

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

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### 0. Introductory Remarks

The 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*),<sup>2</sup> 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-

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<sup>1</sup> 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.

<sup>2</sup> 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 *Vajrasattvamāyājālatantra*, 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 *Vajrasāḥkharatantra*.<sup>3</sup> 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.<sup>4</sup> Unlike in the case of Amoghavajra's list, Jñānamitra's somewhat later reference, found right at the beginning of his *\*Prajñāpāramitānayaśatapañcāśatkaṭika*,<sup>5</sup> 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*).<sup>6</sup> The Tibetan tradition (followed by modern scholars), however, has regarded this collective term as a reference to what

<sup>3</sup> 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.

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

<sup>5</sup> This title is probably a reconstruction of what may possibly have read as *\*Adhyardhaśatikāprajñāpāramitā*.

<sup>6</sup> *\*Prajñāpāramitānayaśatapañcāśatkaṭika* (P, 295a2; D, 273a1; B, vol. 34: 1489.7–8): *sarba buddha sa ma yo ga dang l guhya sa manytsa la sogs pas...*; *ibid.* (P, 295a4–5; D, 273a3; B, vol. 34: 1489.14): *... sarba 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 \**Guhyagarbhatanravvyākhyāna* ascribed to \*Sūryasimhaprabha, where in one occasion three texts are listed—the *dPal 'phreng dam pa*, *Guhyasamājantra*, and the \**Guhyagarbhatantra*—followed by the word “etc.,” and in another the \**Devīmāyājālatantra* (or, alternatively, \**Devāmāyājālatantra*) 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.<sup>7</sup> The term Mahāyoga oc-

<sup>7</sup> \**Guhyagarbhatanravvyākhyāna* (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 \**Prajñāpāramitānayaśatapañcāṣaṭkaṭikā* mentions a certain *dPal dam pa phreng ba* (together with the *Tattvasaṅgraha*), 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. | ] bcom ldan 'das ma shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa la phyag 'tshal lo | [D om. | ] zhes byung [P 'byung] ba ni | [P om. | ] 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. | ] de bzhin gshegs pa'i yab kyang smos dgos te gang zhe na | yab ni tantra ta ttwā saṃ gra ha [em., P ta da twa sang gra ha, D ta ta twā saṃ 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 *Śrīparamādyā* (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 \**Guhyagarbhatanravvyākhyāna*, 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 de |* . 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 ste | skal pa rdzogs ldan sum ldan gnyis | rtsod dus*

curs numerous times in \*Sūryasiṃhaprabha'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 \*Sūryasiṃhaprabha 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.<sup>8</sup> 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 \**Prajñāpāramitānayaśatapañcāśatkaṭikā*, which was translated into Tibetan already during the first phase of propagation of Buddhism in Tibet and is accordingly referred to in the ninth-

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*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 *Guhyasamājantra*, 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 *Guhyasamājantra*." 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 *Guhyasamājantra*, 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....*

<sup>8</sup> 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 *IDan kar ma* and *'Phang thang ma* catalogues.<sup>9</sup> As pointed out by Sam van Schaik, the notion was familiar, in particular, to the Tibetans in Dunhuang.<sup>10</sup> 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)<sup>11</sup> 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).<sup>12</sup> 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).<sup>13</sup> 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

<sup>9</sup> *IDan dkar ma*, no. 523; *'Phang thang ma* (36.20–21).

<sup>10</sup> 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.

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

<sup>12</sup> Eastman 1981 (unpublished): 16.

<sup>13</sup> 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 khrim, 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).<sup>14</sup> 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*.<sup>15</sup> 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).<sup>16</sup>

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.<sup>17</sup> A further

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<sup>14</sup> Martin 1987: 179–182.

<sup>15</sup> Garson 2004: 259–264.

<sup>16</sup> Van Schaik 2008a: 72–74.

<sup>17</sup> 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.<sup>18</sup>

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 *lDe'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. 90<sup>19</sup>)
- (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)

<sup>18</sup> 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 *Kiraṇa* 10 (ten Śivabheda-s and eighteen Rudrabheda-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.

<sup>19</sup> 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 1352–1355<sup>20</sup>)
- (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

<sup>20</sup> On this suggested date of composition, see Arguillère 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 *lDe'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 *lDe'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 *lDe'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 *lDe'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*).<sup>21</sup>

<sup>21</sup> *mKhyen rab chos 'byung* (139.6–140.4): *rgyal po dang | pañdi 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 pañdi 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 lnga'i rtsa bar gyur pa'i 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 | 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 lnga'i gzhi dang 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 | 'deg thamd [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.<sup>22</sup> 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.

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*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 ra 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*).

<sup>22</sup> 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 *mahāyoga-tantra*). Concerning the list of translated *tantras* pertaining to the *rDo rje sems dpa'i 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*.<sup>23</sup> 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

<sup>23</sup> 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 *IDe'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 *IDe'u chos 'byung* (second half of the 13th cent.). Of the two, it clearly bears more similarities with the *IDe'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 *IDe'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 *IDe'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) \**Guhyagarbhatantra* 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 IDE'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 *Ur-tantra*, 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 IDE'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 IDE'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 IDE'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 gTsong 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 khirms (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.<sup>24</sup> 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 *mūlatantras*), 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*

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<sup>24</sup> 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*.<sup>25</sup> 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 mnyam sbyor*
- (2) *Zla gsang thig le*
- (3) *gSang ba 'dus pa*
- (4) *rNam snang sgyu drwa*

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<sup>25</sup> *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 mnyam 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* (*ṣaṭtrimśadyogatantra: rgyud chen po sum cu rtsa drug*) provided in *Pelliot tibétain 849* (where, however, seemingly only thirty titles are provided),<sup>26</sup> which was presumably composed towards the end of the tenth century,<sup>27</sup> 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

<sup>26</sup> 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*, *yoganiruttaratantra*, and *yoginītantra*). 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 *Kāyavākcittatantra*) as a heading for the titles following it, while treating the remaining two as titles of individual *tantras*. Although there is a *tantra* titled *Māyājālamahatantrarāja* in the *bKa' 'gyur* (P102/D466), which could be indeed identified as the *Māyājālatantra* 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 *Guhyasamāja*, which is certainly possible, though he treated *cittatantra* as a separate entry."

<sup>27</sup> 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).<sup>28</sup>

1. *Vairocanamāyājālatantra* (IDe'u, Klong chen, Rat gling 17; Sangs gling, mKhyen rab, Sog bzlog 16)
2. *Mañjuśrīmāyājālatantra* (Klong chen 18.6; Sangs gling, mKhyen rab, Sog bzlog 16.2)
3. *Vajrasattvamāyājālatantra* (IDe'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)<sup>29</sup>
4. *\*Devīmāyājālatantra* / *\*Devyamāyājālatantra* (IDe'u 18.11; Klong chen 18.3; Sangs gling 18.5; mKhyen rab, Sog bzlog 18.12)
5. *Sarvabuddhasamāyogatantra* (IDe'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* (IDe'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* (IDe'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*<sup>30</sup> (IDe'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)

<sup>28</sup> 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 *\*Guhyagarbhatantra* interchangeably (see the note to *Vajrasattvamāyājālatantra* in the following list (title no. 3)). This leaves us with the *Vajracatuṣpīṭhatantra* (title no. 11 in the following list) as one that has not been identified by Eastman. This is not surprising, as the *Vajracatuṣpīṭhatantra* 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 *\*Guhyagarbhatantra* in forty chapters, and it is possible that Eastman regarded the title *\*Guhyagarbhatantra* 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* (< *\*Herukābhūdaya?*) in *Pelliot tibétain 849*.

<sup>29</sup> See the note to no. 9. *\*Guhyagarbhatantra*.

<sup>30</sup> 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 a another text of the Kriyā class that was popular in Dunhuang at that time).

9. \**Guhyagarbhatantra* (IDe'u, Sangs gling, mKhyen rab 18.1; Klong chen 18.2; bSam rdo, O rgyan 16; Sog bzlog, Klong chen pa, Zur 'tsho 18)<sup>31</sup>
10. *Vajrāmṛtatantra* (IDe'u 9.1; Sangs gling, mKhyen rab, ~Sog bzlog 9.2)
11. *Vajracatuṣpīṭhatantra* (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*/*\*Guhyagarbhatantra* and *\*Upāyapāśatantra*, which are commonly two of the three *tantras* concluding the various lists (note that since the *Vajrasattvamāyājālatantra* and the *\*Guhyagarbhatantra* 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):

<sup>31</sup> Note that in some lists the distinction between the titles *Vajrasattvamāyājālatantra* (often used to designate the entire cycle) and *\*Guhyagarbhatantra* (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* (IDe'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* (IDe'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* (IDe'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. *sNyjing rje rol pa* (IDe'u, Klong chen, Sangs gling, mKhyen rab, Sog bzlog, Rat gling(?) 8)
5. *Phur pa bcu gnyis kyi rgyud phyi ma* (IDe'u, Klong chen, Sangs gling, mKhyen rab, Sog bzlog 10.3)
6. *Ri bo brtsegs pa* (IDe'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* (IDe'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* (IDe'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* (IDe'u, Klong chen, Sangs gling, mKhyen rab, Sog bzlog 15.3)
10. *Thabs kyi zhags pa* (IDe'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* (IDe'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 IDe'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 IDe'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. Noteworthy 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*<sup>32</sup>
2. *Zla gsang thig le*<sup>33</sup>
3. *gSang ba 'dus pa*<sup>34</sup>
4. *bDud rtsi rol pa*<sup>35</sup>

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

<sup>33</sup> *bSam gtan mig sgron* (26.6, 205.2).

<sup>34</sup> *bSam gtan mig sgron* (59.4, 194.6, 215.5).

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

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. *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṅgīti*
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

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<sup>35</sup> *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.

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

<sup>37</sup> *bSam gtan mig sgron* (8.4, 87.1, 87.6, 281.3).

<sup>38</sup> *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*).

<sup>39</sup> *bSam gtan mig sgron* (203.1).

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

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

<sup>42</sup> *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* (*ṣaṭtrimśadyogatantra: 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.<sup>43</sup>

*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'  
btsal bas te |

(I) de sku gsung thugs yon tan 'phrin las lnga'i gzhi 'am rtsa bar<sup>44</sup>  
gyur pa'i rgyud lnga ni |  
sku'i rgyud

<sup>43</sup> 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*.

<sup>44</sup> Instead of *lnga'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 |<sup>45</sup>  
 gsung gi rgyud  
 (2) zla gsang thig le |<sup>46</sup>  
 thugs kyi rgyud  
 (3) gsang ba 'dus pa |<sup>47</sup>  
 yon tan gyi rgyud  
 (4) dPal mchog dang po |<sup>48</sup>  
 'phrin las kyi rgyud  
 (5) dPal 'phreng dkar po'o |<sup>49</sup>  
 (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 |<sup>50</sup>

<sup>45</sup> 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: 953–5. The *tantra* was admitted into the *bKa' 'gyur* (P8/D366).

<sup>46</sup> 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 'Guhya (or *Guhya ti la ka*). See Cantwell & Mayer 2012: 84. The *tantra* has been admitted into the *bKa' 'gyur* (P111/D477).

<sup>47</sup> 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).

<sup>48</sup> 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.

<sup>49</sup> 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 Paramādya*s. See Szántó (forthcoming).

<sup>50</sup> 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 |<sup>51</sup>

yon tan

(9) bdud rtsi rol pa |<sup>52</sup>

'phrin las kyi

(10) phur pa byi dor rol pa'o |<sup>53</sup>

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

<sup>52</sup> 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 *rTsoḍ bzlog* listed below, text no. 9.

<sup>53</sup> 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*<sup>o</sup>, which is short for *Vidyottamāntra*, a title referring to the assumed lost *Ur-tantra* of the Vajrakīla cycle. The *Vidyottamāntra* (*Byi to'i rgyud*) is mentioned in Zhi ba 'od's *bKa' shog* (no. 20) as a spurious text (see Karmay 1998: 33). The *Mahāvīdyottamāntra* is, however, referred to in two Indian *Nāmasaṅgīti* commentaries (a) the *Nāmamantrārthāvalokīnī* (Cambridge Ms Add. 1708, f. 55v) of Vilāsavajra's (late 8th or early 9th c.), and (b) the *Gūḍhapadā* (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 *Vidyottamāntra*, 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 Vidyākaraṣa and dPal brtsegs, and thus clearly goes back to the early translation period. Also in Mi-pham's *bKa' brgyad rnam bshad* (430.1–2), the *Vidyottamāntra* is clearly identified in a gloss (marked in the following citation with an asterisk) as the *Rig pa mchog*: *bid to ta ma\* la kī la ya'i rgyud | kī la ya bcu gnyis kyi rgyud | rnal 'byor ma dam pa gsang chen gyi rgyud 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 sgron smug por ā than | rgya rgya rgya | gter ston chos dbang gis gter nas gdan drangs pa'o | |*). Nonetheless, several colophons of *NyGB* texts do refer to the *Vidyottamāntra* 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 ldan '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 | kī 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 lnga ni |

(11) go 'phang dbang gis bgröd pa'i rgyud ri bo brtsegs pa |<sup>54</sup>

(12) gzhi dam tshig gis bzung ba la dam tshig bkod pa |

(13) thag lta bas bcad pa la glang po rab tu mchog |<sup>55</sup>

(14) nyams su ting 'dzin gyis len pa la rtse gcig bsdus pa[ | ]<sup>56</sup>

(15) la spyod pas dor ba la rngam pa glog ye shes 'khor [lo]<sup>57</sup>

dang lnga te | bco lnga'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 padma<sup>58</sup> phreng ba dang |<sup>59</sup>

(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 |<sup>60</sup>

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 *Vidyottamātāntra* in Tibetan sources, including *rNying ma* and *Sa skya*, see Stein 1978.

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

<sup>55</sup> 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* (§B, 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.

<sup>56</sup> 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.

<sup>57</sup> 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.

<sup>58</sup> The *Klong chen chos 'byung* reads *pad mo* instead of *padma*.

<sup>59</sup> The *\*Upāyapaśatantra* 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).

<sup>60</sup> The *Vairocanamayājālatantra* 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 *Vairocanamayājālatantra* 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) <sup>61</sup>de 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 | <sup>62</sup>

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 rnams 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]<sup>63</sup> bco brgyad do |

(3.3) bshad rgyud bzhi<sup>64</sup> 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 *Māyājālamahātantrarāja*. (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.)

<sup>61</sup> 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 |*.

<sup>62</sup> The *Vajrasattvamāyājālatantra* 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 *māyājālatantras*. 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).

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

<sup>64</sup> 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 zhus 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 |<sup>65</sup>  
 (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 |<sup>66</sup>  
 (5.4) nyer gnyis pa [~ Tk.259, Tb.515]<sup>67</sup>  
 (5.5) so bdun pa'o |
- (6) he ru ka pa rol pa'i rgyud la<sup>68</sup>  
 (6.1) rtsa rgyud le'u zhe gsum pa |  
 (6.2) phyi ma bco brgyad pa'o |
- (7) dbang chen la<sup>69</sup>  
 (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 |<sup>70</sup>

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

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

<sup>66</sup> Both the *lDe'u chos 'byung* and the *Klong chen chos 'byung* read here *kha mthun* instead of *cha mthun*.

<sup>67</sup> 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'us* numbered 1–3, four *rtog pas* numbered 4–7, and a final *le'u* numbered 22!

<sup>68</sup> Both the *lDe'u chos 'byung* and the *Klong chen chos 'byung* read here *he ru ka pa*, which is unusual.

<sup>69</sup> Note that in the list of the Tantric cycles as a whole, *lDe'u* has *rta mchog rol pa* (§ A, no. 7) instead of *dbang chen*. Note that a text titled *dBang c[h]en bsdu s 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 *lDe'u's* list)?

<sup>70</sup> Noteworthy enough, the phrase *rim par phye ba* has been replaced with the term *bam po* in Sangs rgyas gling pa's *rGyas 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 *Vajrāmṛta-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 |<sup>71</sup>  
 (10) byi dor la<sup>72</sup>  
 (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 |<sup>73</sup>  
 (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 pa<sup>74</sup>  
 (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 la<sup>75</sup>  
 (13.1) le'u nyer brgyad pa |  
 (14) rtse gcig bsdu pa la<sup>76</sup>  
 (14.1) le'u bco lnga ste |  
 (14.2) de bzhi [=gzhi?] rgyud rkyang bzhugs pa'o |<sup>77</sup>  
 (15) glang po ra 'bog [> glog ye shes 'khor lo] la<sup>78</sup>  
 (15.1) rtsa rgyud le'u drug cu rtsa gnyis |

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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.

<sup>71</sup> 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.

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

<sup>73</sup> 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 *Vidyottamāntara* (*Bi / Byi to ta*) recorded by others. See Rat gling 10, Zur 'tsho 13, bSam rdo 15, Klong chen pa 10.

<sup>74</sup> 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.

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

<sup>76</sup> 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*.

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

<sup>78</sup> 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* |<sup>79</sup>  
 (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* |<sup>80</sup>  
 (17) [*rnam par snang mdzad sgyu 'phrul drwa ba'i rgyud*]<sup>81</sup>  
 (18)<sup>82</sup> *rdo rje sems dpa' sgyu 'phrul drwa ba la zhes pa phyogs gcig tu bsdus nas* |  
 (18.1) *gsang ba snying po rtsa rgyud*<sup>83</sup> *dang bshad rgyud bcas pa la | rgyas pa sgyu 'phrul brgyad cu pa* |<sup>84</sup>  
 (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* |<sup>85</sup>  
 (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* |

<sup>79</sup> 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* commentray, where a text titled *Glog gru* is cited, one may consider here emending *gu* to *gru*. See Cantwell & Mayer 2012: 84.

<sup>80</sup> 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.

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

<sup>82</sup> 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*.

<sup>83</sup> 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.

<sup>84</sup> 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.

<sup>85</sup> 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 |<sup>86</sup>

de ltar tan tra gnyis [= sde?]<sup>87</sup> 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 dgos<sup>88</sup> 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*:<sup>89</sup>**

(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 |

<sup>86</sup> 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.

<sup>87</sup> 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.

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

<sup>89</sup> 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 gsun | 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 | pañḍi 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 | [IDe'u no equivalent, apparently implied in  
18.1]
- (18.2) rgyas par 'grel pa brgyad cu pa | [= IDe'u 18.1]
- (18.3) rol pa mngon gyur lha mo sgyu 'phrul | [= IDe'u 18.11]
- (18.4) dbang gtso bor ston pa sgyu 'phrul bla ma | [= IDe'u no  
equivalent]<sup>90</sup>
- (18.5) dkyil 'khor gtso bor ston pa sgyu 'phrul brgyad pa |<sup>91</sup>
- (18.6) yon tan mthar phyin par ston pa 'jam dpal sgyu 'phrul  
drwa ba |<sup>92</sup>
- (18.7) 'phrin las gtso bor ston pa sgyu 'phrul bzhi bcu pa |<sup>93</sup>
- (18.8) dam tshig mchog tu gsal bar ston pa sgyu 'phrul le lag  
dang brgyad do | |<sup>94</sup>
- 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**

<sup>90</sup> I have chosen not to equate this title with IDe'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*.

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

<sup>92</sup> 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.

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

<sup>94</sup> 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 bsdu don lta bu'i  
rgyud chen gcig ste | de ltar sde bcwo bryad 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;<sup>95</sup> lDe'u no equivalent]

(1.2) gces<sup>96</sup> pa phyogs gcig tu bsdu 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]<sup>97</sup>

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

<sup>95</sup> 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* | |.

<sup>96</sup> The *mKhyen rab chos 'byung* reads *ces*.

<sup>97</sup> 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.

<sup>98</sup> 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 |<sup>99</sup> [= mKhyen rab 1.5;<sup>100</sup> 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;<sup>101</sup> 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 lnga'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 ma<sup>102</sup> [= 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]<sup>103</sup>
- (3.4) bskal pa'i rgyud gshed rje dgra nag | [= mKhyen rab 3.4; Sog bzlog 3.4;<sup>104</sup> lDe'u no equivalent]
- (3.5) khro bo rta mgrin gyi rgyud<sup>105</sup> | [= 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]

<sup>99</sup> This is apparently the *Vajracatuspīthantra* 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/D428).

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

<sup>101</sup> 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.

<sup>102</sup> 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.

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

<sup>104</sup> 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 |*.

<sup>105</sup> The *Chos 'byung dgag pa* reads *dang* instead of *rgyud*.

- (3.8) padma nying gur [= kur?] brtsegs pa dang | [mKhyen rab, Sog bzlog & lDe'u no equivalent]
- (3.9) don yod zhags<sup>106</sup> pa'i rtogs pa rnam 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 cad<sup>107</sup> 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 phyed 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]<sup>108</sup>
- (5.1) rtsa ba'i rgyud dang | [= mKhyen rab 5.1; Sog bzlog 5.1; lDe'u 5]<sup>109</sup>
- (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,<sup>110</sup> lDe'u 5.4]
- (5.6) bcu bdun pa | [= mKhyen rab 5.5; Sog bzlog 5.5; ~ lDe'u 5.2]<sup>111</sup>

<sup>106</sup> The *mKhyen rab chos 'byung* and *Chos 'byung dgag pa omit zhags*.

<sup>107</sup> The *mKhyen rab chos 'byung* omits *thams cad*.

<sup>108</sup> 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.

<sup>109</sup> 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).

<sup>110</sup> 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;<sup>112</sup> *IDe'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;<sup>113</sup> *IDe'u* 6]<sup>114</sup>
- (6.1) *rgyud phyi ma'o* | | [= *mKhyen rab* 6.2; *Sog bzlog* 6.1; *IDe'u* 6.2]
- (7)<sup>115</sup> *padma gsung gi sgrub pa lag len rta mchog rol pa* [= *mKhyen rab* 7; *IDe'u* 7]
- (7.1) *rtsa ba'i rgyud dang* | [= *mKhyen rab* 7.1; *IDe'u* 7.1]
- (7.2) *rgyud phyi ma dang* | [= *mKhyen rab* 7.2; *IDe'u* 7.2]
- (7.3) *bshad rgyud dbang chen 'dus pa dang* | [= *mKhyen rab* 7.3; *Sog bzlog* 7.3; *IDe'u* no equivalent]
- (7.4) *bde ba rgyan gyi rgyud do* | [= *mKhyen rab* 7.4; *Sog bzlog* 7.4; *IDe'u* no equivalent]
- (8) *yang dag thugs kyi sgrub pa lag len snying rje rol pa* [= *mKhyen rab* 8; *Sog bzlog* 8; *IDe'u* 8]
- (8.1) *rtsa ba'i rgyud dang* | [= *mKhyen rab* 8.1; *Sog bzlog* 8; ~ *IDe'u* 8.1]<sup>116</sup>
- (8.2) *rgyud phyi ma'o* | | [= *mKhyen rab* 8.2; *Sog bzlog* 8.1; *IDe'u* no equivalent]
- (9) *che mchog yon tan gyi sgrub pa lag len bdud rtsi rol pa* [= *mKhyen rab* 9; *Sog bzlog* 9; *IDe'u* 9]
- (9.1) *rtsa ba'i rgyud dang* | [= *mKhyen rab* 9.1; *Sog bzlog* 9.1; *IDe'u* no equivalent]
- (9.2) *dum bu'i rgyud bam po*<sup>117</sup> *brgyad pa* | [= *mKhyen rab* 9.2; ~ *Sog bzlog* 9.2;<sup>118</sup> *IDe'u* 9.1]

<sup>111</sup> Note that the *IDe'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.

<sup>112</sup> 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*.

<sup>113</sup> 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*.

<sup>114</sup> Both the *mKhyen rab chos 'byung* (no. 6.1) and the *IDe'u chos 'byung* (no. 6.1) mention explicitly the *mūlatantra* of this cycle.

<sup>115</sup> 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.

<sup>116</sup> Note that the *IDe'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.

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

<sup>118</sup> 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]<sup>119</sup>
- (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]<sup>120</sup>
- (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 rgyud<sup>121</sup> [= 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 bsgrid 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]<sup>122</sup>

<sup>119</sup> 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.

<sup>120</sup> 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*.

<sup>121</sup> 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.

<sup>122</sup> 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; ~ IDE'u 11.1]
- (12) gzhi dam tshig gis bzung ba bkod pa'i rgyud [= mKhyen rab 12; Sog bzlog 12; IDE'u 12]
- (12.1) [rtsa ba] dang | [= mKhyen rab 12.1; Sog bzlog 12.1; ~ IDE'u 12.1]<sup>123</sup>
- (12.2) rgyud phyi ma'o | | [= mKhyen rab 12.2; Sog bzlog 12.1; ~ IDE'u 12.1]
- (13) 'phang<sup>124</sup> lta bas gcod pa glang po rab 'bog gi rgyud [= mKhyen rab 13; Sog bzlog 13; IDE'u 13]
- (13.1) [rtsa ba] dang | [= mKhyen rab 13.1; Sog bzlog 13.1; ~ IDE'u 13.1]<sup>125</sup>
- (13.2) rgyud phyi ma'o | | [= mKhyen rab 13.2; Sog bzlog 13.1; ~ IDE'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; IDE'u 14]
- (14.1) [rtsa ba] dang | [= mKhyen rab 14.1; Sog bzlog 14.1; ~ IDE'u 14.1]<sup>126</sup>
- (14.2) rgyud phyi ma'o | | [= mKhyen rab 14.2; Sog bzlog 14.2; ~ IDE'u 14.1]
- (15) la spyod pas dor ba rngam glog 'khor lo'i rgyud [= mKhyen rab 15; Sog bzlog 15; IDE'u 15]
- (15.1) [rtsa ba] dang | [= mKhyen rab 15.1; Sog bzlog 15.1; IDE'u 15.1]
- (15.2) rgyud phyi ma'o | | [= mKhyen rab 15.2; Sog bzlog 15.2; IDE'u 15.2]

<sup>123</sup> Note that, as in the case of the previous title, the *IDE'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.

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

<sup>125</sup> Here, as in the two previous titles, the *IDE'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.

<sup>126</sup> As in the three previous titles, the *IDE'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]<sup>127</sup>
- (15.4) khro bo rdo rje sme [=rme?]<sup>128</sup> 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]<sup>129</sup>
- (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;<sup>130</sup> lDe'u no equivalent; Klong chen 18.6]<sup>131</sup>
- (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)<sup>132</sup> de dag gi bsdu don lta bu ni | rdo rje sems dpa' sgyu 'phrul drwa ba'i rgyud skor rnam te | [= mKhyen rab 18; Sog bzlog 18; lDe'u 18; Klong chen 18]

<sup>127</sup> 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*.

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

<sup>129</sup> 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 rnam par snang mdzad sgyu 'phrul drwa ba'i rgyud do | |*.

<sup>130</sup> 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.

<sup>131</sup> 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).

<sup>132</sup> 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 bsdu pa sgyu 'phrul drug cu pa | [mKhyen rab, lDe'u & Klong chen no equivalent]
- (18.3) shin tu bsdu 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]<sup>133</sup>
- (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]<sup>134</sup>
- (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]<sup>135</sup>
- (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 bsdu pa | [= mKhyen rab 18.8; lDe'u 18.7; Klong chen no equivalent]
- (18.15) phyi ma'i phyi ma the tshom lnga'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]

<sup>133</sup> 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.

<sup>134</sup> See the note to title no. 18.10.

<sup>135</sup> 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 rnams 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]<sup>136</sup>
- (18.3) bshad rgyud logs su bsdus pa ting 'dzin bsrung 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 lnga'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 kyī skor la | tantra sde bco brgyad de |

<sup>136</sup> 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 | [= IDE'u 1]

gsung gi rgyud

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

thug [= thugs] kyi rgyud

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

yon tan gyi rgyud

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

phrin las kyi rgyud

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

dang snga'o | |

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

sku'i rgyud la

(6) he ru ka gal po | [~ IDE'u 6?]<sup>137</sup>

gsung gi rgyud

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

thugs kyi rgyud

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

yon tan gyi rgyud

(9) bdud rtsi rol pa bam po brgyad |<sup>139</sup> [= IDE'u 9]

phrin las kyi rgyud

(10) byi to ta ma la | ki la ya bcu gnyis kyi rgyud [~ IDE'u 10]<sup>140</sup>

dang lnga'o | |

## (III.) yan lag gi rgyud la |

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

(12) go 'phang dbang gis bsgrad pa | dbang bskur rgyal po'i rgyud | [IDE'u no equivalent]<sup>141</sup><sup>137</sup> Note that the four previous lists have *he ru ka'i rol pa*.<sup>138</sup> 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 *snying rje'i rol pa*, as in the previously cited four sources.<sup>139</sup> 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.<sup>140</sup> The *IDE'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.<sup>141</sup> It is rather unlikely that this title and the title no. 11 (which is the only remaining option) in the list provided in the *IDE'u chos 'byung* (followed by the remaining three sources cited above)—that is, the *Go 'phang dbang gis bgrad 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 | [= IDe'u 13]<sup>142</sup>

(14) nyams su ting nge 'dzin gyis blangs pa | rtse cig bsdus pa'i rgyud | [= IDe'u 14]

(15) la spyod pas dor ba | rngam pa glog gi rgyud [= IDe'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[ | ]<sup>143</sup> [= IDe'u 16]

(17) dkyil 'khor thams cad la 'jug pa'i rgyud | sgyu 'phrul drwa ba'i rgyud | [= IDe'u 17]<sup>144</sup>

(V.) don thams cad 'dus pa'i rgyud |

(18) rdo rje sems dpa' sgyu 'phrul drwa ba stong phrag brgya [= IDe'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 gTsong 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 gTsong 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 *IDe'u chos 'byung* will

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*'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).

<sup>142</sup> As noted above (n. ad IDe'u 3), the *IDe'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*.

<sup>143</sup> 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.

<sup>144</sup> Note that the *IDe'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 dzaḥ 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 che<sup>145</sup> rab 'bog | [= dPa' bo, sDe srid, 'Jigs gling 2; lDe'u 13 (spyi'i yan lag)]

(3) glang po che chur<sup>146</sup> zhugs<sup>147</sup> [= 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 pa |<sup>148</sup> [= dPa' bo, sDe srid, 'Jigs gling 5; lDe'u no equivalent]

(6) du ma [las]<sup>149</sup> '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 tu<sup>150</sup> '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)]

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

<sup>146</sup> 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*.

<sup>147</sup> 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.

<sup>148</sup> 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.

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

<sup>150</sup> 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 le*<sup>151</sup> | [= dPa' bo, sDe srid, 'Jigs gling 13; lDe'u 5 (rtsa ba, 'phrin las)]<sup>152</sup>
- (14) *sgron*<sup>153</sup> *ma* [= *me?*]<sup>154</sup> 'bar ba | [= dPa' bo, sDe srid, 'Jigs gling 14; lDe'u no equivalent]
- (15) *ki*<sup>155</sup> *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*)]<sup>156</sup>
- spyi'i rgyud gsum ni |
- (16) *de dag thams cad kyi spyi rgyud*<sup>157</sup> *sgyu 'phrul drwa*<sup>158</sup> *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* |<sup>159</sup> [= dPa' bo, sDe srid, 'Jigs gling 17; lDe'u 12 (*spyi'i yan lag*)]<sup>160</sup>
- (18) *rdo rje*<sup>161</sup> *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 bryad po rgyal po dzaḥs(!)*<sup>162</sup> | ...

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

In the following, the relevant passage from Klong chen pa Dri med 'od zer's *sNgaḡs 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.

<sup>151</sup> The *Baidūra g.ya' sel* reads *lya* instead of *le*.

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

<sup>153</sup> The *Baidūra g.ya' sel* reads *sgrol* instead of *sgron*.

<sup>154</sup> 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*.

<sup>155</sup> The *Baidūra g.ya' sel* reads *ki*.

<sup>156</sup> 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.

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

<sup>158</sup> The *Baidūra g.ya' sel* reads *dra*.

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

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

<sup>161</sup> The *sNga 'gyur rgyud 'bum rtogs brjod* omits *rdo rje*.

<sup>162</sup> The employment of the ergative suffix *s* while retaining the *visarga* sign (resulting in *dzaḥs* 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 'jug<sup>163</sup> [= 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)]<sup>164</sup>

(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]  
<sup>165</sup>

(8) thugs kyi gsung rgyud gcig las 'phros pa |<sup>166</sup> [= 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]

<sup>163</sup> 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).

<sup>164</sup> 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).

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

<sup>166</sup> 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 *ekot-tarika* 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; IDE'u 4 (rtsa ba, yon tan)]
- (IV) [phrin las kyi rgyud]
13. phrin las kyi sku rgyud dpal phreng dkar mo | [= bSam rdo 13;<sup>167</sup> IDE'u 5 (rtsa ba, 'phrin las)]
14. phrin las kyi gsung rgyud ma mo rgyud lung | [bSam rdo & IDE'u no equivalent]
15. phrin las kyi thugs rgyud [bi] ta ma la 'bum sde | [= bSam rdo 15;<sup>168</sup> IDE'u 10 (sgrub pa'i lag len, 'phrin las)]
- (V) [spyi rgyud]
16. spyi'i sku rgyud thabs zhags | [= bSam rdo 18; IDE'u 16]
17. spyi gsung rgyud sa ma ya bkod pa | [= bSam rdo 17;<sup>169</sup> IDE'u 12 (spyi'i yan lag)]
18. spyi'i thugs rgyud gsang ba sgyu 'phrul lo | | [=bSam rdo 16; IDE'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]

<sup>167</sup> bSam 'grub rdo rje reads, however, *karma mā le*.

<sup>168</sup> bSam 'grub rdo rje reads, however, *kī la ya yig 'bru bcu gnyis kyi rgyud*.

<sup>169</sup> 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]<sup>170</sup>  
 (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 rtsi'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]<sup>171</sup>  
 (14) sgröl [= sgron?] ma brtsegs pa las kyi tantra dang |<sup>172</sup> [bSam rdo & Klong chen pa no equivalent]  
 (15) rtsa rgyud karma mā le rang dang gsum | [= bSam rdo 13; Klong chen pa 13]<sup>173</sup>
- (VI) [no collective heading]  
 (16) mtshan nyid dang ni rgyud rnam's 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]

<sup>170</sup> 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).

<sup>171</sup> 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.

<sup>172</sup> Note that a *tantra* containing the phrase *sgröl 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 *sgröl* 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.

<sup>173</sup> 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]  
lṅga'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 5<sup>174</sup>; O rgyan 5<sup>175</sup>]

(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]

<sup>174</sup> Note, however, that Klong chen pa has *Padma dbang chen*.

<sup>175</sup> 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?*]<sup>176</sup>
- (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) *namkha'* [exp. *nam mkha'*] *mdzod kyi rgyud* | [= *bSam rdo* & *Klong chen pa* no equivalent; *O rgyan 10*]<sup>177</sup>
- (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?*<sup>178</sup>; *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 13*<sup>179</sup>; *O rgyan 15*]
- (VI) [*spyi'i rgyud gsum ni*]<sup>180</sup>
- (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) <sup>181</sup>*dam tshig sa ma ya 'bum sde bkod pa'i rgyud dang* | [= *bSam rdo 17*; *Klong chen pa 17*; *O rgyan 17*]
- (18) <sup>182</sup>*sgyu 'phrul dra ba le'u stong phrag brgya pa'i rgyud* [= *bSam rdo 16*; *Klong chen pa 18*; *O rgyan 16*<sup>183</sup>]  
*dang 3* [exp. *gsum*] *snyan pa'o* | |

<sup>176</sup> *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*.

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

<sup>178</sup> *Klong chen pa* has [*bi*] *ta ma la 'bum sde*.

<sup>179</sup> *Klong chen pa* has *dpal phreng dkar mo*.

<sup>180</sup> 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.

<sup>181</sup> 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.

<sup>182</sup> 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.

<sup>183</sup> *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 kyī gnas su bshad  
cing bsgrubs | de'i dgos pa ni | rgyal po dza nyid kyī '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 lnga dang ldan dgos  
pas | rgyal po dza nyid kyī gnas su bshad do | de la spyir

A. ma hā yo ga la

1. bsgrub lugs kyī 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 kyī 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]<sup>184</sup>

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 |

<sup>184</sup> 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 lta ste chos nyid ma 'chol ba'o | de la sgyu 'phrul sde brgyad dkon [= sgos]<sup>185</sup> rgyud bcu gnyis so |

1. sgyu 'phrul sde brgyad la |<sup>186</sup>
- 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 lha |
- 1.5. don bsdus nas bstan pa | sgyu 'phrul le'u brgyad pa |
- 1.6. rol pa mngon du gyur pa lha mo sgyu 'phrul |
- 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 |<sup>187</sup>
- 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 |

<sup>185</sup> 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.

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

<sup>187</sup> 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 rnam 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 bcad<sup>188</sup> la | slob dpon pad  
 ma 'byung gnas dang cog ro klu'i rgyal mtshan gnyis kyis gsang  
 sngags kyis chos<sup>189</sup> rgyud sde bco brgyad<sup>190</sup> bsgyur |  
 gsang sngags kyis chos sgrub pa la bar chad mi 'byung bar bya ba'i  
 phyir |

(1) gzi ldan 'bar ba mtshams kyis rgyud |  
 bdag tu 'dzin pa 'khor ba'i rgyu<sup>191</sup> yin pas 'khor ba las sgröl zhing<sup>192</sup>  
 phung po lha'i dkyil 'khor du bya ba'i phyir |

- (2) zhi ba<sup>193</sup> lha'i rgyud |  
 bdud dang mu stegs<sup>194</sup> 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 kyis sgrub lugs khro bo kun [=puṅ]<sup>195</sup> dha rī ka'i tantra |  
 (6) yon tan gyi sgrub lugs lha mo ma göl ba'i tantra |  
 (7) 'phrin las kyis sgrub lugs rig 'dzin 'dus<sup>196</sup> pa'i tantra |

<sup>188</sup> The *Zangs gling ma* reads *yan chad* instead of *yar bcad*.

<sup>189</sup> The *Zangs gling ma* reads *nang gi* instead of *chos*.

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

<sup>191</sup> The *Zangs gling ma* reads *rgya* instead of *rgyu*.

<sup>192</sup> The *Zangs gling ma* reads *chos nyid du bsgral nas* instead of *las sgröl zhing*.

<sup>193</sup> The *Zangs gling ma* reads *zhi ba dam pa* instead of *zhi ba*.

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

<sup>195</sup> The reading *puṅ* is supported by the *Zangs gling ma*.

- (8) rigs [= rig]<sup>197</sup> sngags kyi<sup>198</sup> sgrub lugs he ru ka 'dus pa'i tan-  
tra |
- (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 |<sup>199</sup>
- (14) phur pa 'phrin las kyi rgyud bi to ta ma la 'bum sde |
- (15) ma mo sbod<sup>200</sup> gtong gi rgyud 'bum tig | srid pa rgyud  
lung<sup>201</sup> |<sup>202</sup>
- phrin las kha skong ba dang rgyan rtags 'debs<sup>203</sup> pa'i phyir
- (16) shes pa stong khas<sup>204</sup> brgyan pa'i rgyud |
- las rgya mtsho ji ltar bstan pa'i phyir<sup>205</sup> |
- (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 chen<sup>206</sup> yongs sgrol gyi rgyud |
- sbyor ba gnas su dag par bya ba'i phyir
- (21) thig le klong<sup>207</sup> 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'i<sup>208</sup> las thams cad kyi sngon du 'gro ba'i<sup>209</sup> phyir

<sup>196</sup> The *Zangs gling ma* reads *grub* instead of *'dus*.

<sup>197</sup> The reading *rig* is supported by the *Zangs gling ma*.

<sup>198</sup> The *Zangs gling ma* reads *spyi'i* instead of *kyi*.

<sup>199</sup> The *Zangs gling ma* adds here *lung bam po brgyad pa* |.

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

<sup>201</sup> 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.

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

<sup>203</sup> The *Zangs gling ma* reads *gdag* instead of *rtags 'debs*.

<sup>204</sup> The *Zangs gling ma* reads *gis* instead of *khas*.

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

<sup>206</sup> The *Zangs gling ma* reads *kyis* instead of *chen*.

<sup>207</sup> The *Zangs gling ma* reads *bde bklong* instead of *klong*.

<sup>208</sup> The *Zangs gling ma* omits *gtor ma'i*.

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



(24.1+2) gtor rgyud che chung |<sup>210</sup>  
 bka'<sup>211</sup> 'khor skyong ba'i srung ma<sup>212</sup> lhag ma la dbang ba rnams la las  
 bcol ba'i phyir  
 (25) dpal 'bar khro mo'i rgyud |  
 bgegs gzir zhing mnan pa'i<sup>213</sup> phyir  
 (26) zhing bcu sgrol ba'i rgyud |  
 de rnams ni ma ha yo ga'i rgyud<sup>214</sup> yin no |

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<sup>210</sup> The *Zangs gling ma* reads *gtor lung che chung gi rgyud* | instead of *gtor rgyud che chung* |.

<sup>211</sup> The *Zangs gling ma* reads *phyi* instead of *bka'*.

<sup>212</sup> The *Zangs gling ma* omits *srung ma*.

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

<sup>214</sup> The *Zangs gling ma* reads *rgyud sde* instead of *rgyud*.

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