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The Rimé Activities of Shabkar Tsokdruk Rangdrol (1781-1851)¹

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 Non-sectarianism (*ris med*), especially in the Tibetan Buddhist context, is most often associated with the lives and works of a group of nineteenth-century religious luminaries from the Kham region of eastern Tibet. Referred to collectively as the “non-sectarian movement” by contemporary scholars, this group consisted of Jamgön Kongtrül, Jamyang Khyentsé Wangpo, Chokgyur Lingpa, Dza Patrul, Ju Mipham, and others.² Yet, approximately three decades prior to the non-sectarian activities of Jamgön Kongtrül and his contemporaries, there was a figure fervently advocating non-sectarianism in north-eastern, central and western Tibet: the renowned poet-saint Shabkar Tsokdruk Rangdrol (1781-1851). While both Tibetan studies scholars and Tibetan Buddhists alike have noted Shabkar’s non-sectarian tendencies in general, this topic has remained largely unexplored in the scholarly literature. Because Shabkar’s non-sectarian activities were so prolific, I argue that it is necessary to take serious consideration of Shabkar’s non-sectarian activities as a part of the history, nature, and extent of non-sectarianism in Tibetan Buddhist history as a whole.

This essay provides a detailed articulation of Shabkar’s non-sectarianism as presented in his two-volume spiritual autobiography.³ In this essay, I demonstrate that in his *Life*, Shabkar portrays

¹ I would like to thank V.V. Khenchen Thrangu Rinpoche, V. Lama Tashi Dondup, Gyelwé Yongdzin Lama Nyima Rinpoche, Khenpo Chonyi Rangdrol, the *sangha* of Takmo Lujin monastery, and my teachers and friends from Amdo—without them my fieldwork and study of Shabkar’s writings would not have been possible. All errors are my own entirely.

² Smith, “Jam mgon Kong sprul,” 237-247, 235.

³ While the first volume of Shabkar’s autobiography has been translated into English and French by Matthieu Ricard and his team, the second volume remains yet to be translated. Throughout this essay, I will be referring to Shabkar’s *rnam thar* as either “spiritual autobiography,” “autobiography,” “life story,” or *Life*. All passages quoted from Shabkar’s *Life* are my own translations from the Tibetan original. However, in the case of the first volume, I have also provided the page

non-sectarianism not as an abstract intellectual concept, but as an integral aspect of a Buddhist life properly lived. Shabkar's articulation of non-sectarianism is also quite complex in that it is multivalent. Rooting his non-sectarian outlook in Buddhist cosmogony, the principle of reincarnation, and revelatory visions, Shabkar expresses his non-sectarian values through a variety of literary genres including oral sermons, song-poems, and life narrative. Shabkar's choice of literary media made his message accessible to a wide audience in premodern Tibet. Through this multivalent approach to conveying non-sectarianism in his life story, Shabkar paints a vivid and embodied picture of what it means to practically implement non-sectarian values into one's attitude, lifestyle, and spiritual practice, and makes a strong case to readers for the necessity of adopting a non-sectarian attitude.

Shabkar and the Nineteenth-Century “Non-Sectarian Movement”

One of the first questions that comes to mind when considering Shabkar's non-sectarian paradigm is the following: is there a link between Shabkar and the nineteenth-century “non-sectarian movement” in Kham? At present, we have yet to identify evidence of direct contact between Shabkar and the non-sectarian masters of nineteenth-century Kham. However, one event in the life of Dza Patrul suggests at least a slight—albeit symbolic—connection between Shabkar's activities and those of Jamgön Kongtrül and his colleagues. Near the end of Shabkar's life, his reputation had spread to Kham, a region that he had never visited despite his extensive travels across the Tibetan plateau. It is said that Patrul Rinpoche was so inspired by stories of Shabkar that he journeyed northwards to Amdo with the hopes of visiting him. Unfortunately, Shabkar died while Patrul Rinpoche was en route. An oral tradition depicts Patrul Rinpoche then prostrating himself one hundred times in the direction of Amdo.⁴ This incident implies a loose and informal connection between Shabkar in Amdo and the non-sectarian spiritual teachers centred in Dégé, Kham.

⁴ number for the Ricard translation so that readers can consult alternative translations and the passage's greater context.

Ricard, xv, xxv n. 6. Ricard notes that this was found in short biographies of Dza Patrul by Rdo grub bstan pa'i nyi ma (1865-1926) and Mkhan po kun bzang dpal ldan (1879-c.1940). He also notes that the oral tradition is recorded from Tulku Urgyen Rinpoche.

Furthermore, future research may potentially reveal a more concrete connection between Shabkar and the “non-sectarian movement” in Kham. Shabkar and members of the “non-sectarian movement” share a link to the teachings of the revered Nyingma treasure revealer Jikmé Lingpa (*Jigs med gling pa*, 1730-1798). Dza Patrul was the incarnation of the verbal aspect (*gsung gi sprul sku*) of Jikmé Lingpa and Jamyang Khyentsé was the incarnation of Jikmé Lingpa’s mind aspect (*thugs kyi sprul sku*).⁵ In turn, Jamyang Khyentsé was essentially inseparable from much of Jamgön Kongtrul’s work. Shabkar’s root lama, the Dharma King Ngagki Wangpo (*Chos rgyal Ngag gi dbang po*) was a lineage holder of Jikmé Lingpa’s *Longchen Nyinthig*.⁶ T. Yangdon Dondhup and others have also noted that the Dharma King was a close disciple of Do Drupchen (*rDo grub chen*), who was one of Jikmé Lingpa’s main disciples.⁷ Many important spiritual masters from the Rebgong *ngakpa* community to which Shabkar belonged were also direct disciples of Do Drupchen, some even travelling to Kham to receive teachings.⁸ Thus, through this shared spiritual forefather, there may be possible links between Shabkar and the great non-sectarian masters from Kham. At present though, it seems that Shabkar was working in isolation from his Kham counterparts.

Sectarianism in Shabkar’s Life

Sectarian tensions between the Nyingma and Geluk clearly existed in eighteenth and nineteenth-century Amdo. In a broader context, Drakgönpa Könchok Tenpa Rabgyé (*Brag mgon pa dKon mchog bstan pa rab rgyas*, 1801-1866) criticized Rigdzin Palden Tashi’s (*Rig ‘dzin dPal ldan bkra shis*, 1688-1743) religious orientation in the *Religious History of Amdo* (*mDo smad chos ‘byung*).⁹ With regards to the Rebgong area in particular, the conflict between Rigdzin Palden Tashi and the abbot of Rongwo (*Rong bo*) monastery, Khenchen Gendün Gyatso (1679-1765), is well-known, for example.¹⁰ Perhaps due to the Vajrayana Buddhist ideal of pure perception (*dag snang*),

⁵ Ricard, “Translator’s Introduction”, xxix n. 43.

⁶ Ricard, Appendix 4, 569.

⁷ Dhondup, 49.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 50.

⁹ *Ibid.* Drakgönpa Könchok Tenpa Rabgyé was a throne holder of the famous Gelukpa monastery Labrang in Amdo, while Rigdzin Palden Tashi was an important Nyingma *ngakpa* leader in Rebgong. For more information see Dhodup, 47.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

Shabkar does not document any significant moments of acute sectarian rivalry in his *Life*. However, a close reading of Shabkar's autobiography reveals definite sectarian tensions in nineteenth-century Tibet.

The most blatant example of sectarian conflict depicted in Shabkar's *Life* involves the Nyingmapas and their critics. While in Amdo, a Mongolian or Chinese follower from Gomé (sGo me) asks Shabkar why the Nyingmapa are subject to such frequent criticism.¹¹ In reply, Shabkar engages in a lengthy discourse admonishing such criticism, defending the veracity and purity of the Nyingma teachings. To support his argument, he includes lengthy quotations from Chennawa Lodrö Gyaltsen (sPyan snga ba Blo gros rgyal mtshan), Marpa, Milarepa, Kalden Gyatso, and others. This is a clear example of sectarian slander directed towards the Nyingmapa that Shabkar felt compelled to refute.

One event in particular gives us a glimpse into the subtlety of how sectarian biases manifested in traditional Tibetan religious environments. Once, after he had returned to Amdo, Shabkar sent monks to Labrang Tashikhyil (Bla brang bKra shis 'khyil) to make a general offering of money and tea to the monastic community there.¹² Unbeknownst to Shabkar, one of the monks in the party that he had sent was a *samaya*-breaker who had been expelled from Labrang monastery earlier. When the monks who had expelled him saw him, they refused to drink from the hand of the *samaya*-breaker and thus the monk left. Because Shabkar's monks were Nyingmapa and Labrang monastery is a Gelukpa institution, some people ignorant of the true circumstances of the situation misinterpreted the situation and thought that the monks refused to drink because of sectarian attitudes (*grub mtha'i phyogs ris byas*). The very fact that this misunderstanding even occurred indicates that there were some people during that period who took sectarian identity so seriously that they believed a monk would not receive an offering of tea from another monk solely based on sectarian affiliation.

¹¹ Zhabs dkar, snyigs dus (2003), vol. 2, 115.4-5: *yang nyin cig dad gtong blo gros che ba'i sgo me'i mtshams pa rig gsal sogs dad can slob ma singags 'chang mang pos/ gsang sngags snga 'gyur 'di la khas gtong mkhan mang po 'di ci las byung ba yin nam snyam/*.

¹² Zhabs dkar, snyigs dus (2003), vol. 1, 896.4-897.1: *bla brang bkra shis 'khyil la 'gyed phogs mang ja gya nom pa bcas grwa pa mang pos khyer bas/ nged tshang gi grwa pa sna tshogs pa yin gshis/ nang na bla brang gi tshogs nas phud btang ba'i dam nyams gcig yod pa de nged tshos ma shes par rgyus yod byed du btang bas/ de 'phud mkhan tshos mthong nas grwa pa dam nyams de'i lag nas 'thung tshul med ces gtong du ma bcug par phyir log byung/ 'ga' res de yin par ma shes par grub mtha'i phyogs ris byas [897] nas ma 'thung ba red zer/ gang yin yang dge ba'i kha 'gegs shig byung/ gtong ma thub bar 'gyod pa skyes/*. Ricard, trans., 507.

However, in most cases, sectarianism is not explicitly depicted, but rather, must be inferred from Shabkar's repeated admonitions *against* sectarian attitudes throughout his autobiography. For example, in his song of farewell to the people of Kyirong (sKyid rong), Shabkar tells the lamas there not to engage in sectarianism by dividing the Buddha's teachings into categories of "good" and "bad."¹³ To the general populace, he advises them to refrain from hostility (*ma sdang*) towards the tenet systems of others since the teachings of all tenet systems are the teachings of the Buddha.¹⁴ In Lhasa, Shabkar advises, "There is no holy Dharma that is not profound / People of Lhasa, do not be sectarian, there is no point."¹⁵ As part of his final testament, he advises disciples, "Disciples who after listening, reflecting, and meditating upon the teachings / Engage in sectarianism after several years / And belittle the Dharma of others./ Do not abandon the Dharma and accumulate negative karma."¹⁶ Through his frequent mention of the need to be non-sectarian, it is clear that Shabkar was trying to oppose existing sectarianism.

One of Shabkar's most critical indictments of sectarianism in his autobiography occurs in a song sung while on retreat on Mahādeva Island in Lake Kokonor. The song suggests that Tibetan Buddhists have fallen from a golden age when all the Buddha's teachings were once understood as non-contradictory. In this fallen age, Buddhists are engaged in sectarian bias and rivalry:

Due to the kindness of holy forefathers of the past,
In the snow ranges [of Tibet]
Many profound Dharma teachings spread.
However, Dharma practitioners,
Having grasped [the teachings] as contradictory – like hot and
cold,
Engage in sectarianism – attachment and aversion.

Some of the Holy Ones have said
That Madhyamaka, Dzokchen and Mahāmudrā
Are like sugar, molasses, and honey –

¹³ Zhabs dkar, snyigs dus (2003), vol. 1, 675.1-2: *bla ma rnam kyis chos la bzang ngan phyes/ grub mtha'i phyogs ris ma byed skyid grong ba/*. Ricard, trans., 386.

¹⁴ Zhabs dkar, snyigs dus (2003), vol. 1, 675.4: *thams cad nang pa sang rgyas bstan pa yin/ grub mtha' gzhan la ma sdang skyid grong pa/*. Ricard, trans., 386.

¹⁵ Zhabs dkar, snyigs dus (2003), vol. 1, 840.2-3: *dam pa'i chos la mi zab gang yang med// don med phyogs ris ma che lha sa ba//*. Ricard, trans., 478.

¹⁶ Zhabs dkar, snyigs dus (2003), vol. 1, 952.3-4: *thos bsam byas pa'i slob ma yis// lo 'ga'i 'phro nas phyogs ris byas// gzhan gyi chos la smad ra btang// chos spong las ngan ma gsog cig*. Ricard, trans., 534.

Each being as good as the other.

Thus, I have listened to and contemplated
On all the teachings without sectarian bias.
Sectarian practitioners with attachment and aversion
Please do not scold me.

When the sunlight of pure perception
Spreads on the lofty white snow mountains
[That are] Madhyamaka, Dzokchen and Mahāmudrā,
It is certain that a river of blessings will arise.¹⁷

Here, Shabkar notices that followers of Buddhism engage in sectarian rivalry, having “grasped [the teachings] as contradictory,” and criticizes them for doing so. The non-sectarian sentiment captured in this song permeates Shabkar’s entire autobiography.

The Foundations of Non-Sectarianism: Cosmogony, Reincarnation, and Revelatory Visions

Against this backdrop of existent sectarian attitudes, Shabkar promoted non-sectarianism fervently throughout his life. In his autobiography, Shabkar grounds his non-sectarian views in Buddhist cosmogony. Following the traditional verses of homage (*mchod brjod*) and a brief “setting of scene” (Skt. *nidāna*, Tib. *gleng gzhi*), the second volume of Shabkar’s *Life* continues with a section entitled “The History of the Turning of the Wheel of Dharma” (*Chos 'khor bskor ba'i lo rgyus*). Here, Shabkar describes the beginnings of the universe, the Buddha, and sentient beings using traditional images from the Dzokchen tradition. As this fifteen-folio-page section is too long to quote in this essay, I will cite an excerpt from the poem at the end of the section that summarizes its contents:

All that exists—the phenomena of *nirvāṇa* and *samsāra*—
without exception,

¹⁷ Zhabs dkar, snyigs dus (2003), vol. 1, 231.5-232.2: *gangs can khrod du sngon gyi// dam pa gong ma'i drin las// zab chos mang po dur kyang// chos pa phal gyis tsha grang// bzhin du 'gal bar bzung nas// sdang zhen phyogs ris byed pa// dam pa 'ga' res zhal nas// dbu ma rdzogs chen phyag chen// ka ra bu ram sbrang rtsil// gang gi gang [232] bzang red gsung// des na bdag gis kun la// phyogs med thos bsam byed pa'i// sdang zhen phyogs ris mkhan gyis// bdag la bka' bkyon ma gnang// dbu ma rdzogs chen phyag chen// lhun stug rab dkar gangs la// dag snang nyi 'od brdal na// byin rlabs chu rgyun 'byung nges//Ricard, trans., 138.*

Are like the rainbow in the sky, the moon in water,
 The reflection in a mirror.
 [They] seem to appear, but are empty; seem to be empty, but
 appear—how wondrous!

The non-dual, appearing, yet empty phenomena of *samsāra* and
nirvāṇa

Abide as one taste with the expanse
 Which is the ultimate truth, the *dharmadhātu* that is like the sky.
 In the same way, all the buddhas of the ten directions and
 three times

Abide in the state of the *dharmakāya* that is like the sky.
 For example, like putting water in water,
 Or like mixing sky with sky, they are inseparable and one taste.

From within the mixture, and never wavering,
 The *rūpakāya* suitable to those who are to be tamed emerges
 like a rainbow.

Turning the wheel of whatever Dharma is most suitable,
 It works for the benefit of beings equal to the sky—this is said.

In particular, our Teacher, the Compassionate One,
 Achieved buddhahood many immeasurable kalpas ago—
 This was perceived by his extraordinary disciples.
 Then, he emanated in a body appropriate for the beings to be
 tamed, and worked for the benefit of beings;
 For example, as Samantabhadra, Vajradhāra, Śākyamuni, and
 so forth,
 Buddhas, bodhisattvas, the scholar-siddhas of India and Tibet,
 and lamas, and so forth.

This is said not once, but again and again,
 In the *sūtras*, *tantras*, and treatises.
 Reflecting on this, we should train in faith, devotion, and pure
 perception,
 Making offerings, giving praise, and rendering service to all
 Dharma and people.¹⁸

¹⁸ Zhabs dkar, snyigs dus (2003), vol. 2, 35.3-36.3: : *snang srid 'khor 'das chos rnams ma lus pa// nam mkha'i 'ja' dang chu nang zla ba dang// me long nang gi gzugs brnyan ji bzhin du// snang bzhin stong la stong bzhin snang ba mtshar// snang stong gnyis med 'khor 'das chos rnams kyang// don dam chos dbyings nam mkha' lta bu yi// dbyings su ro gcig gnas pa de bzhin du// phyogs bcu dus gsung sangs rgyas thams cad kyang// chos sku nam mkha' lta bu'i ngang nyid du// dper na chu la chu bzhag nam mkha' la// nam mkha' 'dres bzhin dbyer med ro gcig tu// 'dres pa'i ngang las nam yang ma g.yos bzhin//*

In addition to depicting the ultimate nature of the universe, this passage also puts forth the idea that all buddhas, bodhisattvas, scholar-siddhas, and spiritual teachers are manifestations of the primordial Buddha inseparable from the *dharmadhātu*. It places emphasis upon the common origin of all spiritual guides, the ultimately trivial nature of sectarian divisions, and the importance of training in pure perception towards all teachings and individuals. Most significantly, Shabkar roots these statements in Buddhist cosmogony. Similarly, at another point in his autobiography, he writes:

Thus, if one has belief, one will understand the many buddhas of the ten directions and three times, the bodhisattvas, the scholar-siddhas of India and Tibet, the lamas, and spiritual friends to be emanations of the Teacher, the Buddha, the Bhagavan. Having understood that, one will train in faith and pure perception towards all Dharma and people, making offerings, giving praise, and being of service. If one does that and simultaneously requests the blessings of the Victor and Sons, one's mental continuum will naturally ripen and be liberated.¹⁹

In this passage, Shabkar presents Buddhist cosmogony, a non-sectarian outlook, and spiritual enlightenment as being intimately linked. By grounding the idea of pure perception and non-sectarianism in Buddhist cosmogony and soteriology, Shabkar presents a strong argument for the importance of non-sectarian attitudes.

Shabkar also implicitly argues for the importance of a non-sectarian outlook in his discussion of his past incarnations. Prior to leaving central Tibet for Amdo, Shabkar's patroness Drölma Ky-

gang 'dul gzugs sku 'ja' tshon bzhin du shar// gang 'tsham chos kyi 'khor lo rab bskor nas// mkha' mnyam 'gro ba yongs kyi don mdzad gsungs// khyad [36] bar bdag cag ston pa thugs rje can// thun mong ma yin gdul bya'i snang ngo ru// dpag med bskal pa'i sngon nas sangs rgyas te// kun bzang rdo rje 'chang dang thub dbang sogs// sangs rgyas byang sems rgya bod mkhas grub dang// bla ma la sogs gang 'dul sku ru sprul// 'gro don mdzad ces mdo rgyud bstan bcos nas// lan cig ma yin yang yang gsungs tshul rnams// bsams nas chos dang gang zag thams cad la// dad gus dag snang sbiyongs bzhin mchod bstod bkur//. A statement similar to this, but in brief, can also be found in Zhabs dkar, snyigs dus (2003), vol. 1, 18.1: deng sang snyigs ma'i dus 'dir gang la gang 'dul gyi bla ma dge ba'i bshes gnyen du ma'i sku ru sprul nas 'gro ba'i don mdzad par gsungs te/. Ricard trans., 8.

¹⁹ Zhabs dkar, snyigs dus (2003), vol. 2, 28.3-6: des na yid ches par byas nal phyogs bcu dus gsum gyi sangs rgyas dang byang chub sems dpa' rgya bod kyi mkhas grub/ bla ma dge ba'i bshes gnyen ji snyed cig mchis pa rnams/ bdag cag gi ston pa sangs rgyas bcom ldan 'das kyi rnam 'phrul du go nas/ chos dang gang zag yongs la dad gus dag snang sbiyongs bzhin mchod bstod bkur na/ rgyal ba sras bcas kyi byin rlabs dus gcig la zhus nas/ rgyud rang bzhin shugs kyis smin cing grol bar 'gyur ro.

idzom (sGroL ma skyid 'dzom) requests that he sing a supplication prayer to his past incarnations. Shabkar sings:

In the time of the Buddha he was the Noble Avalokiteśvara.
 In India he was Mañjuśrīmitra.
 In central Tibet, he was Drenpa Namkha.
 In the Kagyu teachings, he was Milarepa himself.
 At the time of the Kadampa, he was the glorious Gyalsé Thogme.
 In the Ganden teachings, he was the Lord Lodrö Gyeltshan.
 In response to beings non-sectarian, he manifested as Tangtong Gyelpo.
 Nowadays, the Protector of Beings Shabkarpa . . .²⁰

As in his present life, Shabkar refused to limit himself to a single sect in his multiple past incarnations. In this supplication prayer, he tells us that in previous lives he was: Avalokiteśvara during the Buddha's time, Mañjuśrīmitra in India, Padmasambhava's disciple Drenpa Namkha in eighth-century Tibet, Milarepa of the Kagyu sect, Gyalsé Thogme of the Kadampa sect, Lodrö Gyeltshan of the Ganden sect, and the non-sectarian figure Tangtong Gyalpo. This simple supplication prayer to Shabkar emphasizes to us the possibility of spiritual masters reincarnating across sectarian lines. Thus, if spiritual masters can indeed reincarnate across sectarian lines, the boundaries that separate the different sects in Tibetan Buddhism can no longer be viewed as absolute. Following this line of logic, it would be unwise to overly emphasize sectarian affiliation in the present life because an individual's identity is not bound by the confines of a single life, but rather, encompasses multiple lives.

Finally, the most powerful argument for non-sectarianism in Shabkar's autobiography occurs in the form of a dream-vision. After deciding to compose the *Emanated Scripture of Orgyan* (*O rgyan glegs 'bam*), Shabkar prays to his spiritual forefathers. At dawn, Padmasambhava appears to him in a vision surrounded by a retinue of innumerable buddhas. Padmasambhava reveals to him that he had actually revealed himself to Shabkar numerous times in the past, but in different forms. First, he appeared as Tsongkhapa (Tsong kha pa) on Mahādeva Island to give him teachings on the *Stages of the Path* (*lam rim*). Then, he appeared as Atiśa at Tashi Nyamgaling (bKra shis

²⁰ Zhabs dkar, snyigs dus (2003), vol. 1, 826.5.-6: *sangs rgyas dus su 'phags pa spyan ras gzigs// rgya gar yul du 'jam dpal bshes gnyen mchog/ bod yul dbus su dran pa nam mkhar gyur// bka' brgyud bstan la mi la ras pa dngos// bka' gdams dus su rgyal sras thogs med dpal// dga' ldan bstan la blo gros rgyal mtshan rje// ris med 'gro ngor thang stong rgyal por sprul// da lta'i dus 'dir 'gro ngor zhabs dkar ba//*. Ricard, trans. 471.

nyam dga' gling) in the mountain retreat by the Machu river to bestow upon Shabkar the empowerment of the *Sixteen Spheres* (*thig le bcu drug gi ting nge 'dzin gyi dbang*) and teachings on the *Collected Sayings of the Kadampas* (*bKa' gdams glegs bam*). This final time, Padmasambhava reveals that he appears in his "true form" (*zhal dngos su bstan*) and bestows upon Shabkar the "teachings in actuality" (*chos dngos su gnang*).²¹ Although this could be interpreted as a statement of Padmasambhava's teachings being more ultimate than Tsongkhapa's or Atiá's, such a reading would not be in accord with Shabkar's general attitude of ecumenism throughout his life and works. Considering this incident from the lens of Shabkar's non-sectarian attitude, it becomes a statement about the validity of all the different tenet systems (*grub mtha'*) in Tibetan Buddhism: all the different sects of Tibetan Buddhism lead back to the teachings of Padmasambhava and by extension to the historical Buddha. This episode represents a powerful statement of non-sectarianism based upon a revelatory vision, which is a valid form of knowledge in traditional Tibetan Buddhist culture.

Communicating Non-Sectarianism: Oral Sermons, Song-Poems, and Life Narrative

With his argument for the importance of non-sectarianism rooted firmly in Buddhist cosmogony, reincarnation, and revelatory visions, Shabkar expresses his non-sectarian views through a variety of genres: oral sermons, song-poems, and life narrative. Since the majority

²¹ Zhabs dkar, snyigs dus (2003), vol. 2, 363.6-365.2: *o rgyan gyi gu ru padma 'byung gnas la* [364] *'khor phyogs bcu'i sangs rgyas dang byang chub sems dpa' bgrangs las 'das pa'i tshogs kyis bskor ba'i zhal gzigs pa'i snang shar/ de dag rnam las dngos su 'byor ba dang yid kyis sprul pa'i mchod pa rgya chen po phul nas rab tu gus pas thal mo sbyar te/ bdag gis chung nas bzung ste dus da bar du gsol ba btabs kyang lha zhal da bar du mi gzigs pa thugs rje re chung zhus pas/ zhal 'dzum pa dang bcas te dgyes bzhin bka' bstal ba/ kye rigs kyi bu nyon cig/ ngas sngon khyod kyi bstan 'gro'i don chen 'grub pa'i rten 'brel du/ thog mar mtsho snying nas rje rin po che'i rnam par bstan nas rgyud byin gyis brlabs te lam rim gnang/ de'i rjes su rma' gram ri khrod bbra shis nyams dga' gling na 'dug dus jo bo rje'i rnam par bstan nas/ thugs ka'i sgo phyes thig le bcu drug gi ting nge 'dzin gyi dbang bskur bka' gdams glegs bam gnang/ da ni zhal dngos su bstan nas chos dngos su gnang ba yin pas dga' bar mdzod cig/ spyir rgyal ba thams cad ye shes kyi klong du ro gcig cing/ sgos su nged rnam pa gsum thugs rgyud gcig tshul khyod kyiis sngar shes pa de ka ltar yin la/ khyad par phyogs bcu'i rgyal ba sras dang bcas pa ma lus [365] pa rang gi drin can rtsa ba'i bla ma'i rnam 'phrul du go dgos shing/ rtsa ba'i bla ma yang rang gi sems kyi rnam rol/ sems nyid kyi ngo bo yang gdod nas stong pa nam mkha' bzhin 'dus ma byas shing lhun gyis grub pa/ brtan g.yo kun la khyab pal/ 'khor 'das kyi 'char gzhir gyur pa stong gsal chos sku ru ngo shes chos kyi gting go ba yin gsungs//.*

of Shabkar's original audience consisted of the largely illiterate Tibetan populace, his use of multiple literary modes to convey his message was important in that it allowed for maximum comprehension and receptivity by a large and wide audience. Shabkar's methods for expressing his ideas resonates with the fundamental place of song, verse, oral literature, and story-telling in Tibetan culture, making his chosen media highly efficacious.

Oral Sermons

The second volume of Shabkar's *Life* contains two sermons devoted to the topic of non-sectarianism. The impression gleaned from these two prose sermons is that Shabkar's understanding of non-sectarianism is vast in scope, encompassing religious traditions other than Buddhism. He also holds the slightly more radical view that *all* religions are manifestations of the buddhas. To a mixed group of Bönpos, Buddhists, Ngakpas, Chinese, Tibetans, and Mongols, Shabkar says, "Thus, one should know all the tenets of the religions of Buddhism and non-Buddhism—for example, other religions, Bönpos, the Chan Buddhists, the Nyingma, the Kagyus, the Sakya, the Geluks, and so forth—to be the emanations of the buddhas and bodhisattvas."²² Shabkar uses a variety of sources to support this point of view, quoting from the *Tantra of the Enlightenment of Mahāvairocana*, as well as from the writing of Drukpa Kunlek ('Brug pa kun legs), Gyelbu Lodröpel (rGyal bu Blo gros 'phel), Chennigawa (sPyan nga ba), Lama Zhang, Milarepa, and Götsangpa (rGod tshang ba). In particular, the *Tantra of the Enlightenment of Mahāvairocana* is used to buttress the claim that there were two aspects to the teachings of the Buddha: "the lower vehicle of the heretics, and the supreme vehicle of the buddhas."²³ Thus, for Shabkar, all religions are

²² Zhabs dkar, snyigs dus (2003), vol. 2,105.5: 105.5: yang nyin cig ban bon sngags gsum/ rgya bod sogs gsum sogs kyi mi sna mang po 'tshogs pa'i dus shig la/; 108.2.-3: des na phyi rol pa/ bon po/ hwa shang/ rnying ma/ bka' brgyud pa/ sa sky/a/ dge ldan pa sogs phyi nang gi chos lugs grub mtha' thams cad thub dbang sras bcas kyi rnam 'phrul du shes par byas/.

²³ Zhabs dkar, snyigs dus (2003), vol. 2, 105.6-108.1: 'o bdag bcag gi ston pa thabs mkhas la thugs rje che ba de nyid kyiis mkha' mnyam gyi sems can thams cad mngon mtho lha mi'i go 'phang dang/ mthar thug nges legs thar pa dang thams cad mkhyen pa [106] sangs rgyas kyi go 'phang thob par bya ba'i phyir/ gang 'dul gyi sku'i bkod pa cir yang bstan nas gang 'tshams kyi chos ston pa yin te/ rnam snang mngon byang las/ nga yi bstan pa rnam gnyis te/ dman pa mu stegs theg pa dang/ mchog gyur sangs rgyas theg pa'o// zhes gsungs/ sngon sangs rgyas kyi rang gi bstan pa'i che ba 'byin phyir/ rgyal po rkang pa brgyad pa'i sras su sku'i skye ba bzhes pa'i tshul bstan nas/ mu stegs pa'i gzhung lugs thams cad gsungs pa yin skad/ des na dad gus dag snang byed pa ma gtogs smad cing spangs mi rung stel/ rnam snang mngon byang las/ mu stegs can la smod mi bya// mu stegs can la smad gyur na// rnam par snang mdzad ring ba'i rgyu// spyan snga bas/ mu stegs lam gyi gtso bo rnams kyang/ sangs rgyas byang sems kyi

considered to be the enlightened activities of the buddhas. By conceiving of all sects within and outside of Buddhism as ultimately originating from the same source, it compels individuals to respect all sects and religions.

Shabkar does not leave this prose teaching to the abstract realm of ideas and scriptural citation. The very end of his sermon incorporates the concept of non-sectarianism into the context of his own life. Shabkar attempts to convince his audience about the benefits of adopting a non-sectarian attitude by using his own life as exemplar:

In that way, having abandoned all the activities of this life since youth, I wandered happily through directionless kingdoms and through unfixed mountain ranges. At that time, having taken the lowly position of a beggar, I respected all individuals. I went about training with faith, devotion, and pure perception in whatever Buddhist and non-Buddhist tenet systems. Because of this, wherever I went, many beings made offerings, praised, and served me, and I accomplished benefit for myself and others. Thus, you should do as I did, and it will be good.²⁴

bstan pa yin pas smod par mi bya gsungs/ phyi nang gi chos gang la chags sdang med pa ni/ bstan pa 'dzin pa'i mchog yin tel/ yum las/ gang dag sangs rgyas kyi chos rnams la rjes su chags pa yang med la/ mu stegs can gyi chos la khong khro ba ma mchis pa de dag gis chos yongs su 'dzin pa'o// gang dag chos thams cad la dbang bsgyur yang/ chos dang chos ma lags pa'i 'du shes la mi spyod pa de dag gis dam pa [107] pa'i chos yongs su 'dzin pa'o// zhes gsungs/ yang ston pa sangs rgyas kyis bon gyi ston pa gshen rab sogs su sprul nas bon gyi gzhung phul cher bstan pa yin skad/ 'brug pa kun legs kyis/ gshen lha 'dod dkar spyan ras gzigs dbang yin// gtsang ma'i bon dang chos la khyad par med// gsungs/ rgyal bu blo gros 'phel gyis/ rgya gar nang ba'i blo ngo na/ nga ni mgon po spyan ras gzigs// blo gros 'phel zhes 'bod par byed// bon po gshen lha 'od dkar zhes// da lta lcags 'bar bu ru 'bod// phyi pa dbang phyug chen po zhes// chos kyang de dang mtshungs par smra/ zhes dang/ spyan snga bas/ bon po'ng nang pa'i khyad chos rnams khas lan par 'dug pas nang pa la the bar mgon no gsungs/ zhang g.yu brag 'gro mgon gyis/ 'o skol bon la'ng re chod mi bgyi'o zhes gsungs/ des na bon la'ng dad gus dag snang byed pa ma gtogs khas gtan nas gtong bar mi bya'o// gal te grub mtha' gzhān la smad na mi des bslab tshad tshul 'pho ba yin pas/ nam yang thar pa thob mi srid del rje mi la ras pa'i zhal nas/ mkhas btsun thams cad thugs mthun par/ pho [108] rus chags sdang byed pa rnams// bslab tshad chu la 'bob yin// chos la dkar nag med pa la// grub mtha'i kha 'dzin chos la smod// thar pa'i 'ju thog chad pa yin// gsungs so/.

²⁴ Zhabs dkar, snyigs dus (2003), vol. 2, 108.6-109.3: *ngas kyang gzhon nu'i dus nas tshe 'di'i bya ba thams cad blos btang nas phyogs med kyi rgyal khams gang bzang dang/ nges med kyi ri [109] khrod nyams dga' rnams 'grims dus/ sprang po bzhin dman sa bzung nas thams cad spyi bor khurl/ phyi nang gi grub mtha' gang la'ng dad gus dag snang sbyongs bzhin song bas/ gang du song kyang de dag thams cad kyis nga la yang mchod bstod bkur nas rang gzhān gyi don thams cad 'grub pa byung/ des na khyed rnams kyis kyang de bzhin gyis dang bzang gi zhes bshad pas/*.

The disciples seem convinced, and in reply to Shabkar's teachings, they say, "It is wondrous that even toward Buddhist and non-Buddhist tenet systems you have no sectarian bias. We pray that it will turn out like this for us also."²⁵ By situating non-sectarian ideals in the context of a life lived, Shabkar demonstrates how a potentially abstract idea can become a lived reality.

The second non-sectarian sermon occurs when Shabkar gives advice in response to a request from Lama Zhenpen Özer (gZhan phan 'od zer) of Tsakho (Tsha kho), whom Shabkar describes as an individual without sectarian bias (*chos la phyogs ris med pa*). Shabkar proceeds to give a general history of Buddhism in India and Tibet, focusing on how the teachings of a single teacher split into many different sects. Shabkar emphasizes, "All of these branches of approximately eighteen different tenet systems proliferated from the teachings of the Buddha as does two butter lamp flames splitting from a single one."²⁶ Emphasizing the fact that all the different tenet systems originated from a single teacher – the Buddha – Shabkar encourages people to "not have even a hair's worth of wrong views, doubts, jealousy, competitiveness, but rather, to have faith, devotion, and pure perception towards them all."²⁷ The central tenor of this sermon is very similar to the previous one in that all the different sects of Buddhism are traced to a single source – the Buddha himself. However, it differs from the previous sermon in that it focuses exclusively on Buddhism. It is notable that after saying this sermon in prose, Shabkar repeats it in verse form. This song-poem begins as follows: "I supplicate to the spiritual friends/ Who do not adopt sectarian attitudes towards the Dharma sects old and new./ Please bless in order to pacify the attachment to friend and enemy/ Regarding all the tenet systems that spread in Tibet."²⁸

²⁵ Zhabs dkar, snyigs dus (2003), vol. 2, 109.3.-4: *de kun gyis khyed phyi nang gi grub mtha' gang la'ng phyogs ris med pa ngo mtshar che/ nged rnams kyis kyang de ltar yongs pa'i smon lam 'debs zhes.*

²⁶ Zhabs dkar, snyigs dus (2003), vol. 2, 412.5.-6: *grub mtha' mi 'dra ba bco brgyad tsam zhig gyes pa'di thams cad/ sangs rgyas kyi bsttan pa las mar me gcig las gnyis mched pas.*

²⁷ Zhabs dkar, snyigs dus (2003), vol. 2, 412.6-413.1: *phan bde'i 'byung gnas sangs rgyas kyi bsttan pa rin po che sgo sna tshogs nas phyogs dus gnas skabs kun tu dar zhing rgyas par byung ba la/ log lta the [413] tshom phrag dog 'gran sems sog sru tsam yang mi byed par thams cad la dad gus dag snang sbyangs nas/*.

²⁸ Zhabs dkar, snyigs dus (2003), vol. 2, 413.2.-3: *gsar rnying chos la phyogs ris ma mchis pa'i// dge ba'i bshes gnyen rnams la gsol ba 'debs// bod du dar ba'i grub mtha' thams cad kyil// nye ring chags sdang zhi bar byin gyis rlobs//*.

A Song-Poem

One of Shabkar's clearest articulations of his non-sectarian views in his *Life* occurs in one of his song-poems. In response to a request for advice from a group of disciples and patrons from Shartsang (Shartshang), Shabkar sings the following song that promotes a non-sectarian approach to Buddhism:

[I] pay homage to the Lord of the Teachings—the Teacher-Buddha,
 And to the holder of the teachings—the scholar-siddhas of India and Tibet.
 Please grant your blessings so that the essence of the teachings—
 Madhyamaka, Dzokchen, and Mahāmudrā—spreads and increases.

Dzokchen, where *samsāra* [and] *nirvāṇa* are perfected in the mind,
 Mahāmudrā, that is free from abandoning and adopting existence and liberation,
 Madhyamaka, that is free from the eight extremes of conceptual elaborations –
 These three views have been famous in Tibet since before.

It is said that the heart son of Milarepa, Rechung Dorjedrak
 Did not have sectarian bias [towards] the view of Dzokchen,
 Did not negate nor prove the views of Mahāmudrā,
 And did not identify the view of great Madhyamaka.²⁹

It is said that the Dharma Lord Tsangwa Gyaré (gTsang ba rgya ras)
 Bathed in the assurance of the view of Dzokchen,
 Saw the essence of the view of Mahāmudrā,
 And slept within the view of great Madhyamaka.

It is said that the great *pāṇḍita* Losang Chögyan (Blo bzang chos rgyan)
 Was a *yogin* with knowledge and experience

²⁹ This stanza is getting at the idea that the enlightened experience cannot and should not be described in words. As soon as one can “identify” or “establish” (*ngos bzung*) it, it is evidence that one has not truly realized it. I would like to express my gratitude to V. Lama Tashi Dondup for providing this illuminating view on this poem.

In all views such as Madhyamaka, Dzokchen, Mahāmudrā—
the three.

If he analyzed them, his thoughts would fall into one.

Thus, I trained in pure perception and practiced whatever I
could of

Madhyamaka, Dzokchen, and Mahāmudrā.

May subsequent generations also train in pure perception
And from practicing whichever attain buddhahood!³⁰

In this song, Shabkar suggests that different tenet systems – Madhyamaka, Dzokchen, and Mahāmudrā – lead to the same truth.³¹ For this reason, individuals should practice pure perception towards all sects and can practice whichever tenet system of Buddhism that they feel the most affinity towards. This idea draws from the earlier idea of all the different tenet systems originating from the single flame of the Buddha himself.

Life Narrative: Conveying a Non-Sectarian Life

The primary medium through which Shabkar conveys non-sectarianism in his *Life* is through his own life story. In this way, the

³⁰ Zhabs dkar, snyigs dus (2003), vol. 2, 236.3-237.3: *bstan pa'i bdag po ston pa sangs rgyas dang// bstan 'dzin rgya bod mkhas grub yongs la 'dus// bstan pa'i snying po dbu rdzogs phyag gsum gyi// bstan pa dar zhing rgyas par byin gyis rlabs// 'khor 'das sems su rdzogs pa'i rdzogs chen dang// srid zhi'i spang blang bral ba'i phyag chen dang// spros pa'i mtha' brgyad bral ba'i dbu ma ste// lta ba 'di gsum sngon nas bod 'dir grags// mi la'i thugs sras ras chung rdor grags kyis// rdzogs pa chen po'i lta ba phyogs ris med// phyag rgya chen po'i lta ba dgag sgrub med// dbu ma chen mo'i lta ba ngos bzung med// zhes gsungs chos rje gtsang pa rgya ras kyis// rdzogs pa chen po'i lta [237] ba'i phu thag khrus// phyag rgya chen po'i lta ba'i ngo bo mthong// dbu ma chen mo'i lta ba'i ngang du nyal// zhes gsungs pan chen blo bzang chos rgyan gyis// dbu rdzogs phyag gsum la sogs lta ba kun// mkhas pa nyams myong can gyi rnal 'byor pas// dpyad na dgongs pa gcig tu 'bab ces gsungs// de phyir bdag gis dbu rdzogs phyag gsum chos// dag snang sbyongs bzhin gang nus nyams su blangs// phyi rabs rnams kyang dag snang sbyongs bzhin du// gang la'ng nyams len byas nas 'tshang rgya shog.*

³¹ I would like to thank Professor Kurtis Schaeffer for pointing out how the ideas in this song echo the “Aspiration for Mahāmudra, the True Meaning” by the Third Karmapa Rangchung Dorjé (1284-1339). This translation is quoted from the translation by Erik Pema Kunsang, 13-14: “Being free from mental fabrication, it is Mahāmudra./ Devoid of extremes, it is the Great Middle Way./ It is also called Dzokchen, the embodiment of all./ May we attain the confidence of realizing all by knowing one nature.” This is the original Tibetan text: “yid byed bral ba 'di ni phyag rgya che/ mtha' dang bral ba dbu ma chen po yin/ 'di ni kun 'dus rdzogs chen zhes kyang bya/ gcig shes kun don rtogs pa'i gdengs thob shog.” Khra 'gu rin po che, Khra 'gu bkra shis, 2008.

reader comes to understand how non-sectarian views might play out in an actual life lived. Although Shabkar sought spiritual connections with spiritual masters from a variety of sects by requesting empowerments, transmissions, and teachings, his main meditative training was mainly in the Nyingma and Kagyu traditions. Significantly though, he received his monastic vows from a renowned Gelukpa master, and intensely studied many texts associated with the Gelukpa sect. It is also clear that in his teaching and compositions, Shabkar demonstrates an uncanny familiarity with the tenet systems of a variety of Tibetan Buddhist sects. The following section will highlight the major events in Shabkar's non-sectarian spiritual journey as conveyed through the life narrative of his autobiography.

Shabkar's early religious training was predominantly Nyingma, but he also developed close connections with prominent Geluk spiritual masters. He spent much of his childhood with the *ngakpa* community of Zhopong (Zho 'ong la kha) in the Rebgong valley of Amdo. In particular, three Nyingma teachers who taught in the Rebgong area were particularly influential in Shabkar's early spiritual training: Jampel Dorjé Rinpoche ('Jam dpal rdo rje rin po che), Jamyang Gyatso Rinpoche ('Jam dbyangs rgya mtsho rin po che) and Gyel Khenchen Rinpoche.³² Interestingly, Shabkar received monastic ordination from a renowned Geluk master, Arik Geshé (A rig dge bshes 'Jam dpal dge legs rgyal mtshan), who ordained him alongside Kuzhog Lhaka Trulku (sKu gzhogs Lha ka sprul sku).³³

Shabkar completed his main spiritual training under the Dharma King of Urgeh, Ngagki Wangpo (Ngag gi dbang po). Despite that the Dharma King was the lineage holder of *Hayagrīva and Vārahi: the Wish-fulfilling Jewel* (*rta phag yid bzhin nor bu*) revealed by Kunzang Dechen Gyelpo (Kun bzang bde chen rgyal po) of the Nyingma tradition, he exhibited a remarkably non-sectarian approach to Buddhist learning. Before bestowing upon Shabkar the main practice of *Hayagrīva and Vārahi: the Wish-fulfilling Jewel*, the Dharma King instructs Shabkar to practice mind training (*blo sbyong*) using

³² Zhabs dkar, snyigs dus (2003), vol. 1, 36.6, 39.2, 55.3. Ricard, trans., 20-21.

³³ Zhabs dkar, snyigs dus (2003), vol. 1, 56.5-57.2: *de nas lcags mo bya'i lo snron zla'i dkar phyogs kyi tshes brgyad kyi nyin snga dro'i cha la/ shing rta'i srol 'byed 'phags mchog klu sgrub kyi sprul pa/ mkhas btsun bzang gsum gyi yon tan kun dang ldan pa'i gnas brtan 'dul ba 'dzin pa chen po a rig dge bshes rin po che mtshan brjod par dka' ba byams pa dge legs rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po'i zhal snga nas kyi mkhan po dang/ bstan pa'i gsal byed dam pa rgyal mkhan chen dge [57] 'dun bstan pa'i nyi ma rin po ches gsang ston mdzad de/ dge 'dun grangs tshang ba'i dbus su/ la kha sprul sku rin po che la sogs pa'i rab byung bsnyen rdzogs pa mang po dang lhan du/ bstan pa'i go rim bzhin rab byung dge tshul bsnyen rdzogs kyi sdom pa yang dag par nom/ ming la byams pa chos dar du btags/ mkhan po'i zhal nas/ bstan 'gro la phan thogs chen po yong gsung thugs dgyes par mdzad do/. Ricard, trans. 33.*

Tsongkhapa's *Stages of the Path* (*Lam rim chen mo*), a text associated with the Gelukpa sect.³⁴ Shabkar engages in diligent study and contemplation of this text for three months before he is given his first empowerment, transmission, and instructions. In addition to studying under the Dharma King, Shabkar also receives empowerments, transmissions, and instructions from visiting lamas of different sectarian affiliations such as from the Chö (*gcod*) practitioner Könchok Chöpel (dKon mchog chos 'phel) and the third Jamyang Zhépa incarnation of Labrang monastery, one of the six great Geluk monasteries of greater Tibet.³⁵ In his description of his main spiritual teacher, Shabkar writes that the Dharma King filled him with all the teachings that he had – Nyingma and Sarma.³⁶

After this initial period of study under the Dharma King, Shabkar is sent off to Tsézhung (*rTse gzhung*) hermitage to meditate. This hermitage was where the great Kagyu meditator Karma Tsewang Rigdzin (Karma Tshe dbang rig 'dzin) once practiced,³⁷ another indication of the Dharma King's non-sectarian attitudes. Within a three-year period, Shabkar manages to complete the preliminary practices in addition to the advanced practices of Trekchö (*khregs chod*) and Thögal (*thod rgal*) of the Nyingma Dzokchen tradition.³⁸ He spends

³⁴ Zhabs dkar, snyigs dus (2003), vol. 1, 70.5-71.1: *phyi nyin nyi dros tsam la rje bdag nyid chen po'i legs bshad sa gsum gyi sgron me lta bu'i byang chub lam rim chen mo mchan bu gsum can gyi glegs bam zhig gsos dpon bzang po la 'khyer du bcug nas byong/ khyod kyis chos zhig dran nas 'ong ba la nga dga' ba yin/ nges 'byung sad sud re tsam skyes nas chos byas rung rjes nas blo 'gyur ldog che/ da khyod [71] kyis byang chub lam gyi rim pa 'di la blo sbiyong ba 'di gal che/. Ricard, trans., 43.*

³⁵ Zhabs dkar, snyigs dus (2003), vol. 1, 75.5-76.1: *de'i skabs su gcod yul ba chen po dkon mchog chos 'phel gyi mdun nas/ gcod nam mkha' sgo 'byed kyi dbang dang/ khros nag lha luga'i dbang/ gcod gdan thog gcig ma sogs gcod kyi lung mang po dang/ stag tshang phur pa'i chos tshan las rdor sems rigs luga rgyan gcig la brten pa'i gtum mo dang/ thabs lam bde stong gi [76] khrid bcas thob/. Ricard, trans., 46.*

³⁶ Zhabs dkar, snyigs dus (2003), vol. 1, 75.5: *khong gi thugs kyi sras dam par dgongs nas/ gsar rnying gi gdams pa gang yod bum pa gang byo'i tshul du gnang ba rnam lhag lus med par thob pa byung/. Ricard, trans., 46.*

³⁷ Zhabs dkar, snyigs dus (2003), vol. 1, 79.2: *nyin gcig bka' drin mtshungs med chos rgyal rin po che'i zhal nas/ da khyod kyis sgrub pa byed pa la/ sngon grub thob karma' tshe dbang rig 'dzin zhes bya ba gnam gyi thog babs pa 'thu ba'i nang du len pa sogs grub rtags mang po bstan nas/. Ricard, trans., 49.*

³⁸ Zhabs dkar, snyigs dus (2003), vol. 1, 81.5-82.5: *bde ba'i stan la lus rnam snang chos bdun byas/ sems rnal du phab/ dge sems khyad par can gyi ngang nas thog mar skyabs 'gro dang/ sems bskyed/ yig brgyal/ maNDal/ bla ma'i rnal 'byor/ phyag 'bum rnames sngon du btang nas/ tshogs rdzogs sgrub pa dag pa'i rtags ci rigs pa rmi lam du byung/ dngos gzhi byang chub lam gyi rim pa'i lus yongs su rdzogs pa [82] la 'bad pa chen pos yang yang sbyangs pas nges 'byung dang byang chub kyi sems yang dag pa'i lta ba'i gzhi zin ba byung/ de nas rta phag yid bzhin nor bu'i bskyed rim bsgoms/ sngags kyi bsnyen ba grangs tshad las lhag btang bas/ tha mal gyi snang zhen dag/ gang snang lha skur shar/ gter srung 'khor ba'i rtags mtshan sna tshogs pa byung/de nas rdzogs rim rtsa thig rlung gsum gyi nyams len la sbyangs pas gtum mo'i bde drod 'bar/ ras rkyang*

the next few years in meditative retreat in various hermitages in the Amdo region, such as Tigress Fortress (sTag mo rdzong), Géto (Ge tho), and Lhanyan Götsé (Lha gnyan rgod rtse). Around the year 1806, Shabkar leaves the Dharma King due to jealous members of his teacher's entourage,³⁹ and spends most of his time in solitary retreat, practicing the teachings that he had received from his root lama. While in retreat on Mahādeva Island in Lake Kokonor in Amdo, Shabkar received transmissions of texts of the Kadampa and Geluk traditions from Tenzin Nyima Rinpoche (bsTan 'dzin nyi ma rin po che).⁴⁰ From Kukyé Rinpoche (sKu skyes rin po che) and Champa Daö Rinpoche (Byams pa Zla 'od rin po che), he received transmissions of Tsongkhapa's *Stages of the Path*.⁴¹

Around the year 1810, Shabkar was devastated by news of the death of his mother, and decided to embark on a lengthy pilgrimage to central Tibet. He would also end up travelling to western Tibet and Nepal, and the trip would last a total of eighteen years. In central Tibet, Shabkar received transmissions of various classic Geluk texts from important figures such as the Seventh Panchen Lama, the Ganden throne holder (Ngag dbang snyan grags rin po che), Demo Rinpoche, Tsechokling Yongdzin Paṇḍita Kachen Yeshé Gyaltzen (Tshe mchog gling Yongs 'dzin paṇḍita bka' chen Ye shes rgyal mtshan), Trichen Lozang Tenpa Rabgyé (Khri chen Blo bzang bstan

thub pa byung/ rlung sems dbu mar zhugs dbu ma'i rtsa mdud grol nas/ bde stong gi nyams rgyun chad med pa byung/ khyad par rdzogs chen gyi thun mongs ma yin pa'i sngon 'gro la zla ba mang por sbyangs/ khregs chod thod rgal kho na la lo gsun tsam sbyangs pas khregs chod kyi gnas lugs rtogs/ thod rgal gyi nyams snang sna tshogs pa shan pa'i tshe/ nyin gcig chos rgyal rin po che'i zhabs drung du song nas/ nyams len byas tshul dang nyams snang 'char tshul rnams rim pa bzhin du zhus pas/ khong gi thugs rab tu dgyes pas zhal ras bco lnga'i bzla ba lta bu de bstan nas/. Ricard, trans., 50.

³⁹ Zhabs dkar, snyigs dus (2003), vol. 1, 151.4.-5: blon po 'ga' res ngas ri khrod la phebs zhus pa yin snyam/ nga la khyed kyis dpon tshang rin po che ri khrod la phebs zhes ma zhu/ khong tsho snying mi rje'm zer/ ngas sngar de 'dra gtan nas ma zhus byas rung khong tsho yid ma ches par da dung khyod la gsal mod zer/ der nga'i sems la dang yun ring bsdad na mi bzang bar 'dug snyam pa byung/. Ricard, trans., 95.

⁴⁰ Zhabs dkar, snyigs dus (2003), vol. 1, 191.5.-192.1: sku mdun nas bka' gdams pha chos bu chos dang rje rin po che'i gsung gi gsang 'dus rim lnga gdan rdzogs/ rim lnga gsal sgron/ yig chung nyer gcig/ paN chen blo bzang chos rgyan dang/ lcang skyia rin po che'i gsung gi smyung gnas cho ga'i lung bcas thob pa'i bka' [192] drin can gyi bla mar gyur to/. Ricard, trans., 115.

⁴¹ Zhabs dkar, snyigs dus (2003), vol. 1, 207.1.-2: de nas ston mijug rgyud pa sku skyes rin po che la nged mtshams pa kha shas kyis zhus nas/ rje rin po che'i gsung gi lam rim chen mo'i bshad lung zhig gnang/; 216.2.-3: de'i lo mkhan chen dge ba'i bshes gnyen byams pa dge legs rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po'i thugs sras lung rtogs yon tan du mas thugs rgyud yongs su gtams pa'i snyigs dus 'gro mgon mtshungs med byam pa zla 'od rin po che mtsho snying du phebs pa'i drung nas lam rim 'jam dpal zhal lung gi lung gnang ba'i mijug tul/. Ricard, trans., 123, 129.

pa rab rgyas), and Tri Changchub Chöpel (Khri Byang chub chos 'phel).⁴² In southwestern Tibet, he received empowerments and transmissions from Chuwar Rinpoche (Chu dbar mkhan rin po che Yon tan lhun grub).⁴³ He also developed a close relationship with the Seventh Panchen Lama, and met with the Ninth and Tenth Dalai Lamas.⁴⁴ During his travels in central, southern, and western Tibet, he received teachings from prominent Nyingma masters such as

⁴² Seventh Panchen Lama: Zhabs dkar, *snyigs dus* (2003), vol. 1, 390.4: *de nas sangs rgyas snang ba mtha' yas ngur smrig 'chang ba'i tshuil 'dzin skyabs mgon paN chen rin po che la/ dngul srang bcu g.yang te'u phreng ba byi ru'i rgyan can zhig dang/ rta gcig kha btags nan mdzod gcig dang bcas te skyabs 'jug gi zhu zhog 'di phul lo/*. 393.1: *zhes phul bas thugs brtse ba chen pos 'byol lan gsung shog bsrungr midud byin rlabs le'u tshan bcas btsal/ de'i lo rjes mar lha sa ru phebs nas bla brang steng na bzhugs dus mkhan po zhi ba tshe ring gis tshe dbang zhig zhu ba dang mnyam du song nas mjaj tshe dbang kyang thob pa byung/*. 790.6: *de nas nyin gcig skyabs mgon paN chen rin po ches bdag mdun du bos nas/ khyod kyis singar yang bstan 'gro'i bde thabs su dmigs nas/ mchod rten chen po bya rung kha shor la nyams gso zhabs tog byas pa shin tu legs/* [791] da res yang sngon grub thob thang stong rgyal pos stod hor sogs mtha' dmag gi kha gnon dang/ bod kyi bstan 'gro'i bde thabs su dmigs nas gcung gi ri bo cher mchod rten bkra shis sgo mang bzhengs pa yang dus dbang gis chos 'khor bcu gsum me yis nyams song ba/ slar khyed kyi lhag bsam dag pas nyams gso zhig gyis zhes bka' phebs pa bdag gis kyang dang du blangs nas phyag 'tshal skyabs 'jug zhus pa/. 801.1: *de nas slar bkra shis lhun por song skyabs mgon paN chen thams* [802] *mkhyen pa mchog mjaj/*. Ricard, trans. 226-228, 456, 461.

Ganden throne holder: Zhabs dkar, *snyigs dus* (2003), vol. 1, 393.3: *de nas dga' ldan gser khri ngag dbang snyan grags rin po cher mdzo gcig dngul srang lnga rin chen phreng ba gcig/ dri med pa'i lha rdzas bcas phul nas mjaj chos 'brel dgos tshul gyi zho shog 'di phul lo/*. Ricard, trans. 228.

Demo Rinpoche: Zhabs dkar, *snyigs dus* (2003), vol. 1, 397.4: *de nas bod kyi rgyal po de mo rin po cher mjaj/ rta gcig dang dngul srang lnaq lha rdzas bcas phul/ na' ro chos drug yid ches gsum ldan gyi lung zhus/*. Ricard, trans. 230.

Tsechokling Yongdzin Pandita: Zhabs dkar, *snyigs dus* (2003), vol. 1, 397.5: *yongs 'dzin paNDita'i yang sprul mchog la mjaj/ dngul srang gsum lha rdzas bcas phul/ skabs gsum pa dang tsong kha bryad cu'i lung zhus/*. Ricard, trans. 230.

Trichen Lozang Tenpa Rabye: Zhabs dkar, *snyigs dus* (2003), vol. 1, 397.6: *rwa sgreng khri chen rdo rje 'chang la mjaj/ mdzo gcig dang dngul srang kha shas phul/ blo sbiyong don bdun ma'i lung khrid zhus/*. Ricard, trans. 230, 239 n.36.

Tri Changchub Chöpel: Zhabs dkar, *snyigs dus* (2003), vol. 1, 397.6: *khri byang chub chos 'phel rin po cher mjaj/ dngul srang kha shas* [398] *g.yu byu ru gos chen gcig bcas phul. mdun nas bde mchog dril bu lha lhá'i dbang dang/ bla ma mchod pa dang lam rim bsdus don gnyis kyi lung khrid rgyas par thob*. Ricard, trans. 230.

⁴³ Zhabs dkar, *snyigs dus* (2003), vol. 1, 753.6-754.1: *der bzhugs pa'i sa thob kyi byang chub sems dpa' yongs 'dzin paNDita'i thugs sras chu dbar rin po che yon tan lhun grub la mjaj/ mdun nas blo sbiyong bdud rtsi snying po'i khrid/* [754] *gcod nam mkha' sgo 'byed dang/ thig le bcu drug gi dbang/ dge ldan phyag chen gyi lung rnames zhag po bcwo lnga'i bar du zhus/*. Ricard, trans. 434.

⁴⁴ Zhabs dkar, *snyigs dus* (2003), vol. 1, 388.2: *de nas 'phags pa spyan ras gzigs dbang phyug ngur smig gar gyis rnam rol rgyal ba lung rtogs rgya mtsho'i gser zhal nam tshod mjaj chog ces/*. Zhabs dkar, *snyigs dus* (2003), vol. 1, 805.5: *de nas nyin gcig skyabs dgon rgyal ba rtshul khrimz rgya mtsho'i gser zhal mjaj du phyin/*.

Dungwa Rinpoche (gDung ba rin po che) of Mindroling (sMin grol gling),⁴⁵ the Great Awareness Holder (*rig 'dzin chen po*) of Dorje Drak (rDo rje brag), and Orgyen Tenzin Rinpoche (O rgyan bstan 'dzin rin po che) of Rina (Ri sna) monastery.⁴⁶

It was during this extended eighteen-year pilgrimage that Shabkar would engage intensively with the Kagyu meditative tradition. His involvement with the Kagyu lineage had begun informally early in his life, with Lama Orgyen Trinle Namgyel of lower Tashikhyil advising him to look to Milarepa as spiritual exemplar at the age of twelve or thirteen.⁴⁷ While in his teens, he also requests the transmission for Milarepa's *Life* and Collected Songs from the retreatant Jamyang Adzi ('Jam dbyangs a rdzi) residing in the mountains behind Tsang (gTsang) monastery.⁴⁸ Shabkar's more formal involvement with the Kagyu lineage begins around the year 1811 while in central Tibet. When the Fourteenth Karmapa Thekchok Dorje (Theg mchog rdo rje, 1798-1868) visited Lhasa, Shabkar made offerings to him and requested the transmission for the meditation and recitation of Avalokitesvara (*thugs rje chen po'i bsgom bzlas*).⁴⁹ He also requested the transmission of the Mahamudra prayer (*phyag chen gsol 'debs*) from the Eighth Pawo Tsuklak incarnation (dPa' bo rin po che gTsug lag Chos kyi rgya mtsho, 1785-1840)⁵⁰ of the Kamtsang Kagyu (Kamtshang) lineage. These two events mark Shabkar's first formal spiritual connection to the Kamtsang sub-sect of the Kagyu lineage.

After visiting central Tibet, Shabkar goes on pilgrimage to Tsari (Tsa ri). Then, he proceeds to establish spiritual links with the Drukpa ('Brug pa) sub-sect of the Kagyu lineage. He receives empowerments from Drukpa Rinpoche, the throne holder at Sangngak

⁴⁵ Zhabs dkar, snyigs dus (2003), vol. 1, 398.1.-2: *smin grol gling bdung ba rin po cher mjal/ gter chen gong ma'i 'khrungs rabs rnam thar gsol 'debs kyi lung zhus/ rdo rje brag rig 'dzin chen por mjal/ phyag rten phul/ bsam pa lhun grub ma dang bar chad lam sel gyi lung zhus/*. Ricard, trans., 230.

⁴⁶ Zhabs dkar, snyigs dus (2003), vol. 1, 398.3: *ri sna dgon gyi gter ston bde chen rgyal po'i yang sprul o rgyan bstan 'dzin rin po cher mjal rta gos dingul bcas phul/ stag tshang phur ba'i dbang dang gter gsar chos skor gyi lung zhus/*. Ricard, trans., 230-231.

⁴⁷ Zhabs dkar, snyigs dus (2003), vol. 1, 36.5: *chos ji ltar byas na legs zhus pas/ chos rnam dag cig byed na rje btsun mi la ras pa'i rnam thar la ltos/ khong gi rjes su kha mig yar lta gyis la chos sgrubs dang bzang gsung/*. Ricard, trans., 19-20.

⁴⁸ Zhabs dkar, snyigs dus (2003), vol. 1, 114.5.-6: *de nas rgyab ri'i ri khrod pa 'jam dbyangs a rdzi'i tshang gi mdun du song mjal nas zhag kha shas bsdad/ rje btsun mi la ras pa'i rnam mgur dang/ rje skal ldan rgya mtsho'i mgur 'bum/ rgyal sras lag len/ ang yig bdun cu rnames kyi lung zhus pas/ thugs dgyes bzhin gnang/*. Ricard, trans., 71.

⁴⁹ Zhabs dkar, snyigs dus (2003), vol. 1, 398.3: *rgyal dbang karma pa lha ldan tu phebs pa dang mjal phyag rten phul thugs rje chen po'i bsgom bzlas kyi lung zhus/*. Ricard, trans., 231.

⁵⁰ Zhabs dkar, snyigs dus (2003), vol. 1, 398.4.-5: *las slob dpa bo rin po che'i sprul skur mjal phyag rten phul/ phyag chen gsol 'deb kyi lung zhus*.

Chöling (gSang sngags chos gling),⁵¹ the Vajra Holder (*rdor 'dzin*)⁵² of Chikchar, and the great siddha Damchö Zangpo (Grub chen Dam chos bzang po).⁵³ He also sings spiritual songs to the thirteen great meditative adepts (*grub chen*) at the meditative retreat center (*sgrub sde*) of Chikchar. It was during this period that Shabkar composed the *Dharma Discourse called the Beneficial Moon* (*chos bshad gzhan phan zla ba*) that was "adorned with the sayings of past Kagyu masters."⁵⁴

Following Chikchar, Shabkar would proceed to Dakla Gampo (Dwags la sgam po), the holy place of the great Kagyu and Kadampa master Gampopa. There, he visited and made offerings in the various chapels of the monastery and spent four months in retreat in the hermitage used by Dakpo Tashi Namgyel (Dwags po bKra shis rnam rgyal, 1513-87), the throne holder, descendant, and incarnation of Gampopa.⁵⁵ There, Shabkar would practice *Clear Light Mahāmudrā* ('od gsal phyag rgya chen po). Regarding his meditative experiences, he writes, "The spiritual realization of emptiness and bliss is ineffable."⁵⁶ Shabkar also receives transmissions and instructions for a series of key Kagyu practices at this site from Tenzin Chöwang Rinpoche (bsTan 'dzin chos dbang rin po che), Lama Tsöndrü Chöbar (brTson 'grus chos 'bar), Tripa Rinpoche (Khri pa rin po che), and the hermit Damchö (Dam chos). After Dakla Gampo, Shabkar visits and makes offerings at Dakpo Shédrup Ling (Dwags po bshad sgrub gling), the seat of the Fifth Shamar (*zha dmar*) incarnation (1525-83) and the place where the Eighth Karmapa Mikyö Dorjé (Mi skyod rdo rje) passed away in 1554.⁵⁷

⁵¹ Zhabs dkar, snyigs dus (2003), vol. 1, 422.3-4: *nged dpon slob rnams 'brug pa rin po che'i gdan sa byar gsang sngags chos gling du tshur 'ong/ skyabs mgon 'brug pa thams cad mkhyen par mijal/ tshe rta zung 'brel gyi rjes gnang dang phyag chen gyi sngon 'gro dngos gzhi cha tshang ba'i lung khrid zhus/ zla ba gcig tsam la ngal gsos nas bsdad/*. Ricard, trans., 246.

⁵² Zhabs dkar, snyigs dus (2003), vol. 1, 427.5-6: *skabs shig gnas der gcig char rdor 'dzin rnga sgra sprul sku rin po che'i drung nas kun mkhyen padma dkar po'i rnam thar dang mgur 'bum gyi lung zhus/*. Ricard, trans. 249.

⁵³ Zhabs dkar, snyigs dus (2003), vol. 1, 427.6: *gzhan yang grub chen dam chos bzang po la/ na' ro chos drug dang 'khrul 'khor bsre ba brgya brgyad pa'i khrid zhus/*. Ricard, trans., 249.

⁵⁴ Zhabs dkar, snyigs dus (2003), vol. 1, 428.3-4: *da lta'i rjes 'jug rnams dang ma 'ongs pa'i ri khrod pa rnams la phan thogs pa'i chos bshad rgyas pa zhig rtsom dgos zhes bskul ngor/ bka' brgyud gong ma'i lung gis brgyan te chos bshad gzhan phan zla ba zhes bya ba brtsams/*. Ricard, trans., 249.

⁵⁵ Ricard, trans. 271 n. 41.

⁵⁶ Zhabs dkar, snyigs dus (2003), vol. 1, 454.5-6: *der sdod pa'i ring la/ bdag gis kyang bka' brgyud kyi bla ma gong ma rnams la gsol ba 'debs bzhin/ thabs lam gtum mo dang 'od gsal phyag rgya chen po gnyis la nyams len byas pas bde stong gi rtogs pa bsam gyis mi khyab pa byung/*. Ricard, trans., 263.

⁵⁷ Ricard, 271 n. 50.

In the year 1814, Shabkar arrives at Mount Kailash and begins a meditative retreat in a cave below the famed Cave of Miracles (*rDzu 'phrul phug*) where Milarepa once practiced.⁵⁸ He also visits key sites in Milarepa's *Life*, such as his birthplace, where he died, and many of the sites where he once meditated.⁵⁹ An incident that seems to suggest that Shabkar is the true reincarnation of Milarepa occurs when he finds the true and hidden entrance of the Cave of Subjugation of Mara (*bDud 'dul phug*) at Lapchi.⁶⁰ During this period, Shabkar also received transmissions of Kagyu teachings from Jetsun Sangyé Dorjé (*rJe btsun Sangs rgya rdo rje*),⁶¹ Khenpo Kelzang Khédrup Rinpoche (mKhan po sKal bzang mkhas grub rin po che, the abbot of Pelgyéling ('Phel rgyas gling) monastery at the Belly Cave of Nyanang),⁶² and Serpuk Lama Rinpoche (gSer phug bla ma rin po che).⁶³

While on pilgrimage to Lapchi, Shabkar enhances his spiritual connections to the Drigung Kagyu when he restores a temple complex associated with the Drigung establishment that had fallen into disrepair. Shabkar writes to the Drigung hierarchs about this, and they express their great pleasure with regards to Shabkar's contribution.⁶⁴ In the "setting of scene" (*gleng gzhi*) of his *Life*, Shabkar in-

⁵⁸ Zhabs dkar, snyigs dus (2003), vol. 1, 469.5.-6: *gangs dkar gyi rgyal po ti se rdzu 'phrul phug gi zhabs rjes dkar mo'i og gi sgrub phug tu song stel*. Ricard, trans., 277.

⁵⁹ Zhabs dkar, snyigs dus (2003), vol. 1, 622.3.-4: *de nas rje mi la'i sgrub gnas 'od gsal phug/ rkang tshugs phug/ 'khrungs yul sky'a rnnga rtswa'i khang pa ka bzhi gdung brygad shul gyi mchod rten rnams la mijal/ zhing 'or ma gru gsbum dang spre pe stan chung la bltas/*; 678.6-679.1: *de nas rje mi la'i grub gnas ri bo dpal 'bar la song/*; 685.2: *rje mi la'i gdan sa bdud 'dul phug mo che ru/ sgrub pa zhig brygab nas shin 'gyod pa rang mi snang snyam/*; 753.2-3: *rje mi la'i sgrub gnas brag dmar mchod lung dang/ spo mtho nam mkha' rdzong/ skyid phug nyi ma rdzong rnams la gnas 'brel bzlag/*; 753.5.-6: *chu bar dgon du song/ rje btsun rin po che'i sku pur thal las bzhengs pa'i rje btsun mthong ba don ldan la mijal mchod 'bul rgya chen po byas/*. Ricard, trans., 359, 389, 396, 398, 434.

⁶⁰ Zhabs dkar, snyigs dus (2003), vol. 1, 690.4.-6: *de nas bdud 'dul phug gi rje btsun mi la'i sgrub phug ngo ma de la mijal du 'gro ba'i lam sgo'i mchod khang gi rgyab cig na gog nas 'gro dgos sa zhig 'dug pas/ bdag gi bsam pa la/ sngon rje mi la bzhugs dus 'di ma yin pa'i 'gro sa'i sgo stabs bde mo zhig yod dgos snyam btsal bas sgrub phug gi thad ka'i mdo nas sgo rnyed de sa ro rdo ro rnams bsal ba'i shul nas/ sngon rjes mi la'i thab bzung shul gyi thab rdo rnams mthong bas/ der 'tshogs pa kuri dad gus cher 'phel zhing gnas sgo gsar du phyes song zhes snyan pa sgrrog pa'ng byung/*. Ricard, trans., 398.

⁶¹ Zhabs dkar, snyigs dus (2003), vol. 1, 526.4.-5: *tshe mtshams pa rje btsun sangs rgyas rdo rje gnas der phebs pa'i drung nas lho brag mar pa'i snyan brygud kyi gdams pa lus med mkha' 'gro'i chos bskor rnams kyi lung zhus/*. Ricard, trans., 308.

⁶² Zhabs dkar, snyigs dus (2003), vol. 1, 686.4: *drung nas bla ma lnya bcu pa la sogs pa'i chos 'brel zhus/*. Ricard, trans., 396.

⁶³ Zhabs dkar, snyigs dus (2003), vol. 1, 546.3: *gser phug bla ma rin po cher mijal/ rgyal ba 'bri khung ba'i lnya ldan khrid kyi sngon 'gro'i lung zhus/*. Ricard, trans., 317.

⁶⁴ Zhabs dkar, snyigs dus (2003), vol. 1, 696.3.-6: *de nas gnas kyi sku gsung thugs rten yod pa'i lha khang rnams zhig ral 'thor gsum la song/ la phyi'i grwa pa rnams kyis*

forms us that this event was actually predicted by the Fourth Karmapa Rolpé Dorjé (Rol pa'i rdo rje, 1340-1383) who prophesied, "Lord Laughing Vajra [i.e. Milarepa]/ Will flicker in the eastern region of Dokham (mDo khams)./ At Lapchi snow range,/ he will make good restorations."⁶⁵ Clearly, Shabkar's link to the Kagyu sect is significant, and he was conscious of highlighting this connection in addition to expressing his devotion to all other sects in his *Life*.

In addition to the teachings of the Nyingma, Geluk, and Kagyu sects, Shabkar received empowerments, transmissions, and teachings from masters of the Sakya sect and actively sought spiritual connections to the Jonang and Zhijé traditions as well. From the throne holders at Sakya monastery, Shabkar received empowerments for longevity (*tshe dbang*), Vajrakīlāya (Phur pa) and the Wrathful Guru (Gur drag).⁶⁶ Shabkar's *Life* does not document any instances of Shabkar receiving direct transmissions from Jonangpa masters, but records that he visited the throne of Tāranātha and ordered for the printing of his collected works.⁶⁷ To develop a connection to the Zhijé lineage, Shabkar visited the place where Padampa Sangyé (Pha Dam pa sangs rgyas) once meditated. At the sacred location, he read the master's four volumes of oral instructions on Pacification and tells

kyang tshugs ma thub par 'thor la khad yod pa la bltas pas sems kyis ma bzod par bstan 'gro la phan pa'i lhag bsam gyi kun nas bslangs te/ phu yi gangs 'dabs la mgon khang/ mdo yi chu chan la zam pa/ bar gyi lha khang rnams la nyams gso byas/ chos grwa'i thang dkyil nas 'du khang phug mtha' la lcags ri brgyab ba'i nang du grwa shags mang po gsar rgyag byas/ 'du khang steng du gser gyi gnyir dang/ nang du mchod rdzas bzhag pa thams cad kyi rgya song la/ dngul rdo tshad bcu gsum gyi rtsis song/ de dag rnams grub nas/ grwa pa snga sor ser khyim du shor ba rnams sdom gtsang byas te/ gnas dang dgon po'i bdag po rgyal ba'i 'bri khung yab sras gnyis la zhu shog 'di phul lo/; 698.5: ces phul bas skyabs mgon yab sras gnyis ka thugs mnyses nas gsol ras gnan sbyin rgya chen po byas byung ngo/. Ricard, trans., 402.

⁶⁵ Zhabs dkar, snyigs dus (2003), vol. 1, 19.6-20.1: *karma' pa rol [20] pa'i rdo rje'i lung bstan bka' rgya ma las/ rje btsun bzhad pa rdo rje// mdo khams shar phyogs g.yo zhing// la phyi gangs kyi rwa ba/ nyams gso legs par byed do//*. Ricard, trans., 9.

⁶⁶ Zhabs dkar, snyigs dus (2003), vol. 1, 783.3-5: *de nas dpal ldan sa skya'i chos sde chen por 'ong/ rje btsun ma bgres mo dang/ khri kun dga' rgyal mtshan dang/ dngos grub dpal 'bar rnams la mjal/ zangs kyi dung chen cha gcig/ sbub chol rgya gling sogs mchod rdzas dang gser dngul g.yu byir sogs nor rdzas phul nas/ tshe dbang phur pa gur drag rnams kyi dbang zhus/*. Ricard, trans., 452.

⁶⁷ Zhabs dkar, snyigs dus (2003), vol. 1, 800.6. The description of this stops mid-sentence in the blockprint: "*gsung 'bum po ti bco brgyad yod pa tshang ma sbar nas....*" Folio page 801 begins with the description of the next event: "*yang/ de nes bo dong bkra shis sgang khro phu'i byams chen sogs la mjal.*" Presumably, Shabkar took Tāranātha's Collected Works with him? Ricard, trans., 460-1.

readers that “through the blessings of [Padampa Sangyé] great benefit arose in his mind.”⁶⁸

Finally, throughout his life story, it becomes apparent that Shabkar often taught Buddhism from the perspective of a variety of sectarian lineages. For example, both the *Beneficial Jewel* (*Chos bshad gzhan phan nor bu*) and *Offering-Clouds of Samantabhadra* (*Chos bshad kun bzang mchod sprin*) were composed at Chikchar retreat center at Tsari in response to a request from disciples asking for teachings from a non-sectarian point of view.⁶⁹ At Peudo (sPre'u mdo) monastery, Shabkar taught the views of the śrāvakas, *vaibhāṣikas*, *sūtras*, *madhyamaka*, *cittamātra*, and *prāsaṅgika madhyamaka* from the perspective of four different Buddhist tenet systems. Shabkar writes that the result was great understanding amongst these students.⁷⁰ Thus, in his *Life*, Shabkar tells the story of how he mastered the teachings and practices across sectarian lines.

Conclusion

Gene Smith once wrote, “The roots of eclecticism and tolerance are sunk as deep into the soil of Tibetan traditions as those of sectarianism and bigotry.”⁷¹ Indeed, for us to come to a balanced understanding of Tibetan religious history, it is necessary to understand both instances of sectarian rivalry and sectarian harmony. With regards to non-sectarianism, relatively little academic work has been done on the topic, with Gene Smith and Ringu Tulku providing us with the most comprehensive studies to date. Elizabeth Callahan has also made a significant contribution to our understanding of Jamgön Kongtrul’s non-sectarian views in the introduction to her translation of his *Frameworks of Buddhist Philosophy* (*rGyu mtshan nyid kyi theg pa rnam par gzhag pa'i skabs*) from the *Treasury of Knowledge* (*Shes bya*

⁶⁸ Zhabs dkar, snyigs dus (2003), vol. 1, 773.6-774.1: *pha dam* [774] *pa'i zhi byed kyi dams pa po ti chen po bzhi bzhugs pa klog pas/ khong gi byin rlabs kyis sems la phan po byung/*. Ricard, trans., 447.

⁶⁹ Zhabs dkar, snyigs dus (2003), vol. 1, 428.4-5: *grub mtha' ris med kyi chos dang gang zag yongs la dad gus dag snang 'byung bu'i chos bshad cig dgos tshul gyi rgyu mtshan ruams rgyas par zhus pa'i ngor/ lung rigs gnyis kyis brgyan pa'i chos bshad gzhan phan nor bu dang legs bshad kun bzang mchod sprin gnyis brtsams nas slob bu kun bzang la lung byed pa'i skabs su/*. Ricard, trans., 249.

⁷⁰ Zhabs dkar, snyigs dus (2003), vol. 2, 312.5-313.1: *de dus dgon pa'i dge 'dun pas zhuz nas/ legs bshad snying po'i lung khrid 'chang pa la nyan nas nyi ma bco lnya song/ de dus nyan thos bye brag sma ba/ mdo sde pa/ dbu ma sems tsam pa/ dbu ma thal 'gyur pa stel nang* [313] *pa'i grub mtha' bzhi'i bzhed srol mi 'dra ba la nang byan chud pa'i gsung bshad kyis blo bskyang chen po byung/*

⁷¹ Smith, “Jam mgon Kong sprul,” 237.

mdzod). Despite the groundbreaking contributions of these scholars and translators thus far, the history, nature, and scope of non-sectarianism remains poorly understood in Tibetan and Buddhist studies.

Discussions on non-sectarianism in Tibetan and Buddhist studies have generally focused on Jamgön Kongtrül and his contemporaries in nineteenth-century Kham. However, as I have demonstrated in this essay, the non-sectarian activities of Shabkar were so extensive in terms of their depth and scope that any serious discussion of non-sectarianism in Tibet would have to include the life, ideas, and activities of Shabkar. This essay has described Shabkar's non-sectarian outlook and activities, and the multivalent way in which he portrayed non-sectarianism in his *Life*. In this essay, I have treated Shabkar's autobiography as a representative microcosm of his Collected Works as a whole; the next stage of my research will look at non-sectarianism in Shabkar's fourteen-volume Collected Works.

Shabkar's non-sectarian activities provide an interesting counterpoint to the non-sectarian activities of Jamgön Kongtrül and his contemporaries in two major ways. Firstly, it is compelling that two eminent nineteenth-century spiritual masters advocated non-sectarianism in isolation from one another around the same period of time in two different parts of eastern Tibet. This leads to the question of whether or not the non-sectarianism "movement" was part of a larger nineteenth-century *zeitgeist* throughout Amdo and Kham, or whether these were two isolated cases of an analogous phenomenon. The answer to this question lies beyond the scope of this paper, and would benefit from future research. Another related question discussed earlier in this essay would be to further investigate the relationship between Shabkar, the non-sectarian movement in Kham, and the life, thought, and activities of eighteenth-century treasure revealer Jikmé Lingpa.

Secondly, contemporary scholarship understands Jamgön Kongtrül's main non-sectarian legacy to be his formidable encyclopedic compilations of the religious texts from a variety of Buddhist lineages in Tibet. In contrast, Shabkar's non-sectarian activities were focused less on the gathering, compilation, and practice of a variety of lineages, than on the cultivation and promotion of an attitude of non-sectarianism through literary and oral media easily accessible to the mass populace. In this way, a study of Shabkar's life and works pushes the existing boundaries of our conception of how non-sectarianism was promoted and communicated in nineteenth-century Tibet. Shabkar's style of communication is in fact closer to that of Dza Patrul's. A formal study of Shabkar's writings in relation

to Patrul Rinpoche and non-sectarianism would be an intriguing avenue of future research.

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Une pomme turke dans un jardin tibétain ?

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Scholion liminaire

ans un paysage académique où les frontières sont sévèrement délimitées et surveillées, ce n'est pas sans quelque inquiétude que le turkologue se risque en direction du Tibet. C'est donc avec prudence que je m'aventure sur un point précis de toponymie. Je le fais en quelque sorte à titre d'hommage posthume à mon révérendissime père et maître en turkologie, Louis Bazin, qui a ouvert la voie en s'intéressant à l'origine turke du nom « Tibet ». Je partirai donc de cet acquis, avant de formuler une hypothèse sur l'étymologie et la localisation d' 'Olmo-ling, ville/contrée où est apparue la religion Bön diffusée par Shenrab Miwo.

Rappel introductif : l'exonyme turk « Tibet »

Louis Bazin et James Hamilton, dans un article certes un peu ancien, mais toujours actuel car fort documenté et soigneusement étayé, ont mis en évidence la turcité du mot Tibet. Je reprends ici leurs conclusions¹.

La plus ancienne mention du nom « Tibet » apparaît à Samarcande dans la deuxième moitié du VII^e siècle sous la forme sogdienne TWPT (inscrite sur une peinture murale d'Afrâsyâb, ancien nom de la capitale du Sogd, dans le syntagme *twpt mrt* « homme du Tibet »). Ce vocable doté d'une voyelle labiale en syllabe initiale et d'une voyelle à graphie défective en seconde syllabe nous renvoie à un original turk de type *töpät. D'autres graphies postérieures en

¹ « L'origine du nom Tibet », *Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhistik* 26, Vienne, 1991, pp. 9-28, repris dans : L. Bazin, *Les Turcs : des mots, des hommes*, Budapest, 1994, pp. 244-262.

pehlevi, et même en grec², confirment ce prototype. Dans les Inscriptions turques de Köl Tegin et Bilgä Kaghan (début du VIII^e siècle) la forme a évolué vers *Töpüt* par harmonisation labiale. Nous savons par ailleurs que de plus anciennes attestations chinoises des environs de l'an 600 CE nous donnent la forme *T'ou-fan*, courante sous la dynastie T'ang. Cette dernière renvoie à un étymon turk **töpän* plus ancien. Les deux formes dérivent d'un terme bien connu, *töpä* « sommet, hauteur, éminence ». E.G. Pulleyblank³ dans une étude remarquable sur le consonantisme du chinois ancien a montré, dans la titulature turke-ancienne, la coexistence des formes *tarqa/tarqan* et *böri/börin* pour désigner des chefs de guerre et grands officiers.

On a donc un ensemble cohérent allant du Sogd à la Chine pour désigner le Tibet par un mot dérivé du turk **töpä+n / töpä+t* « les Hauteurs, les Sommets ». Le permier composé est formé par adjonction d'un morphème de collectif en +(V)n dont on a quelques attestations *är+än* « les hommes » (*är* « homme »), *oghlan* « les fils » (*ogh(u)l* « fils »). Ce terme signifiait donc « l'ensemble des sommets qui constituent le Tibet », mais le suffixe de collectif, tombé en désuétude, est ensuite remplacé par le morphème de pluriel en /+(V)t/ au prix d'une légère simplification du sens « les sommets qui constituent le Tibet ».

C'est une population altaïque à composante turke, les Tuygun (T'ou-yu-houen) « Faucons éperviers »⁴, qui a transmis le nom du Tibet vers le nord aux grands empires des steppes, vers l'est au monde chinois, vers l'ouest au Sogd et au monde iranien. Issus de Mandchourie, les Tuygun s'installent au IV^e siècle dans la région du Koukou-Nor et au-delà, jusqu'au sud du bassin du Tarim. Ils sont vaincus par les Tibétains en 663 CE et refluent dans l'Ordos, diffusant dans leur fuite le nom du Pays des Neiges⁵. Leur ethnonyme figure dans l'Inscription turke ancienne de Köl Tegin à propos de l'érection de son monument funéraire dans l'année du Singe 732 (CE). : « Celui qui amena de Chine tant de décorateurs ce fut le chef de tribu Tuygun (*bunča bädizčig tuygun eltäbir kälürti*) » : pour construire le monument à son frère Köl Tegin, l'empereur Bilge Kaghan fait appel

² Un certain médecin grec Syméon fils de Seth aurait mentionné au XI^e siècle le Tibet comme pays d'où serait originaire le musc, Léon Feer, « Etymologie, histoire, orthographe du mot 'Tibet' », *Berichte des VII Internationalen Orientalisten-Congresses* (Wien, 1889, pp. 1-19 ; cf. p. 12 note 1).

³ E.G. Pulleyblank, « The consonantal system of Old Chinese », Part II, *Asia Major* IX-2, 1963, pp. 256-262.

⁴ Le rapprochement T'ou-yu-houen = Tuygun est dû à Karl A. Wittfogel et Feng Chia-Sheng, *History of Chinese society, Liao (907-1125)*, Ney-York 1949, p. 105.

⁵ Une partie d'entre eux se tibétanise et se fond dans la population tibétaine, voir S. van Schaik, I. Galambos, *Manuscripts and travellers*, Berlin 2012, p. 61.

à des « décorateurs » (architectes, maçons, peintres, sculpteurs, etc.) chinois ; les Tuygun se trouvant à mi-chemin entre la capitale chinoise de Tch'ang-ngan et celle de l'empereur t'ou-kiue sur l'Orkhon, ils sont chargés de la sécurité du transfert des artisans chinois .

Le méli-mélo turko-tibétain

Ce sont donc les Turks qui ont transmis aux Persans puis aux Arabes le nom du Tibet, sous la forme : *tb(b)t* vocalisée *Tub(b)at*, *Tib(b)at*, *Tib(b)et*, etc. De là une immense confusion chez les géographes médiévaux persans et arabes entre Turks et Tibétains. Certes le Tibet arabo-persan n'a géographiquement parlant sûrement pas les mêmes frontières que le pays actuel⁶, mais il n'est pas inutile de s'attarder sur la proximité évoquée. D'autant qu'elle est étroite puisque l'auteur arabe de la *Relation de la Chine et de l'Inde*, n'hésite pas à écrire que les Tibétains sont des Turks et que leur chef est le Kagan (titre turk équivalent à « empereur ») du Tibet⁷. Au Xè siècle, Ibn al Faqih relève que le Tibet constitue la frontière du domaine turk⁸ ; par une fulgurante prémonition d'ailleurs cet auteur prédit : « La ruine du Sind viendra de la part de l'Inde ; (...); celle du Tibet de la Chine »⁹. Abu Dulaf, de son côté, mentionne un clan *Tubbat* chez les Turks au milieu du Xè siècle¹⁰. Notons enfin en tibétain ancien la présence du titre turk *tarkan* (un titre royal tout juste inférieur à *kagan*), *dar-rgan*, glosé par B. Laufer « Empowered with authority »¹¹.

⁶ Voir Anna Aksoy, « Tibet in Islamic geography and cartography : a survey of arabic and persian sources », pp. 17-42 in : Anna Aksoy, Charles Burnett, Ronit Yoeli-Talim, *Islam and Tibet – Interactions along the Musk Road*, Ashgate, 2011, p. 20. 2011

⁷ J. Sauvaget, *Relation de la Chine et de l'Inde*, Paris : Les Belles Lettres, 1948, p. 27

⁸ Ibn al-Faqih al-Hamadani, *Abrégé du livre des pays*, traduit par H. Massé, Damas, 1973, p. 388. Les sources tibétaines anciennes le mentionnaient déjà quelques siècles plus tôt qui indiquaient la limite entre Tibétains et Turks à smra-yul thang-brgyad (au nord du Byang-thang) : « Dru-gu, yes, along that margin, at smra-yul, yes, Thags-brgyad (smra-yul ni thags brgyad na / dru-gu ni mtha' bskor ba) » (John Vincent Bellezza, « gShen-rab Myi-bo : His Life and times according to Tibet's earliest literary sources », *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines* n°19, octobre 2010, pp. 31-118, pp. 67-68 et note 139).

⁹ Ibn al-Faqih al Hamadani, *ibid.*, p. 312.

¹⁰ V. Minorsky, *Abu Dulaf Mis'ar ibn Mulhalhil's travels in Iran (circa A.D. 950)*, Le Caire, 1955, pp. 106-107.

¹¹ *Sino-Iranica : Chinese contribution to the history of civilization in Ancient Iran, with special references to the history of cultivated plants and products*, Chicago : Field Museum of Natural History, 1919, pp. 592-3.

Je pense que la confusion remonte à la période d'affrontement entre Turks et Tibétains à la fin du VIII^e siècle : en turk-ancien le verbe *ičik-* traduit par « se soumettre à l'ennemi »¹², signifie en réalité « être intégré à l'intérieur de » : chez les Turks, le vaincu perd immédiatement son identité ethnique au profit de celle du vainqueur ; c'est d'ailleurs l'explication que m'avait donnée le khan Rahman Kul pour justifier l'existence d'un clan Kalmouk chez les Kirghiz du Toit du Monde¹³ : il était issu de prisonniers mongols du XVII^e siècle.

Versons également au dossier, à titre comparatif, le récit d'un informateur Ladakhi, rapporté par Patrick Kaplanian¹⁴ : à l'origine du peuplement du Ladakh, il y a cent Mongols (*Sokpa*) venus à la suite d'une guerre avec les Chinois ; ils vinrent par des cols élevés (d'où le nom de *la-daks*), bâtièrent la citadelle de Leh et firent venir trois Turks comme balayeur, boucher et cordonnier¹⁵ : ce n'est pas très flatteur pour ces derniers, mais retenons simplement que la *vox populi* n'est pas très regardante en matière d'ethnogenèse.

L'imbroglio irano-turko-tibétain

Ces assignations ethniques incertaines ont leurs correspondants dans le domaine de la toponymie où les localisations sont particulièrement flottantes. C'est le cas du royaume de Tazik¹⁶ (*sTag-gzig*, *rtag-zigs*, *ta-zig*, etc.) situé confusément à l'Ouest du Tibet, dont le cœur est constitué par la Sogdiane et la Bactriane, soit de Samarkand¹⁷

¹² Sir Gerald Clauson, *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth century Turkish*, Oxford, 1972, p. 25.

¹³ Rémy Dor, *Contribution à l'étude des Kirghiz du Pamir afghan*, Paris, 1975, p. 79.

¹⁴ P. Kaplanian, « Mythes et légendes sur le peuplement du Ladakh », pp. 255-270 in : *Tibetan History and Language*, Wien, 1991. Il conviendra par ailleurs de suivre l'évolution du programme de recherches de Quentin Devers : « Le Ladakh entre influences turques et tibétaines : Une étude interrégionale des contacts économiques, militaires et culturels entre le Ladakh et l'Asie Centrale du 6^e au 16^e siècles ».

¹⁵ Il me semble qu'il y a là le reste déformé d'une ancienne légende : au moment où Padmasambhava se rend à Mang Yul, il prédit à Shakyadévi la Népalaise qu'après deux cents générations : « Au Kaçmir seront célèbres trois nobles frères du Turkestan » (*Le Dict de Padma*, trad. G.C. Toussaint, Paris : E. Leroux, 1933, p. 242).

¹⁶ Je privilégie cette graphie conforme à la prononciation du turk. En tout état de cause, un /g/ final est dévoisé et donc proche de la sourde correspondante.

¹⁷ Au milieu du XII^e siècle, le voyageur juif Benjamin de Tudèle considère encore Samarcande comme la porte d'entrée du Tibet (Michel Tardieu, « Le Tibet de Samarcande et le pays de Kûsh : mythes et réalités d'Asie Centrale chez Benjamin de Tudèle », *Cahiers d'Asie Centrale* 1-2, 1996, pp. 299-310). T.A. Marks écrit : « Till 790 Tibetan power expanded with expeditions in the west ranging as far as

(Ouzbékistan) à Balkh (Afghanistan), ainsi que de l'actuel Tajikistan et, bien sûr, du Pamir qui en constitue le point culminant¹⁸. D'après B.I. Kuznecov : « In ancient times, the traditional routes of the Pamirs connected Middle Asia with Zhang-Zhung (...). According to Tibetan tradition, it was through these routes that Iranian cultural influence infiltrated Tibet »¹⁹. En fait, cette influence s'exerce d'abord sur le Bön, comme le souligne D. Templeman : « (...) there exists sufficient internal data in Bon texts to demonstrate, at least in terms of core beliefs, a debt to the Iranian world in terms of geography, sacred locations and in some cases I believe, cosmogonic understandings themselves. »²⁰.

Plus qu'un « royaume », le Tazik est une « zone », celle du peuplement iranien oriental qui gagne dès le IX^e siècle BCE le Qazaqstan central²¹. Pour les Turks, cette zone englobe populations

Farghana and Samarkand. In the north and north-west common cause was frequently made with the Uighurs and Western Turks, and Tibet regained control over all Turkestan" (T. A. Marks, "Nanchao and Tibet in Southwestern China and Central Asia", *The Tibet Journal* III (4) 1978, p. 14.

¹⁸ Même si elle est fausse, l'ancienne étymologie d'Eugène Burnouf : *Upa-Meru* « Région au-delà du Meru » contient une part de vérité : le Pamir est un lieu tout aussi axial et sacré que le Meru, traversé depuis le néolithique (cf. R. Dor, o.c., p. 13). Je note également que David Snellgrove localise le Tazik par rapport au Pamir : « He (= David Snellgrove) suggests we identify this Ta-zig with the area just to the west of the Pamir mountains in Sogdiana and Bactria » (Dan Martin, *Unearthing Bon treasures*, Leiden : Brill, 2001, p. 30).

¹⁹ B.I. Kuznecov, « Influence of the Pamirs on Tibetan culture », *The Tibet Journal* III (3), 1978, pp. 35-37, qui reprend un paragraphe de son important ouvrage sur lequel je reviens plus loin, B.I. Kuznecov, *Drevnyj Iran I Tibet: Istorija religii Bon*, Sankt-Petersburg: Evrazia, 1998, p. 42 ; voir aussi pp. 263-282 sur le mazdéisme en Asie Centrale. A propos de l'influence du mazdéisme et du zurvanisme sur les croyances tibétaines relatives à l'origine de l'humanité, voir G. Tucci, *Tibetan painted scrolls*, Volume II, Roma : Libraria dello Stato, 1949, pp. 730-731, Helmut Hoffmann, « The ancient Tibetan cosmology », *The Tibet Journal* II (4), 1977, pp. 13-16, etc.

²⁰ D. Templeman, « Cosmogony – Iranian and Tibetan », *Lungta* 16, 2013, p. 11. L'influence iranienne est également très forte chez les Turks : introduit devant le kagan des Turks occidentaux, Hsuang-tsang découvre qu'un grand nombre d'entre eux sont zoroastriens (Wilfrid Blunt, *The golden road to Samarkand*, London, 1973, p. 39). D'autre part, un ouvrage de géographie de la fin de l'époque sassanide, le *Ayâdgâr-i Jâmaspîg*, mentionne qu'il y a chez les Turks « des adorateurs de la lune, des sorciers et des zoroastriens » (Dan Shapiro, "Was there geographical science in Sassanian Iran?", *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungarica* 54 (2-3), 2001, pp. 319-338, voir page 334 et note 96).

²¹ I.V. Pjankov, « K voprosu o putjakh pronikovenija iranojazychnyx plemen v perednjiju Aziju », pp. 193-207 in : M.A. Dandamaev, V.A. Livsic (eds), *Peredneaziatskij sbornik*, vol. 3 : *Istorija i filologija stran drevnego vostoka*, Moskva, 1979. La notion conjointe de pays/peuple est ancienne en vieux-perse où elle correspond à un logogramme indécomposable (Clarisse Herrenschmidt, *Les trois écritures : Langue, Nombre, code*, Paris : Gallimard, 2007, p. 126).

iraniennes et arabes²² d'Asie Centrale et sert aussi à les désigner.

C'est dans cet espace aux contours flous que serait située 'Ol-mo-lung-ring la Terre Sainte / Ville Sainte du Bön tibétain²³ et lieu de naissance de son fondateur Tonpa Shenrab : « Shenrab, the Bon tradition tells us, was a native of Tazik, probably the area around Samarkand »²⁴. Je renvoie aux excellents travaux de Dan Martin sur la question²⁵. J'en retiens qu'il existe deux variantes à ce toponyme : 'Ol-mo-lung et 'Ol-mo-ling, qui sont équivalentes. Je m'arrête également sur l'œuvre de Bronislav Ivanovič Kuznecov ((1931-1985), *Drevnyj Iran i Tibet : Istorija religii Bon* (L'Iran ancien et le Tibet : Histoire de la religion Bon), où la biographie de Shenrab est détaillée²⁶. Ce livre est fortement influencé par les prises de position de l'idéologue Lev Gumilëv et notamment l'idée que 'Olmo-lung-ring est localisé en Élam : « *Eto daet vozmožnost' otoždestvit' nazvanie Olmo s Elamom* (Ceci nous offre la possibilité d'identifier le terme Olmo avec Élam) »²⁷. Plusieurs objections militent contre cette hypothèse; linguistique d'abord : en élamite le pays est désigné par *Haltamti*, akkadien *elamtu*²⁸; géographique ensuite : la Susiane est bien trop éloignée du Tibet pour constituer un horizon d'attente plausible ; culturelle

²² Il y a aujourd'hui encore des isolats ethniques arabes dans le nord de l'Afghanistan et le sud de l'Ouzbékistan, restes des grandes armées d'invasion. La *Vendidad* (IXè siècle) liste des pays dont le quinzième est ainsi qualifié : *Ôdag Arand [...] hunušak ī Tâzîgân Ôdag [...] Tâzîg abar mâniēnd* « Ôdag Arand (...) Ôdag being the evil offspring of the Arabs (...) the Arabs live there » (Dan Shapiro, "Was there geographical science in Sassanian Iran?", o.c., p. 32).

²³ Sur l'origine de cette religion, voir H. Blezer (ed.) *Emerging Bon : The formation of Bon tradition in Tibet at the turn of the first millennium AD*, PIATS 2006, IITBS 2011.

²⁴ Keith Dowman, *Sky Dancer : The secret life and songs of the Lady Yeshe Tsogyel*, Ithaca : Snow Lion Publications, 1996, p. 326.

²⁵ Dan Martin, « Olmo-Lungring : A Holy Place and Beyond », chap. 4 in: Samten Karmay, Jeff Watts (eds), *Bon the magic word*, New-York: Rubin Museum, 2007; et id. « 'Ol-mo-lung-ring, the Original Holy Place », pp. 258-301 in Toni Huber, *Sacred spaces and powerful places in Tibetan culture*, Dharamsala, 1999. Concernant le fondateur Tonpa Shenrab , cf. John Vincent Bellezza, « gShen-rab Myi-bo : His Life and times according to Tibet's earliest literary sources », *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines* n°19, octobre 2010, pp. 31-118; qualifiant Tonpa Shenrab de *mithradat* "donné par Mithra" et assimilant le Bön au mithraïsme B.I. Kuznecov est sans doute allé trop loin (B.I. Kuznecov, "Who was the founder of the Bon religion?", *The Tibet Journal* I (1), 1975, pp. 113-114).

²⁶ O.c., pp. 75-116.

²⁷ O.c. p. 45.

²⁸ Jean Bottéro, Clarisse Herrenschmidt, Jean-Pierre Vernant, *L'orient ancien et nous : L'écriture, la raison, les dieux*, Paris: Albin Michel, 1996, p. 95. Il faut d'ailleurs ajouter qu'on ne sait pas grand-chose sur la langue élamite « car les Élamites ne se sont guère souciés de noter leurs mythologie, littérature, mathématique, médecine, etc., et le nombre des textes élamites est peu élevé » (Clarisse Herrenschmidt, *Les trois écritures : Langue, Nombre, code*, Paris : Gallimard, 2007, p. 66).

enfin : la civilisation mésopotamienne, si spécifique, s'exporterait difficilement sur le Toit du Monde.

Revenons au toponyme '*Olmo-ling*'. C'est un composé de type endocentrique (c'est-à-dire ne nécessitant aucun élément extérieur pour sa compréhension), formé de deux éléments : *olmo* ['ol mo] (nom de plante ; sur lequel je vais revenir) et *lung/ling* [lung/gling] (terme géographique : vallée, ou terme topographique : lieu, place, endroit). Cette formation n'est pas rare en tibétain, puisqu'on en trouve d'autres exemples comme *Khenba-lung*, formé sur *khenba* (*mkhan-pa*), une variété d'amoise (*Artemisia*) utilisée comme encens pour les fumigations, et *lung* « vallée » ; à noter d'ailleurs que, tout comme '*Olmo-ling*', *Khenbalung* est une vallée « cachée » (*sbas-yul*), relevant d'une géographie sacrée, dont la localisation sur terre (ou sur un autre plan d'existence) relève de textes révélés (ou *gter-ma*)²⁹.

Concernant le terme '*olmo*' : je m'appuie sur Dan Martin³⁰, qui précise que ce mot peut référer à une plante médicinale, possiblement *Achryanthus bidentata* (une variété d'amarante), dont les pousses sont comestibles et les graines médicinales ; un terme apparenté *olmose* / *olmasa*³¹ désigne une variété de baie à usage médicinal (*Podophyllum hexandrum*) dont la couleur rouge vif et la forme ovoïde font qu'aux USA la plante s'appelle « *may apple* ».

Ceci m'amène à proposer l'hypothèse que le terme '*olmo*' ait été emprunté au turk ancien *alma*³² « pomme » (*Malus sieversii*). Plusieurs arguments peuvent être avancés :

- 1) A date ancienne (avant le IX^e siècle), le tibétain ne disposait peut-être pas d'un terme pour désigner le pommier. Alessandro Boessi dans sa thèse d'ethno-botanique tibétaine écrit : « (...) il convient d'expliquer que, dans la langue tibétaine, il n'existe pas de terme d'appellation ou de périphrase désignant l'ensemble des végétaux », et plus loin il

²⁹ Hildegard Diemberger, « Lhakama and Khandroma : The sacred ladies of Beyul Khenbalung », *Tibetan History and Language*, Wien, 1991, p. 139, note 7. Voir aussi Ewin Bernbaum, *The way to Shambala*, New-York: Anchor Press, 1980, pp. 53-62.

³⁰ Dan Martin, « Olmo Lunring : A holy place Here and Beyond », o.c., pp. 102-103.

³¹ Aucun de ces termes n'apparaît dans A.F. Gammerman, B.V. Semichov, *Slovar' tibetsko-latino-russkix nazvanij lekarstvennogo rastitel'nogo syrja, primenjaemogo v tibetskoy medicine*, Ulan-Ude, 1963 ; pas plus d'ailleurs que dans T. A. Aseeva, C.A. Naidakova, *Piševye rastenija v tibetskoy medicine*, Novosibirsk : Nauka, 1991.

³² Ou sa variante *älma*, due à l'influence antérieure du /l/ (phénomène également présent dans la prononciation du tibétain) ; il existe aussi en ouzbek (langue qui forme un sous-groupe avec l'uygur) une forme à initiale labialisée : *olma* (on sait que dans les langues turques l'harmonie vocalique est un mécanisme puissant, il y a donc certainement eu localement des prononciations harmonisées **olmo*).

mentionne également l'absence de terme pour désigner « l'arbuste »³³.

- 2) Quand bien même le terme tibétain actuel *ku shu* « pomme » aurait existé , cela n'aurait sûrement pas empêché un emprunt : Boessi toujours indique qu'à Lithang il existe 6 termes empruntés à des dialectes et des langues différents pour désigner le « pissenlit »³⁴. Dans un très beau film bhoutanais contemporain en dzongkha (dont j'ai fait le compte-rendu³⁵) le héros interpelle un paysan qui s'en va vendre des pommes à la ville , ce dernier répond en utilisant le mot anglais « apple ». Au demeurant le terme turk *alma* aurait pu être emprunté pour désigner en tibétain autre chose qu'une pomme fruit : en français par exemple la *pomme* de pin n'est pas comestible, au contraire de la *pine apple* de l'anglais « ananas », et je ne parle pas de *Teufels-Apfel* de l'allemand, « pomme du diable » qui n'a plus rien à voir avec une pomme puisqu'il s'agit de *Datura stramonium*, plante vénéuse s'il en est³⁶.
- 3) Une raison objective peut aussi avoir joué, c'est que le pommier et la pomme (*Malus sieversii*) sont originaires du Qazaqstan³⁷. Certes cela nous renvoie 63 millions d'années en arrière, mais, comme l'ont prouvé les travaux du Professeur Aïtali Jangaliev qui a consacré sa vie à l'étude et à la préservation du pommier qazaq, il existait encore au début du XXè siècle au Qazaqstan méridional, sur les versants de l'Ala Tau, d'immenses forêts de pommiers sauvages, avec des arbres de plus de trente mètres de haut et deux mètres de diamètre, âgés de plus de trois siècles (malheureusement,

³³ Alessandro Boessi, *Le savoir botanique des Tibétains*, Thèse de Doctorat (sous la direction d'Annie Hubert-Baré), Paris, 2004, p. 43 et p. 178.

³⁴ Boessi, o.c., p. 135.

³⁵ *Travellers and magicians*, de Khyentse Norbu (2003), cf. R. Dor, *Sur les Routes d'Asie : Voyageurs et Magiciens*, 19è FICA, Paris : INALCO, 2013, pp. 18-19.

³⁶ Voir Pierre Garnier, *Les herbes, les arbres, les peuples*, Paris : Maloine, 1987, pp. 195, 225. Dans le même ordre d'idée, en bachkir l'aristoloche à feuilles rondes (*Aristolochia rotunda*) est appelée « pomme de terre », *alma ülän*, alors que c'est une plante à feuilles longues ne ressemblant ni à une pomme, ni à une pomme de terre (Ingeborg Hanenschold, *Türksprachige Volksnamen für Kräuter und Standen*, Wiesbaden : Harassowitz, 1989, p. 24..

³⁷ Le magnifique documentaire de Catherine Peix, « Les origines de la pomme », Seppia/Krikor Film, 2008, fournit là-dessus toutes les informations souhaitables. L'importation du pommier qazaq au Tibet au début de notre ère, ou avant, n'est pas une impossibilité : à titre comparatif un fruit appelé « gold peach » (*kin t'ao*) est introduit en Chine en 647 en provenance de Sogdiane et par ordre de l'empereur Kao-tsu des arbres produisant ces fruits doivent être plantés (B. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, o.c., p. 379).

comme pour la mer d’Aral, la folie stalinienne a malmené ces merveilles naturelles).

C'est peut-être ce qui explique l'ancienneté du terme *alma*, répandu dans toutes les langues turques. Certains³⁸ y voient même, au-delà, des contacts entre proto-turk et proto-indo-européen, avec une racine **abel-* , mais je ne veux pas rentrer dans les méandres de la théorie nostratique... En tout cas, le terme *alma* est attesté en turk ancien dès le VIII^e siècle³⁹. Dans la pharmacopée turke, la pomme est valorisée non seulement pour ses vertus nutritives, mais aussi pour son usage médicinal : le jus de pomme étant utilisé pour le traitement de la colite et par voie externe pour certaines affections dermatologiques⁴⁰. Le toponyme *Almaluk* apparaît pour la première fois dans des documents sogdiens qui mentionnent l'existence d'une ville de ce nom et de son dirigeant⁴¹. Cette forme relève du proto-turk : elle se compose de la racine *alma* et du suffixe nominal /+lIk/ qui permet de construire des noms de lieux où pousse la plante considérée, donc *alma* « pomme » nous donne normalement en turk ancien *almalik* « pommeraie » ; la forme avec voyelle labiale *almaluk* renvoie en fait à un état de langue encore plus ancien.

Bref, retenons l'existence d'un toponyme ayant deux formes : *Almaluk* antérieurement au VIII^e siècle, *Almalik* ensuite. Sachant que le tibétain est relativement précis dans ses emprunts au turk , je suis tenté de faire le parallèle avec '*Olmo-lung* et '*Olmo-ling* . Le passage de l'occlusive orale vélaire du turk à la nasale vélaire correspondante du tibétain n'a rien d'extraordinaire : on sait que le *velum* est un organe de grande inertie et donc la nasalité a tendance à être instable, apparaissant et disparaissant : je pourrais citer le néo-uygur *täri* « Dieu » provenant du turk-commun *täyri* avec nasale vélaire ; mais

³⁸ T.V. Gamkrelidze, V.V. Ivanov, *Indoevropejskij jazyk i Indoevrpejcy*, Tome II, Tbilissi, 1984 pp. 640-643, ces auteurs mentionnent le mythe de la pomme comme vecteur d'immortalité (*jablok bessmertiya*) et signalent que le même mot désigne la pomme et le pommier (p. 868).

³⁹ Marcel Erdal, « Around the Turkic ‘Apple’ », *The Journal of Indo-European Studies* volume 21 n° 1-2, 1993, p. 30.

⁴⁰ Voir P.K. Alimbaeva, J.S. Nuralieva, *Dartka daba ösumdüktör*, Bishkek: Kirgizstan, 1991, pp. 107-108, art.: *alma*. A titre de comparaison sur l'importance de la pomme en Islam: “Dans un recueil apocryphe de mythes attribué au 5^e imam (le *Buyruk*, “Commandement”) un récit mentionne que lors de l'Ascension *mi'râj* Allah offre à Muhammad un repas sacré fait de lait, de miel et de pomme, cette dernière (*elma*), produit du Paradis, symbolisant l'enveloppe corporelle de l'homme.» (Françoise Arnaud-Demir, *De l'écoute à la danse : L'expérience rituelle dans le semah des grues de Divriği*, Mémoire de master 2, direction Miriam Roush-Olsen, Paris, septembre 2012, p. 50).

⁴¹ M.N. Bogoljubov, O.I. Smirnova, *Sogdijskie Dokumenty s gory Mug III*, Khozajstvennye dokumenty, Moskva, 1963, pp. 44, 101.

même en français, la voyelle nasale du mot « grammaire » (écrit : *grantmère*, prononcé [grāmèr]) a disparu au XVII^e siècle⁴². D'ailleurs, puisque j'ai parlé plus haut de l'élamite, dans cette langue également on constate « la présence irrégulière de la consonne nasale implosive précédant une consonne occlusive de même point d'articulation (par exemple *m* devant *b/p*, *n* devant *d/t* ne s'écrivent pas toujours) »⁴³. Donc en passant d'une langue à l'autre il peut également y avoir nasalisation ou dénasalisation. L'attraction paronymique joue alors son rôle s'il existe déjà dans la langue emprunteuse un terme de prononciation proche.

Toujours à propos d' 'Olmo, Dudjom Rinpoche, cité par Dan Martin, nous apporte une précision importante : « The existence of a Tibetan place-name 'Ol-mo Tshal (Dudjom 1991 : 1, 609) « Grove of 'Ol-mo », might make us tend towards identifying 'Ol-mo as a kind of tree »⁴⁴. Il est clair que l'existence d'un toponyme « Bosquet d' 'Olmo », rend plausible l'interprétation d' 'Olmo-lung comme « Vallée des Pommiers » ou 'Olmo-ling « Pommeraie ».

Les textes Bön nous décrivent 'Olmo-ling comme un lieu de délices où abondent parcs, jardins et palais, un vrai canton paradisiaque sur lequel règne Tonpa Shenrab⁴⁵.

Un candidat à l'identification se présente aussitôt : il s'agit de l'ancienne cité d'Almalik dans l'actuel Xinjiang. Située dans la vallée de l'Ili, au milieu de terres agricoles et pastorales particulièrement fertiles, la région d'Almalik était peuplée dès avant le début de notre ère. Comme le montrent les travaux d'Etienne de la Vaissière⁴⁶, c'est tout près de là, au confluent du Tekes et de l'Ili que se situe le centre du pouvoir impérial turk de la dynastie des Ashinas (tibétain A-zha) du V^e au VII^e siècles, et non pas au nord du Gobi comme on le croyait. Niri Kaghan, fils de Tardu, qui prend le pouvoir en 588 CE, accède à la domination sur l'ensemble de l'empire turk en 595 CE : les textes chinois n'en parlent guère, mais nous l'apprenons par les Byzantins. L'unité impériale turke gérée depuis les confins Ili-Tekes,

⁴² Voir le *TLF informatisé* qui mentionne le calembour que Molière place dans la bouche de Martine (*Les Femmes savantes*, II ,6, vers 489 sq. : - Veux-tu toute ta vie offenser la grammaire ? – Qui parle d'offenser grand-père ni grand-mère ?), article : grammaire.

⁴³ C. Herrenschmidt, *Les trois écritures*, o.c., p. 88.

⁴⁴ Dan Martin, « 'Ol-mo lung-ring, the Original Holy Place », o.c., p. 286.

⁴⁵ Voir, par exemple, Edwin Birnbaum, *The way to Shambala*, New-York : Anchor Press, 1980, pp. 79-81.

⁴⁶ E. De la Vaissière, "Loin de l'Ötüken et bien contents de l'être : les Turks du VII^e siècle ", communication aux *Journées d'Etudes Turques 2014*, vendredi 4 avril 2014, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, et id., « Oncles et frères : les qaghans Ashinas et le vocabulaire turc de la parenté », *Turcica XLII* 2010, pp. 267-277.

s'effondre quinze ans plus tard et la scission entre Turks Occidentaux et Turks Orientaux est consommée.

Il faut attendre le XIII^e siècle pour avoir une description d'Almalik par le moine taoïste Ch'ang-Ch'un : « They gave us lodging in a fruit-garden to the west. The natives call fruit *a-li-ma* (i.e. apple), and it is from the abundance of its fruits that the town derives its name »⁴⁷. Mais le lieu est surtout popularisé par Gengis Khan qui en fit l'un de ses terrains de chasse en raison de l'abondance de gibier. Son fils Tchaghatay finit par y établir sa résidence d'été⁴⁸.

Grande cité commerciale sur la Route de la Soie, étape obligatoire entre l'Asie Centrale et la Chine, chef-lieu d'un empire turk extrêmement puissant et étendu, Almalik peut très bien avoir été connue à date ancienne par les Tibétains et il n'est pas surprenant que, pour des pasteurs et sédentaires vivant dans des conditions difficiles, cet endroit soit apparu comme un lieu de délices. Il n'est d'ailleurs pas nécessaire qu'il ait été localisé avec une précision absolue: il suffit que le bouche à oreille en ait fait un endroit où la vie était facile et agréable pour que l'on ait jugé utile d'y faire naître Tonpa Shenrab et d'y engrincer les débuts de la religion Bön.

Je ne pousse pas plus loin l'hypothèse: en ce qui concerne l'identification des montagnes, forteresses et rivières mentionnées dans le *Dodu* (*mDo-dus*) ou les autres biographies de Tonpa Shenrab Miwo (le Zermig, *gZer-mig*, et le Zijid, *gZi-brjid*), je signale simplement que la rivière Ili qui baigne Almalik fait 1500 km de long, se jette dans l'immense lac Balkhach dont le bassin versant est traditionnellement appelé par les Turks Jeti-Suu « Sept-Rivières » (en russe *Semirechye*), que la riante vallée de l'Ili est entourée de hautes montagnes et de déserts arides, contraste qui ne peut avoir manqué de frapper les esprits.

Pour finir, je voudrais risquer une autre suggestion, relative cette fois au royaume d'Orgyen (Odḍiyāna) d'où est originaire Padmasambhava. Ce pays est parfois assimilé à la Vallée de Swat, mais cet étroit corridor peut tout au plus en constituer la limite

⁴⁷ Voir l'article « Almaliq » par Daniel Waugh (The University of Washington, Seattle) sur Wikipedia (<http://en.wikipedia.org>). De l'ancienne capitale du Qazaqstan, Almati, jusqu'à la ville du Maine et Loire, La Pommeraye, (A. Demangeon, *Dictionnaire de géographie*, Paris : A. Colin, 1907, p. 623), innombrables sont les cités tirant leur nom d'un verger de pommiers.

⁴⁸ Article : Almaligh (W. Barthold, B. Spuler, O. Pritsak), *Encyclopédie de l'Islam*, Tome I, 1991, pp. 430-431. Il faut surtout consulter : Henry Yule, *Cathay and the way thither*, 4 vol., London : Halkuyt Society, 1913-16, je donne ici l'ensemble des références mentionnant la ville : Volume I : pages 154, 163, 171, 289 ; Volume II : pages 288, 321, 338 ; Volume III : pages 13, 24, 31, 33, 35, 85, 87-89, 125, 148, 156, 190, 212-3, 216, 225 ; Volume IV : pages 137, 141, 160-161, 165, 193, 235.

orientale, *Le Dict de Padma* en effet nous fournit du pays une description majestueuse :

« En ce temps-là, devers occident, il y avait le pays d’Oddiyana ;
et le pays d’Oddiyana formait les deux tiers de la terre. (...)
Il contenait cinq grands pays et vingt et un pans de pays,
et cent quatre-vingts millions de grands districts,
et il avait quatre-vingt-dix-neuf grandes cités »⁴⁹.

Or, Eva Dargyay, dans son ouvrage *The rise of esoteric buddhism in Tibet*⁵⁰, signale que Vimalamitra, l’un des fondateurs du Dzogchen (*rdzogs-chen*), disciple de Jñānasūtra qui lui transmet les enseignements oraux (*snyan-brgyud*), cache un livre en Orgyen « dans une île de l’océan où sont dispersés des sables d’or », *rgya-mtsho gser-gyi bye-ma-gdal-ba'i gling* (ainsi que : *o-dya-na gyi yul rgya-mtsho gser-gyi bye-ma brdal-ba'i gling*). Ceci me fait immédiatement penser au fleuve Zarafshan « Qui disperse l’or », autrefois appelé rivière du Sogd car elle passe non loin de Samarcande⁵¹. Depuis la plus haute antiquité le Zarafshan est célèbre pour les sables aurifères qui lui ont donné son nom. Dans la mer d’Aral qui, au Moyen-Age, pouvait sans conteste être qualifiée d’ « océanique », se trouve, comme le dit le texte tibétain, une île, découverte en 1842 par le lieutenant Aleksei Butakov : elle fut ensuite appelée par les géographes soviétiques *Vozrozhdenija Ostrov* « Ile de la Renaissance » (cet intitulé curieux semble avoir été inspiré par Vimalamitra en personne!). Je déconseille vivement aux tertön-s (*gter-ston*) amateurs d’aller y fouiller pour découvrir l’ouvrage caché par le grand maître : l’île fut confisquée en 1936 par le ministère de la défense et Staline en fit une base ultra-secrète pour la mise au point des armes chimiques et bactériologiques. Aujourd’hui, plus de vingt ans après son abandon, les conteneurs qui restent constituent une source de contamination pour les siècles futurs. C’est peut-être, qui sait, la protection du gourou pour éviter une révélation prématurée des instructions secrètes?

⁴⁹ *Le Dict de Padma*, o.c., p. 67.

⁵⁰ Eva. M. Dargyay, *The rise of esoteric buddhism in Tibet*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidas, 1979 (2^e ed.), p. 26.

⁵¹ « Zarafshan river once contributed its water to Aral Sea, but in last decades, due to intensive irrigated agricultural developments, the flow of the river has decreased drastically » (R. Lal, M. Suleimenov, B.A. Stewart, D.O. Hansen, P. Doraiswamy, *Climate change and terrestrial carbon sequestration in Central Asia*, CRC Press, 2007, p. 420).

Epilegomenon suspensif

Au terme de cette note, je conserve le point d'interrogation du titre. Mon propos n'est en effet pas d'affirmer, mais de suggérer. Ma suggestion s'appuie sur le fait suivant, que quarante-cinq ans d'expérience de terrain en Asie Centrale m'ont permis maintes fois de vérifier : pour un nomade, ailleurs l'herbe est toujours plus verte. Si l'ailleurs est lointain il n'en sera que plus beau. Pour un Kirghiz aujourd'hui, la France apparaît comme un pays de cocagne, où tout le monde est riche, où l'on vit longtemps, comblé de tous les bienfaits possibles, où l'existence est facile... Si l'on essaie de détromper les gens en décrivant la réalité, tout ce qu'on obtient comme réponse c'est : Vous dites cela pour me décourager et conserver pour vous vos richesses.

Il ne me paraît pas totalement invraisemblable que les Tibétains, ayant entendu parler du riche et puissant royaume d'Almalik aient choisi d'y faire naître Tonpa Shenrab et d'en faire le centre de diffusion du Bön. Par la médiation du toponyme turk « Pommeraie », la culture tibétaine s'est enrichie de la vision d'un jardin édénique. Je sais très bien, pour avoir interrogé là-dessus Lopön Tenzin Namdak et Khenpo Tenpa Yungdrung, que les autorités religieuses bön-po sont réservées sur ce sujet. Je voudrais toutefois, laisser le dernier mot (c'est la position rhétorique d'épiphénomène !) au Khenpo Nyima Wangyal⁵² : « Pour nous, croyants, 'Ol-mo-Lung-Ring n'est pas sur terre ; mais si vous, chercheurs, prouvez le contraire, je serai heureux de m'y rendre en pèlerinage et d'y vénérer Tonpa Shenrab ! »

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⁵² Rencontré au séminaire de Charles Ramble à l'EPHE, Paris (mars 2014), je remercie Stéphane Arguillière qui a permis cette rencontre.

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The Eighteen Mahāyoga Tantric Cycles: A Real Canon or the Mere Notion of One?

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0. Introductory Remarks

he present study is devoted to the investigation of the list (or more precisely, lists) of what is known as the Eighteen Mahāyoga Tantric Cycles (*ma hā yo ga rgyud sde bco brgyad*),² and reflects some of the results gained from the ongoing research conducted within the framework of the project “Doxographical Organisational Schemes in Manuscript and Xylograph Collections of the Ancient Tantras.” The paper aims at presenting the various lists of Eighteen Mahāyoga Tantric Cycles that I have been able to locate so far in Tibetan (mainly rNying ma) sources, determining and pointing out the main differences or similarities between them, and thereby classifying them into groups and arranging them in chronological order in an attempt to trace their origin and lines of transmission. Finally, it will be argued that what is referred to as the Eighteen Mahāyoga Tantric Cycles represents a mere notional rather than an actual list that existed in a standard form—at least not one known to the Ti-

¹ This paper presents some of the findings of the Tibetology subproject “Doxographical Organisational Schemes in Manuscripts and Xylographs of the Collection of the Ancient Tantras,” conducted within the framework of the Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures (CSMC / SFB 950), at the University of Hamburg. The CSMC / SFB 950 has been generously funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG) since its foundation in 2011. I would like to thank Prof. Dorji Wangchuk (University of Hamburg) for his helpful comments regarding the reading of some difficult passages and Péter-Daniél Szántó (University of Oxford) for his useful remarks regarding the attestation and reconstruction of some of the Sanskrit titles mentioned in this article. I would also like to thank Philip Pierce (Kathmandu) for carefully proofreading my English and for his useful comments.

² Following my understanding of the Tibetan sources, I consider the list to be referring to eighteen Tantric cycles, each containing numerous *tantras*, and not to eighteen single *tantras*. This becomes clear in several of the sources considered for the present study, which often provide several titles for each of the eighteen, including a “basic” (*rtsa ba, mūla*) *tantra* followed by various related *tantras*, such as “subsequent” (*phyi ma, uttara*) and “sub-subsequent” (*phyi ma'i phyi ma, uttarottara*) *tantras*. Moreover, in cases where only eighteen titles are provided, it is clear that at least some of the titles, such as the *Vajrasattvamayājālatantra*, cover a cluster of *tantras* rather than a single one.

betan tradition—and that this fact led to the construction or creation of the various lists found in the traditional Tibetan sources.

1. The Eighteen Mahāyoga Tantric Cycles

As has been already pointed out and discussed on numerous occasions by various modern scholars, references to a group of Eighteen (Mahāyoga) Tantric Cycles are relatively old. The existence of canons consisting of eighteen *tantras* (or Tantric cycles) was already reported by Indic masters, such as Amoghavajra (705–774) and Jñānamitra (fl. ca. 800) in works available in Chinese and Tibetan translations, respectively. Numerous studies have been done on Amoghavajra's list—which names all eighteen texts and provides a summary of their contents, while claiming that they are sections of or extracts from the 100,000-verse version of the *Vajrasekharatantra*.³ These studies include attempts to identify and locate the eighteen texts in Chinese and later also in Tibetan translations, and whenever possible also in their assumed Sanskrit originals.⁴ Unlike in the case of Amoghavajra's list, Jñānamitra's somewhat later reference, found right at the beginning of his **Prajñāpāramitānayaśatapañcāśatkaṭīkā*,⁵ does not provide us with a full list (let alone summarize the individual texts), but merely mentions the first two titles, namely, the *Sarvabuddhasamāyogatantra* and *Guhyasamājatantra*. In fact, Jñānamitra seems to refer to such a group of *tantras* twice. In the first instance he mentions the *Sarvabuddhasamāyogatantra* and *Guhyasamājatantra* followed by the word "etc." (*la sogs pa*), without, however, providing any collective term that would identify them as being part of a fixed list of eighteen *tantras*.

In the second instance he merely mentions the *Sarvabuddhasamāyogatantra*, which again is followed by the word "etc.", but this time he provides a collective term that clearly identifies the texts as being parts of a distinctive group. But whereas Amoghavajra specifies that these texts are *yogatantras*, Jñānamitra's collective term does not refer to any specific Tantra class, but simply to "eighteen great cycles" (*sde chen po bco brgyad*).⁶ The Tibetan tradition (followed by modern scholars), however, has regarded this collective term as a reference to what

³ For a discussion of the notion of massive Ur-*tantras* and attempts to form "canons" comprising eighteen *tantras* that derive from them, see Gray 2009.

⁴ For a study of Amoghavajra's list, with references to previous studies of the subject, including ones by Japanese scholars, see Giebel 1995.

⁵ This title is probably a reconstruction of what may possibly have read as **Adhyardhaśatikāprajñāpāramita*.

⁶ **Prajñāpāramitānayaśatapañcāśatkaṭīkā* (P, 295a2; D, 273a1; B, vol. 34: 1489.7–8); *sarva buddha sa ma yo ga dang! guhya sa manytsa la sogs pas...*; *ibid.* (P, 295a4–5; D, 273a3; B, vol. 34: 1489.14): ... *sarva buddha sa ma yo ga la sogs pa sde chen po bco brgyad....*

has come to be known as the Eighteen Mahāyoga Tantric Cycles, and indeed one finds in the Tibetan literature both variants of the collective term—*ma hā yo ga rgyud sde bco brgyad* and *sde chen po bco brgyad* (where possibly the words *ma hā* and *chen po* are reflections of each other). Another apparent reference to the list of this group of *tantras* seems to be found in the **Guhyagarbhatantravyākhyāna* ascribed to **Sūryasimhaprabha*, where in one occasion three texts are listed—the *dPal 'phreng dam pa*, *Guhyasamājatantra*, and the **Guhyagarbhatantra*—followed by the word “etc.”, and in another the **Devimāyājālatantra* (or, alternatively, **Devyāmāyājālatantra*) and [*Sarvabuddha*]samāyogatantra, also followed by the word “etc.”, but this time with the collective designation “Mahāyoga scriptures,” without, however, hinting at a specific group with a specific number.⁷ The term Mahāyoga oc-

⁷ **Guhyagarbhatantravyākhyāna* (P, 210b6–7; B, vol. 43: 433.15–17): *dpal 'phreng dam pa dang* | *dpal gsang ba* 'dus pa dang | *dpal gsang ba* snying po la sogs pa..., and *ibid.* (P, 222b5; B, vol. 43: 456.12–13): *de byi ma ha* [= *ya*] *dza la'i tan tra dang* | *sa ma yo ga la* sogs te *ma hā yo ga'i gzhung ngo* ||. The identity of the *dPal 'phreng dam pa* is uncertain. Note that Jñānamitra in his **Prajñāpāramitānayaśātapañcasatkaṭikā* mentions a certain *dPal dam pa phreng ba* (together with the *Tattvasaṃgraha*), which seems to be an alternative rendering of *dPal 'phreng dam pa*. See *ibid.* (P, 296a4–6; D, 273b7–274a2; B, vol. 34: 1492: 1–6): *gzhung las* | [D om. 1] *bcom ldan* 'das ma shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa la *phyag 'tshal lo* || [D om. 1] *zhes byung* [P 'byung] *ba ni* | [P om. 1] *bdud bzhi bcom ste yon tan drug dang ldan pa de bzhin gshegs pa thams cad* 'byung ba'i yum shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa [D add. la, which, however, does not change the meaning] *dpal dam pa phreng ba zhes bya ba* 'di yin no || *yum smos pa las na* | [D om. 1] *de bzhin gshegs pa'i yab kyang smos dgos te gang zhe na* | *yab ni tantra ta ttwā sam̄ gra ha* [em., P ta da twa sang gra ha, D ta ta twā sam̄ yra ha] | *zhes bya ba sngags kyi mdo sde zab mo yin par ston* [P bstan] to ||. Eastman apparently takes the *dPal dam pa phreng ba* to be the *Śripaṇḍāḍya* (which is, however, commonly rendered into Tibetan as *dPal mchog dang po*), on which he is apparently followed by Giebel. See Eastman 1983: 44, and Giebel 1995: 114. I have not been able to confirm this identification and thus for the time being treat the *dPal 'phreng dam pa* / *dPal dam pa phreng ba* and the *dPal mchog dang po* as the titles of two different texts. It may be noted, in any case, that while the *dPal 'phreng dam pa* (unlike the *dPal mchog dang po*) is not included in any of the Tibetan lists as one of the eighteen, it is referred to in the Tibetan rNying ma literature on various occasions, particularly in connection with a commentary on it ascribed to Ku ku rā dza. It is unclear whether such a commentary has ever been translated into Tibetan (provided it itself ever existed) or whether it is known to the tradition only via **Sūryasimhaprabha's* **Guhyagarbhatantravyākhyāna*, according to which Ku ku rā dza composed the commentary after gaining understanding of it in a dream. See *ibid.* (P, 211a2; B, vol. 43: 434.3): ... *dpal dpal 'phreng dam pa'i 'grel pa mdzad del*. See also Martin 1987: 193–194, where a summary of this narration is provided, and also Kanaoka 1966, where an early attempt to shed light on the figure of Ku ku rā dza on the basis of the passage just cited and other sources is found. Also to be noted is that the *dPal 'phreng dam pa* is occasionally cited by rNying ma authors. Rog bande Shes rab 'od (1166–1244, P4301), for example, cites it in his doxographical work, the *Rog grub mtha'* (77.1–2): *dpal 'phreng dam pa'i rgyud las* | *gsang sngags byung tshul rnam pa bzhi stel* *skal pa rdzogs ldan sum ldan gnyis* | *rtsod dus*

curs numerous times in *Sūryasimhaprabha's commentary (as do the terms Atiyoga and rDzogs pa chen po!). Whether this fact should lead one to question the Indic origin of this commentary and the identity of its assumed author *Sūryasimhaprabha or whether we have here a rare witness of these terms in late Indic sources deserves a thorough study of the text and thus cannot be addressed within the framework of the present article.

It has already been pointed out on several occasions that the list, or rather lists, of Eighteen Mahāyoga Tantric Cycles, or Eighteen Major (Tantric) Cycles, known in the Tibetan tradition, is, or are, different from the list known to the Chinese tradition (with only very minor overlapping), although most of the *tantras* have been translated into both languages and are known in both traditions.⁸ In the present paper, however, I shall not go into the similarities or differences between these two traditions but rather focus on the various lists transmitted within the Tibetan tradition, and the similarities and differences between them.

The Tibetan tradition must have been aware of the notion of Eighteen (Mahāyoga) Tantric Cycles from relatively early on, at the latest via Jñānamitra's **Prajñāpāramitānayaśatapañcāśatkaṭīkā*, which was translated into Tibetan already during the first phase of propagation of Buddhism in Tibet and is accordingly referred to in the ninth-

rgyud dang rim bzhin du | gdul bya'i nges la snang ba yin | zhes so | |. In his recent translation of the *Rog grub mtha'*, Cabezón notes that the *lDe'u chos 'byung* (120) cites the same verse, ascribed there to the fourth chapter of the *Guhyasamājatantra*, where, however, it is not found. See Cabezón 2013: 126, n. 53. I myself have not been able to confirm Cabezón's claims. *lDe'u*, in his discussion of the *rgyud sde rnam pa bzhi*, indeed cites various sources as scriptural support. However, Cabezón seems to have misunderstood the source given for one of the citations there (*lDe'u chos 'byung*, 120.17–20), "the fourth chapter of the *Vajrapañjaratantra*" (*gur le'u bzhi pa*), to mean "the fourth chapter of the *Guhyasamājatantra*." Moreover, the verse ascribed there to "the fourth chapter of the *Vajrapañjaratantra*" is completely different from our verse. The verse that may have caught Cabezón's eye is the previous one (*lDe'u chos 'byung*, 120.14–16), which, while slightly resembling ours, is by no means identical. No source is given for this verse, although *lDe'u* could have implicitly been ascribing it to the *Guhyasamājatantra*, the source given for the next preceding verse (*ibid.* 120.12–14). By that as it may, in his brief mention of the eighteen Mahāyoga Tantric cycles, *Rog bande Shes rab 'od* does not refer to any commentary on it by Ku ku rā dza. See *ibid.* (72.6–73.1): *spyi rgyud ma hā yo ga la | tan tra sde bco brgyad bzhugs la khyad par du gsang ba sgyu 'phrul la | sgyu 'phrul sde bco brgyad du grags so | |.* Lo chen Dharma shrī (1654–1717/18, P667), to give another example, cites the *dPal 'phreng dam pa* in his *gSang bdag zhal lung* (492.1–2): *de'ang dpal phreng dam pa'i rgyud las | rdo rje rtse gcig phyag rgya yis | | dam bca' rim pa tshul bzhin bstan | | zhes pas....*

⁸ For a comparison between the Tibetan and Chinese traditions of the Eighteen Tantric Cycles, see Eastman 1981 (unpublished). See also Giebel 1995, where the Tibetan equivalents of the eighteen texts known in the Chinese traditions are identified.

century *lDan kar ma* and *'Phang thang ma* catalogues.⁹ As pointed out by Sam van Schaik, the notion was familiar, in particular, to the Tibetans in Dunhuang.¹⁰ However, it seems that while Tibetans inherited the notion of such a list, they did not inherit the list itself. It is thus not surprising that one finds in the Tibetan literature—both doctrinal and historical—various lists of the Eighteen Mahāyoga Tantric Cycles. These lists differ not only from the one provided by Amoghavajra but also among themselves, both in content and organisation. Kenneth Eastman, in his pioneering unpublished (but widely circulated) paper from 1981, devotes much of his discussion to the Chinese tradition and a comparison of it with the Tibetan one(s). His major contribution on the Tibetan side has been the study of several lists found in Tibetan sources. He presents (Table II) the list provided by 'Jigs med gling pa (1729/30–1798, P314)¹¹ in the historical part of his catalogue-cum-history of the *rNying ma rgyud bum* (column b), mentions their classification into one of the five categories of *sku*, *gsung*, *thugs*, *yon tan*, and *'phrin las* (column a), and identifies ten out of the eighteen mentioned there in 'Jigs med gling pa's actual catalogue—that is, the texts that have actually been included by him in his edition of the *rNying ma rgyud bum*—alongside their Sanskrit title whenever possible (column c).¹² In the same paper he also presents (Table III) the list found in the *Klong chen chos 'byung* (which at that time was erroneously believed to have been authored by Klong chen pa, for which reason Eastman attached great importance to it).¹³ There he identifies twelve titles as being identical with ones in 'Jigs med gling pa's list (column b)—tentatively taking 'Jigs med gling pa's *Karma ma le* to be identical with the title *dPal 'phreng dkar ma*; four of the first seventeen titles and five of the eight *māyājālatantas* (which together form the Tantric cycle no. 18) as being ones mentioned by gNubs Sangs rgyas ye shes (ninth cent.) in his *bSam gtan mig sgron* (column c); finds eleven titles—seven of the first seventeen and four of the *māyājālatantas*—in the Dunhuang text known as *Pelliot tibétain 849* (column d); and provides the location of altogether nineteen texts—twelve of the first seventeen and seven of the eight *māyājālatantas* (the second being missing)—in the gTing skye edition of the *rNying ma rgyud bum* (column e), while noting that two further texts are found in the Anuyoga section (provides no location). In the

⁹ *lDan dkar ma*, no. 523; *'Phang thang ma* (36.20–21).

¹⁰ See van Schaik 2008a: 81 (English translation) and 82 (Tibetan text), for the passage in IOL Tib J 436, where reference is made to eighteen *tantras* (*rgyud bco brgyad*), without, however, specifying their titles.

¹¹ The dates of Tibetan persons provided in this paper are based on the TBRC, followed by the TBRC Resource ID.

¹² Eastman 1981 (unpublished): 16.

¹³ Eastman 1981 (unpublished): 17–18.

years since, several other scholars have discussed the list, of whom I shall briefly mention three. Dan Martin, in his article on the **Guhyagarbhatantra*, provides the list by Zur ’tsho dKon mchog tshul khrims, and whenever possible locates the texts in two versions of the *rNying ma rgyud ’bum* (gTing skyes and mTshams brag), the *Bai ro rgyud ’bum*, and the Tibetan canon (Peking and sDe dge).¹⁴ Nathaniel Garson in his thesis on the **Guhyagarbhatantra* has compared two lists (to a great extent on the basis of the information gathered by Gyurme Dorje in his study of the same *tantra*)—one which he associates with the Zur tradition and one compiled by Klong chen pa (these two represent the first and the second groups discussed in this paper, respectively). Garson points out the differences and attempts to locate the individual titles in the *rNying ma rgyud ’bum*.¹⁵ More recently, Sam van Schaik has briefly discussed the list in an article on the definition of Mahāyoga based on Dunhuang sources. There, after a brief discussion of the list of eighteen in general, van Schaik presents the list provided by Klong chen pa along with remarks on references to the individual titles in Dunhuang material (i.e. whether they are cited or mentioned in several Dunhuang sources studied by him).¹⁶

In the following, I shall examine and compare the different lists located so far in Tibetan sources, focusing on their content and organization. I shall, however, refrain from attempting to identify the texts and their location within the *rNying ma rgyud ’bum*. I believe that such an attempt is in a way futile for two reasons: as I pointed out earlier, several of the lists studied here make clear that each of the eighteen titles refer to a cycle or cluster of texts rather than to a single text. In addition, the fact that numerous texts in the *rNying ma rgyud ’bum* bear very similar titles, on the one hand, and that the lists merely provide short titles, on the other, makes a definite identification in many cases impossible. Martin and even more so Garson have recognized this difficulty and thus have often provided more than one option for individual titles. However, an examination of the lists that attempt to provide us with the individual titles belonging to each cycle only proves that these detailed lists often make the identification more complicated rather than being helpful. Furthermore, the difficulty of identifying titles with actual texts, particularly in the case of Tantric literature, is further demonstrated in cases where citations of passages ascribed to one of these *tantras* cannot be located in texts available to us to date that bear the same (or similar) title.¹⁷ A further

¹⁴ Martin 1987: 179–182.

¹⁵ Garson 2004: 259–264.

¹⁶ Van Schaik 2008a: 72–74.

¹⁷ For examples of citations that could not be located in the texts they are ascribed to in the versions available to date, see Cantwell & Mayer 2012: 5, 84–86, and van Schaik 2008b: 10–11.

complication is the fact that the various lists occasionally disagree among themselves regarding the number of chapters (*le'u* or *rtog pa*) in individual texts, and even in cases when they do agree, the number they quote may differ from the actual number of chapters found in the texts with the same titles available to us. The reasons for all these discrepancies may be numerous, and a discussion of the matter is indeed beyond the scope of the present study, but such discrepancies should be kept in mind when attempting to analyze historical evidence regarding this corpus.¹⁸

In general, upon an examination of the lists of the Eighteen Mahāyoga Tantric Cycles known to date in the Tibetan literature, one may categorize them into two groups. The first includes the lists found in the following works (in chronological order):

- (1) The *IDe'u chos 'byung* (dated after 1261, Martin 1997: no. 54) by mKhas pa lDe'u (b. 13th cent., P6968)
- (2) The *Klong chen chos 'byung* (dated 1362, Martin 1997: no. 90¹⁹)
- (3) Sangs rgyas gling pa's (1340–1396, P5340) *rGyab chos spar khab*
- (4) Ratna gling pa's (1403–1478, P5319) *rTsod bzlog* (dated 1458–1466, Martin 1997: no. 138)

¹⁸ Some of these and other problems concerning the identification and dating of works mentioned in lists of scriptures that are documented in traditional sources have been discussed by Dominic Goodall in his study of the Śaiva Saiddhāntika scripture titled *Parākhyatantra*. There, Goodall presents a list of twenty-eight titles of supposedly principal Saiddhāntika *tantras* transmitted in *Kirāja* 10 (ten Śivabhedā-s and eighteen Rudrabhedā-s), for all of which there are texts bearing the same title that survive today. In order to prove whether a given *tantra* is indeed early, Goodall considers the following three factors: (1) the existence of early Nepalese manuscripts of the work, (2) the existence of early commentaries on the work, and (3) substantial quotations in early commentaries that can be located in the presumably surviving version of the *tantra* to which the quotations are attributed. As noted by Goodall, the last criterion is not as strong as the first two, since the quantity of quoted text to make the identification compelling is disputable. In addition, Goodall considers surviving pre-twelfth-century Saiddhāntika *tantras* which are not included in versions of the list of twenty-eight, but identify themselves as derived from one of them. Goodall also notes that such lists and the difficulties in identifying the titles they mention are known also in other Indian literary traditions, and he points to the corpus of Purāṇa-s, where one also finds what seems to be early lists of eighteen works concerning which there are disputes regarding the identification of the titles listed with surviving works bearing the same names. See Goodall 2004: xvii–xxi. A similar attempt at identifying and dating the *tantras* mentioned in the lists of the Eighteen Mahāyoga Tantric Cycles can be made only in part, since in many cases no texts with the same titles survive. Yet, despite this limitation, such an attempt would no doubt be still desirable. Such an undertaking is clearly beyond the scope of this study, but it is very much hoped that it can be carried out in the future.

¹⁹ Note that although Martin lists this work under *Klong chen pa Dri med 'od zer*, he discusses in length the controversy surrounding this attribution. For references to previous discussions on the matter, see Wangchuk 2008: 230.

- (5) The *mKhyen rab chos 'byung* (dated 1557?, Martin 1997: no. 174) by mKhyen rab rgya mtsho (b. 16th cent, P6917)
- (6) Sog bzlog pa Blo gros rgyal mtshan's (1552–1624, P645) *Chos 'byung dgag pa* (late 16th or early 17th cent.).

The second includes those found in the following works (in chronological order):

- (1) bSam 'grub rdo rje's (1295–1334, P5234) **Guhyagarbhatantra* commentary, the *Rin chen 'bar gur*
- (2) Klong chen pa Dri med 'od zer's (1308–1364, P1583) *sNgags kyi spyi don* (suggested date of composition between 1352–1355²⁰)
- (3) O rgyan gling pa's (1340–1396, P5340) *Padma bka' thang* (dated 1352, Martin 1997: no. 87)
- (4) dPa' bo gTsug lag 'phreng ba's (1504–1564/66, P319) *Chos 'byung mkhas pa'i dga' ston* (dated 1545–1564, Martin 1997: no. 168)
- (5) sDe srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho's (1653–1705, P421) *Baidūra g.ya' sel* (dated 1688)
- (6) 'Jigs med gling pa's (1729/30–1798, P314) *sNga 'gyur rgyud 'bum rtogs brjod* (Martin 1997: no. 301)
- (7) Zur 'tsho dKon mchog tshul khriims's (n.d., P7776) *Lo rgyus mu tig phreng ba.*

Nyang ral Nyi ma 'od zer (1124–1192, P364) provides on three occasions lists of *mahāyogatantras* translated into Tibetan: in the (1) *Nyang ral chos 'byung* (dated late 1100's, Martin 1997: no. 18); (2) *Zangs gling ma* (Martin 1997: no. 20), a gTer ma text said to have been discovered by him; and (3) *gSang sngags bka'i lde mig*, another gTer ma text belonging to the *bKa' brgyad bde gshegs 'dus pa* cycle. Interestingly, the pertinent passages in the *Nyang ral chos 'byung* and in the *Zangs gling ma* are literally identical, once again an example of “borrowing” and exchange between composed and “discovered” texts (but since the former work is dated only approximately and the latter is not dated at all, it is impossible to determine here which one borrowed from which). Although Nyang ral does refer to the Eighteen Mahāyoga Tantric Cycles, he does not explicitly name them, but seems to focus in his list on *mahāyogatantras* that are rather practice-oriented. In his *gSang sngags bka'i lde mig* the situation is somewhat different, for he not only refers to the Eighteen Mahāyoga Tantric Cycles but also lists

²⁰ On this suggested date of composition, see Araguillère 2007: 157 and Wangchuk 2008: 216, n. 78.

them, if only partially. Nonetheless, one may include the list found there in the second group.

2. The Lists of the Eighteen Mahāyoga Tantric Cycles

2.1. Group One

The *IDe'u chos 'byung* provides a list that contains two parts, the first (§A) containing the titles of the Eighteen Mahāyoga Tantric Cycles as such (i.e. either what may be the title of the *mūlatantra* or what is conceived as a general designation of the cycle), and the second (§B) containing the titles of the *tantras* belonging to the individual cycles that *IDe'u* claims had been translated into Tibetan. It lists altogether 51 translated *tantras* pertaining to seventeen of the eighteen cycles, while failing to mention any such *tantras* belonging to the cycle of the *rNam par snang mdzad sgyu 'phrul drwa ba* (no. 17). It is, however, unclear whether this was a deliberate omission. The *IDe'u chos 'byung* (like the other sources in this group) arranges the eighteen cycles in five sections: (1) five basic *tantras* (*gzhi 'am rtsa ba'i rgyud*), (2) five *sādhana*-related or practice-oriented *tantras* (*sgrub pa'i lag len ston pa'i rgyud*), (3) five general ancillary *tantras* (*spyi'i yan lag tu gyur pa'i rgyud*), (4) two subsequent-like *tantras* (*rgyud phyi ma lta bu*), and (5) a synopsis-like *tantra* (*bsdus don lta bu'i rgyud*) or Ur-*tantra* (*rtsa ba rgyud chen po*), as it is referred to by other sources. While the *IDe'u chos 'byung* does not provide any source for this subclassification, both the *mKhyen rab chos 'byung* and Sog bzlog pa's *Chos 'byung dgag pa* ascribe it to Ku ku rā dza's *dPal 'phreng dam pa'i 'grel pa*, which according to the *mKhyen rab chos 'byung* contains a short list of the Eighteen Tantric Cycles (*tan tra sde bco brgyad kyi dkar chag bsdus pa*).²¹

²¹ *mKhyen rab chos 'byung* (139.6–140.4): *rgyal po dang | paṇḍi ta rnams zhal mthun par | rnal 'byor bla na med pa'i rgyud sde bskyed pa ma hā yo ga'i tan tra sde bco brgyad du mtshan gsol dar rgyas su gnang ngo | | dpal 'phreng dam pa'i 'grel pa rgya gar nub phyogs kyi paṇḍi ta rig gnas la mkhas shing | grub pa brgyad la dbang 'byor ba'i slob dpon ku ku [rā] dzas tan tra sde bco brgyad kyi dkar chag bsdus pa yin te | de la sku gsung thugs yon tan 'phrin las Inga'i rtsa bar gyur pa'i sde Inga | sgrub pa lag len du bstān pa rol pa'i rgyud Inga | 'spyod pa'i [= spyi'i] yan lag tu 'gro ba'i rgyud Inga | ma tshang ba kha skong gi rgyud phyi ma gnyis | de thams cad kyi bsdus don gyi rgyud cig ste bco brgyad do | |. And *Chos 'byung dgag pa* (265.3–5): ... tantra sde bco brgyad ni 'di ltar yin te | dpal phreng dam pa'i 'grel pa slob dpon ku ku rā dzas mdzad pa las | sku gsung thugs yon tan 'phrin las Inga'i gzhi dang rtsa bar gyur pa'i rgyud sde Inga | sgrub pa lag len du bstān pa rol pa'i rgyud Inga | 'spyod pa'i [= spyi'i] yan lag tu 'gro ba'i rgyud Inga | cho ga ma tshang ba kha skong bar byed pa | rgyud phyi ma lta bu gnyis | 'deg thaind' [exp. de dag thamd cad] kyi bsdus don lta bu'i rgyud chen po gcig dang bco brgyad do | |. Lo chen Dharma shrī, too, ascribes this classification to Ku ku rā dza's *dPal 'phreng dam pa'i 'grel pa*. See his *gSang bdag zhal lung* (159.5–160.3): de la tantra sde bco brgyad ni | snga rabs pa phal cher | sku gsung thugs yon tan phrin las kyi*

The list found in the *lDe'u chos 'byung* is reproduced, with only slight variation, in the *Klong chen chos 'byung*. Remarkably, here too the cycle of the *rNam par snang mdzad sgyu 'phrul drwa ba* (no. 17) is omitted from the part of the list in which the translated *tantras* belonging to each of the cycles are mentioned. This might support the assumption that this omission could have already occurred during the composition of the *lDe'u chos 'byung* rather than during the transmission process of the manuscript available to us. However, it is not to be ruled out that it indeed occurred during a very early stage of the transmission of the *lDe'u chos 'byung*, since several decades, if not a whole century, passed between the compositions of the two works in question. What is certain is that neither of them thematize this omission.

The main difference found in the list provided by the *Klong chen chos 'byung* is the list of translated *tantras* belonging to the cycle of the *rDo rje sems dpa' sgyu 'phrul drwa ba* (no. 18). While the *lDe'u chos 'byung* lists altogether eleven such texts (or twelve, if one assumes the veiled presence of the *mūlatantra*, that is, the twenty-two-chapter *gSang ba snying po*, in the eighty-chapter version), which it does not subclassify, the *Klong chen chos 'byung* lists twelve such titles, subclassified into eight *māyājālatantras* (*sgyu 'phrul sde brgyad*) and four explanatory *tantras* (*bshad rgyud sde bzhi*). Moreover, only the first three listed in the *Klong chen chos 'byung* (nos. 18.1, 18.2 & 18.4) are listed in the *lDe'u chos 'byung* (nos. 18.1 & 18.11), three that is, if one assumes the twenty-two-chapter *gSang ba snying po* to be included by *lDe'u* in title no. 18.1.²² In the present study, I shall, however, not go into a detailed discussion of the list of texts belonging to the *rDo rje sems dpa' sgyu 'phrul drwa ba* cycle and their subclassification but merely note here that the list found in the *Klong chen chos 'byung* clearly represents the one that has been widely accepted by the later tradition.

rgyud gsum gsum ste bco lnga | spyi rgyud gsum ste bco brgyad do || zhes bzhed | dpal 'phreng dam pa'i 'grel pa slob dpon ku ku rā dzas mdzad par | sku gsung thugs yon tan phrin las lnga'i gzhi dang de'i rtsa bar gyur pa'i rgyud sde lnga | sgrub pa lag len du bstan pa rol pa'i rgyud lnga | 'spyod pa'i [= spyi'i] yan lag tu 'gro ba'i rgyud lnga | cho ga ma tshang ba kha skong bar byed pa rgyud phyi ma lta bu gnyis | de thams cad kyi bsdu don lta bu'i rgyud chen po gcig dang bco brgyad do || zhes gsungs pa ltar bdag cag gi rje bla ma'i dgongs pa'ang phyi mar gnas te shin tu legs pa nyid do || . Given the very similar wording, however, the three cited works seem to go back to one and the same source. In particular, they all read *spyod pa'i yan lag* for the third category, while the *lDe'u chos 'byung* and the *Klong chen chos 'byung* have *spyi'i yan lag* (as probably also the *rGyab chos spar khab* does, if its reading *phyi'i be*, as I suggest doing, emended to *spyi'i*).

²² For my decision not to equate the *Klong chen chos 'byung*'s *dBang gtso bor ston pa sgyu 'phrul bla ma* (18.4) with the *lDe'u chos 'byung*'s *bKol ba'i sgyu 'phrul bla ma le'u bcu gsum pa* (18.3), see the notes to the *Klong chen chos 'byung*'s no. 18.4 and to the *rGyab chos spar khab*'s no. 18.10.

Sangs rgyas gling pa (1340–1396, P5340), in his *rGyab chos spar khab*, provides a list of the Eighteen Mahāyoga Tantric Cycles that is similar to the one offered by lDe'u. He names the same Tantric cycles and follows the same subclassification scheme. He does not, however, have a separate list like the one in the *lDe'u chos 'byung* (§A) but merely incorporates the titles into the list of what are the putatively translated pertinent texts. His list of translated texts is, however, longer than lDe'u's, namely, 81 titles compared to the 51 in the *lDe'u chos 'byung*. Unlike the *lDe'u chos 'byung* (followed by the *Klong chen chos 'byung*), which does not include any titles of translated texts pertaining to the *rNam snang sgyu 'phrul drwa ba* (no. 17), Sangs rgyas gling pa lists two such titles for this Tantric cycle (here no. 16), namely, the *rNam snang sgyu 'phrul drwa ba* (16.1), obviously referring to an assumed *mūlatantra*, and the *Cha mthun pa'i rgyud 'jam dpal sgyu 'phrul drwa ba* | *mtshan yang dag par brjod pa* (16.2). The latter is noticeably listed in the *Klong chen chos 'byung* as one of the texts belonging to the *rDo rje sems dpa' sgyu 'phrul drwa ba* cycle (no. 18.6)—the more common assignment of this *tantra* (i.e. when it is classified as a *mahāyogatantra*). Concerning the list of translated *tantras* pertaining to the *rDo rje sems dpa' sgyu 'phrul drwa ba*, Sangs rgyas gling pa lists seventeen such works, namely, all eleven titles provided in the *lDe'u chos 'byung*, and six additional ones: the *'Bring du bsdus pa sgyu 'phrul drug cu pa* (18.2), *Shin tu bsdus pa sgyu 'phrul bzhi bcu pa* (18.3), *sKu'i rgyud sgyu 'phrul rgyas pa* (18.4), *Thugs kyi rgyud gsang ba snying po* (18.6, clearly referring to the twenty-two-chapter version apparently included by lDe'u in the eighty-chapter version), *dBang gi rgyud sgyu 'phrul bla ma* (18.8), and *Dam tshig gi rgyud sgyu 'phrul le lag* (18.9). Moreover, the *rGyab chos spar khab* includes five titles of translated texts related to the *rDo rje sems dpa' sgyu 'phrul drwa ba* that are also included in the *Klong chen chos 'byung*, namely, in addition to the eighty-chapter and twenty-two-chapter versions of the *gSang ba snying po* (18.1 & 18.6), also the *lHa mo sgyu 'phrul* (18.5), *dBang gi rgyud sgyu 'phrul bla ma* (18.8), and *Dam tshig gi rgyud sgyu 'phrul le lag* (18.9). This leaves the *rGyab chos spar khab* with three titles that have not been included in any of the two previous lists, namely, the *'Bring du bsdus pa sgyu 'phrul drug cu pa* (18.2), *Shin tu bsdus pa sgyu 'phrul bzhi bcu pa* (18.3), and *sKu'i rgyud sgyu 'phrul rgyas pa* (18.4).

The *mKhyen rab chos 'byung*, too, provides a list of the Eighteen Mahāyoga Tantric Cycles, which it subclassifies in the same manner as in the above-mentioned lists, and which ascribes it to Ku ku rā ja's *dPal 'phreng dam pa'i 'grel pa*.²³ As for the list itself, mKhyen rab does not provide any source. Whatever his source may have been, his list is almost identical with the one provided by Sangs rgyas gling pa in

²³ See above, note 21.

his *rGyab chos spar khab*, and even the wording (of both the titles themselves and the supplementary text) manifests only slight differences. The main difference between the two concerns the list of texts pertaining to the *rDo rje sems dpa' sgyu 'phrul drwa ba* (no. 18), for which mKhyen rab lists twelve titles which are identical with those listed in the *Klong chen chos 'byung*, and de facto also with the *lDe'u chos 'byung* (that is, if one assumes the latter's inclusion of the twenty-two chapter version with the eighty-chapter version of the *gSang ba snying po*).

Sog bzlog pa Blo gros rgyal mtshan, in his *Chos 'byung dgag pa*, a refutation of the critique penned by Byang bdag bKra shis stobs rgyal (1550?–1603, P646), provides a similar list to those found in Sangs rgyas gling pa's *rGyab chos spar khab* and the *mKhyen rab chos 'byung*. However, it seems that his source does not go back directly to either of them but to one that is apparently earlier than Sangs rgyas gling pa's *rGyab chos spar khab* (second half of the 14th cent.) and possibly (but not necessarily) later than the *lDe'u chos 'byung* (second half of the 13th cent.). Of the two, it clearly bears more similarities with the *lDe'u chos 'byung*. This is made very clear not only by the numerous textual evidence scattered throughout the entire list, but also by the fact that Sog bzlog pa's enumeration of the texts belonging to the *rDo rje sems dpa' sgyu 'phrul drwa ba* (no. 18) matches lDe'u's list and not the one provided in the *rGyab chos spar khab*.

Ratna gling pa, in his *rTsod bzlog*, provides a list of the Eighteen Mahāyoga Tantric Cycles that is similar to the aforementioned five sources, that is, both in terms of its subclassification of the *tantras* into five categories and, for the most part, also of the individual titles. He, however, provides only the list of the titles of the eighteen cycles, not the titles of the putatively translated texts pertaining to them. Unfortunately, the passage poses some textual problems, for it mentions the *He ru ka gal po* twice (nos. 6 & 8), for which previous lists have once the *He ru ka rol pa* and once the *sNying rje rol pa* instead. For lack of other evidence, we will have to assume for the time being that the first occurrence of the *He ru ka gal po* in Ratna gling pa's list is identical with (or at least closely related to) the *He ru ka rol pa*, and that the second occurrence is erroneous, and the title should have been *sNying rje rol pa*. Apart from this textual problem, Ratna gling pa's list deviates from the aforementioned five lists in one title: it has *Go 'phang dbang gis bsgrod pa | dbang bskur rgyal po'i rgyud* (no. 12), while the *lDe'u chos 'byung* (followed by the remaining four lists) reads *Go 'phang dbang gis bgrod pa'i rgyud ri bo brtsegs pa* (no. 11). Despite the fact that the phrase describing the title, *go 'phang dbang gis bgsrod/ bgrod pa*, is identical in both cases, it is rather unlikely that Ratna gling pa is referring here to the same text, since the *dBang bskur rgyal*

po'i rgyud and the *Ri bo brtsegs pa'i rgyud* appear to be two different texts (Tk.192/Tb.98 and Tk.133/Tb.411, respectively).

2.2. Group Two

bSam 'grub rdo rje's (1295–1334, P5234) **Guhagarbhatantra* commentary, the *Rin chen 'bar gur*, is another early source for the list of the Eighteen Mahāyoga Tantric Cycles, but clearly one that represents a different tradition than what is transmitted within circles of the first group. bSam 'grub rdo rje's list differs from that of lDe'u (and the others discussed so far) in terms of both organization and contents. That is, while the sources of the first group classify the Eighteen Tantric Cycles into a group of five *mūlatantras* and a group of five *sādhana*-related *tantras*—associating each of the *tantras* in these two groups with the five categories of *sku*, *gsung*, *thugs*, *yon tan*, and *'phrin las*—and further into a group of five *tantras* that are considered “general ancillaries,” a group of two *tantras* that are regarded as “subsequent-like” *tantras*, and finally one that is considered to be the *Urtantra*, which comprises (or summarizes) all of them, bSam 'grub rdo rje follows a sixfold division into *sku*, *gsung*, *thugs*, *yon tan*, *'phrin las*, and *spyi*, with three titles in each. Moreover, six titles found in lDe'u's list—namely, the *He ru ka rol pa* (no. 6), *rTa mchog rol pa / Padma dbang chen* (no. 7), *sNying rje'i rol pa* (no. 8), *bDud rtsi rol pa* (no. 9), *Glog ye shes 'khor lo* (no. 15), and *rNam par snang mdzad sgyu 'phrul drwa ba* (no. 17)—are missing from bSam 'grub rdo rje's list, which has instead the *Glang po che chur zhugs* (no. 3), *gCig las 'phro pa* (no. 5), *Du ma [las?] 'phro pa* (no. 6), *bDud rtsi mchog dang po* (no. 11), *Yid bzhin nor bu'i rgyud* (no. 12), and *sGron ma/me 'bar ba* (no. 14).

It is clear that bSam 'grub rdo rje excludes the first four of the *tantras* that are classified in the first group as *sādhana*-related (i.e., nos. 6–9, while retaining no. 10, the *Phur pa byi dor rol pa*), since these were apparently considered already at that time, at least in some circles, as belonging to another class, and indeed in the *NyGB* and in later textual records they are considered as belonging to the *Sādhana Section* (*sGrub sde*). As has been pointed out, there are some (textual) problems in lDe'u's list of the putatively translated *tantras* in regard to the remaining two titles omitted by bSam 'grub rdo rje, that is, instead of the *Glog ye shes 'khor lo* (no. 15) the *Glang po rab 'bog* is repeated (already listed as no. 13), and the *rNam par snang mdzad sgyu 'phrul drwa ba* (no. 17) is missing there altogether, so this may be an indication that there were some problems with these titles already for lDe'u as well. dPa' bo gTsug lag 'phreng ba's (1504–1566) list provided in his *Chos 'byung mkhas pa'i dga' ston* is practically identical with the one provided by bSam 'grub rdo rje, and it may well be that he took the

latter as his source. The lists provided by sDe srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho in his *Baidūra g.ya' sel* and by 'Jigs med gling pa in his *sNga 'gyur rgyud 'bum rtogs brjod* are, apart from slight variations, also identical with bSam 'grub rdo rje's, and they are very likely to have used either him or dPa' bo gTsug lag 'phreng ba as their source.

Klong chen pa provides a list of the Eighteen Mahāyoga Tantric Cycles that is very similar to bSam 'grub rdo rje's, with the same basic sixfold subclassification, though some titles are in a different order or differently classified under these six categories. Moreover, his list differs from that by bSam 'grub rdo rje also in regard to three titles, namely, bSam 'grub rdo rje's *Du ma 'phro pa* (no. 6), *bDud rtsi mchog dang po* (no. 11), and *Yid bzhin nor bu'i rgyud* (no. 12), which are missing in Klong chen pa's list, being replaced with the *Padma dbang chen* (no. 5), *bDud rtsi sa ma ya 'bum sde* (no. 11), and *Ma mo rgyud lung* (no. 14). In addition, Klong chen pa further subclassifies the *tantras* in each group into the three categories of *sku*, *gsung*, and *thugs* (i.e. *sku'i sku*, *sku'i gsung*, etc.), thus resulting in eighteen distinct subcategories. Such further subclassification is very typical of Klong chen pa and is quite probably an innovation of his own in regard to the list. In comparison with the list by lDe'u, thirteen of the titles provided by Klong chen pa are virtually identical. The five missing titles are the same titles omitted by bSam 'grub rdo rje, except for the *rTa mchog rol pa / Padma dbang chen* (no. 7), which is found in Klong chen pa's list under the category of *gsung gi rgyud* (no. 5).

O rgyan gling pa, in his *Padma bka' thang*, provides a list of the eighteen Tantric cycles that falls under the second group in terms of both organization and contents. It is, however, not completely identical with either bSam 'grub rdo rje's or Klong chen pa's list. The *Padma bka' thang* is missing five titles that are found in bSam 'grub rdo rje's list, namely, the *Du ma 'phro pa* (no. 6), *rTse gcig tu 'dus pa* (no. 9), *bDud rtsi mchog dang po* (no. 11), *Yid bzhin nor bu* (no. 12), and *sGron ma/me 'bar ba* (no. 14), having instead the *Padma dbang chen* (no. 5), *rTse gsum 'dus pa* (no. 7), *Nam mkha' mdzod kyi byin brlabs* (no. 10), *Dam rdzas bdud rtsi'i sgrub thabs* (no. 11), and *sGrol ma brtsegs pa* (no. 14). Here, too, it is possible that some of the seemingly different titles refer to the same texts. The list also lacks four of Klong chen pa's titles, namely, the *rTse mo 'dus pa* (no. 7), *bDud rtsi sa ma ya 'bum sde* (no. 11), *Ma mo rgyud lung* (no. 14), and *sGron me 'bar ba* (no. 10), having instead four of the titles which supplement bSam 'grub rdo rje's list (i.e. O rgyan gling pa's nos. 7, 10, 11, and 14 named above).

Zur 'tsho dKon mchog tshul khrims (n.d., P7776), in his *Lo rgyus mu tig phreng ba*, provides a list similar to the ones offered by bSam 'grub rdo rje, Klong chen pa, and O rgyan gling pa. Similar, that is, in terms of both organization, which follows the same sixfold subclassification, and in terms of the titles included. The titles, however, are

arranged somewhat differently, in an order closest to Klong chen pa's (nine of the titles are in the same position, while bSam 'grub rdo rje's list has only three). It shares fifteen titles with Klong chen pa's list, while the *rTse mo 'dus pa* (no. 7), *bDud rtsi sa ma ya 'bum sde* (no. 11), and *Ma mo rgyud lung* (no. 14) are missing. Instead it has the *rTse gcig bskul ba* (no. 8), *bDud rtsi chu rlung* (no. 10), and *Nam mkha' mdzod* (no. 11). With bSam 'grub rdo rje's list it shares fourteen titles, the four missing being the *Du ma 'phro pa* (no. 6), *rTse gcig tu 'dus pa* (no. 9), *bDud rtsi mchog dang po* (no. 11), and *Yid bzhin nor bu'i rgyud* (no. 12). It has instead the same three that are missing in Klong chen pa's list (i.e. Zur 'tsho's nos. 8, 10 & 11) and the *dBang chen 'grub pa* (no. 4), which is possibly equivalent to Klong chen pa's *Padma dbang chen* (no. 5).

Zur 'tsho shares fifteen titles with the list provided in O rgyan gling pa's *Padma bka' thang*, while missing the *rTse gsum 'dus (pa?)* (no. 7), *Dam rdzas bdud rtsi'i sgrub thabs* (no. 11), and *sGrol ma brtsegs pa* (no. 14), having instead the *rTse gcig bskul ba'i rgyud* (no. 8), *bDud rtsi chu klung gi rgyud* (no. 10), and *sGron ma 'bar ba'i rgyud* (no. 14). As I have already suggested, O rgyan 7 and Zur 'tsho 8 (and Klong chen 7 and bSam 'grub 9) may be the same (or related) texts.²⁴ In any case, Zur 'tsho's list seems to be closer to the one in the *Padma bka' thang* than to bSam 'grub rdo rje's or Klong chen pa's.

In general, the second group is characterized by the division of the entries in their lists into six categories. Each of the first five categories includes one of the five following titles (with slight variations):

- (1) *Sangs rgyas mnyam sbyor*
- (2) *Zla gsang thig le*
- (3) *gSang ba 'dus pa*
- (4) *dPal mchog dang po*
- (5) *Karma mā le*

These titles fall under the subcategories of *sku*, *gsung*, *thugs*, *yon tan*, and *'phrin las*, respectively, while each of the categories includes, apart from the above five (which are apparently conceived of as the *mulatantras*), two further *tantras* that seem to be regarded as their "offshoots." As we have seen, the main differences among the lists within the second group clearly surround these two offshoot *tantras*. Finally, the sixth category, sometimes designated "general," includes the following three titles (again with some variations):

- (1) *rDo rje sems pa sgyu 'phrul drwa ba / gSang ba'i snying po*
- (2) *Dam tshig bkod pa*

²⁴ See notes 170 & 176.

(3) *Thabs kyi zhags pa*

I was not able to locate a complete list of the Eighteen Mahāyoga Tantric Cycles by Nyang ral Nyi ma 'od zer, although he employs the collective term *ma hā yo ga rgyud sde bco brgyad* on numerous occasions. The *Nyang ral chos 'byung* includes a list of the *tantras* belonging to the Eighteen Mahāyoga Tantric Cycles that were putatively translated into Tibetan. However, the list is not systematic and provides twenty-six titles altogether, and thus it is practically impossible to determine which of them are the eighteen pertinent cycles. Indeed, it seems that Nyang ral does not attempt to list the Eighteen Mahāyoga Tantric Cycles there, but rather lists *mahāyogatantras* that are practice-oriented. The parallel passage found in the *Zangs gling ma*, a biography of Padmasambhava revealed by Nyang ral, is almost identical with that found in the *Nyang ral chos 'byung*—that is, in terms of the formulation of the text in general and the individual titles in particular—and thus does not contribute much to the attempt to identify the eighteen cycles as he understands them.

In his *gSang sngags bka'i lde mig*, another gTer ma text belonging to the *bKa' brgyad bde gshegs 'dus pa* cycle, Nyang ral lists texts pertaining to the different *tantra* classes. Interestingly, many of the *tantras* commonly regarded as belonging to the Mahāyoga section are considered by him there to also belong to the Anuyoga section, and in addition, many of the *tantras* appear under several subcategories or subgroups at the same time. A similar setup is also presented by Klong chen pa in his *Grub mtha' mdzod*.²⁵ I shall, however, not go into this matter in the present study, but shall merely point out that despite all these open issues, Nyang ral, in his *gSang sngags bka'i lde mig*, seems to present a list of the Eighteen Mahāyoga Tantric Cycles that follows the scheme presented in what I refer to as the second group. Unfortunately, he does not provide there a full list, though it is obvious that he follows the same sixfold classification, with three *tantras* in each group. That is, five groups, each comprising three texts related to the five main *tantras*—namely, what appear to be the five *mūlatantras*, assigned to the subcategories of *sku*, *gsung*, *thugs*, *yon tan*, and *'phrin las*, with two “offshoots” each—and the remaining last three Tantric cycles. The list compiled by Nyang ral in the *gSang sngags bka'i lde mig* can be thus presented as follows:

- (1) *Sangs rgyas minyam sbyor*
- (2) *Zla gsang thig le*
- (3) *gSang ba 'dus pa*
- (4) *rNam snang sgyu drwa*

²⁵ *Grub mtha' mdzod* (321–324).

- (5) *Bi to ta ma la'i rgyud*
- (1–15) *de re re la gsum gsum du phye ste*
- (16) *Thabs kyi zhags pa*
- (17) *sGyu 'phrul dra ba gsang ba'i snying po*
- (18) *Dam tshig gis gzung ba sa ma ya bkod pa (?)*

As one can see, not only is the organizational scheme similar, but even the titles listed are almost identical—the only differences being in the fourth and fifth titles, namely, instead of the *dPal mchog dang po* and the *Karma mā le*, Nyang ral has the *rNam snang sgyu drwa* and the *Bi to ta ma la*. In addition, we unfortunately seem to have a textual problem with the last title, for the text reads *dam tshig gis gzung ba glang po che chur 'jug sa ma ya bkod pa*, where we apparently have an interpolation of the title *Glang po che chur 'jug*, clearly a separate text (this is confirmed not only by other authors, but also by the *Nyang ral chos 'byung*).

3. Concluding Remarks

In conclusion, we have seen that one may talk in terms of two traditions regarding the various lists of the Eighteen Mahāyoga Tantric Cycles that are distinct in terms of both organizational scheme and content, and this is not to overlook differences between the various lists within the one and the same group—the second group being clearly less homogeneous. However, it has also become very clear that there is more or less general agreement as to what are regarded as the *mūlatantras*, namely:

- (1) *Sangs rgyas myam sbyor*
- (2) *Zla gsang thig le*
- (3) *gSang ba 'dus pa*
- (4) *dPal mchog dang po*
- (5) *dPal 'phreng dkar po / Karma mā le*

And to a certain degree also as to the last three *tantras*, namely:

- (16) *Thabs kyi zhags pa*
- (17) *rNam par snang mdzad sgyu 'phrul drwa ba* (Group 1) or *Dam tshig bkod pa* (Group 2)
- (18) *rDo rje sems dpa'i sgyu 'phrul drwa ba / gSang ba snying po*

The main difference regarding the organizational scheme is that the first group includes two further main categories with five *tantras* each that are not related to the five *mūlatantras*, while the second

group includes ten titles that are subsumed under the five *mūlatantras* in pairs and are considered to be their offshoots. While many of the titles that appear in the various lists (and in fact all those listed by the first group) as one of the eighteen cycles can be located in the *rNying ma rgyud 'bum*, this is not the case with the *tantras* stated to be related to the individual cycles and to have been translated into Tibetan (only relevant for five of the six sources of the first group). In many of the cases, one finds in the various versions of the *rNying ma rgyud 'bum* numerous texts that bear similar titles, but exact identification of any of them with the titles found in the lists is not possible. In any case, it may be stated that the first group has had more influence on the organization of the *rNying ma rgyud 'bum* editions, and even then only partly (mostly as regards the first ten titles).

As to the antiquity of the *tantras* in questions (or at least their titles), a comparison between the above-discussed lists of Eighteen Mahāyoga Tantric Cycles and the list of the thirty-six (major) *yogatantras* (*śatṭrimśadyogatantra: rgyud chen po sum cu rtsa drug*) provided in *Pelliot tibétain 849* (where, however, seemingly only thirty titles are provided),²⁶ which was presumably composed towards the end of the tenth century,²⁷ shows that there is overlapping between the two lists. Eleven (or perhaps merely ten) of the thirty titles mentioned in *Pelliot tibétain 849* are found in at least one of the lists of Eighteen Mahāyoga Tantric Cycles considered in this article, as follows (the references within parentheses refer to the number of the title in the lists found in

²⁶ Note that the list in *Pelliot tibétain 849* provides, according to my interpretation of it, only thirty titles, and not thirty-six as stated in the text itself (or thirty-three/two as counted by Kapstein). They are, under three category headings, as follows: six titles under *māyājālatantras*, three titles under *kāya-, vāk-,* and *cittatantras*, and twenty-one titles under *mūlatantras* (some of which, however, seem to refer to well-known *sūtras* rather than *tantras*, and also includes "titles" designating classes of *tantras* rather than individual ones, such as *yogottaratantra*, *yog NIRUTTARATANTRA*, and *yoginitantra*). In my references, I shall provide the text numbers as found in Kapstein 2006: 19–20, n. 32. However, note that Kapstein lists thirty-three titles, due to the fact that he has assigned numbers to what I understand to be category headings (i.e. *ibid.* nos. 1, 8, and 12). Kapstein, however, merely recognizes one of the three (no. 8: *kāya-, vāk-, citta-tantra*, rendered by him *Kayavākcittatantra*) as a heading for the titles following it, while treating the remaining two as titles of individual *tantras*. Although there is a *tantra* titled *Mayajalamahātantrarāja* in the *bKa' gyur* (P102/D466), which could be indeed identified as the *Mayajālatantra* in *Pelliot tibétain 849* rather than taking it as a category heading, I accept the latter option, for in my opinion doing so better serves the overall structure of the list. Regarding the "title" *Mūlatantra* in particular, Kapstein (who numbers it as 11' or 12) notes that "Hackin considered this the closing part of the title *Guhyasamaja*, which is certainly possible, though he treated *cittatantra* as a separate entry."

²⁷ On *Pelliot tibétain 849*, see Hackin 1924 and Kapstein 2006 (particularly, pp. 10–17, where the date of its composition is discussed and pp. 19–20, n. 32, where the titles listed in *Pelliot tibétain 849* are provided).

the appendix; for further details, see the respective notes to the individual titles in the lists found in the appendix):²⁸

1. *Vairocanamāyājālatantra* (lDe'u, Klong chen, Rat gling 17; Sangs gling, mKhyen rab, Sog bzlog 16)
2. *Mañjuśrimāyājālatantra* (Klong chen 18.6; Sangs gling, mKhyen rab, Sog bzlog 16.2)
3. *Vajrasattvamāyājālatantra* (lDe'u, Klong chen, Sangs gling, mKhyen rab, Sog bzlog, Rat gling, Klong chen pa, Zur 'tsho 18; bSam rdo, dPa' bo, 'Jigs gling, O rgyan 16)²⁹
4. **Devimāyājālatantra* / **Devyāmāyājālatantra* (lDe'u 18.11; Klong chen 18.3; Sangs gling 18.5; mKhyen rab, Sog bzlog 18.12)
5. *Sarvabuddhasamāyogatantra* (lDe'u, Klong chen, Sangs gling, mKhyen rab, Sog bzlog, Rat gling, bSam rdo, dPa' bo, 'Jigs gling 1; Klong chen pa, O rgyan, Zur 'tsho 3)
6. *Guhyendutilakatantra* (lDe'u, Klong chen, Sangs gling, mKhyen rab, Sog bzlog, Rat gling 2; bSam rdo, dPa' bo, 'Jigs gling 4; Klong chen pa, O rgyan, Zur 'tsho 6)
7. *Guhyasamājatantra* (lDe'u, Klong chen, Sangs gling, mKhyen rab, Sog bzlog, Rat gling 3; bSam rdo, dPa' bo, 'Jigs gling 7; Klong chen pa, O rgyan, Zur 'tsho 9)
8. **Upāyapāśatantra*³⁰ (lDe'u, Klong chen, Rat gling, Klong chen pa, Zur 'tsho 16; Sangs gling, mKhyen rab, Sog bzlog 17; bSam rdo, dPa' bo, 'Jigs gling, O rgyan 18)

²⁸ Note that the list of eleven titles provided here is not completely identical with the eleven titles identified by Eastman, merely nine of the titles being shared by both lists. Moreover, the list provided here could also be understood as containing merely ten titles and not eleven, considering the fact that the lists found in the various Tibetan sources occasionally employ the titles *Vajrasattvamāyājālatantra* and **Guhagarbhatantra* interchangeably (see the note to *Vajrasattvamāyājālatantra* in the following list (title no. 3)). This leaves us with the *Vajracatuspīthatantra* (title no. 11 in the following list) as one that has not been identified by Eastman. This is not surprising, as the *Vajracatuspīthatantra* is indeed not found in any of the lists considered by him. The two titles that Eastman includes in his list of the eleven titles mentioned in *Pelliot tibétain 849* and could not be confirmed by me as such are the *He ru ka rol pa'i rgyud* and *sGyu 'phrul bzhi bcu pa* (nos. 6 & 18g in Eastman's list, respectively). The *sGyu 'phrul bzhi bcu pa* is the **Guhagarbhatantra* in forty chapters, and it is possible that Eastman regarded the title **Guhagarbhatantra* in *Pelliot tibétain 849* as referring to both the basic *tantra* (no. 18a in his list) and the *tantra* in forty chapters. As for the *He ru ka rol pa'i rgyud*, Eastman apparently identifies it with the *Herukādbhutatantra* (< **Herukabhyudaya*?) in *Pelliot tibétain 849*.

²⁹ See the note to no. 9. **Guhagarbhatantra*.

³⁰ I use here the reconstructed Sanskrit title **Upāyapāśatantra* as suggested by Cathy Cantwell and Robert Mayer. As pointed out in Cantwell & Mayer 2012: 1, n. 1, the Tibetan title *rGyud thabs kyi zhags pa* is erroneously rendered into Sanskrit in *Pelliot tibétain 849* as *Amoghapāśatantra* (apparently reflecting a confusion with another text of the Kriyā class that was popular in Dunhuang at that time).

9. **Guhiyagarbhatantra* (lDe'u, Sangs gling, mKhyen rab 18.1; Klong chen 18.2; bSam rdo, O rgyan 16; Sog bzlog, Klong chen pa, Zur 'tsho 18)³¹
10. *Vajrāmṛtatantra* (lDe'u 9.1; Sangs gling, mKhyen rab, ~Sog bzlog 9.2)
11. *Vajracatūṣpīṭhatantra* (mKhyen rab, Sangs gling, Sog bzlog 1.4)

Despite the discrepancies in the lists, there seems to be agreement that at least five titles from the list in *Pelliot tibétain 849* are part of the Eighteen Mahāyoga Tantric Cycles, as they are included in all thirteen lists consulted: the *Sarvabuddhasamāyogatantra*, *Guhyendutilakatantra*, and the *Guhyasamājatantra*, which are three of the five *mūlatantras*, and the *Vajrasattvamāyājālatantra*/**Guhiyagarbhatantra* and **Upāyapaśatantra*, which are commonly two of the three *tantras* concluding the various lists (note that since the *Vajrasattvamāyājālatantra* and the **Guhiyagarbhatantra* are often referred to interchangeably in the lists, they are counted here as one). The remaining five titles are found exclusively in the lists of the first group.

In addition, the commentary on the *Thabs kyi zhags pa* (one version of which was found in Dunhuang) is further testimony to the existence of some of the *mahāyogatantras* mentioned in the above-discussed lists at least as early as the tenth century. As Cathy Cantwell and Robert Mayer pointed out in the introduction to their critical edition of the commentary, it cites or refers to numerous *mahāyogatantras*. Perhaps fifteen of the titles mentioned in the commentary can be identified with one of the titles in our lists, while two more can be vaguely associated with one or more titles in the lists. Eleven (i.e. if one considers the *dPal 'phreng dkar po* and the *Karma mā le* to be one and the same text) are included in at least one of the lists belonging to group one, while seven of these eleven (nos. 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 10) are also included in at least one of the lists of group two, as follows (for details, see the respective notes to the individual titles in the lists found in the appendix; the titles listed here follow the orthographies found in the commentary, which is not necessarily identical with those found in the list, which in turn at times vary among themselves):

³¹ Note that in some lists the distinction between the titles *Vajrasattvamāyājālatantra* (often used to designate the entire cycle) and **Guhiyagarbhatantra* (commonly regarded as the central *tantra* in the cycle) is not clearly demarcated. This is particularly the case in lists that merely record the general titles of the eighteen Tantric cycles (which often refer to the *mūlatantra*) and not all titles pertinent to each of them, as in the following: bSam rdo 16: *sgyu 'phrul drwa ba'i rgyud*; O rgyan 16: *gsang ba'i snying po*; Klong chen pa 18: *gsang ba sgyu 'phrul*; Zur 'tsho 18: *sgyu 'phrul dra ba le'u stong phrag brgya pa'i rgyud*.

1. *Zla gsang thig le* (lDe'u, Klong chen, Sangs gling, mKhyen rab, Sog bzlog, Rat gling 2; bSam rdo, dPa' bo, 'Jigs gling 4; Klong chen pa, O rgyan, Zur 'tsho 6)
2. *dPal mchog dang po* (lDe'u, Klong chen, Sangs gling, mKhyen rab, Sog bzlog, Rat gling 4; bSam rdo, dPa' bo, 'Jigs gling 10; Klong chen pa, O rgyan, Zur 'tsho 12)
3. *dPal 'phreng dkar po / Kar ma ma le* (lDe'u, Klong chen, Sangs gling, mKhyen rab, Sog bzlog, Rat gling 5; bSam rdo, dPa' bo, 'Jigs gling, Klong chen pa 13; O rgyan, Zur 'tsho 15)
4. *sNying rje rol pa* (lDe'u, Klong chen, Sangs gling, mKhyen rab, Sog bzlog, Rat gling(?) 8)
5. *Phur pa bcu gnyis kyi rgyud phyi ma* (lDe'u, Klong chen, Sangs gling, mKhyen rab, Sog bzlog 10.3)
6. *Ri bo brtsegs pa* (lDe'u, Klong chen, Sangs gling, mKhyen rab, Sog bzlog 11; bSam rdo, dPa' bo, 'Jigs gling, O rgyan 8; Klong chen pa 4; Zur 'tsho 7)
7. *Glang po che / Glang po rab 'bog* (lDe'u, Klong chen, Sangs gling, mKhyen rab, Sog bzlog, Rat gling 13; bSam rdo, dPa' bo, 'Jigs gling 2; Klong chen pa, O rgyan, Zur 'tsho 1)
8. *rTse gcig bsdus pa* (lDe'u, Klong chen, Sangs gling, mKhyen rab, Sog bzlog, Rat gling 14; bSam rdo, dPa' bo, 'Jigs gling 9; Klong chen pa, O rgyan 7(?); Zur 'tsho 8(?))
9. *Glog gru* (lDe'u, Klong chen, Sangs gling, mKhyen rab, Sog bzlog 15.3)
10. *Thabs kyi zhags pa* (lDe'u, Klong chen, Rat gling, Klong chen pa, Zur 'tsho 16; Sangs gling, mKhyen rab, Sog bzlog 17; bSam rdo, dPa' bo, 'Jigs gling, O rgyan 18)
11. (*Thabs kyi*) *zhags pa'i rgyud phyi ma* (lDe'u, Klong chen 16.2; Sangs gling, mKhyen rab 17.2; Sog bzlog 17.1) (note that the commentary refers to two such "subsequent" *tantras*)

Two more titles can be vaguely associated with the list:

1. *dBang chen bsdus pa'i tan tra* (may be associated with lDe'u 7, possibly 7.2, and the corresponding titles in the remaining lists)
2. *sGyu 'phrul dra ba* (seems to be a general reference to *māyājālatantras* and thus may be associated with lDe'u 17&18 in general, or with one of their related texts in particular, and accordingly with the corresponding titles in the remaining lists).

A further three (and possibly four) titles can be associated with titles found in at least one of the lists of group two:

1. *Glang po chur 'jug* (bSam rdo 3; Klong chen pa, O rgyan, Zur 'tsho 2)

2. *gCig las spros pa* (bSam rdo, dPa' bo, 'Jigs gling, Zur 'tsho 5; Klong chen pa 8; O rgyan 4)
3. *Ki la ya bcu gnyis* (Rat gling 10; Zur 'tsho 13; bSam rdo, dPa' bo, 'Jigs gling 15?; Klong chen pa 15?)
4. *sGron ma brtsegs pa* (possibly O rgyan 14)

This leaves us with at least eleven titles found in the lists of group one and at least ten (or eleven) of those found in group two that are referred to in the *Thabs kyi zhags pa*'s commentary and thus could be traced back to at least as early as the tenth century as well. Noteworthily enough, there is some overlap between the titles that are found in one of the lists that are attested in the *Thabs kyi zhags pa*'s commentary and those attested in *Pelliot tibétain 849*, but altogether we have a fairly large number of attested titles in these two Dunhuang documents. It should be, however, restated that the identification of the titles found in the various lists with specific texts is far from being certain, and as already made clear by Cantwell and Mayer, and by van Schaik as well, very often cited passages cannot be located in texts available to us with identical or similar titles (not to mention the problem of several texts having similar titles, particularly when abbreviated titles are employed).

As mentioned above, Eastman has already pointed out that several of the titles in the list provided in the *Klong chen chos 'byung* are referred to by gNubs Sangs rgyas ye shes in his *bSam gtan mig sgron*, which, dating from the ninth century, is an even earlier attestation than the two aforementioned Dunhuang documents. Eastman has located altogether nine such titles—five of them among the *māyājālatantas* forming cycle no. 18 (he, however, does not provide any references). I was able to locate two additional titles: the *Sangs rgyas mnyam sbyor*, which seems to have escaped Eastman's eyes, and the *rDo rje sems dpa' sgyu 'phrul drwa ba*, which is mentioned in the *Klong chen chos 'byung* as the *Ur-tantra*, or alternatively as the heading of cycle no. 18, which comprises the *māyājālatantras*, and perhaps therefore was not noted by Eastman. This makes eleven titles altogether, as follows (note that the references provided in the pertinent footnotes may not be exhaustive):

1. *Sangs rgyas mnyam sbyor*³²
2. *Zla gsang thig le*³³
3. *gSang ba 'dus pa*³⁴
4. *bDud rtsi rol pa*³⁵

³² *bSam gtan mig sgron* (204.6, referred to as *Sarba 'bu ta*).

³³ *bSam gtan mig sgron* (26.6, 205.2).

³⁴ *bSam gtan mig sgron* (59.4, 194.6, 215.5).

5. *Thabs kyi zhags pa*³⁶
6. *gSang ba'i snying po*³⁷
7. *brGyad bcu pa*³⁸
8. *sGyu 'phrul bla ma*³⁹
9. *sGyu 'phrul brgyad pa*⁴⁰
10. *sGyu 'phrul le lag*⁴¹
11. *rDo rje sems dpa' sgyu 'phrul drwa ba*⁴²

Finally, the eleventh-century rNying ma scholar Rong zom Chos kyi bzang po (henceforth Rong zom pa) not only refers to or cites several of the *tantras* associated with the Eighteen Mahāyoga Tantric Cycles but also composed commentaries on some of them. Altogether he seems to have known at least eleven such scriptures:

- 1–2. The **Guhyagarbhatantra* and its subsequent *tantra*
- 3–4. The *Buddhasamāyogatantra* and its subsequent *tantra*
- 5–6. The *Guhyasamājatantra* and its subsequent *tantra*
7. *Mañjuśrīnāmasamgīti*
8. *sGyu 'phrul brgyad bcu pa*
9. *Thabs kyi zhags pa*
10. *sGyu 'phrul le lag*
11. *dPal mchog dang po*

References to his commentaries on, his mention of, or citations from these scriptures are provided in the pertinent footnotes. (Note that the references to his mention of or citations from these scriptures do not attempt to be exhaustive, and that no attempt was made to locate the citations.)

From the evidence presented in this study it may be concluded that although the notion of a canon of eighteen major Tantric cycles, which later on was interpreted as referring to *mahāyogatantras*, was known to the Tibetan tradition from relatively early on, Tibetans have probably never actually inherited a fixed list of this canon, let alone the canon itself, and that the lists found in Tibetan sources are

³⁵ *bSam gtan mig sgron* (27.6, referred to as *bDud rtsi chen po*, and 52.1, 289.1, referred to as *bDud rtsi'i rgyud*). The identification of these titles is, however, yet to be confirmed.

³⁶ *bSam gtan mig sgron* (264.3, 271.6, 289.1, referred to as *Zhags pa*).

³⁷ *bSam gtan mig sgron* (8.4, 87.1, 87.6, 281.3).

³⁸ *bSam gtan mig sgron* (198.5, 215.4, 241.5, 248.2, 250.2, 258.4, 262.1, 263.5, 270.1, 271.5, 274.5, 279.3, 284.1, often erroneously spelt *brGya bcu pa*).

³⁹ *bSam gtan mig sgron* (203.1).

⁴⁰ *bSam gtan mig sgron* (208.5, referred to as *sGyu 'phrul chen po yon tan rdzogs pa'i rgyud brgyad pa*).

⁴¹ *bSam gtan mig sgron* (204.2, 206.2, 210.3, 211.3, 212.1, 213.6, 237.6, 262.4).

⁴² *bSam gtan mig sgron* (40.3, 49.3, 52.2, 60.1, 190.3, 195.1, 196.3).

attempts to fill this vacuum. Moreover, most of the titles included in the various lists are attested in Dunhuang documents that can be dated as early as the tenth century, and many of them can be even dated to the ninth century. It has also become clear that one can talk in terms of two distinct traditions of the list in Tibet from relatively early on, for the earliest attested sources for both groups can be dated to the second half of the thirteenth century. While the two traditions have existed and been transmitted parallel to each other, the tradition represented here by group one better corresponds to the texts found in the *rNying ma rgyud 'bum*.

Appendix: The Tibetan Texts

I. Group One

(1) The *IDe'u chos 'byung* and the *Klong chen chos 'byung*

In the following I shall provide the pertinent passage from the *IDe'u chos 'byung* and refer to significant differences (and in the case of textual problems, also to similarities) to the list found in the *Klong chen chos 'byung*. Differences or variants that do not constitute deviations from the actual list provided in the *IDe'u chos 'byung* (i.e. mainly of an orthographical or syntactical nature or such that are merely altered formulations) will remain undocumented (exceptions will be made in the case of textual variants in the titles, which will be recorded even in cases where they seem insignificant). In addition, cases of textual corruption will be documented as well. Whenever applicable, references to the list of thirty-six (major) *yogatantras* (*ṣaṭtriṁśādyogatantra: rgyud chen po sum cu rtsa drug*) found in *Pelliot tibétain 849* and to occurrences of the titles in the *bSam gtan mig sgron*, the *Thabs kyi zhags pa* commentary, Zhi ba 'od's *bKa' shog* and Rong zom pa's works will be provided.⁴³

IDe'u chos 'byung (122.17–125.18), compared with *Klong chen chos 'byung* (339.9–342.10):

- (A) bskyed pa ma hā yo ga'i skor rgyud sde bco brgyad du bka'
bstsal bas te |
- (I) de sku gsung thugs yon tan 'phrin las Inga'i gzhi 'am rtsa bar⁴⁴
gyur pa'i rgyud Inga ni |
sku'i rgyud

⁴³ A translation of the entire *IDe'u chos 'byung* is currently being prepared by Dan Martin, who will also therein attempt to translate into English the individual titles provided in the following list and to match them up with works in the *NyGB*.

⁴⁴ Instead of *Inga'i gzhi 'am rtsa bar* the *Klong chen chos 'byung* erroneously reads *lang'am | bzhi'am rtsa bar*, which does not make any sense.

(1) sangs rgyas mnyam sbyor |⁴⁵
 gsung gi rgyud
 (2) zla gsang thig le |⁴⁶
 thugs kyi rgyud
 (3) gsang ba 'dus pa |⁴⁷
 yon tan gyi rgyud
 (4) dpal mchog dang po |⁴⁸
 'phrin las kyi rgyud
 (5) dpal 'phreng dkar po'o |⁴⁹
 (II) de nas sgrub pa'i lag len ston pa'i rgyud lnga ste |
 sku'i sgrub pa'i lag len ston pa
 (6) he ru ka rol pa'i rgyud |
 gsung gi
 (7) rta mchog rol pa |⁵⁰

⁴⁵ The *Sarvabuddhasamāyogatantra* is listed in *Pelliot tibétain* 849 as one of the 36 (major) *yogatantras* (text no. 9 in Kapstein 2006: 19–20, n. 32), and is also referred to by gNubs Sangs rgyas ye shes in his *bSam gtan mig sgron* (for references, see above). Rong zom pa composed a commentary on the *Buddhasamāyogatantra*. See the *Rong zom chos bzang gi gsung 'bum*, vol. 2: 457–620. He also cites it on various other occasions. Rong zom pa also cites the subsequent *tantra* of the *Buddhasamāyogatantra* (*mNyam sbyor gyi rgyud phyi ma*, see below §B.1.1.2. in IDe'u's list) at least once. See the *Rong zom chos bzang gi gsung 'bum*, vol. 2: 95.3–5. The *tantra* was admitted into the *bKa' 'gyur* (P8/D366).

⁴⁶ The *Guhyendutilakatantra* is listed in *Pelliot tibétain* 849 as one of the 36 (major) *yogatantras* (text no. 10 in Kapstein 2006: 20, n. 32), and is also referred to by gNubs Sangs rgyas ye shes in his *bSam gtan mig sgron* (for references, see above). The *Guhyendutilakatantra* is cited in the commentary on the *Thabs kyi zhags pa* under the title '*Gu hya* (or *Gu hya ti la ka*). See Cantwell & Mayer 2012: 84. The *tantra* has been admitted into the *bKa' 'gyur* (P111/D477).

⁴⁷ The *Guhyasamājatantra* is listed in *Pelliot tibétain* 849 as one of the 36 (major) *yogatantras* (text no. 11 in Kapstein 2006: 20, n. 32), and is also referred to by gNubs Sangs rgyas ye shes in his *bSam gtan mig sgron* (for references, see above). Rong zom pa refers to or cites the *Guhyasamājatantra* on various occasions. See the *Rong zom chos bzang gi gsung 'bum*, vol. 1: 60.3, 77.12–17, 83.9, 110.16–20, 158.22–159.1, 340.2–4, 377.12–15, and vol. 2: 99.4–5, 159.16–18, 348.10–16. Rong zom pa also cites the subsequent *tantra* of the *Guhyasamājatantra* (*gSang 'dus phyi ma*, see below §B.1.3.2. in IDe'u's list) at least once. See the *Rong zom chos bzang gi gsung 'bum*, vol. 1: 68.19–24. The *tantra* has also been admitted into the *bKa' 'gyur* (P81/D443).

⁴⁸ The *dPal mchog dang po* is cited in the commentary on the *Thabs kyi zhags pa*. See Cantwell & Mayer 2012: 84. Rong zom pa cites the *dPal mchog dang po* at least on one occasion. See the *Rong zom chos bzang gi gsung 'bum*, vol. 2: 318.6–24.

⁴⁹ The *Klong chen chos 'byung* reads *dkar mo* instead of *dkar po*. The *dPal 'phreng dkar po* is cited in the commentary on the *Thabs kyi zhags pa*. See Cantwell & Mayer 2012: 84. As pointed out by Szántó in his review of Cantwell & Mayer 2012, this citation cannot be found in any of the *gSar ma Paramādyas*. See Szántó (forthcoming).

⁵⁰ Note that further below in the detailed list of *tantras* belonging to the eighteen Tantric cycles that are said to have been translated into Tibetan, IDe'u has *dbang chen* (§B, no. 7) instead of *rta mchog rol pa*. The *Klong chen chos 'byung* follows suit. Indeed both are regarded as belonging to the same cycle, namely, the *Padma dbang chen rta mgrin skor*.

thugs

(8) snying rje'i rol pa |⁵¹

yon tan

(9) bdud rtsi rol pa |⁵²

'phrin las kyi

(10) phur pa byi dor rol pa'o |⁵³

⁵¹ The *sNying rje rol pa* is cited in the commentary on the *Thabs kyi zhags pa*. See Cantwell & Mayer 2012: 84.

⁵² The *tantra* is also referred to by gNubs Sangs rgyas ye shes in his *bSam gtan mig sgron* (for references, see above). See the note to Ratna gling pa's *rTsod bzlog* listed below, text no. 9.

⁵³ The *Klong chen chos 'byung* reads *byi to* instead of *byi dor* (other variants such as *byi/bi to ta* are also found in the literature). The phrase *byi/bi to* is obviously a corruption of *vidyo*, which is short for *Vidyottamātantra*, a title referring to the assumed lost Ur-tantra of the Vajrakīla cycle. The *Vidyottamātantra* (*Byi to'i rgyud*) is mentioned in Zhi ba 'od's *bKa' shog* (no. 20) as a spurious text (see Karmay 1998: 33). The *Mahāvidyottamātantra* is, however, referred to in two Indian *Nāmasamṛti* commentaries (a) the *Nāmamantrārthaśavalokīnī* (Cambridge Ms Add. 1708, f. 55v) of Vilāsavajra's (late 8th or early 9th c.), and (b) the *Gūḍhapāda* (Royal Asiatic Society, Hodgson 34, f. 64r), where the reference is, however, derivative. I thank Dr. Péter-Dániel Szántó for providing me these two references. A *tantra* titled *Vidyottamātantra*, or *Rig pa mchog gi rgyud*, as it is rendered into Tibetan, is found in the *bKa' 'gyur* (P402/D746). The translation is ascribed to Vidyākaraprabha and dPal brtsegs, and thus clearly goes back to the early translation period. Also in Mi-pham's *bKa' bryagad rnam bshad* (430.1–2), the *Vidyottamātantra* is clearly identified in a gloss (marked in the following citation with an asterisk) as the *Rig pa mchog: bid to ta ma* la ki la ya'i rgyud| ki la ya bcu gnyis kyi rgyud| rnal 'byor ma dam pa gsang chen gyi rgyud la sogs pa rab tu mang po dang| ... *rig pa mchog*. Yet no *tantra* with this title is found in the *NyGB*. The only title I have been able to locate in the *NyGB* that contains the phrase *rig pa mchog gi rgyud*, or more precisely *rig pa mchog gi gsang rgyud*, is the *Thugs rje chen po thams cad kyi yang snying 'dus pa ye shes rig pa mchog gi gsang rgyud ces bya ba* (Tb.588). It is, however, obviously a text different from the one in the *bKa' 'gyur* (and in fact the Sanskrit title provided there does not include the phrase *vidyottamā* at all). According to the colophon, this *tantra* was translated by Padmasambhava in the 'Kho mthing lha khang in lHo brag and was discovered by the gTer ston [Gu ru] Chos dbang (*thugs rje chen po thams cad kyi yang snying 'dus pa ye shes rig pa mchog gi gsang rgyud ces bya ba* | *orgyan gyi mkhan po padma 'byung gnas kyis lho brag 'kho mthing lha khang du sgra rang 'gyur du bsgyur te kar chag la phab pa| ithi| skal ldan thugs rje chen po'i sprul pa dngos cig dang 'phrad par shog cig| dpal gyi phug rengs dal 'og bse sgrom smug por a tham| rgya rgya rgya| gter ston chos dbang gis gter nas gdan drangs pa'o|). Nonetheless, several colophons of *NyGB* texts do refer to the *Vidyottamātantra* and suggest that it may have been the Ur-tantra from which the text was extracted or of which it is a summary: (1) The colophon to the *bCom ldan 'das bde bar gshegs pa thams cad kyi 'phrin las 'dus pa phur pa rtsa ba'i rgyud* (Tk.423/Tb.463) reads: *bcom ldn 'das bde bar gshegs pa thams cad kyi 'phrin las 'dus pa phur pa rtsa ba'i rgyud las| bi to ta ma la 'bum sde bsdus pa rdzogs so|*. (2) The colophon to the *rDo rje phur pa chen po ma mo mngon du bkol ba* (Tb.649) reads: *bi to ta ma la 'bum sde'i rgyud las| ma mo dang khro mo gnyis su med pa la| ma mo mngon du bkol ba'i rgyud rdzogs so|*. (3) The colophon to the *Phur pa rdzogs pa'i rgyud chen po'i don rim par phye ba* (Tb.651) reads: *bi to ta ma la 'bum sde'i nang nas| ki la ya rdzogs pa'i rgyud bya ba rdzogs sho|*. (4) The colophon to the *rDo rje phur pa gsang ba'i sngags rgyud 'byung po kun 'dul* (Tk.357/Tb.665) reads: *o rgyan gyi mkhan po padma thod 'phreng gis| bi*.*

- (III) de nas spyi'i yan lag tu gyur pa'i rgyud lṅga ni |
 (11) go 'phang dbang gis bgrod pa'i rgyud ri bo brtsegs pa |⁵⁴
 (12) gzhi dam tshig gis bzung ba la dam tshig bkod pa |
 (13) thag lta bas bcad pa la glang po rab tu mchog |⁵⁵
 (14) nyams su ting 'dzin gyis len pa la rtse gcig bsdus pa[|]⁵⁶
 (15) la spyod pas dor ba la rngam pa glog ye shes 'khor [lo]⁵⁷
 dang lṅga te | bco lṅga'o |
- (IV) de'i steng du rgyud phyi ma lta bu gnyis ni |
 (16) dngos grub sgrub pa'i cho ga'i yan lag tu gyur pa thabs kyi zhags pa padma⁵⁸ phreng ba dang |⁵⁹
 (17) dkyil 'khor gyi las la 'jug pa'i rgyud yan lag tu gyur pa rnam par snang mdzad sgyu 'phrul drwa ba'i rgyud do |⁶⁰

to ta ma 'bum sde'i tan tra las phyung ba | ... (5) The colophon to the *rDo rje 'jigs byed chen po'i rgyud kyi rgyal po gsang ba chen po* (Tb.700) reads: *byi to ta ma la 'bum sde las | o rgyan gyi slob dpon thod 'phreng gis sdebs nas le'u nyi shur bkod pa'o || | |*. For an extensive discussion of and numerous references to the *Vidyottamatantra* in Tibetan sources, including rNying ma and Sa skyā, see Stein 1978.

⁵⁴ The *Ri bo brtsegs pa* is cited in the commentary on the *Thabs kyi zhags pa*. See Cantwell & Mayer 2012: 84.

⁵⁵ The *Klong chen chos 'byung* reads *glang chen rab 'bog* instead of *glang po rab tu mchog*. Note, however, that the *lDe'u chos 'byung* itself reads further down in the detailed list *glang po ra[b] 'bog* (SB, no. 13). The *tantra* is referred to in the commentary on the *Thabs kyi zhags pa* under the title *Glang po (che)*, which is identified in the glosses as the *Glang po rab 'bog*. See Cantwell & Mayer 2012: 84.

⁵⁶ The *lDe'u chos 'byung* does not have here, as it usually does, a *shad* between titles 14 and 15. This seems to have led to some confusion, with the *Klong chen chos 'byung* reading ... *rtse gcig bsdus pa la spyod pas dor ba | rngam pa ...,* that is, understanding *la spyod pas dor ba* to be a part of the title of text no. 14, a fact that apparently also led its author (or scribe) to omit the particle *la*, reading ... *dor ba | rngam pa* instead of *dor ba la rngam pa....* The *rTse gcig bsdus pa* is cited in the commentary on the *Thabs kyi zhags pa*. See Cantwell & Mayer 2012: 84.

⁵⁷ The *Klong chen chos 'byung* reads *glog gi ye shes 'khor lo* instead of the *glog ye shes 'khor* found in the *lDe'u chos 'byung*. While the omission of the genitive *gi* presents no major problem, the omission of the syllable *lo* here is very unusual and is perhaps the result of a textual corruption.

⁵⁸ The *Klong chen chos 'byung* reads *pad mo* instead of *padma*.

⁵⁹ The **Upāyapāśatantra* is listed in *Pelliot tibétain* 849 as one of the 36 (major) *yogatantras* (text no. 13 in Kapstein 2006: 20, n. 32). Note, however, that there it is erroneously rendered into Sanskrit as *Amoghapaśatantra* (see above, note 30). The *tantra* is also referred to by gNubs Sangs rgyas ye shes in his *bSam gtan mig sgron* (for references, see above). Rong zom pa refers to or cites the *Thabs kyi zhags pa* on several occasions. See the *Rong zom chos bzang gi gsung 'bum*, vol. 1: 48.8, 48.21–23, 110.1, 131.18–19, 163.6–8, 163.19–20, 205.20–22, 247.20, and vol. 2: 35.15–17, 45.10–14, 50.4–13, 348.20–22. The *tantra* has also been admitted into the *bKa' 'gyur* (P458/D835).

⁶⁰ The *Vairocanamāyājālatantra* is listed in *Pelliot tibétain* 849 as one of the 36 (major) *yogatantras* (text no. 3 in Kapstein 2006: 19, n. 32), under the general category of *māyājālatantras*. The identification of the *Vairocanamāyājālatantra* is not certain. However, the catalogue to the Nubri edition of the *rNying ma rgyud 'bum* refers to the *rGyud kyi rgyal po chen po sgyu 'phrul dra ba* found in the collection with the title *rNam par snang mdzad sgyu 'phrul drwa ba*. See Almogi (forthcoming). The title

(V) ⁶¹de dag thams cad kyi don bsdus gcig tu bsdus nas ston byed pa bsdus don lta bu'i rgyud gcig ni

(18) dpal rdo rje sems dpa'i sgyu 'phrul drwa ba le'u stong phrag
brgya pa'o | ⁶²
rtsa rgyud chen po de ni u rgyan mkha' 'gro ma'i gling na bzhugs te |
de la rgya gar gyi slob dpon yang dngos grub brnyes pa re re tsam
ma gtogs pa phal gyis ma gzigs te bod du ma 'gyur ro |

(B) rgyud gzhan bod du 'gyur ba rnames re zhig rtsis gting na

(1) sangs rgyas mnyam sbyor la zhes pa

- (1.1) phyogs gcig tu bsdus pa'i rgyud rtogs [=rtog] pa bcu pa |
- (1.2) rgyud phyi ma rtogs [=rtog] pa gcig pa |
- (1.3) phyi ma'i yang phyi ma rtogs [=rtog] pa bco brgyad pa'o |

(2) zla gsang thig le la

- (2.1) dkyil 'khor drug pa yan chod [=chad] rtsa rgyud |
- (2.2) rgyud phyi ma dkyil 'khor bdun pa'o |

(3) gsang ba 'dus pa la

- (3.1) rtsa ba'i rgyud la le'u bcu bdun
- (3.2) rgyud phyi ma le'u gcig [ste] ⁶³ bco brgyad do |
- (3.3) bshad rgyud bzhi⁶⁴ las 'phros pa'i rgyud dang

found on the title page of this text in the Rig 'dzin Tshe dbang nor bu edition (Tn.dza.3)—*rGyud kyi rgyal po rnam snang sgyu 'phrul dra ba theg pa chen po'i yang chen po tshul zab mo gsang ba'i mchog*—confirms this identification. The *rGyud kyi rgyal po chen po sgyu 'phrul dra ba* is found in both the *NyGB* (Tk.251 / Tb.443) and the *bKa' 'gyur* (P102/D466) with the Sanskrit title *Māyājalamahātantrarāja*. (Also note that a *tantra* simply referred to as *sGyu 'phrul dra ba* is cited several times in the commentary on the *Thabs kyi zhags pa*. See Cantwell & Mayer 2012: 84.)

⁶¹ According to the editor, the manuscript used to produce the modern edition of the *Klong chen chos 'byung* is missing one folio here and hence the passage containing the detailed list of translations beginning here and ending after the title of text 18 (i.e. before beginning with the *sgyu 'phrul sde brgyad*) has been supplemented from another manuscript. *Klong chen chos 'byung* (p. 341, n. 1): *dum bu 'di ma dpe gzhan las kha bsabs pa yin | sgrig pa pos |*.

⁶² The *Vajrasattvamāyajalatantra* is listed in *Pelliot tibétain* 849 as one of the 36 (major) *yogatantras* (text no. 6 in Kapstein 2006: 19, n. 32), under the general category of *māyājalatantras*. The *tantra* is also referred to by gNubs Sangs rgyas ye shes in his *bSam gtan mig sgron* (for references, see above). Note that a *tantra* simply referred to as *sGyu 'phrul dra ba* is cited several times in the commentary on the *Thabs kyi zhags pa*. See Cantwell & Mayer 2012: 84. The *tantra* has also been admitted into the *bKa' 'gyur*, *rNying rgyud* section (P456/D833).

⁶³ Following the *Klong chen chos 'byung* I have added the particle *ste* here to facilitate the reading.

⁶⁴ The *Klong chen chos 'byung* reads *gzhi* instead of *bzhi*. When the entire phrase, *bshad rgyud bzhi las 'phro pa'i rgyud dang lnga la sogs pa'o*, is considered, the reading *bzhi* ("four") is obviously preferable to *gzhi* ("foundation"), which would hardly make any sense here. The phrase may be translated as "the explanatory *tantras*, [that is], the *tantra* which emanates from four and [the one which emanates from] five, etc." It is not clear what the numbers four and five refer to; note, however, that the *mKhyen rab chos 'byung* has *bshad rgyud lha mo bzhi'i zhuz pa'o | |* (no. 3.3),

- (3.4) Inga la sogs pa'o |
- (4) dpal mchog la
- (4.1) yon tan rgya cher bkod pa rnam par rol pa la le'u sum cu so gnyis |
 - (4.2) rgyud phyi ma la dam tshig gsum la 'jug pa le'u bco brgyad pa'o |
- (5) dpa' [= dpal] 'phreng dkar po la
- (5.1) rgyal ba thams cad kyi 'phrin las | rgya cher rol pa'i rgyud rtogs [=rtog] pa bcu gnyis pa |⁶⁵
 - (5.2) rgyud kyi phyi ma zab mo'i don gtan la 'bebs pa le'u bcu gsum pa |
 - (5.3) kha [=cha] mthun pa'i rgyud 'jam dpal gsang ba'i rgyud gsang ba drug cu pa la le'u so gnyis pa |⁶⁶
 - (5.4) nyer gnyis pa [~ Tk.259, Tb.515]⁶⁷
 - (5.5) so bdun pa'o |
- (6) he ru ka pa rol pa'i rgyud la⁶⁸
- (6.1) rtsa rgyud le'u zhe gsum pa |
 - (6.2) phyi ma bco brgyad pa'o |
- (7) dbang chen la⁶⁹
- (7.1) rtsa rgyud la le'u bdun cu rtsa gnyis |
 - (7.2) rgyud phyi ma rim par phye ba bcu bdun pa'o |
- (8) snying rje rol pa la
- (8.1) le'u sum cu |
- (9) bdud rtsi rol pa la
- (9.1) rim par phye ba brgyad pa |⁷⁰

which may be translated as “the explanatory *tantra*, which was requested by four goddesses.”

⁶⁵ The *Klong chen chos 'byung* reads *rgyud phyi ma thams cad* instead of *rgyal ba thams cad*.

⁶⁶ Both the *IDe'u chos 'byung* and the *Klong chen chos 'byung* read here *kha mthun* instead of *cha mthun*.

⁶⁷ The text going by this title might be that of the similarly titled Tk.259 / Tb.515, although it consists of merely eight chapters, namely, three *le'u*s numbered 1–3, four *rtog pas* numbered 4–7, and a final *le'u* numbered 22!

⁶⁸ Both the *IDe'u chos 'byung* and the *Klong chen chos 'byung* read here *he ru ka pa*, which is unusual.

⁶⁹ Note that in the list of the Tantric cycles as a whole, *IDe'u* has *rta mchog rol pa* (§ A, no. 7) instead of *dbang chen*. Note that a text titled *dBang c[h]en bsdis pa'i ta tra* is cited in the commentary to the *Thabs kyi zhags pa*. See Cantwell & Mayer 2012: 84. Could this possibly be the *rgyud phyi ma* (no. 7.2 in *IDe'u*'s list)?

⁷⁰ Noteworthily enough, the phrase *rim par phye ba* has been replaced with the term *bam po* in Sangs rgyas gling pa's *rGyab chos spar khab* (no. 9.2), which reads *dum bu'i rgyud bam po brgyad pa*, whereas the *mKhyen rab chos 'byung* (no. 9.2) reads *rol pa* instead of *bam po*. This *tantra* is probably to be identified with the *Vajrāmyata-tantra* listed in *Pelliot tibétain* 849 as one of the 36 (major) *yogatantras* (text no. 15 in Kapstein 2006: 20, n. 32), and where the Tibetan title reads *bDud rtsi'i rgyud bam po brgyad pa*. While the term *bam po* is believed to be a measurement word denoting a specific length of text and which has its roots in the Chinese tradition, the

- (9.2) dum bu gsum pa |
 (9.3) bkol ba'i rgyud bam po bco brgyad pa
 (9.4) cha mthun pa rdo rje [bdud] rtsi sman gyi le'u bcu gcig pa |⁷¹
 (10) byi dor la⁷²
 (10.1) phur pa byang chub sems 'byung ba'i rgyud |
 (10.2) dkyil 'khor chen po lnga'i rim pa rnam par phye ba rtsa ba'i rgyud |
 (10.3) rgyud phyi ma ki la ya bcu gnyis kyi rgyud |⁷³
 (10.4) bshad rgyud ma mo rol pa dur khrod rgyan gyi rgyud |
 (10.5) ma [=cha] mthun pas na mya ngan las 'das pa'i rgyud la sogs pa⁷⁴
 (11) ri bo brtsegs pa la
 (11.1) le'u nyer gnyis |
 (12) dam tshig bkod pa
 (12.1) le'u bcu gsum pa |
 (13) glang po ra [=rab] 'bog la⁷⁵
 (13.1) le'u nyer brgyad pa |
 (14) rtse gcig bsdus pa la⁷⁶
 (14.1) le'u bco lnga ste |
 (14.2) de bzhi [=gzhi?] rgyud rkyang bzhugs pa'o |⁷⁷
 (15) glang po ra 'bog [> glog ye shes 'khor lo] la⁷⁸
 (15.1) rtsa rgyud le'u drug cu rtsa gnyis |

term *rim par phye ba*, like *le'u* or *rtog pa*, denotes textual units in the sense of "chapter" and is used regardless of the length. Whether the term *bam po* was used in certain circles interchangeably with *rim par phye ba*—which commonly stands for the Sanskrit *paṭala*, or possibly also *pariccheda* (both are often rendered into Tibetan as *le'u*)—is unclear.

⁷¹ The *lDe'u chos 'byung* reads here *rdo rje rtsi sman*, while the *Klong chen chos 'byung* reads *rdo rje bdud rtsi sman*. Since the former seems to contain either an erroneous omission of the syllable *bdud* (or at best an awkward abbreviation) I have opted for the latter.

⁷² The *Klong chen chos 'byung* reads *byi to ta ma* instead of *byi dor* |.

⁷³ The *Phur pa bcu gnyis kyi rgyud phyi ma* is cited in the commentary to the *Thabs kyi zhags pa*. Note that a *Ki la ya bcu gnyis kyi tan tra* is also cited there. See Cantwell & Mayer 2012: 84. Note, too, that several of the lists consulted in the present study consider the *Ki la ya* (or: *Phur pa*) *bcu gnyis kyi rgyud* to be the basic *tantra* of the cycle and name it in place of the *Vidyottamatāntara* (*Bi/Byi to ta*) recorded by others. See Rat gling 10, Zur 'tsho 13, bSam rdo 15, Klong chen pa 10.

⁷⁴ The *Klong chen chos 'byung* reads *cha mthun*, which is preferable, instead of *lDe'u's ma mthun*. The short and long versions of the *Mya ngan las 'das pa* are mentioned in *Zhi ba 'od's bKa' shog* (no. 13) as spurious texts. See Karmay 1998: 33.

⁷⁵ The *Klong chen chos 'byung* reads *rab 'bog* instead of *ra 'bog*, which is preferable.

⁷⁶ The *Klong chen chos 'byung* reads *rtsa ba gcig* instead of *rtse gcig*. This seems to be an erroneous reading, for above (§ A) it, too, reads *rtse gcig*.

⁷⁷ Both the *lDe'u chos 'byung* and the *Klong chen chos 'byung* read here *gzhi*.

⁷⁸ Both the *lDe'u chos 'byung* and the *Klong chen chos 'byung* read here *glang po ra 'bog* (already mentioned as no. 13) instead of the *glog ye shes 'khor [lo]* of their initial lists (§ A, no. 15).

- (15.2) *phyi ma la le'u bcu gsum* |
 (15.3) *cha mthun pa glog gi gu* [= *gru?*] *le la le'u bco brgyad* |⁷⁹
 (16) *thabs kyi zhags pa la*
 (16.1) *rtsa rgyud le'u bzhi bcu rtsa gnyis pa dang* |
 (16.2) *phyi ma las rgya mtsho la 'jug pa le'u gcig go* |⁸⁰
 (17) [*rnam par snang mdzad sgyu 'phrul drwa ba'i rgyud*]⁸¹
 (18)⁸² *rdo rje sems dpa' sgyu 'phrul drwa ba la zhes pa phyogs gcig tu bsdus nas* |
 (18.1) *gsang ba snying po rtsa rgyud*⁸³ *dang bshad rgyud bcas pa la* | *rgyas pa sgyu 'phrul brgyad cu pa* |⁸⁴
 (18.2) *bshad rgyud logs su bshad pa la ting 'dzin srung ba le'u zhe gnyis pa* |
 (18.3) *bkol ba'i sgyu 'phrul bla ma le'u bcu gsum pa* |⁸⁵
 (18.4) *sgyu 'phrul rol pa le'u dgu pa* |
 (18.5) *rgyal ba yongs su mnyes pa'i thabs le'u gsum pa* |
 (18.6) *khro bo stobs kyi rgyud le'u gcig* |
 (18.7) *rgyud phyi ma rtogs* [= *rtog*] *pa thams cad bsdus pa'i le'u so gnyis pa* |
 (18.8) *phyi ma'i phyi ma the tshom gcod pa le'u gcig pa* |

⁷⁹ The *Klong chen chos 'byung* reads here *gu le'u la* instead of *gu le la*. Following the reading *glog gi gru* in *Sangs gling* 15.3, which is also attested in the *Thabs kyi zhags pa*'s commentary, where a text titled *Glog gru* is cited, one may consider here emending *gu* to *gru*. See Cantwell & Mayer 2012: 84.

⁸⁰ Note that there is a reference to two (*Thabs kyi*) *zhags pa'i rgyud phyi mas* in the commentary to the *Thabs kyi zhags pa*. See Cantwell & Mayer 2012: 84.

⁸¹ This title is missing in both the *lDe'u chos 'byung* and the *Klong chen chos 'byung*.

⁸² The *Klong chen chos 'byung* provides a completely different list of the putatively translated texts relating to cycle no. 18. The passage is provided below at the end of the cited passage from the *lDe'u chos 'byung*.

⁸³ The **Guhyagarbhatantra* is listed in *Pelliot tibétain* 849 as one of the 36 (major) *yoga-tantras* (text no. 14 in Kapstein 2006: 20, n. 32), and is also referred to by gNubs Sangs rgyas ye shes in his *bSam gtan mig sgron* (for references, see above). Rong zom pa composed three commentaries (extensive, medium, and short) on the **Guhyagarbhatantra*. See the *Rong zom chos bzang gi gsung 'bum*, vol. 1: 31–250 (extensive); *ibid.*, vol. 1: 251–252 (short); and the *Rong zom gsung 'bum*, vol. 1: 1a–4b (medium). He also cites the *tantra* on numerous other occasions. Rong zom pa also cites the subsequent *tantra* of the **Guhyagarbhatantra* (*gSang snying rgyud phyi ma*) at least on one occasion. See the *Rong zom chos bzang gi gsung 'bum*, vol. 1: 43.20–23. The *tantra* has also been admitted into the *bKa' gyur* (P455/D832), in the rNying rgyud section.

⁸⁴ The *brGyad (b)cu pa* is mentioned in Zhi ba 'od's *bKa' shog* (no. 2.iv) as a spurious text. See Karmay 1998: 31. The text is referred to by gNubs Sangs rgyas ye shes in his *bSam gtan mig sgron* (for references, see above). Rong zom pa cites the *sGyu 'phrul brgyad (b)cu pa* at least once. See the *Rong zom chos bzang gi gsung 'bum*, vol. 2: 101.15–18.

⁸⁵ The *sGyu 'phrul bla ma* is referred to by gNubs Sangs rgyas ye shes in his *bSam gtan mig sgron* (for references, see above). A *tantra* titled *bCu gsum pa* is mentioned in Zhi ba 'od's *bKa' shog* (no. 2.i) as a spurious text. See Karmay 1998: 31. It is, however, possibly the same text meant as text no. 18.11 in lDe'u's list.

(18.9) bshad pa'i rgyud phra mo gtan la 'bebs pa la sgyu 'phrul drwa ba'i le'u dgu pa |

(18.10) sgyu 'phrul ngo mtshar bshad pa le'u bcu gnyis pa |

(18.11) cha mthun pa'i rgyud lha mo sgyu 'phrul le'u bcu gsum pa'o |⁸⁶

de ltar tan tra gnyis [= sde?] ⁸⁷ bco brgyad kyi rgyud de rnams la brten pa'i gal po yang gnyis te | phyung pa dang bsdus pa'o | phyung pa'i gal po bya ba dbang chen bsdus pa'i nang nas dbang brgyas(?) bcud du phyung pa'am | he ru ka rol pa'i rgyud nas | ltar rgyud chen po phyung ba la sogs pa rgyud re re'i nang nas mi gcig gis ma bslad pa gang zag re re'i dgos⁸⁸ pa'i cha rkyen phyung pa rnams so | bsdus pa'i gal po ni | yang rgyud mang po'i nang nas mi gcig gis ma bslad par dgos pa bsdus nas sdebs pa ste | theg pa mchog gsang ba'i sgron ma la sogs pa'o |

The list for cycle no. 18 provided in the *Klong chen chos 'byung*:⁸⁹

(18) rdo rje sems dpa' sgyu 'phrul drwa ba la sgyu 'phrul sde brgyad | bshad rgyud sde bzhi | de dag gi man ngag dang bcas pa bsgyur ro | |
sgyu 'phrul sde brgyad la |

⁸⁶ The **Devīmāyājālatantra / *Devyāmāyājālatantra* is listed in *Pelliot tibétain* 849 as one of the 36 (major) *yogatantras* (text no. 7 in Kapstein 2006: 19, n. 32), under the general category of *māyājālatantras*. The *tantra* has also been admitted into the *bKa' 'gyur*, rNying rgyud section (P459/D836). See also the note to text no. 18.3 in this list.

⁸⁷ This textual corruption may have its root in the fact that the manuscript that served as the master copy for the modern edition is written in *dbu med*, which occasionally led to difficulties in the reading.

⁸⁸ The syllables *re'i dgos* are partly illegible in the copy of the *lDe'u chos 'byung* available to me.

⁸⁹ The categorization of the scriptures belonging to the *māyājāla* cycle that were putatively translated into Tibetan under two groups consisting of eight *māyājālatantras* and four explanatory *tantras* seems to have become widespread by the fourteenth century. See, for example, g.Yung ston rDo rje dpal ba's (1284–1365, P1454) **Guhyagarbha* commentary, the *rGyud don gsal byed* (13.4–14.3): *theg pa rim pa dgu las | rgyud gzhung 'di nyid ni | mtshan nyid sde gsum yang ma yin | phyi rgyud sde gsum yang ma yin te | nang rgyud du ngos gzung ngo | | de la yang gsum | bskyed pa sku'i rgyud byings che bar ston pa ma hā yo ga | rdzogs pa gsung gi rgyud zhal gsal bar ston pa a nu yo ga | bskyed rdzogs gnyis su med pa'i don ston pa a ti yo ga las | 'dir ma hā yo gar ngos gzung ngo | | 'di la rgya gar na trantra(!) chen po sde bco brgyad du yod pa las | bod du 'gyur ba la sgyu 'phrul sde brgyad | bshad rgyud sde bzhi | de dag gi man ngag phra mo drug cu rtsa bzhi dang bcas pa | paudi ta chen po bi ma la mi tra'i zhal snga nas | zhus chen gyi lo tsā ba rma rin chen mchog gis bsgyur ba las | rgyud gzhung 'di nyid ni | sgyu 'phrul sde brgyad kyi nang nas kyang rtsa ba'i rgyud du gyur pa gsang ba'i snying po de kho na nyid nges pa'i rgyud ces bya bar ngos gzung ngo | |.*

- (18.1) *sems dang ye shes rang snang du ston pa'i rtsa ba gsang ba'i snying po* | [lDe'u no equivalent, apparently implied in 18.1]
- (18.2) *rgyas par 'grel pa brgyad cu pa* | [= lDe'u 18.1]
- (18.3) *rol pa mngon gyur lha mo sgyu 'phrul* | [= lDe'u 18.11]
- (18.4) *dbang gtso bor ston pa sgyu 'phrul bla ma* | [= lDe'u no equivalent]⁹⁰
- (18.5) *dkyil 'khor gtso bor ston pa sgyu 'phrul brgyad pa* |⁹¹
- (18.6) *yon tan mthar phyin par ston pa 'jam dpal sgyu 'phrul drwa ba* |⁹²
- (18.7) *'phrin las gtso bor ston pa sgyu 'phrul bzhi bcu pa* |⁹³
- (18.8) *dam tshig mchog tu gsal bar ston pa sgyu 'phrul le lag dang brgyad do* | |⁹⁴
- bshad rgyud sde bzhi la
- (18.9) *thabs lam rim dang cig car du ston pa ye shes snying po dang* |
- (18.10) *rdo rje me long gnyis* |
- (18.11) *grol lam rim dang cig car du ston pa sgyu 'phrul thal ba dang* |
- (18.12) *rgya mtsho gnyis te bzhi'o* | |

(2) Sangs rgyas gling pa's *rGyab chos spar khab*, mKhyen rab rgya mtsho's *mKhyen rab chos 'byung*, and Sog bzlog pa's *Chos 'byung dgag pa*

⁹⁰ I have chosen not to equate this title with lDe'u 18.3, following instead Sangs rgyas gling pa's list in his *rGyab chos spar khab*, which has both *dBang gi rgyud sgyu 'phrul bla ma* (18.8) and *bsKal pa'i rgyud sgyu 'phrul bla ma* (18.10). See also the respective note to the latter title (18.10) in the *rGyab chos spar khab*.

⁹¹ The *sGyu 'phrul brgyad pa* is referred to by gNubs Sangs rgyas ye shes in his *bSam gtan mig sgron* (for references, see above).

⁹² The *Mañjuśrīmāyājālatantra* is listed in *Pelliot tibétain 849* as one of the 36 (major) *yogatantras* (text no. 4 in Kapstein 2006: 19, n. 32), under the general category of *māyājālatantras*. The *Mañjuśrīmāyājālatantra* is commonly identified by the tradition with the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti* (P329/D642). See also below §2, text no. 16.2. Rong zom pa composed a commentary on the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti*. See the *Rong zom chos bzang gi gsung 'bum*, vol. 1: 255–29. As I pointed out in an earlier publication, this commentary, having been mistaken for an Indic composition, was admitted into the *bKa' gyur* (P3364/D2091). See Almogi 2008: 112–115.

⁹³ The *bZhi bcu pa* is mentioned in *Zhi ba 'od's bKa' shog* (no. 2.iii) as a spurious text. See Karmay 1998: 31.

⁹⁴ The *Le['u] lag* is mentioned in *Zhi ba 'od's bKa' shog* (no. 2.v) as a spurious text. See Karmay 1998: 31. The *tantra* is referred to by gNubs Sangs rgyas ye shes in his *bSam gtan mig sgron* (for references, see above). Rong zom pa refers to or cites the *sGyu 'phrul le lag* on several occasions. See the *Rong zom chos bzang gi gsung 'bum*, vol. 1: 98.21–22, and vol. 2: 95.7, 101.20–22.

In the following, I shall cite the passage from the *rGyab chos spar khab* and provide the equivalents in the *mKhyen rab chos 'byung* and *Chos 'byung dgag pa*. Except for omissions or additions of items from or to the list, differences regarding mere wording or formulation will not be reported. This will be followed by the equivalents in the *lDe'u chos 'byung*. For the part of the list pertaining to no. 18, the equivalents in the *Klong chen chos 'byung* will also be provided. Significant textual differences, particularly ones that involve the titles and could thus be of some significance for their identification, will be recorded as well.

rGyab chos spar khab (pp. 612.5–617.1), compared with *mKhyen rab chos 'byung* (139.6–144.2) and *Chos 'byung dgag pa* (265.3–268.1):

de la bskyed pa ma hā yo ga'i rgyud ni | sku gsung thugs yon tan
 'phrin las lnga'i rtsa'i gzhi dang rtsa bar gyur pa'i rgyud lnga | sgrub
 pa lag len du bstan pa rol pa'i rgyud lnga | phyi'i [= spyi'i] yan lag tu
 'gro ba'i rgyud lnga | cho ga ma tshangs pa kha skong bar byed ba'i
 rgyud | phyi ma gnyis | de dag thams cad kyi bsdus don lta bu'i
 rgyud chen gcig ste | de ltar sde bcwo brgyad du byung ba las ||

(I) dang po'i rgyud lnga ni |

(1) sku'i rgyud thams cad kyi gzhi 'am rtsa bar gyur pa sangs rgyas
 thams cad dang mnyam par sbyor ba | [= mKhyen rab 1; Sog bzlog
 1; lDe'u 1]

(1.1) mkha' 'gro ma sgyu ma bde mchog rtsa ba'i rgyud | [=
mKhyen rab 1.1; Sog bzlog 1.1;⁹⁵ lDe'u no equivalent]

(1.2) gces⁹⁶ pa phyogs gcig tu bsdus pa'i rgyud rtogs [=rtog] pa
 bcu pa | [= mKhyen rab 1.2; Sog bzlog 1.2; lDe'u 1.1]

(1.3) rgyud phyi ma rtogs [=rtog] pa bdun pa | [= mKhyen rab
 1.3; Sog bzlog 1.3; ~ lDe'u 1.2]⁹⁷

(1.4) phyi ma'i phyi ma yang rtogs [=rtog] pa bsdus pa | [=
mKhyen rab 1.4; Sog bzlog 1.4; ~ lDe'u 1.3]⁹⁸

⁹⁵ I follow Sog bzlog pa, who clearly saw here two separate titles (and thus counts altogether five titles under no. 1). His text accordingly reads: (1.1) *mkha' 'gro ma bde mchog rtsa ba'i rgyud* | (1.2) *di las 'phros pa la rtog pa bcu pa dang* | (1.5) *dpal gdan bzhi dang lnga'o* ||.

⁹⁶ The *mKhyen rab chos 'byung* reads *ces*.

⁹⁷ Note that according to the *lDe'u chos 'byung* (followed by the *Klong chen chos 'byung*) the subsequent *tantra* has only one *kalpa*. It is thus unclear whether we have here two different *tantras* or whether a textual error has occurred in the course of the transmission of our historical records.

⁹⁸ Note that according to the *lDe'u chos 'byung* (followed by the *Klong chen chos 'byung*) the second subsequent *tantra* has eighteen *kalpas*, while the *rGyab chos spar khab* (followed by the *mKhyen rab chos 'byung*) does not specify the number of *kalpas* and merely refers to the *tantra* as a summary of their content. It is thus uncertain whether we are dealing here with the same *tantras*.

- (1.5) cha mthun pa'i rgyud dpal gdan bzhi'o ||⁹⁹ [= mKhyen rab 1.5,¹⁰⁰ Sog bzlog 1.5; lDe'u no equivalent]
- (2) gsung gi rgyud thams cad kyi rtsa ba ni dpal zla gsang thig le [= mKhyen rab 2; Sog bzlog 2; lDe'u 2]
- (2.1) rtsa ba'i rgyud || [= mKhyen rab 2.1; Sog bzlog 2.1; lDe'u 2.1]
- (2.2) phyi ma'i rgyud || [= mKhyen rab 2.2; Sog bzlog no equivalent; lDe'u 2.2]
- (2.3) bshad pa'i rgyud || [~ mKhyen rab 2.3; ~ Sog bzlog 2.2;¹⁰¹ lDe'u no equivalent]
- (2.4) dpal 'byung ba'i rgyud || [~ mKhyen rab 2.3; ~ Sog bzlog 2.2; lDe'u no equivalent]
- (2.5) dpal dam pa'i rgyud dang Inga'o || [= mKhyen rab 2.4; Sog bzlog 2.3; lDe'u no equivalent]
- (3) thugs kyi rgyud thams cad kyi rtsa ba ni || dpal gsang ba 'dus pa [= mKhyen rab 3; Sog bzlog 3; lDe'u 3]
- (3.1) rtsa ba'i rgyud || [= mKhyen rab 3.1; Sog bzlog 3.1; lDe'u 3.1]
- (3.2) rgyud phyi ma¹⁰² [= mKhyen rab 3.2; Sog bzlog 3.2; lDe'u 3.2]
- (3.3) bshad rgyud lha mo bzhis zhus pa || [= mKhyen rab 3.2; Sog bzlog 3.3; ~ lDe'u 3.3]¹⁰³
- (3.4) bskal pa'i rgyud gshed rje dgra nag || [= mKhyen rab 3.4; Sog bzlog 3.4;¹⁰⁴ lDe'u no equivalent]
- (3.5) khro bo rta mgrin gyi rgyud¹⁰⁵ || [= mKhyen rab 3.5; Sog bzlog 3.5; lDe'u no equivalent]
- (3.6) cha mthun pa rdo rje cod pan gyi rgyud || [= mKhyen rab 3.6; Sog bzlog 3.6; lDe'u no equivalent]
- (3.7) padma drwa ba dang || [= mKhyen rab 3.7; Sog bzlog 3.7; lDe'u no equivalent]

⁹⁹ This is apparently the *Vajracatuspithatantra* listed in *Pelliot tibétain 849* as one of the 36 (major) *yogatantras* (text no. 16 in Kapstein 2006: 20, n. 32). The *tantra* has also been admitted into the *bKa' 'gyur* (P67/Đ428).

¹⁰⁰ Note, however, that the *mKhyen rab chos 'byung* has *dpal rdo rje gdan bzhi pa* instead of *dpal gdan bzhi pa*.

¹⁰¹ The *mKhyen rab chos 'byung*, reading *bshad pa'i rgyud dpal 'byung ba dang || dpal dam pa'i rgyud rnams so ||*, takes apparently the *rGyab chos spar khab*'s nos. 2.3 and 2.4 to be one text.

¹⁰² The *rGyab chos spar khab* possibly regards nos. 3.2 and 3.3 as one title. Following both the *lDe'u chos 'byung* and the *mKhyen rab chos 'byung*—which latter reads *de'i rgyud phyi ma dang || ...*—I, however, suggest taking the *rGyab chos spar khab*, too, as referring to two separate titles.

¹⁰³ Note that the *lDe'u chos 'byung* (followed by the *Klong chen chos 'byung*), reading *bshad rgyud bzhi las 'phros pa'i rgyud dang luga la sogs pa'o ||*, has a somewhat different title and also implies the existence of other similar *tantras*.

¹⁰⁴ The *mKhyen rab chos 'byung* reads *rtog pa'i rgyud gshin rje gshed nag po dang ||*. The *Chos 'byung dgag pa* reads *bkol ba'i rgyud gshin rje nag po ||*.

¹⁰⁵ The *Chos 'byung dgag pa* reads *dang* instead of *rgyud*.

- (3.8) padma nyung gur [= kur?] brtsegs pa dang | [mKhyen rab,
Sog bzlog & lDe'u no equivalent]
- (3.9) don yod zhags¹⁰⁶ pa'i rtogs pa rnams so | [= mKhyen rab 3.8;
Sog bzlog 3.8; lDe'u no equivalent]
- (4) yon tan gyi rgyud thams cad kyi rtsa bar gyur pa | dpal mchog
dang po [= mKhyen rab 4; Sog bzlog 4; lDe'u 4]
(4.1) rtsa ba'i rgyud | [mKhyen rab 4.1; Sog bzlog 4.1; lDe'u 4]
(4.2) de bzhin gshegs pa thams cad¹⁰⁷ kyi yon tan rgya che bar
bkod pa rnam par rol pa dang | [= mKhyen rab 4.2; Sog bzlog
no equivalent; lDe'u 4.1]
- (4.3) rgyud phyi ma dam tshig gsum la 'jug pa rim par phye
ba'o | [= mKhyen rab 4.3; Sog bzlog 4.2; lDe'u 4.2]
- (5) phrin las thams cad kyi rgyud rtsa bar gyur pa | karma ma le [=
mKhyen rab 5; Sog bzlog 5; lDe'u 5]¹⁰⁸
(5.1) rtsa ba'i rgyud dang | [= mKhyen rab 5.1; Sog bzlog 5.1;
lDe'u 5]¹⁰⁹
(5.2) rgyal ba thams cad kyi phrin las la rnam par rol pa dang |
[mKhyen rab, Sog bzlog & lDe'u no equivalent]
(5.3) rgyud phyi ma zab mo'i don bkod pa dang | [= mKhyen rab
5.2; Sog bzlog 5.2; lDe'u 5.2]
(5.4) cha mthun pa'i rgyud 'jam dpal gsang rgyud kyi gsang ba
drug cu pa | [= mKhyen rab 5.3; Sog bzlog 5.3; lDe'u 5.3]
(5.5) nyi shu rtsa gnyis pa | [= mKhyen rab 5.4; ~ Sog bzlog 5.4,¹¹⁰
lDe'u 5.4]
(5.6) bcu bdun pa | [= mKhyen rab 5.5; Sog bzlog 5.5; ~ lDe'u
5.2]¹¹¹

¹⁰⁶ The *mKhyen rab chos 'byung* and *Chos 'byung dgag pa* omit *zhags*.

¹⁰⁷ The *mKhyen rab chos 'byung* omits *thams cad*.

¹⁰⁸ The *lDe'u chos 'byung* (followed by the *Klong chen chos 'byung*) has here *dPal* ('phreng dkar po / mo, which seems to be the Tibetan rendering of *Karmamāla* (also preserved in Tibetan transliteration as *karma mā / ma le*). The Tibetan rendering *dPal* ('phreng dkar mo / po, however, is clearly erroneous. It seems that it reflects an initial translation of the component *māla* as ('phreng, with an addition of the honorific *dpal*, while the component *karma* was left untranslated, resulting in *dPal* ('phreng *karma*. Sanskrit *karma*, which may be rendered into Tibetan as *las* or *'phrin las* (and indeed the version in the *NyGB* bears the title *Las kyi 'phreng ba*), might have then been later mistaken for Tibetan *dkar mo / po*. Note, that both titles—*dPal* 'phreng dkar po and *Karma ma le* (apparently also appearing as *Las / Thabs kyi 'phreng ba*)—are referred to in the commentary on the *Thabs kyi zhags pa*. See Cantwell & Mayer 2012: 84, where the two titles seem to be taken as referring to two different texts.

¹⁰⁹ The *lDe'u chos 'byung* does not list the *mūlatantra* but has *rgyal ba* (the *Klong chen chos 'byung* has *phyi ma* instead of *rgyal ba*) *thams cad kyi 'phrin las* | *rgya cher rol pa'i rgyud*, said to have twelve *kalpas*. The *mūlatantra* found in the *NyGB* has nine chapters (Tk.244/Tb.413).

¹¹⁰ The *Chos 'byung dgag pa* reads *nyer gcig pa* instead of *nyi shu rtsa gnyis pa*.

- (5.7) *bsdus pa'i rgyud phyi ma'o* [= mKhyen rab 5.6+5.7; Sog bzlog 5.6+5.7;¹¹² lDe'u no equivalent]
- (II) *rol pa'i rgyud lnga ni*
- (6) *sku'i grub pa lag len gsal bar ston pa he ru ka ral* [=rol] *pa'i rgyud dang* [= mKhyen rab 6; ~ Sog bzlog 6;¹¹³ lDe'u 6]¹¹⁴
- (6.1) *rgyud phyi ma'o* [= mKhyen rab 6.2; Sog bzlog 6.1; lDe'u 6.2]
- (7)¹¹⁵ *padma gsung gi sgrub pa lag len rta mchog rol pa* [= mKhyen rab 7; lDe'u 7]
- (7.1) *rtsa ba'i rgyud dang* [= mKhyen rab 7.1; lDe'u 7.1]
- (7.2) *rgyud phyi ma dang* [= mKhyen rab 7.2; lDe'u 7.2]
- (7.3) *bshad rgyud dbang chen 'dus pa dang* [= mKhyen rab 7.3; Sog bzlog 7.3; lDe'u no equivalent]
- (7.4) *bde ba rgyan gyi rgyud do* [= mKhyen rab 7.4; Sog bzlog 7.4; lDe'u no equivalent]
- (8) *yang dag thugs kyi sgrub pa lag len snying rje rol pa* [= mKhyen rab 8; Sog bzlog 8; lDe'u 8]
- (8.1) *rtsa ba'i rgyud dang* [= mKhyen rab 8.1; Sog bzlog 8; ~ lDe'u 8.1]¹¹⁶
- (8.2) *rgyud phyi ma'o* [= mKhyen rab 8.2; Sog bzlog 8.1; lDe'u no equivalent]
- (9) *che mchog yon tan gyi sgrub pa lag len bdud rtsi rol pa* [= mKhyen rab 9; Sog bzlog 9; lDe'u 9]
- (9.1) *rtsa ba'i rgyud dang* [= mKhyen rab 9.1; Sog bzlog 9.1; lDe'u no equivalent]
- (9.2) *dum bu'i rgyud bam po*¹¹⁷ *brgyad pa* [= mKhyen rab 9.2; ~ Sog bzlog 9.2;¹¹⁸ lDe'u 9.1]

¹¹¹ Note that the *lDe'u chos 'byung* (followed by the *Klong chen chos 'byung*) has *so bdun pa* instead of our *bcu bdun pa*. This discrepancy might be due to textual errors during the transmission of the list.

¹¹² The *mKhyen rab chos 'byung*, reading *bsdus pa'i rgyud dang* *rgyud phyi ma'o*, obviously sees here two separate texts. This is also the case with the *Chos 'byung dgag pa*.

¹¹³ The *Chos 'byung dgag pa* (like Ratna gling pa's *rTsod bzlog* no. 6) reads *he ru ka gal po* instead of *he ru ka rol pa*.

¹¹⁴ Both the *mKhyen rab chos 'byung* (no. 6.1) and the *lDe'u chos 'byung* (no. 6.1) mention explicitly the *mūlatantra* of this cycle.

¹¹⁵ The *Chos 'byung dgag pa* obviously is here missing some text, presumably containing the heading (no. 7) and the following two titles (7.1 & 7.2). I accordingly number the first title listed there as text no. 7.3.

¹¹⁶ Note that the *lDe'u chos 'byung* (followed by the *Klong chen chos 'byung*) does not explicitly specify no. 8.1 as the *mūlatantra* and only notes that it comprises thirty chapters.

¹¹⁷ The *mKhyen rab chos 'byung* reads *rol pa* instead of *bam po*.

¹¹⁸ The *Chos 'byung dgag pa* reads *rol pa brgya pa*, it being unclear whether *brgya* is intended or a slip of the pen for *brgyad*.

- (9.3) gces pa bsdus pa'i rgyud dum bu gsum pa | [= mKhyen rab 9.3; Sog bzlog 9.3; lDe'u 9.2]
- (9.4) cha mthun pa rdo rje bdud rtsi'i rgyud do | [= mKhyen rab 9.4; Sog bzlog 9.4; lDe'u 9.4]
- (10) phur pa phrin las kyi sgrub pa lag len gsal bar bstan pa spyi'i rgyud | byi to ta ma la rol pa [= mKhyen rab 10; Sog bzlog 10; lDe'u 10]
- (10.1) rtsa ba'i rgyud | [=mKhyen rab 10.1; Sog bzlog 10.1; lDe'u no equivalent]¹¹⁹
- (10.2) byang chub sems 'byung ba dkyil 'khor lnga'i rim par phye ba dang | [= mKhyen rab 10.2; Sog bzlog 10.2; ~ lDe'u 10.1]¹²⁰
- (10.3) rgyud phyi ma kī la ya bcu gnyis kyi rgyud dang | [= mKhyen rab 10.3; Sog bzlog 10.3; lDe'u 10.3]
- (10.4) bshad rgyud ma mo rol pa dur khrod rgyan gyi rgyud | [= mKhyen rab 10.4; Sog bzlog 10.4; lDe'u 10.4]
- (10.5) mya ngan las 'das pa'i rgyud¹²¹ [= mKhyen rab 10.5; Sog bzlog no equivalent; lDe'u 10.5]
- (10.6) cha mthun pa khu byug rol pa rtsa ba'i rgyud | [= mKhyen rab 10.6; Sog bzlog 10.5; lDe'u no equivalent]
- (10.7) rgyud phyi ma | [= mKhyen rab 10.7; Sog bzlog 10.6; no equivalent]
- (10.8.) gsang rgyud chen po rtsa ba'i rgyud | [= mKhyen rab 10.8; Sog bzlog 10.7; lDe'u no equivalent]
- (10.9) rgyud phyi ma'o | [= mKhyen rab 10.9; Sog bzlog 10.8; lDe'u no equivalent]
- bka' brgyad kyi rgyud spyi dang bye brag pa bying bo'i rnam grangs lung bstan bka' rgya'i nang du gsal lo |
- (III) yan lag gi rgyud lnga la |
- (11) go 'phangs dbang gis bsgrod pa ri bo brtsegs pa [= mKhyen rab 11; Sog bzlog 11; lDe'u 11]
- (11.1) rtsa ba'i rgyud dang | [= mKhyen rab 11.1; Sog bzlog 11; ~ lDe'u 11.1]¹²²

¹¹⁹ Note that the *lDe'u chos 'byung* (followed by the *Klong chen chos 'byung*) understands 8.2 to be the *mūlatantra*, while as 8.1 it lists the *Phur pa byang chub sems 'byung ba*, which is missing here.

¹²⁰ Note that the *lDe'u chos 'byung* (followed by the *Klong chen chos 'byung*), reading *dkyil 'khor chen po lnga'i rim pa rnam par phye ba rtsa ba'i rgyud*, takes this title as the *mūlatantra*.

¹²¹ The *rGyab chos spar khab* possibly understands nos. 10.5 and 10.6 as one title. However, I follow the *lDe'u chos 'byung* and the *mKhyen rab chos 'byung* and list it here as separate two titles.

¹²² Note that the *lDe'u chos 'byung* (followed by the *Klong chen chos 'byung*) has only one entry under *Ri bo brtsegs pa*, merely specifying the number of chapters as twenty-two (11.1). It might be collectively referring to our two entries here (11.1 & 11.2), which are the basic and the subsequent *tantras*, respectively. The *mūlatantra* found in the *NyGB* consists of twenty-one chapters (Tk.133/Tb.411), while the subsequent *tantra* so far remains unidentified.

- (11.2) *rgyud phyi ma'o* || [= mKhyen rab 1.2; Sog bzlog 11.1; ~ lDe'u 11.1]
- (12) *gzhi dam tshig gis bzung ba bkod pa'i rgyud* [= mKhyen rab 12; Sog bzlog 12; lDe'u 12]
- (12.1) [rtsa ba] *dang* || [= mKhyen rab 12.1; Sog bzlog 12.1; ~ lDe'u 12.1]¹²³
- (12.2) *rgyud phyi ma'o* || [= mKhyen rab 12.2; Sog bzlog 12.1; ~ lDe'u 12.1]
- (13) '*phang*¹²⁴ *Ita bas gcod pa glang po rab 'bog gi rgyud* [= mKhyen rab 13; Sog bzlog 13; lDe'u 13]
- (13.1) [rtsa ba] *dang* || [= mKhyen rab 13.1; Sog bzlog 13.1; ~ lDe'u 13.1]¹²⁵
- (13.2) *rgyud phyi ma'o* || [= mKhyen rab 13.2; Sog bzlog 13.1; ~ lDe'u 13.1]
- (14) *nyams su ting nge 'dzin gyis blangs pa rtse gcig pa bsdus pa'i rgyud* [= mKhyen rab 14; Sog bzlog 14; lDe'u 14]
- (14.1) [rtsa ba] *dang* || [= mKhyen rab 14.1; Sog bzlog 14.1; ~ lDe'u 14.1]¹²⁶
- (14.2) *rgyud phyi ma'o* || [= mKhyen rab 14.2; Sog bzlog 14.2; ~ lDe'u 14.1]
- (15) *la spyod pas dor ba rngam glog 'khor lo'i rgyud* [= mKhyen rab 15; Sog bzlog 15; lDe'u 15]
- (15.1) [rtsa ba] *dang* || [= mKhyen rab 15.1; Sog bzlog 15.1; lDe'u 15.1]
- (15.2) *rgyud phyi ma'o* || [= mKhyen rab 15.2; Sog bzlog 15.2; lDe'u 15.2]

¹²³ Note that, as in the case of the previous title, the *lDe'u chos 'byung* (followed by the *Klong chen chos 'byung*) has only one entry under *Dam tshig bkod pa*, merely specifying the number of chapters as thirty (12.1). It might be collectively referring to our two entries here (12.1 & 12.2), which are the basic and the subsequent *tantras*, respectively. The *mūlatantra* found in the *NyGB*, however, consists of thirty-four chapters (Tk.197/Tb.97), while the subsequent *tantra* so far remains unidentified.

¹²⁴ The *mKhyen rab chos 'byung* reads '*phangs*'. The *Chos 'byung dgag pa*, reversing the order of the words, reads *Ita bas 'phangs* instead of '*phang(s) Ita bas*'.

¹²⁵ Here, as in the two previous titles, the *lDe'u chos 'byung* (followed by the *Klong chen chos 'byung*) has only one entry under *Rab 'bog gi rgyud*, merely specifying the number of chapters as twenty-eight (13.1). It might be collectively referring to our two entries here (13.1 & 13.2), which are the basic and the subsequent *tantras*, respectively. The *tantra* found in the *NyGB*, however, already consists of twenty-eight chapters (Tk.250/Tb.405), while the subsequent *tantra* so far remains unidentified.

¹²⁶ As in the three previous titles, the *lDe'u chos 'byung* (followed by the *Klong chen chos 'byung*) has only one entry under *rTse gcig bsdus pa*, merely specifying the number of chapters as fifteen (14.1). It might be collectively referring to our two entries here (14.1 & 14.2), which are the basic and subsequent *tantras*, respectively. The *tantra* found in the *NyGB* consists of thirteen chapters (Tk.168/Tb.246), while the subsequent *tantra* so far remains unidentified.

- (15.3) cha mthun pa'i rgyud glog gi gru | [= mKhyen rab 15.3; Sog bzlog 15.3; lDe'u 15.3]¹²⁷
- (15.4) khro bo rdo rje sme [=rme?] brtsegs pa chen po'i rgyud do | [= mKhyen rab 15.4; Sog bzlog 15.4; lDe'u no equivalent]
- (IV) ma tshang ba kha skong ba'i rgyud gnyis la |
- (16) dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga dang | dngos grub sgrub pa'i kha skong du gyur pa [= mKhyen rab 16; Sog bzlog 16; lDe'u 17]¹²⁹
- (16.1) rnam snang sgyu 'phrul drwa ba | [= mKhyen rab 16.1; Sog bzlog 16.1; lDe'u no equivalent]
- (16.2) cha mthun pa'i rgyud 'jam dpal sgyu 'phrul drwa ba | mtshan yang dag par brjod pa [= mKhyen rab 16.2; Sog bzlog 16.2,¹³⁰ lDe'u no equivalent; Klong chen 18.6]¹³¹
- (17) 'phrin las thams cad kyi kha skong du gyur pa | 'phags pa thabs kyi zhags pa padmo'i phreng ba [= mKhyen rab 17; Sog bzlog 17; lDe'u 16]
- (17.1) rtsa ba'i rgyud dang | [= mKhyen rab 17.1; Sog bzlog 17; lDe'u 16.1]
- (17.2) rgyud phyi ma las rgya mtsho la 'jug pa'o | | [= mKhyen rab 17.2; Sog bzlog 17.1; lDe'u 16.2]
- (18)¹³² de dag gi bsdus don lta bu ni | rdo rje sems dpa' sgyu 'phrul drwa ba'i rgyud skor rnam pa te | [= mKhyen rab 18; Sog bzlog 18; lDe'u 18; Klong chen 18]

¹²⁷ Note that both the *lDe'u chos 'byung* and the *mKhyen rab chos 'byung* read *glog gi gu*, which may be, however, emended to *glog gi gru*. See, above, the respective note to lDe'u 15.3. The *Chos 'byung dgag pa* reads *klog gi rgyud* instead of *glog gi gru*.

¹²⁸ The reading *rme* is supported by the *mKhyen rab chos 'byung*. The *Chos 'byung dgag pa* similarly reads *rme ba*.

¹²⁹ This *tantra* is missing altogether from the detailed lists providing the titles of texts putatively translated into Tibetan provided in the *lDe'u chos 'byung* (followed by the *Klong chen chos 'byung*). However, the titles of the heading and the first subentry provided in the *mKhyen rab chos 'byung* (16 & 16.1) are included in the first list found there, which reads (no. 17): *dkyil 'khor gyi las la 'jug pa'i rgyud yan lag tu gyur pa riham par snang mdzad sgyu 'phrul drwa ba'i rgyud do | |*.

¹³⁰ It may well be that the *rGyab chos spar khab* understands *cha mthun pa'i rgyud 'jam dpal sgyu 'phrul drwa ba | mtshan yang dag par brjod pa* to be two titles. Following, however, the tradition, according to which the '*Jam dpal mtshan brjod*' is the '*Jam dpal sgyu 'phrul drwa ba*' (or at least a part of it) and the fact that the *mKhyen rab chos 'byung* omits the phrase *cha mthun pa'i rgyud 'jam dpal sgyu 'phrul drwa ba |* altogether, while the *Chos 'byung dgag pa* omits the second phrase *mtshan yang dag par brjod pa*, I suggest taking it here as one title.

¹³¹ While the *lDe'u chos 'byung* does not list this *tantra* at all, the *Klong chen chos 'byung* has it as one of the subentries of the *rDo rje sems dpa' sgyu 'phrul drwa ba* (no. 18.6).

¹³² The *mKhyen rab chos 'byung* has here a list of the texts pertaining to the *rDo rje sems pa sgyu 'phrul drwa ba*, which is different from the one provided in the *rGyab chos spar khab* and in fact is almost identical with the one found in the *lDe'u chos 'byung*, and thus will be provided separately below.

- (18.1) rtsa rgyud dang bshad rgyud sdeb pas | shin tu rgyas pa'i rgyud sgyu 'phrul brgyad cu pa | [= mKhyen rab 18.1; Sog bzlog 18; lDe'u 18.1; Klong chen 18.2]
- (18.2) 'Bring du bsdus pa sgyu 'phrul drug cu pa | [mKhyen rab, lDe'u & Klong chen no equivalent]
- (18.3) shin tu bsdus pa sgyu 'phrul bzhi bcu pa | [mKhyen rab, lDe'u & Klong chen no equivalent]
- (18.4) sku'i rgyud sgyu 'phrul rgyas pa | [mKhyen rab, lDe'u & Klong chen no equivalent]
- (18.5) gsung gi rgyud lha mo sgyu 'phrul | [= mKhyen rab 18.12; lDe'u 18.11; Klong chen 18.3]
- (18.6) thugs kyi rgyud gsang ba snying po | [= mKhyen rab 18.2; lDe'u no equivalent; Klong chen 18.1]¹³³
- (18.7) bshad pa'i rgyud ting 'dzin bsrung ba | [= mKhyen rab 18.3; lDe'u 18.2; Klong chen no equivalent]
- (18.8) dbang gi rgyud sgyu 'phrul bla ma | [mKhyen rab & lDe'u no equivalent; Klong chen 18.4]¹³⁴
- (18.9) dam tshig gi rgyud sgyu 'phrul le lag | [mKhyen rab & lDe'u no equivalent; Klong chen 18.8]
- (18.10) bskal pa'i rgyud sgyu 'phrul bla ma | [= mKhyen rab 18.4; lDe'u 18.3; Klong chen no equivalent]¹³⁵
- (18.11) sgyu 'phrul rol pa'i rgyud | [= mKhyen rab 18.5; lDe'u 18.4; Klong chen no equivalent]
- (18.12) rgyal ba yongs su mnyes pa'i rgyud | [= mKhyen rab 18.6; lDe'u 18.5; Klong chen no equivalent]
- (18.13) khro bo stobs kyi rgyud | [= mKhyen rab 18.7; lDe'u 18.6; Klong chen no equivalent]
- (18.14) rgyud phyi ma rtog pa thams cad bsdus pa | [= mKhyen rab 18.8; lDe'u 18.7; Klong chen no equivalent]
- (18.15) phyi ma'i phyi ma the tshom Inga'i drwa ba gcod pa | [= mKhyen rab 18.9; lDe'u 18.8; Klong chen no equivalent]
- (18.16) bshad rgyud phra mo'i don gtan la dbab pa'i rgyud | [= mKhyen rab 18.10; lDe'u 18.9; Klong chen no equivalent]
- (18.17) sgyu 'phrul ngo mtshar bshad pa'i dra ba rnam so | [= mKhyen rab 18.11; lDe'u 18.10; Klong chen no equivalent]

¹³³ The *lDe'u chos 'byung* (followed by the *Klong chen chos 'byung*) seems not to have regarded it as necessary to specify the *mūlatantra* separately since it is already included in the previous entry, being the latter's first twenty-two chapters.

¹³⁴ See the note to title no. 18.10.

¹³⁵ I have chosen to equate this and not the *dBang gi rgyud sgyu 'phrul bla ma* listed above (no. 18.8) with the *sGyu 'phrul bla ma* listed in the *mKhyen rab chos 'byung* and *lDe'u chos 'byung* (both no. 3.4) since I take *bskal pa'i rgyud* here to be an alternative formulation of *rtog pa'i rgyud*, as in the case with the title *bsKal pa'i rgyud gshed rje dgra nag* (no. 3.4), which is equivalent to the *mKhyen rab chos 'byung*'s *rTog pa'i rgyud gshin rje gshed nag po*. Note, however, that the *lDe'u chos 'byung* has *bkol ba'i*.

The list of texts pertaining to no. 18 provided in the *mKhyen rab chos 'byung*:

- (18) de dag thams cad bsdus pa'i rgyud rdo rje sems dpa' sgyu 'phrul dra ba'i skor rmams te | [= Sog bzlog 18; lDe'u 18]
- (18.1) de yang rtsa rgyud dang bshad rgyud dang sdebs pa sgyu 'phrul rgyas pa le'u brgyad cu pa dang | [= Sog bzlog 18.1; lDe'u 18.1]
- (18.2) rtsa rgyud logs su bkol ba gsang snying le'u nyer gnyis pa dang | [= Sog bzlog 18.2; lDe'u no equivalent]¹³⁶
- (18.3) bshad rgyud logs su bsdus pa ting 'dzin bsprung ba'i rgyud dang | [= Sog bzlog 18.3; lDe'u 18.2]
- (18.4) rtog pa'i rgyud sgyu 'phrul bla ma dang | [= Sog bzlog 18.4; lDe'u 18.3]
- (18.5) sgyu 'phrul rol pa'i rgyud dang | [= Sog bzlog 18.5; lDe'u 18.4]
- (18.6) rgyal ba yongs su mnyes pa'i rgyud dang | [= Sog bzlog 18.6; lDe'u 18.5]
- (18.7) khro bo stobs kyi rgyud dang | [=Sog bzlog 18.7; lDe'u 18.6]
- (18.8) rgyud phyi ma rtog pa bsdus pa dang | [= Sog bzlog 18.8; lDe'u 18.7]
- (18.9) phyi ma'i phyi ma the tshom Inga'i dra ba gcod pa dang | [= Sog bzlog 18.9; lDe'u 18.8]
- (18.10) bshad rgyud phra mo'i don gtan la dbab pa'i dra ba dang | [= Sog bzlog 18.10; lDe'u 18.9]
- (18.11) sgyu 'phrul ngo mtshar bshad pa'i dra ba dang | [= Sog bzlog 18.11; lDe'u 18.10]
- (18.12) cha mthun pa'i rgyud lha mo sgyu 'phrul rnams so | | [= Sog bzlog 18.12; lDe'u 18.11]

(3) Ratna gling pa's *rTsod bzlog*

In the following I shall cite the list found in Ratna gling pa's *rTsod bzlog* and provide the equivalents in the *lDe'u chos 'byung*. Significant textual and other problems will be recorded as well.

rTsod bzlog (vol. 116, pp. 103.1–104.6):

bskyed pa ma hā yo ga'i rgyud kyi skor la | tantra sde bco brgyad de |

¹³⁶ The *lDe'u chos 'byung* (followed by the *Klong chen chos 'byung*) seems not to have regarded it as necessary to specify the *mūlatantra* separately since it is already included in the previous entry, being the latter's first twenty-two chapters.

(I.) [gzhi / rtsa ba'i rgyud]

sku'i rgyud

(1) sangs rgyas mnyam sbyor | [= lDe'u 1]

gsung gi rgyud

(2) zla gsang thig le | [= lDe'u 2]

thug [= thugs] kyi rgyud

(3) gsang ba 'dus pa | [= lDe'u 3]

yon tan gyi rgyud

(4) dpal mchog dang po | [= lDe'u 4]

phrin las kyi rgyud

(5) pad [=dpal] phreng dkar po [= lDe'u 5]

dang snga'o ||

(II.) sgrubs pa lag len gyi rgyud la |

sku'i rgyud la

(6) he ru ka gal po | [~ lDe'u 6?] ¹³⁷

gsung gi rgyud

(7) rta mchog rol pa [= lDe'u 7]

thugs kyi rgyud

(8) he ru ka gal po | [> snying rje'i rol pa?] | ¹³⁸ [~ lDe'u 8?]

yon tan gyi rgyud

(9) bdud rtsi rol pa bam po brgyad | ¹³⁹ [= lDe'u 9]

phrin las kyi rgyud

(10) byi to ta ma la | ki la ya bcu gnyis kyi rgyud [~ lDe'u 10] ¹⁴⁰

dang lnga'o ||

(III.) yan lag gi rgyud la |

(11) gzhi dam tshig gis gzung ba | dam tshig bkod pa rgyal po'i rgyud | [= lDe'u 12]

(12) go 'phang dbang gis bsgrod pa | dbang bskur rgyal po'i rgyud | [lDe'u no equivalent] ¹⁴¹

¹³⁷ Note that the four previous lists have *he ru ka'i rol pa*.

¹³⁸ The reading *he ru ka gal po* must be an error, for this title is already mentioned by Ratna gling pa under no. 6. Possibly the text should read here *snining rje'i rol pa*, as in the previously cited four sources.

¹³⁹ The *bDud rtsi bam po brgyad pa* is mentioned in *Zhi ba 'od's bKa' shog* (no. 31) as a spurious text. See Karmay 1998: 33. Karmay notes that according to Sog bzlog pa this text was composed by a Tibetan (*bod rtsom*). See *ibid.*, n. 90.

¹⁴⁰ The *lDe'u chos 'byung* (like the *Klong chen chos 'byung*), while not specifying the *Ki la ya bcu gnyis kyi rgyud* as the title referring to the cycle as a whole, does mention a text with the same title, there specified merely as a "subsequent tantra" (*rgyud phyi ma*) and as one of the three *tantras* belonging to this cycle that had putatively been translated into Tibetan. Also note that a text titled *Phur pa bcu gnyis kyi rgyud phyi ma* is cited in the commentary on the *Thabs kyi zhags pa*. See Cantwell & Mayer 2012: 84.

¹⁴¹ It is rather unlikely that this title and the title no. 11 (which is the only remaining option) in the list provided in the *lDe'u chos 'byung* (followed by the remaining three sources cited above)—that is, the *Go 'phang dbang gis bgrrod pa'i rgyud ri bo brtsegs pa*—represent the same text, for despite the fact that the predicate (*go*

- (13) phu thag lta bas bcad pa | glong chen rab 'bog gi rgyud | [= lDe'u 13]¹⁴²
- (14) nyams su ting nge 'dzin gyis blangs pa | rtse cig bsdus pa'i rgyud | [= lDe'u 14]
- (15) la spyod pas dor ba | rngam pa glog gi rgyud [= lDe'u 15]
dang lnga'o | |
- (IV.) rgyud phyi ma gnyis ni |
- (16) dngos grub 'byung ba'i cho ga thabs kyi rgyud | thabs kyi zhags pa padma phreng ba[|]¹⁴³ [= lDe'u 16]
- (17) dkyil 'khor thams cad la 'jug pa'i rgyud | sgyu 'phrul drwa ba'i rgyud | [= lDe'u 17]¹⁴⁴
- (V.) don thams cad 'dus pa'i rgyud |
- (18) rdo rje sems dpa' sgyu 'phrul drwa ba stong phrag brgya [= lDe'u 18]
dang bco brgyad do |
de dag thams cad bsgyur ba'i lo tsā ba yang | bāi ro tsa na | ka cog rnam gnyis dang gsum mo | de dag gi rjes su 'gro ba'i bstan bcos la | rta dbyangs kyi bla ma lnga bcu pa | rtsa ltung bcu bzhi pa | sngags don rnam brgyad | rgyud bco brgyad pa'i 'grel pa | kun rigs gsal ldan | sgrub thabs dang bcas pa bsgyur ro |

II. Group Two

(1) bSam 'grub rdo rje's Rin chen 'bar gur, compared with dPa' bo gTsug lag 'phreng ba's Chos 'byung mkhas pa'i dga' ston, sDe srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho's Baidūra g.ya' sel, and 'Jigs med gling pa's sNga 'gyur rgyud 'bum rtogs brjod

The following text is the pertinent passage from bSam 'grub rdo rje's *Rin chen 'bar gur*, with the titles' equivalents in dPa' bo gTsug lag 'phreng ba's *Chos 'byung mkhas pa'i dga' ston*, sDe srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho's *Baidūra g.ya' sel*, and 'Jigs med gling pa's *sNga 'gyur rgyud 'bum rtogs brjod*. Deviations from this passage found in these last three texts will be recorded only in so far as they present different readings of the titles. The equivalents in the *lDe'u chos 'byung* will

'phang dbang gis bgrod pa) is identical the titles *dBang bskur rgyal po'i rgyud* and the *Ri bo brtsegs pa'i rgyud* seem to be referring to two different texts (Tk.192/Tb.98 and Tk.133/Tb.411, respectively).

¹⁴² As noted above (n. ad lDe'u 3), the *lDe'u chos 'byung* reads here *glang po rab tu mchog* (the *Klong chen chos 'byung*, however, *glang chen rab 'bog*), whereas in the detailed list of putatively translated texts it has *glang po ra[b] 'bog*.

¹⁴³ The *shad* is missing in the text, which gives the impression that the following phrase *dkyil 'khor thams cad la 'jug pa'i rgyud* belongs to no. 16. However, it is clear from the context and from other lists that it is the predicate of no. 17.

¹⁴⁴ Note that the *lDe'u chos 'byung* specifies this text as *rNam par snang mdzad sgyu 'phrul drwa ba'i rgyud*.

be provided as well, along with the category into which the *tantras* had been subclassified there.

Rin chen 'bar gur (20a3–b2 (pp. 629.3–630.2)), compared with *Chos 'byung mkhas pa'i dga' ston* (vol. 1: 606.2–11), *Baidūra g.ya' sel* (1025.5–1026.1), and *sNga 'gyur rgyud 'bum rtogs brjod* (147.2–5):

ku ku rā dzās gsang ba'i bdag po'i bka' bzhin bsgrubs shing | sgyu 'phrul drwa ba stong phrag brgya pa'i rgyud las | tantra chen po sde bco brgyad du phye ne | skal ldan rgyal po dzah la gsungs | tantra chen po sde bco brgyad la |

sku'i rgyud gsum ni |

(1) sangs rgyas mnyam sbyor | [= dPa' bo, sDe srid, 'Jigs gling 1; lDe'u 1 (rtsa ba, sku)]

(2) glang po che¹⁴⁵ rab 'bog | [= dPa' bo, sDe srid, 'Jigs gling 2; lDe'u 13 (spyi'i yan lag)]

(3) glang po che chur¹⁴⁶ zhugs¹⁴⁷ [= dPa' bo, sDe srid, 'Jigs gling 3; lDe'u no equivalent]

gsung gi rgyud gsum ni |

(4) zla gsang thig le | [= dPa' bo, sDe srid, 'Jigs gling 4; lDe'u 2 (rtsa ba, gsung)]

(5) gcig las 'phro pa¹⁴⁸ [= dPa' bo, sDe srid, 'Jigs gling 5; lDe'u no equivalent]

(6) du ma [las]¹⁴⁹ 'phro pa | [= dPa' bo, sDe srid, 'Jigs gling 6; lDe'u no equivalent]

thugs kyi rgyud gsum ni |

(7) gsang ba 'dus pa | [= dPa' bo, sDe srid, 'Jigs gling 7; lDe'u 3 (rtsa ba, thugs)]

(8) ri bo brtsegs pa | [= dPa' bo, sDe srid, 'Jigs gling 8; lDe'u 11 (spyi'i yan lag)]

(9) rtse gcig tu¹⁵⁰ 'dus pa | [= dPa' bo, sDe srid, 'Jigs gling 9; lDe'u 14]

yon tan gyi rgyud gsum ni |

(10) dpal mchog dang po | [= dPa' bo, sDe srid, 'Jigs gling 10; lDe'u 4 (rtsa ba, yon tan)]

¹⁴⁵ The *Baidūra g.ya' sel* and *sNga 'gyur rgyud 'bum rtogs brjod* omit *che*.

¹⁴⁶ The *Chos 'byung mkhas pa'i dga' ston* reads *mtshor* instead of *chur*, the *Baidūra g.ya' sel* reads *tshugs*, and the *sNga 'gyur rgyud 'bum rtogs brjod* reads *mtsho*.

¹⁴⁷ Note that the reading *chur* 'jug is more common than *chur zhugs*. The *Glang po chur* 'jug is cited in the commentary to the *Thabs kyi zhags pa*. See Cantwell & Mayer 2012: 84.

¹⁴⁸ A *tantra* titled *gCig las spros pa'i tan tra* is cited in the commentary on the *Thabs kyi zhags pa*. See Cantwell & Mayer 2012: 84.

¹⁴⁹ The reading *las* is supported by the *Baidūra g.ya' sel* and *sNga 'gyur rgyud 'bum rtogs brjod*.

¹⁵⁰ The *Baidūra g.ya' sel* and *sNga 'gyur rgyud 'bum rtogs brjod* omit *tu*.

- (11) bdud rtsi mchog dang po | [= dPa' bo, sDe srid, 'Jigs gling 11; lDe'u no equivalent]
- (12) yid bzhin nor bu'i rgyud | [= dPa' bo, sDe srid, 'Jigs gling 12; lDe'u no equivalent]
- 'phrin las kyi rgyud gsum ni |
- (13) karma mā le¹⁵¹ | [= dPa' bo, sDe srid, 'Jigs gling 13; lDe'u 5 (rtsa ba, 'phrin las)]¹⁵²
- (14) sgron¹⁵³ ma [= me?] ¹⁵⁴ 'bar ba | [= dPa' bo, sDe srid, 'Jigs gling 14; lDe'u no equivalent]
- (15) ki¹⁵⁵ la ya yig 'bru bcu gnyis kyi rgyud | [= dPa' bo, sDe srid, 'Jigs gling 15; no equivalent in lDe'u, Rat gling 10?; Zur 'tsho 13? (sgrub pa'i lag len, 'phrin las)]¹⁵⁶
- spyi'i rgyud gsum ni |
- (16) de dag thams cad kyi spyi rgyud¹⁵⁷ sgyu 'phrul drwa¹⁵⁸ ba'i rgyud | [= dPa' bo, sDe srid, 'Jigs gling 16; lDe'u 18]
- (17) dam tshig sa ma ya 'bum sde bkod pa'i rgyud |¹⁵⁹ [= dPa' bo, sDe srid, 'Jigs gling 17; lDe'u 12 (spyi'i yan lag)]¹⁶⁰
- (18) rdo rje¹⁶¹ thabs kyi zhags pa'i rgyud de | [= dPa' bo, sDe srid, 'Jigs gling 18; lDe'u 16 (rgyud phyi ma)]
- de ltar tantra sde chen po bco brgyad po rgyal po dzahs(!)¹⁶² | ...

(2) Klong chen pa Dri med 'od zer's sNgags kyi spyi don

In the following, the relevant passage from Klong chen pa Dri med 'od zer's sNgags kyi spyi don is cited. The equivalents in bSam 'grub rdo rje's list and in the list found in the lDe'u chos 'byung, along with the pertinent category of classification, are also provided.

¹⁵¹ The *Baidūra g.ya'* sel reads *lya* instead of *le*.

¹⁵² The *lDe'u chos 'byung* reads, however, *dpal phreng dkar po*.

¹⁵³ The *Baidūra g.ya'* sel reads *sgrol* instead of *sgron*.

¹⁵⁴ The reading *me* is supported by the *Chos 'byung mkhas pa'i dga' ston*. However, the *sNga 'gyur rgyud 'bum rtogs brjod*, too, reads *ma*.

¹⁵⁵ The *Baidūra g.ya'* sel reads *ki*.

¹⁵⁶ It remains unclear whether the title *Ki la ya yig 'bru bcu gnyis kyi rgyud* refers to the same text as the titles *Byi to ta ma la* | *ki la ya bcu gnyis kyi rgyud* (Rat gling 10) and *Ki la ya bcu gnyis kyi rgyud* (Zur 'tsho 13), or to a different one. See also above, the note to Rat gling 10.

¹⁵⁷ The *sNga 'gyur rgyud 'bum rtogs brjod* omits *de dag thams cad kyi spyi rgyud*.

¹⁵⁸ The *Baidūra g.ya'* sel reads *dra*.

¹⁵⁹ Both the *Chos 'byung mkhas pa'i dga' ston* and *sNga 'gyur rgyud 'bum rtogs brjod* read *dam tshig bkod pa*.

¹⁶⁰ The *lDe'u chos 'byung* reads, however, *dam tshig bkod pa*. Note that Zur 'tsho dKon mchog tshul khriṃs's *Lo rgyus mu tig phreng ba*, too, reads *dam tshig sa ma ya 'bum sde bkod pa*.

¹⁶¹ The *sNga 'gyur rgyud 'bum rtogs brjod* omits *rdo rje*.

¹⁶² The employment of the ergative suffix *s* while retaining the *visarga* sign (resulting in *dzahs* in place of the more common *dzas*) is somewhat unusual.

sNgags kyi spyi don (355.2–356.2):

de yang tantra sde bco brgyad du phye ba ni | sku'i rgyud gsum |
gsung gi rgyud gsum | thugs kyi rgyud gsum | yon tan gyi rgyud
gsum | phrin las kyi rgyud gsum | spyi rgyud gsum ste bco brgyad
do || de la

(I) [sku'i rgyud]

- (1) sku'i sku rgyud glang po rab 'bog | [= bSam rdo 2; lDe'u 13
(spyi'i yan lag)]
- (2) sku'i gsung rgyud glang po chur 'jug¹⁶³ [= bSam rdo 3; lDe'u no
equivalent]
- (3) sku'i thugs rgyud sangs rgyas mnyam sbyor | [= bSam rdo 1;
lDe'u 1 (rtsa ba, sku)]

(II) [gsung gi rgyud]

- (4) gsung gi sku rgyud ri bo brtsegs pa | [= bSam rdo 8 (thugs);
lDe'u 11 (spyi'i yan lag)]
- (5) gsung gi gsung rgyud padma dbang chen [= bSam rdo no
equivalent; lDe'u 7 (sgrub pa'i lag len, gsung)]¹⁶⁴
- (6) gsung gi thugs rgyud zla gsang thig le'o | | [= bSam rdo 4; lDe'u
2 (rtsa ba, gsung)]

(III) [thugs kyi rgyud]

- (7) thugs kyi sku rgyud rtse mo 'dus pa | [= bSam rdo 9; lDe'u 14]
₁₆₅
- (8) thugs kyi gsung rgyud gcig las 'phros pa |¹⁶⁶ [= bSam rdo 5
(gsung); lDe'u no equivalent]
- 9. thugs kyi thugs rgyud gsang ba 'dus pa | [= bSam rdo 7; lDe'u 3
(rtsa ba, thugs)]

(III) [yon tan gyi rgyud]

- 10. yon tan gyi sku rgyud sgron me 'bar ba | [= bSam rdo 14 ('phrin
las); lDe'u no equivalent]
- 11. yon tan gyi gsung rgyud bdud rtsi sa ma ya 'bum sde | [bSam
rdo no equivalent; lDe'u no equivalent]

¹⁶³ According to the Nyang ral's *gSang sngags bka'i lde mig*, the *Glang po chur 'jug* and the *Sa ma ya bkod pa'i rgyud* are identical (see appendix §III.1, no. A.2.18). However, Klong chen pa obviously regards them as two different *tantras* since he includes both of them in the list of the eighteen (the latter under no. 17).

¹⁶⁴ Note that the *lDe'u chos 'byung* (followed by the *Klong chen chos 'byung*) has *rTa mchog rol pa* in the first list (referring to the cycles as a whole) and *dBang chen* in the detailed list (with the putatively translated texts).

¹⁶⁵ Both bSam 'grub rdo rje and lDe'u read, however, *rtse gcig (tu) 'dus pa*.

¹⁶⁶ Martin suggests that the *gCig las 'phros pa* may be connected with the canonical text P2032. See Martin 1987: 179. This is, however, unlikely since P2032 is an *ekotarika* type of text, which commonly treats various items in numbers that are being serially increased by one, while the text in question here seems to be described by its title as a *tantra* that arose from one source (as indeed suggested by Martin, who translates the title as "Emanated from the One Tantra").

12. yon tan gyi thugs rgyud dpal mchog dang po | [=bSam rdo 10; lDe'u 4 (rtsa ba, yon tan)]
- (IV) [phrin las kyi rgyud]
13. phrin las kyi sku rgyud dpal phreng dkar mo | [= bSam rdo 13,¹⁶⁷ lDe'u 5 (rtsa ba, 'phrin las)]
14. phrin las kyi gsung rgyud ma mo rgyud lung | [bSam rdo & lDe'u no equivalent]
15. phrin las kyi thugs rgyud [bi] ta ma la 'bum sde | [= bSam rdo 15,¹⁶⁸ lDe'u 10 (sgrub pa'i lag len, 'phrin las)]
- (V) [spyi rgyud]
16. spyi'i sku rgyud thabs zhags | [= bSam rdo 18; lDe'u 16]
17. spyi gsung rgyud sa ma ya bkod pa | [= bSam rdo 17;¹⁶⁹ lDe'u 12 (spyi'i yan lag)]
18. spyi'i thugs rgyud gsang ba sgyu 'phrul lo || [=bSam rdo 16; lDe'u 18]
- de ltar phye nas rgyal po dza la bshad do ||

(3) O rgyan gling pa's *Padma bka' thang*

In the following, the passage from O rgyan gling pa's *Padma bka' thang* is provided with its equivalents in bSam 'grub rdo rje's and Klong chen pa's lists.

Padma bka' thang (200.11–202.1):

- bskyed pa ma hā yo ga'i rgyud sde ni | rgyas par dbye na rgyud sde 'bum tsho lnga | bsdu na rtsa ba'i tantra sde bco brgyad |
- (I) sku yi tantra sangs rgyas mnyam sbyor la | rtsa ba de las 'phros pa'i tantra gnyis |
- (1) glang po rab 'bog [= bSam rdo 2; Klong chen pa 1]
 - (2) glang po chur 'jug dang | [= bSam rdo 3; Klong chen pa 2]
 - (3) rtsa rgyud sangs rgyas mnyam sbyor rang dang gsum | [= bSam rdo 1; Klong chen pa 3]
- (II) gsung gi tantra zla gsang thig le la | rtsa ba de las 'phros pa'i tantra gnyis |
- (4) gcig las 'phros pa dang [= bSam rdo 5; Klong chen pa 8]
 - (5) padma dbang chen rgyud | [= bSam rdo no equivalent; Klong chen pa 5]
 - (6) rtsa rgyud zla gsang thig le rang dang gsum | [= bSam rdo 4; Klong chen pa 6]

¹⁶⁷ bSam 'grub rdo rje reads, however, *karma mā le*.

¹⁶⁸ bSam 'grub rdo rje reads, however, *kt la ya yig 'bru bcu gnyis kyi rgyud*.

¹⁶⁹ bSam 'grub rdo rje reads, however, *dam tshig sa ma ya 'bum sde bkod pa*.

- (III) thugs kyi tantra gsang ba 'dus pa la | rtsa ba de las 'phros pa'i tantra gnyis |
 (7) rtse gsum 'dus dang [bSam rdo & Klong chen pa no equivalent]¹⁷⁰
 (8) ri bo brtsegs pa'i rgyud | [= bSam rdo 8; Klong chen pa 4]
 (9) rtsa rgyud gsang ba 'dus pa rang dang gsum | [= bSam rdo 7;
 Klong chen pa 9]
- (IV) yon tan tantra dpal mchog dang po la | rtsa ba de las 'phros pa'i tantra gnyis |
 (10) nam mkha' mdzod kyi byin brlabs tantra dang | [bSam rdo &
 Klong chen pa no equivalent]
 (11) dam rdzas bdud rts'i'i sgrub thabs tantra dang | [bSam rdo &
 Klong chen pa no equivalent]
 (12) rtsa rgyud dpal mchog dang po rang dang gsum | [= bSam
 rdo 10; Klong chen pa 12]
- (V) 'phrin las tantra karma mā le la | rtsa ba de las 'phros pa'i tantra
 gnyis |
 (13) kī la bzhi bcu rtsa gnyis tantra dang | [~ bSam rdo 15; ~ Klong
 chen pa 15]¹⁷¹
 (14) sgrol [= sgron?] ma brtsegs pa las kyi tantra dang |¹⁷² [bSam
 rdo & Klong chen pa no equivalent]
 (15) rtsa rgyud karma mā le rang dang gsum | [= bSam rdo 13;
 Klong chen pa 13]¹⁷³
- (VI) [no collective heading]
- (16) mtshan nyid dang ni rgyud rnams thams cad spyi | gsang
 ba'i snying po dang ni bcu drug go | [= bSam rdo 16; Klong
 chen pa 18]
 (17) dam tshig sdom pa kun gyi gzhi ma ni | bkod pa rgyal po'i
 rgyud dang bcu bdun te | [= bSam rdo 17; Klong chen pa 17]

¹⁷⁰ Note that the *rTse gsum 'dus* might be the same as bSam 'grub rdo rje's *rTse gcig 'dus pa* (no. 9) and Klong chen pa's *rTse mo 'dus pa* (no. 7).

¹⁷¹ Although all three compilers undoubtedly are referring to the same cycle, their precise references may be to different texts within it since bSam 'grub rdo rje has *kī la ya yig 'bru bcu gnyis kyi rgyud* and Klong chen pa [bi] *ta ma la 'bum sde*.

¹⁷² Note that a *tantra* containing the phrase *sgrol ba brtsegs pa* in its title does not seem to be included in any of the accessible catalogued versions of the *NyGB*. However, note that a *tantra* containing the phrase *sgron ma brtsegs pa* is found in the *NyGB*, though within the rDzogs chen class and not, where one would expect it to be, within the Mahāyoga one (Tk.130/Tb.257: *bDud rtsi bcud thigs/bsdus sgron ma brtsegs/rtsegs pa'i rgyud*), and thus an emendation of our reading *sgrol* to *sgron* may be considered. Moreover, a *tantra* titled *sGron ma brtsegs pa* is cited in the commentary on the *Thabs kyi zhags pa*, and Cantwell and Mayer suggests that it may possibly be a reference to the above-mentioned rDzogs chen *tantra* (though they have not been able to locate the citations from it). See Cantwell & Mayer 2012: 84.

¹⁷³ Note that Klong chen pa has *dpal phreng dkar mo*.

(18) las bzhi 'phrin las kun gyi kha skongs sam | yon tan thams
cad kyi ni mjug bsdu ba | thabs kyi zhags pa'i rgyud dang bco
brgyad gsungs | [= bSam rdo 18; Klong chen pa 16]

(4) Zur 'tsho dKon mchog tshul khriṃs's *Lo rgyus mu tig phreng ba*

In the following, the pertinent passage from Zur 'tsho dKon mchog tshul khriṃs's *Lo rgyus mu tig phreng ba* is cited together with the equivalent titles in bSam 'grub rdo rje's and Klong chen pa's lists, and also in the list O rgyan gling pa provides in his *Padma bka' thang*. Whenever necessary, remarks are made regarding textual variations pertaining to the titles. Note that Zur 'tsho's *Lo rgyus mu tig phreng ba*, written in *dbu med* script, contains numerous orthographical abbreviations, some of them unusual (or at least previously unknown to me). They have been faithfully transcribed, followed by their suggested expansion within braces. Also note that the list occasionally contains numbers (in Tibetan numerals) placed above some of the titles; I have not recorded them, their function as yet being unclear.

Lo rgyus mu tig phreng ba (14.4–15.2):

de nas ku ku ra dzas tan tra bsde [=sde] bco brgyad tu phye ste | de
yang spyir sku gsung thugs yten [exp. yon tan] 'phris [exp. 'phrin las]
Inga'i rgyud la | bye brag tu gsum 3 [exp. gsum] she [= phye] |
(I) sku'i rgyud 3 [exp. gsum] ni |

(1) glang chen rab 'bog gi rgyud | [= bSam rdo 2; Klong chen pa 1;
O rgyan 1]

(2) glang po [rab >take out?] chur 'jug gi rgyud | [= bSam rdo 3;
Klong chen pa 2; O rgyan 2]

(3) sangyas [exp. sangs rgyas] mnyam sbyor gyi rgyud do | [=
bSam rdo 1; Klong chen pa 3; O rgyan 3]

(II) gsung gi rgyud 3 [exp. gsum] ni |

(4) dbang chen 'dus pa'i rgyud | [= bSam rdo no equivalent; Klong
chen pa 5¹⁷⁴; O rgyan 5¹⁷⁵]

(5) 1 [exp. gcig] las 'phros pa'i rgyud | [= bSam rdo 5; Klong chen
pa 8; O rgyan 4]

(6) zla gsang thige'i [exp. thig le'i] rgyud | [= bSam rdo 4; Klong
chen pa 6; O rgyan 6]

(III) thugs kyi rgyud 3 [exp. gsum] ni |

(7) ri bo rtsegs pa'i rgyud | [= bSam rdo 8; Klong chen pa 4; O rgyan
8]

¹⁷⁴ Note, however, that Klong chen pa has *Padma dbang chen*.

¹⁷⁵ Note, however, that O rgyan gling pa has *Padma dbang chen*.

- (8) rtse 1 [exp. gcig] bskul ba'i rgyud | [= bSam rdo 9?; Klong chen pa 7?; O rgyan 7]¹⁷⁶
- (9) gsang ba 'dus pa'i rgyud do || [= bSam rdo 7; Klong chen pa 9; O rgyan 9]
- (IV) yten [exp. yon tan] gyi rgyud 3 [exp. gsum] ni |
- (10) bdui [exp. bdud rtsi] chu rlung [= klung] gi rgyud | [= bSam rdo, Klong chen pa & O rgyan no equivalent]
- (11) naṃkha' [exp. nam mkha'] mdzod kyi rgyud | [= bSam rdo & Klong chen pa no equivalent; O rgyan 10]¹⁷⁷
- (12) dpal mchog dang po'i rgyud | [= bSam rdo 10; Klong chen pa 12; O rgyan 12]
- (V) 'phris [exp. phrin las] kyi rgyud 3 [exp. gsum] ni |
- (13) ki la ya bcuis [exp. bcu gnyis] kyi rgyud | [= bSam rdo 15?; Klong chen pa 15?¹⁷⁸; O rgyan 13?]
- (14) sgron ma 'bar ba'i rgyud | [= bSam rdo 14; Klong chen pa 10; O rgyan no equivalent]
- (15) karma ma lye sa'i(?) rgyud do || [= bSam rdo 13; Klong chen pa 13¹⁷⁹; O rgyan 15]
- (VI) [spyi'i rgyud gsum ni]¹⁸⁰
- (16) don thamed [exp. thams cad] kyi 'jug [=mjug] bsdud thabs kyi zhags pa'i rgyud bam po bcu gs2(?) [exp. gnyis] pa dang | [= bSam rdo 18; Klong chen pa 16; O rgyan 18]
- (17) ¹⁸¹dam tshig sa ma ya 'bum sde bkod pa'i rgyud dang | [= bSam rdo 17; Klong chen pa 17; O rgyan 17]
- (18) ¹⁸²sgyu 'phrul dra ba le'u stong phrag brgya pa'i rgyud [= bSam rdo 16; Klong chen pa 18; O rgyan 16¹⁸³] dang 3 [exp. gsum] snyan pa'o | |

¹⁷⁶ bSam 'grub rdo rje's rTse gcig tu 'dus pa, Klong chen pa's rTse mo 'dus pa, and O rgyan gling pa's rTse gsum 'dus pa may be possibly referring to the same text (or closely related texts), which in turn may be the same as Zur 'tsho's rTse gcig bskul ba.

¹⁷⁷ Note that the *Nam mkha' mdzod* is included in the list provided in the *Nyang ral chos 'byung* (no. 19).

¹⁷⁸ Klong chen pa has [bi] ta ma la 'bum sde.

¹⁷⁹ Klong chen pa has *dpal phreng dkar mo*.

¹⁸⁰ The expected heading *spyi'i rgyud gsum ni* is missing. Possibly, the syllables *spyi'i rgyud*, which precede title no. 17 and which apparently do not belong there were meant as part of the heading but were copied in the wrong spot.

¹⁸¹ This title is preceded by the syllables *spyi'i rgyud*. However, an error seems to have occurred in the course of the transmission of the text which left these two syllables (possibly part of the heading of section VI, which is indeed missing) stranded.

¹⁸² The text has the phrase *sgron ma 'bar ba'i rgyud* preceding the title. This, too, seems to be the result of a textual corruption, as the *sGron ma 'bar ba'i rgyud* is already listed under no. 14.

¹⁸³ O rgyan gling pa, however, has *gsang ba'i snying po*.

III. Nyang ral Nyi ma 'od zer's Writings

In the following, the list found in Nyang ral's *gSang sngags bka'i lde mig* will be recorded, followed by the list provided in the *Nyang ral chos 'byung*, which in turn is compared with the virtually identical list found in his *Zangs gling ma*. The numbers which occasionally follow the titles of the list found in the *gSang sngags bka'i lde mig* identify equivalents in the lists found in the *Nyang ral chos 'byung* / *Zangs gling ma*. As stated earlier, while the lists found in the *Nyang ral chos 'byung* and the *Zangs gling ma* do not seem to be a formal attempt to record the eighteen cycles, the one found in the *gSang sngags bka'i lde mig* does, though only partially so, and is clearly to be classified under the second group.

(1) *gSang sngags bka'i lde mig* (342.4–345.345.6):

ma hā yo ga dang a nu yo ga rgyal po dza nyid kyi gnas su bshad cing bsgrubs | de'i dgos pa ni | rgyal po dza nyid kyi 'khor na phyi 'khor dang nang 'khor bsam gyis mi khyab mi 'dra ba zhig gnas pa yin te | de dang 'dra bar ma hā dang a nu spyod pa yang | gnas dang shes pa 'khor la sogs pa phun sum tshogs pa Inga dang ldan dgos pas | rgyal po dza nyid kyi gnas su bshad do | de la spyir

A. ma hā yo ga la

1. bsgrub lugs kyi rgyud drug du phye ste |

1.1. 'jam dpal sku'i bsgrub pa'i rgyud sde dang |

1.2. pad ma gsung gi bsgrub pa'i rgyud sde dang |

1.3. yang dag thugs kyi bsgrub pa'i rgyud sde dang |

1.4. bdud rtsi yon tan gyis bsgrub pa'i rgyud sde dang |

1.5. phur pa 'phrin las kyis bsgrub pa'i rgyud sde dang |

1.6. ma mo rbod stong gi bsgrub pa'i rgyud sde dang drug go |

2. tan tra sde bcwo brgyad

3. gsang ba sde drug

de rnams ni ma hā yo ga'i rgyud sde'o |

B. a nu yo ga la |

sgyu 'phrul sde brgyad |

lung gi yi ge bdun cu'o |

de yang

A.1.3. yang dag la rgyud sde bzhi ste |

1.3.1. he ru ka gal po'i rgyud dang | (11)

1.3.2. 'jig rten 'das pa'i mdo dang gnyis te | man ngag gi rgyud
do | (12)

1.3.3. sangs rgyas mnyam [exp. = mnyam] sbyor dang |

1.3.4. thabs kyi zhags pa dang gnyis ni lo ma'i rgyud do |

A.3. gsang ba sde drug ni |

3.1. sangs rgyas mnyam [exp. = mnyam] sbyor sku'i rgyud |

3.2. zla gsang thig le gsung gi rgyud |

3.3. gsang ba 'dus pa thugs kyi rgyud |

3.4. rnam snang sgyu dra yon tan rgyud |

3.5. kar ma ma le 'phrin las kyi rgyud | (=17)

3.6. 'jug don bsdus pa rdo rje gdan bzhi rgyud dang drug go |

A.2. tan tra sde bcwo brgyad la |

1. sku yi bsdus pas sa rba bu ta ste sangs rgyas mnyam sbyor |

2. gsung gi 'grel pa 'gu ya ti ka te zla gsang thig le |

3. thugs kyi bsgrab [= bsgrub] thabs 'gu ya sa man dza ste
gsang ba 'dus pa |

4. rnam snang sgyu dra yon tan rgyud dang |

5. 'phrin las ma la'i rgyud dang lnga las |

1-15. de re re la gsum gsum du phye ste bcwa [= bcwo] lnga |

16. 'jug don bsdus pa thabs kyi zhags pa |

17. bsgrub thabs kyi spyi sgyu 'phrul dra ba gsang ba'i snying
po |

18. gzhi dam tshig gis gzung ba glang po che chur 'jug sa ma ya
bkod pa'i rgyud dang bcwo brgyad do |

[A.1. bsgrub lugs kyi rgyud drug la]¹⁸⁴

1.1. [=A.1.4.] bdud rtsi la rgyud lung man ngag gsum |

1.1.1. rgyud bam po brgyad pa | (=13.1?)

1.1.2. lung dum bu gsum pa |

1.1.3. man ngag dngos grub nye ba'i snying po'i rgyud
dang gsum mo |

1.2. [=A.1.2.] pad ma gsung gi rgyud la

1.2.1. rgyud rta mchog rol pa'i tan tra | (=10)

1.2.2. lung dbang chen 'dus pa | (=4)

1.2.3. man ngag dbang brgyas 'dus pa'o |

1.3. [=A.1.5.] phur pa la

1.3.1. rgyud byi to ta ma la 'bum ste ki la ya bcu gnyis kyi
tan tra | (=14?)

1.3.2. lung lta ba byi to |

¹⁸⁴ Note that here only five are listed, A.1.3. *yang dag* having already been listed above.

1.3.3. man ngag rdo rje khros pa dang gsum mo |

1.4. [=A.1.1.] gshin rje la |

1.4.1. rgyud zla gsang nag po | (=9)

1.4.2. lung gsang ba drug cu pa |

1.4.3. man ngag 'khrul 'khor che chung ngo |

1.5. [=A.1.6.] ma mo la |

1.5.1. rgyud ma mo 'bum gyi ti ka | (=15)

1.5.2. lung rgyud lung chen po |

1.5.3. man ngag ma mo 'dus pa dang gsum mo |

C. de la sgyu 'phrul ni a nu yo gar gtogs | ci ste zhes na | spyod pa
 ma hā yo gar spyod la | lta ba a ti ltar lta ste chos nyid ma 'chol
 ba'o | de la sgyu 'phrul sde brgyad dkon [= sgos]¹⁸⁵ rgyud bcu
 gnyis so |

1. sgyu 'phrul sde brgyad la |¹⁸⁶

1.1. sems dang ye shes rang lugs su bstan pa gsang ba'i snying
 po dang |

1.2. 'phrin las kha tshang par bshad pa | sgyu 'phrul le'u bzhi
 bcu pa dang |

1.3. dbang mngon du gyur pa sgyu 'phrul bla ma dang |

1.4. dam tshig dang lta ba man ngag du gyur pa sgyu 'phrul le
 lhag |

1.5. don bsdus nas bstan pa | sgyu 'phrul le'u brgyad pa |

1.6. rol pa mngon du gyur pa lha mo sgyu 'phrull |

1.7. de rnams kyi ma tshang pa kha skong pa sgyu 'phrul rgya
 [= brgyad] bcu pa |

1.8. don dam pa ye shes su bshad pa 'jam dpal sgyu 'phrul
 dang brgyad do |

2. dgos [= sgos] rgyud bcu gnyis la |¹⁸⁷

2.1. zhi ba'i lha'i rgyud dang | (=2)

2.2. khro bo'i lha'i rgyud dang gnyis |

2.3. tshogs rgyud dang (=18.1+2)

2.4. gtor rgyud gnyis | (=24.1+2)

2.5. kar ma ma le dang | (=17)

2.6. ki la ya bcu gnyis gnyis |

2.7. ting nge 'dzin ye shes kyi rgyud dang |

¹⁸⁵ While the text reads here *dkon*, below, in the introductory phrase preceding the list of twelve, it reads *dgos*. However, both readings are erroneous, and *sgos*, in the sense of "specific" (as opposed to *phyi*) is most probably the correct reading.

¹⁸⁶ The list of the eight *māyājālatantras* provided here is virtually identical with the one given in the *Nyang ral chos 'byung* (308.8–14).

¹⁸⁷ Note that the twelve "specific *tantras*" (*sgos rgyud*) are listed in pairs.

2.8. dpal dbang khro mo'i rgyud gnyis | (=25?)
 2.9. skabs sbyor bdun pa dang |
 2.10. brtson pa don ldan gyi rgyud gnyis |
 2.11. dbang bskur rgyal po'i rgyud dang |
 2.12. dam tshig bkod pa'i rgyud gnyis |
 lung gi man ngag bdun cu rnams so |

(2) The *Nyang ral chos 'byung* and the *Zangs gling ma*

In the following I shall provide the pertinent passage from the *Nyang ral chos 'byung* and at the same time point out any significant differences in the *Zangs gling ma*—that is, either variations in the titles themselves or other significant textual differences. Variation in the formulation will not be recorded, unless they facilitate the reading.

Nyang ral chos 'byung (306.16–308.1) compared with *Zangs gling ma* (pp. 59.6–61.6):

lug gi lo gzhug nas spre'u'i lo gzhug yar bcad¹⁸⁸ la | slob dpon pad
 ma 'byung gnas dang cog ro klu'i rgyal mtshan gnyis kyis gsang
 sngags kyi chos¹⁸⁹ rgyud sde bco brgyad¹⁹⁰ bsgyur |
 gsang sngags kyi chos sgrub pa la bar chad mi 'byung bar bya ba'i
 phyir |

(1) gzi ldan 'bar ba mtshams kyi rgyud |
 bdag tu 'dzin pa 'khor ba'i rgyu¹⁹¹ yin pas 'khor ba las sgrol zhing¹⁹²
 phung po lha'i dkyil 'khor du bya ba'i phyir |
 (2) zhi ba¹⁹³ lha'i rgyud |
 bdud dang mu stegs¹⁹⁴ tshar gcod pa'i phyir |
 (3) sku'i sgrub lugs bskal ba me ltar 'bar ba'i rgyud |
 (4) gsung gi sgrub lugs dbang chen 'dus pa'i tantra |
 (5) thugs kyi sgrub lugs khro bo kun [=pun]¹⁹⁵ dha rī ka'i tantra |
 (6) yon tan gyi sgrub lugs lha mo ma gol ba'i tantra |
 (7) 'phrin las kyi sgrub lugs rig 'dzin 'dus¹⁹⁶ pa'i tantra |

¹⁸⁸ The *Zangs gling ma* reads *yan chad* instead of *yar bcad*.

¹⁸⁹ The *Zangs gling ma* reads *nang gi* instead of *chos*.

¹⁹⁰ The *Zangs gling ma* adds *sogs*, clearly to account for the fact that the following list contains more than eighteen titles.

¹⁹¹ The *Zangs gling ma* reads *rgya* instead of *rgyu*.

¹⁹² The *Zangs gling ma* reads *chos nyid du bsgral nas* instead of *las sgrol zhing*.

¹⁹³ The *Zangs gling ma* reads *zhi ba dam pa* instead of *zhi ba*.

¹⁹⁴ The *Zangs gling ma* reads *mu stegs srin po dregs pa* instead of *mu stegs*.

¹⁹⁵ The reading *pun* is supported by the *Zangs gling ma*.

- (8) rigs [= rig]¹⁹⁷ sngags kyi¹⁹⁸ sgrub lugs he ru ka 'dus pa'i tantra |
 (9) 'jam dpal sku'i rgyud zla gsang nag po |
 (10) pad ma gsung gi rgyud rta mchog rol pa |
 (11) yang dag thugs kyi rgyud he ru ka gal po |
 (12) 'jig rten 'das pa'i mdo |
 (13.1+2) bdud rtsi yon tan gyi rgyud bdud rtsi rol pa che chung |¹⁹⁹
 (14) phur pa 'phrin las kyi rgyud bi to ta ma la 'bum sde |
 (15) ma mo sbod²⁰⁰ gtong gi rgyud 'bum tig | srid pa rgyud lung²⁰¹ |²⁰²
 phrin las kha skong ba dang rgyan rtags 'debs²⁰³ pa'i phyir
 (16) shes pa stong khas²⁰⁴ brgyan pa'i rgyud |
 las rgya mtsho ji ltar bstan pa'i phyir²⁰⁵ |
 (17) karma ma le 'phrin las kyi rgyud |
 bsod nams dang ye shes kyi tshogs rdzogs par bya ba'i phyir
 (18.1+2) tshogs rgyud che chung |
 mchod pa mi zad pa'i gter du byin gyis brlab pa'i phyir
 (19) nam mkha' mdzod byin gyis brlabs pa'i rgyud |
 sgrol ba gnas su dag par bya ba'i phyir
 (20) stobs chen²⁰⁶ yongs sgrol gyi rgyud |
 sbyor ba gnas su dag par bya ba'i phyir
 (21) thig le klong²⁰⁷ gi rgyud |
 brtul zhugs drag por bya ba'i phyir
 (22) glang po che rab 'bog gi rgyud |
 bkra shis pa la sbyin bsregs bya ba'i phyir
 (23) za byed rol pa'i rgyud |
 gtor ma'i²⁰⁸ las thams cad kyi sngon du 'gro ba'i²⁰⁹ phyir

¹⁹⁶ The *Zangs gling ma* reads *grub* instead of '*dus*'.

¹⁹⁷ The reading *rig* is supported by the *Zangs gling ma*.

¹⁹⁸ The *Zangs gling ma* reads *spyi'i* instead of *kyi*.

¹⁹⁹ The *Zangs gling ma* adds here *lung bam po brgyad pa* |.

²⁰⁰ The *Zangs gling ma* reads *rbod* instead of *sbod*. Both spellings are attested in the literature.

²⁰¹ The *Zangs gling ma* reads '*bum gyi ti ka'i rgyud lung*' instead of '*bum tig | srid pa rgyud lung*'. Following the *Zangs gling ma*, and supported by Klong chen 14, which reads *phrin las kyi gsung rgyud ma mo rgyud lung*, I consider *ma mo sbod gtong gi rgyud 'bum tig | srid pa rgyud lung'* to represent one title.

²⁰² The *Zangs gling ma* adds here *sgrub pa sde drug gi rgyud lung* |.

²⁰³ The *Zangs gling ma* reads *gdag* instead of *rtags 'debs*.

²⁰⁴ The *Zangs gling ma* reads *gis* instead of *khas*.

²⁰⁵ The *Nyang ral chos byung* reads here *rgyud* instead of *phyir*, which makes more sense in this context.

²⁰⁶ The *Zangs gling ma* reads *kyis* instead of *chen*.

²⁰⁷ The *Zangs gling ma* reads *bde bklong* instead of *klong*.

²⁰⁸ The *Zangs gling ma* omits *gtor ma'i*.

²⁰⁹ The *Zangs gling ma* reads '*gro ba ni gtor ma yin pa'i*' instead of '*gro ba*'.

(24.1+2) gtor rgyud che chung |²¹⁰
bka'²¹¹ 'khor skyong ba'i srung ma²¹² lhag ma la dbang ba rnams la las
 bcol ba'i phyir
 (25) dpal 'bar khro mo'i rgyud |
 bgegs gzir zhing mnan pa'i²¹³ phyir
 (26) zhing bcu sgrol ba'i rgyud |
 de rnams ni ma ha yo ga'i rgyud²¹⁴ yin no |

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²¹⁰ The *Zangs gling ma* reads *gtor lung che chung gi rgyud* instead of *gtor rgyud che chung*.

²¹¹ The *Zangs gling ma* reads *phyi* instead of *bka'*.

²¹² The *Zangs gling ma* omits *srung ma*.

²¹³ The *Zangs gling ma* reads *dgra bgegs mnan cing gzir ba'i* instead of *bgegs gzir zhing mnan pa'i*.

²¹⁴ The *Zangs gling ma* reads *rgyud sde* instead of *rgyud*.

- Chos 'byung
mkhas pa'i dga'
ston*
- dPa' bo gTsug lag 'phreng ba, *Dam pa'i chos kyi
'khor los bsgyur ba rnams kyi byung ba gsal bar
byed pa mkhas pa'i dga' ston ces bya ba'i legs par
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Studies in Btsun pa Ston gzhon's *Pramāṇavārttika* Commentary of ?1297

Part One: Preliminary Observations and the Import of its Title

Leonard W.J. van der Kuijp

ABSTRACT

Hitherto little known, Btsun pa Ston gzhon was a thirteenth and early fourteenth century scholar who was active in, among other places, Sa skya monastery, the Yuan capital of Dadu (present-day Beijing), and in his monastery of Gnyan phu in Tshes spongs. He apparently wrote two studies on Buddhist logic and epistemology of which so far only his exegesis of Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇavārttika* has become available. In this article, I begin a study of the latter work, which, even if it appears to have remained largely unknown to later Tibetan intellectual circles, offers very important insights into Tibetan Dharmakīrti studies of the thirteenth century, the vehement disagreements he had with 'U yug pa Rigs pa'i seng ge (13th c.), his senior fellow Sa skya pa intellectual and the first Tibetan *Pramāṇavārttika* commentator, and how attempts continued to be made in finetuning Sa skya Paṇḍita's *Pramāṇavārttika* translation.

PREAMBLE

he existence of what appears to be a rare if not a unique manuscript of a commentary on Dharmakīrti's (ca. 550 or ca. 600-60)¹ versified *Pramāṇavārttika* by the elusive and largely

¹ The approximate dates of the Indian Buddhist philosophers whose focus was logic and epistemology (*pramāṇa*) are taken from E. Steinkellner's and M.T. Much's very useful *Texte der erkenntnistheoretischen Schule des Buddhismus*, Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse, Dritte Folge, Nr. 214 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995). This valuable resource is continued on-line at <http://east.uni-hd.de/>. In this connection, we should also mention the rewarding essays on the transmission of the Sanskrit and Tibetan text[s] of the *Pramāṇavārttika* in E. Franco, "The Tibetan Translations of the *Pramāṇavārttika* and the Development of Translation Methods from Sanskrit to Tibetan," *Tibetan Studies*, vol. 1, ed. H. Krasser et al. (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1997), 277-288, and especially B. Kellner, "Towards a Critical Edition of Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇavārttika*," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens* 52-3 (2009-10), 161-211. For the recent argument for the period of ca. 550 for Dharmakīrti's activities, see

forgotten Btsun pa Ston gzhon — *btsun pa* is of course an honorific word for "man of the cloth, monk" — was first signaled, so it would appear, in the handy catalog of translated Indian Buddhist works on logic and epistemology (*pramāṇa*) and indigenous Tibetan works on the same (*tshad ma*) that Sun Wenjing and Huang Mingxin compiled now some twenty-five years ago.² It is a matter of good fortune that this work now lies before us in printed form from the experienced editorial pen of the same Sun Wenjing, making it the second thirteenth century Tibetan *Pramāṇavārttika* exegesis that is now available to those whose intellectual curiosity on occasion compels them to venture into the arcanae of *tshad ma*.³ In an ideal world, unique manuscripts of this kind would be made available in a facsimile edition or, perhaps better and cheaper, they would be scanned and then posted on the Internet. But for better or for worse, we did not live in an ideal world when, fortunately, I was able to acquire a microfilm copy of the original manuscript in 1993. This placed me in the happy position to be able to consult it along side the printed edition; it also allowed me to provide more details about it than Sun considered useful or necessary. Even more fortunately, modern technology has prevailed in the meantime, and the microfilm has been scanned and is now available for consultation in reasonably legible form on the web

H. Krasser, "Bhāviveka, Dharmakīrti and Kumārila," *Devadattiyam. Johannes Bronkhorst Felicitation Volume*, ed. F. Voegeli et al. (Bern: Peter Lang, 2012), 587.

² See their "Zangwen yinming shumu," *Yinming xintan*, ed. Liu Peiyu et al. (Lanzhou: Gansu renmin chubanshe, 1989), 358.

³ Sun also edited an *dbu med* manuscript in 123 folios of one of Rngog Lo tsā ba Blo ldan shes rab's (ca. 1059-1109) two studies of Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇaviniścaya*, namely, his *Tshad ma rnam par rnam nges pa'i dka' ba'i gnas rnam par bshad pa*, ed. Sun Wenjing (Beijing: Krung go'i bod kyi shes rig dpe skrun khang, 1994). This *dbu med* manuscript, which lacks the first folio, is listed under C.P.N. catalog no. 005153(1) – C.P.N. refers to the Nationalities Library of the Cultural Palace of Nationalities, in Beijing; see also their "Guonei bufen dushuguan(shi)so zangwen yinming shumu," *Yinming xintan*, ed. Liu Peiyu et al., 358. Another incomplete *dbu med* manuscript of the same work in 132 folios, but one of greater interest in view of the many glosses it contained, was catalogued under C.P.N. no. 005139(1). As is indicated in *Bod khul gyi chos sde grags can khag gi dpe rnying dkar chag*, ed. Ska ba Shes rab bzang po et al. (Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2010), 209, no. 00711, what appears to be the same manuscript — it also consists of 132 folios! — is currently located in the Theg chen gling seminary of Se ra monastery. Another manuscript of this work in 144 folios was recently published in *Bka' gdams gsung 'bum phyogs bsgrips*, vol. 1, ed. Dpal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang (Chengdu: Si khron dpe skrun tshogs pa / Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2006), 419-705, and again, this time in printed form, in Rngog Lo tsā ba blo ldan shes rab kyi gsung chos skor, *Bka' gdams dpe dkon gces btus*, vol. 3, ed. Dpal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang (Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2009), 53-359. The original manuscript was apparently incomplete; fols. 133-144 [638-705] were taken from another manuscript of the same.

at tbrc.org W26440. The manuscript's pagination with Arabic numerals in the upper left corner of every folio side is of course of recent vintage and must have gone in tandem with the preparation of its eventual publication by Sun.

While Sun's edition of Ston gzhon's work was published as long ago as 1993, to my knowledge it has to date been by and large ignored in the secondary literature. Aside from my own use of it in an earlier paper, T.J.F. Tillemans is the only one known to me who has also referenced it.⁴ But this is really not that difficult to explain. In spite of the great strides that have been made in recent years in our understanding of the early development of Tibetan Buddhist *tshad ma* and the accompanying enculturation of Indian Buddhist *pramāṇa* in Tibet, especially through the recent stellar contributions by P. Hu-gon,⁵ it is still a rather little visited area of scholarship. However, what is perhaps less easy to explain is the silence surrounding this and Ston gzhon's other, earlier cognate work, on which see briefly below, within the scholarly communities of the Sa skya pa school, let alone those of the other schools of Tibetan Buddhism. One could suggest various hypotheses. For example, it may have been the case that no one outside his immediate circle of intellectuals considered his contributions to be landmark studies in the field. If so, they would have quickly fallen out of use and become victims of the grindstone of history. Or, to put it differently, while they may have indeed been studied by a relatively small band of intellectuals, other cognate tracts nonetheless quite rapidly superseded them and whatever memory of them there was, dissolved into an unintentional forgetfulness. Perhaps the reason for it was a mere accident or a sheer fluke. It is a truism that the paths taken by the fecund history of the Tibetan commentarial literature on virtually every conceivable subject are littered with treatises that for one reason or another fell by the wayside. They were taken from the monastic library's bookshelves with decreasing frequency until they were consistently ignored and then completely forgotten. Or, what seems even more likely, Ston

⁴ See, respectively, my "Remarks on the 'Person of Authority' in the Dga' ldan pa / Dge lugs pa School of Tibetan Buddhism," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 119 (1999), 646-72, and his *Scripture, Logic, Language. Essays on Dharmakīrti and His Tibetan Successors* (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 1999), 183, n. 5, and the similar gloss on p. 270, n. 12.

⁵ See above all her hugely impressive *Trésors du raisonnement. Sa skya Pandita et ses prédecesseurs tibétains sur les modes de fonctionnement de la pensée et le fondement de l'inférence. Édition et traduction annotée du quatrième chapitre et d'une section du dixième chapitre du Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter*, 2 vols., Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde, Heft 69, 1-2 (Wien: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien Universität Wien, 2008), and her other cognate publications that can be gleaned from her CV that is available on-line

gzhon had not been able to attract a following of disciples and patrons that was sufficiently large to ensure a more widespread dissemination of his oeuvre. On the other hand, we should not discount the possibility that the reason for the neglect of his work within Sa skya pa circles should be sought in his repeated and severe critiques of many of the interpretations offered by 'U yug pa Bsod nams seng ge (ca. 1195-after 1267), alias Rigs pa'i seng ge. After all, 'U yug pa was among the most senior disciples of Sa skya Pandita Kun dga' rgyal mtshan (1182-1251), the founder of Sa skya pa *tshad ma* studies, and it may very well be that Ston gzhon's hard-hitting critiques did not sit well with the later Sa skya pa orthodoxy. But this argument has its weaknesses. We know that 'U yug pa was the first Tibetan commentator of the *Pramāṇavārttika* and possibly also the very first to write a commentary on the versified *Rigs gter*, which his master may have completed in 1219 – the *Rigs gter* and its autocommentary marked the beginning of the so-called Sa skya pa or *Sa lugs* tradition of Tibetan *tshad ma* studies.⁶ But we are still a long way off in being able to explain the fact why neither 'U yug pa's nor Ston gzhon's treatises appear to have enjoyed much overt attention from such fourteenth century Sa skya pa *Pramāṇavārttika* commentators as Bla ma dam pa Bsod nams rgyal mtshan (1312-75) and Red mda' ba Gzhon nu blo gros (1349-1413). It is of course quite possible that Bla ma dam pa and Red mda' ba were content to let the Tibetan translation of the *Pramāṇavārttika* speak for itself, with a minimum amount of hermeneutic interference from its Indian and Tibetan commentators. If true, then they would appear to be following in the footsteps of the exegetical method Sa skya Pandita himself had sought to employ in his *Rigs gter*. To be sure, things are but a little different when we examine the two surveys of *tshad ma* that Bla ma dam pa had written in 1342. He only notes 'U yug pa a few times in these and he does not at all refer-

⁶ For some remarks on the *Sa lugs*, see my "A Treatise on Buddhist Epistemology and Logic Attributed to Klong chen Rab 'byams pa (1309-1364) and Its Place in Indo-Tibetan Intellectual History," *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 31 (2003), *passim*, and also Hugon, *Trésors du raisonnement. Sa skya Pandita et ses prédecesseurs tibétains sur les modes de fonctionnement de la pensée et le fondement de l'inférence. Édition et traduction annotée du quatrième chapitre et d'une section du dixième chapitre du Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter*, vol. 1, 95-130. 'U yug pa's *Rigs gter* commentary was recently published in RGR. For a survey of the *Rigs gter* commentaries that have been published to date, exclusive of 'U yug pa's important work, see Hugon, vol. 2, 373-8. For a complete Chinese translation of the text of the 1736 Sde dge xylograph of this work, see the *Liangli baozang lun*, tr. Mingshing Fashi (Taibei: Dongchu chubanshe, 1994). I should like to thank Dr. Gao Zezheng, Chengdu, for kindly providing me with a copy of this work. An earlier Chinese translation by Luo Zhao and edited by Huang Mingxin of the first eight chapters [of the same Sde dge xylograph of the text] was published in *Zhongguo luoji shi ziliaoxuan*, ed. Lu Yu, et al. (Lanzhou: Gansu renmin chubanshe, 1991), 267-420.

ence, at least not overtly, Ston gzhon.⁷ Several fifteenth and sixteenth century Sa skyā pa [and Dga' ldan pa] writers on the *Pramāṇavārttika* do mention 'U yug pa,⁸ and Glo bo Mkhan chen Bsod nams lhun grub (1456-1532) took issue with his *Rigs gter* commentary on several occasions in his own 1482 study of the text.⁹ Whatever the case may have been, the causal complex, the *hetusāmagrī*, as the Indian Buddhist logicians would say, that led to the excavation, publication, and consequent rescue from oblivion of these writings of Ston gzhon and 'U yug pa is a rather fortuitous one in that, as I especially hope to show for the first in the pages that follow, these should be judged as significant achievements for a variety of reasons. In other words, my argument regarding their importance does not merely reside in the fact, to paraphrase a well-worn phrase, "because they are there." Truth be told, being "there" is hardly an adequate reason. Rather, these treatises are important tesserae in the expansive mosaic of the *tshad ma* tradition in Tibet even if, as is not impossible, the tradition regarded Ston gzhon's contribution a far cry from being exemplary and that its silence on the matter was politic.

⁷ See *Bsdus pa che ba rigs pa'i de nyid rnam par nges pa* [or: *Tshad ma mdo sde bdun 'grel bshad dang bcas pa'i snying po rigs pa'i de kho na nyid rnam par nges pa*] and *Sde bdun gyi snying po rigs pa'i de kho na nyid rab tu gsal ba* [or: *Sde bdun mdo 'grel pa 'grel bshad dang bcas pa'i snying por gyur pa rigs pa'i de kho na nyid rab tu gsal ba*], *Collected Writings*, vol. Da (Dehra Dun: Sakya College, 1999), 673-930, 931-11378. What also stands out in these texts is that Bla ma dam pa profusely cites from Jinen-drabuddhi's (ca. 710-70) commentary on Dignāga's (ca. 480-540) *Pramāṇasamuccaya* and Moksakaragupta's (ca. 1050-1200) *Tarkabhaṣā*. This probably has everything to do with the fact that he had studied these texts with their translator Dpang Lo tsā ba Blo gros brtan pa (1276-1342). Judging from the disproportionate large number of references, his primary, but by no means his only, target of criticism in these is the positions taken earlier by Chu mig pa Seng ge dpal (13thc.). I hope to return to this interesting and controversial thinker on another occasion.

⁸ See, for example, Mkhās grub Dge legs dpal bzang po (1385-1438) in MKHAS, vol. Tha, 945 and vol. Da, 357 [=MKHAS [1], 300, 657], and Go rams pa Bsod nams seng ge (1429-89), who, in his *Pramāṇavārttika* commentary of 1474, refers to a position on the ontology of the universal that G.B.J. Dreyfus, *Recognizing Reality. Dharmakīrti's Philosophy and Its Tibetan Interpretations* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997), 190-1, quite rightly traced to 'U yug pa.

⁹ See, for example, his NYI, 16, 27-8, etc. [=NYI[1], 16, 27-8, etc.; NYI[2], 12, 18-9, etc.]. In spite of the different titles, these are three editions of the same work; see also also J. Kramer, *A Noble Abbot from Mustang. Life and Works of Glo bo Mkhan chen* (1456-1532), Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde, Heft 68 (Wien: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien Universität Wien, 2008), 191-3. Interestingly, the *Rigs gter* studies of G.yag ston Sangs rgyas dpal (1348-1414), Rong ston Shākyā rgyal mtshan (1367-1449), Gser mdog Paṇ chen Shākyā mchog ldan (1428-1507), Go rams pa, Mus Rab 'byams pa Thugs rje dpal bzang po (14th-15thc.), Mang thos Klu sgrub rgya mtsho (1523-96), and Mkhan chen Ngag dbang chos grags (1572-1641) but rarely mention him.

The present essay, the first installment of my assessment of Ston gzhon, his work, and the intellectual-historical context of both is divided into five sections. In the first of these [1], I briefly discuss the relationship of the manuscript and the printed text. This sets the stage for the next section [2] in which I survey the salient external features of those Tibetan studies of the *Pramāṇavārttika* that preceded him and the one study with which he was assuredly quite familiar, namely, 'U yug pa's commentary. The section that follows it [3] gives an overview of the Sa skya [or Sa skya school affiliated] monasteries where the *Rigs gter* and the *Pramāṇavārttika* were taught and the three *Rigs gter* commentaries that were written by Sa skya Pandita's disciples. Depending on obvious context, I will at times use *Rigs gter* to denote both the verse text as well as the prose autocommentary. In the next section [4], I examine the little that is reported about several thirteenth century individuals who are also referred to as Ston gzhon and include in my narrative the briefest of outlines of the life of whom I believe to be our Ston gzhon. Owing to the restrictions placed upon me by the paucity of relevant sources, the descriptive picture that emerges of him is admittedly not very thick on details. And in the last section [5], I consider the meaning and implication of the title of his work and consider a few of its introductory verses. Different aspects of Ston gzhon's treatise and his commentarial practice will be considered in the immediate sequel to this essay. These will focus on his method of exegesis, discuss his sparing use of the *Rigs gter* and in tandem with this indicate the deep problems that are associated with the transmission of the text of this work and that of its autocommentary, and examine in some detail the recommendations his teachers had made to him for making certain changes in the received Tibetan translation of several of the *Pramāṇavārttika*'s verses.

1. The Manuscript of Ston gzhon's *Pramāṇavārttika* Exegesis

The manuscript of Ston gzhon's work consists of one hundred and ninety-one folios and is written in a rather exquisite cursive *dbu med* script. The indigenous catalog number of the unknown monastic library in which it was originally deposited appears as *phyi zha* 5 on the upper-center of the title folio - the term *phyi* seems to indicate that it did not belong to the original holdings of the library in which it was housed and that it had recently, whenever that may have been, come in from the "outside." The manuscript was one of the close to a hundred thousand manuscripts [and xylographs] that were taken to Beijing in the early 1960s, that is, prior to the "Cultural Revolution". There they formed the largest part of the holdings of the newly estab-

lished China Nationalities Library of the Cultural Palace of Nationalities, which, so I was told, was the brainchild of then Premier Zhou Enlai. It turns out that Zhou's alleged directive to collect these manuscripts [and xylographs] was surely quite prescient and fortuitous. Indeed, there is no question that, had these manuscripts not been carted off to Beijing at the time, many would have fallen victim to the countless bonfires that lit up the thin Tibetan skies in the late 1960s as Chinese and Tibetan Red Guards burned or plundered whatever they could get their hands on while rampaging through the countless temples and monasteries that dotted the landscape of those huge tracts of land where Tibetan Buddhism [and of course also Bon] held sway, wreaking havoc on the Tibetan literary heritage.

The majority of folios of the manuscript of Ston gzhon's work contain eight lines; occasionally they have only seven. Editorially speaking, the manuscript is almost pristine for, unlike many others that I have seen, it contains very few interlinear or marginal glosses. It does, however, at times have very short, corrective notes that owe their origin to the manuscript's proofreaders. These anonymous proofreaders, one of whom may have been the unknown scribe of the manuscript himself, evidently made these corrections to the copied text on the basis of a comparison with the readings of the manuscript of which it was a copy. In other words, these notes have as a rule naught to do with a later reader's comments on Ston gzhon's interpretations. It is gratifying that when we compare the manuscript with the published edition, the latter attests to the general meticulousness and reliability of Sun's efforts. An edition of this kind can of course never be a substitute for the original. And the first few folios deliver up but a few oversights or minor misreadings in the edited text so that research into Ston gzhon's *Pramāṇavārttika* study can by and large afford to dispense with an inspection of the original manuscript.¹⁰ However, it should be pointed out that Sun made many editorial "corrections" of the nominal suffix *ba* for the original *pa*, as in *snang pa* ~ *snang ba*, *'byung pa* ~ *'byung ba* etc. And he also incorporated what I take to be the proofreader's corrective glosses, albeit without signaling where exactly these were found in the manuscript.¹¹ We probably have to reckon with at least two different proof-

¹⁰ For example, STONM, 2a, of the manuscript has *khyad par tu* which the printed text in STON 5, l.1 reads as *khyad par du*. I will henceforth only refer to STONM when its text departs from STON.

¹¹ The following sublinear glosses [in bold characters] are found in fol. 2a of the manuscript: STONM, 2b, 1.5: ...*gti mug rna[m]s las* ~ STON, 5, l. 23; STONM, 2b, 1.7: *nyon mongs pas nyon mongs pa* ~ STON, 6, l.5; STONM, 2b, l. 8: *de dag ni* ~ STON, 6, l. 8. The places where the first and the third are to be inserted are marked with a "+" sign; the third has a dotted line connecting the + sign with the gloss. For such

readers, since these glosses sometimes occur in two different scripts, *dbu med* and *dbu can*, on one single folio.¹² On occasion, these editorial glosses are extremely difficult to read and this is no doubt the reason why Sun omitted these in his edited text.¹³

Needless to say, a very useful feature of his edition is that the *Pramāṇavārttika*'s verse-text is printed in bold characters, thereby making it easy to distinguish the commentary from the commented on text. The manuscript itself facilitated this, for the verse-text is highlighted therein through the use of different color ink. No printing blocks seem ever to have been carved for Ston gzhon's work. Indeed, as I suggested above, it seems to have fallen dead from the author's pen, for I have yet to come across an explicit mention of it in the subsequent Tibetan *tshad ma* literature. Not even the great Gser mdog Paṇ chen, Glo bo Mkhan chen, the former's erstwhile student and later one of his more uncompromising critics, or Mkhan chen Ngag dbang chos grags and Bdud 'joms dpa' bo (1582-?), all of whom display in parts of their oeuvre a keen interest in the historical and theoretical developments of *tshad ma* studies in Tibet, expressly mention him or his treatise.¹⁴ The only occasion where a Ston gzhon is mentioned as a disciple of 'Phags pa Blo gros rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po (1235-80), Sa skyā Paṇḍita's nephew, and a teacher of Nor bu bzang po is a gloss in the chapter on *pramāṇa/tshad ma* of Ngag

markers and a great deal more items having to do with manuscripts, see C.A. Scherrer-Schaub, "Towards a Methodology for the Study of Old Tibetan Manuscripts: Dunhuang and Tabo," *Tabo Studies II. Manuscripts, Texts, Inscriptions and the Arts*, ed. C.A. Scherrer-Schaub and E. Steinkellner, Serie Orientale Roma LXXXVII (Rome: Istituto Italiana per l'Africa e l'Oriente, 1999), 3-36, and C.A. Scherrer-Schaub and G. Bonani, "Establishing a typology of the old Tibetan manuscripts: a multidisciplinary approach," *Dunhuang Manuscript Forgeries*, ed. S. Whitfield (London: The British Library, 2002), 184-215 [= Ibid. *The Cultural History of Western Tibet. Recent Research from the China Tibetology Center and the University of Vienna*, ed. D. Klimburg-Salter, Liang Junyan et al. (Beijing: China Tibetology Publishing House, 2008), 299-337].

¹² STONM, 2b, l. 5, 8.

¹³ STONM, 25a ad STON, 67, l. 2-3.

¹⁴ For Ngag dbang chos grags, see the relevant portions on *tshad ma* in the texts that are included in his collected writings, vol. IV; these followed from his 1629 *Bod kyi mkhas pa snga phyi dag gi grub mtha'i shan 'byed mtha' dpyod dang bcas pa'i 'bel ba'i gtam skyes dpyod ldan mkhas pa'i lus rgyan rin chen mdzes pa'i phra rtsom bkod pa, *The Collection (sic) Works of Mkhyen (sic) chen Ngag dwang (sic) chos grags*, vol. IV (Darjeeling: Sakya Choepheling Monastery, 2000), 30-61 [= *Pod chen drug gi 'bel gtam*, ed. Slob dpon Padma lags (Thimphu, 1979), 52-110]. For Bdud 'joms dpa' bo, see the second chapter of his as yet unpublished 1634 critical review of Ngag dbang chos grags' *Pod chen drug gi 'bel gtam, the Ryal ba'i bka' dang dgongs 'grel gyi gzhung lugs brgya phrag dag las legs bshad kyi gtam du bya ba rgya bod kyi grub mtha' rnam par 'byed pa lung rigs rgya mtsho'i snying po mkhas pa dga' byed rin po che'i rgyan, dbu med* manuscript in 51 folios.*

dbang chos grags' treatise.¹⁵ Being a gloss we cannot of course unequivocally assume that it originated from this learned author's pen.

2. Pre-Ston gzhon Tibetan *Pramāṇavārttika* Exegeses

It should go without saying that Ston gzhon did not work in a vacuum and that, aside from the Tibetan translations of the Indian commentarial literature on Dignāga's *Pramāṇasamuccaya* and Dharmakīrti's oeuvre, he was very much aware of the considerable corpus of Tibetan assessments of the writings of and positions taken by these Indian philosophers. In this and the next section, I will only focus on the *tshad ma* writings of Sa skyā pa philosophers of the thirteenth century, that is, of those who were exponents of the incipient *Sa lugs*, for it is not unreasonable to assume that Ston gzhon was familiar with a substantial number of their relevant writings. This is of course not to say that we will completely ignore the large number of *tshad ma* contributions made by members of the *Rngog lugs* tradition[s] that, beginning with Rngog Lo tsā ba's writings on *tshad ma*, was initially centered in Gsang phu sne'u thog monastery in Dbus after which it spread throughout many other Central Tibetan monasteries belonging to the Bka' gdams pa school during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.¹⁶ Indeed, their focus on the *Pramāṇaviniścaya* in particular must also be taken into account, the more so because of the intimate relationship that this work has with the *Pramāṇavārttika* on textual and philosophical levels. On another occasion, I hope to devote a separate study of this tradition's history and how it developed during

¹⁵ Bod kyi mkhas pa snga phyi dag gi grub mtha'i shan 'byed mtha' dpyod dang bcas pa'i 'bel ba'i gtam skyes dpyod ldan mkhas pa'i lus rgyan rin chen mdzes pa'i phra rtsom bkod pa, 37 [= *Pod chen drug gi 'bel gtam*, 64]. For the circa mid-fourteenth century Nor bzang[s] dpal which when written in full would give "Nor bu bzang po dpal [?bzang po]" and might have been Btsun pa Ston gzhon's disciple, see my "Fourteenth Century Tibetan Cultural History IV: The *Tshad ma'i 'byung tshul 'chad nyān gyi rgyan*: A Tibetan History of Indian Buddhist *Pramāṇavāda*," *Festschrift Klaus Brühn*, ed. N. Balbir and J.K. Bautze (Reinbek: Dr. Inge Wezler Verlag für Orientalische Fachpublikationen, 1994), 375-93. See also *infra* n. 77.

¹⁶ For some notes on this exegetical tradition, see my "A Treatise on Buddhist Epistemology and Logic Attributed to Klong chen Rab 'byams pa (1309-1364) and Its Place in Indo-Tibetan Intellectual History," *passim*. See now also *Mtshur ston Gzhon nu seng ge. Tshad ma Shes rab sgron ma*, ed. P. Hugon, *Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde*, Heft 60 (Wien: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien Universität Wien, 2004), *passim*, as well as Hugon's remarkable *Trésors du raisonnement. Sa skyā Pañdita et ses prédecesseurs tibétains sur les modes de fonctionnement de la pensée et le fondement de l'inférence. Édition et traduction annotée du quatrième chapitre et d'une section du dixième chapitre du Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter*, vol. 1, 15-94.

these centuries, but in this essay I have had to draw a line in the sand and, at my peril, made the decision to exclude it from my historical narrative.

To be sure, Ston gzhon's work as such had several important precedents. It is by now well known that the Tibetan tradition holds that the very first of the long string of *Pramāṇavārttika* commentaries written in Tibet until the present day¹⁷ was the one authored by 'U yug pa. A xylograph belonging to the late nineteenth century Sde dge printing blocks of his work, the *Rigs mdzod*, was reprinted in 1982, and has been profitably used on several occasions in the secondary literature. 'U yug pa's work now also appears to be extant in a somewhat earlier xylograph from Sku 'bum monastery and the manuscript[s] on which that one is based may be differently filiated than the one[s] of the Sde dge print. To my knowledge, a xylograph from these blocks has not yet surfaced. The reason why printing blocks for the work of this Sa skyā pa scholar should be carved at Sku 'bum – after all, this is a Dge lugs pa and not a Sa skyā pa monastery – is most likely due to the circumstance that, as Mkhas grub had written in his biography of Tsong kha pa Blo bzang grags pa (1357-1419), his master Tsong kha pa had been profoundly moved by 'U yug pa's comments on the *Pramāṇavārttika*'s second, *Pramāṇasiddhi* chapter, when he studied it under a Bsod nams grags pa in 1378.¹⁸ It is well to remember that Sku 'bum was built on the site where Tsong kha pa was born. The recently published typeset edition of this treatise is based on the Sde dge and Sku 'bum xylographs, as well as on what is evidently a much older manuscript from 'Bras spungs monastery.¹⁹ The work itself is undated and will most likely remain so, unless 'U yug pa's biography or other sources turn up that have something to say about this matter. For this reason, the parameters that can be used at present to date it are a trifle too broad to be altogether informative. Thus, it is not really helpful that, as things stand now, we can say with some confidence that 'U yug pa wrote the *Rigs mdzod* after Sa skyā Pañdita and the Kashmirian scholar Śākyasrībhadra (1127-1225) plus unnamed others had either reworked the earlier Ti-

¹⁷ The last one may very well be Lam rim pa Ngag dbang phun tshogs, *Tshad ma rnam 'grel gyi tikkā* [gzur gnas dgyes pa'i mchod sprin], 2 vols. (Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 1997). The author completed this work in 1996 in 'Bras spungs monastery.

¹⁸ *Rje btsun bla ma tsong kha pa chen po'i ngo mtshar rmad du byung ba'i rnam par thar pa dad pa'i 'jug ngogs*, *Collected Works* [of Tsong kha pa, Zhol edition], vol. Ka (Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1981), 37-8 [= Sku 'bum edition, ed. Grags pa rgya mtsho (Xining: Mtsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1982), 32].

¹⁹ See the text in RM and RM[1].

betan translations of the *Pramāṇavārttika* by Rma Lo tsā ba Dge ba'i blo gros (late 11thc.)²⁰ and Rngog Lo tsā ba or, which is perhaps unlikely, had translated anew the *Pramāṇavārttika* in its entirety sometime between 1208 and 1212. It is even possible that he wrote the *Rigs mdzod* after Sa skyā Paṇḍita and his two young nephews, including the nine year old 'Phags pa, had left their ancestral see of Sa skyā in Gtsang, in 1244, for Prince Köden's Mongol court in Liangzhou, present day Wu Wei, in Gansu Province, P.R.C. The precise mechanism of, and the identity of the persons involved in, this reworking or re-translation of the text is open to question. But for the sake of convenience, I will henceforth attribute the final result to Sa skyā Paṇḍita alone. Regardless of the extent of his involvement in the process, being without a good knowledge of written Tibetan, Śākyasrībhadra was certainly not in the position to give it his final imprimatur.

If many of the lineages of transmission through which copies of the texts of the Indian Buddhist *pramāṇa* tradition were handed down in the Indian subcontinent, in Kashmir, and in Nepal still rest in silent obscurity, those that traversed the Tibetan landscape in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries are of equal complexity as to make it extremely difficult to map them out, even if only in part. What exacerbates this uncomfortable situation is that many of these still remain hidden from our scrutiny, because of the relatively limited number of biographical or autobiographical sources that are presently at our disposal. During these centuries, we must reckon with an intricate interplay of manuscript traditions and interpretations between, on one hand, the subcontinent proper, Kashmir and Nepal, and their reception in Tibet, on the other. Many of these interplays were the result of Tibetans having made contacts with individuals belonging to certain intellectual communities during their protracted stays in the northern reaches of the Indian subcontinent. Members of the Dpyal family are a rather good illustration of this, even if there is so far not one iota of explicitly formulated evidence in later sources that their work impacted in any way on the history of *tshad ma* studies. Thus we learn from Bya btang pa Padma rdo rje's 1546 composite study of this family's history that Dpyal Ban[dhel] or Lo tsā ba 'Byung gnas rgyal mtshan had studied *pramāṇa* under the famous Smṛtiijñānakīrti (ca. 950-1040), who himself hailed from Kashmir.²¹

²⁰ For an *dbu med* manuscript in 45 folios of Rma Lo tsā ba's translation of the *Pramāṇa-vārttika* that was cataloged under C.P.N. no. 004806(5), see my "On Some Early Tibetan *Pramāṇavāda* Texts of the China Nationalities Library of the Cultural Palace of Nationalities in Beijing," *Journal of Tibetan and Buddhist Studies* 1 (1994), 4.

²¹ What follows is taken from his *Dpyal gyi gdung rabs za ra tshags dang gang ga'i chu rgyun gnyis gcig tu bris pa kun gsal me long*, ed. Dpal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying

One of 'Byung gnas rgyal mtshan's grandsons was Rgyal ba'i blo gros and he studied the same under Khyung po Lo tsā ba Chos kyi brtson 'grus who, with the Jñānaśrībhadra, co-translated the latter's *Pramāṇaviniścayaṭikā*. Some sources occasionally refer to Khyung po Lo tsā ba as Khyung, but he must clearly be distinguished from his much junior contemporary Khyung [po] Rin chen grags of Myang stod. In the short biography Zhang G.yu brag pa Brtson 'grus grags pa (1121/3-93) wrote of his master Rg[w]a Lo tsā ba Gzhon nu dpal (ca. 1080-1150) that, staying in Gtsang, Rg[w]a Lo tsā ba had studied the *Chos mchog* [= *Dharmottara*] with a certain Dge bshes from Mi nyag / Tangut [= Xixia] and the *Pramāṇavārttika* under a Dge bshes Khung.²² Although the text has "Khung," I am inclined to conjecture that we ought to read it as "Khyung" and that he may be identified as Khyung Rin chen grags. He was one of Rngog Lo tsā ba's disciples and known for his work on *tshad ma*. "Dharmottara's (ca. 740-800) *pramāṇa*" most likely refers to his large *ṭīkā*-commentary on Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇaviniścaya*. In his massive ecclesiastic history of 1447 that is in the main focused on the development of the Dwags po Bka' brgyud pa school and sects, Rta tshag Tshe dbang rgyal relates that a certain Dbang phyug rdo rje (ca. 1145-?1206) first studied the *Pramāṇaviniścaya* and the *Dharmottara*, that is, his *ṭīkā*, under a certain Dge bshes G.yor nyag[s] in Chos pa myu sna.²³ He then left for Gsang

zhib 'jug khang (Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 2008), 26, 29, 37, 41, 93.

²² See his *Dpal gyi rnam thar*, *Writings (bka' thor bu)* (Tashijong: The Sungrab Nyam-so Gyunpel Parkhang, 1972), 362: *tsang du dge bshes mi nyag pa la chos mchog tshar cig gsan / dge bshes khung la rnams 'drel* [read: 'grel] tshar cig gsan pa la / . . . For a different translation, see E. Sperling, "Rtsa mi Lo tsā ba Sangs rgyas grags pa and the Tangut Background to Early Mongol-Tibetan Relations," *Tibetan Studies. Proceedings of the 6th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies*. Fagernes 1992, ed. P. Kvaerne, vol. 2 (Oslo: The Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture, 1994), 809. A nineteenth century manuscript of an edition of his collected oeuvre that was originally compiled by Tshal pa Kun dga' rdo rje (1309-64) in four volumes was recently published by the Huangsi in Beijing. It contains a severely truncated *Dpal rgwa lo'i rnam thar* on pp. 541-44 in the first volume [Ka] of this collection, which formed a part of Tshal pa's 1352 biography of Zhang G.yu 'brug Brtson 'grus grags pa, the so-called *Dgos 'dod re bskong ma'i 'grel pa* (Ka, 533-75). In 2007, Kun bzang tshe 'phel compiled a new *Life of Rgwa Lo*, which was recently published in a compilation of various texts having to do with him, for which see *Dpal chen rgwa lo'i rnam thar rags bsdus lus can dad pa'i gsol sman ngo mtshar lung gi nyi ma* (np, nd), 4-25.

²³ See *Lho rong chos 'byung*, ed. Gling dpon Pad ma skal bzang and Ma grong Mi 'gyur rdo rje, *Gangs can rig mdzod* 26 (Lhasa: Bod ljongs bod yig dpe rnying dpe skrun khang, 1994), 618. The corresponding passage in *Bka' brgyud rin po che'i lo rgyus phyogs gcig tu bsgrigs pa'i gsol 'debs rgyas pa* [dbu med manuscript in 541 folios], C.P.N. catalog no. 002448(6), 368b-9a, has a slightly messy text, though it essentially preserves the same reading. For this important work, see my "On the

phu sne'u thog for further studies under Phya pa Chos kyi seng ge (1109-1169). Dpyal Rgyal ba'i blo gros' grandson Dpyal Kun dga' rdo rje (ca. 1110-50) first studied *pramāṇa* under Khyung Rin chen grags. In his case, we must definitely reckon with the very good possibility that he was also introduced to ideas that were becoming part of *tshad ma*, that is, ideas that were becoming part of the Tibetan acculturation of *pramāṇa*. While Khyung Rin chen grags was his first teacher of the *Pramāṇaviniścaya*, he also studied *pramāṇa* under a certain Pañdita Amaracandra and Sukhaśrībhadra. Written in a proto-Maithili script that is characteristic of the tenth to twelfth centuries, R. Sāṅkṛtyāyana (1893-1963) discovered in Tibet what now appears to be a unique manuscript of the *Abhidharmasamuccayabhaṣya*. Its colophon identifies a certain Amaracandra, a *pañdita*-cum-physician, as the one who had written it down (*likhāpitam idam*).²⁴ This man did not go unnoticed in the early Tibetan studies of the *Abhidharmasamuccaya* itself. In his substantive exegesis of this work, 'Jad pa Gzhon nu byang chub (ca. 1150-1210) also noted a Pañdita Amaracandra who, according to him, had attributed the *Abhidharmasamuccaya* to Asaṅga and to a Rgyal [ba'i/ po'i] sras (*Jinaputra/*Rājaputra) what he refers to as the *tikā*-commentary.²⁵ I suppose that these are one and the same Amaracandra! Apropos of Sukhaśrībhadra, one of his claims to fame that I am aware of is that he gave Sākyāśrībhadra his novice-śramanera vows in circa 1150. Now called Myang stod Jo btsun Khyung – jo btsun has

Fifteenth Century *Lho rong chos 'byung* by Rta tshag Tshe dbang rgyal and Its Importance for Tibetan Political and Religious History," *Lungta* 14 [Aspects of Tibetan History, ed. R. Vitali and T. Tsering] (2000), 57-76. For references to some of this Dge bshes' interpretations, see my "A Treatise on Buddhist Epistemology and Logic Attributed to Klong chen Rab 'byams pa (1309-1364) and Its Place in Indo-Tibetan Intellectual History," 416.

²⁴ See *Abhidharmasamuccayabhaṣya*, ed. N. Tatia, Tibetan Sanskrit Works Series no. 17 (Patna: Kashi Prasad Jayaswal Research Institute 1976), 156. For early *Abidharmasamuccaya* studies in Tibet, see my "Notes on Jñānamitra's Commentary on the *Abhidharmasamuccaya*," *The Foundation for Yoga Practitioners. The Buddhist Yogacarabhūmi Treatise and Its Adaptation in India, East Asia, and Tibet*, ed. U.T. Kragh, Harvard Oriental Series, vol. 75 (Cambridge: Department of South Asian Studies, 2013), 1388-1429. Colophons often carry important historical information that can point us to seeing unexpected interconnections. For a general study of these and other "paratexts", see Lab phan 'dum Blo bzang blo gros, "Bod kyi bstan bcos sam rtsom yig gi kha byang skor bshad pa," *Krung go'i bod kyi shes rig* 4 (1994), 115-142, and for a select number, see M. Clemente, "Colophons as Sources: Historical Information from Some Brag dkar rta so Xylographies (sic)," *Rivisita di Studi Sudasiatici* II (2007), 121-58.

²⁵ *Chos mingon pa kun las btus pa'i tikka shes bya thams cad gsal bar byed pa'i sgron me, Bka' gdams gsung 'bum phyogs bsgrigs*, vol. 40, ed. Karma bde legs et al. (Chengdu: Si khron dpe skrun tshogs pa / Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2007), 38. See also my "Notes on Jñānamitra's Commentary on the *Abhidharmasamuccaya*," 1411, 1417-8.

the sense of a monk from an aristocratic family – this same Rin chen grags also instructed Kun dga' grags, Kun dga' rdo rje's eldest son, in the essentials of *tshad ma*. Kun dga' grags then proceeded to the sub-continent where he studied *pramāṇa* in Magadha under unidentified teachers. All these men all belonged to one branch of the Dpyal family, namely, the one that issued from Gsal rab snying po, the first of Lo tsā ba 'Byung gnas rgyal mtshan's two sons. Turning to his second son Mchog rab snying po, we learn that his grandson Lo tsā ba Shes rab 'od zer studied *pramāṇa* with a certain Sādhukīrti and others.

There really is no question that, in the early thirteenth century, Śākyāśrībhadra and such select members of his entourage as Sugataśrī, Saṅghaśrī, Vibhūticandra, and Dānaśīla embodied a crucial nexus for Tibetan intellectual history. One fundamental outcome of their contacts with members of Tibet's educated elite was that their activities inserted updated sources of transmission lineages of the *Pramāṇavārttika* and related writings on *pramāṇa* into the history of *tshad ma*. For example, we know that, excepting Vibhūticandra, all these men instructed the young Sa skya Paṇḍita in this subject. One of the consequences of these activities was of course that these transmissions were able to spread far and wide in Central Tibet and beyond, for the mature Sa skya Paṇḍita had a substantial number of students. For now, we also know that the Bengali scholar Dānaśīla taught the *Pramāṇavārttika* to Chos kyi dbang phyug (1192-1247) of Gnas rnying as well as a host of unspecified writings of the *pramāṇa* tradition to Dar ma rgyal mtshan (1227-1305), alias Bcom ldan rig[s] pa'i ral gri.²⁶ But this is but the tip of the iceberg and one cannot even begin to guess how many other Tibetans received instructions from him and his colleagues, let alone the extent to which this may have played a role in the ongoing Tibetan exegeses of these Indic writings.

'U yug pa and Ston gzhon were not the only individuals who, in one way or another, were associated with the *Pramāṇavārttika*'s transmission at Sa skya and wrote commentaries on it. Though they have yet to be recovered, we can now add at least three other studies of the *Pramāṇavārttika* that were written during the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, namely those by Dar ma rgyal mtshan, 'Jam dbyangs Rin chen rgyal mtshan (1257-1305) and 'Jam dbyangs skya bo Nam mkha' dpal (ca. 1260-1320). Primarily active at Snar thang

²⁶ See, respectively, Mnyam nyid rin chen's 1522 history of Gnas rnying, the *Skyes bu dam pa rnams kyi rnam par thar pa rin po che'i gter mdzod* [undated xylograph in 88 folios], 17b, and my "A Treatise on Buddhist Epistemology and Logic Attributed to Klong chen Rab 'byams pa (1309-1364) and Its Place in Indo-Tibetan Intellectual History," 410-1. For Gnas rnying's history, see now R. Vitali, "The History of the Lineages of Gnas rnying Summarised as its 'Ten Greatnesses,'" *Tibet, Past and Present: Tibetan Studies 1*, ed. H. Blezer (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 81-107.

monastery and one of the Bka' gdams pa school's great intellectuals of the thirteenth century, Dar ma rgyal mtshan canot be readily pigeonholed into one or the other Tibetan *tshad ma* tradition and it is perhaps best to create for him the separate rubric of "independent scholar." According to his biographer Bsam gtan bzang po,²⁷ the majority of his teachers of *tshad ma* belonged to the *Rngog lugs*, but the young Dar ma rgyal mtshan had also taken the initiative to go to Sa skya to study the *Rigs gter* and presumably the autocommentary with Sa skya Paṇḍita himself. Later, 'U yug pa taught him the *Pramāṇasamuccaya* and the *Pramāṇavārttika*, and the other works by Dharmakīrti, except for his *Pramāṇaviniścaya* and the autocommentary on the *Pramāṇavārttika*'s first chapter. Dar ma rgyal mtshan himself was the author of a *Pramāṇavārttika* commentary that has yet to surface. He refers his reader to it in his exegesis of the *Pramāṇasamuccaya*, a work that appears to have been the first of its kind in Tibet.²⁸

Virtually nothing seems to have been handed down about 'Jam dbyangs skya bo's life and oeuvre. All that we know about him so far is that he was a disciple of both 'U yug pa and btsun [pa] Mdo sde dpal (ca. 1220-90).²⁹ Both men enjoyed reputations of having expertise in *tshad ma*, though Zhang btsun is not reported to have written anything on the subject, at least nothing is related about him having done so. But Ston gzhon does mention him as one of his teachers who had recommended changing the reading of the Tibetan translation of a verse of the *Pramāṇavārttika*.³⁰ However, we do know that he was

²⁷ *Bcom ldan rig ral pa'i rnam thar*, Collected Works, vol. Ka (Kathmandu: Sa skya rgyal yongs gsung rab slob gnyer khang, 2007), 1-30.

²⁸ *Tshad ma kun las btus pa'i rgya cher bshad pa rgyan gyi me tog*, Bka' gdams gsung 'bum phyogs bsgrigs, vol. 53, ed. Karma bde legs et al. (Chengdu: Si khron dpe skrun tshogs pa / Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2007), 5b [454]. For an edition of this work with a long introduction, see L.W.J. van der Kuijp and A.P. McKeown, *Bcom ldan ral gri* (1227-1305) on Indian Buddhist Logic and Epistemology: His Commentary on Dignāga's *Pramāṇasamuccaya*, Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde, Heft 80 (Wien: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien Universität Wien, 2013).

²⁹ For what follows, see, respectively, Dngos grub rgya mtsho's *circa 1600 Tha snyad rig gnas lnga ji ltar byung ba'i tshul gsal bar byed pa blo gsal mgrin rgyan legs bshad nor bu'i phreng ba*, ed. Nor brang O rgyan, Gangs can rig mdzod 4 (Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 1988), 300-1, D.P. Jackson, *The Entrance Gate for the Wise (Section III). Sa skya Paṇḍita on Indian and Tibetan Traditions of Pramāṇa and Philosophical Debate*, vol. I, Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde, Heft 17,1 (Wien: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien Universität Wien, 1987), 139-42, 144, and my "Fourteenth Century Tibetan Cultural History VI: The Transmission of Indian Buddhist *Pramāṇavāda* According to the Early Tibetan *Gsan yig-s*," *Asiatische Studien / Études asiatiques* XLIX (1995), 923, 929.

³⁰ STON, 435.

the author of a series of notes (*zin bris*) on the narrative tales that illustrate some of the points Sa skya Paṇḍita had made in his *Thub pa'i dgongs pa rab gsal*, tales he had heard from the master himself.³¹ Since Sa skya Paṇḍita presumably wrote this work in what is now Gansu Province and since he never returned to Tibet after he had left in 1244-5, we can draw the conclusion that Zhang btsun was part of the circle of his disciples who had traveled with him to Gansu or that he had journeyed to where Sa skya Paṇḍita was staying at a later date. In addition to having been a student of Sa skya Paṇḍita and rising to a highranking official in Sa skya itself, Zhang btsun may also have been a Sanskrit scholar of sorts, as we will see in the sequel to this essay.

Returning to 'Jam dbyangs skyā bo, it is reported that he was active in Sa skya and that he taught the eighteen year old Dpang Lo tsā ba the *Pramāṇavārttika* and the *Rigs gter* [and the *Hevajratantra*] and, later, the *circa* eighteen year old Bu ston Rin chen grub (1290-1364) also studied the *Pramāṇavārttika* with him together with 'U yug pa's commentary. Dpang Lo tsā ba himself first journeyed to the Kathmandu Valley at the age of twenty. This was the first of some seven trips to the Valley. Upon his return to Tibet from what may have been his second trip to the Valley, sometime between 1297 and 1304, he prepared a retranslation of Abhayākaragupta's (ca.1065-ca.1125) famous *Munimatālaṇikāra*, and other treatises, in Sa skya. As a reward, the upper echelons of the monastery headed by 'Jam dbyangs skyā bo lavished many gifts and honors on him. 'Jam dbyangs skyā bo's own exegesis of the *Pramāṇavārttika* is listed in the handy bibliography of Sa skya pa school scholarship compiled in the main by the learned Mkhan po Appay [A pad].³² It seems to have had little impact, for I have yet to come across references to it in the *tshad ma* literature that is now available.

We are fortunate to be in the possession of a reasonably reliable source for Rin chen rgyal mtshan's life in the form of the slightly incomplete manuscript of a biography that was written by his erstwhile disciple Byang sems Rgyal ba ye shes (1257-1320).³³ Rgyal ba ye shes

³¹ A handy edition of this work, *Thub pa'i dgongs gsal rgyal sras 'phags pa'i lam gyi sgrung 'grel zla ba'i 'od zer*, is found in *Dpal sa skya pa'i gsung rab*, vol. 11, Lam rim, comp. Mkhas dbang Tshul khriṃs rgyal mtshan and Mkhas dbang Padma dam chos (Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang / Xining: Mtsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2004), 340-605. The Sde dge print was published earlier in *Thub pa'i dgongs pa gsal ba'i bstan bcos kyi mdo rnam par bshad pa rin po che'i gter*, *Selected Works of Glo bo Mkhan chen*, vol. 2 (Dehra Dun, 1985), 253-539.

³² *Dkar chag mthong bas yid 'phrog chos mdzod bye ba'i lde mig* (New Delhi, 1987), 36.

³³ *Chos rje 'jam dbyangs chen po'i rnam thar yon tan rgya mtsho [dbu med manuscript in 24 folios]*, C.P.N. catalog no. 004381(10), 6b. For this manuscript, see my "Apropos of Some Recently Recovered Texts Belonging to the *Lam 'bras* Teachings of

begins his hagiography by stipulating that his master was a wondrous and willed manifestation (*sprul pa*) of the bodhisattva 'Jam pa'i dbyangs (Mañjughoṣa) and that even some reliable persons had foretold that he was or would be a wondrous emanation (*rnam 'phrul, *vikurvana*) of Sa skyā Pāṇḍita himself.³⁴ Clearly, this is but another way of saying that his intellectual abilities were quite impressive, to say the least. His father was Rje btsun skyabs, a member of the Zhang zhung clan (*rigs = gdung rus*) that had settled in the vicinity of Sa skyā, and his mother was a lady with the name Shes rab skyid. It is curious that the biography is silent about the fact that he was a scion of the family that controlled Sa skyā's influential Shar Residence (*bla brang*). Rgyal ba ye shes mentions that Rin chen rgyal mtshan had received his three successive vows (*sdom gsum*) from 'Phags pa, albeit without giving the dates for these occasions. He apparently first studied at Bo dong E, not at Sa skyā, and traveled from there to Sa skyā for the purpose of paying his respects to 'Phags pa. We know that 'Phags pa resided there from *circa* 1264 to 1267 and from 1274 to 1280. Given that Rgyal ba ye shes explicitly states that Rin chen rgyal mtshan had studied *abhidharma*, *prajñaparamita*, and *vinaya* texts in Bo dong E, we can, I believe, safely assume that he must have met 'Phags pa only after his return from the Mongol court of Emperor Qubilai in 1274. This meeting marked the beginning of what was to become a lustrous career. When a certain Lama E pa [= ?'Khon ston Thugs rje rin chen, alias 'Jam dbyangs 'Khon ston or E pa Zhang] had passed away, 'Phags pa requested that he take up teachings duties at Sa skyā's Shar Residence. This was his first official post. He then established his reputation as a redoubtable scholar in a more visible way at the age of twenty-three in late 1280, when he shone in a series of public monastic debates that formed part of the funerary ceremonies (*thugs dgongs rdzogs par mdzad pa' chos 'khor*) held for the recently deceased 'Phags pa. Upon their return, the imperial envoys that were present on this occasion brought his abilities to Qubilai's attention. His learning, the connections of his family, and the absence of a male heir of Sa skyā's 'Khon family in Sa skyā paved the way for him ultimately to be appointed by the Mongol court in Yuan China as abbot of the Bzhi thog Residence in late 1287 or early 1288. This meant that he was in fact Sa skyā's Grand Abbot. His impressive performance

the Sa skyā pa and Ko brag pa," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 17 (1994), 188-90.

³⁴ When not otherwise specified, what follows is based on *Chos rje 'jam dbyangs chen po'i rnam thar yon tan rgya mtsho*, 1b-7b. On fol. 3b, reference is made to Rin chen rgyal mtshan's record of his studies, his *gsan yig*, titled *Rin po che'i phreng ba*, for information on the lineages of transmission to which he was privy. This work has not yet been located.

during the ceremonies he presided over on the occasion of the passing of 'Phags pa's nephew and then current Imperial Preceptor Dharmapālarakṣita on December 24, 1287, was witnessed in person by the Mongol prince (*rgyal bu*) Ga pa ju pa [or: Ga sa ju sa]³⁵ and other Mongol and Tibetan notables, who had no doubt reported this event to the court as well. The passage in question reads *slob dpon chen po dharma pha la'i chos 'khor*, which I interpret as a religious gathering that was held on the occasion of Grand-Master Dharmapālarakṣita's passing. There is no question, then, that his appointment as Grand Abbot ultimately laid the groundwork for him to become Imperial Preceptor to Emperor Öljeitü [the Chengzong Emperor r. May 10, 1294 - February 10, 1307] at the Mongol capital in China proper from 1304 to 1305.

Bo dong E was one of the many monasteries where thirteenth century Dharma-kīrti studies consisted primarily, but certainly not exclusively, of the *Pramāṇaviniścaya* and the *Tshad ma bsdus pa*-Summaries, and was therefore foremost an institution that was part of the *Rngog lugs* tradition of Dharmakīrti exegesis. We thus have to reckon with the very high probability, as we must also in 'U yug pa's case, that Rin chen rgyal mtshan was quite conversant with the literary tradition[s] of the *Rngog lugs* and had most likely formally studied one or more specimen of this genre. Rgyal ba ye shes registers a *Pramāṇavārttika* commentary from his pen, which he had authored at the request of a certain Khang ston and others.³⁶ Reflecting the three characteristics of a bona fide scholar, as codified by Sa skyā Pañdita in his *Mkhas pa rnams la 'jug pa'i sgo*, namely, that such an individual should have expertise in the principles of composition (*rtsom*), explication ('*chad*), and disputation (*rtsod*), Rgyal ba ye shes even goes so far to compare him to Dignāga, Dharmakīrti and Dpa' bo, that is, here, Aśvaghoṣa, in the ninth of the two dozen or so quatrains around which he had constructed his biography in verse and prose:

gzhan gzhung sun 'byin phyogs kyi glang po bzhin //

³⁵ I have not been able to identify this prince in L. Hambis, *Le chapitre CVII du Yuan che [avec des notes supplémentaires par Paul Pelliot]* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1945) and his *Le chapitre CVIII du Yuan che*, Tome I (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1954). Another Mongol prince Te mur bo ka is mentioned in connection with the funeral ceremonies held at Sa skyā for the deceased Dus 'khor ba chen po, Rin chen rgyal mtshan's eldest brother, the Kālacakra expert (*dus 'khor ba*) Ye shes rin chen (?1248-94). For Te mur bo ka (< Mon. Temür Buqa), see L. Petech, *Central Tibet and the Mongols. The Yüan-Sa skyā Period of Tibetan History*, Serie Orientale Roma, vol. LXV (Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1990), 30-1.

³⁶ For what follows, see *Chos rje 'jam dbyangs chen po'i rnam thar yon tan rgya mtsho*, 9b-10a.

*rang gzhung 'god legs chos kyi grags pa mtshungs //
sdeb sbyor dpa' bo ji 4n rtsom mdzad pa //
dus 'dir bstan 'dzin mchog khyod la phyag 'tshal //*

Refuting textual traditions of others, like Dignāga;
Good at establishing one's own textual tradition, similar to
Dharmakīrti;
A poet, a writer just like *Ārya Sūra/*Aśvaghoṣa;
At this time, I pay homage to you, supreme one among the
upholders of the Buddha's Teaching!

Chos nyid ye shes' detailed 1775 study of the Gnyags family and Gle lung monastery in Mus records that Rin chen rgyal mtshan taught the *Pramāṇavārttika* and the *Rigs gter* to Mus chen Rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po (1287-1347) at Sa skya in 1299.³⁷ Be this as it may, I have yet to come across references to his work in the *tshad ma* literature that is available to me.

Lastly, this *Pramāṇavārttika* commentary was not Ston gzhon's only or first work on *tshad ma*, for he himself notes his earlier effort, which was apparently titled *Tshad ma rigs pa'i de kho na nyid snang ba*.³⁸ This tract has yet to surface, but its title suggests that he did not simply conceive it as an exegesis of a Tibetan translation of a work belonging to the Indian Buddhist schools of logic and epistemology. Rather, he appears to have written it as a synthetic study of Buddhist logic and epistemology as a whole. Unfortunately, he mentions it only once, namely in connection with his comments on PV, IV: 23c-d, where he considers this verse to be Dharmakīrti's final deliberation on the purport of "object, state of affairs" (*artha*) of Dignāga's phrase "an object / state of affairs the proponent of a proof has himself understood" (*svadr̥tartha*) as found in the definition (*mtshan nyid*) of an inference-for-another (*parārthānumāna*) or proof in the *Pramāṇasamuccaya* [= PS, III: 1b].

3. Pre-Ston gzhon *Rigs gter* Exegeses

Owing to the relative paucity of the published thirteenth century biographical and autobiographical literature, we are still rather ill informed about where the *Rigs gter* was able gradually to insinuate itself in the monastic curricula other than the one of Sa skya monas-

³⁷ *Gnyags ston pa'i gdung rabs dang gdan rabs*, ed. Rta mgrin tshe dbang, Gangs can rig mdzod 31 (Lhasa: Bod ljongs bod yig dpe rnying dpe skrun khang, 1997), 133.

³⁸ STON, 388.

tery, whether primarily as an object of study as such or as representing a set of competing positions which, it was felt, needed to be refuted. In fact, there was till now little evidence that it was studied in institutions other than Sa skya during that time. However, things are a-changin'. With the sources that have become available in recent years, I think one can now reasonably argue that it must have formed part of the curriculum of a limited number of other Central Tibetan monastic institutions as well as of those monasteries in Khams and Amdo that had either been founded by Sa skya Paṇḍita himself from 1244 onwards or where he was able to wield some influence on their intellectual lives. The same applies to those that were later founded and indirectly administered by his nephew 'Phags pa and the disciples they shared, such as Sga A gnyan dam pa Kun dga' grags (1240-1303). In his 1467 study of Sa skya monastery and her ruling families, Stag tshang Lo tsā ba Shes rab rin chen (1405-77) suggests that Sa skya Paṇḍita's influence was felt in the following institutions.³⁹

Two major sees:

1. Sa skya
2. Ling chu (< Ch. Liangzhou) *rtser khab* in the north (*byang phyogs*)⁴⁰

Three middling sees:

³⁹ See his *Dpal ldan sa skya pa'i 'khon gyi gdung rabs 'dod dgu'i rgya mtsho* [dbu med manuscript in 34 folios], C.P.N. catalog no. 002537, 19a. We find the same passage in A mes zhabs' 1629 study of the same, for which see *Sa skya'i gdung rabs ngo mtshar bang mdzod*, ed. Rdo rje rgyal po (Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1986), 145; this passage is also cited in G. Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, vol. II (Kyoto: Rinsen Book, Co. Ltd., 1980), 680, n. 40. The date of Stag tshang Lo tsā ba's passing, the end of November of 1477, is given in what appears to be an excerpt from 'Jam dbyangs Chos kyi dpal 'byor's biography of his master that functions as a supplement to Stag tshang Lo tsā ba's autobiography, for which see *Gtsang stag tshang lo tsā ba shes rab rin chen rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po'i rnam par thar pa'i kha skong yid ches gser gyi ljon pa*, *Collected Works* [of Stag tshang Lo tsā ba], vol. 2, *Mes po'i shul bzhag*, vol. 30, ed. Dpal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang (Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2007), 61.

⁴⁰ For this place, see see K.R. Schaeffer and L.W.J. van der Kuijp, *An Early Tibetan Survey of Buddhist Literature: The Bstan pa rgyas pa rgyan gyi nyi 'od of Bcom ldan ral gri*, Harvard Oriental Series, vol. 64 (Cambridge: The Department of Sanskrit and Indian Studies, 2009), 26-7, n. 54. No doubt we have to consider the four monasteries in the Liangzhou [= present day Wuwei] area that are associated with Sa skya Paṇḍita, namely, the Lha khang sde to the south, Padmo'i sde to the west, Rgya mtsho'i sde to the north, and Sprul pa'i sde to the east of Wuwei, in Gansu Province, PRC.

1. Bsam yas in Dbus
2. Rkyang thur [= 'dur] in Nyang stod⁴¹
3. Sreg shing in Shangs

He adds that there were countless more minor places in the Tibetan areas where he had been active and where his influence was palpable. In Smar khams, Sa skyā Pañdita and 'Phags pa wielded some influence in Dpal gyi sho monastery, which the founder of the Smar pa Bka' brgyud sect Shes rab ye shes (1135-1203) built in 1167, as well as other institutions in Smar khams such as Tsom mdo gnas gsar, which was founded in 1200 by 'Gro mgon Rin chen dpal (1170-1249).⁴² The Sde dge xylograph of Sa skyā Pañdita's collected oeuvre contains a letter he had written to the latter — he is there called 'Gro mgon Rin chen of Sho monastery — as well as one he addressed to the monastic community of Sho, whereas 'Phags pa had composed a good number of pieces in Smar khams as early as 1253 and then later in 1275-6.⁴³ Writing a little less than a decade after Stag tshang Lo tsā ba, Gtsang Byams pa Rdo rje rgyal mtshan (1423-98) relates a similar scenario for the main Sa skyā pa monasteries during 'Phags pa's time in his 1475

⁴¹ Sa skyā Pañdita had studied there in his youth with none other than Mtshur Gzhon nu seng ge, and its history is ever so briefly outlined by Tāraṇātha (1575-1634) in his undated *Myang yul stod smad bar gsum gyi ngo mtshar gtam gyi legs bshad mkhas pa'i jug ngogs*, ed. Lhag pa tshe ring (Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 1983), 109-110 [ed. Don grub phun tshogs (Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 2002), 105-7]. Given that he mentions the Gtsang pa Sde srid family at great length, including Karma bstan skyong dbang po (1606-42), who ascended the throne in Shigatse in circa 1621, we can be certain that he must have written it sometime between 1621 and 1635. Also known as *Myang chos 'byung*, it was included in vol. 23 of the 1999?-Dzam thang edition of Tāraṇātha's collected writings, as it was in *Jo nang rje btsun tā ra nātha'i gsung 'bum dpe bsdur ma*, vol. 44, *Mes po'i shul bzhag*, vol. 86, ed. Dpal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib jug khang (Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2008), where the cited passage occurs on p. 112-3.

⁴² See the remarks in the biography of Spyān sṅga ba Byang chub grags (1208-77), Sho dgon's third abbot in the anonymous seventeenth century compilation *Dpal ldan smar pa bka' brgyud kyi rnam thar su khar rna'i phreng ba*, *Śmar pa bka' brgyud kyi rnam thar phyogs sgrig*, ed. Padma tshul khriims (Chengdu: Si khron dpe skrun tshogs pa / Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2006), 181, and also those in Byang chub 'od zer's late sixteenth century *Tsom mdo gdan rabs kun btus*, *Śmar pa bka' brgyud kyi rnam thar phyogs sgrig*, ed. Padma tshul khriims, 103 ff.

⁴³ For Sa skyā Pañdita's letters, see SSBB, vol. 5, nos. 39-40; for 'Phags pa's Smar khams-related writings, see the useful listing in Y. Fukuda and Y. Ishihama, tr., *A Study of the Grub mthah of Tibetan Buddhism* [in Japanese], vol. 4, *Studia Tibetica*, no. 11 (Tokyo: The Toyo Bunko, 1986), 53, 57-8.

study of the ruling families and Sa skya monastery; there we have the following:⁴⁴

Four major sees:

1. Sa skya
2. Me tog ra ba inside the imperial palace of Ta'i tu (< Ch. Dadu)
3. The imperial palace of Shan to (< Ch. Shangdu)
4. Sprul pa'i sde in Byang ngos, near Liangzhou

Three middling sees:

1. Dpal gyi sde chen in Chu mig
2. Rtsos [= Tsom] mdo bsam 'grub in Mdo khams
3. Dpal gyi sde chen in Shing kun [= Lintao]⁴⁵

The minor sees: where major Sa skya pa masters had stayed.

Retreats:

1. Mount Wutai
2. Lha rtse'i brag
3. Kha'u skyed lhas brag phug

Furthermore, there is some evidence that the *Rigs gter* was studied in Mongol-occupied China as well, albeit most likely by the Tibetan seminarians who were affiliated with the temples or monasteries of the capital cities of Dadu and Shangdu. For one, we have an early xylograph of the autocommentary, the printing blocks for which were prepared under imperial patronage, specifically under Čabi (?-1284), Qubilai's senior wife, and her daughter-in-law Kökečin, in the Mongol capital of Dadu in 1284.⁴⁶ The recent rare book exhibition at

⁴⁴ *Sa skya mkhon* (sic) *gyi gdungs rab* (sic) *rin po che'i 'phreng ba* [incomplete *dbu can* manuscript in 90 folios], Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project, Reel L 591/4, 32b.

⁴⁵ For this monastery, see the notes in my *The Kālacakra and the Patronage of Tibetan Buddhism by the Mongol Imperial Family*, The Central Eurasian Studies Lectures, 4, ed. F. Venturi (Bloomington: Department of Central Eurasian Studies, Indiana University, 2004), 44 ff.

⁴⁶ See my "Two Mongol Xylographs (*hor par ma*) of the Tibetan Text of Sa skya Paṇḍita's Work on Buddhist Logic and Epistemology," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 16 (1993), 280-3, 291-3, and now also Ska ba Shes rab bzang po, "Investigating Tibetan Language 'Yuan Blockprints' [in Chinese]," *Zhongguo zangxue* 1 (2009), 41-2. A xylograph from these blocks is apparently ex-

the National Library in Beijing, which I visited on December 18, 2013, showcased an early Yuan period, seventy-folio xylograph of the Śākyasrībhadra-Sa skya Paṇḍita translation of the *Pramāṇavārttika*. It had a right-hand marginal notation of Ka, suggesting that it was the first volume in an unidentified series. The very brief colophon states that the printing blocks were prepared under the aegis of the third Imperial Preceptor, that is, 'Phags pa's nephew Dharmapālarakṣita (1268-1287).⁴⁷ Among the other Yuan xylographs of Tibetan texts were Sa skya Paṇḍita's *Sdom gsum rab dbye* in sixty-five folios,⁴⁸ the *Abhidharmakośabhaṣya* and the *Abhidharmasamuccaya* plus an unidentified Vinya text.

Apart from the places that were mentioned above, there are also several indications in the biographical literature that Sa skya Paṇḍita's text[s] was [or were] taught and studied in Central Tibetan monasteries other than Sa skya. A first, albeit somewhat ambiguous indication of this is provided in the biographical sketch of Gser sdings Chos sku 'od zer (1214-92) in Bya btang Padma gar dbang's study of the transmission of the *Sha wa dbang phyug gi snyan rgyud* which he completed in 1538.⁴⁹ He writes that sometime in the 1230s the former had studied *tshad ma*, among other subjects, under Sa skya Paṇḍita in Stag thog, a locality in Gtsang that was located not far from Sa skya itself. The *Rigs gter* was also studied in Nag phug, a place that was equally located in Gtsang. The very influential Nag phug pa Shes rab 'od zer (13thc.), alias 'Jam dbyangs gsar ma, began his *tshad ma* studies with exponents of the *Rngog lugs*. But we learn

tant in Brag dkar rta so monastery, for which see *Bod khul gyi chos sde grags can khag gi dpe rnying dkar chag*, ed. Ska ba Shes rab bzang po et al., 41, where it appears to be called a "Chinese xylograph" (*rgya nag spar ma*).

⁴⁷ For additional notes, see my forthcoming "The *hor-par ma*-Mongol Xylograph of the Tibetan Translation of Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇavārttika* (*Tshad ma rnam 'grel*)," *Zangxue xuekan / Journal of Tibetology* 9 (2014).

⁴⁸ Ska ba Shes rab bzang po, Zangwen 'Yuanban' kao ["Investigating Tibetan Language 'Yuan Blockprints']," *Zhongguo zangxue* 1 (2009), 45; the colophon states that the carving of the blocks was completed on August 12, 1299 in the Mchod rten sngon po in the capital of Dadu (*ta'i tu*) and that it was "established" (*grub*) in the Mchod rten dkar po. For the latter, the famous White Stupa, see H. Franke's breathtaking "The Consecration of the 'White Stupa' in 1279," *Asia Major* 7 (1994), 155-184. See also Xiong Wenbin, *Yuandai huangshi chengyuan shikande zangwen fojing* [Tibetan Buddhist Scriptures Published with the Financial Aid of Members of the Yuan Dynasty's Imperial Family], *Zhongguo zangxue* 3 (2009), 91-94, 99. Clearly, the printing blocks for the text were carved under the auspices of the then reigning Imperial Preceptor Grags pa 'od zer (1246-1303) of Sa skya's Khang gsar Residence.

⁴⁹ See *Zab chos sbas pa mig 'byed kyi chos bskor las pan chen sha wa dbang phyug gi snyan rgyud rdo rje sum gyi bla ma brgyud pa'i rnam thar dad pa'i rnya chen*, Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project Reel no. L 451/6, fol. 34b.

from his rather short autobiography that later in his life he had also studied the *Rigs gter* with Sa skya Paṇḍita in Sa skya. This took place shortly after the 1240 Mongol invasion of Tibet. He had already made his residence in Nag phug, to which he had invited Sa skya Paṇḍita in 1243, just before the latter began his journey to Gansu in 1244.⁵⁰

But more rewarding facts are forthcoming from Rgyal ba ye shes' study of the life of Kun spangs pa Thugs rje brtson 'grus (?-1313), the much celebrated founder of Jo nang monastery.⁵¹ We learn from this work, which is very short on dates indeed, that a certain 'Dar 'Jam dbyangs [or: ?Rdo rje 'jam dbyangs] and Spyang ston Rigs pa'i seng ge⁵² had introduced the young Kun spangs pa to the *Pramāṇaviniścaya* and the *Rigs gter* at an unspecified location, after which he went to Sa skya in *circa* 1266-7 to become fully conversant with Dharmakīrti's oeuvre. There he continued his studies under a certain Mkhās pa Gnyan.⁵³ After his sojourn in Sa skya, he left for Brag ram monastery where Dar ma 'od zer taught him the writings of Dharmottara and Prajñākaragupta (ca. 800), both of whom were natives of Kashmir. A center of *Rngog lugs* studies, Brag ram had been founded by Bo dong Rin po che Brtson 'grus rdo rje (1200-?) and Dar ma 'od zer appears to have been his disciple and successor to the abbatial throne. We should be aware that the study of these two Kashmirian Buddhist philosophers in combination has an interesting historical precedent in the life of Rngog Lo tsā ba himself when he was a student in Kashmir as well as later in his adult life as one of the first Tibetan interpreters of *pramāṇa*. Indeed, Rngog Lo tsā ba often juxtaposes their views in his *Pramāṇaviniścaya* commentary where we see him more frequently siding with Prajñākaragupta than with Dharmottara, and where he is sometimes also inclined to go his own way. Dharmottara and Prajñākaragupta were innovative thinkers who in their writings

⁵⁰ See *Rje btsun nag phug[s] pa'i rnam thar* [dbu med manuscript in 19 folios], C.P.N. catalog no. 004381(7), 14a-b. For this manuscript, see my "Apropos of Some Recently Recovered Texts Belonging to the *Lam 'bras* Teachings of the Sa skya pa and Ko brag pa," 186-7.

⁵¹ The following is based on *Kun spangs chen po chos rje'i rnam thar yon tan rab gsal* [dbu med manuscript in 40 folios], C.P.N. catalog no. 002815(5), 17a ff, 31a [= Ibid., *Dpal ldan dus kyi 'khor lo jo nang pa'i lugs kyi bla ma brgyud pa'i rnam thar*, ed. Karma bde legs (Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2004), 96-8, 120-2]. For the manuscript, see my "Apropos of Some Recently Recovered Texts Belonging to the *Lam 'bras* Teachings of the Sa skya pa and Ko brag pa," 190-3.

⁵² The manuscript has here: *spyang ston rigs pa'i seng ge blo zur gyi drung du /...*, whereas the printed text has: *spyang ston rig pa'i seng ge'i bla zur gyi drung du*. I must confess that am unclear about either!

⁵³ He may be tentatively identified as the Stag stog pa Gnyan who was probably a disciple of 'U yug pa and who authored an early history of *pramāṇa*, the *Tshad ma'i lo rgyus*; see my "On Some Early Tibetan *Pramāṇavāda* Texts of the China Nationalities Library of the Cultural Palace of Nationalities in Beijing," 8-10.

often went well beyond the letter of Dharmakīrti's texts. And beyond that, Prajñākaragupta was frequently critical of Dharmottara as well, so that to engage both authors in tandem was indeed a very sensible intellectual practice. In fact, Śākyasrībhadra and Dānaśīla were reputed for their expertise in their writings in particular and Sa skyā Paṇḍita had made it a point to study these under them. Completing his studies at Brag ram, Kun spangs pa then left for Shab in Gtsang ru [or: Lcang ra] to study the unspecified commentary on *tshad ma* of Nag phug pa under a certain Mkhās pa Rta ste gseng rgyal or Rta'i lte ba seng rgyal. Neither name offered by the two texts of his biography that are available to me make any sense and I wonder if this man were none other than Stag sde pa Seng ge rgyal mtshan (1212-94) who, among other things, was also one of Dpang Lo tsā ba's first teachers and the editor of a manuscript of Rngog Lo tsā ba's translation of the *Pramāṇaviniścaya*.⁵⁴ Then, in *circa* 1270,

[Manuscript:]

...dbus rtsang du rtog ge ba la chu mig seng ge dpal mκhas:
khong gis: dpal chos kyi grags pa la lan med kyi thal 'gyur bcu
gsum yod ces thos...

[Modern printed text:]

...dbus gtsang na rtog ge ba la / chu mig seng ge dpal mκhas /
khong gi dpal chos kyi grags pa la lan mod kyi thal 'gyur bcu
gsum yod ces thos...

That is to say, Kun spangs pa had heard that Chu mig pa had isolated some thirteen undesirable consequences (*thal 'gyur, prasaṅga*)⁵⁵ in the course of what turns out to have been his study of the *Pramāṇaviniścaya*. Chu mig pa contended rather boastfully that not even Dharmakīrti had been able to offer a reply to these. It is obvious that the text of the manuscript contains the superior readings and I can confirm that this is the rule rather than the exception! Aside from this, Rgyal ba ye shes is not quite accurate here. It is true that Chu mig pa included thirteen *thal 'gyur* arguments in his commentary, but he did not write that it was in his view Dharmakīrti who could not reply to

⁵⁴ "On Some Early Tibetan *Pramāṇavāda* Texts of the China Nationalities Library of the Cultural Palace of Nationalities in Beijing," 1-3.

⁵⁵ For the *prasaṅga* in Dharmakīrti, see *inter alia* T. Iwata, *Prasaṅga und Prasaṅgaviparayaya bei Dharmakīrti und seinen Kommentatoren*, Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde, Heft 31 (Wien: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien Universität Wien, 1993).

these consequences. Rather, Chu mig pa himself wrote no one had been able to make answer to these from Devendrabuddhi onward, and he added the following note to the thirteenth *thal 'gyur*:⁵⁶

'di ni lan med pa'i *thal ba bcu 3 pa yin no // gzhung 'dir rang gi phyogs la slob dpon lha'i dbang po blo gros man chad kyis lan gdab par mi nus pa'i *thal 'gyur bcu gsum yod par bdag gis [149b] mthong ngo //**

This is the thirteenth undesirable consequence for which there is no answer. In this work, I have observed that his [Dharmakīrti's] own position has thirteen undesirable consequences to which the commentators from Master Devendrabuddhi on were unable to make a reply.

At this time, Chu mig pa was staying in Snar thang monastery and Kun spangs pa decided to travel to Snar thang to study Chu mig pa's *Pramāṇaviniścaya* commentary and the *Tshad ma bsdus pa* with the author himself.⁵⁷ Rgyal ba ye shes relates that he ended up disagreeing with Chu mig pa in no uncertain terms, that he took the more senior scholar to task in a public disputation and, if we are to believe this biographer [and disciple], that he emerged victorious from the debates and thus effectively plunged Chu mig pa into ignominy.

Kun spangs pa first taught the *Pramāṇaviniścaya* and the *Rig gter* as an assistant (*zur chos pa*) of 'Dar Byang chub skyabs in the monasteries of Don mo ri, Chos sdings, and other places. He then took the grand institution (*sde chen*) of 'Khyog in G.yas ru as his see (*gdan sa mdzad*), where he taught a series of exoteric subjects, including *tshad ma*. Thereafter, he was invited to teach in Rkyang 'dur which, as Rgyal ba ye shes states, was Nag phug pa's see (*gdan sa*). Nag phug pa's nephew (*dbon po*), the assistant (*zur chos pa*), the chief administrator of the monastery (*dpon po*) Seng ge mgon po, various lesser officials of the monastery (*sde'i dpon chung*), the ministers (*blon po*) and financial sponsors got together and made him an offer of seven large religious estates (*chos gzhi*) with Rkyang 'dur being the main one.

⁵⁶ See his **Tshad ma rnam nges kyi tika* [*dbu med* manuscript in 152 folios], C.P.N. catalog no. 004827(4), 148b-9a [= *Ibid, Bka' gdams gsung 'bum phyogs bsgrigs*, vol. 87, ed. Karma bde legs et al. (Chengdu: Si khron dpe skrun tshogs pa / Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2007), 302-1].

⁵⁷ The *Tshad ma bsdus pa* most probably refers to his *Tshad ma sde bdun gyi phyogs gcig du bsdus pa gzhān gyi phyogs thams cad las rnam par rgyal ba* [*dbu med* manuscript in 68 folios], C.P.N. catalog no. 004827(1) [= *Ibid, Bka' gdams gsung 'bum phyogs bsgrigs*, vol. 87, ed. Karma bde legs et al. (Chengdu: Si khron dpe skrun tshogs pa / Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2007), 314-449].

Then placing in his hand the white conch-horn that had been Nag phug pa's personal property, they requested that he assume the monastery's abbacy. Note here that this monastery and the estates attached to it must have been pretty respectable in size and at least large enough to have a substantial number of officials running it. Of course, he could not but accept the invitation and assumed the grand position (*go cha chen po*) of abbot. Among other texts, he taught there the *Pramāṇaviniścaya* and the *Rigs gter*, and apparently composed two treatises during his tenure as abbot of this monastery, one on Centrist-Madhyamaka philosophy titled the *Dbu ma'i rigs pa gsal bar byed pa rdo rje 'phreng ba*, and the other on *tshad ma*, the *Tshad ma bsdus pa*, which was based on the *Pramāṇaviniścaya*. That is all we learn about *tshad ma* from Rgyal ba ye shes' biography of Kun spangs pa. As far as his own intellectual biography is concerned, we have a study of his life that was written in 1362 by Mnga' ris Chos kyi rgyal po (1306-86), alias Phyogs las rnam rgyal.⁵⁸ It is obvious from this biography of which the first half reads more like a record of teachings received, that Rgyal ba ye shes was mainly interested in tantric theory and practice of the Gsar ma as well as the Rnying ma traditions, but he appears to have studied *tshad ma* at Sa skya monastery with Rin chen rgyal mtshan.

Lastly, a certain Bsod nams rin chen was another teacher of the *Rigs gter*. He taught the text to Shangs Rin chen seng ge (?-?) in possibly Sreg shing, as did Zla ba 'od zer and Dpal ldan ye shes, albeit this time in Sa skya.⁵⁹ The latter also taught 'U yug pa's *Rigs pa grub pa*, his commentary on the *Rigs gter*, on which see below. Interestingly, Bcom ldan pa, that is, no doubt Dar ma rgyal mtshan, also instructed him in a *Tshad ma bsdus pa*. This may be a reference to his very own *Tshad ma sde bdun rgyan gyi me tog*, a treatise that is structurally similar to the *Rigs gter* and Chu mig pa's *Gzhan phyogs rnam rgyal*.

According to the numerous glosses of one manuscript of Dar ma rgyal mtshan's treatise that link various positions on Dharmakīrti with their putative authors, Sa skya Paṇḍita was one of this scholar's many targets of criticism, whereas Chu mig pa does not seem to figure even once in his cross hairs.⁶⁰ Later, as a mature scholar, Rin chen

⁵⁸ See *Chos kyi rje byang chub sems dpa' chen po'i rnam par thar pa yon tan rin po che'i gter mdzod kun las btus pa* [slightly incomplete (fol. 1 is missing) *dbu med* manuscript in 32 folios], C.P.N. catalog no. 002780, 4a.

⁵⁹ For this and what follows, see his autobiography in *Shangs kyi bla ma chos rje rin seng pa'i rnam thar*, Sa skya lam 'bras Literature Series, vol. 1 (Dehra Dun: Sakya Centre, 1983), 349-50, 355.

⁶⁰ These identifying glosses are only present in the 95-folio manuscript of C.P.N. no. 002468(2). They are absent in the text published on the basis of this manuscript in *Tshad ma sde bdun rgyan gyi me tog*, ed. Rdo rje rgyal po (Beijing: Krung go'i bod

seng ge was invited to the Mongol imperial court in China and was apparently escorted to one of the two capital cities — here most probably Dadu — by a party of imperial envoys that was led by the Director (*dben shri* < Ch. *yuanshi*) Dpal skyes, who most probably was a Tibetan official connected to the Department of Tibetan and Buddhist Affairs in Dadu. He stayed there for nine years in the capacity as head of the Rigs grwa, that is, the seminary for the study of logic and epistemology, where he taught the *Pramāṇavārttika* and *Rigs gter* some eight times every year!

I suspect that if not their conceptual content then at least the differentiation and demarcation that is implied in the expressions *Rngog lugs* and *Sa lugs* had their origin in the acute considerations of the maverick Sa skyapa scholar, the great Gser mdo Paṇ chen. From his vantage point, it is obvious that for him the latter expression refers not only to the *Rigs gter* and the enormous body of exegetical literature that had spun from it up to his own *floruit*, but also to the commentaries on the *Pramāṇavārttika* that were composed by his student[s] and the later fourteenth and early fifteenth century Sa skyapa philosophers. But it was Glo bo Mkhan chen who noted the existence of some three *Rigs gter* commentaries by Sa skyapa Paṇḍita's own students, namely the previously noted *Rigs pa grub pa* by 'U yug pa, the *Rigs pa'i snang ba* by Rong ston chen po and the *Sde bdun gsal ba*[*i rgyan*] by Lho pa Kun mkhyen, each of which thus date from the thirteenth century. Jackson must have had the aforementioned passage from Glo bo Mkhan chen in mind when he wrote that these three texts were topical commentaries (*don 'grel*) on the *Pramāṇavārttika* and not on the *Rigs gter*.⁶¹ He makes this remark in his description of a manuscript of the first chapter of a work on the *Pramāṇavārttika* that is indeed subtitled *Rigs pa'i snang ba*.⁶² He understandably conjectures this work to have been written by Ldong ston. That Glo bo Mkhan chen's text confuses Ldong ston with Rong ston chen po is problematic and I cannot offer an explanation for it. If Ldong ston were in-

kyi she rig dpe skrun khang, 1991), 1-138, as they are from the *dbu med* manuscript that was published in the *Bka' gdams gsung 'bum phyogs bsgrigs*, vol. 54, ed. Karma bde legs et al. (Chengdu: Si khron dpe skrun tshogs pa / Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2007), 329-515.

⁶¹ See his undated *Sde bdun mdo dang bcas pa'i dgongs 'grel thad ma rigs gter la nye bar mkho ba mtha' gnyis gsal byed, Thub pa'i dgongs pa rab gsal dang tshad ma rig[s] gter skor*, vol. 1 (Dehra Dun: Pal Evam Chodan Ngorpa Centre, 1985), 63 [= Ibid., *Tshad ma rigs gter gyi 'grel pa*, ed. Rdo rje rgyal po (Xining: Krung go'i bod kyi shes rig dpe skrun khang, 1988), 293].

⁶² See his "Sources for the Study of Tibetan *Pramāṇa* Traditions Preserved at the Bihar Research Society, Patna," *Studies in the Buddhist Epistemological Tradition*, ed. E. Steinkellner (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1991), 100-1.

deed confused with Rong ston chen po [Shākya rgyal mtshan], then we can affirm that it was not because the latter's *Pramāṇavārttika* commentary or his exegesis of the *Rigs gter* had the subtitle of *Rigs pa'i snang ba*, for their subtitles were, respectively, *Rtogs ge'i snang ba* and *Nyi ma'i snying po*. Nonetheless, he cites the *Rigs pa'i snang ba* several times in his *Rigs gter* commentary, and explicitly connects it once with Ldong ston chen po.⁶³ Glo bo Mkhan chen writes in connection with the *gzhung*, "the authoritative treatise," which here is not to be understood as a reference to the *Pramāṇavārttika* but rather to the *Rigs gter*:

gzhung de nyid la'ang dpal ldan paṇḍī ta'i //
rigs tshul gsal bar dpyod ldan 'u yug pa //
rigs pa'i seng ge'i rigs pa grub pa dang //
rong ston chen po'i rigs pa'i snang ba dang //
kun mkhyen lho pa'i sde bdun gsal ba ste //
don gyi 'grel byed rmad byung rnam gsum byung //

Also with respect to that very text of Sa skyā Paṇḍita, there arose three wondrous commentators of the meaning of the text, having the intellectual acumen (*dpyod ldan*) for clarifying the argumentation of lustrous Sa skyā Paṇḍita:

- [1] 'U yug pa Rigs pa'i seng ge's *Rigs pa grub pa*
- [2] Rong ston chen po's *Rigs pa'i snang ba*
- [3] Kun mkhyen Lho pa's *Sde bdun gsal ba*['i rgyan]

In his own exegesis of the *Rigs gter*'s autocommentary, Glo bo Mkhan chen cites positions held by "'U yug pa" and "Rigs pa'i seng ge", and not once one that was entertained by an "'U yug pa Rigs pa'i seng ge." The first three passages he cites and links to 'U yug pa can be easily traced to 'U yug pa's *Rigs pa grub pa*.⁶⁴ But what about those passages that he connects to a Rigs pa'i seng ge? The first three are not retrievable from the *Rigs pa grub pa*,⁶⁵ so that we are thus led to conclude that we must distinguish between his "'U yug pa" and "Rigs pa'i seng ge." Who might this Rigs pa'i seng ge have been? I would suggest that he is Byang chub dpal bzang po (1287-1375), alias Bka' bzhi pa Rigs pa'i seng ge. His biographer and disciple Seng ge bzang po wrote in his 1419 biography that he had composed a *Rigs gter* com-

⁶³ See the NYI, 111 [= NYI[1] 72, NYI[2], 112].

⁶⁴ This is RGR, for which see above n. 6. For the references to 'U yug pa, see NYI, 16, 27, 61, etc. [=NYI[1], 12, 18, 40, etc.; NYI[2], 16, 27, 61, etc.], which relate to RGR, 3, ?, 24, etc.

⁶⁵ NYI, 28, 162, 296, etc. [= NYI[1], 19, 104, 188, etc.; NYI[2], 27, 163, 302, etc.].

mentary.⁶⁶ On the other hand, Glo bo Mkhan chen's references to Ldong ston clearly indicate that whatever his work may have been called, it had very much to do with the *Rigs gter*.⁶⁷ However, as I indicated above, not once do these link Ldong ston to any title of a work, let alone to one that is subtitled *Rigs pa'i snang ba!* The same cannot entirely be said without some ambiguity of Glo bo Mkhan chen's notices concerning Lho pa Kun mkhyen,⁶⁸ although they do make clear that his work did at least in part deal with the *Rigs gter*, even if the title suggests that it was conceived as an introduction to Dharmakīrti's oeuvre. But then this was also the intent of the *Rigs gter!* Glo bo Mkhan chen's commentary draws attention to a good number of text-critical problems that beset the various "editions" of texts of the *Rigs gter*, and this aspect of his work is rather unusual as far as Tibetan texts go. When we place this along side his obvious interest in the history of ideas and the exegetical development of *Rigs gter* studies, we can only conclude that much of his work was composed under the direct influence of Gser mdog Pan chen, even if it is also quite transparent therein that he did not always agree with the master, which is something he articulates with some poignancy in his autobiography.⁶⁹

The recent publication of the edited text of a full manuscript of Mi nyag 'Jam dbyangs grags pa's substantial autobiography will hopefully soon prove to be of immense value for the study of late fourteenth and early fifteenth century Khams in particular, for he was a great traveler and was quite well connected in this region. This work deserves close scrutiny. His dates have not yet come down to us, but we know that he was somewhat of a disciple of Mi nyag Mkhan chen Rin chen bzang po (1317-83), alias Rma Se Ston pa, and especially of Ye shes rdo rje dpal bzang po, the author of Rin chen bzang po's un-

⁶⁶ See his *Mkhan chen bka' bzhi pa chen po rig[s] pa'i seng ge'i rnam par thar pa yon tan rin po che'i rgya mtsho*, Mi nyag mkhas dbang lnga'i rnam thar, ed. Thub bstan nyi ma (Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1986), 71. A synoptic version of his biography by Skyed legs sprul sku Nam mkha' rgyal mtshan was published in *Mkhas shing grub pa'i skyes chen mi lnga'i rnam thar ngo mtshar snang ba* in Mi nyag 'jam dbyangs grags pa'i rang rnam, ed. Mi nyag Thub bstan chos dar (Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2005), 312-8. Skyed legs Sprul sku is a contemporary scholar about whom I know nothing.

⁶⁷ NYI, 15, 47, 56, etc. [= NYI[1], 10, 31, 37, etc.; NYI[2], 15, 47, 56, etc.]. The first of these citations was discussed in my "Ldong ston Shes rab dpal and a Version of the *Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter* in Thirteen Chapters," *Berliner Indologische Studien* 2 (1986), 51-64.

⁶⁸ NYI, 38, 111, 114, etc. [= NYI[1], 25, 72, 74, etc.; NYI[2], 38, 112, 115, etc.].

⁶⁹ Kramer, *A Noble Abbot from Mustang. Life and Works of Glo bo Mkhan chen (1456-1532)*, 159-64. His reference to "our own learned teachers" (*kho bo'i bla ma mkhas pa dag*) in NYI, 33 [= NYI[1], 23; NYI[2], 34], is without a doubt inclusive of Gser mdog Pan chen.

dated biography, as well as of Karma pa V De bzhin gshegs pa (1384-1415) with whom he stayed at the court of the Yongle Emperor (r. 1402-24). We can therefore triangulate the year of his birth to *circa* 1370. Rin chen bzang po had founded Rā tī Byams pa gling monastery in 1364⁷⁰ and the young 'Jam dbyangs grags pa first visited it at the age of nine. This seems to have been a rather well endowed institution with a very fine library, one that with the usual ups and downs over the centuries amazingly still exists to this day. What is unusual is that he mentions in his autobiography a number of titles of what are ostensibly rare thirteenth and fourteenth century treatises of *tshad ma* and the names of their authors, two of whom are definitely Sa skyā pa scholars, namely, Shong ston [Lo tsā ba] Rdo rje rgyal mtshan (13thc.) and Gnas drug pa Blo gros mtshungs med (14thc.).⁷¹ He attributes to both a *Tshad ma bsdus pa*, a generic term that can indicate a kind of *Pramāṇaviniścaya* commentary or a text like the *Rigs gter*, and it is possibly not insignificant to keep in mind that Shong ston Lo tsā ba was of course one of Ston gzhon's teachers! Unfortunately, his work has not surfaced so far, but its subtitle may have very well been the *Blo gros kha 'byed*. Dpang Lo tsā ba cites this work, which is most probably a treatise of *tshad ma*, in connection with the concept of definition (*mtshan nyid*) in his undated *Abhidharmaśamuccaya* commentary.⁷²

In sum, then, the places where we have reason to suspect that the *Rigs gter* to have been part of the curriculum or where the *Sa lugs* held sway are the following:

In Gtsang:

Sa skyā	Rkyang 'dur
Stag thog	Don mo ri
Sreg shing	Chos sdings

In Dbus:

Bsam yas

In Khams:

Sho monastery	Tsom mdo gnas gsar
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⁷⁰ See *Khams phyogs dkar mdzes khul gyi dgon sde so so'i lo rgyus gsal bar bshad pa thub bstan gsal ba'i me long*, comp. Krung go'i bod kyi shes rig zhib 'jug lte gnas kyi chos lugs lo rgyus zhib 'jug so'o et al., ed. Jigs med bsam grub, vol. 3 (Beijing: Krung go'i bod kyi shes rig dpe skrun khang, 1995), 121.

⁷¹ *Mi nyag 'jam dbyangs grags pa'i rang rnam*, ed. Mi nyag Thub bstan chos dar, 5-6.

⁷² See his *Chos mingon pa kun las btus kyi rgya cher 'grel pa shes bya gsal byed* (Dehra Dun: Sakya College, 1999), 38. For Dpang Lo tsā ba's treatise, see my "Notes on Jñānamitra's Commentary on the *Abhidharmaśamuccaya*," *passim*.

In Amdo:

Dpal gyi sde chen in Shing kun (= Ch. Lintao)
Sprul pa'i sde

In Yuan China:

Dadu
Shangdu

In addition to the two institutions in Khams, and those that were affiliated with them, there were a number of others that, according to local histories, were founded either by Sa skya Paṇḍita, by 'Phags pa, or by their mutual disciple Sga A gnyan dam pa Kun dga' grags (1230-1303).⁷³

4. A Profile of Ston gzhon's Life

Like so many other Tibetan scholars, Ston gzhon has yet to be placed on the map of thirteenth century Tibetan intellectual history, a map that has till the present remained more or less a blank and barren document, punctuated only here and there with a major figure whose writings more often than not were either irretrievably lost or awaited their lucky recoverer and publisher. Many of the lines that would otherwise connect these men [and several women] because of their shared institutional, scholarly and spiritual practice-oriented affiliations have now all but faded from historical memory. And only a concerted effort at carefully sifting and reading through the available literature, which remains a mere fragment of what was written in highly literate Tibet, will enable us fruitfully to connect some of the dots through which an outline, a profile — and it will never be more than that — of an individual can emerge. Such a profile allows us a modicum of access to the intellectual lives of these men and women, their interaction, and the influence they may have exerted on their contemporaries and later generations. The present section, which aims to shed some light on the life of Ston gzhon, is a first attempt at doing precisely this, but, being of necessity relatively thin on details, it is at a considerable remove from being an unqualified success. Alas, no manuscript of his biography or autobiography, if ever one existed, has come to light so far! Further, since only very few of the available sources other than his *Pramāṇavārttika* commentary relate

⁷³ See *Khams phyogs dkar mdzes khul gyi dgon sde so so'i lo rgyus gsal bar bshad pa thub bstan gsal ba'i me long*, comp. Krung go'i bod kyi shes rig zhib 'jug lte gnas kyi chos lugs lo rgyus zhib 'jug so'o et al., ed. 'Jigs med bsam grub, vol. 1-3.

anything that would otherwise cast light on his life, his institutional status, and the people with whom he was involved, the difficulty of finding out more about him is exacerbated by the fact that *ston gzhon*, a contraction of [at a minimum] *ston pa gzhon nu*, is by itself an unusual name in religion. Two possibilities offer themselves in the interpretation of this phrase. Given that it is not entirely likely that it is in fact a bona fide name in religion, we could interpret it as a sobriquet, meaning "the young teacher." The term *ston* is short for *ston pa*, which is a title of sorts that we often come across in especially pre-fifteenth century Tibet. In this sense, there are *prima facie* at least four men in the thirteenth century who, since they share this nickname, if it is one, may be considered potential candidates for the identity of our Ston gzhon. These are: *Sbas pa Ston gzhon*, *Cog ro Ston gzhon*, *Skag pa Ston gzhon* — in each case, *sbas*, *cog ro*, *skag* are toponyms — and just *Ston gzhon*. 'Gos Lo tsā ba Gzhon nu dpal (1392-1481) writes that, born in 1244, the first was associated with Spyil bu monastery in 'Chad kha, which was located in 'Phan yul, roughly to the north of Lhasa.⁷⁴ The connections of this Bka' gdams pa institution's ruling family with especially Sa skyā Pañḍita and 'Phags pa are such that his identity with our Ston gzhon can by no means be *a priori* excluded. But we know nothing else about him and the question thus remains open. The second and third are registered in the Sa skyā pa scholar Ngor chen Kun dga' bzang po's (1382-1456) lengthy record of what he had studied with his teachers and the lineages through which they were handed down, his *Thob yig*.⁷⁵ Skag pa Ston gzhon would probably be too old to warrant serious consideration, as he appears to have been a contemporary of Sa skyā Pañḍita. But the chances are better than good that the Ston gzhon from Cog ro⁷⁶ is the

⁷⁴ *Deb gter sngon po*, ed. L.Chandra (Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1976), 250 [G.N. Roerich, tr., *The Blue Annals* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsi das, 1979), 280]. 'Gos Lo tsā ba's narrative seems to be largely based on the same kind of sources that were at the disposal of Yar lung Jo bo Shākyā rin chen sde while he was writing his ecclesiastic history of 1376; see his *Chos 'byung*, ed. Dbyangs can (Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1988), 112-3. *Sbas pa Ston gzhon* is there associated with the "five treatises of Maitreya" and *Madhyamaka*, and not with *tshad ma*. Of course, this means nothing by itself, and we can most certainly assume that he was familiar with *tshad ma* as well. Using the dating proposed by Dung dkār Rin po che in his dictionary, tbrc.org dates the year of his birth to 1223.

⁷⁵ *Thob yig rgya mtsho*, SSBB, vol. 9, no. 36, 88/1, 61/3.

⁷⁶ Perhaps writing late in his life, Nyang ral Nyi ma'i 'od zer (1124-92) relates in what has been assumed to have been his chronicle that there were three places in Central Tibet called Cog ro; one in Dbus, one in Shangs and one in Nyang; see *Chos 'byung me tog snying po sbrang rtsi'i bcud*, ed. Nyan shul Mkhyen rab 'od gsal, Gangs can rig mdzod 5 (Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 1988), 112.

author of our *Pramāṇavārttika* commentary. Not only does Ngor chen state that he had studied with 'Phags pa a corpus of the writings of the founding fathers of the Sa skya pa school, but he also associates him with a Chos kyi brtson 'grus, who was one of his students, and [indirectly] with a certain Sangs rgyas rin chen who in turn was one of the students of the latter. We shall see below that Ston gzhon as the author of the *Pramāṇavārttika* commentary mentions two men with these very names in the colophon of his work. Ngor chen mentions the fourth individual, Ston gzhon Rdo rje shes rab, in his catalog of Indian and Sa skya pa commentaries on the *Hevajratantra*.⁷⁷ He is there said to have written a series of notes (*zin bris*) that follow 'Phags pa's views on the tantra. And it is for this reason that I would be inclined to hold that he is identical with Cog ro Ston gzhon. In each of these instances, we cannot of course exclude the possibility that gzhon [nu] is the first part of a larger compound reflecting his actual name in religion, an instance of which we meet in Ta'i si tu Byang chub rgyal mtshan's (1302-64) autobiography, where mention is made of Ston pa Gzhon nu 'od.⁷⁸ If so, then we would have to write his name not as "Ston gzhon," but as "Ston Gzhon."

In his very brief introduction, Sun summarizes only some of the information Ston gzhon imparted in the colophon of his work and notes that 'Gos Lo tsā ba mentions him in the following lineage along which the *Pramāṇavārttika* was transmitted in Tibet: Sa skya Paṇḍita → 'U yug pa → Zhang btsun Mdo sde dpal → 'Jam dbyangs skya bo → Dpal ldan pa [= Dpal ldan seng ge or Dpal ldan tshul khrims] → 'Jam dbyangs Ston gzhon → Nor bzang[s] dpal.⁷⁹ But there is more that can be extracted from his *Pramāṇavārttika* commentary for, happily, his work offers a number of other significant details about his

⁷⁷ *Kyai rdo rje'i 'grel pa'i dkar chag*, SSBB, vol. 9, no. 58, 286/1.

⁷⁸ *Bka' chems mthong ba don ldan*, *Rlangs kyi po ti bse ru rgyas pa*, ed. Chab spel Tshe brtan phun tshogs and Nor brang O rgyan, Gangs can rig mdzod 1 (Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 1986), 139.

⁷⁹ *Deb gter sngon po*, 307-8 [Roerich, *The Blue Annals*, 346], where "'Jam dbyangs skya bo" was misread as "'Jam dbyangs Sa skya pa," 'Gos Lo tsā ba comments that Mkhan chen Rgyal mtshan bzang po (1350-1425) had isolated this unusual line after some research; for the latter, see the *Deb gter sngon po*, 685-6 [Roerich, *The Blue Annals*, 781-2]. The Mkhan chen also figures in Zhwa dmar IV Chos grags ye shes' (1453-1524) 1517 biography of 'Gos Lo tsā ba as his *karmācārya* when he was fully ordained as a monk in 1410. Earlier, in 1403 and 1405, Bsam grub bzang po had taught the *Pramāṇavārttika* and Nor bzang dpal's commentary (*nor bzang tīk*) to the young 'Gos Lo tsā ba. For these data, see Zhwa dmar IV's *Dpal ldan bla ma dam pa mkhan chen thams cad mkhyen pa don gyi slad du mtshan can nas smos te gzhon nu dpal gyi rnam par thar pa yon tan rin po che mchog tu rgyas pa'i ljon pa* [dbu can manuscript in 74 folios], C.P.N. catalog no. 003259(11), 4b-5a [= 'Gos lo gzhon nu dpal gyi rnam thar, ed. Ngag dbang nor bu (Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2004), 11-2].

life and teachers. In fact, it most probably contains much more information about him than I have been able to excavate, for it remains true that a measure of familiarity with a certain epoch or tradition in Tibetan Buddhism can simply not compete with, nor be a substitute for, the kind of learning a native scholar living in that period could bring to his enjoyment of a work. Such a savy contemporary would no doubt have several occasions to wrinkle a smile when, in his perusal of Ston gzhon's study, he was picking up on a subtle allusion or a learned innuendo anent a contemporary intellectual, work, or event. Doubtless, many of these must have flown over my head unnoticed, but a little experience with the period does open a few doors, especially when we come somewhat prepared for what we might find. For example, the fourth of the six verses with which Ston gzhon introduces his work reads śleṣa-like⁸⁰:

shes bya kun la kun nas sbyangs pa'i **blo gros** mchog gi lus
 rgyas shing //
 mkhas rnams dga' ba'i yon tan brgya phrag du ma'i brgyan gyis
 rnam par mdzes //
 dri med bstan pa'i **rgyal mtshan** brtan par skyong mdzad lhar
 bcas 'gro ba'i **dpal** //
 chos rje chos rgyal bzang **po**'i zhabs pad dri ma med la gus
 phyag 'tshal //

*Expanding the corpus of the supreme **intellect** that has been
 trained in every respect regarding all that is knowable,
 Beautified with the ornament of many hundreds of qualities that
 delight the learned,
 Protecting the stability of the **victory banner** of the stainless
 Teaching, the **lustre** of heaven and the world,
 Reverential homage to the stainless lotus feet of the **good, reli-**
gious lord, the religious king!*

As indicated by bold letters, this verse is obviously a collage of various parts of a personal name. And already a first reading will alert the attentive reader that his use of *chos rje chos rgyal*, "Lord of religion, King of religion," alludes to the fact that someone important is most probably being alluded to in this verse. Once we recognize that *blo gros* of line one, *rgyal mtshan* and *dpal* of line three, and *bzang po* of line four form the name in religion "Blo gros rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po," we can identify the individual to whom he pays homage

⁸⁰ STON, 3.

as 'Phags pa Blo gros rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po.⁸¹ But this is not all, the verse also hides the name in religion of Sa skya Paṇḍita, as indicated in bold letters:

*shes bya kun la **kun** nas sbyangs pa'i blo gros mchog gi lus rgyas
 shing //
 mkhas rnams **dga'** ba'i yon tan brgya phrag du ma'i brgyan gyis
 rnam par mdzes //
 dri med bstan pa'i **rgyal** mtshan brtan par skyong mdzad lhar
 bcas 'gro ba'i **dpal** //
 chos rje chos rgyal **bzang po**'i zhabs pad dri ma med la gus
 phyag 'tshal //*

*Expanding the corpus of the supreme intellect that has been
 trained in **every respect** regarding all that is knowable,
 Beautified with the ornament of many hundreds of qualities that
 delight the learned,
 Protecting the stability of the **victory banner** of the stainless
 Teaching, the **lustre** of heaven and the world,
 Reverential homage to the stainless lotus feet of the **good**, reli-
 gious lord, the religious king!*

And finally, line 3 may also cloak "Dri med dpal [*Vimalaśrī]", the name of his Kashmirian teacher, on whom see below.

Now a Ston gzhon figures at least twice in 'Phags pa's oeuvre. In the fall of 1277, 'Phags pa lectured in Sa skya on a number of canonical sūtra-texts, including the *Daśabhūmikasūtra*, and the summary of this sūtra contained in his collected writings is owed to the notes a Ston gzhon had taken down while he was in attendance.⁸² He may also be the same as the addressee of a very short "letter" 'Phags pa wrote to a Ston gzhon at an unknown time in the form of two quatrains; the text of this little ephemeral document reads as follows:⁸³

⁸¹ To be sure, the epithet *chos kyi rje* in STON, 233, ad PV, III: 54c-d, refers to Sa skya Paṇḍita and not to 'Phags pa, for Ston gzhon alludes here to a passage in the *Rigs gter* autocommentary, which virtually begins with a quote of the same *Pramāṇavārttika* half-verse, for which see RGRG, 168/4 ff. [=RGRG[1], 49 ff.].

⁸² *Byang chub sems dpa'i sa'i* (*sic*) *sdom*, SSBB, vol. 7, no. 238, 225/1. It will be noted that the title suggests that this is a summary of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*.

⁸³ See *Ston gzhon la spring ba*, SSBB, vol. 7, no. 278, 242/3; it is also cited in *Tsom mdo gdan rabs kun btus*, *Smar pa bka' brgyud kyi rnam thar phyogs sgrig*, ed. Padma tshul khrims, 120. A Ston gzhon is briefly mentioned by 'Chad kha ba Nam mkha' bum (1207-after 1267) in his narrative of a second episode in 'Phags pa's life for late 1267, which A mes zhabs cites in his *Sa skya'i gdung rabs ngo mtshar bang mdzod*, 184.

*blo che rlom che spobs pa che //
gzugs chung 'khos chung longs spyod chung //
chen po gsum dang chung ngu gsum //
gcig la 'dzom[s] pa de la spring //*

*tshul khrims dag pa'i rtsa ba rab brtan zhing //
mang du thos pa'i lo 'dab kyis phyug pa'i //^a
ting 'dzin zhi ba'i 'bras bus sbud gyur pa'i //
ston gzhon dpag bsam ljon pa rgyas gyur cig //*

^a ...kyis phyug pa'i // is not an example of very fine Tibetan prosody.

*Great in intelligence, great in boast, great in courage,
Small in size, small in office, small in possessions,
Three greats and three smalls,
A message to him [in whom these] are fused into one.*

*A firm root of pure, proper behavior and,
Resplendent with the foliage of much-learning,
Adorned with the fruit of calm meditative integration,
May Ston gzhon, the wishfulfilling tree, flourish!*

Reading these verses, it becomes readily apparent that apart from their mere existence, they are otherwise almost devoid of any historical content. The phrase "the root of pure behavior" could be a nod at the *pratimokṣa* vow, meaning that he may have been a monk and not a layman. What we are able to conclude without any ambiguity from the last verse is that Ston gzhon was already respected for his learning when it was written, that is, he was either no longer young, or he was a prodigious youth. These very same two quatrains are also cited in Tshul khrims rin chen's sketch of the life of Ston pa Tshul khrims gzhon nu (1197-1277), the second abbot of Tsom mdo gnas gsar, where it is further related that 'Phags pa left the area sometime during the intermediate autumn-month of 1275.⁸⁴ Although he is referred

⁸⁴ Byang chub 'od zer, *Tsom mdo gdan rabs kun btus*, 120. On p. 122, we learn that he had written commentaries on the *Sum cu pa* and *Rtags kyi 'jug pa*, the little Tibetan "grammatical" treatises whose textual history is still beset with so much mystery, a work on tantric practice (*sngags kyi thabs lam*) and songs of liberating gnosis (*rtogs pa'i nyams mgur*), and what appears to be a commentary on Nāgārjuna's *Ratnāvalī* (*Rin 'phreng 'grel pa*). 'Phags pa was recognized as the one who was in control of Central Tibet on behalf of the Mongol imperial court. It is perhaps no accident that he would write a study of the *Ratnāvalī*, since this work is fundamental to Buddhist notions of kingship and its ethical dimensions; see C. Scher-

to as "Ston tshul" and "Ston gzhon" in this biography, this man's dates preclude him from being our Ston gzhon and it is he who is no doubt the very same person who was the focus of a short article by L. Petech.⁸⁵ Tshul krim rin chen states that he passed away on the fifth day of the seventh month, that is, on July 7, 1277. The summary of *Daśabhūmikasūtra* that is contained in 'Phags pa's writings is dated September of the same year and this renders the identity of these two men, both of whom happen to be called Ston gzhon, an impossibility.

Ston gzhon refers once in the body of his text to a *khams gsum gyi chos kyi rgyal po*, "Religious King of the Three Realms," a phrase that in those passages where he takes pains to identify his teachers — he identifies him as "our teacher" (*kho bo'i bla ma*) — can here only indicate 'Phags pa. The context in which the latter is mentioned is at the end of his interpretation of twelve verses of the *Pramāṇavārttika*'s third chapter on perception, in which, in PV, III: 208-19, Dharmakīrti essayed to come to terms with the irreconcilable difficulties a philosopher encounters when he is committed to a realistic ontology and a mentalistic epistemology, that is, when he argues from being or from being-aware.⁸⁶ There, Ston gzhon makes the following observation that is perhaps not altogether free from hyperbole:⁸⁷

...*tshigs su bcad pa bcu gnyis pa'i bshad pa ni mdzod mdzad pa dang / ti ka byed pa gzhan gyis gzhan dang gzhan du bshad na'ang / kho bos ni / kho bo'i bla ma khams gsum chos kyi rgyal po gsung rab thams cad rnam par 'byed pa'i mkhyen rab yangs pa can gyi gsung ngag rin po ches gzhung gzhan du bshad pa la brten nas rnam par bshad pa 'di kho na gzhung gi dgongs pa yin no //*

rer-Schaub, "Immortality extolled with reason: Philosophy and politics in Nāgārjuna," *Pramāṇakīrti. Papers Dedicated to E. Steinkellner on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday*, ed. B. Kellner et al., Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde, Heft 70.2 (Wien: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien Universität Wien, 2007), 757-93.

⁸⁵ See L. Petech, "Ston-tshul: The Rise of Sa-skya Paramountcy in Kham," *Tibetan History and Language. Studies dedicated to Uray Géza on His Seventieth Birthday*, ed. E. Steinkellner Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde, Heft 26 (Wien: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien Universität Wien, 1991), 416-22.

⁸⁶ For these verses, see their translation and analysis in T. Vetter, *Erkenntnisprobleme bei Dharmakīrti* (Wien: Hermann Böhlau Nachf., 1964), 69-70, and now also J.D. Dunne, *Foundations of Dharmakīrti's Philosophy* (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2004), 401-10.

⁸⁷ STON, 280.

*...even if the explanation of these twelve quatrains were explained in various different ways by the author of the Treasury (mdzod) [= 'U yug pa]⁸⁸ and other commentators, according to me, only the explanation conceived by me on the basis of what was explained in another text by the precious statement (gsung ngag rin po che) of my teacher, the religious king of the three realms, who has an expansive Buddha-like intuitive understanding for analyzing all the pronouncements of the Buddha and his followers, is the intent of the text of the *Pramāṇavārttika*.*

His use of the highly charged phrase "precious statement" can only be intentional. It is a reflex of, if it does not directly refer to, the esoteric Path-and-Result (*lam 'bras*) teachings of the Sa skyā pa tradition, which takes its point of departure from Virūpa's *Rdo rje'i tshig rkang*, *The Adamantine Lines*.⁸⁹ Davidson tentatively suggests that Virūpa flourished in the final quarter of the eleventh century, and this fits well with the very persuasive arguments in A. Sanderson's recent forceful restatement of the priority of the Śaivite over the Buddhist tantras in which he observes that the *terminus a quo* of the *Hevajratantra* and its related literature is the tenth century.⁹⁰ One of the most dearly held doctrinal entities, and hence called *gsung ngag rin po che*, Ston gzhon's alignment of a work by 'Phags pa with this expression is no accident. *The Adamantine Lines* itself is considered to be a crystallization of especially the *Hevajratantra*, and its two explanatory tantras, the specific *Dākinīvajrapañjaratantra* and shared *Samputatantra* [or: *Samputodbhavatantra*], and their cognate oral instructions and written literature. Gayadhara and his disciple 'Brog mi Lo tsā ba Shākyā ye shes (?993-?1074/87) rendered this small work into Tibetan in the se-

⁸⁸ It is rather remarkable that Ston gzhon never mentions 'U yug pa by name. In his numerous critical references, he either writes "the author of the *Mdzod*" (*mdzod mdzad pa*) or simply refers to the *Mdzod*; see STON, 21-2, 39, 64-6, 69, 71, 76, 95, 124-5, 141-2, 152, 157, 170-1, 183, 186, 188, 193-7, 199, 203, 206, 232, 251-2, 273, 280, 292, 294, 314, 317-8, 323, 336-7, 342-3, 346, 352, 354-5, 360, 389, 405, 409, 410, 412, 420, 423, 426, 433, 437, 454, 456, 484. He obviously did not like what he was reading! For 'U yug pa's comments on PV, III: 208-19, see RM, vol. 2, 60-6 [=RM, vol. Ga, 133-40].

⁸⁹ For a translation, notes, and an edition of this extraordinarily cryptic little text, see R.M. Davidson, *Tibetan Renaissance. Tantric Buddhism in the Rebirth of Tibetan Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 477-88, 493-517; for another, at times strikingly different translation, see *Taking the Result as the Path. Core Teachings of the Sakya Lamdré Tradition*, tr. C.S. Stearns (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2006), 13-21.

⁹⁰ Davidson, *Tibetan Renaissance. Tantric Buddhism in the Rebirth of Tibetan Culture*, 53, and Sanderson, "The Śaiva Age — The Rise and Dominance of Śaivism During the Early Medieval Period," *Genesis and Development of Tantrism*, ed. Sh. Einoo (Tokyo: Institute of Oriental Culture, University of Tokyo, 2009), 163-5.

cond half of the eleventh century, after which a large number of commentaries were composed on it. Originally handed down in a wide variety of circles, the only ones that seem to have survived intact to the present day are those of the Sa skya pa traditions.⁹¹ No doubt this was due in part to the fact that this school's first patriarch Sa chen Kun dga' snying po (1092-1158) is recorded to have written no less than eleven studies of this work and thus figures among this little text's most consummate and foundational interpreters. Ngor chen never completed his history of these highly esoteric instructions, which he had begun at some unspecified time. This task was shouldered, perhaps independently, by his two disciples Gung ru Shes rab bzang po (1411-75) and Go rams pa, and it is the former who attributes to 'Phags pa a study of the *Precious Statement*, which he calls the *Gzhung bshad 'phags mdzad ma*.⁹² If this work were not the one hundred and eight-folio commentary on *The Adamantine Lines* the catalog of 'Bras spungs monastery attributes to 'Phags pa,⁹³ then I am not sure if it is extant. And I am equally uncertain if Ston gzhon's remark can really be construed as an allusion to it. Neither is it entirely obvious to me where, if he did allude to it, 'Phags pa would have inserted a discussion of, or related to, the one found in PV, III: 208-19, in his commentary. And insofar as his other, minor works belonging to this tradition as enumerated by Gung ru, the *Rnal 'byor dbang phyug gi bsprung ba'i yi ge*, *Tshogs sbyor kyi mnong rtogs* and the *Bdud rtsi ril bu sgrub pa'i zhal shes*, are manuals that have to do with practice-related issues, they would not come into consideration. To be sure, the term *tshad ma* occurs almost at the very outset of *The Adamantine Lines*, in which connection Davidson has briefly pointed out that the result of the path is "defined or structured by the 'four-fold episteme' (*tshad ma bzhis 'bras bu gtan la phab*)."⁹⁴ It appears that Sa chen, 'Phags pa's

⁹¹ For the early history of the Sa skya pa *lam 'bras*, see C.R. Stearns, *Luminous Lives. The Story of the Early Masters of the Lam 'bras Tradition in Tibet* (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2001) as well as his *Taking the Result as the Path. Core Teachings of the Sakya Lamdré Tradition*, 129-251, 253-84.

⁹² See his *Lam 'bras bu dang bcas pa'i man ngag gi byung tshul gsung ngag rin po che'i bstan pa rgyas pa'i nyi' od*, SSBB vol. 9, no. 37, 121/1.

⁹³ 'Bras spungs dgon du bzhugs su gsol ba'i dpe rnying dkar chag, Stod cha, ed. Bstan 'dzin phun tshogs (Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2004), 373, no. 3798.

⁹⁴ See his "Masquerading as *pramāṇa*: Esoteric Buddhism and Epistemological Nomenclature," *Dharmakīrti's Thought and Its Impact on Indian and Tibetan Philosophy [Proceedings of the Third International Dharmakīrti Conference Hiroshima, November 4-6, 1997]*, ed. Sh. Katsura (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1999), 33-4. We may quibble with his use, in this context, of "episteme," a precious word coined by M. Foucault who uses it in different contexts and with different meanings attached to it. On the instrumentalist view or on any other interpretation of Dharmakīrti, a *pramāṇa*/ *tshad ma* is precisely a means by which what is true/ real can be distinguished from what is deviant/unreal.

great-grandfather argued in his large *Sras don ma* exegesis, allegedly written for his own sons, that these four "epistemes" constitute, and here I paraphrase or quote Davidson:

- [1] the infallible speech of the Buddha
- [2] the validity of the tantric master's, the *vajrācārya*'s instructions
- [3] the authority of the practitioner's own experience
- [4] the reliability of interdependence in the relationship between master and student

The tradition usually cites a verse from the second section of the fifth chapter of the *Sampūṭatantra* as an authority for these four, but the meaning of the verse is rather obscure. It reads in the 1744 *Sde dge* xylograph of the eleventh century translation by the same team that was responsible for the Tibetan version of *The Adamantine Lines*, but which was later revised by Bu ston in the early 1330s, that:⁹⁵

*bstan bcos tshad ma slob dpon dang //
lung gi rjes 'brangs de nyid shes^a //
gsang don de nyid dngos po yang //
de nyid las ni gcig las gcig //*

^a We sometimes find *rig* instead of its synonym *shes*.

Other quotations of this verse by Slob dpon Bsod nams rtse mo (1142-82), Sa chen's eldest son, Ngor chen, and Go rams pa suggest a different reading for the last line:⁹⁶

gcig nas gcig brgyud shes par bya //

⁹⁵ SDE, vol. 16, no. 381, 225/4 [Ga, 104a]; see also the *Bka' 'gyur dpe sdur ma*, vol. 79, ed. Krung go'i bod rig pa zhib 'jug lte gnas kyi bka' bstan dpe sdur khang (Beijing: Krung go'i bod kyi shes rig dpe skrun khang, 2008), no. 0405, 286. It is strange that in his catalog of this edition Si tu Paṇ chen Chos kyi 'byung gnas (1700-74) attributes the translation only to the eleventh century team, without mentioning Bu ston's later revision; see his *Sde dge'i bka' 'gyur dkar chag* (Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1988), 393-4. However, he does add that Bu ston had claimed that this work is an explanatory tantra of several tantras besides the *Hevajratantra*, a position with which he agrees.

⁹⁶ See, respectively, the Slob dpon's *Rgyud sde spyi'i rnam par bzhag pa*, SSBB, vol. 2, no. 1, 30/1, Ngor chen's *Lam 'bras bu dang bcas pa'i bshad thabs kyi man ngag*, SSBB, vol. 9, no. 38, 127/1, and Go rams pa's *Lam 'bras bu dang bcas pa'i man ngag gi byung tshul gsung ngag bstan pa rgyas pa'i nyi 'od kha skong dang bcas pa*, SSBB, vol. 14, no. 87, 168/3-4. The latter's pp. 168/3-9/4, contains a lengthy account of these four *tshad ma*-s.

And this variant reading is found, for example, in the handwritten *dbu can* text of the Stog Palace edition of the Kanjur, which contains the text of the tantra that had not been revised by Bu ston. Be that as it may, its precise meaning remains resistant to interpretation and, in the absence of an edition of the Sanskrit manuscripts and the Tibetan translation[s], Davidson rightly hesitates to pronounce a judgment on it, although he does hold that it fails to articulate four *pramāṇa*-s. And he is in good company. In his 1175 exegesis of the tantra, the Slob dpon for one isolated only three and not four such "authorities" (*tshad ma*) in this verse, namely:

- [1] scripture (*lung*) involves the authoritative tantras (*lung ni rgyud sde tshad ma*),
- [2] its uncontaminated transmitter is the authoritative commentarial treatise (*de ma nyams pa'i brgyud pa ni bstan bcos tshad ma*)
- [3] the one who unerringly teaching its essence is the authoritative master (*de'i gnad ma 'khrul par ston pa ni slob dpon tshad ma*).⁹⁷

The Slob dpon firmly places his work historically on both exegetical and text-critical levels by alluding to earlier studies of this tantra — it is as yet not entirely clear whether these were oral or written, though he frequently suggests his readership to consult their own masters for practice-based instructions — and by an occasional remark about variant readings in its Tibetan transmission. It also stands to reason, though this still needs to be looked into, that his tour de force was not written independently of the Tibetan recensions of the corpus of *Sampuṭatantra*-related texts such as Indrabhūti's (?-?) *Smṛti-sandarśanāloka* (early 11thc.), the old *Kāyastha's (?-?) *Suviniṣada* (late 11thc.), the *Ratnamālā* by Dpa' bo rdo rje [*Vīravajra] (late 11thc.) — *Vīravajra was a disciple of a certain Jñānaśrī — and, of course, Ab-

⁹⁷ See the *Sampuṭa'i tī ka gnas kyi gsal byed*, ssBB, vol. 2, no. 15, 250/1: ...*bstan bcos zhes bya ba la sogs pa shlo ka gcig ste lung ni rgyud sde tshad ma'o // de ma nyams pa'i brgyud pa ni bstan bcos tshad ma'o // de'i gnad ma 'khrul par ston pa ni slob dpon tshad ma ste gsum gyis shes par 'gyur zhes bya ba'i don to //*. He quotes PVIN, I: 29 [= PV, III: 282], on p. 200/2: 'dod 'jigs mya ngan gyis brlams dang // chom rkun rmi sogs kyis bslad pa // yang dag min yang mdun na ni // gnas pa bzhin du gsal bar snang //', albeit with several variant readings from the received text. For the text, see Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇaviniścaya*, Chapters 1 and 2, ed. E. Steinkellner, *Sanskrit Texts from the Tibetan Autonomous Region*, no. 2 (Beijing: China Tibetology Publishing House / Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences Press, 2007), 27-28 [= T. Vetter, *Dharmakīrti's Pramāṇaviniścayah*. 1. Kapitel: *Pratyakṣam* (Wien: Hermann Böhlau Nachf., 1966), 74-5].

hayākaragupta's marvellous *Amnayamañjari*. According to the latter's colophon,⁹⁸ it was first translated in Nālanda by the author himself and Tsa mi Lo tsā ba Sangs rgyas grags. Later, Śākyasrībhadra and Dpyal Lo tsā ba Chos kyi bzang po (1162-1229)⁹⁹ edited this translation with the aid of a Sanskrit manuscript from Magadha (*dbus kyi dpe*) and it was again revised when Dpang Lo tsā ba compared the text with two Indian/Sanskrit manuscripts (*rgya gar gyi dpe*) of unspecified provenance. It is quite probable that he had acquired these not in the Indian subcontinent, for he never journeyed that far south, but rather in the Kathmandu Valley. The sketch of his life by Bla ma dam pa relates that during his first visit there, in 1296, his teacher was a certain Ra ma mā da (=?) ācārya.¹⁰⁰ Dngos grub rgya mtsho, on the other hand, names two teachers, namely, Ra ma [= Rāma] ācārya and Ma tha na [= ?] ācārya — it is not unthinkable that both go back to Bla ma dam pa's ra ma mā da — in addition to a scholar from East India by the name of Cuḍa Paṇḍita. Dngos grub rgya mtsho states in connection with the *Munimatālaṇkāra* and the *Amnayamañjari* that Dpang Lo tsā ba had requested most of the local Nepalese scholars for instructions in both.¹⁰¹ In any event, his revision of the *Amnaya-*

⁹⁸ SDE, vol. 21, no. 1201 [#1198], 595/1 [Cha, 316a]. The ?1737 Beijing xylograph of this work is probably based on a different manuscript of Dpang Lo tsā ba's translation. Contrary to the Sde dge xylograph, it concludes with a number of verses from ?his pen that occur after the usual translators' credits; see *The Tibetan Tripitaka, Peking Edition*, ed. D.T. Suzuki, vol. 55 (Tokyo-Kyoto: Tibetan Tripitaka Research Institute, 1955-61), no. 2358, 248/5-9/1. For further information, see the text with text-critical annotations in the *Bka' 'gyur dpe sdur ma*, vol. 4, ed. Krung go'i bod rig pa zhib 'jug lte gnas kyi bka' bstan dpe sdur khang (Beijing: Krung go'i bod kyi shes rig dpe skrun khang, 1996), no. 0093, 766-777. See also T. Tomabechi and K. Kano, "A Critical Edition and Translation of a Text Fragment from Abhayākaragupta's *Amnayamañjari*: Göttingen, Cod.ms.sanscr. 259b," *Tantric Studies* 1 (2008), 22-44.

⁹⁹ A useful sketch of Dpyal Lo tsā ba's life may be found in Bya btang pa Padma rdo rje, *Dpyal gyi gdung rabs za ra tshags dang gang ga'i chu rgyun gnyis gcig tu bris pa kun gsal me long*, 46-64.

¹⁰⁰ *Lo tsā* (sic) *ba blo brtan la mdzad pa*, *Collected Works*, vol. Na, *dbu can* manuscript in folios, C.P.N. catalog no. 003877, 5a. Volume Na of Bla ma dam pa's collected writings is analyzed in my forthcoming "Fourteenth Century Tibetan Cultural History III: The Oeuvre of Bla ma dam pa Bsod nams rgyal mtshan (1312-1375), Part Two."

¹⁰¹ *Tha snyad rig gnas lnga ji ltar byung ba'i tshul gsal bar byed pa blo gsal mgrib rgyan legs bshad nor bu'i phreng ba*, 300-1: *bal po'i paṇḍita phal che bas* [read: *las*] *man snye dang dgongs rgyan sogs zhus /*. Sanskrit manuscripts of both the *Munimatālaṇkāra* and the *Amnaya-mañjari* are extant in, respectively, 202 and 170 (?sic) folios; see *Zhongguo zangxue yanjiu zhongxin shouzangde fanwen beiye jing* (*Sunwei jiaojuan*) *mulu / Krung go'i bod kyi shes rig zhib 'jug lte gnas su nyar ba'i ta la'i lo ma'i bstan bcos (sbyin shog 'dril ma'i par) gyi dkar chag mdor gsal* (np, nd), nos. 86 and 139 [pp. 66, 123]. My thanks go out to V.A. Wallace for so generously giving me a copy of this valuable catalog.

mañjari translation must be dated before the mid-1320s, as Bu ston already registers it in his catalog of translated scripture, which he appended to his ecclesiastic history of 1323-6.¹⁰² Dbus pa Blo gsal Byang chub ye shes (ca.1270-1350) but lists the translation by Dpyal Lo tsā ba [and Śākyasrībhadra] in his undated but no doubt earlier catalog of a Tanjur collection in Snar thang monastery.¹⁰³ To be sure, the only thing that can be legitimately inferred from this is that he was unaware of its existence, and not, though this would be in my opinion improbable, that Dpang Lo tsā ba had yet to complete it. The two catalogs for two different Tanjur manuscripts that may have been authored by Karma pa III Rang byung rdo rje (1284-1339) only register the translation by Tsa mi Lo tsā ba!¹⁰⁴ This goes to show once again that the dissemination of revised or new translations of canonical texts in the Tibetan cultural area was for all intents and purposes a very haphazard affair. And it is safe to say that their inclusion in larger collections was as much happenstance as it was determined by the economic circumstances that prevailed in some institutions as it was by their location, traditions of learning and their consequent resistance to change. Thus it should not be surprising that Ngor chen's catalog of the tantric scriptures of the library of monastery of Brag dkar in Glo bo Smon thang, present-day Mustang, Nepal, which he completed before 1447, only registers Dpyal Lo tsā ba's version.¹⁰⁵ Comparing the comments of the Slob dpon with those of Abhayākarakaragupta, it is remarkable to what degree they are at a distance from one another. Further research into this arcane area may establish that this was due to an unexpected heterodoxy of Abhayākarakaragupta's views and the relative orthodoxy of those of the Slob dpon. It may also prove to be an unequivocal testimony to the rapidity with which the Tibetan tradition felt *itself* able to dissociate itself from the Indic heritage and to establish a hermeneutic of this and other tantras independent of it. On the other hand, we must also not discount the possibility that at least some of the differences were simply due to the

¹⁰² *Bde bar gshegs pa'i bstan pa'i gsal byed chos kyi 'byung gnas gsung rab rin po che'i mdzod*, Collected Works, Part 24 (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1971), 1017.

¹⁰³ *Bstan bcos gyi dkar chag* [dbu med manuscript in 81 folios], C.P.N. catalog no. 002376(1), 12b.

¹⁰⁴ See, respectively, *Rje rang byung rdo rje'i thugs dam bstan 'gyur gyi dkar chag* and *Bstan bcos 'gyur ro 'tshal gyi dkar chag*, *Karma pa rang byung rdo rje gsung 'bum dkar chag*, Collected Works, vol. Nga (Lhasa, 2006), 459, 631. For these two catalogs, see briefly K.R. Schaeffer and L.W.J. van der Kuijp, *An Early Tibetan Survey of Buddhist Literature: The Bstan pa rgyas pa rgyan gyi nyi 'od of Bcom ldan ral gri*, 46-7, and also D. Martin's blog in tbrc.org.

¹⁰⁵ See his *Rdo rje theg pa'i bstan bcos 'gyur ro 'tshal gyi dkar chag*, SSBB, vol. 10, no. 156, 350/2.

various transmissions of the relevant Sanskrit manuscripts and the ensuing different Tibetan translations, provided that the latter were more or less accurate reflections of these. Indeed, a case can be made for holding that the manuscript[s] of the *Samputatantra* used by the Indian master had a considerable body of different readings from the one[s] employed for the Tibetan translation. In fact, contrary to the Slob dpon, Abhayākarakaragupta does not correlate **pramāṇa* of this verse with scripture or the authoritative master, the *vajrācārya* — the term does not even occur in his comment —, and only predicates validity (*yang dag*, **samyak*) of the commentarial treatise.¹⁰⁶

Now according to the colophon of the Sde dge xylograph of the *Samputatantra*, Bu ston revised Gayadhara's and 'Brog mi Lo tsā ba's translation and filled in what he must have called the lacunae (*hor kong*) of the earlier translation by translating the relevant passages from the Sanskrit manuscript[?s] (*rgya dpe*) of the text and its commentary (*rtsa 'grel*). Bu ston's own long commentary of this work, which he completed on March 14, 1336,¹⁰⁷ makes it quite transparent

¹⁰⁶ SDE, vol. 21, no. 1201 [#1198], 549/7 [Cha, 158a]: *de ltar gang gi phyir rdo rje sems dpa' rang gi don phun sum tshogs pa dang ldan pa zhes pa de'i phyir de kho na las yang dag bstan bcos te phyin ci ma log pa'i chos bstan pa rnams su 'gyur gyi gzhan las ni ma yin te / thabs byung de rgyu lkog gyur bas // de 'chad pa ni dka' ba yin // de nyid kyi phyir gsungs pa de nyid shes pa'i slob dpon zhes dor bar bya ba dang rgyu dang bcas pa'i rang gi ngo bo mn̄gon sum du byed pa las gzhan rnams la de dag spang ba dang len pa kun tu spyod pa bskul pa la legs pa ni mkhas par 'gyur gyi / gzhan du na ma yin no // de nyid kyi phyir 'di rgyu'i gnas skabs su lung gi rjes su 'brang zhing / de kho na nyid las nges pa'i don gyis / gsang chen te bde byed la sogs pa'i spyod yul ma yin pa'i brjod par bya ba'i ngo bo 'byung ba ste thos pa dang bsam pa dang bsgom pa'i rim pas 'bras bu gnas skabs su gsal bar gyur pa ni / mchog tu ste rab kyi mthar thug pa la gnas par yongs su mn̄gon du byed do // de ltar na rang dang gzhan gyi don phun sum tshogs pa dang ldan pa'i rdo rje 'dzin par 'gyur ro //.*

¹⁰⁷ *Samputa'i 'grel pa snying po'i de kho na nyid gsal bar byed pa*, Collected Works, Part 8 (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1967), 946: 'dzin byed kyi lo [gloss: me lo (read: mo) byi ba] sangs rgyas kyis dbang bskur zhing byin gyis brlabs pa'i nag pa can gyi zla ba'i dkar po'i tshes gcig. The date of Bu ston's work that was calculated with the aid of the invaluable *Tabellen* in D. Schuh, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der tibetischen Kalenderrechnung* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag Gmbh, 1973), *80, and much else besides vitiates the argumentation in M. Nihom, "Bu ston, Politics and Religion," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Supplement VI, XII. Deutscher Orientalistentag*, ed. W. Röllig (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GmbH, 1985), 315-24, where we read on p. 323: "Therefore, despite that it is mentioned in the passage [of Sgra tshad pa's biography (sic), vdK] on 1332, the *Samputa* commentary may also have been written in 1353." The passage in question refers to Sgra tshad pa Rin chen rnam rgyal's (1318-88) biography of Bu ston, for which see D. Seyfort Ruegg, *The Life of Bu ston Rin po che*, Serie Orientale Roma XXIV (Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1966), 111, 113. But Sgra tshad pa, who is notoriously bad when it comes to providing accurate dates for his master's major writings, does not date this work to 1332. Nihom's article is by and large a précis of the second chapter of his

that the Sanskrit manuscript of the "commentary" in question was the one of Indrabhūti's *Smṛtisāndarśanāloka*. In this work, Bu ston distinguishes on one hand between *rgya dpe*, *rgya dpe gnyis*, and *rgya dpe dag* and just *dpe* or *dpe kha cig* etc., as well as *bod dpe*, on the other. The first grouping points of course to one or more Sanskrit and the second to one or more Tibetan manuscripts. Bla ma dam pa, Sa skyā's Grand Abbot from 1344 to 1348 and a scion of Sa skyā's ruling family that occupied the Rin chen sgang Residence, was responsible for commissioning Bu ston's treatise. In the colophon, Bu ston styles him as a wondrous emanation of Mañjughoṣa. Further, Bu ston acknowledges that he took the *Amnayamañjarī* as the basis of his work, and this is indicated by his comment on the above verse. Interesting is that he cites there part of the last line of the *Sampuṭatantra*'s quatrain as *gcig nas gcig brgyud*, which at least is *not* the canonical reading of the Sde dge xylograph of the text.¹⁰⁸ The indigenous Tibetan dossier that he used for his exegesis included the explanations of the Sa skyā pa patriarchs, that is, the Slob dpon's and his brother Rje btsun Grags pa rgyal mtshan's (1147-1216) commentaries, as well as the oral instructions that issued from Rwa pa, which in turn were written down as a commentary by a certain Rngog.¹⁰⁹ Finally, he writes apropos of the *Ratnamālā* that it was allegedly (*zer*) written by *Vīravajra and that it is in some respects similar to a Tibetan work (*bod ma*). These misgivings about the integrity of this work are, however, absent from the relevant entries in his catalog he appended to his ecclesiastic history as well as from his 1335 catalog of the Zhwa lu Tanjur.¹¹⁰

It is a commonplace in Tibetan Buddhism that the oral traditions that grow up around corpora of texts play as much a crucial role in

Studies in the Buddhist Tantra (Proefschrift, Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden, 1982), 96-151, which is richly annotated. Further, its dating to March 1, 1336 in E. De Rossi Filibeck, *Catalog of the Tucci Tibetan Fund in the Library of IsMEO*, vol. 1 (Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1994), 23, is thus also not acceptable.

¹⁰⁸ *Sampu ta'i 'grel pa snying po'i de kho na nyid gsal bar byed pa*, 540.

¹⁰⁹ A short gloss on the tantra written by Rngog Zhe sdang rdo rje (1030-1106) with the subtitle of *gzhung gsal ba'i sgron ma* was published as *Sam bhu ta'i rnam bshad*, Rngog chos skor phyogs bsgrigs, ed. Dpal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib jug khang, vol. 2 (Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2007), 171-245 [= *Rngog slob brgyud dang bcas pa'i gsung 'bum*, vol. 5/34, ed. Dpal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib jug khang, Mes po'i shul bzhag, vol. 226 (Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2011), 88-253]. This author makes no mention of any intellectual debt therein to a member of the Rwa clan, but he is reputed to have studied with Rwa Lo tsā ba Rdo rje grags (?1016-?1128).

¹¹⁰ See *Bde bar gshegs pa'i bstān pa'i gsal byed chos kyi 'byung gnas gsung rab rin po che'i mdzod*, 1017, and the *Bstan 'gyur gyi dkār chag yid bzhiñ nor bu dbang gi rgyal po*, Collected Works, Part 26 (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1971), 440.

the practice of the commentator as do his own textual learning and the consequences of his own spiritual practice. Hence, notwithstanding the notices of Rje btsun Grags pa rgyal mtshan that his father Sa chen had studied *tshad ma* with Khyung Rin chen grags and Dpal mi/me dig pa¹¹¹ in Nyang stod and the *Pramāṇaviniścaya* plus Dharmottara's commentary on the *Nyāyabindu* with a certain Me'i lhang tshe in G.yu rtse 'byid phu in Grom pa,¹¹² Sa chen's interpretation of *The Adamantine Lines' tshad ma* can also be located in a direct trajectory with what he had learned from his Tibetan, Indian and Nepalese teachers about this verse of the *Samputatantra*. Whatever the case may have been, the influence from his Path-and-Result teachings is unmistakably present in the Slob dpon's analysis of the verse. But we have to reckon with considerable variations. Writing in Sa skyā in 1304, the fairly controversial Cha gan Dbang phyug rgyal mtshan has initially only a very slightly different take on Virūpa's work and first gives this list of the four *tshad ma*-s¹¹³:

- [1] the authoritative annals, explications of the biographies of the teachers (*bla ma rnams kyi rnam thar 'chad pa lo rgyus tshad ma*)
- [2] the authoritative scripture-statements of the Sugata [= Buddha] (*bde bar gshegs pa'i bka' lung tshad ma*),
- [3] the authority of the spiritual experience of the vajrācārya's instructions (*rdo rje slob dpon gyi man ngag nyams pa'[i] tshad ma*)
- [4] the authority of [his] disciple who recalls the spiritual experience (*slob ma nyams myong rjes su dran pa'i tshad ma*).

It is clear that this analysis is substantially identical to Sa chen's. But he immediately follows this quartet by an alternative (*yang na*, "or") listing; here the four are:

¹¹¹ For concrete references to this man's views, see my "A Treatise on Buddhist Epistemology and Logic Attributed to Klong chen Rab 'byams pa (1309-1364) and Its Place in Indo-Tibetan Intellectual History," 416, n. 9. He is also severally cited in Dar ma dkon mchog (ca. 1170-1230), alias Dharmaratna, *Rtag ge rigs pa'i rgyan gyi snying po* [*dbu med* manuscript in 91+1 folios], C.P.N. catalog no. 004783(1), 8b, 10b, 18a, 20b, and 77a.

¹¹² *Bla ma sa skyā pa chen po'i rnam thar*, SSBB vol. 3, no. 5, 85/1.

¹¹³ *Rdo rje tshig rkang gi 'grel pa cha gan gyis bsdebs pa* [*dbu med* manuscript in 46 folios], C.P.N. catalog no. 006617(14), 3a. A few details about Cha gan can be found in my "Fourteenth Century Tibetan Cultural History 1: Ta'i si tu Byang chub rgyal mtshan as a Man of Religion," *Indo-Iranian Journal* 37 (1994), 142-3.

- [1a] the evidential authority of what was experienced by the teacher who has the nectar [of the teaching] (*bla ma bcud ldan gyis nyams su myong ba mingon sum tshad ma*)
- [2a] the inferential authority that has arisen from experience, because the student with the vessel [for the nectar] has practised in accordance with the teacher's words (*slob ma snod ldan gyis gsung bzhin bsgrub pas nyams myong skyes pa'i rjes dpag tshad ma*)
- [3a] the hidden authority for one who has not cut through the conceptual web by means of listening and thinking about what was heard saying that the *Adamantine Lines* is an exposition of the corpus of the one hundred thousand tantras¹¹⁴ (*rdo rje tshig rkang rgyud 'bum pa'i lus rnam bzhag yin zhes thos bsam gyis spros pa ma chod pa la lkog gyur tshad ma*)
- [4a] the very hidden authority for those without presience saying that the successions of teachers involves an unbroken acquisition of spiritual realization (*bla ma brgyud pa rnam[?]s grub pa thob pa rgyun ma chad zhes mngon* [proof reader's insert: *shes*] *dang mi ldan pa rnames la shin du lkog gyur tshad ma*)

The latter interpretation in particular would be wholly unthinkable in an historical setting where the study of *tshad ma* had not reached a definite level of sophistication and intensity. But then, to be sure, such a level had already been reached in Tibet by the second half of the eleventh century! At this point we have to admit that the foregoing discussion may be a red herring after all. 'Phags pa's commentary on *The Adamantine Lines* could have included a series of remarks on these *Pramāṇavārttika* verses in an attempt to establish the ontological and epistemological underpinnings of the Path-and-Result system. The more likely place where he might have done so would not be in the context of the passage of the *tshad ma*-s, but rather in the one that has to do with the so-called "three visions" (*snang ba gsum*) which immediately follows after it. The second of these is usually called "the vision of spiritual experience" (*nyams kyi snang ba*), and it is there that these philosophical concerns can come to matter a great deal.¹¹⁵ So far, I have found no testimony, express or otherwise, that these were controversial in his time. But this does not mean that they were not. Indeed, they certainly had the potential to become so, and they did

¹¹⁴ I am not altogether sure of what exactly is intended by this phrase and the one that follows it.

¹¹⁵ An expository rather than a polemical account of this vision can be found in Ngor chen Dkon mchog lhun grub's (1497-1557) *The Beautiful Ornament of The Three Visions*, tr. Lobsang dagpa and J. Goldberg (Ithaca: Snow Lion Publications, 1991), 112-200.

around the turn of the fifteenth century. Residing in Sa skya around the middle of 1406, the young Ngor chen wrote a scathing critique titled *Rgyud gsum gnod 'joms, Defeating a Vitiation of the Three Tantras*, in verse, which he accompanied with an autocommentary in prose.¹¹⁶ Of course, the three tantras in question are the aforementioned *Hevajratantra* and its two explanatory tantras, to which he also added the oral instructions that were based on these, namely, the *Precious Statement*. He pointedly says that some scholar in the perfection of insight (*pha rol tu phyin pa'i tshul la mkhas pa kha cig*) [and not in tantric literature!] had asserted that these espoused not a Centrist-Madhyamaka point of view, as was virtually enshrined in the tradition, but rather a Mentalist-Vijñānavāda (*rnam rig smra ba*) one. Among other things, this would go counter to the implication of the famous verse of *Hevajratantra*, II: viii, 10, where Centrist-Madhyamaka is unquestionably privileged as the highest form of philosophical discourse and spiritual insight, being preceded, in this order, by the Vaibhāṣika, Sautrāntika, and Yogācāra [= Mentalist-Vijñānavāda] points of view. This reversal, if it were one, seems to have been inspired by a re-reading of Ratnākaraśānti's (11thc.) *Muktikāvali Hevajratantra*-exegesis. Ngor chen does not name the Tibetan scholar who had initially raised this issue, but we will presently see that he must have been Red mda' ba. By the time of Ngor chen's writing, Red mda' ba was already marginalized in Sa skya as a virtual *persona non grata*, not least because of the series of public statements he issued in the late 1380s in which he had questioned the canonical integrity of the *Kālacakratantra* and its associated literature.¹¹⁷ The latter had enjoyed a special place of authority within Sa skya pa traditions for several centuries. Judging from the remarks of his biographer Sangs rgyas rtse mo of Mnga' ris, Red mda' ba's remarks had crossed the line separating forbearance from intolerance, and called for a swift response.¹¹⁸ He did not have to wait long for a reaction. Ta dben (< Ch. Dayuan [guoshi]) Kun dga' rin chen (1339-99) of Sa skya's Bzhi thog Residence, the monastery's seventeenth Grand-

¹¹⁶ His collected oeuvre contains two different recensions of this work with two different titles, for which see *Dpal kye'i rdo rje'i lus kyi dkyil 'khor la rtsod pa spong ba smra ba ngan 'joms*, SSB vol. 9, no. 49, 135/4-44/3 and *Dpal kye'i rdo rje'i lus kyi dkyil 'khor la rtsod pa spong ba lta ba ngan sel*, SSB vol. 9, no. 50, 144/3-55/4.

¹¹⁷ Found in the various editions of his still unpublished miscellaneous writings, these were published in the *Bod kyi rtsis rig kun 'dus chen mo*, vol. 1, Skar nag rtsis kyi lo rgyus skor, ed. Byams pa 'phrin las et al. (Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1998), 283-93, 294-97, 383-428.

¹¹⁸ *Dpal ldan red mda' pa chen po'i rnam thar ngo mtshar rmad byung* [dbu med manuscript, folios 44-82], C.P.N. catalog no. 002802(5), 53a-b; see now see C. Roloff, *Red mda' ba. Buddhist Yogi-Scholar of the Fourteenth Century*, Contributions to Tibetan Studies, vol. 7 (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichelt Verlag, 2009), 103-13, 216-20.

Abbot from around 1358 to his passing, felt compelled to call a meeting where he was grilled for his unorthodox views. And this would explain his probable relegation to the fringes of Sa skya's scholarly society, which ultimately resulted in his departure from Sa skya in 1390, as well as the fact that his most famous disciple Tsong kha pa was forced to leave his teacher for Zhwa lu when he decided it was time to begin the study of the *Kālacakratantra*. In spite of this, their relations remained close until Red mda' ba's passing. Ngor chen himself was the illegitimate son of Kun dga' rin chen. Drawing out the implications of this position, he notes at one point in his autocommentary that it would involve an internal contradiction in this scholar's own commentary of the *Madhyamakāvataṭa* — he does not indicate by way of a direct quotation where this contradiction would occur —, but further down he actually cites from another work of his, which he calls the *Bden pa gnyis rnam par 'byed pa rigs tshogs gnad kyi zla zer*.¹¹⁹ Now a volume of an edition of Red mda' ba's miscellaneous writings, prepared by 'Jam dbyangs grags pa, contains a substantial piece, written in an unspecified year, in the form of a reply to a question on Centrist-Madhyamaka philosophy posed to him by Bka' bzhi pa Nam mkha' od zer. Since he spent well over a decade in meditative retreat in the vicinity of Skyid grong, it is likely that it dates to before the year 1400. The beginning of the text titles it *Bla ma bka' 4 pa nam mkha' od zer gyi gsung gi dris lan*, but in the colophon it is titled *Bden gnyis rnam par 'byed pa'i rigs pa'i tshogs kyi zla zer!*¹²⁰

But let us now return to Ston gzhon. Neither Phags pa's own writings, nor the available biographical literature on his life, go any way in demonstrating that he had taken a particular interest in the field of *tshad ma* or single him out as being especially renowned for his brilliant competence in this area. In fact, none of the *gsan yig* or *thob yig* that are presently available recount his studies even indicate that he had enjoyed a formal education in the subject,¹²¹ and he consequently does not figure in any of the *tshad ma* lineages of transmission of the Sa skya pa. Be this as it may, we can fearlessly assume that he had in fact studied both the *Pramāṇavārttika* and the *Rigs gter* with his uncle,

¹¹⁹ SSBB, vol. 9, no. 52, 162/2, 163/4.

¹²⁰ See *Rje btsun red mda' pa'i mdzad pa'i bka' bum thor bu* [incomplete dbu med manuscript in 335 folios], ed. 'Jam dbyangs grags pa, C.P.N. catalog no. 004546, 228b-55a. Other manuscripts of both works in, respectively, 21 and 2 folios, are cataloged in the *Shes bya'i gter mdzod*, ed. Sun Wenjing and Mi nyag Mgon po, vol. 3 (Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1997), 312, nos. 30 and 25. Of relevance would also be his open letter to the historical Buddha, the *Ston pa la sprin du gsol ba*, which we find on fols. 210a-1a of this collection; Roloff, *Red mda' ba. Buddhist Yogi-Scholar of the Fourteenth Century*, 307-13, gives the text and a translation.

¹²¹ See my "Fourteenth Century Tibetan Cultural History VI: The Transmission of Indian Buddhist *Pramāṇavāda* According to the Early Tibetan *Gsan yig-s*," 921-3.

particularly when we recall that he spent his entire early career under his care and scholarly tutelage. One of the very few places in his oeuvre where he may have alluded to both is found in two passages of his versified *Rgyal po la gdams pa'i rab tu byed pa*, *Treatise which Instructs the Emperor*, which he wrote for Emperor Qubilai in 1271 while residing in Shing kun, present-day Lintao.¹²² Four years later, in 1275, his disciple Shes rab gzhon nu wrote a commentary on this little work when both he and 'Phags pa were staying in the monastery of Tsom mdo gnas sar in East Tibet. If we are to place some trust in what he himself states in his colophon, namely that he wrote it in accordance with 'Phags pa's own words (*bla ma dam pa nyid kyi gsung dang mthun*), and there is no cogent reason to doubt what he says, then the quotation of PV, II: 202c-3b, in support of the first¹²³ and the one allegedly from the *Rigs gter* in support of the second passage suggest that these issued from him, or at least had his imprimatur. Shes rab gzhon nu cites the *Rigs gter* in the following terms:¹²⁴

phyi ltar don rig du ma yang // nang ltar rang rig nyid du gcig //

Though, externally, [there are] many [types] of cognitions of [external] objects, internally, [there is only] one in terms of self-awareness.

These two lines of verse are of limited text-historical interest in that, as far as I have been able to determine, they are absent from both the 1284 Dadu xylograph of the *Rigs gter* autocommentary and the 1733 Sde dge xylograph of both the *Rigs gter* and the autocommentary.¹²⁵ This absence demonstrates once again that the manuscript transmission of the *Rigs gter* is far from as monolithic as is sometimes assumed.

¹²² SSBB, vol. 7, no. 210, 182/1: *kun rdzob rgyu 'bras rten 'byung mi slu bas // ji ltar spyad pa'i rnām smin myong ba'i slad // las 'bras tshul la khyad du gsad mi bya //*, and 182/2: *rnam pa du mar snang ba'i gzung 'dzin dang // gcig na sems de'ang du ma nyid dang ni // brdzur par 'gyur zhing...*

¹²³ SSBB, vol. 7, no. 154, 103/1. It reads for PV, II: 202c-d: *sdug bsngal skye ba'i rgyu 'di nyid // 'ching yino...* "Cognitive-emotive bondage is this very cause for the onset of suffering," rather than *sdug bsngal skye ba'i rgyu nyid ni // 'ching yin (= duḥkhotpādaya hetutvam bandho)*, "Cognitive-emotive bondage is the very cause for the onset of suffering."

¹²⁴ SSBB, vol. 7, no. 154, 104/1.

¹²⁵ The verse text of the *Rigs gter* of this xylograph belongs to a different filiation of the text than the one contained in the Sde dge xylograph of the *Rigs gter* autocommentary, for which see the handy comparative charts in the *Rigs gter*, ed. Rdo rje rgyal po (Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1989), 395-401.

Ston gzhon relates the circumstances under which he composed his work in his very informative colophon which, written in verse and prose, states in part the following:¹²⁶

thub pa'i bstan pa lnga brgya bdun pa la //
bstan pa'i mnga' bdag sa sky'a pa yi mthus //
bstan pa'i rtsa lag sa chen yongs skyong ba //
mi dbang go pe la^a sras kyi sras //
'dzam gling byang phyogs phal cher skyong ba yi //
mi bdag de mur zhes bya'i sku ring la //
sa skyong de yi gtsug gi nor bu mchog /
mkhas mchog grags pa'i mtshan can bka' drin las //
'phags pa'i mtshan can kun mkhyen gnyis pa yi //
zhabs rdul dri med yun ring bsten pa dang //
 ...
btsun pa ston gzhon zhes byar grags pa yis //
thub pa'i bstan pa gsal phyir 'di bshad do //

^a STONm and Suo's edition wrongly have *la'i*.

Thus, he wrote this work for the purpose of illuminating the Buddha's teaching in dependence on his long-time studies with 'Phags pa ('phags pa'i mtshan can), during the reign of De mur, the Lord of Man in most of the northern regions, who was the grandson of Go pe la. De mur is of course none other than Qubilai's grandson Temür, that is, Emperor Öljeitü. He waxes more explicit about his debt to his teachers in the prose text, where he writes:

...bla ma dam pa chos kyi rgyal po rin po che dang / gangs can
gyi khrod kyi rigs pa smra ba rnams kyi gtsug gi nor bu lta bur
gyur pa mkhas pa chen po zhang mdo sde dpal dang / kha che'i
paṇḍi ta chen po bi ma la shri dang / skad gnyis smra ba chen po
shong ston sku mched la sogs pa mkhas pa'i skyes bu du ma'i
zhabs kyi pad mo yun ring du bsten...

The fact that he does not mention a Dpal ldan pa casts some doubt on Mkhan chen Rgyal mtshan bzang po's assertion, as reported by 'Gos Lo tsā ba, that he had been one of his teachers of the *Pramāṇavārttika*. But this does not impeach its veracity completely. It is not impossible that "Dpal ldan pa" refers indeed to Zhang btsun. Again, the Bla ma dam pa chos kyi rgyal po rin po che is of course 'Phags pa. The other scholars with whom he had studied were Zhang btsun, the Shong

¹²⁶ STON, 495.

ston brothers, that is, Shong ston Lo tsā ba Rdo rje rgyal mtshan and Shong ston Lo tsā ba Blo gros brtan pa, and a Kashmirian scholar by the name of Vimalaśrī. As for the last individual, he can in all likelihood be identified as the Indian-*xitian* monk and expert in the traditional five domains of knowledge (*wuming*, **pañcavidyā*) Weimaluoshili [= Vimalaśrī], who, together with twenty-eight other scholars, aided Qingfu or Qing Jixiang in compiling the comparative catalog of Chinese and Tibetan Buddhist translated scriptures, the *Zhiyuan fabao kantong zhonglu*, in the Yuan capital of Dadu during the years 1285 to 1287.¹²⁷ The Tibetan canon, too, knows of an all-round (*gzhung lugs rgya mtsho'i mthar son pa*) Kashmirian scholar named Vimalaśrī or Vimalaśrībhadra — the *bhadra* affix is often optional —, who was active at Sa skyā during the middle of the second half of the thirteenth century. Thus, for one, Zhu chen Tshul khrims rin chen's (1700-62) catalog of the Sde dge xylograph of the Tanjur canon states that he co-translated Ṭāṅkadāśa's *Hevajratantra* commentary, the *Śrīhevajratrarājatikāsuviśuddhasamṛtuṭa*, in this institution with none other than Shong ston Lo tsā ba Blo gros brtan pa.¹²⁸ The colophon of this work states that they had translated it at the behest of 'Phags pa himself, here styled *paṇḍī ta mchog dpal ldan chos kyi rgyal po*, who also ordered the official (*dpon*) Zhang btsun to be the financial underwriter (*yon bdag*) of the project. Zhang btsun might refer to either Zhang Dkon mchog dpal (1250-1316) or, what is more likely, to Zhang Mdo sde dpal. A certain Bsod nams dbang phyug functioned as the scribe. Dbus pa Blo gsal's catalog lists Ṭāṅkadāśa's work, but credits the translation only to Blo gros brtan pa.¹²⁹ And while Bu ston mentions but Blo gros brtan pa in the catalog appended to his ecclesiastic history, his catalog of the Zhwa lu Tanjur notes both Vimalaśrī and Blo

¹²⁷ See Qingfu, *Zhiyuan fabao kantong zhonglu*, *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō*, ed. J. Takakusu and K. Watanabe, comp. G. Ono Genmyō (Tokyo: Taishō issaikyō kankōkai, 1924-32), vol. 99, no. 25, 180a5, 180b10-1; see also H. Franke, *Chinesischer und Tibetischer Buddhismus im China der Yüanzeit*, *Studia Tibetica. Quellen und Studien zur tibetischen Lexikographie*, Band III (München: Kommission für Zentralasiatische Studien / Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1996), 116, no. 27, 94. This catalog was studied in detail in Huang Mingxin, *Hanzang dazangjin mulu yitong yanjiu* (Beijing: Zhongguo zangxue chubanshe, 2003). Working in Beijing in the first half of the eighteenth century, the Mongol scholar Mgon po skyabs used this catalog as one of his fundamental sources for his ecclesiastic history of Buddhism in China, and Vimalaśrī is mentioned in his *Rgya nag chos 'byung* [based on the Sde dge xylograph] (Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1983), 168, 174, 179; see also the bilingual Tibetan-Chinese edition in Luosang danzeng [= Blo bzang bstan 'dzin], *Handi fojiao yuanliuji* (Beijing: Zhongguo zangxue chubanshe, 2005).

¹²⁸ *Bstan 'gyur dkar chag*, ed. Blo bzang bstan 'dzin et al. (Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 1985), 612.

¹²⁹ *Bstan bcos gyi dkar chag*, 10a.

gros brtan pa as the translators.¹³⁰ Furthermore, Zhu chen writes that a Vimalaśrī might have also co-translated one of his own three minor works on the tantric deity Avalokiteśvara Kulalokanātha with Blo gros brtan pa, and that Dri med dpal bzang po [= Vimalaśrībhadra] co-translated his own *Pañcasikatippanī* with Yar klungs pa Grags pa rgyal mtshan (1242-1346), who was one of Sa skyā Pāṇḍita's disciples and biographers.¹³¹ The colophon of the latter text reads *inter alia: dpal sa skyā'i gtsug lag khang du mi chen lha rje ma ga ling gis zhus shing...*¹³² This means that the translation was requested by a official-cum-physician with the name Ma ga ling in Sa skyā. I am unable to identify the latter, but it seems safe simply to assert that he was a Chinese rather than a Mongol or a Uyghur.

The presence in Central Tibet of Vimalaśrī seems to be yet another indicator of the remarkably open lines of communication that existed among the Tibetan cultural area and her neighbors, as well as the connections between individual families from different regions that could sometimes last over several generations. Namely, Vimalaśrī was a relative of none other than Śākyāśrībhadra. And according to a note in Ngor chen's *Thob yig*, he was the son of Bhūmiśrī, who in turn was Śākyāśrībhadra's nephew.¹³³ It is therefore quite possible that the much later Sumanaśrī, too, belonged to this very same family. Although he makes only one brief cameo appearance in an entry for the year 1357 in Bu ston's biography, Bu ston's *Gsan yig* makes it clear that Sumanaśrī had studied with a Vi bha ba bhi ma la shrī [= ?], himself a disciple of Vimalaśrī, and a Pha la śrī (?*Phalaśrī/ Pālaśrī).¹³⁴

It now appears that our Ston gzhon gained some international experience by having traveled to the Mongol court in China in the early 1280s. The very same *Zhiyuan fabao kantong zhonglu* catalog registers a Tibetan — his name is there transcribed as *sutuanren* — who was part of the team that carried out the compilation of the canon.¹³⁵ Even

¹³⁰ *Bde bar gshegs pa'i bstan pa'i gsal byed chos kyi 'byung gnas gsung rab rin po che'i mdzod*, 1016, and the *Bstan 'gyur gyi dkar chag yid bzhin nor bu dbang gi rgyal po'i phreng ba*, 438.

¹³¹ *Bstan 'gyur dkar chag*, 688-9. I have been unable to locate these in Dbus pa Blo gsal's *Bstan bcos gyi dkar chag*. Though the *Bde bar gshegs pa'i bstan pa'i gsal byed chos kyi 'byung gnas gsung rab rin po che'i mdzod*, 1015-6, has slightly different entries, Zhu chen's agree with those in *Bstan 'gyur gyi dkar chag yid bzhin nor bu dbang gi rgyal po'i phreng ba*, 488.

¹³² SDE, vol. 27, no. 2137 [# 2134], 575/3 [Tshi, 194b].

¹³³ SSBB, vol. 9, no. 36, 77/2; see also 80/1 and 82/2.

¹³⁴ See, respectively, Seyfort Ruegg, *The Life of Bu ston Rin po che*, 149-50, and the *Bla ma dam pa rnams kyis rjes su bzung ba'i tshul bka' drin rjes su dran par byed pa*, *Collected Works*, Part 26 (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1971), 141.

¹³⁵ *Zhiyuan fabao kantong zhonglu*, 180a5, 180b8-9.

though Mgon po skyabs simply transcribed his name by "Su tān bzhan"—a parenthetical remark in his work states that it is a corrupt Tibetan form (*bod skad zur chag*)—and thus failed to identify him, I think H. Franke was absolutely correct in reading Tibetan *ston* for the transcription *situan*.¹³⁶ Chinese *ren* would therefore be a transcription of Tibetan *gzhon*, which is pronounced *zhön*. In fact, he may have also been versed in Chinese, for another one of his known accomplishments was his Tibetan translation of Xuanzang's (ca. 602-64) Chinese version of Śaṅkarasvāmin's *Nyāyapraveśa*, which he did jointly with a certain Sing gyang ju (< Ch. *jiangzhu*), a "chief reciter [of scripture]," who must have been Chinese.¹³⁷ It was then edited by Lha btsun Chos kyi rin chen (1271-1323), the Tibetan name in religion of the deposed emperor of the Southern Song dynasty, who spent a great deal of his adult life in exile in Sa skya before he was summarily and ignominiously executed at the order of the Mongol court for reasons that are not altogether transparent. The Tibetan translation of the Sanskrit text of the *Nyāyapraveśa* that is also included in the Tibetan Buddhist canon postdates Ston gzhon's version.

Lastly, the colophon of Ston gzhon's commentary closes with such particulars as his place of birth, the names of those at whose behest he had composed his work, and its place and the time:

*rtsang nyang stod rgya gar gyi yul gnyis pa byung ba btsun pa
ston gzhon zhes bya ba la / ... mi nyag gi rigs su byung ba sangs
rgyas rin chen zhes bya ba dang / ... chos kyi brtson 'grus la sogs
pa'i blo gsal rnam kyis yang dang yang bsklu ba'i ngor / bya lo
zla ba bcu gcig pa'i tshes bcu gcig la / gza' bkra shis dang / skar
ma tha skar grub pa'i sbyor ba la bab pa'i tshe / tshes spongs
gnyan phu'i chos grwar yongs su rdzogs par sbyar ba'o //*

In other words, Ston gzhon hailed from Nyang stod in Gtsang, which he likens to a second India. We must take this in the sense that he felt it to be an important, if not the most important, source for Buddhist learning in Central Tibet. He also relates that he had written his work in response to requests by a certain Sangs rgyas rin chen of Mi nyag [here: Xixia] origins and a Chos kyi brtson 'grus, and that he completed it on the eleventh day of the eleventh month of a hen-year at the monastery of Gnyan phu in Tshes spongs. The precise whereabouts of his monastery is unknown for now. Suffice it to say, that it

¹³⁶ See, respectively, *Rgya nag chos 'byung*, 179, and *Chinesischer und Tibetischer Buddhismus im China der Yuanzeit*, 115, n. 24.

¹³⁷ In *Yinming luoji shi ziliaoxuan*, ed. Lu Yu, et al., 5, his name is reconstructed as "Sheng Zangzhu." For several other chief-reciters, see my *The Kālacakra and the Patronage of Tibetan Buddhism by the Mongol Imperial Family*, 44-5, n. 131, 57.

was located at the lower point of the Gnyan Valley in Tshes spongs, a locale in Dbus. Its date of completion most probably corresponds to November 26, 1297. This year would make it all but certain that he wrote it after the *Pramāṇavārttika* commentary of Rin chen rgyal mtshan, but at present no such claim can be made for its relative chronology vis à vis the one by 'Jam dbyangs skyā bo. As we saw above, one of the three Ston gzhon-s, all of whom who belong to the thirteenth century, hailed from Cog ro in Nyang. Adding this circumstance to the names of the two men that figure in Ngor chen's *Thob yig* record, then I believe that the evidence strongly supports his identification with Ngor chen's Cog ro Ston gzhon.

We have already seen that this was not the only work to have come from his pen. The large catalog of [most of] the library holdings of 'Bras spungs monastery registers at least two manuscripts that are attributed to one or the other Ston gzhon, one of whom may be our Ston gzhon, and I list them here for the sake of convenience:¹³⁸

- [1] *Lam 'bras gyi bshad pa gsung ngag nyi ma'i 'od zer* [230 folios]
- [2] *Kun gyi sna lam du ma grags pa'i rin po che'i gsung 'ga'* [*gnyan ston tshul rgyal dang ston gzhon gnyis kyis*] *zin bris su mdzad pa rnams* [38 folios]

Most probably a commentary on *The Adamantine Lines*, the author of the first work is styled in full as Dge ba'i bshes gnyen 'Phun 'dzu Ston gzhon, that is to say, he is associated with 'Phun 'dzu. A Ston gzhon was the co-author of the second, whereby his counterpart was Gnyan ston Tshul khrims rgyal [mtshan/pol]. This work seems to have been a series of lecture notes that may have been based on lectures given by Rje btsun Grags pa rgyal mtshan, the third patriarch of the Sa skyā pa school.

The above discussion still offers too little that is concrete and beyond further inquiry to enable us to draw any airtight conclusions on the identity of our Btsun pa Ston gzhon, but it is likely that he needs to be identified as the one who hailed from Cog ro and who is therefore also referred to as Cog ro Ston gzhon. To be sure, this somewhat unsatisfactory state of affairs is only exacerbated by the fact that there is not much that can be done about it at the present time.

¹³⁸ See '*Bras spungs dgon du bzhugs su gsol ba'i dpe rnying dkar chag*', Stod cha, 214, 329, nos. 2025, 3290. Housed in 'Phan po Nalendra monastery, what is the possibly the very same another(?) manuscript as the first with the same 230 folios is registered in *Bod khul gyi chos sde grags can khag gi dpe rnying dkar chag*, ed. Ska ba Shes rab bzang po et al., 132, no. 2823.

5. The Title of Ston gzhon's *Pramāṇavārttika* commentary

Titles without embedded subtitles, titles with embedded subtitles of every conceivable length, and titles with subtitles in which further subtitles may lie embedded, from the terse to the floridly elaborate, gradually became standard fare in Tibetan letters from a diachronic perspective. However, it is fair to say that, allowing for exceptions, in general the shorter the title, and the older the work. One might claim, and I think this is fully borne out by the evidence, that the increase in the floridity of subtitles, and thus a change in the use of a certain type of diction, has everything to do with the interest in poetry and poetic theory that was the result of the first translation into Tibetan of Dañqins *Kavyādarśa* and the ensuing study of poetic theory on its basis. Indeed, G. Tucci made this perceptive and no doubt quite correct observation some sixty years ago, pointing out that it had its inception in the second half of the thirteenth century.¹³⁹ To be sure, titles are inherently ambiguous entities, for their origins are often murky. It is sometimes unclear whether the authors themselves had given these to their writings or whether they were affixed in the course of their *Tradierung*. Further, a work may gradually come to be known not by its original title, but by its nickname in which its author had neither a hand nor a stake, or by an abbreviation of its title. O. Almogi has published the only article, a truly pioneering essay, on titles of Tibetan writings.¹⁴⁰ Other than this fine piece, no "titological" work of any kind has been done on the titles we meet in the Indian or Tibetan texts.¹⁴¹ We do now have a volume that is dedicated to another "paratext" [Genette], namely, the preamble (*arambha*) of a traditional scholarly/scholastic work (*śāstra*) in Sanskrit,¹⁴² but not yet a single one that is devoted to the study of titles in Sanskrit letters, let alone one for Tibetan. The field is therefore wide open, and there is indeed much to be done. Speaking in general terms and restricting ourselves to the titles of Buddhist *pramāṇa*/*tshad ma*-specific texts, we find in India only a haphazard, slow but steady evolution in titles from the simple to the slightly more complex. Much of this was no doubt the result of the rise of the scholastic method and, simultaneously, the onset and development of a vast commentarial literature, its pendant.

¹³⁹ See *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, vol. I (Rome: la Libreria Dello Stata, 1949), 104.

¹⁴⁰ "Analysing Tibetan Titles: Towards a Genre-based Classification of Tibetan Literature," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 15 (2005), 27–58.

¹⁴¹ For a survey of "cette petite discipline," see G. Genette, *Paratexts. Thresholds of Interpretation*, tr. J.E. Lewin, *Literature, Culture, Theory*, vol. 20 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 55–103.

¹⁴² See *The Śāstrārambha: Inquiries into the Preamble in Sanskrit*, ed. W. Slaje, *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 62 (2008).

There are as yet no comprehensive studies of these in any form, and individual or comparative investigations of the literature have hardly begun. This stands in sharp contrast to certain achievements in the domain of Western medieval book culture. The developments in both must ultimately be viewed against the background of shifts in the local economies of certain regions in the subcontinent and relations of patronage, the types of education that were available, and the curricula that might be offered in a given place.

Judging from the available Indian and Tibetan corpora of manuscripts, titles generally appear on a separate cover-folio, and are often recapitulated in a concluding colophon in which the author identifies himself by name and sometimes also by family or caste-affiliation [in India and sometimes even in Tibet!]. On occasion, this is also the place where he might relate the place where and the time during which he composed his work, or completed it. The titles of Dignāga's *Pramāṇasamuccaya* and Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇavārttika* and *Pramāṇaviniścaya* are succinct and to the point, and we can hardly doubt that they were not given to the texts by their authors. The evidence for this is to be found in the writings of their commentators and their non-Buddhist critics. And already Dharmakīrti refers to the *Pramāṇasamuccaya* as the *sūtra* (*mdo*)¹⁴³ — later, we also encounter the denomination *Pramāṇasūtra* (*Tshad ma['i] mdo*). Similarly, the *Pramāṇavārttika* is often simply cited in the later Indic literature as *Vārttika*, and the *Pramāṇaviniścaya* as the *Viniścaya*. In Tibet, the *Pramāṇasamuccaya* is cited as *Kun las btus pa* or *Kun btus* as well as *Tshad ma['i] mdo* or simply *Mdo*. The term *pramāṇa*, "correct knowledge, authority," indicates that these treatises have to do with a kind of authoritativeness, embodied in a logic and epistemology that in their author's opinion is "correct." In the case of Dignāga, *samuccaya* means that his work is a summary account, a compendium of sorts. Only at the beginning of his work, does he relate of what it is a summary or compendium, namely, his earlier writings on these themes whose titles, however, did *not* contain the term *pramāṇa*. The *Pramāṇasamuccaya* sought to establish the foundations of knowledge as the deeply regretted H. Krasser and D. Arnold, have so eloquently pointed out and, while written by a Buddhist, Dignāga did not write it as a Buddhist with an explicit Buddhist doctrinal bias. If, as at least some in the tradition have maintained, the *Pramāṇavārttika* is in fact a commentary on the *Pramāṇasamuccaya*, the question needs to be

¹⁴³ See Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇaviniścaya*, Chapter 3, ed. P. Hugon and T. Tomabechi, *Sanskrit Texts from the Tibetan Autonomous Region*, no. 8 (Beijing: China Tibetology Publishing House / Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences Press, 2011), 19.5 [= PVIN, 436 / [Ce, 193a]].

raised why Dharmakīrti did not title his work something along the order of *Pramāṇasamuccayaṭikā* or *Pramāṇasamuccayabhaṣya* and opted instead for the somewhat ambiguous title *Pramāṇavārttika*? To be sure, Kātyāyana (?2ndc. BC) famously used the term *vārttika* for his study of Pāṇini's grammar and it was then used much later by the philosophers Uddyotakara (6thc.) for his *Nyāyavārttika* and Kumārila (7thc.) for his *Ślokavārttika* and *Tantravārttika*. Bronkhorst states that a *vārttika* "is characterized by aphoristic sentences followed by explanations in less dense prose."¹⁴⁴ This would hold only for Kātyāyana; the *vārttika*-texts of Uddyotakara, Dharmakīrti and Kumārila, on the other hand, do not appear to fit this description at all. Indeed, the *Nyāyavārttika* is a study of the *Nyāyasūtra* and Vatsyāyana's *bhaṣya*-commentary on the *sūtra*-text, whereas Kumārila's treatises are distinctly commentaries on the *Mimāṃsasūtra* and Śābara's (?5th/6thc.) *bhaṣya* thereon. There is really no evidence that the *Pramāṇavārttika* is a commentary on some *sūtra*-text and some unknown *bhaṣya* thereon. Ganeri's explanation of *vārttika* is therefore more apropos:¹⁴⁵

- sūtra*: An aggregation of short formula-like assertions.
- bhaṣya*: A commentary on a *sūtra* whose function is to unpack and weave together its contents.
- vārttika*: A subcommentary on a *bhaṣya*, defending its particular construction of the *sūtra* over alternatives, making revisions and adjustments as necessary.

Hence, apart from its title containing the technical term *vārttika*, the *Pramāṇavārttika* has nothing in common, structurally speaking, with these other treatises and thus stands anomalously alone and does not conform to the definitions given by Bronkhorst and Ganeri. This notwithstanding, the question whether or not it was in fact a commentary on the *Pramāṇasamuccaya* was raised several times among Indian exponents of the so-called Buddhist *pramāṇa*-tradition. This was of course closely tied to the fact that Dharmakīrti obviously radically departed from Dignāga's sequence of chapters in his *Pramāṇavārttika* and *Pramāṇaviniścaya*. Ignoring the latter — that they did so is of interest in itself —, Devendrabuddhi and Śākyabuddhi both suggest that the former was more or less a commentary on the *Pramāṇasamuccaya*, even if it was not one in the strict sense of the

¹⁴⁴ See his *Language and Reality. On an Episode in Indian Thought*, tr. M.S. Allen and R. Raghunathan (Brill: Leiden, 2011), 54.

¹⁴⁵ See his "Sanskrit Philosophical Commentary," *Journal of the Indian Council of Philosophical Research* 27 (2010), 188, and its expansion on p. 191; another version of this article was apparently published earlier in the *Journal of the Indian Council of Philosophical Research* 25 (2008), 107-127.

word, that is, one in which Dharmakīrti had consequently followed its sequence of chapters and, thus, the sequence of the topics that Dignāga had discussed therein. The Kashmirian intellectual Dharmottara (ca.740-ca.800) does not add much in his large study of the *Pramāṇaviniścaya* and but also acknowledges, as he must, that the text does comment on certain portions of the *Pramāṇasamuccaya*, which means that he, too, has a less specific notion of the relationship between the latter two.¹⁴⁶ Indeed, Dharmakīrti himself said as much when he wrote its opening verses that he will clarify his, that is, Dignāga's position (*tanniti*) because many did not understand his "difficult words" (*garīyah padam*).¹⁴⁷

A brief aside: Now already some years ago, Steinkellner queried the intent of the last verse of the Tibetan translation of Dharmottara's *Pramāṇaviniścayaṭikā*, one that is not found in the Sanskrit, and was no doubt added by the Tibetan translator.¹⁴⁸ The cryptic verse reads:

*stong phrag bzhi dang gsum dang bzhi //
brgya phrag lṅga dang drug dang gsum //
nyi shu gnyis dang sum cu ste //
de ni gnyis drug gsum bcas so //*

I may be wrong on this but I believe that this verse accounts for the total number of *śloka*-units of the translated text. The first and second chapter ends with the statement that these consisted of, respectively, four thousand five hundred and twenty-two *śloka*-s — *stong phrag bzhi* ... *brgya phrag lṅga* ... *nyi shu gnyis* — and twelve *bam po*-units and thirty-two *śloka*-units. We know that a *bam po*-unit — this unit is not of Indic origin — can consist of three hundred or three hundred and thirty-three *śloka*-units.¹⁴⁹ Thus the second chapter contained three thousand six hundred and thirty-two — [*stong phrag*] ... *gsum* ... [*brgya phrag*] ... *drug* ... *sum cu* ... *gnyis*. And this means that the

¹⁴⁶ SDE, vol. 48, no. 4234 [# 4229], 523/4 f. [Dze, 2bf].

¹⁴⁷ See Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇaviniścaya*, Chapters 1 and 2, ed. E. Steinkellner, Sanskrit Texts from the Tibetan Autonomous Region, no. 2 (Beijing: China Tibetology Publishing House/Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences Press, 2011), 1 [= T. Vetter, *Dharmakīrti's Pramāṇaviniścayaḥ*, 1. Kapitel: *Pratyakṣam* (Wien: Hermann Böhlau Nachf., 1966), 30-1].

¹⁴⁸ See his "Miszellen zur erkenntnistheoretisch-logischen Schule des Buddhismus IX: The Colophon of Dharmottara's *Pramāṇaviniścayaṭikā*," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Siidasiens* 50 (2007), 203-4, ad SDE, vol. 48, no. 4233 [# 4228], 488/6 [Tshe, 178b]; the same verse is also found at 570/6 [Dze, 168a]. For what now follows, see SDE, vol. 48, no. 4234 [# 4229], 570/6, 605/3; Dze, 168a, 289a]

¹⁴⁹ See my "Some Remarks on the Meaning and Use of the Tibetan Word *bam po*," *Zangxue xuekan / Journal of Tibetology* 5 (2009), 123 ff.

third chapter contained four thousand three hundred and sixty-three *śloka*-units — [stong phrag] ... bzhi ... [brgya phrag] ... gsum ... drug ... gsum. In all, then, Dharmottara's *Pramāṇaviniścayaṭīkā* consisted of twelve thousand five hundred and seventeen *śloka*-units.

Much later, Dharmottara's fellow Kashmieran Jñānaśrībhadra (ca. 1050) wrote in his *Pramāṇaviniścaya* commentary¹⁵⁰ that the reason the *Pramāṇavārttika* is a *vārttika* kind of commentary is because it "mainly renders understood aspects of the meaning of the terminology" (*tshig gi don gyi cha gtsor rtogs par byed*) that Dignāga used in his work. By contrast, his *Pramāṇaviniścaya* does not qualify to be a *vārttika* because it deals primarily with aspects of rational argumentation (*rigs pa'i cha gtsor*) *per se*, so that, because of that fact, this work is not *vārttika* of the *Pramāṇasamuccaya*. On the other hand, his junior contemporary Jayanta (early 11thc.) criticizes Devendrabuddhi and Śākyabuddhi by stating that Dharmakīrti did not explicitly explicate Dignāga's ideas and suggests that his, that is, Dharmakīrti's work should be understood in terms of its very title, namely, as an analytical study of the valid means of cognition *per se*, albeit with the quite distinctive soteriological emphasis on Buddha/*buddha* as the embodiment or matrix of three types of authoritative knowledge, a notion that he had inherited from the text on which he comments, namely, from Prajñākaragupta's (ca. 800) large *Pramāṇavārttikālaṇikāra*.¹⁵¹ On the other hand, commenting on Prajñākaragupta's work as well, Yamāri (mid 11thc.) delved into this problem in a much more systematic way and severely takes Jayanta to task for his views on the *Pramāṇavārttika*'s chapter-sequence and thus attempts to rehabilitate Devendrabuddhi and the position he had taken on the matter.¹⁵²

Titled *Pramāṇasamuccayaṭīkā* and subtitled *Viśālāmalavatī* or "The Vast and Stainless One," Jinendrabuddhi's (8thc.) *Pramāṇasamuccaya*

¹⁵⁰ SDE, vol. 48, no. 4233 [# 4228], 488/5-6 [Tshe, 178a-b].

¹⁵¹ SDE, vol. 47, no. 4227 [#4222], 345/5-346/1 [De, 3a-4b]; see also Ono Motoi, "A Reconsideration of the Controversy about the Order of the Chapters of the *Pramāṇavārttika*," *Tibetan Studies*, vol. II, ed. H. Krasser et al. (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1997), 701-716, and B. Kellner, "First logic, then the Buddha? Remarks on the chapter sequence of Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇavārttika*," *Hōrin* 11 (2004), 147-167.

¹⁵² SDE, vol. 48, no. 4311 [#4226], 1 66/1-169/3[Phe, 179b-191a], where he explicitly cites Jayanta by naming him several times. In the course of his discussion, Yamāri appears to mention a work titled *Tshad ma rnam nges kyi rgyan* (**Pramāṇaviniścayālaṇikāra*) of unknown authorship. Th. Stcherbatsky, *Buddhist Logic*, vol. 1 (New York: Dover Publications, 1962), 44-45, briefly speaks of Jayanta — he calls him Jina — and Yamāri, and then only in very general terms. But the articles by Ono and Kellner (see supra n. 151) were the first to further tackle Jayanta's discussion, Ono also mentions Yamāri in passing, in a more systematic way. However, a detailed study and analysis of the positions of these two men is still a desideratum.

exegesis is but one of an unknown number of commentaries that were written on Dignāga's main work in the subcontinent.¹⁵³ It is extant in two complementary but different Sanskrit manuscripts¹⁵⁴ as well as in a complete Tibetan translation by the great Dpang Lo tsā ba. The Sanskrit manuscript Dpang Lo tsā ba used for his translation appears to have been differently filiated from the two incomplete Sanskrit witnesses of Jinendrabuddhi's work. His disciple Bla ma dam pa was no doubt among the very first to cite his master's translation when he did so on a number of occasions in his critical survey of Dharmakīrti's thought that he completed in 1342.¹⁵⁵ However, there is evidence that Dpang Lo tsā ba was not the first to introduce Jinendrabuddhi to the Tibetan scholarly world and that portions of his treatise, or at least some of his ideas, were known to earlier Tibetan commentators.¹⁵⁶

The full title of Ston gzhon's work is *Tshad ma rnam 'grel gyi rnam par bshad pa gnas gsum gsal ba gangs can gyi rgyan*. It occurs on the title page and is recapitulated several times in the text. The first of such iterations is already found immediately at the very beginning of the work where Ston gzhon gives the putative Sanskrit equivalent of his Tibetan title and then the Tibetan title itself. These are respectively prefaced by the phrases "In the language of India" (*rgya gar gyi skad du*) and "In the language of Tibet" (*bod kyi skad du*). This is obviously a reflex of what we find in the Tibetan canonical texts and its use had already become quite precious if not specious in the thirteenth century. A notable precursor is of course Sa skyā Paṇḍita's *Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter* all the available editions of which begin with the phrase: "In Sanskrit, *Pramāṇayuktinidhi*".¹⁵⁷ What can therefore only be called Ston gzhon's work's pseudo-Sanskrit title reads: *Pra mā ṣa bār ti kā bhyā kṣa nam tri sthā na pra kā śa ke la śā lang kā ra nā ma — bhyā kṣa nam*

¹⁵³ Matsuda Kazunobo, "Sanskrit Manuscript of Sthiramati's Commentary to the *Abhidharmaśabhaṣya*," *China Tibetology* 1 (2013), 51-2, provides some evidence that suggests that Sthiramati may have authored one as well.

¹⁵⁴ So far editions of the first two chapters have been published by the China Tibetology Publishing House/Austrian Academy of the Sciences Press in, respectively, 2005 and 2013.

¹⁵⁵ See Bla ma dam pa, *Sde bdun gyi snying po rigs pa'i de kho na nyid rab tu gsal ba*, *Collected Works*, vol. Da, 938, 947, 985, 995, 1038, 1041.

¹⁵⁶ This is signaled in my "A Treatise on Buddhist Epistemology and Logic Attributed to Klong chen Rab 'byams pa (1309-1364) and Its Place in Indo-Tibetan Intellectual History," 414.

¹⁵⁷ The text was of course not originally written in Sanskrit, but some later sources did spread the rumor that its introductory verses had been translated into that language, with more recent sources stating that the entire work had been rendered into Sanskrit; see P. Hugon, "Clapping Hands in Skyid grong? Logical and contextual aspects of a famous debate narrative," *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines* 23 (2012), 62, n. 51.

should be corrected, if at all, to read *bhā ṣya nam*, the nominative singular form of *bhāṣya*. This is followed by the nominal phrase *gnas gsum gsal ba* and *gangs can gyi rgyan*, a noun phrase in which we have a head (*rgyan*) and an objective modifier (*gangs can gyi*). The first informs the reader that it is a commentary (*rnam par bshad pa*) of (*gyi*) the *Pramāṇavārttika*; the term *rnam par bshad pa* is one of several Tibetan equivalents of Sanskrit *bhāṣya* and *tīkā*.¹⁵⁸ The subtitle, *gnas gsum gsal ba gangs can gyi rgyan*, consists of two parts *gnas gsum gsal ba* and *gangs can gyi rgyan*. Let us first take a look at *gnas gsum gsal ba*.

In Ston gzhon's analysis, Dharmakīrti comments on PS, III: 2b: *svayam* in PV, IV: 42-68. This is unproblematic and has precedents. Defining what conditions a valid thesis or probandum (*sādhya, bsgrub bya*) of a debate between two opponents should be fulfilled, Dignāga stated in PS, III: 2, that:

*svarūpeṇaiva nirdeśyah svayam iṣṭo 'nirākṛtaḥ /
pratyakṣyārthaṇumānāptaprasiddhena svadharminī //*

A somewhat modified text of Tillemans' fine translation of this verse sans brackets would be:¹⁵⁹

*A valid thesis is what the proponent himself claims in its proper form alone,
And in terms of the proponent's own point of departure, it is not eliminated by perceptible objects, inference, a credible authority, and common sense.*

The Tibetan text as cited by Ston gzhon reads:¹⁶⁰

*/ngo bo kho na bstan bya ba /
/rang nyid 'dod dang ma bsal ba/
/mingon sum don dang rjes dpag dang /
/ yid ches grags pas rang rten la'o /*

This reading is not unproblematic, but it is close albeit not identical to the one found in Vasudhararakṣita's and Zha ma Lo tsā ba Seng ge

¹⁵⁸ For a study of the "Tibetan commentary" (*bod 'grel*) see now Shar ba Thogs med and Blo ris, "Bod 'grel dang de'i thad kyi bsam tshul 'ga' gleng ba," *Mdo smad zhib 'jug*, vol. 1, ed. Kan su'u bod kyi shes rig zhib 'jug khang (Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2005), 44-62.

¹⁵⁹ See his *Dharmakīrti's Pramāṇavārttika. An annotated translation of the fourth chapter (parārthaṇumāna)*, Volume 1 (k. 1-148) (Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2000), 47.

¹⁶⁰ STON, 391, 414, 417.

rgyal mtshan's translation.¹⁶¹ Sensitivity to philological problems is a special feature of M^hkas grub's commentarial practice, and it is thus not surprising that he isolated several different Tibetan translations of this verse in his undated *Pramāṇavārttika* commentary.¹⁶² Interesting and important as they are, their discussion should be a matter for another occasion. But we cannot help but note that *rang rten la* for *svadharmijī* is philologically not unproblematic, and *rang gi chos can la* definitely seems preferable.

Ston gzhon's topical analysis (*sa bcad*) divides the first portion of Dharmakīrti's detailed exegesis of *rang nyid / svayam* along the following lines¹⁶³:

- [1] Explaining *rang nyid* [or: *bdag*] (*svayam*) in detail
STON, 397-416 *ad PV*, IV: 42-90
- [1a] Dharmakīrti's own position
STON, 397-409 *ad PV*, IV: 42-72b
- [1a1] Briefly demonstrate the necessity
STON, 397-398 *ad PV*, IV: 42
- [1a2] Stating in detail the rejection of the claim that the subject-matter of scripture (*lung don*) is a probandum
STON, 398-409 *ad PV*, IV: 43-72b
- [1a2a] Rejecting the non-Buddhist claim that the subject-matter of scripture is a probandum
STON, 398-408 *ad PV*, IV: 43-68
- [1a2a1] Stating the claim
STON, 398 *ad PV*, IV: 43
- [1a2a2] Its rejection
STON, 398-400 *ad PV*, IV: 44-47
- [1a2a3] Rejecting its response
STON, 400-408 *ad PV*, IV: 48-68
- [1a2a3a] Inquiry into a situation where there is and there is no invalidation (*gnod byed, bādhana*) of scripture
STON, 400-402 *ad PV*, IV: 48-52
- [1a2a3b] Inquiry into the subject matter in which there is and there is no validation (*sgrub byed, sādhana*) of scripture
STON, 402-404 *ad PV*, IV: 53-59

¹⁶¹ PS, 383/4 [Ce, 6a].

¹⁶² See MKHAS, vol. Da, 682 [= MKHAS[1], 943]. Without identifying its origin, Tillemans, *Dharmakīrti's Pramāṇavārttika. An annotated translation of the fourth chapter (parārthañumāna), Volume 1 (k. 1-148)*, 47, n. 166, has *rang gi ngo bo kho nar bstan // bdag 'dod rang gi chos can la // mngon sum don dang rjes dpag dang // yid ches grags pas ma bsal ba'o //* for PS, III: 2. This is the reading of the translation of the PS by Kanakavarmān and Lo tsā ba Dad pa'i shes rab.

¹⁶³ STON, 397-409.

- [1a2a3c] Demonstrating that a contradiction with the authoritative means of cognition is an error in scripture
STON, 404-407 *ad PV*, IV: 60-65
- [1a2a3d] Farreaching consequences if [a logical reason were] invalidated due to being invalidated by the absence of a connection [between a property and a probandum]
STON, 407-408 *ad PV*, IV: 66-68
- [1a2b] Rejecting the claim of [a] *Pramāṇasamuccaya* commentator[s] that the subject-matter of scripture is a probandum
STON, 408-409 *ad PV*, IV: 69-72b
- [1b] Rejection of others' positions
STON, 409-416 *ad PV*, IV: 72c-90¹⁶⁴

Ston gzhon's use of "clarification (*gsal ba*) of *gnas gsum* [*po*] (**tristhāna[ni]*)" in his title is of course quite purposive and obviously echoes its occurrence in his comments on PV, IV: 51-53¹⁶⁵, even if the term *trītyasthāna* only occurs once in the *Pramāṇavārttika*, namely in PV, IV: 51, and has its counterpart in the *Pramāṇaviniścaya*, namely in PVIN, III: 12.¹⁶⁶ The verse in question reads:

*tadvirodhena cintāyās tatsiddhārtheṣv ayogataḥ /
trītyasthānasamkrāntau nyāy[y]ah śāstraparigrahaḥ //*

[/ des grub don la de dang ni /
/ 'gal bar sems pa mi rung phyir /
/ gnas gsum par ni 'pho ba na //
/ bstan bcos len par rigs ldan yin //]

Tillemans translated this verse as follows:¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁴ To be noted is that Tillemans, *Dharmakīrti's Pramāṇavārttika. An annotated translation of the fourth chapter (parārthānumāna)*, Volume 1 (k. 1-148), 103, begins a new topic with PV, IV: 72. Notwithstanding some important internal differences, the six Tibetan *Pramāṇavārttika* commentaries analysed in Fukuda Yoichi and Ishihama Yumiko, *A Comparative Table of sa-bcad of the Pramāṇavārttika Found in Tibetan Commentaries of the Pramāṇavārttika*, *Studia Tibetica* No. 12 (Tokyo: The Toyo Bunko, 1986), 65, all suggest that Dharmakīrti begins a new topic with PV, IV: 72c.

¹⁶⁵ STON, 401-402.

¹⁶⁶ PVIN, 437/1 [Tse, 193a]; see now also *Dharmakīrti's Pramāṇaviniścaya*, Chapter 3, ed. P. Hugon and T. Tomabechi, *Sanskrit Texts from the Tibetan Autonomous Region*, no. 8 (Beijing: China Tibetology Publishing House / Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences Press, 2011), 21.

¹⁶⁷ *Dharmakīrti's Pramāṇavārttika. An annotated translation of the fourth chapter (parārthānumāna)*, Volume 1 (k. 1-148), 80-82

[This is] because one should not think that things established by means of that [treatise] are in contradiction with that [treatise]. When one proceeds to the third type of existent [i.e. *atyantaparokṣa*], it is correct to adopt a treatise.

Sa skya Paṇḍita partly cites and discusses Dharmakīrti's verse in the third and last chapter of his *Mkhas pa rnam la 'jug pa'i sgo*, whereby Jackson's "accept[ing]" for [*khas*] *len par* (*parigrahah*) already at first blush seems a bit more sensible than Tillemans' "adopt."¹⁶⁸ Ston gzhon interprets this verse as follows [what is in bold letters reflects the imbedded PV, IV: 51]:

*chos can lung kho nas grub pa'i don la dpyod pa na lung de
dang 'gal bar sems pa mi rung ba'i phyir / gzhal bya gnas
gsum par 'pho ba'i tshe na /*

*'brel ba dang ni rjes mthun thabs //
skyes bu'i don ni rjod byed dag //
yongs brtags dbang du byas yin gyi // [PV, I: 214a-c]*¹⁶⁹

*[sambaddhānuguṇopāyam puruṣārthābhidhāyakam /
parikṣādhikṛtam...//]*

*zhes pa ltar bstan bcos khyad par can len pa ni rigs pa dang
ldan pa yin no //*

Because of the consideration that, if one were to examine an object that is established solely on the basis of scripture, the thesis (chos can, dharmin), contradicts scripture, is not appropriate,

¹⁶⁸ SSBB, vol. 5, no. 6, 103/4-104/1; see also D.P. Jackson, *The Entrance Gate for the Wise (Section III). Sa skya Paṇḍita on Indian and Tibetan Traditions of Pramāṇa and Philosophical Debate*, vol. 2, Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde, Heft 17,2 (Wien: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien Universität Wien, 1987), 332-6.

¹⁶⁹ See J.D. Dunne, *Foundations of Dharmakīrti's Philosophy* (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2004), 361-2, Eltschinger, *Penser l'autorité des Écritures. La polémique de Dharmakīrti contre la notion brahmaïque orthodoxe d'un Veda sans auteur. Autour de Pramāṇavārttika 1.213-268 et Svārvṛtti, 102-104, 220-1*, and H. Krasser in V. Eltschinger, H. Krasser and J. Taber, *Can the Veda Speak? Dharmakīrti against Mīmāṃsa exegesis and Vedic authority. An annotated translation of PVSV 164,24-176,16* (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2012), 70-71, n. 145, 86 ff.

*when one moves to the epistemic object qua third existent, the acceptance of a specific treatise is reasonable, as it is stated:*¹⁷⁰

*A statement that is a worthy subject of examination
is one that is coherent, offers a suitable method for lib-
eration, and cites some human aim.*

I refrain from delving into a full analysis of this verse and its context; for this, I refer the reader to the recent studies of Dunne, Eltschinger, and especially Krasser. Suffice it to say that the so-called *trtyasthāna* is "the radically inaccessible" (*atyantaparokṣa*) object, as opposed to the "visible" (*parokṣa, mngon 'gyur*) one of perception and the "invisible" (*aparokṣa, lkog 'gyur*) one, which is the proper domain of an inference that is based on "hard facts" (*vastubalapratyavṛtti*). The status of arguments that are based on "the radically inaccessible," that is, inferences based on scripture (*āgamopekṣa*) that can be logically persuasive, was a hotly debated topic among Tibetan intellectuals of the fifteenth century.¹⁷¹ Needless to say, Dharmakīrti uses the term *śāstra* in the sense of *āgama*, which itself is a difficult term that also covers the oral teachings of the Buddha.

Finally, and returning to the title, the expression *ke la śā lang kā ra* is of course a non-translation. True *ri bo gangs can* is a Tibetan name for Kailaśa, and so is the equally common *ti se*, which is actually a

¹⁷⁰ These lines are translated according to Ston gzhon's interpretation in STON, 80-81, namely, that Dharmakīrti explains there what was intended with Dignāga's phrase "believable statement" (*yid ches tshig, aptavāda*) [or: "statement of a believable person"] of PS, II: 5a-b. Ston gzhon does not overtly cite these two lines, but Sun Wenjing reproduced them in bold as if they belonged to the *Pramāṇavārttika*. To be sure, Dharmakīrti incorporated them a little later in PV, I: 216, but see H. Krasser's penetrating analysis in V. Eltschinger, H. Krasser and J. Taber, *Can the Veda Speak? Dharmakīrti against Mīmāṃsā exegesis and Vedic authority. An annotated translation of PVSV 164,24-176,16, 87-102*.

¹⁷¹ See especially Gser mdog Pan chen, *Tshad ma'i mdo dang bstan bcos kyi shing rta'i srol rnams ji ltar byung ba'i tshul gtam bya ba nyin more byed pa'i snang bas dpyod ldan mtha' dag dga' bar byed pa, Collected Works, vol. 19 (Thimphu, 1975), 73 ff. [= *Gsung 'bum*, Rdzong sar khams bye Inga rig thub bstan slob gling, vol. Dza [19] (Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2013), 56 ff.], which severely takes Rgyal tshab Dar ma rin chen (1364-1432) to task for his analysis of the *Pramāṇavārttika*'s *Pramāṇasiddhi* chapter in the context of the strength of the arguments used therein. For the registers of *aparokṣa*, *parokṣa*, and *atyantaparokṣa*, see V. Eltschinger, *Penser l'autorité des Écritures. La polémique de Dharmakīrti contre la notion brahma-nique orthodoxe d'un Veda sans auteur. Autour de Pramāṇavārttika 1,213-268 et Svavṛtti*, Beiträge zur Kultur- und Geistesgeschichte Asiens, no. 56 (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2007), 67 ff.*

loan word that is adapted from the Zhang zhung language.¹⁷² By itself, the modifier *gangs can* simply renders *himavat* and **not** *kailaśa* and it indicates here the Tibetan area as a whole. The head *rgyan* suggests that this work is an "ornament" for or of the entire Tibetan region. Ston gzhon thus makes a universal appeal to the Tibetan intellectual elite at large.

The titular identification is followed by a one-line invocation to Mañjuśrī. This procedure is once again transparently a reflex of the way in which translated texts were originally entered into the Tibetan Buddhist canons. The indigenous Tibetan literature offers countless examples of this, and one of the reasons why an author would want to begin his work in such a fashion is that it lends a no uncertain measure of authority to it. The single-line invocation to Mañjuśrī is followed by four verses, the first of which is an invocation to the Buddha, the "Protector" (*skyob mdzad*) — note here the allusion to benedictory verse with which Dignāga opens his *Pramāṇasamuccaya*. In the second, he petitions Mañjuśrī, symbol of intelligence and wisdom, for inspiration. The third is dedicated to commanding Dignāga and Dharmakīrti for their prowess in putting into place the criteria for valid reasoning that ultimately places one on the path to full liberation from samsāra. In the fourth verse, as we have already seen above, he pays homage to several of his teachers in an oblique fashion. And verses five and six comprise what may be called his *rtsom pa dam bca' ba*, that is, a statement of his purpose or intent with his work, whereby he in part recapitulates its title by embedding a segment of it in the last verse; the two verses read:

*de dag rigs tshul nyin mor byed des lta ngan mun pa rnam bsal
 kyang //*
*gangs ri'i khrod 'dir log lam goms pa'i rgan po rnams ni 'byung
 po'i bya ltar mdongs //*
*dri med rigs tshul 'di nyid yin zhes mkhas rnams 'o dod brgyar
 yod kyang //*
*blo ngan bya rog sgrogs dang g.yul sprod tsam gyis lhag par
 snyems pa ci byar yod //*

*'on kyang yang dag rigs pa'i snang ba rgya chen tshul bzhin
 bzod nus shing //*
*dri med rigs gzhung rgya mtsho skyes tshal la mngon par dga'
 ba'i blo gsal 'gas //*

¹⁷² See Dagkar Namgyal Nyima, *Zhang-zhung-Tibetan-English Contextual Dictionary* (Bonn: Selbstverlag, 2003), 183, and also D. Martin, "Zhangzhung Dictionary," *Revue d'Études Tibétaines* 18 (2010), 94.

*legs bshad sbrang rtsi'i dga' ston yid 'ong kun nas myong ba'i
phyir //
gnas gsum gsal byed rnam 'grel rnam bshad 'od stong ldan
'di rnam par spro //*

*Although the one that brings the day [= sun] to the modality of
their [Pramāṇasamuccaya's and Pramāṇavārttika's] reason-
ing has lifted the darkness of the bad points of view,
In this multitude of icy mountains, habituated on the wrong
path, the elders¹⁷³ are as blind as demonic birds [= owls].
Although there were a hundred outcries of the learned saying:
"This work is truly a spotless mode of reasoning!",
What is the point of boasting by merely having done battle with
the raven shrieks of bad ideas?¹⁷⁴*

*Nonetheless, in order that some clear-minded ones who, able to
endure something like the large light of truthful reasoning
and,
Find delight in the lake-born [= lotus] garden of an immaculate
treatise of logic,
Experience in every way the pleasing feast of the honey of what is
well said,
This thousand-ray'd explanation of the Rnam 'grel that clarifies
the three objective situations shines forth.*

Following these introductory verses, Ston gzhon divides his commentary into three parts along the lines of the well-known phrase *thog mtha' bar 3 du dge ba*, "wholesome at the beginning, the end, and the middle," which is of course a probable allusion to Mañjuśrīnāma-saṅgīti, 11:d. The "beginning" is his comment on Dharmakīrti's invocation and statement of intent; the "middle" consists of his comment on the main body of the *Pramāṇavārttika*; and the "end" involves his comment on Dharmakīrti's concluding verses. He himself ends his work first with a series of verses in which he demonstrates his knowledge of Daṇḍin's Indo-Tibetan poetics and then with a con-

¹⁷³ Sa skya Paṇḍita also mentions "the elders" in a similar context in RGRG, 264/2 [= RGRG[1], 429].

¹⁷⁴ It is well known that no love is lost between an owl and a raven or crow, or a murder of them. Crows and ravens are known to attack owls relentlessly and owls eat them when they get a chance; they are natural enemies. An indication of this is also found in Sa skya Pandita's *Legs bshad rin po che'i gter*, ed. and tr. J.E. Bosson (Bloomington: Indiana University Publications, 1969), 105, no. 340, and elsewhere.

cluding colophon in prose wherein he comes to speak of his main teachers and where and when he composed his treatise.

Aside from quoting certain individuals or books in the affirmative in the main body of his work, there are many other, less or more obvious ways in which a writer can pay homage to one of his teachers or to an earlier or contemporaneous scholar towards whom he harbors feelings of respect or, in the case of some disagreement, to whom he can direct a measure of sarcasm. One of these is no doubt his choice of a title. As I indicated, he often refers to the *Pramāṇavārttika* study of 'U yug pa by its abbreviated subtitle *Rigs pa'i mdzod*, *Treasury of Logic*, and the similarity of this title with his teacher, Sa skyā Paṇḍita's [Tshad ma] *Rigs pa'i gter*, *Treasure of Logic*, is by no means an accident. By the same token, it is also simply not a coincidence that whereas Phya pa's *Pramāṇaviniścaya* commentary is subtitled *Shes rab kyi 'od zer*, *Light of Discriminative Insight*, Mtshur ston Gzhon nu seng ge's (ca. 1150-1220) commentary of the same bears the subtitle *Shes rab sgron ma*, *Lamp of Discriminative Insight*.¹⁷⁵ Mtshur ston was a disciple of both Phya pa and his student Gtsang nag pa Brtson 'grus seng ge (?-ca. 1195). These similarities can be interpreted as forms of homage or as an initial pointer to the way in which the author places his work in a specific inter-textual context. For example, Rje btsun Grags pa rgyal mtshan (1147-1216), Sa skyā Paṇḍita's uncle and the third patriarch of the Sa skyā pa school, wrote three separate, undated studies on aspects of the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra*. These are subtitled *Gzhan phan spyi chings*, *Gzhan phan 'od zer* and *Gzhan phan nyer mkho*. The phrase *gzhan phan* means "benefiting others." Ngor chen's 1442 work on rituals associated with this tantra is subtitled *Gzhan phan mtha' yas*. Bo dong Paṇ chen Jigs med grags pa (1375-1451), alias Phyogs las rnam rgyal, composed two treatises in which he took Rje btsun to task, none of which echoe Rje btsun's subtitle. These critical studies in turn provoked several defensive reactions from Sa skyā pa scholars and Go rams pa Bsod nams seng ge's (1429-89) study and rebuttal of 1466 and 1469 are respectively subtitled *Gzhan phan gnod 'joms* and *Gzhan phan kun khyab*. As a last example, on occasion referred to as *Ngor lan*, *Reply to Ngor*, Mkhas grub gave his polemic treatise *contra* some Ngor chen's positions on the highest (*niruttara*) yoga-tantras the title *Phyin ci log gi gtam gyi sbyor ba la zhugs pa'i smra ba ngan pa rnam par 'thag pa'i bstan bcos gnam*

¹⁷⁵ The first two lines of the concluding verses of Mtshur ston's work would appear to allude to Phya pa's *Tshad ma yid kyi mun sel* treatise or is at least a nod in Phya pa's direction; see Mtshur ston Gzhon nu seng ge, *Tshad ma Shes rab sgron ma*, ed. P. Hugon, 320: *yid kyi mun pa ma lus sel byed pa // rigs tshul dri med she sras sgron ma 'di //*.

*lcags 'khor lo.*¹⁷⁶ And it is certainly no accident that 'Jam dbyangs Dga' ba'i blo gros (1429-1503), alias Legs pa chos 'byor, titled his main polemical tract that he directed against Go rams pa's *Lta ba'i shan 'byed theg mchog gnad kyi zla zer* [of 1469], *Lta ba ngan pa thams cad tshar gcod pa'i bstam bcos gnam lcags kyi 'khor lo!*¹⁷⁷ Lest we forget, Go rams pa was one of Ngor chen's principal disciples. And lastly, in the absence of any indication to the contrary, we do not know to what degree, if any, Ston gzhon's title is a reflex of or a reaction to an earlier title of a cognate work.

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C.P.N.	Nationalities Library, Cultural Palace of Nationalities, Beijing.
MKHAS	Mkhas grub Dge legs dpal bzang po, <i>Rgyas pa'i bstam bcos tshad ma rnam 'grel gyi rgya cher bshad pa rigs pa'i rgya mtsho</i> [Lhasa Zhol xylograph], vol. Tha (Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1981), 619-1001, and <i>Rgyas pa'i bstam bcos tshad ma rnam 'grel gyi rgya cher bshad pa rigs pa'i rgya mtsho</i> [Lhasa Zhol xylograph], vol. Da (Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1981).
MKHAS[1]	Ibid., <i>Rgyas pa'i bstam bcos tshad ma rnam 'grel gyi rgya cher bshad pa rigs pa'i rgya mtsho</i> , ed. Rdo rje rgyal po (Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1990).
NYI	Glo bo Mkhan chen Bsod nams Ihun grub, <i>Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter gyi rnam par bshad pa rigs pa ma lus pa la 'jug pa'i sgo</i> (Gangtok, 1970).
NYI[1]	Ibid., <i>Sde bdun mdo dang bcas pa'i dgongs 'grel tshad ma rig[s] pa'i gter gyi 'grel pa'i rnam bshad rig[s] lam gsal ba'i nyi ma</i> [Sde dge xylograph], <i>Thub pa'i dgongs pa rab gsal dang tshad ma rig[s] gter skor</i> , vol. 1 (Dehra Dun: Pal Evam Chodan Ngorpa Centre, 1985).
NYI[2]	Ibid., <i>Tshad ma rigs gter gyi 'grel pa</i> , ed. Rdo rje rgyal po (Xining: Krung go'i bod kyi shes rig dpe skrun khang, 1988), 1-262.

¹⁷⁶ Collected Works [Lhasa Zhol xylograph], vol. Kha (Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1981), 1-95.

¹⁷⁷ This work is reproduced in the *Dgag lan phyogs bsgrigs* (Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1997), 519-605, and in his *Gsung 'bum*, vol. 2, Ser gtsug nang bstam dpe rnying 'tshol bsdu phyogs srig khang (Lhasa: Se ra monastery, 2009), 218-323. In this work, which he completed in 1477, he uses "the crazy Go bo" (*go bo smyon pa*) as one of his choice terms of endearment for Go rams pa. For Go rams pa's work that he criticizes at great length, see *Freedom from Extremes. Gorampa's "Distinguishing the Views" and the Polemics of Emptiness*, tr. J.I. Cabezón and Geshe Lobsang Dargyay (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2007).

- PS Dignāga, *Pramāṇasamuccaya*[*vrtti*], SDE, vol. 46, no. 4208 [#4203], 382/1-385/4 [Ce, 1a-13a].
- PV Dharmakīrti, *Pramāṇavārttikakārikā*, ed. Y. Miyasaka, *Acta Indologica* II (1971/1972); with the usual provisions about the sequence of the chapters.
- PVIN Dharmakīrti, *Pramāṇaviniścaya*, SDE, vol. 46, no. 4216 [#4211], 425/3-447/4 [Ce, 152a-230a].
- RGR 'U yug pa Rigs pa'i seng ge, *Bstan bcos tshad ma rigs pa'i gter gyi rgyan rigs pa grub pa*, 'U yug pa rigs pa'i seng ge'i gsung 'bum, vol. Ka, Mes po'i shul bzhag 40, ed. Dpal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang (Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2007).
- RGRG Sa skyā Pañdita Kun dga' rgyal mtshan, *Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter gyi rang gi 'grel pa* [Sde dge xylograph], SSBB, vol. 5, ed. Bsod nams rgya mtsho (Tokyo: The Toyo Bunko, 1968), no. 19, 155-264.
- RGRG[1] Ibid., *Rigs gter rtsa 'grel dpe bsdur ma*, ed. Dpal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang, Shes bya'i gter bum, 1 (Chengdu: Si khron dpe skrun tshogs pa/Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2005).
- RM 'U yug pa rigs pa'i seng ge, *Tshad ma rnam 'grel gyi 'grel pa rigs pa'i mdzod* [Sde dge xylograph], 2 vols. (New Delhi, 1982).
- RM[1] Ibid., *Tshad ma rnam 'grel gyi 'grel pa rigs pa'i mdzod*, 'U yug pa rigs pa'i seng ge'i gsung 'bum vol. Kha, ed. Dpal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang (Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2007), 106-454, and 'U yug pa rigs pa'i seng ge'i gsung 'bum, vol. Ga, ed. Dpal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang (Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2007).
- SDE *The Tibetan Tripitaka. Taipei Edition* [Sde dge xylograph], ed. A.W. Barber (Taipei: SMC Publishing Inc., 1991), 72 vols.
- SSBB *Sa skyā pa'i bka' 'bum* [Sde dge xylograph], ed. Bsod nams rgya mtsho (Tokyo: The Toyo Bunko, 1968-1969), 15 vols.
- STON Btsun pa Ston gzhon, *Tshad ma rnam 'grel gyi rnam par bshad pa gnas gsum gsal ba gangs can gyi rgyan*, ed. Sun Wenjing (Xining: Krung go'i bod kyi shes rig dpe skrun khang, 1993).
- STONm *Ibid. dbu med* manuscript in 191 fols., China Nationalities Library of the Cultural Palace of Nationalities, Beijing, catalog no.005148(4) [= tbrc.org W26440].

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The Uncommon History of Markha Chorten, Ladakh

By Martin Vernier¹ and Quentin Devers²

he Markha Valley is located in Ladakh, south of Leh, and is parallel to the Indus. The valley has a rich architectural heritage dating mainly from the 10th century onwards. The valley's eponymous village, the most important in size, bears important archaeological remains. At the foot of the former palace is a group of *chortens*, among which one has a collapsed wall (*Fig. 1* and *Fig. 2*). Through it, one can appreciate the interior of the *chorten*. It consists in a room decorated by murals, in the middle of which is placed a finely carved column³. The general description of this *chorten*, of its surroundings, as well as an analysis of its woodcarvings have already been covered in previous publications⁴. The purpose of the present paper is to provide a more detailed account of the *chorten*'s murals and of the inscriptions written on them.

Quick Background

The original entrance of the *chorten* is on its northern wall (*Fig. 3*). Whereas the level of the ground must initially have been roughly the same on all four sides of the *chortens*, it is now two meters higher on its northern side than on its southern one. The *chorten* has indeed been used as a terracing feature during an important landscaping of the surroundings. As a result, the door is now half buried. Nowadays, the regular entrance to the room is through its missing wall, on the southern side. According to villagers it collapsed about eighty years ago.

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³ This *chorten* was first surveyed by Martin Vernier in 2004, and further again in subsequent years. Quentin Devers completed its recording in 2009.

⁴ Devers et Vernier 2011 ; Vernier et Devers 2012.

The Paintings

The murals have undergone severe damage. Indeed, half of them are missing following the collapse of the back wall, and most of the faces have been degraded. Some figures have clear impacts only on their eyes, showing a meticulous and determined work of either vandalism or deconsecration⁵. This makes the identification of the murals a difficult task (*Fig. 5*): the back wall is usually the key commanding the iconographic program without which the reading of the other walls can become uncertain.

Of the three remaining walls, only the entrance one is fully preserved (*Fig. 4*). The right and left walls indeed miss half of their original murals. The whole composition is painted on a dark blue background (*Fig. 7*). Top and bottom friezes made of a succession of pink, white, red and dark stripes frame the murals. In the two remaining corners, the murals are delineated vertically with a series of stacked "V"s painted in white, red and blue, thus imitating large temples pillar hangings, *kapan* (*ka 'phan*). All three walls are organised in two horizontal registers. The sidewalls had a central figure occupying their entire height, of which only fragments of halos and lotus seats are left.

On the right wall, four large and two smaller figures are still visible (*Fig. 6*). Directly on the side of the lost central figure, two monks are sitting cross-legged on a lotus pedestal (*Fig. 4 : 1, 2*). The upper monk (*Fig. 4 : 1*) holds a *kapāla* in one hand, and a (vertical) *vajra* in front of his heart in the other, identifying him as Padmasambhava (*Gu ru rin po che*). On their left side are two tantric deities. The upper one (*Fig. 4 : 3*) is Chakrasamvara ('Khor lo bde mchog), standing in the *ālīdha* posture, adorned with bones ornaments and wearing a crown with the five skulls. He holds a *vajra* and a bell, and is engaged in a sexual union (*yab yum*) with Vajravārāhī (*rDo rje phag mo*), his red consort. Below (*Fig. 4 : 4*) is a black four-armed Mahākāla (*Ma hā kā la*). His two outer hands hold a trident and a sword, while the two inner hands are joined on the chest but too damaged to identify their *mudrās*.

The entrance wall is the best preserved (*Fig. 7*). Above the door (*Fig. 4 : 9*), is a second four-armed Mahākāla, trampling on a human body. The protector (*dharma-pāla*) holds the traditional attributes (sword, trident, *kapāla*). On its right side (*Fig. 4 : 8*) we can see a red deity on the upper register, a probable red Vajrayoginī (*rDo rje rnal*

⁵ The hypothesis of deconsecration was brought to our attention by Christian Luczanits when we showed him pictures of the *chorten* at the summer of 2010. Indeed, the precision with which the faces and in some cases only the eyes of the figures were taken off tends to support this hypothesis.

'byor ma) with the skull cup and a chopper in the raised right hand. On the other side of the four-armed Mahākāla (Fig. 4: 9) is Simhamukhā (Seng ge gdong ma ; Fig. 4: 10). Below it Śrī Devī (dPal ldan lha mo; Fig. 4: 12) is depicted mounted on her mule. The part of the wall on the left of the door bears a scene (Fig. 4: 7) on its lower register and two deities on the upper. The deity on the left (Fig. 4: 5) is quite damaged but can still be identified as Śaḍakṣarī Lokeśvara (sPyan ras gzigs phyag bzhi pa), a four-armed form of Avalokiteśvara (sPyan ras gzigs). Two smaller deities are on each side of his head (Fig. 4: 5a, 5b). Next on the right (Fig. 4: 6) is a representation of Machig Labdron (Ma gcig lab sgron), the tantric *yoginī* connected with the *chöd* (*gcod*) practice. Of white colour, she is depicted dancing (*ardhaparyanika*) on a lotus flower with the *damaru* in one hand and the *kangling* (*rkang gling*) in the other. The scene on the lower register (Fig. 4: 7) will be discussed further below.

The part of the wall on the right side of the door when facing it bears the representations of four deities. The upper left one (Fig. 4: 13) misses most of her upper body, making her immediate identification difficult. She stands on a lotus, her body seems red, and she holds a mirror in her right hand. The inscription below her (Fig. 4 and Fig. 14 :E) says "homage/hail to Abchi" ("ab ci la na mo"): although the spelling can vary, and although the name is incomplete, this figure is probably the representation of Achi Chokyi Dolma (A ci Chos kyi sgrol ma), the famous Drigung Kagyud ('Bri kung bka' brgyud) protectress. On her left (Fig. 4: 15) is the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī ('Jam dpal dbyangs) with his attributes, a sword and a book, placed on lotus flowers. Two smaller bodhisattva are on either side of his head (Fig. 4: 15a, 15b). On the left in the lower register (Fig. 4: 16) is a depiction of Vajravīñāsarasvatī, a form of the goddess Sarasvatī of the Hindu pantheon, who in Tibetan Buddhism is linked to Mañjuśrī under the name of Yangchenma (dByangs can ma). Seated cross-legged, she is playing the lute (*vīṇā*). Between her and the deity above is another small figure that we were not able to identify (Fig. 4: 14), and on her left is an unidentified blue protector standing in *ālīḍha* posture (Fig. 4: 17; Fig. 8). He holds a *vajra* in both his crossed hands (*vajrahūṇikāra mudrā*). Though quite damaged, it seems that his head is crowned with five skulls and that he is engaged in a sexual union with a red partner, of which only hands can be perceived. That blue protector could be identified as Cakrasaṃvara, and its partner as Vajravārāhī.

The left wall is a bit better preserved than the right one and seems to be designed similarly (Fig. 9). Indeed, the closer half to the entrance bears four figures that seem to encircle a central one. On the upper register, the figure on the left (Fig. 4: 18; Fig. 10) is an Avalokiteśvara standing in the *samāpada* posture, with his hands in *varada*

mudrā. On the right, similar to that on the entrance wall, is Şadakşarī Lokeśvara (Fig. 4: 19), a four-armed form of Avalokiteśvara. His lotus pedestal is the only one with petals turned upwards. In the absence of much of the original murals it is not clear if this detail has any particular meaning⁶. He is also the only figure with a sun disc painted around his head emerging from the halo, indicating that it is probably the main image of the wall. On either side of his head are two smaller cross-legged red figures in meditation (Fig. 4: 19a, 19b), indicating that they represent Buddha Amitābha ('Od dpag med)⁷.

On the left of the lower register, a very damaged blue character (Fig. 4: 20) stands in *pratyālidha*, trampling on two human corpses and holding a stick or a sword in his right hand. What looks like a tiger skin is tied around his hips, and a small portion of apparently orange hair is also visible. He might be identified as a black Hayagrīva (rTa mgrün). On his left (Fig. 4: 21) is a white Tārā (sGrol dkar) seated in the *lalitāsana* posture. She holds a lotus flower on her left and with her hands in *varada mudrā*, two of her attributes. A smaller cross-legged character is located between her and the other larger figure on her right but has not been identified (Fig. 4: 21a). The main central figure is missing, as mentioned above.

Small figures aligned on the bottom of the wall on the right-most end are barely visible (Fig. 4: 24, 25). The fragment of a red Amitābha Buddha is still recognizable among cracks of the faded coat (Fig. 4: 23). On the upper register of the damaged right part of the wall (Fig. 4: 22; Fig. 11), one can recognize the Śākyamuni Buddha in *dharmacakra mudrā* seated cross-legged on a lotus inserted in an architectural environment surrounded by trees. At his feet is a flying monk, holding a ceremonial scarf in an offering gesture. The other remaining murals at the lower right end of the wall are too damaged

⁶ Certain traditions assert that the lotus should point upward when the moon disc is placed on top of the solar disc, both forming a circular platform on which stands or sits the deity. Conversely, when the solar disc is on top, then the lotus petals should point downwards. Other traditions link the orientation of the petals to the type of representation: upward-facing for peaceful deities and downwards for wrathful ones. None of these interpretations apply to the paintings in the Markha *chorten*.

⁷ Christian Luczanits rightly pointed to us that both Avalokitesvara in this upper register lack their crown figure, which is also the case for the Tārā below. As a whole one may take this part as a lotus family side. In addition, there is a dark blue wrathful image against a halo of flames, likely one of the secondary figures around the main images since two more are seen at the bottom. (private communication, 28 May 2011). We are also indebted to him for the identification of the sub-form of Avalokiteśvara, Şadakşarī Lokeśvara.

to discern anything except that two merged flaming halos of some protectors are still visible⁸.

Let us now turn to the scene on the lower register of the entrance wall (*Fig. 4: 7; Fig. 12; Fig. 13*). It is organised in three stacked registers. On the upper level, two monks larger than the other characters are seated on carpets, holding both a white bowl in their right hand. They wear the typical fan-shaped red hat of the *kagyud* sect. The largest monk is sitting under a canopy. These two central figures are surrounded by standing servant monks. On their left, and slightly lower, two other smaller monks are seated on carpets as well.

On the left is a curious square structure topped by five white steps. Two blue vase-shaped objects are on each side of the second step, while on the last there are three objects in front of orange flames. This structure could be a fire offering altar, or, which would be quite unusual, a funeral pyre. In both cases, the whole scene is obviously linked with the aim of the *chorten*'s consecration. As we will see, two of the inscriptions state that the *chorten* was dedicated to the memory of a high lama, while five others refer to a death-anniversary memorial ceremony. These would fit well with both hypotheses mentioned above – though funeral pyre scenes are, so far, known to be depicted only for the life of Buddha. The second register of the scene shows two groups of people sitting on each side of a central set of objects that include a large butter lamp. The group on the right consists of religious figures, while on the left there are only lay people. On the lowermost level, a group of women standing on carpets can be seen on the left (*Fig. 13*). They wear some type of *peyrag* (*pad rag* or *pad sbrags*) topped with turquoise, and are supervised by two male figures wearing turbans, white baggy trousers, tall black boots, and long tunics crossed on the torso and closed by a colourful belt. One at least has a black beard. On the right of this group are large pots of various shapes and colours, around which are servants dressed in a similar way. Butter dots (*yar*) are clearly visible on the edges of the pots, which could thus be taken as beer (*chang*) containers. Further right, seated on two carpets, is a group of two men wearing white turbans with red toupees, and two or three women. The latter are too damaged to be described with accuracy. At the

⁸ As a guideline for this portion of the wall, the reader may find helpful the comments of Christian Luczanits. For him this side actually represents Buddha Amitāyus or Amitābha in the western paradise Sukhāvati. This explains the lotus bond underneath the throne and the additional Buddhas in their own palaces around. He may have had Padmasambhava at his side, but unfortunately he cannot be recognized. Possibly he was even the main image, but the tiny fragments preserved are rather pointing towards a seated Buddha, as the lotus pond from which the seat of the main image seems to indicate (private communication, 28 May 2011).

right end three servants are leading horses with riders, but this part of the paintings is too damaged to be described with accuracy (Fig. 13).

Similar scenes can be seen in many Ladakhi temples, and show a great deal of non-religious information through costumes, tableware, architecture and other such local elements. These scenes are already depicted in old temples like in Alchi or Mangyu, where they show clear Central Asian influences in the costumes and headgears. Artists kept representing them up to king Sengge Namgyal's times (Seng ge rnam rgyal), as can be seen in the Namgyal Tsemo temple (rNam rgyal rtse mo) above Leh⁹. The scene in Markha shows similarities with other banquet scenes that can be seen in Hundar at the Gyalwa Chamba Dukhang (rGyal ba byams pa 'du khang) or in Basgo at the Maitreya temple. The latter was founded by king Tsewang Namgyal (Tshe dbang rnam rgyal; last quarter of the 16th century), the grand son of Drakbumde (Grags pa 'bum lde)¹⁰. Costumes, pots, trees and cloud designs are very close to those depicted in the drinking scene in Hundar, which can be dated to the early 16th century through an inscription asserting that Tashi Namgyal (bKra shis rnam rgyal; first half of the 16th century) was ruling during its construction¹¹. Based on their overall style and finishing, we consider the murals in Markha *chorten* to be slightly earlier than those in Basgo and Hundar, and as such we suggest the late 15th or early 16th century for their execution¹².

The Inscriptions

Twelve painted inscriptions are still visible on the walls, out of which seven are still partially readable (Fig. 14). The inscriptions are contiguous to the deities painted on the walls. All are written in black *dbu chen* script within inserts. They can be divided in two groups. Some (Inscriptions B, G, H, K and L) are written on a white background and are integrated in the design of the space of the murals (Fig. 15). They are decayed and unfortunately none of them is readable anymore. The other inscriptions, the second set (Inscriptions A, C, D,

⁹ Such headdresses with turbans were still in use as late as the 1820's as reported by Moorcroft and Trebeck when they met with the "young Raja" of Leh, son of Tsepal Tondup Namgyal (*ts'e dpal don grub rnam rgyal*), who was wearing a "white turban on his head, with a small jewel in front" (Moorcroft et Trebeck 1841, p. 395).

¹⁰ Snellgrove et Skorupski 1977, p. 85.

¹¹ Vohra 1985, p. 14-15.

¹² Given the scarcity of detailed studies of temples from this period in Ladakh, we warmly encourage more competent art historians to undertake a closer study of these murals in order to confirm or correct this dating.

E, F, I and J) are better preserved and are written on a grey background overlaid over pre-existing figures (Fig. 16). As such, the first group of inscriptions seems to be contemporaneous with the murals, while the second was obviously added afterwards. The motif for adding a second set of inscriptions in religious monuments is usually to commemorate a restoration, an addition, a change of sectarian affiliation, or any other action that can be undertaken on such monuments.

The inscriptions of the second set can, for their larger part, be deciphered and translated¹³. But, as we should remind, only half the murals are still preserved, and as such the inscriptions of this second set are incomplete. To add to the difficulty, the meaning of Buddhist terms in inscriptions can considerably vary, especially in Kagyugpa schools¹⁴. As such, given the fragmentary nature of the inscriptions and the variability of the terms used, the reading of these inscriptions is rather delicate. What follows is only an attempt intended to provide a first understanding of the monument's background¹⁵.

Apart from purely religious content identifying the iconographic program as "a spiritual sphere of Avalokiteśvara" (Inscription C), they also reveal what appears to have been the original motive for the construction of the *chorten* and for the addition of the second set of inscriptions. Five inscriptions (A, C, D, F and J) refer to a particular type of ceremony, *dgongs rdzogs*, related to death-anniversary commemorations. Furthermore, two inscriptions (Inscriptions C and D) state that this ceremony was performed in the memory of a certain Drungba Rinpoche (Dung or Drung ba rin po che), and that the program of the murals is dedicated to him. In this particular context, we propose to interpret "Drungba" as a title rather than as a name. Indeed, the title "Drungba" can be assigned to any high-ranking lama, making it difficult to venture who it might have been. Nonetheless, the murals can likely be understood as having been executed in the context of the death of this Drungba Rinpoche. And the second set of inscriptions as having been added during a ceremony commemorating his death.

However, it is also possible that the second set of inscriptions was a later addition attributing the murals to Drungba Rinpoche without him being the person for whom they were made. If this is the scenar-

¹³ We warmly thank the Ven. Dorje Tséring Domkhar and Tsewang Gonbo Domkhar for their help in this undertaking, and we happily acknowledge the insightful comments of Amy Heller, Jonathan Guyon Le Bouffy and Bettina Zeisler that enabled us to reach a better understanding of the inscriptions and their content – any error of fact or interpretation is our responsibility only.

¹⁴ Schicklgruber 2009, p. 11.

¹⁵ We hope that in the future more competent specialists will bring more learned readings of the inscriptions. For interested scholars, we are happy to share our documentation on request.

io that happened, and if we focus on the time period following the execution of the murals, i.e. if we look at the period following the second quarter of the 15th century or first quarter of the 16th century, then one lead might be worth exploring. The local tradition retains an important religious figure named Drungba Dorje Zangpo (Drung ba rDo rje bzang po) who, after extensive travels to Tibet, founded Matho *gonpa* in the 16th century¹⁶ – the first Sakya monastery in Ladakh. A lineage was thus established, and this Drungba Rinpoche became famous and influential at the court as the religious teacher (*dbu bla*) of king Jamyang Namgyal ('Jam dbyangs rnam rgyal; turn of the 17th century)¹⁷. The dates, the situation of Markha village within the sphere of influence of Matho *gonpa* (only thirty kilometers away), and the great reputation of this monk make a dedication of a reuse of this *chorten* to this Drungba Rinpoche a possibility, and as such a lead to explore¹⁸. Nevertheless, "Drungba" being in this case more likely a title than an actual name, as we saw previously, no historical figure can be identified with certainty¹⁹.

The Column

The history of this monument becomes further intriguing when one considers its column (Fig. 17). As we already fully described it elsewhere²⁰, we will only sum up here the main points for its analysis.

Its shaft is fluted and topped with a carved capital. One face has a Buddha sitting in an architectural niche at its centre, while the edges are decorated with floral scrolls. The other has Avalokiteśvara sitting in another niche with *makara* heads on the edges. The faces of both deities were deliberately damaged at an unknown point in the past. One lateral side has a protrusion that appears to be a sculpted lion, above which is a recess destined to receive a connecting piece of wood. These elements lead to consider the column as part of a former

¹⁶ A cave at the foot of the monastery is supposed to have been Drungpa Dorje's meditation space. A *chorten* has been built inside, and the cave is still a place of worship.

¹⁷ Petech 1977, p. 37.

¹⁸ The fact that Matho belongs to the Sakya sect while the iconographic program of the murals shows a Drigung Kagyud affiliation would not necessarily be seen as a contradiction by most Ladakhis. Many temples that were originally Sakya or Drigung foundations were later converted to Drukpa or Gelugpa sects. See for example the case of Lingshed monastery (Linrothe 2007, p.50). The title of Rinpoche is theoretically reserved to reincarnated lamas, but it is sometimes attributed to highly respected religious figures, even if unofficially.

¹⁹ For example, the Wakha-Mulbek area also retains the name of a certain Drungba Dorje, associated with some *chortens* in Shergol (Jina 2009, p.150-153).

²⁰ Devers et Vernier 2011, p. 76 ; Vernier et Devers 2012.

larger wooden structure, such as a portico. Furthermore, this column can be linked to another woodcarving piece located in the neighbouring Teacha *gonpa*: a lion-shaped console or beam's end.

Both these pieces exhibit stylistic similitudes. They can be compared with other woodcarvings from Alchi, Wanla or Lhachuse and can even be considered as slightly preceding the so-called "Alchi group of monument" period. As such, these woodcarvings can probably be dated from the 11th or 12th century – depending on the date retained for the Alchi group of monuments²¹. Before to end up in Markha village and in Teacha *gonpa*, as stated, these pieces were probably part of a same portico that got dismantled in the past. Based on the dating proposed by Kerin in her study of Skyu ancient chapel²², and considering that this chapel was, according to us, perhaps once one of two chapels enclosing a larger temple²³, we proposed to seek the origin of this portico in Skyu – Sumda Chenmo area being another more distant possible origin²⁴.

Conclusion

The *chorten* in Markha village is singular by the set of its elements. They give insights into a rich interlocked history. It probably began in the 11th or 12th century with a temple of significant size, which featured an elaborate wooden structure such as a portico. For some reason, this temple got dismantled some years, decades or centuries later, and one of its columns was reused in this *chorten*, constructed some time towards the end of the 15th or beginning of the 16th century – though this dating could be reviewed in the future as this type of murals has been little studied and published so far. Later, in a second impulse, a second set of inscriptions was added over the murals as a dedication to a high lama, whose name or rather title was Drungba Rinpoche. According to these inscriptions, the original context of construction of the *chorten* was the death of this high lama, and the context of the addition of the second set of inscriptions was a ceremony commemorating his death. At some point in time after this ceremony, a probable deliberate act of destruction occurred that

²¹ The two main and most recent propositions for dating the Alchi Sumtseg are the late 11th century as discussed by Philip Denwood (Denwood 2007), and the early 13th century as considered by Christian Luczanits (Luczanits 2007). If we consider this column to be preceding the Alchi group of monument period, it is from the early 11th century in the case of a late 11th century dating for the Alchi Sumtseg, or from somewhere in the 12th century in the case of an early 13th century dating.

²² Kerin 2007.

²³ Devers et Vernier 2011, p. 65-66.

²⁴ Vernier et Devers 2012, p. 451 n. 14.

caused the degradation of the faces. Finally, in more recent times, two events took place that resulted on one hand in the burying of the door, and on the other in the collapse of the back wall. They both account for the abandonment of the *chorten*, as well as for the gradual forgetting of its history. We hope that further researches will help revive it and shed new light on this piece of Ladakhi heritage.

Acknowledgement

We heartedly acknowledge advice, suggestions and comments from Rob Linrothe and Christian Luczanits on the iconography; from Amy Heller, Jonathan Guyon Le Bouffy and Bettina Zeisler on the inscriptions; from Heinrich Poell on the column and its capital. We warmly thank Nils Martin for his help on the Sanskrit diacritic transcription. Any error of fact or interpretation is our responsibility only. We warmly thank Laurianne Bruneau for all the wonderful projects we share since 2006. Our fieldworks in the Markha Valley were made possible by the precious help provided by Tsering Tundup, Dorje Tsering, Tsewang Gonbo, Tsetan Spalzing, Tugje Angchuk, Lobsang Eshey and Ferréol Salomon.

The authors also wish to thank the Fondation Carlo Leone et Mariena Montandon (Sierre) and the Centre de Recherche sur les Civilisations de l'Asie Orientale (UMR8155) (Paris) for funding our fieldworks.

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Fig. 1: Markha chorten from the south. (Vernier 2009).

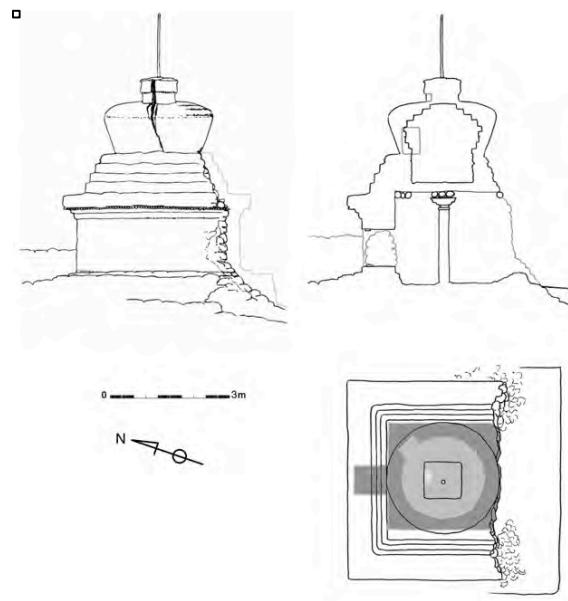


Fig. 2: Elevation and section of Markha chorten. (Vernier 2009).



Fig. 3: Half-buried entrance. (Devers 2009).

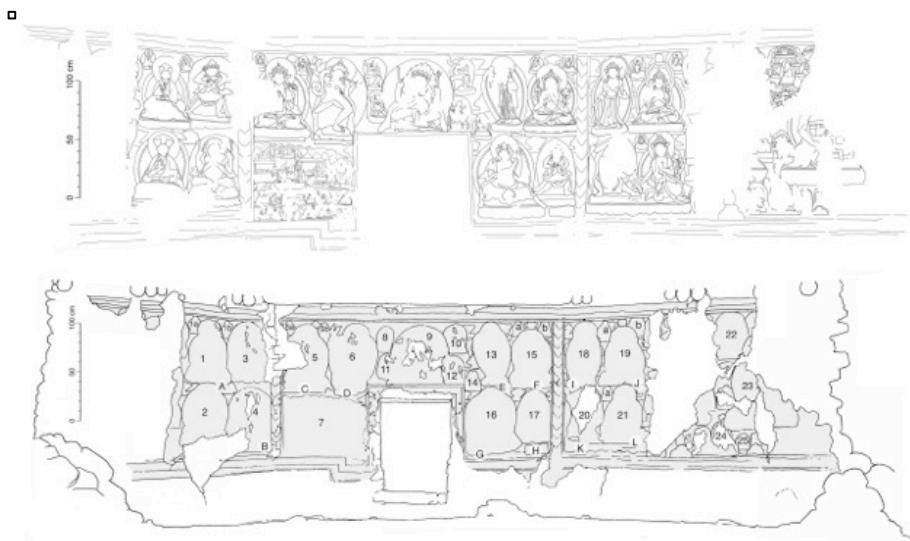


Fig. 4: Above: Outline drawing of the murals. Below: numbering of the figures (numerals) and of the inscriptions (letters). (Vernier 2009).

<p>Right wall:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Padmasambhava 2. A monk 3. Chakrasamvara in union with Vajravarahi 4. Four-armed Mahakala <p>Entrance Wall:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 5. Sañdaksharī Lokeśvara 6. Machig Labdrön 7. Scene with drinking monks and assisting laypeople. 8. Vajrayogini? 9. Four-armed Mahakala 10. Simhamukhā 11. Form of Mahakala? 12. Śrī Devī (Palden Lhamo) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 13. Achi Chokyi Dolma? 14. Amitabha? 15. Mañjuśrī 16. Vajravīṇāśarasvatī 17. Chakrasamvara in union with Vajravarahi <p>Left wall:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 18. Avalokiteśvara 19. Sañdaksharī Lokeśvara 20. Hayagrīva? 21. White Tārā 22. Buddha Śākyamuni 23. Amitabha 24. ? 25. ?
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Fig. 5: Identification of the figures depicted on the murals.



Fig. 6: Murals left on the right wall. (Devers 2009).



Fig. 7: Entrance wall. This image is the result of the merging of several pictures – there might be as such a bit of geometrical distortion. (Devers 2009).

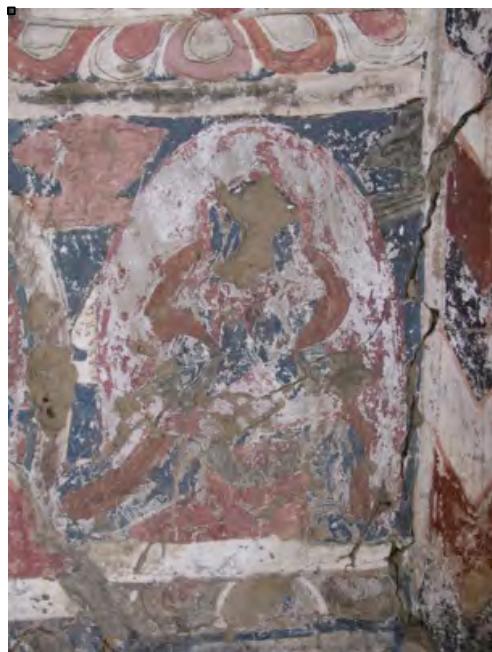


Fig. 8: Entrance wall, figure 17. Blue protector engaged in a sexual union with a red partner. (Devers 2009).



Fig. 9: Left wall. This image is the result of the merging of several pictures – there might be as such a bit of geometrical distortion. (Devers 2009).

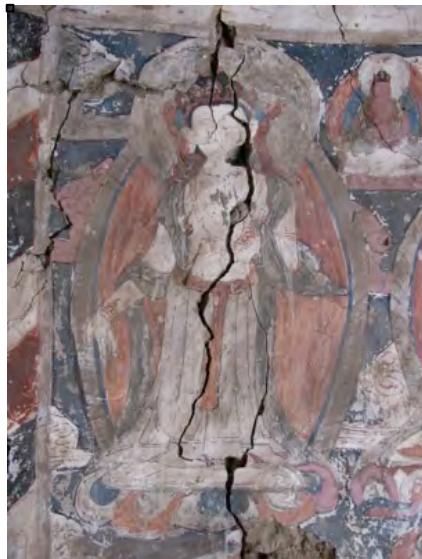


Fig. 10: Left wall, figure 18: probably a form of Avalokiteśvara.
(Devers 2009).



Fig. 11: Left wall, figure 22: Śākyamuni Buddha. (Devers 2009).



Fig. 12: Entrance wall, scene (7 on Fig. 4). (Devers 2009).

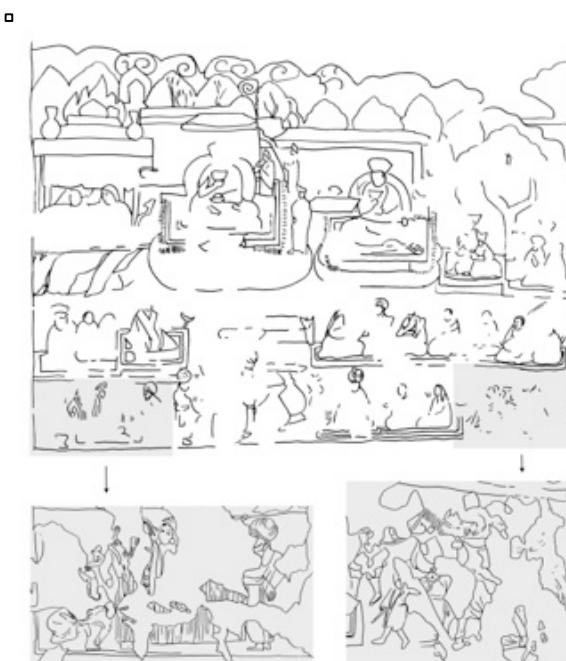


Fig. 13: Outline drawing of the scene on the entrance wall. (Vernier 2009).

8

Inscription A

ସମ୍ପର୍କ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟ କରିବାକୁ ପରିଚାରିତ କରିବାକୁ ପରିଚାରିତ କରିବାକୁ ପରିଚାରିତ କରିବାକୁ

Inscription C

୪୩ । ଗାଁମାଳିକାମୁଦ୍ରଣ ଅତ୍ଯବସର୍ତ୍ତ । ॥ ୧୨ ॥ ॥ ଅଧିକା
କ୍ଷେତ୍ରରେ । ଅନ୍ତର୍ମାଲାରୁ ଏହିଦୟା ପରାମର୍ଶ ।

Inscription D

ସୁରପଞ୍ଜେ କୌଣସିଲୁହାନୀଶ୍ୱର ପାତେନ୍ଦ୍ରାମ୍ଭା

Inscription E

ପାତ୍ରବିନ୍ଦୁ

Inscription E

ଏହି ପରମାଣୁକାରୀ ଦ୍ୱାରା ନିର୍ମିତ ପରମାଣୁକାରୀ ପରମାଣୁକାରୀ ପରମାଣୁକାରୀ

Inscription F

ଶ୍ରୀ ମେଣ୍ଡ-ମରିମାନାନ୍ଦପାତ୍ରଙ୍କୁ । ୧୫
ଶବ୍ଦଶ୍ରୀ । ୧୫

Inscription 1

Inscription - I

ସମ୍ବନ୍ଧରେ କିମ୍ବା କିମ୍ବା କିମ୍ବା କିମ୍ବା କିମ୍ବା କିମ୍ବା

*Fig. 14: Copy of the readable inscriptions.
Reproductions traced from photographs. (Vernier 2009).*



Fig. 15: Example of inscription from the first set (inscription K). (Devers 2009).



Fig. 16: Example of inscription from the second set (inscription A). (Devers 2009).



Fig. 17: Eastern side of the capital. (Devers 2009).



Compte-rendu

David Park, Kuenga Wangmo, Sharon Cather (Eds.) — *Art of Merit. Studies in Buddhist Art and its Conservation*. London Archetype Publications Ltd. 2013. xxii-394 pages, 459 illustrations en N & B et en couleurs. 21,5 x 30,5 cm. ISBN : 978-1-904982-92-0.

Par
Anne Chayet

Voici un beau volume, abondamment illustré, qui réunit 29 études sur l'art du bouddhisme et sur sa conservation, présentées lors d'un colloque organisé à Londres en avril 2012 par le Courtauld Institute of Arts et The Robert H. N. Ho Family Foundation.

Ces études expriment des points de vue très divers et traitent de thèmes non moins divers, ce qui ne surprendra pas devant les dimensions du sujet, tel qu'il est proposé par le titre de l'ouvrage, mais on y trouve sans doute davantage que dans les volumes conçus d'une façon plus traditionnelle autour des arts générés par le bouddhisme. Plutôt que d'un ensemble de travaux s'inscrivant dans une perspective classique d'histoire de l'art, avec un accent particulier porté sur la chronologie et la stylistique, il s'agit d'une reconsideration globale de l'art bouddhique à travers des exemples choisis dans plusieurs des cultures où il s'est développé, d'une sorte d'essai multiforme de définition, allant de la nature de la représentation à la fonction de l'œuvre, voire au rituel qui la crée et l'accompagne, assortie d'analyses plus traditionnelles, mais aussi de questions sur le sort qui lui est réservé, ce qui implique la désacralisation, le réemploi ou la destruction aussi bien que les méthodes de conservation, et même l'influence ou l'écho qu'il a dans l'art occidental contemporain.

Il est certain qu'un sujet aussi vaste ne pouvait être épuisé en un seul colloque, et si les organisateurs regrettent, notamment, l'absence de contributions consacrées au Japon, on peut penser qu'ils n'en resteront pas à cette seule manifestation et poursuivront leurs travaux dans un même esprit. David Park explique les raisons qui ont conduit au parti pris de diversité du volume et analyse les thèmes et les points de vue exprimés par les auteurs, tout en notant les convergences qui y apparaissent. Dans cette brillante introduction, car l'exercice n'est pas facile, le développement de sa réflexion le conduit à montrer que si l'art bouddhique ne peut être envisagé d'un point de vue unique, sa préservation ne peut répondre d'un seul principe, étant donné que sa diversité et sa force d'évolution imposent des ré-

ponses multiples et circonstanciées, auxquelles la religion, qui en inspire les nombreuses et parfois déconcertantes manifestations, rend pourtant une unité.

Le volume, dans sa diversité, est organisé de façon très logique, des fondamentaux, en quelque sorte, aux manifestations plus rarement considérées par l'histoire de l'art. Toutefois, on peut probablement distinguer quatre thèmes principaux qui ressortent de ces articles et s'y entrecroisent : celui de la formation et de la nature de la représentation et de l'image, celui de la finalité de l'art bouddhique, celui de la dévotion qui l'entoure et qui l'anime, et celui de sa protection et de sa conservation.

La nature de l'image du Buddha, son évolution de la forme aniconique à la forme iconique et ses codes sont étudiés par J. Rhi, sur de beaux exemples de statuaire indiens et gandhariens. Partant du même thème, T. Skorupski donne une relation exemplaire des origines du stupa et de sa signification mystique, et explique la présence du Buddha dans ses reliques et ses représentations. La question de la finalité de l'art bouddhique se pose immédiatement : P. Skilling a exploré les textes canoniques dans cet esprit, et souligne par son explication du concept d'*ānusamsa*, l'importance du désir d'acquérir des mérites qui anime les acteurs de la création de monuments ou de représentations bouddhiques. De cette contribution, il faut rapprocher celle de M. Ricard, qui, du point de vue de la pratique religieuse au Tibet, montre les diverses formes de l'art comme supports d'illumination, vecteurs de libération au sens bouddhique du terme, et insiste également sur l'importance de la visualisation des images saintes, donc sur celle de l'iconographie, dans la pratique de la méditation. R. Sharf s'interroge sur la destination de l'extraordinaire ensemble des grottes de Dunhuang, sur la multiplicité de leurs formes et sur leur iconographie et ; il propose d'y voir, non pas un ensemble monastique, mais des sanctuaires commémoratifs familiaux et un lieu de pèlerinage. L'étude que C. Bautze-Picron consacre à l'ornementation architecturale et peinte des temples de Pagan montre l'importance du symbolisme du décor et de l'iconographie comme soutiens de l'image du Buddha : ils constituent une sorte de grammaire qui facilite l'accès à l'image centrale et universelle du Buddha. Le programme iconographique du temple fournit aussi à M. Kapstein l'un des thèmes de son étude du temple et de l'oracle de La mo lcog au Tibet, et lui permet de considérer la question des divinités protectrices du bouddhisme au Tibet, de leur origine et de leur représentation. Le souci d'authenticité de l'image du Buddha, déjà abordé par J. Rhi, fait l'objet des recherches de P. Berger en ce qui concerne la Chine, dans une évolution marquée notamment par l'image du célèbre Buddha de santal, et par l'attitude des empereurs mandchous

qui firent établir un modèle d'inventaire pour identifier les nombreuses œuvres bouddhiques, venues du Tibet et de Mongolie, entrées au Palais impérial.

Mais la simple dévotion, exprimée par le culte rendu aux représentations du Buddha, est une composante de l'art bouddhique que le présent ouvrage ne néglige nullement et par laquelle il éclaire le sens de certaines représentations. Au début du XXe siècle, alors que le bouddhisme faisait l'objet d'une persécution en Chine, la présence reconnue du Buddha dans ses reliques et ses images, au-delà de la simple dévotion, fit peut-être des reliques porteuses d'une semblable présence de l'image photographique largement diffusée de ses disciples, comme celle du moine Hongyi sur son lit de mort (1942) (F. Tarocco). Pyi Phyoe Kyaw et C. Crosby expliquent la nature de la dévotion au Buddha et à son image, telle qu'elle est issue du Theravāda, et l'illustrent par le rappel de traditions et de rituels qui s'attachent en Birmanie aux statues "frères" du Mahāmuni, reflets de cette image. En étudiant les restaurations successives du Svayambunath de Kathmandu et en expliquant le concept de rénovation (*jīrnoddhāra*) qui les gouverne, A. von Rospatt montre comment les reliques furent maintenues en place et comment les rituels qui encadrèrent les travaux de rénovation, au cours de temps, assurèrent au monument une sorte de constante revitalisation. La contribution de M.R. Kerin traite du rapport du dévot à la divinité par l'intermédiaire des chapelles familiales, en Himalaya occidental, et montre l'importance de ces sanctuaires, et des représentations peintes et sculptées qu'ils contiennent, dans la pratique contemporaine du bouddhisme. C'est encore la dévotion qui conduit les pèlerins bouddhistes vers des lieux saints : la présence des reliques qui y sont conservées et des divinités qu'elles évoquent, les rapproche des constructions, sculptures et peintures qui, seuls, sont censés intéresser les historiens d'art; l'article de T. Richard Blurton montre que ces lieux saints devraient aussi, autant que possible, faire l'objet de mesures de protection.

L'érosion naturelle et l'évolution du climat, les destructions, délibérées ou accidentnelles, l'oubli des techniques traditionnelles de construction, l'introduction de matériaux nouveaux, les restaurations abusives ou hâtives, aussi bien que l'afflux des pèlerins et des touristes, et les effets de ces divers facteurs sur les monuments subsistant font l'objet de plusieurs contributions, notamment des travaux de Y. Taniguchi, qui fait un rapport très précis et intéressant sur la consolidation de la falaise de Bamiyan et la fixation des peintures murales subsistant dans les grottes du site saccagé; de S. Whitfield, qui établit un véritable code de bonne conduite pour l'avenir des peintures murales bouddhiques; de Wang Xudong, qui expose les mesures prises pour la sauvegarde de l'ensemble des grottes de Dunhuang ; de C.

Luzcanits, qui présente un bilan fort documenté, et inquiétant, de l'état des temples de l'Himalaya occidental ; de C. Martin de Fonjaudran, S. Menon et M.S. Gill, qui apportent de nombreuses indications techniques pour la protection, voire la restauration des peintures murales de trois sites du Ladakh, recommandent le respect des traditions religieuses et de la sacralité des lieux, et introduisent une nécessaire distinction entre sauvegarde, protection et restauration ; de Dorjee Tséring qui donne des exemples de la conjonction des interventions techniques avec la tradition religieuse dans le processus de conservation et de restauration des édifices religieux au Bhutan ; de L. Shedeke et S. Rickerby, qui soulignent la nécessité de constituer des bases documentaires et techniques avant toute intervention, notent des opérations regrettables au Bhutan, mais présentent le programme bien conçu établi pour le temple de gTam zhing ; de L. Wong, M. Demas et N. Agnew qui montrent deux exemples d'intervention, l'un à Dunhuang, l'autre au Shuxiang si (XVIII^e s.) de Chengde (peintures architecturales), entrepris sous la direction du Getty Conservation Institute. Tous ces intervenants insistent avec raison sur la nécessité impérative d'établir pour toutes les œuvres ou les sites concernés une documentation préalable détaillée, historique et technique. Un bon exemple en est donné par l'étude que présente J. Clarke d'une impressionnante statue bouddhique chinoise en bronze, datant du début du XVe siècle et récemment entrée au Victoria and Albert Museum, et par l'intéressant rapport technique, dû à D. Heath, qui l'accompagne, prouvant que l'histoire de l'art plus traditionnelle est fort utile pour l'étude de l'art bouddhique.

Les derniers articles du volume sont sans doute plus éloignés de sa problématique première. Ils lui ouvrent cependant certaines perspectives. Il arrive que la dévotion disparaîsse ou soit interdite, que l'abandon ou la destruction fasse leur œuvre : les temples du Mont Myohyang, site important du bouddhisme coréen, ont certes été restaurés et sont bien entretenus, mais ils sont désormais dévolus essentiellement au culte de Kim Il Sung (M. Haufler). Un autre avatar de l'art bouddhique peut être la collection, publique ou privée, constituée indépendamment de toute dévotion, mais dans le cas présenté ici (A. S. Kandell) l'attitude de la collectionneuse, par l'organisation de sa collection et le don qu'elle en a fait, est proche de la dévotion. Il est plus difficile de distinguer entre dévotion et mise en scène lors de la présentation d'œuvres d'art bouddhique dans des musées et des expositions ; cela peut donner lieu toutefois à d'intéressantes confrontations, ainsi que le montre l'article de P. Consagra sur la présentation d'œuvres d'art bouddhique dans un bâtiment récent de l'architecte japonais Ando Tadao. Le bouddhisme a connu ces dernières décennies un étonnant redéploiement mondial : A. Munroe étudie l'impact

de son art et de sa philosophie sur des artistes américains contemporains, tandis que A. Gormley, sculpteur, montre comment cette influence a marqué son œuvre et offre au volume une saisissante image finale, qui lui a été inspirée par la destruction des Buddha de Bamiyan : l'empreinte d'un corps sur la neige, évocatrice des empreintes qui marquent souvent les lieux saints du bouddhisme, mais aussi, en quelque sorte, retour à la représentation aniconique du Buddha. ♦♦

John Powers and David Tempelman. 2012. *Historical dictionary of Tibet*. Lanham, Toronto, Plymouth, UK: The Scarecrow Press. xxxvii + 794 pages. 8 maps. 125 \$ (80 £), ebook: 119,99 \$ (75 £).

Reviewed by
Bettina Zeisler

iven the general lack of useful reference tools on Tibet and her history, any compendium or dictionary dealing particularly with the history of Tibet is more than welcome. The volume under review is part of a series of historical dictionaries covering Asia, Oceania, and the Middle East. The goal is to “describe the main people, events, politics, social issues, institutions, and policies” of the country in question (front matter). The *Historical Dictionary of Tibet* meets at least some of these ambitious goals.

In the following section 1, I shall first describe the formal features of the volume, before discussing some issues of the content in section 2 (2-1. Prehistory, 2-2. Mythical beginnings, 2-3. The Old Tibetan empire, 2-4. Ethnical diversity and the kingdom of Zhang zhung, 2-5. Tibet’s peripheral areas, 2-6. Ladakh). Some concluding remarks will be found in section 3.

1. Structure and layout of the dictionary

The introductory part of the book consists of a reader’s note on the problem of transcribing Tibetan (pp. xiii-xv), a glossary of common semi-phonetic spellings of Tibetan terms with their Wylie equivalent (pp. xvii-xx), a list of abbreviations (pp. xxi-xxii), an arbitrarily chosen set of maps featuring the Indian subcontinent and the *Mauryan dynasty* (p. xxiii), the *Qing empire* (p. xxiv), *Nepal* (p. xxiv), *Aruchanal Pradesh and surrounding regions* (p. xxv), the *Tibet Autonomous Region and adjacent autonomous prefectures* (p. xxvi), *Tibet and adjacent regions* (p. xxvi), *the Tibetan Plateau and surrounding regions* (p. xxvii), and *Zangs dkar* (Zanskar, p. xxviii), and finally a chronological table (pp. xxix-xxxvii).

The dictionary part starts with a general introduction (pp. 1-49)

Bettina Zeisler, “John Powers and David Tempelman. 2012. *Historical dictionary of Tibet*. Lanham, Toronto, Plymouth, UK: The Scarecow Press. xxxvii + 794 pages. 8 maps. 125 \$ (80 £), ebook: 119,99 \$ (75 £)”, *Revue d’Etudes Tibétaines*, no. 30, Octobre 2014, pp. 225-246.

with sections on the land and the people (pp. 1–10), on *Tibetan prehistory, the imperium, and Buddhism* (pp. 10–25), *political instability and restoration of central government* (pp. 25–37), and *intrigues, invasions, and independence* (pp. 37–47) plus notes. The dictionary ends with a thematic bibliography (pp. 761–794),¹ introduced by a table of contents (p. 761). Indexes are missing.

In the entries between, the Tibetan terms are sorted according to the principles of the Roman alphabet, “listed according to the first letter, whether pronounced or not” (p. xiv). This principle is, however, violated for the letter *h* or *χ*, which following the Wylie transcription rules is not rendered by a letter but by an elision sign ‘. Syllables starting with this letter are therefore sorted according to their second letter. Capitalisation of names follows an awkward convention of capitalising the letter that is pronounced in modern Central Tibetan, which might be the second or third letter of a word (and only the first letter of a letter combination, such as *ng*, *ny*, or *tsh*, etc.).² The pronunciation rules of modern Central Tibetan, certainly, did not apply in Old Tibetan and still do not apply in the western- and easternmost Tibetan languages (Balti, Standard Ladakhi, and the so-called Nomadic Amdo dialects). The Central Tibetan pronunciation is additionally provided in a simplified style, but a copy-and-paste error has supplied us with the vowel *ü*, where one would least expect it: before an *-m*, as in “Drigüm tsenbo” for [digum tsɛ:bo] (*Dri gum btsan po*), or before an *-ng*, as in “Yarlung” for [jarlun] (*Yar klungs*). Surprisingly, while Chinese names are also given in Chinese characters and Mongolian names in Cyrillic script, Tibetan terms are only given in transliteration and not in Tibetan script. Neither are Sanskrit words rendered in Devanāgarī.

Headwords are given like catch-lines in capital letters and bold face. Sometimes they are additionally in italics. Cross-references are likewise indicated (not always consistently) by bold face, instead of marking them with a small arrow. Typographically, these are certainly not the best available options, and they do not make for pleasant reading.

The treatment of non-Tibetan (and sometimes also Tibetan) terms is confusing. Indian names tend to be cross-referenced to their Tibet-

¹ The order of the titles (if an author has more than one) is unconventional: in most cases, they are not listed according to their publication date, but also not necessarily according to an alphabetic order, as the four titles of the International Campaign for Tibet (p. 767) show: *The Communist Party ... 2007; Jampa: ... 2001; A Season to Purge: ... 1996; When the Sky fell to Earth: ... 2004*.

² I shall follow this style here in order to avoid confusion, but I think it is very unfortunate that it has become a sort of ‘standard’ which tends to be forced on authors who have good reasons not to adhere to it.

an translation, be it the Hindu god *Brahmā* (→ *Tshangs pa*), the Mauryan emperor *Aśoka* (→ *Mya ngan med*), or the historical Buddha: *Siddhārtha Gautama* (→ *Don grub Gau ta ma*) or *Śākyamuni Buddha* (→ *Sangs rgyas Shā kya thub pa*), whereas the general title *Sangs rgyas* is cross-referenced to *Buddha*. The same happens to the *Tā lai bla ma*, who is cross-referenced to the English form *Dalai Lama*.

The same tendencies are found with place names, such as *Sarnath* (→ *Drang srong lhung pa*), and ethnical groups, such as the *Dogrā-s* (→ *Shin pa*³). *Ka ta man du*, however, is first cross-referred to *Yam bu rgyal sa*, but here we are referred back to *Kathmandu*, where the information on the town is eventually located.

Religious terms are treated even more arbitrarily, some are cross-referenced from Tibetan to Sanskrit, e.g., *chos* (→ *dharma*), *rgyud* (→ *tantra*), and *las* (→ *karma*), some from Sanskrit to Tibetan, e.g. *stūpa* (→ *mchod rten*) and *mandala* (→ *dkyil 'khor*), and some are cross-referenced from Tibetan to English, e.g. *legs sbyar skad* (→ *Sanskrit*), *ani* (→ *nun*), and *dge slong* (→ *monk*), whereas *monastery* is cross-referenced to Tibetan *dgon pa*.

The definitions are not always satisfying. The *Dākini-s* (→ *Mkha' 'gro ma*), e.g., are described as "female buddhas". Originally, they were rather dangerous beings between fairies and witches, but often acted as advisors to the spiritual practitioners. The designation was also used for the much tamer tantric consorts.

The dictionary contains a couple of photographs, sometimes only loosely related with the surrounding entries. While a list of photographs, their source, and their dating is not supplied, it is quite apparent that the number of photographs from Bhutan and Ladakh is disproportional high, quite in contrast to the rather cursory treatment both countries receive. It may be noted that the photograph on p. 391 does *not* depict the *Khrig rtse* (Thikse) monastery 18 km east of Leh (Ladakh), as the caption has it, but the *kLu dKyil* (Likir) monastery 52 km west of Leh. Neither monastery has an entry.

The only monasteries of Ladakh that receive an entry are Alchi and Lamayuru. The first one is not to be found under the local Tibetan (and Old Tibetan) spelling *A lci*, which underlies the actual pronunciation [alfi], but under the Central Tibetan variant *A phyi* (p. xvii, 53; by chance, both words refer to a respectable lady or grandmother). The second monastery, on the other hand, is not listed under its traditional spelling *bLa ma gYung drung*, but under the modern

³ The word *shin pa* is not attested in the dictionaries. It is most probably not a Tibetan word but adopted from the self-designation of Shina-speaking tribes. In the *rGya-Bod kyi chos byung rgyas pa* by mKhas pa lDe'u (ed. 1987: 22), the compound *shin trat* seems to refer to the Shina language (Dardic), which is only distantly related to Dogri (Western Pahari), the language of the *Dogrā-s*.

form *Lamayuru* (pp. 394). The captions of the photographs on pp. 150, 395 wrongly locate the monastery in Zanskar (Kargil district), while it belongs to Lower Ladakh (Khalsi block, Leh district).

2. *The content*

For the greater part of her history, Tibet was under clerical rule. It is thus not surprising that most of the entries deal with religious history, the individual clerics, monastic institutions, the religious pantheon, and with religious tenets. With respect to this aspect of Tibetan history, the dictionary certainly provides useful information, and some of the biographical sketches invite the reader to bury him or herself in the dictionary.

Unfortunately, not all interesting and important persons who are mentioned under an entry receive an entry of their own. 'Gyur med rnam rgyal, e.g., who reigned Central Tibet from 1747–1750, is only mentioned in the entry concerning the 7th Dalai Lama bsKal bzang rgya mtsho (1708–1757) and in the entry concerning his father, the aristocrat Pho lha nas bSod nams stobs rgyas, who reigned Central Tibet from 1727–1747. A particular difficulty any lexicographer has to deal with is that many Tibetan personages are known under different official names and names of fame. A detailed index would have allowed to find such names or the names of all the people (or places) mentioned along with the main personages, such as the just mentioned 'Gyur med rnam rgyal.

The lineages of the most important abbot lines, the Dalai Lamas, Panchen Lamas, and Karmapas are given, but they are not well cross-referenced. Highlighting (as a sign that each individual has an entry) has been omitted in the case of all Karmapas and Panchen Lamas, and for the first, second, third, and fifth Dalai Lama. Among the Panchen Lamas, the entry for the 7th incarnation, bLo bzang bstan pa'i nyi ma phyogs las rnam rgyal (1781–1854) seems to be missing (or at least the cross-reference to his entry name is missing), the entry for the 10th Panchen Lama, Chos kyi rgyal mtshan 'phrin las lhun grub (1938–1989) definitely got lost with the process of cross-referencing: under the head word *Chos kyi rgyal mtshan 'phrin las* we are referred to *bLo bzang 'phrin las lhun grub chos kyi rgyal mtshan*, but the corresponding entry does not exist. The list has dGe 'dun chos kyi nyi ma, the boy confirmed by the Dalai Lama, as the 11th Panchen Lama (p. 511), but as the entry states correctly, he has been deported to an unknown place and does not function as Panchen Lama. The boy chosen by the Chinese government, rGyal mtshan nor bu (p. 510), is the de facto Panchen Lama, and is accepted as such by the population

and the monks in Tibet. rGyal mtshan nor bu should thus have been mentioned in the list as the 11th Panchen Lama instead, or perhaps besides, dGe 'dun chos kyi nyi ma. Similarly surprising is the lack of an entry for the present 17th Karmapa and the controversies around him.

While the 'Brug pa bKa' brgyud lineage is mentioned in a separate entry (p. 107–108), only few lineage holders are mentioned: gTsang pa rGya ras ye shes rdo rje (1161–1211), the founder of the main lineage, Dar ma senge (1177–1237) and gZhon nu seng ge (1200–1266), and the two founders of the Lower and Upper 'Brug lineages: rGyal ba lo ras pa (1187–1250) and rGod tshang pa mGon po rdo rje (1189–1258). None of them receives an entry of his own.

Incarnation lines of important lineages or important religious figures outside Tibet are not considered, except for the highest lineages in Inner and Outer Mongolia. The lineage for Inner Mongolia is listed under the entry *Lcang skyu Hu thog tu*, but except for lCang skyu Rol pa'i rdo rje ye shes bstan pa'i gron me (1717–1786), the second Khutagt, none of the incarnations receives an entry.

The outer Mongolian lineage actually receives two entries. One is an extremely short note under the head word *Hu thog tu*, without any cross-reference, the second, under the head word *rJe btsun dam pa Hu thog tu*, describes briefly the lineage of the Javzandamba Khutagt (the transliteration of the Mongolian name is given as "Jibzundamba"). Only the first member, Zanabazar (1635–1723), is mentioned, cross-referenced, and described in an entry. The remaining 8 members are not listed. The 8th Javzandamba Khutagt (1869–1924) had ruled (Outer) Mongolia as Bogd Khan in its short period of independence. The Bogd Khan is briefly mentioned under the entry on *Mongolia* (p. 455), but not as a member of the Khutagt lineage. The 9th Bogd Javzandamba Khutagt (1932–2012) spent most of his life in Tibet and the Indian exile, his identity being kept secret until 1990. See Wikipedia⁴ for some information on this lineage.

Bhutan and Ladakh have their own monastic lineages, but one might argue that they are simply not important enough to be considered. One person, however, should have been mentioned for his political role and his involvement with Mongolia. The 19th Bakula Rimpoche (Ba ku la thub bstan mchog nor, 1917–2003), abbot of the Spituk (sPe thub) monastery in Ladakh, contributed to the welfare of Ladakh as much as to the spiritual progress in Mongolia. He served as Minister of State in the Jammu and Kashmir Government (1953–1967) and as Member of Parliament in the 4th and 5th Lok Sabha (the Parliament of India, 1967–1977). He was also India's ambassador to

⁴ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jebtsundamba_Khutuktu.

Mongolia (1990–2000), where he set up a new monastery in Ulaanbaatar: sPe thub bstan rgyas chos 'khor gling (see also his autobiography, Ba ku la rin po che 2001).

The major Tibetan monasteries get a short description with respect to their foundation date and their further fate. Sometimes, their layout is described in some detail, as in the case of Bsam yas. Only occasionally is the number of monks given, as in the case of Se ra, north of Lhasa. Not always is the location of the monastery specified: in the case of Se ra, only the location of the successor monastery in Byalakuppe, India is mentioned. No information is given about the extent of the land holdings of the monasteries or the villages on which the monasteries depended or perhaps rather: which they exploited.

The dictionary also provides quite detailed information on the rather sad part of Tibet's history under Chinese occupation, with entries such as "communism", "cultural revolution", "great leap forward", "serf liberation day", "seventeen point agreement for the peaceful liberation of Tibet", etc.

One further finds entries on some important Tibetologists and Sinologists, among them Alexander Csoma de Kőrös, Giuseppe Tucci, Paul Pelliot, Ellis Gene Smith, and on the Indologist and adventurer Sir Marc Aurel Stein, who discovered the Dunhuang caves and acquired the first set of Old Tibetan manuscripts. Rolf Alfred Stein (1911–1999), however, whose unparalleled study on the Gesar epic, *Recherches sur l'épopée et le barde au Tibet* (Paris 1959) is a treasure trove of historical and cultural notes,⁵ was apparently not thought worth an entry, and one of his earlier works, *L'épopée tibétaine de Gesar dans sa version lamaïque de Ling* (Paris 1956) is falsely ascribed to Sir Marc Aurel Stein (p. 249, entry on Gesar; the bibliography, on the other hand, does justice to Rolf Alfred Stein).

It is obvious that the two authors of the dictionary are competent enough to deal with the modern and the classical epoch and with the Central Tibetan region. Nobody would expect them to be experts on all aspects of Tibetan political and cultural history. While the authors got some help for the topic of Tibetan literature, they were left alone with the early history of Tibet and with the peripheral areas, which they treated rather poorly. The reviewer was informed that it was the publisher's decision not to involve more than two scholars in the project. I shall discuss the topics related to prehistory, the Old Tibetan Empire, and the border areas turn by turn.

⁵ Not to mention his works on the history of the Tibetan tribes: Mi-nag et Si-hia, géographie historique et légendes ancestrales 1951, Les K'iang des marches sino-tibétaines, exemple de continuité de la tradition 1958, *Les tribus anciennes des marches sino-tibétaines*, Paris 1959.

2-1. Prehistory

The publisher proudly announces that the dictionary covers the period from 27,000 BCE to the present, but this astonishing feat dissolves into very short remarks in the introduction (pp. 11f.), the entry *archeology* (pp. 58f.), and into the following notes in the chronology (p. xxix): “27,000–3,000 BCE Early Neolithic period; settlements in Chu bzang. 3,000 BCE Prehistoric settlements in mKhar ro. 480–400 BCE Life of Siddhārta Gautama, Śākyamuni Buddha. 100 CE Beginnings of Mahāyāna Buddhism in India. 1st century CE Buddhism enters Central Asia and China. 150–250 Life of kLu sgrub (Nāgārjuna). 233 Buddhist texts and relics fall on the roof on Lha Tho tho ri’s palace ...”.

The reviewer is not quite convinced that the entries for the period from 480 BCE to 250 CE relate to Tibet’s prehistory. She also wonders whether Tibetan historical fictions, such as in the last-mentioned line of the chronology should be presented as if they were historical facts, without the appropriate caveat. This holds also for all statements concerning the alleged founder of the Bon religion, gShen rab mi bo che, of whom it is said that he “was born 18,000 years ago” (p. 278) or that he “lived there [in ‘Ol mo lung ring] 18,000 years ago and later travelled to Zhang zhung” (p. 750, entry on *Zhang zhung*) without any further note that such dating has no historical value.

2-2. Mythical beginnings

The historico-political development of Tibet is treated mainly in the introduction and the various epochs do not receive further entries in the dictionary. The period of the Old Tibetan Empire is lumped together with the rush through the first 26,000 years of prehistory. The section on the *Early Tibetan Empire* (pp. 13–18) starts with the legendary kings of the official Buddhist tradition, although it should be clear that there could not have been any such thing like an Empire at a period the Tibetans like to set in the first or even third century BCE. Not to speak about the fact that an unbroken genealogical line over more than 30 generations has no likelihood, at all; nor could it have been remembered in a not yet very sophisticated, scriptless society. No mention is made of the Bonpo accounts, which, although as fictive as their Buddhist counterparts, seem to preserve some more splinters of memories of pre-imperial history than the re-written official version.

A special focus lies on the legend of the seventh king, Dri gum btsan po. In a fit of egomania he is said to have challenged his vassals

and, before being killed, to have cut a magic rope that connected him with the sky, so that he could no longer return to heaven after death and became the first king to be buried. The name is rendered according to the later classical spelling as *Gri gum btsan po* with the traditional but grammatically incorrect ‘translation’ as “King killed by a knife” (pp. 14, 273; this would be **gris b Kum pa* or **gri(s).b Kum* in a compound; only the entry on the *Yar klungs dynasty*, p. 731, gives the “alternative”, that is, original form *Dri gum*). The authors follow the received Buddhist pretension that the genealogical accounts form a single coherent narrative. Forgotten the work of Eric Haarh (1969), who had tried to show that the ‘lineage’ must have been manipulated and that the story of *Dri gum* covers up nothing less than a dynastic break.

2-3. *The Old Tibetan Empire*

It seems that none of the authors has ever taken a closer look at the source of the *Dri gum* legend, the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* (Pelliot tibétain 1287). It stands to fear that the authors are not even aware of the existence of this important text, as they do not mention it, at all. The narrative about the coming into power of the *Yar klungs* dynasty at the point when Tibet entered history in the late 6th century: the conspiracy of *Stag bu gNya' gzigs*, the grandfather of *Srong brtsan sgam po* (introduction, p. 15), likewise to be found in the *Chronicle*, is falsely ascribed to the *Old Tibetan Annals* (Pelliot tibétain 1288 and Indian Office Library Tib J 750).

Under the entry on the *Yar klungs dynasty* (pp. 731f.), we find a list of Tibetan kings, which is again falsely associated with the *Annals*. The Tibetan historical tradition knows several such genealogical lists, differing somewhat with respect to the number of kings, their order, and their names (see Haarh 1969: 34–60 and Linnenborn 2004: 27–58 and their comparative charts p. 40 and p. 54 respectively; Linnenborn’s publication should be added to the bibliography). The first historical king, *Khri Srong brtsan sgam po* is usually placed either on position 32 or 33, his father *gNam ri slong rtsan* (Old Tibetan also *mtshan*) alias *sLon btsan rlung nam* accordingly on position 31 or 32.

The dictionary list, which is additionally based on unspecified “other sources”, inserts one more king, *Srong lde brtsan*, between *sLon btsan rlung nam* (position 30) and *Srong btsan sgam po* (position 32). *Srong lde brtsan*, however, is merely a variant of *Srong brtsan sgam po*’s name in the *Royal Genealogy*, another important Old Tibetan document (Pt 1286; see Haarh 1969: 52 and Dotson 2009: 145 with n. 419). The dictionary list, otherwise, corresponds exactly to the *Roy-*

al Genealogy, except that some of the names have been rendered unnecessarily in a slightly different form (no. 1: *gNyag khri* instead of lDe Nyag khri btsan po; no. 7: *Gri gum* instead of Dri gum btsan po; no. 8: *sPu lde* instead of sPu de Gung rgyal gnam la dri bdun; nos. 9, 13, and 14: *Tho legs, Ti sho legs, I sho legs* instead of Tho leg, Ti sho leg, and I sho leg; no. 26. *Lha Tho tho ri gnyan brtsan* instead of Lha Tho do snya brtsan; nos. 34, 35, 38, and 39 with the additional title *Khri*, which is missing in the corresponding entries of the *Royal Genealogy*). It is not comprehensible, why this important Old Tibetan document has not been mentioned and why it is cited incorrectly and mixed up with other unidentified sources.

In the dictionary list, all rulers who receive an entry of their own are highlighted in bold face, except for *sLon btsan rlung nam*, perhaps because the corresponding entry is found under the more common name *gNam ri slon btsan*. In this entry, the alternative name is not mentioned, nor is there a cross-reference from *sLon btsan rlung nam* to the entry of *gNam ri slon btsan*.

Among the Old Tibetan documents, only the *Old Tibetan Annals* receive an entry. They are correctly described as a pair of lists with year-by-year annalistic entries covering the years between 641 and 764. They cannot, therefore, contain narratives about the prehistory or genealogical charts. Unfortunately, the authors remain silent about the fact that the two Dunhuang versions of the *Annals* are only late copies or perhaps rather extracts of a master list, which was most probably kept at the central chancellery in Tibet (cf. Uray 1975). The insight that the *Annals* contain “bureaucratic registers of events” (p. 497) is cited from Brandon Dotson (2009; one of the extremely rare citations in the dictionary), but the annalistic style and its possible function to date official documents has been first described by Geza Uray (1975). Tsuguhito Takeuchi (1995: 18, 25, n. 5) adds that the regional annals may also have been used to date contracts.

In the introduction, Srong brtsan sgam po (d. 650) dominates the description of the foreign politics of the *early Tibetan Empire* (pp. 15–17). The conquests of his immediate successor, Mang slon mang rtsan are briefly mentioned (p. 18). After that, the introduction concentrates on the *early propagation of Buddhism* (pp. 18–20), the *religious controversy* between the Buddhists and Bonpos (pp. 20–22), the *debate of bSam yas* (which may have never taken place; pp. 22f.), and the *intrigues at the center*, with the “untimely demise of several monarchs” (p. 23; but only Mu ne brtsan po’s murder by his own mother is mentioned), and finally the *demise of the Empire* (pp. 23–25).

In the entry on *Mang slon mang btsan* (Old Tibetan: *rtsan*), the ruler’s year of birth is given with 650 and the first year of his reign with 663 (pp. 18, 363, 366), apparently following the popular myth that the

emperors regularly ascended the throne at the age of thirteen.⁶ However, Srong brtsan sgam po's only legal son Gung strong gung rtsan had died in 646 (introduction, p. 17). Hence, Mang slong mang rtsan must have been born in 647 at the latest – or he could not have been Srong brtsan sgam po's legal grandson. According to Dotson (2009: 18), Mang slon mang rtsan was already seven years old, when Srong brtsan sgam po died, which means that he was born 642 or 643. Furthermore, with respect to the succession, the *Old Tibetan Annals*, year 650/51 speak of the “*btsan po*, the grandfather” (*btsan po myes KhrI Srong rtsan*) and the “*btsan po*, the grandson” (*btsan po sbon*⁷ *KhrI Mang slon mang rtsan*), and thereafter simply of the *btsan po*. Neither the entry for 663/64 nor any other entry mentions an investiture. This means that during the regency under the *de facto* ruler, the famous great minister mGar sTong rtsan yul zung, Mang slon mang rtsan was already the official, *de jure* ruler from 650 onwards, and it remains unknown when (or whether) he effectively gained power.

The *Royal Genealogy*, l. 63–64 states that Mang slon mang rtsan was born to Gung strong gung rtsan and Kong co Mang mo rje khri skar. The title *kong co*, for Chinese *gongzhu*, would imply that the mother was identical with the Chinese princess Mun cang kong co alias Wencheng gongzhu (see also Dotson 2009: 22 and 83, n. 132). According to the *Old Tibetan Annals*, the Chinese princess arrived in Tibet in ca. 641/42, early enough to have a child by 643.⁸ However, according

⁶ In the case of his son 'Dus strong, the first year of reign is given with 677 (p. 363), while the year of birth is omitted. Do the authors thus assume that he was already thirteen years old or of an unknown age? According to the *Old Tibetan Annals*, 'Dus strong was born in 676/77 – after the death of his father.

⁷ For *dbon*. Like *tsha bo*, the term *dbon* is ambiguous between the reading 'grandson' and 'nephew'. Both terms refer to a younger kin, related to *ego* (or the reference person) via two steps. These two steps can both be vertical, that is, over two generations (hence *grandson*), or one step is vertical and the other horizontal, that is, within the set of *ego*'s siblings (hence *nephew*). The pairing of *myes* and *sbon* leads to a disambiguation towards 'grandson', similarly to the pairing of *phl* 'grandmother' and *sbon* in the year 707/08. The reading 'nephew', by contrast, is triggered by the pairing of *dbon* and *zhang* as in the Sino-Tibetan treaty of 821/22. The spelling variant *sbon* is perhaps intentional, in order to additionally disambiguate the two meanings.

⁸ Helga Uebach (1997: 66), argues that the Chinese princess could not have been the mother of an emperor, because she is mentioned in the *Annals* only as *btsan mo* 'queen', but not as *yum* 'imperial mother'. The *Genealogy* would have been wrong in assigning the Chinese title *Kon co* to Mang slon mang rtsan's mother. The latter would have been identical with the 'grandmother' (*pyl*) Mang pangs, who died in 706/07 according to the *Annals*. One may ask however, whether the *Annals* were really so consistent as Uebach assumes, and why Srong brtsan sgam po would have officially married Mun cang kong co, if she was not the heir-bearing mother – or did that happen only on the pressure of the Chinese court? Even if a dictionary cannot give answers to such intricate questions, shouldn't it

to the dictionary entry on the queen (under *Wencheng*, p. 721f.), the latter would have arrived in Tibet only after Gung strong gung rtsan's death. One would like to know on which tradition this is based and why this is preferable to the older documents. The entry on Wencheng further gives her death with 680 and ends with the statement that after Srong brtsan sgam po's death, "no records from the Imperium indicate that she played any role in Tibetan affairs" (p. 722). But the *Annals* mention her funeral in the winter 683/84, which means that she died in 683 or early 684 and that she was seen as a personality, important enough for an annalistic entry.

In the entry for the great minister *mGar sTong btsan* (Old Tibetan: *rtsan*) *yul zung*, the reigns of Mang slon mang rtsan (r. 650–676/77) and his son 'Dus strong (676/77–704/05) are hopelessly mixed up. The great minister is said to have resigned in 650. When he resumed his office, he

regained even greater power than before because the new *btsan* po 'Dus strong (r. 677–704) (!) was an infant. The queen mother Khri ma lod (d. 712) was unable to exert significant influence (!) because she was born into the nobility of the 'A zha (!) – a people with whom the Tibetans were at war at that time (!). *sTong btsan* remained chief minister until his death in 667 (p. 434).

According to the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*, ll. 102–103, the said replacement happened only six years before *mGar sTong rtsan yul zung*'s death, that is, in 661/62 and not around 650.⁹ He was reinstalled after just a short time, when his successor 'O ma lde lod *btsan* was executed for disloyalty. The 'A zha were conquered in the year 663/64 (see also Dotson 2009: 87, n. 150), that is, during the rule of Mang slon mang rtsan. Whether his mother was an 'A zha lady is an open question, since only post-imperial sources have called her so ('A zha *bza*'), while giving her also the title of the Chinese princess in a deviant spelling: *kho 'jo* (see Haarh 1969: 54). Khri ma lod, on the other hand, was 'Dus strong's mother and "one of the most powerful figures in the politics of the Imperium following his [Mang slon mang rtsan's] death", as the corresponding entry (p. 365) states correctly, adding that "[s]he belonged to the 'Bro clan, one of the leading families of the Imperium", and hence was not an 'A zha lady.

at least point to the problematic points and inconsistencies in the historical tradition?

⁹ The reviewer is unaware of the reasons for this dating. It is insignificant that the *Annals* are silent about *mGar sTong rtsan yul zung* in the first two annalistic entries (650/51 and 651/52), because there is no fast rule that the respective great minister has to be mentioned every year. There is, e.g., no such mentioning in the years 668/69–762/73, 674/75, 677/78–679/80.

The authors state that at “its greatest extent, the [Old Tibetan] empire controlled most of the Tibetan Plateau and annexed large regions of neighbouring countries through military conquest” (p. 15). Which countries these were, how far east, south, west, or north the Tibetan power ever reached is not specified or depicted on a map. Only in the entry on *Khri Mang slon mang btsan* do we find a remark that “the westernmost extent of his conquests was the narrow neck of modern-day Afghanistan at its north-east frontier, the Wakhan Valley, which extends in an arch above Pakistan” (p. 366). We are not informed about how long the Tibetans could hold this area, which other areas the Tibetans held, lost, and reconquered, not to speak about historical details, e.g., that in 747 the Chinese troops (in quite a heroic act) crossed the Pamirs, came down through the Hunza valley to the Gilgit river, and eventually destroyed the bridge across the Indus that had allowed the Tibetans to campaign in the Pamirs (see M.A. Stein 1922).

The eventual breakdown of the Empire is explained as being caused by economic factors, among them the treaty of 821/22. “This agreement brought Tibet’s outward expansion to a close and also eliminated sources of possible additional revenue. (...) The Tibetan empire needed new territories to maintain its income, and following the treaties of 821–23, it was forced to stay within the borders of that time” (p. 24, introduction; similarly p. 364, entry on *Khri gLang Dar ma*: “the treaties of 821/23”; read: *the treaty of 821/22* in both cases). As if treaties had not been broken earlier or as if Tibet could have only expanded towards China – Tibet’s interaction with India, Kashmir, and the Himalayan border areas seems to be completely out of focus.

Speaking about treaties, we read in the introduction that “[b]eginning in 821 a series of treaties were negotiated between Tibet, China, and Uyghur chieftains” (p. 23). This gives the wrong impression that the 821/822 treaty was the only treaty between Tibet and China. Several major and minor treaties had been concluded before: 730, 756, 765 (and/ or 766), 783, two of which (730 and 783) had been documented also in stone inscriptions, installed along the border.¹⁰ Neither China nor Tibet always played fair, and the local lords pursued their own politics. In 787, an entire Chinese delegation at a treaty ceremony was assaulted and about 500 persons were killed, while the person targeted by the local lord could escape (Bushell 1880: 494–498, Pelliot 1961: 59–53 / 116–118). A separate entry on the treaties in gen-

¹⁰ See Bushell (1880: 466: treaty of 730, 475: of 756, 479: of 765, 481: of 766 (?), 487ff.: of 783, 516ff.: of 821/22) and Pelliot (1961: 21: treaty of 730, 29 / 107: of 756, 31 / 108: of 765, 37: of 766 (?), 43ff. / 113ff.: of 783, 72f. / 128ff.: of 821/22). According to R.A. Stein (1988: 136), the date 756 is erroneous for 762, but in this case, one or two more treaties in 765 and/ or 766 are rather unlikely.

eral or at least on the treaty of 821/822 is missing. Apart from the political importance of the treaties, there are rich descriptions in the Chinese sources concerning the rituals associated with the ceremonies, not to speak of the wording of the agreements.¹¹

2-4. Ethnical diversity and the kingdom of *Zhang zhung*

Hardly anything is said about the political (and ethnical) situation on the Tibetan plateau prior to the advent of the empire. The Qiang (or Ch'iang), commonly (but inaccurately) taken to be the immediate and sole forefathers of the Tibetans, are not mentioned, nor the four or six 'original' clans or tribes of the Tibetan tradition (see here R.A. Stein 1961). The Sum pa, an important tribe of the northern Changthang (Byang thang), are only casually mentioned with respect to the administrative unit *ru* 'horn' (p. 600).

The 'A zha or Tuyuhun receive a short entry (p. 54). They are located correctly in the region west of lake Kokonor and in the Qaidam basin. What is not mentioned, however, is that some Tibetan sources, e.g. the *Inquiry of Vimalaprabha* (*Dri ma med pa'i 'hod kyis zhus pa*, Thomas 1935: 137–258), also locate them in the West as neighbours of the Bru zha (or Bru sha), the people of Gilgit and Hunza-Nagar, which is possibly due to their campaigns in Khotan and Gandhāra or Kashmir in the mid 5th century. The important study on the Tuyuhun

¹¹ See Bushell (1880): treaty of 756: sacrifice of three victims, their blood being smeared on the lips of the oath takers (p. 475); treaty of 783: 200 participants on both sides, half of them armed, 7 officials on both sides, who had purified themselves by three days of fasting, performed the rites, horse and ox had been chosen as sacrificial animals, but were replaced by less important animals, sheep, ram, and dog were sacrificed on the north side of the altar, their blood was collected in two vessels and smeared on the lips, this was followed by a Buddhist ritual, the consumption of wine and the exchange of presents, the ceremony was then repeated on the Tibetan side; the treaty, which establishes the borders as well as neutral land, is cited in detail (p. 488ff.); similarly the text of the 821/22 treaty is given (p. 517-18) and with respect to the oath taking on the Tibetan side, a detailed description of the *btsan po*'s camp is given: the tent, ornamented with gold figures of dragons and the like, was surrounded with a fence of spears of about 300 paces, the three gates of which were guarded by warriors and ritualists, the latter wearing bird-shaped hats and tiger-girdles and beating the drum, in the centre was a platform, surrounded by jewelled balusters, the *btsan po* sat in the middle of the tent, dressed in plain cloth, his head enveloped in folds of red silk; a further interesting note refers to the area south-west of the Yellow River: here the mountains are covered with sepulchral mounds accompanied by buildings of plastered red earth on which white tigers were painted, these were the tombs of the noble warriors, their comrades, who committed suicide at the time of the burial, being buried alongside (p. 521, cf. also Pelliot 1961: 130). See also R.A. Stein (1988) for a detailed analysis of the sworn oaths.

by Gabriella Molè (1970) is missing in the bibliography. The study on the Tuyuhun graves by Tong Tao (2008) should be added, as well. The territory of the 'A zha must have been at some time contiguous to Zhang zhung, since according to the *Old Tibetan Annals*, the already mentioned great minister mGar sTong rtsan yul zung performed a registration in Du gul of Zhang zhung in 632/33, just after and just before staying in the 'A zha country (cf. also Dotson 2009: 87, n. 149). This may either corroborate an extent of the 'A zha country far to the west or an extent of Zhang zhung far into the east (and it may also point to a certain overlap of the nomadic tribes associated with both entities).

In the entry on *Zhang zhung* (pp. 749f.) we read that the "kingdom was conquered by the Yar klungs kings, either during the reign of Srong btsan sgam po (ca. 605–650) or Khri Srong lde btsan (r. 754–ca. 799)". The *Tang Annals* are quoted as stating that Yangtong (the Chinese name for Zhang zhung) surrendered in 634 (p. 749). More precisely, the *Tang Annals* speak only of the *rendering of homage to the Tibetan Emperor* in 634,¹² and only later with respect to the year 678 of the *annexation* of several territories¹³ or of the *submission* of various Qiang tribes associated with Yangtong in 680,¹⁴ leaving some room for interpretation, despite the use of *all* or *entièrement* and *complètement*. Shortly after 'paying homage', the Yangtong acted as allies of the Tibetans and the combined Tibetan and Yangtong troops attacked the Tuyuhun, then the Qiang tribes, finally China (Bushell 1880: 444, Pelliot 1961: 634).

In the *Taiping huanyu ji* (a geographical work, completed 983), Greater Yangtong (that is, the eastern part) is identified with a kingdom that was conquered by the Tibetans in 649 (Pelliot 1963: 708), a conquest associated with severe destruction and a redistribution of the apparently nomadic people. The *Old Tibetan Annals* date the fall of the Zhang zhung king Lig myi rhya into the year 644, and they further mention a 'great sale of fields' (*zhing gi tshong chen*) in connection with the installation of a new fiscal governor for Zhang zhung in the year 652, which may, in fact, relate to the said redistribution. The people of Yangtong, however, continued to send embassies to the

¹² Bushell (1880: 443); Pelliot (1961: 3): "Les royaumes voisins, comme celui de Yang-t'ong et les tribus des K'iang lui [=K'i-tsang-long-tsan] avaient tous rendu hommage."

¹³ Bushell (1880: 450): "At this time [the last year mentioned is 678], the Tufan acquired all the territory of the Yangt'ung, Tanghsiang, and different Ch'iang tribes". Pelliot (1961: 9): "A ce moment, les Tibétains s'étaient entièrement annexé les territoires du Yang-t'ong, des Tang-hiang et des divers K'iang."

¹⁴ Pelliot (1961: 89): "[Les Tibétains] ... soumirent complètement les K'iang Yang-t'ong et Tang-hiang."

Chinese court (Denwood 2008: 9), which indicates that the region or at least major parts of it were not fully integrated into the Tibetan empire. The *Old Tibetan Annals* mention a last rebellion for the year 677/78, which corresponds well with the date of the *Tang Annals* for the ‘complete annexation’. Khyung po sPung sad zu tse (not *sgam po* as the last part of the name is erroneously noted on p. 433), a Zhang zhung noble, great minister under Srong brtsan sgam po, and most probably a collaborationist and war profiteer, has not received an entry, unlike his successor, the above-mentioned mGar sTong btsan yul zung.

With respect to the geographical extent of Zhang zhung, we can read that it “was probably an area in western Tibet with Ti se (Mt Kailash) as its center” (p. 101, entry on *Bon*). In a late and somewhat unreliable description of mNga’ ris (see also below), the ‘lower’ (i.e., eastern) part of mNga’ ris is identified with Zhang zhung, described as being surrounded by the cliffs of Gu ge (p. 450, entry on *mNga’ ris*). Accordingly, the entry on *Gu ge* defines it as an “area in western Tibet, that roughly corresponds to the ancient Zhang zhung kingdom” (p. 284). This identification would confine Zhang zhung to a quite limited area on the Satlej river. This stands not only in contrast with the seemingly a-historic Bon po tradition, according to which Zhang zhung covered a large region from the Pamir region to at least Central Tibet. It also stands in contrast with the Chinese sources on Yangtong. An entry on Yangtong (or a cross-reference from Yangtong to Zhang zhung) is missing, and the Chinese accounts on the region (accessible through Bushell 1880, Pelliot 1963, and others) have been fully ignored.

According to the *Chos ’byung mkhas pa’i dga’ ston* of dPa’ bo gtsug lag, the two moieties of Zhang zhung, *stod* (west) and *smad* (east) were located at the boundary of Tibet and the Western Turks (*Gru gu* for *Dru gu*) and between Tibet and the Sum pa respectively (Ja 19 a, as cited by Tucci 1956: 91). At least the western extension is corroborated through the Vth Dalai Lama’s biography of bSod nams mchog ldan bstan pa’i rgyal mtshan (Tucci 1956: 73), where Zhang zhung is anachronistically associated with mNga’ ris, divided into three provinces (*skor gsum*) as in the later history. But the second *skor* contains Khotan (*Li*), Hunza-Gilgit (*Gru zha* – a common variant for *Bru zha*), and Baltistan (*Sbal te*).

Similarly, the Yangtong of the Chinese sources, divided into a Lesser (western) and a Greater (eastern) part, covered an area from Baltistan or at least Lower Ladakh up to possibly the Kokonor region. It should be noted that the term ‘Lesser’ and ‘Greater’ has nothing to do with the importance of the region, but is relative to the observer, ‘Lesser’/ ‘Little’ meaning close by, ‘Greater’/ ‘Great’ further away

(here in relation to the Chinese troops in Chinese Turkestan or even in the Pamirs), or in relation to a sacred landmark, such as the Pamirian Meru (possibly the Nanga Parbat). The Bonpo division of 'Outer', 'Middle', and 'Inner Zhang zhung', with the latter being located somewhere in sTag gzigs 'Persia' and thus in the immediate neighbourhood of Mt Meru, seems to follow the same kind of convention. The notions of 'Inner' and 'Outer', therefore, do not say anything about where the actual political centre lies. (In a similar vein, the people of Kashmir knew of a 'Little Tibet' in Baltistan and a 'Greater Tibet' in Ladakh, while Tibet itself was out of focus.)

Quite obviously, place names are not at all stable. Over time, they may refer to different regions, and a given region may have quite different extensions at different times. All this is not taken into account and no attempt is made to differentiate between pre-imperial and post-imperial concepts of Zhang zhung.

2-5. Tibet's peripheral areas

A similar vagueness can be observed also with respect to other regions. mNga' ris is described as an entity without "a fixed border" (p. 449), although the present-day prefecture is well defined and the seven districts listed on p. 450 are actually the present-day districts, not the traditional ones as claimed. The traditional division was into three provinces (*skor gsum*). The definition of these provinces varies. One such description is mentioned, as usual without citing the source, where the upper (western) region Mang yul is said to be surrounded by the lakes of Zangs dkar. This oddity seems to have been triggered by the shifting references of the name *Mang/ Mar yul*: Zanskar certainly does not have a single lake (as evident from the map on p. xxviii), not to speak of a multitude of lakes that could surround a region. That the reference to Zanskar is illogical and in need of an explanation has escaped the attention of the authors of the dictionary.

The designation *Mang yul* alters with *Mar yul*, the alleged old name of Ladakh. Under the entry "Mar yul (Maryül; alt. Mard yul) (La dwags)", we can read that this designation was "used in documents from the period of the Tibetan Imperium (...) for an area roughly corresponding to modern La dwags. The domain of Mar yul comprised the westernmost part of Tibet around the town of sKyid grong [Kyirong] to the eastern borders of La dwags" (p. 419). The reviewer has some problem in harmonising the contradiction between an area *corresponding to* and an area *bordering on* Ladakh.

The designation *Mard*, certainly not with the addition of *yul*, appears only once in the Old Tibetan documents (*Old Tibetan Annals*,

year 719), and it is not very obvious to which region it actually referred. As it is mentioned immediately after Zhang zhung, and since place names are typically enumerated from west to east, equalling the notion from 'above' to 'below', Mard was most probably located *east* of Zhang zhung or perhaps to its south (a possible candidate could be Spiti or also the above-mentioned Kyirong). It cannot be identical with present-day Ladakh, which seems to have been part of Zhang zhung itself. The use of the designation *Mar yul* for Ladakh is not attested before the 12th or 13th century Alchi inscription. While modesty should forbid any self-reference, the reviewer nevertheless feels compelled to mention her study on Yangtong (Zeisler 2010), where these place names and the problem of their volatility have been dealt with in quite some detail.

Regrettably, the entries on *mNga' ris* and *Gu ge* in western Tibet and on *Amdo* and *Kham* in the North-East and East do not contain any information about the history of the partially independent principalities or kingdoms. *Gu ge* is somewhat privileged, as a brief outline of the Kingdom of *Gu ge* is given in the introduction (pp. 25–28) and some of the *Gu ge* kings are mentioned in separate entries. A short, one page long entry deals with Bhutan, surprisingly under the head word *Bhutan* instead of '*Brug yul*'. The historical description, however, starts only with the year 1616. The reviewer is astonished that there should not have been any documents or at least some traditions relating to the period before that date.

2-6. *Ladakh and Zanskar*

The rich history of Ladakh is dealt with in a substantially longer entry (*La dwags*, pp. 387–392), but, despite the available genealogies, only some of the attested rulers are mentioned. Only the alleged first offsprings of the Imperial line, Skyid lde Nyi ma mgon, who settled in *mNga' ris*, and his eldest son, Dpal gyi mgon, who, according to the tradition, inherited (parts of) Ladakh, receive an entry of their own.¹⁵

Under the main entry, we further read that Ladakh "was an independent kingdom, and it has been ruled by Tibetan governments from time to time" (p. 387). This is again a rather contradictory statement, and one would have liked to know which Tibetan government, apart from the Empire, would have *ruled* which part of

¹⁵ The pronunciation of the names is given as "Gyidé Nyimagön" and "Belgigön", but in Ladakh, the two rulers are better known as Kidé or Skidé Nyimagon and Pal- or Spalgon.

Ladakh in which particular period. It is further stated that in the distant past, Ladakh had been part of the Kuṣāṇa empire (p. 388), a hypothesis that one can come across in the literature, but which has never been substantiated.

With respect to modern history, we read correctly that Ladakh was divided into the Kargil and Leh districts in 1979, we further read about the riots of 1989 between Buddhists and Muslims and the following anti-Muslim boycott called for by the Ladakh Buddhist Association. The authors continue with the formation of the Ladakh Autonomous Hill Council (finally established in 1995), but the reader cannot guess that this Council covers only the Leh district, and that a separate Hill Council has been set up subsequently for the Kargil district in 2003. One further reads that beyond the ongoing border dispute and repeated border violations, the People's Republic of China would claim "La dwags as part of its territory" (p. 392). This rather unexpected information is not further substantiated and no references are given.

Zanskar is presented as if it had been only temporarily part of Ladakh and had become an independent entity after the annexation of Ladakh to Jammu and Kashmir (p. 387: "La dwags sometimes included ... Zangs dkar"; p. 746: Zangs dkar "was formerly a part of the kingdom of La dwags"; and p. 748: "it remained a part of the kingdom of La dwags until it was incorporated into Jammu and Kashmir"). As a "valley of the Kargil district" (p. 746), it is naturally part of Ladakh, which consists of the two districts, Leh and Kargil.

A short note on the particularities of the Ladakhi language is found unexpectedly under the entry for *Zangs dkar*. Here we can read that "[t]he main language is Ladakhi (La dwags skad),¹⁶ a dialect of Tibetan (Bod skad), that differs from it in pronunciation of some consonants that are not voiced (!) in central Tibetan" (p. 747). There is certainly not only one Ladakhi variety, and the various dialects, of which the Zahare δau (*Zangs dkar gyi zla bo*) is a distinct member, do differ not only in their pronunciation and lexicon from Central Tibetan and among themselves, but more importantly also in their grammar. Generally, it would be better to view Tibetan not as a single language as under the entry *language* (p. 396), but as a language family (just like the Germanic or Romanic languages; cf. Tournadre 2005: 17 and 2014: 106–107), and the various regional varieties as individual languages (just like English is not merely a dialect of German).

¹⁶ It may be noted that the local designation (Leh standard) of the language of Ladakh or rather the central area around Leh is *Ladakse skat* (*La dwags kyi skad*).

3. Final remarks

It is further not fully correct to state that the Tibetan script was based on the north Indian Brāhmī script (p. 750, entry on *Zhang zhung*,) or on the “north Indian Gupta and Brāhmī alphabets” (p. 676, entry on *Thon mi Sam bho ta*, emphasis added – there is no separate entry on the Tibetan script). The Brāhmī script was developed in the 3rd c. BCE and bears little similarity with the modern Indian scripts, which are all derived from it. The Gupta script, which served as a model for the Tibetan script, was a comparatively late development (see Róna-Tas 1985: 231–260 with further literature on the development of the *dbu can* script; and van Schaik 2012 on the *dbu med* script).

Finally, under the entry *Sanskrit*, we find the most astonishing consideration that the “classical Tibetan language was modified so that translators could reflect grammatical constructions such as case endings, compounds and verb forms” (p. 618). Does that mean that Old Tibetan had no case markers or no compounds? One does not really like to read contradictory and / or misconstrued sentences, such as “Tibetan translations were also interpretations, linguistic facsimiles (!) of the originals and in many texts when there was no equivalent or suitable Sanskrit (!) term, they created neologisms from indigenous vocabulary” (p. 618).

Such entries had better not been written, at all. A historical dictionary on Tibet does not necessarily need an entry on language and even less one on Sanskrit. (Would it be necessary to have an entry on Latin in a history of England or the Americas?) Neither are entries on Ladakh and Bhutan, both independent political entities, indispensable, when the authors lack an in-depth knowledge of their respective histories. The reviewer is also not convinced that the dictionary should have contained summarising entries on the history of India, Mongolia, and China with passages that have no bearing on the Tibetan history at all, particularly since the information given in these sections is barely more detailed than what one could find in Wikipedia.

Each of the lamented imprecisions and lacunae may seem marginal in itself, and a few smaller mistakes, unavoidable in such a work, would certainly not have diminished the value of the dictionary. However, in their sum they indicate at least a certain neglect and haste. Since the reviewer found so many inaccuracies in the fields where she happens to have some basic knowledge, she would find difficulties to rely on information where she would need it most, that is, on subjects she is not familiar with and cannot, therefore, judge their accurateness. As it stands, the *Historical Dictionary of Tibet*, despite the useful information that it does contain, is somewhat disap-

pointing for scholars in the field. Whether it can be recommended for high school and college students or 'anyone wanting to know more about Tibet' (back matter), depends on what the targeted audience for this publication actually expects.

The reviewer certainly appreciates the hard work the two authors must have invested in this dictionary. She should like to emphasise that she does not want to put the blame solely on the two authors, as possibly no individual (and no team of only two persons) could have done a better job with the limited historical sources and studies available. The blame lies thus mainly on the publisher who apparently did not understand that such a project would need the (remunerated) expertise of at least a dozen scholars and a much longer editorial process. It can only be hoped that the dictionary will be updated quickly in a new edition, in order to make it a truly useful reference tool.

If that is to happen, first of all, a detailed index should be added, which would allow to access all names and terms, those that are mentioned without receiving an entry of their own, those that are treated under more than one entry, or those that are cross-referenced because the person or place in question is known under more than one name. Secondly, all entries should be re-sorted under the original name of a person, place, item, or concept, independent of whether this name or its Tibetan translation might be more familiar to the potential users. It would be quite beneficial if the introductory section was enlarged by lists of rulers, not only of the empire, but of all major principalities of Tibet (and possibly also of Bhutan or Ladakh), and by lists of all reincarnation lineages, including those of the Mongolian Khutagt (the present lineage holders or their offices will certainly assist in providing such lists). Finally, the publisher should employ a cartographer to design a set of informative historical maps, which would depict the gestation period, the expansion, and the break down of the Tibetan empire, the various regional principalities (and their conquests or losses), the Mongol and the Chinese conquests of Tibet, the present administrative units in the TAR and the Chinese provinces, Ladakh and Bhutan, and the location of the most important (historical) monasteries in Tibet, Bhutan, Ladakh, and Mongolia. It would certainly be no fault if the dictionary were enlarged to two or more volumes.

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