

TIBETAN
BUDDHISM
REASON and
REVELATION

Edited by
Steven D. Goodman
Ronald M. Davidson

Tibetan Buddhism

Reason and Revelation

SUNY Series in Buddhist Studies
Matthew Kapstein, Editor

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State University of New York Press

Published by
State University of New York Press, Albany

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For information, address State University of New York
Press, State University Plaza, Albany, N.Y., 12246

Production by Diane Ganeles
Marketing by Dana E. Yanulavich

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Tibetan Buddhism : reason and revelation / edited by Steven D. Goodman
and Ronald M. Davidson.

p. cm. -- (SUNY series in Buddhist studies)

Includes index.

ISBN 0-7914-0785-3 (alk. paper). -- ISBN 0-7914-0786-1 (pbk.
alk. paper)

1. Buddhism--China--Tibet. I. Goodman, Steven D., 1945-
II. Davidson, Ronald M., 1950- . III. Series.

BQ7612.T53 1992

294.3'923--dc20

90-49077
CIP

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

In Memoriam

Ngor Thar-rtse mKhan Rin-po-che (1933–1987)

Helen Law (1953–1988)

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Editors' Preface

This collection of contributions fulfills the need for original studies in several significant areas of Tibetan Studies. Under the auspices of the North American Tibetological Society, scholars in California, Washington, and Canada held two conferences on Tibetan Buddhism, in 1979 and again in 1980. The proceedings of the former conference were published as *Wind Horse: Proceedings of the North American Tibetological Society* (Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press, 1981). This current volume had as its origin the presentations at the 1980 conference.

These contributions have been expanded and edited so as to present a sourcebook of original research. The editors and authors have come together to submit a far more unified approach to the material they initially treated, and we are confident that the lengthy time required to actually make the material available has been justified in an improved offering.

The staff of State University of New York Press, and in particular its editor-in-chief, Lois Patton, has given many valuable suggestions regarding presentation of this material. To them and to all those who made this publication possible, the editors extend their gratitude.

Introduction

The study of Tibet and its variety of religious forms has attracted a widening body of interest in the last forty years. The political events of the 1950s, which spurred a mass exodus of learned Tibetan scholars from their native lands, have brought to the attention of the scholarly public a vast wealth of heretofore unknown written materials as well as access to the "living knowledge" of these materials carried by the native scholars into their diaspora. Certainly, no one familiar with the field of Tibetology can say that it will be the same as it was before the Chinese occupation of Tibet. Nonetheless, the field remains in its infancy. The reasons for this sad state of affairs are manifold, not the least of which is the lack of funds and facilities for its exploration.

In intellectual terms, two desiderata intrude into every aspect of the field: First, there is a lack of the most basic studies on virtually every aspect of Tibetan life. The literature, religion, cultural systems, mythology, politics, history, geography, material life, medicine, economics, weather, and so forth all remain, to a greater or lesser degree, *terra incognita*. Second, with the increased interaction between academically trained Western scholars and ethnic Tibetans, questions of methodology arise in earnest. While the historical-critical methodology remains the great mainstay of Tibetan studies, it is not clear that access to all types of material are best served by the exclusive emphasis on this approach. Moreover, the difficulties of the participant-observer, highlighted in anthropological endeavors, obtain in most areas of Tibetology.

Both the advantages and limitations of working with Tibetans on their own materials needs to be recognized. No scholar who has collaborated with a learned *dGe-bshes* or *mKhan-po* will gainsay their ability to communicate issues important to an understanding of the Tibetan cultural milieu. Yet, in the international context—increasingly the setting for academic endeavor—traditionally educated

ethnic Tibetan scholars are, for the most part, ill-prepared to contribute, except as "native informants."

There is hope, however, that the younger generation of Tibetans, who are the heirs to a rich (and endangered) cultural heritage, will be attracted to seek training in Western academic methodologies, thereby better enabling themselves to understand and respond to current issues in religious research.

On the other side of the problem, traditional Tibetan perspectives seem to the Western-trained scholar to be anchored in a wealth of imagery and mythology which mix logic and superstition in a web of analogical thinking which, while enticing, is yet difficult of access to the uninitiated. Two examples will serve to underscore this point. Tibetans sometimes describe what might be called the "psycho-physical geography" of their country as an inverted human skullcap. In this description, the irregular edges of the skull represent the mountains surrounding the periphery of Tibet; the three plates of the skull represent the three major geographic divisions of their land. In many ways, this description displays the values embedded in Tibetan religious and cultural life: isolation, an engagement with striking images, a disregard for what lies beyond its borders, and so forth. It also shows that a neat separation of domains into human/animate and non-human/inanimate simply does not apply to Tibetan life. The human skull, a ubiquitous religious object in Tibet, signifies both the human domain of mortality and transformation, as well as the geographical environment within which beings live and die. Another example illustrates the co-mingling of 'lower' and 'higher' tendencies embedded in the cultural identity of Tibetan peoples. We refer to the myth of Tibetan origins: the people inhabiting the land of snow came from the union of a monkey (the incarnation of the Bodhisattva of Compassion Avalokiteśvara) and an ogress (the incarnation of the Savioress Tāra). Tibetans are fond of saying that, when they are gentle, they take after the monkey in them, while any violence derives from the ogress.

Although the above examples admittedly belong to the area of popular religion, there is little hard evidence to support the dissection of popular and intellectual religious activities in the Tibetan context. Thus Western students of religious studies who bifurcate the tradition into 'high' versus 'folk' religion will have difficulties when confronted with the Tibetan reality of the complex web of relations which extend from the most intellectual life of the monastery to the pastoral world of the nomad tent. Indeed, those living in the monastic environment and undergoing rigorous scholastic training retain a

world-view remarkably similar to that of the unlettered pilgrim from Amdo, or the yak-herder from Tsang. Many come from the same milieu and maintain close connections with their family—interactions which are woven with ideas of prestige, merit, economics and politics.

The remote yet tantalizing imagery of Tibetan culture has sometimes tempted writers on the subject into such hyperbole as declaring it the last bastion of primitive spirituality in the twentieth century—a 'lost horizon' against which modern man's yearnings for a pristine "Shangra-la" might be yet realized. It is the task of modern researchers, however, to document and explore the multiple changes which this culture is undergoing. Certainly, few informed scholars would suggest that Tibetan life was 'essentially' the same in the first decades of this century as it was during the royal dynastic period. Indeed, the continuity of certain aspects merely serves to highlight the changes in religion, language, and culture. Yet cultural creativity or innovation in Tibet, especially in the area of religion, was rarely considered a virtue. Indeed there is a cultural bias against introducing what we might call 'new' ideas—all cultural activity must be couched as attempts to understand and interpret established norms. Grand historical figures must be found to be the incarnations of previous exemplars or celestial beings. New doctrines, ideas, methods of contemplation, and so on, all must be related to prior forms; the invocation of scriptural testimony and theoretical precedence must accompany each original contribution.

In practice, new scriptures or doctrines are introduced by one of two standard means: either by reasoning combined with scriptural justification or through the mechanism of visionary revelation. In a real sense, these two means reflect a difference of vocation or career within Tibetan religious life—the monk scholar and the visionary yogi. With respect to the first means, debate and the invocation of textual quotation is most often pursued in the monastic milieu. Monks will often study for decades before obtaining the highest certificates of their learning. They will then, as the learned do in other cultures, seek employment at a school or monastery wherein they could transmit their understanding. In the course of their study, some of the learned might build seemingly radical intellectual systems, but their work is assimilated conservatively as a new way of addressing standard problems. Rarely does Tibetan history record a tolerance for genuine innovation—polemical attacks by conservatives, sealing and limiting access to such renegade work, and outright political intimidation are all well attested.

Alternatively, culture-bearers may introduce new material through visions of charismatic figures, often presenting cultural artifacts (both material and textual) as having their origin in the teaching of an ancient or celestial predecessor. In Tibet, this method has become one of the most fruitful means of redefining the Buddhist and Bonpo doctrines for the needs of the contemporary period. Tibetan meditative and ritual systems depend often on this method of introduction, which is not limited to the monastic sphere but enjoys a much wider audience. Many of the most popular rites and rituals derive their origin from visionary experience and often focus on divinities which were the objects of the revelation. Sometimes the claim is made that the revelatory material is the most effective—and hence most powerful—means for obtaining a desired end, because the special (new) text or ritual was ‘intended’ specifically for the time and place in which it was revealed, providing the intimate connection of a spiritual source with the Tibetans living at that time.

The above remarks are made to show that the sources utilized by Tibetologists must be treated in a manner peculiar to extremely traditional religious systems which, at the same time, also have characteristics common to all literature. In an intellectual community relying so heavily on common consent, Tibetan texts may not simply be treated as the manifestation of the author’s intention, however important a role the author may have played in its formulation. Wider forces exert at least as potent an influence on the formulation found in Tibetan texts: intellectual fads, community needs, the economic viability of the tradition, the political position of the author or his family, and so forth.

Thus, to recapitulate, while following approaches which reflect their personal concerns, religious writers of Tibet most frequently will choose their topics and express their idioms in a manner which also acknowledges the cultural pre-occupations of their peers—be it the family of their literary sponsors or their monastic brethren. New contributions will somehow appear as if they had been said before, thus ensuring that cultural cohesion is maintained.

Those researching the history and doctrines of Tibetan Buddhism have tended to specialize in the study of either the philosophical or the visionary approach. Indeed Tibetan sources seem to encourage such specialization, since the orientation of particular authors or informants is often in one of the two areas at the expense of the other. Certainly, the problems of availability and individual interest have much to do with the process of selection. Perhaps just as important, however, are the serendipitous forces which so clearly

play a part in both the lives of eminent Tibetan literateurs as well as itinerant Tibetologists. The association with certain teachers, the personality factors in their relations, the subsequent presence or absence of community support for written results—these intangibles of scholarship appear to be universal.

Recognizing that the interests and concerns of those exploring Tibetan materials vary greatly, the editors feel that, in some measure, the present volume addresses the need for making available to students of religious studies material which demonstrates the wide range of Tibetan religious sensibility. We trust the reader of this volume will find that the desire for basic studies on Tibetan material, tempered by considerations of methodology, are in some measure fulfilled by the contributions to this volume. The authors have demonstrated a command of the original materials and have employed a variety of methodological means in the treatment of their sources. Their endeavors have brought us new data on many of the most vital issues of Tibetology.

Part One of this book, devoted to philosophical explorations in Tibetan Buddhism, includes three studies which reflect the variety of approaches that can be encompassed within the rubric of the term 'philosophical'. In the context of Tibetan Buddhism, the term 'philosophical' never indicates the merely theoretical or speculative. Such inquiry is undertaken so as to clarify one's 'view' (*lta-ba*) of reality, lack of clarity or ignorance (*ma-rig-pa*) being considered the root cause of suffering for all sentient beings. Thus, philosophical inquiry at its best always demonstrates a strong soteriological motivation.

All the major schools of Tibetan Buddhism have produced their own literature on key philosophical topics, as well as polemical works which critique the 'false views' of others' schools. At present, however, there is a paucity of studies which show the diversity of approaches and the controversies which fueled these concerns. In particular, there is a *de facto* prejudice amongst many contemporary Tibetologists which seems to represent the politically dominant dGe-lugs-pa school, often in the person of the fourteenth century master Tsong-kha-pa, as having settled definitively all the major points in epistemology and ontology. The contributions in this volume should serve to balance out this myopic tendency. The contributors draw on materials from the rNying-ma or Sa-skya traditions—traditions which, since the time of Tsong-kha-pa, have engaged in lively philosophical counterpoint with the prematurely 'settled' views expounded by dGe-lugs-pa scholarship of the last five hundred years. It

is hoped that studies such as these will spur further research into the rich and lively areas of Tibetan ontology and epistemology, drawing parallels and contrasts to Western European formulations and approaches.

Guenther's study on the view of Absolute Perfection (*rDzogs-chen*) probes deeply and questions radically what one means by 'thinking', identifying as exemplary process thinkers those early rNying-ma-pas who established and clarified the 'view' known as rDzogs-chen. The term "rDzogs-chen" itself, became a kind of pejorative epithet mentioned in the same breath along with "Chinese" (*rgya-nag*) and bound up with the eighth century politico-religious controversies surrounding the so-called debates of bSam-yas. As will become apparent from Guenther's study, philosophical exploration in the rDzogs-chen mode indeed appears to be radically rooted in experience and grounded in what the twentieth century European philosopher Martin Heidegger called a fundamental ontology. It would seem that the Tibetan tradition, no less than the European, had great difficulty in 'thinking' the difference between things, whether material or mental—what Heidegger called the ontic mode—and Being-itself, the ontological mode.

Lipman's study draws on rNying-ma material to question the very nature of the Buddhist philosophical enterprise known as 'logic', or, more properly, 'epistemology' (*pramāṇa, tshad-ma*). As yet there are scant studies in this area, for the terminological difficulties and highly nuanced contextual settings within which Buddhist epistemological treatises were composed place great strains on the investigator. Again, with few exceptions, most studies rely on dGe-lugs-pa formulations. This present study is an exception, and the issues raised cause one to re-think what is meant by 'logic'.

The last study in Part One, by Lang, demonstrates how philosophical thinking, in the Tibetan Buddhist context, was an 'applied' thinking, a thinking which inquires into what is most essentially human. Heidegger identified "being towards death" (*Sein-zum-Tode*) as a fundamental existential dimension of all human beings. This insight was, of course, fundamental in the teachings of the Buddha Śākyamuni some five hundred years before the birth of Christ. Lang explores how the topic of death is philosophically explored in the work of Āryadeva and his Tibetan followers.

Part Two of this book is devoted to revelation and the visionary 'products' which manifest themselves via revelation. The material is presented here according to the historical periods treated. Visionary,

as opposed to philosophical, materials seem to have had a more erratic diffusion, primarily because of the position ritual plays in the lives of Tibetans. Whereas philosophical materials focus on certain well-defined—if not unanimously accepted—areas of discussion, the same cannot be said of visionary revelations. Politics, literature, hagiography, grain cultivation, drama, lapidary science, geography, ritual, genealogy, mystic revelation, mythology, divination, ranching—all these topics and more are grist for the visionary mill, which by the very nature of its polyvalent creativity fuses into a seemingly coherent ‘corpus’ ideas not normally associated.

Tanaka and Robertson’s article on Chinese religious material in Tibetan is the only study covering the Royal Dynastic Period (7th–10th century). The authors have shown that Chinese religious sensibilities, in the form of Ch’an (Zen) Buddhism, were an option that Tibetans were formally grappling with during the early formation of their national religious consciousness. While the Ch’an traditions were not destined to last in Tibet as separate lineages of instruction, they continued to provide some impact on the intellectual and religious life of the country, primarily as a false view to be avoided.

Kapstein’s study on the great popular religious scripture of Tibet, the *Maṇi bKa’-’bum*, follows naturally, for with the final collapse of the royal house in Tibet, the ensuing relative isolation became an extremely fruitful matrix for the generation of indigenous Buddhism. Tibetans had taken from both India and China much of value, but the synthesis, represented in part by the *Maṇi bKa’-’bum*, demonstrated that Tibetan teachers were developing a national approach and perspective to their Buddhist understanding. Of the many early visionary responses to Tibet’s need for a distinct cultural identity, the *Maṇi bKa’-’bum* was certainly the most successful with its blend of religion, mythology of the great kings, and the popular cult of Avalokiteśvara.

Gyatso’s study on Thang-stong rgyal-po demonstrates the importance of the individual visionary to the success of the subsequent system. Personalities have often played an important part in the dissemination of such systems in Tibet, and Tibetans quite early demonstrated a fondness for eccentrics of the variety of Thang-stong rgyal-po. Such individuals, of whom the most well-known was the yogi Milarepa, played an important part in the integration of Buddhism into the lives of the uneducated populace. Often the culture heroes were both poet and prankster, and their antics and visions provide much of the material for sustaining religious faith amongst the cultivators and herders of Tibet. If the monk in his monastery was

seen as the mainstay of religion, the totally free sage—like Thang-stong rgyal-po—was widely considered the absolute exemplar, for whom the constraints of monasticism were unnecessary.

Yet it cannot be said that Tibetans excluded the classical Indic systems of visionary contemplation from their religion. Much of the religious thrust of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries represented a rebound from the extraordinary amount of indigenous material coming from non-monastic milieux. The high classical systems were carried on by reformist orders, the Sa-skya being especially concerned with orthodoxy.

Davidson's article on the structure and redefinition of the Sa-skya's meditative system under the monastic tradition at Ngor illustrates the variety of reform that was occurring in the bKa'-brgyud-pa and dGa'-ldan-pa as well. If Thang-stong rgyal-po's whimsical freedom represented the ideal, then the daily ritual life of the ordinary monk, and the annual rituals of initiation given by the great lamas in their monastic seats—as exemplified by the *Lam-'bras tshogs-bshad* system of Hevajra—represented the more prosaic reality.

The concluding study on Tibetan visionary revelations is Goodman's work on the life of the great eighteenth century savant 'Jigs-med gling-pa. Here is an example of a gifted Tibetan who was highly educated in the monastic curriculum, and then devoted himself to the cultivation of the interior life of contemplation and revelation. Based on autobiographical materials and working closely with native Tibetan scholars, Goodman has reconstructed an account of the early monastic education of this influential Central Tibetan. Paraphrasing 'Jigs-med gling-pa's own account of his subsequent meditative retreats and attendant visionary experiences, Goodman demonstrates that, like Saint Teresa, Tibetan visionaries are also subject to great emotional upheavals. Through this study we are able to glimpse the creative origins of perhaps the most widely diffused and practiced visionary cycle of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries—the *kLong-chen snying-thig*. The practice of this visionary corpus spread from Central Tibet eastward into Khams, amongst the nomadic Golog, into Mongolian dominated areas of Tibet, and into China itself. At present, its diffusion has extended into Taiwan, Europe, and even North America.

In conclusion to this introduction we feel it prudent to offer a word of cautious encouragement. With the recent reopening of Tibet by the Chinese, a wealth of materials will become available for study.

The editors hope that this present volume will serve as a catalyst for both the present and future generation of Tibetan religious studies scholars. With respect to Tibetan Studies, we are living in a time not unlike that during which Renaissance scholars “re-discovered” Greek culture. The conclusions and assessments we make are based on the meagre and fragmentary *realia* of a largely destroyed cultural heritage. As new material becomes available, it will undoubtedly influence the conclusions and assessments embodied in this volume. Unlike the Renaissance scholar, however, we have consulted and collaborated with the upholders and heirs of Tibetan culture and can continue to do so. To that end, these studies are equally meant to encourage the younger generation of native Tibetan scholars.

PART ONE

Philosophical Explorations

1

Some Aspects of *rDzogs-chen* Thought



Herbert V. Guenther

Abbreviations

- Ati* *rNying-ma'i rgyud bcu-bdun*. Collected Nyingmapa tantras of the Man-ngag-sde class of the Atiyoga (rdzogs-chen), 3 vols., (New Delhi, 1973–77).
- Bi-ma* *Bi-ma snying-thig*. Vols. 7–9 of the *sNying-thig ya-bzhi* by kLong-chen rab-'byams-pa, 11 vols., (New Delhi, 1971).
- Bl* *Bla-ma yang-tig*. Vol. 1 of the *sNying-thig ya-bzhi*.
- Ch* *Chos-dbyings rin-po-che'i mdzod* with kLong-chen rab-'byams-pa's auto-commentary *Lung-gi gter-mdzod*, (Gangtok, n.d.).
- gN* *gNas-lugs rin-po-che'i mdzod* with kLong-chen rab-'byams-pa's auto-commentary *sDe-gsum snying-po'i don-'grel*, (Gangtok, n.d.).
- Msy* *mKha'-'gro snying-thig*. Vols. 2 and 3 of the *sNying-thig ya-bzhi*.
- MY* *mKha'-'gro yang-thig*. Vols. 3-6 of the *sNying-thig ya-bzhi*.
- NG* *rNying-ma rgyud-'bum*. Tantras of the Nyingmapa tradition. 36 vols., (Thimbu, 1973).
- RZ* Rong-zom Chos-kyi bzang-po's commentary on the *gSang-ba-snying-po*.
- Th* *Theg-pa'i mchog rin-po-che'i mdzod*, 2 vols., (Gangtok, n.d.), by kLong-chen rab-'byams-pa.
- Tshig* *gSang-ba bla-ma med-pa 'od-gsal rdo-rje snying-po'i gnas gsum gsal-bar byed-pa'i Tshig-don rin-po-che'i mdzod*, (Gangtok, n.d.), by kLong-chen rab-'byams-pa.

ZY *Zab-mo yang-tig*. Vols. 10 and 11 of the *sNying-thig ya-bzhi*.

Within the history of evolution of Buddhist thinking a sort of rough dichotomy and even controversy has been at work. This peculiarity goes back to the sort of question a person is likely to ask. Do you ask: "What is that by virtue of which something is what it is?" and, in this question, tacitly assume a static world of essences (*mtshan-nyid*) forever rigidly determined? Or, do you ask: "How does this basic process, the dynamic quality of human life express itself?" and, in this question, assume an energetic world of growth, development, and maturation (*rgyud*)? It is from the vantage point of the how and why that *rdzogs-chen* thought deals with the problem of man and, by implication, the universe. What counts here is process first, with any structure or essence kept as fluid as possible. But since our language is not geared, primarily, to process, but articulates structures, it easily misleads, and hence we have to be very cautious with respect to everything linguistic. Maybe we have to learn to think in terms of 'both-and', instead of the habitual 'either-or', and beyond that, even think holistically (*rdzogs-chen*)—an opening-up process which allows for the play of the static and dynamic.

Process-oriented *rdzogs-chen* has as its pivot the notion of *gzhi* which means both ground (the static, sort of steady-state) and reason (the dynamic, the intensity with which the unfolding of the initial pure potential occurs). As such pure potential (*gzhi ka-dag chen-po*)¹ it is discussed in terms of a triune dynamics, referred to as facticity (*ngo-bo*), actuality (*rang-bzhin*), and resonance (*thugs-rje*). This English rendering of highly technical terms constantly employed in the original Tibetan sources has been chosen in order to avoid any essentialist associations, so much more so as the texts themselves repeatedly state that *ngo-bo* (facticity) has nothing to do with nor can even be reduced to the (essentialist) categories of substance and quality; that *rang-bzhin* (actuality) remains open-dimensional, rather than being or turning into a rigid essence despite its being what it is; and that *thugs-rje* (resonance) is an atemporal sensitivity and response, rather than a distinct and narrowly circumscribed operation.²

A summary account of these three indices as well as their descriptive specifications is given in the following passage:³

Since in the precious mansion [of our existentiality]
adorned by sun and moon⁴,

Sheer lucency, the energizing force which is indestructibility
 itself, resides in a superb manner,
 Its triad of facticity, actuality, and resonance
 Is spontaneously present in and as an energizing force
 that is open-dimensional, radiant, and excitatory.
 The manner in which this excitatoriness [present] in
 three effulgences abides is such
 That facticity abides as a gestalt, that is, a gestalt
 [which is expressive of the] meaningfulness [of Being
 and hence saturated with meaning as] the effulgence
 of [Being's] open-dimensionality;
 It manifests when there is dissociation from the limiting
 horizon set by thematizing thought;
 That actuality abides as lucency, that is, the spontaneous
 [presence of Being as] an effulgence radiating
 from deep within;
 It manifests when [Being's] presencing as a continuum
 radiates outwardly in [distinct] colours;
 That resonance abides as excitatoriness, that is, a mode
 of showing up [as] a ceaseless effulgence,
 It manifests when the rising [of a content in mind] and
 [the content's] free-[floating] is self-dissipative
 with no differentiation [between the two aspects] left.

Although three indices are mentioned they are not to be under-
 stood as implying a kind of juxtaposition. Rather, they interpenetrate
 such that the one is inseparable from the other, which is another way
 of saying that the universe has complementary aspects. Thus:⁵

Facticity is the indivisibility [complementarity] of openness and
 lucency; actuality is the indivisibility of lucency and openness; and
 resonance is the indivisibility of excitatoriness and openness.

Similarly, bearing in mind that in *rdzogs-chen* thought the uni-
 verse is inherently 'intelligent' by virtue of its dynamics as an atem-
 poral cognitiveness (*ye-shes*), we read:⁶

Thus, although one speaks of a triad of facticity, actuality and
 resonance as [indicative of] different [aspects], they are not indi-
 vidual [properties]. As is stated in *Thal-gyur*:⁷

Atemporal cognitiveness abiding in its own right
 [does so]/
 As a triadic indivisibility.

That is to say, from the level of the internal logic of Being [*chos-nyid*] one speaks of [Being's] facticity—it is open-dimensional and dissociated from [all verbal and mental] limiting horizons. From the level of interpretability [*chos-can*] one speaks of [Being's] actuality—it is a presencing, yet dissociated from concretization. From the level of complementarity [*zung-'jug*] which does not involve duality, one speaks of resonance—it is open and excitatory, dissociated from positive and negative eternalistic claims.

It may be helpful for a proper understanding of *rdzogs-chen* thought, if one sees in what is termed ground/reason (*gzhi*) a reference to what we would call a 'system' which, as one knows, cannot be described by the sum of simple properties.

All one can do is to make significant distinctions by looking at certain aspects or operations of the whole system. It hardly needs emphasizing that anything one wishes to examine, be this an elementary particle or the whole universe, can be a system. Traditionally one has dealt with the structure of a system in terms of its spatial and geometric structure. But in connection with dynamic systems the notion of space-time structure has become of importance. In the words of Erich Jantsch:⁸

... a structure given in a particular moment of time ... represents not only the spatial arrangements, but also the kinetics effective in this moment at each spatial point.

rDzogs-chen thought seems to have gone one step further in dealing with a dynamically *intelligent* structuring. Thus, open-dimensional (*stong-pa*) refers to a world whose being is prior to any and every form of judgment and also immune to it. Moreover, while as such an open dimension the universe may be 'nothing' for all practical purposes; without, however, being a hypostatized 'nothingness' or 'void' of rational thought, it yet remains dynamic as an opening-up. This dynamic character is even more marked in its description as lucent, radiant, glowing (*gsal-ba*) which refers to an iridescent and illuminating force, not to a sensible light apparently seen as with one's eyes. And its description as excitatory (*rig-pa*), which implies an encompassing of the whole system (*khyab*), indicates the ceaseless capacity and ability to be sensitively responsive. It is precisely because of this ability of the system to get into an excited state, that the universe thinks itself into existence. One is immediately reminded of Sir James Jeans' dictum: "The universe begins to look more like a great thought than a machine."

An important point to note with respect to the recurrent specification as 'open' is the system's indivisibility concerning its aspects. This points to the system's (underlying) invariance. Indeed, facticity, actuality, and resonance are said to be invariant (*mi-'gyur-ba*):⁹

Since facticity is open it is invariant, like the [clear] sky. Since actuality is lucent it is invariant, like the sun. Since resonance is all-encompassing it is invariant, it has no limits.

Consequently, the system under consideration—the universe, or in philosophical terms, Being (which is not a thing)—is symmetric or invariant under any transformation, and “the more different transformations a system is under, the higher its degree of symmetry.”¹⁰The universe (Being) has the highest degree of symmetry and is invariant under all and any of its transformations.¹¹

Of particular importance is the excitatoriness (*rig-pa*) of the system which in its creative dynamics (*rtsal*) is both awareness and the creation of experience; it is (its own) being (ontology) and (its own) knowing (epistemology). Excitatoriness implies that the system can be in a 'more excited' state and optimally operative, in which case it can appropriately be said to be 'excited' (*rig-pa*) and, by implication, more cognitively appreciative.¹² Or, it can be in a 'less excited' state and non-optimally operative, in which case it is appropriately termed 'unexcited', or in cognitive terms, 'dull', 'ignorant' (*ma-rig-pa*). This dual operation refers back to an unbroken wholeness that disintegrated, as it were, the moment fluctuations due to the dynamics of the system set in. This is indicated by the following statement:¹³

Before there was any shrouding by either Saṃsāra or Nirvāṇa, a self-existent atemporal pristine cognitiveness, an initial translucency, was there as an ultimate clarity of an inner continuum such that [its] facticity in and as openness could neither be pointed to nor spoken of; that [its] actuality in and as lucency was radiation from deep within; and that [its] resonance had the energy of excitation.

More explicitly, in terms of its deeply felt understanding (*rtogs*), it is described as follows:¹⁴

Before there had, through understanding, arisen [the state of being] a Buddha and, through non-understanding, come about [the state of being] a sentient being¹⁵, [the ground/reason as] a domain of mean-

ingfulness, open [in itself] and [being an] opening-up, was like the orb of the clear sky; unmoving in its clarity it was like the depth of the ocean, and in its lucency never ceasing to provide an opportunity for [the presencing of what will be interpreted as Samsāra and Nirvāna] it was like the surface of a polished mirror. In the vortex of [Being's] internal logic, its energy, and excitatoriness that retained [its character of being the] ground/reason was there as the triad of facticity, actuality, and resonance.

The system's creative dynamics (*gzhi'i rtsal*), in view of its triune character, operates in a triple manner, as elaborated in the following passage:¹⁶

The creative dynamics in [the system's] facticity is an unfurling [which lends itself to be mistaken as] an [objective/objectified] domain; in this reach and range [which in its openness is like the] sky, with no [cognitive] break-up [as yet occurring], the creative dynamics in [the system's] actuality is [a set of] five colour [modes which] emerge as the break-up of the auto-effulgence of [the system's] atemporal cognitiveness. The creative dynamics of [the system's] resonance is a mere being aware which rises as the capacity to fragmentize the [unbroken wholeness of the open] domain. This [triune creative dynamics] is the ground and reason for both freedom and errancy. It is an indeterminate spontaneity.

Although creative dynamics, which manifest as playfulness, and which, in turn, adds to the beauty of the system¹⁷, are a property of the whole system, they make their presence felt most conspicuously in the system's facet which we have termed 'resonance'. The excitatory quality of resonance results, if this term is a correct assessment, in and as an atemporal cognitiveness (*ye-shes*). In the definition of this term emphasis has always been laid on its atemporality (*ye, ye-nas*).¹⁸ Since it seems to be the nature of cognitiveness to express itself and become expressed in a gestalt (*sku*)—only through the gestalt does an intrinsically 'intelligent' universe become recognizable as being meaningful—the atemporal cognitiveness is inseparable from its gestalt. Atemporal cognitiveness (*ye-shes*) and gestalt (*sku*) are holistically one and the same operation. However, due to the triadic and triune character of the system it is possible to speak of a triadic and triune atemporal cognitiveness as well as a triadic and triune gestalt. In this context we may speak of a superordinate holistic perspective, a macroscopic perspective, and a microscopic view which focuses on the possibilities offered by the system's presence. Thus, in *rdzogs-chen* terms:¹⁹

- Facticity:** an initially translucent [*ka-dag*] atemporal cognitiveness [*ye-shes*] [as] a meaning-saturated gestalt [*chos-sku*];
- Actuality:** a spontaneously present [*lhun-grub*] atemporal cognitiveness [as] a scenario [program] gestalt [*longs-sku*];
- Resonance:** an excitatory [*rig-pa*] atemporal cognitiveness [as] a cultural norms gestalt [*sprul-sku*].

It is not without interest to note that the atemporal cognitiveness which expresses itself and is expressed as a meaning-saturated gestalt is likened to pure energy, imaged as the sun, whereas the atemporal cognitiveness operating in and as the scenario and cultural norms gestalts are likened to the rays of the sun—the former atemporal cognitiveness acting like a mirror for the system's auto-reflexiveness, the latter atemporal cognitiveness indicating 'what one sees in it'.²⁰

Turning to the macroscopic perspective, the system's actuality, we encounter five atemporal cognitive processes whose operation may be likened to holography—"['Being's] continuum writes its own continuum."²¹ There is first of all the atemporal cognitiveness which expresses and is expressed as the continuum of the system's meaningfulness (*chos-kyi dbyings*), and its operation may be compared to the coherent light from a laser. Then there is the quasi-mirroring atemporal cognitiveness (*me-long lta-bu'i*), which may be likened to the half-silvered mirror through which the laser beam passes. Next there are the identity atemporal cognitiveness (*mnyam-nyid*), which may be compared to the reference beam, and the individualizing atemporal cognitiveness (*so-sor rtog-pa*), which may be likened to the object beam. Lastly, there is the task-accomplished atemporal cognitiveness (*bya-ba grub-pa*), which may be compared to the interaction of the reference and object beams, forming a 'permanent' interference pattern.²² What may seem to introduce a complication is the variety of light frequencies in this process, which are described in terms of specific colours. However, these are not so much the colours we perceive, but modes of being as lighting—*éclairage* in the words of M. Merleau-Ponty—which sets the general tone for the gaze (*ji-lta-ba*) as providing an initial openness to the 'world', their tonal quality being itself a member of the spectrum (*ji-snyed-pa*). These two atemporal cognitive operations come as specifications (*sprul-sku*) of the general 'scenario' or field (*longs-sku*). As cultural norms they combine the qualitative and the quantitative with no distintegration as yet having occurred.²³

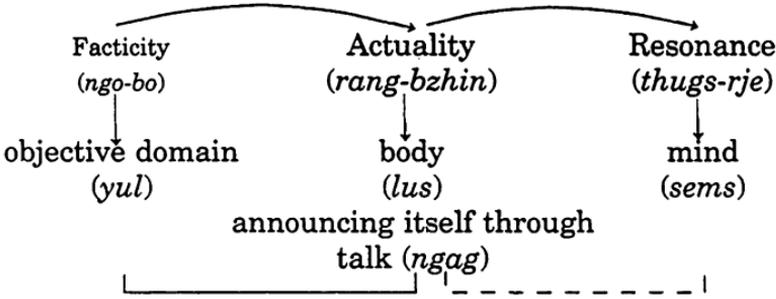
It bears noticing that spontaneity, the system's actuality, is described in terms of its uncertainty.²⁶ In view of the fact that the whole system as such is intelligent, this uncertainty allows the system to move, as it were, upwards (*yar*) towards self-optimization in freedom, or downwards (*mar*)²⁷ towards ever increasing self-fragmentization into discrete objects (the 'self' or 'ego' or 'mind' being of the same order as the other observed things—the special status of the self being only that of an orientational point by virtue of which there are other points—objects). However, since neither 'upwards' nor 'downwards' involves the character of a thing, these movements can best be understood to be more like probability waves terminating, as it were, in expectation values, traditionally labelled *Saṃsāra* and *Nirvāṇa*. But then we are told that:²⁸

Facticity abides as gestalt, neither stepping out of itself
nor changing into something other than itself.
From Actuality, a sheer lucency, communication as such,
arises.
Resonance is the spiritual, it abides as excitatoriness.

This would suggest the principle of superposition which states that if a number of independent influences act on the system, the resultant influence is the sum of the individual influences acting separately. Furthermore, these superpositions are not disconnected from our own 'existence' (as an embodied, speaking, thinking being): they overlap and jostle our existence. There are thus, minimally, two worlds such that an observation of events other than in the observer's own world (of which he is part and participating) cannot occur.²⁹

It is on the level of less-than-optimal excitation (*ma-rig-pa*) that what we tend to call a mind (*sems*) operates. It is a feedback and feedforward mechanism triggering, by operating within a network of co-existent functions, representationally reificatory processes which have us move in a self-perpetuating circle of a progressively narrowing reductionism (*khor-ba*)—*Saṃsāra*: "running around in circles and groping in the dark." This over-all reificatory and darkening process fragmentizes the spontaneous presencing of Being's lucency into elemental forces (*'byung-ba*) whose pull of gravity (*snyigs-ma*) and interactions form man's physical body (*lus*) which announces its 'presence' by the cacophony termed talk (*ngag*). Jokingly it may be said that body-mind with talk thrown in for good measure is a collapse into a black hole—we don't have to look for black holes inside or outside our galaxy, they are right amongst us!

Body and mind as specific reifications do not occur in a (pre-existent) vacuum. Rather, they signify the loss of openness and, specifically, a growing lack of awareness of Being's openness which in the process of reification is turned into an objective/objectifiable domain (*yul*). This 'collapse' can be diagrammed as follows³⁰:



Here, "┌───┐" indicates the co-emergence of the ego-subject and its object; "┌───┐" indicates the ego-subject as body-mind.³¹

In speaking of mind (*sems*) as a feedback and feedforward mechanism, as we have done in conformity with the Buddhist interpretation of this term³², something of its dynamics has been retained, in contradistinction to the traditional notion of it as a mind-thing. After all, it is merely a stepped-down version of the total system's dynamics and as such it is not a localizable event. So also kLong-chen rab-'byams-pa says:³³

Since mind (*sems*) is the dynamics of atemporal pristine cognitiveness (*ye-shes*) it is [with reference to this dynamics] that one speaks of 'mind'. This manner of speaking is on the same level as when one speaks of the sun's energy, that is, its rays, as the sun and states that the sun has risen when its rays have appeared on the horizon.

It is important to note that mind (*sems*) as well as atemporal pristine cognitiveness (*ye-shes*) are functional differentiations of the system's resonance in and as excitatoriness such that:³⁴

mind [*sems*] is the creative dynamics of excitatoriness which by its addiction to a subject-object dichotomy sets up the errant presence of Saṃsāra with its cause-effect relationships. Atemporal pristine cognitiveness [*ye-shes*] is excitatoriness dissociated from representational divisions.

Consequently, mind and atemporal cognitiveness cannot be simply equated as being one and the same ‘thing’—a fallacy committed by reductionist, non-process-oriented thinking. Hence kLong-chen rab-'byams-pa states:³⁵

Mind [*sems*] is an incidental obscuration and hence cannot serve as the basis [for] or momentum [in] the process [described as] *sangs-rgyas*³⁶. It is utterly improper to lump these two [mind and atemporal cognitiveness] together into one [thing]; it's like believing that the sun and the mass of clouds [hiding the sun] are one and the same.

And so we are back to where we started from. The system's excitatoriness (resonance) which is nowhere and everywhere, offers two gate positions—the gate is a metaphor for entering either Saṃsāra or Nirvāṇa—which are simultaneously closed and open. The movement itself is both ‘up’ (*yar*) and ‘down’ (*mar*). In this operation something is noticed—after all the system is ‘intelligent’—and only to the extent that something is noticed can one legitimately speak of consciousness in one form or another. But any such consciousness (Saṃsāric or Nirvāṇic) is merely the outcome of the excitatory process—we and the universe (or the universe and/or we) are both open and closed. There is no either-or.

2

What Is Buddhist Logic?: Some Tibetan Developments of *Pramāṇa* Theory



Kennard Lipman

Lambert Schmithausen, in his lengthy review of D.S. Ruegg's *La Théorie du Tathāgatagarbha et du Gotra*, has raised a critical methodological, or more properly, hermeneutical issue regarding the study of the history of Buddhist philosophy. Basically, Schmithausen finds that, for a historian of philosophy, Ruegg's "favoring" of the dGe-lugs-pa interpretation of *tathāgatagarbha* is "unacceptable."¹ According to Schmithausen, the dGe-lugs-pa interpretation is a "harmonizing interpretation,"² in this case, an attempt to harmonize their understanding of *sūnyatā* with the apparently blatant positive ontologizing of the *Tathāgatagarbha-sūtras* and the *Ratnagotravibhāga*. The implication, I would take it, is that a "harmonizing interpretation" is an ahistorical enterprise, which, however interesting it may be in itself, is opposed to an historical-philologically objective enterprise. I believe this dichotomy to be false. First of all, Ruegg would claim that his approach is historical also, i.e., he views the dGe-lugs-pa interpretation as a "solution" to the problems of *tathāgatagarbha* interpretation raised and hotly debated in Tibet during the 13th and 14th centuries, particularly by Bu-ston and the Jo-nang-pa.³ I do not believe that the dGe-lugs-pa interpretation is the "solution" Ruegg was seeking, and perhaps through the study of rNying-ma, Sa-skya, and bKa'-brgyud materials of the period, the dGe-lugs-pa approach will be seen in a less adequate light. I do not wish to debate the matter here, but merely to point out that historical knowledge is not a simple matter of reading off the "historical-philological" facts—it is never separate from the interpretations and

varied contextualizings which Schmithausen sees as “favoring” and “harmonizing.” To put it simply, to study kLong-chen-pa is to forever change one’s understanding of Tsong-kha-pa, and vice versa; that is, the way we contextualize events and texts is like our perceptions, fluid and changing. This does not make them merely subjective. Not only do other historical events and texts bring us to re-contextualize a given event/text, but our contemporary understandings also do so. A confrontation with the thought of a great contemporary may force us to change our understanding of basic philosophical problems. How can we isolate what is objective and subjective here? The issue is not subjectivism versus objectivism, but rather interpretation adequate to the subject matter, and the determination of adequacy here has criteria of its own. I can sum up these remarks with a quote from Merleau-Ponty:⁴

It is a question here not of an empirical history, which limits itself to the gathering of facts on the one hand and texts on the other, but rather of an ‘intentional history’, as Husserl called it, which in a given assemblage of texts and works tries to discover their legitimate sense

The history of philosophy can never be the simple transcription of what the philosophers have said or written As a matter of fact, as soon as one approaches two texts and opposes them to a third, one begins to interpret and to distinguish what is really proper to the thought of Descartes, let us say, and, on the contrary, what is only accidental. Thus in cartesianism, as it is defined by the texts, we begin to see an intention that the historian has taken the initiative in singling out, and this choice evidently depends on his own way of encountering the problems of philosophy. There is, of course a difference between reflection on texts and the purely arbitrary.

Well, then, how do we distinguish between “reflection on texts and the purely arbitrary”? The answer lies, I believe, in what I referred to above as “contextualization.” We seek a *proper context* for a question, an event, a statement. In this case of Ruegg and Schmithausen, I would say that the discussion regarding *tathāgatagarbha* and *śūnyatā*, for example, needs more context, context adequate to the subject matter.

Now, Buddhist epistemology involves the means for contextualizing problems of knowing, and thus providing criteria and standards of validity. This is what is known as *pramāṇa*, *tshad-ma*. Most would associate this term with the context of the epistemology and logic of

Dignāga and Dharmakīrti and their non-Buddhist Indian counterparts, in which a *pramāṇa* is a specific means of attaining valid knowledge, such as perception or inference. I would like to outline a Tibetan account of *tshad-ma* which considerably widens the usage of this term, in which *tshad-ma* not only denotes a specific instrument of knowledge, but a whole system of epistemological criteria. Then, armed with these criteria, we can return to the problem of *tathāgata-garbha* interpretation raised by Ruegg and Schmithausen.

The source for our discussion of *tshad-ma* will be a modern work, the *lTa-grub shan-'byed* of mDo-sngags bsTan-pa'i nyi-ma, also known as sPo-ba sprul-sku, a student of Kun-bzang dpal-ldan, who was himself a student of the famed Mi-pham rgya-mtsho (1846–1912).⁵ This work, based mainly on the extensive commentaries by Mi-pham rgya-mtsho on the great *śāstras* of *mtshan-nyid-pa* Buddhism, is an attempt to delineate a rNying-ma position on the important issues of scholastic philosophy debated over the centuries by the gSar-ma traditions. Of course, bsTan-pa'i nyi-ma does not 'name names' in presenting a critique, but it is clear that it is principally directed against the dGe-lugs-pa scholasticism with which Mi-pham rgya-mtsho had polemicized. bsTan-pa'i nyi-ma discusses thorny issues in regard to the ground, path, and goal of Buddhist praxis, such as the distinction between *nītārtha* and *neyārtha sūtras* of the second and third *dharmacakra*, the distinction between Hinayāna and Mahāyāna, between sūtra and tantra, etc. But by far the most space is occupied in the section on the Ground, i.e., on how to set forth the two truths. bsTan-pa'i nyi-ma begins his discussion of *tshad-ma*, a means of evaluating or validating (*jal-byed*) that which is to be evaluated or validated (*gzhal-bya*), that is, the Ground, Path and Goal which are the subject matter of authoritative texts, as follows:⁶

In general, any individual whatsoever, possessed of the eye of dharma, who expounds a philosophical system [*grub-mtha*], sets forth the two truths, that which is to be validated, by means of the two respective *tshad-ma*, which are the means of validation. By virtue of this procedure, one makes the distinctions between the philosophical systems, from the Śrāvakas to the Vajrayāna, and their particular perspectives, meditative practice, behaviour, and result.

What are these two *tshad-ma*? According to bsTan-pa'i nyi-ma, the scholars of the later traditional (*phyi-rabs*) make use of only two means of evaluation/validation, a *don-dam dpyod-byed kyi tshad-ma*, which evaluates from the ultimate point of view, and a *tha-snyad*

dpyod-byed kyi tshad-ma, which operates at the level of conventions. Everyone in the Tibetan tradition would agree that the Mādhyamika, in general, employs the first, and the Abhidharma, as well as the epistemological treatises of Dignāga and Dharmakīrti (usually referred to as “Buddhist Logic”) employ the latter in setting up the two truths. For example, when the *Abhidharmakośa* distinguishes between the two truths, according to whether or not the object under investigation is able to be divided up mentally or physically; or when Dharmakīrti makes causal efficacy (*arthakriyatvā*) characteristic of the ultimately real *svalakṣaṇa*, these are clearly making use of conventional criteria. In fact, they define what we mean by conventional criteria, that is, the evidence provided by a valid means of knowledge. Fire burns; there is no means of getting around that, according to Dharmakīrti’s analysis, (*Pramāṇavārttika*, III, 4) although some Indian and Tibetan scholars have tried to interpret this along Mādhyamaka lines.⁷ But with a Mādhyamaka analysis we can legitimately and sensibly question whether ‘fire burns’, according to the *don-dam dpyod-byed kyi tshad-ma*. Many people easily misinterpret this Mādhyamaka critique as being just another conventional denial, or as presenting some other alternative on the conventional level. The mādhyamika is questioning the whole procedure of establishing evidence according to conventional criteria, the *tha-snyad tshad-ma*. This is the meaning of Candrakīrti’s attack on *pramāṇa*-theory in the introduction to his *Prasannapadā*, where he shows it to involve a vicious circle between *pramāṇa* (the means which finds valid knowledge) and *prameya* (the object to be validated). This is not to say that if I wish to evaluate things according to conventional criteria, this cannot be done validly and coherently within that context. According to the Mādhyamika, this can be a case of employing *saṃvṛti* as *upaya*.

bsTan-pa’i nyi-ma points out, in the following words, what he feels to be the inadequacy in the use of only these two *tshad-ma* by later scholars, first, in regard to the *don-dam tshad-ma*:⁸

Even at the level of a critique from the ultimate point of view, it is said that ‘A pot is not devoid of a pot but is devoid of truth-status as a pot [*bum-pa bum-pas mi-stong bum-pa bden-pas stong*], and it is also said that ‘One must refute the truth-status which is founded on this pot while not refuting the pot as that which is under consideration [*chos-can*].’ By this method, even the ultimate which is the object of valid knowledge [becomes] a mere discursively formulated ultimate as a negative abstraction [*dngos-med*] similar to the ex-

planation of the Svātantrikas. One is in no way able to establish the non-discursive ultimate, the great sameness of presence and openness which is spoken of as ‘unconditioned, sheer lucency, nondiscursiveness, profound calm’.

As mentioned above, this critique is clearly aimed at the dGe-lugs-pa. The extent to which it applies to Sa-skyā and bKa’-brgyud philosophers is a much more difficult thing to assess, as their views vary considerably. For example, the Sa-skyā-pa Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan maintains that the *lta-ba* of the *Hevajra Tantra* is superior to that of the Mādhyamaka, just as the rNying-ma-pas would say of their tantras.⁹ Unfortunately, space and personal ignorance prevents me from further pursuing this essential question in this paper, which must constitute the next stage of research on the *lTa-grub shan-byed*.

bsTan-pa’i nyi-ma then continues, regarding the *tha-snyad tshad-ma*:¹⁰

In the same way, even in regard to an evaluation at the conventional level, apart from a mere means of evaluation based on ordinary perception [*tshur-mthong tshad-ma*] demonstrated in the texts of the Hīnayāna and the *Pramāṇavārttika*, etc., there is no explanation of a conventional means of evaluation based on purified perception [*dag-gzigs tha-snyad-pa’i tshad-ma*]. On account of this, even regarding conventional reality which is to be validated [*gzhal-bya kun-rdzob*], apart from this impure conventional [*ma-dag-pa’i kun-rdzob*] of *skandhas*, *dhātus*, and *āyatanas* as Ground, which is spoken of in the *Abhidharmapiṭaka*, one is not able to establish the *maṇḍala* of the deity, the three thrones, etc., which are the pure conventional, the Ground spoken of in the *Mantrapīṭaka* of the Vidyādharas.

So, what bsTan-pa’i nyi-ma has done here, following Mi-pham rgya-mtsho but also referring back to kLong-chen-pa and to Lo-chen Dharmaśrī’s massive *sDom-gsum* commentary, is to divide each of the two principle *tshad-ma* discussed at the outset into two, as follows:

- I. *don-dam dpyod-byed-pa’i tshad-ma*
 - A. *don-dam rnam-grangs dpyod-byed-pa’i tshad-ma*
 - B. *don-dam rnam-grangs min-par dpyod-byed-pa’i tshad-ma*
- II. *tha-snyad dpyod-byed-pa’i tshad-ma*
 - A. *ma-dag tshur-mthong tha-snyad-pa’i tshad-ma*
 - B. *dag-gzigs (rnam-dag) tha-snyad-pa’i tshad-ma*

Let us now explain these four *tshad-ma*. First, as to I, bsTan-pa'i nyi-ma and Mi-pham rgya-mtsho accuse the dGe-lugs presentation of the Prāsangikas (who properly employ IB) of converting IB into IA. This results in an understanding of the ultimate truth, *śūnyatā*, as a mere explicit negation (*med-dgag*) which is similar to the Svāntarikas (who properly employ IA). Basically what IA and IB do, according to bsTan-pa'i nyi-ma, is establish presence (*snang-ba*) as the conventional reality and openness (*stong-pa-nyid*) as the ultimate. He states:¹¹

This means of setting up the two truths by means of presence and openness, is the intent of the *sūtras* of the second *dharmacakra* [which teach] the absence of defining characteristics [*mtshan-nyid med-pa*], such as the long, middling, and short *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtras* which are profound and definitive meaning [*nges-don, nītārtha*]. All presences, from form up to omniscience, are established as the thematized entities [*chos-can*] of the conventional, since [these texts] demonstrate as their primary topic, the ultimate truth, openness, in which the very factuality [*ngo-bo*] of these [entities] is not established . . . The *Madhyamakāvatāra* states [VI, 23]:

All particular existents partake of two modes of being, obtained by seeing them truly or erroneously. The domain of true seeing is the ultimate itself, and erroneous seeing is known as the conventional truth.

Only openness, which is the sphere of operation of ordinary awareness [*ye-shes*] in the state of meditative composure [*mnyam-bzhag*] which sees truly, is established as the ultimate, and the whole of the mode of presence which is like a dream and an apparition, [the domain of] false seeing, is established as the conventional. Such an openness, which is the ultimate reality, is set forth by a means of evaluation which evaluates from the ultimate point of view, which examines the genuine mode of being [*gnas-lugs*] of origination, cessation, etc., through the four extremes. However, apart from this, there is not a single word in the *Madhyamakāvatāra* verses and commentary, and the collection of philosophical treatises of Nāgārjuna, etc. setting forth the two truths, positing nirvāṇa as the ultimate and saṃsāra as the conventional, by a means of evaluation on the level of the pure conventional, which examines the ontic mode of things [*snang-tshul*]. Therefore, this method of dividing the two truths according to presence and openness is established as the unsurpassed intent of these treatises.

In order to understand bsTan pa'i nyi ma's point of view, we must go back to Mi-pham rgya-mtsho's presentation of the relationship

between the Svāntarikas and Mādhyamakās upon which it is based. In his commentary on Śāntarakṣita's Madhyamakālaṃkāra,¹² Mi-pham discusses at length the distinction between the discursively formulated ultimate (*rnam-grangs pa'i don-dam*) and the non-discursively formulated ultimate (*rnam-grangs min-pa'i don-dam*), the 'objects' of inquiry by IA and B. Śāntarakṣita explains this distinction as follows:¹³

The ultimate eliminates the whole net of concepts such as empty and not empty, origination and non-origination, concrete entity and abstraction. Since non-origination, etc., are in accord with understanding this ultimate reality, they are designated 'ultimate'. As it is said,

Without the ladder of that which is ultimately
valid, conventionally speaking,

It would be impossible to know how to proceed to the
upper story of the ultimate.

Since there is no origination, etc., non-origination, etc.,
are impossible.

On account of the refutation of the reality of these, even
linguistic expressions for them become impossible.

A proper application of negation does not exist for a non-
existent object.

Since it is based on conceptual distinctions, such a
negation belongs to the conventional and not the ultimate.

In his discussion of this distinction, Mi-pham focuses on the issue of *śūnyatā* as a non-implicative negation (*med-dgag*, *prasajya-pratiṣedha*), as well as the universal Mādhyamaka concern that one not remain in the more subtle extreme of negation, thereby reifying *śūnyatā*. Just as when one rubs two sticks together to produce a fire which consumes both, the fire of *prajñā*, which negates any form of essentialism, also consumes itself. Mi-pham, in the course of his discussion, quotes the famous verses of Nāgārjuna and Śāntideva on this matter:¹⁴

If *śūnyatā* is wrongly envisaged it will destroy those of little intelligence, like a snake wrongly handled or a mantra wrongly employed. Therefore, the mind of the Sage was dissuaded from proclaiming his message, having realized the difficulty that those of weak intellect would have in fathoming this profound message. If a concrete entity were found to exist, then an abstract entity could be found to exist, since people call what is other than a concrete entity an abstraction. Those who perceive essences, entities exist-

ing relatively, concrete entities and abstract entities, do not truly perceive the Awakened One's teaching.

By accustoming oneself to the ingrained tendency towards *śūnyatā*, one will eliminate the tendency towards concrete entities. Eventually, even the accustoming oneself to the complete non-existence of entities will be eliminated. When one cannot represent an entity to be investigated as 'that which is non-existent', then how can non-existence, being without a basis, remain before the intellect? When neither entities nor their negation as an abstraction remain before the intellect, then, since there is no other possibility, the discursive intellect is pacified, there being nothing to objectify.

The main point here is that it is relatively easy to set up and then negate the various candidates philosophers may put forward as the essence of a 'thing', whether concrete or abstract. 'Essence' refers to an "exhaustively specifiable and unvarying mode of being," to borrow a phrase from the physicist David Bohm.¹⁵ In this discussion, the Mādhyamaka is not primarily concerned with affirmation and negation as mere devices for propositional affirmation and denial, but rather with their ontological significance, which leads to an investigation of their phenomenological genesis within experience. In such an understanding, affirmation is seen to be rooted in an involvement with what is as a permanent 'presence-on-hand', or, as the Mādhyamaka texts like to state, in a "beginningless obsessive concern with entities". Mi-pham puts it nicely:¹⁶

Since those who have become habituated to an obsessive concern with entities from beginningless time, have had no opportunity to give birth to pristine awareness [*jnāna*, *ye-shes*] which is free from the four extremes, first it is necessary for them to activate discernment [*prajña*, *shes-rab*], which is a mental event that discerns that all entities are just non-existent from the ultimate point of view.

How do we actually negate this beginningless obsession with the ontic, yet not be left with a mere conceptual absence, but rather be released into the openness of Being (*śūnyatā*), to use the language of Heidegger? The point which is stressed by Mi-pham rgya-mtsho is that the self-destructing or self-consuming of the act of negation is the entry into, the letting oneself into, the unity (*yuganaddha*, *zung-jug*) of the two truths. This point is indeed the basis for Mi-pham's understanding of the relation of the Svātantrikas to the Prāsangikas, which actually forms the heart of the matter here.

According to him, the Svātantrika is the approach of the beginner who negates entities from the ultimate point of view, while

validating their conventional existence according to the means of evaluation set forth by the methods of Dignāga and Dharmakīrti (IIB). Experientially, this approach represents the *prajñā* cultivated in the post-meditation phase (*rjes-thob*) of Mādhyamaka practice, which is articulated in the discursively formulated ultimate. In other words, the Svātantrika bases itself on the initial separation of the two truths, opening up this distinction and setting forth the sphere of each. Mi-pham states:¹⁷

The division into a discursively formulated and a non-discursively formulated ultimate is a good procedure which makes this approach very superior. That is, if one did not, at the beginning only, teach the ultimate as non-existence in truth, there would be no means for removing the errant obsession with entities which we have been habituated to since beginningless time Therefore, having first destroyed obsession with entities by this discursively formulated ultimate, and subsequently through the teaching of the non-discursive ultimate, one will remove the obsession with this [conception of *śūnyatā* in the discursively formulated ultimate] as an abstraction based on negation.

In brief, the Svātantrikas' outlook is that all dharmas are 'conventionally existent, although ultimately non-existent'.

As for the Prāsangikas, Mi-pham states:¹⁸

This aspect of adhering to the separation of the two truths is the special object of refutation of the Prāsangikas As long as one is still involved with latching on to things or concepts and has made the two truths have the same value, one has not gone beyond the sphere of operation of the dichotomizing intellect Therefore, the Prāsangikas from the very start set forth the non-discursive unity of the two truths.

This conception of the Prāsangikas has important consequences for Mi-pham. Not only does it experientially represent the pristine awareness of the phase of meditative composure (*mnyam-bzhag*) of Mādhyamaka cultivation and an advance over the beginner's approach, but it offers the possibility of a more rapid method. He states in his *mKhas-'jug*:¹⁹

The Mādhyamikas, who are those who deny essentialism, claim that since all entities, such as the psycho-physical constituents, are present without their essences being established, they are an open possibility [*śūnyā*]. The Mādhyamikas non-implicatively negate the

setting up of any entities which can withstand a critique from the ultimate point of view. Both coming-into-presence-contextually and such an openness, which are present as a unique non-contradictory reality, are the very being of entities. This is the perspective of Nāgārjuna, the Great Middle, the unity of presence and openness. While this is the final intent of the Awakened Ones, there are different internal divisions within this perspective, such as in the manner of affirming the conventional and in the gradual and all-at-once means of understanding this final intent.

This last sentence refers to the division into Svātantrikas and Prāsangikas; the commentator, mKhan-po nus-ldan, informs us that 'gradual' refers to the Svātantrikas and 'all-at-once' to the Prāsangikas.²⁰ These terms refer to the possibility of negating the four limiting concepts of the *catuskoṭi* all at once. Here Mi-pham appears to harken back to Go-rams-pa bsod-nams seng-ge, the Sa-skyapa master who polemicized against Tsong-kha-pa.²¹ One should also note here Mi-pham's background in the rDzogs-chen, whose philosophy has many similarities with an 'all-at-once' approach. He states in his introduction to the commentary on the *dBu-ma rgyan*:²²

The intent of Candrakīrti is the profound perspective in which the deceptiveness of conventionality subsides in the continuum of Being, because all that is present is pure in exactly its own dimension. This is similar to the setting forth of the initially pure [*ka-dag*] in the works of the rDzogs-chen.

All this, however, should not lead one to conclude that the Svātantrika is an inferior approach. The Svātantrika does go on from the discursively formulated ultimate of the beginner to the non-discursive ultimate which is no different from that of the Prāsangika. For just as the conventional and the ultimate, the meditative and post-meditative phases, etc., are a unity, so too are the Prāsangika and Svātantrika in their ultimate intent:²³

Since Śāntaraṣita follows the tradition which explains the discursively formulated ultimate, which accepts independently formulated syllogisms and the existence of entities conventionally, he is counted as an ācārya of the Svātantrika. Do not think that this is inferior to the Prāsangika perspective, because, having made such a division in the general Mahāyāna way which is the unity of these two approaches, there is no difference whatsoever in the essential harmony of the non-abiding continuum of Being which is the unity of the two truths.

Mi-pham was concerned to present this kind of understanding of the relation of the two approaches, which from his point of view had become eroded by centuries of Prāsāngika dominance, particularly in the form of dGe-lugs-pa scholasticism. Go-rams-pa had already made use of a similar division of the ultimate truth as a Prāsāngika, in his critique of Tsong-kha-pa's Prāsāngika-superior approach. Though living some 400 years apart, Mi-pham and Go-rams-pa said basically the same thing: such an approach does not actually go beyond a Svātantrika notion of the discursively formulated ultimate (IA), as we have noted.

Of central importance here is the matter of the *dgag-bya*, that which is to be negated by the non-implicative negation employed by the Prāsāngikas. What is to be negated, according to Tsong-kha-pa, is the essence or existence in truth (*bden-grub*) of entities, not particular entities per se. This distinction was made to avoid the extreme of nihilism in interpreting the meaning of the negation of the four positions of the *catuṣkoṭi*. That is, 'not existent, not non-existent, not both, nor neither', mean 'ultimately or in truth not existent, and conventionally, not non-existent'.

bsTan-pa'i nyi-ma's critique of this distinction is that, if, at the level of a critique from the ultimate point of view, we already know entities per se as conventionally existing in the manner of apparitions, etc., then we would not in this case be led to assert some ultimate truth-status founded on these entities. Thus, the refutation of such a status would be redundant.²⁴ In other words, this approach threatens to reduce the Mādhyamaka to a 'conceptual analysis', and indeed a great deal of contemporary scholarship has arisen interpreting the Mādhyamaka in such a way, invoking such distinctions as 'svabhāva language/natural language' or 'metalanguage/object language'. However, the distinction between a thing and its 'nature' is a purely conceptual one, and 'existence in truth' is a creation of the philosopher. Furthermore, such a distinction forced Tsong-kha-pa into developing a theory about the nature of these conventionally existing entities per se, known as *tha-snyad tshad grub*. In this theory he was further forced into the inherently non-Mādhyamakan position of establishing how conventionally-existing entities exist by virtue of being some kind of conceptual imputation (*rtog-pas btags-pa*) by worldly people, who not understanding this, take these entities to exist 'in truth'. The point is that there is nothing to establish (*grub*) about entities; Tsong-kha-pa's is just another positive theory about how to account for them. Such a positive theory would have to define precisely what is the nature of the 'imputation' it posits, while

avoiding realistic, idealistic or other theories. Mi-pham rgya-mtsho has indeed made such criticisms in his reply to the attacks on his famous commentary on the ninth chapter of the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*.²⁵ We include these arguments in an appendix.

This brings us to a consideration of the conventional means of evaluation, IIA and IIB, in which positive theories about the nature of conventional reality can legitimately be put forward.

The latter is crucial for our purpose of understanding the relation of *śūnyatā* and *tathāgatagarbha*. We have alluded to IIA in discussing the means of evaluation employed by the Abhidharma and by Dharmakīrti. Within the context of IIA we can understand how Dharmakīrti can refer to the uniquely efficient (*svalakṣaṇa*) as the ultimately real object validated by direct awareness (*pratyakṣa*) as a valid means of knowledge. Also, in this context, the conventionally real is the thematic-conceptual (*samānya-lakṣaṇa*) as the object evaluated by judgment and inference (*anumāna*).

The two principle groups of teachings that make use of IIB which bsTan-pa'i nyi-ma refers to over and over again, are the *tathāgatagarbhasūtras* and the *Ratnagotravibhāga*, on the one hand, and the *Mahā-*, *Anu-*, and *Ati-Yoga* systems of the Vajrayāna, on the other. bsTan-pa'i nyi-ma states, in regard to the Tantric systems:²⁶

Otherwise, for example, if there were no means of evaluation at the level of the pure conventional, then the existence of the great purity of conventional reality [*kun-rdzob dag-pa chen-po*], which is taught in the *Guhyagarbhatantra*, etc., would be a mere assertion without a means of validation to establish it. By a means of validation which inquires at the ultimate level, one is just not able to establish it. Also, at this level, saying that [the ultimate] merely exists as 'non-devoid' [*mi-stong-pa*] would make it something ontically ultimate [*bden-grub*]. And, by a means of validation employing ordinary perception, one establishes the five psycho-physical constituents as merely impure, [the element] Earth as merely solid and resistant, Fire as merely hot and burning. But how could one establish the *maṇḍalas* in which the five psycho-physical constituents are the five *Yab*, and the five Elements are the Five *Yum*?

Our central concern here is not with the necessity of the *dag-gzigs tha-snyad tshad-ma* regarding the Tantras, however fascinating and important this topic might be, but in regard to the *tathāgatagarbha* teaching. bsTan-pa'i nyi-ma gives a concise presentation of this *tshad-ma* as follows, giving the *Uttaratantra* as an example:²⁷

At the time of validating by a means of validation by the pure conventional which inquires into the way things present themselves ontically [*snang-tshul*], through the genuineness or non-genuineness of the object of evaluation one makes a distinction into the two truths. One posits as the relative-conventional the modality of errancy [*'khrul-pa*], such as the subject-object division, which is the disharmony between the way things actually abide [*gnas-tshul*] and how they present themselves ontically [*snang-tshul*], which is the non-genuine state of things [*yang dag-min-pa'i gnas-lugs*]; and as the ultimate, presence and openness in the harmony of the way things actually abide and how they present themselves, such as ordinary awareness as subject and openness as its object, which is the genuine state of things. Thus, this method of presenting the two truths through the harmony or disharmony between the way things present themselves and how they actually abide, [may be applied] specifically regarding the *tathāgatagarbha* which is a [teaching] of definitive meaning [taught] in the *sūtras* of definitive meaning of the final *dharmacakra*, such as the ten *Tathāgatagarbha sūtras*. [This method] presents, as the conventional, relative truth which is the disharmony between the way things actually abide and how they present themselves, the existence of that which is separable [from the *tathāgatagarbha*] and does not enter into the real state of things [*gnas-lugs kyi gshis*], the whole duality of subject and object which is the nature of *saṃsāra*. The ultimate which is the harmony of the way things actually abide and how they present themselves, is that which is inseparable, in its mode of presence [*snang-tshul*], from the qualities of cognitive sensitivity [*mkhyen*], kindness [*brtse*], and ability [*nus*], the sheer lucency which is the actuality of ordinary awareness [viewed] as the subject; and which is inseparable, in its mode of openness [*stong-tshul*], from the very being of the *dharmdhātu* [viewed] as the object, which is possessed of the three gates of liberation and whose very existence is open.

bsTan-pa'i nyi-ma then continues with a discussion of the famous verse from the *Uttaratantraśāstra*, (I, 155) alluded to here, in which incidental obscurations are held to be separable from the *tathāgatagarbha*, while the constituent factors of Buddhahood are inseparable. He says:²⁸

Moreover, even the quote from the *Mahāyānottaratantraśāstra* (I, 155 c–d), “That which has the characteristic of being inseparable [from the *tathāgatagarbha*] is not devoid of the unparalleled factors [of Buddhahood],” shows the *tathāgatagarbha* as the ultimate, the basic make-up of living beings [*khams*], the spiritual affinity [*rigs*]

which is inseparable from the qualities of the *Dharmakāya*, the fruit of release [*bral-'bras*], sheer lucency, the self-effulgence [*rang-mdangs*] of openness. The lines (I, 155 a–b), “Although the basic make-up of living beings is devoid of incidental [impurities], which have the characteristic of being separable [from the *tathāgatagarbha*],” shows the errant entities [set up] by the subject-object dichotomy as the relative-conventional, the impurities which do not enter into the real state of things, which are separable by the power of the path which acts as an antidote.

We can schematize his discussion of IIB in the following chart:

IIB. *dag-gzigs tha-snyad-pa'i tshad-ma*

Reality-mode	Method of Determination	Example: <i>tathāgatagarbha</i>
<i>kun-rd Zob</i> [operational-conventional]	<i>snag-tshul dang gnas-tshul mi-mthun-pa</i> [disharmony between how things actually abide and how they present themselves]	<i>glo-bur gyi dri-ma</i> [incidental impurities (separable)]
<i>don-dam</i> [primary-absolute]	<i>snag-tshul dang gnas-tshul mthun-pa</i> [harmony between how things actually abide and how they present themselves]	<i>sang-rgyas kyi chos</i> [constitutive factors of Buddhahood (inseparable)]

Now we may return to the positions of Ruegg (or rather, the discussion of the dGe-lugs-pa position which he presents) and Schmithausen, with which we began. I believe that if we look at the situation as Schmithausen does, then there is a contradiction between the two approaches (of the *tathāgatagarbha* literature and the Mādhyamaka). But he is wrong to conceptualize the *tathāgatagarbha* doctrine as a positive ontology incompatible with a Mādhyamaka understanding of *śūnyata*. The dGe-lugs-pa interpretation presented by Ruegg, however, is equally one-sided in its approach, which attempts to reduce the discussion of *tathāgatagarbha* to the rubric of the *don-dam tshad-ma* (I), an inquiry from the ultimate point of view presented by Nāgārjuna and Candrakīrti. According to our discussion above, it is IIB which is adequate to the subject matter. So here I would agree that the dGe-lugs-pa interpretation is “harmonizing,” because it is not adequate to the subject matter. However, it does not follow that all attempts to establish the non-contradictory nature of Mahāyāna doctrines is “harmonizing,” or in contradiction with a

critical-historical approach. Contradictions arise because of a limited, positivistic conception of the historical, which wants to clearly distinguish the historical-linguistic 'facts' from the philosophical interpretations. But as we saw above, the history of philosophy cannot be separated from philosophy itself. To philosophize about the *tathā-gatagarbha* is to address not just the words but the subject matter. Regarding this, Schmithausen has created another false dichotomy between linguistic expressions, on the one hand, and the "mystical intuitions" which give rise to them.²⁹ What I have attempted to do here is to cut through this dichotomy as well by staking out, as it were, an intermediate region between 'experience' and 'language', which is the *hermeneutic realm*. In this realm, words are not mere linguistic facts but meaningful claims upon us which summon us to their subject matter, what they are about. For knowing what they are about, we must have appropriate means of coming to that knowledge, proper access to the subject matter. Hence, the importance of Buddhist logic.

Appendix: *brGal-lan nyin-byed snang-ba*, 103:³⁰

(Tre-bo brag-dkar sprul states:) First, as to understanding that which is to be negated: when the essentialists have validated an objectively existing essence without its being posited by virtue of its being present to an unimpaired awareness, this we hold to be something validated absolutely (*bden-grub*), as well as being the simultaneous latching on to the ultimate validity of the awareness which apprehends that.

According to our approach, that of the Prāsangikas, all entities are posited through the conceptualization process or posited by virtue of this process. In the case of such statements as, 'worldly people postulate entities by virtue of imputation', we claim that this means that when an object is established as existing for oneself which is not a mere imputation by the conceptualizing process, this is what is known as validating something absolutely and the 'simultaneous latching on to the ultimate validity of the awareness which apprehends that'.

(Mi-pham rgya-mtsho replies): Let us examine these assertions. In general, in the Mādhyamaka approach, all entities are set forth as being without even an atom's worth of an objectively established existence, in that they are a mere postulation by the conceptualizing process. This is the unerring intent of the Worthy Ones. Yet, al-

though Tsong-kha-pa's clear explanation of this is unparalleled, the claim that all entities are mere postulations is an assertion common to all savants of both the Svāntrikas and Prāsangikas. To claim that it is the special method of the Prāsangikas is a great error.

If one therefore thinks that, when one makes an investigation according to a means of validation from the ultimate point of view, since no entity whatsoever can withstand such a critique, it is established that all entities are a mere imputation by the conceptualizing process, this is not so. If one thinks that the distinction between the approach of the Svāntrikas, who assert that an essence of an object can be established, and the Prāsangikas, who do not accept that an essence can be established even conventionally, is well known, that is true enough. When the Svāntrikas explain things employing the discursively formulated ultimate, they assert the mere absence of truth-status as the ultimate, while validating entities according to conventional means of validation. Because of these essential points, they are in accord with the experience of certainty in the post-meditative state, a 'middle way' which is bound up with making assertions.

On the other hand, when the Prāsangikas make an explanation through setting forth the 'great middle way' which is free from all assertions, the non-discursively formulated ultimate, they take as their basis an enquiry from the ultimate point of view. So, while not accepting the validity of an essence even conventionally, they set forth how everything appears in accord with the sphere of operation of genuine meditative composure, which is non-objectifying and free from discursiveness. Since I have already explained these approaches a bit in other places according to the instructions of former Worthy Ones, I won't expand on this here.

It is clear that the division into a discursively and non-discursively formulated ultimate appears in the great treatises of India, such as those of the Svāntrikas. In that the ultimate, which is free from all assertions and is non-discursive, is present as the object of the meditative composure of the Noble Ones; and in that the discursively formulated ultimate is present in the certainty of the post-meditative state, the former is the sphere of pristine awareness and the latter that of ordinary awareness. So, even the Mādhyamikas make various formulations of experience according to their individual intellectual levels.

Thus, the important point to understand is the reason for using the meditative and post-meditative states, and the real and nominal ultimate truths. If one understands this, one is able to also under-

stand the essential point about whether a philosophical stance is eliminated or not in these cases. Such an approach has even been formulated by Tsong-kha-pa, as one ought to see clearly from his letter to Red-mda'-ba, and so forth.

Furthermore, three ways of using the term 'established by virtue of essence' exist: in the case of causal efficacy well-known to the epistemologists who speak of it as the 'defining characteristic' (*rang-gi mtshan-nyid*); in the case of the Abhidharmikas, etc., who speak of a characteristic of that which is characterized (*mtshon-bya'i mtshan-nyid*) as the defining characteristic, such as the heat of fire; and in the case of the Mādhyamikas who use the term in regard to that defining characteristic or essence or essential existence which can be found to withstand a critique from the ultimate point of view. However, since the defining characteristic which is the reason for determining whether something is valid or not, does not exist apart from the actuality (*ngo-bo*) of that entity to be validated, they are all in accord with the essential point. Although the Svāntarikas accept 'validation by virtue of an essence', this is a mere conventional application of a term to the actuality of an entity. Conventionally, fire, which efficaciously burns, is established as possessing the characteristics of heat and red glow. In regard to this, without making a division into the aspects of characteristics and characterized, one calls 'essence' that aspect of whatever appears which is its mere actuality. If one makes a distinction between characteristic and characterized, then, since the object known as fire cannot exist apart from its defining characteristic of heat and burning, it is very important to understand that these are not something separable, something existing in addition to the object.

Therefore, the claim of the Svāntarikas is that, although ultimately a defining characteristic can't be established, conventionally it can be established. They speak of a 'single basis as possessing the two truths', and separate them without refuting one by the other.

If one thinks that this 'validation by virtue of an essence of defining characteristic' is spoken of in regard to an object which is established as existing by virtue of an essence that is *not* a mere postulation of externality by the intellect, and that such a validation would become 'validated absolutely', thus falling under one of the extremes, we reply as follows:

If, at the time of making an inquiry from the ultimate point of view, one establishes even an atom's worth of an object by means of its own essence, indeed this would be 'validated absolutely'. At the ultimate level of inquiry, 'validation by virtue of its own essence' is

also not accepted by the Svātantrikas. If it were, they wouldn't be Mādhyamikas and even the path of liberation in this case would not exist.

At the conventional level of inquiry, although an object appears to be established through its own essence, by this method how could such an object become 'validated absolutely'? While it is necessary to establish such an object by conventionally valid means, if even within this conventional inquiry it cannot be established, then it cannot be established in any way. Therefore, if any entity whatsoever, such as the coolness of water or the heat of fire, which is known as the 'specific real nature', 'defining characteristic' or 'actuality' which appears as it is, can withstand a critique at the ultimate level of inquiry, then this 'defining characteristic' or 'actuality' would be ultimately established as valid. On the other hand, that which appears infallibly while not withstanding such a critique, is the method of establishing entities conventionally.

Thus, as a result of an inquiry at the ultimate level, all entities appear as a mere postulation through conceptualization, since it has been said over and over again that if one is a Mādhyamika, then it is necessary to say that all entities are mere postulates.

Therefore, although this is the way in which all Mādhyamikas give birth to certainty regarding all entities in the post-meditation state, it is not the special way of setting forth conventional truth by the Prāsangikas. At the time of setting up the conventional in such a way, one does so through a valid means of inquiry at the conventional level, without the necessity of relying on an inquiry at the ultimate level. Then, based on this it is necessary to thoroughly comprehend the ultimate. As it is said: "Then conventional truth becomes a means,"³¹ and in the *Mādhyamakāvātara* commentary it states,

Since that which is the relative truth is a means for entering into the ultimate truth, it is accepted according to the way of the world without examining origination from self and other, etc.

Asserting 'validation by mere postulation through conceptualization' could never be maintained without relying on a previous inquiry at the ultimate level. If it could, then everyone would be a Mādhyamika from the very beginning. Therefore, even the Prāsangikas conventionally accept a mere positing of entities by virtue of a presence before a unimpaired consciousness. As the *Mādhyamakāvātara* states,³²

That which is apprehended through the six modes of experience is understood by the world,
 And is taken to be true according to the world;
 Anything else is held by the world to be false.

One makes conventional designations about entities which appear to an unimpaired consciousness, just as they appear, without critically examining or investigating them. Although they are accepted in accord with what experienced worldly people accept, if one examines and investigates them, the affirmations which are commonly made in the world will be destroyed. As it is said,³³

Although that is not established through this seven-fold examination,
 Whether in worldly terms of in reality,
 Yet here, according to worldly people who do not make such a critical examination,
 It is postulated that parts mutually support one another.

Therefore, although something may be established according to worldly usage without critical examination or investigation even by conventional means, if examined and investigated it will not be established. If, abandoning conventional means of affirmation by means of what appears to the unimpaired sense organs of worldly people, one then asserts that validation by means of a mere postulation through conceptualization is a valid means of knowledge, then a Creator of the world, who is merely a fabrication of the intellect, *prakṛti*, eternal sound, etc., would also be validated. This would be so since even conventionally there would be no difference between them and a pot in their not being established objectively, although they are mere postulates of the intellect.

Further, is imputation by the intellect a case of a mental error which imagines something where there is no object, conventionally speaking, or is it a case of a non-erroneous imputation that something exists where there is an object? In the first case, Awakened Ones would not then be able to see conventionally existing entities, since in them there is no erroneous postulating of entities. In the second case, these conventional entities would exist in their own right without being mere conventional postulates by the intellect.

Moreover, of the three meanings of 'conceptualization' (*rtog-pa*) which might apply in this case, the *rtog-pa* of the pair 'select and inquire into' (*rtog-dpyod*) doesn't make sense, if it is a case here of

imputation of an objective, concrete essence (*ngo-bo-nyid rtog gis phar btags-pa*), then when the presence of a pillar for an unimpaired, worldly mind is not being imputed by a visual perception, the pillar would not exist there (visual perception making no imputations). Or, if it is imputed without there being a basis of imputation, then even in a place where there is no pillar, a pillar imputed by the mind, as in the case of a disease of the eyes, would serve the function of a pedestal and even conventionally external objects would not exist. Since a non-conceptual perception cannot come about without an object with a defining characteristic, it is impossible for it to be imputed there by that perception.

If one says that it is a case of mere verbal imputation of objectivity by a conceptualizing process which apprehends things by mixing language and object (*sgra-don 'dres-'dzin gyi rtog-pa*), then when a red, glowing fire appears before a non-conceptual visual perception, the heat which exists in addition to these qualities would not exist, and as long as there was no imputation of it heat would not conventionally exist in that object. Even the mere red glowing could not appear, since in a non-conceptual perception an imputation which apprehends things by mixing language and object would be impossible.

3

A Dialogue on Death: Tibetan Commentators on the First Chapter of Āryadeva's *Catuhśataka*



Karen Lang

Ye-shes 'od, tenth-century king of Western Tibet (*mNga-ris*), sent the first of many Tibetan translators (*lo-tsā-ba*) to Kashmir to study Sanskrit and Buddhist doctrine. When the two surviving members of this original group of twenty-one students, Rin-chen bzang-po and Legs-pa'i shes-rab, returned to Tibet, they brought back with them Indian scholars (*paṇḍita*) to assist in translation work. The works translated and written by these Indian and Tibetan scholars—involved in what Tibetan historians refer to as 'the second introduction of Buddhism' (*bstan-pa'i phyi-dar*)—attest to a continuing interest in Mādhyamika philosophy. However, there is little evidence to support a dominant role in tenth-century Tibet for either the Svātantrika or the Prāsaṅgika interpretation of the basic works of Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva. While gser-mdog Paṅ-chen Shākya-mchog-ldan (1428–1507—in his account of the establishment of the Prāsaṅgika Mādhyamika school in Tibet—mentions Ātiśa's (982–1054) reliance upon the treatises of Candrakīrti, both his account and that of 'Gos lo-tsā-ba gZhon-nu-dpal (1392–1481) indicate that sPa-tshab Nyi-ma-grags (b. 1055) made the Prāsaṅgika viewpoint of Candrakīrti the dominant interpretation of Nāgārjuna's and Āryadeva's texts.¹

Bu-ston Rin-chen-grub (1290–1364) relates in his religious history that Nyi-ma-grags studied for twenty-three years in Kashmir, invited to Tibet the Indian scholar Kanakavarma, and taught and

translated Mādhyamika texts.² Shākya-mchog-ldan's and 'Gos lo-tsa-ba's histories provide additional details on Nyi-ma-grag's activities.³ He was born in the district of sPa-tshab in 'Phan-yul in the year 1055. In his youth he traveled to Kashmir where he remained for twenty-three years, studying the Sanskrit language and Buddhist texts with the sons of Sañjana and with other learned teachers. Nyi-ma-grags studied at the monastery of Ratnaguptavihāra in the town Anupamapura, which Jean Naudou identifies as the modern city of Śrīnagar.⁴ Two Indian scholars, Kanakavarma and Tilakakalaśa, accompanied Nyi-ma-grags on his return to Tibet. He had few students when he returned to 'Phan-yul, but this situation changed after his spiritual friend (*dge-ba'i bshes-gnyen*), Shar-ba-pa, sent him his own students to study Mādhyamika thought.

Nyi-ma-grags translated Candrakīrti's various treatises: the *Prasannapadā* commentary on Nāgārjuna's *Mūlamādhyamikakārikāḥ*; the *Bodhisattvayogācāracatuḥśatakaṭika* on Āryadeva's *Catuḥśataka*; and Candrakīrti's independent work on Mādhyamika, the *Madhyamakāvātāra*. Working together with Kanakavarma, Nyi-ma-grags compared his translations against the original Sanskrit manuscripts brought from India. Nyi-ma-grags's excellent translations and his skill in teaching Mādhyamika texts in the light of Candrakīrti's Prāsaṅgika viewpoint led the bKa'-dam-pa school to adopt this interpretation, so that it prevailed over the Svātantrika interpretation from the twelfth century onwards. Shākya-mchog-ldan and 'Gos lo-tsa-ba each credit Nyi-ma-grags with influencing rMya-bya-ba brTson-'grus-seng-ge and g'Tsang nag-pa, both of whom were students of Phywa-pa chos-kyi seng-ge. Thus, these latter came to prefer the Prāsaṅgika interpretation over the Yogācāra-Svātantrika position favored by their teacher, Phywa-pa.⁵ With the exception of rMya-bya-ba's commentary on Nāgārjuna's *Mūlamādhyamakakārikāḥ*, the *dBu-ma rtsa shes-rab kyi 'grel-pa 'thad-pa'i rgyan*, these early Tibetan commentaries on Mādhyamika texts—based upon Candrakīrti's Prāsaṅgika point of view—seem not to have survived. The colophon to rMya-bya-ba's work pays homage to “the brilliance of Nyi-ma-grags who illumined, like the sun, the doctrinal position of the illustrious Candrakīrti.”⁶

Four of Nyi-ma-grag's students, g'Tsang-pa Sar-bos, rMya-bya byang-chub ye-shes, Ngar Yon-tan grags (Shākya-mchog-ldan gives: Ngar Yul-ba rin-chen grags), and Zhang Thang-sag-pa ye-shes, disseminated the Prāsaṅgika viewpoint throughout central Tibet. Zang Thang-sag-pa founded a school for religious study (*chos-grva*) in 'Phan-yul, which both Shākya-mchog-ldan and 'Gos lo-tsa-ba report

as still flourishing in the late fifteenth century and attracting many students from central Tibet. Zang Thang-sag-pa and his successors at Thang-sag used the three works of Candrakīrti translated by Nyima-grags, the *Prasannapadā*, the *Catuḥśatakā*, and the *Madhyamakāvātāra*, to instruct their students in Mādhyamika thought.⁷

Zang Thang-sag-pa's own commentary on Āryadeva's *Catuḥśataka* (CS) appears lost. However, two late fourteenth or early fifteenth century commentaries on the CS do survive. The Sa-skya scholar Red-mda'-ba gZhon-nu blo-gros (1349–1412)—whom Shākya-mchog-ldan mentions as teaching Mādhyamika philosophy to Tsong-kha-pa and other students—composed a commentary on the CS entitled the *dBu-ma bzhi-brgya-pa'i 'grel-pa*, based upon the three texts of Candrakīrti mentioned above.⁸ One of his students, rGyal-tshab Dar-ma rin-chen (1346–1432)—Tsong-kha-pa's successor as the abbot of the dGe-lugs-pa monastery dGa'-ldan—also wrote a commentary on the CS, the *bZhi-brgya pa'i rnam-bshad legs-bshad snying-po*. In addition to these two commentaries, two modern commentaries on the CS by rNying-ma scholars are available: the *bsTan-bcos bzhi-brgya-pa zhes bya ba'i tshig-le'ur bcas-pa'i mchan-'grel* of gZhan-dga' gZhan-phan chos-kyi-snang ba (1871–1927) and the *dBu-ma bzhi-brgya pa'i tshig-don rnam par bshad-pa klu-dbang dgongs-rgyan* of Bod-pa sprul-sku mDo-sngags bstan-pa'i nyi-ma (1907–1959).

All of these commentaries are written in an interlinear style (*mchan-'grel*) in which the words of Āryadeva's verses are incorporated into each author's text. Further, the recent Bhutanese edition of gZhan-dga's commentary makes it easier for the reader to identify Āryadeva's text by enlarging these words. Each commentary bears evidence of the author's close acquaintance with the text of Candrakīrti's lengthy commentary on the CS. Red-mda'-ba, rGyal-tshab, and gZhan-dga' all summarize or paraphrase portions of this commentary; mDo-sngags chooses to quote extracts from it. Red-mda'-ba and rGyal-tshab also cite, although often in abbreviated form, the enigmatic parables which Candrakīrti utilizes to explain the CS; gZhan-dga' and mDo-sngags omit them. All the commentators follow Candrakīrti's lead in presenting the CS in the form of a dialogue between Āryadeva and various opponents.

Red-mda'-ba, rGyal-tshab, and mDo-sngags arrange the material in the CS systematically in outline form. gZhan-dga's commentary, the briefest of the four, does not outline the text but provides instead a short explanation of each verse and an occasional gloss on the terminology of difficult verses. Each commentator discusses in an

introductory section in the first chapter the title of the *CS*, the translator's salutation, the reason for the *CS*'s composition, and the general content of each of the sixteen chapters.

According to Red-mda'-ba, Āryadeva wrote the *CS* with the intention of explaining the two truths, the conventional (*kun-rdzob bden-pa*) and the ultimate (*don-dam bden-pa*). In response to the objection that this has been accomplished already in Nāgārjuna's own works, Red-mda'-ba replies that Nāgārjuna's texts are primarily concerned with how one should repudiate false imputations (*sgro-dogs*) through learning (*thos*) and reflection (*bsam*), while the *CS* is concerned with meditation (*ting-nge-'dzin*).⁹ rGyal-tshab agrees and adds that the text was composed to guide those of the Mahāyāna lineage to Buddhahood by the stages of the path which involves the practice of spiritual discipline (*rnal-'byor gyi spyod-pa*).¹⁰ mDo-sngags answers the question of the text's intended audience by saying that the *CS* was composed for the sake of intelligent and impartial (*gzur-gnas*) people who strive to realize both the conventional and the ultimate truths through the stages of spiritual discipline and meditational practice (*sgom*).¹¹ While all of these responses play upon the phrase "practice of spiritual discipline" contained in the title of the *CS* and in Candrakīrti's commentary on the *CS*, Āryadeva in the first half of the *CS* stresses the benefits of meditation.

In the first eight chapters, Āryadeva encourages others to perform virtuous actions. He specifically recommends the perfection of giving (*sbyin-pa*), moral conduct (*tshul-khrims*), and meditation (*bsam-gtan*) as the bases for the accumulation of merit. The first four chapters set forth various methods for the elimination of the four misconceptions (*phyin-ci-log*) that impede the accumulation of merit. The first of these four, namely, the erroneous view that mistakenly sees as permanent (*rtag-pa*) things that are in fact impermanent (*mirtag-pa*), is the topic of the first chapter. The proper antidote to this misconception is the mindfulness of death (*'chi-ba rjes-su dran-pa*).

Red-mda'-ba's outline, the shortest of the three, divides the chapter's verses into two major divisions: (1) the method for contemplating impermanence and (2) its benefits. rGyal-tshab identifies three major divisions: (1) the brief teaching on how to cultivate through the mindfulness of death, care, and diligence in regard to the path; (2) the detailed explanation of the method for contemplating impermanence; and (3) the benefits of contemplating impermanence. mDo-sngags also divides the chapter into three major sections: (1) the demonstration of conditioned things (*'du-byed*) as impermanent and

as having death as their very nature; (2) the detailed explanation of how this is so; and (3) the benefits. Red-mda'-ba groups verses one through twenty-two under his first section on method and verses twenty-three to twenty-five under the second section on benefits. rGyal-tshab and mDo-sngags place the first verse under their first section, verses two through twenty-four under the second section, and the last verse under section three. These major divisions themselves are further sub-divided. In fact, rGyal-tshab's outline, the most detailed of the three, classifies each verse of the CS under its own subsection.

Āryadeva in the first verse of the CS draws attention to the presence and power of the Lord of Death:

Were someone, for whom there exists the Lord of Death himself—the ruler of the three worlds who acts independently—to sleep comfortably, what else could be more wrong than that?¹²

Neither the Buddha, who has triumphed over the Lord of Death, nor those who follow his noble path, the commentators all point out, fear death. However, fear of death is appropriate for someone who remains attached to worldly things and thus fails to escape the bonds of the world. The commentators indicate that this first verse exhorts people to cultivate careful (*bag-yod*) actions, such as meditation on impermanence. "Meditating again and again on impermanence," rGyal-tshab advises, "one should endeavor to take it to heart as the basis for favorable conditions for rebirth (*'dal-byor*)."¹³

According to mDo-sngags, the first verse and the second, in which Āryadeva emphasizes that whatever comes into existence proceeds inevitably towards death, demonstrate that all impermanent and conditioned things have death as their very nature.¹⁴ Here someone objects that even if the Lord of Death rules over the three worlds, nevertheless, so long as a person lives, he does not die, and therefore he has no fear of death. Āryadeva responds in verse two that death prevails over life. Because of birth, the commentators conclude, the conditions of illness and old age occur, and they lead people moment by moment into the presence of the Lord of Death. The reply to the objector shows that life is seen as equivalent to dying, each successive instant of life bringing the individual closer to death.

The opponent then tries a different line of argument. A human life span, he argues, is one hundred years. If sixteen of these years pass by, there will still be eighty-four remaining. Therefore someone can enjoy the delights of sensual pleasures for awhile and later still

have sufficient time to ward off the Lord of Death. Red-mda'-ba, rGyal-tshab, and gZhan-dga' reply that regardless of whether the time that has passed and the time that has yet to pass are considered equal or unequal in length, the expectation that the years remaining in an individual's life span will be long clearly indicates a fear of death.¹⁵ mDo-sngags argues that long and short are mutually dependent terms. Because there is no certainty about the length of any given individual's lifespan, it is impossible to determine whether the time that has passed up to the present is short or long, since this determination is dependent upon whether the time that has not yet passed is short or long. Therefore, he concludes, because neither the time that has passed already nor the time that has yet to pass can be judged long or short in relation to each other, they should be seen as equals. To consider one as short and the other as long demonstrates the objector's fear of death.¹⁶

Since medicines and life-prolonging elixirs (*bcud-len*) counteract the pain of illness and old age, the opponent claims, one need not fear death. Āryadeva and his commentators answer that death is not the last illness people have to overcome. It is what occurs without fail when the individual finally yields to illness or old age. Because illness can be cured and old age can be treated, it is possible that someone may not fear them. However, there is no cure or treatment for death, and for this reason, they conclude, fear of death is warranted.

While people cannot avoid death, the opponent concedes, nonetheless, since the certainty of one's own death has not yet been directly experienced, there is no reason to fear it. Āryadeva and his commentators remind the opponent that death is not exclusively a private event—people do experience the deaths of other sentient beings. Death is a public event, they assert, and cite the example of cattle that are led away to be slaughtered. One ought to be concerned about cultivating virtue, rGyal-tshab says, and not act like cattle who remain in the slaughterhouse while they see the butcher kill one cow after another.¹⁷

The objector admits that death may be a public event, but, modifying his argument slightly, he contends that because the exact time of one's own death is not certain, there is still no reason to fear death. Āryadeva warns his opponent in verse seven that uncertainty over the time of death is not grounds for believing himself to be immortal; at some time in the future the Lord of Death will arrive. Today or tomorrow death might come, Red-mda'-ba says, therefore one ought to give up hope for a long lifespan, and one ought to be concerned about comprehending the idea (*'du-shes*) of death.¹⁸

The opponent remains unconvinced. Only cowards fear death, he retorts, not heroes. Heroes seek fame and fortune, unafraid of death in battle. Āryadeva and his commentators question the intelligence of anyone who would barter life in exchange for wealth or fame. In particular, the commentators condemn those who wish to make their reputations on the battlefield and seek immortality through giving up their lives in battle.

While the first nine verses of Chapter One, according to Red-mda'-ba's, rGyal-tshab's, and mDo-sngags's outlines, concern 'gross impermanence' (*rags-pa'i mi-rtag-pa*), the tenth verse considers 'subtle impermanence' (*phra-ba'i mi-rtag-pa*). In this verse Āryadeva explains that any individual who is considered to be alive is in fact nothing but a single moment of consciousness (*rnam-shes*). Knowledge about the self is rare because ordinary people are ignorant of this fact. mDo-sngags comments:

Any sentient being called 'alive' is indeed not something other than a mere single moment of subtle consciousness [*sems*] that is called 'permanent'. However, this is not ascertained by an ordinary person's inference [*rjes-dpag*], and it is not known in direct perception [*mngon-sum*]. Therefore it appears that knowledge of the self as being impermanent is rare because of the misconception that it is permanent.¹⁹

All the commentators stress that all conditioned things are momentary. People who fail to understand this wrongly imagine that life will persist for a long time, and consequently they behave improperly.

If the first half of Chapter One of the *CS* focuses on the awareness of one's own forthcoming death, most of the second half discusses another troubling aspect of death: grief at the death of others. The opponent asserts that it is proper to mourn the death of others. Āryadeva disagrees, suggesting in verse twelve that one's own death ought to be of greater concern than the death of anyone else. He criticizes someone who mourns his child's death at a time when he himself is not free from the Lord of Death's power. The commentators all point out the inappropriateness of grieving for someone else who has died, while forgetting that oneself will die. Moreover, grief is inappropriate even when a child appears to die unexpectedly. In fact, the death should not have been unexpected; ignorance prevented the recognition of aging as being a sign of impending death.

The opponent tries another approach. A father feels great affection for his children, he argues, and this great affection causes him to grieve when one of them dies. Āryadeva does not contest this point,

but emphasizes instead the inequality present in this relationship. "A son does not love (his father) in the same way as a father loves him," he points out in verse fifteen; the father's affection exceeds his son's.²⁰ Our commentators add that because of this great attachment to their children, people will be reborn in lower states of existence. The father's great affection for his son will prevent him from attaining a high rebirth in his next life, not to mention liberation from the cycle of birth and death. Furthermore, Āryadeva and his commentators doubt whether this purported affection extends to a disagreeable child. Affection, they see as a trade-off, dependent entirely on the child's behavior pleasing the father. When there is any disagreement, this so-called affection vanishes.

The opponent agrees that while it may be wrong to mourn the death of others, it is still imperative to do so in conformity with the customs prevalent in the world. Āryadeva and his commentators repudiate this attitude as hypocritical. To tear one's hair as an indication of grief is inappropriate, the commentators say, especially for those who know that such actions have no value.

Āryadeva discourages people from seeking pleasurable encounters with friends and relatives. Seeking to encounter friends and relatives, the commentators explain, is like pouring salt on an open wound, for the eventual separation from family and friends only increases the amount of pain a person has to experience in addition to the pain of birth, aging, illness, and death that all people experience while bound within the cycle of birth and death. Moreover, the commentators indicate that this cycle of repeated birth and death has neither a beginning nor an end for people who are under the influence of ignorance. Such people do not understand that friendship last for a short time, but the separation of friends, which was lengthy in the past, will be so again in the future.

Even though the separation is lengthy, the opponent concedes, the length of the separation is of little importance. The quality of the time, rather than its quantity, is what counts. People value the best of times; they delight in spring when the flowers blossom and in autumn when the moon shines, Red-mda'-ba says.²¹ Āryadeva contends that all moments of time should be seen as enemies. The commentators explain that in the same way as the seasons change with the passage of each succeeding moment, people's lives change. Each moment brings death closer. For this reason time should be considered an enemy who robs people of their lives.

The last three verses of Chapter One, according to Red-mda'-ba,

concern the benefits of meditating on impermanence. In verses twenty-three and twenty-four, Āryadeva advises householders to leave family and friends behind. He condemns as foolish anyone who would wait for death to occur before adopting the homeless life of a monk or a nun. Moreover, when the opponent responds that, after completing the duties of a householder, there will be time enough to go to the forest, Āryadeva asks, "What is worthwhile in having done something that ought to be rejected?"²² The opponent admits that it is best to lead the homeless life, but claims that attachment to the self and all that belongs to the self prevent people from taking such action. Āryadeva concludes in verse twenty-five with the observation that fear does not arise when people eliminate attachment to the self through reflection on their mortality:

Surely, where is there fear, even of the Lord of Death, for someone who reflects "I am mortal," because attachment has been abandoned completely?²³

Red-mda'-ba comments that a person endowed with insight (*shes-rab*), who follows reason (*rigs*) and the Buddhist scriptures (*lung*), understands that the self is mortal and will not fear either death or abandoning the household life to go forth into the forest.²⁴ The commentators all agree that meditation on impermanence will break the bondage of attachment to self. For this reason, they recommend the mindfulness of death. rGyal-tshab sums up the chapter's message:

The bonds of desire for wealth and fame are cut.
Best is the encouragement to strive to attain solitude.
Concealed among all religious teachings, the most excellent, first of all, is the mindfulness of death.²⁵

As Red-mda'-ba, rGyal-tshab, gZhan-dga', and mDo-sngags all indicate in their commentaries on the *CS*, Āryadeva in the first chapter advances his views on the importance of being mindful of death. He intends for his first verse to draw attention to death, even to awaken fear of death's powerful presence. The commentators clarify Āryadeva's repudiation of the various defense mechanisms that people set up to protect themselves from being aware of their fear of death. They explain that the postponement of thinking about death or the hope for immortality through valor on the battleground, etc. exemplify behavior that masks a fear of death.

Āryadeva and his commentators stress the inevitability of death.

Life cannot be prolonged indefinitely, nor can death be cured or treated, as is the case with illness and old age. Illness and old age foretell death; they signify that death is present here and now. Being alive, the commentators say, is in fact the process of dying with the passage of each moment. Death is present also in the experience people have in observing the deaths of other sentient beings. Human beings, however, have the intelligence to contemplate their own forthcoming deaths and the potential to break the bonds of attachment which entrap them in the cycle of repeated birth and death.

Thus, the first half of Chapter One focuses on developing the individual's awareness of his or her own death, encouraging, in other words, the meditation on gross impermanence. Āryadeva also encourages meditation on subtle impermanence, but the commentators explain that the awareness of the rise and cessation of the smaller components—for example moments of consciousness that comprise the individual—is found only among learned Buddhists (the *āryas*) and not among ordinary people. The second half of the chapter largely concerns the question of grief over the deaths of others. Grief, the commentators say, derives from attachment, and attachment to friends and family binds one to the cycle of birth and death and makes liberation impossible. The greater the attachment, the more likely it is that the quality of the next life will be even less satisfactory than that of the present life.

Through cultivating mindfulness of death, knowledge of the truth of gross and subtle impermanence develops. When impermanence is fully understood, attachment to friends and family lessens. Āryadeva, himself a monk, suggests that this knowledge ought to lead people to give up the householder's life and to adopt instead the life of the homeless monk or nun. The final verse of this chapter and the commentaries on it emphasize that the major benefit of mindfulness of death is the elimination of fear. This fear which is eliminated, as the commentators point out, includes both the fear of the Lord of Death's power and the fear of leaving the householder's life.

In conclusion, this dialogue on death between the monk Āryadeva and his questioner—who upholds the views of a householder—which the translation of Nyi-ma-grags has made accessible to Tibetans, demonstrates both Āryadeva's and his Tibetan commentators' skill in identifying and clarifying the psychological problems that foster people's discomfort when confronted with death. They direct the ordinary person's fear of death towards meditation on death and impermanence with the purpose of ultimately eliminating all fear of death.

PART TWO

Visionary Explorations

4

A Ch'an Text from Tun-huang: Implications for Ch'an Influence on Tibetan Buddhism



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Abbreviations¹

<i>bLon-po</i>	<i>gTer-ston O-rgan-gling-pa, bLon-po bka'i-thang yi</i> in <i>bKa'-thang sde-lnga</i> , Paro: Ngodup, 1976.
<i>gNas-lugs</i>	<i>kLong-chen rab-'byams-pa, gNas-lugs rin-po-che</i> <i>mdzod grel-pa</i> , Gangtok: Dodrup Chen Tibetology, n.d.
<i>bSam-gtan</i>	<i>gNubs-chen Sangs-rgyas ye-shes, bSam-gtan</i> <i>mig-sgron</i> , Smanrtsis shesrig spendzod 74, Leh, Ladakh: S.W. Tashiganpa, 1974.
<i>Sudden</i> <i>Awakening</i>	<i>Cig-char yang-dag-pa'i phyi-mo'i tshor-ba (Sudden</i> <i>Awakening to Fundamental Reality)</i> , Photographic reproduction of original manuscript in Pelliot Collection (P. tib. 116).

In practically every treatment in the West regarding the diffusion of Buddhism to Tibet, the role of Ch'an has been considered virtually negligible, and even what little that has been recognized is considered an aberrant strain of Buddhism that was expunged from Tibet after the Council(s) of Tibet. However, based on recent findings from Tun-huang materials, Ch'an now looks to have had a much greater influence than previously thought in the development of early Tibetan Buddhism during the second half of the eighth and into the early ninth centuries.²

Moreover, the historicity of the Council(s) of Tibet has been called into question, weakening the heretofore-held view that Ch'an was thoroughly driven out after the Council(s).³ In light of such findings, some modern scholars have suggested that this Ch'an influence provided some basis for the origin of the ancient rDzogs-chen school.⁴ This opinion has certainly not been without opposing views,⁵ as this subject has become an important concern in the study of the role of Ch'an in Tibet.

The *Sudden Awakening* is one of eleven or twelve separate works that comprise the Pelliot tibetan 116 collection from Tun-huang.⁶ This collection is part of the corpus of Tibetan and Chinese manuscripts related to early Ch'an schools that have immensely altered the traditional understanding of early Ch'an, and more importantly for our present interest, that of the role of Ch'an in Tibetan Buddhism.

The aim of the present study on the *Sudden Awakening* is two-fold: 1) to elucidate the nature of the text and the main ideas expounded, and 2) to discuss the findings culled from this text which may be brought to bear on the role of Ch'an in Tibetan Buddhism, particularly in relation to rDzogs-chen thought. Although a textual study on the *Sudden Awakening* was recently published in Japanese by D. Ueyama, to which we owe a great deal, our present study focuses on this work within the context of Tibetan Buddhism, an area largely untreated by Ueyama's study.⁷

Textual Background

The Pelliot tibetan 116 collection also includes such works as the *Diamond Sūtra*, a compendium of various Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna doctrines, and several question and answer dialogues explicating the Ch'an 'sudden-awakening' position. Judging from these works, Ueyama asserts that the collection constitutes a body of literature that belonged to a Ch'an school.⁸ On this point, R. Kimura has cautioned that while some of the works in the collection deal with subjects that seem to relate to the sudden-awakening position espoused by Ch'an master Hva-shang Mahāyāna, this collection should not be construed as being a direct record of his position at the Council(s).⁹

Besides the Tibetan recension, there are four extant Chinese manuscripts of the same work: Pelliot chinese 2799, 3922, Stein 5533 and Ryūkoku University collection 50. Compared to these, the Tibetan is significantly longer, being almost twice the length of the lon-

gest Chinese recension (P. chin. 2799) and thus the most complete recension available.¹⁰

The dimensions of the manuscript sheet are 29.5 × 45 cm., with each sheet folded accordion-style to make up six folios. Each folio measures 7.5 × 29.5 cm., and 124 of these folios comprise the entire Pelliot 116 collection. The *Sudden Awakening* begins on folio 191.1 and ends on folio 242.2 (verso fols. 68.1 – 119.2). Each folio contains four lines—with the exception of folios 204 and 237 each with five lines—written in *dbu-can* script. Ueyama reports that the manuscript material is of relatively thick rough paper, typical of the kind of paper that began to appear in the late eighth century when Tun-huang came under Tibetan occupation.¹¹

Regarding the date of compilation of this work, the Tibetan *Sudden Awakening* offers no significant clues. However, in the preface of the Pelliot chinese 2799 recension, Liu Wu-te, an emissary to the County of Ti, writes on the fifth day of the eleventh month, 713, that his work was compiled by a gentry-scholar by the name of Hou Mochen.¹² This would mean that the work was completed before 713. But this dating is suspect as the preface has been found to be a forgery based on the preface to another important Ch'an text. *Tun-wu chentsung lun* (*Treatise on the True Basis of Sudden Awakening*). The two prefaces match character for character, with the preface of the *Sudden Awakening* showing a slight development in content. On this evidence, S. Yanagida believes the *Sudden Awakening* to be the later of the two and the 713 dating invalid.¹³

With regards the date of translation into Tibetan, Ueyama suggests sometime between 780 and 800, based on extensive analysis of the terms employed in the translation of this text compared with those adopted in the *Mahāvvyutpatti*. He arrived at this conclusion based on the fact that some of the terms adopted, such as *yang-dag-par gshes-pa* instead of *de-bzhin gshegs-pa* for 'tathāgata', do not conform to those of the *Mahāvvyutpatti*. Accordingly, he concludes that the text was translated prior to the systematized, state-sponsored translations of the early ninth century.¹⁴ This dating is, however, rejected by K. Okimoto who claims that the two premises on which Ueyama's theory rests—that the text was translated in Tibet proper, as opposed to Tun-huang, and that in Tun-huang the pre-*Mahāvvyutpatti* terms were abandoned after the institution of the standardized *Mahāvvyutpatti* renderings—have yet to be proven historically valid. He, instead, suggests sometime between 800 and 848, the end of Tibetan occupation, as a more realistic translation date.¹⁵

The format of the text is one of question and answer dialogue between a disciple Yem and his teacher, the Unimpeded Wisdom Meditation Master. According to the Pelliot chinese 2799, the disciple and master are actually one and the same person with secular and Buddhist names, respectively. Yem begins the text by inquiring about the meaning of this passage from the *Diamond Sūtra*:

It is improper for the *Bodhisattvas* and Great Beings to produce thoughts attached to color, and improper to produce thoughts attached to sound, speech, taste, touch and dharmas. They should instead always produce thoughts which dwell in the locus of non-existence.¹⁶ (fol. 193.1–4)

To this, the Master explains 1) “Perpetually [abiding in] the locus of nonexistence” (*brtag-du myed-pa'i gnas*) is when the entire (defiled) mind is perpetually nonexistent, (*sems-so chog brtag du myed*), 2) “to dwell” (*'dug*) is when the (pure) mind does not move from the locus of nonexistence (*de las yang sems ma g.yos*), and 3) “to produce (*bskyed*) [the mind that dwells in the locus of nonexistence]” means to view (*lta-ba*). The Master then adds that by means of viewing the locus of nonexistence, discernment (*mthong-pa*)—which is none other than *Bodhi*, expressed as ‘fundamental root’ (*rtsa-ba'i phyi-mo*)—is realized. In short, the thrust of the text’s message is that the viewing of the locus of nonexistence constitutes the single most important practice for the attainment of *Bodhi*.

The rest of the text elaborates on these basic ideas, which are now summarized:

(1) Disciple Yem inquires, “Wouldn’t viewing itself be an attachment?” Master explains that if one views the locus of existence, then there would be attachment, but there is no problem of attachment when one views the locus of nonexistence. Yem then asks, “Wouldn’t viewing the locus of nonexistence be attachment to locus of non-existence?” The Master proceeds to explain in several different ways, the gist of which is that there is no attachment if viewing is conducted by the nonexistent mind (*sems myed-pa*) whose characteristic is non-grasping and non-abandonment (fols. 196.3–199.3).

(2) The Master discusses at length the nature of the locus of nonexistence, equating it with such ultimate concepts as the middle way (*lam dbu-ma*), non-duality (*gnyis-su myed*) and *tathāgata* (*yang-dag-par gsheg-pa*). The Master, however, emphasizes the futility of mere explanation, as he exhorts Yem to realize the locus of non-existence for himself (fols. 199.3–203.2).

(3) Yem is elated and grateful for the Master's clear explanation of the heretofore enigmatic Dharma, and vows to make utmost effort to realize *Bodhi*, even if it requires the sacrifice of his body, life, family and wealth. The Master then goes on to reveal more of the teaching, the most significant of which is that the locus of nonexistence is considered tantamount to 'tathāgata-storehouse' (*yang-dag-par gshegs-pa'i mdzod*) (fols. 203.2–205.2).

(4) Yem is warned of the falsity of colored forms and voices that manifest during meditation as being nothing but the work of the Great Demon King (*bdud-gyi rgyal-po chen-po*). Such hallucinatory forms that resemble smoke, stars, red fire, and the eye of a man, are unreal since they possess form. The Master then instructs Yem in the details of the practice of viewing for subduing the forms (fols. 206.3–212.3).

(5) Yem asks, "How will I go about conducting the good object (*legs-pa'i don*) that severs birth-and-death?" To this, the Master tells a parable of a grass hut and a castle, representing the evanescent form-body (*Kha-dog-gi lus*) and the pure fundamental root (locus of nonexistence), respectively. The goal is to abandon the grass hut and to reside in the castle of perpetual happiness. The good object that severs birth-and-death is said to be the knowledge of the meaning of the grass hut. The Master then proceeds to explain the meaning of and the freedom from 'birth-and-death' (fols. 213.4–223.2).

(6) The Master reiterates the importance of realizing liberation for oneself first before teaching others. A mere knowledge of the *sūtras* and commentaries is not enough (fols. 223.2–224.3).

(7) The Master describes in detail the method of viewing (see discussion below under *Analysis of Viewing* (fols. 224.3–227.1)).

(8) Yem requests to know the means of obtaining the 'undefiled wisdom' (*zag-pa myed-pa'i shes-rab, anāsravajñāna*). The Master ends up answering the question by reciting seven verses which basically deal with the locus of nonexistence and viewing. He exhorts Yem first to comprehend (*shes*) the meaning of the verses, and only after comprehending them is Yem encouraged to practice assiduously (fols. 227.2–236.4).

(9) Yem requests, "Please explain the 'unmoving concentration' (*ting-'dzin myi-g.yo-ba*) where there is no attachment to form." The Master explains that even if there were forms, if the mind does not function (grasp at forms) then, in essence, there are no forms, merely unconditioned dharmas. This non-functioning of the mind with regard to forms is the 'formless unmoving concentration'. A verse is

then quoted from the *Diamond Sūtra* to buttress the idea of the impermanency of conditioned existence (fols. 236.4–238.2).

(10) The Master concludes by again strongly criticizing mere book learning while exhorting diligent practice of viewing based on his teaching (fols. 238.2–242.2).

The *Sudden Awakening* does not present a systematic exposition of its doctrinal position, as its primary interest lies more with the actual practice. In fact, it evinces an adamant dislike for mere study of the scriptures and for prolixity, as the Master is found to remark, "The true Dharma has few words but much meaning; the coarse teaching has many words but little meaning" (fol. 228.2).

Northern and Southern Ch'an Schools

In the context of early Ch'an development in China, the *Sudden Awakening* is said to belong to the Northern school but also shows evidence of synthesizing both the Northern and Southern school positions. Its Northern school affiliation is attested by the elucidation of the meditational practice of viewing (*k'an, lta-ba*), which constituted one of the cornerstones of the Northern Ch'an position and is not found espoused by the Southern school proponents.¹⁷ Furthermore, the preface to one of the Chinese recensions (Pelliot chinese 2799) explicitly states that the author of the work studied with the pre-eminent Northern master Shen-hsiu (616?–706). On the other hand, the text explication of its basic position is based on the *Diamond Sūtra*, which was undoubtedly the most authoritative canonical source for the Southern school.¹⁸ More significant evidence of synthesis is seen in the *Sudden Awakening's* usage of terms to emphasize the suddenness and directness of the discernment of the locus of nonexistence: *cig-car* (suddenly, all at once), *nyid-du* (immediately, directly) and *gdod* (directly, originally, primordial-ly).¹⁹ The notion of 'sudden-awakening' (*tun-wu*) was highly valued and constituted the rallying point for the Southern school attack on the gradual approach of the Northern school.²⁰

This Northern-Southern school controversy was precipitated by a public denunciation in 732 at the Great Dharma Meeting held at Ta-yü Temple in Hua-t'ai located northeast of Lo-yang. It was on that occasion that Shen-hui (670–762) of the Southern school proclaimed: 1) Bodhidharma, the first Ch'an patriarch in China, was the founder of the Southern school, 2) Hui-neng (638–713), not Shen-hsiu, was the legitimate sixth patriarch in the Ch'an lineage after Hung-jen

(602–675), and 3) Hui-neng had received the patriarchal robes from Hung-jen as proof of his legitimacy. Shen-hui also claimed the superiority of the sudden-awakening approach of the Southern school over the gradualist approach of the Northern opponent as expounded in the *Ta-ch'eng wu-fang-pien* (*Five Mahāyāna Expedients*).²¹

This was a brave proclamation on the part of Shen-hui, since the Northern school he was debunking was the 'established' school of Ch'an at the time and was warmly patronized by the imperial house and the upper-class centered around Lo-yang and Ch'ang-an. In spite of such odds, Shen-hui continued his anti-Northern school campaign even after moving up to Lo-yang, the seat of the 'enemy-stronghold', in 746. However, Shen-hui was soon banished from the capital by the sympathizers of the Northern school. But the An Lu-shan Rebellion which began in 755 brought Shen-hui back to the capital, where he was placed in charge of the fund-raising campaign—to finance the military efforts against the rebellion—by selling ordination certificates to those aspiring to enter the Buddhist or Taoist order for the purposes of evading taxation. When the government finally succeeded in putting down the rebellion, Shen-hui found himself in a powerful position while his opponents' influence had weakened during the rebellion.²²

It is against the background of this ascendancy of Shen-hui's Southern sudden-awakening position that we must understand the syncretic tendencies of *Sudden Awakening*. According to Yanagida, the syncretism in the Northern school had begun with the *Tun-wu chen-tsung lun* mentioned above, and *Sudden Awakening* constitutes a development in the same vein. Moreover, see Hwa-shang Mahāyāna's account of the Council(s) of Tibet, *Tun-wu ta-ch'eng cheng-li chüeh* (*Verification of the True Principle of Sudden Awakening Mahāyāna*).²³

Ch'an Transmission to Tibet

Let us now take a brief look at the early history of the transmission of Ch'an to Tibet as background for a better understanding of the role of *Sudden Awakening* in the context of early Tibetan Buddhism.

The Ch'an transmission to Tibet in the second half of the eighth century was facilitated by special historical circumstances. In the aftermath of the An Lu-shan Rebellion in China that began in 755, the Tibetan army succeeded in occupying much of Northwestern

China, and, for a brief period in 763, they occupied the capital Ch'ang-an. Later, Tibetan troops captured the Central Asian city of Tun-huang, thus beginning a period of Tibetan occupation that lasted from the 780's to 848.²⁴ In the South, with the secession of the southern state of Nan-chao (modern Yunnan) from T'ang control (in 751) and its subsequent friendly relations with Tibet, Tibet thereby gained an easy access to China—particularly to Szechwan, which was then one of the strongholds of Ch'an. This situation continued for almost half a century until 794, which period was contemporaneous with the reign of the well-known Buddhist King of Tibet Khri-srong lde-btsan (754–97). During this period of Tibetan ascendancy, both in the north and south, relative peace was maintained between Tibet and China.²⁵

Within this historical setting, it is reported by Obata that several different lineages of early Ch'an were transmitted to Tibet.²⁶ Of these, the three that are best supported by presently available sources are those of the Priest Kim, Wu-chu and the Late Northern Ch'an.²⁷

On the basis of the *sBa-bzhed*,²⁸ the first known Ch'an group to enter Tibet was that of Priest Kim, which did so in the late 750's by way of Szechwan. In 751, King Khri-lde gtsug-brtsan (704–55)—the father of Khri-srong lde-btsan—sent an entourage to China in hopes of obtaining the Buddhist teaching for his interested son. The entourage was headed by sBa Sang-shi, son of a Chinese commissioner to the King's court. Once in China, the party was well received; after several years of stay the party headed home, despite the Chinese King's request for Sang-shi to remain as his minister. On their return home, the entourage met Priest Kim—a Korean aristocrat from the kingdom of Silla—who was then residing in Szechwan and was renowned as the most famous Ch'an master of the time. Priest Kim then prophesized the unfavorable conditions that would await the party's return home, and gave the party three Buddhist texts. The entourage spent approximately three months in Szechwan.²⁹

On returning to Tibet, the party found King Khri-lde gtsug-brtsan dead, and as his son was not yet old enough to rule, power had shifted in disfavor of Buddhism. Sang-shi therefore hid the texts he had received from Priest Kim for two years until conditions improved for Buddhism. When King Khri-srong lde-btsan became of age to rule (c. 761) he requested to know more about Taoism. Sang-shi proceeded, instead, to explain Buddhism based on the heretofore buried texts (as was also prophesized by Priest Kim), and succeeded in having the king become a Buddhist.³⁰

While this account cannot be accepted uncritically as a true historical account, the dates, personalities and events involved are reported to be generally corroborated by Tibetan and Chinese historical records.³¹ With regard to the actual influence in Tibet of Priest Kim's teaching, we are without any other direct evidence; yet indirectly, there is a saying attributed to Ch'an master Sang-shi, quoted in the *bSam-gtan* and *bLon-po*.³² More significant is the fact that Sang-shi became the abbot of the bSam-yas Monastery—the monastic center of early Buddhism in Tibet.³³

The second Ch'an transmission was that of Pao-t'ang Wu-chu (714–74), whose lineage was based at Pao-t'ang Monastery in Szechwan. The disciples of Wu-chu are credited with the compilation of the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* (*Records of the Dharma Treasure of the Successive Generations*),³⁴ whose content is found mentioned several times in indigenous Tibetan literature. For example, its list of Ch'an patriarchs headed by Bodhedarmotara or Bodhidharmottāra as the first, which deviates from the traditional Ch'an list headed by Bodhidharma, is discussed in the *bSam-btan* and the *bLon-po*.³⁵ Moreover, two apocryphal sutras affiliated with this lineage, *Ta fo ting ching* (*Śūrangama Sūtra*) and *Chin-kang san-mei ching* (*Diamond Samādhi Sūtra*), must have been read quite early in Tibet, for they are listed in the earliest surviving Tibetan canonical catalogue, the *dKar-chag ldan-dkar-ma* (compiled c. 812). *Ta fo ting ching* is also quoted in Tun-huang texts in Pelliot 116 and 118, and the *Chin-kang san-mei ching* is translated wholly into Tibetan and found in Tun-huang Pelliot 623. Furthermore, both of these works are included in the *bKa'-gyur* of the Tibetan Canon.³⁶

The third Ch'an group to enter Tibet, this time by way of Tun-huang, was the Late Northern Ch'an represented by Hva-shang Mahāyāna. He arrived in Lhasa from Tibetan-occupied Tun-huang in either 781 or 787³⁷ at the invitation of King Khri-srong lde-btsan. A student of several of Northern Ch'an master Shen-hsiu's students, Hva-shang was the spokesman for the sudden-awakening position (*ston-mun-pa*) at the Council(s) of Tibet—this according to his own account of the Council(s), the *Tun-wu ta-ch'eng cheng-li chüeh*.³⁸ Sayings attributed to or considered to be that of Hva-shang are reported to occur in Tun-huang texts, Pelliot 116, 21, 823, Stein 468 and 709. Of the Tibetan texts from the Tibet proper, it has been reported that *bSam-gtan* (pp. 145.5–146.4) includes a passage that may very well reflect the position held by Hva-shang Mahāyāna.³⁹

Ch'an thus had not only made significant inroads into Tibetan Buddhist circles by 761, but continued to make its presence felt even

after the Council(s) of Tibet. In light of this, it seems highly feasible, as suggested by Yanagida, that the *Sudden Awakening* was translated into Tibetan to meet the growing Tibetan interest, particularly after the Council(s), in the Ch'an meditational method.⁴⁰

This very technique of 'viewing' apparently caught the interest of the 'questioner' in the Council(s) of Tibet, Kamalaśīla, according to Hva-shang Mahāyāna's *Tun-wu ta-ch'eng cheng-li chüeh*. The opening question of this Chinese account deals with the canonical source for the assertion that the 'viewing the mind' eliminates defiling flow (*vāsanā*), and later in the record, a question is asked regarding the nature of 'viewing the mind'. In both cases, the answers are brief and fail to delineate adequately the details on the nature of 'viewing the mind'. Nevertheless, despite its recognized biased point of view, this one Chinese account of the Council(s) shows that the 'opponent' was fully cognizant of the importance of 'viewing the mind' for Hva-shang's Late Northern Ch'an teaching. This is attested to by Hva-shang himself who even goes so far as to equate 'viewing the mind' with the 'practice of concentration' (*dhyāna*) itself.⁴¹

Further evidence for the Tibetan interest in viewing the mind can be seen in the short Tun-huang text, *Wo-lun ch'an-shih k'an-hsin fa* (*Ch'an Master Wo-lun's Method of Viewing the Mind*), which deals specifically with this approach to meditation.⁴² From the number of available manuscripts, this work is thought to have been circulated extensively in Tun-huang during its Tibetan occupation.⁴³

Analysis of Viewing

Let us now look at what the *Sudden Awakening* meant by viewing, since it is not only the main subject of the text but also, based on the above-mentioned sources, was the object of deep interest among Tibetan Buddhists and, as Yanagida suggests, possibly the very reason for its translation into Tibetan. We should first note that in terms of the object viewed, 'viewing the mind' (*k'an hsin*) as found in the *Tun-wu ta-ch'eng cheng-li chüeh* differs from 'viewing the locus of nonexistence' of the *Sudden Awakening*. For our present purpose, however, the two objects will be treated as equal, for in essence the 'mind' and 'the locus of nonexistence' are one and the same; for example, the *Sudden Awakening* reminds us that the mind manifests from the locus of nonexistence (fols. 233-5).

We will consider the nature of viewing from the point of view of its 1) actual practice, 2) meditational level and 3) role in the overall Ch'an practice.

As for the way it is practiced, the text describes:

Sit in an empty house with the body straight. Open the eyes and examine. Making the body and mind very clear, take firm hold of the fundamental awareness [*phyi-mo'i shes-pa*]; examine and purify [it]. Without being drowsy and sleepy burn the flesh, and having looked at the top of the chest take up the form. This is the epitome of the Buddha's precious Dharma. It is not something secret. View and do not be lazy (fols. 225.2–226.1).⁴⁴

Since a similar description is found in another section (fol. 211.1–3), what is described above constitutes the standard sitting position for viewing. This is further supported by the earliest available Ch'an allusion to 'viewing the mind'—attributed to Tao-hsin (600–74), the fourth Ch'an patriarch—which similarly talks of sitting in the same meditational posture in a quiet location.⁴⁵ The *Sudden Awakening*, however, does not confine the practice to the sitting position, for it is said to be practiced while going, staying, sitting and lying (fols. 205.3–4, 224.3–225.1). This also finds precedence within the Ch'an tradition in that the Northern Ch'an *Ta-ch'eng wu-fang-pien pei-tsung* (*Five Mahāyāna Expedients: Northern School*) clearly recognizes viewing to be practiced during these activities.⁴⁶

Now, the *Sudden Awakening* recognizes two kinds of viewing: viewing in a coarse direct way (*gyi-na nyid-du blta*) and viewing in detail (*zhib-mor blta*) (fol. 226.1–2). Both kinds of viewing seem to adopt the above-described meditational posture, but the difference—not made explicit in the text—appears to lie in the *context* in which they are applied.

Let us begin with the 'detailed viewing'. The text says:

Viewing in detail, when 'whatever exists' [*ji-zhig yod-pa*] is seen, view many times. When there is no change, view as much as four to five days. When 'what exists permanently' [*rtag-par 'dug-pa*] is discerned, look at what these letters reveal; harmony [of what is viewed with what the letters reveal] when one has analyzed is thus (fol. 226.1–2).

'Whatever exists', based on our reading of the rest of the text, refers to the sense objects and mental dharmas as well as hallucinatory forms that appear during the initial phase of meditation. Viewing may continue for as long as several days until the objective—that is, the discernment of 'what exists permanently'—is attained. The truth of what one discerns is then verified if it is in accordance with what

the letters convey. It appears that these letters refer to the words of the Dharma as taught by one's teacher or in the scriptures, for the closing line of this section states, "It is necessary to view according to the Dharma (fol. 227.1)." It is these 'letters' that a practitioner of viewing consults as criteria in ascertaining the veracity of what he has discerned.⁴⁷

As for the object of viewing, which is here expressed as 'whatever exists'; the text is not explicit as to *how* this object is to be viewed. The *Sudden Awakening* almost invariably expresses the object as the 'locus of nonexistence'. What then is the nature of this locus of nonexistence? We believe that the passage commenting on a verse from the *Diamond Sūtra* quoted in the *Sudden Awakening* provides an insight:

All dharmas of conditioned existence are dreams,
illusion and bubbles;
They are like shadows, dew and lightening.
One should view and analyze like that (fol. 237.2-3).⁴⁸

The Master then adds, "All that, being unreal and being gone in a moment, is impermanent" (fol. 237.3). He further remarks, "One should analyze and view like that' means there is nothing permanent. . . . 'that' means the locus of nonexistence" (fol. 237.4). The locus of nonexistence, thus, denotes the impermanence of conditioned dharmas. This is further supported by the fact that the *Sudden Awakening* has taken an earlier alluded *Diamond Sūtra* passage, "One should produce thoughts unsupported by [form], sound, smell, taste, tactile and mental dharmas,"⁴⁹ and commented, "One should produce thoughts which dwell in the locus of nonexistence" (fol. 193.1-3). Thus the locus of nonexistence is the state of being unsupported by—or unattached to—conditioned dharmas which, after all, are impermanent.

Viewing, however, does not constitute merely recollecting, since the text warns, "[Viewing] is different from recollecting [*dran-ba*]; [recollecting] is not to be called 'viewing'" (fol. 225.1). Though not explicitly stated, one of the distinctions between the two seems to stem from the fact that recollection is practiced when one is busy, while viewing is practiced when less busy (fols. 224.4-225.1). The difference, we believe, is more basic; the idea of recollection mentioned here may be an allusion to the approach to Kim Ho-shang or Priest Kim (684-762) mentioned above in connection with the first Ch'an transmission to Tibet. Tsung-mi in the *Yüan-chüeh ching ta*

shu ch'ao ascribes to Kim three phrases depicting his basic position, one of which is *wu-i* (without recollection). Tsung-mi describes *wu-i* as "to be without recollection of the external objects" and admonishes "one should not recollect past events."⁵⁰ Recollection, according to this description, denotes an ordinary mental function of remembering which clearly lacks the element of insight as found in viewing.

That viewing entails a higher level of insight than recollection is further attested to in the fact that it is equated with 'undefiled wisdom' (*zag-med shes-rab, anāsravajñāna*):

The mind has come from the locus of nonexistence.
When the mental stream is viewed and viewed,
Viewing and viewing, there being no break in viewing,
This is called 'undefiled wisdom' (fol. 234.1-2).

Viewing is also equated with 'unmoving concentration' (*ting-nger myi-gyo-ba*) as the text states, "When you don't view, the mind of unmoving concentration leaves; when you have viewed what is permanent, the mind of unmoving concentration comes" (fol. 207.3-4). The *Sudden Awakening* defines this unmoving concentration as the state when the mind is not attached to anything (fol. 207.2). Thus, viewing clearly constitutes a highly cultivated form of meditation. This finding in the *Sudden Awakening* accords with the eminent Ch'an specialist S. Yanagida, who writes that the practice of viewing is permitted only for *Bodhisattvas* of the eighth stage and above but not for ordinary beings according to the *sūtras*.⁵¹

The goal of viewing is the discernment (*mthong-ba*) of the locus of nonexistence—or as expressed in the above description, 'what exists permanently'. The *Sudden Awakening* is careful throughout the text to distinguish viewing from discerning. Discernment is the consummation of viewing, for we see such statements as "All the Dharma scriptures and commentaries only say 'view the mind'! At any rate, one expects to discern the essence of the mind and attain Buddhahood" (fols. 240.2-3), and "You must continually view; when it becomes pure you discern directly" (fol. 205.1-2). It is worth mentioning again that the qualities of suddenness and directness characterize the nature of discernment; it is to be realized 'suddenly' or 'all at once' (*cig-car*), 'directly' or 'immediately' (*nyid-du*), or 'directly' (*gdod*).⁵²

The locus of nonexistence as the object of viewing constituted the path, but once it is discerned it becomes fully realized as the goal and is none other than the 'fundamental root' or 'what exists permanently'. Hence, there are two dimensions of path and goal to the locus

of nonexistence, corresponding respectively to viewing and discerning. With regard to discernment, the text equates it with such expressions of ultimate truth as 'middle way', 'non-duality' and '*tathā-gata*' (fols. 200.1–201.3). For a description of what we believe to be an actual experience of discernment, we find one section in the *Sudden Awakening*:

Viewing carefully, when you view the meaning well, this is the pure realm [*gtsang-gdang-ba'i 'du-mched*]. Gradually the light becomes purified and the blue and the white are clearly distinguished. Do not fear what exists permanently without change. When the locus of the mind gradually becomes extensive and empty and pure, and the mind and intellect are [peacefully]⁵³ joyous, then one perpetually discerns the boundless eternal pure realm [*gtsang-gdang-ba'i 'du-mched mu-myed-pa*], and all the internal and external are the same. When the intellect [*gid*] has moved, the discernment is immediate without any elapse of even a moment (fols. 211.3–212.2).

The above has been an analysis of the 'detailed viewing'; let us now look at the 'coarse direct viewing'. There does not seem to be any basic qualitative difference between the two. Where they do seem to depart is in the context in which they are employed. Again, the text being terse and thereby ambiguous on this matter, one cannot be definite, but the coarse direct viewing is employed when the detailed viewing fails to produce a result that harmonizes with the letters of the Dharma. The text describes:

Having viewed [in detail] if there is no harmony [of what is viewed with what the letters reveal], then view directly [*nyid-du*]. When there is no attachment, [this lack of harmony] goes away by itself (fol. 226.2–3).

This kind of viewing entails 'merely' or 'just' viewing—as the Chinese *tan* indicates⁵⁴—without attachment and, unlike the detailed viewing, without analysis (*bye-brag-phyé*) of the object. When viewed directly, without attachment and analysis, the disharmony experienced earlier between what was viewed through detailed viewing and the letters of the Dharma is said to disappear on its own. Given the very limited textual reference to it, this is the extent of what we can say about the difference between the two kinds of viewing, but it appears that the distinction has its roots in the Northern Ch'an tradition.⁵⁵

In the context of overall practice, viewing plays such a vital and dominant role that it supplants all other virtuous deeds. For example, after Yem had accomplished virtuous religious deeds, the Master retorted, "What's the use of you giving me gifts, of making vows, and of bowing and burning incense?" (fol. 231.2). The *Sudden Awakening* is not necessarily abrogating virtuous deeds, but is reflecting the basic attitude that they are meant only for practitioners at the early stages of cultivation. But no amount of virtuous deeds will lead to liberation as long as the mind is deluded. Hence, for those who have already accomplished these virtuous deeds, the *Sudden Awakening* advocated viewing, the practice *par excellence*, as the means for eliminating that very delusion.⁵⁶ That viewing is the only *efficient* cause for liberation is reflected in the closing statement, "All the Dharma scriptures and commentaries only say 'view the mind!'" (fol. 240.2).

In closing this section, we note that while we have elucidated the nature of viewing as expounded in the *Sudden Awakening*, a more complete understanding awaits an examination within the context of Ch'an development, which is beyond the scope of this paper. We note also that Kamalaśīla, in the *Bhāvanākrama*, severely criticized Hva-shang Mahāyāna's Ch'an position for having abandoned 'wisdom whose characteristic is the investigation of truth' (*bhūtapratyavekṣālakṣanā prajñā*).⁵⁷ Granted that Kamalaśīla did not have the *Sudden Awakening* in mind when he criticized this Ch'an position, but here is a Ch'an text—whose compiler lived in the same eighth century and belonged to the same Late Northern Ch'an lineage as Hva-shang—that adamantly advocated viewing. And from the above analysis, it appears that this viewing is very similar, if not the same, in nature to the kind of wisdom that Kamalaśīla accused the Ch'an proponents of having abandoned.

Ch'an's Relationship to rDzogs-chen

Let us now take up the matter of the relationship between the Ch'an school and the system known as rDzogs-chen, which is the principle teaching of both the rNying-ma⁵⁸ sect of Tibetan Buddhism and the non-Buddhist Bon religion. The newer (*gSar-ma*) schools, as they ascended in political power, sought to authenticate their beliefs within the framework of Indian Buddhism. Accordingly, their official view of history was that Ch'an was a heretical belief purged from Tibet at the time of the Council(s). Since the rDzogs-chen position

resembled that of Ch'an in some aspects, and even expressed preference for Ch'an views over those of Indian Mādhyamika, it was natural for these later schools to regard rDzogs-chen as some kind of a Bon and Ch'an holdover without the official sanction of a recognized Indian predecessor.⁵⁹

With regard to the relationship between Ch'an and rDzogs-chen, G. Tucci is of the opinion that there was some kind of historical connection between the two; he states, "The rDzogs-chen school has to a certain extent accepted and preserved some ideas of the Ch'an school."⁶⁰ This assertion by Tucci is based primarily on Chapters 12, 13 and 14 of the *bLon-po* section of the *bKa'-thang sde-nga*, a re-discovered lost work of the fourteenth century in the rNying-ma/rDzogs-chen tradition. These *bLon-po* chapters present the teachings of more than thirty Ch'an masters. They also declare the gradual approach of Kamalaśīla to be inferior to the sudden approach of Hva-shang Mahāyāna. Chapter Fourteen states that the sudden approach was the school that was accorded official sanction in the king's proclamation issued after the Council(s).⁶¹

However, based on our findings, we believe there is insufficient evidence to support Tucci's claim.⁶² In fact, the *bSam-gtan* by gNubs-chen Sangs-rgyas ye-shes (772–892), a major rDzogs-chen figure, shows clearly that Ch'an and rDzogs-chen must be considered doctrinally distinct traditions. Moreover, the *bSam-gtan* has shown the *bLon-po* chapters, on which Tucci based his opinion, to be questionable as authentic historical documents.

As to the historical authenticity of these *bLon-po* chapters, a comparison of the *bLon-po* Chapters 12 and 13 with *bSam-gtan* shows that the former corresponds almost word for word with parts of Chapters One through Five. It thus appears that these *bLon-po* chapters are almost entirely a patchwork rearrangement of verbatim sections taken from the *bSam-gtan*.⁶³ We have enumerated the details of this rearrangement for Chapter Twelve of the *bLon-po* which deals with the gradual approach (see the table on p. 73).

Particularly interesting is that the *bLon-po* synopsis (fols. 907.3–908.3) of the section of *bSam-gtan* Chapter Three—characterizing, from the rDzogs-chen point of view, in an ascending order the approaches of the gradual, the sudden and the Mahāyoga schools (fols. 61.2–64.5)—fails to mention at all the name of 'Mahāyoga' or 'rDzogs-chen' in connection with the discussions of the respective approaches. In other words, despite the fact that all four approaches are discussed, only the gradual and the sudden are mentioned by name. It

bLon-po Chapter 12 and *bSam-gtan* Correspondence

<i>bLon-po</i> pages	<i>gSam-gtan</i> pages	Chap.	Subject
898.2–901.1	23.6–24.6	2	Methods of obtaining reality: Bodhidharma coming to China
901.1–3	—	—	—
901.3–902.2	18.2–19.1	1	Necessity of breaking worldly ties
902.2–5	—	—	—
902.6	23.5	2	Methods of obtaining reality
902.6–905.3	33 & 45	2	Methods & yogin's practice
905.3–6	24.6–25.3	2	Methods
905.6–906.3	56.1–57.5	3	Characterization of gradual approach
906.3–907.3	57.6–59.1	3	Sayings of Ch'an masters
907.3–908.3	61.2–64.5	3	Four non-conceptual approaches
908.3–5	65.1–3	4	Beginning of the gradual approach chapter
908.5–6	117.6–118.4	4	End of the gradual approach chapter

thus gives the impression that this *bLon-po* synopsis is describing a debate between only the proponents of the sudden and the gradual approaches, where the former is portrayed to be superior to the latter. Similarly, Chapter Thirteen of the *bLon-po*, which deals with the sudden approach, begins with the section taken from the beginning of Chapter Five of *bSam-gtan*, the chapter on sudden awakening. It then jumps to the end of the same chapter in the *bSam-gtan* and then returns to follow faithfully, with some deletions, the statements of more than thirty Ch'an masters.

Thus, the intention of the fabricator of these *bLon-po* chapters would appear to be to prove that Ch'an was indeed superior to the Indian Mādhyamika. We have here a work in the rNying-ma rDzogs-chen tradition purporting to show that it was the Ch'an of Hva-shang Mahāyāna, not the Mādhyamika of Kamalaśīla, that gained the royal patronage after the Council(s). In effect, this later rNying-ma author of the *bLon-po* has disregarded the clear presentation in the *bSam-gtan* (as will be shown below) of Ch'an and rDzogs-chen as distinct traditions. He then went out of his way to focus on the two schools of Mādhyamika and Ch'an to present a two-choice dichotomy between the two. He further granted victory to the Ch'an school at the Council(s), about which the *bSam-gtan* had said nothing at all. What then could have been the motivation for this? A possible answer is that in the face of the non-rNying-ma schools' predilection to draw sharp

division between the 'correct' later teaching and the 'suspect' earlier teaching, and then to connect this earlier teaching with the purged Ch'an heresy by invoking the Council(s), the *bLon-po* author, feeling the need to argue along the same lines—invoking the Council(s)—simply pressed for a Ch'an victory at the Council(s). And apparently seeing no reason to disavow association with Ch'an, he focused on authenticating Ch'an.⁶⁴

Let us now consider the content of *bSam-gtan*.⁶⁵ In this work, Sangs-rgyas ye-shes presents four means by which one may realize ultimate reality. The first and the lowest in effectiveness is the gradual approach of the Mādhyamika taught by Kamalaśīla; better than that in ten ways is the sudden approach of the Ch'an taught by Hva-shang Mahāyāna; better still is the non-dual approach of Mahāyoga; and superior to this is the spontaneous approach of rDzogs-chen. Each of these approaches is seen to have a distinct set of beliefs, a distinct set of authoritative texts and its own lineage of teachers. His method for distinguishing these four approaches is to employ the sudden approach to criticize the gradual, to employ the non-dual approach to criticize the sudden, and finally to criticize the non-dual approach from the standpoint of the spontaneous approach.

Further evidence for regarding Ch'an and rDzogs-chen as inherently distinct traditions comes from the fact that the fundamental philosophical positions found in authentic Ch'an and rDzogs-chen texts concur with Sang-rgyas ye-shes's presentation of their positions in the *bSam-gtan*. The following statement is attributed to Bodhidharma, the first in the lineage of Ch'an patriarchs in China, and quoted here as found in the *Leng-chia shih-tsu chi* is found in substantially the same form in the *bSam-gtan*:

If one abandons the false and returns to the real; firmly dwells in the wall contemplation [*pi-kuan*], where neither self nor others exist, the ordinary and the wise are equally one; and firmly dwells and does not move, and does not follow teachings characterized by words, then he arcanelly unites with the real, which is without conceptualization, tranquilly without name, and called 'entering the principle'.⁶⁶

The central theme expressed here is identical to the main thread running through the *Sudden Awakening*, namely that one discerns his real principle (*don*) by remaining firm in viewing the mind without attachment to the determining process of the ignorant mind. This viewing, moreover, is to continue until what is unchanging and per-

manent—the fundamental root or the locus of nonexistence—is discerned.

These two Ch'an views conform to Sang-rgyas ye-shes' characterization in that they endeavor to reach the real by a process of *actively* becoming attuned to the real principle in which the unreal is recognized and held in abeyance. According to him, this understanding of the goal as becoming attuned to the real also constitutes the sudden approach's meditational cultivation, which he says is depicted in this verse from the *rTen-'brel snying-po*:

In the *rTen-'brel snying-po* it is said:
 "Here there is nothing at all to remove:
 Nothing at all to establish.
 The state of the real should be perfectly viewed.
 By discerning the real there is complete liberation."⁶⁷

This short verse epitomizes the theme of the *Sudden Awakening*; the goal, as depicted in the latter two lines, is to be liberated through discerning the real, and the path, given in the former two lines, is to realize that the 'ignorant mind' is of no use for establishing the real or for removing what is not the real.

Now, the rDzogs-chen position, from which Sangs-rgyas ye-shes criticizes the above Ch'an view, is that even the positing of another reality, much less reaching it by some means, is seen as failure to appreciate the real in its totality.⁶⁸ Thus, for Sang-rgyas ye-shes there is nothing that one needs to remember to separate from experience in order to obtain what is real. Since the spontaneous suchness of being (*lhun-gyis rdzogs-pa'i chos-nyid*) is beyond conventional designation, there is no need to worry whether or not the utilization of conventional designation accords with some truth principle.⁶⁹

Now, as we examine some other authoritative rDzogs-chen texts, we observe that the above position—the real is already spontaneously present as the intrinsic awareness of being, and thereby the fundamental root need not be the focus of a search—is in fact clearly evident. An early rDzogs-chen work attributed to Padmasambhava, the *Man-ngag lta-ba'i phreng-ba*, states:

The rDzogs-chen procedure is to meditate after having realized that all mundane and supramundane phenomena are indistinguishable and have from the beginning comprised the nature of a *maṇḍala* of divine body, speech and mind. . . . In as much as all the phenomena of *samsāra* and *nirvāṇa* have been from the beginning unoriginated; from the beginning they have been of the nature of the ten

male and female *Sugatas* as causally efficacious illusion [*bya-ba byed-nus-pa'i sgyu-ma*].⁷⁰

This basic attitude of the rDzogs-chen that the very experience of phenomena is itself meaningful reality, divinely present without objective support in the manner of an illusion is also seen in this quote from the *rDor-je Sem-pa'i sgyu-'phrul drwa-ba* as found in the *bSam-gtan*:

Knowing the three purities to be unerringly present,
By becoming habituated to the king, the natural awareness
of being [*rang-rigs*]
One finds the supreme enlightenment.⁷¹

And kLong-chen rab-'byams-pa (1308–64), a major rDzogs-chen figure of the rNying-ma school, says:

In the same way, even though an illusory image has some
presence,
It is void of own existence and not concretely real.
So also from the very time of the presence of all the
factors of the world of appearance and possibility,
[This presence] has not moved from the enlightened mind
and has no objectively real existence.⁷²

The ever present awareness of the enlightened mind is nothing less than actual manifestation as the three modes of Buddha (*sku-gsum*). This is expressed in kLong-chen-pa's quote from the *Kun-byed (rgyal-po)*:

The three modes of Buddha are epitomized in me,
the all-maker.
All the factors of reality, however they may be present,
As the non-fabricated three—actuality (*rang-bzhin*)
factuality (*ngo-bo*) and responsiveness (*thugs-rje*)—
Are taught to be the suchness which is I, the modes of
Buddha.⁷³

Although both rDzogs-chen and the Ch'an of *Sudden Awakening* regard phenomenal appearance as illusory, the latter seeks the fundamental root which is permanent and real in contrast to the impermanent, unreal illusion. This is accomplished through the process of viewing the locus of non-existence. In this process, illusion is cancelled and the fundamental root is realized in discerning the locus of non-

existence. On the other hand, rDzogs-chen accepts neither this view of illusion nor this process of cancelling it. The rDzogs-chen view of the illusory nature of phenomena is accepted simply as a fact of reality. If one does not know this, one believes in the existence of entities and so turns in the cyclic existence due to attachment to self. But by knowing the illusory nature of phenomena, one breaks the attachment to entities and is free in the expanse of suchness.⁷⁴

Sangs-rgyas ye-shes regards the cultivation of the non-conceptual aspect of experience (*rnam-par mi-rtog-pa*) to be of paramount importance for avoiding the pitfalls of conceptualizing what is real (*[b]den bsam-pa*).⁷⁵ Such a cultivation is essential as means for liberating beings bound and enclosed in a world limited to the horizon of their own concepts. But as only one among many possibilities open for experience, the non-conceptual aspect of experience has no exclusive claim to reality.

In contrast to the *Sudden Awakening*, which advocates rigorous and prolonged practice to manifest the fundamental root, rDzogs-chen maintains that such practices are unnecessary. The rDzogs-chen meditational approach emphasizes the perfection which is manifest in the creative energy of experience as it spontaneously presents itself. This involves a decisive insight that things are perfect and a resolve to let it be so.⁷⁶

Another doctrinal matter of historical significance that needs to be dealt with is the stress on 'non-doing' found in both rDzogs-chen and Ch'an. For instance, in the *Sudden Awakening* the Master admonishes that, "So long as one has not abandoned the search for knowledge [of reality], demons and harmful spirits enter one's mind; all this moreover is worldly knowledge" (fol. 240). Also, Sangs-rgyas ye-shes explains that *rdzogs* (perfection), in the name '*rDzogs-pa chen-po*', indicates the understanding that all phenomena are effortlessly and spontaneously perfect.⁷⁷ Indeed, it would seem to be against such teachings that Kamalaśīla directed his statement in the *Third Bhāvanākrama*:

There is one who thinks: by virtue of good and bad actions produced by the discursive mind, sentient beings wander in cyclic existence experiencing the results which are positive births and so forth. [Therefore,] one who thinks of nothing at all and does nothing at all becomes completely free from cyclic existence.⁷⁸

The question of whether Kamalaśīla's subsequent criticism of this position captured the real intent of the Ch'an teaching to which it was

supposedly directed is beyond the scope of this paper. For now, we will note only that although rDzogs-chen and Ch'an both accept the position that both good and bad actions are binding, they do not accept the position that non-action leads to liberation.

Both rDzogs-chen and Ch'an are concerned that their 'non-doing' attitude may be easily misunderstood; for, in the last statement of *Sudden Awakening*, the Master warns that this teaching should be given only to people who are fit for it; otherwise, "By not understanding they will denigrate the Dharma and by that sin fall to hell" (fol. 241). And kLong-chen-pa in practically the same words says, "By not comprehending the secret [vehicle], those of the lower vehicles denigrate [its teachings] and by that fault fall to [the three] lower realms."⁷⁹ It is noteworthy that kLong-chen-pa's above remark is immediately preceded by the statement, "Although what the Great Master Hva-shang said in this regard was true, it was not understood by the low-minded people present."⁸⁰ Both of these statements then may refer to the above observation by Kamalāsīla, for the context of kLong-chen-pa's remarks concern themselves with the samsāric binding potential of both 'good' and 'bad' actions.⁸¹

For both Ch'an and rDzogs-chen the 'non-doing' attitude refers to the forsaking of any purposeful activity (or 'doing') on the part of the *ignorant* mind. Any activity so long as it is rooted in ignorance is regarded as useless in effecting liberation. Hence, Ch'an and rDzogs-chen have emphasized, respectively, the viewing of the locus of non-existence in order to discern the fundamental root and the recognition of the effortless spontaneous intrinsic awareness, both of which, in being not rooted in ignorance, are considered 'non-doing' activities. Yet there is a difference, since for Ch'an the fundamental root is to be *sought*, while for rDzogs-chen the intrinsic awareness is *spontaneous*.

Thus, based on our textual and doctrinal analyses, we believe there is no convincing evidence to support a view such as G. Tucci's that the rDzogs-chen preserves elements originating with Ch'an. While the two traditions do concur on some issues (e.g., 'non-doing'), their fundamental philosophical assumptions are distinct. Particularly damaging to Tucci's opinion is our finding that *bLon-po* is not an historically reliable document.

5

Remarks on the *Maṇi bKa'-bum* and the Cult of Avalokiteśvara in Tibet*



Matthew Kapstein

The *Maṇi bKa'-bum*,¹ a heterogeneous collection of texts ascribed to the Tibetan King Srong-btsan sgam-po (d. A.D. 649) and primarily concerned with the cult of the Bodhisattva Mahā-kāraṇika-Avalokiteśvara (Tib. *Thugs-rje-chen-po sPyan-ras-gzigs kyi dbang-phyug*), has enjoyed a singularly long history of study in the West.² As early as 1801 P.S. Pallas had published an account of its first chapters, and in 1838 the intrepid Magyar scholar Csoma de Körös mentioned it by name among Tibetan historical works, thereby creating the false impression that the *Maṇi bKa'-bum* might be regarded as such. A.I. Vostrikov, writing some one hundred years later, sought to provide a more accurate assessment of the *Maṇi bKa'-bum*, saying that it

... contains much interesting material from the point of view of literature and folklore. Its fairly frequent deviations from the dominant views of Tibetan Buddhism are of great interest. As a historical source, however, it is of absolutely no value and cannot be classed under historical works.³

More recently, Mme. Ariane Macdonald has reported briefly on her studies concerning the contents and compilation of the *Maṇi bKa'-bum* as a prelude to the study of the legendary biographies of Srong-btsan sgam-po found therein, for, as Mme. Macdonald observes, it is the historico-legendary aspect of the *Maṇi bKa'-bum* that has held the attention of occidental scholars.⁴

In the course of my own reading of the *Maṇi bKa'-bum* and allied literature, I have sought to examine three aspects of this important body of material: the history of the *Maṇi bKa'-bum*'s compilation; its significance for the development of a Tibetan worldview; and its peculiar approach to the problems of Buddhist theory and practice. It is with full awareness that I have been able to give a cursory glance to only a few of the available sources that I present here a tentative statement of my conclusions in each of these three areas.⁵

I

The *Maṇi bKa'-bum* is usually divided into three 'cycles' (*skor*):

1) *The Cycle of Sūtras (mdo-skor)*, which includes various legendary accounts of the exploits of Avalokiteśvara and of King Srong-btsan sgam-po;

2) *The Cycle of Attainment (sgrub-skor)*, which contains the meditational "means for attainment" (*sgrub-thabs*, skt. *sādhana*) of Avalokiteśvara in various aspects; and

3) *The Cycle of Precepts (zhal-gdams kyi skor)*, containing some 150 short texts, which treat a wide variety of topics, most of which are connected in some way with the systems of meditation focusing upon Mahākāraṇika.⁶

Further, there is a small collection of texts, sometimes referred to as *The Cycle of "The Disclosure of the Hidden"* (*gab-pa mngon-phyung gi skor*)—after the most renowned of the works found therein—which in some redactions of the *Maṇi bKa'-bum* is appended to *The Cycle of Precepts*, and in others forms by itself a fourth cycle, an appendix to the entire collection.⁷

This entire mass of textual material—usually assembled in two volumes containing about 700 folia in all—was discovered as *gter-ma* by some three discoverers of spiritual treasure (*gter-ston*) over a period lasting approximately one century, beginning, it appears, in the middle of the XIIth. The Fifth Dalai Lama Ngag-dbang Blo-bzang rgya-mtsho (1617–1682) has summarized its compilation in these words:

The dharma protecting King Srong-btsan sgam-po taught the doctrinal cycles [*chos-skor*] of Mahākāraṇika to disciples endowed with [appropriate propensities owing to their own past] actions and fortunate circumstances [*las dang skal-bar ldan-pa*], and had the cycles set down in writing. The *Great Chronicle* [*Lo-rgyus chen-mo*],

which comes from *The Cycle of Sūtras*, was concealed together with *The Cycle of Attainment* and *The Cycle of Precepts* beneath the feet of Hayagrīva, in the northern quarter of the central hall [in the Lhasa Jo-khang, *gtsang-khang byang-ma'i rTa-mgrin gyi zhabs 'og-tu sbas*]. Some, including *The Disclosure of the Hidden* and [the remaining portions of] *The Cycle of Sūtras*, were concealed in the right thigh of the *yakṣa* Nāga-Kubera, beneath the hem of his gown [*gnod-sbyin Nā-ga Ku-be-ra'i dar-sham-'og gi brla-g.yas-par sbas*]. The glorious, great one of O-rgyan [Padmasambhava] well revealed them to Lord Khri Srong-lde'u-btsan, saying, "Your own ancestor Srong-btsan sgam-po has concealed such treasures in Ra-sa [i.e., Lhasa]." Thereupon, [the King] gained faith and made *The Means for the Attainment of the Thousand-fold Mahākāruṇika* [*Thugs-rje-chen-po stong-rtsa'i sgrub-thabs*], *The Disclosure of the Hidden* [*Gab-pa mngon-phyung*], *The Creation and Consummation of the Thousand Buddhas* [*Sangs-rgyas stong-rtsa'i bskyed-rzdogs*], *The Benefits of Beholding* [*Srong-btsan sgam-po's*] *Spiritual Bond* [that is, the Jo-bo Śākyamuni image of Lhasa, *Thugs-dam mthong-ba'i phan-yon*], and *Srong-btsan's Last Testament* [*Srong-btsan 'da-kha'i bka'-chems*] into [his own] spiritual bonds.

Later, the *siddha* dNgos-grub—a yogin who was taken into the following of Mahākāruṇika [by the deity himself, *Thugs-rje-chen-pos rjes-bzung*], and who lived in the human world for about 300 years—drew forth *The Cycle of Attainment* from beneath the feet of the Hayagrīva in the northern quarter of the central hall and transmitted it to Lord Nyang[ral Nyi-ma 'od-zer, 1124/36-1204], the incarnation of Tshangs-pa Lha'i me-tog [i.e. King Khri Srong-lde'u-btsan]. Lord [Nyang] brought *The Cycle of Precepts* out from beneath the feet of Hayagrīva. Shākya 'od, [who is also known as Shākya] bZang-po, a teacher from Lhasa in dBu-ru, [later] brought forth *The Cycle of Sūtras*, as well as *The Disclosure of the Hidden* and so on, from the *yakṣa*-shrine. So it is that this doctrinal cycle had three discoverers. Nonetheless, it is renowned as the treasure of the venerable *siddha* dNgos-grub, for he was foremost [among them]. For that reason, I have not here written [about the *Maṇi bKa'-bum*] in the sections devoted to the doctrinal cycles of the other two treasure discoverers but have placed [all their discoveries belonging to the *Maṇi bKa'-bum*] together at this juncture.⁸

The Great Fifth later reinforces his case for establishing the preeminence of the *siddha* dNgos-grub among the revealers of the *Maṇi bKa'-bum*. Speaking of the *Great Chronicle* he tells us that the location in which it was concealed (*gter-gnas*, that is, under the feet of the Hayagrīva image) suggests it to have been among the treasures discovered by dNgos-grub. The attribution of *The Cycle of Sūtras* to

Shākya 'od, then, must refer to only four of the remaining texts in that section.⁹ The Dalai Lama does not mention that the *Great Explanatory Commentary* (*bShad-'grel chen-mo*), the colophon of which clearly attributes its discovery to dNgos-grub and which belongs to the *Cycle of Attainment*, refers explicitly to the *Great Chronicle*.¹⁰ His hypothesis that the discovery of this latter text preceded Shākya 'od's discoveries thus seems plausible.

In sum, then, the *siddha* dNgos-grub would seem to have discovered the original kernel of the *Maṇi bKa'-'bum*, consisting of a version of the *Great Chronicle*, *The Great Explanatory Commentary*, and at least three other texts included in *The Cycle of Attainment*, which are explicitly referred to in *The Commentary*.¹¹ It is by no means improbable that this *gter-ston* revealed at least some of the remaining works of *The Cycle of Attainment* as well, though the internal evidence on this point is inconclusive.

There appears to be no reason to contradict the traditions that Nyang-ral Nyi-ma 'od-zer increased this original body of material with the discovery of *The Cycle of Precepts*.¹² More problematic, however, is the contribution of Shākya 'od, who, as a student of Nyang's disciple Mi-bskyod rdo-rje of La-stod, probably belongs to the mid-XIIIth century.¹³ One text from *The Cycle of "The Disclosure of the Hidden"* is clearly attributed to him, the colophon of which states that it is but one of several works discovered together.¹⁴ The opinion of the Great Fifth concerning his contribution to *The Cycle of Sūtras* has been referred to above. Beyond that, I can only note that I have thus far found no internal evidence that would render it impossible to ascribe the entire *Cycle of "The Disclosure of the Hidden,"* as well as the four works in *The Cycle of Sūtras* mentioned by the Fifth Dalai Lama, to the age of Shākya 'od. Thus, it is certainly possible that the great majority of texts presently included in the *Maṇi bKa'-'bum* were in existence by about 1250, though their present arrangement, in the form of a single collection, may still be the product of a later generation.¹⁵

The tale of the recovery of the texts forming the *Maṇi bKa'-'bum* has few variations, reflecting the fact that most of the Tibetan authors who wrote on this topic did so with one and the same *dkar-chag* before them.¹⁶ The most significant variation I have encountered is found in the writings of the learned Jo-nang rJe-btsun Tāranātha (b. 1575), who states that

the means for the attainment of the deity [*lha'i sgrub-thabs*, found in] *The Collected Works of the King* [*rGyal-po bka'-'bum*] and the roots of the precepts [*zhal-gdams kyi rtsa-ba-rnams*] appear, cer-

tainly, to have been composed by the religious-king Srong-btsan sgam-po. Therefore, they are the actual words of Ārya Avalokita [*Phags-pa sPyan-ras-gzigs kyi bka' dngos*] and are really the ancient ancestral religion [*pha-chos rnying-ma*] of Tibet itself. It is well known that they were concealed as treasures by master Padma [-sambhava]. Moreover, the history and most of the ancillary texts [*cha-lag shas-che-ba zhiḡ*] were composed by the treasure discoverer, *siddha* dNgos-grub, by Nyang-ral, and by others.¹⁷

While this statement is of great interest for its critical, but not condemnatory, view of the *Maṇi bKa'-bum* as *gter-ma*—as for its assertion that it was Padmasambhava, and not Srong-btsan sgam-po, who concealed the portions Tāranātha regards as being indeed ancient—it does not otherwise alter our conception of the history of the *Maṇi bKa'-bum*'s compilation, as outlined above.¹⁸

Finally, it may be noted that it is not exactly clear when it was that this collection received the name *Maṇi bKa'-bum*, save that it was universally known as such no later than the XVIIth century.¹⁹ Elsewhere, it is entitled *The Collected Works of the Dharma Protecting King Srong-btsan sgam-po* (*Chos-skyong-ba'i rgyal-po srong-btsan sgam-po'i bka'-bum*), and even *The Doctrinal Cycle concerning the six syllable (mantra) of Mahākāruṇika* (*Thugs-rje-chen-po yi-ge drug-pa'i chos-skor*).²⁰ The meditational system it embodies is usually referred to as that of *Avalokiteśvara according to the System of the King* (*rGyal-po-lugs kyi spyan-ras-gzigs*), a phrase attested as early as the first half of the XIVth century, when we find Karmapa III, Rang-byung rdo-rje (1284-1339) conferring its empowerment on the master from bSam-yas, Kun-mkhyen Klong-chen rab-'byams-pa (1308-1363).²¹

II

The mythical portions of the *Maṇi bKa'-bum* develop a distinct view of Tibet, its history, and its place in the world. Three elements which inform this view are outstanding. Two of these were current by the time the *Maṇi bKa'-bum* made its appearance: the belief that Avalokiteśvara was the patron deity of Tibet; and the associated legend of King Srong-btsan sgam-po and his court, in which the King is represented as being the very embodiment of Avalokiteśvara, the founder of *Buddhadharma* in his formerly barbarian realm. The third element may have its origin in the *Maṇi bKa'-bum* itself, though, as we shall see, it was inspired by earlier sources. This is the

cosmological vision of the *Maṇi bKa'-bum*, whereby the King's divinity, and the divinity's regard for Tibet, are seen not as matters of historic accident, but as matters grounded in the very nature of the universe.

1. Following the *Maṇi bKa'-bum* and other legendary sources, later Tibetan historians have tended to assign the inception of the Avalokiteśvara cult to the reign of Srong-btsan sgam-po.²² Thus, for example, Thu'u-bkwan Chos-kyi nyi-ma (1737–1802):

At first, the religious King Srong-btsan sgam-po taught *The Creation and Consummation of Mahākāruṇika* [*Thugs-rje-chen-po'i bskyed-rdzogs*] and other precepts *in extenso*, and there were many who practiced them, too. It was at first from this, that [the custom] spread throughout Tibet and Khams of praying to Ārya Avalokita and reciting the six syllable [*mantra*].²³

In addition to acting as a teacher in his own right, the King is said to have encouraged and sponsored the establishment of shrines and images, as well as the translation into Tibetan of the fundamental texts of the Indian Avalokiteśvara tradition. The spiritual activity begun by Srong-btsan sgam-po was then continued on a vast scale by his descendant Khri Srong-lde'u-btsan (reigned from 755).²⁴

Western authorities have tended to be sceptical about such traditions. They point to the inconclusive evidence of ancient historical chronicles on the subject of Srong-btsan sgam-po's actual commitment to Buddhism and the near absence of archaeological evidence of a widespread cult of Avalokiteśvara in Tibet prior to the XIth century.²⁵ At the same time, the known history of the translation of Sanskrit and Chinese Buddhism into Tibetan does establish that canonical texts of fundamental importance for this cult were available in Tibetan by 812, the year of the compilation of the *lDan-kar-ma* catalogue of Buddhist texts.²⁶ One may note, too, that the *bKa'-ma* tradition of the rNying-ma-pa school, which purports to represent an unbroken lineage transmitting teachings that were introduced into Tibet primarily during the reign of Khri Srong-lde'u-btsan and which certainly does include authentically ancient material, accords scant attention to Avalokiteśvara. It is, rather, with the recovery of *gter-ma* texts, above all the *Maṇi bKa'-bum*, that the great Bodhisattva assumes a role of considerable importance for the rNying-ma-pas.²⁷ Finally, we should remark that—even among those Tibetan historians who are inclined to accept the validity of the *Maṇi bKa'-bum* and related traditions—there are those who see evidence in it, not of

a flourishing Avalokiteśvara cult in ancient Tibet, but rather of a secret transmission from Srong-btsan sgam-po to a small number of worthy adepts, family members, and courtiers, who did not, in turn, transmit the King's teachings to a subsequent generation.²⁸ In short, the available evidence powerfully suggests that, while ancient Tibet had some familiarity with the Bodhisattva, the cult of Avalokiteśvara, as known to a later age, is a product not of the ancient imperial period but of the 'later spread of the doctrine' (*bstan-pa phyi-dar*) beginning in the XIth century.

There can be little doubt that the first great figure to actively promote the practice of meditational techniques focusing on Avalokita was Dīpaṅkara-Śrīñāna, better known as Atīśa (982–1054, and in Tibet from 1042 onwards). Three major systems of instruction (*khrid*) on the *Avalokiteśvara-sādhana* may be traced back to the Bengali master.²⁹ During the latter part of the XIth century and the beginning of the XIIth several other systems were propounded by Ba-ri Lo-tsā-ba (b. 1040), the *siddhas* Candravajra (Zla-ba rgyal-mtshan) and Tshem-bu-pa, and by Mi-la ras-pa's famous disciple Ras-chung rDo-rje-grags (b. 1084).³⁰ The works relating to these systems which I have thus far been able to consult do not make it clear whether or not these masters regarded Tibet as Avalokiteśvara's special field. But the following passage, attributed to the emanation of the Great Mother (*Yum chen-mo*), Ma-cig Lab-kyi sgron-ma (1055–1145/53), and thus possibly belonging to the very period we are considering, is of much interest in this connection:

I have made both Avalokiteśvara and Bhaṭṭārikā-Tārā [*rJe-btsun-ma sgrol-ma*] into special doctrines [*khya-d-chos*] that are universally renowned. It also appears that the two are our common Tibetan ancestors, and in that they are certainly our 'divine portion' [*lha-skal*], infants learn to recite the six syllable [*mantra*] at the very same time that they are beginning to speak; this is a sign that the Exalted One has actually blessed their spirits. Thus, it is truly right for us all to make the Exalted One our 'divine portion'.³¹

The tone of advocacy here is noteworthy. Are we reading too much between the lines if we see here a slight suggestion that Tibetans during the early XIIth century still required arguments that they did, indeed, have a special relationship with the ever compassionate Avalokiteśvara? During the later part of the same century the *Great Chronicle* of the *Maṇi bKa'-bum* is able to state the case with

far greater assurance—as in this passage, addressed to Avalokiteśvara by the dying Buddha Śākyamuni:

There are none left to be trained by me. Because there are none for me to train I will demonstrate the way of *nirvāṇa* to inspire those who are slothful to the doctrine and to demonstrate that what is compounded is impermanent. The snowy domain to the north [*byang-phyogs kha-ba-can gyi rgyal-khams*, i.e., Tibet] is presently a domain of animals, so even the word 'human being' does not exist there—it is a vast darkness. And all who die there turn not upwards but, like snowflakes falling on a lake, drop into the world of evil destinies [*ngan-gro'i 'jig-rten*, Skt. *durgati-loka*]. At some future time, when that doctrine [*bstan-pa*] declines, you, O Bodhisattva, will train them. First, the incarnation of a Bodhisattva will generate human-beings who will require training. Then, they will be brought together [as disciples] by material goods [*zang-zing*]. After that, bring them together through the doctrine! It will be for the welfare of living beings!³²

So there can be no longer any doubt that the Bodhisattva has been assigned to Tibet by the Buddha himself. To the assertion that the Snowy Land is Avalokiteśvara's special field, the *Maṇi bKa'-bum* has lent a semblance of canonical authority.

2. Let us turn now to the legend of King Srong-btsan sgam-po's having been an incarnation of Avalokiteśvara. Mme. Macdonald, in her superb study of the royal religion of this King, has argued that this religion, based in large measure on indigenous Tibetan beliefs, was most certainly not Buddhism. The belief that the King was, in fact, the Bodhisattva seems then to reflect the opinion of a later age, perhaps one in which the growing community of Tibetan Buddhists sought to reinforce the precedent for its own presence in the Land of Snows.³³ In this, of course, it goes hand in hand with the myth of the Bodhisattva's role as Tibet's spiritual patron. Like this latter myth, the time of the former's origin cannot be established with great precision: when it makes its first datable appearance in 1167—which is probably close to the time of its appearance in the *Great Chronicle* as well—it is presented without reservations as established history.³⁴

It is in the portions of the *Maṇi bKa'-bum* that were discovered latest—viz., during the XIIIth century—that the simple tale of the incarnate King is richly developed, so that his court becomes a veritable Tibetan Camelot. Further, it is in the form of an elaborate romance that the legend of Srong-btsan sgam-po is restated repeatedly, in works like the apocryphal *bKa'-chems ka-khol-ma* and the

semi-historical *rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i me-long*.³⁵ In this literature—including the *Maṇi bKa'-bum*—in which the myth of Avalokiteśvara's guiding role throughout the course of Tibetan history is developed, a distinct, unifying theme emerges: the Bodhisattva now functions as a *deus ex machina* of sorts, making benign incursions onto the Tibetan landscape at various critical junctures. As such, he may be projected into present and future situations too, whenever the need for his assistance becomes known. So it is that the *Great Chronicle* of the *Maṇi bKa'-bum*—looking back on the age of imperial greatness from the vantage point of XIIth century chaos and uncertainty—closes with this prophetic declaration concerning, one may safely assume, the era of its own discovery, when

demons [*bdud*] will enter the hearts of religious teachers [*ston-pa*] and cause them to blaspheme one another and to quarrel. *Dam-sri* spirits will enter the hearts of the *mantrins* [*sngags-pa*] and cause them to cast great spells against one another. *'Gong-po* spirits will enter the hearts of men and cause them to defile themselves [*dme-byed*] and to fight with one another. Demonesses [*'dre-mo*] will enter the hearts of women and cause them to argue with their husbands and to take their own lives. *The-brang* [= *the'u-rang*] spirits will enter the hearts of youths and cause them to act perversely. The *lha, klu,* and *gnyan-po* divinities will be disturbed, and the rains will not come during appropriate seasons. Sometimes there will be famine. A time will come when people's merits will decline. So, at that time, if you wish to amass happiness, then pray to Mahākāruṇika-Avalokiteśvara! Recite these six heart-syllables (*snying-po yi-ge drug-pa*): *Om Maṇi padme Hūṃ!* Because all the happiness and requirements of this lifetime come forth from this, it is like praying to the [wish fulfilling] gem. There can be no doubt that in future lives your obscurations will be removed and that you will attain enlightenment. Harbor not divided thoughts about it! Meditatively cultivate Mahākāruṇika! Attain it! Teach it! Expound it! Propagate and spread it! [Thus], the presence of the Buddha [*Sangs-rgyas kyi rten*] is established. The doctrinal foundation [*chos-kyi gzhung*] is established.³⁶

It was during this same period that the custom of propagating the cult of Avalokiteśvara at public assemblies (*khrom-chos*) seems to have begun, for by the second half of the XIIIth century no less a hierarch than the renowned Karma Pakshi (d. 1283) composed a rite for just that purpose.³⁷

What was the result of Avalokiteśvara's ascension to a position of such central importance in the Tibetan world, particularly during

a period of grave political unrest?³⁸ There can be little doubt that the myth of the religious king did much to support the notion that worldly affairs might best be placed in the hands of essentially spiritual leaders. And it is possible, too, that the Tibetan people came to expect their temporal woes to be set aright as before, by the timely intercession of the great Bodhisattva. Can it be any wonder, then, that when Tibet finally achieved a measure of real unity during the XVIIth century—after some seven centuries of strife—it did so under the leadership of a latter day emanation of Mahākārunika residing in the ancient capital of Lhasa, and constructing for himself a palace on a hill named after the divine Mount Potalaka? It seems we are in the presence of a Tibetan twist on the Arthurian legend, whereby the once and future king becomes at long last the king, once and present.

3. The *Maṇi bKa'-bum*'s view of Avalokiteśvara's role in Tibetan history and, in particular, his manifestation as Srong-btsan sgam-po develop, as we have seen, themes whose general features had been well defined by the time the first sections of the collection appeared. More eclectic in their formation, and thus more resistant to efforts to understand their evolution, are the cosmology and theogony of the *Maṇi bKa'-bum*. In the short space afforded here, it will be possible to do no more than give cursory treatment to these areas.

The notion that Avalokiteśvara might be regarded as the primordial deity, the point of departure for a unique theogony, was introduced into Tibet no later than the IXth century with the translation into Tibetan of the *Kāraṇḍavyūha-sūtra*, though the theogonic theme is but slightly developed therein.³⁹ The same *sūtra* presents also a vision of Avalokiteśvara, in which each pore of the Bodhisattva's body is seen to embrace whole world systems, a vision that was later taught by Atīśa in connection with the precepts of *The Four Gods of the bKa'-gdams-pas (bKa'-gdams lha-bzhi)*.⁴⁰

In the *Great Chronicle*, Avalokiteśvara undergoes a tremendous evolution. Though presented there as the emanation of the Buddha Amitābha, it is the Bodhisattva whose own body gives rise to the thousand *cakravartin* kings and the thousand Buddhas of the *Bhadrakalpa*, just as the body of the Avalokiteśvara of the *Kāraṇḍavyūha-sūtra* had given birth to the brahmanical pantheon.⁴¹ Moreover, the *Kāraṇḍavyūha*'s vision of the deity is now supplanted by a cosmological vision widely associated in Tibet with the *Avataṃsaka*, but with Avalokiteśvara here occupying a position even prior to that of the great Vairocana.⁴² It is, moreover, a novel sense of Tibet's station in the universe that constitutes the most striking innovation:

[After Amitābha] had empowered the best of Bodhisattvas, Ārya Avalokiteśvara, to benefit living beings, an inconceivable and immeasurable light radiated forth from his body and magically created [*sprul*] many *sambhogakāya*-fields, in which he magically created many *sambhogakāya*-Buddhas. So it was that he benefitted many sentient beings.

And from the hearts of those *sambhogakāyas* there radiated forth an inconceivable [number of] *nirmāṇakāya*-fields, in which were magically created many *nirmāṇakāya*-Buddhas; and from the hearts of those *nirmāṇakāyas* light radiated forth, which was ineffable and beyond being ineffable [*brjod-du-med-pa'i yang brjod-du-med-pa*]. From that Ārya Avalokiteśvara, Bhṛkuṭīs [*khro-gner-ma*], and Tārās were magically created equal to the number of sentient beings. So, too, did he benefit living creatures.

Again, light emanated from his body and he magically created many world systems, as many as there are atoms in the substance of the world system that is the "middle array" [*bkod-pa bar-ma*, consisting of one million worlds of four continents each surrounding a Mount Meru]. And in them the innumerable Tathāgatas magically emanated forth to an equal number, whereby he again benefitted sentient beings.

Then from their bodies there radiated forth light rays, which were immeasurable and beyond being immeasurable [*dpag-tu-med-pa'i yang dpag-tu-med-pa*]. At [the tip of] each one there was magically created a Jambudvīpa, in each of which was a Vajrāsana. To the north of each Vajrāsana there was a land beyond the pale, [namely] the Land of Snows; [and in each of these there was] a supreme horse, a destroyer of armies [*ba-la-ha*, from Skt. *balahan*]; an eleven-faced Avalokiteśvara; and a Tārā and a Bhṛkuṭī. In each one King Srong-btsan sgam-po and the venerable ladies, white and green, were magically created. Ineffable light rays poured forth from their bodies and they magically created Mahākāruṇikas and six syllable [*mantras*] equal to the number of sentient beings. Thus they benefitted living creatures.⁴³

The enlightened activity of Avalokiteśvara, his incursion into Tibetan history in the form of King Srong-btsan sgam-po, is no longer an event occurring within the Tibetan historical framework. Rather, Tibet itself is now an aspect of the Bodhisattva's all-pervading creative activity. How could *Buddhadharma* have been artificially implanted in such a realm, the very existence of which is evidence of the Buddha's compassionate engagement in the world? That Tibet is here referred to as being 'beyond the pale' (*mtha'-khob*) is the fortuitous survival of an outmoded turn of phrase, for it is clear that the *Maṇi*

bKa'-bum regards the Land of Snows as no less part of the Buddhist universe than Āryavarta itself.

III

To what end has the *Maṇi bKa'-bum* elaborated its peculiar world view, with its broad ramifications for cosmology, theogony and history? It is my belief that the impulse to explain events in the external world is a consideration of but little importance here. The aim of the *Maṇi bKa'-bum*'s cosmology is, rather, to propagate the cult of Mahākāruṅika and his six syllable *mantra*—to demonstrate that this is the most efficacious *sādhana* in this debased age, particularly for the Tibetan people. It is a measure of the emphasis of the *Maṇi bKa'-bum* that merely one third of its total volume is concerned with the themes we have been considering thus far, the remaining two thirds being wholly devoted to the exposition of a unique system of meditation, which is developed throughout the *Cycle of Attainment*, the *Cycle of Precepts*, and the *Cycle of "The Disclosure of the Hidden."* While many aspects of Buddhist metaphysics, psychology, and ritual are referred to and commented upon in these cycles, the *Maṇi bKa'-bum* by and large eschews speculative philosophy and the elaboration of a systematic psychology. Thus, with the exception of the *sādhanas* which are accorded a fairly well established pattern of exposition such as is required by the structure of *sādhana* itself, the doctrinal portions of the *Maṇi bKa'-bum* exhibit much freedom in their development; not confined by a single system, the *Maṇi bKa'-bum* utilizes a variety of systems, calling upon them when they are needed to advance a teaching that, we are told, lies beyond them all.⁴⁴ Thus, these instructions that are placed in the mouth of Srong-btsan sgam-po touch upon such diverse topics as: the nine successive vehicles (*theg-pa rim-pa dgu*);⁴⁵ the two truths (*bden-gnyis*);⁴⁶ Mahāmudrā (*phyag-rgya chen-po*);⁴⁷ *rDzogs-pa chen-po*;⁴⁸ the sequence of the path (*lam-rim*);⁴⁹ the trio of ground, path, and result (*gzhi-lam-bras-bu gsum*);⁵⁰ the trio of view, meditation, and action (*lta-sgom-spyod gsum*);⁵¹ Trikāya (*sku-gsum*);⁵² *et cetera*. But none of these topics is ever allowed to ascend to the position of a central *leitmotif*, one that would unify, to some extent, the *Maṇi bKa'-bum*'s diverse contents. Of this, the *Maṇi bKa'-bum* is itself conscious. The *dkar-chag* tells us that these precepts

... are not all dependent on one another. They are 'magical fragments of instruction' [*man-ngag 'phrul-gyi dum-bu*]⁵³—each one benefits a particular individual.⁵³

This peculiar term 'magical fragment', which so appropriately describes the *Maṇi bKa'-bum*'s many short precepts, is the subject of a detailed definition found in the *Great Explanatory Commentary*:

'Magical fragments' are so-called because, just as magic appears variously but is without substantial existence [*rang-bzhin med-pa*], this doctrine of Mahākāruṇika is explained and taught by various means and in various aspects [*thabs yan-lag sna-tshogs-su bshad*] but nonetheless remains the same in that it is an indivisible union of emptiness and compassion. 'Fragment' means that each particular division of the doctrine suffices as the occasion for the particular development of [spiritual] experience [by a given] individual [*gang-zag nyams-su len-pa re-re'i cha-rkyen*].⁵⁴

So the many doctrines referred to by the *Maṇi bKa'-bum* all serve to illustrate the single doctrine of Mahākāruṇika and are thus the bases for an exposition of the central doctrines of the Mahāyāna, those of compassion and emptiness, which, though they are indivisible as aspects of the play of enlightened awareness, must nonetheless be distinguished conventionally. It is from such a perspective that the *dkar-chag* endeavors to summarize the teaching of the *Maṇi bKa'-bum*:

... however many precepts associated with the doctrines of provisional meaning [*drang-don gyi chos kyi zhal-gdams*] are expounded, they are not the doctrines of Mahākāruṇika unless you have deliberately taken up sentient beings, having seized the ground with loving kindness and compassion. If, because you fear the sufferings of *samsāra*, you desire freedom, desire bliss, desire liberation for yourself alone, and thus cannot create an [enlightened] attitude for the sake of sentient beings, then these are not the doctrines of the Bodhisattva Avalokita. If you do not practice for the sake of all living beings, you will not realize Avalokiteśvara . . .

However many doctrines of definitive meaning [*nges-don gyi chos*] are expounded you must recognize the true Mahākāruṇika, Reality itself (*chos-nyid-don gyi thugs-rje chen-po*), mind-as-such, which is empty and is the *dharmakāya*, to be within yourself [*rang la yod-pa*]. Cultivate it! Familiarize yourself with it! Grow firm in it!

If you desire to attain some Mahākāruṅika who 'dwells in his proper abode' [*rang-bzhin gyi gnas na bzhugs*], or desire to behold his visage, or to attain the accomplishments [*dnegos-grub*], you will be granted the common accomplishments but will stray far from the supreme accomplishment, Buddhahood.⁵⁵

It appears that, in its emphasis on the union of compassion and emptiness, the teaching of the *Maṇi bKa'-bum* is inspired by the XIth century renewal of interest in the path of the Mahāyāna sūtras, particularly as developed in the *upadeśa* of the bKa'-gdams-pa school.⁵⁶ But in its discussion of 'the true Mahākāruṅika, Reality itself,' that is, in its discussion of 'doctrines of definitive meaning', the diction of the *Maṇi bKa'-bum* becomes decidedly that of the rNying-ma tradition—for example, in its identification of Mahākāruṅika with 'the play of intuitive knowing [*rig-pa'i rtsal-kha*], continuous, fresh pristine cognition [*ye-shes so-ma rgyun-mi-'chad-pa*].'⁵⁷

In sum, then, it may be said that, while the extraordinary variety of the *Maṇi bKa'-bum*'s teaching of doctrine and ritual and the un-systematic way in which these topics are, for the most part, presented, do much to frustrate the attempt to define too strictly a 'central doctrine', the teaching of the *Maṇi bKa'-bum* represents, by and large, a syncretic approach to the doctrines of the rNying-ma-pas and those of the Avalokiteśvara traditions of the *gsar-ma* schools, particularly the bKa'-gdams-pa. Further, through the instructions on the visualization and *mantra* of Avalokiteśvara transmitted by masters of all the major Tibetan Buddhist schools, as well as by lay *mantrins* and itinerant *maṇi-pas* who preached the bodhisattva's cult far and wide, it was this syncretic teaching that became, for all intents and purposes, Tibet's devotional norm.⁵⁸

In this sketch of the compilation, world view, and doctrine of the *Maṇi bKa'-bum*, some of the many problems raised by this collection have been briefly surveyed, and I have described the approaches by which these problems that have been suggested by my reading in this textual tradition to date might be somewhat resolved. While I hesitate to draw firm conclusions from this first foray into such an enormous body of material, I believe that it is important for the Western student of the *Maṇi bKa'-bum* to recall that the collection's traditional audience did not perceive the mythological portions of the *Maṇi bKa'-bum* to belong to some special category of literature called 'myth'. For that audience, the *Maṇi bKa'-bum* created an active world view, as does any living myth, and in its *sādhana*s and precepts

set forth the means by which one might live in the world thus created—a way which affirms that, in the final analysis, Avalokiteśvara, the embodiment of consummate spirituality and the creative ground of the universe, might be found within each and every individual and is none other than mind itself. I would hope that future exploration in this area would devote more attention than has previous research to the doctrinal aspects of the *Maṇi bKa'-bum* which, representing a particularly rich syncretic development beginning no later than the XIIth century, have much to tell us of the evolution of Tibetan Buddhism during that critical age.

6

Genre, Authorship, and Transmission in Visionary Buddhism: The Literary Traditions of Thang-stong rGyal-po



Janet Gyatso

I

Thang-stong rGyal-po, the Tibetan Mahāsiddha-cum-engineer, seems to have lived from 1361–1485 A.D.¹ Considerable accomplishments are attributed to him, and stories concerning his life are still recounted in Tibetan circles today, but despite such fame his literary legacy remains obscure and incomplete. A lengthy biography written approximately a century after his death lists numerous visionary traditions and systems of meditation which he is said to have introduced, but only a few of these have been preserved, and in quite fragmentary form.²

We presently know of the following literary cycles which may be traced to Thang-stong:³ the '*Chi-med dpal-ster* (a long-life *abhiṣekha* and *sādhana* involving Amitāyus); the '*Gro-don mkha'khyab-ma* (a *sādhana* for Avalokiteśvara); a version of the Shangs-pa teachings of Niguma; the *gSang-spyod snyan-brgyud* (a version of the *gcod* meditation); the *sPrin gseb-ma* (*sādhana* for Pañjara Mahākāla); a *guru-yoga* involving the Buddha Vajradhara; and a meditative rite involving the Dākinī Siṃhamukhā. In addition, the existence of revelatory systems introduced by later teachers but purporting to authentically present the teachings of Thang-stong should be noted. Most important among these is the *Grub-thob thugs-tig* of 'Jam-

dbyangs mKhyen-brtse'i dBang-po; others, such as revelations concerning Thang-stong by 'Jigs-med Gling-pa and brTul-zhugs Gling-pa are also to be found.

The study of the teachings of Thang-stong rGyal-po poses the special problem that the great majority of the literature of his tradition has in fact been written by authors other than himself. His Shangs-pa cycle is his only surviving prose; otherwise, we can identify embedded fragments and a few "core texts" which in some cases can be demonstrated to originate with him. Most of the material, however, consists of rituals and commentaries written by later adepts and "holders of the lineage."

This state of affairs is symptomatic of a crucial characteristic of the traditions of Thang-stong rGyal-po: all of his teachings are traced to one or another of the visionary events which he is said to have experienced during his life. As such, his traditions fall into a category of Tibetan religion that may be termed "visionary Buddhism." This movement has been significant in Tibet since the 11th century A.D., but little Western scholarly attention has been paid to it. It is in fact typical of the Tibetan visionary traditions that the manner in which they were first set into writing is somewhat mysterious, and an original author elusive. An examination of the theoretical basis for these features, and of the special literary genres that are employed to accommodate visionary Buddhism, will help us to understand how Thang-stong's role in his own tradition is, in turn, understood by his successors and adherents.

One of the ways that the literature of visionary Buddhism is to be distinguished from mainstream Tibetan Buddhism is that it cannot be demonstrated historically to be traceable to an Indic text. Visionary Buddhism offers what is in effect an alternate source for scripture other than what is classically Indic, a source that is instead indigenously Tibetan. In order to accommodate such an origin, the schools active in this movement developed a three-fold system to classify Buddhist scripture that would allow for revelation and visionary inspiration.⁴

The first class is the Spoken Transmission (*bka'-ma*), which refers to a text or teaching that has been passed from teacher to disciple in a long and unbroken succession stemming back to the original formulator. This would include in theory the entire canon of Indian Buddhist texts translated into Tibetan. However, its most common application in this context is to the Old Tantras of the rNying-ma School, for it is these scriptures that provide the framework for the visionary traditions.

The other two classes, Discovered Treasure and Pure Vision, are the teachings received through revelation and divine inspiration. All of the traditions of Thang-stong fall under these two categories, although only his Pure Vision material is available at present.

The Discovered Treasure (*gter-ma*) class consists of teachings of the Dharma which were "discovered." The concept of discovery is based upon a group of legends and beliefs that maintain that texts, as well as ritual objects, were hidden in Tibet specifically for future discovery. Such items are said to have been deposited by Padma-sambhava, the Indian tantric master of the eighth century credited with introducing Vajrayāna Buddhism into Tibet, or by his consort Ye-shes mTsho-rgyal, or other figures of the past. A considerable amount of such Discovered Treasure material has been introduced in Tibet since at least the 11th century. Over a hundred volumes of Discovered Treasure literature were compiled in the nineteenth century in the *Rin-chen gter-mdzod* collection.⁵

Sub-classes of the Discovered Treasure mode are distinguished on the basis of the manner in which the material was revealed. The Treasures from the Earth (*sa-gter*) are said to be teachings written on yellow rolls of paper (*shog-ser*), or alternately are ritual instruments, gems, statues, and other objects, all purported to have been unearthed from the ground, in a cave, from a rock, under water, and so forth. Mental Treasures (*dgongs-gter*) are said to have been found in the consciousness of the recipient, having been implanted there by a celestial Buddha or teacher of the past.⁶ Other subclasses are the Remembered Treasures (*rjes-dran gter*) which are discovered by way of the visionary's memory of a past life, and the Rediscovered Treasures⁷ (*yang-gter*) which are said already to have been discovered at some point in the past, but to have been re-hidden so as to be re-discovered at a more "suitable time." The essential feature that makes a text a Discovered Treasure is the claim that it was previously hidden in the particular spot from which it is now obtained. Even in the case of the Mental Treasures, that hiding place is specified, called something like "the adamantine body, the essence of enlightenment."⁸

The process by which a Treasure is discovered is thought to require an extraordinary act of memory and insight, through which the visionary gains access to the concealed text. The theory of Treasure transmission implies that there is a conjunction of the intentions of the teacher of the past who hid the Treasure in such a way that it would be revealed at the proper time by the qualified, intended discoverer, and the receptivity of that intended individual in the pres-

ent.⁹ The discoverer becomes aware of this predetermined course of events, including prophecies and blessings received in a previous lifetime, and usually has some sort of visionary communication with the past teacher or celestial Buddha who formulated the teaching. Other visionary elements often recounted are divine instructions and clues leading the discoverer to the place of concealment. This type of prompting is detailed in Thang-stong's biography, where he is aided in his discoveries by magically appearing signs and cues of many types.¹⁰

To be distinguished from the Treasure teachings is the third class of Buddhist sacred literature, which includes texts based on what is called Pure Vision (*dag-srang*). A Pure Vision is an experience in which the visionary meets directly with a celestial Buddha or teacher of another era who preaches a special sermon. This may occur in a worldly setting or in one of the Buddhist Pure Lands. Pure Visions are variously said to occur while the visionary is in the state of meditative absorption (*nyams*), in the dream state (*rmi-lam*), or in the "reality" (*dnogs*) of the waking state.¹¹

Unlike a Treasure teaching, a Pure Vision is not said to have been hidden previously. Rather, there is a presupposition which draws on the tantric idea that any advanced practitioner with developed "pure vision" would for that reason experience and participate in a pure world. Here "pure" is reminiscent of "Pure Land," where Buddhas live and advanced teachings are given.¹²

It should be noted that this distinction between the Pure Vision and the Discovered Treasure modes of transmission can collapse in usage. For example, some of the sections of the *Grub-thob thugs-tig* label that cycle as Pure Vision, and some as Discovered Treasure.¹³ Since both modes essentially involve revelatory events in which a teaching is "bestowed" upon the visionary, such a conflation is not surprising. In some cases it seems that the rubric of Discovered Treasure denotes the revealed material itself, whereas Pure Vision refers to the nature of the experience in which that material was received.

There is another set of terms that parallels the three classes of Buddhist teachings just discussed which is also used in the traditions of Thang-stong rGyal-po. "Long transmission" (*ring-brgyud*) refers to any precepts passed down from teacher to disciple in a sequential "unbroken lineage"; it is synonymous with the Spoken Transmission. "Direct transmission" (*nye-brgyud*), on the other hand, describes anything which is revealed by the Buddha or Bodhisattva directly to the sage. A tradition that is labeled as a direct transmission is generally

a new and innovative version of an older established tradition which has thereby been superceded. The literature classified as direct transmission is the same as that included in the two categories of Discovered Treasure and Pure Vision.

It should be noted that the distinction between long and direct is a relative one, and may in some cases be misleading. For example, there are the dMar-khrid instructions for meditating on Avalokiteśvara in Tibet, which are based on the visions experienced by various Indian and Tibetan adepts—e.g. those of Bhikṣuṇī Śrī, sKyer-gang-pa, and others.¹⁴ We would be tempted to label such visionary systems of meditation as direct transmissions, but the literature concerning Thang-stong's tradition on Avalokiteśvara knows them as the long transmission. This is because it is Thang-stong's meditation which in this case is the direct transmission. As a youth Thang-stong had studied the existing dMar-khrid instructions for Avalokiteśvara, which by that point had been handed down in Tibet for several hundred years. Thus he considered them to be the long transmission, and his own personal visions to be the source of a new, direct transmission.

The above remarks show that it is the nature of the source of a given tradition that becomes the basis for classifying that tradition in the various ways just described. The question of source is in fact crucial in Buddhism and has been at issue throughout its history. Any teaching which could not be shown to have been preached by Śākyamuni Buddha had to be authenticated in some other way in order to be accepted as an authoritative Buddhist doctrine. Questions as to what could be considered canonical began with the First Council. Even the Pāli canon allows preachers other than the Buddha. An idea already found in the Prajñāpāramitā sūtras is the idea that any person with genuine Buddhist realization is authorized to give teachings, teachings which would, however, stem in some way from the power of the Buddha himself.¹⁵ Other precedents in India for unconventional origins of what came to be accepted as canonical, and which are often called to mind by Tibetan writers when discussing visionary Buddhism, are the legends that Nāgārjuna extracted the Prajñāpāramitā from the nāga realms under the ocean, and that Asaṅga received the teachings of the *Byams-chos sde-nga* from Maitreya in the Tuṣita Pure Land.

The visionaries and Treasure discoverers in Tibet who were credited with receiving a direct transmission of a primary expression of the Dharma were for that reason accorded much veneration. Thang-stong rGyal-po's own remarkable legacy is due in great degree

to his numerous visions and discoveries which in the Tibetan context indicated his special access to the authentic source of Buddhism.

II

To return to the visionary cycles in the tradition of Thang-stong rGyal-po, we find that the literature that is labeled "A Teaching of Thang-stong" (*Thang-stong gi chos*) or "A Direct Transmission to Thang-stong" (*Thang-stong nye-brgyud*) contains almost nothing authored or signed by Thang-stong himself. Instead, each of these textual groups consist of *abhiṣekhas*, *sādhanas*, prayers, rituals, and commentaries, all written by later exponents of the tradition who claim to base their writings on Thang-stong's original inspiration. This is particularly striking in the *gSang-spyod snyan-brgyud*, a collection of teachings attributed to Thang-stong's vision of Ma-gcig Lab-sgron. Not a single work or chapter in this collection is authored by Thang-stong himself, despite the fact that these texts comprise four volumes of what is entitled *The Collected Teachings of Thang-stong rGyal-po* in its recently published version.¹⁶

An analysis of the literature of the visionary traditions such as those of Thang-stong reveals that successive textual layers exist, amongst which we can often recognize a text or texts that seem to be intended to represent the revelatory teaching as such. We may consider these texts as the "visionary core" of the cycle. They are similar to the *mūla* or *kārikā* genres of Indic literature in that they are the referents of the commentaries and subsidiary rituals in the visionary system. Such visionary core texts are almost always anonymous.

The core text may be labeled in a variety of ways. Often versified, it is in some cases a separate text, in others an embedded passage. In the Discovered Treasure literature, the visionary core will be a separate item called the Treasure Book (*gter-gzhung*). This is usually a short aphoristic or laconic text which lays out the spiritual authority for the Discovered Treasure of which it is a part, and outlines a particular philosophy or meditative system. None of the Discovered Treasures of Thang-stong are currently available, but several Treasure Books and core texts (*gzhung-rtsa*) are included in mKhyen-brtse's *Grub-thob thugs-tig* cycle that claims Thang-stong as its visionary source.¹⁷

In other cases the core text of a visionary cycle is labelled Vajrapada (*rdo-rje tshig-rkang*). In general, the Vajrapada genre in Ti-

betan literature consists of inspired expressions of pithy and esoteric teachings, akin to the Vajra Song (*rdo-rje glu*) texts.¹⁸ When positioned as the core of a visionary cycle, the Vajrapada is usually anonymous, and contains a short cryptic statement of the philosophical and meditative basis of the cycle, similar to the content of a Treasure Book. A typical visionary Vajrapada is to be found in Thang-stong's *gSang-spyod snyan-brgyud* tradition.

Visionary core texts such as the Treasure Books and Vajrapadas, may be thought of as primary visionary documents. The distinguishing feature of these documents, as in the case of the canonical sūtras and tantras, is that their contents are purported to represent a teaching preached by a Buddha or other member of the celestial pantheon. Thus such a document would seem to be a record of the visionary sermon itself. In lieu of a colophon indicating human authorship, statements of divine source (for example, the opening phrase "Secret words of the Dākinī," or the statement "This is the essential and abbreviated doctrine . . . from the Lotus King of Orgyan") are made at some point in the visionary document. The Treasure Books often go on to describe the circumstances in which the sermon was delivered, as well as to recount the process of its own concealment. Particularly in the Treasure Books, it is not uncommon to find the name of the discoverer or visionary in the body of the text, along with glowing descriptions of his spiritual attainments and suitability.¹⁹ For the visionary traditions, such statements serve the dual purpose of imputing a semi-exalted status to the discoverer, and of eliminating any suggestion that the text might be the discoverer's own composition. This practice contrasts strikingly with most other genres of Tibetan literature, where the author typically adopts a pose of extreme humility and embarrassment when signing his name or diffident pseudonym to a work.²⁰

There are other types of visionary core texts which can not, however, be classified as visionary documents. The label "ancient writing" (*yig-rnying*) is descriptive of a range of literary genres which can function as core texts, including *sādhana*s and liturgies, and indicates simply that the text may be the first written form of a tradition. The phrase "possessing a blessing" (*byin-rlabs can*) often describes the ancient writing. In the Tibetan parlance this means that the text confers a blessing on its readers. This notion implies that the text has a special spiritual status, connection to divine source, and that ritual initiation is necessary before it may be read. Although such qualities are also attributed to what we are calling visionary documents, a

content analysis of the ancient writings in the Thang-stong traditions reveals that these texts do not represent the revelation itself, and thus cannot be said to be visionary documents as such.

As an example, the core text of Thang-stong's '*Gro-don mkha'-khyab ma* cycle is called an ancient writing. Although it is anonymous, we can assume it was written by Thang-stong himself, based on an early commentary which makes this attribution.²¹ However, the content of the *sādhana*, a simple visualization of the four-armed Avalokiteśvara, differs widely from the complex content of the Pure Vision said to be its source and of which we have a detailed description.²² (The vision occurred during Thang-stong's seven-year sojourn on Mt. 'O-ba lHa-brtse; the various forms of the Bodhisattva—including Khasarpaṇi, the four-armed figure, the eleven-headed, and the thousand-armed—all appeared in the sky, made prophecies concerning Thang-stong's career, and committed their continuous support and inspiration.) Further, by comparing the '*Gro-don mkha'-khyab ma* with the long transmission *sādhanas* on the four-armed Avalokiteśvara, we find that what is originally Thang-stong's contribution in this *sādhana* is but the simplification and versification of the content of the older traditions.²³ So it seems that in this case, the visionary experience functions only generally as the inspiration for the core text. Nevertheless, the *sādhana* is still labeled "directly transmitted to Thang-stong."

Another example is the ancient writing of Thang-stong's '*Chi-med pal-ster* cycle, which is usually found embedded in the later *sādhanas* of this tradition.²⁴ The fragment includes a supplication to the lineage, from Amitābha down to and including Thang-stong, along with a summary of the meditative technique for life extension. It is said to have been set down first by Nyi-zla bZang-po but is claimed to be the words of Thang-stong himself.²⁵ However, the inclusion of Thang-stong's own name in the verses of supplication makes his composition of the text unlikely.

It is difficult to assess the precise relationship of the '*Chi-med dpal-ster*'s ancient writing to its visionary inspiration. In fact there are varying traditions concerning the nature of that vision. Some accounts state that the '*Chi-med dpal-ster* was received by Thang-stong during a Pure Vision journey to Zang-mdog dPal-ri where he met Padmasambhava and Vajrasattva.²⁶ Others say that the cycle was part of Thang-stong's Treasure discovery at bSam-yas mChimsphu.²⁷ However, neither of these claims is substantiated by the account's own descriptions of the vision. In the case of the Pure Vision

at Zang-mdog dPal-ri, we are told that the teaching given by Padma-sambhava concerned the bKa'-brgyad, and the teaching from Vajrasattva the rDzogs-chen. Only one source states summarily that a life-extension meditation was part of the instructions given by Padma-sambhava.²⁸ As for the Treasure discovery claims, the contents of the cache from mChims-phu are listed in Thang-stong's biography and elsewhere, and there is nothing relevant to the content of the 'Chi-med dpal-ster save the statement that a red light of Amitāyus directed Thang-stong to the location of concealment.²⁰ Thus the content of the original 'Chi-med dpal-ster, and its relation to the earliest redactions of the ancient writing, remain elusive.

In contrast to the other Thang-stong cycles, the commitment to writing of his Shangs-pa vision has a relatively clear history. The cycle is said to be based on a Pure Vision which occurred while he was in retreat, meditating in accordance with the *sādhanas* of the Shangs-pa long transmission. One day a voice called down from the sky, "Hey, yogi boy!"³⁰ It was Niguma herself, and she proceeded to grant him initiation and instructions in the *Ni-gu chos-drug* cycle and other systems. In this case, Thang-stong's own writings on these visionary teachings have survived. Each text has a colophon indicating the time and place of composition, and stating that it was dictated to his student Blo-gros rGyal-mtshan.³¹ The content of these texts is said to come from Thang-stong's vision, but the lineage of the Shangs-pa long transmission is also invoked, and the reader is referred to that literature for further details.³² There is no core text or visionary document for Thang-stong's Shangs-pa tradition. Despite the fact that it is classified as a direct transmission, the literature of this cycle does not present the revealed material itself. These texts are labeled direct transmission because Thang-stong had a "direct communication with the Dākini" on several occasions, but they can not be included in the visionary core genre that we have defined above. Rather, they seem to have been composed in a conventionally discursive manner.

III

A significant feature of the literature of visionary Buddhism which emerges from this discussion, and which defines an inherent dilemma for the study of such material is this: The texts which are meant to represent the revelatory material most closely are concom-

itantly the most likely to be anonymous. Alternately, the more content of a text diverges from the revelation itself, the more likely that the author will be explicitly identified.

The reluctance to stipulate the author of the visionary documents reflects some of the basic concepts in Tibetan visionary Buddhism concerning how any Dharma teaching, not only a revealed tradition, comes to be formulated and communicated. A three-fold process of transmission is commonly described.³³ The "Transmission of the Realized" (*dgongs-brgyud*) is the primary communication of a Buddhist teaching. This is preached by a Dharmakāya Buddha and expresses the "realization of the primordial awareness of thusness." The Transmission of the Realized occurs in a Pure Land. The audience receiving the transmission is said to be of such high attainment that they are equivalent to the expositor.³⁴ The communication that takes place between these two equal parties is direct and completely nonverbal, described by phrases like "turning the wheel of Dharma through one taste, as the great equilibrium of *dharmatā*."³⁵

The introduction of the teaching into at least quasi-determinant form is the "Transmission in Symbols for the Knowledge Holders" (*rig-'dzin brda'i brgyud*). This refers to a stage of transmission that is intermediate between direct realization and explicit articulation. At this level, the teaching is indicated semiotically in a variety of types of symbolic presentations. This is thought to be appropriate for those individuals known as Knowledge Holders, on the upper strata of the Vajrayāna pantheon.³⁶

Lastly, the process of transmission in the human temporal world is described by the phrase "Transmission into the Ears of People" (*gang-zag snyan-khung-du brgyud-pa*), an oral communication which may later undergo textual codification, as we have discussed above.

Several points may be noted in this transmission paradigm. Most significant is the assertion that the primary communication of a Buddhist teaching involves no duality between expositor and listener. This is at the base of the idea that it is the visionary's own realization that qualifies him or her to receive an authentic revelation. It also is the justification for presenting a visionary document as the words of the Buddha, Dākinī, etc., with no mention of the mundane author/discoverer's own role in the text's formulation. Since all differences between the Buddha and author are ultimately nonexistent, a distinction between the visionary and the enlightened source of the vision would be doctrinally inappropriate.

Some of the concepts described in this system are not exclusive to visionary Buddhism. In particular, we may compare the notion of

the nonverbal nature of authentic transmission to the Ch'an story of Mahākaśyapa's comprehension of the Dharma when the Buddha wordlessly displayed a flower. Also to be recalled here is the idea that the Buddha can convey the same teaching in various forms depending upon the needs of various listeners, which is allowed at least as early as the *Lotus Sūtra*.³⁷

Although the nonverbal Dharma can come to be communicated verbally, there remains a conviction among Tibetan Buddhists that profound doctrines and practices need to be conveyed personally and directly, in an intimate context suited to the particular teacher and student involved. This accounts for the numerous secret oral traditions (*snyan-brgyud*). Such teachings may also come to be redacted in written form, but they will still be transmitted only to the initiated who are in direct contact with a similarly initiated teacher.

It may be observed that esoteric proscriptions and insistence on oral transmission in no small way increase the prestige and power of the teacher. The necessity for direct instruction insures the position of the master who is thereby defined as the only one qualified to impart such teachings. In Tibet, a general fascination with the charismatic or inspired figure helped give rise to the overriding importance of the lama, hence the term Lamaism. The exalted status of the lama, often proclaimed to be equivalent to the Buddha himself, certainly weakens the need for the codified text. In such a belief system, what would be more valued than the guru's secret instructions, especially formulated for the exigencies of the moment?

Indeed, the premature publication of a book, thereby making its contents available to a general audience, was considered to violate the very nature of such teachings. The expositors of many of the oral lineages placed a "seal" on their traditions which forbade their publishing for a specified period of time. This in fact was the case for Thang-stong's *gSang-spyod snyan-brgyud*.³⁸

A corollary to this thinking is the widespread conviction among Tibetan Buddhists that a text should not be studied without instructions from the guru. Students virtually never pick up a book from a library or elsewhere and read it on their own without, at the minimum, first receiving their teacher's sanction. This is conveyed in a formalized session (*lung*), in which the entire text is read aloud by one who has previously received the same. This proscription applies to all material of a tantric nature, and even to the sūtras and other literature dealing with exoteric Buddhist subjects.

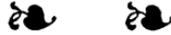
Particularly in visionary Buddhism, genuine realization is considered to be central to text formulation. The written word, and

indeed the word in any form, is quite secondary to the realization that inspires it. Thus we find that there is no objection to the text of a teaching being formulated and written down by a disciple at any point along the lineage line, as long as that person is recognized to have genuinely received that teaching. It is this thinking, then, that accounts for the differing forms of a "teaching of Thang-stong," written by various figures in the tradition. Such authors were quite free to embellish and improvise on the material to suit the needs of their own students at the time.

Thus, a complex set of doctrines and beliefs renders problematic the task of determining the authorship of the visionary core texts of the Thang-stong tradition. That this issue has been hedged by the tradition itself is reflected in the fact that the biographies of Thang-stong almost never mention that he codified or redacted his visionary systems—a silence that contrasts strikingly with the biographies' copious descriptions of the visions themselves and the circumstances in which they occurred.³⁹

In the final analysis, we may choose to regard the direct transmission traditions of a figure such as Thang-stong rGyal-po as genuine expressions of enlightened consciousness; as teachings of Thang-stong's invention whereby his vision is but a metaphor for what we might call creativity; or as pious fabrications by a later generation of teachers. Even if we limit our reflections to the way that visionary Buddhism gained credence within its own milieu, however, we find that a rich array of theoretical paradigms and literary genres were especially developed to accommodate its unconventional claims. In their reflections on the nature of author, text codification and authenticity, the visionary sects were able to offer to all of Tibetan Buddhism new refinements in the understanding of scriptural transmission in Buddhism as a whole.

Preliminary Studies on Hevajra's *Abhisamaya*
and the *Lam-'bras Tshogs-bshad**



Ronald M. Davidson

Abbreviations¹

<i>Complete Works</i>	<i>The Complete Works of the Great Masters of the Sa Skya Sect of the Tibetan Buddhism</i> , edited by bSod-nams rgya-mtsho
<i>gNad kyi zla-zer</i>	<i>dPal kye rdo-rje'i sgrub-pa'i thabs kyi rgya-cher bshad-pa bskyed-rim gnad kyi zla-zer</i> , by Ngor-chen Kun-dga' bzang-po
<i>Lam-'bras tha-dad</i>	<i>gSung-ngag rin-po-che lam-'bras-bu dang bcas-pa ngor-lugs thun-min slob-bshad dang thun-mong tshogs-bshad tha-dad kyi smin-grol yan-lag dang bcas-pa'i brgyud yig gser kyi phreng-ba byin-zab 'od-brgya 'bar-ba</i> , by 'Jam-dbyangs Blo-gter dbang-po
<i>Lus-dkyil</i>	<i>dPal kye rdo-rje'i lus dkyil mdzes rgyan</i> , by dKon-mchog lhun-grub
<i>mNgon-rtogs</i>	<i>dPal kye rdo-rje'i mngon-par rtogs-pa 'bring du bya-ba yan-lag drug-pa'i mdzes-rgyan</i> , by dKon-mchog lhun-grub
<i>rGyud-sde kun-btus</i>	<i>rGyud sde rin-po-che kun las btus-pa</i> , edited by 'Jam-dbyangs Blo-gter dbang-po

While the basic texts and systems of some of the other Tibetan Buddhist traditions have begun to be studied and documented, this is not the case for the Sa-skyapa, particularly with respect to its

sub-traditions of the Ngor-pa, Tshar-pa, rDzong-pa, and so forth. Any consideration of a Buddhist tradition must, of course, take as one area of focus the methods, systems, and texts utilized in the process of meditative practice. The sheer wealth of meditative manuals underscores the difficulties involved in documenting the Tibetan traditions of Vajrayāna—a process particularly important in placing the Tibetan forms of Vajrayāna in the larger Buddhist context. Most gSar-ma lineages, for example, usually maintained Indic materials of the later transmission (*phyi-dar*) as well as reworked texts by eminent Tibetan masters. Within any one tradition, then, often a dozen or more basic manuals—concerning almost as many systems—would be in common circulation, the balance only alternating with the production of new texts while the older works are relegated to a peculiar literary twilight. If the Sa-skyapa are not exceptional in this regard, their focus on the *maṇḍalas* of Hevajra as the central practice somewhat simplifies the problem of documentation. Furthermore, this extraordinary tradition is concerned, for the most part, with tracing back its own textual history through the principal vicissitudes in Tibet, ultimately arriving at the Indic basis of the Lam-'bras.

In a previous paper I have alluded to a rather basic division currently found in the Sa-skya meditative tradition: the Lam-'bras sLob-bshad and the Lam-'bras Tshogs-bshad.² Both of these stem from Ngor-chen Kun-dga' bzang-po (1382-1456) and reflect to some degree the differences in style and content between transmitting the Lam-'bras to a large gathering (Tshogs-bshad) or to a few intimate students (sLob-bshad). The monastic and familial affiliations of each of these traditions have also played a considerable role in the history of their formations. Despite the more elaborate and esoteric character of the sLob-bshad, the Tshogs-bshad was usually considered the basic ground of the former system. I will, therefore, be concerned principally with uncovering the methods of this latter cycle which may perhaps be considered the core of the Lam-'bras. In order to facilitate this preliminary investigation, I have ordered the material into two closely related sections. In part *I* I have discussed the major elements in the contemplation (*abhisamaya*) on Hevajra according to the Tshogs-bshad; in part *II* I have outlined some of the primary distinctions between the sLob-bshad and the Tshogs-bshad and have touched on the circumstances surrounding the imparting of the Tshogs-bshad. In respect to this transmission, it is sufficient for now to say that the place of instruction *par excellence* for the Tshogs-bshad was Ngor E-waṃ chos-ldan, founded by Ngor-chen in 1429 and the center of gravity for the Ngor-pa tradition.

I. Contemplation (*Abhisamaya*)

In order to understand the development of the modern practice, let us briefly consider the relationship of the Lam-'bras transmission to the other Hevajara traditions which were present in India in the later phase of Vajrayāna. Lam-'bras *par excellence* denotes the transmission of the contemplation on Hevajra according to the Method of Instruction (**Upadeśanaya: Man-ngag lugs*). This **Upadeśanaya* is traced back to the Siddha Virūpa, and the principal treatise of the system is the *Lam 'bras bu dang bcas pa'i gdams ngag dang man ngag tu bcas pa* (To. 2284). The text is a concise, systematic presentation of the Guhyamantrayāna, emphasizing the internal yogic dimension, and often cited under the abbreviated title of the *rTsa ba rdo rje'i tshig rkang*. According to the hagiographical accounts, Virūpa received the cryptic program of the text from Vajrayoginī through a mystic process involving the conservation of consecratory power—thus ensuring that the divinity of its origin was maintained.³ Virūpa then bestowed the entire tradition on Kāṇha who, like his master, was reputed to have maintained the guise of a non-buddhist yogin and was known for his concern with the composition and singing of "songs of practice and realization" (*Vajragīti* or *Caryāgī ti*) rather than systematic manuals of contemplation.⁴ The composition of such works are ascribed to the hand of Ḍombiheruka, traditionally considered the other of Virūpa's disciples.⁵ Ḍombiheruka is credited with founding the tradition which came to be known as the Method of Explanation (**Ākhyānanaya: 'Grel-lugs*), due to the comparatively greater emphasis placed on literature, composition, and systematization. It was also known as the 'rootless' tradition of Lam-'bras (*rtsa-ba med-pa'i lam-'bras*) since, though it purportedly stems from Virūpa, it did not transmit the 'root' text (*mūlaśāstra*), the *rTsa ba rdo rje'i tshig rkang*. Although Ḍombiheruka reputedly produced various texts—mostly *sādhanas*, etc.—it remained for a later successor to his tradition, **Durjayacandra*, to codify the system as a whole.

Still another important system of contemplation on Hevajra was that of Padmavajra, generally identified in the Sa-skye literature with Saroruhavajra (mTsho-skye rdo-rje). Padmavajra, like **Durjayacandra*, produced a wealth of texts, composing works on all the major practices required by a lineage focusing on the practice of Hevajra—including texts dealing with consecration (*abhiṣeka*), developing process (*utpattikrama*), perfecting process (*sampannakrama*), etc.⁶ While the tradition of Ḍombiheruka was transmitted by **Viravajra* (Prajñendraruci) to 'Brog-mi lo-tśā-ba (993–1074) during

this latter's extensive studies in India, both Padmavajra's and Kāṇha's systems were obtained by 'Brog-mi from Kāyastha Gayadhara during this renowned yogin's first sojourn to Tibet.⁷

These systems—Kāṇha's, Dombiheruka's, and Padmavajra's—constitute three of the four lineal traditions (bKa'-srol bzhi or bKa'-babs bzhi) according to the enumeration current from the time of Ngor-chen Kun-dga' bzang-po.⁸ The fourth of these lineal transmission, that of Kṛṣṇa Paṇḍita's (*nag-po'i lugs*), was formulated by this Indian scholar and passed on to 'Gos lo-tsā-ba Khug-pa lhas-btsas (ca. 11th century).⁹ From this eminent translator, Kṛṣṇita's system passed into the Sa-skyapa, and Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan—in his *Kye rdo-rje'i chos-skor gyi dkar-chag*—gives the system an important position.¹⁰ It, however, did not seem to receive the intense interest that the other three meditative cycles did and, while maintained down to the present, it appears to be more of an archaic appendage than a vital part of the Sa-skyapa heritage.¹¹ In any event, the Sa-skyapa demonstrated very early the proclivity toward the Nine Paths (*lam-skor dgu*) inherited from 'Brog-mi, these constituting a realistic assessment of the variety of traditions available at the time of the later transmission—including, as they do, practices associated with the *Guhyaśamāja* and *Samvara-tantras*, not just those associated with the *Hevajra-tantra*.¹²

Yet it is true that the principal focus of the Sa-skyapa has usually been the contemplation (*abhisamaya* : *mngon-rtogs*) on Hevajra according to the meditative manuals produced in the lineages of Dombiheruka, Kāṇha, and Padmavajra. Padmavajra's *Śrhevajrasādhana* (To. 1218) was evidently favored by Sa-chen Kun-dga' snying-po (1092–1158), who wrote an outline of the text, composed his own *sādhana* based on it, and was furthermore sufficiently motivated to set down the hagiographic details of Padmavajra's life.¹³ bSod-nams rtse-mo (1142–1182), Sa-chen's son, further composed a full commentary on Padmavajra's *sādhana*, based on the explanation and guidance he had received on the work from his father. Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan (1147–1216), one of Sa-chen's other sons, also produced a commentary on Padmavajra's text.¹⁴

In contrast to this literary abundance, Kāṇha's tradition was in a much more peculiar position. Evidently the monolithic emphasis on the process of enlightenment as ascribed to Virūpa in the *rTsa ba rdo rje'i tshig rkang* had discouraged interests in the production of codified liturgical and meditative manuals. As a result, the **Upadeśanaya*, by the time it was received into Tibet, suffered from an extreme dearth of formal literature. Such a lack prompted Ngor-

chen, writing in 1419, to leave Kāṇha's tradition out of his enumeration of the six complete vehicles of the contemplation on Hevajra (*yongs su rdzogs-pa'i shing-rta'i srol chen-po*) present in India.¹⁵ Ngor-chen further notes that the **Upadeśanaya* became complete only with the production of the *Lam-'bras gleg-bam*—i.e., the *Pod-ser-ma*—through the efforts of Sa-chen, bSod-nams rtse-mo, and Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan.¹⁶ Apparently, then, beginning with Sa-chen, the Sa-skya-pa started to compose the requisite manuals to fill the void left by the Indic masters of Kāṇha's lineage. The method primarily employed was to identify certain key areas among the cryptic statements of Virūpa's *rTsa ba rdo rje'i tshig rkang* and then to elaborate those topics sufficiently to fulfill the need for a complete textual basis to the practices. Statements concerning the developing process (*utpattikrama*) in the contemplation on Hevajra, however, are almost totally lacking in the *rTsa ba rdo rje'i tshig rkang*, and therefore new texts incorporating the practice of the **Upadeśanaya* had to be generated in analogy with other traditions. Go-ram bSod-nams seng-ge (1429–1501) quotes Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan as saying that a four-limbed *abhisamaya* was developed in accordance with the system of Padmavajra while a six-limbed *abhisamaya* was developed by analogy with the system of Ḍombiheruka.¹⁷ The four-limbed *abhisamaya* referred to is the *dPal Kye'i rdo-rje mngon-par rtogs-pa yan-lag bzhi-pa* of bSod-nams rtse-mo.¹⁸ As its name suggests, the text divides the developing process of meditation into four parts—the 'quadruple adamant' (*vajra-catuşka*): service (*sevā* : *bsnyen-pa*), proximate accomplishment (*upasādhana* : *nye-bar sgrub-pa*), accomplishment (*sādhana* : *sgrub-pa*), and great accomplishment (*mahāsādhana* : *sgrub-pa chen-po*)—a division purportedly found in the *Hevajra-tantra*, but which had been in common use at least since the time of the *Guhyasamāja-tantra*.¹⁹

While recognizing the 'extensive' four-limbed contemplation of bSod-nams rtse-mo's, Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan seemed to have a special interest in the system of Ḍombiheruka as propounded in the works of *Durjayacandra. An accomplished master of Vajrayāna literature, *Durjayacandra based his *Ṣaḍaṅgasādhana* on the discussion of meditation found in the fourth chapter of the *Vajra-pañjara-tantra* (To. 419), a canonical text of paramount importance to this lineage. The basic meditative layout found in the *Vajra-pañjara* is that of the preliminaries (*pūrvamaṅgala* : *sngon-'gro*), followed by the six branches (*ṣaḍaṅga* : *yan-lag drug*) of the developing process proper (*utpattikrama*), then the perfecting process (*sampannakrama*), which in this case takes the form of 'self-santification'

(*svadhiṣṭhana*).²⁰ To this basic structure, *Durjayacandra added three final sections: a recollection of the symbolism of the deities invoked (*śuddhyanusmṛti* : *dag-dran*), recitation of the mantra (*jāp-ayoga* : *bzlas-pa'i rnal-'byor*), and a general benediction (*maṅgala* : *bkra-shis*).

The early Sa-skyia tradition had already demonstrated their interest in both *Durjayacandra and the *Vajrapañjara*. *Durjayacandra's commentary on the *Hevajra-tantra*, the *Kamudīpañjikā* (To. 1185), influenced heavily the commentaries of Bla-ma mNga-ris-pa, Sa-chen, Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan, etc.²¹ Following this general trend, Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan composed for the **Upadeśanaya* a slightly expanded version of *Durjayacandra's work known as the *dPal Kye rdo-rje mngon-rtogs yan-lag drug-pa*.²² This text, however, he referred to as a 'middle length' *sādhana* ('bring-du bya-ba) and considered it a lesser work to the 'extensive' (*rgyas-pa*) text of bSod-nams rtse-mo's mentioned above.²³ With the composition of these two *abhisamaya* manuals and the codification of the *Pod-ser-ma*, the **Upadeśanaya* became a complete system of liberation. Ngor-chen states that, while these texts are not in themselves from Indian masters, the authority of the first three of the Sa-skyia gong-ma is such that their works are to be considered as having the same authenticity as those by Indians.²⁴ Thus, both the four-limbed and six-limbed *abhisamayas* came to be accepted as authentic structures representing the system of Virūpa.

Apparently at this point, the four-limbed cycle was the preferred format, for we find Chos-rgyal 'Phags-pa (1235/39–1280) writing his own *abhisamaya* following the text of bSod-nams rtse-mo but utilizing much of Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan's phraseology.²⁵ 'Phags-pa also elaborated the practice—already begun by Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan in the *Pod-ser-ma*—of composing a supplementary text delineating the internal *maṅḍala* (*lus-dkyil*).²⁶ 'Phags-pa, however, went one step further and, following instructions given in the *Pod-ser-ma*, combined the structures of the internal *maṅḍala* and the reception of the consecration (*abhiṣeka*) during meditation into one unified work.²⁷

Following the period of the five great Sa-skyia teachers (Gong-ma lnga), the next major Lam-'bras author was Bla-ma dam-pa bSod-nams rgyal-mtshan (1312–1375) to whom belongs the composition of the *Lam-'bras gzhung-bshad Pod-nag-ma*.²⁸ The *Pod-nag-ma*, which 'Jam-mgon A-myes zhabs maintains was based on the *Khrid kyi dkar-chag* of Sa-skyia Paṇḍita, was evidently Bla-ma dam-pa's attempt at compiling into one volume the basic material needed for both the background and the practice of the **Upadeśanaya*.²⁹ It seems that the sheer quantity of material had proliferated to such an

extent that a handy manual of theory and practice was desirable. Accessibility was also the keynote in another decision; as the basis of his *abhisamaya* text, Bla-ma dam-pa utilized the 'medium length' six-limbed ritual text of Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan's, avoiding the more 'extensive' four-limbed system according to bSod-nams rtse-mo and 'Phags-pa.³⁰ To Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan's text, Bla-ma dam-pa added many items which could be and often were performed with the *abhisamaya*—such as the extraordinary protective circle, the meditation on Vajrasattva, etc.—utilizing to some degree the texts of Chos-rgyal 'Phags-pa.³¹ This *abhisamaya* of Bla-ma dam-pa's became quite popular and was probably the normal manual of practice for the Sa-skyapa by the time of Ngor-chen. It also served to establish the six-limbed *sādhana* in its position of preeminence, a position it has maintained to the present.

Ngor-chen's relationship to the *Pod-nag-ma* is slightly problematic. In his monumental *gNad kyi zla-zer*, Ngor-chen does not seem to give any concrete reference to either Bla-ma dam-pa or to the *Pod-nag-ma*. Yet it is apparent, from a discussion in the biography of gSer-mdog Paṅ-chen Shākya mchog-lidan (1428–1507), that Bla-ma dam-pa's text was the one used by Ngor-chen himself.³² Furthermore, many of the additions (*kha-skong*) justified by Ngor-chen in the *gNad kyi zla-zer*—through reference to the works of the Sa-skyapa gong-ma—were first elaborated as part and parcel of the *abhisamaya* by Bla-ma dam-pa in the *Pod-nag-ma*.³³ It appears that Ngor-chen omitted any reference to Bla-ma dam-pa in order to justify the inclusion of these structures through exclusive recourse to Indic texts and the writings of the Sa-skyapa gong-ma, the latter having authority comparable to Indic sources. Whatever the connection, Ngor-chen's *gNad kyi zla-zer* is not a simple restatement of Bla-ma dam-pa's formulation but is an astonishing compendium of historical, philosophical, comparative, and meditative material, all oriented towards an elaborate discussion on the various facets of the practice of Hevajra according to the **Upadeśanaya*. Basing himself on Ngor-chen's contribution, Mus-chen sems-dpa' chen-po dKon-mchog rgyal-mtshan (1388–1469), Ngor-chen's successor, abstracted new meditative texts for use by the then developing Ngor-pa.³⁴

With the spread of Ngor-chen's vision of the Sa-skyapa tradition, there came a time when new teaching manuals (*snang-gsum rgyud-gsum khrid-yig*) were called for. The tenth Ngor nKhan-po, dKon-mchog lhun-grub (1495–1557), produced these for the Lam-'bras Tshogs-bshad; in addition, he composed a new set of ritual texts for the Ngor-pa, displacing those of Mus-chen on which they were closely based.³⁵ In this way, dKon-mchog lhun-grub's *mNgon-rtogs yan-lag*

drug-pa'i mdzes-rgyan (*mNgon-rtogs*) and *Lus-dkyil mdzes-rgyan* (*Lus-dkyil*) became the basic manuals of daily practice for the Ngor-pa and eventually for much of the wider Sa-skyā tradition, a position they still presently enjoy. While dKon-mchog lhun-grub's texts stay very close to the basic outline given by Ngor-chen, the *gNad kyi zla-zer* goes far beyond simply a discussion of the format of contemplation, for Ngor-chen follows Padmavajra's tradition in dividing all of religious life into two fairly distinct divisions: practice in deep concentration (*samāhita : rnam-gzhag*) and practice not in deep concentration (*asamāhita : rnam-ma-gzhag*).³⁶ The former primarily consists of the two major topics central to the basic Hevajra ritual meditation—the developing process (*utpattikrama*) and the perfecting process (*sampannakrama*)—while the latter division was composed of eight elements, so that altogether they constitute the 'ten yogic practices' (*rnal-'byor bcu*) which were aimed at transforming every aspect of the yogin's life. Ngor-chen's 'holism' comes out in his writing: more than mere elaboration of a daily routine of meditation, he wished to integrate the perspective of the highest vision into a way of life—to bathe all of ordinary existence in extraordinary awakening. Obviously, though, the daily practice was the primary tool of this realization, and since they were developed for this purpose, the works of dKon-mchog lhun-grub will be central to our study of the *abhisamayā*. We will also, as the modern Sa-skyā tradition recommends, use the *gNad kyi zla-zer* in elaboration of the Tshogs-bshad contemplative system.³⁷ Finally, we should keep in mind that, while we are surveying the standard order and content of the practice, different parts of the *mNgon-rtogs* and the *Lus-dkyil* may be added or deleted according to custom or time allowance.³⁸

A. Deep Concentration (*Samāhita : rnam-par gzhag-pa*)

1. Preliminaries (*pūrvamaṅgala : sngon-'gro*)

Like so much of Tibetan religious life, the meditation on Hevajra begins with preliminary practices. In this case, the practices are divided into two parts: the general and the special preliminaries.³⁹

a. General Preliminaries (sādhāraṇa-pūrvamaṅgala : thun-mong sngon-'gro; mNgon-rtogs 2.4–5.1, gNad kyi zla-zer 201.3.2–204.3.1)

The general preliminaries indicate the well-known process of the

mediator initially going for refuge to the Buddha, Dharma, Saṃgha, and the Guru (*bla-ma*). The yogin then generates the resolution to obtain enlightenment (*cittotpāda*) for the welfare of both himself and all beings, finally performing the extremely important meditation on Vajrasattva through the recitation of the long *mantra* accompanied by a confession of transgressions. These general preliminaries assist the perfection of the triple vow (*trisaṃvara*), a structure particularly emphasized in the context of the Tshogs-bshad.

- b. *Special Preliminaries (asādhāraṇa-pūrvamaṅgama : thun-min sngon-'gro; mNgon-rtogs 5.1–11.5, gNad kyi zla-zer 204.3.2–221.1.6)*

Similarly, the special preliminaries also consist primarily of three sections: that which is done for the accumulation of merit (*punyasambhāra*), that which is done for the accumulation of knowledge (*jñānasambhāra*), and the circle of protection (*raṅṅa-cakra*).

The beginning of the accumulation of merit section consists in the yogin visualizing himself as Hevajra, inviting the field of assembly, and then generating the retinue of Hevajra—the eight Devī—for the purpose of making offerings to the assembled divinities. Following the visualization, the yogin recites verses from the *Vajra-pañjara*—consisting in a Vajrayāna version of the standard seven branches of practice of the Mahāyāna—and promises to adopt the discipline of the five families (*pañca-kula*).⁴⁰ So far the activity of his accumulation of merit has been oriented towards the field of assembly, which is a pure object (*yul dag-pa*), but in order to complete the activity it must be applied towards an impure object (*yul ma dag-pa*), the field of sentient beings. Therefore the yogin continues with the generation of the four boundless emotions (*apramāṇa*) of loving kindness (*maitri*), etc.

Merit, of course, is only complete in union with knowledge (*jñāna*). To effect the accumulation of this latter quality, the yogin reflects that all appearance is merely his mind, that its self-referential awareness (*svasaṃvedana*) is by nature illusory, and that as such it is nothing other than non-referential emptiness (*nirālambana-sūnyatā*). Thus, the yogin recognizes the indivisible character of appearance and emptiness (*gsal-stong zung-'jug*), with his realization being sealed by the appropriate *mantra*.⁴¹

Finally, the completion of the preliminaries is by means of the circle of protection (*raṅṅa-cakra*). Again, the yogin utilizes both a general and a special *raṅṅa-cakra*. The former is common to most

maṇḍala systems and consists in the visualization of a golden *viśva-vajra* at the very bottom of the universe, while growing from it is imagined a wall of *vajras* which encircles the main area where the *maṇḍala* will be constructed. The top of this wall closes in and transforms into a canopy of *vajras*; thus, all of space is encircled by this protective globe which is impenetrable and ablaze with the fire of gnosis (*jñānāgni*). Within this globe is created the special circle of protection. The mediator imagines a rimless wheel with blade-like spokes in the ten directions and then visualizes himself as Uṣṇīṣa-cakravartin in the center while the ten spokes are occupied by the ten fierce dieties (*daśakrodha*) enumerated in the *Vajra-pañjara*, the entire assembly then being empowered with the consecration given by divinities from the five families.⁴² Surrounding himself with the visualized forms of his teachers, relatives, family, etc., the yogin then imagines that the areas between the sharp spokes of the wheel are filled with demonic forms whose consciousnesses are summoned by rays of light. At this moment, the wheel is revolved, the demonic beings are chopped by the spokes, burnt by fire, dispersed by wind, and their mental principles are delivered to the blessed realm of Akṣobhya while the yogin recites the appropriate *mantra*. At the end, the entire special circle of protection melts into space.

A2. Central Practice (*maula* : *dnegos gzhi*)

a. Developing Process (*utpattikrama* : *bskyed-rim*)

i. The Palace (*vimāna*: *pho-brang*; *mNgon-togs* 11.5–15.5, *gNad kyi zla-zer* 221.2.2–235.3.1)

After completing the preliminaries, the mediator begins the first of the six branches of the *utpattikrama*—the development of the palace. Following Durjayacandra's tradition in the *Ṣaḍaṅgasādhana*, the *Upadeśanaya* considers that each of the six branches represents one of the six Tathāgatas.⁴³ Accordingly, in developing the palace, the yogin is to feel that he has the nature of Vairocana. With reference to the palace, there is certainly nothing exceptional in the actual visualization employed—it is quite similar to that utilized by the other *gsar-ma* lineages. An inverted tetrahedron (*dharmodaya*) is developed, and within it is imagined the *maṇḍalas* of the four elements. Above these is visualized a series of *bī ja-mantras*, and then the palace is spontaneously manifested. Within the Tshogs-bshad, a great amount of time is spent describing the eight great cemeteries (*aṣṭamahāśmaśāna*) which surround the palace, although Ngor-chen has noted that the inclusion of the cemeteries only clearly began with

the *sādhanas* of bSod-nams rtse-mo and Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan.⁴⁴ Ngor-chen maintained that the reason for their extensive elaboration is that the eight cemeteries signify the inclusion of the physical world (*bhājanaloka*) and living beings (*sattvaloka*) into the *maṇḍala*. All of the various residents of the cemeteries are to be considered as having the same sense of nonself as a corpse, while the physical site of the cemetery represents the essential emptiness of all of reality.

A2a.ii. *The Passion (anurāga : rjes-chags; mNgon-rtogs 15.5–21.1 gNad kyi zla-zer 235.3.1–258.2.3)*

Having completed the development of the palace, the yogin then embarks on developing the 'passion' (*anurāga*) of the deity by visualizing himself as Hevajra with his retinue. This visualization is initially accomplished by the five stages of realization (*pañcābhisambodhi*), but the stages utilized in the Hevajra meditations are slightly different from those employed in the *yoga-tantra* context.⁴⁵ Construction of the lotus, for example, is considered part of the palace, and the visualization begins with the yogin fashioning the *maṇḍala* of the moon from the various vowels. Likewise, the *maṇḍala* of the sun is formed from the consonants, and these two *maṇḍalas* respectively embody the mirror-like gnosis (*ādarśa-jñāna*) and the gnosis of universal equality (*samatā-jñāna*). Between these two is visualized a skull imprinted with a *viśvavajra*, while to the left of the skull stands a knife (*kartri : gri-gug*). These two implements are impressed with the *bīja-mantras* of Hevajra and Nairātmya, *Hūṃ* and *Aṃ*, and represent collectively the gnosis of individual awareness (*pratya-vekṣana-jñāna*). The subsequent fusion of all of these elements into a unified mass having one taste embodies the gnosis of successful activity (*krtyānuṣṭhāna-jñāna*); the final completion of the image of Hevajra out of the chaos of this fusion indicates the gnosis of the *dharmadhātu* (*suviśuddha-dharmadhātu-jñāna*). This completed image of Hevajra *yab-yum* is known as Hetuvajradhara and is employed both to demonstrate that the cause (*hetu*), in the sense of the ground of purification (*sbyang-gzhi*), operates as the fruit and to utilize the five types of gnosis of the Buddha as the path.

The Tathāgatas of all the ten directions then pass through the body of Hevajra, from the fontanel to the sexual organ (*vajra*), into Nairātmyā to ripen inside her in the form of *bīja-mantras*. Accordingly, these *bīja-mantras* are transformed into the eight Devī who take birth and proceed to take their places within the *maṇḍala* in the eight directions. Subsequent to this, the Hetuvajradhara dissolves

into a unitary point (*tilaka*) having the essential nature of Vajrasattva. Then the yogin visualizes four of the Devī requesting him as Hevajra to not abandon them for the unitary point of emptiness.⁴⁶ Again the meditator imagines himself developing into the form of Hevajra, this time as Phalavajradhara, so that his rise from the *tilaka* of emptiness indicates that the vow of the Mahāyāna is maintained and beings are not abandoned.

So far, the meditation on Hevajra has only been concerned with the committal divinities (*samayasattva*), and now it is time to invite the gnostic divinities (*jñānasattva*) to fuse with them; such a fusion allows the yogin to actively visualize that whatever is the actual nature of Hevajra is also his. Therefore, he invites from the realm of its natural existence the *maṇḍala* of the gnostic divinities in the form of Hevajra *yab-yum* surrounded by his retinue of eight Devī—this ensemble thus comes and fuses indivisibly with the yogin. Throughout all of this development of the ‘passion’ of Hevajra, the meditator is to consider that he has the nature of Vajrasattva.

If the yogin has been authorized to perform the practices dealing with the corporeal *maṇḍala* (*lus-dkyil*), he now does so. Visualizing the structures of his body as the various parts of the *maṇḍala*, he fills the five centers (*cakra*) of this *maṇḍala* with the five Victors (*pañcajina*) representing his primary afflictions and psycho-physical constituents. Surrounding the five Victors are their corresponding retinues while their sensory fields are further occupied by still other divinities. In all, the organ/channel *maṇḍala* (*rtsa lus kyi dkyil-'khor*) becomes the *nirmāṇakāya*; the genital/syllable *maṇḍala* (*yi-ge bha-ga'i dkyil-'khor*) becomes the *sambhogakāya*; the seminal/*bodhicitta* *maṇḍala* (*khams bdud-rtsi'i dkyil-'khor*) becomes the *dharmakāya*; and the essential gnostic wind (*jñānavāyu* : *ye-shes rlung*) becomes the *svābhāvīkākāya*—this totality is the *vajrakāya* of the yogin.⁴⁷

A2aⁱⁱⁱ. Consecration (*abhiṣeka* : *dbang*; *mNgon-rtogs* 21.1–22.5, *Lus-dkyil* 36.2–48.4, *gNad kyi zla-zer* 258.2.3–261.2.1)

Having fully developed the ‘passion’ of Hevajra, the yogin must then obtain the consecrations. He therefore invites the deities of consecration—including the five Mātṛ, the eight Bodhisattvas, the six Devī, the ten Kroḍha, etc.—to appear before him. Praising and offering to them, he beseeches them to bestow on him the consecrations. This they do through suffusing him with the nectar contained in the vases they hold, and, as this nectar penetrates each part of his body, the four *abhiṣeka* are obtained with their respective virtues of

eliminating the defilements of body, speech, mind, and the subtle obscurations. Finally suffused to overflowing with the nectar, the yogin's realization is demonstrated by various signs—such as the symbolic presence of the four *mudrā* in the four internal centers—and is sealed by the appearance of the Lord of the Family, Akṣobhya, over his head. Again, through his consecration, the yogin is to reflect that he has the nature of Akṣobhya.

Thus done daily, the act of consecration becomes a continuous endeavor, and we should probably restrict the significance of 'initiation' to the initial ritual of consecration bestowed by the *vajrācārya* on the student. Consecration as a daily act protects the vitality of the first of the 'four acoustic streams' (*catuḥkarnātantra*): the non-diffusion of the stream of consecration (*dbang gi chu-bo ma nub-pa*). Maintenance of this faculty protects the vows (*saṃvara*), facilitates non-attachment, and lends perspicacity in the practice of the perfecting process.⁴⁸ Such a definition implies more the act of continual dedication rather than the unfolding of mysteries to the uninitiated. The 'non-diffusion of the stream of consecration' is a necessary prerequisite to acting as a *vajrācārya* in the consecration of others, and ideally this is accomplished through the meditative reception of the consecrations in all four meditative periods of the day.⁴⁹ Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan, in order to facilitate the performance of this practice, adapted for the *Upadeśanaya* the threefold division of short, medium, and extensive consecrations to be performed as time permits.⁵⁰ Furthermore, daily rigor may not be entirely necessary as there is a short text in the *Pod-ser-ma* which declares that, even if one cannot accomplish the consecrations during the four times of daily meditation, then the vows will still be protected if they are accomplished at propitious times (*dus-bzang*).⁵¹

A2aiv. Tasting the Nectar (amṛtasvadana : bdud-rtsi-myang; mNgon-rtogs 22.5–24.2, gNad kyi zla-zer 261.2.1–261.3.1)

Then, with either a visualized or real skull cup in front of him, the yogin imagines still another skull in space, but vast in size and above the first. Below this second skull are two *maṇḍalas* of wind and fire, while above it are positioned the five sorts of flesh (*pañcamāṃsa*) and the five kinds of serous substances (*pañcāmṛta*). Still further above are the five *bīja-mantras* symbolizing the five forms of gnosis, while at the top of the visualization is a *vajra*. Light from the *vajras* strikes the wind and fire *maṇḍalas* which heat and vaporize the flesh

and serous substances. The vapor strikes the *vajra* which in turn drips nectar into the skull. Again a light shines forth from the *vajra* and invites the nectar from the heart of all Tathagatas in the form of a Heruka who enters the *vajra*. This *vajra*, becoming very heavy, falls into the vast skull, carrying the rest of the visualized elements with it. Finally, the entire complex melts into the initial skull whose taste satisfies both the yogin and the assembled divinities. During this period the yogin should consider that he has the nature of Amī-tābha.

A2av. Offering (pūjā: mchod-pa; mNgon-rtogs 24.2–24.3, gNad kyi zla-zer 261.3.1–261.2.5)

Following the satisfaction of the divinities, the yogin develops yet another retinue of eight Devī who make offerings to Hevajra; during this offering the yogin considers that he has the nature of Amoghasiddhi.

A2avi. Praise (stuti: bstod-pa, mNgon-rtogs 24.3–24.5, gNad kyi zla-zer 261.3.5–262.2.5)

The final section in the developing process proper is that of praise, and the verses in praise of Hevajra are also pronounced by the eight Devī who were generated at the time of the offering; while the praise of Hevajra is recited, the yogin is to reflect that he has the nature of Ratnasambhava.

A2b. Perfecting Process (sampannakrama: rdzogs-rim; gNad Kyi zla-zer 267.4.1–268.2.2)

If the yogin has been authorized, and if his meditation has sufficient stability, he may complete the second part of the contemplative (*samāhita*) practice—the perfecting process. The actual text for the perfecting process utilized in the Tshogs-bshad was not included by dKon-mchog lhun-grub in either the *mNgon-rtogs* or the *Lus-dkyil* and must be supplied from one of two sources. Most popular was the very short ‘self-sanctification’ (*svādhiṣṭhāna*) meditation given by Ngor-chen in the *gNad kyi zla-zer*. If the meditator felt a need for a slightly more elaborate version, he could utilize the more extensive perfecting process text contained in the developed version of Ḍombiheruka’s *Srīśahajasiddhi* found in the *Pod-ser-ma*.⁵² Even this latter text, though, is fairly brief, and it is remarkable that the Tshogs-

bshad, which is ultimately based on Virūpa's *Vajrapada* and derives from the *Advayatantra*, should spend such a comparatively small amount of time on the practice of *sampannakrama*. This fact underscores one of the differences in approach between the Tshogs-bshad and the sLob-bshad, the latter devoting more time to the elaboration of the perfecting process. Perhaps, again, the fact that the Tshogs-bshad is specifically for the general assembly prompted the Sa-skya masters, and Ngor-chen in particular, to develop a system which would be more accessible to the monastic community at large. Such an orientation is definitely in keeping with Bu-ston's attempt to popularize the study and practice of the *yoga-tantras*, and Ngor-chen's similar effort with respect to the *kriyā* and *caryā-tantras*.⁵³

The process of self-sanctification (*svādhiṣṭhāna*) described by Ngor-chen in the *gNad kyi zla-zer* is ultimately based on the famous verse found in *Hevajra-tantra* I.i:31:

Caṇḍāli blazes at the navel.
 She burns the five Tathāgatas.
 She burns Locanā and the rest.
 When the *Haṃ* is burnt, the moon flows.⁵⁴

Inside of his body, the yogin visualizes the three channels and the four centers (*cakra*) each with their own *bīja-mantras*. Due to the action of wind and fire, the principal *bīja-mantra* in the center of the navel is agitated and blazes up through the right channel (*rasanā*). On the way up to the center of great bliss (*mahāsukha-cakra*) at the crown of the head, the fire generated at the navel burns the five Tathāgatas in the heart and the four Devī in the throat. The *Haṃ* in the crown of the head is then burnt and drips the moon-like nectar of the *bodhicitta* which flows back down the left channel (*lalanā*). This process is again repeated, but on a much more subtle level through the central channel (*avadhūti*). Finally, the entire body of the yogin is suffused with bliss, and he is to imagine that gnosis is arisen within his mind. Ngor-chen states that, if the yogin continues to meditate in this way, the coemergent gnosis (*sahaja-jñāna*) will in fact arise.

Though the contemplative practices are finished with the completion of the *sampannakrama*, it is traditional to complete the meditation period with the recollection of the symbolism of the divinities (*śuddhyanusmṛti* : *dag-dran*), the recitation of the *mantra* (*jāpayoga* : *bzlas-pa'i rnal-'byor*), and the general benediction (*mangala* : *bkra-shis*). The former two will be again mentioned in the context of the non-contemplative (*asamāhita*) practices.

Before we discuss this next division, though, a word on the re-

lationship between the developing process and the perfecting process is in order.⁵⁶ In terms of orientation, whereas the primary focus of the developing process is phenomena (*dharmin*), the object of the perfecting process is absolute reality (*dharmatā*). Basically, the generation of the divinities banishes from the yogin any concept of himself as a normal entity, but there yet remains for him both the elaborate conceptual framework of the *maṇḍala* and the pride of being Hevajra. Even though there is both generation and dissolution of the divinities during the process of *utpattikrama*, still this awareness primarily demonstrates the arising and passing away which is experienced in the perception of normal phenomena. Thanks to the intervention of *sampannakrama*, though, the yogin finally realizes that the nature of the deities is nothing other than gnosis. This realization is effected by the meditation focusing on absolute reality and the subsequent transformation of the deities through the practices of 'self-sanctification' (*svādhiṣṭhāna*) or 'the union of circle and *maṇḍala*' (*maṇḍalacakra*). The result in either case is technically known as the symbolic gnosis which demonstrates the absolute (*mtshon-byed dpe'i ye-shes*), and it in turn is the basis for the final realization of the real gnosis which is that absolute reality to be demonstrated (*mtshon-bya don gyi ye-shes*). These are also known, respectively, as the melting bliss coemergent gnosis (*zhu-bde lhan-cig skyes-pa'i ye-shes*) and the self-existent coemergent gnosis (*rang-bzhin lhan-cig skyes-pa'i ye-shes*).

The general benefit of the developing process is that it purifies the four forms of birth in the world while the perfecting process purifies death. Another way to frame this statement is that the former purifies one's relation to appearance (*snang*) and the latter purifies one's relation to emptiness (*stong*). Accordingly, the fruit of the former is generally considered to be the *rūpakāya* and that of the latter is the *dharmakāya*.

B. *Practices Not in Deep Contemplation (asamāhita rnam-par ma gzhag-pa; gNad kyi zla-zer 268.2.2–276.3.4)*

While the above meditations of developing (*utpattikrama*) and perfecting (*sampannakrama*) processes are primarily intended to be employed during the three or four established times of contemplation (*thun-gsum / bzhi*), Vajrayāna claims that its ability to induce swift enlightenment is based on the utilization of the ground of ordinary existence. In view of this, the early Sa-skye tradition enumerated

eight circumstances, not directly related to deep meditation, in which the *guhya-mantra* principles may be applied. Although Ngor-chen agreed in general to the content of these eight practices, he surreptitiously included in the non-concentrated (*asamāhita*) category the recollection of the symbolism of the deities (*śuddhyanusmṛti*), implying that this practice belonged to that category as it occurred in the *sādhana* but was not able to be included in either the *utpattikrama* or the *sampannakrama*. Basically, the recollection was grounded in enumeration, so that the three eyes of Hevajra represent the three adamantine realities of body, speech, and mind (*kāyavān-manovajra*), his sixteen arms indicate the sixteen forms of emptiness, and so on. Thus, neither this recollection nor the *mantra* recitation (*jāpayoga*) precisely fits into the patterns of *samāhita*. Moreover, they may be practiced as semi-autonomous exercises. Both are made into viable exercises by the mortar of the *asamāhita* practice: at all times, the yogin must continuously visualize himself as Hevajra in his one head and two arm form (*ekavī ra*).

The eight non-concentrated activities further include the offering of the *gtor-ma* with its complex ritual, religious, social, and psychological overtones. However, the position and utilization of these auxiliary rituals in the Lam-'bras system—the *gtor-ma*, the *homa*, the enshrinement (*pratiṣṭhā : rab-gnas*), the manufacture of the pills of nectar (*bdud-rtsi ril-bu*), and so forth—involve quite convoluted ritual systems and bring into focus considerations of Tibetan society, monastic economy, personal motivation, and religious necessity. These auxiliary systems really deserve much study in their own right and therefore I will not attempt to elaborate their position other than to mention that dKon-mchog lhun-grub also contributed texts for the performance of some of them, one of which was considered part and parcel of the Tshogs-bshad and is still available—the *dPal kye rdo-rje'i gtor-chog mdzes-rgyan* for the *gtor-ma* offering.⁵⁶

Most of the rest of the non-concentrated practices focus around the application of the various parts of the *sādhana* to daily life. When the yogin falls asleep, his visualization is similar to that performed at the dissolution of the *maṇḍala*. Upon awakening, he arises with the pride of Hevajra like a fish jumping out of water. While bathing, he imagines that he is receiving the various consecrations. Upon eating, he visualizes that the deities are assembled in his heart, and that his desireless eating is the enjoyment of the nectar to satisfy both himself and the divinities. If the yogin is a householder, he may perform intercourse according to the meditations of either the developing

process or the perfecting process. In the former case, he develops the three conceptions (**trisaṃjñā* : 'du-shes *gsum*) that he and his partner (*karmamudrā*) are Hevajra and Nairātmyā (**devatā-saṃjñā* : *lha'i 'du-shes*), that their sexual organs are the *vajra* and lotus impressed with the *bīja-mantras* of the two deities (**mantra-saṃjñā* : *sngags kyi 'du-shes*), and that the resulting bliss (**dharmā-saṃjñā* : *chos kyi 'du-shes*) is an offering to Hevajra—similar to the *utpattikrama* visualization during the 'passion' of Hevajra. Alternatively, the yogin may perform the *maṇḍala-cakra* practice of the *sampannakrama*. Finally, the yogin is to consider that in every respect—internal and external—all forms are Hevajra's *nirmānakāya*, all speech his *mantra*, and all mentality the expanse of the *dharmakāya* (*kāya-vānmanovajra*). dKon-mchog lhun-grub has remarked that if one practices the ten forms of yoga in this way without interruption, that individual will certainly obtain face to face perception of the final goal—the citadel of Vajradhara.⁵⁷

If the above meditative systems appear complex, it must be emphasized that this outline is the barest synopsis imaginable, whereas the wealth of detail and profusion of divinities in the actual texts are staggering. It is difficult to comprehend the powers of visualization which one would have to develop to master the variety and complexity of even this relatively simple *sādhana*. In this regard, a rigorous examination into the psychology of visualization and the ontology of visionary experience is necessary in the near future if Buddhist traditions are to be fully comprehended.

II. Transmission

Any discussion of the sLob-bshad must perforce be tentative since, at the time of this writing (1981), there has not been a complete edition of the entire *Lam-bras slob-bshad* collection published. I had been, though, fortunate enough to work with the incomplete copy in the possession of the late Thar-rtse mKhan Rin-po-che. Providentially, for the discussion at hand, included in his copy is a short supplemental treatise, the *Lam-'bras tha-dad*, by the editor of this monumental collection, 'Jam-dbyangs Blo-gter dbang-po (1847-ca. 1914). This work distinguishes the sLob-bshad and the Tshogs-bshad, identifying the principal texts involved and the lineages of transmission for the various major elements of both the sLob-bshad and the Tshogs-bshad. By examining the primary affiliations of each,

we can determine that, although Blo-gter dbang-po's distinctions are slightly simplistic, they are at least an extremely useful introduction. In defining the two traditions, he says:

Over and above the basic system of the Tshogs-bshad, that which is known as the sLob-bshad is the additional explanation of the deep essentials of the specific instructions, the explanation of the text, the explanation of the exegesis of the *tantras*, and so forth.⁵⁸

Thus, to Blo-gter dbang-po, the primary purpose of the sLob-bshad is to fulfill the expectations established for it: to act as the vehicle for the transmission of all of the Lam-'bras to the elect among meditators. The mention of 'specific instructions' indicates the various extensive manuals of meditation—those by Tshar-chen, mKhyen-brtse'i dbang-phyug, Mang-thos Klu-grub rgya-mtsho, etc.—especially with reference to the perfecting process (*sampannakrama*), to which the sLob-bshad gave a much greater emphasis than did the Tshogs-bshad. Again, the 'textual explanation' alludes to the *rtsa ba rdo rje'i tshig rkang* and its commentaries—only transmitted to the student in the Tshogs-bshad by the ritual reading (*lung*)—are ideally to be explained in some detail in the sLob-bshad.⁵⁹ Finally, Blo-gter dbang-po's reference to the 'exegesis of the *tantras*' indicates that the student of the sLob-bshad is to study in detail the three principal *tantras* of the Sa-skya tradition—the *Hevajra*, the *Samputa*, and the *Vajra-pañjara*—utilizing in particular the commentaries of the Sa-skya Gong-ma.

In this context, the sLob-bshad is virtually synonymous with the term 'Tshar-lugs', indicating the system of meditation according to Tshar-chen Blo-gsal rgya-mtsho and his successors, and indeed the lineage of the sLob-bshad is usually traced through that esteemed line of meditators. This transmission is also known as the special Ngor-pa tradition (*thun-mong ma-yin-pa'i ngor-lugs*) since it, like the Tshogs-bshad, traces back to Ngor-chen, and, according to tradition, the division into the sLob-bshad and the Tshogs-bshad was done by Mus-chen, Kun-dga' bzang-po's successor at Ngor. After Mus-chen, the lineages of these two systems went their separate ways (see *Appendix*). 'Jam-mgon A-myes zhabs notes that the term sLob-bshad as a rubric descriptive of a certain body of teaching does not clearly appear in the writings of Mus-chen, but is found in the works of bDag-chen rdo-rje 'chang Blo-gros rgyal-mtshan (1444–1495), who received the sLob-bshad lineage from Mus-chen.⁶⁰ A modern author,

Dhong-thog Rinpoche, further contends that the term actually came from Mus-chen in the form of oral instruction, but that he never used it in his writings.⁶¹

Returning to Blo-gter dbang-po's definition, we see that the Tshogs-bshad was considered the most elementary form of the practice of Lam-'bras. Essentially, this meant that when a student, along with a number of others, received the Tshogs-bshad transmission, it enabled him to have a basic understanding of the triple discipline (*trisamvara* : *sdom-gsum*) of the Śrāvaka, the Bodhisattva, and the Vidyādhara.⁶² The structure of the triple discipline was ordered by the Sa-skya masters along the lines established in the *rTsa ba rdo rje'i tshig rkang*. Comprehension of the former two disciplines was transmitted through the teaching of the 'triple appearance' (**tryavabhāsa* : *snang-gsum*): the appearance of phenomena as impure error (**aśuddhabhrāntyavabhāsa* : *ma-dag 'khrul-pa'i snang-ba*), the appearance of experience in meditation (**samādhyānubhavāvabhāsa* : *ting-'dzin nyams kyi snang-ba*), and pure appearance (**śuddhāvabhāsa* : *dag-pa'i snang-ba*).⁶³ In the case of the discipline of the Vidyādhara, the transmission was effected through the 'triple continuity' (*tritantra* : *rgyud-gsum*) of the ground (*ādhāra* : *gzhi*), the path (*mārga* : *lam*), and the fruit (*phala* : *'bras-bu*). Thus, the yogin, upon the completion of the instruction on the Tshogs-bshad, was expected to have completed the basics for the practice of Lam-'bras, with a heavy emphasis on the developing process (*utpattikrama*) as the best way to proceed.

As a transmission of texts and traditions, the Tshogs-bshad, like the sLob-bshad, had its own lineage, and I have given the principal lines of succession for both of these in the *Appendix*; they are as given by Blo-gter dbang-po. Yet, however the lineage may be reckoned as passing outside of Ngor, in discussing the Tshogs-bshad transmission with members of the Thar-rtse bla-brang and in perusing the literature, I have come to the conclusion that the Tshogs-bshad *par excellence* was the assembly given each year at Ngor E-wam chosldan. Thus, those holding the office of mKhan-po at Ngor constituted in some sense the most basic continuators of the Tshogs-bshad. Indeed, Blo-gter dbang-po takes great pride in the fact that the Tshogs-bshad has been held at Ngor every year almost since its founding.⁶⁴ Furthermore, 'Jam-dbyangs mKhyen-brtse'i dbang-po (1820–1892), in his *Lam-'bras brgyud 'debs*, traces the lineage of the Tshogs-bshad either exclusively through the abbots of Ngor, or exclusively through those of Sa-skya, demonstrating that Blo-gter dbang-po's lineage list is not entirely without objection.⁶⁵

According to Ngor-chen's biography, the Tshogs-bshad—there called the Lam-'bras tshogs-pa—was first taught at Ngor during the summer, probably in the early 1430s.⁶⁶ Just when a shift in the monastic calendar came about is uncertain, but in modern times the Tshogs-bshad was begun at Ngor on the twenty-fifth day of the tenth lunar month. On this day the students would assemble and first receive the ritual permission (*anujñā : rjes-gnang*) for the ninefold *maṇḍala* of Ūṣṇīṣavijaya. According to Thar-rtse Rin-po-che, on the following two days the permission for, respectively, the practices of Śītatārā and Śī tamañjuśrī was bestowed; following this, granting of permission may also optionally have been given in the practices of Guhyapati-Bhūtaḍāmara and Parnaśavarī.⁶⁷

Starting from the twenty-fifth, for about the next three weeks, the mKhan-po would give instructions in the 'triple appearance' during the afternoon, while the morning would be occupied with the ritual reading (*lung*) of the biographies of the lineal masters (*bla-ma brgyud-pa'i rnam-thar*) and the Ngor-pa breviary (*chos-spyod*).⁶⁸ At the end of these three weeks, the students received the confirmation of the generation of the thought of enlightenment.⁶⁹ At this time the mKhan-po would go into retreat for one week to ten days while the students practiced the preliminary practices given out during the 'triple appearance'. The final two to three days of the mKhan-po's retreat were devoted to the preparation of the *maṇḍala* for the first set of consecrations. During this period it was common for some of the students, who may have come from as far away as China, to utilize the opportunity to visit and receive instruction from some of the other great teachers at Ngor, the past mKhan-po, the heads of the four Bla-brang (*Zhabs-drung*), the four Vajrācāryas (*Zur-bzhi slob-dpon*), etc.

The first set of consecrations is known collectively as the 'causal consecration' (*rgyu-dus kyi dbang*); in this set are contained all the four *abhiṣeka* of the *anuttara-yoga-tantra* tradition.⁷⁰ It is called the 'causal consecration' both since it is seminal to the practice of the *Upadeśanaya* and because it indicates the ripening (*vipāka : smin*) of the individual, starting with the external as the point of departure as most of the activity of common man is externally oriented. Reception of the 'causal consecration' entitles the yogin to perform the practice of the external developing process (*bāhyotpattikrama : spyi'i bskyed-rim*), utilizing the short consecration section mentioned above.

The 'causal consecration', like other Hevajra consecrations given at Ngor, was given out in a special dBang-khang, a small room housed in the same building as the main temple (gTsong-lag khang),

but separated from it. There was a tradition at Ngor that no more than twenty-five students could receive the various *abhiṣeka* at any one time. According to Thar-rtse Rin-po-che, the Ngor-pa tradition ties this to Ngor-chen himself, who was said to be able to only visualize the complete internal and external *maṇḍalas* of twenty-five students at any one time and therefore felt compelled to limit the students to that number. Following this tradition, the mKhan-po was forced to bestow the *abhiṣeka* on several groups in succession, and this could take some time, especially if, as was the case in 1952 during Thar-rtse Rin-po-che's second year as mKhan-po, more than three hundred students registered for the Tshogs-bshad. Such a number was by no means rare; Ngor-chen's biography mentions that about this number showed up on at least one occasion.⁷¹ Major consecrations of this nature usually require a preliminary session (**saj-jana : sta-gon*) on one day with the consecration itself (*maula : dngos-gzhi*) given the following day. During Thar-rtse Rin-po-che's tenure, he would usually give the preliminary session to two groups in the afternoon and then perform the actual consecrations for the groups the next morning; thus bestowing the *abhiṣeka* on about fifty students a day, he would continue in this manner until all of the students had obtained the consecrations. This was apparently the pattern for the Tshogs-bshad at Ngor during the modern period.

Following the bestowal of the 'causal consecration', instruction would begin on the topic of Vajrayāna proper. Ordered along the lines of the 'triple continuity' (*tritantra : rgyud-gsum*), this instruction concentrated on the material leading up to the external developing stage. Then the 'path consecration' (*lam dus kyi dbang*) was bestowed in the same manner as the 'causal consecration'; it also embodies all the four *abhiṣeka* of the *anuttara-yoga-tantras*.⁷² Given the nomenclature of 'causal' and 'path' attached to the two consecrations of the Lam-'bras, we might justifiably expect that there would also be a 'fruitional' consecration. 'Jam-mgon A-myes zhabs, however, maintains that, in the case of the Tshogs-bshad, the 'fruitional' consecration is the experience of attainment during the phases of the perfecting process.

Following the 'path consecration', the instruction in the 'triple continuity' would then continue until all of the developing process material had been finished. Before the perfecting process instruction was given out, though, three other important consecrations had to be bestowed: that of the *bDag-med ma'i byin-rlabs* (**Nairātmyādhiṣṭāna*), the *Bir-srung* (**Virūpapāla*), and the *Lam-zab bla-ma'i rnal-'byor* (**Gambhīramārga-guru-yoga*).⁷³ The first two were bestowed by

other eminent teachers at Ngor, while the mKhan-po gave the latter himself. The completion of the teaching on the 'triple continuity' would continue for the remainder of the Tshogs-bshad, and the course of instruction would usually proceed through the new year to be completed by the twentieth day of the first lunar month. It was necessary for the Tshogs-bshad to be completed by this time as the monastic calendar called for ordination (*pravrajyā* : *rab-'byung*) to commence on the twenty-fifth of that month.

For the duration of the Tshogs-bshad transmission, the day was divided into the morning and afternoon sessions. The morning session consisted of the ritual reading (*lung*) by the mKhan-po of the corpus of texts to which the student was given access, while the afternoon session was devoted to the actual instruction in the 'triple appearance' or the 'triple continuity' as was the case. In addition to the biographies of successive masters and the Ngor breviary, the *lung* was also given out for the *Pod-ser-ma*, the *Pod-dmar-ma*, and from two to three volumes of *sādhanas*, usually drawn from the *sGrub-thabs kun-btus*. Thus the number and titles of the texts ritually imparted during the Tshogs-bshad were never precisely established, so that any one mKhan-po would be given the latitude to determine just which of the works he would draw from the larger field of textual possibilities. Certainly this must have been one reason that the Tshogs-bshad was not codified into a xylographed compendium in the manner of the sLob-bshad, although the sLob-bshad, too, retained flexible boundaries during its transmission.

As a basis of instruction, the mKhan-po usually utilized the *sNang-gsum* and *rGyud-gsum* texts of dKon-mchog lhun-grub, mKhan-chen Ngag-dbang chos-grags (1572–1641), and mKhan-chen Ngag-dbang bstan-pa'i rdo-rje (b. 1584), or any of these in combination.⁷⁴ The mKhan-po might also utilize the *Lam-'bras khog-bub* of Ngag-dbang chos-grags during the teaching of the 'triple appearance' and this same author's *sPyi'i* and *Nang bskyed-rim 'dzin-bris* during the 'triple continuity'.⁷⁵ Traditionally, *Lam-'bras* material concerning either the 'triple appearance' or the 'triple continuity' was discussed four times. On the day of its introduction, the mKhan-po might teach a topic from the extensive texts of dKon-mchog lhun-grub, then again from the shorter texts of Ngag-dbang chos-grags, and finally from the abbreviated versions of Ngag-dbang bstan-pa'i rdo-rje. At times, though, an individual mKhan-po might reverse the order and teach the more extensive discussion on the final time around. The following day, the main points of the material given out on the previous day would be briefly summarized by the mKhan-po before turning to the

new material to be discussed. Thar-rtse Rin-po-che informs me that the multiple discussion of the teaching served to impress on the student the major points of meditation so that the contemplative process proceeded more smoothly.

Given the amount of material which the Ngor mKhan-po was expected to transmit, it is obvious that there was just not sufficient time for him to provide instruction on all of the necessary rites and meditations which actually make the Hevajra system as a whole function. So, for much of the teaching surroundings the *homa*, the *gtor-ma* offering, the melody (*dbyangs*), the use of the drums (*rnga*), of the cymbals (*rol-mo*), of the *ḍamaruka*, the laying down of the *maṇḍala* (*thig-'debs*), and so on, the brunt of educating the students fell on the learned teachers of the four Bla-brang—such as the *Zhabs-drung*—and especially on the *vajrācāryas* from each Bla-brang who were responsible for all of these items with respect to four of the five *maṇḍalas* erected during the spring celebration of the *parinirvāṇa* of Ngor-chen.⁷⁶ In particular, the Gur-pa sLob-dpon from the Phan-bde bla-brang assisted with the instruction on Hevajra, since he was responsible for the *Kula-saṃharaṇa-maṇḍala* (*Rigs-bsdus dkyil-'khor*) of the *Vajrapañjara-tantra* during the spring celebration. Quite a bit of material from this *maṇḍala* is held in common with the nine-fold Hevajra *maṇḍala* of the **Upadeśanaya*. Such relationships again demonstrate the importance that this *tantra* has had for the Sa-skyā tradition.

Postscript

The present study is only a prologue to serious work on the history and doctrines of the Sa-skyā-pa and the other Lam-'bras traditions using the *rTsa-ba rdo-rje'i tshig-rkang* as a basic tool for meditation as understood by the Vajrayāna. Certainly, the ritual and meditative traditions of Tibetan Buddhism deserve as much attention as the doctrinal statements and manuals of disputation. It is quite unfortunate that little effort has been expended in that direction, a circumstance for which Tibetans must share responsibility, shrouding, as they do, the material in a cloak of secrecy. Hopefully, the final decade of this century will see something of that shroud lifted on the aspect of religious life most valued by Tibetans—their prayer. If the popular liturgy has been studied, it has usually been subjected to either the ethnocentric insinuation that it is a tool of the 'unlettered' or the recent sanctification by converts to the system.

Both approaches are fundamentally flawed and neither takes cognizance of the esoteric systems which were the backbone of the monastic ritual and meditative process.

Appendix

While bLo-gter dbang-po in his *Lam-'bras tha-dad* gives the lineage lists for the various major elements of the sLob-bshad and the Tshogs-bshad, he also indicates the central transmissions of both of these traditions.⁷⁷

For the sLob-bshad, the main transmission is the following: Mahāvajradhara; Bhaṭṭārikā Vajranairātmyā; Yogeśvara-Virūpa; Kṛṣṇacārin (Kānha); Damarupāda; Avadhūtṭpāda; Mahāpaṇḍita-Gayadhara; 'Brog-mi Lo-tsā-ba Shākya ye-shes (993–1074); Semkhar-chu-ba Kun-rig; Zhang-dgon-pa-ba Chos-'bar; dPal Sa-skyapa brtse-ba chen-po Kun-dga' snying-po (1092–1158); sLob-dpon rin-po-che bSod-nams rtse-mo (1142–1182); rJe-btsun rin-po-che Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan (1147–1216); Sa-skya Paṇḍita Kun-dga' rgyal-mtshan (1181–1251); Chos-rgyal 'Phags-pa bLo-gros rgyal-mtshan (1235/1239–1280); Zhang dKon-mchog dpal; Na-bza' brag-phug-pa bSod-nams dpal (1277–1350); bLa-ma dam-pa bSod-nams rgyal-mtshan (1312–1375, 17th Sa-skya Khri-thog-pa); bLa-ma dPalldan tshul-khrims; Grub-chen Buddha Śrī (1339–1420); Ngor-chen Kun-dga' bzang-po (1382–1456); Mus-chen sems-dpa' chen-po dKon-mchog rgyal-mtshan (1388–1469, 2nd Ngor mKhan-po); bDag-chen rdo-rje-'chang bLo-gros rgyal-mtshan (1444–1495, 25th Sa-skya Khri-thog-pa); rDo-ring-pa Kun-spangs kun-bzang chos kyi nyi-ma (1449–1524); Tshar-chen bLo-gsal rgya-mtsho (1502–1455, 13th Zhwa-lu mKhan-chen and founder of Grong-mo-che); gNas-gsar-ba 'Jam-dbyangs mKhyen-brtse'i dbang phyug (1524–1568, 14th Zhwa-lu mKhan-chen); mKhan-chen khyab-bdag dBang-phyug rab-brtan (1558–1636, 18th Zhwa-lu mKhan-chen); mGon-po bSod-nams mchog-ldan (1603–1659); Rin-chen bsod-nams mchog-grub (1602–1681, 22nd Zhwa-lu mKhan-chen); mKhyen-rab Byams-pa ngag-dbang lhun-grub (1633–1703); rMor-chen Ngag-dbang kun-dga' lhun-grub (1654–1726/8, mKhan-po of rMor-dgon-pa rMa-smad bkra-shis chos-sde); 'Jam-mgon gNas-gsar-ba Ngag-dbang kun-dga' legs-pa'i 'byung-gnas (1704–1760); bDag-chen Ngag-dbang kun-dga' blo-gros (1729–1783, 35th Sa-skya Khri-thog-pa); Thar-rtse mkhan-chen Byams-pa nam-mkha' 'chi-med (b. 1758, 44th Ngor mKhan-po); Byams-pa kun-dga' bstan-'dzin (1776–1862, 47th Ngor mKhan-po);

Byams-pa kun-dga' bstan-pa'i rgyal-mtshan (1829–1870, 54th Ngor mKhan-po); Jam-dbyangs bLo-gter dbang-po (1847–ca.1914).

Through Mus-chen, bLo-gter dbang-po traces the main transmission of the Tshogs-bshad as identical to that of the sLob-bshad. Ngor-chen and Mus-chen each imparted the Tshogs-bshad to rGyal-tshab dam-pa Kun-dga' dbang-phyug (b. 1424, 4th Ngor mKhan-po) and Kun-mkhyen Go-ram bSod-nams seng-ge (1429–1501, 6th Ngor mKhan-po); Mus-chen, Kun-dga' dbang-phyug, and Go-ram-pa each imparted the Tshogs-bshad to Yongs-'dzin dKon-mchog 'phel (1445–1526, 7th Ngor mKhan-po); from him to Sa-skya Lo-tsā-ba 'Jam-dbyangs kun-dga' bsod-nams (1485–1533, 25th Sa-skya Khri-thog-pa); these two latter each taught dKon-mchog lhun-grub (1497–1557); then sNgags-'chang Kun-dga' rin-chen (1517–1584, 26th Sa-skya Khri-thog-pa); Ngag-dbang bsod-nams dbang-po (1559–1621, 27th Sa-skya Khri-thog-pa); 'Jam-mgon A-myes zhabs Ngag-dbang kun-dga' bsod-nams (1597–1659/62); Ngag-dbang kun-dga' bkra-shis (33rd Sa-skya Khri-thog-pa); Yab-rje bSod-nams rin-chen (34th Sa-skya Khri-thog-pa); Sa-chen Ngag-dbang kun-dga' blo-gros (1729–1783, 35th Sa-skya Khri-thog-pa); Byams-pa nam-mkha' 'chi-med (b. 1758, 44th Ngor mKhan-po); rNal-'byor 'Jam-dpal bzang-po (b. 1789, 51st Ngor mKhan-po); Byams-pa kun-dga' bstan-pa'i rgyal-mtshan (1829–1870, 54th Ngor mKhan-po); 'Jam-dbyangs bLo-gter dbang-po (1847–ca. 1914).

The above lineages are those of the principle, formal lines of transmission (*dbang-khrid-brgyud*) and should in no way be understood as representing the only lineages—bLo-gter dbang-po gives alternatives to these lists—or even necessarily the most important teachers of a system. One example will suffice to demonstrate this point; Tshar-chen was known to have had three very important disciples other than mKhyen-brtse'i dbang-phyug: Yol-pa gZhon-nu blo-gros (1527–1599), Bod-mkhar-ba Maitri don-grub rgyal-mtshan (1526–1587), and Mang-thos kLu-grub rgya-mtsho (1523–1596).⁷⁸ This latter was particularly important for the Tshar-lugs and contributed extensively to the original literary production which has marked this extraordinary lineage. He, however, does not fit into the lineage list as given above since the main transmission was considered to pass through his even more original contemporary, mKhyen-brtse'i dbang-phyug.

8

Rig-'dzin 'Jigs-med gling-pa and the *kLong-Chen sNying-Thig**



Steven D. Goodman

Abbreviations

<i>Auto. Rem.</i>	<i>The Autobiographical Reminiscences of Ngag-dbang dpal bzang; Late Abbot of Kah-thog Monastery (with English preface by E. Gene Smith)</i>
<i>bDud-'joms chos-'byung</i>	<i>Gangs-ljongs rgyal-bstan yongs-rdzogs kyi phyi-mo snga-'gyur rdo-rje theg-pa'i bstan-pa rin-po-che ji ltar byung-ba'i tshul dag cing gsal-bar brjod-pa lha-dbang g.yul las rgyal-ba'i rnga-bo che'i sgra-dbyangs by bDud-'joms 'jigs-bral ye-shes rdo-rje</i>
<i>Bio. Dict.</i>	<i>Biographical Dictionary of Tibet and Tibetan Buddhism by Khetsun Sangpo</i>
<i>bKa'-'bum bzhugs-byang</i>	<i>Kun-mkhyen chos kyi rgyal-po rig-'dzin 'jigs-med gling-pa'i bka'-'bum yongs-rdzogs kyi bzhugs-byang chos-rab rnam-'byed by rDo-rje rgyal-mtshan</i>
<i>bZhugs-byang dkar-chag</i>	<i>kLong-chen snying gi thig-le'i bzhugs-byang dkar-chag gi rim-pa phan-bde'i sgo-'khar 'byed-pa'i lde-mig by Shākya'i dge-slong 'gyur-med skal-ldan rgya-mtsho</i>

- Coll. Works(J)* *The Collected Works of Kun-mkhyen 'Jigs-med gling-pa*
- Dākki'i gsang-gtam* *kLong-chen snying gi thig-le'i rtogs-pa brjod-pa Dākki'i gsang-gtam chen-mo* by 'Jigs-med gling-pa
- Do-ha'i rgyan* *rDzogs-chen-pa rang-byung rdo-rje'i don gyi rnam-thar Do-ha'i rgyan* by 'Jigs-med gling-pa
- gTer-ston brgya-rtsa* *gTer-ston brgya-rtsa'i rnam-thar* by 'Jam-mgon Kong-sprul
- 'Khrungs-rabs gsol-'debs* *Rig-'dzin 'jigs-med gling-pa'i 'khrungs-rabs gsol-'debs* by 'Jigs-med gling-pa
- kLong-snying (A-'dzom)* *kLong-chen snying-thig* (from the A-'dzom chos-sgar redaction)
- Kongtrul Ency.* *Kongtrul's Encyclopedia of Indo-Tibetan Culture* (with an Introduction by E. Gene Smith)
- mKhyen-brtse's Guide* *mKhyen brtse's Guide to the Holy Places of Central Tibet* by Alfonsa Ferrari
- Nor-bu'i do-shal* *Bod du byung-ba'i gsang-sngags snga-'gyur gyi btsan-'dzin skyes-mchog rim-byon gyi rnam-thar nor-bu'i do-shal* by Rig-'dzin Kun-bzang nges-don klong-yangs
- rNam-thar chen-mo* *Yul lho-rgyud du byung-ba'i rdzogs-chen-pa rang-byung rdo-rje mkhyen-brtse'i 'od-zer gyi rnam par thar-pa legs-byas yongs-'du'i snye-ma* by 'Jigs-med gling-pa
- rNam-thar gsol-'debs* *rDzogs-chen-pa rang-byung rdo-rje'i rnam-thar gsol-'debs* by 'Jigs-med phrin-las 'od-zer (rDo-grub Chen I)
- rNam-thar nyung-bsdus* *Rig-'dzin 'jigs-med gling pa'i 'khrungs-rabs rnam-thar nyung-bsdus* by 'Jigs-med gling-pa
- rTogs-brjod* *gSang-ba chen-po nyams-snang gi rtogs-brjod chu-zla'i gar-mkhan* by 'Jigs-med gling-pa
- Thob-yig* *sNga-'gyur rgyud-'bum rin-po-che dang / mdo sgyu sems gsum gyis mtshon bka'-ma'i sgrub-phrin / mdzod-bdun / snying-thig ya-bzhi / gter-kha gong-'og gtso-bor gyur-pa'i thob-yig nyi-zla'i rna-cha* by 'Jigs-med gling-pa

Zhe-chen
chos-'byung

sNga-'gyur rdo-rje theg-pa gtso-bor gyur-pa'i
sgrub-brgyud shing-rta brgyad kyi byung-ba
brjod-pa'i gtam mdor-bsdus legs-bshad
padma dkar-po'i rdzing-bu by Zhe-chen
rgyal-tshab Padma rnam-rgyal

Into the South will come a *sprul-sku* named 'Od-zer
Who will liberate sentient beings through the profound
teachings of the *sNying-thig*
Transporting whomever [has established] a bond [with him]
to the Pure Land of the Vidyādhara.

Thus begins the special prophecy of *gter-ston* Sangs-rgyas gling-pa¹ concerning the birth of Rig-'dzin 'Jigs-med gling-pa (1730–1798), the famed 18th century rNying-ma scholar, antiquarian, and visionary.² He is already well known to Western students of Tibet for his studies on the tombs of ancient Tibet,³ and his work on a new edition of the *rNying-ma rgyud-'bum*.⁴ It is as a *gter-ston*, however, that he is perhaps most revered by Tibetans, particularly for his visionary revelations which are the 'mind treasures' (*thugs-gter/dgongs-gter*) collectively termed the *kLong-chen snying gi thig-le* (hereafter abbreviated *kLong-snying*). Neither the *kLong-snying*, nor the life of its visionary discoverer have, as yet, been studied in depth. Here I can only hope to partially tread through the abundant forest of relevant material, leaving markings along the trail so that others might be inspired to renew and thus further the adventure.

The Life of 'Jigs-med gling-pa

Although a comprehensive account of 'Jigs-med gling-pa's life must await the thorough analysis of the numerous sources,⁵ I shall summarize the major phases, divided into: A. Birth and Former Lives, B. Monastic Life and Education, and C. Revelation of the *kLong-snying*.

A. *Birth and Former Lives*

'Jigs-med gling-pa reports that he was born on the 18th day of the 12th month of the Earth-Female-Bird year [6 February 1730],⁶ in a remote village in the mountainous terrain South of the Red Tomb

(*Bang-so dmar-po*)⁷ in the 'Phyongs-rgyas region, as had been prophesied,⁸ Kong-sprul notes that he was born into the rGya-brag-pa clan, which was one of the six major 'disciple lineages' (*thugs-sras*) of the 'Brug-pa bka'-brgyud-pa.⁹

While still quite young he began to recall bits of his former lives. Although later sources only give a few prominent names,¹⁰ 'Jigs-med gling-pa himself provides a detailed list (*Chart I*), and his *chos-bdag* 'Jigs-med phrin-las 'od-zer (rDo grub-chen I) gives a variant list (*Chart II*).

Chart I. Succession of Former Lives

(source: 'Khrungs-rabs gsol-'debs)

1. Kun-tu bzang-po
2. sPyan-ras-gzigs
3. dGa'-rab rdo-rje¹¹
4. Kṛi-Kṛi'i sras [Legs par skyes]¹²
5. gCung mdzes dGa' [dGa'-bo]¹³
6. A-kar-ma¹⁴
7. Khri-srong lde'u btsan¹⁵
8. Virūpa¹⁶
9. Lha-lcam Padma-gsal¹⁷
10. rGyal-sras lha-rje¹⁸
11. Dri-med kun-ldan¹⁹
12. Yar-rje O-rgyan gling-pa²⁰
13. Zla-'od gzhon-nu grags-rgyal [Dwags sGam-po-pa]²¹
14. Pan-chen Bi-ma'i dngos-grub bSam-yas-pa [kLong-chen-pa]²²
15. mNga'-ris Paṅ-chen²³
16. Chos-rgyal phun-tshogs²⁴
17. bKra-shis stobs-rgyal²⁵
18. 'Dzam-gling rdo-rje [Chos-rje gling-pa]²⁶

Chart II. Succession of Former Lives

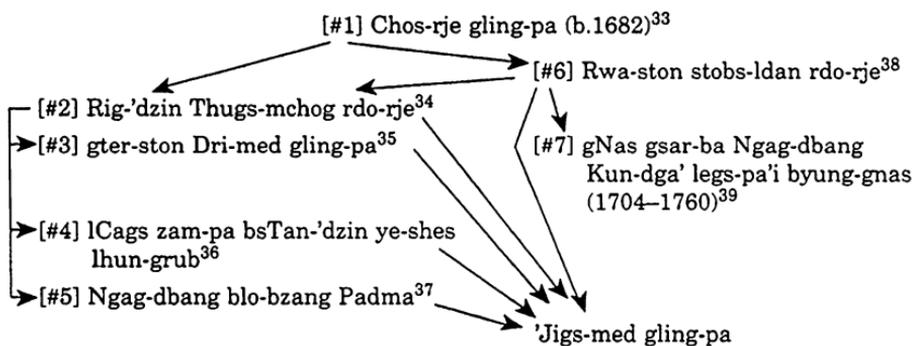
(source: rNam-thar gsol-'debs)

1. sPyan-ras-gzigs
2. Kṛi-kṛi'i sras
3. dGa'-bo
4. dgra-bcom-mtshan bZang-ldan²⁷
5. dGa'-rab
6. Śrī Seng
7. Dri-med bshes-gnyen [Vimalamitra]
8. A-kar-ma
9. rJe [Khri-srong lde'u btsan]
10. 'Bangs [Vairocana]
11. Groggs [Ye-shes mtsho-rgyal]
12. rGyal-sras lha-rje

B. Monastic Life and Education

In his sixth year 'Jigs-med gling-pa entered the monastery of gSang-mchog dpal gyi ri 'Od-gsal theg-pa chen-po'i gling, commonly known as dPal-ri,²⁸ and received the religious name Padma mKhyen-brtse'i 'od-zer from the mTsho-rgyal sprul-sku Ngag-dbang blo-bzang padma.²⁹ He then began his formal education, which included a wide range of exoteric subjects.³⁰ He earnestly applied himself to the study of Buddhadharma, and as a result his life seems to have been filled with wonderful dreams and visions. As recorded in his *Thob-yig*,³¹ he received empowerment and instruction from the many prominent rNying-ma and gSar-ma teachers who resided in Central Tibet. As two of these teachers were themselves students of Chos-rje gling-pa ('Jigs-med gling-pa's immediately previous incarnation), a schematic account of the interrelations is given.³²

Chart III. *The Relation Between Students of Chos-rje gling-pa and Teachers of 'Jigs-med gling-pa*
(sources: *gTer-ston brgya-rtsa* and *Nor-bu'i do-shal*)



In addition to those teachers of 'Jigs-med gling-pa with links back to Chos-rje gling-pa, labelled as #2–#7 in *Chart III*, there are several others about which both the *rNam-thar chen-mo* and the *Thob-yig* provides substance for the generalizations recorded in Kong-sprul's *gTer-ston brgya-rtsa*. The teacher known as gNas-brtan Kun-bzang 'od-zer⁴⁰ gave 'Jigs-med gling-pa the transmission for his own teaching, called the *Thugs-rje chen-po padma'i dbang-phyug*, as well as transmissions of the *bLa-ma dgongs-'dus* (the *gter-chos* of Sang-rgyas gling-pa) and the *Grol-tig dgongs-pa rang-grol* (the *gter-chos* of 'Phren-bo 'Gro'dul gling-pa, *alias* Shes-rab 'od-zer).⁴¹

More important was the teacher Zhang sgom-chen Dharmakīrti who, in addition to imparting the teachings of rGod-tshang-pa snatshogs rang-grol and other rNying-ma masters, seems to have been 'Jigs-med gling-pa's primary teacher for *gsar-ma* doctrines. He is credited with the transmissions of Atiśa's *Lam-sgron*, the *bka'-bum* of rGyal-sras thogs-med, the *bDe-mchog* according to Lu-yi-pa, the *gSang-'dus* according to the 'Phags-lugs, and the 'Jigs-byed according to the Rwa-lugs.⁴²

The teacher sMin-gling grub-dbang Śrīnātha, who seems to have been a distant relative, imparted numerous teachings of both *bka'-ma* and *gter-ma*.⁴³ In addition, Kong-sprul mentions a teacher named Thang-'brog-dbon Padma mchog-grub. According to the *Thob-yig*, however, there were actually two teachers styled Thang-'brog—Thang-'brog-pa Padma rig-'dzin dbang-po, and his nephew Thang-'brog dbon-po 'Gyur-med padma mchog-grub. It was from the nephew that 'Jigs-med gling-pa received most of the Chos-rje gling-pa transmissions.⁴⁴

Only one more teacher is mentioned by Kong-sprul, one named Mon rdza-dkar bla-ma Dar-rgyas. According to the *Thob-yig* there was a rDza-dkar Dar-rgyas who received *gter* transmission from Thang-'brog-pa and imparted this transmission to 'Jigs-med gling-pa.⁴⁵ Curiously, the list of teachers compiled by Kong-sprul (and Zhe-chen rgyal-tshab Padma rnam-rgyal's list, which is identical) stops here, for at least two important teachers have been omitted.

The teacher sGom-ri O-rgyan klong-yangs (*alias* 'Brug sGam(!)-ri bla-ma) gave 'Jigs-med gling-pa a number of rNying-ma teachings, most importantly the root empowerment for the Sems-sde (*sems-sde'i rtsa-dbang*) based on the form worked out by g.Yung-ston rdo-rje dpal bzang-po and known as the *rDzogs-pa chen-po rgyal-thabs spyi-blugs sems-sde ma-bu bco-brgyad kyi rig-pa'i rtsal dbang brgyud-pa*.⁴⁶ Another teacher omitted from Kong-sprul's list was Kun-bzang grol-mchog, who imparted several transmissions, including a *gter* teaching which combines the 'earlier and later *gter-kha'*, known as the *gTer-ma gong-'og chu-bo gnyis 'dres gyi sngags-rgod log-tri'i rig-gtang dang lung gi brgyud*.⁴⁷

C. Revelation of the kLong-sNying

Beginning in his mid-twenties, 'Jigs-med gling-pa increasing devoted himself to the cultivation of meditative experiences. The seven-year record of his practices and visions, culminating in the *kLong-*

snying revelation, is amply set out in his *rTogs-brjod* and the shorter, subsequently written *Dākki'i gsang gtam*. While the former source devotes more space to events near the end of this seven-year period, the latter source is richer in detail on the earlier phases. Both sources, therefore, must be consulted to obtain an overall understanding of the genesis of the *kLong-snying*. What follows here is a chronologically structured summary of events. While the poetic quality of the Tibetan diction and imagery cannot adequately be conveyed in English, nor the esoteric significance attached to the various visions sufficiently explained, the general picture of what took place should readily emerge. The account is divided into three phases: C 1. First Three-year Retreat (Winter 1756–Winter 1759 at dPal-ri); C 2. Second Three-Year Retreat (1759–1762 at mChims-phu); and C 3. Aftermath and First *kLong-sNyning* Empowerment (1762–1764).

C 1. First Three-Year Retreat (Winter 1756–Winter 1759 at dPal-ri)

Sometime after receiving inspiration from a passage in *kLong-chen-pa's mKha'-gro yang-thig*, 'Jigs-med gling-pa settled into a three-year retreat at Śrī Parvata'i gling (dPal-ri monastery).⁴⁸ Beginning in the tenth month (12 November–12 December) of 1757, a number of visionary encounters occurred.⁴⁹ The following account is given. One morning at dawn, because of having developed strong remorse for the suffering of others, and as a result of the fruition of the inspiration and blessing of Guru Rinpoche throughout many lifetimes, he beheld within a luminescent presence directly in front of him a number of beings, including the Dharmarāja of O-rgyan (Guru Rinpoche) and Rig-'dzin 'Jam-dpal bshes-gnyen. From them he received many empowerments, after which they dissolved into him. As a result of this there spontaneously arose in him various realizations, such as becoming free from the tendency to hold on to meditative experiences (*nyams*), achieving control over the 'karmic winds' (*las-rlung*), and subduing the delusive nature of appearances.

Later, having sharpened his awareness through various 'yogic practices' (*brtul-zhugs*), the worldly appearances of his present life fell away, and he seemed to be cast into a different dimension. He then indistinctly recalled a bit of his past life as mNga'-ris paṅ-chen, and remained in that state for awhile.⁵⁰

Thereafter, in a dream he beheld an unusual place which is said to be the Pure Land of bSam-pa lhund-grub,⁵¹ wherein he saw rDo-rje grol-lod riding on a dragon—his form radiant and moving. He then saw a man who looked like a monk or a Hor-pa (*i.e.* Chinese or

Mongolian), and thought to himself that he must be the Dam-can (rDo-rje legs-pa). At that point the monk addressed him, pointed to the wrathful form of Guru Rinpoche on the dragon, gave a hint as to the significance of the vision, and then disappeared.

After a few days, at dusk on the tenth day of the waning part (*i.e.* the 25th day) of the tenth month of Fire-Female-Ox Year (6 December 1757), the following dramatic events took place.⁵² Being moved by great devotion to Guru Rinpoche, to the point of tears streaming down, he began to remember bits of his past lives. In a state of sadness, he thought about how he felt like an orphan doomed to wander in a country where the people behaved in the manner of the lowest caste, and at a time when the Buddhadharmā had come to function as a reflection of peoples' hatreds and attachments. He then thought of Guru Rinpoche—that great being who was even more compassionate than the Buddha Śākyamuni—who had departed to the Copper Colored Mountain and wondered when he would be fortunate enough to meet with him. These thoughts caused immeasurable sadness, and he fell asleep crying.⁵³

Thereafter, while dwelling in a luminous meditative state, he rode upon a white lion which took him to an unknown place in the sky, finally arriving on the circumambulation path of what he thought to be the *mchod-rten* Bya-rung kha-shor (the Bodnāth or Bauddha Stūpa).⁵⁴ While walking through the Eastern courtyard, he abruptly came face-to-face with the Dharmakāya Wisdom Dākinī. She gave to him a wooden casket in the form of a locket (*ga'u*), saying that to those disciples with pure perception he would appear as Khri-srong lde'u btsan, but to those disciples with impure perception he would appear as Seng-ge ras-pa.⁵⁵ She then told him that this locket housed the secret treasures of the *ḍākinīs*—the profound symbols of Guru Rinpoche, which were the mind treasure (*thugs-gter*) of the Ādibuddha Samantabhadra. Thus ended the vision, leaving him with an 'electrified feeling' (*bzi-bun*).

He was quite excited and opened the casket, finding inside five scrolls of golden paper and seven crystal beads. He hurriedly began to open one of the larger scrolls. Finding it to be permeated with the fragrance of camphor, he felt vibrations throughout his entire body and head. Suddenly he thought that the protector of this *gter* was gZa'(Rāhula), and that it was an extraordinarily sacred teaching, so he became more cautious. He proceeded gradually to open the scroll a bit further, revealing that it had the external form of a *stūpa*, and was filled inside with the secret symbolic script of the *ḍākinīs*. Realizing that he could not read it, he tried to roll up the scroll, but instantly the *stūpa* form magically dissolved, whereupon the sym-

bolic script became Tibetan letters and the scroll recognizable as a *sādhana* of Thugs-rje chen-po (the first *klong-snying gter-chos*).⁵⁶

At this point he stopped reading and turned instead to the colophon, wondering in whose name this *gter* had been authorized (*bka'-babs*), to whom it had been entrusted (*gtad-rgya*) by Guru Rinpoche, and what kind of prophecies there were about this person's past lives. He could clearly read a bit of the colophon, but as he tried to continue reading all the words seemed to arise at the same time, like all parts of a form being simultaneously reflected in a mirror. As a result, he could not read it at that time.⁵⁷

So, with immeasurable delight he proceeded to place several crystal beads in his mouth, picked up the golden scrolls, and decided to return home. Right then a monk appeared beside him as a companion. The monk acted very respectfully towards him, saying that for a long time he had harbored the thought that these kinds of things would happen to 'Jigs-med gling-pa. 'Jigs-med gling-pa realized this monk to be none other than the Dharma protector Drang-srong chen-po (Mahārṣi, *i.e.* Rāhula).

He next found himself at the Northern courtyard of Bodhnāth Stūpa. Here he proceeded to open another of the golden scrolls, which turned out to be the *gNad-byang thugs kyi sgrom-bu dang thug* (the second *klong-snying gter-chos*).⁵⁸ As a result of this his mind became exceedingly clear, and he was filled with an almost unbearable bliss. He then had the thought that this scroll was indeed genuinely capable of imparting liberation by merely looking at it (*mthong-grol*), and that he ought to show it to his mother. At that very moment what seemed to be a woman wearing ornaments appeared above in the sky and 'Jigs-med gling-pa thought her to be his own mother.⁵⁹ She descended to the earth, whereupon he showed her the *mthong-grol*. Her reaction, however, was to inform him that his penchant for being in a hurry to show things that should be kept secret was really a defect. Furthermore, she told him that this *gter-chos* was not only capable of liberating those who saw it, it could also liberate those who 'tasted' it (*myong-grol*), and that he should in fact eat it.

She induced him to eat all the crystal beads and scrolls. Upon swallowing them all words and their meanings became as fixed in his mind as if they had been printed there, an event to which he reacted with awe. He then 'awoke' from this entire vision, and found himself in the state of having expanded into the 'great openness and bliss of recollecting awareness' (*dran-rig bde-stong chen-po*).⁶⁰

Thereafter he related these events to his revered teacher (Thugs-mchog rdo-rje),⁶¹ who replied that there were indeed many teachings of the Dharma, such as 'pure vision mind treasures' (*dag-snang*

dgongs-gter),⁶² or teachings which form part of the unbroken bridge of genuine *gter* authorized (*bka'-babs*) by the lineage of accomplished ones. He was then instructed to keep these events secret for the time being, after confirming the authenticity of the visions.

At this point in the narrative (as recorded in the *Dākki'i gsang gdam*) 'Jigs-med gling-pa remarks that he himself feels there are too many *gter* and *dag-s nang*, of both good and bad quality, with the result that people have become ensnared by the net of doubt (regarding authenticity). He also warns that if one cannot fully comprehend the symbolic script (*brda-yig*) of the *gter*, so that one has the control of empowerment over the great secret treasures of the *ḍākinīs*, it will lead to grave consequences, such as people regarding the mere occurrence of a bit of 'visionary verse'—which is only due to a little psychic insight (*rtsa-khams dangs-pa'i rang-rtsal*)—as if it were genuine pure vision (*dag-s nang*).⁶³ He then remarks that many things of this sort were going on in his day, but if any inspiration has really come to him from the *ḍākas* and *ḍākinīs*, then he must reveal it, for otherwise there would be danger to his life and activities. Apart from this possibility, however, he reports that he would be quite content to continue keeping a low profile. True to his teacher's advice, he reports that he maintained a strict silence regarding these extraordinary events for seven years.⁶⁴

At this point in the narrative the *Dākki'i gsang-gdam* begins to recount events which took place beginning in Earth-Female-Hare Year (1759) at mChims-phu, during his second three-year retreat. Before proceeding with that story, however, we must briefly record events from the end of his first three-year retreat, as related in the *rTogs-brjod*.⁶⁵

In his thirtieth year, at dusk of the tenth day of the eleventh month (9 December 1758), he had a dream vision in which he travelled to mChims-phu, to an upper cave in the center, known as the sleeping cave (*gzims-phug*) of Ye-shes mtsho-rgyal.⁶⁶ Then, in another vision in the year Earth-Female-Hare (1759), he received some prophetic verses from the *sTag-tshang phur-pa* at a place he called the Me-Thog Cave.⁶⁷ In a final series of visions, in which he imagined he was still at mChims-phu, he recalled his past lives as the *dge-slong* A-kar-ma, and rGyal-sras lha-rje.⁶⁸ Finally, sometime in 1759, in his thirty-first year, 'Jigs-med gling-pa completed this first three-year retreat. Thereafter he travelled from dPal-ri to mChims-phu.

C 2. Second Three-Year Retreat (1759–1762 at mChims-phu)

In the year Earth-Female-Hare (1759) 'Jigs-med gling-pa began a second three-year retreat, this time in the Lhun-grub rang-byung

Caves, known as the Upper and Lower Caves of Nyang, below Bre-gu dge'u at mChims-phu.⁶⁹ (At this point in the narrative, *rTogs-brjod* adds the following information, not given in *Dākki'i gsang-gtam*.) While in retreat he remembered his past lives as Chos-rgyal phun-tshogs and bKra-shis stobs-rgyal.⁷⁰ Later he met with Padma tshe-dbang rtsal (*alias* Rwa-ston rdo-rje) and received the *rDo-rje phur-ba* empowerment from Rwa-ston's *gter-chos*.⁷¹ Thereafter he had visionary encounters with Yar-rje O-rgyan gling-pa,⁷² and O-rgyan bsam-gtan gling-pa (*alias* Rig-'dzin sTag-sham rdo-rje).⁷³ He continued to do much yogic practice, resulting in a great clarity, whereafter he composed a *stotra*, based on the various prophecies he had received, on the 16th day of the 8th month of the year (1760?).⁷⁴

(At this point the narrative of *Dākki'i gsang-gtam* and *rTogs-brjod* again converge, both recording his visionary encounters with kLong-chen rab-'byams-pa. First we give the shorter version, based on *Dākki'i gsang-gtam*, and then supplement it with the more detailed account in *rTogs-brjod*.)

While in luminous meditative states, 'Jigs-med gling-pa beheld the countenance of Kun-mkhyen Ngag gi dbang-po (kLong-chen-pa), the emanation of Vimalamitra, on three separate occasions, thus inspiring him to arrange and write down the great secret Mind Treasure. Then appeared the Supreme Dākinī of the five Buddha families (who had previously appeared to him at dPal-ri in the form of his mother), and she allowed him to decode the symbolic script, transcribing it onto white paper. In confirmation that this had been ordained, 'Jigs-med gling-pa then quotes the prophecy contained in the *gNad-byang* to the effect that upon three occasions he will receive the inspiration of *vidyādhara*s, *vīra*s, and *dākinī*s, whereupon he will be provided with a key for opening the treasure; furthermore, that on the tenth day of the Monkey Month of the Monkey Year he will behold the actual countenance of Guru Rinpoche, dispelling all obscurations and granting all blessings.⁷⁵

On the first occasion that 'Jigs-med gling-pa beheld the form (*sku-gzugs*) of bSam-yas-pa Kun-mkhyen Ngag gi dbang-po,⁷⁶ it was confirmed that he was indeed authorized to be entrusted (*gtad-rgya*), according to *gter* prophecy, with teachings which would be the essence of kLong-chen-pa's *dgongs-gter*—the *sNying-thig* and *mDzod-bdun*. At this time he received the 'transmission and blessings of the enlightened awareness body' (*sku'i byin-rlabs*), the sustaining power of the actual transmission (*don-rgyud kyi byin-rlabs*) for both the words and significance of the lineage teachings.

Thereafter he moved into what was commonly known as the Upper Nyang Cave, so-called because it had been the meditation cave

of Nyang(-ban) ting-'dzin bzang-po. After awhile he descended to the so-called Lower Nyang Cave, which he recognized as the Me-thog Cave of his former vision (at dPal-ri), and there he composed his *Guide to the Nyang Caves (Nyang-phug gi kha-byang)*.⁷⁷

While in residence in this lower cave, he had his second visionary encounter with kLong-chen-pa. At this time he received the 'transmission and blessings of enlightened awareness speech' (*gsung gi byin-rlabs*), was entrusted with the teachings of the *mDzod-chen bdun* and *Shing-rta gsum*, and empowered as the Regent (*rgyal-tshab*) charged with the responsibility of preserving the meaning and spreading the teachings of kLong-chen-pa.⁷⁸

After about a month had passed, the third encounter occurred. This time kLong-chen-pa appeared in the form of a youthful twenty-year old *paṇḍita*, wearing a *paṇḍita* hat and seated in the lotus posture. 'Jigs-med gling-pa then requested the empowerment which transmits the sustaining power of *rig-pa's* activity (*rig-pa'i rtsal gyi byin-rlabs 'pho-ba'i dbang-bkskur*), and then received the 'transmission and blessings of the enlightened awareness mind' (*thugs kyi byin-rlabs*).

As a result of these transmissions, all clinging to outer and inner experiences fell away. In celebration, he then composed a song called *dPyid kyi rgyal-mo'i rgyang glu*.⁷⁹ Thereafter, based on his comprehension of the essential meaning of both the *Shing-rta gsum* and the *mDzod-bdun*, he composed the following works: *Kun-mkhyen zhal-lung*,⁸⁰ *Padma dkar-po*,⁸¹ and the *Gol-shol tshar-gcod*.⁸² He then wrote many additional smaller texts on the essentials of rDzogs-chen meditation practice, and in due time all these teachings constituting a great mind treasure (*dgongs-gter chen-mo*) were arranged.

C 3. *Aftermath and First kLong-sNying Empowerment (1762–1764)*

His second three-year retreat was concluded in Water-Horse Year (1762). In that same year, at the age of 34, and in accordance with a prophecy from the *mNga'ris zhus-lan* of *gter-ston* Guru Chos kyi dbang-phyug, he authorized the founding of a new monastery in the Don-mkhar valley in g.Yo-ru, Northeast of Bang-so dmar-po, in a forested area known as Byang-chub shing gi nags-khrod. This monastery became known as Tshe-ring ljongs, the full name being Tshe-ring ljongs Padma 'od-gsal theg-mchog gling.⁸³

Then at mChims-phu, two years later and in accordance with the *gNad-byang* prophecy, in the (Wood) Monkey Year, on the 10th day of the Monkey Month (9 June 1764), 'Jigs-med gling-pa began the

preparations for revealing the mind treasure which would be known as the *kLong-chen snying gi thig-le*. With elaborate outer and inner offerings, he and others gathered to perform the tenth-day ritual according to the *gSol-'debs bsam-pa lhun-grub*, the condensed text of the thirteen oral instructions.⁸⁴ Due to extraordinary devotion, at the point in the ceremony where one performs the 'invitation' (*spyandren*), 'Jigs-med gling-pa beheld with his own eyes the Dharmarāja of O-rgyan, surrounded by myriad *vīras*, *ḍākas*, and *ḍākinī s*, with showers of Mandarava flowers raining down. He could not stop looking, and with devotion to the point of almost fainting, he joyously greeted this wonder.

Then from the South there separately arrived gifts and offerings from each of the three great emanations (*sprul-sku*), accompanied by requests beseeching him to reveal the great *thugs-gter*.⁸⁵ In a similar manner, the mad yogi of Kong-po, who could not have known about the hidden treasure (due to the strictly kept vow of a seven-year silence), did not hesitate to request that the *thugs-gter* be revealed.⁸⁶ Thereupon 'Jigs-med gling-pa realized this occasion to be the fruition of past deeds, and that the auspicious time had indeed arrived. He then 'opened the door' of empowerment and instruction in the *kLong-snying* for the first time, to a group of fifteen fortunate ones.

The *Ḍākki'i gsang-gtam* then concludes as follows. From that time onwards (1764) 'Jigs-med gling-pa gradually spread these teachings. In that same year, in addition to those who had completed the recitation practice (*bsnyen-sgrub*) of outer, inner, secret, and most secret teachings, there were about twenty who recited the Siddhi Mantra one hundred-thousand times for each syllable, on the basis of the outer *sādhana* called the *Yid-bzhin nor-bu*.⁸⁷ Thus the benefit and meaningfulness of these teachings became apparent to whomever established a link with them.⁸⁸ 'Jigs-med gling-pa then quotes a prophecy from the *gNad-byang* which speaks of coming times when the need and appropriateness of helping sentient beings will be evident by the variety of negative circumstances, such as when wicked ministers, those who have broken their commitments, and all their followers show contempt for spiritual obligations (*dam-tshig*). He then comments that although difficult circumstances had arisen for him, he realized them to be but the fruition of his own past deeds, and therefore did not fall under the control of the vagaries of experience. Furthermore, he tolerated all 'reverse actions' (*i.e.*, those occasions when one does good and is treated badly) and hardships by maintaining the same attitude as that of a magician toward his conjured

objects. Finally, declaring that he will not break his vows, and will unwaveringly work for the benefit of others until his death, he exhorts his followers not to explain the profound teaching they have received to those who are improper recipients, but to preserve it as a wish-fulfilling jewel and make its practice the essential thing.

Notes

Chapter 1.

1. *Bl* II, p. 5.

2. See for instance *MY* II, pp. 76 ff. *Th* I p. 391. On the significance and importance of *resonance* in modern thinking see Erich Jantsch, *Design for Evolution* (New York: Braziller, 1975) pp. 42 f. His words are: "Quite generally, understanding depends on resonance . . ." "From the nonequilibrium thermodynamic point of view, dissipative structures exhibit periodicity and thus are capable of resonance. However, resonance does not only result here in the multiplication of existing forms, but—through the induction of fluctuations which cause the receiving structure to mutate to a new dynamic regime—may trigger true evolutionary processes which lead to higher order and new forms." ". . . resonance, which thus seems to be at work in the physical aspects of life, may also be basic for its psychic manifestations and possibly constitute one of the general principles underlying all evolution in the physical, biological, social, and spiritual domains."

As will become evident later on, it is resonance (*thugs-rje*) with its fluctuations as high-level excitation (*rig-pa*) and low-level excitation (*ma-rig-pa*)—in cognitive terms: understanding (*rtogs*) and lack of understanding (*ma-rtogs*)—that stochastically determines the final outcome of the process.

3. *ZY* I pp. 289 f.

4. *RZ*, fol. 44: "sun and moon mean that [Being's] operational mode [*thabs*] and [its] appreciatively discriminative modes [*shes-rab*] are the patterned energy of what is sheer lucency."

5. *Tshig* p. 28. See also *Th* I p. 391, *Msy* I p. 346.

6. *MY* II p. 224.

7. *Ati*, vol. 1, p. 84.

8. Erich Jantsch, *The Self-organizing Universe*, Las Vegas and Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1980, p. 34.

9. *Msy* I. p. 47.

10. Joe Rosen, *Symmetry Discovered*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975, p. 12.

11. This applies to combined transformations as well as to the inverse of composite transformations. From this point of view the Way (*lam*) in Buddhism can be conceived of as presenting the inverse of the composite transformation which is man. In terms of system dynamics the way is the auto-reorganization of the system in the direction of a higher regime—the resolution of Saṃsāra into Nirvāṇa and beyond.

12. The term excitatoriness must not be confused with overexcitability, highstrungness and hyperactivity. These latter phenomena indicate the inability to maintain a (certain) level of excitation, and merely reflect the yielding to every fleeting impulse. Excitatoriness, by contrast, is basic to the whole of Being (*gzhi gnas-kyi rig-pa*) and hence illustrates the triune operation of facticity, actuality, and resonance. It also maintains the basic excitatory state of the whole system (*gzhi 'dzin-pa'i rig-pa*) and as such makes any and all cognitive operations possible. Furthermore, it maintains its character of excitation throughout (*mtshan-nyid 'dzin-pa'i rig-pa*) and, therefore, can be said to be different from or the opposite of a 'less excited', dull operation. Two other characteristics (*lhag-mthong-gi rig-pa* and *thog-rgal-gyi rig-pa*) relate to the operation of this excitatoriness in the actual growth process. See *Bl* II, p. 114; *Bi-ma* I pp. 420 ff., 424, 663.

13. *ZY* I p. 294.

14. *ZY* II p. 102.

15. The terms 'Buddha' and 'sentient being' are the customary renderings of the Indian (Sanskrit) terms *buddha* and *sattva*. These Sanskrit based renderings completely ignore the Tibetan implications or even 'meanings' due to the fact that to philologists in particular, Anatole France's dictum, "*Les savants ne sont pas curieux*," applies. The Tibetan term for *buddha*, *sangs-rgyas*, describes a *process* in terms of a dissipative structure: (whatever is limiting) has gone (*sangs*) and (a new regime) has unfolded (*rgyas*). So also the Tibetan term for *sattva*, *sems-can*, describes a *state* characterized by 'having' (*can*) a mind (*sems*). This is a far cry from a 'being' (*sattva*).

16. *Bl* I p. 295. See also *Bl* II p. 238; *MY* II pp. 87, 139; *ZY* II p. 239.

17. This sequence has been beautifully discussed by kLong-chen rab-'byams-pa in his auto-commentary on *gN*, p. 52:

Creative dynamics is the [inherent] capacity of excitatoriness—the separate emergence of Saṃsāra and Nirvāṇa are [due to this excitatoriness] in the same manner as a single ray of the sun makes the lotus flower open and the lily close. Playfulness is like the glittering in the effulgence of excitatoriness

or the flickering of a lamp or the scintillating of the sun's rays. Beauty is the embellishment of the self-risen cognitive excitation when what is present before it has settled by itself.

He bases his explanation on the *Thig-le kun-gsal chen-po'i rgyud* (in *NG*, vol. 5, pp. 124–289), pp. 142 and 144. See also his *ZY* II pp. 221 f. *Ati* vol. 1, p. 679 relates this process also to the stepped-down version of excitatoriness or mind (*sems*). On this concept more will be said later on. The text says:

From the creative dynamics of the spontaneity [or Being's presence] derives the less-than-optimal excitatory operation [of the system, *ma-rig-pa*]. From the [auto]embellishing operation of mind derives ego-centering [*vid*]. From the objects [with which the] ego gets involved derive the five poisons. From the five poisons derive the sixteen affective processes; from these the twenty-one, and from these the one-thousand eight-hundred [variations].

18. See *Th* II p. 44, *Tshig* pp. 122, 464; *Ati* vol. 1 p. 541; *Ch* fol. 132, *ZY* II p. 217; *NG* vol. 5 p. 132f.

19. *Bl* I 504; see also *Tshig* p. 465.

20. *Tshig* p. 465.

21. *gSang-ba snying-po*, fol. 9a.

22. *Bl* I. p. 243.

23. *Bl* I p. 243. *Ati* vol. 1, p. 459 discusses the interrelationship between light ('*od*), gestalt (*sku*) and atemporal cognitiveness (*ye-shes*). This whole chapter deserves further study in view of Merleau-Ponty's phenomenological analysis of colour. In this chapter each type of lighting ('*od*) presents a distinctive differentiation structure which on the lowest level (of what Merleau-Ponty would call 'resistance') manifests as a concrete colour. See his *Phenomenology of Perception*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1962, pp. 304 ff. *ZY* I, p. 294 makes it quite clear that the 'colours' on this level are not the colours as we ordinarily perceive them:

Although it abides as gestalt, it has neither face nor hands;
 Although it abides as light, it has no colours;
 Although it abides as excitatoriness, it has no expansion nor
 contraction [which are the models of ordinary thinking].

24. Erich Jantsch, *The Self-organizing Universe*, p. 172.

25. *Ati*, vol. 2, p. 535.

26. *ma-nges*, *Bl* I p. 296, *MY* II p. 139. See also *ZY* I, p. 287.

27. *Bl* I p. 390, *Bi-ma* II p. 340.

28. ZY I p. 294, see also pp. 287, 289. The characterization of facticity made intelligible and experienced through a gestalt as “neither stepping out of itself nor changing into something other than itself” (*pho-gyur med-pa*) contains a critique of the Brahmanical *ātman* concept which never lost its ontic character regardless of whether it was interpreted in terms of *vivarta* or *pariṇāma*.

29. There is here considerable similarity with the many-universe interpretation of quantum theory developed by Hugh Everett III. For a more detailed and highly technical discussion see Richard Schlegel, *Superposition and Interaction, Coherence in Physics*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980, pp. 183–88. For a less technical account see Fred Alan Wolf, *Taking the Quantum Leap, The New Physics for Nonscientists*, San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1981, pp. 214 ff. Closely related to this problem is the question: “Why is the universe organized the way it is?” or rephrasing this question dynamically: “Why is the universe organizing itself the way it does?” A possible answer is that the universe is ‘intelligent’ (*rig-pa*). In modern diction this has become known as the anthropic principle. On this see Paul Davies, *Other Words, A Portrait of Nature in Rebellion, Space, Superspace and the Quantum Universe*, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1980, chapter 8.

30. See ZY I p. 287.

31. On this co-emergence see also David Levin, *Heidegger's History of Philosophy: Recollection as Therapeia* (in *Reflections, Essays in Phenomenology*, Winter 1981), p. 15.

32. *Abhidharmakośa* II 34 and *Vyākhyā*.

33. MY II p. 212.

34. ZY I p. 449. Just as there is a differentiation in function, respectively called *sems* and *ye-shes*, there also is a differentiation between *yid* (ego-centred operation) and *shes-rab* (appreciative discrimination). ZY I, p. 456 states:

ego-centred operations [*yid*] is the dynamics of mind [*sems*]; by its dichotomizing activity it runs after the [externalized] objects and by becoming addicted to [them] engages in further dichotomization.

On p. 457 the text goes on to say:

appreciative discrimination [*shes-rab*] is the dynamics of resonance [*thugs-rje*]; it is a cognitiveness in which the rising [of a content in mind] and the freedom [from its limiting effect] do not obtain as a duality. Although it is alert to the objective world, it does not run after it, and hence remains a non-dichotomizing outwardly directed glow of the [inherent] excitatoriness [of the system].

35. *Tshig* p. 114.

36. See above note 15.

Chapter 2.

1. Schmithausen, Lambert, "Zu D. Syefort Rueggs Buch 'La Théorie du Tathāgatagarbha et du Gotra'", *WZKSO*, XVII, 1973, pp. 136–7.

2. *Ibid.*

3. See Ruegg's "On the Dge lugs pa Theory of the Tathāgatagarbha," in *Pratidānam* (Kuiper Festschrift) (The Hague: Mouton, 1968), pp. 500–509.

4. Merleau-Ponty, M., "Phenomenology and the Sciences of Man," in O'Neill, J., ed., *Phenomenology, Language, and Sociology* (London: Heinemann, 1974), pp. 229–230.

5. *Lta-grub shan-'byed gnad-kyi sgron-me yi tshig-don rnam-bshad 'jam-dbyangs brgyan* (Delhi: Mkhas-btsun bzang-po, 1973). Hereafter *TGS*.

6. *TGS*, fo. 23b.

7. The issue is whether Dharmakīrti, in this verse, might be accepting causal efficacy merely as conventional. See, for example, Mi-pham rgya-mtsho's commentary on the verse in his *Tshad-ma rnam-'grel gyi gzhung gsal-por bshad-pa legs-bshad snang-ba'i gter*, Dehradun: Nying-ma Lama's College, n.d., pp. 399–403.

8. *TGS*, fol. 24a.

9. *rGyud-kyi mngon-par rtogs-pa rin-po-che'i ljon-shing* in *The Complete works of The Great Masters of the Sa Skya Sect of Tibetan Buddhism*, edited by Bsod-nams rgya-mtsho (Tokyo: The Toyo Bunko, 1968), vol. 3, p. 25, 1. 5.

10. *TGS*, fo. 24b.

11. *Ibid.*, fo. 29b–30a.

12. *dBu ma rgyan gyi rnam bshad 'jam dbyangs bla ma dgyes pa'i zhal lung*, in *Collected Writings*, V. 12 (Gangtok, Sikkim, 1976), ff. 1–359. Hereafter *UG*.

13. *Madhyamakālaṃkārikā* and *vṛtti*, Beijing ed., V. 101, Sa 71a, 8–71b, 4.

14. *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* XXIV. 11–12; XV. 5–6; *Bodhicarvāvatāra* IX, 32–34.

15. *Causality and Chance in Modern Physics* (University of Pennsylvania, 1957), p. 153.
16. *Collected Works*, v. 13, f. 5.
17. *UG*, f. 55.
18. *Ibid.*, f. 62–63.
19. *mKhas-pa'i tshul la 'jug-pa'i sgo* (Kalimpong, 1963), f. 134a.
20. *mKhas-pa'i tshul la 'jug-pa'i sgo'i mchan-'grel* (Delhi, 1974), f. 591.
21. See his *lTa-ba'i shan-'byed* in the *Sa-skya bka'-bum* (Tokyo, 1976), V. 13, pp. 1–24.
22. *UG*, f. 46
23. *Ibid.*
24. *TGS*, f. 45
25. *Collected Writings*, v. 13, pp. 97–222.
26. *Ibid.*, f. 26a.
27. *Ibid.*, f. 30b–31a.
28. *Ibid.*, f. 31b–32a.
29. Schmithausen, “Zu D.S. Rueggs Buch,” p. 137.
30. For bibliographic reference see note 25. This work is a reply to Tre-bo brag-dkar's critique of the author's commentary on the ninth chapter of the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*.
31. *Madhyamakāvatāra* VI, 80a.
32. *Ibid.*, VI, 25.
33. *Ibid.*, VI, 158.

Chapter 3.

1. gSer-mdog Paṅ-chen shākya-mchog-ldan, *dBu-ma'i byung-tshul nam par bshad-pa'i gtam yid-bzhin lun-po ldeb*, in *gSung-'bum*, vol. 4 (nga) (Thimpu, Bhutan: Kunzang Tobgey, 1975), p. 233; 'Gos lo-tsa-ba gZhon-nu-dpal, *Deb-ther sngon-po* (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1974), p. 304.

2. Bu-ston Rin-chen-grub, *bDe bar gshegs-pa'i bstan-pa'i gsal-byed chos kyi 'byung-gnas gsung-rab rin-po-che'i mdzod*, in *The Collected Works of*

Bu-ston, vol. 24 (ya) (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1971), p. 908.

3. *Bu-ma'i byung-tshul*, p. 233; *Deb-ther sngon-po*, pp. 304–305.

4. Jean Naudou, *Les Bouddhistes Kasmiriens au Moyen Age* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1968), p. 170.

5. *dBu-ma'i byung-tshul*, p. 233; *Deb-ther sngon-po*, pp. 297–298.

6. rMya-bya-ba brTson-grus seng-ge, *dBu-ma rtsa-ba shes-rab kyi 'grel-pa 'thad-pa'i rgyan* (Rumtek, Sikkim: Chakra Center, 1975), p. 310: *dpal ldan zla ba'i ring lugs 'dzin pa la / nyi ma ltar gsal nyi ma grags pa'i dpal /*.

7. *dBu-ma'i byung-tshul*, p. 234; *Deb-ther sngon-po*, p. 305.

8. *Ibid.*

9. Red-mda'-ba gZhon-nu blo-gros, *dBu-ma bzhi-brgya-pa'i 'grel-pa* (Sarnath: Pleasure of Elegant Sayings Printing Press, 1974), p. 1.

10. rGyal-tshab Dar-ma rin-chen, *bZhi-brgya pa'i rnam-bshad legs-bshad snying-po* (Sarnath: Pleasure of Elegant Sayings Printing Press, 1971), p. 5.

11. Bod-pa sprul-sku mDo-sngags bstan-pa'i nyi-ma, *dBu-ma bzhi-brgya-pa'i tshig-don rnam par bshad-pa klu-dbang dgongs-rgyan* (New Delhi: Sherpa Lama Ngawang Togay, 1978), pp. 6–7.

12. CŚ I.1:

*gang la 'jig rten gsum mnga' bdag
rang nyid 'chi bdag byed po med
yod des rnal bzhin gnyid log na
des las ma rungs gzhan ci yod.*

13. *bZhi-brgya-pa'i rnam-bshad*, p. 3: *mi rtag pa yang dang yang du bsgoms nas dal 'byor gyi rten la snying po len la 'bad par bya'o.*

14. *dBu-ma bzhi-brgya-pa'i tshig-don*, p. 11.

15. *dBu-ma bzhi-brgya-pa'i grel-pa*, p. 9.

16. *dBu-ma bzhi-brgya-pa'i tshig-don*, pp. 13–14.

17. *bZhi-brgya-pa'i rnam-bshad*, p. 17.

18. *dBu-ma bzhi-brgya-pa'i grel-pa*, p. 11.

19. *dBu-ma bzhi-brgya-pa'i tshig-don*, p. 18: *sems can su la'ang gson pa zhes bya ba ni phra ba sems kyi skad cig ma gcig tsam las rtag pa zhes bya*

ba gzhan ci yang med mod kyi / 'on kyang so so'i skye bo'i rjes dpag gis de ma nges shing mngon sum du mi rig pa des na rtag par phyin ci log tu rtog pa las ji ltar mi rtag pa'i bdag nyid du shes pa dkon par snang ngo.

20. CS I. 15ab:

*ji ltar pha la bu sdug pa
de ltar de la skye ma yin.*

21. *dBu-ma bzhi-brgya-pa'i 'grel-pa*, p. 16.

22. CS I.24cd:

*gang zhig byas kyang gtang bya ba
de byas yon tan ci zhig yod.*

23. CS I.25:

*bdag ni 'chi'o snyam sems pa
gang la nges par yod gyur pa
de ni chags pa yong btang phyir
'chi bdag la yang ga la 'jigs.*

24. *dBu-ma bzhi-brgya-pa'i 'grel-pa*, p. 18.

25. *bZhi-brgya-pa'i rnam-bshad*, p. 29:

*rnyed bkur sred pa'i 'ching ba gcod byed cing
dben par bsgrub la brtson pa'i bskul ma mchog
gsung rab kun gyi gsang ba'i dam pa ni
thog mar 'chi ba rjes su dran pa'o.*

Chapter 4.

*We wish to acknowledge Yasuhiko Nagano who first introduced and assisted us in reading the text. We also would like to thank the editors of this volume, Steven D. Goodman and Ronald M. Davidson, for their numerous valuable suggestions and painstaking effort in going over our initial draft. We also wish to thank the late Hiroshi Sonami for helping us with the reading of *gNas-lugs* and *bSam-gtan*, Robert Buswell for proofreading the penultimate draft, and Kenneth W. Eastman for bringing to our attention the recent work of Faber and Ueyama.

Since the bulk of our research was completed, there have appeared in print several important works which have bearing on our subject matter, and must therefore be acknowledged. See, in particular: Peter N. Gregory, *Sudden and Gradual Approaches to Enlightenment in Chinese Thought*,

Studies in East Asian Buddhism 5, Honolulu: Kuroda Institute, 1987 (especially the contributions of P. Demieville and R. A. Stein); Whalen Lai and Lewis R. Lancaster (eds.), *Early Ch'an in China and Tibet*, Berkeley Buddhist Studies Series 5, Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press, 1983 (especially Phillip Yampolsky's "New Japanese Studies in Early Ch'an Manuscripts Recovered from Tun-huang: A Review of the Field and its Prospects," Herbert V. Guenther's "'Meditation' Trends in Early Tibet," and Per Kvaerne's "'The Great Perfection' in the Tradition of the Bonpos"); Robert M. Gimello and Peter N. Gregory, *Studies in Ch'an and Hua-yen*, Honolulu: Kuroda Institute, 1983 (especially Jeffrey Broughton's "Early Ch'an Schools in Tibet"); Flemming Faber, "A Tibetan Dunhuang Treatise On Simultaneous Enlightenment: The *Dmyigs Su Myed Pa Tshul Gcig Pa'i Gzhung*," in *Acta Orientalia* 46 (1985), pp. 47-77; Flemming Faber, "The Council Of Tibet According To The *sBa bzhed*", in *Acta Orientalia* 47 (1986), pp. 33-61; Samten Gyaltzen Karmay, *The Great Perfection, A Philosophical and Meditative Teaching of Tibetan Buddhism*, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1988; David Seyfort Ruegg, *Buddha-nature, Mind and the Problem of Gradualism in a Comparative Perspective, On the Transmission and Reception of Buddhism in India and Tibet*, Jordan Lectures 1987, London: School of Oriental and African Studies, 1989 (especially pp. 56-141); and most recently Ueyama Daishun, *Tonkōbukkyo no kenkyū*, Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1990.

1. The full title of *Sudden Awakening* is *Cig-char yang-dag-pa'i phyi-mo'i tshor-ba // rdo-rje shes-rab sphyad-pas pha-rol-du phyin-pa'i chos kyi sgo-mo gces-pa* (*Sudden Awakening to Fundamental Reality: the Precious Dharma Gate by which One Reaches the Other Shore by the Practice of the Diamond Wisdom*).

2. Tibetan Ch'an studies began in the West with Marcelle Lalou's "Document tibétain sur l'expansion du dhyāna chinois," *Journal Asiatique* (1939): 505-23, followed by Paul Demiéville's study of the Chinese account of the Council of Tibet, *Le Concile de Lhasa*, (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1952). G. Tucci in the *Minor Buddhist Texts II* (Roma: Is.M.E.O., 1958), pp. 68-101, revealed for the first time remnants of Ch'an related materials in the *bKa'-thang sde-nga*. Recent scholarship on the subject has been prolific since the late 1960's; for an excellent survey of the Japanese scholarship see, D. Ueyama, "The Study of Tibetan Ch'an Manuscripts Recorded from Tun-huang," and Philip Yampolsky, "New Japanese Studies in Early Ch'an History," in Lai and Lancaster, *Early Ch'an In China and Tibet*, *op. cit.*, and the references listed above, under "*".

3. Y. Imaeda, "Documents tibétains de Touen-houang concernant le concile du Tibet," *Journal Asiatique*, CCLXIII (1975): 146. For bibliographical information on this area in general, see L. Gomez, "Indian Materials on the Doctrine of Sudden Enlightenment," (in *Early Ch'an in China and Tibet*, *op. cit.*, pp. 393-434).

4. Tucci, *Minor*, pp. 21, 45, 60. Also, D. Ueyama, "Tonkō shutsudo chibettobun zen shiryō no kenkyū—P. tib. 116 to sono mondaiten," *Bukkyō Bunka Kenkyū Kiyō* 13 (1974): 8–9. Given the present state of scholarship on the subject of the putative 'Council of Tibet', we shall assume in our study that there was actually a series of encounters rather than a single event that took place around 790 and shall, therefore, refer to it the 'Council(s) of Tibet'. See also Faber (1985, *op. cit.*).

5. S. G. Karmay, "A General Introduction to the History and Doctrines of Bon," *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Tōyō Bunko* 33 (1975): 215. P. Kvaerne, "The Great Perfection in the Tradition of Bonpos," p. 388 (in *Early Ch'an in China and Tibet, op. cit.*).

6. D. Ueyama in "Tonkō shutsudo," pp. 2–6, classifies this collection into eleven separate works, while K. Okimoto in, "bSam-yas no shūron (1)—Pelliot 116 ni tsuite," *Nihon Chibetto Gakkai Kaihō* 21 (1975): 5–8, divides it into twelve separate works; our text is No. 9 or 10 according to the two respective classifications.

7. D. Ueyama, "Chibettoyaku Tongo Shinshū Yōketsu no kenkyū," *Zen Bunka Kenkyū Kiyō* 7 (1976): 33–103.

8. Ueyama, "Tonkō shutsudo," pp. 6–7.

9. R. Kimura, "Tonkō shutsudo chibettobun shahon Pelliot 116 kenkyū (sono ichi)," *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku Kenkyū* 23–4 (1975): 281.

10. Ueyama, "Chibettoyaku," pp. 34–45 and 96–103. For the Chinese recensions, we have referred to the edited texts prepared here by Ueyama.

11. Ueyama, "Tonkō shutsudo," p. 2

12. Ueyama, "Chibettoyaku," pp. 67–8.

13. S. Yanagida, "Hokushūzen no shisō," *Zen Bunka Kenkyū Kiyō* 6 (1974): 80. *Tun-wu chen-tsung lun* manuscripts are found as Stein 4286 and Pelliot chinese 2162; its edited text is *Taishō*, no. 2835.

14. Ueyama, "Chibettoyaku," pp. 48–9 and 60–2. Other such terms include *chos-kyi yi-ge* (instead of *mdo*) for *sūtra*; *du-mched* (instead of *spyod-yul*) for *gocara*; and *legs-pa'i don* (instead of *yon-tan*) for *guṇa*.

15. K. Okimoto, "Tonkō shutsudo no chibettobun zenshū-bunken no naiyō," *Tonkō-buten to zen*, Kōza: vol. 8, Tōkyō: Daitō Shuppansha, 1980), pp. 417–8.

16. The text has a negative *myi* in the last sentence to read, ". . . always not produce . . ." but from the context it should read without it. Two of the Chinese recensions (P. 2799, 3922) as well as the original passage from the *Diamond Sūtra*, in D.T. Suzuki, ed., *Tibetan Tripitaka, Peking Edition* 21, (Tōkyō: 1962), p. 252, fol. 4.2 corroborate.

17. Yanagida, "Hokushūzen," pp. 91–3.

18. Ueyama, "Chibettoyaku," pp. 69–70. It should be noted, however, that this *sūtra* was revered by most of the Buddhist schools at the time. Hence, its adoption may not necessarily be a strong argument for synthesis.

19. The usage of *cig-char* in the title is significant; occurrences are *cig-car* (fols. 219.1, 231.1, 232.1); *nyid-du* (fols. 196.1, 202.4, 212.2); and *gdod* (205.2, 227.1, 238.1). In this text, *nyid-du* is best rendered "immediately or directly," since the Chinese recension (P. 2799) has *chih* (to mean "directly") for the first occurrence and *chi* (to mean "immediately") for the last two. The usage of *gdod* warrants it being understood in the adverbial rather than in the adjectival sense. This is supported by the Chinese recensions which have *chi* (to mean "directly") for those that correspond to fols. 205.2 (P. 2799) and 227.1 (S. 5533). There is no Chinese equivalent for the last occurrence, but ". . . *bltas na || gdod rtag-pa'i gnas mthong-ngo*" also reads better in the adverbial sense.

20. Philip Yampolsky, *The Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch*, (N.Y.: Columbia University Press, 1967), p. 34.

21. S. Yanagida, "Chūgoku zenshi," *Zen no rekishi: chūgoku*, Kōza; Zen, vol. 3, (Tōkyō: Chikuma Shobō, 1975), pp. 38–40. The *Ta-ch'eng wu fang-pien* (*Taishō*, no. 2823) belongs to the Northern school, reflecting Shen-hsiu's position.

22. *Ibid.*, pp. 40–2.

23. Yampolsky, *The Platform Sūtra*, pp. 26–7; Yanagida, "Hokushūzen," pp. 79–80.

24. S. Yanagida, *Shoki no Zenshi II*, (Tōkyō: Chikuma Shobō, 1976), pp. 4–5.

25. H. Obata, "Rekidaihōbōki to kodai chibetto no bukkyō," in S. Yanagida, *Shoki no Zenshi II*, p. 328.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 330. They are 1) Hva-shang Mahāyāna, 2) Bodhidharma, 3) Northern Ch'an school, 4) Shen-hui, 5) (Wu-chu) Pao-t'ang, 6) Central Asian Ch'an and 7) Ch'an thought that synthesized with rNying-ma tantric doctrine.

27. With regard to the choice of these three Ch'an transmissions to Tibet, we wish to acknowledge Jeffrey Broughton of California State University, Long Beach for his oral communication.

28. For edition of the text, see R.A. Stein, *Une chronique ancienne de bSam-yas: sBa-bzhed*, Publications de l'Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises—Textes et Documents I (Paris: Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises, 1961). See also Ruegg, *op. cit.*, pp. 57 ff.

29. Z. Yamaguchi, "Chibetto bukkyō to Shiragi no Kim oshō," *Shiragi Bukkyō Kenkyū*, (Tōkyō: Sankibo Busshorin, 1973), pp. 5–9. The three texts were *Shih-shan ching* (Taisho, no. 6007), *Neng-tuan chin-kang ching* (Vajracchedika-sūtra), *Tao-kan ching* (Śālistamba-sūtra, Taishō, no. 709).

30. *Ibid.*, pp. 9–11.

31. Obata, "Rekidaihōbōki," pp. 327–8.

32. *bSam-gtan*, p. 128.6; *bLon-po*, p. 916.6.

33. Obata, "Rekidaihōbōki," p. 327; Yamaguchi, "Chibetto bukkyō," p. 21.

34. The eight available manuscripts of this work are Pelliot 2125, 371, 3727, Stein 516, 1611, 1776, 5916 and Ishii 20; of these Pelliot 2125 and Stein 516 were used for the *Taishō*, vol. 51, no. 2075 edition. For further reading on the text and Ch'an lineage, see Yampolsky, *The Platform Sūtra*, pp. 39–46.

35. *bSam-gtan*, p. 57.5; *bLon-po*, p. 906.3. Yampolsky in *The Platform Sūtra*, p. 9, lists "Bodhidharmatrāta" as the first patriarch according to the *Li-tai fa-pao chi* itself.

36. H. Obata, "Kodai chibetto ni okeru tonmonha (zenshū) no nagare," *Bukkyo Shigaku Kenkyu* 18–2 (1976): 76; *idem*, "Chibetto no zenshū to zōyaku-gikyō ni tsuite," *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku Kenkyū* 23–2 (1975): 171. Obata associates these two works to this lineage on the basis of their being treated as important scriptural bases in the *Li-tai fa-pao chi*, which he thinks was the first Ch'an text to use these sources in support of its position.

37. The year 781 is according to Imaeda, "Documents tibétains," while 787 is the opinion of Demiéville, *Le Concile*.

38. Demiéville, *Le Concile*, pp. 154–6.

39. K. Okimoto, "bSam-yas no shūron (3)," *Nihon Chibetto Gakkai Gapō* 23 (1977): 5–8. Okimoto believes that while *bSam-gtan* includes quotes by several persons named "Hva-shang" only this one can be attributed with any certainty to the Hva-shang Mahāyāna associated with the Council(s), since it corresponds to a section in Stein 468 which can clearly be attributed to him.

40. Yanagida, "Hokushūzen," p. 80.

41. Demiéville, *Le Concile*, pp. 43–52, 78–80, 158.

42. D. T. Suzuki, *Zen shisō-shi kenkyū* (2), Suzuki Daisetsu Zenshū, vol. 2, (Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 1968), pp. 440–2, 452–3. There is an edition based on the Stein 1494 and the Ryūkyoku University manuscripts.

43. Ueyama, "Chibettoyaku," p. 71.

44. The term *nugs* in *myig phye-ste nugs* is unclear, but we have rendered it "examine" from the context. "Burn the flesh" (*sha 'tshig*) should be understood in the sense of "be alert" or "focus your attention and energy," as the Chinese (S. 5533) has *k'an-k'an yung li* (strongly employ power). As for the "form" in "take up the form," we are not sure of its meaning.

45. *Leng-chia shih-tzu chi*, *Taishō*, vol. 85, no. 2837, p. 1289a.

46. D. T. Suzuki, *Zen shishō-shi kenkyū* (3), Suzuki Daisetsu Zenshū, vol. 3, (Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 1968), p. 190. Suzuki includes four versions of this work from Tun-huang. Our finding is based on one of the versions.

47. The 'letters' in the Chinese (S. 5533) correspond to *chüeh* (decision; to decide, determine); the meaning of *chüeh* by itself doesn't make much sense, but if it is meant to be part of a compound *chüeh-chê*, then it would mean, "distinguishing, analyzing." This could very much have been the case, since we find in the *Sudden Awakening* a phrase "these letters that have distinguished the distinctions (or that have analyzed)" (*bye-brag phyed-pa'i yi-ge 'di*) (fol. 241.2). Assuming the above is true, then there is really no conflict between the "letters" of the Tibetan text and "decision" of the Chinese, since they would both be referring to 'letters of analysis [according to Dharma]'. See H. Nakamura; *Bukkyōgo Daijiten*, (Tōkyō Shoseki, 1981), p. 316c for meaning of *chüeh-chê*.

48. The original verse appears in *Peking Edition*, vol. 21, p. 256.3.5, and *Taishō*, vol. 8, p. 952b.

49. *Peking Edition*, vol. 21, p. 252.4.2.

50. *Zokuzōkyō*, 245.9, p. 533c. The other two phrases are *wu-nien* (without thinking) and *mo-wang* (do not forget). We wish to acknowledge Robert Buswell's oral communication for this reference.

51. Yanagida, "Hokushūzen," p. 94.

52. See note 19 above.

53. The manuscript is illegible here; we thus insert here "peacefully" based on the Chinese (P. 2799) recension which has *t'an* (pacifically, peaceful). See *Zengaku Daijiten*, (Tōkyō: Daishūkan Shoten, 1977, p. 838 a, c).

54. Fol. 103 of the Stein 5533 recension in Ueyama, "Chibettogaku," p. 100.

55. The *Ta'ch'eng wu fang-pien pei-tsung*, in Suzuki, *Zen shisō-shi kenkyū* (3), p. 190, recognizes, viewing 1) in detail, minutely (*hsi*) and 2) equally (*têng*). It is highly possible—though speculative, for we are without any further evidence at this time—that the latter corresponds to the direct coarse viewing of the *Sudden Awakening*, since viewing *equally* implies non-superimposition of egocentric concepts and emotions onto objects of

perception, i.e., 'merely' viewing which we have determined to be the nature of direct coarse viewing.

56. See *Sudden Awakening*, fols. 223.2–224.3; 229.1–231.4. See also Yanagida, "Hokushūzen," p. 94 for relationship between viewing and other virtuous deeds.

57. G. Tucci, "Third Bāvanākrama," *Minor Buddhist Texts: part III*, Serie Orientale Roma, vol. XLIII, (Roma: Is.M.E.O., 1971), p. 14.

58. In Tibet there was an early spread of Buddhism which ended in the repression during the reign of gLang dar ma (838–42). Then there was a later spread deriving its inspiration from India. The rNying-ma or old tradition is so called because its roots go back to the earlier spread.

59. On these points see H. Guenther, "Some Aspects of Tibetan Religious Thought," *Tibetan Buddhism in Western Perspective*, (Emeryville: Dharma Publishing, 1977), p. 140; S. Karmay, "A Discussion on the Doctrinal Position of rDzogs-chen from the 10th to the 13th Centuries," *Journal Asiatique* (1975): 150; *idem*, "A General Introduction to the History and Doctrine of Bon," *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Tōyō Bunko* 33 (1975): p. 214; H. Guenther, "'Meditation' Trends in Early Tibet," and P. Kvaerne, "The Great Perfection in the Tradition of the Bonpos," (in *Early Ch'an in China and Tibet*, *op. cit.*).

60. G. Tucci, *Minor Buddhist Texts II*, p. 64.

61. *Ibid.*, p. 101. The section under question is translated by Tucci as follows: "Then the *bTsan-po* [King] of Tibet proclaimed; / 'All my *Bande* [monks], [as to] the means for viewing the mind, / they should [fix their] view on the tenets of the Mādhyamika-yoga. / . . . They should practice the tenets of the Sarvāstivāda school. / *sTon-mun-pa*, the instantaneous entrance, is the Mādhyamika." Then on page 65, Tucci in explaining the above passage says: "Then at the conclusion of the debate, the King orders quite in accordance with the orthodox tradition that the Mādhyamika system should be accepted, but, differing from the tradition, it is added that the method of the instantaneous entrance is the Mādhyamika; . . . Thus, implicitly the text agrees with the Chinese sources published by Prof. Demiéville, according to which the winner was Hva-shang and not Kamslaśī la."

62. See Karmay, "A General Introduction," p. 215; Kvaerne, "The Great Perfection," p. 384.

63. See K. Okimoto, "bSam-yas no shūron (2)," *Nihon Chibetto Gakkai Kaihō* 22 (1976): 4–5. We learned after our independent finding that Okimoto had noted the same correspondence, though somewhat differently, in this paper. He, however, draws an opposite conclusion, that is, that it was *bSam-gtan* that copied from the *bLon-po*. His strongest argument is that, on the basis of the Tun-huang texts, the Mahāyoga doctrine in the ninth cen-

tury could not have been as developed as presented in the *bSam-gtan*; hence, *bSam-gtan* must have been written much later, even later than the *bLon-po*, a fourteenth century work. We must disagree as: 1) Tun-huang texts do not constitute reliable evidence for understanding what took place in Tibet proper and, 2) *bSam-gtan* was a well-recognized work much prior to the fourteenth century, and 3) What we have is not just correspondence in which the *bLon-po* and the *bSam-gtan* deal with the same material or present the same quotations; rather, the *bLon-po* is often formed by sewing together, with no break and sometimes a bit awkwardly, material naturally occurring and widely separated in the *bSam-gtan*. Further, the *bLon-po* presents material without distinguishing quotation and exposition that is so distinguished in the *bSam-gtan*; for example, the sayings of the five Ch'an masters, Dharmottara, 'Jug-du, bDud-'dul sning-po, A-dar, and Mahāyāna occur in *bLon-po* (906.3–907.3) and *bSam-gtan* (57.5–59.1) with the *bLon-po* also reproducing part of Sangs-rgyas ye-shes's remarks concerning the position represented by these sayings as if it were part of Mahāyāna's saying.

Karmay's excellent work, *The Great Perfection* (*op. cit.*), also observes that the *bLon-po* was created in a patch-work fashion from the *bSam-gtan*, leaving the misleading impression that it was a unified work. Karmay also casts doubt on another of the late Tucci's 'proofs' for rDzogs-chen's dependence on the teachings of Hva Shang (*The Great Perfection*, pp. 90–99). Finally, Karmay notes that gNubs-chen Sangs-rgyas ye-shes was careful to distinguish the Cig-car-ba and the rDzogs-chen as separate traditions which, however, use similar terminology (*ibid.*, p. 105).

64. The question as to why he did not simply disavow the rDzogs-chen affiliation with Ch'an is a concern beyond the scope of this paper.

65. *bSam-gtan*, pp. 60–4.

66. *Leng-chia shih-tsu chi*, edition prepared by S. Yanagida, *Shoki no zenshi I*, Zen no goroku, vol. 2, (Tōkyō: Chikuma shobō, 1971), p. 132. See also *Taishō* edition, vol. 85, no. 2837, p. 1285a and *bSam-gtan*, pp. 57–58."

67. *bSam-gtan*, p. 46. This is the same as the *Pratītyasamutpāda-hṛdaya-kārika*, verse 7, and the *Uttaratantra*, verse 154. See J. Takasaki, *A Study of the Ratnagotravibhāga*, Serie Orientale Roma, vol. 33, (Roma: Is. M.E.O., 1966), p. 300.

68. *bSam-gtan*, p. 294.

69. *Ibid.*, p. 22.

70. Padmasambhava, *Man-ngag lta-ba'i phreng-ba*, Smarntsis shesrig spendzod, vol. 73, (Leh, Ladakh: S.W. Tashiganpa, 1974), p. 7. While the rDzog-chen procedure comprises fully half of the *Man-nag lta-ba'i phreng-ba* it is subsumed as the third branch of tantric vehicle of inner yogic means; the first two being the development procedure and the fulfillment procedure. So perhaps rDzog-chen is at this stage just beginning to separate from *tantra*.

Sangs-rgyas ye-shes includes two quotes from the rdzogs-chen section in his chapter on *tantra* but includes neither the work nor its author in his chapter on rDzogs-chen. Like the *bSam-gtan*, the *Man-nag lta-ba'i phreng-ba* presents a succession of views culminating with rDzogs-chen.

This would suggest that to the author of the *bSam-gtan*, despite presenting rDzogs-pa chen-po as the pinnacle of procedures, the *Man-ngag lta-ba'i phreng-ba* did not present what was at the time of the writing of the *bSam-gtan* considered rDzogs-chen proper. S. Karmay in his *The Great Perfection*, cited above, deals thoroughly with the *Man-ngag lta-ba'i phreng-ba* presenting a critical edition and assessing its role and place in the history of rDzogs-chen. He says that being primarily devoted to the exposition of *sampannakrama*, (the fulfillment procedure, called *rdzogs-pa tshul* in the *Man-ngag lta-ba'i phreng-ba*), resulting in *Mahāsanti*, (called *rdzogs-pa chen-po'i tshul* in the *Man-ngag lta-ba'i phreng-ba*), as expounded in the *gSang-ba snying-po*, the basic text of the Mahāyoga tantras, it is not surprising that the *Man-ngag lta-ba'i phreng-ba* was not included in the rDzogs-chen chapter of the *bSam-gtan* (S. Karmay, *The Great Perfection*, p. 142).

Karmay concludes his section dealing with *Man-ngag lta-ba'i phreng-ba* noting that, in dealing with the final stages of the completion meditation as expounded in the *gSang-ba snying-po*, the *Man-ngag lta-ba'i phreng-ba* is the source that gave birth to the doctrine of rDzogs-chen as a syncretic teaching drawing mainly from the *gSang-ba snying-po* but tinged with thinking deriving from the *Sems-sde*, a series of eighteen works, fifteen of which appear in the *bSam-gtan* dealing with the core teaching of rDzogs-chen (S. Karmay, *The Great Perfection*, pp. 152, 24). We would add that the thinking giving rise to the such works as exemplified in *Sems-sde* takes its stand independently of tantric features. Indeed the commentary to on one *Sems-sde* text presented in *The Great Perfection*, the *Rig-pa'i khu-byug*, declares that "Creation of the *maḍala* is accomplished without the meditational practices of *utpannakrama* and *sampannakrama*". This, the commentary continues, "is through the inexpressible spontaneous presence of pure and complete mind." (S. Karmay, *The Great Perfection*, pp. 55–58, 119–120).

In the same vein, Klong-chen rab-'byams-pa quotes the *Kun-byed rgyal-po* as follows:

Because this pure and complete mind which is the vitalizing core of all that is

Is primordialially spontaneous as one's own nature,

Accomplishment with effort by means of the tens aspects which characterize tantric practice is not necessary.

(*gNas-lugs*, p. 56). The *Kun-byed rgyal-po* is a particularly important work for rDzogs-chen thought. Several of the works cited in note 59, above, deal with it in some way. Klong-chen-pa Dri-med-'od-zer, *You Are the Eyes of the World*, (Novato, Ca.: Lotsawa, 1987), presents the structure of the work, its subject matter, and its place in history; see particularly pp. 72–87.

71. *bSam-gtan*, p. 52. According to a gloss in the text, the three purities are the elements, the psycho-physical constituents, and the eight modes of consciousness as original awareness ('byung-ba/phung-po/rnam-shes brgyad ye-shes su).

72. *gNas-lugs*, p. 3.

73. kLong-chen rab-'byams-pa, *Chos-dbyings rin-po-che mdzod kyi 'grel-pa*, (Gangtok: Dodrup Chen Tibetology, 1964), fol. 7b.

74. *gNas-lugs*, p. 6.

75. *bSam-gtan*, p. 52.

76. *gNas-lugs*, p. 56.

77. *bSam-gtan*, p. 291.

78. Tucci, *Minor Buddhist Texts III*, pp. 11–2.

79. *gNas-lugs*, p. 97.

80. Ibid.

81. Ibid., p. 100.

Chapter 5.

*Shortly after this article was originally written (Spring 1980), I learned that Michael Aris, *Bhutan* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1979), pp. 8–24, included an extended discussion of the *Maṇi bka'-'bum* that usefully complements the present effort. The obscure *siddha* dNgos-grub has been considered in detail in Anne-Marie Blondeau, "Le <<découvreur>> du *Maṇi bka'-'bum* était-il bon-po?" in Louis Ligeti, ed., *Tibetan and Buddhist Studies* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiado, 1984), vol. 1, pp. 77–123. A brief hagiography of Nyang-ral Nyi-ma 'od-zer will be found translated in Dudjom Rinpoche, Jikdrel Yeshe Dorje, *The Nyingma School of Tibetan Buddhism*, trans. G. Dorje and M. Kapstein (London: Wisdom Publications, 1991), vol. 1, pp. 755–60.

The positive responses of colleagues to this article, during the several years its publication has been delayed, have encouraged me to publish it here without major revision, though I am aware more than ever of its many short comings. I am particularly grateful to the late Dezhung Rinpoche for his learned counsel when I first read the *Maṇi bka'-'bum* with him in 1979, and to Mme. A.-M. Blondeau for her kind interest in this work.

1. The edition I have utilized for this study is: *MA ṆI BKA' 'BUM: A collection of rediscovered teachings focussing upon the tutelary deity Avalokiteśvara (Mahākaruṇika) (sic); Reproduced from a print from the no longer extant Spuñs-thañ (Punakha) blocks by Trayang and Jamyang Samten, 2 vols. (New Delhi, 1975) (Hereafter: MKBP, followed by volume number in Roman numerals and plate number).*

The blocks for the Punakha edition reproduced here were apparently carved at the request of a certain mNga'-ris sgrub-chen Ngag-dbang chos-'phel, the disciple of Ngag-dbang bstan-'dzin rab-rgyas (MKBP II. 708). Dr. Michael Aris has kindly informed me that while the former remains unidentified,

. . . his master. . . was the fourth 'Brug-sDe-srid (regn. 1680–1695, lived 1638–1696). He was the first in the line of the *Khri-sprul* or *Bla-ma khri-pa* (of which there have been six). The *Lho'i chos-byung* makes him the first rGyal-tshab, the official stand-ins for (sometimes the incarnations of) the 1st *Zhabs-drung*. He was one of the greatest and most effective Bhutanese rulers. There is an extremely long biography by Ngag-dbang lhun-grub, dated 1720, not yet published (Correspondence: July 18, 1980).

This Punakha edition seems to be based on an earlier edition from Gung-thang in mNga'-ris (MKBP II. 617).

2. A.I. Vostrikov, *Tibetan Historical Literature*, trans. Harish Chandra Gupta (Calcutta: Indian Studies Past & Present, 1970), p. 52.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 55.

4. Ariane Macdonald, *L'annuaire de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études*, IV^e3 section, 1968/69, p. 528.

5. Recent years have seen the publication of many Tibetan works concerning the Avalokiteśvara cult. Among those that may be of interest to students of the *Mani bKa'-bum* that I have not been able to make use of in connection with the present study are:

a) *MA NI BKA' 'BUM CHEN MO* of *Guru Chos kyi dbang-phyug*, Version A (Thimphu, 1976).

b) *MA NI BKA' 'BUM CHEN MO* of *Guru Chos kyi dbang-phyug*, Version B (Thimphu, 1976).

c) *Chos-byung me-tog snying-po sbrang-rtsi'i bcud*, by mNga'-bdag Nyang-ral nyi-ma 'od-zer (Paro, 1979).

d) *Chos-rgyal Mes-dbon rnam-gsum-gyi rnam-thar rin-po-che'i phreng-ba*, by mNga'-bdag Nyang-ral Nyi-ma 'od-zer (Paro, 1979).

e) *Thugs-rje chen-po'i rgyud rang-byung ye-shes*, revealed by mNga'-bdag Nyang-ral nyi-ma 'od-zer (Paro, 1979).

f) *Die große Geschichte des tibetischen Buddhismus nach alter Tradition rNying-ma'i chos 'byung chen mo*, ed. R.O. Meisezahl. *Monumenta Tibetica Historica*, vol. 3 (Sankt Augustin: VGH Wissenschaftsverlag, 1985).

6. The basic structure of the *Mani bKa'-bum* is revealed in its *dkar-chag* (MKBP I. 9–23). It seems that this *dkar-chag* is of some antiquity and is identical to the *Yer-pa'i dkar-chag* referred to by MKBP's editors (I. 19,

mchan). A similar *dkar-chag* served as the basis for the Fifth Dalai Lama's discussion of the contents of the *Mañi bKa'-bum*:

RECORD OF TEACHINGS RECEIVED: THE GSAN-YIG OF THE FIFTH DALAI LAMA NAG-DBAN-BLO-BZAN-RGYA-MTSHO (*sic*), vol. 3 (Delhi: Nechung and Lakhar, 1971), plates 130–153. (Hereafter *RTR*, followed by plate number.)

RTR's discussion is, for all intents and purposes, a detailed commentary on the *dkar-chag* and reflects the Dalai Lama's great personal interest in the *Mañi bKa'-bum*. It is noteworthy that at least one group of texts listed in the *dkar-chag* that was not available to the redactors of the *MKBP* (II. 616–7) could not be located by the Great Fifth either (*RTR* 149). The Dalai Lama also mentions one group of texts (*RTR* 139–40) that are not to be found in the *dkar-chag* but seem to have been in circulation in connection with the *Mañi bKa'-bum*. For useful summaries of the *Mañi bKa'-bum*'s contents see also:

Vostrikov, *Literature*, pp. 53–55; and

Macdonald, *L'annuaire de l'EPHE*, pp. 527–8.

7. In *MKBP* it forms a separate cycle (II. 619–711), where it is entitled '*Phags-pa nam-mkha'i rgyal-po'i mngon-rtogs sogs phran 'ga'*. The title *Gab-pa mngon-phyung gi skor* is given in the *dkar-chag* (I. 22).

8. *RTR* 130. This is a restatement of part of the *dkar-chag* (*MKBP* I. 21–22). It is of some interest to note that some of the masters mentioned in connection with the compilation of the *Mañi bKa'-bum* are also mentioned in connection with the cult of the Lhasa Jo-khang. See:

Lha ldan gtsug lag khañ gi dkar chag: A Guide to the Great Temple of Lhasa by His Holiness Nag-dbañ Blo-bzañ rGya-mtsho, the Great Fifth Dalai Lama (Delhi: Ngawang Gelek Demo, n.d.), pp. 78–9.

9. *RTR* 131.

10. *MKBP* I. 498 and 584. Mme. Blondeau has suggested to me that the present version of the *Great Chronicle* is of very doubtful attribution. See Blondeau, *op. cit.*, esp. n. 19.

11. *MKBP* I. 504.

12. Ariane Macdonald has advanced the thesis that Nyi-ma 'od-zer and mNga'-bdag Myang (Nyang)-ral were, in fact, two distinct persons, for the latter was used as a familial title among Nyi-ma 'od-zer's descendents. See her "Une Lecture des Pelliot Tibétan 1286, 1287, 1038, 1047, et 1290," in *Études Tibétaines* (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1971), p. 203, n. 59. However, the

mention of the *siddha* dNgos-grub in connection with the lineage of the *bka'-brgyad* as well as that of the *Maṇi bKa'-bum* leads me to believe that such a view may not, in this instance, be tenable, though we cannot rule out the possibility that one of Nyang-ral's sons has been conflated with his father. See Kong-sprul blo-gros mtha'-yas, *Zab-mo'i gter dang gter-ston grub-thob ji-ltar byon-pa'i lo-rgyus mdor-bsdus bkod-pa Rin-chen Baiḍūrya'i phreng-ba*, in *Treasury of Rediscovered Teachings* (Paro, 1976) vol. I, pp. 371–2; Dudjom Rinpoche, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 758.

13. *RTR* 151 notes that he was a *bhikṣu*. It appears that the Dalai Lama had access to some specific information about the lesser-known figures in the *Maṇi bKa'-bum's* lineage.

14. *MKBP* II. 651.

15. It should be noted that the *dkar-chag* seems not to have originally listed any of Shākya 'od's discoveries, but that the account of them forms an appended discussion (*MKBP* I. 22). Perhaps the "original" *Maṇi bKa'-bum* consisted solely of the discoveries of dNgos-grub and mNga'-bdag Nyang, as assembled by the latter or one of his school.

16. e.g. Kong-sprul blo-gros mtha'-yas, *Shes-bya kun-khyab mdzod; The Treasury of Knowledge*, 4 vols. (Paro, 1976), vol. I., p. 429.

17. Tāranātha, *Khrid brgya'i brgyud-pa'i lo-rgyus*, in Kong-sprul blo-gros mtha'-yas, ed., *GDAMS NAG MDZOD (sic): A Treasury of Instructions and Techniques for Spiritual Realization* (Delhi: N. Lungtok and N. Gyaltan, 1971), vol. XII, pp. 356–7.

18. Among *gter-ma*, the *Maṇi bKa'-bum* is peculiar with respect to its punctuation: it makes use of the ordinary *shad*, instead of the *visarga*-like *gter-shad*. It is of interest to compare, too, Tāranātha's mild suggestion that the treasure discoverers composed, rather than found, some parts of the *Maṇi bKa'-bum* with Sum-pa mKhan-po Ye-shes dpal-'byor's vociferous remarks. (Vostrikov, *Literature*, p. 56–7). Cf. my "The Purificatory Gem and Its Cleansing," *History of Religions*, vol. 28, no. 3 (Feb. 1989): 217–44.

19. This is confirmed by the Central Tibetan *RTR*, the Bhutanese *MKBP*, and the many references found throughout Karma Chags-med's *Thugs-rje chen-po'i dmar-khrid phyag-rdzogs zun-'jug-gi skor*, in *Collected Works*, Volume 2 (Bir, H.P., 1974). Chags-med, who hailed from Nang-chen in Khams, lived during the first half of the XVIIIth cent.

The meaning of the title *Maṇi bKa'-bum* is somewhat problematic; see Vostrikov, *Literature*, pp. 52–3 and Macdonald, *L'annuaire de l'EPHE*, p. 527. The biographies of Guru Chos kyi dbang-phyug (see n. 5 above) were perhaps the first works to use this title and may provide the key to its precise interpretation. My own rendering is similar to that of Mme. Macdonald (q.v.): "The Collected Works (*bKa'-bum*, of King Srong-btsan sgam-po concerning the six syllable *mantra* *Om Maṇi Padme Hūṃ*)."

20. MKBP I. 1 and 10.

21. bDud-'joms Rin-po-che, *Gangs-ljongs rgyal-bstan yongs-rdzogs-kyi phyi-mo snga-gyur rdo-rje theg-pa'i bstan-pa rin-po-che ji-ltar byung-ba'i tshul dag-cing gsal-bar brjod-pa lha-dbang g.yul-las rgyal-ba'i rnga-bo-che'i sgra-dbyangs* (i.e. *the rNying-ma'i chos-'byung*), in *Collected Works*, Volume I (Delhi, 1979), p. 242. Trans. by Dorje and Kapstein in *op. cit.*

22. e.g. Bu-ston, *History of Buddhism*, Part II, trans., E. Obermiller (Heidelberg, 1932), pp. 183–5. Bu-ston's account certainly has some affinity with that of the *Mañi bKa'-bum*, though there is no reason to assume that he based himself on that source directly. See, too, 'Gos Lo-tśā-ba, *Blue Annals*, trans. G. Roerich (reprint Delhi, 1976) p. 1006.

23. Thu'u-bkwan Chos-kyi nyi-ma, *Grub-mtha' shel-gyi me-long* (Delhi: Ngawang Gelek Demo, n.d.), pp. 65–6. Passages such as this one, found in the work of a leading dGe-lugs-pa hierarch, suggest that the *Mañi bKa'-bum* did not meet with the condemnation in dGe-lugs-pa circles that the scholar who encounters Sum-pa mKhan-po's opinion (n. 18 above) may suppose. See, for example, Macdonald, *L'annuaire de l'EPHE*, p. 531. Discussions with a number of Tibetan scholars, notably the Ven. Dezhung Rinpoche who himself studied the *Mañi bKa'-bum* under a dGe-lugs-pa *dge-bshes*, have convinced me that the Great Fifth's love of the *Mañi bKa'-bum* made a lasting impression on the cult of Srong-btsan sgam-po / Avalokiteśvara within the dGe-lugs-pa sect.

24. MKBP I. 22 and RTR 131. According to these texts it was Padma-sambhava who revealed to Khri srong-lde'u-btsan the works of his ancestor.

25. These issues are taken up at length in: Macdonald, "Une Lecture des Pelliot Tibétain," and Yoshiro Imaeda, "Note Préliminaire sur la formule *Om Mañi Padme Hūṃ* dans les Manuscrits Tibétains de Touen-Houang," in *Contributions aux études sur Touen-Houang* (Genève-Paris: Droz, 1979), pp. 71–6. But cf. also Hugh E. Richardson, "The Dharma that came down from heaven: A Tun-huang Fragment," in *Buddhist Thought and Asian Civilization* (Emeryville, Ca: Dharma Publishing, 1977): 219–29.

26. Marcelle Lalou, "Les Textes Bouddhiques au temps du Roi Khri-sroñ-lde-bcan," in *Journal Asiatique* CXXLI (1953): 313–353. Texts related to the Avalokiteśvara cult that are listed here include numbers 79, 114, 157, 316, 343, 347, 352, 366, 388, 410, 440, 459, and 460.

27. My remarks on the *rNying-ma bKa'-ma* are based on conversations with the late Ven. bDud-'joms Rin-po-che and the Rev. mKhan-po Thub-bstan. Avalokiteśvara is one of the Eight Bodhisattvas in the *maṇḍalas* of the *sGyu-'phrul zhi-khro*, which is associated with the *Guhyagarbhatantra*, and the *dGongs-pa 'dus-pa*, the foremost *Anuyoga-tantra*. In the latter he is also found, with Mañjuśrī and Vajrapāṇi, as one of the *rigs-gsum mgon-po*. Avalokiteśvara's wrathful aspect, Hayagrīva, occupies a position of great

importance in the *bKa'-ma* tradition, particularly in the *bKa'-brgyad* cycle. When I state that the *bKa'-ma* includes "authentically ancient material," I do so with the understanding that the many threads which are woven together there cannot at present be satisfactorily sorted out.

28. Kong-sprul, *Shes-bya mdzod*, I. 429. Repeated *verbatim* in bDud-'joms Rin-po-che, *Chos-byung*, pp. 153-4.

29. These are the *bKa'-gdams lha-bzhi'i spyan-ras-gzigs*, *sKyer-sgang-lugs kyi spyan-ras-gzigs*, and *dPal-mo-lugs kyi spyan-ras-gzigs*. Their lineages and precepts have been masterfully summarized by Jo-nang rJe-btsun Kun-dga' grol-mchog; see Kong-sprul (ed.), *GDAMS NAG MDZOD*, vol. XII, pp. 252, 256-7, 394-5, & 430-2.

30. See *Thugs-rje chen-po dang phyag-rgya chen-po zung-jug-tu nyams-su-len tshul rjes-gnang dang bcas-pa*, in *sGrub-thabs kun-btus* (sDe-dge ed.) vol. GA, ff. 1-8; and *Blue Annals*, pp. 1006-46. The *Thugs-rje chen-po rgyal-ba rgya-mtsho*, introduced by Ras-chung-pa, became particularly popular among the rNying-ma-pas, and among the Karma *bKa'-brgyud-pas*, whose hierarchs adopted it as their *yi-dam*.

31. Karma Chags-med, *Thugs-rje chen-po*, p. 265.

32. *MKBP* I. 87.

33. Macdonald, "Une Lecture des Pelliot Tibétain," p. 388.

34. Macdonald, *L'annuaire de l'EPHE*, p. 532.

35. Vostrikov, *Literature*, pp. 28-32 and 67-78. The *bka'-chens ka-khol-ma* is traditionally said to have been revealed by Atiśa. The precise era of its appearance and, hence, its chronological relationship with the *Maṇi bka'-bum* have yet to be determined.

36. *MKBP* I. 192-3.

37. Karma Chags-med, *Thugs-rje chen-po*, pp. 268-9. Cf. also my "The Limitless Ocean Cycle," in Aziz and Kapstein, eds., *Soundings in Tibetan Civilization* (Delhi: Manohar, 1985): 358-71.

38. The degree to which even ascetics were affected by this unrest is well indicated in *MKBP* I. 525, where the *yogin* is advised to equip his retreat with weaponry.

39. *Avalokiteśvaragūṇa-Kāraṇḍavyūhaḥ*, in *Mahāyānasūtrasaṃgrahaḥ*, Buddhist Sanskrit Texts No. 17, ed. P.L. Vaidya (Darbhanga, 1961), p. 265. See, too, the excellent study by Constantin Regamey: "Motifs Vichnouites et Śivaïtes dans le *Kāraṇḍavyūha*," in *Études Tibétaines*, (Paris, 1971).

40. *Kāraṇḍavyūha*, 288-92. The *locus classicus* for Atiśa's teaching of this vision is found in the *lha-bzhi bstan-pa'i skabs* of the *bKa'-gdams glegs-*

bam 'pha-chos, where I have encountered it. Unfortunately I do not presently have a copy of this text at my disposal and so cannot give the exact page reference. The relevant verses may be found quoted in Karma Chags-med, *Thugs-rje chen-po*, p. 258. See also n. 29 above.

41. *MKBP* I. 34.

42. *Ibid.* I. 35–6.

43. *Ibid.* I. 29–30.

44. *Ibid.* I. 511–2, II. 265–6 and 279. (In notes 44 through 52 it is not my intention to provide a comprehensive catalogue of relevant passages, but rather to signal representative examples.)

45. *Ibid.* I. 496–7 and 511–2.

46. *Ibid.* II. 584–6.

47. *Ibid.* II. 288–9, 531, and 579–82.

48. *Ibid.* II. 288, 582–4.

49. *Ibid.* II. 182–234.

50. *Ibid.* I. 514–9.

51. *Ibid.* II. 29–30, 279–80, and 396–7.

52. *Ibid.* II. 280. More often, however, the *Mañi bKa'-'bum* speaks of the *sku-drug*, six *kāyas*, e.g. II. 26–7, and *passim*.

53. *Ibid.* I. 18.

54. *Ibid.* I. 514.

55. *Ibid.* I. 20–1.

56. Kong-sprul (ed.), *GDAMS NAG MDZOD*, vols. 2 and 3. The intricate teaching of the *bKa'-gdams-pas* requires careful study. My statement here is a general one, based on the reading of such sources as those brought together by Kong-sprul in the magnificent anthology herein cited.

57. *MKBP* I. 470.

58. Having attended discourses on Avalokiteśvara given by representatives of all the major Tibetan Buddhist traditions, I cannot but observe that the unifying features of this cult are far more apparent than the distinguishing features of the various lineages involved. It would seem that this unity of the cult is what moved 'Gos Lo-tśā-ba to give it separate treatment in the *Blue Annals*, pp. 1006–46, Kong-sprul to anthologize it separately in the *GDAMS NAG MDZOD*, vol. XI, and Chags-med to combine freely precepts derived from its different lineages in his *Thugs-rje chen-po'i dmar-khrid*.

Chapter 6.

1. Thang-stong's dates are the subject of some controversy. The dates advanced here are based on evidence from his biography (see n. 2 below) as corroborated by other accounts of his period. See Cyrus Stearns, "The Life and Teachings of the Tibetan Mahāsiddha Thang-stong rGyal-po, 'King of the Empty Plain'" (MA diss., University of Washington, 1980) and Janet Gyatso, "The Literary Transmission of the Traditions of Thang-stong rGyal-po: A Study of Visionary Buddhism in Tibet" (herein abbreviated "The Literary Transmission") (Ph.D. diss., University of California at Berkeley, 1981), chapter 2, n. 7.

2. Lo-chen 'Gyur-med bDe-chen, *Grub-pa'i dbang-phyug chen-po lcags-zam-pa thang-stong rgyal-po'i rnam-thar ngo-mtshar kun-gsal nor-bu'i me-long gsar-pa* (herein abbreviated *rNam-thar*) (Bir: Kandro, 1976). Reproduced from the 18th century sDe-dge edition; composed in 1609. Since the present essay was written, two other long biographies have been published in Bhutan, at least one of which appears to be older than that of 'Gyur-med bDe-chen. The first is *rJe grub-thob chen-po lcags-zam-pa'i rnam-thar-pa ngo-mtshar rgya-mtsho*, by Shes-rab dpal-ldan, which comprises volume 1 of *The Collected Works (Gsun 'bum) of Than-ston Rgyal-po* (Thimphu: National Library of Bhutan, 1984–), reproduced from rare manuscripts from the library of Grub-thob Rin-po-che and Rta-mchog-sgang. The second biography, *Bla-ma thang-stong rgyal-po'i rnam-thar gsal-ba'i sgron-me* by Mon-pa bDe-ba bZang-po, comprises volume 2 of the same *Collected Works*. This text was examined several years ago by Michael Aris. Aris believes the author actually to be dKon-mchog dPal-bzang, who is mentioned first in the colophon. Both dKon-mchog dPal-bzang and bDe-ba bZang-po were disciples of Thang-stong.

3. See my "The Literary Transmission," for a detailed listing of the extant cycles attributed to Thang-stong rGyal-po. This would have to be supplemented with the material in a collection of the literature of the Thang-stong tradition culled primarily from the libraries of Grub-thob Rinpoche Ri-ke'd Bya-btang-ba and rTa-mchog-sgang, and still coming out in Bhutan. The first volumes, published under the title *The Collected Works (Gsun 'bum) of Than-ston Rgyal-po* by Kunsang Topgey in Thimphu in 1976, were catalogued in my dissertation. But in 1984, three more volumes with the same title, but numbered volumes 1–3, were published by the National Library of Bhutan, two of which consist of the two biographies listed above in n. 2. The third volume contains numerous short texts related to the various cycles of Thang-stong, as do five more volumes published in 1985. A cursory examination of these volumes when I was at the Institutt for Religionshistorie in Oslo revealed that most of the material is associated with the same cycles described in my "The Literary Transmission."

4. The synopsis of the three classes of Buddhist teachings that follows is based in the main on Kong-sprul Blo-gros mTha'-yas (herein abbreviated Kong-sprul), *Zab-mo'i gter dang gter-ston grub-thob ji-ltar byon-pa lo-rgyus mdor-bsdud bkod-pa rin-chen baidurya'i phreng-ba* (herein abbreviated *gTer rnam brgya rtsa*) in Kong-sprul, ed., *Rin chen gter mdzod* (Paro: Ngodrup & Sherap Drimay, 1976), vol. 1, pp. 297, seq., and 683 seq. A similar discussion is in bDud-'joms 'Jigs-bral Ye-shes rDo-rje (herein abbreviated bDud-'joms), *Gangs-ljongs rgyal-bstan yongs-rdzogs kyi phyi-mo snga-gyur rdo-rje theg-pa'i bstan-pa rin-po-che ji-ltar byung-pa'i tshul dag cing gsal-bar brjod-pa lha-dbang gyul las rgyal-ba'i rnga-bo che'i sgra dbyangs* (herein abbreviated *rNying ma'i chos'byung*) (Kalimpong, 1967), chapter 6. Eva Dargyay, *The Rise of Esoteric Buddhism in Tibet* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1977) pp. 90–91, did not distinguish the third class, that of Pure Vision, in her translation of chapter 6 of the *rNying-ma'i chos-byung*. A translation of bDud-'joms Rinpoche's entire work by Gyurme Dorje and Matthew Kapstein is forthcoming from Wisdom Publications.

5. The sTod-lung mTshur-phu edition has recently been published in Bhutan. See n. 4 above.

6. In explaining the source of the Treasures Discovered in the Mind, Kong-sprul, *gTer-rnam bryga-rtsa*, p. 684, quotes an unidentified sūtra: "Mañju, just as the four elements come out of the treasury of space, all phenomena come out of the treasury of consciousness of the Jina. Thus should the usage of the term "treasure" be understood.' Accordingly, it is said that a treasure of Dharma issues forth from out of the depths [*Klong*] of the mind of Venerable Ones." An illustration of how the arousal of a Mental Treasure is portrayed may be had from the biography of the discoverer Zhi-po gling-pa in *rNying-ma'i chos'byung*, pp. 617–621, where Tārā is said to have breathed into him and repeated the affirmation "Alright!" (*legs-so*) thrice, thus inspiring him to commit the *sGrol-ma'i zab-tig* to writing.

7. The subclass *yang-gter* is the only one properly translated as "Rediscovered Treasure", although this phrase has been used widely to render the term *gter-ma* in general.

8. *sGrub-thabs snying-po skor-lnga* (a core text of the *Grub-thob thugs-tig* cycle, in *Rin-chen gter-mdzod*, vol. 4, p. 452. The hiding place of the *Grub-thob thugs-tig* cycle is also called *klong-gsal dbyings-kyi sgrom-bu*, in *Grag-thung bde-gshegs 'dus-pa* (another core text of the same cycle), in *Rin-chen gter-mdzod*, vol. 24, p. 360. Cf. the statement of dPa'-bo gTsub-lag 'Phreng-ba, *Chos'byung mkhas-pa'i dga'-ston*, ed. Lokesh Chandra, Sata-Pitaka Series 9 (4) (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Cultures, 1962), p. 269: "gTer gnas rang sems la chos nyid rang chas su gnas pa ni gter gyi mthar thug ste. . ." ("The highest Treasure is [from] the treasure place that is own-mind, the *dharmadhātu* abiding in its own aspect").

9. bDud-'joms, *rNying-ma'i chos-'byung*, p. 491, *seq.*, lists the steps that the teacher of the past takes in order to insure that the revelation will occur in the future: a) "empowerment through benediction," where the teacher (i.e. Padmasambhava) prays that the intended discoverer will appear at the proper time; b) "prophecy of an authoritative transmission," where the teacher projects an inspiring prophecy towards the future discoverer, which comes from the "depths of (Padmasambhava's) realization of the primordial awareness of the reality which is symbolized;" and c) "entrusting it to the Dākinīs and sealing it," the final step whereby the protectors are appointed, and the Treasure is hidden and sealed so as to be invisible. See my "Signs, Memory and History: A Tantric Buddhist Theory of Scriptural Transmission," in *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 9:2 (1986), pp. 7–35, for the semiotics of revelation from the discoverer's side. A study of the semiotics of the relic in the Treasure traditions is presented in my "The Relic Text as Prophecy: The Semantic Drift of Byang-bu and its Appropriation in the Treasure Tradition" in a special forthcoming edition of *Tibet Journal* (Dharamsala) in honour of Burmiok Athing.

10. See, e.g., *rNam-thar*, p. 114, where Thang-stong's discovery of the *U-rgyan thugs kyi yang-thig kun-bzang dgongs-pa tshig-'dus* at Zla-ba Phug is said to have been preceded by a vision of Vajradhara in Dharmakāya, surrounded by eight siddhas, who stated, "At Zla-ba Phug is something that was placed there by Padmasambhava which is your Dharma lot (*chos-skal*). Take out that Dharma Treasure!" Thang-stong thereupon performed the *tshogs-skor* and *maṇi bskul-pa* rites with the help of several scholars he had enlisted, and then went alone "via magic" to Zla-ba Phug to extract the Treasure. Another case, *rNam-thar*, p. 116 *seq.*, describes Thang-stong's Treasure find at bSam-yas mChims-phu as being guided by a red light from Amitāyus. *rNam-thar*, p. 135 *seq.*, attributes his "opening up" of the Kong-po area of Tibet and discovery of iron mines there to a visionary process similar to that described for Treasure discoveries: the residents of the surrounding area informed him that the "keys and maps" to the region had been hidden by Padmasambhava and were now being guarded by Vajravārāhī. Thang-stong performed a *tshogs-skor* at sMan-mo-sgang and found that "all the doors of his vision were opened" (*gzigs snang gi sgo thamskad bye yong lags*). Thus enabled to find the location of the maps, he arrived at the cave and beseeched the Dākinīs with an elaborate song (pp. 137–138) asking for supramundane powers. Then a copper box came out of a crack in the rock, containing the map, keys, instructions, and the (written?) prophecy which had all been put there by Padmasambhava. These items enabled him to discover iron ore, described in *rNam-thar*, p. 141 as "Grub thob chen po rang gis gter nes bton pa." ("Taken out from a treasure by the Mahāsiddha himself.")

11. As summarized by dPa'-bo gTsug-lag 'Phreng-ba, *Chos-'byung mkhas'pa'i dga'-ston*, p. 269: "dngos nyams rmi lam du bla ma yi dam chos

skyong gzigs pa bsam las 'das / khyad par du skye ba gtan gyi bla ma rig 'dzin pad mas rtag par mngon sum du zhal bstan zhing /' ("There have been inconceivably [many] sightings of the guru, chosen deity and Dharmapāla in reality, meditative experience, and dream. In particular, the Guru Vidyādhara Padma [sambhava] constantly displays his face manifestly").

12. See Kong-sprul's discussion of Pure Vision in *gTer-rnam brgya-rtsa*, p. 683. A related use of the term *dag-snang* is in the sNang-gsum teachings of the Sa-skya school, where the third of three types of appearance or view of phenomena and experience is the "pure appearance" (*dag-pa'i snang-ba*). Possible connection to the *śubhapratibhāsa samādhi*, as in *Mahāvvyutpatti* (rpt. Tokyo: Suzuki Gakujutsu Zaidan, 1970), p. 556.

13. *sGrub-thabs snying-po skor-lnga*, p. 453, and *Grag-thung bde-gshegs 'dus-pa'i dbang-bskur bklags-chog-tu bkod-pa byin-rlabs bcud*, in *Rin-chen gter-mdzod*, vol. 24, p. 404, identify themselves as being part of a Mental Treasure cycle; whereas a text from the *bla-sgrub* portion of the same cycle by Padma dGar-dbang (Kong-sprul), the *sMin-byed kyi lag-len khrigs-su bsdebs-pa legs-bshad snying-po*, in *Rin-chen gter-mdzod*, vol. 17, p. 189, explicitly states that the cycle is Pure Vision. See my "The Literary Transmission," chapter 5, for a detailed discussion of the classification of the parts of the *Grub-thob thugs-tig* cycle.

14. See 'Gos Lo-tsa-ba's discussion of the Avalokiteśvara traditions in the *Deb-ther sngon-po*: trans. George Roerich, *The Blue Annals* (Calcutta: The Asiatic Society, 1953) p. 1006 *seq.* Some of the *dmār-khrid* traditions for Avalokiteśvara are described by Kun-dga' Grol-mchog, *Jo-nang zab-khrid brgya-rtsa brgyad*, in Kong-sprul, ed., *gDam ngag mdzod* (Delhi: N. Lungtok & N. Gyaltzen, 1971) vol. 12, pp. 245–620. (See *khrid* nos. 30, 31, 32, 33, 106; also 8 and 16.)

15. *Ratnaguṇa 3–4* as in Edward Conze, trans., *The Perfection of Wisdom in Eight Thousand Lines and Its Verse Summary* (Bollingen: Four Seasons Foundation, 1973), p. 9. For early Pāli and Mahāyāna instances see Graeme MacQueen, "Inspired Speech in Early Mahāyāna Buddhism" I and II, in *Religion* 11:4 (1981) and 12:1 (1982).

16. See n. 3 above. These are the first four volumes of his *Collected Works* published in Bhutan in 1976. The version of the *gSang-spyod snyan-brgyud* contained therein was edited by mKhyen-brtse Chos-kyi Blo-gros. A parallel redaction of the cycle that differs in the later layers of the collection was edited by Si-tu Chos-kyi rGya-mtsho, published under the title *Thang-stong snyan-brgyud* (New Delhi: Trayang, 1973) 2 vols.

17. See n. 8 above for the core texts of the first and third sections of the *Grub-thob thugs-tig*, constituting, respectively, the teachings of five sādhanas and the bKa'-brgyad. The core texts of the second section, constituting the *bla-sgrub* portion of the cycle, were included in vol. 17 of the *Rin-chen gter-mdzod*.

18. Kong-sprul, *Shes-bya kun-khyab mdzod*, (Paro, 1976), vol. 4, p. 142, indicates a distinction between Vajrapadas that are the words of a Buddha, and those which are a *śāstra* set down by a visionary.

19. mKhyen-brtse (i.e. mDo-sngags Gling-pa) is described as being empowered by Padmasambhava, Vimalamitra and Mañjuśrī in *Grag-thung bde-gshegs 'dus-pa*, p. 363, and as being better than any other Treasure discoverer and no different from Thang-stong himself in the *sGrub-thabs snying-po skor-lnga*, p. 452.

20. A typical example may be had from the colophon to *Theg-mchog lam-bzang nyer-bsdus baidurya'i them-skas* (ms. written in Benares, 1974), a short manual on the Buddhist path (*lam-rim*) according to the Thang-stong tradition, in which the author Ri-ke'd Grub-thob Rin-po-che does not sign his name, indicating his identity only with the phrase "an old beggar with nothing to do" (*sprang-rgan bya-btang-ba*).

21. Kun-dga' Grol-mchog (1507–1566), *Grub-pa'i dbang-phyug thang-stong rgyal-po la thugs-rje chen-pos dngos-su gngang-ba'i snying-po yi-ge drug-pa'i nyams-len gyi gzhung gsal-byed dang bcas-pa*, in 'Jam-dbyangs mKhyen-brtse'i dBang-po and 'Jam-dbyangs Blo-gter dBang-po, ed., *sGrub-thabs kun-btus* (Dehra Dun: G.T.K. Lodoy, N. Gyaltzen and N. Lungtok, 1970), vol. Ga, pp. 18–21.

22. Reported in *rNam-thar*, p. 70, also 'Jam-dbyangs Blo-gter dBang-po, *Grub-chen thang-rgyal lugs kyi thugs-rje chen-po'i mañi ril-sgrub gzhan-phan kun-khyab*, in *sGrub-thabs kun-btus*, vol. Tha, pp. 601–602.

23. See my "The Literary Transmission," chapter 4.

24. The principal section of the ancient writing is presented independently at the beginning of *Nye-brgyud tshe-rta zung'-brel 'chi-med dpal-ster gyi sgrub-thabs dbang-chog man-ngag dang bcas-pa*, in *sGrub-thabs kun-btus*, vol. Ka, p. 428. That there may have been a longer version of this passage is indicated in a discussion of the contents of the *bdud-rtsi* by 'Jam-dbyangs mKhyen-brtse'i dBang-po, *Nye-brgyud tshe-rta zung'-brel gyi bsnyen-sgrub las gsum gyi gsal-byed snying-por dril-pa 'chi-med dga'-ston*, in *sGrub-thabs kun-btus*, vol. Ka, p. 456.

25. bsTan-'dzin Ye-shes lHun-grub, *Nye-brgyud tshe-sgrub 'chi-med dpal-ster gyi dbang-chog bdud-rtsi'i chu-rgyun*, in *sGrub-thabs kun-btus*, vol. Pa, p. 613, states that the teaching existed in oral form without any text (*yi-ge med-pa'i tshul-du bzhugs-pa*) until Nyi-zla bZang-po (16th century) wrote out the history of the directly transmitted life extension technique (*tshe-sgrub nye-brgyud kyi lo-rgyus*), the actual direct transmission (*nye-brgyud ngo-bo*), and the directly transmitted Glorious Grant of Immortality (*nye-brgyud 'chi-med dpal-ster*). The latter is now accepted as the general name for this meditation system.

26. bsTan-'dzin Ye-shes lHun-grub, *op.cit.*, p. 612 *seq.*; Kun-dga' bKra-shis, *Bla-ma zhi'-khro'i tshe-sgrub dang tshe dbang-bskur tshul gyi cho-ga 'chi-med rdo-rje'i rgya-mdud*, in *sGrub-thabs kun-btus*, vol. Ka, p. 440 *seq.* The same vision also recounted in *rNam-thar*, pp. 257–258, but here there is no mention of the 'Chi-med *dpal-ster*. Further, the identical vision is presented as the origin of the bKa'-brgyad section of the *Grub-thob thugs-tig*, as in *Grag-'thung bde-gshegs 'dus-pa*, p. 359 *seq.*, but again the 'Chi-med *dpal-ster* is not mentioned.

27. Kong-sprul, *gTer-rnam brgya-rtsa*, p. 541; Kun-bzang Nges-don Klong-yangs, *Bod du byung-ba'i gsang-sngags snga-'gyur bstan-'dzin kyes mchog-rim byon gyi rnam-thar nor-bu'i do-shal* (Dalhousie: Damchoe Sang-po, 1976) p. 190.

28. bsTan-'dzin Ye-shes lHun-grub, *op. cit.*, p. 612: "O rgyan chen pos sgrub pa chen po sde drug 'chi med tshe dang bcas pa'i sprul pa'i dkyil 'khor du dbang bskur/ khyad par bla ma'i rnal 'byor la brten pa'i tshe sgrub zab mo 'di nyid stsal/".

29. *rNam-thar*, p. 116.

30. *rNam-thar*, p. 63: "Bu rnal 'byor pa/".

31. See Thang-stong rGyal-po, *Ye-shes mkha'-gro ni-gu-ma'i chos-drug gi khrid-yig gnad-yig snying-po kun-'dus*, in *gDam-ngag mdzod*, vol. 8, p. 307.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 278 *seq.*, and elsewhere.

33. The following summarizes bDud-'joms, *rNying-ma'i chos-'byung*, p. 63 *seq.*

34. *Ibid.*, p. 70: "... bsdu ba po yang ston pa nyid las gzhan du ma gyur te/".

35. *Ibid.*: "... sgra rtoḡ gi yul las brgyal ba'i chos nyid mnyam pa chen por ro gcig pa'i tshul gyis chos kyi 'khor lo bskor ba. . ."

36. For the semiotics of Treasure transmission, see my "Signs, Memory and History."

37. In chapter 5, the Buddha's teaching, compared to rain, is said to nourish the various types of sentient beings, compared to plants, each according to their needs.

38. The account of the history of the transmission is in *Nam-mkha' sgo-byed*, in *The Collected Teachings of Thañ ston rgyal po* (1976) vol. 2, p. 120 *seq.*

39. The exception is the reference, in *rNam-thar*, pp. 287–288, to Thang-stong's composition of his Shangs-pa texts, which as discussed above are the most discursive in style of all of the literature attributed to him.

Chapter 7.

*It is with great pleasure that I extend my gratitude to the late Thar-rtse mKhan Rin-po-che, bSod-nams rgya-mtsho 'Jam-dbyangs kun-dga' bstan-pa'i rgyal-mtshan (Hiroshi Sonami). Without mKhan Rin-po-che's assistance, graceful patience, and unflinching good humor over the years, I would have had virtually no acquaintance with the Ngor-pa tradition. I have also received valuable information from Thar-rtse Rin-po-che's brother, bLa-ma Blo-bzang kun-dga' 'gyur-med, the Thar-rtse zhabs-drung Rin-po-che. Late night skull sessions and a flurry of correspondence with Dr. David Jackson have also brought me much valuable information of which I would have otherwise remained ignorant. I am indebted to his persistent questioning for compelling me to re-examine my sources and correct my errors, and for assisting me in identifying materials which I had overlooked.

1. *Complete Works* was compiled and edited in 15 vols. by bSod-nams rgya-mtsho (Tokyo: Toyo Bunko, 1968). The *gNad kyi zla-zer* is found in *Complete Works*, vol. 9, pp. 173.4.1–277.4.6, and was written in 1419 while Ngor-chen was residing at Sa-skya. The *Lam-'bras tha-dad* is in volume *tsa* of the sDe-dge edition of the *Lam-'bras sLob-bshad* collection, edited by Blo-gter dbang-po, and begins on fol. 356a1 of that volume. As the text has its own pagination, though, I will give references to that pagination. The text, not dated, was written while Blo-gter dbang-po was in residence at Lhun-grub steng (sDe-dge dgon-chen). The *mNgon-rtogs* and the *Lus-dkyil* occur as nos. 1 and 2, respectively, of vol. 18 of the *rGyud-sde kun-btus* (Delhi: N. Lungtok and N. Gyaltsan, 1971), pp. 1.1–31.6 and 32.1–48.6. All references will be to this edition. There is also a xylograph edition of these two texts arranged in the manner that they are actually used, complete with the Ngor-chen's *svādhiṣṭhāna*, *dPal kye rdo-rje'i mngon-par rtogs-pa 'bring du bya-ba yan-lag drug-pa'i mdzes rgyan*, Library of Congress P.L. 480 no. I-Tib 226 (Gangtok: 1967 ?). While the *Lus-dkyil* is undated, the *mNgon-rtogs* was written in 1551; both were composed at Ngor.

2. "The Ngor-pa Tradition," in *Wind Horse* 1 (Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press, 1981), pp. 79–97. I wish to correct one slight error that I made in overstating the case for the monastic instability of the sLob-bshad (Tshar-lugs). While knowing that Nalendra monastery was important for the sLob-bshad, I did not realize that it was the main locus of transmission during the modern period. As in all matters concerning Sa-skya tradition, more work needs to be done on the Tshar-lugs.

3. See Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan, *Bla-ma rgya-gar-ba'i lo-rgyus*, *Complete Works*, vol. 3, p. 172.4.4; *Lam-'bras tha-dad* fol. 3b2–5; 'Jam-mgon A-myes-zhabs Ngag-dbang kun-dga' bsod-nams, *Lam-'bras khog-phub* (New Delhi: Ngawang Topgay, 1974), pp. 230.3 f., 267.3f., and 286.4f.

4. Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan, *Bla-ma rgya-gar-ba'i los-rgyus*, p. 170.4.5; Per Kvaerne, *An Anthology of Buddhist Tantric Songs*, Det Norske Vid-

enskaps-Akademi Hist.-Filos. Klasse Skrifter Ny Serie No. 14 (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1977), songs nos. 10 (p. 113), 11 (p. 119), and 18 (p. 150). The commentator, Munidatta, indicates that *kāpālika* here means *vajrakāpālika* (p. 121) and gives a nice verse by Daratīpāda indicating that the practice known as *vajrakapālacaryā* is being referred to. See *Hevajra-tantra* I.iii: 15–16, vi: 15–17. See Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan's comment in *Complete Works*, vol. 3, 120.3.1–4.4.

5. A potential problem which needs to be addressed is whether the leather worker (*ko-mkhan*) mentioned by Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan in the *Bla-ma rgya-gar-ba'i lo-rgyus*, not in these annals identified as Dombiheruka, could be the same as the author of the *Nairātmyāsādhana* (and other Vajrayāna texts bearing his name) given in B. Bhattacharya, ed., *Sāadhanamāla* vol. 2, Gaekwad's Oriental Series No. 41 (Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1968), pp. 443–449, which is written in a quality of Sanskrit not normally mastered by leather workers in India. Cf. *gNad kyi zla-zer*, p. 179.1.4.

6. To. 1218–25, 1263; see *gNad kyi zla-zer*, pp. 174.4.5–175.1.3; Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan, *Kye rdo-rje'i chos-skor kyi dkar-chag*, in *Complete Works*, vol. 3, p. 276.2.1–2.

7. Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan, *Bla-ma brgyud-pa bod kyi lo-rgyus*, in *Complete Works*, vol. 3, p. 173.2.6 f.; T. G. Dhongthog Rinpoche, *A History of the Sa-skyapa Sect of Tibetan Buddhism* (New Delhi: T. G. Dhongthog Rinpoche, 1977), pp. 130.1–139.4. I wish to thank David Jackson for referring me to Dhongthog's *History*, an extremely useful, modern work.

8. *gNad kyi zla-zer*, p. 176.2.3; for some of the controversies surrounding Ngor-chen's analysis of these systems, see Go-ram bSod-nams seng-ge's *dPal Kyai rdo-rje'i sgrub-pa'i thabs kyi rgya-cher bshad-pa bskyed-rim-gnad kyi zla-zer la rtsod-pa spong-ba gnad kyi gsal byed*, in *The Collected Works of Kun-mkhyen Go-ram-pa bSod-nams seng-ge* (Dehra Dun: Sakya College, 1979), vol. 12, pp. 561.1–565.6.

9. *gNad kyi zla-zer*, p. 175.3.3. Ngor-chen identifies Kṛṣṇa Paṇḍita with Śāntibhadra. See also Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan, *Kye rdo-rje'i chos-skor kyi dkar-chag*, in *Complete Works*, vol. 3, p. 276.2.5. Note that the *Yogaratnamālā* belongs to Kṛṣṇa the scholar and not Kāṇha the yogic poet. The Sanskrit text for the *Yogaratnamālā* has been published by D. Snellgrove, *The Hevajra Tantra*, London Oriental Series Vol. 6, Part II (London: Oxford University Press, 1976), pp. 103–159.

10. *Complete Works*, vol. 3, p. 276.2.5.

11. The modern text for the *abhiṣeka* of the Nag-po-lugs of Hevajra practice is the *Nag-po-lugs sku rdo-rje zhal-gcig phyag-gnyis-pa lha-dgu'i dkyil 'khor*, by the 28th Ngor mKhan-po, mKhan-chen Byams-pa Tshul-khrims dpal-bzang, and probably written in 1710. It is in the *rGyud-sde kun-btus*, vol. 18, pp. 470–606, and is based on the *sGrub-dkyil nag-po*

mdzes-rgyan of dKon-mchog lhun-grub (see p. 605.3). The erratic nature of the transmission of this system is apparent in the lineage list given on p. 508.1, where we notice that Chos-rgyal 'Phags-pa is not included in the transmission, the Nag-po-lugs additionally not being mentioned in 'Phags-pa's *gSan-yig*, *Complete Works*, vol. 6, pp. 32.4.1–35.1.4. Although the *abhi-seka* was retained, I have not been able to find any modern *sādhana* text for use in the actual practice.

12. See the texts contained in the *grol-byed-khrid* section (pp. 323–794) of the *gDams-ngag-mdzod* vol. 4 (Delhi: N. Lungtok and N. Gyaltsan, 1971) of Kong-sprul.

13. *sLob-dpon mtsho-skyes kyi lo-rgyus*, *Complete Works*, vol. 1, pp. 380.4.1–381.4.4; *sGrub-thabs mtsho-skyes kyi bsdu-don*, *Complete Works*, vol. 1, pp. 381.4.4–382.4.4; *mNgon-rtogs tshig gi bum-pa*, *Complete Works*, vol. 1, pp. 382.4.4–387.4.4.

14. bSod-nams rtse-mo, *dPal kye'i rdo rje'i sgrub-thabs mtsho-skyes kyi ti-ka*, *Complete Works*, vol. 2, pp. 116.3.1–131.2.1; Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan, *sLob-dpon padma badzra gyis mdzad pa'i bskyed-rim zab-pa'i tshul dgus brgyan-pa*, in the *gDams-ngag mdzod*, vol. 4, pp. 518.1–537.1.

15. *gNad kyi zla-zer*, pp. 174.4.5–176.1.5.

16. *gNad kyi zla-zer*, p. 179.3.5–6.

17. See Go-ram-pa's *gNad kyi zla-zer la rtsod-pa spong-ba gnad kyi gsal byed*, *Collected Works*, vol. 12, p. 598.1–3. Cf. *Complete Works*, vol. 3, pp. 220.4.3–221.1.4; 153.2.5.

18. *Complete Works*, vol. 2, pp. 350.1.1–366.3.6.

19. The primary source is the twelfth chapter of the *Guhyasamāja*, vv. 60–76 according to the edition of Y. Matsunaga, *The Guhyasamāja Tantra—A New Critical Edition* (Osaka: Toho Shuppan, 1978), pp. 42–44; B. Bhattacharya, *Guhyasamāja Tantra or Tathāgataguhyaka*, Gaekwad's Oriental Series No. 53 (Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1967), pp. 57.19–59.16; Chapter 18 further relates this system to both the *utpattikrama* and *sampannakrama*, Matsunaga, vv. 135–178, pp. 123–126; Bhattacharya, pp. 162.14–166.21. Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan, in his *rGyud kyi mngon-rtogs Rin-po-che'i ljon-shing*, relates the four-limbed structure to *Hevajra Tantra* I.iii:2, which is difficult to see in the text; *Complete Works*, vol. 3, p. 40.1.4.

20. Daisetz T. Suzuki, ed., *The Tibetan Tripitaka: Peking Edition* (Tokyo: Tibetan Tripitaka Research Institute, 1956), vol. 1, p. 227.1.4–2.1. Both Alex Wayman in *The Buddhist Tantras* (New York: Samuel Weiser, 1979), p. 47, and Stephan Beyer in *The Cult of Tārā* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1973), pp. 114–119, have noted these six limbs of the developing process, taking their information from Tsong-kha-pa. For a truly exhaustive discussion of the various systems of *utpattikrama* and the position of the Sa-skyā, see *gNad kyi zla-zer*, pp. 190.4.5 ff. There is also a rudimentary

form of a *ṣaḍaṅgayoga* applied to *utpattikrama* in *Hevajra Tantra* I.viii:24, but its significance is unclear, see Kṛṣṇa's comment, vol. 2, p. 125.16.

21. *Bla-ma mnga'-ris-pas mdzad-pa'i brtag-gnyis kyi tshig-'grel*, *Complete Works*, pp. 13.4.1–65.4.6; Sa-chen Kun-dga' snying-po, *dPal kye'i rdo-rje'i rtsa-ba'i rgyud brtag-pa gnyis-pa'i dka'-'grel*, *Complete Works*, vol. 1, pp. 66.1.1–78.3.6; *Bla-ma sa-chen gyis mdzad-pa'i kye rdo-rje'i rtsa-rgyud brtag-pa gnyis kyi dka'-'grel*, *Complete Works*, vol. 1, pp. 78.4.1–120.4.5; Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan, *brTag-pa gnyis-pa'i rnam-par bshad-pa ma-dag-pa-rnams 'joms-par byed-pa'i rnam-'grel dag-ldan*, *Complete Works*, vol. 3, pp. 96.3.1–162.3.6.

22. *Complete Works*, vol. 3, pp. 217.1.1–220.4.3.

23. See Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan's short statement in *Complete Works*, vol. 3, pp. 220.4.3–221.1.3.

24. *gNad kyi zla-zer*, p. 179.3.6.

25. There is a discrepancy in the accounts of the date of 'Phags-pa's birth. See S. Inaba, "An Introductory Study of the Degeneration of Lamas," in G. H. Sasaki, ed., *A Study of Kleśa* (Tokyo: Shimizukobundo, 1975), pp. 550–549; János Szerb, "Glosses on the Oeuvre of Bla-ma 'Phags-pa: II. Some Notes on the Events of the Years 1251–1254," *Acta Orientalia* 34 (Budapest, 1980): 275, n. 63. 'Phags-pa follows the *vajracatuṣka* of bSod-nams rtse-mo, but follows the *sngon-'gro* material of Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan (compare *Collected Works* vol. 6, p. 98.2.1–4.3 to vol. 3, p. 217.2.4–4.3) as against the lack of preliminaries in bSod-nams rtse-mo (*Complete Works*, vol. 2, p. 358.3.4). There are other examples of 'Phags-pa's organization of both of these sources, but space prohibits detail.

26. *Kye rdo-rje lus dkyil gyi sgrub-thabs*, *Complete Works*, vol. 6, pp. 130.4.4–131.4.3. See Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan's (?) *Lus kyi dkyil-'khor*, in *Pod-ser-ma* (Bhir: 'Jam-dbyangs lung-rtogs dpal-bzang, 1970), pp. 169.3–173.4.

27. Compare *Complete Works*, vol. 6, p. 131.2.4–4.3 to *Pod-ser-ma*, p. 173.1. 'Phags-pa's consecration, however, followed the format of the consecration given during the *rakṣa-cakra*, not precisely corresponding to the consecrations given in *Lus-dkyil* 36.2–48.4, *mNgon-rtogs* 21.1–22.5, and *Pod-ser-ma* (*Lam-dus kyi dbang rgyas 'bring bsod gsum*) p. 193.2–197.3. In 'Phags-pa's text, for example, the consecration mantra is left out.

28. A very useful, short biography of Bla-ma dam-pa is found in 'Jam-mgon A-myes-zhabs, *Sa-skya gdung-rabs chen-mo* (Dolanji: Tibetan Bonpo Monastic Centre, 1975), pp. 321.2–360.1. See pp. 344.2–346.1 for a list of works ascribed to Bla-ma dam-pa; included in this list are all of the elements of the *Pod-nag-ma*.

29. *Lam-'bras khog-phub*, pp. 276.4, 292.4, 304.2. The *Pod-nag-ma* consists primarily of a *Bla-ma brgyud-pa'i rnam-par thar-pa* (*Lam-'bras slob-bshad*, vol. Na, fols. 1b1–61a5); an interesting commentary on the *rTsa ba*

rdo rje'i tshig rkang of Virūpa, the *Lam-'bras-bu dang bcas-pa'i gdams-ngag gi rnam-par bshad-pa man-ngag gter mdzod* (fols. 62b1–216b5); three short studies of selected topics (fols. 216b6–225a6); a discussion of the preliminaries leading up the practice of *sampannakrama*, complete with an elaboration of the practice itself, the *Lam-'bras-bu dang bcas-pa'i gzhung ji-lta-ba bzhin dkri-ba'i khrid-yig sbas-don kun gsal* (fols. 226b1–272a3, also included in the *gDams-ngag mdzod*, vol. 4, pp. 327–421); and finally a practical (*nyams-len*) section, including texts on *mngon-rtogs* (fols. 273a1–284a6), *sampannakrama* (*svādhiṣṭhāna*, fols. 284a6–285a1), the eight non-meditative practices (*rjes-spyod*; 285a1–299b1), *lus-dkyil*, complete with the three lengths of consecration (fols. 299b1–303b5), and the *bla-ma'i rnal-'byor* (fols. 303b5–307b4). I wish to thank David Jackson for calling my attention to this important collection.

30. *dPal kye rdo-rje'i mngon-par rtogs-pa yan-lag drug-pa, Pod-nag-ma*, fols. 273a1–284a6.

31. Compare *Pod-nag-ma* fols. 273b2–274b5 with 'Phags-pa's *Yig-brgya bzla-ba'i man-ngag, Complete Works*, vol. 6, pp. 96.3.4–97.1.1.

32. *Paṇḍi-ta chen-po Shā-kya mchog-ldan gyi rnam-par thar-pa zhib-mo rnam-par 'byed-pa*, in *The Complete Works of Gser-mdog pan-chen sakya-mchog-ldan* (Thimphu, Bhutan: Kunzang Tobgey, 1975), vol. 16, p. 190.1. I wish to thank David Jackson for drawing my attention to this passage.

33. For example, compare *gNad kyi zla-zer*, pp. 201.3.2 ff. to the material in note 31 *supra*.

34. The *abhisamaya* of Mus-chen's was called the *mNgon-rtogs yan-lag drug-pa Bya-bral-ma* (*Shā-kya mchog-ldan rnam-thar*, p. 189.6), the latter part acquired from the nickname Ngor-chen gave Mus-chen, *Bya-bral-ba* (*Collected Works of Go-ram-pa*, vol. 10, p. 35.6). For the works of Mus-chen, see the *Lam-'bras khog-phub*, p. 286.1, *Lam-'bras tha-dad*, fol. 7a1.

35. A note (*mchan*) in the *Lam-'bras tha-dad* (fol. 7a1) mentions that "it is said that there is not much difference between [the works of Mus-chen] and those of dKon-mchog lhun-grub." (*dKon lhun gyi yig cha dang khyed par med gsung*/). See the *mNgon-rtogs*, p. 31.4, and *Lus-dkyil*, p. 48.6.

36. *Complete Works*, vol. 2, p. 117.3.2, 351.1.1. Padmavajra's tradition does not seem to use the word '*asamāhita*' when referring to these practices.

37. *Lam-'bras tha-dad*, fol. 46b2.

38. For example, according to Thar-rtse Rin-po-che, the medium consecration is usually performed in the morning, the short one in the afternoon, and the extended consecration is performed at night. Furthermore, the special preliminaries (*thun-min sngon-'gro*), the entire circle of protection (*raṅsacakra*), and the development and dissolution of the Hetuvajradhara may be eliminated in the afternoon session.

39. Ngor-chen in the *gNad kyi zla-zer* refers to these *sngon-'gro* divisions by other names; I have adopted the category names as given by the sDe-dge Yab-chen, Byams-pa kun-dga' bstan-pa'i rgyal-mtshan (b. 1786) in his *dPal kye rdo-rje'i phyi nang bskyed-rim nyams-len gnad kyi gsal-byed snyan-brgyud bstan-pa rgyas-pa'i nyin-byed* (New Delhi: Trayang and Jamyang Samten, 1976), pp. 4.1 ff. This text became very popular with the Ngor-pa, especially at Lhun-grub-steng monastery, although it generally describes the *utpattikrama* according to the Tshar-lugs. Among the Ngor-pa, Lhun-grub-steng had special affiliations with the Tshar-lugs.

40. *Peking Tibetan Tripitaka*, vol. 1, p. 233.4.3.

41. For the extremely important *gsal-stong zung-'jug* meditations, see dKon-mchog lhun-grub's *Lam-bras bu dang bcas-pa'i gdams-ngag gi gzhung shing rgyas-pa gzhung ji-lta-ba bzhin bkri-ba'i lam gyi dngos-gzhi'i khrid-yig rGyud-gsum mdzes-par byed-pa'i rgyan* (Delhi: 'Jam-dbyangs kun-bzang, 1967 or 1968), pp. 42.3 ff. This work is known as the *rGyud-gsum mdzes-rgyan* in the literature. M. Tachikawa has briefly described these meditations according to his dGe-lugs-pa source in "The Tantric Doctrine of the Sa skya pa according to the Śel gyi me loñ," *Acta Asiatica* 29 (Tokyo: Tōhō Gakkai, 1975): 95–106.

42. *gNad kyi zla-zer*, p. 212.4.4; *Peking Tibetan Tripitaka*, vol. 1, pp. 227.2.7 ff. and 234.5.2 ff; Sa-chen, *rDo-rje gur las gsungs-pa'i khro-bcu'i srung-'khor*, *Complete Works*, vol. 1, pp. 281.3.1–283.4.3; Chos-rgyal 'Phags-pa, *Kye rdo-rje'i sgrub-thabs srung-'khor dang bcas-pa*, *Complete Works*, vol. 6, pp. 107.2.4–109.4.1.

43. *Peking Tibetan Tripitaka*, vol. 56, p. 141.5.2; *gNad kyi zla-zer*, p. 235.2.4 and p. 262.2.5.

44. *gNad kyi zla-zer*, p. 232.1.2.

45. Compare the development in the *Sarvatathāgatātattvasaṃgraha* in S. Sakai, "Concerning the Pañcābhisambodhi," ("Gosō-jōshin-gan ni tsuite") in *Studies in Esoteric Buddhism* (Koyasan: Koyasan, 1965), pp. 397–409, and A. Wayman and F. Lessing, *Mkhas Grub Rje's Fundamentals of Buddhist Tantras*, Indo-Iranian Monographs Vol. VIII (The Hague: Mouton, 1968), pp. 28–35.

46. The verses utilized are the *apabhraṃśa-vajragīti* verses of *Hevajra Tantra* II.v: 20–23 in their Tibetan translation. Their use here casts light on the employment of these sorts of verses in the Vajrayāna ritual context. Cf. *Sādhanamālā*, vol. 2, pp. 371.13, 382.9, 383.17, 387.9, 460.9, 466.17, 481.15, 501.4; P.C. Bagchi, "Dohakoṣa With Notes and Translations," *Journal of the Department of Letters, University of Calcutta* 28 (1935): 32–38.

47. See Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan's *rGyud kyi mngon-rtogs rin-po-che'i ljon-shing*, *Complete Works*, vol. 3, pp. 29.1.3 ff. for the basic Sa-skyā position on the *vajrakāya*.

48. See A-myes-zhabs, *Lam-'bras khog-phub*, p. 286.4 for all four of the 'acoustic streams' in the context of the Tshogs-bshad.

49. *Pod-ser-ma*, p. 319.1.

50. Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan, *Lam-dus kyi dbang rgyas 'bring bsds gsum*, *Pod-ser-ma*, p. 193.2–197.3.

51. *Pod-ser-ma*, 'di thun bzhi la ma grub kyang dus bzang ba la dbang blangs na dam tshig nyams pa thams cad bskang bar 'gyur ro //, p. 319.1–2.

52. *Dombi-he-ru-kas mdzad-pa'i lhan-cig-skyes grub*, *gDams-ngag mdzod*, vol. 4, pp. 507.1–517.7. This text, according to the *Lam-'bras tha-dad* fol. 17b5, was redacted by Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan based on the work of Dombiheruka and is substantially different from the *Śrīśahajasiddhi* found in the canon (To. 2223). This latter was edited in Tibetan and Sanskrit with an English translation by Malati J. Shendge, "Śrīśahajasiddhi," *Indo-Iranian Journal* 10 (1967): 126–149.

53. See R. Davidson, "The Nor-pa Tradition," *Wind Horse* 1 (1981): 86.

54. *caṇḍālī jvalitā nābhau / dahati pañcatathāgatān // dahati ca locanā-dīḥ / dagdhe 'haṃsraṇate śaśī //* D. Snellgrove, *Hevajra Tantra*, vol. 2, p. 6.

55. This discussion is drawn from dKon-mchog lhun-grub, *rGyud-gsum mdzes rgyan*, p. 42.6 f, pp. 125.5 ff.; Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan, *rGyud kyi mngon-rtogs rin-po-che'i ljon-shing*, *Complete Works*, vol. 3, pp. 34.2.1 ff; and Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan's commentary on the *Hevajra Tantra*, the *brTag-pa gnyis-pa'i rnam-par bshad-pa ma-dag-pa rnam 'joms-par byed-pa'i rnam-grel dag-ldan*, *Complete Works*, vol. 3, pp. 108.1.1 ff.

56. *rGyud-sde kun-btus*, vol. 18, pp. 128–150. The eight *asamāhita* practices are traditionally given as going to sleep (*nyal*), awakening (*ldang*), recitation of the *mantra* (*bzlas-pa*), bathing (*khruś*), eating (*kha-zas*), offering the *gtor-ma*, everyday activity (*spyod-lam*), and the yoga practiced during sexual intercourse by the householder (*rjes-chags*). See bSod-nams rtse-mo, *sGrub-thabs mtsho-skyes kyi ũika*, *Complete Works*, vol. 2, pp. 118.4.1 ff.

57. *mNgon-rtogs*, p. 30.3.

58. *Lam-'bras tha-dad*, fol. 3b3, *tshogs bshad kyi lugs gzhir bzhag pa'i khar man ngag gi zab gnad dang / gzhung dang / rgyud kyi bshad bka' sogs bsnan nas 'chad pa la slob bshad ces grags shing /*.

59. The standard long commentary before Bla-ma dam-pa (see note 29 *supra*) appears to have been the *rNam-'grel gnyags-ma*, *gDams-ngag mdzod*, vol. 4, pp. 34–120.

60. We particularly notice the *gSung-ngag slob-bshad du grags-pa'i brgyud-'dzin-rnam kyi gsung-rab khog-phub kyi zin-bris gnad kyi be-bum*,

which was relied on extensively by A-myes zhabs for his own *Lam-'bras khog-phub*, p. 274.3 and 294.4.

61. *A History of the Sa-skyapa Sect*, p. 169.1.

62. *Lam-'bras tha-dad*, fol. 39a1.

63. *rGyud-sde kun-btus*, vol. 26, p. 93.1. Compare dKon-mchog lhun-grub's *sNang-gsum mdzes-rgyan*, which has the full title of *Lam-'bras-du dang bcas-pa'i gdams-ngag gi gzhung shing rgyas-pa gzhung ji-lta-ba bzhin bkri-ba'i lam gyi sngon-'gro'i khrid-yig sNang-gsum mdzes-par byed-pa'i rgyan* (Delhi: 'Jam-dbyangs kun-bzang, 1967?), p. 3.1.

64. *Lam-'bras tha-dad*, fol. 39b4.

65. *gSung-ngag rin-po-che lam 'bras-bu dang bcas-pa'i brgyud-'debs, gDams-ngag mdzod*, vol. 4, pp. 323–326.

66. *rGyal-ba rdo-rje-'chang kun-dga' bzang-po'i rnam-par thar-pa legs-bshad chu-bo 'dus-pa'i rgya-mtsho yon-tan yid-bzhin nor-bu'i 'byung-gnas*, published with the sDe-dge Yab-chen's *utpattikrama* text mentioned above, note 39, (New Delhi: Trayang and Jamyang Samten, 1976), p. 220.2.

67. *Lam-'bras tha-dad*, fol. 40a1, makes no mention of the practices of Śītatārā and Śītamañjuśrī and only discusses the granting of the *anujñā* for the other three divinities.

68. Ngor-chen's biography and the short biographies of the successive masters of Ngor (*gDan-rabs nor-bu'i phreng-ba*) are particularly emphasized, *Lam-'bras tha-dad*, fol. 40a3–b5.

69. The tradition for the generation of the thought of enlightenment used in the Tshogs-bshad was particular to the Sa-skyapa. Entitled the *brGyud-pa'i khyad-par gnyis-ka dang-ldan-pa'i sems-bskyed*, the tradition represents the fusion of the traditions passing through Virūpa and Nārōtāpāda. In modern times the text utilized was that of Ngag-dbang chos-grags. See the *Lam-'bras tha-dad*, fol. 39b1–3.

70. The usual text for the *rgyu-dus kyi dbang* was dKon-mchog lhun-grub's *dPal kye rdo-rje'i dbang gi chu-bo chen-mo mdzes-par byed-pa'i rgyan, rGyud-sde kun-btus*, vol. 18, pp. 49–115.

71. *Ngor-chen rnam-thar*, p. 220.3.

72. Blo-gter dbang-po mentions that for the *lam dus kyi dbang* one could use Shar-chen Byams-pa kun-dga' bkra-shis (1558–1615, 14th Ngor mKhan-po), *dPal kye rdo-rje'i zab-mo lus kyi dkyil-'khor du slob-ma dbang-bskur-ba'i cho-ga grub-pa'i gsang-lam* (*rGyud-sde kun-btus*, vol. 18, pp. 257–321), or an as yet unidentified *dbang-chog* by Zhu-chen Tshul-khrims rin-chen (1697–1769); see *Lam-'bras tha-dad*, fol. 43a3.

73. In the *Lam-bras tha-dad*, fol. 43a3, Blo-gter dbang-po specifically mentions that the *bDag-med-ma'i byin-rlabs* of mKhan-chen Ngag-dbang chos-grags, and the *Lam-zab bla-ma'i rnal-'byor* and the *Bir-srung byin-rlabs* of Thar-paṅ Nam-mkha' dpal-bzang (1535–1602, the 13th Ngor mKhan-po) were the meditative texts employed in the Tshogs-bshad.

74. For dKon-mchog lhun-grub's texts, see above notes 41 and 63. For Ngag-dbang chos-grags's texts, see *rGyud-sde kun-btus*, vol. 26, pp. 269–331, and 504–620. I have not yet been able to trace the works of Ngag-dbang bstan-pa'i rdo-rje.

75. These texts occur in vol. 26 of the *rGyud-sde kun-btus*, pp. 224–268, 436–496, 497–503, respectively.

76. According to information I received from Thar-rtse Rin-po-che, during the spring celebration (*dus-chen*), the Thar-rtse bla-brang was responsible for the *Cakrasaṃvara-maṇḍala* (either according to Luhipāda or Kṛṣṇacārin, according to the year), the kLu-lding bla-brang had the *Guhya-samāja-maṇḍala* (either Akṣobhya or Mañjuvajra, depending on the year), Khang-gsar had the *Vajradhātu-maṇḍala* of the *Samputa-tantra*, while the Phan-bde bla-brang had the *Kula-saṃharaṇa-maṇḍala*.

77. The lists are from *Lam-bras tha-dad*, fol. 8b5 and fol. 44a1. The identifications as Ngor mKhan-po for the members of the lineages come from Khetsun Sangpo, *Biographical Dictionary of Tibet and Tibetan Buddhism* (Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1979), vol. 10, pp. 573–577, except that he has neglected to include the fifth Ngor mKhan-po, mKhas-grub dpal-ldan rdo-rje, who was mKhan-po for a short period. For the circumstances of this period, see dBang-phyug kong-ston, *The Biography of Go-ram bsod-nams seng-ge* (Delhi: T.G. Dhongthog, 1973), pp. 43–44. The Sa-skya Khri-thog-pa identifications are also from Khetsun Sangpo's *Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 10, pp. 562 ff. I have used the title Khri-thog-pa since it was the modern term used by Thar-rtse zhabs-drung Rin-po-che; I have not run across any indication that this term was actually used at this time and perhaps the older term 'Gong-ma' was still employed. In addition to the sources listed in the above notes, useful information can be obtained from dPal-ldan tshul-khrims, *Chos-'byung kun gsal me-long* (New Delhi: Bon-po Monastic Center, 1971), pp. 169 ff. The list of the Zhwa-lu mKhan-chen is given in Blo-gsal bstan skyong, *History of Zhwa-lu* (Leh, Ladakh: S.W. Tashigangpa, 1971), pp. 353 ff. along with excellent small biographies.

78. Tshar-chen's *ka-ba-bzhi*, see the *History of Zhwa-lu* p. 279.1.

Chapter 8.

*A comprehensive study of the genesis, transmission, structure, and practice of the *kLong-chen snying-thig* visionary cycle can be found in my

book *Fearless Vision: The kLong-chen snying-thig / An Eighteenth Century Tibetan Revelation* (Hong Kong/Kathmandu: Rangjung Yeshe Publications, forthcoming).

I must, as a debt of gratitude, thank the following people who have unfailingly given of their time and knowledge, clarifying my many questions. First I must thank the *klong-chen snying-thig chos-dbag* rDo grub-chen Rin-po-che IV Thub-bstan phrin-las dpal bzang-po, who encouraged me in the study of the *kLong-snying* tradition and clarified several points regarding *dbang-bskur*. sPrul-sku Don-grub, the reemodiment of the rDo-grub monastery mkhan-po dKon-mchog sgron-me, former Visiting Scholar at the Center for the Study of World Religions, Harvard University, tirelessly explained the structure and practice of the *kLong-snying* according to the rDo-grub-chen tradition, and clarified many difficult textual points. The late bLa-ma mGon-po tshe-brtan (Rig-'dzin phrin-las 'od-zer), of gSang-chen smin-rgyas-gling Monastery in A-mdo, graciously explained the meaning and significance of many of the *kLong-snying* teachings, especially the importance of *sngon-'gro*. Prof. Namkhai Norbu, Oriental Institute, University of Naples, clarified several aspects of the *kLong-snying* transmission, and provided masterful insights regarding the rDzogs-chen *lta-ba*. mKhan-po dPal-ldan shes-rab, former Chief Abbot of the Department of rNying-ma Studies, Varanasi University, clarified several points on rNying-ma history and philosophy. Dar-thang sprul-sku, Head of Nyingma Institute (Berkeley, California), I must thank for having first introduced me to the *kLong-snying* tradition. Finally, I must thank my mentor Dr. Herbert V. Guenther, Professor Emeritus, University of Saskatchewan, for making available to me many of the texts used in this study, and for furnishing peerless guidance through the principal sources of rDzogs-chen thought.

1. The various prophecies heralding the birth of 'Jigs-med gling-pa are discussed in note 8.

2. Although commonly known as 'Jigs-med gling-pa, he also had the following names: rDzogs-pa chen-po Rang-byung rdo-rje'i mkhyen-brtse'i 'od-zer (the shortened form often appearing as Rang-byung rdo-rje or mKhyen-brtse'i 'od-zer), mKhyen-brtse'i lha, kLong-chen nam-mkha'i rnal-'byor, and Padma dbang-chen.

3. See below, notes 7 and 30.

4. 'Jigs-med gling-pa's account of this work is given in *rNying-ma'i rgyud-'bum gyi rtogs-brjod* [Coll. Works(J), vol. III(Ga), pp. 1-499]. Full reference for *Coll. Works(J)* is given in note 5.

5. Two major collections have been used. The first is the reprint reproduction, unfortunately largely traced or handcopied, of the nine volume sDe-dge edition of 'Jigs-med gling-pa's work, *The Collected Works of Kun-mkhyen 'Jigs-med gling-pa* [Gangtok, Sonam T. Kazi, 1971], 9 volumes (*Nga-gyur Nyingmay Sungrab*, vols. 29-37), hereafter abbreviated as *Coll.*

Works(J). The second collection is a reproduction from xylograph prints in the library of the late Venerable Dil-mgo mKhyen-brtse Rin-po-che, originally made from A-'dzom Chos-sgar blocks, of the collected *kLong-snying* teachings. Three volumes, marked Vol. I (Om), Vol. II (Āh), and Vol. III (Hūm), have been published together as *kLong-chen snying-thig. Treasured rNying-ma-pa precepts and rituals received in a vision of kLong-chen-pa Dri-med 'od-zer* by 'Jigs-med gling-pa Rang-byung rdo-rje mkhyen-brtse'i 'od-zer [New Delhi, Ngawang Sopa, 1973]. The three volume A-'dzom chos-sgar redaction also appears as vols. 106–108 of the *Rin-chen gter-mdzod chen-mo* [Kong-sprul blo-gros mtha'-yas, *Rin-chen gter-mdzod chen-mo, a reproduction of the sTod-lung mtshur-phu redaction of 'Jam-mgon Kong-sprul's great work on the unity of the gter-ma traditions of Tibet, with supplemental texts from the dPal-spungs redaction and other manuscripts* (Paro: Ngodrup and Sherab Drimay, 1976–)], hereafter abbreviated *Rin-chen gter-mdzod*. The title page and English preface to Ngawang Sopa's reprint indicates that the blocks were carved at the beginning of the 20th century, through the efforts of A-'dzom 'Brug-pa Rin-po-che 'Gro-'dul dpa'-bo rdo-rje (1842–1924), and contain added teachings of 'Jam-dbyangs mkhyen-brtse'i dbang-po (1820–1892). More recently a fourth volume, of *kLong-snying* teachings, marked "*klong-chen snying-thig rtsa-pod Hriḥ*" on the boards, was issued from the library of Dil-mgo mKhyen-brtse, without a title page or colophonic markings giving the date. This fourth volume contains many additional *kLong-snying* teachings by 'Jam-dbyangs mkhyen-brtse'i dbang-po, as well as texts by rDo-grub 'Jigs-med phrin-las 'od-zer [rDo-grub-chen Rin-po-che I (1745–1821)], rDo-grub 'Jigs-med bstan-pa'i nyi-ma [rDo-grub-chen III (1865–1926)], and Dil-mgo mKhyen-brtse himself. For the sake of convenience I shall cite all four volumes under the abbreviation *kLong-snying(A-'dzom)*. The great majority of texts in *kLong-snying(A-'dzom)*, vols. I(Om)–III(Hūm) are identical to those in the two volume collection of *kLong-snying* texts in 'Jigs-med gling-pa's collected works [*Coll. Works(J)*, vols. VII(Ja), VIII(Nya)]. Because of the superior quality of the A-'dzom chos-sgar redaction, however, I will cite the texts in that collection.

In addition to these collections, a number of other works have been used. For ease of reference, I have arranged these texts more or less according to date of composition, and assigned each a number.

Text #1. *rDzogs-chen-pa rang-byung rdo-rje'i don gyi rnam-thar Do-ha'i rgyan* [*Coll. Works(J)*, vol. IX(Ta), *rNam-thar*, pp. 501–509], hereafter abbreviated as *Do-ha'i rgyan*. This short autobiographical work, written in verse, was composed sometime before 1787, the date given for the carving of its blocks [see *rNam-thar chen-mo*, p. 351.6 (listed as text #2, below)].

Text #2. *Yul lho-rgyud du byung ba'i rdzogs-chen-pa rang-byung rdo-rje mkhyen-brtse'i 'od-zer gyi rnam par thar-pa* [*Coll. Works(J)*, vol. IX(Ta), *rNam-thar*, pp. 1–500], hereafter abbreviated as *rNam-thar chen-mo*. The bulk of this text was composed and revised by 'Jigs-med gling-pa; it was completed by Padma dbang-chen rol-pa'i rtsal (*alias* 'Od-zer phrin-las). It is basically divided into three sections: (1) *Legs-byas yongs-'du'i snye-ma* (pp.

1–37), dealing with his birth and education up to 1757; (2) *sGrub-pa nan-tan dang 'brel-ba'i skor* (pp. 38–148), begins with events in 1759; and (3) *Las kyi 'khor dang 'brel-ba'i skor* (pp. 149–500). This third section is itself divided into three untitled parts: (3a) pp. 149–388, written and revised by 'Jigs-med gling-pa, covers the years 1764–1793; (3b) pp. 389–454, covers up to the end of his life (1798); (3c) pp. 455–500, written by Padma dbang-chen rol-pa'i rtsal, details the period leading up to the death of 'Jigs-med gling-pa, the funeral rites, and subsequent events.

Text #3. *Rig-'dzin 'Jigs-med gling-pa'i 'khrungs-rabs gsol'-debs* [*Coll. Works(J)*, vol. V(Ca), pp. 709.3–710.3], reprinted in *kLong-snying(A-'dzom)*, vol. IV(Hrih), pp. 11–12. A short verse work composed by 'Jigs-med gling-pa (signed mKhyen-brtse'i lha) at the request of one rJe-btsun Jñāna, listing his previous lives. Hereafter it is abbreviated as *'Khrungs-rabs gsol'-debs*.

Text #4. *Rig-'dzin 'Jigs-med gling-pa'i 'khrungs-rabs rnam-thar nyung-bsdus* [*Coll. Works(J)*, vol. V(Ca), pp. 721–728]. Written by 'Jigs-med gling-pa, this text provides background information on his previous lives, as listed in text #3, as well as giving a brief sketch of the major event in his present life. Hereafter it is abbreviated as *rNam-thar nyung-bsdus*.

Text #5. *rDzogs-chen-pa rang-byung rdo-rje'i rnam-thar gsol'-debs* [*Coll. Works(J)*, vol. V(Ca), pp. 710.3–712.3]; reprinted in *kLong-snying(A-'dzom)*, vol. IV(Hrih), pp. 13–16. Written by 'Jigs-med phrin-las 'od-zer [rDo-grub-chen I (1745–1821)], it is a short work, in verse, on the life of his teacher 'Jigs-med gling-pa. Hereafter it is abbreviated as *rNam-thar gsol'-debs*.

Text #6. *gNad-byang thugs kyi sgrom-bu* [*Coll. Works(J)*, vol. VII(Ja), pp. 69–78], and *kLong-snying(A-'dzom)*, vol. I(Om), pp. 67–78. This is the *gter-chos* within the *kLong-snying* corpus which contains the various prophecies concerning *kLong-snying* revelations and those individuals who will have a special connection (*rten-'brel*) with it. Hereafter it is abbreviated as *gNad-byang*.

Text #7. *gSang-ba chen-po nyams-srang gi rtogs-brjod chu-zla'i gar-mkhan* [*Coll. Works(J)*, vol. VII(Ja), pp. 15–67], and *kLong-snying(A-'dzom)*, vol. I(Om), pp. 17–68. Composed after the revelation of *gNad-byang* (which it quotes), it is 'Jigs-med gling-pa's fullest account of the *kLong-snying* revelations. Hereafter it is abbreviated as *rTogs-brjod*.

Text #8. *kLong-chen snying gi thig-le'i rtogs-pa brjod-pa dākki'i gsang-gtam chen-mo* [*Coll. Works(J)*, vol. VII(Ja), pp. 1–14], and *kLong-snying(A-'dzom)*, vol. I(Om), pp. 4–16. A shorter version of the *kLong-snying* revelations, written after *rTogs-brjod* (to which it refers the reader). Hereafter it is abbreviated as *Dākki'i gsang-gtam*.

Text #9. *kLong-chen snying gi thig'le'i bzhugs-byang dkar-chag gi rim-pa phan-bde'i sgo-'khar 'byed-pa'i lde-mig* by Shākya'i dge-slong 'gyur-med skal-ldan rgya-mtsho [East Asiatic Library Tibetan Collection, text no. 256, University of California, Berkeley], 15 fols. Written ca. 1878, upon the occasion of a printing of the *kLong-snying* corpus in Central Tibet, the blocks subsequently being stored at the monastery of gNas-chung sgra-dbyangs-gling (see fol. 15b4). It is divided into three main sections: (1) a short account

of the *kLong-snying* revelations and how this particular edition came to be, *Lo-rgyus mdo-tsam* (fols. 3a5–7a3); (2) a *dkar-chag* to the edition, which is divided into two parts and tallies very closely (but is not identical) in content and arrangement with the two volume *kLong-snying* corpus printed in sDe-dge [*Coll. Works(J)*, vols. VII(Ja)–VIII(Nya)], *bZhugs-byang dkar-chag dngos* (fols. 7a3–13a2); (3) a final verse section recounting the benefits of this *kLong-snying* printing, *Phan-yon* (fols. 13a2–14a4), and dedication of merit prayers, *bsNgo-smon* (fols. 14a4–15b3). I am grateful to the late Ngor Thar-tse mKhan Rin-po-che bSod-nams rgya-mtsho (Hiroshi Sonami) for bringing this text to my attention. Hereafter it is abbreviated as *bZhugs-byang dkar-chag*.

Text #10. *Bod du byung-ba'i gsang-sngags snga-gyur gyi bstan-'dzin skeyes-mchog rim-byon gyi rnam-thar nor-bu'i do-shal*. A concise history of the *Nyingmapa* tradition of Tibetan Buddhism by Rig-'dzin Kun-bzang nges-don klong-yangs (rDo-rje gsang-ba rtsal) [Dalhousie (Himal Pradesh): Damchoe Sangpo, 1976]. Written in 1882, four years before Kong-sprul's more famous *gTer-ston brgya-rtsa* (text #11), it makes use of the as yet unidentified source entitled *gTer-ston rgya-mtsho'i rnam-thar nor-bu'i phreng-ba*, and the account of the lives of *gter-ma* masters written by Dre'u-lhas grub-dbang g.Yung-mgon rdo-rje (the son of sLe-lung bZhad-pa'i rdo-rje). Unfortunately, the section on 'Jigs-med gling-pa's life is quite short (pp. 352.2–354.6). Hereafter this work is abbreviated as *Nor-bu'i do-shal*.

Text #11. *gTer-ston brgya-rtsa'i rnam-thar* by 'Jam-mgon Kong-sprul blo-gros mtha'-yas [*Rin-chen gter-mdzod*, Paro (Bhutan): Ngodrup and Shes-rab Drimay, 1976, vol. 1, pp. 291–759]. Written in 1886, the account of 'Jigs-med gling-pa's life is given on pp. 727.3 (fol. 219a3)–735.6 (fol. 223a5). Hereafter this work is abbreviated as *gTer-ston brgya-rtsa*.

Text #12. *Kun-mkhyen chos gyi rgyal-po rig-'dzin 'jigs-med gling-pa'i bka'-bum yongs-rdzogs ky'i bzhugs-byang chos-rab rnam-'byed* [*Coll. Works(J)*, vol. V(Ca), pp. 1–95]. This text, as printed, is badly mixed up (pp. 2.3–8.6 are identical to pp. 14.2–20.6), yet it contains a wealth of information. It was written by someone named rDo-rje rgyal-mtshan, apparently ca. 1901 (pp. 27.5, 33.5). This seems rather late for inclusion in the nine volume sDe-dge edition of 'Jig-med gling-pa's works. Given the mixed up state of the text (which was traced or handcopied), perhaps a copying error crept in, and the *rab-byung* is the 14th (not the 15th, as given). The question is left open for now. When properly ordered, the text seems to be divided into four sections: (1) an account of 'Jigs-med gling-pa's visionary experiences, abruptly beginning with his 25th year (1754), continuing with a description of the *kLong-snying* revelation (1764), and the subsequent events leading up to the first carving of blocks, in sDe-dge, for the nine volume edition of his *bka'-bum* (1790s) [pp. 1–2.3; 31.1–32.6; 9.1–14.2]; (2) a detailed *dkar-chag* to the nine volume *bka'-bum*, entitled *bZhugs-byang dkar-chag dngos* [pp. 14.2–20.6 (identical to pp. 2.3–8.6)]; (3) verses on benefits (*phan-yon*) [pp. 20.6–22.5], and dedication prayers (*bsngo-smon*) [pp. 22.5–25.6]; (4) detailed information regarding the gathering of texts and collection of donations for

carving the blocks for the *bKa'-bum* [pp. 25.6–30.6; 33.1–35.4]. Hereafter this text is abbreviated as *bKa'-bum bzhugs-byang*.

Text #13. A *Concise Historical Account of the Techniques of Esoteric Realisation of the Nyingmapa and other Buddhist Traditions of Tibet, being the text of sNga-gyur rdo-rje theg-pa gtso-bor gyur-pa'i sgrub-brgyud shing-rta brgyad kyi byang-ba brjod-pa'i gtam mdor-bsdus legs-bshad padma dkar-po'i rdzang-bu*, by Zhe-chen rgyal-tshab Padma rnam-rgyal [Leh: Sonam W. Tashigangpa, 1971] (*Smanrtsis Shesrig Spendzod*, vol. 10). Written in 1910, the author was the literary executor for his *rtsa-ba'i bla-ma*, the famed *ris-med* scholar 'Ju Mi-pham rgya-mtsho (1846–1912) [see my "Mi-pham rgya-mtsho: An Account of His Life", *Wind Horse I* (1981), pp. 65ff.]. The account of 'Jigs-med gling-pa's life is given on pp. 262.5–267.3, which closely follows the account given in *gTer-ston brgya-rtsa* in both content and diction. Hereafter this text is abbreviated as *Zhe-chen chos-'byung*.

Text #14. *Gangs-ljongs rgyal-bstan yongs-rdzogs kyi phyi-mo snga-gyur rdo-rje theg-pa'i bstan-pa rin-po-che ji ltar byung-ba'i tshul dag cing gsal-bar brjod-pa lha-dbang g.yul las rgyal-ba'i rnga-bo-che'i sgra-dbyangs*, by bDud-'joms 'jigs-bral ye-shes rdo-rje [*The Collected Writings and Revelations of H.H. bDud-'joms Rin-po-che 'Jigs-bral Ye-Shes rDo-rJe* (Kalimpong: Dupjung Lama, 1979), vol. 1]. Written in 1962 (see p. 844.10), this seems to be a third, slightly revised edition of the work previously published in 1964 and 1967. bDud-'joms Rin-po-che cites the *gTer-ston brgya-rtsa* as a basic source for his accounts of the lives of *gter-ma* masters (see p. 523.4). Indeed, his life of 'Jigs-med gling-pa (pp. 636.6–645.6) is virtually identical to that given by Kong-sprul. Hereafter this text is abbreviated as *bDud-'joms chos-'byung*.

For ease of reference and by way of summary, I here list these 14 basic sources by abbreviation and date of composition, when known, into three groups:

A. Basic biographical sources by 'Jigs-med gling-pa or disciples

#1. *Do-ha'i rgyan* [ca. 1787]

#2. *rNam-thar chen-mo*

#3. *'Khrungs-rabs gsol-'debs*

#4. *rNam-thar nyung-bsdus*

#5. *rNam-thar gsol-'debs*

B. Primary sources for the *kLong-snying* revelations

#6. *gNad-byang* [ca. 1764]

#7. *rTogs-brjod* [ca. 1764]

#8. *Dākki'i gsang-gtam* [ca. 1764]

C. Later sources

#9. *bZhugs-byang dkar-chag* [ca. 1878]

#10. *Nor-bu'i do-shal* [1882]

#11. *gTer-ston brgya-rtsa* [1886]

#12. *bKa'-bum bzhugs-byang* [ca. 1901 (?)]

#13. *Zhe-chen chos-'byung* [1910]

#14. *bDud-'joms chos-'byung* [1962]

In addition to these Tibetan sources, I have used two English introductions to Tibetan works, written by E. Gene Smith. For an historical overview of 'Jigs-med gling-pa's place in 18th century Tibet and a survey of his work, see *The Autobiographical Reminiscences of Ngag-dbang dpal-bzang, Late Abbot of Kaḥ-thog Monastery* (with English preface by E. Gene Smith)[Gangtok, Sonam T. Kazi, 1969] (*Ngagyur Nyiḡmay Sungrab*, vol. 1), pp. 9 ff.; [hereafter abbreviated as *Auto. Rem.*] See also *Kongtrul's Encyclopedia of Indo-Tibetan Culture, Parts 1-3*, edited by Prof. Dr. Lokesh Chandra with an Introduction by E. Gene Smith [New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1970], pp. 23 ff., Appendix III A; hereafter abbreviated as *Kongtrul Ency.*

6. Unless otherwise noted, all European dates have been calculated using D. Schuh's computer-generated tables, according to the methods of the so-called new *grub-rtsis* of the Phugs-pa school, which the *sde-srid* Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho seems to have made official in 1696. See Dieter Schuh, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte Der Tibetischen Kalenderrechnung* (Verzeichnis Der Orientalischen Handschriften In Deutschland, Supplementband 16) [Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1973], pp. 169 ff., and *Tabellen*. Kong-sprul rightly observes the auspicious coincidence that the 18th day of the 12th month was also the date of kLong-chen rab-'byams-pa's death, seemingly prefiguring the enormous influence this great rDzogs-chen master would exert on the visionary life of 'Jigs-med gling-pa. The use of Schuh's tables, however, somewhat diminishes the degree of coincidence. According to kLong-chen-pa's biographer Chos-grags bzang-po, the master was born on the 8th day of the 2nd month of Earth-Male-Monkey Year, and died on the 18th day of the 12th month of Water-Female-Hare Year. See *Kun-mkhyen dri-med 'od-zer kyī rnam-thar mthong-pa don-ldan* [*sNying-thig ya-bzhi of kLong-chen dri-med 'od-zer* (New Delhi: Trulku Tsewang, Jamyang and L. Tashi, 1970), Vol. 9, part *Tsha*], pp. 5.4, 61.3. All four Tibetan calendrical systems used by Schuh agree that the birthday converts to 1 March 1308. His date of death, however, is either: (1) 25 December 1363, according to the old *grub-rtsis* of the Phugs-pa school; (2) 24 December 1363, according to the *byed-rtsis* based on the *Kālacakratāntra*; (3) 23 December 1363, according to the *byed-rtsis* of 'Phags-pa (known as the *mtshur-phu* method); or, (4) 22 January 1364, according to the new *grub-rtsis* of the Phugs-pa school.

7. This is the tomb of King Srong-btsan sgam-po. For a description, photograph, and map showing the location, see Alfonsa Ferrari, *mKhyen brtse's Guide to the Holy Places of Central Tibet* (Serie Orientale Roma, vol. XVI) [Rome: Is.M.E.O., 1958], p. 53, pl. 31, map C. Hereafter this source is abbreviated *mKhyen-brtse's Guide*. For the layout and description of the tomb, see Erik Haarh, *The Yar-lung Dynasty* (Copenhagen: G.E.C. Gad's Forlag, 1969), pp. 389-391. As noted by 'Jam-dbyangs mkhyen-brtse'i dbang-po, 'Jigs-med gling-pa developed a great interest in writing descriptions of various holy places in and around the 'Phyongs-rgyas region; he

devoted two works specifically to the Srong-btsan bang-so. See *bKra-shis srong-btsan bang-so'i gtam lo-rgyus kyi mdzod-khang* [Coll. Works(J), vol. IV(Nga), *gTam-tshogs*, pp. 241.3–263.4], and *bKra-shis srong-btsan bang-so'i dkar-chag* [*ibid.*, pp. 263.4–268.6]; see also notes 28, 30, 69, 83.

8. *rNam-thar chen-mo*, p. 9.3f. *rNam-thar nyung-bsdus* (p. 726.1) adds that it was in the Eastern part of dbUs (*g.yo-ru dbus*), and Kong-sprul tells us the place was near dPal-ri monastery (*gTer-ston brgya-rtsa*, p. 727.6), on which, see below, note 28. The prophecy mentioned in *rNam-thar chen-mo*, which specifies this area of 'Phyongs-rgyas as the future birthplace of one named 'Od-zer, is more extensively quoted by 'Jigs-med gling-pa in *dPal-ri theg-pa chen-po'i gling gi gtam rdo-rje sgra-ma'i rgyud-mngas* [Coll. Works(J), vol. IV(Nga), *gTam-tshogs*], p. 271.3. In the same work (p. 271.5f), he also mentions the birth prophecy contained in the (*gTer-lam mkha'-ri'i*) *Zhu-lan* of Gu-ru Chos-dbang. Elsewhere, 'Jigs-med gling-pa quotes from the *Lung-bstan bka' rgya-ma*, a special prophecy from the *bLa-ma dgongs-'dus* of Sangs-rgyas gling-pa, to the effect that one bearing the name 'Od-zer will be born into the South (see *Dākki'i gsang-gtam*, p. 5.2; *rTogs-brjod*, p. 40.2). Kong-sprul adds the names of Chos-rje gling-pa and his disciple Rwa-ston (stobs-ldan rdo-rje) to the list of those who prophesied the birth (see *gTer-ston brgya-rtsa*, p. 727.5). The Chos-rje gling-pa prophecy is confirmed by a passage in *rTogs-brjod* (p. 40.1); on Rwa-ston (*alias* Padma tshe-dbang rtsal), see *rTogs-brjod*, p. 55.2. On the importance of these two figures, see below, Chart III (#1, #6), and notes 26, 33, 38.

9. *gTer-brgya-rtsa*, p. 727.6. Gene Smith adds that these were 'Brug-pa masters connected with Rwa-lung (*Auto. Rem.*, p. 9). 'Jigs-med gling-pa does in fact mention his connection with the 'Brug-pa ["rnal-'byor dbang-phyug mi-la bzhad-pa rdo rje'i thugs-skyed las chos-rje 'brug-pa zhes" (*rNam-thar chen-mo*, p. 8.1)]. Yet in another place, he seems to indicate that his own father, (*rang gi yab-rje*) was born into a family associated with the 'Bri-gung-pa (see *rNam-thar nyung-bsdus*, p. 725.4, and below, note 24).

10. Kong-sprul, for example, mentions that he is the immediate reembo-diment (*sku'i skye-ba de-ma thag-pa*) of Rig-'dzin Chos-rje gling-pa—himself the combined emanation of Vimalamitra, Chos-rgyal Khri-srong lde'u btsan, and rGyal-sras lha-rje—and that while a young boy 'Jigs-med gling-pa remembered having been Chos-rje gling-pa, and Sangs-rgyas bla-ma as well [see *gter-ston brgya-rtsa* p. 727.3f, and below, notes 18 (Table 1, #1, #12), 26, 33].

11. dGa'-rab rdo-rje is regarded as the first *nirmāṇakāya* manifestation in most works dealing with the rDzogs-chen lineages. 'Jigs-med gling-pa's *dharmakāya* and *sambhogakāya* manifestations, respectively, are given in Chart I #1. Kun-tu bzang-po (the Ādibuddha Samantabhadra), and #2. sPyan-ras-gzigs (Avalokiteśvara). 'Jigs-med gling-pa recounts the standard events in dGa'-rab rdo-rje's remarkable life: his 'pristine birth' from a *dge-*

slong-ma, daughter of the King Dharma-aśva; his desire to debate a group of scholars at age seven (*more tibetico*); his receiving the name dGa'rab rdo-rje for bringing happiness to his father after the defeat of the scholars; the gathering of 6,400,000 verses of the rDzogs-chen *tantras*, and then arranging them with the aid of a *ḍākinī*; and his travelling to bSil-tshal Cemetery (see *rNam-thar nyung-bsdus*, p. 722.1f). This summary account can be traced back to the *rDzogs-pa chen-po snying-tig lo-rgyus chen-mo* [*sNying-thig ya-bzhi*, vol. 9 (*Bi-ma sNying-Thig, Part 3*), part *Tha*], pp. 89.2ff. Here the mother's name is given as Kudharma, the daughter of King Upārāja and Queen sNang-bu gsal-ba'i 'od-ldan ma. The story is repeated in *bDud-'joms chos-'byung* (pp. 120.2ff), where the mother's name is given as Sudharma.

12. 'Jigs-med gling-pa mentions a certain son of Kriki (elsewhere spelled Kṛkri, Kriki, etc.) who lived in the time of the Buddha Kāśyapa and took *bodhisattva* vows (*rNam-thar nyung-bsdus*, p. 722.6f). The story seems to have first appeared in the Abhidharma work *Lokaprajñapti*, where a King Kriki (!) is said to have taken *brahmacarya* vows in the presence of the Buddha Kāśyapa, and to have had a son named Legs par skyes (presumably in reverse order). The story is repeated in the *Blue Annals*, where the King's name is spelled Kṛkri. See Daisetz T. Suzuki (ed.), *The Tibetan Tripitaka* [Tokyo: Tibetan Tripitaka Research Institute, 1957], vol. 115, pp. 34.5.6ff.; Lokesh Chandra (ed.), *The Blue Annals of 'Gos Lotsava gZhon-nu dpal* (Śāta Piṭaka Series, vol. 212) [New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1974], p. 18.3f; George N. Roerich (trans.), *The Blue Annals* [Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2nd ed., 1976], p. 16.

13. 'Jigs-med gling-pa mentions one called dGa'-bo (Skt. Nanda) as the younger brother (*[g]cung*) of the Buddha Śākyamuni (*rNam-thar nyung-bsdus*, p. 723.1). This is Gautama Siddhārtha's half-brother Nanda, whose mother was Mahāprajāpatī. Upon learning that Nanda, like his more famous brother, was about to enter the religious life, his grieving father Śuddhodana begged the Śākyamuni to amend the Vinaya rules so that henceforth a son must have parental approval before joining the *saṃgha*, and the change was then made. The story is told in *Mahāvagga* I. 54.4–54.6. See I.B. Horner (trans.), *The Book of Discipline (Vinaya Piṭaka)* [London: Luzac & Company, 1957], vol. IV (*Mahāvagga*), p. 104. 'Jigs-med gling-pa recalled this lifetime while in a three-year retreat (1756–1759) at dPal-ri (see *rTogs-brjod*, p. 43.5f).

14. 'Jigs-med gling-pa recalled his life as A-kar-ma toward the end of a three-year retreat at dPal-ri (ca. 1759) [*rTogs-brjod*, p. 49.2]. Elsewhere he reports that a *dge-slong* A-kar ma-ti was 'emanated' (*sprul*) by King Srong-btsan sgam-po and sent to India to retrieve a precious self-originated religious object (*rang-byon 'phags-pa'i sku*) (*rNam-thar nyung-bsdus*, p. 723.3). Without naming A-kar-ma/A-kar ma-ti, Bu-ston reports that during the time Srong-btsan sgam-po was king, a fine sandalwood statue of an eleven-faced Avalokiteśvara was brought to Tibet, and that this statue was re-

garded as 'self-originated' (*rang-byung du byon*). See Lokesh Chandra (ed.), *The Collected Works of Buston* (Śata-Piṭaka Series, vol. 64) [New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1971], Part 24(Ya), p. 879.5f., and E. Obermiller (trans.), *History of Buddhism (Chos-'byung) by Bu-ston, II. Part The History of Buddhism in India and Tibet* (Materialien zur Kunde des Buddhismus, 19. Heft) [Heidelberg, 1932, rpt. Tokyo: Suzuki Research Foundation, 1964], p. 184. According to tradition, the image retrieved by A-kar-ma was then placed in the interior of the famous statue known as Thugs-rje chen-po rang-byon lnga-ldan, one of a group of four revered statues which, until recently, resided in the sPrul-pa'i gtsug-lag khang in Lha-sa (see *mKhyen-brtse's Guide*, pp. 39, 86 (n.40)).

15. 'Jigs-med gling-pa briefly recounts the well-known details of King Khri-srong lde'u btsan's reign, in particular, the building of bSam-yas monastery and the firm establishment of the Buddhadharma in Tibet (see *rNam-thar nyung-bsdus*, p. 723.4f).

16. 'Jigs-med gling-pa recalled his life as Virūpa during his three-year retreat at dPal-ri (see *rTogs-brjod*, p. 35.6f). Elsewhere he mentions the well-known connection between the Mahāsiddha Virūpa and the *Hevajra-tantra* and the Sa-skyā Lam-'bras teachings (see *rNam-thar nyung-bsdus*, p. 724.2).

17. 'Jigs-med gling-pa briefly recounts that Princess Lha-lcam Padma-gsal, the daughter of King Khri-srong lde'u btsan and disciple of Guru Rinpoche, received the *mKha'-'gro snying-thig* teachings (*rNam-thar nyung-bsdus*, p. 724.1). The *mKha'-'gro snying-thig* lineage is given in *rDzogs-pa chen-po mkha'-'gro snying-thig gi bla-ma brgyud pa'i lo-rgyus* [*sNying-thig ya-bzhi*, vol. 2 (*mKha'-'gro snying-thig, Part 1*), pp. 11–16], and *mKha'-'gro snying-thig gi lo-rgyus* [*ibid.*, pp. 69–74]. The life of this princess, her rebirth as the *gter-ston* Padma las-'brel rtsal, and her rebirth as kLong-chen rab-'byams-pa, is given in *bDud-'joms chos-'byung*, pp. 214.3ff. The *gter-ston* O-rgyan Padma gling-pa (b.1450) was regarded as the fifth rebirth of this princess (see *gTer-ston brgya-rtsa*, p. 460.5). See also, *mKhyen-brtse's Guide*, pp. 45, 116 (n. 152).

18. 'Jigs-med gling-pa places rGyal-sras lha-rje in the time of King Ral-pa-can, and states that according to a Guru Rinpoche prophecy he is to have thirteen emanations as a *gter-ston* (*rNam-thar nyung-bsdus*, p. 724.2). Kong-sprul reports that rGyal-sras lha-rje was regarded as a 'mind emanation' (*thugs-sprul*) of Khri-srong lde'u btsan (*gTer-ston brgya-rtsa*, p. 522.4). Although the lists seem to differ slightly, depending on the sources used, it may be helpful to list these thirteen emanations (based on *gTer-ston brgya-rtsa*), followed by the page reference, in parenthesis, where their biography is given. Square brackets are used to record differences according to the list compiled by E. Gene Smith (in *Kongtrul Ency.*, Appendix III A), plus additional comments.

Table 1. The 13 gTer-ston Emanations of rGyal-sras lha-rje
(source: *gTer-ston brgya-rtsa*)

- #1. Sangs-rgyas bla-ma (pp. 361.4–363.5)
 #2. rGya lo-tsā-ba rDo-rje bzang-po (pp. 363.5–364.4)
 #3. gTer-ston Nyi-ma seng-ge (pp. 367.4–368.3)
 #4. Do-ban rGya-mtsho 'od (pp. 402.4–403.3)
 [Smith gives #4 as:
 gTer-ston Ku-sa sman-pa (see pp. 373.6–375.4)]
 #5. Khyung-nag Śākya-dar (p. 406.2)
 [Smith lists two:
 5. Do-ban rGya-mtsho 'od (same as our #4)
 5b. Zur Pakśrī Śākya (see p. 403.1, where he is listed
 only as a teacher of Do-ban rGya-mtsho 'od)]
 #6. Grwa-sgom chos kyi rdo-rje (pp. 405.6–406.6)
 [Smith lists two:
 6. Grwa-sgom chos kyi rdo-rje (our #6)
 6b. Khyung-nag Śākya-dar (our #5)]
 #7. Yar-rje O-rgyan gling-pa (pp. 419.3–423.3)
 #8. (?) sNgags-'chang las-'phro gling-pa (pp. 525.6–526.3)
 [Smith lists: 'Dol sngags-'chang las-'phro gling-pa as #8,
 but *gTer-ston brgya-rtsa* gives no number]
 #9. mNga'-ris Paṅ-chen Padma dbang-rgyal (pp.
 552.3–556.6)
 [Smith lists two:
 9. gNas-gsar mKhyen-brtse'i dbang-phyug (pp.
 567.6–570.6)
 9a. mNga'-ris paṅ-chen (our #9)]
 #10. E spe cog Gar-dbang las-'phro gling-pa (pp. 574.4–576.2)
 [Smith gives variant spelling: E sbe lcogs ~]
 #11. gTer-ston Padma rig-'dzin (pp. 577.3–578.4)
 [*alias* Ra-zhi gter-ston]
 [Smith gives: sPo-bo Ra-zhi gter-ston Padma rig-'dzin]
 #12. gTer-ston Rog-rje gling-pa (pp. 428.4–432.6)
 [*alias* Chos-rje gling-pa, dBon-rje gling-pa, Dwags-po
 Chos-rje gling-pa, O-rgyan rog-rje gling-pa, Chos-rje
 'dzam-gling rdo rje, bDe-ba'i rdo-rje]
 [Smith gives: O-rgyan Chos-rje gling-pa]
 #13. Padma 'od-gsal mdo-sngags gling-pa (pp. 659.4–679.2)
 [*alias* 'Jam-dbyangs mkhyen-brtse'i dbang-po, rDo-rje
 gzi-brjid; recognized as *thugs-sprul* of 'Jigs-med gling-pa]

19. 'Jigs-med gling-pa briefly recounts the famous story of Dri-med kun-ldan (the Indian Prince Vessantara) who, due to a vow never to refuse to give anything asked of him, gave away the fortune of his kingdom. As punishment he was exiled, along with his wife Maddi. In time he gave away

his wife, and finally even his own eyes, thus demonstrating he had totally perfected the *pāramitā* of giving (see *rNam-thar nyung-bsdus*, p. 723.3f). These events, based on the *Vessantara Jātaka*, became the basis for one of the most popular plays in Tibet, *Dri-med kun-ldan gyi rnam-thar*. See *Vessantara Jātaka* [E.B. Cowell (ed.), *The Jātaka or Stories of the Buddha's Former Births* (Cambridge, 1895, rpt. London: The Pali Text Society, 1973), Vol. VI, pp. 246–305]; E.D. Ross (ed. and trans.), *The Story of Ti-med kunden; a Tibetan nam-thar* (Bibliotheca indica, n.s., no. 1326) [Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1912]; Jacques Bacot, "Drimed kundun. Une version tibétaine dialoguée du Vessantara Jātaka", *Journal Asiatique*, sér. xi, vol. iv [1914], pp. 221–305; Jacques Bacot, *Répresentations théâtrales dans les monastères du Tibet; trois mystères tibétains: Tchimekundan, Djroazanmo, Nansal* [Paris: Éditions Bossard, 1921].

20. 'Jigs-med gling-pa mentions this famed *gter-ston's* biography of Guru Rinpoche, (*Padma bka'i*) *Thang-yig* (*rNam-thar nyung-bsdus*, p. 724.3f). Equally well known, of course, are his revelations collectively known as *bKa'-thang sde-nga* [see *bKa'-thang sde-nga, An account of the gods and demons, kings, queens, scholar saints, and ministers of the past. Revealed from its place of concealment by gTer-ston O-rgyan gling-pa* (Paro: Ngodup, 1976)]. The Guru Rinpoche biography, which has yet to be critically studied on the basis of the extant Tibetan and Mongolian versions, suffered a quite loose yet poetically inspired translation at the hand of the Breton adventurer Gustave-Charles Toussaint. See Gustave-Charles Toussaint (trans.), *Le Dict de Padma, Padma thang yig, Ms. de Lithang* (Bibliothèque de l'Institut de Hautes Études Chinoises, vol. III) [Paris: Librairie Ernest Leroux, 1933], and Kenneth Douglas and Gwendolyn Bays (trans.), *The Life and Liberation of Padmasambhava, Padma bKa'i Thang* [Emeryville, Calif.: Dharma Publishing, 1978]. See also Table 1 (#7) in note 18, above.

21. 'Jigs-med gling-pa clearly indicates this is Dwags sGam-po-pa, whom he mentions in connection with the *Nā-ro'i chos-drug* and *Phyag-chen* teachings (see *rNam-thar nyung-bsdus*, p. 724.4).

22. 'Jigs-med gling-pa refers to kLong-chen-pa by his ordination name, Ngag gi dbang-po, and mentions two collections of his teachings, *mDzod-bdun* and *Shing-rta rnam-gsum* (see *rNam-thar nyung-bsdus*, p. 724.6f). The contents of these teachings are detailed by Zhe-chen rab-'byams pa II 'Gyur-med kun-bzang rnam-rgyal (1713–1763) in his *rGyal-ba gnyis-pa kun-mkhyen ngag gi dbang-po'i gsung-rab las mdzod-bdun ngal-gso gsang-tik rnams rmad-byung 'phrul gyi phyi-chos ji ltar bsgrub-pa'i tshul las brtsams-pa'i ngo-mtshan gtam gyi gling-bu skal-bzang rna-ba'i dga'-ston* [Gangtok: Dodrup Sangyay Lama, 1976], hereafter abbreviated as *mDzod-bdun dkar-chag*. This work was written at Zhe-chen in 1755, on the occasion of a printing of kLong-chen-pa's works at rDzogs-chen monastery. In addition to discussing the *mDzod-bdun* (pp. 123.1–126.2) and the *Shing-rta rnam-gsum* (pp. 128.4–130.3), it also contains a brief history of the rNying-ma tradition

(pp. 1–39.1); the life of kLong-chen-pa (pp. 39.1–56.5); the life of rDzogs-chen sprul-sku I Padma Rig-'dzin (1625–1697) [pp. 69.2–88.1]; rDzogs-chen sprul-sku II 'Gyur-med theg-mchog bstan-'dzin (b. 1699) [pp. 88.1ff]; and details regarding the rDzogs-chen redaction of kLong-chen-pa's works (pp. 104ff). A survey of kLong-chen-pa's works is also given in Herbert V. Guenther (trans.), *Kindly Bent To Ease Us, Part One: Mind (Sems-nyid ngal-gso)* [Emeryville, Calif.: Dharma Publishing, 1975], pp. xiv–xx.

23. 'Jigs-med gling-pa recalled his former life as mNga'-ris paṅ-chen while in a three-year retreat (1756–1759) at dPal-ri monastery (*rTogs-brjod*, p. 45.4). In *rNam-thar nyung-bsdus* (p. 725.2), he is mentioned as a transmitter of *rnying-ma*, *gsar-ma*, *bka'-ma*, and *gter-ma* teachings. His life as a *gter-ston* is given in *gTer-ston brgya-rtsa* (pp. 552.3–556.6) [see Table 1 (#9) in note 18, above]. mNga'-ris paṅ-chen (1487–1582) is perhaps most famous for his treatise on the *sdom-gsum* problem, popularly called the *sDom-gsum rnam-nges*, which came to be regarded as the authoritative statement of the rNying-ma viewpoint. As kindly brought to my attention by mKhan-po dPalldan shes-rab, it was a dispute over the meaning of the phrase "*rdzogs-pa chen-po ye-shes spyi yi gzugs*", in the *sDom-gsum rnam-nges*, that finally enabled 'Ju Mi-pham rgya-mtsho to defeat his opponent 'Ja'-pa mdo-sngags, in a famous debate which had originally centered on the meaning of the ninth chapter of the *Bodhicaryāvatara*. The passage in question is found in mNga'-ris paṅ-chen, *Rang-bzhin rdzogs-pa chen-po'i lam gyi cha-lag sdom-pa gsum rnam par nges-pa* [Ka-sbug (Kalimpong): Ma-ṅi rin-ding par-khang, 1962 (?), fol. 1b3, and the commentary *Rang-bzhin rdzogs-pa chen-po'i lam gyi cha-lag sdom-gsum rnam par nges-pa'i bstan-bcos kyi tshig-don legs-pa'i 'grel-pa 'jam-dbyangs dgyes par zhal-lung* [Ka-sbug (Kalimpong): Phungling gsung-rab nyams-gso rgyun-spel par-khar, 1962], fols. 5a6ff. See also Steven D. Goodman, "Mi-Pham rgya-mtsho: An Account of His Life", *Wind Horse I* (1981), pp. 63ff.

24. 'Jigs-med gling-pa recalled this former life while in his three-year retreat at dPal-ri (*rTogs-brjod*, p. 50.1). According to *rNam-thar nyung-bsdus* (p. 725.4), Chos-rgyal phun-tshogs was the son of the 'Bri-gung Rinchen phun-tshogs, and 'Jigs-med gling-pa's own father was born into this line.

25. This former life was remembered while in a three-year retreat at dPal-ri (*rTogs-brjod*, p. 50.1). *rNam-thar nyung-bsdus* (p. 725.5) refers to bKra-shis stobs-rgyal as a Byang-gter *bla-ma*. He was the author of *gTer-ston brgya-rtsa'i mtshan-sdom gsol-'debs*, on which a commentary was written by Karma Mi-'gyur dbang gi rgyal-po of Zab-bu Monastery (see English preface to *Nor-bu'i do-shal*).

26. 'Jigs-med gling-pa recalled this former life at a young age (*Zhe-chen chos-'byung*, p. 263.1). In *rNam-thar nyung-bsdus* (p. 725.6), 'Jigs-med gling-pa gives the name Rig-'dzin 'dzam-gling rdo-rje, which is an *alias* for Chos-

rje gling-pa [see Table 1 (#12), in note 18]. This *gter-ston*, of whom 'Jigs-med gling-pa was the 'immediate reembodiment' (see note 10), had several students who were teachers of 'Jigs-med gling-pa (see Chart III). His life is discussed more thoroughly in note 33, below.

27. This is an as yet unidentified Arhant—not one of the sixteen.

28. See *Do-ha'i rgyan*, p. 502.4; *rNam-thar chen-mo*, p. 10.6f; and *rNam-thar nyung-bsdus*, p. 726.1. All sources agree on his age of entry into the monastery. Here and throughout the paper, I have recorded ages *more tibetico*, thus "in his sixth year" would mean, according to Occidental convention, he was "five years old." The monastery he entered was originally known as rDor-smin dpal-ri; it is sometimes referred to as 'Phyongs-rgyas dpal-ri, or by its Sanskrit name Śrīparvata. dPal-ri is located near the birthplace of 'Jigs-med gling-pa, just Southeast of Bang-so dmar-po. It was founded by the 'ruler' (*Hor mi-dbang*) bSod-nams stobs gyi rgyal-po, during the time of rGyal-dbang Kar-ma-pa VIII Mi-bskyod rdo-rje (1507–1554). 'Jigs-med gling-pa gives a detailed description of dPal-ri in *dPal-ri theg-pa chen-po'i gling gi gtam rdo-rje sgra-ma'i rgyud-mngas* [*Coll. Works(J)*, vol. IV(Nga), *gTam-tshogs*, pp. 268.6–282.6]. See also, *mKhyen-brtse's Guide*, pp. 53, 131 (n.300), Map C; and note 7, above.

29. *rNam-thar chen-mo* (p. 11.1) records this event but, curiously, does not mention the name given. The name is recorded in *gTer-ston brgya-rtsa* (p. 728.2), and *Zhe-chen chos-'byung* (p. 263.2). sPrul-sku don-grub kindly informed me that mtsho-rgyal Ngag-dbang blo-bzang padma was head of studies at dPal-ri. As one of 'Jigs-med gling-pa's teachers, he is shown in Chart III (#5); see also, note 37.

30. His wide study of exoteric subjects bore fruition in his writings collectively called *gTam gyi tshogs theg-pa'i rgya-mtsho* [*Coll. Works(J)*, vol. IV(Nga), *gTam-tshogs*, pp. 1–543]. As noted by Gene Smith, both Tucci and Petech have made use of the geographical and historical studies in the *gTam-tshogs* (although they failed to identify correctly the author). Still awaiting investigation, however, are the other writings of the collection, on such diverse topics as anthropology, folklore, gemology, architecture, and *nītiśāstra*. See *Auto. Rem.*, p. 9; *mKhyen-brtse's Guide*, notes (*passim*); and notes 7, 69, and 83.

31. For an account of his received teachings (*thob-yig*), see *sNga-'gyur rgyud-'bum rin-po-che dang / mdo sgyu sems gsum gyis mtshon bka'-ma'i sgrub-phrin / mdzod-bdun / snying-thig ya-bzhi / gter-kha gong-'og gtso-bor gyur-pa'i thob-yig nyi-zla'i rna-cha* [*Coll. Works(J)*, vol. V(Ca), pp. 865–890], hereafter abbreviated as *Thob-yig*. The *Thob-yig* is divided into four main sections: [1] rNying-ma Tantras (*Mahā, Anu, and Ati* teachings), pp. 867–876.2; [2] kLong-chen-pa's teachings, sub-divided into [2a] General (*Shing-rta rnam-gsum, mDzod-bdun, gSang-snying 'grel-pa*), pp. 876.2–878.6; [2b] Special (*sNying-thig ya-bzhi, etc.*), pp. 878.6–880.4; [3] Other rNying-ma

teachings, pp. 880.4–886.3; [4] *gSar-ma'i skor* (includes *gsar-ma* Tantras, various *gsung-'bum*, etc.), pp. 886.3–890.

32. The sources used for Chart III are *gTer-ston brgya-rtsa*, and *Nor-bu'i do-shal* (see note 5, text #10 for full reference).

33. Under the name O-rgyan Rog-rje gling-pa (*alias* *gTer-chen Chos-rje gling-pa*), there is a very useful biography of Chos-rje gling-pa in *Nor-bu'i do-shal* (pp. 321.3–327.6). This same source is quoted in full by Khetsun Sangpo in *Biographical Dictionary of Tibet and Tibetan Buddhism* [Dharmasala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1973], vol. IV (*The rNying-ma-pa Tradition, Part Two*), pp. 415–421. Hereafter this latter source is abbreviated as *Bio. Dict.* Listed under the name *gTer-ston Rog-rje gling-pa* (*alias* *dBon-rje gling-pa*, *bDe-ba'i rdo-rje*), there is a biographical sketch given in *gTer-ston brgya-rtsa* (pp. 428.4–432.6). *Nor-bu'i do-shal* reports that Chos-rje gling-pa was born in the Water-Dog Year [*Bio. Dict.* adds 11th *rab-byung*] (1682) in Gru-mkhar rdzong in Dwags-po. After receiving the name 'Dzam-gling rdo-rje from one named rJe bzang rdo-rje, he met many famous masters, including: [A] #1. Zhwa-dmar [VII] Ye-shes snying-po; #2. rGyal-dbang Kar-ma-pa [XI] Ye-shes rdo-rje (1675–1702); and #3. *gter-ston-Rig-'dzin sTag-sham rdo-rje* (*alias* *bSam-gtan rdo-rje*). The biography of this latter teacher is given in *gTer-ston brgya-rtsa* (pp. 604.6–608.6). Under the name *sTag-sham nus-ldan rdo-rje* (b.1655), this teacher's *gter-chos* from the *bKa' rDzogs-pa chen-po Padma yongs-grol gsang-ba'i snying-thig* cycle were published, under the title *bLa-phur sbrags-ma'i phrin-las gsang-ba don-grol las tshogs mtshon-cha'i phreng-ba dang bcas-pa* [New Delhi: rTa-rna bla-ma, 1974]. See also, note 73, below.

Chos-rje gling-pa had many students, both *bKa'-brgyud-pa* and *rNying-ma-pa*. *Nor-bu'i do-shal* gives the following list: [B] *bKa'-brgyud-pa*. #1. rGyal-dbang Kar-ma-pa [XII] Byang-chub rdo-rje (1703–1732); #2. Zhwa-dmar VIII dPal-chen chos kyi don-grub; #3. Zhabs-drung Tro-bo Rin-po-che; #4. 'Brug-pa rgyal-ba Mi-pham dbang-po; #5. sGam-po Kun-bzang nges-don dbang-po. [C] *rNying-ma-pa*. #1. Rwa-ston stobs-ldan rdo-rje, *alias* *gTer-ston Rwa-ston*. [see Chart III (#6), and note 38]; #2. *zhal-slob Rig-'dzin Thugs-mchog rdo-rje* [see Chart III (#2), and note 34]. *gTer-ston brgya-rtsa* expands the list of students to include: [D] #1. 'Bri-gung dKon-mchog phrin-las bzang-po; #2. lHun-grub nges-don dbang-po (Dwags-po zhabs-drung sprul-sku); #3. dPal-bsam dbang-po ('Brug-pa thams-cad mkhyen-pa); #4. Rig-'dzin Padma phrin-las [Rig-'dzin rdo-rje brag II (1640?–1718)]; #5. sMingling rgyal-sras Padma 'gyur-med rgya-mtsho. Curiously, *gTer-ston brgya-rtsa* omits any mention of Rig-'dzin Thugs-mchog rdo-rje [C #2], who was 'Jig-med gling-pa's *rtsa-ba'i bla-ma*. This same source refers to Byang-chub rdo-rje [B #1] as Chos-rje gling-pa's *chos-bdag*, and Rwa-ston [C #1] as his *nang thugs-sras gcig-pu*.

Tradition has it that Chos-rje gling-pa, the twelfth emanation of rGyal-sras lha-rje, was reborn as 'Jigs-med gling-pa [see notes 10, 18 (Table 1, #12),

and 26]. This is somewhat problematic, however, for Kong-sprul reports that Chos-rje gling-pa did not live long, dying in the second month of the 44th year (*gTer-ston brgya-rtsa*, p. 432.4). Understood to mean “in his 44th year”, that would yield the date 1725, some five years before the birth of 'Jigs-med gling-pa. The solution, however, would be to take it as meaning the 44th year of the next *rab-byung* cycle, for this gives the more favorable year 1730, the second month beginning on March 19th. Whereas 'Jigs-med gling-pa was born in the 'Phyongs-rgyas region, both *Nor-bu'i do-shal* (p. 326.4f) and *gTer-ston brgya-rtsa* (pp. 432.5, 638.1) state that the reembodiment of Chos-rje gling-pa occurred in Kong-po at dGa'-chag/dGa'-chags-sde, and was recognized by the 'Jigs-rten dbang-phyug [Kar-ma-pa XIII]. This is nicely confirmed by a short text written, on the occasion of his recognition, by Kaḥ-thog Tshe-dbang nor-bu (1698–1755), entitled *Grub-pa kun gyi gzhung lam rmad-'byung ting-'dzin rgyun-dbang snying gi bdud-rtsi yang dag bla-ma'i rnal-'byor* [*The Collected Works (gSung-'Bum) Of Kaḥ-thog Rig-'Dzin Chen-Po Tshe-dBang Nor-Bu* (Dalhousie, H.P.: Damchoe Sangpo, 1976), vol. II, pp. 397–404]. The *Table of Contents* for volume II describes this work: “Guruyoga instruction focussing upon Guru Padmasambhava written in 1738 at Kong-po dGa'-ldan ma-mo on the occasion of the recognition of the reembodiment of Chos-rje gling-pa by the 13th Karmapa [bDud-'dul rdo-rje (1733–1797)].” Tshe-dbang nor-bu was a teacher of Thugs-mchog rdo-rje, on whom see note 34, and Chart III (#2).

34. In Kong-sprul's biography, he is also known as Rig-'dzin Thugs-mchog rdo rje hūm nag 'gro-'dul, and Kun-bzang phris-las (*gTer-ston brgya-rtsa*, pp. 630.5–632.6). His teachers included: [A] #1. Rig-'dzin Chos-rje gling-pa (who gave him the *bLa-ma dgongs-'dus* teachings); #2. Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang nor-bu; #3. Rwa-ston stobs-ldan rdo-rje [see Chart III (#6), and note 38, where he is listed as Thugs-mchog rdo-rje's *chos-bdag*]; #4. Kun-bzang rang-grol [who gave him the *dKon-mchog spyi-'dus* teachings (see *Thob-yig*, p. 885.2)]. *Nor-bu'i do-shal* (p. 327.4f) lists these students; [B] #1. Zur-mkhar gter-ston Rin-po-che; #2. *gTer-ston Kun-bzang bde-chen rgyal-po* [alias sMon-lam rdo-rje (see *gTer-ston brgya-rtsa*, pp. 634.2–636.2)]; and #3. 'Brug-thang gter-chen. Curiously omitted is the name of 'Jigs-med gling-pa, for Thugs-mchog rdo-rje was his *rtsa-ba'i bla-ma*. This lacuna is filled, however, by the alternate list of students compiled by Kong-sprul (*gTer-ston brgya-rtsa*, p. 632.3f); [C] #1. Rig-'dzin 'Jigs-med gling-pa; #2. Theg-gling 'gro-don mthar-phyin [alias *gTer-ston Dri-med gling-pa* (see Chart III, #3, and note 35)], who is here given as the *chos-bdag* for Thugs-mchog rdo-rje's *gTer-chos* (his principal *gter-chos* being the *Phyag-rgya chen-po ye-shes mthong-grol*); #3. Kun-bzang bde-chen rgyal-po (same as [B] #2, above); and #4. gNubs Nam-kha'i snying-po.

It was in his 13th year that 'Jigs-med gling-pa met Thugs-mchog rdo-rje and received his *Phyag-rgya chen-po ye-shes mthong-grol* teachings, thus establishing a close link and eventually coming to regard him as his *rtsa-ba'i bla-ma*. Later he received from him the *Phag-mo zab-rgya* of bsTan-gnyis

gling-pa, and many other *gter-chos*. See *rNam-thar chen-mo*, pp. 18.1f, 75.1; *Thob-yig*, pp. 884.5, 885.2, 885.5; and *gTer-ston brgya-rtsa*, p. 728.4f.

35. Dri-med gling-pa was born in the clan (*gdung-rigs*) of *gTer-ston* bDe-chen gling-pa at Zur-mkhar theg-chen gling (see name Zur-mkhar *gter-ston* Rin-po-che, listed as [B] #1 in note 34, above). He received the name Karma 'Gro-don mthar-phyin from Kar-ma-pa XII Byang-chub rdo-rje (1703–1732). Rig-'dzin Thugs-mchog rdo-rje recognized him as his *chos-bdag*. His principal students were 'Jigs-med gling-pa, and lCags zam-pa bsTan-'dzin ye-shes lhun-grub (see Chart III #4, and note 36). He imparted both *bka'-ma* and *gter-ma* teachings, including his own *gter-chos*, to 'Jigs-med gling-pa. His *gter-chos* have recently been published in *The Collected Rediscovered Teachings (gter-chos) of gTer-ston Dri-med gling-pa* [Thimphu: Kunsang Topgay, 1976], 4 vols. See also, *Thob-yig*, pp. 884.5, 885.2, 885.5; and *gTer-ston brgya-rtsa*, pp. 632.6–634.2.

36. Recognized as the *chos-bdag* for the *gter-chos* of *gTer-ston* Dri-med gling-pa, lCags zam-pa bsTan-'dzin ye-shes lhun-grub was a teacher of 'Jigs-med gling-pa and Zla-ba 'od-zer (*alias gTer-ston* Rang-grol ting-'dzin rgyal-po). To this latter student, whom Kong-sprul names as an emanation of rGyal-sras lha-rje, he imparted both *bka'-ma* and *gter-ma* teachings (see *gTer-ston brgya-rtsa*, pp. 640.5–643.4). To 'Jigs-med gling pa, he imparted transmissions from many traditions, both rNying-ma *bka'-ma* and *gter-ma*, as well as gSar-ma teachings (see *rNam-thar chen-mo*, p. 204.6; *Thob-yig*, pp. 868.6, 880.6, 881.2, 882.6, 883.3; and *gTer-ston brgya-rtsa*, p. 728.6).

37. mTsho-rgyal sprul-sku Nag-dbang blo-bzang padma numbered Thugs-mchog rdo-rje among his teachers. He received *Byang-gter* teachings from him, which he imparted to 'Jigs-med gling-pa (*Thob-yig*, p. 888.4). He seems to have been head of studies at dPal-ri monastery where he bestowed the name Padma mKhyen-brtse'i 'od-zer upon 'Jigs-med gling-pa (see above, note 10).

38. Kong-sprul gives a short biography for this *gter-ston* (*gTer-ston brgya-rtsa*, pp. 608.6–611.1). He was born into the clan of Rwa lo-tsā-ba chen-po mThu-stobs kyi dbang-phyug in rGyang-rtse (province of gTsang). *Nor-bu'i do-shal* lists him among the students of Chos-rje gling-pa (see [C] #1 in note 33). Kong-sprul adds that after meeting Chos-rje gling-pa, he was recognized as the *chos-bdag* for that *gter-ston's gter-gsar* (yet, see [C] #2 in note 34), and performed special practices at the time of this teacher's death. His biography mentions meetings with many of his contemporary illuminaries, including the Zhwa-dmar and Zhwa-nag incarnations. He also seems to have received special honors from the powerful ruler Pho-lha-nas (bSod-nams stobs-rgyal). Indeed, both Pho-lha-nas (1689–1747), and his close friend and biographer mDo-mkhar zhabs-drung Tshe-ring dbang-rgyal (1697–1763), had close ties with the rNying-ma-pa. Both had studied at

sMin-grol-gling Monastery, the latter having been a student of sMin-gling Lo-chen Dharmaśrī (who was murdered by invading Dsungars in 1718). Both did much to restore sMin-gling and rDo-rje brag in the aftermath of the Dsungar excesses. See L. Petech, *China and Tibet in the Early 18th Century* (Monographies du T'oung Pao, vol. I) [Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1950], pp. 21 *et passim*; Luciano Petech, *Aristocracy and Government in Tibet 1728–1959* (Serie Orientale Roma, vol. XLV) [Rome: IS.M.E.O., 1973], pp. 71–73; and *Kongtrul Ency.*, p. 22.

gTer-ston Rwa-ston rdo-rje also met gNas-gsar-ba Ngag-dbang kun-dga' legs-pa'i byung-gnas (see Chart III #7, and note 39), and 'Jigs-med gling-pa. To this latter student, he imparted his own *phur-ba* teachings, the *R[w]a-ston phur-ba* (see *Thob-yig*, p. 885.4). Indeed, Rwa-ston, who had prophesied the birth of 'Jigs-med gling-pa (*gTer-ston brgya-rtsa*, p. 727.5), gave the *phur-ba* transmission (under his *alias* Padma tshe-dbang rtsal) while 'Jigs-med gling-pa was in retreat at mChims-phu (see *rTogs-brjod*, pp. 48.2, 55.2f, and text accompanying note 71). Rwa-ston's reincarnation occurred in Dwags-po, at Bar 'tsho-byed, in the clan (*dbon-rigs*) of A-pho chos-rje.

39. Kong-sprul credits gNas-gsar-ba Ngag-dbang kun-dga' legs-pa'i byung-gnas with imparting the *dge-tshul* vows to 'Jigs-med gling-pa (*gTer-ston brgya-rtsa*, p. 728.3). Without providing the name of the preceptor, 'Jigs-med gling-pa reports that he renounced worldly life (*rab-byung*) in his 15th year (*Do-ha'i rgyan*, p. 503.1f). This same preceptor is also listed, by 'Jam-dbyangs blo-gter dbang-po (1847–ca. 1914), in the central lineage transmission for the Sa-skya-pa meditation tradition of the Lam-'bras slob-bshad [see Ronald W. Davidson, "Preliminary Studies on Hevajra's *Abhisamaya* and the Lam-'bras Tshogs-bshad", (in this present volume, p. 132).

40. See *rNam-thar chen-mo*, p. 17.6; *Thob-yig*, pp. 882.4, 883.6, 884.6; and *gTer-ston brgya-rtsa*, p. 728.3.

41. 'Gro-'dul gling-pa's biography is given in *gTer-ston brgya-rtsa*, pp. 559.6–563.6.

42. See *rNam-thar chen-mo*, pp. 20.4f, 23.3, 43.6; *Thob-yig*, pp. 883.5, 885.5, 886.4; *gTer-ston brgya-rtsa*, p. 728.5.

43. See *rNam-thar chen-mo*, p. 19.6; *Thob-yig*, pp. 869.2, 874.4, 879.3, 880.2, 880.5, 881.2, 884.1, 885.6; *gTer-ston brgya-rtsa*, p. 728.5.

44. These transmissions included Chos-rje gling-pa's *Yang-phur*, as well as the *Khros-nag skor*, *Gur-drag*, *rTsa-gsum dril-sgrub*, *bLa-ma rig-'dzin gi gnas-lugs*, *Phyag-rdor seng-sgrog*, and *Chos-bdag bam-chang sel-bsogs phal-che*. See *Thob-yig*, pp. 869.1, 869.3, 874.6, 877.2, 878.5, 880.4, 881.2, 884.3, 885.1, 885.4f; *gTer-ston brgya-rtsa*, p. 728.6.

45. See *Thob-yig*, p. 881.2; *gTer-ston brgya-rtsa*, p. 728.6.

46. See *Thob-yig*, pp. 870.6, 872.6, 873.1, 874.1, 875.2.

47. See *Thob-yig*, pp. 881.5, 882.1, 882.2. On the meaning of the expression 'earlier and later *gter-kha*' (*gter-kha gong-'og*), see below, note 49.

48. The inspirational passage, which begins "*yar ka-dag gi snang-ba / bar long-sku'i tshom-bu / mar 'gro-drug gi 'char-tshul*," is from the *mThong-snang rin-po-che 'od kyi drwa-ba* section of the *mKha-'gro yang-thig* [*sNying-thig ya-bzhi*, vol. 6 (*mKha-'gro yang-thig, Part 3*)], pp. 244.4ff.

49. See *rNam-thar chen-mo*, p. 22.2f, and *rTogs-brjod*, p. 32.3f. *Ḍākki'i gsang-gtam* (p. 6.2) reports that he was engaged in the recitation practice (*bsnyen-sgrub*) which combines the 'earlier and later *gter kha*' (*gter-kha gong-'og*), and is centered on the figure *gSang bdag dpa'-bo drang-srong dri-med zhi-khro*. Strictly speaking, 'the earlier and later *gter-kha*' refers to the revelations of *Nyan-ral nyi-ma'i 'od-zer* (1124–1192), and *Gu-ru Chos kyi dbang-phyug* (1212–1270), respectively. Sometimes, however, the expression is taken in a more general sense, indicating relatively earlier and later periods of *gter* revelations. The biographies for these two, who are counted the first and second of Five *gTer-ston* Kings (*gter-ston rgyal-po lnga*), are given by *Kong-sprul* in *gTer-ston brgya-rtsa* (pp. 383.6–389.6 and 393.4–399.4).

50. *Ḍākki'i gsang-gtam*, p. 7.1. See also Chart I (#15) and note 23.

51. In the *gSol-'debs le'u bdun-ma* of *rGod-ldem-can* (1337–1409) one finds a description of this Pure Land, associated with the thirteen teachings of *Guru Rinpoche*. See, for example, *Karma chags-med, gSol-'debs le'u bdun-pa'i lo-rgyus dmigs-rim phan-yon dang-bcas-pa* [Delhi: *Kun-bzang stobs-rgyal*, 1975], fols. 24b4ff. See also, the text accompanying note 84, below.

52. This is according to the new *grub-rtsis* of the *Phugs-pa* school; see above, note 6.

53. *Ḍākki'i gsang-gtam*, p. 8.3. At this point in the narrative, 'Jigs-med gling-pa refers the reader to *rTogs-brjod* for the details of other events. So as not to disrupt the narrative flow, I have recorded these events separately, in note 56, below.

54. The *Bodhnāth Stūpa* is regarded by art historians as having been built in the time of *King Aśoka*, commemorating a pilgrimage he made to *Nepal*. See *Benjamin Rowland, The Art and Architecture of India* [Baltimore: *Penguin Books*, 3rd ed., 1967], p. 158, plate 97a; and "Bodhināth," in *G.P. Malalasekera* (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Buddhism*, vol. III., fasc. 2, pp. 253–254. According to *Tibetan tradition*, however, the *stūpa* had a magical origin. On the legendary founding of the *Bodhnāth Stūpa*, see *mChod-rten chen-po bya-rung kha-shor gyi lo-rgyus thos-pas grol-ba*, edited by the *Ven. Dalama Namgyal Dorje* [Berkeley: *Department of Oriental Languages, Univ. of Calif.* (Berkeley), 1967], 39 pp.; and the popularized translation in *Keith Dow-*

man (trans.), *The Legend of the Great Stupa and the Life Story of the Lotus Born Guru* [Berkeley: Dharma Publishing, 1973].

55. See *Dākki'i gsang-gtam*, p. 9.1; *bKa'-bum bzhugs-byang*, p. 31.5f. The identity of Seng-ge ras-pas has yet to be established.

56. See *Dākki'i gsang-gtam*, p. 10.1, and note 53, above. Up to this point, the entire magical journey to Bodhnāth, and the events just narrated, are not recounted in *rTogs-brjod*. Instead, it tells of the visionary encounters with Guru Rinpoche (in the form mTsho-skyes rdo-rje) and 'Jam-dpal bshes-gnyen, and then goes on to recall a different set of experiences, beginning with 'Jigs-med gling-pa's remembrance of his former life as the Mahāsiddha Virūpa (see Chart I (#8), and note 16). It then reports as follows. In the fourth month (May–June) of 1758, he had a vision of the great gTer-bdag gling-pa, and shortly thereafter received visionary prophecies from the *gter-chos* of Chos-rje gling-pa (his *Khro-ma gter*) and from the *bLa-ma dgongs-'dus* of Sangs-rgyas gling-pa. A bit later, while practicing according to the *bLa-ma dgongs-'dus*, a great clarity arose, and he became a 'wisdom mirror' (*mkhyen-brtse'i me-long*) upon which teachings were clearly imprinted. Then one morning at dawn, again while practicing according to the *bLa-ma dgongs-'dus*, he clearly heard the neighing of a horse, coming from above, whereupon Guru Rinpoche bestowed upon him the name Padma dbang-chen (*rTogs-brjod*, p. 41.4f).

In the sixth month (July–August) 1758, while practicing according to the *gSol-'debs le'u bdun-ma* (see note 51), he had a visionary recall of his past lives as mNga'-ris paṅ-chen and gCung-dGa'-bo (see Chart I (#5, #15), and notes 13, 23). This narrative fragment (*rTogs-brjod*, pp. 43.5–46.1) seems to overlap with the events recorded in *Dākki'i gsang-gtam*, p. 7.1f (see also notes 50, 51).

At this point in the narrative, however, the two sources again converge. *rTogs-brjod* (p. 46.1f) gives the following details regarding the *Thugs-rje chen-po* revelations (see note 57 for the identity of this *gter-chos*). The revelation occurred at dawn, on the morning of the 10th day of the 10th month of "the same year" (10 November 1758). Thereafter 'Jigs-med gling-pa composed a short (unnamed) verse prayer. This must be the prayer entitled *'Phags-pa'i gsol-'debs zhal mthong-ma* [*kLong-snying* (A-'dzom), vol. II (Āh), pp. 395–399], whose colophon gives dawn of the 10th day of the 10th month of Earth-Tiger Year (10 November 1758) as the date of composition, and is signed "kLong-chen nam-mkha'i rnal-'byor."

57. The text in question is a *sādhana* centering on sDug-bsngal rang-grol (the *kLong-snying* form of Avalokiteśvara), called *gSang-sgrub Thugs-rje chen-po sdug-bsngal rang-grol* [*kLong-snying* (A-'dzom), vol. II (Āh), pp. 349–358]. The colophon corroborates the year of revelation as Male-Tiger Year (1758), and states that a seven-year silence must ensue before it is actually written down (*gtan la bab*).

58. On the *gNad-byang*, see above, note 5 (text #6).

59. Here, 'Jigs-med gling-pa parenthetically adds that this spiritual being would later be the one to help him decode symbolic script as bSam-yas mChims-phu. This is an allusion to the help rendered by the Supreme Dākīnī of the five Buddha families during his second three-year retreat at mChims-phu (see section C.2 in body of the text).

60. *Dākki'i gsang-gtam*, p. 11.6. At this point in the narrative, 'Jigs-med gling-pa refers the reader to the account given in *rTogs-brjod* (pp. 49.2–50.1), where he details the various pure visions (*dag-snang*) wherein he received prophecies regarding his past lives.

61. It seems that 'Jigs-med gling-pa and his *rtsa-ba'i bla-ma* communicated by letter.

62. Usually *dag-snang* and *dgongs-gter* are distinguished. For example, in the so-called 'Seven Authorizations' (*bka'-babs bdun*) of gTer-ston Zhi-gpo gling-pa (1829–1870), the fourth authorization consists solely of *dgongs-gter*, and the sixth consists solely of *dag-snang* (see *gTer-ston brgya-rtsa*, pp. 653.1f, 653.4f).

63. The Buddhist tradition has always acknowledged the necessity of learning to distinguish between that which occurs merely as a result of (worldly) psychic insight, and that which occurs due to genuine spiritual maturation. The subject certainly deserves serious study, from the differing (yet complimentary) viewpoints of Hinayāna, Mahāyāna, and Vajrayāna.

64. The seven years are counted from 1757 to 1764, the year of the first *kLong-snying* empowerment.

65. *rTogs-brjod*, pp. 46.4–49.4.

66. See below, note 69.

67. During his second three-year retreat at mChims-phu, as foretold in this vision, he met with Padma tshe-dbang rtsal (*alias* Rwa-ston rdo-rje) and received a *Phur-ba* transmission. (see body of text accompanying note 71, below).

68. See Chart I (#6 and #10), and notes 14, 18.

69. *Dākki'i gsang-gtam*, pp. 13.1ff; *rTogs-brjod*, pp. 49.4ff. mChims-phu is just Northeast of bSam-yas. Bre-gu dge'u, also known as Brag-dmar ke'u tshang, is in the center of the mChims-phu complex. According to the account given by 'Jam-dbyangs mkhyen-brtse'i dbang-po [*mKhye-brtse's Guide*, pp. 8 (fol. 7b), 45f], there are two meditation caves beneath Brag-dmar ke'u tshang—the Upper Nyang Cave (*Nyang phug gong*), which had served as a 'sleeping cave' (*gzim-phug*) for Ye-shes mtsho-rgyal, and the Lower Nyang Cave (*Nyang phug 'og*), which had been used by King Khri-

srong lde'u btsan. According to 'Jigs-med gling-pa's account, as given in *dPal gyi bsam-yas mchims-phu'i gtam* [*Coll. Works*(J), vol. IV(Nga), *gTam-tshogs*, pp. 216.1ff], there seem to be four caves: the cave of Nyang-ban (Nyang-ban ting-'dzin bzang-po), below it a cave used by Khri-srong lde'u btsan, and two more caves to the right and left of that one, which were sleeping caves (*gzim-phug*) used by Ye-shes mtsho-rgyal. See *mKhyen-brtse's Guide*, pp. 115(n.145), 116 (n.146, 156), and Map C. See also, the body of the text accompanying note 77, below.

70. See Chart I (#16, #17), and notes 24, 25.

71. See Chart III (#6), and note 38.

72. See Chart I (#12), and note 20.

73. *gTer-ston sTag-sham nus-ldan rdo-rje* (*alias* bSam-gtan gling-pa) was closely connected with the teaching of Chos-rje gling-pa. See above, note 33 (under entry [A] #3).

74. *rTogs-brjod*, p. 60.5f. The year is uncertain, it is either 1759 (yielding the date 7 October 1759), or 1760 (which would then be 25 October 1760). Given the context, the latter date is more probable.

75. See *gNad-byang*, p. 74.2f. The story of these three encounters is first recorded in *rTogs-brjod* (pp. 61.3–66.4), and briefly mentioned in *Do-ha'i rgyan* (p. 506.4f) and *rNam-thar chen-mo* (pp. 17.5f, 64.3f). The source for the later accounts, as found for instance in *Nor-bu'i do-shal* (p. 352.5f), and *Zhe-chen chos-'byung* (p. 264.6f), would seem to be *bKa'-bum bzhugs-byang* (p. 32.1f), which they follow in both diction and content.

76. This was the monastic name of kLong-chen-pa, who had been abbot at bSam-yas monastery.

77. See note 69, above.

78. See *rTogs-brjod*, p. 65.2f, and *bKa'-bum bzhugs-byang*, p. 32.2f.

79. This song is found in *Coll. Works*(J), vol. V(Ca), pp. 108.1–118.1. It is immediately followed by a short *stotra*, in praise of the same events, entitled simply *Tshigs-su bcad-pa rkyang-pa lnga-pa* (*ibid.*, pp. 118.1–119.2).

80. This is the text *Rig-'dzin mkha'-'gro dgyes-pa'i gsang-gtam / yig-dpyod grub-mtha' jig-pa'i tho lu-ma / snying-phyung lag-mthil bkram-pa'i man-ngag / gsang-bdag dga'-rab dpa'-bo'i tho-glu / kun-mkhyen zhal-lung bdud-rtsi'i thigs-pa* [*kLong-snying* (A-'dzom), vol. III (Hūm), pp. 520–546]. It is the *don-'grel* to the *gNas-lug rdo-rje'i tshig-rkang* (*ibid.*, pp. 517–519).

81. This is the text *rDo-rje theg-pa'i smin-grol lam gyi rim-pa las 'phros-pa'i man-ngag gi rgyab-brten padma dkar-po* [*kLong-snying* (A-'dzom), vol. III (Hūm), pp. 463–516].

82. Better known as the *Seng-ge'i nga-ro* ('the lion's roar'), this is *sNying-tig sgom-pa'i bya-bral gyi / gol-shor tshar-gcod seng-ge'i nga-ro* [*kLong-snying (A-'dzom)*, vol. III (Hūm), pp. 547–565]. All of the texts mentioned in notes 80–82 form part of the corpus of background material (*rgyab-chor skor*) on the proper comprehension and practice of rDzogs-chen meditation.

83. Although most later sources mention the founding of Tshe-ring ljongs *after* narrating the events of 1764, during which the first kLong-snying empowerment was bestowed, it is clearly stated in *Nor-bu'i do-shal* (p. 353.3) that the founding of this monastery took place, during 'Jigs-med gling-pa's 34th year, in Water-Dog Year (1762) (see also, *rNam-thar chen-mo*, p. 141.3f; and *bKa'-bum bzhugs-byang*, p. 32.4). Although the founding is not mentioned in either *rTogs-brjod* or *Dākki'i gsang-gtam*, I mention it here in keeping with the chronology of events. 'Jigs-med gling-pa discusses the Gu-ru Chos-dbang prophecy in *dPal-ri theg-pa chen-po'i gtam / rdo-rje sgra-ma'i rgyud-mngas* [*Coll. Works(J)*, vol. IV(Nga)], pp. 271.5ff. He also wrote a lengthy work dealing specifically with the founding of this monastery, entitled *Padma 'od-gsal theg-mchog gling rten dang brten par bcas-pa'i gtam / nor-bu'i do-shal* [*Coll. Works(J)*, vol. IV(Nga), pp. 283.1–322.6], as well as a very brief *stotra* entitled *Tshe-ring yul-ljongs* [*Coll. Works(J)*, vol. V(Ca), pp. 105.6–106.1]. The monastery, which was located just Northeast of Bang-so dmar-po (see *mKhyen-brtse's Guide*, Map C), would become the primary residence of 'Jigs-med gling-pa after the events of 1764. In Giuseppe Tucci, *To Lhasa and Beyond* [Rome: Istitute Poligrafico Dello Stato, 1956], p. 142, the following account is given:

Near Chongge, in the two valleys branching off the mountain where Srongtsengampo's tomb lies, there are two notable convents. The former is called Tseringjong (*Tshe-ring ljongs*), and gave birth to a man who detected some of the books hidden by Padmasambhava. Moise [Lt. Col. Regolo Moise of the Italian Navy Medical Corps] went there and had a look around. He found nothing remarkable, but for a chorten with the relics of the founder. The latter, Peri [*dPal-ri*], rose on the valley to the south, and was a Nyingmapa convent that had known better days and had been restored of late.

84. This is the last chapter of the *gSol-'debs le'u bdun-ma*, on which see note 51, above.

85. These were the *sku-sprul*, *gsung-sprul*, and *thugs-sprul* of Padma gling-pa—all incarnations of kLong-chen-pa. The *gsung-sprul* was known as Lho-brag gsung-sprul, and was one of 'Jigs-med gling-pa's students.

86. This Kong-po yogi, one of 'Jigs-med gling-pa's first students, was named Nyang-ston bkra-ti-pa rig-pa'i rdo-rje, known as Nyang-ston rig-'dzin for short (see *rNam-thar chen-mo*, pp. 158.4, 163.1).

87. This is the text entitled *Phyi-sgrub bla-ma'i rnal-'byor yid-bzhin nor-bu* [*kLong-snying*(A-'dzom), vol. I(Oṃ), pp. 129–188]. The division of the *kLong-snying* into outer, inner, secret, and most secret, is discussed in my forthcoming book *Fearless Vision*. 'Ju Mi-pham rnam-rgyal rgya-mtsho wrote a commentary on the Seven Line Prayer (*Tshig-bdun gsol-'debs*) and Siddhi Mantra (Oṃ Āḥ Hūṃ Vajra Guru Padma Siddhi Hūṃ) of Guru Rinpoche. See *Gu-ru'i tshig-bdun gsol-'debs gyi rnam-bshad padma dkar-po* [Varanasi: Nyi-lcang Thub-bstan chos-grags rgya-mtsho, 1971]. Recently, a summary translation of this, which incorporates the explanation of the Siddhi Mantra given by rDo-grub chen III 'Jigs-med bstan-pa'i nyi-ma (1865–1926), was published in the United States. See, Tulku Thondup, *Commentary on the Seven Line Prayer of Guru Rinpoche* [Cambridge, Mass.: Mahasiddha Nyingmapa Center, 1981].

88. An allusion to the special prophecy of Sangs-rgyas gling-pa, quoted at the beginning of this study.

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A volume in the SUNY series in
Buddhist Studies
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STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK PRESS

ISBN 0-7914-0785-3