lTe'u-ra, or lDe'u-ra) that is one of the six monasteries (*gnyal sde drug*) in the gNyal valley in Lho-kha.

⁷ gTsang-smyon very possibly refers to gTsang-smyon Heruka who was known as a biographer and compiler of the life of Mi-la-ras-pa and his songs. For a translation of the biography, see QUINTMAN 2010. For a study of gTsang-smyon-heruka's life and works, see LARSSON 2012.

From bSam-gtan-gling-pa [he received] many [teachings such as] his own Atiyoga, *Sa skya bka' bum* and *Lam 'bras*.¹ From rGyal-dbang-chos-rje Kun-dga'-dpal-'byor-pa (1428–1476) [he obtained] all [the teachings related to] the 'Brug-pa-[bKa'-brgyud] tradition.²

From Shangs-'ba'-ra Nam-mkha'-rgyal-mtshan-pa (1475–1530), [he received] the upper 'Brug [tradition] and all the teachings of 'Ba'-ra.³ From 'Jag-pa, [he received] the cycle of teachings [of] Shangs-pa-bka'-brgyud.⁴ From sKu-drung Nyi-zla-ba, [he received] the cycle of teachings of Kun-skyong-gling-pa (1396–1477).⁵ In Ngor [he] received the [teachings of] Lam-'bras and many initiations from Chos-rje 'Dren-mchog.⁶ [He received the teachings of] Yoga and the most teachings of the Zhwa-lu [tradition] from Zhwa-lu-pa dKon-mchog-bzang-po. From Chos-rje-byang-chen-pa, [he] received the cycle of teachings of the sNar-thang [monastery], such as the instruction on Madhyamaka [that] was transmitted from mChims.⁷ In gTam-shul [he] received many teachings of Nyang-lugs from those [who were] the descendants and students of the lord.⁸ In gNas-rnying bSam-gtam-sgang-pa [he] received a lot of

¹ bSam-gtan-gling-pa probably refers to bSam-gtan-bde-chen-gling-pa (b. 15/16th century). For his biography, see fn.4, p. 103

² Gyal-dbang-chos-rje Kun-dga'-dpal-'byor-pa was also known as rGyal-dbang-'brug pa II or 'Brug-chen II of the 'Brug-pa-bka'-brgyud lineage. He was the teacher of the aforementioned gTsang-myon Heruka.

³ Nam-mkha'-rgya-mtshan was a master of the 'Ba'-ra-dkar-brgyud, a sub-sect of 'Brug-pa-bka'-brgyud. His biography is included in the *'Ba' ra bka' brgyud gser 'prheng* (vol. 2, pp. 394–521). More information about him, see BDRC-P6188. The main seat of 'Ba'-ra-bka'-brgyud was the 'Ba'-ra-brag-dkar Monastery in the Shangs valley founded by 'Ba'-ra-ba rGyal-mtshan-dpal-bzang (1310–1391).

⁴ The 'Ja-pa could either refer to the throne holder of 'Jag-pa that is a sub-sect of Shangs-pa-bka'-brgyud school or a master in this school who has 'jag pa in his name. For a brief introduction to the 'Jag-pa sect, see SMITH 2001: 54–55.

⁵ Kun-skyong-gling-pa was a treasure revealer of the rNying-ma school and the teacher of the aforementioned 'Gos Lo-tsa'-ba gZhon-nu-dpal and Khrus-khang Lo-tsa'-ba. More information about him, see BDRC-Pro646.

⁶ Only from the name Chos-rje 'Dren-mchog, the following two could fit the time of gSang-sngags-rdo-rje. First is 'Dren-mchog dKon-mchog-'phel (1445–1514) who was the student of Ngor-chen Kun-dga'-bzang-po (1382–1456) and serves as the seventh Ngor abbot from 1486–1513, see HEIMBEL 2014: 451. Second is bCo-brgyad-khri-chen VI 'Dren-mchog-mchog-legs-rdo-rje (b. sixteenth century), who has transmitted the Lam-'bras teachings. In the *Sākya mchog ldan rnam thar* (p. 92.5), Chos-rje-'dren-mchog is recorded to have lived in the Ngor Monastery.

⁷ The sNar-thang monastery is a bKa'-gdams-pa monastery located near bKra-shis-lhun-po. The mChims who have transmitted the instructions related to Mādhyamaka, which belong to sNar-thang tradition, could be mChims Nam-mkha'-grags-pa (1210–1285) or mChims Blo-bzang-grags-pa (1299–1375). They were the seventh and twelfth abbot of the sNar-thang monastery and are said to be in transmission of Madhyamaka teachings. For their short biographies, see the *sNar thang lo rgyus* (pp. 31–32 and 36–37).

⁸ gTam-shul is a valley located in the east of lHo-brag. gNyang-lugs could be the tradition of the Mind Section of rDzogs-chen originated from Nyang mChog-rab-gzhon-nu. It could also refer to the treasure cycles attributed

[teachings] such as the treasure teachings of Chos-dbang-rin-po-che [i. e. Guru-chos-dbang] and so forth. In brief, there were no such teachings spread in Tibet [that he] had not received. However, I cannot express [everything here].

Thereafter [gSang-sngags-rdo-rje] went to the presence of Zhwa-lu Lo-tsā-ba (1441–1527/8) in the Gra-thang [Monastery].¹ As Zhwa-lu Lo-tsā-ba said: “[Do you want to] study the Sanskrit grammar or receive the instructions of Five Stages (*pañcakrama*; *rim lnga*) of *Guhyasamāja*?” [He] requested the Five Stages.² As a result [he] saw different colours of five winds. After having practiced dream yoga [he] went to many pure lands and saw the intermediate state [between death and rebirth] without obstructions.³ [He] had many qualities such as possessing the higher perception of knowing the happiness and suffering of those disciples and patrons [whose] vows were pure. Because he told some [good qualities he has obtained], all the local people respected [him] and made extensive offerings [to him].

There were many requests for permanent *samaya*, thus [gSang-sngags-rdo-rje] fed up with the distraction. [He] considered practicing Buddhahood for the whole life, then stayed away from worldly affairs. Thus [he] ran away to Mon-yul and relied on meagre subsistence. [He made] practice as equal to life. He promised to bestow the religious gift generously if a disciple [who is] suitable vessel would appear.

In mKhar-chu he practiced for seven years.⁴ Zhwa-lu Lo-tsā-ba had some hindrances of lifespan at the age of sixty one. Rematī prophesied: “If you recite [and] practice Phur-pa, later [you] would enjoy the age [of] ninety one by postponing thirty years.”⁵ Next morning

to Nyang-ral Nyi-ma-'od-zer such as Nyang-lugs-srid-pa-gter-khyim, Nyang-gter-smin-gling-lugs-khros-ma-nag-mo, and so forth.

¹ Zhwa-lu Lo-tsā-ba, an important figure in the transmission of grammar and literary, took the position of abbot of Zhwa-lu monastery from 1514–1524. For a brief resume of his life based mainly on the biography written by his disciple Rin-chen-bkra-shis (b. 15th century), see SCHAEFFER 2009: 44–50. More information about Zhwa-lu Lo-tsā-ba, see BDRG-P856. The Gra-thang Monastery, founded by Grags-pa-mngon-shes, is on the southern bank of gTsang-po river in Lho-kha. Zhwa-lu Lo-tsā-ba became the abbot of Gra-thang monastery in 1495.

² The *Pañcakrama* was a commentary on the completion stage (*sampannakrama*; *rdzogs rim*) of the *Guhyasamāja* and is attributed to the Tantric Nāgārjuna.

³ Here “after having practiced dream yoga” is based on the reading *mnal lam bzung nas* that literally means “after having a dream.”

⁴ The mKhar-chu probably referst to the mKhar-chu monastery, located in Lho-brag near the present border between China and Bhutan. It was founded by a 'Brug-pa-bka'-brgyud scholar called Lo-ras-pa (1187–1250). More information about the monastery, see BDRG-G4195.

⁵ The reading I translated as “postponing” is *phyir nur* that, however, has not been testified to mean “postpone” or “delay.” However, the context needs a verb meaning “prolong” or “postpone.” I assume that *phyir nur* could

[gSang-sngags-rdo-rje] himself built a *maṇḍala* and remained in practice for nine months. When sparks emitted from the mouth of the recitation *phur pa* implement, he thought: “If I have an enemy, [I] could liberate [it]. But there is no enemy.” Moreover, [Zhwa-lu Lo-tsā-ba] begged the rich people in sGu-chul [for] alms. Due to not returning the entrusted barley,¹ [the rich people] poisoned the teacher and created calumnies [between the teacher] and all [his] patrons. [gSang-sngags-rdo-rje] bore this in mind then there was *phur pa* [implement] beating, fire blazing, and blue smoke rising. At this time [he] thought: “Has the lifespan of my teacher been extended? Phur-pa has been accomplished.”

[gSang-sngags-rdo-rje] made a feast offering [using] a piece of dry soup pork [he] had. [He] devoted ritual cakes completely [to the feast offering] and checked [his] dream. [He] dreamt [that] many horsewomen on one occasion were supposedly from within the *maṇḍala*, on another occasion were supposedly from the meditation house carrying [a] white wooden *phur pa* [implement] and a lot of bellies, thereafter people from sGu-chul went to [their] native place then many blood flowed out from [their] bellies. Then [he] dreamt [that he] went to the presence of Zhwa-lu Lo-tsā-ba without any offering however when [he] searched [his] shoulder, thirty-one fresh cherry plums (*harītakī; a rū ra*) appeared. [He] offered [those] to his teacher [who] was so pleased that received [them]. [The teacher] gave back one [to him] and he put [it] in his own mouth. When [he] woke up, the lifespan of [his] teacher was extended. He thought like [this]: “[My teacher] gave me one [cherry plum]. Therefore, his life would reduce [by] one year.” Later [it] happened just like this. [Zhwa-lu Lo-tsā-ba] lived to ninety years.²

[gSang-sngags-rdo-rje] said: “Then within about one month diarrhoea spread among the people from sGu-chul. All those [who] were malicious to us died. The village [of] the rich people [who] poisoned [the teacher] became empty. This Phur-pa extended the lifespan of my master, [but] almost sent me to the lower realms.³ Thereafter [I] remove the obscurations every year through peaceful and wrathful deities, Nine Uṣṇīṣa (*gtsug dgu*),⁴ Akṣobhya (*mi*

be a variant or scribal error of the verb *phyir nud* or *phyir bsnur*.

¹ The phrase “due to not returning the entrusted barley” is translated from *nas bcol ba ma sprad pa'i khar*.

² Here the text does not mention explicitly who lived to ninety years. According to the context, it is more reasonable to be Zhwa-lu Lo-tsā-ba, because in the end of this section, gSang-sngags-rdo-rje is said to have lived for more than two hundred years. However, Zhwa-lu Lo-tsā-ba is commonly considered to have lived for eighty six or eighty seven years, see fn. 1, p. 260.

³ Though the verb *skyur*, meaning to send, is the present tense, here it refers to an action that has happened.

⁴ The gTsug-dgu refers to the practice or ritual regarding the *maṇḍala* of Nine Uṣṇīṣa deities (*gtsug tor dgu pa'i*

'khrugs pa),¹ All-knowing (*kun rig*),² and gTsug-tor-dri-med (*vimaloṣṇīṣa*).³ Moreover, [I] stayed in solitary meditation for five years. Around fifty big and small people died, did not they? If so, [this is going to be a] big fault.”

In general [it is] difficult for sentient beings [to] understand the knowledge, discipline, and nobility of the teacher [gSang-sngags-rdo-rje], [his] tradition of attaining *siddhis*, [his] way of listening, pondering, and meditation quickly, and so forth. [I] was not able to express even part of [his] qualities. He did not permit the request of writing a brief biography. [He] realized through clairvoyance there was someone making notes secretly and said: “Bring [them to me]!” [The person] presented [them] before [him], then [he] said: “You are of great devotion. People of degenerate age are satisfied with the tradition of collecting bad deeds. Based on me, do not cause [people] to accumulate more bad deeds. If the miserable ones generate non-devotion, [they] might be born in hell. Do not tell anybody I have any qualities.” After having said [this], he burnt the notes. Because [he] was very strict with [his] order, there was nothing to be said.

Later, on the brink of death, [gSang-sngags-rdo-rje] said: “I will run far away from this year’s smallpox.” Sometimes [he] disappeared without [a] trace. Moreover, then rain of flowers, rainbows [in] the sky, and earthquake appeared one after another for seven days.⁴ Based on the signs such as big sound spread widely in the east, a few disciples and the sponsors [who] had Dharma experiences said: “Is [he] going to heaven without abandoning [his] body?” Thus when [people] asked: “How many years will this great teacher live?” [He] said to everyone: “Have [I] not reached around eighty-five? Now having become old, [I] have forgotten [my age] and [certainty] is not there.” [He] received teachings in the presence of Gong-ma-grags-'byung, rJe 'Gos-lo [gZhon-nu-dpal], dMar-ston, and so forth, [then he] was

dkyil 'khor or *gtsug dgu'i dkyil 'khor*), also known as the *maṇḍala* of Śākyasiṃha. The gTsug-dgu could also be the abbreviation of gTsug-tor-rnam-rgyal-lha-dgu that is an assembly of nine deities of longevity.

¹ Akṣobhya is included the *vajra* family of the Five Buddha Families in Tantric Buddhism, who lives in the realm of joy (*abhirati*; *mngon par dga'ba*) in the east.

² Kun-rig is a shortened form of Kun-rig-rnam-par-sngang-mdzad (Sarvavid-vairocana), which is included the *buddha* family of the Five Buddha Families, staying in the center and is considered as the Primordial Buddha (*ādibuddha*); *dang po'i sangs rgyas*.

³ The *dhāraṇīs* related to gTsug-tor-dri-med and gTsug-tor-rnam-rgyal (*uṣṇīṣavijayā*) are included in the Five Great Dhāraṇīs (*gzungs chen sde lnga*).

⁴ If we choose the variant of the phrase *yang nyi ma bdun* (for seven days), which is *dang nyi ma bdun*, the translation would be “And then rain of flowers, rainbows [in] the sky, earthquake, and seven suns appeared one after another.”

on the same level with [them].¹ He probably lived in human realm for more than two hundred years. [His] other good qualities were indescribable.²

However, it is improper [that] there is no history of the transmission of Phur-pa [that is about] the way to attain accomplishments relying on rDo-rje-phur-pa. To write a bit [history of the transmission of Phur-pa], the glorious teacher rDo-rje-'dzin-rgyal together with the assembly of *ḍākinīs* gave [me] the permission. I pray [that they] empower [me] so that [my act of writing this history] does not be an obstacle to my path and *siddhis*.

10.25 Eulogy

The manners were innumerable,
 [that] *vidyādhāras* and *siddhas* appeared successively in India, Nepal, and
 Tibet,
 [who] have entered the door of the supreme Phur-pa deity as such.
 I do not have the confidence [of being] intelligent,
 to be able to expound the history precisely as [what] has occurred.
 Nonetheless, if [I] do not put into writing clearly, what I have heard like that,
 let alone understanding Tantric texts today.
 Just accounts [which] resounded in ears will vanish.
 After having saved [them] from disappearing, [I] wrote with virtuous thoughts.
 If [I] make mistakes, I would ask teachers and deities for forgiveness.
 Ah! The precious Buddha's teachings,
 flourished extensively in Tibet in the past.
 People [who] were doctrine-holders,
 authentic scholars, *siddhas*, and [who] made practice,
 were inconceivable and like stars at dawn nowadays.

¹ Here “on the same level with” is translated from the phrase *dang thog mtshungs pa*. If following its variant *dang | thog mtshungs pa*, this sentence can be rendered as “When [he] received teachings in the presence of Gong-ma-grags-'byung, rJe 'Gos-lo, dMar-ston, and so forth, [his fame] was equal to the thunder.” In this case, I applied the subject “his fame” and rendered the term *thog* as “thunder.”

² From this biography of gSang-sngags-rdo-rje, we can see he was in contemporary with 'Gos Lo-tṣā-ba gZhon-nu-dpal (1392–1481), 'Bri-gung-chos-rje Kun-dga'-rin-chen (1475–1527), and Ratna-gling-pa (1403–1478). He also witnessed the death of 'Bri-gung-chos-rje Kun-dga'-rin-chen. Thus we could date from the mid-late fifteenth century to the first half of the sixteenth century.

All those [who] benefited the doctrines have passed away.
If those [who] wish to hold the *mantra*,
cannot learn the way [of] getting food [such as] the temporary needs,
let alone practice the extensive Tantric commentaries.
[Those who] happen to bear just names and symbols of [practitioners],
have no mind [that can] remove doubt through study and contemplation.
[Those people] are bereft of desires of completing the recitation and meditation.
After having seen the arrogant people like a stupefied owl,
pretending to be good, one can be particularly sad.
Outside is decorated by good garments.
Inside is not different from layperson's thought.
The doctrine-holders [who] are at variance with doctrine and the benefit of
sentient beings,
one can be very sad when see [them] like this.
From smiling lips [they] say "[we are] propagating the doctrines."
[They] close [their] eyes and open [their] mouth saying: "oh compassion to
sentient beings."
From heart [they] only made service in practice for themselves.
[They] delay the activities for doctrines and sentient beings, which is sad.
What is the purpose of food and wealth served by many people?
If there are no studies [about which] one is not ashamed of in their own mind
[and] practices [for which] signs [of accomplishments on] the paths have
appeared,
has one not deceived oneself?
I, under the influence of the *māra* of the Kāmadeva (*'dod pa'i lha*),
move around day and night without leisure like a Bon-po [doing] village rituals.
[My] mind-continuum is suppressed by defilement because of the heap of
property,
let alone any new qualities arise [in me].
[I] happened to forgot even the mere refuge-taking [that I] have learned earlier.
[I] have been controlled [by] freedom and favorable conditions, [which are]
meaningless, and distractions.
Such things will not help sentient beings.

Now [I] wish to fulfill the wishes of myself and others in the hermitage.
In this way, on account [of during] the time of the degeneration [of] the outer world and inner sentient beings,
the doctrines [of] Buddha, [and] the well-being and happiness of sentient beings have diminished.
As [I] think again and again about all the conducts of myself and others,
[I] feel sad deeply.
Now thinking and pointing out the faults of others is very unwholesome.
Taking out one's own fault is the conduct of the wise person.
Because the means of being kind to oneself,
[is] not saying [this is] good or bad or not [by the way] of consensus.
Through entering the path of striving for study, contemplation, and meditation,
[I] wish to become independent before too long.
This pseudo-altruism [that] undermines one's own benefits,
has previously carried out numerous fruitless activities.
Now [I] will not put effort to wash the coal.
If there are suitable [beings], I wish to benefit them.
Striving for benefiting beings in *samsāra* for a long time,
especially restoring the degenerated sacred doctrines,
these manners are the conduct of the Buddha-sons.
Therefore [I] wish to spread the teachings as much as I can.
Thus [I] also wish in this life time and continuous [life time],
[I am] able to show clearly without cessation,
all ocean-like Sūtras, Tantric scriptures, and oral instructions,
particularly the treatise of rDo-rje-phur-pa [that is] the excellent path.
Nonetheless, if the behavior of inferior people such as me,
cannot cause the vast proper path to appear,
henceforth on account of the compassion of the victorious ones,
may all sentient beings be the recipient of Tantric teachings.
May all perfect the extensive study.
May [they] achieve *siddhis* after having practiced [what] has been cognized through contemplation.

May [they] realize the four *vidyādhāras* in sequence.
May [they] become equal to the protector Padma rGyal-po.
May the countless benevolent sentient beings [who] happen to become mothers,
be happy like in the perfect *kalpa*,
after all the contradiction and degeneration are completely pacified,
[which] come from the combination of *karma* and time.
May the sunlight [of] the teachings of rDo-rje-phur-pa,
remove all the darkness [that is] the enemy of teachings.
May all the hindrances of teachings be pacified,
[which] come from the practice of demons [in] *saṃsāra*.
May the holy Dharma flourish without decline as long as *saṃsāra* lasts,
[just as] the hot fire from the horse head does not cease,
like the stream of Gangā and the flow of Pakṣu.
The basis of Buddha's doctrine is *saṃgha*.
Moreover, depending on the dominant cause,
may any benefactor [who] worships the teachings,
live long without disease [and] be well and happy.
Exemplified by these, as long as I [achieve] Buddhahood,
whatever wholesome virtues [I] happen to achieve,
[which] are as clear as glass and white-lotus-like moon,
with these, may the sentient beings accomplish Phur-pa!

10.26 Colophon

The history of how the teaching of the glorious rDo-rje-phur-pa arose, namely waves of the marvelous ocean, has been composed completely by the Śākya monk named Nam-mkhar-spyod-pa in the time of the first full-moon of the second month in the female earth-bird year as a memorandum for those whose fortune is equal to that of mine.¹ May the teaching of Victorious one spread in all spaces and at all times and may the sentient beings at all times enjoy

¹ The date is twentieth March 1609.

the glory that is characterized by excellent well-being and happiness by this! May virtuous goodness flourish!

Chapter II

Critical Edition

§1 Homage

dpal rdo rje^[1] phur pa'i lo rgyus chos kyi 'byung gnas¹ ngo mtshar rgya mtsho'i rba rlabs zhes
bya ba bzhugs so² ||

<A112> <B210><C8.4><E162><F137> dpal rdo rje^[2] phur pa'i lo rgyus ngo mtshar rgya mtsho'i rba rlabs zhes
5 bya ba ^[3]bla ma dang dpal rdo rje^[4] gzhon nu la phyag 'tshal lo ||

rig³ 'dzin bla ma rgyal ba sras dang bcas ||
yi dam lha dang mkha' 'gro^[5] rgya mtsho la ||
bdag yid gus pas⁴rtag par phyag bgyis⁵ te ||
yang gsang chos kyi gtam rgyud bsgrag⁶ par bya ||

10 §2 The Flourish of the rDo-rje-phur-pa Scriptures in the Celestial World

de la ston pa phun sum tshogs pa dang po'i sangs rgyas^[6] kun tu bzang 'C9' pos ||7 dus phun
sum⁸ tshogs pa dus bzhi⁹ mnyam pa nyid kyi dus ^[7]gnas phun sum tshogs pa 'og min chos kyi

¹ lo rgyus chos kyi 'byung gnas] ABE, lo rgyus chos kyi byung tshul C, chos kyi byung tshul lo rgyus D, lo rgyus
| chos kyi byung tshul | lo rgyus F ² ba bzhugs so] ABCDF, ba'i dbu phyogs lags so E ³ rig] CDEF, rigs AB
⁴ pas] BCDEF, par A ⁵ bgyis] BCDEF, bgyid A ⁶ rgyud bsgrag] *emend.*, rgyud bsgrags A, rgyus bsgrag C,
brgyus bsgrags E, brgyus (rgyud) bsgrags D, rgyus bsgrags BF ⁷ pos ||] BCDE, po || A, po'i | F ⁸ phun sum]
ABCDE, phun F ⁹ bzhi] BCDEF, gzhi A

dbyings kyi zhing khams su^[8] | skye med ^{⟨B211⟩} mtha' bral chen po'i dgongs pa las^[9] ma g.yos^t
 bzhin du | 'gags med² cho 'phrul bdag nyid rtsa ba'i dkyil 'khor rdo rje^[10] gzhon nu yab yum^[11]
 du³ ^{⟨A113⟩} skur⁴ bzhengs te^[12] thabs shes rab^[13] gnyis su^[14] med par sbyor ba las | 'khor phun
 sum tshogs pa phyogs bcu'i khro bo phra' thabs dang^[15] phur pa sras kyi dkyil 'khor^[16] mngon
 5 par sprul nas | chos phun sum^[17] tshogs pa bidyotta ma⁶ la 'bum sde ^{⟨E163⟩} la sogs pa 'phrin las^[18]
 phur pa'i rgyud mtha' dag gsungs so^[19] || rgyud de dag kyang^[20] ston pa nyid dang | rdo rje^[21]
 sems dpa' dang | phyag na rdo rje^[22] dang | mkha' 'gro^[23] ^{⟨B212⟩} ma dang | bram ^{⟨F138⟩} ze mi'i thod
 pa can la sogs pas yang dag par bsdus so || ci 'khor gyis bsdus pa nyid rigs kyi⁷ | ston pa nyid
 kysis bsdus pa mi 'thad do^[24] snyam na | de ni 'di skad bdag gis bshad pa'i dus gci^[25] na | zhes
 10 pa⁸ dang | gsang 'dus kyi 'grel pa⁹ las | {slob dpon¹⁰ mtsho skyes rdo rje^[26] mdzad pa'i gsang ba grub pa las }¹¹

slob dpon^[27] kha cig 'di skad du ||
 dpal ldan^[28] 'dus pa mdangs can gyi¹² ||
 rgyud ^{⟨C10⟩} kyi sdud¹³ par byed pa po ||
 dpa'¹⁴ bo 'jig rten^[29] dbang phyug zer ||
 15 bla ma'i zhal¹⁵ gyi bka' drin^[30] gyis ||
 dpal ldan^[31] 'dus ^{⟨A114⟩} pa'i sdud¹⁶ pa po ||
 gzhan dag yod pa ma yin zhes ||
 bdag nyid 'ba' zhig smra bar byed ||
 rgyud mdzad po¹⁷ ni thugs rdo rje^[32] ||

20 zhes rgya 'grel¹⁸ las 'byung bas gsal ba yin no || de nas mkha' 'gro^[33] ma ^{⟨B213⟩} ^{⟨E164⟩} dang mi'i yul
 du rim gyis dar ba yin te | ston pa kun tu bzang pos^[34] rgyal ba rigs lnga dang | rdo rje^[35] gzhon
 nu dang | lag na rdo rje^[36] dang | de dag gis¹⁹ rgyal ba rigs bzhi²⁰ | de dag ^{⟨D2⟩} la²¹ slob dpon^[37]

¹ g.yos] ABCDE, bcos E ² du | 'gags med] A, du | 'gag med BDE, du 'gag med kyi CF ³ du] ABCDE, kyi F
⁴ skur] DF, sku ABCE ⁵ khro bo phra] ADEF, khrau (*skung yig*) phra B, khro bo khra C ⁶ bidyotta ma] C,
 byi to ta ma ABDEF ⁷ pa nyid rigs kyi] BDE, pa nyid rigs kysis A, par rigs kyi CF ⁸ zhes pa] CF, ces pa ABDE
⁹ 'grel pa] ACDF, 'brel ba BE ¹⁰ slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun B ¹¹ Note: The placement of this annotation varies in
 all the versions. In A it is below the last line without any mark or connected line. In B it is in the next line but
 under and connected to gsang 'dus kyi 'grel pa las with a dotted line. In C it is right after gsang 'dus kyi 'grel pa las
 and connected to it with a dotted line. In D it is in a round bracket between gsang 'dus kyi 'grel and pa las. In E
 it is right after dus kyi. In F it is right after zhes pa dang and connected to it with a vague dotted line. ¹² gyi]
 D, gyis ABCEF ¹³ sdud] ACDF, bsdud BE ¹⁴ dpa'] ABCDF, dpal E ¹⁵ zhal] ACF, zhabs BDE ¹⁶ sdud]
 ACDF, bsdud BE ¹⁷ po] ACEF, pa po BD ¹⁸ 'grel] ACDF, 'brel BE ¹⁹ gis] CF, ni BDE, gi A ²⁰ rgyal ba
 rigs bzhi] ACF, rgyal rigs bzhi BDE ²¹ la] ABDE, las CF

padma 'byung gnas kyis gsan no ||

yang rdo rje^[38] sems dpa' ^[39] des dga' rab rdo rje^[40] la bshad | des sangs rgyas^[41] rnam
par^[42] gzigs kyī sprul pa bzhad pa'i rdo rje^[43] la bshad | ² des rgyal po ^{<F139>} u ru sha³ ne la bshad
| ⁴ des klu'i bu mo rgya mtsho ma' la | des rgyal po indra⁶ bhu ti la | des slob dpon^[44] dhana
5 sang tri ta⁷ | dha na u pa ya | blo ldan mchog sred⁸ gsum la bshad | dha na sang tri tas⁹ | slob
dpon^[45] padma¹⁰ 'byung gnas dang ||^[46] bi ma la mi tra | bal po¹¹ shī la^[47] manydzu gsum la
bshad do ||^[48]

yang rdo rje^[49] sems dpas^[50] rgyal po dza la glegs bam¹² gyi ^{<B214>} char dngos grub tu^[51]
phab pa las brgyud pa yang yod de^[52] | ^{<C11>} ji skad du ||^[53]

10 nga ni 'di nas mi snang nas¹³ ||^[54]
lo ni brgya¹⁴ dang bcu gnyis^[55] na¹⁵ ||^[56]
thugs rje¹⁶ mthun pa'i byin rlabs¹⁷ kyis ||
rgyal po dza¹⁸ zhes bya ba la ||
po ti glegs bam¹⁹ snang bar byed ||^[57]

15 ces^[58] gsungs pa^[59] ltar | ^{<A115>} rgyal po dza | ²⁰ lha lcam go ma de wī²¹ | rgyal bu sha kra²² pu ri
nas^[60] rim par brgyud de^[61] rgya bal bod gsum du²³ dar ro ||

yang kun tu bzang pos rdo rje^[62] gzhon nu la | des bram ze mi thod can²⁴ | des mkha'
'gro^[63] ma ^{<E165>} las kyī dbang mo che la gtad | des^[64] mchod rten bde byed brtsegs²⁵ par gter du
sbas ||^[65] de shrī singhas^[66] bton | ²⁶ des za hor gyi mkhan po pra bha ha sti | ²⁷ des lha²⁸ lcam u
20 pa dā na²⁹ | des slob dpon^[67] padma 'byung gnas la brgyud do³⁰ ^{<F140>} zhes grags so^[68] || brgyud
tshul gzhan yang mang du yod mod kyī | 'dir ni bdag cag lta bu^[69] mthong ba chung ba dag³¹
gis ji ltar^[70] thos pa nyid bris pa tsam mo ||

¹ kyī] ACDF, kyis B ² From “des sangs rgyas” to “rdo rje la bshad,” *om.* E ³ sha] BCDEF, shan A ⁴ la bshad
|] C, la bshad || F, la | ABDE ⁵ rgya mtsho ma] ACF, rgya mtsho BDE ⁶ indra] ABCDE, in dra F ⁷ sang tri
ta] ABDE, saṃ kri ta F, saṃskṛ ta C ⁸ sred] ABCDF, srid E ⁹ sang tri tas] ABDE, saṃ kri tas F, saṃskṛ tas C
¹⁰ padma] ABCD, pad ma F ¹¹ po] ABCDE, *ins.* F ¹² dza la glegs bam] ADEF, dzaḥ la glegs bam C, dza la
gleg bam B ¹³ nas] ABCDE, na F ¹⁴ brgya] ABDE, brgyad CF ¹⁵ na] ABCDE, nas F ¹⁶ rje] BCDEF, rjes
A ¹⁷ rlabs] ACDF, brlabs BE ¹⁸ dza] ABDE, dzaḥ CF ¹⁹ po ti glegs bam] C, po sti glegs bam F, spo ti glegs
bam ADE, spo sti gleg bam B ²⁰ dza || A, dzaḥ CF, dza BDE ²¹ de wī] ABDE, de wi CF ²² kra] ABCDE,
bkra F ²³ gsum du] ACF, du BDE ²⁴ mi thod can] ABDE, mi'i thod pa can CF ²⁵ brtsegs] ACDF, rtsegs
BE ²⁶ bton || CEF, thon | AD thon || B ²⁷ bha ha sti || D, bha hasti | F, hasti | CE, ha ti | A, ha ti || B ²⁸
lha] ABCDE, a F ²⁹ u pa dā na] ABDE, u ma dā na C, u pa da na F ³⁰ brgyud do] A, rgyud do || CF, brgyud
DE, *obs.* B ³¹ dag] ABCDE, bdag F

§3 Padmasambhava Disseminated the rDo-rje-phur-pa Teachings

da ni sangs rgyas^[71] gnyis pa mi yul du byon pa |^[72] slob dpon^[73] padma 'byung gnas zhes bya
ba 'di'i sku che ba'i tshul¹ mdo tsam smos na | 'jam dpal sgyu² 'phrul drwa³ ba las |

5 dpal ldan^[74] sangs rgyas^[75] padma skyes ||
kun mkhyen ye shes^[76] mdzod 'dzin pa || ^{<B215>}
rgyal po sgyu 'phrul sna tshogs 'chang ||
che ba sangs ^{<C12>} rgyas^[77] rig⁴ sngags rgyal ||

zhes gsungs⁵ pas |^[78] brjod bya bshad thabs phyogs gcig gis^[79] chos dang gang zag gnyis ka^[80]
10 lung bstan pa ltar du^[81] spyir slob dpon chen po^[82] 'di padma las⁶ brdzus⁷ te^[83] skyes pa yin
na yang |^[84] 'phrin^[85] las phur pa'i chos 'di spel ba'i^[86] slad du mngal du skye ba⁸ bzung bar^[87]
mdzad pa yin te | de'i rgyu mtshan mngal skyes kyi sems can^[88] rnam brdzus⁹ skyes kyis¹⁰ mi
thul bas | ^{<A116>} sangs rgyas^[89] rnam ^{<E166>} kyang mngal 'dzin pa'i tshul ston dgos pa'i phyir¹¹ |
slob dpon^[90] gyis kyang mngal du zhugs pa'i tshul bstan pas | rgya bod gnyis su^[91] slob dpon^[92]
15 gyi chos gzhan pas^[93] phur pa dar che¹² zhing^[94] 'di'i sgo nas grol ba thob pa dang |^[95] ^{<F141>} grub
pa brnyes pa byon pa'i rnam grangs brjod kyis¹³ mi lang ba'i¹⁴ rgyu mtshan de yin no ||

§4 The Early Life of Padmasambhava

§4.1 Killed the Prince with a Pebble

de yang o rgyan^[96] gyi yul na srid skyong ba'i^[97] rgyal po ma nu si ta bya ba'i bu^[98] dā na rakṣi
20 ta¹⁵ zhes kyang bya | shānta¹⁶ rakṣi ta bya ba kha dog dkar la dmar ba'i mdangs dang ldan pas
padma'i rigs kyi mtshan dang ldan zhing |^[99] ^{<D3>} sgyu¹⁷ rtsal thams cad^[100] rdzogs pa^[101] mgo
dang rked¹⁸ ^{<B216>} pa rgya mdud |¹⁹ ro stod bcum²⁰ bzhogs |²¹ ro smad zur gsum | kha dang mig

¹ tshul] ADE, yon tan CF, tshal *ins.* B ² sgyu] ACDF, rgyu BE ³ drwa] CDEF, dra AB ⁴ rig] C, rigs ABDEF
⁵ gsungs] BCDEF, gsung A ⁶ las] CF, la ABDE ⁷ brdzus] C, rdzus BDEF, brdzas A ⁸ ba] ABCDE, bar F
⁹ brdzus] AC, rdzus BDEF ¹⁰ kyis] ACDF, kyi BE ¹¹ phyir] BCDEF, ri A ¹² dar che] ABDE, dar rgyas che
CF ¹³ kyis] ACDF, kyi BE ¹⁴ lang ba'i] ACF, langs pa'i BDE ¹⁵ dā na rakṣi ta] ABDE, dhā na rakṣi ta F,
dha na rakṣi ta C ¹⁶ shānta] ABCDE, shanta F ¹⁷ sgyu] ACDF, rgyu BE ¹⁸ rked] ABE, sked CDF ¹⁹ rgya
mdud |] AC, rgya mdud DEF, brgya mdud B ²⁰ bcum] CF, cums ABD, chums E ²¹ bzhogs |] DE, bzhogs ||
B, bzhog A, gzhogs | CF

zla gam ^[I02] skra kham pa ste | mi sdug pa¹ phur pa'i mtshan nyid can zhig skyes so ^[I03]

de² cher skyes pa na ^[I04] yul de'i rgyal po sras ^{<C13>} kyis³ phongs⁴ pa zhig la ^[I05] nam zhig
na⁵ sras gcig byung nas | de skyed⁶ mos tshal du bza' shing gi bsil⁷ grib la bsnyal⁸ ba'i mgo la ^[I06]
sha sbrang zhig⁹ gis za bzhin 'dug pa la ^[I07] dā na rakṣi tas¹⁰ rgyal bu¹¹ shi yis dogs te¹² sor rdo
5 'phangs pas¹³ rde'u dang sha sbrang sbrags te^[I08] klad pa la song¹⁴ nas rgyal bu shi'o ^[I09] 'di la
kha cig blon po'i bu¹⁵ tri shu ^{<E167>} la phog nas bsad zer te | brdzus¹⁶ skyes kyi lo rgyus su de ltar
yin gyi ^[I10] 'dir mi 'thad¹⁷ do ^[I11] de nas mi rnams kyis¹⁸ khyod kyis rgyal bu bsad do byas ^{<F142>}
pas | bdag gis¹⁹ ngan sems kyis ma rgyab²⁰ ^{<A117>} ste^[I12] | rgyal bu'i mgo la sha sbrang gcig gis²¹ za
zhing mchis pas | sha sbrang la 'phangs pas sor rdo dang bcas pa klad par song nas gum mo ^[I22]
10 zhes smras pa dang ^[I23] mi rnams kyis²⁴ bltas pas²⁵ | de ltar²⁶ 'dug pa dang | rgyal khrims gnyan
pas ^[I27] nyes pa rab gsod²⁸ | 'bring spyugs |tha ma lo gsar²⁹ lhags sgang³⁰ la nang³¹ ^{<B217>} ma re la³²
bag phye khal brgya pa re 'jal du 'jug pa las | 'di³³ da res rgyal po'i sras bsad pa yin pas nyes pa
rab tu 'ong ste ^[I13] ngan sems kyis³⁴ ma brgyab pas³⁵ spyug³⁶ par rigs ^[I14] zhes gros 'chams te³⁷
spyugs so ^[I15]

15 der mda' lnga dang gzhu thogs nas rgya gar gyi dur khrod so sa³⁸ gling du ^{<C14>} byon ^[I16]
yo byad gzhan^[I17] ci yang med pas | ro zas 'bras chan^[I18] zas su za zhing³⁹ ro ras⁴⁰ gos su^[I19] gyon
| pho byung tshad btags⁴¹ shing btang | mo byung tshad spyad cing btang bas⁴² dur khrod na
srin po shānta⁴³ rakṣi ta bya ba snang ngo || zhes grong khyer kun tu gleng ngo || de'i tshe yul

¹ sdug pa] AC, sdug D, gdug pa BF, gdug ba E ² de] ABCDE, der F ³ kyis] BCDEF, kyi A ⁴ phongs] ACDF, 'phongs BE ⁵ nam zhig na] BCDEF, nam zhig A ⁶ skyed] ABCDE, bskyed F ⁷ bsil] ACDF, sil BE ⁸ bsnyal] ACD, brnyal BEF ⁹ sbrang zhig] D, sbrang gcig CF, sbrang cig BE, sbrang A ¹⁰ dā na rakṣi tas] D, dā na rakṣi tas | A, dha na rakṣi tas CF, dā rakṣi tas BE ¹¹ bu] BCDEF, po A ¹² shi yis dogs te] C, shi yi dogs pa | F, shi yi dogs | DE, shi yi dogs A, shi yi dgos || B. In B "o" was shifted from "da" to "ga" making it look like "dgos" ¹³ 'phangs pas] CDF, 'phangs pas | A, 'phang pa | BE ¹⁴ klad pa la song] BDEF, klad pa'i nang du song C, klad pa la phog A ¹⁵ bu] ABDEF, dbu la C ¹⁶ brdzus] AC, rdzus BDEF ¹⁷ 'thad] ACDF, thad BE ¹⁸ kyis] C, kyis | BDEF, kyi A ¹⁹ bdag gis] ACDF, bdag gi E, bdagi (*skung yig*) B ²⁰ rgyab] ACF, brgyab BDE ²¹ gcig gis] F, gcig A, cig BCDE ²² gum mo ||] ACEF, gumo (*skung yig*) B, bkums so D ²³ smras pa dang]] ACDF, smras pa | BDE ²⁴ kyis] ABCDF, kyi E ²⁵ pas] ACDF, pa BE ²⁶ de ltar] BCDEF, der A ²⁷ gnyan pas]] C, gnyan pas D, mnyan pas | A, mnyan pas BE, gnyen pas F ²⁸ gsod] CDEF, bsod AB ²⁹ lo gsar] BCDEF, log sar A ³⁰ lhags sgang] DF, lhag sgang ABE, lhags sgong C ³¹ la nang] ACE, la nangs DF, la nang/langnang B ³² re la] ABCDF, re E ³³ 'di] ABDE, 'dis CF ³⁴ ngan sems kyis] ACDF, sems kyi BE ³⁵ brgyab pas] C, brgyab pas | D, rgyab pas AF, rgyab pas | BE ³⁶ spyug] A, spyugs BCDEF ³⁷ 'chams te] BD, 'chams nas E, 'cham ste AC, mcham ste F ³⁸ sa] CDF, sha ABE ³⁹ za zhing] ACF, bza' zhing D, bza' shing BE ⁴⁰ ro ras] ABCD, ro'i F ⁴¹ btags] ABCD, btag F ⁴² btang bas] C, btang bas | AF, btang pas BD, btag bas E ⁴³ shānta] BCDE, shanta A, shan ta F

de'i rgyal po 'thab par dga' ^{<E168>} ba zhes bya ba khros te | 'di ma bsad² na yul kham phung ste
 'gro bas sod cig ces bsgos nas³ dmag bcas te ^[120] ^{<F143>} rgyal po'i bu indra^[121] rā dza dpa' zhing
 brtul bas⁴ lung⁵ pa'i ngogs⁶ dur khrod mdo 'gag dam par dgag tu bcug ^[122] rgyal po dmag dang
 bcas pas ri rong⁷ dur khrod kun tu^[123] bshus pas | shānta rakṣi ta⁸ bros pa dang | dur khrod kyi
 5 ^{<A118>} mdo 'gag na rgyal bu indra^[124] rā dzas dgug (sgug)⁹ pa dang 'phrad de¹⁰ der shānta¹¹ rakṣi
 tas mda' 'phangs pas ^[125] indra^[126] rā dza'i¹² snying ^{<B218>} la phog ste^[127] bsad do ^[128]

§4.2 Life after Escape

de nas¹³ bros te song ba na¹⁴ re zhig na lam du mi gnyis dang 'phrad^[129] nas | khyed gnyis gar
 'gro dris¹⁵ pas ^[130] za hor gyi mkhan po la chos nyan par¹⁶ 'gro zer ^[131] der¹⁷ sngar gyi rang gi
 10 spyod¹⁸ pa la skyo ste grogs dang bsdongs te¹⁹ chos la phyin pas ^[132] lam du slob dpon^[133] shākya
 bo dhi²⁰ dang mjal²¹ nas gsum ka rab tu byung ^[134] dge tshul gyi khrims nos²² te | ming yang
 shākya pra bha | shākya mi tra | shākya seng ge zhes btags²³ | de nas za hor ^{<C15>} du byon²⁴ pas
 | slob dpon^[135] pra hasti²⁵ dang mjal²⁶ ^[136] grogs gnyis ^{<D4>} kyis²⁷ gser gyi²⁸ maṇḍala phul nas
 chos zhus pas^[137] gsum ka²⁹ la yo ga'i dbang rdzogs par bskur ^[138] gsang mtshan las kyi rdo
 15 rje^[139] | chos ^{<E169>} rab rdo rje^[140] | shākya seng ge'i mtshan sems dpa' rdo rje ^[141] zhes btags so
^[142] ta thā saṃ gra³⁰ ^{<F144>} ha'i rgyud³¹ mtshan nyid sde gsum ltar bshad nas tshim mam gsungs
 pas | shākya pra bha³² tshim zer nas song | gnyis pos³³ ma tshim byas pas^[143] sngags phyi pa³⁴
 sde gsum ltar tshar gcig bshad nas tshim mam gsungs³⁵ | shākya mi tra³⁶ tshim zer nas song |
 shākya seng ges³⁷ mi bsad pas yul du 'gro sa med pas ma ^{<B219>} tshim byas pas | slob dpon gyis³⁸
 20 lag mthil du yo ga'i lha rnam gsal bar ^{<A119>} bstan nas | dbang 'di³⁹ la zhu'am^[144] | nga la zhu

¹ de'i] ACDE, *ins.* B ² bsad] ABCD, gsad F ³ bsgos nas] CDF, sgos nas | A, dgos nas BE ⁴ brtul bas] BDE, brtul bas | A, gtum pa la C, gtum pa la | F ⁵ lung] ACDF, lungs BE ⁶ ngogs] ACDEF, ngog B ⁷ rong] ACE, rongs BD, rong | F ⁸ shānta rakṣi ta] D, shānta rakṣi tas BCEF, shanta rakṣi tas A ⁹ dgug (sgug)] D, dgug ABCEF ¹⁰ 'phrad de] CD, 'phrad de | AF, phrad de BE ¹¹ shānta] CDF, shanta AB, shanda E ¹² dza'i] BCDEF, dza A ¹³ de nas] ACDF, des BE ¹⁴ ba na] CF, pa na | ABDE ¹⁵ dris] ABCDE, bris F ¹⁶ par] ABDE, du CF ¹⁷ der] ABCDE, de F ¹⁸ gi spyod] ACDF, gi spyad E, gyi spyod B ¹⁹ bsdongs te] BCDEF, sdongs nas A ²⁰ dhi] ACE, ddhi BDF ²¹ mjal] ACDEF, 'jal B ²² nos] ABE, mnos CDF ²³ btags] BCDEF, grags A ²⁴ byon] ABDE, phyin CF ²⁵ hasti] CF, bha ha ti D, ha ti ABE ²⁶ mjal] ACDEF, 'jal B ²⁷ kyis] ABCDF, kyi E ²⁸ gyi] ACDF, kyis BE ²⁹ ka] C, ga ABDEF ³⁰ saṃ gra] A, saṃ gra BDEF, saṃ ga C ³¹ rgyud] ABCDE, brgyud F ³² bha] ABDEF, bhas C ³³ pos] ABCDF, pas E ³⁴ pa] BCDEF, sa A ³⁵ tshim mam gsungs] CDEF, tshimam (*skung yig*) gsungs pas A, tshim mam gsung B ³⁶ tra] ABDEF, tras C ³⁷ seng ges] BE, sengges D, seng ge ACF ³⁸ slob dpon gyis] ADEF, slaun (*skung yig*) gyis B, slob dpon gyi C ³⁹ dbang 'di] ABDE, 'di CF

gsungs¹ | der slob dpon^[145] la zhu byas pas | slob dpon^[146] na re |

rigs² dbang rig³ pa'i sras yin pas ||^[147]
 rgyal ba'i dkyil 'khor^[148] nga las sprul ||^[149]
 nga ni thugs kyi dkyil 'khor^[150] yin ||^[151]
 5 nga las thams cad 'byung⁴ bas na ||^[152]
 nga yis bstan pa bzhin du nyon ||^[153]

zhes gsungs nas yo ga'i chos' thams cad^[154] rdzogs par bslabs |⁶ de nas gsang ba bla na med pa
 sgyu 'phrul gyi dbang rdzogs par bskur |⁷ | de nas phur pa 'bum sde'i 'C₁₆' chos thams cad^[155]
 rdzogs par bshad pa yin no ||^[156] de nas gnyis su^[157] med pa'i ye shes^[158] rtogs |^[159] tshe la dbang
 10 ba'i rig 'dzin thob |^[160] za 'E₁₇₀' hor rgyal po'i bu mo me tog man dā ra⁸ bya ba bsgrub⁹ byar
 bkug¹⁰ nas | 'F₁₄₅' nub phyogs kyi ri bo¹¹ go ma ha ti sha ga'i¹² brag phug ma¹³ ra ti ka ru bsgrubs
 pas rnam par¹⁴ smin pa'i rig 'dzin thob po ||¹⁵

§4.3 Invitation of the Texts of the rDo-rje-phur-pa Cycle

de nas bsad¹⁶ pas mi 'jigs snyam ste |^[161] rgya gar du byon pas | sngon rgyal bu¹⁷ indra^[162] rā dza
 15 bsad pa'i mi thong po yin par¹⁸ ngo shes nas | rgyal po 'bangs dang bcas pas slob dpon^[163] lha
 lcam dang bcas pa 'B₂₂₀' tsan dan^[164] gyi me la bsregs te |^[165] zhag bdun nas du ba chad pa dang
 bltas pas | mtshe'u'i¹⁹ dbus na padma'i sdong po skyes²⁰ pa la slob dpon^[166] lha lcam gnyis
 bzhugs pa mthongs²¹ nas ngo mtshar te |^[167] nyes pa bshags | mchod gnas su^[168] bzhugs par
 zhus pas ma gnang²² ste |^[169] rgya gar du sangs rgyas^[170] kyi bstan 'A₁₂₀' pa rgyas par gyis shig
 20 ||^[171] de ltar ma byas na khyed cag nyams par 'gyur ro gsungs²³ nas o rgyan^[172] du byon no ||^[173]
 der yang sngon gyi mi²⁴ thong po byung ngo zer nas |^[174] yul gyi mi res shing khur²⁵ re bs-
 dus nas me dpung²⁶ chen po'i dbus su^[175] bsregs²⁷ pas ma tshig ste |^[176] sngar bzhin mtshe'u'i²⁸

¹ gsungs] ACD, gsung BEF ² rigs] CF, rig ABDE ³ rig] ABCDE, rigs F ⁴ thams cad 'byung] ACF, thams cad byung DE, thamd (*skung yig*) byung B ⁵ chos] ABCDE, chas F ⁶ bslabs |] D, bslabs || B, bslab | CE, bslab || F, slabs | A ⁷ bskur |] BCDE, bskur || F, skur A | ⁸ man dā ra] BDE, manda ra CF, mandha ra A ⁹ bsgrub] CF, sgrub ABDE ¹⁰ bkug] CF, bkugs D, dkug ABE ¹¹ ri bo] ABDE, ri CF ¹² sha ga'i] ABCDE, shag gi F ¹³ ma] ABE, mā CDF ¹⁴ bsgrubs pas rnam par] CD, bsgrub pas rnam par F, sgrub pas rnam par A, sgrubs pas rnam par B, sgrubs par rnam pas E ¹⁵ po ||] CD, po | B, bo || EF, bo | A ¹⁶ bsad] ABCDE, gsad F ¹⁷ bu] ABDE, po CF ¹⁸ par] CF, pa ABDE ¹⁹ mtshe'u'i] ABDE, mtshe'i CF ²⁰ skyes] D, gyes ABCEF ²¹ mthongs] ABE, mthong CDF ²² ma gnang] ACF, gnang BDE ²³ ro gsungs] CD, ro gsung A, re gsungs BE ro || gsungs F ²⁴ mi] ABDE, ming CF ²⁵ khur] ACF, khu BE, khu (khur) D ²⁶ dpung] BCDEF, spungs A ²⁷ bsregs] ACDF, sregs BE ²⁸ mtshe'u'i] BDEF, mtshe'ui A, mtsho'i C

dkiyl nas¹ padma'i sdong po skyes pa'i lte² bar bzhugs pa mthong nas | thams cad^[177] ngo mt-shar zhing dad ^{<C17>} pa skyes | sngar gyi nyes pa bshags ^{<F146>} nas | o rgyan^[178] ^{<E171>} gyi yul du chos kyi bstan pa rgyas³ par mdzad do ||^[179] de nas slob dpon^[180] gyi dgongs pa la | skye shi 'khor ba'i chos dang ni bral | mi brjed pa'i gzungs⁴ ni thob | tshe la dbang ba dang | rnam par
 5 smin pa'i rig 'dzin ni brnyes⁵ | da phyag rgya chen po'i rig 'dzin cig bsgrub⁶ dgos par dgongs nas |⁷

bal yul du ^{<D5>} byon te | yang le shod kyi brag phug ^{<B221>} tu yang dag mar me dgu pa'i sgrub pa mdzad pas | yul de'i klu gyong po zhes bya ba dang ^[181] lha 'dre yongs kyis⁸ bar chad byas te | lo gsum du gnam las char ma bab |⁹ sa la rtsi shing nags¹⁰ tshal dang lo thog thams cad
 10 bskams¹¹ | chu bo dang chu bran¹² kun kyang rgyun chad de^[182] dus ngan byung ba'i tshe^[183] slob dpon^[184] kyi¹³ dgongs pa la | 'di ni cis kyang ma lan te^[185] | bdag byang chub sgrub¹⁴ pa la bar du gcod pa zhig go snyam¹⁵ nas | mchod pa bshams te^[186] | lha la gsol ba btab pas | nam mkha'^[187] las sgra byung ste ^[188] bar ^{<A121>} chod¹⁶ 'di gzhan gyis 'dul ba'i thabs med kyis¹⁷ | rgya gar shrī na lendra'i¹⁸ gtsug lag khang nas^[189] rdo rje^[190] phur pa'i rgyud sde spyang drangs shig¹⁹
 15 ces sgra byung ngo ||^[191]

de nas bal po'i mi²⁰ ^{<F147>} gnyis la gser phyed bre²¹ gang bskur nas |²² paṇḍi ta lnga ^{<E172>} brgya la phul ^[192] lo rgyus²³ gsol bas rdo rje^[193] phur pa'i chos skor²⁴ ^{<C18>} 'bum sde tsam zhig²⁵ bzhugs pa'i nang nas | po ti²⁶ mi khur gnyis paṇḍi ta rnams^[194] kyis brdzangs so ^[195] de yang le shod du slebs²⁷ pa tsam gyis lha 'dre'i bar chad rang sar zhi ste^[196] dus kyi 'brug grags²⁸ | glog
 20 'gyus ^[197] char bab ste |²⁹ ^{<B222>} rtsi shing nags³⁰ tshal lo thog³¹ thams cad^[198] phun sum tshogs par gyur to ||³² de tsa na phur pa'i chos 'di bkra shis^[199] shing byin rlabs myur bas^[200] phyogs

¹ nas] ABCEF, na D ² lte] BCDE, lta A, rtsa ba'i lte F ³ rgyas] ACDF, brgyas BE ⁴ gzungs] ACEF, gzung BD ⁵ brnyes] ACDEF, rnyes B ⁶ cig bsgrub] CF, cig sgrub BDE, gcig sgrub A ⁷ dgos par dgongs nas] ABDE, dgos dgongs nas | C, dgos dgongs nas F ⁸ kyis] ACDF, kyi BE ⁹ bab] | A, babs | BCDE, babs || F ¹⁰ nags] ACDEF, nag B ¹¹ thog thams cad bskams] E, thog thamd (*skung yig*) bskams B, thog thams cad bskam C, thog thams cad skam AF, tog thams cad bskams D ¹² chu bran] CEF, chu (*ins.*) bran B, chu phran AD ¹³ kyi] ABCDE, kyis F ¹⁴ sgrub] ABCDE, bsgrub F ¹⁵ snyam] ABCDE, snyams F ¹⁶ chod] BCE, gcod AF, chad D ¹⁷ kyis] BCEF, kyi AD ¹⁸ shrī na lendra'i] CF, shī lentra'i ABE, shī(na)lentra'i D ¹⁹ drangs shig] CF, drangs cig | E, drengs cig | B, drongs cig | A, drongs shig D ²⁰ po'i mi] CDF, po mi AB, po mi | E ²¹ gser phyed bre] CF, gser bre ADE, gser B ²² bskur nas] | ABD, bskur nas CF, bskur nas | E ²³ rgyus] ACDEF, brgyus B ²⁴ skor] ACDF, bskor BE ²⁵ tsam zhig] CD, tsam gcig A, tsam cig EF, rtsam cig B ²⁶ nas | po ti] D, nas | spo sti BE, nas | pu sti C, nas | pusti F, nas spo ti A, ²⁷ slebs] D, sleb ABCEF ²⁸ grags] ABDEF, sgrob C ²⁹ bab ste] | A, babs te | BE, babs te CD, babs te F ³⁰ nags] ACDEF, nag B ³¹ thog] ABCEF, tog D ³² to ||] ACDF, ro || E, ro | B, te || F

thams cad^[201] du rgyas par bya snyam du dgongs nas^[202] | rgyud de ^[203] rnam kyī dgongs pa
'grel ba'i¹ bstan bcos | lta² ba byi to | sgom³ pa phun sum tshogs pa | 'phrin las rdo rje ^[204] gzhon
nu | gdab pa⁴ las kha tshar⁵ dang bzhi ru phye ste mdzad |

§5 The Teachings Spread in India, Uḍḍhiyāna, and Nepal

5 dus der slob dpon^[205] padma dang | bi ma la mi tra⁶ dang | bal po shī⁷ la manydzu⁸ gsum gyis
yang le⁹ shod du bsgrubs¹⁰ pas rtags thon te^[206] | de'i tshul 'og tu^[207] 'chad do ||^[208] dus der
lung tshad du phyin nam ma phyin dgongs pa mdzad pas ^[209] rtags mngon sum du gzigs pa
dang | phur smad nyi shu^[210] ru bsdus te | rgyud lnga la ^[211] 'F148' lung kī la ya bcu gnyis^[212] kyī
tantra ^[213] lcags¹¹ gzer nag po'i tantra ^[214] 'A122' 'bum bskos chen po'i tantra^[215] | nam mkha'¹²
10 mdzod kyī ^{'E173'} tantra^[216] | rig pa mchog gi tantra'o¹³ || lta¹⁴ ba lnga la | lta¹⁵ ba byi to ^[217] bla
ma chen po ^[218] mya ngan las 'da' ka ma | ye shes^[219] nyi zer ^[220] nam mkha'^[221] rol pa'i rgyal
po'o ||^[222] 'C19' 'phrin^[223] las lnga la | rdo rje^[224] gzhon nu | las brgya rtsa brgyad pa ^[225] 'B223'
sras mchog sked tra¹⁶ | las kha tshar ^[226] las gsang ba'o || sgrub pa lnga la | phun sum tshogs pa
| thugs gsang ba | gze ma nag po ^[227] thugs kyī brnag¹⁷ pa | las kyī bkol byang ngo ||^[228]

15 de tsa na lha bdud du sprul nas drod nyul ba ni | lcags kyī sdig pa nag po 'jigs su^[229] rung
ba gcig^[230] thog babs su^[231] mtho mtshams su¹⁸ byung ba la ^[232] slob dpon^[233] nyid phag tu
brdzus nas zos par chas pas | sdig¹⁹ pa de bcom ldan 'das rdo rje gzhon nu^[234] ri rab ltar²⁰ brjid
pa'i skur mthong | drag shul gyī las la thogs²¹ pa med pa'i dbang thob ste | de'i dus su bsnyen
phur ^{'D6'} bsgril zhing nga che²² nga btsan gyī mgur²³ bzhes²⁴ pa ni |

20 dīpta tsakra²⁵ phur pa'i lha ||^[235]
mthing nag gcer ^{'F149'} bu ral ka can ||^[236]

¹ 'grel ba'i] ABDE, 'brel ba'i CF ² lta] ACDF, blta BE ³ sgom] ACDF, bsgom BE ⁴ | gdab pa] CF, | gdab
A, bdab pa BDE ⁵ tshar] ABCDE, tshar phyes te F ⁶ bi ma la mi tra] C, bi ma la mu tra DEF, bye ma la mu
tra B, dbye ma la mu tra A ⁷ shī] ACD, shi BEF ⁸ manydzu] ACDF, mandzu BE ⁹ le] ACDEF, li or lam
B ¹⁰ bsgrubs] CDF, bsgrub A, sgrubs BE ¹¹ lcags] BCDE, lcag A ¹² nam mkha'] CDEF, namkha' (*skung
yig*) AB ¹³ tantra'o] AC, tantra 'o F tantra BD, rantra E ¹⁴ lta] ACDF, blta BE ¹⁵ lta] ACDF, blta BE ¹⁶
sked tra] A, sked tre F, rked tre C, rkad tre BE, skad tre D ¹⁷ brnag] ACF, brnags BDE ¹⁸ mtho mtshams su]
BE, mtho mtshamsu (*skung yig*) A, tho mtshams su D, tho mtshamsu (*skung yig*) F, tho 'tshams su C ¹⁹ sdig]
ABCDE, sdigs F ²⁰ ri rab ltar] ACF, ri rab DE, rib (*skung yig*) B ²¹ thogs] ACDF, thog BE ²² zhing nga
che] A, zhing | nga che CF, zhing D, shing BE ²³ btsan gyī mgur] ABDEF, btsan mgur C ²⁴ bzhes] ABCE,
bzhes (bzhangs) D, bzhangs F ²⁵ dīpta tsakra] A, dipta tsakra CD, rista tsa kra B, rista tsa kra F, ri sta tsakra E

sku stod khro bo chen po la ||^[237]
 zhal gsum phyag kyang drug pa ste ||^[238]
 lte ba man chad phur pa'i dbal¹ ||^[239]
 drag por gyur pa'i² phur pa ste ||^[240]
 5 utpala sngon po'i 'dab 'dra ba ||^[241]
 'bar ba'i phreng³ ba 'khrigs⁴ pa'i 'od ||^[242] <E174>
 btab na lha yang brlag 'gyur na ||^[243]
 gnod byed rnams la smos ci dgos ||^[244]

zhes gsungs so^[245] ||
 10 de nas bstan bcos <A123> rnams paṇḍi <B224> ta lnga brgya la gzigs⁵ 'bul⁶ bar chas te | rgya
 bal gnyis kyi so mtshams ||^[246] <C20> chu mig byang chub ris su⁷ gzims pa na⁸ mnal⁹ lam du sku
 'grongs pa¹⁰ snyam byung ba¹¹ dang | phyag gis nyul bas¹² thugs ka¹³ nas sems can^[247] gyi dngos
 po gcig^[248] zin te ||^[249] spar bur bcug | phyag mtshan rdo rjes¹⁴ rgyas¹⁵ btab nas bzhag ||^[250] nang¹⁶
 par gzigs pas | bu mo mtshar¹⁷ sdug dang ldan pa bzhi 'dug ste | khyed su yin dris pas ||^[251] de
 15 rnams na re | sngon bcom ldan 'das dpal chen pos dregs pa pho bsgral^[252] mo sbyor¹⁸ ba'i dus
 na dam la btags te ||^[253] 'gro ba'i srog la dbang bskur ba'i ma mo bzhi lags te ||^[254] de'i thugs dam
 gyi dbang gis 'dir 'ongs pa¹⁹ lags kyi |²⁰ <F150> slob dpon^[255] gyis kyang bdag cag la dbang bskur
 cig zer | slob dpon^[256] gyi²¹ dgongs pa la | sngon dbang thob pas ||^[257] nga tshe la dbang ba'i rig
 'dzin 'di yang 'chi ba snyam²² byed na ||^[258] ngas kyang²³ dbang bskur na 'gro ba thams cad^[259]
 20 gsod snyam²⁴ nas | rdo rje^[260] phur pa nyan pa'am²⁵ | bshad pa'am²⁶ | sgom²⁷ sgrub byed pa la
 bar du gcod pa'i srog la dbang gyis shig gsungs²⁸ nas | bse²⁹ mo bzhi dang bka' bgros³⁰ <B225>

¹ dbal] ABCDE, dpal F ² pa'i] BCDEF, pa A ³ phreng] ACF, 'phreng BDE ⁴ 'khrigs] BCDEF, 'khrig A
⁵ gzigs] ABDEF, gzigs su C ⁶ 'bul] ABDEF, phul C ⁷ ris su] ACD, tis su E, tisu (*skung yig*) B, rigs su F ⁸
 gzims pa na] BCDEF, gzim pa na | A ⁹ mnal] ACDF, rnal BE ¹⁰ 'grongs pa] A, grongs CF, 'grong pa B, 'grong
 ba E, bkrongs pa D ¹¹ snyam byung ba] CF, snyam byung pa A, snyams byung pa B, snyams byung ba DE ¹²
 gis nyul bas] A, gis nyul bas | D, gis myul bas | CF, gi nyul bas BE ¹³ ka] ACDF, kha BE ¹⁴ phyag mtshan
 rdo rjes] CDF, phyag mtshan rdo rje E, phyag mtshan rdoe(*skung yig*) B, phyag na rdo rje A ¹⁵ rgyas] ACDF,
 brgyas BE ¹⁶ nang] ABCDE, nangs F ¹⁷ mtshar] ABCDF, mtshan E ¹⁸ sbyor] CEF, sbyar ABD ¹⁹ 'ongs
 pa] ABDE, 'ong ba CF ²⁰ kyi |] ABE, kyi | CD, kyi || F ²¹ gyi] ACDF, gyis B ²² snyam] ACDF, snyams
 B ²³ From "bdag cag" to "ngas kyang," *om*. E ²⁴ snyam] ABCEF, snyams D ²⁵ pa'am] CF, pa 'am A, pa'i
 BDE ²⁶ bshad pa'am] CEF, bshad pa 'am A, bshad pa'am *insert*. B, bshad pa'i D ²⁷ sgom] ACF, bsgom BDE
²⁸ gyis shig gsungs] D, gyis shig | gsung C, gyis shig | gsungs F, gyis cig gsungs B, gis cig gsungs E, gyis cigsung
 (*skung yig*) A, ²⁹ bse] ABDE, bswe CF ³⁰ bgros] CDF, bsgros ABE

nas | bse¹ lung gsang ba'i² yang gter³ mdzad de |^[261]

de ltar snga 'gyur gyi phur smad⁴ nyi shu^[262] rtsa ^{<E175>} gcig^[263] bsnamts te | shrī na lendra'i⁵
gtsug lag khang du byon nas^[264] paṇḍi ta lnga brgya'i spyan sngar bkrams⁶ pas | chos shin ^{<C21>}
tu legs pas rgyal ^{<A124>} mtshan gyi rtse mo la btags | paṇḍi ta rnam kyis kyang slob dpon^[265]
5 la phyag 'tshal lo^[266] || de nas mkhas pa rnam gsum gyis⁷ bka' bgros te⁸ bidyotta ma⁹ la 'bum
sde thams cad gzigs te¹⁰ | rdo rje^[267] phur pa gsang ba'i rgyud la sogs pa rgyud sde sum cu¹¹
rtsa gnyis la 'grel pa¹² sgrub¹³ thabs ṭī ka¹⁴ la sogs pa phye¹⁵ nas rgyas par mdzad de ||^[268] de'i
dus su srod la shwa na ma mched bzhis¹⁶ srog snying ^{<F151>} phul |¹⁷ nam gung¹⁸ la bdag nyid ma
mched¹⁹ bzhis srog snying²⁰ phul lo ||²¹

10 de nas ji ltar dar ba ni^[269] bi ma las²² gzungs²³ ma dam pa²⁴ la bshad |^[270] gnyis kyis²⁵ rgya
gar gyi rgyal po²⁶ intra^[271] bhū ti la bshad | de nas rgya gar gyi yul na dar zhing^[272] rgyas par
spyod do ||^[273] slob dpon^[274] padmas^[275] bal po²⁷ shākya de ba²⁸ la bshad |^[276] de gnyis kyis²⁹ o
rgyan gyi³⁰ rgyal po dharma ko ṣa la bshad |^[277] de nas o rgyan^[278] gyi yul na dar zhing^[279] rgyas
par spyod do ||^[280] ^{<B226>} bal po shī³¹ la manydzus smad 'tshong ma³² shānti³³ la bshad | des bal
15 po'i ^{<D7>} rgyal po gu na ta la³⁴ la bshad |^[281] de nas bal po'i yul na dar zhing^[282] ^{<E176>} rgyas par
spyod do ||^[283]

¹ bse] ABDE, bswe CF ² gsang ba'i] CF, tsha ba'i ABDE ³ gter] ABCDE, gtar F ⁴ smad] BCDEF, mad A
⁵ shrī na lendra'i] C, shī(na)lentra'i D, shī lentra'i A, shi lentra'i BE, shrī na len tra'i F ⁶ bkrams] D, 'grims CF,
grims ABE ⁷ rnam gsum gyis] CF, rnam pa gsum gyis D, rnam gsum A, rnam pa gsum gyi BE ⁸ bgros te]
CDF, bsgrös te BE, bsgrös nas A ⁹ bidyotta ma] C, byi to ta ma ABDEF ¹⁰ thams cad gzigs te] CDE, thamd
(*skung yig*) gzigs te BF, nas A ¹¹ sum cu] ACDF, sum bcu E, gsum bcu B ¹² 'grel pa] ACDF, 'brel pa BE ¹³
sgrub] ACDF, bsgrub BE ¹⁴ ṭī ka] C, ṭikka F, ṭikka AD, ṭakki B, ṭakki E ¹⁵ pa phye] ABDE, pas phyas CF ¹⁶
shwa na ma mched bzhis] ABDE, shwa na ma bzhis CF ¹⁷ phul |] AC, phul lo | D, phulo (*skung yig*) | B, phul
|| F ¹⁸ gung] ACEF, *obs.* B, gong D ¹⁹ mched] ACDF, che E, phyed B ²⁰ snying] ACDEF, rnying *obs.* B
²¹ phul lo ||] ADE, phul | C, phulo | (*skung yig*) B, phul || F. In B, nam gung la bdag nyid ma phyed bzhis srog
rnying phulo | tho rang se is inserted between mched bzhis srog snying phul lo and de nas ji ltar, which is marked
with a special sign and placed below the last line. ²² bi ma las] CF, bye ma(bi ma)las | D, bye ma las | ABE ²³
gzungs] ACF, gzung D, gzugs BE ²⁴ dam pa] ACF, dag pa(dam pa) D, dag pa BE ²⁵ gnyis kyis] E, gnyis kas
ACDF, gnyis gas B ²⁶ rgya gar gyi rgyal po] BCDEF, rgya gar rgyal po A ²⁷ po] ABDE, mo CF ²⁸ de ba]
BCDE, dē ba A, dē wa F ²⁹ gnyis kyis] E, gnyis kas ACDF, gnyis gas B ³⁰ o rgyan gyi] CF, o rgyan DE, ayon
kyi A, ayon B ³¹ shī] AF, shi BCDE ³² 'tshong ma] ACF, mtshongs ma BD, mtshongs pa E ³³ shānti] A,
shantiṃ F, shinti BDE, shīṅtaṃ C ³⁴ ta la] ABCDF, ta ma la E

§6 Padmasambhava's Journey to Tibet

§6.1 The Invitation of Padmasambhava by the King

da ni bod yul du ji ltar^[284] byung ba'i¹ tshul ni | 'phags pa 'jam dpal kyi² sprul pa^[285] bod kyi
 rgyal po khri srong lde'u btsan gyis³ bod yul du sangs ^{<C22>} rgyas^[286] kyi bstan pa 'dzugs par
 5 dgongs nas ^[287] thugs dam gyi⁴ lha khang bsam yas bzhengs pa'i sa 'dul ba la |⁵ slob dpon^[288]
 bo dhi sa twa^[289] spyang drangs nas sa 'dul mdzad pas ^[290] bod kyi lha ^{<A125>} 'dre rnams zing⁶
 langs te | nyin mo mis brtsigs pa nub mo⁷ lha 'dres ^{<F152>} bshig ste |⁸ ri rdo ri la bskyal ^[291] klung
 rdo klung la⁹ bskyal nas brtsigs su¹⁰ ma ster¹¹ ba dang | rgyal po thugs mug ste | e sha slob dpon
 byin rlabs¹² chung ngam | bdag sgrib pa che 'am^[292] | bod 'bangs bsod nam¹³ chung ngam | 'di
 10 rgyu rkyen ci las gyur^[293] zhus pas | slob dpon^[294] gyi¹⁴ zhal nas ^[295] bdag ting nge 'dzin rtsal
 zhugs¹⁵ chung pa¹⁶ ma yin te | byams pa shas ches pas¹⁷ mi ma yin ma thul ba^[296] yin ^[297] o
 rgyan gyi¹⁸ slob dpon^[298] padma 'byung gnas ^{<B227>} zhes bya ba^[299] rdo rje^[300] phur pa'i dngos
 grub thob pa gcig^[301] bzhugs ^[302] de spyang drangs na bar chad zhi bar 'gyur ro gsungs ^[19] de
 spyang²⁰ mi drongs sam²¹ zhus pas ^[303] slob dpon^[304] gyi zhal nas | rang re rnams tshe sngon²²
 15 ma'i spun yin pas²³ las dang ^[305] smon lam gyi²⁴ dbang gis²⁵ byon yong gsungs²⁶ |
 de ji ltar^[306] yin zhus pas | slob dpon gyi zhal nas | spyir²⁷ sangs rgyas^[307] thams cad^[308]
 kyis²⁸ sems can^[309] gyi don mdzad tshul bsam gyis²⁹ mi khyab pa yin | khyad par^[310] du 'phags
 pa spyang ras gzigs kyis sems can thams cad^[311] 'khor ba nas ^{<C23>} drangs te^[312] lan gsum du sangs
 rgyas^[313] kyi sa la bzhag ste ^[314] da sems can 'khor ba na med dam snyam ^{<F153>} gzigs pas ^[315] sngar
 20 bas kyang sems can^[316] mang zhing nyon mongs pa rags su^[317] song 'dug pas ^[318] slar snying rje

¹ byung ba'i] ABDE, dar ba'i CF ² kyi] ACDF, kyis BE ³ gyis] BCDEF, gyis | AB ⁴ dam gyi] BCDEF, dam
 A ⁵ ba la |] AF, ba la C ba BDE ⁶ zing] D, zings ABCEF ⁷ brtsigs pa nub mo] ABCDE, brtsigs pa mtshan
 mo F ⁸ bshig ste |] A, bshigs te DCF, bshig te BE ⁹ klung rdo klung la] F, klung rdo klungsu (*skung yig*)
 A, klungs rdo klungs su BDE, klungs rdo klungs la C ¹⁰ nas brtsigs su] D, nas brtsigs tu E, nas brtsig tu AB,
 nas rtsig tu C, nas ba ci tu F ¹¹ ster] ACDF, bster BE ¹² slob dpon byin rlabs] ADE, slaun (*skung yig*) byin
 rlabs B, slob dpon gyi byin rlabs CF ¹³ nam] ACDF, nam B ¹⁴ gyi] ACDEF, gyis B ¹⁵ zhugs] BE, shugs
 ACDF ¹⁶ pa] ABDF, chung ba CE ¹⁷ ches pas] ABCEF, che bas D ¹⁸ o rgyan gyi] CF, ayon (*skung yig*) kyi
 A, o rgyan BDE, ayon (*skung yig*) B ¹⁹ gsungs |] ACD, gsung | EF, gsung || B ²⁰ de spyang] BCEF, spyang AD
²¹ drongs sam] C, 'drongs bsams BD, 'drangs sam F, 'drangs bsams E, 'grong ngam A ²² sngon] CDEF, sngan
 AB ²³ pas] ABDE, pa'i CF ²⁴ smon lam gyi] ABDE, smon pa'i CF ²⁵ gis] ACDF, gi BE ²⁶ yong gsungs]
 CD, yong gsung AF, yongs gsung BE ²⁷ slob dpon gyi zhal nas | spyir] ADE, spyir CE, slaun (*skung yig*) gyi
 zhal nas | spyir B ²⁸ kyis] CDF, kyi ABE ²⁹ gyis] ACDF, gyi BE

skyes te bshums¹ pas | mchi ma thigs² pa gnyis gtor nas ^{<A126>} 'di gnyis kyi sgo nas kyang sems
 can³ gyi don chen po ma 'ongs pa'i dus na 'byung bar gyur cig |⁴ ces gsungs pas⁵ | mchi ma
 thigs⁶ pa gnyis sum cu rtsa gsum du song ba las | lha'i bu mo ganggā⁷ ma dang | ganggā⁸ ma
 chung⁹ ngu zhes pa gnyis su^[319] skyes | de¹⁰ gnyis cher skyes nas ^{<B228>} skabs su^[320] lha'i khrims
 5 bsrung¹¹ ba zhig gi tshe ^[321] ganggā chung ngus¹² gangā ma'i¹³ ldum ra nas me tog brkus pas¹⁴
 lha'i khrims nyams pas tshe 'phos te | skye ba phyi ma la mi'i yul du bya rdzi mo bde mchog
 bya bar skyes | bya 'tshos¹⁵ pa'i gla¹⁶ dang rgyags lhag¹⁷ bsags te | ^{<E178>} mchod rten bya rung¹⁸
 kha shor¹⁹ bya ba bzhengs ^[322] bum par²⁰ srog shing btsugs²¹ tsam la mo shi nas ^[323] dam tshig
 gi lha mo pra²² mo ha zhes bya bar sangs rgyas so^[324] ||^[325]
 10 de la bu bzhi yod te ^[326] dge slong a ba^[327] kha du²³ | rta rdzi | phag rdzi | khyi rdzi dang
 bzhi'o ||^[328] bu de bzhis²⁴ mchod rten gyi 'phro rdzogs par 'byongs te grub ^[329] ^{<F154>} rab gnas
 byas tshar ba dang | bu so sos²⁵ smon lam ^{<C24>} 'di ltar btab bo ||^[330] bu che bas ^[331] bdag ^{<D8>}
 cag tshos²⁶ dge ba 'di la brten²⁷ nas skye ba phyi ma la^[332] sa bdag gi^[333] rgyal po chen po gcig^[334]
 tu skye bar gyur cig ^[335] ces smon lam btab bo^[336] | de'i 'og mas bstan pa bsrung ba'i sngags²⁸
 15 'chang mthu stobs can gcig tu²⁹ skye bar gyur cig ^[337] de'i 'og mas mkhan po byang chub sems
 dpa' gcig^[338] tu skye bar gyur cig ^[339] de'i ^{<B229>} 'og mas | phu bo gsum po'i bya ba grub pa la
 gcig tu skye bar³⁰ gyur cig ^[340] ces smon lam btab bo ||^[341] de'i dus³¹ ^{<A127>} che ba rgyal po nyid
 yin ^[342] de'i 'og ma slob dpon³² padma yin ^[343] de'i 'og ma³³ nga yin | de'i 'og ma yar klungs³⁴

¹ bshums] ACDF, gshums BE ² mchi ma thigs] CD, mchi ma thig AF, 'chi ma thig BE ³ kyi sgo nas kyang sems can] ADE, kyi sgo nas kyang semn (*skung yig*) B, kyi rtso dus kyang sems can F, kyi rtso da dus kyi sems can C ⁴ gyur cig |] AC, gyur cig BD, 'gyur cig E, gyur cig || F ⁵ pas] BCDEF, pa las A ⁶ mchi ma thigs] CD, 'chi ma thig BE, mchi ma thig AF ⁷ ganggā] C, gangga ABDE, gang ga F ⁸ ganggā] C, gangga AD, gang ga BEF ⁹ chung] ACDEF, chu B ¹⁰ de] BCDE, der F ¹¹ khrims bsrung] BCDE, khrims srung F, khrimsrung (*skung yig*) A ¹² ganggā chung ngus] C, gangga chung ngus BE, gang ga chung ngus F, gangga chungus (*skung yig*) A, gangga ma chung ngus D ¹³ gangā ma'i] C, gangga ma'i BDE, gang ga ma'i F, me tog A ¹⁴ brkus pas] CF, brkus pas | AD, rkus pas | BE ¹⁵ 'tshos] CEF, btsos BD, btsas A ¹⁶ gla] *emend.*, sla ACEF, slo BD ¹⁷ rgyags lhag] AC, rgyags lhags F, rgyag lhag D, rgyag lhags BE ¹⁸ rung] CDE, ri ABF ¹⁹ shor] DF, shor zhes E, shor kha C, sho kha B, shwa kha A ²⁰ par] CF, pa'i ABDE ²¹ btsugs] BDE, ma tshugs ACF ²² pra] ABCEF, bra D ²³ du] ABCF, 'u DE ²⁴ bzhis] BCDEF, bzhi pos A ²⁵ sos] ACDF, so'i BE ²⁶ tshos] BDE, chos ACF ²⁷ brten] ACDF, bstan BE ²⁸ ba'i sngags] ACDF, ba'i bsngags B, pa'i bsngags E ²⁹ can gcig tu] AE, can zhig tu D, can cig tu B, can du CF ³⁰ grub pa la gcig tu skye bar] E, sgrub pa zhig tu skye bar D, sgrub pa gcig tu skye bar A, sgrub ba cig tu skye bar B, bsgrub pa gcig tu CF ³¹ de'i dus] A, de dus BDE, de'i dus kyi CF ³² 'og ma slob dpon] CDF, 'og ma slob dpon AE, 'og slaun (*skung yig*) B ³³ 'og ma] CDF, 'og ABE ³⁴ klungs] BDE, lung ACF

kyi sba khri bzhir¹ yin gsungs^[344] de nas rgyal pos² sna nam rdo rje³ bdud ’joms | mchims shākya pra bha⁴ | shud bu dpal gyi seng ge^[345] gsum chibs⁵ dang bcas nas gser phye^{‘E179’} mang po bskur nas slob dpon^[346] spyān ’dren du brdzangs so⁶ ||

de’i dus su slob dpon⁷ chen po pdma ’byung gnas^[347] rgya gar dā hu⁸ la’i gtsug lag khang
 5 na ’khor paṇḍi ta stong lnga⁹ brgya la^[348] rgyud lung man ngag gsum gyi chos kyi ’khor lo^{‘E155’}
 bskor zhing bzhugs pa las | mngon par mkhyen pas mkhyen te | paṇḍi ta rnams la | da zla ba
 gsum na bdag bod¹⁰ kyi rgyal pos¹¹ bla mchod la¹² ’gro bar ’dug^[349] chos rnams myur du tshar
 bar^{‘C25’} bya’o gsungs nas | chos rdzogs pa dang^[350] zla ba gsum song ba’i¹³ nyin der^[351] bod
 kyi bang chen¹⁴ mi gsum gyis slebs¹⁵ | gser gyi spa¹⁶ tra bco brgyad dang^[352] gser phye mang
 10 po phul^[353] mnga’ bdag rgyal po’i zhu ba rnams gsol bas | sngon gyi^{‘B230’} smon lam gyi¹⁷ ’brel
 ba^[354] yod pas bod la ’dengs gsungs¹⁸ nas gnang ngo ||^[355] de nas slob dpon^[356] dang bod¹⁹ kyi
 mi gsum gyis dā hu²⁰ la’i gtsugs lag khang nas bteg ste rim gyis²¹ bal yul du phebs so^[357] || lang
 lab kyi lo rgyus su ni^[358] slob dpon^[359] spyān ’dren pa’i bang chen pa |²² stag tshal gyi lo tsā
 ba²³ brang ti²⁴ dza ya rakṣi²⁵ dang | mang yul gyi lce ku ku ra tsa²⁶ gnyis la gser phye bskur nas
 15 brdzangs |²⁷ ‘A128’ zhes ’byung ngo ||^[360]

§6.2 Miraculous Powers on His Way to bSam-yas

de nas rim gyis²⁸ mang^{‘E180’} yul gyi grong khyer khrod ze²⁹ bya bar phebs | de’i dus³⁰ mang
 yul na³¹ khyim bdun las med | rgan mo gsum la gdams pa btab pas skad cig la grol^[361] de dus

¹ sba khri bzhir] E, sba mi khri bzher AD, rba mi khri bzher B, rba mi khri gzher CF ² rgyal pos] BCDEF, rgyalo (*skung yig*) A ³ rdo rje] ACDE, dpal gyi rdo rje F, rdoe (*skung yig*) B ⁴ pra bha] ACF, pra bhra E, bha dra D, bhahra B ⁵ chibs] CDF, chib E, phyib B, phyibs A ⁶ ’dren du brdzangs so] CDE, ’dren du brdzangso (*skung yig*) A, ’dren la brdzangs so F, dren du brdzangso (*skung yig*) B ⁷ de’i dus su slob dpon] CF, de dus slob dpon ADE, de dus slaun (*skung yig*) B ⁸ dā hu] BDE, dā hū CF, da hu A ⁹ stong lnga] ABDE, lnga CF ¹⁰ bdag bod] ABCEF, bod D ¹¹ pos] BE, po’i ACDF ¹² la] ABCDF, pa E ¹³ ba’i] ABCDF, ba E ¹⁴ bang chen] ABE, bang chen btang D, bang phyin pa CF ¹⁵ gyis slebs] BDF, gyis sleb AC, po slebs E ¹⁶ spa] BDE, pa ACF ¹⁷ gyi] ACDF, gyis BE ¹⁸ ’dengs gsungs] BDF, ’deng gsung A, ’dongs gsungs C, ’dengs E ¹⁹ bod] ABCDE, bad F ²⁰ dā hu] DE, dā hū CF, da hu AB ²¹ bteg ste rim gyis] CD, btegs te rim gyis A, ste rim gyi E, ste rims kyi B, ste F ²² pa’i bang chen pa] BE, pa’i bang chen pa A, ba’i bang chen pa | D, pa’i bang phyin pa | CF ²³ tsā ba] BCEF, tsa ba A, tsā pa D ²⁴ ti] ABD, sti CF, ta E ²⁵ rakṣi] BDE, rakṣi ta AC, rakṣita F ²⁶ ra tsa] ABDE, rā dza CF ²⁷ brdzangs] BCDE, brdzang AF ²⁸ gyis] ACDF, gyi BE ²⁹ khyer khrod ze] CF, khyer ze BDE, khrong ze A ³⁰ de’i dus] FC, de dus ABDE ³¹ na] ABCDF, man E

bod kyi lha 'dre rnam gyis¹ <F156> nyi ma phyed nas² nam sros³ su bcug pas | lcags kyu'i phyag rgyas skad cig la nyi ma bkug⁴ nas zhag bdun du' nyi ma ma btang bar lha 'dre'i kha gnon⁶ du grong khyer khrod ze'i⁷ gong kha der lha khang brtsigs |⁸ de la de dus mun pa⁹ lha khang zer ro ||

5 de'i tsa ba¹⁰ na chu mig gnyan¹¹ po sus kyang reg¹² <C26> mi nus pa gcig yod pa de'i klu btul¹³ nas chu zhing la drangs | lha khang du thug rje chen po^[362] bzhugs su gsol^[363] rig gong gcig^[364] tu <B231> bal po'i lha 'dre phyr 'brangs pa¹⁴ rnam kyi kha gnon du rdo'i mchod rten bzhengs^[365] phur pa gsum rdo la nub par btab nas bzhag^[366] de nas ya tshad na khung bu nas rlung 'ong ba'i¹⁵ sa de¹⁶ bod la gnod par gzigs nas lha khang brtsigs te¹⁷ mang yul byams sprin¹⁸ yin no ||^[367] de nas yar byon¹⁹ te ma <D9> chung gi bar du gro gsol^[20] der slob dpon^[368] la lha 'dres ma tshugs so || 'khor²¹ rnam smyos pas smyon²² thang du grags so ||^[369] de 'dul ba'i don du mchod rten brgya²³ rtsa brgyad mdzad do ||^[370]

yang zhang zhung yul te^[371] gu ge la byon | der²⁴ <E181> gzhi²⁵ bdag dgra lha mu²⁶ tsa med kyis²⁷ ma bzod²⁸ nas | ri phan tshun 'thab pa'i bar du slob dpon^[372] dpon <F157> g.yog bcar bar brtsams pas^[373] dpon g.yog rnam²⁹ nam mkha'^[374] la gshegs^[375] dgra lha mu³⁰ tsa med skrag³¹ ste bros pa la phyag³² mtshan rdo rje^[376] <A129> gsor bas | mo drung du lhags te³³ srog snying phul^[377] bran du khas blangs te dam la btags so ||^[378] de nas lha yul gung thang du byon^[379] dge bsnyen nyi shu^[380] rtsa gcig gis³⁴ cho 'phrul bstan^[381] thog phab pas | thog me tog gi char du <B232> song nas | der dge bsnyen rnam <C27> dbang du bsdu nas chos kyi bsrungs mar bskos so ||^[382] de nas mang yul kha la'i³⁵ rong sgo ru | bstan³⁶ ma bcu gnyis^[383] kyis³⁷ thog mda'³⁸ bcu gnyis^[384] dus gcig^[385] la phab³⁹ pas | sdigs mdzub⁴⁰ kyi rtse la blangs te klad la bskor bas | sol

¹ gyis] ACDF, gyi BE ² nyi ma phyed nas] F, nyi ma phyed la A, nyi ma phye la BE, nyi ma phye na C, nyi ma D ³ sros] ACF, bsros BDE ⁴ bkug] ACDF, dkug BE ⁵ bdun du] ACF, bdun BDE ⁶ gnon] ACDF, non BE ⁷ grong khyer khrod ze'i] CF, khrong ze'i ABDE ⁸ ||] ABCDE, || F ⁹ mun pa] ABDE, mun pa'i CF ¹⁰ de'i tsa ba] CF, de rtsa ABDE ¹¹ gnyan] ABCDE, gnyen F ¹² reg] ABDEF, rig C ¹³ btul] CDF, gtul BE, brtul A ¹⁴ 'brangs pa] D, 'brangs C, 'brang F, 'brengs pa ABE ¹⁵ ba'i] CDF, pa'i ABE ¹⁶ de] ABCDE, des F ¹⁷ brtsigs te] ABDEF, brtsigs | de D, brtsegs te C ¹⁸ byams sprin] CD, byang srin E, byang sprin ABF ¹⁹ yar byon] BCDEF, byon A ²⁰ gro gsol ||] ABCD, gro gsol || F, gsol | E ²¹ tshugs so || 'khor] AD, tshugs | 'khor CF, tshugs so || khor E, tshugs so | khor B ²² smyos pas smyon] BDE, smyo bas smyon AC, smyo bas smyo F ²³ brgya] ABCEF, brgya dang D ²⁴ der] D, de BE, de'i ACF ²⁵ gzhi] ACDEF, bzhi B ²⁶ mu] ABDE, dmuy CF ²⁷ kyis] BCDEF, kyi A ²⁸ bzod] ABCDF, bzed E ²⁹ rnam] ABCEF, ni D ³⁰ mu] ABDE, dmuy CF ³¹ skrag] ACDEF, bskrag B ³² la phyag] CF, las | phyag ABDE ³³ lhags te] ACDF, lhag ste E, lhag te B ³⁴ gis] BCDEF, gi A ³⁵ la'i] ABCDE, la F ³⁶ ru | bstan] ABDE, ru brtan CF ³⁷ kyis] BCDEF, kyi A ³⁸ mda'] CDF, me da'u E, mad AC ³⁹ phab] ABCEF, phabs D ⁴⁰ sdigs mdzub] CD, sdig 'dzub BEF, sdigs 'dzub A

dum bcu gnyis^[386] su nag hrul gyis song bas^[387] bstan¹ ma skrag ste srog snying phul² dam la btags |

de dus gtso mo gangs dkar ma she'u bza'³ bros te dpal mo lha mtsho'i nang du bros pas | slob dpon^[388] gyis⁴ dpal mtsho nas chu spar bu gang blangs nas^[389] dgongs pa gtad pas skad
 5 cig la spar bu'i' chu la rlangs pa⁶ chil gyis byung ba dang^[390] mtsho ^{<E182>} yang rlangs pa phyur gyis⁷ byung |^[391] spar bu'i⁸ ^{<F158>} chu de khol ba dang^[392] mtsho khol bas mos ma bzod de |^[393] mtsho las bsnyengs⁹ thon pa dang rus pa dang¹⁰ sha so sor bral nas keng rus su song ba^[394] dang¹¹ | phyag mtshan rdo rje^[395] 'phangs pas mig ya gcig^[396] bcar | de nas¹² mo skrag nas srog snying phul^[397] sgrub¹³ thabs brtsams te | dkar mo gcig^[398] sgrub | stag mo nu 'dzag |¹⁴ gnam
 10 sman mched lnga'i sgrub skor gsum du phyas |¹⁵ sngar bstan¹⁶ ma'i gtso mo ^{<B233>} yin pa la phyis rang mnyam du bzhag |^[399]

de nas gtsang¹⁷ lhas lha¹⁸ phug tu bsnyen bskur nas bka' ^{<A130>} 'bangs su byas te | 'di ni chos la dad¹⁹ pas slob dpon^[400] la mtho ma mtshams so |²⁰ ^{<C28>} phug der stag gsum byung ba^[401] la rdo rje^[402] gsor²¹ bas stag gsum po phug gcig tu bros song ba la |^[403] shul bsnyegs²² te byon
 15 pas rlung 'tshubs²³ gcig tu song ba²⁴ la phur pa btab pas | gsang btsan gyis rang gzugs²⁵ bstan nas^[404] srog snying phul lo ||^[405] phug²⁶ pa de la stag phug ces da lta²⁷ yang grags so ||^[406] de rnams su lha 'dre thams cad^[407] bstar²⁸ la brgyus²⁹ pa ltar dam la btags pas^[408] chu'i ming yang star³⁰ chu zhes grags |^[409] de nas³¹ lha 'dre'i khrom tshogs pas ^{<F159>} yul gyi ming la khrom pa zer |

20 de nas cums³² pa ^{<E183>} sbugs nas³³ mar byon |^[410] phug bdag mo gcig dge bsnyen du btsud | de nas byang lam tshur³⁴ tha nas byon |^[411] stag gso lding gi³⁵ kha nas grom pa³⁶ lha khang gi

¹ bstan] ABDE, brtan CF ² phul] ABCDE, phul || F ³ bza'] ACDF, gza' BE ⁴ gyis] BCDEF, gyi A ⁵ bu'i] ABCEF, ba'i D ⁶ rlangs pa] ABDE, rlangs ngad C, rlang ngad F ⁷ phyur gyis] BCDEF, chur gyi A ⁸ bu'i] ABCEF, ba'i D ⁹ las bsnyengs] D, las brnyengs BE, la rnyings CF, la brnyengs A ¹⁰ rus pa dang] ABCDF, dang E ¹¹ dang] ABDE, la C, ba la F ¹² bcar | de nas] D, bcar de nas ABE, bcar de F, bcar te C ¹³ sgrub] ACDF, sgrubs BE ¹⁴ 'dzag |] ACF, 'jag BDE ¹⁵ phyas |] CF, phye || B, phye DE, phyed | A ¹⁶ bstan] ABDE, brtan CF ¹⁷ gtsang] F, rtsangs ABCDE ¹⁸ lha] ABDE, lhag CF ¹⁹ dad] ABCF, ma dad D, tshud E ²⁰ mtho ma mtshams so |] B, tho ma 'tshams so || CF, mtho ma mtshams so || E, tho ma 'tshams so (*skung yig*) || A, tho mtshams so || D. ²¹ gsor] ACDF, bsor BE ²² bsnyegs] ADF, snyegs C, brnyegs BE ²³ 'tshubs] CF, 'tshub D, tshub ABE ²⁴ song ba] CDF, song pa AE, gsong pa B ²⁵ gsang btsan gyis rang gzugs] CF, gas btsan gyi rang gzugs A, gas btsan gyis rang tshugs BDE ²⁶ phug] ACDEF, phugs B ²⁷ lta] ACF, ltar BDE ²⁸ bstar] ACD, bstar BE, ltar ltar E ²⁹ brgyus] ABCDE, rgyus F ³⁰ star] AD, ltar BCEF ³¹ nas] ABDE, na CF ³² cums] AC, lcums F, rtsums BE, bcu gnyis D ³³ sbugs nas] BCDEF, sbubs na A ³⁴ tshur] CF, tshu ABDE ³⁵ gso lding gi] E, so sdings kyi A, po sdings kyi D, po sding kyi B, mo sdings kyi CF ³⁶ grom pa] ABDE, grom CF

rab gnas mdzad pas^[412] grom pa rgyang¹ du de nas² grags zer^[413] de nas rim gyis³ byang^{<D10>}
 phyi khong nas⁴ mar la byon^[414] 'u yug gre mo 'phrad⁵ kyi la kha^{<B234>} ru lha srin gyi⁶ cho
 'phrul byung pa btul⁷ de nas 'dam snying grong⁸ ngos la byon^[415] gnam mtsho dang thang
 lha'i bar du sbra⁹ dkar phub¹⁰ nas bzhugs pas | thang lhas thog char pa^[416] ltar phab | slob
 5 dpon^[417] gyis¹¹ sbra dkar rdo rje'i^[418] khang par¹² bsgoms pas | thog 'dred de¹³ mtsho la song bas
 [419] mtsho khol te^[420] chu nang gi srog chags rnam shi bas¹⁴ | der ngan song sbyong ba'i cho
 ga mdzad de sems can^[421] shi ba rnam^{<C29>} byang chub la bkod^[422] de nas sbra dkar btab ste
 [15] thang lha'i^{<A13>} gangs¹⁶ la zhal gzig nas | gangs kyi mgor ram gcig bsgoms pas gangs zhu nas
 rgyun¹⁷ chad de^[423] g.ya' brag tu zangs kyis¹⁸ song ba^[424] dang | kho skrag ste¹⁹ rang gzugs bstan
 10 nas srog snying phul^[425] dam la btags |^{<F160>} kho'i sgrub²⁰ thabs mdzad²¹ | der kho na re | bdag
 ni lha 'dre kun gyi sde dpon yin zer^[426] 'o na khyed kyis²² lha 'dre thams cad^[427] ^{<E184>} khrid
 shog gsungs pas^[428] der khos lha 'dre phal che ba bkug²³ byung ba la^[429] srog snying phrogs
 [24] dam la²⁵ btags so ||^[430]

de nas gnam gyi shug sdong du dregs pa gnad 'bebs²⁶ kyi sgrub pa zhag gsum^[431] mdzad
 15 [432] nam srod la ri rab nyil ba lta bu'i²⁷ sgra drag po byung ba^[433] dang | thang lha^{<B235>} dmag
 dpon bzhi 'khor dang bcas pas^[434] lhags so ||^[435] der slob dpon gyis khyod²⁸ la de tsam gyi sgra
 skad dang cho 'phrul yod na bzang gi^[436] khyod kyi khrod na pho bdud nyi khri chig²⁹ stong
 dang | de'i khrod na mthu che³⁰ rtsal drag nyi shu^[437] rtsa gcig yod kyi | de dag khrid la da lta
 nga'i^[438] drung du shog^[439] mi 'ong na khyed³¹ thams cad^[440] kyi srog snying nga la yod pas
 20 | ngas thams cad^[441] kyi snying 'byin no gsungs pas thams cad^[442] skrag ste 'dar 'phril 'phril³²
 'dug^[443] de nas dar cig na bdud la dbang che ba bzhi^[444] dmag^{<C30>} dpon rnam³³ rol dang
 lnga | shar nas dbang che ba bzhi | dmag dpon kyab 'jug dang lnga | gnyan la dbang che ba

¹ rgyang] CDF, rgyangs ABE ² de nas] ABCEF, gnas D ³ gyis] CDEF, kyis B, kyi A ⁴ khong nas] C, khol
 na BDE, kong na A, khol nas F ⁵ 'u yug gre mo 'phrad] CF, 'o yug gro mo 'phrad A, 'od yug gro mo 'phrod
 BDE ⁶ gyi] ABCDE, gyis F ⁷ btul] ACDE, brtul | B, brtul || F ⁸ grong] BCEF, drung D, grom A ⁹
 sbra] ABCDF, spra E ¹⁰ phub] ACDF, phug BE ¹¹ gyis] CF, gyi ABDE ¹² par] ABCDF, por E ¹³ 'dred
 de] CF, dred de AD, dred te E, dred ste B ¹⁴ shi bas] CF, shi ABDE ¹⁵ btab ste] CDEF, btab te | B, bstab ste
 A ¹⁶ gangs] ACDF, gang BE ¹⁷ rgyun] CF, rud ABDE ¹⁸ zangs kyis] CF, zangs te D, zang ste AE, zang te B
¹⁹ skrag ste] ACDE, skrags te F, bskrags te B ²⁰ sgrub] ABCDE, sgrubs F ²¹ mdzad] ABDE, yang mdzad CF
²² khyed kyis] D, kyod kyis CF, khyod kyi AE, khey kyi B ²³ bkug] ACDF, dkug BE ²⁴ phrogs] E, phrog
 ste CF, phrogs BD, phrog | A ²⁵ la] ABCDF, pa E ²⁶ 'bebs] ABCDE, 'beb F ²⁷ nyil ba lta bu'i] ACF, nyil
 pa lta bu'i E, nyil ba lta ba'i D, nil ba ltu'i B ²⁸ slob dpon gyis khyod] CF, slob dpon gyis khyed D, slob dpon
 gyis | khyed E, slaun (*skung yig*) gyis | khyed B, slob dpon kyi | khyod A ²⁹ chig] BDE, bzhi CF ³⁰ che] BDE,
 chen CF ³¹ khyed] BDE, khyod ACF ³² 'phril 'phril] BDE, phril phril CF, khril khril A ³³ rnam] ACDF,
 rnam BE

bzhi | klu rje thod dkar dang lnga | btsan la dbang che ba bzhi | ^{⟨A132⟩} yam shud dmar po ^{⟨F161⟩}
 dang lnga ^[445] de dag gi las mkhan ḍākki¹ nag po dang^[446] nyer gcig po dbang du bsdu ^[447]
 dam nyams bsgral² ba'i ging du bskos ^[3]lha'i^[448] dge ^{⟨E185⟩} bsnyen du ming btags ^[449] phur pa
 sgrub⁴ pa'i rnal 'byor pa rnam kyī dgongs pa sgrub⁵ pa dang^[450] dpal 'byor^[451] dang tshe spel
 5 bar khas blangs dam bcas so ||

de nas 'phan⁶ ^{⟨B236⟩} yul gong gi la kha nas | stod lung⁷ la log byon te^[452] | stod lung⁸
 gzhong⁹ par chos ston gsol ba la chu med nas | kha ṭwām¹⁰ ga bye ma la rgyab¹¹ pas chu rka
 mgo¹² bdun byung | da lta gzhong pa lha chu bya bar grags | gzhan yang stod lung¹³ kyī yul
 rnam su btsan dang | bdud dang | the'u rang¹⁴ rnam dam la btags | de nas lha sa gram thang
 10 du byon nas^[453] zhag gcig bzhugs | der chibs¹⁵ la rtsa¹⁶ med pa la | lha sa'i bye ma skad cig la ne'u
 seng¹⁷ du bsgyur nas chibs kyī rtsa¹⁸ byung ste | ding sang¹⁹ kyang ne'u seng²⁰ du yod pa 'di
 yin ^[454] ^{⟨D11⟩}

§6.3 Completion of the Construction of bSam-yas

de nas skyi²¹ chu brgal te ba lam²² klags kyī la la byon pa dang ^[455] phyi blon²³ rnam kyis²⁴
 15 mnga' bdag la | slob dpon^[456] byon no²⁵ zhes ^{⟨C31⟩} sbran | der mnga' bdag gis^[457] | nga bod
 kyī ^{⟨F162⟩} btsan po yin yang | slob dpon o rgyan²⁶ gyī rgyal po'i sras yin | sangs rgyas^[458] rnam
 dang mi lab pa bzhin du gsung gleng²⁷ mdzad pa²⁸ | lha ma srin bran du 'khol ba sogs yon tan²⁹
 mtha' yas pa yin pas bsu ba³⁰ la ^{⟨E186⟩} 'gro dgos dgongs nas | dbu la zhwa dang | zhabs la lhwam³¹
 gsol | na bza' ^{⟨A133⟩} steng³² ^{⟨B237⟩} g.yogs ber ske³³ rags ma bcings³⁴ par g.yang³⁵ lugs su³⁶ gsol nas

¹ ḍākki] ADE, ṭakki BC, trakki F ² bsgral] F, sgrol BCDF, sgrol A ³ bskos]] ACD, bkos BE, bskos || F ⁴
 phur pa sgrub] AD, phur pa sgrubs BE, phur bu sgrub C, phur bu bsgrub F ⁵ sgrub] ABCDE, bsgrub F ⁶
 'phan] CDF, phan ABE ⁷ lung] BCDEF, lungs A ⁸ lung] BCDEF, lungs A ⁹ gzhong] CDF, gzhongs ABE
¹⁰ ṭwām] CDE, ḍwām ABF ¹¹ rgyab] ABCEF, brgyab D ¹² rka mgo] AF, rka 'go C, rko mog BDE ¹³ lung]
 CDF, lungs ABE ¹⁴ rang] CEF, brang ABD ¹⁵ der chibs] CDF, der phyibs BE, de phyibs A ¹⁶ rtsa] ABE,
 rtsa CDF ¹⁷ seng] CF, sing ABE, gsing D ¹⁸ chibs kyī rtsa] CDF, chibs la rtsa A, phyibs kyī rtsa BE ¹⁹ |
 ding sang] ABDE, | deng sang C, || deng song F ²⁰ seng] CF, sing ABE, gsing D ²¹ skyi] CD, skye ABFE ²²
 te ba lam] ABCDE, te | ba la ma F ²³ blon] ABCEF, byon D ²⁴ kyis] CDF, kyī ABE ²⁵ byon no] BCDE,
 'byon no F, 'byono (*skung yig*) A ²⁶ slob dpon o rgyan] CDEF, slob dpon ayon (*skung yig*) A, slaun ayon
 (*skung yig*) B ²⁷ gsung gleng] ACDF, gsungs glengs BE ²⁸ pa] ABDE, pas CF ²⁹ 'khol ba sogs yon tan]
 AD, khol ba la sogs yon tan CF, mkhol ba sogs yon tan E, mkhol ba sogs ytaun (*skung yig*) B ³⁰ bsu ba] ACEF,
 gsungs pa D, gsu' ba B ³¹ lhwam] CEF, lham ABD ³² steng] ABDEF, stod C ³³ ske] ABCEF, sked D ³⁴
 bcings] ACEF, bcing BD ³⁵ g.yang] ACF, g.yangs BDE ³⁶ lugs su] C, klubs su DEF, klubsu (*skung yig*) AB

byon tsa na | slob dpon gyi^[459] zhal nas^[460] la nye mi bzang | dus nam zhig na stod du¹ rgyal
 khrims zhwa tsam zhig^[461] chags par² 'dug^[462] smad du³ rgyal khrims lhwam⁴ tsam zhig^[463]
 lus par 'dug^[464] bar 'dir⁵ rang kha sil bu sil bur 'gro bar 'dug^[465] kye⁶ hud sems can^[466] snying
 re je^[467] zhes gsungs^[468] dus der phan tshun phyag snyeg⁷ res byung bas^[469] | slob dpon gyis⁸
 5 rgyal po la dbu dud⁹ mdzad pas | rgyal po'i na bza¹⁰ phyed mes gzhob tu¹¹ rog par song | phyag
 'khar¹² dum bu gsum du chag^[470] der rgyal po'i thugs la^[471] rdzu 'phrul dang yon tan^[472] slob
 dpon^[473] lhag mod | nga bod¹³ ru bzhi'i rje yin pas^[474] phyag la lan 'ong ngam dgongs pa la |
 slob dpon gyis¹⁴ <C32> <F163> srin lag gi sen¹⁵ mo la gling bzhi gling phran¹⁶ thams cad^[475] khongs
 su^[476] bcug nas bstan | nga che nga btsan gyi mgur gsungs pas | rgyal pos^[477] phyag 'tshal lo ||¹⁷
 10 de nas bsam yas kyi sa 'dul mdzad de^[478] brtsigs | nyin par¹⁸ mi dang^[479] mtshan mo lha 'dres
 brtsigs pas legs par 'byongs te rab <B238> <E187> gnas mnga' gsol mdzad^[480] rgyal po rje 'bangs
 kyi¹⁹ dga' ston lo bcu gsum²⁰ du byas so ||

§7 The First Transmission of the Phur-pa Teachings in Tibet

bsam yas 'byongs nas^[481] rgyal po dang | jo mo mkhar chen bza' dang | spyan 'dren²¹ mi gsum
 15 gyis²² rdo rje^[482] phur pa'i dbang nos | rgyud dang sgrub thabs <A134> nyan²³ te | phur pa rgyal
 po^[483] lugs su^[484] grags pa dang | sna nam²⁴ lugs | shud bu'i²⁵ lugs | mchims²⁶ lugs | jo mo lugs
 lnga²⁷ ru byung | de²⁸ rjes rong ban la gnang bas^[485] rong zom²⁹ lugs dang^[486] 'khon³⁰ la
 gnang ba las^[487] 'khon³¹ gyi lugs ding sang sa³² phur du grags pa 'di byung³³ ba yin la |

¹ du] CF, na ABDE ² par] BCEF, pa AD ³ du] CF, na ABDE ⁴ lhwam] CEF, lham ABD ⁵ 'dir] ABDE, 'di CF ⁶ kye] ABDE, kyi CF ⁷ snyeg] CF, bsnyeg BD brnyeg AE ⁸ slob dpon gyis] CDF, slob dpon gyi ABE, slaun (*skung yig*) gyi B ⁹ dud] *conj.*, dun ABDE, dang F, deng C ¹⁰ bza'] CF, bza'i ADE, gza'i B ¹¹ gzhob tu] CDF, gzhob du A, bzhob tu E, bzhob du B ¹² 'khar] F, mkhar ABCDE ¹³ bod] ABCDE, bod du F ¹⁴ slob dpon gyis] CDF, slob dpon kyi AE slaun (*skung yig*) kyi B ¹⁵ sen] ACDEF, se B ¹⁶ phran] ABCDE, bran F ¹⁷ 'tshal lo ||] CDEF, 'tshalo | B, btsalo (*skung yig*) || A ¹⁸ par] ABCDE, lo F ¹⁹ 'bangs kyi] CF, 'bangs kyi A, 'bang rnam kyi BDE ²⁰ bcu gsum] CDEF, gcu gsum A, gsum B ²¹ 'dren] CF, 'dren pa ABDE ²² gyis] BCDEF, gyi A ²³ nyan] CF, mnyan BDE, mnyen A ²⁴ nam] ACEF, snam BD ²⁵ shud bu'i] CF, shud bu BDE, shu bu A ²⁶ mchims] CF, 'chims ABDE ²⁷ lugs lnga] C, lugs | lnga F, lugs bzhi ABDE ²⁸ de] ACF, des BE, de'i D ²⁹ zom] ACF, zong BDE ³⁰ 'khon] AD, mkhon BCEF ³¹ 'khon] AD, mkhon BCEF ³² ding sang sa] AD, deng sang sa CE, ding sang pa B, deng song pa F ³³ byung] ACDF, 'byung BE

§8 lCams-lugs

cog ro bzas¹ slob dpon^[488] dngos la thug kyang dbang yi dam la zhus pas^[489] yi dam slob
 dpon^[490] gyi thugs kar 'dus² pas dbang skal³ chad | physis jo mo mtsho rgyal gyis thugs^{<Fr64>}
 brtse bas⁴ man ngag zab dgu gnang bas phur pa lcam lugs zhes 'byung ba de yin no || de'i nang
 5 nas^{<C33>} 'byung ba'i^[491] drag sngags gza' gdong dmar nag zhes^[492] grags pa | gnubs chen dang⁵
 rje btsun mi la'i mthu chen po^[493] de yang^[494] phur pa lcam lugs kyi gdams⁶ skor yin te ding
 sang⁷ gi bar du⁸ lung rgyun yod do ||

§9 The King Challenged Jo-mo

de nas brag^{<B239>} dmar⁹ bsam yas su^[495] slob^{<Ei88>} dpon^[496] gyis phyi nang gi chos rgya chen
 10 po gsungs pa'i dus^[497] <D12> jo mo mkhar chen bza' lha mo lwa sye¹⁰ ma'i sprul pa yin par
 gzigs | rgyal pos kyang gzungs¹¹ mar phul^[498] der slob dpon gyis¹² jo mo la | khyod la 'og min
 gyi zhing khams bstan gyi gsungs nas | slob dpon¹³ dang gnyis 'ja' ltar du yal nas song | zhag
 gsum^[499] song ba'i nang¹⁴ par log nas byung | rgyal pos mtsho rgyal la | khyod^[500] kyi 'og min
 gyi zhing khams mthong ngam gsungs pas | bdag gis¹⁵ kun tu bzang po'i zhing khams dang
 15 <A135> rdo rje sems dpa'^[501] dang | shākya thub pa dang | 'jam dpal dang | spyang ras gzigs dang |
 phyag na rdo rje¹⁶ dang | de rnams kyi^[502] zhing khams^[503] mi zad¹⁷ pa rgyan gyi 'khor lo bsam
 gyis mi¹⁸ khyab pa bstan te^[504] mthong^{<Fi65>} zhus pas^[505] mnga' bdag gi^[506] zhal nas^[507] de
 mi bden^[508] slob dpon gyis¹⁹ 'og min²⁰ gyi zhing khams spyod mi nus | de nus pa yin na gzugs
 kyi phung po la mi^{<C34>} chags pa yin te | slob dpon^[509] da rung²¹ gzugs kyi phung po la²² chags
 20 'dug pa gsungs pas | mtsho rgyal na re | bdag^{<B240>} gis²³ mthong ba'i^[510] zhing khams de rnams

¹ bzas] ACD, bzas | F, zas BE ² 'dus] ABCEF, bsdu D ³ skal] ACDF, bskal BE ⁴ brtse bas] CF, brtse bas | ADE, rtse bas | B ⁵ gnubs chen dang] C, gnubs pa dang D, gnubs pa dang | F, snubs pa dang ABE ⁶ gdams] ABCF, gdam DE ⁷ ding sang] AE, deng sang CD, deng song F, ding sangs B ⁸ du] ACDEF, *ins.* B ⁹ brag <B239> dmar] BCDEF, dmar A ¹⁰ lwa sye] C, la sya BDF, la bsrung E, srung A ¹¹ gzungs] CDF, gzung E, bzung A ¹² slob dpon gyis] CDF, slob dpon gyi AE, slaun (*skung yig*) gyi B ¹³ gsungs nas | slob dpon] AE, gsungs nas | slaun (*skung yig*) B, gsungs nas slob dpon CD, gsung nas | slob dpon F ¹⁴ ba'i nang] AC, pa'i nang BE, ba'i nangs F, pa'i nangs D ¹⁵ pas | bdag gis] BF, pas bdag gis CD, pas | bdag gi E, pas | bdagi (*skung yig*) A ¹⁶ phyag na rdo rje] DE, phyag na rdoe(*skung yig*)AB, phyag rdor CF ¹⁷ zad] CF, bzad ABDE ¹⁸ gyis mi] CD, gyi mi BE, gyi A ¹⁹ slob dpon gyis] CDF, slob dpon gyi AE, slaun (*skung yig*) gyi B ²⁰ min] ACDEF, smin B ²¹ rung] C, dung ABDE ²² *From* "mi chags pa" to "phung po la," *om.* E ²³ bdag <B240> gis] CDF, bdag gi BE, bdagi A

kyi bkod pa 'di dang 'di lta bu gda'¹ | rdzun² ma lags zhus pas | 'o na^[511] de dag bden ^{<E189>} na
 [512] sngon bdag gi^[513] ma gyim shang kong jo³ ma bde spyod rgyal po la gtod pa'i dus su | ge
 sar rgyal po'i lag tu bdag gi ma'i⁴ 'phrul gyi me long bse'i⁵ 'phub chung tsam zhig shor nas yod
 kyi | de slob dpon^[514] len du chug cig gsungs^[515] | jo mos slob dpon⁶ la de brjod ma thag tu slob
 5 dpon^[516] 'od du yal | rje'i⁷ shel phreng brgya rtsa brgyad bsgrangs⁸ ma zin pa la slob dpon gyis⁹
 ge sar rgyal po'i bang mdzod nas blangs nas¹⁰ byung ste | de jo mos rje la phul [517] yang rje'i
 zhal nas | 'o na sum cu rtsa gsum pa'i lha'i gnas¹¹ na bya khyung gi sgo nga yod kyi [518] de len
 du chug gsungs^[519] | jo mos zhus pas | de ma thag slob dpon^[520] gyis¹² blangs pa¹³ jo mos rje la
 phul | ^{<E166>} yang rje'i zhal nas [14 rgya mtsho'i gting¹⁵ na klu'i rgyal po gtsug na rin chen^[521] gyi
 10 bu mo mdzes ldan ma'i lag na ^{<A136>} yid bzhin gyi nor bu yod kyi | de len¹⁶ du chug gsungs¹⁷ |
 jo mos de skad brjod ma thag | slob dpon gyis¹⁸ blangs nas [522] jo mos rje la phul [523] ^{<B241>} ^{<C35>}
 yang rje'i zhal nas [524] bar snang khams na sbrang khams¹⁹ pa'i rnga ma yod kyi | de slob dpon
 la len du chug gsungs²⁰ | sngar ltar skad cig la blangs²¹ | yang rje'i zhal nas | zhang po rgya'i yul
 na sngon bskal pa bzang po'i nas²² tshad dang | tshe lo bcu pa'i^[525] bre tshad yod kyi gsungs |
 15 de yang skad cig la blangs byung [23 yang rje'i zhal nas | rdo rje^[526] gdan na sang rgyas^[527] shākya
 thub pa dang | ^{<E190>} dri ma med pa'i sku'i gdan khri'i bar gyi²⁴ sa 'og na gnam chag²⁵ pa'i dum
 bu bya ba dang [528] sa ral ba'i^[529] ras ma bya ba'i dum bu rin po che^[530] yod kyi [531] de slob
 dpon la len du chug gsungs²⁶ | jo mos slob dpon^[532] la brjod ma thag tu blangs byung ba²⁷ rje
 la phul bas [533] rje'i zhal nas | slob ^{<D13>} dpon gyi²⁸ rdzu 'phrul gyi khungs brtags²⁹ pa yin te

¹ lta bu gda'] CDF, lta bu bda' AE, ltu (*skung yig*) bda' B ² rdzun] BCDEF, brdzun A ³ jo] ADEF, jo/dzo B, jo mo C ⁴ ma'i] ABCDF, me'i E ⁵ bse'i] ABDE, bswe'i CF ⁶ mos slob dpon] CDF, mos slaun (*skung yig*) B, mo slob dpon A, jo mo'i slob dpon E ⁷ rje'i] ACF, rjes BDE ⁸ bsgrangs] AF, bsgrang B, bgrangs C, bgrang DE ⁹ slob dpon gyis] CDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) gyis B, slob dpon gyi A ¹⁰ blangs nas] ABDE, blangs CF ¹¹ lha'i gnas] CF, gnas ABD ¹² gyis] BCDF, gyi A ¹³ pa] C, pa | ABD, par F ¹⁴ nas |] ABCDF, *from* "o na" to "yang rje'i zhal nas |," *om*. E ¹⁵ gting] ACDF, ting BE ¹⁶ len] CF, slob dpon len ADE, slaun (*skung yig*) len B ¹⁷ chug gsungs] CDF, chugsungs (*skung yig*) A, chug gsung BE ¹⁸ thag | slob dpon gyis] CEF, thag | slaun (*skung yig*) gyis B, thag slob dpon gyis D, thag slob dpon gyi A ¹⁹ khams] BDE, kham ACF ²⁰ slob dpon la len du chug gsungs] C, slob dpon la lan du F, slob dpon len du chug gsungs D, slob dpon len chugsungs (*skung yig*) A, slob dpon len chug gsung E, slaun (*skung yig*) len chug gsu (*obs.*) B ²¹ blangs] ABCEF, blangs byungs D ²² nas] ABCDF, nang E ²³ blangs byung |] ABCF, blangs byung E, blang byung | D ²⁴ gyi] ADF, gyis BCE ²⁵ chag] AC, chags BDEF ²⁶ slob dpon la len du chug gsungs] CF, slob dpon len chugs gsungs D, slob dpon len chugsungs (*skung yig*) A, slob dpon len chugs gsung E, slaun (*skung yig*) len chugsung (*skung yig*) B ²⁷ ba] CD, bar F, pa ABE ²⁸ slob ^{<D13>} dpon gyi] ADE, slaun (*skung yig*) gyi B, slob dpon gyis CF ²⁹ gyi khungs brtags] BDE, gyi khungs brtag A, gyi khung brtag C, gyis gung brtag F

| zad mi shes pa 'dug | slob dpon^[534] 'di 'byung ba^[535] dang rang sems la dbang thob pa | dus
gsum gyi sangs ^{<F167>} rgyas^[536] las lhag pa gcig 'dug gsungs |¹ thugs ches² zhabs spyi bor blangs
so^[537] ||

de'i dus su rgyal po^[538] rje 'bangs rnam kyis³ tshe snga ma'i skye ba ji ltar^[539] blangs pa'i tshul
5 dang | de'i rgyu mtshan |^[540]

blon po khri⁴ bzang ^{<B242>} yab lhag khyod ||^[541]
skye ba 'di yi snga ma la ||^[542]
nya yi⁵ ^{<C36>} lus ni blangs pa'i rtags ||^[543]
da lta⁶ mchan khung g.yon na nya gshog⁷ yod |^[544]

10 zhes^[545] ^{<A137>} sogs gsungs⁸ pas kun yid ches |^[546] da lta rang rang so so'i⁹ bsam pa 'di ltar 'gyu¹⁰
tshul dang | ma 'ongs pa'i¹¹ dus kyi 'gyur ldog la sogs pa dus gsum sa ler¹² gzigs pas chags thogs¹³
med par lung bstan |

§10 The Practice of Phur-pa and the Slander from Ministers

dus 'dir lo tsā ba¹⁴ ba brang sti¹⁵ dza ya rakṣi ta dang | lce ku ku rā dzas¹⁶ byas nas chos mang
15 du bsgyur | mkhar chen dpal gyi¹⁷ ^{<E191>} dbang phyug la phur pa gnang bas | des rgyud kyi
don khong du¹⁸ chud | gdan 'dren pa mi gsum gyis¹⁹ kyang rgyud²⁰ kyi bshad pa^[547] rgya cher
spel te | sna nam gyis²¹ gtsang du spel |^[548] shud bus lho brag tu bshad | mchims kyis kong²² yul
mchims kyi steng²³ du spel lo || de tsa na²⁴ bsam yas 'chims phur²⁵ slob dpon^[549] padma 'byung
gnas dang |^[550] ^{<F168>} de'i lo tsā ba gnyags²⁶ dznyā na ku mā²⁷ ras byas te²⁸ | rje 'bangs nyer lngas
20 sgrub chen byas pa la | dar bza²⁹ byang chub kyis³⁰ sgrub pa la ya³¹ ga bsgrags³² nas chab gsol

¹ gcig 'dug gsungs || C, gcig 'dugsungs (*skung yig*) | A, cig 'dug gsung | BE, gcig 'dug gsungs || F, zhig 'dug gsungs
D ² ches] BCDF, ches | A, rje E ³ kyis] D, kyi ABCEF ⁴ khri] ABCDE, khirms F ⁵ yi] ABCDE, ba'i F
⁶ lta] BDEF, ltar AC ⁷ gshog] ABCEF, gshogs D ⁸ gsungs] ACDF, gsung BE ⁹ so'i] ABCDF, so E ¹⁰
'gyu] ABCDF, 'gyur E ¹¹ 'ongs pa'i] CF, 'ongs ADE, ong B ¹² sa ler] CDEF, sa legs par B, pa legs par A ¹³
thogs] BCDEF, thog A ¹⁴ tsā ba] BCE, tsā pa D, tsa ba AF ¹⁵ sti] CF, di ABDE ¹⁶ dzas] ACF, tsas BDE
¹⁷ gyi] BCDEF, gyis A ¹⁸ khong du] CDF, khongs su BE, khongsu (*skung yig*) A ¹⁹ gyis] BCDEF, gyi A ²⁰
rgyud] ACDF, brgyud BE ²¹ nam gyis] CF, nam gyi A, snam gyis D, snam gyi BE ²² kyis kong] CDF, kyi
kong A, kyi kongs BE ²³ steng] BCDEF, gting A ²⁴ tsa na] ACF, tsam gyis BDE ²⁵ 'chims phur] BCDF,
'chim phur | A, 'chings bur E ²⁶ gnyags] CDF, snyags ABE ²⁷ mā] ACF, ma BDE ²⁸ byas te] ABDE, byas
CF ²⁹ bza'] CF, za ABDE ³⁰ kyis] BCDEF, kyi A ³¹ ya] ABDE, yal CF ³² bsgrags] BCDEF, sgrags A

dgos zer | der¹ blon po rnam² kyis² btsad po la ^{‘B243’} zhus | khyad par ngan lam rtag³ ra klu
 gong gis slob dpon⁴ la ngan smras mang du byas pas kho kha lkugs | dar bza⁵ byang chub ni⁶
 sa’i ^{‘C37’} lha mo brtan⁷ ma phag ser khra la zhon pa⁸ | lag na lcags kyu thogs pas dar bza⁹ i⁹ lce
 nas btab ste^[551] gson por¹⁰ sa ’og tu khrid pa kun gyis¹¹ mthong bas |¹² blon po rnam² kyis slob
 5 dpon¹³ la chab gsol ma nus | bstan pa ma nub tsam du byung | der slob dpon^[552] rdzu ’phrul
 dang mthu stobs che bas | ^{‘A138’} bod ky¹⁴ i blon po chos la mi dga’ ba rnam² yid rab tu skrag ste |
 slob dpon¹⁴ slar rgya gar du ’byon¹⁵ pa’i zhu ba rgyal ^{‘E192’} po la phul |¹⁶ sdig blon rnam² dbang
 ches pas rgyal po^[553] yang gsan dgos pa byung nas zhal gyis bzhes | slob dpon^[554] la zhus pas
 | nga rgya gar du ’gro ba rung mod ky¹⁷ i | ’on kyang gsang sngags snying ma’i bstan pa yongs
 10 rdzogs spel ma thub ^{‘F169’} pas glo¹⁷ ba ma dga’ | bod ky¹⁸ i ri thams cad^[555] nags kyis¹⁸ khyab pa |
 gtsang po sbubs su ’jug¹⁹ pa | bye ma thams cad^[556] ne’u sing²⁰ du bsgyur ba | ’brog dgon pa
 dang | byang thang thams cad^[557] zhing la btang ba^[558] sogs bya rgyu²¹ mang po yod pa la | sems
 can^[559] ^{‘B244’} gyi bsod nams la ma shong ba²² yin |^[560] bod ’bangs snying re je gsungs | bsam
 yas ky²³ i mtha’ skor gyi²³ bye ma la bsnyen phur bsgril²⁴ bas ne’u sing du sngo zhur gyis song²⁵
 15 | gtsug ^{‘C38’} lag khang gi²⁶ lcags ri’i²⁷ mtha’ la bskor ^{‘D14’} ba mdzad pas |^[561] zhabs bzhag pa’i
 sar lcang ma re skyes so ||^[562] de nas rgyal po la |^[563] bstan pa bsrung ba’i drag sngags brgya rtsa
 brgyad dang |^[564] phan bya brgya nyi shu rnam²⁸ gnan^g | ’dzam bu’i gling gi nor kun bsdus²⁹
 nas rgyal po pe³⁰ dkar la gtad |^[565] de bsam yas ky²⁹ i bsrung mar bskos |

¹ | der] CF, | de ABE, || de D ² kyis] CD, ky¹⁴ i ABEF ³ rtag] C, stag ABDEF ⁴ gong gis slob dpon] CEF,
 gong gis slaun (*skung yig*) B, kong gis slob dpon D, gong gi slob dpon A ⁵ bza’] C, za ABDEF ⁶ ni] ACDEF,
 na B ⁷ brtan] C, bstan ABDEF ⁸ zhon pa] CF, zhon ABDE ⁹ bza’i] C, za’i ABDEF ¹⁰ por] ABDE, po
 CF ¹¹ gyis] BCDEF, gyi A ¹² bas] CF, bas BDE, pas A ¹³ rnam² kyis slob dpon] CDEF, rnam² kyis slaun
 (*skung yig*) B, rnam² syi slob dpon A ¹⁴ skrag ste | slob dpon] ACF, skrag ste slob dpon D, bsrag ste | slob dpon
 E, bskrag te | slaun (*skung yig*) B ¹⁵ ’byon] CF, byon ABDE ¹⁶ la phul || BCDE, la phul || F, phul | A ¹⁷
 glo] BCDEF, blo A ¹⁸ kyis] CDF, ky¹⁸ i ABE ¹⁹ sbubs su ’jug] CDF, sbubs (*skung yig*) ’jug A, sbubs su ’jugs
 E, sbubs (*skung yig*) ’jugs B ²⁰ sing] AC, seng F, gsing BDS ²¹ rgyu] BCDEF, ru A ²² shong ba] BCDEF,
 bshong pa A ²³ skor gyi] C, bskor gyi AF, bskor BDE ²⁴ bsgril] BCDEF, sgril A ²⁵ ne’u sing du sngo zhur
 gyis song] C, sing mar sngo zhung gi song A, sing mar sngo zhungs kyis song B, seng mar sngo zhungs kyis song
 F, sing mar sngo zhungs ky¹⁸ i song DE ²⁶ gi] A, dang BCDEF ²⁷ ri’i] ACDF, ri BE ²⁸ nyi shu rnam²] CF, nyi
 shu ADE, nyiu (*skung yig*) B ²⁹ bsdus] ABCDE, bsus F ³⁰ rgyal po pe] C, rgyal po dpe BDE, rgyalo (*skung
 yig*) pe A, rgyal po ber F

§II The Departure of Padmasambhava

de nas slob dpon^[566] gshegs khar^[567] jo mos zhus pas¹ | bdag bud med blo dman pas nyung la
 bslab par sla ba'i² chos shig^[568] zhu | ^{<E193>} nyon mongs pa rags pas nyon mongs pa³ 'joms pa'i
 chos shig^[569] zhu |^[570] tshe thung bas^[571] grub thag nye ba'i chos shig^[572] zhu |^[573] dgra mang
 5 ^{<A139>} bas mthu che ba'i chos shig zhu^[574] zhes zhu don ^{<F170>} bzhi phul bas | nyung la 'dus⁴ pa
 phur pa rtsa ba'i dum bu stod las byang chub sgrub⁵ pa | smad las dmod⁶ pa lam du khyer
 ba man ngag mchog tu gyur pa 'di gnang ngo || slob dpon gyis^[575] mnga' bdag la gsungs pa
 | da ni bdag ^{<B245>} srin po'i kha gnon⁷ la 'gro ba'i dus la bab pa⁸ 'dra'o ||^[576] bdag ni tshe'i^[577]
 rig⁹ 'dzin thob pa yin |^[578] mnga' bdag nyi kyang tshe'i^[579] dngos grub 'dod na tshe chu 'di
 10 'thung mdzod gsungs¹⁰ nas bdud rtsi bum pa gang gnang | der rgyal po'i dgongs pa la | slob
^{<C39>} dpon^[580] gshegs par chas pa 'dis ma dgyes¹¹ nas¹² | lho bal gyi zhabs kyis¹³ dug btang ba^[581]
 'dra'ang srid snyam |^[582] spyang thul gyi¹⁴ 'dabs nas¹⁵ mar pho bas¹⁶ de ma thag sa¹⁷ la chu mig
 rdol¹⁸ bas | ding¹⁹ sang chu rje²⁰ ne'u sing²¹ du grags so||^[583]

de nas slob dpon^[584] gshegs par²² mnga' bdag gis²³ ma bzod de |^[585] rgyal khirms zhid
 15 na'ang zhid^[586] rgyal po bdag nyid ma gum bar du bzhugs par zhu |²⁴ zhus pas | bsam ^{<E194>}
 yas su^[587] rgyun du bzhugs par²⁵ ma gnang | ma 'ongs²⁶ pa'i 'gro ba skal ldan^[588] rnams kyi don
 du bod kyi²⁷ sgrub ^{<F171>} gnas rnams su^[589] rgyud sde rgya mtsho'i dkyil 'khor bzhengs nas |^[590]
 sgrub²⁸ pa mdzad de^[591] byin gyis brlabs²⁹ pa dang | bod khams gling dgu'i sa gzhi thams cad^[592]
 zhabs kyis³⁰ bcags³¹ te bkra shis^[593] shing byin chags ^{<A140>} par bya ba dang | da dung bod kyi
 20 gdul bya ma rdzogs pas | ^{<B246>} de dag gi don gyi phyir dben gnas gangs³² dang ri brag mtsho
 gling rnams su^[594] gnas bcas te | rgyal po rje 'bangs kyi don du skabs skabs su^[595] 'ong gi³³ | nga'i
 chos kyi 'phro lus pa rnams rgya gar nas slob dpon^[596] bi ma la mitra spyang drongs la³⁴ zhus

¹ pas] A, par F, pa BCDE ² bslab par sla ba'i] C, bslab pa sla ba'i F, bslab sla ba'i A, bslab pa'i D, bslab ba'i B, bslab E ³ mongs pa] CF, mongs ABDE ⁴ 'dus] ACF, bsdus BDE ⁵ sgrub] ABCDE, bsgrub F ⁶ dmod] ACDF, smod B ⁷ gnon] BCDEF, mnon A ⁸ pa] ABCDE, par F ⁹ rig] BCDEF, rigs A ¹⁰ gsungs] ACDEF, gsung B ¹¹ dgyes] CF, dges ABDE ¹² nas] ABCDF, na E ¹³ gyi zhabs kyis] C, gyi zhabs kyi F, gyis zhal gyis A, gyi zhas kyis BE, gyi zhad kyis D ¹⁴ thul gyi] ABDEF, thul C ¹⁵ nas] BCDEF, na A ¹⁶ pho bas] ABCD, pho bas | F, phebs pas E ¹⁷ sa] ACF, pa BDE ¹⁸ rdol] CF, brdol ABDE ¹⁹ ding] ABDE, deng CF ²⁰ rje] ACF, rjes BDE ²¹ sing] ABCE, seng F gsing D ²² par] A, pa la C, pa BDEF ²³ gis] CDF, gi ABE ²⁴ par zhu |] ABDE, par zhu C, par F ²⁵ par] DEF, pa ABC ²⁶ 'ongs] ACDF, 'ong BE ²⁷ bod kyi] ACDF, bod BE ²⁸ sgrub] ABCDE, bsgrub F ²⁹ brlabs] F, brlobs BE, brlob ADF ³⁰ kyis] BCDEF, kyi A ³¹ bcags] ABCDF, btags E ³² gangs] ACDF, gang BE ³³ gi] AD, gis BCDF ³⁴ la] ACF, nas BDE

shig^[597] gsungs nas |¹ jo mo mtsho rgyal gyi² nye gnas byas te gshegs so |^[598] de nas sgrub³ gnas
rnams su^[599] ‹C40› byon nas sgrub⁴ pa mdzad |^[600] brag la sku dang phyag zhabs⁵ kyi rjes bzhag
|^[601]

khyad par^[602] du mtsho chen po bzhi la phyag rjes bzhag pa ni chu ma bskams⁶ kyi bar
5 du gnas par byin gyis⁷ brlabs |^[603] bsam yas kyi rab gnas dang | skabs su^[604] rgyal po rje ’bangs
la chos gsungs pa⁸ dang | btsun mo dmar rgyan bza’i mdze nad gsal ba rnams la byon |^[605]
mnga’ bdag grongs nas | sras mu ne^{‹E195›} btsan^{‹F172›} po yum gyis⁹ dug gis bkrongs |¹⁰ | mu khri
btsan po na^{‹D15›} gzhon |^[606] mtha’i^[607] dmag rgya dang | hor dang | ge sar dang | khrom la sogs
pas bod phung la nye ba na |^[608] rgyal srid^m lo gsum bskyangs¹² te bod ’bangs kyi don mdzad
10 | mthar rgyal bu la rgyal sa gtad de |^[609] de nas su yis^{‹B247›} bshol¹³ btab kyang ma gsan te | lho
nub rnga yab kyi yul¹⁴ du srin po’i kha gnon¹⁵ la gshegs te |¹⁶

§12 Duration of Stay in Tibet

de ltar¹⁷ bod yul ’dir ji tsam bzhugs snyam na |¹⁸ sba¹⁹ bzhed du bshad pa^{‹A141›} ltar

bsam yas kyi sa ’dul ba²⁰ la sogs pa’i bar du zla ba gsum bzhugs | de nas rgya gar la
15 gshegs pa ltar du sdig blon rnams kyi ngor mdzad nas bod kyi²¹ dben rtza kha²²
rnams su^[610] bzhugs te | zla ba drug gi²³ bgrod²⁴ pa re la lo dang zhag bco lnga la
zla ba rer rtsi ba | rgyal po lo chos la sogs pa rgya gar gi rtsis²⁵ ‹C41› lugs shig^[611] gi²⁶
dbang du byas pa’i^[612] lo brgya²⁷ dang bcu gcig^[613] | lo hril po lnga bcu rtza lnga
dang^[614] zla ba drug bzhugs pa yin no ||^[615]

20 don ’di nyid thugs su^[616] ma chud cing | lo rgyus la go ba ma longs pa dag gis²⁸ myang gi gter
dpe bai ro’i phyag bris ma^{‹F173›} las | slob dpon^[617] padmas²⁹ bod yul du lo brgya³⁰ dang bcu

¹ gsungs nas |] ADE, gsungs | C, gsungs nas || B, gsungs || F ² gyi] BE, gyis ACDF ³ sgrub] BCDEF, bsgrub A
⁴ sgrub] ABCDE, bsgrub F ⁵ phyag zhabs] CF, zhabs ABDE ⁶ bskams] CD, skams ABEF ⁷ gyis] BCDEF,
gyi A ⁸ gsungs pa] AD, gsung ba BCEF ⁹ gyis] BCEF, gyi AD ¹⁰ gis bkrongs |] D, gis bskrongs | BE, gis
bgrongs | C, gi bkrongs | A, gis brangs || F ¹¹ srid] ACF, khirms DE, khrim B ¹² bskyangs] ACDF, brkyangs
BE ¹³ bshol] ABCDE, gshol F ¹⁴ yul] ACF, gling BDE ¹⁵ gnon] CDF, mnon ABE ¹⁶ te |] ABDEF, so ||
C ¹⁷ ltar] ABDF, lta E ¹⁸ snyam na |] ABCDE, na F ¹⁹ sba] ABEF, rba CD ²⁰ ba] ABCE, na F ²¹ bod
kyi] ACF, bod BDE ²² rtza kha] A, rtza BCDEF ²³ gi] ABCEF, gis D ²⁴ bgrod] CD, bsgrod ABF, bsgred
E ²⁵ rtsis] ACEF, brtsis BD ²⁶ gi] ACF, gis BDE ²⁷ brgya] ABCDF, brgyad E ²⁸ gis] CF, gis | BDE, gi | A
²⁹ padmas] ACF, padma BDE ³⁰ brgya] BCDEF, brgyad A

gcig^[618] ^{<E196>} bzhugs te ^[619] zhes pas rgyal po'i bla mchod du lo brgya¹ dang | sgrub gnas rnams
 su^[620] lo bcu gcig bzhugs so^[621] || zhes zer | rgyal pos² dgung³ lo drug cu rtsa brgyad bzhugs par
 khas len mod kyi | de ltar ^{<B248>} na lugs de'i lo bcu dgu po de la gong gi⁴ mdzad pa de rnams
 rdzogs pa⁵ yul med la | mdzad pa de dag ji ltar mdzad pa'i tshul ni ding sang⁶ gi bar du phal che
 5 ba rnams⁷ mngon sum du gsal bas shes so ||^[622] spyir slob dpon^[623] 'di'i yon tan^[624] dang 'phrin
 las^[625] dang^[626] gdul bya 'dul⁸ tshul ni ^[627] 'phags pa sa bcu pa la gnas pa rnams kyis⁹ kyang
 bsam par mi nus shing^[628] sangs rgyas^[629] rnams kyis¹⁰ bskal pa brgya'i¹¹ ^{<A142>} bar du gsungs¹²
 kyang rdzogs mtha' mngon pa ma yin par rgya¹³ bod kyi paṅ grub thams cad¹⁴ bzhed de ^[630]

§13 Jo-mo-lugs

10 slob dpon^[631] de la phur pa'i slob ma mang yang | mchog tu bka' babs pa ni jo mo mtsho rgyal
^{<C42>} yin te | des mon kha ne¹⁵ ring¹⁶ seng ge rdzong gi¹⁷ brag phug tu phur pa'i dkyil 'khor^[632]
 zhal phytes¹⁸ bsgrubs¹⁹ pas zhag nyer ^{<F174>} gcig na²⁰ phur pa thams cad^[633] bzhad²¹ cing 'od
 'phro ba dang bro 'khrab²² pa byung | der jo mo'i dgongs pa la |

15 ma mo 'grub²³ na khrag zor 'phang²⁴ ||^[634]
 gshin rje 'grub²⁵ na 'khor lo^[635] bskor ||^[636]
 ging pho²⁶ 'grub²⁷ na ^{<E197>} las la rbad ||^[637]
 phur pa 'grub²⁸ na gdab²⁹ las bya ||^[638]

zhes pa las³⁰ | bdag la bsdo³¹ ba'i dgra ni med ^[639] su la brdeg gam³² snyam ste³³ bsnyen phur
 bsgril ba las | bdag ^{<B249>} la dgra med kyang pha³⁴ mes kyi srog gcod pa'i za 'dre la gdab³⁵ snyam
 20 du dgongs pa dang | bsnyen phur phyag nas shor³⁶ te nam mkha'^[640] la 'phur bas³⁷ | pha yul

¹ brgya] BCDEF, brgyad A ² pos] ACF, po'i BE, po D ³ dgung] CDEF, gung B, rgung A ⁴ gi] ACDEF, ga B ⁵ pa] E, pa'i ABCDF ⁶ ding sang] ABDE, deng C, deng song F ⁷ ba rnams] ABDE, ba CF ⁸ 'dul] ABCEF, btul D ⁹ kyis] BCDEF, kyi A ¹⁰ kyis] CDF, kyi ABE ¹¹ brgya'i] ACDEF, rgya'i B ¹² gsungs] ACDF, gsung BE ¹³ rgya] ACDEF, brgya B ¹⁴ grub thams cad] ACF, grub BDE ¹⁵ ne] CEF, sna ABD ¹⁶ ring] BCDE, rings AF ¹⁷ rdzong gi] ABCDE, rdzongs di ?F, ¹⁸ phytes te] CF, phye ste BDE, phye te A ¹⁹ bsgrubs] CF, sgrubs A, sgrub BDE ²⁰ na] ABDE, nas CF ²¹ bzhad] BCDEF, bzhed A ²² 'khrab] CDF, khrab A, phrab BD ²³ 'grub] CF, grub ABDE ²⁴ 'phang] BCDE, 'phangs A, 'phongs F ²⁵ 'grub] CF, grub ABDE ²⁶ pho] ABD, po CF ²⁷ 'grub] CF, grub ABDE ²⁸ 'grub] CF, grub ABDE ²⁹ gdab] ACDF, btab BE ³⁰ las] CF, la ABDE ³¹ bsdo] CF, brdo ABE, bdo D ³² gam] ACEF, gi BD ³³ snyam ste] CDE, snyam te A, snyams te F ³⁴ pha] BCDEF, pa A ³⁵ gdab] ACDF, bdab BE ³⁶ shor] BCDEF, bshor A ³⁷ 'phur bas] CF, 'phur nas AD, phur nas BE

gyi¹ khang pa'i ltag² na 'dre de gnas pa'i skyer phung gcig yod pa la babs te skyer phung³ de rtsa
 ba nas bsregs shing⁴ za 'dre de nyid⁵ bsgral ||^[641] phur pa de dbon rgyud⁶ rnam kyis⁷ bcangs
 te |⁸ gdengs pa tsam⁹ gyis¹⁰ <D¹⁶> lha 'dre mang po btul¹¹ bas | mkhar chen bza'¹² 'dre 'dul gyi
 rgyud¹³ pa zhes zam ma chad par¹⁴ byung ngo ||^[642] jo mo 'di ni sgrol ba tshad du phyin pas |
 5 mtshon gyis¹⁵ bsad¹⁶ pa'i mi ro yang gson por slong¹⁷ nus pa yin no ||^[643]

de nas ji ltar brgyud pa ni | jo mos rang <A¹⁴³> gi ming po mkhar chen dpal gyi¹⁸ dbang
 phyug la bshad | des la byi ye shes^[644] <F¹⁷⁵> brtsegs¹⁹ | des lce ston yon tan^[645] rgya mtsho | des
 lcam me²⁰ dpal sgron | des ngam 'bre²¹ klu'i rgyal mtshan | des ngam 'bre sa²² le | des rma chu
 rab kyi pha²³ rol | skye chu rab kyi tshur rol |²⁴ bye ma yug mo sgang du lang lab <E¹⁹⁸> byang
 10 chub rdo rje^[646] la bshad do ||^[647] de yan chad chig brgyud²⁵ kho na <B²⁵⁰> yin la | phur pa man
 ngag drug pa zhes bya ba'i brgyud pa yin ||^[648]

de nas lang lab kyis²⁶ bka' babs²⁷ sna nam²⁸ shes rab tshul khrim | bka' brkus pa²⁹ myang
 nag³⁰ dbang gi shes rab ces kyang grags³¹ | de'i dus³² kyi slob dpon^[649] so so'i chags sdang gi gтам
 yin gyi | myang nag³³ la bka' bab pa'i³⁴ lo rgyus³⁵ 'og tu 'chad do ||^[650]

15 de nas sna nam³⁶ gyis rgya ston sangs rgyas^[651] la bshad | des³⁷ shang³⁸ gur zhogs kham³⁹
 pa lung du rgya thung shes rab rgyal mtshan la bshad | des⁴⁰ nag po rmu'i brag phug tu dgon
 ston rdo rje^[652] rgyal mtshan la bshad de^[653] | 'dis ni sna nam⁴¹ shud bu mchims⁴² gsum gyi^[654]
 gdung brgyud⁴³ la yang thug nas zhus so ||^[655] phur pa la 'di bas mkhas pa ma byung zhes grags

¹ gyi] BCDEF, gyis A ² ltag] BCDEF, stag A ³ phung gcig yod pa la babs te skyer phung] C, phung zhig yod
 pa la babs te | skyer phung D, phur gcig yod pa la babs te skyer phung A, phung cig yod pa la babs te | skyer phur
 BE, phung F ⁴ bsregs shing] C, bsregs cing BDE, bsreg shing F, sreg cing A ⁵ nyid] ABDE, nyid du CF ⁶
 rgyud] A, brgyud BCDEF ⁷ rnam kyis] BCDEF, rnam syi (*skung yig*) A ⁸ bcangs te |] ABE, bcangs te CF,
 bcings te | D ⁹ tsam] ACDF, rtsam BE ¹⁰ gyis] BCF, gyi A ¹¹ btul] ACD, brtul BEF ¹² bza'] ACDF, gza'
 BE ¹³ gyi rgyud] B, gyi brgyud CDF, gyis rgyud AE ¹⁴ par] CDF, pa ABE ¹⁵ gyis] BCDEF, gyi A ¹⁶ bsad]
 ABCDE, gsad F ¹⁷ slong] ACDF, bslongs B, bslangs E ¹⁸ gyi] BCDEF, gyis A ¹⁹ brtsegs] ABDE, brtsegs
 la CF ²⁰ lcam me] CF, lce mo AB, lce me DE ²¹ 'bre] ABCD, 'dre F, 'bro E ²² ngam 'bre sa] A, ngam 'bre
 gsal BCD, 'dre gsal F, ngam 'bre gsal D ²³ pha] ABDE, pa C ²⁴ tshur rol |] BCD, tshu rol |AF, tshur ro || E
²⁵ chad chig brgyud] C, chad chig rgyud (*chig rgyud ins.*) F, chig brgyud BDE, cig rgyud A ²⁶ kyis] BCDE, kyi
 AF ²⁷ babs] CF, bo pa A, bo ba BDE ²⁸ nam] CF, snam ABDE ²⁹ khrim | bka' brkus pa] AB, khrim |
 bka' rkus pa DE, khrim bka' brkus pa BC, khrim F ³⁰ nag] BCDEF, nad A ³¹ ces kyang grags] F, zhes grags
 kyang ABDE, bces kyang grags C ³² de'i dus] BDE, de dus ACF ³³ nag] BCDEF, nad A ³⁴ bab pa'i] CF,
 bo ba'i ABDE ³⁵ rgyus] ACDEF, brgyus B ³⁶ nam] CF, snam ABDE ³⁷ des] ABCDE, de nas F ³⁸ shang]
 CF, bshangs ABDE ³⁹ kham] ABCDE, kham F ⁴⁰ des] ACDF, de'i BE ⁴¹ nam] CDF, snam ABE ⁴²
 mchims] ACDF, 'chims BE ⁴³ brgyud] CF, rgyud ABDE

[⁶⁵⁶] des myang dar ma seng ge la bshad [⁶⁵⁷] des gnubs¹ shes rab² ye shes⁶⁵⁸] la | des rang gi sras
 <C44> gnubs³ <F176> bdud rtsi 'od la [⁶⁵⁹] des sras phur grags la bshad | des sras jo lcam la bshad |
 des jo btsun grub ye⁴ | se mig pa | phu ri jo ston | shes <A144> rab rdo rje⁶⁶⁰] | tshe brtan⁵ dpal
 bzang | sngags 'chang shes rin pa | bsod nams⁶ rdo rje⁶⁶¹] | gcung⁷ dkon mchog⁶⁶²] bzang <B251>
 5 po [⁶⁶³] mkhan chen shes <E199> rab rje⁸ | sngags 'chang kun dga' dar po [⁶⁶⁴] 'jam dbyangs kun
 bzang | grags pa dpal 'byor | rgyal mtshan dpal bzang | bla chen chos kyi rgyal po [⁶⁶⁵] de la⁹
 bdag gyis¹⁰ man ngag drug pa'i dbang dang gdams skor¹¹ rnam kyi lung nos so ||¹²

§14 sKyi-lugs

yang lang lab kyi slob ma skyi¹³ ban byang chub rin chen⁶⁶⁶] bya ba gcig⁶⁶⁷] byung | de la pha
 10 spun rnam kyi¹⁴ khang zhing dang nor phrog¹⁵ pa la brten nas |¹⁶ lang lab la phur pa zhus te
 bsgrubs pas¹⁷ | pha spun gyi mi grong tsho¹⁸ dgu'i mi phyugs sgo khyi tshun chad¹⁹ tshar bcad²⁰
 de | mthar dgra 'di tsho shi bas⁶⁶⁸] mi chog⁶⁶⁹] khang pa'i gyang 'di mthong ba⁶⁷⁰] dang yang
 nga snying²¹ na gsungs nas [⁶⁷¹] phur pa bsgril²² bas | gyang kun kyang⁶⁷²] rmang²³ nas 'gyel
 te | de nas mtshan yang skyi²⁴ gyang 'gyel²⁵ du grags [⁶⁷³] de'i slob ma kham²⁶ <F177> pa stong
 15 gsum gyi sgom²⁷ chen mu ne²⁸ dang | thag <C45> gdong dkar gyi btsun pa shes rab 'od gnyis las
 mched de shin tu mthu che ba skyi²⁹ phur du grags pa byung nas | <D17> ding³⁰ sang ni gdams
 skor³¹ thor bu³² las | yongs su rdzogs³³ pa <B252> bzhugs pa'i bka' lung yod pa ma rnyed³⁴ do || yi
 ge rnying ma las |³⁵ thag btsun shes rab⁶⁷⁴] 'od kyi slob ma lha rje gnubs³⁶ chung yin par <E200>
 bshad pa ltar na [⁶⁷⁵] gza' gdong³⁷ dmar nag³⁸ skor³⁹ yang skyi'i⁴⁰ lugs la yod dam snyam⁴¹ <A145>

¹ gnubs] CDF, snubs ABE ² rab] ACDEF, rabs B ³ gnubs] CD, gnub F, snubs ABE ⁴ ye] ABDEF, 'od C
⁵ brtan] ACDF, bstan BE ⁶ nams] ACDEF, nam B ⁷ gcung] ACDF, bcung BE ⁸ rje] BCDEF, rdo rje A
⁹ la] ABDE, las CF ¹⁰ gyis] CD, gi ABEF ¹¹ skor] BCDEF, bskor A ¹² nos so ||] A, nos | C, nos || F, mnos | DE, gnos | B
¹³ skyi] D, kyi ABCEF ¹⁴ kyi] ABEF, kyis CD ¹⁵ phrog] ABE, 'phrog F, 'phrogs CD
¹⁶ brten nas |] CF, brten nas A, bstan nas | D, bsten nas | BE ¹⁷ te bsgrubs pas] C, pas bsgrubs nas F, bsgrubs nas D, sgrubs nas A, sgrub nas BE
¹⁸ grong tsho] ACEF, grongs tshe BD ¹⁹ chad] ABCDE, ched F
²⁰ bcad] BCDEF, gcad A ²¹ yang nga snying] BCDE, ya da | nga F, yang snying A ²² bsgril] BCDEF, sgril A
²³ rmang] AD, rmangs BCEF ²⁴ skyi] CD, kyi ABEF ²⁵ 'gyel] BCDEF, sgyel A ²⁶ kham] BCDEF, kham A
²⁷ gyi sgom] D, gyi bsgom BE, sgom CF, bsgom A ²⁸ ne] ABCDE, ni F ²⁹ skyi] D, kyi ABCED
³⁰ ding] ABDE, deng CF ³¹ skor] CDF, bskor ABE ³² bu] ACDEF, ba B ³³ yongs su rdzogs] ACDEF, obs. B
³⁴ rnyed] ACDEF, snyed B ³⁵ rnying ma las |] AD, rnying ma las EF, rnying pa las C, snying ma las | B
³⁶ gnubs] CD, snubs AE, gnub F, rnubs B ³⁷ gdong] ACDEF, sdong B ³⁸ nag] CF, nagi A, nag gi BDE ³⁹ skor] BCDEF, bskor A
⁴⁰ yang skyi'i] D, yang kyi A, yang kyis BE, yongs kyi CF ⁴¹ snyam] BCDEF, snyam A

mo ||^[676]

§15 The rDo-rje-phur-pa Masters of the New Tantric Traditions

spyir na^[677] rlangs | rngo | 'khon¹ | rog | gnubs² | so³ | zur | mgos⁴ | dpang | rgyus | 'o bran la
sogs pa'i rus chen rnams kyi^[678] gdung rigs las | rdo rje^[679] phur pa'i grub' pa thob pa ni bod
5 yul 'dir shin tu mang zhing^[680] brjod kyis⁶ mi lang la^[681] gsar ma'i sngags rnams ma dar gyi
bar du bod du yi dam⁷ dang bstan bsrung⁸ gi srog rtsa yang phur gyis⁹ bzung ba^[682] yin pas
| brgyud pa byin gyis brlabs¹⁰ pa'i sngags 'chang de rnams kyi¹¹ gdung rigs shas che ba las^[683]
gsar ma ba'i¹² skyes¹³ chen rnams kyang byon pa yin te | bstan pa'i bdag po sa skya pa^[684] dang
| khro phu¹⁴ ba dang | phag^{<E178>} mo grub pa la sogs pa lta bu^[685] ste | ci¹⁵ ltar byung ba'i tshul
10 ni | so so'i^[686] gdung rabs rnam thar rnams su^[687] gzigs par^{<C46>} mdzod kyi¹⁶ | bdag cag shes
rab chung ba rnams kyis¹⁷ brjod par mi nus¹⁸ so ||^[688]

§16 Rong-zom-lugs/Rong-lugs

§16.1 Transmission before Rong-zom-pa

da ni rang lugs la grags pa rong zom lugs kyi lo rgyus¹⁹ cung zad^{B<253>} brjod par bya ste^[689]
15 de la phur pa'i chos 'di rong zom la ji ltar brgyud pa ni^[690] slob dpon^[691] padma | sna nam²⁰
rdo rje^[692] bdud²¹ 'joms | mkhar chen dpal gyi²² dbang phyug^[693] don ā carya^{<E201>} dpal gyi²³
me tog^[694] sgrog rdo rje^[695] gzhon nu | zhang zhung yon tan^[696] grags | rong ban yon tan rin
chen^[697] | rong ban rin chen^[698] tshul khriims kyi bar du brgyud pa las 'ongs pa²⁴ yin la | kha
cig ni | rong ban yon tan rin chen^[699] gyis²⁵ slob dpon^[700] padma dngos^{<A146>} la thug^{[26} des mi
20 yul du lo sum brgya bzhugs te^[701] mthar sku²⁷ ma spangs par mkha'²⁸ spyod du gshegs^[702]

¹ 'khon] AD, mkhon BCEF ² gnubs] CDF, snubs ABE ³ so] ACF, se BDE ⁴ mgos] AB EF, 'gos CD ⁵
grub] ACDF, sgrub BE ⁶ kyis] CDEF, kyi AB ⁷ bod du yi dam] ACF, yi dam BDE ⁸ bsrung] AB EF, srung
CD ⁹ gyis] BCDEF, gyi A ¹⁰ gyis brlabs] CF, gyi brlob A, gyis rlobs BE, gyis rlob D ¹¹ rnams kyi] ACF,
rnams BDE ¹² ma ba'i] ABDE, ma'i CF ¹³ skyes] ACDEF, skye B ¹⁴ phu] ACDEF, bu B ¹⁵ ci] A, ji CF,
de BDE ¹⁶ kyi] ABDEF, cig C ¹⁷ rnams kyis] CF, dag gis BDE, dag gi A ¹⁸ nus] BCDEF, nu A ¹⁹ rgyus]
ACDEF, brgyus B ²⁰ nam] AF, snam BCDE ²¹ bdud] ACDEF, bdu B ²² gyi] BCDEF, gyis A ²³ gyi]
BCDF, gyis A ²⁴ 'ongs pa] ACF, 'ong ba E, 'ong pa BD, ²⁵ gyis] BCDEF, gyi | A ²⁶ thug]] DF, thug || AC,
thugs | BE ²⁷ sku] ABCDE, sku (*ins.*) F ²⁸ mkha'] ACDEF, mkhas B

§16.2 Rong-zom-pa

de'i sras rong ban rin chen^[703] tshul khirms¹ kyis² kyang lo phyed dang nyis brgya bzhugs | de'i
 sras rong zom yin la | 'dis lo brgya³ dang bcu dgu mi yul du bzhugs te |[⁷⁰⁴] sku bsgres⁴ rgud
 mi mnga' ba'i ngang nas sku gshegs pa yin zer | gang ltar yang grub thob bar ma chad pa'i
 5 brgyud pa yin la | 'di 'khrungs⁵ pa'i yul ni | bod ru bzhi'i nang nas ru lag gtsang smad kyi sa'i
 cha | rong gi snar lung par 'khrungs |[⁷⁰⁵] sku gzhon nu^[706] nas⁶ <C47> sgra tshad la sogs pa shes
 <B254> bya thams cad^[707] la mkhas shing |[⁷⁰⁸] gzhan dag dngos po stobs shugs⁷ kyi rigs pas⁸ tshar
 bcad⁹ pas | kha cig^[709] paṇḍi ta smr̥¹⁰ ti'i skye ba yin zer | kha cig^[710] paṇḍi ta phra¹¹ la ring mo'i
 skye ba yin zer | phyis jo bo rje dang rong yul lhar mjal te rtsod¹² pa byas pas |[⁷¹¹] jo <E202> bos
 10 rong zom ma thub | der jo bo'i¹³ zhal nas | khyod¹⁴ rgya gar gyi ā carya nag po zhabs chen po¹⁵
 spyod pa ba de'i¹⁶ skye ba yin te | kho bos khyod dang^[712] chos kyi gtam bya bas¹⁷ ga la thub ces
 gsungs | ngo <D18> mtshar ba'i^[713] mdzad pa dang cho 'phrul la thogs pa med pas | sangs rgyas^[714]
 shākya thub pa'i sprul par^[715] yang grags la | phal cher mthun par¹⁸ 'phags pa 'jam dpal gyi¹⁹
 sprul pa^[716] yin zhes bsngags pa²⁰ brjod do |[⁷¹⁷]

15 'dis dgung²¹ lo bcu gcig^[718] la mtshan nyid gsan | bcu gsum yan chad²² la gsan pa <A147>
 rdzogs te |[⁷¹⁹] mkhas pa'i phul du phyin | bslab²³ pa'i shes <F180> bya thams cad^[720] la yang ma
 rmongs | dka' ba'i gnas rnam kyang lan²⁴ re nyan²⁵ pas mkhyen pa yin te | rje nyid²⁶ kyi zhal
 nas²⁷ | bdag thos pa chung ba yang ma yin te | chos thams cad^[721] la ma thos pa med do |[⁷²²]
 <B255> bdag thos pa che ba yang ma yin <C48> te |[⁷²³] chos thams cad^[724] la tshar re las ma dgos so
 20 |[⁷²⁵] zhes gsungs | spyir na dam pa 'di shes rab zab la rgya che ba dri ma med pa dang ldan pas
 | rgya gar gyi chos su gtogs²⁸ pa mdo rgyud bstan bcos sngar ma gzigs pa dag la yang tshar re
 re gnyis²⁹ gzigs pas mkhyen nas |[⁷²⁶] tshig don ma lus pa thugs su^[727] chud cing mi brjed <E203>
 pa'i gzungs thob pa yin no |[⁷²⁸]

¹ khirms] ACDEF, 'khirms B ² kyis] BCDEF, kyi A ³ lo brgya] ABCD, brgya EF ⁴ bsgres] C, sgres AB, bgres DEF ⁵ 'khrungs] ACDEF, 'khrung B ⁶ nas] ACDEF, nas nas B ⁷ stobs shugs] C, stobs zhugs AF, stobs BDE ⁸ rigs pas] BCDF, rig pas A, rigs par E ⁹ bcad] BCF, gcad A ¹⁰ smr̥] ABCEF, smi D. *In D, the vow gi gu is reversed.* ¹¹ phra] CEF, 'phra ABD ¹² mjal te rtsod] AD, mjal rtsod CF, 'jal te brtsod B, mjal te brtsod E ¹³ bo'i] ACDF, bos BE ¹⁴ khyod] ACDF, khyed BE ¹⁵ po zhabs chen po] ACF, po zhabs chen E, po D, po zhabs chen (zhabs chen *ins.*) B, ¹⁶ ba de'i] ABCDF, bde'i E ¹⁷ bas] ABEF, bar C, ba D ¹⁸ cher mthun par] AC, chen mthun par F, cher BE ¹⁹ gyi] BCDEF, gyis A ²⁰ bsngags pa] ACDF, bsngags BE ²¹ dgung] CDEF, rgung AB ²² chad] ABCD, chod F ²³ bslab] CF, ma bslab AD, ma slabs BE ²⁴ lan] ACDEF, len B ²⁵ nyan] ACDF, nyen B ²⁶ nyid] A, 'di nyid CF ²⁷ nas] ABCDF, las ²⁸ gtogs] CDF, rtogs ABE ²⁹ gnyis] ABDE, gnyis gnyis tsam CF

gzhan yang tsa na ka la sogs pa 'jig rten lugs¹ kyi bstan bcos dang | tshad ma dang [⁷²⁹] sgra
dang | snyan ngag dang | rig byed kyi bstan bcos gzhan gsum dang | sa brtag² pa la sogs pa'i
shes bya phra mo mtha' dag la yang mkhas shing | thugs rje chen po mnga' bas chos la mos pa'i
mi rnam dang | chos kyi gang zag dang | rdo rje³⁰ theg pa la zhugs pa dag gi³ las dang dngos
5 grub sgrub⁴ par 'dod pa rnam la phyin ci ma log pa'i gdams pas nan tan du phan thogs⁵ par
mdzad | mngon par shes pa'i cha dang ldan zhing³¹ sems can 'dul ba'i dus dang³² tshod la
mkhas | 'gro ba phal pa³³ dang ^{<A148>} chos ^{<B256>} kyis⁶ blo bsgyur ba rnam tshe 'di dang phyi
ma gnyis ka⁷ bde ba la 'god pa'i phyir bstan bcos mang du brtsams⁸ shing [⁷³⁴] de lta bus⁹ phan
'dogs pa la ^{<C49>} dus rtag tu³⁵ skyo ba mi mnga' | chos kyi¹⁰ blo ma bsgyur ba'i skye bo phal
10 pa³⁶ la yang ser sna dang gnod sems spangs nas thugs rje'i¹¹ yul du mdzad de zhi bde la 'god
[⁷³⁷] sdom pa dang thugs dam la srog ltar gces spras su³⁸ mdzad cing | gzhan¹² dag kyang de
la sbyor | chos rtsom¹³ pa na ^{<E204>} glegs¹⁴ bam bsdu zhing¹⁵ gzigs¹⁶ pa la sogs pa'i rtsol¹⁷ ba ma
mdzad kyang | chos phyogs med la thogs rdugs¹⁸ med pa'i spobs pa spro bar nus [¹⁹

bstan bcos mdzad pa de dag kyang [⁷³⁹] lung dang rig pa²⁰ dang mi 'gal zhing [⁷⁴⁰] sgra
15 skyon dang don skyon dang rnam par⁷⁴¹ bral bas⁷⁴² gzhan mkhas pa sus kyang brtsod mi
nus | sgra'i tshul dang samskṃ²¹ ta'i skad ma bslab²² par ^{<F182>} mkhyen | byis pa'i dus su a tsa
ra byung tshad la dgyes shing de dag gi skad la mkhas [⁷⁴³] byi to'i po ti²³ gzigs pas skad dod
kyi bag chags sad pa ltar gyur | tha na dud²⁴ 'gro'i skad dang brda²⁵ yang mkhyen [⁷⁴⁴] 'khrul
pa mi mnga' zhing byin rlabs ^{<B257>} che bas [⁷⁴⁵] des mdzad pa'i gsang sngags kyi yig cha rnam
20 la slob pa'i²⁶ ^{<D19>} rgyud²⁷ du byung ba'i⁷⁴⁶ gang zag rnam kyis²⁸ lung ma thob par yi ge la²⁹
byung ba⁷⁴⁷ bzhin³⁰ du bsgrubs³¹ pa la byin rlabs³² dang dngos³³ grub ma byung ba med [⁷⁴⁸
lo tsā ba chen po de la dus de'i tshe³⁴ bod ru bzhi'i ^{<A149>}^{<C50>} mkhas pa mang pos³⁵ btud³⁶

¹ 'jig rten lugs] ADE, 'jiten (*skung yig*) lugs B, 'jig rten CF ² brtag] ACF, brtags D, rtags BE ³ gi] ACF, gis BDE ⁴ sgrub] ABCDE, bsgrub F ⁵ thogs] ACDF, thog BE ⁶ kyis] BDE, kyi ACF ⁷ ka] CDF, ga ABE ⁸ brtsams] ACDF, brtsam BD ⁹ lta bus] BCDF, ltar bus E, lta bu'i A ¹⁰ kyi] CE, kyis ABDF ¹¹ rje'i] ABDE, rjes CF ¹² gzhan] ABCEF, gzhan pa D ¹³ rtsom] CE, brtsom ABDF ¹⁴ glegs] ACDF, gleg BE ¹⁵ zhing] ABCDE, zhes | F ¹⁶ gzigs] BCDEF, gzig A ¹⁷ rtsol] CDF, brtsol ABE ¹⁸ rdugs] CD, sdugs A, rdug F, sdug BE ¹⁹ bar nus [] ABDE, ba nas C, bar nas F ²⁰ rig pa] BCEF, rig ba A, rigs pa D ²¹ samskṃ] CD, sangkri AE, sam kri F, samkri ²² bslab] ACDF, bslabs BE ²³ byi to'i po ti] C, byi to'i spo'i sti F, bi brta'i spo ti A, bi brti'a spo sti B, bi brti'a po ti E, bi bsta'i po ti D ²⁴ dud] ACDEF, bdud B ²⁵ brda] CF, brda' ABDE ²⁶ pa'i] ACF, ma'i BDE ²⁷ rgyud] AF, brgyud BCDE ²⁸ kyis] BCDEF, kyi A ²⁹ la] CF, las ABDE ³⁰ bzhin] ACDEF, zhin B ³¹ bsgrubs] D, bsgrub CF, sgrub A, sgrubs BE ³² rlabs] ACDF, brlabs BE ³³ dang dngos] ABCD, dngos F ³⁴ de'i tshe] ABCEF, de tshe D ³⁵ mang pos] ACDEF, lang pos B ³⁶ btud] ABCDF, gtud E

par gyur te | go rub lo tsā ba dge slong chos kyi shes rab ces bya ba^[749] chos phyogs med la
 mkhas pa zhig gis^t | thog mar bod du^[750] skyes pa'i gang zag gyis² chos mang po brtsoms pa
 zhes bkur pa³ btab po ||^[751] <E205> physis bla ma rong zom gyis⁴ mdzad pa'i theg pa⁵ chen po'i
 tshul la 'jug pa'i po ti de⁶ mthong bas |^[752] gus pa chen po skyes te | zang zing mang pos mnyes
 5 pa⁷ byas te nyes pa bshags nas bdag rjes su bzung du gsol |^[753] zhes zhus pas gnang ste | 'jam
 dpal gsang <F183> rgyud la sogs pa chos mang du zhus pas gnang | gzhan yang mar pa chos kyi
 dbang phyug la sogs pa'i lo tsā ba dang | mkhas par grags pa'i blo rtsal can⁸ mang pos btud
 cing gsan par gyur te |^[754] gsan pa po <B258> de dag gi⁹ slob brgyud¹⁰ thams cad^[755] kyang shin tu
 dad nas bla ma dam par 'dzin no ||^[756]
 10 gsang rgyud kyi skabs su^[757] nyid kyi zhal nas | 'o skol la da ltar^m rgya dpe yod na 'di ltar
 'gro ba yin te | rgya dpe med pas da lta¹² bcos su med gsungs pa^[758] la | go rub kyis de¹³ bzung
 nas |¹⁴ physis jo bo kṛṣṇa¹⁵ pa zhes bya ba'i paṇḍi ta las rgya dpe byung nas de la¹⁶ gsan pas |^[759]
 rong pa¹⁷ chen po gsungs pa¹⁸ bzhin byung nas |¹⁹ shin tu <C51> mos te | kṛṣṇa²⁰ pa las byung
 pa'i dpe gcig^[760] rong pa de nyid²¹ la phul nas yang gsan skad |
 15 gzhan yang rong pa 'dis | paṇḍi²² ta <A150> manydzu shrī warma²³ dang | manydzu shrī
 dznyā na dang | u pā²⁴ ya shrī mi tra dang | buddha²⁵ ā <E206> ka²⁶ ra bha dra dang | de nā²⁷ ka
 ri tsantra dang |²⁸ pa²⁹ ra me shwa³⁰ ra dang | a mo gha badzra la sogs pa paṇḍi ta mang po
 bsten³¹ nas | de dag gi³² lo tsā³³ ba mdzad de³⁴ | rdo rje^[761] 'jigs byed dang | gshin rje dgra rgyud
 dang | 'jam dpal <F184> sngags³⁵ don dang | bde mchog rtsa rgyud la sogs pa mang du bsgyur
 20 | 'gyur shin tu bzang bas phan che bar btags | paṇḍi ta kun gyi gsung³⁶ nas kyang | dharma³⁷
 bha dra³⁸ khyod kyis³⁹ chos mang po rtsoms⁴⁰ <B259> la 'gro ba rnam skyobs shig |⁴¹ khyod kyi

¹ gis] BCDEF, gi A ² gyis] C, gi ABE, gis DF ³ brtsoms pa zhes bkur pa] A, brtsams zhes bskur pa CF, brtsoms pa zhes bskur ba B, brtsoms pa zhes bskur pa E, rtsom pa zhes skur ba D ⁴ gyis] BCDEF, gyi A ⁵ theg pa] BCDEF, *ins.* A ⁶ po ti de] CF, po ti D, spo ti de A, spo sti BE ⁷ pa] ABE, par CDF ⁸ can] ACDEF, cen B ⁹ dag gi] ACF, bdag gi DE, bdagi (*skung yig*) B ¹⁰ brgyud] ACDF, rgyud BE ¹¹ ltar] ABE, lta CF ¹² lta] ABCEF, ltar D ¹³ kyis de] CF, kyi sa de A, kyi dpe BDE ¹⁴ bzung nas |] A, bzung nas CF, bzungs nas | BE ¹⁵ kṛṣṇa] CEF, kṛṣṇa B, kṛaṣṇa A ¹⁶ la] ABCDF, las E ¹⁷ pa] BCDEF, po A ¹⁸ gsungs pa] ACD, gsung ba F, gsung pa BE ¹⁹ nas |] A, nas BDE, bas CF ²⁰ kṛṣṇa] BCDEF, kṛṣṇa A ²¹ de nyid] CF, nyid ABDE ²² paṇḍi] ABCDF, piṇḍa E ²³ warma] CF, warma B, warmma ADE ²⁴ pā] ABDE, pa CF ²⁵ buddha] ABCDF, bud dha E ²⁶ ā ka] BCDE, ā kā A, a ka F ²⁷ nā] BDE, bā ACF ²⁸ tsantra dang |] ABCDE, tsan tra dang || F ²⁹ pa] ABDE, sa CF ³⁰ shwa] ACF, sho BDE ³¹ po bsten] C, po brten A, po bstan BF, por bstan D, pos bstan ³² dag gi] ADEF, dagi (*skung yig*) B, dag gis C ³³ tsā] ABCDE, tsa F ³⁴ de] CDF, te AE, ste B ³⁵ sngags] BCDEF, bsngags A ³⁶ gyi gsung] ABCDE, gyis gsungs F ³⁷ dharma] ABCDF, dharmā ³⁸ dra] CF, tra ABDE ³⁹ kyis] BCDEF, kyi A ⁴⁰ rtsoms] C, brtsoms ABEF, rtsom D ⁴¹ skyobs shig |] BCEF, skyobs shig D, shig | A

yon tan^[762] gzhan lta zhog gi | sgra tshad kyi lugs 'di'i¹ sum cha tsam las mi shes pas kyang^[763]
rgya gar na chos mang po rtsom² pa yin |^[764] khyod^[765] ci'i phyir chos mi brtsom³ zhes gsungs
| de lta bu'i yon tan^[766] phun sum tshogs pa dang ldan yang^[767] bdag bstod⁴ la sogs pa'i dri ma
dang bral zhing^[768] gzhan gyi chos lugs dang spyod pa dman yang don du 'gyur na ma gtogs
5 |^[769] pha rol khyad du bsod pa'i gтам ye mi gsungs⁵ | brag gzar⁶ <C₅₂> po'i ngos⁷ la gshegs ba
dang | nam mkha'^[770] la 'phur pa^[771] dang | brag la phur pa 'debs pa la sogs pa'i rdzu⁸ 'phrul
dang⁹ grub brtags¹⁰ la thogs pa mi mnga' | myang smad du 'gar¹¹ ston tshul khrims bzang po
la gsang sngags¹² rnying ma <E₂₀₇> gsan te |^[772] 'di dgung¹³ lo bcu gnyis^[773] pa'i <D₂₀> dus yin |
lo bcu gsum pa la mkhas pa mdo ston seng ge rgyal <F₁₈₅> mtshan la <A₁₅₁> yang gsan | mnal¹⁴
10 lam du gsang ba snying pos zan byas | sangs rgyas^[774] mnyam¹⁵ sbyor gyis¹⁶ tshod ma byas gsol
ba^[775] rmis pa¹⁷ slob dpon^[776] la zhus pas | de shin tu bzang |^[777] chos de khongs su¹⁸ chud pa'i
rtags yin |^[778] de gnyis la khyod kyi¹⁹ 'grel pa re gyis <B₂₆₀> gsungs |²⁰ 'grel pa mdzad de^[779] | bod
du yig cha byung ba^[780] la bzang | dus phyis bstan bcos mdzad pa ni | bslab pa rin po che gsum
la brten²¹ pa'i ched du |^[781] gal che ba'i man ngag gsum mdzad de^[782] | lhag pa tshul khrims
15 kyi bslab pa²² rgyud la bskyed pa'i²³ phyir dam tshig gi mdo rgyas mdzad |²⁴ lhag pa ting nge
'dzin²⁵ gyi bslab pa rgyud la bskyed²⁶ pa'i phyir 'grel pa²⁷ tshul bzhi yan lag bco lnga pa mdzad
|²⁸ lhag pa shes rab kyi bslab pa rgyud la bskyed pa'i phyir rdzogs pa chen po²⁹ lta³⁰ bsgom³¹
man ngag mdzad | gzhan yang <C₅₃> ngan song sbyong³² rgyud dang³³ | 'jigs byed dang^[783] smra
sgo la sogs pa la³⁴ yang 'grel³⁵ pa^[784] mdzad cing | bstan bcos gzhan yang mang du mdzad |^[785]
20 de'i dus su shab kyi yang khyer³⁶ bla ma | mar pa do pa³⁷ | 'o yug³⁸ <E₂₀₈> pa mda' bsam gtan³⁹

¹ 'di'i] BCDE, 'di'a A, 'di F ² rtsom] CD, brtsom AF, brtsoms BE ³ brtsom] ABDE, brtsam C, rtsom F ⁴
bstod] ACDEF, stod B ⁵ gsungs] ABDEF, gsung C ⁶ gzar] CF, bzang ABDE ⁷ ngos] ACDF, ngo BE ⁸
pa'i rdzu] BCDEF, rdzu A ⁹ dang] ACDE, dang | F ¹⁰ brtags] C, rtags ABDEF ¹¹ 'gar] ABCE, mgar DF ¹²
gsang sngags] CDF, sngags ACE ¹³ dgung] CDEF, rgung AB ¹⁴ mnal] ACDF, rnal BE ¹⁵ mnyam] ACDF,
mnyams BE ¹⁶ gyis] CDF, gyi ABE ¹⁷ rmis pa] ACD, rmis pa | F, smis pa BE ¹⁸ khongs su] ABDE, khong
du CF ¹⁹ kyi] A, kyi BCDEF ²⁰ gsungs] A, gsungs pas CF, gsungs pas | BDE ²¹ brten] A, bsten BCDEF
²² pa] ACDEF, ba B ²³ bskyed pa'i] ACF, skye ba'i BDE ²⁴ phyir dam tshig gi mdo rgyas mdzad |] A, phyir
dam tshig mdo rgyas mdzad | BCDE, phyir | 'grel pa tshul bzhi yan lag bco lnga pa mdzad | F ²⁵ ting nge 'dzin]
ACDE, ting 'dzinam (*skung yig*) B ²⁶ gyi bslab pa rgyud la bskyed] AC, gyi bslab skyed D, gyis bslab pa bskyed
BE ²⁷ 'grel pa] ACD, 'brel ba BE ²⁸ mdzad |] ABCDE. *From* "lhag pa ting nge 'dzin" *to* "mdzad |," *om.* F
²⁹ po] ABDE, po'i CF ³⁰ lta] ACDF, blta B ³¹ bsgom] ABDE, sgom CF ³² sbyong] ABCDF, sbyod E ³³
rgyud dang] ABDE, rgyud CF ³⁴ pa la] ACF, pa BE, par D ³⁵ 'grel] ACDEF, 'brel B ³⁶ khyer] A, khyed CF,
khye BDE ³⁷ do pa] ABDE, dol ba C, | dol pa F ³⁸ yug] ACF, yugs BDE ³⁹ bsam gtan] CDF, bsam bstan
E, msam bstan B, bstan A

| mdo'i khyung¹ po hūm² snying | se khrom rgya mtsho 'bar | mtshams³ ston go cha | dpang
 ka dar chung | ⁴ 'gos⁴ lhas⁵ btsas | rgya rgyal tshul khirms⁶ la sogs pa bod ru bzhi'i mkhas
 pa rnams kyis⁷ rtsod⁸ par brtsams te⁹ | bod du¹⁰ skyes pa'i gang zag gis¹¹ bstan ¹² 'A152' <B261> bcos
 'di tsam brtsams¹² par¹³ mi rigs so¹⁴ zhes zer zhing sun¹⁴ 'byin du sku drung du¹⁵ 'ongs pas¹⁶
 5 | gsung¹⁷ gleng mdzad pa tsam gyis¹⁸ rtsod¹⁹ pa'i spobs²⁰ pa bcoms²¹ | bstan bcos re mthong
 bas²² shin tu mos te | ²³ thams cad²⁴ kyis²⁴ chos zhus | zhabs tog²⁵ mdzad de gtan²⁶ gyi skyabs
 gnas su²⁷ 'dzin²⁷ par gyur to | ²⁸ [789]

de ltar rong zom 'di ni 'khrungs pa tsam nyid nas ngang gis²⁸ dge ba'i kun spyod can lhun
 gyis²⁹ grub pa'i³⁰ shes rab che | ³¹ [790] 'jig rten³¹ lugs kyi thugs dkyil³² yang shin tu che zhing³³ [791]
 10 rang dang dus mtshungs kyi mkhas pa thams cad³⁴ kyis³³ mngon par bstod | ³⁵ [792] phyi nang³⁴
 gi rig pa'i gnas mtha' dag la ³⁶ 'C54' mkhas | khyad par sgra tshad la ma rmongs pas | bod kyid skad
 la yang | 'di ni don 'di tsam zhig la 'jug go³⁵ zhes tshig don gyi khyad par³⁷ [794] phra mo dag kyang
 gzhan las ches lhag par ston nus | mdo rgyud bstan bcos bod du 'gyur ³⁸ 'E209' ro cog gi³⁹ [795] tshig
 don ma lus³⁶ pa thugs su⁴⁰ chud cing mkhas | tha na 'jig rten⁴¹ [797] pa'i 'tsho³⁷ tshigs³⁸ zhing
 15 las | phyugs skyong ba³⁹ | dkar she sgrub⁴⁰ pa sogs la'ng mkhas pas | de dag⁴² [798] <B262> ji ltar⁴³ [799]
 sgrub⁴¹ pa'i bstan bcos kyang mdzad | ⁴⁴ [800] bod kyid lha 'dre thams cad⁴⁵ [801] kyis kyang chos zhu
 zhing bsnyen bskur⁴² bka' sgrub⁴³ | lta ba mchog tu gyur | chos thams cad⁴⁶ [802] dam | bstan pa'i
 bdag por gyur pa yin te | slob dpon⁴⁷ [803] padma 'byung gnas kyid chos thams cad⁴⁸ [804] kyang⁴⁹ [805]
 <A153> mnga' | bai ro tsa na'i ⁵⁰ 'D21' chos thams cad⁵¹ [806] kyang | bai ros gyi sgra snying po | ⁵² [807] des
 20 bla chen dgongs pa rab gsal | des grum⁴⁴ shing slag can nas | ⁵³ [808] gnubs⁴⁵ dpal brtan⁴⁶ | ya zi

¹ khyung] ABCDE, gyung F ² hūm] ACDE, hūm B, yang F ³ mtshams] BCDEF, 'tshams A ⁴ 'gos] ABCDE, mgos F ⁵ lhas] ABDE, lha sa C, lhas las F ⁶ tshul khirms] CF, tshul ABDE ⁷ kyis] BCDEF, kyid A ⁸ rtsod] ACDF, brtsod BE ⁹ brtsams te] ABDEF, brtsam ste C ¹⁰ du] ADF, ru BE ¹¹ gis] CDF, gi ABE ¹² brtsams] ABDE, brtsam CF ¹³ par] ABCDF, pa E ¹⁴ sun] CDF, bsun ABE ¹⁵ drung du] ABCDE, drung F ¹⁶ 'ongs pas] ACF, 'ong bas BDE ¹⁷ gsung] ACDF, gsungs BE ¹⁸ gyis] BCDEF, gyid A ¹⁹ rtsod] CDEF, brtsod AB ²⁰ spobs] ACDEF, spob B ²¹ bcoms] AD, bcom BCEF ²² bas] BCDF, pas A, bar E ²³ te |] ABCDE, te F ²⁴ kyis] CDF, kyid ABE ²⁵ tog] BCDEF, togs A ²⁶ gtan] ACDF, bstan BE ²⁷ 'dzin] ABCDF, mdzad E ²⁸ gis] CDEF, gi AB ²⁹ gyis] BCDEF, gyid A ³⁰ pa'i] ABDE, pas CF ³¹ rten] ACDEF, ten B ³² dkyil] CEF, skyel A, bskyel B, dkyel D ³³ kyis] CDF, kyid ABE ³⁴ nang] CEF, nang (*ins.*) A ³⁵ 'jug go] BCDE, 'jug go | F, 'jugo (*skung yig*) A ³⁶ lus] ACDEF, *obs.* B ³⁷ 'tsho] CDF, mtsho ABE ³⁸ tshigs] CDF, tshid ABE ³⁹ phyugs skyong ba] BCDEF, phyugskyong (*skung yig*) pa A ⁴⁰ sgrub] ABCDE, bsgrub F ⁴¹ sgrub] ACF, bsgrub BDE ⁴² bskur] ABE, bskur | C, bkur DF ⁴³ sgrub] ACF, bsgrub BDE ⁴⁴ grum] BCD, grums AF, gru ma E ⁴⁵ gnubs] CD, snubs ABE, gnub F ⁴⁶ brtan] ACF, ldan BDE

bon ston | des rong zom la bshad de^[809] | sems phyogs kyi¹ rgyud² pa lugs gcig^[810] kyang mnga'
ste^[811] bstan pa'i bdag por gyur |^[812]

'dan klong³ thang sgrol⁴ mar sku 'khrungs pa'i sprul pa'i sku a ro ye shes^[813] 'byung gnas
kyi' gdams pa'i bdag po⁶ yang yin te |^[814] <C⁵⁵> 'di la rgya gar bdun brgyud⁷ dang |⁸ rgya'i hwa
5 zhang⁹ bdun brgyud¹⁰ kyi gdams pa yod pa las |^[815] a ro'i dngos slob cog¹¹ ro zangs dkar mdzod
khur dang^[816] khams¹² pa ya zi bon ston gnyis ka la rong zom gyis¹³ <E²¹⁰> gsan no || de nas
brgyud¹⁴ pa tsho la rdzogs chen khams lugs su^[817] grags | <F¹⁸⁸> bi ma la las^[818] brgyud pa rnams
kyang |^[819] myang ting 'dzin^[820] bzang po dang | <B²⁶³> rma rin chen^[821] mchog dang | gnyags¹⁵
dznya¹⁶ na ku mā ra nas brgyud pa dag kyang | gnyags¹⁷ dang¹⁸ rma gnyis kas khu byang chub
10 'od dang | khyung po dbyig 'od las rim par 'ongs te¹⁹ rong zom la mnga' | mdor²⁰ na 'di'i mkhyen
pa dang yon tan^[822] ni sus kyang brjod du mi nus shing | bod gangs can gyi rgyud²¹ 'dir 'di dang
mnyam pa'i mkhas pa ni su yang ma byung la | spyir 'di sangs rgyas^[823] kyi sprul pa yin mod kyi
| grub pa thob pa ni rdo rje^[824] phur pa'i sgo²² nas yin pas | phur pa'i bstan bcos kyang mang
<A¹⁵⁴> du mdzad de |^[825]

15 §16.3 Family Lineage

brgyud pa rnams kyang grub thob zam ma chad par byon pa yin la | de yang²³ sras brgyud²⁴
dang |^[826] slob brgyud gnyis las | gdung rabs ni²⁵ | dang por rong ban dpal gyis²⁶ rin {yon tan rin
chen^[827] }²⁷ po che | de'i sras rong ban rin chen^[828] tshul khrims | <C⁵⁶> de'i sras rong zom chos
kyi bzang po dang | bsgom²⁸ chen chos 'phags gnyis | chos bzang gi sras gzi brjid 'bar²⁹ dang
20 'bum 'bar gnyis |^[829] gzi brjid 'bar gyi sras ston dar dang^[830] ston skyabs gnyis | ston dar la <E²¹¹>
sras ston seng³⁰ | ston seng gi sras jo sras <F¹⁸⁹> ra³¹ spe | <B²⁶⁴> 'di'i sras³² 'bum dpal | ston skyabs
kyi sras jo sras 'od zer^[831] | de'i sras slob dpon^[832] 'bum bstan | chos bzang gi³³ sras gnyis pa

¹ phyogs kyi] ACF, kyis BDE ² rgyud] A, brgyud BCDF ³ 'dan klong] CF, ldan klongs ABE, ldan klong D
⁴ sgrol] CF, sgron ABDE ⁵ kyi] ACDF, kyis BE ⁶ po] ABCD, por F ⁷ brgyud] BCDEF, rgyud A ⁸ dang
[] ABDEF, dang C ⁹ zhang] ABE, shang CDF ¹⁰ brgyud] BCDEF, rgyud A ¹¹ cog] ABDE, lcog CF ¹²
khams] BCDE, kham AF ¹³ gyis] BCDEF, gyi A ¹⁴ brgyud] ACDF, rgyud BE ¹⁵ gnyags] CD, snyags ABE,
gnyag F ¹⁶ dznya] ABCEF, dznya D ¹⁷ gnyags] CDF, snyags ABE ¹⁸ dang] BCDEF, dznya A ¹⁹ 'ongs
te] ACEF, 'ong ste D, 'ongs ste B ²⁰ mdor] ACDEF, 'dor B ²¹ rgyud] BCDE, brgyud AF ²² sgo] ABCDE,
dgongs F ²³ de yang] ACF, des BDE ²⁴ brgyud] ACF, rgyud BDE ²⁵ ni] ABDE, kyi ni CF ²⁶ gyis] A,
gyi BCDEF ²⁷ Note: Only C and F have this annotation. In C it is right after rin and connected to it with a
dotted link. In F it is in the next line right below dpal gyi rin po che and connected to it with a dotted line. ²⁸
bsgom] ABE, sgom CDF ²⁹ 'bar] ACF, 'bar ba BDE ³⁰ seng] ACF, song BDE ³¹ ra] BCDEF, dar A ³²
sras] ABCD, ins. F, spas E ³³ gi] ACDF, gis BE

'bum 'bar la sras chos kyi rgyal mtshan | jo rtsegs¹ | jo bzang sogs kha yar byung | chos kyi rgyal
 mtshan gyi sras ru ā nanda² badzra ste^[833] | rong pa³ kun dga' zer ^[834] de'i sras⁴ slob dpon^[835]
 me dpung | de'i sras⁵ chos kyi bshes⁶ gnyen dang | chos bzhad gnyis | rong pa jo bzang gyi sras
 slob dpon^[836] jo bakra | de'i sras dar bzang | rdo rje^[837] brtan⁷ gnyis | dar bzang gyi sras slob
 5 dpon^[838] gser⁸ 'od | jo brtan⁹ gyi sras nyi ma seng ge | de'i¹⁰ sras 'od zer 'bum dang 'bum rgod
 gnyis | rong sgom¹¹ chos¹² 'phags kyi sras slob dpon^[839] ston g.yung | de'i sras jo sras lha bsrung¹³
 | de'i sras¹⁴ slob dpon^[840] byams chos pa chen po dar ma brtan¹⁵ | de'i sras¹⁶ slob dpon^[841] sra¹⁷
 brtan rdo rje^[842] <C57> yin no ||

ding sang¹⁸ ni rong zom gyi gdung <A55> brgyud chad^[843] nas med <D22> kyang ^[844] 'bum
 10 rgod¹⁹ kyi dus su rin spungs pa'i²⁰ zhal ngo nam mkha'^[845] rgyal pos²¹ sbyin bdag mdzad de^[846]
 | slob ma mang du thon | de'i nang nas mchog tu gyur pa thang khrom²² <F190><E212> bka' bzhi
 pa yin te | 'dis 'bum <B265> rgod gshegs rjes | rong zom chos bzang gyi²³ gdung 'bum dgon pa²⁴
 dkar por²⁵ spyan drangs | phur pa'i chos bskor²⁶ gnyags²⁷ kyi gdung brgyud sngags 'chang slob
 ma²⁸ ba rnams la gsung so ||^[847]

15 §16.4 Spiritual Lineage

gnyis pa slob brgyud ni | spyir dam pa 'di la²⁹ de dus kyi mkhas grub thams cad^[848] kyi³⁰ zhabs
 la gtugs pa³¹ bsam gyis³² mi khyab cing | khyad par du³³ go rub³⁴ lo tsā ba | mar pa do pa | rje³⁵
 'gos la sogs pa lo tsā³⁶ ba chen po³⁷ bcu bdun | g.yag rdo rje^[849] 'dzin pa la sogs pa grub thob
 chen po sum cu^[850] rtsa lnga | ma gcig zha ma'i ming po rje mkhon bu³⁸ ba la sogs pa sgom³⁹
 20 chen grub pa thob pa brgya dang⁴⁰ brgyad cu | yol dge bsnyen rdo rje^[851] dbang phyug dang |

¹ rtsegs] ABDE, brtsegs CF ² ā nanda] BCE, ā nan ta D, a nanta F, ā na na A ³ pa] ABCDF, po E ⁴ sras] CF, *ins.* A, *om.* BDE ⁵ de'i sras] ACF, de yi sras D, des yi sras BE ⁶ bshes] CDF, gshes ABE ⁷ brtan] ACF, bstan BDE ⁸ gser] ACF, ser BDE ⁹ jo brtan] ABE, jo bo brtan CF, jo bstan D ¹⁰ de'i] ACDF, des BE ¹¹ sgom] ACDF, bsgom BE ¹² chos] ABDE, chen chos CF ¹³ bsrung] CDF, bsrungs ABE ¹⁴ de'i sras] ACF, de'i E, des BD ¹⁵ brtan] ACF, brten BE, bsten D ¹⁶ sras] BCDEF, *ins.* A ¹⁷ sra] BCDEF, bsra A ¹⁸ ding sang] ABD, deng sang CE, deng song F ¹⁹ rgod] BCDEF, bkod A ²⁰ spungs pa'i] ACDF, spung pa'i B, spung ba'i E ²¹ pos] ACDF, po'i BE ²² khrom] BCDEF, khrol A ²³ chos bzang gyi] ABDE, chos kyi bzang po'i C, chos kyi F ²⁴ dgon pa] ACF, dgon BDE ²⁵ por] ABCD, po F ²⁶ bskor] ABE, skor CDF ²⁷ gnyags] CDF, snyags ABE ²⁸ slob ma] D, sle ma ABCEF ²⁹ 'di la] ACF, 'di BDE ³⁰ kyi] CF, kyi ABDE ³¹ gtugs pa] CF, gtugs pas BD, btugs pas | A, btugs pas E ³² gyis] ACDF, gyi BE ³³ par du] ABDE, par CF ³⁴ rub] ABCEF, ru D ³⁵ do pa | rje] ABDE, dol pa rje | C, dol pa rje F ³⁶ tsā] ACDEF, tsa B ³⁷ ba chen po] ABDE, ba CF ³⁸ mkhon bu] CF, mkhon phu BDE, 'khon phu A ³⁹ sgom] CDF, bsgom ABE ⁴⁰ brgya dang] CF, brgya ABDE

yang khyed¹ bla ma la sogs pa² ston pa gdugs thogs pa³ lnga brgya la sogs pa mtha' yas te brjod
 kyis mi⁴ lang ba lta bu las [⁸⁵²] phur pa'i chos bskor⁵ ji lta brgyud pa ni | rong zom gyis⁶ yol
 dge ^{<C58>} bsnyen rdo rje^[853] dbang phyug [⁸⁵⁴] yol lcags^[855] grub thob | rgya ston stong 'bar |
 rnal 'byor^[856] gzhungs⁷ pa | pho rog mdo sde⁸ mgon | yol lcags sangs rgyas^[857] nyi ^{<B266>} 'bum |
 5 don 'grub gzhon nu | dpyal 'phags pa dpal | dpyal kun dga' ^{<A156>} ^{<F191>} nyi ma | ^{<E213>} dpyal kun
 mkhyen chos rgyal | mkhan po rgyal mchog pa | gu ge paṅ chen | grub chen dpal 'byor^[858] ba
 | lo chen bsod nams rgya mtsho | chag lo rin chen⁹ chos rgyal | bla ma dam pa rdo rje^[859] seng
 ge | de la bdag gis¹⁰ rong zom lugs kyi¹¹ dbang lung rdzogs par¹² zhus so ||^[860]

§17 lHa-nag-lugs

10 §17.1 Origin

yang¹³ phur pa lha¹⁴ nag tu grags pa ni | slob dpon^[861] padma yab yum^[862] yan chad spyi¹⁵ dang
 'dra la [⁸⁶³] de nas¹⁶ 'bre a tsa ra¹⁷ nu ru [⁸⁶⁴] 'di ni phur pa'i sgo nas grub pa thob ste tshe'i rig¹⁹
 'dzin brnyes pas ding sang²⁰ gi bar du 'das grongs med par bzhugs pa yin la | lang lab byang
 chub rdo rjes^[864] grub pa thob tshar ba'i rjes su'ang^[865] 'di dang mjal nas | sngar thob²¹ pa'i phur
 15 pa'i skor²² la zhus dag byas nas²³ tshar gcig^[866] zhus pa²⁴ yin cing | lo rgyus la lar | ngam 'bre²⁵
 a tsa ra sa le yin par byas 'dug pa ni ma nges pa chen po ste | mtsho rgyal dang lang lab kyi bar
 na mi rabs ^{<C59>} lnga yod pa ma go ba yin la [⁸⁶⁷] gter ma'i lo rgyus gcig^[868] ^{<B267>} na | lang lab
 lo bdun 'gro ba'i byis pa gcig^[869] gis²⁶ | slob dpon^[870] lho nub tu byon²⁷ khar zhabs la gtugs²⁸
 zer ba snang ste | ma nges ^{<F192>} pa'i rang bzo kho na'o ||

20 phyis 'gro ba'i mgon po chos rgyal ^{<E214>} 'phags pas | smad las drag po sgröl ba'i dbang 'di
 gsan par bzhed nas btsal²⁹ bas ma rnyed de | 'khor rnams la 'di lta bu'i dbang thob pa 'dug na
 sprang³⁰ po zhid la 'dug kyang khrid ^{<A157>} shog [⁸⁷¹] de la kho bos zhu'o ^{<D23>} gsungs nas btsal³¹

¹ khyed] CF, khyer ABDE ² la sogs pa] ABDF, sogs C ³ thogs pa] BDE, thogs F, thob pa C, theg pa A ⁴
 kyis mi] BCDEF, kyi A ⁵ bskor] ABE, skor CDF ⁶ gyis] BCDEF, gyi A ⁷ gzhungs] ABDE, gzhung CF ⁸
 mdo sde] ABCDE, F ⁹ lo rin chen] ACF, rin chen DE, rien (*skung yig*) B ¹⁰ gis] CDF, gi ABE ¹¹ lugs kyi]
 ABDE, gyi CF ¹² par] ABCDF, pa E ¹³ yang] ACF, da yang (*obs.*) B, da yang E, de yang D ¹⁴ lha] ACDEF,
obs. B ¹⁵ spyi] ACDF, spyid BE ¹⁶ nas] A, nas | BDE, la CF ¹⁷ ra] ABCDE, ru F ¹⁸ ru |] ABCDE, ru F
¹⁹ rig] BCDEF, rigs A ²⁰ ding sang] ABD, deng sang C, deng song F ²¹ thob] CF, thos ABDE ²² skor]
 BCDEF, bskor A ²³ nas] CF, | ABDE ²⁴ pa] ABCDF, dag E ²⁵ 'bre] ABCDE, 'dre F ²⁶ gis] BCDEF, gi
 A ²⁷ byon] BCDE, 'byon AF ²⁸ gtugs] BCDF, btugs AE ²⁹ btsal] ACDF, brtsal BE ³⁰ sprang] ABDEF,
 sbrang C ³¹ btsal] ACDF, brtsal BE

kyang ma brnyed¹ | physis bal po nas tshong pa'i skad cha las | jo mo mtsho rgyal gyi² slob ma
a tsa ra nu ru {lo rgyus gzhan las^[872] bal po'i paṅḍi ta ratna shri yin zer^[873] }³ bal po na gsung gi⁴ 'dug zer | der
bstan pa'i khur chen por⁵ dgongs pas⁶ 'o na^[874] de bal por yod dam gsungs pas | med |⁷ bsil⁸
ba tshal la sogs pa'i gnas rnam su^[875] mkha' 'gro^[876] ma rnam kyid don mdzad pa yin zer^[877]
5 skabs su⁹ skabs su byon nas^[878] gdul bya skal ba¹⁰ can rnam la chos bag re gsungs par¹¹ gda'¹²
zer ba la¹³ 'o^{⟨B268⟩} na^[879] de bal por byon na nga la skad thong pa¹⁴ gyis gsungs te¹⁵ gnang sbyin
mang po gnang¹⁶ ^[880] de nas lo 'ga' song ba^[881] dang | bal po nas lan¹⁷ byung | der 'phags pa rin
po che chos^{⟨F193⟩} dang 'jig rten^[882] gyi¹⁸ thugs brel gyis g.yengs nas 'byon ma thub nas | glo bo¹⁹
lo tsā ba shes rab rin chen^[883] la gser la sogs^{⟨E215⟩} pa'i dngos po mang po bskur nas²⁰ brdzangs
10 ^[884] de nas lo tsā ba bod du byon pa dang^[885] 'phags pa rin po ches^[886] drag po'i²¹ sgröl²² dbang
gsan te | ding sang²³ gi bar du ma nub pa 'di yang^[887] a a tsa²⁴ ra nu ru dang | 'phags pa rin po
che'i^[888] drin yin no ||

§17.2 Lineage

lha nag²⁵ gi brgyud pa ni ^[889] ya²⁶ 'brog pa go²⁷ rub yang dag gis²⁸ rgyud mya ngan las 'das pa
15 zhes bya ba 'di la brten²⁹ nas lha thams cad³⁰ nag por mdzad pa las byung ba^[890] ^{⟨A158⟩} yin mod
kyang | de'i gong gi brgyud pa ni | a tsa³¹ ra nu ru | lang lab | sna nam³² tshul khrims shes rab |
khyung po 'chal chen | 'chal chung | blo gros rgyal mtshan | go³³ rub yang dag |³⁴ 'gos yang dag

¹ brnyed] AB, mnyed CDEF ² gyi] BCDEF, gyis A ³ Note: All versions have this annotation but the placement is different. In A it is in the next line right below jo mo mtshal rgyal without any indicated link. In B it is in the next line right below slob ma a tsa ra nu ru bya ba tshe rig 'dzin connected to it with a dotted line. In C it is in the next line right below nu ru bya ba tshe'i rig 'dzin thob pa zhiḡ la phur pa'i and connected to it with a dotted line. In D it is in a round bracket following nu ru. In E it is in a smaller character right after slob ma a. In F it is in the next line right below nu ru bya ba tshe'i rig 'dzin thob pa zhiḡ la phur pa'i chos and connected to it with a dotted line. ⁴ gsung gi] BCDEF, gsungs gis A ⁵ por] CD, po ABE, po'i F ⁶ pas] AB, nas | C, pas | DEF ⁷ pas | med |] ABD, pas med | CE, pas med || F ⁸ bsil] ACDEF, gsil B ⁹ skabs su] CF, skabs ABDE ¹⁰ skal ba] ACDF, bskal pa BE ¹¹ gsungs par] A, gsung bar CF, gsung pa BE, gsung par D ¹² gda'] CDF, brda' ABE ¹³ la |] ABDE, las | C, las || F ¹⁴ thong pa] D, thegs^{⟨C60⟩} par CF, theng pa ABE ¹⁵ gsungs te] ACDF, gsung ste BE ¹⁶ gnang] ACDF, snang BE ¹⁷ lan] C, lon ABDEF ¹⁸ gyi] BCDEF, gyis A ¹⁹ bo] ABCEF, bod D ²⁰ bskur nas] CD, bskur nas *ins.* F, bkur nas ABE ²¹ po'i] BCF, po A ²² sgröl] ACDF, bsgrol BE ²³ ding sang] ABE, deng sang CD, deng song F ²⁴ a tsa] CF, a tsā A, ā tsā BDE ²⁵ lha nag] ABCDF, nag E ²⁶ ya] ABCEF, yar D ²⁷ go] ACF, gu BDE ²⁸ gis] BCDEF, gi A ²⁹ brten] BCDEF, rten A ³⁰ lha thams cad] ACDE, lha thamd (*skung yig*) B, lha F ³¹ tsa] BCDF, tsā AE ³² nam] CF, snam ABDE ³³ go] ACF, gu BDE ³⁴ dag |] ABCE, dag D

|¹ 'gos ston byang 'bar [⁸⁹¹] khyung po seng ge^[892] | khyung po khro bo | gnyal ston grags | skyi²
chos kyi seng ge^[893] | rgya ye shes^[894] mgon po [⁸⁹⁵ 'B269' dpal ldan rdo rje^[896] rgyal mtshan |
'dis³ bshad 'bum rdo rje^[897] don gsal dang | dbang chog |⁴ sgrub 'C61' skor la sogs pa yig sna
mang du mdzad [⁸⁹⁸]

5 des bla ma tshul rgyal ba [⁸⁹⁹ 'F194' ri gdong⁵ pa shes rab rgyal mtshan | slob dpon^[900]
bsod nams bzang po dang |⁶ slob dpon^[901] bkra shis^[902] rgya mtsho | mnyam med gzhon nu
dpal | sems dpa'^[903] chen po nam mkha'^[904] mtshan can |⁷ bla ma chen po rdo rje^[905] 'E216'
rgyal po |⁸ bla ma rdo rje^[906] seng ge^[907] | de la bdag gis⁹ zhus so ||^[908] yang gu¹⁰ rub nas brgyud
pa'i¹¹ phur pa lha nag ni | rtse ba^[909] sngang¹² pa dang | snye mdo pa^[910] la babs te phrin las¹³ che
10 bar byung ngo ||^[911]

§18 Sa-skya-lugs

ding sang¹⁴ gi bar du bstan pa'i bdag po dpal ldan^[912] sa skya pa rnam phyag len du mdzad pa'i
sa phur du grags pa ni | dang por 'khon¹⁵ klu dbang bsrungs pas¹⁶ slob dpon^[913] padma dngos
la zhus nas bsgrubs¹⁷ pas grub pa thob ste [⁹¹⁴ 'di'i gcung 'khon¹⁸ rdo rje^[915] rin chen ni phur
15 pa la brten¹⁹ nas grub pa thob cing [⁹¹⁶ de'i sras shes rab yon tan^[917] | de nas sras rim bzhin |
gtsug 'D24' tor²⁰ shes rab | dge skyabs | dge mthong | bal po || shākya blo gros^[918] | 'A159' 'khon²¹
rog shes rab tshul khirms | 'di²² ni lha srin bran du 'khol zhing | 'B270' yi dam mang po'i²³ zhal
gzigs | rnga la zhon te nam 'C62' mkha'^[919] la 'gro ba la^[920] sogs pa rdzu 'phrul thogs med du
ston nus pa yin la |²⁴ 'di yan chad du phur pa'i 'F195' grub pa thob pa sha stag byon no ||^[921]
20 'khon²⁵ rog 'di'i gcung po 'khon dkon mchog²⁶ rgyal po yin te [⁹²² 'dis gro bo²⁷ lung
ston²⁸ chen po zhig la ltad mor²⁹ byon pas [⁹²³ sngags pa 'gas | dbang phyug nyer brgyad kyi

¹ 'gos yang dag]] CF, *om.* ABDE ² skyi] BCDEF, kyi A ³ 'dis] ABDEF, 'di C ⁴ chog]] BCDF, chog || AE
⁵ gdong] AC, gdongs BDEF ⁶ po dang]] CF, po | BDE, po || A ⁷ can]] CD, can ABEF ⁸]] BCDEF, || A ⁹
bdag gis] CDF, bdag gi AE, bdagi (*skung yig*) B ¹⁰ gu] BDE, go ACF ¹¹ pa'i] C, nas BDEF, nas | A ¹² sngang]
BCDEF, rgang A ¹³ phrin las] CF, phris (*skung yig*) A, 'phrin las DE, 'phris (*skung yig*) B ¹⁴ ding sang] A,
deng sang BCF, deng song E ¹⁵ 'khon] ADF, mkhon BCE ¹⁶ bsrungs pas] A, bsrung bas F, bsrung pas BDE,
srung bas C ¹⁷ bsgrubs] CD, sgrubs BE, sgrub A, bsgrub F ¹⁸ 'khon] AD, mkhon BCEF ¹⁹ brten] BCDEF,
rten A ²⁰ tor] ACDEF, gtor B ²¹ 'khon] AD, mkhon BCEF ²² 'di] ABDE, 'dis CF ²³ po'i] CDF, po ABE
²⁴ la]] C, la ABDE, la || F ²⁵ 'khon] AD, mkhon BCEF ²⁶ 'khon dkon mchog] AD, mkhon dkaug (*skung*
yig) B, mkhon dkon mchog E, dkon mchog CF ²⁷ gro bo] *conj.*, 'gro'i BDE, 'gro ba'i CF, 'bro'i A ²⁸ ston]
ABDE, stong CF ²⁹ ltad mor] C, ston ltad mor F, ltad mo la BDE, bltad mo la A

'chams¹ byas pas khrom² thog chod | ^{<E217>} de'i lo rgyus³ gcen la bsnyad pas | da gsang sngags
 'chol pa^[924] bya ba'i dus byung bas^[925] grub thob mi 'ong | rang re la yod pa'i dpe cha lha rten
 sngags kyi lag cha kun gter du sbos |⁴ nga ni rgas⁵ | khyod^[926] gzhon pa yin pas | mang⁶ dkar⁷
 du 'brog mi lo tsā ba la gsang sngags gsar ma nyon shog gsungs nas rnying⁸ ma kun gter du sbas
 5 |^[927] der chos skyong gi cho 'phrul ches pas^[928] | phur pa'i mngon rtogs skor bsdus pa gcig |^[929]
 yang dag gi dpe tshan⁹ gcig |^[930] srung¹⁰ ma'i gtor chog^[931] seng ldeng phur pa dkor¹¹ cha gnyis
 | dkar mo nyi zlas 'khon¹² rog la dngos su bstan pa'i^[932] sgrub skor¹³ rnam¹⁴ 'don dgos pa byung
 ste gcung¹⁴ la gnang | 'di'i ^{<B271>} sras sa skya pa chen po yin la | de nas rje btsun sku¹⁵ mched^[933]
 sa skya paṇḍi ta¹⁶ | 'phags pa rin po che nas rim par brgyud nas ^{<C63>} ding¹⁷ sang gi bar du dar
 10 rgyas^[934] che la | ^{<F196>} bla chen chos kyi rgyal po'i drung du bdag gis¹⁸ kyang ldong ston gyi yig
 cha'i steng nas ^{<A160>} sa phur gyi dbang dang | chos skor sna 'ga' re thos so¹⁹ ||^[935]

§19 gNyags-lugs

§19.1 Origin and Transmission

yang gsang ba'i rgyud phur pa la brten²⁰ pa mtha' dag nas btus pa phun sum tshogs pa dang |
 15 gsang ba'i rgyud drug dang |^[936] kī la^{21 <E218>} ya'i tantra²² bcu gnyis^[937] nas btus pa gsham²³ sngon
 gyi skor²⁴ du grags pa | stod las²⁵ yang dag la brten nas byang chub sgrub²⁶ pa'i tshul dang |
 smad las sras mchog^[938] phur pa la brten²⁷ nas dgra bgegs sgrol²⁸ ba'i rim²⁹ pa dang por bal
 yul yang le shod du slob dpon^[939] rnam³⁰ pa gsum gyis³¹ mdzad |^[940] bod yul du slob dpon^[941]
 padmas bsnam³² byon pa dus der spel ba'i dus la ma babs³³ nas | byang gi bya mang mtsho'i³⁴
 20 sa'i char³⁵ gter du^[942] sbas |³⁶

¹ 'chams] ACF, mchams BE, mcham D ² khrom] ABCDF, khro E ³ rgyus] ACDEF, brgyus B ⁴ sbos ||] C, sbos || F, sba | ABDE ⁵ rgas] ACDEF, sgas B ⁶ mang] ABCDE, yang F ⁷ dkar] ABCF, kar DE ⁸ rnying] ACDEF, snying B ⁹ tshan] ACF, mtshan BDE ¹⁰ srung] C, bsrung ABDEF ¹¹ dkor] CF, skor ADE, *obs.* B ¹² 'khon] AD, mkhon BCEF ¹³ sgrub skor] BCEF, bsgrub skor D, sgrub bskor A ¹⁴ gcung] ACDF, bcung BE ¹⁵ sku] ABCDF, su E ¹⁶ ta] ABDE, ta dang CF ¹⁷ ding] ABE, deng CDF ¹⁸ gis] BCDEF, gi A ¹⁹ thos so] ABCDE, thob bo F ²⁰ brten] ACF, bsten BDE ²¹ la] ACF, lā BD, li E ²² tantra] ACDEF, bstan tra B ²³ gsham] C, bsham A, gshams F, bshams BDE ²⁴ skor] BCDEF, bskor A ²⁵ las] ABCDE, las kyi F ²⁶ sgrub] ACF, bsgrub BDE ²⁷ brten] ACDF, bsten BE ²⁸ sgrol] ACDF, bsgrol BE ²⁹ rim] ABCDE, tshul rim F ³⁰ rnam] ACDEF, rnam B ³¹ gyis] CF, gyi A, du BDE ³² bsnam] ABDE, bsnam nas CF ³³ babs] CF, bab ABDE ³⁴ mtsho'i] ACF, po'i BE, po D ³⁵ char] ACF, cha la BDE ³⁶ sbas ||] ABDE, sbas pa | F, sbas pa C

dus phyis gter ston¹ byang chub gling pa dpal² rgyal mtshan gyis³ gter nas bton⁴ te ding
sang⁵ lung rgyun yod la ||^[943] <B272> paṅ chen bi ma la mi tra nas brgyud de^[944] dar ba'i tshul ni
^[945] bod chos⁶ skyong ba'i rgyal po khri song lde'u btsan sku gshegs rjes | btsun mo dmar rgyan
bza'⁷ me tog sgron⁸ dbang che zhing^[946] <F197> spyod pa ngan pas | sngags kyi lo tsā ba <C64> kun
5 la sdang zhing gtses⁹ pa dang | ska¹⁰ cog zhang gsum dang | bai ro tsa'' na dang | gnyags¹² la sogs
pa^[947] bsam yas su^[948] ma bzhugs par^[949] bas mtha' dang | yul gyi mtha'i dben pa rnam na
bzhugs la |

§19.2 The First Enemy

khyad par du gnyags¹³ dznyā na¹⁴ ku mā¹⁵ <D25> ra ya¹⁶ 'brog sgang du bzhugs pa'i tshe | rang gi
10 pha spun po¹⁷ gnyags¹⁸ dge la ston gyis¹⁹ 'di²⁰ mu stegs ngan <E219> sngags mkhan sdig po che²¹
yin no zhes yul mi kun la sgrog²² | bandha²³ zung <A161> gcig^[950] bswe zhos byug²⁴ nas dmar por
yod pa de gnyis brkus²⁵ nas | bandha²⁶ gri rtse 'drud cing mi rnam la ston | 'dis zog 'di²⁷ 'dra
byed do zer^[951] ya ga bsgrags so ||²⁸ slob dpon^[952] dgrong²⁹ | dben sa³⁰ bshig³¹ pa'i gros bshams
pa dang | slob dpon^[953] gyis³² de³³ dgongs nas | gang du dgongs pa mdzad pa'i sar rin po che^[954]
15 gtor zhing bzhag pas | mi kun na re | slob dpon^[955] gang na dgongs pa <B273> mdzad pa'i shul
kyang rin po che^[956] 'khrul³⁴ lo ||khyod kyi³⁵ de mi bden no zer ba la | kho na ra | mi bden na
'di re³⁶ zer zhing^[957] yang bandha³⁷ gri rtse 'drud³⁸ cing ston³⁹ no ||

¹ ston] ACDF, gton BE ² dpal] ABCDE, dpal gyi *ins.* F ³ gyis] BCDEF, gyi A ⁴ bton] C, thon ABDEF
⁵ ding sang] ABE, deng sang CD, deng song F ⁶ chos] ABDE, chos kyis CF ⁷ rgyan bza'] ACD, rgyan gza'
BE, rgyan F ⁸ tog sgron] ABDE, tog CF ⁹ gtses] CDF, btses ABE ¹⁰ ska] D, ka ABCE F ¹¹ tsa'] ACF, tsā
NDE ¹² gnyags] CDF, snyags ABE ¹³ gnyags] CDF, snyags ABE ¹⁴ dznyā na] ACEF, dznyā B, dznya D
¹⁵ mā] BCDEF, ma A ¹⁶ ya] ABEF, yar CD ¹⁷ po] BCDF, so AE ¹⁸ gnyags] CDF, snyags ABE ¹⁹ gyis]
ACF, gyi BDE ²⁰ 'di] ACF, 'dis BDE ²¹ mkhan sdig po che] ABDE, mkhan CF ²² sgrog] ABCE, sgrogs
F, bsgrags D ²³ bandha] C, ban da ABDE, banda F ²⁴ bswe zhos byug] C, bse zhos byugs ABDE, bse zhes
byung F ²⁵ brkus] BCDEF, rkus A ²⁶ bandha] C, ban da ABDE, bhanda F ²⁷ 'di] ADCF, 'dis E, 'di la (la
ins.) B ²⁸ bsgrags so ||] CF, sgrags | A, bsgrags BDE ²⁹ dgrong] *conj.*, bkrongs AD, bgrongs CF, bskrongs BE
³⁰ sa] AB, pa CDEF ³¹ bshig] ACD, bshigs F, shig BE ³² gyis] BCDEF, gyi A ³³ de] AC, do BDEF ³⁴
'khrul] D, 'phul F, 'phrul ABE, brul C, ³⁵ kyi] ABDE, kyis CF ³⁶ re] ABE, red CDF ³⁷ bandha] C, ban da
AD, bhanda F, ben da B, ben de E ³⁸ 'drud] ACDF, 'grud BE ³⁹ ston] ACDF, bston BE

§19.3 The Second Enemy

der ^{<F198>} slob dpon^[958] yul der ma chags nas g.yog po glal¹ mi da 'og btsan² bya ba zhig khrid nas
^[959] kong po mchims³ yul gyi⁴ steng⁵ du byon pas | lung ^{<C65>} stong gi phu na | ra ma bdun 'dug
 pas | slob dpon^[960] gyis⁶ | ra 'di kun ded⁷ 'gro gsungs pas | g.yog po na re | ra^[961] 'di kun gyis⁸
 5 ci 'tshal⁹ | ra la bdag po mchis^[962] byas pas | slob dpon^[963] na re | lung ston¹⁰ gi ra la bdag po
 ga la¹¹ mchis | ded gsungs nas phyin¹² pas | ra mchims¹³ bya rog gi ^{<E220>} yin pas | khos mthong
 nas ^[964] rkun khag btsugs |¹⁴ bdun 'jal¹⁵ 'dod zer | ra la bdun 'jal¹⁶ sprad¹⁷ tsa¹⁸ na | ma nyan
 par¹⁹ dben pa²⁰ bshig²¹ | lcags kyi tho ba thogs²² nas ded²³ pas slob dpon^[965] bros te ^[966] gtsug
 lag khang du chud | sgo bcad tshar tsa na |²⁴ sgo'i ya lcibs la lcags kyi tho ba chen po²⁵ gcig
 10 brgyab²⁶ ste |²⁷ btsun chung gi mgo la lcags tho de'u de thebs²⁸ ^{<A162>} zer ^[967] der yang bzhugs
 su^[968] ma chags nas | bod yul dbus su byon pas |

§19.4 The Third Enemy

slob dpon^[969] rta gcig^[970] chibs²⁹ ^{<B274>} nas mas nas byon pa dang | 'bro³⁰ sras chung shwa³¹ ba
 gcig^[971] ded nas yas nas byung ba^[972] dang thug³² phrad pas | kho'i rta³³ ^{<F199>} 'drogs³⁴ | shwa³⁵
 15 ba yang shor bas ^[973] kho slar byung ste | nyams ban 'dis nga'i^[974] shwa³⁶ ba yang shor | rta
 'drogs³⁷ | rta brdabs³⁸ kyang btsal³⁹ zer nas ded de^[975] gsod⁴⁰ par chas pa la ^[976] bros pas thar
 tsam ^{<C66>} byung |

¹ glal] ABCDE, gla F ² mi da 'og btsan] AD, mi da 'og brtsan BE, mi da 'o gab tsan F, mi 'og btsan C ³
 mchims] CF, 'chims A, mchim BD, mchi ma E ⁴ gyi] BCDEF, gyis A ⁵ steng] DEF, sting B, gting C, rting
 A ⁶ gyis] BCDEF, gyi A ⁷ ded] ABCDE, 'ded F ⁸ gyis] BCDEF, gyi A ⁹ 'tshal] ACF, btsal BDE ¹⁰
 ston] E, stong ABCDF ¹¹ la] ABDE, na CF ¹² phyin] ABDE, ded phyin CF ¹³ mchims] ACDEF, 'chims B
¹⁴ btsugs]] ACD, btsugs F, btsug | BE ¹⁵ 'jal] BCDEF, mjal A ¹⁶ 'jal] BCDEF, mjal A ¹⁷ sprad] ABCD,
 sprad F, sbrad E ¹⁸ tsa] ACDE, rtsa BF ¹⁹ par] ABCDE, pa F ²⁰ pa] BCDEF, sa A ²¹ bshig] ABCDE,
 bshigs F ²² thogs] ACDEF, thog B ²³ ded] ACDF, dad BE ²⁴ sgo bcad tshar tsa na]] CF, *om.* ABDE ²⁵
 po] CF, pa A, *om.* BDE ²⁶ brgyab] CF, rgyab A, *om.* BDE ²⁷]] AC, || F, *from* "sgo bcad tshar" *to* "ste |,"
om. BDE ²⁸ de thebs] ABDE, thob CF ²⁹ chibs] CDEF, phyibs AB ³⁰ 'bro] ABCDF, 'gro E ³¹ shwa]
 AD, sha BCEF ³² thug] ABDE, thug gis CF ³³ rta] ABCDF, *obs.* E ³⁴ 'drogs] ACDF, 'brog B, 'grogs E ³⁵
 shwa] AD, sha BCEF ³⁶ shwa] AD, sha BCDF ³⁷ 'drogs] ABCDF, 'grogs E ³⁸ brdabs] ABCDE, brtab F
³⁹ btsal] D, 'tshal CF, brtsal BE, rtsal A ⁴⁰ gsod] BCDEF, bsod A

§19.5 Received the Phur-pa Teachings from Vimalamitra

dus de tsa¹ na mnga' bdag gi sras che ba mu ne btsan po la | yum dmar² rgyan³ bzas dug btang
ste bkrongs⁴ | de'i lhad⁵ kyi tshogs dpon la [⁹⁷⁷] slob dpon^[978] bi ma la rgya nag nas spyang
drangs 'dug [⁹⁷⁹] der bi ma la'i⁶ spyang sngar phyin nas [⁹⁸⁰] gser phye long mo gang phul [⁹⁸¹]
5 bi ma la'i zhal nas | lo tsā ba dpon g.yog skyid⁷ dam gsungs pa la |

yar⁸ 'brog sgang du skyid bgyi ru ||
dge la ston gyis⁹ ma ster¹⁰ ro ||
<E221> mchims yul steng¹¹ du skyid bgyi ru ||
bya rog smyal bas¹² ma ster¹³ ro ||
10 bod yul dbus su skyid¹⁴ bgyi ru ||
'bros sras chung gis¹⁵ ma ster¹⁶ ro ||

zhes gnyags kyis¹⁷ glu phul bas | bi ma las bstan pa nub kyis^[982] dogs nas |¹⁸ phur pa phun sum
tshogs <B275> pa dang | gsham¹⁹ sngon ma bu gnyis thugs nas phyung²⁰ ste^[983] gnang |
lho <D26> brag g.yar²¹ chu sna'i brag phug tu seng ldeng phur pa nyi shu^[984] rtsa gcig la
15 brten²² te <F200> bi ma la dang | gnyags²³ lo tsā ba gnyis kas^[985] bsgrubs²⁴ pas phur bu 'khrol²⁵
ba la sogs pa'i mtshan ma bzang po byung nas | der²⁶ gnyags²⁷ kyis²⁸ thog mar bya rog la'o
byas nas phur pa bsgril bas^[986] | stong kham <A163> kyi bya rog thams cad^[987] 'ub^[988] 'ub 'dus
byung | ma yin te [⁹⁸⁹] mchims <C67> bya rog la'o byas pas | mchims²⁹ yul steng³⁰ gi bya rog zung
gcig^[990] byung [⁹⁹¹] der gnyags³¹ khros nas bya rog gcig³² la btab³³ par brtsams³⁴ pa dang | bya
20 rog tshub³⁵ ling gis³⁶ shi'o || de nas bi ma las [⁹⁹²] da slong³⁷ la thong³⁸ byas pas slong³⁹ ma thub

¹ tsa] ACDF, rtza BE ² dmar] ABCEF, mar D ³ rgyan] ACDF, brgyan BE ⁴ bkrongs] AD, bgrongs CF, bskrongs BE ⁵ lhad] BDE, ldad AF, 'dad C ⁶ ma la'i] ACF, ma'i BE, mi'i D ⁷ skyid] ACDEF, bskyid B ⁸ yar] CD, ya AB EF ⁹ gyis] CF, gyi ABDE ¹⁰ ma ster] ACF, mar ster D, mar bster BE ¹¹ steng] D, sting ABE, gting CF, ¹² smyal bas] ABDE, dmyal bas C, rma las F ¹³ ster] ACDF, bster BE ¹⁴ skyid] ACDEF, bskyid B ¹⁵ gis] CDF, gi ABE ¹⁶ ster] ACDF, bster BE ¹⁷ gnyags kyis] D, bsnyags kyis BE, bsnyas A, brnyas CF ¹⁸ nas] BCDEF, nas A ¹⁹ gsham] AC, gshams F, bshams BDE ²⁰ phyung] CD, phyungs BEF, byung A ²¹ g.yar] ABDEF, mkhar C ²² brten] ACF, bsten BDE ²³ gnyags] CDF, snyag A, snyags BE ²⁴ bsgrubs] CDF, sgrub A, sgrubs BE ²⁵ 'khrol] ACF, khrol BDE ²⁶ der] ABCDE, de F ²⁷ gnyags] CDF, snyags ABE ²⁸ kyis] BCDEF, kyi A ²⁹ mchims] ADCF, mchim BE ³⁰ steng] CDEF, sting AB ³¹ gnyags] CDF, snyags ABE ³² rog gcig] ABCDE, rog F ³³ btab] ACDF, btab BE ³⁴ brtsams] ACE, brtsam BDF ³⁵ tshub] ABCEF, tshul D ³⁶ gis] BCDEF, gi A ³⁷ slong] BCDEF, slongs A ³⁸ thong] ABCEF, thongs D ³⁹ slong] A, bslang CF, bslang BDE

| der bi ma las bye ma gcig^[993] btab nas¹ bslongs² te^[994] btang | da phyin chad de tsug ma byed
sdig che'o^[995] gsungs nas | gnas lung gi cho ga yang der gnang ngo ||^[996]

de nas mchims³ <E222> lha than tsho g.yag dkar po gcig tu byas nas byung ba^[997] la yang
phur pa btab nas bsgral^[998] mchims bya rog <B276> kyang der bsgral^[999] bla spyang⁴ rab la btab
5 pas rab bskams⁵ | 'bring la btab pas 'bring bskams⁶ | tha ma la btab pas tha ma bskams⁷ | bran
bkol⁸ dang | 'og rta dang | sgo khyi dang | <F201> snag⁹ gi gnyen mtshams¹⁰ yan chod¹¹ la btab
pas^[1000] rabs¹² bcad de | dam sri 'am^[1001] sku dgra rnam pa¹³ gcig der btul¹⁴ lo || dam sri rnam
pa¹⁵ gcig ni^[1002] pha spun po¹⁶ gnyags¹⁷ dge la ston la btab pas^[1003] slob dpon^[1004] gnyags¹⁸ nyid
snying rje skyes shing chos nyid kyi¹⁹ klong du²⁰ gyur pas ye ma thebs te | phur bu'i²¹ mtshan
10 dang ldan pa gcig^[1005] rnyed²² na thebs te 'ong²³ gsungs ||^[1006]

§19.6 Meet with Sog-po dPal-gyi-ye-shes

der tshol du phyin pas dus de tsa²⁴ <C68> na mgar²⁵ ba la sog po zer bas | sog po chen po gcig^[1007]
gis²⁶ sha gcig^[1008] dang shing khur gcig^[1009] khur | ra gcig^[1010] khrid pa dang 'phrad²⁷ | khyod su
yin byas pas | bdag gi rus ni khang lags | ming ni stag sbyin²⁸ lags zer²⁹ | phyi bzhin du 'brang
15 ste³⁰ phyin pas | <A164> kho mgar³¹ byed do ||^[1011] der³² khab nag brdung³³ gnyis mid pas | kho
dad pa skyes | khyod kyis³⁴ chos nus sam gsungs <B277> pas^[1012] bka' stsal³⁵ na rngo³⁶ thogs lags
zer ro ||^[1013]

nang³⁷ par ban dhe³⁸ gzhan <E223> gcig^[1014] mgar³⁹ tshang du byung ba la skam⁴⁰ pas khab
tsag brgyab⁴¹ pas a tsha zer | mdang dgong gi⁴² ban dhe⁴³ de⁴⁴ ni ||^[1015] khab mid nas kyang

¹ nas] ABDE, ste CF ² bslongs] ABE, bslangs D, bslang CF ³ mchims] CDF, 'chims ABE ⁴ bla spyang] CF, bs la lchang A, bs la bcang BDE ⁵ bskams] CDF, skam A, bskam BE ⁶ bskams] BCDEF, skams A ⁷ bskams] BCDEF, skams A ⁸ bkol] ABDEF, 'khol C ⁹ snag] AB EF, gnag CD ¹⁰ gnyen mtshams] BCDEF, bsnyen 'tshams A ¹¹ chod] ACF, chad BDE ¹² rabs] BCDE, rab AF ¹³ rnam pa] ABCF, rnam sa E ¹⁴ btul] ACD, brtul BEF ¹⁵ rnam pa] ACEF, rnam pa BE, rnam sa D ¹⁶ po] BCDF, so AE ¹⁷ gnyags] CDF, snyags ABE ¹⁸ gnyags] CDF, snyags ABE ¹⁹ shing chos nyid kyi] ACDF, shing chos nyid kyis B, shing E ²⁰ klong du] CF, klongs su ABDE ²¹ bu'i] ACF, pa'i BDE ²² rnyed] CDF, bsnyed A, snyed BE ²³ te 'ong] AC, 'ong E, te 'ongs F, 'ongs BD ²⁴ tsa] ABDE, tsam CF ²⁵ mgar] ACF, 'khar BDE ²⁶ gis] BCDEF, gi A ²⁷ 'phrad] CF, phrad ABDE ²⁸ sbyin] ABDEF, spyin C ²⁹ zer] BCDEF, ber A ³⁰ 'brang ste] CF, 'brangs ABDE ³¹ mgar] CD, 'gar AB EF ³² der] ACF, de BDE ³³ brdung] ABDE, brdungs CF ³⁴ kyis] CF, kyi ABDE ³⁵ stsal] A, bstsal CD, rtsal F, brtsal BE ³⁶ rngo] ACDF, brngo BE ³⁷ nang] ABCE, nangs DF ³⁸ ban dhe] A, bande CD, ban de F, bendha BE ³⁹ mgar] CD, 'gar AB EF ⁴⁰ skam] CDF, kam ABE ⁴¹ brgyab] CD, rgyab AB EF ⁴² mdang dgong gi] D, mdangs rgong gi ABE, mdang dgongs kyi CF ⁴³ ban dhe] A, bande DF, bende C, bendha BE ⁴⁴ de] ABDE, des C

gtong |¹ khyod a tsha zer ^{<F202>} ba² ci nyes zer rgod³ de [^{I1016}] bar der chung ma la brngan⁴ pa
 byin⁵ nas khyo dang gros⁶ thob cig byas | de nas kho la chos⁷ bya 'am^[I1017] bgyis pas [^{I1018}] chung
 ma la 'dri'o⁸ zer dris pas | chung ma na re | chos mi bya ba'i tsug⁹ ga na yod¹⁰ | chos ni mar¹¹
 srang khri¹² tsho yis¹³ kyang mi khugs zer | der chos sgor¹⁴ zhugs¹⁵ pa la [^{I1019}] yo byad¹⁶ med zer
 5 ba la | yo byad¹⁷ slob dpon^[I1020] gyis¹⁸ phyungs¹⁹ nas chos sbyin²⁰ pas | kho dad pa mchog tu
 skyes te rab tu byung | ming lha dpal gyi ye shes^[I1021] su btags | 'di phur bu'i mtshan nyid²¹ dang
 ldan pa ni | mig ^{<C69>} 'bur gyen²² du 'khyil ba | sna gru gsum | mgo bo rgya²³ mdud 'dril²⁴ ba
 | ^{<D27>} lce zla gam | ro stod zur brgyad du²⁵ 'dug pa | ro smad zur gsum du yod pa | ci la yang
 thogs pa med pa gcig^[I1022] rnyed²⁶ [^{I1023}] ^{<B278>} de dang mthun pa 'o bran dpal gyi²⁷ gzhon nu la
 10 yang 'dug pas | sngar gyi slob ma yang yin pas gnyis ka²⁸ khrid de 'ongs |²⁹ de nas dpon slob
 gsum gyis³⁰ bsgrub pa byas nas bsgral [^{I1024}]

§19.7 Revenge by Sog-po dPal-gyi-ye-shes

slar yang sog³¹ po dpal yes gnyags³² dge la ^{<E224>} ston gyi gam du song nas³³ |kho shi 'dug pa'i
 snying bton³⁴ nas slob dpon^[I1025] la phul te^[I1026] |

15 sdig ^{<F203>} pa ci yang mi bya ste^[I1027] ||^[I1028]
 dge ba phun sum tshog par ^{<A165>} spyad ||^[I1029]
 rang gi sems ni yongs su^[I1030] 'dul ||^[I1031]
 sems can^[I1032] thams cad^[I1033] bde gyur cig [^{I1034}]
 kun kyang gnod pa rnam dang bral ||^[I1035]

20 zhes ched du brjod de gnas spar [^{I1036}] gnyags³⁵ lha bya rmangs³⁶ lcags kyi bya khra gcig tu byas^[I1037]
 byung ba yang bsgral [^{I1038}] bla³⁷ spyang³⁸ rab 'bring tha ma gsum ga^[I1039] la btab ste bskams³⁹ |

¹ gtong |] CF, btong | ABE, bdang ngo || D ² zer ba] ABCDE, zer F ³ rgod] ABCDE, dgod F ⁴ brngan] BDE, rngan ACF ⁵ byin] ACF, sbyin BDE ⁶ dang gros] *conj.*, la gros BCDEF, dang bros A ⁷ la chos] ABDE, la CF ⁸ 'dri'o] CF, dri'o AD, dris 'o BE ⁹ tsug] CF, gtsug ABDE ¹⁰ yod] ABDE, 'ong CF ¹¹ mar] D, dmar ABCEF ¹² khri] ABCDE, gri F ¹³ tsho yis] AF, tshos C, tsho res BE, tshor res D ¹⁴ sgor] ACF, bskor BE, skor D ¹⁵ zhugs] ACF, bzhugs BDE ¹⁶ byad] ACDF, byed BE ¹⁷ byad] ACDF, byed E ¹⁸ gyis] BCDEF, gyi A ¹⁹ phyungs] AF, phyung C, chungs BDE ²⁰ sbyin] BDE, byin ACF ²¹ mtshan nyid] CF, mtshan ABDE ²² gyen] BCDEF, gyin A ²³ rgya] ACF, brgya BDE ²⁴ 'dril] ABCDE, 'gril F ²⁵ brgyad du] ABCDF, brgyad E ²⁶ rnyed] ACDF, snyed BE ²⁷ gyi] BCDEF, gyis A ²⁸ ka] CDF, ga ABE ²⁹ 'ongs |] ABDE, 'ong ngo || CF ³⁰ gyis] BCDEF, gyi A ³¹ sog] ACDEF, sogs B ³² gnyags] CDF, snyags ABE ³³ nas] CDF, pas ABE ³⁴ bton] ACDF, gton BE ³⁵ gnyags] CDF, snyags ABE ³⁶ rmangs] ABCEF, mings D ³⁷ bla] CDEF, rla AB ³⁸ spyang] ABCDE, spyangs F ³⁹ bskams] BCDEF, skams A

bran dang 'og rta sgo khyi^[1040] gnag¹ gi gnyen² tshan³ tshun⁴ chad bsgral^[1041] | dam sri⁵ rnam
 pa⁶ gcig der btul^[1042] lo ||^[1043] de nas 'bro sras chung ne'u thang na rta khyu 'tsho⁷ ba las^[1044]
 rnam shes linga⁸ la dkug⁹ nas phur pa^{<C70>} btab ste^[1045] bsgral | 'bro'i lha spyang ki¹⁰ sngon po
 gcig^[1046] tu byas te^[1047] byung ba^[1048] yang bsgral | bla spyang rab 'bring tha ma gsum la btab
 5 <B279> pa¹¹ bskams¹² | bran dang 'og rta sgo¹³ khyi gnag¹⁴ gi gnyen^[1049] mtshams yan chad la btab
 nas bsgral te | dam sri rnam pa¹⁵ gcig der btul lo^[1050] ||

tshul 'di la lo rgyus¹⁶ la lar | gnyags¹⁷ dznyā na ku mā¹⁸ ra la sku dgra¹⁹ gsum langs pa'i
 dus su | 'o bran²⁰ dpal gyi²¹ gzhon nus²² dkor nor dang zhing yul la sogs^{<F204>} pa phul | brtul
 zhugs dang^{<E225>} dpa' rtsal gyis slob dpon^[1051] gyi thugs bzung | yab mched po gnyags²³ dge la
 10 ston dang^[1052] gnyags²⁴ 'phags pa smyug zhu can gnyis kyis |²⁵ gcen gshes gnyen²⁶ lha mtsho
 btson²⁷ du bzung²⁸ nas | btson²⁹ bsrung³⁰ mi gnyis bzhag pa la | 'o bran gyis³¹ brkus nas slob
 dpon^[1053] la phul bas mnyes te phur pa phun sum³² tshogs pa dang | gsham³³ sngon can gnyis
 <A166> gngang ba³⁴ ba yin zer ro ||^[1054] yin pa srid mod | lo rgyus³⁵ 'thad ldan ltar na | btson³⁶ du
 bzung ba ni³⁷ yul nye³⁸ 'khor gyi³⁹ mda' ngam⁴⁰ ra zhes par | ngam⁴¹ ra dang pha spun mi sha
 15 chags pa la | chos rgyal bzhugs pas gnyags⁴² la rtsod⁴³ ma nus pa las^[1055] phyis btsun mos^{<B280>}
 sras dang lo tsā ba rnams dbu 'phang⁴⁴ smad⁴⁵ dus | <C71> gnyags⁴⁶ dznyā na ku mā⁴⁷ ra nyid
 btson⁴⁸ du bzung ba | sog po dpal yes srog la ma bltas par⁴⁹ btson⁵⁰ bsrungs⁵¹ mi^[1056] gnyis
 bkum⁵² nas^[1057] slob dpon^[1058] btson⁵³ nas bton pa yin pas | gcen⁵⁴ lha mtsho btson⁵⁵ du bcug

¹ gnag] ACD, snag F, brnag BE ² gnyen] ACDF, gnyan BE ³ tshan] D, mtshams BCDF, 'tshams A, ⁴
 tshun] ABCDF, tshud E ⁵ sri] ABDEF, srid C ⁶ rnam pa] ACEF, rnams pa B, rnams sa D ⁷ khyu 'tsho]
 ACDFE, 'khyu mtsho B ⁸ linga] C, ling ga ABEF, lingkanD ⁹ dkug] BE, bkug CDF, dgug A ¹⁰ spyang
 ki] CDF, spyang sku BE, sbyang sku A ¹¹ pa] ABD, pas CEF ¹² bskams] BCDEF, skams A ¹³ 'og rta sgo]
 ABCDE, sgo F ¹⁴ gnag] ACD, snag F, rnag BE ¹⁵ rnam pa] ABCEF, rnams sa D ¹⁶ rgyus] ACDEF, brgyus B
¹⁷ gnyags] CFD, snyags ABE ¹⁸ mā] ABCE, ma DF ¹⁹ sku dgra] ABDE, dgra rnam CF ²⁰ bran] ACDEF,
 phran BE ²¹ gyi] BCDF, gyis A ²² nus] ACDF, nu'i BE ²³ gnyags] CDF, snyags ABE ²⁴ gnyags] CDF,
 snyags ABE ²⁵ kyis [] BCE, kyis DF, kyi | A ²⁶ gnyen] ACDF, bsnyen BE ²⁷ btson] ABCDE, brtson F ²⁸
 bzung] ACDF, bzungs BE ²⁹ btson] ACD, brtson BEF ³⁰ bsrung] BCDEF, bsrungs A ³¹ gyis] BCDEF,
 gyi A ³² sum] ACDEF, gsum B ³³ gsham] AC, gshams F, bsham BDE ³⁴ gngang ba] ABCDF, ga nang pa
 E ³⁵ rgyus] ACDEF, brgyus B ³⁶ btson] ABCDE, brtson F ³⁷ ni] ABCDE, na F ³⁸ nye] CF, nya ABDE
³⁹ gyi] ACF, gyis BDE ⁴⁰ mda' ngam] BDEF, 'da' ngam A, mda' dam C ⁴¹ ngam] ABDEF, dam C ⁴² pas
 gnyags] CF, dus snyags ABDE ⁴³ rtsod] ACDF, brtsod BE ⁴⁴ 'phang] CF, 'phangs ABDE ⁴⁵ smad] C,
 smod F, dmad ABDE ⁴⁶ gnyags] CDF, snyags ABE ⁴⁷ mā] ABCDE, ma F ⁴⁸ btson] ABCDE, brtson F
⁴⁹ par] ABDE, pas CF ⁵⁰ btson] ABCDE, brtson F ⁵¹ bsrungs] AB, bsrung CEF, srung D ⁵² bkum] BCEF,
 bkums D, bskum A ⁵³ btson] ABCDE, brtson F ⁵⁴ gcen] ABCDE, btsan F ⁵⁵ btson] ABCDE, brtson F

pa dang | 'don pa po 'o bran dpal gyi gzhon nu^[1059] yin zhes pa nor ba^[1060] yin la | phur pa phun
sum tshogs pa gsham¹ <E205> sngon dang bcas pa'i chos skor² kyang |^[1061] 'o bran kho na la yod
pa las |^[1062] gzhan la ma grags pa ma <E226> yin te |

§19.8 Eight Glorious Disciples

5 gnyags³ la dpal gyi slob ma brgyad byung ba'i^[1063] brgyad ka la yod par^[1064] phur pa'i⁴ lo rgyus
kyi yi ge <D28> rnying⁵ ma dag la⁶ gsal lo ||^[1065] dpal gyi⁷ slob ma brgyad ni | gnyan⁸ ā tsarya
dpal dbyangs | 'brog mi dpal gyi⁹ ye shes^[1066] | mkhar chen dpal gyi¹⁰ dbang phyug |^[1067] thag¹¹
bzang dpal gyi¹² rdo rje^[1068] | gra dpal gyi¹³ snying po | zla lcog¹⁴ dpal gyi seng ge | dar rje dpal
gyi grags pa | lha lung dpal gyi¹⁵ rdo rje^[1069] rnams yin no || 'di rnams las kham dang |^[1070] lho
10 brag dang¹⁶ | mnga' ris su mched pa grangs las 'das pa byung bar^[1071] <B281> bshad |^[1072] de tsho'i
nang nas 'brog mi ral pa can gyis sangs rgyas¹⁷ ye shes^[1073] rin po che rten dge slong la brgyud¹⁸
pas 'phrin las¹⁹ che bar grags shing | 'di dag ni slob brgyud²⁰ shas <C72> che'o || gdung brgyud
kyi²¹ <A167> dar rgyas byung ba^[1074] la yang mang ngo || de dag tu ma 'dus pa'i mchog gi²² slob
ma ni | 'o bran dang |^[1075] sog po dpal ye dang | gnyags²³ kyi dbon rgyud²⁴ rnams yin te 'phrin
15 las²⁵ rgya che zhing rgyun mi chad pa byung zhing | <F206> khyad par grub thob zam ma chad
par byon no ||^[1076]

§20 'O-bran-lugs

de dag las²⁶ lung rgyun dbang dang 'brel ba²⁷ ma chad tsam bdag gis²⁸ rnyed²⁹ pa ni | 'o bran
dpal gyi³⁰ gzhon nu sku 'das nas <E227> zla ba lnga drug nas | sras 'o bran pad 'byung 'khrungs |
20 sku nar son pa na |^[1077] yab mes kyi phyag dpe rnams gzigs pas dad de^[1078] | lung rgyun rtsad³¹

¹ gsham] AC, gshams F, bshams BDE ² skor] BCDEF, bskor A ³ gnyags] CDF, snyags ABE ⁴ phur pa'i] BCDEF, phur A ⁵ rnying] CDEF, snying AB ⁶ la] ABD, na CF, las E ⁷ gyi] BCDEF, gyis A ⁸ gnyan] CF, snyan ABDE ⁹ gyi] BCDEF, gyis A ¹⁰ gyi] BCDEF, gyis A ¹¹ thag] ABCEF, thags D ¹² gyi] ACDF, gyis BE ¹³ gyi] BCDEF, gyis A ¹⁴ lcog] CF, lcogs ABDE ¹⁵ gyi] BCDEF, gyis A ¹⁶ brag dang] ABDE, brag CF ¹⁷ sangs rgyas] CDE, sangyas (*skung yig*) BF, sangs A ¹⁸ brgyud] ACDF, rgyud BE ¹⁹ 'phrin las] A, phrin las CDEF, phris (*skung yig*) B ²⁰ brgyud] ACF, rgyud BDE ²¹ kyi] ABDEF, kys C ²² mchog gi] ACDEF, mchogi (*skung yig*) B ²³ gnyags] CDF, snyags ABE ²⁴ rgyud] BDE, brgyud ACF ²⁵ 'phrin las] ADE, phrin las CF, 'phris (*skung yig*) B ²⁶ las] ACF, la BDE ²⁷ ba] BC, pa ABEF ²⁸ gis] BCDEF, gi A ²⁹ rnyed] CDEF, brnyed AB ³⁰ gyi] BCDEF, gyis A ³¹ rtsad] ACDEF, brtsad B

bcad pas ring mo zhig lon pa na | gye re gnyen¹ rtse'i ri khrod na gnubs² ston padma dbang
 rgyal la bzhugs zer | de ma thag byon nas^[1079] gser srang bco brgyad kyis³ sna drangs pa'i 'bul
 ba mang⁴ po byas nas lo gnyis la rdzogs par zhus | chig brgyud bka' rgya⁵ dang^[1080] gser^{<B282>}
 gyi 'bul ba med par mi ster bas | 'o bran gyi phur pa gser mgo can du grags shing | gzhan yang
 5 gshin rje⁶ gshed 'theb⁷ rgya can gyi⁸ skor⁹ dang | mdo sgyu¹⁰ sems gsum la sogs pa gnubs¹¹ pa
 la¹² brgyud pa 'ded¹³ do ||

de nas sras blo gros^[1081] dbang phyug gis¹⁴ rang gi yab^{<C73>} 'o bran pad 'byung la yang
 gsan | chos 'phro cung zad ma rdzogs¹⁵ pa la yab gshegs pas gnubs¹⁶ kyis slob ma¹⁷ gnyags¹⁸ pad
 'byung gi¹⁹ sras | gnyags²⁰ padma rgyal po la rdzogs par gsan^{<F207>} te^[1082] brgyud pa gnyis ldan
 10 du byed do²¹ ||^[1083] de nas sprul sku ri rab dam pa'i bar du 'o bran gyi²² gdung brgyud rnam
 la brgyud cing | ri rab dam pas rin^{<A168>} po che²³ don grub²⁴ dpal 'byor ba²⁵ la gnang |^{<E228>} de
 nas rim par brgyud de^[1084] | yongs 'dzin dam pa rdo rje seng ges^[1085] bdag la phur pa phun sum
 tshogs pa gsham²⁶ sngon dang bcas pa thugs brtse bas gnang ngo ||^[1086]

§21 Lang-lab-lugs

15 §21.1 The Early Life of Lang-lab Byang-chub-rdo-rje and Contest with Rwa Lo-tsā-ba rDo-rje-grags

da ni²⁷ phur pa gzhan la ma grags pa jo bo lang lab kyis khyad chos ji ltar byung ba^[1087] ni | lang
 lab kyis bla ma ngam 'bre sa le²⁸ yan chad ni gong du bstan zin la | jo bo lang lab ni sku gzhon nu
 <B283> nas pha ma grongs | pha spun rnam kyis²⁹ pha ma'i kha chems la ma nyan te^[1088] | lang lab
 20 ma bu la khang pa smig gu³⁰ gang dang^[1089] zhing chung gcig³¹ las ma byin pas | ngam 'bre³²

¹ gnyen] ABDE, gnyan CF ² gnubs] CD, snubs ABE, gnuv F ³ kyis] BCDEF, gyi A ⁴ mang] ACDEF, mangs B ⁵ rgya] ACDEF, brgya B ⁶ rje] ABDE, rje'i CF ⁷ 'theb] A, 'thob BDE, mtheb C, ma theb F ⁸ gyi] ACDF, gyis B ⁹ skor] BCDEF, bskor A ¹⁰ sgyu] ACDF, sgyud B, rgyud E ¹¹ gnubs] CDF, snubs ABE ¹² la] ABDEF, las C ¹³ pa 'ded] ABE, par 'ded D, par 'dod CF ¹⁴ gis] BCDEF, gi A ¹⁵ rdzogs] ACDEF, rdzog B ¹⁶ gnubs] CDF, snubs ABE ¹⁷ slob ma] C, slob mar | DE, sle mar F, sle mar | A, slo mar | B ¹⁸ gnyags] CDF, snyags ABE ¹⁹ gi] ACF, ba'i BDE ²⁰ gnyags] CDF, snyags ABE ²¹ byed do] ABCF, byed de E, byas so D ²² gyi] ACF, gyis BDE ²³ rin po che] ACDEF, rinoe (*skung yig*) B ²⁴ grub] ABCDE, 'grub F ²⁵ dpal 'byor ba] C, dpalyor (*skung yig*) ba F, dpal 'byor ABDE ²⁶ gsham] AC, gshams F, shams BDE ²⁷ da ni] BDEF, de nas C, de ni A ²⁸ sa le] CDEF, sal le A, pa le B ²⁹ kyis] ABDE, kyis CF ³⁰ smig gu] CE, smigu (*skung yig*) A, rmig gu BD, smrig gu F ³¹ gcig] ABCEF, zhig D ³² 'bre] ACDF, bre BE

sa le'i¹ thugs kyis² ma ^{<D29>} bzod de^[1090] | khyad par 'phags pa phur pa'i gdams pa 'di gnang ste
| lang lab kyis sgrub pa byas te dgra thams cad^[1091] tshar bcad³ |

snyan grags kyis⁴ phyogs kun tu khyab kyang sbyin ^{<C74>} 'bras chung bas^[1092] phongs⁵ te |
'khor⁶ re na lug⁷ rdzi byed cing yod tsa⁸ na | de dus dge bshes⁹ rwa¹⁰ lo tsā¹¹ ba rdo rje^[1093] ^{<F208>}

5 grags sku¹² bsod dang | mthu che bas bod kyi mi che rgu¹³ dang | bla ma slob dpon^[1094] dge ba'i
bshes¹⁴ gnyen thams cad^[1095] kyis¹⁵ phyag dang zhe sa bkur¹⁶ sti¹⁷ 'bul dgos pa yin la ^[1096] gal te
ma byas na gshin rje'i gshed kyi ting nge^[1097] 'dzin gyis¹⁸ skad cig la sgrol^[1098] ba yin te | khong
^{<E229>} la zhe sa ma byas pas ^[1099] mar pa'i^[1100] sras dar ma mdo sde la sogs pa sa thob pa'i byang
chub sems dpa' bcu gsum bsgral | gnyan lo tsā¹⁹ ba dar ma grags la sogs pa rang mnyam gyi lo
10 tsā ba bcu gsum la sogs ^{<A169>} pa mang po bsgral ba yin cing |

^{<B284>} khong de tsa na²⁰ grwa pa khri tshos bskor²¹ te 'khor re ru chos 'khor la byon | 'khor
re btsad po la sogs pas chos gzhis²² zla ba bzhi²³ btegs²⁴ | de dus rwa²⁵ lo tsā ba la lang lab kyis

phyag ma btsal ba la | mi blun po²⁶ gcig²⁷ yin 'ongs^[1101] dgongs pa la²⁸ | slar mi rnam kyis²⁹
khong sku mthu che zhing^[1102] phur pa la mkhas pa yin kyang | sku bsod chung bas^[1103] da lta

15 gzhan gyi³⁰ lug rdzi byed dgos pa lags byas pas | 'o na kho nga rgyal gyis³¹ khong sbos³² nas nga
la phyag mi byed pa yin 'ong³³ ste | kho la do nub kyi tshe ^{<F209>} las med kyi bsgugs³⁴ sdod³⁵ cig

^{<C75>} gsungs ^[1104] chos thun grol ba dang | rdo rje^[1105] 'jigs byed kyi bsad³⁶ pa'i sbyor ba bzhi'i
bca' gzhi mdzad de^[1106] | khyad par^[1107] sbyin sreg gi³⁷ skabs su^[1108] rwa³⁸ lo³⁹ nyid 'jigs byed

dngos kyi skur gyur nas | linga⁴⁰ la lang lab dgug gzhug gi⁴¹ bden brdar⁴² lan gsum byas te |
20 dus der lang lab ni lug 'tsho ba ^{<E230>} nyid las gzhan ci yang mi byed mod kyi | dgug 'dren dang

po'i dus der dkiyl 'khor^[1109] gyi mtha' bskor⁴³ na gnas pa'i rtsang⁴⁴ phur rnam phyung ste |⁴⁵

¹ le'i] CF, les ABDE ² kyis] CDF, kyi ABE ³ bcad] BCDEF, gcad A ⁴ kyis] CDF, kyi ABE ⁵ phongs] CDF, 'phongs ABE ⁶ 'khor] ABCDF, 'khon E ⁷ lug] ACDEF, lugs B ⁸ tsa] ACDEF, rtsa B ⁹ bshes] ACDEF, shes B ¹⁰ rwa] ACE, rā B?D, ra F ¹¹ tsā] ACDF, tsa BE ¹² sku] ACDEF, ku B ¹³ rgu] A, dgu BCDEF ¹⁴ bshes] ACDEF, shes B ¹⁵ kyis] BCDEF, kyi A ¹⁶ bkur] ACDEF, bku B ¹⁷ sti] ABCEF, bsti D ¹⁸ gyis] BCDEF, gyi A ¹⁹ tsā] ABCDE, tsa F ²⁰ tsa na] ACEF rtsa na B, rtsa ba D ²¹ bskor] ACDF, skor BE ²² gzhis] CF, gzhi A, bzhi BDE ²³ bzhi] ABCEF, bzhi D ²⁴ btegs] BCDEF, bteg A ²⁵ rwa] AC, ra F, rā BDE ²⁶ po] ABDE, pa CF ²⁷ gcig] ACF, zhig DE, cig B ²⁸ la] ABDE, las CF ²⁹ kyis] BCDEF, kyi A ³⁰ gyi] ABCDF, gyis E ³¹ gyis] ACDF, gyi BE ³² sbos] ABCDE, spos E ³³ 'ong] ABCDE, 'ongs F ³⁴ bsgugs] D, sgur CF, rgur A, bsgur BE ³⁵ sdod] ACD, sdod kyi F, bsod BE ³⁶ bsad] ABDE, gsod CF ³⁷ sreg gi] CDE, sregi (*skung yig*) B, sregs kyi A, bsreg gi F ³⁸ rwa] AC, ra F, rā BDE ³⁹ lo] ABDE, lo tsā ba CF ⁴⁰ linga] C, ling ga ABDEF ⁴¹ gzhug gi] CF, bzhus kyi ABE, gzhugs kyi D ⁴² brdar] ABCEF, bdar D ⁴³ bskor] AC, skor BDEF ⁴⁴ rtsang] ACF, rtsangs BDE ⁴⁵ phyung ste |] C, phyungs te F, byung ste | ABDE

char du babs nas tho ^{<B28>} phyi'i 'grwa pa rnam rmas¹ | bar pa la za gsod² dang khro bo³ bcu'i
 lcags phur gyi^[m10] char babs⁴ nas 'khor rnam khyim gyi^[m11] phug⁵ tu 'gros^[m12] dgos pa byung |
 tha ma'i tshe nam mkha'i^[m13] kham me dpung dang 'ur sgras gang ste | der steng du bltas pa
 na | rdo rje^[m14] gzhon nu ri do⁶ chad⁷ tsam lcags bsregs⁸ ^{<A170>} las grub pa stod khro bo^[m15] smad
 5 phur pa | thugs ka na⁹ phur pa drag¹⁰ tu bsgril zhing¹¹ | hūm phad kyi sgra sgrog¹² pa gcig¹³
 rwa¹⁴ lo tsā ba'i thog tu babs¹⁵ la¹⁶ khad | za za rngams rngams¹⁷ mcha' mcha'¹⁸ lta du 'dug pas
 rab tu ^{<F210>} skrag¹⁹ ste ^[m16] de nyid du bzod par gsol | lang lab la gus 'dud byed par dam bcas
 pa dang ^[m17] cho 'phrul rnam yal song ngo ||^[m18] ^{<C76>} de nas de'i nub lang lab spyang drang te
 | phyag dang zhe sa bsnyen bkur²⁰ ba dang | brgya 'bul bzang po mdzad do ||^[m19] dus der mi
 10 rnam na re | gshin rje mkhan po phur la²¹ rdugs²² || zhes pa'i ^{<D30>} gnam yang rgya²³ cher grags
 skad |

§21.2 Four disciples

de lta bu'i^[m20] slob dpon^[m21] lang lab 'di bas lhag pa'i phur pa'i grub thob ni bod ^{<E231>} yul 'dir
 su ^{<B286>} yang ma byung la | slob ma yang kha yar byung zhing | mchog tu gyur pa ni bzhi yin te
 15 | 'khor re rgyal²⁴ thang gi sna nam²⁵ shes rab tshul khrims | mong²⁶ rgu'i skyi²⁷ nag gyang 'gyel
 | rong gi sprang²⁸ phur ru²⁹ mgo | 'o³⁰ yug rol po'i nyang nag dbang gi shes rab dang bzhi'o ||
 nyang nag gis³¹ bka' rkus³² | dbang dang gdams ngag med zer ba yang chags sdang gi gnam yin
 gyi | lo rgyus 'og tu 'chad do ||^[m22] de lta byin rlabs dang cho 'phrul phun sum tshogs pa phur
 pa'i chos 'di la dang po nyid nas | bdag cag gi bla ma'i bar du byin rlabs kyi rtags mtshan zam
 20 ma chad par byung ba^[m23] yin te | ^{<F211>}

¹ rmas] AD, smas BCEF ² gsod] ABDEF, bsod C ³ khro bo] BCDE, khrau (*skung yig*) A, gro bo F ⁴ babs] ABCDE, bab F ⁵ phug] ACDEF, phub B ⁶ ri do] A, ri dil CF, ri rdo BDE ⁷ chad] ABDE, chad pa CF ⁸ bsregs] BCDEF, sregs A ⁹ ka na] CF, ka nas D, kha nas BE, kha na A ¹⁰ drag] ACDEF, drags B ¹¹ zhing] ACDF, shing BE ¹² sgrog] ABCE, sgrog DF ¹³ gcig] ACF, zhig DE, cig B ¹⁴ rwa] ABCDE, ra F ¹⁵ babs] BCDE, 'bab AF ¹⁶ la] ACF, ma BDE ¹⁷ rngams rngams] A, rngam rnam BCDEF ¹⁸ mcha' mcha'] ABE, 'cha' 'cha' CEF ¹⁹ skrag] ACDEF, bskrag B ²⁰ bkur] ACDEF, bskur B ²¹ la] ABDF, pa la C, pa E ²² rdugs] CDF, brdugs AB, brdug E ²³ rgya] ACDEF, brgya B ²⁴ rgyal] ABDE, brgyal CF ²⁵ nam] CEF, snam AD, rnam B ²⁶ mong] ABDE, bong CF ²⁷ skyi] BDE, kyi ACF ²⁸ sprang] *conj.*, sprangs CD, skrang ABE, spyang F ²⁹ phur ru] A, phu ru BDE, phur bu CF ³⁰ 'o] ABCEF, 'od D ³¹ gis] BCF, gi ADE ³² rkus] ABDE, brkus CF

§22 The rDo-rje-phur-pa Masters and Their Miraculous Powers

§22.1 Padmasambhava

de yang slob dpon^[1124] padma 'byung gnas kyis¹ rgya gar du tsan dan gyi² nags tshal³ la me shor
 5 te^[1125] zhag mang por me ma shi nas nags tshal kun zad du nye | sems 'A171' can mang po shi
 zhing^[1126] la la shi la 'C77' khad pa la | seng ldeng⁴ gi phur pa sor brgyad pa gcig⁵ btab pas^[1127]
 me shi ste^[1128] nags tshal sngar las^[1129] phun sum tshogs pa skyes | sems can^[1130] shi ba dang shi la
 khad pa rnam gsos | tsan dan⁶ nags 'B287' la thebs zer kyang |⁷ 'byung ba^[1131] me la thebs pa yin
 [1132] slob dpon^[1133] 'di'i dben sa⁸ ni bal yul 'E232' yang le shod kyi brag phug |^[1134] slob dpon^[1135]
 10 gyi gsang mtshan ni bde ba'i myu gu'o ||

§22.2 Vimalamitra

slob dpon^[1136] bi ma la mi tras chu bo ganggā⁹ le thebs te | slob dpon^[1137] gyis¹⁰ chu bo ganggā'i¹¹
 'gram du sgrub pa mdzad pas^[1138] de'i sngags kyis zer phyogs de'i klu chen po gcig gis¹² ma bzod
 nas^[1139] phyi'i rgya mtsho chen po gnam du bcol |^[1140] slob dpon^[1141] la skyin thang drag po phab
 15 | chu bo ganggā¹³ lud de^[1142] lung par mi shong bar¹⁴ byas byung ba¹⁵ la¹⁶ |slob dpon^[1143] gyi¹⁷
 phur pa sor brgyad pa gcig btab pas | ganggā¹⁸ yar mar du chad de^[1144] bar du lam dod de^[1145]
 'F212' phyin chog pa byung | 'di ni ganggā¹⁹ la btab zer yang | chu la ma yin te |^[1146] klu la thebs
 pa'o ||^[1147]

¹ kyis] BCDEF, kyi | A ² tsan dan gyi] AE, tsandan gyi CD, tsadan gyi B, tsadan F ³ nags tshal] ACF, nags BDE ⁴ ldeng] BCDF, ldan A ⁵ gcig] ACF, cig B, zhig D ⁶ tsan dan] AE, tsandan CD, tsadan BF ⁷ kyang [] ABDE, yang | C, yang || F ⁸ sa] ACD, pa BEF ⁹ ganggā] C, gang gā EF, gangga ABD ¹⁰ gyis] CF, gyi ABDE ¹¹ ganggā'i] CD, gang gā'i EF, gangga'i AB ¹² gcig gis] BCDEF, gcigi (*skung yig*) A ¹³ ganggā] CD, gang gā EF, gangga AB ¹⁴ bar] CF, pa A, par BDE ¹⁵ ba] CDEF, pa A ¹⁶ la] ABDE, las CF ¹⁷ gyi] A, gyis BCDEF ¹⁸ ganggā] CD, gang gā EF, gangga AB ¹⁹ ganggā] CD, gang gā EF, gangga AB

§22.3 Śīlamañju

bal po shrī¹ la manydzus maṇḍala'i² khar³ gong la thebs te^[1148] |⁴ maṇḍala'i⁵ khar⁶ gong la brag
srin mo gdug pa can gcig⁷ gnas pa des slob dpon^[1149] gyi dgongs pa la bar chod brtsams pa
dang | phur pa bsgril bas ^{<C78>} maṇḍala'i⁸ khar⁹ gong gi brag nas sran tsam du¹⁰ nyil lo^[1150] || 'di
5 ni brag ^{<B288>} khar¹¹ gong la thebs zer te | brag srin mo la thebs pa'o ||

lo rgyus gzhan dag na ni ^[1151] rgya gar du phyi nang gnyis ma 'chams¹² pa na rgyal pos |¹³ zhag
gsum^[1152] na rtsod¹⁴ pa gyis shig |¹⁵ su rgyal¹⁶ ba dang rdzu 'phrul su che ba ^{<E233>} de'i zhabs nas
^{<A172>} 'degs so zer |¹⁷ der rtsod¹⁸ pa'i dus su ^[1153] slob dpon^[1154] gyis¹⁹ |

brjod rgyu thams cad^[1155] tha snyad mtha' la gnas ||^[1156]
10 don ma mthong bar^[1157] grol bar²⁰ ga la 'gyur ||
mu stegs 'chal ba'i^[1158] gtam²¹ gyis²² ci zhig bya ||^[1159]
chos kyi rgyal mtshan chen po 'dzugs par bya ||^[1160]

zhes gsungs nas phur pa bsgril bas^[1161] | maṇḍala'i la zhes bya ba'i grong khyer chen po gcig^[1162]
gi²³ rgyab na ^{<D31>} khar²⁴ gong gi brag chen po gcig^[1163] yod pa las ^[1164] ^{<F213>} brag de nyil te²⁵ mu
15 stegs kyi grong²⁶ khyer thams cad^[1165] bcom²⁷ | mu stegs rnam la la khrag tu²⁸ skyugs te shi | la
la lcebs²⁹ | la la mig 'bras brul nas thams cad^[1166] tshar bcad³⁰ de³¹ | nang pa sangs rgyas^[1167] pa'i
bstan pa dar bar byas so ||^[1168] mkhar gong^[1169] mthu yis bcad³² ces^[1170] grags ^[1171] zhes 'byung
ngo ||^[1172]

§22.4 Jo-mo Ye-shes-mtsho-rgyal

20 bod yul du byung ba^[1173] ni | jo mo mkhar³³ chen ^{<C79>} bza'^[1174] mtsho rgyal gyis³⁴ dben sa 'o³⁵
yug ^{<B289>} mkhar ba sna ru mdzad pa'i dus su | byang phyogs kyi bye ma spyang ki³⁶ 'dra ba

¹ shrī] A, shī BCDEF ² maṇḍala'i] ABE, maṇḍa la CD ³ khar] ABE, mkhar CD ⁴ From "manydzu" to "te |," om. F ⁵ maṇḍala'i] ABE, maṇḍa la'i CD, man dā la'i F ⁶ khar] ABEF, mkhar CD ⁷ gcig] A, cig BCDF, zhig E ⁸ maṇḍala'i] ABEF, maṇḍa la'i CD ⁹ khar] ABEF, mkhar CD ¹⁰ sran tsam du] BDE, tsam sran tsam ACF ¹¹ khar] ABEF, mkhar CD ¹² 'chams] AE, 'cham CDF, mchams B ¹³ pos |] ACF, pos BDE ¹⁴ rtsod] ACDEF, brtsod B ¹⁵ shig |] C, shig D, shig || F, cig | AB, zhig | E ¹⁶ rgyal] ACDEF, brgyal B ¹⁷ so zer |] ABCDE, so || F ¹⁸ rtsod] ACDEF, brtsod B ¹⁹ gyis] BCDEF, gyi A ²⁰ bar] ACF, ba BDE ²¹ gtam] ABCDF, gtams D ²² gyis] BCDEF, gyi A ²³ gi] ACDF, gis BE ²⁴ khar] ABE, mkhar CDF ²⁵ te] ABCDE, nas F ²⁶ grong] ACDEF, grongs B ²⁷ bcom] ACDF, bcoms BE ²⁸ khrag tu] DE, khrag CF, khrag du AB ²⁹ lcebs] D, lce gas ABCEF ³⁰ bcad] BCDEF, gcad A ³¹ de] ACF, nas DE, nas de B ³² bcad] BCDEF, gcad A ³³ mkhar] ABCDE, mchar F ³⁴ gyis] ACDF, gyi BE ³⁵ sa 'o] D, pa 'o BCEF, pa'o || A ³⁶ ki] CDF, khu A, ku BE

la thebs | de yang byang phyogs nas¹ yar ldong ston gyi² tshong³ pa mang po yong ba^[1175] las |
 tshong dpon nam⁴ tshong lha rgyal po shel⁵ ging gis⁶ byed pa las | rgyal po khros te | byang
 spyang bcu bzhis rta bong rnams nyal bsad⁷ | tha^{⟨E234⟩} ma mi la za ru byung ba^[1176] las tshong⁸
 pas lha 'dre'i rdzur^[1177] yin par⁹ shes te^[1178] yul na byin rlabs che ba su yod dris¹⁰ pas | mkhar
 5 ba sna na jo mo bzhugs zer te | der jo mo'i drung du phyin nas¹¹ zhus pas | jo mos de rnams
 bstan pa mchod pa'i sbyin bdag yin par mkhyen nas | spyang ki¹² rnams kyi¹³ rjes sa khyer la¹⁴
 shog gsungs^[1179] ⟨F214⟩ pas | bye ma la rjes sa¹⁵ 'dug pa^[1180] ⟨A173⟩ blangs te^[1181] phul bas | jo mos rjes
 sa dang^[1182] bag phye la gzugs bcu bzhi byas nas phur pa btab pas | spyang ki¹⁶ bcu bzhi^[1183] po
 dngos su mkhar ba sna'i gnya' na mar la hril li li 'gril¹⁷ nas lhung byung | spyang ki¹⁸ la thebs
 10 zer yang | rgyal po shel¹⁹ ging la thebs so ||^[1184] jo mo'i gsang mtshan ni | be'u shānting²⁰ rtsal²¹
 ⟨B290⟩ zhes so ||^[1185]

§22.5 Mi-nub rGyal-ba'i-snying-po

'di'i slob ma mi nub²² rgyal ba'i^{⟨C80⟩} snying po yin te | 'dis²³ jo mo la dkor nor sna re la | nor
 sna khri tsho re ri ba bdun phul | dar gyi beg tshe'i²⁴ steng nas jo mos bshad^[1186] mthing shog
 15 la gser gyis²⁵ bris te glegs²⁶ bam du byas | dben sa²⁷ 'u²⁸ sha'i rong | {gar sha²⁹ mkha', 'gro'i^[1187] gling³⁰}³¹
 | gsang mtshan me dpung rtsal³² | bya rog la thebs te | de yang phreng³³ ba^[1188] na bza'i khar
 bzhag ste dbu skra bsil bas^[1189] bya rog gis³⁴ phreng³⁵ ba khyer ba la^[1190] ⟨E235⟩ brtags³⁶ pas bya
 rog bdud nag po skrag³⁷ med kyi sprul pas bar chod byed par mkhyen nas | bya rog gi grib ma

¹ nas] CF, na ABDE ² ston gyi] AD, stong gi CF, ston gi BE ³ tshong] ACDEF, tshongs B ⁴ nam] CDF, 'am ABE ⁵ shel] ABCDF, shes E ⁶ gis] BCDF, gi A ⁷ bsad] ABDE, gsod CF ⁸ tshong] ACDEF, tshongs B ⁹ par] CF, pa ABDE ¹⁰ dris] ABCDE, bris F ¹¹ phyin nas] ACEF, *ins.* BD ¹² ki] CDF, ku ABE ¹³ kyi] ACF, kyi BDE ¹⁴ khyer la] ABD, khyer CEF ¹⁵ rjes sa] CF, rjes ABDE ¹⁶ ki] CDF, ku ABE ¹⁷ 'gril] ACF, 'bril B, 'dril D ¹⁸ ki] CDF, ku AB ¹⁹ shel] ABCDF, shes E ²⁰ shānting] AC, shān ting F, shinting BDE ²¹ rtsal] CDEF, brtsal B, stsal A ²² mi nub] CDF, me nu A, me nub BE ²³ 'dis] ACF, 'di'i BDE ²⁴ beg tshe'i] A, dge tsho'i CEF, dge tshe'i BD ²⁵ gyis] BCDEF, gyi A ²⁶ glegs] ACDF, gleg BE ²⁷ sa] BCDF, pa AE ²⁸ 'u] CF, ga'u ABDE ²⁹ sha] ABDEF, zha C ³⁰ gling] CF, gling yin ABDE ³¹ *Note: The placement of this annotation varies in all the versions. In A it is below the last line and indicated with a swastika symbol which corresponds to the same symbol below dben sa ga'u. In B it is in the next line right below dben sa ga'u sha'i rong and connected to it with a dotted line. In C it is in the next line right below 'u zha'i rong and connected to it with a dotted line. In D it is in a round bracket right after sha'i. In E it is right after dben pa. In F it is in the next line right below 'u sha'i rong and connected to it with a dotted line.* ³² rtsal] ACDEF, btsal B ³³ phreng] ACF, 'phreng BD ³⁴ gis] CDF, gi AB ³⁵ phreng] ACDF, phrang B, 'phreng E ³⁶ brtags] ACF, brtag BDE ³⁷ skrag] AD, bskrag B, bkrag CEF

la phur pa btab pas | bya rog sa la lhung nas shi'o ||^[1191] bya rog la thebs zer yang | ^{<F215>} bdud la thebs pa'o ||^[1192]

§22.6 Lo dPal-gyi-blo-gros

de'i slob ma lo dpal gyi¹ blo gros yin te | dben sa² spa gro³ stag tshang seng ge^[1193] phug^[1194]
 5 gsang mtshan rdo rje^[1195] grags pa⁴ rtsal⁵ | mon dmag la thebs | de yang slob dpon^[1196] mon na
 bzhugs dus dmag gis⁶ dgon pa bshig^[1197] nor rdzas khyer | de nas dgongs rgyud rtsa 'grel⁷ tsho
 bsnam⁸ te spa gro⁸ stag tshang du byon^[1198] bsnyen pa byas ^{<B291>} pas rdo rje^[1199] gzhon nu zhal
 gzigs^[1200] lho'i spa'i⁹ khyim la dmigs nas¹⁰ phur pa btab pas | dngos su¹¹ spa¹² khyim la phur
 pa bcur¹³ ^{<C81>} bcur¹⁴ byung nas mon pa rnam^{<A174>} kyi snying la phur pa re thar thar zug nas
 10 kun bsgral lo ||^[1201] lho'i spa¹⁵ khyim la thebs¹⁶ zer yang | mon pa la thebs so ||

§22.7 Ngam-'bre Klu'i-rgyal-mtshan

de'i ^{<D32>} slob ma ngam 'bre klu'i rgyal mtshan | dben sa¹⁷ nyang¹⁸ stod srin mo ri'i co to ||^[1202]
 gsang mtshan bdud 'dul grags pa rtsal¹⁹ ||^[1203] dgra la btab²⁰ pas bgegs la thebs ||^[1204] de yang²¹
 slob dpon^[1205] 'dis phur pa 'grub²² pas dgra bgegs gnyis la ngang ngam^[1206] shugs ^{<E236>} kyis²³
 15 thebs | nyon mongs pa dug lnga la thebs te lta dgongs²⁴ phul du phyin | bar chad²⁵ ^{<F216>} dgra
 bgegs thams cad bsgral nas ||^[1207] dgung²⁶ lo dgu bcu rtsa dgu la sku 'das te | spur²⁷ sbyangs pas
 gdung rus ci yang ma byung ste | rdo rje^[1208] gzhon nu'i sku zhal gsum phyag drug pa chag
 gang ba²⁸ gcig^[1209] dang | ki la²⁹ ya 'bur dod gcig³⁰ phyag rgya chen po'i rig 'dzin thob pa'i rtags
 su³¹ byung ngo ||^[1210]

¹ gyi] BCDEF, gyis A ² sa] BCDE, pa AF ³ gro] CDF, dro ABE ⁴ grags pa] ACF, grag po BDE ⁵ rtsal] ACDEF, bstsal B ⁶ dmag gis] BCDEF, damgi (*skung yig*) A ⁷ 'grel] ACEF, 'brel BD ⁸ gro] CF, dro ABDE ⁹ spa'i] ABDEF, rba'i C ¹⁰ dmigs nas] ABDE, dmigs CF ¹¹ dngos su] BCDEF, dngosu (*skung yig*) A ¹² spa] DE, rba'i C, sbag A, spag F, sba B, ¹³ bcur] BDE, gcur AC, bcug F ¹⁴ bcur] E, gcur ABCDF ¹⁵ spa] ABDEF, rba C ¹⁶ thebs] ABCDE, theb F ¹⁷ sa] CD, pa ABEF ¹⁸ nyang] ABCDF, nya E ¹⁹ rtsal] ACDEF, bstsal B ²⁰ btab] ACDF, btabs BE ²¹ de yang] ABD, yang CF ²² 'grub] ABDEF, grub C ²³ kyis] CDF, kyi ABE ²⁴ dgongs] ABDE, sgom CF ²⁵ chad] ADE, chod CF ²⁶ dgung] CDEF, rgung AB ²⁷ spur] ABDE, pur CF ²⁸ gang ba] A, gang pa BDE, mkhyud gang ba CF ²⁹ la] CF, lä ABDE ³⁰ gcig] AF, cig CDEF ³¹ rtags su] CDEF, rtagsu (*skung yig*) AB

§22.8 Ngam-'bre Sa-le

de'i sras ngam 'bre sa le shes rab dbang phyug ste | 'dis bla ma ^{<B292>} la 'bul ba chen po byas
 te ^[1211] rma gtsang skyi¹ gtsang gi 'gram² du zhus ^[1212] dben sa³ gong ma dang gcig la | gsang
 mtshan bgegs rigs 'joms pa rtsal⁴ ^[1213] des bgegs la btab | de yang sin mo ri la⁵ sgrub⁶ pa la
 5 bzhugs ^{<C82>} dus | nub gcig 'od chen po gcig^[1214] byung ^[1215] 'od de la phur pa btab pas | tho
 rangs⁷ mi dkar po gcig byung ba^[1216] na re | slob dpon^[1217] gyi bka 'khor la ngas⁸ gnod pa mi
 byed kyi ^[1218] nga'i phur pa thon zer | der kho la mna' bsgags⁹ nas phur pa bton¹⁰ te ^[1219] 'od
 la thebs zer yang | rgyal po la thebs so ^[1220] bla ma 'di nam mkha'^[1221] la 'gro ba dang ^[1222] chu
 la mi 'byings¹¹ ba^[1223] la sogs pa dngos ^{<A175>} grub du ma la dbang 'byor ba^[1224] yin no ^[1225] ||

10 §22.9 Lang-lab Byang-chub-rdo-rje

'di'i slob ma ^{<E237>} lang lab byang chub rdo rje ^[1225] yin te | rma chu rab kyi pha rol^[1226] skyi chu
 rab kyi tshu¹² rol ^[1227] bye¹³ ma yug mor zhus ^[1228] physis gser srang brgyad bcu¹⁴ las byas pa'i
 'jam dpal gyi sku gcig phul ^[1229] des¹⁵ sna drangs te^[1230] nor sna bdun phul | lang lab kyi dben
 sa¹⁶ 'khor re'i rdo rje^[1231] rtse 'dus | gsang mtshan 'phrin las¹⁷ mthar phyin rtsal¹⁸ | 'dis spyir dgra
 15 bgegs¹⁹ kun la thebs | ^{<B293>} khyad par du²⁰ rkun ma la thebs te | ²¹ lang lab kyi nor rku²² la shor
 ba las | rkun ma'i rjes sa²³ la phur²⁴ pa btab pas²⁵ | 'bre grags po²⁶ bya ba zhag gsum^[1232] na shi
 ste^[1233] | shul mi rnams kyis²⁷ nor skyal²⁸ lo²⁹ ^[1234] slob dpon^[1235] 'dis³⁰ sgrub pa mdzad pa la³¹
 phur pa rnams 'phar ba dang ^[1236] mchong ba³² dang | me dang ^[1237] du ba³³ la sogs pa byung
^[1238] ^{<C83>} lcags phur gcig^[1239] brag gi³⁴ ngos la btab pa la phyugs rdzi dang^[1240] shing 'thu ba
 20 dag gis³⁵ lag pa³⁶ 'jus te dpyangs³⁷ la dbyug³⁸ pa sogs rtsed³⁹ mo byed pa byung ngo ^[1241] 'di yan
 chod du phur pa chig brgyud⁴⁰ yin no ^[1242] ||

¹ skyi] ABDE, gi CF ² gi 'gram] ABE, 'gram CF, gi 'bram B ³ sa] CDE, pa ABF ⁴ rtsal] ACDEF, btsal B
⁵ ri la] ACF, ri na BD, rin E ⁶ sgrub] ACDF, sgrubs BE ⁷ rangs] ABDE, rang CF ⁸ ngas] AC, *ins.* F, *om.*
 BDE ⁹ bsgags] AF, bsgag C, bgags BD, 'gags E ¹⁰ bton] CDEF, gton AB ¹¹ 'byings] AD, bying C, 'bying
 F, dbyings B, byings E ¹² tshu] BCDEF, tshur A ¹³ bye] ACF, dbye BDE ¹⁴ brgyad bcu] ABE, brgyad CF
¹⁵ des] ACDF, de BE ¹⁶ sa] ABCDF, pa E ¹⁷ 'phrin las] AD, phrin las CEF, phris (*skung yig*) B ¹⁸ rtsal]
 ACDEF, brtsal B ¹⁹ dgra bgegs] ACDEF, 'gregs B ²⁰ par du] A, par CF ²¹ *From* "khyad" to "te |," *om.* BDE
²² rku] ACDEF, sku B ²³ rjes sa] ABDE, rjes CF ²⁴ phur] ACDEF, yur B ²⁵ btab pas] ACF, btab BE, btab
 D ²⁶ po] CDEF, se AB ²⁷ kyis] BCDEF, kyi A ²⁸ skyal] ABE, bskyal CDF ²⁹ lo] ABCE, la F ³⁰ 'dis]
 ABDE, 'di'i CF ³¹ mdzad pa la] ABCDE, la F ³² mchong ba] CDF, 'phyongs pa ABE ³³ ba] ABCDF, ma
 E ³⁴ gi] ACDF, gis BE ³⁵ gis] BDE, gi ACF ³⁶ pa] ABCDE, pa la F ³⁷ dpyangs] ABE, spyang drangs CF,
 spyangs D ³⁸ dbyug] ABCDF, g.yug E ³⁹ rtsed] ACDEF, brtsed B ⁴⁰ brgyud] CDEF, rgyud AB

§23 Four Supreme Disciples of Lang-lab Byang-chub-rdo-rje

§23.1 sNa-nam Shes-rab-tshul-khrims

'di las gong du bstan pa ltar¹ slob ma mang du byung la | slob ma'i mchog bzhi las | sna nam²
shes tshul gyis³ ^{<F218>} thugs zin pas | 'phrin las⁴ dang lag len⁵ man ngag tu⁶ dril⁷ nas gngang |
5 rgyud 'grel⁸ che ba rnams ma gngang la | rtsa ba'i ^{<E238>} rgyud rdo rje^[1243] khros pa'i dum bu
gngang | 'di rgyud phyi ma'i phyi ma yin zer ^[1244] man ngag 'phrin las⁹ bzhi'i don 'di la gngang
ba rnams shin tu zab par byed do ^[1245]

§23.2 sKyi Gyang-'gyel

skyi gyang 'gyel¹⁰ ni | yul mi rnams kyis¹¹ ^{<A176>} nor phyugs khang ^{<D33>} zhing thams cad^[1246]
10 phrogs¹² pa la brten¹³ nas | ^{<B294>} lang lab kyi rtsar¹⁴ byon nas gdams pa zhus pas ^[1247] zla ba
dgu lha bsnyen gyis la | de nas bse¹⁵ lcags shel gsum la zla ba gnyis sgrubs shig^[1248] don 'grub
nas 'ong gi gsungs ^[1249] de ltar bsgrubs¹⁶ pas lus¹⁷ drod tshad du phyin ^[1250] de nas gyeng¹⁸ gi
drung na mi mang po nyi ma la 'ong¹⁹ zhing 'dug²⁰ pas thams cad^[1251] dgra ru ma gyur pa mi²¹
'dug ste ^[1252] gong khug nas phur pa phyung²² ste^[1253] gyang²³ la btab pas | gyang²⁴ 'gyel ba'i
15 thibs 'og tu ^{<C84>} mi kun²⁵ shi bas ^[1254] skyi nag gyang 'gyel²⁶ du grags ^[1255] gyang la thebs zer
yang ^[1256] dgra la thebs | 'di shes rab che bas rgyud 'grel²⁷ man ngag thams cad gngang ngo ||

§23.3 sPrang Phur-bu-mgo

sprang²⁸ phur bu²⁹ mgo ni³⁰ sngar nas phur pa ^{<F219>} mang po shes | slob ma yang mang ngo
||^[1257] 'dis³¹ kun³² kha mthun par^[1258] jo mo mkhar chen bza'i thugs dam gyi phur pa jo bo lang

¹ ltar] ABDE, dar ba'i CF ² nam] CF, snam ABDE ³ gyis] BCDEF, gyi A ⁴ 'phrin las] A, phrin las CDEF, phris B ⁵ len] ABCDE, lan F ⁶ ngag tu] CDF, ngag du AB, ngag E ⁷ dril] ACEF, gril BD ⁸ 'grel] ACDEF, 'brel B ⁹ 'phrin las] ADE, phrin las CF, 'phris (*skung yig*) B ¹⁰ 'gyel] CF, bsgyel ABDE ¹¹ kyis] BCDEF, kyi A ¹² phrogs] C, phrog ABE, 'phrog F, 'phrogs D ¹³ brten] ACD, brtan F, bsten BE ¹⁴ rtsar] ABCDF, rtsa ra E ¹⁵ bse] ABDEF, bswe C ¹⁶ bsgrubs] CDF, bsgrub A, sgrubs BE ¹⁷ lus] CF, lung ABDE ¹⁸ gyeng] A, gyang BCDEF ¹⁹ 'ong] BDE, lde A, 'de CF, ²⁰ 'dug] ACDEF, bdug B ²¹ mi] ABDEF, ma C ²² phyung] A, phyungs BCDEF ²³ gyang] BCDEF, gyeng A ²⁴ gyang] BCDEF, gyeng A ²⁵ thibs 'og tu mi kun] AC, thib 'og tu mi rkun B, thib 'og tu mi kun DE, mi kun thibs 'og tu F ²⁶ 'gyel] CF, bsgyel ABDE ²⁷ 'grel] ACDEF, 'brel B ²⁸ sprang] BE, sprangs CDF, spangs A ²⁹ bu] CF, ru ABDE ³⁰ mgo ni] CF, mgo ni |BDE, mgo A ³¹ 'dis] ABDEF, 'di C ³² kun] ABCEF, kun la D

lab la yod zer bas | nas bong khal drug |¹ sho khog pa drug |^[1259] snum ban gang | chang rkyal pa
 gang ^{⟨E239⟩} rnam khyer te 'khor² rer 'ongs | der lang lab bza' mi gnyis la sras ni mi mnga' | nor
 rdzas srab mo las med pas³ | khang pa'i sgo ^{⟨B295⟩} glegs⁴ dang |^[1260] shing cha btsongs nas za ba
 las | sprang⁵ phur bu⁶ mgo bong khal ded nas phya⁷ sgo med pas khang pa'i⁸ nang du btsangs⁹
 5 kyis¹⁰ byung ba dang | lang lab kyis¹¹ jo bo sngags pa 'di¹² mgron¹³ khang ma lags |¹⁴ sgo nor ba
 ma yin nam^[1261] byas pas |^[1262] sprang¹⁵ na re | ma lags 'di khar chos kyi bka' drin zhur mchis
 pa¹⁶ lags |^[1263] zer nas khal tsho phog |^[1264] zhe sa¹⁷ phul |^[1265] ^{⟨A177⟩} gtam mthun sbyor mang po
 btang |^[1266] de nub mar me bteg¹⁸ | chang dang sha drangs | nas phul nas |^[1267] phur pa jo mo
 lugs¹⁹ zhu 'tshal byas pas | da 'o na zla ba phyed nas shes par bya gsungs nas ^{⟨C85⟩} gngang ste |
 10 dpa' bo²⁰ gcig par sgrub²¹ pa'i don zab tu^[1268] gngang ngo ||^[1269] ^{⟨F220⟩}
 de nas²² sprang²³ kyis²⁴ rong du slob ma mang du bsdu^[1270] khong rang gis²⁵ phur pa
 phyi²⁶ rgyud²⁷ mang po shes pas | de tsho nas btus kyin sgrub²⁸ thabs mang du brtsams | 'di jo
 mo mkhar chen bza'i²⁹ thugs dam yin |^[1271] lang lab byang chub rdo rje'i^[1272] phyag nas 'ongs
 zer zhing | slob ma rnam la so sor³⁰ mi 'dra ba mang po bstan pas | phur pa^[1273] ^{⟨E240⟩} rtsa dum
 15 gyi³¹ chos ^{⟨B296⟩} skor 'cha'³² mgo zug |^[1274] so sor³³ mi 'dra ba mang pas^[1275] sprang³⁴ kyi slob ma
 rnam³⁵ kyang nga'i 'di jo mo lugs yin zer zhing |^[1276] gcig la gcig mi mgu | da lta³⁶ jo mo lugs
 kyi sgrub³⁷ thabs mi 'dra ba mang po byung ba^[1277] yang de yin | zhes lo rgyus su 'byung ngo
 ||³⁸ bdag gis³⁹ ni sprang⁴⁰ kyis⁴¹ byas pa'i yig⁴² cha ma mthong bas 'thad mi 'thad⁴³ spro bar⁴⁴
 mi nus so ||^[1278]

¹ drug |] ABCEF, drug D ² 'khor] ACDF, 'kho BE ³ pas] ABCDF, las E ⁴ glegs] CDEF, gleg AB ⁵
 sprang] E, sprangs ABCDF ⁶ phur bu] CF, phu ru ABDE ⁷ phya] A, phyi BCDEF ⁸ pa'i] ABCEF, ba'i D
⁹ btsangs] BDE, tsangs CF, gtsang A ¹⁰ kyis] BCDEF, gyi A ¹¹ kyis] BCDEF, kyi A ¹² 'di] ACF, ni BDE ¹³
 mgron] BCDEF, 'gron A ¹⁴ lags |] F, lags ABCDE ¹⁵ sprang] ABE, sprangs CDF ¹⁶ mchis pa] ADE, mchis
 CF, 'chis pa B ¹⁷ zhe sa] ACF, zhes sa BE, ces pa D ¹⁸ bteg] ABE, btegs CDF ¹⁹ mo lugs] ABCD, rtso lugs
 F, mo E ²⁰ dpa' bo] ACDEF, dpa'o B ²¹ sgrub] ABCDE, bsgrub F ²² nas] ACF, sras BDE ²³ sprang] E,
 sprangs ABCDF ²⁴ kyis] BCDEF, kyi A ²⁵ gis] CF, gi ABDE ²⁶ phyi] CF, spyi A, gcig BDE ²⁷ rgyud]
 ACF, brgyud BDE ²⁸ sgrub] ACDF, sgrubs BE ²⁹ bza'i] ACDF, gza'i BE ³⁰ so sor] ACDEF, saur (*skung*
yig) B ³¹ gyi] ACDF, gyis BE ³² chos skor 'cha'] C, chos skor 'chal BDE, 'cha' F, chos bskor 'chal A ³³ so sor]
 ACDEF, saur (*skung yig*) B ³⁴ sprang] E, sprangs ABCDF ³⁵ rnam] BCDEF, rnam] A ³⁶ lta] ABDE, lta
 CF ³⁷ sgrub] ACDF, sgrubs BE ³⁸ 'byung ngo ||] ACF, 'byung | BDE ³⁹ gis] BCDEF, gi A ⁴⁰ sprang] E,
 sprangs ABCDF ⁴¹ kyis] BCDEF, kyi A ⁴² yig] ABCDF, yi E ⁴³ 'thad mi 'thad] BCDEF, mthad mi mthad
 A ⁴⁴ bar] ACF, bas BDE

§23.4 Nyang-nag dBang-gi-shes-rab

da ni slob ma bzhi pa nyang¹ nag dbang gi shes rab kyi² lo rgyus brjod par bya ste³ | de yang
 lang lab yab yum^[1279] gnyis zas nor gyi⁴ 'phongs⁵ par yod pa la^[1280] nyang nag gis⁶ 'o⁷ yug rol
 po⁸ gong mar spyang drangs nas⁹ zhabs tog¹⁰ byas | der lo gsum song ba¹¹ dang | jo mo de khar
 5 bzhag^{<D34>} nas^[1281] slob dpon^[1282] ldong¹² kha^{<F221>} smad na mar rnyed¹³ <C86> pa tshol bar byon
 nas zla ba dgu'i bar du ma byon^[1283] der jo mo skyo zhing yid chad nas | nang ma¹⁴ gcig^[1284]
 <A178> jo mos nyang nag bos¹⁵ nas^[1285] slob dpon^[1286] 'di bas snying thag ring pa¹⁶ ma byung gi
 | khyed rang chos 'dod na ngas sbyin no^[1287] zer^[1288] 'o na¹⁷ dang¹⁸ bdag dga'¹⁹ byas pas | 'o na
 sgro ba nag po 'di²⁰ kha phye²¹ zhi^[1289] zer nas | slob dpon^[1290] lang lab kyi²² <B297> la rgya yod
 10 pa bcag nas kha phye²³ | dbang ma thob pa la dgongs rgyud²⁴ bris pas | <E241> nyang nag la bkra
 mi shis pa byung ste | gnag phyugs²⁵ mang po yod pa la²⁶ gnag²⁷ nad byung ste^[1291] phal cher
 shi | rta la rtsug²⁸ byung | der yi ge 'bri²⁹ 'phro bcad | slob dpon^[1292] gshegs pa'i phyogs kyi ri
 mtho sar phyin te gtor³⁰ tshogs mang po bshams³¹ nas bshags pa byas | slob dpon^[1293] spyang
 drangs nas³² nor rdzas kyi phyed 'bul ba byas pas | gnag³³ nad dang bkra mi shis pa kun chad |
 15 slob dpon^[1294] spyang 'dren pa gtang³⁴ ngo ||

der slob dpon^[1295] byon pa dang | sngar jo mos gsungs pa la sogs pa'i lo rgyus³⁵ bsnyad³⁶
 pas | slob dpon^[1296] na re^[1297] e he he^[1298] lha'i khug mar srin gyi lag pa btsangs³⁷ ang^{<F222>}
 gsungs | der gong gi³⁸ dam bcas pa'i nor rdzas tsho phul nas chos³⁹ zhu 'tshal⁴⁰ byas pas^[1299]
 slob dpon^[1300] na re | 'o na sngon la khyed⁴¹ pha^{<C37>} spad dbang gcig^[1301] thob pa bya dgos
 20 gsungs⁴² nas^[1302] yab⁴³ sras gsum la chos kyi dbang rdzogs par^[1303] bskur te | 'di ltar dbang
 phyi nang gsang gsum⁴⁴ bskur ro ||^[1304] der sras che ba de snga⁴⁵ bu yin pas yab dang ma yar

¹ nyang] BCDEF, myang A ² kyi] ACDF, kyis BE ³ ste] BCDEF, te A ⁴ gyi] ABE, gyis CDF ⁵ 'phongs] ABE, phongs CDF ⁶ gis] CF, gi ABDE ⁷ 'o] ABCDE, 'od F ⁸ po] ACEF, por BD ⁹ drangs nas] C, drangs ABDE ¹⁰ tog] ACDEF, rtog B ¹¹ ba] ACDEF, pa B ¹² ldong] ABE, sdong CF, ltong E ¹³ rnyed] ACDF, snyed BE ¹⁴ nang ma] ABCEF, nangs mo D ¹⁵ bos] BCDEF, pos A ¹⁶ pa] A, bar CF, ba BDE ¹⁷ 'o na] ABCEF, 'don D ¹⁸ dang] ABDE, da CF ¹⁹ dga'] ACF, dga'o BDE ²⁰ po 'di] ABDE, po CF ²¹ phye] ABDEF, phyas C ²² kyi] AC, kyis BDEF ²³ phye] ABDE, phyas CF ²⁴ rgyud] C, brgyud ABDEF ²⁵ gnag phyugs] ADEF, gnag phyug C, brnag chugs B ²⁶ yod pa la] ABDE, la CF ²⁷ gnag] ACDEF, brnag B ²⁸ rtsug] ABCEF, tsug D ²⁹ 'bri] BDEF, 'dri AC ³⁰ gtor] ABCEF, gter D ³¹ bshams] ABCDE, gshams F ³² drangs nas] ACDE, drangs te F, drang nas B ³³ gnag] ACDEF, brnag B ³⁴ gtang] A, btang BCDEF ³⁵ rgyus] ACDEF, brgyus B ³⁶ bsnyad] BCDEF, snyad A ³⁷ btsangs] ACF, brdzangs BDE ³⁸ gi] ACF, gis BDE ³⁹ chos] ABCDE, chas F ⁴⁰ 'tshal] ACDEF, mtshal B ⁴¹ khyed] ABDE, khyod CF ⁴² gsungs] ABCDE, gsung F ⁴³ yab] ABDE, yab yum CF ⁴⁴ gsum] BCDEF, gsum A ⁴⁵ snga] CF, sngad AB, sngar DE

sdang zhing dbang chung bar ^{<B298>} 'dug ^[1305] bu chung ba ni gces phrug^t byed de de'i ming
tshul le zer ba yin ^[1306] che ba la gnang nge² zer te^[1307] 'di rig pa can ^{<E242>} sngags kyi snod dang
ldan par gzigs nas | ^{<A179>} lang lab kyi³ ming spos nas | shākya rgyal mtshan zhes btags ^[1308] de
nas slob dpon^[1309] lang lab kyi zhal nas ^[1310] nged⁴ rgas 'khogs⁵ gnyis kyi⁶ nor 'di tsho'i⁷ nya⁸ ra
5 mi yong bar⁹ gda' yi¹⁰ | 'di tsho khyed rang yab sras mdzod la^m | nged¹² mi gnyis ma shi bar du
mi sdug pa gcig^[1311] zhu gsungs ^[1312] der nyang nag dbang gi shes rab thugs ma bde ste ^[1313] slob
dpon^[1314] khyad par^[1315] can 'di la gdung brgyud gcig^[1316] byung na bstan pa dang sems can^[1317]
l'ang phan | nga'i bu tsha brgyud¹³ rnam^{<F223>} kyi¹⁴ phyag mchod pa 'bul sa gcig¹⁵ kyang dgos
pa¹⁶ 'dug snyam nas ^[1318] jo mo bgres¹⁷ mo lo lnga bcu nga¹⁸ brgyad lon pa de la rgyu mtshan
10 smras¹⁹ te | nga la bsam mno²⁰ 'di 'dra gcig^[1319] bdog²¹ | nor rdzas 'di ^{<C88>} tsho'i²² bdag po gcig
kyang²³ dgos pa²⁴ gda'²⁵ bas jo mo gcig²⁶ blangs²⁷ na rung ngam byas pas | jo mos de shin tu
legs so^[1320] gsungs | de nas slob dpon^[1321] la zhus pas mi byed gsungs²⁸ ^[1322] der gong gi rgyu
mtshan tsho zhib tu brjod de^[1323] | ^{<B299>} jo mos ni gnang lags byas pas | rgan mo la mi dga' ba
mi 'dug gam gsungs ^[1324] jo mo dges²⁹ pa gda'³⁰ lags³¹ zhus pas | 'o na bya na³² yang bya gsungs³³
15 ^[1325] ^{<E243>} der rus ^{<D35>} 'o phya bza' yin³⁴ pa'i bu mo gcig^[1326] blangs³⁵ nas ^[1327] jo mo³⁶ la phul bas
sras gnyis byung ste | che ba la grags chung zer | nu bo la grags pa dbang phyug tu btags ^[1328]
de tsa na nyang nag dbang gi shes rab kyi³⁷ chos thams cad^[1329] khong du³⁸ chud | bla
ma yab yum^[1330] gyi zhabs tog³⁹ kyang 'di nyid kho na bzang ba yin no || ^[1331] ^{<A180>} de nas skabs
shig tu nyang nag gis⁴⁰ shog⁴¹ gu⁴² mang po sbyar nas yod pa la | ^{<F224>} slob dpon^[1332] na re | ci
20 'dri⁴³ ba lags gsungs⁴⁴ | rgyud 'grel⁴⁵ zhal bshu ba^[1333] lags byas pas ^[1334] slob dpon^[1335] gyi zhal
nas ^[1336] bdag⁴⁶ ni nyi ma rgas kha 'dra || ^[1337] chos kyi bdag po nyid lags kyi⁴⁷ || ^[1338] bla dpe zhal

¹ phrug] ABCDE, phrugs F ² nge] ADE, de BCF ³ kyi] ACE, kyi BDF ⁴ nged] ACDF, nges BE ⁵
'khogs] CDEF, 'khog AB ⁶ kyi] BCDEF, kyi A ⁷ tsho'i] ABCEF, tsho B ⁸ nya] ACDF, nyar BE ⁹ yong
bar] CF, yong ba AD, yongs ba BE ¹⁰ gda' yi] DE, gda' yis CF, brda' yi AB ¹¹ la] ACF, lags BDE ¹² nged]
ABDE, nged bza' CF ¹³ brgyud] ACF, rgyud BDE ¹⁴ kyi] BCDEF, kyi A ¹⁵ sa gcig] AC, sa zhig DE, sa
cig B, rten zhig F ¹⁶ pa] ADEF, par C ¹⁷ bgres] DE, bsgres C, sgres AB, sgras F ¹⁸ nga] ACDF, lnga BE
¹⁹ smras] ABCEF, smos D ²⁰ mno] ACF, mno' BE, blo D ²¹ bdog] CDEF, brdog AB ²² tsho'i] ACEF,
tsho'i B, tshor D ²³ gcig kyang] ABDE, gcig CF ²⁴ pa] ABDEF, par C ²⁵ gda'] CDEF, brda' AB ²⁶ gcig]
ACF, zhig DE, cig B ²⁷ blangs] ACDF, blang BE ²⁸ gsungs] ACDF, gsung BE ²⁹ dges] AEF, dgos BCD
³⁰ gda'] CDEF, bda' AB ³¹ lags] CDEF, la AB ³² bya na] ABD, bya CEF ³³ gsungs] ACDF, gsung BE ³⁴
yin] ABDE, min CF ³⁵ blangs] ACDF, blang BE ³⁶ mo] ABDEF, bo C ³⁷ kyi] ACF, kyi BDE ³⁸ khong
du] CDF, khongs su ABE ³⁹ tog] BCDEF, togs A ⁴⁰ nag gis] BCDE, nad kyi A, nag E ⁴¹ shog] ACDEF,
sho B ⁴² gu] ABDE, bu CF ⁴³ 'dri] ABF, 'dra E, 'bri CD ⁴⁴ gsungs] ADF, gsung BCE ⁴⁵ 'grel] ACDF,
'brel B ⁴⁶ bdag] ACDEF, bdab B ⁴⁷ kyi] ACF, kyi BDE

ma bshu bar tshags mdzod cig gsungs¹ | bla dpe sras gnyis la dgos mod byas pas | byis pa gnyis
 gsang sngags kyi snod du rung ^{<C89>} zhing mthar phyin pa'i nges pa med | de ltar byung na de
 dus su^[1339] gdams pa² byin pas chog³ mod gsungs | bla dpe⁴ po ti^[1340] bse glegs⁵ can bya ba |
^{<B300>} dgongs rgyud kyi glegs⁶ shing la bse'i⁷ lha mo bzhi bris pa'i po ti⁸ gnang ngo ^[1341] mi kun
 5 na re | nyang ro 'khor⁹ re ru lang lab byang chub¹⁰ rdo rje^[1342] rabs¹¹ chad | 'o yug phu ru sras
 gnyis skyes | ya mtshan che zer | phyis sras gnyis po ^{<E244>} chos par ma song | phyug^[1343] po chen
 po gnyis byung | grags¹² chung la bu gnyis las¹³ che ba yon bdag ldong¹⁴ rtse | 'dis gsung¹⁵ rab¹⁶
 mang po bzhengs so ^[1344] de ltar yin mod kyi | jo mos la rgya bcag pa'i^[1345] gtam 'di la brten¹⁷
 te | sna nam¹⁸ dang | skyi nag dang | ^{<F225>} sprang¹⁹ gsum ^[1346] nyang nag gis²⁰ bka' brkus²¹ zer
 10 te | phyis nyang nag sras kyi thu bor gyur pa yin no ^[1347]

byin rlabs dang nus mthu yang phul du byung ba'i^[1348] gtam rgyus²² mang la | dben sa²³
 ni 'o yug sgo mo'i ^{{snyam sa snyam kyi²⁴ brag phug zer }²⁵} rgyab snyam bzang gi brag phug²⁶ tu'o ^[1349]
 gsang mtshan rdo rje^[1350] gshog rgod rtsal²⁷ | snyam bzang phug par sgrub pa mdzad pas | phur
 pa nam mkha'^[1351] la lding ^{<A181>} ba dang ^[28] 'od dang sgra dang bcas pa byung | dgra bgegs²⁹
 15 thams cad^[1352] btul^[1353] ba ^{<C90>} yin no ^[1354] 'dis dgung lo brgyad cu³⁰ rtsa lnga bzhes nas^[1355]
 'da' khar sras tshul le la³¹ zhal ^{<B301>} chems gsungs pa | shākya rgyal mtshan gyis ni man ngag
 thams cad^[1356] shes ^[1357] khos dpe³² cha kun khyer ba³³ 'ong³⁴ ngo | 'og khang gi ka zhu'i kha³⁵
 na po ti³⁶ bse³⁷ glegs³⁸ can yod do ^[39] bu rang tshags gyis la sbos⁴⁰ shig^[1358] gsungs ^[1359] de⁴¹ 'og

¹ gsungs] ACDF, gsung BE ² pa] BCDEF, pas A ³ chog] ACDRF, mchog B ⁴ dpe] ACDEF, dpe'a B ⁵ bse
 glegs] A, bse gleg BE, bswe glegs CF, dpe klog D ⁶ glegs] ACDF, gleg BE ⁷ bse'i] ABDE, bswe'i CF ⁸ po ti]
 D, po sti E, spo ti AB, pu sti CF ⁹ 'khor] ACF, kho BDE ¹⁰ byang chub] ABCDE, byang chub byang chub F
¹¹ rabs] ABCDE, rab F ¹² grags] BCDEF, grag A ¹³ las] ABD, las | CF, la E ¹⁴ ldong] AC, rdor F, ldeng BDE
¹⁵ gsung] CDF, gsungs ABE ¹⁶ rab] BCDEF, rabs A ¹⁷ brten] ACF, bston B, ston B, bsnyon E ¹⁸ nam]
 CF, snam ABDE ¹⁹ sprang] BE, sprangs ACDF ²⁰ gis] BCDEF, gi A ²¹ brkus] CF, rkus ABDE ²² rgyus]
 ABE, rgyud CF, rgyus rgyud D ²³ sa] CDF, pa ABE ²⁴ snyam sa snyam kyi] C, snyam ma snyam gyi A, skam ma skam gyi
 BDE ²⁵ Note: All the versions have this annotation except F. In A it is below the last line and connected to sgo
 mo'i. In B it is in the next line right below sgo mo'i and connected to it with a dotted line. In C it is right after
 sgo mo'i and connected to it with a dotted line. In D it is in a round bracket right after rgyab and snyam bzang.
 In E it is right after mo'i. ²⁶ phug] ACDEF, phub B ²⁷ rtsal] ACDEF, bstsal B ²⁸ ba dang [] ABDE, nas
 C, nus F ²⁹ dgra bgegs] ACDEF, dgregs B ³⁰ brgyad cu] ACDF, bryga bcu BD ³¹ le la] ABCDE, le F ³²
 dpe] ACDEF, dpe' B ³³ khyer ba] ABDE, khyer CF ³⁴ 'ong] ABCDE, yong F ³⁵ zhu'i kha] ABDE, gzhu'i
 steng CF ³⁶ po ti] CD, po sti EF, spo ti A, spo sti B ³⁷ bse] ABDE, bswe C, gser F ³⁸ glegs] ACDF, gleg BE
³⁹ do [] ADE, de [] F, de | C, do | B ⁴⁰ sbos] ABCDF, spos E ⁴¹ de] CF, der ABDE

khang na shākya rgyal tmsan yod pas tshor te^[1360] | yi¹ chad nas po ti² bse³ glegs⁴ ^{<E245>} can
yod pa khyer nas bros phyin ^[1361] snye phu'i⁵ gnas bya ba na yab kyi slob ma gnang hūm^[1362]
ka ra bya ba zhig^[1363] yod pa de'i sar phyin te ^[1364] yab ni grongs su cha ba yod | tshul le la ^{<F226>}
zhal chems gsungs |⁶ yi⁷ chad pa'i tshul smras pas | gnang hūm^[1365] ka ra ha las te ^[1366] slob
5 dpon^[1367] grongs su cha na | po ti⁸ khyer nas bros pas⁹ dam tshig nyams nas 'gro bas | nang¹⁰
par rang re gnyis ka^[1368] 'dong¹¹ | chos nu bo la yang sbyin dgos zer | nang¹² par phyin tsa na
^{<D36>} yab grongs¹³ nas 'dug ^[1369] der gnang hūm^[1370] ka ras spun gnyis mthun par byas so ^[1371]
de nas dus re zhig na bshags pa mang po byas ^[1372] tshogs kyi 'khor lo mang po bskor
| de nas dben sa¹⁴ ru mched¹⁵ gnyis kyi¹⁶ bsnyen¹⁷ sgrub¹⁸ mdzad ^{<B302>} pas ^[1373] rtags¹⁹ dang
10 mtshan ma mang po ni byung ^[1374] ^{<C91>} nub cig^[1375] mar me mi gsal | sgra snyan mang po grags
pa dang | shākya rgyal mtshan spyen mi gsal bas | tshul le la mar me de 'chos²⁰ dang gsungs²¹
| ^{<A182>} tshul les mar me bcos²² par phyin pas ^[1376] sgra snyan pa²³ mang po thos shing^[1377] |
dkyil 'khor²⁴ du bkod pa'i lha phur tsho bro pa²⁵ do rar zhugs pa bzhin cod²⁶ pan²⁷ zing²⁸ zing
'khrab ^[1378] me stag phrom phrom²⁹ 'dug go ^[1379] gcen la 'di ltar brda'³⁰ byas pas | ^{<E246>} rung
15 gsungs nas ^[1380] zangs³¹ nag chen po gcig^[1381] bsnam³² nas | ^{<F227>} phyag tu³³ rba³⁴ mkhar³⁵ dngul
mgo can³⁶ bsnam³⁷ nas sa la btsugs te ^[1382] mched gnyis kyi³⁷ bstod pa mdzad de dngos grub
blangs so ^[1383]

¹ yi] ACF, yid BDE ² po ti] CD, po sti EF, spo ti A, spo sti B ³ bse] ABDE, bswe CF ⁴ glegs] ACDF, gleg
BE ⁵ phu'i] CF, bu'i ABDE ⁶ gsungs [] ABDE, gsungs pas CF ⁷ yi] ACF, yid BDE ⁸ po ti] CD, po sti
EF, spo ti A, spo sti B ⁹ pas] ABDE, na CF ¹⁰ nang] ABE, nangs CDF ¹¹ 'dong] CF, 'deng A, 'dengs BDE
¹² nang] ABE, nangs CDF ¹³ grongs] ACF, grong BDE ¹⁴ sa] ACDF, pa BE ¹⁵ mched] ACDF, mchod
BE ¹⁶ kyi] BCDF, kyi AE ¹⁷ bsnyen] BCDEF, snyan A ¹⁸ sgrub] ACF, bsgrub BDE ¹⁹ rtags] ACDEF,
rtag B ²⁰ 'chos] CF, chos ABDE ²¹ gsungs] ACDF, gsung BE ²² bcos] ABDE, 'chos CF ²³ snyan pa] A,
snyan BCDEF ²⁴ dkyil 'khor] ACDEF, dkyior (*skung yig*) B ²⁵ bro pa] CEF, gro pa A, bro sa BD ²⁶ cod]
ACDEF, bcod B ²⁷ pan] C, paṅ ABDEF ²⁸ zing] ABDE, zang CF ²⁹ phrom phrom] F, phro phro ABDE,
phram phram C ³⁰ brda'] ABE, gda' CDF ³¹ zangs] CF, zang ABDE ³² bsnam] ACDF, bsnam BE ³³ tu]
BCDEF, du A ³⁴ rba] C, sba DEF, spa AB ³⁵ mkhar] AC, 'khar DEF, khar B ³⁶ mgo can] ABDE, mgo CF
³⁷ kyi] BCDEF, kyi A

§2.4 The Phur-pa Transmission after gNyang-nag dBang-gi-shes-rab

§2.4.1 Śākya rGyal-mtshan

de nas ring zhiḡ na | slob dpon^[1384] śākya rgyal mtshan gyis¹ tshong² pa mang po'i dpon mdzad
 5 de^[1385] ldong kha na phar byon pas | 'dar³ nag po'i rta pa nyi shu^[1386] rtsa gcig gis⁴ tshong⁵ pa
 thams cad^[1387] bcom⁶ |^[1388] der sting res⁷ gshegs nas gzigs pas⁸ nom pa bgo ba mthong nas^[1389]
 ber sngon po de phud nas |^[1390] lha bos klu bos nas brdabs⁹ pas | mi rḡan gcig^[1391] ḡdong du
 byung nas |^[1392] lung pa 'di'i¹⁰ sa gnyan rdo gnyan |^[1393] de tsug¹¹ ma byed zer | ^{<B303>} gnyan pa¹²
 kho¹³ na 'dod |^[1394] mi rung ba^[1395] kho na 'dod¹⁴ gsungs¹⁵ | de'i nub mo mi nyal tsam pa'i dus
 10 tshod la ngu co¹⁶ ldir¹⁷ gcig^[1396] ^{<C92>} byung nas |^[1397] rta pa gsum shar¹⁸ song | nangs¹⁹ par nyan
 tsa na tshong dpon gyi bu'i mḡo la^[1398] slob dpon^[1399] gyi rta yis 'khra²⁰ rgyab²¹ ste shi ru cha
 zer skad |^[1400] der slob dpon^[1401] 'khor bcas kyi²² nub mo bros nas phyin |^[1402] phyi de lo dus
 na rta pa bcu dḡu shi'o ||^[1403] gnyis kyis²³ slob dpon²⁴ can du 'ongs nas 'bangs byas so ||^[1404]
 der nyang nag ber sngon can ^{<F228>} zhes phyogs kun tu grags so ||^[1405] dben sa²⁵ ^{<E247>} snyam
 15 snyam²⁶ brag phug | ḡsang mtshan rdo rje^[1406] ḡshog ḡgod²⁷ rtsal^[1407] |^[1408] brdabs ^{<A183>} pa ber
 sngon po brdabs pas |^[1409] thebs pa 'dar nag po la thebs so ||^[1410]

§2.4.2 Slob-dpon Drag-po

'di'i slob ma lhan gyi²⁸ slob dpon^[1411] drag po |²⁹ dben sa lhan gyi³⁰ stag lung groḡ po³¹ || ḡsang
 mtshan rdo rje^[1412] bde chen rtsal³² |^[1413] thebs pa zhang po nyang nag³³ la thebs | de yang
 20 gnubs³⁴ yul rong gi sa'i cha 'groḡs bya bar 'khrungs |^[1414]

¹ gyis] BCDEF, kyī A ² tshong] ACDEF, tshongs B ³ 'dar] ABCDE, 'dir F ⁴ gis] BCDEF, gi A ⁵ tshong] ACDEF, tshongs B ⁶ bcom] ACDF, bcoms BE ⁷ sting res] ABD, rting ris CF, stir ris E ⁸ pas] BCDEF, pa A ⁹ brdabs] ACF, brdab BDE ¹⁰ 'di'i] CF, 'di ABDE ¹¹ tsug] ABDE, tshugs CF ¹² gnyan pa] AF, gnyan sa C, gnyen po BE, gnyan po D ¹³ kho] ABDF, kha E ¹⁴ 'dod] ABDEF, 'dong C ¹⁵ gsungs] ADEF, ḡsung BC ¹⁶ ngu co] ACF, ngu cod B, ngu cong D, cong E ¹⁷ ldir] *emend.*, dir ba C, dings pa ABE, ding ba F ¹⁸ shar] ABDE, shor CF ¹⁹ nangs] CF, nang ABDE ²⁰ 'khra] BE, 'phra ACD, 'gra F ²¹ rgyab] ABCEF, brgyab D ²² kyī] A, kyis CDF, gyis BE ²³ kyis] CF, kyī ABDE ²⁴ slob dpon] CF, dpon slob ABDE ²⁵ sa] ACDF, pa BE ²⁶ snyam snyam] ACF, mnyam mnyam BDE ²⁷ ḡshog ḡgod] ACDF, shog ḡgod B ²⁸ gyī] ABCDE, gyis F ²⁹ drag po |] CF, grags so || A, grags po D ³⁰ gyī] ACDF, gyis B ³¹ groḡ po] AD, groḡ lo F, groḡs po BC. *From* "ḡsang mtshan" *to* "stag lung groḡ po," *om*. E ³² rtsal] ACDF, btsal B, rtsa la E ³³ nag] BDE, nad ACF ³⁴ gnubs] CDF, snubs A, snub BE

mi rmang^t po nye ring² med pa gcig³ yin ^[1415] chung ngu la pha ma shi nas | zhang po
nyang nag⁴ gi⁵ ris bandhe⁶ 'phan⁷ po mang po⁸ yod pas de rnams kyi nor rdzas thams cad^[1416]
phrog ^{<B304>} nas⁹ sprang du btang ngo ^{||}^[1417] der slob dpon^[1418] shākya rgyal mtshan dang¹⁰ mjal
^[1419] lo bco¹¹ brgyad nas sum cu'i¹² bar du bla ma'i gnag^[1420] rdzi'u¹³ byas ^[1421] bla mas gsang
5 sngags kyi snod¹⁴ du rung bar¹⁵ gzigs | shes rab che bas phyugs skyong rin ^{<C93>} la man ngag
thams cad^[1422] gnang | phyag bzhes thams cad^[1423] la mkhas pa'i phul du phyin ^[1424] der bla
ma'i zhal nas | da ni ngas kyang lo ^{<D37>} brgyad¹⁶ bcu¹⁷ gya lnga lon ^[1425] snang ba ^{<F229>} yal
du¹⁸ cha¹⁹ | rgyud 'grel²⁰ 'di tsho zhal bshus gsungs ^[1426] der slob dpon^[1427] drag po la yul na
nor bag tsam yod pas der²¹ bri'am²² zhus ^[23] legs kyi²⁴ 'dir bu gnyis po phra²⁵ dog skyes pa srid
10 do gsungs ^[1428] der po ti²⁶ kun gnang nas yul du 'bri gin²⁷ yod tsa na | slob dpon^[1429] gyi sras
che ba chos tshul bya ba²⁸ byon nas | a po²⁹ drag³⁰ po yab ni grongs nas med | po ^{<E248>} ti³¹ bse
glegs³² can yang mi 'dug^[1430] de³³ su la 'dug pa zhig³⁴ la mgo bskyel³⁵ ba^[1431] la zer | slob dpon^[1432]
grongs nas³⁶ mi dga' ^[1433] ha las pa'i steng du | po ^{<A184>} ti³⁷ bse glegs³⁸ can su la³⁹ 'dug pa la mgo
bskyel⁴⁰ zer bas yang dang yang du ma dga' | po ti⁴¹ nga la yod zer ni ma phod | der bla dpe
15 slob dpon^[1434] drag po la ^{<B305>} lus so ^{||}⁴² de tsa na bla ma drag po'i zhang po nor 'phrog mi kun
gyis⁴³ slar yang 'di nyang nag⁴⁴ ber sngon can gyi⁴⁵ mthus bsnyems⁴⁶ pa yin nam | khyod⁴⁷ la
zo zhig^[1435] ci nus pa rems shig^[1436] zer kha smras byed do ^{||}^[1437] de nas slob dpon^[1438] gyis⁴⁸ lhan
du byon te | bud med^[1439] gcig^[1440] la yul zhing⁴⁹ rten⁵⁰ thub ^{<C94>} tsam zhig^[1441] 'dug pas | ^{<F230>}

¹ mi rmang] AC, mi rmangs F, mi mang BDE ² ring] F, ris AC, res BDE ³ gcig] ACF, zhig DE, cig B ⁴ nag] BDE, nad ACF ⁵ gi] BE, kyi A, gis E, kyis CF ⁶ bandhe] ABD, bande CF, bñdha E ⁷ 'phan] CF, 'phen ABDE ⁸ po] BCDEF, pa A ⁹ phrog nas A, phrogs nas BCDE, phrogs F ¹⁰ dang] ABCDE, gyisng F ¹¹ bco] ACDEF, bcwa B ¹² cu'i] ACDEF, bcu'i B ¹³ rdzi'u] ABCEF, rdzi D ¹⁴ snod] ACEF, gnod B ¹⁵ bar] CEF, par AB ¹⁶ brgyad] ACEF, brgya B ¹⁷ bcu] AB, cu CEF ¹⁸ yal du] ACF, yal las su E, yalasu (*skung yig*) B ¹⁹ cha] ACF, chad B, chod E ²⁰ 'grel] ACEF, 'brel B ²¹ der] BCDEF, des A ²² bri'am] A, 'bri'am C, bri ba 'am BD, bri ba'am E, 'dri'am F ²³ zhus [] A, zhus pas | BCDE, zhus pas F ²⁴ kyi] ABDEF, kyi | C ²⁵ phra] A, phrag BCDEF ²⁶ po ti] D, spo ti A, pu sti CF, spo sti B, po sti E ²⁷ 'bri gin] C, 'dri gin F, 'dri yin ABDE ²⁸ ba] ABCDE, bar F ²⁹ po] ABDEF, pho C ³⁰ drag] BCDEF, grog A ³¹ po ^{<E248>} ti] CD, spo ti A, po sti F, spo sti B, pi sti E ³² bse glegs] D, bse gleg ABE, bswe glegs CF ³³ de] ABCDE, der F ³⁴ zhig] DE, gcig CF, ci A, cig B ³⁵ bskyel] BDE, skyel ACF ³⁶ nas] ABDE, pas CF ³⁷ po ^{<A184>} ti] D, spo ti A, pu sti C, spo sti BE, pusti F ³⁸ bse glegs] D, bse gleg ABE, bswe glegs C, gser glegs F ³⁹ su la] CF, su ABDE ⁴⁰ bskyel] ABDE, skyel CF ⁴¹ po ti] D, spo ti A, po sti E, pu sti C, spo sti B, pusti F ⁴² lus so ||] CDEF, lu so | B, luso (*skung yig*) || A ⁴³ gyis] BCDEF, gyi A ⁴⁴ nag] BCDEF, nad A ⁴⁵ gyi] ACF, gyis BDE ⁴⁶ bsnyems] ACF, bsnyem BD, snyem E ⁴⁷ khyod] ABCDF, khyed E ⁴⁸ gyis] BCDEF, gyi A ⁴⁹ zhing] ABCDF, zhig E ⁵⁰ rten] A, bsten C, bstan F, brten BDE

de dang lhan du bsdad | der lhan gyi¹ stag lung grogs² por dben sa³ byas te sgrub pa mdzad pas
 rtags mtshan mang du byung | zhang po dregs⁴ pa can de kun gyis⁵ zlum⁶ byed du ni ma 'dod
 pa'i khar | zla ba gcig na⁷ slob dpon^[1442] drag po mthus bkrongs kyis⁸ btang gis⁹ zer | g.yas ru
 gtsang po'i rtsa ba¹⁰ na brag phug yod pa der^[1443] nyang nag¹¹ bande¹² bcu gsum^[1444] zhu¹³ nas
 5 mthu byed do ||^[1445] slob dpon^[1446] gyis kyang stag lung grogs¹⁴ por drag las byas pas | de nas
 zla ba gsum na nyang nag¹⁵ bande¹⁶ bcu ^{<E249>} gsum^[1447] po la glo tshad¹⁷ thebs nas kun shi'o
 ||^[1448]

phyis 'grogs lung par ltad¹⁸ mo chen po gcig^[1449] byung ba^[1450] la |^[1451] slob dpon^[1452] drag
 pos zangs¹⁹ nag chen po gcig²⁰ gyon²¹ |^[1453] dre'u gcig phyibs²² | 'khor mang pos bskor te ltad²³
 10 mo la byon pas |^[1454] ^{<B306>} zhang ne mo kun gyis²⁴ sa gtor te | zhang mi rmang²⁵ po ngan pa
 byung ngo zer zhing 'a tsi²⁶ 'a tsi²⁷ zer ba la | khrom²⁸ pa kun na re | 'a tsi²⁹ bya ba khyed³⁰
 rang yin mod | dang po yul zhing phrogs | bar du zlum³¹ mi byed par mthu ^{<A185>} byed | tha
 ma bande³² bcu gsum po³³ srog dang bral nas phung | 'a tsi³⁴ bya ba ^{<F231>} khyed rang tsho yin
 mod zer zhing ya ga bsgrags³⁵ so ||^[1455] slob dpon^[1456] drag po 'dis dgongs rgyud³⁶ skor³⁷ la mi
 15 ^{<C95>} mkhyen pa med cing | mthu dang sku bsod che bas dbus gtsang gi³⁸ mkhas btsun thams
 cad^[1457] kyis³⁹ zhabs la gtugs so^[1458] || 'di mar pa lo tsā ba⁴⁰ dang dus mtshungs pa⁴¹ yin |

¹ gyi] ACEF, gyis BD ² grogs] CF, grog ABDE ³ sa] CDF, pa ABE ⁴ dregs] ACDEF, dreg B ⁵ gyis] BCDEF, gyi A ⁶ zlum] *emend.*, ldums ABD, bsdums C, sdums F, 'dums E ⁷ gcig na] CEF, zhig na D, cig na B, gcig A ⁸ bkrongs kyis] C, bsgang gis BDE, bsgang gi A, bsgrangs kyis F ⁹ gis] CF, gi ABDE ¹⁰ rtsa ba] ABDE, 'gram rtsa CF ¹¹ nag] BDE, nad ACF ¹² bande] CDF, ban dhe A, bendha BE ¹³ zhu] A, zhugs BCEF, bzhugs D ¹⁴ grogs] CF, grog ABDE ¹⁵ nag] BDE, nad ACF ¹⁶ bande] CDF, ban dhe A, bendha BE ¹⁷ tshad] CF, tsha ABDE ¹⁸ ltad] CDEF, bltad AB ¹⁹ zangs] A, zang BCDEF ²⁰ gcig] ABDEF, zhig C ²¹ gyon] ABCDE, byon F ²² phyibs] AB, la chibs CF, chibs DE ²³ ltad] CEF, bltad A, ltas B, bltas (ltad) D ²⁴ gyis] BCDEF, gyi A ²⁵ rmang] C, thong ABDE, rmangs F ²⁶ tsi] ACDEF, rtsi B ²⁷ tsi] ACDEF, rtsi B ²⁸ khrom] ACEF, khron BD ²⁹ tsi] ACDEF, rtsi B ³⁰ khyed] ACF, khyod BDE ³¹ zlum] BDE, 'dums A, bsdums C, sdums F ³² bande] CDF, ban dhe A, bendha BE ³³ bcu gsum po] CF, bcu gsum ADE, bcum (*skung yig*) B ³⁴ tsi] ACDEF, rtsi B ³⁵ bsgrags] CDEF, sgrags AB ³⁶ rgyud] ACF, brgyud BDE ³⁷ skor] BCDEF, bskor A ³⁸ gi] ACDF, gis BE ³⁹ kyis] CDF, kyi ABE ⁴⁰ tsā ba] DE, tsā CF, tsa ba AB ⁴¹ mtshungs pa] ABDE, mtshungs CF

§24.3 sNa-nam 'Bro-ban

de tsa na sna nam¹ shes rab tshul khirms la sras gnyis yod pa'i che ba sna nam² 'bro ban³ la sku
 dgra gcig^[1459] byung nas | dgra de dag gi mthu bzlog⁴ pa la gnubs⁵ zam nag stod pa'i⁶ jo bo stag
 ram spyang drangs so⁷ || lan gcig^[1460] sna nam⁸ 'bro ban⁹ dang | gnubs¹⁰ stag¹¹ ram zam kha cig¹²
 5 tu mjal ba dang | ^{<E250>} sna nam¹³ gyis¹⁴ jo bo stag ram¹⁵ la phyag byas ^{<D38>} te ^[1461] dge bshes pa
^[1462] mi 'di pas bdag la mi 'tshams¹⁶ pa'i las mang po bgyis pas | thugs dam la¹⁷ dgongs la 'di
 pa'i ^{<B307>} bsrung ba¹⁸ mi mdzad¹⁹ par zhu byas pas | gnubs²⁰ stag ram²¹ gyi zhal nas | lang lab
 byang chub rdo rje²² phur thung des²³ sbos²⁴ pa | nga mthu bzlog byed kyi | ci nus rems²⁵
 zer | sna nam²⁶ khros nas gos nag²⁷ brdabs | ngas ma nyes kha yog²⁸ byas so^[1464] || de nas dus
 10 btab ste^[1465] | gnyis ka²⁹ phug tu zhugs pas | zla ba gsum na gnubs³⁰ stag ram³¹ khrag skyugs
 te shi'o || ^[1466] gshin rje^[1467] mkhan po phur³² la rdugs³³ bya ba dus der yang³⁴ grags la | der sna
 nam³⁵ gyis^{<C96>} chang mang po btsos te | nyang ro'i bande³⁶ phur pa shes zer³⁷ tshad spyang
 drangs ^{<A186>} tshogs³⁸ 'khor byas so || ^[1468] gtang³⁹ rag⁴⁰ chen po btang | ⁴¹ gral du glu 'di blangs
 so || ^[1469]

15 rdo rje^[1470] gzhon nu'i gzhu mo la || ^[1471]
 'khor lo rgyas⁴² 'debs rgyud kyis⁴³ brgyus || ^[1472]
 khro bo pha bcu'i mda' smyug⁴⁴ la || ^[1473]
 khro mo ma bcu'i sgron yis sgron || ^[1474]
 phur pa sras mchog gi^[1475] mde'u bcug⁴⁵ |

¹ nam] CF, snam ABDE ² nam] CF, snam ABDE ³ 'bro ban] BDE, 'gro ban A, 'bre ban CF ⁴ bzlog] ACF, zlog BDE ⁵ gnubs] CDF, snubs ABE ⁶ pa'i] ACF, pa'i | BE, pas | D ⁷ drangs so] BCDEF, drangso (*skung yig*) A ⁸ nam] CF, snam ABDE ⁹ 'bro ban] ABDE, 'bre ban CF ¹⁰ gnubs] CDF, snubs ABE ¹¹ stag] ACDF, stags BE ¹² cig] A, gcig BCDEF ¹³ nam] CDF, snam ABE ¹⁴ gyis] BCDEF, gyi A ¹⁵ ram] ABCDE, ral F ¹⁶ 'tshams] ACDF, mtshams BE ¹⁷ dam la] BCDEF, dam A ¹⁸ bsrung ba] CD, bsrungs pa BE, bsrung pa A ¹⁹ mi mdzad] ACF, mdzad BDE ²⁰ gnubs] CDF, snubs ABE ²¹ ram] ABCDE, ral F ²² des] D, res ABCE ²³ sbos] ABCDE, spos F ²⁴ rems] ABCDF, re mas E ²⁵ nam] CF, snam ABDE ²⁶ gos nag] ABDE, gos CF ²⁷ ma nyes kha yog] *conji*, ma nyes ma yo'o ABCDE, ma nyes la yo de | F ²⁸ ka] CDF, ga ABE ²⁹ gnubs] CDF, snubs ABE ³⁰ ram] ABCDE, ral F ³¹ phur] ABDF, phur pa CE ³² rdugs] DE, rdugs | C, rdugs || F, brdugs AB ³³ dus der yang] BCDEF, yang dus der A ³⁴ nam] CF, snam ABDE ³⁵ gyis] BCDEF, gyi A ³⁶ bande] CDF, ban dhe A, bendha BE ³⁷ shes zer] ABDE, shes CF ³⁸ tshogs] A, te tshogs BCDEF ³⁹ gtang] ACDE, btang BF ⁴⁰ rag] ABCDF, rags E ⁴¹ btang] | ABCDE, btang ngo || F ⁴² rgyas] BCDF, rgyal B ⁴³ kyis] C, kyi ABDEF ⁴⁴ smyug] ABCDE, smyugs F ⁴⁵ bcug] ABD, btsug C, btsugs F, bcag E

dam can rnam gsum gyi¹ rgyus² pas dkris³ ||^[1476]
 bse⁴ lcags shel gsum gyis⁵ ngar gcig^[1477] blud ||^[1478]
 'phangs⁶ ni zangs⁷ nag gi phyogs su^[1479] 'phangs ||^[1480]
 phog pa ^{<E251>} jo bo stag ram⁸ la phog ||^[1481]
 5 mda' tshabs⁹ ^{<B308>} mi chung che bar gda'¹⁰ ||^[1482]

zhes glu blangs so^[1483] || de¹¹ nas dar ches¹² pas phur pa rtsa dum 'chal ches¹³ te^[1484] | nyang ro'i
 rgyal khams tsam¹⁴ du lad do ||¹⁵ zhes zer te^[1485] | bdag cag la ni cha med la¹⁶ |

§24.4 The Composition of the Phur-pa *Sādhanas*

de ji ltar^[1486] lad¹⁷ 'chad¹⁸ pa na¹⁹ sna nam²⁰ shes tshul gyi²¹ slob ma rgya²² ston sangs rgyas^[1487]
 10 ^{<E233>} bya bas | shangs²³ kyi lung par phur pa rgyud 'grel²⁴ gzhan bkab nas²⁵ rtsa dum la brten²⁶
 pa'i sgrub²⁷ thabs mang po brtsams ||^[1488] jo mo mkhar chen bza'i²⁸ gdams²⁹ ngag can gyis³⁰
 bltas pa na bsres kyang ma³¹ 'dres³² skad do ||^[1489] gdams ngag dang mi ldan pas ni bsres pa
 dang bslad³³ pa mi shes |

rgya ston sangs rgyas^[1490] ^{<C97>} kyi slob ma rgya rtsags shes rab rgyal mtshan gyis kyang
 15 rtsa dum gyi sgrub gzhung mang po brtsams ||^[1491] shangs pa dgon ston gyis kyang brtsams
 ||^[1492] de'i slob ma sgro ston dar rtsug gis³⁴ kyang^[1493] sgrub³⁵ thabs mang du byas ||^[1494] la la³⁶
 gsang skor³⁷ gyis³⁸ bslad³⁹ | la la mdo skor⁴⁰ gyis⁴¹ bslad⁴² | de dag gi sgrub⁴³ thabs kyi ming ni
 man ngag drug pa dang | man ngag ^{<A187>} gsum pa dang | rma'i khug chos dang⁴⁴ | bskyed⁴⁵

¹ gyi] ACF, gyis BDE ² rgyus] ACEF, brgyus BD ³ dkris] ACDEF, bkris B ⁴ bse] ABDEF, bswe C ⁵
 gyis] BDE, gyi ACF ⁶ 'phangs] ABDE, 'phang CF ⁷ zangs] AC, zang BDEF ⁸ stag ram] ACD, stag ral F,
 ltag ral BE ⁹ tshabs] BCDEF, mtshabs A ¹⁰ gda'] CDEF, bda' A, brda' B ¹¹ de] ACDF, des BE ¹² ches]
 ACF, chos BDE ¹³ ches] ACF, chos BDE ¹⁴ tsam] ABCF, rtsam DE ¹⁵ lad do ||] ACF, lod || E, lod | BD ¹⁶
 la] ACF, lags BDE ¹⁷ lad] ACF, las BDE ¹⁸ 'chad] ACF, chad BDE ¹⁹ pa na] BCDEF, pa A ²⁰ nam] CF,
 snam ABDE ²¹ gyi] ACDF, gyis BE ²² rgya] ACDEF, brgya B ²³ shangs] ABCDF, shang E ²⁴ rgyud 'grel]
 ACDEF, brgyud 'brel B ²⁵ gzhan bkab nas] CF, gzhan nas bkab nas A, gzhan nas bkab nas phur pa BDE ²⁶
 brten] ABCDE, rten F ²⁷ sgrub] ACDF, sgrubs BE ²⁸ bza'i] ACDF, gza'i BE ²⁹ gdams] ACDEF, gdam B
³⁰ gyis] BCDE, gyi AF ³¹ ma] BDE, mi ACF ³² 'dres] BCDE, 'dre AF ³³ bslad] BCDEF, slad A ³⁴ rtsug
 gis] C, tsug gis F, tsugis (*skung yig*) A, gtsug gis BDE ³⁵ sgrub] ACDF, sgrubs BE ³⁶ la] BDEF lar A, lag C
³⁷ gsang skor] BCDE, gsang ba skor F, gsang bskor A ³⁸ gyis] CDF, gyi ABE ³⁹ bslad] ACDF, slad BE. *In* B,
 "la la gsang skor gyi slad" is under the the last line marked with a sign which inserted it between "byas" and "las"
⁴⁰ skor] BCDEF, bskor A ⁴¹ gyis] CDF, gyi ABE ⁴² bslad] ACDF, slad BE ⁴³ sgrub] ADF, sgrubs BCE
⁴⁴ chos dang] CF, chos ABDE ⁴⁵ bskyed] ACDF, skyed BE

pa sku'i them¹ yig dang | las bzhi'i 'phyong² drug dang | phur pa ^{<E252>} gnubs³ ^{<B309>} lugs dang
 | dme phur nag po dang | phur pa 'dul bzhi⁴ la sogs pa^[1495] mtshan gyi⁵ rnam grangs mang po
 btags⁶ skad | dus de⁷ tsa na jo bo ston pa kun na re ^[1496] nga'i 'di jo mo mkhar chen bza'i⁸ thugs
 dam yin ^[1497] gzhan ma yin zer zhing ^[1498] gcig ^{<F234>} la gcig mi mgu⁹ skad |

5 spyir dang por¹⁰ sprang¹¹ phu ru¹² mgos¹³ sgrub gzhung mang po brtsams ^[1499] bar du
 rgya ston sangs rgyas la sogs pas shangs lung par^[1500] gzhung mang po brtsams¹⁴ ^[1501] tha mar
 gang zag shes rab can rnam kyis¹⁵ legs su^[1502] re bas mang ^{<D39>} po¹⁶ mang po byas ^[1503] ming
 phur pa rtsa dum du btags nas mi 'dra ba grangs las 'das ^[1504] bka' dang brgyud pa man ngag
 ma chad pa chos ma ^{<C98>} bsld¹⁷ pa man ngag thob pa gcig gis¹⁸ btlas¹⁹ na 'chal ba^[1505] yin par²⁰
 10 shes | bod du 'gyur²¹ ba'i chos la phur pa rtsa dum 'chal che skad | phur pa rtsa dum lhad med
 yod pa slob dpon^[1506] drag²² po yin ^[1507] zhes 'byung ngo ||^[1508]

kho bo ni ^[1509] gong gi de dag la lang lab kyi khyad chos jo mo mkhar chen bza'i²³ thugs
 tig 'di^[1510] ma grags pa yin gyi | de dag gi^[1511] brgyud pa rnam la gang zag ^{<B310>} bzang po sha
 stag byon pa yin pas | rang rang gi sgrub gzhung de dag la 'chal ba'i^[1512] skyon yod par mi sems
 15 ^{<E253>} la | yang sgrub²⁴ thabs kha cig ni sbyor dngos rjes gsum ma tshang ba²⁵ dang | ma 'grel²⁶
 ba dang | nor ba la sogs pa kha yar snang²⁷ ^{<A188>} mod²⁸ kyi | ding²⁹ sang ni nub³⁰ nas nyams
 len³¹ ^{<F235>} byed par mi 'dug pas | zhib tu^[1513] bri³² ma dgos so ||^[1514]

§24.5 lCe-ston Śākya-rgyal-mtshan

slob dpon^[1515] drag po la slob ma mang yang | thugs kyi sras su gyur pa ni gnyis³³ yin te | nyang
 20 ro³⁴ rgyan mkhar³⁵ gyi se³⁶ ston khri rgyal dang | nyang stod³⁷ kyi lce ston shākya rgyal mtshan

¹ them] F, them C, thebs ABDE ² 'phyong] ACF, 'phyongs BDE ³ gnubs] CF, snubs A, sgrubs B, sgrub D, bsgrubs E ⁴ bzhi] BCDEF, gzhi A ⁵ gyi] ACDF, gyis BE ⁶ btags] ABCDE, btang F ⁷ de] ABDEF, der C ⁸ bza'i] ACDF, gza'i BE ⁹ mgu] ACDEF, 'gu B ¹⁰ por] ABCDE, po F ¹¹ sprang] BE, sprangs ACDF ¹² phu ru] ABDEF, phur bu C ¹³ mgos] ACDF, mgos B, 'gos | E ¹⁴ brtsams] ACDEF, brtsoms B ¹⁵ kyis] BCDEF, kyi A ¹⁶ re bas mang po] CF, re mang po A, re mang po re BDE ¹⁷ bsld] ACD, slad BEF ¹⁸ gcig gis] BCDEF, gcigi (*skung yig*) A ¹⁹ btlas] ABCDE bstan F ²⁰ par] ABCDF, pa E ²¹ 'gyur] ABDE, bsgyur C, gyur F ²² drag] BCDEF, drag A ²³ bza'i] ACDF, gza'i BE ²⁴ sgrub] ACDF, sgrubs BE ²⁵ tshang ba] CF, tshang pa ADE, tshangs pa B ²⁶ 'grel] ABCEF, 'brel D ²⁷ snang] BCDEF, gnang A ²⁸ mod] ABCDF, yod E ²⁹ ding] AB, deng CDEF ³⁰ ni nub] ABDE, nub CF ³¹ len] ABCDE, lan F ³² bri] ABCDE, 'dri F ³³ ni gnyis] ABCDE, *ins.* F. Note ni gnyis is placed in the next line having the same size and style as other characters and connected by several dots to where it is supposed to be ³⁴ nyang ro] C, nyang re BF, byang ro DE, byang A ³⁵ mkhar] ACF, khar BDE ³⁶ se] C so, ABDE, seng F ³⁷ stod] ABDE, ston CF

gnyis so ||^[1516] de la lce ston shākya rgyal mtshan ni^[1517] ston pa chen po gcig^[1518] yin pas | 'khor
 mang pos bskor te gdugs¹ spur te² byon te | slob dpon^[1519] drag po mjal³ bas mkhyen pa la
 thugs mnyes nas rgyud 'grel thams cad^[1520] gnang kyang ||^[1521] ston pa 'di sku 'C99' bsod che bas
 lag len ma lobs⁴ te mi mkhas ||^[1522] rgyud 'grel gyi⁵ bshad pa ni mkhas so ||⁶ phyis lag len dang
 5 man ngag zhu bsam ste byon tsa na^[1523] slob dpon^[1524] drag po ni grongs nas mi bzhugs | slob
 dpon^[1525] gyi jo mo skyi⁷ gu rang gi yul du spyang drangs nas dbyangs⁸ tsho chod⁹ tsam byung
 | man ngag gi 'B311' brgyud pa ma zin no ||^[1526]

§24.6 sKye-chung-pa Shes-rab

lce ston gyi slob ma skye¹⁰ chung pa^[1527] shes¹¹ rab grags pa¹² bya ba^[1528] shes rab can zhig^[1529]
 10 gis¹³ dgongs rgyud¹⁴ bcas nas la stod du 'E254' mang po la¹⁵ spel ||^[1530] 'go ba¹⁶ bya spos¹⁷ kyang
 rgyud la^[1531] 'E236' bcas skad | der dgongs rgyud la gnyis byung ||^[1532] lce¹⁸ ston gyis¹⁹ man ngag
 med par rgyud 'grel gzhan gyis²⁰ bsal nas mang du bshad do ||^[1533]

§24.7 Se-ston-khri-rgyal

slob dpon^[1534] drag po'i chos brgyud²¹ zin pa'i slob ma ni se²² ston khri rgyal kho na yin te |
 15 rgyud 'grel man nag kun la mkhas ||^[1535] dben sa²³ rgyan mkhar²⁴ gyi²⁵ ngo dmar brag phug ||^[1536]
 gsang mtshan 'A189' rdo rje^[1537] gter sgrub rtsal²⁶ ||^[1538] rtags dang mtshan ma phul du phyin |
 phur pa^[1539] dgra bgegs^[1540] gnyis la thebs so^[1541] ||^[1542]

§24.8 lHa-rje Phur-ston-ring-mo

'di'i slob ma lha rje phur ston ring mo yin te | zhabs tog gis²⁷ bla ma^[1543] mnyes pa mang po
 20 mdzad de^[1544] gdams pa²⁸ ma lus pa thob | sku gzhan nu'i tshe slob dpon^[1545] drag po la yang
 rtsa ba tshar gnyis 'C100' zhus | dben sa²⁹ khra ri'i rdo rje^[1546] gnam rdzong³⁰ | gsang mtshan rdo

¹ gdugs] ACDF, gdug BE ² te] ACF, re BDE ³ mjal] ACDEF, 'jal B ⁴ lobs] ABCDE, lob F ⁵ gyi] ACDEF, gyis B ⁶ mkhas so ||] CDEF, khaso (*skung yig*) || A, mkhaso (*skung yig*) | B ⁷ skyi] ABDEF, skyid C ⁸ dbyangs] ABCDE, la stod du mang po spel byangs F ⁹ chod] ABDE, tshod CF ¹⁰ skye] ABDE, skyi CF ¹¹ shes] ABDEF, shas C ¹² grags pa] BCF, grags ADE ¹³ gis] BCDEF, gi A ¹⁴ rgyud] ACDF, brgyud BE ¹⁵ po la] ABDE, po CF ¹⁶ ba] ABCDE, pa F ¹⁷ spos] D, spel E, yes CF, mes A, spes B ¹⁸ lce] CF, skyi ABDE ¹⁹ gyis] BCDEF, gyi A ²⁰ gyis] BCDEF, gyi A ²¹ brgyud] ACF, rgyud BDE ²² se] C, so ABDE, seng F ²³ sa] BCF, pa ADE ²⁴ mkhar] ABCDE, mkhan F ²⁵ gyi] ACF, gyis BDE ²⁶ rtsal] ACDEF, brtsal B ²⁷ gis] BCDEF, gi A ²⁸ pa] ABCDF, pas E ²⁹ sa] CF, pa ABDE ³⁰ rdzong] ACDF, rdzongs BE

rje^[1547] las rab rtsal^I ^[1548] dgra dang bgegs la² thebs | rtags mtshan mang du thon | bka' shes rab
 kyi pha rol ^{<B312>} tu phyin pa sras yum bcu bdun bzhengs pa la sogd dge ba'i las rgya cher mdzad
 | khra³ ri gnam rdzong⁴ bya ba de la stod ^{<D40>} rgyal gyi' rtsibs ri'i byang nas ^[1549] rgyang⁶ tsam
 song ba'i^[1550] ri⁷ la brag seng ge^[1551] gnam du mchong ba⁸ 'dra ba gcig ^{<F237>} yod ^[1552] de'i steng na
 5 rdzong bar ^{<E255>} snang la ling nge⁹ {la stod zur tsho¹⁰ yin }^{II} 'dra ba zhig^[1553] yod ^[1554] de ru bsgrubs¹²
 pas rtags dang mtshan ma thob bo ||^[1555]

§24.9 rGya-ston Nam-mkha'-rgyal-po

de'i slob ma rgya ston nam mkha'^[1556] rgyal pos khra ri gnam rdzong du bla ma mnyes par byas
 nas ^[1557] gdams pa man nag tshang bar zhus kyang dbang ma thob pas | phyis rang gi gcen
 10 smyos ston nyi ma¹³ rdo rje^[1558] bya ba lha rje phur gyi¹⁴ thugs sras la zhus | dben sa ding ri¹⁵
 brag¹⁶ nye'i¹⁷ dbang¹⁸ steng¹⁹ dgon par bla ma smyos dang ^[1559] rgya ston gnyis kas bsgrubs²⁰
 pas rtags dang mtshan ma mtha' ru phyin ^[1560] gsang mtshan gnyis ka mthun par²¹ rdo rje^[1561]
 drag pa²² rtsal²³ ^[1562] dgra bgegs^[1563] gnyis ka la thebs ^[1564] de ltar gnyis kas^[1565] lha rje phur la
 thug ^{<A190>} kyang ^[1566] dbang brgyud²⁴ gtso²⁵ che bas | lha rje smyos ston nyi ma rdo rje^[1567] |
 15 rgya ston nam mkha'^[1568] ^{<C101>} rgyal po zhes 'dod²⁶ do ||^[1569]

§24.10 Nyi-ma-rgyal-mtshan-pa

nam mkha'^[1570] rgyal po'i slob ma rang gi sras gnyis las | sras chung ba^[1571] nyi ma ^{<B313>} rgyal
 mtshan pa la rgyud 'grel gdams ngag tshang bar gnang ^[1572] chung ngu nas yab kyid drung du
 phyag phyir lag len mang po mdzad pas ^[1573] lag len dbyangs dang bcas pa la²⁷ shin tu mkhas |
 20 yab ^{<F238>} kyis²⁸ bsnyen sgrub la bcug pas rtags dang mtshan ma mang po brnyes | dgra bgegs^[1574]

¹ rtsal] ACDE, bstsal B ² la] ABCDE, *ins.* F ³ khra] ABCDE, gra F ⁴ rdzong] ABCDE, rdzongs F ⁵ gyi] CF, gyis ABDE ⁶ rgyang] ABDEF, rgyangs C ⁷ ri] ABCEF, ring D ⁸ mchong ba] CDF, 'phyong pa ABE ⁹ ling nge] C, ling nger F, lding nge ba AD, ldinge (*skung yig*) ba B, ldeng nge ba E ¹⁰ tsho] BD, _{gtsa} A ¹¹ Note: Only ABD have this annotation. In A it is in the next line in smaller script right below steng na rdzong ba and has no indicated line to it. In B it is in the next line right below snang la ldinge and connected to it with a dotted line. In D it is in a round bracket right after lding nge ba. ¹² bsgrubs] CD, sgrubs ABE, bsgrub F ¹³ nyi ma] ABCEF, nyid la D ¹⁴ gyi] ACDF, gyis BE ¹⁵ ri] BCDEF, ring A ¹⁶ brag] CF, srag ABDE ¹⁷ nye'i] BCDEF, gnye'i A ¹⁸ dbang] CF, bang ABDE ¹⁹ steng] ABCDE, ston F ²⁰ bsgrubs] BCDF, sgrubs AE ²¹ par] CF, pa ABDE ²² drag pa] A, drag po CDEF grags po B ²³ rtsal] ACDEF, bstsal B ²⁴ brgyud] CF, rgyud ABDE ²⁵ gtso] BCDE, gtsor F, *ins. obs.* A ²⁶ 'dod] CDF, 'ded ABE ²⁷ pa la] CF, par D, pa ABE ²⁸ kyis] ABCEF, kyid D

gnyis ka^[1575] la thebs^[1576] <E256> grub thob byin rlabs⁴ can du grags so^[1577]

§24.11 Nyang-ban-shu-mang Lung-pa-chen-po

de'i slob ma nyang ban shu mang² lung pa chen po yin te | bla ma la dbang dang rgyud³ 'grel
man ngag tshang bar zhus^[1578] dben sa⁴ rong rgyan⁵ mkhar gyi thog phug^[1579] gsang mtshan
5 rdo rje^[1580] dbang 'dus rtsal⁶ | dgra bgegs^[1581] gnyis la thebs |

§24.12 'Dzam-gling-pañḍita Nag-po

de'i slob⁷ ma 'dzam⁸ gling pañḍi ta nag po^[1582] 'di ni mi che bas nyang⁹ stod kyī bya chos
mkhar po¹⁰ che la sogs pa mkhar gsum gyi¹¹ bdag por gyur^[1583] rong du smugs¹² bsam gling gi
lha khang bzhengs | dben sa¹³ mon mo gtsug rum | gsang mtshan rdo rje^[1584] 'dus pa rtsal¹⁴ |
10 dgra bgegs^[1585] gnyis la thebs | lha 'dre bran du 'khol ba la sogs pa'i yon tan^[1586] mnga' 'o^[1587]

§24.13 Shangs rDo-rje-gling-pa Bla-chen-rdo-rje-rin-chen

de'i slob ma <C102> shangs rdo rje^[1588] gling pa bla chen rdo rje^[1589] rin po che^[1590] yin te^[1591] <B314>
'di ni mkhas btsun bzang po'i¹⁵ yon tan du ma dang ldan^[1592] sku la¹⁶ tshul khriṃs kyī dri
'phro^[1593] bla ma 'dzam¹⁷ gling pa rang gi dgon par spyān drangs nas dbang dang¹⁸ gdams pa
15 zhus | dben sa¹⁹ rgod tshang brag^[1594] <A191> dgra 'dre²⁰ gnyis ka^[1595] la thebs

§24.14 Chu-bar Nyi-phug-pa-chen-po

de'i <F239> slob ma chu bar nyi phug pa chen po yin te | dben sa bres²¹ phu bsam gtan phug
^[1596] gsang mtshan rdo rje^[1597] thog 'bebs rtsal | dgra pha²² spun po dang | rgyal po la thebs |

¹ grub thob byin rlabs] ABDE, dngos grub rlabs CF ² mang] ABDE, mangs CF ³ dang rgyud] ACF, rgyud BDE ⁴ sa] BCDF, pa AE ⁵ rgyan] BCDEF, brgyan A ⁶ rtsal] ACDEF, bstsal B ⁷ slob] ABCDF, slo E ⁸ 'dzam] ACEF, 'jam BD ⁹ nyang] BCDEF, myang A ¹⁰ po] ABCDE, bo F ¹¹ gyi] ACDF, gyis BE ¹² smugs] BDE, smu A, rmu CF ¹³ sa] ABCDF, pa E ¹⁴ rtsal] ADE, rtsal dang CF, bstsal B ¹⁵ bzang po'i] ACDEF, po'i B ¹⁶ la] ACF, las BDE ¹⁷ 'dzam] ACF, 'jam BDE ¹⁸ dbang dang] ABCEF, dbang D ¹⁹ sa] CDF, pa ABE ²⁰ 'dre] BCDEF, bgegs A ²¹ bres] BCEF, gres A, bros D ²² pha] ACF, pa BE, sa D

§24.15 gSang-sngags-rdo-rje

de'i slob ma gtsang nya ri ban grong gi ston pa gsang sngags rdo rje^[1598] yin te | dus phyis byon¹
 pa'i sngags pa la² mkhyen pa dang nus mthu gnyis ka^[1599] che ^[1600] slob dpon^[1601] padmas^[1602]
 mchims³ rdo rje^[1603] spre'u chung gi skye bar lung bstan | bod la phan pa'i rten 'brel mang po
 5 'dug pa⁴ | mnga' ris rdzong kha'i chos rgyal gyi^{'D41'} gdung brgyud⁶ rnam kyis⁷ mthun rkyen
 sbyar te sna 'ga⁸ re yang grub | rdzong kha rgyal po'i sku rim gyi nub re'i thun gtor 'phangs
 pa'i tshe mtshan mo⁹ dngos su¹⁰ 'gro ba skye bo kun gyis¹¹ mthun snang du grub pa sogs nus
 mthu'i grags¹² thon ^[1604] rdzong khar yi dam mang po'i zhal gzigs ^[1605] 'dis sku gzhon nu'i dus
 su ^{'B315'} sgro phug¹³ gi dben sar¹⁴ phur pa'i sgrub pa^[1606] zhag bdun mdzad pas ^[1607] 'C103' rdo
 10 rje¹⁵ gzhon nu zhal gzigs | phur pa dgra bgegs^[1608] gnyis ka^[1609] la thebs so^[1610] ||^[1611]

de la mang yul skyid¹⁶ grong gi thugs rje chen po dngos dang¹⁷ 'E240' mtshungs pa 'phags
 pa wa ti¹⁸ bzhugs pa'i lha khang du¹⁹ | bdag cag gi^[1612] bla ma dam pa²⁰ grub pa'i dbang phyug
 chen po des gsan pa yin te | 'di ni chu pho rta'i lo la mi nyag 'ga²¹ dang nye ba'i sar sku 'khrungs
 | dgung²² lo bco²³ brgyad lon pa'i tshe^[1613] sa ^{'E258'} g.yos kyi 'jigs pas nang mi dang grong pa kun
 15 'A192' shi bas thugs²⁴ skyo ste^[1614] dbus gtsang du chos la byon ^[1615] de nas²⁵ yar klungs²⁶ btsan
 thang du gong ma grags pa^[1616] 'byung gnas pas dmar ston rgyal mtshan 'od zer spyang drangs
 |^[1617] btsan thang ma²⁷ mo cher grags pa'i chos 'khor bskor ba dang thug ste²⁸ sngags gsar ma'i
 dbang bka' dang | rgyud 'bum gyi²⁹ lung gsan | rje 'gos lo tsā³⁰ ba la sbyor drug gi khrid gsan
 pas zla ba drug bsgoms³¹ pa la yon tan thams cad^[1618] rdzogs par³² rje nyid shin tu dgyes te |
 20 khyod chos 'di la bag chags bsad³³ pa gcig³⁴ 'dug gsungs³⁵ | skabs ^{'B316'} der rdo rje^[1619] zam³⁶ pa
 gnang ba dang thug³⁷ pas sngags rnying ma³⁸ chos skor³⁹ la dad pa^[1620] mchi⁴⁰ ma 'khrug pa⁴¹

¹ byon] ABCDF, byin E ² la] ACF, rang la BDE ³ mchims] ACDF, 'chims BE ⁴ 'dug pa] CF, byed dgos
 'dug pas BDE, byed dgos 'dug pa A ⁵ gyi] BCDEF, gyis A ⁶ brgyud] ABCDF, rgyud E ⁷ kyis] BCDEF, kyis
 A ⁸ 'ga'] ACEF, dga' BD ⁹ mtshan mo] E, me ABCF, mo D ¹⁰ dngos su] CEF, dngosu (*skung yig*) A, dngos
 BD ¹¹ gyis] BCEF, gyi AD ¹² nus mthu'i grags] ABD, nus mthu'i grags pa E, mthu'i nus pa'i grags pa CF
¹³ phug] CF, sbug ABDE ¹⁴ dben sar] ABD, dben par E, dus su dben sar C, dus su | dben sar F ¹⁵ rdo rje]
 ACDEF, rdoe (*skung yig*) B ¹⁶ skyid] CD, skyi ABEF ¹⁷ dngos dang] ACF, dang BDE ¹⁸ ti] BCDEF, te A
¹⁹ du] BCDEF, der A ²⁰ dam pa] ABCDE, dam par F ²¹ 'ga'] ABCEF, 'ga' (mkhar) D ²² dgung] CDEF,
 rgung AB ²³ bco] ACDEF, bcod B ²⁴ thugs] BCDEF, thug A ²⁵ de nas] ABDE, der CF ²⁶ klungs] ACF,
 lung BDE ²⁷ ma] CF, dbang ABDE ²⁸ thug ste] CDF, thugs te BE, thugs ste A ²⁹ gyi] ACDF, gyis BE
³⁰ tsā] ACDEF, tsa B ³¹ bsgoms] BCDEF, bsgom A ³² par] ABDE, pas CF ³³ bsad] AB, sad CDEF ³⁴
 gcig] ACF, zhig BE, cig B ³⁵ gsungs] ACDEF, gsung B ³⁶ zam] ABCDE, zom F ³⁷ thug] ACD, thugs BEF
³⁸ sngags rnying ma] CF, rnying ma'i DE, sngags snying ma'i A, snying ma'i B ³⁹ skor] BCDEF, bskor A ⁴⁰
 mchi] CDF, 'chi ABE ⁴¹ 'khrug pa] CEF, 'khrugs pa D, 'phrug ba A, 'brug pa B

tsam skyes ^[1621] chos thams cad^t thob pa zhig^[1622] bya dgos snyam pa shar |
 su la yod dris pas | dbu ru na ^{<C104>} ^{<F241>} zhogs thar pa gling bya ba na ^[1623] sangs rgyas^[1624]
 dbon² po la yod zer ^[1625] der byon te rdzogs pa chen po bka' gter phal cher gsan³ | 'bri gung⁴
 du chos rje kun dga' rin chen la 'bri gung⁵ pa'i^[1626] skor⁶ yongs rdzogs gsan ^[1627] chos rje'i sku
 5 mdun du gsang⁷ phu ba'i^[1628] bka' bcu pa⁸ bstan gsal bya bas | dgongs gcig⁹ la dgag pa mang
 po byas pa la ^[1629] ^{<E259>} lan¹⁰ btab pas ^[1630] chos rje dang bka' bcu pa¹¹ gnyis ka dgyes | bka'
 bcu pa^[1631] na re | kham¹² pa khyod 'di 'dra'i¹³ shes rab che ba la¹⁴ mod ^[15] phyogs bsblabs¹⁶ na sa
 skya¹⁷ paṇḍi ta 'dra ba zhig^[1632] yong¹⁸ bar¹⁹ 'dug zer | der ban sgar pa²⁰ 'jam dpal bzang po²¹ 'bri
 gung du byon | khong la paṇ²² chen nags ^{<A193>} rin gyi²³ chos bskor²⁴ zhus | 'bri gung chos rjes |
 10 khyod^[1633] la bka' brgyud²⁵ kyi bstan 'dzin gcig^[1634] re bas stag lung du song gsungs²⁶ ^[1635] bka'
 shog dang bcas brdzangs²⁷ ^[1636] ^{<B317>} stag lung ngag dbang grags pa la | bo dong pa'i chos bka'
 tsam las bka' brgyud²⁸ ma thob kyang | lo bzhi bzhugs te thugs rtsis²⁹ che ^[1637] slar 'bri gung³⁰
 du byon pa na chos rje gshegs |
 dpon³¹ po kun rin pa rten ^{<F242>} bzhengs³² kyi 'bul sdud la myang long la byon song 'dug
 15 pas^[1638] yar klungs su³³ byon ^[1639] 'on mthing ma ba³⁴ sngags 'chang ^{<D42>} g.yu 'brug³⁵ rdo rje^[1640]
 la mdo ^{<C105>} dbang dang ^[1641] sems phyogs gsan ^[1642] de nas spa spro³⁶ stag tshang du kaḥ³⁷
 thog pa ye shes^[1643] 'bum pa la rgyud 'bum gyi³⁸ lung dang | bka' ma'i chos bka' skor³⁹ mang
 po zhus | ratna gling pa'i dris lan⁴⁰ mdzad kyi⁴¹ 'dug pas ^[1644] de khyer nas lho brag shar du
 ratna gling pa la phul ^[1645] ^{<E260>} khong gi gter chos yongs rdzogs dang | yang dgon pa'i ri chos
 20 | phur pa bka'⁴² ma kha yar thob ^[1646] de nas la⁴³ stod byang du byon ^[1647] rgyal⁴⁴ mkhar se⁴⁵

¹ thams cad] CD, thamd (*skung yig*) B, thams chad F, nyid A ² dbon] ACDEF, dbon B ³ gsan] ABCDE
 gson F ⁴ gung] CDF, khung ABE ⁵ gung] CDF, khung ABE ⁶ skor] BCDEF, bskor A ⁷ gsang] CDF,
 sang ABE ⁸ bka' bcu pa] AF, bka' bcu BE, bka'i bcu D, ka bcu pa C ⁹ dgongs gcig] F, dgongs cig B, dgong
 gcig AC, dgong zhig D, dgong cig E ¹⁰ lan] ACDEF, lon B ¹¹ bka' bcu pa] ACF, bka' bcu E, bkab bcu BD
¹² kham] ABCDE, kham F ¹³ 'dra'i] ABCDE, 'dra ba'i F ¹⁴ la] ACF, lags BDE ¹⁵ mod |] BDE, mdo ACF
¹⁶ bsblabs] ABE, bsblab CDF ¹⁷ na sa skya] BCDE, nas sa skya F, nas skya A ¹⁸ yong] ABCDF, yod E ¹⁹ bar]
 ACF, par BD ²⁰ sgar pa] CF, dkar ba ABDE ²¹ po] ACF, po'i BDE ²² paṇ] BCDEF, ban A ²³ gyi] ACDF,
 gyis BE ²⁴ bskor] A, skor CDEF, dkor B ²⁵ brgyud] BCDEF, rgyud A ²⁶ gsungs] ADF, gsung BCE ²⁷
 brdzangs] ACDEF, rdzangs B ²⁸ brgyud] BCDEF, rgyud A ²⁹ rtsis] CF, rtsigs AB, gtsigs DE ³⁰ gung]
 ACDF, khung BE ³¹ dpon] BDEF, dbon AC ³² bzhengs] BCDEF, gzhengs A ³³ klungs su] ABCDF, klung
 du E ³⁴ ma ba] ABCF, ma DE ³⁵ 'brug] BCDEF, drug A ³⁶ spro] C, dro ABDE, gro E ³⁷ kaḥ] CEF, ka
 ABD ³⁸ gyi] ACDF, gyis BE ³⁹ bka' skor] (bka' *ins.*) F, bka' ABCDE ⁴⁰ dris lan] ADE, dris len B, dri lan
 CF ⁴¹ kyi] ABDEF, kyin C ⁴² bka'] ACDEF, bka' B ⁴³ la] ACDEF, las B ⁴⁴ rgyal] AC, brgya BE, rgya
 DF ⁴⁵ se] BCDEF, so A

byung na chos kyī sbyin pa lhug par stsol bar¹ dam bca' mdzad [¹⁶⁸⁸]

mkhār chur lo² bdun sgrub pa mdzad pas | zhwa³ lu ^{<B321>} lo tsā ba la sku⁴ tshe'i bar chad
 drug bcu' rtsa gcig gi dgung⁶steng du⁷ ^{<F246>} 'dug pa de | nyid kyis⁸ phur pa'i bsnyen sgrub
 mdzad na [¹⁶⁸⁹] slar sum cu'i⁹ bar^[1690] phyir nur te^[1691] dgung¹⁰ lo dgu bcu'' rtsa gcig bzhes par¹²
 5 'gyur zhes | re ma ti'¹³ lung bstan byung ba¹⁴ la [¹⁶⁹²] de'i nangs¹⁵ par rang dkyil 'khor¹⁶ bzhengs
 nas zla ba dgu¹⁷ sgrub pa la bzhugs |¹⁸ de dus bsnyen¹⁹ phur gyi zhal²⁰ nas me stag 'phro 'phro²¹
 byung ba^[1693] dang | nga la dgra gcig^[1694] yod na bsgal chog pa la dgra med²² dgongs pa byung
 | yang sgu chul la²³ phyug po la bsod snyoms kyī²⁴ nas bcol ba ma sprad pa'i khar^[1695] bla ma
 la dug btang | yon bdag kun dang phra ma ^{<C109>} bcug pa de thugs kyis²⁵ dran pas phur pa ldeg
 10 ldeg pa dang | me lhab lhab | du ba sngo phyur phyur byung | der nga'i bla ma'²⁶ sku tshe
 'thud²⁷ yod dam | phur pa ni grub byung dgongs nas [¹⁶⁹⁶] thug sdor²⁸ gyi phag sha skam po
 tshal pa gcig yod pa de tshogs ^{<E264>} 'khor byas [¹⁶⁹⁷] gtor ma rgyas²⁹ par bsngos nas [¹⁶⁹⁸] mnal³⁰
 lam brtags³¹ pas | dkyil 'khor³² gyi³³ nang nas yin bsam³⁴ pa la | yang res³⁵ sgrub Khang nas yin
 bsam pa'i bud med³⁶ rta pa mang pos shing gi phur ^{<F247>} pa dkar po³⁷ dang | ^{<B322>} grod pa
 15 mang po khur³⁸ nas sgu chul gzhis kar³⁹ song nas grod pa nas khrag mang po gtor ba zhi^[1699]
 rmis |

de nas zhwa⁴⁰ lu lo tsā ba'i drung du byon tsa na^[1700] 'bul ba cang⁴¹ med nas sku phrag⁴²
 nyul⁴³ bas [¹⁷⁰¹] a ru ra rlon pa sum ^{<A197>} cu so⁴⁴ gcig^[1702] byung ba bla ma la phul bas | shin
 tu dgyes te phyag tu^[1703] bzhes [¹⁷⁰⁴] gcig tshur⁴⁵ gngang nas rang⁴⁶ gi khar bcug⁴⁷ pa rmis [¹⁷⁰⁵]

¹ stsol bar] ADE, rtsol ba'i C, rtsol ba F, , brtsol bar B ² lo] ACF, le'u D, le BE ³ zhwa] ACF, zha BDE ⁴ sku] ACFD, sku'i BE ⁵ bcu] AB, cu CDEF ⁶ dgung] CDEF, rgung AB ⁷ steng du] BDE, stengs su CF, stengsu (*skung yig*) A ⁸ kyis] BCDEF, kyī A ⁹ cu'i] ACEF, bcu'i BD ¹⁰ dgung] CDEF, rgung AB ¹¹ bcu] ABDEF, cu C ¹² bzhes par] CF, bzhugs bar A, bzhugs par BDE ¹³ ti'i] ABDE, tis CF ¹⁴ ba] ACEF, pa BD ¹⁵ nangs] CDF, nang ABE ¹⁶ dkyil 'khor] ACDEF, dkyior (*skung yig*) B ¹⁷ dgu] ABCEF, dgur D ¹⁸ bzhugs [] CDF, bzhugs ABE ¹⁹ bsnyen] ACDEF, bsnyer B ²⁰ zhal] ABCEF, kha D ²¹ 'phro 'phro] CF, phro phro ABDE ²² med] ABCDE, med na F ²³ sgu chul la] C, sgu chul la F, sgu chul ABDE ²⁴ snyoms kyī] ACF, snyoms kyis DE, snyom kyis B ²⁵ kyis] BCDF, kyī AE ²⁶ bla ma'i] ABCDE, blama'i (*skung yig*) F ²⁷ 'thud] ACF, mthud BDE ²⁸ sdor] CF, rdor ABDE ²⁹ rgyas] ACDEF, brgyas B ³⁰ mnal] ACDEF, rnal B ³¹ brtags] BCDEF, brtag A ³² dkyil 'khor] ACDEF, dkyior (*skung yig*) B ³³ gyī] ACDF, gyis BE ³⁴ bsam] BCDEF, bsams A ³⁵ res] ABDEF, re C ³⁶ bud med] ACDEF, bued (*skung yig*) B ³⁷ dkar po] ABCF, mang pos shing gi phur pa dkar po D ³⁸ khur] ACF, khur byung BDE ³⁹ gzhis kar] CF, gzhis sgar AE, bzhis sgar BD ⁴⁰ zhwa] ACF, zha BDE ⁴¹ cang] ACDEF, lchang B ⁴² phrag] CF, 'phrag ABDE ⁴³ nyul] ABDE, myul CF ⁴⁴ cu so] ACDEF, bcu sog B ⁴⁵ tshur] ABCDF, tshul E ⁴⁶ rang] BDE, nga rang ACF ⁴⁷ bcug] BCDEF, bcu ga A

ba yang¹ nyi ma bdun bstud² mar byung | shar phyogs su^[1727] sgra chen ^{⟨B324⟩} po grags pa sogs
kyi ltas³ la brten⁴ nas | slob ma re re⁵ gnyis dang yon bdag chos nyams ldan pa dag ni sku ma
spangs par⁶ mkha⁷ spyod du gshegs sam zhes⁸ zer ro^[1728] ||^[1729]

de ltar yongs 'dzin dam pa 'di ni⁹ dgung¹⁰ lo ji tsam bzhes zhes zhus pa na | brygad cu
5 rtsa lnga tsam a¹¹ mi lon | da rgas nas brjed de^[1730] mi gda¹² zhes thams cad^[1731] la gsungs pa¹³
zhig^[1732] yin mod kyī¹⁴ | gong ma grags 'byung | rje 'gos lo ^[1733] dmar ston sogs kyi drung du
chos gsan pa dang¹⁵ thog mtshungs pa yin pas ^[1734] mi yul du lo nyis bryga lhag tsam bzhugs
pa 'dra zhing | yon tan gzhan rnams smra ru med kyang | rdo rje^[1735] phur pa la brten nas¹⁶
dngos grub brnyes¹⁷ tshul^[1736] phur pa bryud pa'i lo rgyus 'dir med na mi rung bas ^[18] cung
10 zad bris pa la^[1737] dpal ldan^[1738] bla ma rdo rje^[1739] 'dzin rgyal mkha' 'gro'i^[1740] tshogs dang bcas
pas gnang¹⁹ ba bstsal²⁰ te ^[1741] bdag cag gi²¹ lam dang ^{⟨C112⟩} dngos grub kyi gegs²² su mi 'gyur
bar byin gyis brlab²³ tu ^{⟨F250⟩} gsol || ^[1742]

§25 Eulogy

de ltar lha mchog phur pa'i sgor²⁴ zhugs²⁵ pas ||^[1743]
15 rig 'dzin grub thob rim par byon pa'i ^{⟨E267⟩} tshul ||^[1744]
rgya bal bod du bgrang gis²⁶ ^{⟨A199⟩} mi²⁷ lang²⁸ la ||^[1745]
sngon byung lo ^{⟨B325⟩} rgyus²⁹ ji bzhin 'chad nus pa'i ||
blo gros^[1746] spobs pa³⁰ bdag la ma mchis mod ||
de lta na yang rang gis³¹ thos pa tsam ||^[1747]
20 yi ge'i lam³² du gsal bar³³ ma byas na ||^[1748]
ding sang³⁴ rgyud gzhung³⁵ mkhyen pa smos ci dgos ||

¹ yang] AF, dang BCDE ² bstud] CD, btud AEF, gtud B ³ ltas] BCDEF, bltas A ⁴ brten] ACDF, bsten
BE ⁵ re re] AE, re CDF, rai (*skng yig*) B ⁶ par] ACF, *ins.* B, bar E, *om.* D ⁷ mkha'] ACDEF, mkhas B ⁸
zhes] ACDE, *ins.* F, zhas (*ins.*) B ⁹ 'di ni] A, ni CF, 'di BDE ¹⁰ dgung] CDEF, rgung AB ¹¹ a] ABCDE, e F
¹² gda'] DF, gda' | C, mnga' E, bda' A, mda' B ¹³ gsungs pa] CDF, gsung ba AB, gsung pa E ¹⁴ kyī] ACDF,
kyis BE ¹⁵ dang] CEF, dang | ABD ¹⁶ brten nas] ACDF, rten nas E, rtenas (*skung yig*) B ¹⁷ brnyes] ACDF,
bnyes B, mnyes E ¹⁸ bas |] ABDE, bas C, ba'i F ¹⁹ gnang] ACDF, snang BE ²⁰ bstsal] BCD, stsal EF, brtsal
A ²¹ bdag cag gi] CF, bdag gi BDE, bdagi (*skung yig*) A ²² gegs] BCDEF, bgegs A ²³ gyis brlab] BCDEF, gyi
brlabs A ²⁴ sgor] CF, gor ABDE ²⁵ zhugs] ACF, bzhugs BDE ²⁶ bgrang gis] CDF, bgrang kyis B, bgrangs
kyi AE ²⁷ mi] ABCDE, ming F ²⁸ lang] ABCDF, langs E ²⁹ rgyus] ACDEF, brygus B ³⁰ pa] ACDEF,
ins. B ³¹ gis] BCDEF, gi A ³² lam] BCDEF, lam A ³³ bar] BCDEF, ba A ³⁴ ding sang] AB, deng sang
CDE, deng song E ³⁵ rgyud gzhung] ACF, bryud bzhung B, bryud gzhung DE

gtam¹ tsam rna bar sgrog² pa^[1749] mi snang bas ||^[1750]
 nub par phangs³ nas dge ba'i sems⁴ kyis' bkod ||^[1751]
 nongs na bla ma lha la bzod par gsol ||
 e ma rgyal ba'i bstan pa rin po^[1752] che ||
 5 sngon chad bod 'dir dar la rgya che zhing ||
 bstan 'dzin mkhas grub tshad mar gyur pa dang ||
 nyams len mdzad pa'i gang zag bsam mi khyab⁶ ||
 ding sang⁷ sang dus na nam⁸ lang skar ma⁹ bzhin ||
 bstan la phan pa thams cad^[1753] zhing gzhan gshegs ||
 10 gsang sngags 'dzin par¹⁰ 'dod pa 'ga' zhig kyang ||
 'phral¹¹ dgos za chog¹² slob par mi nus na ||
 rgya chen rgyud 'grel¹³ lag len lta ci smos ||
 ming dang rtags tsam 'dzin pa nyid du gyur ||
 {'di man^{14, 15}} thos bsam sgro 'dogs ^{<C113>} ^{<E251>} gcod pa'i blo med cing¹⁶ ||
 15 bsnyen sgrub mtha' ru 'don pa'i 'dun¹⁷ pa bral ||
 bzang rdzu¹⁸ 'ug pa sbos¹⁹ ltar 'gyings pa yi²⁰ ||
 gang zag mthong ^{<E268>} bas rang sems lhag par skyo ||
 phyi ^{<B326>} tshul bzang po'i gos kyis²¹ rnam²² spud cing ||
 nang du khyim pa'i sems dang²³ mi 'bral la ||
 20 bstan dang 'gro ba'i don la rgyab kyis²⁴ phyogs ||
 'di 'dra'i bstan 'dzin mthong tshe snying nas skyo ||
 'dzum pa'i zhal nas bstan pa spel zhes lo ||
 kha bgrad²⁵ mig btsums²⁶ sems can^[1754] snying rje skad ||
 zhe nas lag len rang gi bsnyen²⁷ bkur²⁸ sgrub²⁹ ||

¹ gtam] BCDE, gtaṃ A ² sgrog] ABCDE, sgrogs F ³ phangs] AD, 'phangs BCEF ⁴ sems] BCDEF, sems
 A ⁵ kyis] BCDEF, kyi A ⁶ mi khyab] BCDEF, myib (*skung yig*) A ⁷ ding sang] AB, deng sang CDE, deng
 song F ⁸ nam] BCDEF, nam A ⁹ ma] ACDEF, *ins.* B ¹⁰ par] ABCDF, pa E ¹¹ 'phral] ACDEF, phral B
¹² chog] ACDEF, mchog B ¹³ 'grel] ACDEF, 'brel B ¹⁴ 'di man] BE, *om.* ACDF ¹⁵ *Note: Only B and E have
 this annotation. In B it is inserted between thos and next line In E it is in smaller characters right before thos.* ¹⁶
 cing] ABCDE, kyi F ¹⁷ 'dun] CDEF, mdun AB ¹⁸ rdzu] AB EF, brdzu CD ¹⁹ sbos] ABDE, sbos pa CF ²⁰
 'gyings pa yi] ABDE, 'gying ba'i CF ²¹ kyis] BCDEF, kyi A ²² rnam] ACDF, rnam BE ²³ dang] BCDEF,
ins. A ²⁴ kyis] BCDEF, kyi A ²⁵ bgrad] CEF, phrad ABD ²⁶ btsums] A, btsum E, tshums C, tshum BD,
 tshubs F ²⁷ bsnyen] CF, bsnyed AB, rnyed DE ²⁸ bkur] ACDEF, bskur B ²⁹ sgrub] ABDEF, bsgrub C

bstan 'gro'i bya ba bshol¹ 'di snying nas skyo ||
 mang pos bkur ba'i zas nor gyis² ci bya ||
 rang gi sems la rang gis³ mi khrel ba'i ||
 slob gnyer bsnyen sgrub⁴ lam rtags⁵ thon tsam re |
 5 med na rang la rang gis⁶ ma bslus sam |
 bdag ni 'dod pa'i lha yi bdud dbang gis⁷ || ^{<A200>}
 nyin mtshan dal med grong chog bon ltar rgyug ||
 dkor gyi phung pos shes rgyud sgrib pas non ||
 yon⁸ tan gsar du skye ba lta ci zhig ||
 10 sngar shes skyabs 'gro tsam yang brjed de thal ||
 dal 'byor don med rnam g.yeng⁹ dbang du ^{<C114>} song ||
 'di ^{<E252>} 'dras 'gro la phan pa^[1755] mi 'grub pas ||
 da ni dben par don gnyis¹⁰ sgrub¹¹ par smon ||
 'di ltar snod bcud nyams pa'i dus dbang gis¹² ||
 15 sangs rgyas^[1756] bstan dang skye rgu'i¹³ bde skyid¹⁴ nyams ||
 rang dang ^{<E269>} gzhan gyi¹⁵ spyod tshul mtha' dag la || ^{<B327>}
 bsam bzhin¹⁶ bsam bzhin skyo ba gting¹⁷ nas skyes ||
 da ni gzhan skyon sems brjod nyes dmigs¹⁸ che ||
 rang skyon 'don pa dam pa'i spyod pa lags ||
 20 de¹⁹ phyir rang drin rang la che ba'i thabs ||
 legs nyes yin min kha 'chams²⁰ mi smra bar ||
 thos bsam sgom gsum brtson pa'i lam zhugs te^[1757] ||
 ring por mi thogs²¹ rang btsan zin par smon ||
 rang don bslu ba'i gzhan don ltar snang 'dis ||
 25 sngar ^{<D46>} yang don med dbya ba du ma²² byas ||
 da ni sol ba 'bad de mi bkru bar ||
 skal ldan^[1758] srid na de don byed par smon ||

¹ bshol] ACDE, gshol BE ² gyis] BCDEF, gyi A ³ gis] CDF, gi ABE ⁴ sgrub] CF, bsgrub ABDE ⁵ lam rtags] BCDEF, lam rtaḍ A ⁶ rang la rang gis] C, rang la rang gi A, rang gis rang la D, rang gi rang la BE, rang gis F ⁷ gis] BCDEF, gi A ⁸ yon] ABCDE, rang la yon F ⁹ g.yeng] ABDE, g.yengs CF ¹⁰ gnyis] BCDEF, gcig A ¹¹ sgrub] ABDE, bsgrub CF ¹² gis] BCDEF, gi A ¹³ rgu'i] AC, dgu'i BDEF ¹⁴ skyid] ACDEF, bskyid B ¹⁵ gyi] ACDF, gyis BE ¹⁶ bzhin] ACDEF, zhin B ¹⁷ gting] CDEF, sting AB ¹⁸ dmigs] CDEF, dmiḍ A, dmig B ¹⁹ de] ACF, de'i BDE ²⁰ 'chams] D, 'khyams ACEF, mkhyams B ²¹ thogs] ACDF, thog BE ²² du ma] ABDE, mang du CF

yun ring¹ srid par 'gro don brtson pa dang ||
 khyad par dam chos nyams² pa de gso ba'i ||
 lugs 'di rgyal sras rnams kyi spyod pa lags ||
 de phyir chos rnams³ ci nus spel bar smon ||
 5 des na mdo rgyud man ngag rgya mtsho dang ||
 khyad par^[1759] lam bzang rdo rje^[1760] phur pa'i^[1761] gzhung || ^{<E253>}
 ma ^{<C115>} lus mi⁴ nub⁵ gsal bar ston nus par ||
 skye ba 'di dang brgyud mar 'gyur bar⁶ smon ||
 'on kyang dman pa bdag 'dra'i spyod tshul gyis ||
 10 rgya chen lam⁷ bzang snang bar ma nus na ||
 de slad rgyal ba rnams kyi⁸ thugs rje yis ||
 'gro kun ^{<E270>} sngags⁹ kyi snod du^[1762] 'gyur bar shog ||
 kun ^{<B328>} kyang mang du thos pa'i mthar son¹⁰ te ||
 bsam pas don rig sgom¹¹ pas dngos grub thob ||
 15 rig 'dzin rnam ^{<A201>} bzhi rim gyis¹² mngon 'gyur¹³ te ||
 skyob¹⁴ pa padma¹⁵ rgyal po de¹⁶ mtshungs shog ||
 mar¹⁷ gyur drin can¹⁸ mtha' yas sems can¹⁹ rnams²⁰ ||
 las dang dus kyi sbyor ba las byung ba'i^[1763] ||
 mi mthun rgud pa mtha' dag nyer zhi nas ||
 20 bskal pa rdzogs²¹ ldan bzhin du bde bar shog ||
 rdo rje^[1764] phur pa'i chos tshul nyi 'od kyis²² ||
 bstan dgra mun tshogs mtha' dag drung phyungs te²³ ||
 srid pa²⁴ bdud kyi²⁵ sbyor ba las gyur pa'i²⁶ ||
 chos kyi bar chad ma lus zhi bar shog ||
 25 rta gdong kun nas^[1765] tsha ba'i me dang ni ||

¹ ring] CDEF, rings AB ² nyams] BCDEF, nyaṃs A ³ rnams] BCDEF, rnaṃs A ⁴ mi] ABCDE, ma F
⁵ nub] BCDEF, nus A ⁶ bar] ACF, ba BDE ⁷ lam] BCDEF, laṃ A ⁸ kyi] ACDF, kyis BE ⁹ sngags]
 BCDEF, sngaḍ A ¹⁰ son] CDEF, gson AB ¹¹ sgom] CF, bsgoms BDE, bsgom A ¹² gyis] BCDEF, gyi A
¹³ 'gyur] CF, gyur ABDE ¹⁴ skyob] ABCD, skyobs EF ¹⁵ padma] ABCDE, pad ma F ¹⁶ de] ABCEF, der
 D ¹⁷ mar] ACF, ma BDE ¹⁸ can] ABCDE, chen F ¹⁹ sems can] CEF, seṃs can A, semn (*skung yig*) B ²⁰
 rnams] BCDEF, rnaṃs A ²¹ rdzogs] BCDEF, rdzoḍ A ²² kyis] BCDEF, kyi A ²³ phyungs te] AF, phyung
 ste BCDE ²⁴ pa] CF, par ABDE ²⁵ bdud kyi] ABDE, bdun gyi CF ²⁶ pa'i] F, pa ABCDE

gang gā'i¹ klung² dang³ pakṣu'i rgyun bzhin du ||
 rgyun mi chad pa srid pa ji srid par^[1766] ||
 dam pa'i chos 'di⁴ mi ^{<F254>} nub dar bar shog ||
 thub dbang bstan pa'i gzhi ma dge 'dun te ||
 5 de yang bdag ^{<CII6>} rkyen byed la rag⁵ lus⁶ pas ||
 gang zhig bstan pa mchod pa'i sbyin bdag yang ||
 tshe ring⁷ nad med bde skyid ldan par shog ||
 'dis mtshon bdag gis⁸ ji srid sangs rgyas^[1767] bar ||
 dge tshogs⁹ ji snyed gang zhig thob 'gyur ba¹⁰ ||
 10 shel dang zla ba kunda¹¹ ltar dkar ba¹² ||
 des ni 'gro ^{<B329>} 'dis phur pa¹³ 'grub¹⁴ gyur cig || ^{<E271>}

§26 Colophon

dpal¹⁵ rdo rje^[1768] phur pa'i chos kyi^[1769] byung tshul lo rgyus ngo mtshar rgya mtsho'i rba rlabs
 15 zhes bya ba | rang dang skal ba mnyam pa¹⁶ rnams kyi brjed byang du | shākya'i btsun pa nam
 mkhar^[1770] spyod pa zhes^[1771] bya bas^[1772] sa mo bya'i lo dbo'i nya ba'i gang ba¹⁷ dang po'i tshes
 la rdzogs¹⁸ par sbyar ba 'dis kyang rgyal ba'i bstan pa phyogs dus kun tu rgyas pa dang | 'gro
 ba rnams^[1773] bde skyid¹⁹ phun sum^[1774] tshogs pa'i^[1775] dpal la dus kun tu spyod par gyur cig |
 gyur cig | dge legs 'phel || ||²⁰
 20 mkhyen brtse²¹ nus pa'i mnga' bdag sog²² bzlog²³ pa chen pos mdzad pa'o || ||²⁴ blo gros
 rgyal mtshan²⁵ gcig zhus²⁶

¹ gang gā'i] CF, ganggā DE, gangga'i AB ² klung] CDE, klungs ABF ³ dang] ACDEF, *ins.* B. *Note in B the inserted dang is under the last line marked with a cross.* ⁴ 'di] ABDE, ni CF ⁵ rag] BCDEF, rags A ⁶ lus] ABCEF, las D ⁷ ring] BCDEF, rings A ⁸ bdag gis] BCDEF, bdagi (*skung yig*) A ⁹ tshogs] BCDEF, tshoḍ A ¹⁰ 'gyur ba] ABDEF, gyur pa C ¹¹ kunda] CDF, kun da A, kunḍa BE ¹² ba] ABCDE, ba'i F ¹³ pa] ACDEF, po B ¹⁴ 'grub] CF, grub ABDE ¹⁵ dpal] ABDE, dpal ldan CF ¹⁶ skal ba mnyam pa] C, skal bar ldan pa ADF, skal par ladn pa E, bskal bar ldan pa B ¹⁷ lo dbo'i nya ba'i gang ba] C, lo dbos nya ba'i gang ba A, lo dbos nya'i gang ba BE, lor bo'i nya gang ba F, lo dbo nya'i dga' ba D ¹⁸ rdzogs] BCDEF, rdzoṃ A ¹⁹ skyid] ACDEF, bskyid B ²⁰ gyur cig | dge legs 'phel || ||] A, gyur cig ||] C, cig | mangga lam || dge'o || BD, cig | mangga lam | dge'o || dge'o || dge'o || E, cig || bkra shis par shog || F ²¹ brtse] E, *obs.* B ²² sog] B, sogs E ²³ bzlog] E, *ins.* B ²⁴ || ||] E, || B. *From* "mkhyen brtse" to "mdzad pa'o," *om.* ACDF ²⁵ blo gros rgyal mtshan] B, *om.* ACDEF ²⁶ gcig zhus] B, *om.* ACDEF

Endnote

[1]. rdo rje] ACDEF, rdoe (*skung yig*) B; [2]. rdo rje] ACDE, rdoe (*skung yig*) BF; [3]. ba |] CDF, ba ABE; [4]. rdo rje] ACDEF, rdoe (*skung yig*) B; [5]. mkha' 'gro] CDEF, mkha'gro (*skung yig*) A, mkhro' (*skung yig*) B; [6]. sangs rgyas] ACDE, sangyas (*skung yig*) BF; [7]. |] ABCDE, || F; [8]. khams su] ACDEF, khamsu (*skung yig*) B; [9]. las] ABCDE, las | F; [10]. dkyil 'khor rdo rje] ACDEF, dkyior rdoe (*skung yig*) B; [11]. yab yum] ACDEF, yabum (*skung yig*) B; [12]. te |] A, te BDEF, pa C; [13]. shes rab] ABDE, shes CF; [14]. gnyis su] ACDEF, gnyisu (*skung yig*) B; [15]. dang |] ACDEF, dang || B; [16]. dkyil 'khor] ACDEF, dkyior (*skung yig*) B; [17]. sum] BCDEF, sum |] A; [18]. pa 'phrin las] AD, pa phrin las CF, pa 'phris (*skung yig*) B, pa | 'phrin las E; [19]. dag gsungs so] CDEF, dagsungso (*skung yig*) A, dag gsungso (*skung yig*) B; [20]. kyang |] CDE, kyang AF, kyang || B; [21]. rdo rje] ACDEF, rdoe (*skung yig*) B; [22]. rdo rje] ACDEF, rdoe (*skung yig*) B; [23]. mkha' 'gro] CDE, mkha' 'khro F, mkha'khro (*skung yig*) A, mkhro' (*skung yig*) B; [24]. 'thad do] ACDEF, 'thado (*skung yig*) B; [25]. gcig] ACEF, cig BD; [26]. rdo rje] ACDEF, rdoe B; [27]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [28]. dpal ldan] CDEF, dpaldan (*skung yig*) AB; [29]. 'jig rten] ACDEF, 'jiten (*skung yig*) B; [30]. bka' drin] ABCDE, bkrin F; [31]. dpal ldan] ACDEF, dpaldan (*skung yig*) B; [32]. rdo rje] ACDEF, rdoe (*skung yig*) B; [33]. mkha' 'gro] ACDEF, mkhro' (*skung yig*) B; [34]. pos |] BCDE, pos AF; [35]. rdo rje] ACDEF, rdoe (*skung yig*) B; [36]. rdo rje] ACDEF, rdoe (*skung yig*) B; [37]. slob dpon] ACEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B, slon dpon D; [38]. rdo rje] ACDEF, rdoe (*skung yig*) B; [39]. dpa'] CF, dpa' | ABDE; [40]. rdo rje] ACDE, rdoe (*skung yig*) B; [41]. sangs rgyas] ACD, sangyas (*skung yig*) BF; [42]. rnam par] ACDF, rnamr B; [43]. rdo rje] ACDF, rdoe (*skung yig*) B; [44]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [45]. slob dpon] ACEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B, slon dpon D; [46]. dang |] ABCDE, dang F; [47]. la] ABCDE, la | F; [48]. ||] ACDEF, | B; [49]. rdo rje] ACDEF, rdoe (*skung yig*) B; [50]. dpas] ACF, dpas | BDE; [51]. tu] ACEF, du BD; [52]. de] CDF, te AE, ste B; [53]. skad du |] BCDEF, skadu (*skung yig*) A; [54]. ||] ACD, | B; [55]. bcu gnyis] ACDEF, bcuis (*skung yig*) B; [56]. ||] ACDF, | B; [57]. ||] ACDF, | B; [58]. ces] CDEF, zhes A, shes B; [59]. gsungs pa] BCDEF, gsung A; [60]. nas] BCDEF, nas | A; [61]. de] CDEF, te | A, ste B; [62]. rdo rje] ACDEF, rdoe (*skung yig*) B; [63]. mkha' 'gro] CDE, mkha'gro (*skung yig*) A, mkhro' (*skung yig*) B; [64]. gtad | des] ABDE, gtad de CF; [65]. |] ACDE, || BF; [66]. singhas] C, sing has ABDE, seng has F; [67]. slob dpon] ACF, slaun (*skung yig*) B, slon dpon D; [68]. zhes grags so] BCEF, zhes gragso (*skung yig*) A, ces grags so D; [69]. lta bu] ACDEF, ltu (*skung yig*) B; [70]. ji ltar] ACDEF, jitar (*skung yig*) B; [71]. sangs rgyas] CDE, sangyas (*skung yig*) ABF; [72]. pa |] AF, pa BCDE; [73]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [74]. dpal ldan] ACDEF, dpaldan (*skung yig*) B; [75]. sangs rgyas] ACDE, sangyas (*skung yig*) BF; [76]. ye shes] ACDF, yais (*skung yig*) B; [77]. sangs 'C12' rgyas] ACD, sangyas (*skung yig*) BF; [78]. pas |] ABDE, pas CF; [79]. gcig gis] BCDEF, gcigis | (*skung yig*) A; [80].

Endnote

ka] CDF, ga ABE; [81]. du BCDEF, du | A; [82]. chen po] ACDEF, cheno B; [83]. te] ACDEF, ste B; [84]. yang] ACDEF, yang || B; [85]. 'phrin] A, phrin BCDEF; [86]. ba'i] ABCDF, pa'i E; [87]. bar] BCDEF, par A; [88]. sems can] ACDEF, semn (*skung yig*) B; [89]. sangs rgyas] ACDE, sangyas (*skung yig*) BF; [90]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [91]. gnyis su] ACDEF, gnyisu (*skung yig*) B; [92]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [93]. pas] ABDE, bas CF; [94]. zhing] BCDE, zhing | AF; [95].] ACDEF, || B; [96]. o rgyan] CDEF, ayon AB; [97]. skyong ba'i] ACF, skyong pa'i D, skyongs pa'i BE; [98]. bu] BCDEF, bu | A; [99].] ACDEF, || B; [100]. thams cad] ACDEF, thamd (*skung yig*) B; [101]. pa] BCDEF, pa | A; [102]. gam] ACF, gam BDE; [103]. ||] ACDEF, | B; [104].] ABCDE, || F; [105].] ACDE, || BF; [106]. la] BCDEF, la | A; [107].] ACDEF, || B; [108]. sbrags te] ABDEF, sbrags C; [109]. shi'o ||] ACDE, shi'o | B, shi'o F; [110]. gyi] BCDE, gyi AF; [111]. do ||] ACDEF, do | B; [112]. ste] ACDEF, te B; [113]. ste] ACF, ste BD, steng na E; [114]. rigs] ABDE, rigs so || CF; [115]. ||] ACDEF, | B; [116].] CDE, || ABF; [117]. gzhan] ABDE, gzhan ni CF; [118]. chan] CDF, chen ABE; [119]. gos su] ACDEF, gosu (*skung yig*) B; [120].] ABCDE, || F; [121]. indra] C, intra ABDE, in tra F; [122]. bcug] ABCEF, bcug D; [123]. kun tu] CF, kun ABDE; [124]. indra] C, intra ABDE, in tra F; [125]. pas] BCDEF, pas A; [126]. indra] C, intra ABDE, in tra F; [127]. ste] ACDEF, te B; [128]. ||] ACDEF, | B; [129]. 'phrad] ACF, phrad BDE; [130]. pas] ABED, pas CF; [131].] ABCDE, || F; [132]. pas] ABDE, pas CF; [133]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [134].] ABCDE, || F; [135]. slob dpon] ACDE, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [136].] ABCDE, || F; [137]. pas] BCDEF, pas | A; [138].] ABCDE, || F; [139]. rdo rje] ACDEF, rdoe (*skung yig*) B; [140]. rdo rje] ACDEF, rdoe (*skung yig*) B; [141]. sems dpa' rdo rje] ACDF, semda' rdoe (*skung yig*) B, sems dpa'i rdo E; [142]. ||] ACDEF, | B; [143]. pas] BCDEF, pas | A; [144]. zhu'am] CEF, zhu'am ABD; [145]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [146]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [147]. ||] ACDEF, | B; [148]. dkyil 'khor] ACDEF, dkyior (*skung yig*) B; [149]. ||] ACDEF, | B; [150]. dkyil 'khor] ACDEF, dkyior (*skung yig*) B; [151]. ||] ACDEF, | B; [152]. ||] ACDEF, | B; [153]. ||] ACDEF, | B; [154]. thams cad] ACDEF, thamd (*skung yig*) B; [155]. thams cad] ACDEF, thamd (*skung yig*) B; [156]. ||] ACDEF, | B; [157]. gnyis su] CDEF, gnyisu (*skung yig*) AB; [158]. ye shes] ACDEF, yais B; [159].] ABCDE, || F; [160].] ABCDE, || F; [161]. ste] BCDE, ste AF; [162]. indra] C, intra ABDE, in tra F; [163]. pas slob dpon] ACF, pas | slob dpon DE, pas | slaun (*skung yig*) B; [164]. tsan dan] ABE, tsandan CD, tsa dan F; [165]. bsregs te] BDE, bsreg ste | AC, bsreg ste || F; [166]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [167]. te] ABCDF, te E; [168]. gnas su] ACDEF, gnasu (*skung yig*) B; [169].] ABCDE, || F; [170]. sangs rgyas] ACDE, sangyas (*skung yig*) BF; [171]. shig ||] C, shig | DF, cig || AE, cig | B; [172]. o rgyan] CDE, ayon ABF; [173]. ||] ACDEF, | B; [174]. nas] ACF, nas BDE; [175]. dbus su] BCDEzf, dbusu (*skung yig*) A; [176].] ABCDE, || F; [177]. nas | thams cad] AF, nas thams cad CDE, nas thamd (*skung yig*) B; [178]. o rgyan] CDE, ayon ABF; [179]. ||] ACDEF, | B; [180]. slob dpon] ACDEF,

slaun (*skung yig*) B; [181]. dang] ABDEF, dang C; [182]. de] ACDF, te E, ste B; [183]. tshē] ABCD, tshē | F; [184]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [185]. te] ABCDE, ste F; [186]. bshams te] BCDEF, bsham ste A; [187]. nam mkha'] CDEF, namkha' (*skung yig*) AB; [188]. ste] ABCEF, ste D; [189]. nas] ABCDE, nas | F; [190]. rdo rje] ACDEF, rdoe (*skung yig*) B; [191]. ||] ACDEF, | B; [192]. phul] BCDE, phul nas A, phul || F; [193]. bas rdo rje] ADE, bas rdoe (*skung yig*) B, bas | rdo rje F bas | C; [194]. paṅḍi ta rnam] ACDF, paṅḍita rnam E, paṅḍi ta rnam B; [195]. brdzangs so] ACDE, brdzangso | (*skung yig*) B, brdzangs so || F; [196]. ste] BCDE, ste | AF; [197]. 'gyus] ABCDE, 'gyus F; [198]. thams cad] ACDE, thamd (*skung yig*) BF; [199]. bkra shis] ACDEF, bkris (*skung yig*) B; [200]. bas] ABCDE, bas | F; [201]. thams cad] ACDE, thamd (*skung yig*) BF; [202]. nas] ABCDE, te F; [203]. de] AF, sde BCDE; [204]. 'phrin las rdo rje] ADE, phrin las rdo rje CF, 'phris rdoe (*skung yig*) B; [205]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [206]. te] ABCDE, ste F; [207]. tu] ACDEF, du B; [208]. do ||] ACDF, de | BE; [209]. pas] ABDE, pas CF; [210]. smad nyi shu] CDEF, smad nyiu (*skung yig*) B, mad nyi shu A; [211]. la] ABCEF, la D; [212]. bcu gnyis] ACDEF, bcuis (*skung yig*) B; [213]. ||] ABCDE, || F; [214]. tantra] CDE, tantra A, tant tra || F, tanta | B; [215]. tantra] ABCDE, tan tra F; [216]. tantra] ABCDE, tan tra F; [217]. ||] BCDF, || AE; [218]. ||] BCDEF, || A; [219]. ye shes] ACDEF, yais (*skung yig*) B; [220]. zer] ACF, zer BDE; [221]. nam mkha'] CDE, namkha' (*skung yig*) ABF; [222]. ||] ACDEF, | B; [223]. 'phrin] A, phrin BCDEF; [224]. rdo rje] ACDEF, rdoe (*skung yig*) B; [225]. pa] ABCEF, pa D; [226]. tshar] BCDEF, tshar A; [227]. ||] BCDEF, || A; [228]. ||] ACDEF, | B; [229]. 'jigs su] CDEF, 'jigsu (*skung yig*) AB; [230]. ba gcig] CF, ba gcig | A, ba cig D, pa cig BE; [231]. babs su] CDEF, babsu (*skung yig*) AB; [232]. ba la] AC, pa la BD, ba la E, ba la || F; [233]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [234]. rdo rje gzhon nu] ACDEF, rdoe gzhonu (*skung yig*) B; [235]. ||] ACDE, | B; [236]. ||] ACDEF, | B; [237]. ||] ACDEF, | B; [238]. ||] ACDEF, | B; [239]. ||] ACDE, | B; [240]. ||] ACDEF, | B; [241]. ||] ACDEF, | B; [242]. ||] ACDEF, | B; [243]. ||] ACDEF, | B; [244]. ||] ACDEF, | B; [245]. gsungso] BCDEF, gsungso (*skung yig*) A; [246]. mtshams] ABDE, mtshams C, mtshamsu F; [247]. sems can] ACDEF, semn (*skung yig*) B; [248]. dngos po gcig] CF, dngos po zhiḡ D, dngos po cig BE, dngos gcig A; [249]. te] AC, te BDEF; [250]. bzhag] BCDE, bzhag A, bzhags || F; [251]. pas] BCDEF, pas A; [252]. bsgral] ABCDE, bsgral | F; [253]. te] BCDEF, te A; [254]. te] ABCDE, ste || F; [255]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [256]. slob dpon] ACDF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [257]. pas] ABDF, pas C; [258]. na] ABD, na CF; [259]. thams cad] ACDEF, thamd (*skung yig*) B; [260]. rdo rje] ACDEF, rdoe (*skung yig*) B; [261]. de] BCEF, do || D, te | A; [262]. nyi shu] ACDEF, nyiu (*skung yig*) B; [263]. gcig] ACDEF, cig B; [264]. byon nas] BCDEF, byonas (*skung yig*) | A; [265]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [266]. 'tshal lo] CDEF, 'tshalo (*skung yig*) B, byas te A; [267]. rdo rje] ACDEF, rdoe (*skung yig*) B; [268]. de ||] BE, do || CDF, te | A; [269]. ni] BCDEF, ni | A; [270]. ||] ABCDE, || F; [271]. intra] ABCDE, in tra F; [272]. zhiḡ] ACDF, shing BE; [273]. ||]

ACDEF, | B; [274]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [275]. padmas] ACF, padmas | BDE; [276].
 [] ABCDE, || F; [277]. [] ABCDE, || F; [278]. o rgyan] CDEF, ayon AB; [279]. zhing] ACDF, shing BE;
 [280]. ||] ACDEF, | B; [281]. [] ABCDE, || F; [282]. zhing] ACDF, shing BE; [283]. ||] ACDEF, | B;
 [284]. ji ltar] ACDEF, jitar (*skung yig*) B; [285]. sprul pa] AB, sprul pa | CEF, sprul ba | D; [286]. sangs ^{C22}
 rgyas] ACDE, sangyas (*skung yig*) BF; [287]. nas [] ABCEF, nas D; [288]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung
 yig*) B; [289]. sa twa] ABCDF, satwa E; [290]. pas [] ABDE, pas CF; [291]. bskyal [] ABCDE, bskyal || F;
 [292]. che 'am] BDE, che'am (*skung yig*) ACF; [293]. gyur] AD, gyur | BCEF; [294]. slob dpon] ACDEF,
 slaun (*skung yig*) B; [295]. nas [] ABDEF, nas C; [296]. ba] ABCEF, pa D; [297]. [] BCDE, || F; [298].
 slob dpon] ACDE, slaun (*skung yig*) BF; [299]. ba] BCDEF, ba | A; [300]. rdo rje] ACDEF, rdoe (*skung
 yig*) B; [301]. gcig] C, zhig D, cig AB EF; [302]. [] ABCDE, || F; [303]. pas [] ABDEF, pas C; [304].
 slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [305]. dang [] CF, dang ABDE; [306]. ji ltar] ACDEF, jitar (*skung
 yig*) B; [307]. sangs rgyas] ACDE, sangyas (*skung yig*) BF; [308]. thams cad] ACDEF, thamd (*skung yig*)
 B; [309]. sems can] ACDEF, semn (*skung yig*) B; [310]. khyad par] ACDEF, khyadr (*skung yig*) B; [311].
 sems can thams cad] ACDE, semn thamd (*skung yig*) B, sems can thamd (*skung yig*) F; [312]. te] ABCDE, te |
 F; [313]. sangs rgyas] ACDE, sangyas (*skung yig*) BF; [314]. ste [] BCDEF, ste A; [315]. pas [] BCDEF, pas
 A; [316]. sems can] ACDEF, semn (*skung yig*) B; [317]. rags su] CDEF, ragsu (*skung yig*) AB; [318]. pas
 [] BCDEF, pas A; [319]. gnyis su] CDEF, gnyisu (*skung yig*) AB; [320]. skabs su] CDEF, skabsu (*skung yig*)
 AB; [321]. [] ABCDE, || F; [322]. [] ABCDE, || F; [323]. nas [] BCDE, nas AF; [324]. sangs rgyas so]
 CDE, sangyas (*skung yig*) so BF, sangyaso (*skung yig*) A; [325]. ||] ACDEF, | B; [326]. te [] ABCE, te D, te
 || F; [327]. ba] ABCDE, pa F; [328]. ||] ACDEF, | B; [329]. [] ABCDE, || F; [330]. bo ||] CDEF, bo |
 B, bo A; [331]. bas [] ABDE, bas CF; [332]. la] BCDEF, la | A; [333]. bdag gi] BCDEF, bdagi (*skung yig*)
 A; [334]. gcig] ACEF, zhig D, cig B; [335]. cig [] ABCE, cig D, cig || F; [336]. btab bo] CF, btabo (*skung
 yig*) A, btab po BDE; [337]. cig [] ABCE, cig D, cig || F; [338]. gcig] ACEF, zhig D, cig B; [339]. cig []
 ABC, cig DE, cig || F; [340]. cig [] ABCEF, cig D; [341]. bo ||] ACF, po || D, po | BE; [342]. [] ABCDE,
 || F; [343]. [] BCDE, || F; [344]. [] ACDE, || BF; [345]. seng ge] BDE, sengge C, seng ge F; [346]. slob
 dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [347]. gnas] ABCDE, gnas | F; [348]. la] BCDEF, la | A; [349]. 'dug
 [] ABE, 'dug CDF; [350]. dang] BCDEF, dang | A; [351]. der [] ABCEF, der D; [352]. brgyad dang []
 BCDE, brgyad dang F, brgyadang (*skung yig*) A; [353]. phul [] ABCDE, phul || F; [354]. ba] BDE, pa ACF;
 [355]. ||] ACDEF, ngo | B; [356]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [357]. phebs so] ACDEF, phebs
 (*skung yig*) B; [358]. [] ABCDE, || F; [359]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [360]. ||] ACDEF,
 | B; [361]. [] ABCDE, || F; [362]. chen po] ACDEF, cheno (*skung yig*) B; [363]. bzhugs su gsol [] DE,
 bzhugs su gsol lo || CF, bzhugsuol | (*skung yig*) B, bzhugsu gsol | (*skung yig*) A; [364]. gcig] ACEF, zhig D,
 cig B; [365]. bzhangs [] ACF, bzhangs BDE; [366]. bzhang [] ABCEF, bzhang D; [367]. ||] ABCDE, | F;

[368]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [369]. grags so ||] CDEF, gragso | (*skung yig*) AB; [370]. ||] ACDEF, | B; [371]. te] C, de ADBE, ste F; [372]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [373]. pas ||] ABCEF, pas D; [374]. nam mkha'] CDEF, namkha' (*skung yig*) AB; [375]. ||] ABCDE, || F; [376]. rdo rje] ACDEF, rdoe (*skung yig*) B; [377]. phul] ABCE, phul | D, phul || F; [378]. btags so ||] ACDEF, btagso | (*skung yig*) B; [379]. ||] ABCDE, || F; [380]. nyi shu] ACDEF, nyiu (*skung yig*) B; [381]. bstan ||] ABDEF, bstan C; [382]. ||] ACDEF, | B; [383]. bcu gnyis] ACDEF, bcuis (*skung yig*) B; [384]. bcu gnyis] ACDEF, bcuis (*skung yig*) B; [385]. gcig] ADF, cig BCE; [386]. bcu gnyis] CDEF, bcuis (*skung yig*) AB; [387]. bas] CDF, pas ABE; [388]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [389]. nas] ABCDF, nas | E; [390]. ba dang] CD, pa dang ABE, ba dang |; [391]. ||] ABCDE, || F; [392]. dang] ABCDE, dang | F; [393]. de ||] C, de D, te | AE, ste | BF; [394]. ba] CDEF, pa AB; [395]. rdo rje] ACDEF, rdoe (*skung yig*) B; [396]. gcig] ADEF, cig BC; [397]. phul] BDE, phul | AC, phul || F; [398]. gcig] ACEF, cig BD; [399]. bzhag ||] ACEF, bzhag D, bzhag || B; [400]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [401]. ba] ACDEF, pa B; [402]. rdo rje] ACDEF, rdoe (*skung yig*) B; [403]. ba la ||] CD, ba la F, pa la | ABE; [404]. bstan nas] ACDEF, bstanas (*skung yig*) B; [405]. ||] ACDEF, | B; [406]. grags so ||] ACDEF, gragso (*skung yig*) | B; [407]. thams cad] ACDEF, thamd (*skung yig*) B; [408]. pas] ABCDE, pas | F; [409]. grags ||] BCDE, grags so || F; [410]. ||] ABCDE, || F; [411]. ||] ABCDE, || F; [412]. pas ||] BCDE, pas F, nas A; [413]. ||] ABCDE, || F; [414]. ||] ABCDE, || F; [415]. ||] ABCDE, || F; [416]. pa] ABCEF, bar D; [417]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [418]. rdo rje'i] ACDEF, rdoe'i (*skung yig*) B; [419]. bas ||] ABCDE, bas F; [420]. te] ABCDE, ste F; [421]. sems can] ACDE, semn (*skung yig*) B; [422]. ||] ACDE, || BF; [423]. de] ACDF, te E, ste B; [424]. ba] ACDEF, pa; [425]. ||] ABCDE, || F; [426]. ||] ABCDE, || F; [427]. thams cad] ACDE, thamd (*skung yig*) BF; [428]. pas ||] CF, pas ABDE; [429]. ba la] CF, pa la | ABDE; [430]. ||] ACDEF, | B; [431]. zhag gsum] CDEF, zhagsum (*skung yig*) AB; [432]. ||] ABCDE, || F; [433]. ba] CEF, pa ABD; [434]. pas] ABE, pa CDF; [435]. lhags so ||] CDEF, lhagso (*skung yig*) || A, lhagso (*skung yig*) | B; [436]. gi] DF, gi | BCE; [437]. nyi shu] ACDEF, nyiu (*skung yig*) B; [438]. nga'i] BDE, nga yi CF; [439]. shog ||] BCE, shog D, shog || F; [440]. thams cad] ACDE, thamd (*skung yig*) BF; [441]. thams cad] ACDE, thamd (*skung yig*) BF; [442]. pas thams cad] ADE, pas thamd (*skung yig*) B, pas CF; [443]. 'dug ||] ABCE, 'dug || F, 'dug D; [444]. ||] ACDEF, || B; [445]. ||] ABCDE, || F; [446]. dang] BCF, dang | DE; [447]. bsdus ||] ABDEF, bsdus C; [448]. lha'i] ABEDF, lha yi C; [449]. btags ||] CEF, btags ABD; [450]. dang] ABCDE, dang | F; [451]. dpal 'byor] ABCDE, dpabyor (*skung yig*) F; [452]. te] ABCDE, ste F; [453]. byon nas] ACDEF, byonas (*skung yig*) B; [454]. ||] BCDE, || F; [455]. ||] ABCDE, || F; [456]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [457]. bdag gis] BCDEF, bdagis (*skung yig*) A; [458]. sangs rgyas] ACDE, sangyas (*skung yig*) BF; [459]. slob dpon gyi] ACDF, slaun (*skung yig*) gyi B, slob dpon yi E; [460]. nas ||] ACF, nas BDE; [461]. zhig] CDF, gcig AE, cig B; [462]. ||] BD, || AECF; [463]. zhig] D, gcig ACEF, cig B;

[464]. [] BDF, || ACE; [465]. [] BDF, || ACE; [466]. sems can] ACDEF, semn (*skung yig*) B; [467]. [] ABCD, || EF; [468]. [] ABCDE, || F; [469]. bas] CF, pas ABDE; [470]. chag [] ABCE, chag DF; [471]. la [] ACF, la BDE; [472]. yon tan] ACDEF, ytaun (*skung yig*) B; [473]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [474]. pas [] CF, pas ABD; [475]. thams cad] ACDE, thamd (*skung yig*) BF; [476]. khongs su] CDEF, khongsu (*skung yig*) AB; [477]. rgyal pos] BCDEF, rgyalos (*skung yig*) A; [478]. de] ACDF, ste B, te E; [479]. dang] ACF, dang | BDE; [480]. [] ABCDE, || F; [481]. nas] CF, nas | ABDE; [482]. rdo rje] ACDEF, rdoe (*skung yig*) B; [483]. rgyal po] BCDEF, rgyalo (*skung yig*) A; [484]. lugs su] ACDEF, lugsu (*skung yig*) B; [485]. bas [] ABCDE, bas F; [486]. dang [] ACF, dang BDE; [487]. las [] CF, las ABDE; [488]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [489]. pas [] CF, pas ABDE; [490]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [491]. ba'i] CF, pa'i ABDE; [492]. zhes] ABE, ces CDF; [493]. chen po] BCDEF, cheno (*skung yig*) A; [494]. yang] ABDE, yang | CF; [495]. yas su [] F, yas su ACDE, yas (*skung yig*) B; [496]. slob ^{‘E188’} dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [497]. dus [] ABCDE, dus || F; [498]. phul [] ABCDE, phul F; [499]. zhag gsum] BCDEF, zhagsum (*skung yig*) A; [500]. la | khyod] ABC, la khyod F, la | khyed DE; [501]. rdo rje sems dpa’] ACDEF, rdoe semda’ (*skung yig*) B; [502]. rnams kyī] BCDEF, rnamsyi (*skung yig*) A; [503]. khams] ABCDF, khams | E; [504]. te] ABCDE, de F; [505]. mthong ^{‘F165’} zhus pas [] ABDEF, mthong | zhus pas C; [506]. bdag gi] BCDEF, bdagi (*skung yig*) A; [507]. nas [] ABCEF, nas D; [508]. bden [] ABDEF, bden C; [509]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [510]. ba'i] ABCDF, pa'i E; [511]. 'o na] ABCDE, 'o na | F; [512]. na [] ABDE, na CF; [513]. bdag gi] BCDEF, bdagi (*skung yig*) A; [514]. slob dpon] ADEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B, slob dpon la C; [515]. chug cig gsungs] BCDEF, chugcigsungs (*skung yig*) A; [516]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [517]. phul [] ABCD, phul || F; [518]. kyī [] ABCF, kyī D; [519]. chug gsungs] BCDF, chugsungs (*skung yig*) A; [520]. slob dpon] ACDF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [521]. rin chen] ACDEF, rien (*skung yig*) B; [522]. nas [] ABCEF, nas D; [523]. phul [] ABCDE, phul || F; [524]. nas [] ABCEF, nas D; [525]. pa'i] ABCEF, ba'i D; [526]. rdo rje] ACDEF, rdoe (*skung yig*) B; [527]. na sang rgyas] ADE, na sangyas (*skung yig*) B, na | sangs rgyas C, na | sangyas (*skung yig*) F; [528]. dang [] ABCEF, dang D; [529]. ba'i] AF, pa'i BCDE; [530]. rin po che] ACDEF, rinoe (*skung yig*) B; [531]. kyī [] ACF, kyī BDE; [532]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [533]. bas [] ABCD, bas F; [534]. 'dug | slob dpon] ACEF, 'dug | slaun (*skung yig*) B, 'dug slob dpon D; [535]. ba] CEF, pa ABD; [536]. sangs ^{‘F167’} rgyas] ACDE, sangyas (*skung yig*) BF; [537]. blangs so] CDEF, blangso (*skung yig*) AB; [538]. dus su rgyal po] BCDEF, dusu rgyalo (*skung yig*) A; [539]. ji ltar] ACDEF, jitar (*skung yig*) B; [540]. mtshan [] CD, mtshan ABEF; [541]. ||] CD, | ABEF; [542]. ||] CD, | ABEF; [543]. ||] CDF, | ABE; [544]. [] ABE, || CDF; [545]. zhes] ABE, ces CDF; [546]. [] ABCD, || F; [547]. pa] ACDEF, ba B; [548]. [] ABCDE, || F; [549]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [550]. dang [] ABDEF, dang C; [551]. ste] ACDEF, te B; [552]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [553]. pas rgyal po] BCEF, pas rgyalo (*skung yig*) A,

bas rgyal po D; [554]. | slob dpon] ACDE, | slaun (*skung yig*) B, || slob dpon F; [555]. thams cad] ACDE, thamd (*skung yig*) BF; [556]. thams cad] ACDE, thamd (*skung yig*) BF; [557]. thams cad] ACDE, thamd (*skung yig*) BF; [558]. ba] BCDEF, pa A; [559]. sems can] ACDEF, semn (*skung yig*) B; [560].] ABCDE, || F; [561]. pas] CDEF, pas A, pas || B; [562]. skyes so ||] ACDEF, skyeso (*skung yig*) | B; [563]. rgyal po la] CDE, rgyalo (*skung yig*) la | A, rgyal bo la | B, rgyal po la F; [564]. dang] ABCEF, dang D; [565]. gtad] C, gtad ABDE, gtad || F; [566]. nas slob dpon] CDEF, nas slaun (*skung yig*) B, naslob (*skung yig*) dpon A; [567]. khar] CF, khar | ABE; [568]. shig] C, gcig BDE, cig A, zhig F; [569]. shig] C, gcig ADE, zhig F, cig B; [570].] ABCD, || F; [571]. bas] BCDEF, pas A; [572]. shig] CF, gcig ADE, cig B; [573].] ABCDE, || F; [574]. shig zhu] CF, gcig zhu | ABDE; [575]. slob dpon gyis] CF, slob dpon gyis | ADE, slaun (*skung yig*) gyis | B; [576]. ||] ACDEF, | B; [577]. tshe'i] ABDE, tshe yi CF; [578].] ABCDE, || F; [579]. tshe'i] ABCDE, tshe yi F; [580]. slob ^{C39} dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [581]. ba] BCDEF, pa A; [582].] ABCDE, || F; [583]. grags so ||] ACDEF, grago (*skung yig*) | B; [584]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [585]. de] CD, te | AE, te || F, ste | B; [586]. zhig] D, zhig | ABCE, || F; [587]. yas su] BCDEF, yasu (*skung yig*) A; [588]. skal ldan] ACDEF, skaldan (*skung yig*) B; [589]. rnams su] BCDEF, rnamsu (*skung yig*) A; [590]. nas] ABDE, nas CF; [591]. de] CDF, te AE, ste B; [592]. thams cad] ACDE, thamd (*skung yig*) BF; [593]. bkra shis] ACDEF, bkris (*skung yig*) B; [594]. rnams su] CDEF, rnamsu (*skung yig*) AB; [595]. skabs su] CDEF, skabsu (*skung yig*) AB; [596]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [597]. shig] CDF, cig ABE; [598]. gshegs so] C, gshegs (*skung yig*) | AB, gshegs so || DEF; [599]. rnams su] BCDF, rnamsu (*skung yig*) A; [600].] ABCDE, || F; [601]. bzhag] ABCE, bzhag || F, bzhag D; [602]. khyad par] ACDEF, khyadr (*skung yig*) B; [603].] ABCDE, || F; [604]. skabs su] CDEF, skabsu (*skung yig*) AB; [605].] ABCDE, || F; [606]. gzhon] ABCDF, gzhon E; [607]. mtha'i] ABDE, mtha' yi CF; [608].] ABCDE, || F; [609]. de] BEF, de C, te | A, do || D; [610]. rnams su] BCDEF, rnamsu (*skung yig*) A; [611]. shig] D, gcig ACEF, cig B; [612]. pa'i] ABDEF, ba'i C; [613]. bcu gcig] ACDEF, bcuig (*skung yig*) B; [614]. dang] ABCDE, dang | F; [615]. ||] ACDEF, | B; [616]. thugs su] CDEF, thugs (*skung yig*) AB; [617]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [618]. bcu gcig] CDEF, bcuig (*skung yig*) AB; [619]. te] ACEF, ste | B, so || D; [620]. rnams su] CDEF, rnamsu (*skung yig*) AB; [621]. bcu gcig bzhugs so] CDEF, bcuig bzhugso (*skung yig*) AB; [622]. shes so ||] ACDEF, sheso (*skung yig*) | B; [623]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [624]. yon tan] ACDEF, ytaun (*skung yig*) B; [625]. 'phrin las] ACDEF, 'phris (*skung yig*) B; [626]. dang] ABCEF, dang | D; [627]. ni] CDF, ni ABE; [628]. shing] ABCED, shing | F; [629]. sangs rgyas] ACDE, sangyas (*skung yig*) BF; [630]. de] AE, do || CDF, do | B; [631]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [632]. dkyil 'khor] ACDEF, dkyior (*skung yig*) B; [633]. thams cad] CDE, thamd (*skung yig*) BF, thams A; [634]. ||] DEF, | ABC; [635]. 'khor lo] ACDEF, 'khaur B; [636]. ||] DEF, | ABC; [637]. ||] DEF, | ABC; [638]. ||] CDEF, | AB; [639].] ABCDE, || F; [640]. nam mkha'] ACDE, namkha' (*skung*

yig) BF; [641].] ABCDE, || F; [642]. ||] ACDEF, | B; [643]. ||] ACDEF, | B; [644]. ye shes] ACDEF, yais (*skung yig*) B; [645]. yon tan] ACDEF, ytaun (*skung yig*) B; [646]. rdo rje] ACDEF, rdoe (*skung yig*) B; [647]. do ||] D, de || AC, do D ste | BF, te E; [648].] ABCDE, || F; [649]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [650]. ||] ACDEF, | B; [651]. sangs rgyas] ACDE, sangyas (*skung yig*) BF; [652]. rdo rje] ACDEF, rdoe (*skung yig*) B; [653]. de] CDF, te AE, ste B; [654]. gsum gyi] BCF, gsumyi A; [655]. ||] ACDEF, | B; [656]. grags] ABCDE, grags so || F; [657].] ABCDE, || F; [658]. ye shes] ACDEF, yais (*skung yig*) B; [659].] ABCDE, || F; [660]. rdo rje] ACDEF, rdoe (*skung yig*) B; [661]. rdo rje] ACDEF, rdoe (*skung yig*) B; [662]. dkon mchog] ACDEF, dkaug B; [663].] BCDEF, || A; [664].] ABDF, || CE; [665].] BCDEF, || A; [666]. rin chen] ACDEF, rien (*skung yig*); [667]. gcig] ABE, zhig CDF; [668]. bas] ACDF, pas BD; [669]. chog] CDF, chog | AE, chog || B; [670]. ba] CF, pa ABDE; [671]. nas] ABE, nas CDF; [672]. kyang] ABCEF, yang D; [673].] ABCDE, || F; [674]. shes rab] CF, sher ABDE; [675]. na] ABDEF, na C; [676]. ||] ACDF, | B; [677]. na] BCDEF, na A; [678]. rnam kyil] BCDEF, rnam syi (*skung yig*) A; [679]. rdo rje] ACDEF, rdoe (*skung yig*) B; [680]. zhing] ABCDE, zhing | F; [681]. la] CF, la ABDE; [682]. ba] CEF, pa ABD; [683]. las] CF, las ABDE; [684]. pa] ABDEF, ba C; [685]. lta bu] ACDEF, ltu (*skung yig*) B; [686]. so so'i] ACF, sau'i (*skung yig*) B; [687]. rnam su] BCDEF, rnam su (*skung yig*) A; [688]. || ||] AC, || DEF, | B; [689]. ste] BCDE, te | A, ste || F; [690]. ni] ABCDE, ni || F; [691]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [692]. rdo rje] ACDEF, rdoe (*skung yig*) B; [693]. phyug] BDF, phyug || ACE; [694].] BDF, || ACE; [695]. rdo rje] ACDEF, rdoe (*skung yig*) B; [696]. yon tan] ACDEF, ytaun (*skung yig*) B; [697]. rin chen] ACDEF, rien (*skung yig*) B; [698]. rin chen] ACDEF, rien (*skung yig*) B; [699]. rin chen] ACDEF, rien (*skung yig*) B; [700]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [701]. te] ABCDE, te | F; [702]. ||] ACDE, || BF; [703]. rin chen] ACDEF, rien (*skung yig*) B; [704]. bzhugs te] A, bzhugs te BCDF, bzhugs E; [705].] ABCDE, || F; [706]. gzhon nu] ACDEF, gzhonu (*skung yig*) B; [707]. thams cad] ACDE, thamd (*skung yig*) BF; [708]. shing] ABDE, shing CF; [709]. cig] ACDF, gcig BE; [710]. cig] ACDF, gcig BE; [711]. pas] CF, pas ABDE; [712]. khyod dang] ACEF, khyodang (*skung yig*) B; [713]. ba'i] BCEF, ins. A; [714]. sangs rgyas] ACDE, sangyas (*skung yig*) BF; [715]. par] ABCEF, bar D; [716]. pa] ABCEF, ba D; [717]. ||] ACDEF, | B; [718]. bcu gcig] CDEF, bcuig (*skung yig*) AB; [719]. te] BC, te ADEF; [720]. thams cad] ACDEF, thamd (*skung yig*) B; [721]. thams cad] ACDEF, thamd (*skung yig*) B; [722]. med do ||] ACDEF, medo (*skung yig*) | B; [723]. te] ACF, | BD; [724]. thams cad] ACDEF, thamd (*skung yig*) B; [725].] BF, || ACDE; [726]. nas] BDE, nas ACF; [727]. thugs su] CDEF, thugs (*skung yig*) AB; [728]. yin no ||] ACDEF, yino (*skung yig*) | B; [729]. dang] ABCEF, dang D; [730]. rdo rje] ACDEF, rdoe (*skung yig*) B; [731]. zhing] ABCDE, zhing | F; [732]. dang] ABCDE, dang | F; [733]. pa] ABCEF, ba D; [734]. shing] BCDE, shing || F, zhing | A; [735]. tu] ACEF, du BD; [736]. pa] ABCEF, ba D; [737].] ABCD, || F; [738]. spras su] BCDEF, sprasu (*skung*

yig] A; [739]. kyang |] F kyang ABCDE; [740]. zhing |] F zhing ABCDE; [741]. rnam par] ACDF, rnamr (*skung yig*) B; [742]. bas] ABCDE, bas | F; [743]. mkhas |] ABCDE, mkhas || F; [744]. |] ABCDE, || F; [745]. bas |] C, bas ABDEF; [746]. ba'i] BCDEF, pa'i A; [747]. ba] BCDEF, pa A; [748]. |] ABCDE, || F; [749]. ba] ACDEF, ba (*ins.*) B; [750]. bod du] BCDEF, bodu (*skung yig*) A; [751]. po ||] A, bo || CEF, po | BD; [752]. bas |] ABDE, bas CF; [753]. gsol |] ABDE, gsol C, gsol || F; [754]. te |] ADEF, te C, ste | B; [755]. thams cad] ACDE, thamd (*skung yig*) BF; [756]. ||] ACDEF, | B; [757]. skabs su] ACDEF, skabsu (*skung yig*) B; [758]. gsungs pa] CDE, gsungs ba A, gsung ba F, gsung pa B; [759]. pas |] ABCEF, pas D; [760]. gcig] ACEF, zhig D, cig B; [761]. rdo rje] ACDEF, rdoe (*skung yig*) B; [762]. yon tan] ACDEF, ytaun (*skung yig*) B; [763]. kyang] ABCDE, kyang | F; [764]. yin |] AC, yin || F, yin BDE; [765]. khyod] ABDE, khyed CF; [766]. yon tan] ACDEF, ytaun (*skung yig*) B; [767]. yang] CF, yang | ABDE; [768]. zhing] A, zhing | BDEF, cing | C; [769]. gtogs |] ACF, gtogs BDE; [770]. nam mkha'] ACDEF, namkha' (*skung yig*) B; [771]. pa] DE, ba ABCF; [772]. te |] ABDE, te CF; [773]. bcu gnyis] ACDEF, bcuis (*skung yig*) B; [774]. sangs rgyas] ACDE, sangyas (*skung yig*) BF; [775]. ba] BCDEF, pa A; [776]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [777]. bzang |] C, bzang ABDEF; [778]. yin |] ABDE, yin no || CF; [779]. de] ACDF, ste B, te E; [780]. ba] CEF, pa ABD; [781]. du |] ABCDF, du E; [782]. de] ACDF, ste B, te E; [783]. dang] CF, dang | ABDE; [784]. pa] ABCDF, ba E; [785]. mdzad |] ABDE, mdzad do || CF; [786]. rigs so] ACDF, rigso (*skung yig*) B; [787]. thams cad] ACDE, thamd (*skung yig*) BF; [788]. gnas su] ACDF, gnasu (*skung yig*) B; [789]. |] AB, || CDEF; [790]. |] ABCDE, || F; [791]. zhing] ABCDE, zhing | F; [792]. thams cad] ACDEF, thamd (*skung yig*) B; [793]. |] AC, || DF, do | B, do || E; [794]. don gyi khyad par] ACDEF, don gyi khyad/byad par (*ins.*) B; [795]. cog gi] ACDEF, cogi (*skung yig*) B; [796]. thugs su] ACDEF, thugsu (*skung yig*) B; [797]. 'jig rten] ACDEF, 'jiten (*skung yig*) B; [798]. de dag] ACEF, deg (*skung yig*) B, dge ba D; [799]. ji ltar] ACDF, jitar (*skung yig*) B; [800]. |] ABCDE, || F; [801]. thams cad] ACDE, thamd (*skung yig*) BF; [802]. thams cad] ACDE, thamd (*skung yig*) BF; [803]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [804]. thams cad] ACDE, thamd (*skung yig*) BF; [805]. kyang] ABCDE, kyang (*ins.*) F; [806]. thams cad] C, thamd (*skung yig*) F, rnam ABDE; [807]. ||] BCDEF, || A; [808]. nas |] ABDE, nas CF; [809]. de] BCDF, des E, te A; [810]. gcig] ACEF, cig B, shig D; [811]. ste] BCDEF, te A; [812]. |] ABCDE, || F; [813]. ye shes] ACDEF, yais (*skung yig*) B; [814]. |] ACDF, ||; [815]. |] ABCDE, || F; [816]. dang] ABCDE, dang | F; [817]. lugs su] BCDEF, lugsu (*skung yig*) A; [818]. las] ABDEF, nas C; [819]. kyang |] ABDE, kyang CF; [820]. ting 'dzin] ACDEF, tiin (*skung yig*) B; [821]. rin chen] ACDEF, rien (*skung yig*) B; [822]. yon tan] ACDEF, ytaun (*skung yig*) B; [823]. sangs rgyas] ACDE, sangyas (*skung yig*) BF; [824]. rdo rje] ACDEF, rdoe (*skung yig*) B; [825]. de |] BCEF, do || D, te | A; [826]. dang |] ABCDE, dang F; [827]. chen] F, chen | mchan | C; [828]. rin chen] ACDE, rien (*skung yig*) BF; [829]. |] ABCDE, || F; [830]. dang] BCDEF, (*ins.*) A; [831]. 'od zer] ACDEF, 'oder (*skung yig*) B; [832]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun

(*skung yig*) B; [833]. ste] BCDEF, te A; [834]. [] ABCDE, || F; [835]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [836]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [837]. rdo rje] ACDEF, rdoe (*skung yig*) B; [838]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [839]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [840]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [841]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [842]. rdo rje] ACDEF, rdoe (*skung yig*) B; [843]. chad] ABCDE, (ins. F); [844]. kyang] [] ABDE, kyang CF; [845]. nam mkha' CDE, nam mkha' A, namkha' (*skung yig*) BF; [846]. de] CDF, te AE, ste B; [847]. gsung so] [] CDEF, gsungso (*skung yig*)|| A, gsungso | B; [848]. thams cad] ACDEF, thamd (*skung yig*) B; [849]. rdo rje] ACDEF, rdoe (*skung yig*) B; [850]. sum cu] ACDF, gsum cu E, gsum bcu B; [851]. rdo rje] ACDEF, rdoe (*skung yig*) B; [852]. las] [] C, ba las | F, las ABDE; [853]. rdo rje] ACDEF, rdoe (*skung yig*) B; [854]. phyug] [] ABCDF, phyug B; [855]. yol lcags] BCDEF, yolcags (*skung yig*) A; [856]. rnal 'byor] ABCDE, rnalyor (*skung yig*) F; [857]. sangs rgyas] ACDE, sangyas (*skung yig*) BF; [858]. dpal 'byor] ABCDE, dpalyor (*skung yig*) F; [859]. rdo rje] ACDEF, rdoe (*skung yig*) B; [860]. []] CDEF, | B, || A; [861]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [862]. yab yum] ACDEF, yums (*skung yig*) B; [863]. la] [] CF, la ABDE; [864]. rdo rjes] ACDEF, rdoes (*skung yig*) B; [865]. rjes su'ang] BCDEF, rjesu'ang (*skung yig*) A; [866]. gcig] ACDF, cig BD; [867]. []] ABCDE, || F; [868]. gcig] ACEF, shig D, cig B; [869]. gcig] ACEF, zhig D, cig B; [870]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [871]. shog] [] ACE, shog D, shog || BF; [872]. las] CDF, las| ABE; [873]. .i] ABCDE, || F; [874]. na] ABCDE, na | F; [875]. rnams su] BCDEF, rnamsu (*skung yig*) A; [876]. mkha' 'gro] ACDEF, mkhro' (*skung yig*) B; [877]. |] ABCDE, || F; [878]. nas] ACF, nas | BDE; [879]. na] ABCDE, na | F; [880]. []] ABCDE, || F; [881]. ba] ACEF, pa BD; [882]. 'jig rten] ACDEF, 'jiten (*skung yig*) B; [883]. rin chen] ACDEF, rien (*skung yig*) B; [884]. []] ABCD, || F; [885]. dang] ABCDE, dang | F; [886]. rin po ches] ACF, rin chen DE, rien (*skung yig*) B; [887]. yang] ACF, yang | BDE; [888]. rin po che'i] ACDF, rin po che E, rieno (*skung yig*) B; [889]. []] ABCDE, || F; [890]. ba] BCDEF, pa A; [891]. 'bar] [] BCDEF, 'bar A; [892]. seng ge] ACDEF, senge (*skung yig*) B; [893]. seng ge] ACDEF, senge (*skung yig*) B; [894]. ye shes] ACDEF, ye shes kyi D, yais (*skung yig*) kyi B; [895]. []] BCDEF, || A; [896]. rdo rje] ACDEF, rdoe (*skung yig*) B; [897]. rdo rje] ACDEF, rdoe (*skung yig*) B; [898]. []] ABCDE, || F; [899]. ba] [] ACDE, pa | F, ba || B; [900]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [901]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [902]. bkra shis] ACDE, bkris (*skung yig*) BF; [903]. sems dpa'] ACDEF, semda' (*skung yig*) B; [904]. nam mkha'i] ACDE, namkha'i (*skung yig*) BF; [905]. rdo rje] ACDEF, rdoe (*skung yig*) B; [906]. rdo rje] ACDEF, rdoe (*skung yig*) B; [907]. seng ge] ACDEF, senge (*skung yig*) B; [908]. []] BCDEF, || A; [909]. ba] ABDE, pa CF; [910]. pa] CE, ba ABDF; [911]. []] ACDEF, | B; [912]. dpal ldan] ADE, dpaldan (*skung yig*) B, dpal CF; [913]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [914]. ste] [] ABDE, ste CF; [915]. rdo rje] ACF, rdoe (*skung yig*) B; [916]. cing] [] ACF, cing BDE; [917]. yon tan] ACDEF, ytaun (*skung yig*) B; [918]. blo gros] ACDEF, blaus (*skung yig*) B; [919]. nam 'C62' mkha' CDEF, namkha'

(*skung yig*) AB; [920]. 'gro ba la] ACDF, *ins.* B; [921]. ||] ACDEF, | B; [922]. yin te |] ABCDE, yin ste || F; [923]. pas |] ABDE, pas CF; [924]. pa] A, ba BCDEF; [925]. bas] CF, pas ABDE; [926]. khyod] ABCDF, khyod ni E; [927]. |] ABCDE, || F; [928]. pas] ABEF, bas CD; [929]. gcig |] ABCE, gcig DF; [930]. gcig |] ABCEF, gcig D; [931]. chog] D, chog | ABCEF; [932]. pa'i] ACDEF, ba'i B; [933]. mched] CF, mched | ABDE; [934]. rgyas] ACDEF, rgya *ins.* B; [935]. ||] BCDEF, ||| A; [936]. dang |] BCDF, dang A; [937]. bcu gnyis] CDEF, bcuis (*skung yig*) AB; [938]. mchog] ABCDE, mchog | F; [939]. slob dpon] CDEF, slob | dbon A, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [940]. |] ABCDE, || F; [941]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [942]. du] BCDF, du *ins.* A, tu E; [943]. la ||] CF, la | ABE, la D; [944]. de] CDF, te AE, ste B; [945]. ni ||] ABDEF, ni C; [946]. zhing] ABCDE, zhing | F; [947]. pa] ABCDF, ba E; [948]. yas su] ACDEF, yas (*skung yig*) B; [949]. par] CF, par | ABDE; [950]. gcig] ACDEF, cig B; [951]. zer] ABCDE, zer | F; [952]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [953]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [954]. rin po che] ACDEF, rinoe (*skung yig*) B; [955]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [956]. rin po che] ACEF, rin po cher D, rinoe (*skung yig*) B; [957]. zhing] ABCDE, zhing | F; [958]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [959]. nas |] ABDE, nas CF; [960]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [961]. re | ra] AE, re | BF, re C, re | ri BD; [962]. mchis] ACF, mchis | BDE; [963]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [964]. nas |] ABDE, nas CF; [965]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [966]. te |] ABDE, te CF; [967]. zer |] A, zer ro | B, zer ro || CDEF; [968]. bzhugs su] CDEF, bzhugsu (*skung yig*) Ab; [969]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [970]. gcig] ACDEF, cig B; [971]. gcig] ACEF, cig BD; [972]. ba] CF, pa ABDE; [973]. bas |] ABDE, bas CF; [974]. nga'i] ABDE, nga yi CF; [975]. de] CDF, te AE, ste B; [976]. la |] ABCDE, la F; [977]. la |] F, la ABCDE; [978]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [979]. 'dug |] ABCEF, 'dug D; [980]. nas |] ABDE, nas CF; [981]. |] ABCDE, || F; [982]. kyis] CF, gyis A, kyi BDE; [983]. ste] ABCD, te EF; [984]. nyi shu] ACDEF, nyiu (*skung yig*) B; [985]. kas] CDF, gas ABE; [986]. bas] BCDEF, pas A; [987]. thams cad] ACDE, thamd (*skung yig*) BF; [988]. 'ub] ABCDE, 'ub | F; [989]. te |] ABDE, te CF; [990]. gcig] AEF, zhig C, cig BD; [991]. byung |] CDF, byung ABE; [992]. las |] ABDE, las CF; [993]. gcig] ACEF, zhig D, cig B; [994]. te] ABDE, ste CF; [995]. che'o] ABCDE, che'o || F; [996]. ||] ACDEF, | B; [997]. ba] CEF, pa ABD; [998]. |] ABCDE, || F; [999]. |] ABCDE, || F; [1000]. pas |] ABDE, pas CF; [1001]. sri 'am] ABD, sri'am CDF; [1002]. ni] C, ni | ABDEF; [1003]. pas |] ABDE, pas CF; [1004]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [1005]. gcig] ACF, zhig DE, cig B; [1006]. ||] F, | ABCDE; [1007]. gcig] ACF, zhig E, cig BD; [1008]. gcig] ACF, zhig E, cig B; [1009]. gcig] ACDEF, cig B; [1010]. gcig] ACDEF, cig B; [1011]. do ||] ACEF, de | BD; [1012]. pas |] ABDE, pas CF; [1013]. zer ro ||] BDE, zero || (*skung yig*) A, zer || F, zer | C; [1014]. gcig] ACF, zhig DE, cig B; [1015]. ni |] C, ni ABDEF; [1016]. de |] CF, do | B, do || ADE; [1017]. bya 'am] ABD, bya'am CEF; [1018]. pas |] ABCDE, pas F; [1019]. la |] CF, la ABD; [1020]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung*

Endnote

yig) B; [1021]. ye shes] ACDEF, yais (*skung yig*) B; [1022]. gcig] ACF, zhig E, cig BD; [1023].]] ABCDE, || F; [1024].]] ABCD, || F; [1025]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [1026]. te] ADE, ste BCF; [1027]. ste] BCDE, te A, zhing F; [1028].]] ACDEF, | B; [1029].]] ACDEF, | B; [1030]. yongsu] CDEF, yongsu (*skung yig*) AB; [1031].]] ACDF, | B; [1032]. sems can] ACDEF, semn (*skung yig*) B; [1033]. thams cad] ACDE, thamd (*skung yig*) BF; [1034].]] ABCDE, || F; [1035].]] ACDEF, | B; [1036].]] ABCDE, || F; [1037]. byas] ABDE, byas te CF; [1038].]] ABCDE, || F; [1039]. ga] ABDEF, ka C; [1040]. khyi] ABCDE, khyi | F; [1041]. bsgral] ABDE, bsgral te CF; [1042]. btul] ABCDE, brtul F; [1043].]] CDEF, || || A, | B; [1044]. las]] ABCDE, las F; [1045]. btab ste] ACDE, btab pa ste F, btab te B; [1046]. gcig] ACF, cig B, zhig DE; [1047]. byas te] CF, byas ABDE; [1048]. ba] CEF, pa ABD; [1049]. gi gnyen] ACDEF, ginyen (*skung yig*) B; [1050]. btul lo] CD, btulo (*skung yig*) AB, brtul lo F; [1051]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [1052]. dang]] ABDEF, dang C; [1053]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [1054]. zer ro]] ADE, zer ro | B, zer | CF; [1055]. las]] ABDEF, las C; [1056]. mi] ABCDE, ins. F; [1057]. nas]] ABDE, nas CF; [1058]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [1059]. gyi gzhon nu] CF, gizhon (*skung yig*) A, gzhon BDE; [1060]. ba] CDEF, pa AB; [1061]. kyang]] ABDE, kyang CF; [1062]. las]] CF, las ABDE; [1063]. ba'i] CEF, pa'i ABD; [1064]. par] ABCDE, par | F; [1065].]] ACDE, | BF; [1066]. ye shes] ACDEF, yais (*skung yig*) B; [1067]. phyug]] ABCEF, phyug D; [1068]. rdo rje] ACDEF, rdoe (*skung yig*) B; [1069]. rdo rje] ACDEF, rdoe (*skung yig*) B; [1070]. dang]] ABCDE, dang F; [1071]. bar] CEF, par ABD; [1072].]] ABCDE, || F; [1073]. ye shes] ACDEF, yais (*skung yig*) B; [1074]. ba] ACF, pa BDE; [1075]. dang]] CF, dang ABDE; [1076].]] ACDEF, | B; [1077]. na]] ABCDE, na F; [1078]. de] ACDF, ste B, te E; [1079]. nas]] ABCDE, nas F; [1080]. dang]] CF, dang ABDE; [1081]. sras blo gros] ACF, blo gros D, blaus (*skung yig*) B, blo mes E; [1082]. te]] A, te BCDEF; [1083].]] ACF, | B; [1084]. de] BCDEF, te A; [1085]. rdo rje seng ges] ACDEF, rdoe senges (*skung yig*) F; [1086].]] CDEF, || || A, | B; [1087]. ba] CDEF, pa AB; [1088]. te] ABCDE, ste F; [1089]. dang]] ABDE, dang CF; [1090]. de] CF, te A, nas BDE; [1091]. thams cad] ACDE, thamd (*skung yig*) BF; [1092]. bas] CF, pas ABD, par E; [1093]. rdo rje] ACDEF, rdoe (*skung yig*) B; [1094]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [1095]. thams cad] ACDE, thamd (*skung yig*) BF; [1096].]] ABCDE, || F; [1097]. ting nge] ACDEF, tinge (*skung yig*) B; [1098]. sgrol] ACF, bsgral BDE; [1099]. pas]] ABDEF, pas C; [1100]. pa'i] ABCDF, ba'i E; [1101]. 'ongs] A, 'ong BCDEF; [1102]. zhing] ABCDE, zhing | F; [1103]. bas] CDF, pas ABE; [1104].]] ABCDE, || F; [1105]. rdo rje] ACDEF, rdoe (*skung yig*) B; [1106]. de] CDF, te AE, ste B; [1107]. khyad par] ACDEF, khyadr (*skung yig*) B; [1108]. skabs su] ACDF, skabsu (*skung yig*) B, skabs E; [1109]. dkyil 'khor] ACDEF, dkyior (*skung yig*) B; [1110]. gyi] ACDF, gyis BE; [1111]. gyi] ABDEF, kyi C; [1112]. 'gros] A, 'bros C, bro F, 'gro BE, 'bro D; [1113]. nam mkha'i] CDF, namkha' (*skung yig*) AB; [1114]. rdo rje] ACDEF, rdoe (*skung yig*) B; [1115]. khro bo] BCDE, khrau (*skung yig*) A; [1116]. ste]] ACDE, ste F, te | B; [1117]. dang]] ACF, dang

BDE; [1118]. || ACDEF, | B; [1119]. || ACDEF, | B; [1120]. Ita bu'i ACDEF, Itu'i (*skung yig*) B; [1121]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [1122]. || ACDEF, | B; [1123]. ba] CEF, pa ABD; [1124]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [1125]. te || CF, te ABDE; [1126]. zhing] ABCDE, zhing | F; [1127]. pas || ABCDE, pas F; [1128]. ste] BCDEF, te A; [1129]. nags tshal sngar las] ACDE, nags tshal sngar las | F, sngar las B; [1130]. sems can] ACF, semn (*skung yig*) B; [1131]. ba] BCDEF, pa A; [1132]. || ABCDE, || F; [1133]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [1134]. phug || ABCEF, phug D; [1135]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [1136]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [1137]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [1138]. pas || ABDE, pas CF; [1139]. nas] ABCDE, nas | F; [1140]. || ACDE, || BF; [1141]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [1142]. de] CF, te AE, ste B; [1143]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [1144]. de] BCDEF, te A; [1145]. de] CDF, te AE, ste B; [1146]. te || ACDE, te F, ste | B; [1147]. || ACDEF, | B; [1148]. te] ACDE, ste B; [1149]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [1150]. nyil lo] BCDEF, nyilo (*skung yig*) A; [1151]. || ABCDE, || F; [1152]. zhag gsum] ACF, zhagsum (*skung yig*) B; [1153]. su || ABDE, su CF; [1154]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [1155]. thams cad] ACDE, thams cad | F, thamd (*skung yig*) B; [1156]. || ACDE, | BF; [1157]. bar] BCDEF, par A; [1158]. ba'i] BCDE, pa'i AF; [1159]. || ACDEF, | B; [1160]. || ACDEF, | B; [1161]. bas] ABCEF, pas D; [1162]. gcig] ACF, zhig DE, cig B; [1163]. gcig] ACF, cig B, zhig DE; [1164]. || ABCDE, || F; [1165]. thams cad] ACDEF, thamd (*skung yig*) B; [1166]. thams cad] ACDEF, thamd (*skung yig*) B; [1167]. sangs rgyas] ACDE, sangyas (*skung yig*) BF; [1168]. byas so ||] CDEF, byaso (*skung yig*) || A, byas so | B; [1169]. mkhar gong] D, mkhas gong ABE, mkhas gang CF; [1170]. ces] CDF, zhes ABE; [1171]. || BDE, || ACF; [1172]. || ACDEF, | B; [1173]. ba] BCDEF, pa A; [1174]. bza'] ACDF, gza' BE; [1175]. yong ba] CD, yong pa A, yongs pa BEF; [1176]. ba] CDEF, pa AB; [1177]. rdzur] C, brdzur DE, brngur AB, zur F; [1178]. || AC, || F; [1179]. shog gsungs] ACDEF, shogsungs (*skung yig*); [1180]. pa] BCDEF, pa | A; [1181]. te] ABCDE, ste F; [1182]. dang] ABDE, dang | CF; [1183]. bcu bzhi] ACDEF, bcui (*skung yig*) B; [1184]. || ACDEF, | B; [1185]. || ACDEF, | B; [1186]. || ABCDE, || F; [1187]. mkha' 'gro'i] CDEF, mkha'gro'i (*skung yig*) AB; [1188]. ba] BCDF, pa A; [1189]. bas ||] ACF, bas BD; [1190]. la ||] ABDE, la CF; [1191]. || ACDEF, | B; [1192]. || ACDEF, | B; [1193]. seng ge] ADEF, sengge C, senge (*skung yig*) B; [1194]. phug] D, phug ABCEF; [1195]. rdo rje] ACDEF, rdor (*skung yig*) B; [1196]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [1197]. bshig ||] ABCEF, bshig D; [1198]. || ABCDE, || F; [1199]. rdo rje] ACDEF, rdor (*skung yig*) B; [1200]. gzigs ||] CD, gzigs || F, gzigs ABE; [1201]. || ACDEF, | B; [1202]. || BCDEF, || A; [1203]. || ABCDE, || F; [1204]. || ABCDE, || F; [1205]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [1206]. la ngang ngam] BCDEF, langam (*skung yig*) A; [1207]. nas ||] ABDE, nas CF; [1208]. rdo rje] ACDEF, rdor (*skung yig*) B; [1209]. gcig] ACF, zhig DE, cig B; [1210]. || AB, || CDEF; [1211]. te ||] CF, te ABDE; [1212]. || ABCD, || F; [1213]. || ABCD, || F; [1214]. gcig] ABDEF, cig C; [1215]. || ABCDE, || F; [1216]. ba] CDEF, pa AB; [1217]. slob dpon] ACDEF,

slaun (*skung yig*) B; [1218]. kyī [] ABCEF, kyī D; [1219]. te [] ABDE, no || CF; [1220]. ||] ACDEF, | B;
 [1221]. nam mkha'] CDFE, namkha' (*skung yig*) AB; [1222]. dang [] CF, dang ABDE; [1223]. ba] ABCF, pa
 DE; [1224]. ba] CF, pa ABDE; [1225]. byang chub rdo rje] ACF, rdo rje DE, rdoe (*skung yig*) B; [1226].
 rol] ABCDE, rol | F; [1227]. rol [] ABDE, rol CF; [1228]. [] ABCE, || F; [1229]. [] ABCDE, || F; [1230].
 te] ACDEF, ste B; [1231]. rdo rje] ACDEF, rdoe (*skung yig*) B; [1232]. zhag gsum] ACDF, gzhangsum (*skung*
yig) B; [1233]. ste] BCDEF, te A; [1234]. ||] ACDEF, | B; [1235]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B;
 [1236]. dang [] C, dang ABDE, dang || F; [1237]. dang [] C, dang ABDEF; [1238]. [] ABCDE, || F; [1239].
 gcig] ABDEF, cig C; [1240]. dang] ABCDE, dang | F; [1241]. ||] CDEF, | AB; [1242]. yin no ||] ACEF,
 yino | B; [1243]. rdo rje] ACDEF, rdoe (*skung yig*) B; [1244]. [] ABCDE, || F; [1245]. ||] ACDEF, | B;
 [1246]. thams cad] ACDEF, thamd (*skung yig*) B; [1247]. pas [] ABDE, pas CF; [1248]. shig] ABCE, shig
 D, || F; [1249]. [] ABCDE, || F; [1250]. [] ABCDE, || F; [1251]. thams cad] ACDE, thamd (*skung yig*) BF;
 [1252]. [] ABCDE, || F; [1253]. ste] A, te | C, te BDEF; [1254]. bas [] ABDE, bas CF; [1255]. [] ABCDE, ||
 F; [1256]. yang [] C, yang ABDEF; [1257]. ||] ACDEF, | B; [1258]. par] BCDEF, bar A; [1259]. drug []
 ABCEF, drug D; [1260]. dang [] ABDE, dang CF; [1261]. nam] ACF, nam | BDE; [1262]. pas [] ABDEF,
 pas C; [1263]. [] ABCDE, || F; [1264]. phog [] ABF, phog DE, phob | C; [1265]. [] ABCDE, || F; [1266].
 [] ABCDE, || F; [1267]. nas [] AC, nas BDE, nas || F; [1268]. tu] CDF, du ABE; [1269]. ||] ACDEF, | B;
 [1270]. [] ABCDE, || F; [1271]. [] ABCDE, || F; [1272]. rdo rje'i] ACDEF, rdoe'i (*skung yig*) B; [1273]. pa]
 ABCDF, pa E; [1274]. zug [] ABCEF, zug D; [1275]. pas] A, bas BCDE, pos F; [1276]. zhing [] CF, zhing
 AD, cing BE; [1277]. ba] CDEF, pa AB; [1278]. ||] CDEF, || | A, | B; [1279]. yab yum] ACDEF, yums
 (*skung yig*) B; [1280]. la [] ABCDE, la F; [1281]. nas [] ABDE, nas CF; [1282]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun
 (*skung yig*) B; [1283]. [] ABCDE, || F; [1284]. gcig] ACF, zhig DE, cig BC; [1285]. nas [] ABDE, nas CF;
 [1286]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [1287]. sbyin no] BCDEF, sbyino (*skung yig*) A; [1288].
 [] ABCE, || F; [1289]. zhig] CDEF, cig AB; [1290]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [1291]. ste []
 ABDE, ste CF; [1292]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [1293]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung*
yig) B; [1294]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [1295]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B;
 [1296]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [1297]. re [] AF, re BCDE; [1298]. he] ABCDE, he | F;
 [1299]. pas [] ABDE, pas CF; [1300]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [1301]. gcig] AF, zhig DE,
 cig BC; [1302]. nas [] ABCEF, nas D; [1303]. par] ABCDF, bar E; [1304]. bskur ro ||] CDEF, bskur ro |
 B, bskuro (*skung yig*) || A; [1305]. 'dug [] ABCEF, 'dug D; [1306]. [] ABCDE, || F; [1307]. te] ABDEF,
 ste C; [1308]. [] ABCD, || EF; [1309]. slob dpon] ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [1310]. nas [] ABCEF, nas
 D; [1311]. gcig] A, cig BCF, zhig DE; [1312]. [] ABCDE, || F; [1313]. [] ABCDE, || F; [1314]. slob dpon]
 ACDEF, slaun (*skung yig*) B; [1315]. khyad par] ACDEF, khyedr (*skung yig*) B; [1316]. gcig] ACF, cig BDE;
 [1317]. sems can] ACEF, semn (*skung yig*) B; [1318]. nas [] ABCEF, nas D; [1319]. gcig] AF, zhig CD, cig

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(*skung yig*) B, nam mkha' la CF; [1726]. dang] ABDE, dang CF; [1727]. phyogs su] CDEF, phyogsu (*skung yig*) AB; [1728]. zer ro] BCDEF, zero (*skung yig*) B; [1729]. ||] ACDE, | B; [1730]. de] ACDF, ste B, te E; [1731]. thams cad] ACDE, thamd (*skung yig*) BF; [1732]. zhigh] CE, gcig AF, cig BD; [1733].] BCDEF, || A; [1734]. pas] CF, pas ABDE; [1735]. rdo rje] ACDEF, rdoe (*skung yig*) B; [1736]. tshul] ABCDE, tshul | F; [1737]. la] ABCDE, la | F; [1738]. dpal ldan] BCDEF, dpaldan (*skung yig*) A; [1739]. rdo rje] ACDEF, rdoe (*skung yig*) B; [1740]. mkha' 'gro'i] ACDEF, mkhro'i (*skung yig*) B; [1741]. te] ABD, te C; [1742]. || ||] A, || EF, | BCD; [1743]. ||] ACDF, | BE; [1744]. ||] ACDEF, | B; [1745]. ||] ACDEF, | B; [1746]. blo gros] ACDEF, blaus (*skung yig*) B; [1747]. ||] ACDEF, | B; [1748]. ||] ACDEF, | B; [1749]. pa] BCDEF, ba A; [1750]. ||] ACDEF, | B; [1751]. ||] ACDEF, | B; [1752]. rin po] BCDEF, rino (*skung yig*) A; [1753]. thams cad] ACDE, thamd (*skung yig*) BF; [1754]. sems can] ACDEF, semn (*skung yig*) B; [1755]. pa] BCDEF, ba A; [1756]. sangs rgyas] ACDE, sangyas (*skung yig*) BF; [1757]. te] ACDEF, ste B; [1758]. skal ldan] ACDEF, dkaldan (*skung yig*) B; [1759]. khyad par] ACDEF, khyadr (*skung yig*) B; [1760]. rdo rje] ACDEF, rdoe (*skung yig*) B; [1761]. pa'i] BCDEF, ba'i A; [1762]. snod du] BCDEF, snodu (*skung yig*) A; [1763]. ba'i] CDEF, pa'i AB; [1764]. rdo rje] ACDEF, rdoe (*skung yig*) B; [1765]. kun nas] BCDEF, kunas (*skung yig*) A; [1766]. par] ABEF, bar CD; [1767]. sangs rgyas] CDE, sangyas (*skung yig*) ABF; [1768]. rdo rje] ACDEF, rdoe (*skung yig*) B; [1769]. chos kyi] BCDEF, chosyi (*skung yig*) A; [1770]. nam mkhar] ACDEF, namkhar (*skung yig*) B; [1771]. pa zhes] CDEF, pa ces B, ba ces A; [1772]. bas] ABCDE, bas | F; [1773]. rnam] BCDEF, rnam||s A; [1774]. sum] BCDEF, suṃ A; [1775]. pa'i] BCDEF, ba'i A;

Part III

Appendices

Appendix I

The Critical Edition of Citations in the *Phur pa lo rgyus*

This appendix provides two critical editions of the citations in the *Phur pa lo rgyus*, which are cited from the Tibetan canon. The first is from the *gSang ba grub pa* included in the *bsTan 'gyur*, for which I use the sDe-dge and the Peking versions. The second is said by Sog-bzog-pa being cited from the *'Jam dpal sgyu 'phrul drwa ba* but actually from the *'Jam dpal brjod pa* (*Mañjuśrīnāmasaṅgīti*) that is included in the *bKa' 'gyur*, for which I use the sTog and the Peking versions. The sigla in my critical edition of the *Phur pa lo rgyus* are employed here. The variants that do not effect the understanding of the text, such as abbreviations, are not recorded.

I A Citation from the *gSang ba grub pa*

Sigla in Apparatus:

D_g: sDe-dge (D 2217), *gSang ba grub pa*, vol. *wi*, fol. 5b.5–6.

P_k: Peking (P 3061), *gSang ba grub pa*, vol. *mi*, fol. 6a.7–8.

slob dpon phal che¹ 'di skad brjod² ||
dpal ldan 'dus par³ mdangs chen⁴ gyi⁵ ||

¹ phal che] D_g, phal cher P_k, kha cig ABCDEF ² brjod] D_g, phal cher P_k, ABCDEF ³ par] D_g, pa P_kABCDEF

⁴ chen] D_gP_k, can ABCDEF ⁵ gyi] D_gP_kD, kyis ABCEF

rgyud kyi sdud¹ par byed pa po ||
dpa' bo 'jig rten dbang phyug zer ||
bla ma'i² zhabs kyi bka' drin gyis ||
dpal ldan 'dus pa'i sdud³ pa po ||
gzhan dag yod pa ma yin zhes ||
bdag⁴ nyid 'ba's' zhig⁶ smra⁷ bar byed ||
rgyud mdzad pa ni thugs rje che⁸ ||

¹ sdud] D_gP_kACDF, bsdud BE ² ma'i] D_gABCDEF, ma P_k ³ sdud] D_gP_kACDF, bsdud BE ⁴ bdag] D_gABCEF, *obs.* P_k ⁵ 'ba'] D_gABCDEF, *obs.* P_k ⁶ zhig] P_kABCDEF, zhag D_g ⁷ smra] D_gABCDEF, *obs.* P_k ⁸ rje che] D_gP_k, rdo rje ABCDEF

2 A Citation from the Tibetan Translation of the *Mañjuśrīnā-
masaṅgī*

Sigla in Apparatus:

T: sTog, *Jam dpal brjod pa*, vol. 94, p. 15.3–4.

P: Peking (P 0002), *Jam dpal brjod pa*, vol. ka, fols. 6b.8–7a.1.

dpal ldan sangs rgyas pad ma skyes ||
kun mkhyen ye shes mdzod 'dzin pa ||
rgyal po sgyu 'phrul sna tshogs 'chang ||
che ba sangs rgyas rig¹ pa² 'chang ||

¹ rig] PTC, rigs ABDEF ² pa] PT, sngags ABCDEF

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Summary of Results

This project provides a comprehensive and systematic study regarding the origination, transmission, and reception of the rDo-rje-phur-pa cycle of Tantric Buddhism in Tibet. Although there are a good many scholarships on and about rDo-rje-phur-pa, an inquiry into its transmission history is still a desideratum. The major contribution of this study is a critical edition and an annotated translation of Sog-bzlog-pa Blo-gros-rgyal-mtshan's *Phur pa lo rgyus*, the most extensive rDo-rje-phur-pa history informative with regard to its different transmissions.

For a more comprehensive picture of the rDo-rje-phur-pa transmission in Tibet, this study traces, documents, and describes a variety of rDo-rje-phur-pa traditions found in different schools, such as the rNying-ma, Sa-skya, bKa'-brgyud, dGe-lugs, and some other minor schools. The rDo-rje-phur-pa cycle gave rise to many sub-traditions in the rNying-ma school. As such, I have specifically mapped out each sub-tradition of the rDo-rje-phur-pa cycle, mostly through the bKa'-ma and gTer-ma transmissions, in terms of its origin, lineage, and textual cycle. Moreover, this study tackles the controversy over the authenticity of the rDo-rje-phur-pa scripture by presenting different attitudes and argumentations of Tibetan scholars on this matter. Besides, a chapter is devoted to the rDo-rje-phur-pa soteriology in reference to Mi-pham-rgya-mtsho's exegesis. Because of the integral role of scripture in the rDo-rje-phur-pa transmission, this study also traces the Tibetan conceptualizing processes of the Phur-pa scriptures by analyzing the related descriptive strategy and classifying scheme. In the end, this study reveals that certain transmission narratives of the rDo-rje-phur-pa cycle have been shared by different textual traditions. This leaves scholars profound implications about the literary process whereby mythical and historical units were generated, selected, and appropriated into the rDo-rje-phur-pa narrative paradigm.