

THÈSE DE DOCTORAT

de l'Université de recherche Paris Sciences et Lettres
PSL Research University

Préparée à l'École Pratique des Hautes Études

Biographies of the First Karma-pa Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa,
Critical Edition and Translation of two biographical works, and an
Overview of the “Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa Collection”

École doctorale de l'EPHE – ED 472

Spécialité : *Religions et systèmes de pensée (RSP)*

“Religions and Thought Systems”

Soutenue par :

Peter H. KERSTEN

le 5 décembre 2018

Dirigée par :

Matthew KAPSTEIN

COMPOSITION DU JURY :

M. Matthew KAPSTEIN
PSL - École Pratique des Hautes Études
Directeur de thèse

M. Vincent ELTSCHINGER (Président du Jury)
PSL - École Pratique des Hautes Études
Examineur

Mme Fabienne JAGOU
École française d'Extrême-Orient
Examineur

M. Kaus-Dieter MATHES
University of Vienna
Rapporteur

Mme Marta SERNESI
Oriental Institute Oxford
Examineur

M. Jan-Ulrich SOBISCH
CERES / Ruhr-Universität Bochum
Rapporteur



École Pratique
des Hautes Études



Dedicated to the masters of the Bka'-bgyud lineage,
past and present



Figure 1 Statue of Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa¹

¹ Nick Douglas and Meryl White, *Karmapa: The Black Hat Lama of Tibet* (London: Luzac, 1976), 32: "This statue is made of mixed red, yellow and white precious metal, preserves the funerary relics of Dusum Khyenpa and is believed to be a good likeness of him."

Contents

Acknowledgements	1
Introduction	3
Chapter 1 Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa – the First Karma-pa of the Karma Bka’-brgyud lineage 8	
1.1 An outline of research on Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa.....	8
1.2 Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa and the Bka’-brgyud lineage – an overview	12
1.2.1 The Bka’- brgyud lineage.....	12
1.2.2 The Karma Kaṃ-tshang lineage.....	16
1.3 Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa – aspects of his life.....	24
1.3.1 A sketch of Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa’s life	24
1.3.2 Dharma-teacher and peacemaker	29
1.3.3 Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa’s period of study and Buddhist doctrines encountered..	32
1.3.4 Teachers that guided him	49
1.3.5 Passing on the training received.....	54
1.3.6 Locations of places important in Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa’s life	58
1.3.7 Some social and economic aspects of the master’s life	63
Chapter 2 Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa’s main biography and his “autobiographical notes”.....	69
2.1 Brief historical overview of the main biographical material on Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa	69
2.2 <i>Gser gling</i> and <i>Zhus lan</i> as biographical sources	73
2.2.1 Tibetan terms for biographical writings and their use in the Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa Collection	74
2.2.2 Other Bka’-brgyud biographies and the <i>Gser gling</i>	78
2.2.3 The importance of the two works for the development of the Bka’-brgyud lineage	80
2.2.4 Notes on the translation of the title <i>Gser gling</i> , the person of the author, and his approach to the work	81
2.2.5 The name Śrī Dharmakīrti.....	84
2.3 Sources of the <i>Gser gling</i> and <i>Zhus lan 2</i>	85
2.4 Methodology I – Critical edition	88
2.5 Methodology II – Translation.....	92
Chapter 3 Critical Edition and Translation of the <i>Gser gling</i> and <i>Zhus lan 2</i>	95
3.1 Critical Edition of the <i>Gser gling</i>	95

3.2	Translation of the <i>Gser gling</i> , “A Golden World – the Succession of Precious Lifetimes of Dharma-master [Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa] in Eighteen Chapters”	132
3.3	Critical Edition of the <i>Zhus lan 2</i>	177
3.4	Translation of <i>Zhus lan 2</i> , “An Exchange [between Sgam-po-pa and] Düsum Khyenpa”	189
Chapter 4	The “Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa Collection”	203
4.1	Content, editions, origin, and authorship of the Collection.....	204
4.2	A table of the “Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa Collection”	215
4.3	A detailed overview of the “Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa Collection”.....	219
	Concluding Summary.....	293
Appendix I	Manuscript (<i>dbu med</i>) facsimiles of the first pages of the <i>Gser gling</i> (Selected Writings Volume I) and <i>Zhus lan 2</i> (Volume II).....	297
Appendix II	Detailed list of Places mentioned in the <i>Gser gling</i> and <i>Zhus lan 2</i> and their locations	299
Appendix III	Detailed list of Teachers of Düsum Khyenpa from early written records	304
Appendix IV	Detailed list of Students of Düsum Khyenpa from early written records	308
	List of Abbreviations and Signs	315
	Bibliography	317
	Résumé en français.....	330

Acknowledgements

This dissertation was written to complete the requirements of the École Pratiques des Hautes Études (EPHE) PhD Program, leading to the “PSL (*Paris Sciences et Lettres – Research University Paris*) PhD prepared at the EPHE.” The PhD Program was offered by the EPHE Doctoral School (*école doctorale*) which is a member of the College of PSL Doctoral Schools. The dissertation was written within the PhD Program specialization “Religions and Thought Systems” (*RSP – Religions et systèmes de pensée*) during the years 2016/17 and 2017/18. It builds on and expands my research on the twelfth-century Buddhist master Düsum Khyenpa (Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa), completed as part of the EPHE Diplôme (MA 2 equivalent), and also includes research and translation work I carried out in the years 2012-2014.

I want to thank Professor Matthew Kapstein for supervising this project, for his useful substantive remarks, comments and suggestions, and for encouraging me to continue my studies of Düsum Khyenpa and his Collection.

I also thank Ulrich Timme Kragh of the Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznan, Poland, for his advice to engage with the Düsum Khyenpa Collection in a scholarly fashion.

Furthermore, I am indebted to the members of the committee (jury) who at the time of the defence (*soutenance*) of my dissertation on the 5th of December 2018 and afterwards offered many remarks and suggestions how to improve my work. For this reason I list them by name: Matthew Kapstein, EPHE / PSL Research University, Vincent Eltschinger, EPHE / PSL Research University, Klaus-Dieter Mathes, Vienna University, Marta Sernesi, Oriental Institute of Oxford University, Jan-Ulrich Sobisch, Center for Religious Studies (CERES) Ruhr-University Bochum, and Fabienne Jagou, École française d’Extrême-Orient.

I am grateful also for the guidance received in earlier years from Peter Verhagen and Henk Blezer, both of Leiden University, The Netherlands, on the path of mastering the classical Tibetan language, their many seminars on the classical Tibetan language, Buddhism and Indian philosophy, and for providing personal advice.

Furthermore, I am indebted to Arlo Griffiths, formerly of the Universiteit Leiden, now of the École française d’Extrême-Orient, for his thorough courses on the Sanskrit language, and to Jonathan Silk of the Universiteit Leiden, for his useful seminars on the Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit *Kāśyapa-parivarta*.

Early on in this path I enjoyed courses in the Sanskrit language by Tilmann Vetter of the Leiden University, who unfortunately passed away in 2012 and introductory courses in Indian philosophy and Buddhism by Johannes Bronkhorst, also at the Leiden Universiteit at that time.

Finally, I want to thank my sister Astrid Kersten and her husband M.H. Sidky who found time to review my English language, and my son Maurits for his computer technical assistance.

Cécile Ducher took charge of the translation of a summary of the content of the dissertation into French, the “Résumé en français,” which was much appreciated.

Zoetermeer, The Netherlands, March 2019.

Introduction

This dissertation contributes to an area of knowledge that to date has received limited scholarly attention, namely the Karma Kaṃ-tshang lineage of Buddhism. Specifically, it adds new insights into the life and work of its founder, the renowned twelfth-century Buddhist master Düsum Khyenpa¹. The research presented in this dissertation suggests that his main goal was to embody the Mahāyāna bodhisattva ideal in Buddhism, i.e. making progress in spiritual development in order to guide sentient beings in general and one's students in particular. Düsum Khyenpa's biography, the *Gser gling* - "A Golden World" - offers a singular record of his own journey on the bodhisattva path. The biography dates from the early thirteenth century and the translation by this author is the first scholarly translation of this important work.

The *Gser gling* itself is a unique account of how Düsum Khyenpa manifests the bodhisattva ideal, through ten past lifetimes, through his present life, and through three future lifetimes. We learn that on this path of rebirths, different circumstances are sought that best fit the journey of development, be it man or woman, high or low social class, scholar or *yogin*, this world or another. By relating details of how he himself progressed on this path, the *Gser gling* seems to say, "You can do this also." The *Gser gling* provides an unprecedented combination of a biography and teachings on the bodhisattva path. Also, importantly, most of the record is said to consist of words of the master himself.

It is important to recognize that the content of the content of the *Gser gling* clearly reflects the distinctive approach of his teacher Sgam-po-pa, an approach which may have been applied earlier in India. In addition to the 'common' Mahāyāna teachings – the Indian Mahāyāna *Sūtras* and *Śāstras* – Sgam-po-pa also offered 'uncommon' Mahāyāna in the form of tantric methods to reach the final goal of *mahāmudrā*: full and direct Awakening.

The importance of the relationship between Düsum Khyenpa and the Buddhist master Sgam-po-pa is shown in *Zhus lan 2*, a work that is also translated and discussed in this dissertation.

Zhus lan 2 provides an inspiring record of the spiritual practice learning relationship between Düsum Khyenpa as a student and Sgam-po-pa. Consisting of "autobiographical notes" *Zhus lan 2* offers an "Exchange between Sgam-po-pa and Düsum Khyenpa." This dissertation provides the first scholarly translation of this work.

In addition to the *Gser gling* and *Zhus lan 2*, the dissertation also adds to our knowledge of a larger, fifteenth-century, untitled group of works, which I called the "Düsum

¹ In this dissertation all personal, proper and place names, are rendered in Wylie transcription. An exception is made for the name Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa, which from here throughout the thesis will be written in phonetics, as Düsum Khyenpa, except for titles of works, Table of Contents, titles of Chapters, and List of Abbreviations and Signs.

Khyenpa Collection.” The dissertation explores this collection of forty-four titles of very diverse scriptures that all are related to Düsüm Khyenpa. Some of these titles contain more works and when we include these, the full Collection sums up to sixty-one works. About eighty percent of the Collection consists of treatises on different spiritual practices. One work may have many sections, and because of that multiple genres of Tibetan literature can be identified in one and the same work.

The dissertation as a whole significantly adds to and expands on what I presented earlier on the subject in my Diplôme thesis, EPHE, Paris, 2016, “The Grey-haired *siddha* or Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa, The First Karma-pa, his Life, Editions of Works, Critical Text Edition and Translation of his *Tshogs chos*, “Teachings to an Assembly.” The *Tshogs chos* is work no. 6 in the Collection and offers five dharma-teachings of the master to his students or to the general public. The “lectures” come without a title and were provisionally entitled by me as: “Directions for meditators,” “Four dharmas important for practice,” “Negative forces obstructing the way,” “Four important qualities,” and “Six requisites to attain Buddhahood.”

Before reviewing the content of the dissertation, it is useful to provide a short summary of the life and importance of Düsüm Khyenpa. The Buddhist master Düsüm Khyenpa lived in twelfth-century Tibet and in his time was renowned as Grub-thob Dbu-se, the “Grey-haired *siddha*.” He was recognized to be exceptional in a number of fields such as Buddhist learning, Buddhist practice, and the teaching of Buddhism, and was considered to be especially devoted to the development of his students. The main account of his life (*rnam thar*) describes him as exemplary with regard to the Buddhist bodhisattva path, a path on which one proceeds over multiple lifetimes to benefit the development of as many beings as possible.

For those unfamiliar with the approach taught by Düsüm Khyenpa and others in this tradition, it is important to mention that they not only accept the idea of reincarnation over multiple lifetimes, they also recognize multiple emanations. Tradition holds that in order to increase one’s capabilities to benefit others, one can, in due time, generate several simultaneous emanations of one’s self, thus working at different places at the same time. The tradition asserts that progress on the Mahāyāna path will lead to multiple emanations, all working to develop other sentient beings. Regardless of how strange this may seem nowadays, this phenomenon is assumed to be real and essential in the works studied here. Thus, Düsüm Khyenpa provides an account of his previous, present and future lives on the bodhisattva path, and that in his present life multiple emanations were active. We will learn more about this in the translation of his main biography, the *Gser gling*, “A Golden World.”

As noted earlier, Düsüm Khyenpa was known in his time as Grub-thob Dbu-se, the “Grey-haired *siddha*.” The Sanskrit word *siddha* denotes someone who has attained *siddhi*, special capabilities of spiritual perfection. Interestingly enough, the “Grey-haired *siddha*” would later be given a special epithet referring to just one of the capabilities attributed to him, namely the capability to “know the three times,” the past, the present and the future. Because of this he was later called the “Knower of the three times” (*dus gsum mkhyen pa*).

It is likely that the epithet in fact was given to him on the basis of the content of the *Gser gling*, the biography studied here, because its main content is a record or testimony of the master's knowledge of the past, present and future. In reality, however, the work is much more than that, in that it offers an inspiring example of engagement and progress on the bodhisattva path through many lifetimes. It is a document intended to inspire Buddhist practitioners, and to teach the bodhisattva path of Mahāyāna Buddhism.

During his lifetime Düsüm Khyenpa was known under several names, names we will encounter in this doctoral thesis. One of them was Grub-thob Dbu-se, mentioned already, but he had also other names. For example, in the Düsüm Khyenpa Collection he is referred to as Dpal Chos-kyi-grags-pa and its Sanskrit equivalent Śrī Dharmakīrti, which is his Buddhist ordination name. Further, he is called Rin-po-che, the “Most dear [teacher],” Gnas-nang-pa, the “Man from Gnas-nang,” Gnas-nang refers to Skam-po Gnas-nang² a place in East-Tibet where he lived from age fifty for nineteen years, Khams-pa Se-bo, the “Grey-one from Khams,” Mtshur-phu-ba, the “Man from Mtshur-phu (monastery),” and Grub-thob rnal-'byor, the “*Siddha yogin*”³. Sometimes he is also called Zhwa-nag-pa, the “one with the Black-Hat.”

In works on religious history (*chos' byung*), however, he is mainly referred to as Düsüm Khyenpa and this is the name used in the present study.

Many years after his passing, the Grey-haired *siddha*, Düsüm Khyenpa, also became known as the First-Karma-pa, the founder of a specific line of reincarnating teachers at the head of the Karma Bka'-brgyud lineage. For this reason, many Tibetan religious histories include a detailed account of his life.⁴

According to tradition, Karma-pa means “the one who performs buddha-actions.” The interpretation of “activity” is also supported by the Sanskrit word *karman*, which can mean, “act or action.”⁵ The Karma Bka'-brgyud in general also came to include other Buddhist teachers (and their reincarnation lineages), who were closely connected with the Karma-pas, and considered to be Karma-pa's spiritual ‘sons’.⁶

² Skam-po Gnas-nang, not to be confused with Gnas-nang located near Mtshur-phu, Central-Tibet.

³ The Sanskrit term *yogin* (Tibetan *rnal 'byor pa*) will be frequently used in this study. The -in suffix denotes “possessing,” comp. William Dwight Whitney, *Sanskrit Grammar* (Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, 1983), 438. A *yogin* is somebody who possesses or performs a certain spiritual practice (*yoga*). The nominative case of *yogin* is *yogī*, the word is sometimes applied in the English language as “yogi,” more on the term *yoga* in a later footnote.

⁴ Works on religious history, such as Tshal-pa Kun-dga' Rdo-rje, *Deb ther dmar po* (Beijing: Mi-rigs-dpe-skrun-khang, 1981); Ri-bo-che Dpon-tshang, *Lho rong chos 'byung 'byung thub bstan gsal byed* (Lhasa: Bod-ljongs-bod yig-dpe-mying dpe-skrun-khang, 1994); 'Gos-lo-tsā-ba Gzhon-nu-dpal, *Deb ther sngon po* (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1974); and Dpa'-bo-gtsug-lag-phreng-ba, *Mkhas pa'i dga' ston* (Beijing: Mi-rigs-dpe-skrun-khang, 2006).

⁵ MW, *karma* in compounds for the word *karman*; *karma-kara*, “doing work.”

⁶ David P. Jackson, *Patron and Painter, Situ Panchen and the Revival of the Encampment Style* (New York: Rubin Museum of Art, 2009), 253:

“Traditionally, the Black-hat Karmapas were considered to be the chief of six Karma Kagyü incarnate lamas, with whom they were closely linked over many centuries. Together these lamas were called “The Victor

Düsum Khyenpa lived from 1110-1193 C.E. and was born in Khams (East-Tibet, nowadays in Sichuan Province, China) in a cultural world that had come into existence after the implosion of the Tibetan empire. The empire itself lasted from the early seventh to the mid ninth century C.E. and at its height covered large parts of Central-Asia. During the 860s it disintegrated into separate areas that came to be administered by local nobility.⁷

Turning now to the content of the dissertation, it is organized into “pillars,” exploring three different avenues of research on the life and works of Düsum Khyenpa.

Chapter 1 and 2 focus on the first of the three pillars, namely the person of Düsum Khyenpa and the background of his biography, the *Gser gling*, “A Golden World,” and the “autobiographical notes,” the *Dus gsum mkhyen pa’i zhus lan 2*.

Chapter 1 offers an overview of previous research on Düsum Khyenpa, it is followed by a discussion of his place within the Bka’-brgyud lineage and the Karma Kaṃ-tshang lineage, and a discussion of various aspects of his life. Special attention is paid to the time he studied at Gsang-phu Ne’u-thog college, from the age of twenty to the age of thirty, and the Buddhist doctrines which he encountered in this time. The period of study is the basis on which he later received *mahāmudrā* pith-instructions from his main teacher *bla ma* Lha-rje, a.k.a. Sgam-po-pa. Another aspect is that some of the social and economic circumstances of his time led to the foundation of his main monastery Skam-po gnas-nang near an important trade route from and towards China. Further, his work as a dharma-teacher and peacemaker is discussed, followed by teachers and students of the master, and the locations that were important during his life.

Chapter 2 contains an historical overview of the main biographical material on Düsum Khyenpa. Next, the *Gser gling* and *Zhus lan 2* are discussed as biographical sources. The relevant Tibetan terms for biographical writings are presented and the *Gser gling* is compared with other existing Bka’-brgyud biographies. The chapter also touches on the importance of the *Gser gling* and *Zhus lan 2* for the development of the Karma Kaṃ-tshang lineage, on the translation of the title *Gser gling* as “A Golden World,” and on the person Rgang-lo, who is the author of the *Gser gling* and one of the master’s students.

The scriptural sources of the *Gser gling* and *Zhus lan 2* are also specified and two precursors of the *Gser gling* are discussed.

Chapter 2 also includes two sections on methodology, one on the methodology applied for the critical edition and the other for the translation of both biographical works.

(Karmapa) and His Sons, the Six” (*rgyal ba yab sras drug*). These six were: Karma-pa Zhwa-nag, Karma-pa Zhwa-dmar, Tai-Situ, Go-shri Rgyal-tshab, Dpal-ldan Dpa’-bo, Stag-sna Tre-ho.”

⁷ For an elaborate description of the rise and implosion of the Tibetan empire (ca. 600-870) covering at its height an extremely large part of Asia, see Kapstein, *The Tibetans* (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 51-83, also Map 2.

Also, Christopher I. Beckwith, *The Tibetan Empire in Central Asia* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987).

The cultural world which arose after the Tibetan empire is briefly described in 1.3.7, “Some social and economic aspects of the master’s life.”

Chapter 3 presents the second pillar, which is the actual critical edition and the translation of the two biographical works. Three editions of these works are incorporated. The manuscript (*dbu med*) edition is taken as the *mūla*, the “root-text,” to which are added variants found in two later (*dbu can*) editions. The critical edition forms the foundation for the translations of the *Gser gling* and *Zhus lan* which are offered. The translations substantially contribute to the best possible knowledge of this exceptional Buddhist master of the Karma Bka’-brgyud Buddhist tradition. Annotations have been added to the translations in order to address difficult points.

Chapter 4 presents the third pillar, namely the so-called “Düsum Khyenpa Collection.” This is a Collection of sixty-one works which includes the *Gser gling* and the *Dus gsum mkhyen pa’i zhus lan 2* mentioned above. The Collection, which probably found its final form in the fifteenth century, contains many additional interesting works, all of which have some connection with Düsum Khyenpa, but not all of which are authored by him. The research presents a general overview of the Collection and a detailed overview that briefly discusses each of the sixty-one works, in terms of their structure (number of sections or other works they contain), size, location, genre, content, authorship, and colophons and transmission lineages.

Throughout the dissertation the Wylie-system of transliterating the Tibetan language has been applied. Tibetan and Sanskrit words are rendered in *italics*, except for some Sanskrit terms that have become part of the English language, words such as Buddhas and bodhisattvas, dharma, saṅgha, karma, yoga, mantra, maṇḍala, and more.

An exception is made for the transliterated Tibetan of the two critical editions, which are presented in normal letter type.

A list of abbreviations of titles of works and personal names, that are frequently mentioned, and signs applied in the critical editions, has been added.

Chapter 1 *Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa – the First Karma-pa of the Karma Bka’-brgyud lineage*

This chapter begins with an outline of research on Düsüm Khyenpa. It is followed by a discussion of the master’s place within the Bka’-brgyud tradition and an overview of various aspects of his life.

1.1 An outline of research on Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa

Most of the research on Düsüm Khyenpa is based on rather late sources, from the fifteenth century onwards, and does not include the most ancient sources which go back to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Before embarking on a journey back in time as far as possible, an overview is presented of existing research on Düsüm Khyenpa, published and unpublished. The overview consists for the most part of scholarly works, but non-scholarly works are also added to complete the picture. For each research piece, the title is given and the work itself is briefly discussed. While all of the works appear in footnotes throughout this dissertation, eleven works are listed here systematically in chronological order.

Roerich, George N. *The Blue Annals*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, 1996 (First publication, Calcutta, 1949).

The Blue Annals is a translation of the *Deb ther sngon po*, authored by ’Gos-lo-tsā-ba Gzhon-nu-dpal.⁸ The *Deb ther sngon po* is a fifteenth-century work on the history of Buddhism in Tibet.⁹ It lists teachers and transmitted texts in the form of a detailed *thob yig* and has seven pages devoted to Düsüm Khyenpa.¹⁰ Students of his and his own teacher Sgam-po-pa are also discussed, after and before the passage on the master. The content of the *Deb ther sngon po* passage is for the most part a compilation of historical details from Düsüm Khyenpa’s main biography the *Gser gling*, which dates back to the early thirteenth-century. In *The Blue Annals*, the names of works, persons and places are presented in transliterated spelling of the Tibetan language. The massive book (1275 pp.) comes with a very useful Index of Sūtras and Śāstras – Sanskrit, Personal names – Sanskrit, Book titles – Tibetan, Personal names – Tibetan, Chinese names, and Mongol names.

Richardson, Hugh. “The Karma-pa Sect – A Historical Note.” In *High Peaks, Pure Earth – Collected Writings on Tibetan History and Culture*. Edited and Introduced by Michael Aris. London: Serindia Publications, 1998 (First published in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1958)).

⁸ ’Gos-lo-tsā-ba Gzhon-nu-dpal, *Deb ther sngon* (sic.) *po* (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1974).

⁹ Dan Martin, *Tibetan Histories – A Bibliography of Tibetan-Language Historical Works* (London: Serendia Publications, 1997), 78, dates the *Deb ther sngon po* 1476-78 C.E.

¹⁰ Roerich, *Blue Annals*, 462-3, 473-83 (master and students); ’Gos-lo-tsā-ba Gzhon-nu-dpal’s *Deb ther sngon po*, nya, ff 412-7.

Richardson begins his article with a few lines (22) on Düsüm Khyenpa.¹¹ The passage is of a general nature and is derived from a sixteenth century work, as he refers in the lines to vol. Pa of the Chos 'byung of Dpa'-bo Gtsug-lag, which must be the *Mkhas pa'i dga' ston* written by Dpa'-bo II Gtsug-lag-phreng-ba (1504-66).¹²

Douglas, Nik, and White. Meryl. *Karmapa: The Black Hat Lama of Tibet*. London: Luzac, 1976.

The content of the work is a compilation of three written sources and a spoken commentary by the Sixteenth Karma-pa Rang-byung Rig-pa'i-rdo rje (1924-81). Of the three written sources listed, the earliest dates from the fifteenth-century and is the *Deb ther sngon po*.¹³ The work contains life-stories of sixteen Gyalwa Karmapas (preceded by the life-stories of siddha Ti-lo-pa, siddha Na-ro-pa, Mar-pa, Mila-repa, and Sgam-po-pa. A separate chapter (pp. 33-37) is devoted to Düsüm Khyenpa. The work has beautiful plates of ancient statues and scroll-paintings. Names of titles of works and names of persons and places are offered in phonetics. The work comes with an index of Tibetan terms, names and places, mostly in phonetics (however sometimes in Wylie transliteration). A German translation of the work was published in 2005.¹⁴

Karma Thinley. *The History of the Sixteen Karmapas of Tibet*. Boulder: Prajñā Press, 1980. The work is introduced by Reginald A. Ray and followed by a chapter on "The Historical and Theoretical Background" by David Stott. Chapter 1 discusses Düsüm Khyenpa (pp. 41-5), but unfortunately Karma Thinley does not specify his sources. From a final reflection by the author we learn that it is a concise account of the lives of the sixteen Karmapas and that for more detailed accounts one should consult the original records and biographies.¹⁵ One fn. in the chapter on Düsüm Khyenpa refers to the fifteenth-century *Deb ther sngon po*. David Stott explains that the biographies were compiled in the traditional manner from various Tibetan historical texts and the oral tradition.¹⁶ Sixteen beautiful line drawings, one for each of the sixteen Karma-pas, accompany the text. Names and places are rendered in phonetics, but the work has a Glossary by which one can retrieve the original Tibetan spelling.

Davidson, Ronald M. *Tibetan Renaissance: Tantric Buddhism in the Rebirth of Tibetan Culture*. New York, Columbia University Press, 2005.

The work has 3 pages on Düsüm Khyenpa, Bka'-brgyud pa, and their activity in the twelfth and early thirteenth century, pp. 332-335. Davidson refers for the information to Düsüm Khyenpa's hagiography by rGa-lo in the *Dus gsum mkhyen pa'i bka' 'bum*, vol. 1, pp. 47-128. He adds that this work is closely followed by all the standard histories. From the bibliography we learn that the *Dus gsum mkhyen pa'i bka' 'bum* are the *Selected Writings of the First*

¹¹ Hugh Richardson, *High Peaks, Pure Earth*, Collected Writings on Tibetan History and Culture, ed. by Michael Aris (London: Serindia Publications, 1998), 337-39. Article first published in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1958), 1-18.

¹² For the *Mkhas pa'i dga' ston*, see 2.1, "Brief historical overview of the main biographical material on Düsüm Khyenpa."

¹³ Nik Douglas and Meryl White, *Karmapa: The Black Hat Lama of Tibet* (London: Luzac, 1976), 33-7. The three written sources (Wylie transliteration reconstructed) are listed on p. 31: *Zla chu shel gyi 'phreng ba* by Situ Chos-kyi-'byung-nas, *Mkhas pa'i dga' ston* by Dpa'-bo II Gtsug-lag-phreng-ba, and *Deb ther sngon po* by 'Gos-lo-tsa-ba Gzhon-nu-dpal.

¹⁴ Nik Douglas and Meryl White, *Karmapa: König der Verwirklicher*, trans. Ralf Trunspurger and Claudia Krysztofiak (Wuppertal: Buddhistischer Verlag, 2005), 44-9.

¹⁵ Karma Thinley, *The History of the Sixteen Karmapas of Tibet* (Boulder: Prajñā Press, 1980), 136.

¹⁶ Thinley, *History Sixteen Karmapas*, 38.

Zhwa-nag Karma-pa Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa. I do not agree with calling the Selected Writings (abbrev. SW) *bka' 'bum*, as the Writings come without such an indication. As for the hagiography, the pages refer to the *Gser gling* in SW. The spelling rGa-lo is problematic, I have not found it in the three editions of the Collection I have worked on: the SW and CW edition read Rgang-lo (rGang-lo), the SB edition reads Sgang-lo (sGang-lo).

Duff, Tony. *Gampopa Teaches Essence Mahamudra*. Kathmandu: Padma Karpo Publications, 2011.

The work contains, apart from more translations, a chapter called “Dusum Khyenpa’s Interviews,” located on pp. 53-189. The “interviews” are a translation of all the Düsüm Khyenpa *zhus lan* in the *Dags po 'i bka' 'bum*.¹⁷ The translations are presented without the Tibetan text, and names and places are rendered in phonetics, which makes the identification difficult. The *Dags po 'i bka' 'bum* is briefly discussed and it is said that the Derge (Sde-dge) edition of Gampopa’s Collected Works was used (p. xi).

Noteworthy is that Duff offers a translation of one of the Düsüm Khyenpa’s *Zhus lan* which is also translated in the following doctoral thesis. Duff’s translation is based on the text in the *Dags po 'i bka' 'bum*, while the thesis takes as the basis the three Düsüm Khyenpa editions.

Kersten, Peter H. “A Catalogue (*dkar chag*) of the Collected Works of Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa (*Rje Dus gsum mkhyen pa 'i bka' 'bum*), Karma-pa I.” Bachelor thesis Department of Asia Studies, Leiden University, December 2011.

The thesis reviews one of the editions of the Düsüm Khyenpa Collection, the so-called “Collected Writings,” which is preceded by a short *dkar chag* of four folios, written by Dpal-'byor-don-grub (1427-89). One of the insights produced by this study was that the actual Collection is much more detailed than the *dkar chag* describes. In the thesis all the works were listed to arrive at a complete picture of the Collection, followed by a brief discussion of three of the categories of genre which are encountered. The person of Dpal-'byor-don-grub is discussed, iconographic material on Düsüm Khyenpa and Dpal-'byor-don-grub presented, and transmission lineages of works in the Collection reproduced.

The First Karmapa – The Life and Teachings of Dusum Khyenpa. Translated by David Karma Choephel and Michele Martin. New York: KTD Publications, 2012.

The authors translated several works from the “Düsüm Khyenpa Collection” into English. The work is a popular translation based on one single edition, unknown to me,¹⁸ and comes without the Tibetan text. The spelling of names and places is rendered in phonetics, as a result of which the original Tibetan spelling is lost. The translations presented here come without the Tibetan titles of the works, which I have tried to reconstruct from the English chapter titles in the book, it results in: *Rnam thar* by Rgang-lo (the *Gser gling*), *Mu tig phreng ba*, *Rnam thar pa brgya rtsa brgyad ri mo*, *Tshogs chos*, *Rnam thar* by Bde-chung-ba, *Mgur 'bum*, *Brgya rtsa brgyad pa bsdus*, the two *Zhus lan*, and the *Zhal chems*.

Kragh, Ulrich Timme. *Tibetan Yoga and Mysticism – A Textual Study of the Yogas of Nāropa and Mahāmudrā Meditation In the Medieval Tradition of Dags po*. Tokyo: International Institute for Buddhist Studies, 2015.

¹⁷ Tony Duff, *Gampopa Teaches Mahamudra – Interviews with his heart disciples, Dusum Khyenpa and others* (Kathmandu: Padma Karpo Publications, 2011), Chapter Dusum Khyenpa’s Interviews, 53-189.

¹⁸ An edition entitled *Dus gsum mkhyen pa, Dpal ldan dus gsum mkhyen pa 'i zhal gdams bces btus* (Kalimpong, West Bengal, India Rigpa Dorje Institute, 2010). I have tried to acquire the edition but without success.

The work is an extensive publication on Bsod-nams-rin-chen (a.k.a Sgam-po-pa)'s *Mahāmudrā* and its Early Reception History (Part I), The Narrative Construct of a Founder (Part II), and a discussion of The Manifold Sayings of Dags po (Part III). Part III discusses the various editions of the *Dags po'i bka' 'bum* and offers a detailed overview of its content. This last part includes a discussion and summary of all the *Dus gsum mkhyen pa'i zhus lan* which are contained in the *Dags po'i bka' 'bum*.¹⁹ In the *Düsum Khyenpa zhus lan* section of this *Bka' 'bum*, we find forty (!) different *zhus lan*, which, according to the compiler(s), all have a connection with *Düsum Khyenpa*. When we compare the forty with the two *zhus lan* in the “*Düsum Khyenpa Collection*,” we find that the second *zhus lan* in the “*Collection*” (the most interesting one of the two and subject of study and translation in this dissertation) appears at first place in the *Dags po'i bka' 'bum*. The first *zhus lan* in the “*Collection*” appears at second place in the *Dags po'i bka' 'bum*.

Kragh notes that only the first *zhus lan* of the set of forty (again, the one translated in the dissertation, see below) has a colophon in which *Düsum Khyenpa* is mentioned, and that on the basis of this very colophon, the ‘set of forty’ got its general title. The remaining thirty-nine *zhus lan* are unfortunately not explicitly related to *Düsum Khyenpa*.²⁰

Kragh translated passages from one specific *Dus gsum mkhyen pa'i zhus lan* from the *Dags po'i bka' 'bum*,²¹ passages with regard to the person of Sgam-po-pa. Kragh “titles” the passages as *The First ‘Autobiographical’ Narrative* [of Sgam-po-pa], *A Brief Account of Bsod nams rin chen’s Death*, and *The Second ‘Autobiographical’ Narrative*.²²

Kersten, Peter H. “The Grey-haired *siddha* or Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa, The First Karma-pa, his Life, Editions of Works, Critical Text Edition and Translation of his *Tshogs chos* – Teachings to an Assembly,” Diplôme thesis at the EPHE, Paris, June 1916.

The thesis discussed aspects of the master’s life such as, “A sketch of his life,” and “The master’s role in society,” which includes a translation of a *dohā (mgur)*, a poem/song, that *bla ma Zhang* (1122-93) wrote on meeting *Düsum Khyenpa*, entitled *Grub thob dbu se dang mjal dus gsungs pa*, “Spoken at the time of meeting the Grey-haired *siddha*.”

Further, “His period of study and the Buddhist world in which he lived,” here all the works he studied (for as far as specified in his main biography) are identified. Also a translation is added of one of the poems/songs composed by *Düsum Khyenpa*, the poem has no title but concerns “awareness itself,” and the ultimate view, meditation, conduct and result.

Furthermore, an overview of all the “Teachers that guided him,” and “Passing on the training received,” an overview of all the students which I encountered in the early sources.

Main part of the thesis is the critical edition and translation of the *Tshogs chos*, which is work [6] of the so-called “*Düsum Khyenpa Collection*.” The scholarly translation comprises five teachings or lectures of the master to his students or to a general public. The “lectures” come without a title and were provisionally entitled by me as: “Directions for meditators,” “Four dharmas important for practice,” “Negative forces obstructing the way,” “Four important qualities,” and “Six requisites to attain Buddhahood.”

Facsimiles of the manuscript (*dbu med*) edition of the *Tshogs chos* are added in an Appendix. The critical edition and translation of the *Tshogs chos* take 86 pages and includes annotations on specific Buddhist terminology.

¹⁹ Kragh, 305-332.

²⁰ Kragh, 91-2.

²¹ “specific *Dus gsum mkhyen pa'i zhus lan*,” for the precise reference see Kragh.

²² Kragh, 93-111.

Additionally the three editions of the “Düsum Khyenpa Collection” are discussed, as for their content, how they relate to each other, moment in time of compilation (a *stemma* is included), and authorship in general of the works in the Collection.

Lee Ji-young, “The life of the first Karma-pa Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa “the knower of the three times” (1110-1193): An annotated translation of his biography from the *Zla-ba chu-sel-gyi phreng-ba*,” Master thesis, Indiana University 2016.

The thesis explores the political and social milieu behind the life of Düsum Khyenpa and presents an annotated translation of the *rnam thar* of “The First Black-hat [hierarchy] – Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa – Chos-kyi-grags-pa.” The biography makes part of a series of biographies written by Si-tu Paṅ-chen VIII Chos-kyi-'byung-gnas (1699/1700-1774), the abbreviated title of the biographies is *Zla ba chu sel gyi phreng ba*.²³ It concerns a rather late 18th century biography compiled on the basis of multiple sources; the source which is mentioned first is the *Gser gling*.

We can see from the list above that until now, Düsum Khyenpa and his works have received limited scholarly attention. Because of this, and also because there are additional sources that go further back in time, it is useful to “dive deeper.” Incorporating the earliest sources available will help to develop a more comprehensive and nuanced picture of Düsum Khyenpa. Before engaging into that, his place within the Bka'-brgyud lineage will be explored.

1.2 Düsum-mkhyen-pa and the Bka'-brgyud tradition – an overview

This section addresses three subjects, which I consider important with regard to Düsum Khyenpa and the Düsum Khyenpa Collection. First, it explores the term Bka'-brgyud, its history, and how the origin can be traced in the Collection. Second, an overview is offered of the Karma Kaṃ-tshang lineage and Düsum Khyenpa's place within the lineage.

1.2.1 The Bka'-brgyud lineage

Düsum Khyenpa was a teacher from the Bka'-brgyud lineage, for which reason it is useful to mention that the term Bka'-brgyud is used in different ways. First, “Bka'-[babs-bzhi'i-]brgyud,” refers to “four distinct currents of spiritual practice,” which according to tradition stem from the *mahāsiddha* Ti-lo-pa. Each of the currents refers to a set of teachings regarding spiritual practices transmitted through a lineage of teachers. The term is also used to designate the lineage as a whole, i.e. that of Bka'-brgyud, as we shall see below the “four currents” can be traced in the Düsum Khyenpa Collection. Another usage of the term Bka'-brgyud refers to

²³ For more details see fn. 2.1, “Brief historical overview of the main biographical material on Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa.”

“[esoteric] teaching (*bka'*) lineage (*brgyud*).” This seems less correct as the interpretation would include other lineages in addition to Bka'-brgyud, such as Jo-nang and Dge-lugs.²⁴

E. Gene Smith offers a useful analysis of how the Bka'-brgyud lineage developed in Tibet. He makes a distinction between Mar-pa Bka'-brgyud, referring to all that is transmitted via Mar-pa Chos-kyi-blo-gros, and Shangs-pa Bka'-brgyud²⁵ which has its roots in Khyung-po Rnal-'byor instead of Mar-pa. Within Mar-pa Bka'-brgyud several lineages are described coming from direct students of Mar-pa, for example Rngog-ston Chos-sku-rdo-rje²⁶ and Mid-la ras-pa²⁷. Mid-las-ras-pa's instructions were said to be transmitted in turn to Dwags-po Lha-rje and Ras-chung-pa. Smith also relates that, later in time, Dwags-po Bka'-brgyud came to exist of “four great” and “eight minor” branches.

The four great are:

- (1) Tshal-pa Bka'-brgyud, which goes back to Zhang-G.yu-brag-pa Brtson-'grus-grags-pa, a student of Dwags-po Sgom-tshul;
- (2) Kam-tshang or Karma Bka'-bgryud, going back to Düsum Khyenpa;
- (3) 'Ba'-rom Bka'-brgyud, which goes back to Dar-ma-dbang-phyug; and
- (4) Phag-gru Bka'-brgyud, going back to Phag-mo gru-pa Rdo-rje-rgyal-po.

The eight small Bka'-brgyud branches are said to have split off from the main Phag-gru lineage, the fourth “great branch.” They include: 'Bri-gung, Stag-lung, Khro-phu, 'Brug-pa, Smar-pa, Yel-pa, G.ya'-bzang, and Shug-gseb.

With regard to the currents themselves, Smith's earlier research on the *bka' babs bzhi* and the Bka'-brgyud lineage²⁸ noted that, according to a record from tradition, the *mahāsiddha* Ti-lo-pa received four distinct currents (*bka' babs bzhi*). They consisted of *Mahāmudrā* (*phyag rgya chen po*), Father-tantra (*pha rgyud*), Mother-tantra (*ma rgyud*), and Luminosity (*'od gsal*).

²⁴ E. Gene Smith, *Among Tibetan Texts, History & Literature of the Himalayan Plateau*, ed. Kurtis R. Schaeffer (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2001), 40: “The term Bka' brgyud pa simply applies to any line of transmission of an esoteric teaching from teacher to disciple. We can properly speak of a Jo nang pa and the Dge lugs pa sects.”

²⁵ For Shangs-pa Bka'-brgyud, going back to Khyung-po Rnal-'byor (11th century), see Smith, *Tibetan Texts*, 53-57.

²⁶ For Rngog-ston Chos-sku-rdo-rje, see e.g. Cécile Ducher, “A Lineage in Time: The Vicissitudes of the rNog pa bka' brgyud from the 11th through 19th c.,” Phd dissertation Paris Sciences et Lettres – PSL Research University, EPHE, Paris, 2017.

²⁷ A brief note on how the name Mi(d)-la ras-pa is spelled in the Düsum Khyenpa Collection. In the *Gser gling*, the early thirteenth-century main biography of Düsum Khyenpa, we find most of the time Mid-la ras-pa. In other works of the Collection, such as [18], [19], [22] and [28], the name is spelled as Mi-la-ras-pa. Probably Mid-la ras-pa is the original spelling, for which reason it is preferred in this thesis.

²⁸ Smith, *Tibetan Texts*, 39-86.

The “currents” were passed on to Nā-ro-pa. They then arrived via the Tibetan translator Marpa on the Himalayan plateau, after which they were passed on in various ways, one of them being through Dūsum Khyenpa.

Smith describes the four currents as follows, citing Kun-dga’-dpal-’byor, ’Brug-chen II (1428-1476).²⁹

- (1) *Phyag rgya chen po ’i bka’ babs*, “Mahāmudrā-current,” transmitted through Phyag-na-rdo-rje, Bram-ze Sa-ra-ha, Lo-hi-pa, Dha-ri-pa, Ḍing-gi-pa, to Ti-lli-pa (variant spelling of Ti-lo-pa or Te-lo-pa).
- (2) *Pha rgyud bka’ babs*, “Father-tantra current,” transmitted through Gsang-bdag, Sa-bcu-dbang-phyug, Blo-gros-rin-chen, Klu-sgrub, Ma-tang-gi, to Ti-lli-pa.
- (3) *Ma rgyud rmi lam gyi bka’ babs*, “Mother-tantra current,” transmitted through Suma-ti kun-tu-bzang-mo, Thang-lo-pa, Shing-lo-pa, Karṇa-ri-pa, to Ti-lli-pa.
- (4) *’Od gsal gyi bka’ babs*, “Luminosity current,” transmitted through Phyag-na-rdo-rje, Ḍombi He-ru-ka, Bi-nā-pa, La-ba-pa, Indra-bodhi, to Ti-lli-pa.

It is worthwhile to note that Davidson also describes four (or even six) currents, but his source is less detailed regarding the names of persons involved in the lineage.³⁰

Smith’s work in this area can be carried on first by drawing attention to a possibly unresearched *dbu med* work on the *bka’ babs bzhi*. For instance, I found a description of the *bka’ i babs bzhi* in section *ka* of an old *dbu med* manuscript. Section *ka* is entitled *Bka’ bzhi brgyud pa’i lo rgyus*.³¹ The work is still unresearched as far as I know. On the first pages of the seven sections, we find illustrations that have been very well preserved. To give an

²⁹ Smith, *Tibetan Texts*, 41 plus note 100, four currents. Gene Smith refers to Kun-dga’-dpal-’byor, ’Brug-chen II (1428-1476), *Bka’ brgyud chos ’byung*. *Collected Works (gsung ’bum) of Rgyal dbang Kun dga’ dpal ’byor*. Kargyud Sungrab Nyamso Khang, Darjeeling. 2 vols.; f. 21.

³⁰ Davidson, *Tibetan Renaissance*, 48, discusses the transmission currents, referring to the *Stag lung chos ’byung*, 56-77, quote, “... Telopa is said to have received four (or six) main transmissions. Although there is again some difference of opinion, one standard list may be related.

- 1) from Nāgārjunapāda, Telopa received instruction in the *Guhyasamāja tantra*, the *Caturpīṭha tantra*, and the *yogas* of illusory body and consciousness transference;
- 2) from Caryapāda, he received the *Mahāmāya tantra* and the dream *yoga* practices;
- 3) from Lwabapa, he received all the mother (or *yoginī*) tantras, including *Cakrasaṃvara*, and the *yoga* of clear light;
- 4) and from Subhaginī, Telopa received the *Hevajra tantra* and the *yoga* of psychic heat (*caṇḍālī*).”

Davidson mentions as other sources: *Mkhas pa’i dga’ ston*, vol. 1, 739-54, which organizes these lineages by direction, and *Lho rong chos ’byung*, 16.

³¹ The manuscript, BDRC W3CN2591, has seven sections: (ka) *Bka’ bzhi brgyud pa’i lo rgyus* (70 ff); (kha) *Dpal ldan Te lo pa’i lo rgyus* (9 ff); (ga) *Dpal ldan chen po Na ro pa lo rgyus* (19 ff); (nga) *Rje Mar pa lo tstsha’i rnam thar* (14 ff); (ca) *Chos rje Yang dgon pa’i (... illegible)* (129 ff); (cha) *Chos kyi rgyal po rgyal po Rgod tshang pa* (52 ff); (ja) *Chos rje Lo ras pa rnam thar* (26 ff) (final pages seem to be missing).

Thanks to Matthew Kapstein for bringing the work to my attention.

[30] *Phyag rgya chen po thog babs*

[36] *Mgon po bya rog ma'i sgrub thabs...*
(Ye-shes kyi mgon-po, Klu-grub, Arya-de-va, etc.)

[26+27-s5] *Chos drug gi zhal
gdams* (La-ba-pa)
[28-3] *Mchog gig tum mo*
(Rdo-rje-'chang, **Te-lo-pa**, Nā-
ro-pa, Mar-pa, etc.)

It should be noted that not all the transmission lineages and narrative information from the Collection have been included above; it is just a selection to illustrate how the “four currents” can be traced. Also, work [30] is listed based on just the title, because like many of the works it comes without a specified lineage. If, apart from the transmission lineages, the content of the works of the Collection would be taken into consideration, many more works could be arranged in the scheme. However, just based on the list above we can conclude that the *bka'i babs bzhi* can be traced in the Collection.

1.2.2 The Karma Kaṃ-tshang lineage

Looking now at the Karma Kaṃ-tshang lineage, it is useful to elaborate on this “Bka'-brgyud sub-lineage, and Dūsum Khyenpa's place within it. The starting point for this is the early fifteenth-century work on Bka'-brgyud history, the *Bka' brgyud rin po che'i chos 'byung Mig 'byed 'od stong*, “The Thousand-rayed Eye-opener [i.e. the Sun, illuminating] the Religious History of the Precious [Dwags-po] Bka'-brgyud [Lineages].”³²

The *Mig 'byed* begins with the following list of the beginning of the Bka'-brgyud lineage:

Vajradhara / Rdo-rje-'chang
Tilopa
Nāropa
Mar-pa *lo tsā ba*
Mid-la ras-pa
Sgam-po-pa Zla-'od gzhon-nu
|

³² The *Mig 'byed* is discussed by Per K., Sørensen, *Rare Texts from Tibet – Seven Sources for the Ecclesiastic History of Medieval Tibet* (Kathmandu: Lumbini International Research Institute, 2007), 15-20.

For a brief description of the *Mig 'byed*, as well as the pages which refer to Dūsum Khyenpa and the Karma Kaṃ-tshang, see chapter 2.1, “Brief historical overview of the main biographical material of Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa.”

After this list, a number of (sub)-lineages that sprang off are discussed, including the Karma Kaṃ-tshang brgyud-pa. The *Mig 'byed* discusses the Karma Kaṃ-tshang from Düsüm Khyenpa up to De-bzhin gshegs-pa (1384-1415), Karma-pa V.

It is useful to briefly mention recent research on a few of the persons listed in the first part of the *Mig 'byed* above. With regard to Mar-pa, I refer to Cécile Ducher's work,³³ for Mid-la ras-pa to Andrew Quintman,³⁴ and for Sgam-po-pa to Ulrich Kragh.³⁵ Herbert Guenther wrote a few decades ago on Nāropa.³⁶

Sgam-po-pa or D(w)ags-po Lha-rje, whose ordination name was Bsod-rnams Rin-chen (1079-1153), is the main teacher of Düsüm Khyenpa and is prominently featured in nine of the fifteen transmission lineages included in works of the Düsüm Khyenpa Collection.³⁷ This testifies to the importance of *bla ma* Lha-rje for Düsüm Khyenpa and the Karma Kaṃ-tshang lineage.

While the *Mig 'byed* does not include the name of Maitri-pa, Maitri-pa is included in the Collection in the transmission of at least one specific practice.³⁸ Klaus-Dieter Mathes worked on the translation of some of Maitri-pa's works that survived.³⁹

We also do not find in the *Mig 'byed* the name of Ras-chung-pa, another important student of Mid-la ras-pa who is often mentioned together with Sgam-po-pa. Though Ras-chung-pa is briefly mentioned in the *Gser gling* (Düsüm Khyenpa pays him a visit, receives some specific teachings, and later in life relates where Ras-chung-pa is reborn), the name is not found in the rest of the Düsüm Khyenpa Collection.

³³ For a very complete publication on Mar-pa Chos-kyi-blo-gros, see Cécile Ducher, *Building a Tradition, The Lives of Mar-pa the Translator* (München: Indus Verlag, 2017). Appendix 5, presents an overview of Marpa's dates from available sources until now, which leads to ca. 1000- ca.1081 C.E.

³⁴ Andrew Quintman, *The Yogin & the Madman, Reading the Biographical Corpus of Tibet's Great Saint Milarepa* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 2014), the work provides a critical study of Mid-la-ras-pa's biographical corpus. Mi(d)-la-ras-pa (1028/1040-1111/1123).

³⁵ Ulrich Timme Kragh, *Tibetan Yoga and Mysticism – A Textual Study of the Yogas of Nāropa and Mahāmudrā Meditation In the Medieval Tradition of Dags po* (Tokyo: International Institute for Buddhist Studies, 2015, 82-155).

³⁶ *The Life and Teaching of Nāropa*, trans. by Herbert V. Guenther (Boston: Shambhala, 1995).

³⁷ The nine lineages of works explicitly transmitted to Düsüm Khyenpa through *blama* Lja-rje are separately listed at the end of 1.3.4, "Teachers that guided him."

³⁸ [22] *Rdzogs rim rlung sems gnyis pa*, Introduction section 1.

³⁹ Klaus-Dieter Mathes, *A Fine Blend of Mahāmudrā and Madhamaka – Maitrīpa's Collection of Texts on Non-conceptual Realization (Amanasikāra)* (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2015).

Continuing the Karma Kaṃ-tshang list of names provided above, from Sgam-po-pa Zla-'od gzhon-nu from centuries to follow into the twentieth century we arrive at the following list of “lineage-holders,” which were later called Karma-pas.⁴⁰

|
Grub-thob dbu-se, the “Grey-haired *siddha*, Chos-kyi-grags-pa, Düsüm Khyenpa (1110-93)

“**Karmapa I**”

Karma pakshi (1206-1283), Karma-pa II

Rang-byung rdo-rje (1284-1339), Karma-pa III

Rol-pa'i rdo-rje (1340-1383), Karma-pa IV

De-bzhin gshegs-pa (1384-1415), Karma-pa V [end of the *Mig 'byed*]

|
Mthong-ba don-ldan (1416-1453), Karma-pa VI

Chos-grags rgya-mtsho (1454-1506), Karma-pa VII

Mi-bskyod rdo-rje (1507-1554), Karma-pa VIII

Dbang-phyug rdo-rje (1555-1603), Karma-pa IX

Chos-dbyings rdo rje (1604-1674), Karma-pa X

Ye-shes rdo-rje (1676-1702), Karma-pa XI

Byang-chub rdo-rje (1703-1732), Karma-pa XII

Bdud-tshogs 'dul-ba'i rdo-rje (1733-1797), Karma-pa XIII

Theg-mchog rdo-rje (1798-1868), Karma-pa XIV

Mkha'-khyab rdo-rje (1871-1922), Karma-pa XV

Rang-byung rig-pa'i rdo-rje (1924-1981), Karma-pa XVI

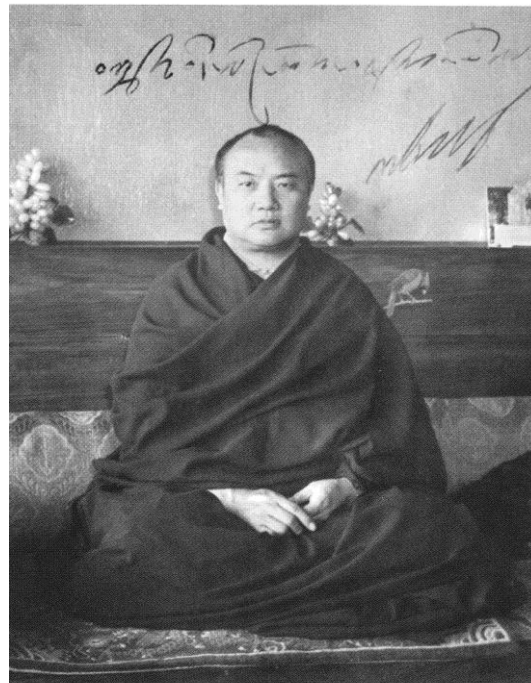


Figure 3 Sixteenth Karma-pa Rang-byung Rig-pa'i Rdo-rje (1924-81)⁴¹

⁴⁰ The dates in the list are for the most part from Karma Thinley, *History Sixteen Karmapas*.

Some years after the death of Rang-byung rig-pa'i rdo-rje, two persons were identified by different branches of his lineage as the seventeenth reincarnation of the Karma-pa: Phrin-las Mtha'-yas Rdo-rje (born 1983) and O-rgyan 'Phrin-las Rdo-rje (born 1985).

Looking at Düsüm Khyenpa's relation to Karma Kaṃ-tshang, the question can be raised as to whether Düsüm Khyenpa had the intention to found a lineage separate from his teacher's lineage. This seems unlikely as in one work of the Collection, the [4] *Rje dus gsum mkhyen pa'i zhal chems*, "Master Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa's final words," we find of record of a dialogue that took place before his passing at Mtshur-phu monastery in Dbus (Central Tibet). At that time, he instructed a few of the senior students/monks present to divide any remaining financial resources among themselves after his death and to use it for others who would like to do spiritual practice retreats. And, also, that after the few had stayed for one or two more summers and winters at Mtshur-phu, to just go their own way.⁴²

In his main biography the *Gser gling* we also do not find any indication of a wish to establish a separate lineage. We do not find the name Karma-pa in the *Gser gling*, nor a "black hat/crown," nor a "main student," nor a reincarnation prediction letter, all features which are associated with the Karma Kaṃ-tshang but apparently came up later in history.

Regarding what happened after his death at Mtshur-phu, the *Zhal chems* relates that most of the students left and by spring time, only a small group remained, five of whom are mentioned by name. At one point, they discussed the fact that Mtshur-phu would be difficult to maintain and that it was an isolated spot difficult for people to reach. They even considered moving the "seat" to the place Ca-ra. Later, they decided to maintain the seat after all because Mtshur-phu had been important for the master. In the end, a dedicated group remained and maintained Mtshur-phu, even though this was actually against Düsüm Khyenpa's instructions.

The Karma Kaṃ-tshang lineage gradually took shape after the master died and it is possible that it appeared because it was difficult for Dwags-po saṅghas to stay connected in a country that was difficult to cross. The name Kaṃ-tshang probably comes from the name of Düsüm Khyenpa's monastery in Khams, called Skam-po gnas-gnang, where he lived most of his life. "Kaṃ" is the pronunciation spelling of Skam and "tshang" can mean "abode." Therefore, the Kaṃ-tshang lineage could be translated as the lineage stemming from the Skam-po gnas-nang abode.

Ruth Gamble holds that it was Karma-pa III Rang-byung rdo-rje (1284-1339) who actively worked on making the Kaṃ-tshang lineage a solid and separate lineage with an accepted mechanism for the passing of property from one generation to the next, political

⁴¹ The picture was taken in Karma-pa's room in Rumtik, Sikkim, 1976, it was printed by Diamondway-buddhism.org.

⁴² [4] *Rje dus gsum mkhyen pa'i zhal chems*, SW ka [205:6] ... nga'i shul du lo gcig gnyis sdod cig gsung= **dpon grags seng** gis/ sdod pa ci tsam 'ong ngam zhus pas= [206:1] sku yar bsrangs/ spyen hur gyis mdzad nas= tha ma yang dbyar dgun cig gnyis sdod pa 'ong ba min nam gsung= yang **gzhon nu** khyod lo cig [206:2] gnyis 'dir sdod la= ...

support for the enthronement of reincarnates, and so forth. Rang-byung rdo-rje also invested much time and energy in the cultivation and promotion of the reincarnation tradition.⁴³

Rang-byung rdo-rje and others most likely incorporated Düsüm Khyenpa and Skam-po gnas-nang in the process of constructing an “identity of their own,” which over time resulted in a separate lineage. The lineage was guided by successive Karma-pas which explains the addition of the word “Karma” in the designation Karma Kaṃ-tshang.

To further add to our understanding of the Karma Kaṃ-tshang lineage, a few more comments may be useful. Apart from what came through the Bka’-brgyud persons listed above, we can trace two additional, albeit minor, influences. One comes from *bla ma* Lha-rje, Düsüm Khyenpa’s main teacher. He earlier in life studied Bka’-gdams teachings⁴⁴ and we can trace Bka’-gdams influence in the Düsüm Khyenpa Collection. The Bka’-gdams teacher Jo-bo Atiśa (Atiśa Dipaṃkaraśrījñāna, 982-1054) is mentioned in the transmission lineages of two works on Hayagrīva (Rta-mgrin).⁴⁵ This shows that also Bka’-gdams influence, though minor, joins the transmission stream which is passed on through Düsüm Khyenpa. Another influence refers to the “Ancient Translation Tradition” (*snga’gyur rnying ma*), as the lineage of a work on Tārā (Sgrol-ma) begins with Dga’-rab-rdo rje, a Rdzogs-chen Rnying-ma-pa master.⁴⁶

For research on the Karma-pas and translations of their works I refer to a limited number of publications below, it must be noted that the list is incomplete and could be further expanded.

- Nick Douglas and Meryl White, and Karma Thinley offered brief descriptions of the lives of Karma-pas I-XVI.⁴⁷
- Research on Karma-pa I Grub-thob dbu-se is listed in 1.1, “An outline of research on Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa.”
- Charles Manson wrote about the life of Karma-pa II Karma Pakshi⁴⁸ and Matthew Kapstein translated one of his texts.⁴⁹

⁴³ Ruth Gamble, *Reincarnation in Tibetan Buddhism – The Third Karmapa and the invention of a tradition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), 3-4.

⁴⁴ See e.g. Ulrich Timme Kragh, *Tibetan Yoga*, 94.

⁴⁵ [12-2)] *Rta mgrin lha nga’i mngon rtogs* and [12-1)] Without title, for details see 4.3, “A detailed overview of the Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa Collection.”

⁴⁶ [11] *Sgrol ma’i rgya gszhung*, for details see 4.3, “A detailed overview.”

For Dga’-rab-rdo rje see e.g. *The Golden Letters*, The three statements of Garab Dorje, the first teacher of Dzogchen, trans. John Myrdhin Reynolds (New York: Snow Lion Publications, 1996).

⁴⁷ See 1.1, “An outline of research on Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa”

⁴⁸ Manson, Charles E. “Introduction to the Life of Karma Pakshi (1204/6-1283),” *Bulletin of Tibetology* 45, no. 1 (2009): 22-52.

⁴⁹ Matthew Kapstein, “The Doctrine of Eternal Heaven – A Defense of Mongol Imperial Religion,” in *Mahāmudrā and the Bka’-brgyud Tradition*, eds. Roger R. Jackson and Matthew T. Kapstein, (Andiastr: IITBS, 2011), 259-316.

- Alex and Tina Draszczyk translated works from Karma-pa III Rang-byung rdo-rje.⁵⁰ Michael Sheehy published on Rangjung Dorje's 'variegations of mind',⁵¹ Karl Brunnholzl about "the Third Karmapa on Consciousness, Wisdom, and Buddha Nature,"⁵² and Ruth Gamble on Rang-byung rdo-rje, "The invention of a tradition."⁵³ Manfred Seegers recently presented a Phd thesis on Rang-byung Rdo-rje's 'Distinction between Perception and Gnosis'.⁵⁴
- Elliot Sperling wrote on Karma-pa IV Rol-pa'i rdo-rje's political influence in the 14th century and Karma-pa V De-bzhin gshegs-pa's role in the Sino-Tibetan relationship.⁵⁵
- Klaus-Dieter Mathes discussed a Collection of "Indian Mahāmudrā Works," compiled by Karmapa VII Chos-grags rgya-mtsho,⁵⁶ and Anne Buchardi wrote on the "Role of *Rang rig* in the Pramāṇa-based *Gzhan stong* of the Seventh Karmapa."⁵⁷
- Jim Rheingans published on Karma-pa VIII Mi-bskyod rdo-rje, "his Life and Interpretation of the Great Seal." The work includes an overview of previous research and an overview of translations of writings of Mi-bskyod rdo-rje.⁵⁸
- Alexander Berzin and Henrik Havlat published translations of works of Karma-pa IX Dbang-phyug rdo-rje.⁵⁹

⁵⁰ Rang-byung rdo-rje, *Von der Klarheit des Geistes: drei buddhistische Texte von Karmapa Rangjung Dorje*, trans. Alex and Tina Draszczyk (Wien: Marpa-Verlag, 1995).

⁵¹ Michael R. Sheehy, "Rangjung Dorje's Variegations of Mind: Ordinary Awareness and Pristine Awareness in Tibetan Buddhist Literature," in *Buddhist Thought & Applied Psychological Research*, ed. Nauriyal (London, New York: Routledge Curzon, 2005).

⁵² Karl Brunnhölzl, *Luminous Heart: The Third Karmapa on Consciousness, Wisdom, and Buddha Nature* (Ithaca, NY: Snow Lion, 2009).

⁵³ Ruth Gamble, *Reincarnation in Tibetan Buddhism – The Third Karmapa and the invention of a tradition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018).

⁵⁴ Manfred Seegers, *Transcending Delusion: The Third Karma-pa Rang-byung rDo-rje's (1284-1339) Discourse on the Distinction between Perception (rman shes: vijñāna) and Gnosis (ye shes: jñāna)* (PhD thesis, Hamburg University, Januari 2019).

⁵⁵ Elliot Sperling, "Karmapa Rol-pa'i rdo-rje and the Re-Establishment of Karma-pa Political Influence in the 14th Century," in *The Relationship Between Religion and State (chos srid zung 'brel) in Traditional Tibet*, ed. Christoph Cüppers (Lumbini: LIRI, 2004), 229-43.

And Elliot Sperling, "The 5th Karmapa and Some Aspects of the Sino-Tibetan Relationship between Tibet and the Early Ming," in *Tibetan Studies in Honour of Hugh Richardson*, eds. Michael Aris and Aung San Suu Kyi (Warminster: Aris and Philips, 1980), 280-89.

⁵⁶ Klaus-Dieter Mathes, "The Collection of 'Indian Mahāmudrā' (Tib. *phyag chen rgya gzhung*) Compiled by the Seventh Karmapa Chos grags rgya mtsho" in *Mahāmudrā and the Bka'-brgyud Tradition*, eds. Roger R. Jackson and Matthew T. Kapstein (Andia: IITBS, 2011), 89-130.

⁵⁷ Anne Buchardi, "The Role of *Rang rig* in the Pramāṇa-based *Gzhan stong* of the Seventh Karmapa" in *Mahāmudrā and the Bka'-brgyud Tradition*, eds. Roger R. Jackson and Matthew T. Kapstein (Andia: IIBS, 2011), 317-344.

⁵⁸ Jim Rheingans, *The Eighth Karmapa's Life and his Interpretation of the Great Seal – A religious Life and Instructional Texts in Historical and Doctrinal Contexts* (Hamburg: Numata Center for Buddhist Studies, 2017), 11-23.

- Karl Debreczeny wrote on the foundation of the “Chinese-style *Thang ka* Painting” of Karma-pa X Chos-dbyings rdo-rje.⁶⁰

In 2013 a new publication came out which was important for our understanding of the Karma Kaṃ-tshang as a whole, namely the *Dpal rgyal dbang Karma pa sku phreng rim byon gyi gsung 'bum phyogs sgrigs*, a set of 108 volumes containing all “works of” the Karma-pas. The set is edited by Mkhan-po Lo-yag-bkra-shis and comes with a separate “table of contents” (*dkar chag*) booklet which offers an overview of the complete content. In the booklet we also find photographs of scroll paintings (*thang ka*) of all the sixteen Karma-pas.⁶¹

To better understand the broader historical context of Karma Kaṃ-tshang, I briefly present Ronald Davidson’s analysis of how esoteric Buddhism arose and diffused to Tibet.

In *Indian Esoteric Buddhism*, Davidson worked on shedding more light on how the Great Vehicle (*mahāyāna*) developed into a multifaceted Mahāyāna in seventh-century India and how that led to the emergence of *vajrayāna/mantrayāna* or esoteric Buddhism. Davidson notes that to a great extent this form of Buddhism was received in Tibet during the two ‘waves’ of the early and later diffusion (*snga dar* and *phyi dar*) of Buddhism in Tibet.

Davidson does not agree with several existing explanations on how esoteric Buddhism originated, including one that suggests it came from a cosmic Buddha such as Vajradhara. He holds that “the rise and development of the esoteric form of Buddhism is the result of a complex matrix of medieval forces, both generated within the Saṅgha communities and other factors over which the communities had no control.”⁶²

Especially relevant for the work on Düsüm Khyenpa is Davidson’s distinction between two different Buddhist sociologies of knowledge. He differentiates between, on the one hand, “institutional esoterism,” represented by monks who developed and practiced these [esoteric] forms in the great Buddhist monastic institutions, mostly anonomously. On the other hand there were the Perfected (*siddha*), denizens living on the margins of the Indian social

⁵⁹ Dbang-phyug Rdo-rje, *The Mahāmudrā, Eliminating the Darkness of Ignorance: with commentary given orally by Beru Khyentze Rinpoche* (New Delhi: Library of Tibetan Works & Archives, 1978 (revised 1989).

Dbang-phyug Rdo-rje, *Mahamudra, Ozean des Wahren Sinnes*. Three volumes: Vol. 1 *Mahamudra-Vorbereitungen*; Vol. 2 *Die hauptpraxis, geistige Ruhe und intuitive Einsicht*; Vol. 3. *Vertiefung der Praxis*, trans. Henrik Havlat (Zürich: Theseus Verlag, 1990-2).

⁶⁰ Karl Debreczeny, “Tibetan Interest in Chinese Visual Modes: The Foundation of the Tenth Karmapa’s ‘Chinese-style *Thang ka* Painting,’” in *Mahāmudrā and the Bka’-brgyud Tradition*, eds. Roger R. Jackson and Matthew T. Kapstein (Andiaast: IIBS, 2011), 387-424.

⁶¹ *Dpal rgyal dbang Karma pa sku phreng rim byon gyi gsung 'bum phyogs sgrigs*, 108 Volumes, ed. Mkhan-po Lo-yag-bkra-shis (Khreng-tu’u: Dpal-brtsegs-bod-yig-dpe-rnying-zhib-’jug-khang, 2013). For a brief description, which focuses on volumes I and II, see chapter 4.1, “Content, editions, origin, and authorship of the Collection.”

⁶² Ronald M. Davidson, *Indian Esoteric Buddhism – A Social History of the Tantric Movement* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 113-4.

institutions, who practiced “noninstitutional esoterism.” In his book, Davidson offers a detailed description of both forces and the way in which they led to what Davidson calls the mature esoteric synthesis, I refer to his work.⁶³

Though Davidson questions the idea that esoteric Buddhism would have come from a tantric primordial Buddha such as Vajradhara, this is nevertheless what we find in the *Mig ’byed*, which lists Vajradhara / Rdo-rje-’chang as the origin of the Bka’-brgyud lineage. Also, some of the transmission lineages that are part of the works in the “Düsum Khyenpa Collection, explicitly go back to Vajradhara (Rdo-rje ’chang), “Vajra Holder,” as they list Vajradhara at first place in the lineage. Other lineages, however, have a single *mahāsiddha*, mentioned as the first name, or Jo-bo Atiśa, or Düsum Khyenpa, and so forth.

Also, to use Davidson’s concept to the second sociology of knowledge, we find in the works an explicit connection with the “Perfected,” in that names of *siddhas* and even *mahāsiddhas*, “Great perfected,” such as Saraha, Kambala, Indrabodhi, Ti-lo-pa, and Nā-ro-pa are listed.

Regarding the very terminology of *vajrayāna/mantrayāna*, it is also important to explore how this can possibly be understood from a twelfth-century Tibetan perspective. Specifically, how might Düsum Khyenpa have understood these terms, would he have regarded *vajrayāna/mantrayāna* as a “vehicle” (*yāna*) separate from the Great Vehicle (*mahāyāna*)? The question is important because nowadays within the Karma Kaṃ-tshang some state that it is *vajrayāna* what is practiced.

For this I want to refer to a passage in his “Teachings to an assembly,” [4] *Tshogs chos*. After encouraging his students to practice the Great Vehicle (*theg pa chen po, mahāyāna*), he recommends three forms of so-called “offerings” (*mchod pa*): best, medium, and least.

The best is the “offering-which-accomplishes” (*rab sgrub pa ’i mchod pa*) which can be done in two ways. One way is by putting effort in to the practice of the “six perfections” (*pha rol tu phin pa, pāramitā*), and so forth. The other way is through the practice of a “secret mantra” (*gsang snags, guhyamantra*) within the context of meditating on the Creation and Completion stage.⁶⁴

What he recommends could be called two “methods or means” (the Skt. word for means or expedient is *nāya*) within the Great Vehicle. Therefore, we can say that in Düsum Khyenpa’s twelfth-century milieu, the application of “secret mantra” was not regarded as a vehicle (*yāna*) separate from *mahāyāna*. What was practiced was *mahāyāna* with various methods.

⁶³ Davidson, *Indian Esoteric Buddhism*, 113-235.

⁶⁴ SW ka [275:5] ... de yang [274:6] rab sgrub pa’i mchod pa yin te= pha rol tu phyin pa’i dbang du byas na= pha rol tu phyin pa drug bsdu ba’i dngos po bzhi la spyod pa yin= gsang snags kyi [275:1] dbang du byas na= bskyed rdzogs thun bzhi la sogs par sgom pa yin/

In the Düsüm Khyenpa Collection we hardly find the term *rdo rje theg pa (vajrayāna)*. Until now I traced the term only twice and just in one work of the Collection.⁶⁵

1.3 Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa – aspects of his life

In earlier research I worked already on several aspects of Düsüm Khyenpa's life of which I present summaries in sections 1.3.1-5 below.⁶⁶ The first section, 1.3.1, offers a sketch of Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa's life, it is an abstract of the early thirteenth-century *rnam thar* the *Gser gling* of which the full translation is offered later in Chapter 3 (in footnotes to 1.3.1, however, some other early sources are also mentioned). The second section 1.3.2 discusses the dharma-teacher Düsüm Khyenpa and his peacemaking activity. The third, 1.3.3, goes into his period of study and Buddhist doctrines he encountered. Section 1.3.4 offers an overview of his teachers, while 1.3.5 does the same but of his students to which he passed on his training. Section 1.3.6 discusses the locations which have been important in his life. And to conclude the overview, section 1.3.7 goes into some social and economic aspects of the master's life.

1.3.1 A sketch of Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa's life

Düsüm Khyenpa was born in North-east Khams (East-Tibet) in the year 1110 C.E.⁶⁷, in a region called Tre-shod⁶⁸, in the Spo royal family-line and from the Ldong bloodline⁶⁹. The name of his father was Sgom-pa-'phel, the name of his mother Ming-'dren,⁷⁰ he received the birthname Dge-'phel and took novice ordination⁷¹ (*dge tshul*) at age sixteen.

⁶⁵ In the first work of the set of three of the [14] *Rnam bzhi rgyud grol*.

⁶⁶ See 1.1, "An outline of research on Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa."

⁶⁷ A specific date of birth is not found in the earliest sources. However, the date can be reconstructed from passing away in 1193. For details see fn. to the year Düsüm Khyenpa passed away.

⁶⁸ For the location of places mentioned in this sketch, see 1.3.6, "Locations of places important in Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa's life," and Appendix II, "Detailed list of Places, mentioned in the *Gser gling* and *Zhus lan 2* and their locations."

⁶⁹ "Ldong bloodline," one of four original Tibetan tribes, see Smith, *Tibetan Texts*, 218-9, "The Four Original Tibetan tribes (*nang gi mi'u rigs*): (1) Se, (2) Rmu, (3) Ldong, (4) Stong.

⁷⁰ SL: Spo, Ldong, Sgom-pa-'phel, Ming-'dren (SL – abbrev. of the *Gser gling*)

K III: Spo, Ldong, no name of the father, no name of the mother (K III – abbrev. of the Düsüm Khyenpa *rnam thar* by Karma-pa III, Rang-byung rdo-rje)

DM: Spo, Ldong, Sgom-pa-rdo-rje-mgon-po, Lha-lcam (princess) Ming-'dren (DM – abbrev. of the *Deb ther dmar po*)

⁷¹ SL: *dge tshul* at age 16 from Mchog-gi-bla-ma, *bsnyen rdzogs* from Sa-phug-pa after age 19, no

He took final ordination at age twenty on which occasion he received the ordination name Chos-kyi-grags-pa⁷², after which he travelled to Central-Tibet to study Buddhism. In this study-period he met many teachers, among which *dge bshes* Rgya-dmar, *dge bshes* Phya-pa, *dge bshes* Spa-Tshab and *bla ma* Bai-ro (or Vairocanavajra).

At age thirty, in the year 1140, he set out to meet his teacher Sgam-po-pa or *bla ma* Lha-rje (a.k.a. D(w)ags-po Lha-rje, 1079-1153), one of the most notable students of Mid-la ras-pa. At that time he also met Sgom-tshul (full name Sgom-pa Tshul-khrims Snying-po, 1116-69), *bla ma* Lha-rje's nephew, who also was to become one of his teachers.

In those days (twelfth century Tibet), it was customary in a meditative practice lineage that after a teacher had given specific directions, the student would be sent away. He had to practice in strict solitude in the mountains, often at ancient 'power-places' where famous practitioners from the past had meditated as well.

Düsum Khyenpa was trained according to this approach. After having spent some time in Dwags-la Sgam-po, he was sent for an initial three-month practice to Zangs-ri. Following this, he practiced three years in Sgam-po putting a lot of effort into his practice. The life story mentions that among eight-hundred practitioners (*grwa pa*) who lived there, he was renowned for his great endurance in meditation.

After that he was sent for fourteen months practice at 'Ol-kha. After another six months of practice in Sgam-po, he received confirmation from his teacher that he made good progress. He was then ordered to wander around as a religious mendicant, which he did, and on his way he received practice transmissions from other teachers as well.

After that he practiced three summers and winters in solitude in Bya-bzangs-brag in 'Phan-yul, a region North-east of the city of Lha-sa, followed by three months of practice in Sgam-po. Again, his teacher sent him forth and told him to go meditate in Mon. On his way back he spent forty days with *bla ma* Ras-chung-pa, a student of Mid-la ras-pa like Sgam-po-pa, he requested teachings on the *Chos drug* and verified some details. Returning, he stayed for one year in D(w)ags-po after which he was ordered to proceed to Gangs-dkar where he meditated at Pha-'ong-dkar-leb for one summer.

ordination name

K III: *rab tu byung* at age 16 from Mchog-gi-bla-ma, ordination name Chos-kyi-grags-pa, *bsnyen rdzogs* not mentioned

DM: *rab tu byung* at age 16 from Mchog-gi-bla (*mkhan po*) and Phyag-seng-ge-grags (*slob dpon*), ordination name Chos-kyi-grags-pa; *bsnyen rdzogs* at age 20 from Pa-phug-pa (*mkhan po*), Ye-shes-blo-gros (*slob dpon*) and Gcung-po (*gsang ston*)

⁷² Ordination name Chos-kyi-grags-pa, though mentioned in K III and DM it is not mentioned in the SL biographical part. However, elsewhere in SL, in the middle of Chapter 15 "His Appearings to others in numerous Ways," we find a passage in which *bla ma* Dbu-se, the Grey-haired *bla ma*, one of the names of Düsum Khyenpa is equalled to (citation): "... Śrī Dharmakīrti in Tibetan Chos-kyi-grags-pa ...". The passage which the *Gser gling* includes here is a paraphrase of the second work in a set of three of the [14] *Rnam bzhi rgyud grol*, part of the "Düsum Khyenpa Collection."

Back in Sgam-po, his teacher told him to pack and leave for Skam-po Gnas-nang (situated in Khams, East-Tibet). Unfortunately he could not go,⁷³ because of a foot disease. After that he spent three summer-months at the old mountain Gzhu-smad-kyi-lha, and then decided to practice for the winter at Gzhu-gru-bzhi.

Twelve years of accomplishment practice (*bsgrub pa*) had passed now and he decided to settle at Gzhu-gru-bzhi, “Four-cornered-bow,” in the region Tsa-ri, where he would stay for eight years.

The above period covers twenty years of endurance and perseverance in meditative practice, at various locations in the Tibetan provinces Dbus and Gtsang. At this moment in time, Düsüm Khyenpa is fifty years old. At the age of twenty he had left his home-province Khams (East-Tibet). He studied for ten years in the province Dbus (Central-Tibet) and afterwards practiced meditation for twenty years in Dbus and Gtsang (West-Tibet). In our Common Era counting of years we have arrived now at the year 1160. By then, his teacher Sgam-po-pa had already passed away seven years earlier, and it is Sgam-po-pa’s nephew Sgom-tshul who was now in charge of the Dwags-po ‘seat’.

At the age of fifty, he returned to Khams. At first he spent some years in the region Tre, where he was born. Then, at the age of fifty-five he proceeded to Skam-po Gnas-nang also in Khams. Altogether he stayed there about nineteen years, teaching, supporting the Dwags-po ‘seat’ with gifts, and bringing peace to the region. Later at the age of seventy-four he moved on and arrived at the place Karma where he established a hermitage or monastery, Karma-dgon.

After two or three years in Karma he decided to return to Dbus (Central-Tibet), where in the year 1187, he established his Mtshur-phu (or ‘Tshur-phu) ‘seat’ (*gdan sa*) in the region Stod-lung(s). He lived at Mtshur-phu for another five years and passed away in the year 1193⁷⁴, at the age of eighty-four.

⁷³ Later in his life Düsüm Khyenpa wants to fulfill *bla ma* Lha-rje’s wish and arrives at age 55 at Skam-po Gnas-nang in Khams, where he founded a monastery with this name, find details on the place in a later footnote.

⁷⁴ “**Year of passing away**,” the *Gser gling* (SL), SW ka 121:6-122:1, states that Düsüm Khyenpa passed away at age eighty-four in the **Year of the Ox**, on the third day of the [Tibetan first month, the] tiger month of the new year (*gdung lo brgyad bcu rtsa bzhi la glang gi lo gsar stag gi zla ba’i tshes gsum*).

The Year of the Ox is most probably **1193 C.E.**, and then should be the **Water-ox** year.

The *Deb ther dmar po* (DM) written about 150 years later, p. 439, states *gdung lo brgyad cu rtsa bzhi sa glang lo* ... “*Sa glang*” is the ‘Earth-ox’ year, but this is probably a mistake. According to TC, p. 3223, the ‘earth-ox’ year corresponds to the year 1169 C.E., a date far away from being present at Mtshur-phu monastery in the nineties of the twelfth century.

The *Blue Annals* (250 years later) render also Water-ox (*chu glang*) year, 1193 C.E.

A “**year of bearth**” is not found in the earliest sources, not in the life story by Bde-chung-ba and Rgang-lo, nor in K III, and therefore has to be reconstructed: 1193 (SL) minus age 84 (SL) leads to **1110 C.E.**

The counting of lives in Tibet starts from the moment of conception, which means that born in 1110 he would then be already about 1 year old, in 1111 two years, in 1113 four years, 1113 plus eighty makes 1193 C.E.

In sum, we find in the life stories, that Düsum Khyenpa studied, lived a life of meditative practice, supported others on the Buddhist path, sent gifts to ‘his organisation’ (his teacher’s ‘seat’) and brought peace wherever he was. On a physical level he must have been quite an ascetic, as the life story mentions that for (meditative) retreats he recommends to bring only small supplies.⁷⁵ A sixteenth century statue of Düsum Khyenpa, reproduced below, makes an ascetic impression indeed.

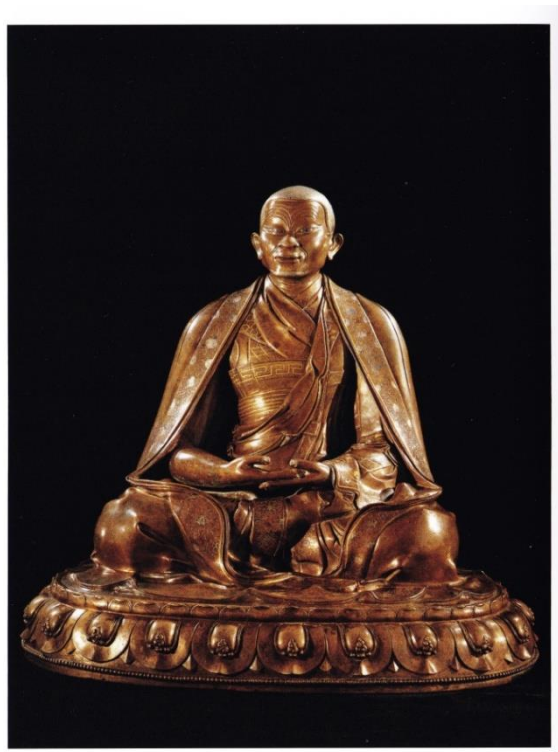


Figure 4 Statue of Düsum Khyenpa, ca. 16th century⁷⁶

⁷⁵ *Gser gling*, SW ka 70, “... Wishing [to have] abundant food is ‘tough’ [to carry] on the back and not necessary for the body in the first place, and [further] does not lead to *dharma*.”

⁷⁶ Jackson, *Patron and Painter*, 44. Statue of the First Karmapa, ca. 16th century, copper alloy with gilding and silver and lapis inlay. Height: 13 in. (33 cm). Courtesy of A & J Speelman, London. Literature: H. Stoddard, 2006, p.44, fig. 28a.

A table of historical information on Düsum Khyenpa as found in the early sources⁷⁷

epithet by which best known	Dbu-se-ba (the Grey-haired), Khams-pa Se-bo (the Grey from Kham), Grub-thob Dbu-se (the Grey-haired <i>siddha</i>). Later in history Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa (Knower of the three times)
birth name, ordination name	Dge-'phel, birthname (SL, K III, DM) Chos-kyi-grags-pa, Skt. Dharmakīrti (SL mentions Chos-kyi-grags-pa and the Sanskrit equivalent Dharmakīrti in an 'inserted story' in Chapt. 15; K III and DM consider Chos-kyi-grags-pa to be his ordination name)
other epithets	Grub-thob <i>bla ma</i> , Grub-thob rnal-'byor pa (<i>siddha-yogin</i>), Gnas-nang-pa (Gnas-nang, a place in the region Kham where he lived for 19 years, see below) Chos-rje (SL), Dpal-ldan Rin-po-che (SL)
father's name	Sgom-pa-'phel (SL), - (K III), Sgom-pa-rdo-rje-mgon-po (DM)
mother's name	Ming-'dren (SL), - (K III), Lha-lcam-ming-'dren-ma (DM)
1110 C.E.	Birth in Tre-shod in Khams (East-Tibet) (date of birth re-constructed from SL, see fn. at the end of section A <i>Sketch of his Life</i>)
age sixteen	Novice ordination (<i>dge tshul</i>) at Dka'-brag (SW SL), Ka-brag (CW SL), Ska-brag (DM)
age nineteen	Leaves his birth region Khams and travels to Dbus (Central-Tibet) for study and practice
ca. 1130, age twenty	Arrives in Dbus, lives 30 years in Dbus and Gtsang (West-Tibet)
ca. age twenty	Full ordination (<i>bsnyen rdzogs</i>) taken from Sa-phug-pa
ca. 1140, age thirty	Finds his 'root'-teachers Sgam-po-pa and Sgom-tshul and engages in twelve years of intensive meditative practice
ca. 1152-1160	Period of 8 years in Gzhu, in the Tsa-ri region, Gzhu-gru-bzhi hermitage
1153	Sgam-po-pa passes away
ca. 1160, age fifty	Leaves Dbus and returns to Khams
ca. 1165	Founding of Skam-po Gnas-nang monastery (SL: at age 55 he came to Skam-po Gnas-nang), main location for 19 years
1169	Sgom-tshul passes away
ca. 1184	Founding of Karma-dgon monastery (estimated date, SL mentions the event after a passage "... being 74 old")
ca. 1187, age 77	Leaves Khams and returns to Dbus (Central-Tibet) again
ca. 1187	Founding of Mtshur-phu monastery in Dbus
1193 C.E.	Passes away at Mtshur-phu monastery in the '[water-] ox' year 1193 (SL)

⁷⁷ Early sources abbreviated: SL *Gser gling*, K III *Düsum Khyenpa rnam thar* by the Karma-pa III Rang-byung rdo rje, DM *Deb ther dmar po*, SW *Selected writings* edition, CW *Collected Works* edition.

1.3.2 Dharma-teacher and peacemaker

In the *Gser gling* we read that from about the age of fifty, Düsüm Khyenpa's life changes. Formerly a scholar and *yogin*, mostly practicing in retreats, he now also becomes a dharma-teacher. It is at this time that he returns to his birth-region Khams (East Tibet) and, after some years of travelling around in Khams, he establishes Skam-po Gnas-nang monastery, which would become the main location of his activities for the next nineteen years.

During this period, he travelled through the region, sharing dharma lectures and teachings, giving empowerments (*dbang bskur*, *abhiṣeka*) and inaugurating (*rab gnas*) Buddhist temples. During this period he traveled he granted *abhiṣekas* on Cakrasamvara Heruka, Vajrayoginī, Hevajra, and more. The Düsüm Khyenpa Collection contains manuals for several *abhiṣekas*. He must have been an inspiring person, because many people came to pay their respects.

Regarding his teaching, work [6], the *Tshogs chos*, “Teachings to Assembly,” of the Düsüm Khyenpa Collection provides us with an impression of what was considered to be important in spiritual practice communities at the end of the twelfth century in Tibet. The *Tshogs chos* offers five lectures of a more general content delivered to students. In the first lecture, for example, he recommends they practice the “Seven branches” (*yan lag bdun pa*) that accumulate merit,⁷⁸ the “Hundred-syllable [mantra practice on Vajrasattva] and the *Maṇḍala*-[offerings]” (*maṇḍala dang yi ge brgya pa*),⁷⁹ to generate bodhicitta (*byang chub kyi sems*),⁸⁰ to practice the Generation- and Completion stage interconnected (*bskyed rim pa dang rdzogs rim pa'i zung 'brel zu bsgom*), and so forth.

The Düsüm Khyenpa Collection, discussed in Chapter 4, also contains many spiritual practice works with which the master was familiar and which he transmitted.

It is thought that he also must have transmitted the so-called “white panacea” (*dkar po zhig thub*). His main teacher *bla ma* Lha-rje uses the term *dkar po zhig thub* to refer to a specific spiritual practice experience. This term and how Düsüm Khyenpa works with it is described in *Zhus lan 2*, which is the subject of one of the translations provided in Chapter 3.

⁷⁸ *yan lag bdun pa*, “Seven branches” that accumulate merit: Branch 1: Practice of prostrations or paying homage, by body, speech and mind. Branch 2: Offerings, real or in our mind. Branch 3: Admitting and laying aside negative actions; Branch 4: Rejoicing in others positive deeds and actions. Branch 5: Requesting Buddhas to turn the wheel of dharma. Branch 6: Requesting Buddhas plus teachers not to leave cyclic existence. Branch 7: Dedicating all merit.

For information on Branch 1 see e.g. Dbang-phyug Rdo-rje, Karmapa IX, *The Mahāmudrā: Eliminating the Darkness of Ignorance* (with commentary given orally by Beru Khyentze Rinpoche), trans. Alexander Berzin (New Delhi: Library of Tibetan Works & Archives, 1978, revised 1989), 5-8.

⁷⁹ For information on these two practices see e.g. Dbang-phyug Rdo-rje, *Mahāmudrā*, 9-15.

⁸⁰ See e.g. Dorji Wangchuk, *The Resolve to Become a Buddha, A Study of the Bodhicitta Concept in Indo-Tibetan Buddhism* (Tokyo: The International Institute for Buddhist Studies, 2007).

Another activity of the master was that of a peacemaker. The *Gser gling* has three passages on this peacemaking activity, two from this time that he lived in Khams (from age fifty) but these two are a bit vague. The third, however, is more specific and refers to the period during which he returned to Dbus (Central Tibet) and lived there for the last five years of his life.⁸¹ It is unclear for what reason, Düsüm Khyenpa, at the advanced age seventy-seven, took up the difficult journey from Khams to Dbus. The passage says that it was to settle every disagreement between the Tshal-pa and Dag-ra-ba.⁸² This disagreement may have been the very reason for leaving Skam-po gnas-nang; and he may have received an invitation to mediate between the conflicting parties.

The *Gser gling* offers no details about what the conflict was about, but another source sheds light on this. Carl Yanamoto describes how an important Bka'-brgyud teacher, Sgom-pa Tshul-khrims snying-po (1116-69), who had been also a teacher of Düsüm Khyenpa, told his student *bla ma* Zhang-g.yu-brag-pa-brtson-'grus-grags-pa (1122-93) to go and restore "law and order" in the city of Lha-sa, the capital of Central-Tibet. At that time, temples were being burnt down in Lha-sa and pilgrims were being attacked because of political conflicts.⁸³ *Bla ma* Zhang is considered to be the founder of what later would become the Tshal-pa Bka'-brgyud, and the Tshal-pa were one of the conflicting parties according to the *Gser gling*. Düsüm Khyenpa probably mediated in this specific "law and order" conflict in which *bla ma* Zhang was involved, at the request of his teacher.

Düsüm Khyenpa may very well have been the right person for this because he was greatly respected by *bla ma* Zhang, as we shall see below. Not only was *bla ma* Zhang twelve years younger than Düsüm Khyenpa, but in addition to being a Buddhist master, he was also a prolific writer and poet, and a fighter on the battlefield.

⁸¹ [1] SW 76: ... *trer byon pa rang gis 'khrug pa thams cad* ... "having come [to Tre] every disagreement naturally calmed down by itself"

[2] SW 77: */zla med du byon nas ... mi thun pa rnams bsdums btson thams cad bkrol* ... "When he arrived in Zla-med ... [persons] with disagreements reconciled [and] every prisoner was set free."

[3] SW 78: = *de nas stod lung(s) mtshur phur gdan phab= 'tshal pa dang dag ra ba'i 'krug pa thams cad bsdums yul mi rnams bde bar byas*= "At that time he founded the 'seat' at Mtshur-phu Stod-lung. Having settled every disagreement between the 'Tshal-pa and Dag-ra-ba, he brought happiness to the people in the region."

⁸² Unclear for me is who the "Dag-ra-ba" might have been. Interesting detail is that *bla ma* Zhang as founder of the Tshal-pa Bka'-brgyud lineage probably participated in the conflict.

⁸³ Carl Shigeo Yanamoto, *Vision and Violence: Lama Zhang and the Dialectics of Political Authority and Religious Charisma in Twelfth-century Central Tibet* (Dissertation University of Virginia, 2009). Yanamoto examines the life of *bla ma* Zhang-g.yu-brag-pa-brtson-'grus-grags-pa (1122-93), founder of the Tshal-pa Bka'-brgyud order of Tibetan Buddhism, vii:

"Zhang was not only a literary innovator and a revered master of his tradition, but was also deeply involved in the political and military conflicts of his time. [He lived at the time] ... of the Buddhist revival in medieval Central Tibet: the transformation of scattered tantric Buddhist lineages into powerful religious orders, their increasing 'wordly' involvements, the articulation of sectarian and individual identities, politico-religious conflicts and violence, ..."

See also Karl Yanamoto, *Vision and Violence: Lama Zhang and the Politics of Charisma in Twelfth-Century Central Tibet* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2012).

Bla ma Zhang’s respect for Düsüm Khyenpa is testified to in a spiritual song (*mgur*, *dohā*) that he wrote, probably either when or after Düsüm Khyenpa came to mediate.⁸⁴ An interesting detail is that Zhang received the *dohā* transmission on how to compose these kinds of songs, from his Indian root-*bla ma* Vairocana, ⁸⁵ who was also one of Düsüm Khyenpa’s teachers. Probably Vairocana handed the *dohā* transmission over to Düsüm Khyenpa as well, because we find in the “Düsüm Khyenpa Collection” a separate work called [7] *Rje dus gsum mkhyen pa mgur ’bum*.

Below a translation is offered of the *bla ma* Zhang’s *mgur* or *dohā* on the Grey-haired *siddha* (Düsüm Khyenpa).

“Spoken at the time of meeting the Grey-haired *siddha*”

Homage to the Guru! *Bla ma* Rin-po-che [Zhang] composed the song at the time he came to meet Rin-po-che “Grey-hair,” it is a wonderful and marvelous teaching indeed!

- [1] “An old man, fabricated? Not in the least,
A manifestation of “unborn” instead,
A wonderful *yogin* indeed!
- At the beginning, you came from Khams,
[5] In the middle, left for Khams,
Now came from Khams [again], and
Though it appeared that you came and left,
You did not leave,
You did not come.
- [10] You are a *yogin*, without going or coming!
- At the beginning a youth in a body,
In the middle an adult, and
Though now looking aged,
Youth, adulthood, and old age
[15] Pass by; they do not exist in your “body.”
You are a *yogin* are without birth or death!
- At the beginning you meditated in solitude,
Then cared for a circle of students, and
Now gathered [here] an assembly, in three [ways].
[20] Though it appears to be a gathered assembly,
To you it is not something gathered,
It is without gathering [just] *yogin*’s joy!
- Rin-po-che here ‘remains’ and while
We go onward,
[25] Surrounded by many circles of students,
You, do not come or leave for one instant,
You always meet us from the *dharmadhātu*⁸⁶.
You are a *yogin* beyond gathering or separating!”⁸⁷

⁸⁴ See verseline 6 of the *mgur*, which says that Düsüm Khyenpa returned from Khams to Dbus and stayed there for the last five years of his life.

⁸⁵ Yanamoto, *Vision and Violence*, 45.

⁸⁶ *dharmadhātu*, “fundamental expanse of all phenomena.”

1.3.3 *Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa's period of study and Buddhist doctrines encountered*

This section will discuss Düsüm Khyenpa's period of studies and the texts he encountered and how this provided a foundation for the later teachings he would receive. Importantly, the later teachings developed differently or separately from the earlier foundation in the period of studies.

From the age of twenty to the age of thirty, Düsüm Kyhenpa studied at Gsang-phu Ne'u-thog "college", located in Central-Tibet, south of Lhasa. Gsang-phu was Tibet's earliest and greatest "enclave of learning." It was a monastic university, founded in 1073 by Rngog Legs-pa'i shes-rab, one of the three most famous disciples of Atiśa.⁸⁸

⁸⁷ *Bla ma Zhang's Collected Works*, Vol. Ca ga, V. 639 as *mgur* no. 14, title *Grub thob dbu se dang mjal dus gsungs pa*, it corresponds to TBRC 26673, Vol. 5, ff 80r-81r. The song has 28 verse lines, each line consists of seven syllables, except for the verse lines no. 2 and 23 which have eight syllables.

/ na mo gu ru/ bla ma rin po ches/ rin po che dbu se dang mjal du byon pa'i tshe mgur bzhengs pa/ e ma ngo mtshar rmad kyi chos/

/ [1] mi rgan bcos ma [80v:1] 'di 'dra ma/ / skye med kyi rnam 'phrul 'di 'dra ma/ / e ma ngo mtshar rnal 'byor pa/ / dang po khams nas byon pa dang // [5] bar du khams su bzhud pa dang / / da lta khams nas [80v:2] byon pa dang // byon pa bzhud pa ltar snang yang // khyod kiyis gcig kyang bzhud pa med// khyod kiyis gcig kyang byon pa med// [10] 'gro 'ong med pa'i rnal 'byor pa/ / dang po sku na [80v:3] gzhon pa dang // bar du dar la bab pa dang // da lta bgres pa ltar snang yang // gzhon dang dar dang bgres pa dang // [15] khyed kyi sku la 'da' ba med// skye shi med pa'i rnal [80v:4] 'byor pa/ / dang po gcig pur bsgoms pa dang/ / de nas 'khor slob bskyangs pa dang // da lta tshogs pa bsdus pa gsum// [20] tshogs pa bsdus pa ltar snang yang // khyed kiyis [80v:5] gcig kyang bsdus pa med// spro bsdu med pa'i rnal 'byor pa/ / rin po che 'di ru bzhugs pa dang // nged cag phar la 'gro ba dang // [25] 'khor slob mang pos bskor ba dang // [81r:1] khyed la skad cig byon *bzhud* med/ / chos dbyings dang nas rtag tu mjal// 'du 'bral med pa'i rnal 'byor pa/ / zhes gsungs pas/

Line [81r:1] Corrected *bzhud* in stead of *bzhung* (nonexistent), personal pronouns were added in the translation.

bdag [81r:2] cag de na 'dug pa thams cad la byin rlabs khyad par can zhugs so/ / ithi//
"Thus spoken, may we all be in that [state of realization of the Grey-haired *siddha*] and enter [His] excellent spiritual influence [or blessing]."

⁸⁸ See Pascale Hugon, "Enclaves of Learning, Religious and Intellectual Communities in Tibet: The Monastery of gSang phu Ne'u thog in the Early Centuries of the Later Diffusion of Buddhism," in *Meanings of Community Across Medieval Eurasia*, eds. E. Houden, Ch. Lutter and W. Pohl (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2016), 293.

Hugon offers as founding date 1071; alternative dates such as 1059 exist also, see Hugon, 291, fn. 10.

For Gsang-phu Ne'u-thog, see also Leonard W.J van der Kuijp, "The Monastery of Gsang-phu Ne'u-thog and Its Abbatical Succession from ca. 1073 to 1250." *Berliner Indologischen Studien* 3 (1987), 103-127.

Also, Karl-Heinz Everding, "gSang phu Ne'u thog, Tibet's Earliest Monastic School (1073): Reflections on the Rise of its Grva tshang bcu gsum and Bla khag bcu," *Zentral Asiatischen Studien* 38 (2009), 137-54.

Matthew Akester, *Jamyang Khyentsé Wangpo's Guide to Central Tibet* (Chicago: Serindia Publications, 2016), 226-9, offers an overview of the history of Gsang-phu Ne'u-thog. It had 500 students at the beginning and their numbers continued to multiply over the next century. The fourth abbot was Phyva-pa Chos-kyi-seng-ge a master of Indian scholastic philosophy. Within a decade of Chos-kyi-seng-ge's passing, the organization of the monastery was split into two abbacies, 'upper and lower' (*gling stod smad*). Although as an academy of philosophy its orientation was basically non-sectarian, the monastery came decisively under Sa-skyapa influence during the 13th century, at the height of Yuan power. A great number of the great scholars of various schools were educated at Gsang-phu in their youth, from Phag-mo-gru-pa Rdo-rje rgyal-po and Karma-pa Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa through Gyag-sde Pañ-chen and Klong-chen rab-'byams-pa up to the era of 'Yaktruk' Sangs-rgyas dpal, Rong-ston Śākya Rgyal-mtshan and Bo-dong Phyogs-las rnam-rgyal.

This period of study can be assumed to have been very formative in Düsüm Khyenpa's development. Unfortunately, the precise content of the curriculum taught at that time is unclear.⁸⁹ What is known is that Rngog Legs-pa'i shes-rab and his nephew Rngog Blo-ldan shes-rab both belonged to the powerful Rngog clan and that they were both also respected religious teachers.

Gsang-phu Ne'u-thog offered higher level studies with a strong emphasis on epistemology and logic. Rngog Blo-ldan-shes-rab also had a strong influence on the content of the studies. His main interests included epistemology, Madhyamaka philosophy and the group of texts known as the Five Treatises of Maitreya.

Three other important teachers at Gsang-phu during the time of Düsüm Khyenpa were Rgya-dmar-pa Byang-chub-grags, Phy(w)a-pa Chos-kyi-seng-ge and Spa-tshab Nyi-ma-grags.⁹⁰

While Düsüm Khyenpa's oldest life story, the one by Bde-chung-ba, does not elaborate on the period of study, the second oldest one, the *Gser gling* by Rgang-lo does, albeit with just a few lines. The relevant passage says:

“He studied the *Shar gsum* and the *Byams chos* under *dge bshes* Rgya-dmar and Phya-pa. After that, in 'Phan-yul, he studied the *Rigs tshogs* under translator *dge bshes* Pa-tshab. Then, having taken full ordination from *dge bshes* Sa-phug-pa, he studied the '*dul ba*. Following, he travelled to Stag-dur and did Bka'-gdams [studies] for five years. Under Ra-lcags Ston-tshul he studied the Hevajra *tantra*, Cakrasaṃvara *tantra*, and Mahāmāyā, Lam 'bras, etc., and under Brag-dkar-ba the aural tradition of the A-ro-system of the Great Perfection.”⁹¹

Based on this, we can surmise five categories of works studied, namely: (1) *Shar gsum*, (2) *Byams chos*, (3) *Rigs tshogs*, (4) '*dul ba*, and (5) tantric works.

The content of the first three categories is listed below, including the titles of the works they comprise. For each of them the Sanskrit title, the translation of the Sanskrit title, the full Tibetan title, and in some cases the short Tibetan title is provided. To specify the exact location of the original Sanskrit and Tibetan works and to present a full overview of published

It is apparent from 18th c. accounts that there was no longer a functioning monastery at Gsang-phu, [...]. When Khyentsé visited the place in the 1840s an 'ordinary village' had grown up among decaying walls of the place [...]. Apart from the ancient statues and reliquaries in the assembly hall, and the revered protector chapel, little remained of Tibet's greatest medieval seminary by the time it was demolished in the 1960s. The ruins are spread across a cliff-top plateau. The outer courtyard and upper floor chapels of Gsang-phu's 18th c. assembly hall had been restored in the early 20th c. and Akester reproduces records of what visitors found at those days, before the later destruction.

⁸⁹ Hugon, “Enclaves of Learning,” 305: “Nothing is known of an established curriculum, potential standard texts or scholastics degree in the early days.”

⁹⁰ On these three, see, 1.3.4, “Teachers that guided him.”

⁹¹ SW ka 59:2, ... dge bshes **rgya dmar** dang **phy a pa** la **shar gsum** dang **byams** [59:3] **chos** bsan= de nas '**phan yul** du dge bshes **pa tshab lo tsa** la **rigs tshogs** bsan [sic.] = de nas dge bshes **sa phug pa** la bsnen [59:4] rdzogs mdzad nas '**dul ba** bsan= de nas **stag dur** du byon nas lo lnga **bka' gdams** mdzad= **ra lcags ston tshul** la **dgyes** [59:5] **rdor** gyi rgyud dang= **bde mchog** dang= **ma hā ma ya** dang= **lam 'bras** la sogs pa dang= **brag dkar ba** la **rdzogs chen a ro**'i lugs [59:6] bsnen rgyud bsan no/

translations and research on all of these works lies beyond the scope of this dissertation. However, the content of the separate works of the *Shar gsum*, *Byams chos* and *Rigs tshogs* will be described in general terms, because it gives us an impression of the overall curriculum at the Gsang-phu Ne'u-thog college in the twelfth century.

As for the first category, the term *Shar gsum* is usually understood as “the three [teachers] from the East (i.e. Bengal)” i.e. Jñānagarbha, Śāntarakṣita and Kamalaśīla, or as the three works ascribed to them: *Satvadvayavibhaṅgakārikā*, *Madhyamakālaṃkāra*, and *Madhyamakāloka*. The teachers and the works belong to the eighth-century Yogācāra-Madhyamaka (*rnal 'byor spyod pa'i dbu ma*) school of philosophy, which generated a synthesis of the Madhyamaka and the Yogācāra/Vijñānavāda on the surface-level process (but not on that of ultimate reality). The Tibetan doxographical literature refers to the school as the Yogācāra-Svātantrika-Madhyamaka (*rnal 'byor spyod pa'i dbu ma rang rgyud pa*).⁹² The three works of the *Shar gsum* are briefly described below.

- (1) *Satvadvayavibhaṅgakārikā*, “Verses on the Distinction between the Two Truths,” *Bden pa gnyis rnam par 'byed pa*, by the eight-century Jñānagarbha (Ye-shes snying-po, ca. 700-760), a scholar of the Yogācāra-Madhyamaka school of philosophy. The two truths are the ultimate truth (*paramārtha-satya*) and the relative truth (*saṃvṛtti-satya*). The work is composed in verses (*kārikā*) and also includes a prose auto commentary (*vṛtti*). A subcommentary (*pañjikā*) on the work also exists, attributed to Śāntarakṣita. Malcolm Eckel offered a translation of the *kārikā*, *vṛtti* and *pañjikā* based on a critical text of four Tibetan editions.⁹³ One of Jñānagarbha's teachers was Śrīgupta.⁹⁴
- (2) *Madhyamakālaṃkāra*, “Ornament of the Middle Way,” *Dbu ma rgyan*, by the Indian teacher Śāntarakṣita (Zhi-ba-'tsho, ca. 725-88). This work is preserved only in a Tibetan translation. It sets forth Śāntarakṣita's philosophical position. It is considered to be the basic text of the Yogācāra-Madhyamaka school and consists of a treatise in 97 stanzas accompanied by an auto commentary (*vṛtti*). The *Vṛtti* was probably written after the *Tattvasaṃgraha*, one of Śāntarakṣita's other works.⁹⁵

⁹² See Ruegg, *Literature Madhyamaka Philosophy*, 87-8, for the Yogācāra-Madhyamaka synthesis and the difference between Yogācāra-Svātantrika-Madhyamaka and Sautrāntika-Svātantrika-Madhyamaka.

As for Yogācāra-Svātantrika-Madhyamaka itself (p. 88): “The Yogācāra-Svātantrika-Madhyamaka synthesized the pure Madhyamaka – which it regarded as perfectly valid and adequate with respect to the *paramārtha* [the absolute] – with a form of philosophical analysis derived from the Yogācāra/Vijñānavāda, a school which by the eighth century had attained a high degree of development and whose achievements could not, it was evidently thought, be ignored by the Mādhyamika.”

⁹³ Malcolm David Eckel, *Jñānagarbha on the Two Truths – an Eight Century Handbook of Madhyamaka Philosophy* (New York: State University of New York, 1987). See Eckel for the location of the editions. He also discusses also two other works attributed to Jñānagarbha: “A Commentary on the Maitreya Chapter of the Sandhinirmocana Sūtra,” and “A Path for the Practice of Yoga.”

Ruegg, *Literature*, 68-71 offers a brief discussion of the work.

⁹⁴ For Śrīgupta and the small treatise he wrote, the *Tattvatārvṛtti*, see Ruegg, *Literature*, 67-8.

⁹⁵ The *Tattvasaṃgraha*, or “Compendium of Principles,” a critical survey and analysis of the various non-Buddhist and Buddhist schools of Indian philosophy, set forth in 3,646 verses in 26 chapters. The work is

Later in life, Śāntarakṣita was invited for a visit by the Tibetan king Khri-srong-lde-btsan and travelled twice from India to Tibet, the first time around 763 and the second time around 775. He served as the first abbot (*upādhyāya*) of Bsam-yas, the main Tibetan monastery at that time, until the time of his death around 788.⁹⁶

- (3) *Madhyamakāloka*, “The Light of the Middle Way,” *Dbu ma snang ba*, by Kamalaśīla (ca. 740-795). Kamalaśīla was a student of Śāntarakṣita and was invited to Tibet to carry on Śāntarakṣita’s work there. Like his master he played a leading part in the establishment of Buddhism and the Yogācāra-Madhyamaka in Tibet toward the end of the eighth century. He wrote commentaries on Śāntarakṣita’s *Madhyamakālamkāra* and *Tattvasaṃgraha*. The *Madhyamakāloka* is his most important independent (noncommentarial) philosophical work, and it contains a wide-ranging exposition of the Yogācāra-Madhyamaka synthesis.

Kamalaśīla was a participant in the famous Bsam-yas debate. He was the author of three texts, each entitled *Bhāvanākrama* or “Stages of Meditation,” texts which provided a description of the “gradual” approach that was advocated as the outcome of the Bsam-yas debate.⁹⁷

A work on the *shar gsum* by Phy(w)a-pa (one of Dūsūm Khyenpa’s preceptors), has been preserved.⁹⁸ Phya-pa must have been a specialist on this field. Phya-pa will be discussed later in section 1.3.4, “Teachers that guided him.”

The second category, the *Byams chos*, short for *Byams chos lde lnga*, consists of the “Five Treatises of Maitreya,” a group of treatises written by Ārya Asaṅga, who ‘heard’ them from (the Bodhisattva or future Buddha) Maitreya.⁹⁹

The Indian monk Asaṅga (ca. 300-350 C.E.) is considered to be one of the founders of the Yogācāra, the “School of Yoga Practitioners,” of Mahāyāna Buddhism. The term “yoga” in this context denotes “spiritual practice.”¹⁰⁰ The textual corpus conventionally associated with

preserved in Sanskrit, along with its commentary of his student Kamalaśīla; it is an important source on the philosophical systems of India during this period. See also Ruegg, *Literature*, 89-90.

⁹⁶ See Ruegg, *Literature*, 88-93, for a discussion of the *Madhyamakālamkāra*.

⁹⁷ See Ruegg, *Literature*, 93-9, for Kamalaśīla and a discussion of his *Madhyamakāloka* and the three *Bhāvanākrama*.

⁹⁸ The work makes part of the BDRC archive: *Dbu ma shar gsum gyi stong thun phywa pas mdzad pa*, writing of the Bka’-gdams-pa master Phy(w)a-pa Chos-kyi-sen-ge (1109-1169) on the essential exposition of madhyamaka philosophy, 1 volume, 146 p, WIKG16736. Cover title, *Phya pa Chos kyi sen ge Dbu ma sar* (sic.) *gsum gyi ston thun*.

See also *Phya pa Chos kyi sen ge, Dbu ma Śar gsum gyi ston thun*, edited by Helmut Tauscher (Wien: Arbeitskreis für tibetische und buddhistische Studien Universität Wien, 1999).

⁹⁹ The attribution of all five Maitreya works to Asaṅga does not satisfy academics, who prefer a more nuanced view with different authors. For a discussion see Klaus-Dieter Mathes, *Unterscheidung der Gegebenheiten von ihren wahren Wesen* (Dharmadharmatāvibhāga) (Indica et Tibetica 26) (Swisttal-Odendorf: Indica et Tibetica Verlag, 1996), 11-15.

¹⁰⁰ Ulrich Timme Kragh, “The *Yogācārabhūmi* and its adaptation, Introductory Essay with a Summary of the Basic Section,” in *The Foundation for Yoga Practitioners, The Buddhist Yogācārabhūmi Treatise and Its Adaptation in India, East Asia, and Tibet*, edited by Ulrich Timme Kragh (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013), 23,30,32:

Maitreya and Asaṅga includes the *Yogācārabhūmi* as well as the “Five Treatises of Maitreya,” which are a number of shorter Yogācāra-Vijñānavāda works.¹⁰¹ According to the Tibetan listing,¹⁰² the five treatises are:

- (1) *Madhyāntavibhāga*, “Analysis of the Middle and Extreme,” *Dbus dang mtha’ rnam par ’byed pa*, short *Dbus mtha’ rnam ’byed*. This is a treatise, written in verse (*kārikā*), which explains the Middle Path from the Yogācāra/Vijñānavāda point of view. It defines a “Yogācāra middle way” on the basis of the *prajñāpāramitāsūtras*, covering topics of defilement (*saṃkleśa*), the three natures of reality (*trisvabhāva*), and the path of Māhāyana practice. Vasubandhu and Sthiramati wrote a commentary on the text.
- (2) *Dharmadharmatāvibhāga*, “Analysis of Phenomena and their True Nature,” *Chos dang chos nyid rnam par ’byed pa*, short *Chos nyid rnam ’byed*. This is a concise Yogācāra/Vijñānavāda treatise, which focuses on the fundamental transformation of the ordinary states of mind and the phenomenal world (*dharmas*) they display, into the true nature of these phenomena (*dharmatā*) which amounts to buddhahood. In the latter, dualistic perception is not the cause of *samsāra*, but it constitutes *samsāra*.¹⁰³ Further, it explains by means of the *trisvabhāva* that, because there is no subject and subject distinction, the transcendent is beyond conceptualization. It presents the paths leading to transformation of the basis (*āśrayaparāvṛtti*), and enumerates ten types of “suchness” (*tathatā*). The work survived only in Tibetan translation and there is a commentary on the work by Vasubandhu. Klaus-Dieter Mathes produced a critical text edition and a translation of the work into the German language.¹⁰⁴
- (3) *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkara*, “Ornament of Great Vehicle Discourses,” *Theg pa chen po mdo sde’i rgyan*, short *Mdo sde rgyan*. The work is written in verse, it has twenty-one chapters mainly on Yogācāra topics, and it is one of the most important of the Mahāyāna *Śāstras*. It offers a thorough compendium of the bodhisattva path starting from the going for refuge, through meditative and ethical practices, and ending with its spiritual results. The work has recently been translated into the English language and

“Yogācāra may in part owe its name to its formative treatise, the monumental compendium entitled *Yogācārabhūmi*.”

Yogācāra [means] the “School of Yoga Practitioners,” and: “Generically, *yoga* denotes “spiritual practice” or “ascetic and spiritual effort” in general, [...] a religious practice distinguished by faith, aspiration, perseverance, and the application of spiritual methods. In its more restricted connotation, *yoga* particularly implies “meditation” (*samādhi*) [...] The word *yoga* should here not be understood in its modern English sense of various Indian-based systems of bodily stretching (*āsana*) and breathing exercises (*prāṇāyāma*) [...].”

¹⁰¹ See Kragh, *YBh*, Introductory Essay, 33-4, for a detailed explanation of the term Yogācāra-Vijñānavāda which wants to include also the later development of the Yogācāra tradition.

¹⁰² Kragh, *YBh*, Introductory Essay, 32-4, fn. 29. Chinese and Tibetan traditions differ in their enumerations of the so-called Five Treatises of Maitreya in that the Chinese tradition includes the *Yogācārabhūmi* in this set of five, whereas the Tibetan tradition does not.

¹⁰³ I owe this description of the work to Klaus-Dieter Mathes, who contributed to the “Rapport the soutenance” of the present dissertation.

¹⁰⁴ Klaus-Dieter Mathes, *Unterscheidung der Gegebenheiten von ihren wahren Wesen* (Dharmadharmatāvibhāga) (Indica et Tibetica 26) (Swistal-Odendorf: Indica et Tibetica Verlag, 1996). The work also includes a translation of commentaries by several authors on the text.

is the subject of continuing research.¹⁰⁵ Vasubandhu wrote a commentary (*bhāṣya*) on the work and Sthiramati wrote a subcommentary. Düsum Khyenpa cites the work twice in his *Tshogs chos*.¹⁰⁶

- (4) *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*, “Ornament of Realization,” *Mngon par rtogs pa'i rgyan*, short *Mngon rtogs rgyan*.¹⁰⁷ This is a work of 273 verses which provides a schematic outline of the *prajñāpāramitāsūtras* that is compatible with Yogācāra and buddha nature thought. It is a synopsis of the massive *prajñāpāramitā* scriptures and a systematic outline of the path of Mahāyāna. Many Indian commentaries on the work exist, for example the one by Ārya Vimuktisena and Haribhadra.¹⁰⁸ Tibetan commentaries also, such as the one written by Bu-ston rin-chen-grub.
- (5) *Ratnagotravibhāga Mahāyāna-uttaratantra-śāstra*, “Analysis of the Precious Potential – Great Vehicle Highest Continuum Treatise,” *Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma'i bstan bcos*, short *Rgyud bla ma*. This work is a fourth-century seminal Indian Mahāyāna *śāstra* on the doctrine of the embryo of the *tathāgatas* (*tathāgatagarbha*) or buddha-nature. The *tathāgatagarbha* is the element (*dhātu*) or lineage (*gotra*) of the buddhas which is present in all beings. It refers to the highest continuum of one's primordial buddha nature, that which becomes a Buddha when all hindering adventitious stains are removed. The Sanskrit text still exists, along with Chinese and Tibetan translations (Ratnamati finished the Chinese translation in 504 C.E.). It has been translated at least once into the English language.¹⁰⁹

Asaṅga was also a Yogācāra-Vijñānavāda author in his own right. He is said to have composed the systematic Vijñānavāda treatise *Mahāyānasamgraha*, the “Mahāyāna Compendium,” the Yogācāra-Abhidharma treatise *Abhidharmasamucca*, “A Handbook of Abhidharma,” and more.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁵ Maitreyañātha/Āryāsaṅga, *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra*, together with its *Commentary (Bhāṣya)* by Vasubandhu. Published as *The Universal Vehicle Discourse Literature*, trans. (from the Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Chinese) by L. Jampal, R. Clark, J. Wilson, L. Zwillig, M. Sweet and R. Thurman, ed. by Robert A.F. Thurman (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004).

Kragh, *YBh*, Introductory Essay, 34, in *The Foundation for Yoga Practitioners* several papers refer to the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra*.

¹⁰⁶ [6] *Rje dus gsum mkhyen pa Tshogs chos*, SW ka 298:1-2 and 299:3-4.

¹⁰⁷ Kragh, *YBh*, Introductory Essay, 34, f. 34, “... The last two works in the set of five are not considered *Yogācāra-works* ...”

¹⁰⁸ Ruegg, *Literature*, 101-3, describes that a so-called Madhyamaka-Prajñāpāramitā synthesis developed in time, which consists of a synthesis of the Madhyamaka with the tradition of the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*, including authors like Haribhadra, Buddhajñāna, Dharmamitra and Abhayākaragupta.

¹⁰⁹ Arya Maitreya, *Buddha Nature – The Mahayana Uttaratantra Shastra with Commentary*, written down by Asanga, commentary by Jamgön Kongtrül Lodrö Thayé, explanations by Khenpo Tsultrim Gyamtso Rinpoche, trans. by Rosemarie Fuchs (Ithaca, New York, Snow Lion Publications, 2000).

See also Klaus-Dieter Mathes, *A Direct Path to the Buddha Within: Gö Lotsāwa's Mahāmudrā Interpretation of the Ratnagotravibhāga* (Academic Series of Wisdom Publications, 2008).

¹¹⁰ Kragh, *YBh*, Introductory Essay, 34-5.

Based on the *Samdhinirmocanasūtra*, Asaṅga developed, the historical theory of the “three wheels of dharma” and the metaphysical theory of the “three realities.” According to that *sūtra*, Śākyamuni taught the four-noble-truths as the first turning of the wheel of dharma. In the second wheel, he taught the teaching of transcendent wisdom, and in the third wheel he taught the existence of some things and the non-existence of other things.

The “three-reality theory” is a refinement of the “two realities” (those of the absolute and the relative truth). The three realities (*trīsvabhāva*) are: a) the reality of imaginative construction (*parikalpita-svabhāva*), b) the reality of the relative (*paratantra-svabhāva*), and c) the reality of the perfect, or the absolute (*pariniṣpanna-svabhāva*).¹¹¹ A comprehensive summary of the three realities can be found in the introduction to a translation of the *Mahāyānasūtrālamkāra*.¹¹²

The three realities theory refinement by Asaṅga is valuable because it directs the attention to the essence of Buddhist practice. According to the theory, the problem is not the relative or the absolute. The problem is all the conceptions we have of reality, the challenge being to consider them as pure play of mind in case of which “perfect reality” dawns.¹¹³

The third category is the *Rigs tshogs*, short for *Dbu ma rigs pa'i tshogs drug*, the Skt. name for *Rigs tshogs* is *Yuktikāya*, lit. “corpus of reasoning.” This category refers to six Madhyamaka works that traditionally constitute the oeuvre of Ārya Nāgārjuna’s,¹¹⁴ even though there are more works that are attributed to him.¹¹⁵ Richard Jones offers a translation of the *Rigs tshogs* as a set, and we learn that the philosophical texts are basically summaries of teachings in verse form. The four-line-stanza format of the verses may have made the works easier to memorize, but it also makes them harder to understand. They do not further explain Nāgārjuna’s teachings and they were probably not meant to be understood independently of a

¹¹¹ For one specification of the “three realities,” see e.g. Maitreyanātha/Āryāsaṅga, *Mahāyānasūtrālamkāra*, together with its *Commentary (Bhāṣya)* by Vasubandhu. Published as *The Universal Vehicle Discourse Literature*, trans. (from the Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Chinese) by L. Jampal, R. Clark, J. Wilson, L. Zwillig, M. Sweet and R. Thurman, ed. by Robert A.F. Thurman (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), Introduction xl-i.

¹¹² *Mahāyānasūtrālamkāra*, Introduction, xli-xlii:
 “When the Buddha says that all things do not exist ... he means that these things do not exist as they are conceived to exist by imaginative construction ... He does not mean that they do not exist in the relative reality of causes and conditions. And, he does not mean that they do not exist in the absolute reality ... All things are relative to one another and to their own causes and conditions. When this relative reality is misconstrued by the imaginations of ignorant sentient beings to exist as a world of disparate subjects and objects, then it is experienced as samsara, the miserable life-cycle. When on the other hand it is perceived as devoid of the real existence of those imaginative constructions, as the ineffable, pure play of mind, it is Nirvana, the absolute reality. Thus, the three realities can be succinctly understood by means of the formula “the perfect reality is the relative devoid of the imagined.”

¹¹³ Compare the citation above.

¹¹⁴ See e.g. on Nāgārjuna and a description of the Yukti-corpus (*rigs chos*), Ruegg, *Literature*, 4-26.

¹¹⁵ For a discussion of works attributed to Nāgārjuna, see Ruegg, *Literature*, 26-33.

teacher or of a tradition's commentary.¹¹⁶ The six *Rigs tshogs* are listed below, in the order and with the short Tibetan names rendered by Bu-ston:¹¹⁷

- (1) *Mūlamadhyamakakārikās*, “Root Verses on the Middle Way,” also known as *Mūlaprajñā*, “Root verses on knowledge,” *Dbu ma rtsa ba'i tshig le'ur byas pa shes rab*, short *Rtsa ba'i shes rab*. The *kārikās* are the philosophical magnum opus of the second-century Indian master Nāgārjuna and the subject of detailed commentaries by Buddhapālita, Bhāvaviveka and Candrakīrti. Although lost in the original Sanskrit as an independent work, the entire work has been preserved within the Sanskrit text of Candrakīrti's commentary, the *Prasannapadā*. The work consists of 448 verses divided into 27 chapters (*prakaraṇa*). The overriding intention of Nāgārjuna is a correct understanding of conditioned co-origination (*pratītyasamutpāda*) which leads to an elimination of all speculative views and dogmas (*dṛṣṭi*).¹¹⁸
- (2) *Śūnyatāsaptati*, “Seventy Verses on Emptiness,” *Stong pa nyid bdun cu pa'i tshig le'ur byas pa*, short *Stong nyid bdun cu pa*. The work is devoted to an exposition of emptiness by means of the refutation of the independent reality of factors. The reality of the factors (*dharma*), aggregates (*skandha*), and senses (*āyatana*) as well as that of causality, karma and impermanence are systematically refuted. The work is available only in Tibetan, in translations made in the ninth through the eleventh century.
- (3) *Yuktiṣaṣṭikā*, “Sixty Stanzas on Reasoning,” *Rigs pa drug cu pa'i tshig le'ur byas pa*, short *Rigs pa drug cu pa*. Although lost in the original Sanskrit, the work is preserved in both Tibetan and Chinese; a number of Sanskrit stanzas have, however, been recovered as citations in other works. The work is a collection of aphorisms generally organized around the topic of *pratītyasamutpāda*. Individual stanzas are quoted by such commentators as Bhāvaviveka, Candrakīrti and Śāntarakṣita in support of some of the central debates in Madhyamaka.

¹¹⁶ Richard H. Jones, *Nagarjuna: Buddhism's Most Important Philosopher* (Jackson Square Books, 2014), vii-viii. Jones offers three translations from the original Sanskrit: the *Fundamental Verses of the Middle Way* (*Mūlamadhyamakakārikāh*), *Overturing Objections* (*Vigrahavyāvartanī*) along with a commentary on the latter, and the relevant philosophical portions from the more general work *Jewel Garland of Advice* (*Ratnāvalī*).

Further summaries are offered based on English translations of three of Nāgārjuna's philosophical works that are no longer extant in Sanskrit, but exist in Tibetan, *Seventy Verses on Emptiness*, *Sixty verses on Argument*, and *Pulverizing the Categories*.

¹¹⁷See Kurtis R. Schaeffer, “The Religious Career of Vairocana – A Twelfth-Century Indian Buddhist Master from Dakṣiṇa Kośala,” *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 28 (2000), f. 22, “*Dbu ma rigs tshogs*. A classification of Madhyamaka works popular in Tibet, consisting of six of Nāgārjuna's works, listed in the *Chos 'byung* of Bu ston Rin chen grub (1290-1364). Schaeffer shows that since the six-fold group is mentioned in the life story of the Indian teacher Vairocana (visiting Tibet in the mid-twelfth century), authored by *bla ma Zhang*, the works were already considered as a coherent group in medieval India.

¹¹⁸ For a discussion of the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikās*, see e.g. Ruegg, *Literature*, 9-19.

Also Christian Lindner, *Nagarjuniana: Studies in the Writings and Philosophy of Nāgārjuna* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1990, first published 1982).

Christian Lindner also offers abstracts of the 27 chapters, in Potter, *Encyclopedia Indian Philosophies*, Volume VIII, p. 99: “The overriding intention of the author [...] the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikāh* set out to prove that the correct understanding of *pratītyasamutpāda* is synonymous with the elimination of all the speculative views and dogmas (*dṛṣṭi*).”

- (4) *Vaidalya-‘Sūtra’* plus *Vaidalya-prakarāṇa*, “Pulverization,” *Zhib mo rnam ’thag*, short *Zhib mo ’thag pa*. The work, extant in Tibetan only, consists of seventy-four brief *sūtras*, with Nāgārjuna’s own commentary, together they form a *prakaraṇa*. The work is addressed to non-Buddhist logicians, more specifically, to the adherents of “the subtle Nyāya” and is written to grind their sixteen categories to fine little pieces.
- (5) *Vigrahavyāvartanī*, “Overturning the objections,” *Rtsod pa bzlog pa ’i tshig le ’ur byas pa*, short *Brtsod pa bzlog pa*. The treatise consists of seventy verses (*kārikās*) with a commentary (*vṛtti*) in prose, both ascribed by tradition to Nāgārjuna himself, and written after the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikās*. The text is extant in Sanskrit, Tibetan and Chinese and has often been translated into modern Western languages. The purpose of the text is to defend Nāgārjuna’s thesis that all things are empty (*śūnya*) because they are devoid of an essential nature (*niḥsvabhāva*).¹¹⁹
- (6) *Vyavahārasiddhi*, *Tha snyad bsgrub pa*, or in a listing other than that of Bu-ston, the *Ratnāvalī*, *Rin chen phreng ba*.¹²⁰

The *Vyavahārasiddhi*, “Proof of Convention,” is a work attributed to Nāgārjuna but no longer extant; six stanzas are cited by Śāntarakṣita in one of his works.¹²¹

The *Ratnāvalī*, “Garland of Jewels,” is a treatise of 500 verses arranged in five chapters. Complete versions of the work are extant in Tibetan and Chinese translations, but only parts survive in the original Sanskrit. Though the work contains many of Nāgārjuna’s fundamental philosophical ideas, it also discusses the temporal good, ethics, discriminative understanding (*prajñā*), and so forth. The *Ratnāvalī* is addressed to King Gautamīputra of Āndhra, a friend and patron of Nāgārjuna.¹²²

The fourth category, the *’dul ba* (Skt. *vinaya*), concerns (monastic) discipline. It is unclear what specific works Dūsūm Khyenpa studied, but one work that is famous in this context is the *Vinayasūtra*, the *’Dul ba ’i mdo*, by Guṇaprabha (ca. 5th-7th century). A Sanskrit text of the *Vinayasūtra* together with a fragmentary auto-commentary on the text has survived, and both the *Sūtra* and auto-commentary exist in Tibetan translation.¹²³

The fifth category contains works on Buddhist *tantra* known as esoteric Buddhism. We learn that Dūsūm Khyenpa studied the Hevajra-*tantra*,¹²⁴ Cakrasaṃvara-*tantra*,¹²⁵ and

¹¹⁹ See e.g. Ruegg, *Literature*, 21-3.

¹²⁰ Jones, *Nagarjuna*, viii, includes another work instead, the *Ratnāvalī*, *Rin chen Phreng ba*, to arrive at Nagarjuna’s “analytic corpus” of Six works.

¹²¹ PDB, *Vyavahārasiddhi* of which verses are cited by Śāntarakṣita in his *Madhyamakālaṃkāravṛtti*.

¹²² See e.g. Ruegg, *Literature*, 23-6.

¹²³ For Guṇaprabha and his *Vinayasūtra*, see Gregory Schopen, *Buddhist Monks and Business Matters* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2004), 312-7.

¹²⁴ For the Hevajra-*tantra* see for example Snellgrove, D.L. *The Hevajra Tantra, A Critical Study*, Vol I and II. London Oriental Series, Volume 6. London: Oxford University Press, 1959.

Mahāmāyā-*tantra*. We will find later that the Dūsum Khyenpa Collection includes many spiritual practice works related to these *tantras*.

Interestingly enough, there are two other fields mentioned as well: the “Path and its Fruition” (*lam ’bras*) and the aural tradition of the A-ro system of the Great Perfection (*rdzogs chen*). The fact that Dūsum Khyenpa studied them indicates that they were already important in the twelfth century.

The “Path and its Fruition,” (Skt. *mārgaphala*), refers to the eight stages of realization belonging to an *ārya*, or “noble one,” consisting of four supramundane paths (*mārga*) and four supramundane fruits (*phala*).¹²⁶ Later on, this became a central doctrine of the Sa-skyapa lineage.

The A-ro system goes back to A-ro Ye-shes ’Byung’-gnas, one of two great eleventh-century masters of the Sems sde (*sems*, ‘mind’) trend in *rdzogs chen*. His tradition became known as the “System of Khams” (*kham lugs*). The trend declined after the eleventh century as other trends of *rdzogs chen* came to be established. By the seventeenth century, the trend became extinct as a separate living tradition.¹²⁷

At this point the overview of the scholarly period of Dūsum Khyenpa’s studies ends. The period is the foundation for later teachings to receive and also for his later activity as a dharma-teacher. It is followed by a spiritual practice learning relationship with his main teacher *bla ma* Lha-rje, in which parallel to his practice he receives so-called explanations on the “nature of mind.”

¹²⁵ For the *Cakrasaṃvara-tantra* see for example David B. Gray, *The Cakrasaṃvara Tantra (The Discourse of Śrī Heruka): A Study and Annotated Translation* (New York: The American Institute of Buddhist Studies at Columbia University, 2007).

¹²⁶ Lam-’bras, for a brief description of the eight stages of realization, see PDB.

¹²⁷ “A-ro system of the Great Perfection,” *rdzogs chen a ro’i lugs bsnyan rgyud*. I traced three works on the A-ro system in the recently published major collection of works in the Rnying-ma-pa tradition, the *Snga ’gyur bka’ ma shin tu rgyas pa gsung ’bum*, 133 volumes. (*dpe cha*) (Chengdu: Si-khron-mi-rigs-dpe-skrunkhang, 2009):

- 1) Vol. 99, 177-190, *A ro’i rdzogs chen skor las bsngo ba’i cho ga don bzhi pa bzhugs so*.
- 2) Vol. 99, 403-422, *A ro ye shes ’byung gnas kyi lo rgyus bzhugs*.
- 3) Vol. 121, 1-36, title in Table of contents (*dkar chag*): *A ro ye shes ’byung gnas* (full title: *Theg pa chen po’i rnal ’byor la ’jug pa’i thabs bye brag tu ’byed pa zhes bya ba legs par bzhugs so*).

In one of the *Tshogs chos* series in the *Dags po’i bka’ ’bum* work, the *Tshogs chos mu tig gi phreng ba*, written down by Sgom-pa Tshul-khrims-snying-po, Sgam-po-pa comments on a citation which is said to stem from the tradition of A-ro Ye-shes ’Byung’-gnas, in the context of the inseparability of mind and appearances. See Ulrich Timme Kragh, *Tibetan Yoga and Mysticism*, 274-5, and fn. 684 for more references to A-ro Ye-shes ’Byung’-gnas.

Samten Gyaltzen Karmay, *The Great Perfection (rdzogs chen)* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 208, plus 93 fn. 42, mentions A-ro Ye-shes ’Byung’-gnas as one of two great eleventh-century masters of the Sems sde (*sems*, ‘mind’) trend in *rdzogs chen*. His tradition became known as the “System of Khams” (*kham lugs*). According to Karmay the trend declined after the eleventh century as other trends of *rdzogs chen* came to be established. By the seventeenth century the trend became extinct as a separate living tradition.

For an overview on the Sems sde A ro lugs, see Morten Ostensen, “Muddy Waters and Blurred Lines: A ro ye shes ’byung gnas and the Anomalous Origins of the rDzogs pa chen po Sems sde A ro lugs,” *Revue d’Etudes Tibétaines*, no. 44, Mars 2018, pp. 9-30.

The term ‘mind’ seems to be preferred in an approach oriented more to spiritual practice. Instead of “two or three realities,”¹²⁸ the terminology is ‘mind’ (*sems*) and what appears in ‘mind’.¹²⁹

We specifically find this ‘mind’ vocabulary in the *Dus gsum mkhyen pa’i Zhus lan 2*, “An exchange between Düsüm Khyenpa [and Sgam-po-pa]”¹³⁰. This is an important work in the Düsüm Khyenpa collection. It is authored by the master and a translation of the work is offered later in Chapter 3 of this dissertation. The work is a dialogue between him and his teacher Sgam-po-pa, in which Düsüm Khyenpa asks specific questions related to his meditation practice and receives profound feed-back from his teacher. The terminology found in *Zhus lan 2* is ‘mind’ and what appears in ‘mind.’ The work includes a profound passage, a reply by Sgam-po-pa, which is included here because it provides an excellent illustration of the ‘mind’ vocabulary.

Rinpoche replied, “*Yoginī* Gaṅgādhara said to *yogin* Vajra Śrī:¹³¹ “Son-of-the-family, do not look at an object, look at ‘mind’ (*sems*). Part from all [wordly] actions, anger and desire! Be not afraid of anxiety, as it binds to [the idea of a] self. As for ‘mind,’ from letting it go wherever it will, let go [of everything].” “Vajra Śrī is then said to have attained accomplishment.”

“Nondual being-aware is like water and milk that are mixed. Experiences become like clouds, in whatever [form]. To be aware in a yogic [way] is like an elephant that embraces everything like the sky, according to its inclination.

Do not let awareness (*rig pa*) follow after discursive thought and do know thoughts or what [ever] arises [394] as ‘mind’ (*sems*), this is what should be done. Know Awareness, find [“It”] as intense presence [or luminosity], as sky-like ‘mind.’ As for all that arises, though gone [already], know it as ‘mind.’ [Formerly] it came down to us [with the force of] a male “dzo”¹³². [But now,] the [dzo’s] “nose-rope” is broken. [Whatever appears or comes up,] is like a cloud of thoughts. One time it comes up in this way, another time in that way. All of that is called ‘experience’ [in contrast to realization]. One must cultivate [the view with regard to] whatever arises, to know it all as ‘mind’.”¹³³

¹²⁸ See for example a passage from Nāgārjuna’s *Bodhicitta Commentary, Bodhicittavivarāna*, v. 22, Toh 1200 Tengyur, rgyud, *ngi*, 39b7, cited in Si-tu Paṅ-chen’s commentary (see footnote above), 219: “The “imaginary,” the “dependent”./ and the “absolute” are just/ names for the mind./ which in essence has only emptiness as its nature.”

¹²⁹ The Tibetan language has many different words for the English word “mind” and it makes sense to retain the various nuances. In this thesis I decided in favor of the following translations:

yiḍ, Skt. *manas*, trans. as ‘thinking mind’.

blo, Skt. *buddhi*, trans. as intelligence, intellect or ‘rational / discriminating mind’.

rnam (par) shes, Skt. *vijñāna*, trans. as ‘consciousness’.

sems, Skt. *citta*, trans. as mind in general, the honorific form of *sems* is *thugs*.

ye shes, Skt. *jñāna*, trans. as ‘primordial or pristine awareness’. The Skt. *jñāna*, “knowing”, comes from the verb root √ *jñā*, which according to the Monier-Williams *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* has many meanings, such as for example: to know, to become acquainted with, experience, recognize, ascertain, to recognize as one’s own, take possession of, to engage in.

¹³⁰ *Dus gsum mkhyen pa’i zhus lan 2*, SW ff 389-411.

¹³¹ For the identification of Gaṅgādhara, Vajra Śrī and some of his works, and an explanation of the term *yoga* in this context, see 3.4 Translation of *Zhus lan 2*, “An Exchange between Sgam-po-pa and Düsüm Khyenpa.”

¹³² “dzo,” *mdzo*, a pack animal in Tibet, interbreed of cows and yaks.

Another main student of Sgam-po-pa, Sgom-tshul, also made notes of what he learned, just like Düsüm Khyenpa. We find the same ‘mind’ terminology, I reproduce a small part on looking at mind:

“During the meditation session, know that everything that appears is the mind. Look at your own mind and see that it has no shape or color. It is beyond any identification. All the conceptual elaboration of extremes of “it” and “isn’t” are naturally liberated, and the intellect is not engaged in anything. That is “looking at the mind” in a meditation session, which is the true “looking at the mind.”¹³⁴

Another important term in this context is *sahaja* (Skt., Tib. *lhan cig skyes pa*), which literally means “arising (or happening) together,” often translated as “co-emergent.” We find this term in both titles of works of the Düsüm Khyenpa Collection and within some of the works.¹³⁵ The passage in the [22] *Rdzogs rim rlung sems gyis med* copied below, specifically elaborates on the term, contributing to a better understanding of ‘mind’ (*sems*) and whatever appears. In this passage, we learn that ‘mind’ itself does not exist as an identifiable entity, that it is like space, that whatever appears is the nature of ‘mind’, a display which never stops, and that we should arrive at a state of nonduality.

Homage to Vajrayoginī! Secondly, as for the general principles (*spyi don*) of the “unborn nonduality of *prāṇa* and mind”, the ‘mother’ of all Buddhas of the three times, “Lady Sahaja”, comprises all phenomena of *samsāra* and *nirvāṇa* that appear or become.

As for that [there is two]: [1.] “Mind itself – ‘Lady’ *sahaja – dharmakāya*” (*sems nyid lhan cig skyes pa chos kyi sku*), and [2.] “Perception – *sahaja* – the ‘light rays’ of *dharmakāya*” (*snang ba lhan cig skyes pa chos sku’i ’od zer*)¹³⁶ [the faculty of knowing or being aware.]

[The first,] “Mind itself – *sahaja – dharmakāya*”, is divided into three: ‘essence of mind’, ‘nature’ and ‘essential characteristic’ (*sems kyi ngo bo/ rang bzhin/ mtshan nyid*).

The ‘essence of mind’ can not be apprehended (, is without shape, color, etc.,)¹³⁷ and is like the sky.

‘Nature’ is whatever appears, (a display) which never stops. When [correctly] examined it is [still] without perceiving (absolute [truth]). In fact, without (‘nature’) [184] one is primordial buddhahood, unborn *dharmakāya* (with nothing to hold onto).

¹³³ For the Tibetan text see SW kha 393:2-394 in Chapter 3, *Critical Edition and Translation of the Gser gling and Zhus lan2*.”

¹³⁴ Sgom-pa Tshul-khrims-snying-po, “A String of Pearls: A Collection of Dharma Lectures by Gampopa,” in *Mahāmudrā and Related Instructions*, The Library of Tibetan Classics, trans. Peter Alan Roberts (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2011), 58 (section 18).

¹³⁵ For example work [10] *Hevajra Sahaja*, [18] *Rje btsun mo Sahaja*, and also elsewhere in works such as [15] *Rnal ’byor ma’i gsang bsgrub*, and [22] *Rdzogs rim rlung sems gyis med*.

¹³⁶ The term *snang ba* often means “appearance”, however, in the light of the context here, I chose for “perception”, an option offered by PDB: *pratibhāsa, snang ba*, “a polysemous term in Sanskrit, whose denotations include “appearance” and “perception.” The term is often used to describe what is perceived by consciousness (*vijñāna*), as opposed to the true nature of the object perceived.”

¹³⁷ Note that words in parentheses in this translated passage, and in the transliteration of the Tibetan below, refer to intra-linear added passages in the Tibetan text.

Between (? *bar du*) is the ‘essential characteristic’, which is nonduality. [In this case,] one is neither generated (*bskyed pa*) by causes nor will be damaged by conditions, nor made by Buddhas, nor ‘modified’ by sentient beings; one is not ‘sharpened’ by books, has not uttered [many] words, and is beyond the faculty of intellect.¹³⁸

In addition to *sems* and *sahaja*, there is one more key-term which frequently appears in the “Düsum Khyenpa Collection” in explanations on ‘mind’, namely *mahāmudrā* (*phyag rgya chen po*). While it is beyond the scope of this dissertation to discuss *mahāmudrā* in all its depth, it is useful to note that Roger Jackson recently wrote on the scope of the field and supplied a brief survey of *mahāmudrā* studies from the eighteenth century until 2009.¹³⁹

Mahāmudrā or the “Great Seal” is a system of meditation on the nature of mind undertaken for realizing Enlightenment.¹⁴⁰ Generally speaking, we could say that *mahāmudrā* oriented Buddhists aspire to know, to experience and to identify with ‘primordial or pristine mind’ (also called ‘awareness itself’ see below). For that, they practice meditation and while meditating undistractedly or ‘one-pointedly’ (*rtse gcig*) aim at making contact with ‘pristine mind.’ Then step-by-step expand it to daily life and in the end never lose contact anymore. In this process they go through four stages, ‘one-pointedness’ (*rtse gcig*), freedom from ‘conceptual entanglement’ (*spros bral*), ‘one taste’ (*ro gcig*) and a stage called ‘nothing to be cultivated’ (*bsgom du med pa*) anymore.¹⁴¹ Doing this the practitioner (*rnal ’byor pa*) will accomplish benefit for himself as well as for others (*rang don dang gzhan don gnyis ka*).

¹³⁸ SB kha 183:44 /rdo rje rnal ’byor ma la phyag ’tshal lo/ /spyi don gnyis pa skye med rlung sems gnyis med ni/ dus gsum sangs rgyas thams cad kyi yum lhan cig skyes ma ’di la snang srid ’khor ’das kyi chos [183:5] thams cad ’dus so/
 /de la sems nyid lhan cig skyes pa chos kyi sku/ snang ba lhan cig skyes pa chos sku’i ’od zer/
 sems nyid lhan cig skyes ma chos kyi sku la gsum/ sems kyi ngo bo/ rang bzhin [183:6] mtshan nyid do/
 /dang po ni/ bzung du med pa (dbyibs dang kha dog la sogs pa med pas) nam mkha’ lta bu’o/
 /rang bzhin ma ’gags pa (rol pa) cir yang snang ba/ brtags na (don dam par) ngos bzung med pa/ dngos
 (rang [184:1] bzhin med) ye sangs rgyas pa/ skye (rten de dang po) med chos sku gcig yin no/
 /(bar du) mtshan nyid gnyis su med pa/ rgyu yis ma bskyed pa/ rkyen gyis mi ’jig pa/ sangs rgyas kyis
 ma mdzad pa/ sems can gyis ma [184:2] bcos pa/ dpes mtshon du med pa/ tshig gis brjod du med pa/ blo’i yul las
 ’das pa gcig yin no/

For the context, see [22] *Rdzogs rim rlung sems gyis med*, Section 6.

¹³⁹ Roger R. Jackson, “The Study of Mahāmudrā in the West: A Brief Historical Overview,” in *Mahāmudrā and the Bka’-brgyud Tradition*, ed. Roger R. Jackson and Matthew T. Kapstein, PIATS 2006 (Bonn: International Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies), 3-54.

¹⁴⁰ Alexander Berzin in the preface of his translation of the sixteenth century work by the Ninth Karma-pa Dbang-phyug Rdo-rje (1556-1603), *The Mahāmudrā, Eliminating the Darkness of Ignorance* (New Delhi: Library of Tibetan Works & Archives, 1978 (revised 1989), with commentary given orally by Beru Khyentze Rinpoche:

“... Mahāmudrā, or the “Great Seal,” refers to a Mahāyāna Buddhist system of meditation on the nature of mind and is undertaken for realizing Enlightenment – the complete elimination from the mind of all delusions and obstacles, and the total attainment in terms of it of all good qualities. In this state you have the maximum ability to benefit others. ...”

¹⁴¹ For more on the “the four stages of *mahāmudrā*,” see Kragh’s summary of the *Tshogs chos mu tig gi phreng ba*, 2.7 DK.A.Ja, Segment 15, in *Tibetan Yoga*, 279.

For a full translation (with slightly different translations of the terms), see: Sgom-pa Tshul-khrims-snying-po, “A String of Pearls: A Collection of Dharma Lectures by Gampopa,” trans. Peter Alan Roberts in

This process of making contact with ‘pristine mind,’ eventually resting in it (all the time), and acting from that state for the benefit of all beings, is excellently illustrated by the following poem/song (*mgur, dohā*) composed by Dūsum Khyenpa:¹⁴²

- [1] I know *awareness itself*, a force free from [conceptual] extremes,
And hold that to be the ultimate *view*.
How could a person [lost in] ‘systems’ [of knowledge scent] a fraction [of ‘it’]?

I rest in the uninterrupted innate [or natural state]
- [5] And hold that to be the ultimate *meditation*.
How could a person [meditating] on and off again [scent] a fraction [of ‘it’]?

I devote body [speech] and mind to the welfare of beings,
And hold that to be the ultimate *conduct*.
How could a person [working] for him- or herself [alone scent] a fraction [of ‘it’]?
- [10] I have understood the three as inseparably one,
And hold that to be the ultimate *result*.
How could a person [full of] hope and fear have a fraction [of ‘it’]?

Isn’t that how it is, meditator from Tibet?
If [your] realization is like that, it will be the ultimate [realization]!¹⁴³

In our context, what is important is to learn about how Dūsum Khyenpa’s teacher Sgam-po-pa (or Bsod-nams-rin-chen) transmitted *mahāmudrā* to his students. In a recent publication by Ulrich Kragh on this topic, we learn that Sgam-po-pa separated *mahāmudrā*

Mahāmudrā and Related Instructions, The Library of Tibetan Classics (Boston: Wisdom publications, 2011), 60-62.

For a description coming from Phag-mo-gru-pa, see *Die “VierYoga”-Stufen der Mahāmudrā-Meditationstradition: Eine Anthologie aus den Gesammelten Schriften des Mönchgelehrten und Yogin Phag mo gru pa rje rgyal po (Kritischer Text und Übersetzung, eingeleitet und erläutert)* (Hamburg: Department of Indian and Tibetan Studies, 2015).

¹⁴² It is the last ‘song’ in his *Mgur ’bum*. The translation is mainly based on the version found in SW ka 324-5. I checked the text as for other readings in CW and SB. The spelling in CW and SB is almost identical except for that SW spells *chi* instead of *ci* in the first three verses. I retained the word *chi*, though the word literally does not make much sense. I understand the word as a poetic combination of *ci* “how” and *chi*, part of *chi li li*, [flowers] that give off their fragrance or scent. Further, SW reads *dbang* in the first line instead of *bar* CW,SB.

The song is preceded by the remark that it was sung, or composed, on request of a Tibetan *dge bshes* at the time *rje btsun* Rin-po-che (Dūsum Khyenpa) stayed in Pom-phug (location unidentified). It ends with [thus] explained by means of the four, *view, meditation, conduct* (or *action*) and *result*.

¹⁴³ SW Vol I 324-5, CW 167b, SB 292/ rje btsun rin po che pom phug na bzhugs pa’i dus su= dge bshes bod kiyis zhus pa’i dus su bzhengs pa/
[1] rang rig mtha’ dang bral dbang rtogs/ / lta ba’i mthar thug yin par go/ grub mtha’ mkhan la chi cha yod/ / gnyug ma rgyun chad med par gnas/ / [5] sgom pa’i mthar thug yin par go/ res ’jog mkhan la chi cha yod/ / lus sems ’gro ba’i don du bsngos/ / spyod pa’i mthar thug yin par go/ rang don mkhan la chi cha yod/ / [10] de gsum dbyer med cig tu rtogs/ / ’bras bu’i mthar thug yin par go/ re dogs mkhan la ci cha yod/ / don de ltar lags sam bod sgom pa/ / de ltar rtogs na mthar thug yin/
/ lta sgom spyod pa ’bras bu bzhi’i sgo nas gsungs pa’o// Personal pronouns added in the translation.

instructions from their original framework of the *Tantras* and by doing so, made it accessible to all followers of Mahāyāna. Sgam-po-pa takes ‘common’ Mahāyāna (*theg chen thun mong pa*) teachings, the Indian Mahāyāna *Sūtras* and *Śāstras* as the foundation, teachings that are common to all followers of Mahāyāna Buddhism. Adding to the foundation, he then offers ‘uncommon’ Mahāyāna (*theg chen thun mong ma yin pa*), tantric methods to reach the final goal *mahāmudrā*, full and direct Awakening.¹⁴⁴

However, as has been pointed out by for example Klaus-Dieter Mathes, Sgam-po-pa’s approach was not new. Sgam-po-pa may have continued a trend that had been initiated earlier by Maitripa.¹⁴⁵ Gos Lo-tsā-ba Gzhon-nu-dpal in his *Deb ther sngon po* claims that in Indian Buddhism the term *mahāmudrā* is also found outside the Mantranaya (the “mantra-method”) and that the main text of Bka’-brgyud *mahāmudrā* is the *Ratnagotravibhāga Mahāyānottaratantra*.¹⁴⁶

Returning to the topic of the ‘mind’ approach in spiritual practice instruction, Düsum Khyenpa explains in one of his works, the *Tshogs chos*, that the ‘mind’-approach is not an intellectual approach. Instead, the idea is ‘to dive’ deep into our minds and to find out what is there.¹⁴⁷

Briefly summarizing what this looks like is difficult. ‘What’ we find cannot be expressed in words, though Düsum Khyenpa provides some hints. ‘What is there,’ deep inside, is called “primordial awareness - emptiness” (*stong pa nyid - shes pa*).¹⁴⁸ Other words are used as well,

¹⁴⁴ See Kragh, *Tibetan Yoga and Mysticism*, Part I: Bsod nams rin chen’s *Mahāmudrā* and its Early Reception History, Chapter 1, The Essence of *Mahāmudrā*, p. 30-42, it discusses Bsod nams rin chen’s Shortcut to Instant Awakening, and the Basis, Way and Result of *mahāmudrā*.

¹⁴⁵ Klaus-Dieter Mathes, “Blending the Sūtras with the Tantras: The Influence of Maitripa and his Circle on the formation of *Sūtra Mahāmudrā* in the Kagyu Schools,” in *Tibetan Buddhist Literature and Praxis: Studies in its formative Period 900-1400*, ed. Ronald M. Davidson and Christian K. Wedemeyer (Proceedings of the Tenth Seminar of the IATS, Oxford 2003, vol. 10/4) (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 201-227.

See also Mathes, “Can Sūtra Mahāmudrā be justified on the Basis of Maitrīpa’s Apratiṣṭhānavāda?” in *Pramāṇakīrtiḥ: Papers dedicated to Ernst Steinkellner on the occasion of his 70th birthday*, eds. B. Kellner, H. Krasser, H. Lasic, M.T. Much and H. Tauscher (Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2007), 546-66.

¹⁴⁶ Gos Lo-tsā-ba Gzhon-nu-dpal, *Deb ther sngon po* (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1974), folio 632, line 6 to folio 633, line 4. Roerich, *Blue Annals*, 724-25.

On the *Ratnagotravibhāga Mahāyānottaratantra*, see above *Byams chos* (5).

¹⁴⁷ [6] *Rje dus gsum mkhye pa’i tshogs chos*, SW ka 277, trans. “[...] the instruction is, “to rest in ‘being aware’ (*shes pa*), uncontrived freshness (*so ma ma bcos pa*), divorced from all [mental] constructions, [it is] your natural state. [...] Unlike that [, different from what was just explained], is the system of ‘precisely-examining-wisdom,’ since [the latter] is based on intellectual knowledge (*go yul*), where ‘empty [-ness]’ is searched outside.”

¹⁴⁸ [6] *Tshogs chos*, SW ka 275:5, ngo bo gnyis med bsgom bya ba ye shes kyi tshogs stong pa nyid du bsgom dgos te= Trans.: “what is needed is the work of cultivating the non-dual essence, the accumulation of [becoming familiar with] ‘primordial awareness’ (*ye shes*) and the cultivation of ‘emptiness’ (*stong pa nyid*, *śūnyatā*).”

such as bliss or well-being (*bde*), luminosity or clarity (*'od gsal*), and a limpid or transparent (*gsal*) state of mind.¹⁴⁹

This 'bliss-limpid' state of mind has always been and will always be and is considered to be what we basically are. The idea is to re-claim this luminosity-bliss, and to look at the world around us from that state. What we see then are all kinds of perceptions of phenomena (thoughts and feelings included) that arise and disappear again. These are perceptions which have nothing to do with what we really are and which are just the 'free-play-of-mind'. Notice that *both* are present at the same time: clarity / bliss *and* all that freely presents itself, and that they are considered to be non-dual or 'one':

Holding this view means that one is not disturbed anymore by what comes into one's field of perception, as the 'rope'¹⁵⁰ (or 'chain') of identification with whatever appears is finally broken. One rests in what one really is and from that state, one keeps one's eyes wide open for opportunities – opportunities to be of benefit to all sentient beings on whatever level useful needs might appear.

Düsum Khyenpa was, apart from Buddhist doctrines he met, well versed in the classical Mahāyāna literature. In his *Tshogs chos*, "Teachings to an Assembly," he cites Great Vehicle works such as the *Avatamsaka*,¹⁵¹ the *Prajñāpāramitā*,¹⁵² *Vajracchedikā*,¹⁵³ *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*,¹⁵⁴ *Samādhirāja*,¹⁵⁵ the *Akṣayamatiparipṛcchā*, Śāntideva's *Śikṣāsamuccaya*,¹⁵⁶ Jo-bo Atiśa's *Satyadvayāvātāra*,¹⁵⁷ and more.

¹⁴⁹ Compare a passage from *Zhus lan 2*, Düsum Khyenpa returns from a meditation practice retreat and reports: "... a genuine experience of bliss, presence and no-thought arose ..."

SW kha 389:6 ... **bde gsal** mi rtog pa'i nyams gsha' ma gcig byung ...
And: "... an unequalled limpidly clear experience arose ..."

SW kha 389:2 ... cha med pa'i **gsal** sing nge ba'i nyams gcig byung ...

¹⁵⁰ Compare the earlier citation, in which Sgam-po-pa cites Vajra Śrī who uses the metaphor of a rope.

¹⁵¹ *The Flower Ornament Scripture – A Translation of the Avatamsaka Sutra*, trans. Thomas Cleary (Boston: Shambhala, 1993), 1074.

The full Tibetan and Sanskrit titles are *Sangs rgyas phal po che*, short for *Sangs rgyas phal po che shin tu rgyas pa chen po'i mdo*, and the *Buddha-avatamsaka-mahāvaiṣṭya-sūtra*, P 761, D 44.

Edgerton, BHSD, offers for *avatamsaka*, figurative(ly) "a large number, collection," *vaiṣṭya*, "(work of) great extent." Karl H. Potter, *Encyclopedia of Indian Philosophies* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1999), 723, 725, spells *Avatamśaka Sūtra*.

The *sūtra* is a massive work on the aspiration, motivation and development of bodhisattvas, by Cleary called 'enlightening beings'. From Cleary's Introduction to the work we learn that the *Avatamsaka-sūtra* is one of the major texts of Buddhism, held in high esteem by all schools of Buddhism. It is not known when or by whom this scripture was composed, it is thought to have issued from different hands in the Indian cultural sphere during the first and second centuries C.E.

The Introduction by Cleary (p. 1-53) is followed by 39 chapters. Chapters 1-38, 1080 pages (!) in all, embody the translation from the Chinese language of the *Avatamsaka-sūtra*.

The last chapter, Chapter 39, is a translation of another scripture, the *Mdo sde sdong po bkod pa*, the *Gaṇḍa-vyūha-sūtra*.

¹⁵² See e.g. *The Perfection of Wisdom – in Eight Thousand Lines and its Verse Summary*, trans. Edward Conze (San Francisco: City Lights, 1973).

¹⁵³ See e.g. *The Diamond Sutra*, trans. Red Pine (Berkeley: Counterpoint, 2001).

¹⁵⁴ See e.g. *The Lotus Sutra*, trans. Burton Watson (New York: Columbia University Press 1993).

To conclude this section on Düsüm Khyenpa’s studies, the Buddhist doctrines he encountered, and his subsequent development or interpretation of those doctrines, one could say that Düsüm Khyenpa is a follower of *mahāmudrā*-pith instructions that are embedded in a particular combination of Yogācāra and Madhyamaka. This is clear from his phenomenological approach that makes free use of the Yogācāra system of the eight forms of consciousness, self-awareness (or awareness itself, *rang rig*), and the natural luminosity of mind. At the same time, the negative consequences of the Yogācāra’s reifying model of reality are avoided by claiming, in a way typical of Nāgārjuna and his followers, that nothing whatsoever arises in terms of an own-being (*svabhāva*). In other words, Düsüm Khyenpa combines Yogācāra and Madhyamaka in such a way that he profits from the experiential terms of Yogācāra without accepting its ontology of an ultimately existing mind and inherently existing mental factors. This strongly reminds one of Maitrīpa’s system in which Yogācāra terms prove indispensable in describing a *mahāmudrā*-based direct access to emptiness.

The fact that he studied the *Shar gsum* may have led to that Düsüm Khyenpa preferred a particular form of Madhyamaka, namely Svātantrika-Madhyamaka, which allowed him to describe, in a way similar to Śāntarakṣita and Kamalaśīla, relative truth in terms of Yogācāra.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁵ See e.g. Thrangu Rinpoche, *King of Samadhi – Commentaries on the Samadhi Raja Sutra & The Song of Lodrö Thaye* (Hong Kong: Rangjung Yeshe Publications, 1994).

¹⁵⁶ See e.g. Śāntideva. *Śikṣāsamuccaya, A Compendium of Buddhist Doctrine – Primary Source Edition*, trans. Cecil Bendall and W.H.D. Rouse (London: Murray, 1922).

¹⁵⁷ Atīśa, “Introduction to the Two Truths,” in *The Complete Works of Atīśa, Śrī Dīpaṃkara jñāna, Jo-bo-rje, The Lamp for the Path, Commentary, and Twenty-five Key Texts.*, trans. Richard Sherburne (New Delhi: Aditya prakashan, 2000).

¹⁵⁸ I am indebted to Klaus-Dieter Mathes for this analysis of Düsüm Khyenpa’s doctrinal position offered in the “Rapport the soutenance” of the present dissertation.

Mathes adds that Maitrīpa in his *Pañcatathāgatamudrāvivarāṇa* thus explains that a Madhyamaka tenet that is based on self-awareness is supreme. Such claims should not be misunderstood as entailing the reification of anything, and Maitrīpa also claims that awareness does not share any privileged status, and is, like anything else, dependent origination.

See also Klaus-Dieter, *A Fine Blend of Mahāmudrā and Madhyamaka* (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2015), especially his conclusion on pp. 315-18.



Figure 2 Düsüm Khyenpa, detail of an ancient *thang ka*, reproduced in 4.3, “A detailed overview of the “Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa Collection,” work [29].

1.3.4 Teachers that guided him

In developing a better understanding of Düsüm Khyenpa, it is useful to explore what is known about his teachers, people who lived more than nine-hundred years ago. In earlier research, I worked on identifying his teachers. I first constructed a detailed list of all the names I could find in the earliest written sources: the *rnam thar* by Bde-chung-ba, the *Gser gling*, the Düsüm Khyenpa *rnam thar* by Karma-pa III Rang-byung rdo-rje, the *Deb ther dmar po*, and colophons and transmission lineages to works. Next, I added to this list all the additional information I could find about the teachers. The list is added here as Appendix III, “Detailed list of Teachers of Düsüm Khyenpa from early written records.”

Teachers can have different titles. Apart from *bla ma*, we find *dge bshes*, which is short for *dge ba'i bshes gnyen*, Skt. *kalyāṇamitra*. It literally means “spiritual friend,” but in Tibet it often served as a scholarly title. Other titles are *ston pa* which sometimes has the nuance of “founding teacher,” and *slob dpon*, Skt. *ācārya*, here translated as “master.”

In constructing the list, I classified people into one of two categories of teachers: “preceptors” (sometimes referred to as *mkhan po*) who provided instruction in particular texts or disciplines, and “spiritual guides” (often referred to as *bla ma* or *guru*). It should be noted, however, that at times the distinction may be somewhat arbitrary, as a specific teacher may have served both as a preceptor and a spiritual guide.

The category of the “spiritual guide” is often considered “precious,” in the sense that it can be quite difficult to find a person who can guide others, from his or her own experience, can guide others, moving from duality to “one-ness,” from total identification with everything outside (the physical body, profession, country, possessions, etc.) and inside (tendencies and

concepts) to identification with one's basic 'essence' (pristine awareness or bliss-presence / emptiness).

Altogether I identified no less than twenty-six teachers. The six most important ones will be briefly discussed below. They include the preceptors he met in his period of study (*dge bshes* Rgya-dmar, *dge bshes* Phya-pa, *dge bshes* (s)Pa-tshab and *bla ma* Bai-ro), and his later so-called 'root- or heart' teachers (*rtsa ba 'i bla ma*) (*bla ma* Lha-rje and master Sgom-tshul).

1. *Dge bshes* **Rgya-dmar** (full name Rgya-dmar-pa Byang-chub-grags, ca. 1095-1135) was a highly influential teacher and a pioneer of early scholasticism in Tibet. He served at Gsang-phu Ne'u-thog college, taught in the tradition of the Yogācāra-Svātantrika-Madhyamaka, and held one of the transmissions of the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*. Rgya-dmar wrote commentaries (now lost) on (Atiśa's) *Satyadvaya*, the *Pramāṇasamuccaya* and the *Pramāṇaviniścaya*.¹⁵⁹ The *Gser gling* relates that he taught Düsüm Khyenpa on the *Shar gsum* and *Byams chos*, discussed earlier. Rgya-dmar was also one of Phya-pa's teachers (see below). There were many others who studied under Rgya-dmar-pa, including not only Düsüm Khyenpa, but also Phag-mo-gru-pa Rdo-rje-rgyal-po¹⁶⁰ (1110-70).
2. *Dge bshes* **Phya-pa** (short for Phy(w)a-pa Chos-kyi-seng-ge, 1109-69?)¹⁶¹, was one of the founding figures in Tibetan scholasticism and the fourth abbot of the Gsang-phu Ne'u-thog college, an influential center of learning at that time and later.¹⁶² According to the *Blue Annals*, Phya-pa wrote commentaries on the "Five Treatises" of Maitreya, the *Pramāṇaviniścaya*, the *Dbu ma bden gynis* (*Satvadavayavibhāga*), the *Madhyamakālamkārikārikāḥ*, the *Madhyamakāloka*, the *Bodhicāryāvatāra*, as well as abridgements of these works. More of his writings are mentioned in the *Blue Annals*, which includes Düsüm Khyenpa in a list of Phya-pa's students.¹⁶³

¹⁵⁹ Per K. Sörensen and Guntram Hazod, *Rulers on The Celestial Plain* (Wien: Verlag OAW, 2007), 420, provide an extensive footnote on Rgya-dmar-pa and his significance for early Tibetan scholasticism. See also Roerich, *Blue Annals*, 332, plus 440-41: "... the school of Stod-lung-pa Rgya-dmar-pa ..."

¹⁶⁰ Alexander Schiller, *Das Leben und Gesamtwerk des tibetischen Meisters Phag mo gru pa rDo rje rgyal po* (MA-thesis, Hamburg University, 2002), 60.

¹⁶¹ Roerich, *Blue Annals*, 186, 329 and more, state that Phyā(sic.)-pa Chos-kyi-seng-ge passed away in 1169. Smith, *Tibetan Texts*, 114, states that the year was 1159 and mentions, among other things, that he wrote on Buddhist logic entitled *Tshad ma 'i bsdu pa yid kyi mun sel*.

Pascale Hugon, "Phya pa Chos kyi seng ge on argumentation by consequence (*thal 'gyur*) – The nature, function, and form of consequence statements," *Journal of Indian Philosophy* (2013), presents the main aspects of the views of this Tibetan logician on argumentation "by consequence (*thal 'gyur*, Skt. *prasaṅga*) based on his exposition of the topic in the fifth chapter of his *Tshad ma yid kyi mun sel* and on a parallel excursus in his commentary on Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇaviniścaya*.

¹⁶² Sörensen/Hazod, *Celestial Plain*, 684, relate that in the first part of the 1100's Gsang-phu Ne'u-thog monastery the center split into two branches, Gling-stod and Gling-mad. The latter would be known as the Phya-ba line. For more on Gsang-phu Ne'u-thog, see 1.3.3, "Period of study and the Buddhist doctrines he encountered."

¹⁶³ Roerich, *Blue Annals*, 332-334. Three categories of his students and their names are listed: The Eight Mighty Lions (*señ chen brgyad*), The Four Jo-sras, and The Four Wise Ones (*shes rab can bzhi*). Then four more names are added, including Dus-gsum-mkhyenpa, Zhang 'Tshal-pa, and the statement "as well as many others."

The *Gser gling* recounts that Phya-pa taught Düsum Khyenpa on the *Shar gsum* and the *Byams chos*. As mentioned earlier, Phya-pa wrote a separate work on the *Shar gsum* which has been preserved. Another area of Phya-pa's expertise of was "valid knowledge" (*tshad ma, pramāṇa*).¹⁶⁴ Düsum Khyenpa must have had a good connection with Phya-pa. He relates in the *Gser gling* that Phya-pa had been his teacher (*slob dpon*) in a former life,¹⁶⁵ and where Phya-pa is reborn.¹⁶⁶

In an article by Leonard van der Kuijp we find a list of students of Phya-pa that shows Dus-gsum mkhyen-pa Dpal Chos-kyi-grags-pa as one of "The Three Who Attained Spiritual Goal-realization (*grub thob*)."¹⁶⁷

3. *Dge bshes Pa-tshab* (full name Spa-tshab Nyi-ma-grags, 1055-after 1141), studied Sanskrit and Buddhist texts for twenty-three years with Kashmiri teachers in India, in present day Śrīnagar. During that period, he revised and translated works on Madhyamaka. He also worked, sometimes with others, on the ninth-century translation of Nāgārjuna's *Mūlamadhyamakakārikāḥ*, the translation of Candrakīrti's *Prasannapadā*, the translation of Āryadeva's *Catuḥśataka* and Candrakīrti's *ṭīkā*, and the translation of Candrakīrti's *Madhyamakāvātāra* and *bhāṣya*.

When he returned to 'Phan-yul in Tibet, accompanied by two Indian scholars, he settled as a teacher on Madhyamaka and engaged in the translation of many more Madhyamaka texts such as Candrakīrti's commentaries on the *Yuktiṣaṣṭikā*, *Mūlamadhyamakakārikāḥ*, *Madhyamakāvātāra* and the *Catuḥśataka*. He also worked on the revision of an earlier translation of Nāgārjuna's *Ratnavālī* and a commentary on the *Śūnyatāsaptati*. He translated a commentary by Candrakīrti on the *Guhyasamāja*, a tantric work, and constructed a new translation of the *Pradīpoddyotana*.¹⁶⁸

Pa-tshab taught Düsum Khyenpa on the *Rigs tshog* by Nāgārjuna, which was listed earlier in works that Düsum Khyenpa studied.

4. *Bla ma Bai-ro*¹⁶⁹ or *Vairocana vajra*¹⁷⁰ was born in India and visited Tibet during the twelfth century. No specific dates are known on the birth and passing away of

¹⁶⁴ See e.g. Pascale Hugon, "Phya pa Chos kyi seng ge on argumentation by consequence (*thal 'gyur*) – The nature, function, and form of consequence statements," *Journal of Indian Philosophy* (2013). The article presents the main aspects of the views of this Tibetan logician on argumentation "by consequence (*thal 'gyur*, Skt. *prasaṅga*) based on his exposition of the topic in the fifth chapter of his *Tshad ma yid kyi mun sel* and on a parallel excursus in his commentary on Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇaviniścaya*.

¹⁶⁵ *Gser gling*, Chapter 6, "Rebirth at the Far Edge of Jambudvīpa," SW ka 51.

¹⁶⁶ *Gser gling*, Chapter 14, "Knowing others' Passing on into Rebirths," SW ka 97: "Phya-pa is reborn as a *paṇḍita* in the Kashmiri city of Drib-bstan."

¹⁶⁷ Leonard W.J van der Kuijp, "Phya-pa Chos-kyi Seng-ge's impact on Tibetan Epistemological Theory," *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 5 (1978), 356.

See also earlier footnote on the *Phya pa Chos kyi sen ge, Dbu ma Śar gsum gyi ston thun*, edited by Helmut Tauscher.

¹⁶⁸ Karen Christina Lang, "Spa-tshab Nyi-ma-grags and the Introduction of Prāsaṅgika Madhyamaka into Tibet," in *Reflections on Tibetan Culture*, ed. by Lawrence Epstein and Richard Sherburne (New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 1989), 127-137.

The article gives an overview of Spa-tshab Nyi-ma-grags studies and activity in India, as well as more details on the works he worked on as revisor or (co-) translator. The article also discusses when the distinction between Svātantrika and Prāsaṅgika Madhyamaka was introduced in Tibet and relates that Phy(v)a-ba Chos-kyi-seng-ge supported the svātantrika view and Spa-tshab Nyi-ma-grags the prāsaṅgika position.

¹⁶⁹ Bairo (SL), Bero (DM).

Vairocana. According to at least two Tibetan hagiographic records, he was in Tibet in the middle of the twelfth century. The first record is the *Gser gling* on Düsüm Khyenpa. The second is a record written by *bla ma* Zhang (who was discussed earlier in 1.3.2) who composed Vairo's life story (*rnam thar*) partly on what he had heard in person from Vairocana himself. *Bla ma* Zhang must have had a special bond with Vairocana, because he includes a very touching personal passage, a kind of character portrait, in which he describes his teacher, Vairocana, as an extraordinarily fine human being.¹⁷¹

According to the *Gser gling*, Düsüm Khyenpa received empowerments and 'blessing' (or spiritual influence) from Vairocana, as well as the Cakrasaṃvara Sahaja, Rje-btsun-ma Urgyan-ma, Ti-lo-pa's *dohā* (songs of spiritual realization), *mahāmudrācāṇḍalisahaja*, and more.¹⁷²

Vairocana appears in the transmission lineages of two works in the "Düsüm Khyenpa Collection."¹⁷³

5. *Slob dpon Sgom-tshul* (full name **Sgom-pa Tshul**-khrims-snying-po (1116-69). Sgom-tshul's father was the elder brother¹⁷⁴ of *bla ma* Lha-rje (or Sgam-po-pa), discussed in more detail below. In a list of teachers provided in the *Gser gling* Sgom-tshul is put at second place after Sgam-po-pa.

When Düsüm Khyenpa visits *bla ma* Lha-rje at the age of thirty, with the request to instruct him on the path of ultimate realization, he first meets Sgom-tshul. From the first time the two meet, Düsüm Khyenpa is deeply impressed with him. He

¹⁷⁰ Yanamoto, *Vision and Violence*, 74, identifies Bairo with Vairocanavajra, an Indian root-*bla ma* of *bla ma* Zhang (1122-93), who grants him Cakrasaṃvara teachings and introduces him to the Indian tradition of *dohā* (Tib. *mgur*), see also footnote of Kurtis Schaeffer below.

¹⁷¹ See Kurtis R. Schaeffer, "The Religious Career of Vairocanavajra – A Twelfth-Century Indian Buddhist Master from Dakṣiṇa Kośala," *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 28 (2000): 361-384. The very interesting and worthwhile character portrait, can be found on p. 368. The Tib. title of the life story is *Bla ma Bhe ro pa'i rnam thar*. According to Schaeffer, Vairocana is short for Vairocanavajra or Vairocanarakṣita. Schaeffer lists the writings and translations attributed to these two. Vairocanavajra should not be mistaken for the eighth century translator with the name Vairocana.

¹⁷² *Gser gling*: SW ka ... bla [71:1] ma **bai ro** la dbang dang byin brlabs zhus nas **bde mchog lhan skeyes** dang **rje btsun ma urgyen ma** dang **te lo'i** [71:2] **do ha** dang **phyag rgya chen po'i gtum mo lhan skeyes** la sogs pa mang du zhus=

¹⁷³ The two lineages are:

[10-2)] *Dgyes rdor lha lnga'i tshogs kyi mchod*, partial transm. lineage: Rdo-rje-'chang, ..., Abhayakara, Bai-ro-tsā-na [= Vairocāna], Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa,

[11] *Seng ldeng nags kyi sgröl mDzam-ga'i sgrub thabs*, the colophon mentions that it had been translated by Rnam-par-snang-mdzad-rdo-rje [Skt. Vairocanavajra], partial transm. lineage: *slob dpon* Klu-sgrub, ..., Abhayakara, Bai-ro-tsā-na [= Vairocāna], Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa, ...

Schaeffer, Religious Career Vairocanavajra (see above), 365, relates that (in the life story authored by *bla ma* Zhang on Vairocana) Vairocana received the *Seng ldeng* from Dānarakṣita in India. The "DSK Collection" (see above) list Abhayakara instead of Dānarakṣita.

Schaeffer, 384, includes the *Seng ldeng* in a list of translations made by Vairocana: *Seng ldeng nags kyi sgröl ma'i sgrub thabs. Khadiravaṇītārāsādhana*. A(uthor) Klu sgrub. T(ranslator) Rnam-par snang-mdzad rdo-rje. D3664. P4487. The name Rnam-par snang-mdzad rdo-rje, Skt. Vairocana, fits with the information in the "DSK Collection."

¹⁷⁴ Sörensen, *Rare Texts of Tibet*, 47.

spontaneously has a ‘vision’ of him (sees him) as White Tārā (Sgrol-ma dkar-mo) and later sees him as other deities as well.

When Sgam-po-pa passes away, Sgom-tshul takes over the Dwags-po “seat” (*gdan sa*) and becomes the second throneholder. He later encourages Düsüm Khyenpa, who is then fifty years old, to travel to Khams (East-Tibet) to fulfill Sgam-po-pa’s wish that he should go there. Even though it is far away, Düsüm Khyenpa does end up living and teaching in Khams, and from there, he regularly sends gifts to Sgom-tshul, holding the Dwags-po “seat.” Sgom-tshul passes away in 1169, while Düsüm Khyenpa was still in Khams. The *Gser gling* relates that after Sgom-tshul had already passed away, Düsüm Khyenpa, ‘in a deep state,’ encounters him and receives instruction.

As an interesting sidenote, a student of Sgom-tshul, *bla ma* Zhang G-yu-brag-pa Brtson-’grus-grags-pa (1123-93) established the Tshal-pa Bka’-brgyud, one of the four major Bka’-brgyud branches.

6. *Bla ma Lha-rje*, ordination name Bsod-nams Rin-chen (1079-1153), should be considered as Düsüm Khyenpa’s main teacher. In the works that make up the “Düsüm Khyenpa Collection” he is known under the name *lha rje*, which literally means “physician” (an early profession of his), or *chos rje*, “dharma-master.”

Bla ma Lha-rje meditated in solitude under the guidance of the *yogin* and poet Mid-la ras-pa for about eleven years,¹⁷⁵ and later settled near Sgam-po Mountain. Therefore he is also known as Sgam-po-pa, the “man from Sgam-po (mountain)”¹⁷⁶ He is the first throne-holder of the Dwags-lha-sgam-po “seat.” The seat is also known as ’Dam-gling grags-pa and was established in 1121 C.E.¹⁷⁷

At Sgam-po, *bla ma* Lha-rje gathers a group of practitioners around him, Düsüm Khyenpa being one of them. From the point that Düsüm Khyenpa arrives in Sgam-po, at the age of thirty, the dharma-master guides him, all in all for twelve years. Among other things, *bla ma* Lha-rje instructs him in the *dkar po zhig thub*, the “white panacea.”¹⁷⁸ *Bla ma* Lha-rje passed away when Düsüm Khyenpa was forty-three years old.

From the *Gser gling* and *Zhus lan* we learn that the bond between the two, teacher and student, was strong, to the extent that in many of the former lifetimes of Düsüm Khyenpa, *bla ma* Lha-re had already been his teacher. We also learn, that in the next life he will be reborn again in *bla ma* Lha-rje’s company. Düsüm Khyenpa’s “devoted respect” (*mos gus*) for his *bla ma* is enormous. He even advises his own students that to ‘focus’ on *bla ma* Lha-rje is extraordinarily effective. The *Gser gling* relates that he also wrote a song/poem on *bla ma* Lha-rje and ‘meets’ him in visions and dreams, even after Lha-rje passed away.

¹⁷⁵ Ulrich T. Krach, *Culture and Subculture – A Study of the Mahāmudrā Teachings of Sgam po pa*, MA Thesis Tibetan Studies (Kopenhagen, 1998), 8, Sgam-po-pa meets Mi-la-ras-pa in 1109 and practices under his guidance from 1112-1120.

¹⁷⁶ For more details on *bla ma* Lha-rje Bsod-nams Rin-chen) see Kragh, *Tibetan Yoga and Mysticism*.

¹⁷⁷ Sörensen, *Rare Texts of Tibet*, 45.

¹⁷⁸ For an explanation of the *dkar po zhig thub*, see the translation of *Zhus lan* 2 in Chapter 3, also the Concluding remarks.

Bla ma Lha-rje, and also *slob dpon* Sgom-tshul, should be considered as Düsüm Khyenpa's two main "spiritual guides," as both appear in his visions and dreams, which are all significant signs for a close relationship between *bla ma* and student.

The strong connection between *bla ma* Lha-rje and Düsüm Khyenpa is further evidenced in the fact that nine of the fifteen transmission lineages in the Düsüm Khyenpa Collection list *bla ma* Lha-rje directly before Düsüm Khyenpa.¹⁷⁹ The bond between master and student must have been strong indeed.

1.3.5 Passing on the training received

In Tibetan Buddhism, the correct transmission of what had been taught is considered to be very important. Therefore, it is useful to look at Düsüm Khyenpa's students, those to whom the fundamental instructions that he received were transmitted.

In earlier research, I constructed a list of all Düsüm Khyenpa's students, based on the early sources: *Gser gling* (SL), *rnam thar* by Bde-chung-ba (D), and *Deb ther dmar po* (DM)¹⁸⁰ (the Karma-pa III *rnam thar* provided no extra information).

More names of students were added to this list, as found in colophons to works in the "Düsüm Khyenpa (abbr. DSK) Collection," in the *Zhal Chems* (ZC) which is a specific work

¹⁷⁹ The nine lineages of the works explicitly transmitted by *bla ma* Lha-rje are here specified, but only for the part which precedes Düsüm Khyenpa. For the whole lineage see the brief description of the works in 4.3, "A detailed overview of the Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa Collection."

[9-2)] *Phag mo lha lnga'i sgrub thabs*, partial transmission lineage: Rdo-rje-'chang, Thang-lo-pa, Shing-lo-pa, Karṇa-ri-pa, In-dra-ri-pa, In-dra-bo-te, Nā-ro-pa, Mar-pa, Mi-la, Dags-po, Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa, ...

[10-3)] *Dgyes rdor ting nge 'dzin gyi dbang bskur ba'i lag len*, partial lineage: Nā-ro-pa, Mar-pa lo tsā, Mi-la-ras-pa, bla ma Lha-rje, Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa, ...

[12-2)] *Rta mgrin lha nga'i mngon rtogs*, partial lineage: Jo-bo Atisha, Tshul-khrims-rgyal-ba, ..., Dags-po Rin-po-che, Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa, ...

[15-section 1] "Dpal Rnal 'byor ma gsang ba'i sgrub thabs," partial lineage: Nā-ro-pa, Mar-pa Lho-brag-pa, Mi-la, bla ma Lha-rje, Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa, ...

[20-section 2] "Nā-ro-pa'i zhal gcig ma sgrub thabs," partial lineage: Rdo-rje-'chang, Te-lo-pa, Nā-ro-pa, Mar-pa, Mid-la, Lha-rje, Dharma kirti (= Düsüm Khyenpa), ...

[20-section 3] Introductory transmission lineage to the *Zhal gcig ma'i bsgrub thabs*, lineage : Rdo-rje-'chang, Thang-lo-pa, Shing-lo-pa, Karṇa-ri-pa, Mar-pa *loccha ba*, Mi-la-ras-pa, bla ma Lha-rje, Grub-thob-dbu-se (= Düsüm Khyenpa).

[21- section 4] Without title, "Secret mind/heart precepts (*bka' rgya*) of Vajrayoginī," partial lineage: Rdo-rje-'chang, Tai-lo-pa, Nā-ro-pa, Mar-pa, Mi-la, Dwags-po Lha-rje, Rin-po-che (= Düsüm Khyenpa).

[22- section 1] *Rdzogs rim rlung sems gbyis med*, Introductionary section 1: partial lineage: Te-lo plus Karṇa-ri-pa/Shing-lo-pa plus Mai-tri-pa, Nā-ro-pa, Marpa, Dar-ma mdo-sde plus Mi-la-ras-pa, bla ma Lha-rje, Dbu-se-ba (= Düsüm Khyenpa), ...

[28-3)] *Mchog gi gum mo*, partial lineage: Rdo-rje-'chang, Te-lo-pa, Nā-ro-pa, Mar-pa, Rngog Chos rdor, Mi-la-ras-pa, bla ma Lha-rje, Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa, ...

¹⁸⁰ *Deb ther dmar po*, 439.

in the “DSK Collection”, and in transmission lineages added to works in the “DSK Collection.”

Like the list of teachers above, the list of students is a useful contribution to future research, because it assists in identifying persons within the “DSK Collection” or in historical records elsewhere. It is included as Appendix IV, “Detailed list of Students of Düsüm Khyenpa from early written records.”

Compiling the list was not an easy task, because little or no information about his many twelfth-century students has been preserved. This in itself is not surprising in a tradition that puts strong emphasis on meditation practice. Creating the list was further complicated by the fact that it is customary in Tibetan Buddhism to attribute several names to one and the same person: childhood name, monastic ordination name, bodhisattva-vow name and sometimes even a ‘secret’ name. Furthermore, many names are very short, probably abbreviations of real names. Now and then, even a nick-name comes up, which also does not help. One person can appear in historical records under multiple names,¹⁸¹ and one person may be listed in one record but not in others. Because of all these problems, the “Detailed list of Students of Düsüm Khyenpa” is a ‘tool in progress’. Perhaps in time, more information will be found to further develop this tool.

Before looking at the actual list of students, it is important to clarify the term “student.” With regard to the actual transmission from teacher-to-student, the contemporary term student does not accurately reflect the strong bond that exists between a “spiritual guide” (*bla ma*) and a student. In such a connection, the student is more like a son to the teacher, more specifically a “mind-son” (*thugs kyi sras*), and the student extremely dear to the teacher. As we learn from one of Düsüm Khyenpa’s *Tshogs chos*, the *bla ma* will never give up on the student. From the other perspective, the student is very open to the teacher, follows his development advice and tries to absorb his spiritual influence or “blessing,” all of which is supposed to lead to the recognition that his or her ‘mind’ and that of the *bla ma* are identical on a deep level, the level of primordial awareness / emptiness.

Though the list of Düsüm Khyenpa’s students comprises eighty names in all, in later on religious history, such as the *Deb ther sngon po*, even more names appear.¹⁸² Because they are not mentioned in the early sources, one may conclude that names in later publications or biographies must be incorrect, but this need not be the case. Düsüm Khyenpa had a long life (ca. 84 years) and must have encountered many persons, not all of whom are listed in the records of that time. Interestingly enough, Si-tu Paṅ-chen Chos-kyi-’byung-gnas (1699/70-

¹⁸¹ See for example Smith, *Tibetan Texts*, “Jam-mgon Kong-sprul and the Nonsectarian Movement,” 258, “... Kong-sprul was given seven types of names during his life: childhood name, monastic ordination name, bodhisattva vow name, tantric initiation name, name as a discoverer of hidden texts, name as a grammarian, and finally and incarnation name. ...”

¹⁸² The *Blue Annals*, translation of ’Gos lo-tsä-ba Gzhon-nu-dpal (1392-1491) *Deb ther sngon po*, written 250 years after Düsüm Khyenpa, mentions 19 names in all. The *Mkhas pa’i dga’ ston* by the historian Dpa’-bo Gtsug-lag-phreng-ba (350 years after DSK) has no new names.

1774), about 550 years after the passing of Düsüm Khyenpa, reduces the number of (eighty) student names that were found here to twenty-five.¹⁸³

Of all the eighty students found in the early written sources, colophons, transmission lineages and ZC alone, I will highlight just one of them here, mostly as an example of the intricacies that come into play in the attempt to correctly identify students.

One of the early sources, the *Deb ther dmar po*, mentions a student of the master called 'Gro-mgon Ras-pa, who also appears in the transmission lineages of two works. He is listed directly after Düsüm Khyenpa under the name '**Gro-mgon Ras-chen**'.¹⁸⁴ However, no person with the name "Ras-chen" is included in our main source of biographical information, the *Gser gling* (SL).

'Gro-mgon Ras-chen would be considered important in Bka'-brgyud history because he would have been the Karma Bka'-brgyud lineage-holder directly after Düsüm Khyenpa. One wonders therefore, why he is mentioned in the *Deb ther dmar po*, written 150 years after Düsüm Khyenpa passed away, and not in the *Gser gling*. One possible answer is that he is mentioned under a different name.

In the *Blue Annals*, written 250 years after Düsüm Khyenpa, we find that the master's student who is most elaborated upon is one called "Sangs-rgyas Ras-chen"¹⁸⁵. The "Sangs-rgyas" part of the name could point to one of three students in the SL. At least three students are listed there with "Sangs-rgyas" in their names: *ston pa* Sangs-rgyas, *slob dpon* Sangs-rgyas and *Dzam-ston* Sangs-rgyas. 'Gro-mgon Ras-chen could have been one of the three mentioned. However, we cannot exclude the possibility that he is not mentioned at all in the SL.

The *Blue Annals*, but not the early sources, relate some interesting details on Ras-chen. Unfortunately, no dates of birth or death are provided, but it is stated that in his early youth Ras-chen received precepts from Zangs-ri Ras-pa, precepts which came from Ras-chung-pa. He was a fellow student of Düsüm Khyenpa's root-teacher *bla ma* Lha-rje, which would explain the "Ras-chen" part of his name.

Ras-chen practiced with many teachers before meeting Düsüm Khyenpa, for example Gnyal-pa Jo-sras, from whom he received, among other things, the dharma-protector Mgon-po Ber-nag-can¹⁸⁶.

¹⁸³ Si-tu Paṅ-chen Chos-kyi-'byung-gnas (1699/1700-74, ca. 550 years after DSK) discusses students of Düsüm Khyenpa in BDRC W26630, *Chos kyi 'byung gnas gsung 'bum*, Vol. 11 (da): *Zhwa nag dang po (1) Dus gsum mkhyen pa / chos kyi grags pa*, f. 2v-22v (p. 98-138).

Si-tu states on folio 138 (the passage on students, 'sons,' of the master) that he among other sources consulted the *Gser gling*. Though not mentioned, he must also have known the *Deb ther sngon po* (*Blue Annals*, 250 years after DSK) as he includes the set of 'Four 'Od,' not found in the *Gser gling*. Si-tu mentions also more names coming from later sources such as the mid-fifteenth century *Lho rong chos 'byung*, the outcome of which is not included here.

¹⁸⁴ [9-2] *Phag mo lha lnga'i sgrub thabs*, partial transm. lineage, CW 199: rdo rje 'chang .../ dwags po/ dus gsum mkhyen pa/ 'gro mgon ras chen/

[22] *Rdzogs rim rlung sems gnyis med*. partial transm. lineage in the introductory narrative, CW 459-463: te lo/ ... bla ma lha rje/ dbu se ba/ 'gro mgon ras chen/ ...

¹⁸⁵ Roerich, *Blue Annals*, 480-3, 517 Sangs-rgyas Ras-pa chen-po.

¹⁸⁶ Mgon-po Ber-nag-can is not included in the "DSK Collection."

The *Blue Annals* relate that at some point in life, he visits Düsüm Khyenpa in Skam-po Gnas-nang¹⁸⁷. It is said that at that time *ācārya* Bka'-gdams-pa, another student of the master listed in the *Gser gling*, had been appointed as his mentor in a three year period of meditation practice.

On the advice of Düsüm Khyenpa and *ācārya* Bka'-gdams-pa, Ras-chen takes up ordination, at the age of thirty-seven, and receives the name Bsod-nams grags-pa. Later, he spends three years with Düsüm Khyenpa at the place Kar-ma (sic. BA).

Shortly after that, Düsüm Khyenpa, who is now 77 years old, travels to Dbus (Central-Tibet), where he founds the Mtshur-phu monastery. He would spend there the last five years of his life. Ras-chen joins him on the first part of the journey to see the master off, but stays behind in Khams.

Ras-chen lived to be seventy years old, which would more or less correspond to the year 1217 C.E.¹⁸⁸

The lines above show, that is difficult to identify 'Gro-mgon Ras-pa in the main early source the *Gser gling* (SL), and that there is a discrepancy between information from early sources and much later sources. Possibly 'Gro-mgon Ras-pa is one of the students in the SL listed with Sangs-rgyas in their name. By contrast, the *Blue Annals* (BA) offers much more information on a 'Gro-mgon Ras-chen. However, in case of the BA, 250 years have passed, and information may have been altered or added.

It was mentioned earlier that the student-teacher relationship can lead to the student recognizing that her or his 'mind' is identical to that of the *bla ma* on the level of primordial awareness / emptiness. There are specific *guru yoga* practices that work on developing this recognition. In such practices, a so-called "heart-mantra" is applied to connect with the 'mind' of the *guru* that is focused on. There are heart-mantras that exist for different Bka'-brgyud *gurus* from the past.

With regard to Düsüm Khyenpa, I have not found a "heart-mantra" in the earliest life stories, those by Bde-chung-ba and Rgangan-lo. However, the Third Karma-pa Rang-byung Rdo-rje does conclude his Düsüm Khyenpa life story with such a mantra.

We find that Düsüm Khyenpa's "heart-mantra" contains the name Dharmakīrti, Sanskrit for the master's Tibetan ordination name Chos-kyi-grags-pa. Rang-byung Rdo-rje relates that the "essence or heart" (*snying po*) of Düsüm Khyenpa is 'captured' in the syllables:

¹⁸⁷ Roerich, *Blue Annals*, 481, sGam-po [?] gNas-nang. The spelling of sGam-po is a mistake and must be Skam-po Gnas-nang.

I checked the word in the original Tibetan *Deb ther sngon po* text. The passage can be found in: Gos-lo-tsa-ba Gzhon-nu-dpal, *Deb gter* (sic.) *sngon po* (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture), 1974: folio 418, line 7, "*de nas sgam po gnas gnang dus gsum khyen pa bzugs nas*/" So indeed, it is spelled as "Sgam-po" in the *Deb ther*. However, it should be Skam-po, a location totally different from Mt. Sgam-po where *bla ma* Lha-rje resided. Skam-po Gnas-gnang is located in Khams. At age fifty Düsüm Khyenpa travels to Khams and lives for nineteen years at Skam-po Gnas-gnang. So, if the life story in the *Blue Annals* is correct, Ras-chen visits Düsüm Khyenpa in that later period of the master's life.

¹⁸⁸ See in section 1.3.1, "A table of historical information on Düsüm Khyenpa as found in the early sources." 1184 is the year of foundation of Kar-ma Dgon. According to the BA Ras-chen took ordination at age 37 (after which he spent three years with the master at Kar-ma) and passes away at age 70, this means he lived 33 (70-37) years after his ordination. The year 1184 plus 33 makes about 1217 C.E.

1.3.6 *Locations of places important in Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa's life*

Mainly in the *Gser gling*, “A Golden World,” but also in the *Zhus lan*, “Exchange” between the master and his teacher, we find many names of places. Some of them were especially important in Düsum Khyenpa’s life, as residences where he lived for extended periods. Other places he just visited or only stayed at for a short time. Because these places are mentioned in two works dating back to the twelfth century, some of the locations may not exist anymore or it may not be possible to trace them now, more than nine hundred years later. Nevertheless, I made an effort to place them and in time, more knowledge may become available.

To cover this topic, I first listed all the places mentioned, and then worked to not only locate them, but also search for additional information on them. The four most important places were put on a chart of Central, West and East Tibet ((Dbus, Gtsang and Khams), shown at the end of this section. The full list of the places is provided in Appendix II, “Detailed list of Places mentioned in the *Gser gling* and *Zhus lan* and their locations.”

The places are presented in a way that corresponds to three periods in the master’s life. The first is his early period of life, which could be called his period of youth and study, which ended when, at age thirty, he meets his root-teachers. This period took place in Khams (East Tibet) and Dbus (Central Tibet).

The second period is the one of meditation practice training which took place in Dbus and Gtsang (West Tibet) and which continued until his return to Khams at age fifty. The third period includes his second extended time in Khams and his return to Dbus in the last part of his life.

As mentioned, Appendix II offers the full result of this research, but the four places that feature most prominently in the master’s life are highlighted below. The last three are mentioned in the *Gser gling* as places where the master had visions and/or meaningful visionary dreams.

- The first important place is **D(w)ags-lha-sgam-po**, where he meets his root-teachers, *bla ma* Lha-rje and Tshul-khrims snying-po. Sgam-po is mentioned eight times in the *Gser gling*.

In the *Gser-gling* it is called the “seat” (*gdan sa*) of *bla ma* Lha-rje.¹⁹⁰ D(w)ags-lha-sgam-po is the name of a local guardian, supposedly “bound” or controlled by Guru Padma during the founding of Bsam-yas.

¹⁸⁹ *Dpal rgyal dbang Karma pa sku phreng rim byon gyi gsung 'bum phyogs sgrigs*, Volume 13, “Karma pa Rang byung rdo rje'i gsung 'bum, Ga pa bzhugs so,” 326.

The same work in another edition, the *Karma rang byung rdo rje'i gsungs 'bum*, BDRC W0541, f 220, writes (in a more pronunciation mode) OM ANG ŚRI DHA RMA 'GIR TI BADZRA SI TI HŪM

The D(w)ags-lha-sgam-po seat, also known as 'Dzam-gling grags-pa, was established in 1121 C.E. by Sgam-po-pa. The control of the Sgam-po seat was in the hands of the founding patriarch's paternal clan, the Rnyi-ba, a rule and management characterized by a traditional "uncle-nephew" (*khu dbon*) arrangement.¹⁹¹ The place is located in the D(w)ags-po region, southeast of Lha-sa. From here, *bla ma* Lha-rje sends him off to practice at several "power places" in Tibet. Later on, Düsüm Khyenpa contributed to the seat by sending considerable gifts, such as copies of the *Prajñāpāramitā* in One Hundred Thousand Verses, and more. The place was destroyed during the Dzungarian invasion of 1717.¹⁹² It was restored later on, but again destroyed in the 1960s. A new structure was built in the late 1980s.

In a recent publication we find that the seat was an important religious site from the twelfth century onward.¹⁹³ In the beginning, it was essentially a hermitage focused on meditative training in the early Bka'-brgyud-pa mould. Later it grew into a monastic center with a teaching program covering philosophy, tantra, and ritual. The students were accommodated in four regional colleges, the Sgam-po-sde-bzhi. By the year 1400 the combined population was said to exceed 1,000 students.¹⁹⁴

- The second important place is **Gzhu-gru-bzhi**. Gzhu-gru-bzhi is the main location for the master for eight years, from about 1152 to 1160, when at the age fifty, he returns to his birth region Khams. Many of the dreams and visions of the master that are described in the *Gser gling* take place in Gzhu-gru-bzhi. The name of the place appears eight times in the *Gser gling*.

¹⁹⁰ For the precise location, see Dudjom, *Nyingma*, Vol II, Map 8, J17.

¹⁹¹ Sørensen, *Rare Texts from Tibet*, Text F, 45-50, offers an introduction to and an outline of the *Gangs can 'dir ston pa'i rgyal tshab dpal sgam po pa'i khri gdung 'dzin pa'i dam pa rnam kyī gtam Bai dūrya'i phreng ba*, it is a very informative source on Dwags-lha sgam-po and includes an abbatial lineage narrative of the seat.

¹⁹² Turrell V. Wylie, *The Geography of Tibet, according to the 'Dzam gling rgyas bshad* (Roma, Instituta Italiano per il medio ed estremo oriente, 1962) presents a transcription and translation of a part of a 19th Tibetan work on geography of the world in general, the part on the geography of Tibet. The author of the learned discourse on Tibetan geography is *bla ma* Bstan-po, a.k.a. Smin-grol No-mon-han, who died in 1839. The work a manuscript in *dbu med* was written, according to the colophon, in 1820 C.E. The work is one of few works on Tibetan geography written by a Tibetan himself.

On page 94 we find an interesting reference to the place Dwags-la-sgam-po. Wylie translates: "Then, on the south side of the Gtsang-chu, there is the monastery of the ... and Dwags-la-sgam-po, where the (blood) descendants (*gdung rgyud*) of Rje Sgam-po-pa used to be; however, because that monastery was destroyed at one time by the army of the O-rod Tshe-ring-don-grub, who was lacking in discrimination (of right and wrong), it is said that except for an incarnation of Sgam-po, there are no longer any (blood) descendants there nowadays."

In a footnote Wylie explains that the destruction took place during the Dzungarian invasion of 1717 led by Tshe-ring-don-grub. The Dzungars were supporters of the Dge-lugs-pa tradition.

¹⁹³ Karl E. Ryavec, *A Historical Atlas of Tibet* (Chicago: University of Chicago press, 2015), 60-61. The place is included on Map 15, Major polities and important religious sites during the aftermath of empire and the Second Diffusion of Buddhism, circa 842-1240.

¹⁹⁴ Akester, *Jamyang Khyentsé Wangpo's Guide*, 394-401, offers an overview of the history of D(w)ags-lha-sgam-po.

Gzhu-gru-bzhi is also mentioned in a colophon to the *sādhana* (*sgrub thabs*) of *Rdo rje rnal 'byor ma'i gsang ba*.¹⁹⁵ Rdo-rje rnal-'byor-ma'i-gsang-ba, or Mkha'-'gro Gsang-ba, is especially connected with a certain place in Tsā-ri and later Karma-pas have visited the location for that reason.¹⁹⁶

The precise location Gzhu-gru-bzhi is unclear, the original place may have had the name Gru-bzhi (trans. “Four Corners”) and been located in the village Gzhu in the east of the Tsā-ri region.¹⁹⁷ The region Tsā-ri is situated southeast of D(w)ags-po.

- The third important place is **Skam-po gnas-nang**¹⁹⁸ This is the name of a former monastery in Khams (East Tibet) that the master founded in 1165, after his period in Gzhu-gru-bzhi. Skam-po Gnas-nang was the main location for his activity for about twenty years (1165-1184). The place is mentioned twenty-one times in the

¹⁹⁵ We find the place in the colophon to the [15 - section 14] *Dpal rdo rje rnal 'byor ma'i gsang ba'i sgrub thabs*, another work of the “Düsum Khyenpa Collection.” It states that the instruction was bestowed on Düsum Khyenpa at a place called Gzhu'i-gra-ma-gru-bzhi (CW,SB Gzhu'i-bra-ma-gru-bzhi).

¹⁹⁶ Elena De Rossi Filibeck, “A Guide-book to Tsa-ri,” in *Reflections on Tibetan Culture, Essays in Memory of Turrell V. Wylie*, ed. Lawrence Epstein and Richard F. Sherburne (New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 1989), 4, discusses a place called Tsa-ri Mtsho-dkar, which has been of particular importance to many Karmapas who visited the place during their lifetimes: the Third Karma-pa (1284-1339), the Fourth (1340-1383), the Ninth (1556-1603), and the Tenth (1604-1674) did the Mtsho-dkar circumambulation (*skor*).

Filibeck states, see citation below, that this Mtsho-dkar (lit. White Lake) is connected with Mkha'-'gro Gsang-ba, which may explain why later Karma-pas following Düsum Khyenpa's example visited the place:

“On that densely wooded site of the lake, which is similar to a silver basin full of milk, we find the dwelling of the *mkha' 'gro* Gsang-ba; nearby there was Khyung-tshang-phug.”

An interesting detail is that Filibeck, 5, also refers to another place in Tsā-ri named Lwa-wa-phug, “a place of realization (*sgrub gnas*) of the *siddha* Lwa-wa-pa (sometimes spelled as La-ba-pa). Laba-pa is mentioned in the colophon to one of the works in the “Düsum Khyenpa Collection,” namely in the second of oral instructions on the *Chos drug*, named [27] *Zhal gdams*.

A work which discusses Tsā-ri as a place of pilgrimage is Toni Huber, *The Cult of Pure Crystal Mountain – Popular Pilgrimage and Visionary Landscape in Southeast Tibet* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1956). Unfortunately I did not trace any Düsum Khyenpa related places in the work.

¹⁹⁷ Dorje, *Footprint*, 233, provides a small map of the region Nang-rdzong, in which one of the major powerplaces of Tibet is located, called Tsā-ri, which is situated about 60 km southeast of D(w)ags-lha-sgam-po, the ‘seat’ of *bla ma* Lha-rje. On the map of Nang-rdzong we find a place called *Dakpo Zhu (possibly Gzhu).

Karl Brunnhölzl, *The Center of the Sunlit Sky* (Ithaca New York: Snow Lion Publications, 2004), 791, gives some more information about the place. In Appendix I: “A Short Biography of the Second Pawo Rinpoche Tsuglag Trengwa (Dpa'-bo Gtsug-lag Phreng-ba),” we find in fn. 1831 the name Gzhu-gru-bzhi. The text says:

“Starting at the age of thirty-seven, he accomplished three years and nine fortnights of retreat practice in Tsari at the “small ravine of Naynang (*tsa ri'i gnas nang rong chung*), the secret cave of the Dakini with the four-cornered bow (*gzhu gru bzhi'i mkha' 'gro gsang phug*), the secret cave of Karö (*mkha' ro'i gsang phug*) and Padmasambhava's Garuda Fortress of White Lake (*mtsho dkar khyung dzong*).”

¹⁹⁸ Dorje, *Footprint*, 466-67, shows that Kampo Nénang (Skam-po Gnas-nang), in Khams, is situated halfway between Batang and Lithang. Dorje:

“In 1165 the First Karmapa Düsum Khyenpa founded the monastery of Kampo Nénang (...). He remained there until the age of 74 (1184) and only in his later years did he go on to found the renowned Karma Gon monastery in Lhato. Kampo Nénang is located in Ronko township, 80 km from Litang (one hour's drive) and one hour by horse from the Litang-Batang road.”

Gser gling. The monastery does not exist anymore. An alternative name for the place seems to have been Ka-'bur-gnas-nang.¹⁹⁹

- The fourth and final important place is **Mtshur-phu**, a monastery founded by the master around 1187. In the *Gser gling*, it is called the master's "seat" for the latter part of his life and the master spent the last five years of his life here. It is mentioned nine times in the *Gser gling*. Mtshur-phu is situated in the Stod-lung(s) region, in Dbus (Central Tibet).²⁰⁰ It was mostly destroyed during China's "cultural revolution" and it was rebuilt in the mid-1980s.

A recent publication provides a detailed overview of Mtshur-phu and its history.²⁰¹ It is said that Mtshur-phu became one of the three original centres of the Karma branch of the Bka'-brgyud tradition. The three centres are: Stod-lung Mtshur-phu (*gdan sa gong ma*), Gle(sic.)-Karma-dgon (*gdan sa bar ma*) south-east of Nang-chen, and Kam-po (sic.) gnas-nang (*gdan sa 'og ma*) (from which the name Karma Kam-tshang is derived).

The grouping of the three places as the original centres is clearly retrospective, because, from the *Gser gling* we learned that the master lived in Skam-po gnas-nang for about nineteen years, and in Mtshur-phu for about five years, while Karma-dgon is hardly mentioned. We only find the statement that he founded Karma-dgon²⁰² just before travelling to Dbus at the end of his life.

Furthermore, from the *Zhal chems* we learned that Düsüm Khyenpa did not intend for Mtshur-phu to be maintained after his death. However, later in time, some students decided to maintain Mtshur-phu as a monastery after all.

¹⁹⁹ Wylie, *Geography of Tibet*, 101, refers to a place called Gnas-nang, located in Khams: (underscoring added) "Eastward from 'Ba is the *sde* of Li-Thang, in whose area and neighboring on 'Ba, there is a place which bestows blessings called Ka-'bur-gnas-nang. In former times, there was a large Kar-ma-pa monastery there, and nowadays, even though that has been destroyed by the force of time, there are still some marvellous things there, such as what is said to be a *mgon khang* of Ge-sar."

²⁰⁰ Dorje, *Footprint*, 139-42, Mtshur-phu monastery is located about 50 km west of Lha-sa.

²⁰¹ Akester, *Jamyang Khyentsé Guide*, 206-14.

²⁰² SW ka 77:2 ...kle'u kar mar dgon pa mdzad=

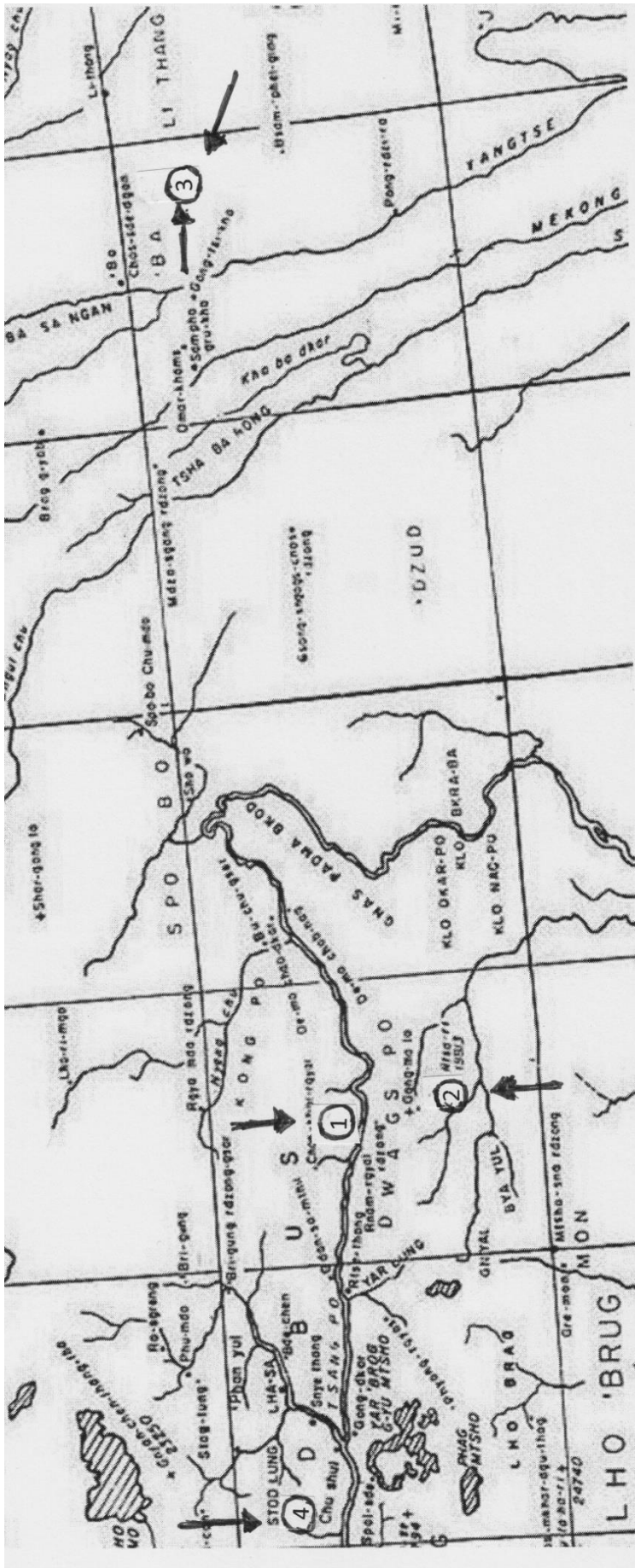


Chart of the four places most important in Düsum Khyenpa's life

- 1 [D(w)ags-lha]Sgam-po,
D(w)ags-po
- 2 Gzhu-gru-bzhi, Tsā-ri
- 3 Skam-po Gnas-nang, Khams
- 4 Mtshur-phu, Stod-lung

Detail from a chart entitled "Tibet according to the 'Dzam-gling-rgyas-bshad," compiled by Turrell Wylie, from Turrell V. Wylie, *The Geography of Tibet, according to the 'Dzam gling rgyas bshad* (Roma, Instituta Italiano per il medio ed estremo oriente, 1962). The *'Dzam gling rgyas bshad* is a 19th century Tibetan work on the geography of the world, of which Wylie translated the part concerning Tibet.

1.3.7 *Some social and economic aspects of the master's life*

Religious, social and economic conditions of the time and society one lives in have an impact on spiritual development. The religious context offers a framework, social conditions may or may not encourage study and spiritual practice, and economic conditions may or may not support spiritual activities as one needs financial resources for study and practice. This section aims at exploring the last two aspects, the social and economic.

The religious context for Düsüm Khyenpa is the Great Vehicle, Mahāyāna Buddhism, as it had been received in two periods of diffusion (*snga dar* and *phyi dar*) of the Buddhist dharma in Tibet.

The cultural world in which Düsüm Khyenpa lived was a period of renaissance of Buddhism. This renaissance was fostered to varying degrees by the growth of established Tibetan monastic communities, by the work of surviving claimants to the old dynastic line, and by the devoted efforts of individual Tibetan scholars. In many parts of the country, local aristocratic or otherwise powerful households also assumed a strong role through direct involvement or through material support.²⁰³ As part of the Buddhist renaissance new Buddhist texts were translated, and as a result the early diffusion of the *dharma* (*snga dar*), also understood as the early translation (*snga 'gyur*), was supplemented by the later diffusion (*phyi dar*), the later translation period.²⁰⁴

The general picture of Tibetan society through many or all centuries in the past is one of a mostly rural society. Main economic activities included agriculture, pastoralism (keeping cattle), a mix of the two (*sa ma 'brog*), and trade.²⁰⁵ Farmers and herders traded surplus staple food items like butter, mutton and barley, and also hides and medicinal plants amongst themselves or with outside traders.

Long-distance trade was also important as a source of income and wealth, and especially relevant for the period in which Düsüm Khyenpa lived.

Tibet's long-distance trade in the eleventh to thirteenth centuries benefitted from that China rose to considerable economic power in the Sung (or Song) period (960-1279). The conditions for the China's economic growth were developed in earlier centuries, especially the second half of the eighth century. At that time, a tax reform took place, whereby agrarian tax was no longer based on the cultivators but on the land itself. New revenues were sought and created by means of state-controlled monopolies on salt (in 759), alcohol (in 764), and tea (in 793). As a result tax on commerce became more important than the direct taxes levied on the small

²⁰³ Kapstein, *Tibetans*, 100-1.

²⁰⁴ For the Tibetan renaissance in particular, see Ronald M. Davidson, *Tibetan Renaissance -Tantric Buddhism in the Rebirth of Tibetan Culture* (New York, Columbia University Press, 2005).

²⁰⁵ For a detailed survey, see Kapstein, *Tibetans*, 11-8.

farmers.²⁰⁶ By 780 C.E., half of the state's revenue came from the salt monopoly and the trade in tea also grew extensively during that period. The process of tax reform and its economic consequences continued in next centuries and was completed by the tenth to eleventh century.²⁰⁷ Among other things, this provided a solid basis for the agricultural upsurge of China in the eleventh to thirteenth century. The upsurge led to economic expansion as a larger fraction of the population became available for other tasks than the production of food for sustenance. Textile-producing plants such as hemp and mulberry trees for breeding silk-worms gained prominence, and the cultivation of tea-bushes also increased. Mining production grew rapidly in the eleventh century, with products such as iron, copper (essential for casting coins), lead and tin.²⁰⁸ The production of ceramics experienced an unprecedented expansion and some of the most famous eleventh-century pieces came from the imperial kilns at K'aifeng, the famous imperial city during the Sung period, more on this city below. The technique of making porcelain reached perfection in the twelfth century. Other regions became famous for other products such as iron, rice, sugar, paper, printed books, etc. The development of trade allowed products to be sold on a vast scale and big mercantile agglomerations appeared in the empire as a whole. The economic expansion of China in the eleventh to thirteenth centuries also led to the development of an urban bourgeoisie consisting of landowners and rich merchants and the growth of internal demand for products. Luxury was no longer the privilege of the imperial palace but became available for a larger part of the population.²⁰⁹

The growing internal and external demand for luxury products had a strong impact on the import and export of goods. China not only produced luxury products, it also imported them, along with raw materials for their production, such as rare stones, ivory, sandalwood, and so forth. It exported luxury products, such as tea, salt, ceramics, cloth (silk) and metals (silver). The exported goods, to for example Hsia, the Tangut empire (1038-1227) at the northeast of Tibet, were further exported to central Asia and the Middle East. China's principal wealth in the Sung age came from commerce and craftsmanship.²¹⁰

²⁰⁶ Jacques Gernet, *A History of Chinese Civilization*, trans. J.R. Foster and Charles Hartman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 263-4.

²⁰⁷ Gernet, *History Chinese Civilization*, 313.

²⁰⁸ Gernet, *History Chinese Civilization*, 320-1: ... the quantity of cast iron produced in 1078 exceeded 114,000 tonnes (it reached only 68,000 tonnes in England in 1788).

²⁰⁹ Gernet, *History Chinese Civilization*, 320-2.

²¹⁰ Gernet, *History Chinese Civilization*, 322-3:

“Foreign trade, with imports consisting mainly of luxury products – incense, rare stones (cornelian, agate, amber, camphor), ivory, coral, rhinoceros horns, ebony, sandalwood – produced a deficit for China, which had to pay for part its purchases in copper coin and metals (lead, tin, gold, and silver). ... For outside, too, China was regarded as the land of luxury crafts, the land which produced the most coveted goods and provided the most profitable opportunities for trade. The northern empires which in exchange for Chinese goods could furnish only horses, sheep, hides and wool, imported tea, salt, cloth, and metals. Accordingly, when the Hsia and Liao imposed treaties on the Sung in the first half of the eleventh century, they demanded the delivery of products essential to the development of their trade with central Asia and the Middle East – tea, silks, and silver.”
... China's principal wealth in the Sung age came from commerce and craftsmanship. Ceramics, silks, iron and other metals, salt tea, alcohol, paper, and printed books were the objects of intense commercial activity in which the whole empire was involved and of which the state was the principal beneficiary.”

Products which Tibet exported in the old times were: musk, gold-dust, wool and chowries (yak tails).²¹¹

The imperial capital in the Sung period (960-1279) was K'aifeng, also called the "Eastern Capital" (Tib. Tong-kun).²¹² By all accounts, it must have been a magnificent capital that greatly impressed Chinese people as well people in neighboring countries. The city generated a vast amount of fine products, including silk and porcelain goods. The city, referred to as Tong-kun (also spelled as Stong-kung), is mentioned three times in the *Gser gling* which testifies to its fame at the time that Düsüm Khyenpa lived. Products from Tong-kun were transported through the area of Khams (East Tibet), where Düsüm Khyenpa lived, further to India, Persia and the Middle-East, along five long-distance trade routes.

Over the centuries and due to climate, topography of the plateau, and the clustering of the population, five key routes for long-distance trade developed in Tibet.²¹³ The second of the five routes, the Tibet-Sichuan route, is important in our context. It is the route from the main economic center in China K'aifeng (Tong-kun) to Lhasa, India and the Middle-East. It runs from Lhasa via Chamdo to Sichuan. From Chamdo the route has a northern option, via Derge, and a southern option via Batang and Litang.

²¹¹ David L. Snellgrove and Hugh Richardson, *A Cultural History of Tibet* (Orchid Press, Bangkok, 2003, first ed. 1986), 140.

²¹² Sam van Schaik, "Ruler of the East, or Eastern Capital," in *Studies in Chinese Manuscripts: From the Warring States to the Twentieth Century*, ed. Imre Galambos (Budapest: Eötvös Lorand University, 2013), 215-7, identifies (S)tong-kun(g) as the "Eastern Capital," the magnificent Eastern Capital of the Song period (960-1279). (S)tong-kun(g) is an early name of what later would become Kaifeng.

"Kaifeng continued to be the most important mercantile city in China during the 11th century. The city produced a vast amount of fine produce, including silk and porcelain goods.

After Kaifeng fell to the Jurchens in the 12th century, it remained the southern base of the new Jin dynasty. It was only in the Yuan dynasty (1271-1378) that Kaifeng lost the title "Eastern Capital" and was renamed Bianliang. This also marked the beginning of the city's decline."

Gernet, *History Chinese Civilization*, 268-9 locates the strategic point of K'ai-feng in eastern Honan, in the new empire of the Liang (Hou Liang, Later Liang) founded in 907. K'aifeng was also the place where the new Sung dynasty was founded (Gernet: 300-1) in 951, and where the imperial palace was situated (Gernet: 314). Gernet offers a description of the (urban development) of the city of K'aifeng, capital of the Five Dynasties which reigned in succession there from 907 onwards, and capital of the Northern Sung from 960 to 1126 (Gernet: 317).

²¹³ Ryavec, *Historical Atlas Tibet*, Map 6, The historical Tibetan world, 18-19; five long-distance keyroutes, 20:

- (1) The high road during ancient times, it went first directly north from Lhasa to the Dang la (the Dang pass) and then northeastward via A-mdo to China.
- (2) The Tibet-Sichuan route via Shopamdo and Chamdo. ... From Chamdo the routes again bifurcated, with a northern route going through Derge and Kanze to Dartsedo (Chinese: Tachienlu), and a southern route via Batang and Litang ...
- (3) The Yunnan route via Dechen and Tsakhalho (Yanjing), but it joined the main Tibet-Sichuan routes at either Chamdo or Lho dzong ...
- (4) The main Lhasa to India route over the Himalaya into Sikkim.
- (5) The Lhasa to Leh route, which continued on to Kashmir, though all along the way southern routes branched off to Nepal and India.

The route crosses the region where Düsüm Khyenpa was born and where, later on, he lived and taught for about twenty years. Skam-po Gnas-nang, his main monastery at that time was located near the southern portion of the trade route, between Batang and Litang. In addition, Ka-'brag (pronunciation spelling Kadrak), mentioned in the *Gser gling* as the place where he takes novice ordination, is located at the northern option of the route, close to his birth place Tre-shod.²¹⁴

The economic perspective can give us additional interesting insights. For example, we learn from the *Gser-gling* that Dwags-po Lha-rje, Düsüm Khyenpa's main teacher asks him to go or move to Skam-po Gnas-nang and that earlier on, he asked Sgom-pa Tshul-khrims snying-po to do the same but he could not. Even though we are not told the reason(s) behind the request, we now know that monastery and/or teaching centres near an important trade route could prosper from the wealth offspring of the long-distance trade to the region and also offer opportunities for a further diffusion of the dharma. The "seat" of *bla ma* Lha-rje was located in the Dwags-po region at a rather isolated place and not in the vicinity of a major trade route.

It is also plausible that the long-distance trade considerably contributed to the twelfth-century richness of Khams at the time of Düsüm Khyenpa.

Looking at Düsüm Khyenpa's own economic circumstances, the *Gser gling* is very brief about Düsüm Khyenpa's family.

We read that Düsüm Khyenpa came from the "Spo" family line. The Spo belongs to one of six family lines in the time when ancient Tibet was ruled by king Gnya'-khri bstan-po, the six belonged to the royal castes (*rgyal rigs*). Further, it is also said that he belonged to the "Ldong" tribe, one of the four original Tibetan tribes.²¹⁵

No information is given about family wealth, but is possible that they were wealthy which could explain why also information on the profession of the father is omitted. It could also explain why Düsüm Khyenpa was able to attend the Gsang-phu Ne'u-thog college, an influential center of learning at that time and later. It seems plausible that one had to be already well-educated to a certain degree and have financial resources to attend such a college, the only one existing at that time, as far as we know. It is unclear how many years he actually attended Gsang-phu Ne'u-thog. However, because the fact that he was involved in study from years twenty to thirty suggests again that family financial resources must have been available, also because no patron of any kind is mentioned for that period.

The *Gser gling* does elaborate a bit more on is how "seats" of Buddhist masters functioned at that time. Usually, students had to bring considerable gifts to be accepted and maintained at a centre. In the case of Düsüm Khyenpa it is said that he brought ten [rolls of] silk (*dar bcu*). There is no direct information on other financial aspects of the arrangement, but it is plausible that after a student had been accepted, he was sustained by his Buddhist

²¹⁴ Ryavec, *Historical Atlas Tibet*, Map 11.

²¹⁵ For the precise references on Spo" and "Ldong," see 3.2, "Translation of the *Gser gling*," fns. at the beginning of Chapter 11, "Years of Effort ..."

master. Students were sent off from *bla ma* Lha-rje's "seat" (*gdan sa*) students were sent off to practice at specific places.

Interestingly enough, we find in the *Gser gling* that later in life and after Lha-rje had already passed away, Düsüm Khyenpa sent considerable wealth to *bla ma* Lha-rje's "seat," including many "dzo," a lot of turquoises, [loads of] tea, the *Gser 'bum*, silver, four copies of the *Prajñāpāramitā*, a set of many *sūtras*, one hundred and ten books [written in] gold, as well as horses.²¹⁶ The sending of wealth can be seen as a sign of gratitude and accumulating merit, but even more as a contribution to his dharmacenter, to make it stronger and effective in spreading the dharma in which he had been taught and trained.

However, Düsüm Khyenpa does not restrict himself to supporting his original center. He also accumulated and shared wealth for other non-lineage dharma-centers, thereby supporting the Buddha dharma in general.²¹⁷

With regard to this accumulation of wealth, the goods that were sent seem to have come from donations which he received from students and visitors²¹⁸. He may also have received donations on the occasions of offering dharma-teachings, giving empowerments,²¹⁹ and inaugurating temples.²²⁰ The *Gser gling* informs us that he travelled a lot in Khams from the age of fifty on and that many came to see and learn from him.

In addition to donations, Buddhist teachers often have patrons who support them by means of supplying resources. Two patrons are mentioned by name in the *Gser gling*. The first is the king of Mon who, when the master is in his forties and practices in the mountains of Mon, provides supplies so that he can continue his retreat. The second is the interesting figure of Skya Dgon-pa-ba, who is said to be reborn in past and future lifetimes of the master due to a specific event in the past.²²¹ He is also present in Düsüm Khyen-pa's life as it is said he inaugurates patron Skya-Dgon-pa-ba's 'deity shrine' and temple.²²²

Another issue to be briefly addressed is that of economic activities in teacher-student communities or monasteries. The *Gser gling* does not offer any information on activities such as agriculture, cattle breeding or trade in these communities, which may have been practiced

²¹⁶ Horses and 'coats of mail' [SW ka 72]; tea and fifty dzo [74]; seven turquoises [75]; again seven turquoises and thirty [loads] of tea [77]; the *Gser 'bum* [the *Prajñāpāramitā* in One Hundred Thousand Verses], turquoises and silver [77]; four copies of the *Prajñāpāramitā* in One Hundred Thousand Verses, a set of many *sūtras*, and more in general [gave] one hundred and ten books [written in] gold, ten big turquoises, fifty 'dzo,' horses, and so forth [77]; eighteen volumes [written] in gold [on black paper], twelve volumes on plain paper, thirty [volumes] in all, turquoises with red in it famous throughout the world, twenty-four wooden scales, and more [120].

²¹⁷ He accumulated for the central chief monasteries in Dbus and Gtsang, mainly the two [connected with] Jo-bo Six-Syllable-One (Avalokiteśvara) and Jo-bo Shākya-[muni], seventy horses, and in general hundred[s of other] 'fine goods' [SW ka 78]; one hundred volumes of 'discourses [of the Buddha]' (*gsung rab*) and many different kinds of wealth to all monasteries in [various] districts [120-1].

²¹⁸ E.g. a visitor offers a tiger-skin, SW ka 107.

²¹⁹ *abhiṣekas*, e.g. at SW ka 78, 104-6, etc.

²²⁰ Inaugurations, e.g. at SW ka 82, 117-9, etc.

²²¹ See Chapter 5, "Rebirth as an Elephant."

²²² 'deity-shrine' at SW ka 82, temple at SW ka 117.

for reasons of survival. From what we read, the communities seem to have been exclusively focused on spiritual practice.

We also find no evidence that the spiritual communities related to Düsüm Khyenpa related communities were supported by, or had contacts with, powerful local nobility or specific clans. The control of the Dwags-po “seat” of *bla ma* Lha-rje was in the hands of the founding patriarch’s clan, the Rnyi-ba, a rule and management characterized by a traditional “uncle-nephew” (*khu dbon*) arrangement.²²³ However, no such thing had been arranged for any of Düsüm Khyenpa’s communities. Again, it seems that the master had no intention of beginning a lineage of his own.²²⁴

The persons who participate in these communities/monasteries seem to have been mainly male, female students are only mentioned a few times, but without recording their names.

A last issue to address is whether Düsüm Khyenpa had any contacts with foreign rulers. The *Gser gling* provides no information on this. However the sixteenth-century *Mkhas pa’i dga’ ston* and the eighteenth-century *Zla-ba chu-sel-gyi phreng-ba* each have a short passage on contact between the master and the ruler of a foreign state northeast of Tibet.

It says that Düsüm Khyenpa was invited by the ruler of the Tangut [state] of Hsia (Tib. Mi-nyag ’Ga). Düsüm Khyenpa must have been renowned that the ruler of the important Western Hsia empire (1038-1227) made the effort to invite him. The Hsia empire was powerful at the time of Düsüm Khyenpa (1110-93) and was even a threat to the Chinese Sung empire.²²⁵

In response to the invitation, Düsüm Khyenpa sent a student instead, namely Gstang-po-pa Dkon-mchog seng-ge who was the first person to earn the designation of “imperial preceptor” (Tib. *ti shri/shrī*), a title later given to ’Phags-pa under Khubilai Khan. The northeastern region of A-mdo bordered the Tangut state and the area was a traditional highway for Tibet’s commercial and cultural relations with other peoples and countries. The Tangut state came to an end in 1227 C.E., but before that Gstang-po-pa Dkon-mchog seng-ge (?-1218/1219) and his successor Sangs-rgyas ras-chen (1164/1165-1236) worked as imperial preceptors at the Tangut court.²²⁶

²²³ Sörensen, *Rare Texts from Tibet*, 45, Text F, the *Gangs can ’dir ston pa’i rgyal tshab dpal sgam po pa’i khri gdung ’dzin pa’i dam pa rnams kyi gtam Bai dūrya’i phreng ba* includes a history of the patriarch’s paternal clan (*rnyi ba’i lo rgyus*).

²²⁴ The subject of a “separate lineage” is addressed at the end of 1.2, “Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa and the Bka’-brgyud lineage – an overview.”

²²⁵ Gernet, *History Chinese Civilization*, 302: “In the reign of the third Sung emperor, Cheng-tsung (997-1022) ... a still graver threat hung over the north-western provinces. In this area, inhabited by a mixture of Tibetan, Chinese, Turkish, and Mongol peoples, a huge political unit came into existence in the first half of the eleventh century under the leadership of a formerly nomadic people, the Tangut. This kingdom known as the Western Hsia empire (1038-1227), extended from southern Mongolia to Tsinghai (Kokonor) ... With this empire, too, the Sung were obliged in 1044 to sign a burdensome peace which gave immunity from new attacks. The Hsia threat grew worse in the second half of the eleventh century as did also economic difficulties ...”

It eventually leads to the end of the Southern Sung period (1127-1279), triggered by the sudden invasion of the Jürchen, a Sinicized people from Machuria, who overturned the Liao empire and occupied the whole of North China in 1126.

²²⁶ Elliot Sperling, “Lama to the King of Hsia,” *Journal of the Tibet Society* 7, 30-4.

Chapter 2 *Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa's main biography and his "autobiographical notes"*

This chapter will address matters of a more analytical nature, including an historical overview of the main biographical material on Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa and an exploration of how the two main biographical works – *Gser gling* and *Zhus lan 2* – correspond with Tibetan terms for biographical writings. Furthermore, an overview will be presented of the various sources of the *Gser gling* and *Zhus lan 2*, followed by a discussion of the methodology employed for the critical edition and for the translation of both works.

2.1 Brief historical overview of the main biographical material on Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa

From an historical point of view, the earliest written sources on Düsum Khyenpa may be considered to be the most important and reliable, as over time information about Düsum Khyenpa appears to have been added or omitted. For that reason, the list below stretches from the most ancient twelfth- / thirteenth-century works, through the later biographies based on the ancient sources, to a single eighteenth century work. Later works are not included in the list, because, as far as I can see, they are mostly compilations of materials already found in the earlier sources. The sources vary greatly in depth and detail. The list includes 10 sources in all, organized by age.

1. The oldest known chronicle of Düsum Khyenpa's life is the *rnam thar*²²⁷ by Bde-chung-ba, entitled *Rje 'gro ba'i mgon po rin po che'i rnam thar skyes rabs dang bcas pa rin chen phreng ba 'bring po*²²⁸, "A Precious Garland of Medium Length: Life Account of the Venerable Precious Master Protector of Beings with a Narrative of Former Lifetimes" It is work no. [1] in the "Düsum Khyenpa Collection."

Bde-chung-ba was a senior student of Düsum Khyenpa. The work's colophon mentions three more students of the master who also contributed information to the work. The life account was probably written shortly after the master passed away (1193 C.E.), no later than the early thirteenth century. The work consists of 46 *dbu med* folios and it is the prototype for the much more extensive *Gser gling*.

The sequence of events recounted in the *rnam thar* is that of Düsum Khyenpa meeting his main teacher, other events during his life, and former and future lifetimes.

²²⁷ *rnam thar*, "life account / liberation story," the term is described in more detail in 2.2, "*Gser gling* and *Zhus lan* as biographical sources."

²²⁸ See section 4.3, "Detailed overview of the "Dus gsum mkyen pa Collection," [1] *Rje 'gro ba'i mgon po rin po che'i rnam thar skyes rabs dang bcas pa rin chen phreng ba 'bring po*/ SW ka 1-46.

2. The second oldest source is the life account written by Rgang-lo, the *Gser gling*, “**A Golden World.**” The full title is *Chos rje'i skyes rabs rin po che gser gling le'u bcwo bryad pa*²²⁹, “A Golden World, the Succession of Lifetimes of Dharma-master [Düsum Khyenpa] in Eighteen Chapters.” The *Gser gling* is the first work in a set of four, entitled *Rje dus gsum mkhyen pa'i rnam thar*, which is work no. [2] of the “Düsum Khyenpa Collection.” The other three works of the set of four do not offer much extra information and are partly verse summaries of the *Gser gling*.

The fact that the *Gser gling* is listed at second place in the “Düsum Khyenpa Collection” and that it is an extension of the prototype suggests that it was probably written some decades after the *rnam thar* by Bde-chung-ba, sometime during the early thirteenth century. The *Gser gling* consists of 82 *dbu med* folios.

In the *Gser gling* Rgang-lo reorganizes the information provided by Bde-chung-ba using the sequence of previous lifetimes, present life, and future lifetimes, and adds more detailed information about Düsum Khyenpa's life. The *Gser gling* is the most ancient complete life account of the master, which is why it was selected as a focus for this dissertation.

The work may have had a precursor in the form of the *Gser 'phreng*, a much shorter work by the same author, consisting of 60 folios. The *Gser 'phreng* is discussed briefly in section 2.3, “Sources of the *Gser gling* and *Zhus lan 2.*”

3. The third oldest source is the *rnam thar* written by the Third Karma-pa Rang-byung Rdo-rje (1284-1339). It is entitled *Dus gsum mkhyen pa seng ge sgra'i rnam par thar pa'o*, “Account of Düsum Khyenpa's Life, the Lion's roar”²³⁰. The work, which is undated, was written in the early fourteenth century, about 130 years after Düsum Khyenpa's death and has 66 *dbu can* folios.

In the *rnam thar*, Rang-byung Rdo-rje reorganizes the information found in the *Gser gling*, beginning with the master's life, followed by information on past and future lifetimes.²³¹ He shortens the passages on previous lifetimes and now and then adds names or supplies extra details.

²²⁹ [2] *Rje dus gsum mkhyen pa'i rnam thar/*, work 1), SW ka, 47-128, colophon, SW ka 127:6: *chos rje'i skyes rabs rin po che [128:1] gser gling le'u bcwo*²²⁹ *bryad pa zhes bya ba*,

²³⁰ At least two editions of the *Seng ge sgra* exist: First, *Dus gsum mkhyen pa seng ge sgra'i rnam par thar pa'o*, in the *Collected Works of Rang-byung-rdo-rje*, margin title: *Karma rang byung rdo rje'i gsungs 'bum*, BDRC W05401, page 158-220, volume 4 (nga).

Second, a more recent edition of the same work, bearing the same title and published in the *Dpal rgyal dbang Karma pa sku phreng rim byon gyi gsung 'bum phyogs sgrigs*, 108 volumes, ed. by Mkhan po Lo yag bkra shis (Khreng tu'u: *Dpal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang*, 2013), volume 13, “Karma pa Rang byung rdo rje'i gsung 'bum, Ga pa bzhugs so,” 261-326. The latter work has been consulted for different readings of names, places, etc.

²³¹ Karma-pa Rang-byung-rdo-rje explicitly mentions that he consulted the *Gser gling*, making clear as it were that the *Gser gling* precedes the *rnam thar* story he composed. At the end of the work, after summarizing Düsum Khyenpa's previous lifetimes, we find: ... *rdzogs so// sems dpa' chen po'i skyes rab gser gling 'di/ ... Dpal rgyal dbang Karma pa sku phreng*, volume 13, f 217:4.

4. The next source is the *Deb ther dmar po*, “The Red Annals,” which is a work on religious history (*chos ’byung*) written by ’Tshal-pa Kun-dga’ Rdo-rje (1309-1364).²³²
The work includes a brief passage on the master and was probably written after the account by Karma-pa III in the middle of the fourteenth century. This would correspond to roughly 150 years after Düsüm Khyenpa passed away.
5. The *Chos kyi rje rin po che dpal ldan dus gsum mkhyen pa’i rnam par thar pa dgos ’dod kun ’byung*, “Account of the Glorious and Precious Dharma-master Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa’s Life – meets all wishes and wants,” is a *rnam thar* of the master that was authored by Zhwa-dmar II Mkha’-spyod-dbang-po (1350-1405), written ca. 200 years after Düsüm Khyenpa’s demise. It consists of 70 *dbu can* folios.²³³ It is listed at third place in the “Düsüm Khyenpa Collection,” but only included in the most recent edition.
6. The sixth source is *Bka’ brgyud rin po che’i chos ’byung Mig ’byed ’od stong*, “The Thousand-rayed Eye-opener [i.e. the Sun, illuminating] the Religious History of the Precious [Dvags-po] Bka’-brgyud [Lineages].” The work was completed in 1418 C.E., 225 years after Düsüm Khyenpa’s death, and is authored by Bsod-nams rgyal-mtshan dpal-bzang-po (1386-1434 C.E.), the 12th (or 13th) abbot or throne-holder of Gdan-sa-thel/mthil.²³⁴ Rather than a full account, this source only includes a very brief passage on the master with rather general information, consisting of about 3 folio sides.²³⁵

²³² Tshal-pa Kun-dga’ Rdo-rje, *Deb ther dmar po* (Beijing: Mi-rigs-dpe-skrun-khang, 1981), 84-7, *dbu can* edition.

Martin, *Tibetan Histories*, 52-3, dates the work to 1346-1363 C.E.

²³³ Zhwa-dmar Mkha’-spyod-dbang-po, *Chos kyi rje rin po che dpal ldan dus gsum mkhyen pa’i rnam par thar pa dgos ’dod kun ’byung*. Published in *The Collected Writings (Gsung ’bum) of the Second Zhwa dmar Mkha’-spyod-dbang-po*, reproduced from an incomplete manuscript preserved in the Rumtek Monastery (Gangtok: Gonpo tseten, 1978), BDRC W23928, Volume I, ff 435-504.

The work is included in the *SB* edition of the “Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa Collection,” Vol. ka, ff 139-208. It is not included in the earlier *SW* and *CW* editions.

²³⁴ Per K., Sörensen, *Rare Texts from Tibet – Seven Sources for the Ecclesiastic History of Medieval Tibet* (Kathmandu: Lumbini International Research Institute, 2007), 59-103, offers a transcription of the *Mig ’byed ’od stong*, as contained in a set of rare and old Bka’-brgyud-pa manuscript texts that surfaced in Lhasa – collected and published under the cover-title *Dpal ’Bri gung bka’ brgyud kyi chos mdzod chen mo*.

Sörensen adds an introduction to the text, pp. 15-9, in which we learn, that it was brought to completion in 1418 C.E. in the residential manor-palace of Rtses-thang, being written by Bsod-nams rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzang-po (1386-1434 C.E.). The author is the famous *chos rje spyan snga*, the 12th (or 13th) abbot or throne-holder of Gdan-sa-thel/mthil. Sörensen translates the full title of the *Mig ’byed ’od stong* as “The Thousand-rayed Eye-opener [i.e. the Sun, illuminating] the Religious History of the Precious [Dvags-po] Bka’-brgyud [Lineages]”.

Also, that the compilation of the work can be seen to constitute the doctrinal backbone behind the Phag-gru lineage of the Bka’-brgyud tradition, and can be seen as to supplement the *Yar lung chos ’byung* written over 40 years (1376 C.E.) before the *Mig ’byed ’od stong*. (For editions of the *Yar lung chos ’byung*, see Martin, *Tibetan Histories*, 61, the work contains the history of Buddhism and of royal dynasties of Tibet, India, China and Mongolia.)

The brief presentation of the Karma Kam-tshang Bka’-brgyud pa, transcribed in *dbu can*, is found on pp. 84-90 [51b5-63b5].

²³⁵ *Bka’ brgyud rin po che’i chos ’byung Mig ’byed ’od stong*, *dbu med*. The work is part of a large collection of *rnam thar*, entitled *Bod kyi lo rgyus rnam thar phyogs bgrigs*, 120 Volumes (Zi-ling: Mtsho-sngon-

7. The next source is *Lho rong chos 'byung*, “Lho-rong religious history,” which includes about five pages on the master in the *dbu can* edition.²³⁶ It was written by Lho-rong rdzong-pa Rta-tshag Tshe-dbang rgyal-po (d. ca. 1470) and completed in 1447 C.E. It was written ca. 250 years after Düsüm Khyenpa’s passing.²³⁷

8. The *Deb ther sngon po*, “The Blue Annals,” is a massive work on religious history, written by 'Gos lo-tsā-ba Gzhon-nu-dpal (1392-1491) about 280 years after the master’s passing. There are six folios devoted to his life in the *Deb ther sngon po*.²³⁸ Most likely, 'Gos lo-tsā-ba supervised a team of his disciples in compiling this work, by way of excerpting from what must have been a very large collection of biographical and other sources. The text is assumed to be very much of a group effort and in the version known today, it postdates 'Gos lo-tsā-ba’s passing by more than a year.²³⁹

9. The *Mkhas pa'i dga' ston*, “The Scholar’s Feast,” a *chos 'byung*, written by Dpa'-bo II Gtsug-lag-phreng-ba (1504-66), approx. 360 years after the master’s death. It includes about seven pages on his life.²⁴⁰

mi-rigs-dpe-skrun-khang, 2010-2015). The work is located in Vol. 7, ff 399-592, the DSK passage on ff 437-40. BDRC, W1KG10687.

²³⁶ Tshe-dbang-rgyal, *Lho rong chos 'byung* (Lhasa: Bod-ljongs-bod-yig-dpe-rnying-dpe-skrun-khang, 1994), 228-234, BDRC 27302 *dbu can*, also available BDRC W2CZ7697, *dbu med*.

²³⁷ Martin, *Tibetan Histories*, 69-70, briefly discusses the work and adds the full title *Lho rong chos 'byung thub bstan gsal byed*. Another name of the author is Ri-bo-che Dpon-tshang, and an alternative title of the work is *Rta tshag chos 'byung*. Lho-rong and Rta-tshag refer to the location of family estates of the author. Martin dates the work to 1446-1451 C.E.

Sörensen, P, *Rare Texts from Tibet*, 17: “The *Lho rong chos 'byung* (completed 1447 C.E.) [...] is our most informative source on the many disparate (and otherwise little known) Bka'-brgyud-pa lineages. Its author, Lho-rong rdzong-pa Rta-tshag Tshe-dbang rgyal-po (d. ca. 1470?), [...] explicitly stated that the *Mig 'byed 'od stong* served as a model for Rta-tshag’s own, far more detailed, *Lho rong chos 'byung* (*op. cit.* 844-45), wherefore the latter may be regarded as no more than a systematic expansion or elaboration of the former. It may also account for the circumstance that the *Mig 'byed 'od stong* soon was superseded by Rta-tshag’s work [...]”

²³⁸ 'Gos-lo-tsā-ba Gzhon-nu-dpal, *Deb gter sngon po* (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1974), nya, ff 412-7. Translated by George N. Roerich, *Blue Annals* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, 1996, 1st Edition 1949), 473-80.

Martin, *Tibetan Histories*, 78, dates the work to 1476-78 C.E.

²³⁹ For an overview of the history of the *Deb ther sngon po* and that students / disciples probably participated, see Leonard W.J. van der Kuijp. “On the Composition and Printings of the *Deb gter sngon po* by 'Gos lo tsā ba gzhon nu dpal,” *Journal of the International Association of Tibetan Studies*, no. 2 (August 2006): 1-46, <http://www.thlib.org/tid=T2714> (accessed October 15, 2018), 24.

²⁴⁰ Dpa'-bo Gtsug-lag-phreng-ba, *Mkhas pa'i dga' ston* (Beijing: Mi-rigs-dpe-skrun-khang, 2006), 436-43, *dbu can*.

Martin, *Tibetan Histories*, 88-9, dates the work to 1545-1564 C.E.

10. Finally, *Zhwa nag dang po Dus gsum mkhyen pa chos kyi grags pa*, “The First Black-hat [hierarchy] – Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa – Chos-kyi-grags-pa,” was written by Si-tu Paṅ-chen VIII Chos-kyi-'byung-gnas (1699/1700-1774), about 580 years after the master's passing. It provides a life account of the master and it contains 41 folios.²⁴¹ Si-tu Paṅ-chen specifies the sources that he consulted for his *Zhwa nag dang po* biography. The *Gser gling* is mentioned first. The next two (or three) sources are for the most part (verse) summaries of the *Gser gling*. Sources of later origin are also specified.²⁴² An annotated translation of this biography by Si-tu Paṅ-chen is offered in Lee Ji-young's 2016 master thesis.²⁴³

2.2 *Gser gling* and *Zhus lan* as biographical sources

The aim of this section is to arrive at a better understanding of Düsum Khyenpa's main “biography,” the *Gser gling* and his “autobiographical notes,” the *Zhus lan*. Five avenues will be explored.

First, I will briefly explore Tibetan terms for biographical writings or life accounts, as there several types of such writings within the “Düsum Khyenpa Collection.”

²⁴¹ Si-tu Paṅ-chen Chos-kyi-'byung-gnas, *Zhwa nag dang po Dus gsum mkhyen pa chos kyi grags pa*, in Si-tu Paṅ-chen's *Collected Works: Chos kyi 'byung gnas gsung 'bum*, Vol. 11 (*da*): BDRC W26630, f. 2v-22v (p. 98-138).

²⁴² *Chos kyi 'byung gnas gsung 'bum*, Vol. 11 (*da*): BDRC W26630, [p. 137:6] ... de ltar rje dus mkhyen gyi rnam thar pa sa bon tsam 'di ni/ **sgang** [sic.] **los** bsgrigs pa'i rnam thar **gser gling ma** le'u bcu bryad pa (no. 2 in the constructed list of early sources in this dissertation and no. [2:1] in the DSK Collection) dang / rnam thar tshigs bead la zur cung zad mi 'dra ba gnyis (two biographies in verse, summaries of the *Gser gling*, nos [2:2] and [2:3] in the DSK Collection) / spyang snga [138:1] **zhon nu byang chub** gyis bsgrigs pa'i rnam thar re' u migs (for the most part a summary of the *Gser gling* and no. [2:4] in the DSK Collection, the colophon of [2:4] refers to Ku-ma-ra-bo-dhi, which is in Tib. is Zhon-nu byang-chub) dang / yang 'das rjes kyi rnam thar chen gcig (this probably refers to *Rje dus gsum mkhyen pa'i rnam thar*, work no. [2] of the DSK Collection, which consists of the above works 2:1-4, otherwise unidentified) dang / **mkha' spyod mdzad pa** 'i rnam thar **dgos 'dod kun 'byung** (no. 5 in the list) dang / **gtsug lag phreng ba**'i **chos 'byung** (no. 9 in the list) sogs nas kyang ci rigs par bsdu pa ste/ rje de la lbu chen byon [138:2] tshul rnam thar **gser gling ma** sogs su mi snang [illegible] yang / ...

The text continues by specifying where the information in the *Gser gling* comes from, such as from Lde[sic.]-chung-sangs-rgyas, Stag-del-ba, etc.

Interestingly enough, Situ does not mention separately the *rnam thar* written by Bde-chung-ba and the Third Karma-pa Rang-byung Rdo-rje (no. 1 and 3 in the list).

²⁴³ Lee Ji-young, “The life of the first Karma-pa Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa “the knower of the three times” (1110-1193): An annotated translation of his biography from the *Zla-ba chu-sel-gyi phreng-ba*,” Master thesis, Indiana University 2016.

Zla ba chu sel gyi phreng ba, short for *Sgrub bryud Karma Kaṃ tshang bryud pa rin po che 'i rnam par thar pa rab 'byams nor bu zla ba chu shel gyi phreng ba*, Ji-young translates: “The biographies of the precious lineage holders within the Karma Kaṃ-tshang lineage: A Rosary of infinite numbers of crystal gems.”

Second, I will compare a few other biographical works of the Bka'-brgyud tradition – Mar-pa, Mid-la ras-pa, Ras-chung-pa and Bsod-nams-rin-chen – with the *Gser gling* to determine if the biographies are of the same nature as the *Gser gling*.

Third, I will discuss the importance of both the *Gser gling* and *Zhus lan* for the Karma Kam-tshang lineage.

Fourth, the translation of the title *Gser gling* as “A Golden World” will be discussed as well as Rgang-lo, the author of the *Gser gling*, and his approach to writing this comprehensive biography.

Finally, I will add a few comments on the master’s ordination name Śrī Dharmakīrti.

2.2.1 Tibetan terms for biographical writings and their use in the *Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa Collection*

The *Gser gling* is part of a genre of biographical works, referred to by the Tibetan term of *rnam thar*. Rather than discussing the full *rnam thar* genre, I will only address those aspects of the genre that are relevant for a better understanding of the *Gser gling*. One other genre will also be briefly discussed, the *zhus lan* genre, as one of the works of the Dūsum Khyenpa Collection contains a specific *zhus lan* which contains “autobiographical notes.”

The Tibetan term *rnam thar* literally means “full liberation [story].” As it applies to the *Gser gling*, we could translate it as “life account,” “life record,” or even “life example.” To translate the term *rnam thar* with the term “biography” is actually problematic, because “biography” is usually associated with the modern Western genre of life accounts. From a Western perspective, a biography presents a detached and critical account of the major events in the life of the subject, often along with an analysis of the person’s character. However, this is not what the *Gser gling* offers. Instead, the *Gser gling* is more of a “special-purpose” biography, or a *hagiography*, the purpose of which is to describe how a religious person “walked” the Buddhist path. As such, the subject of the *Gser gling* is not Dūsum Khyenpa’s life as a whole, but rather his entry into the bodhisattva’s way of life, his diligence in making progress, and his effectiveness in helping others on the path.

Further exploring the concept of “hagiography,” James Robinson notes that there three distinct but not mutually exclusive approaches to discussing the lives of Buddhist saints: an historical, an hagiographic and a mythological approach.²⁴⁴ His description of the hagiographic approach is as follows:

“Hagiographic reading focuses upon the religious purposes of a text and how those purposes have affected its transmission and reception.” “... (H)agiography is concerned first and foremost to illuminate religious truth as exemplified through the lives of extraordinary men and women. This

²⁴⁴ James Burnell Robinson, “The Lives of Indian Buddhist Saints: Biography, Hagiography and Myth,” in *Tibetan Literature*, 61-2.

purpose is by no means incompatible with historical accuracy, but holding up a model or illustrating a doctrine shapes the narrative ...”²⁴⁵

This description of the hagiographic approach fits with the content of the *Gser gling*, in that the model which is held up is the religious ideal of the bodhisattva, illustrated by a description of the former, present and future lives of Düsüm Khyenpa.

Also relevant for the *Gser gling* is Robinson’s description of hagiography as a sub-genre of “sacred narrative” with vertical and horizontal dimensions.

“The vertical dimension [of sacred narrative] ... allows the saints to “humanize” the transcendent; they make the status of an enlightened being accessible to the human level. They give living focus for devotion. They exemplify spiritual triumph in ways understandable to those who still struggle. They give hope in the sense that if they were able to achieve their goal, so might the aspirant who makes the requisite effort.

“... the horizontal dimension of history, anchors the vertical linking of spiritual success and the ordinary life. The saints represent continuity; they bind the great figures of the past to our own history bound humanity. They are links in the chain of enlightened beings going back to the Buddha himself,”²⁴⁶

Looking at the content of the *Gser gling*, we can trace both the vertical and the horizontal dimensions. We clearly see the vertical dimension, as the *Gser gling* exemplifies the spiritual triumph of a human being, and the effort that is made by Düsüm Khyenpa as he progresses on the spiritual path, and, also, the invitation to others to enter the path. We also see the horizontal dimension, as the master clearly stands in a long historical tradition of masters who transmitted Buddhist teachings.

Vostrikov provides a useful analysis of *rnam thar* by dividing the genre into “general” biographies (*thun mong pa*) and “private” biographies (*thun mong ma yin pa*), also called “secret” biographies (*gsang ba’i rnam thar*). In general biographies, the author describes all aspects of his own life or of the life of another person, whereas in “private” biographies mystical events, miraculous dreams and supernatural phenomena are often narrated.²⁴⁷ The *Gser gling* could be classified under both of these categories.

Vostrikov also distinguishes, within the *rnam thar* genre: 1) biographies proper, also called “external biographies” (*phyi’i rnam thar*), 2) the *thob yig* or *gsan yig*, which are sometimes called “internal biographies” (*nang gi rnam thar*), and 3) the “secret biographies” (*gsang ba’i rnam thar*).²⁴⁸

The *thob yig* or *gsan yig* are precepts, *abhiṣekas*, etc., received, and works that were studied. The “secret biographies” can be biographies that were “sealed” (*rgya can*) for a specific reason.

The *Gser gling* includes 1) and 2), “external biographies” and “internal biographies,” but has also many features that do not fall under 1) and 2) as visions, yogic attainment, memories of

²⁴⁵ Robinson, “Buddhist Saints,” 65.

²⁴⁶ Robinson, “Buddhist Saints,” 67.

²⁴⁷ A.I. Vostrikov, *Tibetan Historical Literature*, trans. from the Russian by Harish Chandra Gupta (Abington: Routledge Curzon Press, 1994), 186.

²⁴⁸ Vostrikov, *Historical Literature*, 187, 199.

past lives. For that reason, Vostrikov first distinction, that between “general” and “private” fits better for the *Gser gling*, as in the word private, events such as visions and memories of past lives can be incorporated.

Even though, the *Gser gling* can be considered hagiography, as explained above, it does also have an ‘autobiographical framework’ in the sense that it is based on a list of statements expressed by the master himself, as provided in the *rnam thar* by Bde-chung-ba.²⁴⁹ It is important to note, however, that others in Tibetan literature have also used this feature – a narrative based on seemingly autobiographical statements – as a literary method to construct a fictional autobiography.²⁵⁰ In this context it is useful to mention Vostrikov’s observation that in biographies of Buddhist saints, such as those of Mar-pa and Mid-la ras-pa, “the narrative and didactic material is dominant over the historical canvas in a way that they should be regarded more as literary works.”²⁵¹ It is difficult to say if this applies to the *Gser gling*, because it is clearly a mixture of historical, didactic and inspirational material.

Another genre of Tibetan biographical works that is relevant here is the *zhus lan*, which literally means “answers to questions.” One of the *zhus lan* in the Düsüm Khyenpa Collection is *Dus gsum mkhyen pa’i zhus lan 2*, an “Exchange [between Sgam-po-pa and] Düsüm Khyenpa” (hereafter abbreviated as *Zhus lan 2*). This work consists of a considerable amount of “probably autobiographical” notes.

As for the authorship, *Zhus lan 2* comes with a colophon, part of which reads: “*Zhus lan* between the two, Sgam-po-pa Rin-po-che and Rin-po-che Mtshur-phu-ba [...]” The spelling of the names suggest that the colophon was probably added later, as Düsüm Khenpa never addressed his teacher as Sgam-po-pa. Furthermore, the colophon is not a clear “signature,” which is why I described it as “probably autobiographical.” It is even possible that the *zhus lan* was written by *bla ma* Lha-rje (Bsod-nams rin-chen), even though this is unlikely, given the quite personal nature of the exchange.

One cannot take the authorship for granted, based only on the title of a *zhus lan*. A *zhus lan* from the *Dags po’i bka’ ’bum*, entitled *Rje dags po zhal gdams dang / rje bsgom tshul gyi zhu* (sic.) *lan*, for example, contains a *zhus lan* ‘from’ another student of *bla ma* Lha-rje, namely Sgom-pa Tshul-khrims snying-po (1116-69). Even though both the title and the

²⁴⁹ [1] *Rje ’gro ba’i mgon po rin po che’i rnam thar skyes rabs dang bcas pa rin chen phreng ba ’bring po* by Bde-chung-ba, a senior student of the master. This is the first work of the Düsüm Khyenpa Collection. For a brief discussion, see 4.3, “A detailed overview of the Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa Collection.”

Bde-chung-ba relates that he heard (*thos*) the content from the master, so that the work is composed as a list of “direct speech” statements, all ending with the quotative verb *gsung*.

Rgang-lo, author of the *Gser gling*, organizes the information coming from Bde-chung-ba and adds information from other [spiritual] sons of the master.

²⁵⁰ I owe this remark to Jan-Ulrich Sobisch who pointed out to me that, for instance, Mid-la-ras-pa’s biography by Gtsang-smyon Heruka uses exactly this feature.

²⁵¹ Vostrikov, *Historical Literature*, 189.

colophon to the work indicate that the text concerns “Questions and answers by master Sgam-po-pa and master Bsgom-tshul (*rje sgam po pa dang / rje bsgom tshul gyis zhus lan*), the colophon also states that the *zhus lan* was written by another person, namely Lang-ban Dharma Ku-ma-ra (sic.).²⁵²

If Düsüm Khyenpa is the author of *Zhus lan 2*, it is not clear whether he intended to write an “Answers to Questions” work, or whether these were just private notes that were later transformed by others into a *zhus lan* format. Whether or not he intended to write a *zhus lan*, he must have known the “answer-to-questions” format, because in his *Tshogs chos*, “Teachings to an Assembly,” he twice cites a person called Master (*slob dpon*) *Akṣayamati* (Blo-gros-mi-zad-pa).²⁵³ *Akṣayamati* is short for the *Akṣayamatipariṣcchā Sūtra*, “Questions asked to *Akṣayamati*.”²⁵⁴ The fact that he knew that such question-and-answer works existed may have even have led to writing down the answers on his own questions.

As noted earlier, the term *zhus lan* literally means “Answers to Questions.” However, in this specific *zhus lan*, the *zhus lan 2*, the questions are not “simply” questions. They are more like an exchange of experience which is the reason why I used that term in the title. The notes consist of feedback he received on his experiences of spiritual practice, including questions he asked, answers and explanations he received, and also now and then, his own reflections on the subject.

It should also be pointed out that *Zhus lan 2* is also not an autobiography in the sense of someone systematically writing about his or her whole life. Instead, it covers only one period, albeit a crucially important one, rather early in Düsüm Khyenpa’s life. The exchange concerns the period during which Düsüm Khyenpa engages in intensive meditative practice, under the guidance of his teacher *bla ma* Lha-rje (Sgam-po-pa), from ca. 1140 until 1153 C.E., the year when *bla ma* Lha-rje passes away. The master made notes of what happened during this period of meditative training and probably these notes were later entitled *zhus lan*.

Zhus lan as a literary genre is discussed by Ulrich Kragh in his description of the “four *zhus lan* sections” that are included in Bsod-nams-rin-chen’s *Dags po ’i bka’ ’bum*. He mentions that the *zhus lan* texts of the *Dags po ’i bka’ ’bum* are among the earliest known Tibetan works of the genre. The genre has, however, a prototype in the form of at least one of two canonical *zhus lan* works included in the Peking, Snar-thang, and Golden manuscript *Bstan ’gyurs*.²⁵⁵

²⁵² Kragh, *Tibetan Yoga and Mysticism*, 302-5.

²⁵³ Cited at SW ka 294:2-3, and at SW ka 298:1-2: ... slob dpon **blo gros mi zad pa**’i zhal nas= rtag par dge ba’i bshes gnyen ni/ ...

²⁵⁴ *Blo gros mi zad pa*, short for *’Phags pa blo gros mi zad pas zhus pa’i mdo*, *Akṣayamati-pariṣcchā-sūtra*, P - , Der 89. The work has not been translated into English as far as I know but must have been renown in the past, as the *Akṣayamati-sūtra* is quoted 17 times in Śāntideva’s *Śikṣāsamucca*, see Index, 321.

Also a separate work exists, an explanation (*bstan pa, nirdeṣa*) of the *sūtra*, called *’Phags pa blo gros mi zad pa’i bstan pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po’i mdo, Ārya-akṣayamati-nirdeṣa-nama-mahāyāna-sūtra*, Transl. Dharmatāśila, BDRC W4CZ16782.

Paripṛcchā is one of more Sanskrit words for “question,” Edgerton BHSD, *paripṛcchā*, question-(ing), interrogation; also *paripṛcchā-vyākaraṇa*, elucidation (response to a question) by questioning (the questioner).

²⁵⁵ Kragh, *Tibetan Yoga and Mysticism*, 301, specified are two canonical works:

One of these two, the eight-century *Rdor sems dpa' zhus lan*, authored by Dpal-dbyangs (ninth century), has recently been discussed, critically edited and translated by Kammie Takahashi. It contains fifty-one questions and answers on ritual and meditative aspects of Mahāyoga.²⁵⁶

The second of the “four *zhus lan* sections” in the *Dags po'i bka' 'bum*, comprises all the *zhus lan* connected with Düsüm Khyenpa, forty (!) in all, including the two *zhus lan* from the “Düsüm Khyenpa Collection.”²⁵⁷ The four *Dags po'i bka' 'bum zhus lan* were published in English translation by Duff.²⁵⁸ It should be noted that Duff’s translation of Düsüm Khyenpa’s *zhus lan* is based on the *Dags po'i bka' 'bum* reading, while the translation of one of the *zhus lan* in this dissertation, to be presented in Chapter 3, is based on a critical edition of three editions of the “Düsüm Khyenpa Collection.”

2.2.2 Other *Bka' -brgyud* biographies and the *Gser gling*

The structure in the *Gser gling* is that of the bodhisattva path, a path which stretches over past, present and future lives. To better understand the *Gser gling* value and historical place, it is important to see if there other *rnam thar* that present a life account along these same lines.

To answer this question, I looked into life stories of *Bka' -brgyud* masters who stand in the same lineage as Düsüm Khyenpa. I started with *bla ma* Lha-rje (Bsod-nams-rin-chen), his main teacher of whom Düsüm Khyenpa says he learned from already in earlier lifetimes. Reading the earliest accounts of Bsod-nams-rin-chen’s life, we do not find a similar structure.²⁵⁹ Also, *rnam thar* such as that of Mar-pa Lo-tsä-ba Chos-kyi-blo-gros²⁶⁰, Mid-la

The first is the *Dpal saraha dang mnga' bdag maitripa'i zhu ba zhus lan* (**Śrīsaraha-prabhūmaitrī-pādaprasānottara*, Q5048, 2 folios) composed by an anonymous author. The text records questions put by Maitrīpa to Saraha in the exact same format seen in later Tibetan works of the *Zhus lan* genre.

The second canonical text is the *Rdo rje sems dpa'i zhus lan slob dpon dpal byangs gyis mdzad pa* (**Vajrasattva-prasānottara*, Q5082, 7 folios), composed by Śrī Ghoṣa (Dpal-byangs). Kragh remarks that this treatise does not reflect the typical question-answer format indicated by the vers “asked” (*zhus pa*)..

²⁵⁶ Kammie Takahashi, “The Rdo rje Sems dpa'i zhus lan”, in *Esoteric Buddhism at Dunhuang*, ed. Matthew Kapstein and Sam van Schaik (Leiden - Boston: Brill, 2010), 85-141. Takahashi discusses and offers a critical edition and translation of this work preserved in Dunhuang, it has fifty-one questions and answers. Dpal-dbyangs, the author of the *Rdo rje Sems dpa'i Zhus lan*, almost certainly lived during the ninth century, and was said to be a disciple of Vimalamitra.

²⁵⁷ For more details on the relation between the two *zhus lan* of the Collection and the 40 (!) of the *Dags-po bka' 'bum*, see 1.1, “An outline of research on Düsüm Khyenpa.”

²⁵⁸ See 1.1, “An outline of research on Düsüm Khyenpa.”

²⁵⁹ For example, see the “Earliest Accounts of Bsod nams rin chen’s Vita,” Chapter 3, in Kragh, *Tibetan Yoga and Mysticism*, 92-112. Kragh presents a translation of two interesting early hagiographical fragments (ca. 1130-1176), called “autobiographical” narratives. They are written in a question and answer format and are part of the *Dus gsum mkhyen pa'i zhus lan*, they recount the major events of his religious life. Notice, that this *zhus lan*, although it refers to Düsüm Khyenpa, is different from the two contained in the “Düsüm Khyenpa Collection.” Remarkably, the two “autobiographical” narratives focus, unlike many other hagiographies, on

ras-pa²⁶¹ or Ras-chung-pa²⁶² are not arranged along a bodhisattva path stretching over multiple lives.

However, there are a few other works that do record Tibetan Buddhist teacher's bodhisattva lives from the past. For example, in the *Bka' gdams legs bam* we find a rather lengthy description of four past lives of 'Brom-ston Rgyal-ba'i-'byung-gnas (1005-64). Interestingly enough, these descriptions also include another feature of the *Gser gling*, namely teacher and student connections across life times. In the *Bka' gdams legs bam*, we learn that Atiśa Dīpaṃkara (982-1054) and 'Brom-ston already lived, worked and studied together in former lives.²⁶³ Also, Kapstein notes that the *Maṇi bka' 'bum*, a twelfth-century work also includes the past lives of a bodhisattva.²⁶⁴

The bodhisattva path framework for the account of his life clearly probably comes from Düsüm Khyenpa himself. It was mentioned earlier that the *rnam thar* by Bde-chung-ba functioned as the prototype for the *Gser gling*, and that the prototype was organized as a list of notes of what the master had said.²⁶⁵ In writing the *Gser gling*, Rgang-lo, preserved the concept of the bodhisattva working on the path during past, present and future lives.

Sgam-po-pa's spiritual path. The content and the style of the two resemble the *zhus lan* translated in this thesis. However, previous or future lives on the bodhisattva path are not discussed.

²⁶⁰ For example, see Cécile Ducher, *Building a Tradition, The Lives of Mar-pa the Translator* (München: Indus Verlag, 2017). Ducher presents in Appendix 1 and 2 a diplomatic edition and translation of what may be the first and most original biography of Mar-pa, that of Ngam-rdzong ston-pa, and in Appendix 3 also a translation of Rngog Mdo-sde's Biography of Mar-pa. The content is mainly Mar-pa's 11th century life (1000?-1081?), his youth, travels to Nepal, meeting Nāropā and Maitripā. One similarity is that, as in the *Gser gling*, now and then some visionary dreams are described.

²⁶¹ For example, see Andrew Quintman, *The Yogin & the Madman – Reading the Biographical Corpus of Tibet's Great Saint Milarepa* (South Asia Across the Disciplines. New York: Columbia University Press, 2014). Quintman offers in Appendix 1 the earliest complete presentation of Mi-la's life (1028/1040-111/1123), an excerpt of Sgam-po-pa's *Rje mar pa dang rje btsun mi la'i rnam thar*. The content is Mi-la's 10th and 11th century life, youth, meeting his teacher Mar-pa, his student Sgam-po-pa, and so forth.

²⁶² For example, see Peter Alan Roberts, *The Biographies of Rechungpa: The evolution of a Tibetan hagiography* (New York: Routledge, 2007). Descriptions of Ras-chung-pa's life (1084-1161) contain events of his 10th and 11th century life, childhood, meeting his main teacher Milarepa, teachings, students, and so forth.

²⁶³ Excerpts of the *Bka' gdams legs bam* are translated as *The Book of Kadam – The Core Texts*, attributed to Atiśa and Dromtönpa, trans. Thubten Jinpa (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2008), 20-1, 455-518.

The *Bka' gdams legs bam* has two volumes and contains fifty-four texts altogether. The final version was compiled by Nyi-ma Gyal-mtshan (1225-1305), the ninth abbot of Snar-thang.

In Part Two of the translation – The Son's Teachings – five of the former lives of 'Brom-ston-pa are discussed and how he was guided in these lives by Atiśa. Actually, the *Bka' gdams legs bam* contains 22 chapters of 'Brom-ston birth stories, they are excerpted and in translation result in a record of five former lives.

Thanks to Matthew Kapstein for bringing this record of past lives to my attention.

²⁶⁴ Matthew Kapstein mentions that the *Maṇi bka' 'bum*, from the 12th century, deals at length with the past lives of the seventh-century Tibetan emperor Srong-bstan-sgam-po.

²⁶⁵ “list of notes,” as the quotative verb “*gsung*” appears more than one hundred times in the document.

The record of a bodhisattva working on the path reminds of *sūtras* which the master was familiar, such as the *Avamsaka Sūtra* and *Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra* that is included within it. These *sūtras* are also cited in one of his own works, “Teachings to an Assembly” (*Tshogs chos*). The stories of the protagonists of these *sūtras* are a “record of a quest,” as specifically in the *Gaṇḍavyūha*.²⁶⁶

The *Gser gling* can also be considered a “record of a quest,” like the *Gaṇḍavyūha*. However, it is a quest much less complicated than in the *Gaṇḍavyūha*, where the hero visits many “heavenly persons” and learns from them. The quest in the *Gser gling* centers on how the master proceeds on the bodhisattva path, his spiritual practice, the teacher-student relationship, and how he benefits others. The master inspires by his example in the *Gser gling*, an example of a totally dedicated bodhisattva, who works until the end of times for the welfare of others.

2.2.3 *The importance of the two works for the development for the Bka’-brgyud lineage*

An interesting subject to address is the importance of the *Gser gling* and *Zhus lan 2* for the development of the Bka’-brgyud lineage in general and the Karma Kaṃ-tshang in particular.

First, the *Gser gling*, the *nam thar* is important because it probably reflects what Dwags-po Lha-rje and Düsum Khyenpa had in mind when it comes to how students should develop on the Buddhist path. We can characterize the *Gser gling* as an inspiring example of progress through multiple lifetimes on the bodhisattva path. The choice to organize the *nam thar* around lives on the bodhisattva path supports the distinctive approach of Dwags-po bla ma Lha-rje who offered on the basis of common Mahāyāna, uncommon Mahāyāna i.e. tantric practices and *mahāmudrā* instructions. The *Gser gling* can therefore be regarded as the setting of a standard for the Bka’-brgyud path.

In addition, the *Gser gling* may have had the important side-effect of being one of the elements that helped to make the idea of reincarnation of the master plausible to the successors in his lineage. We find in the *Gser gling* a description of a series of reincarnations of Düsum Khyenpa stretching over the past and the future, as well as a description of synchronic emanations of Düsum Khyenpa and of Sgam-po-pa. It is possible that the idea of reincarnating masters was not yet widely accepted at the time, and the description of reincarnations in the *Gser gling* may have contributed to its later acceptance.

Indeed, reincarnation “as an institution” seems to have developed later in the Karma Kaṃ-tshang lineage, after Düsum Khyenpa. Ruth Gamble describes how Karma-pa III Rang-byung

²⁶⁶ Gyatso, *Secret Autobiographies*, 281, fn. 8, the Chinese word *nan-hsün*, “record of a quest” is applied describing the content of the *Gaṇḍavyūha*.

Rdo-rje (1284-1339) in particular invested much time and creative purpose in the cultivation and promotion of the reincarnation tradition.²⁶⁷ In this context, Peter Schwieger and Turrell Wylie offer a useful analysis of the origin of institutionalized reincarnation.²⁶⁸

Second work, the *Zhus lan 2* is especially important in understanding the development of the Bka'-brgyud lineage because it is a record of arduous work on the path of "awakening" to buddhahood. Such a record is rare and very important for those who want to follow in the footsteps of Düsüm Khyenpa. The *Zhus lan* is a description of the "secret" path to "awakening," secret in the sense that it can only be fully understood by taking the path itself.

In *Zhus lan 2*, we learn from the exchange between master and student that the path involves "waking up" to our basic nature which is characterized by *jñāna* (*ye shes*), "primordial awareness," and that this can be experienced as "blissful, luminous and no-thought." The approach belongs to the *sahaya-yoga* (*lhan cgig skyes sbyor*), which aims at integrating the innate – the absolute – into the phenomenal world and the world of thoughts and feelings, and conversely, the phenomenal into the absolute.

The guidance which Düsüm Khyenpa receives in this process comes from *bla ma* Lha-rje or Bsod-nams rin-chen. Previously, it had been transmitted by Nāro-pa/Maitrī-pa to Mar-pa and others, from Mar-pa to Mid-la ras-pa, from Mid-la to Bsod-nams rin-chen, and so forth.

2.2.4 Notes on the translation of the title *Gser gling*, the person of the author, and his approach to the work

To begin with the title, as we have seen, *Gser gling* is an abbreviation of the full title, presented in the colophon to the work, *Chos rje'i skyes rabs rin po che gser gling le'u bcwo brgyad pa*. Strangely enough, we do not find the term *gser gling* in the text of the work itself. One wonders therefore, why the author, Rgang-lo, would entitle the work using *Gser gling*.

First, from a linguistic angle, *gser gling* can mean "golden isle," or "golden continent" or "golden realm." Since there are no references in the work to any isle whatsoever, a "golden world" seems to fit better.

Second, from an historical point of view, it is possible that the author had a person in mind who inspired him, one who had *gser gling* in his name. *Gser-gling* could be an allusion to an important early eleventh-century Buddhist *pandita* with the name Chos-kyi-grags-pa-dpal, in Sanskrit Dharmakīrtiśrī, but better known under his Tibetan name *Gser-gling-pa*, or "the man

²⁶⁷ Ruth Gamble, *Reincarnation in Tibetan Buddhism – The Third Karmapa and the invention of a tradition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), 3-4.

²⁶⁸ Peter Schwieger, *The Dalai Lama and the Emperor of China* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015), discusses in more detail the ideas behind the reincarnation phenomenon, the early stages of the origin of *trülku* (*sprul sku*), and the later political implications of the system.

See also Turrell V. Wylie, "Reincarnation: A Political Innovation in Tibetan Buddhism," in *Proceedings of the Csoma de Koros Memorial Symposium*, ed. Luis Ligeti, 579-586 (Budapest: Akademiai Kiado, 1978).

from Suvarṇadvīpa.” Gser-gling-pa was a teacher of Atiśa.²⁶⁹ Also Dūsum Khyenpa’s ordination name, Chos-kyi-grags-pa (Skt. Dharmakīrti), is partly identical to Gser-gling-pa’s other name.

Third, in terms of sacred geography, he might have been inspired by the fact that *gser gling* (Skt. Suvarṇadvīpa) is one of the twenty-four pilgrimage sites (Skt. *pīṭha*)²⁷⁰ associated with Cakrasaṃvara.

Lastly, and perhaps most convincing, Rgang-lo may have been familiar with the content of one of the works in the Dūsum Khyenpa Collection, namely [22] *Rdzogs rim rlung sems gnyis med*, section 6, where we do find the word *gser gling*. *Gser gling* is mentioned in the context of the state of equipoise (*mnyam zhag*), a state of balance or equilibrium which should be mixed with (or infused into) all activities in life, the result being that we enter into a “golden realm” (*gser gling*).²⁷¹ In this case the word *gling* is understood in the sense of its Sanskrit equivalent *dvīpa*, which literally means “island,” and by extension, a continent or realm, as in Jambudvīpa, the “Rose-apple continent” which is the Sanskrit name for the world we live in now.²⁷² Based on the last argument, I chose to translate the title *Gser gling* as “A Golden World,” in which “world” is used as an extended meaning of “realm. The “Golden World” thus refers to the result of experiencing the world as ‘golden,’ (or perhaps luminous) through infusing the state of equipoise into all activities in life.

If this reasoning is correct, one could surmise that the author may have wanted to rouse the curiosity of potential readers by giving his work the fascinating title of “Golden World,” and at the same time, also honor Dūsum Khyenpa for providing instruction on how to experience the world as ‘golden.’

Turning next to Rgang-lo himself, it is interesting to find out what is known about him, and about the way he approached his task of writing the most complete biography of the master.

Regarding the author himself, very little is known about him. Rgang-lo was part of the circle of students of the master. A colophon to another work states that he knew at least one of them, Byang-chub-’byung-gnas.²⁷³ Rgang-lo must also have known another student of the

²⁶⁹ For a *rnam thar* of Gser-gling-pa, see DBRC W1CZ2730, Ye-shes-rgyal-mtshan, *Lam rim bla ma brgyud pa’i rnam thar* (Lhasa: Bod-ljongs-mi-dmangs-dpe-skrun-khang, 1990), Volume 1, 106-9, *Byang chub thugs la mnga’ brnyes gser gling pa*. For a brief summary on the person, see PDB Dharmakīrtiśrī.

²⁷⁰ For a list of the 24 Cakrasaṃvara sacred sites, see Gray, *Cakrasaṃvara Tantra*, 67, 330-2, 374.

²⁷¹ [22] *Rdzogs rim rlung sems gnyis med*, Section 6, SB kha 188:1, ... mnyam bzhag rjes thob dbyer med du nyams su blangs la spyod lam rnam bzi dang thams cad bsre’o/ / dper na gser gling du phyin pa dang ’dra’o/

²⁷² For a summary of Buddhist cosmology, see extensive fn. in Chapter 2 of the translation of the *Gser gling*, “Rebirth on the Small Island.”

²⁷³ A colophon to work [19] “Without title,” section 15, SW kha: 316:4-5, ... dge slong byang chub ’byung gnas kyis= rgang gi ban dhes gus pas gsol ba yang yang btab pa’i don du mdzad pa rdzogs so//), relates that “it was made by Dge-slong Byang-chub-’byung-gnas on account of the repeated devoted request of the venerable Rgang.”

master named Gangs-pa (1175-1249)²⁷⁴, or have been familiar with the practice of which Gangs-pa was the transmission holder. Gangs-pa is listed directly after Düsüm Khyenpa in the transmission lineage of the *Rnam bzhi rgyud grol*, Gangs-pa therefore holds the transmission of that set of three works. Interestingly enough, the content of section two of the set²⁷⁵ is almost completely (!) included in the *Gser gling*, within Chapter 15, “Appearings to Others.” Gangs-pa was also the third abbot of Mtshur-phu monastery.²⁷⁶

Rgang-lo must also have had a close connection with Mtshur-phu monastery, as the *Gser gling* colophon says, that it was written as an ornament for Mtshur-phu monastery. Therefore, he must have lived after 1188 (Mtshur-phu founded ca. 1188). The suggestion made by others that Rgang-lo could have been Rgwa-lo is highly questionable²⁷⁷.

In terms of approach, the author’s colophon at the end of the *Gser gling* says that the *Gser gling* is a summary of accounts (*thor bu rnams*), and that in creating it, several sources were put together (*bsdus pa*).²⁷⁸

Byang-chub-’byung-gnas was a student of the master, *Gser gling* SW ka 56:1, “... ’byung gnas bla ma ...”; [1] Biography by Bde-chung ba, SW ka 43:3, ... ston pa byang chub grags, and *Gser gling*, SW ka 126:1, ... ston pa byang grags ... (omits chub).

²⁷⁴ Roerich, *Blue Annals*, 518, Gangs-pa’s ordination name was Rin-chen-’od-zer.

²⁷⁵ [14] *Rnam bzhi rgyud grol*, section 2, SW kha 14-21.

²⁷⁶ Roerich, *Blue Annals*, 519.

²⁷⁷ Choephel and Martin, *The First Karmapa*, xvi, identify Rgang-lo as (underscoring added) “Galo, who was both a student and a teacher of Düsüm Khyenpa.”

They have probably in mind, as for the teacher, Rgwa-lo (*Blue Annals*: Rgwa lo-tsä-ba, 475), who was one of Düsüm Khyenpa’s teachers before the age thirty (the age at which he met his main teacher Sgam-po-pa).

However, Tāranātha, *History of Buddhism in India*, 314-5, mentions that a certain rGa-lo[tsā-ba] visits India and the teacher Abhayākara, during the time of the ruler Rāma Pāla (1077-1120), followed by his son Yakṣa Pāla (for just one year), after which his minister Lava Sena usurped the throne.

Lava Sena is not mentioned by Kulke and Rothermund, *History of India*, 119, but the authors mention three other Senas by name, Vijaya Sena, Vallala Sena and Laksmana Sena (and that the Sena Dynasty ends in 1205).

Tāranātha (1575-1634) relates that there have been “four Senas” (!), p. 318, Lava Sena would then probably have been the first Sena ruler.

Tāranātha, again, relates that rGa-lo-[tsā-ba] returns to Tibet at the time that Lava Sena is on the throne, therefore after 1121 (ca. beginning of the reign of Lava Sena, see above).

Suppose Rgwa-lo was of age 35 when he returned; and, later in life would have lived in Mtshur-phu (as he states that he wrote the *Gser gling* as an ornament for the place), he then would have been 101 (Mtshur-phu founded ca. 1188; 35 plus 66 (1188 minus 1122)), an exceptionally old age. The idea that Rgwa-lo would have written this detailed biography on Düsüm Khyenpa at the age of 101 seems unlikely.

Davidson, *Tibetan Renaissance*, Chapter 9, fn. 25, states that there was a later rGwa-lo rNam-rgyal rdo-rje (1203-82), who was the hagiographer of Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa. If this is correct, this person could not have been teacher and direct student of Düsüm Khyenpa (see fn. above). However, more research is needed, especially on what grounds there might be for identifying Rgang-lo or Sgang-lo with rGwa-lo rNam-rgyal rdo-rje.

²⁷⁸ SW ka 127:6 ... chos rje’i skyes rabs rin po che [128:1] gser gling le’u bcwo brgyad pa zhes bya ba bla ma sras beas kyi gsung sgras thor bu rnams bsdus pa= de’i gsung la tshad mar ’dzin [128:2] pa rgang los mtshur phu mdo bo dgon pa’i rgyan du bris pa’o/

Looking at the *Gser gling* itself, we can verify this. The overall content is clearly based on an earlier *rnam thar*, authored by Bde-chung-ba, a student of the master. This biography was the prototype for the *Gser gling*. The author’s colophon to the Bde-chung-ba biography also says that two more students, Dge-’dun-’od and Smon-lam *bla ma*, contributed to the content of that work.²⁷⁹

Rgang-lo improves the prototype’s structure: some of the previous lives are arranged differently, part of its content is divided into separate chapters, such as chapters on ‘dreams,’ ‘appearing to others,’ etc., and also a completely new chapter is added. This chapter, Chapter 11, contains details about his life that were missing earlier: information on his birthplace, names of his father and mother, and information on his studies (*gsan yig*), practices, dharma activities, and more, making the *Gser gling* probably the earliest source of personal information on Düsüm Khyenpa.

2.2.5 The name Śrī Dharmakīrti

The ordination name of Düsüm Khyenpa is Śrī Dharmakīrti (*Dpal Chos kyi grags pa*), the “Glorious Renowned for [spreading the Buddhist] Dharma.” Strangely enough, we find this name neither in the prototype for the *Gser gling*, the *rnam thar* by Bde-chung-ba, nor in Chapter 11 of the *Gser gling* itself, the chapter with most of the biographical details. The name appears, almost “parachuted,” in the middle of Chapter 15, in a brief narrative which actually is a separate work in the Düsüm Khyenpa Collection.

A second “parachuting” is found in Chapter 6, a chapter on one of his former lifetimes, where we read that in that life he was *bhikṣu* Dharmakīrti, a scholar-student of the Brahmin Sarjana²⁸⁰. Though the record of this former lifetime is mentioned in the Bde-chung prototype, the name is not.

The apparent disconnect can be explained by the statement in the *Gser gling* colophon that multiple sources were put together and the ordination name may have been put in by the other students. Later biographies of Düsüm Khyenpa, for example the one by Karmapa III Rangbyung Rdo-rje, and the *Deb ther dmar po* do use the name Śrī Dharmakīrti.²⁸¹

The notation “=” above is specific for the *SW* edition of the Düsüm Khyenpa Collection, it reproduces a similar sign in the *dbu med* script which from the context means reading pause or comma (,) in our Latin script. See 2.4, “Methodology I – Critical edition,” Signs applied in transliteration.

²⁷⁹ For the colophon to this work by Bde-chung-ba, the [1] *Rje ’gro ba’i mgon po rin po che’i rnam thar skyes rabs dang bcas pa rin chen phreng ba ’bring po*, see 4.3, “A detailed overview of the Dus-gsum-mkhyenpa Collection,” in which the prototype is discussed.

²⁸⁰ Sarjana, Tib. Sardza-na (D *SW* 36:5: Sardza-na-pa), Matthew Kapstein offers that Sarjana could refer to a person called Sajjana, a famous Kashmiri paṇḍit in the 11th c., whose teachings on buddha-nature later had an influential role in the Karma Bka’-brgyud. This is a matter of later research.

²⁸¹ See 2.1, “Brief historical overview of the main biographical material on Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa.”

There are other renowned Dharmakīrtis who are known in the history of Buddhism. One of them is Dharmakīrtiśrī, who was already mentioned earlier, in the context of the section on the title *Gser gling*.

Another is, of course, Dharmakīrti, the seventh-century Indian Buddhist logician and one of the most important and influential figures in the history of Buddhist philosophy.²⁸² Tāranātha discusses his life and works and considers him one of the “Six Jewels” who upheld the *dharma*, each in their own time.²⁸³ In Tāranātha, we find that Dharmakīrti built a temple at the end of his life in the city of Kalinga. The city’s name, Kalingka (*ka ling ka*), is also mentioned in *Gser gling*, Chapter 7, but in another context.

Düsum Khyenpa must have been familiar with the works of this Indian logician, as we learn in Chapter 11 that Phywa-pa Chos-kyi-seng-ge (1109-1169) was one of his teachers during his period of studies in Dbus (Central-Tibet). Phywa-pa was one of the founding figures in Tibetan scholasticism and closely connected with Gsang-phu Ne’u-thog, an influential center of learning at that time and later. He wrote many commentaries, one of them being a commentary on Dharmakīrti’s *Pramāṇaviniścaya*.²⁸⁴

2.3 Sources of the *Gser gling* and *Zhus lan 2*

A number of sources exist of the *Gser gling* and *Zhus lan 2*. The *Gser gling* has also two precursors and *Zhus lan 2* can be located also in other collections of works.

The *Gser gling* appears in all three editions of the “Düsum Khyenpa Collection.” The three editions themselves are described in detail in chapter 4.1, “Content, editions, origin, and authorship of the Collection.”

In the *Selected Writings (SW)* edition, which is a facsimile edition of manuscripts (*dbu med*), the *Gser gling* is the first part of a fourfold work entitled the *Rje dus gsum mkhyen pa’i rnam thar*, “Düsum Khyenpa’s Biography.”²⁸⁵ In the colophon to this “part one” we find the full title of the work: *Chos rje’i skyes rabs rin po che gser gling le’u bcwo bryad pa* (abbr. *Gser gling*), “A Golden World, the Succession of Precious Lifetimes of Dharma-master

²⁸² Dharmakīrti, for a very brief overview of his works, see PBD

²⁸³ Tāranātha, *History of Buddhism in India*, trans. Lama Chimpa and Alaka Chattopadhyaya, ed. by Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya (Calcutta: Humanities Press/Bagchi, 1981), 228-40, “... among the Six Jewels the three – namely Nāgārjuna, Asaṅga and Dignāga – were the composers of original treatises, while the other three – namely Āryadeva, Vasubandhu and Dharmakīrti – were the composers of commentaries. They are called the Six Jewels, because all of them added equal glory to the Law in ways appropriate for their own times.”

²⁸⁴ For more details on Phywa-pa and his life, see 1.3.4, “Teachers that guided him.” For a list of his commentaries, see Roerich, *Blue Annals*, 332-33.

²⁸⁵ *Selected Writings of the First Zhwa-nag Karma-pa Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa*, Volume ka (Gangtok: Dzongsar Chhentse Labrang, 1980), ff 47-128.

[Düsum Khyenpa] in Eighteen Chapters.” In the *Collected Works (CW)* edition (*dbu can*) we also find the fourfold work,²⁸⁶ as well as in the *Gsung ’bum (SB)* edition (*dbu can*).²⁸⁷

There is another work that is closely related to the *Gser gling*, entitled *Sems dpa’ chen po’i skyes rab gser ’phreng*, “Golden Rosary of the Lifetimes of a Great Bodhisattva.” It has recently been published as part of a large collection of facsimiles of rare ancient manuscripts.²⁸⁸

The *Gser ’phreng* has the same author as the *Gser gling*, Rgang-lo, even though the name is spelled slightly differently, as Sgang-lo. It is much smaller in size, ca. 60 folios, compared to the 82 folios in the *Gser gling*. The *Gser ’phreng* may have been a precursor of the *Gser gling*. The threefold organizational structure is already present, beginning with the description of the ten previous lives of Düsum Khyenpa, then his present life,²⁸⁹ followed by the three future lives. However, the content is sometimes considerably shorter and the explicit structure of the eighteen *Gser gling* chapters is not yet present. Also, the middle part, concerning Düsum Khyenpa’s present life is still presented in one piece and the historical line of information is frequently interrupted by records of visionary dreams, “pure appearances,” and so forth. Later on, in the *Gser gling*, this middle part will be split into five distinct chapters, and the historical account line is separated from additional information, making the work much easier to read.

The colophon to the *Gser ’phreng* is similar in content rather to what would later become the dedication and colophon parts of the *Gser gling*.²⁹⁰

²⁸⁶ *Electronic Edition of the Collected Works of the First Karmapa, Dusum Khyenpa* (Electronic Edition, Swayambunath, Nepal: Padma Karpo Translation Committee, 2008), ff 26-64.

²⁸⁷ *Karma pa dus gsum mkhyen pa’i gsung ’bum*, in the *Dpal rgyal dbang Karma pa sku phreng rim byon gyi gsung ’bum phyogs sgrigs*, ed. Mkhan-po Lo-yag-bkra-shis (Khreng-tu’u: Dpal-brtsegs-bod-yig-dpe-nying-zhib-’jug-khang, 2013). 108 Volumes, volume ka, ff 34-86.

²⁸⁸ The collection is entitled *Bod kyi snga rabs dam pa rnam kyis gsungs chos phyag bris ma rin chen gser phreng*, 40 volumes (Kan su’u rig gnas dpe skrun khang, ca. 2016). The *Sems dpa’ chen po’i skyes rab gser ’phreng* is located in Volume 36, ff 124-183. Thanks to Matthew Kapstein for bringing the work to my attention.

Gser ’phreng is also the name of a genre of Tibetan literature in which case it is a descriptive record of lineage holders in a specific tradition of Buddhism. See for example Smith, *Tibetan Texts*, “Golden Rosaries of the Bka’ bgyud Schools,” 39-52.

²⁸⁹ An interesting detail is that the *Gser ’phreng* begins this part with the statement that many manifestations of the master are active, and that one of them will be discussed now. The same statement also appears in the *Gser gling*, though not at the beginning of Chapter 11 (the first of the five chapters on his life), but rather towards the end of the work, in Chapter 15. At that point, four more manifestations are also described (SW ka 116:4-117:6).

²⁹⁰ *Gser ’phreng* colophon, f 182:3-5:
[182:3] sems dpa’ chen po’i skyes rab gser ’phreng ’di// gus bcas skyes bus spyi bor thod bzhin long // ’gal
’khum nongs pa mchis [182:4] na bzod par rigs// dge bas ’gro kun chos rje’i gdul byar shog/ ’di ni bla ma dam
pa sras dang bcas pa’i gsung bsgros [182:5] thor bu rnam bsdu pa= de’i gsung la tshad mar ’dzin pa **sgang los**
mdo bo dgon pa’i rgyan du bris pa ’di rdzogs so

Compare the *Gser gling* dedication and colophon:
[Dedication:] sems dpa’ chen po’i skyes rabs gser gling ’di// gus bcas skyes bus gces spras mdzod cing ltos/
[127:6] ’gal gyur blo rgya chungs na bzod par rigs/ dge bas ’gro kun chos rje’i gdul byar shog/

The first folio of the *Gser 'phreng* is reproduced below.



Figure 5 First folio of the *Gser 'phreng*, the text begins with: *Dus gsum mkhyen pa la phyag 'tshal lo*

A lightly edited version of the *Gser gling* was preserved in a thirteenth-century work on the history of the Bka'-bryud lineage, the *Bka' bgyud rnam thar rin chen gser gyi phreng ba*. This version is found in section *ja* entitled *Rin po che Kar ma pa Dbu se rnam thar*, “Biography of Rin-po-che Karma-pa Grey-haired.”²⁹¹ Even though the ‘eighteen chapter structure,’ characteristic of the *Gser gling*, is present, the work is unfortunately incomplete. The final folio of the *Dbu se rnam thar* is missing. This is an important part, which would have contained the major content of Chapter 18 (the third of future rebirths in a realm of the world to the east), the dedication, the colophon, and more.²⁹²

What is also strange in this context is that we find the name Karma-pa in the title of the work. By contrast, in the Bde-'chung *rnam thar* and the *Gser gling*, two of the most ancient *rnam thar* of Düsüm Khyenpa, we do not find the name Karma-pa at all.

The first folio of the *Dbu se rnam thar* is shown below.

[Colophon:] chos rje'i skyes rabs rin po che [128:1] gser gling le'u bcwo bryad pa zhes bya ba bla ma sras bcas kyi gsung sgros thor bu rnams bsdu pa= de'i gsung la tshad mar 'dzin [128:2] pa **rgang los mtshur phu mdo bo** dgon pa'i rgyan du bris pa'o/

²⁹¹ *Bka' bgyud rnam thar rin chen gser gyi phreng ba*, BDRC W3CN674, dbu med, ff 658, main author Ye-shes rgyal mtshan, source note Dpal-spungs-dgon nas byung ba, other title *Rdo rje 'chang chen nas karma pakši bar gyi bka' bgyud bla ma rnams kyi rnam thar*.

The Düsüm Khyenpa *rnam thar* is located in part *ja*, entitled, *Rin po che Kar ma pa Dbu se rnam thar* ff 323-396. DBRC dates the manuscript 13th century; two folios are damaged by water.

²⁹² Actually we find two Düsüm Khyenpa *rnam thar* in this work on Bka'-bryud history: an edited version of the *Gser gling* and the *Rnam thar brya rtsa ma*, which is the third part in the Rje Dus gsum mkhyen pa'i *rnam thar* section in the “DSK Collection.” The folio that is missing contains the final part of the *Gser gling* (after the first sentence of Chapter 18 “Kongka ...” the rest is missing, including dedication and colophon) and the first quarter of the *Brya rtsa ma* verses (the text begins in the middle of verse 26 (verse 27 begins with “Lha rje ... gzigs”). As the colophon is missing, we do not know if the *Gser gling* as a title is explicitly referred to in this work or not.

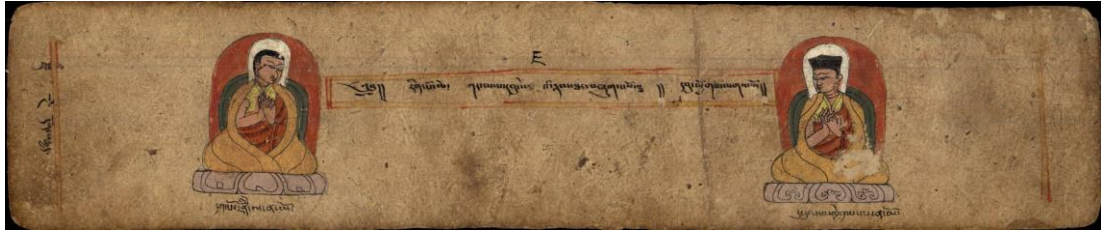


Figure 6 First folio of the *Dbu se rnam thar*; the inscription below the miniature at left reads:
Dag po rin po che la na ma; and below right: *Dus gsum mkhyen pa la na mo*.

Zhus lan 2 also appears in all three editions of the Collection,²⁹³ and it is the second of two works entitled *Zhus lan*.

Zhus lan 2 stands out, as it has a colophon which directly links it to Düsüm Khyenpa. The first of the two *zhus lan* does not have such a colophon.

An interesting detail is that in the *Dags po'i bka' 'bum* this specific *Zhus lan 2* is listed at the top of a longer list of “exchanges” (*zhus lan*) ascribed to Düsüm Khyenpa.²⁹⁴

Zhus lan 2 seems to have been preserved well throughout history, not only in the Düsüm Khyenpa Collection and the *Dags po'i bka' 'bum*, but also in the *Tsib ri par ma* and in *Phyag chen mdzod* collections, which testifies to its long-lasting important status within early Bka'-brgyud instructional literature.²⁹⁵

2.4 Methodology I – Critical edition

This section describes the method that was used to produce a critical edition of the *Gser gling* and *Zhus lan 2* and some of the difficulties that were encountered in the process.

As the three editions of the “Düsüm Khyenpa Collection” differ considerably at times in the reading of particular words and sometimes entire passages,²⁹⁶ I decided that the translation of works of the Collection, here the *Gser gling* and *Zhus lan*, would benefit from a critical edition. I employed János Szerb's critical edition of *Bu ston's History of Buddhism in*

²⁹³ *Zhus lan 2* is located in the SW edition in Volume kha ff 387-411, in the CW edition ff 490a-501b, and in the SB edition in Vol. kha ff 212-226.

²⁹⁴ Kragh, *Tibetan Yoga and Mysticism*, 305-332.

²⁹⁵ Thanks to Marta Sernesi who brought this to my attention.

²⁹⁶ In my earlier translation of Düsüm Khyenpa's *Tshogs chos*, now and passages differed considerably. Here in the *Gser gling* and *Zhus lan*, it mainly concerns differences in the spelling of words and names.

Tibet as a model. However, since the size and scope of his project were much larger,²⁹⁷ not all aspects of Szerb's approach were applicable here.

I chose the manuscript SW edition as basis for the critical edition (the basis is called by Szerb the *mūla*, which means "root-text"). The first pages of the manuscript (*dbu med*) text of the *Gser gling* and *Zhus lan* are included in Appendix 1, "Manuscript (*dbu med*) facsimiles of the first pages of the *Gser gling* and *Zhus lan* 2."

The critical editions are based on the assumption that the SW manuscript edition is the least edited one and I will say more about this below. Working from the SW manuscript version may help to avoid errors that might have crept into the process of transcribing *dbu med* into *dbu can*, as has been done in the CW and SB editions.

In constructing the critical edition, the first step was to complete a correct transliteration of the text using the Wylie transliteration system for presenting the orthography of the Tibetan in Latin script.²⁹⁸

Manuscripts were copied throughout the centuries in Tibet in a condensed style and therefore must be first 'unpacked'. As is common in Tibetan Buddhist manuscripts, the manuscript (SW) contains many abbreviations, such as shorthand for monosyllabic words (*mgyogs bris*), abbreviations of compound words and phrases, i.e., contractions (*bsdu yig*), and condensed cursive forms (*skung yig*), lit. "hidden letters," which all had to be resolved.²⁹⁹

For 'unpacking' the *dbu med* script, I mostly followed the interpretations provided in the renowned article by Jacques Bacot³⁰⁰. Several infrequent abbreviations not provided by Bacot were found instead in lists constructed by Roloff.³⁰¹ All 'resolved abbreviations' were recorded in the 'apparatus criticus'.

²⁹⁷ *Bu ston's History of Buddhism in Tibet*, critically edited with a comprehensive index by János Szerb (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1990). Szerb provides a critical edition of in all six editions: two manuscripts (*dbu med*) and four block prints (*dbu can*).

²⁹⁸ Turrell W. Wylie, "A Standard System of Tibetan Transcription," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, Vol. 22 (Dec. 1959): 261-267. Wylie offers in the article a standard orthographic transcription system for scholarly purposes.

Later an Extended Wylie System was developed, which has additional rules for transliterating Sanskrit words as well. However, in this study we have chosen to use the generally accepted Sanskrit Devanāgarī transliteration.

In his article, Wylie argues as well not to use internal capitalisation of the so-called "initial" in titles of Tibetan works. Additionally, he strongly recommends to preserve in scholarly publications the original writing of names and places, as in case of only a phonetic representation, the underlying actual writing often cannot be restored. I have followed his advices on both matters.

²⁹⁹ *mgyogs bris*, *bsdu yig*, *skung yig*, for the terms see Carola Roloff, "List of Abbreviations used in the Cursive Manuscripts," in *Red Mda' ba, Buddhist Yogi-Scholar of the Fourteenth Century* (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 2009), 57.

³⁰⁰ M. Jacques Bacot, "L'Écriture Cursive Tibétaine," *Journal Asiatique* (janvier-février 1912): 5-78.

³⁰¹ Roloff, "List of Abbreviations," 57-66. In the List several infrequent abbreviations and compounds were found, not published earlier by Bacot.

As a second step, I annotated the SW transliteration for differences in the text found in the CW and SB editions.

Third, aiming at a critical edition I worked on establishing the best possible reading, while all deviations were preserved in the footnotes. However, the *mūla* text, the least edited text, was left intact as much as possible, to stay close to the probably no longer extant original. Corrections were only made in case of clear mistakes; in those cases the SW reading was replaced by a CW or SB variant. Other minor corrections were made, based on classical Tibetan grammar. For example the spelling of the semi-particle *te/ste/de*, depends on the ending of the preceding word. In case the spelling was incorrect, it was changed, but the change was indicated in the critical edition.³⁰²

The notes follow a contrastive format: the correct form along with the source abbreviation (e.g. SW) is given first, followed by a colon and the variants found in the other editions.

Following Szerb's model, differences in reading pauses (/, //, or =) are not indicated. Superscript references at the beginning of the works and chapters refer to the beginning of the respective SW, CW and SB folios.

The signs applied in the transliteration are as follows:

- = two small horizontal lines, a notation typical for the *dbu med* SW Collection, they reproduce a similar sign in the manuscript and denote 'reading pause'³⁰³
- * * two asterisks, the 'word between' is corrected in the SW manuscript
- * one asterisk, preceding a word, indicates a reconstructed Sanskrit name of a place or person
- < > angle brackets, rarely applied, indicate that the manuscript was illegible and that words were added to the manuscript, based on CW or SB variants
- *[]* rarely applied, refer to rare cases in which words from the SW manuscript had to be omitted, supported by CW and SB, due to obvious mistakes in the manuscript

³⁰² Other particles that were frequently corrected based on the classical Tibetan grammar were yang/kyang/'ang, ces/zhes/shes, cig/zhig/shig, and tu/du/-r/su.

³⁰³ A brief remark on the use of commas or reading pauses in the SW (*dbu med*) manuscript. In *dbu can* publications standard the so-called *shad* (/) is used for a reading pause. However, in this manuscript we find another reading pause: two small horizontal lines "=", or sometimes similar notations such as a small *tsheg* with one, two (=) or three small lines below or a "<" sign beneath. All these notations have been reproduced in the transliteration as reading pause "=". The end of a paragraph, chapter or verseline in the manuscript is marked by a small *tsheg* followed by a big one, which have been reproduced by a *shad*: "/"

- [] square brackets in the transliteration itself, refer to the folio numbering in the manuscript and, in case of the *Zhus lan*, also to the “exchanges,” which were numbered
- [] square brackets in the ‘apparatus criticus’ indicate that in the variant readings in the *SW*, *CW* and *SB* editions certain words were omitted

In the critical edition, **bold-faced** type is used for proper names of persons, places and titles of Works which are cited.

In the process of making the critical edition, the manuscript *SW* appeared to provide the most complete text. *CW* and *SB* now and then shortened a more complex sentence, or replaced a more complicated word by an easier one.³⁰⁴ Even though *CW* and *SB* now and then omit words or sentences, possibly out of the wish to provide a more concise formulation, they also tend to add things now and then, perhaps for the purpose of clarification.

SB, which I consider to be the most “polished” of the three editions,³⁰⁵ seems to have worked especially hard on using correct classical Tibetan spelling. *SB* often provides the most logical variant for the spelling of verb cases, and offers a correct spelling of semi-particles. It even spells the Sanskrit *duḥkha* correct, whereas the other two editions write *du kha*.³⁰⁶

As the *SW* edition offers the most complete version of the text and sometimes uses archaic spellings and shorthand³⁰⁷ one might expect to find in an early text, it is the least edited and possibly even the unedited one of the three editions.

³⁰⁴ For example [6] *Tshogs chos*, *SW* 262:4 reads ... bsgom bskyed pa'i rim pa dang rdzogs pa rim pa zung 'brel ba ..., while *CW* and *SB* read ... bsgom bskyed pa'i rim pa zung 'brel ba ...

Or another example, *Tshogs chos*, *SW* [266:4] reads ... / rnam rtog gis mi gnod **pa cig kyang bzod 'ong / rnam rtog gis mi gnod pa cig kyang bzod 'ong / rnam rtog [266:5] gis mi gnod** zer ba yang =

In contrast, *CW* deletes the whole passage put in bold, and *SB* preserves the part in bold and underscored. *CW* and *SB* aim at an easier formulation, however, content is lost, since the *SW* sentence perfectly makes sense in translation.

The *SW* reading could be a so-called dittography and in that case *SB* would offer the best reading. When we look at the text from the perspective of an editor, *SB* offers the best “solution.” But, we consider that the teaching are notes for a lecture, then the *SW* reading makes sense, as in a lecture now and then sentences are repeated for bringing the message to the audience.

An example of easier reading is found at *SW* 276:4 where *CW* and *SB* shorten the *SW* text and delete the (vital) word *sangs rgyas* twice.

³⁰⁵ See also 4.1, “Content, editions, origin, and authorship of the Collection.”

³⁰⁶ For example *SW* 272:6, ...*du kha* *SW*, *CW* : *duḥkha* *SB*. The proper Sanskrit term is *duḥkha*, Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dict.* Matthew Kapstein remarks that typical Sanskrit features are almost never found in Tibetan indigenous writing.

³⁰⁷ “As for shorthand, *SW* often uses the 'a-chung instead of the correct standard classical prefix of a word, such as 'yal instead of *myal*, 'thil for *mthil*, 'tshur for *mtshur*, 'gur for *mgur*, 'the for *mthe*, 'dzub for *mdzub*, 'thing for *mthing*, 'gron po for *mgron po*, 'tshams for *mtshams*, 'theb for *mtheb*, etc.; *CW*, *SB* almost always correct these words.

As for archaic spellings, in *SW* we find e.g. *yid dam* instead of *yi dam* (*CW*, *SB*).

A matter of further research would be to compare the critical edition of *Zhus lan 2* with the editions of this work in the *Dags po 'i bka' 'bum* and other collections.

2.5 Methodology II – Translation

The translation is based on the critically edited SW manuscript (*dbu med*) edition of the *Gser gling* and *Zhus lan*.

Following Indian Buddhist tradition the *Gser gling* begins with “paying homage” and a “statement of intention.” The convention to place these two sections at the head of the actual body of a treatise comes from Indian scholarly practice. It was enshrined in the Tibetan literary canon by Sa-skyā paṇḍita Kun-dga' - rgyal- mtshan (1182-1251), specifically his survey of the principles of scholarship, the *Mhas pa rnams la 'jug pa 'i sgo*.³⁰⁸ The *Zhus lan 2* also begins with “paying homage,” but it does not have a “statement of intention.” .

In Tibetan, “paying homage” is called *mchod par brjod pa* and it can be compared with a modern day “dedication,” found at the beginning of a book. In the case of the *Gser gling*, the author Rgang-lo pays homage to the “Omniscient-one” (*thams cad mkhyen pa*), which in this case is probably not the historical Buddha Śākyamuni but rather his teacher, Düsüm Khyenpa.

The homage is followed by the “statement of intention,” in Tibetan, *rtsom par dam bca' ba*. Here, Rgang-lo indicates that he will write down the information he collected on the master in ten, five, and three chapters.

Therefore, all in all, the *Gser gling* consists of eighteen chapters, organized into three parts. The names of the parts were added in italics in the translation and do not appear in the original text. The three parts are:

- *Part One, Former Successive Lives, in Ten Chapters*: Chapters 1-10 describe Düsüm Khyenpa's former lives.
- *Düsüm Khyenpa's present life, in Five Chapters*: Chapter 11 provides historical details on Düsüm Khyenpa's actual lifetime. Chapter 12 talks about “pure apparances,” such as deities, Buddhas and bodhisattvas he encountered. Chapter 13 recounts his visionary dreams. Chapter 14 testifies to the master's prescience in regard to the

³⁰⁸ See Van der Kuijp, “Composition and Printings of the *Deb gter sngon po*,” 15: “Following Indian Buddhist tradition, Tibetan works customarily begin with a line, a verse, or a series of verses in which the author pays homage to the Buddha, a Bodhisattva, one or more tutelary deities and/or his teacher[s]. Called the *mchod par brjod pa*, this preamble is then followed by a statement in which the author states her or his intention for the pages that follow. This is called the *rtsom par dam bca' ba*. Derivative of Indian scholarly practice and thus replicated in the earliest writings by Tibetans, these preliminary conventions placed at the head of the actual body of treatise as such were first enshrined in the Tibetan literary canon by Sa skyā paṇḍita kun dga' rgyal mtshan (1182-1251) in his uneven survey of the principles of scholarship, the *Mhas pa rnams la 'jug pa 'i sgo* of the 1220s.”

For the precise reference in the *Sa skyā pa 'i bka' 'bum* see the article of Van der Kuip.

rebirths of others, and Chapter 15 to his appearing in different ways to others, mostly his students.

- *Rebirths after Having Passed On, in Three Chapters*: Chapters 16-18 contain Düsum Khyenpa's predictions about some of his future rebirths.

The titles of the eighteen chapters are also constructed and indicate the content of what follows. The exact Tibetan titles can be found in the translation itself, at the end of each chapter, as is standard procedure in Tibetan works. Within one large chapter, Chapter 15, I added subtitles as well.

In the process of translating the *Gser gling* and *Zhus lan*, several choices were made. I tried to stay as close to the original text as possible, in order to honor the authors Rgang-lo and Düsum Khyenpa. I not only attempted to find the meaning of what they wanted to express, but I also tried to respect the words they chose. However, both authors formulate things in a concise, and at some times, somewhat abbreviated fashion. In order to arrive at correct English sentences, now and then words are added and put in square brackets. In addition, Tibetan and Sanskrit equivalents are sometimes added in parentheses.

An additional challenge is that the classical Tibetan language often omits personal pronouns, leaving it to the context to make clear who is saying or doing what. In those cases where Tibetan personal pronouns were omitted, they have been added to the translation without parentheses. The same process was followed for words added to complete the Tibetan grammar.

Annotations were added to explain some specific terms used by the authors.

In the translation itself, we also find numbers put in square parentheses, such as for example [260], these refer to the folio numbers in the manuscript. Furthermore, in rare cases, Sanskrit equivalents were constructed of the Tibetan; in case the Sanskrit words were not attested in dictionaries they are preceded by an asterisk (*).

The translation of the *Gser gling* is followed by a section called "Concluding remarks."

In the translation of the *Zhus lan*, the various "exchanges" between teacher and student were numbered. The exchanges add up to thirty-two and the respective numbers are added in square brackets. The *Zhus lan* is also followed by a section "Concluding remarks," which includes a brief discussion of the scholarly attention which *Zhus lan 2* has received.

For a complete list of abbreviations and signs applied in the 'apparatus criticus' of the Critical edition, and in the Translation, see "List of Abbreviations and Signs."

The *Gser gling* has been translated into English once before, though based on a text edition I have not been able to acquire.³⁰⁹ The *Zhus lan 2* has been translated twice in an

³⁰⁹ *The First Karmapa, The Life and Teachings of Dusum Khyenpa*, trans. by David Karma Choephel and Michele Martin (New York, KTD Publications Woodstock, 2012), 3-54. The translators mention, p xix, that

English translation.³¹⁰ A matter of further research could be to compare the reading of these translations with what is offered here.

the translation was based on the Tibetan book: *Dus gsum mkhyen pa, dPal ldan dus gsum mkhyen pa'i zhal gdams bces btus* (Kalimpong, West Bengal, India: Rigpe Dorje Institute, 2001). I have tried several times to acquire the work, to compare the Tibetan with the readings in the three editions of the “Düsum Khyenpa Collections”, but I have not succeeded in acquiring the text.

³¹⁰ The first is a translation by T. Duff, however, it is based on the Dwags-po edition and not on the Düsum Khyenpa editions. It would be useful to compare the readings of these different sources, which is a matter of further research. Second, *The First Karmapa*, see fn. above also offers a translation of this *Zhus lan 2*. See 1.1, “An outline of research on Düsum Khyenpa.”

Chapter 3 Critical Edition and Translation of the *Gser gling* and *Zhus lan 2*

In this chapter the critical edition and translation of the *Gser gling* and *Zhus lan 2* are presented. For the applied methodology see section 2.4, “Methodology I – Critical edition,” and 2.5, “Methodology II – Translation.”

3.1 Critical Edition of the *Gser gling*

SW 47:1, CW 26a, SB ka 34:5 Rje dus gsum mkhyen pa'i rnam thar bzhugs¹/

[SW 48:1] thams cad² mkhyen pa la phyag 'tshal lo³/

gang gi rang bzhin mkhyen brtse'i nyi zla 'bar/
rdul snyed [48:2] lus kyi spyi bos de btud nas/
'das dus bcu dang da ltar sprul pa lnga/
ma 'ongs gsum ni dam pa'i gsung bzhin⁴ bsdu/

SW 48:2, CW 26a, SB 34:6 [48:3] dpal ldan⁵ rin po che 'dis thog mar byang chub⁶ tu thugs bskyed cing= bar du lam rnam pa lngar tshogs gnyis⁷ bsags nas= mthar bla na med [48:4] pa'i byang chub brnyes pas= sems can⁸ gyi las ma zad kyi bar du phrin las⁹ rgya chen po¹⁰ rgyun¹¹ chad med par mdzad pa yin te=

de yang sngon [48:5] gyi dus na 'jig rten¹² gyi khams **bai dūrya**¹³ zhes bya bar skyes pa dran te= lo rgyus mang po yod gsung ngo/
bai dūrya'i zhing khams su¹⁴ skyes [49:1] pa'i rabs te le'u dang po'o/

SW 49:1, CW 26a, SB 35:2 re *zhig*¹⁵ lho **dzam bu**¹⁶'i **gling** dang **ba glang**¹⁷ spyod kyi bar na gling

¹ [] SW : so CW,SB

² *thaMd*, “hided” spelling (*skung yig*) of *thams cad*, Bacot No. 251.

The very first time that a shorthand, a contraction, or a condensed cursive form appears in the text, this will be noted and explained in a footnote. When the same shorthand, etc. again appears in the text, which will very often be the case, this is not again indicated.

³ *phy 'lo*, condensed cursive form of *phyag 'tshal lo*, Bacot 407. The notation “-” stands for a similar stroke in the hided spelling and refers to *ts*, *tsh* or *dz*.

⁴ *zhin*, shorthand for monosyllabic word (*mgyogs bris*) *bzhin*.

⁵ *dpaldan*, contraction (*bsdu yig*) of *dpal ldan*, Bacot 378.

⁶ *byub*, condensed cursive form of *byang chub*, Bacot 431.

⁷ *nyis*, shorthand for *gnyis*.

⁸ *seMn*, condensed cursive of *sems can*, Bacot 659.

⁹ *phris*, condensed cursive of *phrin las*, Bacot 416.

¹⁰ *cheno*, condensed cursive of *chen po*, Bacot 179.

¹¹ *ryu*, short for *rgyu* in *rgyun*, *rgyus* etc.

¹² *'jien*, condensed cursive of *'jig rten*, Bacot 206.

¹³ *bai dūrya* SW,SB : *baidūrya* CW

¹⁴ *khamsu*, contraction of *khams su*.

¹⁵ *re zhig* : *re shig* SW, CW, SB. Corrected, *re shig*. Hahn, 42, -vowel *zhig*.

phran **dha ri tha** [49:2] zhes bya bar skyes nas
bla ma **lha rje** 'di rnal 'byor¹⁸ pa **su ra pa** zhes par bzhugs pa la= ngas smon 'jug
tu¹⁹ sems bskyed [49:3] pa zhus so/
gling phran du skyes pa'i rabs te le'u gnyis pa 'o/

SW 49:3, CW 26b, SB 35:3 lan gcig²⁰ lho **dzam bu'i gling** gi nub phyogs **tarti ta** ces [49:4]
par²¹ mgar ba'i rigs kyi rang bzhin gyi rnal 'byor pa **anti tar** gyur nas slob dpon²²
med de= ri khrod dang dgon par bsgrub pa la [49:5] brtson pa chen po byas gsung=
gling zur du skyes pa'i rabs te le'u gsum pa'o/

SW 49:5, CW 26b, SB 35:5 yang nub **ba *glang* spyod** du bram ze'i [49:6] rigs kyi dge slong
dharma a ti tha ste²³= gsang mtshan **dharma shrī**²⁴ zhes par skyes nas bla ma **te lo**
pa la rjes su²⁵ gdams pa [50:1] rnam zhus te sems can 'ga' la yang phan btags gsung
ngo/
ba *glang* spyod du skyes pa'i rabs te le'u bzhi pa'o/

SW 50:1, CW 26b, SB 35:6 phyis [50:2] nub **ba *glang* spyod** na da res kyi yon bdag **skya**
dgon pa ba 'di mu stegs kyi sdig spyod kyi rgyal po **dharma *shī la**²⁶r skyes [50:3]
nas rgyal khams la gnod pas= de 'dul ba'i don du de'i nor glang po che bdun brgya
yod pa'i nang na stobs che ba [50:4] *gcig²⁷ tu skye ba blangs te gnas pas= lan
*gcig²⁸ dmag gi dpung chen po dang bcas pa la chen po cig la song ba'i [50:5] lam
du rgyal pos glang po che la zhon pas der rdzis²⁹ nas bsad pas phyis skye ba 'gar ngas
dge ba la bkod gsung ngo/ [50:6]
glang po che'i³⁰ skyes pa'i rabs te le'u lnga pa'o/

SW 50:6, CW 27a, SB 36:3 yang **dzam bu'i gling** gi byang mtha' zad pa'i byang shar gyi
mtshams [51:1] na chu klung **padmas brgyan pa** zhes bya bar bram ze **sardza na**'i

¹⁶ *dzambu*, contraction of *dzam bu* : *dzam bu* CW : 'dzam bu SW. Both forms seem correct, difference no longer indicated.

¹⁷ *glang* SW : *lang* CW,SB. The correct name for this 'continent' is *Ba glang spyod*, Skt. Godāniya, the SW spelling is correct, though later on SW also spells *Ba lang*, corrected at all these places without fn.

¹⁸ *rnor*, condensed cursive of *rnal 'byor*, Bacot 368.

¹⁹ *tu* SW : *du* CW,SB. From here spelling variants of the terminative are no longer indicated. In case necessary the SW spelling has been corrected without further fn.; see for the relevant grammar e.g. Hahn, 118

²⁰ *l*, number one, shorthand for *gcig*, Bacot, page 1.

²¹ *par* SW,CW : *pa'i* SB

²² *sloon*, condensed cursive of *slob dpon*, Bacot 673.

²³ *ste* SW : *te* CW,SB. From here, spelling variants of the semi-final particles are no longer indicated. The SW spelling has been corrected in case necessary without further fn.; for the relevant grammar, see e.g. Hahn, 148.

²⁴ *shrī* SW,SB : *shī* CW

²⁵ *rjesu*, contraction of *rjes su*, Roloff, 59.

²⁶ *shī la* CW,SB : *shrī la* SW. Corrected, *shī la*, Skt. *śīla*, "discipline," as most likely.

²⁷ *gcig* CW,SB : *cig* SW. Corrected, "one" instead of "a". The SW root-text frequently applies the indefinite article *cig*, "a" or "a few", while CW and SB often correct into *gcig*, the numeral for "one." In most cases the SW *cig*, "a", seems correct and it is only read as "one" when strictly necessary. From here spelling variants of *cig* and *gcig* are no longer indicated.

²⁸ *lan gcig* CW : *lan cig* SW,SB. Corrected at all places, *lan gcig*, J. "once, one time"

²⁹ *rdzis* SW : *brdzis* CW,SB. Verb *rdzi*, "squeeze", TMDP, pf *brdzis*, imp. *rdzis* not corrected, though context favors pf.

³⁰ *che'i* SW : *cher* CW,SB

mkhan bu dge slong **dharmā kīr tīr**³¹ skye ba [51:2] bzhes= ri bya skyibs can du slob dpon **ḍombhi ba**³² la gsol ba btab=

nga'i mkhan bu yang dge bshes³³ **br̥tson 'grus**³⁴ **shes rab** [51:3] dang **rin chen**³⁵ **rgyal mtshan** dang **mdog mkhas pa** dang **meng ge**³⁶ **jo sras** bzhi yin= dge bshes **phyā pa** paṇḍi ta chung ngu³⁷ *zhig* gis [51:4] slob dpon byas= dge bshes **rdo rje**³⁸ **seng ge phyā pa**'i slob ma yin da rung³⁹ yang khong⁴⁰ gi⁴¹ drung du skye bar 'dug gsung/

dzam bu'i gling [51:5] gi mthar skyes pa'i rabs te le'u drug pa'o/

SW 51:5, CW 27b, SB 36:6 de nas yul **ka *ling***⁴² **kar rgyal po zla ba rnam par gnon pa**⁴³ zhes [51:6] bya bar skyes= de'i slob dpon **sangs rgyas**⁴⁴ **ye shes**⁴⁵ zhabs te bla ma **lha rje** yin= de'i slob dpon **'jam dpal bshes gnyen**⁴⁶ **a ba dhū ti** *ste*= [52:1] rje btsun⁴⁷ **mid la yin**

gsang 'dus kyi lo rgyus dang mi mthun⁴⁸ rgyal pos **rgya gar** lho phyogs kyi dpal ldan **'bras phung gi**⁴⁹ mchod [52: 2] rten la bskor ba la phyin pa'i lam du nam mkha'⁵⁰ la sgra zhig na re=

khyod da rung dngos grub⁵¹ mi thob pas phyir log la [52:3] 'dus byas kyi dge ba gyis zer ba thos= der dge 'dun gyi sde btsugs te 'dus byas kyi dge ba mang du byas nas [52:4] slar mchod rten la bskor ba mang po mdzad pas thun mong⁵² gi dngos grub ma lus pa thob= sngar 'gro dus su⁵³ khyi gnyis= [52:5] phyi la 'brengs⁵⁴ pas kyang thun mong gi dngos grub thob nas da lta **u rgyan**⁵⁵ na 'jig rten gyi mkha' 'gro⁵⁶ ma gzhan pas gdug [52:6] rtsub che ba gnyis su⁵⁷ skyes nas yod=

de dus kyi rgyal po'i 'khor dang **karti ka** dang **sa smad** kyi mi mang po 'di na yod= [53:1] de'i tshe **ston pa sangs rgyas** dang dge bshes **rin chen rgyal mtshan** gnyis la thun mong gi dngos grub mang po yod= da lta med pa [53:2] ni

³¹ *kīr tīr* SW : *kīrtir* CW,SB

³² *ḍombhi ba* SW : *ḍombi pa* CW,SB

³³ *dgees*, condensed cursive of *dge bshes*, Bacot 99.

³⁴ *br̥tsrous*, condensed cursive of *br̥tson 'grus*, Bacot 517.

³⁵ *rien*, condensed cursive of *rin chen*, Bacot 625.

³⁶ *meng ge* SW : *smen ke* CW,SB

³⁷ *chungu*, contraction of *chung ngu*.

³⁸ *rdoe*, condensed cursive of *rdo rje*, Bacot 331.

³⁹ *da rung* SW,CW : *da dung* SB. J. both word combinations have the same meaning.

⁴⁰ *khong* SW,SB : *khang* CW

⁴¹ *gi* SW,SB : *gis* CW

⁴² *ka ling ka* CW,SB : *ka li ka* SW. Corrected, as SW 53:4, chapter title, writes *ka lingka*.

⁴³ *pa* SW,SB : [] CW

⁴⁴ *srgyas*, condensed cursive of *sangs rgyas*, Bacot 655.

⁴⁵ *yees*, condensed cursive of *ye shes*, Bacot 600.

⁴⁶ *bsheen*, condensed cursive of *bshes gnyen*, Bacot 652 : [] *gnyen* CW

⁴⁷ *rje-un*, condensed cursive of *rje btsun*, Bacot 209.

⁴⁸ *mithun*, contraction of *mi thun*.

⁴⁹ *'bras phung gi* SW : *'bras spungs kyi* CW,SB

⁵⁰ *namkha'*, contraction of *nam mkha'*, attested Roloff, 59.

⁵¹ *dngorub*, condensed cursive of *dngos grub*, Bacot 141.

⁵² *thuong*, condensed cursive of *thun mong*, Bacot 261.

⁵³ *dusu*, contraction of *dus su*.

⁵⁴ *'brengs* SW,CW : *'brangs* SB. J. *'brenḡ ba*, frq. for *'brang ba*, "follow"

⁵⁵ *u rgyan* SW : *o rgyan* CW,SB

⁵⁶ *mkha'gro*, contraction of *mkha' 'gro*, attested Roloff, 58.

⁵⁷ *nyisu*, shorthand plus contraction of *gnyis su*.

de dus kyi bsgrubs pa'i yin pas lan=

dus der khyed bcu gsum gyis snga phyir gsol ba thebs te= **ston pa** [53:3] **sangs rgyas**
dang= **rin chen rgyal mtshan** dang= **yon tan**⁵⁸ 'od dang= **yon tan bla ma** dang= **dge**
'**dun grags** dang= **smon lam bla ma** rnams= **dbus** [53:4] na yod la **tre** na yang zhig
yod gsung/

yul **ka lingkar**⁵⁹ skyes pa'i rabs te le'u bdun pa'o/

SW 153:4, CW 28b, SB 38:1 de'i rjes la [53:5] **dzam bu'i gling** gi dbus nub kyi phyogs
orgyan⁶⁰ du bla ma **te lo pa**'i slob ma nus pa'i⁶¹ mchog tu gyur pa'i rnal 'byor pa **shi**
[53:6] **la danti** zhes bya bar⁶² tshal dang nags na gnas pa yin=
de'i tshe na ngas dbang bskur ba'i slob ma bzhi da⁶³ lta 'di [54:1] na yod= **rdo rje**
'**bum** dang= **sgom**⁶⁴ **sngon** dang= **shākya shes rab** dang= **chos dpal**⁶⁵ yin gsung
ngo/

urgyen⁶⁶ du skyes pa'i rabs [54:2] te le'u brgyad pa'o/

SW 54:2, CW 28b, SB 38:3 de'i physis shar **lus 'phags po**'i gling du yab rgyal po **dge ba bzang**
po dang yum **shes rab** [54:3] **can ma**'i sras mo **shes rab bzang mor** skyes= gsang
mtshan **mtsho skyes byang chub** yin= bur skyes na rgyal sa 'dzin [54:4] dgos pas
'jigs=

yab yum⁶⁷ chung ngu nas shi *ste* bla ma **lha rje** 'di dge slong **dharma siddhi**
*zhes*⁶⁸ par yod pa dang mjal nas= [54:5] yo byad mang po bla ma la phul te dge
bsnyen⁶⁹ ma'i sdom pa mnos nas bslab bya tshul bzhin bsrungs=

de'i tshe khyed [54:6] mang po dang nga'i grogs po mang po⁷⁰ yang yod=
tshogs *gsog gcig*⁷¹ gi⁷² dus na= pha **dge ba grags** dang= ma **dge ba bzang mo**'i
[55:1] bu khyed *spun*⁷³ bdun yod= **dge 'dun 'od** dang= **shes rab bla ma** dang=
smon lam bla ma dang= **yon tan 'od** dang= **ye shes 'od** dang= **ye shes** [55:2] 'od
zer⁷⁴ dang= gzhan gcig dang bdun te snga ma gsum gyis⁷⁵ nga'i srog gi rogs kyang
byas gsung ngo/

shar **lus 'phags po**'i⁷⁶ skyes [55:3] pa'i rabs te le'u dgu pa'o/

⁵⁸ *yotn*, condensed cursive of *yon tan*, Bacot 604.

⁵⁹ *lingkar* SW : *ling kar* CW,SB

⁶⁰ *orgyan* SW : *o rgyan* CW,SB

⁶¹ 'i SW : [] CW,SB

⁶² *bar* SW : *ba* CW,SB

⁶³ *bzhi da* SW,SB : *bzhid* CW

⁶⁴ *sgom* SW : *bsgom* CW,SB

⁶⁵ [] SW : inserts *bzhi* CW,SB. In the sentence before number 4 is mentioned already, no need to repeat again.

⁶⁶ *urgyen* SW : *o rgyan* CW,SB

⁶⁷ *yuMb*, condensed cursive of *yab yum*, Bacot 593.

⁶⁸ *zhes* SB : *ces* SW,CW. From here, spelling variants of *ces/zhes/shes* are no longer indicated; in case necessary the SW spelling has been corrected without further fn.; for relevant grammar, see e.g. Beyer, 393-4.

⁶⁹ *dgeen*, condensed cursive of *dge bsnyen*, Bacot 100.

⁷⁰ *mang po* SW,SB : [] CW

⁷¹ *sogcig*, contraction of *sog gcig* SW,CW : *gsog gcig* SB. Corrected, context, *gsog* from *gsog pa*, "accumulate."

⁷² *gi* SW,SB : *gis* CW

⁷³ *spun* CW,SB : *dpun* SW. Corrected, *spun*, "brother", *dpun* unattested.

⁷⁴ 'oder, condensed cursive of 'od zer, Bacot 586.

⁷⁵ *gyis* SW,CW : *gyi* SB

⁷⁶ *po 'i* SW : *por* CW : *po* SB

SW 55:3, CW 29a, SB 39:1 skye ba 'di'i snga ma la shar **lus 'phags po** dang lho **dzam bu gling** gnyis kyi bar na gling phran [55:4] ming can med pa'i gling ⁷⁷ grong khyer **ra dha pa'am rā dza pha la** *ste* **rgyal po bzang po**'i grong khyer zhes bya bar yab rje'u rigs **dharmā**⁷⁸ **sbas** [55:5] **pa** dang= yum **su ma ti**'i sras *su*⁷⁹ **pra ti kīrtir**⁸⁰ skyes nas lo brgya drug bcu rtsa bzhi thub=

de nas bla ma **lha rje dpal gyi** [55:6] **sbas par** yod pa la **ma hā ma ya**⁸¹ dang= **sgrol ma yid bzhin 'khor lo**⁸² dang **rdo rje sems dpa**⁸³'i bsgrub⁸⁴ thabs zhus= **yon tan 'od** dang **dge** [56:1] **'dun 'od** dang **ye shes bla ma** dang **smon lam**⁸⁵ **bla ma** dang **'byung gnas bla ma** dang **rgyal mtshan bla ma** dang **gtsang**⁸⁶ **ston tshul seng** dang [56:2] **tre**⁸⁷'i dge bshes **dkon mchog**⁸⁸ **dpal** dang **rdo rje shes rab**⁸⁹ dang **bka' gdams pa** cig dang bcu la ngas **sgrol ma** de bshad=

ngas bla ma **lha rje** [56:3] la tshogs 'khor zhig zhus pa'i tshe khyed nyi shu⁹⁰ tsam yod de= dge bshes **bka' gdams pa** dang= slob dpon **rin chen rgyal mtshan**⁹¹ dang= ston pa **sangs rgyas** [56:4] dang nye gnas gnyis dang **dge 'dun grags** dang **smon lam bla ma** dang **rdo rje shes rab** dang dge bshes **dkon mchog dpal** dang ston pa **tshul seng** dang btsun [56:5] ma gnyis kyang yod pas gcig sa de nyid du yod la zhig ni **dbus** su skyes=

yon bdag **dgong pa ba**⁹² 'di khyim [56:6] bdag phyug po zhig gi bu yin pas yon bdag byas nas de nas 'brel ka byas te skye ba 'dir yang byas phyi mar yang [57:1] byed=

mkhan po **dka**⁹³ **brag pas** nga'i mkhan po lan gnyis mdzad de skye ba de rang dge slong **ratna** [57:2] **shī la** yin= slob ma bka' gdams pa la sogs pa la chos dbang gi rab byed bshad pas des yang yang phan thogs te [57:3] ngas spyod pa nus pa'i mnal 'byor pa yin=

dge bshes **sa nag pa**⁹⁴ dang **yul bar pa** dang gzhan zhig dang gsum la skyabs 'gro [57:4] dang 'jug pa sems⁹⁵ bskyed byas= gcig gis bslab bya ma bsrungs⁹⁶ pas da lta de nyid na skyes nas yod=

mkhas chen [57:5] ni pañdi ta yin pas byang chub sems dpa'i⁹⁷ sa dang sdom pa nyi shu pa bshad=

⁷⁷ [] SW : gi CW,SB

⁷⁸ *dharmā* SW : *dharmā* CW,SB

⁷⁹ *su* CW,SB : *pu* SW. Corrected, born as, "su" the son, etc.

⁸⁰ *pra ti kīrtir* SW : *pa ti kīrtir* CW : *pa ti kirdir* SB

⁸¹ *ma hā ma ya* SW,CW,SB. Uncorrected, as frequently applied for Skt. *mahāmāyā* [tantra].

⁸² 'khor, condensed cursive of 'khor lo, Bacot 68.

⁸³ *sedM*, condensed cursive of *sems dpa*', Bacot 657 *sedM'* (*sedM'* plus genitive 'i > *sedM'i*)

⁸⁴ *bsgrub thabs* SW : *sgrub thabs* CW,SB (Skt. *sādhana*). Both forms are possible.

⁸⁵ *smoMn*, condensed cursive of *smon lam*, Bacot 498.

⁸⁶ *gtsang* SW : *rtsang* CW,SB

⁸⁷ *tre* SW,CW : *dre* SB

⁸⁸ *dkoog*, condensed cursive of *dkon mchog*, Bacot 15.

⁸⁹ *sherb*, condensed cursive of *shes rab*, Bacot 648.

⁹⁰ *nyiu*, condensed cursive of *nyi shu*, Bacot 214.

⁹¹ *rgy'n*, condensed cursive of *rgyal mtshan*, almost Bacot 128, *rgyal'n*

⁹² *ba* SW,SB : *na* CW

⁹³ *dka'* SW : *ka* CW,SB

⁹⁴ *pa* SW,SB : *pas* CW

⁹⁵ *seMs*, shorthand for *sems*, Bacot, 656.

⁹⁶ *bsrungs* SW,SB : *srungs* CW. Verb *srung ba*, "guard, observe", pf *bsrungs*, imp *srungs* (fr. context unlikely).

⁹⁷ *byub seMd'*, condensed cursive of *byang chub sems dpa'*, Bacot 431, 432.

dge bshes **bla ma 'od ni mdo smad pe**⁹⁸ **tshang** bya ba'i bzang po der [57:6]
 skyes **rgya gar** gyi 'gram yin= de na kho'i skye ba snga ma'i slob dpon zhig yod grub
 thob zer nyan zhig yin gsung/ [58:1]
 gling phran gyi skyes pa'i rabs te le'u bcu pa'o/
 ['das pa'i skyes rabs so]⁹⁹

SW 58:1, CW 30b, SB 40:5 skye ba 'dir ni mi *mjed*¹⁰⁰ kyi 'jig rten gyi [58:2] lte ba'i lho phyogs/
dzam bu gling gi byang ngos kha ba can gyi sa'i smad kyi cha yul **tre shod** gangs kyi ra ba
spo chu [58:3] lha **ldong** dkar por yab **sgom**¹⁰¹ **pa 'phel** dang yum **ming 'dren** gyi sras **dge**
'phel du¹⁰² sku bltams nas=
 lo bcu gcig [58:4] nas **dpal lha mo** bsgrubs pas zhal mthong zhing= dgra btul¹⁰³ nas= slar
shākya seng ge'i bstan pa'i gzugs brnyan [58:5] lo lnga brgya¹⁰⁴ phrag bcu gnas pa'i dus 'dir
 gzhan don bya bar dgongs nas
 dgung lo bcu drug¹⁰⁵ la **dka'**¹⁰⁶ **brag** tu dge bshes [58:6] **mchog gi**¹⁰⁷ **bla ma** la dge tshul
 mdzad nas lo gnyis¹⁰⁸ mkhan po'i zhabs tog byas= dge bshes kra ra ba la **bde mchog** [59:1] gi
 dbang bskur zhus nas **mi g-yo ba** dang **bka' gdams** kyi chos gsan=
 de nas dgung lo bcu dgu [59:2] la yul **dbus** su byon pas nyi shu la **stod lungs**¹⁰⁹ yul thang
 du slebs= dge bshes **rgya dmar** dang **phyapa** la **shar gsum** dang **byams** [59:3] **chos**
 *gsan*¹¹⁰=
 de nas **'phan yul** du dge bshes **pa tshab lo** *tsā*¹¹¹ la **rigs tshogs** *gsan*¹¹²=
 de nas dge bshes **sa phug pa** la bsnyen [59:4] rdzogs mdzad nas **'dul ba** *gsan*¹¹³=
 de nas **stag dur** du byon nas lo lnga¹¹⁴ **bka' gdams** mdzad= **ra lcags ston tshul** la **dgyes**¹¹⁵
pa [59:5] **rdo rje**¹¹⁶ gyi rgyud dang= **bde mchog** dang= **ma hā ma ya**¹¹⁷ dang= **lam 'bras** la
 sogs pa dang= **brag dkar ba** la **rdzogs chen a ro**'i lugs [59:6] *snyan*¹¹⁸ rgyud *gsan*¹¹⁹
 no/

⁹⁸ *pe* SW : *se* CW,SB

⁹⁹ [] SW : '*das pa'i skyes rabs so* in small lettertype CW, regular lettertype SB

¹⁰⁰ *mjed* CW,SB : '*jed* SW. Corrected, '*jed* unattested, J. *mjed*, "world."

¹⁰¹ *sgom* SW : *bsgom* CW,SB

¹⁰² '*phelu*, contraction of '*phel du*, compare Bacot 214 *nyiu > nyi shu*.

¹⁰³ *btul* SW,SB : *brtul* CW. According to context both forms as possible, (TC) , '*dul ba*, pf *btul*, "tame", and *rtul*, pf *brtul*, among other meanings "tame".

¹⁰⁴ *brgya* SW,SB : *brgyar* CW. According to J. grammar": *lnga brgya phrag bcu*, "five thousand."

¹⁰⁵ *bcrug*, condensed cursive of *bcu drug*, Bacot 160.

¹⁰⁶ *dka'* SW : *ka* CW,SB

¹⁰⁷ *mchogi*, contraction of *mchog gi*.

¹⁰⁸ [] *gnyis* SW,CW : *bcu gnyis* SB. [Served the *mkhan po* for] two (*gnyis* SW,CW) or twelve (*bcu gnyis* SB) [years]. Probably "two" is correct; SB possibly includes the ten years of study the master later.

¹⁰⁹ *stod lungs* SW,SB : *stod lung* CW. I have not attested elsewhere yet the frequent spelling of -lungs instead of -lung for the region Stod-lung, I left it uncorrected as it may concern an ancient spelling of the name.

¹¹⁰ *gsan* CW,SB : *bsan* SW. Corrected, *bsan* unattested, *gsan*, "listen to."

¹¹¹ *tsā* SB : *tsa* SW,CW. Corrected, *lo tsā [ba]*, "translator"

¹¹² *gsan* CW,SB : *bsan* SW. Corrected, *bsan* unattested, *gsan*, "listen to."

¹¹³ *gsan* CW,SB : *bsan* SW. Corrected, *bsan* unattested, *gsan*, "listen to."

¹¹⁴ *lnga* SW,SB : *lngar* CW

¹¹⁵ *dgyes* SW,CW : *dges* SB

¹¹⁶ *dgyes rdor*, contraction of *dgyes pa rdo rje*, Skt. Hevajra.

¹¹⁷ *ma hā ma ya* SW,CW,SB. Uncorrected as frequently applied for *mahāmāyā [tantra]*.

¹¹⁸ *snyan* CW,SB : *bsnyan* SW. Corrected, *bsnyan* unattested.

¹¹⁹ *gsan* CW,SB : *bsan* SW. Corrected, *bsan* unattested, *gsan*, "listen to."

dgung lo sum *cu*¹²⁰ la dge bshes **sha ba gling pa**’i spyen *sngar*¹²¹ slob dpon **sgom tshul**¹²²dang mjal=
de nas bla ma [60:1] **lha rje**’i spyen *sngar*¹²³ byon pas zla ba gnyis tsam du mjal du ma
gnang= mjal dus su dar bcu tsam phul nas gdams pa zhus [60:2] pas lam rim tho re ba zhis
gsungs nas

ngas kyang de bsgoms pa yin khyod rang yang de bsgoms gsung=

zhu sna dang bdag ’dzin [60:3] thams cad slob dpon ***sgom pa***¹²⁴s byas=
de nas chos rje la dbang bskur zhus
thabs lam gyi gdams ngag gnang nas bsgoms pas= zhag [60:4] dgu na¹²⁵ drod che bar byung
nas gos rkyang pa byas nas zla ba dgu bsgoms=
bla ma’i zhal nas khyod **zangs rir** bsgom du [60:5] song gsung nas dbyar zla gsum **zangs
ri**¹²⁶r bzhugs pas sems kyi gnas pa ci byar nyan pa dang

lhag mthong sprin [60:6] bar gyi nyi ma lta bu byung pa¹²⁷ dang= bla ma la phyag skyel¹²⁸ du
byon nas **sgam por** lo gsum dka’ thub drag po mdzad [61:1] nas bsgoms pas *grwa pa*¹²⁹
brgyad brgya’i nang nas bsgom sran che bar grags=

yang bla ma’i zhal nas khyod [61:2] **’ol kar** bsgom du song gsung nas= der **’ol kar bri’u** ri bo
cher brag phug cig tu byon tsam na= bud med¹³⁰ cig byung nas [61:3] khyod ’dir ma ’dug
nga’i ma **jo ’od**¹³¹ **zer**= de brag srin mo yin par dgo<ngs>¹³² nas byams snying rje bsgoms
der zla ba bcu bzhi [61:4] *bsgrubs*¹³³ pas nges shes khyad par¹³⁴ can thugs la ’khrung<s>¹³⁵
nas lam rtags ngo mtshar can mang po byung= shin tu dga’ nas phyag [61:5] skyel¹³⁶ ba dang
dri rtog mdzad du ’ongs te= **bya rkog**¹³⁷ dgon par bla ma la zhus pas=

*khams pa*¹³⁸ **se bo** la nga re che ba yin [61:6] pa la khyod kyi<s>¹³⁹ nor nas ’dug pas
da lta bsgoms gsung=

¹²⁰ *cu* CW : *bcu* SW,SB. Corrected, at all places without further fn., for relevant grammar, see e.g. Hahn, 195.

¹²¹ *sngar* CW,SB : *snga ra* SW. Corrected, terminative, vowel “a” plus terminative “-ra” > *sngar*.

¹²² *sgom tshul* SW : *bsgom tshul* CW,SB. This is the first location of many different spellings of the name (b)Sgom-pa Tshul-khrims-snying-po. I choose for Sgom-pa, as this spelling is applied most in SW, though not at all places, the name has been corrected as Sgom-pa at all places, without further explanatory fn. *Blue Annals*, 463-4, also offers Sgom-pa. *Dags po’i bka’ ’bum* writes Bsgom Tshul, see Kragh, *Tibetan Yoga*, 302.

¹²³ *sngar* CW,SB : *snga ra* SW. Corrected, see remark above.

¹²⁴ *bsgom pa* SW,CW,SB, curiously enough all editions agree at this place on the spelling Bsgom-pa, nevertheless corrected as Sgom-pa, for a discussion of this spelling issue, see fn. above to line SW 59:6.

¹²⁵ *na* SW,SB : *nas* CW

¹²⁶ *zangs ri* SW,CW : *zang ri* SB

¹²⁷ *pa* SW,SB : *ba* CW

¹²⁸ *skyel* SW : *bskyel* CW,SB

¹²⁹ *grwa* CW,SB : *gra* SW. Corrected, Das *grwa-pa*, attendant of a *grwa*, a “school,” *gra pa* unattested. Corrected at all places, spelling variant no longer indicated.

¹³⁰ *bued*, condensed cursive of *bud med*, Bacot 424.

¹³¹ *’od* SW,CW : *ong* SB. Uncorrected, Jo-’od-zer attested, Skt. Mārīcī.

¹³² *dgongs* CW,SB : *dgo.* illegible SW. Added *dgo<ngs>*

¹³³ *bsgrubs* CW,SB : *sgrubs* SW. Corrected, *sgrub pa*, “accomplish,” pf *bsgrubs*, imp *sgrubs* unlikely

¹³⁴ *khyadr*, condensed cursive of *khyad par*, Bacot 46.

¹³⁵ *’khrungs* CW,SB : *’khrung* ... illegible SW. Added *’khrung<s>*

¹³⁶ *skyel* SW : *bskyel* CW,SB. TC: *skyel ba*, TDP “spend [time], *don med dus bskyal*, “spent time meaninglessly,” pf ft *bskyal*, imp *skyol*.

¹³⁷ *rkog* SW : *lkog* CW,SB

¹³⁸ *khams pa* CW,SB : *’khams pa* SW. Corrected, Khams-pa, person from Khams.

¹³⁹ *kyis* CW,SB : *kyi*... illegible SW. Added *kyi<s>*

nor sa mi 'dug pa la dgongs nas zla ba drug **sgam por** bsgoms [62:1] pa la bskyed ma byung=
yang bla ma la lo brgyar bsgoms kyang ngo bo la skyed¹⁴⁰ 'ong¹⁴¹ rgyu ni mi 'dug nor yang
nga rang gi bsgom yin [62:2] zhus pas=

bla ma dgyes nas bu 'khor bar 'brel chod pa yin gsung nas gnas lugs don gyi ngo
sprod rjes su¹⁴² bstan [62:3] pa'i gdams ngag¹⁴³ gsung¹⁴⁴/

yang rje btsun gyis khyod **rtsang**¹⁴⁵ phyogs su ldom bu la song gsung nas **las**¹⁴⁶ **stod** man
chad du ldom bu [62:4] la phyin= bla ma **mid la** 'i slob ma dge tshul spun gnyis la **phyag**
rgya chen po *rde'u¹⁴⁷ skor zhus=

don mo ri pa la chos can¹⁴⁸ [62:5] zhus=¹⁴⁹

spen phug pa la **bde mchog** gi dbang bskur dang **jo bo rje** 'i gdams ngag mang du zhus=
rgyab mo yang khang pa¹⁵⁰ la *brtag¹⁵¹ [62:6] **gnyis** kyi gdams bshad zhus=

de nas mar 'ongs nas 'phan yul bya bzangs brag la dbyar rgun¹⁵² gsum 'dag char [63:1]
byas nas bsgrub pa byas= gtum mo 'i yon tan dpag tu med pa byung pas blo bde 'i mgur
bzhengs= mtshan [63:2] bla ma brag par grags= gzhan snang la ri brag la mi thogs par 'dug
zer ba yang byung=

da nas¹⁵³ rje btsun la phyag 'tshal du 'ongs [63:3] nas **sgam por** zla ba dgu bzhugs=

yang rje btsun gyis khyod **mon** du bsgom du song gsung nas
tsha bre lnga khyer nas **mon** gyi rgyal [63:4] po **ga tung gi tsa**¹⁵⁴ r byon= de 'i btsun mo bod
mo zhig gis pha ming dang lo *tsā¹⁵⁵ byas te= rgyal po la zhal mthong byas [63:5] bla mas
rgyal po 'i mchod gnas mdzad nas **mon** gyi ri la bzhugs=
rgyags zad nas len pa 'i *lam khar¹⁵⁶ nags gseb *nas¹⁵⁷ [63:6] stag cig byung pa dang bla ma
pha bong¹⁵⁸ zhig gi steng du bzhugs pas der skor¹⁵⁹ ba byas
'tshe ba mi byed par dgongs nas *mar¹⁶⁰ [64:1] byon pa 'i lam du bud med gnyis kyis *ku
ba¹⁶¹ phyed brags¹⁶² gcig chang gis bkang nas drangs=

¹⁴⁰ skyed SW : bskyed CW,SB

¹⁴¹ 'ong SW,SB : 'od CW. Uncorrected, 'od, "light, radiance", things/phenomena as radiance, but unlikely here.

¹⁴² rjesu, contraction of rjes su, Roloff, 59.

¹⁴³ gdaMg, condensed cursive of gdams ngag, Bacot 307.

¹⁴⁴ gsung SW : gsungs CW,SB

¹⁴⁵ rtsang SW,CW,SB. Strangely enough the region West-Tibet, Gtsang, is often spelled in the SW *dbu med* edition as Rtsang. The other two editions often correct the word as Gtsang, but not always as in this case. The word Rtsang appears 15 times in the text and is left uncorrected as it may concern an ancient spelling of Gtsang. GC dictionary has a Rtsang po entry: *rtsang po* identical to *gtsang po*.

¹⁴⁶ las stod SW : la stod CW,SB. Las-stod, possible ancient spelling of nowadays La-stod.

¹⁴⁷ rde'u CW,SB : sde'u SW. Corrected, sde'u unattested, rde'u, "small stone(s)."

¹⁴⁸ chon, contraction of chos can, Roloff, 62, as in *shes bya chos can*.

¹⁴⁹ don mo ri pa la chon zhus SW : [] CW,SB

¹⁵⁰ yang khang pa SW : spang kha ba CW,SB

¹⁵¹ brtag CW,SB : rtag SW. Corrected, brtag gnyis, "Two Segments" of the Hevajra tantra, attested.

¹⁵² dgun CW,SB : rgun SW. Corrected, dgun, "winter", rgun unattested.

¹⁵³ da nas SW : de nas CW,SB

¹⁵⁴ tsar SW : rtsar CW,SB

¹⁵⁵ tsā SB : tsa SW,CW. Corrected, lo tsā [ba], "translator" attested.

¹⁵⁶ lam khar CW,SB : lam kar SW. Corrected, Das, lam ka na or lam khar.

¹⁵⁷ nas CW,SB : nangpa (one word) SW. Corrected (nangpa, possibly a corruption of nangs pa, "early in the day," not clear).

¹⁵⁸ pha bong SW : pha 'ong CW,SB; pha bong, "boulder", a higher place out of the tiger's reach.

¹⁵⁹ skor SW : bskor CW,SB

¹⁶⁰ mar CW,SB : ma SW. Corrected, mar, going "down" from the mountains.

¹⁶¹ ku ba D; skud pa SW : dku ba CW,SB. Corrected as ku ba, "gourd", based on a similar passage in the Bde-chung-ba biography (prototype for the *Gser gling*) SW 5:3, ku ba, trans. as "bowl", as it made of rock.

rgyal po'i pho brang du byon [64:2] pas rgyags bslangs nas yar lam la mi gnyis kyis stag byung sar *bskyal*¹⁶³=
 yang ri la bzhugs pa'i tshe= **mon bod** mtshams [64:3] dper byas pa'i mgur bzhengs= phyis rgyal pos ras kyis dog pa 'ga' dang dug sngags cig rdzong ba¹⁶⁴ byas te tshur byon= [64:4] lam du bla ma **ras chung pa**'i drung du zhag bzhi bcu bsdad nas **thun 'jog** dang **chos drug** zhus= **nā ro pa**'i gdams ngag [64:5] legs par dri rtog byas gsung=
 de nas **dags po**¹⁶⁵r byon nas bla ma dang mjal dus su= rje btsun gyi zhal nas khyod la stag gis¹⁶⁶ [64:6] bskor ba byas ang gsung= de ltar byas zhus pas=
 stag de yang mkha' 'gro ma'i sprul pa yin= bud med gnyis kyis [65:1] bdud rtsi drangs pa yang zhing skyong gi mkha' 'gro ma¹⁶⁷ dngos grub ster ba yin gsung=
 der lo gcig bzhugs=

yang [65:2] rje btsun gyi zhal nas khyod **gangs dkar** la song gsung nas der byon nas slob dpon **padma**¹⁶⁸'i dgon pa **pha bong**¹⁶⁹ **dkar leb** kyis zhabs su¹⁷⁰ dbyar [65:3] bcud len mdzad cing bzhugs pas kyang mkha' 'gro mas 'tsho ba drangs yon tan rin po che¹⁷¹ du ma rgyud la skyes=
 bla ma la sangs rgyas kyis [65:4] 'du shes byung nas= nga rang ngan gyi mgur¹⁷² bzhengs= lar mos gus med na rgyud la yon tan mi 'byung= ngas bla ma la tha mal [65:5] gyi 'du shes¹⁷³ 'byung ma myong gsung=

ston ka **snye mo nyi drungs** kyis 'phrang na mar 'ongs tsam na rdzong kha cig na khang pa'i rtsar [65:6] bud med bzhi thags 'thag cing snang= cig gis jo bo dro gsol lam zer ba la *rung*¹⁷⁴ byas= gcig nang du song nas yar byon zer= [66:1]
 phyr khyed¹⁷⁵ la shog byas pas= cang mi nyes nang du byon zer=
 phyin tsam na bud med bzhi¹⁷⁶ nang na snang= *ku ba*¹⁷⁷ phyed pa thod pa 'dra ba [66:2] zhig gi¹⁷⁸ nang du bza' btung drangs pa la= phyag *tshang*¹⁷⁹ bud med de'i mthe¹⁸⁰ bong gnyis la **bde mchog** zhal bzhi pa phyag bcu gnyis yum [66:3] dang bcas pa gcig gzigs= bza' btung de mi'i sor mdzub¹⁸¹ kyis tshod dmar¹⁸² 'dug= the tshom med par gsol ba la ro mchog [66:4] brgya dang ldan pa byung=

¹⁶² *brags*, understood as a contraction of *brag nas*.

¹⁶³ *bskyal* CW,SB : *skyal* SW. Corrected, *skyel ba*, "escort", pf ft *bskyal*.

¹⁶⁴ *rdzongba*, contraction of *rdzong ba*.

¹⁶⁵ *dags* SW : *dwags* CW,SB. Uncorrected, possibly ancient spelling. Spelling variant no longer indicated.

¹⁶⁶ *stagis*, contraction of *stag gis*, compare Roloff, 59, *migis* > *mig gis*.

¹⁶⁷ *ma* SW : *mas* CW,SB

¹⁶⁸ *padma* SW,CW : *pad ma* SB

¹⁶⁹ *bong* SW : 'ong CW,SB

¹⁷⁰ *zhabsu*, contraction of *zhabs su*.

¹⁷¹ *rinoe*, condensed cursive of *rin po che*, Bacot 626.

¹⁷² 'gur, shorthand for *mgur* CW,SB

¹⁷³ 'du shes SW,CW : 'du gshes SB

¹⁷⁴ *rung* CW,SB : *drung* SW. Corrected, context favours *rung*, "right, proper."

¹⁷⁵ *khyer* CW,SB : *khyed* SW. Corrected, context favours imp *khyer*, "bring."

¹⁷⁶ *zhi*, shorthand for *bzhi*

¹⁷⁷ *ku ba* D; *sku* SW : *dku* CW,SB. Corrected as *ku ba*, "gourd", trans. as "bowl", based on SW 6:2, similar passage in Bde-chung-ba biography.

¹⁷⁸ *cigi*, contraction of *cig gi*.

¹⁷⁹ *phyag tshang* CW,SB : *phyag tsang* SW. Corrected, Das, *phyag tshang*, "cook."

¹⁸⁰ 'the, shorthand for *mthe*, "thumb", *mthe* CW,SB

¹⁸¹ 'dzub, shorthand for *mdzub*, "toe", *mdzub* CW,SB

¹⁸² *tshod dmar* SW : *tshod mar* CW,SB. Uncorrected, *tshod ma*, "(vegetable) soup", *dmar*, "red."

yang bud med des phor pa nam mkha' la gzed¹⁸³ tsam na 'o ma 'dra bas gang ba drangs pa
 gsol= sgor byon [66:5] tsam na bud med bzhi sgo na thags 'thag cing snang=
 der mar byon pa'i lam du sa gzhi dar gyi 'bol bstan¹⁸⁴ ltar 'jam pa dang sku [66:6] ras bal ltar
 yang ba dang= yid ngos bzung med par dga' ba byung=
 bla mas phyis de bzhi **bde mchog** gi mkha' 'gro ma [67:1] yin gsung=

de nas **gzhu snye** gnyis kyi bar na **rdzong**¹⁸⁵ *zhes* pa'i dgon pa na= bsgom ma zhig phyugs
 *'tsho*¹⁸⁶[67:2] ba dang 'phrad¹⁸⁷

ya ka¹⁸⁸'i dgon pa na su bzhugs dris pas nga'i slob dpon bzhugs zer= 'o na mjal bar zhu byas
 pas= mtshams [67:3] byas yod zer= cis kyang mjal bar zhu byas pas ngas bla ma la zhu yis¹⁸⁹
 zer nas song= *yar*¹⁹⁰ byon zer

nang du [67:4] phyin pa la btsun rgan pho mo gnyis snang= phyag byas pa la ma byed btsun
 ma yod kyi brda byed kyang phyag legs [67:5] par 'tshal=

de nas ja gral du bla ma'i zhal nas khyod la de ring bud med bzhis chos ston drangs ang
 gsung= drangs [67:6] byas pas

de kun mkha' 'gro ma yin *tshod¹⁹¹ ma'i rgyu de **bal yul pham mthing**¹⁹² na khyim
 bdag **a sho ka**'i bu ***dharma***¹⁹³ **siddhi**¹⁹⁴ [67:7] shi nas ro **tarti ta**'i dur khrod du
 *bskyal*¹⁹⁵ ba mkha' 'gro mas blangs pa yin gsung=

da lta de *na*¹⁹⁶ yod dam dris pas

der med **kha** [68:1] **che**'i grong khyer **sambhata**¹⁹⁷'i dur khrod na zla ba nag po'i nyi
 shu lnga la mkha' 'gro ma 'du ba'i dus yin pas tshogs mchod la [68:2] der song zin=
 mkha' 'gro mas khyed la dngos grub ster ba yin= **mon** gyi lam du bud med gnyis kyi
 btung ba drangs pa de yang [68:3] mkha' 'gro ma yin gsung=

rin po che'i thugs la khong gi dgon pa de bla ma'i **phar tshang** dgon pa 'dra snyam tshe= bla
 ma rdzong [68:4] pas= khyod kyi bla ma'i **phar tshang** dgon pa de nga'i 'di 'dra'am gsung=
 bla mas bsam mno byed ma *spobs*¹⁹⁸ te= de la sogs [68:5] pa mang du gsungs= khyod kyi
 bla ma **lha rje** ci gsung gyis gsung=

kho¹⁹⁹ la **phyag rgya chen po thog babs** dang gdams ngag mang du [68:6] zhus gsung=

de nas **sgam por** phyag *bskyal*²⁰⁰ du byon tsam na= **grol bsgom**²⁰¹ dang **khams pa se**
bognyis stod gsung nas de nub nyams dga' [69:1] ba'i bla bo mang po gsungs²⁰²= rje btsun

¹⁸³ *gzed* SW : *bzed* CW,SB. Both verbs are possible, "to hold up" the cup to sky.

¹⁸⁴ *bstan* SW : *stan* CW,SB

¹⁸⁵ *rdzong zhes* corrected : *rdzong ces* SW,CW : *rdzogs zhes* SB. Name Rdzong left uncorrected, the story refers to a certain *bla ma Rdzong-pa*. The Bde-chung (the prototype) biography SW 6:6 - 7:6, relates, that this passage is a dialogue between Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa and *bla ma Rdzong pa*. Both meet (*spyang sgnar byon*) and words were spoken by this very *bla ma (zhal nas)*. However, grammar requires *rdzong zhes*, corrected.

¹⁸⁶ *'tsho* CW,SB : *mtsho* or *mcho* illegible SW. Corrected, 'tsho, "tend" (cattle).

¹⁸⁷ *'phrad* SW,SB : *phrad* CW

¹⁸⁸ *ya ka* SW : *ya ki* CW,SB. Das, *ya*, "up", *ya gi (la)*, "up there."

¹⁸⁹ *yis* SW : *yi* CW,SB

¹⁹⁰ *yar* CW,SB : *yang* SW. Corrected, *yar*, go "up."

¹⁹¹ *tshod* CW,SB : *tsho* SW. Corrected, *tshod (ma)*, "soup."

¹⁹² *'thing*, shorthand for *mthing* CW,SB. Pham-mthing, place in Nepal, spelling attested, Das.

¹⁹³ *dharma* CW,SB : *dharmma* SW. Corrected, *dharma*, SW prob. sribal error.

¹⁹⁴ *siddhi* SW,CW : *sidhi* SB

¹⁹⁵ *bskyal* CW,SB : *skyal* SW. Corrected, *skyel ba*, "deliver, pf ft *bskyal*."

¹⁹⁶ *de na* CW,SB : *de nas* SW. Corrected, context favors *de na*, "there."

¹⁹⁷ *sambha ta* SW,SB : *sam bha ta* CW

¹⁹⁸ *spobs* CW,SB : *yobs* SW. Corrected, *yobs* unattested, *spobs pa*, Das, "dare."

¹⁹⁹ *kho* SW : *khong* CW,SB

²⁰⁰ *skyel* SW : *bskyel* CW,SB. Uncorrected, *bskyel* unattest.; TC *skyel ba* "spend (time)", pf ft *bskyal*, imp *skyel*.

gyi zhal nas khyod la de 'dra ba mkhyen pa'i bla ma yod dam gsung= yod [69:2] zhus pas bla ma **nā ro pa**'i gsum slob yin gsung=

sngar mkha' 'gro mas 'tsho ba drangs pa la sogs pa rnam ji lta ba [69:3] bzhin bla mas mkhyen nas tshur gsung phar la zhu ma dgos= rje btsun gyi zhal nas nga'i bla ma **mid la** de zad par me'i [69:4] ting nge 'dzin²⁰³ la bzhugs pa'i dus su ngas me'i rnal ba²⁰⁴ rten²⁰⁵ nas bros= chu'i ting nge 'dzin la bzhugs pa'i dus su ngas chu lteng²⁰⁶ gcig tu mthong= [69:5] zad par gyi yon tan dang mngon par shes pa rgya chen po mnga' yang khong la rlom pa rdul tsam yang med= spyir sgom²⁰⁷ chen pa yon tan [69:6] la rlom pa skyer mi rung ngo gsung nas gdams ngag ma lus par gnang=

bla ma'i zhal nas nga **skam po gnas nang** du 'gro sdogs [70:1] byas tsam na zhabs snyung²⁰⁸ bas *'gror²⁰⁹ ma btub pa yin= khyod song dang gzhan la phan thogs par 'dug gsung= **zangs zlum** du [70:2] slob dpon **bsgom pa** la phyag *bskyal²¹⁰ bas kyang de rnam mkhyen nas tshur gsungs so/

de nas yar byon nas **gzhu smad kyi lha** [70:3] ri rgyan po la dbyar zla ba gsum bzhugs dus su= e ma phung po dur khrod kyi mgur bzhengs=

de'i *dgun²¹¹ nas **gzhu gru** [70:4] **bzhi** dgon pa bzung ba la bud med cig gis 'tsho ba *drangs²¹² mkha' 'gro mar 'dug 'tsho ba brang breng tsam las ma byung [70:5] lar ngas bsgrub pa byas pa'i dus na lto gos 'dzom po²¹³ ma byung yang bsgrub pa la thang lhod *shar²¹⁴ ma myong nga'i dka'²¹⁵ sla [70:6] tsam *su²¹⁶ kyang mi nus= lto rgyab la gyong skur mi nus par dang po nas²¹⁷ 'dzom po 'dod pa la chos mi 'ong gsung=

de'i tshe bla [71:1] ma **bai ro** la dbang dang byin brlabs²¹⁸ zhus nas **bde mchog lhan skyes** dang **rje btsun ma urgyen**²¹⁹ ma dang **te lo'i** [71:2] **do ha** dang **phyag rgya chen po'i gtum mo**²²⁰ **lhan skyes** la sogs pa mang du zhus=

*bla ma²²¹ **dpal**²²² **bde mchog** gi dbang bskur zhus nas gdams ngag [71:3] mang du gsan=

²⁰¹ *bsgom* SW : *sgom* CW,SB

²⁰² *gsungs* SB : *gsung* SW,CW. Context favors *gsungs*, "related", instead of direct speech marker *gsung*.

²⁰³ *tinge-in*, condensed cursive of *ting nge 'dzin*, Bacot 235.

²⁰⁴ *rnal ba rten* SW : *sna ma rten* CW,SB. Problematic, SW: (I had to run from) holding that (fire) [like] reality (*rnal ba*, read as *rnal ma*, Das: *rnal ma* = *yang dag*). CW,SB: (I had to run as I could) not hold that sort of fire.

²⁰⁵ *rten* SW : *brten* CW,SB

²⁰⁶ *lteng* SW,CW : *ldeng* SB. Both attested, "pool."

²⁰⁷ *sgom* SW : *bsgom* CW,SB

²⁰⁸ *snyung* SW : *bsnyung* CW,SB

²⁰⁹ *'gror* CW,SB : *'gro* SW. Corrected, terminative -r seems correct.

²¹⁰ *bskyal* CW,SB : *skyal* SW. Corrected, *skyal* unattested, prob. Short for *bskyal*, see fn. above.

²¹¹ *dgun* CW,SB : *rgun* SW. Corrected, *dgun*, "winter."

²¹² *drangs* CW,SB : *dra sa* or *drads* or *drangs* illegible SW. Corrected, *drangs*, "invited."

²¹³ *'dzom po* SW,SB : *'dzom bo* CW. Attested, *'dzom po*, "abundant."

²¹⁴ *shar* CW : *shor* SW,SB. Corrected, *'char ba*, pf *shar*, "dawn, shine forth"; *shor ba*, "slip away", pf *shor*.

²¹⁵ *dka'* SW,CW : *bka'* SB. Uncorrected, combination *dka' sla* difficulties [and] weaknesses, makes sense in the context; *bka'*, "instruction" does not.

²¹⁶ *su* CW,SB : *pu* SW. Corrected, *su*, "what[ever]."

²¹⁷ *nas* SW,SB : *na* CW. Attested, *dang po nas*, "from the beginning."

²¹⁸ *byin brlabs* SW : *byin rlabs* CW,SB. Both forms attested.

²¹⁹ *uryen* SW : *o rgyan* CW : *u rgyen* SB

²²⁰ *gtumo*, contraction of *gtum mo*, Bacot 240.

²²¹ *bla ma* CW,SB : *bla mas* SW. Corrected, *bla ma dpal*, *blama* as title

spyir **dbus gtsang**²²³ du lo sum cu bzhugs te lo bcu r thos bsam dang=
 lo bcu gnyis bsgrub pa mdzad pa la [71:4] lag pa rdul dang bral ma myong gsung=
 lo brgyad du **gzhur** bzhugs tshogs pa bzhi bcu tsam byung skal ldan mang rab la [71:5]
 phan thogs= yo byad ci byung 'phral dgos ma gtogs pa bla ma gnyis la 'bul ba byas
 gsung=

de'i tshe slob dpon ***sgom pa ba**²²⁴ [71:6] **lha lung** na *grwa pa* gsum²²⁵ brgya tsam dang
 bzhugs pa la rta khrab 'ga' re khyer nas **kham**s su bzhud pa'i phyi²²⁶ phyag la byon²²⁷ pas=
 [72:1] slob dpon gyi zhal nas

nga yang *thengs²²⁸ gcig **gnas nang** du chas pa yin pa la rkang pa na bas ma rtol= bla
 ma'i bka' [72:2] yin pas lan²²⁹ cig song la bza' *mi²³⁰ rnyed pa'am= g-yeng ba ches
 nas²³¹ dge sbyor ma dmar na yar la shog nga 'chi [72:3] gsung bas=

der bshums pas

bla bo bshad kyis nyon dang gsung nas sngar bsgrub pa mdzad pa dang= da lta chos
 thams cad sgyu mar shes [72:4] pa dang **rdo rje gdan** skad cig²³² la blta nus pa la sogs
 pa gsung²³³/

gru bzhir khams su 'gro'am snyam tshe= **skam po**'i **rdo rje dpal brtsegs** bsur [72:5] byung
 pa gzhu'i lhas bkag pas ma khegs gsung ngo²³⁴=

de nas **zhi mgo ba**'i tshong dpon **rin dpal** gyis gdan 'dren byas nas [72:6] **'phan yul** du
 byon tsam na **tre bos** 'gror ma ster=

de'i dus su bla ma **phag mo *gru**²³⁵ pas btsun pa **ye shes 'od** la 'phrin²³⁶ [73:1]
 *bskur²³⁷ nas= khyed kham s su ma bzhud dbang bskur dang rab gnas mang po zer ba de
 tsam ma mdzad= sku tshe la [73:2] bar chad 'ong dogs yod gsung=rin po che'i zhal nas

²²² [] SW,CW : [dpal] rga lo dang kham s pa a seng gnyis la [bde mchog] SB.

This is a problematic insertion in the SB edition, the *dpal rga lo* is probably right, as it is the more complete name of this teacher, however as for a *kham s pa a seng*, I am not sure if it is correct. The insertion is probably based on a passage in the *Deb ther dmar po* (first half fourteenth century) [437-439]: /bla ma be ro dang / grub thob dpal 'dzin [438] dang / dpal rga lo [439] dang / grub thob a seng la chos zhus/, trans. "He requested dharma of Bla-ma Be-ro, siddha Dpal-'dzin, Dpal-rga-lo, and siddha A-seng."

The SW edition mentions *kham s pa a seng* not at all. The CW edition states that at age 50 both Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa and *kham s pa a seng* return together to Kham s, see fn. below.

In Chapter 4 of this thesis, "The Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa Collection," I established that the SW edition is probably the least edited of the three editions, therefore I kept the reading of SW and left Kham s-pa A-seng out.

²²³ *gtsang* SW : *rtsang* CW,SB

²²⁴ *sgom pa ba* SB : *bsgom pa ba* SW,CW. Corrected, see earlier fn.

²²⁵ *gsum* SW,SB : *sum* CW

²²⁶ *phyi* SW,SB : *phyir* CW

²²⁷ [] SW,SB : insertion in small lettertype *kham s pa a seng gnyis la* CW. SB inserted the passage earlier, insertion ignored again, see fn. above.

²²⁸ *thengs* SB : *thangs* SW,CW . Corrected, see fn. *Zhus lan* SW 400:2, *thengs gcig*, "one time."

²²⁹ [] SW,SB : insertion in small lettertype *rga lo dang* / CW. Insertion ignored as SW seems to be the less edited edition, see fn. above. SB inserts the passage at another place, see also above.

²³⁰ *mi* SB : *ma* SW,CW. Corrected, contexts prefers pr ft *mi rnyed*, "cannot find (food)."

²³¹ *nas* SW,CW : *na* SB

²³² *skig*, condensed cursive of *skad cig*, Bacot 26.

²³³ *gsung* SW : *gsungs* CW,SB

²³⁴ *gsungo*, contraction of *gsung ngo*.

²³⁵ *gru* CW,SB : *grub* SW. Corrected, Phag-mo-gru-pa, see Schiller, *Das Leben u. Gesamtwerk Phag-mo-gru-pa*.

²³⁶ *'phrin skur* SW : *phrin bskur* CW,SB. Attested, J, *phrin skur ba*, "send word", *'phrin ba*, "inform."

²³⁷ *bskur* CW,SB : *skur* SW. Corrected, *skur ba*, "send", context favors pr ft *bskur* above pr *skur*.

khong nga la thugs brtse ba yin te= nga gzhon lnga med²³⁸ 'brog tu mi 'gro= [73:3] de tsam gyi yid tshod med par rab gnas dbang bskur mi byed= ngas bla ma **mi la**²³⁹; i sku tshe tsam thub pa yin gsung/

der [73:4] tshur log nas **mtshur gyi ngos bzangs**²⁴⁰ dgon par bzhugs/ yang **kol ti ba**'i mgron po²⁴¹ go btsun yon bdag gis [73:5] gdan 'dren byas nas '**phan yul** du byon pa yang **tre bo**'i mgron pos 'grogs²⁴² ma ster=

gzhu na tshur log nas slob dpon [73:6] **bsgom pa snying po se ru** na bzhugs pa la rta bzang po dang 'bul ba 'ga' khyer nas phyag la byon=

de nas **tre bos** [74:1] gdan 'dren byas nas dgung lo lnga bcu la **kham**s su bzhud= **zla stod gyi 'khar ser**²⁴³ du lo gnyis bzhugs= skal ldan 'ga' re [74:2] la phan thogs= slob dpon **bsgom pa** la 'bul ba yang bskur²⁴⁴=

trer bzhud lo gnyis bzhugs skal ldan 'ga'i don mdzad=

lo lnga [74:3] bcu rtsa lnga la **skam po gnas nang** du byon= 'gro ba mang po la phan thogs bsgom chen rtogs ldan mang po yang byung pas lo lnga [74:4] na ja mdzo lnga bcu la sogs pa gdan sar skur²⁴⁵=

dgung lo drug *cu* rtsa bdun la *bsnyung ba*²⁴⁶ la= nye gnas kun gyis [74:5] *grwa pa* thams cad bsdus nas bla ma gshegs dogs yod ci bya zer ba la=

dge 'dun²⁴⁷ gros byas nas bla ma **stag de'u ba** dang *grwa [74:6] pa* rgan po bcus rin po che'i *bsnyung*²⁴⁸ nad 'di la *grwa pa*s rim gro ci byas kyang phan pa ma byung pas= da bla ma nyid kyis [75:1] tshogs *bsog*²⁴⁹ cig mdzad par zhu dgos zhes zhus pas= rin po che'i zhal nas=

khyed kyis nga 'chi bsam *te* [75:2] da lta mi 'chi bla ma **mid la**'i sku tshe tsam²⁵⁰ zhig thub de la blo²⁵¹ bur ba mi 'ong= tshogs *bsog*²⁵² byas pas chog gsung nas [75:3] gdan sar g-yu bdun la sogs pa'i tshogs *bsog*²⁵³ byas pas sku khams yang bde bar gyur to/

de nas **dbus** su bzhud par dgong [75:4] pas **rdo rje dpal brtsegs** kyis sman bstan zhu²⁵⁴ phul dge 'dun kun zhu ba brag²⁵⁵ pas lo mang du 'gor=

ka brag gi²⁵⁶ [75:5] **dge bshes tshul khrims**²⁵⁷ **mchog** gis btsun pa zhig la 'phrin²⁵⁸ yig gnyis *bskur*²⁵⁹ ba khong gis 'phrin²⁶⁰ yig la bla ma thangs shig **trer** [75:6] byon nga dang ni mjal de mi 'ong cis kyang byon par zhu zer ba dang=

²³⁸ [] SW : par CW,SB

²³⁹ mi la SW : mid la CW,SB. Uncorrected, both forms attested.

²⁴⁰ bzangs SW : bzang CW,SB

²⁴¹ 'gron po, shorthand for mgron po CW,SB; Das, mgron, "guest", 'gron unattested.

²⁴² 'grogs SW : 'gror CW,SB

²⁴³ zla stod gyi 'khar ser SW : la stod kyi mkhar ser CW,SB

²⁴⁴ [] SW,SB : te CW

²⁴⁵ skur SW : bskur CW,SB

²⁴⁶ bsnyung ba CW,SB : snyung ba SW. Corrected, snyung ba, "to be ill", pr. snyung, context favors ft bsnyung

²⁴⁷ dge 'dun SW : de dag 'dun CW,SB

²⁴⁸ bsnyung CW,SB : snyung SW. Corrected, see fn. above.

²⁴⁹ bsog CW,SB : sog SW. Corrected, gsog pa, "amass", pr gsog, ft bsog, imp sog, context favors ft bsog.

²⁵⁰ tsam [] SW,SB : tsam cam CW

²⁵¹ blo bur SW,CW : glo bur SB. Both forms attested, "sudden."

²⁵² bsog CW : gsog SB : sog SW. Corrected, ft bsog, see fn. above.

²⁵³ bsog CW : gsog SB : sog SW. Corrected, ft bsog, see fn. above.

²⁵⁴ [] SW : ba CW,SB

²⁵⁵ brag SW : drag CW,SB. Context favors brag, TC, vb brag pa,TMDP, pr, pf, ft brag, (2) thos pa dang shes pa

²⁵⁶ gi or gis SW : gi CW,SB

a tsa ra rgya²⁶¹ zhig **rgya gar** nas mar song **tong** [76:1] **kun** nas **sa skya**²⁶²r yar 'ongs pas rgya yig cig 'ongs 'di bla ma de la *gtod*²⁶³ zer ba dang gnyis bzung nas byung= rgya yig [76:2] 'di'i²⁶⁴ don ngas shes gsung= de nas bzhud tshis mdzad pa la dge 'dun kun gyis ji ltar shol ttab kyang ma gsan [76:3] nas= dgung lo bdun *cu* rtsa bzhi²⁶⁵ la '**bri klung** du yar byon=

sbas yul du dge bshes **gyang**²⁶⁶ **skya ba** la sogs pa 'gro ba mang [76:4] po phan bde la bkod= **lhong khrar** dbyar bzhugs 'bri dam pa chos phyug gis^{267,268} dge 'dun thams cad der byon smin grol gyi lam la [76:5] bkod/

yang **trer** byon pa rang gis 'khrug pa thams cad ngo bo nyid kyis zhi nas yul mi thams cad bde bar gyur to/

dge bshes [76:6] **tshul khrims mchog** 'das zin lo gnyis bzhugs 'gro ba mang po la phan thogs/

gdan sar g-yu chen bdun ja sum cu'i [77:1] 'bul ba bskur=

de nas '**bri klung lce**²⁶⁹ **bar** du bzhugs gdul bya thams cad 'tshogs pas rab tu byung ba²⁷⁰ stong re tsam [77:2] byung ba smin grol gyi lam la bkod/

zla smad du byon nas **kle'u**²⁷¹ **kar mar** dgon pa mdzad= gdul bya thams cad smin par mdzad= [77:3] mi mthun²⁷² pa rnams bsdums btson thams cad bkrol

gser 'bum zhig dang g-yu dngul 'ga' gdan par²⁷³ bskur=

de nas 'gro don [77:4] mdzad cing **lho brgyud** du shul phyung nas **dbus** su byon nas=

gdan sar **gser 'bum** tshar bzhi mdo mangs tshar zhig= spyir [77:5] gser gyi glegs bam brgya dang bcu/ g-yu chen bcu= mdzo rta lnga bcu la sogs pa²⁷⁴i 'bul ba byas= **jo bo yi ge drug pa** dang [77:6] **jo bo shākya**²⁷⁵ rnam gnyis kyis dbu mdzad pa'i **dbus rtsang** gi sde dgon rnams la rta bdun *cu* spyir snang²⁷⁶ chen brgya lhag gi [78:1] tshogs bsog²⁷⁷ mdzad=

de nas **stod lungs**²⁷⁸ **mtshur phur** gdan phab= '**tshal pa** dang **dag ra ba**²⁷⁹i 'khrug pa thams cad bsdums [78:2] yul mi rnams bde bar byas= **bod yul** gyi gdul bya ma lus pa der 'tshogs smin pa dang grol bar mdzad do/

²⁵⁷ *tshruims*, condensed cursive of *tshul khrims*, Bacot 521.

²⁵⁸ *'phrin* SW : *phrin* CW,SB

²⁵⁹ *bskur* CW,SB : *skur* SW. Corrected, context favors pf *bskur*, *skur ba*, "hand over."

²⁶⁰ *'phrin* SW : *phrin* CW,SB

²⁶¹ *rgya* SW : [] CW,SB

²⁶² *saskya*, contraction of *sa skya*, Roloff, 60, *sa skya* SB : *sas skya* CW

²⁶³ *gtod* CW,SB : *stod* SW. Corrected, context favors *gtod pa*, "hand over", TC, pf *gtod*

²⁶⁴ [] SW,SB : *nang* CW

²⁶⁵ *bdun *cu* rtsa bzhi* SW,CW : *bdun *cu* rtsa dgu* SB. SB reads seventy-nine, this seems rather late as before he passed on at age 83 he had to travel all the way to Dbus and build up Mtshur-phu monastery.

²⁶⁶ *gyang* SW,CW : *kyang* SB

²⁶⁷ *phyugis*, contraction of *phyug gis*.

²⁶⁸ *gis* SW : *gi* CW,SB

²⁶⁹ *lce* SW,SB : *we* CW

²⁷⁰ *ba* SW,CW : *pa* SB

²⁷¹ [] SW : *ru* CW,SB

²⁷² *mithun*, contraction of *mi mthun*, Roloff, 59.

²⁷³ *par* SW : *sar* CW,SB

²⁷⁴ *lsogs pa*, contraction of *la sogs pa*.

²⁷⁵ *jo bo shākya* SW : *jo shāk* CW : *jo shākya* SB

²⁷⁶ *snang chen* SW : *snangs chen* CW,SB. Problematic, *snangs chen*, possibly abbr. of *snang nas chen*, "great from appearance", trans. as "fine goods."

²⁷⁷ *bsog* SW : *gsog* CW,SB

²⁷⁸ *stod lungs* SW : *stod lung* CW,SB. Uncorrected, see fn. at SW 59:2.

²⁷⁹ *dag ra ba*, SW,CW,SW

dka' [78:3] spyad dang gzhan don gyi lo grangs te le'u bcu gcig²⁸⁰ pa'o/

SW 78:3, CW 40a, SB 53:2 rin po ches thog mar **sgam por** byon pa la **shwa ba gling pa**'i spyan [78:4] sngar slob dpon **bsgom pa** dang mjal dus su **sgrol ma dkar mo**²⁸¹ gcig tu gzigs=

de bla ma gong mas mkhyen nas²⁸² **tshul snying** bskyed [78:5] rim la brtan pa yin gsung= de nas chos rje la dbang bskur zhus dus na **dgyes mdzad rdo rje**'i sku 'od kyi²⁸³ ra [78:6] bar bzhugs pa zhig tu gzigs gsung=

yang grogs mched bzhi yis slob dpon **sgom pa**²⁸⁴ la dbang bskur²⁸⁵ zhus²⁸⁶ dus su= slob dpon la [79:1] grogs mched mthong snang mthun²⁸⁷ par **he ru kar** gzigs nas bla ma la zhus pas= **he ru ka** ni nga nyid [79:2] yin gsung=

slob dpon **bsgom pa** la gzigs pa drug= **dgyes pa rdo rjer** gzigs pa gsum= **rdo rje rnal 'byor ma** dang 'od phung cig [79:3] tu gzigs= 'od du mthong tshe zhus pas ngas zad par chur bsgoms pa yin te zad par gzhan kun kyang nus gsung=

[79:4] **gru bzhi** na bzhugs pa'i dus na chos rje sku yal ba thos nas bzhud pas **pho rog rdzong chung** dgon par slob dpon [79:5] **sgom pa** dang slob dpon '**phags pa** gnyis dang mjal nas²⁸⁸= slob dpon **sgom pa**'i *na*²⁸⁹ bza' nas 'jus nas spyan chab phyung [79:6] pa la rje btsun gong mas khong gi gdung *ba*²⁹⁰ bsal ba'i phyir 'ja' tshon gyi rnam par nam kha' la gzugs skur wal gyis [80:1] byon par²⁹¹ dpon slob gsum mthong snang mthun nas²⁹² phyag brtsal²⁹³ ba dang= de nyid *du* yal gsung=

gnas nang²⁹⁴ bzhugs dus na [80:2] '**de**²⁹⁵ **chung sangs rgyas lho bstod**²⁹⁶ du ldom bu la song pas= **dags lha sgam por** bla ma'i gdan sa zhig pa thos nas

byung pa la rin po ches [80:3] dgongs pa la gzigs pas dang po **dags po** gsal bar byung= de nas **bal yul** gsal ba= de nas steng dang phyogs mtshams²⁹⁷ [80:4] thams cad gsal bas²⁹⁸ sangs rgyas kyi zhing khams mang po gzigs= gdan sa zhig pa mi bden par 'dug gsung²⁹⁹= de ji tsug lags [80:5] zhus pa la³⁰⁰ ngas da lta rang bltas³⁰¹ pas mthong gsung= nas gong gi de ltar gsungs so/

²⁸⁰ *bcuig*, condensed cursive of *bcu gcig*, Bacot 155.

²⁸¹ *dkaro*, condensed cursive of *dkar po*, Bacot No, 11, as it concerns a female deity here *dkar mo*.

²⁸² *mkhyens*, contraction of *mkhyen nas*, compare Roloff, 60, *zins* > *zin nas*.

²⁸³ *kyi* SW,CW : *kyis* SB

²⁸⁴ *sgom pa* SW : *bsgom pa* CW,SB. Note that here, at the beginning of Chapter 13, [78:4] and [78:6], we find for the same person *slob dpon bsgom pa* as well as *sgom pa*. See the fn. t SW 59:5 for the choice *sgom pa*.

²⁸⁵ *dbang bskur* SW,CW : *dbu mar* SB. This is an interesting variant; SB has the master ask for Madhyamaka (*dbu ma*) instead of empowerment (*dbang bskur*). Context favors *dbang bskur*.

²⁸⁶ *zhus* SW,SB : *zhu* CW

²⁸⁷ *mthun* SW : '*thun* CW,SB

²⁸⁸ *nas* SW : *bas* CW,SB

²⁸⁹ *na* CW,SB : *na* unclear SW. Corrected.

²⁹⁰ *ba* CW, SB : *pa* SW. Corrected, *gdung ba*, "distress."

²⁹¹ *par* SW : *pa* CW,SB

²⁹² *mthuns*, contraction of *mthun nas*.

²⁹³ *phyag brtsal* SW : *phyag btsal* CW,SB. Probably *phag btsal* most correct, ft pf, "paid respects", possibly *phyag brtsal* is archaic or more dramatic, *brtsal*, ft, pf of *rtsol ba*, J, "draw breath."

²⁹⁴ [] SW : *na* CW,SB

²⁹⁵ '*de* SW : *bde* CW,SB. First part of the name Bde-chung-ba, see fn. in translation.

²⁹⁶ *lho bstod* SW : *lho stod* CW,SB

²⁹⁷ '*tshams*, shorthand for *mtshams* CW,SB.

²⁹⁸ *bas* SW,CW : *pas* SB

²⁹⁹ '*dugsung*, contraction of '*dug gsung*.

³⁰⁰ *pa la* SW : *pas* CW,SB

³⁰¹ *bltas* SW : *ltas* CW,SB

gnas nang du khyi lo'i 'das mchod [80:6] kyi gting³⁰² la nam mkha'³⁰³ la **shākya thub pa** la sogs pa dkyil 'khor³⁰⁴ gyi lha tshogs dpag tu med pa'i zhal gzigs=

khyad par du **rje btsun rnal 'byor** [81:1] **ma** dbu stong ma³⁰⁵ spyan stong ma dpa' mo sum cu so drug gis³⁰⁶ bskor ba'i zhal nas

'di na **he ru ka** dpal [81:2] rgyud³⁰⁷/

sems ni dri ma med par 'dod/

dag pa chos kyi sprul pa ni=

phag mo'i gzugs su byung pa yin= *zhes* [81:3] gsungs so/

gnas nang du ston zla ra ba'i nya la bla ma'i 'das mchod byed dus su= nyi ma phyed yol ba na nam mkha'³⁰⁸ 'ja' [81:4] tshon gdugs dang dkyil 'khor 'dra ba yang mang po byung pa'i nang du bla ma **lha rje** dang nye gnas **legs mdzes grags mdzes** dang= [81:5] gtso 'khor du bzhugs nas bla ma'i zhal nas=

bu gnyis su med pa lta ba'i don/

yengs pa med pa sgom pa³⁰⁹'i don/

zung [81:6] du 'jug pa spyod pa'i don/

de gsum dbyer med 'bras bu³¹⁰'i don/ *zhes* gsungs pas=

yang bla ma rang gi sku 'bag [82:1] cig³¹¹ dang= **dgyes pa rdo rje***'i*³¹² sku dkyil 'khor zhig dang rab gnas zhus pa la rten 'brel³¹³ bzlas pa'i skabs su **sgrol ma** la bstod pa [82:2] gyis gsung= physis ji ltar³¹⁴ lags zhus pas= **sgrol ma** lha dgu ma gnyis byon nas³¹⁵ thang ka la thim gsung=

yang yon bdag [82:3] **skya dgon pa** bas³¹⁶ lha khang gi rab gnas zhus pa la zhud³¹⁷ pa'i lam du **dpal ldan ma** zhal gzigs= rab gnas mdzad [82:4] dus su nam mkha' la dā ma ru dang= ā li kā li³¹⁸'i sgra gsan nas yar bltas pas nam mkha'³¹⁹ lha tshogs³²⁰ dpag tu med pa [82:5] zhal gzigs te sgra gsan pa ni=

lta bsgom³²¹ nam mkha' chu dang mtshungs/

spyod pa 'gag med bsgrub tu med/

³⁰² *gting* SW : *rting* CW,SB.

³⁰³ *naMkha'*, condensed cursive of *nam mkha'*, Bacot 346.

³⁰⁴ *dkyior*, condensed cursive of *dkyil 'khor*, Bacot 18.

³⁰⁵ *ma* SW : [] CW,SB

³⁰⁶ *drugis*, contraction of *drug gis*, compare Roloff, 60, *migis* > *mig gis*.

³⁰⁷ *rgyud* SW : *rgyu* CW,SB

³⁰⁸ [] SW : *la* CW,SB

³⁰⁹ *sgom* SW : *bsgom* CW,SB. Both forms are possible, both pr *sgom pa*, “to meditate or cultivate”, and ft *bsgom pa*, “cultivation or meditation.”

³¹⁰ *'brus*, condensed cursive of *'bras bu*, Bacot 462.

³¹¹ *sku 'bag cig* SW,CW : *sku 'bag gcag* SB. Strange SB variant, context favors *sku 'bag cig*.

³¹² Corrected, condensed cursive form solved requires genitive 'i ; *kyi* SW : *gyi* CW,SB

³¹³ *rteel*, condensed cursive of *rten 'brel*, Bacot 243.

³¹⁴ *jtir*, condensed cursive of *ji ltar*, Bacot 198.

³¹⁵ *byons*, contraction of *byon nas*, Roloff, 59.

³¹⁶ *pa bas* SW : *pas* CW : *pa* SB

³¹⁷ *zhus pa la zhud pa'i* SW,SB : *zhus pa'i* [] CW

³¹⁸ *ā li kā li* SW : *ā l kā l* CW,SB

³¹⁹ [] SW : *la* CW,SB

³²⁰ *lha'ogs*, condensed cursive of *lha tshogs*, Bacot 691.

³²¹ *bsgom* SW,CW : *sgom* SB. Both forms are possible.

de gsum [82:6] dbyer med gnyug ma yin/
kun rdzob³²² pi wang sgra dang mtshungs/
de don de nyid dbyer med yin= *zhes* gsungs so/ [83:1]

yul der **dgyes pa rdo rje***ⁱ*³²³ rkang brgyad bstod pa zhig dang bar do'i gdams pa gsan
gsung=

yang **gnas** [83:2] **nang** na gangs ri chen po zhig gi steng na sprin nag po zhig byung pa'i
nang na gri gug³²⁴ dpag tu med pa 'tshub pa'i nang du [83:3] chos skyong³²⁵ mgon po³²⁶ zhal
gzigs gsung=

spyir lha tshogs ji tsam zhal gzigs zhus pa la=

'di tsam gyi grangs med de 'on kyang= [83:4] sangs rgyas sum cu rtsa lnga= 'od zer
can= *khros*³²⁷ **ma nag mo= dgyes pa rdo rje***ⁱ*³²⁸ dkyil 'khor= **bde mchog** gi
dkyil 'khor= **gsang 'dus** kyi dkyil 'khor= [83:5] ***dgra nag***³²⁹ gi³³⁰ lha tshogs= 'jigs
byed kyi lha tshogs= tshogs 'khor zhig gi dus **su sgyu ma chen mo** lha lnga= **rje**
btsun ma lha lnga= 'dir **rje btsun ma** [83:6] **dkar mo**

dang **gnas nang** <du>³³¹ **mi g-yo ba** dang **bdag med ma** zhal sbyor dang= **mi g-**
yo ba la **sgrol ma sngon mos yum byas pa=** [84:1] **dgyes pa rdo rje lhan skyes=**
gru bzhi<r>³³² **bde mchog lhan skyes=**

sa phug tu **bdud rtsi 'khyil pa** lha dgu'i dkyil 'khor la **bdag med** [84:2] **mas um**
byas pa zhal gzigs=

yang lho phyogs dpal gyi ri kha³³³ la **rdo rje rnal 'byor ma** gcer bur 'dug pa skra
grol ba bde ba'i nyams [84:3] dang ldan pa= thod pa dang gri gug bsname pa= phyag
g-yon³³⁴ pa³³⁵ gru mo'i nang *du*³³⁶ zhabs g-yas pa bcug pa rgyan med pa zhig [84:4]
gzigs gsung=

yang nam mkha' la ā li kā li³³⁷ mang po byung= de'i rjes la **bdag med ma** lha mo
*bco*³³⁸ lnga'i zhal gzigs [84:5]

yang nam mkha' la rin po che **singka**³³⁹ gling gi dur khrod du byon pas slob dpon **rdo rje dril**
bu pa dang mjal bas gsol ba thebs gsung=

yang [84:6] 'das mchod kyi gting³⁴⁰ la **rdo rje gdan** gyi byang phyogs na ma he rgyu ba'i
tshal na slob dpon **sgom pa**³⁴¹ dang mjal

³²² *ku-ob*, condensed cursive of *kun rdzob*, Bacot 3.

³²³ Corrected, condensed cursive form solved requires genitive 'i ; gyi SW,CW,SB

³²⁴ *griug*, condensed cursive of *gri gug*, Bacot 84.

³²⁵ *choskyong*, contraction of *chos skyong*, Roloff, 58.

³²⁶ *mgoon*, condensed cursive of *mgon po*, Bacot 107.

³²⁷ *khros* CW,SB : 'khros SW. Corrected, 'khros, unattested.

³²⁸ Corrected, condensed cursive form solved requires genitive 'i ; gyi SW,CW

³²⁹ *sgra nag* SW : *dgra nag* CW,SB. Corrected, Dgra-nag, attested deity name, see trans. fn.

³³⁰ *nagi*, contraction of *nag gi*.

³³¹ *du* CW,SB: [] SW. Added, useful addition.

³³² *gru bzhi* CW, SB : *gru bzhi* ... illegible SW. Added <r> , terminative: "in" the place [Gzhu-]gru-bzhi.

³³³ *ri kha* SW : *ri* [] CW,SB. J. kha, (3) "above" > above a mountain.

³³⁴ *phyag-yon*, contraction of *phyag g-yon*.

³³⁵ *pa* SW : *pa'i* CW,SB

³³⁶ *du* CW,SB : *ngu* SW. Corrected, *ngu*, scribal error.

³³⁷ *ā li kā li* SW : *ā l kā l* CW,SB

³³⁸ *bco* SB : *bcwo* SW,CW. Corrected, *bcwo* possibly archaic spelling.

³³⁹ *sing ga* Bde-chung-ba : *singka* SW : *seng ga* CW : *singga* SB. Corrected as *sing ga*, spelling cf. the prototype biography by Bde-chung-ba, 19:5, *sing ga'i gling*, Das: *sing ga la'i gling*, "the modern Ceylon" > Shri Lanka

slob dpon gyi zhal [85:1] nas khyod 'dir 'ong ba'i nus pa yod ang gsung³⁴² nas gdams ngag dang *bla bo*³⁴³ mang po gsan gsung=
dag snang gi [85:2] le'u ste bcu gnyis pa'o/

SW 85:2, CW 43a, SB 57:4 rin po che³⁴⁴ **sgam por** *rmang lam*³⁴⁵ du chos thams cad rmi lam sgyu ma tsam du gzigs= de'i dus su bla ma **lha rje**'i [85:3] zhal nas khyod mngon dga'i 'pho ba gyis gsung=

rin po ches **dgyes pa rdo rje** lha dgu'i dkyil 'khor sgyu ma tsam du mkha' la sprul [85:4] nas bla ma nyid kyang lha dgur byas nas= nam mkha'i lha sprul pa'i thugs kar thim par byas= ***tsau rī***³⁴⁶ la sogs³⁴⁷ lha mo brgyad kyang [85:5] dza³⁴⁸ zhes brjod pas bdag la bsdu nas nam mkha' la yal bar byas pas bla ma **lha rje** dgyes nas mthun bar³⁴⁹ gyur [86:1] gsung³⁵⁰/

yang rin po ches *rmang lam*³⁵¹ du **kha che**'i grong khyer **drib bstan**³⁵² gzigs par= bzhed nas sku brgya stong du mar sprul nas ngang³⁵³ [86:2] pa dang *seng ge*³⁵⁴'i khri la bzhugs nas mkha' la gshegs te= **drib bstan**³⁵⁵ gyi steng du byon pa'i tshe= skye ba med pa'i sgra snyan pa [86:3] mang po thos gsung=

lan gcig **stong kung**³⁵⁶ blta bar 'dod pa dang **pe**³⁵⁷ **tsha mkhar** du sleb pa dang= dge bshes **shes rab bla ma** phyug [86:4] po'i bur skyes pas ngo shes sam³⁵⁸ mi shes snyam tsam na³⁵⁹ khong dgod³⁶⁰ pa dang dga' ba'i rtags shes par byung gsung=

yang rmi lam du brag [86:5] *brtsegs*³⁶¹ ma brgya'i kha la bla ma bde ba'i nyams kyis bzhugs pa'i tshe mkha''gro ma rus pa'i rgyan³⁶² can brgyad kyis me tog gi³⁶³ [87:1] phreng ba phyag *tu* phul bas³⁶⁴ rin po ches mkha' la gtor bas= rin chen pad *brtsegs*³⁶⁵ khang par gyur= der phyung nas [87:2] rta dang seng ge sprul nas zhon nas phyin gsung=

³⁴⁰ *gting* SW : *ring* CW,SB

³⁴¹ *sgom pa* SW,SB : *bsgom pa* CW

³⁴² *gsung* SW,CW : *gsungs* SB

³⁴³ *bla bo* CW,SB : *sla bo* SW. Corrected, *sla bo* untestified, *bla bo*, Gold. "talk, dialogue, speech."

Gser 'phreng reads *gleng mo*, Das, talk, conversation.

³⁴⁴ *che* SW : *ches* CW,SB

³⁴⁵ *rmang lam* CW : *smang lam* SW : *rmi lam* SB. Corrected, J. *rmang lam* = *rmi lam*.

³⁴⁶ *tsau rī* CW,SB : *tsa rī* SW. Corrected, see translator's fn., *tsau rī*, Skt. Caurī, one of eight deities surrounding Hevajra in his *maṇḍala*.

³⁴⁷ *la swo*, shorthand for *la sogs*, Roloff, 58.

³⁴⁸ *dza* SW : *dzaḥ* CW,SB

³⁴⁹ *bar* SW : [] CW,SB

³⁵⁰ *gsung* SW : *gsungs* CW,SB

³⁵¹ *rmang lam* CW : *rming lam* SW : *rmi lam* SB. Corrected, see earlier fn.

³⁵² *drib bstan* SW : *grib gtan* CW,SB

³⁵³ *ngang* SW : [] CW; {*ngang*} SB, *ngang* put within { } brackets.

³⁵⁴ *seng ge* CW,SB : *sengga* SW. Corrected, *sengga* possibly pronunciation style of Skt. *siṃha*.

³⁵⁵ *drib bstan* SW : *grib gtan* CW,SB

³⁵⁶ *stong kung* SW : *tong kun* CW,SB

³⁵⁷ *pe tsha mkhar* SW : *se tsha mkhar* CW,SB

³⁵⁸ *shesaM*, contraction of *shes sam*, compare Roloff, 58, *gyuraM* > *gyur ram*.

³⁵⁹ *tsam na* SW : *tsa na* CW,SB. J. both expressions have the same meaning.

³⁶⁰ *dgod* SW,SB : *rgod* CW. Context favors *dgod*, "laughter", instead of *rgod*, "wild."

³⁶¹ *brtsegs* CW,SB : *rtsag* SW. Corr., *rtsag* unidentified, "ma" syllable after *brtsegs*, "piled up" is problematic.

³⁶² *rgyan* SW,SB : *brgyan* CW

³⁶³ *mteogi*, condensed cursive of *me tog*, Bacot 481, plus contraction *gi* SW,CW : *me tog* [] SB

³⁶⁴ *bas* SW : *ba* CW,SB

³⁶⁵ *brtsegs* CW,SB : *rtsegs* SW. Corrected, vb *rtseg pa*, "pile up", pf *brtsegs*, imp *rtsegs* does fit in context.

yang rin po che *byang³⁶⁶ lam na mar byon dus su rmang³⁶⁷ lam du³⁶⁸ bud med tshon mo cig gi ro [87:3] rnyed pa bshas pa las rtsibs³⁶⁹ rtsa nas dā ma ru mang po³⁷⁰ byung pa rang sgra grag tu³⁷¹ nam mkha' la thal ba'i zla la rin po che yang bzhud [87:4] pas **u rgyan**³⁷² du byon pa la bud med cig gis³⁷³ 'di yan chad na³⁷⁴ ye shes kyi mkha' 'gro ma'i gling yin= 'di man chad ni 'jig [87:5] rten gyi mkha' 'gro ma'i gling yin zer nas rjes su bstan pa'i gdams pa gsan gsung=

gru bzhi ru sbrul chen po zhig gis mid= [87:6] mtheb chen³⁷⁵ lus pa rmis=

phag ri khar thog babs pa la *sdigs mdzub³⁷⁶ byas pas bzlogs=

***skam po**³⁷⁷ r gza' ra hu la³⁷⁸ mdun na [88:1] phar 'dris sam³⁷⁹ pa bzlogs=

gnas nang na rmi lam du rgya gar gyi ri bya skyibs na bla ma **lha rje** bzhugs pa dang mjal nas bla ma [88:2] rdzus skyes lags sam zhus pas mngal skyes yin gsung= de nas chos zhus pa la

skyes pa'i yul de spangs na chags [88:3] sdang bral bar nges/

tshul khirms don dang ldan na bde 'gro thob par nges/

thabs la nan tan byas na lam de thob par³⁸⁰ nges/ [88:4]

ma bcos rang sar bzhag na don de rtogs par nges/ ces gsung=

yang rmi lam na= dka' thub ku sha dkar po zhig byung [88:5] pa la sangs rgyas la chos nyan du e 'ong³⁸¹ zer ba la= **mar me mdzad** dang **shākya thub pa** ni mi bzhugs dgongs nas= **byams pa** [88:6] yin nam byas pa la yin zer nyi ma'i 'od zer zhig byung pa'i steng du bzhud nas **dga' ldan** du byon= **byams pa** longs spyod³⁸² rdzogs pa³⁸³ sku'i [89:1] cha byad du bzhugs nas dge slong dkar po mang po la chos gsung zhing 'dug³⁸⁴ khong gis kyang nyan pa la=

'di la [89:2] bsal bar bya ba med/

bzhag par bya ba cung zad med/

yang dag nyid la yang dag blta³⁸⁵/

yang dag mthong na rnam par [89:3] grol/

la sogs pa'i zab don mang po gsungs=

³⁶⁶ *byang* CW,SB : *bya* SW. Corrected, context favors *byang*, “north”, above *bya* “bird.”

³⁶⁷ *rmang* SW,CW : *rmi* SB. Two different words for “dream.”

³⁶⁸ *du* SW : *na* CW,SB

³⁶⁹ *rtsibs* SW : *rtsib* CW,SB. Both forms attested, “ribs.”

³⁷⁰ *mango*, condensed cursive of *mang po* : *mang po* CW,SB

³⁷¹ *grag tu* SW : *grags su* CW,SB

³⁷² *u rgyan* SW,SB : *o rgyan* CW

³⁷³ *cigis*, contraction of *cig gis*, compare Roloff, 59, *migis* > *mig gis*.

³⁷⁴ *na* SW : *ni* CW,SB

³⁷⁵ *'theb*, shorthand for *mtheb* CW,SB, *mtheb chen*, “big toe.”

³⁷⁶ *sdigs mdzub* CW,SB : *sdig 'dzub* SW. Corrected, *sdig 'dzub* shorthand.

³⁷⁷ *skam po* CW,SB : *kam po* SW. Corrected, *kam po* is pronunciation spelling of Skam-po [Gnas-nang].

³⁷⁸ *ra hu la* SW,SB : *rā hu la* CW

³⁷⁹ *'dris sam pa* SW : *'grims pa* CW,SB. Problematic, I chose for the adapted SW reading, *'dris (b)sam pa*, the thought “let’s become acquainted ...”, instead of *'grims pa*, “wandered.”

³⁸⁰ *par* SW : *pa* SW,SB

³⁸¹ *'ong* SW : *'dong* CW,SB. Both forms allowed, “to come.”

³⁸² *lyood*, condensed cursive of *longs spyod*, Bacot, 639, *lyoongd*.

³⁸³ *pa* SW : [] CW,SB

³⁸⁴ [] SW : *pa* CW,SB

³⁸⁵ *blta* SW : *lta* CW,SB

yang rmi lam du nub phyogs na phar bzhud pa la 'ja' tshon gyi gur khang gi nang du [89:4] **thugs rje chen po** zhal bcu gcig pa bzhugs nas snang pas sman gyi ril bu³⁸⁶ mang po byin 'di kun gzhan la byin dang phan zer ba rmis [89:5] gsung=

yang rmi lam du mtsho'i nang du padma'i steng na rin po che **dgyes pa rdo rje** yab yum du bzhugs pa la phyogs brgyad nas **dgyes pa rdo rje***'i³⁸⁷ lha mo brgyad [89:6] kyis pi wang sbreng ba'i sgra las= nub kyi phyogs na bde ba che/ zhes sryan 'dren pa'i zhu phul=³⁸⁸ 'chi rtags yin te bzlog pa la [90:1] tshogs ma byung gsung=

lan gcig **bal yul** du bzhud par 'dod tshe **dgyes pa rdo rje***'i³⁸⁹ lha mo brgyad kyis khyod da rung³⁹⁰ ma 'gro zhes [90:2] phyogs thams cad nas sryan phye yang gngang³⁹¹ gsung=

gnas nang du lag sor gyi nya la bla ma'i mchod pa byas= srod la bla ma la [90:3] gsol ba btab pa la= tho rangs rmi lam du bla ma **lha rje** byon nas³⁹² chos gsungs pa mgur du bzhangs pa ni=

khar³⁹³ sang lag [90:4] sor nya dus su/
srod la rje la gsol ba btab/
tho rangs gnyid kyi rmi lam du/
rje bstun mdun du byon pa gsal/
*rje yi³⁹⁴ [90:5] thugs dgongs rdzogs pa'i phyir/
gsum la mchod pa byed dus su/
*rje yi³⁹⁵ zhal nas 'di skad gsung[s]³⁹⁶/

rig pa mtha' bral [90:6] lta bar go/
gnyug ma 'gyur med bsgom par go
chags med rgyud bzhi spyod par³⁹⁷ go
de gsum dbyer <med>³⁹⁸ 'bras bur go
de rang [91:1] don chos sku yin par go

da gzhan don 'phrin³⁹⁹ las ji ltar mdzad/

zhen pa med pa'i sbyin pa thong⁴⁰⁰ [91:2]
gnod pa med pa'i tshul khirms bsrungs/
khong khro med par bzod pa bsgoms/⁴⁰¹
snyoms las⁴⁰² med par brtson 'grus *rtsoms*⁴⁰³/

³⁸⁶ *rilu*, condensed cursive of *ril bu*, Bacot 627.

³⁸⁷ Corrected, condensed cursive form solved requires genitive 'i ; gyi SB,CW

³⁸⁸ *pa'i zhu phul*= SW : [] CW,SB

³⁸⁹ Corrected, condensed cursive form solved requires genitive 'i ; gyi SB,CW

³⁹⁰ *da rung* SW,CW : *da dung* SW. Same meaning, see earlier fn.

³⁹¹ *gnang* SW : *snang* CW,SB. In context *gnang*, "grant" seems mote meaningful than *snang*, "appear."

³⁹² *byons*, contraction of *byon nas*, Roloff, 59.

³⁹³ *khar* SW,SB : *kha* CW

³⁹⁴ *rje yi* CW,SB : *rje'i* SW. Corrected, verse line requests seven syllables.

³⁹⁵ *rje yi* CW,SB : *rje'i* SW. Corrected, verse line requests seven syllables.

³⁹⁶ *gsung* or *gsungs* illegible SW : *gsung* CW,SB

³⁹⁷ *par* SW,SB : *pa* CW

³⁹⁸ *med* CW,SB : [] SW. Added *med*, verse line requests seven syllables, context agrees.

³⁹⁹ *'phrin las* SW : *phrin las* CW,SB. Both forms attested, Das prefers *'phrin*, J *phrin*.

⁴⁰⁰ *thong* SW,CW : *mtongs* SB. TC vb *thong ba* TMDP, same meaning as *gtong ba* TDP, "send"; *mtongs*, does not fit in context.

⁴⁰¹ *khong khro med par bzong pa bsgoms/* SW,SB : [] CW (omits the whole line!)

⁴⁰² *snyoms las* SW,CW : *snyom las* SB. Words *snyoms las* attested, Das and J, "indolence"; *snyom las* is not.

⁴⁰³ *rtsoms* CW,SB : *btsoms* SW. Corrected, *btsoms* unattested; *rtsom pa*, imp *rtsoms*, "undertake."

yengs pa [91:3] med par bsam gtan⁴⁰⁴ bsgoms/
bde chen spros bral gyi ye shes bskyed/
de drug 'gro ba'i don du bsngos/ ces gsan=

mtshur [91:4] **phu** na⁴⁰⁵ nub gcig gi⁴⁰⁶ rmi lam na⁴⁰⁷ **kha che**'i grong khyer **su**⁴⁰⁸ **rig gi**⁴⁰⁹
zhabs na **rgya gar** gyi mtha' 'khob cig tu byon pa la rnal 'byor⁴¹⁰ [91:5] dpon g-yog gnyis
dang mjal nas= bla mas khyed su lags dris pa la **indra bo dhi** yin gsung= rin po ches⁴¹¹ zhus
pas **rje btsun** [91:6] **ma u rgyan**⁴¹² **ma**'i bsgrub⁴¹³ thabs gsungs=
gzhan zab pa gcig kyang zhu byas pas **rje btsun ma** zhal bzhi phyag bcu gnyis [92:1]
ma'i bsgrub⁴¹⁴ thabs las kha tshar dang bcas pa gnang gsung=

phyis **mdo bor** yum la yab can dpa' mo sum cu so drug [92:2] gis *bskor*⁴¹⁵ ba gcig gzigs=
'gar ston hor po de 'dra ba zhig 'brir bcug

byi ba lo⁴¹⁶ tshes gsum gyi nub mo nam mkha' [92:3] la 'ja' tshon gyi nang na bud med gos
dang thod dmar po byas pa phyag rgya lngas brgyan⁴¹⁷ 'khor bzhis bskor ba zhig na re [92:4]
zab mo'i don dag gar dgar ma bshad gsung/
phyis **zho 'phrang** gi gnas su⁴¹⁸ tshes nyi shu la gzhan la chos 'di'i [92:5] byin rlabs⁴¹⁹ mdzad
dus su brag dmar po'i shing gi gseb na sngar gyi bud med lnga po 'khros 'khros⁴²⁰ nas 'dug=
khyed su yin dris pas [92:6] nged ni su yin ma shes na= nga rgyal po'i lcam mo **legs**
rmi⁴²¹ yin= zab mo'i don gar dgar ma bshad gsung/

yang **gzhu***r*⁴²² [93:1] nyi shu brgyad la bla ma **kham pa** lung pa la byin rlabs mdzad pa'i
nub mo sprin dkar po'i gseb na bud med lnga 'khro⁴²³ [93:2] zhing zab mo'i don gar dgar
ma⁴²⁴ bshad byas pa la mi nyan gsung nas bzhud do=

yang ***mtshur phu** na*⁴²⁵ byi ba lo'i sbrul zla'i [93:3] yar tshes shig gi nub mo'i rmi lam na
lho nub na gzigs nas bzhud tsam na= bar snang na tshur 'brug cig grag nas bltas⁴²⁶ pas 'od

⁴⁰⁴ *bstamN*, condensed cursive of *bsam gtan*, Bacot 682.

⁴⁰⁵ *phu na* SW : *phur* CW,SB

⁴⁰⁶ *gi* SW : [] CW,SB

⁴⁰⁷ *na* SW : *du* CW,SB

⁴⁰⁸ *su rig* SW,SB : *pu rig* CW

⁴⁰⁹ *rig gi*, contraction of *rig gi*, compare Roloff, 58, *mchogi* > *mchog gi*.

⁴¹⁰ [] SW : *pa* CW,SB

⁴¹¹ [] SW : *chos* CW,SB

⁴¹² *u rgyan* SW,SB : *o rgyan* CW

⁴¹³ *bsgrub thabs* SW : *sgrub thabs* CW,SB

⁴¹⁴ *bsgrub thabs* SW : *sgrub thabs* CW,SB

⁴¹⁵ *bskor* CW,SB : *skor* SW. Corrected, context favors pf *bskor*, "surrounded."

⁴¹⁶ *lo* SW : *lo'i* CW,SB

⁴¹⁷ [] SW : *pa* CW,SB

⁴¹⁸ *gnasu*, contraction of *gnas su*.

⁴¹⁹ *byinlbs*, condensed cursive of *byin rlabs*, Bacot 434.

⁴²⁰ *'khros 'khros* SW : *khros* CW,SB. Problematic, TC vb *khro ba*, pf *khros*, J vb *'khro ba*, "to be angry", pf *khros*.

⁴²¹ *legs rmi* SW : *legs smin* CW,SB. Probably Legs-smin-[karā], see Trans. fn.

⁴²² *gzhur* CW, SB : *gzhung* SW. Corrected, Gzhu+ term., abbr. of Gzhu-gru-bzhi.

⁴²³ *'khro* SW : *khro* CW,SB

⁴²⁴ *don gar dgar ma* SW,CW : *don gar* [] *ma* SB.

⁴²⁵ *mtshur phu na* CW,SB : *mtshur phur na* SW. Corrected, SW double use of terminative and locative.

⁴²⁶ *bltas pa* SW : *ltas pa* CW,SB. Context does not favor *ltas pa*, Das, "astrologer"

phung gi nang na rnal 'byor pa dur khrod kyi rgyan gyis brgyan pa phyag g-yas⁴²⁷ na *cang te'u*⁴²⁸ bsnams pa zhig bzhugs nas [93:5] nga **mai tri pa** yin gsung= de'i zhal nas

'khor 'das kyi chos thams cad gnyis su 'dus= nyon mongs⁴²⁹ pa can gyi yid dang lhan [93:6] cig skyes pa'i yid gnyis su 'dus= nyon mongs pa'i yid kyang lhan cig skyes pa'i yid du 'dus gsung

nas 'ja' bzhin du [94:1] yal nas thal gsung=

yang sbrul zla'i nyi shu gsum gyi nub mo rmi lam na 'od phung cig gi nang na rnal 'byor pa phyag g-yas pas mda' [94:2] 'dzin pa bya byed thams cad g-yon pas byed pa zhig gi zhal nas= nga ni su yin ma shes na/ nga ni **sa ra ha** par grags/ zhes gsung= [94:3] 'o na gdams ngag cig zhu byas pa la=

mtha' bzhi dang⁴³⁰ bral na⁴³¹ lta⁴³² ba yin/
yengs pa med na bsgom pa yin/
dgag sgrub [94:4] med na spyod pa yin/
*spangs*⁴³³ thob med na 'bras bu yin/ gsung⁴³⁴ nas=

'ja' bzhin du yal nas gshegs gsung ngo⁴³⁵/

yang zla ba [94:5] de'i nyi shu bdun gyi nub mo rmi lam na= **dags lha sgam por** byon tsam na bla ma nyid kyi⁴³⁶ phyag na 'ja' tshon gyi sna⁴³⁷ zhig 'dug pa [94:6] de bsdog cing bzhud pas **dge 'phrang gi yang dgon** du byon tsam na bla ma **lha rje** dang mjal nas sngar gyi rmi lam rnams [95:1] bshad tsam na= bla ma'i zhal nas
chos thams cad rmi lam dang sgyu⁴³⁸ ma lta bur go bar gyis gsung
tsam na⁴³⁹ rnal sad [95:2] gsung/
rmi lam gyi le'u ste bcu gsum pa'o/

SW 95:2, CW 47b, SB 63:4 rin po che la bla ma gong ma rnams 'jig rten gar skyes zhus pa la=

bla ma **mar pa** [95:3] lho phyogs dpal gyi ri la nye ba'i **shrī nā ga ra**'i grong khyer du pañḍi tar sku 'khrungs= res rnal 'byor⁴⁴⁰ par yang mdzad nas 'gro ba [95:4] mang po'i don mdzad gsung=

bla ma **lha rje kha che** dang **rgya gar** gnyis kyi bar na **kar sna**⁴⁴¹ ba na grong khyer **padma can du zhi ba'i go** [95:6] **char** mtshan thogs= res dge slong gi cha byad/ res

⁴²⁷ *phyagys*, contraction of *phyag g-yas*.

⁴²⁸ *cang te'u* CW,SB : *lcang ti'u* SW. Corrected, SW reading unattested, *cang te'u*, "small handdrum."

⁴²⁹ *nyoongs*, condensed cursive of *nyon mongs*, Bacot 219.

⁴³⁰ *bzhinng*, prob. irregular contraction of *bzhi dang* (to arrive at the 7 syllables meter) : *bzhi dang* CW,SB (to arrive at 7 syllables meter *na* is deleted).

⁴³¹ *na* SW : [] CW,SB

⁴³² *lta* SW,SB : *blta* CW

⁴³³ *yangs* SW : *spangs* CW,SB. Corrected, prob. sribal error, context favors *spangs*, "give up"; *yangs*, "wide."

⁴³⁴ *gsung* SW,CW : *gsungs* SB

⁴³⁵ *gshegs gsung ngo* SW : *gshegs so* CW,SB. SW applies "direct speech" marker *gsung*, CW,SB do not.

⁴³⁶ *kyi* SW,SB : *kyis* CW

⁴³⁷ *sna* SW : *sne* CW,SB. Both forms correct, "end."

⁴³⁸ *sgyu ma* SW,CW : *rgyu ma* SB. Context favors *sgyu ma*, "illusion" and not *rgyu ma*, "intestines."

⁴³⁹ *na* SW,SB : [] CW

⁴⁴⁰ *rnol*, unattested condensed cursive of *rnal 'byor*, Bacot 368 *rnyor* or *rnor* : *rnal 'byor* CW,SB.

rnal 'byor par mdzad nas spyod pa du mas sems can gyi don mdzad do/ de na slob [95:6] ma bzhi bcu skyes nas snang gsung=

bla ma **lha rje** la sprul pa gsum yod do/ sprul pa ni nub phyogs **bde ba la bkod** [96:1] **pa**'i zhing khams na **dri med grags**⁴⁴² **par** mtshan thogs pas sems can byi⁴⁴³ ba tsam pa'i don mdzad=

yang sprul pa⁴⁴⁴ ni shar **mu tig bye bas** [96:2] **brgyan pa** na byang chub sems dpa' **dri med zla bar grags par** mtshan thogs pas rgyal po **grags pa mtha' yas** 'khor bcas dang sems can mang po'i [96:3] don mdzad=

grong khyer **padma can** du bla ma **lha rje** sku dngos yal nas ***rab 'byams**⁴⁴⁵ **stong** gi 'jig rten gyi khams na **a sho ka** zhes rab tu grags [96:4] gsung=

slob dpon **sgom pa**⁴⁴⁶ **rgya gar** nub phyogs gnas nyer bzhi'i ***ya**⁴⁴⁷ zhis yin pa'i yul **kong ka**⁴⁴⁸ bya bar sku 'khrungs mu stegs kyi rgyal po [96:5] brtul⁴⁴⁹ nas sems can mang po la phan=

slob dpon **shes rab byang chub ri bo bya rkang** gi zhol na bzhugs lo brgyad nas rab tu 'byung⁴⁵⁰ bsgrub pa yang mdzad= [96:6] 'gro ba mang po la yang phan gsung=

bla ma **spen phug pa la stod rtsang so**⁴⁵¹ **r dga' ba'i ye shes** bya bar mtshan thogs=

bla ma **dpal** [97:1] **chen po** ni byang phyogs kyi 'jig rten gyi khams **mu tig dra bas brgyan pa** na= **dpal gyi 'byung gnas sbas par** mtshan thogs [97:2] nas sems can mang po'i don mdzad/

slob dpon **kra ra ba cog ro 'bring** mtshams kyi **srib**⁴⁵² **ri na ye shes 'byung gnas grags par** mtshan thogs/ [97:3]

slob dpon **shar ba pa stag dur ba= dzam bu gling** gi nub phyogs zad pa na= grong khyer⁴⁵³ **bde ldan du grags pa mtha' yas** su mtshan thogs sems can bye [97:4] ba tsam gyi 'dren pa mdzad=

slob dpon **pa tshab lo *tsā**⁴⁵⁴ **ba kha che**'i grong khyer **drib bstan**⁴⁵⁵ gyi pha rol na pañḍi ta **rin chen 'byung gnas grags par** [97:5] mtshan thogs 'gro ba mang po'i⁴⁵⁶ smin grol mdzad=

bla ma **rdzong**⁴⁵⁷ **pa kha che dang nu che**'i mtshams na mngon par shes pa dang ldan sngar gyi phyag [97:6] rgya ma dang spyod pa mdzad cing sems can mang po'i don mdzad/

slob dpon **phya pa kha che**'i grong khyer **drib bstan**⁴⁵⁸ na pañḍi tar sku 'khrungs/

⁴⁴¹ *kar sna ba* SW : *kar rna ba* CW : *karnra ba* SB

⁴⁴² *grags pa* SW,CW : *grang pa* SB. Context favors *grags pa*, “reputation”; *grang ba*, “cold”

⁴⁴³ *bye* CW,SB : *byi or bye* SW. Context favors *bye*, Skt. *koṭi*, lit. “ten million”

⁴⁴⁴ *pa* SW,CW : [] SB

⁴⁴⁵ *rab 'byams* CW,SB : *rab 'byam* SW. Corrected, *rab 'byam* unattested, *rab 'byams*, J. “far spread.”

⁴⁴⁶ *sgom pa* SW,SB : *bsgom pa* CW

⁴⁴⁷ *ya* CW,SB : *yang* SW. Corrected, context favours *ya* which redundantly designates the number twenty-four.

⁴⁴⁸ *kong ka* SW : *kongka* CW,SB

⁴⁴⁹ *brtul* SW : *bltul* CW : *btul* SB. Word *bltul* unattested; GC *brtul* = *bsdus*, “gathered” (TC *brtul*, pf of *rtul ba* TDP); *btul ba*, J, pf of *'dul ba*, “tame.” Context allows both forms.

⁴⁵⁰ *'byung* SW : *byung* CW,SB

⁴⁵¹ *rtsang so* SW : *gtsang po* CW,SB. Uncorrected, possibly ancient spelling, Gtsang-po [river], on the spelling see fn. at passage SW 62:3.

⁴⁵² *srib ri* SW : *sribs ri* CW,SB

⁴⁵³ *groer*, condensed cursive of *grong khyer*, Bacot 90.

⁴⁵⁴ *lo tsā ba* SB : *lo tsa ba* SW,CW. Corrected, *lo tsā ba*, “translator.”

⁴⁵⁵ *drib bstan* SW : *grib gtan* CW,SB

⁴⁵⁶ *po'i* SW : *po* CW,SB

⁴⁵⁷ *rdzong* SW,CW : *rdzogs* SB. Rdzong, probably the most correct spelling, see fn. at passage SW 67:1.

bla ma **rngul**⁴⁵⁹ **chu** [98:1] ba de **rgya nag** gi⁴⁶⁰ **tong kun** gyi⁴⁶¹ rgyal po'i bur
 skyes rmi lam du **ri bo rtse lngar** zhal mjal</>⁴⁶²
 dge bshes **bzhu**⁴⁶³ **don mo ri pa dzam bu gling** zad pa'i [98:2] mtha' ri ⁴⁶⁴ **po ta**
la'i rtsa ⁴⁶⁵ na chos brda'i sgo nas gsung 'gro ba mang po'i don mdzad/
 bla ma **ras chung pa rgya gar bal po**'i bar na [98:3] mtshan ***ratna su kha**⁴⁶⁶r
 thogs nas spyod pa sna tshogs⁴⁶⁷ mdzad/
 slob dpon **shes rab rdo rje 'phan yul** rang na sku 'khrungs= **bka' gdams pa** la
 rten⁴⁶⁸ nas [98:4] bsgrub pa mdzad/
 slob dpon **'phags pa bal yul pham mthing** gi pha rol⁴⁶⁹ na rnal 'byor pa phyag
 rgya ma dang ldom bu mdzad/
 mkhan po **sa phug** [98:5] **pa rgya gar** shar phyogs na pañdi tar sku 'khrungs nas
 'gro ba mang po la phan gsung/
bal po'i pha rol **rgya gar** gyi tshur rol gyi ri [98:6] brag cig na **dpal ldan nag mo**
chen mo la sogs pa'i ma mo drug *cu* rtsa bzhi'i sku rang byung yod pa'i *sa*r⁴⁷⁰
 slob dpon **padma** thang re⁴⁷¹ [99:1] byon par 'dug= de'i dgongs⁴⁷² pa ni slob dpon
 gyis der ma byon na ma mo kun gyis sems can la gnod pa byed pa yin par 'dug [99:2]
 gsung/

rje btsun gyi zhal nas

yang dus tshod cig dus mtshungs pa'i sngon gyi **bram ze chen po***[]*'i⁴⁷³ rnal 'byor
 pa 'ga' dang bla ma **mid la** [99:3] dang= bla ma **lha rje** la sogs pa'i rgyud pa'i bla ma
 rnams dang tshogs 'khor zhis gi dus su mjal gsung /

yang rje btsun gyi zhal nas

byang chub [99:4] sems dpa' tha mal pa'i sems kyis gzhan don byed pa mthong /
 rgyal gyi gnas stan⁴⁷⁴ **dre**⁴⁷⁵ **chung pa de dpal phag tshang pa**'i skye ba yin=
rgya [99:5] **nag** dang **bal po** na yang de'i skye ba gnyis yod gsung /
 *mi nyag*⁴⁷⁶ gi rgyal po chen po de rnal 'byor pa **ma tang ki**'i skye ba yin= dgos
 pa ni [99:6] yab rgyal po la phan pa dang= rgyal khams de'i mi rnams bsod nams kyi
 las la bkod pa dang= rgyal po btsan pa la sogs te btson [100:1] mang po bkrol⁴⁷⁷ ba
 rnams ma 'ongs pa'i dus na gdul byar gyur pa yin gsung /

⁴⁵⁸ *drib bstan* SW : *grib gtan* CW,SB

⁴⁵⁹ *rngul* SW : *dngul* CW,SB

⁴⁶⁰ *gi* SW : [] CW,SB

⁴⁶¹ *gyi* SW : [] CW,SB

⁴⁶² /CW,SB : [] SW. Added *shad*, cf. application in sentences before and after.

⁴⁶³ *bzhu* SW : *gzhu* CW,SB

⁴⁶⁴ [] SW : *bo* CW,SB

⁴⁶⁵ [] SW,SB : *ba* CW

⁴⁶⁶ *ratna pu ka* SW : *ratna su ka* CW,SB. Corrected as Skt. *ratnasukha*.

⁴⁶⁷ *sna'ogs*, condensed cursive of *sna tshogs*, Bacot 372.

⁴⁶⁸ *rten* SW : *brten* CW,SB

⁴⁶⁹ *pha rol* SW,CW : *phrol* SB; no condensed cursive in SW,CW, unsolved condensed cursive in SB,
phrol, condensed cursive of *pha rol*, Bacot 396.

⁴⁷⁰ *sar* CW,SB : *par* SW. Corrected, context favors *sa*, "place."

⁴⁷¹ *thang re* SW : *thangs re* CW : *thengs re* SB. Attested is only *thang re*, J, "one after the other."

⁴⁷² *dgongs* SW : *dgos* CW. Context allows both forms.

⁴⁷³ *po* []'i CW,SB : *po la sogs pa*'i SW. Corrected, context favors CW,SB, prob. scribal error SW.

⁴⁷⁴ *gnastan*, contraction of *gnas stan* SW : *gnas brtan* CW,SB.

⁴⁷⁵ *dre* SW : *'dre* CW,SB

⁴⁷⁶ *mi nyag* SB : *me nyag* SW,CW. Corrected, *mi nyag* attested Das, a province of Khams.

⁴⁷⁷ *bkrol* SW,SB : *bkral* CW. CW *bkral*, pf of *'grel ba*, "comment", prob. scribal error, does not fit in context.

yang bla ma **lha rje**'i 'das mchod kyi dus na bla ma [100:2] **lha rje**'i slob ma bzhis sems can gyi don rlabs po che byed par mthong nas gad⁴⁷⁸ mo zhig shor bas dge bshes **shes rab**⁴⁷⁹ 'bum de ci yin 'dri= [100:3]

nub phyogs na **gser rkong ye shes snying po** dang= **ja zi sngon mo**= shar phyogs na **sgom pa**⁴⁸⁰ **zhi mdzes** dang= **dags po sog**⁴⁸¹ **sgom**⁴⁸² gnyis gsung=

yang bla [100:4] ma **lha rje**'i slob ma rin po che'i yang slob ma snga shos dge tshul zhig dang=

lho phyogs kyi 'jig rten na rgyal po **bde spyod bzang po**'i drung na [100:5] byang chub sems dpa'i spyod⁴⁸³ pa byed gsung /

smon lam bla ma khyed 'di nas tshe 'phos nas nub phyogs **padma can** du mkhan po **mnga' ris pa** tshe'i [100:6] *rig 'dzin⁴⁸⁴ thob pa de mkhan por 'gyur= sngon yang skye ba bzahir **padma can** du mkhan slob tu gyur te= skye ba 'di dang lngar par⁴⁸⁵ ma chad [101:1] par khyod rab byung byas gsung=

gzhu'i⁴⁸⁶ **gru bzhi** dgon pa na bzhugs dus su yon bdag kyang yin la slob ma yang [101:2] yin pa'i sgom⁴⁸⁷ chen zhig shi ba la rin po che'i zhal nas **sgom**⁴⁸⁸ **pa phy**a de **mdo khams** kyi smad 'dzam yul na skyes gsung /

phyis 'dzam [101:3] yul na byon dus na skye bo pho mo mang po phyag 'tshal du byung pa la bu tsha zhig bla ma la mi 'jigs par gzhan gyi phyag rten kun blang⁴⁸⁹ [101:4] cing⁴⁹⁰ 'bul ba zhig byung= rin po che'i zhal nas **phy**a rgan gyi skye ba 'di yin gsung /

phyis bu tsha de *mgon po⁴⁹¹ 'i zla la bros nas [101:5] **gnas nang** du byung= de⁴⁹² btsun pa byas gdams ngag bstan nas <bsgoms pas>⁴⁹³ sgom chen *zhig⁴⁹⁴ byung pa la= 'dzam skye ba gsum par grags so/

gnas [101:6] **nang** nas yos bu lo la yar byon nas sbas yul **sag tir** bzhugs dus su= *grwa pa* zhal lnga⁴⁹⁵ btsun pa zhig shi ba'i grogs pos gar [102:1] skyes zhus pa la= **gtsang**⁴⁹⁶ **rong** na *ram ston⁴⁹⁷ **dar ma grags** kyi bur skyes gsung /

phyis **dbus** su byon dus na phag lo la *grwa pa* 'ga' **brtsang**⁴⁹⁸ [102:2] na bsod snyoms la song pas **ram ston dar ma grags** dris nas= de'i grong du phyin pa la de la bu lo bgyad pa

⁴⁷⁸ gad SW,SB : rgad CW. Context favors gad, "laugh", not rgad, "old."

⁴⁷⁹ sher, condensed cursive of shes rab, cf. Roloff, 65; Bacot 648 requires sreb or sheb for shes rab.

⁴⁸⁰ sgom pa SW : bsgom pa CW,SB

⁴⁸¹ sog SW,CW : sogs SB

⁴⁸² sgom SW : bsgom CW,SB

⁴⁸³ spyod SW,SB : spyad CW

⁴⁸⁴ rig 'dzin CW,SB : rigs 'dzin SW. Corrected, rig 'dzin attested (J), Vidyādhara.

⁴⁸⁵ lngar par SW : lnga bar CW : lngar bar SB

⁴⁸⁶ gzhu 'i SW : gzhu yi CW,SB

⁴⁸⁷ sgom SW : bsgom CW,SB

⁴⁸⁸ sgom SW : bsgom CW,SB

⁴⁸⁹ blang SW : blangs CW,SB. Uncorrected, though context favors pf blangs of len pa, "take", above ft blang.

⁴⁹⁰ cing SW : nas CW,SB

⁴⁹¹ mgon po CW,SB : 'dron po SW. Corrected, 'dron po unattested; mgon po, Das, "guest."

⁴⁹² de SW : der CW,SB

⁴⁹³ bsgoms pas CW,SB : [] SW. Added, "meditated", useful addition, only instruction is not enough.

⁴⁹⁴ cig SW. Corrected, Hahn, 42, -n zhig.

⁴⁹⁵ zhalnga, contraction of zhal lnga SW : zha snga 'i CW,SB.

⁴⁹⁶ gtsang SW : rtsang CW,SB

⁴⁹⁷ ram ston CW,SB : ra ston SW. Corrected, one line later ram ston (SW,CW,SB)

⁴⁹⁸ brtsang SW : rtsang CW,SB. Uncorrected, see earlier fn. rtsang (here brtsang), prob. ancient writing of Gtsang, West-Tibet.

zhig 'dug pas sngar rin po ches [102:3] gsungs pa'i dus tshod dang mthun pas grong pa thams cad ngo mtshar du gyur to/

shar ba na bzhugs dus su **cang ma nam mkha' 'bar** gyi nu [102:4] bo shi ba zhig sum cu rtsa gsum na lha longs spyod can zhi gnas yod pa gcig tu skyes zin gsung⁴⁹⁹= gzhan gyi 'chi 'pho dang [102:5] skye ba mkhyen pa'i le'u ste bcu bzhi pa'o/

SW 102:5-6, CW 51b, SB 68:4 rin po ches **gru bzhi dang ngos bzangs**⁵⁰⁰ su bzhugs dus su= tshems las ring bsrel mchod rten [102:6] rdo rje 'dra ba dang tsha tsha 'dra ba dbyibs dang kha dog sna tshogs byon= gzhan gyi rkyen gyis 'phel ba dang gshegs pa la sogs pa yang byung= khyad par [103:1] du **he ru ka** dang **rnal 'byor ma** dang ***kha sar pā ṅi**⁵⁰¹ gsum byon=

gnas nang du tshems dang phyag gi dpung pa las *ring bsrel⁵⁰² dpag tu med [103:2] pa byon= sbas yul la⁵⁰³

sag ter spyang bsnyung bas dbu'i rtsa gtar ba'i sku *mtshal⁵⁰⁴ las ring bsrel mang po byon=

'bri klung gi [103:3] **che bar** du bla mas sku chab btsags pa'i 'dam pa mi gnyis kyis khyer nas tshags byas pa la mi zhig gi rmi lam na 'dam pa'i nang [103:4] na ring bsrel yod zer ba rmis nas 'dam⁵⁰⁵ pa chu sigs byas pas ring bsrel bzhi byon= de'i gtam rgyud rin po ches gsan nas mi de khrid [103:5] la shog gsung⁵⁰⁶ nas gdams ngag bstan pas dge sbyor bzang po byung=

gzhan yang smin mtshams dang phyag zhabs dang zhal mchil dang kun [103:6] la la las gsol ba btab kyang byon pa dang la la la byon nas phar nub pa yang byung= snang ba dag pa la dag snang du snang la= [104:1] the tshom can kun gyi log rtog bsal ba'i phyir yang sna tshogs byung ngo/

skam po gnas nang du dge bshes gnyis dang *grwa pa* 'gas dbang bskur [104:2] zhus pa'i cho ga'i skabs su⁵⁰⁷ dge bshes shig⁵⁰⁸ bla ma **rdo rje rnal 'byor mar** mthong nas grogs de la bstan=

yang **'dzam ston sangs rgyas** kyis tshogs mchod [104:3] kyi gral du rin po che **bde mchog he ru kar** gzigs gsung /

yang bla ma **lha rje**'i 'das mchod byed pa'i mchod gral du rin po che bzhugs [104:4] pa la **dbus** pa bsgom chen zhig gis **thugs rje chen po** phyag stong spyang stong sku mdog ser po gcig tu mthong pas⁵⁰⁹ nam ma langs [104:5] kyi bar du phyag brtsal⁵¹⁰= bsgom chen de bsod nams skyes nas bla ma bsam yas par grags so=

'dzam yul so phug⁵¹¹ **'dzam** btsun zhig [104:6] gis bla ma la gdams ngag zhus pa'i snang ba la rin po che **jo bo yi ge**⁵¹² **drug par** mthong nas

⁴⁹⁹ gsung SW,CW : gsungs SB

⁵⁰⁰ bzangs SW,SB : bzungs CW

⁵⁰¹ kha sar pā ṅi CW,SB : kharsa pa ṅi SW. Corrected, Skt. Khasarpāni, cp. *Deities Tib. Buddh.*, No. 112-4, 436.

⁵⁰² ring bsrel CW : ring srel SW. Corrected J.

⁵⁰³ la SW : [] CW,SB

⁵⁰⁴ mtshal CW,SB : 'tshal SW. Corrected, mtshal, resp. for khrag, "blood."

⁵⁰⁵ 'dam pa SW,SB : 'dams pa CW

⁵⁰⁶ shogsung, contraction of shog gsung.

⁵⁰⁷ skabsu, contraction of skabs su.

⁵⁰⁸ [] SW : gis CW,SB

⁵⁰⁹ pas SW : bas CW,SB

⁵¹⁰ brtsal SW : 'tshal CW : btsal SB. Verb (phyag) 'tshal ba, "salute", context favors pf brtsal.

⁵¹¹ [] SW : du CW : tu SB

⁵¹² yige, contraction of yi ge.

yi ge drug pas yi ge drug pa⁵¹³ i mngon rtogs bzlas [105:1] lung yan chad gsungs pa'i snang ba byung pas dad pa thob nas bsgoms pas **dza *ne***⁵¹³ **sgom**⁵¹⁴ **bzang** zhes grags so/

yang dgon pa [105:2] der ston zla ra ba'i nya la bla ma'i 'das mchod byed pa'i mchod gral du btsun pa bgres po zhig gi snang ba la rin po che **bcom ldan 'das**⁵¹⁵ **shākya thub** [105:3] **pa** gdan seng ge'i khri la bzhugs nas chos gsung ba'i snang ba byung=

lung smad mda' na byon dus su **rtswa spyil pa**⁵¹⁶ i *grwa pa* rnam kyis [105:4] dbang bskur zhus pa'i cho ga'i skabs su bla ma **lhas**⁵¹⁷= rin po che la **rdo rje 'chang** du gzigs gsung= de'i nub gnyis pa la **rdo rje rnal 'byor mar** gzigs= [105:5] nub gsum pa la rje btsun **te lo par** gzigs gsung=

zla bstod⁵¹⁸ **khar sa** na byon dus su **zla stod** kyid dpon thams cad der 'tshogs= de'i dus su **khar sa** [105:6] na rab gnas zhus pas rten 'brel zlos pa'i skabs su tshogs pa thams cad mthong snang 'thun par gdung rten chen po zhig gi bum pa la= rin po che nyid kyid [106:1] sku gcig dang= **shākya thub pa** i sku gcig dang= gnyis byon pas thams cad ngo mtshar du gyur= khyad par du **cham**⁵¹⁹ **bu dpon rings** dad pa skyes= bsgoms⁵²⁰ [106:2] pas sgom⁵²¹ byung ba'i phyed mar la nas khal brgya 'bul ba byas so⁵²²/

mtshur phu dgon par **gtsang**⁵²³ **pa tshul seng** gis dbang bskur⁵²⁴ zhus [106:3] pa'i snang ba la rin po che **dgyes pa rdo rje**⁵²⁵ zhal brgyad phyag bcu drug pa'i thugs ka nas 'od zer byung pas⁵²⁶ dbang bskur ba'i *grwa pa* zhig⁵²⁷ [106:4] 'dug la 'od zer gyi sna zug pa'i snang ba phyis gnyid ma log gi bar du byung gsung /

'bri klung gi lce⁵²⁸ **bar** du dge 'dun mang po [106:5] gral mdzad pa'i dbu la rin po che bzhugs pa la sngags pa zhig gis phyag 'tshal bar 'dod pa la rin po che ma mthong nye gnas kun gyis bstan [106:6] kyang ma mthong= jo bo **byang chub** kyis bstan kyang ma mthong nas jo bo **byang chub** yi mug skyes nas spyen chab byung= dge 'dun yon mchod [107:1] thams cad ngo mtshar du gyur to/

karma⁵²⁹ **'dan ma** zhig phyag 'tshal du 'dod nas yang dgon du 'ongs pa la rin po che ma [107:2] mthong nas bla ma bzhugs pa⁵³⁰ na mchod rten dkar po zhig mthong nas phyir log nas song=

sa mdor gro ldo ston btsun bya ba'i [107:3] **bka' gdams pas** stag lpags shig thogs nas phyag 'tshal du 'ongs pa la rin po che ma mthong= rogs kun gyis phyag 'tshal khams dri byas kyang khos [107:4] ma mthong= yun rings min⁵³¹ par ma thong⁵³²=

⁵¹³ *ne* CW,SB : *ne..* or *nī* unclear SW. Corrected cf CW,SB

⁵¹⁴ *sgom* SW : *bsgom* CW,SB

⁵¹⁵ *bcdoMs*, condensed cursive of *bcom ldan 'das*, Bacot 164.

⁵¹⁶ *pa* SW : *ba* CW,SB. Problematic, grammar favors *ba*, but in case of a person's name *pa* makes sense.

⁵¹⁷ *lhas* SW,SB : *ltas* CW

⁵¹⁸ *bstod* SW : *stod* CW,SB

⁵¹⁹ *cham* SW,CW : *tsham* SB

⁵²⁰ *bsgoms* SW,SB : *bsgom* CW

⁵²¹ *sgom* SW : *bsgom* CW,SB

⁵²² *byaso*, contraction of *byas so*.

⁵²³ *gtsang* SW,SB : *rtsang* CW

⁵²⁴ *dbang bskur* SW,CW : *dbang skur* SB. Attested *dbang bskur*, J, "initiation."

⁵²⁵ *rdor*, read as condensed cursive of *rdo rje*, Bacot 331 *rdoe*.

⁵²⁶ *pas* SW : *bas* CW,SB.

⁵²⁷ *cig* (>*zhig*) SW : *ci* CW,SB

⁵²⁸ *lce* SW,SB : *we* CW

⁵²⁹ *karma* SW : *kar mar* CW,SB

⁵³⁰ *pa* SW : *sa* CW,SB

gnas nang na⁵³³ bzhugs dus su **gnas nang** gi shar phyogs na nyi *ma*⁵³⁴ bzhi'i sa tsam na 'dzam [107:5] **ston sangs rgyas** dgon pa na 'dug pa'i snang ba la rin po che zhabs rjen du byon pa la **ston pas** phyag 'tshal khams dri byas nas gdan bshams⁵³⁵ pa'i [107:6] tshe bla ma mi snang bar gyur te/

yang sa thag ring ba zhig na slob ma zhig nad kyis zug rngus gdungs nas bla ma la gsol [108:1] < >⁵³⁶ ba btab pa la byon nas byin rlabs mdzad pas nad pa'i sdug bsngal⁵³⁷ zhi nas bla ma [108:2] de nyid du ma dmigs so/

'bri klung gi ldong nga 'gra⁵³⁸ na bzhugs dus su **tre rakta**'i bar **dben pa** sgom⁵³⁹ chen zhig gis gsol ba btab pa'i [108:3] snang ba la rin po che byon nas chos gsungs nas 'ja' bzhin du yal nas thal gsung /

mtshur phu dgon pa na bzhugs dus su **tre bo** [108:4] bsgom chen zhig nad kyis shin tu sdug bsngal nas bla ma la gsol ba btab pa la= de nyid du byon nas zhabs dbang mdzad pa la= des phyag 'tshal [108:5] bar brtsams pa la phyag 'tshal mi dgos khyod la nad kyis bar chad mi 'ong⁵⁴⁰ gsung⁵⁴¹ nas 'ja' bzhin yal nas thal gsung /

yang dge bshes [108:6] **sum pas dgyes pa rdo rje** du gzigs= slob dpon **dbra ston** gyis 'od kha dog lngar re mos gzigs= slob dpon **sangs rgyas** kyis⁵⁴² **zhal gcig ma**'i byin rlabs [109:1] zhus dus su zhal nas 'od 'phros⁵⁴³ zhing nam mkha' la bzhugs pa gzigs= phyis 'das nas kyang zhal yang yang [109:2] gzigs=

rin po che 'gro don la yul **khams** nas **dbus** su⁵⁴⁴ byon pas= **stod lungs**⁵⁴⁵ **mtshur phu**⁵⁴⁶ dgon pa lha lung na bzhugs dus su=

bya lo'i [109:3] dbyar zla ra ba'i nyin zhig rin po che'i zhal nas= mdang rgya gar gyi dur khrod⁵⁴⁷ cig na **rgya gar** gyi rnal 'byor pa 'ga'i tshogs gral du byon pa [109:4] rmis gsung=

de dang dus mtshungs par **rtsang**⁵⁴⁸ **la stod thang bcu**⁵⁴⁹ zhes bya ba'i gtsug lag khang na **rtsang**⁵⁵⁰ pa ston pa zhig thang ba [109:5] 'drub cing 'dug tsam na= de'i snang ba la a tsa ra

⁵³¹ rings men SW : rings min CW : ring men SB. J, rings sometimes for ring.

⁵³² thong SW : mthong CW, SB

⁵³³ na SW, CW : nas SB

⁵³⁴ nyi ma CW, SB : nyi la SW. Corrected, nyi ma, "day" of travelling.

⁵³⁵ bshams SW, SB : gshams CW. TC, vb gshom pa, pf bshams, "prepare", gshams unattested.

⁵³⁶ At this point we find in SW: ba gdan bshams pa'i tshe bla ma mi snang bar gyur te, with dots above, prob. correction dots. An identical passage is found at the end of SW 107: 5-6. Here, the second appearing of the passage has been deleted, indicated as < >; also CW and SB omit the passage.

⁵³⁷ sdul, condensed cursive of sdug bsngal, Bacot 336.

⁵³⁸ 'gra SW, SB : 'gram CW

⁵³⁹ sgom SW : bsgom CW, SB

⁵⁴⁰ mi 'ong SW, SB : mi 'ongs CW. Context plus grammar (mi), favor ft 'ong, "come."

⁵⁴¹ gsung SW, CW : gsungs SB. Context favors direct speech marker gsung.

⁵⁴² kyis SW, CW : kyi SB

⁵⁴³ 'phros SW : 'phro CW, SB. Verb 'pro ba, "radiate", pf 'phros fits well in trans.

⁵⁴⁴ dbusu, contraction of dbus su.

⁵⁴⁵ stod lungs SW : stod lung CW, SB

⁵⁴⁶ mtshur phu SW : mtshur gyi CW, SB

⁵⁴⁷ druod, condensed cursive of dur khrod, Bacot 289.

⁵⁴⁸ rtsang SW, CW : gtsang SB

⁵⁴⁹ thang bcu SW : thang cung CW, SB

⁵⁵⁰ rtsang SW, CW : gtsang SB

ras kyang⁵⁵¹ gyon pa lag na thod pa thogs pa gsum dang **bod** kyi rnal 'byor pa ras rkyang [109:6] pa⁵⁵² gyon pa rkang rjen du 'dug pa lag na ka pā la dang sba ber⁵⁵³ ma cag⁵⁵⁴ thogs pa dung gi rna rgyan yod pa lo drug cu lon [110:1] pa'i tshod cig dang bzhi byon= de nas **bod** de dang ston pa gnyis bla 'o⁵⁵⁵ byon mang du byas=

khyed gang nas byon dris pas=

nged kyis⁵⁵⁶ **rdo rje gdan** nas [110:2] 'ongs **kha che** nas **su ra pa** ltar lam

*phyung*⁵⁵⁷ gsung=

rgya gar la ci la byon byas pa la

rdo rje gdan gyi dus mchod la phyin zer=

'o [110:3] na bya lo'i mchod pa'i dus su grub thob mang po byon pa yin zer na khyed dang 'ga' re mjal lam⁵⁵⁸ zhus pa la⁵⁵⁹

nged kyis 'di ltar [110:4] thos gsung=

de'i dus su **rgya gar** lho phyogs **dzā lan dha ra**⁵⁶⁰ i grong khyer na rgyal po **zla ba**⁵⁶¹

rnam par gnong pas ha ha bsgrogs⁵⁶² pa'i dur khrod du [110:5] tshogs kyi 'khor lo

byas nas grub thob mngon shes dang rdzu 'phrul⁵⁶³ mnga' ba rnams la gsol ba btab pa

la **rgya gar** gyi grub thob bzhi byon [110:6] grub thob chen po mī tra dzo gi⁵⁶⁴ na re=

bod kyi gnyis byon pa dang drug byon gsung

rgya gar dang **bod** kyi grub thob gang lags dris pas=

rgya gar [111:1] gyi **indra bo dhi**⁵⁶⁵ = **dzā lan dha ra ba**⁵⁶⁶ = **nag po spyod pa ba=**

shing lo pa bzhi yin= **bod** kyi gnyis ni⁵⁶⁷ **dharma kīrti** dang **dharma shī la** yin

[111:2] gsung=

de gnyis ji tsug lags zhus pa las⁵⁶⁸

dharma shī la ni **chos kyi tshul khirms** bya ba 'chi med grub pa'i gdams ngag yod

pa yin te= [111:3] **mnga' ris** stod na bzhugs lha khang cig mdzad pa la brten te sems

can gyi don mdzad=

shri dharma kīrti ni **bod** skad du **dpal chos kyi grags** [111:4] **pa** zhes bya ba lam

rtsa dang rlung la brten nas⁵⁶⁹ phyag rgya chen po gcig chod kyi gdams ngag yod de

⁵⁵¹ kyang SW : rkyang CW,SB

⁵⁵² pa SW : [] CW,SB

⁵⁵³ sba ber, see J. under spa, spa ber, "walking cane."

⁵⁵⁴ ma cag SW : ma lbag CW : ma lcag SB. Problematic, read as ma chags, "non-attachment."

⁵⁵⁵ bla 'o byon mang du byas pa. Problematic, Gold, bla 'og byas pa, (Gold.), "high and low, up and down"; context indicates the trans. "engaged in a conversation."

⁵⁵⁶ kyis SW : [] CW,SB

⁵⁵⁷ phyung CW,SB : phung or phyung unclear SW. Corrected, based on CW,SB

⁵⁵⁸ mjalM, contraction of mjal lam.

⁵⁵⁹ zhus pa la SW,SB : zhus pas CW

⁵⁶⁰ dzā lan dha ra ba SW : dzā la ndha ra CW : dzā landha ra SB. Read as Dzā-lan-dha-ra, Skt. Jālandhara.

⁵⁶¹ ba SW,SB : bar CW

⁵⁶² bsgrogs SW : sgrog CW,SB

⁵⁶³ rdzuul, condensed cursive of rdzu 'phrul, Bacot 544.

⁵⁶⁴ mī tra dzo gi SW : mi tra dzo gi CW,SB. Understood as corruption of Skt. mitrayogin, "yogin-guide."

⁵⁶⁵ bo dhi SW,SB : bod hi CW

⁵⁶⁶ dzā lan dha ra ba SW : dzā landha ra pa CW,SB

⁵⁶⁷ ni SW,SB : yin CW

⁵⁶⁸ las SW : la CW,SB

⁵⁶⁹ brtens, contraction of brten nas, compare Roloff, 59, brtenas > brten nas.

bod yul *gyi*⁵⁷⁰ smad na bzhugs= yongs su grags pa'i [111:5] mtshan ni **bla ma dbu se** zhes bya ba yin= nged kyang der 'gro ba yin gsung=

ston pa'i zhal nas **bla ma dbu se** de sku snyan pa shin tu [111:6] che bas nga yang der 'gro bsam pa la sku nas su⁵⁷¹ byon gshegs pa'i dus yin zer bas chos ma tshar gyis⁵⁷² dogs nas 'gro 'dug gang yang [112:1] ma red the tshom dang bcas par gyur to=

zhes byas pa la rnal 'byor pa de'i zhal nas= **bzang spyod smon**⁵⁷³ **lam** ma gzigs sam⁵⁷⁴/

gdul bya⁵⁷⁵ gang zhig [112:2] cig tsam gyi/
don du thub pas bskal par bzhugs/
de yang myur du smin mdzad de/
drod gsher ldan pa'i myu gu⁵⁷⁶ bzhin/

bya ba yin [112:3] te sangs rgyas dang byang chub sems dpa' rnam sems can gyi don la gzhan gyis gsol ba btab na bskal par yang bzhugs par bshad pa yin gyis⁵⁷⁷= mos gus [112:4] dang mi 'bral bar gyis la myur du song dang ci nas kyang chos tshar nas 'ong gsung=

de nyid du dga' ba khyad par can skyes nas= rnal 'byor pa [112:5] de la gdams ngag cig zhu byas pa la rnal 'byor pa de bzhengs nas thal bas a tsa ra zhig gi rtsa na= *gro ga*⁵⁷⁸ la yi ge bris nas shog dril [112:6] byas pa zhig bslangs nas ston pa la bshad pas dad pa khyad par can⁵⁷⁹ skyes pas de'i dpe yang byin nas= 'di **rnam bzhi rgyud grol dang byin rlabs** [113:1] **nus 'don** gyi gdams ngag shin tu zab pa yin pas mi la ma⁵⁸⁰ bstan par zung⁵⁸¹ zhig dang

phyis kyang nga dang phrad de 'ong [113:2] gsung bas bka' rgya dam par mdzad

de nas ston pa brang khang du bzhud nas phyi⁵⁸² nang chos ston drang tshis⁵⁸³ byas pas⁵⁸⁴ phyi⁵⁸⁵ nang bos tsam na [113:3] lha gnyer na re khyod⁵⁸⁶ rang song ba'i rting la rnal 'byor pa kun yang song zer=

der phyogs kun du mi btang nas 'drir bcug pa la thos [113:4] mthong med de lta bu *'grim*⁵⁸⁷ ma myong zhes thams cad smra skad= ston pa nges shes khyad par can skyes nas **dbus** na mar bla ma de'i drung du 'ong ba'i [113:5] sdogs byas nas=

⁵⁷⁰ gyi CW,SB : kyi SW. Corrected, grammar, Hahn, 79, - l gyi.

⁵⁷¹ su SW : [] CW,SB. Both possible, su, "someone", interrogative determiner as indefinite determ., Beyer, 360.

⁵⁷² gyis SW : gyi CW,SB

⁵⁷³ smon SW,SB : sman CW

⁵⁷⁴ gzigsM, contraction of gzigs sam.

⁵⁷⁵ gduly, condensed cursive of gdul bya, Roloff, 63.

⁵⁷⁶ myugu, contraction of myu gu.

⁵⁷⁷ gyis SW : te CW,SB

⁵⁷⁸ gro ga CW,SB : gro ba SW. Corrected, gro ga, J, bark of a birch tree; gro ba, unattested.

⁵⁷⁹ khyadrn, condensed cursive of khyad par can, compare Bacot 46, khyadr>khyad par.

⁵⁸⁰ la ma bstan SW,SB : lam bstan CW. Context clearly favors ma as negation part.

⁵⁸¹ zung SW : zungs CW,SB. Both forms attested, J, as imp. of 'dzin pa, "keep."

⁵⁸² phyi nang SW : phyr nang CW,SB. Context favors phyi nang, "out- and inside."

⁵⁸³ tshis SW : rtsis CW,SB. J, tshis prob. secondary form of rtsis, "reckon."

⁵⁸⁴ pas SW,SB : [] CW

⁵⁸⁵ phyi nang SW : phyr nang CW,SB, see fn. above.

⁵⁸⁶ khyod SW : khyed CW,SB

khyi lo'i dbyar zla 'bring po la **stod lungs**⁵⁸⁸ **mtshur phu**'i dgon par byon= des⁵⁸⁹ nas bla ma rin po che la dbang dang byin rlabs [113:6] dang gdams ngag zhus nas dbyar mtshams mdzad cing bsgrub pa byas=

nam zla ston sngar gyi lo⁵⁹⁰ rgyus bla mas *grwa pa* 'ga' re la tho re tsam [114:1] bshad nas gda' skad pa la=

gong gi rnal 'byor pa bzhi po de 'dir byon nam⁵⁹¹ dri bsam pas= khyod kyi⁵⁹² de sang tsam byas pas chog gsung⁵⁹³ der zhu ma spobs so⁵⁹⁴/ [114:2]

phyis **rtsang** pa ston pas da ni nges par the tshom med par bya dgos snyam nas **khams** pa'i *grwa pa* **dpon grags seng** gi⁵⁹⁵ khyim du tshogs mchod [114:3] cig bshams nas= **rje btsun pa** gdan drangs nas bla ma **stag**⁵⁹⁶ **de'u ba**= dge bshes **dkon mchog seng ge bsgom pa tshul khrims rgyal po** la sogs pa'i *grwa pa*= [114:4] rgan shos bcu tsam bos nas

de'i tshogs gral du= rin po che la⁵⁹⁷ sngar gyi mjal lugs rnams gsung bar zhu ba'i gsol ba drag tu⁵⁹⁸ btab [114:5] pas= rje btsun gyis gong gi mjal lugs rnams ston pa dang mthun⁵⁹⁹ par *mdzub*⁶⁰⁰ tshugs su gsung bas thams cad ngo mtshar du gyur to/

de nas [114:6] a tsa ra gsum po ji tsug lags zhus pas= rje btsun gyi zhal nas

indra bo dhi bar pa dang **shing lo pa** dang **nag po spyod pa ba** dang [115:1] gsum yin= khyod la gdams ngag bshad mi de nga⁶⁰¹ yin= gdams ngag de **rnam bzhi rgyud grol byin rlabs nus 'don** bya ba slob dpon **indra**⁶⁰² **bo** [115:2] **dhi** la zhus pa yin= **rgya gar** gyi dur khrod du tshogs 'khor byas pa'i tshogs dpon ni **nag po spyod pa ba** yin= khyed⁶⁰³ skye ba bzhi'i slob ma yin [115:3] da res dang lnga mjal the tshom bcad nas bsgom la gzhug pa⁶⁰⁴, i phyir phyin pa yin= chos nyan bshad byed pa yang bzang po yin [115:4] te chos brgyad kyi zhac cig yod= bsgom du 'ongs pa legs da res ma mjal na nyan bshad la 'byos⁶⁰⁵ nas 'gro gsung=

bla ma **stag** [115:5] **de'u bas** skye ba bzhi ji ltar mjal zhus pas=

sngon **rgya gar** na mgar ba **ratna shrī** bya bar skyes pa'i dus na nga yis sems bskyed pa'i [115:6] slob ma yin= de'i rjes la gling 'di nyid kyi byang phyogs **re ba na** bya bar skyes dus na nga'i mkhan bu yin= de nas **lus 'phags por me** [116:1] **tog pa shes rab bzang por skyes chos drug thun pradznyā**'i gdams ngag bya ba *nyan*⁶⁰⁶=

⁵⁸⁷ 'drim SW : 'grim CW,SB. Corrected, 'drim unattested, 'grim, "walk."

⁵⁸⁸ lungs SW : lung CW,SB

⁵⁸⁹ des na SW : de na CW,SB. Both forms possible, de nas, "consequently", de na, "where."

⁵⁹⁰ lo rgyus SW,SB : [] rgyus CW

⁵⁹¹ byonM, contraction of byon nam.

⁵⁹² kyi SW,SB : kyis CW

⁵⁹³ chogsung, contraction of chog gsung.

⁵⁹⁴ spobso, contraction of spobs so.

⁵⁹⁵ gi SW,CW : ge SB. Context favors genitive.

⁵⁹⁶ stag de'u ba SW,CW : sta de'u ba SB. Compare spelling SW 116: 3, stag de'u ba SW,CW,SB

⁵⁹⁷ la SW,SB : [] CW

⁵⁹⁸ drag tu SW,CW : drag du SB. Attested, drag tu, "strongly."

⁵⁹⁹ dang mthun SW : 'thun CW,SB. Context, dang mthun, "-like", makes sense.

⁶⁰⁰ mdzub CW,SB : 'dzug SW. Corrected, 'dzug unattested, mdzub, "finger."

⁶⁰¹ mi de nga SW,SB : mi deng CW. Expression, mi de nga, "I was that person", fits in context.

⁶⁰² indra bo dhi SW,CW : intra SB. Indrabodhi as Intra..., unattested.

⁶⁰³ khyed SW : khyod CW,SB

⁶⁰⁴ gzhug pa SW,CW : bzugs pa SB. Both forms make sense, gzhug pa, "to lead to", bzugs pa, "to abide in."

⁶⁰⁵ nyan bshad la 'byos SW : 'byams CW,SB

⁶⁰⁶ nyan SB : mnyan SW,CW. Corrected, J, mnyan = nyan, "listen."

skye ba 'di'i gong mar **rgya gar** du mtha' 'khob⁶⁰⁷ rgya [116:2] mtsho'i 'gram na
bram ze **rgyal ba shes rab** bya bar skyes pa⁶⁰⁸ ngas dbang bzhi rdzogs par bskur bstan
bcos la mkhas= bsgom la yang bag chags [116:3] bzhag pas da ltar⁶⁰⁹ bsgom pa⁶¹⁰ la
nges shes skye sla bar 'byung⁶¹¹ ba yin gsung=

yang bla ma **stag de'u bas** rje btsun la⁶¹² sprul pa du mas 'gro don [116:4] mdzad pa yin par
'dug na ding sang⁶¹³ 'jig rten gyi khams na sprul pa du *bzhugs*⁶¹⁴ zhus pa la= rje btsun gyi
zhal nas

lar nges pa med [116:5] de 'on kyang sprul pa bzhis sems can gyi don byed pa 'dra=
mnga' ris kyi pha rol **kha che**'i tshur rol **su**⁶¹⁵ **rig** bya ba'i grong khyer zhig na
[116:6] gnas bzhengs nas sngar gyi slob ma **ldan**⁶¹⁶ **chung** shi ba der skyes pa'i don
du dge slong **dge ba'i blo gros**⁶¹⁷ zhes bya bas sems can gyi don byed/ [117:1]

yang **bal bod** gnyis kyi mtshams **lan de** bya ba na bla ma **bai ro**'i dgon pa na rten
*dge bsnyen*⁶¹⁸ **chos kyi grags pa** zhes bya ba [117:2] chos brda'i tshul du gsungs
nas sems can gyi don byed=

rgya gar lho phyogs na rten rnal 'byor pa yin snang ba dag pas **thugs rje chen por**
yang gzigs= [117:3] la las **thugs rje chen po** rang yang⁶¹⁹ zer ba yang yod lar nges
med du bzhugs=

shar phyogs kyi 'jig rten gyi khams na grub thob rgyal po'i cha [117:4] byad can
grags pa mtha' yas zhes bya ba rgyal khams de rgyal po min pas mi 'dul bas 'gro ba
mang po la phan pa yin gsung= [117:5]

de la sogs pa gzhan gyis gsol ba btab pa'i sar nye ring med par byon pa la grangs
med do/

skam po⁶²⁰ **gnas nang** du bzhugs dus su [117:6] dpon yon bdag **dgon pa bas** lha khang gi
rab gnas la spyang drangs nas rab gnas mdzad dus su me tog la rten 'brel bzlos⁶²¹ pa'i skabs
[118:1] su de'i gnyer pa dpon **bsgom rdo rje** gyi⁶²² snang ba la me tog gi nas rang 'thor la
'gro zhing rten kun la phog par mthong nas gzhan la [118:2] bstan pas thams cad ngo mtshar
du gyur to/

yang **gnas nang** gi lho phyogs nyi ma gsum gyi sa⁶²³ na dge bshes **shākya bal po ham**
rngu⁶²⁴ **dkar po**'i slob ma **nā** [118:3] **ro pa**'i yang slob kyi rnal 'byor pa chen po zhig gi rin
po che spyang drangs nas rab gnas mdzad dus su=

⁶⁰⁷ *mtha' 'khob* SW,CW : *mtha' khob* SB. Attested, Das, *mtha' 'khob*, "border."

⁶⁰⁸ *pa* SW : [] CW,SB

⁶⁰⁹ *da ltar* SW : *da lta* CW,SB

⁶¹⁰ *pa* SW : [] CW,SB

⁶¹¹ *'byung* SW : *byung* CW,SB

⁶¹² *la* SW : *pa* CW,SB. J, "to ask somebody", vb *zhu ba* goes with *la*.

⁶¹³ *ding sang* SW,CW : *deng sang* SB. Das, both forms attested, "nowadays."

⁶¹⁴ *bzhugs* CW,SB : *bzhug* SW. Corrected, *bzhugs*, "be present"; *bzhug*, unattested.

⁶¹⁵ *su* SW,SB : *pu* CW

⁶¹⁶ *ldan* SW : *'dan* CW,SB

⁶¹⁷ *bloos*, condensed cursive of *blo gros*, Bacot 446.

⁶¹⁸ *dge bsnyen* CW,SB : *dge snyen* SW. Corrected, *dge bsnyen* attested, J. "layman."

⁶¹⁹ *yang* SW : *yin* CW,SB

⁶²⁰ *skam po* CW,SB : *kam po* SW. Corrected, *kam po*, pronunciation spelling of Skam-po (Gnas-gnang).

⁶²¹ *bzlos* SW : *zlos* CW,SB. J, *bzlos*, pf of *zla ba/zlo ba*, "express; TC, only *zlos* is correct.

⁶²² *gyi* SW,CW,SB. Remark: solved condensed cursive *rdor* > *rdo rje* would require *rdo rje*'i instead of *rdor gyi*.

However, context and grammar (Schwieger) requires instr. agens *gyis* in comb. with verb *mthong*. Not corrected as this would be an addition to the text edition by myself. In translation *gyi* has been read as *gyis*.

⁶²³ *gyi sa* SW,SB : *gyis* CW. Context favors *gyi sa*, (at a) place three (days away) .

skye bo pho mo thag ring ba kun gyi snang ba la [118:4] lha khang la me 'bar bar mthong=
 thag nye bas lha khang 'khor bar mthong=
 nang na yod pa'i yon bdag la sogs pas rten thams cad 'gul [118:5] ba dang sgra grags par⁶²⁵
 tshor= khyad par **rdo rje sems dpa'**i lugs sku chen po zhig gi phyag *g-yon*⁶²⁶ pa'i srin lag
 gi⁶²⁷ rtse mo na phyag mtshan rdo rje= sngar lugs [118:6] kyid nas⁶²⁸ yo bas srang thabs
 med pa *drang po*⁶²⁹ r gyur pa la thams cad ngo mtshar du gyur ro⁶³⁰/

yang **gnas nang** gi shar phyogs nyi ma bzhi'i sa na [119:1] '**dzam yul kha**⁶³¹ **dkar na**⁶³²
mengge⁶³³ **dge bshes jo sras** kyis rin po che rab gnas la= gdan⁶³⁴ drangs pa'i dus su rten 'brel
 bzlos⁶³⁵ pa'i skabs su= [119:2] dge bshes kyid snang ba la maṇḍala steng gi me tog chan khol
 ba ltar byung pas yar zhing rten kun la phog nas chags pa kun gyis mthong [119:3] nas thams
 cad ngo mtshar du gyur/

dge bshes des rin po che la pha rol tu phyin pa'i sa lam dang sbyar ba'i bstod pa tshigs bcad
 nyi shu pas bstod= [119:4]
 spyir gzhan snang la me tog rang 'thor la 'gro nas rten la chags pa dang= rten g-yo 'gul byed
 pa dang 'od phyung ba dang sgra grag⁶³⁶ pa [119:5] dang= zha bo dang sgru po la sogs pa la
 phyag lcag⁶³⁷ rgyab pa⁶³⁸ s *drag pa*⁶³⁹ dang= lkugs pa la gdams ngag gsungs pas kha bye ba
 dang mi ma yin [119:6] pa'i gnod pas zin pa la gtor ma btang nas bden pa brdar bas phan pa
 byung=

de ltar dngos 'dzin can rnams kyid snang ba 'gyur [120:1] nas tshe 'di'i bya ba btang nas yang
 dag pa'i lam la *'khod pa*⁶⁴⁰ ni dpag tu med de brjod kyis mi lang ngo⁶⁴¹/

rten 'dre can brgya rab [120:2] gnas byed pa dang= mdzes⁶⁴² po dang nyams pa can brgya
 dbang bskur yang rin po che la grib mi 'ong pa ci lags zhus pa la=
 rin po che'i zhal nas= [120:3] gnyis 'dzin gyid blo dang bral chos thams cad du ma ro
 gcig tu rtogs nas gnyug ma rgyun chad med pa'i ngang la gnas pa'i rnal 'byor pa la
 dngos [120:4] por gyur pa'i grib dang grib 'byung ba'i yul gnyis med gsung /

mtshur phu dgon par lo lnga bzhugs nas byi ba'i⁶⁴³ lo'i ston zla [120:5] ra ba'i nya la bla ma
lha rje'i 'das mchod dus su tshogs sogs⁶⁴⁴ mdzad nas

⁶²⁴ *ham rngu* SW : *ha du* CW : *ha ngu* SB

⁶²⁵ *par* SW,CW : *pa* SB

⁶²⁶ *phyag g-yon* CW,SB : *phyag yon* SW. Corrected, *phyag g-yon*, "left hand."
⁶²⁷ *lagi*, contraction of *lag gi*.

⁶²⁸ *nas* SW, CW : *na* SB

⁶²⁹ *drang po* SB : *grang po* SW : *drangs po* CW. Corrected, *drang po*, "straight", *grang po* unattested.
⁶³⁰ *gyuro*, contraction of *gyur ro*.

⁶³¹ *kha* SW : *khang* CW,SB

⁶³² *na* SW,CW : *nag* SB

⁶³³ *mengge* SW : *smen ke* CW,SB

⁶³⁴ *gdan* SW : *spyen* CW,SB. Both forms correct, *gdan/spyen 'dren pa*, "invite."

⁶³⁵ *bzlos* SW : *zlos* CW,SB. TC, only *zlos* is correct; J, *bzlos* is correct as pf of *zla ba/zlo ba*, "express."

⁶³⁶ *grag* SW : *grags* CW,SB. Corrected, context favors *grags*, "to be heard."

⁶³⁷ *lcag* SW,SB : *lbag* CW. Attested expression, J, *lcag rgyab pa*, "give a blow."

⁶³⁸ *rgyab pa* SW : *brgyab pa* CW,SB

⁶³⁹ *drag pa* CW,SB : *grag pa* SW. Corrected, context favors *drag pa*, "recover."

⁶⁴⁰ *'khod pa* CW,SB : *khod pa* SW. Corrected, context favors *'khod pa*, "sit."

⁶⁴¹ *lango*, contraction of *lang ngo*.

⁶⁴² *mdzespo*, contraction of *mdzes po* SB: *mdze po* CW,SB. The word *mdzes po*, "beauty" [of the outside world], *mdze po*, "leprosy"; I favored the SW reading, as SW is probably the least edited edition.

⁶⁴³ 'i SW : [] CW,SB

⁶⁴⁴ *sogs* SW : *bsog* CW,SB

dags po gdan sar gser gyi glegs bam bcwo⁶⁴⁵ brgyad= shog *skya'i*⁶⁴⁶ [120:6] po ti bcu gnyis te dum pa sum *cu* g-yu dmar 'dzam gling grags shing srang nyi shu rtsa bzhi pa la sogs pa'i 'bul ba mdzad= spyir gsung [121:1] rab dum pa brgya nor sna mang po sder⁶⁴⁷ dgon kun la phul nas

rin po che'i zhal nas tshogs pa kun la nga *mgron*⁶⁴⁸ byed pas [121:2] tshogs pa skyong pa⁶⁴⁹ mi 'ong=

khyed **khams** su 'gro'am bsgom grar⁶⁵⁰ 'gro'am nyan pa 'dod dam gar mos su song cig gsung⁶⁵¹= **khams** sam **dags po** gdan sa'am [121:3] **mon bod** mtshams su bzhud gsung la las **khams** su bzhud zer= kha cig bla ma gdan sar bzhud nges zer nas

thams cad the tshom du gyur pa [121:4] las= zla⁶⁵² gsum du nam mkha' la 'ja' dang sa g-yo ba dang 'ur thug⁶⁵³ la sogs pa ltas chen po rgyun mi *chad*⁶⁵⁴ par byung ste= nye gnas dang *grwa pa* [121:5] rgan po kun na re rin po che **gnas nang** na khams ma bde ba'i dus su zhus pa la= bla ma **mid la**'i sku tshe tsam thub gsung ba'i zhal bzhes [121:6] yod pa yin pas bla mas dgung lo *brgyad*⁶⁵⁵ cu rtsa gsum bzahir byon pas da gshegs dogs yod zer= de nas rgung⁶⁵⁶ lo brgyad cu rtsa bzhi la [122:1]

glang gi lo gsar la⁶⁵⁷ stag gi⁶⁵⁸ zla ba'i tshes gsum la= rin po che sprul pa'i sku'i dkyil 'khor bsdogs nas mkha' spyod gnas su gshegs so/ der [122:2] tshes bcu la gdung *bzhu*⁶⁵⁹ ba la mthong snang du ma byung ste= der tshogs pa thams cad mthong snang mthun⁶⁶⁰ par nyi ma sngar bas gnyis⁶⁶¹ 'gyur [122:3] gyis ring ba byung= la las nyi ma bcu gsum dang bdun dang brgyad du mthong= nyi ma'i tshogs 'du zhing gyes pa dang= nyi ma'i 'od zer rma bya'i [122:4] gdugs 'dra ba dang= dpa' bo dpa' mo rus pa'i rgyan can gyis nam mkha'i khams gang ba dang= me tog gi char 'bab pa dang gdung gi steng na 'ja' [122:5] tshon gyi gdugs *brtsegs*⁶⁶² pa mang po snang ba dang= me sgra la ngos bzung med pa'i sgra snyan sna tshogs grag pa⁶⁶³ dang dud pa 'ja' tshon du gyur pa'i [122:6] nang na bla ma bzhugs pa mthong= dud pa *la*⁶⁶⁴ bya bye'u mang pos bskor ba byed pa= bya rgod dang ri dwags⁶⁶⁵ kyi tshogs mang po lhags pa la sogs [123:1] pa'i mthong snang du ma byung ngo⁶⁶⁶/

⁶⁴⁵ *bcwo* SW : *bco* CW,SB

⁶⁴⁶ *kya* SW : *skya'i* CW,SB. Corrected, *skya'i*, "plain (paper)"; *kya* prob. pron. style of *skya*.

⁶⁴⁷ *sder* SW : *sde* CW,SB

⁶⁴⁸ *mgron byed pa* CW,SB : *'dron byed pa* SW. Corrected, *mgron*, "feast, party"; Gold, *mgron byed* = *sne len*. *byed*, to receive (people); *'dron* unattested.

⁶⁴⁹ *pa* SW : *ba* CW,SB

⁶⁵⁰ *grar 'gro* SW,CW : *grwar 'gro* SB. Context favors *grar*, cf. Gold, *gra sgrig byed*, "prepare."

⁶⁵¹ *cigsung*, contraction of *cig gsung*.

⁶⁵² [] SW : *ba* CW,SB

⁶⁵³ [] SW : *gi sgra* CW,SB. Words *gi sgra*, "sound of", context allows, prob. an example of later editing.

⁶⁵⁴ *chad* CW,SB : *'chad* SW. Corrected, expression attested, J, *rgyun mi chad par*, uninterruptedly.

⁶⁵⁵ *brgyad* CW,SB : *brgya* SW. Corrected based on identical number in next line.

⁶⁵⁶ *rgung* SW : *dgung* CW,SB. Both words attested, same meaning.

⁶⁵⁷ *la* SW : [] CW,SB

⁶⁵⁸ *stagi*, contraction of *stag gi*.

⁶⁵⁹ *bzhu* CW,SB : *gzhu* SW. Corrected, *bzhu*, Das, (body) "burnt" after death; *gzhu*, "bow" does not make sense.

⁶⁶⁰ *mthun* SW,SB : *'thun* CW

⁶⁶¹ *nyis* SW, earlier attested shorthand for *gnyis*, number two; here "unsolved" as *nyis* also in CW,SB.

⁶⁶² *brtsegs* CW,SB : *rtsegs* SW. Corrected, context favors pf *brtsegs*, vb *rtseg*, "stack."

⁶⁶³ *grag pa* SW : *grags pa* CW,SB. Attested, TC, *grag pa*, TMDP vb, (1) *sgra skad thon pa*, "sound came out."

⁶⁶⁴ *la* CW,SB : *ma* SW. Corrected, context favors *la*.

⁶⁶⁵ *ri dags* SW : *ri dwags* CW,SB. Uncorrected, possibly archaic spelling.

⁶⁶⁶ *byungo*, contraction of *byung ngo*.

sngar dge sbyor med pa la dge sbyor byung pa⁶⁶⁷ dang= dge sbyor yod pa kun la bogs byung pa dang= [123:2] bsgom chen kun la ting nge 'dzin ngo mtshar can byung ngo/
 de nas sems can la brtse ba'i thugs dang= dam chos gsung ba'i ljags dang= byang chub kyi sems gnyis [123:3] 'byongs pa'i ring bsrel dang= bskyed *rim*⁶⁶⁸ la brtan pa'i lha'i sku la sogs pa mang po byon pa rnam bu slob la cung zad re byin nas=
 gzhan [123:4] rnam la dpal **mtshur phu mdo bo** dgon par sku'i 'dra 'bag dang gdung khang chen po dang= gser gyi mchod rten dpal ldan '**bras *spungs***⁶⁶⁹ kyi [123:5] *bzo*⁶⁷⁰ lugs bzhengs shing rab gnas rang chas su⁶⁷¹ zhugs te byin rlabs kyi mar⁶⁷² thug pa byung ngo/
 gzhan snang gi le'u ste bco lnga pa'o/

SW 123:5, CW 62a, SB 83:1 skye [123:6] ba 'di'i 'og mar gzhan don gang du mdzad zhus pa la=
rgya gar gyi nub phyogs **orgyan**⁶⁷³ nas nyin lam bcu gnyis kyi byang shar na [124:1] **karti ka**⁶⁷⁴ i grong khyer du yab ***dharma siddhi***⁶⁷⁵ dang yum **ma hā pradnyā** i sras **pradnyā shī la** *zhes* pa'i rnal 'byor par skye= bla ma **lha rje** yang grong khyer **padma can** na mngal [124:2] skyes su mtshan **zhi ba'i go cha** zhes par skye
 de'i mu stegs kyi paṇḍita⁶⁷⁶ zhig gis shes bya'i bdag po byas bla ma **lha rjes** shes pa'i [124:3] bdag po byas nas *brtsad*⁶⁷⁷ pas bla ma rgyal nas mu stegs pa de nang pa sangs rgyas par tshud nas ming **dharma *rā dza***⁶⁷⁸ btags nas de'i mu [124:4] stegs kyi rgyal po de'i ming **ma hā dzi na** yin=
 grong khyer **kārti ka** na paṇḍi ta **bo dhi badzra** *zhes* pa nang na yon tan bzang po yod pa cig yod= [124:5]
 bla ma **lha rje** dang dge slong **bsgom ra** dang **zhi mdzes** dang **gar ston** dang **gser rkong ye shes snying po** dang **zom**⁶⁷⁹ **shi ye shes snying po** dang **ya zi**⁶⁸⁰ **sngon mo** dang= **rgya** [124:6] **che chung** gnyis dang **grags mdzes** dang **nyag sde ston pa** dang **rog bsgom**⁶⁸¹ dang **yon tan snying po** ste rig pa *brtul*⁶⁸² zhugs kyi spyod pa nus pa drug yod pa [125:1]
 mu stegs kyi rgyal po rtog med kyi sgom⁶⁸³ nas brtul⁶⁸⁴ ba dang yul **kārti ka** i rgyal po paṇḍi tas brtul⁶⁸⁵ ba gnyis dus shig [125:2] yin= bla ma **lha rje** dang nang pa'i paṇḍi ta dang mu stegs kyi paṇḍi ta dang gsum *ka*⁶⁸⁶ rgyal po de'i mchod gnas yin=
 grong khyer **padma can** dang [125:3] **kārti ka** gnyis kyi bar na grong nyung ba cig yod de yul phyogs de thams cad mu stegs pa yin pa la ma lus pa nang pa sangs rgyas pa byas= [125:4] grong khyer de gnyis kyi bar na nyin lam gnyis tsam yod

⁶⁶⁷ pa SW, SB : ba CW

⁶⁶⁸ bskyed rim CW, SB : bskyed rims SW. Corrected, attested expression *bskyed rim*, “generation stage”

⁶⁶⁹ spungs CW, SB : dpungs SW. Corrected, 'Bras-spungs, Das, refers to 'Bras-dkar-spungs *stūpa*

⁶⁷⁰ bzo CW, SB : gzo SW. Corrected, context favors *bzo lugs*, “construction style”

⁶⁷¹ chasu, contraction of *chas su*

⁶⁷² mar SW : mthar CW, SB. Both variants possible: *mthar*, “end”, *mar*, “butter”

⁶⁷³ orgyan SW : o rgyan CW : u rgyan SB

⁶⁷⁴ karti ka SW : kārti ka CW, SB. Name of a city, spelling unclear.

⁶⁷⁵ dharma siddhi CW : dharmā sidhi SW : dharma sidhi SB. Corrected, cf. correct Skt. spelling.

⁶⁷⁶ paṇḍita SW : paṇḍi ta CW, SB

⁶⁷⁷ brtsad CW, SB : rtsad SW. Corrected, vb *rtsod*, “debate”, ft *brtsad*; *rtsad* unattested.

⁶⁷⁸ rā dzar CW, SB : rā dzār SW. Corrected, Skt. masc. noun *rajan*, “king”, nom. *rājā*. MW, *rāja*, ifc.

⁶⁷⁹ zom SW : zim CW, SB. Different spelling of personal name.

⁶⁸⁰ ya zi SW : ya dzi CW, SB. Diff. spelling of personal name.

⁶⁸¹ bsgom SW : sgom CW, SB. Diff. spelling of personal name.

⁶⁸² brtul CW, SB : brtal SW. Corr., *brtul zhugs spyod pa*, attest. expres., J, “perform exercises”; *brtal* unattested.

⁶⁸³ sgom nas SW : sgo nas CW, SB. Both seem possible, trans. as *sgo nas*, “via, in a way.”

⁶⁸⁴ brtul SW, CW : btul SB. Slightly difference in meaning: *brtul*, “gathered, converted”, *btul*, “tamed.”

⁶⁸⁵ brtul SW, CW : btul SB. See remark above.

⁶⁸⁶ kā SW : ka CW, SB. Both possible, *kā* as short for *Kārtika*, chosen in trans.; *ka* in combination *gsum ka*.

nga dang bla ma **lha rje** yang mjal=

yon bdag **dgon pa ba** yang de na blon po zhid [125:5] gi bur skyes nas rab byung byas=

khyed⁶⁸⁷ 'ga' yang grong khyer **karna par**⁶⁸⁸ skye ste **yon tan 'od** dang **dge 'dun 'od** dang **smo lam bla ma** dang **ye shes 'od** dang [125:6] ston pa **tshul seng** dang **dge 'dun grags** dang khyed bdun lhan cig tu rje'u⁶⁸⁹ rigs su skye=

grong khyer de gsum yang phyogs shig gi thabs su⁶⁹⁰ yod gzhan [126:1] yang yul phyogs der slob dpon **rin chen rgyal mtshan**⁶⁹¹ dang ston pa **sangs rgyas** dang ston pa **byang grags** dang **ston bsod** dang dpon **dar ma rā dza** dang **shākya shes rab** [126:2] dang **bsgom**⁶⁹² **sngon**⁶⁹³ dang **rdo rje 'bum** dang dge bshes **rin grags** dang **dbang phyug grags** dang **'od zer bla ma** dang **yon tan bla ma** dang **dar ma seng ge** dang= **rdo rje brtson 'grus** dang [126:3] **byang pa lha bzo** la sogs pa

khyed mang po⁶⁹⁴ bla ma **lha rje** dang mjal rgyu yin pa la ma mjal *te*= skye ba phyi ma la mjal nas [126:4] 'ong gsung=

rgya gar du skyes pa'i rabs *te* le'u bcu drug pa'o/

SW 126:4, CW 63:b, SB 84:6 de'i phyi ma la gar bzhud⁶⁹⁵ zhus pas=

bod yul dbus su **lho** [126:5] **brag** grub pa'i gnas bdun *zhes* par slob ma gcig gi don du skye ste yun ring po mi bzhugs= khyed 'ga' dang der 'phrad gsung=

lho [126:6] **brag** tu skyes pa'i rabs *te* le'u bcu bdun pa'o/

SW 126:6, CW 63b, SB 85:2 de'i phyi ma *zhus*⁶⁹⁶ pas=

⁶⁹⁷ **rgya gar** lho phyogs **u ru pa** *zhes* par mkha' 'gro [127:1] ma'i gnas **kongka** bya

⁶⁹⁸ yod pa der skye= sa phyogs de na **pa ta la** *zhes* pa'i grong khyer du yon bdag

dgon pa *ba rgyal*⁶⁹⁹ por skyes [127:2] nas lam rnal ma la der *gdod*⁷⁰⁰ chud=

khyed rnams dang yang der nga dang mjal nas bzod nga mi dgos pa mang po yang

'byung 'gro ba gzhan [127:3] mang ba la yang phan par 'dug gsung /

de lta bu'i sprul pa sna tshogs kyis⁷⁰¹ gzhan don mdzad pa ni sems can rnams kyis las ma zad kyis [127:4] bar du nor bu rin po che ltar 'byung *ste* brjod pa dang bris pas mi lang ngo/ shar phyogs kyis 'jig rten gyi khams su skyes pa'i rabs *te* le'u bcwo⁷⁰² [127:5] brgyad pa'o/

⁶⁸⁷ *khyed* SW : *khyod* CW,SB. Pers. pron., hon. and non-hon., “you”; however, students are often addressed in the hon., e.g. SW 126: 3, *khyed mang po*, “many of you.”

⁶⁸⁸ *par* SW,SB : *bar* CW

⁶⁸⁹ [] SW,CW : *yi* SB

⁶⁹⁰ *thabsu*, contraction of *thabs su*.

⁶⁹¹ *rgyal mtshan* (fully spelled, no condensed cursive) SW,SB : *rgyalMn* CW (looks like unsolved condensed cursive, condensed cursive cf. Bacot requires *rgyal'n*, Bacot 128).

⁶⁹² *bsgom* SW : *sgom* CW,SB. Diff. spelling of personal name.

⁶⁹³ *sngon* SW,CW : *rngon* SB. Diff. spelling of personal name.

⁶⁹⁴ *mang po* SW,SB : *rnams po* CW. Variant *rnams po* unattested.

⁶⁹⁵ *bzhud* SW : *ba zhud* CW. Variant *ba zhud*, unattested, prob. scribal error.

⁶⁹⁶ *zhus* CW,SB : *bzhus* SW. Corrected, Chapter 16 and 17 start identical; *bzhus*, “melt” or “toss” do not fit.

⁶⁹⁷ [] SW : *shar phogs kyis 'jig rten gyi khams cig na/* CW,SB. Uncorrected, sentence does appear in SW, however elsewhere, at the end as the title of the chapter. As CW,SB are considered later editions, there variant, though not uncorrect, has not been followed.

⁶⁹⁸ [] SW : *ba* CW,SB

⁶⁹⁹ *dgon pa ba rgyal por* CW,SB : *dgon pa brgyal por* SW. Corrected, scribal error SW, *dgon pa ba*, personal name, see Trans. note at SW 127.

⁷⁰⁰ *gdod* CW,SB : *sdod* SW. Corrected, context favors *gdod*, Das, “early time”; *sdod*, “stay.”

⁷⁰¹ *kyis* SW, CW : *kyi* SB

⁷⁰² *bcwo* SW : *bco* CW,SB

sems dpa' chen po'i skyes rabs **gser gling** 'di/
gus bcas skyes bus gces spras mdzod⁷⁰³ cing ltos/ [127:6]
'gal gyur blo rgya chungs⁷⁰⁴ na⁷⁰⁵ bzod par rigs/
dge bas 'gro kun chos rje'i gdul byar shog/

chos rje'i skyes rabs rin po che [128:1] **gser gling le'u bcwo**⁷⁰⁶ **brgyad pa** zhes bya
ba bla ma sras bcas kyi gsung sgros thor bu rnams bsdus pa= de'i gsung la tshad mar
'dzin [128:2] pa **rgang lo**⁷⁰⁷ s **mtshur phu mdo bo**⁷⁰⁸ dgon pa'i rgyan du bris pa'o/

⁷⁰³ *mdzod* SW,SB : *mdzad* CW

⁷⁰⁴ *chung* SW (possibly contraction of *chung nas*, however, metre allows only seven syllables) : *chung* CW,SB

⁷⁰⁵ *na* SW,CW : *nas* SB

⁷⁰⁶ *bcwo* SW : *bco* CW,SB

⁷⁰⁷ *rgang lo* SW,CW : *sgang lo* SB

⁷⁰⁸ *mtshur phu mdo bo* SW : *mtshur do bo* CW,SB

3.2 Translation of the *Gser gling*, “A Golden World – the Succession of Precious Lifetimes of Dharma-master [Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa] in Eighteen Chapters”¹

Account of Master Düsüm Khyenpa’s Lifetimes²

[48] “Homage to the Omniscient one [Düsüm Khyenpa]!

[Statement of intention³:] Having bowed with heads of bodies as many as atoms, to Him, Whose nature blazes the ‘sun and moon’ of knowledge and love, I will compile, in accordance with words of the Eminent-one, Ten [chapters as for lifetimes] in the past, five as for his present manifestation, and Three as for the future.

Part One, Former Successive Lifetimes in Ten Chapters

Chapter 1 Birth in the realm of Vaiḍūrya

Glorious Rin-po-che [Düsüm Khyenpa], in the beginning [of lifetimes in the past] generated *bodhicitta*⁴. In the middle he gathered the “two accumulations”⁵ [of merit and wisdom] on the “fivefold path”⁶. In the end he found unsurpassed Enlightenment [or Full Awakening].

¹ The title, “A Golden World – the Succession of Precious Lifetimes ...”, stems from the colophon to the work. The *Gser gling* itself is the first part of a larger work entitled the *Rje dus gsum mkhyen pai’rnam thar*, which consists of four parts.

² “Account of Lifetimes,” *rnam thar*, see Chapter 2, for a discussion of this type of genre and alternative translations of the word.

³ Tibetan works usually begin with a phrase of “paying homage” (*mchod par brjod pa*) and a statement of intention (*rtsom pa dam bca’ ba*), see 2.5, “Methodology II – Translation.”

⁴ Translator’s note: *bodhicitta*, Tib. *byang chub tu thugs* (at other places ... *kyi sems...*), “the mind for (achieving, or the resolve for,) Awakening,” there are two kinds of *bodhicitta*, relative and absolute. See fn. in Chapter 2, “Rebirth on the Small Island,” for an explanation of relative *bodhicitta*. See fn. in Chapter 15, “His Appearings to Others in Numerous Ways,” for absolute *bodhicitta*.

⁵ Trans. note: “two accumulations” (*tshogs gnyis*), they refer to the first section of the fivefold path, see below. (1) the path of accumulation or equipment or requisite. In Mahāyāna literature, merit and wisdom are the *sambhāra* or “equipment,” of the bodhisattva (PDB).

⁶ Trans. note: “fivefold path” (*lam rnam pa lnga, pañcamārga*), for a brief discussion see e.g. Sgam-po-pa, *The Jewel Ornament of Liberation*, translated and annotated by Herbert V. Guenther (Boston&London: Shambhala, 1986), Chapter 18, 232-8.

The five paths are: (1) Path of Preparation (*tshogs lam, sambhāramārga*), (2) Path of Application (*sbyor lam, prayogamārga*), (3) Path of Seeing (*mtshong lam, darśanamārga*), (4) Path of Practice (*sgom lam, bhāvanāmārga*), (5) Path of Fulfilment (*mtshar phyin pa’i lam, niṣṭhāmārga*).

According to the *Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism* (PDB), the paths are elaborated (among others) in the Yogācāra school of the Mahāyāna, the five paths are progressive, moving the practitioner sequentially from ordinary existence towards enlightenment.

Therefore, as long as the karma of sentient beings has not been exhausted, he will engage in vast activity without interruption.

He remembered that in a former time he had been born in a realm of the world called Vaiḍūrya, and [said,] “There are many stories [to tell about it].” [49]

[End of] the first chapter, ‘Successive Lifetimes, Birth in the realm (*zhing khams*) of Vaiḍūrya’.

Chapter 2, Rebirth on the Small Island

A little while [later], he was born on the small island of Dharitha, between the southern [world] Jambudvīpa and [the western world] Godāniya⁷ [He said,]

“I asked *bla ma* Lha-rje⁸, who lived [there] as the *yogin* Surapa, [for instruction] to generate *bodhicitta* [the resolve to attain full Awakening], the ‘aspiring’ as well as the [actually] ‘engaging’.”⁹

[End of] the second chapter, ‘Successive lifetimes, Rebirth on the Small Island’.

⁷ Trans. note, Jambudvīpa and Godāniya are ‘continents,’ in Buddhist cosmology. The ‘continents’ are briefly described in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣyam* by Vasubhandu, trans. into French by Louis de La Vallée Poussin, English Version by Leo M. Pruden (Berkeley, Calif.: Asian Humanities Press, 1988-90). In Volume II, p 451- 470, we find a description of the universe in four continents and eight intermediate continents, page 455 (underscoring added). [Commentary to 53b-55d:]

“... In the outer sea, corresponding to the four sides of [Mt.] Meru, there are four continents (*dvīpas*):

1. Jambudvīpa ...
2. Eastern Videha or Pūrvavideha ...
3. Godāniya, which faces the western side of Meru ...
4. Kuru or Uttakuru, facing the northern side of Meru ...

[56] There are eight intermediate continents: Dehas, Videhas, Kurus, Kauravas, Cāmaras, and Avaracāmaras, Śāṭhas and Uttaramantrins.

[Commentary to 56:] These continents are designated by the name of their inhabitants. Dehas and Videhas are located on both sides of Pūrvavideha; Kurus and Kauravas on the sides of Uttakuru; Cāmaras and Avaracāmaras on the sides of Jambudvīpa; Śāṭhas and Uttaramantrins on the sides of Godāniya. All of these continents are inhabited by human beings ... (end of quote).”

The corresponding Tibetan names of the continents, as they appear in the *Gser gling*, are:

1. ’Dzam-bu-gling (Skt. Jambudvīpa)
2. Lus-’phags-po (Skt. Videha or Pūrvavideha)
3. Ba-glang-spyod (Skt. Godāniya)
4. Sgra-mi-snyan (Skt. Kuru or Uttakuru)

⁸ Lha-rje, ordination name Bsod-nams Rin-chen (1079-1153), one of Dūsūm Khyenpa’s main teachers, also known as Sgam-po-pa.

⁹ Trans. note: (Relative) *bodhicitta*, lit. “mind for awakening,” the resolve to attain full Awakening for the benefit of all beings, consists of two parts.

First, the *bodhicitta* of ‘aspiration’ (*smon pa’i byang chub sems, praṇidhicitta*), the process of developing the aspiration to buddhahood for the sake of others; one decides to undertake the journey of a bodhisattva. Second, the *bodhicitta* of ‘engaging’ (*’jug pa’i byang chub sems, prasthānacitta*), undertaking the various practices of the bodhisattva path. One actually sets out on the journey.

Chapter 3, Rebirth at the Edge of Jambudvīpa

“Once, I became Antita, a natural *yogin* in a family of smiths in Tartita in the west of the southern [world] Jambudvīpa. Without a master [at that time], I put great effort into attainment [practices] in mountain areas and hermitages.”

[End of] the third chapter, ‘Successive Lifetimes, Rebirth at the Edge of [Jambu]-dvīpa’.

Chapter 4, Rebirth on Godāniya

“I was further born as *bhikṣu*¹⁰ Dharma Atitha in a Brahmin¹¹ family on the western [world] Godāniya, my secret name was Dharmasrī. [50] I requested [meditative] instructions from *bla ma* Tilopa¹². At that time, I could benefit several sentient beings.”

[End of] the fourth chapter, Successive Lifetimes, Rebirth on Godāniya’.

Chapter 5, Rebirth as an Elephant

“Later on the western [world] Godāniya, the nowadays patron Skya Dgon-pa-ba had been born as the badly behaving *tīrthika*¹³ king Dharmasīla, who was harming the kingdom. Therefore, in order to tame him, amidst seven hundred elephants, his wealth, I took birth as one [of them, one of especially] great strength and lived there. Then, one time the king went out with a large army riding [this] big elephant. On that occasion, I trampled and killed him. Then, some births later, I brought him to goodness.”

[End of] the fifth chapter, ‘Successive Lifetimes, Rebirth as an Elephant’.

Chapter 6, Rebirth at the Far Edge of Jambudvīpa

“Then, I was reborn at the far northern end of the border [51] of the North-East of Jambudvīpa, near a river called Padma-brgyan-pa, as *bhikṣu* Dharmakīrti, a scholar-student of the Brahmin Sarjana. [At that time] I ‘focused upon’¹⁴ master Ḍombi¹⁵ [Heruka] on a mountain ledge.

Among students (*mkhan bu*) of mine at that time, four are also [present now, in the twelfth century, they are] *dge bshes* Brtson-’grus Shes-rab, Rin-chen Rgyal-mtshan, Mdog-mkhas-pa, and Meng-ge-jo-sras¹⁶.

¹⁰ Tib. *dge slong*, religious mendicant or monk.

¹¹ Brahmin Skt., name of the priestly caste in the India.

¹² Tib. Te-lo-pa, *mahāsiddha* of India, see e.g. Dowman, *Masters of Mahāmudrā* (New York, State University of New York Press, 1985), 151-155.

¹³ Tib. *mu stegs*, adherent of a non-Buddhist religion (PDB).

¹⁴ *gsol ba btab*, lit. “prayed to”, as this can be with or without words (in the mind), the term is here, and throughout the work, translated as ‘focused upon.’

¹⁵ Tib. Ḍombhi-ba, *mahāsiddha* of India. Dowman, *Masters Mahāmudrā*, 53-59.

¹⁶ Meng-ge-jo-sras (*SW*), Smen-ke-jo-sras (*CW,SB*).

Dge bshes Phya-pa¹⁷ a young *paṇḍita*¹⁸ [at that time] acted [as] *ācārya*¹⁹. The [nowadays] *dge bshes* Rdo-rje Seng-ge was a student of Phya-pa [at that time] and has been reborn again and again in his presence.”

[End of] the sixth chapter, ‘Successive lifetimes, Rebirth at the far edge of Jambudvīpa’.

Chapter 7, Rebirth in Kalingka

“After that I was born as Zla-ba-rnam-par-gnon-pa, king of the country Kalingka²⁰. His [my] master at that time was Sangs-rgyas Ye-shes, [52] who [actually] was *bla ma* Lha-rje. His master [again] was ’Jam-dpal *bshes gnyen* (Skt. Mañjuśrī *kalyāṇamitra*) Avadhūti, who [actually] was *bla ma* Mid-la-[ras-pa]²¹.

Though not consistent with the account in the *Guhyasamāja*²², the king [, who was me,] had gone to the south, to India, to circumambulate the glorious ’Bras-spungs²³ *stūpa*. On the way, a voice from the sky said,

“Listen, since you still have not attained ‘perfection’ (*dnegos grub, siddhi*), you will return [, be reborn, based] on the [accumulated] goodness (*dge ba, kuśala*) of [everything that is] conditioned²⁴. Therefore, [it is better that] later, after you established saṅgha communities and produced many [of these] conditioned [acts] of goodness, you perform many [of these] *stūpa* circumambulations. Because of that you will attain [then all] ordinary *siddhi* without exception. The previous time you went, two dogs were there now and then. Since they followed you, they will also attain ordinary *siddhi*. At the moment they are reborn in Oḍḍiyāna²⁵ as two worldly *dākinī* who are more wild and rough than the others. [53]

“Numerous persons from the retinue of the king [, who was me,] as well as from Kartika and Sa-smad are here [now]. In those days *ston pa* Sangs-rgyas and *dge bshes* Rinchen Rgyal-mtshan, the two of them, had many ordinary *siddhi*, not anymore now.”

[When some asked, why not,] he replied, “Because it was an attainment of that time.”

¹⁷ *Dge bshes* Phya-pa, one of Dūsum Khyenpa’s scholarly teachers, see fn. in chapter 11.

¹⁸ *paṇḍita*, Skt., MW: *paṇḍita*, scholar, learned man, teacher.

¹⁹ Tib. *slob dpon*, teacher or master.

²⁰ Kalingka possibly refers to Kalinga, an ancient kingdom in the North-East of India, near nowadays Puri, already known during the reign of Maurya king/emperor Aśoka (B.C.E. 268-233). See for example Hermann Kulke and Dietmar Rothermund, *A History of India* (London: Routledge, 1986).

Gray, *Cakrasamvara*, 67, 331: Kaliṅga, one of the twenty-four Cakrasamvara “seats” (*pīṭha*), the region on the east coast of India roughly extending from Purī in Orissa south to the Kṛṣṇā River in Andhra Pradesh.

²¹ Mid-la-[ras-pa], 1028/1040 – 1111/1123, was the main teacher of *bla ma* Lha-rje.

²² Tib. Gsang-’dus, a Buddhist *tantra* work, story not found yet.

²³ ’Bras-spungs (CW,SB), ’Bras-phung (SW). Das: ’Bras-spungs or ’Bras-dkar-spungs (lit. heap of white rice) was the ancient name of Katak, the chief town of Orissa (North-East India); in its neighbourhood existed a large Buddhist monastery called Sridhanya Kataka after the model of which the great monastery of ’Bras-spungs near Lhasa was built.

²⁴ Trans. note, “conditioned” (*’dus byas, saṃskṛta*), all conditioned factors that are produced through concomitance causes and conditions.

²⁵ Gray, *Cakrasamvara*, 332: Oḍḍiyāna, one of the twenty-four Cakrasamvara “seats” (*pīṭha*), the contemporary Swat valley in Afghanistan.

“In those days, thirteen of you ‘focused upon’ [me] sooner or later. *Ston pa* Sangs-rgyas, Rin-chen Rgyal-mtshan, Yon-tan ’Od, Yon-tan *bla ma*, Dge-’dun Grags, Smon-lam *bla ma*, and one who lives [now] in Dbus and one in Tre also, were there.”

[End of] the seventh chapter, ‘Successive lifetimes, Rebirth in Kalingka’.

Chapter 8, Rebirth in Oḍḍiyāna

“Afterwards, I was in West-Central Jambudvīpa, in Oḍḍiyāna. Known as Śīladanti, I became an extremely capable *yogin*, a student of Tilopa, and lived in groves and forests.

At that time, I [granted] *abhiṣeka*²⁶ to four students who live now. [54] They are Rdo-rje ’Bum, Sgom-sngon, Shākya Shes-rab and Chos-dpal.”

[End of] the eighth chapter, ‘Successive lifetimes, Rebirth in Oḍḍiyāna’.

Chapter 9, Rebirth on Videha

“Later, I was reborn on the world Videha as Shes-rab-bzang-mo, daughter of father king Dge-ba-bzang-po and mother Shes-rab-can-ma. My secret name was Mtsho-skyes-byang-chub. [I was born as a girl because] I feared that as a son, I had to uphold the royal [or warrior] ‘seat.’

When I was young my father and mother died and I met [an earlier birth of] *bla ma* Lha-rje, who was there as *bhikṣu* Dharmasiddhi. I offered the *bla ma* a great deal of my possessions and after having taken the *upāsikā* vows²⁷, I was protected by the corresponding precepts.

“At that time many of you [, students,] and many friends of mine were present. “Once on an accumulating merit²⁸ [gathering], seven of you were present as brothers, sons of father Dge-ba-grags and mother Dge-ba-bzang-mo, [55] the seven [are now]: Dge-’dun ’Od, Shes-rab *bla ma*, Smon-lam *bla ma*, Yon-tan ’Od, Ye-shes’Od, Ye-shes ’Od-zer and one other. During three previous periods, they also acted as helpers in lives of mine.”

[End of] the ninth chapter, ‘Successive lifetimes, Rebirth on Videha’.

Chapter 10, Rebirth on a Small World

“In the lifetime before this one, I was born on a nameless world, a small world between two [others, namely] Videha in the east and Jambudvīpa in the south, as the son of Dharma-sbas-pa, who was my father and belonged to the upper class, and Sumati my mother. I was called Pratikīrti and lived in the city of Radhapa or

²⁶ Tib. *dbang bskur*, “empowerment.”

²⁷ Trans. note: “*upāsikā* vows”, Tib. *dge bsnyen ma’i sdom pa*, Skt. *upāsikāsaṃvara*, are the vows or restraints of a female lay disciple, eight in all, see for details e.g. PDB.

²⁸ *tshogs gsog*, possibly a ritual or a mantra recitation session.

Rājaphala [also] known as Rgyal-po bzang-po city, and was able to live to one hundred and sixty-four years old.

“*Bla ma* Lha-rje was present [under the name] Dpal-gyi-sbas-pa at that time, I received the methods to accomplish Mahāmāyā²⁹, Tārā Cintamanīcakrā³⁰ and Vajrasattva³¹.

“I explained the Tārā [practice] to ten [persons then, nowadays they are]: Yon-tan-’od, [56] Dge-’dun-’od, Ye-shes *bla ma*, Smon-lam *bla ma*, ’Byung-gnas *bla ma*, Rgyal-mtshan *bla ma*, *Ston* Tshul-seng [from the region] Gtsang, *dge bshes* Dkon-mchog-dpal [from the region] Tré, Rdo-rje Shes-rab, and to a [certain] Bka’-gdams-pa as well.

“When I requested an ‘assembly of [tantric] adepts’ (*gaṇacakra, tshogs ’khor*) of *bla ma* Lha-rje, about twenty of you were present [, some live now as well, such as] *dge bshes* Bka’-gdams-pa, *slob dpon* Rin-chen Rgyal-mtshan, *ston pa* Sangs-rgyas, two students, Dge-’dun-grags, Smon-lam *bla ma*, Rdo-rje Shes-rab, Dkon-mchog-dpal, and *ston pa* Tshul-seng. Two ladies were also present, one lives [now] at that particular place and [the other] is reborn in Dbus [Central Tibet].

“Patron Dgon-pa-ba [, killed in a former life by an elephant and later reborn as]³² the son of a rich house-holder, made an offering [to the saṅgha then]. And, later again, as he had made the connection, made offerings in this [present] life. [And during lifetimes] to come he will continue to do so. [57]

“Mkhan-po Dka’-brag-pa³³ has acted twice³⁴ as my preceptor (*mkhan po, upādhyāya*).

“In that life I was *bhikṣu* Ratnaśīla. After explaining treatises³⁵ on dharma and *abhiṣeka* to one [who is now] a Bka’-gdams-pa student and others, which could benefit [them] again and again, I [focused on other] activities and became an able *yogin*.³⁶

“I gave ‘refuge’ and *bodhicitta* [vows] to [the nowadays] *dge bshes* Sa-nag-pa³⁷, Yul-bar-ba, and one other, the three of them. As one did not observe the training, he is now [still] on the very [level he] was born on.

The ‘great expert’³⁸ became a *paṇḍita* [later]; I explained the bodhisattva levels and the twenty restraints [of a bodhisattva] [to him].

“The [nowadays] *dge bshes bla ma* ’Od, has [previously] been born in the good [place] called Mdo-smad-pe-tshang³⁹, near India. [Reason] for the rebirth [over there] was that he had been a teacher in a former life [there]. He was called a *siddha* [then], listen to [him]!” [58]

[End of] the tenth chapter, ‘Successive lifetimes, Rebirth on a small world.

²⁹ Mahāmāyā name of a deity, may refer also to the Tantra-cycle Śrī-mahāmāyā-tantra-rāja-nāma.

³⁰ Tib. Sgrol-ma Yid-[b]zhin-’khor-lo, “Tārā Wish-Fulfilling-Wheel.”

³¹ Tib. Rdo-rje Sems-dpa’, “Adamantine Being.”

³² [Skya] Dgon-pa-ba, he was in an earlier life the bad behaving *tīrthika* [non-Buddhist] king Dharmasīla (see the beginning of Chapter 5, “Rebirth as an Elephant”).

³³ Dka’-brag-pa (SW), Ka-brag-pa (CW,SB). See chapter 11, [58], in his present life he receives novice ordination from a teacher in Dka’-brag (SW), Ka-brag (CW,SB).

³⁴ “twice,” which means the first time here in Chapter 10, the second time in Dūsum khyenpa’s life related in Chapter 11, at [58].

³⁵ *rab byed*, probably short for *rab tu ’byed pa* (err. *byed pa*), Skt. *prakaraṇa*, treatise.

³⁶ Or when *ngas* would be read as *nga*: “and I became a *yogin* capable of conduct.”

³⁷ Sa-nag-pa, possibly “Sa-nag-po.” Akester, *Yamyang Khyentsé Guide*, 401, mentions an area in the Dwags-po region known as ‘black earth’ (Sa-nag-po) and its location.

³⁸ *mkhas chen*, possibly refers to Sa-nag-pa in the previous line.

³⁹ Mdo-smad-pe-tshang (SW), Mdo-smad-se-tshang (CW,SB).

[End of] the succession of former lifetimes.

Part two, Düsum Khyenpa's present life in Five Chapters

Chapter 11, Years of Effort [in practice and study] and [work for the] Welfare of Others

In this life, he was born in the north of Jambudvīpa [, which is situated] south of the center of the Sahālokadhatuḥ⁴⁰ [world system], at the lower part of a snow covered place, the Tre-shod⁴¹ region, a range of snow mountains.

[He was born] in the [royal] Spo⁴² family line, [part of] the fine western⁴³ Ldong⁴⁴ [tribe], as the son of father Sgom-pa-'phel⁴⁵ and mother Ming-'dren⁴⁶ [and received the name] Dge-'phel [, which means the "One-who-increases-goodness"].

At age eleven, he did a practice on Śrī-Devī⁴⁷ and because of that had a vision of her. [Somewhat later] after having overcome a 'disease'⁴⁸, he again decided to work for the welfare of others in this time in which the 'echo' of the teachings of *Śākyasiṃha. [, Buddha Śhākyamuni,]⁴⁹ continues for five thousand years.

At age sixteen, he took novice ordination in Dka'-brag⁵⁰ from *dge bshes* Mchog-gi-bla-ma⁵¹ and served the preceptor for two years. He received the [59] Cakrasaṃvara⁵² *abhiṣeka*

⁴⁰ Tib. *mi mjed kyi 'jig rten*, read as short for *mi mjed kyi 'jig rten gyi khams*, Skt. Sahālokadhatuḥ, Mahavyutpatti, 149. BHSD, Sahālokadhatuḥ, "name of the worldsystem in which we live."

⁴¹ Tre-shod, Dudjom Rinpoche, *The Nyingma School of Tibetan Buddhism*, Volume I and II, trans. and ed. by Gyurme Dorje and Matthew Kapstein (Somerville: Wisdom Publications, 1991), Map 10, G 24, North-East Kham, about 100 kms east of Sde-dge, on the map the area is spelled as "Tresho."

⁴² Spo, (TC) (2) ... *bod kyi yab 'byangs rus drug gi ya gyal zhig*, one of six family lines of Tibet.
(TC) *yab 'byangs rus drug: sngar bod rgyal gnya' khri btsen pos bod la dbang sgyur skabs rgyal rigs su gtogs pa'i rus te*, six family lines in the time when ancient Tibet was ruled by the king Gnya'-khri bstan-po, family lines belonging to the royal castes (*rgyal rigs*).
Gnya'-khri bstan-po (or Gnyag-khri), according to a 14th century legend the first king of Tibet, David L. Snellgrove and Hugh Richardson, *A Cultural History of Tibet* (Orchid Press, Bangkok, 2003, first ed. 1986), 23.

⁴³ *chu lha*, (TC) *chu lha*, (2) *nub kyi phyogs skyong*, guardian of the western direction.

⁴⁴ Ldong, one of four original Tibetan tribes, see Smith, *Tibetan Texts*, 218.

⁴⁵ Sgom-pa-'phel (SW), Bsgom-pa-'phel (CW,SB), Sgom-pa-rdo-rje-mgon-po (DM), Sgom-pa-rdo-rje-mgon (BA, *Gser 'phreng*).

⁴⁶ Ming-'dren (SW,CW,SB), Lha-lcam-ming-'dren-ma (DM), Lha-thog-gza'-sgang-lcam-ming-'dren (BA), Lha-thog-bza'-ming-'dren (*Gser 'phreng*).

⁴⁷ Tib. Dpal-ldan-lha-mo.

⁴⁸ *dgra*, problematic, lit. 'enemy' (*dgra*). *Deb ther dmar po*, a fourteenth-century work on religious history by Tshal-pa Kun-dga' Rdo-rje (1309-1364), includes a brief biography of Düsum Khyenpa. It says [436] that (after age eleven) he "won over the *lu ru* 'enemy.' Possibly *lu ru* is some kind of disease, (G) *lu lu*, "coughing constantly." *Gser 'phreng* spells 'du ru *dgra*.

⁴⁹ Tib. Shākya-seng-ge, the "Shākya Lion," one of many epithets of Buddha Śhākyamuni.

⁵⁰ Dka'-brag (SW), Ka-brag (CW,SB), DM: Ska-brag, BA: -. Kadrak (pronunciation spelling), approximately 50 kms south of Tre-shod, see Appendix II, "Detailed list of Places."

⁵¹ Mchog-gi-bla-ma (SW,CW,SB), Mchog-bla (DM), Tre-bo Mchog-gi-bla-ma (BA).

⁵² Tib. Bde-mchog.

(empowerment) from *dge bshes* Kra-ba⁵³ and listened to teachings on Acala⁵⁴ and the Bka'-gdams [tradition].

After that, at age nineteen, he travelled to the region Dbus [Central Tibet] and at twenty arrived at a flat area in Stod-lung. He studied the *Shar gsum*⁵⁵ and the *Byams chos*⁵⁶ under *dge bshes* Rgya-dmar⁵⁷ and Phya-pa⁵⁸. Then, in 'Phan-yul [, north of Lha-sa], he studied the *Rigs tshogs*⁵⁹ under translator *dge bshes* Pa-tshab⁶⁰.

After that, having taken full ordination (*bsnyen rdzogs*) from *dge bshes* Sa-phug-pa⁶¹, he studied the '*dul ba*. Following, he travelled to Stag-dur⁶² and did Bka'-gdams [-pa studies] for five years. Under Ra-lcags Ston-tshul he studied the Hevajra⁶³-*tantra*, Cakrasaṃvara-*[tantra]*, and Mahāmāyā *[tantra]*, Lam 'bras,⁶⁴ and so forth, and under Brag-dkar-ba he studied the aural tradition of the A-ro-system⁶⁵ of the Great Perfection.

At age thirty, he first met master Sgom-tshul⁶⁶ in the presence of *dge bshes* Sha-ba-gling-pa⁶⁷. Then he came for an audience with [60] *bla ma* Lha-rje⁶⁸, but [the latter] did not receive him for two months. At the time they met, he offered ten [rolls of]⁶⁹ silk and requested instruction. [*Bla ma* Lha-rje] explained one of the parts⁷⁰ of the 'Stages of the Path' (*lam rim*), and said,

⁵³ Kra-ba (SW,CW,SB), Kra-ra-ba (DM,BA).

⁵⁴ Tib. Mi-g.yo-ba.

⁵⁵ *Shar gsum*, for details, see 1.3.3, "Period of study and Buddhist doctrines he encountered."

⁵⁶ *Byams chos*, short for *Byams chos lde lnga*, the "Five treatises of Maitreya," for details see 1.3.3.

⁵⁷ Rgya-dmar, short for Rgya-dmar-pa Byang-chub-grags (ca. 1095-1135, a highly influential teacher and pioneer of early scholasticism in Tibet. He had a college (*grva gsar*) in the Stod-lung region and taught in the tradition of the Yogācāra Svatantrika Madhyamaka. For details, see 1.3.4, "Teachers that guided him."

⁵⁸ Phya-pa (short for Phy(w)a-pa Chos-kyi-seng-ge, 1109-69?) one of the founding figures in Tibetan scholasticism and connected to the Gsang-phu-ne'u-thog academy, an influential center of learning at that time and later. For details, see 1.3.4.

⁵⁹ *Rigs tshogs*, a group of six Madhyamaka works by Ārya Nāgārjuna. For details, see, 1.3.3.

⁶⁰ Pa-tshab, (short for Spa-Tshab Nyi-ma-grags, 1055-after 1141), studied Sanskrit and Buddhist texts for twenty-three years with Kashmiri teachers in India (present day Śrīnagar) and revised and translated works on Madhyamaka during that period. For details, see 1.3.4.

⁶¹ Sa-phug-pa (SW,CW,SB). DM: Pa-phug-pa preceptor (*mkhan po*); Ye-shes-blo-gros master (*slob dpon*); Gcung-po 'secret' preceptor (*gsang ston*). BA: Mal-'dul-'dzin pa preceptor (*mkhan po*); Ye-shes-blo-gros master of ceremony (*las slob*) and the younger brother of Mal as 'secret' preceptor (*gsang ston*).

⁶² Stag-dur, unidentified place or person.

⁶³ Tib. Dgyes-rdor.

⁶⁴ *Gser 'phreng* adds the name Gshen-pa-rdor-sang: "asks the Hevajra tantra, [...] Cakrasaṃvara and Mahāmāyā from Ra-lcags-ston-tshul [and] listens [to expositors] on Lam-'bras by Gshen-pa-rdor-sang ... [illegible]."

⁶⁵ *rdzogs chen a ro'i lugs bsnyan rgyud*, a tradition stemming from A-ro Ye-shes 'Byung'-gnas, one of two great eleventh-century masters of the Sems sde (*sems*, 'mind') trend in *rdzogs chen*. For details see 1.3.3.

⁶⁶ Sgom-tshul, full ordination name Tshul-khrims-snying-po (1116-69), nephew of *bla ma* Lha-rje and oldest of three sons which names all begin with Sgom-pa. For details, see 1.3.4, "Teachers that guided him."

⁶⁷ Sha-ba-gling-pa, student of 'Brom-ston, and one of *bla ma* Lha-rje's teachers, see e.g. Si-tu Bstan-pa'i-nyin-byed, "Oral Transmissions of the Supreme Siddhas," in *Mahāmudrā and Related Instructions*, 288.

⁶⁸ *bla ma* Lha-rje, ordination name Bsod-nams Rin-chen (1079-1153), would become Dūsūm Khyenpa's main teacher. For details, see 1.3.4.

“[As] I have meditated on it, you [must] also have meditated on it.”

Master Sgom-pa [Tshul-khrims-snying-po] answered all kind of questions and provided things he needed.

Later, he asked the Dharma-master [*bla ma* Lha-rje]⁷¹ for *abhiṣeka*.

[Then,] after having been granted instruction on the “Path of Method” (*thabs lam, upāya-mārga*)⁷², he meditated, and after many days [of practice] great ‘warmth’ [or ‘heat’]⁷³ came up. He put on a single cloth and meditated many months [more].

Then the *bla ma* said to him, “Go meditate in Zangs-ri⁷⁴.” He lived in Zangs-ri for three months during the summer, following what [ever] related to abiding in mind.

After ‘insight’ (*lhag mthong, vipaśyanā*) had appeared like the ‘sun amid clouds’ he returned to spend [time with] the *bla ma*. He practiced three years in Sgam-po putting a lot of effort (*dka’ thub drag po*) [into his practice]. [61] Among eight hundred students he was renowned for great endurance in meditation.

Then, the *bla ma* said, “Go meditate in ’Ol-ka⁷⁵.” There, in ’Ol-ka, when he arrived at a rock-cave on the great Bri’u Mountain, a woman appeared, [who said,] “You should not stay here, [it belongs to] my mother Mārīcī⁷⁶.” Thinking that she [, the messenger-woman, probably] was a rock-*rākṣasī*⁷⁷, he [especially] meditated on *mairī* and *karuṇā* (kindness and compassion)⁷⁸.

Having practiced there for fourteen months, a special certainty was born in his mind and many wonderful ‘signs of the path’ arose. Very joyful, he returned to spend [time with the *bla ma* and to think over [some] questions. He approached the *bla ma* in Bya-rkog hermitage⁷⁹ [to share what he had experienced], who responded,

“I had great expectations of you, Grey [-haired] Khams-pa, you have indeed meditated but at present there is [still] a mistake!⁸⁰”

Having thought over [any possible] point of mistake – [actually] there was none [to his idea] – and having meditated for six [more] months in Sgam-po, [62] no [extra] development arose in meditation.

⁶⁹ *Gser ’phreng* writes instead of silk (*dar*), *dar yug* which means pieces of silk, more likely “rolls.”

⁷⁰ Tentative translation: *tho re ba zhig*, J. *tho re ba*, “a few.”

⁷¹ In Chapter 13, “Pure Appearances” [79:4], *bla ma* Lha-rje is referred to as Dharma-master (*chos rje*).

⁷² ‘Path of Method,’ in a passage in *Zhus lan* 2, Düsüm Khyenpa relates of his *gtum mo* practice under guidance of *bla ma* Lha-rje. The *gtum mo* practice (which is one Nā-ro-pa’s *chos drug*) belongs to the ‘Path of Method’.

⁷³ “great warmth,” possibly a result of the *gtum mo* practice, see earlier fn.

⁷⁴ Zangs-ri, 60 kms west of Dwags-po, the region in which the ‘seat’ of *bla ma* Lha-rje was located.

Dudjom, *Nyingma*, Vol II, map 8, J17.

⁷⁵ ’Ol-ka (SW,CW,SB), 50 km west of Dwags-po, Dudjom, *Nyingma*, ’Ol-kha, Vol II, map 8, J17. BA: ’Ol-kha-brag-gu-ri-bo-che.

⁷⁶ Tib. Jo ’Od-zer.

⁷⁷ Tib. *srin mo*, a female rock-demon.

⁷⁸ Tib. *byams snying rje*

⁷⁹ Bya-rkog hermitage, place unidentified.

⁸⁰ *nor nas ’dug pas bsgoms*, a translation which has been suggested to me is: “Having gone wrong, you [must] meditate now [correctly].” However, TC offers for *sgom pa* (TDP), pf *bsgom*, ft *bsgom*, imp *sgoms*. The pf. *bsgom* in all the three DSK editions (SW,CW, SB) does not support the “must” translation.

He reported to the *bla ma*, “Even if I would meditate for one hundred years, it is not possible that anything would have been produced in terms of an own nature.⁸¹ Though mistaken [again], [such] is my meditation!” The *bla ma* was pleased,

“Son, your connection to *saṃsāra*⁸² has been cut off,” and “[you brought to completion] the meditative instruction, which subsequently shows, points out (*ngo sprod*), ‘the way things are’ (*gnas lugs*), what it means.”

Again, *rje btsun* [Lha-rje sent him away], “Go as a religious mendicant (*ldom bu*) to Gtsang.” And, so he went as religious mendicant from there [Dwags-po, Central Tibet] to La(s)-stod⁸³ [West Tibet]. [On his way he met] two novice members, students of [the late] *bla ma* Mid-la-[ras-pa] and received the *Phyag rgya chen po rde ’u* anthology⁸⁴.

[Later on this tour] he asked Don-mo-ri-pa for “teachings he held.”⁸⁵

From Spen-phug-pa he received the Cakrasaṃvara *abhiṣeka* and numerous instructions [that had come to him] from Jo-bo [Atiśa]⁸⁶.

From Rgyab-mo-yang-khang-pa⁸⁷ he received explanations on the “Two sections” (*brtag gnyis*) [of the Hevajra tantra]⁸⁸.

Later, when returned, he did accomplishment [practice] for three summer and winters in Bya-bzangs-brag⁸⁹ in ’Phan-yul, in a [retreat hut] made from clay and rain [water].⁹⁰ [63] Since immeasurable inner-heat⁹¹ qualities arose, a joyful song [of spiritual realization] rose up in his mind. He was renowned as the ‘rock *bla ma*,’ when others appeared he would say, “I am here, [meditating, please] do not hit the mountain rocks.”

Afterwards, he went to pay respect to *Rje btsun* [Lha-rje] and stayed for many months in Sgam-po.

Again, *rje btsun* [sent him away], “Go meditate in Mon⁹².”

So, having taken five measures of salt⁹³, he went to the King of Mon, Ga-tung-gi-tsa⁹⁴, who had a consort who was Tibetan and became a friend and translator. He met the king, [as a] spiritual guide (*bla ma*) he performed ceremonies (*mchod gnas*) for the king and lived in the Mon Mountains.

⁸¹ *ngo bo la bskyed ’ong rgyu ni mi ’dug* (*skyed* SW read as *bskyed* CW,SB), Schwieger, *Handbuch zur Grammatik der klassischen tibetischen Sprache*, 135: Präsens-oder Futurstamm + *rgyu* + Seinsverb: Potentialis,

⁸² Tib. *’khor ba*, lit. wandering, cycle of rebirth.

⁸³ La(s)-stod, about 200 kms northeast of Kathmandu, see Appendix II, “Detailed list of Places.”

⁸⁴ *Phyag rgya chen po rde ’u* anthology, lit. ‘Small Great Seal (or *mahāmudrā*),’ work unidentified.

⁸⁵ Tib. *chon*, an irregular contraction of *chos can*, attested in Roloff, 62, who also offers the context *shes bya chos can*, lit. “having teachings [worthwhile] knowing.” CW and SB editions omit this Don-mo-ri-pa line.

⁸⁶ Jo-bo [Atiśa] (982-1054), Śrī Dīpaṅkara Jñāna, was an Indian a Buddhist master who visited Tibet during the later period of diffusion (*phyi dar*) of Buddhism in Tibet.

⁸⁷ Rgyab-mo-yang-khang-pa (SW), Rgyab-mo-spang-kha-ba (CW,SB). DM: Rgyab-lo-spang-khang-pa.

⁸⁸ “Two sections,” abbr. of the *Dgyes pa rdo rje rtsa ba ’i rgyud brtag pa gnyis po*, “The two sections of the Hevajra root tantra.”

⁸⁹ Bya-bzangs-brag (SW,CW,SB), Bya-bzang-brag (DM), precise location unidentified.

⁹⁰ Song no. 4, without title, in the [7] *Rje dus gsum mkhyen pa ’i mgur ’bum*, SW 315-6, *bla ma rin po che ’phan yul bya bzang du byar dgun gsum ’dag char byas nas bsgoms* (fifth sentence).

⁹¹ *gtum mo*, Skt. *caṇḍālī*, one of Nāropa’s *Chos drug*.

⁹² Mon, a former kingdom at the border of Tibet and Bhutan.

⁹³ *tsha* (SW,CW,SB), read as *tshwa*, salt.

⁹⁴ Ga-tung-gi-tsa (SW), -rtsa (CW,SB).

[Once,] when his provisions had run out [, he went down and] at the side of the path from the deep jungle a tiger emerged. While the *bla ma* (Düsum Khyenpa) secured himself on top of a big boulder, it circumambulated the place.

As it [appeared that it] intended no harm, [he continued and further] [64] on the way down two women offered him half a ‘bowl,’ made of rock, filled with beer.

When he arrived in the palace of the king, he got provisions and two men escorted [him all] the way up to the spot [where] the tiger had shown up.

While he stayed in the mountains again, he composed a song [or poem of spiritual realization], that took the border between [the countries] Mon and Tibet as pattern [for the song].⁹⁵

Later, the king sent some bundles of cotton and a mantra [against] poison and [after that the master] returned [to Dwags-po]. On the way [back], he stayed for forty days in the presence of *bla ma* Ras-chung-pa and requested the [*Mahāmudrā*] *Thun ’jog*⁹⁶ and [Nā-ro-pa’s] *Chos drug*⁹⁷. “I asked [some] good questions on Nā-ro-pa’s instructions and analyzed [them]” [, so he said].

Later, having arrived in Dwags-po⁹⁸ and meeting *bla ma* [Lha-rje], *rje btsun* said, “Did a tiger circumambulate you?” As he [said, “Yes”,] and asked [why] it had behaved like that, [*rje btsun*] replied,

“That tiger was the manifestation of a *ḍākinī*⁹⁹ and the two women [65] who brought ‘nectar’ were ‘field protector’¹⁰⁰-*ḍākinīs*, bestowing *siddhi* on you.”

He stayed there for one year.

Then *rje btsun* said, “Go to Gangs-dkar.” When he arrived there, he remained for one summer at the foot of Pha-bong-dkar-leb¹⁰¹ [in a former] hermitage of master Padma-[sambhava], practicing ‘extracting the essence’ (*bcud len*). Because of that, *ḍākinīs* brought him nourishment, and numerous precious qualities were born in the mind-stream.

The perception (*’du shes*) of the *bla ma* as a buddha came up and he composed the song / poem of which [some verses end with] “... I am no good [, if my concentration would be disturbed.]”¹⁰²

⁹⁵ Song no. 5, without title, in the [7] *Rje dus gsum mkhyen pa’i mgur ’bum*, SW 316-8, *khyod mon bod mtshams su bsgom du song* (second sentence).

⁹⁶ Schiller, *Phag mo gru pa rDo rje rgyal po*, 145, relates that the *Phag mo gru pa’i bka’ ’bum*, compiled in 1507 by the ’Bri-gung-pa Kun-dga’-rin-chen, contains a work on “... die *Bsam gtan thun ’jog* genannten *Mahāmudrā*-Unterweisungen des Ras-chung-pa...” Later Schiller records, 218, that the work (No. 94) is entitled *bla ma ras chung pa’i bsam gtan thun ’jog*, ff 12, Volume kha 27 (127r.2). The work is not included in the “Düsum Khyenpa Collection.”

⁹⁷ *Chos drug*, two works in the “Düsum Khyenpa Collection” are records of oral instructions (*zhal gdams*) on the *Chos drug*.

⁹⁸ Dwags-po, the region where the seat of *bla ma* Lha-rje was located, see Appendix II, “Detailed list of Places.”

⁹⁹ Tib. *mkha’ ’gro ma*, in esoteric Buddhism guardians from which *tāntrikas* obtain secret doctrines (PDB), lit. “sky goer.”

¹⁰⁰ *zhing skyong*, Skt. *kṣetra-pāla*.

¹⁰¹ Pha-bong-dkar-leb (SW), Pha-’ong-dkar-leb (CW,SB), see Appendix II, “Detailed list of Places.”

¹⁰² Song no. 6, without title in the [7] *Rje dus gsum mkhyen pa’i mgur ’bum*, SW 318-20, *khyod sha med gang kar la sgom song* (second sentence).

“In general,” he said, “without devoted respect (*mos gus*), positive qualities will not arise in the mind-stream. I have never perceived my *bla ma* as ordinary.”

That autumn, when he came down on the dangerous narrow path in Snye-mo Nyi-drungs¹⁰³, in a certain district, [miraculous things happened]. Four weaver women appeared in front of a house. One of them in a formal manner said, “Master, would you like a warm meal?” [As he said, “Yes”,] one went inside and said, [66] “Come up [into the house].”

As [he replied], “Please, bring it here!” she said, “Do come in, it won’t be an indiscretion.” When he entered, the four women appeared inside. They offered him food and drink in half a bowl which looked like a skull. On the two thumbs of the woman who was the cook, he saw a [form of] Cakrasaṃvara with four faces, twelve arms and his consort (*yum*).

The food and drink was a red soup of toes and fingers of men. He ate it without hesitation and it appeared to have ‘hundreds’ of excellent ‘tastes.’

The woman also raised a small cup up to the sky, drank from [it, it was] filled with what looked like milk, [and then] offered [it to him]. When he got [out through] the door, the four women appeared to be weaving [again] at the door [step].

On the way [further] down [from the mountains], the ground appeared to be soft, like a silk cushion, his body was light as cotton and his mind joyful without holding on to things.

Later on *bla ma* [Lha-rje would say, that], “The four [women] were Cakrasaṃvara *ḍākinīs*.” [67]

After that, near a hermitage called Rdzong¹⁰⁴, [situated] between the two [locations] Gzhu and Snye¹⁰⁵, he met a female meditator who tended cattle.

He asked, “Who lives in the hermitage up there?” She said, “My master lives [there].” “Well then, could you ask if we can meet?” “He is in retreat,” she said. “Could you [still] please ask, as I definitely want to meet him?” She replied, “I shall ask the *bla ma*,” and went [to find him]. Returned [she said], “Please go up.”

Having entered [the hermitage], two venerable old [persons] appeared, a male and a female. Having paid his respects, they did not respond. The venerable [ones then expressed themselves by means of] non-existing symbols [or signs], and [by that] also showed their respects in a good way.

Later, while they had tea, the *bla ma* [Rdzong-pa could speak now,] said, “Did four women invite you for a ‘dharma teaching’ today?”¹⁰⁶ When he said they had, he responded,

“They all were *ḍākinīs*; the ingredients of the soup were taken by the *ḍākinīs* in Pham-mthing¹⁰⁷, Nepal. They were from the corpse of Dharmasiddhi, householder Aśoka’s son, who had died and been delivered at Tartita charnel ground.”

When I asked, if they were there now, he replied,

“They are not. Because it is time for *ḍākinīs* to assemble [68] at the charnel ground of the city of Sambhata in Kashmir, on the twenty-fifth day at new moon, they have gone there for a festive gathering. The [four] *ḍākinīs* bestowed *siddhi* on you. The two

¹⁰³ Snye-mo Nyi-drungs; Snye-mo is a district 50 kms southeast of Mtshur-phu, Nyi-drungs unidentified.

¹⁰⁴ Rdzong, the hermitage of a *bla ma* called Rdzong-pa. The biography by Bde-chung-ba (prototype for the *Gser gling*, SW 6:6 - 7:6), relates that, at this point in the narrative, he meets (*spyang sngar*) *bla ma* Rdzong-pa, and that what follows is a dialogue between the two. Later the *Gser gling* includes *bla ma* Rdzong-pa in a list of persons whose locations of rebirth are revealed.

¹⁰⁵ Gzhu and Snye, see Appendix II, “Detailed list of Places.”

¹⁰⁶ ‘ang read as question marker *am*.

¹⁰⁷ Pham-mthing, a city southwest of Kathmandu, see Appendix II, “Detailed list of Places.”

women on the way in Mon who offered you something to drink, they were *dākinīs* as well.”

Then the thought came into Rin-po-che’s [Düsum Khyenpa’s] mind, if [later his own] hermitage would be similar to ’Phar-tshang, *bla ma* [Lha-rje]’s hermitage? *Bla ma* Rdzong-pa¹⁰⁸ [replied, repeating the thought, you think of] ’Phar-tshang hermitage of your *bla ma*.

“Will it be similar to that of mine [later]?”

Because of *bla ma* [Rdzong-pa’s clairvoyance, he] did dare to think [anymore], this and many more [things] like it [happened], he said. [Later Rzung-pa Rin-po-che also said,]

“Follow *bla ma* Lha-rje’s advice, what [ever that might be].”

“I requested the *Phyag rgya chen po thog babs*¹⁰⁹ and numerous instructions.”

After that, he arrived in Sgam-po to spend [some time], [*bla ma* Lha-rje said,] “Make preparations for Grol-sgom and Khams-pa Se-bo [the ‘Grey from Khams,’ Düsum Khyenpa].” And, in the evening he related numerous stories in a joyful state of mind [69].

Rje btsun asked [amused], “Have you [ever met] a *bla ma* who ‘knows’ [your mind stream]?” [Düsum Khyenpa said, thinking of *bla ma* Rdzong-pa,] “Yes, I have.”

[*bla ma* Lha-rje replied,] “He is a third [generation] student of *bla ma* Nā-ro-pa.”

[He remembered that] *bla ma* [Lha-rje also] exactly knew how [things] were [in one’s mind stream], as he [had said] earlier, “*Dākinīs* invited you for a meal and so on,”¹¹⁰ so there was no need to ask about this or that [, as *bla ma* Lha-rje clearly knew already]. *Rje btsun* said,

“My [own] *bla ma*, Mid-la [-ras-pa], when he stayed in total ‘fire’ [like] concentration, I had to run away as I could not hold [this] ‘fire’ [like] reality.¹¹¹ And, when he stayed in ‘water’ [like] concentration I ‘saw’ only a pool of ‘water.’ He had all good qualities and profound great ‘higher perception’ (*abhijñā, mngon par shes pa*), he had also no pride defect.

“In general, it is not befitting for a ‘great cultivator [of primordial awareness]’ (*sgom chen*)¹¹² to let pridefulness of [certain achieved] good qualities arise.”

[*Rje btsun*] bestowed [practice] instructions on me, not leaving a single one out.

Bla ma [Lha-rje] told me to go to Skam-po Gnas-nang¹¹³ [70], [however] when packed I could not [depart] due to a foot disease. “Go, [he had said,] as it will be beneficial to others.” [Later] in Zangs-zlum¹¹⁴, as I went to spend some time with master Sgom-pa [Tshul-khrims-snying-po], [Sgom-pa] said he ‘knew’ that I had those [thoughts] to go there after all [, to Skam-po Gnas-nang].

¹⁰⁸ Rdzong-pa (SW,CW,SB), comp. different readings of the name, fn. above, here same spelling.

¹⁰⁹ The *Phyag rgya chen po thog babs* is a small work, no. [30] of the Düsum Khyenpa Collection.

¹¹⁰ See passage at [64-5].

¹¹¹ CW,SB editions write: I had to run away as I could not hold that sort of fire.

¹¹² Trans. note: “great cultivator [of primordial awareness]” or “great practitioner”, *sgom chen*, understood as someone who cultivates the experience of ‘primordial awareness’ (*ye shes*) and phenomena, as inseparable.

¹¹³ **Skam-po Gnas-nang**, see 1.3.6, “Locations of places important in Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa’s life.” Düsum Khyenpa cannot go, however, later in life, at age 50, he decides to Skam-po Gnas-nang after all to honor *bla ma* Lha-rje’s wish.

¹¹⁴ Zangs-zlum, location unidentified.

Later, coming up [from Sgam-po], he spent three summer months at the old mountain Gzhu-smad-kyi-lha¹¹⁵. At that time he composed the song [called] *E ma phung po dur khrod*.¹¹⁶

That winter, having taken Gzhu-gru-bzhi¹¹⁷ [as the location to meditate], a woman invited him for a meal. She was a *ḍākinī*, who just brought food, without [any other] activity. [He said about that time,]

“Overall, when I practiced, food and clothes were not abundantly present, and clear relaxation did not always shine forth. Difficulties or weaknesses, what [ever], they could also not [disturb] me. Abundance [in retreats] is ‘tough’ [to carry] on the back, not necessary for the body from the beginning, and does not lead to dharma.”

In that time, [71] he requested *abhiṣeka* and blessing of *bla ma Vairo*-[canavajra]¹¹⁸ and asked for numerous [other things also, such as] *Cakrasaṃvara-sahaja*¹¹⁹, Rje-btsun-ma Urgyen-ma, Ti-lo-pa’s *dohā* [songs of spiritual realization], *Mahāmudrā-caṇḍālī-sahaja*¹²⁰, and so forth.

He requested the Cakrasaṃvara *abhiṣeka* from *bla ma Dpal*¹²¹ and listened to many instructions.

All in all, he lived [, after his arrival from Khams,] for thirty years in Dbus (Central Tibet) and Gtsang (West Tibet). [He said,]

“For ten years I listened [to dharma expositions] and contemplated. Twelve years I practiced [and at the end] experienced no separation [anymore] between a hand and dust.” “The [remaining] eight years I lived in Gzhu-[gru-bzhi]. As much as forty [dharma] assemblies took place and I could highly benefit many fortunate [beings]. I

¹¹⁵ Gzhu-smad-kyi-lha, location unidentified.

¹¹⁶ Song no. 8, without title, in the [7] *Rje dus gsum mkhyen pa’i mgur ’bum*, SW 321-25, consists of four sub-parts, here sub-part (c), SW 323:4-324:3, location White Lake (Mtsho-la-dkar-po), second sentence, *g ma phung po’i dur khrod na*. “White Lake”, described by Gyurme, *Footprint*, 235-6, and Filibeck, see 1.3.6, “Locations of places important in Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa’s life.”

¹¹⁷ **Gzhu-gru-bzhi**, hermitage Gru-bzhi near the city Gzhu, located in Tsā-ri, where he lived for about eight years, ca. 1152-1160, see 1.3.6, “Locations of places important in Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa’s life.”

¹¹⁸ Vairo-[canavajra], Tib. Bai-ro, see Kurtis R. Schaeffer, “The Religious Career of Vairocana – A Twelfth-Century Indian Buddhist Master from Dakṣiṇa Kośala,” *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 28 (2000): 361-384. The title of Vairocana’s biography is *Bla ma Bhe ro pa’i rnam thar*. According to Schaeffer, Vairocana is short for Vairocana or Vairocanaraksita. Schaeffer lists the writings and translations attributed to these two. Vairocana should not be mistaken for the eighth-century translator with the name Vairocana.

Schaeffer, 370, dates Vairocana’s sojourn in Tibet from the early 1120’s to 1151.

Here in the *Gser gling*, the encounter with Vairocana is set in the period that he lives in Gzhu-gru-bzhi, which is ca. 1152-1160. At age 50, in the year 1160, Düsüm Khyenpa leaves for Khams.

¹¹⁹ Tib. *bde mchog lhan skyes*.

¹²⁰ Tib. *phyag rgya chen po’i gtum mo lhan skyes*.

¹²¹ Dpal, probably Rgwa-lo-tsā-ba Gzhon-nu-dpal, Carl Yanamoto, *Vision and Violence*, 66-7, about *bla ma Zhang*’s meeting with this teacher:

“About a year after he took monastic vows, roughly 1149 ... Zhang heard that a famous lama and translator from A-mdo, Rgwa-lo-tsā-ba Gzhon-nu-dpal – known for short simply as ‘the Glorious One’ (*dpal*) – would be coming to Khams on his way to Dbus ...”

The year 1149 would be before Düsüm Khyenpa’s time in Gzhu-gru-bzhi (ca. 1152-1160), but possibly Dpal passed by later again.

offered [my] two *bla mas*¹²² [all] material possessions that manifested, except for immediate clothing.”

Then, since he [planned] to leave for Khams [, to found Skam-po Gnas-nang], he came to pay his respects to master Sgom-pa-ba¹²³, who lived in Lha-lung¹²⁴ [in Lho-brag,] with three hundred students, and brought some horses and ‘coats of mail’¹²⁵ [as gifts]. [72] The master said,

“I also once prepared [, prepared to go to the meditation abode Skam-po] Gnas-nang, but did not arrive there because of a foot illness [, as in your case]¹²⁶. Since *bla ma* [Lha-rje] ordered [you to go] you must go one time. And, if you cannot find food or practice is poor from being very much distracted, then please come back, as I am going to die.”

At this [Düsum Khyenpa] wept. Because of this [the master said,]

“Listen, I’ll tell you something! Formerly I practiced and now I am aware that all phenomena are illusory and am able to ‘see’ [as far as] Bodhgaya instantaneously, and far more.”

[Earlier] in Gzhu-[gru]-bzhi, while thinking about to go Khams [or not], the ‘spirit’ (*lha*) of the Gzhu [locality in Tsā-ri] had appeared before the [local protector] Rdo-rje-dpal-brtsegs of Skam-po¹²⁷ [Khams, and had said,] “[The master] restricted [me,] therefore do not hinder [his departure]!”

Further, Rin-dpal, the chief merchant of Zhi-mgo-ba¹²⁸, invited him and when he arrived in ’Phan-yul [north of Lha-sa], [Rin-dpal] did not permit him to move on to Tre-ho¹²⁹ [in Khams].

At that time *bla ma* Phag-mo-gru-pa¹³⁰ sent word to the venerable Ye-shes ’Od [, a student of Düsum Khyenpa]¹³¹, [73] “You should not let him go to Khams, many *abhiṣekas*

¹²² The two *bla mas* must be *bla ma* Lha-rje and *bla ma* Sgom-pa (*bla ma* Lha-rje’s nephew). In what follows, and also in later passages, it is said that he sent gifts to *bla ma* Sgom-pa (after *bla ma* Lha-rje passed away).

¹²³ Sgom-pa-ba, short for Sgom-pa Tshul-khrims-snying-po (1116-69), *bla ma* Lha-rje’s nephew; when Düsum Khyenpa returns to Khams, he is about fifty years old. Born in 1110, age fifty corresponds to the year 1160. *Bla ma* Lha-rje (1070-1153) had passed away then already.

¹²⁴ Lha-lung, situated in the region Lho-brag, south of Lha-sa, see Appendix II, “Detailed list of Places.”

¹²⁵ *khraḥ*, Das, generally made of iron rings or thin disks resembling the scales of a fish netted together. Usually they are made of iron rings or scales, or thin plates or iron foils. There are accounts of coats of mail made of silver and gold for the use of kings. In ancient Tibet a coat of mail was a valuable present.

¹²⁶ See passage at [70] where it relates that Düsum Khyenpa could not depart due to a foot disease.

¹²⁷ Rdo-rje-dpal-brtsegs, probably a deity, not mentioned in the lists I consulted.

Gamble, *Reincarnation*, 206-7, identifies Rdo-rje-dpal-brtsegs as one of the nonhuman inhabitants of the region, the deity “Vajra Glory Mound,” and that Karma-pa III, Rang-byung Rdo-rje calls him an *upāsaka*, which means that he is bound by the most fundamental vows. In Gamble he is described as a local god of Skam-po Gnas-nang, who appeared as a white man on a white horse.

BA, 481, also mentions Rdo-rje-dpal-brtsegs. When Sangs-rgyas-ras-chen comes to visit Düsum Khyenpa for the first time in Skam-po Gnas-gnang, he was ‘received’ by an *upāsaka* called Rdo-rje-dpal-brtsegs.

¹²⁸ Zhi-mgo-ba, place unidentified.

¹²⁹ Tre-bo(s), read as Tre-ho(r), Tre-ho is the region directly north of Skam-po Gnas-nang, the place Düsum Khyenpa to visit, Dudjom, *Nyingma*, Vol II, Map 10, G25.

¹³⁰ Phag-mo-gru-pa is another student of *bla ma* Lha-rje, like Düsum Khyenpa, ‘founder’ of one of the four major Bka-brgyud traditions the Phag-gru Bka’-brgyud, see e.g. Smith, *Tibetan Texts*, 43-46.

¹³¹ Ye-shes ’Od, a student of Düsum Khyenpa, mentioned twice in the *Gser gling*.

and inaugurations will be requested. He must not do it, I am concerned it will endanger his life span.” Rin-po-che [Düsum Khyenpa] replied,

“He is kind to me; [however,] I shall not go into the mountain area without five younger ones. [And,] I shall not perform *abhiṣekas* and inaugurations without measurement [of the effect of it] on the mind (*vid*) at that time. I am capable of a life span as long as that of *bla ma* Mid-la¹³².”

[However,] he returned [for a while] and stayed in the hermitage Mtshur-gyi-ngos-bzang(s)¹³³. Then [some time later], though a noble patron, a guest from Kol-ti-ba¹³⁴, invited him, and he arrived in ’Phan-yul [Central Tibet again, now] a guest from Tre-bo [Khams] did not allow [him to go].

Back in Gzhu-[gru-bzhi], he went to pay his respects [for the last time,] to master Sgom-pa Snying-po¹³⁵ who was in Se-ru [now], bringing some good horses and [other] gifts.

After that he accepted [74] the invitation from Tre-bo, and being fifty years old, went to Khams. For two years he lived in Zla-stod-gyi-’khar-ser¹³⁶, he could benefit some fortunate [beings] here and also sent gifts to master Sgom-pa.

He stayed two years in [the region] Tre for the welfare of some fortunate ones.

At age fifty-five he came to Skam-po Gnas-nang¹³⁷. He could be useful to many beings, since many great practitioners (*sgom chen*) with understanding appeared. Over five years he sent tea, fifty “dzo”¹³⁸, and so forth, to the [Dwags-po] ‘seat’¹³⁹ [now the residence of master Sgom-pa].

At age sixty-seven, he became ill, all attendants and students had gathered saying, “We are afraid the *bla ma* will pass away. What should we do?”

Having spoken with the saṅgha, *bla ma* Stag-de’u-ba¹⁴⁰ and ten older students addressed [the master], “Though students performed a [75] ritual (*rim gro*) with regard to this disease, Rin-po-che’s illness, it did not appear to be helpful. Should we ask to perform [another] one, and now amass accumulations [of merit] in name of the *bla ma*?” Rin-po-che replied,

“You [all] think that I shall die. [However,] at the moment I shall not die. I am capable of a lifespan as large as *bla ma* Mid-la’s, so a sudden [death] will not occur. Break with this [idea] to amass accumulations.”

“[Instead] amass seven turquoises, and more [gifts], [and have it sent to] the ‘seat,’ because of that the state of health will then restore.”

¹³² Mid-la-[ras-pa] (1040-1123), famous poet, *yogin* and teacher of *bla ma* Lha-rje, Mid-la ras-pa reached the age of eighty-three.

¹³³ Mtshur-gyi-ngos-bzang(s), place unidentified.

¹³⁴ Kol-ti-ba, place unidentified.

¹³⁵ Düsum Khyenpa apparently meets him one more time, after the last visit in which Sgom-pa-snying-po announced that he will die, see at [72].

¹³⁶ Zla-stod-gyi-’khar-ser (SW), La-stod-kyi-mkhar-ser (CW,SB), location unidentified.

¹³⁷ Düsum Khyenpa will live at **Skam-po Gnas-nang** for about nineteen years, see 1.3.6, “Locations of places important in Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa’s life.”

¹³⁸ “dzo” (*mdzo*), a breed between the yak-bull and the common cow, very strong and used as pack animal.

¹³⁹ As for the history of the [Dwags-po] “seat,” compare BA, 464: “At the age of thirty-five, he [Sgom-pa Tshul-khrims Snying-po (1116-69), therefore in the year 1151] was nominated to the chair. Sgam-po-pa said: “I have grown old! You should go and see Tshul-khrims Snying-po.”

Two years later, in 1153, Sgam-po-pa passed away, Düsum Khyenpa is 43 years old then. When Sgom-pa Tshul-khrims-snying-po passes away, Düsum Khyenpa is 59 years old and then lives in Khams.

¹⁴⁰ Stag-de’u-ba, transmissionholder and student of Düsum Khyenpa, three times mentioned in the *Gser gling*.

After that, as he considered to return to Dbus [Central Tibet], [the local deity of Skam-po] Rdo-rje-dpal-brtsegs¹⁴¹ asked for teachings beneficial [to him personally] “Please, give them!” Having heard of this all *saṅgha* [members] asked for [the same], it would have taken many years.

[At this time] *dge bshes* Tshul-khrims-mchog of Ka-brag had entrusted two letters to one [of my] respectable ones [, students]. The [first] letter said that he would come one time to the *bla ma* [, me,] in Tre, so that I could meet him. [The second,] that he could not come, [but] asked [me] by all means to come [to him].

[Further,] a Bengali¹⁴² had come down [all the way] from India. [76] As he came from Tong-kun¹⁴³ up to Sa-skya, he arrived with a document from India, saying, “Hand this over to that *bla ma*.” Two [persons] took it and so it arrived [before the *bla ma*, who said,] “I know the purpose of this letter from India.” Further, having [ordered all to] come and removed the dirt from [the letter, he said that] the *saṅgha* had not listened, and in that way had delayed [his leave]. Then, seventy-four¹⁴⁴ years old he travelled up to ’Bri-klung¹⁴⁵.

In Sbas-yul¹⁴⁶, he benefitted *dge bshes* Gyang-skya-ba and so forth, many beings, and set them into bliss. He stayed for the summer in Lhong-khra, visited every *saṅgha* of the mighty dharma in the noble ’Bri [region] and set them on the path of maturity and freedom.

Then, returned to Tre, every disagreement naturally calmed down by itself and he could bring every person in the region to bliss.

Dge bshes Tshul-khrims-mchog [on whose request he had come to visit, see passage above,] stopped dying, lived two years [more] and could benefit many beings.

[At that time Düsüm Khyenpa] sent presents to the ‘seat,’ seven big turquoises and thirty [loads] of tea. [77]

After that he stayed in Lce-ba in ’Bri-klung¹⁴⁷. Since every ‘trainee’ (*gdul bya*) assembled there, he could set about a thousand ‘buddhists’ (*rab tu byung ba*) who appeared, on the path of maturity and freedom.

When he arrived in Zla-smad¹⁴⁸, he established the hermitage [or monastery] in Kle’u¹⁴⁹ Karma¹⁵⁰ and brought every ‘trainee’ to maturation. [Persons with] disagreements reconciled and every prisoner was set free.

[Again] he sent [gifts like] the *Gser ’bum* [the *Prajñāpāramitā* in One Hundred Thousand Verses], turquoises and silver to the [Dwags-po] ‘seat.’

He could work for the welfare of beings and after having removed [negative] imprints (*shul*) in Lho-brgyud¹⁵¹, he travelled to Dbus [Central Tibet again].

¹⁴¹ Rdo-rje-dpal-brtsegs, see fn. in the translation at [75].

¹⁴² *a tsa ra rgya* (SW), *a tsa ra* (CW,SB), (Das) a corruption of Acharya, the general name by which people of India particularly Bengalis are known to the Tibetans.

¹⁴³ Tong-kun, also at SW 98, and at SW 86 spelled as Stong-kun(g) (S)tong-kun(g), the “Eastern Capital, is an early name of what later would become Kaifeng, one of the most important mercantile city in China during the 11th century. On Tong-kun see Sam van Schaik, “Ruler of the East, or Eastern Capital,” and the extensive footnote in 1.3.7, “Some social and economic aspects of the master’s life.”

¹⁴⁴ “seventy-four”, SW,CW, “seventy-nine” SB.

¹⁴⁵ ’Bri-klung, place unidentified.

¹⁴⁶ Sbas-yul, unidentified.

¹⁴⁷ ’Bri-klung-lce-ba (SW,SB), -we-ba (CW), place unidentified.

¹⁴⁸ Zla-smad, unidentified.

¹⁴⁹ Kle’u, unidentified(SW, CW,SB), DM: Klu’u.

¹⁵⁰ Karma, for the location see, Dudjom, *Nyingma*, Vol. II, map 10 G22.

Gyurme, *Footsteps*, 422: “... Karma Gon, ... Karma Kagyu monastery, ... founded ... by the First Karmapa Dusüm Khyenpa. See Appendix II: “Detailed list of Places.”

He [continued] to send gifts to the ‘seat,’ [now] four copies of the *Prajñāpāramitā* in One Hundred Thousand Verses, a set of many *sūtras*, and more in general [gave] one hundred and ten books [written in] gold, ten big turquoises, fifty ‘dzo,’ horses, and so forth. He accumulated for the central chief monasteries in Dbus and Gtsang, mainly the two [connected with] Jo-bo Six-Syllable-One (Avalokiteśvara)¹⁵² and Jo-bo Shākya-[muni], seventy horses, and in general hundred[s of other] ‘fine goods’. [78]

At that time he founded the ‘seat’ in Mtshur-phu¹⁵³, Stod-lung(s). Having settled every disagreement between the ’Tshal-pa and Dag-ra-ba¹⁵⁴, he brought bliss to the people in the region. He could bring maturation and freedom to [all] Tibetan ‘trainees’ without exception who were gathered there.

[End of] the eleventh chapter, ‘Recounting the years of effort [in practice and study] and [work for] the welfare of others’.

Chapter 12, Pure Appearances

When Rin-po-che arrived¹⁵⁵ for the first time in Sgam-po [to meet *bla ma* Lha-rje] [and was led] ‘before’ *dge bshes* Shwa-ba-gling-pa¹⁵⁶, he [first] met master Sgom-pa¹⁵⁷ and at that time saw [Sgom-pa] as one with Sita-Tārā¹⁵⁸.

[Later, when our] high *bla ma* (Düsum Khyenpa) knew [him better], [Sgom-pa] Tshul-[khrims]-snying-[po] [told him, to make such a thing happen,] “Rely on the [meditative] ‘generation stage’ (*bskyed rim, utpattikrama*).”

Further, when he asked Dharma-master [Sgom-pa Tshul-snying]¹⁵⁹ for *abhiṣeka*, [he proclaimed afterwards,] “I saw him as one with Hevajra’s¹⁶⁰ ‘body,’ residing in a circle of light.”

Also, when four companions asked master Sgom-pa for *abhiṣeka*, the companions saw the master [79] as Heruka¹⁶¹ and agreed on what they had seen and on what had appeared. Having asked *bla ma* [Sgom-pa about it, he said, “Yes”,] “I am Heruka!”

[In all,] he saw master Sgom-pa in six visions, [as Sita-Tārā,] in three visions as Hevajra, as Vajrayoginī¹⁶², and as a mass of light. When he asked [the master] about the time he saw him as light, [he said,] “Having totally meditated [on the element] water, I am totally able [to meditate upon] everything else too.”

¹⁵¹ Lho-brgyud, location unidentified.

¹⁵² Tib. *jo bo yi ge drug pa*, referring to Avalokiteśvara and his six-syllable mantra.

¹⁵³ **Mtshur-phu**, see 1.3.6, “Locations of places important in Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa’s life.”

¹⁵⁴ ’Tshal-pa, Dag-ra-ba (SW,CW,SB). DM: Mtshar-pa (!) and Sga-ra-ba (!).

¹⁵⁵ Trans. note: when Düsum Khyenpa (1110-1193) arrived in Sgam-po, he was 30 years old. At that time *bla ma* Lha-rje (1079-1153) was 61 years old. Sgom-pa Tshul-khrims Snying-po (1116-69) was 24.

¹⁵⁶ Sha-ba-gling-pa, student of ’Brom-ston and one of *bla ma* Lha-rje’s teachers, see earlier fn. at [59].

¹⁵⁷ Sgom-pa, short for Sgom-pa Tshul-khrims-snying-po (1116-69), nephew of *bla ma* Lha-rje.

¹⁵⁸ Tib. Sgrol-ma-dkar-mo, White Tārā.

¹⁵⁹ The beginning of Chapter 13 concerns Sgom-pa Tshul-snying, therefore, the Dharma-master in this case probably is Sgom-pa Tshul-snying and not *bla ma* Lha-rje.

¹⁶⁰ Tib. Dgyes-mdzad-rdo-rje.

¹⁶¹ Heruka, in esoteric Buddhism a generic name for a buddha in a wrathful (*krodha*) aspect, especially in the form of Cakrasamvara (PDB).

¹⁶² Tib. Rdo-rje-rnal-’byor-ma.

At the time he stayed in [Gzhu]-gru-bzhi, he heard that Dharma-master [*bla ma* Lha-rje]'s body was vanishing [or deteriorating]. As he went to visit Pho-rog-rdzong-chung¹⁶³ hermitage, with both master Sgom-pa and master 'Phags-pa, he had to hold onto master Sgom-pa's clothes and shed tears. To clear away their distress, the eminent *rje btsun* [, *bla ma* Lha-rje,] vividly went into a 'body' [in which] the entire sky was a rainbow. [80] The three, teachers and 'student',¹⁶⁴ agreed on what they saw and what had manifested, 'draw their breath,' and [then] it vanished'.

[Once,] when he stayed in [Skam-po] Gnas-nang, Bde-chung-sangs-rgyas¹⁶⁵ [a student of Düsüm Khyenpa] had gone to Lho-bstod¹⁶⁶ as a religious mendicant. [On the way] he had heard that Dwags-lha-sgam-po, the 'seat' of *bla ma* [Lha-rje] had been destroyed.

As it had been brought up, Rin-po-che [Düsüm Khyenpa] looked into 'mind' and first Dwags-po clearly appeared, then ['sight' as far as] Nepal was clear, then all directions and their limits, above [and below,] became clear, and because of that he could see many 'buddha realms.' [Then] he said, "[The rumour of] the destruction of 'seat' is not true." Having been asked, "How so?" "Because right now I looked [at it], saw [it]!" he replied. And, spoke of similar [things] on top.

At [Skam-po] Gnas-nang in the Year of the Dog [1166 or 1178]¹⁶⁷, in a deep [state] during a ceremony [to commemorate] the deceased *bla ma* [Lha-rje], he had a vision in the sky of Shākyamuni and others, [as well as] immeasurable *maṇḍalas* of deities and their assemblies.

In particular, he had a vision of Rje-btsun Yoginī [81] with one thousand heads, one thousand eyes, surrounded by thirty-six heroines, who said,

“[Seeing me like] this [illustrates] Heruka's¹⁶⁸ glorious tantra,
Which holds that 'mind' is without impurity.
[All] phenomenal manifestations are 'pure' and
Emerge as forms of [me, Vajra]-vārāhī¹⁶⁹.”

At [Skam-po] Gnas-nang on the full moon of the first month in autumn, he [again] performed a ceremony for the deceased *bla ma* [Lha-rje]. When half of the day had passed, *bla ma* Lha-rje, together with the attendants Legs-mdzes¹⁷⁰ and Grags-mdzes, appeared in the sky amid rainbows and many [other things] that appeared too, such as parasols and *maṇḍalas*. *Bla ma* [Lha-rje], residing as the main figure in the entourage, said,

“Son, the goal concerning the view is nonduality;

¹⁶³ Pho-rog-rdzong-chung, location unidentified.

¹⁶⁴ The 'student' in this case is probably Düsüm Khyenpa.

¹⁶⁵ Bde-chung-sangs-rgyas (CW,SB), 'De- (SW), student of the master and author of the earliest biography of Düsüm Khyenpa. BA: 'De-chung-ba, 482.

¹⁶⁶ Lho-bstod (SW), -stod (CS,SB), location unidentified.

¹⁶⁷ The year can be (*me*) *khyi*, 1166 or (*sa*) *khyi*, 1178. Skam-po Gnas-nang was founded about 1165, and would become the master's main location for about 18 years. *Bla ma* Lha-rje passed on in 1153. The year 1190 (*lcags*) *khyi*, should be excluded, as at that time he is not in Gnas-nang but in Mtshur-phu.

¹⁶⁸ Heruka, see earlier fn., can refer to Hevajra, Cakrasamvara and more deities.

¹⁶⁹ Tib. [Rdo-rje-]Phag-mo.

¹⁷⁰ Legs-mdzes is the author of one of the *Tshogs chos*, included in the *Dags po'i bka' 'bum*, discussed by Kragh, *Tibetan Yoga and Mysticism*, 227-253. Kragh translates the title of this *Tshogs chos* as "Teaching to the Gathering Given by the Protector Candraprabha Kumāra." The last name stands for *bla ma* Lha-rje.

The goal with regard to meditation is undistractedness [or one-pointedness];
 The goal concerning conduct [or action] is unification¹⁷¹;
 The goal with regard to the result is [to hold] the three [as] inseparable.”

Further, when he was asked to inaugurate an image of himself [82] and an image of the Hevajra *maṇḍala*, he [suddenly stopped] while reciting a [passage on] ‘dependent origination’ (*rten ’brel*)¹⁷² and said, “[Please recite] the Praise of Tārā.” When he was asked later, “Why was that?” he replied, “Two [forms of] Tārā with nine female deities [each] arrived and merged into the ‘thangka’¹⁷³.”

Furthermore, when the inauguration of patron Skya Dgon-pa-ba’s ‘deity shrine’ was requested, on his way ‘to bring it alive’¹⁷⁴, he had a vision of Śrī Devī¹⁷⁵. And, while performing the inauguration he heard the sound of the *damaru* and *ā ḷ kā ḷ*¹⁷⁶ [sounds] in the sky, and when he looked up he had a vision of an immeasurable assembly of deities in the sky. He heard a voice saying,

“Let view and meditation go together [like] water in the air [, and]
 Without interruptions [aim for unification]-conduct¹⁷⁷, without [craving for]
 attainment.

When inseparably [applied], the three [reflect the] innate [or natural state].
 Relative [truth]¹⁷⁸ is [sweetly attracting] like the sound of the *vīṇā*¹⁷⁹. [Know that]
 It is inseparable from Absolute [truth]¹⁸⁰ [or] ‘suchness’¹⁸¹” [83]

In that region he said, “I heard instructions on the Praise-to-Hevajra-in-Eight-Verses and the “intermediate states”¹⁸².”

Further, “In Gnās-nang, I had a vision of the dharmaprotector, [standing] on top of a great snow mountain in a black cloud amidst immeasurable whirling hooked-knives (*gri gug*).

When he was asked how many assemblies of deities he in all had ‘seen,’ [he replied],

“They cannot be counted, but I ‘saw’ thirty-five Buddhas, Mārīcī¹⁸³, the Black Wrathful (female) One¹⁸⁴, the *maṇḍala* of Hevajra, the *maṇḍala* of Cakrasaṃvara, the

¹⁷¹ Trans. note, conduct that is unification (*zung du ’jug pa*) can be understood as that one behaves (or acts) from the understanding that phenomena (arising in ‘mind’) and where they come from (arising from ‘mind’) are “one”, nondual.

¹⁷² Trans. note, ‘dependent origination’ (*rten cing ’brel bar ’byung ba, pratītyasamutpāda*), lit. “origination by dependence” (of one thing on another), one of the core teachings in Buddhism.

¹⁷³ *thang ka*, a Tibetan painting usually on canvas.

¹⁷⁴ problematic, *zhud pa*, lit. “to rub”

¹⁷⁵ Tib. Dpal-ldan-ma, short for Dpal-ldan Lha-mo, or Rang-’byung Rgyal-mo, or Dpal Remaṅ; some works at the the end of the “Düsum Khyenpa Collection” are related to this deity.

¹⁷⁶ *ā ḷ kā ḷ*, denotes the vowels and consonants of the Sanskrit alphabet. In ancient India, ‘sound’ was regarded the very essence of a physical manifestation. There is a myth about the god Śiva, dancing. When his feet touch the ground, he manifests the Sanskrit alphabet, manifests ‘sound’ and so creation. Here, hearing the *ā ḷ kā ḷ* alphabet is a very good sign then, hearing the basis of creation.

¹⁷⁷ “[... unification]-conduct”, see also verselines at [81].

¹⁷⁸ Relative [truth], *kun rdzob [bden pa]*, Skt. *saṃvṛtti[-satya]*, a term for the phenomenal world.

¹⁷⁹ Tib. *pi wang*, (Das) a kind of guitar.

¹⁸⁰ Absolute [truth], *don [dam bden pa]*, Skt. [*parama*] *artha[satya]*, a term for ‘mind,’ phenomena arise from ‘mind,’ are part of it, and fall back into it.

¹⁸¹ *de nyid*, read as *de kho na nyid*, Skt. *tattva*.

¹⁸² Tib. *bar do*, Skt. *antarābhavāḥ*, six in all, see PDB.

maṇḍala of Guhyasamāja, the Assembly of deities of Kṛṣṇa Yamāri¹⁸⁵, the Assembly of deities of Bhairava¹⁸⁶; during a *gaṇacakra* Mahāmāyā [with her] five deities, Five deity Rje-btsun-ma, White Rje-btsun-ma (White Tārā)¹⁸⁷ included.

“And, at Gnas-nang, Acala and Nairatmya¹⁸⁸ [appeared] kissing, and Blue Tārā acting as the female companion towards Acala, and [84] Hevajra Sahaja.

“At [Gzhu]-gru-bzhi, Cakrasaṃvara Sahaja [appeared].

“At Sa-phuk¹⁸⁹, I had a vision of Nairatmya acting as the female companion towards Amṛtakuṇḍalin¹⁹⁰, a *maṇḍala* of nine deities.

“Further, above a splendid mountain in the south, [I saw] Vajrayoginī, naked, her hair loose, experiencing bliss, holding a skull [cup] and a hooked knife, without ornaments with the right leg put into the elbow of the left arm.”

“Also, [once] many *ā ! kā !* [sounds] manifested in the sky, and afterwards I had a vision of Nairatmya, [a *maṇḍala* of] fifteen deities.”

Rin-po-che [Düsum Khyenpa] [said that once] he travelled [through] the sky to the charnel ground in Sing-ga [Śri Lanka]¹⁹¹ “I met master Vajraghaṅṅā¹⁹² and requested [his support].”

Then he said that in the deep [state] of a ceremony for the deceased [*bla ma* Lha-rje], he had met master Sgom [Tshul]¹⁹³, in the grove of the ‘roaming water buffalo,’ north of Bodhgaya. The master said, [85] “[Amazing,] you even have the power to come here!” “I listened to many instructions and words [of him].”

[End of] the twelfth chapter, ‘Pure Appearances’.

Chapter 13, Visionary Dreams

In Skam-po [Gnas-nang], in a dream, Rin-po-che saw that all phenomena are dream-like illusions. At that time *bla ma* Lha-rje told him [in the dream¹⁹⁴], “You must practice the ‘joy-manifesting transference-of-consciousness’ (*mngon dga’i ’pho ba*).”

[Then,] Rin-po-che manifested [himself] ‘illusion-like’ into the sky as Hevajra and his *maṇḍala* of deities, nine [in all]¹⁹⁵, and *bla ma* [Lha-rje] himself also did [manifest] as the

¹⁸³ Tib. ’Od-zer-can.

¹⁸⁴ Tib. ’Khros-ma-nag-mo (SW), Khros- (CW,SB), *Deities Tib. Buddh.*, No. 89, Phag-mo Khros-nag a form of Rdo-rje-phag-mo or Vajravārāhī.

¹⁸⁵ Tib. Dgra-nag *Deities Tib. Buddh.*, No. 460 and 510, Dgra-nag Gshin-rje-gshed, Black Yamāri, a form of Yamāntaka.

¹⁸⁶ Tib. ’Jigs-byed.

¹⁸⁷ White Rje-btsun-ma is probably White Tārā, as *Gser ’phreng* 165:3, possibly a precursor of the *Gser gling*, writes Sgrol-ma dkar-mo.

¹⁸⁸ Tib. Bdag-med-ma, consort of Hevajra.

¹⁸⁹ Sa-phug, unidentified.

¹⁹⁰ Tib. Bdud-rtsi-’khyil-pa, *Deities Tib. Buddh.*, No. 214 and 491, there also called Khro-bo-bgegs-mthar-byed, Skt. Vighnāntaka (Hindrancer-slayer).

¹⁹¹ Das: *sing ga la’i gling*, “the modern Ceylon” > Sri Lanka.

¹⁹² Tib. Rdo-rje-dril-bu, *mahāsiddha* of India, Dowman, *Masters Mahāmudrā*, 267-75.

¹⁹³ Sgom [Tshul], short for Sgom-pa Tshul-khrims-snying-po (1116-69), nephew of *bla ma* Lha-rje. At this time Sgom [Tshul] may have passed on already, as he died in 1169.

¹⁹⁴ Düsum Khyenpa lives in Skam-po Gnas-nang from 1165, *bla ma* Lha-rje passed on in 1153.

¹⁹⁵ For Hevajra see D.L. Snellgrove, *The Hevajra Tantra, A Critical Study* (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), 58: “[Hevajra] is in the company of eight goddesses who are wearing all their adornments. Gaurī

nine deities. After that, [it all] dissolved as ‘mind-heart’ (*thugs ka*) of the sky-deity manifestation. Caurī and so forth, the eight deities, uttered “*dza*,” and were drawn into me. As [identical *maṇḍalas* of the two of them] had vanished in the sky, *bla ma* Lha-rje was pleased and said, “We both are in harmony.” [86]

Also, in a dream, as Rin-po-che wished to see the city of Drib-bstan¹⁹⁶ in Kashmir and [in doing so] manifested as many hundreds and thousands (*brgya stong du*) bodies: “We went through the sky seated on swans and lion-thrones, and having come above Drib-bstan, we heard [the sound] of many musical instruments that [actually] were not there.”

Once [in a dream], wishing to see Stong-kung¹⁹⁷ and arriving at Pe-tsha-mkhar¹⁹⁸, he thought, “Will *dge bshes* Shes-rab *bla ma*¹⁹⁹, who has been reborn as the son of a rich man, recognize [me] or not?” “It appeared he did know [me, showing] signs of ‘laughter and joy’.”

Again, in a dream, while the *bla ma* sat upon a [stack of] one hundred piled up rocks, experiencing bliss, eight *ḍākinīs* with bone-ornaments respectfully offered [87] garlands of flowers. When Rin-po-che threw them into the sky, they changed into a ‘house’ made of piled up jewelry and lotuses. “Coming out [of the house], a horse and a lion manifested, I mounted them and went off.”

When Rin-po-che in a dream travelled down the northern route, he found the corpse of a plump woman. When cut into pieces²⁰⁰, from the lower end of the ribs many *ḍamarus* appeared. Their sounds spread out [and faded into] a murmur which vanished into the sky. Rin-po-che went [along with the sound], and [in doing so] arrived in Oḍḍiyāna, where a woman said to him, “Upward from here, is the realm of the wisdom-*ḍākinīs*, downward from here is the realm of the wordly *ḍākinīs*.” “I heard instructions [worthwhile] to follow.”

At [Gzhu]-gru-bzhi, he dreamt that he was swallowed by a large snake, except for [his] big toe.

At Phag-ri²⁰¹, he [dreamt] that he warded off lightning by pointing his forefinger at it.

At Skam-po [Gnas-nang], facing [potential] planetary Rāhula²⁰²-trouble, [88] he warded it off by the [mere] thought²⁰³, “Let’s become acquainted over there.”

holds the moon, Caurī the sun-vessel, Vetālī holds water, Ghasmarī medicament, Pukkasī holds a *vajra*, Śavarī the ambrosia, and Caṇḍālī sounds a drum. By these the Lord is worshipped, with Ḍombī clinging to his neck [...].” Eight goddesses plus Hevajra makes nine. Caurī appears in the next sentence.

¹⁹⁶ Drib-bstan (SW), Grib-gtan (CW,SB). The place Drib-gtan together with the variant spelling is mentioned four times in the *Gser gling*. To which Kashmirian place or city could it refer? Matthew Kapstein offered that *drib bstan* / *grib gtan* could be a phonetic rendering of *khri brtan*, Skt. *adhiṣṭhāna*, one of the old names of Śrīnagar in Kashmir. MW offers as one of more translations of *adhiṣṭhāna*, “settlement, town.” A name for the old city of Śrīnagar is Purāṇa- adhiṣṭhāna.

¹⁹⁷ Stong-kung (SW), -kun (CW,SB), the magnificent “Eastern Capital” of the Song-dynasty. On Tong-kun see Sam van Schaik, “Ruler of the East, or Eastern Capital,” and the extensive footnote in 1.3.7, “Some social and economic aspects of the master’s life.”

¹⁹⁸ Pe-tsha-mkhar (SW), Se- (CW,SB), place unidentified.

¹⁹⁹ Shes-rab *bla ma*, a student of Dūsum Khyenpa, mentioned twice in the *Gser ling*.

²⁰⁰ Trans. note: “a corpse cut into pieces”, this may refer to the traditional Tibetan “sky-burial” phenomenon, in which human remains are laid out at high places to still be of use to the birds.

²⁰¹ Phag-ri, place unidentified.

²⁰² *ra hu la* (SW,SB), *rā hu la* (CW), J. : *rā hu* and *rā hu la*, see *sgra gcan*, “eclipse of sun or moon.”

²⁰³ *sam pa*, read as *bsam pa*.

At [Skam-po] Gnas-nang, in a dream, he met *bla ma* Lha-rje sitting in a cave at a mountain in India, and when he asked, “*Bla ma*, have you come up deceptively [as an illusion]?” [He replied,] “[No,] I am born from the womb.” Then he asked for dharma [teachings]. [*Bla ma* Lha-rje replied],

“When you have given up the object of birth²⁰⁴, you are really separated from attachment and anger.

When you [obtained] meaningful discipline²⁰⁵, you really acquired ‘going to bliss’.
When you practiced exertion in [a certain] method, you really acquired that path.
When you put [your mind] to rest in the unartificial natural²⁰⁶ ‘ground,’ you definitely realized the goal.”

Further, in a dream, an ascetic [dressed] in white *kuśa* [grass] appeared who said, “Do you want come [with me] to listen to the Buddha and his teachings?²⁰⁷” He thought, “Is he Maitreya²⁰⁸ [then, since Buddhas such as] Dīpaṅkara²⁰⁹ and Shākyamuni are not alive [anymore]?” Having been asked, he said “Yes, I am.” [And then, both] departed on top of what appeared to be a ray of sunlight and arrived in Tuṣita²¹⁰. Maitreya resided [there, now] in *sambhogakāya*²¹¹ dress and was teaching the dharma to [89] many monks in white [clothes]. He [, Rin-po-che,] listened as well [and heard],

“Here nothing is to be removed [or cleansed] whatsoever.
Without even a bit to leave [behind or add],
Really ‘look’ at ‘reality’ (*yang dag nyid*)!
To really ‘see’ is total freedom.”²¹²

²⁰⁴ Trans. note: “object of birth”, plausibly this is the human body together with the psychological imprints: karma and afflictions (attachment, anger etc.).

²⁰⁵ *tshul khrims*, Skt. *śīla*, conduct, discipline or integrity, one of six or ten *pāramitās*.

²⁰⁶ *rang* read as *rang bzhin*, “natural.”

²⁰⁷ *e ’ong*; J., *e*, an interrogative marker usually put immediately before the verb.

²⁰⁸ Tib. Byams-pa, Maitreya in Sanskrit is “The Benevolent One”, the name of the next Buddha, who now abides in Tuṣita heaven as a bodhisattva, awaiting the proper time for him to take his final rebirth (PDB).

²⁰⁹ Tib. Mar-me-mdzad, a Buddha of the past, see e.g. PDB.

²¹⁰ Tib. Dga’-ldan, in Buddhist cosmology Tuṣita is the fourth highest of six heavens within the sensuous realm, *kāmadhatu* (PDB).

²¹¹ Tib. *longs spyod rdzogs pa sku*, lit. “enjoyment body”, “... *sambhogakāya* is simultaneously a body for one’s own enjoyment, in which the buddha knows the joy that comes from experiencing dharma for oneself; and a body for others’ enjoyment, in which advanced bodhisattvas experience the magnificence of the buddha’s grandeur as they continue to move up the bodhisattva path. ...” (PDB).

²¹² This is a famous verse as it is included in many Mahāyāna works, as for example the *Ratnagotravibhāga (Uttaratantra)*. See e.g. Jikido Takasaki, *A Study on the Ratnagotravibhāga (Uttaratantra)* (Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio Oriente, 1966), Chapter I, entitled ‘the Matrix of the Tathāgata,’ 300. Based on the Sanskrit text we find the following translation:

“Here there is nothing to be removed
And absolutely nothing to be added,
The Truth should be perceived as it is,
And he who sees the Truth becomes liberated.”

Takasaki mentions in a fn. nine more important works in Mahāyāna literature, where this verse is recorded.

Additionally, apart from the sources above, we find the verse in one of the works of Maitrīpa (986-1063 CE), the *Caturmudrānvaya*, trans. *The Succession of the Four Seals*, in Klaus-Dieter Mathes, *A Fine Blend of*

[These] and more [teachings of] profound meaning were heard.

Also in a dream, having departed in western direction, he [saw] Ekādaśa-mukha-mahākaruṇa²¹³ [, the “Eleven-Faced Great Compassionate One”,] residing within a dome of rainbow light. And, manifested, He gave numerous medicine pills (*smān gyi ril bu*), and [said] in the dream, “Give them all to others, so that it may benefit [them].”

Furthermore, in a dream, while Rin-po-che sat as Hevajra-in-union on top of a lotus in a lake; eight Hevajra deities²¹⁴, from the eight directions, played the *vīṇa*. From the sound [he understood,] “There is great bliss in western direction.” An invitation to come [over there thus] was offered²¹⁵. [Rin-po-che said,] “It was a death-sign, and after I repelled it, it did not [90] accumulate.”

A while later, he wished to travel to Nepal, [but] the eight Hevajra deities said, “Do not go yet!” “Though [my] eyes were open, they [seemed] to ‘address’²¹⁶ me from every direction.”

At [Skam-po] Gnas-nang, during full moon under the Anurādhā star constellation²¹⁷ he [once more] performed a ceremony [to commemorate] *bla ma* [Lha-rje]. In the evening he ‘focused upon’ (*gsol ba btāb*) the *bla ma* and at dawn *bla ma* Lha-rje came to him in a dream. [Rin-po-che] composed [the following] song about the dharma [the *bla ma*] had spoken of.

“Yesterday, during Anurādhā full moon,
I focused in the evening upon [*bla ma* Lha]-rjé.
[Then,] at dawn, in a dream, while asleep,
I had come clearly before *rje btsun*.
When, for the good of [*bla ma* Lha]-rjé’s ‘perfected mind’
I had made offerings to the Three [Jewels and/or Roots],
[Lha]-rjé said the following words.

Mahāmudrā and Madhyamaka (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2015), 123.

Based on the Sanskrit text Mathes translates:

“There is nothing to be removed from it
And nothing to be added
The real should be seen as real
And seeing the real, one becomes liberated.” (CMA 6)

In the “Düsum Khyenpa Collection,” I located this verse, four times, until now. First, it is included in the Bde-chung-ba biography SW 20:5, which is the prototype for the *Gser gling*. Second, here, in the *Gser gling* itself. Third, twice in the *Tshogs chos*, trans. [Five] *Teachings to an Assembly*, ascribed to Düsum Khyenpa, the verse appears in the second teaching, SW 276:5-6, and in the fifth teaching, SW 290:3-4.

²¹³ -mahākaruṇa (or -karuṇā, or -karuṇika), Tib. Thugs-rje-chen-po-zhal-bcu-gcig-pa, the “Eleven-Faced Great Compassionate One”; for Ekādaśa-mukha see *Deities Tib. Buddh.*, no. 104.

²¹⁴ Hevajra *maṇḍala*, Hevajra plus eight goddesses, see earlier fn.

²¹⁵ Trans. note: probably a reference to the realm of Buddha ’Od-dpag-med, the Buddha of Limitless Light, whose realm of Great Bliss (Sukhāvātī, Tib. Bde-ba-can) is ‘located in western direction.’ As many buddhists aspire to go there, after having passing away, ‘sounds’ coming from the western direction are regarded here as a death-sign.

²¹⁶ *gnang* read as *bka’ lan gnang*, “to answer or reply.”

²¹⁷ Tib. *lag sor* = *lha mtshams* (GC), Das *lha mtshams*, Anurādhā. One of twenty-eight star constellations, Mahiyuatpatti, No. 160, *Rgyu skar nyi shu rtsa brgyad kyi ming, Aṣṭāvīṃśati-nakṣatrāṇi-nāmāni*.

“Understand Awareness (*rig pa*), apart from extremes²¹⁸, as the view.
 Understand [to cultivate] the unchanging ‘innate,’ as meditation.
 Understand [to act] without attachment to the four tantra classes, as conduct.
 Understand these three [as] inseparable, as fruition. [91]
 Understand one’s own welfare as [to be connected with] *dharmakāya*²¹⁹.”
 Now, what activities should one perform for the welfare of others?

“Be generous without clinging,
 Guard discipline (*tshul khrims*) without harming,
 Cultivate patience (or kindness) without anger,
 Work diligently without indolence,
 Practice meditation without wandering, [and]
 Cultivate ‘primordial awareness’ (*ye shes, jñāna*,)²²⁰, [which is] ‘great bliss’ free from
 ‘conceptual entanglement’ (*spros*).
 [Then,] dedicate these six to the welfare of sentient beings.” Thus I heard.

One night in Mtshur-phu, during a dream, he traveled to the borderland of India and [found himself] before the city of Su-rig²²¹ in Kashmir. [Here,] he met a *yogin* master and attendant, the two of them. *Bla ma* [Rin-po-che] asked [the *yogin*], “Who are you?” and he replied, “I am Indrabodhi²²².” On Rin-po-che’s request [, Indrabodhi] taught him the *sādhana* of Rje-btsun-ma Oḍḍiyāna-ma.

“As I requested one more profound [teaching], I was granted the *sādhana* of the Four-faced Rje-btsun-ma²²³ with twelve arms, [92] together with ‘how to practice’²²⁴.”

Later, in [Mtshur] Mdo-bo [monastery] he had a vision [of Rje-btsun-ma,] one in union, surrounded by thirty-six *vīrīnīs* (*dpa’ mo*). He had ‘Gar-ston-hor-po paint an image of it.

In the Year of the Mouse [1156]²²⁵, on the night of the third day, a woman [appeared] within a rainbow in the sky. She was ‘dressed’ in red and held a red skull-cup. Adorned with five symbolic ornaments and surrounded by a retinue of four, she said,

²¹⁸ Trans. note: “extremes”, possibly extremes such as, only Awareness exists, or only phenomena exist, or both Awareness and phenomena exist, both Awareness and phenomena do not exist.
 See also the later passage [94:3] on *view, meditation, conduct* [or *action*] and *fruition*.

²¹⁹ Tib. *chos sku*, lit. “truth body,” in Mahāyāna the true nature of the Buddha and the source from which various other forms derive (PDB). For a discussion of *dharmakāya* and the other *kāyas*, see Sgam-po-pa, *Jewel Ornament*, Chapter 20, “Perfect Buddhahood,” 257-70.

²²⁰ Trans. note: recommended are the “six perfections”, *pha rol tu phyin pa*, Skt. *pāramitā*, interestingly enough the sixth, usually rendered as *shes rab*, Skt. *prajñā*, trans. “wisdom”, is here rendered as *ye shes*, Skt. *jñāna*, trans. “primordial or pristine awareness.” In other enumerations *ye shes* appear as the tenth *pāramitā*.

²²¹ Su-rig (SW,SB), Pu- (CW), place unidentified.

²²² Indrabodhi, *mahāsiddha* of India, Dowman, *Masters Mahāmudrā*, 228-234.

²²³ The *sādhana* is included in the “Düsum Khyenpa Collection” and entitled [13] *Thugs dam zhal bzhi ma*, “Caturmukha meditation deity.” The colophon (to section eight of the work) explicitly mentions Indrabodhi: *slob dpon i ndra bo dhi bar pas gsungs pa/ dur khrod dza lan dha rar grub thob rnal ’byor pa la gsungs pa/*

One other work in the “Düsum Khyenpa Collection” is attributed to Indrabodhi/-bhūti, the [14] *Rnam bzhi gryud grol*.

²²⁴ ‘how to practice’, problematic, lit. *las kha tshar*, lit. ‘action-mouth-thread.’

“Do not speak about the ‘profound meaning’ and ‘pure strong joy’²²⁶, [of your realization].”

Later, on the twentieth day, at the place Zho-’phrang²²⁷, when [Rin-po-che] gave the blessing of this dharma to others, the earlier five women were there [again], between trees, on a red rock, very wrathful. When he asked, “Who are you?” [She replied,]

“If you [still] don’t know who I am, I am Lakṣmīṅkarā,²²⁸ the ‘royal consort’. [I told you before,] “Do not to speak about the ‘profound meaning’ and ‘pure strong joy’.”

Again, at Gzhu-[gru-bzhi] [93] on the twenty-eighth day, on an evening the *bla ma* gave blessing to the Khams-pa [people] of his homedistrict, the five wrathful women appeared between white clouds. [“We told you before,]” “Do not speak about the ‘profound meaning’ and ‘pure strong joy’.” “Having done so, you have not obeyed!” Then they left.

Furthermore, in a dream at Mtshur-phu, in the ‘serpent’ month in the Year of the Mouse, [the year 1192,]²²⁹ on a full moon night, he looked at the Southwest [direction] and [dreamt that he] went [there]. A thunderclap sounded in space and having looked [into that direction], [he saw] a *yogin* sitting within a mass of light, adorned with charnel ground ornaments. In his right hand he held a small hand-drum (*cang te’u*). “I am Maitrīpa,” he said, and taught,

“All phenomena of *samsāra* and *nirvāṇa* can be grouped into two: [phenomena under the influence of] “defiled mental consciousness” (*nyon mongs gyi yid*, lit. “afflicted mind”)²³⁰ and [phenomena understood as] “co-emergent mind” (*lhan cig skyes pa pa’i yid*). However [notice that] “afflicted mind” [, from the fact that it appears at all] is “co-emergent mind.”

“Then, like a rainbow [sometimes] [94] disappears [in a flash], he was gone.”

Again, in a dream during the night of the twenty-third of the ‘serpent’ month, a *yogin* [appeared] within a mass of light, the right hand holding an arrow [pointing at the Absolute],

²²⁵ “The year of the Mouse”, this could be, 1156, 1168, 1180, etc. Here probably 1156 is meant, as in the following sentences Gzhu-[gru-bzhi] is mentioned. Dūsum Khyenpa lives there from ca. 1152-1160.

²²⁶ *dag gar dgar*, *gar dgar* problematic; J. *gar chang*, “strong beer”; GC, *dgar* = *dga’ bar*, “joy” plus term.

²²⁷ Zho-’phrang, location unidentified.

²²⁸ Trans. note: Lakṣmīṅkarā, Tib. Legs-rmi (*SW*), *Legs-smin* (*CW,SB*), female *mahāsiddha* of India. Dowman, *Masters Mahāmudrā*, 372-375. According to Dowman, (one of) her Tibetan name(s) is: *Legs-smin-kara*. Here, the term ‘royal consort’ fits very well with Lakṣmīṅkarā’s life-story, in which she refuses to become the ‘royal consort’ and instead decides for a life of practicing Buddha dharma.

According to tradition Lakṣmīṅkarā was the sister of Indrabodhi/-bhūti, and a student of mahāsiddha Kambala, Tib. L(v)a-ba-pa. We find master La-ba-pa in a colophon to one of the works in the “Dūsum Khyenpa Collection”, colophon to section five of the [26] and [27] [*Chos drug gi*] *Zhal gdams* [2].

²²⁹ Again “Year of the Mouse”, see fn. above, however, here the location is Mtshur-phu and therefore the year must be Water-Mouse, (*chu*) *byi*, 1192.

²³⁰ Trans. note: *nyon mongs*, Skt. *kleśa*, are afflictions to the mind stream, causing it to be unsettled and uncomfortable, such as attachment, anger, ignorance, etc., also called disturbing emotions.

the left [representing that to hold in mind the Absolute] is all to be done²³¹, he said, “If you don’t know who I am, I am renowned as Saraha²³².”
[Rin-po-che] replied, “Please, grant me an instruction,” [Saraha replied,]

“To be free from the four extremes is the View.²³³
Meditation is to be undistracted.
Conduct [or action] is to be without stop [this or] accomplish [that].
Fruition is to be without give up [this or] attain [that].”

And then, “He disappeared like a rainbow [, in a flash,] and was gone.”

Further, in a dream, in the night of the twenty-seventh of that month, he arrived in Dwags-lha-sgam-po. [He dreamt that] the bottom end of a rainbow was in the hand of *bla ma* [Lha-rje] and that he rolled it up and left. When he met *bla ma* Lha-rje [later], having arrived in Dge-’phrang-gi-yang-dgon²³⁴, he told him all the earlier dreams. [95] The *bla ma* replied,
“You should understand every phenomenon to be like a dream and an illusion.”

“At that very moment I woke up from the dream.”
[End of] the thirteenth chapter that of ‘Dreams’.

Chapter 14, Knowing others’ Passing on into Rebirths

Rin-po-che was asked in which worlds, previous spiritual guides (*bla ma*) had taken rebirth. He replied,

“*Bla ma* Marpa has been reborn to the south, in the city of Śrīnāgara²³⁵ near a splendid mountain as a *paṇḍita*, sometimes he acts also as a *yogin*, and works for the welfare of many beings.

“*Bla ma* Lha-rje [is reborn] in the city of Padma-can in Kar-sna²³⁶ between the two [countries] Kashmir and India, his name is Zhi-ba’i-go-cha. He works for the welfare of sentient beings by means of numerous [ways of] conduct, sometimes in *bhikṣu*’s [monk’s] dress and sometimes as a *yogin*. After been reborn there, forty of his [former] students appeared [there as well].

“*Bla ma* Lha-rje has [at the moment] three manifestations (*sprul pa*)²³⁷.
In the [second] manifestation [, in addition to the one above,] he is called Dri-med-grags-pa. In a [world] in the West, [called the] Bde-ba’i-bkod-pa [96] realm, he works for the welfare of enormous amounts of sentient beings.

²³¹ *bya byed thams cad*.

²³² Saraha, *mahāsiddha* of India, see e.g. Kurtis Schaeffer, *Dreaming the Great Brahmin – Tibetan Traditions of the Buddhist Poet-Saint Saraha* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).
Or Dowman, *Masters Mahāmudrā*, 66-72.

²³³ Translated conform CW,SB reading: *mtha’ bzhi dang bral lta (bla CW) yin/ SW reads mtha’ bzhi bral na lta ba yin/*

²³⁴ Dge-’phrang-gi-yang-dgon, location unidentified.

²³⁵ Śrīnāgara, nowadays Srinagar, capital of the Indian states Jammu and Kashmir, east of Ladakh.

²³⁶ Kar-sna (SW), Kar-rna (CW), Karna (SB).

²³⁷ The first manifestation is just mentioned, lives in Padma-can, the other two are hereafter described.

Furthermore, in the [third] manifestation, his name is Bodhisattva Dri-med-zla-bar-grags-pa. In [a world] in the East, called Mu-tig-bye-bas-brgyan-pa, he works for the welfare of king Grags-pa-mtha'-yas, his retinue and many sentient beings.

After in the city of Padma-can [in manifestation one,] *bla ma* Lha-rje's body-matter will have vanished, he will become very renowned under the name Aśoka, in a world region [called] Rab-'byams-stong.

“Master (*slob dpon*) Sgom-pa -[tshul-khrims-snying-po] is reborn in West India in a [place] called Kongka²³⁸, which is one of the twenty-four (*ya*), the twenty-four [sacred] places²³⁹. [There,] he converted an ‘outsider’ [a non-buddhist] king and [now] benefits many sentient beings.

“Master Shes-rab byang-chub lives on the lower slopes of Bya-rkang Mountain. Ordained at eight he then engaged in attainment [practices]. He too benefits many beings.

“*Bla ma* Spen-phug-pa [is reborn] in La-stod²⁴⁰ [, south of the river] Gtsang-po, and [now] carries the name Dga'-ba'i-ye-shes.

“*Bla ma* [97] Dpal-chen-po [now lives] in a region of a world in the North [called] Mu-tig-dra-bas-brgyan-pa, his name is Dpal-gyi-'byung-gnas-sbas-pa and he works for the welfare of numerous sentient beings.

“Master Kra-ra-ba [lives] in Srib-ri²⁴¹ at the border of Cog-ro-'bring, he carries the name Ye-shes 'byung-gnas grags-pa.

“Master Shar-ba-pa stag-dur-ba [lives] at the very end of the West of Jambudvīpa in a city [called] Bde-ldan, his name is Grags-pa-mtha'-yas. He works as a [spiritual] guide (*'dren pa*) for an infinite number of sentient beings.

“The translator master Pa-tshab [is reborn] in a Kashmiri city at the other side of Drib-bstan²⁴², he is a *paṇḍita* with the name Rin-chen-'byung-gnas-grags-pa, who works to mature and ‘liberate’ many beings.

“*Bla ma* Rdzong-pa²⁴³ [lives] at the Nu-che border with Kashmir [and still] possesses [his] higher forms of awareness (*mngon par shes pa, abhijñā*). [Still] practicing with his former tantric consort, he works for the welfare of many sentient beings.

“Master Phya-pa is reborn as a *paṇḍita* in the Kashmiri city of Drib-bstan²⁴⁴.

“*Bla ma* Rngul-chu-ba²⁴⁵, [98] he is born as the son of the Chinese king of Tong-kun²⁴⁶. In a dream I met him face to face on Five-Peaked Mountain.

²³⁸ Kongka, probably Kokaṇa, (see Hevajra tantra fn. below), location unidentified, Tāranātha, *History Buddhism in India*, mentions twice a place spelled Koṅkana.

²³⁹ For the twenty-four [sacred] places, see e.g. *Hevajra Tantra*, Part I, trans. by Snellgrove (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1959), 68-70, where the twenty-four places are listed, among which Kokaṇa.

²⁴⁰ La-stod, about 200 kms northeast of Kathmandu, see Appendix II, “Detailed list of Places.”

²⁴¹ Srib-ri (SW), Srib-ri (CW,SB), location unidentified.

²⁴² Drib-bstan (SW), Grib-gtan (CW,SB).

²⁴³ Rdzong-pa (SW,CW), Rdzogs-pa (SB).

²⁴⁴ Drib-bstan (SW), Grib-gtan (CW,SB).

²⁴⁵ Rngul-chu-ba (SW), Dngul- (CW,SB).

²⁴⁶ On Tong-kun, the magnificent “Eastern Capital” of the Song-dynasty, see Sam van Schaik, “Ruler of the East, or Eastern Capital,” and the extensive footnote in 1.3.7, “Some social and economic aspects of the master’s life.”

“*Dge bshes* Bzhu-don-mo-ri-pa²⁴⁷ teaches dharma by means of ‘signs’ at the foot of Potala Mountain at the end of Jambudvīpa.” He works for the welfare of numerous beings.

“*Bla ma* Ras-chung-pa [now lives] at the border between India and Nepal, his [new] name is Ratnasukha and he performs various [forms of] activity.

“Master Shes-rab rdo-rje is reborn in ’Phan-yul itself and does accomplishment practice based on the Bka’-gdams-pa [tradition].

“Master ’Phags-pa [lives] at the other side [of the mountains] in Pham-mthing, Nepal as a *yogin* with a consort, they live as religious mendicants.

“Mkhan-po Sa-phug-pa is reborn as a *paṇḍita* in East India and benefits numerous beings.

“At the other side [of the mountains in] Nepal, towards India, at a [certain] place on a rocky mountain there is a naturally arisen image of Śrīmat Mahākālī²⁴⁸ as well as sixty-four ‘wrathful female ones’ (*ma mo*). Master Padma-[sambhava]²⁴⁹ regularly [99] came [there], with the intent that if the master would not have come, the ‘wrathful female ones’ would harm sentient beings.”

Rje bstun [Düsum Khyenpa] further said that,

“Once, at a certain time, I met some *yogins* from the past, the Great Brahmin [Saraha], as well as *bla mas* of the lineage, *bla ma* Mid-la-[ras-pa], *bla ma* Lha-rje, etc.”

Rje btsun furthermore said,

“I have seen bodhisattvas, working for the welfare of others through the ordinary mind[s of beings].

“The victorious elder ’Dre-chung-pa²⁵⁰, is the rebirth of Dpal-phag-tshang-pa. There are also two [other] rebirths of him, in China and Nepal.

“The great king of Mi-nyag²⁵¹ is the rebirth of the *yogin* Ma-tang-ki. The aim was to benefit [others] as a ‘father’ [like] king and to establish the people of the kingdom in meritorious karma. Also, [as a] king, mighty and so on, [he could arrange that] when [persons] would not be sent to [100] the many prisons, and [instead] be released, they could become [his] students.”

Once, at the time of a ceremony for the deceased *bla ma* Lha-rje, he saw four of *bla ma* Lha-rje’s students creating great ‘waves’ [of wishes] for the welfare of sentient beings, and a [joyful] laugh slipped out [of him]. Because of that, *dge bshes* Shes-rab-’bum asked, “What is the matter?” [He replied,]

“[In the future they will be extremely beneficial,] the couple Gser-rkong-ye-shes-snying-po and Ja-zi-sngon-mo²⁵² in the West, [and the couple] Sgom-pa-zhi-mdzes and Dwags-po-sog-gom²⁵³ in the East.”

²⁴⁷ Bzhu-don-mo-ri-pa (SW), Gzhu- (CW,SB).

²⁴⁸ Tib. Dpal-ldan Nag-mo-chen-mo.

²⁴⁹ Master Padma, probably Padmasambhava or the “Lotus-Born” or Guru Rin-po-che, the 8th century Buddhist master from the early diffusion (*snga dar*) of Buddhism to Tibet.

²⁵⁰ Dre-chung-pa (SW), ’Dre-chung-pa (CW,SB).

²⁵¹ Mi-nyag, located in East Khams, see Dudjom, *Nyingma*, Vol. II, map 10, H 26; map 11, J 26.

²⁵² Gser-rkong-ye-shes-snying-po, Ja-zi-sngon-mo, Sgom-pa-zhi-mdzes and Dwags-po-sog-gom are four students of *bla ma* Lha-rje. The first three names appear also in a list of *bla ma* Lha-rje’s students at *Gser gling* translation [124:5]

²⁵³ Dwags-po-sog-gom (SW), -sogs- (CW,SB).

Furthermore, to a student of *bla ma* Lha-tje, who was also one of Rin-po-che's earliest students, he said,

“[I ‘see’ that a later you] will perform the activity of a bodhisattva at the side of King Bde-spyod-bzang-po, in a world to the south.”

[To one of his students he said,]

“Smon-lam *bla ma*²⁵⁴, when you have passed away from this [life, you will be reborn] in western direction in Padma-cann. Mkhan-po Mnga'-ris-pa, who attained [the level f] ‘[Power over] Life-span Vidyādhara,’ will become your preceptor (*mkhan po*). During four previous lifetimes, you [both] have been preceptor and student in *Padmin. In this life [you were as well, so until now] you have been ordained without interruption during five lifetimes. [101]”

At a time he stayed in Gzhu'i-gru-bzhi hermitage, a great practitioner, who was also his student and patron, passed away. Rin-po-che remarked, “Sgom-pa Phya will be reborn in 'Dzam-yul²⁵⁵, lower Mdo-Khams²⁵⁶.”

Later, when he came to 'Dzam-yul, many persons, male and female, appeared to pay their respects. It happened that one boy, not afraid of the *bla ma*, took all the gifts of the others, offering them as one. Rin-po-che said, “This is the rebirth of old [Sgom-pa] Phya.”

Later on, the boy talked to [some] guests, ran away and [then] showed up in [Skam-po] Gnas-nang. He behaved as an honourable person and after he had been [properly] instructed, he meditated. Because of that, and because he appeared to be a great practitioner [again], he became renowned in his third rebirth [as the one from] 'Dzam.

In the Year of the Hare [1171 or 1183]²⁵⁷, he [, Rin-po-che,] came up from [Skam-po] Gnas-nang, and stayed in Sag-ti²⁵⁸ in Sbas-yul. At that time, friends of a person who had died, an honourable person [of a group of] five monks, [102] asked where he had been reborn. [Rin-po-che replied,] “He is reborn in Rong in Gtsang as the son of Ram-ston-darma-grags.”

Later, at the time they had come to Dbus, in the Year of the Pig [1179 or 1191]²⁵⁹, some of the monks went as [religious] mendicants to Gtsang. There they enquired about Ram-ston-darma-grags and after having gone to his house, there was [indeed] an eight year old son there, in age corresponding with what Rin-po-che had said earlier. Everyone in the house was amazed.

When he stayed in Shar-ba, a younger brother of Cang-ma-nam-mkha'-'bar had died. [Rin-po-che] said, “He has been reborn as one who enjoys the Thirty-three gods²⁶⁰ [realm] and has a [good] ‘calm abiding’ (*zhi gnas, śamatha*) [practice].”

[End of] the fourteenth chapter of ‘Knowing passing on and rebirth of others’.

²⁵⁴ Smon-lam *bla ma*, one of Düsum Khyenpa's students, six times mentioned in the *Gser gling*; in the colophon to the earliest biography of the master, the *Rje 'gro ba'i mgon po rin po che'i rnam thar*, authored by Bde-chung-ba, it is stated that Smon-lam *bla ma* contributed to the content.

²⁵⁵ 'Dzam-yul, location unidentified; Gyurme Dorje, *Footsteps*, 434, has a region Rdza-yul, map 4 B2.

²⁵⁶ Mdo-Khams, i.e. the regions A-mdo and Khams, Dudjom, *Nyingma*, maps 7-11.

²⁵⁷ “Year of the Hare”, Düsum Khyenpa lives at Skam-po Gnas-nang, from ca. 1165-1184, therefore the year 1171 or 1183.

²⁵⁸ Sag-ti, in a passage later [103] spelled as Sag-te.

²⁵⁹ Year of the Pig, following on fn. above this could be 1179 or 1191.

²⁶⁰ *Abhidharmakośabhāṣyam*, 463, vers 65-68; “The Thirty-three Gods are at the summit of Meru”

Chapter 15, His Appearings to Others in Numerous Ways

15.1 Appearings Dependent on Their Own State of Mind

When Rin-po-che stayed at [Gzhu'i] Gru-bzhi and Ngos-bzangs²⁶¹, from his teeth relics (*ring bsrel*) came forth, like *stūpas*, *vajras*, and “small images” (*tsha tsha*)²⁶² in various shapes and colours. It happened that, by the circumstances around, they increased or disappeared, and so on. [103] Three [kind of shapes] particularly came out, that of Heruka²⁶³, [Vajra]-yoginī²⁶⁴ and Khasarpāṇi²⁶⁵.

At [Skam-po] Gnas-nang [as well] innumerable relics came out from his teeth and upper arms.

In Sag-te²⁶⁶, in Sbas-yul, [again] from his body's blood, let from a vein in the head as he had an eye disease, numerous relics came out.

In Che-bar in 'Bri-klung²⁶⁷ two persons carried mud off that had filtered the *bla ma*'s urine. After it had been laid aside, [it happened that] in the dream of one of the men it was said, that there would be relics in the mud. Having dreamt [that way], he shook up the mud with water and four relics came out.

When Rin-po-che heard the story, he said, “Let the man come for guidance.” He instructed him [on how to meditate] and as a result good practice came about.

Further, [relics] came out wherever one ‘focused upon’ (*gsol ba btab pa*), from between his eyebrows, hands, feet, saliva, everywhere, and, after some had come out, they faded away and [then] appeared again. To [those] with a pure view [relics] appeared as manifestations [of their own] purity. And, [104] to those with doubts, all kinds of things happened too, [however] for the sake of removing wrong ideas (*log rtog*) in all of them.

At Skam-po Gnas-nang, on the occasion of an *abhiṣeka* ceremony requested by two *dge bshes* and some monks, one *dge bshes* saw *bla ma* [Rin-po-che] as Vajrayoginī and described her to his friends.

Another time, in [one of the] rows on the occasion of a religious ceremony (*tshogs mchod*) [initiated] by 'Dzam-ston-sangs-rgyas, ['Dzam-ston] had a vision of Rin-po-che as Heruka Cakrasaṃvara.

Further, when Rin-po-che was present in [one of the] rows at a ceremony for the deceased *bla ma* Lha-rje, a great practitioner from Dbus saw him as [Ekādaśa-mukha]-mahākaruṇa in a pale [or yellow] coloured body with one thousand hands and one thousand eyes [, an eye on each of the hands,]²⁶⁸ and therefore paid homage to him until deep in the night. After the [resulting] merit arose for the great practitioner, he became an incredibly renowned *bla ma*.

²⁶¹ Ngos-bzangs (SW,SB), -bzungs (CW), location unidentified.

²⁶² *tsha tsha*, small images of a holy form, deity's body, etc.

²⁶³ Heruka, see earlier fn., can refer to Hevajra, Cakrasaṃvara (e.g. SW 104), and more deities.

²⁶⁴ [Vajra]-Yoginī, [*rdo rje*] *rnal 'byor ma*, see for a description passage at SW 84.

²⁶⁵ Khasarpāṇi, standing form of the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, see *Deities Tib. Buddh.*, nos 112-4, 436.

²⁶⁶ Sag-te, earlier, SW 101, spelled as Sag-ti.

²⁶⁷ 'Bri-klung-gi-che-ba, both locations unidentified; SW 77 mentions a place called 'Bri-klung-lce-ba.

²⁶⁸ Tib. Thugs-rje-chen-po-zhal-bcu-gcig-pa, “Eleven-Faced Great Compassionate One” See e.g. *Deities Tib. Buddh.*, No. 104: Ekādaśa-mukha[-avalokita], Tib. Sphyan-ras-gzigs bcu-gcig-zhal-[dpal-mo-lugs], “Eleven-faced Avalokita [in the tradition of the nun Lakṣmī]; eleven faces and thousand arms/hands with in each hand an eye.

At So-phug in 'Dzam-yul, a noble person from 'Dzam appeared, who asked the *bla ma* for instruction [on how to practice], [when he came before him] he saw Rin-po-che as the Venerable “Six-Syllable-One” [or Avalokita]²⁶⁹.

[Thereupon, Rin-po-che instructed him on] the “Six-Syllable-One,” on what had appeared to him, including the explanation of “what to call to mind” (*mngon rtogs*)²⁷⁰ as for the “Six-Syllable-One,” [105] and the reading transmission (*lung*) for the recitation.

As a result of that, and having gained confidence and meditated, he became renowned as Dza-ne-sgom-bzang.

Further, in that monastery [or hermitage], on the full moon of the first month in autumn, in [one of the] rows at a ceremony for the deceased *bla ma* [Lha-rje], Rin-po-che appeared [in a special form to] a senior noble person. The noble one, [saw him] in the form of Bhagavan Śākyamuni²⁷¹, sitting on a lion-throne, teaching the dharma.

When he came to Lung-smad-mda'²⁷², on the occasion of an *abhiṣeka* ceremony requested by students of Rtswa-spyil-pa²⁷³, *bla ma* Lha²⁷⁴ [said,] “I saw Rin-po-che as Vajradhara²⁷⁵.” And, “After that, on the second evening, I saw him as Vajrayoginī, the third evening as *rje btsun* Tilopa.”

When he arrived in Zla-bstod-khar-sa²⁷⁶, all the Zla-stod leaders had assembled there. At that time in Khar-sa, an inauguration had been requested, and so, while a [passage on] ‘dependent relationship’ (*rten 'brel*) was recited, all the assembled ones [saw something appear] in the ‘vase’ [-part] of a large reliquary *stūpa* and agreed on what they saw. It was [106] an image of Rin-po-che himself and an image of Śākyamuni, and all were amazed that both came out. In particular it aroused confidence in a leader from the distant [place] Cham-bu²⁷⁷. And, having [subsequently] meditated, he offered a gift of one hundred loads of barley [which he considered to be] ‘dust’ [, compared to] what had come up from meditation.

At Mtshur-phu monastery, during an *abhiṣeka* requested by Gtsang-pa Tshul-seng²⁷⁸, Rin-po-che appeared [to him] as Hevajra. From the heart centre of [Hevajra, having] eight faces and sixteen hands²⁷⁹, light rays came out, and were [especially] present in one of the students during the *abhiṣeka*. [That one later said,] “All kinds of light rays appeared that bored into me, later on they kept coming until I fell asleep.”

At Lce-bar in 'Bri-klung²⁸⁰, while Rin-po-che was sitting at the head of rows of many of the saṅgha, a tantric practitioner (*sngags pa*) [came, but] when he wanted to pay his respects, he could not see Rin-po-che. Though all the students pointed [to Rin-po-che,] he did not see him.

²⁶⁹ *jo bo yi ge drug*, refers to the deity Avalokita or Avalokiteśvara and the six syllables of his mantra: OM MANI PADME HŪM.

²⁷⁰ *mngon rtogs*, sometimes translated as “manual for the visualisation of the deity.”

²⁷¹ Tib. Bcom-ldan-'das shākya-thub-pa, the historical Buddha.

²⁷² Lung-smad-mda', location unidentified.

²⁷³ Rtswa-spyil-pa (SW), -ba (CW,SB), person or location unidentified.

²⁷⁴ *bla ma* Lha, possibly one of Dūsum Khyenpa's students, no further information found.

²⁷⁵ Tib. Rdo-rje-'chang, the primordial Buddha in the later diffusion (*gsar ma*) of Buddhism in Tibet.

²⁷⁶ Zla-bstod-khar-sa (SW), Zla-stod- (CW,SB), location unidentified.

²⁷⁷ Cham-bu (SW,SB), Tsham-bu- (CW), location unidentified.

²⁷⁸ Gtsang-pa Tshul-seng, listed three times in the *Gser gling* as one of Dūsum Khyenpa's students.

²⁷⁹ “[Hevajra, having] eight faces and sixteen hands”, e.g. *Deities Tib. Buddh.*, No. 461, Heart Hevajra, Snying-po Kyai-rdor: “... , black (or blue) in color, naked, with eight faces, sixteen arms, and four legs. ...”

²⁸⁰ 'Bri-klung-gi-lce-ba (SW,SB) -we-ba (CW), locations unidentified.

Even when the noble Byang-chub²⁸¹ showed [him where to look], he did not see him. It drove the noble Byang-chub to despair and he shed tears. Saṅgha and patrons, all were [107] astonished.

A certain 'Dan-ma from [the village] Karma²⁸², who also came to the monastery to pay his respects, could not see Rin-po-che [either]. [Instead] he saw a white *stūpa* where the *bla ma* was sitting, he left [unsuccessfully].

[Also] at Sa-mdo²⁸³, a Bka'-gdams-pa called Gro-ldo-ston-btsun²⁸⁴, having come to pay his respects and holding a tiger-skin [as a gift], could not see Rin-po-che. Though all his companions had paid their respects [already] and enquired after [Rin-po-che's] health; he could not see him, not even after a long time.

At the time he lived in [Skam-po] Gnas-nang, Rin-po-che appeared to 'Dzam-ston-sangs-rgyas²⁸⁵, who was in a hermitage, about four days [travel] east of Gnas-nang. Rin-po-che had come barefoot, and when [Dzam]-ston-pa had paid his respects, enquired after his health and prepared a seat, the *bla ma* [suddenly] vanished.

Also, after a student, tormented by the pain of a disease, at a place far away, 'focused upon' the *bla ma*, [108] [, Rin-po-che] 'came,' and after he had blessed him the discomfort of the disease subsided. After that he often felt the presence of the excellent²⁸⁶ *bla ma*.

At the time he stayed at Ldong-nga-'gra²⁸⁷ in 'Bri-klung, he appeared to the great practitioner Dben-pa [, who lived] between Tre and Rakta²⁸⁸ and who had 'focused upon him'. [Dben-pa said,] "Rin-po-che came, gave a dharma teaching and then vanished [in a flash] as a rainbow [sometimes does,] and was gone [again]."

While he stayed at Mtshur-phu, a great practitioner from Tre-bo²⁸⁹ seriously suffered from an illness and 'focused upon' the *bla ma*, who came and empowered him with his feet²⁹⁰. When [the practitioner] started to pay his respects, [Rin-po-che] said, "There is no need to pay respects; the hindrance of the disease will not come to you [again]." [Then it was said, that] "He vanished [in a flash,] as a rainbow [sometimes does] and was gone."

Furthermore, *dge bshes* Sum-pa saw him as Hevajra and master Dbra-ston saw him as alternating [combinations] of five-coloured light.

Master Sangs-rgyas saw, when he asked for a blessing [for the practice] of the "One-Faced-Female" [Vajrayoginī]²⁹¹[109], [him as her,] abiding in space, while light radiated from her face. Later, when the vision had gone, he saw the face [come up] again and again.

²⁸¹ Byang-chub, a person called Byang-chub 'byung-gnas, is mentioned in a colophon to a work in the "Düsum Khyenpa Collection," the *Grub thob bla ma'i gdams ngag*, trans. "Siddha bla ma's Instruction") with the remark that the work received the master's [Düsum Khyenpa] respect.

²⁸² Karma-'dan-ma (SW), Kar-mar- (CW,SB), person and location unidentified.

²⁸³ Sa-mdo, location unidentified.

²⁸⁴ Gro-ldo-ston-btsun, person unidentified.

²⁸⁵ 'Dzam-ston-sangs-rgyas, possibly identical to other students of the master with "Sangs-rgyas" in their name, such as *ston pa* Sangs-rgyas, Bde-chung Sangs-rgyas or master Sangs-rgyas, he could also be (Sangs-rgyas) 'Gro-mgon Ras-chen.

²⁸⁶ *bla ma de nyid*; TC, *de nyid*, (3) *dam pa*.

²⁸⁷ Ldong-nga-'gra (SW,SB), -'gram (CW), location unidentified.

²⁸⁸ Tre-rakta'i bar. Tre,, see fn. below; Rakta, unidentified.

²⁸⁹ Tre-bo, located in Khams, Dudjom, *Nyingma*, Vol. II, Map 10 G25.

²⁹⁰ Trans. note: on some traditional Tibetan paintings we find that a *bla ma* sometimes blesses a student with both hands and feet, denoting a kind of total blessing.

²⁹¹ Tib. Zhal-gcig-ma, prominently present in the "Düsum Khyenpa Collection."

15.2 An Elaborate Story on Appearing to a Specific Student

When Rin-po-che [in the later part of his life] arrived from Khams to Dbus [from East to Central Tibet, again,] for the welfare of beings, he stayed at Mtshur-phu²⁹² monastery in Stod-lungs, in the ‘godly valley’ (*lha lung*).

One day in the first summer month in the Year of the Bird [(*sa*) *bya*, 1189], Rin-po-che said, “Yesterday I dreamt that I was present in the rows of some *yogins* of India at an Indian charnel ground.”

It happened [, so he said, that] parallel in time, in a temple called Thang-bcu²⁹³ in La-stod²⁹⁴ in Gtsang [West Tibet], a certain teacher from Gtsang worked on an “image on cloth” (*thang ka*)²⁹⁵ by means of embroidering. [Suddenly, four persons] appeared before him: three persons of India²⁹⁶ dressed in cotton only, carrying skull-cups in their hands, and a Tibetan *yogin* wearing a single sheet of cotton. The latter was barefoot, holding a *kapāla*²⁹⁷ in [one] hand, a walking cane [indicating] non attachment [in the other], he had conch-shell earrings and was about sixty years old [110].

[So, in all] four came [before him]. Then, both of them, the Tibetan [*yogin*] and the teacher [from Gtsang, Tibet,] engaged in a conversation.

As [the Gtsang teacher] asked, “From where have you come?”

[The Tibetan *yogin*] replied, “I have come from Bodhgaya²⁹⁸ and took the road from Kashmir to Su-ra-pa²⁹⁹.”

“Why did you go to India?”

“I went to a regularly held ceremony in Bodhgaya.”

“Well then, [I’ve heard that in this] Year of the Bird [(*sa*) *bya*, 1189], many *siddhas* came to the regularly held ceremony in Bodhgaya. Did you meet some of them?”

[The Tibetan *yogin* replied,] “I heard that it was like this. To the south, in India, in the city of Jālandhara³⁰⁰, at Ha-ha-bsgrogs-pa³⁰¹ charnel ground, at the time that king Zla-ba-rnam-par-gnon-pa held a *gaṇacakra*, and ‘focused upon’ *siddhas* who had supernatural capabilities (*mngon [par] shes pa, abhijñā*) and miraculous abilities, four *siddhas* of India came. It was said that they were *mahāsiddhas*, *yogin* [spiritual] guides. [Also] two [*siddhas*] from Tibet came. In all six arrived.”

[The Gtsang teacher] asked, “Who were the *siddhas* from India and Tibet?”

²⁹² Mtshur-phu monastery, founded by Düsüm Khyenpa at the end of his life.

²⁹³ Thang-bcu (SW), Thang-cung (CW,SB), location unidentified.

²⁹⁴ La-stod, Dudjom, *Nyingma*, Vol. II, Map 4, K11, 200 kms, north-east of Kathmandu.

²⁹⁵ *thang ba*, read as *thang ka*, an image on cloth, by painting or embroidering.

²⁹⁶ “persons of India”, *a tsa ra*, Das, corruption of Acharya, general name by which people of India, particularly Bengalis, are known to the Tibetans.

²⁹⁷ Tib. *thod pa*, “skull-cup.”

²⁹⁸ Tib. Rdo-rje-gdan, the place where Buddha Śākyamuni gained full Awakening.

²⁹⁹ Su-ra-pa, location unidentified.

³⁰⁰ Tib. Dzā-lan-dha-ra, region Jalandhar with capital Jalandhar, located in the Punjab, ca. 100 kms southeast of Dharamsala, see e.g. Himachal Pradesh, Topographic Overview Map (Wien:Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2015).

³⁰¹ Ha-ha-bsgrogs-pa (SW), -srog-pa (CW,SB) charnel ground, location unidentified.

“The four from India were, [111] Indrabodhi³⁰², “the man from Jālandhara”³⁰³, Kṛṣṇācārya³⁰⁴ and Shing-lo-pa³⁰⁵; the two from Tibet were Dharmakīrti [Düsum Khyenpa]³⁰⁶ and Dharmasīla.”

He asked, “What were the [last] two like?”

“Dharmasīla, [in Tibetan] Chos-kyi-tshul-khrims³⁰⁷, is one who has the instructions of the accomplishment of immortality (*chi med*), he lives in upper Mnga’-ris³⁰⁸ [West Tibet]. He holds [the knowledge of] constructing temples and works for the welfare of sentient beings.

“Śrī Dharmakīrti, in Tibetan Dpal Chos-kyi-grags-pa [Düsum Khyenpa], relies on the path of *nāḍī* and *prāṇa*³⁰⁹ (*rtsa dang rlung*) and the ‘single cut’ (*cig chod*)³¹⁰ instruction of *mahāmudrā* (*phyag rgya chen po*). He lives in the lower area of Tibet. The name under which he is known everywhere is *bla ma* Dbu-se [the Grey-haired *bla ma*]³¹¹. We [, as a group of four,] are heading towards him.”

The [Gtsang] teacher said, “Since *bla ma* Dbu-se is very famous, I also considered visiting him, but then it was said that he was [almost] ‘out of his body,’ as it was time for him to pass on. Therefore I was afraid [that if I would go, I would not get] a single teaching and therefore doubt [112] had come up.” Having said that, the *yogin* replied,

“Are you not familiar with the *Bhadracaryāpraṇidhāna*³¹²? There it is [said that,]

“Sages [i.e. Buddhas] stay for aeons (*bskal pa*) for the welfare
Of one single person who wishes to be ‘trained’.
They bring [him or her] quickly to maturity,

³⁰² Indrabodhi, *mahāsiddha* of India, Dowman, *Masters Mahāmudrā*, 229-34.

³⁰³ Tib. Dzā-lan-dha-ra-ba (SW), -pa (CW,SB), *mahāsiddha* of India, Dowman, *Masters Mahāmudrā*, 245-51.

³⁰⁴ Tib. Nag-po-spyod-pa-ba, *mahāsiddha* of India, Dowman, *Masters Mahāmudrā*, 123-32.

³⁰⁵ *shing lo*, Douglas&White, *Karmapa:Black Hat Lama*, fn.17: “Shing-lo-pa, a *siddha* dressed only in bark and leaves.” In the narrative at the beginning of work [22] *Rdzogs rim rlung sems gnyis*, we find the name Shing-lo-pa, “[dressed in] tree-leaves,” as an expression of how Karṇaripa sees himself.

³⁰⁶ Tib. Chos-kyi-grags-pa, according to DM 436, and GR 132:4 the ordination name of Düsum Khyenpa, confirmed by the text following.

³⁰⁷ Chos-kyi-tshul-khrims / Dharmasīla, no information found until now.

³⁰⁸ Mnga’-ris, the western area of Tibet, in earlier times made up of three sub-kingdoms.

³⁰⁹ Trans. note: *prāṇa* Skt., Tib. *rlung* (or *srog*); *prāṇa*, in Skt. “wind,” “breath,” or “vital force”; the winds that course through the network of channels (*nāḍī*) in the body, according to tantric physiognomy; *prāṇāyāma*, “... to cause various “winds” to enter into the central channel (*avadhūtī*) (PDB). MW *prāṇa*: “the breath of life, breath, vitality, etc.”; *prāṇāyāma*, ‘breath-exercises.’ Sometimes *vāyu*, the Skt. word for “wind,” is also applied for the internal “winds.”

³¹⁰ Compare the term *khregs chod*, “thorough cut” from the Rdzogs-chen system.

³¹¹ *Bla ma* Dbu-se [the Grey-haired *bla ma*], like Düsum Khyenpa, one of many epithets of the master.

³¹² *Bhadracaryāpraṇidhāna*, Tib. *Bzang spyod smon lam*, trans. “Good Conduct Aspirations.” According to Karl H. Potter, *Encyclopedia of Indian Philosophies*, Volume VIII, fn. 117, the work is a chapter of the *Gaṇḍavyūha*, which itself is part of (Chapter 39) the *Avatamsaka-sūtra*, trans. by Thomas Cleary as *The Flower Ornament Scripture – A Translation of the Avatamsaka Sutra* (Boston: Shambhala Publications, 1984). For a brief description, see 1.3.3, “Period of study and Buddhist doctrines he encountered.”

Like a seedling that gets warmth and moisture.”

“[So, there] it is explained that Buddhas and Bodhisattvas will stay for aeons for the welfare of sentient beings, when others ‘focus upon’ them. Therefore, do not part from devoted respect (*mos gus*) and quickly go to [*bla ma* Dbu-se] and you will arrive at whatever teaching [that is suited for you].”

A special joy now had come up in him [, the Tibetan teacher,] and he requested [dharma] instruction of the *yogin*. He stood up and [saw] on one ash-[covered] person of India a scrolled paper with letters, written on a birchtree’s bark. He asked for it and [the *yogin* said] he would explain [the content] to him, the teacher.

[Due to the explanation], a special confidence arose and he was given a copy of it. It was an instruction on the *Rnam bzhi rgyud grol dang byin rlabs nus ’don* [“Four Styles that will Free the Mind stream and [113] Bring out the Capacity of Blessings”]³¹³. As it was very profound, he had to keep it [under the condition of] not pointing out to [other] persons.

[The *yogin*] said, “Later, when I meet [you again] I shall come to it,” and by that put a tight ‘word-seal’ on it.

Afterwards, the teacher went to his house and wanted to invite [the *yogin*] to teach the outer and inner dharma and [further meet] in friendship. [However,] when [he returned and looked for them] outside en inside [, everywhere], the caretaker of the temple said, “After you left, all of the *yogins* also left.”

He sent people from there to all directions and when they were asked nobody had heard of or seen them. Also, everyone said they had not wandered around. [Now] a special certainty arose in the [Tibetan] teacher and he packed to go down [from the mountains] to Dbus [Central Tibet], to meet *bla ma* [‘Grey-hair,’ Düsüm Khyenpa].

In the middle of one of the summer months, in the Year of the Dog [(*lcags*) *khyi*, 1190], he arrived at Mtshur-phu monastery in Stod-lungs³¹⁴, where he requested *abhiṣeka*, blessing and [meditative] instruction of *bla ma* Rin-po-che, and during the summer practiced in retreat.

In the autumn, the *bla ma* told some of the [resident] monks a bit about the previous story and [114] said to them that he had met him a few [times in the past].

As [the Tibetan teacher] thought about asking [the *bla ma*], why the fourfold group of high *yogins* had come to him, [the *bla ma*] said, “As you will ask that later on, [for now it] is enough.” [So,] on this point he did not dare to ask [any further].

Later, the teacher from Gtsang thought, “Now I need to achieve certainty, no doubts [anymore],” and organized a religious ceremony in the house of Dpon Grags-seng, a student from Khams. Then, he invited *rje bstun pa* [Düsüm Khyenpa] and ten of his senior students: *bla ma* Stag-de’u-ba, *dge bshes* Dkon-mchog Seng-ge, Sgom-pa Ttshul-khrims Rgyal-po, and so forth.

³¹³ *Rnam bzhi rgyud grol*, title of a work in the “Düsüm Khyenpa Collection,” SW kha 1-67, the work consists of three parts: (1) verse text called (*rgya gzhung*), (2) background story, and (3) commentary on the *rgya gzhung* verses by Düsüm Khyenpa. The colophon to the verse text mentions Indrabhuti ‘the middle’ (*bar pa*) as the author.

This section in the *Gser gling*, here called 15.2 *An Elaborate Story on Appearing to a Specific Student*, is almost identical to part 2, the background story of the *Rnam bzhi rgyud grol*.

³¹⁴ Stod-lungs (SW), Stod-lung (CW,SB).

Then, during the ceremony, he strongly ‘focused upon’ (*gsol ba btab*) the request [that the *bla ma*] should tell about [possible] previous ways they had met. Because of that, *rje btsun* spoke about their earlier encounters, corresponding to [what the Tibetan] teacher [remembered], he pointed them out, as clear as a finger was put on it, and so, all were amazed.

When he asked in what constellation the group of three persons of India had been there, *rje btsun* said,

“The [115] three were Indrabodhi the Middle³¹⁵, Shing-lo-pa and Kṛṣṇācārya. I was the [fourth] person [of the group, the Tibetan *yogin*, who] explained the instructions to you. [I myself] had requested the instructions, called the *Rnam bzhi rgyud grol byin rlabs nus ’don*³¹⁶ of master Indrabodhi.

The person in charge of the *gaṇacakra* at the charnel ground³¹⁷ in India was Kṛṣṇācārya. You have been my student in four [previous] lifetimes, now we meet for the fifth time. I came so that doubts would be cut off and to lead you to meditation. Though it was excellent that you listened [to expositions about] the dharma and could explain [it to others], [your mind] was still contaminated with the eight [wordly] concerns³¹⁸. It is good that you came to meditate. If we would not have met on the [earlier] occasion, you would have continued passing on [that only] study and explanations [would be enough]³¹⁹”

Bla ma Stag-de’u-ba³²⁰ asked, “In what way did you both meet in the four [previous] lifetimes?” [Rin-po-che replied,]

“Previously he was born in India as the smith Ratnaśrī, a student generating *bodhicitta* under my [guidance]. After that, when born in the north of this world [Jambudvīpa with the name] Re-ba-na³²¹, he was [again] a student of mine. Then, born in [the world] Videha³²² [under the name] Me-tog-pa shes-rab-bzang-po [116], he listened to

³¹⁵ Trans. note: “Indrabodhi the Middle”, Dowman, *Masters Mahāmudrā*, 229-34. Dowman distinguishes three Indrabhūtis. First, Indrabhūti the Great, King of Oḍḍiyāṇa, initiator of several important tantric lineages. Second, Indrabhūti the Middle One, associated with the (region) Zahor. Third, Indrabhūti the Younger of Oḍḍiyāṇa, *mahāsiddha* and brother of the female *mahāsiddha* Lakṣmīṅkarā.

³¹⁶ *Rnam bzhi rgyud grol byin rlabs nus ’don*, see earlier fn. at [112-3].

³¹⁷ charnel ground Ha-ha-bsgrogs, see earlier passage at [110] in the narrative.

³¹⁸ Trans. note: “eight [wordly] concerns”, Skt. *lokadharma*, Tib. *’jig rten chos*, (1) gain (*lābha*, *rnyed pa*); (2) loss (*alābha*, *ma rnyed pa*); (3) pleasure (*sukha*, *bde ba*); (4) pain (*duḥkha*, *sdug bsngal*); (5) fame (*yaśas*, *snyan grags*); (6) disgrace (*ayaśas*, *ma grags pa*); (7) praise (*praśamsā*, *bstod pa*) and (8) blame (*nindā*, *smad pa*) (PDB).

³¹⁹ Trans. note: In one of his works, the “*Teachings to an Assembly*” (*Tshogs chos*), Dūsum Khyenpa frequently uses the term “three wisdoms” (*shes rab gsum*), for “study” (*śruta*, *thos*), “reflection” (*cintā*, *bsam*) and “meditation or cultivation” (*bhāvanā*, *sgom pa*). Here, in this narrative, he brings the person to the third wisdom, that of “meditation.”

³²⁰ *Bla ma* Stag-de’u-ba, one Dūsum Khyenpa’s senior students, mentioned in the transmission lineage of one of his works, three times mentioned in the *Gser gling*.

³²¹ Re-ba-na (SW), De-va-na (CW,SB).

³²² Tib. Lus-’phags-po, see earlier extensive Transl. note at *Gser gling* translation, Chapter 2.

instructions on [Nā-ro-pa's] *Chos drug*³²³, the *Thun* ['jog]³²⁴ and the *Prajñā-
[pāramitā]*³²⁵.

In the life before this, he lived at the bank of a lake at the border with India as the Brahmin Rgyal-ba-shes-rab, I completely gave him the four [types of] *abhiṣeka*. Learned in [many Buddhist] treatises (*śāstra*), the disposition³²⁶ for meditation had already been put into him. Therefore, it was easy for him, at this point, to develop certainty with respect to meditation.”

15.3 Appearings to Others Continued

Bla ma Stag-de'u-ba asked, “*Rje btsun*, as you are working by means of many manifestations for the welfare of beings, in [how many] manifestations do you live nowadays, in [various] realms of the world?” *Rje btsun* replied,

“Actually, I am not sure, but [it looks] like four [more] manifestations are working [here] for the welfare of sentient beings.

“[The first] is *bhikṣu* Dge-ba'i-blo-gros, who works for the welfare of sentient beings in the city of Su-rig³²⁷, at the far side of Mnga'-ris (West Tibet) and the near side of Kashmir. He built [a Buddhist] site [there], for the sake of his former student Ldan-chung³²⁸ who had died and been reborn there [117].

“[The second] is a layman (*dge bsnyen, upāsaka*) called Chos-kyi-grags-pa³²⁹, who teaches the dharma by means of ‘signs’ and works for the welfare of sentient beings in Lan-de³³⁰ at the border of Nepal and Tibet, in the monastery of *bla ma* Vairo[canavajra]³³¹.

“[The third] is a *yogin* living in the south of India. Who has a pure view, sees him as Mahākaruṇa³³², and some even say that he is Mahākaruṇa himself. He does not live at a fixed place.

“[The fourth lives] in a realm of the world to the south, he is the *siddha* Grags-pa-mtha'-yas and ‘took the dress of a king.’ Not being king he [would not be able] to tame [or ‘train’ the whole] kingdom. Now, he could benefit many beings.”

³²³ *Chos drug*, the Six Dharmas of Nā-ro-pa, two sets of oral instruction on the *Chos drug* make part of the “Düsum Khyenpa Collection.”

³²⁴ *Thun*, possibly the *Mahāmudrā Thun* 'jog, included in the *Phag mo gru pa'i bka' 'bum*, see extensive fn. at *Gser gling* translation [64].

³²⁵ *Prajñā*, probably the *Prajñāpāramitā*, the “Perfection of Wisdom,” different size versions exist.

³²⁶ *bag chags*, Skt. *vāsanā*, disposition, (karmic) imprint(s), habitual tendencies, etc.

³²⁷ Su-rig (SW,SB), Pu- (CW), location unidentified.

³²⁸ Ldan-chung (SW), 'Dan- (CW,SB).

³²⁹ Trans. note: Chos-kyi-grags-pa is generally regarded as the ordination name of Düsum Khyenpa. However, the *Gser gling* does not mention the name in the record of his younger years. At this place it appears as the name of another person simultaneously active as the master. In the earliest biography of Düsum Khyenpa by Bde-chung-ba, prototype for the *Gser gling*, we do not find the name Chos-kyi-grags-pa at all.

We do find the name in later biographies, such as the *Seng ge sgra'i rnam par thar pa*, written by Karma-pa Rang-byung Rdo-rje (1284-1339), the *Deb ther dmar po*, middle of the fourteenth century, and (of course) in the preceding section 15.2 *An Elaborate Story on Appearing to a Specific Student* (SW 111:1-3). However, as mentioned, that section was taken from another source, the *Rnam bzhi rgyud grol*. In *GR* it is said to be the master's novice ordination (*dge tshul*) name.

³³⁰ Lan-de, location unidentified.

³³¹ “monastery of Vairo[canavajra]”, location unidentified, on Vairo, see earlier extensive fn. at [71].

³³² Tib. Thugs-rje-chen-po, the “Great Compassionate One.”

[*Rje btsun* also said] that the [four,] and so forth, were close by when others would ‘focus upon’ them, [and that the manifestations actually] were innumerable.

At a time [that Rin-po-che] stayed in Skam-po Gnas-nang, he was invited by the main patron Dgon-pa-ba for the inauguration of a temple. When he performed the inauguration, and the [passage on] ‘dependent relationship’ (*rten ’brel*) was recited [118], [something] to do with flowers [happened]. The caretaker of the [temple,] Dpon-bsgom-rdo-rje, saw that the barley [, used for the blessing,] appeared as flowers, spreading out by themselves, floating [around] and touching all the statues. When he pointed it out to others, all were amazed.

Another time, Rin-po-che was invited to perform an inauguration at a place three days [traveling] south of Gnas-gnang. [He was invited] by a great *yogin*, *dge bshes* Shākya, who was a student of the Nepalese Ham-rngu-dkar-po³³³, who in turn was a student of Nā-ro-pa. During the blessing, all men and women who were at a long distance saw the temple as blazing with fire. Those at a near distance saw [the fire] go around the temple. Patrons and others that were inside [saw] all the statues tremble and renowned sounds were perceived. In particular [something happened to] the *vajra*-sceptre that was at the tip of the ringfinger of the left hand of a huge [metal]-cast Vajrasattva³³⁴ statue. Since early times it was tilted and could not be balanced. As it had [now] become straight everyone was amazed.

Also, Mengge³³⁵ *dge bshes* Jo-sras invited Rin-po-che for an inauguration, [119] at Kha-dkar³³⁶, in ’Dzam-yul, four days [traveling] to the east of Gnas-nang. At that time, while the [passage on] ‘dependent relationship’ was recited, *dge bshes* saw that flowers appeared, like [bubbles on] boiling porridge, on top of the *maṇḍala* [that was offered]. Then, [the flowers] raised, touched all the statues and stayed there. All saw it and everybody was amazed. *Dge shes* complimented Rin-po-che by [reciting] twenty verses of praise, related to the levels (*sa, bhūmi,*) and paths of the *pāramitā*³³⁷ [approach].

In general, it had appeared to all that the flowers had spread out by themselves. They had floated [around,] touching the statues and made the statues move back and forth. Lights emitted and sounds were heard. The crippled, crooked, and so forth, recovered by a slap of his hand. Mutes who got meditative instructions could speak and those who harm-doing spirits (*mi ma yin*) had taken hold of, benefitted as the [spirits] were given sacrificial objects (*gtor ma*) and [were confronted with] gestures of ‘truth.’

As, he transformed the appearing [world] for those who took it as ‘real’ [120], they could give up [all] that [supposedly] had to be done in this life, and be put on the real path. The amount of those who were present was immense and can not be expressed.

Rin-po-che was asked, “You have blessed hundreds of objects possessed by evil spirits and given *abhiṣekas* to hundreds spoiled by the beauty [of all that is outside]. How is it that defilements (*grib*) [of persons or spirits] were not passed on then?” Rin-po-che replied,

“Separated from ‘dual mind’³³⁸, all manifold phenomena are experienced as having ‘one taste.’ And, the *yogin* who abides in the uninterrupted innate [or natural state], is

³³³ Ham-rngu-dkar-po (SW), Ha-du- (CW), Ha-ngu- (SB).

³³⁴ Tib. Rdo-rje-sems-dpa’, “Adamantine Being.”

³³⁵ Mengge (SW), Smen-ke (CW,SB).

³³⁶ Kha-dkar na (SW), “in Kha-dkar”; CW reads *khang dkar na*, “in the white temple”; SB reads *khang dkar nag*, “white [and] black temple”; location unidentified.

³³⁷ Tib. *pha rol tu phyin pa*, “perfections,” usually six or ten.

³³⁸ *gnyis ’dzin gyi blo*, a mind captured by duality, subject and object.

without the duality of defilements perceived as ‘something real’³³⁹, or places [or objects] that [seem to] occur as defilement.”

He lived for five years in Mtshur-phu monastery, and during full moon in the first autumn month of the Year of the Mouse [(*chu*) *byi*, 1192] during the ceremony [to commemorate] *bla ma* Lha-rje’s passing away, he accumulated merit [in the following way].

He offered to the Dwags-po ‘seat’³⁴⁰ eighteen volumes [written] in gold [on black paper]³⁴¹, twelve volumes on plain paper, thirty [volumes] in all, turquoises with red in it famous throughout the world, twenty-four wooden scales, and more.

In all, he gave one hundred volumes of [121] ‘discourses [of the Buddha]’ (*gsung rab*) and many different kinds of wealth to all monasteries in [various] districts.

Rinpoche then said, “As I have to receive a [special] ‘guest’³⁴², I can not take care [of the Mtshur-phu] assembly [anymore].”

[Students said,] “Will you go to Khams?” “Do you prepare to go³⁴³ meditate? “Do you [still] wish to pay respects³⁴⁴ [to somebody]? “Leave well!³⁴⁵” They said he should go to Khams or to the Dwags-po residence or to the border between Mon³⁴⁶ and Tibet. Some said, “Come to Khams!” Others said, “The *bla ma* should definitely come to [the Dwags-po] residence.”

While everyone was in doubt, during three months continuously great omens occurred, [such as] rainbows in the sky, the earth moving, roaring [sounds] coming up, and so on. All the attendants and senior students recalled that in Gnas-nang, when Rin-po-che did not feel well, he had been asked [whether he would pass away or not. At that time,] he had declared that he would be able [to reach] as much as the life-span of *bla ma* Mid-la-[ras-pa]³⁴⁷. They said they were concerned, as the *bla ma* had become eighty-three or -four years old he could pass away now.

Then, [122] in the Year of the Ox [(*chu*) *glang*, 1193], on the third day of the [Tibetan] first month of the new year, at the age of eighty-four, he prepared the precious *maṇḍala* of his *nirmanakāya* [or manifestation body] and went to the abode of ‘sky-wanderers’ (*mkha’ spyod*).

There [in Mtshur-phu], on the tenth day, [to those who] looked at the burning of the body, numerous appearances came up. Everyone gathered there agreed on what they saw, as the sun transformed into two and stayed longer [in the sky]. Some even saw thirteen, seven or eight suns. The multitude of suns united and split apart, the light-rays of the sun [created] a kind of peacock parasol. Bone ornamented *virās* and *virīnīs* (*dpa’ bo dpa’ mo*) filled the expanse of the sky and a rain of flowers fell down. On top of the body, numerous rainbow parasols appeared, stacked one upon the other. In the sound of the fire various pleasant sounds were heard, that could not be identified. In the smoke, one could see the *bla ma* sitting within a rainbow. Many small birds flew around the smoke. Numerous other things happened [also], as one could see masses of vultures and deer arriving, and so on. [123]

³³⁹ *dngos por gyur pa*, lit. “that became a thing.”

³⁴⁰ Residence of *bla ma* Lha-rje and later of Sgom-pa Tshul-khrims-snying-po.

³⁴¹ Instead of black on white, religious texts were now and then written with gold ink on black paper.

³⁴² *mgron byed pa*, Gold, *mgron byed* = *sne len byed*, to receive or entertain (people), probably a metaphor for dying.

³⁴³ *gar ’gro*, understood as in Gold: *gra sgrig byed*, “prepare.”

³⁴⁴ *nyan pa ’dod*, Das, *nyan ’dod pa*= *gus pa*, “respectful.”

³⁴⁵ *gar mos*, Das: *gar mo*= *gar po*, ‘thick,’ also coll. for *dkar po*, “white, positive.”

³⁴⁶ Mon, a region where Dūsum Khyenpa practiced meditation, see earlier fn.

³⁴⁷ Mid-la ras-pa (1040-1123) became age eighty-three.

Spiritual practice (*dge sbyor*) came to those without spiritual practice. To all who had engaged in spiritual practice the value of it was realized. And, to all great practitioners wonderful *samādhi* arose.

After that, [out of the ash] many [objects] came out, such as his heart which loved sentient beings, his tongue which taught the eminent dharma, relics as he perfected both kinds of *bodhicitta*, deity forms (*lha'i sku*) [as signs of his] confidence in the 'generation stage' [of meditation], and more. A small amount was given to each of the close students.

For [the benefit of] others [three types of action were taken]: a representation of his body [was placed] in the glorious Mtshur-phu-mdo-bo monastery, items (*gdung*) [that had appeared were put] in a great shrine room, and a golden *stūpa* was constructed in 'Bras-spungs³⁴⁸ style. [It all] took on inauguration by itself and by touching them the 'butter' of blessings arose.

[End of] the fifteenth chapter 'Appearings to Others'.

Part Three, Rebirths after Having Passed On in Three Chapters

Chapter 16, Rebirth in India

[Rin-po-che] was asked, "What will you do for the welfare of others after this life?" [He replied,]

"I shall be reborn in West India, in the city [124] of Kartika³⁴⁹, a twelve day journey north-east of Odḍiyāna, as a *yogin* called Prajñāśīla; son of father Dharmasiddhi and mother Mahāprajñā. *Bla ma* Lha-rje will also be born [then and there], born from a womb, and have the name Zhi-ba'i-go-cha, in the [nearby] city of Padma-can.

"A local *tīrthika*³⁵⁰ will act³⁵¹ [at that time] as a master of 'knowledge' (*shes bya*) and *bla ma* Lha-rje as a master of 'being-aware' (*shes pa*). Then by means of a debate *bla ma* [Lha-rje] will win and the *tīrthika* will enter Buddhism, [become an] 'insider,' and receive the name Dharmarāja. The name of the *tīrthika*'s king [in those days] will be Mahājina.

"In the city of Kārtika among the [people] there will be [also a Buddhist] *pañḍita* called Bodhivajra, who will possess good qualities.

"*Bla ma* Lha-rje will be there together with [his students]³⁵²: *bhikṣu* Bsgom-ra, Zhi-mdzes, Gar-ston, Gser-rkong-ye-shes-snying-po, Zom-shi-ye-shes-snying-po³⁵³, Ya-zi-ston-mo³⁵⁴, the two Rgya-che [and Rgya-]chung, Grags-mdzes, Nyag-sde-ston-pa, Rog-bsgom³⁵⁵, and Yon-tan-snying-po, six of them will have the capacity of [holding] awareness (*rig pa*) [125].

"He will gather [or convert] the *tīrthika*'s king in a non-conceptual way. He and the [above *tīrthika*] *pañḍita* of the king of Kārtika land, will both be converted at the same

³⁴⁸ 'Bras-spungs, Das, refers to 'Bras-dkar-spungs (lit. heap of white rice), see fn. at [52].

³⁴⁹ *karti ka* (SW), *kārti ka* (CW,SB); at [124] *kārti ka* (SW); also *karti ka* (SW) at [53].

³⁵⁰ Tib. *mu stegs*, adherent of a non-Buddhist religion (PDB).

³⁵¹ *byas*, understood as *ft bya*, as it concerns the future.

³⁵² From this list of *bla ma* Lha-rje's students, three were mentioned earlier at [100], namely: Gser-rkong-ye-shes-snying-po, Ja-zi-sngon-mo, and Sgom-pa-zhi-mdzes.

³⁵³ Zom-shi-ye-shes-snying-po (SW), Zim- (CW,SB).

³⁵⁴ Ya-zi-ston-mo (SW), Ya-dzi- (CW,SB).

³⁵⁵ Rog-bsgom (SW), -sgom (CW,SB).

time. *Bla ma* Lha-rje, the Buddhist *paṇḍita* [Bodhivajra] and the [ex]-*tīrthika paṇḍita*, the three will become ‘objects of respect’ (*mchod gnas*) for the Kārtika king.

“Between the cities Padma-can and Kārtika there will be a few [other] cities. Everyone in that region, being *tīrthika*, will become active ‘Buddhists insiders’ (*nang pa sangs rgyas*) without exception. It will take only two days to travel between the cities. I and *bla ma* Lha-rje will meet again then.

“Patron Dgon-pa-ba will also be there, born as the son of a minister and have taken ordination.

“Some of you will be reborn too [at that time] in the [nearby] city of Karna-ba³⁵⁶. Yon-tan-’od, Dge-’dun-’od, Smon-lam *bla ma*, Ye-shes-’od, *ston pa* Tshul-seng, Dge-’dun-grags, and You³⁵⁷ [Bde-chung-ba], together seven, will be born in the caste of nobility (*rje ’u rigs*).

“The three cities³⁵⁸ function also means to bring [us] together. Other [students will also be born] [126] in that region [such as]: master Rin-chen rgyal-mtshan, *ston pa* Sangs-rgyas, *ston pa* Byang-grags, *ston* Bsod[-nams]³⁵⁹, Dpon [*slob dpon?*] Dar-ma-rā-dza, Shākya Shes-rab, Sgom-sngon³⁶⁰, Rdo-rje-’bum, *dge bshes* Rin-grags, Dbang-phyug-grags, ’Od-zer *bla ma*, Yon-tan *bla ma*, Dar-ma-seng-ge, Rdo-rje-brtson-’grus, Byang-pa-lha-bzo, and more.

Many of you will meet *bla ma* Lha-rje and [some] will not meet, they will come and meet in a later life.”

[End of] the sixteenth chapter ‘Successive rebirth in India’.

Chapter 17, Rebirth in Lho-brag

When he was asked, where [he would be reborn] later, [after] having gone to India. [He replied,]

“I will be born in Tibet, in Lho-brag³⁶¹ [at one of the] so-called seven places of accomplishment³⁶², for the welfare of one student, [but] shall not stay long. I shall meet some of you there.”

[End of] the seventeenth chapter ‘Successive rebirth in Lho-brag’.

Chapter 18, Rebirth in a Realm of the World to the East

Asked, where next, [he replied,]

³⁵⁶ Karna-ba (SB), Karna-pa (CW,SB).

³⁵⁷ *khyed*, honorific; who could that be? An almost identical passage is found in the biography by Bde-chung-ba, the prototype for the *Gser gling*. Some passages (, such as here,) have been copied directly from the prototype and it is therefore possible that the ‘You’ is Bde-chung-ba, who made notes of words of Dūsūm Khyenpa.

³⁵⁸ see earlier: Kārtika, Padma-can and Karna-ba.

³⁵⁹ [1] *Rje ’gro ba’i mgon po* ..., the *rnam thar* Bde-chung-ba, SW 43:3 *ston pa* Bsod-nams.

³⁶⁰ Sgom-sngon (CW), Bsgom-sngon (SW), Sgom-rngon (SB); Sgom-sngon, [1] *Rje ’gro ba’i mgon po* ..., SW 43:4.

³⁶¹ Lho-brag, a region in South Tibet, about 150 kms south of Lha-sa, *Nyingma*, Vol. II, map 6. Mar-pa lo-tsā Chos-kyi-blo-gros (1012-1097) lived in Lho-brag, teacher of Mid-la ras-pa and others.

³⁶² locations unidentified.

“To the south, in India, in Urupa, there is [127] a *dākinī* place called Kongka³⁶³, there I shall be reborn. At that spot, in the city of Pa-ta-la³⁶⁴, patron Dgon-pa-ba will be reborn as king [again, now] having entered the real path [, compared to] early times.³⁶⁵ You all will meet me there again, and then endure [, as] you will not need me [anymore or for some time, as] also many [other beings] will appear. I will benefit many other beings then.”

Working for the welfare of others by means of various manifestations, described above, he [Düsum Khyenpa] will appear [again and again,] like a wish fulfilling jewel as long as the karma of sentient beings has not been exhausted. Speaking and writing [about him] will [always] be incomplete.

[End of] the eighteenth chapter ‘Successive rebirth in a realm of the world to the east.’

[Dedication of the work by the author of the *Gser gling*:]

The “Golden World” is an account of rebirths of a great bodhisattva.
A person with respect (*gus*) must hold him dear as a treasure and behold.
As my intellect is small, it is reasonable to have patience with [any] contradictions.
May, by the virtue [of this work], all beings become students of Dharma-master [Düsum Khyenpa]!

[Colophon:]

“A Golden World, the Succession of Precious Lifetimes of Dharma-master [Düsum Khyenpa] [128] in Eighteen Chapters,” summarized accounts of dialogues between the *bla ma* and [his spiritual] sons. It was written by Rgang-lo³⁶⁶, who holds these words to be true, as an ornament for Mtshur-phu-mdo-bo³⁶⁷ monastery.

End of the Translation

Concluding remarks on the Gser gling

What makes the *Gser gling* exceptional, compared to other *rnam thar* that exist, is that it provides an account of the bodhisattva path from the very beginning, describing how a person enters the path and gradually comes to live for the benefit of as many beings as possible. The master enters the path by asking his teacher to instruct him on how to generate *bodhicitta*.

³⁶³ Kongka, location unidentified.

³⁶⁴ Pa-ta-la, location unidentified.

³⁶⁵ Trans. note: this is a reference to an episode in Chapter 5, [50] where Dgon-pa-ba got killed in an earlier life, as a bad behaving king. Dgon-pa-ba is prominently present in the *Gser gling*, Chapter 10, [56]; Chapt. 12, [82]; Chapt. 15, [125]; Chapt. 16, [117], and here.

³⁶⁶ Rgang-lo (SW,CW), Sgang-lo (SB).

³⁶⁷ Mtshur-phu mdo-bo (SW), Mtshur-do-bo (CW,SB), Mtshur-phu monastery, founded by Düsum Khyenpa. He lived there the last five years of his life. See, 1.3.6, “Locations of places important in Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa’s life.”

Later on, the teacher continues to guide him during many lives to come. During these lives, he gathers the two accumulations of merit and wisdom, travels the “five (parts of the) path,” and, in the process of working for others, almost accidentally, “Awakening” happens. In this way, the *Gser gling* provides an example for Buddhists practicing the bodhisattva path.

The *Gser gling* is also exceptional, because this development across multiple lives is not one of an exceptional or specially selected personage, but instead, it involves “normal” persons from normal families, who engage in activities that others could engage in also. In his past lives Düsüm Khyenpa is a *yogin*, someone who puts a lot of effort into his spiritual practice, and also a scholar. The caste or social class that he came from does not seem to matter. In one life, he is born into a family of smiths, which is considered to be low caste, and in another life, he is born into a Brahmin family, a high caste. He even takes birth as an elephant to correct, in a particular case, an injustice in society. What really seems to matter is to find life circumstances which are best suited to one’s spiritual development.

We also learn that a bodhisattva in the course of his development gathers students in an organic fashion, and develops, as it were, a new “team-in-action,” as teachers and students continue to be reborn together. One “circle” of teacher and student, makes new “circles,” and so forth, and all the circles are connected through the goal they pursue.

The life account further describes the phenomenon of synchronic emanations, meaning that at a certain point of development one can have multiple bodies, that are active at the same time, so as to benefit even more beings. Several of the multiple bodies of the master and his teacher *bla ma* Lha-rje are listed in the *Gser gling*. Synchronic emanation is a characteristic of progress on the ten levels of the bodhisattva path towards Buddhahood and on each subsequent level, the bodhisattva is able to emanate more bodies through which he or she is active.³⁶⁸

Even though the path can be taken by ordinary people, we find that the *Gser gling* describes many instances of what is called *abhijñā* (Skt. for “superknowledges”). They are usually enumerated as six supranormal or exceptional powers that are by-products of meditation.³⁶⁹ Three specific examples are regularly mentioned in the *Gser gling*: the “knowledge of the rise (=birth) and fall (=death) [of all beings caught in *samsāra*]” (*cyutyupapattijñāna*) sometimes designated as the *divyacakṣus*, the “recollection of one’s

³⁶⁸ See for example Sgam-po-pa, *Jewel Ornament*, Chapter 19, “The Spiritual Levels,” 239-256, e.g. 242, “A Bodhisattva on the [first] level that of ‘The Joyful One’ manifests a hundred times, ...”; 243, “On the second spiritual level ... a thousand times ... etc.”

³⁶⁹ PDB lists for *abhijñā* a set of six supranormal powers: (1) *ṛddhividī*, various physical and magical powers; (2) *divyacakṣus*, lit. “divine eye,” clairvoyance, the ability to see from afar and to see how beings fare in accordance with their deeds; (3) *divyaśrota*, lit. “divine ear,” clairaudience, the ability to hear from afar; (4) *pūrvanivāsānasmṛti*, the ability to remember one’s former lives; (5) *cetoparyāyābhijñā* / *paracittajñā*, “knowledge of others states of minds,” e.g. telepathy; and (6) *āsravakṣaya*, “knowledge of the extinction of the contaminants.”

The first five are mundane (*laukika*) achievements, which are gained through still more profound refinement of the fourth stage of absorption (*dhyāna*). The sixth power is said to be supramundane (*lokottora*) and is attainable through the cultivation of insight (*vipaśyana*) into the nature of reality.

previous (transmigrational) abodes” (*pūrvanivāsānusmṛti*), and “knowledge of other people’s minds” (*paracittajñā*).

When we compare the twentieth-century record of Düsüm Khyenpa’s life by Karma Thinley with the *Gser gling*, we find that certain details that are part of the Karma Bka’-brgyud tradition are not attested in the *Gser gling*.³⁷⁰ For instance, we do not find the name Karma-pa in the *Gser gling*. We also do not find any mention of a so-called “black hat” of Düsüm Khyenpa in the earliest sources (neither in the *Gser gling* nor in the *nam thar* by Bde-chung-ba), nor do we find any mention of the letter, that was supposed to contain the prediction of circumstances of a next rebirth. Further, the idea that the Mtshur-phu monastery, together with the master’s books and relics, would have been entrusted in the care of his principal student ’Gro-mgon ras-chen, as Karma Thinley states, is not supported by the *Gser gling*.³⁷¹

It seems, therefore that in the record of Karma Thinley later Bka’-brgyud features (such as the “black hat,” rebirth prediction letter, and ’Gro-mgon ras-chen to be his “principal” student) are projected back in time on Düsüm Khyenpa.³⁷²

The fact that the *Gser gling* is not completely compatible with later Karma Bka’-brgyud features may have led to that it received little attention in later centuries.

It is argued here that currently the best source for a reliable picture of Düsüm Khyenpa’s life is the *Gser gling*. While it is possible that the record may be incomplete, it is at least untouched by later acts of projecting features back in time.

³⁷⁰ Karma Thinley, *History Sixteen Karmapas*, 44-5.

³⁷¹ Another source, the *Rje dus gsum mkhyen pa’i zhal chems*, also does not mention ’Gro-mgon ras-chen among the persons who are at Mtshur-phu at the time Düsüm Khyenpa passes away. The *Blue Annals* even relates that ’Gro-mgon ras-chen stayed behind in Khams.

³⁷² Only one work in the Düsüm Khyenpa Collection, the Collection is researched in Chapter 4, mentions the phenomenon of the *zhwa nag*: [29] *Bsre ba bskor gsum*, the work which is probably of later origin.

3.3 Critical Edition of the *Zhus lan 2*

SW kha 389:1, CW 490a, SB kha 212:1 *dus gsum*¹ mkhyen pa'i zhus lan bzhugs so/

[E 1] bla ma dam pa rnams la phyag 'tshal lo= bla ma rin po che la= phyis kho bos [389:2] gdams² ngag cig³ zhus nas bsgoms⁴ pas= zhag 'ga' lon pa dang gang nas byung cha med pa'i gsal sing nge ba'i nyams shig byung zhus [389:3] pas= rin po che'i zhal nas de dkar po zhid thub bya ba yin pas= sang nas⁵ *gnangs*⁶ dang phyis rtag tu de *tsug*⁷ 'ong ba yin pas rgyab [389:4] yol dro bar *gyis*⁸= gos srab bar⁹ gyis la bsgoms dang shes pa *bkol*¹⁰ du btub par 'dug gi gsung¹¹=

[E 2] de nas bza' med nas [389:5] bza' 'tshol¹² du phyin pas zla ba gsum du ma mjal¹³= de nas¹⁴ 'ol ka bsrubs¹⁵ na¹⁶ bzhugs nas 'dug= der phyin nas¹⁷ zhag [389:6] 'ga' bsgoms pas= bde gsal mi rtog¹⁸ pa'i nyams gsha' ma¹⁹ zhig byung nas zhus pas= hu re²⁰ mdzad nas da lta bsgom bzang [390:1] bar 'dug ste= de rtsa ba gang nas byung gsung=

ma shes byas pas=
'o na da rung de ka btsug²¹ bsgom dgos pa yin gsung= [390:2]

[E 3] yang zhag 'ga' bsgoms pas bde gsal de 'gro ba'i lam kun tu yang byung= de sems yin snyam²² pa zhig byung= rnam rtog yang [390:3] sems su²³ shes pa bag re yong bar 'dug zhus pas=
bde gsal dang drod la sogs pa ci byung yang yun ma ring bar yang yang *bsgom*²⁴ [390:4] gsung=

¹ 3, number three, shorthand for *gsum*, Bacot, p. 11.

² *gdam*, shorthand of *gdams* in the word combination *gdams ngag*; *gdams* CW.

³ 1, number one, shorthand for *gcig*, Bacot, p. 11. In the *dbu med* SW we find almost everywhere the numeral “1” for “one,” *gcig*, and for the indefinite particle “a” *cig*; depending on the context the numeral “1” was transliterated as *gcig* “one” or *cig* “a”. Variant CW,SB readings for *gcig*, *cig*, *zhig* and *shig* were not noted.

⁴ *bsgoms* SW,SB : *bsgom* CW

⁵ *sangs*, contraction of *sang nas*; CW,SB *sang*.

⁶ *gnang* SW : *gnangs* CW,SB. Corrected, context favors *gnangs*, “the day after tomorrow.”

⁷ *tsug* CW,SB : *btsug* SW. Corrected, *de tsug* attested, J, “so, thus.”

⁸ *gyis* CW,SB : *bgys* SW. Corrected, vb. *bgyd pa*, “make, act”, pf *bgyis*, imp *gyis*; context favors imp

⁹ *bar* SW : *par* CW,SB

¹⁰ *bkol* CW,SB : *dkol* SW. Corrected, *dkol* unattested; pf *bkol*, vb 'khol ba, “use.”

¹¹ *dugisung*, contraction of *'dug gi gsung*.

¹² *tshol* SW : *tshol* CW,SB. SW reading works well, *'tshol ba*, “seek” (for food).

¹³ *'jal*, shorthand for *mjal* : *mjal* CW,SB

¹⁴ *nas* SW,SB : *na* CW

¹⁵ *bsrubs* SW : *srebs* CW : *srub* SB. Variant spelling of name location.

¹⁶ *na* SW,SB : *nas* CW

¹⁷ *phyins*, contraction of *phyin nas*.

¹⁸ *rtog* SW,SB : *rtogs* CW. Variant *rtogs*, unlikely, *bde gsal mi rtog*, recurring expression, e.g. SW kha 399:3.

¹⁹ *gsha' ma* SW : *bsha' ma* CW. J, both words, same meaning.

²⁰ *hu re* SW : *hur re* CW,SB. Both attested, *hu re*, J, “stare”; *hur re*, GC.

²¹ *btsug* SW : *tsug* CW,SB. GC, *btsug dgos*, connected with vb *'dzugs pa*, “lay out.”

²² *snyam pa* SW,SB : *snyams pa* CW. Variant *snyams pa*, unattested; *snyam pa*, “thought.”

²³ *semsu*, contraction of *sems su*.

²⁴ *bsgom* CW : *bsgoms* SW,SB. Corrected, context favors ft *bsgom*; or imp *sgoms*, not available as variant.

[E 4] yang zhag 'ga' re bsgoms²⁵ pas lte ba'i 'og *tu* tsha mi bzod pa zhig byung zhus pas= rin po che'i zhal nas=

rlung bag [390:5] re tshud par 'dug ste= rtsar rlung byung bas der rnam rtog zhugs pa yin pas zhag 'ga' gtum mo rang ma bsgom gsung= [390:6]

ma bsgoms²⁶ kyang gtum mo rang dran pa tsam gyis kyang de tsug byung zhus²⁷ pas= de thams cad rnam rtog yin pas lte ba man²⁸ chad du [391:1] 'jam rlung gzung²⁹ la phyag rgya chen po rang bsgoms= rlung rang gar 'ror thor³⁰ gsung=

[E 5] yang *thebs*³¹ gcig *bsgom*³² bya [391:2] bsgoms³³ byed snang grags 'di= ci yang ma mthong par rig pa gsal sing nge ba zhig byung zhus pas= rin po che'i zhal nas=

lkugs [391:3] pas rmi lam rmis pa dang= gzhon nu³⁴ ma'i bde ba lta bu zer ba de= bshad pas mi shes pas³⁵ yong khyod la bsgom zhig ci shes [391:4] byed pa yin pas= dri rgyu ma bde ba ci byung yang³⁶ nga mtshams³⁷ dam yang shog³⁸ gsung=

[E 6] yang nub gcig rmi lam na dge slong zhig gis [391:5] sngar ma thos pa'i chos shig bshad pa zhig rmis= de gsal ba zhig byung zhus pas= rin po che'i zhal nas=

de la khyod dga' bar [391:6] 'dug gam³⁹ gsung= 'dug lags byas⁴⁰ pas= bka' skyon drag po zhig mdzad nas= kho de mngon *sum*⁴¹ du yang cho 'phrul⁴² sna tshogs [392:1] byung pa las⁴³= de thams cad sgyu mar shes nas lam du 'gro ba yin= bden bar⁴⁴ bzung na bar chad yin pas= sems la ci byung ba [392:2] thams cad bzang yang dang du mi blang= ngan pa byung kyang⁴⁵ mi spang= de thams cad gnyis⁴⁶ med du shes par byed pa yin= de ltar ma shes na mi [392:3] 'dod pa zhig byung ba'i dus su de bar chod du 'gro ba yin gsung=

[E 7] yang gtum mo bsgoms⁴⁷ pas drod skyes pa'i dus nyon mongs pa'i 'ching [392:4] bar song zhus pas= rin po che'i zhal nas=

da de byang sems rgyas pa yin pas= de bde bar 'khyer ba yin= rdo rje nor bu nas yar [392:5] bkram nas spyi bo man chad bde litems litems song par⁴⁸ bsgoms⁴⁹ pa yin=

²⁵ *bsgoms* SW,SB : *bsgom* CW. Context favors pf *bsgoms*

²⁶ *bsgoms* SW,SB : *bsgom* CW. Context favors pf *bsgoms*

²⁷ *zhus* SW,CW : *zhes* SB. Context favors *zhus*

²⁸ *man chad* SW,SB : *ma chad* CW. Attested, *man chad*, J, "below."

²⁹ *gzung* SW : *bzung* CW,SB. Context favors ft *gzung*.

³⁰ *thor* SW : *thong* CW,SB. Read as 'thor, Gold, "disintegrate", J, "to be scattered."

³¹ *thebs* CW,SB : *theb* SW. Corrected, context favors *thebs*, "series."

³² *bsgom* CW,SB : *bsgoms* SW. Corrected, context favors *bsgom*, "meditation."

³³ *bsgoms* SW : *bsgom* CW,SB

³⁴ *gzhonu*, condensed cursive form of *gzhon nu*, Bacot 563.

³⁵ *pas* SW : *pa* CW,SB

³⁶ *yang* SW : *pa* CW,SB.

³⁷ *mtshams* SW,SB : *'tshams* CW

³⁸ [] SW : *dang* CW,SB

³⁹ *'dugam*, contraction of *'dug gam*; *'dug gi* CW,SB.

⁴⁰ *byas* SW : *zhus* CW,SB

⁴¹ *sum* CW,SB : *gsum* SW. Expression attested, J, *mngon sum*, "directly."

⁴² [] SW : *drag po* CW,SB

⁴³ *las* SW : *la* CW,SB

⁴⁴ *bar* SW : *par* CW,SB

⁴⁵ *kyang* SW,CW : *yang* SB

⁴⁶ 2, number two, shorthand for *gnyis*, Bacot p. 11.

⁴⁷ *bsgoms* SW,SB : *bsgom* CW

⁴⁸ *par* SW,SB : *bar* CW

de nas mar la thig le⁵⁰ 'chor 'chor 'dra na= rang gi spyi bor⁵¹ [392:6] ma dmar ser zhig
 bsam= rang gi mig gnyis⁵² lte bar bsam⁵³ nas= de la yar lta bar bsam pa yin= de las
 yang shes pa [393:1] ma yengs bar⁵⁴ bde gsal du 'dug pa la= rnam rtog re byung yang
 sems su shes pa 'byung bas=

rnam rtog der 'phror [393:2] ma btub= rnam grangs sems su shes pa de yang 'phror ma
 btub zhus pas= rin po che'i zhal nas=

rnal 'byor ma **ga gra**⁵⁵ **dha ras**= rnal 'byor [393:3] pa badzra *shrī*⁵⁶ la= rigs kyi bu
 yul la ma blta⁵⁷ sems la blta⁵⁸= bya ba ma mang zhes⁵⁹ 'dod kun dang 'phrol⁶⁰= nyams
 nga ma byed [393:4] dogs pas bdag la 'ching= sems ni gar dga' nyid du thong la⁶¹
 thong= zhes gsungs⁶² pas=
badzra shrī⁶³ grub⁶⁴ thob pa⁶⁵ skad=

gnyis [393:5] med shes pa chu dang 'o ma 'dres pa 'dra= nyams myong sprin lta⁶⁶ ci
 ltar 'gyur⁶⁷ yang rung= rnal 'byor shes pa glang po lta bur gang [393:6] ltogs⁶⁸ pa=
 nam mkha' bzhin⁶⁹ du kun la khyab pa yis/
 rig pa rnam rtog phyir 'phrang⁷⁰ ma shor bar= rnam rtog ci byung [394:1] sems su
 shes par gyis= bya ba yin pas= rig pa *gsal*⁷¹ sing nge^{72 73} 'dug pa de= nam mkha'
 bzhin du sems su shes dgos pa yin=
 thams cad [394:2] *sems*⁷⁴ su shes pa byung ba la= *mdzo*⁷⁵ pho byung du song
 yang= sna thag chag par yod bya ba yin= rnam rtog gi⁷⁶ sprin dang 'dra ba yin=
 [394:3] res ci tsug yong par⁷⁷ ci tsug yong ba yin= de thams cad nyams bya ba yin= ci
 byung yang thams cad sems su shes par gyis la bsgoms [394:4] *gsung*⁷⁸=

⁴⁹ bsgoms SW : bsgom CW,SB

⁵⁰ thige, condensed cursive of thig le, Bacot 253.

⁵¹ spyior, condensed cursive of spyi bor, Bacot 392.

⁵² mignyis, contraction of mig gnyis; mi gnyis SB.

⁵³ bsam SW : bsams CW,SB; ft bsam works very well.

⁵⁴ bar SW : par CW,SB

⁵⁵ gra SW : ga CW,SB. Different spelling personal name.

⁵⁶ shrī CW,SB : shri SW. Corrected cf. unanimous spelling in a later passage.

⁵⁷ blta SW,SB : lta CW

⁵⁸ blta SW,SB : lta CW

⁵⁹ zhes SW : zhe CW,SB. Context favors zhe, "anger."

⁶⁰ 'phrol SW : phrol CW,SB

⁶¹ la SW : las CW,SB. Context favors las.

⁶² gsyā, shorthand for gsungs, Roloff, 58.

⁶³ shrī SW : shrīs CW,SB

⁶⁴ [] SW : pa CW,SB

⁶⁵ pa SW : [] CW,SB

⁶⁶ lta SW : ltar CW,SB

⁶⁷ 'gyur SW : 'gyu CW,SB. Context favors 'gyur, "become."

⁶⁸ ltogs SW : rtogs CW,SB. Problematic.

⁶⁹ 4n, number four plus n, shorthand for bzhin, Roloff, 57.

⁷⁰ 'phrang SW : 'brang CW,SB. Context favors 'brang, "follow."

⁷¹ gsal CW,SB : gsa pa SW. Corrected, attested word comb., see SW 389:2, gsal sing nge ba'i nyams.

⁷² singe, contraction of sing nge.

⁷³ nge SW : der CW : nger SB

⁷⁴ sems CW,SB : sems sems SW. Corrected, context favors sems.

⁷⁵ mdzo CW,SB : mdzo' SW. Corrected mdzo' not attested; mdzo, "pack animal."

⁷⁶ rnam rtogi, contraction of rnam rtog gi CW : rnam rtog [] SB.

⁷⁷ par or sar SW : res CW,SB

⁷⁸ gsung CW,SB : gsungs SW. Corrected, context favors gsung as end of direct speech.

[E 8] yang nga'i rig pa gsal sing nge⁷⁹ 'dug pa de= res srid pa'i rtse mo man chad rlung gi dkyil 'khor yan⁸⁰ chad pa thams cad [394:5] rang gi sems ma yin pa ci yang mi 'dug snyam⁸¹ pa zhig byung zhus pas= rin po che'i zhal nas=

ngo bo gzugs med mthong ba po [394:6] yang med= sgra med thos pa po yang med= dri med bsgom pa po yang med= ro med myong pa⁸² po yang med= ces pa **dgyes** [395:1] **pa rdo rje**'i lung las gsungs pas=

ji ltar chu la chu bzhag dang= ci ltar mar la <mar>⁸³ bzhag bzhin= bya [395:2] ba yin pas lus sems khong glod⁸⁴ la bzhog⁸⁵= srid pa gsum man chad rlung gi dkyil 'khor yan chad rang gi sems yin rang bzhin⁸⁶ [395:3] grub pa med gsung=

yang 'od gsal bya ba de chos thams cad sems su shes pa la zer ba lags sam⁸⁷ zhus pas= kun de tsug yin [395:4] go tsa na *'o skol*⁸⁸ rang gi rig pa de gsal la ma 'gags pa= skye 'gag med pa de= 'od gsal bya ba yin [395:5] gsung=

yang gcig por⁸⁹ *sdod*⁹⁰ dus su rgod snying kha nas⁹¹ 'dod= gnyid khung⁹² du rgod pa 'ong bas mi'i rtsar nyal mi [395:6] btub par 'dug zhus pas= de bde ba rgyas pa yin bzang ba yin gsungs⁹³=

[E 9] yang nyin gcig thabs lam zhu byas pas=

de gong kun [396:1] tu⁹⁴ bshad pa des chog ma bsgoms⁹⁵ na bar dor⁹⁶ ⁹⁷ gdams ngag shes kyang mi phan=

khyed rang yang da rung bsgoms⁹⁸ nus na de [396:2] bskyang bas⁹⁹ chog par 'dug bar do'i dus tshod du ¹⁰⁰ bsgoms¹⁰¹ 'od gsal de'i rjes su 'brang= rang bzhin gyi 'od gsal gyis sngun nas [396:3] bsu ba yin gsung=

bsgoms¹⁰² nus na des chog gam zhus pas= rin po che'i zhal nas=

nga dkar po zhig thub de la byed pa yin= [396:4] nga la yang de las med gsung=

⁷⁹ nge SW : nger CW,SB

⁸⁰ yan SW,SB : lan CW

⁸¹ snyaM, shorthand for snyam.

⁸² pa SW : ba CW,SB

⁸³ ci ltar mar la mar bzhag SB : ci ltar mar la bzhag SW : ci ltar mar la mar ba zhag CW. Corrected, context.

⁸⁴ glod SW, CW : klod SB. Variant klod, word unattested.

⁸⁵ bzhog SW,CW : zhog SB. Both forms are possible: vb 'jog pa I, "to put in place," TC pf bzhag, imp zhog; vb 'jog pa II, "cut", pf bzhog, imp zhogs. Translation favors "to put in place."

⁸⁶ rangin, condensed cursive of rang bzhin, Bacot 612.

⁸⁷ lagsaM, contraction of lags sam.

⁸⁸ 'o skol la CW,SB : 'o dkol SW. Corrected, 'o skol, "we", 'o dkol unattested.

⁸⁹ gcig por SW : gcig pur CW,SB. Both attested, same meaning, "alone."

⁹⁰ sdod CW,SB : bsdod SW. Corrected, sdod, "stay"; bsdod, unattested.

⁹¹ kha nas SW : kha na CW : kho na SB. Context favors kha nas, snying kha nas, "from the heart."

⁹² khung SW : gung CW,SB. Uncorrected, khung, "hole", [sleep] interruption; gung, Das, "middle" [of sleep].

⁹³ gsungs SW : gsung CW,SB

⁹⁴ de gong kun tu SW : de kun gong du CW,SB

⁹⁵ bsgoms SW,SB : bsgom CW

⁹⁶ bar dor SW : bar do CW,SB

⁹⁷ [] SW : dang CW,SB

⁹⁸ bsgoms SW : bsgom CW,SB

⁹⁹ de bskyang bas SW : de rkyang pas CW,SB. Both possible, de bskyang bas, "attending to that"; de rkyang pas, "simply that."

¹⁰⁰ [] SW : yang CW,SB

¹⁰¹ bsgoms SW : bsgom CW,SB

¹⁰² bsgoms SW : bsgom CW,SB

[E 10] 'o na nga'i bde ba gsal sing nge ba 'dug pa de la res yengs thabs su byung= nyin la gsal [396:5] mtshan la mi gsal zhus pas= rin po che'i zhal nas=
 khyod la da rung skyon zhig 'dug pas= gsal na dga' mi gsal [396:6] na mi dga' ba'i
 skyon zhig 'dug= de tsug byed pa men¹⁰³=
 rang gi rig pa gsal sing nge¹⁰⁴ bzhag nas rnam rtog gi phyir mi [397:1] 'brang¹⁰⁵= rnam
 rtog ci byung yang sems su shes= sems skye med du shes par¹⁰⁶ byed pa yin= sems la
 ci byung yang gnyis med [397:2] du shes dgos pa yin=
 nyin la gsal ba de rig pa dang snang ba 'dres pa yin= nub mo yang ci yang ma yin pa'i
 bde [397:3] sing nge ba zhig yod pa yin=

mi mang *sar*¹⁰⁷ **kha rag** bsdod¹⁰⁸ *[]*¹⁰⁹ la bsgoms= 'gro ba'i lam kun du¹¹⁰ yang
 bsgoms¹¹¹ byung ngam ltos gsungs¹¹²= [397:4] de gnyis ka la khyad med par 'ong bar 'dug
 zhus pas=
 'o de yin gsung=

[E 11] sngar ngas sdig pa bag tsam phra ba zhig byas= las 'bras [397:5] bsgoms¹¹³ pa'i dus su
 de kun dran tsam gyis= sdug bsngal che bar byung zhus pas= rin po che'i zhal nas=
 de kun stong nyid thun zhig [397:6] gis 'dag pa yin= dper na sog ma phung po zhig la
 me stag cig btap pas na thams cad dngos med la 'gro= de bzhin du snga na'i [398:1]
 sdig pa byas pa phra mo de rnam rtog yin= sems yin sems de skye med du byas pas
 'dag pa yin gsung=

[E 12] yang snang grags thams cad [398:2] sems yin par 'dug= gzhan logs na med snyam pa
 zhig byung= sems kyi ngo bo la bstas¹¹⁴ pas thug pa mi 'dug= nam mkha' la mdung [398:3]
 bskor ba bzhin du byung zhus pas= rin po che'i zhal nas=
 sems 'di rnam rtog gi phyir ma 'brangs¹¹⁵ par bcas bcas ma byed par rang [398:4] dag
 rang gsal du zhog la=rnam rtog la mi 'thad pa ci byung yang de la mi dga' ba¹¹⁶ ma
 byed par de rang la ltos dang= de la [398:5] kha dog med= dbyibs med ngos bzung
 med= de rig pa rang gi ngo bo yin pas= gsal la ma 'gags pa de rang yin gsung= [398:6]

[E 13] 'o na bde gsal mi rtog pa'i dus su yun ma ring gsung ba zhus pas= rin po che'i zhal
 nas=
 de ma yin byas pa la= da res [399:1] 'di gsal mi zer= lus la *bde*¹¹⁷ ba che la gsal la
 mi rtog pa'i dus su der yun rings¹¹⁸ na shes pa lus¹¹⁹ [399:2] kyi bde ba la yengs nas=

¹⁰³ men SW,CW : min SB

¹⁰⁴ nge SW : nger CW,SB

¹⁰⁵ 'brang SW, CW : 'brangs SB. Context favors ft 'brang, "follow", above pf 'brangs.

¹⁰⁶ par SW : pa CW,SB

¹⁰⁷ mi mang par SW : mi mang sar CW,SB. Corrected, context, sa plus term. -r, "at a place."

¹⁰⁸ bsdod SW,CW, SB. All editions agree but the vb form is not attested. Based on pf bsgoms end of sentence, probably pf bsdad is meant, pf of sdod, "stay."

¹⁰⁹ nas la with correction (?) dots above nas SW : [] la CW,SB . Corrected, context favors [] la.

¹¹⁰ du SW : tu CW,SB

¹¹¹ bsgoms SW : bsgom CW,SB

¹¹² gsungs SW : gsung CW,SB

¹¹³ bsgoms SW : bsgom CW,SB

¹¹⁴ bstas SW : ltas CW : bltas SB. Problematic, based on context I chose in the translation for a verb close to the SW reading, stad pa, pf bstad, J, "put or lay on."

¹¹⁵ ma 'brangs SW,SB : mi 'brang CW. Vb 'brang ba, "follow", pf 'brangs, ft 'brang.

¹¹⁶ ba SW, CW : bar SB

¹¹⁷ bde CW,SB : de SW. Corrected, context.

rlung ba spu'i *bu*¹²⁰ ga nas phar shor nas physis grang ba can du 'gro ba yin= *dge
bshes*¹²¹ **spyang nga ba**'i [399:3] lo rgyus kyang gsung=

[E 14] yang nga la bde gsal mi rtog pa gsum las gsal ba shas che/ *mdo*¹²² long nga'i shes pa
de yengs na [399:4] dngos po¹²³ phyi nang dang 'dres nas= nam phyed nas ci yang mi dran pa
zhig byung zhus pas= rin po che'i zhal nas=

rig pa gsal le sing nge¹²⁴ [399:5] 'dug pa¹²⁵ de rtsa ba sems yin pas de ma shor bar
bgyis¹²⁶ la= dran tshad ci byung yang rtsa ba sems su gyis= bcas bcos ma byed [399:6]
rtogs¹²⁷ spyod¹²⁸ ma byed par lus sems khong glod¹²⁹ la glen bsgoms¹³⁰ rang gis
gyis¹³¹ dang= de yang chu ma rnyog na dangs¹³² pa'i rang bzhin= [400:1] sems ma
slad na gsal ba'i rang bzhin bya ba yin pas= rtogs¹³³ dpyod byas bcas bcos byas=
chags sdang byas na mi gsal du [400:2] 'gro ba yin gsungs¹³⁴=

yang *thengs gcig*¹³⁵ nga'i bde ba de chung du song= gsal ba dang mi rtog pa de nyan
par 'dug zhus pas=

ci [400:3] yang mi nyes sngar bde ba che dus su bsgoms¹³⁶ yun rings¹³⁷ pas yal ba yin
gsung=

[E 15] yang¹³⁸ *thengs gcig*¹³⁹ gnyid thun zhig *gi*¹⁴⁰ nang du [400:4] yang thams cad rtsir
btub pa zhig byung= de'i dus su yi dags¹⁴¹ kyis¹⁴² sdug bsngal¹⁴³ dpag tu med pa byung zhus
pas= rin po che'i zhal nas=

de rlung [400:5] skyon yin te 'ong skyon thams cad 'dis sol ba yin gsung¹⁴⁴ nas=
'khrul 'khor¹⁴⁵ zab pa zhig bstan= des sol=

¹¹⁸ rings SW,CW : ring SB. Both possible, J, rings sometimes for ring.

¹¹⁹ lus SW,SB : lus pa lus CW. Both possible, CW adds lus pa, "[awareness] forgotten"; in trans. CW in brackets.

¹²⁰ bu CW,SB : bu or nu SW. Corrected, (spu'i) bu, "hair-roots."

¹²¹ dge bshes CW,SB : dge shes SW. Corrected, SW pronunciation style.

¹²² mdo long CW,SB : mdo' long SW. Problematic, corrected, mdo' as it is unattested; mdo long, "lower state (of being-aware)"; same expression again at SW 401:3.

¹²³ dngoos, condensed cursive of dngos po, Bacot 140.

¹²⁴ nge SW : nger CW,SB

¹²⁵ 'dug pa SW,CW : 'dug pas SB

¹²⁶ bgyis SW : gyis CW,SB

¹²⁷ rtogs SW : rtog CW,SB, see next fn.

¹²⁸ rtogs yyod (spyod ?) SW : rtog dpyod CW,SB. Both possible, rtogs spyod byed pa SW, J, "know and do [in mind]", and rtog dpyod byed pa CW,SB, "examine thoughts." CW,SB variant in trans. added in brackets.

¹²⁹ glod SW : klod CW,SB. SW fits very well, glod, "loosen (body and mind)"; klod, unattested.

¹³⁰ bsgoms SW : bsgom CW,SB

¹³¹ rang gis gyis SW : rang bgyis CW,SB

¹³² dangs SW,CW, dwangs SB. Different spelling, same meaning, J, "clean."

¹³³ rtogs SW : rtog CW,SB, see fn. above.

¹³⁴ gsungs SW : gsung CW,SB; both possible.

¹³⁵ thengs gcig SB : thangs I SW : thangs gcig CW. Corrected, thangs I SW is problematic, thang gcig is attested, J, "a moment, a little while", as well as thengs gcig, G, "one time." The context favors thengs gcig SB. This is the first time that thangs I SW appears, it has been identically corrected at eight (!) more places to follow

¹³⁶ bsgoms SW : bsgom CW,SB

¹³⁷ rings SW,CW : ring SB. Both possible, J, rings sometimes for ring

¹³⁸ yang SW,SB : yangs CW

¹³⁹ thengs gcig, corrected, see earlier SW 400:2 fn.

¹⁴⁰ gi CW,SB : gyis SW. Corrected, context favors gi (nang du).

¹⁴¹ dags SW : dwags CW,SB

¹⁴² kyis SW : kyi CW,SB

¹⁴³ bsdul, condensed cursive variant (earlier sdul) of sdug bsngal, Bacot 336.

¹⁴⁴ gsung SW,CW : gsungs SB

nang zhig spyang sngar 'bod [400:6] du byung nas phyin pa dang= <rin po che'i zhal nas
>¹⁴⁶

'o skol gnyis rlung gi¹⁴⁷ khyer ba= khyod kyi¹⁴⁸ chos nyan pa bshad pa la gang gis
kyang de ma shes= khyod kyis [401:1] chos gsha' ma zhig da bzod rnyed pa yin
gsung= sngar gyi yi dags¹⁴⁹ kyi snang ba byung ba de 'dod pa yin *te*¹⁵⁰= [401:2]
gzhan gang nas kyang ma byung rang gi sems las byung pa yin= rang sems de skye
med chos sku yin pas de bzhin du bsgoms¹⁵¹ gsung= [401:3]

[E 16] yang *mdo*¹⁵² long shes pa de zhabs su *bstim bstim*¹⁵³ 'gro ba 'dra ba zhig byung=
de'i dus su rtog pa ci yang mi 'phro ba 'dra ba zhig byung¹⁵⁴ zhus pas= [401:4]
rlung bag re a va dhu¹⁵⁵ tir tshud pa yin te gtan du mi 'ong gsung=

[E 17] yang *thengs gcig*¹⁵⁶ *sa*¹⁵⁷,i gting du *'dzul*¹⁵⁸ ba zhig rmis= nyams [401:5] rang
yang de tsug byung zhus pas= rin po che'i zhal nas=
'o cag rnam rtog lam du 'khyer ba la= rnam rtog chang chung sems su [401:6] shes
pas mi 'ong=
'o na ngan song gsum gyi sdug bsngal lam= mer 'chong ba'am= chur 'chong ba'am=
sdug bsngal [402:1] chen po zhig nyams su myong ba zhig rmis pa'am= nyams su
myong ba zhig byung na de la 'dod thog *tu* byed lam du byed pa yin= chos gsha'
[402:2] ma zhig bzod byed pa yin=
de la nan chags cher gyis la de lta bu'i sdug bsngal de la bltas¹⁵⁹ pas kha dog med
dbyibs [402:3] med/ de thams cad rang sems las ma 'das= thams cad sems yin sems
skye med yin pas de tsug bsgom pa¹⁶⁰ dgos pa yin=

[E 18] yang [402:4] zhag 'ga' bsgoms pas= nyams la dmyal ba'i snang ba byung de sems su
shes pa byung zhus pas= rin po che'i zhal nas=
spyir theg [402:5] pa chen po¹⁶¹ gsang sngags 'di *bden pa*¹⁶² zab pa yin= dmyal ba
nyan thos pa'i bden¹⁶³ bzhin ba¹⁶⁴ med= de'i yul med sems [402:6] kyi 'khrul snang
yin pas= rnam rtog lam du 'khyer ba 'di las zab¹⁶⁵ med pas da rung du dmyal ba'i

¹⁴⁵ 'khrur, condensed cursive of 'khrul 'khor, Bacot 74.

¹⁴⁶ [] SW : rin po che'i zhal nas CW,SB. Added, context favors CW,SB variant, fits in the dialogue.

¹⁴⁷ gi SW : gis CW,SB

¹⁴⁸ kyi SW : kyis CW,SB

¹⁴⁹ dags SW : dwags CW,SB

¹⁵⁰ te CW,SB : ste SW. Corrected, Hahn, 148, -n te.

¹⁵¹ bsgoms SW,SB : bsgom CW. Context seems to favor bsgom.

¹⁵² mdo' long SW : mdo long CW,SB. Corrected, complicated, trans. as "lower state (of being aware)", same expression as at 399: 3, mdo' unattested.

¹⁵³ bstim bstim CW,SB : tim tim SW. Corrected, J, vb stim, "to be absorbed in", ft bstim; GC, bstim = chu la thim par bya ba//. Reduplication makes an intensive, cp. Hahn, 190.

¹⁵⁴ byung SW,SB : [] CW

¹⁵⁵ a va dhū tīr SB : a va dhu tir SW : a va dha tir CW. Corrected, Edgerton BHSD, avadhūtī.

¹⁵⁶ tengs gcig, corrected, see earlier SW 400:2 fn.

¹⁵⁷ sa CW,SB : pa SW. Corrected, context favors sa, "earth."

¹⁵⁸ 'dzul CW,SB : 'jul SW. Corrected, 'dzul, "sink"; 'jul unattested.

¹⁵⁹ bltas SW : ltas CW,SB

¹⁶⁰ pa SW : [] CW,SB

¹⁶¹ po SW : po'i CW : [] SB

¹⁶² bden pa CW,SB : gden pa SW. Corrected, bden pa, "truth"; gden, unattested .

¹⁶³ [] SW : pa CW,SB

¹⁶⁴ ba SW : [] CW,SB

¹⁶⁵ [] SW : pa CW,SB

nyams <su>¹⁶⁶ byung ba dang de [403:1] sems su shes par gyis <la>¹⁶⁷ sems skye med
 du shes par gyis=
 de la goms pas *sang gnangs*¹⁶⁸ physis bar dor dmyal [403:2] ba'i snang ba byung
 yang sems su¹⁶⁹ shes pas dar gyi pho long brdabs pa tsam zhig yin=
 slob dpon **rtog rtse ba**'i zhal nas= shes pa 'di la [403:3] brten nas ni= bag chags ngan
 pa'i snang ba yis= dmyal ba dag tu skye srid kyang= dmyal ba rang yang bde ba can=
 bya ba'i don [403:4] yang de yin gsung=

[E 19] yang <thebs>¹⁷⁰ shig na sngon rtsa gsum 'dus pa'i sar nad cig byung= da ltar de'i thad
 *so*¹⁷¹ skrangs nas 'dug tshangs bug yang [403:5] skrangs= zas kyang mi 'dod pa zhig byung
 zhus pas= rin po che'i zhal nas=
 'byung ba'i nad¹⁷² kyang bag re yin= bsgom chen pa'i nad [403:6] phal cher=
 chos bsam pa dang bsgom ma legs pas rnam rtog nang¹⁷³ du song ba yin= ¹⁷⁴ gnyis
 med bsgom¹⁷⁵ pas gnyis su shor bya ba yin [404:1] gsung=
 nad thams cad re dogs rang¹⁷⁶ yin= re bas phung dogs pas 'gag bya ba yin pas= nad de
 rang la ltos dang= kha dog med [404:2] dbyibs med thams cad sems yin pas= nar song
 gis dogs pa'i dgos¹⁷⁷ pa ma byed= sos su re ba ma byed=
 'dis go bcad pa [404:3] yin snyam du bya gsung=

[E 20] yang mnyam gzha¹⁷⁸ la gsal sing nge¹⁷⁹ 'dug= de'i dus su nyin gcig brag kha zhig na
 phar song ba la= rmi [404:4] lam yin snyam nas g-yang la *de'u*¹⁸⁰ song zhus pas= rin po
 che'i zhal nas=
 dang po'i snang pa¹⁸¹ de ban bun ¹⁸² song ba yin= gnyis sa¹⁸³ [404:5] de 'od gsal gyis
 khyab pa yin= gsum pa de sems nang du gnas pa yin= de kun la bcos rgyu med
 gsung=

[E 21] *yang*¹⁸⁴ *thengs gcig*¹⁸⁵= rig [404:6] pa rang gsal ci yang ma *rdugs*¹⁸⁶ pa zhig
 byung= gzhan ci yang mthong ba med pa re re tsam byung=
 de la goms par byas na 'byung [405:1] ba *rim gyis*¹⁸⁷ bsdus nas lus 'di dor nas rig pa'i ngo
 bo de chos kyis sku yin nam zhus pas=

¹⁶⁶ *su* SB : [] SW,CW. Corrected, context favors addition *su*, “(arose) as.”

¹⁶⁷ [] SW : *la* CW,SB. Corrected, context favors addition *la*, “and.”

¹⁶⁸ *sangs gnangs* SW : *sang gnangs* CW,SB. Correct., *sang gnangs*, Das: “tomorrow and day after tomorrow.”

¹⁶⁹ *su* SW,SB : [] CW

¹⁷⁰ *thebs shig* CW,SB : [] I SW. Corrected, context favors *thebs shig*, “a series (of sessions)”.

¹⁷¹ *so* CW,SB : *po* SW. Corrected, *so*, “(around the) teeth.”

¹⁷² *nad* SW,SB : *nang* CW

¹⁷³ *nang* SW : *nad* CW,SB

¹⁷⁴ [] SW,SB : symbol *o/o* CW

¹⁷⁵ *bsgom* SW : *bsgoms* CW,SB. Context favors *ft bsgom*.

¹⁷⁶ *rang* SW,SB : *yang* CW

¹⁷⁷ *dgos* SW,SB : *dogs* CW

¹⁷⁸ *bzhag* CW,SB : *gzha* SW. Context favors *bzhag*, J, *mnyam bzhag* = *dran pa nye bar bzhag*, “make use of.”

¹⁷⁹ *nge* SW : *nger* CW,SB

¹⁸⁰ *de'u* CW,SB : *da'u* SW. Corrected, context favors *de'u*, “almost”; *da'u*.

¹⁸¹ *pa* SW : *ba* CW,SB

¹⁸² [] SW : *du* CW,SB

¹⁸³ *sa* SW : *pa* CW,SB

¹⁸⁴ *yang* CW,SB : *ya* SW. Corrected, context, *yang*, “again.”

¹⁸⁵ *thengs gcig*, corrected, see earlier SW 400:2 fn.

¹⁸⁶ *ma rdugs* CW,SB : *ma gdugs* SW. Corrected, complicated, trans. as “unhindered”, J, vb *rdug pa*, “stumble at”, *thogs ma rdug med pa*, “without impediment.”

¹⁸⁷ *rim gyis* CW,SB : *rims kyis* SW. Corrected, context, *rim gyis*, “gradually”; *rims*, “plague.”

de ci yong [405:2] lus sems gnyis su byas kyang gnyis su ma song= thams cad du 'od gsal¹⁸⁸ du song nas= dngos po dang mtshan ma med pa zhig la sangs rgyas zer ba yin [405:3] gsung=

[E 22] yang *thengs gcig*¹⁸⁹ dro skad re re tsam du dran pa med par song ba zhig byung zhus pas= rin po che'i zhal nas=

'o de mi 'dod shos shig [405:4] po de yin= sngon yang de 'dra ba zhig gis mgo bskor mang du byung gsung= zhi gnas¹⁹⁰ rab cig lha mi'i rgyu tsam yin= da lta [405:5] bsgom bzang ba de sang nas¹⁹¹ yal nas 'gro ba yin= rig pa 'di *rnam rtog*¹⁹² gi phyr sring sreng¹⁹³ ma btang pas= rnam rtog cig 'byang¹⁹⁴ [405:6] sems su shes par gyis= gnyis 'byung¹⁹⁵ sems su shes par gyis la= rnam rtog ci¹⁹⁶ tsam mang ba yin na= rnam rtog mi 'dod pa re re [406:1] byung ba'i dus su rig pa de la gtod la sems su shes par gyis= yang mi nus na glod¹⁹⁷ la gzhog gsung¹⁹⁸=

[E 23] yang bsgoms pas mgo [406:1] dang ro stod na ba zhig byung de sems su shes pa rang gis phan nam zhus pas=

de la gnad¹⁹⁹ yod= na ba de rang gis²⁰⁰ sems su shes par byas [406:3] la= de nas nad de sol bar bya snyam pa zhig byung na= de stong pa nyid nyon mongs pa'i gnyen por shor ba bya ba yin= nad de rang la [406:4] bltas²⁰¹ pas kha dog dang dbyibs gang gi yang ngo bor ma grub pa de yang sems kyi rang bzhin du shes pas nad zhi ba'i chos nyid [406:5] yin gsung=

[E 24] yang *thengs gcig*²⁰² sngar dang mi 'dra ba zhig byung= gnas pa de yang chung du song= rig pa sing nge²⁰³ gtad pa'i dus su rnam [406:6] rtog ci byung de'i ngang du song= rnam rtog re re byung nyams de bas bzang du song= der rig pa lhod de byas pa'i dus su nang du yang [407:1] gsal stong gi nyams ci yin cha med pa zhig byung= rjes thob la= 'bras bu sems su 'dug= sems las phyi rol [407:2] gang yang grub pa med par 'dug zhus pas= rin po che'i zhal nas=

'o na de rang yin= **spyod 'jug** las= gnya' shing gang la [407:3] bltas²⁰⁴ pas zhes bshad de shes pa rgod par 'dug pas= khru gang tsam du dngos po chung ba zhig la rig pa lhan de²⁰⁵ gtad nas rnam rtog gang [407:4] mi 'dod pa ci byung yang de la rig pa gtod pa yin= bying ba 'dra na spang²⁰⁶

¹⁸⁸ 'odl, condensed cursive of 'od gsal, Bacot 587.

¹⁸⁹ *thengs gcig*, corrected, see earlier SW 400:2 fn.

¹⁹⁰ *zhi gnas* SW,SB : *zhig nas* CW

¹⁹¹ *sang nas* SW : *sang gnangs* CW,SB. Complicated, *sang*, "tomorrow"; *gnangs*, "given."

¹⁹² *rnam rtog* CW,SB : *rnam rtog* SW. Corrected, *rnam rtog*, attested expression, "thought."

¹⁹³ *sring sreng* SW,SB : *preng preng* CW. Word *sreng*, unattested, *sring sreng*, prob. intensive reduplication, J, 188-9, "prolong."

¹⁹⁴ *'byang* SW : *byang* CW : *byung* SB. All possible, *'byang ba*, "to clean", pf *byang*.

¹⁹⁵ *'byung* SW : *byung* CW,SB

¹⁹⁶ *ci* SW,SB : *tshi* CW

¹⁹⁷ *glod* SW : *klod* CW,SB. Context favors *glod*, "relax"; *klod* unattested.

¹⁹⁸ *gzhog sung*, contraction of *gzhog gsung*; *zhog gsung* CW,SB.

¹⁹⁹ [] SW : *gcig* CW,SB

²⁰⁰ *gis* SW : *gi* CW,SB. Context favors *gi*.

²⁰¹ *bltas* SW,SB : *ltas* CW. Context favors imp *ltos*, trans. as imp.

²⁰² *thengs gcig*, corrected, see earlier SW 400:2 fn.

²⁰³ *nge* SW : *nger* CW,SB

²⁰⁴ *bltas* SW : *gtad* CW,SB. Context favors *bltas*.

²⁰⁵ *lhan de* SW : *lhan ner* CW,SB. Prob. intensive particle *de*, comp. J, 189, *lhon de*, "vollkommen entspannt."

bstod pa yin= de nas shes pa g-yung du song nas= thag ring [407:5] du yang gtad pas
 chog=
 zhi gnas dang sems nyid kyi don la gnas pa gnyis mi gcig=
 zhi gnas ni *ci*²⁰⁷ yang mi dran pa de yin=
 sems [407:6] nyid kyi don la gnas pa rig pa gtad pa'i dus su rnam rtog ci byung gsal
 stong gi nyams su song < ba de la >²⁰⁸= bag yun ring yang mi ste= [408:1] rig pa sgor
 bton pa bya ba yin= lar rig pa kun la khyab pa bya ba yin gsung=

[E 25] yang 'jam rlung mnan pa'i dus su gsha' ma [408:2] mnan rgyu ni med= drod ni che bar
 'dug zhus pas=

rlung dag par 'byongs²⁰⁹ bya ba yin= bzang de <ka>²¹⁰ bzhin bsgoms²¹¹ pas chog=
 de [408:3] bas kyang rig pa rang la ma yengs²¹² tsho zhig na re nga la cis kyang
 <mi>²¹³ gnod bsdad pa bas 'gro ba rang 'phel zer *te*= de tsa na [408:4] gnod *bdo
 ba*²¹⁴ yin no²¹⁵=
 'o na da rung *'o skol*²¹⁶ gnyis gtams pas= sdug par 'dug ste yang goms pa yin
 gsung=

[E 26] 'o na rig pa [408:5] btad²¹⁷ pa'i dus su dngos po gang la mthong ba med par gsal stong
 de la yun ring yang skyon cang 'ong ngam zhus pas= rin po che'i zhal nas= [408:6]
 de la yun rings²¹⁸ drags²¹⁹ na yang ldengs²²⁰ pa dang= rmugs pa'i zhad cig yod pas=
 shigs kyis shig=
 lhod kyis glod²²¹ nas phyi nang med [409:1] par gsal stong gis²²² nyams 'byung ba yin
 pas= yang²²³ bsgoms²²⁴ pa yin gsung=

[E 27] de'i dus su²²⁵ gsal stong gi nyams ci yin cha [409:2] med pa zhig byung zhus pas=
 de sangs rgyas²²⁶ kyi thugs gnyis su med pa'i ye shes bya ba de yin= *'o skol*²²⁷ gyis
 de ga na shes gsung=

[E 28] yang *thengs [409:3] gcig*²²⁸ gsal yang gtad pa med pa de *gzhi*²²⁹ med du 'gro bar
 'dug zhus pas=

²⁰⁶ spang SW : spangs CW,SB

²⁰⁷ ci CW,SB : cam SW. Corrected, cam problematic.

²⁰⁸ ba de la CW,SB : ... illegible SW. Added <ba de la>

²⁰⁹ [] SW : pa CW,SB

²¹⁰ ka CW,SB : ... illegible SW. Added <ka>

²¹¹ bsgoms SW,SB : bsgom CW

²¹² yengs SW,SB : yings CW

²¹³ mi CW,SB : ... illegible SW. Added <mi>

²¹⁴ bdo ba CW,SB : bdo' ba SW. Corrected, bdo ba, Das,= dar ba "spread"; bdo' unattested.

²¹⁵ yino, contraction of yin no, Roloff, 60.

²¹⁶ 'o skol CW,SB : 'o bskol SW. Corrected, 'o skol, "we"; 'o bskol, unattested.

²¹⁷ btad SW : gtad CW,SB

²¹⁸ rings SW : ring CW,SB. Both forms possible, "long."

²¹⁹ drags SW : drag CW,SB

²²⁰ ldengs SW,SB : ltengs CW. Problematic, J, ldeng ka, "pond", lteng ka, "pool, pond."

²²¹ glod SW : klod CW,SB. Variant klod unattested.

²²² gis SW : gi CW,SB. Context favors gi.

²²³ yang SW : yang yang CW,SB. Context favors yang yang, "again and again."

²²⁴ bsgoms SW : bsgom CW,SB

²²⁵ su SW,CW : [] SB

²²⁶ sangs rgyas SW,CW : sang rgyas SB

²²⁷ 'o bskol SW : 'o skol CW,SB. Corrected, see fn. above.

²²⁸ thengs gcig, corrected, see earlier SW 400:2 fn.

de don dam gnyug ma rang gi ngo bo bya ba yin= de bzhin [409:4] du nad kyidngos po ci byung yang de la rig pa btad²³⁰ pas gzhi med du 'gro ba chos nyid yin= de bzhin du gdon dang cho 'phrul [409:5] la sogs pa gang ci byung yang de rang la rig pa gtod pa yin gsung=

[E 29] yang dngos po la sogs pa *rig pa*²³¹ gtod pa de la thag nye ring [409:6] la khyad ci yod zhus pas=

shes pa rgod pa la thag nye ba dngos po chung ba la shes pa gtod pa yin= bying na la ka mthon [409:7] po'i dngos po chung ba la shes pa gtod dgos pa yin=

[E 30] yang *thengs gcig*²³² bsgoms²³³ pa'i dus su= brjed²³⁴ thabs la dngos po la sogs pa ci [410:1] yang med pa stong tsam tsam²³⁵ pa re byung²³⁶ zhus pa²³⁷

de kun thams cad nyams kyid khyad par yin= ston pa rnams kyid²³⁸ dbu ma'am sems tsam [410:2] pha rol phyin pa'am= sngags sam grub mtha' mi 'dra ba re re 'dod par 'dug ste= bsam grub gcig yin= chos thams cad sems su ma 'dus [410:3] pa gcig kyang med=

[E 31] ngas bsams²³⁹ pas= bde gsal du sing nge 'dug pa de gcig pu rkyang pas kyang²⁴⁰ lhar²⁴¹ skye nges snyam pa zhig byung nas=

'o [410:4] skol rang gi lhan cig skyes sbyor²⁴² 'di gdams ngag zab par 'dug= rnam rtog byung ba gang byung= gang mi 'dod pa ci byung yang [410:5] sems su shes par byed= ci dang ci byed pa thams cad rmi lam *sgyu ma*²⁴³ tsam la sems sbyong ba yin no gsung=

[E 32] yang *thengs gcig*²⁴⁴ ngas dngos po re²⁴⁵ [410:6] la rig pa thangs re hrig ge²⁴⁶ gtad pa'i rjes la lhod kyid glod²⁴⁷ nas bzhag pas= dngos po gang yang med par gsal stong [411:1] rang du tsam tsam²⁴⁸ 'dug= de'i dus su gar *'dod pa*²⁴⁹ i sar song yang rtsig²⁵⁰ pa dang ri la yang 'dug 'dug mi [411:2] 'dra na zhus pas=

²²⁹ *gzhi* CW,SB : *bzhi* SW. Corrected, context favors *gzhi*, “ground”

²³⁰ *btad* SW : *gtad* CW,SB. Both possible, *gtod pa*, “direct towards”, pf *btad*, ft *gtad*; trans. as ft.

²³¹ *rig pa* CW,SB : *rigs pa* SW. Corrected, context favors *rig pa*.

²³² *thengs gcig*, corrected, see earlier SW 400:2 fn.

²³³ *bsgoms* SW,SB : *bsgom* CW

²³⁴ *brjed* SW : *rjed* CW,SB. Both possible, vb *rjed pa*, “forget”, pf *brjed*.

²³⁵ *tsam tsam* SW : *cam cam* CW,SB. Problematic, understood as a form of intensive reduplication: “every time.”

²³⁶ *byung* SW,SB : *byung byung* CW

²³⁷ *pa* SW : *pas* CW,SB

²³⁸ *kyi* SW : *kyis* CW,SB. Problematic, vb *'dug pa* does not require an instr. agens, however *kyi* also does not work well in trans.

²³⁹ *bsams* SW,SB : *bsam* CW. Context favors pf *bsams*.

²⁴⁰ *kyang* SW,SB : *rkyang* CW

²⁴¹ *lhar* SW,SB : *ltar* CW

²⁴² *lhan cig skyes sbyor* CW,SB : *lhan 1 skyes sbyor* SW. As *lhan cig skyes sbyor* is an attested term (J.) the numeral “1” has been transliterated as *cig*, instead of the grammatically more correct *zhig*.

²⁴³ *sgyu ma* CW,SB : *rgyu ma* SW. Corrected, context favors *sgyu ma*, “illusion.”

²⁴⁴ *thengs gcig*, corrected, see earlier SW 400:2 fn.

²⁴⁵ *ree*, condensed cursive of *re re*, Roloff, 65.

²⁴⁶ *hrige*, contraction of *hrig ge*.

²⁴⁷ *glod* SW : *klod* CW,SB, see earlier fn. *klod* unattested.

²⁴⁸ *tsam tsam* SW : *cam cam* CW,SB. Probmatic, see earlier fn.

²⁴⁹ *'dod pa* CW,SB : *gdod pa* SW. Corrected, context favors *'dod pa*, “want”; *gdod pa* unattested.

²⁵⁰ *rtsig pa* SW : *brtsig pa* CW,SB. J, *rtsig pa*, wall; vb *rtsig pa*, “build”, ft *brtsig*.

'o khyod kyi de nyams bzang po dpe med ²⁵¹ cig yin= lta ba ni dang po rig pa gsal sing
nge ba de yin²⁵²= de sangs rgyas [411:3] kun ²⁵³ thugs gnyis su med pa'i ye shes chen
po yin te= de la brten nas bsgoms²⁵⁴ pas da rung 'gro ba'i skas kyi rim pa bzhin du
[411:4] 'ong pa yin= da rung de *'dra*²⁵⁵ ba rgya²⁵⁶ dang stong 'ong gsung=

[Colophon:] **rin po che'i**²⁵⁷ **sgam po pa dang= rin po che mtshur**²⁵⁸ **phu ba gnyis kyi zhus**
[411:5] **lan**= chos 'dis sems can la phan thogs par gyur zhig/ ²⁵⁹

²⁵¹ [] SW : *pa* CW,SB

²⁵² *yin* SW,SB : *yi* CW

²⁵³ [] SW : *gyi* CW, SB

²⁵⁴ *bsgoms* SW,SB : *bsgom* CW

²⁵⁵ *'dra'* SW : *'dra* CW,SB. Corrected, *'dra*, “equal”; *'dra'* unattested.

²⁵⁶ *rgya* SW : *brgya* CW,SB. Context favors *rgya*, “wide” [state of mind]; *brgya*, hundred.

²⁵⁷ *'i* SW : [] CW,SB

²⁵⁸ *'tshur*, shorthand for *mtshur* CW,SB.

²⁵⁹ [] SW : // *ithi* // CW,SB

3.4 Translation of *Zhus lan 2*, “An Exchange [between Sgam-po-pa and] Düsüm Khyenpa”

Homage to noble spiritual guides!

[Exchange 1] Later on I asked *bla ma* [Lha-rje] Rin-po-che for instruction (*gdams ngag, upadeśa*) [on the path of realization], and having meditated and some days had passed, I reported, “An unequaled limpidly clear (*gsal sing nge ba*)¹ experience arose, how did it come about?” Rin-po-che replied,

“It is called the “clear state that enables” [or the “white panacea”] (*dkar po zhig thub*)². Because [you experienced it,] tomorrow and the day after tomorrow, and later on, the same will come. So, make it to be a warm drape (*yol dro ba*) around you. Meditate wearing thin clothing and you will be able to tame your awareness (*shes pa*).”

[E 2] Then [somewhat] ill-fed, I went out to look for food, and did not meet him for three months. At that time [*bla ma* Lha-rje] lived and stayed at 'Ol-ka-bsrubs³. When I came back there and meditated some [more] days, a genuine experience of “bliss, luminosity, and no-thought” (*bde gsal mi rtog pa*) arose; I reported it. [Rin-po-che said,]

“You stared at it, now your meditation is good [390]. [However, tell me, “What is] the ‘base’ (*rtsa ba*) of it, where did it come from?”

I said that I did not know. [He replied,]

“Well, then you need to meditate more in the same way.”

[E3] Then, having meditated some [more] days, continuing the approach; again that “bliss and luminosity” arose, it was above and below. A thought came up, “It [, the ‘base’ Rin-po-che spoke about,] must be ‘mind’ [itself, primordial mind.]”

Thoughts⁴ were also known as [arising in and part of] ‘mind,’ at least to a small extent. I reported it. [*Bla ma* Lha-rje said,]

“Meditate again and again, as for whatever came up, ‘bliss, luminosity, warmth,’ and so on, do not [try to hold it for] a long time.”

[E 4] Further, having meditating for some days, I asked about an unbearable ‘heat’ that came up below the navel. Rin-po-che said,

“*Prāṇa* (*rlung*) has entered [the central channel] a little, and when the *prāṇa* came into the [central] channel, you engaged in thoughts about it. Now, do not meditate on inner-heat⁵ itself for some days.”

¹ *gsal*, “limpid, transparent,” in the translation it is sometimes understood as short for *'od gsal*. The term *'od gsal* itself is translated as “luminosity,” “clarity,” or “presence.”

sing nge ba, “clear”; Das, “pure, TC: *sing nge ba, khams dwangs pa'i snang tshul zhig ...*

² Trans. note: *dkar po zhig thub*, lit. “a white (or positive state) that enables,” earlier translated as the “white panacea” and the “sufficient white remedy.” For an overview of the scholarly attention the *dkar po zhig thub* received, see “Concluding remarks,” after the translation of *Zhus lan 2*.

³ 'Ol-ka-bsrubs (SW), -srubs (CW), -srub (SB); Dudjom, *Nyingma*, Vol. 2, 471, Ölka (*'ol kha*): on the north bank of the Tsangpo River, east of Zang-ri; Map 8, J17.

⁴ *rnam rtog*, Skt. *vikalpa*, “thinking or discursive thought.”

⁵ *gtum mo*, Skt. *caṇḍālī*, one of Nāropa's *Chos drug*.

Though I did not meditate, by merely thinking of the inner-heat, it arose again, I reported it.

“That is all [just] thinking [or discursive thought]! So, hold *prāṇa* [391] gently below the navel, [then, at the stage that] you meditate on *mahāmudrā* (*phyag rgya chen po*) itself, let *prāṇa*, or whatever came, disintegrate.”

[E 5] Further, [as he said that] I should [again] engage in a series of meditations, I did, and without perceiving any [ordinary] sights or sounds, there arose limpidly clear awareness (*rig pa*). I reported it. Rin-po-che replied,

“It is like a mute dreaming a dream [but cannot tell about it] and the [sexual] bliss for a virgin. Not knowing through explanations, you must meditate again!⁶ For whatever you experience [that you have questions about], even if unpleasant [such as] odour, come to my retreat [to ask].”

[E 6] Then, in a dream one night, I dreamt about an explanation, given by a monk, a teaching I had not heard before. It seemed to be a clear one, I reported it. Rin-po-che said,

“Did you like it?” As I said “Yes,” he scolded me severely.

“Instead of his visibly performing [392] several miracles, it would be the knowledge that all that is illusion that would conduce to the path. If you hold them to be true, they are obstacles.

“Therefore, with respect to ‘mind’ (*sems*), even if all that arises is fine, do not accept it. If bad things emerge do not reject them, they are all [opportunities] to act, [opportunities] to know them as ‘nondual’ (*gnyis med*). If you do not know them like that, or are a person who does not want to, you will meet obstacles at the time they arise.”

[E 7] Further, having practiced inner-heat, at the time the ‘heat’ arose, *kleśa* fetters (*nyon mongs pa*), [also] came up, I reported it. Rin-po-che said,

“Now these [fetters] are swelling *bodhicitta* [drops] and are carried on [i.e., integrated] as bliss. Meditating, it went upwards from the ‘*vajra*-jewel,’ spreading out the bliss from below and overflowing at the top of the head. Then, if the drops seem to drip below (*mar la*), you should imagine an orange syllable ‘ma’ at the crown of the head. Focusing on the point between the two eyes, one should then subsequently reflect on the view.⁷ From that, abide in undistractedly being-aware (*shes pa*) [393], in bliss-luminosity (*bde gsal*), and when some thoughts arise again, let them arise, knowing them as ‘mind’ (*sems*).” Because of that, thoughts (*rnam rtog*) can not capture you anymore.⁸

When I asked, [“What to do,] when thoughts proliferate, I cannot master them, and even knowing the diversity to be mind, I cannot master them,” Rin-po-che replied, [a *yogin* from the past expressed it like this:]

“*Yoginī* Gaṅgādhārā⁹ said to *yogin* Vajra Śrī¹⁰: “Son-of-the-family, do not look at an object, look at ‘mind’ (*sems*). Part from all [wordly] actions, anger and desire! Be not

⁶ *bshad pas mi shes pas yong* ... ; *yong* (SW, CW, SB) read as *yang*.

⁷ The entire passage is problematic and what is offered here is a tentative translation.

⁸ *rnam rtog re byung yang*, lit. “can not appear anymore.”

⁹ Tib. Ga-gra-dha-ra SW, Ga-ga-dha-ra CW, SB; corrected as Skt. Gaṅgādhārā.

We find Gaṅgādhārā, in a passage in the *Blue Annals* (BA), 731, in the context of *siddha* Khyung-po rnal-'byor (born 1086) visiting India.

afraid of anxiety, as it binds to [the idea of a] self. As for ‘mind,’ from letting it go wherever it will, let go [of everything].” “Vajra Śrī is then said to have attained accomplishment.”

“Nondual being-aware is like water and milk that are mixed. Experiences become like clouds, in whatever [form]. To be aware in a yogic¹¹ [way] is like an elephant that embraces everything like the sky, according to its inclination¹². Do not let awareness (*rig pa*) follow after discursive thought and do know thoughts or what [ever] arises [394] as ‘mind’ (*sems*), this is what should be done. Know Awareness, find [“It”] as intense presence [or luminosity], as sky-like ‘mind.’

Khyung-po rnal-'byor met the teacher Maitrīpa and also Ni-gu-ma, sister of Nā-ro-pa, from her he receives the “Six Doctrines” of Niguma. The doctrines are said to be connected also, except for Niguma, with the *mahāsiddha* Kambalapāda (Tib. La-ba-pa). The BA state that during his time in India he also offered gold to the *dākinīs* Gaṅgādhara and Samantabhadrī and obtains precepts from them. Later in life Khyung-po rnal-'byor travels again from Tibet to India and presents gold to Maitrīpa's wife (Jo-mo) Gaṅgādhara.

For an overview of the Six Doctrines of Niguma and the Shangs-pa Bka'-brgyud, who transmitted them, see Smith, *Tibetan Texts*, 53-57.

¹⁰ Tib. Badzra Shrī is mentioned in Tāranātha, *History of Buddhism in India* (Calcutta: Humanities Press / Bagchi, 1981), 316, 318-9.

According to Tāranātha he was a student of master Daśabalaśrī. Vajra Śrī is placed in the last phase of Turuška rulers invading Nort-India. Great scholars and teachers had to flee to other countries, Vajra Śrī fled far to the south and “led many thousands of fortunate ones to liberation through the practice of Tantra-yāna.”

Tāranātha mentions that the invading took place during the time of the “four Senas.” This must refer to the Sena-dynasty successors of the Pāla-dynasty, the latter had been royal patrons of Buddhism in India.

Kulke Rothermund, *A History of India* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 167, states that the last Sena-ruler, Laksmāna Sena, 1179-1205 C.E., was defeated by the muslim general Muhammed Bakhtiyar Khalji.

Vajra Śrī is also mentioned in the *Blue Annals*, 360-362, here the name Vajra Śrī (De-bzhin-dpa'-bo-rdo-rje-dpal) appears in a transmission lineage of the Guhyasamāja tantra, mentioned in the *Sahajasiddhi* (Tg. Rgyud, No. 2260).

BDRC mentions a work authored by Vajra Śrī, included in the Derge Kanjur (Bka' 'gyur, Sde dge par phud, W22084, D 451; chapters: 77 le'u, location: vol. 82, ff 103r-331r (p. 205-661).

(Bibl. title:) *Rdo rje dpal chog chen po dang po*, (full title:) *Dpal de bzhin gshegs pa thams cad kyi gsang ba rnal 'byor chen po rnam par rgyal ba zhes bya ba mnyam pa nyid gnyis su med pa 'i rgyud kyi rgyal po rdo rje dpal mchog chen po dang po*, (Skt.: *Sri sarvatathagataguhyantrayogamaharajadvayasamatavijaya nama varta sri varamahakalpadi*).

Colophon: *du la kṣi tra 'i grong khyer chen por rgya gar gyi mkhan po dpal ye shes snying po dang/ bod kyi lo tsā ba mar pa lho brag pa chos kyi blo gros kyis bsgyur cing zhus te gtan la phab pa/ paṇḍi ta mkhas pa chen po smri ti dznyā na kīrtisa rang 'gyur byas pa cig kyang yod par gda 'o/ / e ma ho/ nyi zla ltar grags dpal ldan 'dus pa 'i rgyud/ /gsang ba rnal 'byor dpal mchog chen po 'dis/ / shin tu gsal bar ston pa nges pa nyid/ / ma 'ongs dus su rnal 'byor dbang phyug mchog/ rnam bzhi 'i 'khor ldan dbus su 'di gsal 'gyur/ / bstan pa 'i sgron me nyid du 'byung ba 'i phyir/ skal ldan rnam dang rgyud 'di 'phrad par shog/ rgyud 'di u rgyan nas slob dpon chen po dom bi he ru kas gdan drangs gsung ngo rdzogs so.*

¹¹ *rnal 'byor*, Skt. *yoga*, in this context the term means “spiritual practice.” For more explanation on the term, see e.g. Kragh in “*Yogācārabhūmi*, Introductory Essay,” 30, in which is explained that the term *yoga* in that context denotes “spiritual practice” or “ascetic and spiritual effort” in general ... a religious practice distinguished by faith, aspiration, perseverance, and the application of spiritual methods ...

The term *yoga* itself is derived from the Sanskrit root-verb √ *yuj*, “join” (William Dwight Whitney, *The Roots, Verb-forms and Primary Derivatives of the Sanskrit Language*, Leipzig: Breitkopf and Härtel, 1885). The verb has according to MW connotations such as, “to join, unite, connect, add, bring together,” “to turn or direct or fix or concentrate” (the mind, thoughts etc. upon), and more.

¹² *gang ltogs pa*, problematic.

As for all that arises, though gone [already], know it as ‘mind.’ [Formerly] it came down to us [with the force of] a male “dzo”¹³. [But now,] the [dzo’s] “nose-rope” is broken¹⁴. [Whatever appears or comes up,] is like a cloud of thoughts. One time it comes up in this way, another time in that way. All of that is called ‘experience’ [in contrast to realization]. One must cultivate [the view with regard to] whatever arises, to know it all as ‘mind’.”

[E 8] Again, there was an occurrence of limpidly clear awareness (*rig pa gsal sing nge*). I had the thought that everything, from the peak of existence down to the “circle of wind” [that supports the world]¹⁵, is nothing but mind. I reported it. Rin-po-che replied,

“In the Hevajra-*[tantra]* [395], it is said that [‘mind’s’] ‘essence’ (*ngo bo*) is neither form nor ‘one’ who sees, is neither sound nor ‘one’ who hears, is neither stain nor ‘one’ who meditates, is neither taste nor ‘one’ who tastes.”¹⁶

Therefore, it is like ‘water put into water’ and ‘butter put into butter.’ Therefore, relax the body and ‘mind’ from inside and settle down. [Everything] from the three worlds down to the “circle of wind”, is your own mind (*rang gi sems*), [although] it does not exist in terms of an own nature (*rang bzhin, svabhāva*).”

Further, I asked, “Luminosity [or clarity or presence] (*’od gsal*), is that to know the whole of phenomena as ‘mind’?” [He said,]

“It is entirely like that. When you understand that, it is our awareness itself, limpid (*rang gi rig pa de gsal*) and unobstructed, that is called luminosity.”

Furthermore, I reported, “When I am on my own, I have the impulse [coming] from the heart to laugh, and because the laughter [leads] to sleep interruptions, I cannot rest well.” He said,

“It is bliss (*bde ba*) spreading out, it is good!”

[E 9] One day then, I requested [more instruction on] the Path of Methods¹⁷. [He replied,]

¹³ *mdzo*, breed between the yak-bull and the common cow, very strong and used as pack animal.

¹⁴ Trans. note: “nose-rope is broken,” a possible interpretation is that earlier we may have completely identified with everything around us and were totally obsessed by perceptions, thoughts and feelings, taking them as real and personal. Now the rope is broken, the rope of identification is broken, we are free, and everything freely arises as clouds.

¹⁵ Trans. note: according to Buddhist cosmology there is a “circle of wind (*vāyu*)” at the bottom of the physical world upon which more “circles” are arranged, that of “water” and “gold.” Upon the circle of gold nine great mountains are arranged (among which Meru). Beyond one of the mountains lie the “four continents” (for the four continents, see trans. note *Gser gling*, Chapter 1). The relevant passage from the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣyam* by Vasubhandu, Volume II, 451 is as follows (underscoring added):

“We have described the world of human beings; let us pass to a description of the receptacle or physical world (*bhājanaloka*).

Verse 45. Here is how it is thought that the receptacle world is arranged: at the bottom there is a circle of wind, immeasurable, with a height of sixteen hundred thousand leagues.”

¹⁶ Compare the translation by Snellgrove, *Hevajra tantra*, Part I, Chapter V, “Reality,” 60, plus Introduction, 20-1:

“In reality (*tattva*) there is neither form nor seer, neither sound nor hearer,
Neither smell nor one who smells, neither taste nor taster,
Neither touch nor one who touches, neither thought nor thinker.”

“All [396] I explained before is sufficient. When you have not meditated them, knowledge of instructions on will not benefit [you] in the intermediate state¹⁸. You then, meditate even more [in the same way], attending to that¹⁹ will be enough. Meditation at the time of the intermediate state follows luminosity (*'od gsal*); it is the natural luminosity that leads the way [in the intermediate state].”

I asked, “So, if I could meditate [like that], would that be enough?” Rin-po-che replied, “That is what I do (!) [, focusing on the] “white panacea” (*dkar po zhig thub*)²⁰. For me too, there is no other practice than that.”

[E 10] But, as for my limpidly clear bliss (*bde ba gsal sing nge ba*) [experience] though with periodic distraction: in daytime there was luminosity, at night there was no luminosity, I reported it. Rin-po-che said,

“You still have one fault! One fault, that you like luminosity and do not like the absence of luminosity. This is not how it should be.

After been placed in limpidly clear awareness itself (*rang gi rig pa gsal sing nge*), do not [397] follow thoughts! Know thoughts, or whatever arose, as ‘mind’ (*sems*). The work is to know ‘mind’ as unborn (*skye med*). Whatever arises should be known as nondual.

In daytime, the clarity (*gsal ba*) is a mixture of awareness and phenomena (*rig pa dang snang ba 'dres pa*). At night, there is a clear bliss (*bde sing nge ba*) without anything.”

I stayed at Kha-rag²¹, a place with many people, and meditated. Proceeding on the [prescribed] path, [now] in every direction, the cultivation, related to and spoken of, arose. I reported that there was no difference between the two [, like and not like, anymore.] [He replied,]

“This is it!”

[E 11] Formerly, I once committed a minor negative act, a kick. While meditating on cause and effect, by just remembering it, great distress came up. I reported it. Rin-po-che said,

“It will all be cleansed in the course of cultivating²² emptiness. For example, when you throw a spark of fire into a heap of straw, it all goes, leaving nothing.

Accordingly, the small, previously [398] committed negative act, is [now] a thought, is [therefore part of] ‘mind’ (*sems*), the ‘mind’ will be cleansed from what was committed as [in itself it is] unborn (*skyes med*).”

[E 12] Further, [as for that] all known phenomena are ‘mind,’ the thought came up that if they were something else than [‘mind’], they would not exist. And, because they were laid upon the essence (*ngo bo*) of ‘mind,’ they could not be touched [in an ultimate sense.] What came up was that it is like going around with a spear [pointing] to the sky, I reported it. Rin-po-che replied,

¹⁷ Düsüm Khyenpa probably requests, apart from cultivating the “white panacea” and the *caṇḍālī*, more instruction on other parts of the “Path of Methods” (*thabs lam, upāya mārga*), the *Chos drug*.

¹⁸ *bar do*, Skt. *antarābhava*, also called “transitional existence”, a transitional state between death and rebirth, apart from *gtum mo* another section of the *Chos drug*.

¹⁹ *bskyang ba* (SW), or “simply that,” *rkyang pas* (CW,SB).

²⁰ See section “Concluding remarks” after the translation of the *Zhus lan*.

²¹ Kha-rag, see Appendix II, “Detailed list of Places.”

²² *stong nyid thun zhig gis*, lit. “by one who gathers emptiness,” or “by a fraction of emptiness.”

“Settle down in this ‘mind’, pure of itself, limpid of itself, without following thoughts and without [any] systemizing or modifying. And, [do not say] that you are not pleased with thoughts, or do not like whatsoever. Look at [mind] itself, and, that it has no color, no shape, and cannot be grasped as a thing. Because it is in essence awareness (*rig pa*), it is unhindered in luminosity, exactly that (*de rang*)!”

[E 13] Furthermore, I asked about [the earlier] statement²³, that the length of time of [holding] ‘bliss, luminosity and no-thought’ (*bde gsal mi rtog pa*) should not be long. Rin-po-che said, “When not done like that, in that case, [399] you [often] can not call it limpid. When [the instruction] is forgotten, when, as for great bodily bliss, luminosity, and no-thought, the time is long, [you might leave behind]²⁴ being-aware [or knowing] (*shes pa*) and move to bodily bliss. And then, after *prāṇa* slipped away from the hair-roots (*ba spu’i bu*) [bliss] will cool down. He also told the story of *dge bshes* Spyang-nga-ba²⁵.”

[E 14] Also, from the three, ‘bliss, luminosity and no-thought,’ for me the luminosity [or presence] was predominant. [One time,] my being-aware (*shes pa*) was in a lower state, got distracted and mixed with outer and inner things. Then at midnight, it happened that I was not thinking [or remembering] anything. I reported it. Rin-po-che replied, “Awareness (*rig pa*) is very limpid and clear (*gsal le sing nge*), it is primary ‘mind’ (*rtsa ba sems*), therefore do not let it slip away. Bring all memories, anything that arose, into primary-‘mind.’ [But,] without altering²⁶, getting involved²⁷ [, or examining thoughts²⁸].²⁹ Relax the body and mind from inside and cultivate this as if you were stupid³⁰. Just that!”

²³ This refers to the statement at [390].

²⁴ [you might leave behind], *lus pa*, a phrase added in the CW edition.

²⁵ Spyang-nga-ba, person and story unidentified; *spyang ba*, “skillful, clever.”

²⁶ *bcas bcos*, GC, *bcas bcos = tshul ’chos*, lit. “altering the manner [they appear].”

²⁷ *rtogs spyod byed pa*, SW edition, J: “to know and to do.”

²⁸ *rtog dpyod byed pa*, added in the CW,SB editions.

²⁹ Trans. note: this passage explains again, but now in more detail, not to pay attention to thoughts and feelings themselves, but to focus upon what contains or embraces them, primordial awareness.

We find the approach also in Maitrīpa’s Collection of Texts on Non-conceptual Realization (*Amanasikāra*), translated by Klaus-Dieter Mathes, *A Fine Blend of Mahāmudrā and Madhyamaka* (Wien: Verlag Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2015). Mathes, 116, understands *amanasikāra*, as the act of “not directing one’s attention [to them],” dualistic appearances, etc. And, at page 225, calls it the “practice of mental disengagement (*amanasikāra*).”

The expression “mental disengagement” skillfully expresses that thought and feelings are neither good nor bad. We simply disengage from or do not identify with them anymore.

Mathes also refers to a commentary, 226, on Maitrīpa’s text by *Sahajavajra, who explains *amanasikāra* as the “non-apprehension of things, achieved either by precise analysis or the pith-instructions of a guru.” In this *Zhus lan* we arrive at non-apprehension by the pith-instructions of *bla ma* Lha-rje.

Further, an important observation by Mathes is, 113, (underscoring added) that for Maitrīpa, “*amanasikāra* not only stands for mental non-engagement ... but that phenonena are also said to be experienced as luminous.” This corresponds with the replies by *bla ma* Lha-rje, though the latter is more explicit as for the luminosity part.

³⁰ Trans. note: “as if you were stupid” *glen bsgom(s)* means that you do not pay attention to and definitely not identify with all thoughts and feelings that may appear; from a worldly perspective this seems stupid.

When water is not stirred up, it is clean by nature; when ‘mind’ is not interfered with³¹, it is naturally limpid. [400] Therefore, getting involved in or altering [memories, thoughts, or feelings], as well as allowing attachment and anger, is going into a non-limpid state.”

Then a little while later, my bliss faded, but I was able [to maintain] the luminosity and no-thought, I reported it. [He said,]

“Whichever [of the three is present or not present, it] is no fault. Earlier, at the time of more bliss, you meditated for a long time; [now the bliss] is fading.”

[E 15] A while later in a sleep shift, something came up, [actually too much] to consider every [part of it]. But, at that time an unbearable suffering [like those undergone] by *preta*³² arose. I reported it. Rin-po-che replied,

“It is a *prāṇa* defect. I shall show you a profound yogic exercise (*'khrul 'khor*). I tell you, all defects will become charcoal by it. “It [all will become] charcoal.”

Therefore, as I was invited inside in the presence of an-[other person], [that one] stood up and left. [After the yogic exercise] Rin-po-che said,

“We are both holders of *prāṇa* [practice]. As for your dharma-[teachings] which you will explain [later] to listeners who may not understand it, [do know that] you obtained faultless [401] dharma, now endure!

The earlier experience of what happened to ghosts was attachment. It is, like any not yet arisen experience, a manifestation out of ‘mind’ itself.

‘Mind’ itself is unborn *dharmakāya*, therefore meditate accordingly.”

[E 16] Again, [during] a lower state, being-aware (*shes pa*) arose, it was as if being completely absorbed. At that time, it appeared as if thoughts, or anything else, did not spread out [anymore]. I reported it. [He replied,]

“A bit of *prāṇa* entered the *avadhūtī*³³; it will not come all the time.”

[E 17] A while later I dreamt sinking into the depth of the earth. I reported that also this experience had come up. Rin-po-che replied,

“We should bring thoughts onto the path! Miscellaneous thoughts will not bother [us then anymore],³⁴ because they are known as ‘mind.’

Now then, when you dreamt about an experience, [for example] how the three lower realms suffer, were kept in fire, kept in water, or had an-[other] great suffering, or [that after having woken up, that] some [other] experiences arose, [notice that] you do that

³¹ *sems ma slad na*, lit. “when mind is not spoiled or corrupted.”

³² Trans. note: *yi dwags*, Skt. *preta*, are “ghosts or tormented or frustrated spirits,” one of six classes of sentient beings (*'gro ba rigs drug, ṣaḍgati*): (1) gods (*lha, deva*), (2) demi-gods (*lha ma yin, asura*), (3) human beings (*mi, manuṣya*), (4) animals (*dud 'gro, tiryak*), (5) ghosts (*yi dwags, preta*), and (6) hell denizens (*dmyal ba, nāraka*).

³³ Trans. note: *avadhūtī*, central channel, according to various systems of tantric physiognomy, the *avadhūtī* refers to the central channel that runs from below to the top of the body, with a number wheels (cakra) along its course. To its left and right are two other channels, the *rasanā* (left) and the *lalanā* (right). Much tantric practice is devoted to techniques for causing the winds or energies that course through the other channels to enter into this central channel (PDB).

³⁴ *mi 'ong ba*, lit. “will not come or met with.”

[based] on attachment. It is [all] practice on the path. It is nothing but dharma³⁵ [402], it is practicing patience.

As for that, train with great resolve and when you examine suffering of that kind, [establish] that it has no color and has no shape. It is all not beyond ‘mind’ (*sems*) itself. All is ‘mind,’ unborn ‘mind’; therefore that is what should be cultivated.”

[E 18] Again, having meditated for some days, an experience as for what happens to hell beings³⁶ arose [, now however,] to know it as ‘mind’ happened, I reported it. Rin-po-che replied,

“Overall, the ‘secret mantra’ [approach]³⁷ of the Great Vehicle is profoundly true. [In ‘secret mantra’] hell does not truly exist as it does for the *śrāvaka*³⁸. It does not exist as a [real] object, it is illusion (*’khrul snang*). As for the [practice of] carrying of thoughts onto the path, the work is [still] not deep enough, now they arose as hell experiences, do know them as [403] ‘mind,’ and know ‘mind’ as unborn.

When you have accustomed yourself (*goms pa*) to them, you cleansed them [so to say]. Then next time, or in the intermediate state (*bar do*), when the appearance of hell comes up again, by knowing it as ‘mind,’ it will as having been hit by just a ball of silk.

Master Koṭali (Rtog-rtse-ba)³⁹ said, “Based on this knowing [as ‘mind’], *vāsanā* (*bag chags*) – impressions [of past deeds] –, difficult appearances, and even an existence in hell, “arise” as pure! [By this,] hell itself is a blissful realm (*bde ba can*). The main point is of how we react upon it (*bya ba’i don*).”

[E 19] Further, earlier in a series [of sessions] an illness had come up at the place where the three ‘channels’ come together⁴⁰. Now, the [area] around the teeth was swollen, the *brahma*-hole [on top of the head] was also swollen. An aversion for food had come up as well, I reported it. Rin-po-che said,

“The illnesses that came up are something minor, meditators’ illnesses are [in fact] “great glory” (*dpal cher*). [However,] because of [excessive] dharma contemplation (*chos bsam pa*) and not meditating correctly (*bsgom ma legs pa*), one could be turned to discursive thought (*rnam rtog*), while one [actually] should meditate on nonduality. It is called “to be lost in duality.” [404]

³⁵ *chos gsha’ ma*; Gold, *gsha’ ma*, faultless; J, 1) suitable; 2) nothing but.

³⁶ *dmyal ba*, Skt. *nāraka*, see earlier fn. at [400].

³⁷ Trans. note: In his *Tshogs chos*, second teaching, SW 274-5, Düsum Khyenpa discusses the ‘offering-which-accomplishes,’ which can be best, medium, and least. The best can have a “perfection” or/and (?) a “secret mantra” approach. In the “perfection” (*pha rol tu phyin pa, pāramitā*) approach the “six perfections” and “four matters of gathering students” are practiced. In the “secret mantra” (*gsang sngags, guhyamantra*) one meditates on the “generation and completion stage in four sessions,” etc.

³⁸ Tib. *nyan thos pa*, listeners, students of the (historical) Buddha Śākyamuni.

³⁹ Rtog-rtse-ba, probably a *siddha*, mentioned in Toni Schmidt, *The Eighty-five Siddhas* (Stockholm: Statens Etnografiska Museum, 1958), 17 and 48: Rtog-rce-pa = Tog-rce-pa, a carpenter *siddha*, probably identical to Kotali.

Dowman, *Masters Mahāmudrā*, 240, mentions Tog-tse-pa, as the Tibetan name of one of Eighty-Four *mahāsiddhas* of India, Kotalipāda, who lived in the second half of the eleventh century.

⁴⁰ Trans. note, the “three channels,” *rtsa gsum*, the central channel (*avadhūtī*) and two side channels (*rasanā* and *lalanā*) which come together in the lower part of the torso.

“[For meditators] all [real] illnesses are precisely hope and fear (*re dogs*). It is called, “sunk by hope and stopped by fear.” Look at the illness itself [, hope and fear,] and, without color, without shape, it is all ‘mind.’ Therefore, do not act as someone who needs fear (*dogs*) by becoming ill, and do not act expecting (*re*) something as a cure. Keep this in mind, and adhere⁴¹ to it.”

[E 20] Then later, having followed⁴² [the advice], the limpid clear [state] occurred [again]. At that time, [it felt like being] on the surface of a rock, [but] having gone off it, thinking “It is a dream,” I almost fell into an ‘abyss,’ I reported it. Rin-po-che replied,

“What appeared first [in the course of your training] was having progressed a bit. Secondly, the earth was covered by luminosity. Thirdly, it was abiding in ‘mind.’ [Notice, that] it is all without artificial characteristics (*bcos rgyu med*).”

[E 21] Again, one time, an awareness (*rig pa*), limpid of itself (*rang gsal*), came up, unhindered by anything. Other [things], whatever, without looking at it, everything, just happened. I asked, “If I would have practiced to become familiar with that, and gathered what had happened [405] gradually, while giving up the [identification with the] body, is what I arrive at then the essence of awareness (*rig pa'i ngo bo*) – *dharmakāya* (*chos kyi sku*)?” [He replied,]

“What came, though body and ‘mind’ was taken as dual, was nondual! You arrived at complete luminosity. Real and without characteristic (*dngos dang mtshan ma med pa*) in one,⁴³ it is called buddha-[hood] (*sangs rgyas*).”

[E 22] Further, one time, it happened that I did not hold on to [whatever appeared in ‘mind,’ not] even to a single [crow-] cawing sound⁴⁴, I reported it. Rin-po-che said,

“Oh, that is highest non-attachment, as formerly by similar [phenomena] many distractions arose. [However,] an excellent calm abiding (*zhi gnas*, *śamatha*) is but cause [for a rebirth as] god-[lings] or men. The good meditation of the moment will vanish tomorrow.

The awareness (*rig pa*) [however] should not be permitted to go, and can be considerably prolonged, through thoughts. A thought is “cleansed” [so to say] by knowing it as ‘mind.’ [The fact that] both can take place, that is to know as ‘mind.’ And, how many thoughts there [even] might be, be not attached to the thoughts. Every time [406] they arise, turn to awareness and do know them as ‘mind.’ Further, if you are not able to do [this anymore], then relax and leave it [for a moment].”

[E 23] Having meditated further, an illness came up in the head and upper body. I asked, “Will merely knowing it as ‘mind’ enough?” [He replied,]

“Main point in that, is that you take the illness as [a way of] knowing ‘mind’ itself. The illness will then function as “charcoal”⁴⁵, as a single thought that arose. It is called the escape, emptiness as antidote to disturbing emotions.

⁴¹ *go bcad pa*, GC, *go bcad pa=rtsis su bzhang pa*, Gold, *rtsis 'jog*, “respect, adherence.”

⁴² *mnyam bzhang*; J, = *dran pa nye bar bzhang*, “make use of, employ.”

⁴³ *dngos dang mtshan ma med pa gcig la*, *gcig la*, “in one,” tentative translation.

⁴⁴ *dro skad*, read as *grog skad*, Gold, “the cawing noise that crows make (considered auspicious).”

⁴⁵ Trans. note: what is probably meant here that in the first place illness should be regarded as a phenomenon in ‘mind.’ The approach uses illness as a way of training the mind, which does not mean that one should not take action to heal the illness.

Look at the illness itself, color and whatever form do not exist as essence (*ngo bo*), and further, by knowing it as nature of mind (*sems kyi rang bzhin*), the illness will be a regular thing⁴⁶ to be pacified.

[E 24] Then, one time, something happened that was unlike anything before. Though the abiding was small, at the time of clear awareness (*rig pa sing nge*), whatever thought arose turned into it. From that experience every thought that arose was good. There, at the time the relaxed state of awareness was produced, within also a limpidly empty experience (*gsal stong gi nyams*) [407] arose which was unequaled. During [practice] interruptions (*rjes thob*) the result stayed in ‘mind.’ Whatever outer [phenomenon came up] from ‘mind,’ it was there without [really] existing. I asked about it. Rin-po-che said,

“Well, it is precisely that! In the *Bodhicaryāvatara*⁴⁷ we find the explanation, the metaphor of an [ox-] yoke [, two factors should be present, both] the to-be-aware [or to know] (*shes pa*) and [whatever] agitation there might be (*rgod pa*).⁴⁸

Direct awareness (*rig pa*) to a small thing at about a half arm’s length so that really both are there, when unwanted thoughts or whatever arise, direct awareness to it. In case “sinking” (*’bying ba*) happens [, in which case the meditation object is lost, the scriptures] commend to abandon [that quickly]. When being-aware has become stable (*g-yung*), then to direct on [things] more distant is also right.

[Notice that we have] two [different approaches] not one: “calm abiding” (*zhi gnas, śamatha*) and “abiding in the main point that of ‘mind’ itself” (*sems nyid kyi don la gnas pa*).

“Calm abiding” is not [to give in to] thinking about whatsoever.

“Abiding in the main point that of ‘mind’ itself” is that at the time of directing awareness, thoughts or whatever arose are brought into an experience of limpid empty-ness (*gsal stong*). Notice that [in itself] it does not take long. It is called that [408] “awareness came out of the door” and also “awareness pervaded everything.”

[E 25] Further, at the time I gently held *prāṇa* down, just holding it down without any ideas about it⁴⁹, the warmth was strong. I reported it. [He replied],

“*Prāṇa* is so-called perfected to purify. Continue meditating in that excellent way.

Though, due to that awareness (*rig pa*) is undistracted in itself, some [unnecessary elaborate, and] say, “Whatever [may come], I will not be harmed!” [However,] because of staying [in that, or thinking that,] “movement” itself increases, so to speak. At that time “harm” [, discursive thought,] spreads [again].

Well, now we both have work to do⁵⁰. It was nice; now accustom again [to awareness].”

⁴⁶ *chos nyid*, Skt. *dharmatā*; Edgerton BHSD, offers for *dharmatā* also “regular thing, normal procedure,” in other contexts: “true nature.”

⁴⁷ *spyod ’jug*, short for the *Byang chub sems dpa’ spyod pa la ’jug pa*, Skt. *Bodhi-caryā-avataṛā*, “*Progress in Bodhisattva Practice*,” authored by Śāntideva; location of the reference unidentified.

⁴⁸ Trans. note: a yoke is a wooden bar which is fastened over the necks of two animals, e.g. oxes. Here *blama* Lha rje applies the metaphor of a yoke, which probably means that, as in case of a yoke, two factors should be present at the same time, both awareness and agitation (which in this case is everything that might appear outside or inside).

⁴⁹ *rgyu ni med*, lit. “without motive.”

⁵⁰ *gtams pa*, Gold: to entrust (with work/responsibility).

[E 26] But, later I asked, “When we hold awareness (*rig pa*) without looking at any thing, [and abide in] limpid emptiness, for a long period also, what faults can come up?” Rin-po-che replied,

“As for that, when the period is too long, a certain “pond-[like state]” (*ldengs pa*) and dullness (*rmugs pa*) may come up. Overcome it [like trees] waving [in the wind]. From relaxing [the mind] by putting it at ease, the limpid empty experience without-outer-or-inner [409] happens. Therefore cultivate again and again.”

[E 27] At this time a limpid empty experience arose, which was unequaled, I reported it. [He said,]

“It is the mind (*thugs*) of buddha-[hood], the so-called nondual primordial awareness (*ye shes, jñāna*) itself. We should know it as precisely that.”

[E 28] Then, one time, I was not even directed towards a limpid [state], it was as “going without ground.” I asked about it. [He replied,]

“It is the so-called absolute innate essence itself (*don dam gnyug ma rang gi ngo bo*). Therefore, when a matter of disease or whatever arises; by directing awareness (*rig pa*) to it, it will become “dharma-ness” (*chos nyid, dharmatā*), moving without ground. In accordance, awareness should be directed towards negative influences, illusions, and so forth, whatever might arise.”

[E 29] Furthermore, I asked, “With regard to the awareness directing to things, and so forth, what is the difference in having them near or far?” [He replied,]

“In case the being-aware [or knowing] (*shes pa*) is agitated (*rgod pa*), direct “knowing” to a small thing nearby. In case it is “sunk” (*bying*), it is necessary to direct “knowing” to a small thing that is elevated.”

[E 30] Again, one time meditating, with regard to the method, [not] to forget the thing [imaged], and so forth, anything that arose did not exist [really]; [410] it was every time “empty.” I reported it. [He replied,]

“That is excellently experiencing everything. Though teachers of Madhyamaka, Cittamātra, Pāramitā, Mantra, and dissimilar doctrines (*grub mtha', siddhānta*), each like [their own approach, actually just] one reflection accomplishes: that of all phenomena not even one exists not being included in ‘mind’!”

[E 31] As I pondered [about this], a thought emerged, “Could it be that the occurrence of clear limpid bliss (*bde gsal du sing nge*), likewise comes up as the single base [or foundation] in “deity” [meditation practice]?” [I asked about it. He commented,]

“This “yoga of the co-emergent” (*lhan gcig skyes sbyor, sahaja-yoga*)⁵¹ of ours is a profound meditative instruction. Thoughts that arise, or whatever else that arises, also whatever arises that you do not like, do know [all] what arises as ‘mind.’”

⁵¹ *lhan gcig skyes sbyor*, Skt. *sahaja*, Kragh: “yoga of the co-emergent,” lit. the “practice-of-what-merges-together [phenomena and awareness].”

Kragh, *Tibetan Yoga*, 302, briefly discusses a work by Rje Bsgom-tshul, entitled *Rje dags po zhal gdams dang/ rje bsgom tshul gyi zhu lan bzugs*, incorporated in the *Dags-po'i bka' 'bum*. Segment DK.A.Th.33 of the work, *Tib. Yoga* 326, explains the difference between *gnyug ma* and *lhan cig skyes sbyor*, between the ‘original nature’ and the ‘yoga of the co-emergent’. The *yoga* of the co-emergent is explained as a way of bringing thoughts onto the path (*rtog pa lam du 'khyer*).

Everything and every practice, it is all training (*sbyong ba*) ‘mind’ in [conceiving of things] as just dream-[like] illusions.”

[E 32] Later, one time, I relaxed, loosened up, after having directed awareness to every thing, one after the other, in that manner, and settled down. The limpid empty-[ness] [411] itself every time occurred, in a way that things or whatever were not there. At that time, [it was like] I went to a place where I wanted to dance, different from being between walls or even mountains. I asked about it. [He replied,]

“Oh yes, that is a unique, good experience of yours. The view (*lta ba*) should be first and foremost limpidly clear awareness (*rig pa gsal sing nge ba*).⁵² It is the great primordial awareness (*ye shes, jñāna*) that is nondual, the mind (*thugs*) of all Buddhas. Because you relied on and cultivated it, it had been like the steps of a staircase. Now, in an equal way, wide-[ness] and empty-[ness] come.”

[Colophon:] An exchange (*zhus lan*) between the two, Sgam-po-pa Rin-po-che and Rin-po-che Mtshur-phu-ba [“the man from Mtshur-phu” monastery, Düsüm Khyenpa]. May this dharma-[instruction] benefit sentient beings!

End of the Translation

Concluding remarks on Zhus Lan 2

One of the topics of *Zhus lan 2* is the *Dkar po zhig thub* or the “clear state that enables” and it received the attention of many scholars in the past. One reason for this attention is that the term came up in the context of the Bsam-yas debate in eighth-century Tibet. According to historical sources, this debate resulted in recommending a more analytical approach for students on the Buddhist path of realization. The debate is extensively discussed by David Seyfort Ruegg, who presents the term *dkar po zhig thub* as belonging to the arguments of the non-analytical party; he translates the term as the “white panacea” or “sovereign remedy.”⁵³

David Jackson also presents an extensive overview of the term, its history and controversies; he translates *dkar po zhig thub* as the “self-sufficient white remedy.”⁵⁴

⁵² Trans. note, the remark here at the end, that the view should be “limpidly clear awareness,” corresponds with the advice with which the *Zhus lan* began, to keep the “unequaled limpidly clear experience,” the *dkar po zhig thub*, the “white panacea,” or the “clear state that enables.”

⁵³ David Seyfort Ruegg, *Buddha-nature, Mind and the Problem of Gradualism in a Comparative Perspective* (London: University of London, 1989), 63; during the discussion (or debate) at bSam-yas in the second half of 8th century Tibet two parties stood against each other: the doctrine of ‘Gradualists’ (*rim gyis ’jug pa*) and the teaching of the ‘Instantaneists’ or ‘Simultaneists’ (*cig c[h]ar ba gyis ’jug pa*), otherwise known as simultaneous engagement. Ruegg refers to many scholars who contributed to the discussion of the term.

⁵⁴ David Jackson, *Enlightenment by a Single Means* (Wien: Verlag Österr. Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1994).

The *dkar po zhig thub* is important for both Düsüm Khyenpa, as he receives explanations on the path of realization by means of this expression, and for *bla ma* Lha-rje (Bsod-nams Rin-chen or Sgam-po-pa) who says that he practices it himself.

Here, in the translation of the full text, we find the original context in which the term is applied. The context shows that it does not concern just one aspect, *dkar po zhig thub* itself, but two aspects.

On the one hand, it involves making contact with the ‘clear state’ (*dkar po zhig thub*) or ‘primordial awareness’ (*ye shes, jñāna*). On the other hand, it involves connecting or incorporating from the “clear state,” all phenomena both inside and outside. When both aspects are present, *sahaja* (*lhan cig skyes sbyor*), co-emergence, happens. To hold both is holding the *sahaja*-view or outlook or philosophical perspective (*lta ba*). The understanding that “both” are important is supported by explanations of the master in one of his other works.⁵⁵ For this reason, I deliberately chose for the translation of *dkar po zhig thub* as the “clear state that enables,” because making contact with the clear state enables one to take the next step, that of integrating in “normal life.”

Elaborating briefly on *sahaja*, it is important to note that the *sahaja*-view is not an intellectual or conceptual outlook on the world. Rather, it is a practical approach. Düsüm Khyenpa describes how, by means of spiritual practice, he makes contact with the “clear state” after which he connects this with his mental world and the physical world around him.

The proposed path seems to be threefold: (1) making contact with the result, the “clear state,” “primordial awareness”; (2) connecting or combining all phenomena with it; and (3) experiencing the nonduality of “primordial awareness” and whatever arises in it.

Therefore, to make contact is not enough; it should be followed by integrating this in life.

The *Zhus lan* is a first-hand record of the whole process of making contact and integrating, an autobiography of a true journey inside. It describes how the journey takes place, the amazement of the first moment of contact, the reflection on what it is all about, and then, how step by step everything internal and external becomes connected with the “awareness.”

Thus, *bla ma* Lha-rje transmits an experiential rather than an analytic approach. He instructs Düsüm Khyenpa in a meditation practice which quickly leads to “making contact,” and from there proceeds. This is all the more interesting because we know that *bla ma* Lha-rje was also a scholar in the Bka’-gdams-pa tradition, he was a scholar, like also Düsüm Khyenpa was, but what he transmits here is what he discovered that worked best on the path of realization.

The approach does not fit with the outcome of the Bsam-yas debate, which seems to have favored a more analytic approach. However, one could argue that for Düsüm Khyenpa, the analytic approach was not necessary or relevant anymore. He had already studied the

⁵⁵ [22] *Rdzogs rim rlung sems gnyis med*, in particular section 6, see 4.3, “A detailed overview of the Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa Collection.”

fundamental works of Buddhism⁵⁶ for ten years, and during that time must have “tasted” Buddhist analytic approaches as well.

Now, *bla ma* Lha-rje leads him further on the path, beyond all concepts, to discover and hold his “fundamental state.”

When we look more broadly at the relationship between the *Gser gling* and the *Zhus lan*, one interesting question that arises is, how can we connect the “making contact,” described in the *Zhus lan*, with the *pañcamārga* (*lam rnam pa lnga*), the “five-fold path,” that is mentioned at the beginning of the *Gser gling*. To briefly recall, the five-fold path comprises the five paths of accumulation, application, seeing, cultivating, and fulfillment.

In the *Gser gling*, chapter 1, we learn that Düsüm Khyenpa, in the middle of his development through lifetimes, gathered the so-called “two accumulations.” This is a clear reference to the first path, that of “accumulation” (*tshogs lam, saṃbhāramārga*). After this, the *Gser gling* says: “...in the end he [Düsüm Khyenpa] obtained unsurpassed full Awakening!” As this refers to the final stage, one wonders what happened to the other paths. A tentative answer to that could be as follows.

The second path of “application” (*sbyor lam, prayogamārga*) could refer to the ongoing spiritual practice in the master’s previous lifetimes. The moment of “making contact,” as described in the *Zhus lan*, could refer to the third path that of “seeing” (*mthong lam, darśanamārga*). The “connecting or combining all phenomena with it” could be taken to refer to path four, the “cultivating” (*sgom lam, bhāvanāmārga*). And, finally, the “nonduality of primordial awareness” could fit with path five, “fulfillment” (*mthar phyin pa’i lam, niṣṭhāmārga*).

Interestingly enough, part of *bla ma* Lha-rje’s advice as described in the *Zhus lan* seems to “echo” what master Maitrīpa (986-1063) of India taught. Klaus-Dieter Mathes, in the translation of works of Maitrīpa, describes how the term *amanasikāra*, a term central in Maitrīpa’s works and commentaries on them, should be understood in a twofold way. He discovers that *amanasikāra* is not only to withdraw one’s attention from conceptually created duality (mental disengagement), but also refers to “non-arising” and “luminosity.”⁵⁷ It therefore has two aspects, according to Mathes.

Bla ma Lha-rje also teaches “disengagement of phenomena,” though without applying the term *amanasikāra*, possibly to prevent misunderstanding it in the sense of avoiding mental activity. Where Mathes understands the term *amanasikāra* as also referring to “non-arising” and “luminosity,” Lha-rje uses a separate term, namely awareness (*rig pa*).

⁵⁶ See the relevant passage in Chapter 11 of the *Gser gling*.

⁵⁷ Mathes, *A Fine Blend of Mahāmudrā and Madhyamaka*, x (I followed Mathes in his dates for Maitrīpa, for other date options see page 1 in his Introduction).

Chapter 4 The “Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa Collection”

In this chapter the so-called “Düsum Khyenpa Collection” will be explored and presented.

First, section 4.1 will discuss the “Content, editions, origin, and authorship of the Collection.”

Second, a general overview (section 4.2) is offered in the form of a table which provides the basic information: Original Tibetan title (plus titles of other works included), translated English title, and the location of the works in the three editions.

Third, a detailed overview (section 4.3) is presented in which each of the works is briefly discussed in terms of size, location, genre, content, authorship, colophons and transmission lineages, and interesting details.

However, before doing that, it is useful to describe briefly the nature of the works in the Collection.

The Düsum Khyenpa Collection includes different kinds of works, including “Life accounts / Liberation stories” (*rnam thar*) of Düsum Khyenpa, “Final words” (*zhal chems*), “Teachings to an assembly” (*tshogs chos*), “Collected songs” (*mgur ’bum*), “Answers to questions” (*zhus lan*), and an additional ‘specific category’ of works which is really “combinations of genre.”

This last category which comprises about eighty percent of the Collection cannot easily be classified, because it concerns treatises on different spiritual practices. One treatise may have, as we will see, many sections, sections within which we can identify multiple ‘genres’ of Tibetan literature, such as: “Attainment method” (*sgrub thabs, sādhana*) (including descriptions of the origin of the practice), “Empowerment” (*dbang bskur, abhiṣeka*), “Burnt offering” (*sbyin sreg, homa*), “Spiritual practice instruction” (*gdams ngag, upadeśa*), “Key-instruction” (*man ngag, āmnāya*), “Offering of a *gtor ma (bali)*,” “*Mahāmudrā (phyag rgya chen po)* explanations,” and so forth. Frequently, a so-called *rgya gzhung*, a fundamental text from Indian origin is also added.

In section 4.3 of this chapter, “A detailed overview of the Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa Collection,” all the works of the Collection will be briefly discussed. This will include the specific genre of a text. For a discussion of various systems of classifying Tibetan texts I refer to the existing literature on the subject.⁵⁸

⁵⁸ See for example “Reflections about Classifying Tibetan Texts—Tradition, Genre and Text Type, Editor’s Introduction,” in *Tibetan Literary Genres, Text, and Text Types: From Genre Classification to Transformation*, ed. Jim Rheingans (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2015).

Also, José Ignacio Cabezón and Roger R. Jackson, *Tibetan Literature* (New York: Snow Lion, 1996), 17-25.

4.1 Content, editions, origin, and authorship of the Collection

The “Düsum Khyenpa Collection” is a set of sixty-one works,⁵⁹ which all have as a common characteristic that they somehow are related to the First Karma-pa Düsum Khyenpa.

It is unclear how the Collection came into being, but it is likely that the following sequence of events happened. After the master passed away, works which the master had collected during his life or that he had written himself were left behind. Somebody, maybe one of the later Karma-pas or an unknown compiler, sorted out the works related to Buddhist meditative practice, works which the master had collected during his life, or that he had written himself. The Collection started in a smaller form, and would later be supplemented with works of some of his students. In the early fifteenth century the Collection found its final form, more on this below, in that nothing more was added to it.⁶⁰

The master was a scholar himself and before he engaged in profound spiritual practices, he studied Buddhism for more than ten years. Curiously enough, not any of the philosophical works he studied,⁶¹ nor *sūtras* and *śāstras* which he cites from for example in his *Tshogs chos*, are included in the Collection.

Therefore, one could say that the character of the Collection is primarily oriented to spiritual practice and, possibly also, the preservation of rare texts. The Collection also honors the person of the master, as later biographies of him were added, clearly written after he had passed away.

The content of the Collection is neither *per se* a good impression of what was practiced in the circle around Düsum Khyenpa, nor a complete list of Karma Bka’-brgyud practice texts. Some practices which are known today, and already existed in the twelfth century, are not included.⁶² The Collection is a set of probably rare and advanced spiritual practice texts, which should be understood in a twelfth-century or earlier context. Through this Collection, rare material from the very beginning of the Karma Bka’-brgyud lineage has been preserved.

⁵⁹ Notice that in the general overview table, the works does not count up to “sixty-one” but to forty-seven. However, several of the works in the general overview consist of more works, when these are included we arrive at a number of sixty-one.

⁶⁰ Except for that in the SB edition, the most recent one, one more *rnam mthar* of later origin is added.

⁶¹ For a listing of the philosophical works he studied, see 1.3.3, “Period of study and Buddhist doctrines he encountered.”

⁶² For example, in his *Tshogs chos*, “Teachings to the Assembly,” Düsum Khyenpa recommends the Refuge-, Vajrasattva-, and *maṇḍala* offerings practice to his students, these practices are not included in the Collection.

Further, in a passage in the *Gser gling*, SW 55, we find that the master received the Vajrasattva practice and Tārā Cintamaṇicakra (White Tārā) from *bla ma* Lha-rje in a former lifetime. It is said that he remembers that at that time he already transmitted Tārā Cintamaṇicakra to his students. Both practices are not included in the Collection.

The set has three editions: the *Selected Writings* edition (abbreviated SW), the *Collected Works* edition (abbr. CW), and the *Gsung 'bum* edition (abbr. SB).

The *Selected Writings* edition, full title the *Selected Writings of the First Zhwa-nag Karma pa Dus gsum mkhyen pa – reproduced from rare manuscripts from the library of Zhwa-dmar Rin-po-che*, dates from 1980 and was published in Gangtok,. It is a facsimile edition of manuscripts (*dbu med*) in two volumes, both preceded by an extremely brief “table of contents” (*dkar chag*). The SW edition has neither title nor margin title, apart from the attributed title at the moment of publication in 1985. Volume I has 512 folios, Volume II 411 folios, and each folio has 6 lines. The folios were originally numbered recto and versa, but got renumbered in 1985, at which time each folioside got its own Latin script number.

Only a few works in the SW edition come with a separate title page, in case they do this is noted in the brief discussions of the works in chapter 4.3. Most of the works come without a title page, and instead add what we may call an “editorial title.” This means that we find an attributed title in smaller lettertype at the beginning of the work. These attributed titles often reflect the last sentence of the work which frequently says: “work so and so” is completed. Editorial titles seem to be a common phenomenon in publications of Tibetan works.⁶³

Unfortunately the edition offers only the first half of the works of the Collection. The title makes this clear “Selected Writings of ...” Hopefully the second part of these *dbu med* works will be discovered in the future. Possibly the whole work is still present in the late Zhwa-dmar’s library.⁶⁴

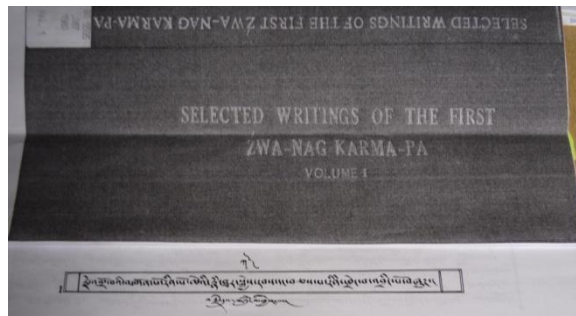


Figure 7 *Selected Writings* (SW) edition

The *Collected Works* edition, full title *Electronic Edition of the Collected Works of the First Karmapa Dusum Khyenpa* became available in 2008 and has been the work of the Padma Karpa Translation Committee. It has a very brief *dkar chag* of 4 folios, authored by (Gu-shrī) Dpal-'byor-don-grub (1427-89) who was one of the abbots of 'Tshur-phu

⁶³ Orna Almogi, “Analysing Tibetan Titles,” in *Les Cahiers d’Extreme Orient* (2005), 46: “Occasionally, however, particularly when the work is short, there is no separate title page and the title appears at the beginning of the text. These titles [...] are often given in smaller script. [...] Titles [...] appearing at the beginning of the text are in most cases editorial titles [...] Editorial titles sometimes represent abridged titles ...”

⁶⁴ *Selected Writings of the First of the First Zhwa-nag Karma pa Dus gsum mkhyen pa – reproduced from rare manuscripts from the library of Zhwa-dmar Rin-po-che*, Volumes 1 and 2 (Gangtok: Dzongsar Chhentse Labrang, 1980). Photocopies of the work were acquired from the Library of Congress in Washington.

momastery, a close student of Karma-pa VI Mthong-ba-don ldan (1416-53),⁶⁵ and also a teacher of Karma-pa VII Chos-grags rgya-mtsho (1454-1506).⁶⁶ It was produced from a handwritten copy (*dbu med*) borrowed from the Library of Karma Lekshey Ling in Swayambunath and offered in *dbu can*.⁶⁷ The edition applies an own (new) way of numbering. This resulted, printed on paper size A4, in 702 relatively small folios recto and versa, recto and versa together sum up to 1404 small folios.⁶⁸



Figure 8 *Collected Works* (CW) edition

The *Gsung 'bum* edition, full title *Karma pa dus gsum mkhyen pa'i gsung 'bum*, has two volumes *ka* and *kha*, and makes part of larger set of 108 Volumes entitled *Dpal rgyal dbang Karma pa sku phreng rim byon gyi gsung 'bum phyogs sgrigs*, which was published in 2013. The volumes are in *dbu can* and have the Tibetan book format (*dpe cha*), in this case: 42 cm x 8 cm, and are preceded by a “table of contents” (*dkar chag*). Volume *ka* has 253 folios, recto and versa; the folios are also separately numbered and sum up to 505 folio sides. Volume *kha* has 246 folios, recto and versa, which separately numbered sum up to 419 folio sides. The 108 volumes were edited by Mkhan-po Lo-yag-bkra-shis.⁶⁹



Figure 9 *Gsung 'bum* (SB) edition

⁶⁵ Roerich, *Blue Annals*, 516-17, 51.

⁶⁶ Dpa'-bo gtsug-lag phreng-ba, *Chos 'byung mkhas pa'i dga' ston* (Beijing edition, vol. 2) 1031.

⁶⁷ The handwritten copy was made by Akong Tulku's Rogpa International of an original. The handwritten copy was borrowed by the PKTC from the Library of Karma Lekshey Ling in Swayambunath and after that presented in *dbu can* orthography.

⁶⁸ *The Collected Works of the First Karmapa, Dusum khyenpa* (Electronic Edition, Swayambunath, Nepal: Padma Karpo Translation Committee, 2008).

⁶⁹ *Karma pa dus gsum mkhyen pa'i gsung 'bum*, volumes *ka* and *kha*, in the *Dpal rgyal dbang Karma pa sku phreng rim byon gyi gsung 'bum phyogs sgrigs*, 108 Volumes, ed. Mkhan-po Lo-yag-bkra-shis (Khreng-tu'u: Dpal-brtsegs-bod-yig-dpe-rnying-zhib-'jug-khang, 2013).

In earlier research I compared the three editions with each other,⁷⁰ a summary of which is included here. I researched four topics:

- (1) Do all the editions of the Collection have the same *content*?
- (2) How do they *relate to one another*, is one edition perhaps older than the other(s) and thus has older versions of Düsum Khyenpa's works?
- (3) Can we establish the *moment in time* the editions were compiled?
- (4) What can we say about the *authorship* of the contained works?

As for the *content*, I compared the titles of works of the three editions and observed that they were *grosso modo* the same, apart from as mentioned above that the SW edition only offers half of the Collection. From the listing of the works in a table, see 4.2, "A table of the Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa Collection," we can see that it basically concerns 'one-and-the-same' collection.⁷¹

How do the three editions/collections *relate to one another*, is one possibly older than the other?

For this question I compared the colophons to the works in all three editions. If one edition would be older than the other(s) then probably the colophons would differ. However, the colophons (including the transmission lineages added to several works) are overall the same. Therefore, it most likely concerns "one" Collection, however the editions may differ, one edition may have been more edited than the other.

What can we say about the editing itself? For that reason I compared the spelling of certain words in the classical Tibetan language, and possible additions to and omissions in the text.

We can observe that in one of the works contained in the collection, the *Tshogs chos*, "Teachings to an Assembly," that the three editions have a lot of differences in how words are spelled. The CW and SB editions are the more "polished" editions and of these two the SB is the most polished edition. Polished in this case means correct spelling, no mistakes (such as words accidentally written twice), no anomalies, etc.

On the contrary, in the SW edition we find more 'mistakes,' not mistakes *per se*, but passages which raise the translator's eyebrows. Subsequently, he notices that the CW and SB have come to a 'solution' of the 'problem,' in the way of an easier reading, verb-tenses that have been changed, etc. Also we find in the CW and SB sometimes short additions, and omissions (!) which are clearly meant to make the content more understandable.

One could argue that the SW edition has just been badly copied throughout the centuries. Though possible, I do not think that that is the case. On the contrary, the linguistic

⁷⁰ Peter H. Kersten, "The Grey-haired *siddha* or Düsum Khyenpa, the First Karma-pa, his Life. Editions of Works, Critical Text Edition and Translation of his "Teachings to an Assembly" (*Tshogs chos*)," Diplôme thesis EPHE, June 2016.

⁷¹ The SB edition adds one more *nam mthar* of later origin.

peculiarities in the *Tshogs chos* now and then give the impression that the work had been quickly put on paper, probably as lecture notes. The spelling sometimes is in the way the word is pronounced.

It makes sense to assume that when works such as the *Tshogs chos* were studied by later masters and copied by scribes, more and more corrections were brought into the work, and by that the text became more and more consistent and grammatically correct, such as in CW and SB. Therefore, it is most likely, based on linguistic details, more complicated reading and no omissions that the SW edition is the least edited edition of the Collection, followed by CW and then SB.

The SW manuscript itself is probably not from the early fifteenth century, the time that the Collection found its final form (see for this below), it is most likely the result of copying the original through the centuries to follow.

As the SW edition is the least edited of the three it was taken as the translation-base, Skt. *mūla*, for my translations. To the translation-base the variant readings of the CW and SB editions were added.

At which *moment in time* would the original collection, be *compiled* then? Probably the actual compiling started soon after Dūsum Khyenpa passed away. Dūsum Khyenpa himself can clearly *not* have compiled the collection in the form in which it exists now, since life stories of the master himself, written by other persons, are included.

I found evidence in the collection that the Third Karma-pa Rang-byung-rdo-rje (1284-1339) closely studied at least one of the works and added some annotations.⁷² However, it concerns just one work and does not prove that the collection was already a complete set at that time.

The collection was most likely compiled in the early fifteenth century. I want to support this statement by means of the content of transmission lineages that were added to some works in the collection.

For example the transmission lineage of the [22] *Rdzogs rim rlung sems gyis med*, a work from the collection, has at second place from the end, a person called Bsod-nams-bzang-po, who lived in the second half of the fourteenth and first half of the fifteenth century (1341-1433). He was one of the teachers of the Karma-pas in those days, of the Fifth Karma-pa De-bzhin-gshegs-pa (1384-1415), and also (for a very short time, see dates) of the Sixth Karma-pa Mthong-ba-don-ldan (1416-1452/3).⁷³

⁷² The CW colophon to the *Rje dus gsum mkhyen pa'i lnga tshan las bde mchog lha lnga'i bskor rnams* states: / *slob dpon nā ro pas mdzad pa rdzogs so* // [in small letters:] *sngar gyi mchan des 'bru ma non 'dug pas/ 'di ni rang byung rdo rje yis btab pa lags so*// Translated: “[The work] composed by Nā-ro-pa ends [here]. Earlier annotations [in the work] are in *bru ma* lettering, it was put in by [Karma-pa] Rang-byung-rdo-rje.”

⁷³ Roerich, *Blue Annals* (BA), 1017-18, Bsod-nams-bzang-po (1341-1433), “His disciples included the Dharmasvāmin De-bzhin-gshegs-pa, Mthong-pa Don-ldan and others.”

BA 781: “The Dharmasvāmin De-bzhin-gshegs-pa and Mthong-pa Don-ldan also became his [Bsod-bzang-ba] disciples.”

BA 546-8: “He [the 2nd Zhwa-dmar-pa Chos-dpal-ye-shes (1406-1452)] in the company of Dharmasvāmin Mthong-pa Don-ldan met Bsod-nams-bzang-po.

Furthermore, in the lineage of this specific work the name Bsod-nams-bzang-po is followed by the expression, pointing to the last person of the recorded lineage, *des bdag la gnang ba'o*//, which means “he bestowed [it] on me.”

So, who is this person, at the last spot in this transmission lineage, who calls himself “me”? In this case, so I hold, it is the Fifth Karma-pa De-bzhin-gshegs-pa (1384-1415)⁷⁴, who then would be the last (first half fifteenth century), in the colophon-transmission lineage.

Interestingly enough, the collection seems to have been a ‘work in progress,’ from the Second onward to the Fifth Karma-pa. As in the transmission lineage of some works the “me” seems to refer to the Second Karma-pa.⁷⁵ However, nothing in the transmission lineages points to a period beyond the Fifth Karma-pa.

After the “original collection” found its final form in the early fifteenth century, it engaged in several ‘journeys’ ending up in the three editions now available in the twenty-first century.

The CW edition may have found its form shortly after the Sixth Karma-pa Mthong-badon-Idan (1416-1452/3) passed away, since CW has a clear connection with the fifteenth-century master Dpal-'byor-don-grub-pa (1427-1489). According to the *Blue Annals*, (the Sixth) Karma-pa handed over, at the end of his life, some of his possessions and books to (Gu-shrī) Dpal-'byor-don-grub-pa.⁷⁶ In the CW edition Dpal-'byor-don-grub-pa authors an extremely short catalogue (*dkar chag*)⁷⁷ which precedes the actual works. For this reason, Dpal-'byor-don-grub-pa may have edited the collection but this is not clear, the CW editing may also have taken place later in time.

BA 507: “He [Dharmasvāmin De-bzhin-gshegs-pa] received ordination in the presence of mahā-upadhyāya Bsod-nams-bzang-po ...”

BA 598: “... final ordination in the presence of mahā-upadhyāya Bsod-nams-bzang-po and [...]”

⁷⁴ Fifth Karma-pa De-bzhin-gshegs-pa (1384-1415). Bsod-nams-bzang-po passes away at the age of 93, the Sixth Karma-pa is at that time just about 18 years old.

⁷⁵ For example, some other transmission lineages end far before the time in which Karma-pa De-bzhin-gshegs-pa (1384-1415) lived.

In the transmission lineage of the *Rnam bzhi rgyud grol*, Düsüm Khyenpa is followed by only two persons, the last of the two is Ratna-kīrti. The Skt. Ratnakīrti would in Tibetan be Rin-chen-grags, and a person with this name lived at the time of the Second Karma-pa Karma-pakshi (1206-83).

The *Blue Annals* relate: “When Rin-chen-grags was occupying the [Tshur-phu abbot] chair, Karma-pa-shi came from Khams and occupied the chair.” After Ratnakīrti we find in the transmission lineage the statement “*des bdag dge ba la gnang ba'o*” As Ratnakīrti lived at the time of the Second Karma-pa I suppose that the “me” (*bdag*) in this case is the Second Karma-pa Karma-pakshi.

Interesting is that five of the fourteen transmission lineages do not have a phrase like *des bdag la'o* //, which could mean, considering the above, that the works were later not directly transmitted to the Second to Fifth Karma-pas, or at least that this was not put into writing.

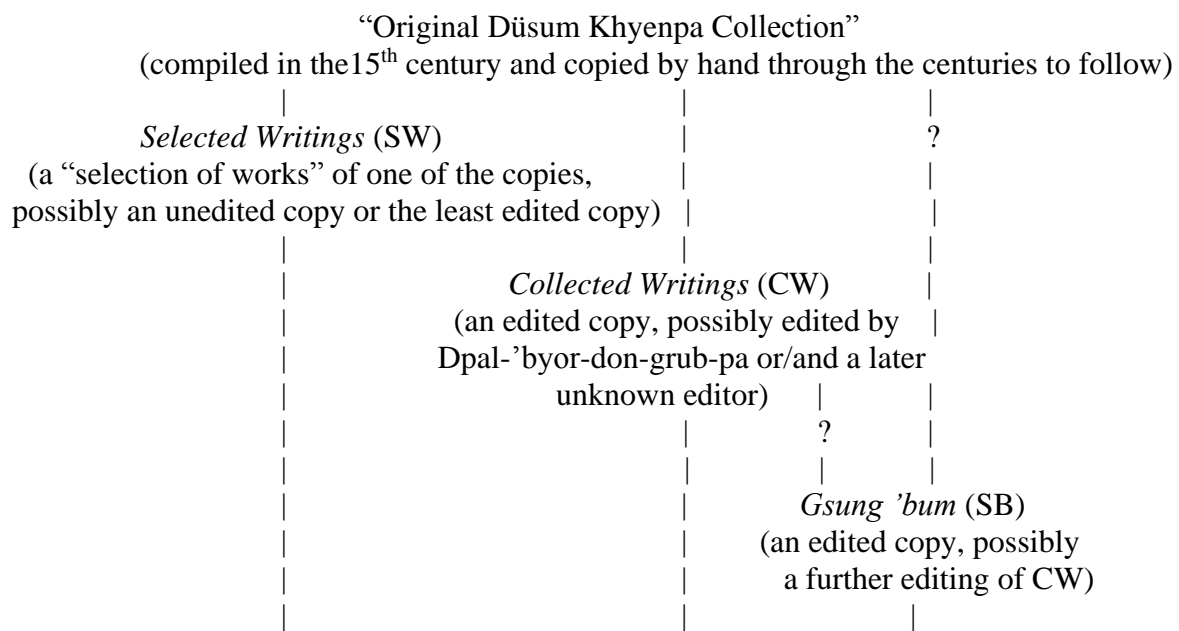
⁷⁶ Roerich, *Blue Annals*, 516-7: “About that time also [before passing away], he handed over his garments and black hat as well as books ... to Gu-shrī-ba. ... His chief disciples were very numerous ... and Gu-shrī Dpal-'byor-don-grub-pa [1427-1489] were both prominent.

Could the “me” in the transmission lineages possibly refer to Dpal-'bjor-don-grub-pa? This is very unlikely, as when Bzod-nams-bzang-po passes away in 1433, Dpal-'byor-don-grub-pa is just 6 years old.

⁷⁷ CW 4v 6, ... / rje'i gsung gi dkar chag 'di/ dpal 'byor don grub bdag gis bsgrigs pa'i // dge'o//

As for the SB edition, Volume 1 and 2 of the hundred-and-eight volumes of all works of the Karma-pas, SB follows mostly the CW edition in suggesting the same variant spelling of words. For this reason it may have been a further editing of the CW. However, the SB editor may also have come to the same conclusions as the CW editor. Since SB is the grammatically most ‘polished’ one of the three editions, I place the edited result later in time than the other two.

Though many uncertainties remain with regard to when and by whom editing took place, I offer the following overview of the editions.



The question of *authorship* is complicated. First of all, let us take a good look at the Tibetan titles of the three editions themselves to solve one issue, the issue of “Where is it said that the collection at hand comprises the collected works *of* Düsum Khyenpa?”

The SW manuscript (*dbu med*) comes without a Tibetan collection title, we find only the English title “*Selected Writings of ...*” In CW as well, no Tibetan title of the collection itself is found, and it only presents the English “*Collected Works of ...*”.⁷⁸ As for SB, a recently printed edition, the two volumes (out of one-hundred-and-eight) on Düsum Khyenpa does start with a Tibetan title, namely *karma pa dus gsum mkhyen pa’i gsung ’bum* (trans. *Works of ...*), but I think this title has been constructed to make the overall collection (the hundred-and-eight) consistent.

The point is that if we take a closer look at the content of the Collection we find that it not only includes works written by the master, but all works which somehow *have a connection with* him. Therefore, it is not a collection of works exclusively written by the master himself.

⁷⁸ As mentioned already, CW is an electronic edition in *dbu can* of the manuscript *dbu med*. In the electronic edition a margin title is added: *dus gsum mkhyen pa’i bka’ ’bum*, constructed I would say.

We find biographies written by students (their names explicitly added in colophons), major works by the master but incorporating Indian texts (*rgya gzhung*), and works attributed by a colophon to Indian *mahāsiddhas* such as for example Nāropa or Indrabhūti (or Indrabodhi) ‘the middle.’ However, in one way or the other Düsüm Khyenpa is connected with all the works.

A correct English title for the whole set would therefore be: the “Düsüm Khyenpa Collection,” as such a title leaves the authorship of the comprised works open.

Some works consist of many sections, often the Indian text (in Tibetan translation) is followed by many separate sections. Though in these cases we may expect that Düsüm Khyenpa comments on or explains parts of the Indian text, we first have to translate the works and evaluate the result in order to achieve certainty about who wrote what.

In some cases the authorship *seems* to be clear, based on *colophon*, *content* or *title*.

I went through the Collection in search of *colophons*, mostly found at the end, though sometimes also at the beginning of a work. Colophons inform us about the status of the work: where it came from, by whom it was written and where.

Many works, or/and sections of works, have a colophon, however, also many unfortunately have not. To be clear, when a colophon is missing, this does not mean that the work is incorrectly included in the Collection. I highly respect the person(s) who compiled the Collection; they must have had a profound knowledge of the content of the works. The compiler could even have been one of the successors of Düsüm Khyenpa (later called Karma-pas) in the Karma Kaṃ-tshang lineage.

It is plausible that when Düsüm Khyenpa passed away he left various works, works which he had studied and applied, and works he wrote himself. After his death, it may have appeared that they were not all properly “colophonned,” or that he had postponed the final version of a work.

Looking for the presence of colophons I found that of the sixty-one works (or sections of them) in the Collection, *forty-one* have a colophon. Let’s look at these colophons a bit closer, from the perspective of authorship:

1. Ten colophons explicitly refer to other persons as the author of the work, authors such as Indian *mahāsiddhas* Nāropa (six times), Indrabhūti (or Indrabodhi) ‘the middle’ (once), Nāgarjuna (once), and Virūpa (once). One work is ascribed to the Indian master Atiśa.
2. Three colophons clearly state that Düsüm Khyenpa wrote the work down.
3. In six colophons it is not completely clear if the master or somebody else wrote the work.
4. Five colophons state that the work was written by students.
5. The other colophons provide general information other than authorship, such as for example the transmission lineage of a work.

Though in twenty cases (61-41) no colophon was added, sometimes the *content* makes clear that Düsüm Khyenpa very likely must have been the author. For example, I made a first attempt to translate the *Rnam bzhi rgyud grol*, “Four Types [of method] to Liberate the Mindstream,” a set consisting of three sub-works. It appeared that the first work, the *rgya gzhung* – a verse text in 231 verse lines – must be the work attributed to king Indrabhuti (attested by a colophon). The second work provides some history on the verse-text written from a ‘student of’ Düsüm Khyenpa’s perspective. The third work appears to be a commentary by Düsüm Khyenpa’s on the verse lines. In this case, translating and analyzing the content of the two last works shed light on their authorship.

Another example is the *Tshogs chos*. Though a colophon is missing, the content makes clear that they consist of teachings or lectures given by Düsüm Khyenpa to his students.

In other cases the *title* makes clear that the master must have been the author. Such as in the *Rje dus gsum mkhyen-pa’i mgur ’bum* (“Master Düsüm Khyenpa’s Collected Songs”). Again, there is no colophon, but the title itself clearly points to the master as the author.

One additional factor should be taken into account also, namely the possibility that students of the master could have indirectly contributed to a work, acting as secretaries, which would make “authorship” less direct than the colophon suggests.

To conclude this section on authorship, all works have a *connection with* Düsüm Khyenpa, some works are authored by others (*mahāsiddhas*, an Indian master or students) and some are without any doubt written by the master himself. For other works, it is not clear whether the master, *mahāsiddhas* or students wrote the work. Others again are explicitly written by students. In case of doubts on authorship, it would be best to translate the respective works first, and afterwards based on the content, decide on the issue.

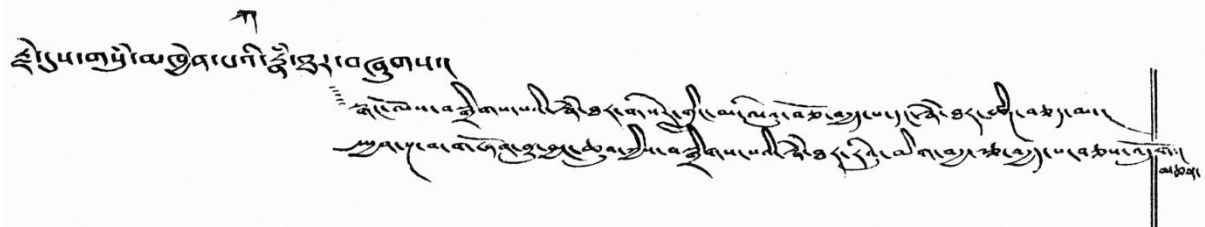
An interesting feature found in the most ancient edition, the SW manuscript edition, is that many works, or sections of works, end with the phrase *rdzogs sho* and sometimes even *rdzogs shō*. In later editions these endings were all corrected into *rdzogs so*. The expression *rdzogs so* usually means “[the work is] completed.” However, the original *rdzogs sho* may have carried the flavor of *rdzogs shog*, which means, “May [this *sādhana*, ritual, *abhiṣeka*, etc.] be perfect!”

Many works or rather sections of works in the Collection end with the sign *ithi*. Though etymologically probably stemming from the Sanskrit term *iti*, “end of quotation,” it can have a deeper meaning. Carmen Meinert discusses the term and relates that “*i ti*” is used in early Rdzogs-chen texts. Such as for example in the *Bi ma snying thig*, “The innermost essence of Vima-[lamitra],” a Rdzogs-chen scripture traditionally held to have been concealed by the eighth/ninth-century scholar Vimalamitra, though revealed in about the eleventh century. In this scripture *i ti* is used in order to seal *gter ma* texts, in some cases even followed by the seal *rgya rgya rgya*. The same term, transcribed as *i thi* is also later employed by Gsar-ma schools, once again to seal the most secret instructions. It is used by ’Jam-mgon Kong-

sprul (1813-99) in his *Gdams ngag mdzod*. In his section devoted to the Bka'-brgyud schools, the term *i thi* clearly seals the innermost teachings.⁷⁹

In the Düsüm Khyenpa Collection we find *ithi* for example at the end of the *sādhana* of the Four-faced Vajrayoginī/Vajravārāhī, in sections on *mahāmudrā*, and in *Chos drug* sections. More than ninety (sections of) works end with *ithi*.⁸⁰ In two works we find the ending *rgya rgya (rgya)*.⁸¹

Many of the works in SW, the *dbu med* edition, come with interlinear additions, which are additions to the text, remarks or comments, between the lines. These may have come from Düsüm Khyenpa or from later later Karma-pas or editors. In the *dbu can* editions they are put intralinear, in smaller lettertype within the lines. Below and example of such an interlinear addition, in this case added to the title of a work, the *Rje dus gsum mkhyen pa'i rnam thar*.⁸²



Scan from the annotation passage SW 47

Fifteen of the sixty-one works of the “Düsüm Khyenpa Collection” contain transmission lineages (*rgyud pa*), which means that it is stated by whom the practice was transmitted in the past. The names are mostly listed at the end of the work, though sometimes

⁷⁹ Carmen Meinert. “The Conjunction of Chinese Chan and Tibetan Rdzogs chen Thought: Reflections on the Tibetan Dunhuang Manuscripts IOL Tib J 689-1 and PT 699.” In *Contributions to the Cultural History of Early Tibet*, edited by Matthew T. Kapstein and Brandon Dotson (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 277-9.

As for the application of *ithi* in the Bka'-brgyud lineage, Meinert gives an example found in 'Jam-mgon Kong-sprul 1971, vol. 5, *Mar pa bka' brgyud skor*, 69: *thugs kyi nying khu/ i thi*/, translated “This is the heart-essence. *I thi*.”

⁸⁰ The *ithi* sign is found in (sections of) works [13], [15], [20], [22], [24], [26-31], [36], [37], [41-42], [44].

⁸¹ The *rgya rgya (rgya)* ending is found in works [13] and [38].

⁸² SW 47:2, ***rgang los bsgrigs pa'i rnam thar gser gling le'u bco brgyad pa dang rnam thar rtsig bcad ma*** [47:3] ***spyang snga ba gzhon nu byang chub kyis bsgrigs pa'i rnam thar re'u mig brgya rtsa brgyad pa bcas 'dug mchan***/

The addition relates that the *rnam thar* has three sections, namely:

1. The “*Gser gling* in eighteen chapters written by Rgang-lo,” no. [2-1] in the DSK Collection.
2. A “verse biography” (*rnam thar rtsig bcad ma*), which corresponds to nos [2-2] and [2-3] in the DSK Collection.
3. A work called the “*Rnam thar re'u mig brgya rtsa brgyad pa – List of Hundred and Eight [events]*” by Spyan-snga-ba Gzhon-nu-byang-chub. The last name, Gzhon-nu-byang-chub, is Tibetan for Skt. Kumarabodhi. The manuscript’s colophon, SW 204:6, only mentions Ku-ma-ra-bo-dhi. The work corresponds to no. [2-4] in the DSK Collection.

Thanks to Matthew Kapstein who assisted in deciphering the annotation.

they appear in the context of a narrative of the origin of a specific text or practice or are integrated in the explanation on a practice.

D(w)ags-po Lha-rje, ordination name Bsod-rnams Rin-chen (1079-1153), a.k.a. *bla ma* Lha-rje and later as Sgam-po-pa, is prominently present in nine (!) of the fifteen transmission lineages.⁸³ This testifies to the importance of *bla ma* Lha-rje for Düsüm Khyenpa and the Karma Kam-tshang lineage.

In the following sections the content of the Düsüm Khyenpa Collection will be presented. The works were not numbered in the editions of the Collection. For practical reasons I numbered the works, numbers in square brackets.

In presenting overviews, the table (chapter 4.2) and the detailed overview (chapter 4.3), the readings of the SW edition, the least edited edition has been preeminent. However, we find ancient spelling and also many spelling errors in SW, many of which were later corrected in the CW and SB editions. In the detailed overview, chapter 4.3, I have not worked on correcting the ancient spelling and errors. In most of the cases they carry a sort of authentic flavor.⁸⁴

However, corrections were made in case of erroneous Sanskrit transliteration, in which case the original Tibetan is added in a footnote. Also, in case I observed that the spelling of a personal name differed in the editions, I added the variants, e.g. Yong-brag-pa, SW (Pom-brag-pa CW,SB).

⁸³ The nine lineages are:

[9-2)] *Phag mo lha lnga'i sgrub thabs*, transmission lineage: Rdo-rje-'chang, Thang-lo-pa, Shing-lo-pa, Karṇa-ri-pa, In-dra-ri-pa, In-dra-bo-te, Nā-ro-pa, Mar-pa, Mi-la, Dags-po, Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa, ...

[10-3)] *Dgyes rdor ting nge 'dzin gyi dbang bskur ba'i lag len*, lineage: Nā-ro-pa, Mar-pa lo tsā, Mi-la-ras-pa, bla ma Lha-rje, Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa, ...

[12-2)] *Rta mgrin lha nga'i mngon rtogs*, lineage: Jo-bo Atisha, Tshul-khrims-rgyal-ba, ..., Dags-po Rin-po-che, Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa, ...

[15-section 1] "Dpal Rnal 'byor ma gsang ba'i sgrub thabs," lineage: Nā-ro-pa, Mar-pa Lho-brag-pa, Mi-la, bla ma Lha-rje, Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa, ...

[20-section 2] "Nā-ro-pa'i zhal gcig ma sgrub thabs," lineage: Rdo-rje-'chang, Te-lo-pa, Nā-ro-pa, Mar-pa, Mid-la, Lha-rje, Dharma kirti (= Düsüm Khyenpa), ...

[20-section 3] Introductory transmission lineage to the Zhal gcig ma'i bsgrub thabs, lineage : Rdo-rje-'chang, Thang-lo-pa, Shing-lo-pa, Karṇa-ri-pa, Mar-pa *loccha ba*, Mi-la-ras-pa, bla ma Lha-rje, Grub-thob-dbu-se (= Düsüm Khyenpa).

[21- section 4] Without title, "Secret mind/heart precepts (*bka' rgya*) of Vajrayoginī," lineage: Rdo-rje-'chang, Tai-lo-pa, Nā-ro-pa, Mar-pa, Mi-la, Dwags-po Lha-rje, Rin-po-che (= Düsüm Khyenpa).

[22- section 1] *Rdzogs rim lung sems gbyis med*, Introductory section 1: lineage: Te-lo plus Karṇa-ri-pa/Shing-lo-pa plus Mai-tri-pa, Nā-ro-pa, Marpa, Dar-ma mdo-sde plus Mi-la-ras-pa, bla ma Lha-rje, Dbu-se-ba (= Düsüm Khyenpa), ...

[28-3)] *Mchog gi gum mo*, lineage: Rdo-rje-'chang, Te-lo-pa, Nā-ro-pa, Mar-pa, Rngog Chos rdor, Mi-la-ras-pa, bla ma Lha-rje, Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa, ...

⁸⁴ For example the SW edition consequently applies the spelling *shin du*, instead of *shin tu* for "very".

4.2 A table of the “Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa Collection”

Original Tibetan Title	English Translated Title	SW <i>dbu med</i>	CW <i>dbu can</i>	SB <i>dbu can</i>
[1] <i>Rje 'gro ba'i mgon po rin po che'i rnam thar skyes rabs dang bcas pa rin chen phreng ba 'bring po</i>	A Precious Garland of Medium Length: Life Account (/Liberation Story) of the Precious Master Protector of Beings with a Narrative of Former Lifetimes	Ka 1 2-45	- 5r-25v	Ka - 7-34
[2] <i>Rje dus gsum mkhyen pa'i rnam thar</i> Four works: 1) <i>Chos rje'i skyes rabs rin po che gser gling le'u bcwo brgyad pa</i> 2) <i>Dpal dus gsum mkhyen pa' rnam thar</i> [end title] 3) Without title 4) Without title	Life Accounts of Master Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa A Golden World, the Succession of Precious Lifetimes of the Dharma-master in Eighteen Chapters Account of Śrī Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa's Life	Ka 47 48-128 128-133 133-139 139-204	- 26r-64v 64v-67v 68r-71r 71r-104v	Ka - 34-86 86-90 90-94 94-138
[3] <i>Chos rje rin po che dus gsum mkhyen pa'i rnam par thar pa dgos 'dod kun 'byung</i>	Account of Dharma-master Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa's Life – meets all Wishes and Wants	Ka not included	not included	Ka 139-208
[4] <i>Rje dus gsum mkhyen pa'i zhal chems</i>	Master Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa's Final Words	Ka 205-218	104v-111v	Ka 209-218
[5] <i>Rje dus gsum mkhyen pas mdzad pa'i mu tig phreng ba</i>	String of Pearls [teachings] written by Master Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa	Ka 218-257	111v-133r	Ka 218-246
[6] <i>Rje dus gsum mkhyen pa'i tshogs chos</i>	Master Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa's Teachings to an Assembly	Ka 259-303	133r-156v	Ka 247-277
[7] <i>Rje dus gsum mkhyen pa'i mgur 'bum</i>	Master Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa's Collected Songs	Ka 305-325	156v-167v	Ka 278-292
[8] <i>Dus gsum mkhyen pa'i lnga tshan lnga las bde mchog lha lnga'i skor rnams</i> Seven works: 1) <i>Bde mchog gi rgya gzhung</i> 2) <i>Bde mchog lha lnga'i mngon rtogs pa</i> 3) <i>Bde mchog gi gtor ma'i chog</i> 4) <i>Bde mchog gi sbyin sreg gyi rgya gzhung</i> 5) <i>Bde mchog gi nang gi mchod pa</i> 6) <i>Bde mchog gi zhi ba'i sbyin sreg</i>	From the Five Sets [of works] on Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa's Five [meditation deities, sets [8]-[11]], Works on Cakrasaṃvara (Bde-mchog), One of the Five	Ka 327 328-332 332-343 343-348 348-352 352-357 357-359	- 167v-170v 170v-174r 174r-176v 176v-181v 179r-181v 181v-183r	Ka - 292-296 296-300 300-304 304-307 307-311 311-312

7) <i>Bde mchog lha lnga'i dbang gi cho ga nor bu'i phreng ba</i>		359-382	183r-196r	313-330
[9] <i>Rje dus gsum mkhyen pa'i thugs dam lnga tshan lnga las phag mo lha lnga'i bskor</i> Three works: 1) <i>Phag mo rgya gzhung</i> 2) <i>Phag mo lha lnga'i sgrub thabs</i> 3) <i>Phag mo lha lnga'i dbang chog</i>	From the Five Sets on Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa's Five meditation deities [works [8]-[11]], Works on Vārāhī, One of the Five deities	Ka 383 384-385 385-389 389-396	- 196r-196v 196v-199v 199v-203r	Ka - 330 331-334 334-339
[10] <i>Dgyes rdor lhan skyes</i> Three works: 1) <i>Dgyes rdor lhan skyes</i> 2) <i>Dgyes rdor lha lnga'i tshogs mchod</i> 3) <i>Dgyes rdor gyi ting nge 'dzin gyi dbang bskur ba'i lag len</i>	Hevajra Sahaja	Ka 397 398-401 401-404 404-410	- 203r-204v 204v-206v 206v-210r	Ka - 339-341 342-344 344-348
[11] <i>Sgrol ma lha lnga'i bskor rnams</i> Two works: 1) <i>Sgrol ma'i rgya gzhung</i> 2) <i>Sgrol ma'i rjes gnang</i>	Works on Tārā, One of the Five deities	Ka 411 412-417 417-420	- 210r-212v 212v-214v	Ka - 348-352 352-354
[12] <i>Rta mgrin gyi rgya gzhung</i> Three works: 1) <i>Dpal rta mgrin bsgrub thabs</i> [end title] 2) <i>Rta mgrin lha nga'i mngon rtogs</i> 3) <i>Rta mgrin gyi rigs btad</i>	Hayagrīva – Indian fundamental text	Ka 421 422-426 426-430 431-442	- 214v-217r 217r-219r 219r-225r	Ka - 354-357 358-360 360-368
[13] <i>Thugs dam zhal bzhi ma</i> Two works: 1) <i>Rin po che'i thugs dam phag mo zhal bzhi ma</i> 2) Without title	Caturmukha meditation deity	Ka 443 444-476 477-512	- 225r-241r 241r-261r	Ka - 369-389 389-415
[14] <i>Rnam bzhi rgyud grol</i> Three works: 1) <i>Rnam bzhi rgyud grol</i> [verse text] 2) Without title 3) Without title	Four Types [of Method] to Liberate the Mind stream	Kha 1 2-13 13-21 21-67	- 261r-266v 266v-270r 270r-293v	Ka - 415-422 422-427 427-457
[15] <i>Rnal 'byor ma'i gsang bsgrub</i>	Yoginī' – secret practices	Kha 68 69-139	- 293v-329r	Ka - 458-505
[16] <i>Phag mo'i bstod pa rol pa'i 'phreng ba</i>	Vajravārāhī praises – a Playful Garland	Kha 139-142	329v-331v	Kha 1- 5
[17] <i>Zhal gnyis ma'i mngon rtogs</i>	Calling to mind the 'Two-faced female' [Vajravārāhī]	Kha 143-167	331v-346r	Kha 5- 24

[18] <i>Dpal rdo rje rnal 'byor ma'i gsang bsgrub rje btsun mo lhan skyes</i>	Glorious Vajrayoginī – secret practices – Lady Sahaja	Kha 168 169-226	346r-375r	Kha 24- 62
[19] Without title	[Instructions on Vajrayoginī practices]	Kha 227-316	375r-427v	Kha 62-130
[20] <i>Zhal gcig ma'i sgrubs thabs</i>	'One-faced female' <i>sādhana</i> s	Kha 317-369	427v-452v	Kha 130-163
[21] Without title	[Vajrayoginī related practices]	not included	452v-459r	Kha 163-171
[22] <i>Rdzogs rim rlung sems gnyis med</i>	Completion stage, nonduality of <i>prāṇa</i> and 'mind'	not included	459r-473v	Kha 171-190
[23] Without title	[Works on Vajravārāhī protection <i>sādhana</i>]	not included	473v-481v	Kha 190-201
[24] <i>Dus gsum mkhyen pa'i zhus lan [1]</i>	An Exchange of Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa [1]	Kha 371-387	481v-490r	Kha 201-212
[25] <i>Dus gsum mkhyen pa'i zhus lan [2]</i>	An Exchange of Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa [2]	Kha 389-411	490r-501r	Kha 212-226
[26] <i>Chos drug gi zhal gdams</i>	Oral instruction on the Six Dharmas [of Nāropa]	not included	501r-515r	Kha 227-247
[27] <i>Zhal gdams</i>	Oral instruction [additional oral instruction on the Six Dharmas]	not included	515r-526v	Kha 248-260
[28] [Works on <i>caṇḍālī</i>] Four works: 1) <i>Gtum mo gangs kyi seng chen ma</i> 2) <i>Gtum mo la bar ma</i> 3) <i>Mchog gi gtum mo</i> 4) <i>Bla ma'i gtum mo</i>	[Works on <i>caṇḍālī</i>] <i>Snow lioness caṇḍālī</i> <i>Caṇḍālī</i> on a mountain pass in the middle [of snow] <i>Superior caṇḍālī</i> <i>Spiritual guide caṇḍālī</i>	not included	526v-529v 529v-531r 531r-534v 534v-535v	Kha 260-264 265-266 266-271 271-272
[29] <i>Bsre ba bskor gsum</i>	<i>Bsre ba bskor gsum</i>	not included	535v-538v	Kha 272-277
[30] <i>Phyag rgya chen po thog babs</i>	<i>Mahāmudrā</i> lightning	not included	538v-539v	Kha 277-278
[31] <i>Rmi lam 'brel pa gsum ldan</i>	Dream-[spiritual practice] in three parts	not included	539v-569v	Kha 278-317
[32] <i>Bar do bka' rgya ma</i>	<i>Antarābhava</i> – confidential	not included	569v-577r	Kha 317-327

[33] <i>Gegs sel thor bu pa rnams</i>	Removing hindrances – pieces of advice	not included	577r-583r	Kha 327-335
[34] <i>Gegs sel zhal gyi gdams</i>	Removing hindrances – oral instruction	not included	583r-599v	Kha 335-356
[35] <i>Mgon po bya rog ma'i sgrub thabs dharma kīrti'i lugs kyi mgon po'i bdag bsgom</i>	Raven-protector <i>sādhana</i> – meditation on the lord of protectors in the manner of Dharmakīrti (Düsum Khyenpa)	not included	599v-607r	Kha 357-366
[36] <i>Dharma kīrti'i lugs kyi mgon po bya rog ma'i thod nag gi sgrub thabs</i>	Black kapāla Raven-[faced] protector <i>sādhana</i> , in the manner of Dharmakīrti (Düsum Khyenpa)	not included	607r-628v	Kha 366-394
[37] <i>Bsang gtor dang / sgab 'dre mnan pa'i thabs</i>	<i>Bsang gtor dang</i> – a method to overcome hidden 'Dre	not included	628v-636r	Kha 394-404
[38] <i>Rang byung rgyal mo'i bsgrub thabs/ bla ma lha rje snubs kyi gter ma</i>	Self-arisen Queen <i>sādhana</i> – <i>Bla ma</i> Lha-rje's Snubs "hidden treasure"	not included	636r-638v	Kha 404-408
[39] <i>Dpal re ma ti'i srog bsgrub kyi man ngag</i>	Śrī Rematī vitality practice key-instruction	not included	638v-653v	Kha 408-427
[40] <i>Dpal lha mo'i srog bsgrub kyi las sbyor</i>	Śrī Devī vitality practice – applying action	not included	653v-669r	Kha 427-447
[41] <i>Dpal lha mo rang byung gi rgyal mo'i byin rlabs kyi ṭika</i>	Commentary on Śrī Devī-svayambhū-rājñī's spiritual influence	not included	669r-677v	Kha 447-458
[42] <i>Lha 'dre stong gi sgribs shing</i>	Thousand invisible Lha-'Dre	not included	677v-688r	Kha 458-472
[43] <i>Lha 'dre stong gi sgrib shing bsrung ba bsgoms chog ye thub</i>	Thousand invisible Lha-'Dre, method to bring forth protection, the 'primordial mighty'	not included	688r-696v	Kha 472-483
[44] <i>Sku gsung thugs mi 'gyur ba gnad kyi 'khor lo</i>	Wheel of key points for transforming body, speech and mind	not included	696v-702v	Kha 483-491

4.3 A detailed overview of the “Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa Collection”

The works of the “Düsum Khyenpa Collection,” forty-four main titles and sixty-one separate works in all, will now be discussed briefly, with regard to their length, structure, genre, content, and authorship. We will see that some works consist of separate works contained within them, and that a work often has many sections.

In creating this overview of a collection of Tibetan works, I consulted the work of two scholars who also researched specific collections of Tibetan works: Ulrich Kragh’s publication on the content of the *Dags po bka’ ’bum*,⁸⁵ and Peter Schwieger’s research on the content of the *Rin chen gter mdzod chen mo*⁸⁶.

The overview is organized following Kragh’s model, which begins with mentioning the length of the work and the number of sections and internal colophons, followed by a brief introduction to the work. Next, the beginning and ending lines of the actual work and/or sections are provided, in Tibetan transliteration, along with a brief summary of the content.

Apart from the colophons to the works, I also added in the overview the transmission lineages if they were mentioned, along with any available interesting details. Unless noted otherwise, the spelling of the words will follow the SW manuscript edition.

[1] Title page *Rje ’gro ba’i mgon po rin po che’i rnam thar skyes rabs dang bcas pa rin chen phreng ba ’bring po*, “A Precious Garland of Medium Length: Life Account (/Liberation Story) of the Venerable Precious Master Protector of Beings with a Narrative of Former Lifetimes”

Size 45 ff (folio sides), one colophon. The work begins with [SW ka 2:1] // *namo ratna egu ru*⁸⁷// *blo gros chen po theg mchog gis bstan pas/ shes bya spros bral thugs kyi me long la*// It ends [SW ka 45:4] *rin chen phreng ba ’bring po zhes bya ba rdzogs sho* [sic.]// *gcig zhus* This is probably the oldest account of Düsum Khyenpa’s life, written by Bde-chung-ba, one of Düsum Khyenpa’s students. Rather than a coherent life account, the work is somewhat unstructured and more a collection of statements by the master. It will be the prototype for the later more elaborate *Gser gling*.

The colophon says that *bla ma Rin-chen’s* [Düsum Khyenpa’s] life account is like a “world [full of] jewels.” It also says that Bde-chung-ba compiled and wrote down what Shākya Dge-

⁸⁵ Ulrich Timme Kragh, *Tibetan Yoga and Mysticism – A Textual Study of the Yogas of Nāropa and Mahāmudrā Meditation In the Medieval Tradition of Dags po*. Studia Philologica Buddhica Monograph Series XXXII. Tokyo: International Institute for Buddhist Studies, 2015.

⁸⁶ Peter Schwieger, *Tibetische Handschriften und Blockdrucke*, Teil 13, Die mTshur-phu-Ausgabe der Sammlung Rin-chen gter-mdzod chen-mo, nach dem Exemplar der Orientabteilung, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Hs or 778, Bände 40-52, beschrieben von Peter Schwieger (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2009).

⁸⁷ *egu ru*, problematic, “e” with an e-log sign above the a-chung, CW,SB, *gu ru*.

slong Dge-'dun-'od, Shākya Dge-slong Smon-lam *bla ma*⁸⁸ had heard from the Precious *bla ma* [Düsum Khyenpa]. This is followed by some lines of aspiration.

Colophon: [SW ka 44:5] ... ***bla ma rin chen rnam thar nor bu'i gling 'dra las/ shākya'i dge slong dge 'dun 'od dang ni shākya'i dge slong smon lam bla ma yis/ bla ma rin chen zhal nas thos pa las/ bde chung ba yis sdebs te yi ger bris/***

* * *

[2] Title page ***Rje dus gsum mkhyen pa'i rnam thar***, “Life Accounts of Master Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa's”

Four works are included:

1) ***Chos rje'i skyes rabs rin po che gser gling le'u bcwo brgyad pa*** [end title], “A Golden World, the Succession of Precious Lifetimes of Dharma-master [Düsum Khyenpa] in Eighteen Chapters”

Size 81 ff (folio sides), one colophon. The work begins with [SW ka 48:1] *thams cad mkhyen pa la phyag 'tshal lo/* It ends [SW ka 127:6] *dge bas 'gro kun chos rje'i gdul byar shog/*

This life account is the most complete of all the *rnam thar* written about the master. It has 18 chapters, the first 10 relate his previous lifetimes, the next 5 his present life, and the last 3 his future lifetimes. The author is Rgang-lo, who was probably a student of the master.

A new translation of the *Gser gling* is presented in this study.⁸⁹

The colophon says that the work is entitled, “A Golden World, the Succession of Precious Lifetimes of Dharma-master [Düsum Khyenpa] in Eighteen Chapters,” that it contains summarized accounts of dialogues between the *bla ma* and [his spiritual] sons, and that it was written by Rgang-lo, who holds these words to be true, as an ornament for Mtshur-phu-mdo-bo monastery.

Colophon: [SW ka 127:6] *chos rje'i skyes rabs rin po che gser gling le'u bcwo brgyad pa zhes bya ba bla ma sras bcas kyi gsung sgros thor bu rnam bsdus pa= de'i gsung la tshad mar 'dzin pa rgang los mtshur mdo bo dgon pa'i rgyan du bris pa'o/*

2) ***Dpal dus gsum mkhyen pa'i rnam thar*** [end title], “Account of Śrī Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa's Life”

Size 6 ff, no colophon, the work begins with [SW ka 128:2] *me shel dkyil 'khor rgyun du 'od 'bar kyang /* It ends [SW ka 133:4-5] *bkra shis dpal 'bar 'dzam gling dun du shog/*

This work is a summary of Düsum Khyenpa's life, ‘highlighting’ 108 different events. It is possibly a first draft for works 3) and 4) described below, as it has many interlinear remarks. The author is unknown.

3) ***Bgrya rtsa brgyad pa***, the “One hundred and eight”

Size 7 ff, one colophon, the work begins with [SW ka 133:5] *gang gi rang bzhin mkhyen brtse'i nyi zla bar/* It ends [SW ka 139:2] ... *brjod par mi nus/* At line [133:6], we find that it is called the “108” (*bgrya rtsa brgyad pa*). Just like the work above, it ‘highlights’ 108 different events from the master's life. However, the earlier interlinear remarks are now integrated in the text.

⁸⁸ Bde-chung-ba, Dge-'dun-'od and Smon-lam *bla ma*, all three students of Düsum Khyenpa, their names are frequently mentioned in the *Gser gling*.

⁸⁹ The work was translated earlier. *The First Karmapa – The Life and Teachings of Dusum Khyenpa*, translated by David Karma Choephel and Michele Martin (New York, KTD Publications Woodstock, 2012), 5-54.

The colophon says that it was written by Rgang-lo, the *śrāmaṇa* ‘son’ of Śākya-[muni], at Mtshur-phu [monastery], and that it is an abridgment [probably of the *Gser gling*] to foster the respect and devotion of fortunate beings. An incomplete version of this *Brgya rtsa ma* has been preserved in another collection of works.⁹⁰ The work has been translated.⁹¹

Colophon: [SW 139] *'dir yang skal ba dang ldan pa rnam kyis mos gus gso ba'i phyir cung zad cig mdor bsdus nas/ shākya'i sras kyi dge sbyong rgang los mtshur phur bris pa'o/*

4) Without title

Size 66 ff, one colophon, the work begins with [SW ka 139:3] *tshogs gnyis rab rzogs sku gsum lhun gyis grub/* It ends [SW ka 204:4] *sangs rgyas pa yin gsung/* At the beginning of the work, 139:6, we learn that it is an “account of the precious *bla ma*’s life, in one hundred and eight brief pieces” (*bla ma rin po che'i rnam par thar pa re'u mig brgya rtsa brgyad*). The colophon says that it was compiled by Kumarabodhi. It has been translated.⁹²

Colophon: [SW 204] *'gro ba'i mgon po de nyid kyi sku 'bag la rnam par thar pa brgya rtsa brgyad kyis bskor ba= shan shi ston sha'i yi yi [sic.] dam du bzhengs nas yod pa= slob dpon jo sras kyis gzigs pas mnyes nas= 'di dang 'thun pa'i lo rgyus yi ger bgyis cig gsung nas= 'di nyid la 'dris che ba'i rje'u'i rigs las rab tu byung pa'i spyan snga ba'i bhikṣu ku ma ra bo dhis gdan sa de nyid du sbyar ba'o// gcig zhus//*

* * *

[3] *Chos rje rin po che dus gsum mkhyen pa'i rnam par thar pa dgos 'dod kun 'byung*, “Account of Dharma-master Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa’s Life, Meets all Wishes and Wants”

Size 70 ff (folio sides), one colophon. The work begins with [SB ka 139:1] / *chos rnam kun gyi dam pa zhes bya ba/* It ends [SB ka 208:3-4] *chos kyi rje dpal ldan rin po che dus gsum mkhyen pa'i rnam par thar pa dgos 'dod kun 'byung zhes bya ba/* This account appears in the SB edition only, and not in the (older) SW and CW editions. According to the colophon, it is authored by Mkha’-spyod-pa-dri-med-dpal-ye-shes, also known as Zhwa-dmar II Mkha’-spyod-dbang-po (1350-1405). It was written at the mountain site Lkog-’brang, a place of practice frequented also by Pad-ma-’byung-gnas (Skt. Padmasambhava). DBRC holds another edition of this work.⁹³ The account was written ca. 200 years after Dūsum Khyenpa’s death.

Colophon: / *slob dpon chen po pad ma 'byung gnas kyi grub gnas lkog 'brang gi ri bor mkha' spyod pa dri med dpal ye shes kyis shin tu gus pa'i sgo nas bkod pa'o//*

* * *

[4] *Rje dus gsum mkhyen pa'i zhal chems*, “Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa’s Final Words”

Size 13 ff, introductory colophon, without separate title page, the work begins with [SW ka 205:1] *thams cad mkhyen pa la phyag 'thsal lo/* It ends [SW ka 218:1] ... *dgos 'dod phun sum tshogs pa 'byung pa'i yid bzhin gyi nor bu rin po che lta bu'i mchod sdong chen po gyur to//*

⁹⁰ The incomplete version is part of the *Bka' bgryud rnam thar rin chen gser gyi phreng ba*, BDRC W3CN674, *dbu med*, ff 658, main author Ye-shes rgyal mtshan, source note *Dpal-spungs-dgon nas byung ba*.

The Dūsum Khyenpa *rnam thar* is located in part *ja*, entitled, *Rin po che Kar ma pa Dbu se rnam thar* ff 323-396, and actually contains two *rnam thar*: an edited version of the *Gser gling* and the *Rnam thar brgya rtsa ma*. However, an important folio is missing which contains the end of the *Gser gling* and the beginning of the *Brgya rtsa ma*. The *Brgya rtsa ma* starts in the middle of verse 26 (verse 27 begins with “Lha rje ... gzigs”). The colophon in this case is brief: // *rgang lo ccha bas sbyar rdzogs so//*

⁹¹ *The First Karmapa*, “Dusum Khyenpa’s Spiritual Biography in Verse,” 223-8.

⁹² *The First Karmapa*, “Dusum Khyenpa’s Life Story in One Hundred and Eight Vignettes,” 85-131.

⁹³ BDRC W23928, Volume I, ff 435-504.

ithih rdzogs sho [sic.]// It is a record of the last days of the master's life, his final words, the cremation, and the process of the construction of the reliquary *stūpa*. Some of the details are similar to the *Gser gling*. The author is unknown, and the work has been translated.⁹⁴

Introductory colophon: / [SW ka 205: 1] ... *chos rje dus gsum mkhyen pa zhes mtshan nyi ma dang zla ba ltar grags pa de nyid sku yal ba'i dus ni glang lo'i stag zla'i tshes cig gi nyin par= dge bshes rtsang po ba= dpon 'dul dang= dpon grags seng dang grags rin dang dkon mchog rgyal mtshan dang= na 'un pa la sogs pa bsgres po nyung ngu sags nas zhal chems gsungs pa ni/*

* * *

[5] *Rje dus gsum mkhyen pa'i mdzad pa'i mu tig phreng ba* “String of Pearls [teachings] written by Master Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa”

Size 40 ff, four sections, Section 2, 3, and 4 have a colophon, the work begins with [SW ka 218:2] *byang chub sems mchog rab 'byongs tshogs gnyis rdzogs/* It ends [SW ka 257:3] *bsnyen gnas kyi cho ga bla ma rin po che'i gsung sgros yi ger bris pa rdzogs sho* [sic.]// This work comprises four teachings stemming from Dūsum Khyenpa. The works are talks or teachings (*gsung sgros*) put on paper by the master or by students. The teachings concern “going for refuge and generating *bodhicitta*,” (1 and 2) “dedications for the living and the deceased,” (3) and “fasting vows” (4). The work has been translated.⁹⁵ The four sections come without titles. The end titles are provided below:

Section 1, end title *skyabs su 'gro ba dang sems bskyed pa gsung*

Section 2, end title *skyabs su 'gro ba dang sems bskyed pa'i cho ga*

Colophon: *bla ma'i gsung sgros bris pa rdzogs*

Section 3, end title *gson po dang gshin po'i bsngo ba'i cho ga*

Colophon: *bla ma rin po che'i gsung sgros yi ger bkod rdzogs//*

Section 4, end title *bsnyen gnas kyi cho ga*

Colophon: *bla ma rin po che'i gsung sgros yi ger bris pa rdzogs so//*

* * *

[6] *Rje dus gsum mkhyen pa'i tshogs chos*, “Master Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa's Teachings to an Assembly”

Size 40 ff, five sections, end colophon, without separate title page, the work begins with [SW ka 259:1] *dus gsum gyi sangs rgyas thams cad kyis phrin las* It ends [SW ka 303:2] *nges par 'byung gyur cig//* The five sections have neither titles nor endtitles. They were translated as part of my earlier research,⁹⁶ and they were also translated earlier⁹⁷. The content concerns: (1) ‘directions for meditators,’ (2) ‘four dharmas important for practice,’ (3) ‘negative forces obstructing the way,’ (4) ‘four important qualities,’ and (5) ‘six requisites to attain buddhahood.’

The authorship is not clear. The end colophon says that the five teachings are the “words (*gsung*) of *bla ma Rin-po-che*.” If this is a statement written by author Dūsum Khyenpa, he

⁹⁴ *The First Karmapa*, “The Final Words of Dusum Khyenpa,” 259-66.

⁹⁵ *The First Karmapa*, “A Strand of Pearls,” 57-81: 1) A Ritual of Going for Refuge and Rousing Bodhicitta; 2) Dedications for the Living and the Deceased; 3) A Ritual for the Fasting Vows. This translation takes sections 1 and 2 as one work.

⁹⁶ See 1.1, “An outline of research on Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa.”

⁹⁷ *The First Karmapa*, “Dharma Talks,” 135-154.

probably refers to *bla ma* Lha-rje, his main teacher.⁹⁸ On the other hand, if the person who wrote the teachings down was one of his students, the student may have added, “Words of *bla ma* Rin-po-che (Düsum Khyenpa).”

Based on the more introductory content of the teachings, the “*i ti*” at the end of the colophon in this case probably means “ended.” A related sign, “*ithi*”, is written differently and applied elsewhere in the Collection.⁹⁹

Colophon: *bla ma rin po che'i gsung // i ti //*

* * *

[7] *Rje dus gsum mkhyen pa'i mgur 'bum*, “Master Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa’s Collected Songs”

Size 21 ff, five sections, no colophons, without separate title page. The work begins with [SW ka 305:1] *na mo ghu* [sic.] *ru/ 'og min gnas mchog dam pa na* It ends [SW ka 325:3] *lta sgom spyod pa 'bras bu bzhi'i sgo nas gsungs pa'o*/The sections contain all in all eleven songs / poems (*mgur*) composed by Düsum Khyenpa. I translated the last piece as part of my earlier research.¹⁰⁰ The eleven songs have also been translated by others.¹⁰¹ Interestingly enough, many of the *mgur* are specifically mentioned in the *Gser gling*. Recently, another manuscript of this *mgur 'bum* was published as part of a large collection of rare ancient manuscripts.¹⁰² The first page of this version of this edition of the *mgur 'bum* is reproduced below.

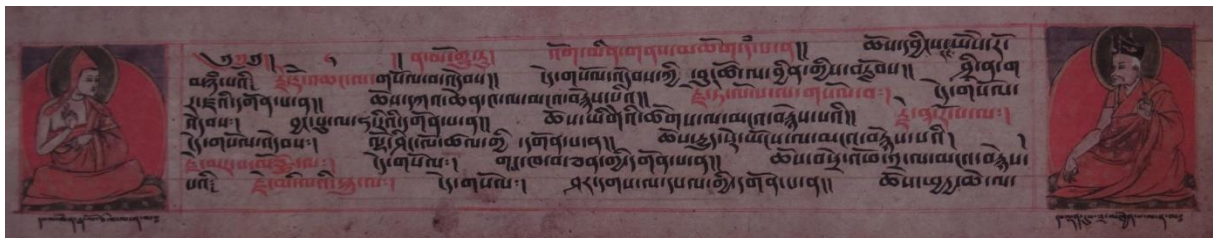


Figure 11 First page of the ancient Düsum Khyenpa *mgur 'bum*

⁹⁸ The name *bla ma rin po che* appears now and then in the text of the *Tshogs chos*, in these cases the name refers to *bla ma* Lha-rje.

⁹⁹ For a brief discussion of the term “*ithi*” and the aspect of “secrecy,” see 4.1, “Content, editions, origin, and authorship of the Collection.”

¹⁰⁰ See 1.1, “An outline of research on Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa.”

¹⁰¹ *The First Karma*, “A Collection of Songs,” 199-219.

¹⁰² The collection is entitled *Bod kyi snga rabs dam pa rnam kyis gsungs chos phyag bris ma rin chen gser phreng*, 40 volumes (Kan su’u rig gnas dpe skrun khang, ca. 2016), Volume 39, 164-175. Thanks to Matthew Kapstein for bringing this edition of the *mgur 'bum* to my attention.

Line below left picture illegible: ... *la na mah*



Figure 12 Detail at the right of the first page of the ancient Düsüm Khyenpa *mgur 'bum*
Inscription below the picture: *Dpal ldan Dus gsum mkhyen pa la na maḥ*

* * *

[8] Title page *Dus gsum mkhyen pa'i lnga tshan lnga las bde mchog lha lnga'i skor rnams*, “From the Five Sets [of works] on Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa’s Five [meditation deities, sets [8]-[11]], Works on Cakrasaṃvara (Bde-mchog), One of the Five”

It includes seven works:

1) *Bde mchog gi rgya gzhung*, “Cakrasaṃvara – ‘Indian fundamental text’ (*rgya gzhung*)”

Size 5 ff, many smaller letter type insertions and interlinear additions, one colophon, the work begins with [SW ka 328:1] *rgya gar skad du/ ekavīra shrī heruka sādhana nāma*¹⁰³/ *bod skad du/ dpa' bo cig pa he ru ka'i bsgrub thabs zhes bya ba* It ends [SW ka 332:2-3] *'di ni rang byung rdo rje yis btab pa lags so//* The work is a practice text from Indian origin (*rgya gzhung*) and belongs to the *sādhana* genre. In this case, the practice focuses on Śrī Heruka¹⁰⁴, which here refers to Cakrasaṃvara in a single form, *ekavīra (dpa' bo gcig pa)*, lit. a “solitary hero,” color black (*nag po*), one face, two arms, and more characteristics, the mantra of the deity is added, OM HRĪḤ HA HA HUḤ HUḤ PHATĪ¹⁰⁵.

The colophon says that *ācārya* Nāropa composed this *sādhana* on [Cakrasaṃvara] *ekavīra*, and that Rang-byung-rdo-rje, Karma-pa III, (1284-1339 C.E.) made annotations (*'bru ma*) to the work. Nāropa is one of many *mahāsiddhas* of India, and one of the teachers of Mar-pa Chos-kyi-blo-gros.

Colophon: [SW ka 332:1-3] *dpa' bo gcig pa'i sgrub thabs= slob dpon nā ro pas mdzad pa rdzogs so//* (in smaller letter type) *sngar gyi tshan^a des 'bru ma non 'dug pas= 'di ni rang byung rdo rje yis btab pa lags so// [tshan^a: tshan SW, mtshan CW,SB]*

¹⁰³ *sādhana nāma*, corrected, *sā dha nā ma SW*.

¹⁰⁴ Heruka, in tantric Buddhism, a generic name for a buddha in a wrathful (*krodha*) aspect, especially in the form of Cakrasaṃvara, either with or without consort.

For the etymology of Heruka and more, see Gray, *Cakrasaṃvara*, 40-54.

¹⁰⁵ In this Overview of the Collection, most of the mantras of the *sādhana*s are reproduced completely, though some only partial. Guideline in this has been that if the mantras were published earlier, such as for example in *Deities of Tibetan Buddhism*, the mantra is fully reproduced, if not then partial. Also, the Sanskrit writing of the mantras has been restored (!). This means, for example, that we will have VAJRA instead of BADZRA, VAIROCANA instead of BAI RO TSA NA, and VĀRĀHĪ instead of VA RĀ HI (or other Tibetan spelling variants).

2) **Bde mchog lha lnga'i mngon par rtogs pa**, “Calling to Mind (or visualization, *mngon rtogs*) of Cakrasaṃvara [one of the] Five deities.”

Size 12 ff, one colophon, the work begins with [SW ka 332:4] *guru la na mo/ dang po byang chub mchog tu sems bskyed de*= It ends [SW ka 343:4] *dpal he ru ka'i sgrub thabs rdzogs so//* The work is a *sādhana* in which one imagines oneself to be the glorious Heruka (Cakrasaṃvara), deep blue in color (*mthing ga*), one face, two arms, three eyes, and more characteristics, embraced by Vajrayoginī (Rdo-rje Rnal-'byor-ma), color red, *kartarī* (*gri gug*), and more characteristics, same mantra as before. The author is unknown.

The colophon says that the editor found (and we assume, corrected) a few errors (*nor 'khrul*) in what had been written or added to earlier by (Karmapa III) Rang-byung-rdo-rje, and he asks teachers and *dākinīs* (*bla ma mkha' 'gro*) for forgiveness in doing so.

Karmapa III Rang-byung-rdo-rje may have written the work or he may have added to an already existing *sādhana*.

Colophon: [SW 343:4] *sngon gyi las cung zad rang byung rdo rjes bsgrigs pa la nor 'khrul bla ma mkha' 'gro la bzod par gsol//*¹⁰⁶

3) **Bde mchog gi gtor ma'i cho ga**, “Ritual of [offering a] *gtor ma* (Skt. *bali*) to Cakrasaṃvara”

Size 5 ff, no colophon, the work begins [SW ka 343:5] *gu ru na mo/ dang por byang chub tu sems bskyed la* It ends [SW ka 348:3] *he ru ka'i gtor ma'i cho ga rdzogs so//* Manual for the rite of offering a *bali* (*gtor ma*) to Heruka [Cakrasaṃvara], same mantra as before. The author is unknown.

4) **Bde mchog gi sbyin sreg gi rgya gzhung**, “Cakrasaṃvara *homa* – Indian fundamental text”

Size 4 ff, one colophon, many interlinear additions are added, the work begins with [SW ka 348:4] *rgya gar skad du/ homavidhi*¹⁰⁷= *bod skad du/ sbyin bsreg gi cho ga/* It ends [SW ka 352:1-2] *dpal 'khor lo sdom pa'i sbyin sreg gi rim pa*=

This “Indian fundamental text” concerns the description of a “fire ritual” (*sbyin sreg*, Skt. *homa*). It belongs to the category of practice texts. The colophon says that *ācārya* Nāropa composed the work.

Colophon: [SW 352:2] *slob dpon nā ro pas mdzad pa rdzogs so//*

5) **Bde mchog gi nang gi mchod pa**, “Inner Offering to Cakrasaṃvara”

Size 5 ff, one colophon. The work begins with [SW ka 352:3] *bde chen rang bzhin gnyis med rol pa'i dpal*= It ends [SW ka 357:1] *nyams rtog 'bar bar the tshom med//* The work is a practice text, authored by Nāropa.

Colophon: [SW 357:1-2] *bla ma rje btsun rin po che nā ro pa'i bde mchog nang gi mchod pa rdzogs so//*

6) **Bde mchog gi zhi ba'i sbyin sreg**, “Cakrasaṃvara *homa* to pacify”

Size 3 ff, one colophon, the work begins with [SW ka 357:3] *gang zhig bsams pa'i don rnams 'grub mdzad pa/* It ends [SW ka 359:3] *bsams pa'i don rnams 'grub par nges*= The work is a *homa*, a fire ritual, authored by Nāropa, same Cakrasaṃvara mantra as before.

¹⁰⁶ CW:173v and SB:300:4 have a more extensive colophon: *dpal bde mchog gi mngon par rtogs pa las/ chos rje rang byung rdo rjes sngar gyi de las cung zad tsam bsgrigs pa la nor 'khrul gyur na bla ma mkha' 'gro la bzod par gsol//*

¹⁰⁷ *vidhi*, Skt. reconstructed SW *bhi ti*.

Colophon: / [SW 359:3-4] *bla ma nā ro pa* 'i bde mchog lha lnga 'i zhi ba 'i sbyin bsreg rdzogs sho [sic.]//

7) ***Bde mchog lha lnga 'i dbang gi cho ga nor bu 'i phreng ba***, “A Garland of Jewels: *Abhiṣeka* manual on Cakrasaṃvara [one of the group of] Five deities”

Size 23 ff, no colophon, the work begins with [SW ka 359:5] *bcom ldan 'das dpal 'khor lo bde mchog la phyag 'tshal lo*/ It ends [SW ka 382:5] *bcom ldan 'das bde mchog lha lnga 'i dbang gi cho ga rdzogs so*// Manual for the Cakrasaṃvara *abhiṣeka*, same mantra as before. In the very beginning of the text, we read that this Cakrasaṃvara was the meditation deity (*thugs dam*) of Nāropa, and that the *abhiṣeka* stage (*dbang bskur rim pa*) will now be described. There is no mention of an author's name.

* * *

[9] Title page ***Rje dus gsum mkhyen pa 'i thugs dam lnga tshan lnga las phag mo lha lnga 'i bskor***, “From the Five Sets on Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa's Five meditation deities [works [8]-[11]], Works on Vārāhī, One of the Five deities”

Three works are included:

1) ***Phag mo 'i rgya gzhung***, “Vārāhī – Indian fundamental text”

Size 1 f, no colophon. The work begins with [SW ka 384:1] *rgya gar skad du/ vajravārāhī sādhana*¹⁰⁸= *bod skad du= rdo rje phag mo 'i bsgrub thabs/ dpal rdo rje rnal 'byor ma la phyag 'tshal lo*/ It ends [SW ka 385:1] *mdor bsdu pa 'i rdo rje phag mo 'i bsgrub thabs rdzogs so*// The work is a very brief *sādhana* on Vajravārāhī. One imagines that one is Vajravārāhī, color red, one face, three eyes, naked, hair loose, our right arm holds a *kartarī*, the left a *kapāla* filled with blood, has a *khaṭvāṅga*, and so forth. The mantra begins with OM VAJRAVARĀHI AVEŚA ... and ends with SVĀHĀ. The author is unknown.

2) ***Phag mo lha lnga 'i sgrub thabs***, “*Sādhana* on Vārāhī, One of the Five deities”

Size 5 ff, one colophon, and transmission lineage. The work begins with [SW ka 385:2] *rje btsun rdo rje rnal 'byor ma la rim pa ...phyag 'tshal lo=* It ends [SW ka 389:1] *sgrub thabs rdzogs so*// At the beginning of the text we find that this is the *sādhana* on the one-faced *yoginī* (*rnal 'byor ma zhal gcig ma*) of Nāropa. The form of Vajravārāhī is basically the same as in the earlier *sādhana*, but now the image is much more detailed. More attributes are described, and what has to be called to mind is more complicated than before. The mantra begins with OM VAJRA VAIROCANIYE [...] and ends with PHAṬ SVĀHĀ. Later on, a second mantra is added. Even though it has the same beginning, it is longer and ends with KHĀHI.

The colophon says that this practice “realizes” the body, speech, and mind of Vajrayoginī. At the end of the colophon we find mention of a person called *bla ma Ka-dhi-ra-pa* (a person otherwise unidentified), who could have been the translator of the work. The author is unknown.

Colophon: / [SW 389:1-2] *dpal nā ro pa* 'i rdo rje rnal 'byor ma sku gsung thugs kyi brgyud mdzad ma 'i sgrub thabs rdzogs so// [in small letters:] *nā ro pan chen gyi brgyud bsdom pa rgya mtsho la brten nas 'di 'i bsgrub thabs 'di bla ma na ro pa 'i thugs dgongs rdzogs pa 'i phyir/ bla ma ka dhi ra pa* [CW bha ri ka, SB dha ri ka]//

Transmission lineage: [SW 389:2 in small letters:] *'di 'i brgyud pa ni= rdo rje 'chang= thang po pa* [CW,SB thang lo pa]/ *shing lo pa= karṇa ri pa= in dra ri pa= in dra bo te*

¹⁰⁸ vajravārāhī sādhana, corrected, *badzra va ra hi sādha na ma SW*.

[CW,SB *indra b o dhi*]= *nā ro pa*= *mar pa*= *mi la* [CW,SB *mid la*]= *dags po* [CW,SB *dwags po*]= *dus gsum mkhyen pa*= *'gro mgon ras chen*= *pom rag pa*[CW,SB *pom brag pa*]= *karma pa*= *gzhon nu rin chen*= *shar dgon pa*= *kun dga' od zer*= *bsod nams dpal*= *des bdag la'o*//¹⁰⁹

3) *Phag mo lha lnga'i dbang chog*, “*Abhiṣeka* rite on Vārāhī, One of the Five deities” Size 7 ff, no colophon. The work begins with [SW ka 389:3] *'gu* [sic.] *ru la na mo/ rje btsun rdo rje rnal 'byor ma la phyag 'tshal lo/* It ends [SW ka 396:2] *rje btsun ma'i gsang grub las dbang bskur ba'i cho ga rdzogs so/* Manual for the [Vajra]-vārāhī *abhiṣeka*. In this work three different names are applied for what seems to be the same deity: in the title we find [Vajra]-vārāhī ((Rdo-rje) Phag-mo), at the beginning of the text we find Lady Vajrayoginī (Rje-btsun Rdo-rje-rnal-'byor-ma, and at the end we find Lady (Rje-btsun-ma). In the 2 works above different names are also applied for the same deity. The author is unknown.

* * *

[10] Title page *Dgyes rdor lhan skyes*, “Hevajra Sahaja”
Three works are included:

1) *Dgyes rdor lhan skyes*, “Hevajra Sahaja”
Size 3 ff, no colophon. The work begins with [SW ka 398:1] *bcom ldan 'das dpal dgyes pa rdo rje la phyag 'tshal lo/* It ends [SW ka 401:1] *gtor ma sa gtsang sar bskyal lo/* The work is a *sādhana*. We imagine that there is a black HŪM in our heart centre and that we transform into Hevajra, our body is black, we have one face and two arms, and so forth. The mantra is OM TRAILOKYA KṢEPA HŪM HŪM HŪM PHAṬ SVĀHĀ. The author is unknown.

2) *Dgyes rdor lha lnga'i tshogs mchod*, “Ceremony on Hevajra, One of the Five deities”
Size 3 ff, no colophon, transmission lineage. The work begins with [SW ka 401:1] *na mo gu ru/ tshogs kyi mchod pa byed par 'dod pas/* It ends [SW ka 404:1] *dgyes pa rdo rje'i tshogs kyi mchod pa rdzogs so/* The work is a manual for a specific ceremony (*tshogs mchod*). It includes the earlier *sādhana*, but much more is provided, such as callin to mind Hevajra's retinue, consisting of Gaurī, Caurī, Baitālī and Padmarī, is called to mind, and more. The author is unknown.

Transmission lineage: [SW ka 404:1 small lettertype/editorial] *'di'i rgyud pa ni= rdo rje 'chang phyag na rdo rje= blo gros rin chen= sa ra ha pa= dril bu pa= yan lag med pa'i rdo rje= dga' ba'i rdo rje= rdo rje gdan pa/ a bha ya ka ra= vai ro tsā na= dus gsum mkhyen pa= pra dznyā kīrti*¹¹⁰= *rin chen 'bum= 'thab bla ma khams pa= bla ma 'jam dpal= shar dgon pa/ mkhan po kun dga' od zer= bsod nams dpal/ des bdag la'o*//

Many of the persons mentioned in this transmission lineage above, are portrayed on a specific ancient *thang ka* of which some details are reproduced below; the complete *thang ka* is reproduced at the end of work [29].

¹⁰⁹ *des bdag la'o*, trans. “he [bestowed it] on me,” for an interpretation of the phrase, see 4.1, “Content, editions, origin, and authorship of the Collection.”

¹¹⁰ *kīrti*, Skt. reconstructed, *ghir ti* SW, *kīrti* CW,SB.



Figure 13 Saraha (Sa-ra-ha-pa) and Ghaṇṭāpāda (Dril-bu-pa), details of an ancient *thang ka*, fully reproduced at the end of work [29]

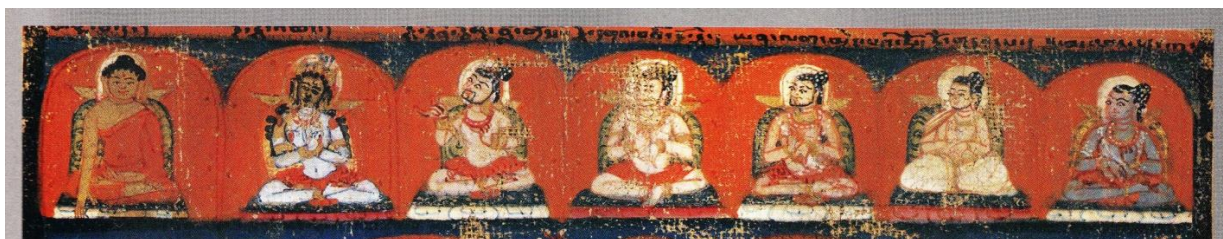


Figure 14 From left to right: Śākyamuni, Vajradhara (Rdo-rje-'chang), Ratnamati (Blo-gros-rin-chen), Anandavajra (Dga'-ba-rdo-rje), Anāṅgavajra (Yan-lag-med-pa-rdo-rje), Vajrāsana (Rdo-rje-gdan-pa), Abhayakara. Details of an ancient *thang ka*, fully reproduced at the end of work [29].

3) *Dgyes rdor gyi ting nge 'dzin gyi dbang bskur ba'i lag len*, “Taking the Hevajra *samādhi abhiṣeka*”

Size 7 ff, no colophon, transmission lineage. The work begins with [SW ka 404:3] *bla ma dam pa rnams la phyag 'tshal lo/* It ends [SW ka 410:1] *bcom ldan 'das dpal dgyes pa rdo rje'i ting nge 'dzin gyi sgo nas dbang bskur ba'i lag len ithi//* Manual for the Hevajra *abhiṣeka* (*dbang bskur*). The *ithi*, at the end may indicate “secrecy.” The author is unknown.

Transmission lineage: [SW ka 410:1] *rje btsun nā ro pas= mar pa lo tsā [CW,SB lotstsha] la gsungs= des mi la ras pa la/ des bla ma lha rje la/ des dus gsum mkhyen pa la= des pra dznyā kīrti¹¹¹ la= des rin chen 'bum la= des bla ma 'kham pa [CW, SB kham pa] la/ des bla ma 'ji dpal [CW,SB 'jam dpa'] la= des bsod nams dpal/ des bdag la 'o//*

* * *

[11] Title page *Sgrol ma lha lnga'i bskor rnams*, “Works on Tārā, One of the Five deities”
Two works are included:

1) *Sgrol ma'i rgya gzhung*, “Tārā – Indian fundamental text”

Size 5 ff, one colophon, transmission lineage. The work begins with [SW ka 412:1] *rgya gar skad du/ khadiravaṇī tārā¹¹² sādhana/ bod skad du/ seng ldeng nags kyi sgrol ma'i sgub thabs/ seng ldeng nags kyi sgrol ma la phyag 'tshal lo/* It ends [SW ka 416:3] *zhal zas rnams 'bul bar bya'o=* The work is a *sādhana* on Khadiravaṇī Tārā. Rje-btsun-ma Grol-ma, who is green (*ljang gu*), has one face and two arms. In her left hand she holds an *utpa la* [flower], from her right hand *bdud rtsi* flows out. We find the regular Tārā mantra OM TĀRE

¹¹¹ *kīrti*, Skt. reconstructed, *kirti* SW, *kirti* CW,SB.

¹¹² *khadiravaṇī tārā*, Skt. reconstructed, *kha di ra ma ni ta re* SW.

TUTTĀRE TURE SVĀHĀ, as well as an additional one which begins with OM ĀḤ HŪM TAREYE VAJRA PUṢPEYE ... and ends with SVĀHĀ.

The colophon says that ācārya Nāgārjuna composed the *sādhana*, and that a translator called Vairocāna translated it. Vairocāna is probably the same person as Vairocanavajra, a master from India, who visits Tibet in the twelfth century. As discussed in another chapter, Vairocanavajra had a close connection to *bla ma* Zhang (1122-93) and lived in the time of Dūsum Khyenpa. In the corpus of works *bla ma* Zhang wrote, we find, that Zhang composed a *rnam thar* of Vairocana, in which he includes a character portrait of the master.¹¹³

In the *Gser gling* we find that Bairo or Vairocanavajra was one Dūsum Khyenpa's teachers early in life, and that he received many *abhiṣekas* from him.

Colophon: [SW 416:5] *seng ldeng nags kyi sgrol ma* 'i *bsgrub thabs= slob dpon klu sgrub kyis mdzad pa rdzogs sho/ rnam par snang mdzad rdo rjes rang 'gyur du bsgyur ba'o/*

Transmission lineage: [SW 416:6] 'di rgyud pa ni= *slob dpon klu sgrub= klu'i byang chub= dga' rab rdo rje= rdo rje gdan pa= a bha ya ka ra= bai ro tsā na= dus gsum mkhyen pa= dbang phyug rdo rje= slob dpon yang dgon pa= slob dpon khams pa= 'jam dpal seng ge= shar dgon pa= mkhan po kun dga' od zer= bsod nams dpal= des la bdag la'o/ dge'o//*



Figure 15 Śrī Vajravairocana, detail of an ancient *thang ka*, fully reproduced at the end of work [29]

2) *Sgrol ma'i rjes gnang*¹¹⁴, “Authorization [to meditate] on Tārā”

Size 3 ff, no colophon. The work begins with [SW ka 417:2] *rje btsun ma 'phags ma sgrol ma la phyag 'tshal lo/* It ends [SW ka 420:3] *sgrol ma'i rjes gnang gi cho ga rdzogs sho//* This is a manual for granting *anujñā* (*rjes gnang*), the authorization to meditate on Tārā (Sgrol-ma) in general. Only the regular Tārā mantra is supplied. The author is unknown.

* * *

[12] Title page *Rta mgrin gyi rgya gzhung*¹¹⁵, “Hayagrīva – Indian fundamental text”

Three works are included:

1) Without title

Size 5 ff, one colophon. The work begins with [SW ka 422:1] *rgya gar skad du= shrī hayagrīva*¹¹⁶ *sādhana nāma/ bod skad du/ dpal rta mgrin gyi sgrub thabs zhes bya ba/* It ends

¹¹³ See Kurtis R. Schaeffer, “The Religious Career of Vairocanavajra – A Twelfth-Century Indian Buddhist Master from Dakṣiṇa Kośala,” *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 28 (2000): 361-384. The very worthwhile character portrait can be found on p. 368. The Tibetan title of the life story is *Bla ma Bhe ro pa'i rnam thar*. According to Schaeffer, Vairocana is short for Vairocanavajra or Vairocanaraksita. Schaeffer lists the writings and translations attributed to these two. Vairocanavajra should not be mistaken for the eighth century translator with the name Vairocana.

¹¹⁴ Corrected, originally *rjes snang* (SW endtitle *gnang*), CW, SB *gnang*; *rjes gnang*, “authorization.”

¹¹⁵ Corrected, originally *rgya bzhung*, CW, SB *rgya gzhung*.

[SW ka 426:2] *dpal rta mgrin gyi bsgrub thabs rdzogs sho// ghu rgya rgya//* This first work, of the set of three works, provides the Indian fundamental text, the *rgya gzhung*, as it begins with the traditional *rgya gar skad du ... bod skad du*. In the end title, we find that it is the *sādhana* on Hayagrīva. After the preparation, we imagine that we are the wrathful Hayagrīva, red in color, with three faces and four arms; the central face is red, the one on the right is blue (*sngo*), and the one on the left is white. A green horse head comes out from the top of the central face, looking upwards, with the sound of a horse coming out of its mouth. Hayagrīva is meditated upon in a *maṇḍala* which has four other deities. The Hayagrīva mantra is supplied, beginning with OM HA HA HI HI HRI HRI HŪM HŪM [...] and ending with PHAṬ. Later a second mantra is given: OM VAJRA KRODHA HAYAGRIVA HULU HULU HŪM PHAṬ.

The colophon says that the learned Śrī Dīpaṅkara from India composed the text, and that a monk named La-dzi-ta (Skt. Lajita) made the translation. Dīpaṅkara refers to Atiśa Śrī Dīpaṅkarajñāna (982-1054), also addressed as Jo-bo Rje.¹¹⁷

Colophon: [SW 426] // *rgya gar gyi mkhan po dpal mar me mdzad kyis mdzad pa rdzogs sho// bod kyi lo tstsha ba bhi kṣū la dzi tas bsgyur cing zhus te gtan la phab pa'o/*



Figure 16 Dpal-ldan Atiśa, detail of an ancient *thang ka*, fully reproduced at the end of work [29]

2) *Rta mgrin lha lnga'i mngon rtogs*, “Calling to mind of Hayagrīva, One of the Five deities”

Size 4 ff, no colophon, transmission lineage. The work begins with [SW ka 426:5] *'gu [sic.] ru na mo/ jo bos mdzad pa'i rta mgrin gyi sgrub thabs 'di la gnyis te/* and ends with [SW ka 430:1] *bcom ldan 'das dpal rta mgrin gyi mngon rtogs rdzogs so//* The title of the work says that it is a “calling to mind” or “visualization” of Hayagrīva. The beginning of the work explains that this is the second of the two *sādhana*s composed by Jo-bo [Atiśa on Hayagrīva]. Though the editing of the second differs slightly from the first, the content seems identical. The two mantras are also the same.

This second *sādhana* comes with a transmission lineage: [SW 430:1] *'di rgyud pa ni= jo bo a ti sha= tshul khriṃs rgyal ba= wal po chen po= lcags ri ko ba= dags po rin po che= duṣ gsum mkhyen pa= bla ma dbu ston pa= radna [sic.] gu ru= 'jam dpal seng ge= shar dgon pa= mkhan po kun dga' od zer= bsod nams dpal/ des bdag la'o//*

3) *Rta mgrin gyi rig gtad*¹¹⁸, “Introduction to Awareness by means of Hayagrīva”

¹¹⁶ Hayagrīva, Skt. reconstructed, *ha ya gr va SW*.

¹¹⁷ For a brief overview of Atiśa's life, see Sherburne, *The Complete Works of Atiśa, Śrī Dīpaṅkara jñāna*, Jo-bo-rje, *The Lamp for the Path, Commentary, and Twenty-five Key Texts*, trans. by Richard Sherburne (New Delhi: Aditya prakashan, 2000), Introduction, xv-xviii.

Size 12 ff, no colophon. The work begins with [SW ka 426:5] *bla ma rdo rje 'chang dang ni/ gdug pa 'dul mdzad rta mchog dpal/ dbang chen khro bo de la 'dud/* It ends [SW ka 442:3] *dpal rta mgrin lha lnga'i rig pa gtad pa'i cho ga rdzogs sho//* This is a manual to introduce students to Awareness (*rig pa*) by means of Hayagrīva. It includes an *abhiṣeka*. The author is unknown.

* * *

[13] Title page *Thugs dam zhal bzhi ma*, “Caturmukha meditation deity”

Two works are included, each including multiple sections:

- 1) *Rin po che'i thugs dam phag mo zhal bzhi ma*, “Caturmukha-vārāhī – [one of] Rin-po-che's meditation deities”¹¹⁹

Size 28 ff, it has eight sections, no colophon. At the end, transmission lineage data are offered. The work begins with [SW ka 444:1] *'gu [sic.] ru na mo/ sku gsum lhun grub rang bzhin gnyug ma'i dang / dngos grub mchog brnyes rje btsun bla ma dang / thabs dang shes rab gnyis med zung 'jug pa'i/ phag mo la sogs mkha' 'gro rnam la 'dud/* It ends [SW ka 472:2] // *ithi // khyad par can gyi chos rdzogs sho//*

According to the title, this work concerns Caturmukha-vārāhī, Four-faced [Vajra]-vārāhī. However, out of the seven sections on this practice, sections 1-5 concern Vajrayoginī. Vajravārāhī appears only in section 6, imagined as coming out of Vajrayoginī's heart. Section 7 is a purifying practice by means of Vajrayoginī without the four faces.

This particular Four-faced form of Vajravārāhī / Vajrayoginī seems to be rare, as I have not been able to trace her in other Collections or sources. Elizabeth English, in her study on Vajrayoginī discusses a twelve-armed form with four faces. In her description, both the colors of the four faces and the number of arms match with that provided in the work here. However, the attributes in the twelve hands do not correspond, and neither do other details.¹²⁰

The author of the practice related sections, sections 1-7, is probably Dūsum Khyenpa, as the title of the work and section 8 explicitly mention him.

In section 8, we find background-information, which contains, among other details, a transmission lineage. Here, it is said that the master received this special practice from the Indian *mahāsiddha* Indrabhūti¹²¹ in a visionary dream. Section 8 could have been put into words by the master himself or by one of his students.

Section 1, size 10 ff, begins with [SW ka 444:1] *'gu ru na mo/ sku gsum lhun grub rang bzhin gnyug ma'i dang /* It ends [SW ka 453:6] *jo mo zhal bzhi ma'i bsgrub thabs rdzogs sho// ithi//* According to the endtitle, the work is a *sādhana* on the Four-faced Lady. From Oḍḍiyāna (U-rgyan) we invite Vajrayoginī. She has four faces and twelve arms, and is surrounded by a *maṇḍala* of deities. Her body is red, her front face is red, her right face is yellow, her left face is green, and the one at the back is blue. She has three eyes and shows her

¹¹⁸ Corrected, originally *rigs btad* SW, *rig gtad* CW, SB. Compare endtitle: *dpal rta mgrin lha lnga'i rig pa gtad pa'i cho ga*.

¹¹⁹ The title applies a genitive, which could be translated as *the* [exclusive] meditation deity of Dūsum Khyenpa. However, considering the content of the whole Collection, he must have practiced on many other meditation deities as well. *Thugs dam* is the honorific of *yid dam*, here translated as the “meditation deity” by which the practitioner “makes contact” with him or her emptiness/awareness.

¹²⁰ Elizabeth English, *Vajrayoginī, Her Visualizations, Rituals, and Forms* (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2002), 54-9.

¹²¹ For references on *mahāsiddha* Indrabhūti, see fn. to [14] *Rnam bzhi rgyud grol*, of which the first part is authored by Indrabhūti.

teeth. Her head is ornamented with five dried skulls, and of the first set of arms, the right one holds a *kartarī*, and the left one a *kapāla*.

The mantra is OM OM OM SARVA BUDDHA DĀKINĪYE= VAJRA VARṆANĪYE= VAJRA VAIROCANĪYE= HŪṀ HŪṀ HŪṀ PHAṬ PHAṬ PHAṬ SVĀHĀ.¹²² In a later phase it is followed by another mantra of more than a hundred syllables, which begins with OM VAJRA VAIROCANĪYE¹²³= OM HRĪ HA HA HUM HUM BA LING TA KHA KHA KHĀ HI KHĀ HI= SARVA YAKṢA and ends with PHAṬ. The text closes with *ithi*, which may indicate secrecy.¹²⁴

Section 2, size 7 ff, begins with [SW ka 453:6] *rdo rje rnal 'byor ma la phyag 'tshal lo/ bcom ldan 'das ma zhal bzhi ma 'i sgo nas slob ma la dbang dang byin rlabs byed par 'dod na*= It ends [SW ka 460:4] *byin rlabs kyi rim pa rdzogs sho//* The second sentence informs us that the work contains the *abhiṣeka* (*dbang*) and blessing (*byin rlabs*) by means of the Four-faced female Victorious one.

Section 3, size 2 ff, begins with [SW ka 460:4] *rdo rje rnal 'byor ma la phyag 'tshal lo/ sngon 'gro gzhon nu ma 'i mchod pa bya 'o/ maṅḍala ye shes kyi mchod pa byed 'dod pas*= It ends [SW ka 462:4] *maṅḍala ye shes kyi mchod pa 'o// ithi //* It describes the offering of a *maṅḍala* to the youthful Vajrayoginī, to invoke her 'primordial awareness' (*ye shes*).

Section 4, size 2 ff, begins with [SW ka 462:4] *rdo rje rnal 'byor ma la phyag 'tshal lo/ sin dhu ra sngags kyi mchod pa byed par 'dod pas 'di ltar bya ste*= It ends [SW ka 464:5] *sin dhu ra sngags kyi mchod pa rdzogs sho//* This is a description of a practice in which after the appropriate beginning we invite the Four-faced Vajrayoginī from Oḍḍiyāna, she receives an offering from us and we merge with her.

Section 5, size 2 ff, begins with [SW ka 464:5] *rdo rje rnal 'byor ma la phyag 'tshal lo/* It ends [SW ka 467:1] *gzhon nu ma rten gyi mchod pa 'di= dbang bskur ba dang= maṅḍala ye shes kyi mchod pa dang= sin dhu ra sngags kyi mchod pa dang= rgyal po dbang du bya ba kun gyi sngon du 'gro ba yin gsung// ithi //* Apart from other details, we again invite the Four-faced Vajrayoginī from Oḍḍiyāna and merge with her.

Section 6, size 2 ff, begins with [SW ka 467:1] *rdo rje rnal 'byor ma la phyag 'tshal lo/ bzlas pa la brten nas sdig pa sbyang bar 'dod pas*= It ends [SW ka 469:2] *rgyal po dbang du bya ba 'i cho ga rdsogs sho// ithi //* This is a manual for a rite (*cho ga*) in which, in addition to other details, we again invite the Four-faced Vajrayoginī from Oḍḍiyāna and merge with her. From her heart centre, a *yogini* of a black color appears, having, the face of a sow (*phag zhal can gcig*), holding a *kartarī*. It is not clear if the sowface is a face in addition to the four faces or not. Another mantra than before is applied, which begins with OM ĀḤ VAIROCANĪYE VAJRA VĀRĀHĪ= and ends with A.

Section 7, size 1 f, begins with [SW ka 469:2] *rdo rje rnal 'byor ma la phyag 'tshal lo/ bzlas pa brten nas sdig pa sbyangs bar 'dod pas*= It ends [SW ka 470:3] *jo mo zhal bzhi ma 'i bsgrub thabs las tshogs dang bcas pa rdzogs sho//* At the beginning of the work, we find that

¹²² We find the same mantra OM OM OM SARVA BUDDHA DĀKINĪYE= etc. in the Vajravāhī *sādhana* in work [19] Without title, Section 1.

¹²³ Corrected, VAIROCANIYE SW.

¹²⁴ See the earlier discussion of the term *ithi* in 4.1, "Content, editions, origin, and authorship of the Collection."

this is a purifying practice (*sdig pa sbyangs*) for committed negative actions. Vajrayoginī (in general, without the four faces, etc.) is called to mind to purify all kind of negativity.

Section 8, size 2 ff, begins with [SW ka 470:3] *ghu* [sic.] *ru na mo/ bla ma rin po che stod lung gi mtshur phu do bo 'i dgon pa na bzhugs pa 'i dus su/* It ends [SW ka 472:2] ... *gsungs pa 'o// ithi // khyad par can gyi chos rdzogs sho// ghu rgya rgya//* The end of section 8 says that this is a special teaching. At the time that Düsüm Khyenpa (*bla ma rin po che*) was in Mtshur-phu do-bo monastery, towards the end of his life, he related background-information on this practice, indicating that it is supported by three sources:

1) The *Rgyud bla ma*, which is short for *Theg pa chen po rgyud bla ma 'i bstan bcos*, Skt. [Ratnagotra]-Mahāyāna-uttaratantra-śāstra, “Mahāyāna Highest Continuum Śāstra,” a work on *tathāgathagarbha* or buddha nature.

2) The *sdom pa rgya mtsho 'i rgyud*. I have not been able to identify this as a single work in Sanskrit literature, trans. “the Saṃvara-ocean-[like] tantra.”

3) *Phag mo mngon par 'byung ba 'i rgyud*, also not identified as a single work, trans. “tantras in which Vārāhī clearly manifests.”¹²⁵

This supports an observation made by English in her work on Vajrayoginī, namely that Vajrayoginī literature lacks its own tantras, drawing instead upon other tantras such as the Saṃvaratantras.¹²⁶

This so-called “special teaching” also presents a transmission lineage, from the Victorious Vajrayoginī up to Düsüm Khyenpa. Vajrayoginī explained the practice to U-rgyan-pa chen-po, from him it came to Dur-khrod-pa, then to Indra-bo-de bar-pa, and then to *bla ma Rin-po-che Dharmakīrti*¹²⁷ (Düsüm Khyenpa), who received it in one of his visionary dreams (*rmang lam*).

This is the first of two works on Jo-mo Zhal-bzhi-ma, it ends with the phrase *ghu rgya rgya*¹²⁸. *Ghu* is probably a corruption of the Sanskrit *guhya*, “secret,” because the CW and SB edition both read *guhya*. The addition *rgya rgya* could mean that the text is sealed.¹²⁹

After that phrase, we find the transmission lineage of the practice from Düsüm Khyenpa onward: [SW ka 472:2] *rje 'gro mgon ras pa= rin po che yong brag pa (CW,SB pom brag pa)= bla ma karmā pa nas brgyud pa 'o//*

2) Without title

Size, 41 ff, nine sections, one colophon in section 1, it begins with Section 1, [SW ka 472:3] *rdo rje rnal 'byor ma zhal bzhi ma 'i sgrub pa*, and ends with Section 9, [SW ka 512:4] *gtso mo 'i sngags ni gzhung bzhin gsal lo//* This second work of the *Thugs dam zhal bzhi ma* comes

¹²⁵ SW: de la brgyud pa ni= bde mchog nges par brjod pa 'i rgyud bla ma dang= sdom pa rgya mtsho 'i rgyud dang= phag mo mngon par 'byung ba 'i rgyud dang gsum la brten pa yin gsung/

¹²⁶ E. English in her work on *Vajrayoginī*, 6-7, makes the observation that “the practices of Vajrayoginī belong to the most developed phase of the yoginītantras. Vajrayoginī literature is unlike other systems within that class, however, in that it generally lacks its own tantras. It draws instead upon the scriptural texts of the Cakrasaṃvara cult: the Saṃvara-, or Saṃvaratantras.”

¹²⁷ Dharmakīrti, ordination name of Düsüm Khyenpa, Skt. reconstructed, *dharmā kīrti* SW.

¹²⁸ *ghu rgya rgya* SW, *gu hya* [] CW,SB.

¹²⁹ “sealed,” compare the observation by Carmen Meinert that in *gter ma* texts we find that *i ti* followed by *rgya rgya rgya* means “sealed, see the earlier discussion of the term in 4.1, “Content, editions, origin, and authorship of the Collection.”

without a title, though the recent *SB* edition calls it a “Cycle of works on Vajrayoginī” (*rdo rje rnal ’byor ma zhal bzhi ma ’i skor*). In it, we find additional material on the Four-faced Vajrayoginī.

Section 1, size 4 ff, begins with [*SW ka 472:3*] *rdo rje rnal ’byor ma zhal bzhi ma ’i sgrub pa ’i mngon par rtogs pa/ rgya gar skad du= śrī vajrayoginī caturmukha upadeśa nāma= bod skad du= dpal rdo rje rnal ’byor ma zhal bzhi ma zhal bzhi ma ’i man ngag zhes bya ba= dpal he ru ka la phyag ’tshal lo/ [...] rje btsun ma dang he ru ka ’i/ gnyis med go ’phangs thob ’dod pas=* It ends [*SW ka 475:6*] *dpal rdo rje rnal ’byor ma zhal bzhi ma ’i mngon par rtogs pa=* We find an Indian fundamental text (*rgya gzhung*) of a *sādhana* on Śrī Vajrayoginī-caturmukha, which deals with the accomplisher “calling to mind” (or visualizing) the Four-faced Vajrayoginī.” It is called a “key-instruction” (*man ngag Skt. āmnāya* or sometimes also *upadeśa*).¹³⁰

According to the colophon, it is ‘authored’ by *ācārya* Indrabodhi bar-pa (Indrabodhi “the middle”) of whom is said that he transmitted it to the “*Siddha yogin*” (Düsum Khyenpa) at Jalandhara charnelground. In section 8 of the previous work, it says this happened “in a (visionary) dream.” What is new here is that the practice is intended for whoever wants to attain the nondual level of Rje-btsun-ma and Heruka. These two were not combined earlier.

In contrast to the *sādhana* in section 1 of work *I*) on the Four-faced Vajrayoginī, only the first mantra appears, and not the second long one. The first mantra is also spelled slightly different, namely as: OM OM OM= SARVA BUDDHA ḌAKINI/ VAJRA ḌAKINI/ VAJRA VARṆANIYE/, the rest is identical.

The author or perhaps better the person who put the transmission into words is probably again Düsum Khyenpa, who is addressed here as the “*Siddha yogin*.” Section six supports his involvement in the composition of the texts, as it says that *bla ma* Rin-po-che (Düsum Khyenpa) did not write down the specific mantra.

Colophon: *slob dpon indra bo de* [*CW,SB indra bo dhi*] **bar pas** *gsungs pa= dur khrod dza land ha rar* [*Skt. Jalandhara grub thob rnal ’byor la gsungs pa ’o// ithi // bka’ rgya//* The final words of the colophon or text, // *ithi // bka’ rgya//*, may indicate secrecy.

Section 2, size 6 ff, begins with [*SW ka 477:1*] OM SVASTI= *ngos grub rin chen rgya mtsho nas/ gdul bya yid bzhin nor bu brnyes/* It ends [*SW ka 482:6*] *rdo rje rnal ’byor ma ’i mngon par rtogs pa ’i rim pa= lus lha ngag sngags yid rdzogs pa ’i rim pa ste/ ’khor lo gsum po ’di dang dus thams cad du mi ’bral bar bya ’o/ rdzogs sho//* This is a practice in which, after some stages, we imagine that we are the Four-faced Vajrayoginī with twelve arms. The details are *grosso modo* identical to what was specified in the first work, section 1. As for the red color of the body it is said, that it is like *sindūra* (*sin dhu ra*), or minium, red lead. A distinction is made between Vajrayoginī with a partner (*yab*), and without. The mantra is identical to the first mantra in the first work *I*), section 1.

Section 3, size 3 ff, begins with [*SW ka 482:6*] *bla ma yid* [*sic.*] *dam mkha’ ’gro ’i tshogs la/ gus pas btud de bha ling ’dod pas/* It ends [*SW ka 485:3*] *gtor ma ’i cho ga bkod pa rdzogs sho//* Here the Four-faced Vajrayoginī and her entourage are invited from Oḍdiyāna. We find a long mantra, a bit similar to the second long mantra, described in work *I*), section

¹³⁰ On *man ngag* and the related term *gdams ngag*, see Matthew Kapstein, “*gDams ngag*: Tibetan Technologies of the Self.” in *Tibetan Literature, Studies in Genre*, ed. José Ignacio Cabezon and Roger R. Jackson (New York: Snow Lion, 1996), 275-276.

The late Shamar Rinpoche, in *The Path to Awakening – A Commentary on Ja Chekawa Yeshe Dorje’s Seven Points of Mind Training* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass 2009), 8-11, translates the term *man ngag* with “key-instruction.”

1. It begins with OM VAJRA VAIROCANĪYE= HRIḤ HA HA HUḤ BHA LING TA KHA KHA KHĀ HI KHĀ HI= SARVA YAKṢA and ends with PHAṬ SVĀHĀ.

Section 4, size 8 ff, begins with [SW ka 485:3] *dpal rdo rje rnal 'byor ma la phyag 'tshal lo/ dpal rdo rje rnal 'byor ma'i sgo nas maṇḍala ye shes kyi pu tsa* [CW pū dza, Skt. pūja] *byed par 'dod pas/* It ends [SW ka 492:2] *rjes kyi chos brgyad kun maṇḍala ye shes ltar rdzogs par bya'o/ sin dhu ra sngags kyi mchod pa lag len bsgrigs pa rdzogs shō* (sic.)// The beginning says that it concerns a pūja in which the practitioner offers a 'primordial awareness' (*ye shes*) maṇḍala, by means of Śrī Vajrayoginī.

In addition to the pūja, it has a second part, beginning with [SW ka 490: 5] *badzra yo gi ni ni= 'gu ru na mo/ sin dhu ra sngags kyi mchod pa byed par 'dod pas/* Among other things, a dākinī appears on each petal of a fourpetalled lotus, In the east we find Vajradākinī, in the south Ratnaḍākinī, in the west Padmaḍākinī, and in the north Viśvaḍākinī.

Section 5, size 3 ff, begins with [SW ka 492:3] *badzra yo gi ni= 'gu ru na mo/ gzhon nu ma rten gyi mchod pa 'di gong gi mchod pa la sogs pa'i las rnams kun gyis sngon du 'gro ba ste=* It ends [SW ka 495:2] *ghon nu ma rten gyi pu tsa* [CW,SB pū dza, Skt. pūja] *zhes bya ba= pu zda dang rgyal po dbang du bya ba dang kun gyi sngon du 'gro ba'o/ rdzogs so//.* The end says, that it concerns a pūja on the "youthful lady" [Vajrayoginī]. Among many details, the Four-faced Vajrayoginī from Oḍḍiyāna is invited, and we merge with her.

Section 6, size 7 ff, begins with [SW ka 495:2] *shrī badzra yo gi ni/ ghu ru na mo/ rje btsun ma bzal bzhi ma'i sgo nas slob ma dbang bskur bar 'dod pas=* It ends [SW ka 501:4] *zhal bzhi ma'i sgo nas slob ma dbang skur* [sic.] *ba'i rim pa rdzogs sho//* Manual for the *abhiṣeka* by means of the Four-faced Lady, Śrī Vajrayoginī.

The text comes without the mantra. This could be explained by the fact that, at the end of the section, we find in small lettertype: *sngang* [CW,SB *sngags*] *kyi sems bskyed pa'i skor ni bla rin po che nyid kyi phyag bzhes su mdzad de yi ger ni ma bris so/.* In brief, it says, that as for the mantra, *bla ma* Rin-po-che did not write it down.

Section 7, size 1 f, begins with [SW ka 501:4] *bla ma rnams dang rdo rje rnal 'byor ma'i/ lha tshogs 'khor dang bcas la rab btud nas/* It ends [SW ka 502:6] *rgyal po dbang du bya ba yis/ 'gro rnams dbang du 'dus par shog//* After the preparation, from the Lady's (*gtso mo*) heart, Vajrayoginī appears, colored black, with a sow face (*phag zhal can*), *kartarī*, and so forth. The mantra begins with OM VAJRA VAIROCANIYE VAJRAVĀRĀHĪ= and ends with AVEŚAYA A A.

Section 8, size 1 f, begins with [SW ka 503:1] *na mo ghu ru/ bzlas pa la brten nas sgrib pa sbyong ba ni/* It ends [SW ka 504:2] *gzhan la phan par gyur cig/ 'di la shin du dam par mdzod// ithi //* Among more details, Vajrayoginī appears with her retinue, and we merge with her.

Section 9, size 9 ff, begins with [SW ka 504:2] *OM SVASTI/ zhal bzhi ma'i mngon rtogs kyi rten gzhal yas khang bsgom pa'i skabs su=* It ends [SW ka 512:4] *de ni gdong ma bzhi dang mtshams ma bzhi ste brgyasad kyi sngags so/ gtso mo'i sngags ni gzhung bzhin gsal lo//* This section describes the development of an extremely detailed image in the mind. At the end we find a very long mantra section which concerns the Four-faced Lady and her retinue of thirty-six *vīrīnīs* (*dpa' mo*). Thirty-six different mantras are specified, which correspond to the retinue of thirty-six *vīrīnīs*. Five sets of mantras are presented. The first set has four mantras which represent the four *mkha' 'gro ma*, the set begins with OM

ḌAKINĪYE HŪM HŪM PHATḌ= and so forth. The second, third and fourth set each have eight mantras, representing the mind, speech and body of the eight heroines. It is followed by a fifth set, containing mantras of the four *gdong ma* and the four *'tshams ma*.

* * *

[14] Title page *Rnam bzhi rgyud grol*, “Four Types [of Method] to Liberate the Mindstream”
Three works are included:

1) *Rnam bzhi rgyud grol* [end title]

Size 12 ff, one colophon, the work begins with [SW kha 2:1] *rgya gar skad du/ vicaturtantramukta*¹³¹ *nāma/ bod skad du/ rnam bzhi 'i rgyud grol zhes bya ba/ yang dag pa 'i bla ma rnams la phyag 'tshal lo/* It ends [SW kha 13:2] *zla dkyil yar gyi ngo bzhin rgyas par shog//* The work is a verse text of 231 lines. Lines 1-154 have seven syllables, 155-174 nine syllables, 175-227 seven, and 228- 231 nine syllables again. After an introduction, that includes reflections on impermanence, cause and effect, and *bodhicitta*, the text encourages the reader to apply *rdo rje theg pa* to attain buddhahood. After that, it gives some details on one of the methods to attain this (*grol byed thabs*), namely the one that works with *prāṇa* (*rlung gi sbyor*). As we will see, this method will be extensively discussed in the third work, which is Dūsum Khyenpa's commentary on the text.

Verse lines 165-174 provide the explanation of the title of this work. It says that there are four types of method, which correspond to four paths. There are four paths, to free the mindstream of four types of persons: persons of common faculties, medium faculties, high faculties, and ‘also high’ faculties. The four methods are “generation stage,” “inner heat,” “bliss,” and *mahāmudrā*.¹³² The remaining verse lines 175- 227 are a description of the last method, that of *mahāmudrā*.

The *Vicaturtantramukta* could be called a *rgya gzhung* because the first line refers to a Sanskrit original (*rgya gar skad du*). The term *rgya gzhung* does not appear in the most ancient *dbu med* SW edition. The most recent edition, the SB edition (2013) does include the term in the overall title of the set of three works: *Rnam bzhi rgyud grol gyi rgya gzhung dang khrid yig gi skor*.

¹³¹ *vicaturtantramukta*, Skt. reconstructed, SW *vi tsa tur tantra mug ta*.

¹³² The Four methods: verseline165: lam [SW kha 10:1] *bzhi thabs kyi nram pa bzhi po yis// gang zag bzhi po 'i rgyud ni grol bar byad [byed CW,SB]// tha mal bskyed pa 'i rim pa lha sku la// [10:2] gsal dang dag dang snang bar 'char ba 'o// dbang po 'bring gis thabs lam gtum mo bsgom// rlung gis nram rtog bde bar [10:3] bsgyur byed pa 'o// rab kyi thabs ni bde ba lam du byed// dpa' mo 'i lam ni logs su shes par bya// dbang po yang rab phyag rgya chen [10:4] po yi// verseline 174 cig chod lam gyis sku gsum mngon ngu 'gyur//*
Translation:

[I] [Who possesses] common [faculties should meditate on] the ‘generation stage’; in the body of the deity [everything] emerges luminously, pure and bright.

[II] [Who has] medium faculties should cultivate [or practice] *gtum mo*, part of the ‘Way of methods,’ in which *prāṇa* transforms discursive thoughts into bliss.

[III] The method [for who has] high [faculties] takes bliss as the path; the path of the *vīrīnī* (*dpa' mo*) should be practiced aside.

[IV] [For who has] faculties also high, by means of the supreme ‘single cut’ path of *mahāmudrā* the three *kāyas* will manifest.

According to the colophon, the work is attributed to King Indrabhuti “the middle,” who is one of the Great Perfected (*mahāsiddhas*) from India.¹³³ Indrabhuti already appeared in two other works of the Collection, namely works 1) and 2) of [13], *Thugs dam zhal bzhi ma*.

Colophon: [SW *kha* 13:3] *rnam bzhi rgyud grol zhes bya ba rgyal po indra bhu ti bar pas mdzad pa rdzogs sho//*

2) Without title

Size 7 ff, no colophon, it begins with [SW *kha* 13:4] *e ma hoḥ 'gro mgon byams pa 'i rtsal stobs can// bstan pa 'i sgron me rin po che// rang sems chos skur ston mdzad pa//* It ends [SW *kha* 20:6] *rgya gar lha phyogs na thugs rje chen po 'i rnal 'byor pa cig kyang yod [21:1] gsung ngo// dge bar gyur cig//* After an introductory verse of eight lines, we find a story which is rather similar in content to Chapter 15.2 of the *Gser gling*. In my translation, I gave it the title “An Elaborate Story on Appearing to a Specific Student” to the story. Chapter 15.2 is probably an edited version of the work at hand. In short, it relates how a specific student miraculously meets Dharmakīrti, *bla ma* Dbu-se (Düsum Khyenpa), who then gives him the *Rnam bzhi rgyud grol* as a text to study or/and to practice. The author is unknown.

3) Without title

Size 47 ff, no colophon, transmission lineage, the work begins about the same as work 1) [SW *kha* 21:1] *rgya gar skad du/ vicaturtantramukta nāma*¹³⁴ */ bod skad du/ rnam bzhi rgyud grol zhes bya ba/ yang dag pa 'i bla ma rnams la phyag 'tshal lo//* It ends [SW *kha* 67:4] *rnam bzhi rgyud 'grol zhes bya ba zab mo 'i don mthar thug pa rdzogs sho//* The content of this work is a commentary on the *Rnam bzhi rgyud 'grol*, and at the end, it states that it contains the profound meaning (*zab mo 'i don*) of the *Rnam bzhi rgyud 'grol*. The SB edition actually calls it a commentary (*khrid*), even though we do not find that word in the text itself. In the work, we find most of the lines of the verse text, followed by an explanation of the citation. However, more than half of the commentary (27 ff) focuses on a description of the *caṇḍalī* practice. From about SW 30, corresponding to verse line 91, we find an elaborate description on how to stop *prāṇa* (*rlung*). It is said [SW 30:3-5] that *samsāra* is generated by discursive thoughts that grasp onto a self. *Prāṇa* depends on or is related to discursive thoughts, and therefore, when *prāṇa* is interrupted the discursive thoughts are interrupted. The instruction (*gdams ngag*) on how to this is threefold: 1) the preliminaries (*sngon du 'gro ba*), 2) the accomplishment approach, the ‘thing itself’ (*dngos gzhi*), and 3) the training afterwards (*bslab bya rjes*).

The preliminaries are divided into three as well: a) ‘dwelling’ (*brten pa*) in the *bindu* (*thig le*), ‘dwelling’ in the *nāḍī* (*rtsa*), and c) ‘dwelling in *prāṇa* (*rlung*), each of which is explained. The practices apply the *nāḍī*, the inner ‘channels,’ again divided into three: a) the central ‘channel,’ the *avadhūtī*, b) the right side ‘channel,’ the *rasanā*, and c) the left side ‘channel,’ the *lalanā*. All the *nāḍī* are described in detail.

The second part of the instruction is the main part, and is called, literally ‘the ‘thing itself.’ It is divided into a) raising *caṇḍalī*, b) how to profit from it (*bogs dbyung ba*), c) signs (*rtags*), d) *samādhi*-focus (*ting nge 'dzin ngos gzung*), and e) ancillaries (*zhar la byung ba*), each accompanied again followed by detailed explanations. With regard to *samādhi*-focus, five different types of *samādhi* are described with different kinds of results, followed by a discussion of benefits. In the ancillaries portion, we find a description of two practices. The

¹³³ Dowman, *Masters of Mahāmudrā*, Indrabhūti, the Enlightened Siddha King, 229-237, or Toni Schmid, *The Eighty-five Siddhas* (Stockholm: Statens Etnografiska Museum, 1985), 38-44.

¹³⁴ *Vicaturtantramukta nāma*, Skt. reconstructed, SW ... *mug ta nāmaḥ*.

first is the *grong du 'jug pa*. The second is called *lba bas bubs su nub par 'gyur*, in which the *prāṇa* is drawn downward, followed by expelling it in a 'long-short' way.

The third part of the instruction, the training afterwards, is divided into two components: a) 'behavior' towards certain types of food and advice for body, speech, and mind, and b) eliminating that which what might arise from confusion and obstructive thoughts. Part b) is divided into [I] eliminating *prāṇa* flaws, and [II] eliminating *bindu* flaws. Part b) [I] is divided again into three, which is divided again, and so forth. The actual *caṇḍalī* practice description of the work ends at about SW 57.

Above, in the brief discussion of the verse text of the *Rnam bzhi rgyud grol*, it was noted that verse lines 175-227 are a description of *mahāmudrā*. In the commentary this corresponds with what follows at about SW 57:3-4.

The author of the commentary is probably Düsüm Khyenpa, though this is not supported by a colophon. In the transmission lineage, he is listed directly after Indrabodhi.

Transmission lineage: [SW *kha* 67:4]/ 'di yi brgyud pa ni/ rgyal po *indra bo dhi bar pas*= *bla ma rin po che dus gsum mkhyen pa la gnang*= *des rje rin po che gangs dkar ba*¹³⁵ *la gnang*= *des bla ma rin po che ratnakirti*¹³⁶ *la gnang ngo// des bdag dge ba la gnang ba'o//*



Figure 17 *Mahāsiddha* Indrabhūti, detail of a mural of in all more than 60 *mahāsiddhas*, monastery of the late Lobpön Tsechu Rinpoche, Swayambhu, Kathmandu, 2014. The name Indrabhūti (not visible here) is written under the picture on the wall. (Photo: Thomas Ament)

¹³⁵ Gangs-dkar-ba, see Roerich, *Blue Annals*, 518-9, student of Düsüm Khyenpa, Gangs-pa, a native from Gya-bar (1175-1249), ordination name Rin-chen-'od -zer; Gya-pa Gangs-pa, third abbot after Düsüm Khyenpa of 'Tshur-phu monastery.

¹³⁶ Ratnakīrti, Tib. Rin-chen-grags, see Roerich, *Blue Annals*, 519, abbot of 'Tshur-phu monastery after Gangs-pa. "When Rin-chen-grags was occupying the chair, Kar-ma Pa-si (sic.) came from Khams and occupied the chair." Karma Pakshi (1206-83), Karma-pa II.

* * *

[15] Title page **Rnal 'byor ma'i gsang bsgrub**, “Yoginī – secret practices”

Size 69 ff, fifteen sections, section 1 and 14 have a colophon, section 1, 8 and 9 a transmission lineage. The work begins with [SW kha 70:1] *rgya gar skad du/ śrī vajrayoginī guhya sādhana nāma/ bod skad du/* It ends [SW kha 138:5] *rje btsun bla ma rin po che'i zhal gyi gdams pa rdzogs sho// dge'o//* What we find here is a cycle of works, which the SB edition calls *Dpal rdo rje rnal 'byor ma'i gsang sgrub kyi skor/ bsdoms/*, “Cycle of Vajrayoginī secret practices.”

Section 1, size 12 ff, one colophon plus transmission lineage, the section begins with [SW kha 70:1] *rgya gar skad du/ śrī vajrayoginī¹³⁷ guhya sādhana nāma¹³⁸/ bod skad du/ dpal rdo rje rnal 'byor ma'i gsang ba'i sgrub thabs zhes bya ba= dpal rdo rje rnal 'byor ma la phyag 'tshal lo// [1] shin tub de ba rgyas mdzad ma// ... [3] dngos grub lhan skyes ster mdzad ma//* It ends [SW kha 80:6] *mchog gi dngos grub thob par shog//* The work is an Indian fundamental text (*rgya gzhung*) *sādhana* which focuses on Śrī Vajrayoginī. The work is in verse, with verse lines of seven syllables each, except for the mantras. Now and then interlinear remarks are added.

After the preparation, one imagines to be Vajrayoginī with one face and two arms. We learn that the arms represent the ‘two truths’ (*paramārthasatya* and *saṃvṛttisatya*). The color of the body is red, which is said to symbolize great compassion. It is naked, indicating that we are not ‘clothed’ by the stains of *samsāra*, it has three eyes, and the hair is loose. Vajrayoginī is adorned with five *kapālas* representing the five classes (of Buddhas), and has a necklace of fifty wet *kapālas*, referring to the fifty ‘*du byed*. The right hand holds a *kartarī*, the left a *kapāla* filled with blood, symbolizing that *siddhi* is granted to the fortunate ones. Vajrayoginī has a *khaṭvāṅga*, is very beautiful, and has more characteristics. Many details are ‘called to mind’ in this practice. Several mantras are applied, such as OM VAJRA VAIROCANIYE HARINISA HŪM PHAṬ, *che ge mo VAJRA VĀRĀHĪ AVEŚAYA A A*, and about five more *che ge mos*.

The colophon to the work says that it should be practiced at a secluded place, that it comes from Vajradhara and the *dākinī*[s], and that Tilopa, having obtained it, kept it in his mind. As for the author, it is said that the *sādhana* is composed by Nāropa. In the transmission lineage, we find that Nāropa passed it on to Marpa, and so forth.

Colophon: [SW kha 80:6] *dpal rdo rje rnal 'byor ma gsang ba'i bsgrub thabs shin du sbas pa'i gnas su gyur pa= rdo rje 'chang dang mkha' 'gro ma'i zhal nas= rab tu rnyed nas ti lo pa'i thugs la byon pa/ rnal 'byor dbang phyug nā ro pas mdzad pa rdzogs sho//*

Transmission lineage: [SW kha 81:2] *nā ro pas dur khrod du rje lo tstsha ba chen po mar pa lho brag pa la gnang ngo= des mi la la= des bla ma lha rje la= des dus gsum mkhyen pa la= des bla ma dbang rdo rje la= des bla ma mkhas ston la= des bla ma la= des glan dharma shākya¹³⁹ la gnang pa'o/ de la bdag gis zhus pa lags so//*

Section 2, size 8 ff, begins with [SW kha 81:5] *śrī dharmakīrti¹⁴⁰ namo/ rdo rje rnal 'byor ma'i bsnyen pa sngon du song ba cig gis= zhi ba'i sbyin bsreg ci rigs par bya'o/* It ends [SW kha 90:1] *ting nge 'dzin gyi spro bsdu yang dang yang du byas pas myur du 'grub*

¹³⁷ *vajrayoginī*, corrected, *vajrayogi* SW, *vajrayoginī* CW,SB.

¹³⁸ *Śrī vajrayoginī guhya sādhana nāma*, Skt. reconstructed, ... *sā dha na ma* SW.

¹³⁹ Corrected, *shākya* SW, *shākya* CW,SB.

¹⁴⁰ Corrected, *dharmakīrti* SW,CW, *dharmakīrti* SB. Without further fn. also corrected at other places.

pa yin no/ gsung ngo// The work is an elaborate *sādhana* focusing on Vajrayoginī . What seems to be new here is that compared to earlier *sādhana*s in the Collection, this is the first time the “root *bla ma*” (*rtsa ba’i bla ma*) is included in the practice [SW 84:2]. He is also “called to mind” and it is described how he appears in front of us: the color of his body is white, he has a fine complexion, perfect light shines out of him, and his face is smiling.

The work begins with “Homage to Śrī Dharmakīrti (Düsum Khyenpa).” The fact that the work begins like this, may indicate that it was composed by someone else. No details on authorship are found.

We find several mantras, such as OM VAJRA VAIROCANĪYE HŪM PHAT SVĀHĀ, and OM VAJRA VAIROCANIYE HARINISA HŪM PHAT SVĀHĀ, and OM VAJRA VĀRĀHĪ¹⁴¹ AVEŚAYA A ĀḤ. The end of the *sādhana* says that, when done again and again, it will lead *samādhi* to spread out quickly.

Section 3, size 2 ff, begins with [SW *kha* 90:1] OM SVASTI¹⁴² SIDDHAM / *dpal rdo rje rnal ’byor ma la gnas pas= gnas khyad par can du rdul tshon ...* It ends [SW *kha* 92:2] *rdul tshon bsdu nas chur dor ro/ ithiḥ*. This is a manual for a rite in which a colored sand *maṇḍala* is made, which at the end is thrown into the water. *Balis* (*gtor ma*) are also offered, one to Vajrayoginī, one to the Dharma protectors, and so forth. The *ithiḥ* at the end may indicate secrecy. The author is unknown.

Section 4, size 2 ff, begins with [SW *kha* 92:2] *rnal ’byor ma’i ting nge ’dzin ldan pas=* It ends [SW *kha* 93:5] *mthar thug sems nyid gtan la phab nas mchog gi dngos grub thob po// ithi //* The work describes a practice to obtain Vajrayoginī’s *samādhi*, and it includes *prāṇa* elements. The author is unknown.

Section 5, size 15 ff, begins with [SW *kha* 93:5] OM SVASTI SIDDHAM= *rnal ’byor ma’i bsam gtan nyams su len par ’dod pas/* It ends [SW *kha* 108:4] *’od gsal stong pa nyid bde chen chos kyi sku mngon du gyur pa yin no//* The beginning of this section says that it concerns a practice for whoever wishes to gain Vajrayoginī’s *dhyāna*. The work is an elaborate *sādhana* in which many things are called to mind. As in section 2, the *bla ma* is integrated in the practice. As for the *bla ma*, we find that [SW *kha* 96:1] white “primordial awareness” (*ye shes*) beams of light come from the place between his eyebrows, melt with us at the top of our head (*spyi gtsug*), and purify all obscurations of the body. Red beams of light come from his mouth, melt with us at our throat, and purify all obscurations of speech. Blue beams of light come from his heart, melt with us at our heart, and purify all obscurations of mind. After that, from the locations above, the beams of light spread out together and melt at our three places. After some details, we should think that we transform into Vajrayoginī with the *bla ma* on top of our head, the color of our body is black, the hair on our head is bound upwards, our ‘principal’ eye (*spyan rtsa*) is red, our right hand holds a *vajra* at the heart, the left makes the *tarjanī* gesture, and we are in dancing posture. Many more details follow. Later [SW *kha* 99:4] the *bla ma* is imagined to be present again, and now from his heart, light beams spread out which gather all nondual primordial awareness of body, speech and mind of all the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas of the three times and ten directions and all *yoginīs*. Somewhat later, this all comes into us and the *sādhana* continues. The practice comes without a mantra section. The last seven folios describe a specific *prāṇa* practice and an *āmnāya*, “key-instruction” (*man ngag*) for this is added. No author information is provided.

¹⁴¹ Corrected, BHA RA HI (SW), VA RĀ HI, (CW,SB). In CW,SB the mantra ends differently.

¹⁴² Corrected, SVOSTI (SW), SVASTI (CW), SVASTĪ (SB).

Section 6, size 6 ff, begins with [SW kha 108:4] *bla ma rin po che'i zhal nas/ lta ba nyams myong lam* It ends [SW kha 115:1] *sku gsum gyis sems can gyi don rdzogs par 'gyur ro//* According to the first sentence, this work especially discusses “the view, the avenue [to gain] experience.” It begins with a brief introduction (in small letters), which says that we have the “relative” (*kun rdzob*, Skt. *saṃvṛtti*) *yoginī* with certain characteristics, and the “absolute” (*don dam*, Skt. *paramārtha*) *yoginī* of *dharmatā*.

As for the relative *yoginī*, her body has a color, she has (one or more) faces, (two or more) arms, ornaments, a seat, and more characteristics to meditate upon, and that we should do. The “absolute” *yoginī* does not arise for it is *dharmatā*. In the absolute, there is no essence whatsoever, no meditator and no meditation.¹⁴³

In addition to the “view” or the “philosophical perspective” (*lta ba*), other matters are also discussed, such as ‘how to hold the view,’ meditation (*bsgom pa*), conduct or action (*spyod pa*), and result (*'bras bu*). As for the view itself, it is said:

“It is to know all phenomena that exist in *samsāra* and *nirvāṇa*, the whole world, as ‘mind itself’ (*rang gi sems*). That mind is primordial, pure by nature, not affected by bad or wrong, not ornamented by good qualities, is emptiness/compassion/discriminative wisdom, free from characteristics or signs, words uttered, or concepts remembered. It is bringing the nondual experience of awareness and empty-[ness], bliss and empty-[ness], luminosity and empty-[ness], onto the path.”¹⁴⁴

With regard to “how to hold” the view, it is advised to bring *everything* onto the path. As for thoughts, for example, we find that they come up out of emptiness and dissolve back into emptiness again. They are like clouds appearing in the sky, and dissolving back into it. At the end of the section, we read that for a person with the highest faculties, even the view itself “dissolves,” and that:

“For such a person [...], all view, meditation, action and result, are ‘mind’; [he or she] knows mind itself, luminosity, ‘absolute truth’ (*don dam pa bden pa, paramārthasatya*).¹⁴⁵

The phrase at the beginning “*bla ma rin po che* said,” may refer to one of Dūsum Khyenpa’s students, who may have taken notes of the master’s teachings, or it may refer to one of the master’s own teachers, e.g. *bla ma* Lha-rje, in which case Dūsum Khyenpa was the one who wrote down the text.

Section 7, size 2 ff, begins with [SW kha 115:1] *bla ma dam pa rin po che la phyag 'tshal lo/ 'dir rdo rje rnal 'byor ma'i man ngag la= rang dang snang ba sgyu mar rtogs par byed pa ni=* It ends [SW kha 117:4] *de rmi lam lam du byed pa'i man ngag go//* It contains a key-instruction (*man ngag*) of a practice in which both Vajrayoginī and the *bla ma* are called

¹⁴³ SW kha 108:4 ... *spyir kun rdzob tu rtags kyi rnal 'byor ma= don dam du chos nyid kyi rnal 'byor ma yin gsung= de yang dang po ni= rnal 'byor ma'i sku mdog zhal phyag rgyan dang gdan la sogs pa= nges pa can la zer te= bsgom yod kyang bya ba yin= don dam gyi rnal 'byor ma ni chos nyid skye ba med pa'o/ don dam par ci'i ngo bo yang grub pa med pa= bsgom med bya ba yin= de ltar yin pas nyams su len dgos gsung ngo /*

¹⁴⁴ SW kha 110:4 ... *de la lta ba ni= spyi snang srid 'khor 'das kyis bsdu pa'i chos thams cad rang gi sems su shes shing= sems de yang gdod ma nas rang bzhin gyis rnam par dag ste= nyes pa'i skyon gyis gos su med= legs pa'i yon tan gyis rgyan du med= mtshan pa'i dpe dang= brjod pa'i tshig dang= dmigs pa'i dran pa dang bral ba'i stong pa nyid snying rje thabs dang shes rab= rig pa dang stong pa= bde ba dang stong pa= gsal ba dang stong pa gnyis su [med par nyams su, SB] myong ba de lam du khyer ba'o*

¹⁴⁵ SW kha 114:4 ... *dbang po rab ni de ltar rtogs pa'i gang zag de ni= lta ba dang bsgom pa spyod pa dang 'bras bu thams cad sems su shes= sems nyid 'od gsal don dam pa'i bden par shes pa=*

to mind. This practice brings dreams onto the path of the practitioner. No author information is given.

Section 8, size 6 ff, transmission lineage, begins with [SW kha 117:4] *'chi ga'i shes pa 'od gsal du 'char bar byed par la= spyir phyag rgya chen po dang= rmi lam gyi rtsal 'byongs pa cig gis mngon du gyur te=* It ends [SW kha 124:2] *thun zhabs la gshegs su gsol bar bya'o// ithi //* The work concerns the arising of “to be aware – luminosity” (*shes pa 'od gsal*) at the moment of death. It says, that generally this luminosity becomes manifest to one who is trained in *mahāmudrā* and dream-[yoga]. A vivid, red standing form of Vajrayoginī is introduced and the *bla ma* is again present. This section has a profound exposition on luminosity, buddhahood, awareness (*rig pa*) and primordial awareness (*ye shes*). It is followed by two separate sections of instruction. The first concerns the “transference of consciousness” (*rnam shes 'pho ba'i gdams ngag*), and the second concerns a special form of transference of consciousness (*rnam shes grong du 'jug pa'i sgo nas 'pho ba*).

As for the first, [SW kha 120:4] one calls to mind the body of Vajrayoginī, the *avadhūtī* (*rtsa dbu ma*), which is the central channel, more is called to mind. It ends with *'pho ba'i man ngag ngo*.

In the second, the *grong du 'jug pa*, [SW kha 123:2], one is again Vajrayoginī / *bla ma* but this practice also includes *prāṇa* elements.

The *ithi* at the end of the work may indicate secrecy. This is supported by the transmission lineage which says at the end that is a very secret instruction. It also says that it belongs to the “mind-essence”¹⁴⁶, the “oral lineage” (*snyan rgyud*) of Dharmakīrti (Düsum Khyenpa).

Transmission lineage: [SW kha 124:2] *dpal ldan dharmakīrti'i snyan rgyud [de yan chad yin ... med]¹⁴⁷ thugs kyi snying khung 'di= **dharmasīlas** bdag la gnang= shin du [sic.] gsang bar yang yang gdams pa'o//*

Section 9, size 6 ff, transmission lineage, begins with [SW kha 124:4] *bla ma chos rje rin po che la phyag 'tshal lo= rje btsun ma 'di nyams su len par 'dod pas=* It ends [SW kha 130:3] *de ni gtor ma'i rim pa'o//* This work is a practice in which, after the preparation, we have a generation stage (*bskyed pa'i rim pa, utpattikrama*) in which we are Lady (Rje-btsun-ma) Vajrayoginī. The color of our body is *sindūra*-red, we have one face, two arms, and three eyes, are naked, our right hand holds a *kartarī*, the left a *kapāla* filled with blood, we have a *khaṭvāṅga* and more. The generation stage (end at 126:6) is followed by a completion stage (*rdzogs pa'i rim pa, niṣpannakrama*) in which we call to mind the *avadhūtī*, apply *prāṇa* elements and end with *mahāmudrā*. Then comes a recitation (*bzlas pa*) part, in which, within a new small generation phase, the syllables OM VAJRA VAIROCANIYE HŪM PHAṬ SVĀHĀ are repeated. It is followed by the offering of a *bali* which is described in detail. Besides the main form Rje-btsun-ma, who is invited from U-rgyan, all Bka'-brgyud *bla mas* are imagined to be present as well.

The colophon says that the work contains the experience stage of the One-faced Lady and that it was shared by *bla ma Rin-po-che*. This could refer to Düsum Khyenpa or *bla ma Lha-rje*. It may have been put down into words by one of the two or by a student. The colophon further says that it was transmitted by Düsum Khyenpa to the “learned dharma-master” (person unidentified) at Karma Yang monastery.

Colophon and transmission lineage: *bla ma rin po che'i zhal nas gsungs pa'i rje btsun ma zhal cig ma'i nyams su blang ba'i rim pa'o// **ratna dharmakīrti**s chos rje rin po che mkhas pa la karma yang dgon du gnang ba'o//*

¹⁴⁶ *thugs kyi snying khung SW, thugs kyi nying khu SB; Das: nying khu, “essence.”*

¹⁴⁷ *[de yan chad yin ... med]* illegible SW, [] CW, *[de yan chad yi ge med]* SB.

Section 10, size 3 ff, begins with [SW kha 130:5] *na mo 'gu ru= dang po nyal ba'i rnal 'byor ni=* It ends [SW kha 133:3] *sems can thams cad bdag gi snying gi dkyil du gzbug par bgyi'o//* The work very briefly describes six spiritual practices or yogas (*rnal 'byor*): 1) “resting yoga” (*rnyal ba'i rnal 'byor*); 2) “yoga against aversion” (*sdang ba'i rnal 'byor*); 3) “not to be pervaded by thoughts yoga” (*bsam gyis mi khyab pa'i rnal 'byor*); 4) “activity between sessions yoga” (*thun mtshams su spyod lam gyi rnal 'byor*); 5) “yoga on the *bla ma*” (*bla ma'i rnal 'byor*); and 6) “immeasurable yoga” (*tshad med pa'i rnal 'byor*).

With regard to the fifth yoga, the *bla ma' rnal byor*, it is said that one should think of one's “heart teacher” (*rtsa ba'i bla ma*) and all other teachers and melt with them. One should know [or realize or/and recognize] that [their] nature is that of all Buddhas of the three times, and our faith and respect (*dad gus*) should be strong while focusing on them. No author information is provided on yogas 1-6.

Section 11, size 1 f, begins with [SW kha 133:3] *na mo 'gu ru= tsha tsha 'debs par 'dod pas=* It ends [SW kha 134:1] *tsha tsha man ngag go//* The work is a key-instruction (*man ngag*) on making Vajrayoginī *tsha tshas* (Skt. *sācchas*), which are miniature conical figures. The instruction says that one should begin to meditate that one is the One-faced [Lady Vajrayoginī]. After this it is described how to produce them from clay (*'bi 'bi*). When the figures are finished we think of them as Vajrayoginīs, and they should be consecrated as her body, speech and mind. The text says that the clay represents *dharmakāya*, the act of putting them into the mould *sambhogakāya*, and the actual laying out *nirmāṇakāya*. The author is unknown.

Section 12, size 1 f, begins with [SW kha 134:1] *na mo gu ru= zhal cig ma'i bskor ba byed par 'dod pas* It ends [SW kha 134:5] *bskor ba'i man ngag go//* The work is a key-instruction on a practice in which one imagines to circumambulate the One-faced [Lady Vajrayoginī] and an immeasurable number of heros, heroines, *bla mas*, Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, all residing inside a building. They melt with our body, speech and mind and while “circumambulating,” we think or find that all our negativity is cleansed. The author is unknown.

Section 13, size 2 ff, begins with [SW kha 134:5] *bla ma dam pa rnam la phyag 'tshal lo/* It ends [SW kha 136:5] *gsang ba bla na med pa'i gtor ma'o//* The work seems to be an instruction on how to ward off a certain class of spirits, *stong 'dre*, when one meditates in the wilderness. Again, one imagines that one is the One-faced [Lady Vajrayoginī] and on the top of the head are all the Bka'-brgyud *bla mas*, Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. What is special here is that one calls to mind that *rje bstun* Dharmakīrti (Düsum Khyenpa) is on one's forehead. His right hand holds a *ḍāmaru* signifying that with its sound he controls all nonhuman beings (*mi ma yin*), while the left hand has the forefinger stretched out (*sdigs mdzub*) which is the *tarjanī* gesture.¹⁴⁸ One imagines that from the hearts of Düsum Khyenpa, the One-faced Lady, and oneself, light spreads out which consumes all nonhuman beings. Then, another class of spirits is introduced the *gnyan po*. To ward off these spirits, four types of *bali* (*gtor ma*) are recommended: outer, inner, secret and unsurpassed, and each is briefly described. The secret one involves the three *nāḍīs*, the *gtum mo* practice and bliss. The unsurpassed *bali* also applies the three *nāḍīs* but has additional elements.

¹⁴⁸ *sdigs mdzub*, see e.g. *Deities Tibetan Buddhism*, 575 and 581. It is a gesture of threat also applied by protector deities, indicating their wrath and the terror it instills in all demonic enemies; e.g. the gesture is found in the iconography of Black Hayagrīva.

Section 14, size 1 f, one colophon, begins with [SW kha 136:5] *zhal cig ma'i dus rgyun gyi bsnyen pa byed par 'dod nas*= It ends [SW kha 137:4] *'khor bar bsam zhing bzlas pa bya'o//* The work briefly describes a practice on how to approach One-faced [Vajrayoginī] at all times. We first call to mind that we are Vajrayoginī, followed by a generation stage. We then receive the blessing of body, speech and mind.

The colophon says that the instruction became clear to Düsüm Khyenpa at Gzhu'i-gra-ma-gru-bzhi.¹⁴⁹ It is the name of a place or hermitage where the master lived from about 1152-1160. The precise location of Gzhu-gru-bzhi is unknown, but it is located in the region Tsā-ri. The name Gangs-kar-ba is probably short for Gangs-dkar-ba, one of the master's students in two transmission lineages of works¹⁵⁰. The author is probably Düsüm Khyenpa or Gangs-dkar-ba.

Colophon: [SW kha 137:4] *'di ni gzhu'i gra ma (bra ma CW, SB) gru bzhi ru dus gsum mkhyen pa la zhal gdams mngon gngang ba'o// gangs kar (dkar SB) ba rang tha mal du bzhed= dbang rdo rje rang rnal 'byor mar bzhed do//*

Section 15, size 1 f, begins with [SW kha 137:5] *rdo rje rnal 'byor ma la phyag 'tshal lo/ sdig pa sbyang ba'i phyir rgyun du bzlas pa byed na*= It ends [SW kha 138:5] *rdo rje rnal 'byor ma'i sdig pa sbyang ba'i cho ga= rje btsun bla ma rin po che 'i zhal gyi gdams pa rdzogs sho// dge'o//* The work is a condensed version of the Vajrayoginī *sādhana*, with the special purpose to cleanse the mindstream from negativity. After the preparation we call to mind that we are Vajrayoginī and while we repeat her heartsyllables, our negativity is cleansed.

At the end we find that it is an instruction by Düsüm Khyenpa. It may have been written down by himself or a student.

* * *

[16] *Phag mo'i bstod pa rol pa'i 'phreng ba*, “Vajravārāhī praises – a Playful Garland”

Size 4 ff, two sections, section 1 has a colophon. The work begins with [SW kha 139:1] *rgya gar skad du= vajravārāhīstotalalitāmālānāma*¹⁵¹ / *bod skad du/* It ends [SW kha 142:6] *bcu'i bstod pa rdzogs so//*

Section 1, size 2 ff, one colophon, begins with [SW kha 139:1] *rgya gar skad du= vajravārāhīstotalalitāmālānāma/ bod skad du/ rdo rje phag mo'i bstod pa rol pa'i phreng ba zhes bya ba= rdo rje phag mo la phyag 'tshal lo/* It ends [SW kha 140:6] *stong nyid ngang nas nyams kyi dbang thob shog=* The work is an Indian fundamental text (*rgya gzhung*) in verse and has thirty verse lines of nine syllables each. It is a detailed description of what Vajravārāhī looks like, also relating the symbolic meaning of all the details. For example, in verse lines 10 and 11 it is said, that her “left face,” probably the front face, is wrathful and signifies ‘relative [truth]’ (*kun rdzob*). The face on the right, probably the one on top at the right, is that of a sow and signifies ‘nonconceptual absolute [truth]’ (*don dam rtog med*).¹⁵²

¹⁴⁹ Gzhu'i-gra-ma-gru-bzhi is spelled throughout the *Gser gling* as Gzhu-gru-bzhi. This is the only case in the Collection that the location is spelled as Gzhu'i-gra-ma-gru-bzhi.

¹⁵⁰ Gangs-dkar-ba, directly after Düsüm Khyenpa in two transmission lineages: *Rnam bzhi rgyud grol (des rje rin po che gangs dkar ba la gngang)* and *Bla ma'i gtum mo (des chos rje gangs dkar ba la gngang)*.

¹⁵¹ *vajravārāhīstotalalitāmālānāma*, Skt. reconstruct., *badzra va ra hi sto tra la lī ta mā la na ma*, SW.

¹⁵² SW 139:5, [10] *kun rdzob tshul ston zhal g-yon khro mo ste* = [11] *don dam rtog med g-yas pa phag gdong zhal=*

The colophon says, that it is a playful poem / song (*mgur*) composed by Dpal 'Bir-ba-pa, from a vision he had of being in Oddiyāna. Dpal 'Bir-ba-pa could be *mahāsiddha* Virūpa.¹⁵³

Colophon: [SW *kha* 141:1] *rdō rje phag mo* 'i *bstod pa rol pa* 'i *phreng ba zhes bya ba*= *u rgyan gyi gnas su tshogs gral du*= *dpal 'bir ba bas zhal gzigs nas/ de* 'i *dus su rol pas mgur du bzhengs pa/ rdzogs so//*

Section 2, size 2 ff, begins with [SW *kha* 141:2] *chos kyi dbyings kyi pho brang nas/* It ends [SW *kha* 142:6] *tshigs su spyad*¹⁵⁴ (*bcad CW,SB*) *pa bcu* 'i *bstod pa rdzogs so//* Again we have a verse text, this time consisting of forty verselines of more or less seven syllables each. We do not find the expression *rgya gar skad du* in this text. The content describes that the Lady (*rje btsun ma*) has two faces. Some lines are quite similar to the section above. For example, the lines on the two faces, the wrathful and the sow face, together with the two types of truth, are now found in lines 5-7. In addition to the verse text in the section above, from specific seed syllables (*bīja*), six forms appear: 1) a copper colored Vārāhī, 2) light blue Yāminī,¹⁵⁵ 3) conch colored Mohanī,¹⁵⁶ 4) yellow Santrāsini,¹⁵⁷ 5) green Sreg-byed-ma,¹⁵⁸ and 6) smoke colored Caṇḍikā.¹⁵⁹

* * *

[17] *Zhal gnyis ma* 'i *mngon rtogs*, “Calling to mind the ‘Two-faced female’ [Vajravārāhī]” Size 25 ff, begins with [SW *kha* 143:1] *sangs rgyas kun gyi rang bzhin sku/ rdo rje rnal 'byor ma yin ngo bo nyid/* It ends [SW *kha* 167:5] *slob ma 'khrid na yang 'di kho na bzhin du nyams su len pa yin no// ithi*= This work is a lengthy instruction on spiritual practices which focus on the “Two-faced female,” which is Vajravārāhī.

It begins with an introduction explaining that teachings on the “Noble Lady” (Jo-mo Rje-btsun-ma) are to be divided into common *sādhanas* (*thun mong gi bsgrub thabs*) and uncommon *sādhanas*. Within the common *sādhanas*, there are two categories: the “actual common *sādhana*,” and “what follows, the mantras.” Actual common *sādhanas* are further divided into nine so-called ‘pure ones’ (*dag pa rnams dgu*). The nine include:

- 1) Outer purification [with focus on] ‘relative’ Yoginī (*phyi dag par byed pa kun rdzob kyi rnal 'byor ma*);
- 2) Inner purification [with focus on] ‘absolute’ (*don dam pa*) Yoginī;
- 3) Secret purification [with focus on relative and absolute] ‘unified’ (*zung 'jug*) Yoginī (, which falls apart into three, 4-6);
- 4) Purity of things (*rdzas kyi dag pa*);
- 5) Purity of sound, lit. mantra (*sngags kyi dag pa*);
- 6) Purity of *samādhi* (*ting nge 'dzin gyi dag pa*), which is further divided into three, constituting 7-9 below;
- 7) Meditation on a pure body as an immeasurable mansion;
- 8) Meditation on pure speech as a wheel of mantras;
- 9) Meditation on Yoginī as pure mind (*gid dag pa*).

¹⁵³ David Jackson, *Patron and Painter*, 156: 'bir ba pa, Virūpa.

¹⁵⁴ *spyad*, problematic *y-yad*.

¹⁵⁵ Yāminī, Skt. reconstructed, *ya ma ni* SW,CW,SB, compare No. 63 *Tibetan Deities*.

¹⁵⁶ Mohanī, *rmongs byed ma*, No. 64 *Tib. Deities*.

¹⁵⁷ Santrāsini, *skrag byed ma*, No. 65 *Tib. Deities*, however in *Deities* green instead of yellow.

¹⁵⁸ Sreg-byed-ma, Skt. unidentified.

¹⁵⁹ Caṇḍikā, Skt. reconstructed, *tsaṇḍi ka*, SW,CW,SB, No. 67 *Tib. Deities*, also No. 355 Caṇḍikā, attendant of the Four-armed Mahākāla. LC, *caṇḍi ka*, second entry, female attendant (*anucarā*) of the Four-armed protector *mgon po phyag bzhi pa* 'i 'khor lha mo, *caturbhujamahākālānucarā devā caṇḍikā*.

Sādhanas 4-6 are briefly discussed, followed by *sādhana* 7 in which [SW kha 148:1-2] Vajravārāhī appears in front of us, together with the *bla ma*. Vajravārāhī is surrounded by the ‘five armor deities’ (*go cha ’i lha mo drug*), making a total of six. Earlier, in the verse text of section 2 of work [16], these six were also mentioned, but without the qualification of ‘armor deities.’ Later, the six are specified in more detail, showing some differences from what we had before.¹⁶⁰

The rest of this extensive work discusses the many aspects of the practice. The supplied mantra is OM VAJRA ḌAKINIYE HŪṂ HŪṂ PHAṬ SVĀHĀ. Two more mantras are interlinear added: OM VAJRA YOGINĪYE HŪṂ HŪṂ PHAṬ and OM VAJRA VAIROCANĪYE HŪṂ HŪṂ PHAṬ SVĀHĀ

At the beginning it is said, that the explanations come from Rin-po-che (*bla ma rin po che ’i zhal nas*), who could have been *bla ma* Lha-rje or Düsüm Khyenpa. In the first case Düsüm Khyenpa may have written down the text. In the second case, it would have been one of his students.

* * *

[18] Title page *Dpal rdo rje rnal ’byor ma ’i gsang bsgrub rje btsun mo lhan skyes*,

“Glorious Vajrayoginī – secret practices – Lady¹⁶¹ Sahaja”

Size 46 ff, seven sections, section 1 has a colophon. The work begins with [SW kha 170:1] *rgya gar skad du*= It ends [SW kha 225:5] *dpal rdo rje rnal ’byor ma ’i bsgrub pa pos= bgegs dang gnod pa bsal ba ’i gdams nnag gi rim pa rdzogs so// // maṅgalam bhavantu/ śubham/*

The Collection has another work with the term *gsang bsgrub* in the title, namely [15] *Rnal ’byor ma ’i gsang bsgrub*, “Yoginī – secret practices,” fifteen sections.

The SB edition offers for the title: *Dpal rdo rje rnal ’byor ma ’i sgrub thabs dang rje btsun ma lhan skyes jo mo ’i rgyus sogs gyi skor*.

Section 1, size 6 ff, one colophon, begins with [SW kha 170:1] *rgya gar skad du= śrīvajrayoginīguhyasādhananāma*¹⁶²/ *bod skad du/ dpal rdo rje rnal ’byor ma ’i gsang bsgrub zhes bya ba/ rje btsun ma rdo rje rnal ’byor ma phyag ’tshal lo/ [1] mchog dang thun mong dngos grub ni//* It ends [SW kha 175:4] [122] *thugs rje ’gag pa med par ’char*. The work is an Indian fundamental text (*rgya gzhung*) *sādhana*. It is composed in verse and has 122 verselines of seven syllables each. In line [37] we find that the practice focuses on the ‘wrathful one-faced female with two arms’ (*khro mo zhal gcig phyag gnyis ma*). Interestingly enough, we do not find the term *lhan skyes* (Skt. *sahaja*) in the *sādhana* itself. The term *lhan skyes* is found in the *sādhana* of work [15], Section 1, and in that context, the two arms of the deity represented relative and absolute truth. It is possible that *lhan skyes*, in the present context means Yoginī, ‘arising together’ with the *ḍākinīs*, see Section 3.

The content of the text differs considerably from that of work [15], section 1, it is half of the size, and the mantra is also different: OM VAJRA VAIROCANĪYE HARINISA= RINIHASA NIRIHASA SANIRIHA

Both texts, work [15], section 1, and here [18], section 1, have, according to the colophons, the same author Nāropa.

¹⁶⁰ Here at SW kha 155:3-4 we have Vārāhī (*phag mo*) red; Yāminī (*gshin rje ma*) black; Mohanī (*rmongs byed ma*) white; Santrāsiniī (*skrag byed ma*) yellow; Sañcālīnī, *bskyod byed ma* green, No. 66 *Tib. Deities*; Caṇḍikā (*gtum mo*) smoke colored.

¹⁶¹ “Lady,” *rje btsun mo*, possibly a playful combination of two words: *rje btsun ma*, noble lady, and *btsun mo*, beauty, queen. LC *rje btsun ma*, Skt. *bhaṭṭārikā*; MW *bhaṭṭārikā*, ‘noble lady’ or ‘tutelary deity.’

¹⁶² *śrīvajrayoginīguhyasādhananāma*, Skt. reconstructed, ... *yo gi ni ... sa dha na ma* SW.

Colophon section 1: [SB kha 175: 5] *dpal rdo rje rnal 'byor ma'i gsang bsgrub slob dpon chen po na ro pas mdzad pa rdzogs so// paṇḍita de nyid dang bod kyi lo tsa ba mar pa chos kyi blo gros kyis seng ldeng thug po'i nags gseb tu bsgyur zhing zhus te gtan la phab pa'o//*

Section 2, size 6 ff, begins with [SW kha 175:6] *dpal rdo rje rnal 'byor ma la phyag 'tshal lo/ rje bstun mar pa lo tsa ba chen po des gung lo bcu gsum la/ las stod myu gu lung du 'brog mi śākya ye shes la/ sgra dang yig tshangs mang du bslabs nas gung lo bcva lnga la bal yul du byon te/* It ends [SW kha 182:1] *'gro don dpag tu med pa mdzad= thugs dam gyi gtso bo yin gsung// de la bla ma rin po che karma pa zhus//* It contains a brief history of Marpa, his journeys to Nepal and India, and the teachers he had, such as Nāropa and Maitrīpa. It describes how Bka'-brgyud teachings were obtained, among others Hevajra, 'mother and father' tantras (*ma rgyud pha rgyud*), and the Mahāmāya tantra. It also describes the transmission lineage of the instructions of the Secret practice – Lady Sahaja (*gsang bsgrub lhan cig skyes ma'i gdams ngag*). We find that the practice is also called Dākinī Sahaja (*mkha' 'gro ma lhan cig skyes ma*) and that the lineage is Nāro-pa, Mar-pa, Mi-la-ras-pa, Dvags-po Rin-po-che, Khams-pa Se-bo (the Grey Khams-pa, Dūsum Khyenpa), Pom-brag-pa, Karma-pa (probably Karma-pa II, Karma Pakshi 1206-83). At the end we find, that [Lady Sahaja] is the foremost [method to] connect with 'mind' (*thugs dam*, honorific of *yid dam*) in order to benefit beings.

Section 3, size 27 ff, [SW kha 182:3] *dpal rdo rje rnal 'byor ma la phyag 'tshal lo/ rje bstun rnal 'byor ma'i gsang bsgrub nyams su len par 'dod pa'i rnal 'byor pas=* It ends [SW kha 209:2] *rje btsun rdo rje rnal 'byor ma gsang bsgrub kyi zhal gyi gdams pa rdzogs so//* The end of the text says that it is an oral instruction (*zhal gyi gdams pa*) on Lady Vajrayoginī – secret practice. It is a detailed explanation of the *rgya gzhung* in section 1. After some introductory lines, we find that Vajrayoginī is surrounded by four *ḍākinīs*, Vajraḍākinī, Ratnaḍākinī, Padmaḍākinī and Karmaḍākinī, each placed in the four directions. *Ye shes sems dpa's* are invited and they merge with Vajrayoginī and the *ḍākinīs*. Offerings are made of *dhūpa*, *ālōka*, *gandha*, etc.¹⁶³. Then another stage begins, in which transform into Vajrayoginī. A red HRĪḤ is in our heart, and we stand in the middle of an immeasurable triangular palace. Our two arms symbolize uniting *upāya* and *prajñā*. They hold a *kartarī* and a *kapāla*. We are in dancing posture, have a *khaṭvāṅga*, and are of age sixteen. Our three eyes stand for us knowing the three times (past, present and future). Then comes a next stage, in which we call to mind that at the top of our head (*spyi bo*), from the syllable HA, Vajraḍākinī appears, sky-blue in color; from our throat, from a RI, Ratnaḍākinī, yellow in color; from our heart, from a NI, Padmaḍākinī, colored red; and from our navel, from a SA, Karmaḍākinī, colored green. Many more details and stages follow, including *prāṇa* elements, and applications. We find the mantra OM VAJRA VAIROCANĪYE HARINISA, but not the extension as was the case in section 1. No author information is provided.

Section 4, size 8 ff, begins with [SW kha 209:3] *dpal rdo rje rnal 'byor ma la phyag 'tshal lo/ rje bstun ma'i gsang bsgrub kyi sgo nas slob ma rdzes su gzung ba ni=* It ends [SW kha 217:2] *rje bstun ma'i gsang sgrub kyi dbang bskur ba'i cho ga rdzogs shō//* The text is a manual for the 'Lady – secret practice' *abhiṣeka*. The author is unknown.

Section 5, size 4 ff, begins with [SW kha 217:3] *dpal rdo rje rnal 'byor ma la phyag 'tshal lo/ rje bstun ma'i dus bzangs kyi mchod pa byed par 'dod pas=* It ends [SW kha 221:4] *rje bstun ma'i dus bzangs kyi mchod pa rdzogs sho//* At the beginning it says that this is for

¹⁶³ Sanskrit reconstructed.

who wishes to perform a *dus bzang(s)*¹⁶⁴ offering, possibly a ritual to promote good circumstances. A specific mantra is supplied, which begins with OM U CITTA ... and ends with SVĀHĀ. The author is unknown.

Section 6, size 2 ff, begins with [SW kha 221:5] *dpal rdo rje rnal 'byor ma la phyag 'tshal lo/ 'gro ba mi dang longs spyod dbang du bsdu ba ni*= It ends [SW kha 223:6] *rje btsun ma'i bsgrub pa pos 'gro ba dbang du 'du ba'i gdams ngag rdzogs sho*// If I understand this correctly, it is an instruction on how the practitioner could gain control of beings, persons and resources. The instruction describes how to integrate this in the Lady practice. Two specific mantras are supplied, both begin with OM VAJRA VAIROCANĪYE HARINISA ... , one ends with JAḤ, the other with HO. The author is unknown.

Section 7, size 2 ff, begins with [SW kha 224:1] *dpal rdo rje rnal 'byor ma la phyag 'tshal lo/ rang dang gzhan gyi bgegs kyi gnod pa bsal bar 'dod pas* It ends [SW kha 225:5] *bgegs dang gnod pa bsal ba'i gdam ngag gi rim pa rdzogs shō// maṅgalam bhavantu*¹⁶⁵/*śubham*¹⁶⁶/ It is an instruction on how to eliminate hindrances and harm (or the harm of hindrances) in oneself or others, as for example in the case of sickness (*nad*). The instruction is integrated in the Lady practice. A specific mantra is supplied, which begins with OM VAJRA VAIROCANĪYE HARINISA= ... and ends with SVĀHĀ. The author is unknown.

* * *

[19] Without title

A number of texts, which, based on the content, are presented together as a set.¹⁶⁷ It has fifteen sections in all. Sections 1, 3 and 15 have a colophon. An appropriate title could be “More instructions on Vajrayoginī practices.” The set begins with [SW kha 227:1] *rje btsun rdo rje rnal 'byor ma la phyag 'tshal lo/* It ends [SW kha 316:5] *don du mdzad pa rdzogs so*//

Section 1, size 7 ff, begins with [SW kha 227:1] *rje btsun rdo rje rnal 'byor ma la phyag 'tshal lo/ brten gyi gang zag dad pa dang ldan pas dur khrod la sogs pa dben pa'i gnas su* It ends [SW kha 234:2] *chos nyid kyi nyams dang mi 'bral 'tshal/ rdzogs sho*// It contains a practice on Yoginī. After the preparation we call to mind that we are Yoginī, *kartarī* in the right hand, *kapāla* in the left. We have a *khatvāṅga*, an additional sow face, are naked, and have more characteristics. Then at different places on our body, Vajravārāhī and five additional female armor deities¹⁶⁸, are arrayed with their seed syllables: red Vajravārāhī at the navel, blue Yāminī at the heart, white Mohanī at the throat, and so forth. Additionally, and this is something not described earlier in the Collection, six male armor deities are arrayed together with their seed syllables. Their names are not specified. *Ye shes sems dpa*'s are invited and they melt with us. Many more stages follow, and *prāṇa* elements are included.

¹⁶⁴ *dus bzangs* SW,CW unidentified; *dus bzang* SB, J “peace, G “an auspicious day, good time.”

¹⁶⁵ *maṅgalam bhavantu* (*bhavantu*, Skt. √ bhū, “be”, imperative, 3rd, plural): ‘may there be happiness (or welfare).’

¹⁶⁶ *śubham* SW, [] CW,SB; *śubham* Skt., good fortune, auspiciousness, happiness, welfare, etc.

¹⁶⁷ Fifteen texts are here taken together. The SB edition takes even more together, and includes more texts that follow, under the title *Phag mo zhal gnyis ma'i sgrub thabs dbang bskur dang bcas pa zhal gcig ma'i sgrub thabs las bzhi sbyin sreg*. I have separated the *Zhal gcig ma'i sgrub thabs*, and the rest, as they are presented as a new set of sections in the SW edition.

¹⁶⁸ For a specification of the additional deities, see work [18] section 2.

Interestingly enough, the supplied mantra is identical to the one of work [13] *Thugs dam zhal bzhi ma*, section 1: OM OM OM SARVA BUDDHA ḌĀKINĪYE= VAJRA VARṆANĪYE= VAJRA VAIROCANĪYE= HŪM HŪM HŪM PHAṬ PHAṬ PHAṬ SVĀHĀ

The text itself is a *sādhana*, without the explicit designation *sgrub thabs*. It has a lot of interlinear remarks. As for the author, the colophon says it was composed by the “great *ācārya*,” the CW and SB editions understand him to be Nāropa, see fn. colophon. It is possible that *bla ma* Lha-rje or Dūsum Khyenpa added the interlinear remarks, as the colophon ends with the statement “completed in the way the dharma-master (*chos rje pa*) [explained].”

The beginning of the colophon states that it was based on a certain work, the *Rgyud abhidhana*, which could refer to the *Abhidhāna-uttara-tantra* a specific work with explanations of the *Cakrasamvaratantra*.¹⁶⁹

Colophon section 1: [SW kha 234:2] *rgyud a bhi dha na la brten nas= slob dpon chen pos mdzad pa 'o/ de la 'di chos rje pa 'i lugs rdzogs sho/*¹⁷⁰

Section 2, size 5 ff, begins with [SW kha 234:3] *rdo rje rnal 'byor ma la phyag 'tshal lo/ thun 'tshams su rnal 'byor ma 'i gtor ma btong [CW,SB gtong] ba la don gsum ste* It ends [SW kha 238:5] *jo mo 'i gtor ma rdzogs sho/* This is a manual for a specific *gtor ma* ritual, the offering of a *bali* (*gtor ma*) to Yoginī. It has three parts, the *gtorma sbyangs ba*, the *mgron spyan drangs ba*, and the *gtor ma 'bul ba*. Part two includes several mantras not mentioned earlier, including an extreme long one which begins with OM KHA KHA KHĀHI KHĀHI SARVA YAKṢA ... and ends with PHAṬ SVĀHĀ. The author is unknown.

Section 3, size 9 ff, colophon, begins with [SW kha 238:6] *bla ma dam pa rnam la phyag 'tshal lo/ sgrub pa po la mkha' 'gro ma 'du zhing byin rlabs 'ong bar bya ba 'i don du/ phyi 'i mchod pa dang= lag pa 'i mchod pa dang= tshogs dus kyi khyad par kyi 'khor lo yar gyi bcu dang bcu bzhi= mar gyi bcu [dang CW,SB] bcu bzhi la bya te=* It ends [SW kha 247:2] *myur du phyag rgya chen po mchog gi dngos grub thob bo/* This is a manual for a specific very detailed kind of offering. It has many interlinear remarks. The colophon says that it was composed “in the way” *ācārya* Khams-pa (Dūsum Khyenpa) performed the “four times” offering. A student of the master may have been the author, taking notes,

Colophon: [SW kha 247:2] *slob dpon khams pa dus bzhi 'i mchod pa bya lugs brtsams/ tshe 'dir mchog la rol bar shog/*

Section 4, size 15 ff, begins with [SW kha 247:4] *dpal rdo rje mkha' 'gro ma la phyag 'tshal lo/ phyag rgya chen po rdo rje ye shes kyi dkyil 'khor du sin dhu ra 'i dbang bskur ba ni/* It ends [SW kha 262:3] *maṅḍala brtan par bya ba 'i sngags brjod//* This is a manual for the *Mahāmudrā vajrajñāna maṅḍala sindūra abhiṣeka*. It has many interlinear remarks; the *Vajravārāhī* mantra from section 1 is applied. The author is unknown.

Section 5, size 2 ff, begins with [SW kha 263:4] *bla ma dam pa rnam la na mo/ rdo rje rnal 'byor ma 'i khru kyi cho ga ni/* It ends [SW kha 264:3] *lhag ma ci bder bya 'o//* This

¹⁶⁹ *Abhidhānottaratantra* (Tib. *Mngon par brjod pa 'i rgyud bla ma*. In Sanskrit, “Continuation of the explanation [of the *Cakrasamvaratantra*]; an Indian text describing the invocation of numerous tantric deities together with their seed syllables (*bīja*) and ritual meditations. The work was originally translated into Tibetan and edited by Atiśa Dīpaṅkaraśrījñāna and Rin-chen-bzang-po in the eleventh century. (PDB)

¹⁷⁰ SW has as interlinear remark on *chen pos*: *las thams cad phrin las zha* (sic.) *dang sbyar ro*
CW,SB add after *chen po*: *nā ro pas* and have intralinear: *las thams cad phrin las bzhi dang sbyar ro*

is a manual for several practices to purify, lit. “wash away” (*khrus*), illness, spirits, faults and defilements (*nad dang gdon dang sdig sgrib*). The author is unknown.

Section 6, size 3 ff, begins with [SW kha 264:4] *bla ma dam pa rnams la na mo/ tshogs bsag pa'am sgrib pa sbyang bar 'dod pas/ rdo rje rnal 'byor ma'i zhi ba'i sbyin sregs byed par 'dod na/* It ends [SW kha 267:1] *yi ger bris pa rdzogs sho//* This is a manual for a *homa* (*sbyin sreg*) ‘pacifying’ ritual. The author is unknown.

Section 7, size 6 ff, begins with [SW kha 267:1] *rdo rje rnal 'byor ma la phyag 'tshal lo/ byad byed pa thams cad la mis byad byed pa dang= mi ma yin pas byad byed pa dang gnyis ste= mis byad byed pa pa thams cad bsdus na gsum ste=* It ends [SW kha 273:1] *'khor lo de yang 'khor bas= rang gi log pa rtog pa thams cad brlag par bsam mo//* This section is a description of how to repel (*bzlog*) certain influences that the practitioner might encounter. For two special categories elaborate practices are described, in which one imagines a red wheel with six spokes, together with Vajravārāhī and the six armor deities. A very long mantra is applied which begins with OM HU [sic.] VAJRAVĀRĀHĪ CAKRAVARTI ... and ends with PHAṬ. The author is unknown.

Section 8, size 8 ff, begins with [SW kha 273:1] *na mo ratna¹⁷¹ gu ru/ dngos grub mchog brnyes bla ma dang= rdo rje rnal 'byor mar btud ste= nye bar bsgrub pa'i cho ga 'di= bla ma'i gsungs bzhin bri bar bya= rdo rje rnal 'byor ma'i zhal myur du blta par 'dod pas=* It ends [SW kha 280:6] *rje btsun ma rdo rje rnal 'byor ma'i nye mar (sic.) bsgrub pa zhes bya ba rdzogs sho//* The text contains a specific practice on Vajrayoginī. It has many interlinear remarks. A new combination of mantras is used: OM ŚRI HERUKA HŪṂ HŪṂ PHAṬ= OM VAJRAVAIROCANĪYE HŪṂ HŪṂ PHAṬ SVĀHĀ= OM VAJRAḌĀKINIYE HŪṂ HŪṂ PHAṬ= OM RATNAḌĀKINIYE HŪṂ HŪṂ PHAṬ= OM PADMAḌĀKINIYE HŪṂ HŪṂ PHAṬ= OM VIŚVAḌĀKINIYE HŪṂ HŪṂ PHAṬ=. The author is unknown.

Section 9, size 3 ff, begins with [SW kha 281:1] *bla ma dam pa rnams la na mo/ rgyal po dbang du bya bar 'dod na* It ends [SW kha 284:3] *des dbang du mi 'dus pa mi srid do//* This is a description of a ritual in which a *svastika* (*g-yung drung*) is applied, among the details to be called to mind,. The author is unknown.

Section 10, size 4 ff, begins with [SW kha 284:3] *rdo rje rnal 'byor ma la phyag 'tshal lo/ dpal rdo rje rnal 'byor mas gdul bya'i gang zhig mngon sum du= chos nyan pa'i skal pa dang ldan pa rnams la mngon sum du chos ston=* It ends [SW kha 288:2] *nam dag rdzogs sho//* The text contains an explanation of the symbolic meaning of all the details (*brda*) of Vajrayoginī, of how she is called to mind. For example, her main face represents *saṃvṛttisatya*, relative truth, the sow face *paramārthasatya*, absolute truth. The three eyes represent the idea that the Great-compassionate-one watches over all sentient beings during the three times in the three realms, and that she is the *yum* of all Buddhas of the three times. We find more explanations on the sow face, what the red color of the body represents, *svastika*, *vajrakartarī*, *kapāla*, *khaṭvāṅga*, the anklets, the bracelets, the belt, and so forth. The author is unknown.

¹⁷¹ Corrected, *rad na SW, ratna CW,SB.*

Section 11, size 3 ff, begins with [SW kha 288:2] *bla ma dam pa rnams la phyag 'tshal lo/ sngags la*¹⁷² *drag po 'i sbyin sreg byed par 'dod na...* It ends [SW kha 291:2] *OM khyed kyis sems can don kun mdzad= ces brjod do=* This is a manual for a *homa* ritual. The ritual includes the generation, completion and mantra stages of the *sādhana*. The five female armor deities (*go cha 'i lha mo*) are included as well as their mantras. A *vajra* and a *kāla* are applied, and a black Vajrayoginī with a sow face is called to mind. The author is unknown.

Section 12, size half f, begins with [SW kha 291:2] *na mo vajravarāhi= byin brlabs dus dang 'dra gsung=* It ends [SW kha 291:4] *rdo rje phag mo 'i sbyin sreg bshad= 'di ni rin po che 'i zhal nas shin tu dkon= [...]* *shin du gsang ba 'o= zhus so= rdzogs sho//* A brief instruction on how to act in case the *bla ma* or the “Three Jewels” are slandered. It is said that Rin-po-che expressed this instruction, which is said to come from a Vajravārāhī *homa*. Rin-po-che could refer either to *bla ma* Lha-rje or Düsüm Khyenpa.

Section 13, size 1f, begins with [SW kha 291:5] *rdo rje rnal 'byor ma 'i bsdus pa 'i gtor ma byed par 'dod pas=* It ends [SW kha 292:5] *'phrin las bcol lo= rdzogs sho= dge 'o=* This is a manual for a brief *bali* ritual. The author is unknown.

Section 14, size 1f, begins with [SW kha 293:1] *na mo ghu ru// rdo rje rnal 'byor ma 'i gzhon nu ma 'i mchod pa byed par 'dod na=* It ends [SW kha 293:6] *gzhon nu ma 'i cho ga 'o//* It is a manual for a brief practice in which the youthful lady (*gzhon nu ma*) Yoginī is called to mind. It is said that it [works as] if the Youthful lady *abhiṣeka* had been received. The author is unknown.

Section 15, size 23 ff, colophon, title according to the colophon *Mchod pa 'i cho ga dri med gsal ba*, “Stainless bright offering ritual.” It begins with [SW kha 294:1] *sin dhu ra nang gi mchod pa me long dang sin dhu ra sha lhu bdun la sogs pa ma grub na=* It ends [SW kha 315:5] *mchod pa rgyas par bya 'o//* This is a manual for an extensive offering rite (*mchod pa*), involving several kinds of offerings, such as the offering to the Three Jewels (*dkon mchog spyi 'i mchod pa*). It includes the offering of *argham*¹⁷³ (water), *dhūpa* (incense), *puṣpa* (flowers), *āloka* (light), and more. It includes explanations on what is said during the ritual. Also outer, inner and secret offerings are integrated in the ritual, as well as the generation, completion and mantra stages. New mantras appear, containing combinations or elements of mantras related earlier in several Vajrayoginī / Vajravārāhī works, or sections of works.

We also find four sections of verse text, with verselines of seven syllables each.

The first section is an invitation to the “guests,” which are the *ḍākinīs* (Vajra-, Buddha-, Ratna-, Padma-, Karma- and Viśva-*ḍākinī*), Vajravārāhī, and Grub-thob *bla ma* (Düsüm Khyenpa).

The second verse section is a praise of the deity (*lha la bstod pa*) Vajravārāhī.

The third verse section [SW 306:2] is a Bka'-brygud *bla ma* invocation in which each of the *bla mas* is requested to grant certain spiritual realizations. It is a very early lineage invocation, as the last person in the line is Düsüm Khyenpa. Here the invocation begins with Vajradhara, who is asked to grant the ten *bhūmis*. Then we have Te-lo, Na-ro, Mar-pa, [Mid-la] Ras-pa, Sangs-rgyas, Tshul-snying, and Rin-po-che. “Sangs-rgyas,” refers in this case to *bla ma* Lha-rje, he is invoked from Dags-lha-sgam-po, which was his “seat,” and asked to grant the *mahāmudrā*. Tshul-snying refers to Sgom-pa Tshul-khrims-snying-po (nephew of

¹⁷² *sngags la*, interlinear added.

¹⁷³ *argham*, Skt., compare MW *argha-pātra*, for *arghya-pātra*, the small vessel in which water is offered to the guest on his arrival.

bla ma Lja-rje and second holder of the Dwags-po seat). Rin-po-che, in this case, is Düsüm Khyenpa. He is invoked from Mtshur-phu monastery, where he lived the last five years of his life, and is asked for the dharma in which the two, *prāṇa* and mind are connected.

The fourth verse section expresses wishes for good luck in many fields (*bkra shis shog*).

The colophon says that it is an instruction of Grub-thob *bla ma* (*Siddha bla ma*, one of the epithets of Düsüm Khyenpa). It includes a brief dedication, which ends with “May all beings attain the state of Vajradhara.” It is said that the text was received (*phyag bzhes*) from the dharma-master who had passed away, and that the words and style are uncorrupted. The author is said to be Byang-chub-’byung-gnas. He was a student¹⁷⁴ of the master, who composed the text on request of the “Venerable of Rgang.” The Venerable of Rgang might refer to Rgang-lo, the author of the *Gser gling*.

Colophon: [SW kha 316:1] *thams cad gyi rgyud kyi dgongs pa= grub thob bla ma'i gdams ngag= 'jig rten mgon po'i phyag byed rin chen sgron me= dad ldan slob mas gsol gdab// blo chung bdag gis 'di byas// phyag chen dri med dge bas// 'gro rnams rdo rje 'chang gyur// mchod pa'i cho ga dri med gsal ba zhes bya ba= chos rje bde bar gshegs pa'i phyag bzhes dang gsung sgron ma nyams pa zhes bya ba= de nyid kyi zhabsyi [sic.] rdul la reg pa'i= dpa' rdo rje 'dzin pa chen po= dge slong byang chub 'byung gnas kyis= rgang gi ban dhes gus pas gsol ba yang yang btap pa'i don du mdzad pa rdzogs sho//*

* * *

[20] *Zhal gcig ma'i bsgrub thabs*, “One-faced female’ *sādhana*”

Size 53 ff, 16 sections, section 1, 14 and 16 have a colophon; section 2 and 3 a transmission lineage. The work begins with [SW kha 317:1] *rgya gar skad du=* It ends [SW kha 369:3] *rin chen bum pa 'di byas so// ithi //*

Section 1, size 1 f, colophon, begins with [SW kha 317:1] *rgya gar skad du= vajravārāhīsādhana*¹⁷⁵ = *bod skad du= rdo rje phag mo'i bsgrub thabs= rdo rje phag mo la phyag 'tshal lo/ lte ba'i dbus su gru gsum me'i dkyil 'khor ro=* It ends [SW kha 318:1] *dus rtag du bzlas bar bya'o//* A *Vajravārāhī sādhana*, a fundamental text (*rgya gzhung*) from India, in which we imagine that we are *Vārāhī*. The color of our body is red; our right hand holds a *vajra*, the left a *kapāla* and *khaṭvāṅga*, and so forth. We have one face with three eyes. The mantra begins with VAJRAVĀRĀHĪ AVEŚAYA VAJRA SARVA ... and ends with SVĀHĀ.

The colophon says that Nāropa took it from *Sdom pa rgya mtsho'i rgyud*, the ocean-[like] [Cakra]-saṃvara tantra.

Colophon: [SW kha 318:2] *rdo rje phag mo'i sgrub thab// sdom pa rgya mtsho'i rgyud nas= na ros phyung pa'o// ithi //*

Section 2, size 4 ff, begins with [SW kha 318:2] *rje btsun rnal 'byor ma la phyag 'tshal lo/ bla ma rje btsun nā ro pa'i zhal gcig ma 'di nyams su len par 'dod pa'i rnal 'byor pas=* It ends [SW kha 321:5] *dpal na ro pa'i sku gsung thugs*¹⁷⁶ *kyi rgyud mdzad ma'i sgrub thabs// ithi //* This is a *sādhana* to “explore” the One-faced-female of Nāropa. It is followed

¹⁷⁴ The *Gser gling* mentions twice a student called 'Byung-gnas. It also mentions a Jo-bo Byang-chub, present in the entourage of the master.

¹⁷⁵ *Vajravārāhīsādhana*, Skt. reconstructed, *badzra bha rā hi sā dha naṃ SW, badzra va rā hi sā dha naṃ SB,CW*.

¹⁷⁶ *sku sya thya SW*, compare Roloff, *List of Abbreviations used in Cursive Manuscripts*, 57-8, *s+ya>gsungs* and *th+ya>thugs* therefore: *sku gsungs thugs; sku gsung thugs CW,SB*.

by the mantra OM VAJRA VAIROCANĪYE BALIMTA¹⁷⁷ KHA KHA KHĀHI KHĀHI. The author is unknown.

Transmission lineage: [SW 321:6] *sku gsung thugs*¹⁷⁸ *kyi rgyud mdzad ma 'di'i rgyud pa ni= rdo rje chang= te lo pa= nā ro pa= mar pa= mid la= lha rje[=] dharma kīrti* (Düsum Khyenpa)= *dbang phyug rdo rje= dam pa de la bdag gis zhus so//*

Section 3, size 11 ff, begins with [SW kha 322:2] *rje btsun ma 'di'i las kha tshar ba rnams kyi rgyud pa ni/ ... gzhan la dbang bskur bar 'dod pas=* It ends [SW kha 332:4] *rje btsun ma 'i gsang bsgrub kyi dbang bskur rdzogs sho//* It is a manual for the “Lady – secret practice” *abhiṣeka*. The author is unknown.

The text begins with an “introductory transmission lineage”: *rje btsun ma 'di'i las kha tshar ba rnams kyi rgyud pa ni/ rdo rje 'chang= thang pa [thang lo pa, CW,SB]= shing lo pa= karna ri pa [karṇa ri pa CW,SB]= mar pa loccha ba= mi la ras pa= bla ma lha rje= grub thob dbu se* (the “Grey-haired *siddha*,” Düsum Khyenpa) *nas rgyud pa'o/*

Section 4, size 3 ff, begins with [SW kha 332:5] *rje btsun ma la phyag 'tshal lo/ yar gyi tshes bcu la dus bzangs kyi mchod pa byed par 'dod na=* It ends [SW kha 336:1] *dus bzang gi mchod pa ithi //* This section describes an offering ritual for auspicious times. The generation, completion and mantra stages of the Yoginī practice are included. One imagines transforming into the Lady. The offering is made to the five *dākinīs*, Lady and her entourage, and the Bka'-*rgyud bla mas*. The author is unknown.

Section 5, size 1 f, begins with [SW kha 336:1] *rje btsun rdo rje rnal 'byor ma la na mo/ gzhan dbang du bya bar 'dod na=* It ends [SW kha 337:3] *zhag nyi shu rtsa cig gi bar du byas na dbang du nges par 'du gsung// ithi //* This is an instruction how to benefit others by means of one's own *yi dam* practice. It begins with the generation, completion and mantras stages, followed by the instruction. It includes a mantra which begins with OM VAJRA VAIROCANIYE HARINISA HŪṀ PHAṬ= ... and ends with AVEŚAYA A AḤ. The author is unknown.

Section 6, size 2 ff, begins with [SW kha 337:3] *rje btsun ma 'i sgo nas rang gzhan gyi gdon bsal bar 'dod na=* It ends [SW kha 339:3] *rang gzhan gyi gdon bsal ba 'i rim pa// ithi //* This section is an instruction on how to eliminate spirits (*gdon*) that cause harm to oneself or others, through the Lady's practice. It involves a mantra which begins with OM VAJRA VAIROCANIYE HARINISA ... and ends with TRA HŪṀ PHAṬ SVĀHĀ. The author is unknown.

Section 7, size 1 f, begins with [SW kha 339:3] *rje btsun ma la phyag 'tshal lo/ sdig sgrib nyams chag dag par 'dod na=* It ends [SW kha 340:4] *dam tshig chag nyams sor chud do// ithi //* An instruction is offered how to be purified from damage caused by faults or defilements, by means of the Lady's practice. The author is unknown.

Section 8, size 2 ff, begins with [SW kha 340:5] *rje btsun ma la phyag 'tshal lo/ zhi ba 'i sbyin bsreg byed par 'dod na* It ends [SW kha 343:2] *thon pa dang thal sol chu la dor // ithi //* This is a manual for a pacifying *homa* ritual. It includes the Lady's generation, completion and mantra stages, and more. A new mantra combination is applied which begins

¹⁷⁷ Corrected, BHALINGTA (SW), BALIMTA (CW,SB).

¹⁷⁸ *sku gsung thugs* CW,SB; *sku sya thya* SW.

with OM VAJRA VAIROCANIYE HARINISA HŪṂ PHAṬ= ... and ends KURUYE SVĀHĀ/ The author is unknown.

Section 9, size 2 ff, begins with [SW kha 343:2] *rje btsun ma'i rgyas pa'i sbyin sreg byed par 'dod na*= It ends [SW kha 344:5] *rdo rje rnal 'byor ma'i rgyas pa'i sbyin bsreg rdzogs sho*// It is a manual for a specific *homa* ritual. It includes the Lady's generation, completion and mantra stages. The mantra resembles the one mantra of section 8, but it is different in the middle part. It begins with OM VAJRA VAIROCANIYE HARINISA HŪṂ PHAṬ= ... and ends ME KURUYE SVĀHĀ/ The author is unknown.

Section 10, size 2 ff, begins with [SW kha 344:5] *rje btsun ma'i dbang gi sbyin bsreg byed par 'dod na*= It ends [SW kha 346:4] *dbang gi sbyin sreg/ ithi* // This is a manual for a specific *homa* ritual. It begins with the Lady's generation, completion and mantra stages. Another mantra combination is found here, which begins with OM VAJRA VAIROCANIYE HARINISA HŪṂ PHAṬ SVĀHĀ/ ... and ends VAJRAVARAHI¹⁷⁹ AVEŚAYA A AḤ/ The author is unknown.

Section 11, size 2 ff, begins with [SW kha 346:4] *rje btsun ma'i sgo nas drag po'i sbyin bsreg byed par 'dod na*= It ends [SW kha 349:1] *rje btsun ma'i drag po'i sbyin bsreg rdzogs sho// ithi* // It is another manual for a specific *homa* ritual. It also includes the Lady's generation, completion and mantra stages, and yet another mantra combination is offered, which begins with OM VAJRA VAIROCANIYE HARINISA ... and ends MARAYA HŪṂ PHAṬ/ The author is unknown.

Section 12, size 4 ff, begins with [SW kha 349:1] *rtog pa mchog ldan dam pa rje/* [line 1 of a four-lined homage, followed by] *rdo rje rnal 'byor ma zhal gcig ma'i rdzogs rim bsgom par 'dod na*= It ends [SW kha 353:3] *rje btsun dam pas bzod par zhu// ithi* // The work begins with discussing five essential points (*gnad pa*) for practice: the position of the body, *nāḍī* and *avadhūtī*, what is called to mind (*dmigs pa'i yul*), *prāṇa* practice, and the time period. After this, the generated warmth (*drod*) and bliss (*bde*) are discussed. It ends with four lines of dedication, of which the second says that the instruction is like melted gold.¹⁸⁰ The author is unknown.

The *ithi* is followed by three lines of mantras, which begin with OM VAJRA VAIROCANIYE HARINASE [sic.] = ŚRĪ VAJRAYOGINI ... it includes the names of offering substances, it ends with JAMARANITRA//

Section 13, size 8 ff, begins with [SW kha 354:1] *rdo rje rnal 'byor ma la phyag 'tshal lo/ zhal gcig ma'i zhal nye bar blta ba'i mchod pa rtsam par 'dod pas*= It ends [SW kha 361:6] *gsang bsgrub zhal nye bar blta ba'i man ngag go*// [colophon, see below] // *ithi* // This describes an elaborate practice, which includes the generation, completion and mantra stages of the Lady's practice. It is followed by many other images to meditate on, including several mantras among which OM VAJRA VAIROCANIYE HŪṂ. Later on, at another stage of the practice, a new mantra appears OM E HYA HI BHAGAVAN MAHĀKARUṆIKA SAMAYA HO SAMAYA STVAṂ¹⁸¹. At the end, in the last stage, yet another mantra appears, OM VAJRA VAIROCANIYE HŪṂ PHAṬ VAJRA VARAHI AVEŚAYA

¹⁷⁹ Sanskrit should be VĀRĀHĪ, here partially restored, BHAHARI (SW), BARĀHI (CW,SB).

¹⁸⁰ SW kha 353:2 ... gdams pa gser zhun lta bur gnangs

¹⁸¹ ... *bha ra hi* ... SW, *va ra hi* CW and SB plus slightly different spelling of other syllables.

AVEŚAYA A AḤ. It ends by saying that it is a secret practice key-instruction (*man ngag*). The author is unknown.

Section 14, size 1 f, colophon, begins with [SW kha 361:6] *rdo rje rnal 'byor ma na mo/ sgrib pa sbyang bar 'dod pa na*= It ends [SW kha 362:6] *rje btsun ma 'i sgrib pa sbyang ba 'i cho ga rdzogs sho*// [colophon, see below] // *ithi* // This section is a manual for a very brief practice on how to purify obscurations (*sgrib pa*). In the middle is said to meditate as in the Lady's *sādhana*.

The colophon says that Nāropa composed this work, based on the *Sdom pa rgya mtsho 'i rgyud*, the ocean-[like] [Cakra]-saṃvara tantra. A somewhat similar reference is provided in section 1.

Colophon: [SW 362:6] *rgyud sdom pa rgya mtsho las brten nas= dpal nā ro pas mdzad pa*//

Section 15, size 5 ff, begins with [SW kha 363:1] *rje btsun ma la phyag 'tshal lo/ gnas khang yid dang mthun par maṇḍala dri bzang gis byug*= It ends [SW kha 368:3] *lhag gtor gtang ngo*// *ithi* // Here we find a manual for bestowing four types of *abhiṣeka* (*dbang*): *kalaśa-abhiṣeka* (*bum dbang*), *guhya-abhiṣeka* (*gsang dbang*), *samādhi-abhiṣeka* (*ting nge 'dzin dbang*), and *prabhāsvara-abhiṣeka* (*'od gsal dbang*). For the first two, lights come from the top of the head, from the throat, and from the heart of the root *bla ma* and melt with the same places within the student, first separately, and then all three together. The first light is “just” light, the second is red, and the third is blue.

The text has quite some interlinear additions. The author is unknown.

Section 16, size 1 f, colophon, begins with [SW kha 368:3] *zhal gnyis ma 'i dbang bskur gzhan thams cad 'dra*= It ends [SW kha 369:3] *rin chen bum pa 'di byas so*// *ithi* // This is a brief manual for the “Two-face female” (Vajravārāhī) *abhiṣeka*.

The colophon says that the instruction came from the “hearing lineage” (*snyan gyi rgyud*). It is followed by the statement that it was extracted as the essence of the four tantra sections (*rgyud sde bzhi*)¹⁸². The author is unknown.

Colophon: [SW 368:5] *rdo rje 'chang gi rang bzhin sprul sku bla ma yi/ byin rlabs snyan gyi rgyud pa las 'ongs pa/ nyams dang rtogs pa gcig char skye mdzad pa 'o/ ting nge 'dzin byin rrlabs bka' bzhin yi ger bris/ gang phyir dbang gi don la ni/ chen po rnams kyi rmangs gyur pas/ rgyud sde bzhi yi bcud chung*¹⁸³ *pa/ rin chen bum pa 'di byas so*//

* * *

Notice that at this point the *dbu med* manuscript edition *Selected Writings (SW)* ends.¹⁸⁴

* * *

¹⁸² “Four tantra sections,” possibly Kriyātantra etc. “... the corpus of *tantras* was eventually classified by late Indian exegetes into a number of schemata, the most famous of which is the fourfold division into Kriyātantra, Caryātantra, Yogatantra, and Anuttarayogatantra.” (PDB)

¹⁸³ *chung pa* SW, read as *phyung pa* CW,SB, “extracted.”

¹⁸⁴ The *dbu med* manuscript edition *Selected Writings (SW)* ends, except for two works with the same title, namely [24] and [25] *Dus gsum mkhyen pa 'i zhus lan*, which still are included in the SW. From here the folio numbers will (the *Zhus lan* excepted) refer to the *dbu can* *Gsung 'bum (SB)* edition of the Dūsūm Khyenpa Collection.

[21] Without title

Size 9 ff, 4 sections, section 4 has a colophon; the work begins with [SB kha 163:3] *rdo rje rnal 'byor ma la phyag 'tshal lo/* It ends [SB kha 171:3] *gdams ngag bka' brgya ma'o/ rdzogs so//*

Section 1, size 3 ff, begins with [SB kha 163:3] *rdo rje rnal 'byor ma la phyag 'tshal lo/ rnal 'byor ma'i sgo nas/ sems can thams cad kyi tshe dang bsod nams dang / nor rdzas dbang thang la sogs pa bsdu bar 'dod pas/* It ends [SB kha 166:3] *rdo rje rnal 'byor ma'i 'gro ba dbang du bya ba rdzogs so//* The text is a manual for a rite called [SB kha 166:4] *Rdo rje snying 'phrog dmar mo'i bsgrub pa*. It has three parts: preliminaries, main part, and the benefit afterwards. After quite some preparation, Vajrayoginī is called to mind and invited from O-rgyan together with her *maṇḍala* of five *ḍākinīs* and more. Several new mantras are introduced. The first begins with NISA PADMADHARI ... and ends with HARINISA HŪM. The author is unknown.

Section 2, size 2 ff, begins with [SB kha 166:3] *rdo rje rnal 'byor ma la phyag 'tshal lo/ gsum pa ma grub na spogs pa'i cho ga la gnyis te/* It ends [SB kha 168:1] *dbang gi bya ba zhal gyi gdams pa'o//* The text says that it is an oral instruction (*zhal gyi gdams*) on how to gain control of certain areas, such as *samādhi*, mantra, and substances (*ting nge 'dzin dang sngags rdzas*). New mantras are introduced. The first begins with HARINISA AKARṢAYA ... and ends with BAM HOH. The author is unknown.

Section 3, size 2 ff, begins with [SB kha 168:1] *rdo rje rnal 'byor ma la phyag 'tshal lo/ rgyal po dbang du bya bar 'dod na/* It ends [SB kha 169:5] *dbang dang rgyas pa'i thugs kyi nying khu zhal nas zhal/ snyan nas snyan du rgyud pa rdzogs so//* More instruction on how to gain control of the local wordly ruler (lit. the king), how to gather students, how to gain control of persons, and how to gather wealth. More mantras are introduced. The first begins with HARINISA HŪM HŪM RĀJA ..., and ends with YA. At the end, it is said, that it concerns instructions from the oral – aural lineage, lit. “the from mouth to mouth from ear to ear lineage” (*zhal nas zhal/ snyan nas snyan du rgyud pa*). The author is unknown.

Section 4: size 2 ff, begins with [SB kha 169:5] *rnal 'byor ma'i gsang ba thugs kyi bka' rgya can 'di'i rgyud pa ni/* It ends [SB kha 171:2] *thun mong gi dngos grub 'di las zab pa'am myur ba med gsungs nas gngang ba'o/ [colophon] / rdzogs so//* Transmission lineage (*rgyud pa*) of the secret mind/heart precepts (*bka' rgya*) of Vajrayoginī. The lineage is: ***rdo rje 'chang/ tai lo pa/ nā ro pa/ mar pa/ mi la/ dwags po lha rje/ rin po che*** (Düsum Khyenpa)¹⁸⁵ *la 'ga'i rgyal pos 'bul ba mang po bskur nas/* It is followed by a brief narrative in which we find the name Gtsang-pa and Gtsang-po-ba¹⁸⁶. Gtsang-po-ba is one of Düsum Khyenpa's main students, mentioned in the *Gser gling*, *Zhal chems*, and other sources¹⁸⁷.

Colophon: [SB kha 171:3] *bla ma gtsang po ba*¹⁸⁸ *i gdams ngag bka' rgya ma'o/*

* * *

¹⁸⁵ [] *rin poche* ... SB, *dus gsum mkhyen pa/ rin po che*... CW.

¹⁸⁶ CW both Gstang-po-ba.

¹⁸⁷ See for details Gtsang-po-ba or Rtsang-po-ba, 1.3.7 “Some social and economic aspects of the master's life.”

¹⁸⁸ Corrected *gtsang po ba* CW, *gtsang so ba* SB.

[22] *Rdzogs rim rlung sems gnyis med*, “Completion stage – nonduality of mind by means of *prāṇa*”

Size 19 ff, 7 sections, section 1 has a transmission lineage, section 5 a transmission lineage/colophon, the work begins with [SB kha 171:4] *na mo gu ru/ sa bcu'i dbang phyug byang chub sems dpa'* / It ends [SB kha 190:3] *rigs lngar grol ba'o// zab/ ithi//* The authorship of the work is unclear. While Düsüm Khyenpa may have been the one who wrote down the text, later editing must have taken place, as the transmission lineages at the end of sections 1 and 5 extend beyond Düsüm Khyenpa.

Section 1, size 5 ff, begins with [SB kha 171:4] *na mo gu ru/ te lo shes rab bzang po zhes bya ba des/* It ends [SB kha 176:5] *sgyu lus rlung sems gnyis med do/* The text is a discourse on the importance and transmission of “great Awareness” (*rang rig chen po*) or “Awareness itself” (*rang rig nyid*) and that this is the essence of *mahāmudrā* mind (*phyag rgya chen po'i thugs kyi nying khu*).

The beginning refers to the subject of this section, namely the “Telo *prajñābhadrā* [, the way to achieve the] ten mighty bodhisattva levels (*sa bcu'i dbang phyug byang chub sems dpa' te lo shes rab bzang po*). This may also be an unidentified work. It relates that Nā-ro-pa, in a vision, receives the instruction (*gdams ngag*) of the generation stage of Lady Sahaja (*jo mo lhan skyes*) and the “completion stage - nonduality of mind” by means of *prāṇa* (*rlung sems gnyis med*), after which Nā-ro-pa begins his search for Te-lo. When he finds him and after having fulfilled twelve difficult deeds (*dka' bcu gnyis spyod pa*), he exclaims: “Kye ho, this is great Awareness, it is beyond the avenue of speech and the scope of activity in mind.”¹⁸⁹ Later, while Nā-ro-pa sits under a tree [, resting in Awareness], Karṇaripa¹⁹⁰ appears, and says that he practices the same [resting in Awareness], and does not need anything more. He therefore even calls himself Shing-lo-pa, “Treeleaf-man.” Nā-ro-pa asks for instruction and receives additional information on the generation stage for the “[Lady] Sahaja” practice (*bskyed rim lhan cig skyes ma*). The text continues by relating that later on master Mar-pa received the *abhiṣeka* (empowerment) and completion stage instructions (*rdzog rim gyi gdams ngag*) for the practice from Nā-ro-pa and Mai-tri-pa, and that Maitripa specifically praised the *Jo mo lhan cig skyes ma* and *Rdzogs rim rlung sems gnyis med*. Mar-pa passed the instructions on to his biological son (*sku'i sras*) Dar-ma mdo-sde, and, after his son passed away, to his “mind-son” (*thugs kyi sras*) Mi-la-ras-pa. The transmission lineage from Mi-la onward is *bla ma* Lha-rje, Rin-po-che Dbu-se-ba (the “Grey-haired,” Düsüm Khyenpa), 'Gro-mgon Ras-chen, Rin-po-che Pom-brag-pa, Rin-po-che Karma-pa (Karma-pa II, Karma Pakshi, 1206-1283), Drung rin-po-che, again (*yang*) Karma-pa (probably Karma-pa III, Rang-byung rdo-rje, 1284-1339), *bla ma* Gnyan-ras, *chos rje* Rin-po-che, *bla ma* Rtogs-ldan Grag-s-pa seng-ge, *bla ma* Rtogs-ldan Bsod-nams-bzang-po¹⁹¹. The lineage ends with: *des bdag la gnang ba'o//*, “He gave it to me.”¹⁹²

It says in the text that there are two categories of completion stage: *bde chen rlung sems gnyis med* and *skye med rlung sems gnyis med*. The first category, *bde chen rlung sems gnyis*

¹⁸⁹ SB kha 173:2 ... kye ho 'di ni rang rig chen po ste/ /ngag gi lam 'das yid kyid spyod yul min/

¹⁹⁰ Dowman, *Masters Mahāmudrā*, 132, identifies Karṇaripa as the *mahāsiddha* Āryadeva.

¹⁹¹ Roerich, *Blue Annals*, 1017-8, Bsod-nams-bzang-po, (1341-1433), was one of the teachers of the Karma-pa V, De-bzhin-gshegs-pa (1384-1415), and also of Karma-pa VI, Mthong-ba-don-ldan (1416-1452/3). See also the beginning of 4.1, “Content, editions, origin, and authorship of the Collection,” as the dates of Bsod-nams-bzang-po are important for the compilation date of the Düsüm Khyenpa Collection.

¹⁹² For an explanation of the phrase, see 4.1, “Content, editions, origin, and authorship of the Collection.”

med, is further divided into three components, which are the subject of sections 2-4 that follow: *gtum mo rlung sems gnyis med* (section 2), *'pho ba rlung sems gnyis med* (section 3), and *sgyu lus rlung sems gnyis med* (section 4). The second category, *skye med rlung sems gnyis med*, is discussed in section 5, 6 and 7.

Section 2, size 1f, begins with [SB kha 176:5] *dpal rdo rje rnal 'byor ma la phyag 'tshal lo/ gtum mo rlung sems gnyis [... intralinear] med*. It ends [SB kha 177:4] *bde stong gi ngang du rlung 'bral med du bsgom mo//* It explains that the *caṇḍālī* (*gtum mo*), “inner heat,” practice offers a triple method to enter (*gzhug pa*) the “nonduality of *prāṇa* and mind,” by going into *prāṇa* and body (*rlung lus*), ‘mind’ (*sems*), and luminosity (*'od gsal*) and these are briefly explained.

Section 3, size 1f, begins with [SB kha 177:5] *bla ma dang rdo rje rnal 'byor ma la phyag 'tshal lo/ gnyis pa 'pho ba rlung sems gnyis med ni/* It ends [SB kha 178:5] *stong par bsam pas chos skur 'pho ba 'o// ithi //* The text is a brief explanation of a specific *saṃkrānti* (*'pho ba*), “transference [of consciousness],” practice.

Section 4, size 3ff, begins with [SB kha 178:5] *dā ki nī na mo/ gsum pa sgyu lus rlung sems gnyis med la/* It ends [SB kha 181:5] *sprul skur sangs rgyas so/ rdzogs so/* It explains how to arrive at the *rlung sems gnyis med* by *māyādeha* (*sgyu lus*)¹⁹³. The training discusses three illusions and how to overcome them. The first part instructs on how to regard body, speech and (what appears in) mind (*lus ngag yid*) as an illusion (*sgyu ma*). These three make up the [between] ‘birth and death *antarābhava* or intermediate state’ (*skye shi bar do*), the first illusion.

The second illusion is the ‘dream *antarābhava*’ (*rmi lam bar do*). The third illusion is the ‘*antarābhava* of becoming’ (*srid pa 'i bar do*).

Section 5, size 2 ff, begins with [SB kha 181:6] *dpal rdo rje rnal 'byor ma la phyag 'tshal lo/ skye med rlung sems gnyis med ni/* It ends [SB kha 183:2] *skye med rlung sems gnyis med ces bya 'o/* At this point, the second category of the completion stage begins, the unborn (*skye med*) *rlung sems gnyis med*. This second category includes sections 5-7. As for the term *skye med*, “unborn,” we will find later, in section 7, that it refers to *skye ba med pa chos sku*, the unborn *dharmakāya*. Therefore, sections 5-7 aim at this “unborn” state.

Here in section 5, we find a discourse on *vijñāna* (*rnam par shes pa*), which consist of six parts: the five sense faculties and the sixth, in Skt. *manas* (*yid*) or mentation. It is said that we should not consider *vijñāna* as ultimate (*don dam pa*). By recognizing [or realizing] ‘mind itself’ as *dharmakāya*, [we will find that it] is Vajrayoginī’s essence.¹⁹⁴ An early colophon/transmission lineage is added, which says that the instructions from Śrī Nā-ro-pa, generation stage “[Lady-] Sahaja” and completion stage “nonduality of *prāṇa* and mind” were transmitted from Mar-pa until master Rang-byung-rdo rje (Karma-pa III). This is a lineage statement from an earlier date than the lineage in section 1 which added more names after Karma-pa III.”

Colophon: [SB kha 183:2] */dpal nā ro pa 'i gdams ngag bskyed rim lhan cig skyes ma rdzogs rim rlung sems gnyis med dang bcas pa 'di ni mar pa lho brag pa nas/ rje rang byung rdo rje 'i bar du rim gyis brgyud pa lags so// rdzogs so// dge bar gyur cig//*

¹⁹³ *māyādeha*, for a very brief introduction see PDB.

¹⁹⁴ SB kha 183:1 ... rang gi sems nyid chos kyi skur rtogs pas dpal rdo rje rnal 'byor ma 'i ngo bo yin no/

Section 6, size 6 ff, begins with [SB kha 183:4] *rdo rje rnal 'byor ma la phyag 'tshal lo/ spyi don gnyis pa skye med rlung sems gnyis med ni/* It ends [SB kha 189:6] *don du mi 'gyur gang yang med// ces so/ ma hā mu drā*¹⁹⁵ *thugs kyi nying khu// ithi //* The section carries on the “unborn” state. It begins with: “Secondly, the general meaning of the “unborn” in *skye med rlung sems gnyis med*. It says that the ‘mother’ of all Buddhas of the three times, “Lady Sahaja,” comprises all phenomena of *samsāra* and *nirvāṇa* that appear or become. It is divided into two: 1. “Mind itself, *sahaja*, *dharmakāya*” (*sems nyid lhan cig skyes pa chos kyi sku*), and 2. “Perception, *sahaja*, the ‘light rays’ of *dharmakāya*” (*snang ba lhan cig skyes pa chos sku 'i 'od zer*).

“Mind itself, *sahaja*¹⁹⁶, *dharmakāya*,” is further divided into three parts: essence of mind, nature and essential characteristic (*sems kyi ngo bo/ rang bzhin/ mtshan nyid*). The essence of mind can not be apprehended, it is without shape or color, etc, and it is like the sky. Nature is whatever appears, unstopped, and playful. The essential characteristic is nonduality.¹⁹⁷

“Perception, *sahaja*, the ‘light rays’ of *dharmakāya*,” begins with that from the state of “thatness” (*de nyid*) the conception of apprehended and apprehender appears (*gzung 'dzin gyi rnam rtog*, Skt. *grāhyagrāhakavikalpa*).¹⁹⁸ It is followed by a brief explanation of the process.

An unspecified versetext of Nāropa is cited here, consisting of 6 verselines, 7 syllables each. It begins with, “As for to completely know discursive thought as *dharmakāya*¹⁹⁹ [...]”

It is followed by ‘how to gain [ultimate] experience.’ It says that the state of equipoise (*mnyam zhag*) should be combined (or mixed) with all activities in life. As an example of this, it says that [the result] is like having walked into a “golden world” (*gser gling*).²⁰⁰ It also mentions that there are three types of approaches to gaining experience: best, middle and last. The best is that it arises suddenly (*cig char*),²⁰¹ the middle is the “direct crossing” (*thod rgal*), and the last is the gradual approach of the “four *yogas*” (*rim pa la rnal 'byor bzhi*). Each type is discussed briefly. Furthermore, the “four *yogas*” are specified as ‘one-pointedness’ (*rtse gcig*), [free of] ‘conceptual entanglement’ (*spros bral*), ‘one taste’ (*ro gcig*), and ‘nothing to be cultivated [anymore]’ (*bsgom med*).²⁰²

¹⁹⁵ *ma hā mu drā*, Skt. reconstructed, *ma hā mu tra*, SB,CW.

¹⁹⁶ At this point SB and CW, both spell *sahaja* here as *lhan cig skyes ma*. It is probably a mistake, as in the line before, specifying 1. and 2., it is spelled as ... *pa*.

¹⁹⁷ SB kha 183:6 ... *dang po ni/ bzung du med pa* [intra-linear: *dbyibs dang kha dog la sogs pa med pas*] *nam mkha' lta bu'o/ / rang bzhin ma 'gags pa* [intra-linear: *rol pa*] *cir yang snang ba/ ... / mtshan* [intra-linear: *bar du*] *nyid gnyis su med pa/ ...*

¹⁹⁸ SB kha 184:2 ... *de nyid kyi ngang las gzung 'dzin gyi rnam rtog phra rags su shar ...* As for *gzung 'dzin gyi rnam rtog*, see PDB entry *grāhyagrāhakavikalpa* for a brief explanation.

¹⁹⁹ SB kha 187:6 ... *rnam rtog chos skur yongs shes na/ ...*

²⁰⁰ SB kha 188:2 ... *dper na gser gling du phyin pa dang 'dra'o/* This is the passage that may have inspired Rgang-lo to entitle the *rnam thar* he composed as “Golden World.”

²⁰¹ In the brief explanation on *cig char*, we find the expression *gser gling* again. In an intra-linear remark it is said, “Like you can not extract gold from a world not of gold, you can not extract discursive thought from the state of *dharmatā*.” SB kha 188:2 ... *gser gling na* [CW nas] *gser min pa mi rnyed pa bzhin/ chos nyid kyi ngang nas rnam rtog mi rnyed pa'o/*

²⁰² On the “four *yogas*,” see e.g. Alexander Schiller, *Die “VierYoga”-Stufen der Mahāmudrā-Meditationstradition* (Hamburg: Department of Indian and Tibetan Studies, 2015).

The section ends with two citations, one from the Hevajra-[tantra] and one from the Cakrasamvara-[tantra]. The first says that “[ultimately] there is neither cultivation nor one who cultivates.”²⁰³ It ends with the statement, “essence of *mahāmudrā*!”

Section 7, size half f, begins with [SB kha 189:6] *phyag rgya chen po la bsdus don gsum ste/* It ends [SB kha 190:3] *phung po lnga rigs lngar grol ba'o// zab/ ithi//* This section carries on *mahāmudrā* (*phyag rgya chen po*) and explains that the term has three meanings: first, “basis pervading *mahāmudrā*”; second, “dawning *mahāmudrā*”; and third, “result liberation *mahāmudrā*.”²⁰⁴ The three are briefly discussed. As for the last it is said, among other things, that “Awareness’s essence, unborn (*skye ba med pa*) *dharmakāya*, is freed.”²⁰⁵

* * *

[23] [Without title]

Size 10 ff, 5 sections, five texts on Vajravārāhī protection²⁰⁶, section 1 has a colophon; the work begins with [SB kha 190:4] *brgyud pa'i bla ma dam pa dang / rdo rje phag mo 'khor bcas la/* It ends [SB kha 200:1] *bkra shis par gyur cig//*

Section 1, size 3 ff, *Phag mo'i bka' sdod kyi sgrub thabs*, “Vārāhī’s attendant *sādhana*,”²⁰⁷ begins with [SB kha 190:4] *brgyud pa'i bla ma dam pa dang / rdo rje phag mo 'khor bcas la/ kun nas dang bas phyag 'tshal lo/ / bla ma rin po che 'i zhal nas gsungs pa'i rdo rje phag mo'i bka' sdod pho nya mo 'di sgrub thabs la/* It ends [SB kha 192:5] *rdo rje phag mo'i bka' sdod yin pas bka' sdod du bsgrub bo/* A *sādhana* which focuses on the “(protective) attendant messenger” (*bka' sdod pho nya mo*) of Vajravārāhī. She is a *ḍākinī* who is called to mind after the necessary preparations. Her body is red, she has one face and two arms. The right arm holds a *kartarī* on a stalk, the left the heart/mind (*tsitta*, Skt. *citta*) of the enemy and she is naked without ornaments. The main mantra is rather long and begins with OM VAJRA ḌĀKINI VAIROCANĪYE ... and ends with JA JAḤ

The colophon says that it concerns words of *bla ma Rin-po-che Gnas-gnang-pa* (Düsum Khyenpa). Since it does not say that the master himself wrote down the text, it is probably based on notes taken by his students.

Colophon: [SB kha 192:5] *bla ma rin po che gnas nang pas gsungs pa'i mkha' 'gro ma'i sgrub thabs rdzogs so//*

Section 2, size 4 ff, begins with [SB kha 192:5] *na mo badzra yo gi nī/ rnal 'byor ma'i bka' nyan 'di bsgrub pa la don bzhi ste* It ends [SB kha 197:3] *bka' gtod kyi gdams pa rdzogs so//* Instructions on protection rituals to invoke subordinates (*bka' nyan*) [of Vajrayoginī]. The section ends with the statement that it is a “handed over instruction” (*bka' gtod kyi gdams pa*). The author is unknown, but Düsum Khyenpa or one of his students may have written it down.

²⁰³ SB kha 189:5, ... **he badzra** las/ bsgom med bsgom pa po yang med/ ces pa. Compare Snellgrove, *Hevajra tantra*, I, Chapter v., “Reality,” 60, “In reality there is neither form nor seer, neither sound nor hearer, etc.”

²⁰⁴ SB kha 189:6 ... khyab pa gzhi phyag rgya chen po dang / 'char ba las kyi phyag rgya chen po dang / grol ba 'bras bu'i phyag rgya chen po'o/

²⁰⁵ SB kha 190:2 ... rig pa'i ngo bo skye ba med pa chos skur grol/

²⁰⁶ *dkar chag* of the SB edition calls the set of five: *Rdo rje phag mo'i bka' bsrungs kyi sgrub thabs skor*

²⁰⁷ SB title, CW [].

Section 3, size 1 f, begins with [SB kha 197:4] *bhyo nyi ma lho nub pha ki na/ / mun nag 'khrigs pa'i dur khrod nas/ /* It ends [SB kha 198:5] *che ge mo mā ra ya dza sod//* Versetext, of 39 lines, each line has 7 syllables²⁰⁸. Invocation of a subordinate (*bka' nyan*) of Vajravārāhī, an “action-*ḍākinī* riding on a wolf” (*las kyi mkha' 'gro spyang zhon ma*), naked, red, with the right arm holding a *kartarī* which cuts off the enemy’s life-force and the left arm holding the red heart/mind (*tsitta, citta*) of the enemy. After the verse text, a rather long mantra is introduced that is slightly different from the one in section 1, even though beginning and end are the same, it begins with OM VAJRA ḌĀKINI VAIROCANIYE ... and ends with JA JAḤ. The author is unknown.

Section 4, size 1 f, begins with [SB kha 198:6] *guru na mo/ 'di ni mthu mi 'byung kha med kyi las yin la/* It ends [SB kha 200:1] *'di ni man ngag gsang bsgrub bo//* A secret practice key-instruction (*man ngag gsang bsgrub*), with three important points (*gnad*): cultivate that you are Vajrayoginī, apply her mantra (not specified), and *mya ngan las 'da' ba*. The author is unknown.

Section 5, size 1 f, begins with [SB kha 200:1] *na mo gu ru/ slob dpon chen po nā ro pas mdzad pa'i gdams ngag/ rdo rje phag mo'i rgyud bsrung ngan sngags kyi spu gri re gcod mtshan cha lta bu'i gdams nag ni/* It ends [SB kha 200:1] *ling ga de mnan na yang gnyan gsung ngo/ bkra shis par gyur cig//* This section describes a ritual against enemies of the lineage. The second line, after the homage, says that the instruction is like a weapon knife-cut of an “evil” mantra (*ngan sngags*), intended to protect Vajravārāhī’s lineage. The mantra begins with MĀRA ... and ends with PHAT.

The first line says that it is an instruction written by the great *ācārya* Nā-ro-pa, which could make him either the author or the transmitter of the instruction.

* * *

[24] *Dus gsum mkhyen pa'i zhus lan [1]*, “An Exchange of Dūsum Khyenpa [1]”
Size 16 ff, the work begins with [SW kha 370:1] *bla ma dam pa rnams la phyag 'tshal lo= byin gyis brlabs kyi dgon pa ru/ bdag nyid dbu ma'i gnas su rlung tshud pas/* It ends [SW kha 387:2] *zhus lan// ithi //*

The content of [24] concerns questions on *prāṇa* practice, *caṇḍalī*, *saṃkrānti* (*'pho ba*), and more. In contrast to the next *zhus lan* (work [25]), this one does not have a colophon, which complicates the question of authorship. The *zhus lan* has been translated.²⁰⁹

* * *

[25] *Dus gsum mkhyen pa'i zhus lan [2]*, “An Exchange of Dūsum Khyenpa [2]”
Size 23 ff, the work begins with [SW kha 389: 1] *bla ma dam pa rnams la phyag 'tshal lo= bla ma rin po che la= phyis kho bos gdams ngag cig zhus nas bsgoms pas=* It ends [SW kha 411:4] *'ong pa yin= da rung de 'dra ba rgya dang stong 'ong gsung=*

Section 3.3, “Critical Edition of *Zhus lan 2*” and 3.4, “Translation of *Zhus lan 2*” provide a critical edition, translation, and discussion of this work. The *zhus lan* has been translated earlier.²¹⁰

²⁰⁸ Line 1 and 20 have 8 syllables, but they begin with *bhyo*, probably an exclamation.

²⁰⁹ Tony Duff, *Gampopa Teaches Essence Mahamudra* (Kathmandu: Padma Karpo Publ., 2011), 68-80.

²¹⁰ Duff, *Gampopa*, 53-68.

Düsum Khyenpa is probably the author of this *zhus lan*, based on the personal style of the work and the available colophon.

Colophon: [SW kha 411:4] *rin po che 'i sgam po pa dang= rin po che mtshur phu ba gnyis kyi zhus lan= chos 'dis sems can la phan thogs par gyur zhig/*

* * *

[26] *Chos drug gi zhal gdams*, “Oral instruction on the Six Dharmas [of Nāropa]”

Size 21 ff, 9 sections, section 5 has a colophon, the work begins with [SB kha 227:1] *bla ma dam pa rnams la phyag 'tshal lo/* It ends [SB kha 247:6] *rje nā ro paṅ chen gyi gdams ngag zhal nas bgryud pa 'o// rdzogs so//* // The nine sections discuss Nā-ro-pa's *Chos drug*. No explicit information is found on who wrote the work [26] down. It may have been Düsum Khyenpa or *bla ma* Lha-rje or even one of the earlier masters of the Bka'-brgyud lineage. The colophon at the end of the next work, work [27] *Zhal gdams*, says, that the *chos drug zhal gyi gdams pa* was written by Düsum Khyenpa. It is possible that the statement covers both work [26] and [27], in which case [27] would be considered as an addition to [26].

The work of Ulrich Timme Kragh,²¹¹ offers more information on the Nā-ro *chos drug*.

Section 1, size 5 ff, begins with [SB kha 227:1] *bla ma dam pa rnams la phyag 'tshal lo// slob dpon te lo pa la/ slob dpon chen po nā ro pas lo bcu gnyis brten nas dka' ba bcu gnyis spyad/ de nas yang dag pa 'i gdams ngag zhus pa la/* It ends [SB kha 231:5] *bde stong lam du 'khyer ba yang gsung / rdzogs so//* The first lines say that great *ācārya* Nā-ro-pa attended *ācārya* Te-lo-pa for twelve years and underwent twelve hardships. After this, he asked for “real” instruction and received three sets: methods of approach (*dngos po 'i gnas thabs*), stages of the path (*lam gyi rim pa*), and stages of result (*'bras bu skye ba 'i rim pa*).

The first set of instructions consists of the ‘mind’ approach and the ‘body’ approach. The ‘mind’ approach (*sems dngos po 'i gnas thabs*) is that of *mahāmudrā*, which the Hevajra-[tantra] explained as follows.

“It is [to become] pure by the purity of Awareness itself; not the [becoming] pure of other liberation [methods].”²¹²

The ‘body’ approach (*lus dngos po 'i gnas thabs*) consists of the “*caṇḍalī* – primordial awareness – instruction.”

The second set of instructions, the stages of the path, consists of two parts: the *samaya* (*dam tshig*) path which matures, and the *utpatti-niṣpannakrama* (*bskyed rdzogs*) or generation-completion path, which liberates. The generation-completion path is split into four parts: profound (*zab*) and nonprofound (*mi zab*) *niṣpannakrama*, and profound and nonprofound *utpattikrama*. Profound *niṣpannakrama* is *mahāmudrā* and nonprofound *niṣpannakrama* is the *prāṇa-nāḍī-bindu* practice. Profound *utpattikrama* is as explained elsewhere (see work [27], section 1) and nonprofound *utpattikrama* is meditating on a deity.

The third set of instructions, the stages which produce the result, consists of two elements. The first comprises the result conditions, which are warmth, bliss and nonthought (*drod bde ba mi rtog pa*). The second is the final (*mthar thug*) result, which is twofold: the result for

²¹¹ Ulrich Timme Kragh, “Prolegomenon to the Six Doctrines of Nāropa: Authority and Tradition,” in *Mahāmudrā and the Bka' brgyud tradition*, ed. Roger J. Jackson and Matthew T. Kapstein (Andiastr: IITBS, 2011).

²¹² SB kha 227:3... **he badzra** las/ rang rig dag pas dag pa yin/ dag pa gzhan gyi rnam grol min/ ces bshad pas/

oneself which is *dharmakāya* and the result by means of which one can benefit others is *rūpakāya*.²¹³

After this the text goes into the three part “*caṅḍalī* – primordial awareness – instruction.”

Section 2, size 1 f, begins with [SB kha 231:6] *bla ma rnams la phyag 'tshal lo/ / snang ba sgyu mar ma shes nas/ / rmi lam sgyu mar mi shes na/ / bar do sgyu mar mi shes pas/ / sgyu ma gsum la bslab pa ste/ / de bsgom par 'dod na/* It ends [SB kha 232:6] *rje nā ro paṅ chen gyi sgyu ma dang po 'i gdams ngag/ ithi //* The section starts with meditation instructions for those who wish to experience “whatever appears,” dreams, and the *antarābhava*, as an illusion. It specifically instructs on how to experience “whatever appears,” as an illusion.

Section 3, size 3 ff, begins with [SB kha 232:6] *bla ma dam pa rnams la phyag 'tshal lo/ / da rmi lam lam du 'khyer ba la don bzhi ste/* It ends [SB kha 235:4] *rje nā ro paṅ chen gyi rmi lam lam du 'khyer ba 'i zhal gyi gdams ngag dam pa/ ithi //* Oral instruction on how to bring dreams onto the path. The instruction is divided into four components: 1) ‘what is grasped’ (*bzung ba*), 2) purification (*sbyang ba*), 3) considering it as an illusion (*sgyu ma*) and 4) the giving up of fear (*ya nga ba spang ba*) and the ultimate reality, the *tattva* (*de kho na nyid*), of the dream.²¹⁴ All four are briefly discussed.

Section 4, size 2 ff, begins with [SB kha 235:4] *bla ma dam pa rnams la phyag 'tshal lo/ / bar do bsgom par 'dod pa 'i gang zag gis 'di ltar nyams su blang ngo /* It ends [SB kha 237:6] *rje nā ro paṅ chen gyi bar dor sangs rgyas pa 'i gdams ngag go/ dmar khrid rdzogs so//* The end of this section explains that it is an instruction on how to gain buddhahood in the *antarābhava*. In line *SB kha 236:3-4* we find the passage, “from the *sādhana*s of Lo-hi-pa and others [...]” Lo-hi-pa is the name of an Indian *mahāsiddha*.²¹⁵ At the very end we also learn that the ‘practice guidance’ (*dmar khrid*)²¹⁶ is completed. The statement probably intends to include sections 2 and 3 as part of this completed practice guidance, because section 2 introduces and begins the set of three.

Section 5, size 2 ff, begins with [SB kha 237:6] *bla ma dam pa rnams la phyag 'tshal lo/ / bcom ldan 'das dgyes pa rdo rje las/ gnyid ni spang bar mi bya ste/ / dbang po rnams ni mi dgag go/ zhes gsungs so/ / 'di bsgom par 'dod pas/* It ends [SB kha 239:2] *gnyid 'od gsal du gzhug pa 'i man ngag / rje nā ro paṅ chen gyi zhal nas brgyud pa rdzogs so//* As described in the end of the section, this is a key-instruction, an introduction into *prabhāsvara* (*'od gsal*), luminosity, [to wake up from the usual state of being] “asleep.”²¹⁷ The section begins with

²¹³ In the Mahāyāna tradition *dharmakāya* (*chos sku*) is considered to be the true nature of the Buddha and the source from which his other various forms are derived [...]; *rūpakāya* (*gzugs kyi sku*) refers to two specific visible forms of a Buddha: the *nirmāṇakāya*, or “emanation body,” which is visible to ordinary beings, and the *sambhogakāya*, or “enjoyment body,” which appears only to advanced bodhisattvas. (PDB)

²¹⁴ *tattva*, Skt., “ultimate reality,” a synonym for *paramārtha*, the reality, free of all conceptual elaboration, that must be understood in order to be liberated from rebirth as well as the inexpressible reality that is the object of Buddha’s omniscient consciousness. (PDB)

²¹⁵ Lo-hi-pa, Dowman, *Masters of Mahāmudrā*, 38, a variant of the name Lūipa, one of the eighty-four *mahāsiddhas*, 33-38.

²¹⁶ *dmar khrid*, Gold, “teaching through practice.”

²¹⁷ *prabhāsvara*, the concept of the “mind as clear light” becomes particularly important in *anuttarayogatantra*, where it is described as the primordial and fundamental form of consciousness, which becomes manifest at particular moments, such as falling asleep, awakening from sleep, orgasm, and especially, at the moment of death. Many practices of the stage of completion (*niṣpannakrama*) are devoted to making manifest this mind of clear light and using it to understand the nature of reality. (PDB)

citing the Hevajra-[tantra], and then it describes a method for waking up from “being asleep” (*gnyid ’ong ba’i thabs*). As a preparation one practices one’s usual *sādhana* in four sessions (*bškyed rim bzlas brjod rdzogs*). This is followed by the main part, in which one must recognize (or know) *prabhāsvara* (*’od gsal*) as *prabhāsvara*. The method includes a discussion of three essential points: posture, place and time (*lus yul dus gyi gnad*), as well a description of an instantaneous (*cig car ba*) approach and a gradual (*rim gyis*) approach.

The colophon says that neither the falling asleep – whether in an ordinary or unusual way –, nor the having awoken [from sleep] is important, but the *prabhāsvara* path is. It is to be inserted into the nondual state of bliss-emptiness (*bde stong*). When *ācārya* La-ba-pa²¹⁸ ‘woke up’ from a period of twelve years of ‘sleep’ [, though practicing he did not possess full awakening yet,] he [finally] gained the supreme *siddhi* of *mahāmudrā*.²¹⁹

Colophon: [SB kha 239:2] *’di ni gnyid log pa ma yin te/ tha mal pa’i gnyid dam lung ma bstan pa’i gnyid du ma song pas so/ / sad pa ma yin te/ ’od gsal lam/ bde stong gi nyams gnyis med du chud pa’o/ / slob dpon la ba pas/ lo bcu gnyis su gnyid thun gcig byas nas sad pa dang / phyag rgya chen po mchog gi dngos grub thob par gyur gsung ngo / / zhag bdun nam/ dgu la sogs par grogs sngas su bzhas la/ so sgra dang sdur pa byung na bslang du gzhug go/ rdzogs so//*

Section 6, size 2 ff, begins with [SB kha 239:4] *dpal rdo rje mkha’ ’gro ma la phyag ’tshal lo/ / dpal ldan bzhi las byung ba’i ’pho ba’i man ngag la gsum ste/* It ends [SB kha 241:1] *rje nā ro paṇ chen gyi sbyangs te ’pho ba’i gdams pa rdzogs so/ / rlung la dbang thob pas sgyu ma la blo sbyangs na ’ong gsung ngo //* It distinguishes between and briefly discusses three types of *saṃkrānti* (*’pho ba*) or transference of consciousness: highest, medium, and lowest. The highest type or form is transference into *prabhāsvara* (*’od gsal la ’pho ba*). The medium type is transference into a *māyādeha* (*sgyu lus la ’pho ba*), and the lowest is transference that applies applying *utpattikrama* (*bškyed pa’i rim pa la ’pho ba*). The “hig” sound is applied in using the method. The section ends with, “Nā-ro training, “transference” instruction.”

Section 7, size 1 f, begins with [SB kha 241:2] *dpal rdo rje mkha’ ’gro ma la phyag ’tshal lo/ / lus bcos te ’pho ba ’di seng ge’i nyal thabs kyis ’pho bar bya’o/* It ends [SB kha 242:3] *rje nā ro paṇ chen gyi/ ma bsgoms par sangs rgyas pa’i ’pho ba’i gdams ngag ’di shin tu gal che bar gsungs so/ / ’dir ka hig brjod mi dgos so//* Offering another type of *saṃkrānti*, the end of this section states that is a Nā-ro *saṃkrānti* instruction to attain buddhahood without having meditated, and without applying the “hig” sound (see section 6).

Section 8, size 1f, begins with [SB kha 242:4] *bla ma dam pa rnam la phyag ’tshal lo/ / btsan thabs kyi ’pho ba ’di la ni//* It ends [SB kha 243:5] *rje nā ro paṇ chen gyi btsan thabs su ’pho ba’i gdams pa’o/ / btsan thabs su ’pho ba rnam la ’di gnad che gsung / tshad kyang mi nyan rang lceb tu ’gro ba yin gsung ngo / rdzogs so// ithi //* This is another *saṃkrānti* practice, which combines one’s *yi dam* practice with *saṃkrānti* and *praṇa*

²¹⁸ Tāranātha, *History of Buddhism*, mahā-ācārya Lva-va-pā, 152, 241, 244-6. Also, Dowman, *Masters of Mahāmudrā*, 179-185, L(v)a-wa-pa, Skt. Kambala, an important *mahāsiddha* of the *saṃvara* lineages, teacher of Indrabhūti, Lakṣmīnkāra, and others.

²¹⁹ Dowman, *Masters*, 180, relates that La-va-pa wandered for twelve years [underlined as the period of time fits with the narrative here] from town to town, sleeping in cremation grounds and practicing his *sādhana*, after which he gained *mahāmudrā siddhi*.

elements. Here again the “hig” sound is applied. The section ends with a warning that the guidelines should be strictly observed, a warning that seems to also include the previous *saṃkrānti* practices (*’pho ba rnams*).

Section 9, size 4 ff, begins with [SB kha 243:6] *dpal rdo rje mkha’ ’gro ma la phyag ’tshal lo/ / grong du ’jug pa ’di nyams su len pa la ’di ltar bya gsung ste/* It ends [SB kha 247:6] *zhes dgyes pa rdo rje dang gnad bzhi las gsungs so/ / rje nā ro paṅ chen gyi gdams ngag zhal nas brgyud pa’o// rdzogs so// //* This is an instruction on a specific type of transference of consciousness, namely the so-called “entering a [new] body (lit. house)” (*grong du ’jug pa*). The practice has quite a few *prāṇa* elements. At the end of the section, we find a reference to the Hevajra- and Catuḥpīṭha-[tantra], noting that the motivation for this transference should be to attain buddhahood for the benefit of sentient beings.²²⁰ We also learn that it is part of the Nā-ro’s oral instruction lineage.²²¹

* * *

[27] *Zhal gdams*, “Oral instruction”

Size 13 ff, 9 sections, section 5 has an internal colophon, section 9 has the final colophon. The work begins with [SB kha 248:1] *rje bla ma rnams dang rje btsun nyid/ / yi dam lha la phyag tshal lo/ / slob dpon chen po nā ro pas/ / bde mchog ’khor lo’i gsang sngags ni/* It ends [SB kha 260:4] *grong ’jug gi gdams pa/ ithi//* [colophon]

The nine sections in this work contain additional instruction on the nine practices of the previous work [26]. At the end of section 5 we learn that sections 1-5 contain various instructions from the Hevajra-[tantra], while sections 6-9 contain *saṃkrānti* instructions from the Catuḥpīṭha-[tantra]. As for the authorship, the final colophon explicitly says that the “Six Dharmas oral instructions” (*chos drug zhal gyi gdams pa*) were written by Dūsum Khyenpa.

Final colophon: [SB kha 260:4] *chos drug zhal gyi gdams pa/ rje dus gsum mkhyen pas mdzad pa’o// //*

Section 1, size 2 ff, begins with [SB kha 248:1] *rje bla ma rnams dang rje btsun nyid/ / yi dam lha la phyag tshal lo/ / slob dpon chen po nā ro pas/ / bde mchog ’khor lo’i gsang sngags ni/ ’bum phrag gcig tu bzlas pa yis/* It ends [SB kha 250:3] *gtum mo’i gdams ngag go/ ithi //* The section elaborates on work [26], section 1. It begins with the instruction to first accumulate 100,000 Cakrasaṃvara mantras. Then, it briefly discusses the earlier outline of the approaches, stages of the path, and results. Of the two approaches, ‘mind’ and body, the ‘mind’ approach is said to consist of *mahāmudrā* key-instruction (*man ngag*). As for the two stages of the path, the maturing and the liberating, the first is said to consist of the four *abhiṣekas*. Profound *utpattikrama* is said to consist of *prāṇa-nāḍī-bindu*. The discussion of the outline is followed by additional instruction on the *caṅḍalī* practice of work [26].

Section 2, size 1 f, begins with [SB kha 250:2] *na mo gu ru/ dang po snang ba sgyu mar ma shes na rmi lam la rmi lam du mi shes/ rmi lam la rmi lam du ma shes na bar do ngos mi zin/* It ends [SB kha 251:3] *rje nā ro paṅ chen gyi sgyu lus kyi gdams ngag/ ithi //* Additional instruction is provided here on how to experience “whatever appears” as an illusion, introduced in work [26], section 2.

²²⁰ SB kha 247:5 *des sems can gyi don byed do/ / skye ba de la sangs rgyas par ’gyur ro/ / bsod nams can gyi lus de blang / zhes dgyes pa rdo rje dang gnad bzhi las gsungs so*

²²¹ The SB edition offers the complete text of this section 9, CW only a quarter. The CW edition omits almost 3 ff: SB kha 245:1 ... de ltar byas pas lus [... CW omits ...] SB kha 247:5 ... des sems can gyi ...

Section 3, size 2 ff, begins with [SB kha 251:3] *na mo gu ru/ rmi lam lam du 'khyer ba la don nam pa bzhi ste/* It ends [SB kha 253:1] *rje nā ro paṇ chen gyi rmi lam gyi gdams ngag go/ ithi //* This contains additional instruction on how to bring dreams onto the path, adding to work [26], section 3.

Section 4, size 3 ff, begins with [SB kha 253:2] *na mo gu ru/ bar do bsgom par 'dod pa'i gang zag gis/* It ends [SB kha 255:5] *rje nā ro pa'i bar do dmar khrid kyi gdams ngag go/ ithi //* Additional instruction is provided here on the *antarābhava*, discussed in work [26], section 4.

Section 5, size 1 f, begins with [SB kha 255:6] *na mo gu ru/ brtag pa gnyis pa las/ gnyid ni spa [CW spang] bar mi bya ste/ / dbang po rnam ni mi dgag go / bsgom pa thams cad bzang bar bya/ / zhes gsungs pas/ 'od gsal bsgom par 'dod pas/* It ends [SB kha 256:6] *gnyid 'od gsal du gzhus pa'i gdams ngag /*. This section begins with a citation from the Hevajra tantra (for Tibetan see above), which says neither to renounce sleep nor to obstruct the [objects of the five] senses. Instead one should cultivate all of these as good. It is followed by additional instruction on *prabhāsvara*, as described in [26], section 5.

Part of the colophon here has the same content as the colophon of [26], section 5. It says that it concerns the oral tradition of master Nā-ro. When *acārya* La-ba-pa ‘woke up’ from a period of twelve years of ‘sleep’ [, though practicing he did not possess full awakening yet,] he gained the supreme *siddhi* of *mahāmudrā*. [The text] is the written down [...] oral instruction of Rin-po-che. Furthermore, the instructions up to this point²²² [comprising both those of nos 26 and 27] sum up (*bsre ba*) the Hevajra-[tantra]²²³.

After the *ithi*, we find that the remaining sections [of 26 and 27] concern *saṃkrānti* practices from the Catuḥpīṭha-[tantra].

Colophon: [SB kha 256:6] *rje nā ro paṇ chen gyi zhal nas brgyud pa// slob dpon la ba pas lo bcu gnyis su gnyid thun gcig log pas sad pa dang phyag rgya chen po mchog gi dngos grub thob po gsung / rje rin po che'i zhal gdams brjod par 'phangs nas bris pa lags so// de yan chad dgyes pa rdo rje bsre ba'i gdams ngag yin/ ithi/* [in small letters, usually intralinear but not in this case] *'di man chad gdan bzhi'i 'pho ba yin no//*

Section 6, size 1 f, begins with [SB kha 257:2] *na mo gu ru/ 'pho ba man ngag gsum ste/ rab 'od gsal la 'pho ba dang / 'bring sgyu lus la 'pho ba dang / tha ma bskyed rims su 'pho ba'o/ dang po'i sbyangs te 'pho ba ni/* It ends [SB kha 258:3] *sbyangs te 'pho ba'i man ngag go/ ithi//* This is an additional instruction on [26], section 6, *saṃkrānti*.

Section 7, size 1 f, begins with [SB kha 258:2] *lus bcos te 'pho ba ni/* It ends [SB kha 259:2] *lus bcos te 'pho ba'i gdams ngag/ ithi//* This is an additional instruction on [26], section 7, *saṃkrānti*.

Section 8, size 1 f, begins with [SB kha 259:2] *na mo gu ru/ btsan thabs su 'pho ba'i man ngag ni/* It ends [SB kha 259:5] *btsan thabs su 'pho ba'i man ngag/ ithi//* Additional instruction on [26], section 8, *saṃkrānti*.

²²² The expression “up to this point” (*yan chad*), probably comprise sections 1-5, as it is followed (after the colophon) by *'di man chad*, “from here”.

²²³ According to Tāranātha, the Hevajra tantra is connected to Lva-va-pa (mentioned in the colophon), *History of Buddhism*, 246, “Lva-va-pā and Saroruha brought the Hevajratantra.”

Section 9, size 1 f, begins with [SB kha 259:6] *na mo gu ru/ grong 'jug gi gdams ngag ni/* It ends [SB kha 260:4] *grong 'jug gi gdams pa/ ithi//* Additional instruction on [26], section 9, *saṃkrānti* (*grong 'jug*).²²⁴

Final colophon: [SB kha 260:4] *chos drug zhal gyi gdams pa/ rje dus gsum mkhyen pas mdzad pa 'o// //*

* * *

[28] [*Caṇḍālī* practices]

This contains four separate, but the three first works are possibly one set. This is because, even though Mi-la-ras-pa is mentioned at the beginning of work 1), section 1, he does not appear in the content itself but he is included in the transmission lineage at the end of work 3).

1) *Gtum mo gangs seng ma*, “Snow lioness *caṇḍālī*”

Size 4 ff, three sections, no colophon. The work begins with [SB kha 260:5] *rje bstun mi la ras pa la phyag 'tshal lo/* It ends [SB kha 264:4] *de ni gegs sel lo/ / shin tu zab po/ ithi// //*

Section 1, size 2 ff, begins with [SB kha 260:5] *rje bstun mi la ras pa la phyag 'tshal lo/ / gtum mo gangs kyi seng chen ma bsgoms par 'dod pas/* It ends [SB kha 263:2] *gtum mo gangs kyi seng chen ma rdzogs so/ ithi//* After preliminary instruction, light radiates out from a red *bīja* HRIḤ which transforms all beings in Lady Vajrayoginī, and then we ourselves also transform into Lady Vajrayoginī. Our body is of red color and our two hands hold a *vajrakartarī* and a *kapāla*. What follows is a rather complex image which is called to mind, with *bījas* HA RI NI SA of the colors white, yellow, red, and green, and the *bīja* RAM. The practice includes a *prāṇa* part. It is unclear who the author is.

Section 2, size 1 f, begins with [SB kha 263:2] *lus sbyong bcu gnyis pa bya ba ni/* It ends [SB kha 264:2] *gtum mo gangs kyi seng chen ma 'i bogs 'don 'bar 'dzag gi gdams ngag /ithi//* This contains additional practice instruction on section 1.

Section 3, size half f, begins with [SB kha 264:2] *da ni gegs sel bshad par bya 'o/* It ends [SB kha 264:4] *de ni gegs sel lo/ / shin tu zab po/ ithi// //* This also contains additional practice instruction on section 1.

2) *Gtum mo la bar ma*, “*Caṇḍālī* on a mountain pass in the middle [of snow]”

Size 2 ff, no colophon. The work begins with [SB kha 265:1] *na mo guru/ rje dus gsum mkhyen pas mon sha 'ug stag sgor bsgom pa 'i dus su/ mon gyi rgyal po ga thung zhes bya ba ...* It ends [SB kha 266:4] *rje dus gsum mkhyen pa 'i gtum mo la bar ma rdzogs so// ithi //* This work consists of a brief narrative which is followed by instruction on a specific practice. The narrative takes place at Sha-'ug-stag-sgo in (the twelfth-century kingdom) Mon, located between Tibet and the Indian plains, at the time that the king of Mon, Ga-thung, ruled the country. It relates that once a master and student (*dpon slob*) were traveling and the path was blocked by snow through the miraculous action of spirits (*lha 'dre 'i cho 'phrul*). To prevent the student freezing to death, the dharma-master received a vision revealing a specific *caṇḍālī* practice. It was received from a *dākima*²²⁵ with a golden face or golden luster. This *dākima*

²²⁴ No omission in CW edition this time, see fn. work [26], section 9.

²²⁵ *dākima*, the spelling is probably a contraction of *dākinī* and *mkha' 'gro ma*.

had a single, gold colored, face, two arms, and a yellow body within which a mountain fire was blazing. Later on, a “primordial awareness fire blazed *u ru ru*.” As for the author, the narrative does not speak in the first but in the third person, that of “teacher and student,” Rin-po-che and Chos-rje. Therefore, it was therefore probably not written down by Düsüm Khyenpa, but by one of his students. If we take the four works as one set the student could have been Gangs-dkar-ba (see transm. lineage at the end of section 3). Rin-po-che and Chos-rje probably both refer to Düsüm Khyenpa, as the last line of the section explicitly links this practice to him.

3) *Mchog gi gtum mo*, “Superior *caṇḍālī*”

Size 5 ff, transmission lineage. The work begins with [SB kha 266:5] *bla ma grub thob rnams la phyag 'tshal lo/ slob dpon chen po nā ro pas/ / gsang sngags rgyal po yig ge bdun/ 'bum phrag gcig ni bzlas byas nas/* It ends [SB kha 271:1] *mchog gi gtum mo zhes bya ba/ ithi //* The work is for the most part in verse, with seven syllables each line, and it contains many intralinear remarks. The beginning notes that, according to Nā-ro [before engaging in the practice] one should have recited the seven syllables of the “king of secret mantras”²²⁶ 100,000 times. It starts with a citation from the Guhyasamāja-[tantra], which says,

“Great *prabhāsvara* and *śunya-[tā]*, as for that, several approaches emerge.”²²⁷

Then, [to experience] the “natural states” (*dnagos po 'i gnas lugs*), we have two approaches, body and ‘mind’.²²⁸ For the ‘mind’ it is said,

“Kyai ho, this is primordial awareness itself, beyond the domain of speech and the domain of thinking.”²²⁹

This in turn is followed by a reference to Te-lo and a list of Te-lo’s six dharmas, with intralinear remarks,

“Do not ponder, it is beyond; do not think, it is beyond, ...”²³⁰

After this, the *caṇḍālī* instruction is provided, supported by citations, from the Catuḥpīṭha-[tantra], the Hevajra-[tantra], and more. No information was found on the author or on who wrote down the text. The intralinear remarks may have been added by Düsüm Khyenpa. Gangs-dkar-ba, who is mentioned after the master in the lineage, is also mentioned in the lineage of work [14] *Rnam bzhi rgyud grol*, section 3.

Transmission lineage: [SB kha 270:6] *rgyud pa ni/ rdo rje 'chang / te lo pa/ des nā ro pa/ des skyes mchog mar pa/ des rngog chos rdor/ de gnyis kyis rje btsun mi la ras pa la/ des bla ma lha rje la/ des dus gsum mkhyen pa la/ des chos rje gangs dkar ba la/*

²²⁶ “king of secret mantras,” this is probably the seven-syllables Cakrasaṃvara mantra, see Düsüm Khyenpa Collection [8], work 1), *Bde mchog gyi rgya gzhung*, written by acarya Nā-ro-pa.

²²⁷ SB kha 267:1 ... de yang **gsang ba 'dus pa** pa las/ / 'od gsal ba la stong pa che/ / de la thabs ni sna tshogs 'byung / / zhes pas/

²²⁸ Notice that this reminds of the beginning of work [26] *Chos drug gi zhal gdams*, section 1. There we had two “approaches” (*dnagos po 'i gnas thabs*), that of body and ‘mind.’ Here we have the “natural states” *dnagos po 'i gnas lugs*.

²²⁹ SB kha 267:5 ... kyai ho/ 'di ni rang rig yes hes te/ / ngag gi spyod yul bsam pa 'i yul las 'das/

²³⁰ SB kha 267:6 ... **te lo pa chos drug** la/ mi nno (interlinear 'das pa)/ mi bsam ('das pa)/ mi g-yeng (ma 'ongs pa)/ mi bsgom (dmigs pa gtad la)/ mi spyod (dbang po yul la)/ sems rang bzhin (ma bcos pa 'i ngang la) du gnas par bya 'o/

4) *Bla ma'i gtum mo*, “*Bla ma caṇḍālī*”

Size 1 f, no colophon. The work begins with [SB kha 271:3] *bla ma rnam la phyag 'tshal lo/ bla ma'i gtum mo ni/* It ends [SB kha 272:4] *bla ma'i gtum mo'o/ / dmar khrid lags so//* The text instructs to call to mind that we are our *yi dam*, and that our *bla ma* sits at the place of our navel, on top of a disc of the sun. From our heart and from the heart of the *bla ma* light spreads out. Later in the meditation, the *bla ma* sits in a tent of fire, more details are provided. The author of the work and the intralinear remarks is unknown, but is possibly Dūsum Khyenpa.

* * *

[29] *Bsre ba bskor gsum*

Size 4 ff, colophon. The work begins with [SB kha 272:5] *tshogs gsum rab rdzogs bde chen dkyil 'khor nas/ / dus gsum mnyam par mkhyen pa'i chos rje rin po che/ ... // bla ma rin po che zhabs la 'dud//* It ends [SB kha 276:5] *'di bris bdag gzhan sku gsum thob par shog/ [colophon] / ithi / rdzogs so//* The title of this work is problematic and it is therefore left untranslated.²³¹ It contains several practice instructions, organized into a preliminary and a main part. The preliminary part consists of spiritual practices to purify the body. The main part consists of three types of instruction: *dharmakāya* instruction (*chos kyi sku'i gdams ngag*), *sambhogakāya* instruction, and *nirṇānakāya* instruction. In the *dharmakāya* instruction, we find references to two other works in the Collection, namely [28-3] *Mchog gi gtum mo*, and [22] [*Rdzogs rim*] *rlung sems gnyis med*.

The authorship and the origin date of the work are also problematic. In the beginning we find an introductory homage of four lines. The last line of the homage says, that it is composed by “me,” as a *bla ma Rin-po-che* “explanatory letter” (*khrid kyi phag*), written down [now] from been cast into speech [earlier].²³² The phrase “composed by me” (*bdag gis brtsams pa*) is reminiscent of the last line in many transmission lines in the Collection. Earlier on, I established, that this “me” probably is the Fifth Karma-pa De-bzhin-gshegs-pa (1384-1415).²³³ Therefore, we might be dealing here with a work written by Karma-pa V, on a subject that was transmitted orally. Karma-pa may not have been sure if everybody would agree on writing it down, because in the colophon he asks *bla mas* and *ḍākinīs* for patience or forgiveness.

The possibility of a later origin of this work may also be supported by another factor. In the description of the practice we find at some point, that a certain image should be called to mind, in which both our heart- or root-*bla ma* and dharma-master Dūsum Khyenpa appear. Dūsum Khyenpa is said to have white hair and a “black hat” (*dbu zhwa nag po*). This is the first time and only time that the attribute of the “black hat” is mentioned in the Collection.

The “black hat” is important, because throughout history the Karma-pas are also called the Zhwa-nag-pas. Richardson describes an occasion in which the Sixteenth Karmapa Rangbyung Rig-pa'i-rdo-rje (1924-81) conducts a ceremony of wearing the magical black hat of Dūsum Khyenpa, which presumably would confer “Deliverance on Sight.”²³⁴ Personally I would like to find more evidence in early written sources for linking Dūsum Khyenpa to the traditional “black hat,” because the “black hat” is neither mentioned in the *Gser gling rnam*

²³¹ Problematic as for a correct translation.

²³² SW kha 272:6 *bla ma rin po che'i khrid kyi phyag bzhes bdag gis brtsams pa 'di brjod du 'phangs nas bri bar bgyi/*

²³³ See 4.1, “Content, editions, origin, and authorship of the Collection.”

²³⁴ Hugh Richardson, “The Karma-pa Sect, A Historical Note,” in *High Peaks, Pure Earth*, ed. by Michael Aris (London: Serindia Publications, 1998), 358.

thar nor in *Zhus lan 2* and most of the ancient statues of Düsüm Khyenpa do not have a *zhwa nag*.²³⁵

Colophon: [*SB kha 276:5*] *bla ma gsung la zur tsam pa yi ger bkod pa mi rigs kyang / bla ma mkha' 'gros bzod par gsol/*

The Rubin Museum of Art Collection includes a relative small “painting on cloth” (*thang ka*). Some of the figures portrayed on this *thang ka* are also listed in the Düsüm Khyenpa Collection as being instrumental in *sādhanas* or important in the transmission of a specific work. The *thang ka* is reproduced below.²³⁶ Düsüm Khyenpa is included as one of the six large figures shown in the center, down at the right, and wearing the *zhwa nag*. The backside of the painting has descriptions of the figures, in some cases in Tibetan and Sanskrit.²³⁷ It is estimated as early thirteenth century.

However, portraying the master with a *zhwa nag* may have been something that developed much, in the lifetimes of the later Karma-pas, and not in the early thirteenth century shortly after Düsüm Khyenpa’s death (1193 C.E.).



Figure 18 Front- and backside of an ancient *thang ka*. Düsüm Khyenpa is one of the six large figures in the center, down at the right, wearing the *zhwa nag*, for details see footnotes to the text above

* * *

²³⁵ See e.g. the pictures of the statues of Düsüm Khyenpa at the beginning of this thesis.

²³⁶ Jackson, *Patron*, 38. Fig. 3.1, “Six Early Tibetan and Indian Masters,” 13th (?) century 8 7/8 x 7 1/8 in. (22.5 x 18 cm) C2006.42.4 (Har 89141), (question mark added). One of the six main figures (down at the right) wears the *zhwa nag* and an inscription on the backside says that the person is Guru Ratna Dharmakīrti. Dharmakīrti is the Sanskrit equivalent of Düsüm Khyenpa’s ordination name Chos-kyi-grags pa. Earlier depicted in Hugo Kreijger, *Tibetan Painting: The Jucker Collection* (London: Serindia Publications, 2001), 67, pl. 18.

²³⁷ Picture of the backside and a list of all the figures portrayed, see <http://www.Himalayanart.org-image.cfm=icode°89141> (accessed December 8, 2017).

[30] *Phyag rgya chen po thog babs*, “Mahāmudrā lightning”

Size 1 f, colophon. The work begins with [SB kha 277:1] *na mo gu ru/ phyag rgya chen po thog babs 'di la bzhi ste/* It ends [SB kha 278:2] *dngos po dang mtshan ma gang gis kyang sgrib par mi nus gsung ngo / [colophon] / ithi //*

This is a very condensed work, divided into four parts: 1. three essential points (*ngo bo gsum*); 2. four definitions (*nges tshig bzhi*); 3. three errors (*gol sa gsum*); and 4. four methods for resting [in mind] (*bzhag thabs bzhi*).

The three essential points are: “mind unmodified” (*sems ma bcos pa*), “without striving” (*rtsol bsgrub med pa*), and “knowing sensations as mind” (*byung tshor sems su shes pa*). They are applied in three areas.

From the perspective of the [Buddhist] path (*lam*), “unmodified” is the view or outlook (*lta ba*), “without striving” is cultivation or meditation (*bsgom pa*), and “knowing sensations as mind” is what should be practiced (*spyod pa*).

From the perspective of result (*bras bu*), “unmodified” is *dharmakāya*, “without striving” is *sambhogakāya*, and “knowing sensations as mind” is *nirmanakāya*.

And, [in a metaphor] “unmodified” is like a golden base [of everything] (*gser gyi sa gzhi*), “without striving” is like polished gold (*gser g-ya' dag pa*), and “knowing sensations as mind” is like having borrowed (*brnyan*) several golden forms (*gser gzugs*) and also like being unmoved by gold.

Parts number 2, 3 and 4, are also briefly discussed. After that a phrase is given from which the title of the work is derived,

“For example, when a strike of lightning comes to the earth nothing can stop it. Similarly, you can not be obscured by whatever matter or concept when you realized the single goal of *mahāmudrā*.”²³⁸

The colophon clearly attests that Dūsum Khyenpa is the author of the work.²³⁹

Colophon: [SB kha 278:2] *rje dus gsum mkhyen pa mdzad pa'i phyag rgya chen thog babs zhes bya ba/*

* * *

[31] *Rmi lam 'brel pa gsum ldan*, “Dream-[spiritual practice] in three parts”

Size 38 ff, twenty-two (!) sections, and final colophon. The work begins with [SB kha 278:3] *gu ru shrī badzra sha rna [CW sharna]²⁴⁰ na mo/ dpal ldan rdo rje 'dzin pa dngos/* It ends [SB kha 316:6] *rjes 'brel pa gsum ldan kyi gdams pa// ithi //* followed by the colophon. This work is organized into three parts (*'brel pa gsum ldan*) which are introduced in section 1: the “preliminary” part, comprising sections 1-6, the “main part” sections 7-20, and “what comes after” sections 21-22.

The author might have been Dūsum Khyenpa or one of his teachers, but no specific information on this is found. The work has many intralinear additions which might have originated from the author or from an editor.

The colophon says that the “Dream-[practice] in three parts” represents the “heart” of all *dākinīs*.

²³⁸ SB kha 278:1 *dper na 'jig rten na thog cig babs na ci la yang mi rdugs pa bzhin du/ rang gis phyag rgya chen po'i don cig rtogs na/ dngos po dang mtshan ma gang gis kyang sgrib par mi nus gsung ngo /*

²³⁹ A work with the same title is found in an edition of Lama Zhangs's Collected Works, see Yanamoto *Vision and Violence*, 363, Ga (Volume 3), ga cha, 18 *Phyag rgya chen po thog babs dang / ...*

²⁴⁰ *gu ru shrī badzra sha rna [CW sharna]*, unidentified.

Colophon: [SB kha 316:6] // mkha' 'gro ma thams cad kyi yang snying / rmi lam 'brel pa gsum ldan rdzogs so//

Section 1, size 3 ff, begins with [SB kha 278:3] *gu ru shrī badzra sha rna [CW sharna] na mo/ dpal ldan rdo rje 'dzin pa dngos/ / bla ma rnam la phyag 'tshal lo/ bde chen he ru ka sbyor ba 'i/ / dkyil 'khor 'khor lor bcas la 'dud/* It ends [SB kha 281:2] *sems bskyed dang 'brel pa gsum ldan gyi gdams pa// ithi //* After a homage of nine lines, we learn that the “dream” *sādhana* (*rmi lam gyi sgrub thabs*) consists of three [parts], as noted earlier: the preliminary part (*sngon 'gro*), the main part (*dngos gzhi*), and ‘what comes after’ (*rjes*). The preliminary part is divided into two categories: the actual preliminary practice (*sngon 'gro dngos*) and signs (*rtags*). The actual preliminary practice has five parts: *citta-utpāda* (*sems bskyed pa*)²⁴¹, *saṃbhāra* (*tshogs bsag pa*)²⁴², *adhiṣṭāna*, *pāpa-āvaraṇa-śodhana* (*byin rlabs nod cing sdig sgrib sbyang ba*)²⁴³, *śikṣā* (*bslab bya*)²⁴⁴, and *chanda* (*'dun pa*)²⁴⁵. The five preliminary parts are separately discussed in sections 1-5. Section 1 discusses *citta-utpāda* (*sems bskyed pa*), or fully spelled *bodhicitta-utpāda* (*byang chub kyi sems bskyed pa*), “generating the aspiration (or resolve) for Awakening.”

Section 2, size 1 f, begins with [SB kha 281:2] *gnyis pa tshogs bsag ni/* It ends [SB kha 281:6] *tshogs bsag 'brel pa gsum ldan gyi gdams pa// ithi //* It discusses part two of the preliminaries, *saṃbhāra* (*tshogs bsag pa*), in Mahāyāna the “equipment” of the bodhisattva, usually *puṇya* and *prajñā*, “merit and wisdom,” also “accumulation” of the qualities that bring about progress on the path.²⁴⁶ The text begins by noting that it consists of three elements. For the body (*lus kyi las*), it consists of prostrations and circumambulations, for the speech it consists of recitation and taking refuge, and for the mind, it consists of the generation and completion stages and ‘focusing’ on [the *bla ma*]. Furthermore, all activities should be regarded as dreams.

Section 3, size 1 f, begins with [SB kha 282:1] *gsum pa sdig pa sbyang ba ni/i/* It ends [SB kha 283:2] *bslab bya 'brel pa gsum ldan gyi gdams pa// ithi //* This section discusses parts three and four of the preliminaries. Regarding part three, *adhiṣṭāna* and *pāpa-āvaraṇa-śodhana* (*byin rlabs nod cing sdig sgrib sbyang ba*), “blessing” and “purifying of negative deeds and obscurations,” the text says to practice the “one-hundred syllables *sādhana*.”²⁴⁷ In part four, *śikṣā* (*bslab bya*), “training,” several practices are described, including a specific *prāṇa* practice and what to hold in mind while resting or falling asleep.

²⁴¹ *sems bskyed pa*, LC *cittotpāda* (= *citta-utpāda*). BHSD *cittotpāda*, production of intention, resolution
²⁴² *tshogs bsag pa*, LC *saṃbhāra*. BHSD *saṃbhāra*, equipment for (those destined for) enlightenment; consists of two things, *puṇya* and *jñāna*.

²⁴³ *sdig sgrib*, LC *pāpa āvaraṇa*. LC *sgrib gnyis pa*, *kleśa-jñeya- āvaraṇa*. LC *sbyang ba*, (*vi*)*śodhana*

²⁴⁴ *bslab bya*, LC *śikṣā*. BHSD *śikṣā*, moral conduct. MW, *śikṣā*, training.

²⁴⁵ *'dun pa*, LC *chanda*. BHSD *chanda*, ... zeal, a characteristic of a bodhisattva or buddha often associated with *vīrya*.

²⁴⁶ *saṃbhāra*, PDB reads for *saṃbhāra*, *puṇya* and *jñāna* (instead of *prajñā*), I have not followed that as in work [6] of the Collection, the *Tshogs chos*, Düsum Khyenpa offers a threefold *prajñā* (*shes rab*), that of *śrutamayī prajñā*, *cintāmayī prajñā* and *bhāvanāmayī prajñā*. On top of that he offers the *shes pa 'i shes rab*, the *prajñā* of “knowing,” which fits with Skt. *jñāna*, √ *jñā*, “know”; in this line of explaining, *jñāna* (Tib. *ye shes*) is the endresult, “primordial awareness.”

²⁴⁷ *yi ge brgya pa 'i sgrub thabs*, also recommended in [6] *Rje dus gsum mkhyenpa 'i Tshogs chos*, section 1, SW ka 263:4, it refers to the Vajrasattva *sādhana*, the Rdo-rje Sems-dpa' *sgrub thabs*.

Section 4, size 4 ff, begins with [SB kha 283:2] *lnga pa 'dun pa sngon du btang ba gnyis te/sgyu lus sbyang ba'i 'dun pa dang / 'tshams sbyor ba'i 'dun pa'o/* It ends [SB kha 287:32] *sgyu lus 'brel pa gsum ldan gyi gdams pa// ithi //* This section discusses part five of the preliminaries, *chanda ('dun pa)*, “zeal” or desire to act.²⁴⁸ The text says that there two kinds of “zeal.” The first is the zeal of purifying the illusory body (*sgyu lus sbyang ba 'dun pa*), which is discussed here. The second is the zeal of “appropriate connecting” (*'tshams sbyor ba'i 'dun pa*), discussed in section 5. The first type of zeal is further divided into two kinds: illusory determination (*sgyu ma gtan la phab pa*) and illusory experience (*sgyu ma nyams su blang ba*). In turn, illusory determination is divided into training by means of the reflection in a mirror, and training in the form of a *yi dam* deity, both of which are discussed. Next, illusory experience is divided into training by means of a “shooting star” (*skar mda'*) and training by means of the generation stage, and both of these are discussed. The generation stage is further divided into three and all are discussed.

Section 5, size half f, begins with [SB kha 287:3] *'tshams sbyor ba'i 'dun pa ni/* It ends [SB kha 287:5] *'tshams sbyor 'brel pa gsum ldan gyi gdams pa// ithi //* A brief discussion of the second kind of zeal, “appropriate connecting” (*'tshams sbyor ba'i 'dun pa*), in which one is told to reflect on the idea that all what appears and becomes is a “dream.”

Section 6, size 1 f, begins with [SB kha 287:5] *gnyis pa rtags pa gnyis te/* It ends [SB kha 289:1] *rtags 'brel pa gsum ldan gyi gdams pa// ithi //* The second category of preliminary practice is that of *linga*, “signs or mark” (*rtags*). This is divided into two subcategories: signs that come from having finished [the preliminaries] (*zin nas 'ong pa'i rtags*) and signs of not yet having finished (*mi zin pa'i rtags*). The first category is further split into two, after which the signs are specified. This marks the end of the first part of the work, the preliminary stage of the practice.

Section 7, size 6 ff, begins with [SB kha 289:1] *gnyis pa dngos gzhi la gsum ste/* It ends [SB kha 294:1] *gzung ba [sic.] 'brel pa gsum ldan gyi gdams pa// ithi //* This section addresses the main part of the practice (*dngos gzhi*) which is divided into three categories: taking hold of (*bzung ba*), the way to promote it in case taking hold does not work (*ma zin pa na spogs*²⁴⁹ *pa'i cho ga dang*), and training (*sbyang ba*).

Section 7 only addresses the first category, the “taking hold of,” within which two approaches are identified: a gradual and an ‘at once’ approach (*rim gyis pa dang gcig char ba*). The gradual approach is fourfold: practice related to sleep (*gnyid bsgrub pa*), practice related to dreams (*rmi lam bsgrub pa*), taking hold of dreams (*rmi lam bzung ba*), and signs of success (lit. having finished) (*zin pa'i rtags*). The first three are discussed in succession, including *gcig char ba*. The fourth part, ‘signs of success,’ is discussed in section 8.

Section 8, size 2 ff, begins with [SB kha 294:1] *bzhi pa zin pa'i rtags la gnyis/* It ends [SB kha 296:2] *rtags 'brel pa gsum ldan gyi gdams pa// ithi //* This section discusses signs of success, which is the fourth part of the gradual approach to “taking hold of.” The signs are organized into two groups and specified. This marks the end of the first category of the main practice.

²⁴⁸ *chanda*, Skt., 'dun pa Tib., zeal or desire to act, PDB.

²⁴⁹ Corrected, *spog* SB, *spogs* CW; SB sections 9 and 11 spell *spogs*; *spogs* imp of *spog pa*, “transfer, promote.”

Section 9, size 4 ff, begins with [SB kha 296:3] *gnyis pa ma zin na spogs pa'i cho ga la gsum/* It ends [SB kha 300:3] *rnal 'byor pa'i dge sbyor 'grib pa'i mi gtsang ba'i nyams grib sel ba'i 'brel pa gsum ldan// ithi //* This section addresses the beginning of the second category of the main practice, “in case of no success the way to promote it” (*ma zin pa na spogs pa'i cho ga*). The instruction is divided into three parts: way to promote when no success, way to promote when ‘lost’ (*shor ba*), and way to promote advantage (*bogs 'byung*). The first is divided into three again, and many more subdivisions follow. Some items are placed in separate sections, namely 10 to 14. These are not discussed separately, as this would go too much into detail.

Section 10, size half f, begins with [SB kha 300:4] *gnyis pa 'byams bzhi bzlog pa ni/* It ends [SB kha 301:1] *'byams bzhi bzlog pa'i man ngag 'brel pa gsum ldan/ ithi //*

Section 11, size 1 f, begins with [SB kha 301:1] *gsum pa spogs pa'i cho ga la gsum ste/* It ends [SB kha 302:1] *tshogs gsog gi bogs 'don 'brel pa gsum ldan gyi gdams pa/ ithi //*

Section 12, size 1 f, begins with [SB kha 302:1] *gnyis pa rlung gi bogs 'don ni/* It ends [SB kha 303:2] *rlung gi bogs 'don 'brel pa gsum ldan/ ithi //*

Section 13, size half f, begins with [SB kha 303:4] *gsum pa spyod lam gyi bogs 'don ni/* It ends [SB kha 304:1] *bogs 'don 'brel pa gsum ldan gyi gdams pa// ithi //*

Section 14, size 3 ff, begins with [SB kha 304:1] *gnyis pa zin nas shor ba'i spogs pa'i cho ga la gsum ste/* It ends [SB kha 307:3] *spogs pa'i cho ga 'brel pa gsum ldan gyi gdams pa/ ithi//* End of the second category of the main practice.

Section 15, size 2 ff, begins with [SB kha 307:3] *dngos gzhi gsum pa sbyang ba la lnga ste/* It ends [SB kha 309:1] *ya nga ba spang ba'i 'brel pa gsum ldan gyi gdams pa/ ithi //* This section addresses the beginning of the third category of the main practice, namely that of “training” (*sbyang ba*). Five types of training are identified: *ya nga ba*, *spel ba*, *bsgyur*, *de kho na nyid*, and *bar do* and they are described in the sections 15-19. Again, to avoid too much detail, the content of these is not discussed here.

Section 16, size 1f, begins with [SB kha 309:1] *gnyis pa spel te sbyang ba ni/* It ends [SB kha 309:1] *spel ba 'brel pa gsum ldan gyi gdams pa/ ithi //*

Section 17, size half f, begins with [SB kha 309:1] *gsum pa bsgyur te sbyang ba ni/* It ends [SB kha 311:4] *bsgyur ba 'brel pa gsum ldan gyi gdams pa ithi //*

Section 18, size 1 f, begins with [SB kha 311:4] *bzhi pa de kho na nyid du khyer te sbyang ba ni/* It ends [SB kha 311:4] *rmi lam de kha na nyid du sbyang ba 'brel pa gsum ldan gyi gdams pa ithi //*

Section 19, size 1 f, begins with [SB kha 311:4] *sbyang ba lnga pa bar do dang bsres te sbyang ba ni/* It ends [SB kha 313:2] *rmi lam dang bar do bsres te sbyong pa 'di yang kun la med pa'i gdams ngag 'brel pa gsum ldan ithi //*

This marks the end of the third category of the main practice, and also the end of the second part of the work, the main practice.

Section 20, size 1 f, begins with [SB kha 313:2] *rjes kyi gdams ngag 'di mtshan mo'i rmi lam zin cing sbyang pa'i nang par te/* It ends [SB kha 314:3] *bde ba chen por bsre ba 'brel pa gsum ldan gyi gdams pa/ ithi //* The beginning of the third part of the work, “what comes after,” includes sections 20-22. Again, given the detailed nature of the material, the content of these sections is not discussed here.

Section 21, size 2 ff, begins with [SB kha 314:3] *gnyis pa [CW gcig pa] sku gsum ro gcig tu bsre ba ni/* It ends [SB kha 315:6] *sku gsum ro gcig tu bsre ba 'brel pa gsum ldan gyi gdams ngag/ ithi //*

Section 22, size 1 f, begins with [SB kha 315:6] *rjes gsum la ro mnyam ste/* It ends [SB kha 316:6] *rjes 'brel pa gsum ldan gyi gdams pa/ ithi //* This marks the end of the third part of the work, ‘what comes after.’ It is followed by the colophon and a dedication.
Colophon: [SB kha 316:6] // *mkha' 'gro ma thams cad kyi yang snying / rmi lam 'brel pa gsum ldan rdzogs so//*

* * *

[32] *Bar do bka' rgya ma*, “*Antarābhava* – confidential²⁵⁰”

Size 11 ff, four sections, no colophon. The work begins with [SB kha 317:3] *na mo gu ru/ snang ba thim dang rtog pa thim//* It ends [SB kha 327:4] *gdams pa thun mong ma yin pa rdzogs so//* The work provides information on three subjects: the process of dying, the *antarābhava* (*bar do*) and the taking of rebirth. Besides that, it also contains instruction on *antarābhava* in general, and more specifically on how to gain buddhahood in one lifetime and one body (*tshe gcig lus gcig*). As for the addition “confidential” in the title, the end of section 4 says that the instruction is not suitable for everybody.

No specific information on the author is provided. Section 2 begins by stating that it is an instruction from the noble *bla ma* which could be Dūsum Khyenpa or *bla mas* before or after him.

Section 1, size 4 ff, begins with [SB kha 317:3] *na mo gu ru/ snang ba thim dang rtog pa thim// rags pa thim dang phra ba thim//* It ends [SB kha 321:3] *bar dor khor bar 'khyams lugs rdzogs so//* This section begins with eight verse lines, seven syllables each, offering a summary of the process of dying and what comes after. Section 1 further elaborates on dying, *antarābhava* (*bar do*) and on taking rebirth.

Section 2, size 3 ff, begins with [SB kha 321:3] *da ni bla ma dam pa'i gdams ngag gis/* It ends [SB kha 323:6] *rab tshe gcig gis phyag rgya chen po mchog gi dngos grub thob par 'gyur ro/ / zhes bya'o//* The section contains the so-called “noble *bla ma* instruction,” which is divided into three preliminaries (*sngon 'gro*), one main part (*dngos gzhi*), and four things to remember (*nyams su blang pa*).

The preliminaries are: 1) cultivating compassion and *bodhicitta*, 2) remembering one’s *bla ma*, and 3) remembering the *yi dam* deity, and each is discussed briefly. In the discussion of preliminary 1, cultivating compassion and *bodhicitta*, we learn that at the time of death two *antarābhava* instructions should be remembered. The first is to have recognized or known luminosity (*'od gsal ngo shes pa byas*), and the second is, in case this did not work out, to know the illusory nature of the *antarābhava* (*sgyu lus gyi bar do shes par bya*), which is further discussed in see section 3.

The main part consists of resting in an uncontrived state of awareness, *mahāmudrā* mind, and letting everything dissolve into it.

The four things to remember are four types of signs (*rtags*). The last sign is that luminosity shines forth naturally.

The section ends by saying that this is the so-called “best [way of] obtaining the supreme *mahāmudrā* *siddhi* in one life time”

Section 3, size 1 f, begins with [SB kha 323:6] *na mo gu ru/ 'od gsal ma zin na bar dor don grub par bya ba ni/* It ends [SB kha 324:5] *dbang po 'bring gis bar dor phyag rgya*

²⁵⁰ GC *bka' rgya ma* = *gsang ba bka' rgya ma/ bka' bsang ba can/*

chen po mchog gi dngos grub thob pa'i lam// This section elaborates on the second of *antarābhava* instruction, mentioned in section 2 above, what to do when luminosity is not recognized, namely, to understand the illusory nature of *antarābhava*. It ends by noting that this is, “for those with medium faculties, the way of obtaining the supreme *mahāmudrā siddhi* in the *antarābhava*.”

Section 4, size 3 ff, begins with [*SB kha 324:6*] *na mo gu ru/ de la ma thob na/ gsum pa mngal sgo dgag pa ni/ dgag thabs rnam pa lnga ste/* It ends [*SB kha 327:3*] *su la yang bstan du mi rung ngo/ ... bar dor bka' rgya ma/ tshe gcig lus gcig gis sangs rgya ba'i gdams pa thun mong ma yin pa rdzogs so*// The text begins with, “if that is not obtained,” which probably refers to the two approaches presented in section 2 and 3, a third approach exists, which is called “closing the door to the womb” (*mngal sgo dgag pa*), which consists of five parts.

At the end of this section, we are told that the teaching is not suitable for everybody, and that it is an uncommon instruction to gain buddhahood in one lifetime and one body. It is unclear if this comment applies only to section 4 or to the whole work, sections 1-4.

* * *

[33] *Gegs sel thor bu pa rnams*, “Removing hindrances – pieces of advice”

Size 14 ff, colophon and transmission lineage, the work begins with [*SB kha 327:5*] *bla ma dam pa rnams la phyag 'tshal lo/ / rin po che'i zhal nas/ dmigs pa thor bu 'di ltar bsgom gsung / tshe bsring bar 'dod na/* It ends [*SB kha 334:6*] *'gro la gsol ba gdab po* followed by colophon and transmission lineage. At the beginning we learn about the context of this work: “Rin-po-che said, [...] if one wants to extend his life,” which is followed by the first piece of advice.

In this work, I counted about thirty-three different pieces of advice, many of which begin with, “Rin-po-che said ...” Most of them concern types of illness (*na ba* or *nad*), such as pain in the heart, throat, stomach, or teeth, a cold, and so on. Sometimes a specific mantra is provided, though in many cases, a small spiritual practice is offered as advice. At the end we find that, now and then, the “Great Compassionate One” (Thugs-rje-chen-po, Avalokiteśvara) is included in the healing practice.

The colophon says that the work contains instructions of the man from Gnas-gnang-pa (Düsum Khyenpa). The master probably did not put down the words himself, as he is referred to in the third person. Therefore, it probably consists of notes taken by one of his students, possibly Ras-chen-pa who is listed directly after the master in the transmission lineage. Ras-chen-pa is also known as 'Gro-mgon Ras-chen, indicated as one of the master's students in the *Deb ther dmar po*. He is also included in the transmission lineages of two other works of the Collection²⁵¹, and he is the student who is most elaborated upon in the *Blue Annals*, where he is called Sangs-rgyas Ras-chen.²⁵² The name Ras-chen does not appear in the *Gser gling*, even though three students with the name Sangs-rgyas are mentioned, one of whom could be Ras-chen.

Colophon and transmission lineage: [*SW kha 334:6*] *rje rin po che gnas nang pa'i gdams pa dmigs pa rnon po [CW pa]'o/ / des bla ma ras chen pa la'o/ / de nas rim par rgyud pa rin po che'i phyag gnas nang pa bzhes lags so*//

²⁵¹ 'Gro-mgon Ras-chen is listed in the transmission lineage directly after Düsum Khyenpa in works [9.2] *Phag mo lha lnga'i sgrub thabs* and [22] *Rdzogs rim rlung sems gnyis med*.

²⁵² Roerich, *Blue Annals*, 480-3, 517, Sangs-rgyas Ras-pa chen-po.

* * *

[34] *Gegs sel gyi zhal gyi gdams*, “Removing hindrances – oral instruction”

Size 22 ff, no colophon. The work begins with [SB kha 335:2] *bla ma dam pa rnams la phyag 'tshal lo/ gegs sel zhal gyi gdams pa/ nyams rtogs gsal ba'i sgron me/* It ends [SB kha 356:6] *gegs sel zhal gyi gdams pa rdzogs so//* The content of this work resembles the previous one [33], and it describes more diseases and how to cure them. However, in the case of this work, diseases may have been triggered by the spiritual practice itself, and advice is offered on how to deal with them. For example, “When blood comes from the nose while meditating, [...]” Also, now and then, specific symbols or *mudrās* are recommended, for example the *seng ge rnam grol gyi phyag rgya* (not explained further in the text). Again, as in [33], some spiritual practices are presented to counteract specific diseases.

At one point [SB kha 343:1], we find four instructions (*gdams ngag*) for dispelling obstacles by means of *samādhi* (*ting nge 'dzin gyis bsal ba bzhi*), of which the first focuses on the strength of “mind itself – awareness” (*sems nyid rig pa'i stobs*).²⁵³ At [SB kha 353:6] an instruction against “misunderstanding” (*go bzlog pa'i gdams ngag*) is introduced.

Throughout the work we regularly find the expression, “Hold Awareness-mind’s strength” (*rig pa sems kyi ngar so bzung*), and at the end we find “Awareness-mind identified” (*rig pa sems ngos bzung*).

No information on the author is provided. At one point point, we do find the expression, [SB kha 353:4] the “... *bla ma* said ...” (... *zhan du bla ma'i zhal las shes par bya ba ni*). This could indicate that Düsüm Khyenpa is the author, in which case the *bla ma* would be one of his teachers, for example *bla ma* Lha-rje, the physician. It is also possible is also that one of his students is “speaking,” referring to Düsüm Khyenpa as the *bla ma*. In that case the author of this work may have been the same one as the author of work [33], possibly Ras-chen-pa. However, since we have a separate work here, it could have also been another student, not identified by name.

* * *

[35] *Mgon po bya rog ma'i sgrub thabs dharma kīrti* 'i lugs kyi mgon po 'i bdag bsgom, “Raven-protector *sādhana* – meditation on the lord of protectors in the manner of Dharmakīrti [Düsüm Khyenpa]”

Size 10 ff, six sections, section 3 has a colophon, section 6 a transmission lineage. The work begins with [SB kha 357:1] *chos skyong 'di'i rgyud pa'i lo rgyus ni/* It ends [SB kha 365:5] *rgyun gtor bsdus pa rdzogs so*, followed by the transmission lineage.

The first section offers the history, according to tradition, of two protectors: Caturbhujamahākāla, the Four-armed Great-black-one, and the [two-armed] Kākamahākāla, the Raven-[faced] Great-black-one. The present work [35] concerns the first protector, while work [36] is about protector.

Section 2 of this work presents the so-called Mahākāla *sādhana*, of Indian origin, which was received from Dpal-chen Rga-lo. This section also reveals that the name of the “Four-armed” protector is “Raven,” not to be confused with the name of the second protector, the “Raven-faced.”

²⁵³ SB kha 343:1 ... *ting nge 'dzin gyis bsal ba bzhi ste/ sems nyid rig pa'i stobs kyi spyir gdon bya ba'i gdams ngag dang / rlung thod rgal du 'jug pa'i gdams ngag dang / rtsa mdud grol nas rtsa lam sbyangs te rtsa sna nas 'don pa'i gdams ngag dang / lus dra ba lta bu'i gdams ngag.*

From the *Gser gling*, we know that Rga-lo, whose full name was Dpal-chen Rgwa-lo Gzhon-nu-dpal²⁵⁴, was one of Düsüm Khyenpa’s early teachers, from before the age of thirty. Rga-lo granted him the Cakrasaṃvara *abhiṣeka* and the master heard his advice. The *Gser gling* does not mention the transmission of Mahākāla. Other sources attest that Rgwa-lo transmitted the Raven-protector to Düsüm Khyenpa²⁵⁵, *bla ma* Zhang (1122-93)²⁵⁶ and to Phag-mo-gru-pa (1110-70)²⁵⁷.

Section 3 further elaborates on section 2, sections 4 and 5 concern the *bali* (*gtor ma*) rite, and 6 adds a description of the entourage of the protector.

As for the authorship of the texts, Section 1 must have been written down later in time, at least partial, as it extends to persons who lived after the master. The author is unknown. Section 2, the *sādhana*, according to the related tradition it was written down by Nāgārjuna of Vikamalaśīla. Section 3 is authored by Dpal (probably Dpal Rga-lo). Sections 4-6 may have been written down by Düsüm Khyenpa based on the instruction he received from Dpal Rga-lo.



Figure 19 Left Nāgārjuna (possibly the one from the story), then Caturbhuja-mahākāla, Kākamukha-mahākāla, and Caturbhuja-mahākāla (standing), details of an ancient *thang ka* fully reproduced at the end of work [29]

Section 1, size 5 ff, begins with [SB kha 357:1] *chos skyong 'di'i rgyud pa'i lo rgyus ni/* It ends [SB kha 361:3] *des bla ma gzhon nu dar la'o//* Section 1 of the work begins by describing the history (*lo rgyus*) of the lineage of this *dharmapāla*.

We learn that thirteen spiritual friends (*dge ba'i bshes gnyen*), including *bla ma* Düsüm khyenpa, Phag-mo gru-pa, Zhang-sum-thog-pa, and Dge-shes Ar, requested the Cakrasaṃvara, the Four-armed Dharmapāla, and so forth (supposedly more), *abhiṣeka* and *anujñā* (*dbang rjes gnang*) of Dpal Rga-lo, together with the instruction (*gdams ngag*) on how to practice.

At that time, Rga-lo explained that the practice of the Four-armed Dharmaprotector went back to the time that Nāgārjuna (Klu-sgrub) lived in Vikamalaśīla (sic.)²⁵⁸ and the Ganges

²⁵⁴ Dpal-chen Rgwa-lo Gzhon-nu-dpal, end 11th-, early 12th-century, no precise dates available.

²⁵⁵ Roerich, *Blue Annals*, 475, “Mgon-po Bya-gdong, from Rgwa lo-tsa-ba”

²⁵⁶ Rgwa-lo, teacher of *bla ma* Zhang, see Yanamoto, *Vision and Violence*, 140, “... *chos skyong bya rog can* ...”) 230, 420. Yanamoto adds an Appendix 1, “Contents and Back Matter/Colophons to Volumes 1-7 of the Shedup-Namgyal 2004 Edition of *bla ma* Zhang’s Collected Works.” I have not traced (yet) any texts on *Bya-rog* in this list of Zhang’s Collected Works.

²⁵⁷ Dpal-chen Rgwa-lo was one of Phag-mo-gru-pa’s teachers, see Schiller, *Leben und Gesamtwerk Phag mo gru pa*, 21. In Schiller, Table C, Titelliste des *Phag mo gru pa'i bka' 'bum* (KGRCH), 223, we find item No. 249 *Dpal nag po chen po bya rog gdong can gyi bsnyen pa'i man ngag* (4 ff), and No. 267 *Bya rog ming can phyag bzhi ba'i bstod pa* (1 f).

²⁵⁸ Vikamalaśīla SB,CW, Das records a place called Vikramalaśīla: “Name of a monastery at Magadha founded by king Dharmapala on the bank of the Ganges. It became the chief seat of Buddhist learning after the

(Gang-gā) almost flooded the site. Therefore, Nāgārjuna searched for the protector of the Ganges to come and help. He finds a protector who, in the beginning, is unwilling to come and help, and who is actually heading towards Śītavana śmaśāna (Bsil-ba'i tshal dur khrod)²⁵⁹. After Nāgārjuna addresses him as “You, Gang-[gā] dharmapāla,” he answers: “Actually I am Saṃbhara, the *jñānanātha* (*ye shes kyi mgon po*), the “primordial awareness protector,” manifesting with one face and four arms, who subdues all powerful male and female spirits (*lha 'dre*) of the world, working for the benefit of all sentient beings.” He nevertheless transmits to Nāgārjuna the *sādhana* to invoke him.

We read that the *sādhana* was later organized as a fundamental text (*gzhung*), and this text is said to be the *bla ma*'s key-instruction (*man ngag*). This probably refers to the *sādhana* presented in section 2 of this work.

The lineage of Caturbhujanātha, the Four-armed protector, as derived from the text is as follows: Ārya Nāgārjuna (Klu-sgrub of Vikamalaśīla), Aryadeva, Mar-me-mdzad-pa bzang-po (Atiśa), Rdo-rje-gdan-pa, Tsa-mi lo-tsa-ba, Dpal Rga-lo, Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa.

The history of Kākanātha, the Raven-[faced] protector, is discussed separately [*SB kha 359:1*]. We learn that Rga-lo himself went to India and requested the instruction of Dpal Tsa-mi lo-tsa-ba. He also received four *abhiṣekas* from *bla ma* Abhyakara and trained for seven years in the generation and completion stages of two practices, *sahaja* (*lhan skyes*) and Kālacakra (Dus-'khor), and attained the supreme results. Afterwards, he asked for and received permission from the *bla ma* to visit Śītavana śmaśāna. There he meets a person colored black with the face of a raven (*mi nag po bya rog gi gdong can*) holding a *kartarī* (*gri*) in his right hand and a *kapāla* filled with blood in his left, surrounded by a group of jackals and *ḍākimas*. In response to the question “Who are you?” the person answers, “I am a *lokanātha* (*lo ka 'i mgon po*), a world-protector most powerful in strength.” He also says that he is an assistant of the Four-armed protector and that in the past he was invited by Nāgārjuna to come to Vikamalaśīla. When asked if he is alone, he answers no, I am not alone, there are others too; the five protectors of body, speech, mind, qualities and activity (*phrin las*), and of the last again, there are three. In the past, after many protectors left for Vikamalaśīla, I was appointed as the “keeper” (*bdag po*) of Śītavana. There are other places [to protect] also, and there are eight *śmaśānas*²⁶⁰ in places where there are persons like me.

Later Rga-lo asked *bla ma* Tsa-mi for the complete practice instruction (*gdams ngag*) of this *dharmapāla* (*chos skyong*), and in this way, it came to Tibet, to Düsüm Khyenpa and others. The text says that the complete instructions were especially given to Düsüm Khyenpa (at this point named Chos-rje-grags-pa)²⁶¹ who then passed them on.

We find the following lineage of the Raven-faced protector practice in the text: Tsa-mi lo-tsa-ba, Dpal Rga-lo, Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa and others, Stag-del-ba and Prajñākīrti, Prajñākīrti to Dpal Mi-bskyod-rdo-rje, he to *bla ma* Khams-chen-pa, he to *bla ma* Gzhon-nu-dar.

Section 2, size 2 ff, begins with [*SB kha 361:3*] *rgya gar skad du/ śrī mahākāla sādhana*²⁶²/*bod skad du dpal chen po 'i sgrub thabs/ dpal he ru ka la phyag 'tshal lo/* It ends [*SB kha 363:2*] *dpal nag po chen po 'i bsgrub pa 'i thabs rdzogs so//* This is an Indian fundamental text (*rgya gzhung*) in verse, with 57 verselines of seven syllables each. Lines 3

glory of Nalanda had waned; and Atiśa was [...] priest there for several years till he proceeded to Tibet. It was destroyed by Baktyar Ghiliji in A.D. 1203 about the time Sakya Sri Paṇḍita of Kashmir visited it.

²⁵⁹ Śītavana śmaśāna, one of the eight “charnel grounds,” see PDB for a brief description and the symbolic meaning.

²⁶⁰ See PDB *śmaśāna*, for a list of the eight.

²⁶¹ Chos-rje-grags-pa, probably a contraction of Chos-rje and Chos-kyi-grags-pa (his ordination name).

²⁶² *sādhana*, Skt. restored SB,CW *sa dha nam*

and 4 say, “I will write down the practice stage of Mahākāla (*nag po chen po*), the “Great-black-one.” Later we learn that the “Great-black-one” [also] has the name “Raven” (line 25: *bya rog ming can nag po che*), and that he has one face and four hands. The right hands hold a red [...] fruit²⁶³ and a sword, the left hands a *kapāla* complete filled with jewels and a *khatvāṅga*. His lower garment is a tiger skin, he has a beard, yellow eyebrows, three eyes, and shows his fangs in fearful manner. His *bīja* is a black HŪṀ, the brief mantra (*sngags*) to invoke him begins with OM MAHĀKĀLA YA ... and ends with PHATṬ. Line 50 says that it is a key-instruction (*man ngag*).

From the above, we learn that the “boss,” the “Four-armed” *jñānanātha*, has the name “Raven,” and this is not to be confused with his assistant, the *lokanātha*, who has two arms and is called the “Raven-faced protector” (see also section 1).

Section 3, size half f, begins with [*SB kha 363:2*] *bzlas pa'i thabs ni*/ It ends [*SB kha 363:5*] *de ni bzlas pa'i man ngag go*/ The text is an additional key-instruction on section 2, specifically on what to call to mind while reciting (*bzlas pa*) the mantra. Also, we read that this is done after the Cakrasaṃvara practice and its seven-syllable mantra.

The colophon says that it was written by *bla ma Dpal* (probably Dpal Rga-lo, see section 1) and handed over [to Düsüm Khyenpa] at Byang-rtse²⁶⁴.

Colophon: [*SB kha 363:5*] ***byang rtse btang du bla ma dpal gyi phyag dpe la bris so//***

Section 4, size 1 f, begins with [*SB kha 363:5*] *bla ma rnams la na mo/ nag po chen po'i gtor ma 'bul bar 'dod pa'i sngags pas*/ It ends [*SB kha 364:6*] *nag po chen po'i gtor ma'i rim pa rdzogs so//* This is a manual for offering a *bali* (*gtor ma*) to Mahākāla while reciting. It comes with a long mantra which begins with OM MAHĀKĀLA YA ... ending MĀRAYA HŪṀ PHATṬ, and intralinear comments.

Section 5, size 1 f, begins with [*SB kha 364:6*] *nag po chen po'i gtor ma bsdus pa byed par 'dod pas*/ It ends [*SB kha 365:5*] *rgyun gtor bsdus pa rdzogs so//* This is an additional manual for offering a *bali* to Mahākāla, with a shorter mantra beginning with OM MAHĀKĀLA ... and ending with KHAHI KHAHI HŪṀ PHATṬ.

Section 6, size half f, begins with [*SB kha 365:5*] *HŪṀ ma hā kā la/ khrag 'thung gi rgyal po*/ It ends [*SB kha 366:2*] *rang ci rigs pa'i spyod pas gnas par bya'o*, followed by transmission lineage. This is a description and possibly an invocation of Mahākāla, the “king” of Herukas (*khrag 'thung*) who is surrounded by an assembly of a thousand black-ones. The transmission lineage at the end corresponds with what was described in the first part of section 1.

Transmission lineage: [*SB kha 366:2*] *'di'i rgyud pa ni/ dpal ye shes kyi mgon pos/ slob dpon klu sgrub la gsungs/ des slob dpon arya de va la gsungs/ des mar me mdzad ye shes bzang po la gsungs/ des bla ma rdo rje gdan pa la gsungs/ des bla ma tsa mi lo tsā ba la gsungs/ des dpal chen po rga lo la gsungs/ des chos rje duṣ gsum mkhyen pa la gsungs so//*

* * *

[36] ***Dharma kīrti'i lugs kyi mgon po bya rog ma'i thod nag gi sgrub thabs***, “Black kapāla Raven-[faced] protector *sādhana*, in the manner of Dharmakīrti [Düsüm Khyenpa]”

²⁶³ Problematic, *bhe ta'i bras bu dmar*, *bhe ta*, possibly corrupted Sanskrit for *bheda*, “cleft.”

²⁶⁴ Byang-rtse, location unidentified.

Size 28 ff, sixteen sections, section 3 and 8 have a colophon. The work begins with [SB kha 366:5] *dpal khrag 'thung gyi rgyal po la phyag 'tshal lo/* It ends [SB kha 394:3] *rengs par byed pa 'i mngon spyod rdzogs so//* The work contains instructions for the practice on this protector.

As for the authorship, we read earlier (work [35] section 1) that Düsüm Khyenpa in particular received these protector instructions from Rga-lo. The main text possibly comes from Rga-lo (or from one of the transmission predecessors) and the intralinear additions from Düsüm Khyenpa.

From section 13 onward in the work, this protector is addressed as Vajra Mahākāla. Recently Peter Verhagen published research on a specific hymn to Vajra Mahākāla,²⁶⁵ but this hymn is not part of the Düsüm Khyenpa Collection.

Section 1, size 4 ff, begins with [SB kha 366:5] *dpal khrag 'thung gyi rgyal po la phyag 'tshal lo/ thod nag gi bsgrub pa drag po 'i btsan deng 'dra dug/* It ends [SB kha 371:2] *de dag ni las 'grub pa 'i rtags so//* This is said to be a quintessence *mahākāla* key-instruction (*nag po chen po 'i snying thig man ngag*) to protect the teachings (*bstan*). It describes a ritual in which a *kapāla* is imaged inside a black, three-cornered *maṇḍala*. Many clarifying intralinear additions are supplied. After having meditated on the One-face-four-arms *jñānanātha*, described in work [35], inside the three-cornered *maṇḍala*, the One-face-two-arms Raven-faced Mahākāla appears. He appears in his fearful form of *karmanātha* (*las kyi mgon po*), in his right hand he holds a blazing *kartarī* (*gri gug*) which cuts off the life of *samaya* violators, in his left hand a red *kapāla* filled with the blood of the violator's hearts. It is noted that one should meditate on this for three weeks and also on Mahākaruṇika (Snying-rje-chen-po). A very long mantra is added, which consists of several sections, begins with OM MAHĀKĀLA ... and ends with PHAṬ. In the text the practice is called “mahākāla activity” (*ma hā kā la las*) and “forceful activity” (*drag po 'i las*). It is sometimes also called “violent or drastic measures,” which belong to *abhicāra*²⁶⁶. It is followed by the manual for offering a special *bali* (*gtor ma*) and special signs that may appear are described.

Section 2, size 2 ff, begins with [SB kha 371:2] *de dag gi dus su phrin las bcol ba ni/ HŪṀ [1] dur khrod chen po bsil ba 'i tshal/ /... / [4] ma hā kā la bya rog/* It ends [SB kha 373:2] *lha dang dbye ba 'i man ngag ni gu gul gyi dud pas bdug go // ithi //* This section is a versetext of sixty-four verselines, each containing line 7 syllables. At the end of the section, we learn that it is a key-instruction (*man ngag*) of a special class of deities. From Śtavana

²⁶⁵ Peter Verhagen, “Notes apropos to the Oevre of Si tu Paṅ chen Chos kyi 'byung gnas (1699?-1774) (5) – The ‘Eight-Stanza Hymn to Mahākāla’: A Glimpse of the Translator at Work,” *Revue Tibétaines*, no. 39, April 2017, 166-228. Verhagen describes how Chos-kyi-'byung-gnas approached his translation task, when requested to translate the hymn into Tibetan. We learn that he collected as many sources he could get, especially Sanskrit sources, and that in his translation he accounts, by means of many notes, for the linguistic choices he makes. Verhagen compares in detail Chos-kyi-'byung-gnas translation with two Sanskrit versions that have been preserved, entitled *Vajra-Mahākālāṣṭaka-stotra*, and offers a thorough translation of the hymn into the English language.

²⁶⁶ *abhicāra* (*mngon spyod*), “magic” or “wrathful action,” belongs to the fourth of the four activities (*caturkarman*) of the Buddhist tantric adept. It usually has five different forms of action: *māraṇa*, *mohana*, *stambhana*, *vidveṣana*, *uccāṭana* and *vaśīkaraṇa*. Here in this work [36], *māraṇa* will be discussed in section 13, *uccāṭana* in section 14, *vidveṣana* in section 15, and *stambhana* in section 16.

“After initiation (*abhiṣeka*), adepts who keep their tantric commitments (*samaya*) properly and reach the requisite yogic level are empowered to use four sorts of enlightened activity, as appropriate: these four types of activity are (1) those that are pacifying (*śānticāra*); (2) those that increase prosperity, life span, etc. (*pauṣṭika*), when necessary for the spread of the doctrine; (3) those that subjugate or tame (*vaśīkaraṇa*) the unruly; and finally (4) those that are violent or drastic measures (*abhicāra*).” (PDB)

(Bsil-ba'i-tshal), the Raven-[faced] Mahākāla is invoked by what he looks like, what his hands hold, and so forth. He is addressed as “Raven-face – treasury of activity” ([29] *bya rog gdong can phrin las mdzod*) and he is asked to do his work.

Section 3, size 2 ff, begins with [SB kha 373:3] *ma hā kā la'i las gsum pa/* It ends [SB kha 375:2] *gzhan du sdig tu 'gyur bas spang bar bya'o gsang bar bya'o ba yin gsung // ithi //* followed by the colophon. This third text on mahākāla activity is a combination of verse text (verselines of 7, sometimes 9 syllables), explanatory lines, and many intralinear comments. It is a manual for a *homa* and a *bali* with corresponding mantras. Here again, we find the term *drag po'i las*.

The colophon says that it concerns the stage of connecting with Dpal [Rga-lo's]²⁶⁷ Black-Raven activity. It also says that it is an instruction of the mighty Kumaraśrī²⁶⁸, the *yogin* who attained the ordinary *siddhis* and the supreme *siddhis* from the Cakrasaṃvara (Khor-lo-som-pa) cycle²⁶⁹. It was written and handed over at Byang-rtse²⁷⁰.

Colophon: [SB kha 375:2] *dpal bya rog nag po'i las la sbyar ba'i rim pa 'khor lo sdom pa'i sgor mchog dang thun mong gi dngos grub brnyes pa'i rnal 'byor gyi dbang phyug ku ma ra shrī'i gdams pa byang rtse gtang du bris pa'o rdzogs so//*

Section 4, size 1 f, begins with [SB kha 375:3] *dpal mgon po la phyag 'tshal lo// bla ma la gus dam tshig 'dzin/* It ends [SB kha 376:6] *nag po chen po'i rtags kyi man ngag / ithi //* This is a versetext, consisting of thirty-eight verselines of 7 syllables each, with intralinear additional explanations. It provides key-instruction (*man ngag*) on three categories of *mahākāla* signs that may appear after having practiced Jñānamahākāla (*nag ye shes kyi po chen po*).

Section 5, size 1 f, begins with [SB kha 376:6] *de ltar rtags rnamshes byas la/* It ends [SB kha 377:5] *dpal bya rog nag po chen po'i las sbyor gyi man ngag bstan pa ste rdzogs so//* This is also a versetext, now twenty lines, 7 syllables each, with intralinear additional explanations. It is a continuation of section 4, on how to react in case some of the signs appear, and ends by noting that the teaching, or the key-instruction, on how to connect with Dpal [Rga-lo's] Kākamahākāla activity is now completed.

Section 6, size 2 ff, begins with [SB kha 377:5] *ma hā gu ru na mo/ bstan la sdang ba'i dam nyams rnamshes // ma hā kā la'i cho 'phul gyis //* It ends [SB kha 379:2] *cho 'phul btang ba'i thabs rdzogs so//* This describes the ritual of how to apply mahākāla *prāṭihārya* (*cho 'phul*), “miracles”, to protect the teachings. It comes with a lengthy intralinear explanation and a lengthy mantra, which begins with MAHĀKĀLA RGYUG ... and ends with BHYO BHYO.

Section 7, size 1 f, begins with [SB kha 379:2] *bla ma dam pa rnamshes la phyag 'tshal lo// 'di'i lhag pa'i lha yi dam lhan skyes yi ge bdun pa'o//* It ends [SB kha 380:3] *de ni bzlas pa'i thabs so//* This short section contains two verselines of 12 syllables each, followed by explanations. It describes two methods of reciting the Mahākāla mantra. The first is the ‘reciting manner’, the key-instruction of the *bla ma* (*de ni bla ma'i man ngag gi bzlas pa'i*

²⁶⁷ Dpal, probably Dpal Rga-lo, the person who transmitted the instructions to Düsüm Khyenpa.

²⁶⁸ Kumaraśrī, unidentified, possibly one of Dpal Rga-lo's names.

²⁶⁹ “cycle,” *sgor* read as *skor*.

²⁷⁰ Byang-rtse, location unidentified; the previous work [35], section 3, also mentions Byang-rtse in the colophon. There it is said that it was written by Dpal [Rga-lo].

lugs). It consists of writing down many times the seven component letters of the Mahākāla mantra. This instruction may have led to the editorial title of the entire work [36] *Dharma kīrti* 'i *lugs* ..., “manner of Dharmakīrti (Düsum Khyenpa).”

The second method is the reciting that is usually done in a *sādhana*. The author refers to the “calling to mind” procedure in the Cakrasaṃvara *sādhana*. In the mahākāla setting, a black HŪM is meditated on. The seven syllables are OM MAHĀKA[sic., no long “A”]LA HŪM PHAT.

Section 8, size 1 f, begins with [SB *kha* 380:3] *de ltar* [... intralinear] *shes par byas te/* It ends [SB *kha* 381:2] *zhes zer bas so/* followed by colophon. One gathers that the instruction is a continuation of the previous section, because it says, “[Now] that you know that, [...].” It recommends a specific number of mantra recitations to “approach” the deity (*bsnyen pa*).

Outer and inner “signs” (*mtshan ma*) of practice results are also discussed.

The colophon says that the stage of “approaching” Dpal [Rga-lo’s] mahākāka has finished, probably referring to both section 7 and 8. It also says that it is an instruction of Kumaraśrī which had been written down.

Colophon: [SB *kha* 381:2] *dpal bya rog chen po* 'i *bsnyen pa* 'i *rim pa las/ dpal chen po ku ma ra shrī* 'i *gdams ngag yi ger bris pa rdzogs so//*

Section 9, size 2 ff, begins with [SB *kha* 380:3] *sa bcad gzhung gi steng du sbyar na/ bcom ldan 'das khrag 'thung ces pa nas/* It ends [SB *kha* 382:4] *sa bcad gzhung gi steng du sbyor lugs yin no// ithi //* This outline (*sa bcad*), provided in addition to the main text, begins with, “Bhagavan Heruka, ...,” and also offers additional explanation on certain passages.

Section 10, size 2 ff, begins with [SB *kha* 382:4] *bla ma dam pa rnams la phyag 'tshal lo/ /dkyil 'khor gru gsum nag pos byug/* It ends [SB *kha* 385:2] *snyam du sems bskyed pa 'o// ithi //* These are explanations on earlier passages in the text. For example, the first passage that is explained in more detail (*dkyil 'khor gru gsum/ zhes bya ba*) comes from section 1 *SB kha* 367:2, and *snying rje chen po* 'i *bsam pa yis/ zhes pa ni/* comes from section 1 *SB kha* 368:1.

Section 11, size 1 f, begins with [SB *kha* 385:2] *ma hā kā la* 'i *rten la/ phyi nang gsang ba gsum gyi rten gzugs pa ni/* It ends [SB *kha* 386:1] *rten gyi man ngag / ithi //* The text contains instructions on how to endow a [Raven]-mahākāla statue with outer, inner and secret faculties.

Section 12, size half f, begins with [SB *kha* 386:1] *de ltar thun gyis bsad pa dang sbyin sreg gis bad pa gnyis byas na/* It ends / [SB *kha* 386:6] *bsgrub thabs gong ma gnyis na bris yod pa des dge 'o//* This ritual contains three parts: overcoming (*mnan pa*), key-instruction (*man ngag*), and *samādhi* (*ting nge 'dzin*). It ends with referring to the fact that the two previous, or superior, *sādhana*s were written down. What is not clear is if “two” includes work [35] on Jñānātha.

Section 13, size 2 ff, begins with [SB *kha* 386:6] [... intralinear] *thugs rje* 'i *bdag nyid lhag pa* 'i *lha* [... intralinear] *dpal ldan khrag 'thung* It ends [SB *kha* 389:2] *rdo rje nag po chen po* 'i *las/ bsad pa* 'i *mngon spyod rdzogs so//* This is an explanation on the vajra-mahākāla activity of *māraṇa-abhicāra* (*bsad pa* 'i *mngon spyod*)²⁷¹, the *abhicāra* of “killing.” The structure is that of a versetext. However, the lines vary in number of syllables and many

²⁷¹ *abhicāra* (*mngon spyod*), see earlier Trans. note work [36], section 1.

intralinear remarks are added. From the group of protectors (*mgon po 'i tshogs*) [around Jñānanātha or Kākanātha – this is not clear] two more protectors are introduced. The color of the first is red, having one face and two arms, with the right arm holding an iron hook, and the left arm holding a noose. The color of the second protector is black, with one face and two arms, which hold all kinds of weapons. A variant of the earlier mantras is introduced which begins with OM VAJRA MAHĀKĀLA ... and ends with MĀRAYA HŪM PHAṬ.

Section 14, size 2 ff, begins with [SB kha 389:3] *gal te rnal 'byor pas bsgrub bya gnas gzhan du bskrad par 'dod na/* It ends [SB kha 391:6] *rdo rje nag po 'i las/ bskrad pa 'i mngon spyod rdzogs so//* This is an explanation on the vajra-mahākāla activity of *uccāṭana-abhicāra* (*bskrad pa 'i mngon spyod*), the *abhicāra* of “removing or driving away.” It consists of versetext with verselines of mainly 7 syllables, and many intralinear remarks are added. The construction of a “magic circle” (*'phrul 'khor*) is introduced. The first mantra (*sngags*) which belongs to the activity begins with OM VAJRA MAHĀKĀLA ... and ends with JAJA HŪM HŪM BAM. Then, the red protector, the one with the iron hook, described in section 13, is again called to mind. The second secret mantra (*gssang sngags*), the one for the actual “driving away,” begins with OM [sic., no vajra] MAHĀKĀLA ... and ends with UCADAYA HŪM PHAṬ. It is followed by what is called to mind for the *samādhi* [stage].

Section 15, size 1 f, begins with [SB kha 391:6] *gal te rnal 'byor pas bsgrub bya [... intralinear] phan tshun 'byed par 'dod na/* It ends [SB kha 393:1] *rdo rje nag po 'i las/ dbye ba 'i mngon spyod rdzogs so//* This is an explanation on the *vajra-mahākāla* activity of *vidveśana-abhicāra* (*dbye ba 'i mngon spyod*), the *abhicāra* of “dissention.”²⁷² Here again, we find the construction of a magic circle” (*'phrul 'khor*). The secret mantra begins with OM VAJRA MAHĀKĀLA ... and ends with VIDEŚAYA HŪM PHAṬ, followed by the calling to mind for the *samādhi* [stage].

Section 16, size 1 f, begins with [SB kha 393:1] *gal te rnal 'byor [... intralinear] mtshan nyid can gyi [... intralinear] pas bsgrub bya 'i lus [... intralinear] rengs par bya bar 'dod na/* It ends [SB kha 394:3] *rdo rje nag po 'i las/ lus rengs par byed pa 'i mngon spyod rdzogs so//* This is an explanation on the *vajra-mahākāla* activity of *stambhana-abhicāra* (*lus rengs par byed pa 'i mngon spyod*)²⁷³, the *abhicāra* of “paralyzing.” Again a “magic circle” (*'phrul 'khor*) is constructed. The mantra begins with OM VAJRA MAHĀKĀLA HŪM PHAṬ/ LAM ... and ends KĀYASTAMBHAYA LAM, followed by the calling to mind for the *samādhi* [stage].

* * *

[37] *Bsang gtor dang / sgab 'dre mnan pa 'i thabs*, “*Bsang gtor dang*²⁷⁴ – a method to overcome hidden 'Dre”

Size 10 ff, two sections, no colophon. The work begins with [SB kha 394:5] *dpal lha mo 'i bsang gtor dang / rgab [sic.] 'dre gnon pa/* It ends [SB kha 404:2] *yig ge me la phul//* 'Dre are a kind of spirits.²⁷⁵ This work introduces two practices on Devī (Lha-mo). There is no author information, but it was possibly written down by Düsüm Khyenpa.

²⁷² *dbye ba*, Jäschke: “discord, dissention”; *vidveśana*, MW: “causing to hate.”

²⁷³ *rengs par byed*, LC *stambhana*.

²⁷⁴ *bsang gtor dang*, problematic, CG, *bsang gtor*: [...] *bsangs gtor ba/* Das, *bsangs gtor ba*, to burn incense as an offering. However, as far as I can see no incense is offered, instead we find a specific Devī practice. Possibly we have *dang* here as an imperative marker (see Das), “scatter/destroy.”

²⁷⁵ For more on 'Dre, especially in the combination Lha-'Dre, see works [42]-[44].

Section 1, size 7 f, begins with [SB kha 394:5] *dpal lha mo* 'i bsang gtor dang / rgal 'dre gnon pa/ bsnyen pa 'i bca' (CW bcwa') ka dang gsum la/ It ends [SB kha 401:4] pad ma mthong (CW thod) 'phreng rtsal gyi gdams ngag go/ gsal lo byas so// ithi // This is a specific practice instruction (gdams ngag) on Devī, usually Śrī Devī (Dpal Lha-mo). We also find the name Rematī (Re-ma-ti) and at the end, a sort of title, *Pad ma thod 'phreng rtsal*.

Section 2, size 3 f, begins with [SB kha 401:4] bsgrub pa 'i dus *lha mo* 'i pho brang dgra dgegs It ends [SB kha 404:2] gzigs tshar nas yig ge (CW yi ge) me la phul// This another practice on Devī. A lengthy mantra is introduced which begins with MAMA DRAG²⁷⁶ RAKṢA MAHI DUN BHYO ... and ends with OṂ VAJRA KARTARI.

* * *

[38] *Rang byung rgyal mo* 'i bsgrub thabs / bla ma lha rje snubs kyi gter ma, “Self-arisen Queen *sādhana* – bla ma Lha-rje's Snubs²⁷⁷ hidden treasure”

Size 4 ff, colophon. The work begins with [SB kha 404:3] bcom ldan 'das dpal khrag 'thung rgyal po la phyag 'tshal lo/ bdud 'dul rang byung gyi rgyal mo 'i bsgrub thabs/ don man ngag tu phung la// It ends [SB kha 407:4] bsreg mnan gyis mjug bsdu 'o/ followed by the colophon and an additional mantra, and at the very end: *gsang sngags spu gri lta bu gsang ba dam pa 'o/ / rgya rgya rgya //*

The Rang-byung rgyal-mo mentioned in the title of this work is one of Devī's names.²⁷⁸ After a few introductory lines, the mantra is introduced which begins with TRAG [sic. compare previous work] RAKṢA MAHI THUN BHYO/ MAHĀKĀLĪ YAKṢA ... and ends with DUN BHYO. We learn that as for Rang-byung rgyal-mo, there are two of them, Lha-'dzab and Dgra-'dzab-bo, and what they look like. More mantras follow, of which one includes the name Rematī, another form of Devī. As for the mantra at the very end, the last line of the text states that it works like a razor (*spu gri*).

As for the author, the colophon says that is the Snubs “mind treasure” (*thugs gter*) of bla ma Lha-rje. He or Düsüm Khyenpa, or one of his students may have written down the *gter ma* down. It also says that it is a secret practice, a ‘black sword,’ a ‘vessel’ that should be guarded as if it were the eyeball of the bla ma.

Colophon: [SB kha 407:4] lag len mngon rtogs gsang ba dam pa *lha rje snubs kyi thugs gter/ gnag pa 'i mtshon cha/ snod dang ldan pa dang / bla ma mig gi 'bras bu ltar bsrung ba la shod/ sa ma ya/ rgya rgya rgya/*

* * *

[39] *Dpal re ma ti* 'i srog sgrub kyi man ngag, “Śrī Rematī vitality practice key-instruction”

Size 19 ff, colophon. The work begins with [SB kha 408:2] [1] dus gsum rgyal ba kun dngos bla ma dang // [2] dngos grub mchog gter yi dam mkha' 'gro 'i tshogs// It ends [SB kha 427:2] myur du rtags 'ong ngo /, followed by colophon and dedication. This text is a very detailed description of a specific practice which focuses on the deity Rematī, short for Śrī Devī Rematī (see colophon). At the beginning of this work, there is a versetext of 6 lines, 9 syllables each. Intralinear remarks are added now and then.

²⁷⁶ “DRAG”, [CW TRAG, elsewhere in SB also TRAG].

²⁷⁷ *snubs*, problematic, Das, name of a place in Tibet, imp. of *snub pa*, “to do away with.”

²⁷⁸ Compare title of work [41] and *Deities of Tibetan Buddhism*, No. 396.

After an extensive preparation black Śrī Devī Rematī (*dpal lha mo nag mo re ma ti*) appears, with one face and four arms. The first right arm holds a blazing *khaṭvāṅga*, the lower right arm a *kīla* (*phur pa*); the first left arm holds a magical mirror (*'phrul gyi me long*), and the lower a black snake (*sbrul nag*). Many more details follow. Several mantras, for different stages in the practice, are rendered, in fact too many to fully reproduce here. One of them however, is the mantra to approach (*bsnyen pa*) her, in the middle of the practice. It begins with TRAG RAKṢA MAHI DUN BHYO/ MAHĀ YAKṢA/ TIKṢNA KALI ... and ends with BHYO. As part of a versetext praise, she is called Dpal-ldan gnyan Re-ma-ti (line 417:4), and in another, which begins at 418:3, Dbang-phyug nag-mo gsang-ba'i Re-ma-ti. In line 419:3 she is referred to as Dpal-ldan rdo-rje Re-ma-ti.

The 'vitality' (*srog*) part, is mainly discussed in the second half of the text. Signs (*rtags*) of successful practice are described, for instance, the spontaneous arising of the capacity of primordial awareness (*ye shes kyi mthu rang byung*) and the granting of *siddhis* (*dnegos grub*). The completion (*rdzogs*) stage and what comes after (*rjes su*) are also discussed.

Line 5 and 6 of the versetext at the beginning provide some information on the author: / [5] *rang byung rgyal mo bsgrub pa'i gsal byed 'di* / [6] *bla ma'i gsung las byung bzhin bshad par bya* / We learn that the work is an explanation based on the words of the *bla ma*. Also, the colophon to the work reads that the instruction was expressed (*zhal*) by *bla ma* Rin-po-che. *Bla ma* Rin-po-che could refer to *bla ma* Lha-rje, in which case probably Düsüm Khyenpa wrote down the text. It could also refer to Düsüm Khyenpa himself, in which case probably one of his students wrote it down. The last line of the dedication expresses the wish "May the teachings of *chos rje bla ma* be spread." Again, *chos rje* may refer to *bla ma* Lha-rje or Düsüm Khyenpa.

Colophon: [SB kha 427:2] *bla ma rin po che'i zhal gyi gdams pa/ dpal lha mo re ma ti'i srog gi bsgrub pa'i man ngag / bsnyen par bya ba'i yig chung rdzogs so/*
Dedication: *rgyal ba'i bstan srung dpal ldan lha mo yi/ / khyad par 'phags pa'i srog bsgrub gsal byed pa'i/ / mngon par rtogs pa'i man ngag 'di bkod pas/ / chos rje bla ma'i bstan pa rgyas par shog //*

* * *

[40] *Dpal lha mo'i srog sgrub kyi las sbyor*, "Śrī Devī vitality practice – applying action" Size 20 ff, colophon. The work begins with [SB kha 427:4] *dpal lha mo srog bdag gi rgyal mo re ma ti la phyag 'tshal lo/ gong du bsnyen pa'i rtags byung nas/* It ends [SB kha 447:1] *ci 'grub pa rgyas par bya gsung ngo/* followed by colophon and dedication. This work seems to be a continuation of the previous one. It says that, after the above signs appeared (described in work [39], *siddhis* etc.), i.e. the signs of successfully approaching the deity, one is able or permitted to apply some special methods (*las la sbyor ba*). Now and then intralinear remarks are added to the text. We find the term *abhicāra* (*mngon spyod*)²⁷⁹ and how to perform a specific *māraṇa* ritual. Several new (combinations of) mantras are introduced, among which we find a versetext for the *bali* (*gtor ma*) offering that begins with BHYO *rdo rje nag mo re mati/* We also find a so-called key-instruction for generating her "blessing and spiritual influence" (*gzi byin bskyed pa'i man ngag*),²⁸⁰ the instruction on how to perform a specific *homa* (*sbyin sreg gi thabs*), a "sickle" (*zor*) ritual, and an "overcoming" (*mnan pa*) ritual. The colophon to the work says that this is the *bla ma*'s oral instruction, put into words as "practice guidance" (*dmar khrid*)²⁸¹. Therefore, it was probably written down by one of

²⁷⁹ On *abhicāra* (*mngon spyod*), see note to work [36].

²⁸⁰ *gzi byin*, CG *byin rlabs can nam dpal yon can/*

²⁸¹ *dmar khrid*, term also used in work [26] *Chos drug gi zhal gdams*, section 4.

Düsum Khyenpa's students, or alternatively, by the master himself in which case *bla ma* could refer to *bla ma* Lha-rje.

Colophon: [SB kha 447:1] **dpal lha mo** 'i srog sgrub kyi las sbyor/ **bla ma** zhal gdams/ nyams len dmar khrid du yig ger bkod pa 'o/ shin tu gsang zhing sba bar bya 'o//
Dedication: srog bdag rgyal mo mi zad dam pa yi/ nyams pa rtsad gcod spu gri 'i so 'dra ste/ / bstan pa bsrung phyir las sbyor gsal byed 'dis/ / dug lnga rgyas pa 'i bstan dgra 'i bdud du shog//

* * *

[41] **Dpal lha mo rang byung gi rgyal mo 'i byin rlabs kyi t̄ikā**²⁸², “Commentary on Śrī Devī-svayambhū-rājñī's spiritual influence”

Size 11ff, five sections, no colophon. The work begins with [SB kha 447:4] *ma mo 'i dam tshig bsrung ba ni*/ It ends [SB kha 458:4] *dngos grub bdag la stsol/ / maṅgalam bhavantu//*

Section 1, size 3 ff, begins with [SB kha 447:4] *ma mo 'i dam tshig bsrung ba ni*/ It ends [SB kha 451:2] *mdos dang bskang bshags bya 'o// ithi //* The third line (447:6) says that it is a key-instruction of twenty-four [terms] (*man ngag nyi shu rtsa bzhi*). Twenty-four Devī practice related terms are discussed: *phyag rgya bzhi* (1-4), *mtshan ma bzhi* (5-8), *ltas bzhi* (9-12), *bsnyen pa bzhi* (13-16), [...] and *'khrug pa* (24). Especially at the beginning of this section, there are extensive intralinear remarks.

Section 2, size 3 ff, begins with [SB kha 451:2] *na mo ratna gu ru/ dpal lha mo 'i sgo nas sku gsung thugs yon tan phrin las lnga 'i lung dang rjes su gnang bar byed par 'dod pas/* It ends [SB kha 454:2] *smon lam btab pas chog gsungs//* This is a manual for granting the *āgama* (*lung*), which is the scriptural dharma, and the *anujñā* (*rjes su gnang ba*), which is the authorization to practice [and accomplish] the five: body, speech, mind, quality and activity of Śrī Devī-svayambhū-rājñī (Dpal-ldan Lha-mo Rang-byung gi-rgyal-mo). In the preparation stage, among other details, Yamāntaka (Gshin-rje-gshed) is called to mind, and the mantra which begins with OM A KROTIKA YA... and ends with HŪM.

Section 3, size 2 ff, begins with [SB kha 454:2] *bla ma dam pa rnam la phyag 'tshal lo/ yum la brten nas nang gi rjes gnang byed par 'dod pas/ shākya seng ge 'i bstan pa la/* It ends [SB kha 455:6] *dpe lung bka' rgyas gdab gsung //* This section presents a manual for granting the ‘inner’ authorization. It begins with a brief verse invocation/request of 6 lines, 7 syllables each: / [1] *shākya seng ge* 'i²⁸³ bstan pa/ /.../ [4] **dpal ldan lha mo nag mo yi/**

Section 4, size 2 ff, begins with [SB kha 455:6] OM SVĀSTI/ *gsang ba ngo sprod dang / gtor ma la brten te phrin las bzhi 'i rjes gnang byed par 'dod na/* It ends [SB kha 457:6] **dpal ldan rang byung rgyal mo 'i byin rlabs kyi cho ga rdzogs so//** This is a manual for granting the ‘secret’ and *karmacatur* authorization. The term ‘secret’ refers to the *siddhi* (*dngos grub*), or accomplishment, of Śrī Devī's body, speech, mind, quality and activity.

Section 5, size 1 f, begins with [SB kha 457:6] / [1] *sngon chad yig ge mi gda ' ste/ / [2] bdag gis yig ge ris su bkod/ /.../ [15] ma cig dpal ldan lha mo nag mo re ma ti/* It ends [SB kha 458:4] / [19] *phrin las rnam bzhi 'i dngos grub bdag la stsol/ / [20] maṅgalam bhavantu//*

²⁸² *t̄ikā*, corrected, *t̄ikka* SB, *ti ka* CW; MW *t̄ikā*, f, “commentary.”

²⁸³ *shākya seng ge*, J. “Lion of the Śākya [clan]”; *śākya*, name of the family of the historical Buddha.

The versetext, consisting of 20 lines, containing 7, 9 or 11 syllables, is an invocation of Ma-cig Dpal-ldan Lha-mo Nag-mo Remati.

* * *

[42] *Lha 'dre stong gi sgrib shing*, “Thousand invisible Lha-'dre”

Size 13 ff, two sections, no colophon. The work begins with [SB kha 458:5] *bla ma rnams la phyag 'tshal lo/ lha 'dre stong gi sgribs* [sic. in title *sgrib*] *shing nyam su blang ba'i man ngag* It ends [SB kha 472:3] *phyi nang thams cad rdo rjes bltams par bsam//*

The term Lha-'dre is left untranslated here,²⁸⁴ even though earlier in this Collection I referred to them in general as “spirits.” Lha-'dre were already known during the early diffusion (*snga dar*) of Buddhism in Tibet. One work in particular, ascribed to Padmasambhava has survived, which describes his submission of Lha-'dre when he enters Tibet.²⁸⁵ The term *sgrib shing*, in the title of the work, is described as “invisible,” even though other interpretations exist.²⁸⁶ The work describes how to befriend Lha-'dre, the reason to befriend them is not discussed. The author is unknown.

We find three works on Lha-'dre in the Düsüm Khyenpa Collection, including the present work, [42] – [44], and they describe somewhat similar practices. They may have come from three different students who all took notes at the moment the practice was transmitted.

Section 1, size 7 ff, begins with [SB kha 458:5] *bla ma rnams la phyag 'tshal lo/ lha 'dre stong gi sgribs shing nyam su blang ba'i man ngag* The second line says that it is a key-instruction (*man ngag*) “to get acquainted with” (*nyams su blang ba*) many (lit. thousand) invisible Lha-'dre. The section has three parts.

Part 1 ends [465:6] *'di ni man ngag gsang ba'o/ / snying la tshongs cig / gzhan la spel na dmyal bar 'gro/ sa ma ya sdoms zhig / ithi /* Intralinear remarks are added. It describes a practice in which three wrathful (*khro bo*) deities are called to mind at the places of body,

²⁸⁴ “Lha-'dre, lit. “deities and spirits.” Lha-'dre is often written together, the term is also found in work [40]. Compare Das for a classification of nineteen classes of deva (*lha*), deities, and PDB for twenty-seven different categories of devas, which are subdivided according to where their abode is located.

LC offers for 'dre, the Skt. 1. *piśāca*, 2. *samsarga*.

MW *piśāca*, a class of demons [...] mentioned in the Veda along with Asuras and Rākṣasas; *samsarga*, from *saṃ-√sṛj*, “to hit with, to visit or afflict with, ...”

GC, 'dre = 'og min gdon 'dre btsan rgod lta bu/ Gold, *lha 'dre*, spirits, gods and ghost/demons; *lha 'dre mi gsum*, the three: gods, demons and men.

²⁸⁵ Anne-Marie Blondeau, “Le Lha-'dre Bka'-thañ,” in *Études Tibétaines* dédiées à la mémoire de Marcelle Lalou (Paris, Librairie d'Amérique et Orient, 1971), 29-125. The article offers a solid translation of the first set (of five) of the *bKa'- thañ sde lnga*. In the introduction we read: “Jusqu'a présent, le premier chapitre du *bKa'- thañ sde lnga*, consacré á la soumission des *lha* et '*dre* du Tibet par Padmasambhava, a bénéficié d'un intérêt moindre que les autres. [...]” And, that, among many other details, [during the early introduction of Buddhism in Tibet,] the construction of Bsam-yas could not be completed, due to actions of demonic forces. At that point king Khri-srong lde-bcan sent, on the advice of Śāntarakṣita, emissaries to invite Padmasambha, who at that time was in Nepal, [...].

The second and third part of the translated text, chapters 13-21, describe the submission of specific *lha* and '*dre*. The colophon to the work, p. 117, says, among other details, that is a *gter ma* text, originally entrusted to princess Mandārava.

²⁸⁶ *sgrib shing*, Das, *sgrib shing*, “invisible by the power of [...]; ...*vis sgrib shing byed*, “to make invisible by ...” Gold, *sgrib shing*, a magic wand that renders the person invisible (in folktales).

TC: *sgrib shing / bya khva ta'i tshang shing la sngags btab ste lus la bcangs na tshang shing 'dzin mkhan rang nyid gzhan gyis mi mthong bar sgrib thub ces pa'i bshad sgrol yod/*

speech and mind. The names of the three deities are supplied later in part 3. One meditates on Vairocana (Rnam-sngang) in the heart of the wrathful at the head, Amitābha (Sngang-ba-mtha'-yas) in the heart of the wrathful at the throat, and Vajrasattva (Rdo-rje-sems-dpa') in the heart of the wrathful at the heart. Furthermore, Ratnasambhava (Rin-chen-'byung-gnas) is called to mind in a mass of light at the navel, and Amogasiddhi (Don-yod-grub-pa) in a mass of fire at the secret place. Also, Ā-ḷ-la-khro-mo and Kā-li²⁸⁷ are called to mind, as well as [Śākya]-muni (Thub-pa), with one thousand and two Buddhas around him. The lines 464:2-3 present a lengthy mantra. The end of part 1 (see transliteration above) says that the instruction is secret and that it comes with a warning.

Part 2 consists of just a single line [466:1] *mtshan gnang / des bdag dharma punyja* [sic.] *gnang //*

Part 3 begins with [466:1] OM HRI GHA NI HRI ... and ends [466:2] *thugs sngags phyag na rdo rje 'o/ rdzogs so/ gsum ka sbrel ba la man ngag go//* (end part 3). For the (Lha-'dre) purpose here, three mantras, for body, speech and mind, are specified. For the body (*sku sngags*) an Amṛtakunḍalin (Bdud-rtsi-'khyil-pa) "related mantra"²⁸⁸ is applied, for the speech (*gsung sngags*) a Hayagrīva (Rta-mgrin) related mantra, and for the mind (*thugs sngags*) a Vajrapāṇi (Phyag-na-rdo-rje) related mantra.

Section 2, size 6 ff, begins with [SB kha 466:3] *bla ma yi dam* [... intralinear] *mkha' 'gro rnam la phyag 'tshal lo//* BRUM RAKṢA... It ends [SB kha 472:3] *phyi nang thams cad rdo rjes bltams par bsam//* This section describes a specific generation stage (*bskyed rim*) in which sixteen wrathful (*khro bo bcu drug*) are called to mind as "White Ā-li sixteen" (Ā-li-dkar-po²⁸⁹ bcu-drug). Behind this appear thirty-four red wrathful females (*khro mo dmar mo sum bcu so bzhi*) as "Red Kā-li thirty-four" (Kā-li-dmar-po²⁹⁰ sum-bcu-so- bzhi). Amṛtakunḍalin with Vairocana in its heart, Hayagrīva with Amitābha in its heart, and Vajrapāṇi with Vajrasattva in its heart are also called to mind.

* * *

[43] *Lha 'dre stong gi sgrib shing bsrung ba bsgoms chog ye thub*, "Thousand invisible Lha-'dre, a method to bring forth protection, the 'primordial mighty' (*ye thub*),"²⁹¹ Size 10 ff, six sections, three colophons. The work begins with [SB kha 472:4] *bla ma dam pa rnam la phyag 'tshal lo/ lha 'dre stong gi sgrib shing* It ends [SB kha 482:6] *mnan sngags yin no// rdzogs so//* Based on the introduction in section 1, the author may have been one of Düsüm Khyenpa's students. It clearly says that it was transmitted after an empowerment which was requested by persons (names specified) who were students of Düsüm Khyenpa.

Section 1, size 1 f, begins with [SB kha 472:4] *bla ma dam pa rnam la phyag 'tshal lo/ lha 'dre stong gi sgrib shing byad ma stong gi kha chings/ bdag gzhan bsrung ba 'i 'khor lo/ bla ma rin po che la zhing skyong gi mkha' 'gro mas dngos grub drangs nas/* It ends [SB kha 473:3] *byin rlabs myur bar 'dug gsung nas gnang /* The second line says that this section deals with the 'appeasing' (*kha chings*) of 'enemies' (*byad ma*), that of a thousand invisible Lha-'dre, offering a 'wheel' or 'disk' (*'khor lo*) to protect oneself and others. Section

²⁸⁷ "Ā-ḷ-la-khro-mo and Kā-li", here SB reads *ā ḷ* and *kā li*, whereas CW reads *ā ḷ* and *kā ḷ*. Further, until the end of work [44], SB will read *ā li ... kā li*, and CW *ā ḷ ... kā ḷ*.

²⁸⁸ The term "related mantra" in this case means: unlike specifications elsewhere of the mantra.

²⁸⁹ SB *ā-li-dkar-po*, CW *ā-ḷ-dkar-po*.

²⁹⁰ SB *kā-li-dmar-po*, CW *kā-ḷ-dmar-po*; [-po sic. female].

²⁹¹ tentative translation.

introduces the practice and says that it was granted at the time that *ācārya* Dbang-rdor²⁹², Dar-tshul, and Ded-rang had asked for the Hevajra empowerment, after which this teaching was shared. It also mentions *ācārya* Stag-del-ba²⁹³, who could have been the one taking notes. It is significant that the end of work [44] states that the practice was transmitted to Stag-del-ba.

Section 2, size 3 ff, begins with [SB kha 473:3] *bla ma yidam mkha' 'dro rnam la phyag 'tshal lo/ sku gsung thugs mi 'gyur ba gnad kyi 'khor lo lag len 'dod pas/* It ends [SB kha 476:5] *sku gsung thugs mi 'gyur ba gnad kyi cakra²⁹⁴ 'o/* This a *sādhana*, which at the end says that is an “essence-wheel for a steady body, speech and mind.” In the generation stage three deities are called to mind. The first is wrathful Amṛtakuṇḍalin, with a white body and two arms, to transform the body. The second is Śrī Hayagrīva, red with two arms, to transform speech. And the third is Vajrapāṇi, blue-black (*mthing nag*) with two arms, to transform mind. A lengthy mantra is presented which begins with HŪṀ RBAD YAN TRA ... and ends with MĀRAYA HŪṀ PHAT. The colophon says that the practice is an oral instruction from the *bla ma*, Düsüm Khyenpa.

Colophon: [SB kha 476:5] *lha 'dre stong gi sgrib shing / bla ma 'i zhal gyi gdams pa rdzogs so//*

Section 3, size 2 ff, begins with [SB kha 476:5] *bdag yi dam du bsgom/ spyi bor OM* [... intralinear] *mgrin par A* [... intralinear] It ends [SB kha 479:1] *lha 'dre stong gi sgrib shing / sku gsung thugs mi 'gyur ba gnad kyi man ngag / lo bsgom zhag gis bshig pa rdzogs so//* In this instruction (*man ngag*) several *abhicāra* practices are discussed.

Section 4, size 2 ff, begins with [SB kha 479:2] *mngas na rin chen gser yang lod/ /* It ends [SB kha 481:2] *bsam pa yang yang du gal che 'o/* This is a versetext of 5 lines, lines 7 syllables each, followed by a mantra which begins with BUDDHA [intralinear *rnam snang*] OM BRŪṀ²⁹⁵/ VAJRA [*mi bskyod pa*] HU BRŪṀ/ RATNA [*rin 'byung*] TRAM BRŪṀ/... and ends with /BRŪṀ RAKṢA RAKṢA BRŪṀ. Interlinear in the specification of the mantra we find the Tibetan names of the Buddhas Vairocana, Akṣobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha, and Amoghasiddhi, who are invoked by the syllables. Afterwards, a specific generation stage is described. Similar to [42], section 2, the sixteen wrathful (*khro bo bcu drug*) as “White Ā-li sixteen” (Ā-li-dkar-po²⁹⁶ bcu-drug) are called to mind. Behind which appear thirty-two red wrathful females (*khro mo dmar mo sum cu rtsa gnyis*) as “Red Kā-li thirty-two” (Kā-li dmar-po²⁹⁷ sum-cu-rtsa-gnyis)²⁹⁸. The wrathful of the mind (*thugs kyi khro bo*) Vajrapāṇi (Phyag-g-yas-na-rdo-rje) also appears, as well as the wrathful of the speech Hayagrīva, and the wrathful of the body Amṛtakuṇḍalin. Next, an *abhicāra* practice is discussed. The colophon says that it concerns oral instruction from the *bla ma*, Düsüm Khyenpa.

²⁹² Dbang-rdor, elsewhere Dbang-phyug-rdo-rje, mentioned in two transmission lineages of the Collection.

²⁹³ Stag-del-ba, one of the master’s students, mentioned three times in the *Gser gling* under the name Stag-de’u-ba. He is present in Mtshur-phu monastery in the last years of the master’s life and is designated as one of his first and senior students. He is also mentioned in the transmission lineage of [35] *Mgon po Bya rog ma 'i sgrub thabs*.

²⁹⁴ *cakra* (Skt.), lit. *tsakra*, “wheel.”

²⁹⁵ BUDDHA [intralinear *rnam snang*] OM, CW reading; SB: BUDDHA OM [intralinear ...].

²⁹⁶ SB ā-li-dkar-po, CW ā-ḷ-dkar-po.

²⁹⁷ SB kā-li-dmar-po, CW kā-ḷ-dmar-po; [-po sic. female].

²⁹⁸ Kā-li-dmar-po sum-cu-rtsa-gnyis, notice work [42], section 2, “works with” Kā-li-dmar-po sum-bcu-so-bzhi (!).

Colophon: [SB kha 481:2] **bla ma** 'i zhal gdams nag zin bris su byas pa 'o//

Section 5, size 1 f, begins with [SB kha 481:2] *bsrung bzlog bsad gsum gang yin* It ends [SB kha 482:1] *sku bzlog chu 'i 'khor lo 'o/* Generation stage practice, sort of abridgement of the practice described in the sections above. According to the colophon it comes from *bla ma*'s, Düsüm Khyenpa's, oral instruction.

Colophon: [SB kha 482:1] /'khor lo 'di lnga shin tu gces/ / **bla ma** 'i zhal las legs par dris/ / man ngag mdud pa yon gyis khrol//

Section 6, size 1 f, begins with [SB kha 482:1] *ngag bkrol ba 'i snags la/* It ends [SB kha 482:6] *mnan sngags yin no/ / rdzogs so//* This is a short practice in which specific Buddhas are called to mind at five places of the body (head, throat, heart, navel and secret place). At the place of the head Amṛtakuṇḍalin with in his heart Vairocana is called; at the throat Hayagrīva with in his heart Amitābha; at heart level Vajrapāṇi with in his heart Vajrasattva; at the navel within a mass of light Ratnasambhava; and at the secret place within a mass of fire Amogasiddhi. It is followed by the specification of four rather long *abhicāra* mantras.

* * *

[44] **Skū gsung thugs mi 'gyur ba gnad kyī 'khor lo**, “Essence-wheel for a steady body, speech and mind”

Size 8 ff, five sections, colophon, plus transmission lineage and final colophon. The work begins with [SB kha 483:1] OṂ SVĀSTI/ *dus gsum sangs rgyas* It ends [SB kha 491:2] *bzlog bzlog JA JAḤ ithi //* followed by colophon. This work is closely connected to the previous works [42] and [43], By comparison, the final sentence of section 2 of work [43] is the title of this work [44]. Compared to the two previous ones, this work [44] is shorter.

The final colophon to this work on Lha-'dre states, that the *Lha 'dre stong gi sgrīb shing* was “done” (*mdzad pa*) by Rin-po-che Gnas-nang-pa (Düsüm Khyenpa). This “done” may refer to that it came from or that it was written by him.

Section 1, size 3 ff, begins with [SB kha 483:1] OṂ SVĀSTI/ *dus gsum sangs rgyas bla ma rin po che dang ni/ dā ki 'i tshogs la phyag 'tshal lo/ / lha 'dre stong gi sgrīb shing gi man ngag 'di ni/ bla ma rin po che gnas nang pa la mkha''gro mas lung bstan la lags so/* It ends [SB kha 486:3] *lha 'dre stong gi sgrībs shing /* plus colophon, plus small passage. After the homage opening of this section, we learn that the subject is a key-instruction (*man ngag*) for “Thousand invisible Lha-'dre,” which is also the title of work [42]. We also learn, that is a precept (*lung bstan*) given by a *dākinī* to *bla ma* Rin-po-che, the “Man from Gnas-nang-pa,” (Düsüm Khyenpa).

A practice is described which calls Amṛtakuṇḍalin to mind, at the place of the head. Meditating on him grants the protection-essence for a “stable”²⁹⁹ body (*sku mi 'gyur ba gnad kyī bsrung ba*). At the place of the throat, Hayagrīva is called to mind for a steady speech, and at the place of the heart, Vajrapāṇi for a steady mind. The colophon to the work repeats what was stated at the beginning, “given by a *dā ki ma* (sic.) to *bla ma* Rin-po-che, the “Man from Gnas-nang-pa.”

Colophon: [SB kha 486:3] **bla ma rin po che gnas nang pa** dā ki mas gnang ba lags so//

²⁹⁹ *mi 'gyur*, Das: unchangeable, steady; “stable,” possibly means that body, speech and mind are protected against influences from Lha-'dre.

After the colophon two lines are added on the protection of others (*gzhan yang bsrung ba*).
Final end [SB kha 486:4] HŪM gi tshogs su bsam mo// ithi //

Section 2, size half f, begins with [SB kha 486:4] *bla ma dam pa rnam la phyag 'tshal lo// sku gsung thugs mi 'gyur ba'i gdams ngag ni/* It ends [SB kha 487:1] *sngags man ngag ltar bzla'o//* This concerns a generation stage in which a small wrathful one (*khro bo chung*) is called to mind, with one face and two arms, holding a *vajra* in the right arm while the left makes the *tarjanī* (*sdig 'dzub*), the “threatening forefinger *mudra*.”

Section 3, size 2 ff, begins with [SB kha 487:2] *rigs sngags mkhan mang po dang* It ends [SB kha 489:2] *bsam la bsgom bzlas bya'o// ithi //* In this section additional practice information is provided that is new, compared to the two previous works on Lha-'dre. For example, ten male black wrathful ones (*khro bo nag po*) and ten female red wrathful ones (*khro mo dmar po*) are called to mind, as well as Hayagrīva. A mantra is specified which begins with OM VAJRA RAṂ PA YAṂ KURU ... and ends with SVĀHĀ.

Section 4, size 1 f, begins with [SB kha 489:2] *shrī dā ki ma la na mo/ 'di mkhan po gnyis nang 'gras byung na man ngag 'di ltar bya'o/* It ends [SB kha 490:1] *lha 'dre stong gi sgrib shing / byad ka bzlog pa'i man ngag /* followed by the transmission lineage. This is a description of a practice in which, among others, Śākyamuni is called to mind. The last line says that it is a key-instruction (*man ngag*) to ward off enemies.

Transmission lineage: [SB kha 490:1] *bla ma rin po che **gnas nang pas*** [Düsum Khyenpa] *grub thob stag del ba la gnang / des slob dpon khams ston shes rab grags pa gnang / des slob dpon nye gnas la gnang / des slob dpon byang chub dpal la gnang / des slob dpon mañjuśrī sing ha la gnang / des dge bshes blo gros rgyal mtshan la gnang /*

Section 5, size 1 f, begins with [SB kha 490:2] *ser ba bsrung na/* It ends [SW kha 491:2] *bzlog bzlog JA JAḤ ithi/* followed by the final colophon. It is an instruction on how to protect against a hail or hail-stones (*ser ba*), and how to react in two other circumstances (*sri'u gso na* and *byad stems*). The relevant mantras are specified.

Final colophon: [SB kha 490:2] *lha 'dre stong gi sgrib shing / rje rin po che **gnas nang pas*** [Düsum Khyenpa] *mdzad pa'o/ bkra shis par gyur cig ///*

* * *

Concluding Summary

This dissertation explored the life and works of the twelfth-century Buddhist master Düsüm Khyenpa, the Grey-haired *siddha*. The research results were organized into three “pillars.” The first pillar focused on the person Düsüm Khyenpa and two of his biographies (chapter 1 and 2); the second focused on the critical edition and presented the translation of the two biographies (chapter 3), and the third focused on the Düsüm Khyenpa Collection (chapter 4).

Chapter 1 began with an overview of previous research on Düsüm Khyenpa, showing that to date the master and his works have received limited scholarly attention, and that existing research has not included additional sources that go further back in time.

In order to better understand Düsüm Khyenpa’s historical importance, the chapter described the place of Düsüm Khyenpa within the Bka’-brgyud lineage, and how the so-called “four currents” (*bka’ babs bzhi*) of Tilopa can be traced in the Düsüm Khyenpa Collection. The origin of the Karma Kam-tshang lineage was also discussed and it was concluded that the lineage was not initiated by Düsüm Khyenpa himself but came into being through the effort of Karma-pas. Centuries later, Karma Bka’-brgyud features were projected back in time on the Grey-haired *siddha*.

A sketch of Düsüm Khyenpa’s life was offered based on the early thirteenth-century Life account (*rnam thar*), the *Gser gling*. It records his early life, his period of study, his life as a *siddha yogin*, and in his later years that of a dharma-teacher and peacemaker.

Special attention was paid to the time he studied at Gsang-phu Ne’u-thog college, from the age of twenty to the age of twenty. It was concluded these studies can be considered as the basis, on which he later received *mahāmudrā* pith instructions from his main teacher *bla ma* Lha-rje a.k.a. Sgam-po-pa.

To add further insight into Düsüm Khyenpa’s life, works, and importance, his many teachers, both preceptors and spiritual guides (*bla ma*) were discussed as well as his students. The chapter also explored his extensive travel routes and the location of his main monastery Skam-po gnas-nang near an important long-distance trade route, which possibly provided for economic support and facilitated the further the diffusion of the Buddhist dharma.

Chapter 2 began an historical overview of the main biographical material on Düsüm Khyenpa. It established that most of these sources are “religious history” (*chos ’byung*) works and that the principal source for knowledge of Düsüm Khyenpa is the *Gser gling rnam thar*. A second source was also introduced namely *Zhus lan 2*, consisting of “autobiographical notes.”

The *Gser gling* and *Zhus lan 2* were discussed from different points of view: the *rnam thar* and *zhus lan* genres, the history of the *Gser gling* and prototypes of the work, and a comparison between the *Gser gling* and other Bka’-brgyud *rnam thar*.

The significance of the two works for the development of the Bka’-brgyud lineage was addressed, noting that the content of the *Gser gling* can be understood as an example for the Buddhist path that Düsüm Khyenpa and *bla ma* Lha-rje had wished to express, and, the *Zhus lan* as is an example of how actually to proceed on the path to “full awakening.”

The distinct translation of the *Gser gling* as “A Golden World” was explained and Rgang-lo, the author of the work, was discussed. The issue of the master’s ordination name Śrī Dharmakīrti (Chos-kyi-grags-pa) received appropriate attention.

Lastly, the sources of the *Gser gling* and *Zhus lan 2* were described, followed by two sections on the methodology that was applied for the critical editions and for the two translations respectively.

Chapter 3 presented the actual critical editions and translations of the *Gser gling* and *Zhus lan*. The manuscript (*dbu med*) edition was used as the “root-text (*mūla*)” because it is mostly likely the least edited edition of the three available editions. The root-text was kept intact as much as possible and only corrected in case of clearly linguistic mistakes. To ensure an optimally comprehensive understanding, the textual differences of the two other editions were added as variants to the root-text.

The fact that this translation of the *Gser gling* and *Zhus lan* could be based on a critical edition, clearly contributed to the value of the final result, because alternatives for specific spelling issues were now available.

Together, the translations of the *Gser gling* and *Zhus lan 2* provide an excellent picture of the master as a person and of his spiritual development.

The *Gser gling* provides an example of the bodhisattva path of Mahāyāna Buddhism. It describes how the master initially entered the path, progressed on the path during ten lifetimes, and then, in his present life was exceedingly proficient in benefitting many beings.

What this means is that in the *Gser gling* we find an actual description of the path to buddhahood and how this developed for Dūsum Khyenpa. Among other things, we learn that in his previous lives he was born both as a man and a woman, as a human and an animal, into high and low classes of society, and as a scholar and a *yogin*, whatever was best suited to his development on the Buddhist path. We also learn that after a period of serious study, he focused on ultimate realization on the Buddhist path and later on the transmission of his knowledge to others.

What the *Gser gling* also describes is the phenomenon of synchronic emanations, a key characteristic of progress on the bodhisattvath. Synchronic emanations of both Dūsum Khyenpa and *bla ma* Lha-rje are listed.

The *Zhus lan* is also an exceptional record because in this document, Dūsum Khyenpa wrote down many details of the guidance he received from his main teacher *bla ma* Lha-rje. It is clear from the *Zhus lan* that the guidance is not based on a specific intellectual or conceptual outlook on the world. It is rather an experiential or practical approach, Dūsum Khyenpa describes how, by means of spiritual practice, he makes contact with the “clear state” after which he connects this with his mental world and the physical world around him.

A key component of the process as described centers on the “white panacea” or “self-sufficient white remedy.” More literally, it can be understood as “a clear state which enables”

(*dkar po zhig thub*). The term is used to refer to a fundamental state of mind or the “nature of mind.”

The *Zhus lan* is a first-hand record of the whole process of making contact and integrating, an autobiography of a true journey inside. It describes how the journey takes place, the amazement of the first moment of contact, the reflection on what it is all about, and then, how step by step everything internal and external becomes connected with “primordial awareness.”

Chapter 4 described the so-called “Düsum Khyenpa Collection.” The Collection includes different kinds of works, such as “Life accounts / liberation stories” (*rnam thar*) of Düsum Khyenpa, “Final words” (*zhal chems*), “Teachings to an assembly” (*tshogs chos*), “Collected songs” (*mgur*) and an additional “specific category” of works which is really “combinations of genre.” The last category which comprises about eighty percent of the Collection cannot easily be classified, because it concerns treatises of different spiritual practices. One such treatise often has many sections, within which multiple “genres” can be identified, such as “Attainment method” (*sgrub thabs, sādhana*), “Empowerment” (*dbang bskur, abhiṣeka*), “Spiritual practice instruction” (*gdams ngag, upadeśa*), “Key-instruction” (*man ngag, āmnāya*), and so forth. Frequently a so-called *rgya gzhung*, a fundamental text from Indian origin, is also added.

Section 4.1 discussed the content, editions, origin, and authorship of the Collection. Three different editions were identified and discussed. The Collection itself was mostly likely compiled in the early fifteenth-century and it was concluded that the authorship of the various works is very diverse. While some of the works were written by Düsum Khyenpa himself, many others were not. For instance, some of them are of Indian origin and are said to go back to the primordial Buddha Vajradhara (Rdo-rje 'chang) or to a specific “Great Perfected one” (*mahāsiddha*). Others were authored by students of the master, and of many more the authorship is unclear.

Section 4.2 offered a general overview of the Collection in the form of a table, listing all forty-four titles and where they can be found in the three editions. Some of these titles contain more works which are separately listed; when we include these extra works, the full Collection sums up to sixty-one works.

Section 4.3 provides research on all forty-four titles and sixty-one different works of the Collection, including their structure (other works and sections they may contain), size, location, genre, content, authorship, colophons and transmission lineages. In the case of multiple sections of the works, we find that it often relates various aspects of a specific spiritual practice, such as a narrative of the origin, the *rgya gzhung sādhana*, additional rituals, related *sādhana*s, transmission lineage, colophon, and so forth. Many of the works are ancient Buddhist practices, which were preserved throughout centuries in this specific Collection.

The dissertation as a whole made clear, even though to date there has been little scholarly research on Düsum Khyenpa’s life and works, he is a key-figure in the Bka’-brgyud tradition. He was one of the links in the transmission of a specific Mahāyāna approach in

twelfth-century Tibet, which consisted of a combination of “common” Mahāyāna, “Secret mantra” (*gsang sngags*) practice, and *mahāmudrā* pith-instructions. This approach was exemplified by his “Life account,” the *Gser gling* and his “autobiographical notes,” the *Zhus lan*.

Aside from the value of an enhanced scholarly understanding of Düsüm Khyenpa, it is useful to note that the distinct Mahāyāna approach is a path to “full Awakening,” followed by generations of Bka’-brgyud practitioners. Reading Düsüm Khyenpa’s account of this path also may be valuable for other people today who feel attracted to the bodhisattva path and methods described by Düsüm Khyenpa, for personal reasons.

A next step in continuing to develop the scholarly research on Düsüm Khyenpa is to critically edit and translate more of the works in the Düsüm Khyenpa Collection. This would be useful because it would contribute to further clarifying various aspects of the approach taught by *bla ma* Lha-rje and Düsüm Khyenpa.

For instance, work [15] *Rnal ’byor ma gsang bsgrub*, section 6, offers an important distinction between the relative and absolute *yoginī* and describes the proper view, action, and result. Also, work [22] *Rdzogs rim rlung sems gnyis med*, sections 5-7 offers various descriptions of *mahāmudrā*, and three different paths of attaining *mahāmudrā*, best, middle, and least – namely, “sudden” (*cig char*), “direct crossing” (*thod rgal*), and the “gradual approach of the four yogas” (*rim pa la rnal ’byor bzhi*).

When conducting further research, it is important to search for more editions of a specific work, because some works such as the *Zhus lan* were also incorporated in other collections.

It is also important to remember that the Düsüm Khyenpa Collection does not represent a full picture of the Bka’-brgyud tradition as a whole, as many more works exist that were preserved in other collections. Further, it is important to point out that this dissertation focused on the life and work of Düsüm Khyenpa, based largely on the preserved texts and the translation of these texts. Some effort was made to provide information on the historical and socio-economic context of the works. Scholars in different traditions – historians, sociologists, religious scholars – would undoubtedly be able to add additional perspectives and understandings of Düsüm Khyenpa. While these are important and valuable, they were beyond the scope and intention of this research.

Appendix II Detailed list of Places mentioned in the *Gser gling* and *Zhus lan 2* and their locations

The places are presented in a way which corresponds to three periods in the master's life. First, the early period of life in Khams (East Tibet) and Dbus (Central Tibet), which could be called his period of study, until at age thirty he meets his root-teachers. Second, the period of meditation practice training in Dbus and Gtsang until his return to Khams at age fifty. Third, his second period in Khams and his return to Dbus in the last part of his life.

Locations in the early period of his life in Khams and Dbus:

- Tre-shod, a region where the master was born, the region is located in Khams, about 100 km east of Sde-dge.¹
- (D)ka(°)-brag, the master receives novice ordination at this place. On a map of the Imperial Period (ca. 600-842) we find the place near a main trade route and that had a Buddhist monastery/temple. On the map it is spelled as Kadrak (pronunciation spelling) and located approximately 30 kms south of Tre-shod.²
- Stod-lung(s), he studies at centres of Buddhist learning in Stod-lung(s). Stod-lung is part of Dbus and a district northwest of Lha-sa, the district will also be the location of the later Karma Bka'-brgyud Mtshur-phu monastery.
- Stag-dur, a place he went for Bka'-gdams-pa studies, location unidentified.

Locations during the period of practice in Dbus and Gtsang (West Tibet) until his return to Khams:

- **[Dwags- lha-]Sgam-po**, the place where he meets his root-teachers. The place is located in the D(w)ags-po region. For more details, see 1.3.6, "Locations of places important in Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa's life."
- Zang(s)-ri, an enclave, for three months, shortly after meeting *bla ma* Lha-rje, practice site of Düsüm Khyenpa.³
- 'Ol-ka (*Gser gling* spelling), 'Ol-ka-bsrubs (or -srubs or srub) (*Zhus lan* spelling), second site the master was sent to to practice.⁴

¹ Tre-shod, Dudjom Rinpoche, *The Nyingma School of Tibetan Buddhism*, Volume I and II, trans. and ed. by Gyurme Dorje and Matthew Kapstein (Somerville: Wisdom Publications, 1991), Map 10, G 24, North-East Kham, on the map the area is spelled as "Tresho."

² Kadrak, see Karl E. Ryavec, *A Historical Atlas of Tibet* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015). Map 11 Territorial administration system and important religious sites of the Imperial Period, circa 600-842, appr. 32°, 100°.

³ Zang(s)-ri. Dudjom, *Nyingma*, Vol II, 484: Zangs-ri, north of Tsang-po, east of Gdan-sa-mthil, Map 8, J17. The map shows it is situated 60 km west of Dwags-po, where the 'seat' of Sgam-po-pa) was located.

Wylie, *Geography of Tibet 'Dzam gling*, 91, refers to Zangs-ri: "Going eastwards a little along the (north) bank of the Gtsang-chu is the dwelling place of Ma-gcig Lab-kyi-sgron-ma, which is called Zangs-ri-khang-dmar, where there are such things as a statue of Ma-gcig which bestows blessings."

Dowman, *Power-Places Central Tibet*, (London, Routledge&Kegan, 1988), 246-8, discusses the state in which the place was found in 1986. He mentions that Ma-gcig Lab-kyi-sgron-ma (1055-1149) settled there later in her life, she was a student of the *yogin* of India (Pa-) Dam-pa Sangs-rgyas. Dowman spells the name slightly different as Zangs-ri-mkhar-dmar.

Akester, *Jamyang Khyentsé Guide*, 377-8, reads Zangs-ri-mkhar/khang-dmar, and presents a short history of this site of Ma-gcig. The place was destroyed in the 1960s and partly rebuild in the mid 1980s.

⁴ Akester, *Jamyang Khyentsé Guide*, 381-393.

- Kha-rag (*Zhus lan*), possibly 'O-dkar-brag.⁵
- Bya-rkog (or -lkog) hermitage (*dgon pa*), a place where *bla ma* Lha-rje resided, location unidentified.
- La(s)-stod, *bla ma* Lja-rje sends him off to Gtsang (West Tibet) as a religious mendicant. La-stod is situated northeast of La-phyi (renowned retreat area).⁶
- Bya-zangs-brag⁷ in the region Dar-yul, southwest of Lhasa.
- Mon, ancient kingdom, nowadays in the north of India.⁸
- Gangs-dkar⁹, here he stays in Pha-bong(- or 'ong)-dkar-leb¹⁰, in a hermitage (*dgon pa*) of master Padma, location unidentified.

⁵ 'Ol-ka. Dudjom, *Nyingma*, Vol II, 471. Ölka ('Ol-kha): on the north bank of the Tsangpo River, east of Zang-ri; Map 8, J17, 50 km west of Dakpo.

Wylie, *Geography of Tibet*, 91-2, mentions several places of importance located in 'Ol-kha under which two mountain retreats (*ri khrod*).

Dowman, *Power-Places Central Tibet*, 249.

Kragh, *Culture and Subculture*, 8. 'Ol-kha and 'O-de-gung-rgyal, places where Sgam-po-pa practiced in solitude from 1112-20.

K III is more specific on the place: '*ol kha 'i bri bu ri bo*' (K III-CW), '*ol kha 'i bri gu ri bo*' (K III-Vol. 13). However, precise location not clear yet.

⁵ Kha-rag, possibly 'O-dkar-brag, trans. 'Ökar Rock (in Bying-mda'), described by Dowman, *Power Places Central Tibet*, 161-2, "Jing (region) Wokar Drak", Bying 'O-dkar-brag, as a meditation cave of Guru Rinpoche, the hermitages has been destroyed and the site deserted. Dudjom, *Nyingma*, Vol. II, map 6, J16.

⁶ La-stod, across the border of Nepal coming from Kathmandu, north-east of La-phyi, Dudjom, *Nyingma*, Vol II, map 4, KL-11. La-phyi, renowned retreat area, see e.g. *The Life of Shabkar, The Autobiography of a Tibetan Yogin*, trans. by Mathieu Ricard and others (New York: Snow Lion Publications, 2001).

⁷ D, K III, CW: Bya-bzang-brag; SL: Bya-bzangs-drag. In Akester, *Jamyang Khyentsé Guide*, 53, fn. 53, we find a reference to the place (underscoring added) : "Dus gsum mkhyen pa's 'Phan po Bya bzang brag meditation cave (Lhodrak Chöjung, p. 862) is on the slopes of sTong rtse ri, in Za dam, ...", and 59, fn. 87, "... the Bya bzang ri khrod (of Dus gsum mkhyen pa) on the sTong rtse'i ri mountain ...". Akester, map p. 46, sTong rtse ri, northeast of Za dam rdzong.

Akester, 718, the Lhodrak Chöjung refers to dPa' bo gTug lag 'phreng ba: *Chos 'byung mKhas pa 'i dga' ston*, Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang 1986. The precise location is unclear.

⁸ Mon. Dudjom, *Nyingma*, Vol. II, Map 6, L16, situates Mon in Tibet, north-east of the crossing of Bhutan, Tibet and India.

A contemporary map of *Tibet and Adjacent Areas under Communist China's Occupation* (Dharmasala: Amnye Machen Institute, 2001), locates Mon (Yul) in India, at about 90 km south-east of the crossing, east of the city Tawang (India).

An ancient map found at the end of an article by Bailey, "Exploration, of the Tsangpo or Upper Brahmaputra," in *The Geographical Journal*, No. 4 (October 1914): 26-31, locates the region Mon Yul east of Tawang (India). Seen from Dwags-lha-sgam-pa he must have travelled some 135 km to the south-east to reach the place.

⁹ SL: Gangs-dkar, K III: Gangs-kar; possibly Ding-ri Gangs-dkar, situated north of the Mt. Everest with in its vicinity the renowned retreat region called La-phyi: the area belongs to the province Gtsang and is sometimes referred to as (northern and southern) Latö (La-stod), the highland region of Tibet.

Gyurme Dorje, *Footprint Tibet Handbook* (Bath: Footprint Handbooks, 1999), 312-21.

Dudjom, *Nyingma*, Vol. II, Map 4 K11, Lapchi Gang.

Wylie, *Geography of Tibet*, 115, fn. 7: Jo-mo Gangs-dkar, the "White-snow Goddess", is Mt. Everest, the residence of the Tshe-ring mched-lnga."; fn. 142: "The Tshe-ring mched-lnga are mountain goddesses supposed to dwell on Jo-mo dgangs-dkar, or on La-phyi-gangs. Their common names are Bkra-shis tshe-ring-ma, whose color is white; Mthing-gi-zhal bzang-ma, who is blue; Mi-g.yo blo-bzang-ma, who is yellow; Cod-pan-mgrin bzang-ma, who is red; and Gtad-dkar-'gro bzang-ma, who is green."; 65: "Nearby, there are the five "life-power" lakes of those Tshe-ring mched-lnga and each is of a different color, ..."

- Snye-mo Nyi-drungs, he passes this location on his way back from Gangs-dkar to Dwags-po. Snye-mo, name of a district 50 kms southeast of Mtshur-phu.¹¹
- Gzhu-snye (gnyis), probably the places, Gzhu and Snye. Problematic, I found three possibilities:
 - (1) As he seems to proceed in the *rnām thar* from Gangs-dkar to Dwags-po, he may have arrived at a location southwest of Mtshur-phu, where these names appear.¹²
 - (2) He may have made a detour to the south to the region Tsā-ri, where we find places with these names.¹³
 - (3) There is a so-called Snye valley, near Dwags-lha-sgampo.¹⁴
- Pham-mthing, a city southwest of Kathmandu, just mentioned as a place where *dākinīs* went.¹⁵
- 'Phar-tshang hermitage (*dgon pa*), probably a hermitage of *bla ma* Lja-rje, location unidentified.
- Zangs-zlum, a place where ācārya Sgom-pa stayed at a certain moment in time, location unidentified.
- Gzhu-smad-kyi-lha, the mountain Smad-kyi-lha near Gzhu, which lies in the east of Tsā-ri. The master spent three summer months at the mountain. Precise location unknown.
- **Gzhu-gru-bzhi**, located in Tsā-ri, main location of the master for about eight years. For more details, see 1.3.6, “Locations of places important in Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa’s life.”
- Pho-rog-rdzong-chung hermitage, unidentified. During his time in Gzhu-gru-bzhi (Tsā-ri) he visits this hermitage, where *bla ma* Lha-rje just had passed on.

¹⁰ Pha-bong-dkar-leb SW; Pha-'ong-dkar-leb CW; K III, 165, is more detailed... *gangs kar la ... slob dpon pad ma'i dgon pa pha 'ong dkar leb*, trans. Pha-'ong-dkar-leb, the hermitage of master Pad-ma-[sambhava?] in Gangs-kar, location unidentified. However, also a place called Pha-bong-kha exist, Akester *Jamyang Khyentsé Guide*, 120-22, an ancient powerplace connected with Srong-btsan-sgampo, west of Lha-sa.

¹¹ Snye-mo, Dudjom, *Nyingma*, Vol II, 471, Map 6, J15.

¹² At about 50 kms southwest of Mtshur-phu, there is a river called *Nyemo Zhu; possibly pronunciation spelling of Gzhu Snye(-mo). Dowman, *Powerplaces Central Tibet*, 130, describes this place: “... another pass takes the pilgrim into upper Nyemo Lung, called Nyemo Shu. This valley descends to the larger Nyemo valley and thence to the Tsangpo to the east of Rinpong and west of Chushul. A power-place of Guru Rinpoche is located in Nyemo Shu ...”.

¹³ Gyurme, *Footprint*, 233, describes an area in the region Nang (probably pronunciation spelling) which leads to Tsā-ri, located about 60 km southeast of Dwags-po, therefore, relatively nearby the main ‘seat’ of *bla ma* Lha-rje. On the map of Nang County we find a place called Nye and one called Dakpo Zhu.

¹⁴ Snye valley, Dowman, *Powerplaces*, 257, 560-1.

¹⁵ Pham-mthing, Nepal. Keith Dowman, *A Buddhist Guide to the Power Places of the Kathmandu Valley* (Kathmandu: Vajra Publications, 2007), 51: Pham-thing rDo-rje rNal-'byor-ma. Dowman describes a special statue of Vajrayoginī, called Pham-thing rDo-rje rNal-'byor-ma, located at Pham-thing, a.k.a. as Pharping, two hours by car southwest of Kathmandu.

I visited the place and the statue September 2014. The Vajrayoginī statue’s height is approx. 50-60 cm, the color is red. She holds a vajra in the left hand, low, and a skull-cup in the left hand, up. The body is covered with clothes, but vajra, cup and face are visible. She stands on the right leg, the left is pulled up high. Her face is half looking down and a bit to the front, in the way of attention drawn inward. The statue is heavily protected by iron bars and on the ceiling of the small temple a *maṇḍala* is drawn of two triangles opposite on top of each other; inside is an additional third small triangle. Photographing was forbidden.

- Lha-lung, he visits the place before his leave for Khams to pay his respects to Sgom-pa Tshul-khrims-snying-po. Lha-lung is located in the region Lho-brag, south of Lha-sa and north of Bhutan.¹⁶ Dorje states that Düsüm Khyenpa developed the site, in 1154, into a monastery.¹⁷ However, we find no evidence on this in *Gser gling*, SW 71. Instead, the passage says that Sgom-pa Tshul-khrims-snying-po lives at the place with three-hundred students. Akester offers an overview of Lha-lung history, but unfortunately without information of the state of affairs in the twelfth century.¹⁸
- 'Phan-yul, he receives an invitation (twice) to go there, short before his departure to Khams. 'Phan-yul is a region northeast of Lhasa.¹⁹
- Mtshur-gyi-ngos-bzang(s) hermitage (*dgon pa*), he stays here for a short time, location unidentified, possibly related to the location of the later Mtshur-phu monastery.
- Zhi-mgo-ba in 'Phan-yul, he receives an invitation from a chief merchant (*tshong dpon*) to go there; precise location unidentified.
- Se-ru, he visits Seru to take leave of master (b)Sgom-pa, location unidentified.

Locations during his later, second, period in Khams and his return to Dbus:

- Tre-bo, a region in Khams, he stays there for two years, situated east of Tre-shod, the master's birth region.²⁰
- Zla-stod-gyi-'khar-ser²¹, somewhere in Khams, location unidentified, he would stay there for two years.
- **Skam-po Gnas-nang**, situated in Khams, main location of the master for about twenty years. For more details, see 1.3.6, "Locations of places important in Düsüm-mkhyen-pa's life."
- Ka-brag, he receives an invitation to go there, for details see second entry of this list.
- 'Bri-klung, he visits the region or place (at age 74), location unidentified.
- Sbas-yul, a region he visits, location unidentified.
- Lhong-khra, in the 'Bri (region?), he spends a summer there, location unidentified.
- 'Bri-klung lce-ba (or we-ba), he teaches here for some time, location unidentified.
- Zla-smad, unidentified, in the twelfth century a region in which he establishes Karma²² monastery in the place (?) Kle'u.

¹⁶ Lha-lung in the region Lho-brag, see Dudjom, *Nyingma*, Vol. II, map 6, K15. On a map of Central Tibet circa 600-900 CE, we find that a Buddhist temple was located in Lhalung, Ryavec, *Historical Atlas Tibet*, map 13.

¹⁷ Dorje, *Footprint*, 222, besides the reference to Düsüm Khyenpa, Dorje provides a 2-page description of the monastery. We find that from the 17th century onwards the buildings were occupied by the Lhodrak incarnations of the Nyingma school, with the approval of the Fifth Dalai Lama and the Tibetan government.

¹⁸ Akester, *Jamyang Khyentsé Guide*, 474-7.

¹⁹ 'Phan-yul (Phenyul), Dudjom, *Nyingma*, Vol. II, Map 6 J16.

²⁰ Tre-bo(s) (SW,CW,SB), read as Tre-ho(r), Tre-ho the region directly north of Skam-po Gnas-nang (the place which Düsüm Khyenpa is heading for), Dudjom, *Nyingma*, Vol II, map 10, G25.

²¹ Zla-stod-gyi-'khar-ser (SW), La-stod-kyi-mkhar-ser (CW,SB).

²² Karma. Dudjom, *Nyingma*, Vol. II, Map 10, G22.

Dorje, *Footprint*, 422: "... Karma Gon, ... Karma Kagyu monastery, ... founded ... by the First Karmapa Düsüm Khyenpa. Formerly its 100-pillared Assembly Hall was one of the largest in Tibet, with 12

- Lho-brgyud, unidentified, last location in Khams mentioned in the *Gser gling*.
- **Mtshur-phu**, the master's "seat" in the last five years of his life. For more details, see 1.3.6, "Locations of places important in Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa's life."

chapels and outstanding murals depicting the deeds of the Buddha and the history of the Karma Kagyu school. The inner sanctum contained enormous gilded brass images of the Buddhas of the Three Times. The central Shakyamuni image and the sandalwood throne were designed personally by the Eighth Karmapa. The buildings that remain display a unique synthesis of Tibetan, Naxi (Jang) and Chinese styles, indicative of the influence that this school exerted as far south as Lijiang. The reconstructed assembly hall contains the largest image of Maitreya in Chamdo prefecture."

Appendix III Detailed list of Teachers of Düsum Khyenpa from early written records

The list contains the names of preceptors and spiritual guides (*bla ma*) as found in the earliest written sources: the *rnam thar* by Bde-chung-ba (abbr. D) the *Gser gling* (abbr. SL), the Düsum Khyenpa *rnam thar* by Karma-pa III Rang-byung rdo-rje (abbr. KIII), the *Deb ther dmar po* (abbr. DM), and colophons to works and transmission lineages.

The names are listed in the sequence in which they appear in the *Gser gling*. Brief information on the persons is added and the most important ones are discussed in 1.3.4, “Teachers that guided him.”

First, the names of preceptors,²³ with whom Düsum Khyenpa studied for the most part early in life, they

1. *Dge bshes* **(b)Kra-(ra)-ba**²⁴ grants him, between the age of sixteen and nineteen, the Cakrasaṃvara (Bde-mchog) empowerment and teaches on Acala (Mi-g.yo-ba) and the Bka’-gdams tradition.
2. *Dge bshes* **Mchog-gi-bla-ma**, a *mkhan po* from Tre, the region where Düsum Khyenpa was born, having taken novice ordination from him at age sixteen in Dka’-brag²⁵ he attends him for two years.
3. *Dge bshes* **Rgya-dmar**, full name Rgya-dmar-pa Byang-chub-grags (ca. 1095-1135), for details see 1.3.4, “Teachers that guided him.”
4. *Dge bshes* **Phya-pa**, full name Phy(w)a-pa Chos-kyi-seng-ge (1109-69?), for details see 1.3.4, “Teachers that guided him.”
5. *Dge bshes* **Pa-tshab**, full name Spa-Tshab Nyi-ma-grags (1055-after 1141), for details see 1.3.4, “Teachers that guided him.”
6. *Dge bshes* **Sa-phug-pa**²⁶ instructs him on the Vinaya.
7. *Slob dpon* **Shar-ba-pa Stag-dur-ba**²⁷, with him he studies Bka’-gdams teachings for five years.
8. **Ra-lcags-ston-tshul**²⁸ teaches him the Hevajra-, Cakrasaṃvara- and Mahāmāya-tantra, as well as the Lam-’bras.

²³ Differences in spelling of the names were put in footnotes.

²⁴ Kra-ra-ba (D, DM), Kra-ba (SL), Bkra-ra-ba (KIII).

²⁵ Dka’ brag (Ka-brag CW) (SL), Ska-brag (DM).

²⁶ Sa-phug-pa (SL), Sa-yug-pa (KIII), Pa-phug-pa (DM).

²⁷ Stag-dur (SL SW 59), Shar-ba-pa Stag-dur-ba (SL SW 97).

Smith, *Tibetan Texts*, 112, refers to the author Glo-bo Mkan-chen who wrote a history of the Shar-pa lineage, a prominent lineage of religious princes, supposedly descended from Zhang-zhung stock.

²⁸ Ra-lcags-ston-tshul (SL), Ra-ljags-ston-tshul (KIII), Gshed-pa Rab-ljags (DM).

9. *Dge bshes (Gshen-pa) Rdo-rje Seng-ge*²⁹, he is mentioned in the record of one of Düsüm Khyenpa's former lifetimes, with the remark that at that time Rdo-rje Seng-ge was (already) a student of Phya-pa (see above), no further information on him appears in the life stories.

The *Deb ther dmar po*³⁰ relates that Düsüm Khyenpa (in the period before Sgam-po-pa) studies with Gshen-pa Rdor-seng. The *Blue Annals* write that Gshen-pa Rdo-rje Seng-ge had been of rNgog Mdo-sde (1090-ca. 1167), the latter was a son of Rngog, who was one of the 'four pillars' (*ka ba bzhi*) of teachings transmitted by Mar-pa.³¹

10. *Dge bshes Gzhu Don-mo-ri-pa*³² is asked for all the dharma teachings he had.

Second, the category of spiritual guides (*bla ma*) which consists of:

11. *Bla ma Bai-ro*³³ or *Vairocanavajra*³⁴ was born in India and visits Tibet in the twelfth century, for details, 1.3.4, "Teachers that guided him."

12. *Slob dpon Sgom-tshul* (full name *Sgom-pa Tshul-khrims-snying-po*, 1116-69), for details see 1.3.4, "Teachers that guided him."

13. *Bla ma Lha-rje* ordination name Bsod-nams Rin-chen, 1079-1153, should be considered as Düsüm Khyenpa's main teacher, for details see 1.3.4, "Teachers that guided him."

14. *Slob dpon yogin Shes-rab rdo-rje*, he is probably identical to Lce-sgom Shes-rab rdo-rje, a.k.a. Lce-sgom Rdzong pa.³⁵ He is included in a list of teachers of which Düsüm Khyenpa relates where they are reborn and are doing at the moment.

²⁹ Rdo-rje Seng-ge (SL), Gshen-pa rdor-seng (DM).

³⁰ DM 436.

³¹ *Blue Annals*, 406. A later passage in the *Blue Annals*, 477, relate that it was from Gshen-pa Rdo-rje Seng-ge that Düsüm Khyenpa obtained the Lam-'bras at Yar-klungs Phug-mo-che.

³² Gzhu-don-mo-ri-pa (D), Bzhu-don-mo-ri-pa (SL SW, CW Gzhu-don-mo-ri-pa), Don-mo-ri-pa (KIII, DM).

Roberts, *Biographies of Rechungpa*, 9, mentions a work authored by Don-mo Ri-pa, called *Bka' brgyud kyi rnam thar chen mo rin po che'i gter mdzod dgos 'dod 'byung gnas*, written down in the year 1245. Roberts dates this Don-mo ri-pa from 1203-76 or 1288. The years by Roberts do not fit with that this Don-mo Ri-pa would have met Düsüm Khyenpa as the latter passes away in 1193.

³³ Bairo (SL), Bero (DM).

³⁴ Yanamoto, *Vision and Violence*, 74, identifies Bairo with Vairocanavajra, an Indian 'root *bla ma*', who grants *bla ma* Zhang (1122-93) Cakrasamvara teachings and introduces him to the Indian tradition of *dohā* (Tib. *mgur*), see also footnote of Kurtis Schaeffer below.

³⁵ Per Sörensen, *The Ascetic Lce-sgom Shes-rab Rdo-rje Alias Lce-sgom Zhig-po: Prolific, Allusive, but Elusive*, Journal of the Nepal Research Centre, vol. 11 (1999), pp. 175-200. Reference from Tibscrit Philology 2014.

Rzong-pa, is in the Drepung Catalog, p. 935, as the author, full name Lce-sgom-rdzong-pa-mkha'-skyongs-grags-pa, of the work *Bla ma gces sgom rdzong pa'i man ngag rin chen spungs pa*.

For the time being I consider him identical to Rdzong-pa (see below), who is separately mentioned in the *Gser gling*. Both Shes-rab Dorje³⁶ and Rdzong pa³⁷ are connected with (Pha) Dam-pa Sangs-rgyas (the latter passed away in 1117).

Bla ma Rdzong-pa, grants Düsüm Khyenpa the Phyag-rgya chen-po Thog-babs (the “Great Seal – or Mahāmudrā – Thunderbolt”) and numerous instructions. The *Deb ther dmar po* and *Gser gling* remarks that he met Rdzong-pa at Gzhu or/and Snye-(mo).³⁸ Both the *Bde-chung-ba nam thar* and the *Gser gling* include a passage of high respect for *bla ma* Rdzong-pa, who miraculously knows a strange event that had taken place before and Düsüm Khyenpa stream of thoughts.³⁹

15. *Bla ma Ras-chung-pa* (a.k.a. Rdo-rje grags-pa, 1083-1161)⁴⁰, one of the two main students of Mid-la-ras-pa. Düsüm Khyenpa pays him a visit, stays for forty days and receives clarifications on some details of Nāropa’s *Chos drug* (Six Dharmas) and requests the (*mahāmudrā*) *Thun ’jog*⁴¹.

16. *Bla ma Dpal-chen-po*, full name Dpal-chen **Rgwa-lo** Gzhon-nu-dpal, grants him a Cakrasaṃvara empowerment and he hears many of his advices. Dpal-chen is mentioned in the transmission lineage of a work of the Düsüm Khyenpa Collection;⁴² he was also one of *bla ma* Zhang’s teachers⁴³ and also one of Phag-mo-gru-pa’s⁴⁴.

³⁶ Shes-rab rdo-rje (D, SL).

Sörensen&Hazod, *Celestial Plain*, 705, discuss “The lHa-sa Ra-mo-che bzhi-sde Institution” and refer to a *rtogs ldan* (another name for a skilled person often a *yogin*) Shes-rab rdo-rje.

Citation: “... it is reported that one direct pupil of Pha Dam-pa sangs-rgyas (d. 1105/1117) called bSod-nams *bla ma* [re-]established the institution There the study of the *Prajñāparamitā* etc. expanded greatly. *rtogs ldan* Shes-rab rdo rje became the [presiding] *bla ma* [of the see] and he expanded the teaching and practice of gCod.”

³⁷ Roerich, *Blue Annals*, 914. The whole Chapter (or Book) XII concerns the lineage of Zhi-byed. (Pha) Dam-pa Sangs-ryas (who passed away in 1117).

Citation: “Dam-pa said: “The *bla ma* Rdzong-pa belongs to the type of individuals of spontaneous (spiritual) development.” He introduced him to the single initiation (*dbang gcig mo*) of the Mahāmudrā and established him on the path.

³⁸ SL SW 68, “between Gzhu and Snye”; DM 438, “at Snye-mo he attends *bla ma* Rdzong-pa.”

³⁹ D SW 6, SL SW 67. In another passage, D SW 29 and SL SW 97, Düsüm Khyenpa relates where some of his teachers, including *bla ma* Rdzong-pa, have been reborn, and what they are doing.

⁴⁰ See Peter Alan Roberts, *The Biographies of Rechungpa* (New York: Routledge, 2007) for an overview and discussion of the biographies on Ras-chung-pa.

See also Smith, *Tibetan Texts*, 41: “... the main tradition passed through Dwags-po-pa [*bla ma* Lha-rje], while Ras-chung fostered the *Ras chung snyan rgyud*.”

⁴¹ SL SW 64.

Schiller, *Phag mo gru pa rDo rje rgyal po*, 145 relates that the *Phag mo gru pa’i bka’ ’bum*, compiled in 1507 by the ’Bri-gung-pa Kun-dga’-rin-chen, contains a work on “... die *Bsam gtan thun ’jog* genannten *Mahāmudrā*-Unterweisungen des Ras-chung-pa...” Later Schiller records, 218, that the work (No. 94) is entitled *bla ma ras chung pa’i bsam gtan thun ’jog*, ff 12, Volume kha 27 (127r.2).

⁴² [35] *Mgon po bya rog ma’i sgrub thabs dharma kīrti’i lugs kyi mgon po’i bdag bsgom*, section 5, SB kha 366:2, partial transm. lineage: / dpal ye shes kyi mgon pos/ ... /, **dpal chen po rga lo** la gsungs/ des chod rje **dus gsum mkhyen pa** la gsungs so//

⁴³ Yanamoto, *Vision and Violence*, 140, 230, on the Crow-faced protector and that *bla ma* Dpal-chen-po Rgwa-lo was also one of *bla ma* Zhang’s teachers.

17. *Bla ma* **Brag-dkar-ba**⁴⁵ explains him the Aro-system of the Great Perfection.
18. *Bla ma* **Spen-phug-pa**⁴⁶ grants him a Cakrasaṃvara empowerment and numerous instructions coming from Jo-bo [Atīśa].
19. **Rgyab-mo-yang-khang-pa**⁴⁷ gives explanations on the “Two Segments” of the Hevajra tantra.⁴⁸
20. Two students (names unknown) of Mid-la- (ras-pa) from whom he receives the smaller Mahāmudrā section the *Phyag rgya chen po sde'u*.⁴⁹
21. *Slob dpon* **'Phags-pa**⁵⁰ gave advice and was present around the time of *bla ma* Lha-rje's passing.
22. *Dge bshes* **Sha-ba-gling-pa**, one Sgam-po-pa's teachers⁵¹ who Dūsum Khyenpa met.

Of some teachers or masters (*slob dpon*) mentioned in the early sources I have not find additional information, they are just mentioned by name below.

23. *Slob-dpon* Shes-rab byang-chub⁵²
24. *Bla ma* Dngul-chu-ba⁵³
25. Phyag-seng-ge-grags⁵⁴
26. *Siddha* Dpal-'dzin⁵⁵

⁴⁴ Schiller, *Leben und Gesamtwerk Phag mo gru pa*, 21.

⁴⁵ Brag-dkar-ba (SL, KIII), Brag-dkar-po (DM).

⁴⁶ Spen-phug-pa (SL), Yen-phug-pa (D SW, CW Spen-phug-pa).

⁴⁷ Rgyab-mo-yang-khang-pa (SL), Rgya-mo-yang-khang-ba (KIII), Rgyab-lo-spang-khang-pa (DM).

⁴⁸ *brtag (g)nyis*, abbr. of the *Dgyes pa rdo rje rtsa ba'i rgyud brtag pa gnyis po*, “The two segments of the Hevajra root tantra.”

⁴⁹ SL SW 62 ... *sde'u*, CW *rde'u*.

⁵⁰ D SW 10 relates that *Slob-dpon* 'Phags-pa and Dūsum Khyenpa, and a third person, visit *bla ma* Lha-rje after his passing away to pay respects. 'Phags-pa is also mentioned at D SW 31 and SL SW 98.

⁵¹ Sha-ba-gling-pa (SL, KIII), Sha-pa-gling-pa (DM). See Si-tu Bstan-pa'i-nyin-byed, “Oral Transmissions of the Supreme Siddhas”, 288: “... 'Brom-ston's pupils included Sne'u-zur-pa, Snyug-rum-pa, Rgya-lcags-ri-ba, and Sha-ba-gling-pa, all of whom were teachers of Sgam-po-pa, and the lineage then continued from him.”

⁵² Shes-rab byang-chub (D, SL).

⁵³ Rngul-chu-ba (D, SL SW, SL CW Dngul-chu-ba).

⁵⁴ Phyag-seng-ge-grags (DM), master (*slob dpon*) at Dūsum Khyenpa's novice ordination.

⁵⁵ *grub thob (siddha)* Dpal-'dzin (DM).

Appendix IV Detailed list of Students of Düsüm Khyenpa from early written records

Numbers in parentheses refer to the amount of times that a student is mentioned in the *Gser gling* (SL). Names of students who are (also) mentioned in colophons and/or transmission lineages to works in the Düsüm Khyenpa Collection are put in bold-faced lettertype.

1. *Dge bshes* Brtson-'grus Shes-rab (SL 1), no further information.
2. *Dge bshes* Slob-dpon Rin-chen Rgyal-mtshan (SL 5) had many ordinary *siddhi* as a student of the master in a former life and will be reborn with the master in his next life.
3. **Mdog Mkhas-pa** (SL 1) is not only mentioned in the SL, but also as Mkhas-pa (held as identical) in a colophon to a work on Rje-bstun-ma Zhal-gcig-ma⁵⁶.
4. **Dbang-phyug Rdo-rje** appears in the transmission lineage of three.⁵⁷ The *Blue Annals* mention a student, a certain Mhas-pa dbang rdor (?), which could include the Mkhas-pa listed above.⁵⁸
5. Meng-ge (Smen-ke, CW) *dge bshes* Jo-sras (SL 2) invites the master for an inauguration in 'Dzam, east of Skam-po Gnas-nang; Ming-dge Jo-sras (DM).
6. *Ston pa* Sangs-rgyas (SL 5) had many ordinary *siddhi* as a student of the master in a former life and will be reborn with the master in his next life. He may be identical to one of three other following students with "Sangs-rgyas" in their names: Bde-chung Sangs-rgyas, *Slob dpon* Sangs-rgyas, or Dzam *ston* Sangs-rgyas.
He could also be (Sangs-rgyas) 'Gro-mgon Ras-chen, see 1.3.5, "Passing on the training received."
7. Yon-tan 'Od (SL 4) received in a former life the Liberatrice practice Sgrol-ma Yid-[b]zhin-'khor-lo (Tārā Wish-Fulfilling-Wheel) from Düsüm Khyenpa and will be reborn with the master in their next life.
8. Yon-tan *bla ma* (SL 2) will be reborn with the master in their next life.

⁵⁶ [15] *Rnal 'byor ma'i gsang bsgrub*, section 9, // **ratna dharma kīrtis** chos rje rin po che **mkhas pa** la karma yang dgon du gnang ba'o //

⁵⁷ [11-1]) *Sgrol ma'I rgya gzhung*, partial transm. lineage: // slob dpon klu sgrub/ ... bai ro tsā na/ **dus gsum mkhyen pa/ dbang phyug rdo rje**

[15] *Rnal 'byor ma'i gsang bsgrub*, section 1, partial transm. lineage: // rdo rje 'chang/ ... **dus gsum mkhyen pa/ bla ma dbang rdo rje/...**

[20] *Rdo rje phag mo'i bsgrub thabs*, section 2, partial transm. lineage: // rdo rje 'chang/ ... **dharma kīrti** [Düsüm Khyenpa]/ **dbang phyug rdo rje/ ...**

⁵⁸ Roerich, *Blue Annals*, 517.

9. Dge-'dun Grags (SL 3) will be reborn with the master in their next life.
10. **Smon-lam bla ma** (SL 6) received the Liberatrice practice in a former life. The master predicts where he will be reborn and who will become his *mkhan po*. The colophon to the Bde-chung-ba *rnam thar*, the first of several *rnam thar* of Düsüm Khyenpa, says that Smon-lam *bla ma* contributed to the content.
11. Rdo-rje 'Bum (SL 2) received in a former life an empowerment from Düsüm Khyenpa and will be reborn with the master in their next life.
12. Sgom-sngon (SL 2) received an empowerment from the master in a former life and will be reborn with him in their next life.
13. Shākya Shes-rab (SL 2) received an empowerment from the master in a former life and will be reborn with him in their next life.
14. Chos-dpal (SL 1) received an empowerment from the master in a former lifetime. The name is probably identical to (b)Sgom-pa Chos-dpal (DM).
15. **Dge-'dun 'Od** (SL 3) received the Liberatrice practice in a former life, will in his next life be reborn with the master. The colophon to the Bde-chung-ba *rnam thar* says that Dge-'dun 'Od contributed to the content.
16. *Dge bshes* Shes-rab *bla ma* (SL 2), Düsüm Khyenpa was his master in a former lifetime.
17. Ye-shes 'Od (SL 2) will be reborn with the master in their next life. He is mentioned in the *Blue Annals* as one of a group of four students, the four 'Od ('Od *bzhi*), his name is spelled there as Rgya-sgom Ye-shes 'Od.⁵⁹
18. Ye-shes 'Od-zer (SL 1), no further information.
19. Ye-shes *bla ma* (SL 1) received the Liberatrice practice in a former lifetime.
20. **'Byung-gnas bla ma** (SL 2) received the Liberatrice practice in a former lifetime. He is probably identical to **Byang-chub 'byung-gnas**. The colophon to a work written by Byang-chub 'byung-gnas states that this work the *Grub thob bla ma'i gdams ngag* ("Siddha *bla ma*'s Instruction") received the master's respect.⁶⁰
A certain Jo-bo Byang-chub (SL 1) is mentioned as present in the entourage of the master, might be the same.
21. Rgyal-mtshan *bla ma* (SL 1) received the Liberatrice practice in a former lifetime.

⁵⁹ Ye-shes 'Od, Roerich, *Blue Annals*, 517.

⁶⁰ [19] Without title, section 15, (*Siddha bla ma*, one of more names of Düsüm Khyenpa). SW kha 316, partial colophon: ... **chos rje** bde bar gshegs pa'i phyag bzhes dang gsung sgrös ma nyams pa zhes bya ba / ... = dge slong **byang chub 'byung gnas** kyis= **rgang** gi ban dhes gus pas gsol ba [316:5] yang yang btab pa'i don du mdzad pa rdzogs so //

22. *Dge bshes* Dkon-mchog seng-ge (SL 1) is present at Mtshur-phu monastery in the last years of the master's life and is designated as one of his first and senior students (DM spells *dge bshes* Dkon-cog [sic.] Seng-ge).
He is probably *bla ma* **Rtsang-po**, mentioned in the colophon to a work on Rnal-'byor-ma'i-gsang-ba⁶¹. He is also mentioned in the ZC as *dge bshes* Rtsang-po-ba and is present when the master passes away and is among the group who stays at Mtshur-phu. He is probably Gtsang-(sic. Gtsang)-po-pa Dkon-mchog seng-ge, the student sent to the Tangut-ruler instead of the master himself.⁶² Also ZC confirms that Rtsang-po-ba acted as a *bla ma* at the court of the dharma-king of Me-nyag, twenty-one years after the *stūpa* for Düsüm Khyenpa was built in Mtsur-phu. He repeatedly sent gifts from Me-nyag to maintain Mtshur-phu and to construct the *stūpa*.⁶³
23. *Dge bshes* Dkon-mchog Dpal (SL 2), a *dge bshes* from the region Tre (*tre'i dge bshes*) in Khams, the birth region of Düsüm Khyenpa, he received the Liberatrice practice in a former lifetime.
24. Rdo-rje Shes-rab (SL 2) received the Liberatrice practice in a former lifetime and is praised for his “devoted respect.”
25. Bka'-gdams-pa *dge bshes* (SL 1) received the Liberatrice practice in a former lifetime. The *Blue Annals* mention an (*ācārya*) Bka'-gdams-pa, a native from Dbu, in the entourage of the master, who functions as the mentor of Sangs-rgyas Ras-chen.⁶⁴ He could be identical to Kaḥ-thog Dam-pa bde-shegs (1122-92).⁶⁵
26. Gtsang *ston* Tshul-seng (SL 4), teacher from Gtsang, received the Liberatrice practice in a former lifetime. He asks the master for an empowerment who then appears to him as Hevajra. He will be reborn with the master in their next life.⁶⁶

⁶¹ [21] Without title, section 4, SB kha 171:3 / bla ma **rtsang po** gdams ngag bka' rgya ma'o /

⁶² See the passage on the Tangut ruler and empire in 1.3.7, “Some social and economic aspects of the master's life.”

Roerich, *Blue Annals*, 517, mentions a student Gtsang-so-ba, probably the same.

⁶³ CW 110r:4, ... de bzhengs nas lo nyi shu rtsa gcig na/ ... / **me nyag** chos kyi rgyal po'i bla ma mchod mdzad pa **rtsang po bas**/ ... gdan sa 'dir / sku gsung thugs kyi rten dang / rin po che sna lnga dang / dar thab la sogs pa'i yo byad bsam gyis mi khab pas yang yang bsnyen bkur/ khyab par dpal ldan '**bras spungs kyi mchod rten** la gser gyi na bza' bzang po dang / de'i chas rten dang / ...

⁶⁴ Roerich, *Blue Annals*, 482.

⁶⁵ Karma Thinley, *The History of the Sixteen Karmapas* (Boulder: Prajñā Press, 1980), 45, mentions as one of the master's students “Lama Kadampa Desheg”, who founded the “Katok Nyingma” lineage.

Dudjom Rinpoche mentions a student of Düsüm Khyenpa, known under the name Kaḥ-thog Dam-pa bde-shegs (1122-92) or Spobs-pa Mtha'-yas or Shes-rab seng-ge. Dudjom, *Nyingma School*, Vol I, 688-91: “... He became the supreme spiritual son of the venerable Use (Dbu-se, Grey-haired, Düsüm Khyenpa) ...”

Kaḥ-thog is located in Khams, East-Tibet; Düsüm Khyenpa lived in Khams at Skam-po Gnas-nang and Karma-dgon from abot 1160-1187.

⁶⁶ Dudjom, *Nyingma School*, Vol. I, 691-3, mentions that after Kaḥ-thog Dam-pa bde-shegs (student of Düsüm Khyenpa) passes away, Gtsang-ston-pa (1126-1216) becomes the regent of the Kaḥ-thog 'seat' in the year 1182. Gtsang-ston-pa lives in Khams from the year 1149, and must therefore have known Düsüm Khyenpa.

27. *Dge bshes* Sa-nag-pa (SL 1) received Refuge and *bodhicitta* from Düsüm Khyenpa in the past.
28. Yul-bar-ba (SL 1) received Refuge and *bodhicitta* from the master in the past.
29. *Dge bshes bla ma* 'Od (SL 1), he is said to have been a *siddha* in a former lifetime ("Listen to him!").⁶⁷
30. Sgom-pa Phya (SL 1), the master tells where Sgom-pa Phya has been reborn, they later meet and he becomes his student again.
31. Jo-bo Byang-chub (SL 1) is mentioned as present in the entourage of the master, he is possibly the same person as (Byang-chub) 'Byung-gnas *bla ma*, see above.
32. Dzam-ston Sangs-rgyas (SL 1), the master visits him miraculously while Dzam-ston is in retreat. Dudjom Rinpoche mentions a certain Dzam-ston who lived at that time, teacher of Kaḥ-thog Dam-pa bde-gshegs.⁶⁸
33. Dben-pa (SL 1), the master miraculously appears to him, gives a *dharma* teaching and disappears again.
34. *Dge bshes* Sum-pa (SL 1)⁶⁹ 'sees' the master as Hevajra, he might be the same as *dge bshes* Lha-rje Gsum-pa (DM).
35. *Slob dpon* Sangs-rgyas (SL 1) asks for a "blessing" (*byin rlabs*) for the practice of Zhal-gcig-ma and afterwards sees the master as her, 'sitting' is space, light radiating from her face.
36. *Slob dpon* Dbra-ston (SL 1) sees the master in alternating combinations of five-coloured light.
37. *Bla ma Stag-de'u-ba* (SL 3), the *Gser gling* recounts that he enquires about other manifestations of the master, active at the same time.⁷⁰ He is mentioned in the transmission lineage of the one of the works of the Collection.⁷¹
 He is present at Skam-po Gnas-gnang monastery when Düsüm Khyenpa is at age sixty-seven and is referred to as an older student.
 He is also present at Mtshur-phu monastery in the last years of the master's life and is designated as a one of his first and senior students.⁷² *Bla ma* Stag-do'u-pa (DM).

⁶⁷ SL, SW 57.

⁶⁸ Dudjom, *Nyingma School*, Vol. I, 688-9, for details see later footnote.

⁶⁹ Roberts, *Biographies of Rechungpa*, 2-3, 7-9, mentions a certain Sum-pa, a.k.a Sum-ston or Gtsang-pa Sum-pa or Dam-pa Sum-pa. He is one of Ras-chung-pa (1084-1161) close students, he is a monk and composed one of the early life-stories (*rnam-thar*) on Ras-chung-pa, which he finished in the year 1195. Since Düsüm Khyenpa passes away in 1193, the two could have met.

⁷⁰ SL, SW 116-7: four other manifestations, where they live and what they are doing.

⁷¹ [44] *Sku gsung thugs mi 'gyur ba gnad kyi 'khor lo*, section 4, SB kha 489:2, partial transm. lineage: bla ma rin po che **gnas nang pas** [Düsüm Khyenpa] grub thob **stag del ba** la gngang/ ...

38. Bsgom-pa Tshul-khrims rgyal-po (SL 1) is present at Mtshur-phu monastery in the last years of the master's life; he is designated as one of his first and senior students.
39. Patron Dgon-pa-ba (SL 1) is said to have been present in several of the master's former lifetimes and in the future will be again.
40. *Ston pa* Byang-grags (SL 1) will be reborn with the master in their next life. Ston-pa Byang-chub-grags (DM).
41. *Ston* Bsod (SL 1) will be reborn with the master in their next lifetime. Ston-pa Bsod-nams (DM). He could be Bsod-nams grags-pa, which according to the *Blue Annals* is the ordination name of 'Gro-mgon Ras-chen.⁷³
42. [*Slob*]-pön Dar-ma-rā-dza (SL 1) will be reborn with the master in their next life.
43. Dge bshes Rin-grags (SL 1) will be reborn with the master in their next life, *dge bshes* Rin-chen-grags (DM).
44. Dbang-phyug-grags (SL 1) will be reborn with the master in their next life.
45. 'Od-zer *bla ma* (SL) will be reborn with the master in their next life; he is praised for his "devoted respect." He could be Gang(s)-pa Rin-chen 'Od-zer who lived from 1175-1249.⁷⁴ Gangs-pa is separately discussed below.
46. Dar-ma Seng-ge (SL 1) will be reborn with the master in their next life, is praised for his "devoted respect."
47. Rdo-rje Brtson-'grus (SL 1) will be reborn with the master in their next life.
48. Byang-pa Lha-bzo (SL 1) will be reborn with the master in their next life.
49. **Bde-chung Sangs-rgyas**⁷⁵ is present at Skam-po Gnas-nang monastery in the later part of the master's life and also the author of the earliest *rnam thar* of Düsüm Khyenpa.⁷⁶

⁷² Stag-de'u-ba is a curious name, literally "the-man-who-was-one-day-a-tiger," probably a nick-name. A passage in Roerich, *Blue Annals*, 482, seems to refer to him. Here the name is spelled as 'Bal-tsha Stag-dol-pa, a student of Düsüm Khyenpa. Sangs-rgyas Ras-chen (another student, see below) arrives for the first time and is still a bit skeptical, he asks the master "What kind of students do you have?" and is sent then to a few of them among which Stag-dol-pa, "He went to him, and saw a large tiger in a cave, and being frightened, fled away." At another place *Blue Annals*, 515, the name is spelled as Stag-del-ba.

⁷³ On 'Gro-mgon Ras-chen, see 1.3.5, "Passing on the training received."

⁷⁴ The *Blue Annals*, 518, expand half a page on Gangs-pa, one of Düsüm Khyenpa's students, who lived from 1175-1249. His ordination name was Rin-chen 'od-zer, mentioned is with whom he studied as well as the names of some places where he meditated.

⁷⁵ SL SW 80, CW 'De-

Roerich, *Blue Annals*, 481-82: "['Gro-mgon Ras-chen] enquired about what kind of students the master has, Düsüm Khyenpa said: "... 'De (sic.)-chung sangs-rgyas and others. You go to the latter's place."

50. *Bla ma* Lha (SL 1⁷⁷, DM), possibly identical to Byang-pa Lha-bzo (SL), see above.
51. Dza-ne Sgom bzang (SL), a student from 'Dzam with a lot of “devoted respect.” Dza-ne Bsgom-bzang (DM).
52. [*Slob*]-pön 'Dul (ZC 1).
53. [*Slob*]-pön Grags-seng (SL 1, ZC 3), no further information.
54. Grags-rin (ZC 1)
55. Dkon-mchog Rgyal-mtshan (ZC 1)
56. Na-'un-pa (ZC 1)
57. Gzhon nu (ZC 2)
58. Sher-'byung (ZC 1)
59. Dkon-seng (ZC 1)
60. [*Slob*]-pön Rin-chen seng-ge (ZC 1)
61. Ston Rgyal (ZC 1)
62. *Slob pön* Sher-rin (ZC 2)
63. *Dge bshes* Mar (ZC 1)
64. *Dge bshes* Dren (ZC 1)
65. *Dge slong* Rong pa (ZC 1)
66. Bsgom-pa Ras-pa (ZC 1)
67. *Dge bshes* Shan-she ston-dge (ZC 1)
68. Bsgom-pa Rdo-rje Byang-chub (ZC 1)
69. Bsgom-pa Dkon-mchog tshul-khrims (ZC 1)
70. Shākya Ye-shes (DM)
71. Rgyal-ba Gang-pa (DM), he is probably identical to Gangs-pa, a student which the *Blue Annals* elaborates on.⁷⁸ According to this source Gangs-pa was a native of Gya-ba and born in 1175, which means that he must have met Düsüm Khyenpa (who passes away in 1193) when the master was already quite old. It does mention where the two met or in what he had been instructed. It is said that Gangs-pa meditated at various places, mentioned is Jo-mo Gangs, which is the area around Mt. Everest, also called Gangs-dkar. For that reason he could have been attributed the name Gangs-dkar-ba, the man who lived-meditated at Gangs-dkar. His ordination name is Rin-chen 'Od-zer and passed away in 1249. He is listed at place three in the lineage of abbots of 'Tshur-phu monastery.
- Gangs-dkar-ba appears in the transmission lineage of two of Düsüm Khyenpa's works. For the time being I hold Gang-pa identical to (Chos-rje) **Gangs-dkar-ba** who appears in the transmission lineage of two of the works of the Collection.⁷⁹

⁷⁶ [1] *Rje 'gro ba'i mgon po rin po che'i rnam thar skyes rabs dang bcas pa rin chen phreng ba 'bring po*. Partial colophon: SW ka 44:5 ... shākya'i dge slong **dge 'dun 'od** dang ni/ shākya'i dge slong **smo lam bla ma** yis/ bla ma rin chen zhal [45:1] nas thos pa las/ **bde chung ba** yis sdebs te yi ger bris/ ...

⁷⁷ SL SW 105.

⁷⁸ Roerich, *Blue Annals*, 517, 518-9; 517 Chos-rje Gangs-pa.

⁷⁹ [14-3] *Rnam bzhi rgyud grol*, SW kha 67:4, partial transm. lineage: rgyal po in dra bo dhi bar pas / bla ma rin po che **dus gsum mkhyen pa** la gnang / des rje rin po che **gangs dkar ba**⁷⁹ la gnang/ ...

[28-3] *Bla ma'i gum mo*, SB kha 270:6, / rdo rje 'chang/ ... / des **dus gsum mkhyen pa** la / des chos rje **gangs dkar ba**.

72. 'Gro-mgon Ras-pa (DM) or '**Gro-mgon Ras-chen**, for details see 1.3.5, "Passing the training received."
73. *Rinpoche* Spong-grag-pa (DM, written 150 years later), the name does not appear in the SL, but looks a bit like Spom-brag-pa (no dates known), a student of Sangs-rgyas Ras-chen, and Bka'-brgyud lineageholder *after* Sangs-rgyas Ras-chen. The historian Dpa'-bo Gtsug-lag-phreng-ba (1505-66) spells this Spom-brag-pa as Spong-brag-pa.⁸⁰
74. 'Jam-gling Skye-ba-gsum-pa (DM), possibly the same as *dge bshes* Sum-pa (see above).
75. *Bla ma* Bsam-yas-pa (DM)
76. Zla-stod-khang-sar-ba (DM)
77. Cham-bu-na-ring (DM)
78. Gtsang-pa Ston-pa, mentioned in the DM separately from Gtsang-pa Tshul-sing (DM), the latter is identified above as Gtsang Ston Tshul-seng (SL).
79. **Prajñā-kīrti** appears in the transmission lineage of two works in the Collection.⁸¹ The Tibetan equivalent of the Sanskrit Prajñākīrti would be Shes-rab-grags. Unclear is to which of the students above is referred to, possibly Shākya Shes-rab, *dge bshes* Shes-rab *bla ma* or, Rdo-rje Shes-rab.
80. *Bla ma* **Dbu ston-pa**, mentioned in the transmission lineage of one of the works of the Collection,⁸² not found in the *Gser gling*.

⁸⁰ Dpa'-bo Gtsug-lag-phreng-ba, *Mkhas pa'i dga' ston*, 445.

⁸¹ [10-2] *Dgyes pa rdo rje lhan skyes*, SW ka 404:1, partial transm. lineage: rdo rje 'chang ... **dus gsum mkhyen pa/ prajñā gīrti** (Skt. reconstructed: Prajñākīrti).

[10-3] *Dgyes rdor gyi ting nge 'dzin gyi dbang bskur ba'i lag len*, SW ka 410:1, partial transm. lineage: / je btsun nā ro pas/ ... / bla ma lha rje la / **dus gsum mkhyen pa/ prajñā kīrti**

⁸² [12- 2] *Rta mgrin lha lnga'i mngon rtogs*, SW 430:1, partial transm. lineage, jo bo a ti sha/ ... / **dus gsum mkhyen pa/ bla ma dbu ston pa**/

List of Abbreviations and Signs

In the critical edition only:

- = sign for “reading pause,” abundantly applied in the manuscript where it consists of two small horizontal lines, see fn. in 2.4, “Methodology I – Critical edition”
- / ‘end of sentence’ marker, usually called *shad*
- * * words between asterisks were corrected in the *SW* manuscript, based on *CW* or *SB* variants or grammar
- < > emendations, certain words were added to the manuscript, based on *CW* or *SB* variants
- [] manuscript (*SW*) folio numbers; in the ‘apparatus criticus’ that certain words in the three editions were omitted.
- TDP/TMDP refers to verbcategories in TC (see below)

In the translation, critical edition and the study itself:

- [] indicates additions by the translator in the translation of the text, as well as the folio numbering of the manuscript
- * single asterisk preceding a word, indicates reconstructed Sanskrit name of a place or person
- BA *Blue Annals*, George N. Roerich
- Bacot Bacot, “L’Écriture Cursive Tibétaine”
- Beyer Beyer, *The Classical Tibetan Language*
- BHSD Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary*
- ca. *circa*, “approximately”
- C.E., B.C.E. Common Era, Before Common Era
- CG *Dge bshes Chos-grags, Brda dag ming tshig gsal ba*, Tibetan-Tibetan Dictionary (Electronic edition)
- CW *Rje dus gsum mkhyen pa’i bka’ ’bum*, “Collected Works of the First Karmapa”
- D biography (*rnam thar*) of Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa by Bde-chung-ba
- BDRC Buddhist Digital Resource Center; see www.dbrc.org
- Das Das, *A Tibetan-English Dictionary*

DSK	Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa
DM	<i>Deb ther dmar po</i>
e.g.	<i>exempli gratia</i> , “for example”
E ..	number of the in all 32 “exchanges” between Dūsum Khyenpa and Sgam-po-pa
f, ff	folio, folios
fn.	footnote
Gold	Goldstein, <i>The New Tibetan-English Dictionary of Modern Tibetan</i>
GR	<i>Gser 'phreng</i> , “ <u>G</u> olden <u>R</u> osary,” prototype of the <i>Gser gling</i>
Hahn	Hahn, <i>Lehrbuch der klassischen tibetischen Schriftsprache</i>
K III	<i>rnam thar</i> of Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa by the 3 rd Karma-pa Rang-byung Rdo-rje
J	Jäschke, <i>Tibetan-English Dictionary</i>
LC	Lokesh Chandra, <i>Tibetan-Sanskrit Dictionary</i>
MW	Monier Williams, <i>Sanskṛt-English Dictionary</i>
p., pp.	page, pages
PDB	Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism
pr, ft, pf, imp	present, future, past (or) imperative verb tenses.
Roloff	Roloff, “Lists of Abbreviations used in the Cursive Manuscripts.”
sic.	<i>sic erat scriptum</i> , “written thus”
SB	<i>Karma pa dus gsum mkhyen pa'i gsung 'bum</i>
SL	<i>Gser gling rnam thar</i> of Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa
SW	<i>Selected Writings of the First Zhwa nag Karma pa Dus gsum mkhyen pa</i>
Skt.	Sanskrit language
trans.	translated
Tib.	Tibetan language
TC	<i>Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo</i>
Toh	Taishō edition of the Chinese Tripiṭaka

Bibliography

Primary Tibetan language Sources

The three editions of the “Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa Collection”:

I. *Selected Writings of the First Zhwa nag Karma pa Dus gsum mkhyen pa*. Reproduced from rare manuscripts (*dbu med*) from the library of Zhwa-dmar Rin-po-che. Two volumes. Gangtok (Sikkim): Dzongsar Chhentse Labrang, Palace Monastery (Lakshmi Printing Works, Lal Kuan, Delhi-110006), 1980.

II. *Rje dus gsum mkhyen pa'i bka' 'bum*, the “Collected Works of the First Karmapa Dusum Khyenpa,” electronic edition. Swayambunath, Nepal: Padma Karpo Translation Committee, 2008.

III. Mkhan-po Lo-yag-bkra-shis, ed. *Karma pa dus gsum mkhyen pa'i gsung 'bum*, volumes *ka* and *kha*, in the *Dpal rgyal dbang Karma pa sku phreng rim byon gyi gsung 'bum phyogs sgrigs*. Hundred-and-eight volumes. Khreng-tu'u: Dpal-brtsegs-bod-yig-dpe-rnying-zhib-'jug-khang, 2013.

Two specific works from the “Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa Collection”:

- A. Rgang-lo, *Chos rje'i skyes rabs rin po che gser gling le'u bcwo brgyad pa zhes bya ba*, part of the *Rje dus gsum mkhyen pa'i rnam thar. Selected Writings, ka*
- B. Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa, *Dus gsum mkhyen pa'i zhus lan. Selected Writings, kha*

Sgang-lo. *Sems dpa' chen po'i skyes rab gser 'phreng*. Part of a collection of published ancient manuscripts, entitled *Bod kyi snga rabs dam pa rnams kyi gsungs chos phyag bris ma rin chen gser phreng*, 40 volumes. Kan-su'u-rig-gnas-dpe-skrun-khang, ca. 2016. Volume 36.

Ye-shes rgyal-mtshan. *Bka' bgyud rnam thar rin chen gser gyi phreng ba*, BDRC W3CN674. Secondary title *Rdo rje 'chang chen nas karma pakṣi bar gyi bka' bgyud bla ma rnams kyi rnam thar*.

Rang-byung rdo-rje. *Dus gsum mkhyen pa seng ge sgra'i rnam par thar pa*. Part of the *Dpal rgyal dbang Karma pa sku phreng rim byon gyi gsung 'bum phyogs sgrigs*, 108 volumes. Edited by Mkhan-po Lo-yag-bkra-shis. Khreng-tu'u: Dpal-brtsegs-bod-yig-dpe-rnying-zhib-'jug-khang, 2013. Volume 13, “Karma-pa Rang-byung rdo-rje'i-gsung-'bum.”

Another edition also exist, same title, part of the *Collected Works of Rang-byung-rdo-rje*, the *Karma rang byung rdo rje'i gsungs 'bum*, BDRC W05401.

Bsod-nams rgyal-mtshan-dpal-bzang-po. *Bka' bgyud rin po che'i chos 'byung Mig 'byed 'od stong*. Part of a collection of *rnam thar*, entitled *Bod kyi lo rgyus rnam thar phyogs bgrigs*, 120 volumes. Zi-ling: Mtsho-sngon-mi-rigs-dpe-skrun-khang, 2010-15. Volume 7.

'Gos-lo-tsā-ba Gzhon-nu-dpal. *Deb gter sngon po*. Reproduced by Lokesh Chandra. Śata-Piṭaka Series 212. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1974.

Dpa'-bo Gtsug-lag-phreng-ba. *Mkhas pa'i dga' ston*. Beijing: Mi-rigs-dpe-skrun-khang, 2006.

Phya-pa Chos-kyi-Señ ge. *Dbu ma Śar gsum gyi ston thun*. Edited by Helmut Tauscher. Wien: Arbeitskreis für tibetische und buddhistische Studien Universität Wien, 1999.

Si-tu Paṅ-chen Chos-kyi-'byung-gnas. *Chos kyi 'byung gnas gsung 'bum*, Volume 11, Da: *Zhwa nag dang po (1) Dus gsum mkhyen pa / chos kyi grags pa*.

Ri-bo-che Dpon-tshang. *Lho rong chos 'byung thub bstan gsal byed*. Lhasa: Bod-ljongs-bod yig-dpe-mying dpe-skrun-khang, 1994.

Tshal-pa Kun-dga' Rdo-rje. *Deb ther dmar po*. Annotated by Dung-dkar blo-bzang. Beijing: Mi-rigs-dpe-skrun-khang, 1981.

'Bras spungs dgon du bzhugs su gsol ba'i dpe rnying dkar chag (Drepung catalog). Lhasa: Mi-rigs-dpe-skrun-khang, two volumes.

Snga 'gyur bka' ma shin tu rgyas pa gsung 'bum. Hundred-and-thirty-three volumes. Chengdu: Si-khron-mi-rigs-dpe-skrun-khang, 2009.

Secondary European-language Sources

Catalogues, Buddhist works in translation and scholarly sources on Buddhism, Philological sources, Geographical sources

Catalogues

A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons (Bka' 'gyur and Bstan 'gyur). Edited by Prof. Hakuju Ui, Prof. Munetada Suzuki, Prof. Yenshō Kanakura, Lect. Tōkan Tada. Sendai: Tōhoku Imperial University, 1934.

The Tibetan Tripitaka—Peking (Beijing) edition. Edited by Dr. Saisetz T. Suzuki. Tokyo-Kyoto: Tibetan Tripitaka Research Institute, 1961.

Buddhist works in translation and scholarly sources on Buddhism

Arya Maitreya, *Buddha Nature – The Mahayana Uttaratantra Shastra with Commentary*, written down by Asanga, commentary by Jamgön Kongtrül Lodrö Thayé, explanations by Khenpo Tsultrim Gyamtso Rinpoche. Translated by Rosemarie Fuchs. New York, Snow Lion Publications, 2000.

Atīśa. "Introduction to the Two Truths," in *The Complete Works of Atīśa, Śrī Dīpaṃkara jñāna*, Jo-bo-rje, *The Lamp for the Path, Commentary, and Twenty-five Key Texts*. Translated by Richard Sherburne. New Delhi: Aditya prakashan, 2000.

Ācārya Nāgārjuna, *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ*, Excellent Collection of Doctrines (Sanskrit-Tibetan-English List of Dharma terms). Translated by Tashi Zangmo and Dechen Chime. Sarnath Varanasi: Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, 1993.

BDRC, Buddhist Digital Resource Center, database of Buddhist works and authors available online at <http://www.bdrc.org>

Beyer, Stephan. *The Cult of Tārā, Magic and Ritual in Tibet*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978.

Blondeau, Anne-Marie. “Le Lha-’dre Bka’-than.” In *Études Tibétaines* dédiées à la mémoire de Marcelle Lalou, 29-125. Paris, Librairie d’Amérique et Orient, 1971.

Buchardi, Anne. “The Role of *Rang rig* in the Pramāṇa-based *Gzhan stong* of the Seventh Karmapa.” In *Mahāmudrā and the Bka’-brgyud Tradition*, edited by Roger R. Jackson and Matthew T. Kapstein, 3-54. Andiast: International Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies (IIBS), 2011.

Buswell Jr., Robert E, and Lopez Jr. Donald S. *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014.

Brunnhölzl, Karl. *The Center of the Sunlit Sky*. Appendix I, “A Short Biography of the Second Pawo Rinpoche Tsuglag Trengwa (Dpa’-bo Gtsug-lag Phreng-ba).” Ithaca New York: Snow Lion Publications, 2004.

_____. *Luminous Heart: The Third Karmapa on Consciousness, Wisdom, and Buddha Nature*. Ithaca, New York: Snow Lion, 2009.

Cabezón, José Ignacio, and Roger R. Jackson. “Editors’ Introduction.” In *Tibetan Literature*, 12-37. Ithaca New York: Snow Lion, 1996.

Cozort, Daniel. “Sādhana (sGrub thabs): Means of Achievement for Deity Yoga.” In *Tibetan Literature: Studies in Genre*, edited by José Ignacio Cabezón and Roger. R. Jackson, 331-343. New York: Snow Lion, 1996.

Davidson, Ronald M. *Indian Esoteric Buddhism – A Social History of the Tantric Movement*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2002.

_____. *Tibetan Renaissance: Tantric Buddhism in the Rebirth of Tibetan Culture*. New York, Columbia University Press, 2005.

Dbang-phyug Rdo-rje, Karmapa IX. *The Mahāmudrā: Eliminating the Darkness of Ignorance* (with commentary given orally by Beru Khyentze Rinpoche). Translated by Alexander Berzin. New Delhi: Library of Tibetan Works & Archives, 1978 (revised 1989).

Dbang-phyug Rdo-rje, Karmapa IX, *Mahamudra, Ozean des Wahren Sinnes*. Three volumes: Vol. 1 *Mahamudra-Vorbereitungen*; Vol. 2 *Die hauptpraxis, geistige Ruhe und intuitive Einsicht*; Vol. 3. *Vertiefung der Praxis*. Translated by Henrik Havlat. Zürich: Theseus Verlag, 1990-2.

Debreczeny, Karl. “Tibetan Interest in Chinese Visual Modes: The Foundation of the Tenth Karmapa’s ‘Chinese-style *Thang ka* Painting’.” In *Mahāmudrā and the Bka’-brgyud*

- Tradition*, edited by Roger R. Jackson and Matthew T. Kapstein, 387-424. Andiast: International Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies (IIBS), 2011.
- Deities of Tibetan Buddhism*. Edited by Martin Willson and Martin Brauen. Translated by Martin Willson. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2000.
- Douglas, Nik, and White. Meryl. *Karmapa: The Black Hat Lama of Tibet*. London: Luzac, 1976.
- Dowman, Keith. *Masters of Mahāmudrā*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1985.
- Dorji Wangchuk. *The Resolve to Become a Buddha, A Study of the Bodhicitta Concept in Indo-Tibetan Buddhism*. Tokyo: The International Institute for Buddhist Studies, 2007.
- Drinking the Mountain Stream, Stories and Songs from the Oral tradition of Jetsun Milarepa*. Translated by Lama Kunga Rinpoche and Brian Cutillo. New York: Lotsawa, 1978.
- Ducher, Cécile. *Building a Tradition, The Lives of Mar-pa the Translator*. München: Indus Verlag, 2017.
- _____. “A Lineage in Time: The Vicissitudes of the rNog pa bka’ brgyud from the 11th through 19th c.,” Phd dissertation Paris Sciences et Lettres – PSL Research University, EPHE, Paris, 2017.
- Dudjom Rinpoche. *The Nyingma School of Tibetan Buddhism: Its Fundamentals & History*. Translated and edited by Gyurme Dorje and Matthew Kapstein. Somerville: Wisdom Publications, 1991.
- Duff, Tony. *Gampopa Teaches Essence Mahamudra*. Kathmandu: Padma Karpo Publications, 2011.
- Eckel, Malcolm David. *Jñānagarbha on the Two Truths, An Eight Century Handbook of Madhyamaka Philosophy*. New York: State University of New York, 1987.
- English, Elizabeth. *Vajrayoginī, Her Visualizations, Rituals, and Forms*. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2002.
- Everding, Karl-Heinz. “gSang phu Ne’u thog, Tibet’s Earliest Monastic School (1073): Reflections on the Rise of its Grva tshang bcu gsum and Bla khag bcu,” *Zentral Asiatischen Studien* 38 (2009): 137-54.
- Gamble, Ruth. *Reincarnation in Tibetan Buddhism – The Third Karmapa and the invention of a tradition*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2018.
- Gampopa. *The Jewel Ornament of Liberation by sGam-po-pa*. Translated and annotated by Herbert Guenther. Boston: Shambhala, 1959.
- Garab Dorje (Dga’-rab rdo-rje), *The Golden Letters – The three statements of Garab Dorje, the first teacher of Dzogchen*. Translated by John Myrdhin Reynolds. New York: Snow Lion Publications, 1996.

Gernet, Jacques. *A History of Chinese Civilization*. Translated by J.R. Foster and Charles Hartman. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982. Originally published in French as *Le Monde Chinois*. Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1972.

Gray David B. *The Cakrasamvara Tantra (The Discourse of Śrī Heruka): A Study and Annotated Translation*. New York: The American Institute of Buddhist Studies at Columbia University, 2007.

Gyatso, Janet. *Apparitions of the Self: The Secret Autobiographies of a Tibetan Visionary*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998.

_____. "Healing Burns with Fire." *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, Vol. 67 No 1 (Mar., 1999): 113-147.

Himalayan Art, item no. 89141, <http://www.himalayanart.org-image.cfm=icode89141> (accessed December 8, 2017)

Hundred Thousand Songs of Milarepa. Translated by Garma C.C. Chang. Boston: Shambhala (1962) 1999.

Hugon, Pascale. "Phya pa Chos kyi seng ge on argumentation by consequence (*thal 'gyur*) – The nature, function, and form of consequence statements." *Journal of Indian Philosophy* (2013).

Hugon, Pascale. "Enclaves of Learning, Religious and Intellectual Communities in Tibet: The Monastery of gSang phu Ne'u thog in the Early Centuries of the Later Diffusion of Buddhism." In *Meanings of Community Across Medieval Eurasia*, edited by E. Houden, Ch. Lutter and W. Pohl, 289-308. Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2016.

Jackson, David. *Enlightenment by a Single Means- Tibetan Controversies on the "Self-sufficient white remedy" (Dkar po chig thub)*. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1994.

Jackson, David P. *Patron and Painter: Situ Panchen and the Revival of the Encampment Style*. New York: Rubin Museum of Art, 2009.

Jackson, Roger R. *Tantric Treasures*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.

_____. "The Study of Mahāmudrā in the West: A Brief Historical Overview." In *Mahāmudrā and the Bka'-brgyud Tradition*, edited by Roger R. Jackson and Matthew T. Kapstein, 3-54. Andiast: International Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies (IIBS), 2011.

Ji-young, Lee. "The life of the first Karma-pa Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa "the knower of the three times" (1110-1193): An annotated translation of his biography from the Zla-ba chu-sel-gyi phreng-ba," Master-thesis, Indiana University, 2016.

Jones, Richard H. *Nagarjuna: Buddhism's Most Important Philosopher*. New York: Jackson Square Books, 2014.

de Jong, T.W. *Textcritical Remarks on the Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā*. Transliteration of the Sanskrit and Tibetan pallavas 42-108. Studia Philologica Buddhica, Monograph Series II. Tokyo, The Reiyukai Library, 1979.

Kapstein, Matthew. “gDams ngag: Tibetan Technologies of the Self.” In *Tibetan Literature, Studies in Genre*, edited by José Ignacio Cabezón, and Roger R. Jackson, 275-289. New York: Snow Lion, 1996.

_____. *The Tibetans*. Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2006.

_____ and Sam van Schaik. *Esoteric Buddhism at Dunhuang: Rites for his Life and Beyond*. Leiden: Brill, 2010.

_____. “The Doctrine of Eternal Heaven – A Defense of Mongol Imperial Religion.” In *Mahāmudrā and the Bka’-brgyud Tradition*, edited by Roger R. Jackson and Matthew T. Kapstein, 259-316. Andiast: International Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies (IITBS), 2011.

Karma Thinley. *The History of the Sixteen Karmapas of Tibet*. Boulder: Prajñā Press, 1980.

Karmay, Samten Gyaltzen. *The Great Perfection (rDzogs chen)*. Leiden: Brill, 2007.

Kragh, Ulrich Timme. *Culture and Subculture – A Study of the Mahāmudrā Teachings of Sgam po pa*. MA Thesis Tibetan Studies. Copenhagen, 1998.

_____. “The Yogācārabhūmi and its adaptation, Introductory Essay with a Summary of the Basic Section.” In *The Foundation for Yoga Practitioners, The Buddhist Yogācārabhūmi Treatise and Its Adaptation in India, East Asia, and Tibet*, edited by Ulrich Timme Kragh, 22-287. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013.

_____. *Tibetan Yoga and Mysticism – A Textual Study of the Yogas of Nāropa and Mahāmudrā Meditation In the Medieval Tradition of Dags po*. Studia Philologica Buddhica Monograph Series XXXII. Tokyo: International Institute for Buddhist Studies, 2015.

_____. “Prolegomenon to the Six Doctrines of Nāropa: Authority and Tradition.” In *Mahāmudrā and the Bka’ brgyud Tradition*, edited by Roger J. Jackson and Matthew T. Kapstein, 131-177. Andiast: IITBS, 2011.

van der Kuijp, Leonard W.J. “Phya-pa Chos-kyi Seng-ge’s impact on Tibetan Epistemological Theory.” *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 5 (1978): 355-369.

_____. “The Monastery of Gsang-phu Ne’u-thog and Its Abbatical Succession from ca. 1073 to 1250.” *Berliner Indologischen Studien* 3 (1987): 103-127.

_____. “On the Composition and Printings of the *Deb gter sngon po* by ’Gos lo tsā ba gzhon nu dpal.” *Journal of the International Association of Tibetan Studies*, no. 2 (August 2006): 1-46. (accessed October 15, 2018).

Kulke Hermann and Rothermund Dietmar. *A History of India*. New York: Routledge, 2004.

Lang, Karen Christina. “Spa-tshab Nyi-ma-grags and the Introduction of Prāsaṅgika Madhyamaka into Tibet.” In *Reflections on Tibetan Culture*, edited by Lawrence Epstein and Richard Sherburne. New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 1989.

Larsson, Stefan. *Crazy for wisdom: The making of a Mad Yogin in Fifteenth-Century Tibet*. Leiden: Brill, 2012.

Lindner, Christian. *Nagarjuniana: Studies in the Writings and Philosophy of Nāgārjuna*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1990, first published 1982.

Lindner, Christian. “Nāgārjuna, (Mūla)madhyamakakārikās,” in Karl H. Potter, *Encyclopedia of Indian Philosophies*, Volume VIII, Buddhist Philosophy from 100 to 350 AD (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1999), 98-124.

Maitreyanātha/ Āryāsaṅga. *The Universal Vehicle Discourse Literature - Mahāyānasūtrālamkāra*, together with its *Commentary (Bhāṣya)* by Vasubandhu. Translated (from the Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Chinese. Edited by Robert A.F. Thurman. New York: Columbia University Press, 2004.

Manson, Charles E. “Introduction to the Life of Karma Pakshi (1204/6-1283).” *Bulletin of Tibetology* 45, no. 1 (2009): 22-52.

Martin, Dan. *Tibetan Histories, A Bibliography of Tibetan-Language Historical Works*. London, Serindia Publications, 1997.

Mathes, Klaus-Dieter. *Unterscheidung der Gegebenheiten von ihren wahren Wesen (Dharmadharmatāvibhāga)*. Indica et Tibetica 26. Swisttal-Odendorf: Indica et Tibetica Verlag, 1996.

_____. “Blending the Sūtras with the Tantras: The Influence of Maitripa and his Circle on the formation of *Sūtra Mahāmudrā* in the Kagyu Schools.” In *Tibetan Buddhist Literature and Praxis: Studies in its formative Period 900-1400*, edited by Ronald M. Davidson and Christian K. Wedemeyer, 201-227. Leiden: Brill, 2006.

_____. “Can *Sūtra Mahāmudrā* be justified on the Basis of Maitrīpa’s *Apratiṣṭhānavāda*?” in *Pramāṇakīrtiḥ: Papers dedicated to Ernst Steinkellner on the occasion of his 70th birthday*, edited by B. Kellner, H. Krasser, H. Lasic, M.T. Much and H. Tauscher, 546-66. Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2007.

_____. *A Direct Path to the Buddha Within: Gö Lotsāwa’s Mahāmudrā Interpretation of the Ratnagotravibhāga*. Academic Series of Wisdom Publications, 2008.

_____. “The Collection of ‘Indian Mahāmudrā’ (Tib. *phyag chen rgya gzhung*) Compiled by the Seventh Karmapa Chos grags rgya mtsho.” In *Mahāmudrā and the Bka’-brgyud Tradition*, edited by Roger R. Jackson and Matthew T. Kapstein, 89-130. Andiast: International Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies (IITBS), 2011.

_____. *A Fine Blend of Mahāmudrā and Madhamaka: Maitrīpa’s Collection of Texts on Non-conceptual Realization (Amanasikāra)*. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2015.

Meinert, Carmen. “The Conjunction of Chinese Chan and Tibetan Rdzogs chen Thought: Reflections on the Tibetan Dunhuang Manuscripts IOL Tib J 689-1 and PT 699.” In *Contributions to the Cultural History of Early Tibet*, edited by Matthew T. Kapstein and Brandon Dotson. Leiden: Brill, 2007.

Ostensen, Morten. “Muddy Waters and Blurred Lines: A ro ye shes ’byung gnas and the Anomalous Origins of the rDzogs pa chen po Sems sde A ro lugs.” *Revue d’Etudes Tibetaines*, no. 44, Mars 2018, pp. 9-30.

Potter, Karl H., *Encyclopedia of Indian Philosophies*, Volume VIII, Buddhist Philosophy from 100 to 350 AD. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1999.

Quintman, Andrew. *The Yogin & the Madman – Reading the Biographical Corpus of Tibet’s Great Saint Milarepa*. South Asia Across the Disciplines. New York: Columbia University Press, 2014.

Rang-byung rdo-rje. *Von der Klarheit des Geistes: drei buddhistische Texte von Karmapa Rangjung Dorje*. Translated by Alex and Tina Draszczyk. Wien: Marpa-Verlag, 1995.

Rheingans, Jim. “Reflections about Classifying Tibetan Texts—Tradition, Genre and Text Type, Editors Introduction” In *Tibetan Literary Genres, Text, and Text Types: From Genre Classification to Transformation*, edited by Jim Rheingans. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2015.

_____. *The Eighth Karmapa’s Life and his Interpretation of the Great Seal – A religious Life and Instructional Texts in Historical and Doctrinal Contexts*. Hamburg: Numata Center for Buddhist Studies, 2017.

Richardson, Hugh. “The Karma-pa Sect – A Historical Note.” In *High Peaks, Pure Earth, Collected Writings on Tibetan History and Culture*. Edited and Introduced by Michael Aris, 339-78. London: Serindia Publications, 1998. First published in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1958), 1-18.

Roberts, Peter Alan. *The Biographies of Rechungpa: The evolution of a Tibetan hagiography*. New York: Routledge, 2007.

Robinson James Burnell, “The Lives of Indian Buddhist Saints: Biography, Hagiography and Myth.” In *Tibetan Literature*, edited by José Ignacio Cabezón and Roger R. Jackson, 57-69. New York: Snow Lion, 1996.

Roerich, George N. *The Blue Annals*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1996, First Edition 1949.

Ruegg, David Seyfort. *The Literature of the Madhyamaka school of Philosophy in India*. A History of Indian Literature, edited by Jan Gonda, Volume VII. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrasowitz, 1981.

Śāntideva. *Śikṣāsamuccaya, A Compendium of Buddhist Doctrine – Primary Source Edition*. Translated by Cecil Bendall and W.H.D. Rouse. London: Murray, 1922.

van Schaik, Sam. “Ruler of the East, or Eastern Capital” In *Studies in Chinese Manuscripts: From the Warring States to the Twentieth Century*, edited by ***Imre Galambos, 211-23. Budapest: Eötvös Lorand University, 2013.

Shantideva. *The Way of the Bodhisattva*. Translated by Padmakara Translation Group. Boston&London: Shambhala, 2003.

Schaeffer, Kurtis R. “The Religious Career of Vairocana vajra – A Twelfth Century Indian Buddhist Master from Dakṣiṇa Kośala,” in *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 28 (2000): 361-384.

Schaeffer Kurtis R. *Dreaming the Great Brahmin – Tibetan Traditions of the Buddhist Poet-Saint Saraha*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Schiller, Alexander. *Das Leben und Gesamtwerk des tibetischen Meisters Phag mo gru pa rDo rje rgyal po*. Master-thesis, Hamburg University, 2002.

_____. *Die “VierYoga”-Stufen der Mahāmudrā-Meditationstradition: Eine Anthologie aus den Gesammelten Schriften des Mönchgelehrten und Yogin Phag mo gru pa rDo rje rgyal po (Kritischer Text und Übersetzung, eingeleitet und erläutert)*. Hamburg: Department of Indian and Tibetan Studies, 2015.

Schmid, Toni. *The Eighty-five Siddhas*. Stockholm: Statens Etnografiska Museum, 1958. Volume VIII. Ethnography 7.

Schmithausen, Lambert. “Kuśāla and Akuśāla, Reconsidering the Original Meaning of a Basic Pair of Terms of Buddhist Spirituality and Ethics and Its Development up to Early Yogācāra.” In *The Foundation for Yoga Practitioners, The Buddhist Yogācārabhūmi Treatise and Its Adaptation in India, East Asia, and Tibet*, edited by Ulrich Timme Kragh, 440-495. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013.

Schopen, Gregory. *Buddhist Monks and Business Matters*. Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2004.

Schwieger, Peter. *Tibetische Handschriften und Blockdrucke*, Teil 13, Die mTshur-phu-Ausgabe der Sammlung Rin-chen gter-mdzod chen-mo, nach dem Exemplar der Orientabteilung, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Hs or 778, Bände 40-52, beschrieben von Peter Schwieger. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2009.

_____. *The Dalai Lama and the Emperor of China*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2015.

Seegers Manfred. *Transcending Delusion: The Third Karma-pa Rang-byung rDo-rje’s (1284-1339) Discourse on the Distinction between Perception (rman shes: vijñāna) and Gnosis (ye shes: jñāna)*. PhD thesis Hamburg University, Januari 2019.

Sgom-pa Tshul-khrims-snying-po, “A String of Pearls: A Collection of Dharma Lectures by Gampopa.” In *Mahāmudrā and Related Instructions*. Translated by Peter Alan Roberts, 31-63. The Library of Tibetan Classics. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2011.

Shabkar (Zhabs-dkar). *The Life of Shabkar, The Autobiography of a Tibetan Yogin*. Translated by Mathieu Ricard, Jacob Leschly, Erik Schmidt, Marilyn Silvestone, and Lodrö Palmo. New York: Snow Lion Publications, 2001.

Shamar Rinpoche. *The Path to Awakening – A Commentary on Ja Chekawa Yeshe Dorje’s Seven Points of Mind Training*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass 2009.

Sheehey, Michael R. “Rangjung Dorje’s Variegations of Mind: Ordinary Awareness and Pristine Awareness in Tibetan Buddhist Literature.” In *Buddhist Thought & Applied Psychological Research*, edited by Nauriyal. London, New York: Routledge Curzon, 2005.

Si-tu Bstan-pa'i-nyin-byed. "Oral Transmissions of the Supreme Siddhas." In *Mahāmudrā and Related Instructions*. Translated by Peter Alan Roberts, 175-288. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2011.

Smith, E. Gene. *Among Tibetan Texts, History & Literature of the Himalayan Plateau*. Edited by Kurtis R. Schaeffer, Studies in Indian and Tibetan Buddhism. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2001.

Snellgrove, D.L. *The Hevajra Tantra, A Critical Study*, Vol I and II. London Oriental Series – Volume 6. London: Oxford University Press, 1959.

Sörensen, Per K. *Rare Texts from Tibet – Seven Sources for the Ecclesiastic History of Mediaval Tibet*. Kathmandu: Lumbini International Research Institute, 2007.

_____ and Hazod, Guntram. *Rulers on The Celestial Plain*, Vol I and II. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2007.

Sperling, Elliot. "The 5th Karmapa and Some Aspects of the Sino-Tibetan Relationship between Tibet and the Early Ming." In *Tibetan Studies in Honour of Hugh Richardson*, edited by Michael Aris and Aung San Suu Kyi, 280-89. Warminster: Aris and Philips, 1980.

_____. "Lama to the King of Hsia." *Journal of the Tibet Society* 7 (1987): 31-50.

_____. "Karmapa Rol-pa'i rdo-rje and the Re-Establishment of Karma-pa Political Influence in the 14th Century." In *The Relationship Between Religion and State (chos srid zung 'brel) in Traditional Tibet*, edited by Christoph Cüppers, 229-243. Lumbini: Lumbini International Research Institute (LIRI), 2004.

Takahashi, Kammie. "The Rdo rje Sems dpa'i zhus lan." In *Esoteric Buddhism at Dunhuang*, edited Matthew Kapstein and Sam van Schaik, 85-141. Leiden - Boston: Brill, 2010.

Takasaki, Jikido. *A Study on the Ratnagotravibhāga (Uttaratantra) – Being a Treatise on the Tathāgatagarbha Theory of Mahāyāna Buddhism*. Serie Orientale Roma XXXIII. Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1966.

Takpo Tashi Namgyal. *Mahāmudrā, The Quintessence of Mind and Meditation*. Translated and annotated by Lobsang P. Lhalungpa. Delhi. Motilal Banarsidass, 1993.

Tāranātha. *History of Buddhism in India*. Translated from the Tibetan by Lama Chimpa and Alaka Chattopadhyaya and edited by Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya. Calcutta: Humanities Press / Bagchi, 1981.

_____. *The Seven Instruction Lineages*. Translated and edited by David Templeman. New Delhi: LTWA, 1983.

_____. *Life of Kṛṣṇācārya/Kāṇha*. Translated by David Templeman. New Delhi: LTWA, 1989.

The Book of Kadam – The Core Texts, attributed to Atiśa and Dromtönpa. Translated by Thubten Jinpa. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2008.

- The Diamond Sutra – The Perfection of Wisdom.* Translated by Red Pine. Berkeley: Counterpoint, 2001.
- The First Karmapa – The Life and Teachings of Dusum Khyenpa.* Translated by David Karma Choephel and Michele Martin. New York: KTD Publications Woodstock, 2012.
- The Flower Ornament Scripture – A Translation of the Avatamsaka Sutra.* Translated by Thomas Cleary. Boston: Shambhala, 1993.
- The Life and Teaching of Nāropa.* Translated by Herbert V. Guenther. Boston&London: Shambhala, 1995.
- The Life of Marpa the Translator.* Translated by the Nālandā Translation Committee. Boston&London: Shambhala, 1995.
- The Life of Milarepa.* Translated by Lobsang P. Lhalungpa. Boulder&London: Shambhala, 1984.
- The Lotus Sutra.* Translated by Burton Watson. New York: Columbia University Press 1993.
- The Perfection of Wisdom – in Eight Thousand Lines and its Verse Summary.* Translated by Edward Conze. San Francisco: City Lights, 1973.
- Thrangü Rinpoche. *King of Samadhi – Commentaries on the Samadhi Raja Sutra & The Song of Lodrö Thaye.* Hong Kong: Rangjung Yeshe Publications, 1994.
- Tibet's Great Yogi Milarepa.* Translated by Kazi Dawa-Samdub W.Y. Evans-Wentz. Varanasi: Pilgrims publishing, 1928.
- Vasubhandu. *Abhidharmakośabhāṣyam.* Translated into French by Louis de La Vallée Poussin, English version by Leo M. Pruden. Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press, 1988-90. Five volumes.
- Verhagen, Peter. “Notes apropos to the Oevre of Si tu Paṅ chen Chos kyi ’byung gnas (1699?-1774) (5) – The ‘Eight-Stanza Hymn to Mahākāla’: A Glimpse of the Translator at Work.” *Revue Tibétaines*, no. 39, April 2017, 166-228.
- Vostrikov, A.L. *Tibetan Historical Literature.* Translated from Russian by Harish Chandra Gupta. Abington: Routledge Curzon Press, 1994.
- Wylie, Turrell V. “Reincarnation: A Political Innovation in Tibetan Buddhism,” in *Proceedings of the Csoma de Koros Memorial Symposium*, edited by Luis Ligeti, 579-586 Budapest: Akademiai Kiado, 1978.
- Yanamoto, Carl Shigeo. *Vision and Violence: Lama Zhang and the Dialectics of Political Authority and Religious Charisma in Twelfth-century Central Tibet.* Dissertation University of Virginia, 2009.
- _____, Karl. *Vision and Violence: Lama Zhang and the Politics of Charisma in Twelfth-Century Central Tibet.* Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2012.

Philological sources

- Almogi, Orna. "Analysing Tibetan Titles," in *Les Cahiers d'Extreme Orient*. 2005.
- Bacot, M. Jacques. "L'Écriture Cursive Tibétaine." *Journal Asiatique* (janvier-février 1912): 5-78.
- Beyer, Stephan. *The Classical Tibetan Language*. New York: State University Press, 1992.
- Dge bshes Chos-grags. Brda dag ming tshig gsal ba*. Tibetan-Tibetan Dictionary (Electronic edition), Kathmandu: Padma Karpo Translation Committee, 2005.
- Das, Sarat Chandra. *A Tibetan-English Dictionary*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1902.
- Edgerton, Franklin. *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary*, Volume 1 Grammar, Vol. II Dictionary. Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, first edition New Haven, 1953.
- Goldstein, Melvyn C. *The New Tibetan-English Dictionary of Modern Tibetan*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001.
- Hahn, Michael. *Lehrbuch der klassischen tibetischen Schriftsprache*. Swisttal-Odendorf: Indica et Tibetica Verlag, 1996.
- Jäschke, H.A. *A Tibetan-English Dictionary*. Mineola New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 2003 (Unabridged reduplication of the work originally published in 1881 by Routledge & Kegan Paul, Ltd., London).
- Lokesh Chandra. *Tibetan-Sanskrit Dictionary*. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture and Aditya Prakashan, Śata-Piṭaka Series Indo-Asian Literatures, Volume 3, 1959-61.
- Monier-Williams, Sir M. *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*. Oxford: University Press, 1979 (First edition 1899).
- Roloff, Carola. "Lists of Abbreviations used in the Cursive Manuscripts." *Red Mda' ba, Buddhist Yogi-Scholar of the Fourteenth Century*, Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 2009: 57-66.
- Schwieger, Peter. *Handbuch zur Grammatik der klassischen tibetischen Schriftsprache*. Halle: International Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies, 2009.
- Sgra bye brag tu rtogs byed chen mo skad bzhi shan sbyar ma*, a Tibetan-Sanskrit-English-Chinese Dictionary of Buddhism, an Edition and Translation of the *Mahavyutpatti*. Translated by Bu-chung Tshe-ring. Lha-sa: Bod-ljongs-mi-dmangs Dpe-skrun-khang, 2015.
- Whitney, William Dwight. *The Roots, Verb-forms, and Primary derivatives of the Sanskrit language*. Leipzig: Breitkopf and Härtel, 1885.
- Whitney, William Dwight. *Sanskrit Grammar*. Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, 1983. First print Leipzig 1924.
- Wylie, Turrell W. "A Standard System of Tibetan Transcription." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, Vol. 22 (Dec. 1959): 261-267.

Zhang Yisun. *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo*. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang / Minzu Chubanshe, 1985.

Geographical sources

Akester, Matthew. *Jamyang Khyentsé Wangpo's Guide to Central Tibet*. Chicago: Serindia Publications, 2016.

Bailey, F.M. "Exploration, of the Tsangpo or Upper Brahmaputra." *The Geographical Journal*, no. 4 (October 1914): 26-31. Map, "Part of the North-eastern frontier and Tibet."

Dharamsala (Map): Amnye Machen Institute, 2001.

Dorje, Gyurme. *Footprint Tibet Handbook*. Bath: Footprint Handbooks, 1999.

Dowman, Keith. *Power-places of Central Tibet*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd, 1988.

Dowman, Keith. *A Buddhist Guide to the Power Places of the Kathmandu Valley*. Kathmandu: Vajra Publications, 2007.

Filibeck, Elena De Rossi. "A Guide-book to Tsa-ri." In *Reflections on Tibetan Culture, Essays in Memory of Turrell V. Wylie*, edited by Lawrence Epstein and Richard F. Sherburne. New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 1989.

Himachal Pradesh, Topographic Overview Map, 1: 500 000. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2015.

Huber, Toni. *The Cult of Pure Crystal Mountain – Popular Pilgrimage and Visionary Landscape in Southeast Tibet*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1956.

Ryavec, Karl E. *A Historical Atlas of Tibet*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015.

Wylie, Turrell V. *The Geography of Tibet, according to the 'Dzam gling rgyas bshad*. Roma, Instituta Italiano per il medio ed estremo oriente, 1962.

Résumé en français

Introduction

Cette thèse contribue à la connaissance d'un domaine n'ayant jusqu'ici reçu qu'une attention universitaire limitée, le lignage Karma Kaṃ-tshang du bouddhisme tibétain. Elle s'intéresse plus particulièrement à la vie et l'œuvre de l'un des pères fondateurs de cette tradition, le célèbre maître bouddhiste du XII^e siècle Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa (Düsum Khyenpa). Les recherches suggèrent que son objectif principal était d'incarner l'idéal bouddhique du bodhisattva, c'est-à-dire développer ses capacités afin de guider les êtres sensibles en général, et ses disciples en particulier. Sa biographie principale, intitulée le *Monde doré* (*Gser gling*), est un récit singulier de son propre parcours de la voie du bodhisattva. Elle date du début du XIII^e siècle. La traduction proposée dans ce travail est la première traduction scientifique de cette œuvre importante.

Le *Monde doré* est un récit unique de la façon dont Düsum Khyenpa manifeste l'idéal du bodhisattva dans dix vies passées, sa vie du XII^e siècle et trois incarnations futures. Nous apprenons que sur ce chemin de renaissances, l'objectif est de trouver les circonstances favorisant le développement spirituel : homme ou femme, de statut élevé ou non, érudit ou yogi, dans ce monde ou dans d'autres. Le *Monde doré* combine la voie du bodhisattva et la biographie d'une manière inédite et est basé en grande partie sur les mots du maître.

L'importance de la relation entre Düsum Khyenpa et le maître bouddhiste Sgam-po-pa est décrite dans le *Zhus lan 2*, une œuvre également traduite et décrite dans cette thèse. Cette biographie comprend un récit inspirant de la façon dont Düsum Khyenpa, en tant que disciple, s'engage dans une relation d'apprentissage spirituel et de pratique auprès de son maître Sgam-po-pa. Cette partie est constituée de « notes autobiographiques » (*Zhus lan 2*), un « échange entre Sgam-po-pa et Düsum Khyenpa », traduit ici pour la première fois de manière scientifique.

En plus du *Monde doré* et du *Zhus lan 2*, la thèse participe également à la connaissance d'un groupe d'œuvres spécifiques compilées au XV^e siècle, que je nomme la « Collection de Düsum Khyenpa », ou la Collection dans ce résumé. Malgré leur style très divers, chacune de ces œuvres est reliée, d'une manière ou d'une autre, à Düsum Khyenpa. Certaines contiennent plusieurs écrits ; si on les inclut, la collection dans son entier compte soixante-et-une œuvres. Environ 80% de la collection est constituée de traités sur différentes pratiques spirituelles. Comme une œuvre peut avoir plusieurs sections, on peut souvent identifier plusieurs genres de littérature tibétaine dans une seule et même œuvre.

Cette thèse dans sa globalité amplifie de manière significative les découvertes de mon mémoire de Diplôme de l'EPHE défendu à Paris en 2016, « *Le siddha aux cheveux gris : Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa le premier Karma-pa : vie, éditions de ses œuvres, édition critique et*

traduction des *Enseignements à une assemblée (Tshogs chos)* ». Les *Enseignements à une assemblée* sont la sixième œuvre de la Collection et sont constitués de cinq enseignements sur le Dharma que le maître destinait à ses disciples ou à un public plus large. Ces « conférences » ne portent pas de titre et je les ai provisoirement intitulées « Directions pour les méditants », « Quatre Dharmas importants pour la pratique », « Forces négatives obstruant le chemin », « Quatre qualités importantes » et « Six prérequis pour atteindre l'état de bouddha ».

Avant de décrire le contenu de ce travail, il est utile de donner un aperçu de la vie et de l'importance de Düsüm Khyenpa. Ce maître bouddhiste vécut au Tibet au XII^e siècle et était connu à l'époque par le surnom de Grub-thob Dbu-se, le « Siddha aux Cheveux Gris ». Il était célèbre pour son érudition, sa pratique spirituelle et son enseignement du bouddhisme, et était particulièrement reconnu pour son dévouement au développement de ses disciples. Son principal récit de vie (*rnam thar*) le décrit comme exemplaire en ce qui concerne la voie bouddhique du bodhisattva, une voie que l'on parcourt en plusieurs vies et sur laquelle on œuvre autant que possible au bien des êtres.

Il peut être nécessaire de mentionner pour ceux qui ne sont pas familiers de l'approche enseignée par Düsüm Khyenpa et d'autres maîtres de cette tradition que ces religieux acceptent non seulement l'idée de réincarnation sur plusieurs vies mais également les émanations multiples. La tradition considère qu'afin de pouvoir être plus utile aux êtres on peut, le moment venu, générer plusieurs émanations simultanées de soi-même, œuvrant ainsi dans plusieurs lieux en même temps, et c'est d'ailleurs le progrès même sur la voie du Mahāyāna qui mène à ces émanations multiples œuvrant au bien d'autrui. Quoique l'on puisse en penser de nos jours, ce phénomène est considéré comme réel et essentiel dans les travaux étudiés ici. C'est pourquoi Düsüm Khyenpa fournit un récit de ses vies passées, présentes et futures sur la voie du bodhisattva. Ce sujet sera abordé plus en détails dans la traduction de sa biographie principale, le *Monde doré*.

Comme mentionné plus haut, Düsüm Khyenpa était connu sous nom de « Siddha aux Cheveux Gris ». Le mot sanskrit *siddha* (tib : *grub thob*) désigne quelqu'un ayant atteint des *siddhi*, c'est-à-dire des capacités spéciales de perfection spirituelle. Il est d'ailleurs notable que le Siddha aux Cheveux Gris fut plus tard désigné par une épithète particulière désignant l'une de ces capacités, celle de connaître les trois temps (*dus gsum mkhyen pa*), le passé, le présent et le futur.

Il est probable qu'en fait cette désignation dérive du contenu du *Monde doré*, le récit de vie étudié ici, car il contient principalement le témoignage de la connaissance qu'avait le maître du passé, du présent et du futur. En fait, cette œuvre propose un exemple inspirant du parcours et des progrès sur la voie du bodhisattva au fil de plusieurs vies. C'est un document dont le but est d'inspirer les pratiquants bouddhistes et d'enseigner la voie du bodhisattva dans le bouddhisme Mahāyāna.

De son vivant, Düsüm Khyenpa fut connu par différents noms, décrits dans ce travail. Le nom Grub-thob Dbu-se a déjà été mentionné. Dans la Collection, il est également appelé Dpal Chos-kyi-grags-pa, ou son équivalent sanskrit Śrī Dharmakīrti, c'est-à-dire par son nom de refuge. Il est également nommé Rin-po-che, le « Précieux [enseignant] » ; Gnas-nang-pa, « l'homme de Gnas-nang », c'est-à-dire Skam-po Gnas-nang au Tibet Oriental où il vécut à partir de l'âge de cinquante ans et pendant dix-neuf ans ; Khams-pa Se-bo, le « Grisonnant du Khams » ; Mtshur-phu-ba, « l'homme de Mtshur-phu » (son monastère au Tibet Central) et Grub-thob rnal-'byor, le « *siddha yogin* ». Il est parfois aussi nommé Zhwa-nag-pa, « Celui à la Coiffe Noire ». Dans les histoires religieuses (*chos 'byung*), il est principalement appelé Düsüm Khyenpa, le nom utilisé dans la présente étude.

De nombreuses années après sa mort, le Siddha aux Cheveux Gris, Düsüm Khyenpa, fut aussi considéré comme le Premier Karma-pa, le fondateur d'une succession spécifiques de maîtres réincarnés à la tête du lignage Karma Bka'-brgyud. C'est à ce titre que la plupart des histoires religieuses tibétaines incluent un récit détaillé de sa vie.

Selon la tradition, Karma-pa signifie « Celui qui accomplit les actions d'un bouddha ». Il est aussi possible de parler d'activité pour traduire le terme sanskrit *karman*, qui désigne une activité ou une action. Le lignage Karma Bka'-brgyud intégra au fil du temps d'autres enseignants (avec leur succession de réincarnations) étroitement liés au Karma-pas et considérés comme ses « fils » spirituels.

Düsüm Khyenpa vécut de 1110 à 1193. Il naquit au Tibet Oriental, le Khams, dans la province actuelle du Sichuan (Chine), dans un monde culturel s'étant développé après l'implosion de l'Empire Tibétain. L'Empire lui-même rayonna des débuts du VII^e jusqu'au milieu du IX^e siècle de notre ère et couvrit à son apogée de grandes parties de l'Asie Centrale. Dans les années 860, il se désintégra en régions distinctes administrées par des noblesses locales.

En ce qui concerne le contenu de cette thèse, elle est organisée en « piliers » explorant trois angles de recherches sur la vie et l'œuvre de Düsüm Khyenpa.

Les chapitres 1 et 2 traitent du premier des trois piliers, la personne de Düsüm Khyenpa et les sources de sa biographie, le *Monde doré* et les notes autobiographiques du *Zhus lan 2* (*Dus gsum mkhyen pa'i zhus lan 2*).

Le chapitre 1 propose un état de la recherche sur Düsüm Khyenpa. Il est suivi d'une discussion de sa place dans le lignage Bka'-brgyud en général et plus particulièrement dans l'ordre Karma Kaṃ-tshang et d'une description de divers aspects de sa vie. Une attention particulière est portée à la décennie qu'il a passé au collège de Gsang-phu Ne'u-thog entre vingt et trente ans et aux doctrines bouddhiques auxquelles il a été exposé. Cette période d'étude constitue le socle sur lequel il put ensuite recevoir des instructions clé sur le *mahāmudrā* de son maître principal, *bla ma* Lha-rje, ou Sgam-po-pa. Un autre point examiné est la situation sociale et économique de l'époque ayant présidé à la fondation de son

monastère principal, Skam-po gnas-gnang, située à proximité d'une importante route commerciale avec la Chine. De plus, son rôle d'enseignant du Dharma et de pacificateur est présenté, ainsi que ses maîtres et disciples et les lieux qui furent importants de son vivant.

Le chapitre 2 est un survol historique du matériau biographique principal sur Düsüm Khyenpa, suivi d'une présentation détaillée du *Monde doré* et du *Zhus lan 2*. Les termes tibétains pertinents désignant les écrits biographiques sont présentés et le *Monde doré* est comparé à d'autres biographies Bka'-brgyud. Le chapitre traite également de l'importance du *Monde doré* et du *Zhus lan 2* dans le développement du lignage Karma Kaṃ-tshang, de la traduction du terme *gser gling* par « monde doré », et de Rgang-lo, auteur du *Monde doré* et disciple de Düsüm Khyenpa.

Les sources écrites du *Monde doré* et du *Zhus lan 2* sont spécifiées et deux précurseurs du *Monde doré* sont identifiés. Le chapitre 2 contient également deux parties traitant de la méthodologie utilisée pour l'édition critique et la traduction des deux œuvres biographiques.

Le chapitre 3 présente le deuxième pilier, l'édition critique et la traduction des deux biographies. Trois éditions de ces textes sont prises en compte. L'édition manuscrite (en *dbu med*) est considérée comme le *mūla*, le « texte racine », auquel sont ajoutées les variantes trouvées dans deux éditions en *dbu can*. L'édition critique constitue la fondation des traductions proposées du *Monde doré* et du *Zhus lan 2*. Ces traductions contribuent substantiellement à une meilleure connaissance de ce maître bouddhiste de la tradition Karma Bka'-brgyud. Des annotations sont ajoutées à la traduction pour clarifier les points obscurs.

Le chapitre 4 présente le troisième pilier, la Collection de Düsüm Khyenpa, constituée de soixante-et-un textes et contenant le *Monde doré* et le *Zhus lan 2*. Cette collection, qui a probablement trouvé sa forme actuelle au XV^e siècle, contient beaucoup d'autres travaux intéressants, tous ayant une connexion avec Düsüm Khyenpa mais pas forcément composés par lui. Une vue d'ensemble de la Collection est proposée, ainsi qu'un survol détaillé de chacun des soixante-et-un textes en termes de structure (nombre de sections ou autres écrits inclus), de taille, de localisation, de genre, d'auteur, de colophon et de lignée de transmission.

Le système de translittération Wylie du tibétain est utilisé dans l'ensemble du texte, sauf pour les termes très fréquents comme Düsüm Khyenpa (le Wylie de son nom est utilisé dans les titres). Les mots tibétains et sanskrits sont en italiques, sauf les termes sanskrits entrés dans le langage courant, comme bouddha et bodhisattva, dharma, saṅgha, karma, yoga, mantra, maṇḍala, etc. Une exception est faite pour le tibétain translittéré des deux éditions critiques présenté en lettres romaines.

Quatre annexes sont ajoutées :

- Annexe 1, « Facsimilés du manuscrit (*dbu med*) des premières pages du *Gser gling* et du *Zhus lan 2* ».
- Annexe 2, « Liste détaillée des lieux mentionnés dans le *Gser gling* et le *Zhus lan 2* et leur localisation »

- Annexe 3, « Liste détaillée des maîtres de Düsüm Khyenpa issue des premières sources écrites ».
- Annexe 4, « Liste détaillée des disciples de Düsüm Khyenpa issue des premières sources écrites ».

Chapitre 1 Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa – le premier Karma-pa du lignage Karma Bka'-brgyud

Ce chapitre commence avec un état de la recherche sur Düsüm Khyenpa. Il est suivi d'une discussion sur sa place dans la tradition Bka'-brgyud et d'un survol des événements marquants de sa vie.

1.1. Etat de la recherche sur Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa

La plupart des recherches existantes sur Düsüm Khyenpa sont fondés sur des sources relativement tardives, à partir du XV^e siècle, et ne prennent pas en considération les matériaux plus anciens remontant au XII^e ou XIII^e siècle.

Avant de s'engager dans un voyage aussi loin que possible dans le temps, une vue d'ensemble des recherches, publiées ou non, sur Düsüm Khyenpa est présentée. Bien que cette partie traite principalement des œuvres scientifiques, les travaux moins académiques sont également présentés afin de compléter le tableau. Pour chaque article ou livre est donné le titre et un résumé. Bien que tous ces travaux soient indiqués dans les notes de bas de page dans la thèse, onze sont dans cette partie référencés de manière systématique et chronologique.

Il apparaît de cette liste que Düsüm Khyenpa et son œuvre n'ont jusqu'à aujourd'hui reçu qu'une attention académique limitée. De ce fait et du fait qu'il existe des sources supplémentaires remontant plus avant dans le temps, il s'avère utile de plonger plus profondément. Incorporer les sources les plus anciennes contribue en effet à jeter un donner un tableau plus complet et nuancé de Düsüm Khyenpa. Avant cela, sa place dans le lignage Bka'-brgyud est exploré.

1.2. Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa – vue d'ensemble

Cette partie traite de trois points que je considère important pour comprendre Düsüm Khyenpa et la Collection. J'explore tout d'abord le terme Bka'-brgyud, son histoire, et comment son origine peut être retracée dans la Collection. Ensuite est proposé un survol du lignage Karma Kaṃ-tshang et enfin de la place de Düsüm Khyenpa dans ce lignage.

1.2.1 Le lignage Bka'-brgyud

Düsum Khyenpa étant un enseignant du lignage Bka'-brgyud, aussi est-il nécessaire de mentionner que ce terme a plusieurs acceptations. Tout d'abord *bka'-[babs-bzhi'i-]brgyud* désigne « quatre courants distincts de pratique spirituelle » qui d'après la tradition viennent du *mahāsiddha* Ti-lo-pa. Chacun de ces courants a trait à une série d'enseignements de pratiques spirituelles transmises par une lignée de maîtres. Le terme est également utilisé pour désigner le lignage Bka'-brgyud dans son ensemble. Comme nous le verrons plus loin, les transmissions issues des quatre courants sont présentes dans la Collection. Une autre interprétation du terme est qu'il s'agit d'un « lignage (*brgyud*) d'instructions [ésotériques] (*bka'*) ». Cette étymologie est cependant moins correcte dans la mesure où elle inclut d'autres lignages que Bka'-brgyud, par exemple Jo-nang ou Dge-lugs.

En ce qui concerne les courants eux-mêmes, les recherches de Gene Smith sur les *bka' babs bzhi* et le lignage Bka'-brgyud indiquent que, d'après un récit traditionnel, le *mahāsiddha* Ti-lo-pa reçut quatre courants distincts, à savoir le *Mahāmudrā* (*phyag rgya chen po*), les tantras père (*pha rgyud*), les tantras mères (*ma rgyud*) et la Luminosité (*'od gsal*). Ces courants furent reçus par Nāropa puis entrèrent sur le plateau himalayen avec le traducteur tibétain Mar-pa. Après lui, elles furent transmises de diverses façons, notamment par Düsum Khyenpa.

Smith, citant le second 'Brug-chen Kun-dga'-dpal-'byor (1428-1476), décrit les quatre courants comme suit :

- (1) *Phyag rgya chen po'i bka' babs*, « le courant du *mahāmudrā* » transmis par Phyag-na-rdo-rje, Bram-ze Sa-ra-ha, Lo-hi-pa, Dha-ri-pa, Ding-gi-pa et Ti-lli-pa (variante de Ti-lo-pa ou Te-lo-pa).
- (2) *Pha rgyud bka' babs*, « le courant des tantras pères », transmis par Gsang-bdag, Sa-bcu-dbang-phyug, Blo-gros-rin-chen, Klu-sgrub, Ma-tang-gi et Ti-lli-pa.
- (3) *Ma rgyud rmi lam gyi bka' babs*, « le courant des tantras mères », transmis par Su-ma-ti kun-tu-bzang-mo, Thang-lo-pa, Shing-lo-pa, Karṇa-ri-pa et Ti-lli-pa.
- (4) *'Od gsal gyi bka' babs*, « le courant de la Luminosité », transmis par Phyag-na-rdo-rje, Ḍombi He-ru-ka, Bi-nā-pa, La-ba-pa, Indra-bodhi et Ti-lli-pa.

Les travaux de Smith dans ce domaine peuvent être poursuivis en utilisant un texte en *dbu-med* sur les quatre courants non encore étudié jusqu'à aujourd'hui. Il est intitulé *Bka' bzhi brgyud pa'i lo rgyus* et se trouve dans la section *ka* dans vieux manuscrit.

De plus, il est possible de relier les quatre courants aux œuvres préservées dans la Collection. Dans ce cadre, je donne une interprétation de la façon dont les œuvres de la Collection peuvent être organisées selon le système des quatre courants. Dans ce système, les quatre courants sont organisés horizontalement et verticalement et certaines des œuvres de la Collection sont mises en correspondance. Les œuvres sélectionnées ont un lignage de transmission distinct et les noms qu'elles contiennent permet de leur donner une place dans la structure.

Il faut noter que toutes les lignées de transmission et toutes les informations narratives de la Collection n'ont pas été incluses dans la section qui vient d'être décrite. Je n'ai utilisé qu'un panel représentatif de textes pour illustrer la façon dont les quatre courants sont représentés. Si, en plus des lignages de transmission, le contenu des textes de la Collection avait été pris en considération, de nombreux autres œuvres trouveraient leur place dans cette structure. Cette sélection permet cependant de montrer que les *bka' babs bzhi* sont présents dans la Collection.

1.2.2. Le lignage Karma Kaṃ-tshang

Si l'on prend maintenant en considération le lignage Karma Kaṃ-tshang, il peut être utile d'examiner plus avant cette sous-lignée Bka'-brgyud et la place de Dūsum Khyenpa en son sein. Le point de départ de cet examen est une historiographie Bka'-brgyud du XV^e siècle, le *Bka' rgyud rin po che'i chos 'byung Mig 'byed 'od stong*, ou « Histoire religieuse des précieuses [lignées Dwags-po] Bka'-brgyud, illumination aux mille rayons (i.e. le soleil) ».

L'Illumination débute avec cette liste des débuts du lignage Bka'-brgyud :

Vajradhara / Rdo-rje-'chang
Tilopa
Nāropa
Mar-pa lo tsā ba
Mid-la ras-pa
Sgam-po-pa Zla-'od gzhon-nu

Ensuite, plusieurs branches ou lignées sont décrites, notamment la lignée Karma Kaṃ-tshang, depuis Dūsum Khyenpa jusqu'au V^e Karma-pa, De-bzhin gshegs-pa (1384-1415).

Il est utile de mentionner brièvement des recherches récentes sur les premiers personnages mentionnés dans le texte. En ce qui concerne Mar-pa par exemple j'utilise les travaux de Cécile Ducher, ceux d'Andrew Quintman pour Mid-la-ras-pa et d'Ulrich Kragh pour Sgam-po-pa. Herbert Guenther a également publié sur Nāropa il y a quelques décennies.

Sgam-po-pa, ou D(w)ags-po-lha-rje, dont le nom de moine était Bsod-nams-rin-chen (1079-1153) fut l'enseignant principal de Dūsum Khyenpa et figure en bonne place dans neuf des quinze lignées explicitées dans les œuvres de la Collection. Cela témoigne de l'importance de *bla ma* Lha-rje pour Dūsum Khyenpa et pour la lignée Karma Kaṃ-tshang.

Bien que *L'Illumination* ne mentionne pas Maitripa, il est présent dans la Collection dans la transmission d'au moins une pratique spécifique. Klaus-Dieter Mathes a étudié et traduit plusieurs des œuvres de Maitripa ayant survécu.

Un autre absent de *L'Illumination* est Ras-chung-pa, un autre des disciples importants de Mid-la-ras-pa, souvent mentionné au même titre que Sgam-po-pa. Bien que son nom soit

brièvement mentionné dans le *Monde doré* (Düsum Khyenpa lui rend visite, reçoit des enseignements spécifiques et plus tard évoque le lieu où Ras-chung-pa a repris naissance), il n'apparaît nulle part ailleurs dans la *Collection*.

Si l'on prolonge la liste de noms présentée ci-dessous avec les successeurs de Sgam-po-pa jusqu'au XX^e siècle, on parvient à la liste ci-dessous de « détenteur de lignée », plus tard appelés Karma-pas :

Grub-thob dbu-se, le « *siddha* aux cheveux gris », Chos-kyi-grags-pa,
Düsum Khyenpa (1110-93), "Karma-pa I"
Karma pakshi (1206-1283), Karma-pa II
Rang-byung rdo-rje (1284-1339), Karma-pa III
Rol-pa'i rdo-rje (1340-1383), Karma-pa IV
De-bzhin gshegs-pa (1384-1415), Karma-pa V [fin de l'*Illumination*]
|
Mthong-ba don-ldan (1416-1453), Karma-pa VI
Chos-grags rgya-mtsho (1454-1506), Karma-pa VII
Mi-bskyod rdo-rje (1507-1554), Karma-pa VIII
Dbang-phyug rdo-rje (1555-1603), Karma-pa IX
Chos-dbyings rdo rje (1604-1674), Karma-pa X
Ye-shes rdo-rje (1676-1702), Karma-pa XI
Byang-chub rdo-rje (1703-1732), Karma-pa XII
Bdud-tshogs 'dul-ba'i rdo-rje (1733-1797), Karma-pa XIII
Theg-mchog rdo-rje (1798-1868), Karma-pa XIV
Mkha'-khyab rdo-rje (1871-1922), Karma-pa XV
Rang-byung rig-pa'i rdo-rje (1924-1981), Karma-pa XVI.

Quelques années après la mort de Rang-byung rig-pa'i rdo-rje, deux personnes ont été identifiées comme la dix-septième réincarnation du Karma-pa par des branches différentes de sa lignée : Phrin-las Mtha'-yas Rdo-rje (né en 1983) et O-rgyan 'Phrin-las Rdo-rje (né en 1985).

Considérant la relation de Düsum Khyenpa avec la lignée Karma Kam-tshang, on peut se demander si Düsum Khyenpa avait l'intention de fonder une lignée distincte de celle de son maître. Cela semble peu probable dans la mesure où l'on trouve dans l'une des œuvres de la *Collection*, le [4] *Rje dus gsum mkhyen pa'i zhal chems*, ou « Testament de Maître Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa », la trace d'un dialogue s'étant déroulé avant son décès au monastère de Mtshurphu dans le Dbus (Tibet Central). Il demanda alors à plusieurs de ses disciples de longue date rassemblés autour de lui de partager entre eux les ressources financières restantes éventuelles et de les utiliser pour d'autres qui souhaiteraient s'engager dans des retraites de pratique spirituelle. Il ajouta qu'après qu'ils soient restés un ou deux étés et hivers de plus à Mtshurphu, ils pourraient juste reprendre leur route.

On ne trouve pas dans le *Monde doré* d'indication qu'il souhaitait établir une lignée distincte. Le nom Karma-pa n'apparaît pas dans ce texte, ni la mention d'une coiffe noire, d'un disciple principal, ou d'une lettre de prédiction de sa réincarnation, des caractéristiques qui ne furent associées que plus tard à la lignée Karma Kaṃ-tshang.

En ce qui concerne les événements suivant son décès à Mtshur-phu, le *Testament* indique que la plupart des disciples partirent. Au printemps, il ne restait qu'un petit groupe, dont cinq sont nommés. Ils craignaient que Mtshur-phu soit couteux à maintenir et que le monastère s'avère un lieu isolé difficile d'accès. Ils envisagèrent même de déménager le siège dans un lieu nommé Ca-ra mais se résolurent finalement à garder le siège à Mtshur-phu car ce lieu avait été cher au cœur du maître. Un petit groupe dévoué resta sur place et maintint le lieu, bien que cela aille à l'encontre des instructions de Dūsum Khyenpa.

La lignée Karma Kaṃ-tshang prit graduellement forme après la mort du maître et il est possible que cela découle de la difficulté pour les saṅghas Dwags-po Bka'-rgyud de rester en lien dans un pays difficile à traverser. Le nom Kaṃ-tshang vient probablement du nom du monastère de Dūsum Khyenpa au Khams, Skam-po gnas-gnang, où il vécut une grande partie de sa vie. *Kaṃ* est l'orthographe de la prononciation de *skam*, et *tshang* peut signifier « résidence ». La lignée Kaṃ-tshang peut donc être considérée comme le lignage venant de la résidence de Skam-po gnas-gnang.

Ruth Gamble considère que c'est le III^e Karma-pa Rang-byung rdo-rje (1284-1339) qui œuvra activement à l'établissement d'un lignage Kaṃ-tshang solide et distinct, doté d'un mécanisme reconnu de transmissions de la propriété d'une génération à l'autre, d'un soutien politique pour l'intronisation des réincarnations, etc. Rang-byung rdo-rje investit également beaucoup de temps et d'énergie dans le développement et la promotion de la tradition de réincarnation. C'est très probablement lui qui, avec d'autres, incorpora Dūsum Khyenpa et Skam-po gnas-gnang dans le processus de création d'une identité spécifique qui prit la forme au fil du temps d'un lignage spécifique. Ce lignage était guidé par les Karma-pas successifs, d'où l'adjonction de Karma à l'expression Karma Kaṃ-tshang.

Pour mes recherches sur les Karma-pas et les traductions de leurs écrits, je me réfère à la liste réduite des publications mentionnées ci-dessous. Il faut noter que cette liste est incomplète et est amenée à être complétée à l'avenir.

En 2013 est parue une nouvelle collection tibétaine importante pour notre compréhension du lignage Karma Kaṃ-tshang dans son ensemble, le *Dpal rgyal dbang Karma pa sku phreng rim byon gyi gsung 'bum phyogs sgrigs*, une série de 108 volumes contenant « tous » les écrits des Karma-pas éditée par Mkhan-po Lo-yag-bkra-shis. La collection est dotée d'un livret distinct (*dkar chag*) proposant une vue d'ensemble du contenu et des reproductions de peintures (*thang ka*) représentant les seize Karma-pas.

Afin de mieux comprendre le contexte historique plus large dans lequel le lignage Karma Kaṃ-tshang s'est développé, je présente brièvement l'analyse de Ronald Davidson sur la

façon dont le bouddhisme ésotérique s'est introduit et implanté au Tibet. Dans *Indian Esoteric Buddhism*, Davidson tente d'éclairer le processus de développement du grand véhicule (Mahāyāna) en un véhicule à plusieurs facettes en Inde au VII^e siècle et la façon dont cela a permis l'émergence du *vajrayāna/mantrayāna*, ou bouddhisme ésotérique. Davidson note que c'est cette forme de bouddhisme qui fut implantée au Tibet lors des deux « vagues » de la première et seconde diffusion (*snga dar* et *phyi dar*) du bouddhisme au Tibet.

Davidson se distingue de plusieurs explications traditionnelles des débuts du bouddhisme ésotérique, notamment la vue que son origine remonte à des bouddhas cosmiques comme Vajradhara. Il considère que « la montée et le développement de formes ésotériques du bouddhisme résulte d'une matrice complexe de forces médiévales, générées au sein des communautés de la Saṅgha et par d'autres facteurs sur lesquels les communautés n'avaient pas de contrôle ».

La distinction de Davidson entre deux sociologies bouddhiques de connaissance est particulièrement pertinente pour ce travail sur Düsüm Khyenpa. Il distingue entre d'une part « l'ésotérisme institutionnel », représenté par des moines qui ont développé et pratiqué ces formes ésotériques dans les grandes institutions monastiques, pour la plupart de manière anonyme, et d'autre part les accomplis (*siddha*), résidant à la marge des institutions sociales indiennes et qui pratiquaient un ésotérisme non-institutionnel. Dans son livre, Davidson décrit de manière détaillée ces deux forces et la façon dont elles ont permis ce qu'il appelle une « synthèse ésotérique tardive ».

Bien que Davidson refuse l'idée d'un bouddha primordial tantrique tel que Vajradhara, l'*Illumination* considère que Vajradhara (Rdo-rje 'chang) constitue l'origine du lignage Bka'-brgyud. Plusieurs des lignages de transmission des œuvres de la Collection remontent de manière explicite à Vajradhara, le « détenteur du vajra », placé en tête du lignage. D'autres transmissions remontent à un seul *mahāsiddha*, ou à Jo-bo Atiśa, Düsüm Khyenpa, ou d'autres. On trouve également une connexion spécifique avec les accomplis dans la mesure où les noms des *siddhas* et *mahasiddhas* tels que Saraha, Kambala, Indrabodhi, Ti-lo-pa ou Nā-ro-pa sont présents.

En ce qui concerne la terminologie même du *vajrayāna/mantrayāna*, il est important d'explorer la façon dont elle pouvait être comprise au Tibet au XII^e siècle, et particulièrement la façon dont Düsüm Khyenpa pouvait considérer la question. Considérerait-il que le *vajrayāna/mantrayāna* était un véhicule distinct du *mahayāna* ? Cette question est importante car l'on considère généralement que c'est le *vajrayāna* qui est pratiqué dans le lignage Karma Kaṃ-tshang.

J'aimerais pour y répondre me référer à un passage des *Enseignements à une assemblée* ([4] *Tshogs chos*). Après avoir encouragé ses étudiants à pratiquer le grand véhicule, il leur recommande de faire trois types d'offrandes (*mchod pa*), supérieure, moyenne et inférieure. La meilleure est « l'offrande qui accomplit » (*rab sgrub pa 'i mchod pa*), qui se fait de deux façons. La première est de s'efforcer dans la pratique des « six perfections » (*pha rol tu phin*

pa, pāramitā), etc. La seconde est de pratiquer le mantra secret (*gsang sngags, guhyamantra*) en méditant sur les phases de création et de perfection des tantras.

Ce qu'il recommande peut-être appelé les deux « méthodes » ou « moyens » (*nāya*) qui existent au sein du grand véhicule. On peut donc dire que dans le milieu de Düsüm Khyenpa, l'application du mantra secret n'était pas considérée comme distincte du grand véhicule. Il s'agit simplement du grand véhicule mis en pratique par différentes méthodes. De fait, le terme *rdo rje theg pa (vajrayāna)* est quasiment absent de la Collection. Je ne l'ai à ce jour trouvé que deux fois, dans une seule œuvre.

1.3. Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa – aspects de sa vie

J'ai dans mes travaux précédents présenté la vie de Düsüm Khyenpa, que je résume dans les sections 1.3 à 1.5 de la présente thèse. Je présente tout d'abord un résumé de la vie de Düsüm Khyenpa issue du *Monde doré*, cette biographie du XIII^e siècle traduite dans le chapitre 3. D'autres sources anciennes sont également mentionnées dans les notes de cette partie. Je décris ensuite (1.3.2) l'activité d'enseignement et de pacification de Düsüm Khyenpa. En 1.3.3, je détaille sa période d'étude et les doctrines bouddhiques auxquelles il a été exposé. La section 1.3.4 est une énumération de ses enseignants, et 1.3.5 de ses étudiants. En 1.3.6 je décris les lieux importants de son existence, et la dernière section présente plusieurs aspects sociaux et économiques de sa vie.

1.3.1. Résumé de la vie de Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa

Cette partie s'appuie sur le *Monde doré*, qui considère que Düsüm Khyenpa naquit en 1110 dans le nord-est du Khams, dans une région appelée Tre-shod. Il venait d'une ancienne famille royale nommée Spo et appartenait au lignage Ldong. Son père se nommait Sgom-pa-'phel et sa mère Ming-'dren. Son nom de naissance était Dge-'phel et il prit les vœux de moine (*dge tshul*) à seize ans. Il reçut l'ordination complète (*dge slong*) à vingt ans, sous le nom de Chos-kyi-grags-pa. C'est ensuite qu'il partit au Tibet Central afin d'étudier le bouddhisme. Il rencontra de nombreux enseignants lors de cette période d'étude, dont *dge bshes* Rgya-dmar, *dge bshes* Phya-pa, *dge bshes* Spa-Tshab et *bla ma* Bai-ro (Vairocanavajra).

À trente ans, en 1140, il partit à la rencontre de Sgam-po-pa, ou *bla ma* Lha-rje (aussi connu sous le nom de D(w)ags-po Lha-rje, 1079-1153), l'un des disciples principaux de Mid-la-ras-pa. C'est aussi à cette époque qu'il rencontra Sgom-tshul (Sgom-pa Tshul-khrims Snying-po, 1116-69), le neveu de Sgam-po-pa qui devint également l'un de ses maîtres.

Après avoir passé quelques temps à Dwags-la Sgam-po, Düsüm Khyenpa fut envoyé pour une première retraite de trois mois à Zangs-ri. Il pratiqua ensuite pendant trois ans à Sgam-po, avec une grande persévérance. Il était renommé parmi les huit-cents pratiquants (*grwa-pa*) présents comme celui ayant la plus grande endurance dans la méditation.

Il fut ensuite envoyé à 'Ol-kha pratiquer pendant quatorze mois. Après six autres mois de pratique à Sgam-po, il reçut de son maître la confirmation qu'il avait fait de bons progrès. On lui demanda alors d'errer comme un religieux-mendiant, ce qu'il fit, recevant au passage des transmissions de pratique d'autres maîtres.

Ensuite, il pratiqua seul pendant trois hivers et trois étés à Bya-bzangs-brag au 'Phan-yul, une région au nord-est de Lha-sa, suivis de trois mois de retraite à Sgam-po. Son maître l'envoya ensuite méditer dans le Mon. Au retour, il passa une quarantaine de jours avec *bla ma* Ras-chung-pa, un autre disciple de Mid-la-ras-pa. Il lui fit la requête d'enseignements sur les Six Doctrines (*Chos drug*) et vérifia certains détails. Il resta ensuite un an en retraite dans le Dwags-po, puis Sgam-po-pa lui demanda de se rendre à Gangs-dkar où il médita tout l'été à Pha-'ong-dkar-leb.

De retour à Sgam-po, son maître lui ordonna de faire ses affaires et de partir à Skam-po gnas-gnang au Khams. Malheureusement il ne put partir du fait d'une blessure au pied. Il passa alors les trois mois d'été à la vieille montagne Gzhu-smad-kyi-lha puis décida de passer l'hiver à Gzhu-gru-bzhi.

Après ces douze années de pratique d'accomplissement (*bsgrub pa*), il décida de s'installer à Gzhu-gru-bzhi, « l'arc à quatre coins », dans la région de Tsa-ri, où il demeura huit ans.

Il témoigna ainsi d'une grande persévérance dans la pratique méditative pendant vingt ans, dans différents lieux des provinces du Dbus et du Gtsang. A l'âge de cinquante ans, Düsüm Khyenpa avait passé vingt ans dans sa région natale du Khams, dix ans d'étude dans le Dbus et vingt ans de pratique dans le Dbus et le Gtsang. En 1160, Sgam-po-pa était mort depuis sept ans et c'était son neveu Sgom-tshul qui s'occupait alors du « siège » Dwags-po.

Düsüm Khyenpa décida alors de rentrer au Khams. Il passa d'abord quelques temps dans sa région natale de Tre. A cinquante-cinq ans, il se rendit à Skam-po gnas-nang. Il y resta au total dix-neuf ans à enseigner et pratiquer, envoyant régulièrement des cadeaux au siège Dwags-po and pacifiant la région. A soixante-quatorze ans, il alla dans un lieu appelé Karma où il fonda un ermitage ou un monastère, Karma-dgon.

Après deux ou trois ans à Karma, il décida de revenir dans le Dbus, où il établit les fondations du siège de Mtshur-phu (ou 'Tshur-phu) en 1187 dans la région du Stod-lung(s). Il vécut cinq ans à Mtshur-phu avant de décéder en 1193, à l'âge de quatre-vingt-quatre ans.

Ainsi, Düsüm Khyenpa étudia, vécut une vie de pratique méditative, soutint les autres sur la voie bouddhique, fit des offrandes à son organisation (le siège de son maître) et amena la paix où qu'il se trouvât.

Un « Tableau des informations historiques sur Düsüm Khyenpa dans les sources anciennes » est proposé à la fin de ce résumé de sa vie.

1.3.2. Enseignant du Dharma et pacificateur

Le *Monde doré* indique que la vie de Düsüm Khyenpa changea dans sa cinquantième année. Jusqu'alors érudit et yogi, pratiquant principalement en retraite, il devint alors un enseignant. C'est à cette période qu'il retourna dans sa région natale du Khams, puis, après quelques années de voyage, s'établit au monastère de Skam-po gnas-nang, qui devint le cœur de ses activités pendant dix-neuf ans.

Pendant cette période, il voyagea dans la région, donnant des enseignements et des initiations (*dbang bskur*, *abhiṣeka*) et inaugurant des temples (*rab gnas*). Les transmissions qu'il donnait étaient principalement Cakrasaṃvara Heruka, Vajrayoginī, Hevajra, etc. La Collection contient des manuels pour plusieurs *abhiṣekas*. Il était probablement un enseignant très inspirant car sa biographie relate qu'un grand nombre de personnes venaient lui rendre hommage.

En ce concerne son activité d'enseignant, les *Enseignements à une assemblée* ([6] *Tshogs chos*) de la Collection illustrent ce qui était considéré comme central dans les communautés de pratique spirituelle de la fin de XII^e siècle. Les *Enseignements à une assemblée* sont cinq conférences au contenu assez général dispensé à des étudiants. Lors du premier enseignement, il conseille à ses disciples de pratiquer les « sept branches » (*yan lag bdun pa*) qui permettent d'accumuler du mérite, de réciter les « cent syllabes » (le mantra de purification associé à Vajrasattva) et de faire des offrandes de maṇḍala (*maṇḍala dang yi ge brgya pa*), de générer la *bodhicitta* (*byang chub kyi sems*), de pratiquer les phases de création et de perfection de manière interconnectée (*bskyed rim pa dang rdzogs rim pa'i zung 'brel zu bsgom*), etc.

La Collection présentée dans le chapitre 4 contient également de nombreux textes de pratiques spirituelles dont Düsüm Khyenpa était familier et transmettait.

On considère généralement qu'il transmettait sans doute ce que l'on nomme la « panacée blanche » (*dkar po zhig thub*). Son maître principal, *bla ma* Lha-rje, utilise en effet le terme *dkar po zhig thub* pour désigner une expérience de pratique spécifique. Ce terme et la façon dont Düsüm Khyenpa le mettait en pratique est explicité dans le *Zhus lan 2*, dont la traduction est proposée dans le chapitre 2.

Une des activités du maître était de faire la paix. Le *Monde doré* traite à trois occasions de cette activité de pacification, deux lorsqu'il se trouvait au Khams, après ses cinquante ans, mais qui sont assez vagues. La troisième, plus spécifique, se déroule alors qu'il était revenu au Dbus où il vécut les cinq dernières années de sa vie. La raison pour laquelle Düsüm Khyenpa entreprit de nouveau le dur voyage du Khams au Dbus à l'âge avancé de soixante-dix-sept ans n'est pas certain. Dans un passage de la biographie, il est mentionné que c'était pour résoudre un conflit entre les Tshal-pa et les Dag-ra-ba. Il est possible que ce conflit soit la raison de son départ de Skam-po gnas-nang et qu'il avait reçu une invitation à tenir office de médiateur.

Le *Monde doré* ne précise pas la nature du conflit, mais une autre source est plus précise à ce sujet. Carl Yamamoto décrit ainsi que Sgom-tshul (1116-69), l'un des maîtres de Düsüm Khyenpa et abbé de Dwags-la sgam-po, instruisit son disciple, *bla ma* Zhang-g.yu-brag-pa-brtson-'grus-grags-pa (1122-93) d'aller restaurer la loi et l'ordre dans la ville de Lha-sa, la capitale du Tibet Central. A cette époque en effet, des temples y étaient brûlés et des pèlerins attaqués à cause de conflits politiques. *Bla ma* Zhang, considéré comme le fondateur de la branche Tshal-pa Bka'-brgyud, et les Tshal-pa était l'une des deux parties d'après le *Monde doré*. Il est probable que Düsüm Khyenpa fut le médiateur dans cette affaire à la demande de leur maître commun, Sgom-tshul.

Il est fort probable que Düsüm Khyenpa ait été la bonne personne pour régler ce problème car il était très respecté par *bla ma* Zhang, de douze ans son cadet, et qui, en plus d'un maître spirituel reconnu était un auteur et poète prolifique et un guerrier redoutable sur le champ de bataille. Le respect qu'il portait à Düsüm Khyenpa est exprimé dans l'un de chants spirituels (*mgur*, *dohā*) écrit lors de la médiation de Düsüm Khyenpa ou peu après. Un détail intéressant est que Zhang reçut les instructions sur la façon de composer des *dohā* de son guru racine Indien, Vairocanavajra, qui était également l'un des enseignants de Düsüm Khyenpa. Il est probable que Vairocanavajra ait également donné à Düsüm Khyenpa la transmission des *dohā* car on trouve dans la Collection une œuvre distincte intitulée [7] *Rje dus gsum mkhyen pa mgur 'bum*.

Une traduction du chant de *bla ma* Zhang sur le *siddha* aux Cheveux Gris est proposée dans le chapitre 1.

1.3.3 Formation de Düsüm Khyenpa et doctrines rencontrées

Cette section présente la période de formation intellectuelle de Düsüm Khyenpa, les textes qu'il a étudiés et la façon dont cela a constitué une fondation pour les enseignements qu'il recevrait ensuite, même si ces enseignements plus tardifs se sont développés distinctement de ce premier socle de formation.

Entre l'âge de vingt et trente ans, Düsüm Khyenpa étudia au « collège » de Gsang-phu Ne'u-thog, situé dans le Tibet Central, au sud de Lha-sa. Gsang-phu fut la première et la plus grande « enclave d'étude » du Tibet. Il s'agissait d'une université monastique fondé en 1073 par Rngog Legs-pa'i shes-rab, l'un des trois disciples les plus célèbres d'Atiśa.

Bien qu'il soit probable que cette période d'étude ait été centrale dans le développement intellectuel de Düsüm Khyenpa, le contenu précis du curriculum enseigné à l'époque n'est pas clair. Ce qui est connu est que Rngog Legs-pa'i shes-rab et son neveu Rngog Blo-ldan shes-rab appartenaient tous deux à la puissante famille Rngog et qu'ils étaient des enseignants respectés.

Gsang-phu Ne'u-thog proposait un haut niveau d'étude avec une spécialisation dans l'épistémologie et la logique, et le contenu des études était fortement influencé par Rngog

Blo-ldan-shes-rab, qui s'intéressait particulièrement à l'épistémologie, la philosophie du Madhyamaka et le groupe de cinq textes connus sous le nom des Cinq Traités de Maitreya. Trois autres maîtres importants à Gsang-phu à l'époque de Dūsum Khyenpa étaient Rgya-dmar-pa Byang-chub-grags, Phy(w)a-pa Chos-kyi-seng-ge et Spa-tshab Nyi-ma-grags.

La plus ancienne biographie de Dūsum Khyenpa composée par Bde-chung-ba ne détaille pas cette période, mais la deuxième plus ancienne, le *Monde doré* de Rgang-lo, la décrit en quelques lignes. Un passage important déclare :

Il étudia les *Shar gsum* et *Byams chos* sous la direction de *dge bshes* Rgya-dmar et de Phya-pa. Plus tard, au 'Phan-yul, il étudia le *Rigs tshogs* avec le traducteur *dge bshes* Pa-tshab. Ayant ensuite reçu l'ordination monastique complète de *dge bshes* Sa-phug-pa, il étudia le '*dul ba*. Ensuite, il se rendit à Stag-dur où il étudia [l'enseignement] Bka'-gdams pendant cinq ans. Il étudia le *Hevajra-tantra*, le *Cakrasaṃvara-tantra*, Mahāmāya, le Lam 'bras, etc., avec Ra-lcags Ston-tshul et la Tradition Aurale du système A-ro de la Grande Perfection avec Brag-dkar-ba.

On peut ainsi en déduire qu'il étudia cinq catégories de textes, à savoir (1) *Shar gsum*, (2) *Byams chos*, (3) *Rigs tshogs*, (4) '*dul ba* et des (5) œuvres tantriques.

Le contenu des trois premières catégories est détaillé ci-dessous avec les titres des œuvres qu'elles contiennent. Pour chacune est donné le titre sanskrit, sa traduction, le titre tibétain complet, et dans certains cas le titre tibétain abrégé. Préciser la localisation exacte de l'original sanskrit et des versions tibétaines et proposer un survol complet des traductions publiées et des recherches sur ces œuvres dépasse le cadre de cette thèse. Néanmoins, le contenu de chacun des textes constituant les *Shar gsum*, *Byams chos* et *Rigs tshogs* sont décrits en termes généraux car cela permet de donner une idée du curriculum d'ensemble de Gsang-phu Ne'u-thog au XII^e siècle.

La première catégorie, *Shar gsum*, désigne généralement les « trois [enseignants] du [Bengale] Oriental », à savoir Jñānagarbha, Śāntarākṣita et Kamalaśīla, et les trois textes leur étant attribués, le *Satvadṛavyavibhaṅgakārikā*, le *Madhyamakālaṃkāra* et le *Madhyamakāloka*. Ces trois enseignants et leurs œuvres remontent au VIII^e siècle et appartiennent à l'école de pensée Yogācāra-Madhyamaka (*rnal 'byor spyod pa 'i dbu ma*) qui était une synthèse du Madhyamaka au niveau ultime et du Yogācāra/Vijñānavāda au niveau de surface. La littérature doxographique tibétaine les désigne généralement sous le terme Yogācāra-Svātantrika-Madhyamaka (*rnal 'byor spyod pa 'i dbu ma rang rgyud pa*). Les trois textes constituant le *Shar gsum* sont brièvement décrits dans la thèse.

La deuxième catégorie, *Byams chos*, est l'abréviation de *Byams chos lde lnga*, c'est-à-dire les cinq traités de Maitreya, composé par Ārya Asaṅga qui les aurait reçus du bodhisattva ou futur bouddha Maitreya. Le moine indien Asaṅga (env. 300-350 A.D.) est considéré comme le fondateur du Yogācāra, l'école des « pratiquants du yoga » appartenant au bouddhisme du grand véhicule. Le terme « yoga » dans ce contexte désigne la pratique spirituelle. Le corpus textuel conventionnellement associé à Maitreya et Asaṅga inclut le *Yogācārabhūmi* d'Asaṅga et les Cinq Traités de Maitreya, à savoir (1) le *Madhyāntavibhāga*, (2) le *Dharmadharmatāvibhāga*, (3) le *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra*, (4) l'*Abhisamayālaṃkāra* et 5) le

Ratnagotravibhāga Mahāyāna-uttaratantra-śāstra. Le contenu des cinq traités est brièvement décrit dans la thèse.

La troisième catégorie, le *Rigs tshogs* (Skt : *Yuktikāya*), littéralement le « corpus de raisonnements » est une abréviation de *Dbu ma rigs pa'i tshogs drug*. Cela désigne six textes du Madhyamaka attribués à Ārya Nāgārjuna, même s'il en a également composé d'autres. Richard Jones a traduit cette série de textes et indique qu'il s'agit de textes philosophiques qui sont des résumés en vers d'enseignements. Les quatrains rendent en effet ces œuvres plus faciles à mémoriser bien que cela les rende également plus difficile à comprendre. Ils n'explicitent pas particulièrement l'enseignement de Nāgārjuna et il est probable qu'ils n'étaient pas censés être compris indépendamment d'un maître ou d'un commentaire traditionnel. Les six *Rigs tshogs* sont listés dans l'ordre et avec les titres abrégés de Bu-ston et une brève description de leur contenu est proposée : (1) *Mūlamadhyamakakārikās*, (2) *Śūnyatāsaptati*, (3) *Yuktiṣaṣṭikā*, (4) *Vaidalya- 'Sūtra'* et *Vaidalya-prakarāṇa*, (5) *Vigrahavyāvartanī*, (6) *Vyavahārasiddhi*. Le sixième texte est parfois remplacé par le *Ratnāvalī*.

La quatrième catégorie, le *'dul ba* (Skt. *vinaya*), traite de la discipline (monastique). On ne sait pas quels textes Dusūm Khyenpa étudia, mais une œuvre célèbre dans ce contexte est le *Vinayasūtra*, ou *'Dul ba'i mdo*, de Guṇaprabha (env. V^e-VI^e s.). Une version sanskrite du *Vinayasūtra* avec un fragment de l'auto-commentaire a survécu en Sanskrit, mais les deux textes existent en traduction tibétaine.

La cinquième catégorie est constituée de transmissions tantriques. Dūsum Khyenpa reçut et étudia les tantras de Hevajra, Cakrasaṃvara et Mahāmāyā. La Collection contient de nombreuses œuvres liées à ces tantras.

Deux autres champs d'étude sont mentionnés, le « Chemin et son Fruit » (*lam 'bras*) et la Tradition Aurale du système A-ro de la Grande Perfection (*rdzogs chen*), ce qui indique que ces systèmes d'enseignement étaient déjà importants au XII^e siècle.

Cette période d'étude est le socle pour les enseignements que Dusūm Khyenpa reçut par la suite et également pour son activité d'enseignant du Dharma. Elle fut suivie d'une relation d'apprentissage de la pratique spirituelle avec son enseignant principal, *bla ma* Lha-rje, lors de laquelle il reçut également des instructions sur la nature de l'esprit. La thèse présente trois concepts importants dans ce contexte, les termes « esprit » (*sems*), *sahaja* (tib. *lhan cig skyes pa*), littéralement « s'élevant (ou se produisant » en même temps » et souvent traduit par « co-émergeant » et *mahāmudrā* (tib : *phyag rgya chen po*), le « grand sceau ».

Une traduction d'un chant/poème (*mgur, dohā*) de Dūsum Khyenpa sur la prise de contact avec « l'esprit immaculé », la façon d'y demeurer continuellement et d'agir à partir de cet état pour le bien des êtres est traduit dans cette thèse.

Dans notre contexte, ce qui importe est de comprendre comment le maître de Düsüm Khyenpa, Sgam-po-pa, transmettait le *mahāmudrā* à ses disciples. Dans une publication récente d’Ulrich Kragh sur le sujet, Kragh décrit que Sgam-po-pa extrayait les instructions du *mahāmudrā* de leur contexte tantrique d’origine, les rendant ainsi accessibles à tous les pratiquants du grand véhicule. Sgam-po-pa enseigne ainsi les enseignements « communs » du grand véhicule (*theḡ chen thun mong pa*), c’est-à-dire les *sūtras* et *śāstras* du grand véhicule, qui sont communs dans le sens où ils sont acceptés par tous les adeptes de ce véhicule. Sur cette base, il propose ensuite le grand véhicule « non-commun » (*theḡ chen thun mong ma yin pa*), c’est-à-dire les méthodes tantriques permettant d’atteindre le but final, le *mahāmudrā*, ou l’éveil plein et complet.

Comme le souligne notamment Klaus-Dieter Mathes, cette approche n’était néanmoins pas nouvelle. Sgam-po-pa continuait un style initié avant lui par Maitripa. ’Gos Lo-tṣā-ba Gzhon-nu-dpal déclare dans le *Deb ther sngon po* que dans le bouddhisme indien, le terme *mahāmudrā* existe également en dehors du Mantranaya (« méthode des mantras ») et que le texte principal sur le *mahāmudrā* Bka’-brgyud est le *Ratnagoṭravibhāga Mahāyānottaratantra*.

La thèse conclut que l’on peut aisément affirmer que Düsüm Khyenpa était un adepte des instructions clé du *mahāmudrā* insérées dans une combinaison particulière du Yogācāra et du Madhyamaka. Cela apparaît clairement dans son approche phénoménologique qui utilise librement le système Yogācāra des huit consciences, de l’auto-connaissance (*rang rig*) et de la luminosité naturelle de l’esprit. Il évite en même temps les conséquences néfastes d’un modèle réifiant de la réalité selon le Yogācāra en considérant, à l’instar de Nāgārjuna et de ses disciples, qu’aucun phénomène n’apparaît avec une nature propre (*svabhāva*). En d’autres termes, Düsüm Khyenpa combine le Yogācāra et le Madhyamaka de façon à profiter des termes expérimentiels du Yogācāra sans pourtant adhérer à son ontologie d’un esprit existant ultimement et de facteurs mentaux existant de manière inhérente. Ceci rappelle fortement l’un des systèmes de Maitripa dans lequel les termes du Yogācāra s’avèrent indispensables pour décrire l’accès direct à la vacuité basé sur le *mahāmudrā*.

Son étude des *Shar gsum* peut expliquer qu’il favorisait une forme particulière du Madhyamaka, le Svāntarika-Madhyamaka, qui lui permettait de décrire, comme Śāntarakṣita et Kamalaśīla, la réalité relative selon les termes du Yogācāra.

1.3.4 Enseignants l’ayant guidé

Il est utile pour mieux comprendre Düsüm Khyenpa d’explorer ce que l’on sait de ses maîtres, qui vécutent il y a plus de 900 ans. Dans mes travaux précédents, j’ai identifié ses enseignants en dressant tout d’abord une liste de tous les noms qui apparaissaient dans les sources écrites les plus anciennes : le *nam thar* composé par Bde-chung-ba, le *Monde doré*, le *nam thar* composé par le III^e Karma-pa Rang-byung rdo-rje, le *Deb ther dmar po* ainsi que des colophons et les lignées de transmission de ses œuvres. J’ai ensuite ajouté à cette liste les informations supplémentaires que je pouvais trouver sur ces maîtres. Cette liste constitue

l'annexe III, « Liste détaillée des enseignants de Düsüm Khyenpa établie à partir des sources anciennes ».

J'ai identifié vingt-six noms d'enseignants rencontrés pendant sa vie. Cette liste inclut les précepteurs lui ayant enseigné pendant sa période d'étude ainsi que les maîtres spirituels rencontrés plus tard. Cette thèse examine plus particulièrement l'identité de quatre de ses précepteurs de jeunesse et deux de ses maîtres spirituels importants.

(1) *Dge bshes* Rgya-dmar-pa Byang-chub-grags (env. 1095-1135) était un enseignant très influent et un pionnier de la scolastique au Tibet. Il enseignait la tradition de l'école Madhyamaka Svatantrika ;

(2) *Dge bshes* Phy(w)a-pa Chos-kyi-seng-ge (1109-1169 ?) est l'un des pères fondateurs de la scolastique tibétaine basé à Gsang-phu Ne'u-thog ;

(3) *Dge bshes* Spa-tshab Nyi-ma-grags (1055-après 1141) étudia le Sanskrit et les textes bouddhiques avec des enseignants Cachemiri en Inde (dans la ville actuelle de Śrīnagar) pendant vingt-trois ans. Il révisa et traduisit plusieurs textes du Madhyamaka pendant cette période ;

(4) *Bla ma* Bai-ro ou Vairocanavajra naquit en Inde et fit une visite au Tibet au cours du XII^e siècle ;

(5) *Slob dpon* Sgom-pa Tshul-khrims-snying-po (1116-69) était le neveu de *bla ma* Lha-rje (Sgam-po-pa) et l'un des *bla mas* principaux de Düsüm Khyenpa ;

(6) *Bla ma* Lha-rje, dont le nom de moine était Bsod-nams Rin-chen (1079-1153), fut le maître principal de Düsüm Khyenpa. Dans les œuvres de la Collection, il est identifié par l'épithète *lha rje*, qui signifie « le médecin », sa profession d'origine, ou par *chos rje*, « maître du Dharma ».

Bla ma Lha-rje médita dans des lieux solitaires sous la guidance du *yogin* et poète Mid-la ras-pa pendant environ onze ans et s'installa ensuite près du Mont Sgam-po. Il fut alors connu sous le nom de Sgam-po-pa, « L'homme du [Mont] Sgam-po ». Il est le premier détenteur du trône du « siège » Dwags-lha-sgam-po. Le siège est également appelé 'Dam-gling grags-pa et fut fondé en 1121. A Sgam-po, *bla ma* Lha-rje rassembla autour de lui un groupe de pratiquants dont Düsüm Khyenpa faisait partie. Il le guida pendant douze ans à partir de son arrivée à Sgam-po à l'âge de trente ans. Entre autres choses, il lui transmet le *dkar po zhig thub*, la « panacée blanche ». *Bla ma* Lha-rje quitta son corps alors que Düsüm Khyenpa avait quarante-trois ans.

1.3.5 Transmission de l'entraînement reçu

Dans le bouddhisme tibétain, il est considéré comme crucial que ce qui a été enseigné soit correctement retransmis. Il est donc important de prendre en considération les disciples de Düsüm Khyenpa à qui il enseigna les instructions fondamentales qu'il avait reçues.

J'ai dressé dans mes recherches précédentes la liste des étudiants de Düsüm Khyenpa sur la base des sources anciennes, notamment le *Monde doré* (*Gser gling*, SL), le *rnam thar* de Bde-chung-ba (D) et le *Deb ther dmar po* (DM) (la biographie composée par le III^e Karma-pa ne fournissant pas d'autre information). Des noms supplémentaires ont été ajoutés dans cette thèse à partir des colophons de la Collection (DSK), du *Testament* (ZC, une œuvre de la Collection) et dans les lignées de transmissions contenues dans certains textes de la Collection.

A l'instar de la liste des enseignants, cette liste d'étudiants est une contribution utile à la recherche future car elle aide à identifier les personnages de la Collection ou d'autres récits historiques. Elle constitue l'annexe IV, « Liste détaillée des étudiants de Düsüm Khyenpa établie à partir des sources anciennes ».

J'ai identifié quatre-vingt noms de disciples. L'un d'eux, 'Gro-mgon Ras-chen (mort env. 1217) est présenté en plus de détails.

1.3.6 Localisation des lieux importants dans la vie de Düsüm Khyenpa

Que ce soit dans le *Monde doré* ou dans le *Zhus lan 2*, de nombreux toponymes sont mentionnés. Certains lieux furent particulièrement importants dans la vie de Düsüm Khyenpa car il y résida pendant de longues périodes. A d'autres endroits, il ne fit que passer ou ne resta que peu de temps. Comme ces toponymes apparaissent dans des œuvres du XII^e siècle, il est possible que certains lieux n'existent plus ou ne soient plus identifiables. J'ai néanmoins tenté de les localiser et il est possible que plus d'éléments apparaissent à l'avenir pour les identifier avec plus de certitude.

J'ai procédé en listant tout d'abord les lieux mentionnés dans les textes, puis j'ai essayé de les localiser et d'obtenir autant d'information que possible à leur sujet. Les quatre lieux les plus importants ont été localisés sur une carte du Tibet (Dbus, Gtsang et Khams) qui se trouve à la fin de cette section de la thèse. La liste complète des lieux constitue l'annexe II, « Liste détaillées des lieux mentionnés dans le *Monde doré* et le *Zhus lan 2* ».

Les lieux sont présentés de manière à correspondre aux trois périodes de la vie du maître.

La première période correspond à sa jeunesse et ses années d'études, jusqu'à l'âge de trente et la rencontre avec ses maîtres racine. Elle se déroule au Khams et au Dbus.

La seconde période correspond à son entraînement à la pratique méditative dans le Dbus et le Gtsang, jusqu'à son retour au Khams à l'âge de cinquante ans.

La troisième période couvre son long séjour au Khams et son retour au Dbus dans la dernière partie de sa vie.

La liste complète se trouve dans l'annexe II, mais les quatre lieux prééminents de la vie du maître sont mis en valeur ci-dessous. Le *Monde doré* indique que les trois derniers sont des lieux dans lesquels Düsüm Khyenpa eut des visions ou des rêves significatifs.

- Le premier lieu important est D(w)ags-lha-sgam-po, où il rencontra ses maîtres racine, *bla ma* Lha-rje et Tshul-khrims snying-po.
- Le second est Gzhu-gru-bzhi, où il passa huit ans de 1152 à 1160, avant de rentrer dans sa région natale du Khams.
- Le troisième est Skam-po gnas-nang. C'est le nom du monastère fondé au Khams en 1165, après le séjour à Gzhu-gru-bzhi. Skam-po Gnas-nang fut le centre de son activité pendant environ vingt ans (1165-1184).
- Le quatrième et dernier lieu important est Mtshur-phu, un monastère dans le Dbus fondé vers 1187.

Une « Carte des quatre lieux les plus importants dans la vie de Düsüm Khyenpa » est fournie.

1.3.7 Quelques aspects sociaux et économiques importants de la vie du maître

Les conditions religieuses, sociales et économiques d'une époque impactent le développement spirituel des contemporains. Le contexte religieux fournit un effet un cadre, mais les conditions sociales peuvent ou non favoriser la pratique de l'étude et de la méditation, et les conditions économiques peuvent ou non soutenir l'activité spirituelle dans la mesure où des ressources financières sont nécessaire pour l'étude et la méditation. Cette section a pour objectif d'explorer les perspectives sociale et économique de l'époque de Düsüm Khyenpa.

Le monde culturel auquel appartenait Düsüm Khyenpa était une période de renaissance du bouddhisme. Cette renaissance était encouragée à des degrés divers par le développement de communautés monastiques institutionnalisées, par l'activité de personnes affirmant leur appartenance à l'ancienne lignée dynastique et par les efforts dévoués d'individus érudits et accomplis. Partout dans le pays, les aristocraties locales et les maisons puissantes jouaient également un rôle crucial par leur implication directe ou leur soutien matériel

La société tibétaine était, pour la plupart ou tous les siècles passés, surtout une société rurale. Les activités principales étaient l'agriculture, le pastoralisme, un mélange de ces deux activités (*sa ma 'brog*) et le commerce. Les fermiers et les bergers ou nomades échangeaient leur surplus de denrées (beurre, viande de mouton ou de yak, orge, peaux de bête, plantes médicinales, etc.) entre eux ou avec des commerçants.

Le commerce de longue distance était une source importante de revenu et de richesse, particulièrement pertinente à l'époque de Düsüm Khyenpa. Le commerce tibétain entre le XI^e

et le XIII^e siècle profita en effet de l'essor économique considérable de la Chine des Song (960-1279). La capitale impériale de l'époque, K'aifeng, était également nommée « capitale de l'Est » (Tib. Tong-kun, également épelée Stong-kun). De l'avis de tous, c'était une ville magnifique qui impressionnait beaucoup les Chinois mais aussi les visiteurs d'autres pays. De grandes quantités de produits raffinés (soie, porcelaine, etc.) y circulaient. Tong-kun est mentionné trois fois dans le *Monde doré*, ce qui montre sa célébrité à l'époque de Düsüm Khyenpa. Les produits qui en provenaient circulaient à travers le Khams et jusqu'au Dbus, et parfois également jusqu'en Inde, en Perse et au Moyen-Orient le long de cinq routes commerciales de longue distance.

Au fil des siècles, du fait du climat, de la topographie et des regroupements de population, cinq routes commerciales de longue distance s'établirent au Tibet. La deuxième d'entre elles, la route Tibet-Sichuan, est importante ici. C'est le chemin qu'empruntaient les biens entre le principal centre économique chinois, K'aifeng, et Lhasa, puis jusqu'en Inde et au Moyen-Orient. Elle passe par Lhasa, Chamdo et le Sichuan. De Chamdo, il y a une route septentrionale, qui passe par Dergé et une route méridionale qui passe par Batang et Litang. Elle traverse des régions dans lesquelles Düsüm Khyenpa naquit et où, plus tard, il vécut et enseigna pendant une vingtaine d'années. Skam-po Gnas-nang est ainsi situé à quelques encablures de la route méridionale, entre Batang et Litang.

La perspective économique fournit quelques données supplémentaires. On apprend par exemple dans le *Monde doré* que Dwags-po Lha-rje demanda à Düsüm Khyenpa de se rendre et d'habiter à Skam-po Gnas-nang et qu'auparavant il avait demandé la même chose à Sgompa Tshul-khrims snying-po mais que cela n'avait pas été possible. Bien que les raisons de cette requête ne soient pas spécifiées, on sait que les monastères ou centres d'enseignement situés près d'une route commerciale pouvaient prospérer grâce aux richesses que les locaux tiraient du commerce, et que cela constituait également des opportunités de diffusion du Dharma. Il est également plausible que le commerce de longue distance contribua considérablement à la richesse du Khams à l'époque de Düsüm Khyenpa, le XII^e siècle.

En ce qui concerne les circonstances économiques de Düsüm Khyenpa lui-même, le *Monde doré* est assez laconique sur sa famille. Il est indiqué qu'il appartient au lignage familial Spo. Il s'agit de l'un des six lignages remontant au Tibet antique, à l'époque du roi Gnya'-khri bstan-po, tous les six étant de « caste royale » (*rgyal rigs*). Il est également mentionné qu'il appartenait à la tribu Ldong, l'une des quatre tribus tibétaines d'origine.

Le *Monde doré* est en revanche plus disert sur la façon dont les « sièges » des maîtres bouddhistes fonctionnaient à l'époque. Généralement, les étudiants devaient faire des dons considérables pour être acceptés ou pour demeurer dans un centre. Dans le cas de Düsüm Khyenpa, il est dit qu'il offrit dix rouleaux de soie (*dar bcu*). Il n'y a pas de détails sur d'autres aspects financiers de l'accord, mais il est plausible qu'après qu'un étudiant est accepté dans un centre, il est soutenu par son maître spirituel. Les disciples étaient ensuite envoyés du siège de *bla ma* Lha-rje vers d'autres lieux spécifiques afin de pratiquer.

Il est intéressant de noter que le *Monde doré* indique qu'après la mort Lha-rje, Düsüm Khyenpa continuait d'envoyer des richesses considérables à son siège, dont de nombreux *dzo*, des turquoises, du thé, de l'or, de l'argent, quatre copies de la *Prajñāpāramitā*, une collection de *sūtras*, cent-dix volumes peints en lettres d'or, ainsi que des chevaux. Cet envoi de richesses peut être vu comme un témoignage de gratitude ou d'accumulation de mérite, mais aussi et surtout comme une façon de contribuer à son centre du dharma, afin de le rendre plus fort et efficace dans sa diffusion de l'enseignement qu'il avait lui-même appris et pratiqué.

Düsüm Khyenpa ne se contente cependant pas de soutenir son centre d'origine. Il accumula et partagea également des biens avec d'autres centres du dharma que ceux de son lignage, soutenant ainsi le Dharma dans son ensemble.

En ce qui concerne l'origine de ces richesses, les biens semblent provenir de dons que lui faisaient disciples et visiteurs. Il recevait également une rémunération (sous la forme de don) lorsqu'il donnait des enseignements, des initiations et inaugurait des temples.

Un dernier point à aborder est la question de savoir si Düsüm Khyenpa avait des contacts avec des dirigeants étrangers. Le *Monde doré* ne donne aucune information à ce sujet. Dans une histoire religieuse du XVI^e siècle, le *Mkhas pa'i dga' ston*, et dans une autre du XVIII^e, le *Zla-ba chu-sel-gyi phreng-ba*, il est fait mention d'un contact entre Düsüm Khyenpa et le dirigeant d'un autre état au nord-est du Tibet. Il est dit que Düsüm Khyenpa fut invité par le roi du royaume Tangut de Hsia (Tib. Mi-nyag 'Ga). Düsüm Khyenpa devait être très connu pour que le dirigeant de l'Empire Occidental des Hsia (1038-1227) fasse l'effort de l'inviter. Cet empire était très puissant à l'époque et menaçait même la Chine des Song.

Düsüm Khyenpa accepta l'invitation et envoya l'un de ses disciples, Gstang-po-pa Dkon-mchog seng-ge, à sa place. Celui-ci devint ainsi la première personne à obtenir le titre de « précepteur impérial » (Tib. *ti shri/shrī*), titre qui fut plus tard celui que Khubilai Khan remit à 'Phags pa.

Chapitre 2. Biographie principale de Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa et ses « notes autobiographiques »

Ce chapitre contient des points de nature plus analytique, dont une vue d'ensemble historique de la source biographique principale sur Düsüm Khyenpa et une comparaison des deux œuvres biographiques principales – le *Monde doré* et le *Zhus lan 2* – avec les canons Bka'-brgyud de l'écriture biographique au Tibet. De plus sont proposées une description des sources de ces deux textes et une discussion sur la méthodologie employée pour établir leur édition critique et leur traduction.

2.1 Vue d'ensemble historique de la source biographique principale de Düsüm-mkhyen-pa

D'un point de vue historique, on peut considérer que les sources écrites les plus anciennes sur Düsüm Khyenpa sont également les plus importantes et fiables, dans la mesure où les informations semblent avoir été ajoutées ou omises au fil du temps. C'est pour cette raison que la liste ci-dessous s'étend des œuvres les plus anciennes (XII^e-XIII^e siècles) en passant par des biographies plus tardives qui en découlent et une œuvre du XVIII^e s. Les travaux plus tardifs ne sont pas inclus dans cette liste du fait de leur redondance avec les sources les précédant. Les sources varient grandement en termes de profondeur et de détail. Cette liste contient dix sources organisées de manière chronologique.

La chronique de la vie de Düsüm Khyenpa la plus ancienne connue à ce jour est le *rnam thar* composé par Bde-chung-ba, intitulé *Rje 'gro ba'i mgon po rin po che'i rnam thar skyes rabs dang bcas pa rin chen phreng ba 'bring po*, « Précieuse guirlande de longueur moyenne : biographie du Vénérable Précieux Maître Protecteur des Êtres et récit de ses vies passées ». Il s'agit de l'œuvre numéro [1] dans la Collection. Bde-chung-ba était l'un des disciples principaux de Düsüm Khyenpa. Le colophon de la biographie mentionne trois autres disciples ayant contribué à l'élaboration de ce récit, qui a probablement été composé peu après le décès du maître, en 1193, et dans tous les cas pas plus tard que le début du XIII^e siècle.

La deuxième source la plus ancienne est la biographie composée par Rgang-lo, le *Monde doré* (*Gser gling*). Le titre complet est *Chos rje'i skyes rabs rin po che gser gling le'u bcwo brgyad pa*, « Le Monde doré : succession des vies précieuses du Maître du Dharma [Düsüm Khyenpa] en dix-huit chapitres ». Le *Monde doré* est la première d'une série de quatre œuvres globalement intitulées *Rje dus gsum mkhyen pa'i rnam thar*, texte numéro [2] dans la Collection. Les trois autres textes ne contiennent pas d'information supplémentaire substantielle et se limitent à des paraphrases ou résumés versifiés du *Monde doré*. Le fait que le *Monde doré* apparaisse en deuxième position dans la Collection et qu'il s'agisse d'une extension du prototype suggère qu'il a été composé quelques décennies après le *rnam thar* de Bde-chung-ba, dans la première moitié du XIII^e siècle.

La troisième source la plus ancienne est le *rnam thar* composé par le III^e Karma-pa Rangbyung Rdo-rje (1284-1339), intitulé *Dus gsum mkhyen pa seng ge sgra'i rnam par thar pa'o*, « Récit de la vie de Düsüm Khyenpa, rugissement du lion ». Cette œuvre, non datée, a été composée au début du XIV^e siècle, environ 130 ans après la mort de Düsüm Khyenpa.

La source suivante est le *Deb ther dmar po*, les « Annales rouges », une histoire religieuse (*chos 'byung*) composée par 'Tshal-pa Kun-dga' Rdo-rje (1309-1364). Ce texte contient une courte biographie du maître et a probablement été composée après le récit du III^e Karma-pa, au milieu du XIV^e siècle, soit 150 ans après le décès de Düsüm Khyenpa.

Le *Chos kyi rje rin po che dpal ldan dus gsum mkhyen pa'i rnam par thar pa dgos 'dod kun 'byung*, « Récit de la vie du précieux et glorieux Maître du Dharma Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa,

rassemblement des besoins et des souhaits » est un *rnam thar* composé par le II^e Zhwa-dmar Mkha'-spyod-dbang-po (1350-1405) environ 200 ans après la disparition de Düsüm Khyenpa.

La sixième source est le *Bka' brgyud rin po che'i chos 'byung mig 'byed 'od stong*, « Histoire religieuse des précieuses [lignées Dwags-po] Bka'-brgyud, illumination aux mille rayons (i.e. le soleil) ». Cette œuvre a été terminée en 1418, 225 ans après le décès de Düsüm Khyenpa, par Bsod-nams rgyal-mtshan dpal-bzang-po (1386-1434 C.E.), le XII^e (ou XIII^e) abbé (ou détenteur du trône) de Gdan-sa-thel/mthil.

La source suivante est le *Lho rong chos 'byung*, « L'Histoire religieuse de Lho-rong », qui contient environ cinq pages dans l'édition *dbu can* sur Düsüm Khyenpa. Ce texte est l'œuvre de Lho-rong rdzong-pa Rta-tshag Tshe-dbang rgyal-po (mort vers 1470) et a été terminé en 1447, soit environ 250 ans après la mort de Düsüm Khyenpa.

Le *Deb ther sngon po*, les « Annales Bleues », est une immense histoire religieuse composée par 'Gos lo-tsā-ba Gzhon-nu-dpal (1392-1491) environ 280 ans après la mort de Düsüm Khyenpa. Elle contient six folios sur la vie de Düsüm Khyenpa.

Le *Mkhas pa'i dga' ston*, ou « Festin des Erudits », est une histoire religieuse composée par Dpa'-bo II Gtsug-lag-phreng-ba (1504-66) environ 360 ans après la mort de Düsüm Khyenpa, contenant sept pages sur sa vie.

Enfin, *Zhwa nag dang po Dus gsum mkhyen pa chos kyi grags pa*, « Premier [détenteur] de la coiffe noire, Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa Chos-kyi-grags-pa, » est composé par le VIII^e Si-tu Pañ-chen Chos-kyi-'byung-gnas (1699/1700-1774), environ 580 ans après le décès du maître. La biographie de Düsüm Khyenpa fait 41 folios.

2.2 Le Monde doré et le *Zhus lan 2* comme sources biographiques

Le but de cette section est de permettre une meilleure compréhension de la biographie principale de Düsüm Khyenpa, le *Monde doré*, et de ses *Notes autobiographiques (Zhus lan 2)*. Cinq perspectives sont explorées.

J'examine tout d'abord la terminologie tibétaine employée pour les récits biographiques dans la mesure où différents genres biographiques sont présents dans la Collection.

Deuxièmement, je compare certaines autres œuvres biographiques de la tradition Bka'-brgyud (Mar-pa, Mid-la ras-pa, Ras-chung-pa et Bsod-nams-rin-chen) avec le *Monde doré* afin de déterminer si ces biographies sont de nature identique.

Troisièmement est clarifié l'importance du *Monde doré* et du *Zhus lan 2* dans le lignage Karma Kaṃ-tshang.

Quatrièmement est justifiée la traduction de *gġser gling* par « monde doré » et l’auteur du texte, Rgang-lo, ainsi que son approche biographique sont présentés.

Je propose enfin quelques commentaires sur le nom d’ordination de Dūsum Khyenpa, Śrī Dharmakīrti.

2.2.1 Terminologie tibétaine employée pour les récits biographiques et leur utilisation dans la Collection

Le *Monde doré* appartient à un genre biographique appelé en tibétain *rnam thar*. Plutôt que de parler du genre des *rnam thar* de manière générale, je ne traite ici que des aspects pertinents pour une meilleure compréhension du *Monde doré*. Un autre genre présenté est le *zhus lan*, dans la mesure où l’un des textes de la Collection est un *zhus lan* spécifique qui contient des notes autobiographiques.

Le terme tibétain *rnam thar* désigne littéralement une « [histoire] de complète libération ». Dans le cas du *Monde doré*, on peut traduire ce terme par « récit de vie » ou même « exemple de vie ». Traduire le terme *rnam thar* par « biographie » peut s’avérer problématique car le terme « biographie » est généralement associé au genre occidental moderne des récits de vie. D’un point de vue occidental, une biographie est un récit détaché et critique des événements majeurs de la vie d’un sujet, et contient souvent une analyse du caractère de la personne décrite. Ce n’est pourtant pas ce que le *Monde doré* propose ; il s’agit plutôt d’une biographie ayant un but particulier, ou une *hagiographie*. Le but est de décrire la façon dont une personne religieuse a parcouru le chemin bouddhique.

En ce qui concerne le genre du *zhus lan*, ce terme signifie littéralement « question – réponse ». L’un de ceux contenus dans la Collection est le *Dus gsum mkhyen pa’i zhus lan 2*, ou « Echange numéro 2 entre [Sgam-po-pa] et Dūsum Khyenpa » (abr. *Zhus lan 2*). Ce texte est en grande partie constitué de notes probablement autobiographiques.

2.2.2 Comparaison du Monde doré avec d’autres biographies Bka’-brgyud

La structure du *Monde doré* est celle de la voie des bodhisattvas qui s’étend sur plusieurs vies, passées, présentes et futures. Il est important pour mieux comprendre la valeur et la place historiques du *Monde doré* d’examiner si d’autres *rnam thar* présentent leur récit de vie de cette façon.

Pour répondre à cette question, j’ai examiné les récits de vie des maîtres Bka’-brgyud appartenant au même lignage que Dūsum Khyenpa, et notamment ceux de *bla ma* Lha-rje (Bsod-nams-rin-chen), son enseignant principal de qui Dūsum Khyenpa dit qu’il a déjà appris dans ses vies passées. Les premiers récits sur la vie de Bsod-nams-rin-chen n’ont pas une telle structure, et ce n’est pas non plus le cas de ceux sur la vie de Mar-pa Lo-tśā-ba Chos-kyi-blo-gros, de Mid-la ras-pa ou de Ras-chung-pa. Dans aucun de ces cas leur chemin de bodhisattva ne s’étale sur plusieurs vies.

Il existe néanmoins d'autres œuvres dans lesquelles les vies de bodhisattva passées du maître tibétain en question sont décrites. C'est le cas par exemple de 'Brom-ston Rgyal-ba'i-'byung-nas (1005-64) dont quatre des vies passées sont décrites dans le *Bka' gdams legs bam*.

Le *Monde doré* peut également être considéré comme le « récit d'une quête », à l'instar du Gaṇḍavyūha, bien que la quête en question soit beaucoup moins compliquée que celle de ce *sūtra* dans lequel le héros rend visite à de nombreux personnages célestes et reçoit leur transmission. La quête du *Monde doré* est celle des progrès du maître sur la voie des bodhisattvas, que ce soit en termes de pratique spirituelle, de relation de maître à disciple ou d'actes pour le bien d'autrui. Les maître inspire par son exemple, celui d'un bodhisattva totalement dévoué qui œuvre jusqu'à la fin des temps au bien des êtres.

2.2.3 L'importance du Monde doré et du Zhus lan 2 dans le lignage Karma Kaṃ-tshang

Du fait de la singularité de cette œuvre, on peut se demander quelle fut l'importance du *Monde doré* et du *Zhus lan 2* dans le développement du lignage Bka'-brgyud en général et de la lignée Karma Kaṃ-tshang en particulier.

En ce qui concerne le *Monde doré* tout d'abord, ce texte est important car selon toute vraisemblance il reflète que Dwags-po Lha-rje et Düsüm Khyenpa avaient en tête sur la façon dont les disciples doivent se développer sur la voie bouddhique. Le *Monde doré* peut être défini comme un exemple inspirant de la façon de progresser au fil de vies multiples sur la voie du bodhisattva. Le choix d'organiser le récit sur plusieurs vies appuie l'approche distinctive de Dwags-po *bla ma* Lha-rje qui présente tout d'abord un socle du Mahāyāna commun, sur lequel s'appuie ensuite le Mahāyāna non-commun, c'est-à-dire les pratiques tantriques et les instructions du *mahāmudrā*. Le *Monde doré* peut donc être considéré comme l'établissement d'un nouveau standard de la voie Bka'-brgyud.

De plus, il est possible que l'un des effets secondaires du *Monde doré* est d'avoir contribué à rendre l'idée de réincarnation d'un maître plausible pour ses successeurs dans le lignage. On trouve dans le *Monde doré* la description d'une série de réincarnations de Düsüm Khyenpa dans le passé et dans le futur, et également celle de plusieurs émanations synchroniques de Düsüm Khyenpa et de Sgam-po-pa. Il est possible que ce concept ne fût pas encore largement accepté à l'époque et que les descriptions du *Monde doré* aient contribué à leur diffusion.

En effet, la réincarnation comme institution semble s'être développée plus tard dans la lignée Karma Kaṃ-tshang, en tout cas après Düsüm Khyenpa. Ruth Gamble décrit la façon dont le III^e Karma-pa en particulier investit beaucoup de temps et d'inventivité au développement et à la promotion de cette tradition.

Le deuxième texte, le *Zhus lan 2*, est particulièrement important pour comprendre le développement du lignage Bka'-brgyud car il s'agit d'un récit des efforts ardues nécessaires

sur la voie vers l'éveil d'un bouddha. Un tel récit est rare, et il est précieux pour ceux qui veulent s'engager dans la voie tracée par Düsüm Khyenpa.

2.2.4 Notes sur la traduction du titre *Gser gling*, sur son auteur et son approche littéraire

En ce qui concerne le titre, *Gser gling* est une abréviation du titre complet qui apparaît dans le colophon du texte, *Chos rje 'i skyes rabs rin po che gser gling le'u bcwo brgyad pa*.

Bizarrement, l'expression *gser gling* n'apparaît pas dans le corps du texte et on peut donc se demander pourquoi l'auteur, Rgang-lo, a choisi d'intituler son travail ainsi.

Il est probable que Rgang-lo était familier de l'une des œuvres de Düsüm Khyenpa contenue dans la Collection, à savoir le texte numéro [22] *Rdzogs rim rlung sems gnyis med*, et plus particulièrement la section 6 dans laquelle apparaît l'expression *gser gling*. Le terme est utilisé pour décrire un état d'équanimité méditative (*mnyam zhag*) qui se doit d'infuser ou d'être mélangé avec toutes les activités de la vie, le résultat étant que l'on pénètre un « royaume doré ». Dans ce contexte, le terme *gling* a les connotations de son équivalent sanskrit, *dvīpa*, qui désigne littéralement une île, et par extension un continent ou un royaume, comme dans Jambudvīpa, le « continent des jambosiers », le nom sanskrit du monde dans lequel nous vivons. C'est sur la base de cet argument que j'ai choisi de traduire *gser gling* par « monde doré », le « monde » étant utilisé comme extension de « royaume ». Le « monde doré » désigne donc le résultat de l'expérience du monde comme étant doré (ou peut-être lumineux) en infusant la réalisation acquise en méditation dans toutes les activités du quotidien.

En ce qui concerne Rgang-lo lui-même, il est intéressant de voir ce que l'on savait de lui et la façon dont il entreprit sa tâche qui consistait à écrire la biographie la plus complète du maître. En ce qui concerne l'auteur lui-même, on sait très peu de choses. Rgang-lo faisait partie du cercle des disciples du maître. Il avait également très probablement un lien étroit avec le monastère de Mtshur-phu car le colophon du *Monde doré* indique qu'il a été écrit afin de constituer un ornement au monastère de Mtshur-phu. Il vécut donc après 1188, date approximative de la fondation de Mtshur-phu.

En termes d'approche, le colophon de l'auteur à la fin du *Monde doré* indique que ce texte est un résumé de plusieurs fragments (*thor bu rnam*s) et que plusieurs sources ont été rassemblées pour élaborer le récit (*bsdus pa*).

2.2.5 Le nom Śrī Dharmakīrti

Le nom de moine de Düsüm Khyenpa est Dpal Chos-kyi-grags-pa, ou Śrī Dharmakīrti en Sanskrit. Ce nom n'apparaît pas dans le prototype du *Monde doré*, le *nam thar* de Bde-chung-ba, et il est possible qu'il ait été ajouté lors de la synthèse des différentes sources utilisées pour compiler le texte. D'autres personnages portant le nom de Dharmakīrti sont brièvement mentionnés dans la thèse.

2.3 Sources du *Monde doré* et du *Zhus lan 2*

La section 2.3 décrit les sources écrites du *Gser gling* et du *Zhus lan 2* ; deux oeuvres probablement précurseurs du *Gser ling* sont présentées.

La première est le *Sems dpa' chen po'i skyes rab gser 'phreng*, « Rosaire d'or de la succession des vies d'un grand bodhisattva », récemment publié au sein d'une grande collection de facsimilés de manuscrits anciens rares. Ce *Gser 'phreng* a le même auteur que le *Gser gling*, Rgang-lo, mais le nom, Sgang-lo, est épilé différemment. Il est beaucoup plus court, une soixantaine de folios, contre 82 folios pour le *Gser gling*. La structure tripartite est déjà présente, avec au début la description de dix vies passées, puis la vie présente et trois vies futures. Le contenu est lui parfois beaucoup plus bref et la structure explicite des dix-huit chapitres du *Gser gling* n'est pas encore présente.

Le premier folio du *Gser 'phreng* est reproduit dans la thèse.

Le deuxième texte est le *Rin po che Kar ma pa Dbu se rnam thar*, ou « Biographie de Rin-po-che Karma-pa Grisonnant ». Bien que la structure en dix-huit parties typiques du *Monde doré* soit présente, le manuscrit est malheureusement incomplet. Il manque ainsi l'important dernier folio qui devrait contenir la majeure partie du chapitre 18, à savoir la dédicace, le colophon, etc. Il est étrange dans ce contexte que le nom « Karma-pa » soit présent dans le titre. Dans le *rnam thar* de Bde-chung-ba et dans le *Monde doré*, deux des plus anciens *rnam tar* de Dusüm Khyenpa, le nom Karma-pa n'apparaît pas. Ce titre a donc peut-être été attribué plus tard.

Le premier folio de l'*Dbu se rnam thar* est reproduit.

2.4 Methodologie I – édition critique

Cette section décrit la méthode utilisée pour produire une édition critique du *Monde doré* et du *Zhus lan 2* ainsi que les quelques difficultés rencontrées.

Comme les trois éditions de la Collection sont très différentes dans leur rendu de mots spécifiques et parfois de passages entiers, il m'a semblé que la traduction des œuvres de la Collection – ici le *Monde doré* et le *Zhus lan 2* – bénéficierait d'une édition critique. J'ai utilisé l'édition critique établie par János Szerb, *Bu ston's History of Buddhism in Tibet*, comme modèle. Comme cependant la taille et l'ambition de son projet étaient beaucoup plus vastes que celui-ci, une partie seulement de son approche a été appliquée dans ce travail.

J'ai choisi le manuscrit de l'édition SW comme base de l'édition critique (cette base est appelée *mūla*, « texte racine », par Szerb). Les premières pages du manuscrit (*dbu med*) du *Monde doré* et du *Zhus lan 2* sont reproduits dans l'annexe I, « Manuscrits facsimilés (*dbu med*) des premières pages du *Gser gling* et du *Zhus lan 2* ».

Les éditions critiques sont établies à partir du postulat que l'édition manuscrite SW est la version la moins retouchée, ce qui est détaillé ci-dessous. Travailler sur cette base permet ainsi d'éviter les erreurs qui ont pu être introduites lors de la transformation de l'*dbu med* en *dbu can* dans les éditions CW et SB.

La première étape pour construire l'édition critique fut de créer une translittération correcte du texte en utilisant le système de translittération Wylie afin de présenter l'orthographe tibétaine dans un script latin.

Pendant des siècles, les manuscrits étaient copiés dans un style condensé et ils doivent donc tout d'abord être décryptés. Comme il est commun dans les manuscrits bouddhiques tibétains, SW contient de nombreuses abréviations, que ce soit des symboles pour désigner des mots monosyllabiques (*mgyogs bris*), des abréviations de mots ou de phrases composées, comme par exemple des contractions (*bsdu yig*) ou des formes cursives condensées (*skung yig*), littéralement des « lettres cachées ».

Pour décondenser le script *dbu med*, j'ai principalement suivi les interprétations fournies par Jacques Bacot dans son article célèbre. Plusieurs abréviations rares que Bacot ne mentionne pas apparaissent dans le travail de Roloff. Toutes les « abréviations résolues » sont indiquées dans l'appareil critique.

La deuxième étape fut de comparer la translittération de SW avec les éditions CW et SB afin d'annoter les différences.

Dans le but d'établir l'édition critique, j'ai tenté de garder la meilleure lecture possible en gardant les déviations en note. Le *mūla*, la version la moins éditée, a été laissée aussi intacte que possible afin de demeurer proche d'un original supposé qui n'est plus aujourd'hui disponible.

Je n'ai fait des corrections que dans les cas d'erreurs manifestes ; la version de SW a alors été remplacée par les variantes de CW ou de SB. D'autres corrections mineures ont été introduites pour respecter la grammaire tibétaine classique. Par exemple, l'orthographe des semi-particules *te/ste/de* dépend du suffixe du mot précédent. Si l'orthographe était incorrecte elle a été changée mais ce changement est indiqué dans l'édition critique.

2.5 Méthodologie II – Traduction

La traduction est fondée sur l'édition critique du manuscrit (*dbu med*) SW du *Monde doré* et du *Zhus lan 2*.

Conformément à la tradition bouddhique indienne, le *Monde doré* commence par un hommage et une déclaration d'intention. La convention de placer ces deux sections au début du corps d'un traité vient d'une pratique érudite indienne et a été conservée dans le canon littéraire tibétain par Sa-skya paṇḍita Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan (1182-1251), principalement

dans son étude des principes de l'érudition, *Mhas pa rnams la 'jug pa'i sgo*. Le *Zhus lan 2* commence également par un hommage mais ne contient pas de déclaration d'intention.

En tibétain, « rendre hommage » se dit *mchod par brjod pa* et peut être comparé aux dédicaces que l'on trouve de nos jours au début des livres. Dans le *Monde doré*, l'auteur Rgang-lo rend hommage à l'Omniscient (*thams cad mkhyen pa*), qui dans ce cas n'est probablement pas le bouddha historique Śākyamuni mais plutôt le maître de Rgang-lo, Düsum Khyenpa.

L'hommage est suivi de la déclaration d'intention, en tibétain *rtsom par dam bca' ba*. Ici Rgang-lo indique qu'il va écrire les informations qu'il a rassemblé sur les maîtres en dix, cinq et trois chapitres.

Le *Monde doré* est donc en tout constitué de dix-huit chapitres scindés en trois parties. Le nom de ces parties est ajouté en italiques dans la traduction et n'apparaît pas dans le texte original. Les trois parties sont les suivantes :

- Première partie, succession des vies passées, en dix chapitres ;
- La vie actuelle de Dusüm Khyenpa, en cinq chapitres ;
- Renaissances suivant son décès, en trois chapitres.

Chapitre 3 Édition critique et traduction du *Gser gling* et du *Zhus lan 2*

Dans ce chapitre sont présentées l'édition critique et la traduction du *Monde doré* et du *Zhus lan 2*.

3.1 Édition critique du *Gser gling*

La section 3.1 présente l'édition critique du *Monde doré*. L'édition SW du facsimilé du manuscrit en *dbu med* contient 81 folios de six lignes chacun. La translittération Wylie court sur 37 pages.

3.2 Traduction du *Gser gling*, « Le Monde doré : succession des vies précieuses du Maître du Dharma [Düsum Khyenpa] en dix-huit chapitres »

La section 3.2 propose une traduction du *Monde doré*. La traduction fait 44 pages et est constituée de trois parties.

Première partie, succession des vies passées, en dix chapitres (1—10)

L'œuvre commence avec un hommage, dont les premières lignes sont les suivantes :

[48] Hommage à l’Omniscient [Düsum Khyenpa] !
M’étant incliné avec autant de têtes et de corps que d’atomes, devant Lui
Dont la nature irradie le soleil et la lune de la connaissance et de l’amour,
Je vais compiler, selon les paroles de l’Éminent,
Dix [chapitres pour ses vies] passées, cinq [pour sa] manifestation présente [sa vie du XII^e siècle] et
trois [pour ses vies] futures.

Le chapitre 1 est intitulé « Naissance dans un royaume du monde appelé Vaiḍūrya ». Il est très court et débute ainsi :

Le Glorieux Rin-po-che [Düsum Khyenpa], au début [de ses vies passées] généra la *bodhicitta*. Au milieu, il rassembla les deux accumulations [de mérite et de sagesse] sur le quintuple sentier. A la fin, il obtint l’éveil insurpassable.
C’est pourquoi, tant que le *karma* des êtres n’est pas épuisé, il s’engage sans interruption dans une activité vaste.

Les annotations expliquent les termes tels que *bodhicitta*, les deux accumulations et le quintuple sentier.

Le chapitre 2 est intitulé « Renaissance dans une petite île ». L’île en question est Dharitha, localisée entre les [mondes] du sud Jambudvīpa et Godāniya. Ces mondes, ou littéralement « continents », sont ceux de la cosmologie bouddhique. La thèse se réfère pour cela à l’*Abhidharmakośabhāṣyam* de Vasubhandu dans lequel sont mentionnés et brièvement décrits quatre continents et huit continents intermédiaires, ou « îles ».

Durant cette existence, il rencontra déjà son enseignant spirituel principal, *bla ma* Lha-rje, qui était alors le *yogin* Surapa.

Le chapitre 3, « Renaissance sur le bord de Jambudvīpa », relate qu’il est né avec le nom Antita et qu’il était un *yogin* issu d’une famille de forgerons dans le Tartita, à l’ouest du monde méridional Jambudvīpa. Il fit de grands efforts dans les pratiques d’obtention en se retirant dans des lieux montagneux et des ermitages.

Le chapitre 4, « Renaissance à Godāniya », relate sa vie comme le *bhikṣu* Dharma Atitha dans une famille de *brahmin* du [monde] occidental Godāniya. Son nom secret était Dharmasrī et il requit à cette période les instructions spirituelles de *bla ma* Tilopa.

Le chapitre 5, « Renaissance comme éléphant » est un récit de sa naissance dans le monde occidental Godāniya sous la forme d’un éléphant très puissant dans l’armée d’un mauvais roi *tīrthika* (non-bouddhiste) nommé Dharmasīla qui était très nuisible à son royaume. Un jour alors que le roi le montait, lui, le grand éléphant, à la tête d’une grande armée, il l’écrasa. Dans ses vies suivantes, le roi devint le disciple de Düsum Khyenpa et fut amené au bien.

Le chapitre 6, « Renaissance tout au bout de Jambudvīpa » relate son existence au nord-est de Jambudvīpa sous la forme du *bhikṣu* Dharmakīrti, un disciple érudit du *brahmin* Sarjana. A cette époque, le maître Ḍombi [Heruka] fut important pour lui. Il avait alors ses propres disciples, mentionnés par leur nom, et qui reprirent naissance comme ses disciples pendant sa

vie du XII^e siècle. Parmi d'autres noms se trouve celui de *dge bshes* Phya-pa qui était alors un jeune *paṇḍita* (Phya-pa fut l'un de ses précepteurs au XII^e siècle).

Le chapitre 7, « Renaissance à Kalingka » indique qu'il prit naissance comme Zla-ba-rnam-par-gnon-pa, roi du pays Kalingka. Son maître spirituel à l'époque était Sangs-rgyas Ye-shes, qui était maintenant devenu *bla ma* Lha-rje. A cette époque, le maître de Lha-rje était 'Jam-dpal *bshes gnyen* Avadhūti, l'actuel *bla ma* Mid-la-[ras-pa]. Le chapitre raconte qu'on demanda au futur Düsüm Khyenpa, en tant que roi, de se rendre en Inde, de circumambuler le glorieux *stūpa* de 'Bras-spungs et d'obtenir la perfection (*siddhi*). Certains de ses disciples du XII^e siècle sont nommés ; ils faisaient à l'époque partie de l'entourage du roi.

Le chapitre 8, « Renaissance en Oḍḍiyāna » est le récit de sa vie dans le centre ouest de Jambudvīpa, en Oḍḍiyāna. Il était alors connu sous le nom de Śīladanti et devint un *yogin* très puissant et disciple de Tilopa, vivant dans les jungles et forêts. Il donna une *abhiṣeka* (initiation) à quatre de ses étudiants dont le nom au XII^e siècle est spécifié.

Le chapitre 9, « Renaissance à Videha » nous apprend que dans sa vie suivante il reprit naissance dans le monde Videha comme Shes-rab bzang-mo, fille du roi Dge-ba bzang-po et de la reine Shes-rab can-ma, et dont le nom secret était Mtsho-skyes byang-chub. Ses parents moururent alors qu'elle était encore jeune et elle rencontra alors *bla ma* Lha-rje, qui vivait là-bas comme le *bhikṣu* Dharmasiddhi. D'autres noms de disciples du XII^e siècle présents à l'époque sont mentionnés.

Le chapitre 10, « Renaissance dans un petit monde », est le récit de la vie précédant celle du XII^e siècle, dans un petit monde situé entre Videha à l'est et Jambudvīpa au sud. Le nom de son père était Dharma-sbas-pa, il appartenait à une caste supérieure, et celui de sa mère était Sumati. Düsüm Khyenpa portait alors le nom de Pratikīrti et vivait dans la ville de Radhapa ou Rājaphala, connue aussi sous le nom de Rgyal-po bzang-po. Il vécut 164 ans. *Bla ma* Lha-rje était également présent à l'époque et se nommait Dpal-gyi-sbas-pa. Pratikīrti reçut les méthodes d'accomplissement de Mahāmāyā, Tārā Cintamanīcakra et Vajrasattva et il est dit qu'il expliqua la [pratique spirituelle] de Tārā à dix de ses disciples du XII^e siècle qui se trouvaient là. De nombreux autres étudiants et futurs enseignants sont mentionnés sous leur nom du XII^e siècle, dont le roi tué lors de l'existence du chapitre 6. Le roi était alors le mécène Dgon-pa-ba, qui offrit de nombreuses donations à la *saṅgha* et continua d'en faire ainsi dans ses vies suivantes.

Deuxième partie, La vie du XII^e siècle de Dusüm Khyenpa, en cinq chapitres

Le chapitre 11, intitulé « Années d'efforts [dans la pratique et l'étude] et [activité] pour le bien d'autrui », est le plus gros de l'œuvre et fournit de nombreux détails historiques sur la vie de Düsüm Khyenpa au XII^e siècle. Beaucoup de ces détails ont déjà été présentés dans la section 1.3 de cette thèse intitulée « Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa – aspects de sa vie ».

Le chapitre 12, « Apparences pures », décrit les visions qu'il eut de diverses divinités, bouddhas et bodhisattvas, comme par exemple Sita-Tārā, Hevajra, Vajrayoginī, Vajravārāhī, Cakrasaṃvara, Guhyasamāja, de nombreux bouddhas, etc. Il eut également des visions de ses maîtres racine *bla ma* Lha-rje et *slob dpon* Sgom-tshul après leur mort.

Le chapitre 13 est le récit de ses « Rêves visionnaires » lors desquels il rencontre également des divinités comme par exemple le « Grand Compassioné à Onze Visages » (Avalokiteśvara), le futur bouddha Maitreya, des maîtres bouddhistes du passé comme Lakṣmīṅkarā, Maitrīpa et Saraha, de nouveau *bla ma* Lha-rje, etc. Beaucoup d'entre eux lui donnent de profondes explications du Dharma.

Le chapitre 14, « Connaissance des renaissances d'autrui » témoigne de sa prescience en ce qui concerne les renaissances des autres. On apprend ainsi où *bla ma* Marpa a pris renaissance et aussi quelles sont les trois manifestations (*sprul pa*) qu'a pris *bla ma* Lha-rje et où elles se trouvent. De nombreux noms de ses enseignants et le lieu de leur renaissance est indiqué : *slob dpon* Sgom-[tshul], *slob dpon* Pa-tshab, *slob dpon* Phya-pa, *bla ma* Ras-chung-pa, etc. Le Grand Brahmin [Saraha] est de nouveau nommé car Düsüm Khyenpa le rencontre. Düsüm Khyenpa prédit également où certains de ses disciples prendront naissance et où vivent certaines personnes après avoir quitté leur corps.

Le chapitre 15 relate ses « Apparitions à autrui sous de nombreuses formes ». Le chapitre peut être scindé en trois parties.

15.1, « Apparitions dépendantes de leur propre état d'esprit » : cette partie raconte plusieurs épisodes during lesquels des reliques (*ring bsrel*) de différentes formes et couleurs apparaissent du maître. Il est expliqué que ce phénomène dépend de la dévotion et du respect des personnes pour lesquelles les reliques se manifestent. Ainsi, à certaines occasions, des disciples voient leur maître sous la forme de Vajrayoginī, Heruka Cakrasaṃvara, Avalokiteśvara à Onze Visages, Śākyamuni, Vajradhara, Tilopa, etc. Le maître se manifeste également à des disciples en retraite au loin qui s'étaient focalisés sur lui.

15.2 est un « Récit élaboré de son apparition à un disciple spécifique ». Cette partie décrit que Düsüm Khyenpa, membre d'un groupe de quatre *yogins*, apparaît miraculeusement à une personne qui avait été son disciple dans une vie passé afin de continuer à le guider sur la voie bouddhique. Les trois autres *yogins* sont les *siddhas* Indrabodhi le Moyen, Shing-lo-pa et Kṛṣṇācārya. Dharmakīrti (Düsüm Khyenpa) offre à son disciple le texte de pratique intitulé *Rnam bzhi rgyud grol dang byin rlabs nus 'don*, « Quatre styles permettant de libérer le continuum mental et de révéler la force de la bénédiction ». Plus tard, le maître donne les noms et activités de ce disciple dans ses vies passées.

15.3, « Suite des apparitions à autrui », raconte qu'à cette époque, selon les dires du maître, au moins quatre autres émanations de lui-même étaient actives dans le monde et agissaient pour le bien d'autrui. Les noms de ces manifestations et le lieu de leur activité sont donnés, et

d'autres histoires miraculeuses sont relatées. Le chapitre se conclut sur la mort du maître en 1193 au monastère de Mtshur-phu au Tibet.

Troisième partie, Renaissances suivant son décès, en trois chapitres (16 – 18)

Le chapitre 16, « Renaissance en Inde », contient les prédictions du maître sur sa prochaine naissance en Inde en compagnie de *bla ma* Lha-rje, des disciples de celui-ci ainsi que des disciples de Düsüm Khyenpa. Des détails sur les noms, lieux et événements de cette existence sont fournis.

Le chapitre 17, « Renaissance au Lho-brag » indique qu'après cette naissance en Inde, il renaîtrait dans la région du Lho-brag, dans le sud du Tibet, pour le bien d'un disciple spécifique mais n'y resterait pas longtemps.

Le chapitre 18, « Renaissance dans un royaume du monde oriental », indique qu'ensuite il naîtrait en Inde, à Urupa, chez une *ḍākinī* à Kongka. Tous ses disciples seraient de nouveau présents. Après cela ils devraient attendre longtemps car ils n'auraient plus besoin de lui [pour quelque temps]. Le maître accomplirait alors le bien de beaucoup d'êtres.

Le *Monde doré* conclut avec le colophon suivant :

[Colophon] *Le Monde doré : succession des vies précieuses du Maître du Dharma [Düsüm Khyenpa] [128] en dix-huit chapitres* résume les récits de dialogues entre le *bla ma* et ses fils [spirituels]. Il fut composé par Rgang-lo qui considère ces paroles comme vraies en tant qu'ornement du monastère de Mtshur-phu-mdo-bo.

Remarques de conclusion sur le Monde doré

Ce qui rend le *Monde doré* exceptionnel par rapport à d'autres *rnam thar* existants est qu'il fournit un récit de la voie du bodhisattva depuis le début, en décrivant la façon dont une personne s'engage sur la voie et parvient graduellement à accomplir le bienfait d'autant d'êtres que possible. Düsüm Khyenpa parcourt le chemin en demandant à son maître de l'instruire sur la façon de générer la *bodhicitta*. Plus tard, son maître continue de le guider pendant de nombreuses vies au cours desquelles il rassemble les deux accumulations de mérite et de sagesse et parcourt les cinq [parties du] chemin. En accomplissant le bien des êtres, presque par accident, l'éveil se produit. Ainsi, le *Monde doré* illustre la façon de pratiquer la voie des bodhisattvas.

Le *Monde doré* se distingue également car le développement sur plusieurs vies qu'il décrit ne concerne pas un personnage extraordinaire ou spécialement sélectionné mais au contraire montre la vie de gens « normaux » dans des familles normales, qui s'engagent dans des actes que d'autres aussi pourraient faire.

Dans ses vies passées, Düsüm Khyenpa est un *yogin* qui fournit de grands efforts dans sa pratique spirituelle ainsi qu'un érudit. La caste ou le statut social auquel il appartient ne semble pas importer. Dans une vie, il prend naissance dans une famille de forgerons,

généralement considérés de basse caste. Dans une autre, il vient d'une famille de brahmanes, de haute caste. Il prend naissance comme éléphant pour corriger une injustice sociale, etc. Ce qui semble vraiment importer est d'intégrer des circonstances de vie favorables au développement spirituel.

Le texte montre également qu'un bodhisattva, au fil de son développement, rassemble des disciples de manière organique, et développe ainsi une sorte de nouvelle « équipe d'action », des maîtres et des disciples qui continuent de renaître ensemble. Un cercle de maître et de disciples en appelle un autre, etc., et tous les cercles sont reliés par leur but commun.

Ce récit de vie décrit également le phénomène d'émanation synchroniques, c'est-à-dire qu'il est possible à un certain point de son développement d'avoir de multiples corps actifs en même temps afin d'aider un plus grand nombre d'êtres. Plusieurs des corps de Düsüm Khyenpa et de *bla ma* Lha-rje sont énumérés dans le *Monde doré*. Les émanations synchroniques sont l'une des caractéristiques de la progression sur les dix niveaux de bodhisattva menant à l'état de bouddha. A chaque niveau, le bodhisattva est à même d'émaner toujours plus de corps avec lesquels il accomplit le bien des êtres.

Bien que cette voie puisse être suivie par des personnes ordinaires, le *Monde doré* décrit à plusieurs occasions ce que l'on appelle des capacités supra-sensorielles, *abhijñā* en Sanskrit. On énumère généralement six forces supranormales ou exceptionnelles qui sont des effets secondaires de la méditation. Trois exemples apparaissent régulièrement dans le *Monde doré* : la « connaissance de la montée [la naissance] et de la chute [la mort][de tous les êtres du *samsāra*] » (*cyutyupapattijñāna*), parfois également appelée *divyacakṣus* ; la « mémoire de ses résidences (transmigrationnelles) précédentes » (*pūrvanivāsānusmṛti*) ; et la « connaissance de l'esprit d'autrui » (*paracittajñā*).

Si l'on compare le récit de la vie de Düsüm Khyenpa rédigé au XX^e siècle par Karma Thinley au *Monde doré*, il apparaît que certains détails caractéristiques de la tradition Karma Bka'-brgyud tardive ne sont pas attestés dans le *Monde doré*. On ne trouve pas par exemple le nom de Karma-pa, ni la mention d'une coiffe noire (ce détail ne se trouve pas non plus dans le *nam thar* de Bde-chung-ba), ni aucune mention d'une lettre censée contenir la prédiction des circonstances de sa future naissance. L'idée que le monastère de Msthur-phu, avec tous les livres du maître et ses reliques, aurait été confiés à son disciple principal 'Gro-mgon ras-chen n'est pas non plus présente. Il semble donc que ce récit de Karma Thinley projette sur l'époque de Düsüm Khyenpa des caractéristiques Karma Bka'-brgyud plus tardives (la coiffe noire, la lettre de prédiction de sa naissance, 'Gro-mgon ras-chen comme disciple principal).

C'est peut-être parce que le *Monde doré* n'est pas complètement compatible avec les représentations Karma Bka'-brgyud plus tardives que ce texte a reçu peu d'attention dans les siècles suivants. J'affirme cependant dans ce travail que la meilleure source disponible actuellement pour peindre un portrait fiable de la vie de Düsüm Khyenpa est le *Monde doré*. Il est bien sûr possible que ce récit soit incomplet, mais il est au moins vierge des interpolations plus tardives.

3.3 Editions critiques du *Zhus lan 2*

La section 3.3 présente une édition critique du *Zhus lan 2*. Le facsimilé du manuscrit du *Zhus lan 2* de l'édition SW fait 23 folios de six lignes chacun. La translittération Wylie du tibétain fait 14 pages.

3.4 Traduction du *Zhus lan 2*, « Echange entre [Sgam-po-pa et] Düsüm Khyenpa »

La section 3.4 propose une traduction du *Zhus lan 2* en 14 pages. Ce texte témoigne d'un échange de questions et de réponses au sujet de la pratique spirituelle de Düsüm Khyenpa et décrit son « éveil ». L'échange commence lorsqu'il demande des *upadeśa* (*gdams ngag*) à *bla ma* Lha-rje Rin-po-che, c'est-à-dire des instructions sur la voie de la réalisation et qu'ensuite il médite sur ces instructions pendant quelques temps. Il revient ensuite devant *bla ma* Lha-rje et lui rapporte son expérience :

« Une expérience inégalée limpide claire (*gsal sing nge ba*) s'est élevée. Comment est-elle apparue ? »

Rin-po-che répondit :

« Elle est nommée « l'état clair qui rend capable » [ou « panacée blanche »] (*dkar po zhig thub*). Du fait [que tu l'as expérimenté], demain, et après-demain, et les jours suivants, la même chose apparaîtra. Fais-en donc comme un drap chaud (*yol dro ba*) autour de toi. Médite en portant des vêtements fins et tu pourras dompter ta conscience (*shes pa*) ».

Il s'ensuit une description inspirante de la façon dont Düsüm Khyenpa continue à s'entraîner pour intégrer cette expérience dans tous les moments de sa vie. Fait intéressant, *bla ma* Lha-rje lui dit que lui-même fait de même. Lors de cet échange sont consignés les expériences que Düsüm Khyenpa décrit et les retours qui lui sont faits. On apprend qu'il faut tout amener au chemin, même les pensées. Les réponses de *bla ma* Lha-rje contiennent également de nombreuses descriptions de la réalisation spirituelle de pratiquants du passé, comme la *yoginī* Gaṅgādhārā et le *yogin* Vajra Śrī.

Le *Zhus lan 2* se termine avec la réponse suivante de *bla ma* Lha-rje :

Oui, ceci est ton expérience unique et bonne. La vue (*lta ba*) doit être tout d'abord et surtout la conscience limpide claire (*rig pa gsal sing nge ba*). C'est la grande conscience primordiale (*ye shes, jñāna*) qui est non-duelle, l'esprit (*thugs*) de tous les bouddhas. Parce que tu t'en es servi et l'a cultivée, elle a été comme les marches d'un escalier. Maintenant, de manière égale, vont apparaître ouverture et vacuité.

Le *Zhus lan 2* se termine avec le colophon suivant :

[Colophon] Ceci était un échange entre les deux, Sgam-po-pa Rin-po-che et Mtshur-phu-ba Rin-po-che [l'homme de Mtshur-phu, Düsüm Khyenpa]. Puissent ce Dharma accomplir le bien des êtres !

Remarques de conclusion sur le *Zhus Lan 2*

L'un de sujets du *Zhus lan 2* est le *dkar po zhig thub*, c'est-à-dire « l'état clair qui rend capable », un sujet ayant déjà reçu l'attention de plusieurs chercheurs dans le passé. L'une des raisons de cet intérêt est que le terme apparaît dans le contexte du débat de Bsam-yas dans le Tibet du VIII^e siècle. D'après les sources historiques, le résultat de ce débat fut de recommander une approche plus analytique aux étudiants de la voie de réalisation bouddhique. Ce débat est traité de manière extensive par David Seyfort Rugg, qui présente le terme *dkar po zhig thub* comme appartenant aux arguments des partisans non-analytiques. Il traduit l'expression par « panacée blanche » ou « remède souverain ». David Jackson a également proposé une synthèse de l'histoire et des controverses entourant cette expression, qu'il traduit par « remède blanc auto-suffisant ».

Le *dkar po zhig thub* est important pour Düsüm Khyenpa, qui reçoit des explications sur la voie de réalisation grâce à cette expression, et pour *bla ma* Lha-rje, qui dit le pratiquer lui-même.

On trouve dans la traduction du texte complet du *Zhus lan 2* le contexte original dans lequel cette expression était utilisée. Le contexte montre qu'il ne s'agit pas simplement d'un aspect, le *dkar po zhig thub* lui-même, mais de deux. Il s'agit d'une part d'entrer en contact avec « l'état clair » (*dkar po zhig thub*) ou la « conscience primordiale » (*ye shes, jñāna*). Cela implique, d'autre part, de relier ou incorporer tous les phénomènes extérieurs et intérieurs dans l'état clair. C'est lorsque les deux aspects sont présents que *sahaja* (*lhan cig skyes sbyor*), la co-émergence, se produit. Maintenir les deux, c'est maintenir la vue ou perspective (*lta ba*) *sahaja*. La compréhension que les deux aspects sont importants est appuyée par des explications de Düsüm Khyenpa dans l'une de ses autres œuvres. C'est pour cette raison que je choisis de traduire *dkar po zhig thub* par « état clair qui rend capable », rendant ainsi compte du fait qu'être en contact avec l'état clair rend capable de s'engager dans l'étape suivante, qui est l'intégration dans le quotidien.

Pour dire quelques mots de plus sur *sahaja*, il est important de noter qu'il ne s'agit pas d'une compréhension intellectuelle ou de considérer le monde avec des concepts spécifiques. Au contraire, c'est une approche pratique. Düsüm Khyenpa décrit la façon dont il entre en contact avec « l'état clair » au moyen de la pratique spirituelle, à la suite de quoi il relie cela avec son monde mental et le monde physique autour de lui.

Le chemin envisagé semble être triple : (1) prendre contact avec le résultat, l'état clair ou la connaissance primordiale ; (2) relier ou combiner tous les phénomènes à cet état ; et (3) expérimenter la non-dualité de la connaissance primordiale et de tout ce qui s'élève en son sein. Ainsi, la contacter n'est pas suffisant. Il est ensuite indispensable de l'intégrer dans sa vie.

Le *Zhus lan 2* est un récit à la première personne de ce processus d'entrée en contact et d'intégration. C'est l'autobiographie d'un voyage intérieur. Il décrit la façon dont le voyage se

déroule, l'éblouissement du premier moment de contact, la réflexion sur la nature de cette expérience, puis, étape par étape, sur la façon dont l'intérieur et l'extérieur sont reliés à la « conscience ».

Ainsi, *bla ma* Lha-rje transmet une approche expérientielle plutôt qu'analytique. Il guide Düsüm Khyenpa dans une pratique méditative qui le mène rapidement à « entrer en contact » et à ensuite continuer sur cette base. Ceci est d'autant plus intéressant que *bla ma* Lha-rje était également un savant de la tradition Bka' gdams-pa. C'était un érudit, tout comme Düsüm Khyenpa, mais ce qu'il transmet ici est ce qu'il a lui-même découvert comme étant ce qui marchait le mieux sur une voie de réalisation.

Cette approche ne correspond pas aux recommandations issues du débat de Bsam-yas de favoriser une approche plus analytique. On peut cependant admettre pour la défense de Düsüm Khyenpa que dans son cas, l'approche analytique n'était plus ni nécessaire ni pertinente. Il avait déjà étudié les œuvres fondamentales du bouddhisme pendant une dizaine d'années durant lesquelles il a amplement goûté les approches analytiques bouddhiques. *Bla ma* Lha-rje l'a ensuite guidé plus avant sur le chemin, au-delà de tous les concepts, afin de découvrir et de maintenir « l'état fondamental ».

Si l'on considère maintenant le *Monde doré* et le *Zhus lan 2* de manière plus large, une question intéressante est celle de la façon de relier l'entrée en contact décrit dans le *Zhus lan 2* avec le quintuple chemin (*pañcamārga*, *lam rnam pa lnga*) mentionné au début du *Monde doré*, qui comprend les chemins de l'accumulation, de l'application, de la vision, de l'entraînement et de l'accomplissement.

Dans le premier chapitre du *Monde doré* on apprend que Düsüm Khyenpa, au cours de son développement pendant plusieurs vies, a rassemblé les deux accumulations. Ceci est une référence explicite au premier chemin, celui de l'accumulation (*tshogs lam*, *saṃbhāramārga*). Ensuite, le texte déclare « ... à la fin, [Düsüm Khyenpa] obtint l'éveil complet et insurpassable ! » Comme ceci désigne l'étape finale, on peut se demander ce qu'il advient des autres chemins. Un début de réponse se trouve ci-dessous :

Le deuxième chemin, celui de l'application (*sbyor lam*, *prayogamārga*) peut désigner sa pratique spirituelle continue au fil de ses vies passées. Le moment de prise de contact, décrit dans le *Zhus lan 2*, peut correspondre au troisième chemin, celui de la vision (*mthong lam*, *darśanamārga*). Le fait d'y connecter ou d'y combiner tous les phénomènes est le quatrième chemin, celui de l'entraînement (*sgom lam*, *bhāvanāmārga*). Finalement, la non-dualité de la conscience primordiale peut correspondre au cinquième chemin, l'accomplissement (*mthar phyin pa 'i lam*, *niṣṭhāmārga*).

On peut noter qu'une partie du conseil de *bla ma* Lha-rje dans le *Zhus lan 2* fait écho avec ce qu'enseignait le maître indien Maitrīpa (986-1063). Klaus-Dieter Mathes décrit dans sa traduction des œuvres de Maitrīpa la façon dont le terme *amanasikāra*, central dans les œuvres de Maitrīpa et leurs commentaires, doit être entendu de deux façons. *Amanasikāra* ne

consiste pas simplement en effet à retirer son attention de la dualité conceptuellement créée (le désengagement mental), mais désigne également le non-surgissement et la luminosité. Il y a donc également, selon Mathes, deux aspects.

Bla ma Lha-rje enseigne également le « désengagement des phénomènes », sans toutefois utiliser le terme *amanasikāra*, peut-être pour éviter la mauvaise compréhension qui consiste à penser qu'il s'agit d'éviter l'activité mentale. Là où Mathes interprète le terme *amanasikāra* comme désignant également le non-surgissement et la luminosité, Lha-rje utilise un terme distinct, la conscience (*rig pa*).

Chapter 4 La Collection de Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa

Dans ce chapitre est explorée et présentée la Collection de Düsüm Khyenpa, abrégée par « la Collection ».

Tout d'abord la section 4.1 décrit le contenu de la Collection, ses éditions, son origine et ses auteurs.

Ensuite est proposée un survol général (4.2) prenant la forme d'un tableau regroupant les informations de base : titre tibétain original (et titres d'autres œuvres incluses), traduction anglaise du titre, localisation des œuvres dans les trois éditions.

S'ensuit une présentation détaillée (4.3) dans laquelle chacune des œuvres est décrite en termes de taille, de localisation, de genre, de contenu, d'auteur, de colophon et de lignée de transmission, et d'autres détails intéressants.

Avant d'entrer dans le détail, il est utile de décrire brièvement la nature des œuvres contenues dans la Collection. On y trouve les récits de vie (*rnam thar*) de Düsüm Khyenpa, son *Testament* (*zhal chems*), les *Enseignements à une assemblée* (*tshogs chos*), la *Compilation des chants* (*mgur 'bum*), les *Réponses à des questions* (*zhus lan*), et un autre groupe de textes qui sont une combinaison de genres.

Cette dernière catégorie recouvre environ 80% de la Collection mais se prête difficilement à la classification car elle comprend des traités portant sur différentes pratiques spirituelles. Chaque traité peut avoir, comme nous allons le voir, de nombreuses sections, dans lesquelles on peut identifier plusieurs genres de littérature tibétaine différents, comme des méthodes d'accomplissement (*sgrub thabs*, *sādhana*) (ceci inclut des descriptions de l'origine de ces pratiques), des initiations (*dbang bskur*, *abhiṣeka*), des offrandes brûlées (*sbyin sreg*, *homa*), des instructions de pratique spirituelle (*gdams ngag*, *upadeśa*), des instructions clé (*man ngag*, *āmnāya*), des offrandes de *gtor ma* (*bali*), des explications sur le *mahāmudrā* (*phyag rgya*

chen po), etc. On trouve aussi fréquemment ce que l'on appelle un *rgya gzhung*, c'est-à-dire un texte fondamental d'origine indienne.

Dans la section 4.3 de ce chapitre, « Présentation détaillée de la Collection de Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa », toutes les œuvres de la Collection sont brièvement présentées, en y incluant le genre spécifique de chaque texte.

4.1 Contenu, éditions, origine et auteurs de la Collection

La Collection est une série de 61 textes qui ont tous en commun d'être de près ou de loin liés au Premier Karma-pa Düsüm Khyenpa.

Bien que ses origines soient assez opaques, il est probable que les événements successifs suivants se soient produits : après le décès du maître, les textes qu'il avait rassemblés et écrits de son vivant lui ont survécu. Quelqu'un, peut-être l'un des Karma-pas suivants ou un compilateur inconnu, a trié ces textes et a rassemblé ceux traitant de pratique méditative. La collection d'origine a avec le temps été augmentée de certaines des œuvres de ses disciples. La collection a continué d'évoluer jusqu'au début du XV^e siècle, après quoi plus aucun texte n'a été rajouté.

Düsüm Khyenpa était lui-même un érudit, et avant de s'engager dans de profondes pratiques spirituelles il étudia le Dharma pendant une dizaine d'années. Curieusement cependant, aucun des textes philosophiques qu'il a étudiés, ni aucun des *sūtras* et des *śāstras* qu'il cite en exemple dans ses *Enseignements à une assemblée* ne sont inclus dans la Collection. On peut donc caractériser la vocation de la Collection comme étant principalement la pratique spirituelle et possiblement aussi la conservation de textes rares. La Collection rend également hommage à la personne du maître dans la mesure où ses biographies ont été ajoutées bien qu'elles soient évidemment composées après sa mort.

Le contenu de la Collection n'est pas en soi un reflet exact de ce qui était pratiqué dans le cercle de Düsüm Khyenpa, ni une liste exhaustive des textes de pratique Karma Bka'-brgyud de l'époque. Certaines pratiques connues aujourd'hui et qui existaient déjà au XII^e siècle ne sont pas incluses. La Collection est donc une compilation de textes de pratique spirituelle probablement rares et avancés, qui se doivent d'être conçus dans un contexte ancien, probablement le XII^e siècle et peut-être avant. Grâce à cette collection, des matériaux rares datant des tout débuts de la tradition Karma Bka'-brgyud ont été préservés.

La Collection est conservée dans trois éditions :

- Les *Sélections d'écrits* (*Selected Writings*, SW)
- Les *Œuvres complètes* (*Collected Works*, CW)
- Le *Gsung 'bum* (SB).

Le titre complet de l'édition des *Sélections d'écrits* (SW) est *Sélections d'écrits du premier Zhwa-nag Karma-pa Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa – reproduits à partir de manuscrits rares issus de la bibliothèque de Zhwa-dmar Rin-po-che*. Elle date de 1980 et a été publiée à Gangtok. Il s'agit d'un facsimilé de manuscrits en lettres cursives (*dbu med*) en deux volumes précédés d'une très brève table des matières (*dkar chag*). Malheureusement, cette édition ne contient que la première partie des œuvres de la Collection, comme l'indique le titre *Sélections d'écrits*. On ne peut que souhaiter que le reste de ces œuvres manuscrites resurgissent un jour.

Le titre complet de l'édition des *Œuvres complètes* (CW) est *Edition numérique des Œuvres complètes du Premier Karmapa Dusum Khyenpa (Electronic Edition of the Collected Works of the First Karmapa Dusum Khyenpa)*. Cette édition a été publiée en 2008 par le Padma Karpo Translation Committee. Elle contient un très bref *dkar chag* de 4 folios composé par (Gu-shrī) Dpal-'byor-don-grub (1427-89), l'un des abbés du monastère de 'Tshur-phu, proche disciple du VI^e Karma-pa Mthong-ba-don Idan (1416-53) en enseignant du VII^e Karma-pa Chos-grags rgya-mtsho (1454-1506).

L'édition du *Gsung 'bum* (SB) a pour titre complet *Karma pa dus gsum mkhyen pa'i gsung 'bum*. Elle contient deux volumes, *ka* and *kha*, et fait partie de la collection en 108 volumes intitulée *Dpal rgyal dbang Karma pa sku phreng rim byon gyi gsung 'bum phyogs sgrigs* publiée en 2013. Les volumes sont en *dbu can* et sont reproduits dans une forme traditionnelle tibétaine (*dpe cha*) de 42 cm x 8 cm, précédés d'une table des matières. Le volume *ka* a 253 folios recto verso, qui sont également numérotés en suivant, constituant un total de 505 pages. Le volume *kha* a 246 folios, soit 419 pages. Les 108 volumes sont édités par Mkhan-po Lo-yag-bkra-shis.

Le contenu des lignages de transmission inclus dans certaines des œuvres de la Collection indiquent qu'elle a vraisemblablement été fixée au début du XV^e siècle.

On peut prendre l'exemple de la lignée de transmission du *Rdzogs rim rlung sems gnyis med* dont l'avant-dernier maître nommé est un certain Bsod-nams-bzang-po qui vécut dans la deuxième moitié du XIV^e siècle et la première du XV^e (1341-1433). Il fut l'un des enseignants du Karma-pa de l'époque, le V^e Karma-pa De-bzhin-gshegs-pa (1384-1415), et brièvement également de son successeur le VI^e Karma-pa Mthong-ba-don-Idan (1416-1452/3). Bsod-nams-bzang-po est suivi dans la lignée par l'expression *des bdag la gnang ba'o//*, qui signifie « Celui-ci me l'a transmis ».

Je soutiens que ce « je » à la dernière place de cette lignée est le V^e Karma-pa De-bzhin-gshegs-pa (1384-1415), qui est donc la dernière personne des lignées de transmission indiquées dans certains colophons de la Collection. Sur cette base, on peut placer la compilation de la Collection au début du XV^e siècle, et il est possible le V^e Karma-pa y ait pris une part active.

La question de la paternité de chacun des textes est particulièrement examinée. Il est manifeste que la collection n'inclut pas seulement des œuvres composées par Düsüm

Khyenpa. Ce n'est donc pas une collection de ses œuvres complètes dont il serait le seul auteur. On trouve des biographies composées par ses disciples (dont le nom est explicitement mentionné dans les colophons), des textes majeurs du maître mais incorporant des textes indiens (*rgya gzhung*), et des œuvres attribuées dans le colophon à des *mahāsiddhas* indiens, comme par exemple Nāropa ou Indrabhuti (Indrabodhi) « le moyen ». Toutes en revanche ont de près ou de loin un lien avec lui. Un titre correct pour cette série de textes est donc « La Collection de Dūsum Khyenpa », dans la mesure où cette appellation laisse ouverte la question de la paternité des textes. Les colophons aident généralement à déterminer le titre, le contenu et l'auteur des textes.

4.2 Tableau de la Collection de Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa

Le tableau fournit les informations de base sur 44 titres contenus dans la Collection : titre tibétain original (et titres d'autres œuvres incluses), traduction anglaise du titre, localisation des œuvres dans les trois éditions.

4.3 Présentation détaillée de la Collection de Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa

Les œuvres de la Collection, 44 titres principaux et 61 textes distincts, sont brièvement décrits en termes de taille, de structure, de genre, de contenu et d'auteur. Nous verrons que certains textes sont constitués de plusieurs œuvres distinctes et qu'une œuvre a de nombreuses sections.

Pour créer cette vue d'ensemble d'une collection d'œuvres tibétaines, j'ai consulté les travaux de deux chercheurs ayant travaillé sur des collections spécifiques : Ulrich Kragh qui a publié sur le contenu du *Dags po bka' 'bum*, et Peter Schwieger dont les recherches s'intéressent au contenu du *Rin chen gter mdzod chen mo*.

Ma présentation s'appuie sur celle de Kragh, qui commence en indiquant la longueur de l'œuvre, le nombre de sections et les colophons internes, puis donne une brève introduction pour chaque texte. Ensuite, les premières et dernières lignes de chaque texte et/ou section sont reproduites en translittération tibétaine avec un bref résumé du contenu.

En plus des colophons, j'ajoute également dans cette description les lignées de transmission si elles sont mentionnées, et d'autres détails intéressant le cas échéant.

Sauf lorsqu'expressément mentionné, l'orthographe des mots est celle de l'édition manuscrite SW.

Au cours de mes recherches sur le contenu de la Collection, plusieurs caractéristiques ont émergé, comme par exemple le fait que le titre d'une œuvre pouvait en fait contenir plusieurs textes, et qu'un texte spécifique pouvait contenir plusieurs sections. Un texte par exemple, le [31] *Rmi lam 'brel pa gsum ldan* contient 22 sections.

Au début de la Collection, les textes ont des pages de titre, puis celles-ci disparaissent. Plusieurs textes n'ont même pas de titre, et il semble que le titre de nombreux textes ait été rajoutés lors d'une édition plus tardive (les titres écrits en plus petit). Le texte en *dbu med* contient souvent des notes interlinéaires écrites en *dbu can*, et le signe « *i thi* » à la fin des textes, intimant au secret, est abondamment appliqué.

Conclusion

Cette thèse explore la vie et l'œuvre du maître du XII^e siècle Düsüm Khyenpa, le *siddha* aux cheveux gris. Les résultats de recherche sont organisés en trois piliers. Le premier traite du personnage de Düsüm Khyenpa lui-même et de deux de ses biographies (chapitre 1 et 2). Le deuxième est l'édition critique et la traduction de ces deux biographies (chapitre 3). Le troisième se focalise sur la Collection de Düsüm Khyenpa (chapitre 4).

Le chapitre 1 commence avec un état de la recherche sur Düsüm Khyenpa montrant que le maître et son oeuvre n'ont jusqu'à aujourd'hui reçu qu'une attention limitée, et que les recherches existantes n'incluent pas les sources supplémentaires plus anciennes.

Afin de mieux comprendre l'importance historique de Düsüm Khyenpa, le chapitre décrit sa place dans le lignage Bka'-brgyud et la façon dont les « quatre courants » (*bka' babs bzhi*) de Tilopa apparaissent dans la Collection.

Les origines de la lignée Karma Kaṃ-tshang sont examinées et il est conclu que la lignée n'a pas été initiée par Düsüm Khyenpa lui-même mais qu'elle s'est développée grâce aux efforts des Karma-pas postérieurs. Des siècles plus tard, des caractéristiques Karma Bka'-brgyud plus tardives ont été projetées dans le temps sur le *siddha* aux cheveux gris.

Un résumé de la vie de Düsüm Khyenpa est proposé sur la base d'un récit de vie (*rnam thar*) des débuts du XIII^e siècle, le *Monde doré*. Il raconte sa jeunesse, ses études, sa vie de *siddha yogin*, puis son activité d'enseignant du Dharma et de pacificateur.

Une attention spéciale est portée à la période passée au collège de Gsang-phu Ne'u-thog, à partir de ses vingt ans et jusqu'à ses trente ans. Il est conclu que ces études peuvent être considérées comme le socle sur la base duquel il put ensuite recevoir des instructions clé du *mahāmudrā* de son maître principal *bla ma* Lha-rje, aussi connu sous le nom de Sgam-po-pa.

Afin de nuancer notre compréhension de la vie, de l'œuvre et de l'importance de Düsüm Khyenpa, ses nombreux enseignants – précepteurs et guides spirituels (*bla ma*) – sont présentés, ainsi que ses disciples. Le chapitre explore également ses voyages et la localisation de son monastère principal, Skam-po gnas-nang, qui se trouve près d'une importante route commerciale de longue distance, ce qui, selon toute vraisemblance, a fourni un appui économique et facilité la diffusion de l'enseignement.

Le chapitre 2 commence avec un aperçu historique des principaux matériaux biographiques sur Düsüm Khyenpa. Il est établi que la plupart de ces sources sont des histoires religieuses (*chos 'byung*) et que la source de connaissance principale sur Düsüm Khyenpa est le *Gser gling rnam thar*. Une seconde source, le *Zhus lan 2* ou « notes autobiographiques » est également présentée.

Le *Monde doré* et le *Zhus lan 2* sont présentés depuis différents points de vue : les genres du *rnam thar* et du *zhus lan*, l'histoire du *Monde doré* et ses prototypes, et une comparaison entre le *Monde doré* et d'autres *rnam thar* Bka'-brgyud.

La place de ces deux œuvres dans le développement du lignage Bka'-brgyud est estimée, notant par exemple que le contenu du *Monde doré* peut être considéré comme un exemple de la voie bouddhique que souhaitaient incarner Düsüm Khyenpa et *bla ma* Lha-rje. Le *Zhus lan 2* est quant à lui un exemple de la façon concrète de progresser sur le chemin vers l'éveil complet.

La traduction de *Gser gling* par « monde doré » est expliquée et Rgang-lo, l'auteur, est présenté. La question du nom d'ordination Śrī Dharmakīrti (Chos-kyi-grags-pa) est également examinée.

Enfin sont décrites les sources du *Monde doré* et du *Zhus lan 2*, ce qui est suivi par deux sections sur la méthodologie employée pour les deux éditions critiques et les traductions.

Le chapitre 3 présente le résultat de l'édition critique de ces deux textes et la traduction du *Monde doré* et du *Zhus lan 2*. L'édition manuscrite en *dbu med* est utilisée comme texte racine (*mūla*) car il représente très probablement l'édition la moins retouchée parmi les trois versions disponibles. Le texte-racine est laissé aussi intact que possible et n'a été corrigé que dans le cas d'erreurs linguistiques évidentes. Pour assurer une compréhension complète optimale, les différences textuelles avec les deux autres éditions sont ajoutées en notes comme des variantes du texte racine.

Le fait que cette traduction du *Monde doré* et du *Zhus lan 2* soit basée sur une édition critique contribue clairement à la valeur du résultat final dans la mesure où des alternatives pour les problèmes orthographiques spécifiques sont maintenant disponibles.

Les traductions de ces deux textes constituent ensemble un excellent portrait de la personne du maître et de son développement spirituel.

Le *Monde doré* fournit un exemple de la voie du bodhisattva dans le bouddhisme du grand véhicule. Il décrit la façon dont le maître s'est tout d'abord engagé sur le chemin, comment il a progressé sur la voie au fil de dix vies, et comment, dans sa vie présente, il était particulièrement habile pour accomplir le bien d'un grand nombre d'êtres.

Ceci signifie que l'on trouve dans le *Monde doré* une description concrète de la voie vers l'état de bouddha telle que l'a parcourue Düsüm Khyenpa. On apprend entre autres choses que dans ses vies passées il prit naissance comme homme ou comme femme, humain ou animal, de statut social élevé ou pas, comme érudit ou comme *yogin*, de la façon qui favorisait le plus son développement sur la voie bouddhique. On apprend également qu'après une période d'étude intensive, il se focalisa sur la réalisation ultime de la voie, puis sur la transmission à d'autres de sa connaissance.

Le *Monde doré* décrit également le phénomène des émanations synchroniques, un point clé de la progression sur la voie du bodhisattva. Des émanations synchroniques de Düsüm Khyenpa et de *bla ma* Lha-rje sont énumérées.

Le *Zhus lan 2* est également un récit exceptionnel car Düsüm Khyenpa a consigné dans ce document de nombreux détails sur la façon dont il fut guidé par son maître principal *bla ma* Lha-rje. Il est clair dans ce texte que cette guidance ne s'appuyait pas sur une perception intellectuelle ou conceptuelle spécifique du monde mais bien plutôt sur une approche expérientielle ou pratique. Düsüm Khyenpa décrit la façon dont, grâce à la pratique spirituelle, il entra en contact avec « l'état clair » puis le relia à l'ensemble de son monde mental et du monde physique qui l'entourait.

Un point clé de ce processus de réalisation tourne autour de la « panacée blanche » ou « remède blanc auto-suffisant », qui, plus littéralement, peut être compris comme un « état clair qui rend capable » (*dkar po zhig thub*). Ce terme est utilisé pour désigner l'état fondamental de l'esprit, ou « nature de l'esprit ».

Le *Zhus lan 2* est un récit à la première personne de ce processus d'entrée en contact et d'intégration, l'autobiographie d'un voyage intérieur. Il décrit la façon dont le voyage se déroule, l'éblouissement des premiers moments de contact, les réflexions sur la nature du phénomène, puis la façon dont, étape après étape, tous les phénomènes extérieurs et intérieurs sont reliés à la conscience primordiale.

Le chapitre 4 décrit la « Collection de Düsüm Khyenpa ». Cette Collection inclut plusieurs types de textes, récits de vie (*rnam thar*) de Düsüm Khyenpa, son *Testament* (*zhal chems*), les *Enseignements à une assemblée* (*tshogs chos*), la *Compilation des chants* (*mgur 'bum*), les *Réponses à des questions* (*zhus lan*), et un groupe d'œuvres qui sont une combinaison de genres. Cette dernière catégorie, 80% de la masse de la Collection, résiste à la classification car elle regroupe des traités sur différentes pratiques spirituelles. Un traité peut avoir plusieurs sections dans lesquels différents genres peuvent être identifiés, comme des méthodes d'accomplissement (*sgrub thabs*, *sādhana*), des initiations (*dbang bskur*, *abhiṣeka*), des instructions de pratique spirituelle (*gdams ngag*, *upadeśa*), des instructions clé (*man ngag*, *āmnāya*), etc. On trouve aussi fréquemment ce que l'on appelle un *rgya gzhung*, c'est-à-dire un texte fondamental d'origine indienne.

La section 4.1 présente le contenu, les éditions, l'origine et les auteurs de la Collections. Trois versions sont identifiées et décrites. La Collection elle-même a probablement été compilée au début du XV^e siècle et les textes ont été composés par des auteurs divers. Certains sont composés par Düsüm Khyenpa lui-même, mais beaucoup ne le sont pas. Certains par exemple sont d'origine indienne et considérés comme remontant au bouddha primordial Vajradhara (Rdo-rje 'chang) ou à un grand accompli (*mahāsiddha*). D'autres sont écrits par des disciples du Düsüm Khyenpa. Dans certains cas, l'auteur n'est pas évident.

La section 4.2 propose un aperçu général de la Collection sous forme de tableau recensant les 44 titres et leur localisation dans chacune des trois éditions. Certains de ces titres contiennent d'autres textes listés séparément. Lorsque ces textes supplémentaires sont inclus, on parvient à un total de 61 œuvres.

La section 4.3 expose des recherches faites sur ces 44 ou 61 textes de la Collection, notamment leur structure (autres textes ou sections inclus), taille, localisation, genre, contenu, auteur, colophon et lignée de transmission. Dans le cas des textes à sections multiples, il s'avère que ces sections relèvent souvent de divers aspects d'une pratique spirituelle spécifique, comme par exemple un récit d'origine, le *rgya gzhung* d'une *sādhana*, des rituels additionnels, *sādhana*s associées, une lignée de transmission, un colophon, etc. Beaucoup de ces textes décrivent des pratiques bouddhiques anciennes conservées au travers des siècles dans cette Collection.

Cette thèse dans son ensemble montre clairement que malgré le peu de recherches scientifiques sur la vie et l'œuvre de Düsüm Khyenpa, c'est un personnage clé de la tradition Bka'-brgyud. Il fut l'un des chaînons de la transmission d'une approche spécifique du Mahāyāna au Tibet au XII^e siècle, qui consistait en une combinaison du Mahāyāna « commun », de la pratique du Mantra secret (*gsang sngags*) et d'instructions clé du *mahāmudrā*. Cette approche est illustrée par son exemple de vie, le *Monde doré*, et ses notes autobiographiques, le *Zhus lan 2*.

En plus de la valeur d'une compréhension scientifique accrue de Düsüm Khyenpa, il est utile de noter que cette approche distincte du Mahāyāna est une voie vers l'éveil complet suivie par des générations de pratiquants Bka'-brgyud. La lecture du récit de Düsüm Khyenpa de ce chemin peut s'avérer précieuse pour ceux qui, pour des raisons personnelles, sont attirés par la voie du bodhisattva et les méthodes décrites par Düsüm Khyenpa.

Une future étape pour continuer à développer la recherche scientifique sur Düsüm Khyenpa serait de faire une édition critique et une traduction d'autres œuvres contenues dans la Collection. Cela serait utile car cela contribuerait à la clarification de divers aspects de l'approche enseignée par *bla ma* Lha-rje et Düsüm Khyenpa.

A titre d'exemple, on peut citer le texte numéro [15] *Rnal 'byor ma' gsang bsgrub*, dont la section 6 propose une distinction importante entre la *yoginī* relative et absolue, et décrit la

vue, l'action et le résultat corrects. Le texte numéro [22] *Rdzogs rim rlung sems gnyis med*, propose dans les sections 5 à 7 différentes descriptions du *mahāmudrā*, et trois chemins différents pour en atteindre la réalisation. Ces trois sont le chemin supérieur, moyen et inférieur, respectivement l'approche « soudaine » (*cig char*), la « traversée directe » (*thod rgal*), et « l'approche graduelle des quatre yogas » (*rim pa la rnal 'byor bzhi*).

Lors de ces recherches futures, il sera important de chercher s'il existe d'avantages d'éditions de textes spécifiques, car certains textes comme le *Zhus lan 2* sont également incorporés dans d'autres collections.

Il faut également se souvenir que la Collection de Düsüm Khyenpa ne dresse pas un portrait de la tradition Bka'-brgyud dans son ensemble car de nombreux autres textes sont préservés dans d'autres collections. Enfin, il faut noter que cette thèse se concentre sur la vie et l'œuvre de Düsüm Khyenpa en s'appuyant principalement sur les textes conservés et leur traduction. Des efforts ont été faits pour donner des informations sur le contexte socio-économique de ces œuvres. Les savants d'autres disciplines – historiens, sociologues, chercheurs en sciences religieuses – peuvent sans doute ajouter des perspectives et compréhensions supplémentaires sur Düsüm Khyenpa. En l'état, et même si ces contributions seraient importantes et utiles, elles dépassent le cadre et l'intention établis pour la présente recherche.

Résumé

Cette thèse contribue à la connaissance des débuts de la tradition Karma Bka'-brgyud du bouddhisme tibétain, un domaine n'ayant jusqu'ici reçu qu'une attention universitaire limitée.

Elle s'intéresse plus particulièrement à la vie et l'œuvre de l'un des pères fondateurs de cette tradition, le célèbre maître bouddhiste du XII^{ème} siècle Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa (Düsum Khyenpa). Sa biographie principale, le *Gser gling*, le « Monde doré », est un récit de son propre parcours de la voie du bodhisattva. Elle date du début du XIII^{ème} siècle. Le *Gser gling* est un récit unique de la façon dont Düsum Khyenpa manifeste l'idéal du bodhisattva dans dix vies passées, dans sa vie XII^{ème} siècle et dans trois incarnations futures. Le *Gser gling* combine la voie du bodhisattva et la biographie d'une manière inédite et est basé en grande partie sur les mots du maître. On peut noter également que le contenu du *Gser gling* correspondent parfaitement à l'approche spécifique développée par le maître de Düsum Khyenpa, Sgam-po-pa.

De plus, cette biographie comprend un récit inspirant de la façon dont Düsum Khyenpa, en tant que disciple, s'engage dans une relation d'apprentissage spirituel auprès de son maître Sgam-po-pa. Cette partie est constituée de « notes autobiographiques », *Zhus lan 2*, un « échange entre Sgam-po-pa et Düsum Khyenpa ». Ce texte décrit l'éveil de Düsum Khyenpa, qui est le but principal du chemin bouddhique.

La thèse participe également à la connaissance d'un groupe d'œuvres spécifiques compilées au XV^{ème} siècle, que je nomme la « Collection de Düsum Khyenpa ».

Mots Clés

Karma-pa, Karma Bka'-brgyud, biographie, Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa, religions tibétaines, Premier Karma-pa

Abstract

The dissertation contributes to an area of knowledge that to date has received limited attention, namely the Karma Bka'-brgyud tradition of Buddhism.

Specifically, it adds new insights into the life and work of one of his founding fathers, the renowned 12th century Buddhist master Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa (Düsum Khyenpa). The research suggests that his main goal was to embody the bodhisattva ideal in Buddhism, i.e. making progress in capabilities in order to guide sentient beings in general and one's students in particular.

His main biography, the *Gser gling* – “A Golden World” –, offers a record of his own journey on the bodhisattva path. The biography dates from the early thirteenth century. The *Gser gling* itself is a unique record of how Düsum Khyenpa manifests the bodhisattva ideal, through ten past lifetimes, his 12th century life, and three future lifetimes. The *Gser gling* combines bodhisattva path and biography in an unprecedented way, and is based in large part on words of the master himself.

The dissertation also presents his “autobiographical notes,” *Zhus lan 2*, “An Exchange between Sgam-po-pa and Düsum Khyenpa.” This *Zhus lan 2* describes Düsum Khyenpa's “Awakening,” which itself is the main goal on the Buddhist path.

Furthermore, the dissertation adds knowledge to a specific 15th century untitled group of works, which I call the “Düsum Khyenpa Collection.” The dissertation explores this collection of very diverse scriptures that all, in one way or another, are related to Düsum Khyenpa.

Keywords

Karma-pa, Karma Bka'-brgyud, biography, Dus-gsum-mkhyen-pa, Tibetan religions, First Karma-pa